

Phrygia in Graeco- Roman History

An Overview
of the Region
and Its People

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*Jam cecini monumenta Phrygum linguamque relictā:
nunc terras studeo paucis absolvere Midae.
quas, ubi rex Croesum Cyrus devicerat orbem,
Graecia diripuit: quarum post proelia regni
Attalus heredem Romam lucemque reliquit:
hic Galli Sagarim et Gallos Caesar tenuere.
Proin, Clio, causas memora, permitte modestam
discere me Phrygiam tollamque per aspera ad astra.*

Met deze masterproef beëindig ik zes opeenvolgende jaren studie in Leuven. Het was een periode van inspanning, twijfel, dwalen, maar ook van groei, interesse en vreugde. Ik zou het niet anders gewild hebben en ben iedereen dankbaar die er een rol in heeft gehad.

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Abstract

This thesis provides an historical overview of the region Phrygia in Asia Minor from the early Iron Age to the end of the High Roman Empire. It draws on Greek and Latin literary sources to frame evidence from epigraphy, archaeology and linguistics into a coherent narrative. Special attention goes to the Phryges, the region's underexposed inhabitants, with regard to their role in Phrygia's development and perception. The most notable observations of this study entail how the Phryges adapted to their subjugation at the hands of the Persians, Greeks and Romans, and how this continued adaptation contributed to their gradual descent into obscurity. The simplification of Phrygian society under the Persians diminished the value of the region's economic output as well as their political influence, and colonisation efforts from the Greeks and later Romans drastically changed the Phrygian social fabric. As a result, urban communities readily adopted hegemonic cultural practices, albeit in differing manners, whereas the countryside could not preserve local heritage in times of conflict. Phrygian identity, it seems, never inspired more than apathy from literary circles and would itself not survive into the 2nd millennium CE. In its investigation, the present work also synthesises recent developments in Phrygian studies. Such insights are here provided in a broader context so that researchers from different fields may approach contemporary scholarship with nuance. Consequently, this thesis may serve as both an introduction to the field and as a starting block for future inquiry. It has also attempted to contribute to the study of lesser-known ancient peoples broadly, by exemplifying the general benefit of a holistic approach.

Introduction

Our understanding of Phrygia has in recent years been steadily advancing. However, this Asiatic region was itself of little concern to Greek and Roman literary audiences despite its incorporation into the Hellenistic and Roman empires. In place of literature, then, archaeological efforts as well as linguistic research have yielded valuable information. Nevertheless, what little of the local history classical authors provide us should not be disregarded. Indeed, it may serve as a useful framework for Phrygian studies when approached critically.

My thesis provides an overview of Phrygia in Asia Minor. It begins with a definition of the region at the earliest stage of its history (§1.), followed by a diachronic discussion covering pre-Hellenistic times (§2.) to Phrygia's incorporation into the Greek (§3.) and Roman (§4.) world. Underlying this structure is the assumption that the Phryges, the area's eponymous inhabitants, and their culture constitute the principal foundation for the definition of Phrygia. The present work thus primarily investigates the portrayal of the Phryges in Greek and Latin historical writing. It also reviews the current state of Phrygian studies, namely the epigraphy, linguistics and occasionally archaeology, in order to complement the literary accounts. As poetry is notoriously unreliable in its application of the term 'Phrygian', I pay little attention to it here.¹

Some recurring elements throughout this thesis are of note. Firstly, Trismegistos (TM) was an invaluable aid to my research by relating documents, places, names and the like in an easy-to-consult manner.² Secondly, names and terminology are presented to reflect the context in which they appear. Anglicisation is thus kept to a minimum. For instance, 'Phryges' is preferred for the ethnic group to 'Phrygians', which is perhaps better suited as demonym for Phrygia, and 'Kappadokia' refers to the general region east of the Halys River, whereas 'Cappadocia' is the Roman provincia. Terms in common use are, however, preserved such as 'Greeks', 'Romans', 'Europe' and 'Sicily'. Lastly, I have provided images to accompany certain passages. Most maps (Figures 1.4–9, 3.1, 4.1) I made myself, having used Google Maps to outline the coasts.³ The family tree of the Pharnakidai (Figure 2.1) is also mine, but was generated with Family Echo.⁴

¹ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 412.

² <https://www.trismegistos.org/>. See Depauw, Gheldof 2014.

³ <https://www.google.com/maps>.

⁴ <https://www.familyecho.com/>.

1. Phrygia Defined

The Phryges inhabited a vast territory known. However, migration and conflict make it impossible to provide one single definition for Phrygia due to the resulting overlap with other people groups and regions. Consequently, there is great variation as to what areas sources deem Phrygian. A critical analysis of available materials is thus required in order to estimate the edges of their realm. The Phryges marked their presence throughout Asia Minor in writing, both small in scale and of monumental nature, and the neighbouring Greeks took note of their presence. These are two major sources which can be used to construct a useful geographic framework that accounts for said fluidity.

This chapter features three steps in defining a base-region. Firstly, the extant writing of the Phryges is analysed in order to broadly assess their presence throughout the Near East. After that, Graeco-Roman accounts of the Phryges provide more specific information on their history and status. To that end, the focus lies on descriptions of the region prior to Roman overlordship, as that topic merits a chapter of its own. Lastly, the preceding paragraphs are brought together and tied to physical geography in order to sensibly assess the edges of the Phrygian world.

1.1 The Old Phrygian Subcorpus

Language is an indispensable cultural marker. As a result, its attestations can serve as an indicator for the geographic expansion of the people speaking it. The Phryges spoke an Indo-European language preserved through inscriptions often short and fragmentary. However, its status as the Phrygian language is not self-evident, seeing as no endonym is attested for the people using it. Yet we do not grasp in the dark. There are several clues which identify it as Phrygian. Firstly, the language's approximate date and provenance correspond to where the Phryges are supposed to have settled, mainly the inland of Asia Minor between the 9th and 6th centuries BCE in its heyday, but continuing on well into the Roman Imperial Era.⁵ Secondly, Greek authors mention several Phrygian words which are attested in the corpus. For instance, the Phrygian word for bread appears in Herodotos' (5th century BCE) story of Psammetichos.⁶ Indeed, βῆκος⁷ is attested in the Phrygian corpus, and 'bread' seems to be a fitting translation where it occurs. Similarly, a gloss from the lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria (5th century CE), who is otherwise unreliable, is attested in the Middle Phrygian inscription W-11

⁵ Some excellent introductions to the language: Brixhe 2008; Ligorio, Lubotsky 2018; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 1–26.

⁶ Herodotos 2.2.

⁷ In Greek texts, the word is either oxytone or paroxytone. Accentuation is not standardly graphically represented in Phrygian texts, since its accentual system is as of yet not understood: see also Šorgo 2026, 188–199.

(see §3.2.1) as γλoureos ‘golden’.⁸ There are also attestations of the name ‘Midas’, who appears in Greek literature as a Phrygian king (see §§2.2.3–4).

The Phrygian language comprises two major subcorpora. The elder, consisting of 402 inscriptions, is known as Old Phrygian, dated from the 9th to the 3rd century BCE. The younger subcorpus, New Phrygian, of 120 inscriptions, is dated to the first three centuries CE, too late for the purpose of this chapter (see §4.3.2). A proposed third subcorpus, Middle Phrygian, is in my opinion poorly defined and perhaps belongs with the Old Phrygian texts (see §3.2). ‘The Phrygian Language’, published in 2020, is currently the most up-to-date integral edition of Phrygian inscriptions.⁹

1.1.1 The Provenances of Old Phrygian

Most inscriptions derive from various sites in modern-day Turkey which are supposed to have been located in the Phrygian realm. Those of Old Phrygian are conveniently grouped by provenance based on their geographic distribution.¹⁰ However, the labels for these provenances should not be interpreted too literally, as they often appear arbitrary. For instance, ‘P’ and ‘K’ both refer to Pteria in Kappadokia as mentioned by Herodotos (see §2.2.1). The former represents an older identification of sites with this area, namely the vicinity of Alacahöyük,¹¹ whereas the latter represents the site at Mount Kerkenes, a more recent identification by Summers.¹² Phrygian presence this far east lasted merely from the late 7th century to around 550 BCE, after which their cultural significance evaporated.¹³ Nevertheless, HP-115 (dated 8th–4th century BCE) is grouped with extra-Phrygian inscriptions even though it was found only a little over 20 kilometres away from Mount Kerkenes in Alişar Höyük.¹⁴ This is because HP-115 was considered part of the Phrygian corpus in 2006 before the K-inscriptions were assigned their own group in The Phrygian Language.¹⁵ Furthermore, ‘M’ refers to the site called “Midas City”, which is a modern term for lack of any known ancient one.¹⁶ The provenances for Old Phrygian texts are summarised in the table below (1.1).

⁸ TM 757243 line 2. Hesychios s.v. γλούρεα [= Γ 659]. Obrador-Cursach 2020, 126, 136, 202–203 s.v. γλoureos, 412–420.

⁹ Obrador-Cursach 2020.

¹⁰ Brixhe, Lejeune 1984, ix.

¹¹ Brixhe, Lejeune 1984, 223–251.

¹² Summers 1997; Brixhe, Summers 2006, 98–99. The identification had already been proposed by Przeworski 1929.

¹³ Berndt-Ersöz 2006, xxi; Summers 2018, 114–115.

¹⁴ TM 984511.

¹⁵ Brixhe, Summers 2006, 134; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 13–14, 508–509, 522–523.

¹⁶ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 13.

Provenance	Ancient site	Modern-day site	Amt of inscriptions
Bithynia (B)	– Daskyleion ¹⁷ – Tios ¹⁸ Germanos ¹⁹ – –	Afşartarakçı Köyü, Bolu; Ergili, Balıkesir; Fıranlar, Kütahya; Hisarönü, Zonguldak; Soğukçam, Bolu; Üyücek, Kütahya; Vezirhan, Bilecik	1; 11; 1; 2; 2; 1; 1
Central Phrygia (C)	– –	Karahüyük, Polatlı, Ankara; Salihler, Ankara	4; 1
Diverse documents (Dd)	Unknown		5
Gordion (G) ²⁰	Yassihüyük, Polatlı, Ankara		264
Outside of Phrygia (HP)	– – – – Karkemish ²¹ – Persepolis ²² –	Alişar Höyük, Yozgat; Bayındır, Antalya; Çamönü, Manisa; İkiztepe, Uşak; Karkamış, Gaziantep; Kocagür, Çanakkale; Marvdasht, Fars, Iran; Nemrud Dağ, Adıyaman	1; 11; 1; 1; 1; 1; 1; 1
K	Pteria ²³	Kerkenes Dağ, Yozgat	5
“Midas City” (M) ²⁴	Yazılı Kaya, Eskişehir		17
North-West Phrygia (NW)	Dorylaion ²⁵	Eskişehir, Eskişehir	40
P	– Hattusa ²⁶ – –	Alacahöyük, Çorum; Boğazkale, Çorum; Kalehisar, Çorum; Pazarlı, Çorum	7; 8; 1; 1
Tyana (T) ²⁷	Kemerhisar, Niğde		3

¹⁷ TM Geo 16145.

¹⁸ TM Geo 2430.

¹⁹ TM Geo 53197.

²⁰ TM Geo 11821.

²¹ TM Geo 16740.

²² TM Geo 3629.

²³ TM Geo 62728.

²⁴ TM Geo 34603.

²⁵ TM Geo 16146.

²⁶ TM Geo 66105.

²⁷ TM Geo 11898.

West Phrygia (W)	–	Arslankaya, Afyonkarahisar;	1;
	–	Ayazini, Afyonkarahisar;	1;
	–	Çepni, Afyonkarahisar;	3;
	–	Demirli, Afyonkarahisar;	2;
	–	Eski Camii, Eskişehir;	1;
	–	Fındık, Eskişehir;	2;
	–	Kümbet, Eskişehir;	1;
	–	Mal Taş, Afyonkarahisar;	2;
	–	Seyitömer, Kütahya;	2;
	–	Yaslanbayır, Eskişehir;	1;
	–	Near Yazılı Kaya, Eskişehir	3

Table 1.1: Provenances of the Old Phrygian subcorpus based on Obrador-Cursach 2020, 7–21, 427–523.

Old Phrygian texts are identified by the abbreviated provenance. As a result, it takes little effort to map out to what extent each region contributes to the total share of inscriptions. Trismegistos provides the following data (see Figures 1.1–3): Gordion ‘G’ delivers the greatest number of Old Phrygian attestations by far (264); in second place is ‘NW’, i.e. Dorylaion (41); then ‘B’ and ‘W’ (19 each); ‘HP’ (18); ‘M’ and ‘P’ (17 each); ‘C’, ‘Dd’ and ‘K’ (5 each); and ‘T’ (3). The total number of Old Phrygian texts in TM thus equals 413.

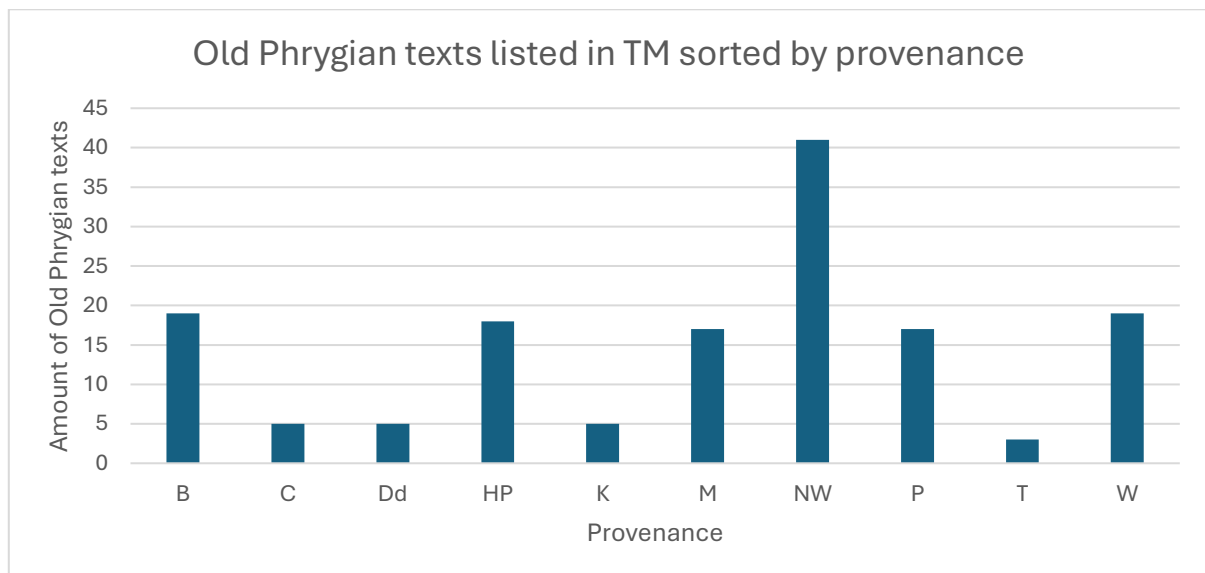


Figure 1.1.

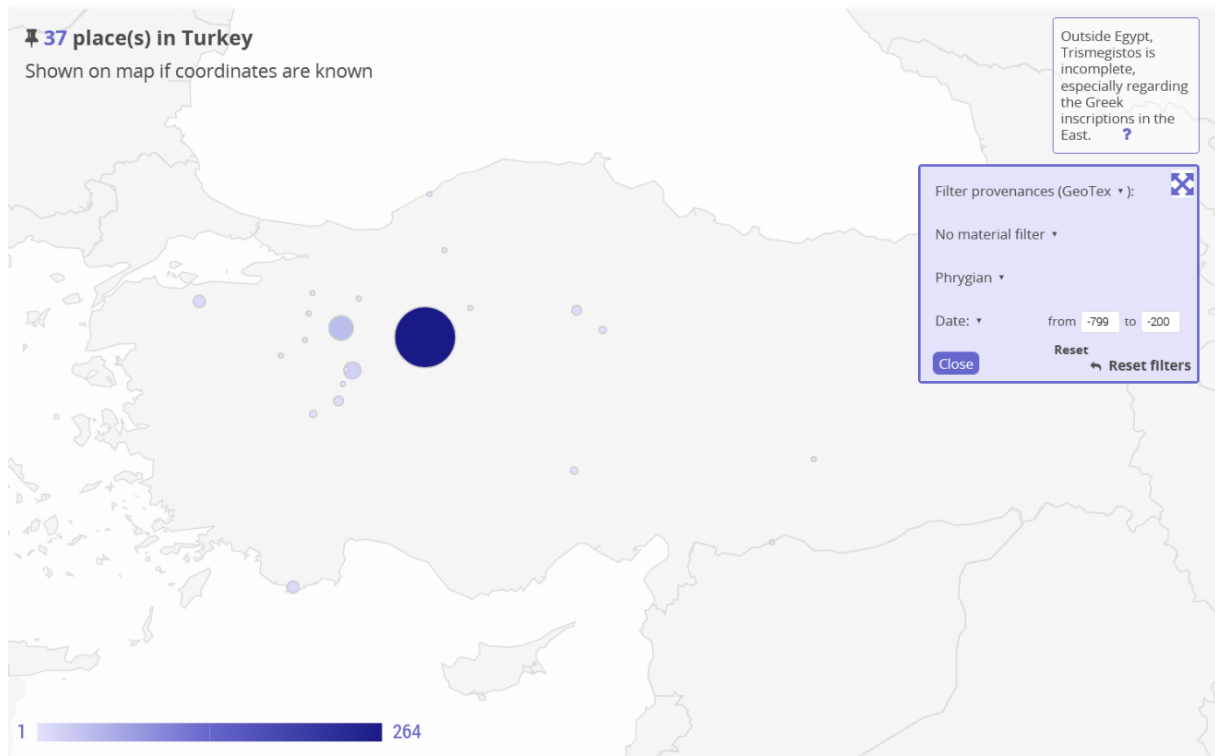


Figure 1.2: A distribution map of the Old Phrygian attestations, provided by TM Places. Note that the following places (TM Geo) are not included here: Alanyurt (50448), Pazarlı (53200), Alacahöyük (53343), Çamönu (55994), Demirli (59962), Fındık (59965), Arslan Kaya (59960), Mal Taş (59980), Yaslanbayır (62726), Kocagür (62729), Alişar Höyük (62730), Kalehisar (66170), Karahöyük (66172), İkiztepe (66173), Eski Camii (66326), Salihler (66339).

'G' evidently provides the largest share of Old Phrygian texts, which is unsurprising. As the following section shows, Gordion was a known Phrygian settlement in Greek literature. It may thus be disregarded here in order to highlight the other provenances (see Figure 1.3).

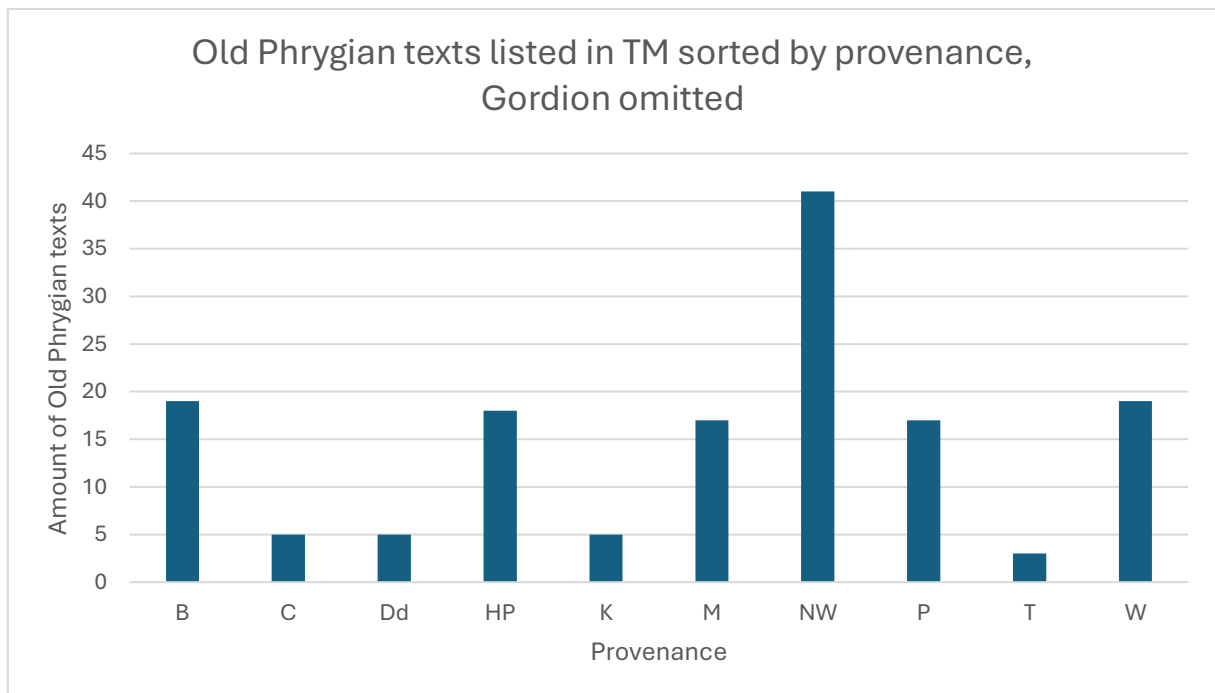


Figure 1.3.

After Gordion, Dorylaion in 'NW' is the clear frontrunner. The next provenances are groups of sites. 'W' constitutes those in the western Sakarya River Basin, excluding Midas City. 'HP' includes sites east of the Kızılırmak River, those near the Southern and Western Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor, and those west of the Central Anatolia region of modern-day Turkey. 'P' is located east of the Kızılırmak, around the sites to the north formerly identified with Pteria. 'M' is a section of Western Phrygia specially reserved for an ancient site, whose name is unknown but is called 'Midas City' for a Phrygian inscription mentioning someone named Midas.²⁸ 'B' is similar to 'W' in that it comprises a large region, i.e. near the northwestern coast of Asia Minor, while excluding a major site, i.e. Dorylaion 'NW'. 'K' is Mount Kerkenes, more south of the city of Çorum than 'P'. Karahüyük constitutes 'C' and is on the right-bank of the Sakarya. Tyana in southern Kappadokia is 'T'. The actual provenance for the attestations grouped in 'Dd' is unknown, hence the label 'diverse documents'.

For the purpose of this chapter, the traditional provenances are useful in providing a linguistic foundation for the definition of Phrygia. This is then supplied by literary sources (§1.2). The many attestations from Daskyleion are, as such, still from Phrygia even though they are labelled 'B' for Bithynia. Of course, the mere discovery of Old Phrygian texts does not strictly imply their provenance constituted core Phrygian territory. It does, however, at the very least indicate a Phrygian presence. This is perhaps best exemplified by HP-114, a clay tablet found in Persepolis dated to around 500 BCE:²⁹ Persepolis, a major Persian centre, was a evidently a hub that received subjects from all over the Achaimenid Empire. Similarly, the presence of Phrygian inscriptions in Tyana may be an indication of intense contact between the Phryges and Luwians, which is also apparent linguistically as borrowed names, words and imprecatory formula as well as a shared phonological development.³⁰ Considering the three T-inscriptions are dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BCE, I prefer this scenario to strongly associating the region with the Phryges.

²⁸ TM 756906, 756909.

²⁹ TM 757270.

³⁰ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 143–146.

1.1.2 Evidence From Epigraphy

The Old Phrygian subcorpus contains only three individual toponyms which we may place in Phrygia. G-249 is found on a weight, reading *sewel tias* ‘weight from Tios’; Tios is a city on the Black Sea in the modern-day Zonguldak Province.³¹ M-04 is found on a step monument and mentions a *modrovanak*, a compound noun that seemingly refers to a ‘sovereign of Modra’ in the modern-day Bolu Province.³² Finally, there are three inscriptions that refer to the ‘Mother of Mount Kybelos’:³³ *matar kubileya* (W-04),³⁴ *matar kubeleya* (B-01),³⁵ *[mata]r kùbeley[a]* (B-08).³⁶

There is, however, also an inscription dated close to the youngest of Old Phrygian texts, but not counted among them.³⁷ G-12 belongs to the ill-defined ‘Middle’ Phrygian subcorpus, which lumps together all Phrygian texts dated between the Old and New Phrygian subcorpora without any regard for linguistic or graphic variation within that timeframe. It can be dated surprisingly precise (276–270 BCE) and thus far provides the only Phrygian placename attestation of Gordion: line 5 *Gordiyoy puprayoy* ‘to the wayfarer to Gordion’.³⁸ Line 4 shows *Perkamaṇeis*, most likely an ethnic adjective corresponding to the Greek lemma Περγαμηνός ‘of Pergamon’. Oreshko, editor of the inscription, places the city in Mysia, which he considers part of Phrygia albeit with its own dialectal idiosyncrasies (see §3.2.2).³⁹

Lastly, an inscription found in Üyücek, Kütahya, consists of both Lydian and Phrygian graphical and textual elements.⁴⁰ As the following section shows, this provenance is on the edge between Mysia in the north-west and Phrygia in the east. It has thus been debated whether the language of this inscription is a Phrygian dialect or a separate language altogether.⁴¹ This discussion was already ongoing in antiquity, as the peoples of western Asia Minor were often confused for one another (see §1.2).⁴² Despite some superficial lexical similarities, specialised research is needed to ascertain the relation between the Mysian and Phrygian speech. This, in turn, may provide clarity in the development and genealogy of these people groups.

³¹ TM 757095, GeoRef 246573. Oreshko 2022, 151–152 completely rejects the artefact’s linguistic value, considering it an amulet with magical pseudo-writing. Obrador-Cursach 2024, 95–96, however, disagrees with Oreshko.

³² TM 756913, GeoRef 246575, Geo 34136.

³³ TM Geo 62595.

³⁴ TM 756925, GeoRef 246576.

³⁵ TM 756933, GeoRef 246574.

³⁶ TM 984516, GeoRef 246577.

³⁷ TM 1001271. Oreshko, Alagöz 2023.

³⁸ TM GeoRef 296410, Geo 11821.

³⁹ Oreshko 2023, 76.

⁴⁰ TM 757244. Cox, Cameron 1932; Friedrich 1932, 140–141; Bayun, Orel 1988; Orel 1993, 56–57.

⁴¹ See Obrador-Cursach 2020, 439 (B-04) for the opinions of previous editors.

⁴² Strabon 12.8.3.

1.2 The Literary Sources

The Phryges are present in ancient literature both Greek and Latin. Of course, grave caution is required when it comes to interpreting these accounts regardless of historical value. This section presents information from ancient works based on their mentions of Phrygia or the Phryges: first the general region and possible subdivisions, then some Phrygian settlements, followed by Phryges living outside of Asia Minor. Not every instance of the corpus where Phryges or their land are mentioned is of equal value here. Thus, passages without any geographical information whatsoever are left out. Additionally, epigraphic evidence in Greek or Latin may support some of the information presented below. I have already mentioned that demarcation of the regions in Asia Minor was a confusing matter to the ancients. Strabon, a geographer active in the early Roman Imperial Period, thus mentions a saying: ‘Separate are the boundaries between the Mysioi and the Phryges’.⁴³ Nevertheless, the literary sources show certain tendencies.

1.2.1 The Lands of Phrygia

From the Persian Period, two major regions were linked to the Phryges (see also §2.3.2).⁴⁴ Greater Phrygia is located in the Anatolian inland, south of Bithynia and Paphlagonia.⁴⁵ Strabon highlights three subregions.⁴⁶ One is located around Amorion, Eumeneia and Synnada, north of the other two and roughly corresponding to the modern Afyonkarahisar Province. The others are themselves bordered in the south by the Tauros Mountains. At the west end is Phrygia-near-Pisidia, and directly east is Phrygia Paroreios ‘along the mountainside’.⁴⁷

Along the coast in the north-west lies Lesser Phrygia, also referred to as Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos and Phrygia Epiktetos, south of Bithynia and east of Mysia.⁴⁸ Strabon recounts that Prousius I of Bithynia (r. late 3rd century – early 2nd century BCE) ceded Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos to the Attalidai, for whom it was ἐπίκτητος ‘annexed’.⁴⁹ He also defines a broader Epiktetos region, which comprises parts of Phrygia and Mysia.⁵⁰ This stretch of land extends in the north to the eastern shores of Lake Askania (modern-day Lake İznik).⁵¹ The western portion of Epiktetos is less defined. This ties back to the saying mentioned by Strabon, exemplifying the uncertainty of authors regarding the relationship of the Phryges with neighbouring peoples.

⁴³ Strabon 12.4.4: χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ὁρίσματα.

⁴⁴ Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 2.1.5, 8.6.7; Polybios 21.22.14, 21.46.10; Diodoros 2.2.3, 18.3.1, 18.5.4, 18.39.6; Strabon 12.1.3, 12.4.10, 12.8.1; Livius 37.56.2, 38.39.15–16.

⁴⁵ TM Geo 32. Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 7.4.16; Diodoros 3.55.4.

⁴⁶ Strabon 12.8.13.

⁴⁷ Paroreios (TM Geo 66107).

⁴⁸ Lesser Phrygia (TM Geo 66108); Phrygia Epiktetos (TM Geo 43956). Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 4.2.30, 7.4.8; *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 22(17).3; Diodoros 18.12.1, 19.57.1, 20.107.3; Strabon 2.5.31, 12.3.7, 12.4.1; Pausanias 1.29.10.

⁴⁹ Strabon 12.4.3.

⁵⁰ Strabon 12.4.5. Also Skylax of Karyanda apud Strabon 12.4.8 = FGrHist. 709 F 11.

⁵¹ TM Geo 42609. Dionysios 1.47.5; Plinius 5.40.144.



Figure 1.4: A map of Asia Minor highlighting neighbouring peoples of the Phryges. The line boundaries signify the outer edge of the Phrygian realm. The dotted boundaries are internal.

The proximity between the Mysioi and Phryges is also related to the expansion of Phrygian territory after the Trojan War. Strabon claims both peoples occupied the area surrounding Ilion, the Phryges in particular settling around Kyzikos to the Praktios River.⁵² Hence the Troas is sometimes counted as part of Lesser Phrygia.⁵³ By extension, the Phryges are sometimes equated to the Troës.⁵⁴ Poets in particular were called out for confusing the Phryges with the nearby Troës, Mysioi and Lydoi (see §2.3.1).⁵⁵

⁵² Strabon 10.3.22, 13.1.8. See also Pausanias 1.23.8

⁵³ Strabon 10.3.7; Ptolemaios 5.2.4, 5.2.14; Pausanias 5.25.6.

⁵⁴ Dionysios 1.29.1.

⁵⁵ Strabon 12.8.7, 14.3.3.



Figure 1.5: Detail of the Troas, occupied by Phryges and Mysoi. The line-dot boundary signifies that the Mysoi are sometimes considered a subgroup of the Phryges (see also §3.2.2).

There is also the Katakekaumene, bordering Mysia and Maionia.⁵⁶ Accounts differ on why this region is called 'burned down'.⁵⁷ Diodoros, active in the 1st century BCE, attributes the name to the first appearance of a fire-breathing monster, whereas Strabon connects it to the prevalence of destructive geological activity. The latter is unsurprising, considering later authors also mention earthquakes striking Asia Minor.⁵⁸ Indeed, this may explain why in the 1st century CE, the Roman polymath Plinius mentions the Katakekaumene as a wine producing area, presumably because the volcanic soil would be excellent for vineyards.⁵⁹ There seems to be no relation with Laodikeia Katakekaumene, located further east, which may have simply suffered its own destruction event.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ TM Geo 33611. Strabon 12.8.12.

⁵⁷ Diodoros 3.70; Strabon 12.8.18.

⁵⁸ *Historia Augusta* 23.5.2–3; Ammianus Marcellinus 17.7.1; Prokopios *Historia arcana* 18.42.

⁵⁹ Plinius 14.9.75.

⁶⁰ TM Geo 16168.



Figure 1.6: Detail of the western Phrygian borderland, highlighting neighbouring peoples.

1.2.2 Settlements of Phrygia

Below is a survey of ancient settlements attested by ancient authors. It is structured around the assumption of the aforementioned Asiatic subregions. These provide a manner of geographic categorisation aiding in the interpretation of the included maps. Then, the Phrygian settlements, selected from various literary sources of historiographic and geographic nature and most of them considered of importance, populate these areas without devolving into an overwhelming list.

Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos has only a small number of mentioned settlements. Strabon cites Adrasteia in Aischylos (former half of the 5th century BCE),⁶¹ but there are others in the region located far more to the east. There are Aizanoi,⁶² Kotyaion,⁶³ Midaion⁶⁴ and Dorylaion,⁶⁵ all north-west of the Tembris River. Kadoi, located not too far from the headwater of the Hermos nor from Aizanoi, may be part of the same region, although it is also said to be Mysian.⁶⁶ Synaos, olim Anaua, is located a bit more westward than Kadoi.⁶⁷



Figure 1.7: Detail of Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos and its settlements.

⁶¹ TM Geo 61011. Strabon 12.8.21. Also Plinius 5.40.141.

⁶² TM Geo 16122. Strabon 12.8.12; Ptolemaios 5.2.23.

⁶³ TM Geo 16139. Ptolemaios 5.2.23.

⁶⁴ TM Geo 34635. Strabon 12.8.12; Plinius 5.29.106; Ptolemaios 5.2.22 Cassius Dion 49.18.4.

⁶⁵ TM Geo 16146. Strabon 12.8.12; Plinius 5.29.106; Ptolemaios 5.2.22.

⁶⁶ TM Geo 34548. Strabon 12.8.12; Ptolemaios 5.2.21.

⁶⁷ TM Geo 1097. Herodotos 7.30; Strabon 12.8.13; Ptolemaios 5.2.22.

Greater Phrygia by far has more known settlements. Strabon's three subregions are a useful grouping, but leave out areas to the north and east where there certainly was a presence of Phryges. For instance, Modra was located close to Bithynia,⁶⁸ and Gordion⁶⁹ and Ankyra⁷⁰ both east of the mainstem of the Sangarios. The Sangarios Valley is an important Phrygian landmark. The river has its sources near Sangia, which Strabon tells us is about 150 stadia (ca. 28 kilometres) from Pessinous.⁷¹ Pessinous⁷² and nearby Orkaorkoi⁷³ are located in the centre of the Upper Sangarios Valley without being directly on the left-bank. South of Ankyra is Gorbeous.⁷⁴ South-east of Dorylaion is Nakoleia.⁷⁵ Somewhere in that direction also Trikomia, and, given Ptolemaios' coordinates, I estimate it not too far from modern-day Yazılı Kaya.⁷⁶ Beside all these, however, Strabon's subregions consist of a sizable portion of all Greater Phrygian settlements.

Phrygia-near-Pisidia, at the headwaters of the Maiandros, is to the south-west. This subregion borders on Pisidia in the south so that Tabai is sometimes counted as Pisidian, sometimes as Phrygian.⁷⁷ Sinda⁷⁸ and Amblada,⁷⁹ on the other hand, are seemingly without a doubt Pisidian, indicating the extent of the borderland. To the west are Karoura, on the border between Phrygia and Karia,⁸⁰ and Aphrodisias, which Pausanias places in Karia.⁸¹ Eastward thence is Kolossai.⁸² To the north-west is Hierapolis,⁸³ and to the south-east is Kibyra.⁸⁴ More inland are Seleukeia⁸⁵ and Antiocheia-near-Pisidia, the latter of which was inhabited by both Phryges and Kilikes.⁸⁶ In this area is also Apollonia.⁸⁷ There is also Apameia, whose name former name Kelainai may tie back to its location in the Katakekaumene, since Strabon claims it was named after Kelainos, a son of Poseidon god of earthquakes.⁸⁸ This Apameia was in Strabon's day one of the two largest Phrygian cities along with Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos, olim Rhoas and

⁶⁸ TM Geo 34136. Strabon 12.3.7.

⁶⁹ TM Geo 11821. Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.4.2; Strabon 12.5.3; Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.29.3–5.

⁷⁰ TM Geo 8290. Strabon 12.5.2; Ptolemaios 5.2.22; Pausanias 1.4.5.

⁷¹ TM Geo 66205. Strabon 12.3.7.

⁷² TM Geo 12386. Diodoros 36.13.1; Strabon 12.3.7, 12.5.2, 12.5.3, 12.8.13; Livius 29.11.7, 34.3.8; Pausanias 1.4.5; Herodianos 1.11.1.

⁷³ TM Geo 66206. Strabon 12.5.2, 12.8.13.

⁷⁴ TM Geo 16391. Strabon 12.5.3.

⁷⁵ TM Geo 16157. Strabon 12.8.12; Ptolemaios 5.2.22; Ammianus Marcellinus 26.9.7.

⁷⁶ TM Geo 41997. Ptolemaios 5.2.22.

⁷⁷ TM Geo 34230. Strabon 12.7.2, 12.8.13.

⁷⁸ TM Geo 34394. Strabon 12.7.2, 13.4.15.

⁷⁹ TM Geo 16343. Strabon 12.7.2; Ptolemaios 5.4.11.

⁸⁰ TM Geo 42023. Strabon 12.8.16, 12.8.17, 13.4.15, 14.2.29.

⁸¹ TM Geo 3586. Strabon 12.8.13, 13.4.15; Pausanias 1.26.5.

⁸² TM Geo 16149. Herodotos 7.30; Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.6; Diodoros 14.80.8; Strabon 12.8.13.

⁸³ TM Geo 12396. Strabon 12.8.17, 13.4.15; Plinius 5.29.105; Ptolemaios 5.2.26; Ammianus Marcellinus 23.6.18.

⁸⁴ TM Geo 34558. Strabon 13.4.15; Livius 38.15.1; Plinius 5.22.92, 5.29.105; Ptolemaios 5.2.26.

⁸⁵ TM Geo 13146. Ptolemaios 5.5.4.

⁸⁶ TM Geo 204. Strabon 12.6.4, 12.8.14, 13.4.15, 14.2.29; Ptolemaios 5.5.4.

⁸⁷ TM Geo 16212. Strabon 12.6.4, 12.8.13; Ptolemaios 5.4.11.

⁸⁸ TM Geo 3432. Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.7; *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 12(7).3, 12(7).4; Diodoros 19.69.2, 19.93.4; Strabon 12.6.4, 12.8.13, 12.8.15, 12.8.18, 13.4.12, 14.2.29; Livius 38.15.13; Plinius 5.29.106; Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.29.1, 1.29.3; Ptolemaios 5.2.25; Pausanias 10.30.9.

Diospolis.⁸⁹ Nearby is located Themisonion⁹⁰ and Metropolis,⁹¹ to whose north somewhere lies Dyniai.⁹² The borders between Strabon's subregions are however vague. It is thus impossible as well as unnecessary to place Dyniai in either Phrygia-near-Pisidia or Afyonkarahisar.

Phrygia Paroreios is just east of Phrygia-near-Pisidia and the modern-day Sultan Mountains. In the plain just north of this ridge are Philomelion⁹³ and Thymbrion,⁹⁴ on a hill south of it is the aforementioned Antiocheia-near-Pisidia. The northern plain extends eastward to the Halys River and Lake Tatta (modern Tuz) and houses Ikonion.⁹⁵ Thence, separated in the north by lower mountains than the Sultan Range is Laodikeia Katakekaumene.⁹⁶ To the west from there is Tyriaion.⁹⁷

Strabon does not give a name to his third subregion in Greater Phrygia.⁹⁸ He only provides three major cities: Amorion,⁹⁹ Eumeneia¹⁰⁰ and Synnada.¹⁰¹ The geographic range of this area corresponds to most of the modern-day Afyonkarahisar Province, hence I refer to this subregion as simply Afyonkarahisar. It is located north of both Phrygia-near-Pisidia and Paroreios, and south of the Sangarios Valley. Strabon places Dokimeion in the vicinity of Synnada, assumedly for the etymological connection between Synnadik and the synonymous Dokimite as types of marble.¹⁰² Somewhere to the south of Synnada is the aforementioned Dyniai. There are also Prymnessos¹⁰³ and Stektorion.¹⁰⁴ Strabon does not explain why the land around Amorion, Eumeneia and Synnada form a separate area. At a lower elevation than the other two subregions, it is part of the same mountainous land as the settlements of the Upper Tembris Valley. Those settlements are, however, already associated with Phrygia Epiktetos. Its distance from and higher elevation relative to the settlements on the banks of the Sangarios also preclude it from being merged with those. Similarly, it would not make sense to place Afyonkarahisar with the plains in the east that extend to Lake Tatta and the Halys River, seeing as its Phrygian population appears to have been more sparse there. The separation of Strabon's last subregion thus makes sense on the basis that a different grouping would not be as sound.

⁸⁹ TM Geo 5418. Plinius 5.29.105; Polybios 5.57.5; Strabon 12.8.13, 12.8.16, 13.4.15, 14.2.29.

⁹⁰ TM Geo 34232. Pausanias 10.32.4; Strabon 12.8.13; Plinius 5.29.105; Ptolemaios 5.2.26.

⁹¹ TM Geo 16123. Strabon 12.8.13, 14.2.29; Livius 38.15.13; Plinius 5.29.106; Ptolemaios 5.2.25.

⁹² TM Geo 66207. Livius 38.15.13.

⁹³ TM Geo 7897. Strabon 12.8.14, 14.2.29; Ptolemaios 5.2.25.

⁹⁴ TM Geo 34657. Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.13.

⁹⁵ TM Geo 2919. Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.19.

⁹⁶ TM Geo 16168. Strabon 12.8.18, 14.2.29.

⁹⁷ TM Geo 46387. Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.14; Strabon 14.2.29.

⁹⁸ Strabon 12.8.13.

⁹⁹ TM Geo 16148. Ptolemaios 5.2.23.

¹⁰⁰ TM Geo 16151. Ptolemaios 5.2.25.

¹⁰¹ TM Geo 16136. Diodoros 20.107.3–4; Strabon 12.8.14; Plinius 5.29.105; Ptolemaios 5.2.24.

¹⁰² TM Geo 16150. Strabon 12.8.14; Ptolemaios 5.2.24.

¹⁰³ TM Geo 16158. Ptolemaios 5.2.24; Pausanias 5.21.11.

¹⁰⁴ TM Geo 16254. Pausanias 10.27.1; Ptolemaios 5.2.25.

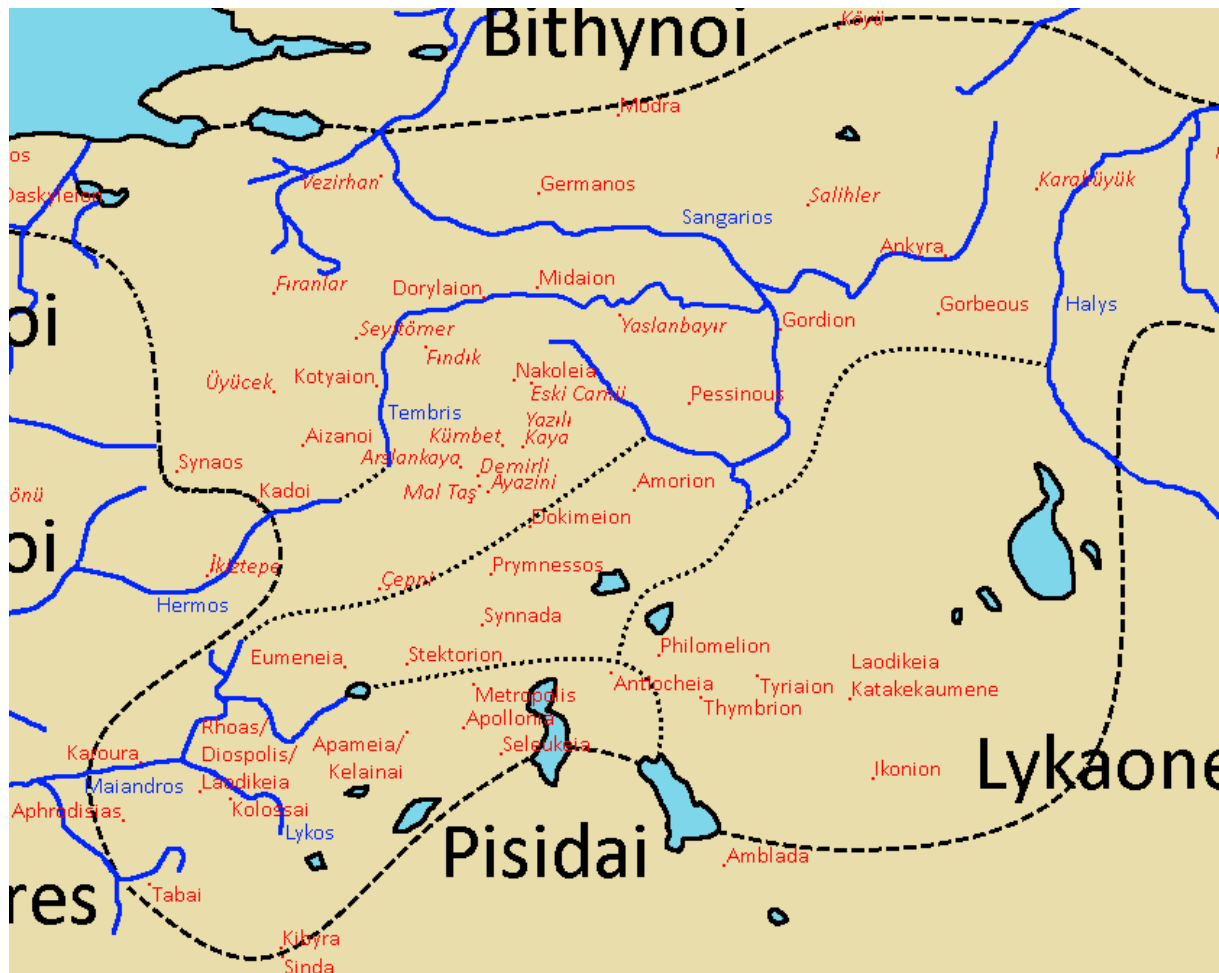


Figure 1.8: Detail of Greater Phrygia and its settlements.

Several settlements are ill-defined. In such cases, the author provides very little information beside maybe their location relative to other landmarks. Xenophon, an Athenian writing during the former half of the 4th century BCE with military experience in Asia Minor, presents two such places. Keramon-agora is supposedly the last Phrygian city on the way to Mysia, two stadia from Peltai.¹⁰⁵ Kaystrou-pedion is, based on its name, located to the west of Keramon-agora.¹⁰⁶ Herodotos mentions that Kydrara was on the border with Lydia.¹⁰⁷ Ptolemaios, living in the 2nd century CE, lists Tribanta under cities of Greater Phrygia, but its exact location is unknown.¹⁰⁸ Diodoros mentions the mountain fortress of Nora, but does not get any more specific than placing it in Kappadokia.¹⁰⁹ Strabon is also guilty of leaving out useful details for settlements within his subregions. Thus, we cannot rely on him to find Peltai,¹¹⁰ Lysias¹¹¹ or Eukarpia.¹¹² Based on his wording, Chelidonia should not be too far from Metropolis and the Sultan Mountains.¹¹³

¹⁰⁵ TM Geo 66199. Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.10–11.

¹⁰⁶ TM Geo 66200. Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.11, *Cyropaedia* 2.1.5.

¹⁰⁷ TM Geo 66201. Herodotos 7.30.

¹⁰⁸ TM Geo 66163. Ptolemaios 5.2.22.

¹⁰⁹ TM Geo 66202. Diodoros 18.41.2, 19.44.2. Also mentioned by Strabon 12.2.6 as 'Neroassos'.

¹¹⁰ TM Geo 42636. Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.10; Strabon 12.8.13; Ptolemaios 5.2.25.

¹¹¹ TM Geo 57439. Strabon 12.8.13; Ptolemaios 5.2.23.

¹¹² TM Geo 41380. Strabon 12.8.13; Ptolemaios 5.2.24.

¹¹³ TM Geo 66203. Strabon 14.2.29.

1.2.3 The Phryges Elsewhere

The Phryges also lived abroad. There are accounts of them setting up colonies. Pausanias (2nd century CE) mentions them among the early settlers of Sicily, while Herodotos claims the Armenioi to be a descendent tribe.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, Strabon mentions that, according to some traditions, Pelops brought Phryges to the Peloponnesos, and that the Paiones in Europe, some claimed, were of Phrygian stock.¹¹⁵ The latter telling may be explained by Herodotos, who claims that during the Persian War (former half of the 5th century BCE), Dareios I resettled them from their home in Thrakia to Phrygia.¹¹⁶ Xenophon, however, informs us that they were also present in Attika as μέτοικοι ‘foreign residents’ and could thus serve in the military alongside citizens.¹¹⁷ Indeed, an Athenian inscription dated to the 5th century BCE directly attests to this, honouring Mannes, who had been born in the city and had died serving it.¹¹⁸ Other funerary inscriptions from before the 1st century BCE attest to the presence of Phryges in Eleusis, Salamis, Rhodos and Alexandreia, but do not disclose their social status.¹¹⁹ In the 2nd century CE, too, a funerary inscription from Rome attests to the presence of a Phrygian family in the city.¹²⁰ Lastly, according to Strabon, the Phryges were one of the many barbarian peoples that were enslaved and served in the household.¹²¹ These appear by the 5th century BCE in Greek literature as stock characters of ridicule.¹²² There are also several inscriptions from the 2nd century BCE recording their manumission,¹²³ but also in the 2nd century CE on a funerary inscription from Rome¹²⁴ and in papyri mentioning their sale.¹²⁵ As Cicero (1st century BCE) complains, Phryges along with other foreigners, who would have been freedmen for the most part, partook in contiones.¹²⁶

There are also places called Phrygia that seemingly have no relation to the Phryges. Stephanos of Byzantion, writing in the 6th century CE, records two.¹²⁷ First is Phrygia at Mount Oite in Greece, where Herakles self-immolated on a funeral pyre.¹²⁸ In that context, the toponym

¹¹⁴ Herodotos 7.73; Pausanias 5.25.6.

¹¹⁵ Strabon 7.7.1, 7 Fragment 38.

¹¹⁶ Herodotos 5.14–17, 5.98.

¹¹⁷ Xenophon *Poroi* 2.1.1–5.

¹¹⁸ TM 787804.

¹¹⁹ Respectively TM 798613, 798616, 890880, 47441.

¹²⁰ TM 595165, dated 117–150 CE.

¹²¹ Strabon 7.3.12. Also the proverb in Cicero *Pro Flacco* 65: *Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem* ‘the Phryx is wont to improve through flogging’.

¹²² Roller 1983, 309. See also Loukianos *Cataplus* 11, where Megapenthes is foretold that he will be cuckolded by his Phrygian slave.

¹²³ Those from Delphoi (TM Geo 543): TM 815036, 915910, 916120, 916478. Also from Stratos (TM Geo 37649): TM 807835; and Naupaktos (TM Geo 3523): TM 808129.

¹²⁴ TM 571107, dated 117–199 CE.

¹²⁵ TM 20070 (dated 8 July 151 CE), 976569 (dated 175–212 CE).

¹²⁶ Cicero *Pro Flacco* 17, also note A.

¹²⁷ Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Φρυγία [= Φ 108].

¹²⁸ TM Geo 66346.

is likely derived from the verb φρύγω 'to roast'. Then, there is Phrygia between Boiotia and Attika.¹²⁹ It is a neuter plurale tantum (τὰ Φρύγια) with the derived ethnonym Φρυγιεύς, as opposed to Φρύξ and Φρύγιος in Asiatic Φρυγία. There is also the enigmatic case of Frigia in Egypt, a civitas listed by the Ravennas Geographus in his *Cosmographia* (somewhere ca. 700 CE).¹³⁰ It perhaps refers to a community of Phryges in Egypt, such as the one attested in an inscription dated to 3 BCE.¹³¹ Editors seem to prefer the spelling 'Frigia', which, if we assume the two are equivalent, may reflect a post-classical Latin pronunciation of *Phrygia*.¹³² On the other hand, it may bear no relation to the Phryges at all considering the lack of information on this place.

1.3 Toward a Definition

The literary accounts above are not meant to explicitly name every chunk of land where the Phryges lived. Its purpose is to provide the elements upon which we may base a definition of Phrygia in physical geography. To that end, the demarcation lines presented here should not be considered absolute. As Ramsay pointed out, mountains as magnificent as the Tauros are traversable, but preferably under favourable circumstances.¹³³ The same principle applies to any other landmark. It would thus be wrong to pretend as if the Phryges themselves had put up boundaries which were not permitted to be crossed. Such was certainly not the case for Phryges living abroad, whether as μέτοικοι or enslaved, or as ἄποικοι in Paionia or Armenia or far-away Sicily. Likewise, we should not assume Phrygian territory was ethnically homogenous, rather that other peoples also inhabited Phrygia. Instead, some features of the land may be used to describe the dispersion of the Phryges across Asia Minor.

Phrygia as a single region takes up a sizeable portion of the inland. The topography is, therefore, dominated on the one hand by highlands and gorges, and by vast stretches of plains and valleys on the other. It does not extend northward beyond the Koroğlu Mountains, a boundary which goes on westward across the Sakarya River, though it remains south of Lake Sapanca and to the east of Lake İznik. From there, the boundary goes south toward Mount Uludağ to include minor tributaries of the Sakarya. The western edge starting just south of Uludağ is more difficult to define, but the Porsuk Valley must be considered Phrygian; perhaps also the mountains flanking the Simav River. Its southern end may perhaps be best defined by the headwaters of the Büyük Menderes up until the Taurus Mountains house Phrygia-near-Pisidia. The western edge of Phrygia Epiktetos is far more difficult to define. The plains and valleys leading to the Aigaian Sea may perhaps be excluded, which leaves a mountainous area starting at an elevation of 900

¹²⁹ TM Geo 66347, 446, 373. Also mentioned in Thoukydides 2.22.2.

¹³⁰ TM Geo 11102, GeoRef 31392.

¹³¹ TM 105972.

¹³² Pinder, Parthey 1860, 132 line 10; Schnetz 1990, 35 line 44.

¹³³ Ramsay 1902, 258.

to 1,000 kilometres. The Tauros Mountains are a reasonable southern extremity, which can be followed along to the east until the border gets hazy once more. North of the mountains, the western edge of the Konya-Karaman Plain may be included and extended in the north-east up to Lake Tuz and the left-bank of the Kızılırmak. If we follow the river northwards to the Köroğlu Mountains, we have a conservative definition for Phrygian territory (Figure 1.9).

A maximalist approach should extend eastwards in order to account for this less defined edge of Phrygia. It then includes linguistic provenances of the areas round Alacahöyük 'P' and Mount Kerkenes 'K', where Phrygian settlement appears to have been ephemeral (see §2.2.1). For this, we may extend Phrygia eastwards to most of the aforementioned plain and beyond Mount Hasan to the Anti-Tauros Mountains. In the east, we go northwards thence, excluding Lake Yay, until we ford the Kızılırmak and follow the Delice River. This way, the peaks at Akçakent as well as Mount Dinek are included before the Delice merges with the Kızılırmak. As I have already mentioned (§1.1.1), Tyana should probably not be included in the east.

The subordinate areas of Phrygia may also be described in order to better define the interior. Areas which merely surround a notable feature of the land and are thus named, such as Askania, do not require iteration here. Phrygia Epiktetos consists of the left-bank of both the Porsuk in the east and of the Sakarya in the north up to Lake İznik. Concerning the south, it is unclear whether we may go so far as to include the beginning of the Gediz River, as the nearby site of Eskigediz has been claimed to be both Phrygian and Mysian. Since the Mysoi are considered separate from the Phryges in ancient literature, and considering the linguistic aspect of such a relation is still being researched,¹³⁴ Mysia and its Epiktetos should be kept wholly separate from Phrygia. The three regions defined by Strabon in Greater Phrygia are south of the Emir Mountains and Afyonkarahisar, extending westward to the beginning of the Büyük Menderes River so as to include settlements on both banks of the Çürüksu. Along the south are the Taurus Mountains until the east, the terrain flattens into the Konya-Karaman plain. This plain forms the eastern edge of Phrygia Paroreios, which is concentrated around the Sultan Mountains located to the west. The western edge of Paroreios with Phrygia-near-Pisidia is perhaps located at the plain which connects Lakes Eğirdir and Beyşehir. The Katakekaumene is perhaps a much less restrictive area. The term itself suggests a history of localised destruction, which could conceivably be applied to any settlement. Thus, the etymology behind Laodikeia Katakekaumene is likely different from that of the borderland between Phrygia, Mysia and Maionia.

¹³⁴ E.g. Oreshko 2024 is a recent proponent of this subgrouping.

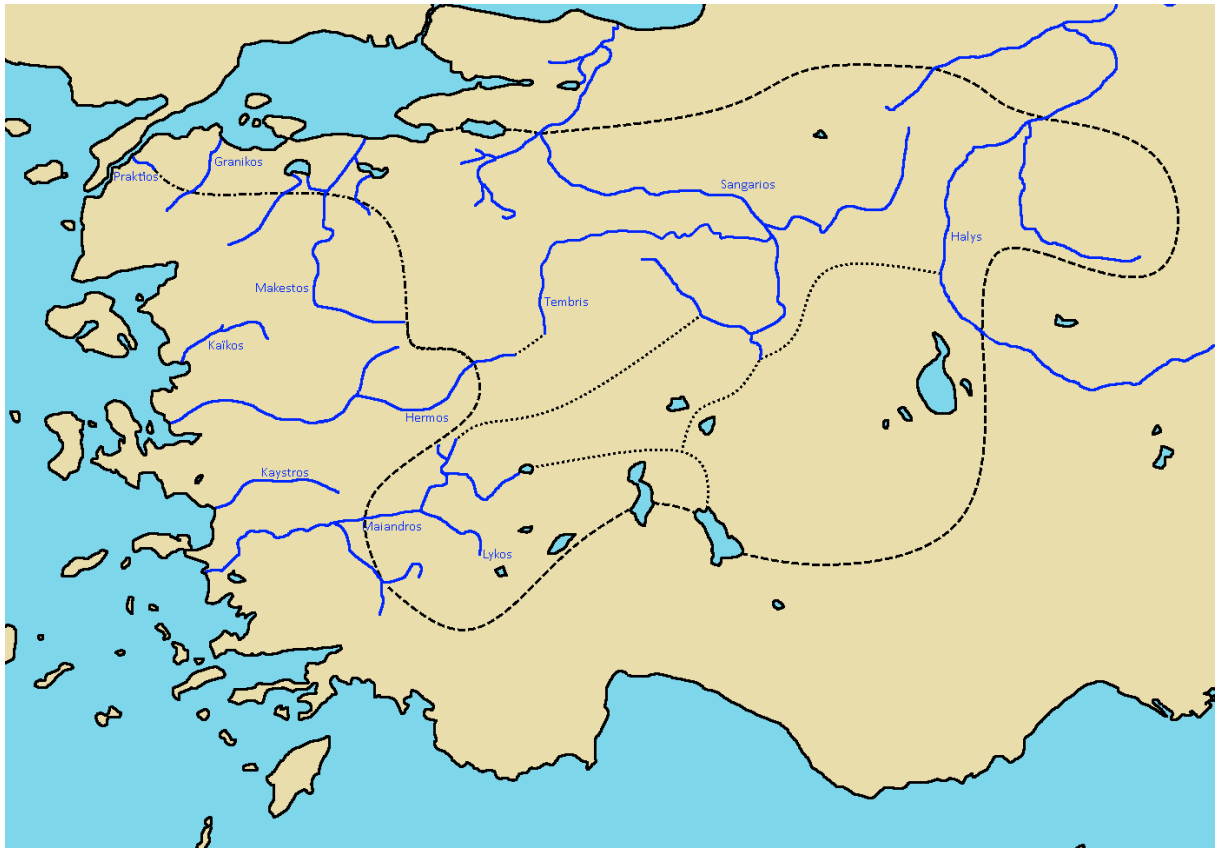


Figure 1.9: A map of Asia Minor with a suggested geographic definition for Phrygia. The conservative estimation excludes lands east of the Halys River. The maximalist estimation includes them. The north-western boundary with Mysia is differentiated to acknowledge the possibility of subgrouping the Mysoi under the Phryges.

2. Phrygia of Barbarians

The aim of the previous chapter was to survey the dispersal of Phryges across Asia Minor during the Iron Age. It highlighted their presence at that time throughout the interior of the peninsula, whereas this chapter aims to provide a diachronic overview of the region Phrygia prior to the conquests of Alexandros III of Makedonia.

Phrygian archaeology distinguishes several time periods.¹³⁵ The Early Phrygian Period begins around 950 BCE, from the first appearance of the Phryges, and ends around 800 BCE. By that time, monumental structures have already been constructed, and Phrygian influence reaches its climax under a stratified society with a high degree of economic centralisation. The Middle Phrygian Period then ends around 550 BCE, roughly corresponding to the Persian take-over under Kyros, which is also the starting point for the Late Phrygian Period. After 330 BCE, however, the Hellenistic Period leaves its mark on Phrygia (see §3.).

2.1 A Note on Literary Sources

We cannot rely on the Greeks or Romans for a dedicated account of Phrygian history. That is not to say there were no works on the Phryges, but their poor preservation does attest to a lack of interest from the general audience. As a result, only second-hand material remains, but even this is not entirely reliable. Pseudo-Plutarchos (2nd century CE) reports in *De fluviis* that Alexandros Polyhistor (1st century BCE), a certain Timolaos, Agatharchides of Samos, Aretades of Knidos and Hermesianax of Kypros had written now-lost works which may be styled Φρυγικά.¹³⁶ The veracity of Pseudo-Plutarchos' sources has, however, been in doubt since the 19th century, and out of those aforementioned, Alexandros, who appears plentifully elsewhere, is likely the only one to have actually existed.¹³⁷ Irrespective of the seriousness with which we must read *De fluviis*, such invented testimonies do lend credence to its contents. The *Souda*, a 10th-century encyclopaedia, names Metrophanes of Eukarpia (late 3rd – early 4th centuries CE) as the author of Περὶ τῆς Φρυγίας in two books.¹³⁸

Jacoby also lists several mentions of Phrygian works separately under FGrHist. 800. F 1A–D deal with Marsyas, who dwelled near Kelainai and was flayed by Apollon.¹³⁹ In F 2, the Phryges of Themisonion claimed that they received divine help when the Galatai invaded (see §3.1.3).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Thonemann 2013, 8–15. These should not be conflated with the linguistic subcorpora, which follow a different periodisation.

¹³⁶ Timolaos apud Pseudo-Plutarchos 9.1; Agatharchides of Samos apud Pseudo-Plutarchos 10.5; Alexandros Polyhistor apud Pseudo-Plutarchos *De fluviis* 10.1 = FGrHist. 273 F 76; Hermesianax apud Pseudo-Plutarchos 12.4; Aretades of Knidos apud Pseudo-Plutarchos *De fluviis* 12.2 = FGrHist. 285 F 3.

¹³⁷ For doubt on the sources, see Hercher 1851, 17–24. For other mentions of Alexandros, see FGrHist. 273.

¹³⁸ *Souda* s.v. Μητροφάνης [= M 1009] = FGrHist. 796 T 1.

¹³⁹ Herodotos 7.26.3, Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.8, Palaiphatos *Incredibilia* 47, Pausanias 10.30.9 = FGrHist. 800 F 1A–D.

¹⁴⁰ Pausanias 10.32.4 = FGrHist. 800 F 2.

Stephanos' account s.v. Ἰκόνιον of Nannakos is F 3 (see §2.2.1), although he does not explicitly state his source: φασὶ δὲ ὅτι [...] 'some say that...'; it is thus perhaps a more dubious addition to this list.¹⁴¹ F 4 deals with Diodoros' account of Thymoites, some contemporary of Orpheus.¹⁴² He had visited Nysa and, based on information from the locals, had written a poem about Dionysos, who hailed from there.¹⁴³ Moreover, Thymoites' poem was perhaps in Phrygian: συντάξασθαι τὴν Φρυγίαν ὀνομαζομένην ποίησιν, ἀρχαικοῖς τῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασι χρησάμενον 'he composed the so-called Phrygian poem, which used old language and letters'. Cicero (F 5) writes of a certain Herakles from Egypt who authored *Phrygias litteras*.¹⁴⁴ F 6A–B claim that Diagoras 'the Atheist' had written Phrygian tales (A) or rather in Phrygian (B).¹⁴⁵ The atomist philosopher Demokritos (5th–4th centuries BCE), according to Diogenes Laërtios, also authored a Φρύγιος λόγος (F 7).¹⁴⁶ F 8A–D mainly focus on a certain Timotheos, a contemporary of Ptolemaios I of Egypt (A; ca. 300 BCE).¹⁴⁷ As a scion of the Eumolpidae (B), a priestly family of Eleusis, he was an authority figure on religion and was credited with writings on the Phrygian Great Mother (C) and Gallos River (D).¹⁴⁸ F 9 comes from 3rd-century Christian scholar Eusebios, who cites 'De Daedalis Plataeensibus', a lost treatise of Ploutarchos, that Phrygian stories make it evident that ancient myths served to explain the kosmos.¹⁴⁹ F 10 is Strabon citing traditions from both the Kretes and Phryges to assert that the Kouretai are προπόλους 'servants' of the gods (see also §1.2).¹⁵⁰ In F 11, Ploutarchos disregards the importance of Φρυγίοις γράμμασιν regarding the lineages of certain religious figures.¹⁵¹ F 12 is a scholion on the *Argonautica* by Apollonios of Rhodos, where the scholiast cites Lysimachos of Alexandreia (1st century BCE).¹⁵² The passage mentions several lost authors, among whom ὁ τοὺς Φρυγίους λόγους γράψας, regarding the lineage of Achilleus. The last passage (F 13) comes from Damaskios (5th–6th centuries CE), who relates one of the topics of Platon's 'Kratylos' to Phrygian teaching: 'Rhea is the flow of everything according to Sokrates in the Kratylos, and she sets everything in themselves and calls them to herself, as also the Phrygian tellings teach'.¹⁵³

¹⁴¹ Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Ἰκόνιον [= I 46] = FGrHist. 800 F 3.

¹⁴² Diodoros 3.67.5 = FGrHist. 800 F 4.

¹⁴³ TM Geo 1482; TM God 111.

¹⁴⁴ Cicero *De natura deorum* 3.42 = FGrHist. 800 F 5.

¹⁴⁵ Tatianos *Oratio ad Graecos* 27, al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik *Life of Zeno of Elea* 30 = FGrHist. 800 F 6A–B.

¹⁴⁶ Diogenes Laërtios 9.7 [= *Demokritos*] 49 = FGrHist. 800 F 7.

¹⁴⁷ Ploutarchos *De Iside et Osiride* 28, Tacitus *Historiae* 4.83.2, Arnobius *Adversus nationes* 5.5, Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Γάλλος [= Γ 28] = FGrHist. 800 F 8A–D.

¹⁴⁸ Eleusis (TM Geo 10345). Magna Mater (TM God 123). Gallos (TM Geo 45034).

¹⁴⁹ Ploutarchos *De Daedalis Plataeensibus* apud Eusebios *Praeparatio evangelica* 3.1.1 = FGrHist. 800 F 9.

¹⁵⁰ Strabon 10.3.7 = FGrHist. 800 F 10.

¹⁵¹ Ploutarchos *De Iside et Osiride* 28–29 = FGrHist. 800 F 11.

¹⁵² Lysimachos of Alexandreia *Nostoi* 2 apud *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* 1.558 = FGrHist. 800 F 12.

¹⁵³ Damaskios *Aporiai kai lyseis peri ton proton archon* 282 = FGrHist. 800 F 13: ἡ τε γὰρ Ῥέα πάντων ἐστὶ ῥοή κατὰ τὸν ἐν Κρατύλῳ Σωκράτην, καὶ πάντα ἴστησιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀνακαλεῖται πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ὥς καὶ οἱ Φρύγιοι διδάσκουσι λόγοι. Compare Platon *Kratylos* 402B.

Herodotos provides us the earliest non-fragmentary literary source. Yet, he does not delve deep into the subject of the Phryges, as his stated objective is to inquire into the cause of the Graeco-Persian War (δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι).¹⁵⁴ To that end, he does dedicate much of his work to the history of foreign peoples, but his many digressions are indeed structured in service of his throughline, Persian history.¹⁵⁵ Still, the Lydian logos precedes this central topic, as King Kroisos both subjugated Greeks and got into conflict with the Persian king Kyros.¹⁵⁶ The opportunity does present itself here to digress to Phrygia, namely with the story of Adrastos (see §2.2.3), but likely would have been a step too far without a way of directly relating the Phryges to the Greeks or Persians, aside from producing an even longer introduction. So it seems that the Phryges as a single entity, if that even existed, never had a chance to take centre stage in Asia Minor before the Lydoi engaged in aggressive expansionism. This may also explain why the subsequent historical tradition, which took a particular interest in the military and political aspect following Thoukydides, neglects the downtrodden Phryges. On the other hand, the ancients created myths featuring Phrygian kings and settlements (see §4.3.2). What these accounts lack for facts on the Phryges, they attest to an effort into reconstructing the ill-known history of Phrygia.

2.2 Independent Phrygia

2.2.1 Early History

Despite their central geographic position, the Phryges stand out as non-autochthonous to Asia Minor. Their origins are reported to be in Europe, to which several passages pertain. One homeland proposed is Thrakia broadly,¹⁵⁷ where people known as the Brigoi, Brygoi or Bryges¹⁵⁸ are said to have resided before migrating, or specifically Makedonia¹⁵⁹ around Mount Bermion (see §2.2.3).¹⁶⁰ Another proposed homeland prior to Anatolian settlement is Arkadia, as presented by Pausanias.¹⁶¹ Strabon in any case places the Phryges in Asia before the Trojan War, after which Diodoros claims they had gained maritime dominance for 25 years.¹⁶² Xanthos of Lydia, however, placed the Phrygian arrival after the War.¹⁶³ The *communis opinio* in modern scholarship holds that the Phryges descend from Indo-Europeans who migrated from Thrakia by

¹⁵⁴ Herodotos 1.1: 'for what cause they warred with each other'.

¹⁵⁵ See Schreiner 1987.

¹⁵⁶ Herodotos 1.6–94.

¹⁵⁷ TM Geo 2414. Strabon 7.3.2, 7 Fragment 25, 10.3.16.

¹⁵⁸ TM Geo 61128. Herodotos 7.73; Strabon 7.3.2, 7 Fragment 25, 12.3.20. Cicero *Orator* 160: the oldest manuscripts for Ennius in Cicero's day apparently used *Bruges* only.

¹⁵⁹ TM Geo 1279.

¹⁶⁰ TM Geo 62506.

¹⁶¹ TM Geo 286. Pausanias 8.3.5–8.4.3.

¹⁶² Diodoros 7.11; Strabon 12.8.4.

¹⁶³ Xanthos of Lydia apud Strabon 14.5.29, Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Ἀσκαρία [= A 477] = FGrHist. 765 F 14A–B.

crossing the Hellespontos sometime after 1200 BCE.¹⁶⁴ Thereafter, they settled the interior highlands of Asia Minor. This view also accounts for the linguistic genealogy between Phrygian and Greek. Already in antiquity, Platon remarked that the two languages had similar-sounding words of the same meaning, and modern linguists consider Greek the most securely attested relative of Phrygian.¹⁶⁵ An alternative proposal is that they are descended from Indo-Europeans who migrated westwards from Asia Minor and further east.¹⁶⁶ The Greeks and Thrakes are, then, descended from those who went so far as to cross the Hellespontos.

On an etymological note, it is notable that their Thrakian and Asiatic names may be connected to the Proto-Indo-European root **b^herǵh-* ‘to rise, ascend’, whether due to the high elevation of their European homeland or of their new one.¹⁶⁷ Plinius, however, derives ‘Phryges’ from the Phryx River, a tributary of the Hermos.¹⁶⁸ If we assume he is correct, the same Proto-Indo-European root might have been applied to the river for its source, which is at a higher elevation. To then extend the potamonym onto the tribe or people living in the vicinity is nothing unusual.

As established in §1, the Phryges mainly inhabited the Asiatic inland and coast on the Hellespontos, but also an area on the east-bank of the Halys. In Herodotos’ *Historiae*, Pteria, which he places in Kappadokia, can be identified with this area even though he does not explicitly identify it with the Phryges (see §2.3.1).¹⁶⁹ Archaeologically, this eastern frontier is known to have been briefly settled by Phryges (ca. late 7th to mid-6th century BCE) until the destruction of its capital at Mount Kerkenes, never to be rebuilt.¹⁷⁰ Such an expansion is presumed to have been of opportunistic nature as the balance of power in Anatolia had grown quite unstable by the late 7th century BCE, rendering this area easy for conquest during a relatively late part of Phrygia’s independent era.¹⁷¹ However, as can be inferred from Herodotos, Pteria fell to Kroisos when all other Phrygian polities did. Similarly, it and the other territories under Lydian rule then fell to Kyros.

There are several examples of the ancients considering the Phryges an already ancient people. On the one hand, there is the linguistic case of Psammetichos (see §1.1). On the other, there are proverbs pertaining to a certain Nannakos.¹⁷² He was a King of the Phryges, living for

¹⁶⁴ Woodhouse 2009, 167.

¹⁶⁵ Platon *Kratylos* 410A. Martirosyan 2013, 126; Hämmig 2017; Obrador-Cursach 2019a.

¹⁶⁶ E.g. Drews 1993. In his view, the strongest argument against an eastward Phrygian migration is that it was formulated in the 5th century BCE, reasoning that most Greeks before this believed the Phryges to be autochthonous. This is, of course, irrelevant to historical reality.

¹⁶⁷ Pokorny 1959, 140–141; Rix, Kümmel et al. 2001, 78–79; McPherson 2018, 244.

¹⁶⁸ TM Geo 61477, 42613. Plinius 5.31.119.

¹⁶⁹ Herodotos 1.76–77.

¹⁷⁰ Summers 2018.

¹⁷¹ Summers 2018, 114.

¹⁷² Hermogenes apud Zenobios *Proverbia* 6.10 = FGrHist. 795 F 2; Herodas 3.10; *Souda* s.v. ἀπὸ Ναννάκου [= A 3448], Νάννακος [= N 24], τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου [= T 2], τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσομαι [= T 71]; Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Ἰκόνιον [= I 46].

300 years, until he perished alongside the rest of humanity in the Great Deluge. Some of the proverbs pertain to crying, as the Phryges either attempted to beseech the gods to avert the flood or were simply lamenting their fate. Others pertain to Nannakos living before the time of Deukalion, another figure from the deluge myth, who would survive the disaster and help repopulate the world.¹⁷³ The era of Nannakos, taking place before this event, was thus conceived as incredibly far back for the Greeks.

2.2.2 Phrygian Society

Little is said of how Phrygian society was structured. They may have been ruled by kings, Midas often being named, but there is much to be desired as to what their monarchy entailed. There are, however, also references to tribal divisions among the Phryges. For instance, a fragment of Hekataios of Miletos (6th–5th centuries BCE) makes mention of the Mylloi, but these are not attested elsewhere.¹⁷⁴ It appears as if it is derived from Greek μύλη ‘millstone’, which would render ‘(the Phryges) of the millstone’ vel sim., i.e. ‘millers’. Whether the term ‘Mylloi’ was actually used endonymically for a subgroup of Phryges is doubtful, however, as there is no reason to believe that Phryges would assume a Greek name. Perhaps, then, this tribal designation was only in use by Greeks.

Strabon does provide other Phrygian tribes. He says that the Berekyntes worship the Mother Goddess, syncretised with Rhea, along with all other Phrygians as well as the Troës, and that they have been used as a synonym for ‘Phrygian’, particularly in Aischylos, who also refers to the Troas in the same manner.¹⁷⁵ Strabon also claims that the author of the Phoronis called the Kouretai Phryges, while others considered them Kretes, and that some called the Kouretai along with the Korybantes offspring of the Daktyloi of Mount Ida.¹⁷⁶ To that end, he also reports that some writers considered the Daktyloi the first settlers at the bottom of Mount Ida. Without evidence to link these tribes to physical geography, accounts on Phrygian tribalism are of little concern to this chapter.

The region also produced various eponymous commodities. Those relating to garments were most significant, as the palatial complex at Gordion could house and sustain about 300 labourers working the loom.¹⁷⁷ In the same vein, Strabon mentions nearby Lykaonia as a productive area for keeping sheep.¹⁷⁸ If we equate this region to the Konya-Karaman Plain, domestic wool could easily have supplied such workshops. Moreover, the Phryges seem to have

¹⁷³ See Apollodoros *Bibliotheca* 1.7.2.

¹⁷⁴ TM Geo 66204: ‘Mylisin’ is a manuscriptal variant; see the critical apparatus in Billerbeck 2014, 344. Hekataios of Miletos *Asia* apud Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Μύλαιοι [= M 238] = FGrHist. 1 F 270.

¹⁷⁵ Strabon 10.3.12, 12.8.21.

¹⁷⁶ Strabon 10.3.19, 10.3.22.

¹⁷⁷ Thonemann 2013, 9–10.

¹⁷⁸ Strabon 12.6.1.

played a key role in the spread of fibulae, pins holding garments together.¹⁷⁹ A particularly well-known item of clothing was the so-called Phrygian cap, which appears in art as early as the 6th century BCE to identify Phryges, although it also had general Eastern associations.¹⁸⁰ From epigraphy, we find mention of ‘tightly woven long-sleeves, a Phrygian ornament’ (line 7),¹⁸¹ and of the *singilio Phrygiacus*, a very basic garment by decree (301 CE) priced at 600 denarii.¹⁸² Of course, there were non-textile wares associated with the Phryges as well. The aforementioned decree lists ‘a pound of resin from Kolophon or Phrygia’ at 6 denarii.¹⁸³ Phrygian marble from Afyonkarahisar was also coveted (see §1.2.2)¹⁸⁴ and Plinius mentions that Phrygia produced honey wine of the highest quality, salt, purple jaspers and ivory-like gems.¹⁸⁵

Phrygian culture as practiced by Phryges is poorly sourced in literature. They evidently worshipped a mountain goddess, who was imported to Rome as Magna Mater,¹⁸⁶ and her late consort Attis, attested in various inscriptions.¹⁸⁷ The Galli, their priests, appear to have had a bad reputation in Rome for their decadent appearance and rites.¹⁸⁸ Phrygia was also associated with music, considering the various musicians and instrument-builders supposedly hailing from the area,¹⁸⁹ as well as the existence of a Phrygian τόμος.¹⁹⁰ We cannot say to what degree this association reflected historic Phrygian music.

2.2.3 Myths of Midas

As with most ancient stories, there is no ancient canon that compiles all the exploits of Midas. A comprehensive account of this figure might be structured around the various subjects of tales he features in, of which there are a few. It is clear that the following tellings are not meant to offer a factual retelling of history, as they cannot, but that they often illustrate a certain narrative in a very concrete manner.

¹⁷⁹ Muscarella 1964, 39–40. Obrador-Cursach 2019b.

¹⁸⁰ Roller 1983, 304–306, 315 Figure 3, 316 Figure 4.

¹⁸¹ TM 584371, dated 1st century CE: *teretes manicas Phrygium decus*.

¹⁸² TM 384282, §19 line 62.

¹⁸³ TM 383816: *resinae Colofoniae sive Frix(i)ae pondo*.

¹⁸⁴ Strabon 12.8.14.

¹⁸⁵ Plinius 14.20.113, 31.39.73, 31.41.84, 37.37.115, 37.61.151.

¹⁸⁶ TM 234264 (dated to the latter half of the 1st century CE), 257765 (dated to 6–9 CE). Cicero *De haruspicum responsis* 12.24, 13.27; Julianus *Orationes* 5.

¹⁸⁷ TM 542248 (dated to 169–180 CE), 584371, 569857 (dated to 19 April 319 CE).

¹⁸⁸ Pseudo-Cicero *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.62.

¹⁸⁹ Hyagnis: *Marmor Parium* (TM 775658) = FGrHist. 239 A 10; Alexandros Polyhistor *Synagoge ton peri Phrygias* apud Pseudo-Ploutarchos *De musica* 5 [= *Moralia* 1132F] = FGrHist. 273 F 77; Pseudo-Ploutarchos *De musica* 7 [= 1133F]. Marsyas: Euphorion F 203 = Athenaios 4.184A; Alexandros Polyhistor *Synagoge ton peri Phrygias* apud Pseudo-Ploutarchos *De musica* 5 [= *Moralia* 1132F] = FGrHist. 273 F 77; Plinius 7.56.204; Pseudo-Ploutarchos *De musica* 7 [= 1133D–E]. Midas: Konon apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 186 = FGrHist. 26 F 1; Plinius 7.56.204; Roller 1983, 309. Olympos: Alexandros Polyhistor *Synagoge ton peri Phrygias* apud Pseudo-Ploutarchos *De musica* 5 [= *Moralia* 1132F] = FGrHist. 273 F 77; Pseudo-Ploutarchos *De musica* 7 [= 1133D–E]; *Souda* s.v. Ὀλυμπος [= O 219–221]. Silenos: Euphorion F 203 = Athenaios 4.184A.

¹⁹⁰ Pseudo-Ploutarchos *De musica* 8 [= 1134A–B], 33 [= 1142F–1143B].

Gordion is said to have been where Midas had his royal residence.¹⁹¹ Arrianos claims that there, Midas, after fulfilling a prophecy received by his father, united the Phryges upon assuming the kingship.¹⁹² Strabon, however, says that he ruled over Greater Phrygia while living near the Sangarios River, implying that the region on the Hellespontos fell outside of his control.¹⁹³ This is in stark contrast to the historian Sallustius (1st century BCE), who calls him ‘King of the Dardanoi’, a people in the Troas who also ruled over Phrygia.¹⁹⁴ However, Midas is in several cases placed in Europe. His seat of power is then equated to the aforementioned Mount Bermion.¹⁹⁵ The historian and mythographer Konon (latter half of the 1st century BCE – former half of the 1st century CE) explicitly states that Midas ruled the Briges, who lived under that mountain.¹⁹⁶ Sometimes a garden is mentioned in the same place, where Midas took great care for growing roses.¹⁹⁷ It was supposedly Karanos of Makedonia who drove out Midas from Europe to Asia.¹⁹⁸

Midas is often mentioned as an exemplar of a wealthy king, sometimes alongside other such persons. For instance, when Plinius wonders why the Romans imposed tributes of silver instead of gold, he precludes that other nations are too poor to pay in gold, as ‘Midas and Kroisos already possessed wealth unlimited’.¹⁹⁹ Some accounts mention his economic status was prophesised as a small child, when supposedly ants would carry wheat into his mouth.²⁰⁰ Konon claims Midas became wealthy from a treasure he found, whereas Strabon connects it to the mines round Mount Bermion.²⁰¹ This wealth is sometimes portrayed negatively, linking it with decadence, luxury, greed and effeminacy, feeding into prejudice for ‘the East’.²⁰² On the other hand, Athenaios’ (ca. 200 CE) encyclopaedic *Deipnosophistae* attests to the proverb κέστρεύς νηστεύει ‘a grey mullet is fasting’, meaning that someone is honest, in reference to Midas.²⁰³ Another positive characterisation of Midas’ wealth is perhaps found in Herodotos, according to whom he was the first barbarian to make offerings to Delphoi, after which he was followed by

¹⁹¹ Curtius Rufus 3.1.11–12; Ploutarchos *Alexandros* 18.1; Arrianos *Anabasis* 2.3.1–6.

¹⁹² See Ailianos *De natura animalium* 13.1.

¹⁹³ Strabon 12.8.1.

¹⁹⁴ Sallustius *Historiae* 3 Fragment 82 apud Servius *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidem* 2.325: *Dardaniae Troiae. Aut a Dardano Iovis et Electrae filio, ... aut certe, secundum Sallustium, a rege Dardanorum Mida, qui Phrygiam tenuit.*

¹⁹⁵ Herodotos 8.138; Strabon 14.5.28.

¹⁹⁶ Konon apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 186 = FGrHist. 26 F 1: the mountain is named τὸ Βρέμιον.

¹⁹⁷ Herodotos 8.138; Athenaios 15.683B.

¹⁹⁸ Justinus *Epitome* 7.1.11.

¹⁹⁹ Plinius 33.15.51: *Iam Midas et Croesus infinitum possederant.* See also Midas along with others: Platon *Leges* 2.660E along with Kinyras; Philon *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 19.137 along with Kroisos and the Great King; Loukianos *Dialogi mortuorum* 3(2).1–2 with Kroisos and Sardanopallios, *Menippos* 18 with Sardanopallios, *De mercede conductis* 20 with Kroisos; Julianus *Orationes* 2.85C with Tantalos. See also Midas on his own: Platon *Respublica* 3.408B1; Pseudo-Ploutarchos *Fragmenta* 140 [= *De nobilitate* 10] apud Stobaios 4.29.22; Libanios *Epistulae* 32.3, 95.1, 117.1, *Orationes* 18.124, 33.16.

²⁰⁰ Cicero *De divinatione* 1.36.78, 2.31.66; Valerius Maximus 1.6 External 2; Ailianos *Varia historia* 12.45.

²⁰¹ Konon apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 186 = FGrHist. 26 F 1; Strabon 14.5.28.

²⁰² Plinius 33.15.51; Loukianos *Menippos* 18; Athenaios 12.516B–C; Sidonius Apollinaris *Epistulae* 5.7.6.

²⁰³ Euphron *Aischra* Fragment 2 apud Athenaios 7.307C, E: Μίδαξ δὲ κέστρεύς ἐστι νῆστις περιπατεῖ ‘Midas is a grey mullet; he walks about fasting’.

Gyges.²⁰⁴ Theopompos and Diodoros both credit him with the construction of the temple of Kybele at Pessinous, and Pseudo-Ploutarchos claims he made a golden altar at Kelainai to Zeus of Mount Ida by touching the stone.²⁰⁵ On a related note, Midas is known for his domestic religious exploits. The Eastern cults of Phryges are attributed to his teachings, since Trogus (1st century BCE) supposedly considers him a pupil of Orpheus or, according to 2nd-century Church Father Clemens of Alexandria, the obscure Odrysos.²⁰⁶

According to Pausanias, there was a spring near Ankyra, a settlement Midas had founded.²⁰⁷ By mixing wine into the spring water, he was able to intoxicate and capture Silenos, also referred to as Satyros.²⁰⁸ Many accounts have a different location for the spring or leave it out.²⁰⁹ Ploutarchos, citing Aristoteles, does not mention how the king took Dionysos' companion captive.²¹⁰ Theopompos claims that the chains holding Silenos loosened themselves, after which he spoke to Midas about the nature of the universe.²¹¹ The world beyond ours, as presented by Silenos, is, however, likely a vehicle for Theopompos' own philosophy. Ailianos (2nd–3rd centuries CE), one of the sources for Theopompos, doubts the story's veracity. Similarly, Cicero also claims that Silenos divulged wisdom to the king, stating 'that it is best for man by far to not be born, but in second place to die as soon as possible', after which the satyr regained his freedom.²¹² Maximos of Tyros (2nd century CE) tells us that, after their encounter, Midas received from Silenos the golden touch.²¹³ His ability to turn anything he touched into solid gold was well-known, and was usually brought up as a cautionary tale against excess wealth.²¹⁴ Konon, however, frames it as the impetus for the Briges to migrate from Europe into Asia, whereas in Pseudo-Ploutarchos' aforementioned account, Midas seems to have a certain degree of control

²⁰⁴ Herodotos 1.14.

²⁰⁵ Theopompos apud Ammianus Marcellinus 22.9.7 = FGrHist. 115 F 260; Diodoros 3.59.8; Pseudo-Ploutarchos *Parallela minora* 5 [= *Moralia* 306E–F].

²⁰⁶ Justinus *Epitome* 11.7.14; Clemens of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 2.12.

²⁰⁷ Pausanias 1.4.5.

²⁰⁸ See TM God 763 for onomastic variants. This method appears in other sources: Theopompos of Chios *Philippica* 8 apud Ailios Theon *Progymnasmata* 2.66.16–22 = FGrHist. 115 F 74A. Herodotos 7.26 calls Marsyas a silenos.

²⁰⁹ Elsewhere: Herodotos 8.138 in the garden of Midas under Mount Bermion; Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.13 on the road from Kaýstrou-pedion to Thymbrion; Konon apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 186 = FGrHist. 26 F 1 under Mount Bermion; Bion of Prokonnessos apud Athenaios 2.45C = FGrHist. 14 F 3 between the territory of the Paiones and Maidoi in Europe. Omitted: Theopompos of Chios *Thaumasias* apud Servius *Commentarii in Vergilii bucolica* 6.13 = FGrHist. 115 F 75B; Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.48.144.

²¹⁰ Aristoteles *Fragmenta* 1.44 apud Ploutarchos *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 27.

²¹¹ Theopompos of Chios *Thaumasias* apud Servius *Commentarii in Vergilii bucolica* 6.13, Ailianos *Varia historia* 3.18, Tertullianus *Adversus Hermogenem* 25.5 = FGrHist. 115 F 75B–C, E.

²¹² Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.48.114–155: *non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori*.

²¹³ Maximos of Tyros *Dissertationes* 5.1. Dion Chrysostomos *Orationes* 64.2 does not specify to which divinity Midas prayed for this ability.

²¹⁴ Aristoteles *Politica* 1.3.16 [= 1257B]; Hyginus *Fabulae* 191; Ploutarchos *Publicola* 15.5; Loukianos *Gallus* 6, *Navigium* 21.

over his ability.²¹⁵ In Hyginus' *Fabulae*, an Early Roman Imperial handbook on mythology, Midas did wish to rid himself of this power and thus bathed in the Paktolos River in Lydia, imbuing it with gold.²¹⁶ Lastly, Philostratos in his *Vita Apollonii* claims that Midas was related to Silenos, explaining not only how he knew the satyr would be lured by wine in a fountain, but also why Midas had the long ears of a donkey.²¹⁷

Among his *Imagines*, Philostratos, perhaps a different one from the previous, similarly describes Midas already having long ears upon his capture of Silenos.²¹⁸ However, not every attestation supports this notion, and there is disagreement in how Midas acquired his ears. For instance, Athenaios tells of a Lydian noble stretching out Midas' ears as punishment for his decadence and effeminacy.²¹⁹ The *Mythologiae* (1567), drawing on the otherwise lost Hekataios of Abdera (4th–3rd centuries BCE), claims Midas was said to have donkey's ears after capturing the towns atop fortified hills in Phrygia, which together were called *Aures asini*.²²⁰ According to Konon, Midas' long ears found their origin in his intelligence network to quell dissent.²²¹ Petronius mentions that reeds sang of Midas' donkey ears, which is perhaps best associated with the tellings where Midas acquired them later in life.²²² In any case, Midas' long ears were commonly used as a point of comparison in various contexts, including with certain bugs that because of their antennae, according to the naturalist Theophrastos (4th century BCE), resemble having long ears.²²³

Regarding Midas' death, it was said that he committed suicide by drinking bull's blood.²²⁴ Ploutarchos relates this to superstition, as Midas was supposedly deeply disturbed by his dreams and their prophetic potential. Strabon, on the other hand, grounds the act in desperation when the Kimmerioi, nomadic horse-riders, were said to have invaded Phrygia. 20th-century archaeologist Young had linked evidence of conflagration at Gordion to this invasion (ca. 700 BCE), but more recent research has favoured to interpret the destruction, having taken place around 800 BCE, as accidental.²²⁵ As a result, there currently no archaeological evidence for such an invasion nor for Midas' subsequent suicide. Bull's blood is also not a particularly lethal substance, considering animal blood is used in various food items. In any case, Ploutarchos

²¹⁵ Konon apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 186 = FGrHist. 26 F 1; Pseudo-Ploutarchos *Parallela minora* 5 [= *Moralia* 306E–F].

²¹⁶ Hyginus *Fabulae* 191.

²¹⁷ Philostratos (TM Author 679) *Vita Apollonii* 6.27.2.

²¹⁸ Philostratos (TM Author 3450) *Imagines* 1.22. Hyginus *Fabulae* 191 explains Midas' long ears as punishment from Apollon for judging in favour of Marsyas during the music contest between the two.

²¹⁹ Athenaios 12.516B–C.

²²⁰ Hekataios of Abdera apud Natalis Comes *Mythologiae* 9.15 = FGrHist. 264 F 20.

²²¹ Konon apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 186 = FGrHist. 26 F 1.

²²² Petronius *Fragmenta* 38.

²²³ Theophrastos *De causis plantarum* 4.15.4. See also: Suetonius *Persius*; Loukianos *Calumniarum non temere credendum* 5.

²²⁴ Strabon 1.3.21; Ploutarchos *De superstitione* 8 [= *Moralia* 168F], *Flamininus* 20.5 [= 380].

²²⁵ Young 1958, 4. See Rose, Darbyshire 2011.

attributes the same cause of death to the eminent military figures Themistokles and T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Additionally, an epigram in dactylic hexameters is first attested in Platon's *Phaidros*, presenting itself as the epitaph of Midas.²²⁶ According to the *Vita Herodotea* (3rd or 4th century CE), the people of Kyme ascribed it to Homeros.²²⁷ In the *Certamen* (former half of the 2nd century CE), he is commissioned by Midas' sons Xanthos and Gorgos.²²⁸ However, Diogenes Laërtios (ca. 200 CE) ruled out composition by Homeros, as he would have lived long before Midas.²²⁹ Instead, Diogenes mentions Kleoboulos of Lindos (6th century BCE) as the ascribed author. The Loeb editors for Platon, though aware of Diogenes' statement, consider for this role Platon himself, who, I presume, would have composed it in service of his discussion on rhetoric.²³⁰ This is perhaps a more sound origin, as I do not see why a Phrygian king would commission a Greek epitaph for himself. If it were genuine, the first verse informs us that a bronze statue of a girl stood on the Midas' grave: 'A girl of bronze am I, and on Midas' grave I lie'.²³¹ And if indeed both statue and grave existed, they had been lost by the time of Dion Chrysostomos (1st century CE).²³²

Various genealogical claims are made regarding Midas, most of which if not all are likely not meant to be consistent. There are a few references to Midas being the son of Gordias or Gordios.²³³ Etymologically, the a-stem Γορδίας seems to be older than thematic Γόρδιος, the latter likely deriving by analogy from the genitive of the former type Γορδίου; originally, the name was the Phrygian ethnicon for Gordion.²³⁴ As for his mother, Arrianos presents Midas' mother as a random village girl, whereas the Phryges, according to Ploutarchos, claimed she was the goddess Gynaïkeia, venerated by the Romans as Bona Dea.²³⁵ Herodotos tells of Adrastos son of Gordias and grandson of Midas, who killed Kroisos' son Atys in a hunting accident.²³⁶ Considering the etymology of Adrastos' name, from -διδράσκω 'run away', thus Ἄδραστος/Ἀδρηστος 'inescapable' vel sim., he is likely not a character from any prior tradition related to Phrygia.²³⁷ Herodotos would have invented him for his narrative concerning Kroisos and fate.²³⁸ The existence of Adrasteia (see §1.2.2) may then be unrelated, although it cannot be precluded as a

²²⁶ Platon *Phaidros* 264C–D.

²²⁷ Pseudo-Herodotos *Vita Homeri* 11. Kyme (TM Geo 16129).

²²⁸ *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 15.

²²⁹ Diogenes Laërtios 1.6 [= *Kleoboulos*] 89–90.

²³⁰ Emlyn-Jones, Preddy 2022, 477 note 102.

²³¹ *Anthologia Graeca* 7.153: χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κείμεναι.

²³² Dion Chrysostomos *Orationes* 37.38–39; he does not name an author.

²³³ Herodotos 1.14, 8.138; Arrianos *Anabasis* 2.3.1–6; Justinus *Epitome* 11.7.14; Pausanias 5.4.5; Ailianos *Varia historia* 4.17, *De natura animalium* 13.1; *Souda* s.v. Ὀλυμπος [= O 221]. Perhaps also Strabon 12.5.3. Herodotos 1.35, 1.45: Gordias is the son of Midas and father of Adrastos.

²³⁴ Obrador-Cursach 2019c, 547–548.

²³⁵ Ploutarchos *Caesar* 9.3; Arrianos *Anabasis* 2.3.1–4. Bona Dea (TM God 196).

²³⁶ Herodotos 1.34–45. See Valerius Maximus 1.7 External 4.

²³⁷ See Loukianos *Juppiter confutatus* 12.

²³⁸ Herodotos 1.6–94.

source of inspiration for Herodotos.²³⁹ Furthermore, according to Pseudo-Ploutarchos, Midas' son Anchouros was wed to a certain Timothea and sacrificed himself to save Kelainai from a mysterious sinkhole.²⁴⁰ Athenaios adds that Midas had an illegitimate son Lityersas, who ruled Kelainai as a bad king.²⁴¹ His sons Xanthos and Gorgos I have already mentioned. Midas' wife was said to have been a princess of Kyme. An historical fragment credited to Aristoteles calls her Hermodike, whereas the grammarian Julius Polydeukes (late 2nd century CE) names her Demodike daughter of Agamemnon of Kyme.²⁴² However, both accounts credit this princess with introducing minted coins, thus the marriage of Midas into the royal house of an Aiolic city likely serves as an explanation for the introduction of minted coins from the east into the Greek realm.

Lastly, I would like to tie back some of the aforementioned tellings back to a connection with the later Lydia. Namely, there are some parallels between the Phrygian Midas and the Lydian kings, Kroisos in particular.²⁴³ These are apparent in Herodotos: Kroisos is presented as a wealthy monarch who consults the wise Solon,²⁴⁴ like Midas and his interaction with Silenos, and Gyges is the first barbarian to present offerings to Delphoi following Midas.²⁴⁵ Likewise, both active in the 2nd century BCE, Loukianos invokes Midas, Kroisos and the treasures of Delphoi in praise of gold, and Maximus of Tyros references Kroisos as a more foolish king than Midas of the golden touch, for going against Kyros in his hybris.²⁴⁶ The parallelism can be attributed to the superficial comparison of two wealthy eastern kings. It may also present a sense of continuity in ancient historical narratives, perhaps best exemplified by, as previously mentioned, Midas imbuing the Paktolos with his golden touch. For as Lydia is a precursor to Persia, being the first nation to subjugate Greeks,²⁴⁷ Phrygia precedes Lydia in wealth. Midas, then, fulfils a crucial literary function, as he is a stand-in for the Phryges and what the Greeks associated with them in both his comparison to Kroisos (and Gyges) and his marriage into Aiolic Greece. In the many other stories I have mentioned above, he still serves a narrative purpose, only not as representation for the whole of Phrygia, but as the character of a Phrygian king. This, in my opinion, is the most useful way of approaching the mythological Midas.

²³⁹ TM Geo 61011.

²⁴⁰ Pseudo-Ploutarchos *Parallela minora* 5 [= *Moralia* 306E–F].

²⁴¹ Athenaios 10.415B.

²⁴² Aristoteles *Fragmenta* 8.611.37; Julius Polydeukes 9.83.

²⁴³ Berndt-Ersöz 2008, 5 note 25 makes this observation for Herodotos, but it holds true for other authors as well.

²⁴⁴ Herodotos 1.29–33.

²⁴⁵ Herodotos 1.14.

²⁴⁶ Loukianos *Timon* 41–42; Maximus of Tyros *Dissertationes* 5.2.

²⁴⁷ Herodotos 1.6.

2.2.4 Toward an Historical Midas

Regardless of the inconsistencies in ancient literature, modern scholarship has linked the figure of Midas to historical reality. This is not without good cause. The name *midas* appears several times throughout the Phrygian linguistic material, and in various ancient Near-Eastern sources, the similar sounding 'Mita' is attested as early as around 1500–1400 BCE.²⁴⁸ These Hittite sources are not treated with relevance to the historicity of Midas, however, considering they predate the estimated Phrygian migration into Asia Minor by at least 300 years. It does indicate that a name resembling that of Midas had already been in use in the Near-East before his appearance in Greek literature. Mita is further mentioned in several inscriptions of Sargon II as leader of the Mushki plotting and campaigning against the Neo-Assyrian Empire during the late 8th century BCE.²⁴⁹ The Mushki were a people living in northern Mesopotamia first mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I around 1114 BCE under the rule of five leaders.²⁵⁰ Due to the onomastic similarity of Midas and Mita, scholars have equated the Mushki to the Phryges of Asia Minor.²⁵¹ Berndt-Ersöz identifies this Mita as Midas I (ca. 723–677 BCE), as she distinguishes two historical Midases who supposedly inspired and were conflated by Greek authors.²⁵² The other, Midas III, she identifies as the one who committed suicide by bull's blood (640s BCE). Indeed, aware of the renewed dating of the destruction level at Gordion, Berndt-Ersöz relies on historical accounts from both the Greeks and the Near-East to date the invasion of the Kimmerioi to this time period, although she admits that no Near-Eastern source corroborates Greek accounts of an invasion of Phrygia. She is unconcerned with Midas II (670s BCE) and IV (ca. 600 BCE), who are mentioned respectively in an Assyrian source and by Herodotos as the grandfather of Adrastus.

However, some remarks are in order regarding these identifications. Firstly, Berndt-Ersöz does not justify why some Greek accounts are more reliable than others concerning Midas, even when they derive from the same source. For instance, she considers Herodotos' account of Midas (I) dedicating an offering to Delphoi the only one of historical value without explaining why Midas at Mount Bermion or Midas IV are ahistorical.²⁵³ Similarly, Strabon's account of Midas' suicide, which she believes he mistakenly connected to the Kimmerian invasion, can be used to date Midas III, whereas she pays no attention to his account of Midas amassing his wealth from the mines at Mount Bermion nor to Ploutarchos' account on Midas' death.²⁵⁴ On the other hand,

²⁴⁸ TM 756906; 756909, line 1; 756981; 757145, face B, line 4; 757258; 1002266. See CTH 146; Berndt-Ersöz 2008; Vassileva 2008; Meesters 2012.

²⁴⁹ Gadd 1954, 180, 182, 183, 184; Grant 2009, 67; Baruchi-Unna, Cogan 2018–2019, 43: '(the one of) powerful arms [sc. Sargon II], (who) drove off Mita, king of Muski'.

²⁵⁰ Meesters 2012, 85–87.

²⁵¹ Vassileva 2008, 165. Roller 1983, 300–301, however, reasons that they were two different peoples led by one person.

²⁵² Berndt-Ersöz 2008.

²⁵³ Berndt-Ersöz 2008, 19–20. See respectively Herodotos 1.14, 8.138, 1.34–45.

²⁵⁴ Berndt-Ersöz 2008, 25–26. See respectively Strabon 1.3.21, 14.5.29.

Berndt-Ersöz does see historical value in the accounts of Midas' marriage to a princess of Kyme, even though she recognises the gap of almost a century between Midas I and the introduction of coins in Kyme (late 7th century BCE). Considering the many tellings of Midas (see §2.2.3), some further explanation would have only benefitted her selection of them.

Secondly, Near-Eastern sources never state that the Mushki actually settled west of the Halys River. Without positive evidence to equate the Mushki and the Phryges, the identification of Midas I as Mita lacks its strongest argument, considering the onomastic argument, based on the mere phonological similarity of the names 'Midas' and 'Mita', is superficial.²⁵⁵ We might even go so far as to posit that *midas* might not be a name at all, but perhaps refers to a dynasty or an associated title;²⁵⁶ our understanding of this lexeme is simply too poor to produce any certainty. In any case, *midas* can be ascribed to several persons in the Phrygian corpus.²⁵⁷ Besides, there are other candidates than the Phryges who may be equated to the Mushki. Considering their locality in northern Mesopotamia,²⁵⁸ it is sensible to equate them to the ancestors of the Armenians, who may in turn be mentioned in Greek literature.²⁵⁹ The Moschoi are strong candidates, not only for the onomastic similarity to Mushki, which is less attributable to chance than Midas-Mita, but also for their territory. Strabon places them near the mountains of the Caucasus and Armenia, and Plinius mentions the rivers Phasis, which has its source among the Moschoi, and Hiberos as landmarks.²⁶⁰ However, I also believe some neighbouring groups, such as the Tibarenoi, Makrones, Mossynoikoi and Mares, whom Herodotos groups with the Moschoi under the Nineteenth Nomos of Dareios' empire,²⁶¹ are likely to have been lumped together under the term 'Mushki', rendering the Assyrian designation an unsurprising *pars pro toto*. Perhaps the Armenioi, living in that same area, can also be considered one of the Mushki tribes. This would relate at least some of the Mushki to the Phryges, as Herodotos claims the Armenioi to be Phrygian emigrants;²⁶² a modern interpretation of that statement would be that they share a common ancestor, the Balkanic Indo-Europeans. This, in turn, has linguistic support, as Armenian and Phrygian have long been thought to be closely related Balkanic Indo-European languages.²⁶³ If it would be necessary to consider the Phryges to have been Mushki, this shared ancestry might account for such labelling by the Neo-Assyrians. However, it seems likely to me, in that scenario,

²⁵⁵ See Obrador-Cursach 2020, 142, 300 s.v. *midas*.

²⁵⁶ See 'Minos': Jorro, Adrados 1985 s.v. *me-nu-a₂*, *me-nu-wa*.

²⁵⁷ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 300.

²⁵⁸ Meesters 2012, 86–87.

²⁵⁹ Diakonoff 1984, 67–69 refers to these ancestors with the outdated term "Thraco-Phrygian".

²⁶⁰ Strabon 11.2.14, 11.2.15. Phasis (TM Geo 38196): Plinius 6.4.13; Strabon 11.2.17 also states that this river rises in Armenia. Hiberos (TM Geo 65294): Plinius 6.11.29.

²⁶¹ Herodotos 3.94.

²⁶² Herodotos 7.73.

²⁶³ See Brixhe 2008, 72; Ligorio, Lubotsky 2018, 1816–1817; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 121–127.

that the Phryges would not be the only group included in that, considering the aforementioned peoples.

Of course, there is no precluding that there were Phrygian kings named Midas whom the Greeks would have taken notice of. I simply prefer to exercise more caution regarding the biography of any historical Midas based on classical literature. Herodotos' account of the offering to Delphoi is not impossible nor that, according to Strabon, there might have been a king ruling over the Sangarios River Valley; the persons in question may very well have been called 'Midas'. However, the notion that the former was a thorn in the flesh of Assyria has basis in either the Phrygian or the Near-Eastern material, and archaeology has as of yet not identified an invasion of the Kimmerioi that would have driven the latter to suicide, let alone by a non-lethal substance. In my opinion, the most we can credibly say is that the Greeks knew of Phrygian kings, some of whom bearing the Eastern name 'Midas', but that their exposure to an independent Phrygia was limited. As a result, Midas became an ideal figure to confabulate tales around in order to make up for a lacking understanding of Phrygian history. Subsequently, Midas as a literary prototype for the Phryges perhaps led to the naming of Phrygian slaves in Attika as Midas, as reported by Strabon (see §1.2.3).

A subsidiary issue regarding the equation of Mita of the Mushki with the Phrygian Midas is political unity. Mita being the only leader of the Mushki, whereas earlier sources had mentioned multiple, is interpreted as unification of these people under Mita; this would have implied greater international weight for the Mushki and would explain Mita's importance in the conspiracy he is named in.²⁶⁴ However, if we reject the exclusive identification of the Mushki with the Phryges, I see no reason to assume that the Phryges of Asia Minor were ever led by one king. The aforementioned compound *modrovanak* 'sovereign of Modra', compare Greek (ῥ)ᾱναξ 'king', indicates that the authority of Phrygian rulers was rather limited geographically (see §1.1.2).²⁶⁵ It could be argued that it points to the existence of a high kingship in the 6th century BCE, where lower ranking sovereigns or governors such as the *modrovanak* answered to a *primus inter pares*, the supreme **vanak*. If we assume that to have been the case, it can only account for a dominion encompassing the Sangarios River Valley at most, as that is where the relevant inscription as well as Modra are located.²⁶⁶ However, we have no reason to believe that the Phryges would have linguistically encoded a political hierarchy like that in the first place: the sovereign of Modra may simply have been a prince ruling from Modra. Thus, with our current understanding of the Phrygian material, we cannot presume that the authority of their kings extended to all corners of the Phrygian realm. As a result, a map like the one shown by Rose, presenting a unified Phrygian

²⁶⁴ Meesters 2012, 87.

²⁶⁵ TM 756913; TM Geo 34136. Obrador-Cursach 2020, 237–238, 303.

²⁶⁶ Strabon 12.8.1 would then likely reflect this situation.

polity stretching from Daskyleion and the Hellespontos to Kappadokia and further east, is particularly egregious.²⁶⁷

2.3 Phrygia Conquered

2.3.1 A Glance at Lydia

The Phryges were one of the many nations west of the Halys River to have been conquered by the Lydian king Kroisos.²⁶⁸ It is clear from archaeological evidence, on the one hand, that the Lydoi occupied Gordion around 600 BCE and that, following this, 'Midas City' (Yazılı Kaya) was abandoned and resettled.²⁶⁹ From literary sources, on the other hand, we know very little directly concerning this occupation. However, Lydian expansion was surely present in the Greek consciousness, particularly in mythology.²⁷⁰ For instance, the House of Tantalos is sometimes identified with Phrygia, sometimes with Lydia.

Kroisos lost his empire to Kyros after aiding the Babylonians in their war against the Persians and attracting the Great King's attention in 546 BCE.²⁷¹ It was then at the aforementioned Pteria, at the east-end of his realm, that he was defeated and driven back westwards to his capital at Sardeis.²⁷² Kyros' apparently showed leniency toward the vanquished Kroisos.²⁷³ According to Trogus, his clemency to the Lydoi is what prevented war with the Greek cities at that time, who presumably would have been unsettled by the sudden presence of such an aggressive power. On the other hand, Herodotos states that Kyros did force the Lydoi to disarm after staging a rebellion led by Paktyes, a native whom Kyros had put in charge of the Lydian treasury while he was on campaign.²⁷⁴ Regardless of the purported pacification of Lydian culture, the construction of tumuli during Achaimenid rule exemplifies a continued prospering of the Lydian elite.²⁷⁵ This is in contrast with the Phryges, who had not partaken in Paktyes' insurrection, yet underwent a process of societal simplification (see §2.3.3).

2.3.2 Persian Politics

The Persians took control of Asia Minor, heralding the Late Phrygian Period. They appointed σατράπαι, Persian governors, to σατραπείαι, their administrative areas, of which two were known

²⁶⁷ See Rose 2021, 27, 28 Figure 1.

²⁶⁸ Herodotos 1.6, 1.28. See Sallustius *Historiae* 3 F 92.

²⁶⁹ Rose 2021, 50–51, 56–57, 64–65.

²⁷⁰ Strabon 14.3.3; Rose 2021, 64 note 149; Bachvarova 2016, 422, 430.

²⁷¹ Curtius Rufus 3.4.2; Justinus *Epitome* 1.7.3–10; Ammianus Marcellinus 23.84.

²⁷² Frontinus *Stratagemata* 1.5.4, 2.4.12, 3.8.3; [Justinus] *Prologi* 1.

²⁷³ Herodotos 1.85–91; Boëthius *De consolatione philosophiae* 2.P2.34B–36. Justinus leaves out where Kyros spared Kroisos after divine intervention saves the latter from death.

²⁷⁴ Herodotos 1.153–161; followed by Justinus *Epitome* 1.7.11–13.

²⁷⁵ Thonemann 2013, 13–14.

to Greek authors as Phrygia, neither of them extending east of the Halys River.²⁷⁶ One was 'Greater Phrygia',²⁷⁷ occupying the Asiatic inland and centred around Kelainai, which held an important position at the crossroads between the Aigaian Sea and Persia.²⁷⁸ The other satrapeia was 'Lesser Phrygia', also called 'Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos',²⁷⁹ centred around Daskyleion.²⁸⁰ The latter province was governed by several persons before a regional Persian dynasty, that of the Pharnakidai, was established. It is not possible to provide an absolute chronology for these satrapai based on the literary sources. However, their years of service can be approximated, to varying degrees, based on the historical events they partook in, their relation to each other and the Great Kings they served. The identification of the satrapai of Greater Phrygia is on the other hand strangely absent. This is perhaps because this satrapeia was of lesser interest to historians compared to the neighbouring areas, or because government of the Asiatic inland was left to the satrapai of other provinces (see below).

Daskyleion and Kelainai being regional capitals implies the presence of satrapal palaces. The former is said to have been strongly fortified and served as a treasury in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (composed perhaps in the 4th century BCE),²⁸¹ while the latter is mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.²⁸² The archaeology of Kelainai, however, only suggests the presence of a royal residence,²⁸³ although it surely would not have been an unsuitable living space for satrapai. The Persian elite inhabiting satrapal capitals were integrated, at least to some degree, into the local culture, as evidenced by the use of a local Phrygian dialect in the aforementioned G-12 inscription (see §3.2.2.).

Assessing the administrative structure of Persian Asia Minor is, as with the rest of the Empire, difficult considering its flexibility. For instance, the amount of satrapeiai which Asia Minor alone was divided into fluctuated greatly between Dareios I (r. 522–486 BCE) and his successor Xerxes I (r. 486–465 BCE).²⁸⁴ This flux in the Persian administration is perhaps echoed in the Greek sources, as there is little apparent consistency in where one satrapes' authority ends or when it overlaps with that of another. Consequently, the two Phrygian satrapies are sometimes mentioned in the same breath as Lydia when they appear to share a satrap.²⁸⁵ Additionally, of the satrapai listed below, they are more often labelled as governing just Phrygia rather than either the Greater or the Lesser. Lastly, the satrapes of Lydia held authority extending beyond the borders

²⁷⁶ Anfosso 2021, 46.

²⁷⁷ Φρυγία ἡ μεγάλη (TM Geo 32).

²⁷⁸ Von Kienlin, Summerer, Ivantchik 2010, 226.

²⁷⁹ Φρυγία ἡ μικρά, ἡ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου/Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἡ Ἑλλησποντιακή, ἡ Ἑλλησποντία (TM Geo 66108).

²⁸⁰ TM Geo 16145. Herodotos 3.120, 3.126.

²⁸¹ TM Authorwork 2177.

²⁸² Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.7–8.

²⁸³ Von Kienlin, Summerer, Ivantchik 2010.

²⁸⁴ Llewellyn-Jones 2022, 139.

²⁸⁵ Herodotos 3.127; Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.9.7.

of his own satrapeia.²⁸⁶ Thus, the Phrygian satrapai, governing perhaps either one or two provinces, as well as those of Karia, Lykia, Thrakia and sometimes Kappadokia, which included a Paphlagonian satrapeia, could be commanded from Sardeis, capital of Lydia as well as western Asia Minor. The Lydian satrapes then served as an intermediary between the more localised satrapeiai and the Great King. This is evident in e.g. Xenophon's *Agésilaios*, where the Spartan king has the opportunity to negotiate with Tissaphernes of Lydia and Pharnabazos II of Phrygia on separate occasions, but his agreement with the former holds greater political weight due to his direct relation to the Great King.²⁸⁷

During the reigns of Kyros II (r. 559–530 BCE) and Kambyses II (r. 530–522 BCE), the satrapes Mitrobates governed in Phrygia. His name appears in a sequence of names in an imprecatory New Phrygian inscription, although the specific sentence is not well-understood.²⁸⁸ He was murdered at the hands of Oroites satrapes of Lydia, who himself did not govern for long after that.²⁸⁹ The next known Persian administrator at Daskyleion was Oibares son of the general Megabazos.²⁹⁰ The latter appears in an Old Phrygian graffito from Daskyleion with a presumed court title: *tasabara bagaba ʾos* 'axe-bearer Megabazos'.²⁹¹ The publishers of the *editio princeps* conceive Megabazos as possibly having had satrapal duties.²⁹²

During the reign of Xerxes I (r. 486–465 BCE), and specifically during the regency of Pausanias over Sparta (r. 479–478 BCE), a certain Megabates had come to rule from Daskyleion, but was superseded by one of the king's confidants: Artabazos I son of Pharnakes.²⁹³ He was a scion of the House of Achaimenes and, through his descendants' holding at Kios, this cadet branch would in later centuries be the progenitors of the Mithridatic dynasts.²⁹⁴ Additionally, this lineage, although not necessarily through the satrapai of Phrygia, was surely the namesake of the settlements of Pharnakeia, in Pontos, and Pharnakion, at an unspecified location.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁶ Jacobs 1994, 46, 124–125, 128–133, 222–223.

²⁸⁷ Xenophon *Agésilaios* 1.9–10 (Tissaphernes), 3.5 (Pharnabazos).

²⁸⁸ TM 867450 line 3.

²⁸⁹ Herodotos 3.120–128.

²⁹⁰ Herodotos 6.33.

²⁹¹ TM 1002890.

²⁹² Lubotsky, Kasar, İren 2025, 6.

²⁹³ Thoukydides 1.129.1. Herodotos 7.66 also mentions Artabazos' relation to Pharnakes.

²⁹⁴ TM Geo 1106. Strabon 12.3.41; Appianos *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 9.27–29. See Llewellyn-Jones 2022, 140.

²⁹⁵ TM Geo 33631 (Pharnakeia): Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Φαρνάκεια [= Φ 34]. Pharnakeia's relative location: Strabon 7.6.2 and further; Plinius 6.4.11. TM Geo 66340 (Pharnakion): Alexandros Polyhistor *Peri Phrygias* 3 apud Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Φαρνάκεια [= Φ 34] = FGrHist. 273 F 75.

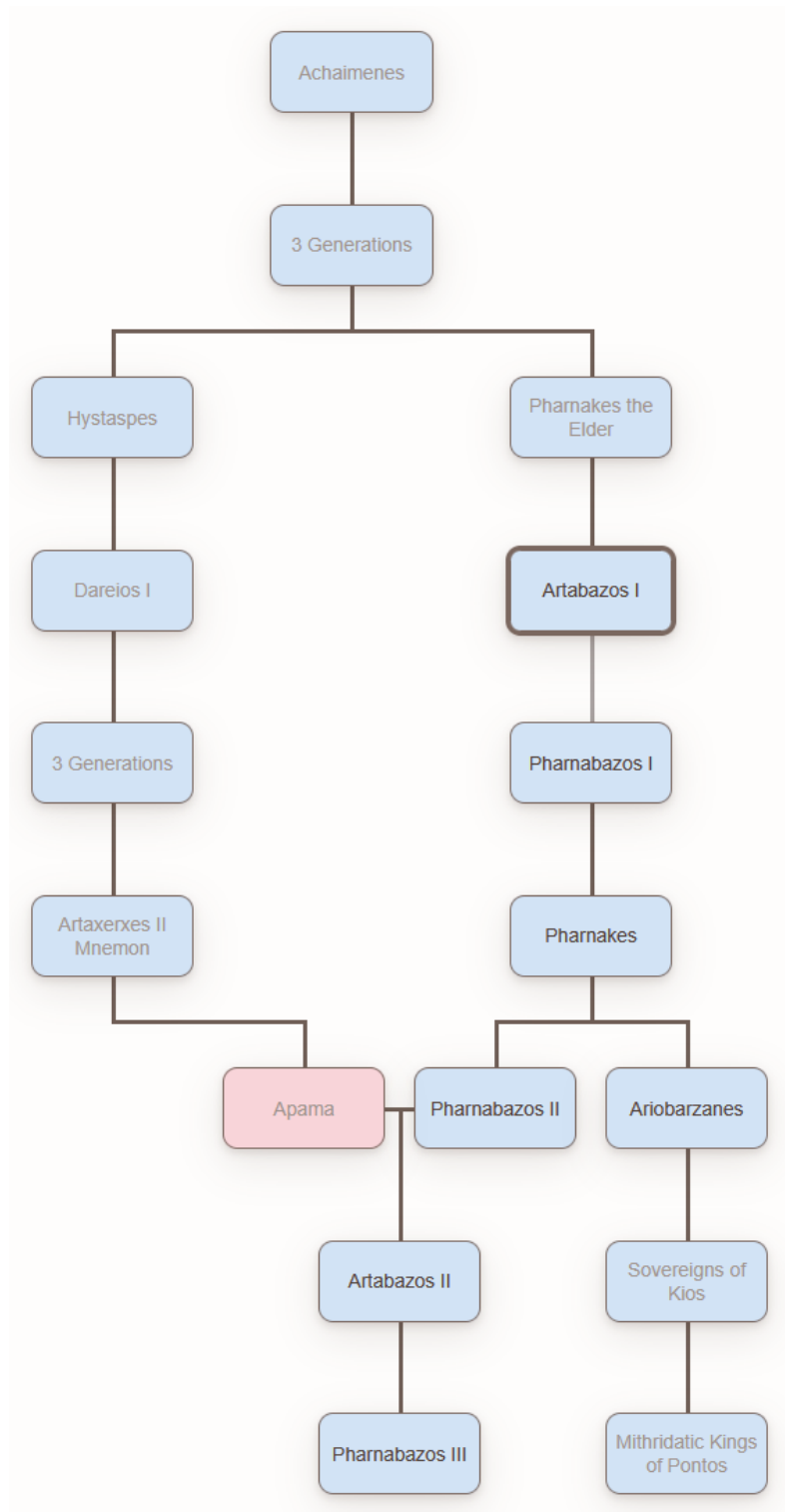


Figure 2.1: The Dynasty of the Pharnakidai and their relation to the main branch of the Achaimenidai. The faint line between Artabazos I and Pharnabazos I indicates uncertainty in their relation.

Pharnabazos I is not very well known from literary sources, and his relation to his predecessor Artabazos I is not explicitly stated. Thoukydides does mention him as the father of his successor Pharnakes, who was satrapes at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War and fathered several sons.²⁹⁶

Pharnabazos II succeeded his father Pharnakes.²⁹⁷ He was an important military figure during the Peloponnesian War and Spartan Hegemony, and, in general, a man of great influence in Asia Minor.²⁹⁸ His wintering at Gordion in 407 BCE indicates that his authority extended into the Sangarios River Valley.²⁹⁹ He was also the satrapes who gave Alkibiades an estate on the Hellespontos before having him assassinated in 404 BCE.³⁰⁰ Cornelius Nepos specifies that Alkibiades received a stronghold at Gryneion, which is not on the Hellespontos but on the Aigaian Sea.³⁰¹ Unless we assume this to be erroneous, it may be further evidence of a fluid administration with no strict boundaries demarcating a satrapes' authority. Pharnabazos wed Apame, the daughter of Artaxerxes II.³⁰² For this, he was recalled to Persia in 387 BCE, requiring his brother to succeed him.³⁰³ This is the only marriage of a satrapes of Phrygia to be explicitly stated in historical literature, indicating a lack of interest in marriages of other generations, which would likely have included Phrygian nobles.³⁰⁴

Ariobarzanes thus succeeded his brother Pharnabazos II.³⁰⁵ He rebelled around 366 BCE, however,³⁰⁶ along with other satrapai of Asia Minor.³⁰⁷ He was ultimately betrayed by his son Mithridates,³⁰⁸ through whom the Mithridatic dynasts of Pontos trace their lineage back to the Achaimenidai.³⁰⁹ Ariobarzanes, however, was crucified on the orders of Artaxerxes II.³¹⁰

²⁹⁶ Thoukydides 2.67.1, 8.58.1.

²⁹⁷ Thoukydides 8.6.1; Aristoteles *Historia animalium* 6.36 [= 580B6–9].

²⁹⁸ E.g. Xenophon *Agésilaios* 1.23, *Anabasis* 6.4.24, *Hellenica* 1.1.6, 1.1.14, 1.1.20, 1.2.16, 3.4.10, 3.4.13; Plutarchos *Agésilaios* 8.3, 11–13, *Alkibiades* 24.1, *Lysandros* 20.1–4.

²⁹⁹ Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.4.1. See Justinus *Epitome* 11.7.3–4: Gordion is located at the boundary between Greater and Lesser Phrygia.

³⁰⁰ Diodoros 13.37.4–5, 13.73.6, 14.11.1–4; Plutarchos *Alkibiades* 39; Ailianos *Varia historia* 4.15; Athenaios 12.535E, 13.574F.

³⁰¹ TM Geo 33622. Nepos 7.9–10.

³⁰² Xenophon *Agésilaios* 3.3.3; Isokrates *Panegyricus* 140; Nepos 14.3.4–5; Diodoros 15.29.3–4, 15.41–43; Plutarchos *Artaxerxes* 27.4. This marriage is alluded to in Epikrates' *Antilaïs* F 2 apud Athenaios 13.570C.

³⁰³ Xenophon *Hellenica* 5.1.28.

³⁰⁴ Llewellyn-Jones 2022, 140.

³⁰⁵ Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.4.8, 5.1.28; Nepos 14.2.5; Diodoros 15.90.3, 17.17.6.

³⁰⁶ Demosthenes 15.9.

³⁰⁷ Nepos 14.5.6.

³⁰⁸ Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.4; Aristoteles *Politica* 5.8.15 [= 1312A].

³⁰⁹ Plutarchos *Demetrios* 4.

³¹⁰ Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.8.4; [Justinus] *Prologi* 10.

Artabazos II could then take over the reins, replacing his rebellious uncle in 366 BCE at the earliest. However, he staged a rebellion of his own (ca. 356–353 BCE) against Artaxerxes III (r. 358–338 BCE), which ultimately failed.³¹¹ He went into exile in Makedonia, ruled by Philippos II (r. 359–336 BCE), until the Great King had the charges against him dropped, permitting his return.³¹² It is not stated if he was restored to as satrapes before he disappears from the record.

Pharnabazos III succeeded his father Artabazos.³¹³ He likely became satrapes upon his father's exile rather than after his return and subsequent passing. During the last years of the Persian Empire, he worked with Autophradates the satrapes of Lydia against the forces of Alexandros III of Makedonia.³¹⁴ He was imprisoned on Chios in either 332 or 331 BCE for opposing Alexandros.³¹⁵ Considering his successor, Pharnabazos' opposition must have been strictly in military capacity, not as satrapes. His wife and son would also be taken captive by the Greeks, perhaps indicating that the next satrapes was not his offspring.³¹⁶

The last Persian governor of Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos was Arsites.³¹⁷ Little is given about the satrapes, except that he opposed Memnon's strategy to oppose Alexandros' invasion and, after the loss at the Granikos River (334 BCE), took his own life in the Phrygian countryside.³¹⁸ Pausanias names him as the satrapes during the Siege of Perinthos in 340 BCE, but, as Pharnabazos III was still active during the early years of Alexandros' reign (r. 336–323 BCE), this is likely a misattribution.³¹⁹ It must therefore be assumed that Arsites had only been satrapes for a few years at most before the Makedonian invasion. His relation to the Pharnakidai is unstated, and perhaps he was not related to them at all.

2.3.3 Persian Phrygia

It is striking that authors make no mention whatsoever of local Phrygian rulers or elites. These must have been around, as evinced by a Phrygian tomb near Kelainai dated to around 470 BCE, whose interior wall paintings also inform us that members of the elite wore Persian clothes and identified themselves with their overlords.³²⁰ Considering the Persians' style of government, they must have been cooperating with the satrapai, who relied on their support in function of their duties: collection of taxes and tribute, raising troops and jurisdiction.³²¹ Power over Phrygia, as

³¹¹ Diodoros 16.22.1, 16.34.1–2.

³¹² Diodoros 16.52.

³¹³ Ploutarchos *Eumenes* 7.1. Also Curtius Rufus 2, p. 59.

³¹⁴ Arrianos *Anabasis* 2.1.3–2.2.3, 3.2.4–7.

³¹⁵ Curtius Rufus 4.5.20; Arrianos *Anabasis* 3.2.4–5.

³¹⁶ Curtius Rufus 3.13.14.

³¹⁷ Strabon 16.3.5; Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.12.8, 1.17.1.

³¹⁸ Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.16.3.

³¹⁹ Pausanias 1.29.10.

³²⁰ Miller 2013, 23, 36 Figures 5A–B.

³²¹ Llewellyn-Jones 2022, 138, 140.

presented by Greek sources, is focussed solely on the Pharnakidai. As representatives of the Great King in Sousa, they were not at all Phrygian, and their Persian-ness is perhaps emphasised by the wedding of Apama to Pharnabazos II while omitting marriages from other generations. This is no coincidence, as the Greeks were fixated on their antithesis, their Persian neighbours, as a sort of bogeyman.³²² The Phryges themselves were simply irrelevant to that narrative, and to that end, the lands they inhabited were reduced to their military and political function.

Whereas coins continued to be produced in Phrygia, Persian rule does correspond to a notable hiatus in the native epigraphical tradition, along with a sharp decline in monumental architecture.³²³ Thonemann proposes that this was not due to destruction at the hands of the new hegemon, but that the Phryges “rationally adapted” to their subordinate status through “de-statification”.³²⁴ By eliminating the centralised social organisation enabling the collection of tribute for the Persians, the Phryges made themselves not lucrative enough for the Empire to exploit them. This decentralisation then led to a relatively egalitarian society and economy even though it did render the Phryges more vulnerable to enslavement. However, this does not imply that the Persians totally lost interest in Phrygia. As evidenced by a paved road in the vicinity of Gordion, dating from the time of Dareios I (522–486 BCE) and serving as an alternative to the main Royal Road through Kelainai, the satrapal administration remained invested in the inland.³²⁵

It must be remarked, however, that Thonemann’s analysis of societal simplification is based mostly on the archaeology of Gordion and the Anatolian inland.³²⁶ Daskyleion is only mentioned for its palatial complex of the Middle Phrygian Period, and Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos is relevant to his thesis of de-statification only as it pertains to the linguistic evidence. His introductory sketch of Phrygia fails to mention Daskyleion at all, and he describes the area north-west of the Sangarios River Valley exclusively as an entrance from the Black Sea to Greater Phrygia.³²⁷ On the one hand, his analysis fills a gap left by ancient sources, who emphasise the strategically located Lesser Phrygia. On the other hand, it is worth incorporating the entirety of Phrygia into an analysis of Phrygia. His silence on the Phrygian East is more understandable due to the short-lived occupation of the east-bank of the Halys by the Phryges. However, this does not account for his omission of Ankyra. To conclude, the decentralisation of Phrygian society is a useful framework for Greater Phrygia during Achaimenid rule, but areas out west are insufficiently

³²² Llewellyn-Jones 2022, 11–20 provides an insightful overview of anti-Persian sentiment from Ancient Greece to the present day.

³²³ For Old Phrygian coin legends attested from this period, see Adiego, Obrador-Cursach 2021, especially 107–110 for the coins’ identification as Phrygian; Adiego, Obrador-Cursach 2022, especially 19–21; Fischer-Bossert 2023. Thonemann 2013, 3, 13–15.

³²⁴ Thonemann 2013, 14.

³²⁵ Llewellyn-Jones 2022, 143–144. Gordion would also have transitioned from a political to an economic centre: Thonemann 2013, 12; Voigt, Young 1999, 235–236.

³²⁶ See Thonemann 2013, 8–15.

³²⁷ Thonemann 2013, 4–8.

represented. If we are to believe the Greeks, Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos was politically of greater importance than the inland, and its cities were clearly integrated into the Persian political system, as evidenced by the aforementioned G-12 inscription (see §3.2.2).

2.4 Concluding Remarks

There is a noticeable distinction in how mainly the Greeks present this Phrygia and its inhabitants based around the conquest of Lydia by Kyros. Prior to Persian control, the Phryges are a people of legend and myth. Very little of what is said about them serves to provide hard facts (see also §4.3.2). Instead, the stories about Nannakos, Gordias, Midas and Silenos very clearly illustrate the world beyond the comprehension of the Greeks. It is unknown, frenzied and decadent, yet also ancient, even ancestral, to Greek civilisation. Midas is especially important as a carrier of these notions, irrespective of the historicity of this character. There may be a kernel of truth in the notion that Midas is based off of an individual named Mita, but we must keep in mind the weakness of our sources. The Old Phrygian linguistic material is especially insufficient to support Berndt-Ersöz' Midas I. The various tales of Midas matter more on their own rather than as a set narrative, as Midas is more of a representation for Phrygia and its associated notions. He brought minting to Greece, whether as husband to a princess of Kyme or by washing away the golden touch in a Lydian river. He set an example for Lydian kings, whether as ruler of an ancient realm that was later subjugated or by sending offerings to Delphoi. Additionally, following Kroisos' expansionism, the Phrygian identity is occasionally re-interpreted as Lydian in Greek myth.

Under Persian rule, however, the Phryges themselves strikingly irrelevant, and Greek interest in Phrygia completely evaporates. Any sense of importance goes to Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos, as that serves as a strategic homebase for the Persian fleet, a dread for the Greeks. Whereas the native Phrygian nobility fades into obscurity, the satrapai governing here are presented as undoubtedly Persian, with emphasis on their relation to the House of Achaimenes. It is perhaps of interest to compare this attitude of Greek writers toward the Pharnakidai, rooted in their identity-forming anti-Persian obsession, against that of Romans against the Mithridatic Kings of Pontos, their descendants. The focus away from the Phryges under Persian rule of course fits into the narrative that the Persians are a far greater threat than the decadently effeminate Phryges, even though they are both barbarians of the East.

3. Phrygia Civilised

Following the invasion by Alexandros III of Makedonia, Asia Minor became a battleground, leading to economic distress and a subsequent decline in funerary epigraphy.³²⁸ Phrygia was not spared, and a lacuna of Phrygian linguistic material appears from the 2nd century BCE onwards. There are, however, various literary accounts of the region's history, which may complement the extant epigraphy in order to paint a picture of a Hellenistic Phrygia.

3.1 Rule of the Greeks

3.1.1 The Literary Sources

When Alexandros III set out against Persia, a large entourage accompanied him. This was comprised of not only his generals and fighting men, but also scholars who recorded events during the expedition. For the most part, however, we do not have direct access to these eyewitness accounts and we thus rely on later works to provide us with coherent stories of Alexandros' empire and the chaos that ensued. The following paragraphs attempt to summarise these literary accounts with regard to Phrygia, in particular to its governance by Greeks. Directly below, however, I see fit to first consider these sources by themselves, so that we may interpret them critically.

Fortunately for the purpose of this thesis, the historiography of this period has a keen interest in, or rather bias toward, events in Asia Minor. This is, of course, part of the authors' own motives in composing their works. However, their impact on providing Phrygia with a diachronic overview of rulers is in all likelihood minimal. The greatest hurdle is that there is much to be desired on Phrygia during this period. As a result, we are left to fill in the blanks ourselves, and whenever necessary, make reference to epigraphy throughout the following summary in order to provide greater context.

Polybios was a 2nd century BCE historian.³²⁹ He thus lived through the years when the Romans turned their attention eastwards, and reported on it in his *Historiae*, a work that covers Roman expansion over 'nearly everything in the world'.³³⁰ However, his account, which is also informed by earlier historians, is complemented by official documents he had access to, e.g. the Treaty of Apameia.³³¹ Although there are factual mistakes in his work, it was clearly well-researched and, despite the lacunas, makes for a reliable source, one that would be consulted by Diodoros, Livius and Appianos.³³²

³²⁸ Strubbe 1991, 51 note 54.

³²⁹ TM Author 700.

³³⁰ Polybios 1.1.5: σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην.

³³¹ Paton 2010, xvi–xviii. Polybios 21.43.1–27.

³³² Paton 2010, xxii–xxiii, xxvii.

Diodoros was active in the 1st century BCE.³³³ His *Bibliotheca historica* is a work of immense scale, although unfortunately lacunary. He attempts to record ‘the general doings from the Trojan War to the death of Alexandros, and all other matters until the early stages of the war by the Romans against the Celts, where C. Julius Caesar was commander’ (ca. 1200–58 BCE).³³⁴ To that end, he draws on a large collection of authors, hence the title of his work ‘Library of History’.³³⁵ His account of the happenings after Alexandros’ death in books 18–20 mainly derives from Hieronymos of Kardia, who associated with the early Antigonid dynasts and thus provided a first-hand account.³³⁶

Livius lived through Rome’s transition from republic to empire during the 1st centuries BCE and CE.³³⁷ He wrote a history of Rome from the lead-up to its mythical founding to the death of Drusus the Elder in 9 BCE, aptly naming his work *Ab urbe condita*. It consisted of 142 books, of which only a quarter are extant, ending with the triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus in 167 BCE (book 45). Most of the abridgments of Livius’ work, *Epitomae*, are also lost, and we rely on excerpts in other authors as well as on the *Periochae*, abridgments of the *Epitomae*, to glimpse at what he had written.³³⁸ Although Foster, the Loeb editor, accuses the historian of lacking in historical criticism, Livius does provide us with a Roman perspective on their encroachment in the East.³³⁹

Justinus was a Latin author active in the 2nd century CE.³⁴⁰ Nothing is known about him except that he authored an abridged version of Trogus’ (active 1st century BCE)³⁴¹ *Historiae Philippicae*, an historical account of the world composed in Latin. Its brevity comes at a cost, however. In the first place, Justinus intended his *Epitome* to be an anthology, ‘a brief little collection as though of flowers’ as he calls it.³⁴² As a result, Trogus’ material is heavily reduced, omitted or misrepresented to reflect Justinus’ interests.³⁴³ Secondly, Trogus’ sources remain unidentified, although Kleitarchos is one of the posited sources on Alexandros.³⁴⁴ Although it is unfair to dismiss Justinus’ abridgment outright, grave caution is required in the interpretation of the facts he relates, which ought to be corrected here and there.³⁴⁵ The *Prologi* are essentially

³³³ TM Author 234.

³³⁴ Diodoros 1.4.6–7: τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν κοινὰς πράξεις (...) ἕως τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς (...) τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπάσας (...) μέχρι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ συστάντος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Κελτούς, καθ’ ὃν ἡγούμενος Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ...

³³⁵ Oldfather 1933, xvii.

³³⁶ TM Author 5117. Geer 1947, vii.

³³⁷ TM Author 521.

³³⁸ Foster 1919, xv–xvii.

³³⁹ Foster 1919, xx–xxxi.

³⁴⁰ TM Author 1060.

³⁴¹ TM Author 705.

³⁴² Justinus *Epitome* Praefatio.4: *breve veluti florum corpusculum*.

³⁴³ Yardley 2024a, xvi–xxi.

³⁴⁴ TM Author 491. Yardley 2024a, xxxii–xxxv.

³⁴⁵ E.g. Brunt 1976, xix deems the *Epitome* “of small value”.

abstracts for the books of Trogus' work. They were transmitted alongside Justinus' summaries, although he himself did not author them.³⁴⁶

Arrianos of Nikomedeia also live during the 2nd century CE.³⁴⁷ He is deemed the best source on the reign of Alexandros III of Makedonia.³⁴⁸ He himself begins his *Anabasis Alexandri* by referencing his sources, of which he highlights Ptolemaios son of Lagos, a companion of Alexandros and later Pharaoh of Egypt, and Aristoboulos, another fellow of Alexandros.³⁴⁹ The works of these two are not preserved to us, however, and we cannot judge their accounts in and of themselves nor Arrianos' use of them. The Loeb editor Brunt does conclude that Arrianos, despite adding little as an historian to the stories about Alexandros, did make use of better sources than what was prevalent in his day.³⁵⁰ Arrianos' other works are not preserved integrally, and we rely on citations such as those by Photios (see below) for their contents.

Appianos of Alexandreia was active during former half of the 2nd century CE.³⁵¹ He chose his sources, among whom Polybios, carefully and, informed by his own interpretation of history, was not afraid to deviate from them. Diplomacy is a major theme throughout the work, which results in a useful description of e.g. the Treaty of Apameia, similar to the ones provided by Polybios and Livius. Appianos' sources, in turn, enable us to notice where he erred with the facts he provides, even though he did strive to provide an objective account of history.

Photios was a 9th-century Patriarch of Constantinople, whose *Bibliotheca* preserves many ancient authors whom he had read.³⁵² These include fragments of the aforementioned Arrianos, but also sources that would otherwise have been lost entirely. Firstly, there is Dexippos of Athenai, an historian and statesman from the 3rd century CE.³⁵³ Photios refers to Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, Dexippos' work on the Diadochoi, which is of relevance to the following section.³⁵⁴ Secondly, there is Memnon of Herakleia, who wrote an historical work on his hometown of Herakleia Pontike.³⁵⁵ As a result, his history covers events in Asia Minor during both the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. Based on his accounts, the earliest he can be dated to is the 1st century BCE. He is cited in an extensive section, the only fragment of his in FGrHist.³⁵⁶

³⁴⁶ Alonso-Núñez 1987, 56.

³⁴⁷ TM Author 123.

³⁴⁸ Brunt 1976, xvi.

³⁴⁹ Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.0.1–3.

³⁵⁰ Brunt 1976, xxxiv.

³⁵¹ TM Author 95. McGing 2019a, xxi–xxviii, xxx–xxxiii.

³⁵² TM Author 687.

³⁵³ TM Author 2171.

³⁵⁴ Photios *Bibliotheca* 82 p. 64 A.11–20 = FGrHist. 100 T 5.

³⁵⁵ TM Author 3042; TM Geo 12462. Photios *Bibliotheca* 224.222B.1 = FGrHist. 434 T 1.

³⁵⁶ Memnon of Herakleia apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 224.222B.9–239B.43 = FGrHist. 434 F 1.

3.1.2 The Coming of the Greeks

After the Battle of the Granikos (334 BCE), Alexandros III sent Parmenion, one of his generals, to conquer Daskyleion and made Kalas son of Harpalos, another general, governor of Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos.³⁵⁷ At the same time, however, the Bithynian king Bas saw an opportunity to end external influence over his domain, whether by the Persians or Makedones, and his victory against Kalas, who presumably died fighting, heralded an era of independence for Bithynia, lasting until the arrival of the Romans.³⁵⁸ Whereas the literary sources leave much to be desired about Bas, his name appears in religious contexts throughout the New Phrygian subcorpus, indicating that he or someone with his name was perhaps deified and worshipped in Phrygia.³⁵⁹ To counter the Makedonian invasion, Dareios III (r. 336–330 BCE) appointed Memnon of Rhodes as commander of Lower Asia Minor and the Persian fleet, but this may simply have been out of military necessity rather than as a satrapes.³⁶⁰ Arrianos is also supposed to have written that Kalas was succeeded by Demarchos, an otherwise obscure figure.³⁶¹ In 333 BCE, Alexandros III campaigned against the Persians in Greater Phrygia. He passed Lake Askania going southwards to Kelainai, where the Persian satrap surrendered and where he appointed his general Antigonos before going on to Gordion.³⁶² Antigonos would remain in control of this area until his death in 301 BCE. Before marching on to Syria, Alexandros appointed Philoxenos in charge of tax collection in ‘Asia on this side of the Tauros’, a common phrase to denote western Asia Minor including Phrygia; what Philoxenos’ duties entailed exactly is not stated.³⁶³

As for Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos, the gubernatorial situation was not as stable. Following Alexandros’ death (323 BCE), his empire was partitioned among the governors at Babylon at the direction of the regent Perdikkas.³⁶⁴ Here, Dexippos tells us that Leonnatos received Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos, and Photios is clear on Arrianos’ account to present Leonnatos as its the governor. The following year, however, Leonnatos died in the Lamian War.³⁶⁵ As a result, at the Partition of Triparadeisos (321 BCE), general Arrhidaios was appointed his replacement.³⁶⁶ He, in turn, would be driven from his seat by Antigonos following the death of the

³⁵⁷ Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.17.1–2, 1.17.8.

³⁵⁸ Memnon of Herakleia apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 224.22B.9–239B.43 = FGrHist. 434 F 1.

³⁵⁹ TM 867070 line 6, 867073 line 9, 867154 line 4, 867450 line 6, 919096 line 3, 942649 line 15, 963204 line 13, 984528 line 3. Witczak 1992–1993, 267–268 assumes that Bas was a Bithynian goddess of Indo-European stock, adopted by the Phryges. Lubotsky 1997, 123 points out that βας is attested in the northern New Phrygian area, i.e. near Bithynia.

³⁶⁰ Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.20.3.

³⁶¹ Arrianos apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 92 p. 69 a 1 = FGrHist. 156 F 1.

³⁶² Arrianos *Anabasis* 1.29. Antigonos’ position affirmed: Arrianos apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 92 p. 69 A 1, B 34 = FGrHist. 156 F 1, 9.

³⁶³ Arrianos *Anabasis* 3.6.4: τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐκλέγειν.

³⁶⁴ Dexippos of Athenai *Ta meta Alexandron* apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 82 p. 64 A 21.2 = FGrHist. 100 F 8; Arrianos apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 92 p. 69 A 1.6 = FGrHist. 156 F 1.

³⁶⁵ Diodoros 18.15.3; Arrianos apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 92 p. 69 A 1 = FGrHist. 156 F 1; Justinus *Epitome* 13.5.14.

³⁶⁶ Diodoros 18.39.6; Arrianos apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 92 p. 69 B 34 = FGrHist. 156 F 9.

regent Antipatros in 319 BCE, uniting the two Phrygias under his governance.³⁶⁷ This arrangement would be confirmed when in 315 BCE, Antigonos marched into Persepolis and assigned the other, eastern satrapies to his inner circle.³⁶⁸ After the Antigonid victory at Salamis in 306 BCE, Antigonos proclaimed himself and his son Demetrios king.³⁶⁹ Phrygia thus became part of the Antigonid Kingdom.

At Ipsos (301 BCE), Seleukos I defeated Antigonos I.³⁷⁰ Phrygia was partitioned among the victorious coalition, with Greater Phrygia going to the former and Lesser Phrygia to Lysimachos, who had been ruling in Thrakia.³⁷¹ However, Seleukos would acquire the lands on the Hellespontos anyway after Lysimachos' death at the Battle of Koroupedion (281 BCE).³⁷² Seleukos then appointed Aphrodisios as dioiketes to oversee the cities of Phrygia and Upper Pontos.³⁷³ Later that year, however, Seleukos was assassinated. His successors Antiochos I (r. 281–261 BCE) and II (r. 261–246 BCE) would remain in charge of Phrygia, although their relatives Achaïos the Elder and his son Alexandros likely had more direct influence on local governance.³⁷⁴ Considering the autonomy Pergamon enjoyed under Philetairos,³⁷⁵ it seems that the Seleukid hold on Asia Minor was permitted some leniency (see also §3.2.2).

3.1.3 The Coming of the Galatai

A new ethnic group made their way from the Balkans into Asia Minor, according to Pausanias in 278–277 BCE: the Galatai.³⁷⁶ These were Celtic settlers in origin, e.g. Diodoros refers to the lands in both Western Europe and the Roman East inhabited by Celts as Γαλατία and to the population as Γαλάται.³⁷⁷ According to Memnon, Nikomedes I of Bithynia (r. 278–255 BCE) was the one who arranged their crossing.³⁷⁸ Led by seventeen chiefs, among whom are singled out Leonorios and Loutourios, the Galatai aided Nikomedes militarily, presumably against his brothers for kingship over Bithynia. According to the *Souda*, they were led by a certain Brennos

³⁶⁷ Diodoros 18.51–52.

³⁶⁸ Diodoros 19.48.

³⁶⁹ Diodoros 20.53.

³⁷⁰ TM Geo 58973. Diodoros 21.2.4B; Ploutarchos *Demetrios* 29.5.

³⁷¹ Appianos *Syriake* [= *Historia Romana* 11] 55.279–280.

³⁷² Appianos *Syriake* [= *Historia Romana* 11] 62.329. Koroupedion (TM Geo 46818).

³⁷³ Memnon of Herakleia apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 224.22A.9–239A.43 = FGrHist. 434 F 1.

³⁷⁴ See D'Agostini 2013 for a discussion of early Seleukid rule over Asia Minor under Achaïos and Alexandros.

³⁷⁵ See Strabon 13.4.1, who describes the stability of Philetairos' rule over Pergamon while the city switches hands between the Diadochoi.

³⁷⁶ Pausanias 10.23.14.

³⁷⁷ Diodoros on the Celts in the West 4.19.4, 5.22.4, 5.23.1, 5.24.3 (in note 1, however, it is pointed out that Diodoros likely includes the Germanic peoples as his Galatai), 11.1.5, 14.114.3; on those in the East: 5.32.5 as Ἑλληνογαλάται, 29.12.1, 40.4.1.

³⁷⁸ Memnon of Herakleia apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 224.22B.9–239B.43 = FGrHist. 434 F 1. Also Justinus *Epitome* 25.2.11.

and were three hundred thousand strong.³⁷⁹ Afterwards, they were awarded lands of their choosing to settle, founding Asiatic Galatia, also known as Gallograecia.³⁸⁰ They split into three tribes, each centring around different settlements: the Tolostobogioi went furthest east to Tabia,³⁸¹ the Tektosages west at Pessinous³⁸² and the Trogmoi at Ankyra (see Figure 2.1).³⁸³ As a people, they gained a reputation for their military prowess and were commonly hired as mercenaries well into the Roman Era.³⁸⁴

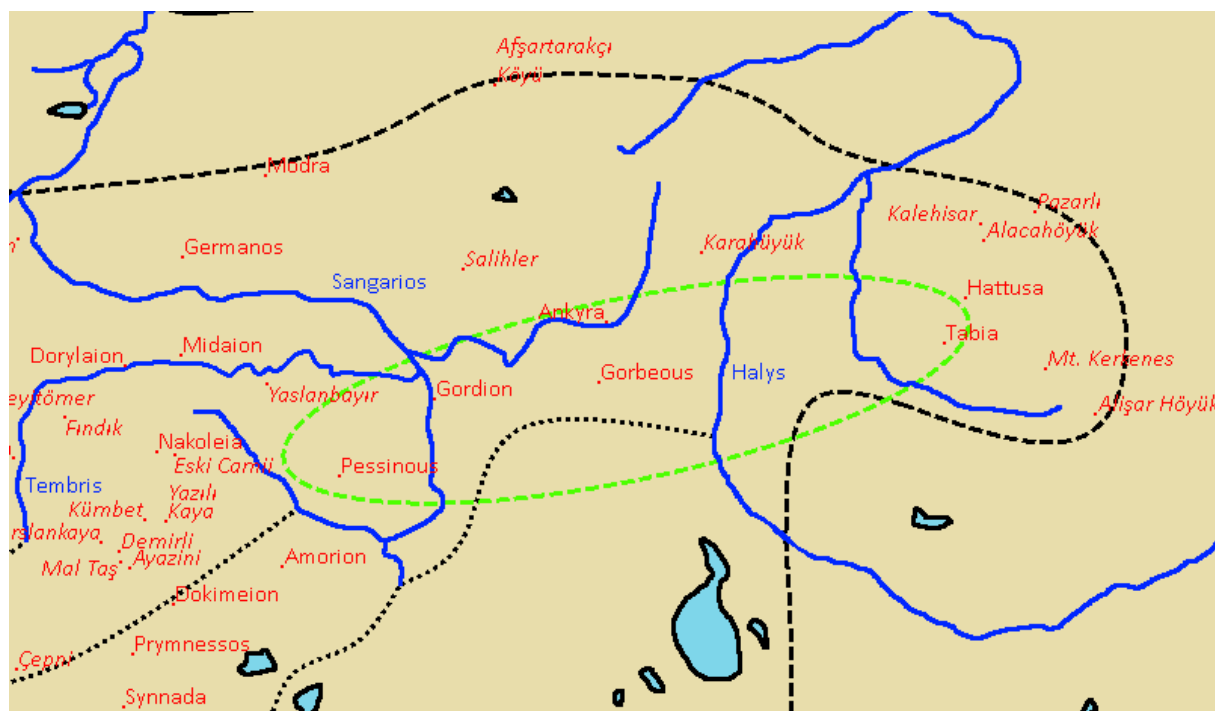


Figure 3.1: The axis of settlements occupied by the Galatai: Pessinous and Ankyra in north-eastern Phrygia, and Tabia east of the Halys River.

For the purpose of this chapter, their arrival has two major consequences. On the one hand, the Phrygian North-East fell into Celtic hands. As a result, some settlements are called Galatian regardless of their previous affinity with the Phryges, e.g. the aforementioned Pessinous and Ankyra despite their presence in myths of Midas.³⁸⁵ On the other, there is from this point on Celtic dispersal among the population of the remaining Phrygia. The latter is attested epigraphically through the use of Celtic personal names (see §§3.3.2, 3.3.3).

³⁷⁹ *Souda* s.v. Γαλάται [= Γ 21]. Cassius Dion 19.63 apud Zonaras *Epitome historiarum* 9.20 also considers Brennos the King of the Galatai.

³⁸⁰ Pseudo-Caesar *Bellum Alexandrinum* 67; Justinus *Epitome* 25.2.11; Ammianus Marcellinus 22.9.5. Perhaps also simply Γαλλία: TM 65969 [= fragment of Ptolemaios' *Canones Prompti*], fr. 6 Vo col. 2 line 5.

³⁸¹ TM Geo 11860.

³⁸² TM Geo 12386.

³⁸³ TM Geo 8290.

³⁸⁴ Justinus *Epitome* 25.2.9–10; Appianus *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 11.35.

³⁸⁵ E.g. respectively Ammianus Marcellinus 26.9.1: *Pessinunta (...) Phrygiae quondam, nunc Galatiae oppidum* 'Pessinous, once a settlement of Phrygia, but now in Galatia'; Arrianos *Anabasis* 2.4.1: Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐστέλλετο 'The next day, he (sc. Alexandros) set out for Galatian Ankyra'.

3.1.4 The Attalidai and Seleukidai Struggle

Following the death of Antiochos II and the subsequent Third Syrian War (246–241 BCE), chaos reigned where Hellenistic monarchs vied for control, as related by Justinus.³⁸⁶ Seleukos II (r. 246–225 BCE) fought the Ptolemaioi at the Levant and sought the assistance of Antiochos Hierax, his brother, who was in charge of Asia Minor. However, Antiochos used his mercenary army of Galatai against Seleukos in order to claim ownership of Asia Minor for himself. These Galatai, in turn, plundered Asia Minor in defiance of their paymaster. In addition, Eumenes I of Pergamon (r. 263–241 BCE) also set his eyes on Asia Minor, followed by Ptolemaios III of Egypt (r. 246–222 BCE). Pergamon reportedly acquired most of the territory here, and this would be the first time Phrygia was governed by the Attalidai.

The struggle between the Attalidai and Antiochos Hierax is recorded on a monument at Pergamon, the home of the victors. From these inscriptions, it is clear that it was the aforementioned Eumenes' successor Attalos I (r. 241–197 BCE) who took Asia Minor from the Seleukidai: 'King Attalos (dedicated) the thank offerings of his struggles in war to Athena'.³⁸⁷ The listed battles are close to his home territory in Mysia. He defeated Antiochos in Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos³⁸⁸ and the Galatai at Aphrodision³⁸⁹ and the source of the Kaïkos River.³⁹⁰ One inscription no longer shows the location of the battle 'against Lysias and the generals of Seleukos',³⁹¹ but based on the other inscriptions it does seem like a southward route: the next clashes are placed near Koloë³⁹² and at the Harpasos River (229 BCE).³⁹³ From this campaign, it seems likely that Pergamon gained control at least over western Asia Minor, including parts of Phrygia.

³⁸⁶ Justinus *Epitome* 27.2.6–27.3.6.

³⁸⁷ TM 868350: Βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλὸς τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων χαριστήρια Ἀθηνᾶι. Compare Polybios 18.41.7: νικήσας γὰρ μάχη Γαλάτας, ὃ βαρύτετον καὶ μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος ἦν τότε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν 'He (sc. Attalos I) conquered the Galatai in battle, the most powerful and most warlike people at that time in Asia'.

³⁸⁸ TM 868351.

³⁸⁹ TM 868352.

³⁹⁰ TM 868353.

³⁹¹ TM 868355: πρὸς Λ[υ]σίαν / καὶ τοὺς Σελεύκου στρατηγο[ύ]ς.

³⁹² TM 868357.

³⁹³ TM 868370; Harpasos (TM Geo 63528). Compare the editio princeps: Fränkel 1890, 46 nr. 58, who, like Justinus, names Eumenes for Attalos.

Attalos did not hold onto Asia Minor for long, however. Achaïos, who was a member of the Seleukidai, retook most of Attalos' gains in service of Antiochos III (r. 223–187 BCE).³⁹⁴ Upon his military success, Achaïos proclaimed himself King of Asia Minor.³⁹⁵ This act opposed him to Antiochos III, his former liege lord, who was held up fighting the Fourth Syrian War (219–217 BCE).³⁹⁶ At the war's conclusion, however, Antiochos was able to spend 216–213 BCE retaking Asia Minor, resulting in the execution of Achaïos.³⁹⁷

Antiochos III did still require other people to tend to matters in Asia Minor considering the vast size of his empire. This task he entrusted to a certain Zeuxis, who is called 'the one left in charge by King Antiochos of the affairs on this side of the Tauros'.³⁹⁸ Unlike Achaïos, Zeuxis does not appear to have been a kinsman of Antiochos: his authority over Asia Minor derived solely from his role in the royal bureaucracy.³⁹⁹ An inscription from Mysia, dated to 209 BCE, illustrates the chain of command.⁴⁰⁰ It is a series of letters concerning the appointment of a certain Nikanor as a religious official: Antiochos the King at the top commands Zeuxis to notify his subordinates, who writes to Philotas, presumably someone with more direct, local authority over Mysia;⁴⁰¹ Philotas in turn writes to one of his own subordinates Bithys. Furthermore, Antiochos is reported to have ordered through Zeuxis the displacement of Jews from Babylon to Phrygia when the latter region revolted.⁴⁰² On the other hand, a different inscription, dated to 193 BCE, shows that the King was not wholly dependent on Zeuxis.⁴⁰³ Antiochos evidently did command local officials directly, such as Anaximbrotos, who was active in Karia or Phrygia,⁴⁰⁴ concerning the appointment of Queen Laodike III to a chief religious function.

Antiochos, however, did not hold onto Asia Minor for long either. He had gotten into conflict with the Romans (192–188 BCE), who were allied with the Attalidai as well as Rhodos against the Seleukidai. The Peace Treaty of Apameia (188 BCE), then, is an important milestone. As a formal treaty, it stipulated that Antiochos III, among other terms, had to vacate territory in Asia Minor. The accounts provided by Polybios, Appianos and Livius clearly include Phrygia (see also §3.3.2).⁴⁰⁵ The Attalid Kingdom, which under Eumenes II (r. 197–159 BCE) subsequently

³⁹⁴ Polybios 4.48.1–11, 5.77.1–5.78.6.

³⁹⁵ Polybios 4.48.12–13.

³⁹⁶ Polybios 5.79.1–5.87.8.

³⁹⁷ Polybios 7.15–18, 8.15–21; [Justinus] *Prologi* 30.

³⁹⁸ TM 856372: ὁ ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτάδῃ τοῦ Ταύρου πραγμάτων.

³⁹⁹ See Ma 1999, 125–130.

⁴⁰⁰ TM 843368.

⁴⁰¹ Ma 1999, 123.

⁴⁰² Josephos *Antiquitates Judaicae* 12.147–149.

⁴⁰³ TM 113279.

⁴⁰⁴ Ma 1999, 124.

⁴⁰⁵ Polybios 21.42.9–21.43.27, 21.46.10; Appianos *Syriake* [= *Historia Romana* 11] 38.197; Livius 37.56.2–6, 38.39.14–17. Diodoros 29.11.1 provides a summarised account.

received part of these lands, would later be incorporated into the Roman Republic following the death of Attalos III (133 BCE) and the subsequent Revolt of Aristonikos (129 BCE).⁴⁰⁶

3.2 The Middle Phrygian Subcorpus

In general, literary accounts do not provide us on-the-ground information of Phrygia during this era. In order to directly assess the influence of the Greeks on Phrygian culture, we must thus turn to documentary sources, of which I have already briefly discussed the Old Phrygian subcorpus (see §1.1). This section attempts to paint a picture of Hellenistic Phrygia using the Middle Phrygian inscriptions W-11 and G-12. Some remarks are in order regarding the corpus of this era.

Firstly, only the early years of Hellenistic Phrygia can be addressed: there is no Phrygian material from the 2nd century BCE until the 1st century of our era. Prior to the publication of W-11 (see §3.2.1), which led to the proposal of a Middle subcorpus, the gap between Old (8th–3rd centuries BCE) and New Phrygian (1st–3rd centuries CE) was more pronounced. After all, the former was known exclusively from a native alphabet, while the latter employed the Greek one. As a consequence, the eminent Phrygologist Brixhe reasoned that the native script had been lost upon the arrival of Alexandros, facilitating the Phryges' adoption of the settlers' alphabet.⁴⁰⁷ This idea persisted in his editio princeps of W-11, as the text linguistically resembles Old Phrygian, but is written in Greek letters.⁴⁰⁸ However, the Phrygian alphabet was in fact still in use after 330 BCE, as many inscriptions from provenances Gordion and Bithynia attest to this, notably G-12 of 276–270 BCE (see §3.2.2). Only later did the native script fall out of use. Thus, the adoption of the Greek alphabet for Phrygian in W-11 cannot be due to the lack of an alternative and must have been a deliberate rejection of native tradition.

Secondly, there is an observable difference when looking at writing medium. Inscriptions on pottery make up most of the corpus dated to before our era: so far, there are only 70 of them from the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE in TM. These tend to be not very useful, being highly fragmentary and likely consisting of mere owner's marks.⁴⁰⁹ On the other hand, non-pottery inscriptions from the same time period are few: only 6 texts in TM.⁴¹⁰ Four of these come from Gordion and the other two come from Seyitömer and Alanyurt.⁴¹¹ However, of these six only W-11 and G-12, are of sufficient quality to be interpreted. They are discussed below and showcase Greek influence on pre-existing culture.

⁴⁰⁶ [Livius] *Periochae* 59; [Justinus] *Prologi* 36.

⁴⁰⁷ Brixhe 1993, 326; Brixhe 2004, 7; Brixhe 2013, 59. Followed by Obrador-Cursach 2020, 52–53.

⁴⁰⁸ Brixhe 2004, 7–26; in order to emphasise the inscription's linguistic continuity with Old Phrygian, he transcribed the text into the Latin script.

⁴⁰⁹ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 17–20.

⁴¹⁰ TM 757120 [= G-274], 757172 [= G-11], 757243 [= MPhr. 1 = W-11], 7576940 [= G-05], 984478 [= W-12], 1001271 [= G-12].

⁴¹¹ TM Geo 11821, 34648, 50448.

3.2.1 W-11

The W-11 inscription was found in Alanyurt, about 17 kilometres north of Dokimeion.⁴¹² A marble stele dated from the late 4th to the early 3rd century BCE, it is the earliest attestation of Phrygian using the Greek alphabet and precedes the New Phrygian subcorpus by several hundred years.⁴¹³ Although its contents are not exactly understood, it is clearly a funerary monument evincing a fusion of Greek and Phrygian culture. The first few words identify the monument: *μανκα μεκας σας* ‘this great stele’; *μανκα* ‘stele’ also appears in New Phrygian in a funerary context. Line 3 *σοποι* is likely borrowed from Greek *σοπός* ‘cinerary urn, coffin’. In addition, the use of a stele as a funerary monument may itself be indicative of cultural fusion. Although funerary steles do make up part of the Old Phrygian subcorpus, their distribution is limited to areas of either Greek or Luwian settlement: B-02 (Afşartarakçı Köyü, ca. 550-330 BCE), B-05 (Vezirhan, 5th century BCE), B-06 (Daskyleion, former half of the 6th century BCE), B-07 (Daskyleion, 1st quarter of the 5th century BCE), T-01, -02 and -03 (Tyana, last quarter of the 8th century BCE).⁴¹⁴

The inscription is also of note for its onomastics. The two names, nominative *νικοστρατος*⁴¹⁵ and genitive *κλευμαχοι*,⁴¹⁶ are clearly of Greek origin (< *Νικόστρατος*, *Κλεόμαχος*), with the latter being the patronymic of the former.⁴¹⁷ A related stele was uncovered alongside W-11 featuring a Greek text.⁴¹⁸ From this, we learn that Nikostratos had a daughter Tatis, who was married to a certain Theophilos. The latter is another Greek name, whereas the former, to whom the epitaph is dedicated, is very typical of Asia Minor.⁴¹⁹ This family thus shows a combination of Greek and native practices, but it is unclear if they were Phryges adopting Greek culture, Greeks adopting Phrygian culture or already mixed from intermarriage of Phryges and Greeks in a previous generation.⁴²⁰ Brixhe preferred the first option, believing that the inscription attests to the first signs of acculturation to Hellenism by members of the Phrygian elite.⁴²¹

The spelling *κλευμαχοι* exemplifies the complexity of the matter. On the one hand, it preserves the letter *χ* from Greek, the only attestation of this letter in the entire Phrygian corpus. A native Phrygian speaker would have rendered it as *κ*, considering that from their point of view,

⁴¹² TM 757243; TM Geo 50448, 16150.

⁴¹³ This is about 300 years before Dokimeion's earliest literary mention: Strabon 12.8.14: *Δοκιμία κώμη*.

⁴¹⁴ TM 756934, 757245, 757246, 757247, 757143, 757145, 757148.

⁴¹⁵ TM Ref 6025851.

⁴¹⁶ TM Ref 6025852.

⁴¹⁷ Oreshko 2023, 58–59 first proposed interpreting *κλευμαχοι* as a genitive; see Obrador-Cursach 2021, 66–67 note 30. Previously, Brixhe 2004, 20, followed by Obrador-Cursach 2020, 53, had considered Nikostratos dedicating the monument to Kleumachos, which was presumed to be in the dative.

⁴¹⁸ Drew-Bear 1985. The text is only presented in a Turkish translation on page 259: “Nikostratos'un kızı, Theophilos'un karısı Tatis”. Compare the English translation by Thonemann 2013, 18: “Tatis, daughter of Nikostratos, wife of Theophilos”.

⁴¹⁹ Tatis (TM Nam 6117).

⁴²⁰ Thonemann 2013, 18–19; followed by Obrador-Cursach 2020, 53.

⁴²¹ Brixhe 2004, 25–26. Also Brixhe 2013, 59.

the two letters are phonetically indistinguishable.⁴²² Thus, whoever conceived the inscription did so from a Greek perspective, by virtue of being a native speaker of Greek or having learned Greek very well. On the other hand, the rendition of Κλεόμαχος with the diphthong -ευ- in the initial syllable perhaps indicates a Phrygian pronunciation, which we would not expect from native Greek speakers.

3.2.2 G-12

The stone slab G-12 was published in 2023.⁴²³ It had been found in 2021 by a farmer outside the Citadel Mound, in the ‘Outer Town’ of Gordion. However, the background behind the inscription is not directly linked with its provenance. Graphic and linguistic elements point to continuity with inscriptions from the north-western region of Phrygia, characterising the Phrygian dialect preserved here as Mysian.⁴²⁴ This is in line with G-12’s contents. The monument is dedicated to a warband from Pergamon under the command of an individual named Parśaparnas, who was perhaps the one to dedicate the monument in the first place.⁴²⁵ On the one hand, his Persian name and military authority indicate that he was a member of the Persian elite originally stationed in Asia Minor as part of the Achaimenid administration. On the other hand, the language of this monument indicates that Parśaparnas was culturally part Mysian, pointing to the integration of Persian nobility into the local culture.

The inscription is dated to around 276–270 BCE, however, during the reign of Antiochos I and his son Seleukos, not the Achaimenid Era. Parśaparnas and his contingent were in the service of the Seleukidai and were called to Gordion, presumably, to aid against the forces of the Galatai, who ended up settling the north-east of Phrygia. Greek cultural influence, which is strongly present in the W-11 inscription, is noticeably absent from this inscription, at least in what remains of it. The language is a direct continuation of what we know from Old Phrygian, but does feature elements of Lydian, reminiscent of Strabon’s description of Mysian: ‘it is somehow a mix of Lydian and Phrygian’.⁴²⁶ In fact, the cursive shape of the letter form for <y> confirms that, at least in Phrygia-on-the-Hellespontos, there was a tradition of writing Phrygian on soft materials, likely employed by the Persian administration alongside Aramaic for official documents. The monument was also cut horizontally as opposed to as a stele, which we might expect from a Greek funerary monument. From a political point of view, G-12 shows the persistence of Persian power into the Hellenistic Period. When the Greeks entered Asia Minor, they did not topple the

⁴²² Compare Obrador-Cursach 2020, 278 s.v. κοπου ‘a definite space’, which is loaned from Greek χώρος of the same meaning.

⁴²³ Oreshko, Alagöz 2023.

⁴²⁴ Oreshko 2023, 89–91.

⁴²⁵ TM Geo 1688.

⁴²⁶ Strabon 12.8.3: μιζολύδιον γάρ πως εἶναι καὶ μιζοφρύγιον.

existing hierarchy, but made it serve their own interests. Hence, this Pergamene contingent aided Antiochos I militarily, while at the same time, their commander Parśaparnas apparently did not feel pressured to cozy up to Greek funerary practices.

3.3 Greek Epigraphy

Of course, the Phrygian corpus is not our only epigraphic source on the Phryges under Hellenism. Greek inscriptions appear throughout Asia Minor, though in some places more sparsely than in others. These may complement the aforementioned inscriptions, which exemplify tendencies in the west, in order to represent some remaining parts of Phrygia. Availability, in particular of non-fragmentary inscriptions, is a major factor in selecting the cities. For instance, Trismegistos does not list Hellenistic material for Dokimeion, at least of the texts that are dated. Likewise, the Greek inscriptions for Gordion are of similar nature to the Phrygian ones: poorly interpretable or consisting of personal names. We thus look to epigraphic case studies from Daskyleion, Tyriaion and Pessinous. It should be noted that these cases are not representative for all Phryges, as they do not account for the rural population. Regardless, we can only work with the material available to us.

3.3.1 Daskyleion

Beside the Old Phrygian inscriptions, Daskyleion is the provenance for Greek inscriptions as well as Aramaic steles. The latter have to be placed in the context of Persian rule, as Aramaic was the lingua franca of the Empire and Daskyleion was, as already established in §2.3, a major centre for the Persian administration.⁴²⁷ The first Greek inscription in Daskyleion, excluding undated inscriptions, dates to the 5th or 4th century BCE and features a single three-letter sequence ΜΑΣ.⁴²⁸ On its own, it does not convey very much. However, it may be related to an aforementioned New Phrygian inscription from Dorylaion,⁴²⁹ where μας⁴³⁰ is part of a sequence of apparent deities or deified figures, along with μιτραφατα and βας. Considering its resemblance to Old Persian *Māha*^h ‘moon, month’, its attestation in Phrygian may be the name of a moon deity, a vestige of Achaimenid rule over the area.⁴³¹

All other Greek language inscriptions from Daskyleion are dated to after 330 BCE. Most of those within the range of the Hellenistic Period clearly attest to the presence of Greeks. Various persons are mentioned: e.g. Apollonios son of Apollonios;⁴³² Kleopatra daughter of

⁴²⁷ TM 960689.

⁴²⁸ TM 842783.

⁴²⁹ TM Geo 16146.

⁴³⁰ TM 867450 line 4.

⁴³¹ Compare Witczak 1992–1993, 271 note 10; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 293 s.v. μας.

⁴³² TM 842762, 977667.

Asklepiodoros, Asklepiodoros son of Timaios, Athenaïs daughter of Aineas;⁴³³ Philippos son of Apollonios son of Apollonios, for Apollonios.⁴³⁴ The offices of ἵππαρχος ‘horse-master’⁴³⁵ and φρούραρχος ‘garrison-commander’⁴³⁶ are also attested, as well as the Greek gods Zeus, Apollon and Asklepios.⁴³⁷ There is also an inscription recording a tax or tribute payment from the population of Kyzikos of a dimnoun, a double mna.⁴³⁸ Two inscriptions attest to the presence of non-Greeks: the names Abas⁴³⁹ and Papas.⁴⁴⁰ Two other inscriptions are poorly legible.⁴⁴¹

It is thus safe to assert that Daskyleion underwent strong Hellenization. As the former capital of an Achaimenid satrapeia, the possible attestation of the deity Mas may indicate a lingering Persian presence, whether due to resident Persians or as religious influence. That is, if we assume that the inscription indeed refers to Mas. Either way, non-Greeks were without a doubt present, as evinced by Anatolian names. These existed alongside the Greek settler population, who evidently maintained a local garrison and exacted tribute from nearby Kyzikos.

3.3.2 Tyriaion

Tyriaion,⁴⁴² located in the Konya-Karaman Plain in the south-east of Phrygia, has one inscription that can be dated to the Hellenistic Period (2nd century BCE).⁴⁴³ It is of an official nature, preserving three royal letters from Eumenes II of Pergamon. In these, he establishes Tyriaion as a Greek-style polis.

The Peace of Apameia (188 BCE) ended hostilities between the Seleukidai and Attalidai (see §3.1.4). The victorious Eumenes II, aided by the Romans, acquired the lands west of the Tauros Mountains from Antiochos III, which includes a vast plain where Tyriaion is located. The population of this settlement had apparently sent ambassadors to the peace conference (εἰς τὸν τόπον), who left such a good impression on the King of Pergamon that he agreed to grant Tyriaion the status of polis (lines 1–19). In practice (lines 26–28, 31–34), this entailed the establishment of a βουλή as well as the freedom to abide by their own laws, appoint their own magistrates and to register its citizens in φυλαί, and significantly, it permitted the institution of a γυμνάσιον, an indisputable symbol of Greek culture. Tyriaion’s transition to polis is also apparent stylistically. In

⁴³³ TM 842763.

⁴³⁴ TM 843080.

⁴³⁵ TM 842753, 842754.

⁴³⁶ TM 842754.

⁴³⁷ TM 842754.

⁴³⁸ TM 842616.

⁴³⁹ TM 842776: Ἐνβίλα Ἀβας; TM Nam 20959.

⁴⁴⁰ TM 842769: Ἡφαιστίων Παπᾶ ἥρω; TM Nam 34870.

⁴⁴¹ TM 842772, 842777.

⁴⁴² TM Geo 46387.

⁴⁴³ TM 642012.

Eumenes' first letter, he greets merely the inhabitants (lines 2-3), whereas in the following letters, he greets the βουλή and δῆμος (lines 39–40, 49–50).

The task of managing this transition was delegated to Eumenes' officials. A certain Ἡρωίδης is mentioned by name (lines 42–46), who was put in charge of the provision of funds for the gymnasium's oil. His lack of a patronymic supports the notion that he was a well-known and important functionary, and his moniker ὁ ἡμιόλιος 'one-and-a-half' is shared by a high official in service of Antiochos III.⁴⁴⁴ However, there is no evidence to suggest that Heroïdes was some sort of governor for Eumenes in charge of part of Phrygia. We can only posit that the area was governed via the royal bureaucracy, an apparatus of which Heroïdes was but one cog.

The inhabitants of this new city were a mixed bunch. The aforementioned ambassadors exemplify this (lines 3–4): two bear the Greek names Ἀντιγένης and Ἡλιάδης and one the Celtic Βρέννος. Even though Tyriaion was not part of Galatia, it was home to Galatai. Apparently, it was possible for a non-Greek such as Brennos to rise to the function of ambassador to the King, and to be notable enough so as to not require a patronymic like other high officials. Brennos is also the only of the initial three ambassadors to be mentioned again in this function to Eumenes, alongside Orestes (lines 50–51). We must also acknowledge the presence of the native population, neither Greek nor Galatian, who inhabited the countryside (lines 26–27). They are not identified any further, but it can be assumed that there were Phryges and Anatolians among them. Likewise, it is not unthinkable that they made up part of the urban population as well.

3.3.3 Pessinous

An inscription of decent length was found in Pessinous.⁴⁴⁵ It contains a royal letter, dated to 189–180 BCE, as the addresser is the then-Prince Attalos II (r. 159–138 BCE). He writes to the functionaries Sosthenes and Heroïdes, perhaps the same as from the Tyriaion inscriptions but perhaps not,⁴⁴⁶ concerning Aribazos, hegemon of the Galatai of Kleonnaeion and katoikoi from Amorion. Apparently, Kleonnaeion had been the theatre of a mercenary revolt against the Attalidai, and a contingent of Galatai and katoikoi were sent to replace the disbanded garrison there; Aribazos, as the commanding officer, was entitled to certain privileges from the King such as the allotment of an estate, for which he had written to Attalos.⁴⁴⁷

The presence of Galatai in the vicinity of Pessinous should not be surprising (see §3.1.3). From their portrayal in literary sources, however, their relationship to Hellenistic monarchs may not be obvious, as this inscription clearly attests to negotiation and cooperation between the

⁴⁴⁴ Polybios 5.87.1.

⁴⁴⁵ TM 968532.

⁴⁴⁶ Rici 2014, 143 sees no benefit to assuming the two Heroïdeses are the same person.

⁴⁴⁷ Rici 2014, 144–146.

Galates Aribazos and Hellenistic dynasts. The employment of Galatai as mercenaries was indeed common practice, so the reward of allotting them lands for settlement is not unwarranted. It does shed a different light on the conquest of north-eastern Phrygia as military prowess certainly was not the only factor in their acquisition of Galatia. Furthermore, the name 'Aribazos', likely of Persian origin considering the aforementioned names 'Ariobarzanes' and 'Megabazos', attests to the lasting impact of Achaimenid rule over Asia Minor, as this period preceded the arrival of the Galatai yet a Galates bore this name. Lastly, there is no mention of the Phrygian population. If we presume that Kleonnaeion is in the vicinity of Pessinous and was thus part of Galatia that had previously been Phrygian territory, their omission may indicate that the Phrygian elite had become irrelevant to the governance of the Attalid Kingdom, whereas they constituted part of the local administration under the Persians. Due to the apparent lack of Phryges in the Seleukid administration of Asia Minor, this was perhaps a trend that had manifested itself before 188 BCE. A counter to this may be found in Memnon, who states that Mithridates VI of Pontos could still rely on Φρυγῶν βασιλεῖς as allies.⁴⁴⁸ However, the use of 'Phryges' in this context could be in reference to geography only, which would imply that these rulers bore perhaps a Greek or even Galatian identity.

⁴⁴⁸ Memnon of Herakleia apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 224.22.4 = FGrHist. 434 F 1.

4. Enter the Romans

From the end of the 2nd century BCE onward, Asia Minor was steadily incorporated into the Roman realm. The Phryges can still be found in this era, as their language re-emerges from oblivion, and Phrygia appears as a distinct geographic entity in both literature and epigraphy. By the end of the High Empire, however, the area had undergone such changes that it becomes an issue not only to find references to the Phryges, but also to define them in the context of the cultural melting pot that had emerged. As a result, this chapter discusses Phrygia and the Phryges under Roman rule with a particular focus on the developments preceding the 4th century CE.

4.1 An Historic Overview

4.1.1 Roman Authors

As with §3.1.1, it is fitting to discuss some of the literary sources for Roman rule over Phrygia before expounding major historic developments. Some authors which are cited for this period I have introduced in the aforementioned section. Thus, Livius needs not be prefaced any further than pointing out we rely on the *Periochae* of *Ab urbe condita*, as his original account of most of the 2nd century BCE is lost. Neither do Memnon or Justinus, whose accounts simply continue into the Roman Era. However, Diodoros' colossal work and Appianos, with his *Mithridateios* and *Bella civilia*, deserve to be highlighted as indispensable sources concerning the history of the Romans.⁴⁴⁹

Other authors I have already referenced throughout this thesis, yet should be discussed here as their historic values becomes apparent in this section. Strabon (late 1st century BCE – early 1st century CE) was the author of a *Geographia*.⁴⁵⁰ Wherever he can link the places described to historical events, however, his background as an historian shines through. Thus, his work is certainly of use in reconstructing the Roman past. On the other hand, Ploutarchos (latter half of the 1st century – early 2nd century CE) was in the first place a philosopher.⁴⁵¹ This makes it that his *Vitae Parallelae*, in which he compares the lives of historical figures, mainly serve as delivery devices for moralisation. Nevertheless, with this in mind it is possible to extract historical facts and measure them against other, more reliable sources. Suetonius (late 1st century – early 2nd century CE), for his part, cut his teeth during the Flavian and Adoptive Emperors.⁴⁵² The resulting biographies on *Divus Julius* and *Divus Augustus*, as a consequence, have no obligation to offer a flattering picture of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and his bias for the later Emperors must be taken into account. For the purpose of this thesis, however, emphasis lies on the events

⁴⁴⁹ Oldfather 1933, xxii; McGing 2019a, xxx–xxxi.

⁴⁵⁰ TM Author 886. Jones 1917, xxviii–xxx.

⁴⁵¹ TM Author 698. Perrin 1914a, xi–xiv.

⁴⁵² TM Author 889. Rolfe 1914a, 2–26.

themselves rather than how they fit a narrative. To that end, Suetonius' accounts can, in a limited fashion and with other supporting sources, be relied upon. Lastly, Josephos (1st century CE) provides a Jewish perspective on the history of the Early Empire.⁴⁵³ His patronage by the Flavians must be noted, however, as well as the faltering consistency between his *Bellum Judaicum* and his *Antiquitates Judaicae* in order to approach his accounts critically. Furthermore, the latter work was composed with help from assistants, making it difficult to say how much of it was penned by Josephos himself. On the other hand, his historical writings show correspondences with tellings from Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dion regarding the later 1st century CE, which is impressive considering that Romans held a general distaste against Jews and would thus preclude Josephos being consulted as a source.

The remaining literary accounts ought to be highlighted individually for their historical value. M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) is a classical figure who needs little introduction.⁴⁵⁴ His career and writings provide us with extensive insider information on the politics of the Late Republic. Better still for the purpose of this thesis, his governorship in Cilicia (51–50 BCE) and that of his brother in Asia (61–59 BCE) are of direct interest, as they both held jurisdiction over Phrygia (see §4.2.1).

The *Bellum Alexandrinum*, a work covering Caesar's campaign in the East during the Civil War, is in the early tradition attributed to the dictator himself, although Suetonius in the 2nd century CE already remarked that this was not the case.⁴⁵⁵ During the 20th century, it was attributed to A. Hirtius, the consul who died at Mutina (43 BCE), and the Loeb editor follows in this. As a result, the account can be considered contemporary to the events it describes, including when Caesar expeditions to Asia Minor.

Augustus (63 BCE – 14 CE), in his propagandistic efforts, is also an historical source.⁴⁵⁶ His *Res gestae*, preserved on the Monumentum Ancyranum,⁴⁵⁷ proudly present his deeds in service of the Roman state, which were most certainly embellished and meticulously curated. We must thus look past this in order to get use out of the recorded accomplishments.

Velleius Paterculus was a Roman senator active during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (r. 14 CE – 37 CE).⁴⁵⁸ During his career, he visited much of the Empire, and ended up authoring a history based on now-lost accounts from Nepos and T. Pomponius Atticus. His *Historia* is brief and serves to praise where Tiberius is concerned, yet it is a very useful reference.

⁴⁵³ TM Author 318. Thackeray 1927a, vii–xxvii; Thackeray 1930, vii–xvii.

⁴⁵⁴ TM Author 187.

⁴⁵⁵ TM Author 19434. Way 1955, vii–xi, 3–5.

⁴⁵⁶ TM Author 138.

⁴⁵⁷ TM 385348.

⁴⁵⁸ TM Author 955. Woodman 2025, xi–xxx.

Tacitus (latter half of the 1st century – early 2nd century CE) provides us with political context after the fall of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁴⁵⁹ The second book of his *Historiae* in particular is of any relevance here, as he focusses on happenings in the East. However, we must be wary of any bias he may have had toward the Flavians in his depiction of the ascendant Vespasianus.

Florus (latter half of the 1st century – former half of the 2nd century CE) is a figure about whom little is known.⁴⁶⁰ To him is ascribed an *Epitome* of Roman history, which suffers from inconsistencies and factual mistakes. Consequently, this work is consulted in tandem with other references.

Cassius Dion (latter half of the 2nd century – former half of the 3rd century CE) was a Roman senator.⁴⁶¹ His *Historia*, a work of massive size, was consequently authored from this perspective. He was appreciated by later Byzantine scholars, and now, too, his writing is an important historical source. The last 20 books of his work (covering 54–229 CE), however, are only preserved through an epitome by Xiphilinos in the 11th century CE.

Herodianos (late 2nd century – former half of the 3rd century CE) wrote a history *Ab excessu divi Marci* (from 180 CE) to the Year of the Six Emperors (238 CE), covering the end of the Pax Romana and the start of the tumultuous Crisis of the 3rd Century (235–284 CE).⁴⁶² Considering the work is marred with imprecisions and omissions such as of the constitutio Antoniniana (see §§4.3.1, 4.4.3) and offers information that is absent from his contemporaries, caution is required in interpreting Herodianos' account.

Julius Obsequens was the 4th-century author of the *Prodigia*, a collection of alleged omens throughout history.⁴⁶³ The work's subject matter thus provides a limited interpretation of past events and, as a result, is used sparingly.

S. Aurelius Victor was a 4th century senator.⁴⁶⁴ His *Liber de Caesaribus*, which covers imperial history from the accession of Augustus to the Constantinian dynasty (r. 305–363 CE), is an important source for the Later Empire. Although he is believed to have relied heavily on the hypothetical 'Kaisergeschichte', Victor interprets the tumultuous developments he describes in his own way. The resulting moralism may fall short of providing a strong historical analysis, he still informs us of events on which we may pass our own judgments.

⁴⁵⁹ TM Author 899. Moore 1925, 7–11.

⁴⁶⁰ TM Author 319. Forster 1929, vii–x.

⁴⁶¹ TM Author 172. Cary, Foster 1914a, vii–xxiii.

⁴⁶² TM Author 2526. Whittaker 1969, ix–lxxxii.

⁴⁶³ TM Author 6045.

⁴⁶⁴ TM Author 1276. Bird 1994, vii–xxii.

4.1.2 Initial Tumult

The Romans entered Phrygian history before they claimed ownership of the land. The Treaty of Apameia (188 BCE) attests to their influence over Asia Minor even though the Attalidai were formally in control. In the aforementioned inscription from Tyriaion (see §3.3.2), Eumenes II explicitly attributes the expansion of his domain to ‘the Romans, who rule through war and treaties’.⁴⁶⁵

Upon the death of Attalos III of Pergamon (r. 138–133 BCE), the heirs to his kingdom were, according to his will, the Romans.⁴⁶⁶ However, Aristonikos, an Attalid pretender taking the name Eumenes III, incited a revolt in opposition to Roman hegemony and briefly ruled until his defeat by M. Perperna (cos. 130 BCE).⁴⁶⁷ The annexation of the Attalid Kingdom was left to M’. Aquillius (cos. 129 BCE), creating the Provincia Asia. The Asiatic kings who had supported Rome against Aristonikos were rewarded with lands, and Greater Phrygia was thus given to Mithridates V of Pontos (r. ca. 150–120 BCE).⁴⁶⁸ Upon the latter’s death, it seems that Phrygia was integrated into the Roman Provincia Asia. A copy of a Roman decree found in Phrygia, dated prior to 119 BCE, declares that Mithridates’ actions as king would stand and that Roman envoys would sort out other affairs, implying that the region had fallen out of Pontic hands.⁴⁶⁹

However, the Romans entered into conflict with Mithridates’ successor, Mithridates VI (r. 120–63 BCE). During the First Mithridatic War (89–85 BCE), Mithridates invaded Phrygia,⁴⁷⁰ an action he justified during the peace talks with Sulla by his father’s possession of the territory.⁴⁷¹ In Appianos’ account, Sulla dismisses Mithridates’ claim to Phrygia as a bribe, given against the consent of the Senate by M’. Aquillius, the son of the consul of 129 BCE who had attempted negotiations before the war’s outbreak.⁴⁷² The Treaty of Dardanos (85 BCE) returned Asia Minor to the pre-war status quo, and Mithridates was to surrender Phrygia.⁴⁷³

In the following decades, Asia Minor fell firmly into Roman hands. After the Third Mithridatic War (73–63 BCE), the Provincia Bithynia & Pontus was created, with a remaining portion of Pontos becoming a Roman client state.⁴⁷⁴ Galatia had also proven itself a staunch ally of the

⁴⁶⁵ TM 642012 lines 19–22: παρὰ τῶν κρατησάντων καὶ πολέμῳ καὶ σ[υν]/θήκαις (...) Ῥωμαίων.

⁴⁶⁶ Strabon 13.4.2, 12.8.14; [Livius] *Periochae* 58; Justinus 36.4.5; Julius Obsequens 28. Also referenced in contemporary inscriptions from Pergamon: TM 868412, 932303.

⁴⁶⁷ Strabon 14.1.38; Velleius Paterculus 2.38.5; [Livius] *Periochae* 59; Justinus 36.4.6–12. Diodoros 34/35.2.26, 34/35.3.1. Aristonikos is also referenced in a contemporary inscription from the vicinity of Pergamon: TM 842113.

⁴⁶⁸ Justinus 37.1.2: the Loeb edition states that Mithridates V received *Syria maior*, but it is stated in 38.5.3 that he had received *maiolem Phrygiam*.

⁴⁶⁹ TM 938289.

⁴⁷⁰ Diodoros 37.26.1–37.27.1; [Livius] *Periochae* 77; Appianos *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 20.76, *Bella civilia* 1 [= *Historia Romana* 13] 55.241.

⁴⁷¹ Appianos *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 56.228.

⁴⁷² Appianos *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 57.231–232.

⁴⁷³ Strabon 13.1.27, 13.1.28; Velleius Paterculus 2.23.6; Memnon of Herakleia apud Photios *Bibliotheca* 224.25.2 = FGrHist. 434 F 1; [Livius] *Periochae* 83; Appianos *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 56.228.

⁴⁷⁴ Strabon 12.3.1, 12.3.28, 12.5.2; Velleius Paterculus 2.37.1–5, 2.38.6, 2.40.1–2; [Livius] *Periochae* 100–102; Florus 2.13.8–9; Cassius Dion 36.16.3, 37.1.1.

Romans.⁴⁷⁵ On the southern coast, the Provincia Cilicia was secured from the persistent threat of piracy (67 BCE).⁴⁷⁶ Cn. Pompeius was a key figure in this events.⁴⁷⁷ His political alliance with M. Licinius Crassus and C. Julius Caesar enabled the Senate's ratification of the administrative organisation he left in place when Caesar served as consul in 59 BCE.⁴⁷⁸

At this stage, Galatia must be mentioned. This Celtic territory was founded on mostly Phrygian lands, and the New Phrygian subcorpus shows the persistence of Phrygian identity within its boundaries (see §4.3.2). Strabon provides a convenient overview of the Galatian political structure.⁴⁷⁹ The Galatai had settled Asia Minor in three tribes. Each tribe was divided into four parts known as tetrarchiai, headed by several offices of which the tetrarches stood at the helm. In total, there were thus initially twelve tetrarchai. These assembled at Δρυνέμετος, where a council was held totalling three hundred men.⁴⁸⁰ It is clear, however, that by the Late Republic, power among the Galatai had concentrated into a single tetrarches, with whom the Romans could interact as a client ruler. Pompeius played a role in this by appointing tetrarchai during his Eastern ventures.⁴⁸¹ Among the appointees was Deiotaros of the Tolostobogioi (died 37 BCE), who, in his opposition to Mithridates in Phrygia (73 BCE), had earned the good-will of the Roman government and was awarded lands east of the Halys River.⁴⁸² Roman legislation granted both Deiotaros and his son-in-law Brogitaros the title of King of Galatia.⁴⁸³ The former ended up relieving the latter of the priesthood at Pessinous, perhaps implying that Deiotaros had made himself the sole king. Due to a lack of information on Phrygian nobles, Deiotaros and his successor Amyntas are, excepting Roman governors, the only named people from this period who are known to have ruled over Phryges in Asia Minor.

It did not take long for Asia Minor to become part of more conflict. During the Civil War between Caesar and Pompeius (49–45 BCE), Pharnakes II of Pontos (r. 63–47 BCE) sought to retake some of the territory his father, Mithridates VI, had once owned.⁴⁸⁴ After the Battle of Pharsalos and the subsequent death of Pompeius (48 BCE), Deiotaros of Galatia, whose own possessions were under threat, went over from the Pompeian faction to that of Caesar.⁴⁸⁵ The

⁴⁷⁵ Deiotaros is considered loyal to the Romans: Cicero *De haruspicum responsis* 29, *Brutus* 21; Pseudo-Caesar *Bellum Alexandrinum* 67–68; Strabon 12.3.13.

⁴⁷⁶ Strabon 11.1.6; [Livius] *Periochae* 99; Velleius Paterculus 2.32.4–6; Florus 1.41.7–15; Ploutarchos *Pompeius* 25.2–28.4.

⁴⁷⁷ Cicero *Pro lege Manilia, Epistulae ad familiares* 73 [= *ad Ap. Claudium Pulchrum*] 10; Ploutarchos *Pompeius* 45.1–5; Appianos *Bella civilia* 2 [= *Historia Romana* 14] 1.2.

⁴⁷⁸ Velleius Paterculus 2.44.1–2; Suetonius *Divus Julius* 19.2; Ploutarchos *Lucullus* 42.6, *Pompeius* 47.1–48.3; Florus 2.13.9; Appianos *Bella civilia* 2 [= *Historia Romana* 14] 9.3, 13.46–48; Cassius Dion 38.7.5.

⁴⁷⁹ Strabon 12.5.1.

⁴⁸⁰ The exact location of this council is unknown: Darbyshire, Mitchell, Vardar 2000, 85.

⁴⁸¹ Strabon 12.3.1; Appianos *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 114.560.

⁴⁸² Strabon 12.3.13; [Livius] *Periochae* 94; Appianos *Mithridateios* [= *Historia Romana* 12] 75.326.

⁴⁸³ Cicero *De haruspicum responsis* 13.29–30, *Pro Sestio* 26.56.

⁴⁸⁴ Florus 2.13.61–63; Cassius Dion 42.45–47.

⁴⁸⁵ Florus 2.13.5, 43–52; Appianos *Bella civilia* 2 [= *Historia Romana* 14] 71.295; Cassius Dion 41.63.1–4.

Caesarians then defeated Pharnakes at Zela (47 BCE).⁴⁸⁶ In the aftermath, Mithridates of Pergamon, another son of Mithridates VI as well as an ally of Caesar, was granted a tetrarchia in Galatia.⁴⁸⁷ Asia Minor was thus firmly in the hands of Caesar's Republic.

The assassination of Caesar (44 BCE) put an end to the brief stability following the Civil War. The Second Triumviratus that had formed in his wake (43 BCE), consisting of M. Antonius, M. Aemilius Lepidus and C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, held the reigns of the Republic and engaged in Civil War with the Liberatores (43–42 BCE).⁴⁸⁸ The latter faction had taken possession of the armies in the Eastern provinciae, and Deiotaros sided with them.⁴⁸⁹ After the Second Battle of Philippi (42 BCE), the victorious Triumviratus ruled over a reunited empire, and Antonius took possession of the eastern provinciae and neighbouring client kingdoms.⁴⁹⁰ His position at the head of these territories were confirmed at Brundisium (40 BCE).⁴⁹¹ Thus, upon the death of Deiotaros (37 BCE), Antonius assigned Galatia, with the additional lands of Lykaonia and Pamphylia, to Amyntas (r. 37–25 BCE), a direct subordinate of the late king.⁴⁹² When S. Pompeius was arrested in Asia (35 BCE), he surrendered to Amyntas and was executed at the command of Antonius.⁴⁹³ Lastly, the ancestors of the Gordianic dynasty (r. 238–244 CE) likely earned Roman citizenship under Antonius' tenure, considering all three emperors called Gordianus, a cognomen undoubtedly derived from Gordion, bore the praenomen and nomen *M. Antonius*.⁴⁹⁴

4.1.3 Consolidation Under the High Empire

After the Battle of Aktion (31 BCE), Antonius' provinciae fell to Octavianus.⁴⁹⁵ Thus, when Octavianus adopted the name Augustus (27 BCE), most of Phrygia was already part of the Roman Empire under the senatorial Provincia Asia. It did not take long until Amyntas died (25 BCE), and Galatia was formally incorporated as an imperial provincia (see §4.2.2).⁴⁹⁶ Despite the general stability in Asia Minor under the Early Empire, Phrygia still allowed for the overland travel of armies.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁸⁶ [Livius] *Periochae* 113.

⁴⁸⁷ Strabon 13.4.3.

⁴⁸⁸ Augustus *Res gestae* §7; Florus 2.14.1–2.17.15.

⁴⁸⁹ Cassius Dion 47.24.2–3.

⁴⁹⁰ Augustus *Res Gestae* §24; [Livius] *Periochae* 125; Josephos *Bellum Judaicum* 1.242; Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 13.3; Appianos *Bella civilia* 5 [= *Historia Romana* 17] 75.319–320; Cassius Dion 48.1.3–48.2.4.

⁴⁹¹ Velleius Paterculus 2.77.3; Appianos *Bella civilia* 5 [= *Historia Romana* 17] 56.235–65.275; Cassius Dion 48.28.4. The dedication of a statue of Concordia perhaps also attests to this (TM 537734).

⁴⁹² Strabon 12.5.1, 12.6.1, 12.6.4, 14.5.6; Cassius Dion 47.48.2, 49.32.3.

⁴⁹³ [Livius] *Periochae* 131; Florus 12.18.8; Appianos *Bella civilia* 5 [= *Historia Romana* 17] 142.594–595; Cassius Dion 49.18.4–6.

⁴⁹⁴ Obrador-Cursach 2019c, 548–549. He analyses the cognomen as the ethnikon for Gordion, calqued from Phrygian 'Gordias' (see §2.2.3), but I deem derivation from the personal name Γορδίας/-ος with the common suffix *-anus* more likely; see Salway 1994, 127–128.

⁴⁹⁵ Cassius Dion 51.2.1, 51.7.4.

⁴⁹⁶ Strabon 12.5.1, 12.8.14; Cassius Dion 53.26.3.

⁴⁹⁷ Josephos *Antiquitates Judaicae* 16.23.

The death of Nero (r. 54–68 CE) marked the end of the Julio-Claudian Emperors. Phrygia, as part of *Provinciae Asia* and *Galatia*, was subject to the subsequent Year of the Four Emperors (69 CE). Galba (r. 68–69 CE), Nero's successor, initially enjoyed support for his reign, and even when Otho and Vitellius staked their claim to the Empire, the East stood by him.⁴⁹⁸ However, this region ended up casting its lot with Vespasianus (r. 69–79 CE), who then managed to sit the throne.⁴⁹⁹ Rumours that Nero was still alive did circulate throughout Asia.⁵⁰⁰ This enabled minor rebellions against the Flavian dynasty (r. 69–96 CE) around impostor figures, but these were never successful.

It remained calm in Asia Minor until the Year of the Five Emperors (193 CE). C. Pescennius Niger, the governor of Syria, was proclaimed Emperor by his *legiones*. He acquired the support of Asellius Aemilianus, the proconsul of Asia.⁵⁰¹ However, L. Septimius Severus (r. 193–211 CE) defeated the usurper on several occasions in Asia Minor, leading to a final clash at Issos (194 CE).⁵⁰²

4.2 The Administration of Phrygia

Throughout the Roman period, Asia Minor would undergo multiple administrative reforms. However, the territorial division is ill-sourced in literature and epigraphy, although it is evident that the Roman government did not particularly care for the peoples native to the land in this regard, the Phryges included. As a result, we can in no way consider Phrygia an administrative area at this time, considering the interior of Asia Minor was carved up among several *provinciae*.⁵⁰³

4.2.1 The Republican Provincia

By the time Attalos III left his kingdom to the Romans, the Republic had already established a system of incorporating new territories under its governance.⁵⁰⁴ The Attalid Kingdom was annexed as the *Provincia Asia* by M'. Aquilius (cos. 129 BCE), and its administration survived well into the 3rd century CE.⁵⁰⁵

Its governors were *consulares*,⁵⁰⁶ and their main function was serving as judge.⁵⁰⁷ For the sake of this section's brevity, I refrain from listing all known governors and officials who operated

⁴⁹⁸ Tacitus *Historiae* 2.6.

⁴⁹⁹ Josephos *Bellum Judaicum* 4.632; Tacitus *Historiae* 2.81.

⁵⁰⁰ Tacitus *Historiae* 2.8–9; Cassius Dion 66.19.3B.

⁵⁰¹ Cassius Dion 75.6.1–4; Herodianos 3.2.1; *Historia Augusta* 10.8.15–16, 11.5.7.

⁵⁰² Herodianos 3.2.1–3.4.6; Aurelius Victor *De Caesaribus* 20.11.

⁵⁰³ Kantor 2013, 156–158; Eck 2022, 397.

⁵⁰⁴ Eck 2022, 385.

⁵⁰⁵ Strabon 14.1.38; Kantor 2013, 143.

⁵⁰⁶ Cassius Dion 53.14.2.

⁵⁰⁷ Cicero *Ad Q. fratrem* 1.20; Ryan 2022, 25, 73.

in Phrygia.⁵⁰⁸ The authority of the governor was central to provincial administration. His duty to dispense justice necessitated assize tours, where he travelled the major population centres.⁵⁰⁹ Accessibility of these assize centres was crucial for both governor and litigant, meaning that the road network connecting cities was an important factor in creating conventus, judicial districts, without regard for any ethnic boundaries.⁵¹⁰ The settlements at the heart of these conventus as well as the roads may have been initially chosen in continuity with the Attalid administration, who also would have relied on major cities.⁵¹¹ In Asiatic Phrygia, Apameia, Synnada and Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos were assize centres, and by 111 CE, Aizanoi had separated from the conventus of Synnada.⁵¹² Philomelion was also an assize centre, though as part of the Provincia Cilicia.⁵¹³ Thus, provincial borders do not appear to have been rigid demarcations of a governor's authority. Hence, Cicero could tour through Apameia, Synnada and Laodikeia as proconsul of Cilicia (51–50 BCE),⁵¹⁴ and litigants could be summoned for or attend court proceedings outside of their conventus.⁵¹⁵ Lastly, there may have been two instances in the Republican Era when the conventus were grouped into larger regiones which, in turn, constituted the provincia: upon Sulla's arrival against Mithridates VI (85 BCE) and under the Liberatores against the Second Triumviratus (43–42 BCE).⁵¹⁶

Roman interest in provincial cities of course extended beyond the judiciary. They also served as regular administrative centres, responsible for taxation and public services,⁵¹⁷ and the scholar Dion Chrysostomos (1st century CE) informs us that a visit from a touring governor majorly impacted a city's economy.⁵¹⁸ Such a visit likely corresponded to local festivities, resulting in a population spike and subsequent investment from local elites to manage the economy.⁵¹⁹ Such euergetism was not uncommon. For instance, an inscription from Laodikeia Katakekaumene evinces the influence of a man whose name is lost excepting the final letters -ενov (line 1).⁵²⁰ He had filled several procuratorial (ἐπίτροπος) positions before Julius Serentius Aemilianus dedicated the inscription to this εὐεργέτην (lines 10–14).

⁵⁰⁸ The following publications do deal with these magistrates: Magie 1950, 1579–1590 (Asia), 1594–1596 (Cilicia), 1596–1598 (Galatia); Broughton 1952 (annalistically); Rémy 1989, 126–176 (Galatia), 340–357 (Cilicia).

⁵⁰⁹ Kantor 2013, 145.

⁵¹⁰ Strabon 13.4.12. Mitchell 1999, 17–21.

⁵¹¹ Mitchell 1999, 24–25; Kantor 2013, 153–156.

⁵¹² TM Geo 3432, 16136, 5418, 16122.

⁵¹³ TM Geo 7897.

⁵¹⁴ Cicero *Ad familiares* 296 [= 13.67] 1.

⁵¹⁵ Kantor 2013, 148–149.

⁵¹⁶ Mitchell 1999, 29–30.

⁵¹⁷ Mitchell 1999, 30–33.

⁵¹⁸ Dion Chrysostomos 35.15–17.

⁵¹⁹ Kantor 2013, 147–148.

⁵²⁰ TM 384332, dated not any more precisely than to the Imperial Era.

Other types of settlement also existed.⁵²¹ Although there existed no clear distinction from proper cities in Asia Minor (see §4.3.2), villages were dependencies of cities and provided them with agricultural products. Vast stretches of land were also privately owned as estates by well-to-do businessmen and the Emperor. The governor's relationship with these settlements differed from that with a city. That is to say, he interacted with the former group through intermediaries, such as a local spokesperson or one of his delegates, and the latter he visited himself.⁵²² Thus, Roman governance managed to hold sway over as much of the population as possible.

4.2.2 Imperial Reforms

The rule of Augustus (r. 27 BCE – 14 CE) introduced the first of several major provincial reorganisations.⁵²³ Firstly, there were now two types of provinciae: those where the Senate and those where the Emperor appointed the governor. The former were demilitarized and governed by either *propraetores* or *proconsules*. The latter housed *legiones* and were each governed by a *legatus*, a position without *imperium*. The Emperor also sent out *procuratores* to deal with the minutiae of administration. Asia was a senatorial provincia and one of two that was governed by a *proconsul*. Hence, a certain Publius is designated as ἀνθύπατος 'proconsul' (line 1).⁵²⁴ Asia's senatorial status did not at all mean that the Emperor did not keep close watch on the area, and considering the area had housed anti-Caesarean factions in the decades preceding 27 BCE, exerted great influence over the region.⁵²⁵ Galatia, on the other hand, was assigned to the Emperor, as it had been formally acquired after the constitutional settlement. The changes implemented under Augustus do not appear to have affected the practices of managing the provinciae that had existed previously under the Republic.

There were various other reforms regarding the provinciae, often affecting which regions an existing provincia encompassed. By 74 CE, Galatia had been merged with Cappadocia, and Phrygia-near-Pisidia lost its association with Phrygia, simply being named 'Pisidia'.⁵²⁶ After Trajanus (r. 98–117 CE), however, Galatia and Pisidia were reunited. It is also thought that under Decius (r. 249–251 CE), Phrygia and Caria were separated from Asia into a single provincia.⁵²⁷

⁵²¹ Mitchell 1999, 33–45.

⁵²² Kantor 2013, 158–162.

⁵²³ Strabon 17.3.25; [Livius] *Periochae* 134; Cassius Dion 53.12.1–53.15.6.

⁵²⁴ TM 864903, dated before 284 CE; the authenticity of this inscription is uncertain, however.

⁵²⁵ Atkinson 1958, 302–303; Ryan 2022, 26–27.

⁵²⁶ Ramsay 1922, 152–153, 182; Eck 2022, 408.

⁵²⁷ Dmetriev 2001, 468–471.

Following the Crisis of the 3rd Century (235–284 CE), however, Diocletianus (r. 284–305 CE) introduced very major reforms. His appointment of other Emperors, for instance, was in part to quell dissent on multiple fronts.⁵²⁸ Regarding territorial administration, we rely on a few sources. The earliest of these, the *Laterculus Veronensis*, was written around 314 CE and is a simple list of territories.⁵²⁹ The *Notitia dignitatum*, dating from early 5th century CE, is far more detailed, as it outlines the offices and military divisions of the Late Empire.⁵³⁰ Lastly, the *Laterculus Polemii Silvii* (former half of the 5th century CE) is a heavily glossed Roman calendar that among other trivia provides another list of provincial territories.⁵³¹ We thus know of two provinciae named Phrygia: Salutaris, in which Kotyaion was located,⁵³² and Pacatiana,⁵³³ both constituents of the Dioecesis Asiana.⁵³⁴ Whereas the dioecesis was headed by a vicarius, the Provinciae Phrygiae each had a praeses.⁵³⁵ Inscriptions from Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos⁵³⁶ and nearby Denizli⁵³⁷ dedicated by such praesides to the Emperor attest that they saw little need in specifying which of the two Phrygias they governed. The borders of these provinciae are also unclear, although Kotyaion and Laodikeia suggest a more westward position than the distribution of the New Phrygian inscriptions (see §4.3.2).

4.2.3 Phrygia in Epigraphy

In epigraphy, *provincia* is used not only to designate the aforementioned administrative regions.⁵³⁸ We find that Phrygia is referred to by this term, even though this term overlaps with the ‘proper’ provinciae. The aforementioned proconsul Publius is even linked to Phrygia and other regions, but not to the Provincia Asia as a whole. Legati Augusti are also sometimes recorded that way. Such is the case with C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus.⁵³⁹ Phrygia is more explicitly counted under Provincia Galatia for L. Caesennius Sospes, indicating that these areas could be conceived of as constituting the larger provinciae.⁵⁴⁰

⁵²⁸ Aurelius Victor *De Caesaribus* 39.22.

⁵²⁹ TM Authorwork 2712.

⁵³⁰ TM Authorwork 265.

⁵³¹ TM Authorwork 11024.

⁵³² TM Geo 42676, 16139; TM 933011 (dated 6th century CE).

⁵³³ TM Geo 42677; TM 899997 (dated 4th–5th centuries CE).

⁵³⁴ *Notitia dignitatum* 1.24.1–19; *Laterculus Veronensis* 3.3–4: they are merely called *Frigia prima* and *Frigia secunda*; Polemius Silvius *Laterculus* 7.10–11 presumes Salutaris to be Phrygia Secunda and Pacatiana *Phrygia (prima)*.

⁵³⁵ *Notitia dignitatum* 1.30–31, 98–99.

⁵³⁶ TM 985694, 985695, 985696 (all dated 301–305 CE); Geo 5418.

⁵³⁷ TM 985593, dated 310–311 CE; Geo 34604.

⁵³⁸ Eck 2022, 385 note 16, 397.

⁵³⁹ TM 852675 (dated 102–110 CE), 852677 (109–110 CE), 860886 (102 CE).

⁵⁴⁰ TM 385157 (dated 93–94 CE). Perhaps also for an unknown legatus Augusti (TM 385232, dated 116–118 CE).

Phrygia is also mentioned to identify procuratores who had served there. Such was the case M. Aurelius Marcio (ca. 176–177 CE), who may have served as the general administrator of the area.⁵⁴¹ However, procuratores were in other cases simply financial officers. For instance, Ti. Claudius Serenus managed ‘the ratio privata of Provincia Asia and Phrygia and Caria’ (lines 8–11);⁵⁴² Q. Petronius Novatus dealt with the vectigal vicesimae hereditatium, a five per cent inheritance tax, ‘throughout Asia, Phrygia, Lycia and Galatia’ (lines 6–7),⁵⁴³ just as M. Cosconius Fronto did ‘throughout Asia, Lycia, Phrygia, Galatia and the Cycladic Islands’ (lines 5–8).⁵⁴⁴

Of course, it was not only civil offices who could be commemorated for their service in Phrygia. For instance, C. Titius Similis as primipilus led a military contingent that passed ‘through Asia, Lycia, Pamphylia and Phrygia’ (lines 4–6).⁵⁴⁵ Lastly, there are also funerary inscriptions recording the place of death as Phrygia.⁵⁴⁶

4.3 Roman Phryges

By the end of the Republic, the social fabric of Phrygia had changed drastically from what it had been at the start of the 1st millennium BCE. Aside from the Phryges and the Anatolian populations, the interior of Asia Minor was home to people of Persian ancestry as well as Greeks and Jews (see §3.). For this latter group, Josephos mentions a decree from Augustus permitting their worship, implying that they maintained a distinct identity from the natives.⁵⁴⁷ Another people group would be made to live in Phrygia a couple of centuries later, as Alexander Severus (r. 222–235 CE) supposedly seized Sassanid diplomats and forced them to work the land.⁵⁴⁸ Concerning the presence of Romans, Cicero notes the difference between Greek and Roman colonisation of the peninsula in that the former group did not concentrate their efforts into settling the interior as much as the latter.⁵⁴⁹ By 14 CE, Augustus had also settled his veterans in coloniae throughout Asia.⁵⁵⁰ Thus, Greeks and Romans had a noticeable presence in Phrygia during the High Empire.⁵⁵¹ Such an environment consequently forced change on what being Phrygian entailed.

⁵⁴¹ TM 383834. Potter 1998, 271.

⁵⁴² TM 384416, dated 176–180 CE: *[proc(uratori)]/ rationis pr[ivatae pro]/vinciae Asiā[e et Phrygi]/ae et Cariae.*

⁵⁴³ TM 203800, dated before 284 CE: *proc(urator) Aug(usti) XX(vicesimae) her(editatium) per A/siam Phrygiam Lyciam / Galatiam.*

⁵⁴⁴ TM 490043, dated 205–207 CE: *proc(uratori) Augg(ustorum) item / [ad ve]ctig(al) XX(vicesimae) her(editatium) per Asiam Lyciam / [Phr]ygiam Galatiam insulas / [C]ycladas.* Also TM 490044.

⁵⁴⁵ TM 240729, dated 197–200 CE: *prae/posito vexill(ationum) e[xpeditio]nis per] Asiam Liciam / Pamphiliam et Phrigiam primipilo.*

⁵⁴⁶ TM 229740 (dated 1st century CE), 385197 (100–125 CE).

⁵⁴⁷ Josephos *Antiquitates Judaicae* 16.162–165.

⁵⁴⁸ Herodianos 6.4.4–6.

⁵⁴⁹ Cicero *Pro Flacco* 64–65.

⁵⁵⁰ Augustus *Res gestae* §28.

⁵⁵¹ Thonemann 2013, 24–29; Kelp 2013, 70.

4.3.1 Phrygian Identity

Aside from administrative divisions (see §4.2), Phrygia designated an ethnic group. For instance, Appianos identifies the Phryges as one of the contingents in Pompeius' army during the Civil War.⁵⁵² As late as the 3rd century CE, the Great Inscription of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam attests that Phryges served in the army of Emperor Valerianus (r. 253–260 CE).⁵⁵³ We also find individual cases of self-identification as Phrygian in funerary inscriptions throughout the Empire, where in death, people are remembered as having belonged to the Phrygian nation. Among them are soldiers,⁵⁵⁴ who are similarly identified on military diplomas.⁵⁵⁵ A particularly large set of inscriptions references the *ala Phrygum*, a cavalry unit made up of Phrygian recruits.⁵⁵⁶ Gladiators are also represented,⁵⁵⁷ as are freedpersons⁵⁵⁸ and those whose social status is unstated or not preserved.⁵⁵⁹

Of course, we must consider the impact of foreign occupation on the Phryges. Linguistically, the influence on onomastics is most apparent.⁵⁶⁰ Brixhe's survey on names in Phrygia concludes that, although Phrygian personal names do persist into the Roman Era, those of Greek and Latin origin dominate throughout the region. That is not to say that Graeco-Roman customs displaced native Phrygian ones. As Kelp purports, funerary monuments from the Roman Era evince the co-existence of multiple identities rather than a decrease in the Phrygian-ness of archaeological material.⁵⁶¹ Perhaps this framework should be applied to other aspects of Phrygian culture. Phrygia, then, notwithstanding the exploitation of the native population by the Romans, was not experiencing cultural decline, but did find itself adapting to historical developments. Hence, a woman bearing the Greek name *Euphrosine* could be commemorated on a Latin funerary inscription in Italia and still be identified *nat(ione) Phr(ygia)* (line 1).⁵⁶²

In 212 CE, M. Aurelius Antoninus, commonly known as Caracalla (r. 198–217 CE), issued the *constitutio Antoniniana*, which granted every free subject of the Empire Roman citizenship.⁵⁶³ In addition to this new legal status, the edict attributed a Roman identity to its recipients, creating

⁵⁵² Appianos *Bella civilia* 2 [= *Historia Romana* 14] 71.294.

⁵⁵³ TM 818077 §§20–23.

⁵⁵⁴ TM 198503, GeoRef 153572; TM 198607, GeoRef 158789; TM 537380, GeoRef 150124.

⁵⁵⁵ TM 407106, GeoRef 169863; TM 547538, GeoRef 220327, GeoRef 220328.

⁵⁵⁶ TM 196111, 198224, 198495, 204091, 207793, 207813, 207898, 217554, 217714, 217805, 217809, 217837, 217839, 217923, 229446, 254886, 383456, 383457, 385081, 478626, 542353, 570488, 671953, 672412, 672501, 672507, 672644, 672645, 672669, 672721, 980841, 980842, 980843, 980844, 980845, 980846, 980847. Ramsay 1922, 153.

⁵⁵⁷ TM 124049, GeoRef 161417; TM 239403, GeoRef 191950.

⁵⁵⁸ TM 257558, GeoRef 150044; TM 264419, GeoRef 167509; TM 589532, GeoRef 151447.

⁵⁵⁹ TM 196165, GeoRef 145508; TM 246482, GeoRef 149626.

⁵⁶⁰ Brixhe 2013, 59–69; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 152–153.

⁵⁶¹ Kelp 2013, 70–71.

⁵⁶² TM 246482, former half of the 1st century CE, GeoRef 149626.

⁵⁶³ Partially preserved on papyrus: TM 19436. Cassius Dion 78.9.5; Sidonius Apollinaris *Epistulae* 1.6.2; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 25, 153; Eck 2022, 385. Aurelius Victor 16.16 mistakenly ascribes the *constitutio* to M. Aurelius (r. 161–180 CE).

a common identity for the Empire.⁵⁶⁴ This extension of Roman-ness, then, effectively undermined the importance of one's Phrygian identity, and evidence in support of the contrary which postdates 212 CE is slim. There is one inscription from Rome, dated to 319 CE, where a priest is identified as Phrygian, but this is likely due to the text's religious nature and connection to the cult of Kybele.⁵⁶⁵ Other such placename attestations are strictly geographical⁵⁶⁶ or in reference to regional commodities in the edict on maximum prices (301 CE).⁵⁶⁷

The last mention of someone being Phrygian and speaking the Phrygian language is attributed to Sokrates Scholastikos (5th century CE).⁵⁶⁸ He names 'Selenas bishop of the Goths, who was a man of mixed stock. He was a Goth on his father's side and a Phryx on his mother's'. However, Šorgo supposes that he likely preached in Greek.⁵⁶⁹ In that case, the community Selenas' mother came from self-identified as Phrygian despite having ceased to speak the native language. Brixhe, for his part, argues that the Phrygian language possibly survived into the 7th century CE in the countryside due to the limited effect of urbanisation (see §4.3.2), and would only disappear following the incursions by the early Muslims.⁵⁷⁰ To this, I would like to add that the Isauroi, a people living in the mountains south of Laodikeia Katakekaumene with a reputation for brigandry, had already been threatening rural communities from the 4th century CE onwards.⁵⁷¹

4.3.2 New Phrygian and Urbanism

The High Empire corresponds to the reemergence of epigraphic material in the Phrygian language (1st–3rd centuries CE). Currently, only 120 of these New Phrygian inscriptions have been identified. Whereas this subcorpus is far smaller than Old Phrygian (402 texts), its attestations were found in 74 places compared to the elder subcorpus' 37. Unlike with Old Phrygian, there is no standard by which to subgroup the inscriptions based on provenance.⁵⁷² Their distribution is far less extensive, concentrating somewhat southerly in the inland (see Figure 4.1). There is thus an apparent reduction of the Phrygian linguistic area.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁴ Mitchell 2015, 191–192.

⁵⁶⁵ TM 569857, GeoRef 168233.

⁵⁶⁶ TM 33125, GeoRef 92293; TM 65969, GeoRef 117359; TM 985593, GeoRef 246913; TM 985694, GeoRef 246946; TM 985695, GeoRef 246947; TM 985696, GeoRef 246948; TM 176212, GeoRef 182702 (all dated 4th century CE). TM 856021, GeoRef 276764 (dated 4th–5th centuries CE).

⁵⁶⁷ TM 383816, GeoRef 205624; TM 384282, GeoRef 168656.

⁵⁶⁸ Sokrates Scholastikos 5.23.90: (...) Σεληνάς ὁ τῶν Γόθων ἐπίσκοπος, ἀνὴρ ἐπίμικτον ἔχων τὸ γένος. Γόθος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πατρός· Φρυξ δὲ κατὰ μητέρα. Obrador-Cursach 2020, 22–23.

⁵⁶⁹ Šorgo 2026, 5.

⁵⁷⁰ Brixhe 1987, 11; Brixhe 2008, 72.

⁵⁷¹ Mitchell 2015, 366–367.

⁵⁷² Attempts to that end have been made, however: Obrador-Cursach 2020, 4–5; Šorgo 2026, 10–12.

⁵⁷³ Brixhe 2008, 71.

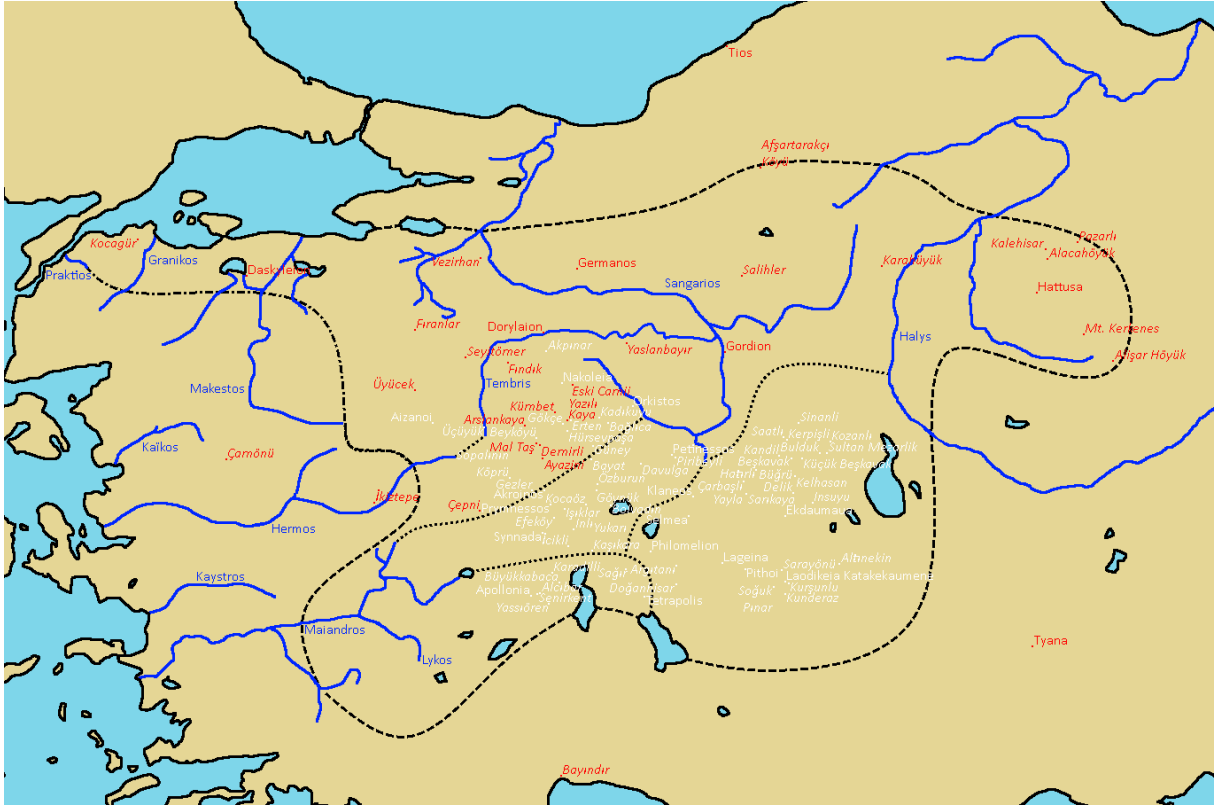


Figure 4.1: Attestations for the Old Phrygian (red) and New Phrygian (white) subcorpora mapped across Asia Minor.

Even though these inscriptions date from the Roman Period, Greek still dominated in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁷⁴ As a result, when the Phryges sought to pick back up writing down their ancestral language, they adapted the Greek alphabet. I find no reason to see continuity in the use of Greek letters with the Hellenisation of Phrygian elites directly after 330 BCE (see §3.2.1). The chronological gap between then and the 1st century CE suggests the abandonment of written Phrygian, meaning that during the Roman Period, Greek served as the obvious model for renewed literacy. The influx of Italic businessmen establishing themselves as local benefactors played a role in the rise of epigraphy as well, considering monuments of their euergetism were accompanied by inscriptions.⁵⁷⁵

We also see that New Phrygian is attested in a limited context.⁵⁷⁶ Firstly, the inscriptions most often feature Greek alongside Phrygian. Secondly, the texts are of a funerary nature and highly formulaic. The most common sequence of words goes along the lines of $\text{ιος vi σεμουv κνουμανει κακουv αδδακετ, δεωv κε ζεμελωv κε τιπτετικμενοv ειτου}$ 'whosoever does harm to this tomb, let them be accursed in the sight of gods and men'. The limited application and imprecatory content of these Phrygian texts suggest that the language itself was thought to strengthen the

⁵⁷⁴ Brixhe 1987, 9–10.

⁵⁷⁵ Thonemann 2013, 29–31; Kelp 2013, 92; Ryan 2022, 4–24.

⁵⁷⁶ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 22.

magic of the curses in order to better protect the graves.⁵⁷⁷ By extension, the language was perhaps conceived of as archaic by the first centuries CE. In any case, the use of Phrygian indicates that areas attesting the language had to some degree a Phrygian identity. Of course, these funerary inscriptions cannot demonstrate where Phrygian was still used as a spoken language. For instance, rural areas, where it was less evident to erect sepulchral monuments, would indeed have been out of range for Greek to supplant the local language,⁵⁷⁸ yet these are not represented in the data.

Interestingly, we see that many urbanised settlements within the traditional boundaries of Phrygia (see §1.) did not produce inscriptions in Phrygian. Urbanisation thus appears to be a determining factor in what form the expression of Phrygian identity takes.⁵⁷⁹ The New Phrygian subcorpus is associated with less or recently urbanised areas, whereas well-established urban centres model their local identity on the hegemonic Greek culture. I have already mentioned some of these strategies, such as the composition of *Phrygiaka* (§2.1) and the emergence of myths regarding Midas and the Great Deluge that claim antiquity for a city (§2.2.1), but civic epigraphy, the minting of explicitly-Phrygian coins and the worship of Greek gods in a Phrygian context are also such expressions.

However, most poleis in the region were unremarkable or quite lacking regarding economics, population size and land area.⁵⁸⁰ Urbanisation, then, has little to do with those factors and is more about boasting formal aspects of actual great cities, i.e. architecture, epigraphy and political institutions. For instance, Blaundos managed to imitate Antiocheia and Aizanoi in those regards, and despite its small size and population, which consisted mostly of farmers working the nearby fields, it was considered a *civitas* in the 1st century CE.⁵⁸¹ This urban culture persisted throughout Asia Minor well into the Late Imperial Period.⁵⁸² Additionally, the network of these cities appears to have been quite decentralised, as suggested by the extreme variety in funerary habits.

4.3.3 Graeco-Roman Epigraphy

Beside the Phrygian material, there are plenty of inscriptions in Greek and Latin. These very clearly attest the co-existence of cultural identities, both among people of different backgrounds as well as within an individual. The cases provided below, most of which have already appeared in this thesis, are of course but a sample of the available epigraphy.

⁵⁷⁷ Ramsay 1922, 185–186. See also Strubbe 1991, 41–45.

⁵⁷⁸ Brixhe 1987, 11.

⁵⁷⁹ Brixhe 2008, 72; Kelp 2013, 87–94.

⁵⁸⁰ Thonemann 2013, 31–37, with further examples from Tymandos (TM 385651; TM Geo 16444) and Orkistos (TM 176212; TM Geo 16124).

⁵⁸¹ TM 383819, 383845.

⁵⁸² Mitchell 2015, 366.

One inscription from Tyriaion is dated to the Roman imperial period.⁵⁸³ The mention of a certain Calpurnius Proculus, however, provides 129 BCE as a terminus post quem. Namely, this Roman citizen is presented as owning an estate in the region, and unless we assume that this would have been possible before the Roman annexation of the Attalid Kingdom, we must place this inscription in the context of Italic businessmen seeking their fortune in the provinciae and consequently becoming local magnates. As such, Proculus' οἰκονόμος 'estate-manager' Eukarpos dedicated the monument on behalf of his boss to a local deity, the Μητρὶ Ἀνδεῖρηνη (lines 6–7).

From Gordion, there is little material from the 2nd century BCE onward. Six of these are in Latin. One of them is fragmentary,⁵⁸⁴ one commemorates a soldier in the Roman army,⁵⁸⁵ two are dedicated to imperial victories,⁵⁸⁶ and the remaining two preserve names: *M(arcus) Menus Zicani* (lines 3–5)⁵⁸⁷ and *C(ai) Fi(lippi)*.⁵⁸⁸ Beside these, there are only two Greek inscriptions. One is also fragmentary,⁵⁸⁹ the other is dated to the 6th century CE.⁵⁹⁰ Both are poorly understood, although the latter preserves the name Ἀδικάφοι (line 2). I cannot but note the resemblance to the name *adoikavos*, which appears in Old Phrygian inscriptions from Gordion.⁵⁹¹ Moreover, both the Greek and the Phrygian G-02 inscriptions mention this name in the vicinity of words for 'foot'. This is perhaps evidence for some cultural continuity, but more data is needed for any conclusive statement.

Another Greek inscription from Laodikeia Katakekaumene is preserved on a funerary stele.⁵⁹² It was set up by a certain Geropolis son of Piateros/-as for his wife Mania.⁵⁹³ The language and use of a stele to commemorate the deceased indicate Greek influence on the local population. The name Γηρόπολις is odd, but appears to be of Greek origin (compare Δικαιοπόλις in Aristophanes' *Acharnenses*). On the other hand, Πιατερος/Πιατερας seems to be a native name for lack of comparanda. Μανία is also a native name, but is attested elsewhere.⁵⁹⁴ It appears on a Greek-Phrygian bilingual inscription, found in Bağlıca and dated to 75–275 CE.⁵⁹⁵ There, it is the name of a mother who, along with her husband, dedicates a grave monument to her children. Considering its resemblance to 'Manes', 'Mania' is perhaps a female variant of the same Anatolian

⁵⁸³ TM 959192.

⁵⁸⁴ TM 385100.

⁵⁸⁵ TM 385383.

⁵⁸⁶ TM 385384, 388468.

⁵⁸⁷ TM 176939.

⁵⁸⁸ TM 385387.

⁵⁸⁹ TM 889519.

⁵⁹⁰ TM 878103.

⁵⁹¹ TM 756937 [= G-02] facet A, 756990, 756997.

⁵⁹² TM 844920, dated 1st century BCE – 4th century CE.

⁵⁹³ Γηρόπολις / Πιατερου / Μανία γυναίκα μνήμη/[ης χά]ριν.

⁵⁹⁴ TM Nam 43847.

⁵⁹⁵ TM 978063.

name.⁵⁹⁶ This, in turn, extends the spread of the onomastic root *Man-* to Lydia and Karia,⁵⁹⁷ firmly establishing the name, and the individual of the Greek inscription bearing it, as a feature of the native culture. Thus, local practices, further exemplified by the two New Phrygian inscriptions attested here,⁵⁹⁸ were upheld alongside Greek influence.

Certain inscriptions dated from 212 to around 260 CE identify people with the praenomen and nomen *M(arcus) Aurelius*. These were adopted by those enfranchised under the *constitutio Antoniniana*, after their patron Caracalla, although their use quickly fell out of fashion and had become rare by the end of the same century.⁵⁹⁹ Note that the praenomen had been falling into disuse since the 2nd century CE and, in the East especially, *Aurelius* had developed into a mere signifier of citizenship, displacing its traditional denotation of the gens.⁶⁰⁰ Alternatively, a family could have taken on those names prior to the edict under the Antonine dynasty (r. 138–192 CE). The former, however, was far more common. This is observable in the Phrygian population as well. For instance, on a monument found in Būğrū Delik (likely associated with the *Provincia Galatia*),⁶⁰¹ Asklas identifies himself as both the son of a certain *Achilleus* as well as a Roman citizen, bearing the nomen *Αὐρήλιος* (lines 1–3).⁶⁰² The inscription, set up for Asklas' wife *Theodora*, is also a bilingual and features a Phrygian curse at the end (lines 9–13). Several other New Phrygian inscriptions come from bilinguals attesting *Αὐρ(ήλιος)* in the Greek text.⁶⁰³

Of course, the identification of Roman citizenship is also present in Greek monolingual texts. An inscription from Ankyra, dated to 223 CE, is particularly interesting.⁶⁰⁴ It honours *Didymos* son of *Hierax*, who was champion at *hoplodromos* 'racing in hoplite armour' during the *Megala Asklepieia Sotereia*.⁶⁰⁵ *Didymos* is of interest as he appears to bear three citizenships: that of Ankyra (lines 9–10 *Ἀγκυρανῶν*), that honoured *Didymos* with a statue; that of *Alexandreia* (line 9 *Ἀλεξανδρεῖ*), whichever of the many settlements thus named it may have been; and lastly Roman citizenship (line 7 *Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ)*, antiquatedly preserving the praenomen).

⁵⁹⁶ TM Nam 10494.

⁵⁹⁷ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 291 s.v. *manes*.

⁵⁹⁸ TM 932142, 984549.

⁵⁹⁹ Morris 1963, 45; Mitchell 2015, 192.

⁶⁰⁰ Salway 1994, 131, 133–135; Mitchell 2015, 191.

⁶⁰¹ TM Geo 57482.

⁶⁰² TM 932141.

⁶⁰³ TM 845394, 845617, 931661, 938753, 978063.

⁶⁰⁴ TM 959480.

⁶⁰⁵ Wallner 2024, 72, 81.

Conclusions

Greek and Roman authors evidently reported on different matters concerning Phrygia from what we learn through material sources. Whereas the former can inform us by what historic events the region reduced in size, the latter shows how changes in Phrygian society contributed to this gradual development. The Phryges, who once inhabited an extensive part of Asia Minor, were repeatedly forced to adapt to foreign subjugation. The decentralisation of their society robbed the Persians of the ability to exact tribute payments, but also their own ability of providing any political counterbalance. When the Greeks and Galatai settled the peninsula, Hellenism crept into urban communities and was incorporated into cities' Phrygian identity by the High Roman Empire. The countryside, on the other hand, where the Phrygian language was likely better retained than in the major population centres, housed communities that were more vulnerable to the conflicts following the 2nd century CE. Thus, Phrygia would not survive to designate a cultural or political entity past the 1st millennium CE.

As Phrygian studies advance, a people from the margins of ancient history steadily treads out of obscurity. My thesis has aimed to contribute to this in its holistic approach of the available evidence. Phrygologists from different research areas may thus benefit from it as a general introduction to Phrygia and the Phryges or as a point of departure for future inquiry. Moreover, the rejection of modularity may remind scholarship into other underexposed peoples to regularly synthesise new and existing insights regardless of their field specialisation. The present work is on the other hand limited in various ways. Its disregard for poetry and Christian texts excludes some early and late literary sources, and Near-Eastern material is consulted sparingly in favour of Greek and Latin. The regional scope of my research has also discouraged excursion to specific locales, which are discussed based on their epigraphy rather than archaeology. Phryges living outside of Phrygia are also merely acknowledged. Additionally, little attention is given to the influence of the Phryges on the Greeks and Romans, and none to interactions between Phryges and other peoples in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, there is a foundation for future research. Considering Phrygia was by no means a popular topic in ancient literature, it might be interesting to investigate why it does appear in some works, what their authors intended by its inclusion, and if there is any variation in their general apathy for the Phryges. Furthermore, poetic texts may be of greater historical value after inquiry into their use of the label 'Phrygian'. Such corpus-linguistic research may discern when a poet refers to the East in general, to any tribe in Asia Minor or indeed to the Phryges. In any case, our work is not finished.

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