

SHORTER CONTRIBUTIONS

The origins of the Pontic house

The royal house of Pontus claimed to be descended from the cream of the old Persian nobility, the Seven Families, and to have received its lands as the gift of Darius I. The claim is first attested by Polybius (although in its essence it may go back to Hieronymus of Cardia),¹ and it became common currency in the reign of Mithridates Eupator.² Since Théodore Reinach wrote his magisterial history of the Pontic kingdom, the royal pretensions of the regime have been dismissed as apocryphal.³ Instead a rival prehistory has been excogitated. The historical founder of the kingdom, who even in antiquity was termed Mithridates Ctistes, is connected with a modest dynasty which held sway on the coast of the Propontis, centred on the little Mysian town of Cius.⁴ This dynasty, known only from Diodorus, lasted for most of the fourth century BC, and it was from its base in Mysia that Mithridates allegedly built up his realm in Cappadocia and Pontus. There are obvious difficulties in this hypothesis, not least the teasing question how Cius, which is firmly located on the south shore of the Propontis, could serve as the base for empire building in Pontus, far to the east. However, the Cian dynasty has become an entrenched feature of fourth-century history, and to our knowledge its shadowy existence has never been critically examined. That is a serious omission. The three passages of Diodorus⁵ which relate to the dynasty are far from holy writ, and the historical consequences which emanate from their interpretation are considerable, seriously affecting our picture of Persian rule in Asia Minor.

¹ Polyb. 5.43.2. Diod. 19.43.2 confirms that Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes (almost certainly Mithridates Ctistes) came from the Seven Families. The source here is generally agreed to have been Hieronymus of Cardia (cf. J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* [Oxford 1981] 236 n.5, 244). The late compilation, *De vir. illustr.* 76.1, also claims that the Pontic house was descended *a septem Persis*.

² Sall. *Hist.* 2.85; Just. 38.7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 12.18.2. All claim that the Pontic house had Achaemenid lineage, descended from both Cyrus and Darius (Justin, here quoting Trogus verbatim). Flor. 1.40.1 agrees with Sallust that 'Artabazes' founded the royal line (see below, p. 159), but makes him a descendant of the Seven, not an Achaemenid proper.

³ Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator: roi du Pont* (Paris 1890) 3-5. For recent restatements of the position see F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1957) 573; P. McGushin, *Sallust. The Histories* 1 (Oxford 1992) 252.

⁴ The first authoritative discussion was in Eduard Meyer's early work, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontus* (Leipzig 1879) 31-8, esp. 35: 'die Vorfahren der pontischen Könige ... die Städte Kios (an der Propontis in Mysien) und Arrhina (unbekannt) als erbliches Fürstenthum besaßen'. Once enunciated, the theory became canon, and was reinforced by Reinach (n.3, 1 n.1: 'les résultats s'imposent'). For typical formulations see F. Geyer, *RE* 15.2157-8; Hornblower (n.1) 243-4; T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kios*, IGSK 29 (Bonn 1985) 26-30; B.C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* (Leiden 1986) 13-15; *id.* 'The Kings of Pontus: some problems of identity and date', *RhM* 129 (1986) 248-59, esp. 248-53; R.A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley 1990) 278, 308, 403-5 nos. 72-3; *id.* *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* (Leiden 1995) 82-4, 104-5.

⁵ Diod. 15.90.3; 16.90.2; 20.111.4.

The crucial passage of Diodorus is 20.111.4. This is dated to the Athenian archon year 302/1 and placed in the historical context of the campaign of Ipsus. The Antigonids were defending Asia Minor against invasion by the forces of Lysimachus and Cassander, and one of the incidents Diodorus records is the killing of Mithridates, a subject of Antigonos who was suspected of defection to Cassander's side. So far the episode forms part of the campaign narrative, and is perfectly comprehensible within it.⁶ However, Diodorus now blends the story of Mithridates' death with dynastic material taken (it would seem) from his chronographic source.⁷ Mithridates, he claims, was killed 'in the vicinity of Cius in Mysia, having ruled over "it" and "Arrhine" (or "Marine") for 35 years. The successor to his *dunasteia* was Mithridates [his son], who acquired many additional subjects and ruled over Cappadocia and Paphlagonia for 36 years'.⁸ On the basis of this passage it is assumed that the *dunasteia* of Mithridates comprised the city of Cius and some other city in the region, the name of which is compatible with Diodorus' unintelligible 'Arrhine'. The most plausible candidate and most widely accepted is Post's 'Myrleia', a city some 30 km. to the west, later refounded as Apameia. Other possibilities have been suggested which are closer palaeographically to the reading in Diodorus but remoter geographically.⁹

⁶ During this period Demetrius Poliorcetes had landed at Ephesus and moved directly to fortify the Hellespont. He continued along Alexander's old route to the Propontis, recovering Lampsacus and Parium on the way (Diod. 20.111.3; Polyae. 4.12.1; cf. Arr. 1.12.6-7), and continued to the Bosphorus. Cius lay directly in his path, and it was an opportune moment to dispose of Mithridates. Earlier in the year Lampsacus and Parium had defected to Lysimachus when he crossed to Hellespont (Diod. 20.107.2), and Mithridates may well have negotiated with him. However, Diodorus states that Mithridates was suspected of shifting allegiance to Cassander, and the negotiations may have been with Cassander's general, Prepelus, who marched through Mysia via Adramyttium before forgoing south to Ephesus (Diod. 20.107.4; cf. Billows (n.4) 175-6; H.S. Lund, *Lysimachus* [London 1992] 72-7). It is hard to see how Mithridates could have avoided making overtures to the invaders, and any negotiations might have been viewed as treasonable when Demetrius was re-establishing Antigonid control.

⁷ On this see the classic exposition of Eduard Schwartz, *RE* 5.665-9 (= *Griechische Geschichtschreiber* [Leipzig 1959] 38-45).

⁸ ἀνηρέθη περὶ Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀρρήνης (RX: Μαρτηνῆς F) ἑτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε· τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος Μιθριδάτης [ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ] πολλοὺς προσεκτήσατο, τῆς δὲ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας ἤρξεν ἑτη τριάκοντα ἕξ. The words in square brackets are found only in the fifteenth century *codex Florentinus* (on which see P. Goukowsky's, Budé of Diodorus XVIII [Paris 1978] xxxix-xlii), and are rightly expunged as a scribal gloss. Mithridates Ctistes, the founder of the Pontic kingdom, is elsewhere firmly attested as the son of Ariobarzanes (see below pp. 161-2).

⁹ Palmerius suggested Myrina, a small Aeolic city due south of Gryneium, which paid one talent in tribute to the Athenian Empire. Gronovius opted for the more obscure Carina (Καρτινή), a small Mysian *polis* between Atarneus and the plain of Thebe around Adramyttium (Hdt. 7.42.1; Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F126; Craterus, *FGrHist* 342 F2).

Not that remoteness is a fatal objection. Achaemenid rulers might concede their favourites widely separated fiefs; one need only think of Themistocles and his grant of Lampsacus, Magnesia and Myus.¹⁰ There are, however, far more serious problems in the hypothesis of a Persian regime in Cius, whatever the second component of the *dunasteia* may have been.

In the first place the very size of the territory is a disappointment. Diodorus, as we have seen, writes of a *dunasteia*, the terminology he uses elsewhere for (say) the regime of the Hecatomnids in Caria or of Taxiles and Porus in India.¹¹ In two earlier passages he uses even more impressive wording, referring to the realm as a *basileia* and its ruler as *basileus*.¹² Our expectations are aroused, to be abruptly dashed. Cius was an extremely modest community. In the fifth century it contributed no more than 1,000 drachmae as tribute to the Athenian Empire, one of the lowest assessments in the Hellespontine area. Its neighbour, Brylleium (the later Myrleia) paid three times as much, but, even so, the combined tribute (less than a talent) measures up very poorly against the nine talents regularly paid by Cyzicus or the twelve talents imposed upon Lampsacus.¹³ Admittedly Cius may have grown during the fourth century, but there is no evidence that it did. Quite the contrary. Its most famous moment in the period of Alexander came when it figured among a list of four cities offered to the Athenian general Phocion.¹⁴ The other communities mentioned include Elaea, which also had a tribute assessment of 1,000 drachmae, and Mylasa in Caria, which varied between 5,200 drachmae and one talent.¹⁵ These are not major cities, to put it mildly, and it comes as a shock to find the 'Cian dynasty' described as a kingdom.¹⁶ The travail of the mountains has delivered the proverbial mouse.

That is not all. On the rare occasions that Cius is mentioned in the historical record there is no hint that it formed part of a Persian fief. The two extant decrees of the fourth century, one of which belongs firmly to the period of the supposed 'Cian dynasty', have the usual

¹⁰ Thuc. 1.138.5 with Hornblower's commentary *ad loc.* and D.M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden 1977) 53-4, 122; cf. also Athen. 1.29F; Diod. 11.57.7; Plut. *Them.* 29.11; Nepos *Them.* 10.2-3.

¹¹ Cf. Diod. 16.36.2, 69.2 (Hecatomnids); 17.93.1, 102.5; 18.6.2 (Indian princes).

¹² Diod. 15.90.3 (βασιλείας); 16.90.2 (βασιλεύσας). The Indian 'dynasts' are also termed kings (Diod. 17.86.4, 87.1, 3, 89.6, 91.1; 18.3.2-3 etc.).

¹³ See the convenient table in R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 544-7. Brylleium and Cius are nos. 31-2, Cyzicus no. 27 and Lampsacus no. 15.

¹⁴ Plut. *Phoc.* 18.7; Ael. *VH* 1.25. On the historicity of this anecdote see T. Corsten, 'Zum Angebot einer Schenkung Alexanders an Phokion', *Historia* 43 (1994) 112-18, rebutting the hypercritical scepticism of Sir William Tarn (*Alexander the Great* [Cambridge 1948] 2, 222-7).

¹⁵ On Elaea see Meiggs (n.13) 542-3, no. 31, and on Mylasa Meiggs 554-5, no. 34. The other *poleis* mentioned are Gergithus in the Troad (? Plutarch only) and Patara in Lycia (Aelian only).

¹⁶ For Billows, *Kings and Colonists* (n.4) 84, n.12, Diodorus is not to be taken seriously; 'it is simply anticipation of the family's later rise to royal status'. But the terminology is consistent and presumably goes back to Diodorus' source, which must have been aware of the minuscule size of the family's earlier dominions.

Greek offices of prytany, archons and *stratēgoi*.¹⁷ In both cases the matter is an honorary decree, ratified by a sovereign assembly and in one of the instances passed on the motion of all the magistrates. If there was also a resident Persian dynast, his presence is tactfully suppressed, and there is apparently no necessity for him to confirm the vote of the assembly. That makes a sharp contrast with (say) Mylasa during the Hecatomnid period. A sovereign assembly existed there too, but the city's decrees are dated by the regnal years of the Persian king and the satrap's title comes at the head.¹⁸ Here we are in no doubt that there is a Persian-imposed overlord; at Cius there is no evidence of such a presence. Towards the end of the century the obverse type on Cian coins, a head of Apollo, is replaced by a bearded Mithras.¹⁹ That is consistent with, and perhaps suggests, Persian influence, but it is the only indication. Otherwise the dynasty is notable only for its absence.

It is perhaps better to look again at the text of Diodorus. What is stated there is that Mithridates was killed in the vicinity of Cius in Mysia after ruling 'it' for 35 years (ἀνηρέθη περὶ Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ἄρξας αὐτῆς κτλ.). Now, the pronoun αὐτῆς may refer back to the city Cius, but we see no reason why it should not refer back to its immediate antecedent, the regional name, Mysia. There are few passages that shed light on the interpretation here. The closest parallel we can find is Diodorus' description of the advance of Cyrus and the Ten Thousand into Cilicia. Cyrus marched to Tarsus, the greatest of the cities in Cilicia, and quickly became master of 'it'.²⁰ What is at issue is not the occupation of Tarsus, which (as Xenophon shows)²¹ was already open to Cyrus and totally vulnerable. Diodorus is referring to the satrapy of Cilicia, which fell to him soon after the occupation of Tarsus. The pronoun αὐτῆς again picks up the immediately antecedent feminine noun, and again it refers to the wider regional name. After coming to Tarsus Cyrus quickly became master of Cilicia.

If our interpretation is correct, the Mithridatic dynasty was not confined to minor cities. Its domains included the general area of Mysia, the rugged territory lying in

¹⁷ Corsten (n.4) 76-8, nos. 1-2; cf. M.N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 2 (Oxford 1948) no. 149: [ἐν κυρταί] ἐκκλησίαι, Κόνων ἐπρυτάνευε, | γνώμη [τῶν ἀρχόν]των καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν. This latter decree honours Athenodorus of Athens, and commits the Cians to assist him 'with all speed' in case of emergency. If Cius was under the direct control of the Persian Ariobarzanes, it is surprising that he does not authorise the vote in some way.

¹⁸ See, for instance, *SIG*³ 167 = Tod (n.16) no. 138. As with the Cian decrees, it comprises motions passed by a sovereign assembly. Each enactment, however, is prefaced by the regnal year of the Persian monarch and the satrapal titulature of Mausolus. See further S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford 1982) 68-75.

¹⁹ W.H. Waddington, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* 1.2 (Paris 1908) 313-14, pl. XLIX, 28-35; cf. Head, *HN*² 513; Corsten (n.4) 27, 30. Similar issues are on record from Amastris, founded by the Persian wife of Lysimachus (Head, *HN*² 505-6).

²⁰ Diod. 14.20.2: πορευθεὶς εἰς Τάρσον, μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Κιλικίαι πολέων, τάχως αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο.

²¹ Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.23-6. The city was evacuated and defenceless. After it was occupied, the incumbent ruler of Cilicia offered his surrender to Cyrus.

and around the massif of Olympus, which had been a constant problem for the Achaemenid authorities.²² For a time before (and probably after) 360 Mysia had been the remit of a Persian noble, Orontes. Diodorus terms him 'satrap' at the time of the Great Revolt of the 360s,²³ and he is attested operating around Pergamum, which he occupied and surrendered to the Persian king on the eve of his death.²⁴ He also minted coins at Adramyttium and at Cisthene, immediately north-west of Pergamum.²⁵ During the latter part of the fifth century this area had fallen directly under the satrap of Hellenistic Phrygia. Pharnabazus established shipyards at Antandrus for the defeated Spartan fleet, and had Athenian ambassadors detained at Cius.²⁶ He also made repeated punitive expeditions against the tribesmen in the mountain areas of Mysia. By the middle of the next century there was a change, and Mysia became a separate district within the general ambit of Hellenistic Phrygia. The disgraced satrap of Armenia, Orontes, was settled there, presumably with extensive estates befitting his distinction as husband of a royal princess.²⁷

How long Orontes retained his position in Mysia is a moot point. He seems to have survived the Great Satrapal Revolt by astute betrayal of his confederates. Subsequently he revolted a second time, along with Artabazus in Hellenistic Phrygia.²⁸ Demosthenes at least suggests that Orontes was a plausible target for a royal campaign in 354/3, and there is no cogent reason to believe that he was adduced as a timeless example of insurrection.²⁹ The passage only makes sense if he were

²² Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.14; 2.5.13; 3.2.23; *Mem.* 3.5.26; cf. *Hell. Oxy.* 21.1. On the Mysian problem see Lewis (n.10) 55-6; M. Weiskopf, *The So-called "Great Satraps' Revolt", 366-360 BC* (Stuttgart 1989) 72-4.

²³ Diod. 15.90.3: 'Ὀρόντης μὲν τῆς Μυσίας σατράπης. This is a most contentious passage; see the overlapping discussions of M.J. Osborne, 'The satrapy of "Mysia"'. *GB* 3 (1975) 291-309; *Naturalization in Athens* 2 (Brussels 1982) 61-72; Weiskopf (n.22) 74-91.

²⁴ *OGIS* 264 = *FGrHist* 506 F1.

²⁵ H. Troxell, 'Orontes, satrap of Mysia', *SNR* 60 (1981) 27-37; Weiskopf (n.22) 79-80.

²⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.25-6; 1.4.7. On Pharnabazus' actions during this stage of the Ionian War see A.B. Bosworth, 'The emasculation of the Calchedonians', *Chiron* 27 (1997) 297-313.

²⁷ On Orontes' lineage and background see M.J. Osborne, 'Orontes', *Historia* 22 (1973) 515-51, esp. 517-22; Weiskopf (n.22) 19-22, 70-6. Both these scholars consider that Orontes was demoted after the campaign against Euagoras of Cyprus, as Diod. 15.11.2 explicitly states. That has been contested by Simon Hornblower (n.18) 177-8 and in *CAH* 6².86, arguing that Orontes retained his satrapy in Armenia. If so, the grant of estates in Mysia might be seen as a distinction. It gave Orontes a presence in the west of Asia Minor, and was a blow at any separatist ambitions which the local satraps might have entertained. In that case the appointment might have been one of the factors which triggered the revolt of Ariobarzanes in Hellenistic Phrygia.

²⁸ Diod. 15.91.1; cf. Osborne (n.27) 537-41; Weiskopf (n.22) 90-1, 97.

²⁹ Dem. 14.31. Orontes is bracketed with the Egyptians, who were the most successful rebels in 354/3; and there is no reference to Artabazus, whose revolt was still in progress. It is most plausible that Demosthenes was referring to two theatres in which Greek mercenaries had fought for the Great King in the immediate past and which would be fresh in the minds of his audience (so Hornblower, *CAH* 6².90). Given the paucity of

alive and insurgent, a source of employment for the Greek mercenaries of the Great King. After Ochus' accession with its wholesale massacre of royal agnates and general demobilisation of satrapal armies³⁰ any local magnate with royal connections might justifiably feel insecure and contemplate revolt. If so, Orontes ultimately made his peace a second time, surrendered Pergamum to the Persian king and obligingly died. His fief in Mysia was alienated from his family, and it was probably at this stage that it came into the possession of the Mithridatic house. Whether Orontes died in 360 or 350, it was Ariobarzanes, the predecessor of Mithridates 'of Cius', who took possession and made the area part of a hereditary *dunasteia*.

Mysia was only part of the *dunasteia*. The family also ruled over an area which the manuscripts of Diodorus represent as 'Arrhine' or 'Marine'. The traditions are separate, and there is no automatic preference for either reading. Neither name is intelligible within the known geography of Asia Minor; and, as we have seen, the standard approach has been to identify the unknown toponym with some known townlet on the Mysian coast. The result is an uncomfortably small *dunasteia*, let alone kingdom. Here perhaps we should revert to Polybius, who states that the royalty of Pontus was descended from one of the Seven and had preserved the *dunasteia* along the Black Sea coast which had been conferred by Darius I.³¹ This statement has traditionally been discounted. Other sources claim that the founder of the dynasty was Mithridates Ctistes, who occupied territory in North Cappadocia and Pontus. Previously the area had been held by Ariarathes, the dynast defeated and executed by Perdiccas in 322,³² and Ariarathes was not related to the family of Mithridates. The later kingdom of Pontus, then, could not have been ruled by a single family from the time of Darius.

But that is not what Polybius claims. He simply states that Mithridates' family had enjoyed a *dunasteia* on the Black Sea coast; he does not say that it had the same geographical limits as the later kingdom. The original domains of the family may have lain outside North Cappadocia and Pontus, which were only later acquired by Mithridates Ctistes. Diodorus at least says as much: Mithridates increased the *dunasteia* which he had inherited, and ruled over Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.³³ In that case it is reasonable to look for a region in Asia Minor, preferably along the Black Sea coast, a

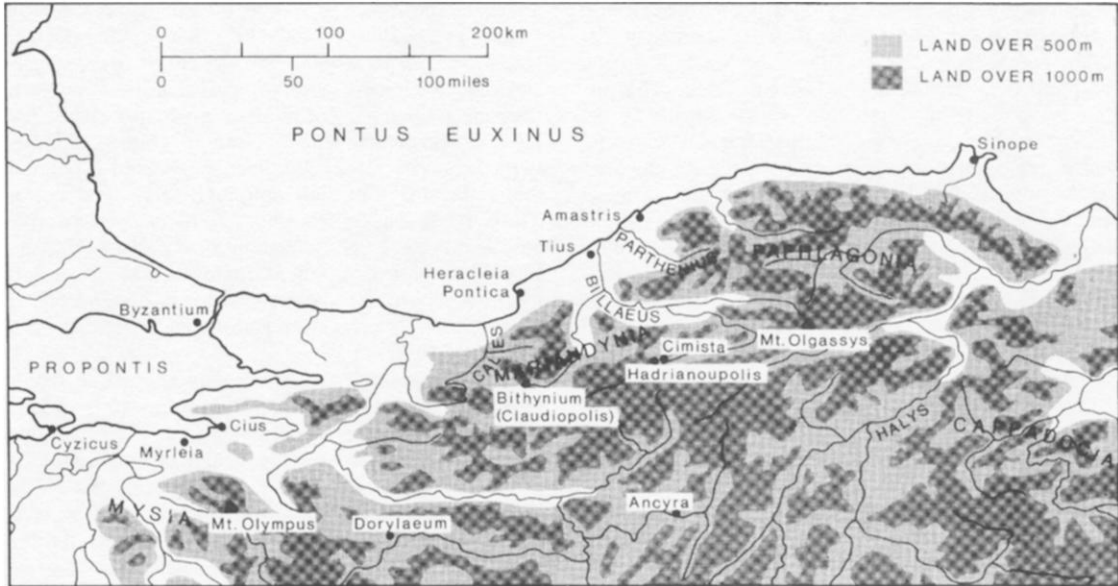
sources for the period, it is no counter-argument that Orontes' 'second revolt' is not mentioned elsewhere in a datable context (*contra* Osborne [n.27] 542-51; Weiskopf [n.22] 79).

³⁰ Just. 10.3.1; Curt. 10.5.23; Schol. Dem. 4.19.

³¹ Polyb. 5.43.2: ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης εὐχετο μὲν ἀπόγονος εἶναι τῶν ἐπὶ Περσῶν ... διατετηρήκει δὲ τὴν δυναστείαν ἀπὸ προγόνων τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς διαδοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον.

³² App. *Mithr.* 8.25-8. Ariarathes was son of Ariaramnes, and he too boasted a royal pedigree (Diod. 31.19.2). His line went on to establish the kingdom of Cappadocia (south of Pontus) in the mid-third century, and was quite distinct from the house of Pontus. The two dynasties later intermarried (App. *Mithr.* 9.29), but in the fourth century they had separate lineages.

³³ Diod. 20.111.4: τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος πολλοὺς προσεκτήσατο. Cf. App. *Mithr.* 9.28; Strab. 12.3.42 (562). See below, p. 164.



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region which had a name liable to corruption into the forms we find in Diodorus' manuscripts and which might have provided a base for expansion into Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, extending from the coast inland. That is the region of the people termed Mariandyni, which is sometimes referred to as Mariandynia.³⁴ Such a toponym could easily be contracted in course of transmission to a reading such as Μαρτύνης, which we find in one family of Diodoran manuscripts, and then by secondary corruption might metamorphose to Ἀρτύνης. It is at least as plausible as any earlier emendation, designed to restore a city name, and, as we shall see, there is indirect historical corroboration. For the moment what we have is simply a working hypothesis. The family of Mithridates of Pontus first received the territory of Mariandynia as a grant from Darius I, and then added Mysia to its domains in the latter part of the fourth century. Finally Mithridates Ctistes expanded his realm eastward to create a new kingdom of Cappadocia and Pontus.

The Mariandyni are best known as the barbarian people in the hinterland of Heracleia Pontica who submitted to a contract of voluntary serfdom under the Megarian colonists.³⁵ But the Heracleot serfs and the domains of Heracleia itself formed only a segment of Mariandynia.³⁶ The territory extended inland to Bithynium (Bolu), the later

³⁴ The region Mariandynia is first attested in the fragments of Eupolis (*fr.* 302 K-A), and is noted by the geographical authors. The tribal name Mariandyni is far more common, and attested repeatedly from the time of Aeschylus (*Pers.* 938-9).

³⁵ Athen. 6.253c-d (= Poseidonius, *FGrHist* 87 F8); Strab. 12.3.4 (542). Cf. S.M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heracleia on the Black Sea* (Berkeley 1976) 28-30; A.J. Graham, in *CAH* 3².3.124.

³⁶ Burstein (n.35) argues that all the Mariandyni were subjugated during the latter fifth century. That seems unlikely, and is impossible to establish, given the fluidity of the boundaries of Heracleia, as attested in the sources. In 424 the mouth of the R. (Bolu), the later Cales lay within Heracleot territory (Thuc. 4.75.2; cf. Arr. *Peripl.* 13.3); but there is no evidence how

Claudiopolis, and some sources (including Alexander's historian, Callisthenes) associated them with the legendary peoples of Homer's catalogue of Trojan allies, taking their territory as far as the river Parthenius.³⁷ This comprised a large area, suitable as a donation to a dynasty of Persian nobility, and one might expect some evidence of interaction between such a dynasty and the Greek city of Heracleia. That evidence is in fact provided by Justin (and the 'Suda'), and concerns the rise to power of Clearchus, the tyrant of Heracleia.³⁸ In the troubles of the 360s Heracleia had fallen victim to *stasis*, and unsuccessfully approached both Timotheus of Athens and Epameinondas of Thebes for assistance.³⁹

much further west the city's lands extended. We do not believe that Xen. *Anab.* 6.2.17 can be pressed to prove that the boundary lay at the R. Sangarius, the eastern frontier of the Bithynians. On the other hand Xenophon (*Anab.* 6.2.1) describes Heracleia as 'lying in Mariandynian territory'. That suggests that the city only occupied part of the land of the Mariandyni. It was presumably the coastal strip, and did not extend far into the mountains.

³⁷ The evidence for Claudopolis is very late (Constant. *De them.* 6, lines 22-3), but it is described as the metropolis of the Mariandyni. Callisthenes (Strab. 12.3.5 [= *FGrHist* 124 F 53]) was interested in the Caucones of Homer, who had allegedly occupied the territory between Heracleia and the River Parthenius. He clearly identified the Homeric Caucones with the native peoples of Anatolia between the Mariandyni and Cappadocia. Alexander was represented accepting the surrender of the erstwhile allies of Priam, his remote ancestor. The 'Caucones' like the neighbouring Eneti (Curt. 3.1.22-3) had fought for Priam and were the natural allies of his descendant (L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* [New York 1960] 43-4).

³⁸ Just. 16.4.1-10; 'Suda' s.vv. Κλέαρχος, ἔφοροι. The outline of the story is given by Aen. *Tact.* 12.5 and Polyæn. 2.30.1. For detailed discussion of the political background see Burstein (n.35) 48-54.

³⁹ Just. 16.4.3-4. These overtures presumably belong to 365 and 364, immediately before and during the naval expedition of Epameinondas. Clearchus' seizure of power belongs to 364/3 (Diod. 15.81.5; 16.36.3).

After these failures the ruling oligarchy invited Clearchus, then a mercenary in the service of Mithridates,⁴⁰ to accept the role of conciliator (ἔφορος τῆς αὐθις ὁμονοίας). After making a pact with his paymaster, Clearchus was rehabilitated in Heracleia, on the understanding that he would surrender the city and rule it as Mithridates' *praefectus*.⁴¹ Mithridates duly appeared, but was trapped along with his entourage and only released on payment of a huge ransom.

The political sequel does not concern us here. What matters is the fact that there was a Persian notable operating in the vicinity of Heracleia. Mithridates was able to give shelter to a prominent refugee, and had ambitions to exercise direct control over the city. Now, Clearchus is attested seizing power in 364/3, exactly the time when a Mithridates, an ancestor of the Pontic house, is recorded holding sway in Asia Minor. There has been almost universal reluctance to accept the identity of the two figures,⁴² but the reluctance rests wholly on the assumption that the realm of Mithridates was confined to Mysian Cius, an implausibly long way from Heracleia. However, once the Cian dynasty is dismissed as a modern myth, there is no obstacle to identifying Mithridates as an early dynast of the Pontic house, whose possessions included large tracts of Mariandynia, on the doorstep of Heracleia. There would have been constant tension between the Greek settlers on the coast, whose territories extended for a fair distance, up to and including the mouth of the R. Cales, and the Persian noble who ruled the hinterland. Mithridates offered a safe haven to disaffected Heracleots, and, as we have seen, was a constant threat to the autonomy of the city. The hostility was cemented by Clearchus' seizure of power and still more by his seizure of Mithridates. It comes as no surprise to learn that Clearchus sent a number of embassies to the courts of Artaxerxes II and III.⁴³ There was clearly a long-lasting political intrigue. Both Mithridates and Clearchus attempted to incriminate the other before the Great King, and the turbulent circumstances of the Great Revolt will have given them ample ammunition.

The history of the area can be taken back further. Mariandynia appears in significant passages of Herodotus. Its inhabitants formed part of the third tribute division along with Phrygians, Asiatic Thracians, Paphlagonians and Cappadocians.⁴⁴ Later in Xerxes' army list, the Mariandynians are separated from the Paphlagonians and associated with the Cappadocians under the command of a most illustrious personage—Gobryas, son of Darius I and his favourite wife, Artystone.⁴⁵ This detail

is certainly historical. Gobryas' full brother, Arsames, is mentioned a few chapters earlier at the head of the Arabian and Egyptian contingents; and both Arsames and his mother are firmly attested in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, active in 498/7.⁴⁶ For Herodotus, then, Gobryas was a prince of the blood royal, who led a contingent from northern Asia Minor, including the Mariandynians, and it is not implausible that he had received extensive domains in the area by gift of his father. In that case Gobryas might be seen as the remote ancestor of the Pontic dynasty. As the later tradition states, he received his realm as the gift of Darius I, and he had royal ancestry.

The story may be continued. The names of the later dynasts of the house, which tend to alternate between Ariobarzanes and Mithridates, suggest another connection—with the famous satrapal family of Hellespontine Phrygia. The founder of the Pontic line, according to Sallust and Florus, was a certain 'Artabazes',⁴⁷ and it is hard to see who this individual might be other than Artabazus, son of Pharnaces. That Artabazus, according to Herodotus, commanded the Parthian and Chorasmian contingents of Xerxes' grand army and distinguished himself at Plataea.⁴⁸ An intimate of Xerxes, he was rewarded with the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia, replacing the previous incumbent, Megabates, another Achaemenid prince.⁴⁹ Nothing is heard of Artabazus thereafter, but his family occupied the satrapy of Dascylium until late in the fourth century. His connections were suitably illustrious. His father, Pharnaces, has been identified with 'Parnakka' of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, the high official who controlled operations in the palace.⁵⁰ 'Parnakka' was the son of Arsames, and arguably the uncle of Darius I. If he was indeed the father of our Artabazus, then the family belonged to the Achaemenid line, as the later Pontic genealogy seems to require. The maternal side of the family is unknown, but it is highly probable that Pharnaces/'Parnakka' had married a wife from one of the Seven families. Darius' first consort was a daughter of Gobryas, perhaps the most distinguished of the Seven,⁵¹ and his uncle's wife will have come from the same milieu. Artabazus, then, had the direct descent from the Seven and the Achaemenids proper that was claimed by the later Mithridatids.

⁴⁰ 'Suda' s.v. Κλέαρχος: ἔρχεται πρὸς Μιθριδάτην καὶ στρατοπεδεύομενος παρ' αὐτῷ ἐπιηνεῖτο.

⁴¹ Just. 16.4.7: *primo tacitus cum Mithridate, ciuium suorum hoste, colloquitur, et inita societate paciscitur ut reuocatus in patriam, prodita ei urbe, praefectus eius constitueretur.*

⁴² Burstein (n.35); McGing (n.4) 14 (neutral); Weiskopf (n.22) 51-2. The most favoured identification is with Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes, the insurgent satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia. Reinach (n.3) 4-5 more adventurously suggested Mithridates, son of Orontobates (?), who allegedly sent a statue of Plato to the Academy (Favorinus, *ap. Diog. Laert.* 3.25).

⁴³ Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F1 (1.4).

⁴⁴ Hdt. 3.90.2. They make a brief appearance earlier in the list of Croesus' subjects (1.28).

⁴⁵ Hdt. 7.72.1. The Paphlagonians come under the command of Dotus, son of Megasidrus.

⁴⁶ Hdt. 7.69.2. On the Fortification Tablets see D.M. Lewis, 'Persians in Herodotus', in M. Jameson (ed.), *The Greek Historians: Literature and History* (Saratoga, Cal. 1985) 101-17, esp. 110; M. Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia (559-331 BC)* (Oxford 1996) 97, 126. Artystone has three estates there on record, Arsames one (Brosius, 126, 127 n.19). Gobryas too must have had extensive domains granted by his father.

⁴⁷ Sall. *Hist.* 2.85 (= Ampel. 30.5): *Artabazes ... quem conditorum regni Mithridatis fuisse confirmat Sallustius Crispus*; cf. Flor. 1.40.1.

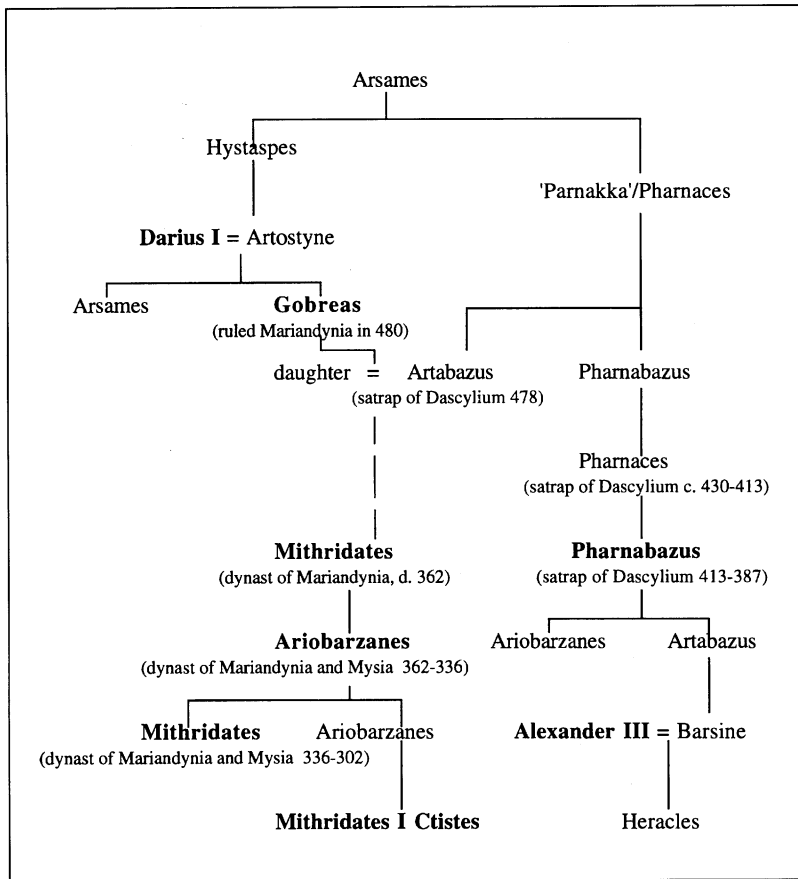
⁴⁸ Hdt. 7.66.2; 8.126-9; 9.41-2. At 9.41.1 Herodotus stresses the high favour Xerxes accorded him (ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ... δόκιμος).

⁴⁹ Thuc. 1.129.1, 132.5.

⁵⁰ For the evidence on 'Parnakka' and the connection with the Hellespontine dynasty see Lewis (n.10) 7-10 with his postscript to A.R. Burn's *Persia and the Greeks* (2nd ed., London 1984) 592, 601. The argument is cogent and convincing.

⁵¹ Hdt. 7.2.1, 97. Gobryas for his part had married a daughter of Darius (Hdt. 7.5.1), and Mardonius was the offspring of the union, named after his paternal grandfather (cf. Lewis (n.46) 110; Brosius (n.46) 51-3).

Genealogy of the Pontic House



On this hypothesis Artabazus acquired the holdings in Mariandynia and its vicinity which were previously the possession of Gobryas, son of Darius. There are various possible scenarios. Gobryas may have died during the invasion of Greece, in which case his estates were posthumously vested in Artabazus. However, it is perhaps better to assume that there was some marriage connection. For instance Artabazus may have been married to a daughter of Gobryas,⁵² and taken over Mariandynia after the death of his father-in-law. Or perhaps one of his sons made the alliance and succeeded to Gobryas' fief. At all events in the generations after Artabazus his descendants controlled two areas: Hellespontine Phrygia, the satrapy of Dascylium, they ruled as incumbent satraps, and the territory in and around Mariandynia became a hereditary possession, a virtual kingdom (as Diodorus terms it). At first the two areas were combined under Artabazus, but by the fourth century at least the satrapy had become distinct from the *dynasteia*, and separate branches of the family held sway. Both lines, however, could lay claim to the same descent. On both paternal and maternal sides they had Achaemenid ancestors, including

⁵² On this hypothesis there is a definite generation gap. Artabazus belonged to the generation of Darius I, and any daughter of Gobryas the younger could have been his granddaughter. However, Gobryas' brother, Arsames, was adult by 498, and Gobryas might well have had a daughter who was of marriageable age by the 470s.

Darius himself, while Artabazus was probably descended from one of the Seven—and the very name Gobryas evokes the most distinguished of Darius' confederates.

So far the construction has been hypothetical, based on the later Pontic genealogy. The first positive attestation comes in Diodorus, who gives us the names of three successive dynasts of 'Mariandynia'. The Mithridates who was executed by Antigonos reigned for 35 years from 337/6 to 302/1 (Diod. 20.111.4). His predecessor in the 'kingdom' was Ariobarzanes, who reigned for 26 years, from 363/2 to 337/6 (Diod. 16.90.2). These facts and figures are straightforward enough. However, they are complicated by Diodorus' first reference to the family. Once again the context is vague and compressed. It is the famous list of insurgent satraps which provides us with Orontes' 'satrapy' of Mysia. In it Diodorus states that one of the most distinguished rebel leaders was 'Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Phrygia, who had gained mastery of the kingdom after the death of Mithridates'.⁵³ Two individuals are here conflated. One is clearly the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, who succeeded to the province after Pharnabazus was recalled to the royal court in 387. He revolted twenty years later, initiating the 'Great Satrapal Revolt',⁵⁴ and by 360 at the latest he had been defeated and executed.⁵⁵ There is no way that he could be equated with the Ariobarzanes who ruled 'Mariandynia' until 337/6. Diodorus, as his text stands, is in error. He has fused together two homonymous dynasts,⁵⁶ Ariobarzanes the satrap and Ariobarzanes the ruler of 'Mariandynia'. Both presumably took prominent roles in the great revolt, and Diodorus' source (Ephorus) gave some-

⁵³ Diod. 15.90.3: 'Αριοβαρζάνης μὲν ὁ τῆς Φρυγίας σατράπης, ὃς καὶ Μιθριδάτου τελευτήσαντος τῆς τοῦτου βασιλείας κεκυριευκῶς ἦν.

⁵⁴ On the background of Ariobarzanes see the somewhat differing accounts of Hornblower, in *CAH* 6².85-6 and Weiskopf (n.22) 27-31, 37.44.

⁵⁵ Ariobarzanes' betrayal was notorious, the subject of censorious comment through the ages (Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.8.4; Arist. *Pol.* 5.13.12a-15-16; Val. Max. 9.11 ext.2). The execution by crucifixion is mentioned only by Harpocration (s.v. 'Αριοβαρζάνης); but the statement is explicit, and there is no reason to doubt it.

⁵⁶ For the hypothesis of conflation see K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* 3.2 (2nd ed., Berlin 1923) 150; Weiskopf (n.19) 30.

thing of their background. In the course of transmission (whether it was Diodorus or later scribes is indifferent) the two biographies were truncated and combined, so that a single Ariobarzanes became both the insurgent satrap and the successor to Mithridates' 'kingdom'. Ariobarzanes, then, was quite distinct from the homonymous satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia. He succeeded Mithridates in the fief of Mariandynia, and presumably inherited his feud with Clearchus of Heracleia. By that time the Great Revolt was in full swing, and he will have had no alternative to joining the coalition, along with his homonym and the majority of the satraps of Asia Minor. His position remained unshaken despite the failure of the revolt, and one assumes that he, like Orontes, was able to make his peace with the Great King. Later, as we have seen, his credentials were even higher, and he succeeded to Orontes' position in Mysia. If he displayed loyalty to Artaxerxes Ochus during the rebellion of his kinsman, Artabazus (359-352), it was an appropriate donation. In Mysia he would be an effective counterpoise to the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, but his domains were geographically separate and difficult to coordinate. He would be unlikely to rebel against the Great King in his own right, and he would be an effective brake on the ambitions of neighbouring satraps. His long tenure of power is some testimonial to his success, still more the longer reign of the next dynast, Mithridates, whose regime was apparently tolerated by Alexander and Antigonos alike.

Mithridates (II) survived the Macedonian conquest, and there were ample opportunities for gaining and retaining the favour of his new masters. He could have offered his surrender as early as 333, when the dynasts of Paphlagonia approached Alexander during his transit of central Anatolia.⁵⁷ If he was confirmed in Mariandynia at this point, he could have collaborated with Antigonos in his triple victory against the Persian refugees from Issus, who operated in conjunction with native troops from Paphlagonia and Cappadocia.⁵⁸ Subsequently there were the campaigns which Calas, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, fought—successfully against the Paphlagonians and fatally against the Bithynian dynast, Bas.⁵⁹ In all these actions a friendly Iranian magnate in Mariandynia could have given useful, if not invaluable assistance. In addition Mithridates, like his homonymous ancestor, was ready at hand to shelter refugees from Heracleia Pontica. The exiles who obtained a favourable hearing from Alexander and Perdiccas may well have enjoyed his support.⁶⁰ Similarly,

⁵⁷ Arr. 2.4.1. Curtius (3.1.22-3; see n.36) explicitly mentions the surrender of the Eneti, a Paphlagonian people between Cappadocia and 'Mariandynia', whom Alexander chose to identify with the Eneti of Homer's 'Trojan Catalogue'. This was very close to the domains of Mithridates, perhaps even part of them. The delegation, it should be noted, achieved confirmation of the non-tributary status the region had enjoyed under the Achaemenids. Such a grant is consistent with a hereditary fiefdom vested in the family of a royal favourite.

⁵⁸ Curt. 4.1.34; cf. P. Briant, *Antigone le Borgne* (Paris 1973) 63-6; Billows (n.4) 43-5.

⁵⁹ Curt. 4.5.12; Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F1 (12.4). Cf. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich 1926) 2, n.397; Habicht, *RE* 10A.448-9.

⁶⁰ Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F1 (4.1-3); cf. Burstein (n.35).

during the obscure hostilities over winter 320/19 between Eumenes and the forces of Antipater and Antigonos, there was ample scope for effective intervention. Eumenes was active on the fringes of Mysia, commandeering horses from the royal stable on Mt. Ida,⁶¹ and when the fighting moved to central Phrygia, it was practically on the doorstep of Mariandynia.⁶² In those circumstances Mithridates could have been of considerable use to Antigonos and Antipater in both segments of his domains. There was another important factor. Pergamum, in the Mysian domains of Mithridates, harboured two illustrious residents: Alexander's mistress, Barsine, and his child by her, the young Heracles. The two are attested in Pergamum at the time of Alexander's death, and they remained there until 310/9, when they were summoned by Polyperchon to play their pathetic part in Macedonian dynastic history.⁶³ Now, Barsine was the daughter of Artabazus, and belonged to the satrapal family of Hellespontine Phrygia.⁶⁴ As such she was related to Mithridates. Her influence perhaps kept him in favour with Alexander from the time of her capture after Issus, and in return Mithridates provided her with a secure haven far from court after Alexander's formal marriage to Rhoxane.⁶⁵ In the turbulent years after Alexander's death Barsine and Mithridates perhaps gave each other mutual support. All this is speculation, not history. Yet it gives a context for Mithridates' activities in the time of Alexander and his Successors. There is scope for a powerful Persian dynast holding estates in Mysia and Mariandynia throughout the period.

We may now turn to the tradition regarding Mithridates, the actual founder of the Pontic kingdom. There seems little doubt that he was connected to the Mysian dynasty, but exactly how is uncertain. Plutarch plainly asserts that he was the son of Ariobarzanes, but according to a manuscript variant in Diodorus he was son of Mithridates.⁶⁶ Eduard Meyer attempted to reconcile the two traditions, supplementing Plutarch's text: Mithridates was son of Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes (Μιθριδάτης ὁ <Μιθριδάτου τοῦ> Ἀριοβαρζάνου).⁶⁷ That will not do. Diodorus also refers to Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes, in his description of the battle of Gabiene, and his evaluation of Mithridates' character tallies with

⁶¹ Plut. *Eum.* 8.5; cf. Just. 14.1.6-7.

⁶² Eumenes spent the winter of 320/19 in the satrapal capital of Celaenae. Cf. Plut. *Eum.* 8.8, and for the background A.B. Bosworth, 'History and artifice in Plutarch's *Eumenes*', in P.A. Stadter (ed.), *Plutarch and the Historical Tradition* (London 1992) 56-89, esp. 73-5.

⁶³ Just. 13.2.7 (at Pergamum in 323); Diod. 20.20.1 (310/9).

⁶⁴ Plut. *Eum.* 1.7; cf. Arr. 7.4.6. On the family and the liaison with Alexander see P.A. Brunt, 'Alexander, Barsine and Heracles', *RFIC* 103 (1975) 22-34, *contra*. Tarn (n.14) 2, 330-8.

⁶⁵ Heracles was born around 327. Diod. 20.20.1 claims that he was 17 at the time of the summons in 310/9 (Just. 15.2.3 less convincingly states that he was 14; the passage blatantly confuses Heracles with his half-brother, Alexander IV). For the suggestion that he and his mother returned west after Alexander's marriage with Rhoxane see Berve (n.59) 2, no. 206.

⁶⁶ Plut. *Demetr.* 4.1; Diod. 20.111.4.

⁶⁷ Meyer (n.4) 36. McGing, *RhM* 129 (1986) 250 argues that the Mithridates who fought at Gabiene was in fact Mithridates of Mysia and that he subsequently sent his son 'as a pledge to Antigonos' court'.

that of Plutarch.⁶⁸ Both sources mention his noble lineage, courage and high moral character, and it is certain that they are referring to the same person. On the other hand the variant in the Diodoran *codex Florentinus* is likely to be a scribal gloss,⁶⁹ a false assumption that the two Mithridates were father and son. Related they certainly were, but it is more probable that they were uncle and nephew. Mithridates was a younger scion of the Mysian dynasty who fought with Eumenes' forces in Iran and transferred to Antigonos after Gabiene. He was accepted and honoured by the victor, and became intimate with his son, Demetrius.

Somewhat later Mithridates left the Antigonid court under most dramatic circumstances. In the fourth chapter of his *Life* of Demetrius, Plutarch relates an anecdote in which Demetrius saved his friend from the paranoid suspicions of his father, Antigonos. Antigonos allegedly had a prophetic dream in which he saw himself sowing a harvest of gold dust, which in turn was reaped by Mithridates. He communicated his dream to his son, adding that he intended to dispose of Mithridates, and swore him to silence. Accordingly Demetrius secretly scratched a warning on the ground with the butt of his spear, enabling his friend to escape by night to Cappadocia. The tale is repeated with differing embroidery by Plutarch in the *Moralia* and also by Appian in the *Mithridateios*.⁷⁰ The prophetic dream is of course suspect, redolent of *post eventum* romanticism; the greatness of the line had to be recognised and feared in prospect.⁷¹ However, the flight from court seems historical, and most scholars would accept it.

The favoured date for the episode is 302, immediately prior to the campaign of Ipsus and the execution of Mithridates of Mysia.⁷² This dating, however, runs counter to the details in the sources, which suggest that Demetrius' warning took place much earlier.⁷³ The context of Plutarch's anecdote is significant. It occurs near the beginning of the *Life*, and is explicitly linked with the earlier part of Demetrius' career.⁷⁴ Now, one of Plutarch's principal aims is to document and contrast the

progressive moral decay experienced by both his protagonists, Demetrius and Antony,⁷⁵ and the story of Mithridates is perfectly suited to this purpose. Demetrius began his life with 'a strong natural bent ... towards kindness and justice',⁷⁶ and the erosion of those qualities is illustrated as the narrative progresses. There may of course be chronological distortion. Plutarch might have transposed the story from its historical context and elevated it into a timeless example of Demetrius' generous qualities. The details of the story, however, corroborate Plutarch's setting at the beginning of Demetrius' career, immediately before his appointment to Syria in 314/13. That coheres nicely with an aspect of the version that appears in the *Moralia*: Demetrius wrote his warning on the sand while they walked beside the sea.⁷⁷ Immediately before his independent commission in Syria Demetrius collaborated with his father during the protracted siege of Tyre, which began in the spring or summer of 315.⁷⁸ Then Demetrius was fresh from his early commands (subordinate to his father) at Paratacene and Gabiene, and he had attracted a personal following,⁷⁹ which clearly included Mithridates. The two young men may have faced and admired each other on the battlefield,⁸⁰ and would have had at least two years for the friendship to develop.

Another feature of Plutarch's story practically excludes a dating as late as 302. After 314 Antigonos and Demetrius tended to operate independently, and were seldom together.⁸¹ There is no doubt that the father was the senior partner, and Demetrius deferred to him in general matters of strategy and policy; but the only joint campaign conducted before Ipsus was the Egyptian expedition of autumn 306. From that point onwards, apart from the occasional fleeting meeting, father and son had little personal contact.⁸² 302 is excluded in its

⁷⁵ See, for instance, *Demetr.* 1.7; *Comp. Demetr. Ant.* 4.2-3, 5.2, 6.2. The anecdote makes an effective contrast with passages such as *Demetr.* 40.2, 42.1-4.

⁷⁶ *Plut. Demetr.* 4.5: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εὐφυίας δειγμάτων τοῦ Δημητρίου πρὸς ἐπεικειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. Compare *Demetr.* 4.1 (cited n.74 above).

⁷⁷ *Plut. Mor.* 183A: συμπεριπατῶν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ κατέγραψε. At *Demetr.* 4.3 it is simply stated that the message was written on the ground.

⁷⁸ This dating follows the 'high' chronology under which the siege of Tyre begins in 315 and lasts for 15 months (*Diod.* 19.61.5). See further, P.V. Wheatley, 'The Chronology of the third Diadoch War, 315-311 BC', *Phoenix* (1997), *contra* R.M. Errington, 'Diodorus Siculus and the chronology of the early Diadochoi, 320-311 BC', *Hermes* 105 (1978) 478-504.

⁷⁹ *Diod.* 19.29.4, 40.1. On Demetrius' early charisma see *Diod.* 19.81.

⁸⁰ *Diod.* 19.40.1-2 (Demetrius and Mithridates stationed against each other). Hieronymus, who was present at the battle, perhaps noted their proximity, and ironically stressed Mithridates' distinction, implicitly looking forward to his future vicissitudes. See also Hornblower (n.1) 245.

⁸¹ The rare exceptions are late 311 to 310 during the reoccupation of Phoenicia and Syria; late 308 to early 307 after Antigonos' return from the east; autumn 306 to early 305 during the abortive invasion of Egypt; and possibly early 304 after the siege of Rhodes.

⁸² The anecdote at *Plut. Demetr.* 19.6, in which Antigonos alludes ironically to Demetrius' relations with Lamia, must come after Salamis, where the celebrated courtesan was captured (*Demetr.* 16.5).

⁶⁸ *Diod.* 19.40.2; *Plut. Demetr.* 4.1.

⁶⁹ See n.8.

⁷⁰ *Plut. Demetr.* 4; cf. *Mor.* 183A; *App. Mithr.* 9.27-8; [*Luc.*] *Macrob.* 13.

⁷¹ See (e.g.) Hornblower (n.1) 245; Billows (n.4) 404-5. For similar anecdotes concerning Seleucid see R.A. Hadley, 'Hieronymus of Cardia and early Seleucid mythology', *Historia* 18 (1969) 142-52; J.D. Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator* (London 1990) ch. 1. The *locus classicus* for such material is Herodotus' story of the prophetic dream of Astyages (*Hdt.* 1.108-13).

⁷² For representative views see Meyer (n.4) 37; Reinach (n.3) 6-7; McGing (n.4) 15 and *RhM* 129 (1986) 249-50; Billows (n.4) 404-5 and *Kings and Colonists* 104-6; Grainger (n.71) 184; Lund (n.6) 82.

⁷³ Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2D (Kommentar) 546 and Hornblower (n.1) are aware of the problem, but draw no conclusions.

⁷⁴ *Plut. Demetr.* 4.1: τοῦ μέντοι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον φύσει καὶ φιλεταίρον γεγονέναι τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν ἀρχῇ παραδειγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν εἶπεῖν. There is perhaps some slight ambiguity in the Greek. ἐν ἀρχῇ could conceivably be taken as a compositional note ('this is my first example'), but it reads far more naturally as a reference to the start of Demetrius' career; Perrin's Loeb translation probably hits the mark ('In proof that in the beginning Demetrius was naturally humane and fond of his companions, the following illustration may be given').

entirety, for Demetrius campaigned continuously in Greece and Asia Minor from 304 to Ipsus, and there is no recorded meeting with Antigonos. The context of the warning to Mithridates also suggests that Demetrius was at a very junior stage of his career.⁸³ After 306, when he received the royal title alongside his father, he was virtually an independent agent. It is very unlikely that his father would have endangered a close friend of his against his will,⁸⁴ and Demetrius would hardly have needed to resort to such elaborate subterfuge to save Mithridates. The episode belongs to a period when Demetrius was relatively young and under his father's eye.

Plutarch, as we have seen, describes Mithridates as a youth (*νεανίσκος*) and a coeval of Demetrius.⁸⁵ Now, Demetrius was born in early 336,⁸⁶ and was probably 21 at the beginning of the siege of Tyre. That presents a problem. According to the *Macrobioi* attributed to Lucian, Mithridates Ctistes died at the ripe age of 84, and the authorities cited are 'Hieronymus and the other historians'.⁸⁷ If, as is generally assumed, Mithridates died in 266, then he was born around 350 and therefore some 14 years older than Demetrius. What is more, at 35 he would be somewhat old to be termed *νεανίσκος*. In Plutarch the term is applied to Leotyichidas in his early teens, to the Spartan king, Agis IV, when he was about 20, and to Octavian at the age of 23.⁸⁸ A birth date around 350 excludes him as a coeval of Demetrius and makes him a rather old youth. Possibly Plutarch is exaggerating, making a vague reference in his source misleadingly precise. He is capable of superimposing his own interpretation,⁸⁹ and may have done so here. The original text could simply have stated that there was no great disparity in age. But admittedly there is little rhetorical advantage in claiming that the two men were coeval, and it may be that Mithridates' age in the *Macrobioi* is incorrect. It is also uncertain whether the figure 84 was given by Hieronymus at all. There are parallels, where the author of the *Macrobioi* gives multiple authors for a figure and takes only the highest estimate. Herodotus and Anacreon are both cited for the age of Arganthonius of Tartessus, but the figure given is Anacreon's 150 years, not Herodotus' 120,⁹⁰ and in the same context Demochares and Timaeus are both said to have given the age of Agathocles of Syracuse as 90,

⁸³ There are anecdotes which illustrate Antigonos' supervision of his sons early in life; e.g. Plut. *Demetr.* 23.5, 28.10; *Mor.* 182B; cf. Billows (n.4) 9-10, 419-21.

⁸⁴ Mithridates cannot have remained with Antigonos while Demetrius was abroad, or the anecdote makes no sense. For it to be intelligible Demetrius must be in close proximity to his father.

⁸⁵ Plut. *Demetr.* 4.1: καθ' ἡλικίαν συνήθης.

⁸⁶ See P.V. Wheatley, 'The lifespan of Demetrius Poliorcetes', *Historia* 46 (1997) 19-27.

⁸⁷ [Luc.] *Macrob.* 13 (= *FGrHist* 154 F7): ἐτελεύτησεν βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ὡσπερ Ἱερώνυμος λέγει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς.

⁸⁸ Plut. *Lys.* 22.4 (Leotyichidas); *Agis* 10.1 etc. (Agis IV); *Ant.* 33.2 (Octavian). The highest age for a *νεανίσκος* in Plutarch seems to be that of Piso Licinianus, who was murdered in his 31st year (Plut. *Galb.* 19.1, 27.4).

⁸⁹ Compare Plut. *Ages.* 13.3, where Plutarch has imposed his own interpretation upon Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.40. On this see Bosworth (n.26) 14-15.

⁹⁰ [Luc.] *Macrob.* 10; cf. Hdt. 1.163.2; Anacreon, *PMG* 361.

whereas Timaeus is independently attested to have stated that Agathocles died at 72.⁹¹ Something similar probably happened with Mithridates. Hieronymus and a plethora of other historians gave figures for his age at death; what the author of the compilation has picked out is simply the highest figure, not necessarily the figure given by Hieronymus or the correct one.

Appian's version of the episode is far more compressed than that of Plutarch, and is somewhat garbled. He claims that Antigonos was in Syria after expelling Laomedon.⁹² That is a patent blunder, for Laomedon was driven out of Syria as early as 320, and he was ejected by Ptolemy, not Antigonos.⁹³ However, this is a peripheral point. Appian's source placed Antigonos in Syria at the time of Mithridates' flight from his court, and explained his presence in the area. That clearly entailed a digression, giving Antigonos' pretext for intervention there: Ptolemy's occupation was unwarranted, and was therefore open to challenge from Antigonos. That is consistent with Plutarch's contextual setting of the flight of Mithridates, shortly after Antigonos' occupation of Syria. Other details in Appian supplement Plutarch's story. Antigonos wished to arrest and kill Mithridates, who escaped with six horsemen.⁹⁴ There is no reference to Demetrius' part in the affair, but then again nothing excludes it. Appian does not contradict Plutarch's implicit dating at the start of Demetrius' career, and his reference to Antigonos' presence in Syria tends to corroborate it.

Mithridates' flight, then, is best placed in or around 314, when he fell into disfavour with Antigonos, and was advised by Demetrius to leave court post haste. Whether Antigonos actually had a dream presaging his future greatness may well be doubted. It was precisely the *post eventum* prophecy which would have been fabricated after the creation of the Pontic kingdom. The truth may have been more sordid and less sensational. Antigonos' court became too hot for Mithridates, but he was probably not seen as a future dynast in the making. He could therefore retire to some obscure corner of Asia Minor and live unmolested. That is what the sources imply. According to Appian he fortified a base in Cappadocia, where many flocked to him 'in consequence of the embarrassment of the Macedonian power'.⁹⁵ This statement is commonly held to refer to the chaos in the Macedonian dominions following Ipsus in 301, which, it is reasoned, enabled Mithridates to establish his kingdom.⁹⁶ Although perfectly comprehensible in this

⁹¹ *FGrHist* 75 F5 (Demochares); *FGrHist* 566 F123 (Timaeus: the figure of 72 comes from Diod. 21.16.5).

⁹² App. *Mithr.* 9.27: Ἀντιγονος μὲν ἦρχε Συρίας, Λαομέδοντα ἐκβαλῶν.

⁹³ For full discussion of the chronology and circumstances see P.V. Wheatley, 'Ptolemy Soter's annexation of Syria, 320 BC', *CQ* 45 (1995) 433-40.

⁹⁴ App. *Mithr.* 9.28: καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷδε συλλαβῶν ἐβούλετο ἀποκτεῖναι, ὁ δ' ἐξέφυγε σὺν ἰππεύσιν ἑξ. We take συλλαβῶν closely with ἀποκτεῖναι. H. White's Loeb translation ('He ... arrested him, intending to put him to death') implies that Mithridates was actually arrested. That, to put it mildly, would have complicated his escape, and is at variance with Plutarch.

⁹⁵ App. *Mithr.* 9.28: φραξάμενός τι χωρὶον τῆς Καππαδοκίας, πολλῶν οἱ προσιόντων ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μακεδόνων ἀσχολία....

⁹⁶ See (e.g.) Billows (n.4) 405.

context, the statement makes equal sense against the background of the third Diadoch War (315-311) or indeed at any time between 321 and 301. The intense compression which is evident in Appian's account allows one to entertain the possibility that Mithridates spent many years in relative outlawry, consolidating the basis for his future kingdom.

Appian's statement is corroborated by Strabo, who gives us a precise location for Mithridates' activities: 'Cimiata, a strong fortress lying beneath the massif of Olgassys, which was used as a base (ὄρμηκτήριον) by Mithridates the Founder when he became lord of Pontus'.⁹⁷ This suggests that Mithridates began from a relatively modest haven beneath Olgassys, the formidable, thickly forested massif of Ilgaz Dag, which straddles Paphlagonia between the rivers Halys and Brillaeus,⁹⁸ and gradually extended his power. That haven may now be identified. Strabo's 'Cimiata' must be identical with the newly discovered site of Cimista, near Hadrianopolis.⁹⁹ It lies below the western outlier of Olgassys, in the valley of modern Viranşehir, virtually on the doorstep of Mariandynia. In that case Mithridates was returning to the hereditary possessions of his family, opting for a fortress adjacent to, if not actually within their borders. There he could hide away with the connivance, if not the actual support of his homonymous relative, the dynast of Mysia and Mariandynia, and stealthily create a domain of his own on the borderlands of Paphlagonia and Western Cappadocia.

The great upsurge in his fortunes will have come in 302. By late autumn of that year the campaign of Ipsus was in full swing. Lysimachus had broken out from the siege of Dorylaeum and established himself in winter quarters far to the north. These were in the immediate hinterland of Heracleia Pontica, which Lysimachus had skilfully annexed for himself by marrying its dowager queen, Amastris.¹⁰⁰ The city provided him with an excellent maritime base, renewing communications with Thrace¹⁰¹ that had been severed by Demetrius' autumn campaign in the Propontis. But the winter quarters proper were some way from the city proper, so as not to strain its resources unduly. According to Diodorus they

lay in the plain of 'Salonia',¹⁰² some distance inland around the town of Bithynium. That was squarely inside Mariandynia, in what we have argued was the domain of Mithridates the dynast until he perished at Antigonus' hands. If that Mithridates was not already dead, Lysimachus' sojourn there would have been ample pretext for his execution. But the plain of Salonia was only 100 km., by a direct highway, from Cimista/Cimiata, the headquarters of Mithridates Ctistes. It is almost axiomatic that the Founder made overtures to Lysimachus, and provided supplies for his army over the crucial winter. And, when the news came of the death of his homonymous relative, he could well have received his western domains as the gift of Lysimachus, as Diodorus (20.111.4) implies was the case. The Founder will have provided the coalition armies with troops as well as supplies, and, when Lysimachus moved south to join Seleucus in the spring of 301, he had the Founder in his entourage. Mithridates had joined the winning side, and was rewarded for it after Ipsus. Now he acquired Mysia, and his territorial acquisitions east of Cimista/Cimiata had the blessing of the new regime. His kingdom was practically secured, and with Lysimachus installed as lord of Asia Minor it could be extended further with impunity.

What we have given is admittedly a speculative construction, based on scanty and sometimes enigmatic evidence. But it is to be hoped that it creates some order out of confusion. Instead of an incoherent set of events, jumbled together incomprehensibly in the context of 302, we have a consistent historical development. Instead of a weak and shadowy dynasty on the fringes of the Propontis, there emerges a powerful Persian family with substantial estates in both Mysia and Mariandynia. The latter region was the nucleus of the future Mithridatic kingdom. It was there that the Founder spent his years of exile during the Antigonid dispensation, and it afforded the base for the territorial acquisitions which formed the later kingdom. What is more, we have an impressive dynastic sequence. The Persian magnates of Mariandynia were related to the satrapal house of Hellespontine Phrygia and could boast royal antecedents; and they arguably held the heartland south of Heracleia in an unbroken succession from the time of Darius I. The royal genealogy of the Mithridatids may be grandiloquent and pretentious, but it can be accommodated to the historical circumstances and makes more sense than any modern reconstruction that purports to replace it.

A.B. BOSWORTH
P.V. WHEATLEY

University of Western Australia

⁹⁷ Strab. 12.3.41 (562). The primary discussion is now that of C. Marek, *Stadt, Ara und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynien und Nord-Galatia*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 39 (Tübingen 1993) 122-4.

⁹⁸ On the location see Strab. 12.3.40 (562) with L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1980) 213-15. One of the shrines which, according to Strabo, dotted the mountain has recently been identified (cf. *SEG*. 33.1114).

⁹⁹ I. Kaygusuz, 'Kimistine'den Yazitlar', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 26.2 (1983) 111-45; *EA* 4 (1984) 69-72 (= *SEG* 33.1097): [οἱ] ἑρατοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Κιμιστηνῶν. Kaygusuz himself is disinclined to see Cimista as Strabo's Cimiata, but the textual transmission in Strabo is clearly faulty. For the regional name the manuscripts read Κινιστηνῆ. This Corais 'emended' to Κιμιστηνῆ in conformity with the transmitted name of the fortress. But it is equally possible that Κιμιστῶν is itself corrupt; the region should be Κιμιστηνῆ and the specific location Κιμιστῶν. So Marek (n.97) 124.

¹⁰⁰ Diod. 20.109.7; Memnon, *FGHist* 434 F1 (4.4.9). For the strategic background see Lund (n.6) 74-7; Billows (n.4) 178-81.

¹⁰¹ Diod. 20.112.2-4.

¹⁰² Diod. 20.109.6: ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Σαλμωνίας πεδίῳ. This is clearly the area described by Strab. 12.4.7 (565), which he terms the region περὶ Σάλωνα (Σαλώνεια in Steph. Byz.). Strabo adds that its cheeses were famous (cf. Plin. *NH* 11.241; Robert (n.98) 134 n.15).