

Franz Steiner Verlag

Sonderdruck aus:

DEFORMATIONS AND CRISES OF ANCIENT CIVIL COMMUNITIES

EDITED BY VALERIJ GOUŠCHIN
AND P.J. RHODES



Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015

CONTENTS

Figures.....	7
Preface.....	9
References.....	11
Contributors	13
<i>Ivan Ladynin</i>	
The ‘Crisis of the Pyramid-Builders’ in Herodotus Book 2 and Diodorus Book 1, and the Epochs of Egyptian History	15
<i>P.J. Rhodes</i>	
Instability in the Greek Cities	27
<i>Valerij Goušchin</i>	
Aristocracy in Democratic Athens: Deformation and/or Adaptation.....	47
<i>Polly Low</i>	
Empire and Crisis in Fourth-Century Greece	63
<i>Yuri N. Kuzmin</i>	
The Antigonids, Caenus and the so-called ‘Era of Monophthalmus’: Some Observations Prompted by a New Inscription	73
<i>Oleg L. Gabelko</i>	
‘A Tale of Two Cities’: Some Particulars of the Conquest of Cius and Myrlea by the Kingdom of Bithynia	87
<i>T.J. Cornell</i>	
Crisis and Deformation in the Roman Republic: The Example of the Dictatorship	101
<i>Amy Russell</i>	
The Tribune of the Plebs as a Magistracy of Crisis	127
<i>Catherine Steel</i>	
The Roman Political Year and the End of the Republic	141
<i>Natalia Almazova</i>	
The ‘Cultural Crisis’ in Rome on the Cusp of the Republic and Principate as Seen in Russian Research in the Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries.....	157

Pavel Rubtsov

Imperial Power in the Third and Fourth Centuries: Deformation or Evolution? 169

Aleksey Kamenskikh

The Dialectic of the Other: Political Philosophy and Practice
in the Late Neoplatonist Communities183

Index193

‘A TALE OF TWO CITIES’: SOME PARTICULARS OF THE CONQUEST OF CIUS AND MYRLEA BY THE KINGDOM OF BITHYNIA¹

Oleg L. Gabelko

The conquest of Cius and Myrlea by Prusias I in 202 B.C., one of the last steps in the territorial expansion of the Bithynian kingdom, has seldom been an object of special study.² It was usually considered that the scope of information about those events was limited exclusively to written sources, Polybius (15.21–3) and Strabo (563/12.4.3),³ in the first place. However, it is noteworthy that a more scrupulous analysis yields several extremely interesting (but previously unnoticed) facts in the works of some other authors also. To shed more light on these events it is also possible to invoke some archaeological and epigraphic artefacts which have hitherto remained unused.

I begin by determining the general political context within which one has to look for the background to the events of 202. Cius first became involved in Bithynian foreign policy in the middle of the third century, when its citizens were mentioned among the guardians nominated by Nicomedes I for the young children from his second marriage (Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 14.1). Later, after Ziaelas had taken over the rule, he and the Cians may have had clashes of some sort, confirmation of which may be seen in the treaty of *isopoliteia* between the Cians and Milesians containing a mention that the lands of Cius had been devastated by wars (τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς κατασχόντας τὰς αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν).⁴ These conflicts continued during the reign of Prusias, and Polybius made several mentions of that. Thus in 25.22.2 it is stressed that Philip helped Prusias when the latter ‘treacherously attacked the neighbours’; in 18.4.7 (cf. Liv. 32.34.6) Philip makes it a point in his discussions with Titus

- 1 The article is written within the framework of the research project ‘Polis and Super-Polis Structures: The Forms and Evolutions of Interrelations in the Graeco-Roman World’, supported by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation. Volumes in the series *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* are abbreviated as *IK Placename*. For a map to locate the places and campaigns discussed see fig. 2 on p. 98.
- 2 See in most detail: O.L. Gabelko, *The History of the Bithynian Kingdom* (in Russian) (St. Petersburg: Humanitarian Academy, 2005), 245–53.
- 3 The traditional interpretation of events: G. Vitucci, *Il regno di Bitinia* (Roma: Signorelli, 1953), 46–8; C. Habicht, ‘Prusias (1)’, *RE* xxiii. 1 (1957), 1093–6; C. Michels, *Kulturtransfer und monarchischer ‘Philhellenismus’: Bithynien, Pontos und Kappadokien in hellenistischer Zeit* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009), 273–4; 276–7.
- 4 G. Kawerau & A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (Berlin: Reimer, 1914), No. 141 = *IK Kios* T3. 10–11. See in more detail Gabelko, *The History of the Bithynian Kingdom* (n. 2, above), 207–8.

Flaminius in 197 that he had not marched against the Cians himself but just had helped Prusias who had been at war with them. The alliance between Cius and the Aetolian League (Polyb. 15.23.8; 18.3.12),⁵ and even the presence in the city of the Aetolian commander as προστάτης τῶν κοινῶν (15.23.9), did not protect the citizens from the attack of the Bithynians and Macedonians (even though Philip had recently made a treaty of peace with the Aetolians: 15.22.8) but could rather have made their situation even more difficult.⁶ The situation was aggravated by internal unrest in the city, as a result of which a certain Molpagoras⁷ came to power (15.21.1–3). Polybius depicts him as a typical demagogue:⁸ a radical democrat, currying favour with the crowd, eliminating or expelling his enemies and confiscating their property. Besides, he generally reprimands the Cians for their recklessness and wrong form of government expressed in the repression of the ‘best’ citizens and expropriation of their fortunes (15.21.3–4).

Philip’s intervention in the conflict between Bithynia and Cius gave grounds for the opinion that the whole war was provoked by the Macedonian king;⁹ however, the suggestion that Prusias had at first tried to make use of the uneasy situation in the city having agreed, possibly, on joint action with Philip, seems more plausible.¹⁰ Most probably, Molpagoras’ coming to power was somehow related to the difficulties that the preceding oppression from the Bithynians had brought to the citizens: Polybius judges the injustice of their neighbours (15.21.3) to be one of the reasons (but not the main) for the misfortune that befell the Cians. It is probable that we can see an indirect connection with the conflict between Bithynia and Cius in the events implied by the *Suda*: ‘Cians: citizens of Cius. Those whom Prusias wished to betray (παράσπονδησαι) for some reasons’ (*Suda* κ 1571 Adler Κίαινοί). Most likely, this text unnoticed by researchers must date back to Polybius; understanding

- 5 On its date, object and legal form see Corsten, in *IK Kios* 36. The rapprochement of Cius and the Aetolians could be the result of an increasing threat from Philip and Prusias (F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, ii [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982], 478).
- 6 The accusations against the Aetolians made by Philip during the first negotiations with Flaminius (197) to the effect that the Aetolians allegedly were inflicting violence on their own allies (Polyb. 18.4.8–5.3; Livy 32.34.5) may actually have some justification. For example, Calchedon, which became an ally of the Aetolians at the same time as Cius and Lysimachea, was most likely forced to do so by the attacks of Aetolian pirates (*Sibylline Oracles* 3.433–6); cf. *IK Kalchedon* 95, 124. Cius could well have experienced something similar.
- 7 This aristocratic name is attested in other Milesian colonies (Cyzicus and Sinope) and in Ephesus: see *LGPN* vA. 321, s. v.
- 8 On Polybius’s attitude to demagogues see C. Champion, ‘Polybian Demagogues in Historical Context’, *HSCP* cii 2004, 199–212.
- 9 Ed. Meyer, ‘Bithynia’, *RE* iii (1898), 518.
- 10 J. Sölch, ‘Bithynische Städte im Altertum’, *Klio* xix 1924, 151; G. Vitucci, *Il regno di Bitinia* (n. 3, above), 47. Modern scholars interpret the specifics of those events in different ways. Walbank thinks that Philip used the internal political struggle but hardly was an enemy of Molpagoras (*Historical Commentary* [n. 5, above], 475). Corsten is of a different opinion: Prusias and Philip could use the support of the citizens expelled by Molpagoras (*IK Kios*, p. 37). Proceeding from the position that Molpagoras became the autocratic ruler of Cius, according to Polybius (15.21.2), and Philip and Prusias had to conduct a long and difficult siege of the city, the second proposal seems better substantiated.

it literally, we may infer from it the existence of some previous treaties between Bithynia and Cius, which Prusias decided to break. It is not impossible that a fragment of Polybius' work, which is not cited from any particular book, is related to the siege of Cius: the passage concerns the attempts of some intermediaries 'to separate the adversaries and take measures so that Prusias should do them [the Cians? – *O.G.*] no harm' (Polyb. fr. 127 Büttner-Wobst ap. *Suda* δ 926 Adler διέξειν).¹¹ These acts had probably taken place even before Philip became actively involved in the siege of the city, when the chief enemies of the Cians were the Bithynians. Thus Prusias' hostility towards the Cians was clearly manifested – as the precursor of their city's being conquered by Philip V.

There is absolutely no information about the relations of Bithynia and Myrlea before 202; but considering Strabo's phrase mentioning that Cius and Myrlea had been conquered and destroyed by Philip and Prusias, and then restored from their ruins by the latter (563/12.4.3), we might think that Myrlea had become an object of the aggressive policy of Philip, and Prusias took part in the conflict after having been involved in it by his ally and relative, i. e. in contrast to the case of Cius, here it was Philip who took the initiative. Nevertheless, there is one important – yet unnoticed by researchers – passage in an infrequently cited source; it seems to be the only one to give more or less concrete information about the events in the history of Myrlea.¹² Dionysius of Byzantium says that on the European coast of the Thracian Bosphorus, not far from the estuary of the strait, there is a certain settlement of Myrlaeum, 'the domicile of those who lived in exile from Myrlea during the trouble and came there' (*Myrlaeum, domicilium eorum qui ob seditionem a Myrlaea in exilium proiecti hunc solum verterunt*: Dion. Byz. 82).¹³ Unfortunately, Dionysius gives no chronological indication, but it seems likely that those events also date back to the very end of the third century. In the first place, we can admit an analogy with the situation in Cius, for which a link of internal trouble with an aggravated foreign situation due to the escalated conflict with Bithynia was beyond doubt;

- 11 The alternative is to refer this fragment to the war of Rhodes and Bithynia against Byzantium in 220, which ended thanks to the mediation of Cavarus, the king of the Thracian Galatians (4.52.1–2). A detailed story of this conflict survived in its entirety (4.46.1–52.10), but Cavarus is mentioned also in fragments of book 8 (24.2–3), and the first fragment tells specifically about the services rendered by him to the Byzantines. Polybius' mention of the ambassadors ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων πόλεων, 'from the cities mentioned above', which tried to protect the Cians (15.22.4), does not allow a reliable interpretation owing to the bad preservation of the text of his work. Habicht includes Rhodes and Byzantium in the number of mediating states ('Prusias' [n. 3, above], 1093), which led to negotiations with Philip on making peace between him and the Aetolians as early as 217 together with representatives of Chios and ambassadors of Ptolemy IV (Polyb. 5.100.9). In the situation of 202 the Byzantines could have been anxious about the possible menace to their Asian possessions (see below) and the previous conquest by Philip of their ally Perinthus.
- 12 For a brief outline of Myrlea's history from the fifth to the first century see Corsten, in *IK Apameia und Pylai*, pp. 8–13.
- 13 E. Oberhammer's opinion that the name Myrlaeum is to be dated back to Myra in Lycia (considering the fact that the neighboring bay is called the Lycian Bay – Dion. Byz. 81) ('Bosporos [1]', *RE* iii [1898], 751–2), is not very convincing, for Dionysius in this case reports quite detailed information obtained in all probability from local Byzantine sources.

probably something of the same sort could have taken place in Myrlea. Another point is that there are sufficient grounds to believe that an *apoikia* was led from Myrlea itself to Myrlaeum with assistance from the Byzantines, who despite the settlement of their conflict with Prusias in 220 had every reason for animosity against him. Myrlaeum was situated not far from Byzantium and almost certainly on the territory controlled by it.¹⁴ Besides, the probable attention given by the Byzantines to the events inside Myrlea and around it is readily explained by their anxiety for the fate of their own possessions on the southern coast of Propontis located somewhat to the west of Myrlea.¹⁵ Thus the clash of citizens of Myrlea with Philip and Prusias could also have been somehow connected with the domestic political situation in the *polis*.

I turn now to the most complete descriptions of two extremely interesting and informative grave *stelai*, which it would be appropriate to name, in accordance with the names given in the epitaphs inscribed on them, as the monument of Nana (fig. 3 on p. 99) and the monument of Nikasion (fig. 4, *a–b* on p. 100). They are included in the comprehensive edition of eastern Greek grave reliefs by E. Pfuhl & H. Möbius.¹⁶

1273. Unknown origin. Museum of Bursa, asset No. 238¹⁷. Blue-grey marble. Dimensions: 74 × 41 × 10 cm. Edges and figures chipped. Chip above the image area. *Stele* with inner rod (pin) below.

A soldier in a short *chiton* and high helmet; a round shield in his left hand pointing to the right, and a long sword that looks like a thin knife held in his right hand. His enemy, covered from head to toe with a long Gallic shield, holds in his right hand a spear pointed downwards. Between them, a dead body is lying on the ground, its headgear indiscernible owing to damage. Is it clad in trousers and footwear? (Reminiscences of battle against Galatians in Asia Minor?)

Inscription below the relief (apparently later and paradoxically meant for a woman):

Νάνα Φιλίσκου θυγάτηρ,
γυνὴ δὲ Ἀριστοκράτου
Τιμοθέου τοῦ καὶ Ῥωίτα
χαίρει.

14 Not more than five kilometres from Myrlaeum there was the temple of Serapis (Polyb. 4.39.6; Dion. Byz. 75), known as Ἱερὸν τῶν Βυζαντίων (K. Lehmann, 'Das Kap Hieron und die Sperrung des Bosphorus', in K. Regling & H. Reich [edd.], *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts sechzigstem Geburtstag* [Wien: Braumüller, 1921], 175–6). See Barr., map 53.

15 On their localisation and the time of their acquisition see O. L. Gabelko, 'Zur Lokalisierung und Chronologie der Asiatischen Besitzungen von Byzanz' *O.Terr.* ii 1996, 121–8. On Philip's policies towards Byzantium see: A. Dumitru, 'Byzance et les Philippe de Macédoine', *REG* cxix 2006, 139–56.

16 E. Pfuhl & H. Möbius, *Die Ostgriechische Grabreliefs*, ii (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1979), 309–10. See also the other publications of the *stela* of Nikasion: *IK Kios* 58 (here the date suggested for the relief is the first half of the second century); M. Cremer, *Hellenistisch-römische Grabstelen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, ii. *Bithynien*, (Bonn: Habelt, 1992), 10, 20, 26–29, 127, NSA 1.

17 Today the asset number of this relief is 3121 (T. Corsten, 'Neue Denkmäler aus Bithynien', *EA* xvii 1997, 98).

Not an expert, but a fresh and lively piece of work dating back probably to the first half of the second century.

1277. Found in Cius (Gemlik). Location unknown.

Marble, 174 × 55 cm, originally almost 2 m high. Two quadrangular slabs finished most likely for one *stele* since both bear the rare name of Nikasion. The scripts of the inscriptions however differ, which could have been due to making of the relief and the inscription for the son on the father's *stele* at a later date. The detail is not fine but it proves the presence of several completely different parts of the relief. The upper slab is broken on the level of the shoulders and necks [of the images of people at a feast – *O. G.*]. The eagle's head, left wing and end of tail are missing; lateral edges are chipped.¹⁸

The upper part displays a funeral feast.

Lower part. Left: rostrum of a warship, of simple shape, with round stern posts; right: aft of the second ship with an *aphlaston* (stern ornament) of four parts. Between them: face-up in the water (implied, but not expressed) lies a naked body of a man with long hair, his right foot caught by the tip of the steering oar. His right hand is held down and his left hand is knuckled and raised to his forehead. The ship on the left occupies more space and rises above the second behind the figure of Nikasion standing on the *epotis* (bow). He is raising a stone from left to right from behind his shoulder and pulls an oval shield from the other side of the stern post. He is clad in a coat of plates with straps, helmet with a visor, neck flap and plume. On the left: in an opposing motion a small servant is depicted, stooping to the left, his shield reaching the floor, also brandishing a stone. On the second ship there is undoubtedly a hanging [aboard – *O. G.*] oval shield (θυρεός) and a round shield of a soldier hurrying to the aft who is stepping on the back of the dead body lying flat on its stomach, whose proportions are uncertain; probably there is no connection with the body of the dead man, considering the manner in which his left hand is resting on the torso, and the long shield...

Below the edge is an inscription:

[Νι]κασίων Νικασίοννο[ς]

— — — ἀνδία Μενελάου.

Below the upper slab on the thin ridge there is a continuation of an older inscription: [κ]αὶ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Νικασ[ί]ων, which refers probably to the lower relief, where, together with the killed father, the son is depicted as a participant in a naval battle, because the figures definitely could not have been the grandfather and father.

Both reliefs and inscriptions may likely date back to the decade around 200 with a rather broad tolerance.

Some important mentions and clarifications with respect to the interpretation of both gravestones have been made in subsequent work. The principal of them is that the German epigraphist T. Corsten, who worked for a long time in the museums of

18 According to a plausible suggestion of Corsten, the slab was cut for further use, and originally the upper part should have been as wide as the lower with two reliefs (*JK Kios*, p. 128, No 58).

Turkey to compile *corpora* of inscriptions of Bithynian cities for the series *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, succeeded in establishing the origin of the *stèle* of Nana, which remained unknown to the original publishers: it was found in the settlement of Zeytinbağı, located not far (about 8 km) to the west of the present-day city of Mudanya, where Myrlea was situated. There are strong grounds for believing that this territory in ancient times belonged to the *chora* of Myrlea.¹⁹ It is this circumstance that forms the basis for the subsequent suggestions of this paper.

Is it possible to say that the foregoing description and analysis yield all the information there is? The author of this paper is inclined to disagree; moreover, it is his opinion that what is most important, the main peculiarities of both reliefs, did not attract the attention they deserve – and these could shed light on many still unanswered questions. Strange as it may seem, researchers have focused their attention mainly on the interpretation of different artistic peculiarities of the reliefs, but the opportunity to place both monuments in a definite historic and military and political context has been neglected. But this opportunity is given to us by the depictions of the adversaries of the Greek soldiers. In my opinion, both on the *stèle* of Nana and on the monument of Nikasion the enemies of the hoplites are not abstract ‘adversaries’ but quite specific Galatians.²⁰

The possibility that the *stèle* of Nana was somehow related to the struggle against the Celts, as stated above, was mentioned by Pfuhl & Möbius (cf. their mention of the shield of $\Theta\upsilon\varrho\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ type on the *stèle* of Nikasion), but, regrettably, this careful suggestion did not find any development. Probably this resulted from the fact that the images of naked soldiers seen on grave reliefs from Asia Minor (similar to those seen on the *stèle* of Nikasion), whom the dead man had fought, are occasionally related to some ‘generic’ image of a ‘miserable barbarian’.²¹ However,

- 19 On the site of Zeytinbağı there had been a shrine of Triglia, which, in the opinion of Corsten, belonged to Myrlea (‘Neue Denkmäler’ [n. 17, above], 97). One must however keep in mind that somewhere in the vicinity there had been possessions of Byzantium (in more detail Gabelko, ‘Zur Lokalisierung’ [n. 15, above]), but the relief of Nana could not have originated from there. The point is that the inscriptions made on the territory of the Asian *peraiá* of the Byzantines are characterised by the prevailing Dorian dialect (see a very illustrative example for this case: a Doric $\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$ in the epitaph to a woman called Dada: *IK Apameia und Pylai* 121.2), which we do not find in the document in question.
- 20 The difference of these two monuments from a very interesting category of Bithynian grave *stelai* with images of *galatomachia* (on which see F. Rumscheid & W. Held, ‘Erinnerungen an Mokazis’, *Ist. Mitt.* xliv 1994, 89–106; U. Peschlow, A. Peschlow-Bindokat & M. Wörrle, ‘Die Sammlung Turan Beler in Kumbaba bei Şile, II. Antike und byzantinische Denkmäler von der bithynische Schwarzmeerküste’, *Ist. Mitt.* lii 2002, 429–522; T. Corsten, ‘Thracian Personal Names and Military Settlements in Hellenistic Bithynia’, in E. Matthews [ed.], *Old and New Worlds of Greek Onomastics* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], 121–33) lies in the fact that the latter, as a rule, depict horsemen and not hoplites, and they bear almost exclusively specifically Bithynian, not Greek, names.
- 21 E.g. Rumscheid & Held, ‘Erinnerungen an Mokazis’ (n. 20, above), 101–2. This is how the authors understand the battle scene on the central of the three reliefs on the monument of Mokazis. However, note the characteristics of one of the figures on a relief from the region of Nicomedia as ‘a Galatian footman’, given on the grounds of a shield of a Galatian type being

such an interpretation of the two *stelai* under consideration is undermined both by the unusual composition, which does not entirely fall under the traditional canons, and by the liveliness of the images on the reliefs (we must remember the description of the *stele* of Nana by Pfuhl & Möbius): this makes one think the *stelai* reproduce an actual historic event. It is permissible therefore to suggest that the very iconography of the enemies of the Greek hoplites on our reliefs is itself ‘speaking’.

Very significant is the combination of a characteristic ‘barbaric’ look of the adversaries of the Greek warriors on both reliefs (no helmet, long hair, and on the *stele* of Nikasion the lack of any attire on one of them)²² and the use by them of Celtic-type shields.²³ On the whole, the figures of the Greek soldiers’ enemies quite agree with the stereotype developed in the Hellenistic world to depict the Galatians.²⁴

It would be worthwhile to dwell on the subjects of the reliefs, since these make them original and allow us to consider both images true both as a whole and in their details. Very curious, indeed, is the fact that the *stele* with the battle scene was erected on a woman’s grave. The very fact makes researchers think the stone was re-used.²⁵ Meanwhile, if one looks away from the traditional conceptions of the composition and stylistics of the Greek grave reliefs of the Hellenistic period, the *stele* of Nana may be regarded as a specimen of a rather non-traditional artistic approach (originating probably from a very dramatic situation in which the struggle of the Myrleans against the barbarians was taking place). It is difficult to say anything definite about the figure lying between the two fighting soldiers (in particular, one can hardly recognize trousers, footwear and a headgear in the dead person’s attire, as Pfuhl & Möbius and Corsten think, quite naturally supposing the dead person to be the Greek soldier’s enemy killed by him). However, the posture of the lying body leaves no doubt: before falling, the person killed had been standing next to the hoplite, facing in the same direction as the Greek soldier. Moreover, the Greek soldier is almost trying even now to deflect with his sword the enemy’s attacking spear, which is directed at the lying body. Finally, it is very significant that there is no weapon or armour on the dead body, which is a very common attribute of such images.²⁶ All this leads one to suggest that the prostrate figure should be associated

depicted: Cremer, *Hellenistisch-römische Grabstelen* (n. 16, above), 25, 126–7, Taf. 6, NS 13 (the soldier however being clad in a regular Greek *chiton*).

- 22 On the fairly common practice of the Celts of fighting naked see P. Couissin, ‘La Nudité guerrière des Gaulois’, *AFLA* xiv.2 1929, 65–89. The Asian Galatians in the second century kept this custom, to judge from Livy’s remarks (38.21.9; 26.7).
- 23 Strange as this is, neither relief is included by M. Eichberg in his catalogue of similar shields (*Die Entwicklung einer italisch-etruskischen Schildform von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit Caesars* [Frankfurt: Lang, 1987]).
- 24 See the latest research on the iconography of the Galatians E. Kistler, *Funktionalisierte Keltenbilder: Die Indienstnahme der Kelten zur Vermittlung von Normen und Werten in der hellenistischen Welt* (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009); on the monuments from Bithynia, 53–65 (with the strange omission of the aforementioned *stelai*!).
- 25 *SEG* xli 1091. Corsten notes meanwhile that the inscription is done very nicely and neatly (Corsten, ‘Neue Denkmäler’ [n. 19, above], 98).
- 26 A figure lying naked without any weapons is depicted on one of the Bithynian grave *stelai* (Peschlow, Peschlow-Bindokat & Wörrle, ‘Die Sammlung’ [n. 20, above], 433, No 1 with Abb. 2b): this monument surely deserves special consideration.

not with the defeated enemy, as usual, but with the buried woman, with Nana herself. There are no analogues in the Greek practice of grave monuments,²⁷ but the situation is readily understood if one suggests that the *stèle* had been made to the order of the killed woman's husband, Aristocrates – that very same hoplite who showed no fear in the fight against the barbaric Galatian over the body of his dead wife. In this case the obscure nickname (?), Roitos/Roitas, most probably is to be referred to himself rather than to his father, which is admissible from a grammatical standpoint: having been moved by a somewhat naïve desire to eulogise his courage in fighting the enemy, Aristocrates tried to fit all the possible information about himself into the epitaph to his killed wife.²⁸

The scene of Nikasion throwing stones at his enemies during the sea battle is also of interest. The installation of catapult weapons on the ships during a *nau-machia* was quite common practice in the Hellenistic world, but throwing stones with one's hands also looks like a logical and effective example of using the available material (especially against an enemy weakly protected by armour – as was probably the case with the Celts).²⁹

Therefore it is possible to acknowledge the following. Two grave *stelai* containing scenes of a military character – episodes from a land battle and from a naval battle – were found at a distance of just 30 km from one another. They are dated to approximately the same period (with a tolerance of a few decades, even if one relies on the dates farthest apart). What is more, both monuments, on the basis of their iconography, are somehow related to the presence of the Galatians in north-western Asia Minor. Is this sheer chance? We can believe that a positive answer to that question may be safely eliminated. We need to find out when and in what circumstances the Galatians could appear here.

First and foremost, the inscription for Nana may be linked hypothetically to the events directly related to the first advent of the Galatians to Asia in 278/7 (this possibility was not excluded by Pfuhl & Möbius: see above). Although nothing is known about the acts of the Celts against Myrlea, we should not rule out such a possibility; moreover, the Galatians did attack Cyzicus, situated a little to the west (about 80 km) of Myrlea.³⁰ In this case, however, there would be a conflict with the

27 However, we must remember the well-known epitaph to three Milesian maidens killed during the Galatian invasion (*Anth. Pal.* 7.492). On the extreme cruelty of the Galatians towards women during the Galatian invasion of Greece see Paus. 10.22.2–4; scepticism on the reliability of this episode (Kistler, *Funktionalisierte Keltenbilder*, [n. 24, above], 205–11) seems to be unwarranted.

28 Professor Corsten, whom I have informed about this interpretation of the inscription, had personally perused the *stèle* in the museum of Bursa. He admitted this suggestion was rather unusual but quite plausible, and noted that the poor preservation of the relief does not allow one to arrive at certain conclusions.

29 Cf. a detailed description of the Romans' tactic in actively using missiles in their battles against the Galatians during the campaign of Cn. Manlius Vulso in 189 (Livy 38.21.1–10).

30 *OGIS* 748, where the 'Galatian war' is mentioned (ll. 18–19). Comment on the inscription in the political context of the 270s: M. Launey, 'Études d'histoire hellénistique, I. Un épisode oublié de l'invasion galate en Asie Mineure (278/7 av. C.)', *REA* xlvii 1944, 217–36; and important additions, K. Strobel, *Die Galater. Geschichte und Eigenart der keltischen Staatenbildung*

dating of the relief, and a substantial one, of 70–80 years at least. Moreover, the *stele* of Nikasion could hardly be related to the Galatians' invasion of Asia, since it depicts such an unusual event as the Galatians' fighting at sea, and this deserves special attention. It is known that Celtic troops led by Lutarius managed to cross the Hellespont on five ships captured by deceit (Liv. 38.16.6),³¹ but we can hardly doubt that this modest 'naval operation' (of course, not requiring any special navigational skills) did not develop: beyond that, the Celts acted only and exclusively on land. Having settled in central Anatolia, the Galatians became fully isolated from the sea and were almost never mentioned in connection with any naval campaigns whatsoever.³² Memnon's statement that the Galatians, having set out on a campaign against Heraclea Pontica (c. 190), strove to reach an exit to the sea (Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 20.1) is perceived by S. Mitchell as evidence of their desire to establish contacts with their Danube brethren³³ (by using ships?); but it is likely that the phrase has a different meaning. Since their very first campaigns to Macedonia, Greece, Thrace and Asia the Galatians should have remembered well that the largest and richest Greek cities were located along the coast,³⁴ and Memnon's expression is to be interpreted in this context.

Let us now consider other possibilities. As is known, in 218 the Galatian tribe of the Aegosagi came to Asia Minor from Europe. Originally they had been in the service of Attalus I of Pergamum, and later they terrorised the cities of the Hellespont until they were fully exterminated by Prusias I two years later (Polyb. 5.111.6–7).³⁵ These Galatians seem to have left a trace in the onomastic data of the Troad,³⁶ but we have no grounds for believing that they managed to go far to the east, to Myrlea: Polybius says that the plundering inroads to 'the neighbouring cities' were made by the Aegosagi from their base in Arisbe in the vicinity of Abydus (5.111.5), and later mentions that Prusias had defeated the Aegosagi and liberated the cities of the Hellespont from strong fears (111.7); and Myrlea, on the basis of its geographical position, should not be included among those cities.

auf dem Boden des hellenistischen Kleinasien, i. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und historischen Geographie der hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien*, i (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 249–250, 258 and n. 471.

- 31 Pausanias's expression that the Galatians sailed to Asia on ships (1.4.5) does not reflect the fact that those Celts had been transported over the Thracian Bosphorus by Nicomedes I of Bithynia and his Greek allies in the Northern League. See in more detail P. Moraux, 'L'Établissement des Galates en Asie Mineure', *Ist. Mit.t* vii 1957, 56–75; Strobel, 'Die Galater' (n. 30, above), 236–52.
- 32 This is quite probable, considering Livy's characteristic remark on the Galli feeling uneasy even in the quiet sea (*Gallis vix quietem ferentibus in mari*: 44.28.11) in the story of the Third Macedonian war (here the Galatian mercenaries in the Pergamene forces are mentioned).
- 33 S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, i. *The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 23.
- 34 On the Galatians' outrageous conduct on the Thracian and Asian coasts during their invasions in the early 270s see Livy 38.16.3; Paus. 1.4.5; 10.15.3; Zos. 2.37.1.
- 35 For more detail on those events see Gabelko, *The History* (n. 2, above), 238–40. It is suggested that the occurrence of *stelai* depicting scenes of *galatomachia* are related to these acts of Prusias (Peschlow, Peschlow-Bindokat & Wörrle, 'Die Sammlung' [n. 20, above], 429).
- 36 L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris: Champion, 1938), 210.

Finally, the Galatian Toliostoagii are mentioned in the well-known decree from the Hellespont city of Lampsacus in the honour of Hegesias (*SIG*³ 591 = *IK Lampsakos* 49),³⁷ but the context of the passage does not allow us to consider that it implies any military conflicts for that moment between the Galatians and the Greeks of the region in question or any possibility of such a conflict.³⁸

Thus there probably remains only one military conflict of the Hellenistic period known to us, and it concerns in the most direct way both of the cities interesting us, Cius and Myrlea: this is the campaign of Philip V to Asia Minor, supported by his ally Prusias I and resulting in the conquest of both cities and their inclusion in Prusias' state. This suggestion does not contradict considerations of chronology: the difference from the tentative dating of both tombstones estimated by the researchers (c. 200 or the first half of the second century) is minimal.

Could the Galatians have participated in the Macedonian and Bithynian campaign? Is it the case that the *stèle* of Nikasion is to be regarded as evidence of Galatian mercenaries in the forces of Philip V? Examples of the Asian Celts' involvement in the campaigns of Philip as mercenaries are known,³⁹ but this case can hardly add to their number. Almost no researchers have looked specifically into the question of what route – land or sea – was used by Philip to bring his troops to Asia, but the opinion of R. B. McShane, who insists on the latter,⁴⁰ does not seem convincing. In order to conquer Lysimachea during the initial phase of that campaign Philip naturally did not need any naval forces; and on taking over Calchedon, for which the Macedonian troops had to cross the Bosphorus, Philip could use the assistance of his Bithynian ally, and later that same assistance (auxiliary force, foodstuffs, forage, etc.) could be enjoyed by the Macedonian army in its march through Bithynia to Cius and Myrlea and beyond – as far as the invasion of the territory of Pergamum. The Macedonian fleet took an active part in the Asian campaign of Philip, and one would find it sufficient to remember its battles with the Pergamene and Rhodian naval forces at Chios and Lada. However, its presence on the Propontis was unnecessary, moreover, it seems strategically senseless: if it had been there, the enemy could easily block the Hellespont and impede the Macedonians' way to the Aegean. Thus the *stèle* of Nikasion can hardly be regarded as evidence of a naval campaign of Philip to Cius. This is why we have to consider the possibility of connecting the Celts' participation in the war against Cius and Myrlea with the activities of another power, essentially hostile to the Greeks of north-western Asia Minor: the Bithynian kingdom.

Prusias I might have managed to restore amicable relations between Bithynia and the Galatians, which must have been broken after the Celts had killed his father

37 The most detailed comment is by P. Frisch at *IK Lampsakos* 4.

38 F. Stähelin, *Geschichte der Kleinasiatichen Galater*² (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1973), 48 n. 4; S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* (n. 33, above), 22.

39 E.g. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, i (Paris: De Boccard, 1950), 518–9.

40 He thinks Cius was besieged and conquered as a result of the acts of the Macedonian fleet (R. B. McShane, *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamum* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964], 118). In this case it would be possible to expect Galatian mercenaries to be on the Macedonian ships.

Ziaelas c. 230 (Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 50 *ap.* Athen. 2.58c; Trogus *Proleg.* 17), a possible conflict which could have resulted in the victory of Prusias, in honour of which the festival of the Soteria was held (Polyb. 4.49.3),⁴¹ and in Prusias' extermination of the Aegosagi in 216. It is reliably known that the alliance between Prusias and the Galatians did exist during the war of Bithynia and Pergamum in 186–183, since this is confirmed by both narrative sources (Polyb. 3.3.7; Trogus *Proleg.* 32; Nep. *Hannib.* 10.1–2) and inscriptions.⁴²

Involvement of Galatian mercenaries in the aggressive acts against Cius and Myrlea as part of the Bithynian force⁴³ does not at all seem improbable; likely enough, the clashes between the Bithynians and Cians could indeed have taken place at sea.⁴⁴ It is important to emphasise the following: most probably, the events reflected on both *stelai* had taken place *before* 202, because the erection of those monuments (especially of the bulky and high-quality monument of Nikasion) could hardly have been possible after the conquest and demolition of both cities, since the citizens of Cius, according to Polybius, were sold into slavery without exception (15.23.3; 10).⁴⁵ There is a strong temptation to suggest that both *stelai* were connected with one and the same campaign, which had taken place earlier than 202 and had included both acts at sea, against Cius, and on land (the landing of troops?),

41 C. Habicht, 'Prusias' (n. 3, above), 1087–8.

42 *OGIS* 298, the dedication of Attalus, brother of Eumenes II, for the victory over the Bithynians and Galatians; M. Segre, 'Due nuovi testi storici', *RFIC* xl 1932, 446–51, a decree from Telmessus of Pisidia mentioning the victory of King Eumenes over Prusias, the Galatians of Ortiagon and their allies (ll. 11–13).

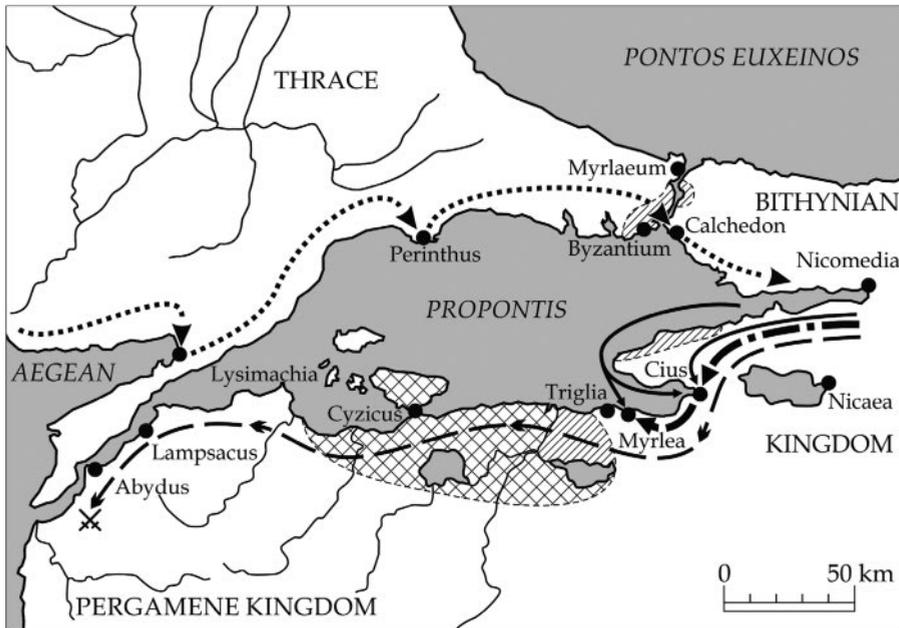
43 An additional proof of this suggestion could be the use of a round shield by the second adversary of Nikasion: it was not a part of the Galatians' traditional weaponry. The use of such a shield would require mastering different *melée* tactics from using the Celtic *θυρεός*, which would be quite possible when the soldier was a part of an army of a different state. Also we should remember that the second Bithynian king, Nicomedes I, in 278/7 armed his Celtic allies during their march to Asia (Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 11.5).

44 On the operations of Prusias' fleet in the late third century see: Livy 38.30.16. Habicht denies the accuracy of Livy's report of the availability of a navy in Bithynia ('Prusias' [n. 3, above], 1092); however, even Nicomedes I in 280–279 could possibly have had a number of ships (Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 10.2; 11.1). On the other hand, on the widely known coins of Cius the rostrum of a battle ship is depicted by no mere chance (W.H. Waddington, E. Babelon & T. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, i, [Paris: Leroux, 1908], 311–3, pl. xlix, nos. 1–27); cf. fig. 5 on p. 100. Of course, it was not difficult for the Bithynians to attack Cius from the land, but a combined offensive action could have resulted in a stronger effect.

45 Cf. H. Volkmann, *Die Massenversklavungen der Einwohner erobelter Städte in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 12. As far as Myrlea is concerned, its conquest was, in most probability, not accompanied by such cruelty as was the case with Cius, the latter being the reason for bitter criticism of Philip on the part of his adversaries, both Greek and Roman (Polyb. 17.3.12; Livy 31.31.14; 32.22.22; 33.16; *Auct. ad Her.* 4.54; 68). While M. Holleaux believed that the degree of Philip's cruelty to the Cians was exaggerated in our sources (*Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au III^e siècle av. J.-C. [273–205]* [Paris: De Boccard, 1921], 291, n. 1), K. Michels admits the possibility of Prusias' returning some part of the enslaved population to both Cius and Myrlea (*Kulturtransfer* [n. 3, above], 274, 276).

against Myrlea, which however had turned out to be unsuccessful for Prusias at the time, for it did not result in the conquest of Cius and Myrlea – but, regrettably, we have no strong proof for such a conclusion. Probably it was the intervention of the Macedonian troops that really became the decisive factor allowing the Bithynian king to subdue two Greek cities and include them within his state.

Thus the history of Cius and Myrlea at the end of the third century shows much in common. The run-of-the-mill *topos* of Greek political thought about the malignancy of internal trouble in the face of external threat has found a very significant expression in this case: the civil political crisis in Cius and, perhaps in Myrlea as well, resulted, for each of the two cities, in the loss of their independence and their very names (Cius was refounded by Prusias as Prusias-on-Sea, and Myrlea as Apameia), in submission to the Bithynian kingdom and in a dramatic twist in their historical fates.



- → Prusias I's expedition against the Aegosagi (216)
- Presumed Bithynian attacks on Cius and Myrlea before 202
-▶ Philip V's campaign in Thrace and crossing to Asia
- - -▶ Joint campaign of Philip V and Prusias I against Cius and Myrlea in 202
- Chora of Cyzicus
- Chora of Byzantium

Fig. 2: Region of Propontis: Campaigns of the late third century.

© Oleg L. Gabelko and Vladimir A. Leus.

Urheberrechtlich geschütztes Material. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitungen in elektronischen Systemen.
© Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015



Fig. 3: The stele of Nana: photograph by I. Luckert, from E. Pfuhl & H. Möbius, *Die Ostgriechische Grabreliefs*, ii (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1979), Taf. 189 Nr. 1273.

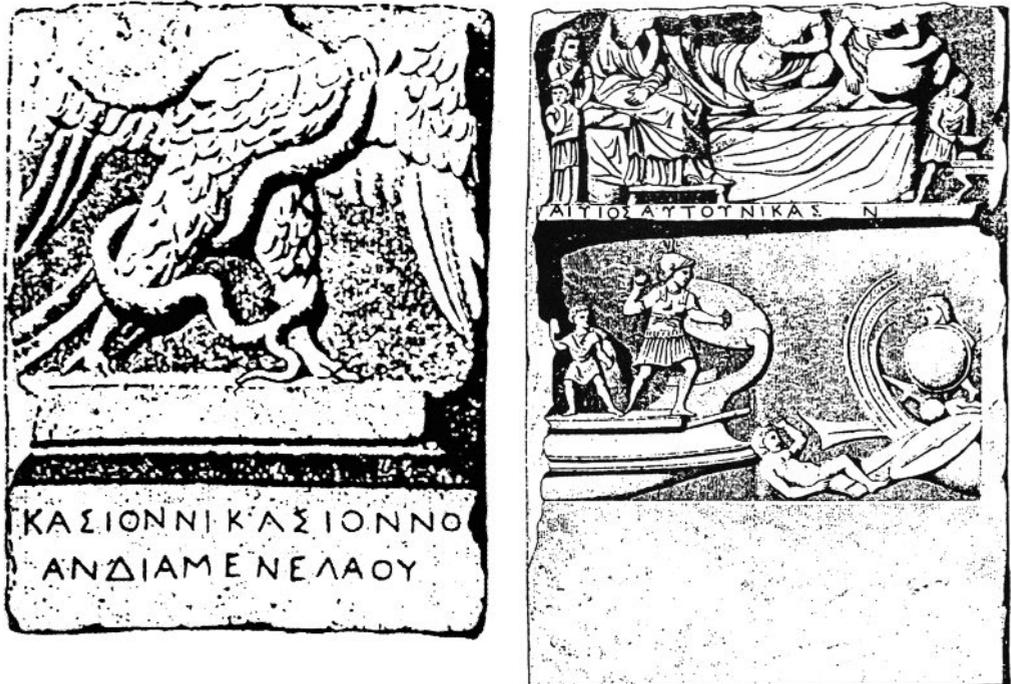


Fig. 4: The stele of Nikasion: (a) upper part; (b) lower part: drawings from P. Le Bas et al., *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie mineure: Planches de topographie, de sculpture et d'architecture* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1888), pl. 131. 1 and 2.



Fig. 5: Coin of Cius (second half of fourth century): photograph from *Tantalus Online Coin Registry*, S/N 37110.