

THE CHILDREN OF ANTIOCHOS III

“When, however, the news came that a son had been born to Antiochus (III), thinking that possibly in the interior Antiochus might meet with some misfortune at the hands of the barbarians and give him the opportunity of compassing his death, he (Hermeias) gave his consent to the expedition, feeling sure that if he could put Antiochus out of the way he would be himself the child's guardian and master of the kingdom”. (Polybios 5.55. 4-5)
(Translation by W. R. Paton)

This passage in which Polybios described in darkest tones the wicked behaviour of the “*epi ton pragmaton*” Hermeias of Karia, gives us the only precise information we have on the birthdate of one of Antiochos III's children. This son was probably the future co-regent Antiochos, who died before his father at the beginning of 192 BC; although we cannot be absolutely sure of this identification because, unfortunately, Polybios does not give the boy's name. Anyway, our calculation of his date of birth will show that it is highly probable that he was that Antiochos, unless his parents had twin children, an infrequent event.

We know Antiochos III had a number of other sons (Seleukos, Antiochos - whose previous name was possibly Mithradates - and, maybe, Ardys), and daughters (Laodike, Kleopatra, Antiochis, Nysa, and perhaps another one or two, whose names we do not know). But the exact dates and even the relative chronology of their births remain unknown.

We are sure that Laodike III did not accompany her husband the king during the campaign against Molon (221-220 BC) and, as we are not informed of her presence in any other military expeditions, we can be quite sure she remained well apart from the king for several months. The only exception is her probable presence in Asia Minor, after the campaign against Achaios. So, we can approximately deduce when the royal couple might have conceived children.

I hypothesize in this paper that there were no twins and there was an average space of 14 months between the children's births.

Seleukos III probably died in late spring 222 BC. He was still living in the period 8/9 April- 6/7 May 222, while Antiochos III seems to have been already acknowledged by 28/29 May (according to cuneiform dating formulas adduced by G.R.F. Assar. Forthcoming). Cf. also BCHP 10 (www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-dynastic/dynastic_01.html). This agrees with my timeline from Polybios, that Chris Bennett was so kind to include in his website (<http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Egypt/ptolemies/genealogy.htm>).

So we can deduce that the news of his assassination reached Babylon, where his brother Antiochos probably was (Polybios 5. 40. 5), about May 222 BC. This notice will have traveled quite rapidly, because Achaios and Epigenes who commanded the Seleukid army in Phrygia, where Seleukos III was assassinated, probably sent messengers at once to Antioch and to Seleukeia on the Tigris where Antiochos seems to have been based at the time.

We also deduce from the Polybian report that since at the outset of his reign Antiochos was very young and inexperienced (Pol. 5. 41 1; 42. 6), Hermeias had the authority to make the most important decisions. So it is probable that it was he who decided that Antiochos must marry Laodike, daughter of Mithradates II, king of Pontos and first cousin of the same Antiochos III, since her mother, also named Laodike was a sister of Seleukos II, father of Antiochos III. Probably it was the same Hermeias who ordered the admiral

Diognetos to make his voyage to Amisos, the main port of the kingdom of Pontos, to escort the fiancé of the king.

In the meantime, Antiochos traveled westward from Babylonia. In fact, we know he met his future spouse in Seleukeia on 'the Bridge' or Zeugma (NW Mesopotamian frontier with Upper Syria).

In the Roman era a ship took a minimum of 4 days to get to Rhodes from Alexandria (L. Casson *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. 1971, pp. 270-293). A similar distance separates Rhodes from the Syrian ports. It is possible it took other 5 day to get to Kalchedon from Rhodes. If from Kalchedon to Panticapaion a ship took a minimum of 10 days, it is probable that it took 7 to reach Amisos.

Thus a 16-day minimum for Diognetos' outward voyage.

But this minimum has to be tripled, if we consider the uncertainties of ancient navigation. We have thus a normal trip of 48-50 days to get to the kingdom of Pontos from Syria and the same for the return. This figure is to be considered the largest possible because the Seleukid fleet, in order to arrive in Pontos, had simply always to navigate near the coast and never in open sea. About three months in total.

Calculating a month to prepare the naval expedition, and one month of sojourn in Amisos, and then on to the court of Amaseia, the expedition lasted for a maximum of about five months, with a start in June and a return in October. On the other hand, in the Middle Ages, it was possible to navigate in Eastern Mediterranean until St. Andrew's day (November 30th)

THE AGE OF ANTIOCHOS III

Antiochos III is defined as *neaniskos* in Pol. 5. 42. 6. referring to the events of 222 BC. So, in that year he should have been around 20. His brother Alexander (Seleukos III) was surely older and they had a sister, Antiochis who in 212 BC already had an adolescent son, Mithradates (at least 15) and she had to be at least 14 when she bore him. Both Seleukos II's wife and mother were called Laodike and it is strange that no daughter is attested with this name.

It is perhaps necessary to insert a second sister who should be the oldest and whom we know nothing of. Maybe she died in infancy. It is also possible that Antiochos III had another brother, the mysterious "Lu" of a Babylonian Chronicle (BM 35421, BCHP 12 forthcoming).

It is difficult to be sure of the order in which Alexander, Antiochis and Laodike (?) were born. They were probably all born in the period 245-243, while Antiochos III was born around 242-241.

However, theoretically Antiochis might also be slightly younger than Antiochos III, and born in 241.

Polybios 20. 8, confirms this argument saying that Antiochos was above 50 in autumn/winter 191 when he, as a widower (see below), married Euboia of Chalkis. (see also Appian *Syriake* 16). In this paper I presuppose all Antiochos' children are legitimate, since we do not know any mistress of this king and no ancient document raises doubts of their legitimacy.

THE AGE OF LAODIKE III

In order to determinate the date of birth of the children of the royal couple it is important to establish the age of Laodike III. She was the daughter, as already mentioned, of the king Mithradates II and of the Seleukid princess Laodike, daughter of the king Antiochos II and of another Laodike (I).

The marriage of Mithradates II and Laodike was probably near the beginning of the reign of her brother Seleukos II (Justin 38. 5. 3), around 245 BC. Since Laodike III was presumably at least 14 when she married, she was likely born sometime between 244 and 236 on the basis that she was probably somewhere between 14 and 22 when she was married. The last mention of her in our sources is in SE 118 (194/3)

(OGIS 224).

Since there is no indication that Antiochos was polygamous, her death probably occurred between this date (i.e. 194/3) and that of Antiochos III's marriage to a girl from Chalkis in 191 BC (see above).

PERIODS OF POSSIBLE CONCEPTION OF HIS CHILDREN (highlighted in blue. All the dates are BC)

Autumn 222-Late Autumn 221: Antiochos at Seleukeia Zeugma, then in Antioch where he marries Laodike (Polybios 5. 43. 1-2).

Late Autumn 221-Winter 220/19: Antiochos is in the Orient, fighting the rebel Molon and Artabazanes of Media Atropatene (Pol. 5.51-56).

Winter 220-Spring 219: Antiochos in his capital (5. 57).

Spring 219-Late Autumn 219: Antiochos in Koile Syria (against Ptolemy IV of Egypt) (Pol.5. 59-66)

Truce of four months: **Nov./Dec. 218-Mar/Apr. 218:** Antiochos at Seleukeia in Pieria (Pol. 5. 66. 2).

Spring 218-Autumn 218: Antiochos in Palestine (Pol. 5. 68-71)

Winter 218/217: Antiochos wintered in Ptolemais (Pol. 5. 71. 12), but he may have moved up to Antioch in view of a possible offensive by Achaios (Pol. 5. 72-77)

Beginning of the Summer 217: Battle of Raphia (Pol. 5. 79-86).

Spring 217-Spring 216: Antiochos in Antioch, preparing his expedition against Achaios, in Asia Minor (Pol. 5. 87.).

Spring 216-Autumn 214/ Spring 213 **(1)**: Expedition against Achaios (Pol. 5. 107. 5; 7. 15-18; 8. 17-23). We do not know whether he wintered in Asia Minor or Antioch. It is, however, probable (see note below) that Laodike III had reached the king in Asia Minor and subsequently they stayed together in Antioch before his Armenian expedition.

Summer 213-Spring/Summer 212: In Antioch.

Spring/Summer 212-Autumn 212: Antiochos at Arsamosata (Armenia) (Pol. 8. 25).

Autumn 212-Autumn 211: Antiochos presumably in Antioch.

Autumn 211-about Summer 204: Oriental expedition. (Pol. 9. 43; 10. 27-31; 10. 48-49; 11. 34; 13. 9).

About Summer 204-Spring 203: Antiochos presumably in Antioch.

Subsequently we have no information regarding the birth of any more children, although by 202 the Queen was 34 to 42 years old and, therefore, probably still fertile.

NOTE 1 : Unfortunately we do not know when precisely the expedition against Achaios ended. Modern scholars disagree on the date of the capture of Sardeis (215 or 214 ?), and also on the fall of its akropolis where the usurper had taken refuge (214 and 213). On the former problem we know from Polybios (7. 15. 2) that Sardeis was taken in the second year of the siege, thanks to the forethought of a certain Lagoras of Crete, a Seleukid mercenary officer, but some scholars believe the siege began in 216, and others in 215. This episode is narrated by Polybios as subsequent to the failed attempt by Philip V of Macedonia to conquer the citadel of Messene with a disloyal trick, an attempt from which the king was dissuaded by Aratos of Sykion, but we do not know precisely when (end of 215 or beginning of 214) .

We have a correspondence between the magistrates of Sardeis and the royal couple, Antiochos III and Laodike III. This dossier of epigraphic documents (SEG 39. 1989. 1284) is dated in the months of Panemos and Oloios of the Seleukid year 99, that is, in June-July and July-August 213. It includes a reply by Antiochos III (which, unfortunately, only contains the addressee), a reply by Laodike III dated on the 10 Panemos and the decree of the Sardians dated in a unspecified day of the month of Oloios. Since the time between the date of Laodike's response, and the date of the decree is quite short, we can deduce that Laodike too was in Asia Minor, if not also in Sardeis. By that time the capture and execution of Achaios had already taken place.

RELATIVE ORDER OF BIRTH OF ANTIOCHOS III'S CHILDREN

We are quite sure, for the reason expressed below, that Antiochos (the future co-regent) was the first son and Laodike the first daughter of Antiochos III, at least among children who attained adulthood. Theoretically the royal couple might have had a child born already in 221 but in this case either he/she did not survive or she was Laodike possibly born in 221. In any case it was not a male heir (see above). As for the remaining offspring we know that:

- 1-Kleopatra was an elder sister of the future Antiochos IV (Justin 34. 2), who maybe was originally called Mithradates.
- 2-The future Antiochos IV was the third son of Antiochos III, after Antiochos and Seleukos (IV), at least among the surviving children (see the order of succession).
- 3-According to O. Mørkholm (*Antiochos IV of Syria*, 1966), Antiochos IV was around 35/40 old when became king in 175 BC. He deduces this from his appearance on his coins and from Polybios 16. 18. 6 and 16. 19. 10.
- 4-Eusebios (p. 254) says that Seleukos IV "lived in all for 60 years". This is not possible because it would fix Seleukos' birth around 235 BC, when his father was 6 or 7 years old. It is possible that 60 is an error for 40. In this case he would have been born around 215 BC.
- 5-Appian (Syriake 5) says that in 194/3 Antiochos III gave his daughters in marriage to some of the neighbouring kings. Kleopatra, already engaged with Ptolemy V, king of Egypt (Pol. 18. 51. 10; Livy 33. 40), married him in that year. Antiochis married Ariarathes IV of Kappadokia. The remaining one was offered to Eumenes II, king of Pergamon, but he refused. We may deduce from this account that Kleopatra was the eldest of the three, because she is mentioned first, was already engaged for two years and, last but not least, she was destined to marry the most important of the neighbouring kings. The term used by Appian to define the last of Antiochos' daughters ("*ten eti loipen*" = "the remaining one," suggests to Adrian S. Hollis ("Laodice mother of Eucratides of Bactria" *ZPE* 110, 1996, p. 162) the idea, (correct in my opinion) that, at that moment, Antiochos III had no other nubile daughters.

It is possible, however, that besides Kleopatra other daughters of Antiochos had been promised before.

This applies to Antiochis and Nysa as well (see below).
LIST OF HIS SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Antiochos

As mentioned above, it is probable he was the son born in 220 BC. He was nominated co-regent before the departure of his father for the oriental expedition. (The last mention of the sole reign of Antiochos III in Babylonian documents is dated 9 August 210. The first mention of the co-regency is at the end 210). He was of an age sufficient to participate with command function in the battle of the Paneion (ca. 200) (Pol. 16. 18-19) when he would have been 20. In 195 he married his full sister Laodike, dying from an illness, probably at the beginning of 192, between January and the earlier days of March. (Livy 35. 15 . G. Del Monte *Testi dalla Babilonia ellenistica I. Testi cronografici* 1997, p. 236). No living children resulted from this couple unless, as some scholars guess, Nysa, wife of Pharnakes I of Pontos was their daughter. But, after the recent discovery by Stephen D. Tracy, this position seems to me difficult to maintain (see below under the entry Nysa).

Laodike

Probably born around 221 or 219, she was the eldest daughter of Antiochos III and Laodike III of Pontos, because she bore a traditional Seleukid name (borne, among others, by her mother, and by her paternal and maternal grandmothers) and because she was chosen by her father to marry the heir to the throne, her brother Antiochos.

The possible range for Laodike's birth between 221 and 219 BC is an important factor in my hypothesis. If she was born in 219 BC there would be no possibility to insert other children in the period 221-211/210, unless they were twins. But, if she was born in 221 BC, it would be possible to antedate the births of Kleopatra and Antiochis by one year, and to insert another child (probably a daughter. - see below) the queen of Demetrios of Bactria or the spouse offered to Eumenes II of Pergamon (if they are not the same person).

The marriage between Laodike and Antiochos took place in 195 BC when Laodike had to be around 24 or 26. According to some scholars (Bouchè-Leclerc, Grainger, etc.), Laodike subsequently married two more of her brothers, Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV, both of whose wives bore the same name. But other scholars, such as F. W. Walbank, consider this hypothesis "somewhat unlikely." (F. W. Walbank, *Cambridge Ancient History* 2 vol. VII, Part 1, p. 67 n. 10).

It is theoretically possible that Laodike married her brother Seleukos IV but the Laodike of Seleukos died in 182 (between 14 July and 12 August) (*ADN*. -181 pp. 382-387, tab. 143-144- SEB 130 in G. Del Monte "Testi dalla Babilonia ellenistica," 1997, p.70) and so in any case she could not have married the other brother, Antiochos IV.

Theoretically, we might guess that the co-regent Antiochos' widow Laodike married Antiochos IV (but not Seleukos IV), but also this hypothesis is excluded if the queen of the latter is the mother of the future Antiochos V Eupator, who was born about 173 (Appian *Syr* 66). In that year, in fact, our Laodike would have been about 46/48 and it is unlikely she begot a son. (See also below at the entry "Seleukos IV").

Adrian S. Hollis ("Laodice, mother of Eucratides of Bactria" *ZPE* 110, 1996, p.161-164), hypothesizes that Laodike, who remained a widow (and probably childless) of her brother Antiochos the coregent, was remarried by her father to Heliokles, an important commoner (a great official in the kingdom ? a "friend of the king" ?), and that this union produced Eukratides I of Bactria. Essentially this is not too different from

W.W.Tarn's hypothesis (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1951, p.197), even though the late famous historian thought Laodike was an unknown daughter of Seleukos II. Actually, I do not know of any case of a Seleukid princess who did not marry a member of some royal house. So, even admitting that Heliokles and Laodike who appear on the famous so-called pedigree coins of Eukratides were indeed his parents (which is theory not fact, seeing that their names are in genitive case while Eucratides' is in the nominative), the marriage between Heliokles and Laodike would be a unique case and I doubt that Antiochos III would have conceded this privilege to one of his subjects with its attendant risk of future usurpations.

Kleopatra

It is possible she was the second daughter because she married the most important king allied to her father. According to my hypothesis, she would have been born in 219 or 218. She married Ptolemy V Epiphanes, king of Egypt, in 194/3 (Livy 35. 13., Dio Cassius 19. 18), becoming, in an historical perspective, the most important among the daughters of Antiochos III. Her name was new among the Seleukid princesses but not among Macedonian royalty. A wife of Philip II and one of his daughters and full sister of Alexander the Great had this name. Three children are known from this marriage: Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra II. Following her husband's death, Kleopatra was regent for his son Ptolemy VI Philometor, from 180 to her death in 178/7.

Antiochis

Born perhaps 217 (maybe a little earlier), ca.193/2 she married Ariarathes IV Eusebes, king of Kappadokia, son in turn of the Seleukid princess Stratonike, daughter of Antiochos II. She had at least three sons, Ariarathes, Orophernes and Mithradates, who ascended the throne in 163 with the name of Ariarathes (V) Philopator, plus two daughters.(Diodoros of Sicily 31. 19)

As a widow, she returned with her daughter to Antioch. It was a strange decision to which, maybe, the succession problems at the court of Mazaka were not extraneous. But, if she had hoped to avoid troubles by leaving for Antioch, she made a mistake, since the regent Lysias judged her presence (we do not know why) dangerous, and ordered both her and her daughter to be assassinated. Maybe he suspected she had some ties with Philip, the rival of Lysias for the regency.

Her name was not new in the dynasty. It was borne by a sister of her father and of an Antiochis, daughter of Achaios and mother of Attalos I of Pergamon, who may have been related to the royal family

Seleukos IV

It is possible he was the second son. If my correction of Eusebius' text is correct, he would have been born in ca. 216/215. He became co-regent with his father in February or March 189 after the battle of Magnesia, but had already collaborated with him in conflicts in Asia Minor, at least from 198/7 when he had to have been about 18 (M. Woerrle, *Chiron* 18, 1988).

Antiochos III planned in 196 to resuscitate the old kingdom of Thrace of Lysimachos for him with its capital in Lysimacheia (Livy 33. 40).

G. Le Rider (*BCH* 110 1986, p. 415) and J. D. Grainger (*A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer* 1997, p. 48), speculate that the Laodike attested as Seleukos' wife, was his sister Laodike, widow of their brother Antiochos, but this idea is not shared by A. Aymard, "Etudes d'Histoire Ancienne" and F.W. Walbank *CAH*.

We could guess that Seleukos IV had instead married an Antigonid princess. The typically Seleukid name Laodike might well exist among the Antigonids thanks to the marriages of Antigonos Gonatas and his son Demetrios II, whose wives Phila and Stratonike were both Seleukid princesses. So it is possible that Philip

V of Macedonia, who had a sister and a daughter both called Apama, also had another one named Laodike. This is suggested by the name of Seleukos IV's first born, Demetrios (I), who, in turn, had a son called Antigonos. This marriage would surely be anterior to 191, when the Syrian war broke out and Philip V of Macedonia, after some uncertainty, sided with the Romans. This dating also corresponds to the period in which Antiochos rebuilt and repopulated Lysimacheia, and when Seleukos is thought to have been crowned king of Thrace.

Certainly it is strange that our sources never mention this wedding, though Polybios is fragmentary and Livy is substantially more interested in Rome. Anyway, this silence makes this hypothesis uncertain.

We know that Seleukos IV had at least three children: Laodike who married Perseus, king of Macedonia and then, probably, her own brother Demetrios I, the same Demetrios, and Antiochos who was briefly king under the regency of his uncle Antiochos IV.

As Laodike married Perseus sometime 179/177 (Pol. 25. 4. 8-10 and 26. 7, Livy 42. 12. 3-4), she would more likely have been born between 193 and 191. We know Demetrios was born in ca. 187/186 (Granius Licinianus 28. 39; Appian *Syr* 45), while the child king Antiochos was more likely born ca. 182, being about 7 at the moment of his father's death. His portrayal on his coinage indicates a somewhat younger child. If this was the case, he would be a son of the second wife of Seleukos IV, (see below under the entry "Antiochos IV"), and would have been born around 180, but it is also possible the celators did not update his image on the coins and that it always remained one of a very young child.

Laodike IV is honoured in an inscription from Seleukeia on the Eulaios (Susa) (G. Le Rider *BCH*, 110, 1986. p. 415).

Problems remain concerning the identities of the Laodikai mentioned and restored in a fragmentary Susian decree of the Seleukid year 136 (177/6) (*SEG* VII 2). As already mentioned, we know from a Babylonian astronomical diary, that Laodike IV died in 182 (Del Monte op. cit. p.70). This decree certainly names two Laodikai, the mother and, probably, the daughter of the king. The name of a third Laodike, mentioned first, is entirely restored by F. Cumont ("Inscriptions grecques de Suse" in *Memoirs de la mission archeologique de Perse* XX, 1928). If this restoration is correct, I would think it referred to the late wife of Seleukos IV or to a second wife of the king with the same name (see below under Antiochos IV), but unfortunately Cumont's restoration is not sure.

(About the various guesses on his queen(s), see also above and below at the entries "Laodike" and "Antiochos IV").

Antiochos IV (Mithridates ?)

He was probably the third son of Antiochos III and Laodike., born around 212. Some sources (Livy 33.19, and an inscription under the Seleukid year 198/7) mention a son of Antiochos III, called Mithridates. J.D. Grainger proposed in his "A Seleukid prosopography and gazeteer" p. 22, that this was the original name of the future Antiochos IV, who would only have assumed the name which he is universally known by following the death of his elder brother Antiochos (193). Before this, he would necessarily have had another name, that one of his maternal grandfather: Mithridates or Mithradates.

(See also C.J. Bennett <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Egypt/ptolemies/genealogy.htm>; under the entry Cleopatra, 4)

The problem is that this Mithridates does not seem to have been the only contemporary Seleukid to bear this name, because we know another Mithradates or Mithridates, son of Antiochis the sister of Antiochos III and so the latter's nephew, but possibly adopted by the latter (D. Ogden "Polygamy, prostitutes and death" 1999, p. 139). The consequence is that we do not know if our sources are referring to this nephew or to his presumed son.

Perhaps a clue appears in Polybios 16. 18-19, where he criticized the tale of the battle of the Paneion by Zenon of Rhodes who believed that two sons of the king called Antiochos participated in this battle. Polybios points out that “only one royal son called Antiochos participated in his father’s expedition, not two”. This remark may be a hint that, about 200, the future Antiochos IV was still called Mithridates. However as noted by Chris Bennett the candidature of Mithridates to the throne of Armenia (Pol. 8. 25) is a strong clue indicating that the latter was a son of Arsames, king of Armenia and of Antiochis, Antiochos III’s sister and a half-brother of Arsames’ successor, Xerxes. The marriage between Arsames and Antiochis perhaps took place after 227 when the Armenian king was an ally of Antiochos Hierax (Polyainos 4.17) the hostile younger brother of Seleukos II, father of Antiochos III and Antiochis. In this case Polybios, when calling him natural son of Antiochis, only wished to say that “they were both sons of king Arsames by different wives, one of whom was Antiochos III’s sister, and could therefore be expected to be more loyal to him”.

(C.J. Bennett <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Egypt/ptolemies/genealogy.htm> (Cleopatra,4).

In conclusion, in my view, Grainger’s hypothesis remains quite valid. The two testimonies of Livy and of the epigraph that mentions Mithridates with his brother Seleukos (IV) (op. cit.) are strengthened by the mention in an Agatharchides fragment on the action of a Mithridates, around the town of Arykanda in Lycia.(fr. 16 in Athenaios 12. 528).

F.W. Walbank (*A historical commentary on Polybios* vol.3, 1979, pp. 272-3) basing himself on the old hypothesis of T. Reinach (“Mithridate Eupator, roi de Pont” 1890), identifies Mithridates, nephew of Antiochos III, with the homonymous “satrap of Armenia,” ally of Pharnakes I, king of Pontos (Pol. 25. 2. 11). O. Mørkholm (op. cit. p. 29, n.35) thinks “Armenia” is here Sophene, while Walbank believes it is Lesser Armenia. L.E. Patterson (“Rome’s relationship with Artaxias of Armenia” *AHB* 15. 4, 2003, pp. 154-162), rightly opts for Sophene, because Mithridates, was already a candidate for this throne. It is therefore conceivable that he was established as king of Sophene by his uncle in the period 200-190, succeeding Zariadris.

As in the case of most of the Seleukid kings, Antiochos IV married after ascending the throne in 175. His queen is called Laodike (*OGIS* n. 252; cf. O. Mørkholm *Antiochus IV of Syria* 1966, p. 49) but there is no evidence concerning her identity or lineage. It has been speculated that this queen was his own sister, married previously to their brothers Antiochos and Seleukos (IV) (Grainger op. cit.), but Mørkholm (op. cit., p. 49) rejects this idea as does Le Rider (op. cit. p. 414) who shares it about Seleukos IV, but does not agree about Antiochos IV. (See above the reasons why I do not maintain Grainger’s hypothesis is possible).

Who then is the female figure appearing on a series of gold staters together with the young king Antiochos, son of Seleukos IV and adopted by Antiochos IV (O. Hoover “Laodice IV on the bronze coinage of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV” *AJN* 14, 2002, pp. 81-87) ? Maybe a second wife of Seleukos IV who subsequently married Antiochos IV and should have been the biological mother of the young Antiochos and of the only son of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, the future Antiochos V Eupator. The latter, at the moment of his father’s death, had to be about 9 (Appian Syr. 46) and so should have been born in 173. Probably the birth of Antiochos IV’s own son determined the destiny of his nephew and adopted son. Diodoros of Sicily (30. 7. 1, surely from Polybios) accuses a friend of the king, a certain Andronikos of the assassination, while Antiochos IV was campaigning in Kilikia, leaving us in doubt whether the king who sentenced the same Andronikos to death was responsible for it, or not. But the Babylonian sources are crudely explicit and the King List noted under July-August 170: “In the year 142, in the month of Abu, the king Antiochos ordered to put to death his son, the king Antiochos “. (Del Monte op.cit. p. 209).

Nysa

This princess is only known from epigraphic testimony (IG XI, 1056), which mentions an Athenian embassy to Pharnakes I, king of Pontos, recording also his recent marriage with Nysa, the daughter of Antiochos and Laodike. On the basis of the different datings of this document, Nysa has been identified with a daughter either of Antiochos III (S.V. Tracy *Inscriptiones Deliacae*: IG XI, 713 and IG XI, 1056”, *AM* 107, pp. 303-313), of Antiochos, son and co-regent of Antiochos III (*CAH* vol. VIII 2, pp. 520-521 stemma) or of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (O. Mørkholm op. cit. p. 54 and 60; *CAH* vol. VIII 2, pp. 357 and 536).

B.D. Merritt (“Athenian archons 347/6-48/7 BC” *Historia* 26, pp. 161-191) restored the fragmentary name of the archon as Tychandros and owing to the presence of a secretary from Marathon demos, fixed his date to 160/159. In this view Nysa is probably daughter of Antiochos IV or, with more difficulty for chronological reasons, of his elder brother.

Alternatively, Stephen Tracy, who had published *Attic letter-cutters of 229 to 86 BC* in 1992, suggested (*Inscriptiones Deliacae*: IG XI 713 and IG XI 1056, *AM* 107, 1992. 303- 313), an earlier dating. In fact, he identifies the stone cutter of this inscription with one active between 226/5 and ca.190. The inscription would thus move the archonship of Tychandros from 160/159 to 196/195 (the only available year holding a secretary from Marathon).

If, as I believe probable, Tracy’s theory is sound, Nysa would have been born about 211, so being 14 to 15 at the time of her wedding. Nysa would thus have been born on the eve of her father’s oriental expedition and her name might be tied to this event. In fact, this name never otherwise appears in the Seleukid or other Macedonian dynasties, and Antiochos, naming a daughter thus, may have been referring to the fabulous Nysa of the myth of Dionysos as conqueror of India and the orient.

It has been hypothesized that Nysa was the third daughter (besides Laodike) of Antiochos, the one destined to marry Eumenes II of Pergamon (Pol. 21. 20. 8), but if Tracy’s date is true this hypothesis has to be dismissed.

From her marriage with Pharnakes I, Nysa had, at least, three known children: the future Mithradates V Euergetes, and two daughters, Laodike who married her brother, and Nysa married to Ariarathes V, king of Kappadokia (*IG* II2 1132.40-94 and her name on Kappadokian coinage) . We do not know the date of her death. She was the grandmother of the famous Mithradates VI Eupator.

Other (or another two) daughters (name unknown)

If Nysa was already married in 194/3 when Antiochos III offered the hands of three of his daughters to the neighbouring kings, we have to ask ourselves about the identity of the spouse offered to Eumenes II. If Laodike was born in 221, the dates of birth of Kleopatra and Antiochis may be antedated: Kleopatra from 218 to 219 and Antiochis from 217 to 218. Inserting another daughter of the royal couple, born about 217, we would have the girl that Eumenes II of Pergamon refused to marry. The other possibility is to consider her born about 210.

We know that Antiochos during his peace negotiations with Euthydemos I king of Bactria, admiring the personality of Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, promised to give one of his daughters as wife to the same Demetrios.

Now we may formulate three hypothesis:

1-The girl, refused by the king of Pergamon, subsequently married Demetrios.

2-Notwithstanding Antiochos' promise, this marriage never happened, perhaps because Euthydemus I had broken the treaty with Antiochos III and had maybe annexed some Seleukid satrapies (or vassal kingdom) in Orient. (G. Rougemont "Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale" ; D.W. Mac Dowall "The role of Demetrios in Arachosia and the Kabul valley". in O. Bopearachchi-M.F. Boussac *Afghanistan: ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest : actes du colloque international au Musée archéologique Henri-Prades-Lattes du 5 au 7 mai 2003*, 2005).

3-The marriage had happened before 194/3.

In the first and second case we do not need to hypothesize the existence of another daughter of Antiochos daughter, besides the preceding ones. In the third case we are obliged to postulate a second daughter by unknown name. We would thus have two daughters born about 217 and 210.

Ardys

This presumed son of Antiochos is only attested in a passage of Livy (33.19), the same one mentioning the mysterious Mithridates. "At the commencement of spring he (Antiochos III) had sent his two sons, Ardys and Mithridates, with an army to Sardis with instructions to wait for him there whilst he started by sea with a fleet".

Ardys' name may be Iranian but was also borne by an ancient king of Lydia, son of Gyges (VIIth century). According to Polybios (5. 53. 2), it was the so-called general of Antiochos III, commander of the right wing cavalry in the battle against the usurper Molon (220). It is thus probable that Livy here has been confused or that the text is corrupt, with the consequence that we do not need to postulate the existence of another son of Antiochos and Laodike who, according to our chronology of their births, would have to have been a twin.

PRESUMED BIRTH DATES OF ANTIOCHOS III'S CHILDREN ACCORDING TO MY HYPOTHESIS (indicated in red. In blue the periods of possible conception. All the dates are BC)

Autumn 222-Late Autumn 221: Antiochos at Seleukeia Zeugma then in Antioch where marries Laodike, daughter of Mithradates II, king of Pontos. Laodike ? (b. in 221)

Late Autumn 221-Winter 220/19: Antiochos is in Orient, fighting the rebel Molon. Antiochos (b. in 220).

Winter 220-Spring 219 Antiochos in his capital. Laodike ? (or Kleopatra ?) (b. in 219).

Spring 219-Late Autumn 219: Antiochos in Coelesiria (against Ptolemy IV of Egypt).

Truce of four months: Nov./Dec. 219-Mar/Apr. 218: Antiochos in Seleukeia of Pieria. Kleopatra ? (or Antiochis ?) (b. in 218).

Spring 218-Autumn 218: Antiochos in Palestine.

Winter 218/217: Antiochos wintered in Ptolemais but it is possible that he went up to Antioch. Antiochis? [Possible daughter (unknown name)?] (b. in 217).

Beginning of the Summer 217: Battle of Raphia.

Spring 217-Spring 216: Antiochos in Antioch, preparing his expedition against Achaios, in Asia Minor. Seleukos (b. in 216/215).

Spring 216-Autumn 214/ Spring 213 : Expedition against Achaios.

We do not know if he wintered in Asia Minor or whether he was in Antioch. It is, however, probable (see note below) that Laodike III had reached the king in Asia Minor and subsequently they stopped in Antioch before his Armenian expedition.

Summer 213-Spring/Summer 212. Antiochos (Mithridates) (b. in 212). Nysa (b. in 211).

Spring/Summer 212-Autumn 212: Antiochos at Arsamosata (Armenia).

Autumn 212-Autumn 211: Antiochos presumably in Antioch. [Possible daughter (unknown name)?] (b. in 210).

Autumn 211-about Summer 204: Oriental expedition.

About Summer 204-Spring 203: Antiochos in Antioch. [Possible daughter (unknown name)?] (b. in 203/202).

In Summary:

Antiochos (the future co-regent) (b. in 220)

Laodike (b. in 219 or 221)

Kleopatra (b. in 219 or 218)

Antiochis (b. in 218 or 217)

Possible daughter (unknown name) (b. in 217)

Seleukos (the future Seleukos IV) (b. in 216/215)

Antiochos (Mithradates) (the future Antiochos IV) (b. in 212)

Nysa ? (b. in 211)

Possible daughter (unknown name) (b. in 210 or in 203/202).

I feel the need to stress that these dates of birth are necessarily estimates. The most important element, as I have already repeated, is the uncertainty regarding Laodike's birth between 221 and 219 BC with the consequence that if she was born in 219 BC there is no possibility to insert other children in the period 221-212/211. Antiochos and Laodike may well have had children subsequent to this date and I have guessed the possibility of a birth of another child in 210. Of course, other children might be born from 203 onward. This depends upon the age of Laodike III, at the time of her marriage.

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Renzo Lucherini