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REVIEW ARTICLE

Some Thoughts on Zamyād Yašt

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The Zamyād Yašt is one of the great Yašts. Its text has the most complicated prehistory which is still mirrored in the Sasanian edition and of which OAv. spellings such as *draogəm* instead of YAv. *draoγəm* in §33 give evidence, but the Sasanian archetype itself has come down to us not infected by later additions.

What we call Zamyād Yašt today, consists of two main parts. The first part is the Geographical Fragment which covers only §§1-8 only. It is a fragment from an obviously complete description of the world, a lost Proto Zamyād Yašt, giving a picture of the geography of the mountains of Iran. It starts with the mythical mountain Harā berezaitī (Harburz, Alburz) and emphasizes Mount Ušadā/Ušidā[1] which is prominent in Zoroastrian eschatology as Saošyant Verethraghna will rise from it.

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1. There is an apparent connection between the corrupted reading *usaδō* of the name of Mount *ušaδå* (as it is given in §66 *gairiš yō ušaδå*), and Phl. *usindām* (*'wsynd'm*), name of a mountain found in Bdh. 9,3 and, more extensively, in Bdh. 9,8 *usindām kōf ān ī az xwēn āhan kē gōhr ī asmān, miyān zrēh frāxwkard kē-š āb az Hugar pad-iš frōd rēzēd* 'Mount Usindām which is of shining steel that is the substance of the sky, is in the middle of the ocean Frāxwkard through which the water pours down from (Mount) Hugar'. Yet this connection cannot be original as the context of Phl. *usindām* in this Bdh. passage is much closer to the context of the name of mountain Av. *us.həṇdauua-* in Yt8,38 *us.həṇdauuaṭ haca garōit yō hištaite maiδim zraiiaŋhō vouru.kaṣahe* 'from Mount Ushəṇdauua which stands in the center of the ocean Vorukaṣa'.

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NB: Using the combined cuneiform and numismatic evidence I will establish the annual nature of the Susian bronzes in a subsequent contribution.

Abbreviations

AE Arsacid Era of the Parthian Calendar, beginning 1 Nisan (14/15 Apr.) 247 BC.

FGH Jacoby, F., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin, 1923- .

LR Prefix to the entries in Le Rider 1965.

SEB Seleucid Era of the Babylonian Calendar, beginning 1 Nisan (2/3 Apr.) 311 BC.

SEM Seleucid Era of the Macedonian Calendar, beginning 1 Dios (6/7 Oct.) 312 BC.

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Table 1. Arrangement of "Annual" Susian Bronze Issues in the Period 150/149-122/121 BC

Year SEM	Year SEB	Year B.C.	Ruler	Le Rider No.	Sellwood No.	Comments
163	162/3	150/49	Alexander Balas	84	—	Briefly holds Susa
164	163/4	149/8	Kamnaskires I	—	—	(Morkholm 1965, F = Alram 442)
165	164/5	148/7	"Megas Soter"	86	—	
166	165/6	147/6		87	—	
167	166/7	146/5		88	—	
168	167/8	145/4		89	—	Kamnaskires is temporarily supplanted
			Demetrius II	73	—	Briefly holds Susa
169	168/9	144/3	Okkonapses	65	—	Briefly holds Susa
			Kamnaskires I	90	—	Begins his second reign
170	169/70	143/2	"Nikephoros"	91	—	
171	170/1	142/1		92	—	
172	171/2	141/0		93	—	
				94	—	
173	172/3	140/39	Mithradates I	95	12.26	Captures Elymais
174	173/4	139/8		96	12.27	
175	174/5	138/7		97	12.28	
			Tigraios	101	—	Usurps power in Susa
176	175/6	137/6		102	—	
177	176/7	136/5		103	—	
178	177/8	135/4		104	—	
179	178/9	134/3		105-7	—	
180	179/80	133/2		108	—	
				?	?	Mithradates I pacifies Elymais
			Phraates II	?	?	Ascends the throne
181	180/1	132/1		98-99	14.3	Phraates II captures Susa
182	181/2	131/0		100	14.4	
			Antiochus VII	?	—	Invades Babylonia
183	182/3	130/29		110	—	Antiochus VII is recognised in Susa
184	183/4	129/8		?	—	
			Phraates II	109	14.5	Eliminates Antiochus VII
185	184/5	128/7		111	14.6	
186	185/6	127/6		?	?	Phraates II is killed in battle
			Darius	?	—	Briefly holds Susa
			Bagasis	112	18.3	Pacifies Elymais
187	186/7	126/5		?	?	
			Artabanus I	113	21.5	Captures Susa
188	187/8	125/4		114	21.6	Pitthides' revolt is crushed
189	188/9	124/3		115	21.7	
190	189/90	123/2		116	21.8	
191	190/1	122/1		Pl. 74.27	21.9	Artabanus I is killed in battle

The date 15.X.187 SEB (19/20 Jan. 124 BC) in line 13 of the second text records the conquest of Elymais and Artabanus' decisive victory over the Elymaean leader, Pitthides, mentioned by Diodorus (34/35 19.1).[154]

Having captured Elymais, Artabanus probably returned to Media to co-ordinate his campaign against the nomad invaders in northern and eastern Parthia. Judging from the arrangement of Susian bronze emissions (Table 1), Parthian authority must have been recognised in Elymais during the remaining years of Artabanus' reign. Unfortunately, the nature and circumstances of his death have not survived in our Babylonian records. According to Justin (42.2.2) Artabanus was killed by a poisoned arrow to his arm while fighting the Tochari horde. This must have happened sometime after Oct. 122 BC but probably before Jan. 121 BC.[155]

Although he reigned relatively briefly, Artabanus apparently terminated Elymaean aspirations for an independent state effectively. There are no records of serious oppositions to Parthian suzerainty from another usurper in our Babylonian documents and numismatic evidence confirms that Parthian "annual" bronzes continued to be minted uninterruptedly in Susa down to the end of the reign of Phraates III in about 58 BC.

154. Diodorus confuses Artabanus I with Phraates II. But he states that Pitthides had his eyes gouged out and kept in Seleucia. The latter is reported to have continued to warn the inhabitants of that city of a similar fate for rebellion against the Parthians.

155. The successor of Artabanus (probably his son), reigned quite briefly during c. Oct. 122-Apr. 121 BC before the accession of Mithradates II. Cf. Assar 2003a: 26-8; Assar 2005.

21: [.... That month, I he]ard that Urya was killed in Surru. That month, the Arabs plundered as before; panic of the Arabs as before was much in the land .... [....]

22: [....] happened in the district of Tintir.

and

Reverse: Month X (5/6 Jan.-3/4 Feb. 124 BC)

12: .... That month, the 2nd, ... a message of Hyspaosines, King of Mesene, which he had written to the general of Babylonia was brought near

13: and was read [to the (Greek) cit]izens who are in Babylon as follows: In this month, on the 15th?, King Arsaces and Pittit, the Elamite enemy, fought with each other. The King defeated the troops of Elam in battle. Pittit

14: [the Elamite enemy] he seized. That month, the 7th day, in Babylon a sow gave birth, and the newborn was like .... [....] had .... of a dog. That month, the 15th, the King's throne which like the drawing of a designer of n[ew?] wood [and sil]ver ....

15: [was made,] whose Greek name is *thoronos* which in the past [Kin]g Hyspaosines had taken from the King's palace in Babylon, and given as an honorific present to Bel. The governor of Babylon and the (Greek) citizens who were in Babylon

16: [....] and .... the doors of the Akîtu Temple they opened and, [....] they made; (but) they did not enter. That throne of the King, an honorific present to Bel, they brought out from the Akîtu Temple and they took it to themselves.

17: [That month, the xth day] a messenger of the King who carried a message entered Babylon. That day, the message of the King which was written to the governor of Babylon and the (Greek) citizens who were in Babylon, was read in the House of Observation, as follows: Fighting

18: [with] Pittit, the Elamite enemy, I made, and 15,000 battle troops among his troops I [overth]rew in battle; among my troops no disagreement? took place. Elam in its entirety I hit with weapons. Pittit

19: [the Elamite enemy] I seized. That day, the administrator of Esangil and the Babylonians, the assembly of Esangil, provided one bull and 2 (sheep) sacrifices at the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' of Esangil for that messenger of the King as offering, and to Bel

20: [and Belti]ja, the great gods, he sacrificed them. [....] .... a message? of the King was read. That month, there was plundering by the Arabs as before.

[M]ΕΓΑΛΟΥ with traces of ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ to the left of trophy. However, the epithet ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ does not appear on Parthian bronzes from Susa until about 112 BC in the reign of Mithradates II (121-91 BC). At the same time, as Le Rider has pointed out,[152] the die axes of this particular piece are adjusted as ↑↑. Although as a result of random paring this may have occurred accidentally, the ↑↑ die alignment too is unprecedented from Susa until the reign of Mithradates II. Yet the coin cannot be taken as a bronze companion of S21 tetradrachms of Artabanus I from Seleucia on the Tigris. The latter is exclusively inscribed with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. The Parthian mints of Ecbatana, Rhagae and those in the north and eastern districts can be equally ruled out because of the right-facing obverse bust of the coin. This practice was abandoned after the S12 silver and bronze coinage of Mithradates I from Ecbatana. Accordingly, it is possible to take the S21.9 chalkous as the last bronze emission of Artabanus and so maintain that he was the first Arsacid ruler to introduce the epithet *the Great* in the imperial titulature of Parthian coins from Susa.

As briefly stated above, following the expulsion of Tigraios from Susa in late 133 BC, our Babylonian records are silent about the political circumstances in Elymais throughout the reigns of Phraates II and his successor, Bagasis. Unfortunately, this unwelcome break, primarily due to the fragmentary state of the extant records, continues well into the reign of Artabanus I. The only clear references to the fluid situation in Elymais are contained in two rather well preserved historical notes at the end of months IX and X of 187 SEB.[153] These throw a welcome light on one of Artabanus' major military campaigns during late 125 BC-early 124 BC and confirm pacification of the satrapy:

Obverse: Month IX (7/8 Dec. 125 BC-4/5 Jan. 124 BC)

19: [....] King Arsaces (from) above[?] a district[?] of Susa departed to the area of Elam opposite Pittit, the Elamite enemy, for fighting. That month[?], Timotheus, son of [Hyspaosines ....]

20: [.... the sat]rap of Babylonia went to Seleucia; at the command of the King he was thrown into an iron ring and brought[?] next to his father Hyspaosines. That month, I heard [....]

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152. Le Rider 1965: 18, n. 3.

153. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 274-9, No. –124B; Del Monte 1997: 141-3.

No. 2. (LR 113 = S21.5):

– On obverse, right-facing diademed and bearded bust of Artabanus within a circular dotted border. On reverse, right-facing and bearded bust of Heracles with club end visible behind the neck, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ to the left, both following the contour of the dotted border.

– 37 examples unearthed at Susa (11 are in Tehran, 26 in Paris). Of these, 28 pieces came from the bronze hoard of 1933/4 (Trésor 7).[148]

Le Rider states that the hair arrangement on some examples of this type and those of Phraates II are similar. He also reports that LR 113 is the latest component of "Trésor 7" with several well preserved specimens (nos. 16, 17, 24, 25).[149] This rules out attribution of the type to Mithradates II whose bronzes were absent from the hoard.[150]

No. 3. (LR 114 = S21.6):

– Obverse as No. 2 but with a spiral neck-torque. On reverse, same inscription as No. 2, but Nike standing left, holding a crown in her outstretched and raised right hand with palm branch over her left arm.

– 4 examples were excavated at Susa (all are in Paris).

No. 4. (LR 115 = S21.7):

– Obverse as No. 3. On reverse, similar inscription but a tripod.

– 6 specimens were found at Susa (all are in Paris).

No. 5. (LR 116 = S21.8):

– Obverse as No. 3. On reverse, goddess enthroned left, cornucopia over her left arm, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the left, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ on the right, both reading from inside.

– 10 examples discovered at Susa (all are in Paris).

Le Rider believes that a monogram (M with a cross bar above) may be present on two specimens of this type (nos. 1 and 2).

No. 6. [Le Rider 1965, Pl. LXXIV, 27 = S21.9]:

– Obverse as No. 3. On reverse a trophy and a partially legible inscription. According to Petrowicz[151] we have [Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] on the right, and

148. Le Rider 1965: 249-50.

149. Le Rider 1965, Pl. LIV.

150. Some specimens of this type slightly resemble the early types of Mithradates II. However, since none of the later types of Artabanus I (LR 114-116) nor any of the early issues of Mithradates II were found in the 1933/4 bronze hoard, we can confidently take LR 113 as the first Susian bronze emission of Artabanus I.

151. Petrowicz 1904: 187, no. 2; Ars Classica-Naville 1926: 129, no. 2100, and Pl. 61, no. 2100.

Yet the undated S21.4 tetradrachms and its variants confirm that Artabanus had inaugurated his reign in Babylonia well before the beginning of year 188 SEM (8/9 Oct. 125 BC).

As for the political developments in Elymais, regrettably our Babylonian records offer nothing until the last quarter of year 187 SEB. However, given Artabanus' inaugural tetradrachm issue from Seleucia on the Tigris, it is possible to recommend that the Parthian king extended his authority as far as Susa and so minted both silver and bronze issues in that city sometime in 187 SEM (Plate XIX).

The Susian tetradrachm of Artabanus I (S18.2, Plate XIX, 1), known from a unique piece, depicts on its obverse the right-facing and diademed royal bust with a medium length and almost pointed beard. On the reverse, nude Apollo is seated left on omphalos, flanked by ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ on the left, with a monogram in the left field, all set within a circular dotted border.

The extant bronzes, all excavated at Susa, have been catalogued by Le Rider,[147] and Sellwood as follows:

Pl. XIX. Susian Tetradrachm and Bronzes of Artabanus I

[The bronzes have been reproduced from Le Rider 1965, Pls. XI-XII, LXXIV, 27. The tetradrachm is by permission from Professor Alberto Simonetta]

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followed by clear reports in month IV (12/13 Jul.-9/10 Aug. 125 BC) of recurring fire in the royal residence, breaking of a hole into the wall of Babylon, and disruption of traffic because of the Arabs (probably by then in control of southern Mesopotamia).

147. Le Rider 1965: 84-5.

No. 6. (LR 112):

– On obverse, right-facing and diademed bust of the sovereign within a circular dotted border. On reverse, bow in case with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ to the left.

– 10 examples found at Susa (4 are in Tehran, 6 in Paris).

The date and circumstances of the death of Bagasis are uncertain. He may have died of natural causes or killed in battle against the marauding Sacae who had probably penetrated deep into Parthian territory after their victory over Phraates II. Given the small number of extant specimens from his terminal coinage, the aged Arsacid ruler probably died shortly after the beginning of year 187 SEM (20/1 Sep. 126 BC).[143] However, it is possible that following the restoration of Parthian power in the southern states Bagasis moved up to Media in order to fend off the steppe invaders. A small number of drachms from Ecbatana with an obverse bust closely resembling that on S18.1 tetradrachms strongly suggests that the Parthian ruler had successfully extended his authority into Media before his death.[144]

Unfortunately, not only is the accession date of the next Parthian ruler, Artabanus I, lacking in our records, it is quite difficult to follow his movements during the first few months of his reign. It appears that although Arsacid rule was acknowledged in Babylon,[145] Bagasis' absence from that city had led, once again, to a chaotic state of affairs in Mesopotamia. This meant that from the outset Artabanus was faced, on the one hand, with the threat of nomad invaders in the north and on the other, with subversive raids in Babylonia and insurgency in Elymais. In spite of a lacuna spanning the first half of year 187 SEM (20/1 Sep. 126 BC-14/15 Apr. 125 BC) the uncertain circumstances in the southern states are reflected, in a broken context, in an Astronomical Diary covering months I to VI of 187 SEB.[146]

143. Assar 2003a: 17-8.

144. Assar 2003a: 17-8; Assar 2005.

145. The extant Babylonian cuneiform records from years 186 and 187 SEB are all dated to King Arsaces.

146. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 264-73, No. –124A. We find in the entry from month I (15/16 Apr.-13/14 May 125 BC) references to attacks and plunder by the Arabs, collapsing of walls, interruption of traffic to Borsippa and other cities, and offering of presents by the local inhabitants to appease the Arab raiders. This is followed by a brief statement in month II (14/15 May-11/12 Jun. 125 BC) concerning repeated fire in the Parthian palace and probably to the falling of walls in the royal quarters. We then have, from month III (12/13 Jun.-11/12 Jul. 125 BC) a possible reference to the offering of presents to the Arab invaders again

Pl. XVIII. Susian Tetradrachm of Darius

[Reproduced from Peus 368 (2001), #330]

last letters of the exergual inscription are quite unclear. It is possible to take the last letter as Σ and hence read NANAIENΩ[Σ]. But this is inconsistent with the traces of the terminal letter on the coin itself. The epithet NANAIENΩ[N] has been interpreted as *Devotee of the Cult of Artemis-Nanaia* and the tetradrachm placed before 129 BC.[139] But it is highly unlikely that an Elymaean usurper could have emerged in Susa as early as 130-129 BC during the occupation of Mesopotamia and Elymais by the Seleucid forces under Antiochus VII. It is plausible that Darius usurped power about Sep./Oct. 127 BC and so interrupted the minting of a further bronze for Phraates II in 186 SEM. However, there are no known Susian bronzes for Darius and it is unclear whether he ever minted an annual denomination in addition to his tetradrachms.

I have shown that following the death of Phraates II his aged paternal uncle, Bagasis, ascended the Parthian throne about spring 126 BC and reigned for approximately 7-8 months.[140] He expelled Hyspaosines from Babylonia, overstruck his tetradrachms[141] and most probably supplanted Darius in Susa shortly after his own accession. Le Rider assigns a Susian bronze (Plate XVII, 6) to the transitional period from Phraates II to Artabanus I.[142] This is Sellwood's interregnal S18.3 ckalkous dated to c. 127 BC. I have ascribed the same issue to Bagasis and taken it as a quasi-annual bronze in 186 SEM. The obverse and reverse designs of this sole type are described by Le Rider and Sellwood as follows:

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139. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger Münzhandlung, 368 (25-28 April 2001), 29; Bell 2002b: 36.

140. Assar 2001a: 25-6; 2003a: 16-8.

141. Assar 2001b: 17-8, 20-2; 2003a: 17-8.

142. Le Rider 1965: 84, 365-8.

six months – beginning with 1 Dios 186 SEM (2/3 Oct. 127 BC) and ending with the accession of the next Arsacid ruler – that must be accounted for. We may assume that a quasi-annual bronze was minted for Phraates II at Susa but because of the small size of the issue none of the surviving pieces has come to light yet.[134] Alternatively, we could suggest that Parthian types were, once again, interrupted as a result of the usurpation of power in Susa.

Our contemporary cuneiform records[135] and numismatic evidence[136] show that the Characenean ruler, Hyspaosines, had occupied Babylon as early as month II of 185 SEB (6/7 May-4/5 Jun. 127 BC) and minted tetradrachms at Seleucia on the Tigris. He must have taken advantage of Phraates' preoccupation along Parthia's northeastern frontiers and raided Babylonia. There are references in our cuneiform records to the escape from Hyspaosines of a Parthian guard commander in month IV of 185 SEB (4/5 Jul.-2/3 Aug. 127 BC)[137] and the destruction of a palace or a temple at the command of the Characenean ruler in that same year.[138]

With Babylonia firmly under Hyspaosines' sway, it is likely that Arsacid hold over Elymais loosened. This in turn led to the emergence of a new interloper at Susa. He was Darius who reigned for a few months and was deposed by the next Parthian ruler before the end of year 186 SEM. Unfortunately, the only known tetradrachm of this usurper (Plate XVIII) is undated. Its obverse illustrates the diademed and beardless bust of Darius facing right. The reverse shows nude Apollo seated left on omphalos, holding an arrow and a bow in his right and left hands, respectively. The inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the left with NANAIENΩ[N] in exergue. I must nevertheless stress that the first and

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conclusive evidence, I have suggested that Phraates fell in battle in early spring of 126 BC. However, future discoveries may reveal the true moment of his death. Cf. Assar 2003a: 14-5, for a brief analysis of the relevant evidence.

134. It is possible that the S17.5 bronze, attributed by Sellwood to Seleucia on the Tigris, is the anticipated Susian issue of Phraates II from year 186 SEM. The right-facing obverse bust of the coin precludes it from the Parthian mints on the plateau. Cf. Petrowicz 1904: 188, no. 2 (2.31 grams), and Pl. XXV, no. 4. But if minted at Susa, this chalkous may belong to the period before the invasion of Antiochus VII since Phraates hairstyle on its obverse is very similar to that on LR 100.

135. Del Monte 1997: 114-7; Van der Spek 1998: 211; Schuol 2000: 33.

136. Assar 2001a: 24-6; 2001b: 17-8, 20-2.

137. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 254-5, No. –126A, Obv. lines 6-8.

138. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 260-1, No. –125A, Obv. line 20.

Phraates' forces would have quickly removed pockets of resistance in the southern satrapies and restored Arsacid sway over Babylonia and Elymais. This in turn would have led to the termination of Seleucid types and resumption of Phraates' bronze coinage at Susa.[131] The known types of the new Parthian issue (Plate XVII, 4-5) can be assigned to years 184 and 185 SEM conveniently (Table 1). These incorporate the following features:[132]

No. 4. (LR 109 = S14.5):

– On obverse, within a circular dotted border, right-facing and diademed bust of Phraates II with a short beard. On reverse, nude Hermes standing three-quarters left, clad in *petasus* with his right hand stretched out. The left hand holds a *caduceus* over the arm with *chlamys* partly around and partly hanging down the same arm, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ to the left, all inside a circular dotted border.

– 13 examples found at Susa (3 are in Tehran, 10 in Paris).

No. 5. (LR 111 = S14.6):

– Obverse as No. 4. On reverse, bull's head facing, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ to the left, both following the contour of the circular dotted border.

– 23 specimens recovered at Susa (8 are in Tehran, 15 in Paris).

Unfortunately, we find no reference in our fragmentary Babylonian records to the political developments in Elymais during Phraates' last years in power. Nor do we know the precise moment of his death. But numismatic evidence suggests that Phraates perished in early spring 126 BC while fighting the Sacae in northeast Parthia.[133] This then leaves a lacuna of about

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131. If an annual bronze issue were minted for Antiochus VII in Susa at the beginning of 184 SEM, it must have been extremely small and hence its absence from the material excavated at that city.

132. Le Rider 1965: 83-4.

133. A recent hoard yielded, among other types, several S18.1 tetradrachms of Bagasis together with half a dozen examples of a new variety of the same type dated 187 SEM. Compared with the number of S17 tetradrachms of Phraates II in the hoard, S18.1 specimens turned out to be less than half. Given that S17 coinage was minted throughout the year 183 SEM we may assume that S18.1 variety was issued for about half a year. This places the accession of Bagasis in about Mar./Apr. 126 BC. Considering the severity of winter in northeastern regions of Parthia, it is highly unlikely that Phraates engaged the Sacae any earlier than the spring of 126 BC. Moreover, Phraates' death cannot be placed much earlier than 1 Dios 186 SEM (2/3 Oct. 127 BC) because lack of date on S18.1 tetradrachms confirms that they were minted after the beginning of that Macedonian year. In the absence of

Antiochus was surprised in a Parthian counter attack. It is reported that the Seleucid king fought gallantly but was ultimately overwhelmed and either slain or compelled to commit suicide.

The numismatic legacy of Antiochus' Parthian expedition is a handful of coins struck at Seleucia on the Tigris and Susa. Yet while his Susian issue bears no date Antiochus' bronze emissions from Seleucia are dated. Combined with a few sketchy references in an Astronomical Diary, the Seleucian coinage determines both the moment of Antiochus' arrival in Babylonia and the date of his Susian emission.

The first secure evidence of Antiochus' presence in Babylonia is found on a few small bronzes from Seleucia.[127] These are dated ΒΠΡ = 182 SEM and so place the Seleucid incursion somewhere in the period 1 Dios-30 Hyperberetaios 182 SEM (16/17 Oct. 131 BC-4/5 Oct. 130 BC). But several statements from months I to IV of 182 SEB, especially the one concerning Himerus in month II,[128] strongly imply that Antiochus had not yet arrived at Babylon before Aug. 130 BC. Given the date 182 SEM of his bronze from Seleucia, it is highly likely that the Seleucid king captured Babylon sometime during Aug.-Oct. 130 BC. But we cannot be sure whether Antiochus' power in Mesopotamia was recognised in Elymais immediately after the fall of Babylon and thus led to the minting of a quasi-annual bronze in Susa. Even if this did happen, the output must have been quite small. Hence the extreme rarity of the type and its absence from the reported coin finds. Accordingly, I have assigned the only known Susian bronze of Antiochus VII (LR 110) to year 183 SEM (5/6 Oct. 130 BC-23/4 Sep. 129 BC). We have both contemporary Babylonian texts and numismatic evidence to show that he was in the east throughout the year 183 SEM.[129]

A unique bronze from Seleucia, bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ and dated 184 SEM,[130] indicates that Antiochus VII was eliminated very close to 1 Dios 184 SEM (24/5 Sep. 130 BC). It is therefore highly unlikely that he had a sizeable coinage at Susa in that Macedonian year. After the wholesale massacre of the Seleucid army,

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127. Le Rider 1965: 155, 366, 377-80, and Pl. XXXI, nos. 321 and D.

128. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 248-9, No. –129A_2, Obv. line 21; Assar 2003a: 11.

129. For the numismatic evidence cf. Le Rider 1965: 154-6, 366, 377-8, and Pl. XXXI, nos. A-C, and E-L. For the cuneiform records from months I of 183 SEB (30/1 Mar.-27/8 Apr. 129 BC) and 22.II.183 SEB (19/20 May 129 BC) cf. Assar 2003a: 9-10.

130. In the British Museum trays (BM 1956, 4-9-75, T. W. Armitage Bequest).

Antiochus VII from Susa (Plate XVII, 3) in order to determine its inception date from a brief discussion of his Parthian expedition.

No. 3. (LR 110):

– On obverse, right-facing bust of Artemis with quiver over the left shoulder behind her neck, all within a circular dotted border. On reverse, bust of Athena facing left, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ to the left, all set in a circular dotted border. It should be noted that the reverse inscription very often follows the curvature of the dotted border and is occasionally abbreviated.

– 31 examples were recovered at Susa (4 are in Tehran, 27 in Paris).

As for the attribution to Susa Le Rider believes that the presence of a dotted border on both the obverse and reverse of these coins is consistent with the same feature on the Susian bronzes of Mithradates I, Phraates II and Artabanus I. Moreover, the reverse inscription of Antiochus' bronze too is curved and follows the contour of the dotted border. This is a characteristic element of the chalkoi of Phraates II and the early issues of Artabanus I from Susa. Finally, the obverse and reverse busts of Artemis and Athena, both with draped neck, are unknown from the period of Seleucid domination of Elymais. Whereas, they are harmonious with certain portraits on Susian emissions under the Parthians.[126]

Now, according to the combined statements in Justin (38.10.1-10), Diodorus (34.15-19) and Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 13.251-253) the Seleucid ruler led a large army of cavalry and foot soldiers against the Parthians and secured the support of many eastern princes who expressed great detestation of Arsacid pride. Antiochus then engaged the Parthian forces, won three battles, seized Babylon and began to be dubbed *the Great*. This encouraged the neighbouring people to join the Seleucid camp and leave Phraates *with nothing except the land of his forefathers*. Finally Antiochus dispersed his troops throughout the captured Parthian cities, moved probably to Media and offered Phraates impossible peace terms. As winter progressed and provisions became scarce, the local population grew restive. In the meantime, Phraates released Demetrius from captivity and dispatched him to Syria with a small force to claim his own brother's throne. Having endured the burden of Seleucid garrisons, the local defectors switched allegiance and

126. Le Rider 1965: 377.

Below is set out brief descriptions of the annual types depicted in Plate XVII.

No. 1. (LR 98 and 99 = S14.3):

– On obverse, right-facing, beardless and diademed bust of Phraates II within a circular dotted border. On reverse, goddess (Artemis?) standing left dressed in a long robe, left hand resting on her hip and holding a long sceptre in the right, flanked by ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ on the left, and surrounded by a circular dotted border.

– 30 specimens of LR 98 and 2 of LR 99 were discovered at Susa throughout the French excavations. Of the former, 7 are in Tehran and 23 in Paris together with both of the latter type.

Le Rider comments that the fabric, irregular die axes, and the number of excavated LR 98-99 specimens at Susa ensure attribution of the type to that city.[124] He further remarks that these chalkoi may well be the first Susian bronze emission of Phraates II, depicting the king with a very young face and draped neck, the latter being a typical Parthian practice. Finally, Le Rider points out the typically Greek hairstyle on LR 98 and 99. Whereas the one on LR 100 clearly resembles those on Phraates' later Susian issues (LR 109 and 111), and tetradrachms (S17.1-3 and new varieties) and drachms (S17.4 and new variants) from Seleucia on the Tigris.[125]

No. 2. (LR 100 = S14.4):

– Obverse as No. 1 but hair arranged differently. On reverse, similar inscription but horse head facing right.

– 25 specimens recovered at Susa (7 are in Tehran, 18 in Paris).

Le Rider states that although the beardless bust on this type links it with LR 98 and 99, Phraates' new hairstyle renders LR 100 a later emission.

Given the apparent stylistic and iconographical differences between the above bronzes and Phraates' subsequent Susian issues, I have ascribed LR 98-99 and 100 to years 181 and 182 SEM (132/1 and 131/0 BC, respectively) before the Seleucid invasion of Babylonia under Antiochus VII (Table 1).

At this point, it is imperative to describe the bronze emission of

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124. Le Rider 1965: 80.

125. Le Rider 1965: 81. Cf. Le Rider 1965, Pl. LXX, nos. 23-7 for the illustrations of Phraates' coinage from Seleucia.

Phraates' sole rule. Given the extreme rarity of these tetradrachms we may justifiably assume that they were minted quite briefly about the beginning of year 181 SEM (Sep./Oct. 132 BC). At the same time, a Greek text from Susa confirms Arsaicd jurisdiction in that city as early as Feb./Mar. 131 BC:[120]

1: In the year [116 according to the]
2: King's reckon[ing (but)]
3: (according) to the form[er (reckoning)]
4: (year) 181, month,
5: Xandikos, ...

Beginning with Phraates' inaugural coinage, the mint of Susa resumed striking annual bronzes for local use. Le Rider identifies five types for Phraates II (Plate XVII).[121] But in reality two of these (LR 98 and 99) represent the same variety although they differ metrologically.[122] On the other hand, Sellwood lumps together Phraates' annual bronzes and S14 tetradrachms.[123] It will be presently shown that the former constitutes two distinct groups corresponding to the periods before and after the Parthian expedition of Antiochus VII (138-129 BC).

Pl. XVII. Susian Bronze Coinages of Phraates II, Antiochus VII, and Bagasis

[Reproduced from Le Rider 1965, Pls. X and XI]

120. Cumont 1932: 279-84; Assar 2003a: 9.

121. Le Rider 1965: 80-1, 83-4.

122. Le Rider 1965: 80. Of the 30 recovered examples of LR 98, the heaviest and lightest weigh 2.70 and 1.44 grams, respectively. On the other hand, the two known specimens of LR 99 weigh 0.91 and 1.05 grams. Hence Le Rider's identification of the latter specimens as "half-units". However, since the Susian bronzes were minted as chalkoi, their weight could, and in fact did, fluctuate between about 1 to 4 grams.

123. Sellwood 1980: 45-6.

with Rinnu. This suggests that Parthian mints throughout the Empire suspended coin production until the young king came of age a few months later.[118] It is therefore possible that Susa too issued no "annual" bronze for the remainder of year 180 SEM and only resumed minting sometime in 181 SEM (27/8 Sep. 132 BC-15/16 Oct. 131 BC).[119]

Pl. XVI. Inaugural Tetradrachms of Phraates II from Susa

No. 1. Le Rider 1965, Pl. X, A = S14.1
No. 2. Le Rider 1969, Pl. X, B = S14.2
No. 3. A new variety lacking an exergual monogram. According to Le Rider 1965: 79-80, Nos. 1 and 2 share the same obverse die.

Phraates' first coinage comprises his inaugural tetradrachms from Susa (Plate XVI). These depict on the obverse a very youthful bust with sideburns and no moustache. Their reverse show nude Apollo seated left on omphalos, holding a bow and an arrow in his left and right hands, respectively. The accompanying inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ and so confirms

118. The earliest extant Babylonian record from Phraates' independent reign is dated to the beginning of year 181 SEB (21/2 Apr. 131 BC). Cf. Assar 2005, n. 91.

119. One cannot rule out the possibility that a quasi-annual bronze issue of Phraates II will come to light in the future. If the young Arsacid prince ascended the throne about April rather than August 132 BC, the likelihood that he issued an "annual" coinage at Susa in 180 SEM increases. Yet this may depend entirely on the date of Phraates' independent reign.

was escorted to Babylon in guard. According to our numismatic evidence Tigraios was in power in Elymais at that juncture. He therefore bore the brunt of Parthian assault and was eventually supplanted in late 133 BC. Yet we have no knowledge of the aftermath of the Parthian victory in Elymais. Was Orya appointed as a vassal? The last record mentioning him is dated to month IX of 187 SEB (7/8 Dec. 125 BC-4/5 Jan. 124 BC) in the reign of Artabanus I (126-122 BC).[114] It reports that Orya was killed in Surru, somewhere between Nippur and Uruk.[115] Assuming that Parthian takeover in Elymais was complete, we may anticipate a quasi-annual bronze issue of Mithradates I from year 180 SEM (133/2 BC). Yet this is lacking (Table 1) and unless new types turn up later we are left to surmise that the Susian mint remained inactive for a number of months.

Our latest extant record from the reign of Mithradates I is the above quoted Diary covering months VII-XII of 179 SEB. Its dated colophon confirms that the Great Parthian King was still alive in 2/3 Apr. 132 BC (end of month XII of 179 SEB).[116] But he must have died shortly afterwards. The next record confirms that Mithradates' son and successor, Phraates II (132-126 BC), ascended the throne sometime in the period 3/4 Apr.-27/8 Aug. 132 BC. The colophon of the text, a deed of gift to the house of gods,[117] is dated to month V of 180 SEB = XI of 180 SEM (30/1 Jul.-27/8 Aug. 132 BC) and registers the earliest co-regency in the Parthian Court:

11: .... Uruk. Month V,
12: [day x, year 116, which is year] 180, Arsaces and Rinnu, his mother,
13: (are) Kings.

It also proves that Phraates was still a minor (under 15 years) on his accession and that his mother acted as a sovereign and not a royal consort. Yet there are no known coins from the period of Phraates' joint kingship

114. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 274-5, No. –124B, Obv. line 21.
115. Del Monte 1997: 141.
116. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 234-5, No. –131D$_1$. The upper edge text clearly gives [.... year] 179, King Arsaces.
117. Clay 1913, no. 48 (mistakenly dates the tablet to 173 SEB). Cf. Assar 2003a: 7; and Assar 2005 for detailed discussions of the historical and chronological significance of this text, and the extended bibliography.

19: [....] departed [....] many [troops] for fighting [against] each other. In month VIII, the 7th, the troops
20: [....] the troops [....] they brought about the defeat of the troops of the enemy[?]. Until sunset, the remainder
21: [....] entered. Urya, the son of this Elamite enemy,
22: [....] one bull and 5 (sheep) sacrifices opposite this messenger
23: [....] .... and performed (it) for his life.

Finally, the sketchy note from month XI of 179 SEB (2/3 Feb.-3/4 Mar. 132 BC) reveals:[113]

Reverse

7: [....] the general of Babylon [went out] from Babylon to Seleucia
8: [.... (the general/satrap)[?]] of Babylonia entered Babylon from Seleucia.
9: [.... brought[?]] the Elamite enemy in guard with them ....
10: [....] .... of the Babylonians ....
11: [....] Seleucia to .... [....]
12: [....] of the Akitu temple the bricks became massive.
13: [....] its trachea was open.

Evidently, in spite of their fragmentary state the above entries offer enough clues about the course of events in Babylonia and Elymais during the period Oct. 133-Mar. 132 BC. We learn from the record dated Oct./Nov. 133 BC that Hyspaosines had already allied himself with the Elymaeans and attacked Parthian territory. This led to the removal of Philinus, the marshal of the Parthian army in Babylonia, who had failed to oppose the Characenean incursion. In his place was appointment, by a royal decree, Theodosius who raided Elymais in Nov./Dec. 133 BC and defeated the enemy forces decisively near Susa. But according to the entry from month X of 179 BC (Jan./Feb. 132 BC), recounting this same battle, Orya, son of Kamnaskires, played a part in the Parthian attack on Elymais. We find in the corresponding note that Orya had revolted against his father and taken refuge in Babylon. Apparently trusted by the Parthians, he carried a retaliatory expedition into Elymais and may well have been accompanied by Theodosius. The battle on 7.VIII.179 SEB (13/14 Nov. 133 BC), lasting until sunset, seemingly ended with the capture of the Elymaean ruler who

113. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 232-3, No. –132D$_1$.

22: who in month I had gone to the cities of Media before Bagayash, the brother of the King. I heard
23: as follows: from the position of general of Babylonia he was removed. That month the 24th, leather documents of [King] Arsaces
24: to the governor of Babylon and the (Greek) citizens who are in Babylon, were brought and read as follows: Te'udisisu (Theodosius)
25: I have appointed above the four generals of Babylonia. ....

We then find the following brief account at the end of month VIII in the same year (6/7 Nov.-4/5 Dec. 133 BC):[111]

Obverse

7: .... That month, [....]
8: [....] entered Seleucia which is on the Tigris. That month, I heard
9: [as follows: ....] Susa they made, and killed many troops of the Elamite in fighting, and the, ...
10: [....] they ....

But a rather fuller account of the battle in month VIII is gleaned from the incomplete note at the end of month X (4/5 Jan.-1/2 Feb. 132 BC). It gives:[112]

Reverse

13: [That month a messenger of the King who carried a message of the King entered Babylon.] The administrator of Esangil and the Babylonians, the assembly of Esangil, [provided] one bull and 5 (sheep) sacrifices
14: [at the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' of Esangil for that messenger of the King as offering, and to B]el and Beltija, the great gods, for the life of the King and for his (own) life, he sacrificed them. That month,
15: [a leather document] which was written [to] the (Greek) citizens who are in Babylon, was read in the House of Observation; according to
16: [....Urya the son of K]amnaškiri, the Elamite enemy, who had revolted against his father
17: [....] lived in Babylonia, organised against their troops and left?
18: [....]-arrataš, the river of Elam, they crossed, for one beru distance they pitched camp

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111. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 226-7, No. $-132D_2$.

112. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 230-2, No. $-132D_2$. Reconstructed texts are based on a number of similar passages in other records.

of 174 SEB, confirms Parthian authority in Babylon with a clear reference to King Arsaces in month IX.[108] We may, therefore, assume that as an ally or vassal of the Arsacid sovereign, Hyspaosines was persuaded to move up to Babylonia and fend off the Elymaean incursion.

The presence at this juncture of another ruler in Elymais is consistent with the evidence of "annual" Susian bronzes (Table 1). Although his name has not survived in our cuneiform material, the new Elymaean king was Tigraios whose inaugural tetradrachm (Plate XIII) and first bronze issue (Plate XIV) may be assigned to year 175 SEM (138/7 BC). This date had, for a long time, been taken habitually to mark the end of the reign of Mithradates I. However, I have shown that the Great Parthian monarch in fact lived beyond 137 BC and died, as a result of a debilitating ailment, in early 132 BC.[109] This may account for the general lack of Parthian interest in Elymais. Although we do not have in our extant Astronomical Diaries an unbroken run of historical notes from the beginning of year 175 SEB to month VII of 179 SEB (28/9 Mar. 137 BC-7/8 Oct. 133 BC), what is preserved makes no reference to Elymaean affairs. Perhaps, instead of wasting manpower and resources on raids across southern Babylonia, Tigraios took advantage of Parthian preoccupation with developments elsewhere and consolidated his position. But we have ample evidence from the remaining months of 179 SEB to show extended and extensive military campaigns involving the Elymaean and Parthian forces. This begins with an audacious raid by the Characenean forces, probably supported by Elymaean contingents, on a port along the river Tigris in month VII of 179 SEB (7/8 Oct.-5/6 Nov. 133 BC). The relevant text gives:[110]

Reverse

18: .... That month I heard as follows: the forces of Aspasine,
19: the enemy from the environs of Mesene, a friend of the Elamite enemy, came and fell on the harbour of ships
20: in the Tigris and plundered this harbour of ships together with their possessions.
21: That month, I heard as follows: Pilinus (Philinus), the general of Babylonia who is above the four generals,

108. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 176-7, No. –137D, Lower edge text, and also No. –137, Obv. line 1.

109. Assar 2003a: 7-8.

110. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 216-7, No. –132B; Del Monte 1997: 123-7.

10: [....] entered [.... Seleucia which is on] the Tigris and the King's canal. That month, on an unknown day, the King's troops who guarded Babylonia came and .... [....]

11: [....] .... dispersed their cohorts, took captives of them .... they inflicted a defeat on them. They returned[?] [....]

12: [....] panic of the Elamite enemy was strong in the land, and panic of the enemy fell on the people, ... and reed marshes[?] they dispersed[?] [....]

13: [....] of the lower Sealand, the cities and canals of the gulf [....] ....lutra their names were ca[lled[?] ....]

14: [....] and made them obey to his command; he imposed tribute on them, and Aspasine, son of[?] [....]

The text continues on to the reverse of the tablet as follows:

Reverse

1: [....] this [Aspasi]ne searched for a sortie[?] against the Elamite enemy, and turned the cities [and[?] ca]nals[?] of the lower Sealand over to his own side, and made [them obey[?]] to his command [....]

2: [....] in order to complete [....] of the lower Seal[and] who did not obey his commands, ... [....] seized them in a revolt, took captives of them, plundered them [....]

3: [.... there was] panic in Elam, happiness and agreement in Babylonia [....]. That month, night of the 27th, in the middle watch, there was a fall of fire in the district of Tintir, 2 .... were de[stroyed[?] ....]

In spite of a number of uncertain elements, the above text clearly demonstrates that a new power had emerged in Elymais. Perhaps encouraged by Mithradates' engagements elsewhere in the Empire, the latest Elymaean leader made a daring attack on Babylonia and seemingly defeated the provincial army and spread panic among the population before returning to his own camp.[107] However, we also meet, for the first time, the Characenean ruler Hyspaosines who valiantly confronts the Elymaean invader and gains popularity in Babylonia. But he is not styled king in the above text. Nor is the colophon of the corresponding Diary dated to him. In fact the opening line of the subsequent short Diary, covering months IX-XII

107. Mithradates I issued no coins in 175 SEM (4/5 Oct. 138 BC-21/2 Sep. 137 BC) at Seleucia on the Tigris. This strongly indicates that he was absent from Babylonia, perhaps fighting the Saca hordes who had begun to impinge on Parthia's north-eastern frontiers a few years earlier.

the Seleucid invasion cannot, at present, be ascertained because of the fragmentary state of the corresponding tablets. But given the evidence of "annual" bronzes (Table 1) we can be reasonably sure that Elymais and with it the mint of Susa remained in Parthian hands throughout the year 174 SEM (14/15 Oct. 139 BC-3/4 Oct. 138 BC).

The *status quo* apparently lasted until the end of month VIII of 174 SEB (2/3 Nov.-1/2 Dec. 138 BC). The corresponding brief historical notice contains the following inconclusive remarks on the developments in Elymais:

Reverse

10: [....] the general who is above the 4 generals, [departed] from Babylon to Seleu[cia ....]
11: [....] in the province of Media opposite of Elam [....]

In any case, permanent Parthian influence in the satrapy proved difficult and so the new administration failed to bring peace and stability to Elymais. Our cuneiform records reveal that in about the middle of month IX of 174 SEB (2/3-30/1 Dec. 138 BC) the situation in both Babylonia and Elymais took a dramatic turn. The relevant historical commentary reads:[106]

Obverse

8: .... That month, the 10:h[?] day, [....]
9: [....] pitched his camp [outside (Seleucia which is)[?]] on the Tigris. He returned and mustered his troops [....]

Esangil; he made offerings to Bel, Beltija,]
24: and the great gods, (and) prostrated himself. On the 6th day, an enemy force fell on Nippur and took captives, they killed people, carried off spoil [....]
25: and brought spoil out. Rumour[?] spread[?], the officer of the guard from Uruk pursued them and reached them, he reduced their captives, [took away[?]] their spoil [....]
26: and sent what he had seized[?] to Babylon and Seleucia before the general of Babylonia. The 17th, the general of Babylonia with his troops entered Babylon. That day[?], [....]
27: the assembly of Esangil provided 1 bull and 4 sheep as sacrifices between the double doors of the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' of Esangil; [he performed] offerings to Bel, Beltija, and the great gods [....]
28: together with his troops he went out from Babylon to Seleucia. That month, the 2nd, the general of Babylonia went out from Seleucia and .... [....]

106. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 158-72, No.–137D.

Ignoring the uncertain comment in line 3 above, it is clear from the statement in line 4 of this text, concerning the leading army commander, and the sketchy references in the previous two records, that the Parthians held Babylon during May-Jul. 138 BC. This is incompatible with Justin (36.1.3-4) who reports that as the Demetrius II approached Babylonia reinforcements from the Persians, the Elymaeans and the Bactrains arrived at his camp and so enabled him to defeat the Parthians in a series of battles.[104] Justin then claims that Demetrius was ultimately tricked by a false offer of peace and captured. Yet the testimony in lines 8-10 of the above text is quite clear on this episode. In one and the same month Mithradates I left Media for Babylonia, crushed the Seleucid force, took Demetrius prisoner and sent him to Media and not, as Justin (36.1.6) reports, to Hyrcania. There are no references to intense or prolonged fighting in Babylonia and with Mithradates firmly in control of a vast Empire, no reinforcement could have reached Demetrius from Bactria, Persia and Elymais unopposed. In fact the partial remarks in lines 4-7 of the same text imply that Elymais was under Parthian suzerainty at that time. We note that a calamitous event, perhaps a combination of disease and raids by the Arab dwellers of southern Mesopotamia, had forced large numbers of the inhabitants of several cities to take their belongings and flee to Elymais. This evidently placed a severe strain on food resources in that satrapy and ultimately led to a widespread famine in Susa and other Elymaean cities. However, judging from the statements in the earlier records from month II and IV of 174 SEB, it appears that the Urukeans or people from another southern city had a hand in the troubles that induced the mass exodus from Babylonia to Elymais.[105] Whether this was in some ways connected with

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104. Potts (1999: 388) rejects Justin's claim and comments that the Elymaeans were actively campaigning against both the Seleucids and the Parthians in Babylonia.

105. Cf. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 173-5, No. –137D. The following historical note from month X of 174 SEB (31 Dec. 138 BC/1 Jan. 137 BC-28/9 Jan. 137 BC) confirms the presence of a certain hostile force in southern Babylonia:

Reverse

22: .... That month, on the 5th day, the satrap of Babylonia who from the camp[?] [....] .... [...]

23: On the 6th day, at the command of Marduk-zera-ibni, the administrator of Esangil and the Babylonians, the assembly of Esangil, [provided] 1 bull and 3 sheep as sacrifice between the double doors of the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' [of

and then back to Babylon. At the same time Bagayash, brother of Mithradates I and his appointed governor of Media Magna and Atropatene,[102] seems to have been present in Babylonia. He may have led his troops out of the province and into Media to reinforce the garrison there and prepare for the impending Seleucid attack. At the same time, the royal decree to *kill the general* in the second record may be a reference to the aborted chase mentioned in the earlier text. Obviously the Parthian commander's failure to crush the enemy south of Babylon led to his removal and execution. In any case, its inclusion in the above text confirms that Babylonia was under Arsacid and not Seleucid jurisdiction at that point in time. This is further strengthened by the fact that in the same line of inscription we find Mithradates I (King Arsaces) and not Demetrius II as the recognised authority in Babylonia. These sketchy attestations are evidently linked with some of the statements in the following records.

The text pertaining to the defeat and capture of Demetrius II reads:[103]

Reverse

Month IV of 174 SEB (7/8 Jul.-4/5 Aug. 138 BC)

3: ..... That month, the 28th day, [King?] Ar[saces? ....]

4: [....] general who was above the 4 generals entered Babylon. That month, a fall of (dying of) cattle .... [....]

5: [....] Uruk and the cities which are on the Kutha canal, the Suru canal, the Piqudu canal and the canals [....]

6: [....] .... their [belongings and ....] .... they took and brought (them) up to Elam. The people of these cities in fear of .... [....]

7: [....] .... and famine occurred in Susa and the cities of Elam. I heard as follows: the Urukeans .... [....]

8: [....] planned evil. That month, I heard as follows: (scribal error?) King Demetrius who had earlier [departed with] his troops from the cities of .... [....]

9: [....] made [his way to the cities] of Babylonia. And this King Arsaces went from the cities of Media to Babylonia, and .... [....]

10: [....] brought about [the defeat] of his troops, and seized him and his nobles, saying: King Arsaces [....] good peace for you? from .... [....]

11: [....] in plenty, happiness and good peace in the cities of Media next to King Arsaces .... [....]

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102. Assar 2001a: 18, 20; 2003a: 4, 16-8.

103. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 160-1, No. –137A.

of Kamnaskires Megas Soter (Series I) and Nikephoros (Series IV). This is perhaps an added clue that the two Kamnaskiri were one and the same ruler whose reign was temporarily interrupted by Demetrius II and Okkonapses in 145/4 BC.

The next tangible reference to Elymais is gleaned from an historical note in our Astronomical Diary of 174 SEB. It reports the defeat and capture by Mithradates I of the Seleucid monarch Demetrius II in month IV of that year (7/8 Jul.-4/5 Aug. 138 BC). However, in order to tackle some of the unclear elements in this fragmentary record, it is necessary to examine briefly two earlier entries, one in the same and the other in another Diary. The first of these is from month II of 174 SEB (8/9 May-6/7 Jun. 138 BC) and reports:[100]

Obverse

16: [.... (the troops of the King)?] from Uruk, went out from Babylon to Uruk. These troops of the King retreated at the midpoint of their journey. The 5th day, [....]

17: [.... departed? from Seleucia which is] on the Tigris and the King's canal, (and) entered Babylon. The 21st day, this general and the general .... [....]

18: [....] Bagayasha who to the cities of the province of Assyria [....]

19: [....] .... mustered his [troops] and [departed] to the cities of Media [....]

The second text is dated to month III of 174 SEB (7/8 Jun.-6/7 Jul. 138 BC) and gives:[101]

Obverse

19: [....] .... departed. I heard that on the 18th day the general [....]

20: [.... a mess]age? from King Arsaces to kill the general [....]

21: [....] the province of Elam and .... [....]

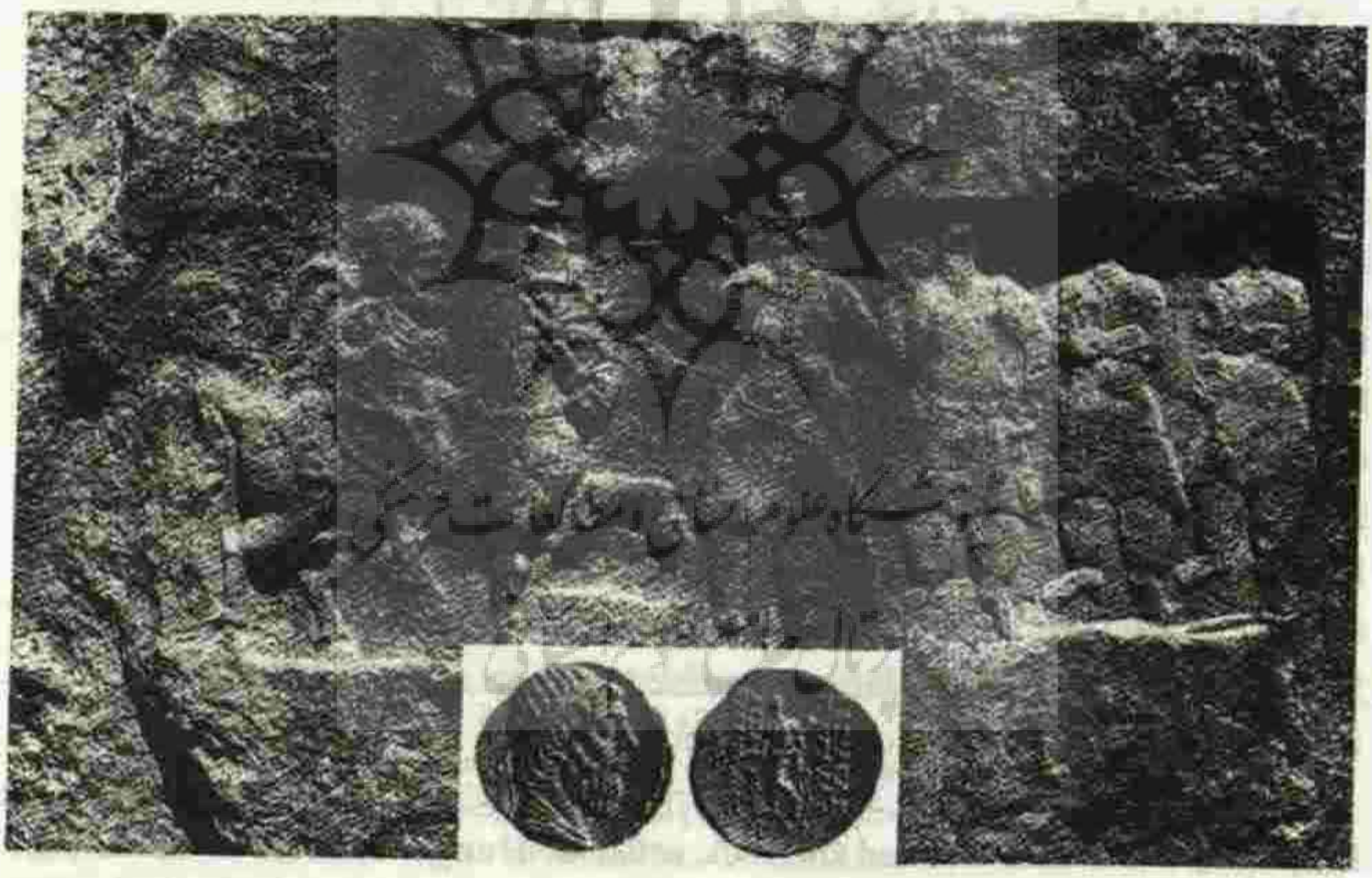
Admittedly, in their present incomplete state the above records yield very little information of historical significance. We appear to have, in the first record, a reference to the departure of the Urukean? royal troops from Babylon to Uruk further south. Perhaps the same men later abandoned their pursuit of an enemy force and probably returned to Seleucia on the Tigris

100. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 160-1, No. –137A.

101. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 164-5, No. –137B.

tetradrachms from Seleucia on the Tigris.[98] These were minted to mark the Parthian conquest of Babylonia in 141 BC. The one pictured in Plate XV is dated ΓΟΡ = 173 SEM (140/39 BC). It comes from a tetradrachm hoard unearthed in or around Susa in 1965.[99] We may therefore assume that following the annexation of Elymais, the rock carver of Hung-i Nauruzi relief modelled Mithradates' head on the portrait of a similar example.

There are unfortunately no contemporary or later evidence on the fate of Kamnaskires. Yet it is possible that he escaped and continued his struggle against Parthian hegemony in Elymais. To finance his opposition he may have minted the Series V barbarous drachms depicted in Plate VII. The epithets ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ and ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in the inscription of the first specimen in this series are consistent with the titulature of the tetradrachms



Pl. XV. Rock Relief at Hung-i Nauruzi in Khuzistan and Tetradrachm of Mithradates I

[Reproduced from Mathiesen 1992b: 120 (rock relief); Houghton and Le Rider 1966, Pl. IX, 151 (coin)]

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98. Cf. Mathiesen 1992a: 17-9; 1992b: 120-1, for a detailed discussion of the relief and the corresponding bibliography. Cf. also Potts 1999: 388.

99. Houghton and Le Rider 1966: 121, no. 151; 125 and Pl. IX, 151. Cf. also Strauss 1971: 126-7.

38: [in fro]nt of the ...., the citizens, and the .... with the rack o[f interrogation ....]
39: [....] .... [....] .... [....] .... general [....]
40: [....] .... people [....] .... [....]
41: [....] .... did not reach .... I heard as follows: King Arsaces in (or: from) the city [....]
42: [....] they [ki]lled[?].

We also have, from month X of 171 SEB in another Diary fragment, the following incomplete reference to the Elymaean threat:[95]

Obverse

11: [....] .... panic of the enemy occurred in the land. This Elamite enemy .... [....] .... [....] .... [....]
12: [....] .... big[?] and small[?] inside this city .... [....] the [....] of Seleucia [....]
13: [....] [x]-na[?], son of Antiochus[?] the general[?] [....] .... [....]
14: [....] .... on the door [....] .... [....] .... [....]
15: [....] Antiochus the general [....]
16 to 18 (illegible traces).

The natural inference from the above Babylonian sources is that Elymais was not yet under Arsacid jurisdiction in early 140 BC.[96] Regrettably, a break of about two years in the extant Astronomical Diaries prevents precise dating of the Parthian victory from the contemporary sources. But given the sequence of the "annual" Susian bronzes (Table 1), it is quite likely that Mithradates I eventually prevailed and extended his sway over the satrapy sometime after October 140 BC.[97] This is consistent with the overstruck Susian bronze of Mithradates discussed earlier (LR 95), showing as its undertype a LR 93 bronze of Kamnaskires.

It is equally possible that to commemorate his victory in Elymais, Mithradates I commissioned the rock relief of Hung-i Nauruzi in Khuzistan (Plate XV). Although the identity of the figure on the horseback is still disputed, its head very closely resembles the portrait of Mithradates I on his

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95. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 152-5, No. –140D.

96. Potts (1999: 388) too rejects the earlier theories on the Parthian capture of Elymais in late 141-early 140 BC.

97. Given the arrangement of the Susian bronzes in Table 1, the last issue of Kamnaskires began on 1 Dios 173 SEM (25/6 Sep. 140 BC). This indicates that the Elymaean ruler still held Susa at that point in time. The Parthian victory must therefore have came after that date.

reports no battle between the Parthian and Elymaean forces. In fact, the entry from month X in the same year (2/3 Jan.-1/2 Feb. 140 BC) reveals that Parthian troops were betrayed by their commander, a certain Antiochus. He was most probably son of a local dynast called Aryabuzan,[91] and the leading troop commander in Babylonia at the time of the Parthian victory in early summer of 141 BC. The corresponding lines read:[92]

Reverse

29: .... That month, I heard
30: as follows: on the 4th day, the (Greek) citizens who were in Seleucia which is on the Tigris set up a curse on Antiochus,
31: the general who is above the 4 generals, because[?] he made common cause with the Elamite; they had provided[?] [(a certain number of animal sacrifices) ....] for the general,
32: and sent many troops with him towards the Elamite for fighting.
33: They held back this Antiochus, but he escaped with a few troops, and the people of the land who were in Seleucia
34: on the Tigris plundered his possessions which he had left in the land, and the troops of the King who were with him plundered the possessions which were in [the land[?] ....]
35: That month, the Elamite [went out ....] towards Bit-Karkudî which is on the Tigris for fight[ing ....]
36: That [month], the 27th, one man from the troops of the King, as they say, whom the general of An(tiochus),[93] son of Alexander .... [....][94]
37: entered Babylon. That year' the people of the land ...., and one from his troops .... [....]

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91. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 134-5, No. –140A, Rev. lines 7-8.

92. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 150-1, No. –140C.

93. Antiochus VI son of Alexander Balas. Sachs and Hunger (1996: 152) comment that the reference to Antiochus VI here may be important in deciding the date of his murder by Tryphon. The latest extant coins of Antiochus VI are dated 171 SEM (142/1 BC). This equates with regnal year 1 of Tryphon and therefore suggests that Antiochus VI had been eliminated sometime during 142-141 BC.

94. Van der Spek (1997/98: 171-2) has offered the following alternative interpretations: That [month], the 27th, one man from the troops of the king, of whom they say that the general of Antiochus, son of Alexander [had sent him (?) ....,] or: "of whom they say that he was general of Antiochus son of Alexander, [....]"; or: "…. of whom they say that he was general, whom Antiochus, son of Alexander, [had sent ….]

However, since numismatic evidence unequivocally places the death of Antiochus VI in 142/1 BC the latter interpretation cannot hold since it clearly implies that the infant Seleucid ruler was still alive in early 140 BC.

the conquest of Babylonian in July 141 BC by the Great Parthian monarch Mithradates I (165-132 BC).[88]

Justin (41.6.8) places the capture of Elymais after Mithradates' victories in Media Magna and Atropatene, and following his sojourn in Hyrcania. But this is one in a string of blunders by the epitomiser of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic History. Although incomplete, the contemporary Babylonian records show that Elymais was pacified after the Parthian triumph in Babylonia and following a series of military expeditions. The earliest of our references to Parthian involvement in Elymaean affairs is from month IX of 171 SEB (3/4 Dec. 141-1/2 Jan. 140 BC) and reads:[89]

Obverse

34: .... That month, I heard as follows: King Arsaces and his troops departed from Hyrcania.

35: I heard as follows: (on the) 6th, the Elamite and his troops departed towards Apamea which is on the river Silhu for fighting.

36: That [month?], the people who dwell in Apamea[90] went out to Bit-Karkudî; they burned Apamea.

37: [....] An(tiochus) the general who is above the 4 generals, who was representing King Arsaces, went out from Sel[eucia which is on]

38: the Tigris towards the Elamite for fighting; from the river Kabari he departed, and the numerous troops [who were with him ....] .... [....]

39: went out for fighting. The people who were in Seleucia and the people who dwell in Babylon, [....] the belongings [....]

40: to guard (them) before the .... of the Elamite. I heard as follows: the troops who were in Bit-[Karkudî? went out and]

41: set up [camp opposite?] of the troops of the Elamite. That month, the people [took ....] their children, their possessions, and their wives [....]

42: the nobles of the King who had entered Babylon and the few people they led to the sea [....]

43: [....] of the brickwork of the Marduk Gate they tore down and the brickwork [....]

44: [....] on? the Euphrates from .... [....]

Yet in spite of attesting to extensive military movements, the above text

88. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 134-5, No. –140A; Assar 2003a: 2-3.

89. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 146-7, No. –140C.

90. Potts 1999: 387. Apamea was located in Mesene (Characene) in south Babylonia. According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 6.31.132), it was named by Antiochus I after his mother.

second Kamnaskires. It is possible that after his expulsion from Susa by Seleucid forces sometime after autumn of 145 BC,[86] Kamnaskires returned about a year later, defeated Okkonapses and was, once again, acknowledged King of Elam. However, this time he styled himself Nikephoros *Bearer of Victory*, perhaps because of his triumph over an Elymaean and not a Seleucid interloper. This is consistent with the evidence of certain Susian emissions. As can be noted, the obverse monogram $^{E}_{A}$ is absent from the Series III coinage of Kamnaskires (Plate V), minted prior to his expulsion by Demetrius II. Yet its variant appears as $^{\Xi}_{A}$ in the left field on the reverse of Demetrius' Susian tetradrachms (Plate IX) and then in its proper form on the obverse of Okkonapses' unique piece (Plate XI). On the other hand, as one of the earliest issues of Kamnaskires Nikephoros, coin No. 1 in Plate VI does not seem to bear this particular obverse monogram. Moreover, the obverse portrait of the same specimen bears closer resemblance to the one on the Series III tetradrachm (Plate V) than to those of Series IV examples (Plate VI). It is quite likely that while retreating from Susa, Kamnaskires intended to strike coins elsewhere and so took with him some of his tetradrachm dies. On his return about a year later, one of those old dies was coupled with a new reverse. The set was then temporarily used for minting a fresh issue, bearing the inscription *(the coin of) King Kamnaskires Nikephoros*, while new obverse dies were being cut by the celator of Okkonapses' tetradrachm.[87] Hence the evident stylistic and iconographical links between the obverse portraits of the two Elymaean emissions.

From this point until about the end of 141 BC Elymaean history plunges into a "Dark Age". There are no dated coins or any literary evidence from the intervening years. We can only surmise that Kamnaskires reigned unopposed in the interim. But the situation changes dramatically following

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86. Table I of Susian bronzes shows that Kamnaskires struck an "annual" issue in 168 SEM, beginning on 20/1 Sep. 145 BC.

87. Cf. Mørkholm (1965), 149, who records a drachm of Seleucus IV struck from an obverse die of Antiochus IV. He also reports a drachm of Antiochus IV that shares its obverse with two drachms of Demetrius I. These were struck at Ecbatana. Houghton (1983), 106, no. 1064 is a tetradrachm of Antiochus IV having the same obverse as no. 1066, a tetradrachm of Demetrius I, both from Susa. In the case of Kamnaskires the situation may have been slightly different. Demetrius II would certainly have seized and destroyed all of Kamnaskires' dies. Any remaining ones would have been discarded by Okkonapses. It is even possible that Kamnaskires brought with him to Susa some obverse dies cut elsewhere for coin production.

Whether Kamnaskires had been supplanted in Susa earlier than Jul./Aug. 144 BC cannot be determined from the above text. But it is highly likely that Seleucid forces had reached Susa around early summer of that same year. Given that the above sequence of Susian issues places the tetradrachms of Demetrius II (Plate IX) after the Series III of Kamnaskires, we may assign the brief silver and bronze coinage of the Seleucid ruler to the period late 145-early 144 BC of the Elymaean history.

However, at this juncture, Seleucid authority was once again challenged by a pretender. We are informed by I.Maccabees (11.44-50) and Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 13.129-30 and 135-41) that Demetrius II and his army were disliked by the Antiocheans. As a result the Seleucid ruler decided to disarm the citizens. This led to a revolt which was quelled with sheer brutality and the city (or part of it) burnt down in the process. The survivors fled and Demetrius' popularity diminished rapidly. As attested in the above record, the new claimant to the Seleucid throne was Antiochus VI (145/4-142/1 BC), the infant son of Alexander Balas. He was set up by Diodotus Tryphon, a functionary of Alexander Balas, as a rival to Demetrius II and began striking coinage at a number of Seleucid mints. His silver and bronze issues are known from Antioch, Ascalon, Apamea, and Ake-Ptolemais.[84] Some of these are dated to the period 168-171 SEM (145/4-142/1 BC). It is highly likely that as a result of the civil strife and dynastic disputes in the west, Seleucid authority in the east weakened and this led, once again, to the secession of Elymais.

The new *Saviour* of the Elymaean kingdom was Okkonapses about whom history records nothing. Our numismatic evidence however suggests that he controlled the Susian mint before the victorious return of Kamnaskires. At the same time, the extreme rarity of Okkonapses' coinage (Plate XI) strongly implies that his reign was ephemeral and most probably insignificant. Yet the epithet ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on his tetradrachm suggests that he had won a victory against a Seleucid rather than an Elymaean rival.

Some scholars maintain that following the termination of Seleucid power in Susa about 145/4 BC a new Elymaean ruler called Kamnaskires Nikephoros took over.[85] But the evidence of coins seems to rule out a

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84. Gardner 1878: 63-7; Houghton 1983: 15-6, 79; Houghton and Spaer 1998: 238-45.

85. Cf. for example, Alram 1986: 137-41. Fischer (1971: 169-75) places the beginning of the reign of Kamnaskires Nikephoros in ca. 163 BC and that of Kamnaskires Megas Soter in ca. 141 BC.

tetradrachms of Kamnaskires Nikephoros. As mentioned earlier, Le Rider has already pointed out the close artistic relations between Okkonapses' tetradrachm and one of the earlier issues of Kamnaskires Nikephoros (Plate VI, 2). The numismatic evidence then suggests the following sequence of tetradrachm issues:

Series III of Kamnaskires → Demetrius II → Okkonapses → Series IV of Kamnaskires Nikephoros

Regrettably, our only extant contemporary historical note is lamentably incomplete. Otherwise it would have furnished us with brief but definitive accounts of the developments in Elymais. Even so, what remains makes no reference to Kamnaskires and implies lack of Elymaean hold over Susa. The fragmentary text of the corresponding Astronomical Diary is from month IV of 168 SEB (12/13 Jul.-10/11 Aug. 144 BC) and reads:[82]

18: [.... Th]at [month,] I heard as follows: the troops which to Susa .... of Susa [....]
19: [...] many [troops/armies'] who had converged[?] on Elam,[83] they made enter Susa [....]
20: [...] the general of Nisibis and the troops of Antiochus, son of Alexander, who retur[ned[?] ....]
21: [....] departed. That month, redness occurred again and again in the east and west. That month, there was *simmu*-disease, scabies and scurf in the land.
22: [.... as befo]re[?].

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82. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 104-5, No. –143A; Del Monte 1997: 100; Van der Spek 1997/98: 171. The latter believes that this text records the victory of Diodotus Tryphon in Antioch over Demetrius II who then retreated either to Seleucia-in-Pieria or on-the-Tigris. However, the context strongly implies operations in Elymais and Susa, not the western Seleucid provinces and cities. Cf. also Potts 1999: 376, Table 10.2; 387. The author mistakenly dates the text to Jun./Jul. 144 BC.

83. The beginning of the text is lost and the meaning of some of the signs is not entirely clear. However, the context seems to imply that either numerous troops or several armies had moved towards Susa and ultimately entered the city. Perhaps one of the armies was led by the general of Nisibis and supported Antiochus VI son of Alexander Balas mentioned in the following line. If so, there is a possibility that Susa was occupied by the loyal troops of Antiochus VI in month IV of 168 SEB. Perhaps the same army, supported by contingents from other quarters, departed from Susa to confront Demetrius II in the west. This then places the expulsion of Kamnaskires a few months earlier than Jul./Aug. 144 BC. The vacuum created by the departure of Antiochus' loyal troops may well have led, once again, to Elymaean insurgency. Cf. Potts 1999: 387.

According to I.Maccabees (11.18) and Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 13.120), shortly after the final battle between Alexander Balas and Demetrius II, the former was assassinated and Ptolemy VI (180-145 BC), ruler of Egypt died.[79] This then gave Demetrius the opportunity to attack and expel the Egyptian forces and so regain full control of Coelê-Syria and the seafront in Palestine. It is certainly this episode that appears in the above cuneiform text dated Sep./Oct. 145 BC, portraying the Seleucid ruler as the conqueror of the Egyptian cities.[80] But Demetrius' preoccupation in the west must, in turn, have given Kamnaskires the opportunity to attack Babylonia. Our second record clearly demonstrates that sometime during Oct./Nov. 145 BC he marched around unopposed and pillaged the Babylonian towns and cities. Yet this must have been a passing raid to plunder and not to extend Elymaean power on to the Mesopotamian plain. The entry for month IX (Nov./Dec.) in the same Diary is not dated to King Kamnaskires[81] and so proves that the Elymaean ruler had withdrawn to his own kingdom soon after his triumph. But Kamnaskires' audacious attack on Babylonia must have incurred Demetrius' punitive measures. At this point we must return to our numismatic evidence to reconstruct the sequence of events that culminated in a temporary Seleucid hold over Susa in 145/4 BC.

Given the stylistic differences between the tetradrachms of Demetrius II (Plate IX) and the barbarous issues of Kamnaskires (Plate VI, 12-13), it is reasonable to assume that the former is anterior. At the same time, the obvious iconographical discontinuity between the Series II and III tetradrachms of Kamnaskires indicates that the two were separated by a few years. It is therefore possible to place Demetrius' tetradrachms between the Series III and IV of Kamnaskires. But we must also account for the silver and bronze issues of Okkonapses (Plate XI). Obviously, the inaugural tetradrachm of this ruler too cannot have been minted after the crude

79. Ptolemy VI helped Demetrius II to eliminate Alexander Balas. In return Demetrius agreed to take as his wife Cleopatra Thea daughter of Ptolemy VI (she had formerly married Alexander Balas). Cf. I.Maccabees (11.9-10); Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 13.109-11); Diodorus (32.9.c); Livy (*Epit.* 52).

80. Van der Spek (1997/98: 170-1) convincingly argues that "the phrase *King Demetrius marched around in the cities of Meluhha (= Egypt) victoriously* is something of exaggeration". Most probably, *Meluhha* corresponds to that section of the Seleucid Empire that fell to Ptolemy VI when he moved against Alexander Balas as far as Antioch and temporarily occupied Palestine and parts of Syria.

81. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 100-1.

In spite of its diminished historical value, the above text unequivocally attests to both Demetrius' authority in Babylonia and the presence of an independent Elymaean state. Unfortunately, the name of *the King of Elam* has not survived in this partially preserved tablet. But our numismatic evidence suggests that at that point in time Kamnaskires Megas Soter held sway over Elymais (Table 1). Our text then implies that he had mustered his troops and probably departed *from his land* to another location. However, the following two sketchy notes in the same Diary throw more light on the situation and provide certain clues concerning Kamnaskires' eventual expulsion from Susa:

Obverse

Month VII, 167 SEB (20/1 Sep.-19/20 Oct. 145 BC)

34: .... That month, the administrator of E[sangil and ....] performed work on the rubble[?] [....] of Esangil as before. That month the citizens

35: [who were in Babylon] performed work on the gypsum [....] of Babylon .... That month [....] King Demetrius marched in the cities of Meluhha (= Egypt)

36: victoriously. That month at the command[?] of Ardaya, the general of Babylonia, they made a counting [....] of the Babylonians, the servants of the King

37: [....] the citizens who were in Babylon and Seleucia.

and,

Reverse

Month VIII, 167 SEB (20/1 Oct.-17/18 Nov. 145 BC)

17: .... That month, on the 12th, Ardaya, the gene[ral of Babylonia ....] .... [....]

18: of the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' of Esangil, sacrificed a bull and five fattened sheep for Bel, Bltija, the great gods, and his (own) life [....]

19: this [....] from his own house opposite the dudê gate of Esangil, 4 bulls and 4 sheep they provided; for Bel, Beltija, the [great] gods [....]

20: this general of Babylonia [departed[?]] from Babylon to fight with Kammashkiri (sic.) [King of Elam, ...] from the King[?]

21: Kammashkiri (sic.), King of Elam, marched victoriously among the cities and rivers of Babylonia; they plundered this [.... and]

22: carried off their spoil. The people [....] their ...., their animals [....] for fear of this Elamite to the house[?] [....] There was panic and fear in the land.

There is virtually nothing on the political circumstances of the formative years of the reign of Kamnaskires. We can only assume that Alexander Balas remained preoccupied in the west while Kamnaskires consolidated his power in Elymais.

As for the end of Alexander Balas' reign we are told by Justin (35.2.1-4) that the Seleucid usurper was eventually attacked and slain by Demetrius II who had found considerable support in Syria. But we have no knowledge of the terminal date of Alexander's reign. Our latest cuneiform record subscribed to King Alexander is dated 20.VIII.166 SEB[72] (20/1 Nov. 146 BC). This equates with 20.II.167 SEM and is consistent with the date of his rare tetradrachms from Antioch, Tyre[73] and Berytus.[74] We then have, from the same year, an interregnal coinage in the name of Antiochus IV from Antioch[75] and several issues of Demetrius II from Antioch, Berytus, and Tyre.[76] These indicate that Demetrius II had eliminated Alexander Balas in late 146 or early 145 BC. At the same time, we get glimpses of the political developments in Babylonia and Elymais in our cuneiform records. An incomplete reference in the entry for month VI of 167 SEB (22/3 Aug.-19/20 Sep. 145 BC) in an Astronomical Diary registers the following:[77]

Obverse

14: That month, the 17th, a message of [King] Demetrius, [....] was read [....] the commander of all the troops of the royal house.

15: That day, on the order of the administrator of Esangil and the Babylonians, a bull [....] ....

16: That month I heard as follows: Aryabu[zan[78] ....] .... [....]

17: entered Babylon and the other rivers. The auxiliary troops of .... [....]

18: the King of Elam with his numerous troops [....] from his land [....]

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72. Clay 1913, no. 50.

73. Houghton 1983: 11, no. 180; 75, nos. 749-50; Cf. also no. 564 in the same publication, dated 167 SEM but from an uncertain mint in the north central region of the Seleucid empire.

74. Houghton and Spaer 1998: 206-7, no. 1511.

75. Houghton 1983: 13, nos. 209-11; Houghton and Spaer 1998: 216-7, no. 1593.

76. Houghton 1983: 13, nos. 214-6; 75, nos. 751-2; Houghton and Spaer 1998: 218-9, nos. 1598-1600, 1609; 224-5, no. 1653; 228-9, nos. 1671-83.

77. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 94-5, No. –144.

78. He is most probably King Aryabuzan of Diary –140A, Rev. line 7. Cf. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 134-5.

held Susa for about a year after his invasion of Mesopotamia in the late summer of 130 BC.[70] The presence of a single bronze emission from that city is evidently consistent with the brevity of Antiochus' authority in Susa. This then implies that Alexander too must have held Susa briefly.

As mentioned earlier, Alexander Balas is first attested at Babylon on 1.I.162 SEB (22/3 Apr. 150 BC). This equates with 1.VII.162 SEM. Unfortunately, our subsequent records down to 167 SEB (145/4 BC) are extremely scanty and so offer virtually nothing on the political situation in Babylonia and other eastern Seleucid satrapies. We can only assume that the sole type of Alexander's Susian bronze suggests an ephemeral hold over Elymais. According to the arrangement of the "annual" Susian bronze issues (Table 1), the satrapy was lost to the Seleucids about 149 BC.

The first ruler of the new kingdom was Kamnaskires who styled himself Megas Soter, the Great and Saviour (of Elymais), on his inaugural emission (Plate III). As already stated above, the close stylistic and iconographical relations between this unique type and the Susian tetradrachms of Alexander Balas (Plate I) strongly suggest that they were contiguous issues. It is quite possible that for his celebratory coinage at Susa Kamnaskires employed one of the skilled celators of the immediately preceding Seleucid types. But he must have terminated his commemorative coinage shortly after his accession and taken the conventional Seleucid designs as prototype for his next issue (Plate IV). Le Rider perceptively remarks that it was customary at the mint of Susa to exclude the extended honorary epithets from the legends of the regal Seleucid emissions.[71] Hence the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΕΙΡΟΥ on Series II tetradrachms of Kamnaskires.

It is also apt to point out here the iconographical similarities between the reverse of Alexander Balas' tetradrachms, notably numbers 1 and 3-6 in Plate I, and of Series II of Kamnaskires. These confirm both the brevity of the inaugural emission of the Elymaean ruler and the correct sequence of the three issues just discussed.

I have assigned LR 86-90 "annual" bronze emissions (Plate VIII, 2-6) to the period 150/49-145/4 BC. However, it may be possible to rearrange the types and allocate to the same period LR 91, 92, 86, 87, and 88 purely on iconographical grounds.

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70. Assar 2003a: 9-12.

71. Le Rider 1969: 20, n. 2.

in general and an incorrect date of his death in particular. This and a series of other uncertain dates explain, to some extent, why Elymaean chronological problems have been impenetrable for so long. However, having revised and improved the Parthian chronology of the period 141-54 BC,[66] I believe that coupled with the sketchy references in the cuneiform records, numismatic evidence can increase our knowledge of the Elymaean affairs during 150-122 BC.

We already know that Le Rider records only a single Susian bronze issue (LR 84) for Alexander Balas (Plate II). This is known from 16 examples recovered by French archaeologists during the 1897-1934 excavations at Susa.[67] They show on the obverse the head of Artemis in a laurel crown facing right with a quiver partially visible at the back of her neck. The reverse displays Artemis standing three-quarters left, wearing a short tunic and *endromides* with a quiver on her left shoulder. She holds in her right and left hands, respectively, an arrow and a bow with one end on the ground. One example has on its reverse the monogram A to the left of the standing Artemis. Le Rider remarks[68] that this is comparable with the $\frac{E}{A}$ monogram on the Susian tetradrachms of Kamnaskires Nikephoros (Plate VI). Given that the bronzes of Alexander Balas were found individually at Susa, it is quite unlikely that he minted additional types since none has so far come to light during the authorised and clandestine excavations there. This is at odds with the number of known Susian bronzes from some of the earlier Seleucid reigns. For example, although probably incomplete, we have 7 different types from each of the two reigns of Seleucus IV (187-175 BC) and Antiochus IV (175-164 BC) and 5 from that of Demetrius I (161-150 BC). These are respectively LR 45, 47-52; LR 57-60, 61+62, and 63-64; and LR 74-77, 78+79. They give an average of roughly one issue every two years.[69] On the other hand, we have only one type from each of the two short reigns of Demetrius II and Antiochus VII at Susa (cf. below). Our Babylonian cuneiform and numismatic evidence shows that Antiochus VII

66. Assar 2003a.

67. All found as single specimens. Cf. Le Rider 1965: 241-51 for the compositions of the 13 hoards from Susa none of which included an example of the bronze of Alexander Balas.

68. Le Rider 1965: 74.

69. Le Rider 1965: 351; 1969: 22, n. 1.

No. 5. (LR 105, 106, 107):

– On obverse, right-facing and beardless head of Tigraios clad in elephant's skin, all within a dotted border. On reverse, a palm branch with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΤΙΓΡΑΙΟΥ on the left.

– 8 examples of LR 105 were found at Susa (3 are in Tehran, 5 in Paris).

– On LR 106 specimens the inscription is retrograded and disposed from bottom to top; 5 examples are recorded by Le Rider (1 is in Tehran, 4 in Paris).

– On LR 107 bronze ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ appears on the left and ΤΙΓΡΑΙΟΥ on the right, both disposed from top to bottom and also retrograded; 1 example found at Susa (kept in Tehran).

No. 6. (LR 108):

– On obverse, diadem head of Tigraios within a circular dotted border. On reverse a thunderbolt. The inscription is similar to that on LR 107. But on most specimens one finds ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ with a square sigma and the royal name given as ΤΙΓΕΑΙΟΥ.

– 4 coins recovered at Susa (1 is in Tehran, 3 in Paris). Le Rider comments that the degenerated inscriptions of LR 105-108 imply that they were minted at the end of Tigraios' reign.

The above material practically sums up the extant Susian coin types in the period 150-133 BC, beginning with the reign of Alexander Balas and ending with the termination of Tigraios' usurpation of power in Susa. Yet in spite of being our most prolific source, numismatic evidence fails to resolve the chronological difficulties of the Elymaean history.[65] This is primarily due to the absence of dated Susian issues from the period under consideration here. For example, we know that Kamnaskires, Okkonapses and Tigraios struck inaugural tetradrachms at Susa. But we have very little information about the inception dates of these emissions to decide the beginning of the reigns of their issuers. It is also noteworthy that Elymaean and Parthian histories became inextricably intertwined shortly after the conquest of Mesopotamia by Mithradates I in July 141 BC. Yet until recently we had only a vague notion of Mithradates' subsequent movements

65. As some of the recent publications cf. Mitchiner 1978: 124-6; Alram 1986: 137-9; Hansman 1990: 1; Bell 2002a: 38; 2002b: 34-6, who offer nothing more than the older contributions.

right, flanked by ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΤΙΓΡΑΙΟΥ on the left, all within a circular dotted border.

– 27 examples were discovered at Susa (10 are in Tehran, 14 in Paris). Le Rider states that the irregular obverse-reverse die axes of the coins, recovery of eight isolated examples at Susa and presence of nineteen specimens in the bronze hoard of 1933-34 (Trésor 7) secures attribution of the type to Susa.

No. 2. (LR 102):

– Obverse as the previous type but within a circular dotted border. On reverse, within a dotted border, the same inscription but Hermes facing.

– 2 examples discovered at Susa (1 is in Tehran, the other in Paris).

No. 3. (LR 103):

– On obverse, diademed head of Tigraios facing right surrounded by a circular dotted border (neck apparently undraped). On reverse, similar legend (occasionally abbreviated to ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΤΙΓΡΑΙ), three-quarters figure of Artemis advancing right, wearing short tunic and *endromides*, holding a bow in her left hand and fetching with the right an arrow from a quiver on her right shoulder.

– 21 examples were unearthed in Susa (10 are in Tehran, 11 in Paris).

No. 4. (LR 104):

– Obverse as the last example, but one diadem pendant is extended down over the neck and the other is turned up behind the head. On reverse, head of wild bore left with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above and ΤΙΓΡΑΙΟΥ below.

– 5 examples recovered at Susa (1 is in Tehran, 4 in Paris).

Pl. XIV. Bronze Coinage of Tigraios from Susa

[Reproduced from Le Rider 1965, Pls. X and XI]

Silver and Bronze Coinage of Tigraios from Susa (Plates XIII-XIV)

The French excavations at Susa yielded a series of bronze but no silver issues in the name of King Tigraios. However, at least one tetradrachm of this Elymaean ruler has come to light following the publication of Le Rider's 1965 monograph[63] (Plate XIII).

Pl. XIII. Silver Tetradrachm of Tigraios from Susa (the same coin)

No. 1. Le Rider 1978: 34
No. 2. Peus 363 (2000), # 5073

This shows on its obverse the diademed head of Tigraios and the standard $^{E}_{A}$ monogram in the left field. The reverse displays nude Apollo seated right on omphalos, holding an arrow in his left hand and resting the right on a bow, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΤΙΓΡΑΙΟΥ on the left, all within a circular dotted border.

The bronze issues on the other hand display a variety of obverse and reverse designs (Plate XIV) as listed below:[64]

No. 1. (LR 101):

– On obverse, right-facing diademed bust of Tigraios in a helmet (diadem not visible on all specimens). On reverse, eagle with open wings standing

63. Le Rider (1978: 34-7) discusses the only known specimen. This was later offered for sale in Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 363, 26 April 2000, lot 5073.

64. Potts (1999: 387) mistakenly attributes to Le Rider the identification of half a dozen Susian bronzes with the obverse monogram $^{E}_{A}$ since none has so far been recorded.

earlier types may have contributed to the absence of both LR 86, 89, and 91 of Kamnaskires, and LR 97 (= S12.28) of Mithradates I in "Trésor 7".

Mørkholm's observation regarding the shape and length of the king's beard on LR 97 bronze has already been briefly discussed above. It suffices to say that Artabanus I always appears with a pointed and not rounded beard on his various coinage. Also, contrary to Mørkholm's view, the spiral neck-torque did not make its first appearance on Parthian coins during the reign of Artabanus I. It is found as a pellet-ended single turn device on S7 drachms minted about 190 BC. Moreover, there are known examples of Phraates II showing a neck-torque with two or more turns. Since the same ornament is found on S11 drachms of Mithradates I, issued after his victory in Babylonia in 141 BC and until his death in early 132 BC, there can be no objections to its presence on LR 97 Susian bronze of the Great Parthian king.

No. 4. (LR 319 = S12.29):

– On obverse, head of Tyche in a turreted crown. On reverse, Apollo seated left, probably holding an arrow in his right hand and resting his forearm on a bow, all within a circular dotted border. The inscription, reconstructed from the preserved letters on the extant specimens, reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ on the left.

– 4 examples discovered at Susa (all are in Paris).

Sellwood attributes LR 319 bronzes to Susa.[59] On the other hand Le Rider assigns them to Seleucia on the Tigris.[60] He nevertheless admits that this particular bronze emission was not reported by McDowell[61] who examined over thirty thousand coins from several sessions of excavation at the site of the ancient city.

In a more recent publication[62] Le Rider reports an isolated example of LR 319 bronze among the material unearthed at Seleucia on the Tigris. This had probably escaped McDowell's attention. Given the stylistic differences between LR 95 and LR 319 emissions and the fact that the extant specimens of the latter type all have ↑↑ die alignment, I am inclined to accept Le Rider's attribution of the type to Seleucia on the Tigris rather thar Susa.

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59. Sellwood 1980: 41. The relevant arguments will be included in the 3rd edition of Sellwood's catalogue of Parthian coins.

60. Le Rider 1965: 153.

61. McDowell 1935, vii. Cf. also pages 183 and 200-4 on the coinage of Mithradates I.

62. Le Rider 1998: 14.

arguments: (a) Absence of this particular type in the Susian bronze hoard discovered in the course of 1933-34 French excavations at Susa and subsequently published by Le Rider (Trésor 7).[55] (b) Presence of the facing bust with a medium length beard which is comparable to some later types that form a transition from Phraates II to Artabanus I (cf. below). (c) Presence of a spiral neck-torque which is found only on certain bronze issues of Artabanus I and later Arsacid rulers. (d) The humble reverse type, showing the king kneeling in homage before Apollo, rather suits Artabanus I than Mithradates I.

The argument in (a) above may be countered by the fact that the same Susian bronze hoard (Trésor 7) also lacked three issues of Kamnaskires: LR 86, 89, and 91 (Plate VIII, 2, 5, and 7). These could not have been minted by later Elymaean kings called Kamnaskires whose names are given on their emissions as ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ but not ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ found on the absent pieces. The latter have come to light in a series of single finds in Susa.

Furthermore, we know that as Parthian vassals, the later rulers of Elymais down to 57 BC[56] issued at Susa only a limited silver coinage with no corresponding "annual" bronze.[57] The missing pieces of Kamnaskires can therefore be safely assigned to an earlier king of that name who reigned before Mithradates II (121-91 BC).

As for their absence in the above mentioned bronze hoard, this can be put down to a variety of reasons. After all, hoards of ancient coins do not always contain a complete run of the earlier types.[58] Considering that Susian bronzes were intended for local use, the overall size of each issue must have been small in comparison with the regular output of the major Parthian mints. This and such factors as the duration of mintage and withdrawal of

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55. Le Rider 1965: 249-50.

56. At this date the mint of Susa ceased to issue small bronze coins on an "annual" basis.

57. We have at least two drachms in the name of King Kamnaskires dated 208 SEM (105/4 BC) and a series of tetradrachms, drachms and silver fractions issued under King Kamnaskires and Queen Anzaze in the period 230-240 SEM (83/2-73/2 BC). For the published drachms dated 208 SEM cf. Dilmaghani 1986: 217, and Pl. 24, no. 2, and Gorny-Mosch, Auction 122, 10-11 March 2003, Lot 1525 (date not mentioned). The dated coinage of King Kamnaskires and Queen Anzaze are found in various published references and sale catalogues.

58. "Trésor 5" from Susa contained none of the drachm varieties of Kamnaskires and the tetradrachms illustrated in Plate VI above. Yet it had one S10.1 and two S11.1 drachms. These place the hoard's burial somewhere in 141-132 BC. Also, Trésor 7 included 4 bronzes of Antiochus III from Seleucia on the Tigris, 1 of Seleucus IV and 8 of Antiochus VII from Susa but none from the intervening reigns. Cf. Le Rider 1965: 246-50.

beard on his first coinage from Seleucia on the Tigris which is datable to 141 BC (cf. in particular S13.1 tetradrachm and S13.6 drachm[50]).

As for the reverse design, showing a figure wearing a tall tiara and kneeling before Apollo, Le Rider contends that it represents a scene of investiture in which Mithradates I is enthroned by a Greek god. However, since Mithradates I never appears in a tiara on his coinage and elsewhere, it is difficult to accept that the kneeling figure here is indeed that Great Arsacid ruler. Also, contrary to Le Rider's view that this particular design implies that the Parthians won Susa through negotiations rather than force of arms, we now have just enough cuneiform material to confirm prolonged military campaigns in Elymais after Mithradates' victories in Babylonia. It is therefore possible to view this curious design as a mark of pacification of Elymais, a fact accentuated by the facing portrait on the obverse of the coins.[51]

A rather similar scene is found on S45 and S53 tetradrachms of Orodes II (c. 57-38 BC) and Phraates IV (c. 38-2 BC).[52] The former was minted after Orodes defeated and executed his brother Mithradates IV (c. 57-54 BC). He then seized and overstruck Mithradates' S41 tetradrachms with his own dies. The kneeling Tyche on the reverse of S45 tetradrachms confirms Orodes' victory and submission of the city of Seleucia on the Tigris where Mithradates had issued his final coinage. This was inscribed with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, *(the coin of) King Arsaces, who is "Nicknamed" Mithradates, Philhellene*. The S53 tetradrachms, struck in 28 BC, were probably in celebration of Phraates' first victory over the usurper Tiridates and resumption of his own authority in Seleucia on the Tigris.

Almost simultaneous with the publication of Le Rider's monograph in 1965, Mørkholm discussed a major hoard of coins from Susa[53] and took the above quoted bronze with a facing royal bust (LR 97 = S12.28) as an issue of Artabanus I.[54] To qualify his attribution Mørkholm advanced the following

50. Wroth 1903, Pl. III, nos. 7-9.

51. Parthian coins with facing portraits can be shown to have been minted after a victory or during a military campaign.

52. Sellwood 1980: 138 (S45), 173 (S53).

53. Mørkholm (1965: 127) believes the discovery was made in late 1958 or early 1959. Le Rider (1965: 241, n. 1) dates it to 1959-60.

54. Mørkholm 1965: 151.

number of examples recovered during the French excavations at the ancient site, their fabric, and unadjusted dies. He also comments that one of the coins in this group is overstruck on an earlier emission. It shows traces of the undertype around the neck and chin of the standing Tyche on the reverse. These resemble the helmet worn by Kamnaskires on one of his Susian bronzes (LR 93, Plate VIII, 9).

No. 2. (LR 96 = S12.27):

– On obverse, bearded head of Heracles facing right within a circular dotted border. The reverse again heralds a triumph. It bears the same inscription as LR 95. But Tyche is replaced with a winged Nike standing left holding a crown in her right hand and carrying a palm branch over her left shoulder.

– 11 specimens discovered at Susa (5 are in Tehran, 6 in Paris). Following the same deciding factors given for the previous issue, Le Rider attributes this type to Susa.

No. 3. (LR 97 = S12.28):

– On obverse, facing bust of Mithradates I with short beard, wearing a diadem and a necklace with multiple turns. On reverse, similar inscription but nude Apollo standing right with his left leg set back and a bow under the left arm. His extended right hand is supporting the raised right hand of a kneeling figure wearing a tall tiara (Mithradates I according to Le Rider),[48] all within a circular dotted border.

– 5 examples were unearthed at Susa during the French excavations (all are in Paris). Le Rider argues[49] that the arbitrary positioning of the obverse-reverse dies of the extant specimens, their fabric and the fact that they have not been found elsewhere confirm their attribution to Susa. He also intimates that the facing bust with a medium length beard on the obverse of these examples cannot be that of Phraates II who appears as a young prince on his coinage. Likewise, he rules out Artabanus I because that king is portrayed on his coins with a visibly pointed beard. Later Parthian rulers too are excluded for the die-alignment of their respective Susian bronze issues. Beginning with the reign of Mithradates II, this was kept as ↑↑ down to the termination of the "annual" coinage at the end of the reign of Phraates III (70/69-58/7 BC). Accordingly, we may reasonably confidently identify the obverse bust on this variety with Mithradates I. He appears with a similar

48. Le Rider 1965: 79, 374-6.
49. Le Rider 1965: 374.

(Plate VI, 12-13), it will be shown that Okkonapses' reign in fact preceded that of Kamnaskires Nikephoros.

Bronze Coinage of Mithradates I from Susa (Plate XII)

As briefly discussed below, sometime after his conquest of Babylonia in early summer of 141 BC, Mithradates I (c. 165-132 BC) invaded Elymais and annexed that satrapy. But we do not know whether he celebrated his victory with a silver coinage at Susa since none has so far come to light. The extant coins confirm that following his triumph, Mithradates minted a series of bronze coins at that city.

Pl. XII. Bronze Coinage of Mithradates I from Susa

[Reproduced from Le Rider 1965, Pls. IX-X and XXX]

These have been identified and described by both Le Rider and Sellwood[46] as follows:

No. 1. (LR 95 = S12.26):

– On obverse, right-facing head of Tyche in turreted crown within a circular dotted border. The reverse has a clear victory theme. It shows Tyche standing left, holding a crown in her right hand and carrying a palm branch over her left shoulder, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ on the left, all within a circular dotted border.

– 31 examples discovered at Susa (6 are in Tehran, 25 in Paris). According to Le Rider,[47] these chalkoi can be safely attributed to Susa because of the

46. Le Rider 1965: 78-9, LR 95-7, and 153, LR 319; Sellwood 1980: 41, S12.26-S12.29.

47. Le Rider 1965: 79.

Silver and Bronze Coinage of Okkonapses from Susa (Plate XI)

The 1965 monograph of Le Rider also included three bronzes (Plate XI, 65.1-3) attributed to *King Hyknapses*.[44]

Pl. XI. Silver Tetradrachm and Bronze Coins of Okkonapses
[Reproduced from Le Rider 1978: 33 (tetradrachm) and Le Rider 1965, Pl. VI (bronzes)]

These show on their obverse the king's head facing right in a radiate diadem. On their reverse, nude Apollo is standing left, holding an arrow in his right hand, resting the left elbow on a column and the right leg set back, all inside a circular dotted border. The inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and the uncertain name [....]ΥΚΝΑΠΨΟΥ to the left of Apollo. But the latter was subsequently amended after the discovery of a unique tetradrachm revealed the correct name of the Elymaean ruler.[45]

The obverse of Okkonapses' tetradrachm depicts a right-facing and diademed head of the king with $^{E}_{A}$ monogram in the left field. On its reverse, nude Apollo is seated left on omphalos, holding an arrow in his right hand and resting the left on a bow, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right, ΟΚΚΟΝΑΠΨΟΥ to the left and ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ in exergue, all within a circular dotted border.

Le Rider comments that the obverse portrait of this tetradrachm very closely resembles that of Kamnaskires Nikephoros on his example in the Turin Museum (Plate VI, 2). He then concludes that the same hand probably cut the dies for both issues. Compared with the less artistic tetradrachms

44. Le Rider 1965: 68.
45. Le Rider 1978: 33-6.

1 2 3 4 5

Pl. IX. Tetradrachms of Demetrius II from Susa

No. 1. Le Rider 1965, Pls. VI and XLVII, 66
No. 2. Le Rider 1969, Pl. II, A = Strauss 1971, Pl. XIV, 118
No. 3. Strauss 1971, Pl. XIV, 119 = Houghton 1983, Pl. 65, 1081
No. 4. Strauss 1971, Pl. XIV, 120 = Houghton 1983, Pl. 65, 1082
No. 5. Strauss 1971, Pl. XIV, 121 = Houghton 1983, Pl. 65, 1083

73,1 73,2 73,3

Pl. X. Bronze Coins of Demetrius II from Susa

[Reproduced from Le Rider 1965, Pl. VI]

Shortly before the publication of Le Rider's 1965 monograph, an important discovery at Susa[43] yielded at least four similar tetradrachms and so increased the number of extant specimens to five. These are now generally accepted as an isolated issue of Demetrius II from Susa.

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and the corresponding bronze (LR 73) to Demetrius II rather than Demetrius I.

43. Houghton and Le Rider 1966: 111-27; Strauss 1971: 109-40.

No. 10. (LR 94):

– On obverse, diademed head (of Kamnaskires?) facing right. On reverse, bow and arrows in case. The inscription on the only known and poorly struck example found at Susa is quite uncertain. We have probably [BA]ΣΙΛ[ΩΣ] on the left, reading from inside the flan, and [....]ΑΓC[....] on the right, again reading from inside. Le Rider emphasises that attribution to Kamnaskires of this coin, with barbarous style and inscription, is quite uncertain. Yet its presence in "Trésor 7", buried c. 126 BC (cf. below), gives an indication of the date of the emission. If assigned to Kamnaskires, the partial inscription on the right of the reverse must be taken as a corrupt form of the beginning of his name.

Series V bronzes terminates the known coinage of Kamnaskires. However, in order to present an overview of the history of Elymais, the following four emissions too must be briefly analysed.

Silver and Bronze Coinage of Demetrius II from Susa (Plates IX-X)

In his outstanding 1965 monograph, Le Rider provisionally ascribed to Demetrius I a unique tetradrachm discovered at Susa (Plate IX, 1).[39] He then added that the royal portraiture on that coin bore little resemblance to those on the known tetradrachms of the Seleucid ruler from Susa. It was nevertheless similar to the ones on a series of small bronzes from the same mint (Plate X), all attributed to Demetrius I.

As for assigning the tetradrachm to the mint of Susa, Le Rider gave the following reasons. Firstly, the coin's obverse-reverse dies were unaligned. Secondly, the obverse portrait had a high relief (a characteristic of the Susian mint). Thirdly, there were close similarities between the seated Apollo on the reverse of the tetradrachm in question and the ones on another example of Demetrius I[40] and a tetradrachm of Kamnaskires (LR 85 in Plate V above). But Mørkholm's subsequent analysis[41] led to the attribution of both the tetradrachm and the corresponding Susian chalkoi (Plate X) to Demetrius II. He argued that the Seleucid king briefly controlled Susa at the beginning of his reign in 145 BC and thus minted an inaugural issue in that city.[42]

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39. Le Rider 1965: 68-9, LR 66, derived from "Trésor 5", and Pls. VI and XLVII.
40. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VI, 68, and B-F.
41. Mørkholm 1965: 150-1, followed by Strauss 1971: 118, 128; Houghton 1983: 107.
42. Le Rider (1969: 19-20) following Mørkholm attributed both the tetradrachm (LR 66)

No. 6. (LR 90):

– On obverse, diademed bust (not head) of king facing, wearing a crested helmet with a broad edge, shoulders and pendant ends of diadem are visible (on some examples). On reverse, similar inscription but eagle standing right with open wings, holding a crown in its beak, in front a small palm branch. 27 examples discovered at Susa (3 are in Tehran, 24 in Paris). Again the number of recovered examples, their fabric and irregular die axes justify their attribution to Susa.

No. 7. (LR 91):

– On obverse, diademed head (not bust) of king facing right. On reverse Nike standing left, holding out a crown in her right hand. The inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ (not ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ) on the left.

– 7 coins discovered at Susa (1 is in Tehran, 6 in Paris). This and the next emission are linked by a "mule", sharing the same obverse die.[36]

No. 8. (LR 92):

– Obverse as above. On reverse horse's head right. To the left ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above the horse's neck reading from outside. To the right ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ reading from inside. One example has ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ reading from inside on the left with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ off the flan.

– 10 examples discovered at Susa (4 are in Tehran, 6 in Paris). According to Le Rider,[37] the disposition of the reverse inscription on this type justifiably places it at the end of the series of coins that can be securely attributed to Kamnaskires.

No. 9. (LR 93):

– On obverse, head (of Kamnaskires?) in crested helmet facing right. On reverse bow and quiver full of arrows accompanied by an uncertain inscription. On some examples ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ may be read on the right. On one coin [....]AMNI[....] is legible.[38]

– 15 examples discovered at Susa (3 are in Tehran and 12 in Paris). Le Rider states that this emission comprises examples of barbarous style. Granted that they were minted for Kamnaskires, these coins must be placed towards the end of the reign of that ruler when his power began to diminish.

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36. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, 91.4 and A.
37. Le Rider 1965: 78.
38. Le Rider (1965: 78) refers to LR 93.1 in Pl. IX of his monograph.

Apart from No. 1, reported by Mørkholm,[34] these small and undated bronzes, weighing from just over 1 gram to 3.80 grams, have been catalogued by Le Rider.[35] It should, however, be stressed that the order in which they appear above is not necessarily chronological:

No. 1:

– On obverse, diademed head of Kamnaskires facing right. On reverse, elephant walking left and the fragmentary inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above and [ΚΑ]ΜΝΙΣ[ΚΙΡΟΥ] below.

No. 2. (LR 86):

– Obverse as above. On reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right, ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ to the left, in the middle an anchor, all within a circular dotted border.

– 2 examples found at Susa (both are retained at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). Le Rider states that the fabric and minting peculiarities of these bronzes justify their attribution to Susa. Added to these is the fact that they have not been discovered elsewhere.

No. 3. (LR 87):

– As above but a tripod on the reverse.

– 7 examples found in "Trésor 7" unearthed at Susa (1 is in Tehran, 6 in Paris). According to Le Rider, this type is very similar in style and engraving traits to the previous issue.

No. 4. (LR 88):

– As above but a cornucopia on the reverse. With the exception of one example (LR 88.3), these chalkoi have the $^{E}_{A}$ monogram to the right of the reverse symbol.

– 7 examples found in "Trésor 7" (1 is in Tehran, 6 in Paris). Le Rider believes that the number of excavated specimens, their fabric and unadjusted obverse-reverse dies confirm their attribution to Susa.

No. 5. (LR 89):

– On obverse, diademed head of king in a crested helmet facing right. On reverse, similar inscription but bareheaded female deity seated left on a backless throne, dressed in a long robe, holding a cornucopia on her left arm and possibly a sceptre in her right hand.

– 8 examples unearthed at Susa (2 are in Tehran, 6 in Paris).

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34. Mørkholm 1965: 151.

35. Le Rider 1965: 76-8.

appears on this particular drachm as Kamnaskires and not Kamniskires, also found on LR 91 bronze (No. 7 in Series VI below), Le Rider suggests that the two issues were almost certainly minted for the same king.

As for the mint place of Kamnaskires' drachms, Le Rider argues that their less-skilled dies were cut by untrained craftsmen copying the tetradrachms of the Elymaean ruler. He then suggests that the former too may have been minted at Susa about the time of the barbarous LR 93 and 94 bronzes (Plate VIII, 9-10) just before the victory of Mithradates I. Alternatively, they could have been issued hurriedly for Kamnaskires at Seleucia on the Hedyphon after the Parthian victory in Elymais. As suggested by Le Rider, the makeshift engravers simply copied from the Susian tetradrachms of the Elymaean king without comprehending their legend and monogram. It is equally possible that these crude drachms were struck when Kamnaskires wrested Susa from Seleucid authority in c. 145 BC (cf. below).

Series VI Bronze Issues of Kamnaskires (Plate VIII)

This includes the following ten chalkoi. With the exception of No. 10 whose inscription and reverse design are somewhat uncertain, they can be safely ascribed to Kamnaskires.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Pl. VIII. Bronze Coins of Kamnaskires

No. 1. Mørkholm 1965, Pl. VI, F
No. 2. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII, 86.1
No. 3. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII, 87.2
No. 4. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, 88.4
No. 5. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, 89.4
No. 6. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, 90.4
No. 7. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, 91.4
No. 8. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, A (92)
No. 9. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, 93.8
No. 10. Le Rider 1965, Pl. IX, 94

Pl. VII. Drachms of Kamnaskires

No. 1. Peus 368 (2001), # 329 = Triton V (2002), # 1668 = Peus 374 (2003), # 125
No. 2. Le Rider 1965, Pl. LXXII, 10 = Fischer 1971, Pl. 1, 4
No. 3. Le Rider 1965, Pl. LXXII, 9 = Fischer 1971, Pl. 1, 45
No. 4. Triton VII (2004), # 519

No. 2: Diademed head of Kamnaskires facing right on the obverse with no monogram. The reverse copies the design of the Series II-IV tetradrachms, probably without the circular dotted border. The inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ behind and ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙ[ΡΟΥ] in front of the left-facing seated Apollo. In exergue traces of an unidentified monogram.

No. 3: As No. 2 above but with a small $^{E}_{A}$ monogram behind the obverse head[31] and a circular dotted border on the reverse. The inscription reads [ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ.

No. 4: As Nos. 2 and 3 above but with a clear $^{E}_{A}$ monogram behind the obverse head. The exergual monogram of the reverse is better struck up on this coin than on the previous two examples. But it is still partially off the flan, preventing its proper identification and possible attribution to a mint.

Le Rider argues[32] that the portrait on drachm No. 3 above and those on the bronzes LR 86, 87.1 and 88.2 in his list (Plate VIII) bear some resemblance. He also maintains that the royal head on drachm No. 2 above, which is virtually deformed,[33] is close to the ones on the Kamnaskires' tetradrachms in Paris and London (Plate VI, 8 and 6, respectively). Given that the king's name

31. Alram 1986: 140.
32. Le Rider 1965: 360-1.
33. The coin is either bent or struck from an obverse die with a sunken design (a mechanical failure of improperly manufactured ancient dies).

With the exception of No. 1, Series IV coins have on their obverse the monogram $^{E}_{A}$ behind the royal bust. This has been interpreted as an abbreviation of Ἐλυμαι (Elymais).[30]

Copying the Series II and III tetradrachms, the reverse of Series IV coinage illustrates semi-nude Apollo seated left on omphalos, holding an arrow in his outstretched right hand and resting the left on a bow at the side of omphalos.

The standard inscription of the coins reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right, ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ to the left of the seated Apollo, and ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in exergue. But orthographic variations do occasionally occur. Those detectable on the examples in Plate VI are given below:

No. 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] ΚΑΜΑΣΚΕΙΡΟ[Υ] ΝΙΚΗ[ΦΟΡΟΥ]
(ΚΑΜΑΣΚΕΙΡΟΥ instead of ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΕΙΡΟΥ)
No. 12. [Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙΜΝΙCΚΙΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
(ΚΑΙΜΝΙCΚΙΡΟΥ instead of ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ)
No. 13. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΑΚΙ[ΡΟΥ] ΝΙΚΗΦ[ΟΡΟΥ]
(ΚΑΜΝΑΚΙΡΟΥ instead of ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ)

As for the stylistic and artistic qualities, it is evident that we have refined as well as average to crude portraits on the specimens in this group. However, No. 1 is an exception in that its obverse lacks the anticipated $^{E}_{A}$ monogram behind the royal head. It is possible that its corresponding die was originally used for striking the Series III tetradrachms (cf. below).

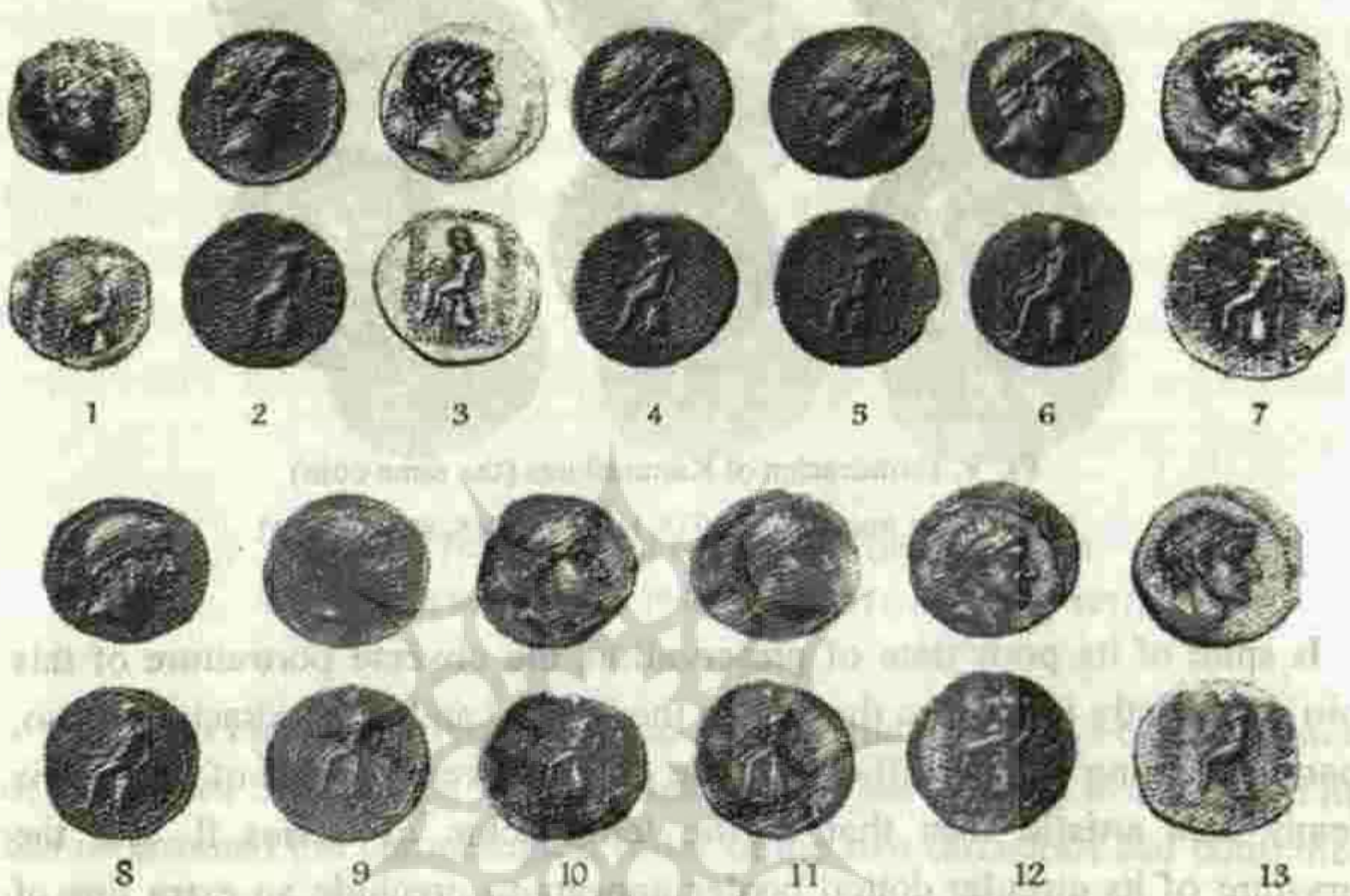
Series V Silver Drachms of Kamnaskires (Plate VII)

This comprises a handful of silver drachms of uncertain provenance and far lower artistic merit, probably issued at a provincial or temporary mint.

No. 1: Diademed and draped bust facing right with a monogram (or die flaw) behind the head on the obverse. The reverse shows a left-facing standing figure in polos (presumably the cult statue of Artemis or Nanaia), holding a sceptre. The inscription reads [Β]ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ behind and ΚΑΜΑΙΣΚΕΙΡΟΥ (sic.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in front of the figure. Above the head of the statue is also an unidentifiable composite monogram or a symbol.

30. Robinson 1932: 258-9; Le Rider 1965: 75.

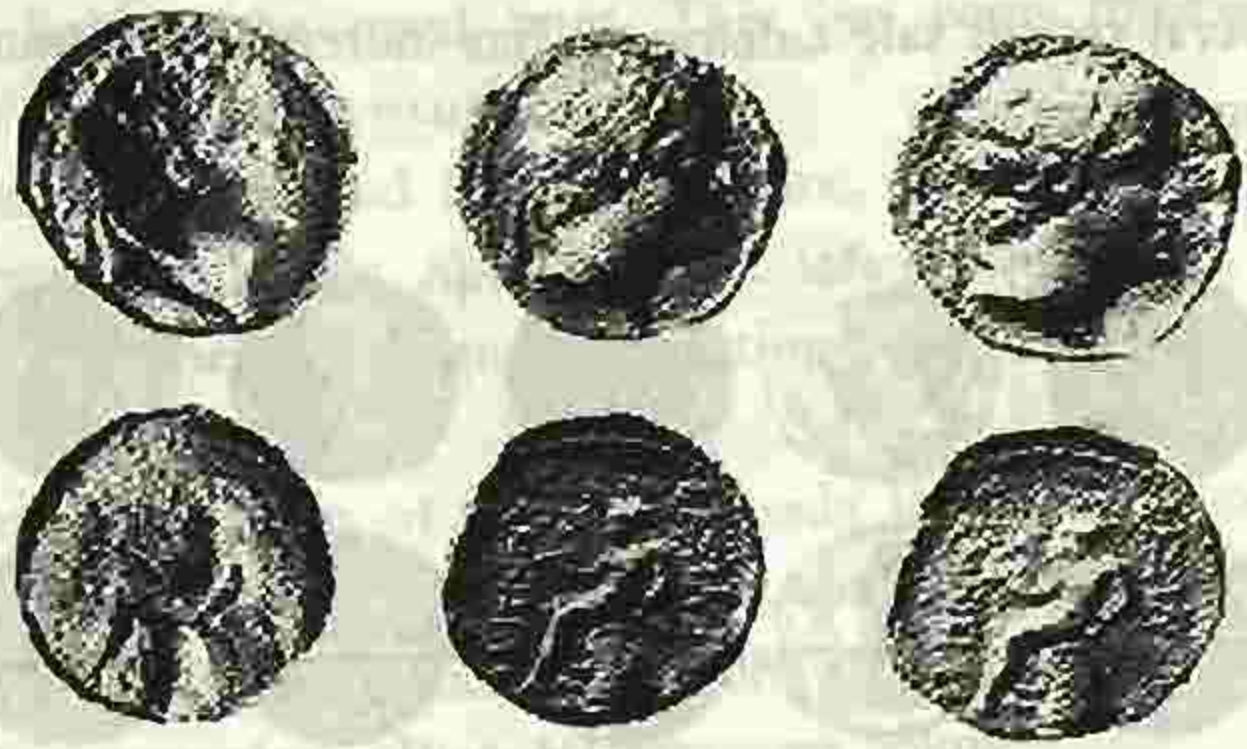
more example that came from the 1965 Susian hoard.[29] However, a search through several recent sale catalogues has increased the number of known examples significantly.



Pl. VI. Tetradrachms of Kamnaskires Nikephoros

No. 1. Gorny 96 (1999), # 251 = CNG 67 (2004), # 994
No. 2. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII, H
No. 3. CNG 46 (1998), # 568 = CNG-Triton VII (2004), # 518
No. 4. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII, D
No. 5. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII, E = Mørkholm 1965, Pl. VI, 120
No. 6. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII, G = Fischer 1971, Tafel 1
No. 7. Strauss 1971, Pl. XV, 133
No. 8. Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII, F
No. 9. Gorny-Mosch 122 (2003), # 1524
No. 10. Peus 368 (2001), # 328
No. 11. Peus 363 (2000), # 5072
No. 12. Peus 371 (2002), # 228 = Peus 374 (2003), # 124
No. 13. CNG 55 (2000), # 779

29. Strauss 1971: 119, and Pl. XV, no. 133.



Pl. V. Tetradrachm of Kamnaskires (the same coin)

[Reproduced from Unvala 1935; Le Rider 1965; Strauss 1971]

In spite of its poor state of preservation, the obverse portraiture of this coin is evidently inferior to the one on the Series I and II tetradrachms. Also, apart from being slightly off-centre, the overall reverse design of the coin is clearly less artistic than that of the tetradrachm of Series II. But the curvature of its circular dotted border appears to preclude an extra line of legend in the exergue of the reverse die.[24] What is discernible on the coin reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] on the right and ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡ[ΟΥ][25] on the left of the seated Apollo. According to Unvala, the latest component of the 1933-34 hoard was a tetradrachm of Demetrius II (probably from Antioch), dated 168 SEM (= 145/4 BC).[26] But the presence in the same hoard of one S10.1 and two S11.1 drachms of Mithradates I of Parthia[27] lowers its burial date to about 140 BC (cf. below).

Series IV Tetradrachms: Kamnaskires Nikephoros (Plate VI)

Le Rider recorded five specimens[28] of this type and Strauss reported one

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24. Le Rider (1965: 75) is uncertain whether there was originally a third line of text, reading ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, beneath the exergual line.

25. Strauss (1971: 137) proposes the reading ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΕΙ[ΡΟΥ].

26. Unvala 1935: 158.

27. Le Rider 1965: 195-6, nos. 476-7 (= Pl. XLVI, 476 and 477.1-2); 212, no. 560; 247-8 (Trésor 5).

28. Le Rider 1965: 75, and Pl. VIII, D-H.

and an arrow in his left and right hands, respectively. The inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΕΙΡΟΥ on the left.

Pl. IV. Tetradrachm of Kamnaskires (the same coin)
[Reproduced from Le Rider 1966; Strauss 1971; and Fischer 1971]

Le Rider has perceptively detected several small die flaws on the obverse of the Series II specimen that are absent from the Series I example.[21] This has determined the chronological order of the two emissions and confirmed that the latter was minted earlier.

It is evident that the obverse portraits of the above two tetradrachms boast of refined facial features of their issuing authority. In fact they are comparatively better than those of Alexander Balas in Plate I. This raises the question that whether Kamnaskires considered his inaugural coinage to be important enough to entrust the cutting of its dies to competent artisans of the immediately preceding Seleucid issues. We shall return to this point later.

Series III Tetradrachm: Kamnaskires (Plate V)

This too is known from a single example, contained in a hoard discovered during the 1933-34 session of French archaeological excavations at Susa.[22] Originally it was judged as a fourré tetradrachm by Unvala but further examinations by Le Rider has ruled this out.[23]

21. Le Rider 1969: 18-19.
22. Unvala 1935: 155; Le Rider 1965: 75, no. 85; 248.
23. Unvala 1935: 155; Le Rider 1965: 75.

Kamnaskires and the sequence of their corresponding coinages.[19] As a result I have decided firstly to separate the extant numismatic material into appropriate series and then investigate their historical significance.

Series I Tetradrachm: Kamnaskires Megas Soter (Plate III)

Before the discovery of a unique piece in a hoard unearthed at Susa in the summer of 1965,[20] this type was unknown. Modelled iconographically on Seleucid issues it displays on its obverse the right-facing and diademed portrait of the Elymaean ruler. On the reverse, semi-nude Zeus is enthroned left with an *orb* and a sceptre in his right and left hands, respectively. Behind him is inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ on the right and ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΕΙΡΟΥ [ΣΩ]ΤΗΡΟΣ in front on the left.

Pl. III. Tetradrachm of Kamnaskires Megas Soter (the same coin)
[Reproduced from Houghton and Le Rider 1966; Strauss 1971; and Fischer 1971]

Series II Tetradrachm: Kamnaskires (Plate IV)

The Susian hoard of 1965 yielded another previously unknown and hitherto unique type. This shares its obverse die with that in Plate III. But its reverse is different. It shows nude Apollo seated left on omphalos, holding a bow

19. Cf. the relevant arguments in the corresponding publications quoted in note 18 above on Kamnaskires Megas Soter and Nikephoros.

20. Houghton and Le Rider 1966: 111; Le Rider 1969: 18-22; Strauss 1971: 109-10. This hoard is different from the 1959-60 find published by Mørkholm (1965: 127-56) and mentioned by Le Rider (1965: 241, n. 1).

fascination of enjoyments to which he was a stranger held him captive as it were in his palace, idling away his days among troops of concubines. Combined with the disastrous consequences of the internecine struggles throughout and after the reign of Antiochus IV, this must have diminished Seleucid influence east of Mesopotamia and culminated in further territorial losses. It is generally believed that inspired by the dynastic strife in the Seleucid Court, resulting primarily from the assassination of Antiochus V (164-162 BC) by Demetrius I and then usurpation of power by Alexander Balas, a man of unknown antecedents called Kamnaskires liberated Elymais about 147 BC.[18]

Pl. II. Bronze Coinage of Alexander Balas from Susa

[Reproduced from Le Rider 1965, Pl. VIII]

However, although Kamnaskires inaugurated his reign at Susa with a coin issue, the exact date at which the new political order emerged in Elymais remains unknown. Added to this difficulty is the presence of two tetradrachms in the name of King Kamnaskires that manifestly differ in both iconography and royal titulature from the ones assigned generally to the founder of the Elymaean dynasty. These have entailed chronological problems concerning both the number of Elymaean kings called

18. De la Fuŷe (1919: 46) gives 162 BC; Hill (1922: cixxxiv) reports 2nd century BC; De Morgan (1923-36: 195-201) gives c. 150 BC; Le Rider (1965: 75, 349-61) gives c. 147 BC; Mørkholm (1965: 150-2) believes the date was not earlier than c. 145 BC; Le Rider (1969: 18-22) gives c. 147 BC; Strauss (1971: 119, 137-40) suggests c. 150 BC; Fischer (1971: 169) gives 163 BC; Le Rider (1978: 35) gives c. 147 BC; Churchill (1978: 8, 17) gives c. 163 BC; Houghton (1983: 101) gives c. 147 BC; Sellwood (1983: 307) gives c. 147 BC; Alram (1986: 137-9) accepts c. 147 BC; Hansman (1990: 1) gives c. 147 BC; Potts (1999: 384-7) gives c. 147 BC.

Pl. I. Tetradrachms of Alexander Balas from Susa
[Reproduced from Le Rider 1965, Pls. VII and VIII]

Unfortunately, whether Alexander Balas took Susa before the demise of Demetrius I cannot be ascertained confidently. Apart from a handful of dated cuneiform records, our contemporary evidence of the reign of Balas comprises a series of undated tetradrachms and one bronze emission, all inscribed with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. These have been securely attributed to Susa[17] (Plate I, 1-10, and Plate II, 84.4-5) and so indicate that the Seleucid usurper held sway over Elymais and controlled its principal mint perhaps at the outset of his reign. But we are informed by Trogus (*Prologue* 35) and Justin (35.2.2) that Alexander's popularity waned *because of his stupidity* and also because *his unexpected grandeur and the*

17. Le Rider 1965: 73-4.

audacious attack on the temple of Artemis in Elymais but was beaten back by the resident mob and lost his life shortly afterward (probably in Media).

These desperate measures by the two Seleucid rulers contrasted sharply with the policies of their predecessors who must have been mindful of local sensitivities.[12] Yet the ensuing troubles appear not to have curtailed Seleucid authority in Elymais immediately. A series of coins in the names of Seleucus IV (187-175 BC), Antiochus son of Seleucus IV (175 BC), Antiochus IV (175-164 BC), Demetrius I (162-150 BC), and Alexander Balas (150-145 BC) confirms that Susa remained in Seleucid hands during 187-150 BC. However, the situation changed with the arrival on the political scene of Alexander Balas who claimed to be son of Antiochus IV and therefore his father's natural successor.

Our cuneiform records attest that Alexander was king in Babylon as early as 1.I.162 SEB (= 22/3 Apr. 150 BC).[13] This strongly implies that he had established himself east of Euphrates prior to his final battle with Demetrius I (162-150 BC). According to a sketchy reference in an Astronomical Diary,[14] the two contenders clashed in month III of the same year (20/1 Jun. – 18/19 Jul. 150 BC) around Seleucia-in-Pieria[15] in northern Syria. It is quite possible that Demetrius I was defeated and slain in that same battle. In any case, a slightly later Diary from month VII of year 162 SEB (16/17 Oct. – 13/14 Nov. 150 BC) is subscribed to King Alexander (Balas)[16] and thus confirms the end of Demetrius' authority in Babylon.

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12. The extent of the accumulated wealth in the Elymaean temples alone signifies a sympathetic Seleucid administration before the reign of Antiochus III.

13. Wiseberg 1991, No. 12. This view is strengthened by the fact that Demetrius II too is styled "King" in a later text recording his defeat and capture by the Parthians. Cf. Sachs and Hunger 1996: 160-1, Rev. line 7.

14. Sachs and Hunger 1996, No. –149B.

15. The partially preserved sign at the beginning of the place name in line 6 of the reverse text is Pi- which is consistent with Pieria. This point has already been raised by Van der Spek (1997/98: 168-9). Collation of the corresponding tablet on 21 July 2004 by Dr. I. Finkel, Keeper at the Dept. of the Ancient Near East, the British Museum, Professor Van der Spek and myself confirmed the reading of the incomplete sign as Pi- rather than NIM, corresponding to ^{kur}NIM.MA^{ki} = Elam.

16. Sachs and Hunger 1996, No. –149B.

annexation of the satrapy by Mithradates I (165-132 BC) of Parthia.[9]

As can be seen, neither the evidence of coins alone nor the above quoted citations in the literary and documentary sources can satisfactorily elucidate the history of Elymais as a separate kingdom. Accordingly, I have combined and analysed the two sources in the hope of clarifying some of the persistent difficulties that have clouded our views of the political situation in Elymais during 150-122 BC. I must nevertheless emphasise that this note is a rather condensed version of a longer text, intended for inclusion in a future publication. I will, therefore, welcome relevant comments and criticisms of my views, and duly acknowledge all referrals to additional sources and evidence unknown to me.

Inception of the Elymaean Kingdom

It may be fair to say that Elymaean aspirations for an independent state received a boost in 187 BC when Antiochus III was slain by the enraged locals as he attempted to pillage their temple of Bel. Around two years earlier, having suffered a crushing defeat by the Romans at Magnesia in Asia Minor, the powerful Seleucid monarch had barely escaped with his life. As a consequence of that failure he had been compelled at the treaty of Apamea in 188 BC to pay a hefty war indemnity of 15,000 talents of silver (90,000,000 drachms) and cede to the Romans all Seleucid territory north of the Taurus Mountains. We are told[10] that Antiochus found himself in an awkward financial predicament and was ultimately driven to launch an attack on the Elymaean temple which was renowned for its riches.[11]

Twenty two years later in 165 BC, having realised that he had exhausted his treasury to fight the insurgent Jews, Antiochus IV took half of his army and made his way to the Upper Satrapies in search of revenue. Following in the footsteps of his father, Antiochus III, he made an

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on Persepolis for pillage. Cf. also Polybius 31.9; Appian, *Syr.* 66; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 12.358-9; Porphyrius, FGH 2, no. 260, F53 and 56.

9. Justin (41.6.8) excludes Mithradates' conquest of Babylonia and places the capture of Elymais after the Parthian triumph in Media. This is clearly at odds with the contemporary Babylonian records.

10. II.Maccabees 1.13-17.

11. I.Maccabees 6.1-2; II.Maccabees 1.15; Diodorus 29.15. Strabo (16.1.18) reports that a Parthian king raided the temples of Athena and Artemis in Elymais and carried off treasures valued at 10,000 talents.

Except for the fact that coins were issued at Susa for Seleucus I through Alexander Balas (150-145 BC) and also briefly for Demetrius II (145-138 BC, 1st reign), the extant numismatic evidence contributes little to the political history of Elymais in the period 311-150 BC. The same is true about the Greek lapidary inscriptions from Susa that can be safely assigned to the Diadochi and Seleucid epochs. These do not exceed nine in number and provide only an insight into the political and social status of the Greek settlers in Elymais but nothing on the indigenous inhabitants of the satrapy. Our Babylonian cuneiform records, on the other hand, contain several explicit but incomplete references to *Kamnaskires King of Elam* and the *Elamite enemy* in 145 BC and then to intense fighting between the Parthian and Elymaean forces during 140-138 BC. Yet nothing tangible can be gleaned from these beyond the fact that a certain Kamnaskires ruled in Elymais at the outset of the reign of Demetrius II and that the Parthians were hard pressed in their attempts to maintain a permanent hold over the satrapy.

Our problems from lack of adequate contemporary material are further compounded by the general dearth of credible statements on Elymais in the Greco-Latin literary sources. It appears that the classical authors were either heedless of the Elymaean affairs or found very little or no useful information in this regard among the earlier records to report. We nevertheless find in their surviving manuscripts a few brief notes on the geography of Elymais[4] and cursory remarks concerning the appointment in 220 BC of a certain Apollodorus as the strategos of Susiana by Antiochus III (223-187 BC).[5] We are also told about the presence of an Elymaean contingent in the army of Antiochus III at the Battle of Magnesia (190-189 BC)[6] and his subsequent unsuccessful raid to plunder the temple of Bel/Zeus in Elymais during which he lost his life.[7] Finally we learn of a similar failed expedition in 165 BC[8] by Antiochus IV (175-164 BC), and the

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detailed discussions of the Seleucid emissions from Susa. According to our Babylonian records, Seleucus took the diadem and adopted the title King in 305 BC. Cf. Assar 2003b: 175, for the relevant evidence.

4. Strabo 9.13.6, 15.3.12, and 16.1.17-18.

5. Polybius 5.54.12.

6. Livy 40.10.4.

7. II.Maccabees (1.13-17) most probably refers to this incident rather than the one under Antiochus IV. Cf. also Strabo 16.1.18 and Diodorus 28.3 and 29.15.

8. I.Maccabees 6.1-17; II.Maccabees (9.1-4) mistakenly refers to a raid by Antiochus IV