



Oleg L. Gabelko (Moscow, Russia)

## TWO NEW CONJECTURES IN STRABO'S *GEOGRAPHY* AND CERTAIN HISTORICAL INFERENCES

**Keywords:** Strabo's *Geography*, Strabo's forebears, Mithridates Eupator, Paphlagonia, Pontic kingdom, Prusias I, Bithynian kingdom

### I. Something new about Strabo's relatives

'It is difficult to discover anything of substance about the historical figure of Strabo,' – asserts with great confidence an American scholar in his Ph.D. thesis devoted to Strabo's *Geography*.<sup>1</sup> The alternative view, which is one of long-standing and, though less categorically so, widely accepted in the historiography of this author, is that information on the origin, life and work of Strabo is gleaned almost exclusively from his *Geography*;<sup>2</sup> no significant doubts are generally expressed about the geographer's family members.<sup>3</sup> Yet on closer examination, both assertions appear far from unambiguous.

Strabo refers to the history of his family twice – in two rather long passages (X. 4. 10 C. 477–478 and XII. 3. 33 C 557–558). The first gives detailed infor-

---

<sup>1</sup> Gresens 2009, 16. By the way, on another occasion N. Gresens ventures even further and asserts that 'Strabo and the *Geography*' are relatively unfamiliar, even among Classicists' (P. 10), which cannot help but raise doubts.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Hasenmüller 1863, 1–2; Aujac 1969, IX; Gratsianskaia 1988, 15.

<sup>3</sup> See the two different but the fullest versions of the family tree of Strabo: Honigmann 1931, 77–78; Cassia 2000, 234–235; Dueck 2000, 6 (treated in greater detail below). See also Engels 1999, 17–26. The only ancestor of Strabo who is mentioned in passing in other sources (Appian, Plutarch, Memnon, also in the inscription *ID* 1572, 1) is Dorylaos the Younger, the son of Philetærus, attendant of Mithridates VI Eupator, who played a prominent role in the First Mithridatic war. See about him: Willrich 1905, 1578–1579; Portanova 1988, 244–250; 455–459, n. 291–16; Cassia 2000, 224–228; Dueck 2000, 6–7.

mation about the descendants of Dorylaos the Tactician, the great grandfather of the scholar, who served under Mithridates V Euergetes, king of Pontus. These persons seem to present no problems.<sup>4</sup> The second excursus of Strabo into the history of his family throws a shaft of light on the other branch of his family tree. The geographer mentions Moaphernes, his mother's uncle on her father's side (Μοαφέρνης, ὁ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν θεῖος πρὸς πατρός),<sup>5</sup> who was an attendant of Mithridates VI appointed as governor of Colchis (XI. 2. 18 C 499; XII. 3. 33 C 557<sup>6</sup>), and also the other grandfather, who had seceded from Mithridates and handed over to Lucullus fifteen fortresses that were in his charge (XII. 3. 33 C 558). It is this passage that constitutes the core of this study.<sup>7</sup>

ὄψε δὲ Μοαφέρνης ὁ θεῖος τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἦλθεν ἤδη πρὸς καταλύσει τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ πάλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ συνητύχησαν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου φίλοι, πλὴν εἶ τινες ἔφθησαν προαιποστάντες αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὁ πάππος ἡμῶν ὁ

- 5 πρὸς αὐτῆς, ὃς ἰδὼν τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κακῶς φερόμενα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λεύκολλον πολέμῳ, καὶ ἅμα ἠλλοτριωμένους αὐτοῦ δι' ὀργήν, ὅτι ἀνεπιὼν αὐτοῦ Τίβιον καὶ υἱὸν ἐκείνου

<sup>4</sup> For more details see: Cassia 2000, 215–217; Biffi 2010, 110–113. The only thing worth mentioning here is the peculiar character and rarity of names borne almost by all members of this branch of the family tree (quite common was only Dorylaos the Elder's brother – Philetærus). The data pooled from the materials contained in the now available volumes of *LGPN* are as follows: Δορύλαος is mentioned four times (another instance should be added – an inscription in the vicinity of Amasia, *SP* No 160; Portanova 1988, 456, n. 293); Λαγέτας three times, Στρατάρχος ten times (with the –ος ending; yet the version with an *alpha*, as it is spelt in Strabo's text, appears only here). Dorylaos' wife's name, Στερόπη (Lightning) is unique and appears nowhere else but in Suda (s.v.; cf. Cassia 2000, 215, n. 11). Dorylaos' children's (as well as his wife's!) names had clear-cut war connotations, which was common in families of both citizens of Hellenistic *poleis* and especially those of mercenaries and condottieres (see, for example, Chaniotis 2005, 21). Of great interest is the fact that the history of the descendants of Dorylaos the Tactician runs in parallel to those of Archelaus, the last king of Cappadocia; cf. Panici 2000, 207–210.

<sup>5</sup> This must be a Persian aristocratic name. See about similar PN, common in Cappadocia: Robert 1963, 516. It is difficult to say if the form Μοαφέρνης was typical of the manuscript tradition (as this form appears nowhere else – cf. Bowersock 2000, 17), or, as maintains L. Zgusta, the result of 'hybridization' of Iranian, Greek and Anatolian elements (Zgusta 1964, 322, § 940–8). See about this character: Portanova 1988, 349–350; n. 504–505, 688–695.

<sup>6</sup> The date of his designation to this post and the term of his office elude precise definition, yet we can try to venture certain assumptions to this effect. The son of Mithridates, Machares, as D.B. Shelov has effectively showed, could have governed in Colchis up to the early 60s BC (Shelov 1980, 41), he must have been succeeded by Moaphernes as the governor. Mithridates spent the winter of 66/65 BC in Colchis that must have stayed loyal to him (McGing 1986, 164; Dreyer 1994, 20). Pompey's intrusion in Colchis (Plut. *Pomp.* 34; App. *Mithr.* 103; Dio Cass. XXXVI. 3. 2) happened a year later, so the end of Moaphernes's career (and death?) can be related to this period.

<sup>7</sup> Contemporary editions of the XII book of the Geography are based on four out of the five manuscripts – B, C, D and F (*Strabons Geographika* I, VII-IX); the excerpt of our interest does not contain any variant readings.

Θεόφιλον ἐτύγχανεν ἀπεκτονῶς νεωστί, ὄρμησε τιμωρεῖν ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ λαβῶν παρὰ τοῦ Λευκόλλου πίστεις ἀφίστησιν αὐτῷ

10 πεντεκαίδεκα φρούρια ...

App. crit.: S. Radt (hrsg.), *Strabons Geographika*, Bd. 3, Göttingen 2004, 468; Bd. 7, Göttingen 2008, 392–393 (with addenda).

<sup>4-5</sup> ὁ πάππος τῆς μητρὸς (add.) ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς (Pothecary 1999).

<sup>5</sup> πρὸς αὐτῆς Korais; πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς codd.; πρὸς μητρὸς αὐτός Groskurd; πρὸς πατρὸς Αἰνιάτης Pais (*Italia antica* 1, Bologna 1922, 296/297) praeunte Tyrwhitt (34 sq.), qui nomen avi Strabonis ex parte paterna sub αὐτῆς suspicatus erat; quod nomen Αὐτῆς vel Αὐτῆς vel Αὔτῆς fuisse coniecit Hasenmüller.

Not surprisingly, these sentences have long been of great interest to researchers. In the manuscripts this critically important passage runs as follows: ὁ πάππος ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς – ‘my grandfather on the side of her father’, the wording being clumsy, not to say meaningless. The contemporary editions and translations of Strabo’s work’s<sup>8</sup> leave out the word πατρὸς as redundant; in this case, the pronoun αὐτῆς relating to Strabo’s mother seems to be somewhat out of place. The geographer refers to his mother in the passage several lines above (without dwelling on it) and, moreover, such an interpretation of the expression makes the relationship between Moaphernes and Strabo’s own grandfather unclear (and to add to it the latter goes without a name).<sup>9</sup> S. Pothecary is of the view that the scribe must have left out the words τῆς μητρὸς which should have preceded the pronoun ἡμῶν in the passage ὁ πάππος ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς, since in the other parts of his work (X. 4. 10 C 478; XI. 2. 18 C 499; XII. 3. 33 C 557) the geographer emphasizes that earlier members of his mother’s family are involved and he specifies their degree of kinship in respect to her.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the phrase takes the following meaning: ‘the grandfather of my mother on the side of her father’. Such an intrusion into the text, however, also appears somewhat radical, given also that the passage mentions another figure only in passing (important though he was!) – Strabo’s great grandfather, who proved a turn-coat and defected to the Romans. (Apparently, this individual is not to be identified with Dorylaos the Younger since the latter was the geographer’s mother’s *maternal* grandfather). Moreover, we can assume that since all the examples cited refer to Strabo’s mother and earlier members of her family, his paternal line could have been treated in another passage elsewhere (which seems to have been lost). Some scholars point to a sheer logical inconsistency in Strabo’s account: he

<sup>8</sup> Coray; Meineke; Hamilton, Falconer; Jones; Stratanovskii.

<sup>9</sup> He must have been Moaphernes’ uncle, but for some reason nothing is said about it directly. In all fairness, we must note that the autobiographical information related by Strabo is full of hard-to-explain gaps: for instance, he never gives his own name and the names of his parents. For possible reasons for such ‘anonymousness’ see: Clark 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Pothecary 1999, 701, n. 46.

tells us a lot about his maternal relatives and nothing of those on his father's side<sup>11</sup> (cf. figures 1 and 2 where the two branches of Strabo's relatives are shown separately). The Italian scholar E. Pais, when elaborating on this assumption, suggested a very witty conjecture: he substituted the pronoun αὐτῆς for the name Αἰνιότης.<sup>12</sup> In this case, it was Strabo's paternal grandfather (and not his maternal grandfather) who was called Æniates, and this name, according to Strabo himself, was widespread in Paphlagonia; it is listed among the nine names recorded by Strabo as most common in area (XII. 3. 25 C 553); to these may be added Tibios, the most common personal name for slaves from Paphlagonia in Attica (VII. 3. 12 C 304).<sup>13</sup>

Such a reconstruction seems very attractive because it does not propose the omission (or even the insertion into the text) of a word or two but merely offers a different interpretation of the existing word which makes the difference in the lives and the fates of Moaphernes and Strabo's uncle easier to understand. The former paid no heed to Mithridates's wrath towards his relatives and stayed loyal to him till the end; the latter "undertook to avenge their wrongs and his own" and defected to the Romans (Strabo XII. 3. 33 C 559). This can be explained by the fact that Strabo's grandfather (Æniates, according to E. Pais) must have been a kinsman of Tibios and Theophilos while Moaphernes (maternal granduncle) was related to them only through marriage of his brother.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 'His father's side of the family remains a total mystery' (Clark 1997, 99). This was noted as long ago as the XVIII-th and XIX-th centuries: Tyrwhitt 1783, 34–35; Hasenmüller 1863, 8–13. D. Dueck, though making a note of this fact, never attaches great importance to it; she supposes that Strabo's paternal relatives may have been of less distinction and may have had no genealogical tradition (Dueck 2000, 6). But this suggests an unequal marriage of Strabo's parents – his mother must have been of a nobler descend. Yet this marital alliance parents was solemnized during the power of Mithridates, and, since Strabo's mother's relatives belonged to the political elite of the kingdom, such a misalliance was hardly possible at all. We should not forget that after Dorylaos the Younger had been accused of treason, the family was in disgrace for some time (Gratsianskaia 1988, 15), yet the family of Moaphernes (that must have risen in favour later; see note 6 above) must have been noble and high-ranked, which, again, reduces the chances that his niece was married off below her station. We can surely entertain the idea that the geographer did not wish to advertize his barbarian origin (even his name?) of his direct ancestor, but such an assumption is speculative.

<sup>12</sup> Pais 1922, 296, n. 2 (it is important to note that this work was published at first as early as in 1890).

<sup>13</sup> On the names of Tibios and suchlike: Huxley 1963; Robert 1963, 530–531; Zgusta 1964, 513, §§ 1556–1, 2; Scherer 1968, 382–383; Tokhtasiev 2007, 182–183.

<sup>14</sup> Strictly speaking, we cannot be sure that the marriage of Strabo's parents had been solemnized by the time of the assassination of Tibios and Theophilos; otherwise, Moaphernes had no reason at all for alienating from Mithridates.

Fig. 1

**Stemma I**

Based on: D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amaseia*.

*A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome (New York 2000), p. 6*

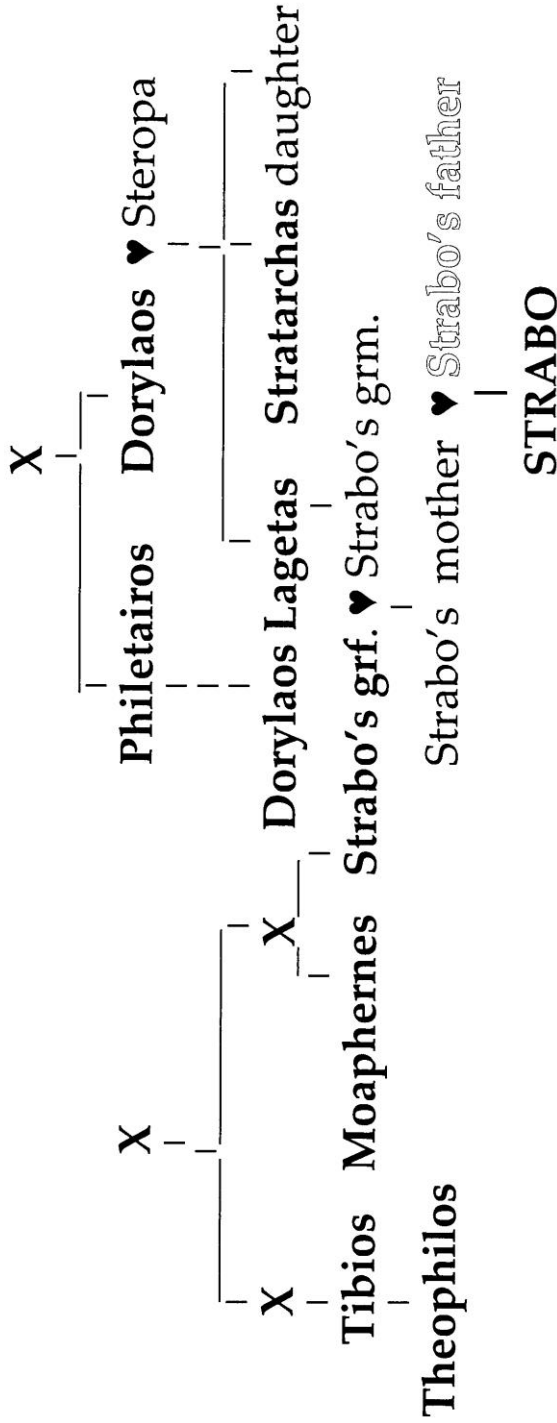
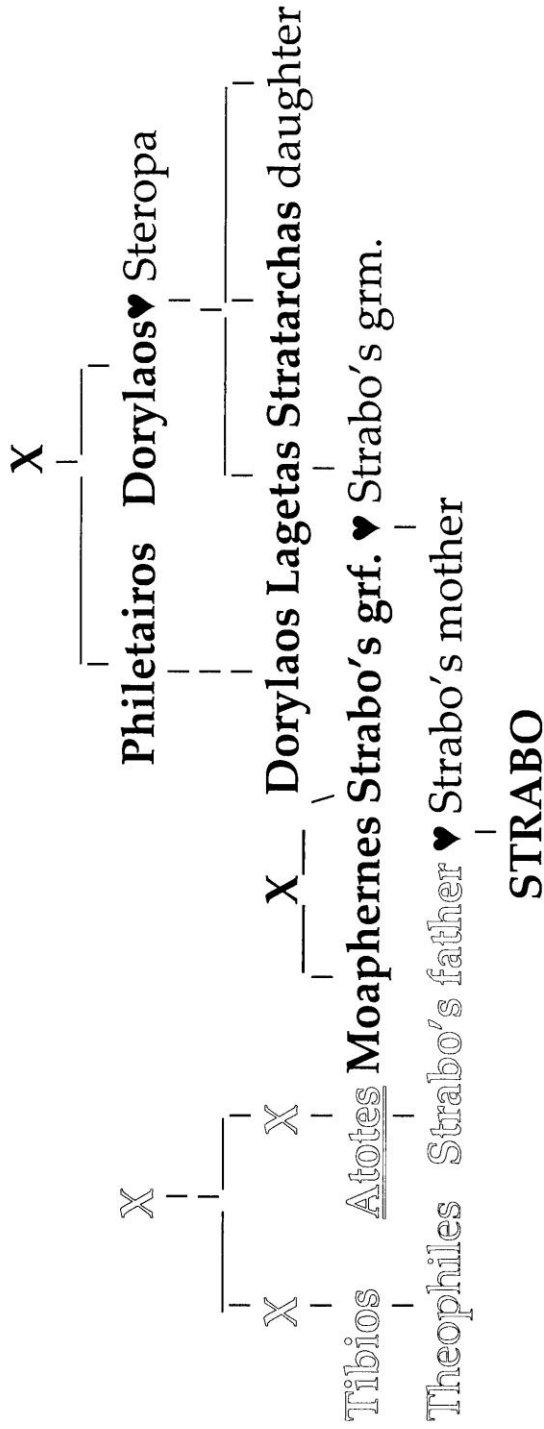


Fig. 2

**Stemma II**

**Based on:** *Honigmann E. Strabon (3) //*

RE. 1931. Hbbd. 7. Sp. 77–78, with elaboration



E. Pais' conjecture (and it should be noted that this suggestion was made offhand and was unsubstantiated), tantalizing as it may seem, has not so far been accepted by many scholars,<sup>15</sup> yet there is still nothing clear about the passage XII. 3. 25 C 553. The fact is that the manuscripts offer the nine names just mentioned in the following order: Βάγας, Βιάσας, Αινιάτης,<sup>16</sup> Ῥατώτης, Ζαρδώκης, Τίβριος, Γάσος, Ὀλίγασος, Μάνης. They must have been corrupted in the manuscript tradition, which is best illustrated by the names of Ῥατώτης and Τίβριος, which must be read as Ἀτώτης and Τίβριος.<sup>17</sup> L. Zgusta had strong doubts that the name of Aeniates could belong to this list at all and cited a series of forms that could testify to its Greek (not Paphlagonian) origin.<sup>18</sup> It is particularly relevant that no other examples of this name are found in either Asia Minor or elsewhere, which does not exclude its corruption in the manuscript tradition. It must have been for this reason that L. Robert suggested Ἀνόπτης in its place; this name is recorded for both Asia Minor and the Black Sea region<sup>19</sup> (though it carries more Cappadocian than Paphlagonian connotations).<sup>20</sup> The French scholar, however, did not suggest (as did E. Pais) supplying this name in the passage of Strabo XII. 3. 33 C 558 that records the geographer's grandfather. This subject lay outside his particular concern; the subject of his interest was different.

Nevertheless, following the lead of the two scholars (Pais and Robert) who have written on the name Αινιάτης, it might further seem logical to suggest a correction to the name in Strabo's *Geography* for the author's paternal (according to original codices' text) grandfather, a name indeed which, according to both

<sup>15</sup> Though it was included, for example, in the Pauly-Wissowa encyclopedia (Honigmann 1931, 77–78) and is regarded as the most probable by M. Cassia (Cassia 2000, 217–219). In particular, D. Dueck outright branded it ill-founded without providing any reasons (Dueck 2000, 188, n. 14) (it seems a little too peremptory). L.I. Gratsianskaia does not distinguish between the two (Gratsianskaia 1988, 15).

<sup>16</sup> This form is contained in the D manuscript, more reliable in this case; others spell it Ἐνιάτης.

<sup>17</sup> Reinach 1889, 94–95; cf.: Robert 1963, 529–530 (with the comprehensive list of references). For Paphlagonian personal names as a whole see Scherer 1968. In general, the list cited by Strabo looks authentic enough; at the same time, the probable corruption of names introduced by scribes is quite understandable, for these barbarian names might well be alien and obscure to them. It should be noted that E. Pais, when publishing his paper, may have disregarded T. Reinach's note – he might have failed to make himself aware of it.

<sup>18</sup> Zgusta 1964, 49, §§ 24–4, 5. With due regard to these observations, the Paphlagonian name in Strabo's original text may have been deliberately or unwittingly 'hellenized' by the scribes, which makes its reconstruction a challenging task. Scherer 1968, 385 is less skeptical of this PN.

<sup>19</sup> Robert 1963, 524–526, 535.

<sup>20</sup> Although L. Robert does spell out that he uses the designated name of 'Cappadocia' in a broad sense and Paphlagonia proper is not excluded (Robert 1963, 524, n. 1), this seems somewhat wrenched. A. Scherer (Scherer 1968, 385, Anm. 36) did not subscribe to the French scholar's point of view.

Robert<sup>21</sup> and many others, is ‘typically Paphlagonian’: Ἀτώτης rather than the apparently dubious Αινιάτης suggested by Pais.<sup>22</sup> This is the form of the name which is generally regarded as correct, in contrast to the manuscript reading Πατώτης. Moreover, on the assumption that a name should be introduced in the passage under discussion (Strabo XII. 3. 33 C 557), we may note that the name Ἀτώτης differs only slightly from αὐτήης (less than either Αινιάτης or Ἀνόπτης), with the need to supply just two letters (τω) in the place of one (υ) rather than three or four. And what is most important, this name (with insignificant variations between *omega* and *omicron* in the root and *alpha* in the ending)<sup>23</sup> is safely attributed to accredited Paphlagonians. Suffice it to cite in illustration just a few striking examples. An Atotes described as a Paphlagonian metal-worker from Pontus is recorded in an epitaph in Athens from the fourth century BC (IG II–III<sup>2</sup> 3, 2 10051),<sup>24</sup> another was a manufacturer in Sinope in the third cent. BC.<sup>25</sup> No doubt of Paphlagonian origin are those featured in inscriptions from the North Black Sea region (CIRB 170 – Ἀτότης Ἀνόθρινος;<sup>26</sup> 189 – Θῦς Ἀτώτεω; 401 – Ἐρωσ Ἀτότου), cf. Ἀτοτατος (gen.) (Olbia, IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 685) and Ἀτώτα (gen.) (Chersoneses, IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 712).<sup>27</sup>

There are therefore strong grounds to assume that Strabo’s father’s father, who held important posts in the state of Mithridates Eupator, had the name of Atotes and was apparently an ethnic Paphlagonian; his cousin was Tibios, who also bore a typical Paphlagonian name and had a son named Theophilos. This way the family tree becomes better balanced; both sides of Strabo’s family are more fully represented and look equally high-ranked (cf. Fig. 2).<sup>28</sup>

If such is the case, then an identity of persons proposed by the same Pais assumes greater importance. On this hypothesis the Paphlagonian Theophilos, a

<sup>21</sup> Robert 1963, 529.

<sup>22</sup> N. Biffi as good as hit upon the same idea after noting a probable Paphlagonian origin of Strabo’s paternal grandfather’s name (proceeding from the above-mentioned PN Tibios), he allowed for the possibility of Πατώτης or (? – O.G.) Ἀτώτης (Biffi 2010, 112, n. 263), failing to see that the former form was manifestly wrong. He doesn’t develop such idea.

<sup>23</sup> Also see for similar occasions in the Paphlagonian PN of Corilas: Tokhtasiev 2007, 179.

<sup>24</sup> Ἀτώτας μεταλλεύς.

Πόντου ἀπ’ Εὐεξεΐνου Παφλαγῶν μεγάλθυμος Ἀτώτας

ἦς γαίας τηλοῦ σῶμ’ ἀνέπαυσε πόνων.

τέχνηι δ’ οὔτις ἔριξε· Πυλαιμένεος δ’ ἀπὸ ρίζης

εἶμ’, ὃς Ἀχιλλῆος χειρὶ δαμεις ἔθανεν.

<sup>25</sup> Garland 2004, 360; 375. Paphlagonian PN borne by manufacturers (for example, Corilas and Thys) are often found in Sinope on the stamps dating to that time; see Garland 2004, 54; 57.

<sup>26</sup> According to the nuanced reading of S.R. Tokhtasiev, Ἀνοθηνος (Tokhtasiev 2007: 179).

<sup>27</sup> See Tokhtasiev 2007, 179.

<sup>28</sup> The issue of the person and the name of Strabo’s father should be left open for the time being; see the latest research paper: Cassia 2000, 219–224.



'savage man' (ἄγριον ἄνδρα) who, at the instigation of Mithridates Eupator, massacred Roman residents during the infamous 'Asiatic Vespers' in 88 BC (App. *Mithr.* 23; cf.: Dio Cass. XXX–XXXV. 101. 1) and Strabo's distant relative from Paphlagonia, who carried that name, were one and the same.<sup>29</sup> This may not be remembered in the surviving record but what is to prevent the assumption that these two were not two 'independent' persons?

The very coincidence of the name of a distant relative and that of 'the brutal Paphlagonian' reinforces the assumption. Although quite common in the Greek realm, the name of Theophilos occurs frequently in Asia Minor; according to LGPN, it is registered 96 times in its western and northern regions, including 7 instances in Pontus and adjoining territories (VA s.v. pp. 216–217).<sup>30</sup> The Theophilos mentioned by Appian/Dio Cassius provides a rare example of a Paphlagonian specified with his ethnic affiliation in the surviving written sources for the Hellenistic period.<sup>31</sup> And now, if we are to accept the suggested name Atotes for Strabo's paternal grandfather, a Paphlagonian origin also for Strabo's relative Theophilos can hardly be questioned.

Both men named Theophilos lived at the same time and took part in events related to the Mithridatic wars on the side of the King of Pontus. E. Olshausen took the Theophilos mentioned by Appian and Dio Cassius as Mithridates' 'officer'.<sup>32</sup> Theophilos, son of Tibios and first cousin once removed of Strabo's grandfather, was killed by an order given by the king of Pontus during the Third Mithridatic War when, defeated by Lucullus, the King found himself in a precarious position.<sup>33</sup> Over the years following the punitive action in Tralleis, Theophilos might well have risen high: the tone assumed by Strabo shows that at the

<sup>29</sup> The Pauly-Wissowa Encyclopedia does not refer to these characters at all. G.S. Richards did notice the similarity of the names of these persons (without referring to E. Pais), but he thought it might have been accidental (Richards 1941, 81); M. Cassia follows E. Pais in this respect (Cassia 2000, 217–218, n. 19). In a comprehensive thesis work by J. Portanova on characters associated with Mithridates Eupator, the two persons named Theophilos appear (Portanova 1988, 401–403).

<sup>30</sup> See also 3 or 4 occurrences: Portanova 1988, 529, n. 904.

<sup>31</sup> With the exception of statesmen – Philetaerus, the founder of the Pergamon kingdom (Paus. I. 1. 8) – and Paphlagonian rulers, the two Pylaemenes (Strabo XII. 3. 1 C 541; Eutrop. V. 5. 1; VI, 14; Oros. VI. 2. 2) (the second one was, by the way, a collateral relation of the Bithynian royal house – Gabelko 2005: 353, 395–396) and Morzsius (Polyb. XXV. 2. 9). Also should be noted Alexander of Paphlagonia who, tellingly, served under Mithridates Eupator (App. *Mithr.* 76; 77). It is not clear whether he can be identified with the namesake person who, at the instigation of Mithridates, sought to have Nicomedes IV Philopator assassinated (App. *Mithr.* 57); see Portanova 1988, Gabelko 2005, 377, n. 278.

<sup>32</sup> Olshausen 1974, 169. J. Portanova took it with a grain of salt (Portanova 1988, 401), though such an assumption hardly stretches the point: if Trallians did refrain from massacring the Romans, leaving it for Theophilos, the latter was to be in charge of a group of armed men.

<sup>33</sup> Probably ca. 71 BC (Gratsianskaia 1988, 16). Strabo says that Tibios and Theopilos had been persecuted a little earlier than Mithridates found Strabo's grandfather guilty of high treason.

time of their deaths Tibios and Theophilos held fairly important positions under Mithridates; the same was the case with Strabo's grandfather.

Thus, there are strong reasons to accept that Theophilos, son of Tibios, is the very same Paphlagonian as Theophilos mentioned by Appian and Dio Cassius. The party within the Paphlagonian aristocracy to which Strabo's relatives belonged, his grandfather Atotes and his cousin Tibios, proved turn-coats and swore allegiance to Mithridates Eupator after he had conquered Paphlagonia, together with the Bithynian King Nicomedes III Euergetes, ca. 106 BC.<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that the latter's clout in Paphlagonia must have been counted for more:<sup>35</sup> it was here that at the beginning of the first war between Mithridates and Rome that the Roman generals mustered their army (App. *Mithr.* 17), and later it was the area where pockets of resistance to the Pontic power originated (App. *Mithr.* 21). So it is by no means surprising that in 88 BC, assuming he had been banished by his rivals,<sup>36</sup> Theophilos could have acted in Mithridates' interests in a region beyond his native land, i.e. in Tralleis, on the border of Caria and Lydia.

Unfortunately, we cannot claim that the fact of the identity established for the two historical figures mentioned in the works of Appian/Dio Cassius, interesting enough as it is, adds anything essentially new to our knowledge of the geographer's biography; it does, however, clarify certain nuances. Thus, records made by Appian and Dio Cassius entitle us to conclude that Theophilos' activities gained currency both with contemporaries and generations to come (most probably, on account of his notoriety). Moreover, Theophilos' cruel and blasphemous acts help us to better understand why Strabo was so willing to distance himself from his ancestors, a fact already commented on by previous scholars:<sup>37</sup> the geographer had good reason not to broadcast certain episodes of his family history.<sup>38</sup> It is indeed ironic, and something not conducive to pride, that this Greek intellectual may have been a relative, though not a very close one, of such a 'savage man' as Theophilos, who disgraced himself with the massacre of Ro-

<sup>34</sup> Gabelko 2005, 350–356.

<sup>35</sup> Even in spite of the fact that Mithridates allegedly was entitled to succession in Paphlagonia after his father (Just. XXXVII, 4. 5; XXXVIII. 5. 4–6); see Gabelko 2005, 395–396.

<sup>36</sup> For the vicissitudes of another exile, the Cappadocian noble Gordius, who was a loyal associate of Mithridates: Portanova 1988, 268–271; 467–469, n. 381–392.

<sup>37</sup> Arskii 1974, 12; cp.: Gratsianskaia 1988, 16.

<sup>38</sup> That Strabo mentioned the fact that many of his ancestors had been closely connected with the royal house of Pontus was topical, for the Romans sought to use 'Mithridatism' in their Asia Minor and Black Sea politics (Saprykin 2001, 23). The career of the last Cappadocian king, Archelaus, the descendant of his namesake general under Mithridates, is a graphic example; Strabo's treatment of his biography is of great interest: Panichi 2005, 207–210. At the same time the geographer persists in emphasizing that members of his family suffered under Mithridates and even swore allegiance to the Romans (Dueck 2000, 6). Cf. the main point in M. Cassia's work reflected in its title: Cassia 2000, especially 211–214.

man residents. It is further notable that the 'Ephesian Vespers' are entirely missing from Strabo's account. And finally, of certain interest is the fact that Strabo had non-Greek blood,<sup>39</sup> probably Iranian (proceeding from Moaphernus's origin) as well as Paphlagonian,<sup>40</sup> a situation indeed which was not uncommon in Hellenic and Roman Asia Minor. This might have caused Strabo to present the 'multifaceted self-definition'<sup>41</sup> which has been seen to influence his world-view and scholarly concerns (though G.S. Richards may have gone too far in entitling his article "Strabo: The Anatolian Who Failed of Roman Recognition"). It should be noted that the Paphlagonian origin of Strabo's paternal forebears, who held important posts under Mithridates Eupator, requires a modification of the view that Greeks shared their rule only with the Iranian nobility from among the political elite of the Kingdom of Pontus, which may indeed have consisted of representatives of a variety of ethnic groups.<sup>42</sup> It is obvious that the local Anatolian (Paphlagonian) population also enjoyed significant 'representative rights' in Pontus.<sup>43</sup>

## II. Strabo XII. 4. 3 C 564: Cyrus, Croesus or...?

The date and conditions of the foundation of Prusa-ad-Olympum have been long and widely discussed in the historiography of the area.<sup>44</sup> So far scholars have been unable to reach a general consensus on a number of related issues. To a considerable extent, this is the result of the contradictory evidence supplied by the two key sources: Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium. This evidence will be the subject of discussion in this part of our study.

Strabo XII. 4. 3 C 564 reads: Προῦσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ἱδρύεται τῷ Μυσίῳ, πόλις εὐνομουμένη, τοῖς τε Φρυξίν ὄμορος καὶ τοῖς Μυσοῖς, κτίσμα Προυσίου τοῦ πρὸς Κροῖσον πολεμήσαντος. In what is almost an exact quotation of the geographer, the Byzantine author replaces the Lydian king Croesus with his Persian contemporary and enemy, Cyrus: Προῦσα... πόλις μικρὰ Βιθυνίας, κτίσμα Προυσίου τοῦ πρὸς Κῦρον πολεμήσαντος (s.v.). Thus, although it is unclear whether Step-

<sup>39</sup> Strictly speaking, one should not forget the Macedonian, not properly Greek, origin of Steropa, the wife of Dorylaos the Tactician (Strabo X. 4. 10 C 477).

<sup>40</sup> It is characteristic that Josephus Flavius, who referred to Strabo 17 times, 7 times called him Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ (Ant. Jud. XIII. 286; XIV. 35, 104, 111, 138; XV. 9; Contra Ap. II. 84), which was noted by G.S. Richards (Richards 1941, 79). Yet this definition can hardly be of sheer ethnic character, it only refers to the geographer's homeland.

<sup>41</sup> Moga 2009, 158; cp. Cassia 2000, 228.

<sup>42</sup> Portanova 1988, 619.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Saprykin 1996: 87–89 (based on the analysis of the inscription IGUR I. 9 = OGIS 375 contained Anatolian PN).

<sup>44</sup> For more detail, see Leschhorn 1984, 279–284; Cohen 1995, 403–405; Syme 1995, 348–355; Michels 2009, 277–280; Michels 2013, 17–18.

nus distorted the original text through an attempt to improve or correct it,<sup>45</sup> or whether this discrepancy was caused through some other reason,<sup>46</sup> both ancient authors testify, in a manner, to the existence of a certain Prusias (based on the name, he might have been the Bithynian ruler?) who lived in the mid-sixth century BC. The authors of several studies tend to accept (with some reservations) the historicity and identification of this individual,<sup>47</sup> consequently dating the Bithynian statehood back by around at least one hundred years (if we start the count from the first known Bithynian ruler, Doedalses – Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F. 12. 3).<sup>48</sup> In other works, this Prusias is viewed as a mythical personage.<sup>49</sup> Thomas Corsten, in his volume on the epigraphy and history of Prusa, inclines to the view that the city was founded by an unknown Bithynian or Mysian dynast in the sixth cent. BC, based on the Roman-period inscription from Megara that contains a name starting Προυσ-.<sup>50</sup> This conjecture, however, does not appear well-grounded both in view of the geographic and chronological remoteness of the inscription (quite obscure in itself) from Asia Minor of the sixth cent. BC and on commonsense historical grounds: one could hardly allow that in Bithynia there existed a state important enough to compete with either Persia or Lydia at such an early date.

The only alternative interpretation of the passages of Strabo and Stephanus so far suggested involves replacing the dubious personal name (Croesus or Cyrus) with the place name Κίερον.<sup>51</sup> (We should note, in passing, that Prusias I is

<sup>45</sup> Leschhorn 1984, 279.

<sup>46</sup> The attempt to reconcile both versions by offering the conjecture κτίσμα Προυσίου ἢ, ὡς ἔνιοί φασι, Κροῖσον τοῦ πρὸς Κῦρον πολεμήσαντος (Groskurd) may hardly be considered successful due to the excessive wordiness and general meaning of the latter. R. Syme's suggestion looks more valid: κτίσμα Προυσίου <πρότερον δὲ Κύρου> τοῦ πρὸς Κροῖσον πολεμήσαντος (Syme 1995, 350), but even this change of text, contrary to the British researcher's belief, is far from minimal among those possible; and this will be demonstrated below. In addition, this conjecture can hardly be accepted considering the words of Dio Chrysostom who was born in Prusa and who gives us to understand that Prusa was a small and relatively young town (*Or.* XLIV. 9).

<sup>47</sup> Reinach 1888, 6; Detschew 1957, 385; Fol 1971, 63; Fol 1972, 201.

<sup>48</sup> There is ambiguous evidence, which indirectly testifies in favour of this very hypothesis, of probable existence of some earlier settlement at Prusa's site (Plin. *NH.* V. 143) (Syme 1995: 350–351); this is partly confirmed by the discovery of reliefs, dated to a period before the second century BC, in modern Bursa's vicinity; cf. Fernoux 2004: 39, n. 93; Michels 2013: 18, Anm. 102. It should be noted, however, that Prusa was located quite far from the area populated by the Bithynian tribes in the 6th century BC – Kocaeli peninsula (Syme 1995: 249).

<sup>49</sup> Habicht 1957, 1103; Wilson 1960, 76; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 22.

<sup>50</sup> *IvPrusa* 1991, 21–25. The researcher emphasizes that the names of the two poleis changed by Prusias I – Prusias on the Sea/Prusias-ad-Mare (former Cius) and Prusias-ad-Hypium (former Kieros) – undoubtedly originate from the personal name Προυσίας, whereas the name of Prusa may have come from a shorter stem Προυσ-; in this case, however, linguistic conclusions may hardly be weightier than historical considerations; cf. Michels 2013, 18, Anm. 101.

<sup>51</sup> See Sölch 1924, 156; Dörner 1957, 1077; Leschhorn 1984, 284.

generally and, no doubt, correctly considered to be the actual founder of Prusa-ad-Olympum; this ruler captured the city from Heraclea Pontica and re-founded it, changing its name to Prusias-ad-Hypium: Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F. 19. 1).<sup>52</sup> Not without reason Corsten rejects this conjecture on the grounds that Cieros was not an independent city at the time it was captured by Prusias I but belonged rather to Heraclea Pontica.<sup>53</sup> However, there is another possible amendment to the text, quite within the same framework of approach; this also implies an error in the manuscript tradition but totally eliminates the contradiction just indicated. The emendation πρὸς Κίον fits well with Strabo's preceding account, where he relates in detail how Prusias I subjugated Cius with Philip V's help and then re-named the city (XII. 4. 3 C 563):

...Προυσιάς... ἡ Κίος πρότερον ὀνομασθεῖσα. κατέσκαψε δὲ τὴν Κίον Φίλιππος, ὁ Δημητρίου μὲν υἱὸς Περσέως δὲ πατήρ, ἔδωκε δὲ Προυσία τῷ Ζήλα, συγκατασκάψαντι καὶ ταύτην καὶ Μύρλειαν ἀστυγείτονα πόλιν, πλησίον δὲ καὶ Προύσης οὗσαν ἀναλαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν ἐρείπιων αὐτὰς ἐπωνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν Προυσιάδα πόλιν τὴν Κίον, τὴν δὲ Μύρλειαν Ἀπάμειαν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός.

This conjecture, as we can see, fully eliminates the problem of the existence of a mysterious Bithynian king in the sixth century BC. In addition, it gives more weight to Ronald Syme's well-grounded observation that the participle *πολεμήσαντος* refers to an aggressor;<sup>54</sup> and this implies that Strabo (or his source) possessed deep knowledge of the details of the historical context: Prusias had long fought with the citizens of Cius *before* their city was captured by Philip (Suda s.v. Κιανοί; cf. Polyb. XV. 21. 3; 22. 2; XVIII. 4. 7; Liv. XXXII. 4. 6)<sup>55</sup> and was handed over by the latter to the Bithynian king. In all probability, this rather simple conjecture has not been advanced earlier only because most sources, like Strabo's passage cited above, inform us that Cius was captured not by Prusias himself but by Philip V; and the extremely cruel treatment of the city's people by the Macedonian monarch certainly did not pass unnoticed in the

<sup>52</sup> On this subject, see Gabelko 2005, 257–262; cf. Dmitriev 2008 (whose too high a date for the events, in our opinion, can hardly be justified).

<sup>53</sup> *IvPrusa* 1991, 21–25. Cf. Memnon's wording – the only source informing of these events: Prusias μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Κίερον πόλιν Ἡρακλεωτῶν οὗσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔθετο τῷ πολέμῳ, ἀντὶ Κιέρου Προυσιάδα καλέσας (*FGrHist* 434 F. 19. 1). It may be added that Strabo does not anywhere write of Cieros, so the solitary mention of the city does not appear quite understandable.

<sup>54</sup> Syme 1995, 350.

<sup>55</sup> For more detail on the capture of Cius and the background to the events, see Gabelko 2005, 246–250. In all appearances, Strabo was well-informed of Bithynia's history: for example, no one except him (XII. 4. 2 C 563) and Memnon (F 12. 3) (who probably make use of the Bithynian tradition proper) mentions the name of Doedalses – a ruler, unknown to the other authors.

Greek and Roman public opinion (Polyb. XVII. 3. 12; Liv. XXXI. 31. 14; XXXII. 22. 22; 33. 16; Auct. ad Herenn. IV, 54; 68).

I had long believed that I was the first to advance such an interpretation of this passage in Strabo's *Geography*, but, it has later been brought to my attention that this idea was put forward as early as 1861 (!) in E. Nolte's unpublished dissertation.<sup>56</sup> Not a single scholar has taken note of this in over a century and a half since the conjecture was first proposed. It therefore seems quite appropriate to bring more public view to this conjecture offered by the German scholar, which could be a matter of interest of specialists both in the manuscript tradition of Strabo<sup>57</sup> as well as in the history of Asia Minor.

### Editions and translations of Strabo's 'Geography'

Coray: *Géographie de Strabon, traduite du grec en français*, par A. Coray. Vol. I-V. Paris, 1805–1819.

Groskurd: *Strabons Erdbeschreibung in siebzehn Büchern nachrichtlichem griechischen Texte unter Begleitung kritischer erklärender Anmerkungen, verdeutscht von Cristoph Gottlieb Groskurd*, Berlin/Stettin, 1831–1834.

Hamilton, Falconer: *The Geography of Strabo: Literally translated, with notes, in three volumes*, Ed. by H. C. Hamilton, W. Falconer, London 1903.

Jones: *The Geography of Strabo*, Ed. and transl. by H.L. Jones. Vol. I–VIII (Loeb Classical Library), Harvard: Harvard University Press and Heinemann 1917–1932.

Meineke: *Strabo. Geographica*, Ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig: Teubner 1877.

Radt: *Strabons Geographika*, Hrsg. v. S. Radt. Bd. I–VII, Göttingen 2002–2008.

Stratanovskii: *Strabon. Geografīa v 17 knigakh*. Perevod, stat'ia i kommentarii G.A. Stratanovskogo, Moskva 1994.

### Bibliography

Arskii, F.R. 1974: *Strabon*, Moscow.

Aujac, G. 1969: 'Introduction I. La vie de Strabon' in Strabon, *Géographie*, T. I, Paris, VIII–XXIII.

Bekker-Nielsen, T. 2008: *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia. The Small World of Dion Chrysostomos*, Aarhus.

Biffi, N. 2010: *Scampoli di Mithridatika nella Geografia di Strabone*, Bari.

Biraschi A.M., Salmieri G. (eds.) 2000: *Strabone e l'Asia Minore*, Perugia.

<sup>56</sup> Nolte 1861, 60. At present this dissertation is kept in Stadtbibliothek Halle. Incidentally, this work contains some other interesting ideas; for example, E. Nolte was the first to point that the dramatic shift in Bithynia's policy ca. 183/182 BC (from hostility to alliance with Pergamon) had been caused by the death of Prusias I and the enthronement of his son (pp. 60–61). I mention E. Nolte's priority in the relating part of my monograph; see Gabelko 2005, 94–95, n. 6.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, the discussion of a probable lacuna in this passage of Strabo's text: Nicolai 2000, 216; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 22.

- Bowersock, G.W. 2000: 'La patria di Strabone' in Biraschi A.M., Salmieri G. (edd.) 2000: *Strabone e l'Asia Minore*, Perugia, 13–24.
- Cassia, M. 2000: 'La famiglia di Strabone di Amasia tra fedeltà mitridatica e tendenze filoromane' *MedAnt* III/1, 212–237.
- Chanotis, A. 2005: *War in the Hellenistic World. A Social and Cultural History*, Malden/Oxford/Carlton.
- Clark, K. 1997: 'In Search of the Author of Strabo's Geography' *JRS* 87, 92–110.
- Cohen, G. 1995: *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, Berkeley/ Los Angeles/London.
- Detschew, D. 1957: *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien.
- Dmitirev, S. 2007: 'Memnon on the Siege of Heraclea Pontica by Prusias I and the War between the Kingdoms of Bithynia and Pergamon' *JHS* 127, 133–138.
- Dörner, F.K. 1957: 'Prusa ad Olympon' in *RE* XXIII/1, 1128–1148.
- Dreyer, M. 1991: 'Pompeï na Kavkaze: Kolkhida, Iberiia, Albaniia' *VDI* 1991/1, 20–32.
- Dueck, D. 2000: *Strabo of Amaseia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustian Rome*, London/New York.
- Dueck D., Lindsay H., Potheary S (eds.) 2000: *Strabo's Cultural Geography, The Making of Kolossourgia*, Cambridge.
- Engels, J. 1999: *Augusteische Oikumenengeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia*, Stuttgart.
- Fernoux, H.-L. 2004: *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine IIIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe siècle ap. J.-C. : essai d'histoire sociale*, Lyon.
- Fol, A. 1971: 'Observations préliminaires sur la diaspora thrace en Asie Mineure et dans le Proche-Orient pendant l'antiquité' *EB* 2, 56–72.
- Fol, A. 1972: 'Thrako-bithynische Parallelen im vorrömischen Zeitalter. II. Bevölkerungs- und gesellschaftsstrukturen' *Thracia* I, Serdicae, 197–212.
- Gabelko, O.L. 2005: *Istoriia Vifinskogo tsarstva*, Saint-Petersburg.
- Garlan, Y. 2004: *Les timbres ceramiques sinopéens sur amphores et sur tuiles trouves a Sinope. Presentation et catalogue*, Paris.
- Gratsianskaia, L.I. 1988: "'Geografia" Strabona. Voprosy istochnikovedeniia' in *Drevneiishie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR. Materialy i issledovaniia*. 1986 god, Moskva, 6–175.
- Gresens, N. 2009: *Genres of History: ΜΥΘΟΣ, ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ, Legend, and ΠΛΑΣΜΑ in Strabo's Geography*, Diss., Indiana.
- Habicht, Ch. 1957: 'Prusias (1, 2, 3)' in *RE* 23, 1086–1127.
- Hasenmüller, J. 1863: *De Strabonis geographi vita*. Bonnae.
- Honigmann, E. 1931: 'Strabon (3)' in *RE* Hbbd. 7, 76–155.
- Huxley, G. 1963: 'Strabo and Tibios' *GRBS*, 4/3, 155–156.
- Leschhorn, W. 1984: *"Gründer der Stadt". Studien zu einen politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte*, Stuttgart.
- McGing, B.C. 1986: *The Foreign Policy of Mitridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*, Leiden.
- Michels, Ch. 2009: *Kulturtransfer und monarchischer Philhellenismus? Bithynien, Pontos und Kappadokien in hellenistischer Zeit*. Göttingen.
- Michels, Ch. 2013: 'Expansion und Transformation? Zur Einordnung der Stadtgründungen der Könige Bithyniens' in Winter E., Zimmerman K. (Hrsgg.). *Neue Funde und Forschungen in Bithynien. Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 100. Geburtstag gewidmet* (AMS 69), Bonn, 5–32.
- Moga, I. 2009: 'L'ethnographie et la géographie sacrée de l'Asie Mineure d'après Strabon. Stéréotypes et interculturalité' *Journal for Interdisciplinary Research on Religion and Science*, 5, 153–165.

- Nicolai, R. 2000: 'Problemi di tradizione testuale nei XI-XIV di Strabone' in Biraschi A.M., Salmieri G. (eds.) 2000: *Strabone e l'Asia Minore*, Perugia, 209–229.
- Nolte, E. 1861; *De rebus gestis Bithynorum usque ad Prusiam I mortem*, Diss., Halle.
- Olshausen, E. 1974: 'Zum Hellenisierungsprozess am pontischen Königshof' *AncSoc* 5, 153–170.
- Pais, E. 1922: 'Intorno al tempo e al luogo in cui Strabone compose la geographia storica' in *Italia antica. Ricerche di storia e di geographia storica*, I, App. III, Bologna, 267–316.
- Panici, S. 2000: 'Cappadocia through Strabo's Eyes' in D. Dueck D., Lindsay H., Pothecary S (eds.) 2000: *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of Kolossourgia*, Cambridge, 200–215.
- Portanova, J.J. 1988: *The Associates of Mithridates Eupator* Diss. Univ. of Columbia.
- Pothecary, S. 1999: 'Strabo: His Name and Its Meaning' *Mnemosyne* 52/6, 691–703.
- Reinach, Th. 1888: *Essai sur la numismatique des rois de Bithynie*, Paris.
- Reinach, Th. 1889: 'Noms méconnus' *REG* 2/5, 94–96; 267–271; 384–392.
- Richards, G.S. 1941: 'Strabo: The Anatolian Who Failed of Roman Recognition' *G&R* 10, 29, 79–90.
- Robert, L. 1963: *Noms indigenes de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris.
- Saprykin, S.Iu. 1996: *Pontiiskoe tsarstvo. Gosudarstvo grekov i varvarov v Prichernomor'ie*, Moscow.
- Saprykin, S.Iu. 2001: *Bosporskoe tsarstvo na rubezhe dvukh epokh*, Moscow.
- Shelov, D.B. 1980: 'Kolkhida v sisteme Pontiiskoi derzhavy Mitridata VI' *VDI* 1980/3, 28–43.
- Scherer, A. 1968: 'Paphlagonische Namenstudien' in Mayrhofer M., Lochner-Hüttenbach F., Schmeja H. (Hrsgg.) *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde. Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Brandenstein (1898–1967)*, Innsbruck, 377–386.
- Sölch, J. 1924: 'Bithynische Städte im Altertum' *Klio* 19, 140–188.
- Syme, R. 1995: *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*. Ed. by A. Birley, Oxford.
- Tokhtasiev, S.R. 2007: 'Iz onomastiki Severnogo Prichernomor'ia. XIX: Maloaziiskie imena na Bospore (V–IV vv. do n.e.)' *VDI* 2007/1, 170–208.
- Tyrwhitt, T. 1783: *Conjecturae in Strabonem*, London.
- Willrich, H. 1905: 'Dorylaos (3)' in *RE* 5, 1578–1579.
- Wilson, D.R. 1960: *The Historical Geography of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus in the Greek and Roman Periods* (Thes.), Oxford.
- Zgusta, L. 1964: *Kleinasiatischen Personennamen*, Prag.

## Abstract

The article includes two studies involving emendations to the text of Strabo's *Geography*. The first concerns the identification of the Strabo's grandfather on his paternal side. Based on conjecture for a passage in Strabo XII. 33. 3 C 557, the author concludes that he may have borne the wide-spread Paphlagonian name Atotes. Such a supposition allows the identification of two historical individuals – Strabo's relative Theophilos, son of Tibios (Strabo XII. 33. 3 C 558), and Theophilos the Paphlagonian, who was behind the extermination of Roman citizens in Tralleis in 88 BC (App. *Mithr.* 23; Dio Cass. XXX–XXXV. 101. 1). The second study is devoted to the passages on the foundation of Prusa-ad-Olympum in Strabo and Stephanos of Byzantium alluding to a certain king Prusias, who allegedly was waging war against Croisus (Strabo XII. 4. 3 C 564) or Cyrus (Steph. Byz. s.v. Προῦσα). The deletion is proposed of the inappropriate and anachronistic name of such a ruler and the substitution of the place-name Cius. This fits the historical context well; Prusias I of Bithynia both seized Cius, jointly with Philip V of Macedon, and founded Prusa-ad-Olympum.