

EPIGRAPHICA

PERIODICO INTERNAZIONALE
DI EPIGRAFIA

LXXVI, 1-2
2014



FRATELLI LEGA EDITORI
FAENZA

A NEGLECTED EPITHET OF MITHRIDATES EUPATOR
(*IDÉLOS* 1560)

According to the ancient sources, Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus, was also called Dionysos (1). We do not know the concrete moment when the Pontic ruler took this surname. The first inscriptions where this king bears the god's name have been dated ca. 101 BC, when the *heroon* built by Eupator in Delos was dedicated (2). This ruler, however, could have formerly borne another second epithet, as may be inferred from *IDélos* 1560, dated in 115/4BC, which presented the beginning of a word after «Eupator»:

[βα]σιλέω[ς M]ιθραδάτου Εὐπάτο[ρ]ος [E]ὐ[— — —]
[καὶ το]ῦ ἄ[δελφοῦ α]ὐτοῦ Μιθ[ρ]αδάτο[υ]
[Χρ]ήστου Δ[ιονύ]σιος Νέωνος Ἀθ[ηναῖος]
[γυ]μνα[σιαρχή]σα[ς] ἀνέθηκεν.

It seems evident that the two letters at the end of the first line belong to a surname, because Mithridates Chrestos, Eupator's brother, is mentioned following this lost word. Spon restored Εὐτυχοῦς,

(1) This paper has been drawn up within the Research Project FFI 2011-25506, «Etnicidad helénica y pervivencia indígena en un territorio de frontera cultural: Anatolia grecorromana», sponsored by the Spanish Ministerio de Educación.

On Eupator's surname Dionysos, see POSIDON. *FGrHist* 87 F36 *apud* ATHEN. 5.212e; CIC. *Flac.* 60; APP. *Mith.* 10, 113; PLU. *Mor.* 624a; D. CHR. 37.6.1; *IDélos* 1562, 1563, 2039; CIRB 31, 979; L. BALLESTEROS PASTOR, *Notas sobre una inscripción de Ninfeo en honor de Mitridates Eupátor, rey del Ponto*, «DHA», 21, 1995, pp. 111-117; G. BONGARD-LEVINE; G. KOCHLENKO; V. KOUZNETSOV, *Fouilles de Phanagoreia: nouveaux documents archéologiques et épigraphiques du Bosphore*, «CRAI», 2006, pp. 255-292. This surname has been reconstructed on other inscriptions to the king: *IDélos* 2040; T.M. ARSEN'EVA; B. BÖTTGER; J.G. VINOGRADOV, *Griechen am Don. Die Grabungen in Tanais 1994*, «Eurasia Antiqua», 1, 1995-1996, pp. 213-264, 217-219 (*AEp* 2009, 1225).

(2) *IDélos* 1562; 1563. On this building, see P.A. KREUZ, *Monuments for the King: Royal Presence in the Late Hellenistic World of Mithridates VI*, in J.M. HØJTE (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, Aarhus 2009, pp. 131-144 (with further bibliography).

but this option has been rejected because this epithet is completely strange to the royal Pontic house and it does not appear in the official titulature of any Hellenistic ruler (3). Plassart proposed Εὐεργέτου, like the surname of Eupator's father, and this hypothesis has been admitted by other scholars (4).

In our opinion, this second surname could have been Εὐσεβοῦς, which would also fit with the letters EY on the inscription. This epithet is not to be found in the dynasty of Pontus, but it is well known among the Cappadocian rulers, above all because both Ariarathes IV and his son, the prestigious Ariarathes V, had borne the title Eusebes. This surname was later taken by other Cappadocian kings: Ariarathes IX, Ariobarzanes III and his brother Ariarathes X. Ariarathes IX was the son of Mithridates Eupator, meanwhile the other two kings were the sons of Ariobarzanes II. It can be seen, therefore, how this surname was very important in order to confirm the dynastic legitimacy of the later Cappadocian rulers (5). There is further evidence about how this royal epithet was important in Cappadocia: Mazaca and Tyana, the main cities in the kingdom, were renamed as Eusebeia on the Argeius and Eusebeia on the Taurus, respectively (6). It is also remarkable that

(3) On this restoration, see CIG 2277a, and T. HOMOLLE, *Les Romains à Délos*, «BCH», 8, 1884, pp. 75-158, 101 n. 1. A possible relationship of this word with the oath of the Pontic rulers «by the king's Tyche» (STR. 12.3.31) is not attested by any source. Against Eupator's use of this epithet, see in particular F. DURRBACH, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1921-1922, p. 188, commentary to n. 113; P. ROUSSEL, M. LAUNEY, *IDélos* n. 1560. These two letters did not appear in the copy by Cyriacus of Ancona: O. RIEMANN, *Inscriptions Grecques provenant du recueil de Cyriaque d'Ancône. I. Manuscrit de la bibliothèque Riccardienne à Florence*, «BCH», 2, 1877, pp. 81-88, 86 n. 28. Following this other transcription, see further T. REINACH, *Mithridate Eupator, roi de Pont*, Paris 1890, p. 458 n. 6; and W. DITTENBERGER, *OGIS* 369. Roussel and Launey underlined some letters which were not legible to them.

(4) A. PLASSART, *Fouilles de Délos exécutées aux frais de M. le Duc de Loubat. Inscriptions du Gymnase*, «BCH», 36, 1912, pp. 387-435, 427f. This reading has been admitted by DURRBACH, *Choix (supra* n. 3), 187f., commentary to n. 113; P. ROUSSEL, *IDélos* 1560 (with the reserves of M. Launey: «il n'y a plus traces de lettres»); L. ROBERT, *Monnaies et textes grecs II. Deux tétradrachmes de Mithridate V Evergète, roi du Pont*, «JS», 1978 fasc. 3, pp. 151-163, 160 (*SEG* 28, 668); B.C. MCGING, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*, *Mnemosyne* 89, Leiden 1986, p. 90 n. 2; F. DE CALLATAY, *L'Histoire des Guerres Mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1997, p. 239f.; K. BRIGMANN, H. VON STEUBEN, W. AMELING, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechischen Städte und Heiligtümer*, Teil I, Berlin 1995, p. 229f, n. 191.

(5) R. SULLIVAN, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome 100-30 BC*, Toronto 1990, p. 190; F. MUCIOLI, *Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici*. *Historia Einzelschriften* 224, Stuttgart 2013, p. 313. On these epithets of the Cappadocian kings, see in general *Ibid.*, pp. 309-313; and further T. REINACH, *Essai sur la numismatique des rois de Cappadoce*, «RN», s. 3.4, 1886, pp. 301-335, 452-483; A. VON GUTSCHMID, *Über die Beinamen der hellenistischen Könige*, ID., *Kleine Schriften* IV, Leipzig 1893, pp. 107-122, 117; C. MICHELS, *Kulturtransfer und monarchischer «Phihellenismus»*. *Bithynien, Pontus und Kappadokien in hellenistischer Zeit*, Göttingen 2009, p. 314 n. 1636.

(6) These re-foundations have been dated in the reign of Ariarathes V: G.M. COHEN, *The*

a Cappadocian princess, the daughter of Ariobarzanes II, was likewise called Eusebia (7).

Mithridates' choice of the title Eusebes may be connected with the Pontic ambitions over Cappadocia. The dynasty of Pontus was first installed in Paphlagonia, on the slopes of mount Olgassys (STR. 12.3.41). These rulers extended their influence east of the Halys, seizing territories which had belonged to the Cappadocians. In a later date, Appian (*Mith.* 12, cf. 9) tells about conquests of Mithridates V Evergetes in the neighbouring kingdom, and Justin reports that Mithridates Eupator occupied lands in Cappadocia immediately after his accession to the power (8). This serves to explain how, once the first Mithridatic War was over, the king Ariobarzanes I complained before the Roman Senate alleging that the most of his realm remained in Pontic hands yet (APP. *Mith.* 64-66).

In addition to this evidence, we may assume that the royal houses of Pontus and Cappadocia were linked each other in the 2nd century BC. In fact, Appian (*Mith.* 9) states that both kingdoms were joined for some periods. It should be borne in mind that Mithridates VI alleged to have some dynastic rights to the Cappadocian throne, and his sister Laodice was indeed the wife of Ariarathes VI (9). These claims could be confirmed by Justin's account: a passage in the *Epitome* recounts that Mithridates VI sent his young son Ariarathes to Rome, in order to defend the prince's rights to the Cappadocian kingdom. The Pontic mission alleged that the child belonged to the lineage of Ariarathes V, who died fighting in the Roman side during the War of Aristonicus (10). A common interpretation of Justin's passage is that Eupator was trying to defend that the prince, who

Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands and Asia Minor, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1995, pp. 377-379; MICHELS (*supra* n. 5), p. 314f.; MUCCIOLI (*supra* n. 5), p. 231 n. 443; p. 312 with n. 954.

(7) K. CLINTON, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*, Athens 2005, Vol. I, part I, p. 202f., n. 272, I-V; C. HABICHT, *Neues zur hellenistischen Geschichte von Kos*, «Chiron», 37, 2007, pp. 123-152, 151f.

(8) IUST. 37.3.1-2: *Ad regni deinde administrationem cum accessisset (...) Scythas perdomuit ac deinceps Cappadociam occupavit*. This phrase has been regarded as a mistake: D.R. SHACKLETON-BAILEY, *Textual Notes on Justin (Trogus)*, «Phoenix», 34, 1980, pp. 227-236, 234; P. GOUKOWSKY, *Appian. Histoire Romaine. Livre XII. La Guerre de Mithridate*, Paris 2001, p. 136 n. 91.

(9) IUST. 38.1.1, 38.1.5; OGIS 345. On Eupator's alleged rights, see APP. *Mith.* 10, cfr. 12.

(10) IUST. 38.2.5: *ex eo Ariarathe genitum, qui bello Aristonici auxilia Romanis ferens cecidisset*. On this meaning of *genitus*, see for instance VERG. *Aen.* 9.642; VELL. 2.35.2; TAC. *Ann.* 2.85; 3.76; cfr. L. BALLESTEROS PASTOR, *Pompeyo Trogo, Justino y Mitridates. Comentario al Epítome de las Historias Filipicas (37,1,6-38,8,1)*, Spudasmata 154, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 2013, p. 192. On the interpretation of this phrase, see for instance REINACH (*supra* n. 3), 99f.; MCGING (*supra* n. 4), 77; A. MASTROCINQUE, *Studi sulle Guerre Mitridatiche*, Historia Einzelschriften 124, Stuttgart 1999, p. 12.

was eight years old c. 98 BC, was the son of that Cappadocian king, although it was absolutely impossible. The phrase, however, may be understood in a different way: *genitus* could mean «belonging to the same lineage» and thus we may assume that Laodice, the wife of Mithridates V and mother of Eupator, was a Cappadocian princess. Therefore, Eupator's son actually was a descendant of Ariarathes V, thus justifying the Pontic aspirations to the realm of the Ariarathids. This interest may be better understood when considering that the Cappadocian throne was empty since the death of Ariarathes VI, and that the crown prince (the future Ariarathes VII) remained under the regency of his mother for a long time (11).

Eupator's interests regarding the neighbouring kingdom can also be seen in the agreement of this ruler with a faction of the Cappadocian nobility. Gordios, the leader of this group, took part in several episodes when the Pontic interests in Cappadocia were threatened (12). Eupator bought some territories in Armenia Minor to a certain Antipater, son of Sisis. As we have stated, this potentate may have been a Cappadocian noble, whose father would actually be called Sisines, a name which appears among the Cappadocian aristocracy since the Achaemenid period (13).

The epithet Eupator could mean a confirmation of the legitimacy of some rulers who had ascended the throne during their childhood, as it can be seen in the cases of Antiochus V and Mithridates VI (14). It is possible, therefore, that the royal surname firstly assigned to the Pontic king would have been Eusebes. In face of

(11) The marriage between Ariarathes VI and Laodice might have taken place towards 125 BC: thus, Ariarathes VII did not reach Persian manhood (*i.e.*, 24 or 25 years old) before 101/100 BC: see REINACH (*supra* n. 3), p. 90 n. 3, p. 476; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (*supra* n. 10), p. 90; cfr. JUST. 38.1.1; 38.1.6-7. An earlier date for this marriage, towards 129 BC, was proposed by DE CALLATAÏ (*supra* n. 4), p. 189.

(12) On Gordios, see IUST. 38.1.6, 10; 2.5; 3.2; 5.8-9; PLU. *Sull.* 5.3; J.J. PORTANOVA, *The Associates of Mithridates VI of Pontus*, Diss. Columbia Univ., Ann Arbor 1988, pp. 268-271; L. BALLESTEROS PASTOR, *Cappadocia and Pontus, Client Kingdoms of the Roman Republic, from the Peace of Apamea to the beginning of the First Mithridatic War*, in A. COSKUN (Hrg.), *Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2 Jahrhundert v. Chr.-1 Jahrhundert n. Chr.)*, Frankfurt a.M. 2008, pp. 45-63.

(13) STR. 12.3.38; L. BALLESTEROS PASTOR, *Del reino Mitridáida al reino del Ponto: orígenes de un término geográfico y un concepto político*, «OTerr», 9, 2002-2007, pp. 3-10, 8. On the name Sisines, see further R. SYME, *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*, Oxford 1995, p. 148ff.; P. DEBORD, *L'Asie Mineure au IV^e siècle. Pouvoirs et jeux politiques*, Bordeaux 1999, p. 115; N. BIFFI, *Il regno della Cappadocia nella sintesi straboniana*, «Classica et Christiana», 7, 2012, pp. 411-430, 414f.

(14) F. MUCCIOLI, *EYIATOP nella titolatura ellenistica*, «Historia», 45, 1996, pp. 21-35; ID. (*supra* n. 4), 236-241. Mithridates Eupator probably was eleven years old upon Evergetes' death (STR. 10.4.10). On other proposed ages of the king at that moment, see EUTR. 6.12.3; MEMN. *FGrHist* 434 F1, 22.3.

Evergetes' premature death and the inner troubles at the court of Sinope, it was instead chosen the epithet Eupator for the crown prince (15). Thus, Eusebes might have remained as a second surname for some time, until it was changed to Dionysos (16).

Abstract

The letters EY recorded on *IDélos* 1560 after the mention of Mithridates Eupator would belong to the word Εὐσεβοῦς. Five Cappadocian rulers bore the epithet Eusebes, and its use by Mithridates prior to the adoption of the surname Dionysos would be related with the Pontic aspirations over this neighbouring kingdom.

Key words: Mithridates VI, Pontus, Cappadocia, Eusebes, Ariarathes.

Resumen

Las letras EY que aparecen en *IDélos* 1560 tras la mención de Mitridates Eupátor pertenecerían a la palabra Εὐσεβοῦς. Cinco monarcas capadocios llevaron el epíteto Eusebes, y su empleo por parte de Mitridates antes de la adopción del sobrenombre Dioniso se relacionaría con las aspiraciones pónlicas sobre este reino vecino.

Palabras clave: Mitridates VI, Ponto, Capadocia, Eusebes, Ariarates.

(15) On these troubles, see STR. 10.4.10; MEMN. *FGrHist* 434 F1, 22.1; IUST. 37.1.6.

(16) It has been supposed that Eupator took the surname Dionysos after 106 B.C., because it does not appear in the inscription to the Pontic general Diophantos (*SIG³ 709*), dated towards that year: REINACH (*supra* n. 1), p. 458 n. 4 cfr. 70; S. SAPRYKIN, *The Religion and Cults of the Pontic Kingdom: Political Aspects*, in HØJTE (*supra* n. 2), pp. 249-275, 250f. Proposing a later date for this Chersonesian decree (*ca.* 105-4) see L. BOFFO, *Grecità di frontiera: Chersonasos Taurica e i signori del Ponto Eusino* (*SIG³ 709*), «Athenaeum», 67, 1989, pp. 211-261; 369-405, 219-221.

EPIGRAPHICA

PERIODICO INTERNAZIONALE DI EPIGRAFIA

LXXVI, 2014

INDICE

Antonio SARTORI, Ida Calabi Limentani	p. 9
Marco TENTORI MONTALTO, Il lapicida greco	» 17
Marco FARACE, Per una rilettura del <i>Koinon</i> dei Lacedemoni sulla base delle testimonianze epigrafiche	» 47
Giacomo MANGANARO, Rivangando iscrizioni siceliote e monete imperiali con contromarche e incisioni	» 63
Luis BALLESTEROS-PASTOR, A neglected Epithet of Mithridates Eupator (<i>IDÉLOS</i> 1560)	» 81
Krzysztof NAWOTKA, <i>Archiprytans</i>	» 87
Benedict LOWE, Bilingualism and Language Contact in Republican Iberia	» 111
María José PENA, El gentilicio <i>Canuleius</i> y la fundación de la colonia latina de Carteia	» 147
María Rosa TURI, Un <i>tresvir</i> a Paestum in età repubblicana	» 165
Federico FRASSON, Un <i>olearius</i> nel <i>corpus</i> epigrafico lunense	» 181
Eleonora SALOMONE GAGGERO, Nuova luce su due frammenti epigrafici lunensi della collezione Remedi	» 193
Antonio IBBA, Il diploma di Posada: spunti di riflessione sulla <i>Sardinia</i> all'alba del II secolo d.C.	» 209
Elena ROSCINI, Enrico ZUDDAS, Il <i>coronatus</i> ritrovato	» 231
Daniela VELESTINO, Interventi edilizi di Petronio Massimo sul colle Oppio e forse nell'area della Basilica di San Pietro: considerazioni a seguito del restauro dell'architrave capitolino <i>CIL</i> , VI 1197	» 265
Julian GONZÁLEZ, Dos nuevas inscripciones senatoriales de la Bética	» 283
Salvador ORDÓÑEZ AGULLA, José Carlos SAQUETE, Sergio GARCÍA DILS-DE LA VEGA, Un gobernador de la Bética en una inscripción edilicia hallada en <i>Astigi</i>	» 301
María GARCÍA BARBERENA, Mercedes UNZU, Javier VELAIZA, Nuevas inscripciones romanas de <i>Pompelo</i>	» 323
Maria Teresa SBLENDORIO CUGUSI, Nuovo carme epigrafico da Ammaedara (Haidra)	» 345
Paolo CUGUSI, Carmi latini epigrafici della Britannia (<i>CLEBrit²</i>)	» 355

* * *

Schede e notizie

Marco BUONOCORE, Spigolature epigrafiche. VIII	» 409
Adriano LA REGINA, Dedicata ai Lari, non al ' <i>Lare Aenia</i> ' (<i>CIL</i> I ² , 2843)	» 433
Heikki SOLIN, Mika KAJAVA, Tra Roma, Anzio e Capri. Storie di migrazioni di urne, are e sarcofagi iscritti	» 436
Heikki SOLIN, Sonia POMICINO, Un'omologa di <i>CIL</i> IX, 990. Un caso di ripetizione?	» 445
Michele STEFANILE, Una nuova iscrizione funeraria da <i>Rufrae</i> (Presenzano, CE)	» 449
Cesare MARANGIO, Nuovi rinvenimenti epigrafici da via Osanna (Brindisi)	» 453

Aniello PARMA, Nota a CIL IX 6114, <i>Brundisium</i> : il cavaliere C. <i>Caltius C.f.Pal. Optatus</i>	p. 464
Carmine MOCERINO, Nuovi bolli inediti da <i>Ocriculum</i> e un raro esempio delle <i>figlinae</i> dei <i>Laecani</i>	» 467
Silvia BRAITO, Una nuova corrispondenza tra <i>signaculum ex aere</i> e impronta su tegola: il timbro di C. <i>Vallius Scipio</i>	» 486
Stefano ROCCHI, Osservazioni epigrafiche ed archeologiche su un sarcofago iscritto da Ticinum (Pais, Suppl. It. 871 = Suppl. It. 9, 1992, p. 253) .	» 491
Riccardo GHIDOTTI, Sull'ubicazione del miliario di Spurio Postumio Albino (CIL V, 8045)	» 495
Mauro REALI, Quel che resta di un <i>pater miser</i>	» 502
Marco GAGLIONE, Maria Federica PETRACCIA, Borminus e non Dorminus. A proposito di una divinità fantasma in CIL V, 7504.....	» 507
Valentina PORCHEDDU, Le anfore rodie della Sardegna tra archeologia antiquaria e nuove scoperte	» 515
Francesca LAI, <i>Miliaria Sardiniae</i> : riedizione di un miliario di Costanzo II	» 533
Piergiorgio FLORIS, Un nuovo miliario di Traiano da Villamassargia e considerazioni su un altro rinvenuto nel medesimo territorio	» 538
Giacomo MANGANARO, <i>Cn. Naevius</i> poeta e annalista della Prima Guerra Punica e il suo mito troiano	» 554

* * *

<i>Premio Susini</i>	» 559
----------------------------	-------

* * *

<i>Nouvelles de l'A.I.E.G.L.</i>	» 561
--	-------

* * *

Bibliografia

A.E. COOLEY, <i>The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy</i> (ANTONIO SARTORI)	» 565
«Memoriam habeto». <i>Dal sepolcro dei Fadieni: stele figurate ed iscrizioni in Cisalpina</i> (LAURA CHIOFFI)	» 569
F. CANTARELLI, E. GAUTIER DI CONFIEGO, <i>La collezione epigrafica Fusconi (Roma, secoli XVI-XVIII)</i> (MARCO BUONOCORE)	» 571
CAROLINA CORTÉS BÁRCENA, <i>Epigrafía en los confines de las ciudades romanas. Los Termini Publici en Hispania, Mauretania y Numidia</i> (ANGELA DONATI)	» 575
<i>Annunci Bibliografici</i>	» 576

* * *

<i>Indici</i> , a cura di Angela DONATI	» 579
I. <i>Onomastica</i>	» 581
II. <i>Geographica</i>	» 586
III. <i>Notabilia</i>	» 589
IV. <i>Tavole di conguaglio</i>	» 592
<i>Elenco dei collaboratori</i>	» 595