

3rd Syrian War Documents

Appian 65-66

The second was another Antiochus, born of this marriage, who received the surname of Theos, "Divine", from the Milesians in the first instance, because he slew their tyrant, Timarchus.

This Theos was poisoned by his wife. He had two wives, Laodice and Berenice, the former a love-match, the latter a daughter pledged to him by [the Ptolemaic king] Ptolemy [II Philadelphus]. Laodice assassinated him and afterward Berenice and her child. Ptolemy [III Euergetes], the son of [Ptolemy II] Philadelphus, avenged these crimes by killing Laodice. He invaded Syria and advanced as far as Babylon. The Parthians now began their revolt, taking advantage of the confusion in the house of the Seleucids.

Seleucus [II], the son of [Antiochus II] Theos and Laodice, surnamed Callinicus, "the triumphant", succeeded Theos as king of Syria.

After Seleucus his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, succeeded in the order of their age. As Seleucus [III Keraunos] was sickly and poor and unable to command the obedience of the army, he was poisoned by a court conspiracy in the second year of his reign.

Jerome (Hieronymus) Chronicle (133rd Olympiad = 248-245 BC)

[1769] [1766 in Ar.] The Parthians rebelled against Macedonian rule. Their first king was Arsaces, the founder of the Arsacid dynasty.

133.3 * [1771] Ptolemaeus Euergetes [became] the 3rd [king] of Egypt, for 26 years.

* Seleucus Callinicus [became king] of Syria, for 20 years.

Athenaeus 593 (Phylarchus FGrH 260 Fr 24 and 30)

And Demetrius the king, the last of all Alexander's successors, had a mistress named Myrrhina, a Samian courtesan; and in every respect but the crown, he made her his partner in the kingdom, as Nicolaus of Damascus tells us. # And Ptolemaeus the son of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus the king, who was governor of the garrison in Ephesus, had a mistress named Eirene. And she, when plots were laid against Ptolemaeus by the Thracians at Ephesus, and when he fled to the temple of Artemis, fled with him: and when the conspirators had murdered him, Eirene seizing hold of the bars of the doors of the temple, sprinkled the altar with his blood till they slew her also. # And Sophron the governor of Ephesus had a mistress, Danae, the daughter of Leontiön the Epicurean was also a courtesan herself. And by her means he was saved when a plot was laid against him by Laodice, and Laodice was thrown down a precipice, as Phylarchus relates in his twelfth book [Fr_24] in these words: "Danae was a chosen companion of Laodice, and was trusted by her with all her secrets; and, being the daughter of that Leontiön who had studied with Epicurus the natural philosopher, and

having been herself formerly the mistress of Sophron, she, perceiving that Laodice was laying a plot to murder Sophron, revealed the plot to Sophron by a sign. And he, understanding the sign, and pretending to agree to what Laodice was saying to him, asked two days to deliberate on what he should do. And, when she had agreed to that, he fled away by night to Ephesus. But Laodice, when she learnt what had been done by Danae, threw her down a precipice, discarding all recollection of their former friendship. And they say that Danae, when she perceived the danger which was impending over her, was interrogated by Laodice, and refused to give her any answer; but, when she was dragged to the precipice, then she said, that 'many people justly despise the Deity, and they may justify themselves by my case, who having saved a man who was to me as my husband, am requited in this manner by the Deity. But Laodice, who murdered her husband, is thought worthy of such honour.' "

The same Phylarchus also speaks of Mista, in his fourteenth book [Fr_30], in these terms: "Mista was the mistress of Seleucus the king, and when Seleucus was defeated by the Galatians, and was with difficulty able to save himself by flight, she put off the robes of a queen which she had been accustomed to wear, and assumed the garment of an ordinary servant; and being taken prisoner, was carried away with the rest of the captives. And being sold in the same manner as her handmaidens, she came to Rhodes; and there, when she had revealed who she was, she was sent back with great honour to Seleucus by the Rhodians."

Val. Max. 9.14.ext. 1

One of king Antiochus' coevals and himself a member of the royal house, by the name of Artemo, is said to have closely resembled the monarch. Antiochus' wife Laodice killed her husband and to conceal the crime put Artemo in bed as though he were the king himself fallen ill. Then she admitted all the people and deceived them by his likeness in speech and countenance, and folk believed Laodice and her children were being commended to them by the dying Antiochus.

Pliny NH 7.53 = 7.12

A man named Artemon, one of the common people, bore so strong a resemblance to Antiochus, the king of Syria, that his queen Laodice, after her husband Antiochus was slain, acted the farce of getting this man to recommend her as the successor to the crown.

Val. Max. 9.10.ext 1.

Two queens are famous for their revenges... Berenice was aggrieved that her son had been taken from her by the treachery of Laodice. Mounting a chariot with weapons, she pursued a royal attendant named Caeneus who had carried out the cruel work and having missed him with a spear brought him down flat with a stone, then drove her horses over his body and between the hostile ranks of the opposing party to reach the house in which she thought the course of the murdered boy was hidden.

Polyaenus 8.50

Antiochus, surnamed Theos, married Laodice, his sister on the father's side, and had by her a son Seleucus. He also afterwards married Berenice, daughter of king Ptolemaeus, by whom he likewise had a son; but he died while this son was in his infancy, and left his kingdom to Seleucus. Laodice did not think her son was secure on the throne, while the son of Berenice was alive, and sought means to procure his death. Berenice invoked the pity and assistance of her husband's subjects - but too late. The assassins however exhibited to the people a child very like him, whom they had murdered; they declared him to be the royal infant, whom they had spared, and a guard was appointed to protect his person. Berenice also had a guard of Gallic mercenaries, and a fortified citadel appointed for her residence; and the people swore allegiance to her. At the suggestion of Aristarchus her physician, she now considered herself perfectly secure, and hoped to reconcile to her all who had before been hostile to her pretensions. But their object, in the oath they had taken to her, was only to throw her off her guard; once this was achieved, she was secretly assassinated. Several of the women, who were about her, fell while attempting to save her. However Panariste, Mania, and Gethosyne buried the body of Berenice, and placed another woman in her stead, in the bed where she had been murdered. They pretended that she was still living, and likely to recover from the wound she had received. And they persuaded her subjects of this, until Ptolemaeus, the father of the deceased, arrived. He dispatched letters to the countries around in the names of his daughter and her son, as if they were still alive; and by this stratagem of Panariste he secured for himself the whole country from Taurus to India, without a single engagement.

Euseb]. Chron_251'a,

Antiochus Soter had [three] children by Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius; a son Antiochus, and two daughters Stratonice and Apame, of whom the former was married to Demetrius the king of the Macedonians, and the latter [to Magas?]. When he died, he was succeeded by Antiochus called Theos, in the fourth year of the 129th Olympiad [261 B.C.]. After 19 years, Antiochus Theos fell ill, [p251] and died at Ephesus in the third year of the [133rd] Olympiad [246 B.C.], after living in all for 40 years. He had two sons, Seleucus called Callinicus and Antigonus, and two daughters by Laodice the daughter of Achaeus, of whom one was married to Mithridates and the other to Ariathes. The elder son Seleucus, who as we said was called Callinicus, succeeded Antiochus and reigned for 21 years, from the third year of the 133rd Olympiad [246 B.C.] until the second year of the 138th Olympiad [227 B.C.].

When he died, Seleucus was succeeded by his son, Seleucus called Ceraunus, but while he was still alive it happened that his younger brother Antigonus refused to accept his position and sought power for himself. Antigonus had help and assistance from [Alexander], the brother of his mother Laodice, who was in charge of the city of Sardis; he also had the Galatians as allies in two battles. Seleucus won a battle in Lydia, but he was unable to capture Sardis or Ephesus, which was held by Ptolemaeus. Then Seleucus fought a second battle against Mithridates in Cappadocia, where 20,000 of his men were killed by the barbarians, and he himself lost his life. Meanwhile Ptolemaeus called Tryphon seized part of Syria, but his siege of Damascus and Orthosia was stopped in the third year of the 134th Olympiad [242 B.C.], when Seleucus advanced to that region.

Antigonus the brother of Callinicus crossed greater Phrygia, forced the inhabitants to pay tribute, and sent his generals with an army against Seleucus. But he was handed over by his own followers to the barbarians, and after escaping with a few men, set off for Magnesia. The next day he offered battle, and with the assistance of soldiers sent by Ptolemaeus, amongst others, he won a victory, and married the daughter of Zielas. [p253] However, in the fourth year of the 137th Olympiad [229 B.C.] he fought twice in the country of Lydia and was defeated, and he joined battle with Attalus in the region of Lake Coloe. In the first year of the 138th Olympiad [228 B.C.], after a battle in Caria he was forced by Attalus to flee to Thrace, where he died.

Seleucus Callinicus, the brother of Antigonus, died in the next year, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, who adopted the name Seleucus, and was called Ceraunus by his army. Seleucus had a brother called Antiochus. After reigning for three years, Seleucus was treacherously attacked and killed by a Galatian called Nicanor, in about the first year of the 139th Olympiad [224 B.C.]. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, whom the army summoned from Babylon. Antiochus was called [the Great] and reigned for 36 years, from the second year of the 139th Olympiad [223 B.C.] until the second year of the 148th Olympiad [187 B.C.]. In the latter year, he made an expedition to Susa and the eastern provinces, but was killed with all [his men] in battle with the Elymaeans; he left behind two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus.

Malalas 204-5

Seleucus Nicator founded another great city in Syria, where there had previously been a village called Pharnace, and he named it after his daughter Apama. After building a wall around it, and performing a sacrifice, Seleucus changed the name of the city to Apameia. He also called it by the name of Pella, because the fortune of the city of Apameia had that name; Seleucus himself came from Pella, a city in Macedonia. He sacrificed a bull and a goat; and again an eagle came down and seized the heads of the bull and the goat, and Seleucus marked out the walls [of the city] with the blood [of the animals].

Seleucus founded many other cities in the other provinces and in the region of Persia. The learned chronicler Pausanias relates that in total there were 75 of the cities, [204] which Seleucus named as he wished after the names of himself and his children. The learned Pausanias relates that Seleucus named Antioch the great after the name of his father, because his father was called Antiochus; but no-one would name a city after a dead man - that would be silly - and instead they name them after someone who is alive and well. Seleucus named the city, as was said before, after the name of his son Antiochus. The learned Pausanias has related many other things in a poetical fashion.

Seleucus planted cypress trees near the temple of Apollo in the city which was previously called Heracleis, but is now called Daphne; some cypress trees had already been planted there by the priest Heracles, who founded Daphne and called it Heracleis after his own name. He established the city outside the sacred grove, by the temple of Athene; but the temple of Apollo was in the middle of the sacred grove, and was called "Daphnaean". This Heracles was the first to practice the sport of wrestling.

Afterwards Seleucus died by the Hellespont, at the age of 72 years, and he was buried at Seleuceia in Syria.

After the reign of Seleucus, his son Antiochus Soter was king for 20 years. # This Antiochus fell in love with his own step-mother, Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius, [205] and took her as his wife. He had two sons by her, Seleucus, who died while he was still young, and Antiochus, who was called Theoeides ["God-like"]. After the death of Antiochus the son of Seleucus, Antiochus Theoeides was the next king, for 15 years. After him, Seleucus Callinicus, his son by Berenice, was king for 24 years, and then Alexander Nicator for 36 years, then Seleucus Philopator for 10 years, and then Antiochus Epiphanes for 12 years.

In the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when many of the inhabitants of the city had died from a plague, a priest called Leius ordered a rock on the mountain above the city to be carved with an enormous crowned head, facing towards the city and the valley, and he wrote an inscription on it, after which the deaths from the plague ceased. Up until the present time, the inhabitants of the Antioch call this head Charonius.

Daniel 11

As for me, in the first year of Darius the Mede, I stood up to confirm and strengthen him.² Now will I show you the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and when he has grown strong through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece.³ A mighty king shall stand up, who shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.⁴ When he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of the sky, but not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion with which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others besides these.⁵ The king of the south shall be strong, and *one* of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.⁶ At the end of years they shall join themselves together; and the daughter of the king of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the strength of her arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and those who brought her, and he who became the father of her, and he who strengthened her in those times.⁷ But out of a shoot from her roots shall one stand up in his place, who shall come to the army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail.⁸ Also their gods, with their molten images, *and* with their goodly vessels of silver and of gold, shall he carry captive into Egypt; and he shall refrain some years from the king of the north.⁹ He shall come into the realm of the king of the south, but he shall return into his own land.¹⁰ His sons shall war, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces, which shall come on, and overflow, and pass through; and they shall return and war, even to his fortress.¹¹ The king of the south shall be moved with anger, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude, and the multitude shall be given into his hand.¹² The multitude shall be lifted up, and his heart shall be exalted; and he shall cast down tens of thousands, but he shall not prevail.¹³ The king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former; and he shall come on at the end of the times, *even of years*, with a great army and with much substance.¹⁴ In those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the children of the violent among your people shall lift themselves up to establish the vision; but they shall fall.¹⁵ So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mound, and take a well-fortified city: and the forces of the south shall not stand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to stand.¹⁶ But he who comes against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, and in his hand shall be destruction.¹⁷ He shall set his face to come with the strength of his whole kingdom, and with him equitable conditions; and he shall perform them: and he shall give him the daughter of women, to corrupt her; but she shall not stand, neither be for him.¹⁸ After this shall he turn his face to the islands, and shall take many: but a prince shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; yes, moreover, he shall cause his reproach to turn on him.¹⁹ Then he shall turn his face toward the fortresses of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and shall not be found.²⁰ Then shall stand up in his place one who shall cause a tax collector to pass through the kingdom to maintain its glory; but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle.²¹ In his place shall stand up a contemptible person, to whom they had not given the honor of the kingdom:

but he shall come in time of security, and shall obtain the kingdom by flatteries.²² The overwhelming forces shall be overwhelmed from before him, and shall be broken; yes, also the prince of the covenant.²³ After the league made with him he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong, with a small people.²⁴ In time of security shall he come even on the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them prey, and spoil, and substance: yes, he shall devise his devices against the strongholds, even for a time.²⁵ He shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall war in battle with an exceeding great and mighty army; but he shall not stand; for they shall devise devices against him.²⁶ Yes, they who eat of his dainties shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain.²⁷ As for both these kings, their hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table: but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.²⁸ Then shall he return into his land with great substance; and his heart *shall be against* the holy covenant; and he shall do *his pleasure*, and return to his own land.²⁹ At the time appointed he shall return, and come into the south; but it shall not be in the latter time as it was in the former.³⁰ For ships of Kittim shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved, and shall return, and have indignation against the holy covenant, and shall do *his pleasure*: he shall even return, and have regard to those who forsake the holy covenant.³¹ Forces shall stand on his part, and they shall profane the sanctuary, even the fortress, and shall take away the continual *burnt offering*, and they shall set up the abomination that makes desolate.³² Such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he pervert by flatteries; but the people who know their God shall be strong, and do *exploits*.³³ Those who are wise among the people shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, *many days*.³⁴ Now when they shall fall, they shall be helped with a little help; but many shall join themselves to them with flatteries.³⁵ Some of those who are wise shall fall, to refine them, and to purify, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for the time appointed.³⁶ The king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvelous things against the God of gods; and he shall prosper until the indignation be accomplished; for that which is determined shall be done.³⁷ Neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all.³⁸ But in his place shall he honor the god of fortresses; and a god whom his fathers didn't know shall he honor with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.³⁹ He shall deal with the strongest fortresses by the help of a foreign god: whoever acknowledges *him* he will increase with glory; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for a price.⁴⁰ At the time of the end shall the king of the south contend with him; and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass through.⁴¹ He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many *countries* shall be overthrown; but these shall be delivered out of his hand: Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.⁴² He shall stretch forth his hand also on the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape.⁴³ But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps.⁴⁴ But news out of the east and out of the north shall

trouble him; and he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to sweep away many.⁴⁵ He shall plant the tents of his palace between the sea and the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

Porphyry Against the Christians from Jerome's commentary on Daniel

The first king of Syria was Seleucus Nicanor; the second was Antiochus Soter; the third was Antiochus Theos ["the God"] . . . who fought many wars against Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, using all the forces of Babylon and the East. So after many years Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, in order to put an end to this troublesome war, gave his daughter Berenice as a wife to Antiochus, although Antiochus had two sons, Seleucus Callinicus and another Antiochus, by his previous wife Laodice. Ptolemaeus led Berenice out to Pelusium, and sent with her an immense amount of gold and silver, so that she was given the name Phernophoros ["dowry-bringer"]. At that time, Antiochus said that he regarded Berenice as his queen and Laodice as his concubine, but much later, won over by his love for her, he restored Laodice and her children to their royal status. Laodice, fearing that Seleucus might change his mind again and give preference to Berenice, murdered her husband by persuading his servants to poison him. She handed over Berenice and her son by Antiochus to be killed by Icadion and Gennaesus, the leaders of Antioch, and she set up her elder son, Seleucus Callinicus, as king in his father's place . . . After the murder of Berenice and the death of her father Ptolemaeus Philadelphus in Egypt, Berenice's brother Ptolemaeus Euergetes became the third king [of Egypt] . . . and he arrived with a large army and invaded the province . . . of Seleucus Callinicus, who was reigning in Syria with his mother Laodice. Ptolemaeus worsted them and was so successful that he conquered Syria and Cilicia and the Eastern regions on the other side of the Euphrates, and almost the whole of Asia. When he heard that a rebellion had started in Egypt, he ransacked the kingdom of Seleucus and carried off 40,000 talents of silver and 2,500 precious vessels and statues of gods, including those which Cambyses had carried off after conquering Egypt. Later the [idolatrous] Egyptians gave their king the name Euergetes ["benefactor"] because he had brought back their gods after so many years. Ptolemaeus kept Syria for himself, but gave away Cilicia to be governed by his friend Antiochus, and he gave the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates to another leader, called Xanthippus.

[44] [11'10-14] After the rout and death of Seleucus Callinicus, his sons Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus, called the Great, who were spurred on by the hope of victory and revenge for their father, collected an army and made war on Ptolemaeus Philopator. Seleucus, the elder brother, was plotted against and killed by Nicanor and Apaturius in the third year of his reign. The army in Syria summoned his brother Antiochus the Great from Babylon to take over as king . . . Antiochus the Great came from Babylon to Syria, which at that time was held by Ptolemaeus Philopator the son of Euergetes, who was the fourth king of Egypt. When he attacked the generals of Ptolemaeus, he did indeed gain control of Syria, through the treachery of Theodotus . . . He was made so bold by his contempt for Philopator, who was sunk in luxury and was said to be devoted to the magic arts, that he launched an outright attack on the Egyptians . . . Ptolemaeus Philopator, after losing Syria through the treachery of Theodotus, assembled a vast army and advanced against Antiochus the Great . . . In a battle near the town of Raphia, which is on the borders of Egypt, Antiochus lost his entire army and was almost captured while escaping through the desert. He retreated from Syria, and eventually the war was concluded with a treaty on certain conditions.

Justin book 27 (prologus)

These things are contained in the twenty-seventh volume. Seleucus' war in Syria against Ptolemy Trypho: likewise in Asia against his own brother, Antiochus Hierax, a war in which he was defeated by the Gauls at Ancyra; after they [the Gauls] were defeated at Pergamum by Attalus, they killed Zielas of Bithynia. How Ptolemy captured Adaeus for the second time and had him put to death, and Antigonus defeated Sophron in a naval battle at Andros. How Antiochus, put to flight in Mesopotamia by Callinicus, escaped the clutches of Ariamenes, who was plotting against him, and subsequently escaped from the guards of Trypho; he was killed by the Gauls and his brother Seleucus also died, and Apaturius killed the eldest of Seleucus' sons.

On the death of Antiochus, king of Syria, his son Seleucus, succeeding in his stead, commenced his reign with murder in his own family, his mother Laodice, who ought to have restrained him, encouraging him to it. He put to death his step-mother Berenice, the sister of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, together with his little brother, her son. By perpetrating this cruelty, he both incurred the stain of infamy, and involved himself in a war with Ptolemy. As for Berenice, when she heard that assassins were sent to despatch her, she shut herself up in Daphne; and it being reported throughout the cities of Asia, that she and her little son were besieged there, they all, commiserating her undeserved misfortunes from their recollection of the high character of her father and her ancestors, sent her assistance. Her brother Ptolemy, too, alarmed at the danger of his sister, left his kingdom, and hastened to her support with all his forces. But Berenice, before succour could arrive, was surprised by treachery, as she could not be taken by force, and killed. The deed was regarded by every one as an atrocity; and all the cities, in consequence, which had revolted (after having equipped a vast fleet), being suddenly alarmed at this instance of cruelty, and wishing to take revenge for her whom they had meant to defend, gave themselves up to Ptolemy, who, if he had not been recalled to Egypt by disturbances at home, would have made himself master of all Seleucus's dominions. Such hatred did an unnatural crime bring upon Seleucus; or so much good feeling did the death of a sister, dishonourably killed, excite in behalf of Ptolemy!

2 After the departure of Ptolemy, Seleucus, having prepared a great fleet against the cities that had revolted, lost it in a storm that suddenly arose, as if the gods themselves had taken vengeance on him for his murder; nor did fortune leave him anything, of all his mighty armament, except his body and life, and a few companions amid the wreck. It was indeed a lamentable occurrence, and yet such as Seleucus might have desired; for the cities, which from hatred to him had gone over to Ptolemy, being moved, by a sudden change in their feelings, to compassionate his loss at sea (as if, in the judgment of the gods, satisfaction had been made them), put themselves again under his government. Rejoiced at his misfortune, therefore, and enriched by his loss, he made war upon Ptolemy, as being now a match for him in strength; but as though he had been born only for a sport to fortune, and had received the power of a king only to lose it, he was. defeated in a battle, and fled in trepidation to Antioch, not much better attended than after his shipwreck. From this place he despatched a letter to his brother Antiochus, in which he implored his aid, and offered him that part of Asia within Mount Taurus, as a recompense for his services. But Antiochus, though he was but fourteen

years old, yet, being greedy of dominion beyond his years, caught at the opportunity, not with the kindly feeling with which it was offered, but, like a robber, desiring to take the whole kingdom from his brother, assumed, boy as he was, a manly and unprincipled audacity. Hence he was called Hierax,¹ because, in taking away the possessions of others, he conducted himself, not like a man, but like a bird of prey.

Ptolemy Euergetes, in the meantime, learning that Antiochus was coming to the aid of Seleucus, and not wishing to have to contend with two enemies at once, made peace with Seleucus for ten years. But the peace that was granted Seleucus by his enemy, was broken by his own brother, who, having hired an army of Gauls, brought hostilities instead of succour, and showed himself, though he had been implored for aid, an enemy instead of a brother. In the battle that followed Antiochus was victor, indeed, through the prowess of the Gauls; but they, thinking that Seleucus had fallen on the field, began to turn their arms against Antiochus himself, in the hope of ravaging Asia with greater freedom, if they destroyed the whole royal family. Antiochus, seeing their design, purchased peace from them, as from robbers, with a sum of money, and formed an alliance with his own mercenaries.

3 Meanwhile Eumenes, king of Bithynia, when the brothers were divided and exhausted by civil war, attacked both the victorious Antiochus and the Gauls, as if he intended to take possession of Asia while it was left without a master. Nor did he find any difficulty in overthrowing them, as they were weakened by their previous conflicts, and he himself was fresh and vigorous. At that period, indeed, every war was intended for the reduction of Asia; whoever was stronger than his neighbours was ready to seize on Asia for his prey. The brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, went to war for the sovereignty of Asia; Ptolemy, king of Egypt, under pretext of avenging his sister, was eager to secure Asia. On the one side Eumenes of Bithynia, on the other the Gauls (an army of mercenaries always ready to support the weaker), laid waste Asia, while no one, among so many robbers, was found to be its protector.

When Antiochus was overthrown, and Eumenes had possessed himself of the greater part of the country, the two brothers, though the prize for which they had fought was lost, could not even then come to an agreement, but, leaving their foreign enemies unmolested, continued the war for the destruction of each other. Antiochus, being again defeated, and exhausted with a flight of many days' continuance, arrived at last at the palace of Artamenes, his father-in-law, king of Cappadocia. Being kindly received by him at first, but learning, after some days, that treacherous designs were forming against him, he sought safety by again taking to flight. When he was thus a fugitive, and found nowhere a place of security, he betook himself to his enemy Ptolemy, whose faith he thought more to be trusted than that of his brother, whether he reflected on what he would have done to his brother, or what he had deserved from him. But Ptolemy, not more friendly to him when he came to surrender, than when he had been an open foe, ordered that he should be kept in the closest confinement. From hence however he escaped, eluding his keepers by the aid of a courtesan, with whom he had been familiar, and was slain in his flight by some robbers. Seleucus too, about the same time, lost his kingdom, and was killed by a fall from his horse. Thus these two brothers, as if brothers also in fate, both became exiles; and both, after losing their dominions, died a death merited by their crimes.

BCHP 10

TEXT: OBVERSE	TRANSLATION
@ = tsade; & = tet line numbers with link refer to commentary	
1' [... ..] /x\ [... ..]	[... ..] /x\ [... ..]
2' [... ..] /x MA [?] \. šú GA[Z [?]]	[... ..] his [...] (was [?]) ki[lled?]
3' [... .. kal-ba [?]]-na-tum MAH-tum [... ..]	[... ..] siege eng]ines [?] in great number [... ..]
4' [... .. n]i [?] -ia šá KUR šá ina URU An-ti-u[k-]-ia]	[... ..]. .. of the land, which (are) in the city of Antio[ch]
5' [... ..]x x ^m Si-lu-ku ^{lú} pa-hat	[... ..]. .. Seleucus, the <i>epistates</i>
6' [URU Si-lu-ki-]-ia [?] šá ina muh-hi ÍD UD.KIB.NUN.K]I ^{l?} u ÍD LUGALmi-@ir-šú KI	[of Seleucia which is on the Euphrat]es! and the King's Canal, its boundary with
7' [... ..]-i KI-šú iš-kun-ma ^m Mi-ni]-su	[... ..]x with him/it established ^{sg} and Menes (Eumenes?)
8' [... ..]x.MEŠ-šú ^m An-ti-' uk A šá	[... ..]..... Antiochus, son of
9' [... .. ina ^{gi}] ^{s?} TUKUL GAZ ^{lú} UN.MEŠ MAH. MEŠ	[... ..] killed/defeated ^{sg} [by the] sword [?] . Numerous people
10' [... .. É.SA]G.GÍL ^{lú} UŠ.KU TA	[... .. Esa]gila. A lamentation priest from
11' [... .. ki-i]a-a-am ZÁH-ma	[... .. to Seleuc]ia [?] fled ^{sg} and
12' [... ..]x ITI KIN ITI BI	[... ..]x. Month Ulûlu (VI). That month
TEXT: REVERSE	TRANSLATION

lacuna	
1' [...]E.K[I x	[... ..] in Babyl[on]x
2' [... ..] KI SAR-'	[... ..] x they wrote/plundered
3' [... .. K]Á ^d LAMMA.RA.BI u KI-šú	[... ..] the Lamassu- rabi Gate and with him
4' [... ..] x ana [?] lib-bi É.SAG.GÍL GAR-'	[... ..] x inside Esagila they set up.
-----	-----
5' [MU 66 [?] KAM ITI MN ITI B]I <i>al-te-me</i> <i>um-ma</i> ^m Si-lu-ku A šá	[Year 66? (246/5 BC). Month MN. Tha]t [month] I heard as follows: "Seleucus, son of
6' [^m An-ti-'-uk-su ina URU Sa [?]]-at [?] -ta-a- gu URU SIG u ina ^{gis} GU.ZA LU[GAL]/-û\ - [tú TUŠ-a]b	[Antiochus, (was) in the city of Si]ttakê [?] , a renowned city, and he [ascen]ded the roy[al] throne."
-----	-----
7' [MU 86 KAM ITI MN ITI BI UD n KAM ^m Si-lu-ku L]UGAL Ašá ^m An-ti-'- uk-su x[x bi-ki-tú]ina KUR] GAR-at	[Year 86? (226/5 BC) . Month MN. That month, the nth day, Seleucus, the k]ing, son of Antiochus, x[died. A mourning] was held.
8' [... .. ^m Si-lu-k]u A šá ^m Si-lu- ku [... ..]	[... .. Seleuc]us son of Seleucus [...]
9' [... .. ina ^{gis} GU.ZA TU]Š-ab ITI /AB\ [ITI BI]	[... .. and the royal throne he asce]nded. Month Tebêtu (X = 14 January - 11 February 225). [That month]
10' [... ..] x x x [...]	[... ..] x x x [... ..]
lacuna	

BCHP 11

TEXT: A OBVERSE (month I) @ = tsade; & = tet line numbers with link refer to commentary	TRANSLATION Nisannu SE 66 = 4 April-3 May 246
1 MU 66.KAM ^m An-ti-'-ku-su LUGAL BAR (...) 	Year 66, Antiochus king. Nisannu (...)
11 (...) ITI BI UD 6.KAM B ² D š ² ² .SAG. ² [L 	(...) That month, the 6th (9 April 246 BC). The wall of Esagi la]
12 [... .. ² .SAG]. ² L ul x x il-lik-'u U ₄ -mu šu- ² SIG ₄ .HI.Aina l ² ² b-bi DU-'u ITI BI UD 11.K[AM] 	12 [to Esag]ila not x x they went. That day: bricks within it they made. That month, day 11 (14 April) [.....]
13 [...] x [^m S]i-lu-ku ^m An-ti-'-ku-su u ^f A-pa-am-mu DUMU.MEŠ-š ² ina ² .SAG. ² L x[.....] 	[... .. .] x [S eleucus, Antiochus and Apame, his children, in Esagila x[.....]
TEXT: B OBVERSE (month III)	TRANSLATION Sim ² nu SE 66 = 2 June – 1 July 246
3' [ITI BI] ^m Si-lu-ku A š ² ^m An-ti-'-ku- su L[UGAL]iš-ta-nak-/kan\ [...] 	[That month,] Seleucus, son of Antiochus , the k[ing] established [.....]
4' [... .. .] ¹ š ² ² -tam-mu ² .SAG. ² L ¹ da-ta- b[a-ar-ra ² ¹] E.KI.MEŠ ki-niš- t ² ² .SAG. ² L x x x x x x x x x x [... ..] 	[... .. .] the shatammu of Esagila, the <i>datab</i> [arra and the] Babylonians (of) the kinishtu of Esagila x x x x
5' [... .. .] DI ² š ² ² ina IGI-ma ^m Lam- ² -di- ke' a-n[a].MEŠ ma-du-tu ina l ² ² b- bi D ² - ² NINDA.HI.A K ² - ² ni-gu-t ² ² ina l ² ² b- bi GAR-an 	[... .. .] x the estate [?] which in the past Laodice t[o,] numerous [offering]s within it they made. They ate bread; a festival was held in it.
TEXT: A REVERSE (month V)	TRANSLATION Abu SE 66 = 31 July – 29 August 246
5' [... ²].SAG.G ² L G ² L-š ² i ITI BI UD 20.KAM ina E.KI it-ti-šem-m[u um- ma ^m An-ti-'-ku-su LUGAL GAL- ²] 	[..... within E]sagila occurred. That month, the 20th, (19 August) it was heard in Babylon [as follows: "Antiochus, the

	great king,
6' [NAM.MEŠ hat-t] 𐎶u pu-luh-tum ina KUR G 𐎶L-ši	[has died".]x and fear was in the land.
TEXT: B Lower edge	TRANSLATION
na-@ar š 𐎶gi-n 𐎶e š 𐎶 TA BAR EN KIN ^m An- ti-'-ku-su LUGAL TA IZI EN KIN ^m Si-/lu\ -k[u] /A-š 𐎶\ LUG[AL]	Regular observations from Nisannu to Ul 𐎶lu , Antiochus king; from Abu to Ul 𐎶lu, Seleucus, his son, king.

Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period

TEXT: OBVERSE line numbers with link refer to commentary	TRANSLATION
1 [.. .. ^m] A-lik-sa-an-d[ar (.. ..)]	[...] Alexand[er III] [...]
2 [^{mP}]i-/lip\ -su ŠEŠ-š  š  ^m A-lik-sa- a[n]-/dar\ x	[Ph]ilip, brother of Alexander, [...].
3 [..]MU LUGAL <i>ina</i> KUR NU TUK ^m An- ti-gu-nu-us	For [n] years there was no king in the country. Antigonus ,
4 ^[n]  GAL ER  N.MEŠ KUR  -ma-'i-ir	general-in-chief of the army, ruled the land.
5 ^m A-lik-sa-an-dar A ša ^m A-lik M[U] [?] 6	Alexander [IV], son of Alex[ander III]: 6 years [?] .
6 MU 7 k  [m] ša ši-i MU I k  ^m Si-lu- kuLUGAL	Year 7 (SE = 305/304 BCE), which is year 1: Seleucus (I Nicator was) king.
7 MU 25 IN.AG	He reigned for twenty-five years.
8 MU 31 k  [m] KIN ^m Si LUGAL <i>ina</i> KUR Ha-ni-i GAZ	Year 31, Ullu [= month VI]: Se(leucus I), the king, was killed in the land of the Hanaeans .
9 [M]U 32 k  ^m An A ša ^m Si LUGALMU 20 IN.AG	Year 32 [280/279]: An(tiochus I Soter) , son of Se(leucus I, was) king. He reigned twenty years.
10 [M]U 51 k  ^m GU ₄ 16 ^m An GAL-  NAM.MEŠ	Year 51: Ajaru [= month II], on the sixteenth day, An(tiochus I), the great king, died.
11 [M]U 52 k  ^m An A ša ^m An LUGAL <MU> 15 I[N.AG [?]]	Year 52 [260/259]: An(tiochus II Theos) , son of An(tiochus I was) king. [He reigned] 15 <years>.
12 [M]U 66 k  ^m IZI <i>ina</i> E.KI i[t]-te-e[š- me]	Year 66, Abu [= month V]: It was heard in Babylon
13 [vac.] <i>um-ma</i> ^m An A š  ^m An LUGAL GAL-  /NAM\.[MEŠ]	as follows: "An(tiochus), the son of An(tiochus), the great king, has died."
14 [MU] 67 k  ^m S[i ... A š  ^m An LUGAL MU .. IN.AG]	[Year] 67 [245/244]: S[e(leucus II Callinicus) , the son of An(tiochus II was) king. He reigned

	20 [?] years]
15 [...]	[...]

TEXT: REVERSE	TRANSLATION
1 [MU 8]7 k ² m ^m Si [...]	[Year] 87 [225/224]: Se(leucus III) was [king. He reigned 3 years]
2 [MU] /90\ k ² m ^m An LUGAL ina AŠ.TE T[UŠ-ab]	Year 90 [222/221]: An(tiochus III the Great) , the king, as[cended] the throne.
3 [MU] 35 IN.AG	He reigned for 35 [years].
4 [TA] 1.ME.2 k ² m EN 1 ME 19 ^m An [(..)]	From the 102th year [210/209] until (year) 119 [193/192] An(tiochus) [the king [?]]
5 [vac.] u ^m An A.MEŠ LUGAL	and An(tiochus), his son ¹ , were kings ¹ .
6 MU 1.ME.25 k ² m SIG ina E.KI it-te-eš-me	Year 125, Simanu [= month III]: It was heard in Babylon:
7 um-ma UD 25 k ² m ^m An LUGAL ina KUR NIM.KI GAZ	as follows: "On the twenty-fifth day An(tiochus III), the king, was killed in Elam".
8 MU BI ^m Si A-š ² ina AŠ.TE TUŠ-ab MU 12 IN.[AG	The same year: Se(leucus IV Philopator) , his son, ascended the throne. He reigned for twelve years.
9 MU 1 ME 37 k ² m KIN UD 10 k ² m ^m SiLUGALNAM.MEŠ ana IGI	Year 137, Ul²lu [= month VI], the tenth: Se(leucus IV) , the king, died...
10 ITI BI ^m An A-š ² ina AŠ.TE TUŠ-ab MU 11 IN.AG	The same month: An(tiochus IV Epiphanes), his son, ascended the throne. He reigned for eleven years.
11 [MU B]I ITI APIN ^m An u ^m An A-š ² LUGAL.MEŠ	The sam[e year], Arahsamna [= month VIII]: An(tiochus IV) and An(tiochus), his son, [were] kings.

12 [MU1.ME].42 k ^m IZI <i>ina a-mat</i> ^m AnLUGAL ^m An LUGAL A-š ² <i>di-ik-ku</i>	[Year 1]42, Abu [= month V]: At the command of An(tiochus IV), the king, An(tiochus), the king, his son, was killed.
13 [MU 1.ME.40] + 3 k ^m <i>An LUGAL</i>	Year 143 [169/168]: An(tiochus IV was sole) king.
14 [MU 148 k ^m] GAN <i>it-te-eš-me</i> š ² ^m AnL[UGAL NAM.MEŠ]	Year 148, Kisl^mmu [= month IX]: It was heard that An(tiochus IV), the k[ing died].
15 [...] x x x [...]	[...] x x x [...]

TEXT: UPPER EDGE	TRANSLATION
1 [...]	[...]
2 [...] A x [...]	[...] A x [...]
3 [...] x x [...]	[...] x x [...]

TEXT: LEFT EDGE (pictures)	TRANSLATION
1 [...] ^{/m\} Di A š ² ^{/m\} Di [?] [...]	[Year ...] De(metrius II Nicator) , son of king De(metrius I Soter) , [was king...]
2 [...] x ^m /Ar [?] LU[GAL ...]	[...] x Ar(saces) [?] k[ing [?] ...]

This inscription, the text of which survives thanks to the copy made of it at Adoulis on the Arabian Gulf by the sixth-century monk Cosmas Indicopleustes, commemorates the campaign made by Ptolemy III at the opening of his reign. His opponent was Seleucus II, who had himself just come to the throne. The conflict, the Third Syrian War, is known also as the Laodikean war, after Laodike, whom Antiochus II had set aside in order to marry Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II (cf. 24-25). After the death of Antiochus II, Laodike's son succeeded him as Seleucus II, and she forthwith saw to the murder of Berenike and her infant son at Antioch. Ptolemy, too late to save his sister (cf. 27), immediately undertook a march into the Asian heartland of the Seleucid realm. This campaign is referred to also by Jerome in his commentary on the Book of Daniel (11.8): "and he (Ptolemy) came with a great army, and entered into the province of the king of the north, i.e., Seleucus called Callinicus, who was reigning in Syria with his mother Laodice, and dealt masterfully with them and obtained so much as to take Syria and Cilicia and the upper parts across the Euphrates, and almost all Asia. And when he heard that a rebellion was afoot in Egypt, plundering the kingdom of Seleucus he took. 40,000 talents of silver and costly vases, and 2,500 images of the gods, among which were those Cambyses had carried away to Persia when Egypt was taken." (Cf. also Bevan, *House of Ptolemy* 192 f f.).

Great King Ptolemy, son of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe the Brother and Sister Gods, the children of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenike the Savior Gods, descendant on the paternal side of Herakles the son of Zeus, on the maternal of Dionysos the son of Zeus, having inherited from his father the kingdom of Egypt and Libya and Syria and Phoenicia and Cyprus and Lycia and Caria and the Cyclades islands led a campaign into Asia with infantry and cavalry and fleet and Troglodytic and Ethiopian elephants, which he and his father were the first to hunt from these lands and, bringing them back into Egypt, to fit out for military service. Having become master of all the land this side of the Euphrates and of Cilicia and Pamphylia and Ionia and the Hellespont and Thrace and of all the forces and Indian elephants in these lands, and having made subject all the princes in the (various) regions, he crossed the Euphrates river and after subjecting to himself Mesopotamia and Babylonia and Sousiane and Persis and Media and all the rest of the land up to Bactriane and having sought out all the temple belongings that had been carried out of Egypt by the Persians and having brought them back with the rest of the treasure from the (various) regions he sent (his) forces to Egypt through the canals that had been dug ---.

REPORT ON THE THIRD SYRIAN WAR

W. Chr. 1

ca. 246

This much-discussed papyrus contains a report, damaged in many places, of military operations by the Ptolemaic armed forces against those of the Seleucid Queen Laodike in the early part of the Third Syrian War (cf.25), as Ptolemy III, who is himself the writer here, advanced to support the claims of his sister Berenike. Ptolemy reports that Berenike had, while one of Ptolemy's officers was conquering some Seleucid city, given orders for some 1500 talents of silver in Soloi to be captured and brought to Seleukia, which they succeeded in doing, with the help of the people of Soloi. The Seleucid strategos, trying to escape across the Tauros to Ephesos, was beheaded by the natives. Ptolemy then arrived in Seleukia to a tumultuous welcome, but left soon for Antioch, where a similar greeting met him, and where he found Berenike. This passage has aroused much controversy, because ancient authors assert that Berenike was dead when Ptolemy arrived in Antioch; the present passage is rather enigmatic: Berenike may well have been dead, which would explain why she was not active in this welcoming scene; or perhaps the king was trying to conceal her death from his readers, in order to use her as a living weapon for political propaganda in Asia, which he in fact did. The restorations are in places conjectural and the translation not entirely certain.

- - - and asking him [to do] nothing in violation of the treaty or hostile, he said that the [benevolence] on our part and [that of our sister (?)] would be evident [to them for the future], and after this, [giving] his right hand [to them and] putting Epigenes in charge of the [citadel and handing] the city [over to him], at daybreak - - -

At the same time Pythagoras [and Aristokles, with five (?)] ships, when our sister sent orders to them, ... and sailing along the coast to Cilician Soloi, they took up the money collected there and transported it to Seleukia, it being 1500 talents [of silver, which] Aribazos, the strategos in Cilicia was planning to send to Ephesos to Laodike, but since the Soleians and the soldiers there agreed with one another and with the strong assistance of Pythagoras and Aristokles . . . , and since they were all brave men, it happened that the money was captured and the city and citadel came into our hands. But after Aribazos had escaped and was approaching the pass of the Tauros, some of the natives in the area cut off his head and brought it to Antioch.

[But] when we. . . affairs on the [ships], at the beginning of the first watch, we embarked onto as many ships as the harbor in Seleukia would hold and sailed along the coast to the fort called Posideon and anchored about the eighth hour of the day. From there, early the next morning we weighed anchor and arrived at Seleukia. The priests and the magistrates and the other citizens and the commanders and the soldiers crowned themselves (with garlands) and met us on the [road] to the harbor, and [no extravagance of] good-will and [friendship toward us was lacking.]

[And when we arrived] in the city, [the private individuals asked us to sacrifice the] victims offered [on the altars] they had built [by their houses] and [the sacred heralds] announced the honors in the Emporion. This day [we spent in the city], but on the next... [and embarking on

the ships] all those who had [sailed with us and the] soldiers (corrected to: satraps) from there and the generals [and the other] commanders, as many as were not stationed in the city and the [citadel with the] garrison... Afterwards, [we arrived] at Antioch. [And there] we saw such a preparation (for our arrival) and so [great a mass of the populace] that we were astonished. For the satraps and other commanders and the soldiers and the priests and the colleges of magistrates and all the young men from the gymnasium and the rest of the crowd, crowned (with garlands), [came to meet] us outside the gate, and they led all the sacrificial victims to the road in front [of the gate], and some welcomed us with their hands while others [greeted us] with applause and applause - - - (15 lines lost or damaged).

In nothing were we so glad as [in their zeal]. And when we. . . all the offered victims... and since the sun was already setting, we went at once to our sister and afterward dealt with business, giving audience to the commanders and soldiers and other persons in the country and taking counsel about the entire matter. In addition, for some days . . .

Notes:

For discussion see M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III 281-310, with bibliographical additions by L. Robert; subsequent discussions add little. The best text is *W.Chr.* 1, but a number of the somewhat conjectural restorations of Holleaux, especially in column III, have been translated in brackets as representing in all probability the correct sense. Numerous problems exist in the text but cannot be discussed here; some have been decided without explanation, others avoided as too uncertain.

Aribazos: Representing the "legitimate" Seleucid government and Laodike.

Posideon: A harbor at the mouth of the Orontes river.

On the phenomenon of private altars and offerings in conjunction with civic cults (as in **16**) see the remarks of L. Robert in *Essays Welles* (New Haven 1966) 175-211.

This and OGIS 229 emanate from the time of the Third Syrian War (246-241) and provide an insight into the situation of Seleucus II in Asia Minor, and especially into the attitude of the city of Smyrna and its actions on his behalf. In gratitude for its strenuous support Seleucus wrote to "the kings and the dynasts and the cities and the leagues" (29), asking them to confirm as sacred and inviolable Smyrna and its sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis. The present inscription (found at Delphi) contains the favorable response accorded the request by the Delphians.

Gods. [Resolved by the] city of the Delphians: Whereas King Seleucus, son of King [Antioch]us, having sent a letter to the city, requests that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis and the city of the Smyrnaeans be sacred and inviolable (and whereas) he himself, having obeyed the oracle of the god" and having done what he requests of the city, has granted to the Smyrnaeans that their city and land should be free and not subject to tribute, and guarantees to them their existing land and promises to return their fatherland;" and (whereas) the Smyrnaeans, having sent as ambassadors Hermodoros and Demetrios, ask that the things granted to them be inscribed in the temple, as the king requests, be it resolved by the city of the Delphians, that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis and the city of the Smyrnaeans is to be sacred and inviolable, just as the king has sent (to ask) [and] the city of the Smyrnaeans requests. And it has been enjoined upon the theoroi announcing the Pythia" to praise King Seleucus for these things and for his piety and for his having acted in accordance with the oracle of the god, and to sacrifice to Aphrodite. (Resolved also) for the city to have this decree inscribed in the sanctuary of the god, and the letter on the wall of the magistrates' building.

Notes:

Oracle of the god: It was in response to an oracle of Apollo that a temple was dedicated to Aphrodite Stratonikis: cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 3.63.

Fatherland: The Smyrnaeans had apparently been driven from their city and forced to settle elsewhere. This is, curiously, not among the troubles they refer to in 29.

Pythia: During Seleucus' reign the Pythian games were held in 246, 242, 238, 234, 230, and 226 (he may have been dead by this time in 226, however). The ones mentioned here seem best taken as being those of 242 (cf. 29).

29. MAGNESIA, SMYRNA, AND SELEUCUS II

Staatsverträge 492 (OGIS 229)

soon after 242 (?)

The opening phases of the Third Syrian War were marked by successes on the part of Ptolemy III (see 26). When Seleucus II crossed the Tauros mountains in 246 to meet the invader in Seleukis, trouble arose at Magnesia-by-Sipylos, where the soldiers (at least) revolted from Seleucus. This led immediately to war between Magnesia and Smyrna, which remained steadfast in its loyalty to the Seleucid cause and which for a time got much the worst of the fighting. A cessation of hostilities was arranged by the time Seleucus again crossed over into Seleukis (242?), and this was followed by a more permanent (and quite favorable for Smyrna and Seleucus) reconciliation by which Magnesia was effectively absorbed into Smyrna. The inscription contains three separate, but closely related in time and substance, elements. (A) is a decree of Smyrna dealing with the negotiations between the city and the soldiers at Magnesia. (B) is the text of the agreement negotiated between them, according to which those at Magnesia became citizens of Smyrna. (C) is the decree of Smyrna by which the city absorbed also the fortress at Old Magnesia and the forces there. As remarkable as the vigorous efforts of Smyrna on Seleucus' behalf is the authority he evidently gave the city to act independently in his interest.

A.

Resolved by the *demos*, proposal of the strategoi. Whereas previously, at the time when King Seleucus crossed over into Seleukis, when many and great perils beset our city and territory, the *demos* maintained its good-will and friendship toward him, not terrified at the attack of the enemy nor caring about the destruction of its property, but reckoning everything to be secondary to standing by its policy and to supporting his state to the best of its ability, as has been its way from the beginning; wherefore King Seleucus too, being disposed piously toward the gods and lovingly toward his parents, being magnanimous and knowing how to return gratitude to those who benefit him, honored our city, both on account of the good-will of the *demos* and the zeal which it evinced for his state and on account of the fact that his father the god Antiochus and the mother of his father the goddess Stratonike are established among us and honored with substantial honors by the people in common and by each of the citizens individually, and he confirmed for the *demos* its autonomy and democracy, and he wrote to the kings and the dynasts and the cities and the leagues, asking that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis be (recognized as) inviolable and our city (as) sacred and inviolable. And now, when the king had crossed over into Seleukis, the strategoi, anxious for affairs to remain in a state beneficial to the king, sent to the *katoikoi* in Magnesia and to the cavalry and infantry in open camp and dispatched from among themselves Dionysios to call upon them to maintain forever the friendship and the alliance with King Seleucus, promising that, if they preserved his state and had the same enemy and friend, they would have from the *demos* and from King Seleucus all kindness and noble things and that gratitude worthy of their policy would be returned to them. Those in Magnesia, being called upon and being themselves eager to maintain the friendship and the alliance with the king and to preserve his state for him, zealously accepted what was asked by the strategoi and promised to hold the

same policy toward our *demos* in all matters of benefit to King Seleucus, and they have dispatched to us envoys, from the *katoikoi* Potamon and [Hi]erokles, from those in open camp Damon and Apolloniketes, to speak with us and to convey the agreement by which they ask that the (treaty of) friendship be concluded with them; and the envoys, brought before the *demos*, have discoursed on all matters, in accordance with what was written in the agreement; with good fortune, be it resolved to conclude the (treaty) of friendship with those in Magnesia on all terms of benefit to King Seleucus, and to appoint three envoys (to go) with them, who shall convey the agreement that the *demos* may decide, and who shall speak about what is written in it and call upon them to accept and to carry out what is written in the agreement; and if those in Magnesia accept (it), let the envoys who shall have been appointed administer to them the oath written in the agreement; and when those in Magnesia have accepted these things and have sealed the agreement and sworn the oath and the envoys have returned, 'let all the rest of the things written in the agreement be carried out, and let this decree be inscribed according to the law; and let it be inscribed [on] stelae on which also the agreement shall be inscribed. And let the epimenioi of the boule invite the envoys who have come from Magnesia to be received as guests in the *prytaneion*. And let Kallinos the treasurer give to the envoys appointed (the) travel-allowance (specified) by [law] for as many days as the *demos* assigns. Five days were assigned; appointed as ambassadors were Phanodemos son of Mik[ion], Dionysios son of Dionytas, Parmeniskos son of Pytheas.

B.

In the priesthood of Hegesias, the stephanephorate of Pythodoros, the month Lenaion; with good fortune: On the following terms the Smyrnaeans (on the one side) and (on the other) the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, both the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and [those] in open camp and the other inhabitants concluded the (treaty of) friendship, and the Smyrnaeans gave citizenship to the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and to those in open camp and to the (others who] live in the city, on the condition that those in Magnesia preserve with all zeal for all time for King Seleucus the alliance and good-will toward the affairs of King Seleucus, and that they return to King Seleucus as much as they have received from King Seleucus, after guarding (it) to the extent of their ability. They shall be citizens with the Smyrnaeans according to the laws of the city, without faction and reckoning the same as enemy and friend as the Smyrnaeans. Those in Magnesia shall swear to the Smyrnaeans and the Smyrnaeans to those in Magnesia, each of them the oath written below in the agreement. When the oaths have been carried out, let all the accusations that arose in the course of the war be done away with, and let it not be possible for either side to bring accusations about what happened during the war either through a court case or in any other way at all; otherwise, let every accusation brought be invalid. Citizenship in Smyrna, on equal terms and the same as for the other citizens, is to be given to the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and to those in open camp. Citizenship is likewise to be given to the others [who] live in Magnesia, as many as may be free and Greeks. Let those who are secretaries of the (military) divisions deliver to the *demos* the registers of the cavalry and infantry in Magnesia, both those in the city and those in open camp, and (let) the men appointed by the *katoikoi* in Magnesia (deliver to the *demos*) the list of the other inhabitants.

When the secretaries provide the registers and the appointed men the list of the other inhabitants, let the *exetastai* have them swear on oath at the metroon over freshly sacrificed victims, [the] secretaries that they have from the best motive brought the list of the *katoikoi* really with them, cavalry and infantry, [both those] drawn up [in the city and those in] open camp; the men who bring the list of the [other inhabitants, that they have from the best motive brought the list of those who] live in Magnesia and who are really free and Greeks. Let [the] *exetastai* hand over the [lists] that have been brought to the record-keeper of the boule and the *demos*, and let him deposit (them) in the public archive. Let the *exetastai* assign all the names that have been brought to tribes by lot and enter them in the allotment-lists, I I I and let those entered in the allotment-lists share in everything in which the other citizens share. Let the enrolled citizens use the laws of the Smyrnaeans in contract and injury cases involving Smyrnaeans, even in Magnesia. And let them accept also in Magnesia the coin of the city as legal. And let those in Magnesia receive the magistrate whom the *demos* may send to have control of the keys and to be in charge of the protection of the city and to preserve the city for King Seleucus. And let the Smyrnaeans provide for lodging to those of the ones from Magnesia who are building houses as many beds as the *demos* may decide, for six months from the time the agreement is sealed; let the treasurer of the sacred revenues, with the strategoi, lease the houses and provide the expense from the revenues of the city. The *katoikoi* of Magnesia, both the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and those in open camp, and the others who are being enrolled in the state are to swear the following oath: “I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia and the Tauropolos, and the Sipylene Mother, and Apollo in Pandoi, and all the other gods and goddesses, and the fortune of King Seleucus: I shall abide by the agreements which I conclude with the Smyrnaeans for all time; and I shall preserve the alliance and good-will toward King Seleucus and the city of the Smyrnaeans; and I shall preserve what I have received from King Seleucus to the extent of my ability and shall return (it) to King Seleucus; and I shall transgress nothing of what is in the agreement, nor shall I change for the worse the things written in it, in any way or on any pretext whatsoever; and I shall be a citizen, with concord and without faction, according to the laws of the Smyrnaeans and the decrees of the *demos*, and I shall join in preserving the autonomy and the democracy, and the other things which have been granted to the Smyrnaeans by King Seleucus, with all zeal and at all times, and I shall not wrong any one of them, nor shall I allow another (to do so), to the extent of my ability; and if I perceive anyone plotting against the city, or the territories of the city, or seeking to subvert the democracy or the isonomia, I shall reveal (this) to the *demos* of the Smyrnaeans and shall go to its aid, contending with all zeal, and shall not desert it, to the extent of my ability. May it be well for me if I abide by this oath, but if I break it may there be ruin for myself and for the family sprung from me.” The Smyrnaeans are to swear to those from Magnesia the following oath: “I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and the Sipylene Mother, and Aphrodite Stratonikis, and all the other gods and goddesses: I shall abide for all time by the treaty which we have concluded with the *katoikoi* [in] Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and those in open camp and the others who are being enrolled in the state, transgressing nothing of what is in the agreement nor changing for the worse the things written in it, by no device and on no pretext whatsoever. And I shall bear good-will both toward King Seleucus and toward the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, those in the city and those in

open camp, and (toward) the others who live [in] Magnesia, as many as are free and Greeks, and I shall make them all citizens, (them) and their descendants, on equal terms and the same as for the other citizens, and assigning them by lot to tribes I shall enter them in the one each may draw by lot, and I shall not wrong any one of them nor shall I allow another (to do so), to the extent of my ability. And if I perceive anyone plotting against them or their descendants or their property, I shall reveal this as quickly as I can, and shall lend support with zeal. And I shall give them the right to share in the magistracies and the other public affairs of the city in which also the other citizens share. May it be well for me if I abide by this oath, but if I do not may there be ruin for myself and the family sprung from me.” Let the Smyrnaeans and those from Magnesia appoint men, [each of them as many as] each may reckon to be sufficient, to administer the oath to the peoples of those in Smyrna and of those in Magnesia. [Let them administer the oath after announcing] on the previous day that those in the city are to be present for the completion of the oath specified in the agreement. Let those appointed from Magnesia administer [the oath written above] to the Smyrnaeans, and those from Smyrna to those in Magnesia. In Smyrna let [the treasurer Kal]linos provide the victims for the oath-swearing from what the *demos* may decree, in Magnesia the treasurers to whom the people may assign the task. And let the Smyrnaeans have the agreement inscribed on [white stone] stelae and set up in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis and in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander in the sanctuary of Artemis [Leukophrye]ne, and (let) the *katoikoi* in Magnesia (have it inscribed and set up) in the agora by the altar of Dionysos and the statues of the kings, and in Pandoi in [the sanctuary of] Apollo, and in Gryneion in the sanctuary of Apollo. And let the record keeper of the boule and the *demos* have the copies of the agreement entered [in] the public archive. And let those whom the *koinon* of those in Magnesia may appoint seal the (copy of the) agreement which is to be given to the Smyrnaeans with their own seals and with the existing public seal, and let the strategoi and the *exetastai* of the Smyrnaeans seal the one to be given to Magnesia with the seal of the city and with their own. Let these matters be carried out by both peoples with good fortune.

C.

Resolved by the *demos*, proposal of the strategoi: whereas the *demos*, taking forethought for all the things of benefit to King Seleucus, formerly continued to join in strengthening his kingdom and to preserve his state insofar as it could, and endured the loss and destruction of much of its property and withstood many dangers for the sake of preserving its friendship toward King Seleucus, and now, being eager to join in preserving for him and holding together his state as far as is possible, (the *demos*) has concluded a (treaty of) friendship with the *katoikoi* in Magnesia and the cavalry and infantry soldiers in open camp and the others who live in Magnesia, in order that they might maintain the alliance and good-will of King Seleucus; reckoning it to be necessary for the city to take over also the place Old Magnesia and to make a guardpost with it, in order that, with this taken over as well, all the important affairs might remain (solid) for King Seleucus, they (the *demos*) sent to those living in the place and called upon them to choose friendship toward King Seleucus and to hand over the keys to the magistrate sent by the *demos* and to accept the guard-force which will join with them in maintaining the place for King Seleucus, promising that, if they do these things, they

will have from the city all the kindnesses and noble things; those living in the place chose with all zeal friendship for King Seleucus and accepted the requests made by the *demos* and handed over the keys to the magistrate sent by the *demos* and received into the place the guard-force from the city: with good fortune, be it resolved that they are to be citizens and to have all the same things the other citizens have, and that they are to have, free from the tithe, their allotments, the two which the god and savior Antiochus, granted them and about which Alexander has written; and if the territory, which the *katoikoi* who were previously in Magnesia hold, is joined to our city, they are to have the three allotments as a gift and are to keep their present freedom from taxes; and as many of them as are without allotments, (resolved) for a cavalryman's allotment to be given them from the (lands) located by the place; and Timon and the infantry under Timon, who have been assigned from the phalanx to the guard-force of the place, are to have citizenship and the same freedom from taxes [which] also the others have, and they are to be in the place; and Omanes, and the Persians under Omanes, and those sent from Smyrna to guard the place--Menekles and those under him--are to have citizenship and the other kindnesses which have been decreed also for the others from Magnesia, and the *demos* is to take thought as to how the drink and food allowances, and as many other things as used to be given to them from the royal treasury, may be given to them from the royal treasury. (Resolved) to have this decree inscribed on the stelae which will be set up in the sanctuaries by the *demos* and [by those] from Magnesia; and for it to be recorded in the public archives as well.

267 Letter of Tlepolemus to Kildara in Caria (246)

Discovered in 1992, the following inscription, though badly preserved and consequently unclear in detail, provides a contemporary sidelight on the opening of the 'Third Syrian War' or 'Laodicean War' (cf. 266, 268): it gives the first epigraphic mention of the young son of Antiochus II and Berenice in whose name Ptolemy III attacked the Seleucid empire.

(Fragment A) Tlepolemus¹ to the people of Kildara,² greetings. Your ambassadors Iatrocles, Ouliades, Pindarus and Ischyrius met us and delivered the [decree of the people and the] gifts, and spoke themselves [in accordance with the terms of the decree]. / We became acquainted with your friendly disposition to the interests of King Ptolemy (III) and Queen Berenice his sister and King Antiochus,³ the son of King Antiochus (II) and Queen Berenice, and we met graciously your envoys. And as for all your requests . . . / . . .

(Fragment C, right column) . . . and for the sacrifices [made on behalf of King] Ptolemy (III) and his [sister Queen Berenice] and the other [gods (?) . . .] . . . / from which you bring . . . [. . . every year] . . . drachmas . . .

(Fragment D) . . . exempt for seven days . . . you perform a sacrifice as [previously . . .] . . . of which you owe repayment and . . . and for those concerning the harbour . . . / . . . and what happened under Bias . . . we will consider and take thought . . . exceedingly; realising therefore that . . . we have done for you; and for the rest . . . so long as you and each of your [fellow citizens continue to] . . . / you would therefore do [well] to maintain your favourable disposition [to King Ptolemy] (III) and [his] sister [Queen] Berenice and her son King [Antiochus born from King] Antiochus (II) and . . . showing zeal for them . . . / you will receive the privileges from them; [as for us] . . . we shall . . . and we have given instructions to the ambassadors concerning [the matters which . . . I have sent] to you. [Farewell?].

W. Blümel, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 20 (1992), 127–33 (SEG 42.994, 46.1413); *Bull.* 1994, 528 (P. Gauthier)

1. Tlepolemus, the Ptolemaic governor in the area, belonged to a family of notables of Iranian origin from Xanthus in Lycia which retained its local roots even when serving the Ptolemies (cf. Robert (1983), 168–71). An Olympic victor in 256 (Pausanias V.8.11; Habicht (1985), 87f.), he was eponymous priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies in Alexandria in 247–5 (*PP*, no. 5288 and 17243). Other members of his family are known, notably a grandson of the same name active in Alexandrian court politics in the late second century (Polybius XV.25–7 and XVI.21–2) and known also from inscriptions from Delphi and Xanthus.

Polybius 5.58.10-11

For Seleucia had been garrisoned by the kings of Egypt ever since the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, when that prince, owing to his indignation at the murder of Berenice, invaded Syria and seized on this town.

P.Haun. 6 - Brief Notes on the History of the Ptolemaic Dynasty

This curious document has been preserved on some scraps of papyrus, written in Egypt in the second century A.D., and now kept in Copenhagen (Papyri Haunienses).

F.W.Walbank described the contents as follows: "[it contains], it would appear (for the document is hard to decipher) six short résumés of incidents of Ptolemaic history during the period of the Third and Fourth Syrian Wars . . . This short document may be a scrap from a set of notes taken by someone reading a historical work. The divergent views about its contents reflect the dearth of reliable information available from this period of Ptolemaic history" (CAH, 7.1, p.17).

Lines 14-22 clearly refer to [Ptolemaeus III Euergetes](#). Some helpful summaries of the discussions concerning two other men who are mentioned here, [Ptolemaeus Andromachou](#) and [Magas](#), can be found on Chris Bennett's Ptolemaic Dynasty website.

In view of the uncertainty surrounding the meaning of much of the document, the English translation is shown interleaved with the Greek letters that can be read on the papyrus. It can be assumed that most of the lines in the Greek text have some letters missing at the beginning and the end; and some shorter fragments, which cannot be meaningfully translated, have been omitted. The Greek text is taken from A.Bulöw-Jacobsen, "P. Haun. 6 : An Inspection of the Original" (ZPE, 1979), but the translation includes some conjectures made by other scholars.

ιος

[Ptolemaeus]

ικλησιν ἀνδρομαχου

called Andromachou {of Andromachus}

ε

(?) 5

πτολεμαι(ος) οὗτο

Ptolemaeus This

[5] ἐπικλησιν και

called and

ἄνδρομα (και) δι.....σασευρα

Androma- and

χου αἶρει (και) αἶνον (και) πολλὰ

chou he captures (?) both Aenus and many

ἐπ?ει (και) ναυμαχησας ἀπελ

. . . and having fought a sea-battle

αυτον ἄνδρον

. . . (?) Andros

[10] ων

. . .

καταστασιασθεις ὑπο των

overcome in a sedition by the

ἐν ἐφεσῳ κατεσφαγη δα

he was slaughtered in Ephesus

ἐπιβουλην συσταμεν

hatching a plot

υφρατου .

Euphrates

[15] ον και εἰ μη τότε αἰγυπτίων ἀπος

and if a revolt of the Egyptians had not then

υπτον παλιν ἐπιστηι σελευκο

[? to] Egypt again set Seleucus

φρουραις καταλαβων ἐπανηλθεν εις ἀλεξια

after securing with garrisons, he returned to Alexandria

συνεμαχησεν αιτολοις εις τον προς αντιγο

he fought as an ally of the Aetolians in the [war] against Antigonos

υιον μεταποιησο(μενον) (των) (περι) την ασιαν πραγμ

his son having laid claim to the affairs of Asia

[20] την γυναικα ἐζη οι υποκειμενοι π..ιδ..ς

his wife [he] was living, the underlying . . .

σος αυτου εν τωι σαραπειωι ἐστηκεν σκευ

[a colossal statue] of him stood in the Sarapeium, [wonderfully] fashioned

αι δε ιπι αρχοντος αθηνησιν ευξεινου

[he died] when Euxeinus was archon at Athens

παμας..οι...αλειτο δε βερενικ

(?) of Apama . . . but (?) was called Berenice

φος πτολεμαιος γυναι(κα)

. . . Ptolemaeus his wife

[25] την εν συρια .

the [? woman] in Syria

ηνμεθη μαχη

. . . battle

εθιοι αγαθο

. . . good

μαγας

Magas

υτον ὁ πατηρ ζων ἐτι (μετα) το σελευκον ατι

his father, while he was still alive, after the [death] of Seleucus

[30] ὠδυν.... ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐπιθησαμ

sent this man to Asia attacking

ἐπρα..... ἀποθανοντος δε του πατ

. . . after the death of his father

λεν αὐτον .αἰτωλος θεοδοτος ἐν βαλαν

Theodotus the Aetolian [murdered] him in the bath

πτολεμαι. δεισας μη ὑπ' αὐτου κρατυνθ

Ptolemaeus, fearing that he might be overcome by him,

μετεποιετο ἀνδραγαθημ

pretended a brave deed

[35] . . .