

THE CADUSII IN HISTORY AND IN FICTION

LANDS and peoples on the northern edge of an empire never fail to arouse curiosity; and their first entry into history exhibits sharp contrasts. The Hyrcani made a notable impact when Alexander in the year 330 invaded their country.

Hyrcania permits a fairly close definition. It occupied the southeastern corner of the Caspian (a sea which frequently took that name). To the north was the wide steppe, inhabited by the Dahae, on the east the region Margiana. To the south Hyrcania extended into the Elburz mountains; and under the last Achaemenid it formed one satrapy with Parthyene, its neighbour on the southeast. Belonging to the narrow neck between the Caspian and the Salt Desert, Hyrcania lay beside the highroad from Ecbatana to Bactra. Hence a vital link for successive imperial powers.¹

When Alexander reached Zadracarta, the Hyrcanian capital, the governor of the Tapuri made submission (a mountain people to the south). Alexander then fought against the formidable Mardi (first known to Greeks as 'Amardi'). But he did not choose to march westwards along the coast into the territory of the Cadusii. For adequate reasons. In consequence, whereas the luxuriant vegetation of coastal Hyrcania enchanted Alexander's men, inspiring lavish portrayal in the earliest historians, the Cadusii, secluded in the southwestern angle of the Caspian, remained largely unknown, and they subsist as a problem.

II

Some light (not very much) was thrown by the admiral Patrocles when about the year 285 he made a cursory survey of the littoral. As concerns the western Caspian, beyond the mouths of Araxes and Cyrus in the direction of the Caucasus, the navigator got as far as the region of Baku; he conceived and perpetuated the notion that the sea was a gulf of Ocean; and he assigned to Cadusia the inordinate extension of 5000 stades.²

The results achieved by the admiral of Seleucus were taken over by Eratosthenes, to dominate geographers ever after. A certain vagueness envelops the peoples westwards from Hyrcani and Mardi as far as the Albani; and other tribal names that he mentioned or that accrued later fail to bring clarity. Some peoples change name or identity, others lapse, hence many perplexities in assessment of texts.

Cadusii first came to knowledge (though not to historical mention), in Patrocles' report, as a people dwelling along the shore westwards from the Mardi.³ At that time their eastern boundary may have been the mouth of the river Amardus (the Safid Rud), due north from Kasvin.⁴ Some modern accounts appear to confine them to the narrow coastal zone.⁵ However, particulars that emerge about Cadusian troops in various campaigns indicate a fairly wide extension inland, and even subdivisions of this nation (see below).

It is therefore a question how far Cadusii stretched to the west and southwest. That is, into Atropatene: the portion of 'Great Media' bounded against Armenia by the Araxes. It inherited the name of the Persian who, granted the satrapy after the death of Alexander, soon managed to achieve rank as an independent ruler. Several ancient authors put the Cadusii adjacent to the

¹ See above all Kiessling's comprehensive study, *RE* ix (1914) 454–526; and guidance on other peoples as well is furnished by A. B. Bosworth in his commentary on Arrian, *Anabasis* i–iii (Oxford 1980).

² Kiessling, *RE* ix 465 f.; Herrmann, x 2282 f.; F. Gisinger, xviii 2265 ff.

³ Strabo xi p. 514.

⁴ Kiessling, *RE* ix 465 f., cf. Andraec, i, 1729.

⁵ Thus J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (London 1983) 300: 'in the humid jungle land'. For a description of that territory, see *The Admiralty Handbook, Persia* (1945) 34 ff.; 143 ff.

Matiani, a much more elusive people (and indeed evanescent).⁶ These Matiani belonged to Atropatene, in the region eastwards from Lake Urmia (which in antiquity reproduced their name).⁷

Cadusii are not merely a mountain people behind a narrow strip of coast. The troops they supplied include cavalry, for which Media held primacy through the ages. In the romance of Xenophon it is a force of 4000, accompanied by 2000 peltasts; at the Battle of Cunaxa they are among the cavalry, according to Ctesias; at Gaugamela they contribute only cavalry to the army of Darius (which is probably incorrect); while for Strabo they are javelin men, effective in rough country instead of mounted troops.⁸

Some of the peoples on various record in the Caspian or Median zone between Hyrcania and the Caucasus have benefited from exact and erudite investigations.⁹ Not so the Cadusii. The standard account is brief and far from adequate in most respects.¹⁰ Moreover, general books that deal with the history of ancient Iran tend to accord sparse mention.¹¹ That comes as no surprise. Cadusii crop up sporadically, they survive as a name rather than a nation. Those very reasons may support and encourage a disquisition that furnishes miscellaneous instruction, at least for students of literature in the first place.

III

The Cadusii, it is typical, first enter the pages of history in a casual fashion. In the year 405 the Persian monarch Darius, being grievously ill, sent for Cyrus, his younger son. Darius was then in Media, at Thamnyria, close to the Cadusian country. He had been conducting a campaign against that rebellious nation. Thus Xenophon in the *Hellenica*.¹²

At the Battle of Cunaxa four years later the select cavalry of Artaxerxes, to a total of 6000, was in the charge of Artageres. In the conflict Cyrus rushed impetuously against that force and with his own hand killed Artageres, so it was said. Thus the sober and careful exposition in the *Anabasis* (i 7.11; viii 24).

Another future narrator witnessed the battle, namely Ctesias of Cnidus, the royal doctor. His eloquent and vivid story was reproduced by Plutarch in the biography of Artaxerxes. The general Artageres is there styled commander of the Cadusii (*Art.* 9). Uttering fierce and opprobrious objurgations, he challenged Cyrus to a single combat. Moreover, after the victory the king rewarded amply both the son of Artageres and Ctesias himself (*Art.* 14).

Touching Cadusii at Cunaxa, it need not pass belief that the predecessor of Artaxerxes had been able, after the campaign of 405, to levy and enlist some members of that large and warlike nation for service in the imperial army. However, the general Artageres defined merely as their commander on the warrant of Ctesias, that item may excite distrust as well as curiosity.

This author had acquired an especial interest in Cadusii. Producing an early Median dynasty,

⁶ Polybius v 44.9; Strabo xi p. 514 and 523; Pliny, *NH* vi 46.

⁷ See Weissbach, *RE* xiv 2197 f. In Strabo Matiani occur three times, the region Matiane four. In xi p. 514 Cadusii touch Medes and Matiani; and in p. 523 Media lies to the south of Matiane. Discussing those passages, Weissbach however states that Atropatene was bounded on the south by Matiane; and he puts Matiane to the south of Lake Urmia (*o.c.* 2198).

For the history of the name, and for other particulars, see now E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (Wiesbaden 1968) 11; 193 f.; 228 ff. The book, posthumous, comprises notes arranged and published by G. Walser.

⁸ Xenophon, *Cyr.* v 3.33; Ctesias in Plutarch, *Art.* 9; Arrian, *Anab.* iii 11.3; Strabo xi p. 523.

⁹ Notably Weissbach's contributions to *RE* and Herzfeld (n. 7). The Index to that book however does not register Cadusii.

¹⁰ G. Meier, *RE* Supp. vii, 316 f. No call to specify.

¹¹ Thus *The Cambridge History of Iran* i (1968), at least not in the Index; and Vol. ii (1985) has only a brief sentence about the campaign conducted by Artaxerxes Mnemon.

¹² *Hell.* ii 1.13. The situation of Thamnyria eludes.

Ctesias embellished his inventions with the full narration of a Cadusian war.¹³ When Xenophon, inspired to emulation, turned his talent to fictional history and composed the *Cyropaedeia*, he duly put Cadusii to frequent employ. The topic will prove variously instructive.¹⁴

IV

The origin of Ctesias' preoccupation may not be far to seek: the medical man had attended upon Darius in northern Media during the campaign of 405. That conjecture, it cannot be ignored, concerns a notorious problem, namely the duration of his sojourn at the Persian court. On his own testimony, as briefly reported by Diodorus Siculus, he had originally been a prisoner of war; and he enjoyed high favour with Artaxerxes for seventeen years.¹⁵

Now the latest transaction that the *Persica* recorded belongs to 397, and there is no sign that Ctesias occupied his medical post subsequent to that year.¹⁶ Some critics therefore reject the figure since Artaxerxes succeeded Darius in 404. Furthermore, had Ctesias previously been doctor to Darius he would surely have said so, not being averse to extolling his own quality and merits.¹⁷

Arguments of this sort are to be deprecated. They depend on a text abridged by a compiler who is elsewhere shown hasty and careless. Scholars who fancy conciliatory explanations are at liberty to retain the seventeen years and suppose that the man of Cnidus, said to have arrived as a captive, did not accede at once to the position of doctor-in-chief when he first entered royal service a number of years previous to the Battle of Cunaxa.

V

The next campaign against the Cadusii occurred in the vicinity of 380: a peculiar enterprise, as though Artaxerxes did not already have to confront sundry emergencies. Plutarch's biography, resorting to the *Persica* of Dinon after Ctesias ended, supplies a full account but few details of value. Briefly as follows (*Art.* 24 f.). The king invaded the land of the Cadusii with a huge host, 300,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Trouble soon supervened in the barren and difficult country. A device of Tiribazus rescued army and monarch from dire straits. Since the natives had two rulers, with different encampments, Tiribazus and his son approached each of them separately, playing the one against the other.¹⁸ As a result, a treaty of peace was arranged. None the less, Artaxerxes had lost many soldiers, and all of the horses. Defeat and dishonour made him fear and distrust his ministers, and he killed many of them.

The historian Pompeius Trogus narrated the war. It does not figure in the highly selective abridgement made by Justin. There is only the phrase in the Index to Book x: 'victus in Cadusiis'.

Diodorus conveys no hint of disaster, only a pair of curt and neutral notices of the war as relevant to the vicissitudes of Tiribazus (xv 8.1; 10.1). That character happened to engage the interest of historians. Both Ctesias and Dinon brought him into narrations of Cunaxa, although not at all in the same fashion (Plutarch, *Art.* 7; 10).

Another reference also concerns one of the higher satraps. The excellent Datames made his mark 'in bello quod rex adversus Cadusios gessit'. Rendering signal service in the battle, 'multis milibus regionum interfectis', Datames had for reward his father's satrapy of Cappadocia (Nepos, *Dat.* 1.2).

¹³ Diodorus ii 33.

¹⁴ For a full account see below, towards the end.

¹⁵ Diodorus ii 32.4.

¹⁶ Jacoby, *RE* x 2032 ff.

¹⁷ An argument used by Jacoby, *o.c.* 2033. However,

it can be supposed that the captivity of Ctesias in fact began in 414. Thus T. Brown, *Historia* xxvii (1978) 4.

¹⁸ That item supports the theory about different categories of Cadusii adumbrated above.

VI

A third Cadusian war, under Artaxerxes Ochus about thirty years later, earns isolated attestation for a single episode. The third Darius when a young man won fame and promotion for a valorous exploit, taking up the challenge issued by a Cadusian champion of unusual strength and courage.²⁰

The operations of Ochus had achieved some success. Cadusian troops turn up on the side of Darius at Gaugamela in 331. They are attested by each of the three extant historians, not without discrepancies.

To begin with Arrian's account of the army as it mustered: Atropates the satrap of Media brought Cadusii along with Medi, Albani, Sacesinae (iii 8.4). Next, in the battle order for which he cited Aristobulus, they are stationed within the left wing, towards the centre (11.3). But Cadusii are nowhere on show in the course of the fighting.

On the other hand, the version transmitted by Clitarchus. It was followed by Diodorus and by Curtius, and expounded at some length. Mazaeus (not named by Arrian) had command of the right wing. He despatched a select force of cavalry, 2000 Cadusians and 1000 Scythians, to outflank the adversary (Diodorus xvii 59.5). They won a signal success and went on to loot the Macedonian camp (60.5 ff.). In the account of Curtius, at the outset Cadusians were brigaded on the right, along with Armenii, Cappadoces, Syri, Medi (iv 12.12); and in the battle he records the exploit of the thousand Scythian horse (15.5 ff.), adding to them Cadusii (no number) at the end (15.12).

Let it suffice to register what the authors reported, observing that Arrian is far from infallible.²¹ And further, that Cadusian foot as well as horse should perhaps be allowed for.²²

So far Gaugamela.²³ Alexander's delayed pursuit of Darius brought him through the Caspian Gates to Hecatompylus in Parthyene; and in the subsequent invasion of Hyrcania he gave a thought to the Cadusii. It had been reported that they were coming to the help of Darius, so Arrian states (iii 19.3 f.). Alexander therefore instructed Parmenion (who had been left in charge of a force at Ecbatana) to pass through their country and join him in Hyrcania (19.7). Nothing came of the notion.²⁴ Which occasions no surprise.

The Cadusii, at least those of the mountains, had been able to defy or frustrate the Achaemenids. Large tracts in the wide empire remained free of any control. Thus the Carduchi;²⁵ and monarchs had to pay toll to the Uxii when journeying from Susa to Persepolis.²⁶

The Cadusii invited punitive expeditions directed to the levying of auxiliary troops, not to any permanent conquests. Nor is it likely that in the sequel rulers of the upper satrapies tried to subjugate the whole territory that was covered on south and west by Atropatene. In the time of the Seleucids the dynasty founded by Atropates abode normally in a state of independence.²⁷

VII

After Alexander silence ensues for more than a century. In 220, not long after his accession,

¹⁹ Nepos, *Dat.* 1.2.

²⁰ Diodorus xviii 6; Justin, x 33.3

²¹ As judiciously stated by Bosworth on *Anab.* iii 11.3. On errors in Arrian see his paper, *CQ* xxvi (1976) 117 ff.

²² Thus Bosworth. Likewise J. E. Atkinson in his commentary on Curtius iii and iv (Amsterdam and Vithoorn 1980), duly citing, on iv 12.12, the javelin men of Strabo xi p. 523.

²³ For a recent reconstruction, A. M. Devine, *The ancient world* (1986) 87 ff.

²⁴ Thus Bosworth on *Anab.* iii 19.7. The contrary view is stated by Hammond—who locates the Cadusii eastwards from the Mardi (*Alexander the Great* [1980] 179).

²⁵ Xenophon, *Anab.* iii 5.16.

²⁶ Arrian, *Anab.* iii 17.1.

²⁷ R. N. Frye, *The history of ancient Iran* (Munich 1983) 163.

the third Antiochus had to face a formidable revolt in the upper satrapies. To illustrate the resources available to Molon, Polybius subjoined an excursus on the geography of Media, valuable but from the nature of the subject not always clear or adequate in orientation (v 44). For present purposes, one observes that Media is bounded on the west by Atropatene, while along the north lie Elymaei and Anariacae, also Cadusii and Matiani (44.8 f.).²⁸ Of those peoples, the Elymaei are not on frequent record.²⁹ The Anariacae, made known by Patrocles, inhabited the Caspian coast, between Mardi and Cadusii. The presence of the Matiani, that ancient name, will not escape notice.³⁰ They never show up in any military levy or any campaign.

Victorious over his adversaries, the young monarch proceeded to establish order along the northern frontier of Media. He was able to bring to terms Artabazanes, the prince who held Atropatene (v 55). A further result of his exertions can be detected. Cadusii turn up felicitously in the vast host he led to battle at Raphia in 217 (79.7).

Nor did Antiochus neglect the region in the sequel. The year 210 saw him at Ecbatana, preparing a great expedition along the imperial highway. In the next year he passed through the Caspian Gates, and, striking across the mountains of the Tapuri, took action against the Parthians, who had laid hands on Hyrcania.³¹ Recovering that country, Antiochus brought the Parthians to terms of submission and went on to Bactra.

VIII

For the later ambitions that ended in conflict with Rome, Antiochus mustered contingents from sundry remote peoples on the northern edge of Media. At a conference held in the year 192 his envoy brought up their names in a boasting declaration. In Livy's version, 'nominibus quoque gentium vix fando auditis terrebat, Dahas Medos Elymaeosque et Cadusios appellans' (xxxv 48.5). In his rejoinder Flamininus made play with the 'nomina gentium inauditarum'. Citing those four names he said that they were only Syrians, 'haud paulo mancipiorum melius propter servilia ingenia quam militum genus' (49.8).

No Cadusii are in fact discovered on the roll of the Seleucid army at Magnesia two years later (xxxviii 40). Dahae occur, from the steppe country east of the Caspian. Also on both wings a mixed force of Elymaei (archers) and Cyrtii. These Elymaei, it will be recalled, were registered by Polybius among peoples to the north of Media (v 44.9). The Cyrtii belong to the Cadusian vicinity according to Strabo (xi p. 523).³²

IX

It is singularly appropriate that when the Cadusii appear for the last time in a historical context they are missing from battles, but come on exhibit in a pair of orations, the one designed to intimidate, the other for derision. Henceforth the name lives on in obsolete geography or in works of fiction.

The prestige of Eratosthenes endured. Marcus Agrippa had recourse to his dimensions when devising the world map that was to be displayed on a monument in the Campus Martius. Which was good enough for the populace. Like the vaticinations emitted long since by poets of the

²⁸ See the careful annotation of Walbank in his Commentary, Vol. i (Oxford 1957) 574 ff.

²⁹ For the Elymaei, Weissbach, *RE* vi 2467. Last in history at the Battle of Magnesia, *cf.* below.

³⁰ For Walbank (on v 44.9). 'east of Armenia, and

south and west of Atropatene'. For which he cited Weissbach. See however above, n. 7.

³¹ Polybius x 2.9.3 ff., *cf.* Kiessling, *RE* ix 501 f.

³² For the Cyrtii, Weissbach, *RE* xii 205.

time, a picture of this kind may have appealed to public opinion eager for conquest in far or fabled lands. It had no meaning for any who managed foreign policy or planned a campaign.³³ The Roman habit was ever to think in terms of roads and of distances in time, not miles.

Warfare or commerce continued to augment knowledge—for those that needed it. Not much percolated into literature; and a singular dearth of intellectual curiosity obtained among the educated classes.³⁴ The Romans never bothered to redress Eratosthenes' error about the Caspian, although the means were within reach. During the reign of Claudius Caesar a force penetrated into the steppe a long way eastwards from the Sea of Azov, operating against Dandarii and Siraci. They got within three days march of the River Tanais, so it was averred.³⁵ Information from Greek cities on the shores of the Black Sea had revealed to Herodotus the truth about the Caspian. Moreover, a Roman centurion engraved his dedication to the Emperor Domitian on a rock-face about 70 km. south-west of Baku.³⁶ Patrocles the navigator had sailed only a few miles further: as far as the tip of the peninsula on the southern side of which Baku is situated.³⁷

Even Arrian abode in ignorance, the military man who when consular legate of Cappadocia inspected Roman posts and native tribes on the shore of Pontus beneath the mountain of Caucasus.³⁸

X

Investigation of the peoples lying between Caucasus and Hyrcania and extending into Armenia and Media is vexed and baffled by persistent defects in geographical writers.

(1) Those writers tend to register nations or tribes instead of countries; and they can seldom define the boundaries.

(2) The information is generally long out of date.

(3) The same names crop up in different regions. Thus the Mardi. Not only on the Caspian, adjacent to Hyrcani, but in southeastern Armenia and in the Zagros mountains.³⁹ Further, Elymaei are to be found north of Media as well as in the zone that perpetuated their name (Elam).

(4) The name survives but not the people. Thus Caspiane, a region near the mouths of Cyrus and Araxes.⁴⁰ Strabo describes the habits of Caspii, who starve to death anybody over seventy and expose the corpses, counting them blessed if torn to pieces by wild beasts (xi p. 520). Yet he was aware that Caspii were no longer extant. Albania had once been their habitat (p. 502)—or Media (p. 528). Again, the Matiani of Atropatene (briefly discussed above).

(5) Some smaller tribes may be suspected to lurk under general appellations. Historical notices about Cadusian cavalry permit the assumption of at least two different kinds of Cadusii: on the Median plateau as well as in the shaggy mountains above the narrow coast. One might wonder about the Anariacae, or the Elymaei and the Cyrtii (seldom mentioned) who fought at the Battle of Magnesia; and Gelae acquire strict relevance (see below).

(6) The original people turns up later, under a different name or names. As will be demonstrated, that happened to the Cadusii.

³³ For the contrary thesis, P. A. Brunt, *JRS* liii (1963) 170 ff.

³⁴ W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der r. Literatur* (Stuttgart 1924) 278 ff.; 294 ff.

³⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.* xii 15 ff.

³⁶ *AE* 1951, 263.

³⁷ Herrmann, *RE* x 2281.

³⁸ Censure of Arrian might abate if the *Anabasis* could be proved anterior to his journey on the Euxine.

³⁹ As Strabo noted (xi p. 523). For Mardi, Andreae, *RE* i 1729 ff.; Weissbach, xiv 1648 ff.

⁴⁰ Strabo xi p. 502 and p. 208, cf. Herrmann, *RE* x 2272. A peculiar notion was sponsored by Tarn, *Alexander the Great* ii (Cambridge 1948) 5: 'the name "Caspian" originally belonged to the Aral.' He omitted Strabo on Caspiane and Caspii.

XI

For the present summary enquiry, the prime document is Strabo, Book xi. His sources carry intricate problems.⁴¹ Not only that. The compilation is a messy piece of work, the same items recurring in different places, but not always consistent.

Strabo, it is true, drew upon two recent writers. First, Theophanes of Mytilene, historian and panegyrist of Pompeius Magnus, with him during the Albanian campaign of the year 65. After his victory the general proposed to make for the Caspian and Hyrcania; when he was only three days short of the coast, masses of deadly snakes arrested his march.⁴² Theophanes also reported Amazons, an echo from the story invented by Clitarchus, how their queen paid a visit to Alexander in Hyrcania. Between Albani and Amazons, this historian was careful to insert Gelae and Legae, whom he termed Scythian.⁴³ But no word of Cadusii, a name surely not unknown to literary men like Theophanes or Plutarch.

Second, Q. Dellius, another eye-witness to noteworthy transactions. He recounted in copious detail Antonius' invasion of Atropatene in 36. Strabo furnishes some valuable particulars, including the summer and winter residences of the rulers.⁴⁴

After describing the northern parts as mountainous, as broken and chilly, and referring to the habits of the Cadusii and other hill tribes (Amardi, Tapuri, Cyrtii), Strabo mentions further peoples likewise nomads and brigands on the Zagros and on Niphates. He then proceeds to define the Cadusii themselves as excellent javelin men (p. 523).

On this digression follows a statement about Antonius: it was not the difficulty of the terrain that caused the expedition to fail but advice from Artavasdes the Armenian prince (p. 524). Nevertheless, it cannot quite be taken for certain that Dellius named the Cadusii in this context. If he did, noteworthy as their last occurrence in a contemporary narration.

XII

It may be of use to set on record the places where the geographer names this people. No fewer than eight.⁴⁵

(1) In the introductory account of the Caspian coast: Eratosthenes assigned to Albani and Cadusii a stretch of 5400 stades. Next come Anariacae, Amardi, Hyrcani (xi p. 507).

(2) The greater part of the known littoral is occupied by Cadusii: nearly 5000 stades in the estimate of Patrocles. After Albani and Armenii (a short tract) the peoples are Gelae, Cadusii, Amardi, Vitii, Anariacae (p. 508). A description of Hyrcania follows.

(3) North of the mountain range occur Gelae, Cadusii, Amardi, 'as has been said', and some of the Hyrcani. (p. 510).

(4) After the Hyrcanians: Amardi, Anariacae, Cadusii, Albani, Caspii, Vitii (p. 514).

(5) The Cadusii are adjacent to Medi and Matiani (p. 514).

(6) In the account of Atropatene: Cadusii along with Amardi, Tapuri, Cyrtii (p. 523, discussed above in relation to Dellius).

(7) The Cadusii as a warrior people (p. 523).

(8) In reference to the boundaries of 'Great Media': sundry brigand peoples, including 'the Cadusii and the others we have just mentioned' (p. 524).

⁴¹ In the first place Eratosthenes, Artemidorus of Ephesus, Apollonius of Artemita, Posidonius. See the scrupulous discussion of F. Lasserre, *Strabon, Géographie* Tome viii (Budé, Paris 1975) 7 ff.

⁴² Plutarch, *Pompeius* 36.

⁴³ Plutarch, *Pompeius* 35; Strabo xi p. 503.

⁴⁴ Strabo xi p. 523.

⁴⁵ For details see the 'Notes complémentaires' and the 'Lexique des noms de lieux' in Lasserre (n. 41). It is unfortunate that the latter rubric gives Cadusii only four lines. Gelae earn fourteen, introduced by a not quite accurate statement: 'peuplade apparemment incorporée aux Cadusiens'.

XIII

The bare catalogue illustrates and condemns the practices of a hasty compiler. At the same time, complexities in the material justify abstention: in passing let curt notes suffice.

(1) The Vitii, twice in Strabo (pp. 508; 514) and nowhere else, may be given up.⁴⁶

(2) The Tapuri (p. 523) go normally together with Hyrcani, as elsewhere and in historical contexts.⁴⁷

(3) The enigmatic Matiani find a mention (p. 514).

(4) The Anariacae, eastwards of Cadusii along the coast, are wrongly placed in p. 508.⁴⁸

(5) The Elymaei of Atropatene are missing. Their presence might not have helped.

(6) Strabo has Gelae twice, beside Cadusii (pp. 508; 510).

Nor will it be advisable to attempt analysis or assessment of Ptolemy's Media. First of all, he registers under Cadusii (with a number of details) the essential tract extending from the mouth of the Cyrus as far as the region adjacent to Hyrcania (vi 2.2). Later on, however, in the zone designated western and towards Armenia, occur Caspii, then Cadusii, stated identical with Legae (2.5).

Legae and Gelae cause trouble. At this point it is worth inserting the fact that the poem of Dionysius the Periegete, composed during the reign of Hadrian, offers both Gelae (1018) and Cadusii (782). Likewise centuries later the versions of Avienus and of Priscian. For the varying quantity of the first vowel in the latter name, they deserve quotation. Thus Avienus, 907 f.: 'trux illic arva Cadusus/dura tenet;' Priscian 710: 'post hos Cadusi durissima rura colentes.'

XIV

To continue, and to conclude with Latin prose authors. Pomponius Mela lodged Cadusii between Massagetae and Hyrcani in his brief introduction to the geography of Asia (i 2.13). But nothing further, although this writer betrays a predilection for vanished peoples, like the Budini and Geloni in southern Russia (i 116; ii 14). Geloni furnish constant adornment in Latin poetry from Virgil to Claudian (eleven times in Claudian).

Pliny turns out to be useful. First, citing Eratosthenes for the Caspian coast he produces 5400 stades 'per Cadusiae et Albaniae oram' (vi 36). The sole instance, for what it may be worth, of the term 'Cadusia'. Second, when retailing a list of peoples between Caucasus and Bactra, Pliny mentions first of all 'gens Mardorum fera, sui iuris' and concludes after a medley of fifteen bare names with 'Gaeli quos Graeci Cadusios appellavere' (vi 48). The next word, one observes, is *Matiani*: not elsewhere in the work.

At last thus arrives the welcome solution. Gelae replaced Cadusii, no doubt long before the epoch of Pliny; and their name accrued to the province later called Gilan.

As concerns Gelae, Theophanes held them distinct from Legae, as Strabo and Plutarch testify.⁴⁹ Legae occur nowhere else save in Ptolemy, as another name for Cadusii (vi 2.5): perhaps in error or erroneously transmitted. Recent editors of Pliny felt impelled to print an emended text, namely 'Gaeli <Legae> quos'.⁵⁰ Not necessary, and perhaps not legitimate.

⁴⁶ See Kiessling, *RE* ix 524 ff.; Herzfeld (n. 7) 196. Rather than H. Treidler, *RE* ixa 400-408.

⁴⁷ The Tapuri (four times in Strabo) have no entry in *RE*. See Kiessling, *RE* ix 501 f.; 516 ff. Also the excellent and economical note of Bosworth on Arrian, *Anab.* iii 23.1.

⁴⁸ On whom (three times in Strabo), Andreae, *RE* i 2195; Kiessling, ix, 466.

⁴⁹ Strabo xi p. 503; Plutarch, *Pompeius* 35.

⁵⁰ J. M. André and J. Filliozat (Budé, Paris 1980).

XV

The disappearance of the Cadusian name is confirmed and doubly certified in late imperial history. First, by the panegyrist of the year 291. Encouraging Maximian on his birthday, the orator acclaiming discord in the Persian dominions, with a rival aspiring to the throne: 'ipsos Persas ipsumque regem adscitis Sacis et Rufiis et Gelis petit frater' (*Pan. lat.* xi 17.2).

Second, Ammianus. In 358 Sapor had been able to conclude pacts of alliance with two nations on the frontier: 'cum Chionitis et Gelanis, omnium acerrimis bellatoribus' (xvii 5.1). The Gelani (i.e. Gelae) find no further mention in his pages. The Chionitae baffle, but in the next year Grumbates their king was conspicuously present at the siege of Amida, losing his young son in the fighting (xviii 6.20; xix 1.7).

To conclude. The erudite historian did not fail in homage to traditional lore. A passage in his digression on the geography of Persia is instructive: 'ab arctoo cardine usque ad Caspiae portas Cadusiis conterminat et Scytharum gentibus multis et Arimaspiis hominibus luscis et feris' (xxiii 6.13). If the Cadusii lapsed from history long since, the Scythian Arimaspi are mythical, originating in the poem of Aristeas.⁵¹

XVI

In the end fiction affords more scope and entertainment than scraps of geography or ethnography. The names of far nations, equipped with epithets deemed suitable, conveyed a constant appeal for Latin poets. Their employment by writers in the high Augustan epoch will repay inspection. Exotic names reveal more care for decoration than for relevance.⁵²

Procedures of choice are worth looking for. Some items at once created a fashion, others failed to take on. A number of instances can be adduced, from prepotent Virgil down to Lucan and Seneca—with late progeny in support.⁵³

The Hyrcani conform. The opulence of the coastal zone ravished the earliest historians of Alexander: vines and figs and crops giving prodigious yields, trees with leaves that shed honey.⁵⁴ No charm for Latin poets, however. They were drawn to the mountain forests and the denizen that soon became proverbial, the ferocious tiger. Virgil began it, with Dido denouncing the heartless lover as a nursling of Hyrcanian tigresses (*Aen.* iv 367); and the tiger-infested glades recur in Seneca (once), in Lucan (three times).⁵⁵

Virgil also put Hyrcani to employ in covert allusion to Caesar Augustus: a Roman consul unbaring the Gates of War and about to march forth to war against nations in the Orient (vii 101 ff.). In similar fashion mixed and incongruous peoples parade at the triumph of the year 29 as depicted on the Shield of Aeneas. They include the Geloni, and the last line runs 'indomitique Dahae et pontem indignatus Araxes' (viii 728).

The Dahae, in the steppe northwards from Hyrcania, recur in history, in relation to Parthians. In poets as in geographers persist names long obsolete. But not the Cadusii, although they need not defy a versifier, as the hexameters of Avienus and Priscian showed (quoted above). The name was perhaps not resonant or euphonious enough. Yet poets could have embellished it with some epithet or other. Above all, no classic author had initiated a fashion.

⁵¹ Wernicke, *RE* i 826 f.

⁵² As argued in *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978) 48 ff.; 186 ff.

⁵³ See 'Exotic names, notably in Seneca's Tragedies'. *Acta Classica* xxx (1987) forthcoming.

⁵⁴ Transmitted from Onesicritus by Clitarchus to Diodorus xv 75.4 ff.; Strabo xi p. 508, *cf.* ii, p. 93; Curtius vi 4.21 f. For the detail, Tarn (n. 40). 88 f.

⁵⁵ For the Hyrcanian tiger, Steier, *RE* vi a 946 f.

XVII

Prose fiction kept the Cadusii intermittently alive in imperial Rome, down to the last days. First of all, Nicolaus of Damascus in the long narration about the youthful years of Cyrus. Astyages the Mede, at war with the Cadusii, sent him to negotiate with Onaphernes their ruler, who was meditating betrayal of his own people.⁵⁶ Presumably from Ctesias.⁵⁷

Authors no longer extant or verifiable no doubt contributed. Pompeius Trogus, as has been seen, referred at least twice to Cadusian wars. His *Historiae Philippicae* set out from the earliest rulers of Asia, beginning with Ninus the Assyrian, founder of a long dynasty that lasted until the Mede Arbaces overthrew Sardanapallus. Trogus drew upon Ctesias or some similar romances. He cannot have gone without readers in his own time. Of his quality as a stylist, quite a lot can be gleaned from the selective abridgement that Justin produced in the late age.⁵⁸

To this context can be added without discomfort Curtius Rufus, because of an oration he invented for Alexander. Just before the battle joined at Gaugamela, the king rode through the ranks emitting exhortation. The Macedonians, he urged, should not fear the 'nomina vana' of 'gentes ignotae'. Whether called Scythian or Cadusian, of no moment. And he came out with an aphorism: 'ob id ipsum, quod ignoti essent, ignobiles' (iv 14.3). Which recalls Livy, in the speech of Flamininus (quoted above).

Vexation with error and caprice in Curtius distracts scholarly enquiry from estimate of his merits as literature. The style is fluent and confident, the language choice and vivid, orations and episodes exhibit coherence, while picturesque vignettes of exotic landscape lend variety. Better surely than Clitarchus—and the Greek novel was still in a rudimentary condition. Further, the ample exposition, ten books for Alexander against two in Pompeius Trogus. This product of an adept in arts of rhetoric and invention should have exercised a wide appeal in Rome of the Caesars even if he had not chosen to relate a conspiracy at inordinate length (vi 7–11).

As it happens, the work lacks attestation in antiquity. Not that authorship need now be doubted, or the date: begun under Caligula, completed early in the reign of Claudius.⁵⁹

The next allusion to Cadusii is casual yet significant. It occurs in a romance of classic rank and enduring fame, the life of Apollonius composed by Philostratus in the Severan period. While it is not alleged that the sage of Tyana had visited their country, he spoke their tongue—no less than Median, Persian, Armenian (i 19).

XVIII

Finally, the *Historia Augusta*, in a pair of dissimilar items. First, a passage about Caracalla's Parthian expedition, brutally abridged from the basic source: 'dehinc per Cadusios et Babylonios ingressus tumultuarie cum Parthorum satrapis manum contulit, feris etiam bestiis in hostes inmissis' (*Carac.* 6.4).

Now 'per Cadusios' is a manifest absurdity. What is to be done? Some took the text for corrupt and sought to emend it. At last a remedy was evoked by the author of a comprehensive work on Mesopotamian geography.⁶⁰ He pointed to the Cadiseni, who fought on the Persian side when Belisarius won his victory near Nisibis in 530.⁶¹ This people finds a mention in four other early Byzantine sources; and it is supposed that they lived between Thebeta and Singara.⁶²

The notion is at first sight attractive, and it was promptly taken up by historians who

⁵⁶ *FGrH* 90, F 66, 11 ff.

⁵⁷ Jacoby, *RE* xi 2058.

⁵⁸ Not an epitome: Justin, in his Praefatio is explicit, with 'cognitione quaeque dignissima excerpti' and 'breve velut florum corpusculum feci'.

⁵⁹ See now the convincing demonstration of J. E.

Atkinson (n. 22) 19 ff.

⁶⁰ L. Dilleman, *La Haute Mésopotamie orientale et les pays adjacents* (Paris 1962) 97 f.

⁶¹ Procopius, *Bell. pers.* i 14.38 f.

⁶² Cited by Dilleman (n. 61) 97.

discussed Caracalla's war.⁶³ Reflection suggests some dubitations. First, how Cadusii came to be located there. Second, to be worth naming in the same breath as Babylonii, yet lurking unperceived through the centuries beside or athwart a route much frequented by the passage of armies. Third, despite a resemblance, the word 'Cadiseni' may have nothing to do with 'Cadusii'.⁶⁴

The sole solution resides in the *Historia Augusta* itself. Scholars are liable to go astray when they concentrate on isolated items without giving a thought to the nature of the work as a whole. The author of the theory here under inspection was content to cite without warning biographers called 'Spartianus' and 'Trebellius Pollio'.⁶⁵

Wanton or pointless frivolity is the hallmark of the *Historia Augusta*. Its author casually assigned to the same Roman emperor a campaign against Goths (*Carac.* 10.6). The upshot is simple, although it may not be to the liking of all critics. The author of the *Historia Augusta* had Cadusii in his mind when in hasty abridgement he needed an oriental name to balance Babylonii.

Finally, what Pliny said abides unimpaired. Cadusii had been transmuted into Gaeli (i.e. Gelae).⁶⁶ Only the imprudent will invoke the notice about Apollonius of Tyana for historical relevance to the time of Caracalla.⁶⁷

XIX

Second, at a much later stage in the work, 'Trebellius Pollio' brings up 'Velenus', the king of the Cadusii (*Val.* 2.1). The Persian monarch Sapor, having captured the Emperor Valerian, consulted the vassal princes about what to do next. The *Historia Augusta* supplies their response to the 'rex regum' in three well reasoned missives, each enlarging on the power and majesty of Rome, deprecating warfare and counselling peace.⁶⁸

'Velsolus' is the first (kingdom not specified), 'Velenus' the second, 'Artabases rex Armeniorum' the third. 'Artabases', that was a figment all too easy. The name 'Velenus' eludes inquiry no less than 'Velsolus', for all that the conclusion of his despatch carries a vague propriety in geography: 'fac cum Romanis pacem, nobis etiam ob gentes Ponticas profuturam' (*Val.* 2.3).

In the form 'Belenus' the name of the Cadusian prince might have avowed an oriental connotation. One could adduce 'Belesys', the Babylonian ally who in Ctesias helped the Mede 'Arbaces' to demolish 'Sardanapallus'.⁶⁹ The assumption is painless that something of these mythical narrations had percolated to the erudite author of the *Historia Augusta*.⁷⁰

XX

Those who compose fictional history are commonly at pains to equip the characters with choice labels. In superior efforts the names speak for themselves. Thus four staff officers assigned by an emperor to Aurelian in the *Historia Augusta*: manifestly all Germans.⁷¹

Indeed, patterns of general validity emerge. First, the type of name. Authenticity is insinuated by contrary devices. That is, either the rare and striking or the drab and indistinctive. Second, provenance. They derive from books the man had read or from persons in his own time.

⁶³ D. Timpe, *Hermes* xcvi (1967) 477 ff.; J. Vogt, *Historia* xviii (1969) 307.

⁶⁴ For the root of the word, compare Cadi in Lydia, or Cadena, a castle in Cappadocia (Strabo xii p. 537).

⁶⁵ Dilleman (n. 61) 97 f.

⁶⁶ Pliny, *NH* vi 48. It is not correct to state that 'Pline les a confondus avec les Gaeli' (o.c. 95).

⁶⁷ Thus Dilleman (n. 61) 98.

⁶⁸ Influence from the contemporary historian was canvassed in *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford

1968) 42.

⁶⁹ Diodorus ii 24.1 ff. Belesys was a satrap in Syria in 401 (*Anab.* i 4.10).

⁷⁰ Thus, in brief discussion of the two passages, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (1968) 35 f. The author had not been aware of Dilleman's thesis.

⁷¹ *Historia Augusta, Aurel.* 11.4: 'tecum erit Harionmundus, Haldagates, Hildomundus, Carioviscus'. For the fourth name, 'Charioviscus' (A. Stein).

Anachronistic names in fact furnished the prime impulsion a century ago to subvert the ostensible date of the *Historia Augusta* and disallow the 'six biographers'. Hermann Dessau, engaged at the time on the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, was not slow to perceive that characters like 'Toxotius' and 'Maecius Faltonius Nicomachus' declare the last quarter of the Fourth Century.

Further scrutiny of the inventions, more than two hundred from 'Ablavius Murena' to 'Zosimio', contributed something also. It encouraged assessment of the work as a literary product. That is to say, not just bad biography, not propaganda, not forgery, but an imposture or hoax. Towards a definition, the author himself furnished a clue. He produced 'Junius Cordus', a biographer of the Caesars, and scarified him for filling his books with 'mythistoriae'.⁷²

The word is unique in Latin. It can be rendered without provoking misconceptions as 'fictional history'. Further, although close kin to the historical novel, a distinction could even be essayed, since the thing passes itself for authentic. Term and genre, it is clear, do not apply before the emergence of Herodotus and Thucydides. The parent is therefore Ctesias of Cnidus, who introduced the devices typical ever after: invented characters and bogus documentation.⁷³

XXI

With Ctesias the theme reverts to the Cadusii, in two passages reproduced by Diodorus Siculus. First, Cadusii and Tapuri among the nations of Asia which 'Ninus the Assyrian' added to his empire (ii 2.3). Second, in sequence to 'Arbaces': after overthrowing 'Sardanapallus' he founded a dynasty of Median kings.

The sixth in the line, namely 'Artaeus', waged a notable war with the Cadusii (33.1-6). It arose in this fashion. His friend and trusted counsellor, a Persian called 'Parsondes', coming to dissidence, departed to the Cadusii, who made him their supreme general. He defeated 'Artaeus', ravaged Media, and became king over the Cadusii. At the end of his days 'Parsondes' swore a great oath that no successor should make peace with the Medes; and so enmity endured, with the Cadusii not subject to any king until Cyrus transferred empire from the Medes to the Persians (33.6).

Such was the narration that Ctesias extracted from the annals of the first Median dynasty, having given careful study to archives preserved at the court of Persia (32.4). The corroborative nomenclature will amuse and instruct. Nothing can be done with 'Parsondes', though not implausible.⁷⁴ But 'Artaeus' (easy invention) is attested for Persians.⁷⁵ For 'Arbaces' the author had resort to a man he knew. Arbaces was one of Artaxerxes' five generals at Cunaxa, as Xenophon states (*Anab.* i 7.12). He subsequently became satrap of Media (vii 8.25). In the allegation of Ctesias (as reported by Plutarch) he failed through cowardice in the battle and was subjected to public humiliation, in a ludicrous fashion.⁷⁶

XXII

Xenophon was moved to indite his treatise on an ideal monarch when he read the first two books of Plato's *Republic*, according to a fable current in the schools.⁷⁷ It pertains to the rubric of discord between contemporary writers as revealed by mutual silence. Recent and rational

⁷² *Historia Augusta*, *Macr.* 1.5 Also 'mythistorica volumina' alleged against Marius Maximus (*Quadr. tyr.* 1.2).

⁷³ For this thesis, *Fictional History old and new*. Hadrian, Bryce Memorial Lecture, Somerville College, 10 May 1984.

⁷⁴ Ctesias again used a Parsondas: at least, he occurs

in Nicolaus' long story about the young Cyrus (*FGrH* 90 F 4). Neither is registered in *RE*.

⁷⁵ Herodotus vii 22.1; 66.2.

⁷⁶ Plutarch, *Art.* 14. The item was not noted in *RE* i 406.

⁷⁷ Gellius xiv 3.3.

speculation adduces both the author's knowledge of Persia and the impact of events, notably the Revolt of the Satraps that terminated about the year 362—and even the decease of Agesilaus (in 360), the model king whom Xenophon admired and soon commemorated in an encomiastic biography.⁷⁸

In this matter, emulation of Ctesias' *Persica* seems to suffer neglect.⁷⁹ One feature of the *Cyropaedia* suggests inspiration from fictions of Ctesias. The author puts Cadusii to employ in no fewer than seven passages. For record, if not for much else, let them be catalogued.⁸⁰

(1) The Cadusii, warlike nation, are hostile to the Assyrians (*Cyr.* v 2.25).

(2) Along with Hyrcani and Sacae, allies of Cyrus (3.22 ff.); they furnish 2000 peltasts and 4000 cavalry (3.23); put in charge of 'Datames' (38), but operating under 'Alceunas' (42).

(3) As allies (4.13); defeated in a battle near Babylon (15 ff.); consoled by Cyrus in an oration (19 ff.).

(4) With Cyrus at the court of Astyages (vi 1.1), where an anonymous Cadusian refers to the defeat (1. 8).

(5) As allies (vii 5.51).

(6) In a military pageant (viii 3.18), with the Cadusian 'Rhathines' victorious in an equestrian contest (3.32).

(7) Cyrus on his deathbed bequeaths the power to Cambyses and appoints his younger son Tanaoxares satrap over Medes, Armenians, Cadusians (viii 7.11).

XXIII

The nomenclature enlisted by Xenophon will prove valuable for comparison of techniques with later exponents of fictional history. By good fortune it has been analysed and classified under three heads.⁸¹

(a) Characters in history. Few indeed apart from Cyrus, Astyages, Gobryas, Tanaoxares, the king's second son (Smerdis), is in a special case. Ctesias had produced 'Tanyoxares'.⁸²

(b) A number thrown back from the author's own time. Most significant in various ways are the following five.

(1) 'Artagerses', an infantry officer (vi 9.31): the cavalry commander whom Cyrus killed at Cunaxa (*Anab.* i 8.24).

(2) 'Artuchas', in charge of Hyrcanians (v 3.38): a Persian commander in Armenia (*Anab.* iv 3.4).

(3) 'Artabazus the Mede' (i 4.27): the Persian general, close kin to the dynasty, who fought against Datames the rebel satrap c.362 (Diodorus xv 91.2)—and who was to reach the age of ninety five and more (Curtius vi 5.3; viii 1.20).

(4) 'Datames', commanding the Cadusii (v 3.38): Datames, who earned early distinction in the war against the Cadusians (Nepos, *Dat.* 1.2 cf. above), and notoriety in the Revolt of the Satraps.

(5) 'Rhathines', the Cadusian horseman (viii 3.18): a cavalry leader under Pharnabazus (*Anab.* vi 5.7).

The author, it may be noted, was able to keep clear of certain well-known names: Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes, Tiribazus.

(c) Seventeen names found nowhere else, almost all of them defying explanation.⁸³ Some,

⁷⁸ E. Delebecque, *Essai sur la vie de Xénophon* (Paris 1957) 385; 407 f.; 462 ff.

⁷⁹ Not mooted, it appears, by Delebecque. Nor is Ctesias much in evidence in the long chapter devoted to the *Cyropaedia* by S. W. Hirsch, *The friendship of the barbarians* (Hanover and London 1985) 61–100.

⁸⁰ Not all earned register in the Index to Marchant's *OCT* (1910) or in that of Gemoll (Teubner, 1911).

⁸¹ H. R. Breitenbach, *RE* ixa 1412 ff.

⁸² *FGrH* 688 F 9 and F 13.

⁸³ Breitenbach, *o.c.* 1414 (briefly).

such as 'Araspas', a Median, and 'Daiphernes', look plausible enough.⁸⁴ Or one might venture to suppose that 'Rhambacas' (v 3.42) is Iranian, adducing the town Rhambacia in far Gedrosia.⁸⁵ Still, what is one to make of 'Adusius', a Persian sent with an army to Caria (vii 4.1 ff.) and appointed satrap of the region (viii 6.7)? Although extremely rare, the name is attested at Athens.⁸⁶ Yet there is a chance that the author truncated 'Cadusius', so frequent in his mind—just as he may have changed 'Ariaspes' to 'Araspas' (v 1.2, etc.).

The procedure does not lack parallels. Observe the Guard Prefect Timesitheus, transmuted by malice in the *Historia Augusta* into 'Misitheus' (*Gord.* 23.6), or 'Dagellius Fuscus' (*Tyr. trig.* 25.2), perhaps a deformation of 'Arellius Fuscus'.

XXIV

Xenophon showed alertness when using Datames in relation to Cadusii; and he was perhaps wilful when he transferred the famous Artagerses from cavalry to infantry.

Two of the characters prominent in this rubric earned immortality of survival. Xenophon recounted at great length the vicissitudes of 'Abradates', a prince of Susiana, and 'Panthea', the faithful wife, who was exposed to ardent sollicitation from 'Araspas'—each decorous and high-minded.⁸⁷ The lady's name was adopted by the Smyrniote mistress of Lucius Verus, whom the Emperor Marcus registered for sorrow in vain, whose beauty was extolled by Lucian.

Furthermore, 'Habrocomes' and 'Anthea' are the pair of lovers whom Xenophon of Ephesus celebrated in a novel, himself a pseudonym.⁸⁸ Abrocomas, not utilised in the *Cyropaedeia*, was in fact one of the generals at Cunaxa (*Anab.* i 7.12).

These characters might suitably terminate an intricate disquisition, lengthy yet not everywhere diffuse. Unless be preferred, as linking 'mythistoria' through the centuries, the sole Cadusians on named record, viz. 'Onaphernes' and 'Parsondes', their kings in Ctesias, the equestrian 'Rhathines' in Xenophon, the prince 'Velenus' whose missive to Sapor is transmitted by the *Historia Augusta*.

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⁸⁴ Ariaspes was a son, legitimate, of Artaxerxes Mnemon (Plutarch, *Art.* 30).

⁸⁵ Arrian, *Anab.* vi 21.5. The name 'Rhambacas' was asterisked in the Index to *OCT*.

⁸⁶ The mover of a decree in 418/7 (*IG* i³ 84). Add a slave c. 320 (*SEG* xviii 36, l. 156).

⁸⁷ In a later age 'Ariaspas' was the subject of an erotic

piece: composed by the rhetor Caninius Celer (*PIR*² C 388), so Philostratus affirmed (*Vit. Soph.* 524).

⁸⁸ R. Kudlien, *RE* ixa 1712 ff. For the selection of names in that novel, see the comprehensive study of T. Hägg, *Eranos* lxix (1971) 25 ff. The author denies the relevance of the Persian name 'Abrocomas' to 'Habrocomes' (*ib.* 41).