

THE EXTENT OF THE TERRITORY ADDED TO BITHYNIA BY POMPEY

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The generally accepted view of the extent of the territory added to Bithynia by Pompey is expressed by Magie as follows: "The core of the kingdom of Mithradates, extending along the Euxine coast from the Bithynian border at Heracleia to Pharnaceia, east of the promontory of Iasionium, and as far south as the mountain ranges which formed the frontier of Cappadocia, was made the new province of Pontus and placed under the command of the governor of Bithynia... As organised by Pompey, the urban centres of Pontus were, we are told, eleven in number"¹).

1) Magie, 369—70. The enlarged province is commonly, but inaccurately, described by modern historians of Rome as 'Bithynia et Pontus'. The inscriptions which Marquardt (193) quoted in support of this designation (Orelli 77 = *CIL* XI, 1183 = Dessau *ILS* 1079; and *CIG* 1720), together with the reference in Appian, *Mith.* 121, are imperial. Brandis (*PW* III, 525) and those who rely upon him err in the same way. That the province was known officially to the Roman Republic as 'Bithynia' even during the period of its enlargement from 63—ca. 40 B. C. is shown by the designation of the command of its governors at Dio XXXVI 40 (C. Papirius Carbo, 62—59), Catullus X, 7 (C. Memmius, 57), Cicero, *ad Fam.* XIII, 29, 4 (A. Plautius, 49) Appian *B. C.* III, 77 and IV, 58 (Q. Marcius Crispus, 45—44) Cicero *ad Fam.* XII, 13, 3 Appian *B. C.* III, 26 and Dio XI VII, XI, 1—2 (L. Tillius Cimber, 44), and Appian *B. C.* V. 63 (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 40—33). Only from the time of Nero onward do we meet a province officially styled 'Pontus et Bithynia' (in this order, usually). Apparent allusions to a republican province of 'Pontus' (Cicero, *cum sen. grat. egit*, 15, 38 C. Piso gener . . . Pontum et Bithyniam quaestor . . . neglexit, *Livy Ep.* CII Cn. Pompeius in prouinciae formam Pontum redegit, Velleius, II, 38, 6 Syria Pontusque Cn. Pompei uirtutis monumenta sunt) are inconclusive. So, also, after Antony and until Nero we find such terms as 'proconsul Bithyniae' (*CII* VI, 1442) and 'praetor Bithyniae' (*Tac. Ann.* I, 74 and XVI, 18). I am merely concerned here with nomenclature; the *content* of the name 'Pontus' is dealt with at length in the above paper. But one should remember Strabo's κληθεῖσαν Πόντον (in quoted passage no. 1) and Catullus' 'Amastris Pontica', both of the *Paphlagonian* coastal belt.

The implications of this doctrine for Pompey's reputation as empirebuilder are much more serious than one gathers from the tributes paid to the Roman imitator of Alexander the Great by Gelzer and others. For those who share Magie's view must also hold that, some twenty-three years after Pompey's settlement, the territory east of the Halys was given away by Antony to native dynasts and that they and their successors retained most of it until the constitution of the province of Pontus in A. D. 64 (see Appendix *infra*). This surrender of Roman territory — if surrender there was — must have been tolerated by Augustus, for there is no evidence of his using it as a propaganda weapon against Antony. In that case Pompey's step must have appeared to several generations of Roman statesmen decidedly hasty. This Magie suggests, and it was stated even more forcefully by Anderson: "Wilful as Antony's policy in the East mostly was, his treatment of the inland (i. e. south-eastern) part of the Pontic province was not without justification. Pompey's incorporation of it had been premature. His purpose was to force the political development of the country along lines calculated to promote the growth of civilization and to serve Roman and administrative interests. This object he sought by the foundation of new cities, but the conditions were not ripe for the rapid development of city life and urban administration; the people had always been accustomed to be ruled and they had had no apprenticeship of any kind in the art of self-government. The best evidence of the prematurity of Pompey's policy is the fact that after Actium Augustus left the Antonian system of vassal states intact, save for the restoration to the province of Amisus as a *civitas libera et foederata*"²). This denunciation of Pompey at least puts the issue clearly. Every phrase of Anderson's has been, or might well be, the subject of debate in detail; but in general the uncertainty of many of his hypotheses seems to show that a careful examination of the evidence for Pompey's boundaries is desirable before we build thereon large structures of inference on such themes as that general's political acumen, the generosity of Antony, the conservatism of Augustus, or the nature of the Pontic cities or royal domains. For the foundations for such structures are far from secure. A feeling of disquiet will overcome anyone who sits down before a copy

2) Anderson, *ASB* 6—7.

of Strabo, a map of Asia Minor³) and almost any modern account of Pompey's eastern settlement.

The present paper, then proposes to consider the evidence for the boundaries which Pompey assigned to his enlarged Bithynia, and to suggest that the theory of Marquardt and E. Meyer, whereby the eastern boundary was the River Halys, is in general considerably nearer the truth than the rival views which have driven it from the field. Marquardt based his belief upon a faulty interpretation of certain passages in Strabo, especially. XII, 3, 9 (No. 1 below); his critics, Niese and the rest, have propounded less acceptable solutions which enjoy no better title; and it will be necessary to examine in some detail the passages upon which they rely. Though an excellent witness within his limitations, Strabo suffers from a dangerous ambiguity of language, in the use, for example, of the nouns *ἐπαρχία* and *Πόντος*, of the adverb *νῦν* and of the prepositions *μέχρι*, *ἐκτός* and *ἐντός*, and often it is only from a close examination of the context that we are able to determine their meaning in a given sentence.

What are the objections to the modern view of the extent of Pompey's enlarged Bithynia? This view depends not only upon a justified denial that the passage at Strabo XII, 3, 9 implies a boundary at the Halys, but also upon an arbitrary identification of the eleven *πολιτεῖαι* (Strabo XII, 3, 1 = no. 4 below) of the Pompeian addition with a number of city- and temple-states lying east and west of the Halys, and mentioned by Strabo in his description of northern Anatolia, most of them as communities founded or benefited by Pompey. Which are these eleven? Niese's list was as follows: Amastris, Amisus, Cabira-Diospolis, Eupatoria-Magnopolis, Heraclea, Megalopolis, Phazemon-Neapolis, Pompeiopolis, Sinope, Tieu and Zela. Of these, Théodore Reinach ejected Heraclea and Tieu in favour of Amasea and Nicopolis, Jones Heraclea and Tieu in favour of Amasea and Abonutichos, and Gelzer Tieu in favour of Amasea, to name only a few of many who have essayed identification⁴). In fact, we have no certain knowledge of the eleven *πολιτεῖαι*⁵) and noth-

3) Such as GSGS 4193 (1 : 200,000 of Turkey), sheets no. A 8, 9 & 10; B 8, 9 & 10; C 8 & 9.

4) Reinach, 400; Jones 158 ff., 422; Gelzer 105 ff.

5) There is no difficulty in supplying the names of candidates for the role of the eleven *πολιτεῖαι* from coastward Paphlagonia, the Amnias valley and Amisus.

ing is gained by guessing. In any case, the attempt at identification of the *πολιτεῖαι* must follow, and not precede, the determination of the provincial boundaries for which other evidence exists. It is true that Cary⁶) has cut the Pontic knot by suggesting a much less far-flung frontier, which takes no account of the city-foundations: the River Iris. For this view, unfortunately, there appears to be neither evidence nor any particular probability, and it has found little favour with more recent writers. Nevertheless, in leaving the *πολιτεῖαι* out of our calculations, it points in the right direction. The real difficulties about the modern view are three: 1. It appears to be contradicted by express statements of Strabo, as will be shown. 2. It involves the hazardous view that the heart of Mithridates' kingdom, the valleys of the Lycus and Iris, formed a Roman province from 63 to ca. 40 B.C., and again from A.D. 64 onwards, but was in the interval surrendered to a succession of client-kings. 3. It implies the grant to Deiotarus of three geographically disconnected regions: first, the tetrarchy of the Tolistobogii in Galatia; second, the western half of the coastal plain of Gazelonitis which stretches between the mouth of the Halys and Amisus, and possesses no considerable harbour; and third, the lands of Pharnacea and Trapezus further to the east with their mountainous hinterland dominated by wild and unconquered hillmen. Effectually separating these three territories, we are asked to believe, lay the straggling province of 'Bithynia et Pontus'. How Deiotarus, for all his flexibility, could be expected by any Roman, let alone Pompey, to control his unruly subjects in the east by the resources of Galatia in the west without even enjoying the means of transporting his armies from one to the other, it is hard to see⁷).

6) *CAH IX*, 392 and n. 2.

7) A similar problem arises with relation to the attachment of Armenia Minor to the tetrarchy of Brogitarus and to the role of Megalopolis and Nicopolis. As regards Deiotarus' disconnected territories, the only historian to perceive our difficulty seems to be Anderson; but can one take seriously his suggestion at *ASB* 5 that western Gazelonitis was given to Deiotarus to provide a link between his two other dominions? Western Gazelonitis is a small, uninhabited coastal plain backed by the coastal mountain range of northern Anatolia. If it had harbours, Deiotarus could no doubt sail from Gazelonitis to Trapezus; but could he sail from Gazelonitis to inland Galatia? He could only march troops from Galatia

Let us now consider what our author does in fact tell us of the frontiers of the added territory. On the west it abutted upon its partner, Bithynia, and this frontier, though itself not beyond dispute, lies outside our enquiry. Of the southern, south-eastern and eastern frontiers it will be convenient to take the southern first.

1. Strabo XII, 3, 9, p. 544:

πρὸς ἔω μὲν τοίνυν ὁ Ἄλυς ὄριον τῶν Παφλαγόνων, πρὸς νότον δὲ Φρύγες καὶ οἱ ἐποικήσαντες Γαλάται, πρὸς δύσειν δὲ Βιθυνοὶ . . . πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ ὁ Εὐξεινός ἐστι. τῆς δὲ χώρας ταύτης διηρημένης εἰς τε τὴν μεσόγαιαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, διατείνουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄλυος μέχρι Βιθυνίας ἑκατέραν, τὴν μὲν παραλίαν ἕως τῆς Ἡρακλείας εἶχεν ὁ Εὐπάτωρ, τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας τὴν μὲν ἐγγυτάτω ἔσχεν, ἧς τινὰ καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἄλυος διέτεινε· καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Ποντικῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἀφώρισται· τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἦν ὑπὸ δυνάσταις καὶ μετὰ τὴν Μιθριδάτου κατάλυσιν. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Παφλαγόνων ἐροῦμεν ὕστερον τῶν μὴ ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, νῦν δὲ πρόκειται τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ χώραν, κληθεῖσαν δὲ Πόντον, διελθεῖν. (There follows a description of the coast towns, beginning at Amastris and proceeding eastwards).

Strabo divides Paphlagonia into two portions, the littoral and the interior. Of these, Eupator held the littoral throughout its extent from Heraclea or Amastris to the Halys, and of

to his other dominions if he possessed at least a land-bridge with Gazelonitis athwart the Roman province which Anderson, in common with others, believed to lie between. But A. did not suggest such a Polish Corridor, nor do we believe it ever existed. But what of the alleged naval attractions of western Gazelonitis? Anderson referred to "the two anchorages of Naustathmos and Konopeion", but these were not considerable enough to be even mentioned by Strabo in his description of the coast. To fill the silence of Strabo, we may be content with the contemptuous note of Marcian of Heraclea (*GGM* I, 571, 36); Naustathmos-λίμνη καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς σάλος; Konopeion-ἑτέρα λίμνη ἀλίμενος. No, the surroundings of the modern Balık, Limanı and Turfu Gölü are unattractive to mariners; and the whole of western Gazelonitis is a mere unconsidered trifle when detached (as I believe it was not in 63 B. C.) from its hinterland. Stähelin's suggestion (89: "Zunächst [i. e. nach 63] unternahm es der König Deiotarus seinen aus drei versprengten Gebietsteilen bestehenden Besitz zu arrondieren; zu diesem Zweck riß er zunächst die nordwestlich vom Euphrat gelegene Landschaft Kleinarmenien an sich") is not more happy than Anderson's remark, unless we abandon the doctrine that the Romans held the Iris and Lycus valleys at that time. On Armenia Minor and Deiotarus, see Adcock, *JRS* XXVII (1937), 12—17.

the interior he acquired the part nearest to the littoral, that is, the valley of the Amnias. The rest of the interior remained under dynasts, both during Eupator's reign and after his fall. It may be remarked in passing that the final words of Strabo quoted above form the reply to a question which Niese would never have asked in support of his anti-Halys thesis if he had quoted or read beyond the word *κατάλυσιν*: „Dabei (*sc.* bei der Einrichtung der Provinz Pontus durch Pompejus) ist es denn sehr wunderbar, wie diese Provinz gleich bei ihrer Constituierung zum Namen Pontus kam [*sic*], da doch gerade der Pontus von ihr ausgeschlossen wurde.“ But the vital importance of the passage lies in the interpretation of the words *τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας . . . κατάλυσιν* which Anderson translates as follows⁸⁾: “Mithridates held the nearest portion of inland Paphlagonia which extended in part even beyond (east of) the Halys (i. e. the districts of Pompeiopolis and Neapolis), and this is the limit which the Romans have drawn for the province of Pontus; the rest remained even after the fall of Mithridates under the rule of princes”. Now Niese rightly saw that the words *μέχρι δεῦρο* referred not so much to the Halys, which is mentioned incidentally (“beiläufig in einem Nebensatz”) as to *τὴν ἐγγυτάτω τῆς μεσογαίας*. Unfortunately he used this observation to cast doubt upon the existence of a Roman Halys-boundary, upon which matter this passage does not bear, and failed to notice that the context makes it quite clear that in using the expression *μέχρι δεῦρο* Strabo is concerned to distinguish the free (i. e. southern) portion of inner Paphlagonia from that which fell into the hands first of Eupator and then of the Romans; that, in other words, he is describing the *southern* boundary of Pontic Paphlagonia. The *eastern* boundary is not here in Strabo's mind except incidentally as an afterthought, and Niese's whole argument falls to the ground. It is true that Strabo has been at no great pains to speak explicitly; but we must remember his warning: “As I proceed I must speak in detail of things as they now are, but I shall touch slightly upon things as they were in earlier times whenever this is useful”⁹⁾. By 6/5 B. C. all Paphlagonia was Roman territory, and Strabo might think Pompey's boundary only deserved slight attention. He could not guess

8) *ASR* 6.

9) Strabo, XII, 3, 1, p. 541.

that the ignorance of nineteenth- and twentieth-century ancient historians would force them to look closely at his subordinate clauses and passing asides.

We may supplement our information concerning the Roman acquisitions of 63 B. C. from a second passage, which follows a discussion of his native city, Amasea, concluding with the words "Amasea was also given to kings", (perhaps by Antony) "though it is now provincial territory". This, like the succeeding passages from Strabo, is given in an English translation which is substantially that of H. L. Jones (Loeb):

2. Strabo, XII, 3, 40, p. 561-2:

There remains that part of the Pontic province which lies outside [west of] the Halys River, I mean the country round Mt. Olgassys, contiguous to Sinopis. Mt. Olgassys is extremely high and hard to travel. Temples which have been established everywhere on this mountain are held by the Paphlagonians. Round it lies fairly good territory, both Blaene and Domanitis, through which latter flows the Amnias River. Here Mithridates Eupator utterly wiped out the forces of Nicomedes the Bithynian... and here too, a place was proclaimed a city, I mean Pompeiopolis... So much concerning Pontus.

41. After Pompeiopolis comes the remainder of the interior of Paphlagonia, extending westwards as far as Bithynia. This country, small though it is, was governed by several rulers a little before my time, but the family of kings having died out, it is now in the possession of the Romans... The last to reign over Paphlagonia was Deiotarus, the son of Castor, surnamed Philadelphus, who possessed Gangra, the royal residence of Morzeus, which was at one and the same time a small town and a fortress.

From this we learn something more of the frontier previously indicated by the mysterious words *μέχρι δεῦρο*. Within the Roman area lie Blaene (?), Domanitis, Pompeiopolis and the Amnias River; without it, in free Paphlagonia, Gangra. For the frontier between the two, Eupator and Pompey chose Mt. Olgassys, "high and extremely hard to travel". Its easternmost massif abuts closely upon the great westward bow of the Halys River at and north of Ajyn Dag. It was a perfect frontier. Northwards ran the trunk road from Bithynia to

Pompeiopolis¹⁰), southwards lay the wilds of inner Paphlagonia with its poor settlements. Any civilised traveller upon the trunk road would be content merely to know that the temples upon Mount Olgassys which he saw to the south were held by the outer barbarians.

So much for the southern frontier of the Pompeian extension. The south-eastern angle need not detain us long. South-eastward of Pompeiopolis, the extremity of Paphlagonia crosses the westward bow of the Halys (τινὰ καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἄλως, *supra*, no. 1; cf. XII, 3, 1, τινῶν τῶν Παφλαγονίας μερῶν) and here Pompey's frontier will also have crossed the river at the point of its nearest approach to Mt. Olgassys, that is. at the mouth of the Debrez Çay. It will then have followed the heights of Ada Dağ and Çal Dağ eastward to embrace Phazemonitis¹¹). Just north of this frontier lies a straight and easy route from the Halys to Phazemon via the valleys of the Soruk Dere and the Çay Dere¹²).

We come now to the eastern frontier. Is it to be Halys, Iris, Side or the far Upper Halys upon which stands Megalopolis with the mountains between its source and the Black Sea? Here the decisive passage is not that which Niese quoted

10) For the west-east trunk road see Magie 1083, 1084—5 and the references there cited.

11) It seems a fair inference from the inscriptions (esp. OGIS 532 = ILS 8781 = Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents*. . no. 315) that Phazemonitis traditionally belonged to Paphlagonia; but whether Pompey's province included all, half or indeed any, of Phazemonitis cannot be determined beyond dispute. The passage of Strabo at XII, 3, 38 quoted on page 314 shows that it was "given by Antony?) to kings". What was its previous status? Hardly that of the other Pontic cities, which so far as they were not autonomous, must have recognised Deiotarus as their king; and a transference from one dynast to another would not have evoked Strabo's remark; hardly autonomous either, a privilege reserved for places more important than the 'village' by which Pompey founded his New City (ἦν Πομπηϊὸς Νεαπολίτιν ὠνόμασε, κατὰ Φαζημῶνα κώμην ἀποδείξας τὴν κατοικίαν καὶ προσαναορεύσας Νεάπολιν according to Anderson's reading of Strabo XII, 3, 38 in *Stud. Pont.* I, 93 n.); there remains the third possibility, that of its incorporation in the province. Strategic reasons for this step are suggested at the end of this article. Whether the frontier embraced the whole of Phazemonitis so as to include Lake Stephane and Therma (Havza) may be questioned. It has been pointed out by Syme in *ASB* that Roman provinces expanded or contracted along lines of communication; and the next expansion of our province, under Augustus, swallowed Amasea, the first stop on the road from Phazemon (or Havza) to Zela and Dazimonitis.

12) v. Flottwell 13—4.

and misunderstood (no. 1 above) but yet another which he quoted and did not fully appreciate.

3. Strabo, XII, 3, 13, p. 546-7:

Eastward of the Halys mouth comes Gazelonitis, which extends to Saramene; it is a fertile country and is everywhere level and productive of everything . . . One part of this country is occupied by the Amiseni, but the other was given to Deiotarus by Pompey, as also the regions of Pharnacea and Trapezusia as far as Colchis and Lesser Armenia. Pompey appointed him king of all these, when he was already in possession of his ancestral Galatian tetrarchy, the country of the Tolistobogii. But since his death there have been many successors to his territories.

Discussion from Niese onwards has concerned itself with the references to Pharnacea, Trapezusia, Colchis and Lesser Armenia. But for our present purpose, that of deciding whether the Halys formed, towards its mouth, the eastern frontier of the enlarged Bithynia, the key lies in Strabo's statement that one half of the coastal plain of Gazelonitis was given by Pompey to Deiotarus, the other, clearly the eastern, half going to Amisus. Deiotarus and his successors held the land immediately to the east of the Halys. Therefore the lower reaches of that river marked the frontier of the Roman province. They are well designed for this purpose, which the great river had fulfilled from Median times at least¹³). Immediately below the point at which the west-east postroad crosses it (near Çeltik), it passes through the gorge below the Şahin Kaya, where it is constricted to a width of fifty metres between precipitous walls of rock more than 500 metres high. Here are the dangerous rapids swum by von Flottwell in 1893¹⁴). Lower down, the country becomes more open, but the river still has to force its way through the coastal range by the gorge of Kapı Kaya¹⁵) to the flat, alluvial delta

13) Hdt. I, 6 and 72.

14) v. Flottwell 27—8.

15) v. Flottwell 20: "Noch eine andere Merkwürdigkeit bietet Kapu Kaya, von der der Ort den Namen ('steinernes Thor') hat. In dem Felsen, der die Höhe über dem Dorf krönt, befindet sich ein weithin sichtbares Loch von etwa doppelter Manneshöhe — — der Volksmund sagt, es sei einst ein Grenzwerk gewesen".

forming, on the east, part of Gazelonitis, and, on the west, part of the territory of Sinope. At Bafra, the Halys is some 500 m. broad, and to its impassability in time of flood the absence of both an ancient trade route and a delta city, and the presence of unhealthy marshland lend colour and an explanation. Travel along the coast of the Euxine was and is principally conducted by sea. Deiotarus could have got very little advantage from his share of Gazelonitis, surrounded by Roman territory to the east (Amisus), to the west, and — if we believe Niese — to the south also. Its cession to him in fact suggests strongly that he was given the hinterland also, though Strabo, who is here preoccupied by the description of the coast, does not say so.

But what of Amisus? In a historical note on Amisus at § 14, Strabo says: "The king also took possession of this city; and Eupator adorned it with temples and founded an addition to it. This city, too, was besieged by Lucullus, and then by Pharnaces, when he crossed over from the Bosphorus. After it had been set free by the deified Caesar, it was given over to kings by Antony. Then Straton the tyrant put it in bad plight, and then, after the Battle of Actium, it was again set free by Caesar Augustus; and at the present time it is well organised". The account is sketchy, and abandons us between Lucullus and Pharnaces; but precisely here, three coins make it certain by their mention of provincial governors that the city and its territory were in fact regarded as forming part of the Roman province between 63 and 40 B. C. ¹⁶⁾ Furthermore the implication of the Strabo passage is that Amisus was not a free city except at the moments stated, that is, under Caesar and Augustus. If, however, Lucullus had earlier freed it owing to pangs of conscience because of its hardly deserved sufferings in the long siege of 73-71 B. C., Pompey then typically reversed the decision of his predecessor, regarding the port of Amisus and the road into the interior (which he had excellent opportunities for getting to know in the palavers of 64 and later in that very town) as no less strategically important a

16) For coins of Amisus bearing the inscriptions ΕΠΙ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΠΑΠΕΙ-
 ΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΡΒΩΝΟΣ (= governor of Bithynia, 62—59 B. C.), ΕΠΙ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ-
 ΚΛΑΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΥ (= do. 56 B. C.) and P. SVLPICIVS RVFVS PR PR
 (= do. 46—45 B. C.?), see respectively Eckhel, *D.N.* 2, 347; Wroth, *BMC
 Pontus* etc. 21, no. 83 and M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, 11—13; the
 last coin apparently unique, previously unpublished and of inferential dating

way of access to the interior than the valley of the Amnias. Antony naturally gave it to the successor of Deiotarus, Castor II or Darius, son of Pharnaces. Caesar and Augustus, perhaps ostensibly in recognition of its Athenian recolonisation in the fifth century, could afford to play the liberators.

The riddle of western Gazelonitis is now solved. As we review the successive divisions of the coast, Sinope, Gazelonitis in the hands of Deiotarus, Gazelonitis in the hands of Amisus, the territory of Amisus as far as Side, then Pharnaceia and Trapezus in the hands of Deiotarus, the pattern is clear: Amisus and its territory formed an extensive enclave in the coastal belt given to the tetrarch, and where Amisene ceased, Deiotarus' realm began. (It is clear from Strabo XII, 3, 16 & 17 that Pharnaceia lay immediately beyond Sidene). The lands of Deiotarus formed a continuous belt from the Tolistobogian tetrarchy to Trapezus, and the central portion of this belt had been the heart of Mithridates' kingdom. That is why the ambitious successor of Eupator, Deiotarus, was willing, and able, to add Armenia Minor also to his spoils and feel himself doubly a king.

Having dealt with the southern, south-eastern and eastern frontiers of the province, we may return to the first section of Strabo XII, 3 in order to study more critically the words that deal with the eleven *πολιτεῖαι*¹⁷). The first part of this section runs:

4. Strabo XII, 3, 1, p. 540-1:

As for Pontus, Mithridates Eupator established himself as king of it. He held the country bounded by the Halys River as far as the Tibarani and Armenia, and held also, of the country west of the Halys, the region extending to Amastris and to certain parts of Paphlagonia. He acquired in addition the sea coast towards the west as far as Heraclea . . . and in the opposite direction the parts extending to Colchis and Lesser Armenia; and this, as we know, he added to Pontus. In fact this country was comprised within these boundaries when Pompey

17) *πολιτεῖαι*: not, as generally assumed from Niese onwards, *πόλιεις*. *πολιτεῖα* is here perhaps a synonym for *ἐπαρχία* ('territorial subdivision'), avoided because Strabo used *ἐπαρχία* immediately afterwards in its other sense of 'Roman province'. For the meaning *πολιτεῖα* = *ciuitas* in a geographical sense, Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie quote *SIG* 888 (third century A. D.) and Mittheis, *Chr.* 78 (fourth century A. D.) only.

took it over, upon his overthrow of Mithridates. The parts towards Armenia and those round Colchis he distributed to the potentates who had fought on his side, but the remaining parts he divided into eleven *πολιτεῖαι* and added them to Bithynia, so that out of both was formed a single province. He gave over to the descendants of Pylaemenes the office of king over certain of the Paphlagonians situated in the interior between them . . .

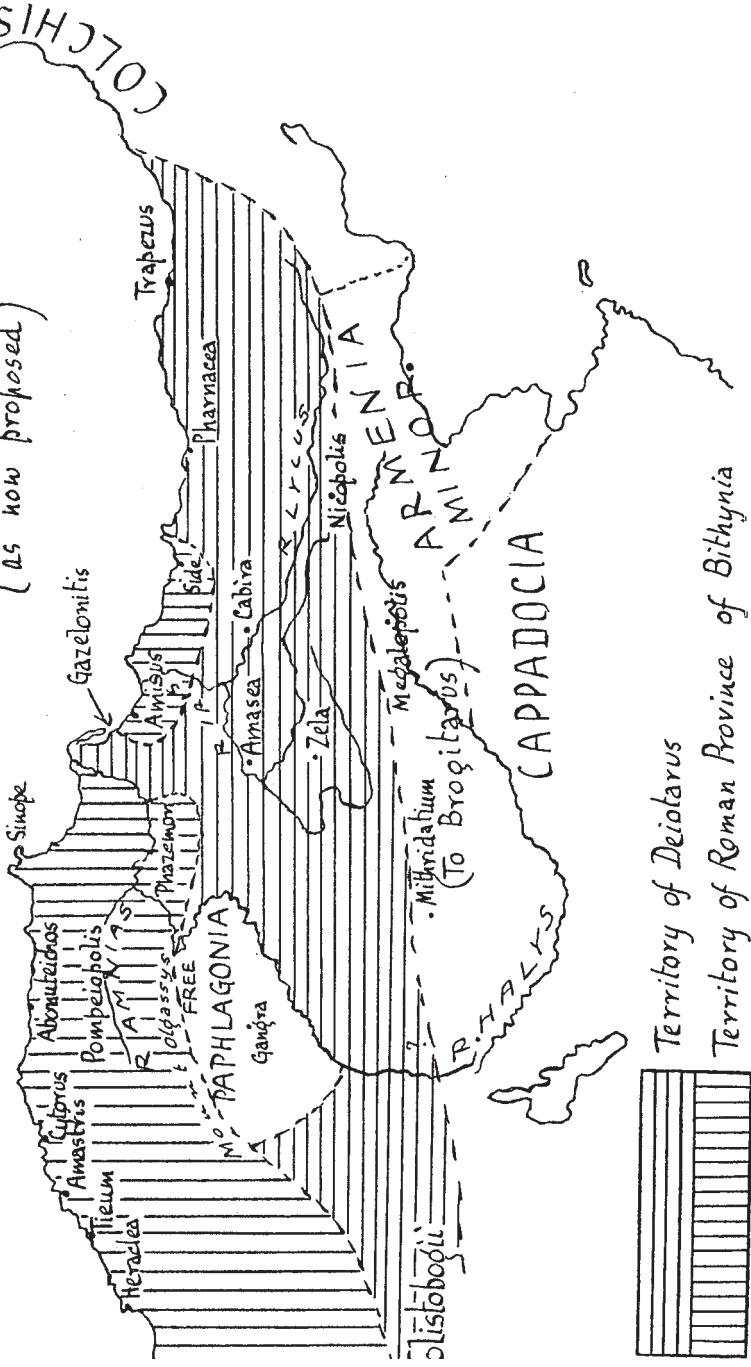
On the morrow of victory, then, Pompey distributes the captured kingdom of Mithridates, and arranges for the rule of independent Paphlagonia and Galatia. Here we are concerned with three areas:

1. τὰ πρὸς Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κολχίδα
2. τὰ λοιπὰ which εἰς ἔνδεκα πολιτείας διεῖλε καὶ τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προσέθηκεν, and
3. μεταξύ (adv.) τῶν Παφλαγόνων τῶν μεσογαίων τινάς
(certain of the Paphlagonians situated in the interior between portions 1 & 2.)

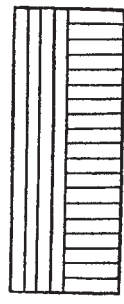
Parts 1 and 2 form Mithridates' kingdom as taken over by Pompey. Τὰ περὶ τὴν Κολχίδα (cf. 'the parts extending to Colchis' above) must be a reference to the principality of Colchis granted by Pompey to Aristarchus. Part 3 consists of the free portion of the interior of Paphlagonia not added to Roman Bithynia. What then are τὰ πρὸς Ἀρμενίαν on the one hand, and the residue acquired by Rome on the other? All depends on the one word μεταξύ: free Paphlagonia is said to lie "between" the two sections of the dismembered kingdom. According to the received view, Pompey's province of Bithynia was extended to the confines of Lesser Armenia. Would it not be very strange in that case to describe free Paphlagonia as lying μεταξύ the two sections? Is it not possible and likely that Strabo is using τὰ πρὸς Ἀρμενίαν to describe the valleys of the Iris and Lycus? But the accompanying sketch-maps show perhaps more clearly than words can do the balance of probabilities. Strabo has not stated the frontier-line between τὰ πρὸς Ἀρμενίαν and τὰ λοιπὰ, but that he has the Halys in mind as the traditional frontier is rendered likely by his words τὴν ἀφοριζομένην τῷ Ἄλῳι and ἐντὸς Ἄλῳος in the quoted passage.

That this interpretation of the text of Strabo is justified seems a reasonable suggestion in the light of other evidence.

The Territory added to Bithynia in 63bc.
(as now proposed)



Territory of Deiotarus
Territory of Roman Province of Bithynia



For we have an even better witness for our case than Strabo — we have Pompey himself. In Diodorus XL, 4 we find a version of a dedicatory inscription made at some unspecified time by Pompey (*ἀναγράφας ἀνέθηκεν*). The relevant portion runs as follows:

ὁ ῥυσάμενός ποτε πολιορκουμένην τὴν Ἀριοβαρζάνου βασιλείαν, Γαλατίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπερκειμένας χώρας καὶ ἐπαρχίας Ἀσίαν Βιθυνίαν, ὑπερασπίσας δὲ Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ τὸν Πόντον, Ἀρμενίαν τε καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, ἔτι δὲ Ἰβηρίαν, Κολχίδα, Μεσοποταμίαν, Σωφηνήν, Γορδουηνήν, ὑποτάξας δὲ βασιλέα Μήδων Δαρεῖον, βασιλέα Ἀρτώκην Ἰβήρων, βασιλέα Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίων, βασιλέα Ἀρέταν Ναβαταίων Ἀράβων, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Κιλικίαν Συρίαν, Ἰουδαίαν, Ἀραβίαν, Κυρηναϊκὴν, Ἀχαιοὺς, Ἰοζυγούς, Σοανούς, Ἠνιόχους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φύλα τὰ μεταξὺ Κολχίδος καὶ Μαιώτιδος λίμνης τὴν παράλιον κατέχοντα καὶ τοὺς τουτῶν βασιλεῖς ἑννέα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐντὸς τῆς Ποντικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης κατοικοῦντα, καὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς ὄροις τῆς γῆς προσβιβάσας, καὶ τὰς προσόδους Ῥωμαίων φυλάξας, ἀς δὲ προσαυξήσας . . .

This is valuable, if tantalising, testimony. The emphasis upon military success and the vagueness of its allusion to the provincial creations of Pompey (τὰ ὄρια τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς ὄροις τῆς γῆς προσβιβάσας) make it possible that it precedes the confirmation of his *acta* in 59 and should be connected with his triumph in September 61. For our present purpose, its importance lies in the words which succeed the reference to the defence of Cappadocia, Galatia, Asia and Bithynia and run: ὑπερασπίσας δὲ Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ τὸν Πόντον, Ἀρμενίαν τε καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, ἔτι δὲ Ἰβηρίαν, Κολχίδα, Μεσοποταμίαν, Σωφηνήν, Γορδουηνήν. What are we to understand by ὑπερασπίσας and what by τὸν Πόντον? For the verb, little help can be gained from the lexicon, whose citations suggest a literal meaning (defence of a comrade by one's shield) and a metaphorical one (military support in a wider sense, as in *OGIS* 441, 80). The recipient of this help may be a Roman citizen (*Plut. Cor.* 3, the *corona civica* awarded τῷ πολίτῃν ὑπερασπίσαντι) or an ally (*Polybius* VI, 39, 6 coupled with σώζειν τινὰς τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων). In Pompey's inscription, however, the objects which the verb governs indicate that it may be understood as an allusion to client-kings received into the friend-

ship of the Roman people (so Gelzer). Paphlagonia (or a part of it), Armenia, Achaea, Iberia, Colchis, Mesopotamia, Sophene and Gordyene were all awarded by Pompey to client-kings. Surely $\delta \Piόντος$ must also have gone to a client-king? There is only one man who can assume the role of this beneficiary — Deiotarus. But what geographical area is indicated by the term here? It must clearly be something different from the other territories mentioned in the inscription, and a plotting of all these upon the map shows that Pontus to any ordinary reader can only mean the area embraced by Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Armenia and Colchis. It cannot of course allude to the Paphlagonian littoral without further clarification. $\delta \Piόντος$ means here therefore the valleys of the Iris and Lycus, which became a client-kingdom, that of Deiotarus, in just the same way as Armenia, Sophene and the rest.

It remains to test our conclusions against contemporary or near-contemporary allusions to the new province. They are few, but these few are more readily compatible with the view we have put forward than with the received one. Catullus, serving under C. Memmius in 57 B. C., refers to it as lining the pockets neither of the governor nor of his staff (X, 6 ff.) Cicero, as governor of a Cilicia threatened by Parthian invasions, relies largely upon the prospect of the help offered, not by the governor of Bithynia who is well to the rear and to whom Cicero writes on financial matters touching the *societas Bithynica*, but by Deiotarus, who is near-at-hand, well-informed of what is happening beyond the Euphrates, and armed. But the chief event of the period was the incursion of Pharnaces in search of his father's throne. After occupying Armenia Minor and some of Cappadocia, he defeated Cn. Domitius Calvinus at Nicopolis with heavy losses. Calvinus rapidly retired to Asia, and left Pharnaces in complete control of his father's kingdom. He held Bithynia and Cappadocia (= the Iris and Lycus valleys), says Plutarch, and Appian adds that he inflicted cruel treatment upon Amisus (*Ἄμισον πόλιν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ῥωμαίζουσας ἡνδραπόδιστο*; the participle is intelligible if we hold that Amisus was surrounded by non-Roman territory)¹⁸). The author of the *De Bello Alexandrino* further tells us that after Calvinus' defeat,

18) Plutarch, *Caesar* 50, 1; Appian, *B. C.* II, 91; cf. the B. M. intaglio from Amisus inscribed ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ with Fortuna, rudder and cornucopia (C. Smith, *C. R.* III, (1889), 379).

Pharnaces 'bona ciuium Romanorum Ponticorumque diripuit', and Caesar is made to allude in his negotiations with Pharnaces to the 'magnas et grauis iniurias ciuium Romanorum qui in Ponto negotiati essent'; as a condition of peace, 'Ponto uero decederet confestim familiasque publicanorum remitteret ceteraque restitueret sociis ciuibusque Romanis quae penes eum essent.'¹⁹) But there is no mention here or elsewhere in the treatise of the occupation of a *Roman* province of Pontus by Pharnaces. The reference to *publicani* cannot be held to prove this in view of Pharnaces' control of Bithynia (Plutarch, l. c. *supra*) where he might easily have picked up a few hostages, and the bracketing of 'ciues Romani Ponticique', of 'socii ciuesque Romani' might well point in another direction.

The *De Bello Alexandrino* gives us some insight into the considerable extension in the power of Deiotarus since 63 B.C. Apart from his Galatian cavalry, of whom he was normally able to put some 500 or 600 into the field to support Roman armies, he had in 47 B.C. two legions, 'quas ille disciplina atque armatura nostra compluris annos constitutas habebat.'²⁰) In this force, raw as yet and destined to be cut to pieces by Pharnaces, yet obviously armed and trained by Romans, we may see a reflection both of Deiotarus' expansion into Pontus in 63 B.C. and of Pompey's policy with regard to client kings. Pompey was saddled with the nickname Sampsiceramus for his indulgence to one of these, and it was as the latter's counterpart that Deiotarus gained the hostility of the Caesarians. In his exchange of recriminations with the king in 47 B.C., (for Deiotarus had committed the unforgivable sin of a client-king: he had failed to protect Rome), Caesar neatly and hypocritically reminded him of 'plurima sua . . . officia quae consul [59 B. C.] ei decretis publicis tribuisset' by the confirmation of Pompey's *acta*²¹). But the old king had had much more reason to support the author of his vastly extended kingdom: and Pompey was the friend, not Caesar. Deiotarus' two legions cannot have been required for so minor a task as that of policing the plain of Gazelonitis and the hills behind Trapezus.

19) *De Bello Alexandrino* 41, 1; 70, 5—7.

20) *ibid.* 34, 4; cf. 68, 2. Pompey's veterans at Nicopolis may have been Deiotarus' drill-sergeants.

21) *ibid.* 68, 1.

To resume then the results of this enquiry and of the arguments of the appendix below: Pompey included within his new province Amisus, Pompeiopolis, and probably Phazemonitis; Antony probably resigned Phazemonitis east of the Halys to the dynasts, but retained Pompeiopolis to the west as his road-head commanding the Halys bridge and the valley of the Amnias. Whatever his political sins, he can no more be accused of stripping Rome of this important *propugnaculum imperii* than he can be accused of sacrificing the land of the Iris and the Lycus. After incorporating Galatia in 25 B. C., Augustus in 6/5 B. C. redrew the frontier between it and Paphlagonia on the death of Deiotarus Philadelphus, and in 3/2 B. C. rounded off Phazemonitis, now again under direct rule, by incorporating Amasea. The successor of Polemo I found himself the ruler of a gradually shrinking kingdom, but the main body of Eupator's homeland did not become a Roman province until the time of Nero.

The fluctuating attachment of the area around Pompeiopolis and Phazemon is at first sight mysterious. Eupator removes the frontier to a line west of the Halys perhaps at the head-waters of the Amnias, Pompey places it in or about Phazemonitis, Antony withdraws it towards the Halys, and Augustus pushes it slightly forward to include Amasea, after adding Pompeiopolis and Phazemon to Galatia. The reasons might no doubt partly be found in administrative convenience or ethnic unity. But a full explanation must take into account geographical and strategical factors. When one reads the accounts of modern travellers, such as that of Ainsworth or von Flottwell, the matter becomes clearer. The main road eastward from Pompeiopolis follows the Amnias and its pleasant, fruitful valley to its confluence with the Halys. Here the scenery becomes more dramatic and the valley of the united river closes in to form the pass below Keperçal. "This pass", writes Ainsworth²²), "unless Paphlagonia extended farther east in the time of Xenophon²³), would appear to apply itself peculiarly to the description given by Hecatonymus, one of the ambassadors from Sinope to the Greeks at Cotyora, who said that Paphlagonia must of necessity be entered by but one pass, and that lay between two points

22) *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* IX (1839), 256—7.

23) It did! Ainsworth was mistaken in this particular identification.

of a rock exceeding high.²⁴⁾ The river runs through a gorge in a limestone range, which extends from S. W. to N. E., forming on the south bank a conical rock about 250 feet high, and then rises in a wide rampart of rock to the N. E. till it forms cliffs, at the distance of scarce two miles, nearly 1000 feet in height. . . . This defile has, in modern times, obtained notoriety from the frequency of the robberies committed in a neighbourhood so well adapted for such exploits; and this circumstance led the Turkish government to build a guard-house in the pass, which was tenanted by two useless veterans, who, however, gave us a hospitable shelter for the night." A few miles further on, the modern road crosses the Halys, here some 80 yards wide, with its ancient bridge²⁵⁾. The pass and the bridge constitute the strategic importance of this area and upon them converges the traffic from east and west deflected by the coastal range of Paphlagonia, the broad lower reaches of the Halys, and, on the south, Olgassys and its eastward continuation the Tavşan Dağ. If Eupator was to command this vital bottleneck, he must push beyond it to the Amnias valley; if Pompey, facing in the opposite direction, was to do the same, he must advance to Phazemonitis. The extent of Antony's withdrawal is not clear, but it will probably have left a Roman outpost east of the Halys bridge; in due course Augustus moved forward again at any rate to Amasea — not perhaps so much for strategic reasons as out of a recognition of that city's level of civilisation.

But in Pompey's day, Roman Pontus was merely a corridor to the lower Halys, and its two eastern doors were Amisus for the voyager by sea, and the confluence of Halys and Amnias for the marching legion. Beyond lay the client kingdoms where Deiotarus and his fellows, carefully checked by the destruction of Eupator's hill forts,²⁶⁾ by the encouragement of the valley municipalities and by the thought of

24) Hecatonymus, *apud* Xen. *Anab.*, 6—7. But this pass was clearly east of the Halys, and indeed of the Thermodon (cf. V, 6, 9) and in the neighbourhood of Cotyora.

25) W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* (1842) I, 326; Munro *JHS*; and Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* I, 85.

26) For Arsaces in the Nebean Dağ between Gazelonitis and Phazemonitis see Strabo XII, 3, 38 (cf. 39 ἐρύματα πλεῖω κατεσοαμμένα). v. Flottwell's description (22 f.) of a blocked subterranean hill-fort in the Nebean Dağ throws a vivid light on Strabo's account of Arsaces in this very area.

Roman eyes watching from Pompeiopolis, Amisus and Nicopolis, earned the bread of the client by policing the hills *citra Romanum sanguinem*²⁷). Thus the ghost of Mithridates might be cheaply exorcised and it was no fault of Pompey's if for a moment Pharnaces struggled to put the clock back. Among the instruments of subjection, says Tacitus, are baths, porticoes . . . and kings. It was the glory of Pompey to have put a keener edge upon this instrument. For all his triumphal inscriptions, he was less anxious to win provinces for Rome than his ambitious rival, the gambler Caesar.

APPENDIX

Chronology and the need to secure some loose ends which dangle uncomfortably in the eyes of the historian of Pontus bring us to a more detailed discussion of the frontier-changes of Antony and Augustus. A discussion of the frontiers of 63 B. C., particularly those of the northern part of inland Paphlagonia which was incorporated by Eupator in his kingdom and retained by the Romans²⁸), involves three problems which relate to later attachments. They are: 1. Did Antony assign Phazemonitis to dynasts in 40 (or 37) B. C.? 2. Did Antony assign Domanitis (= the surroundings of Pompeiopolis) to dynasts? 3. Was Pompeiopolis part of the Roman provinces in 63 B. C.? The last of these questions has, of course, been answered in the affirmative in the preceding discussion, but it can now be dealt with from a rather different angle and in relation to the first two.

Paphlagonia, a geographical and ethnographical expression at this time, was awkwardly placed astride both the east-west postroad and, at its eastern extremity, the Halys, in a way which gave strategic importance to an otherwise despised and neglected principality and caused its partition

27) "Diese schwer zu bändigenden Stämme [sc. the wild men of the Paryadres] sollte Dejotarus im Zaume halten, eine schwierige Aufgabe" (Niese 579).

28) Jones uses the term 'Pontic Paphlagonia' to indicate Blaene, Domanitis, Phazemonitis and perhaps Pimolisene. The term is convenient but dangerous, because 'Pontus' has many meanings (Euxine, Eupator's homeland, Eupator's acquisitions, the Roman province of 63 B. C., the Roman province of Nero) and the designation as a whole suggests a unity which may be fictitious.

between Eupator or the Romans on the one hand and the dynasts of 'free' Paphlagonia on the other. Pompey granted the 'free' southern area to Attalus in 63 B. C., it was ruled from 40 B. C. onwards by Castor II, and from 37/6 to 6/5 B. C. by its last native king, Deiotarus Philadelphus. In the latter year it was annexed to the Roman province of Galatia. So much is generally agreed. It is also certain from inscrip-tional evidence that both Pompeiopolis and Phazemonitis were joined to Galatia in this same year, for they enjoy the era 6/5 B. C. in common with Gangra and what had been 'free' Paphlagonia. But problems arise when we read the answers which have been offered to the three questions above-mentioned, which it will be convenient to take separately: and it is not possible to agree with Anderson when he states categorically (*Stud. Pont.* I, 94) that "Neapolis and Pompeiopolis were undoubtedly assigned to the princes of eastern Paphlagonia (perhaps by Antony)".

1. *Did Antony assign Phazemonitis to dynasts in 40 (or 37) B. C.?*

The only evidence, so far as I know, is the statement of Strabo at XII, 3, 38, p. 561: ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν (sc. Pompey) οὕτω (i. e. by calling a settlement at the village of Phaze-mon by the name Neapolis and by demolishing hill-forts) διέταξε τὴν Φαζημωνίτιν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον βασιλεῦσι καὶ ταύτην ἔνειμαν. Comparison with other passages (e. g. XII, 3, 14 of Amisus) shows that by οἱ ὕστερον Strabo probably meant Antony. Neither Roman politicians from 63-40 B. C. nor, after Antony, Augustus, who in general made little change in 30 B. C., are likely to have adopted this measure. But the evidence cannot be considered very strong.

2. *Did Antony assign Pompeiopolis to dynasts?*

As part of an attack upon Strabo's reliability, particularly as regards the latter part of Augustus' reign and that of Tiberius, Anderson answered this question with a strong affirmative. In seeking to prove²⁹⁾ that Strabo's information was out-of-date when recorded and that only here and there was it retouched, he laid great stress upon the passage at XII.

29) *ASR* 5.

3, 9, p. 544 (quoted above as No. 1): "In Strabo's earlier life these two districts (the valley of the Amnias, and Phazemonitis) were separated from the province of Pontus [*sic*], and separated permanently" This bestowal upon Castor II and thereafter upon Deiotarus Philadelphus is said to be proved by the common annexation of the districts by Augustus in 6/5 B. C. "The date of annexation is proved by inscriptions, which also show that the Paphlagonian principality included Pompeiopolis and Neapolis". Hence it would follow that Strabo's verb ἀφώρισται is in fact grossly anachronistic, not only in the reign of Tiberius, but indeed at any time after 40 B. C. The argument of Anderson is illogical: the inscriptions³⁰) do not in fact prove his contention, and the united and never-to-be-divided principality is a myth. Unfortunately he seems to have been followed in this by Magie, in his account of Antony's arrangement, though in obscure words which betray some uneasiness (my italics): "Since under the emperors Gangra used an era beginning in 6/5 B. C. and this is found at Pompeiopolis and Neoclaudio- polis (Neapolis) in Phazimonitis, where it was *evidently reckoned from the date of the cities' annexation to the empire, it seems evident* that both the valley of the Amnias and western Phazimonitis, subsequently obtained by Deiotarus (Philadelphus), were taken by Rome at the same time as Gangra as part of Deiotarus's kingdom"³¹).

Now though Strabo states that Phazemonitis was 'given to kings', presumably, as we saw above, by Antony, he nowhere admits that Pompeiopolis, guarding the trunk road west of the Halys, was so given; and strategically it seems quite inconceivable. Such a surrender in 40 B. C. would have involved loss of the trunk-road, and indeed of all but the coastal belt (along which an army could not move eastward) to a client king, and the virtual retreat of military influence to Bithynia proper — a retreat, significantly enough, not only not seized upon by Augustus' propaganda machine, but actually accepted by him until 6/5 B. C. This is a very large

30) *Stud. Pont.* I, 91 ff., III, no. 67 = *IGRR* III, 139, and 135 with Ramsay *REG.*

31) Magie 433 f., 1283; M.'s chronological standpoint is obscure and seems to hover between 40 B. C. and 6/5 B. C.; but his meaning clearly is that Pompeiopolis was not Roman until 6/5 B. C., which, since he adopts the received view of Pompey's boundary, involves the belief that Antony had resigned Pompeiopolis in the interim.

demand to make upon our credulity. In 6/5 B. C., the situation reflected in the inscriptions was very different, and the allocation of Roman Pompeiopolis to the already Roman Galatia involved no jeopardy to Roman communications. Anderson has confused the issue by applying the tolerably certain evidence of 6/5 B. C. to the year 40 B. C., where probability is all that can be achieved. If we add strategic considerations to the positive statements of Strabo as expounded above, it seems most probable that Antony united Phazemonitis only (east of the Halys) with Paphlagonia and consequently slightly withdrew the operative Roman frontier to the Halys at the point where the trunk road crossed it (near Çeltik) by the bridge whose remains impressed Munro and Anderson. This together with Amisus was the extent of Antony's surrender of Roman Bithynian-Pontic territory, and it is small wonder that it offered little scope to Augustus in the battle of words. Strabo's ἀφώρισται speaks strongly against any massive surrender, and it does not even necessarily imply ignorance of the events of 6/5 B. C. for the frontier between two Roman provinces was not of the same order of importance as that, indicated by the perfect passive verb, between Roman territory and "free" Paphlagonia³²).

3. Was Pompeiopolis a part of Roman Pontus in 63 B. C.?

Ramsay created an unreal difficulty which led him to answer this question by a negative: "Strabo, taken literally," he wrote, "implies that it (Pompeiopolis) was not included in the Roman province by Pompey, for he described it, not in the parts of Paphlagonia which had belonged to Paphlagonia [*sic*; read "Mithridates Eupator"] and were taken as a Roman province (p. 544), but in that part of Paphlagonia which he postponed to a later occasion (p. 562) and which was ruled by native dynasts"³³). This is badly confused. At p. 544 (No. 1 above) Strabo is in fact describing the coastal belt of Paphlagonia (though he used misleading language about his method XII, 3, 9 *ad fin.*), and at p. 562 (No. 2 above) he is dealing with the parts about Mt. Olgassys, i. e. the interior, Roman and "free". The area of Pompeiopolis he de-

32) cf. Anderson *Stud. Pont. I*, 97: „The perfect tense does not necessarily imply the continuance of the action down to the present time”, and his reference to Strabo's πεπόρθηται of *Homeric* times.

33) Ramsay *HGAM*, 192—3; the mistake is repeated in *REG*.

scribes in clear language (XII, 3, 40) as ἡ ἐκτὸς Ἄλυος (= west of the Halys: he has just written of Amasea to the east of the river) χώρα τῆς Ποντικῆς ἐπαρχίας, and later, after the mention of Pompeiopolis and the realgar mines nearby, he says (*ibid.* ad fin.) τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πόντου εἰρήσθω. (41) μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πομπηιοῦπολιν ἢ λοιπὴ τῆς Παφλαγονίας ἐστὶ τῆς μεσογαίας, ruled until recently (= 6/5 B. C.) by kings, and only since then Roman. Pompeiopolis is clearly for Strabo *inside* the Bithynian province. The foundation of Ramsay's argument is thereby shown to be unsound. In order to buttress it, he has to deal with two small pieces of evidence which appear to tell against his argument. Of the first, the argument of Hirschfeld that Pompeiopolis had an era beginning in 64 B. C., Ramsay says: "If Borghesi V, 429 is right in making the era 7 B. C. [read now 6/5 B. C.], then we should have to admit that Pompeiopolis, like Gangra, Andrapa and [*sic*] Amasea, was added to Galatia in that year, which would rather favour the view that, like them, it had been hitherto governed by dynasts and had not formed part of the province Bithynia-Pontus". This is surely a non-sequitur. Re-assignment to a new Roman province by Augustus might have caused a new era, and this new era might thereafter have largely displaced the earlier one in our inscriptional evidence. Ramsay then refers to Fourcade's story (alluded to in the note to *CIG* 4157) of finding at Pompeiopolis an inscription including the vital word Ποντάρχης, and continues: "The date is unknown, but is most probably later than B. C. 7" (Ramsay's date for the incorporation of Pompeiopolis in Galatia; but how does he know the date of an inscription which he has not himself seen, and which was not published?). "The presence of a Pontarch would show that Pompeiopolis was in the province Pontus, but this reported inscription is a suspicious authority" (p. 193). But are we really entitled to dismiss the evidence of Fourcade so lightly? The latter was consul-general of France at Sinope from 1802; deprived of his proper vocation by the resumption of hostilities between Britain and France, he satisfied his archaeological interests by tours of the interior, and first identified correctly the site of Pompeiopolis at Taş Köprü, of which he published an excellent account, the best known to the present writer, in Maltebrun's *Annales des voyages*, XIV (1811), pp. 30—

58.³⁴) Though he does not here publish the Pontarch inscription, but merely alludes to it, he does reproduce in a plate that dedicated to C. Claudius Gallitianus, and draws a parallel between the the Pompeiopolitan reference to Ποντάρχης and that which he had himself observed on a stone at Sinope. His actual words are (op. cit., pp. 37—8) “Les restes d’une inscription m’ont prouvé l’existence d’un gymnase. Il s’agit d’un certain Apollodore fils d’Ikésius, revêtu de la dignité de Pontarque³⁵). Le décret rendu par le peuple et par le sénat de Pompéiopolis, pour honorer la mémoire de ce magistrat, devoit être posé, suivant la décision de l’autorité publique, dans l’endroit le plus apparent du gymnase. (J’ai trouvé le même titre de Pontarque dans les ruines de l’amphithéâtre de Sinope)”³⁶). This may of course be imagination, but it certainly does not sound like it. The Sinope inscription, at any rate, is perfectly genuine, and due consideration must be given to the testimony of a good witness. In any case, little can be deduced from the locality of Ποντάρχης inscriptions which are widely scattered. Ramsay’s whole passage is in fact a mare’s nest, and would scarcely deserve such attention as we have given it, did it not contribute to the mass of intricate misunderstandings which bedevil the whole topic of Bithynia-Pontus³⁷).

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34) On Fourcade consult the *Biographie universelle* XV (1816), 365—7.

35) = *CIG* 4178. Cf. Ainsworth, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* IX, 262; id. *Travels*. I, 100.

36) = *CIG* 4157.

37) I am most grateful to Professor Michael Grant and to Dr. T. J. Cadoux for reading this article and freeing it of some inaccuracies of fact or obscurities of expression.