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***The Herodotos Project (OSU-UGent):  
Studies in Ancient Ethnography***

*Barbarians in Strabo's 'Geography' (Abii-Ionians)*

*With a case-study: the Cappadocians*

Master thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master in Linguistics and Literature,

Greek and Latin.

2015

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## ***ACKNOWLEDGMENT***

In this acknowledgment I would like to thank everybody who has in some way been a part of this master thesis. First and foremost I want to thank my promotor Prof. Janse for giving me the opportunity to write my thesis in the context of the Herodotos Project, and for giving me suggestions and answering my questions. I am also grateful to Prof. Joseph and Dr. Brown, who have given Anke and me the chance to be a part of the Herodotos Project and who have consented into being our co-promotores.

On a whole other level I wish to express my thanks to my parents, without whom I would not have been able to study at all. They have also supported me throughout the writing process and have read parts of the draft. Finally, I would also like to thank Kenneth, for being there for me and for correcting some passages of the thesis.

Julie Boeten



## **NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING**

Deze scriptie is geschreven in het kader van het Herodotos Project, een onderneming van de Ohio State University in samenwerking met UGent. De doelstelling van het project is het aanleggen van een databank met alle volkeren die gekend waren in de oudheid. Anke De Naegel en ikzelf hebben de *Geographia* van Strabo voor onze rekening genomen, waarvan het resultaat zich in de appendix bij deze scriptie bevindt. Voorts gaat deze thesis over een etnografische case-study: de Cappadociërs.

De Cappadociërs waren en zijn een fundamenteel hybride volk, in die zin dat ze reeds vanaf hun prille geschiedenis bestonden uit een mengeling van verschillende volksstammen (de Hattiërs en de Indo-Europeanen). Het is daarom onmogelijk te zeggen wie 'de' Cappadociërs waren. In deze scriptie hebben we echter een poging gedaan dit moeilijk vatbare volk te beschrijven, en dat volgens de belangrijkste aspecten die de identiteit van een volk bepalen: hun land, hun gemeenschappelijke naam, hun geschiedenis en hun taal. Tenslotte hebben we ook onderzocht welk beeld er bestond over de Cappadociërs in de antieke literatuur.

Een belangrijke vraag die we onderzocht hebben is waarom de Cappadociërs 'Witte Syriërs' genoemd werden door Strabo en latere auteurs. Dit komt grotendeels omdat hun genetisch materiaal bestond uit een genotype dat neigde tot een lichtere huid, in tegenstelling tot de inwoners van de streken meer ten oosten of ten zuiden die een donkerdere huidskleur hadden. Daarnaast was het Cappadocische klimaat ook kouder dan dat in Mesopotamië, waardoor de natuurlijke selectie op een gepigmenteerde huid uitbleef.

Het beeld van de Cappadociërs hangt nauw samen met het Cappadocische land en klimaat: in de oudheid werden ze gezien als ongeciviliseerde boeren, die zo hard moesten zijn als steen om te kunnen overleven in de bergachtige, koude streek. Daarnaast hadden ze ook de reputatie geldbelust te zijn, en geneigd tot decadentie. In de vierde eeuw veranderde dit beeld, grotendeels onder invloed van de Cappadocische Kerkvaders, en werd het positiever. Vandaag de dag heeft de naam Κάππαδοξ een nostalgische bijklank gekregen en wordt er een Cappadocische identiteit geconstrueerd door de nakomelingen van de oude Cappadociërs.



## ***NOTE TO THE REFERENCES***

There are many references to ancient texts in this thesis. In the bibliography you will find all of the editions of these texts under a separate header: 'Editions of primary sources'. With each first mention of a primary source, the edition will be mentioned next to it. But from the second mention of this same primary source onwards, it will not be mentioned anymore.





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*Word count: 33,581*

*Word count appendix: 45,371*

# ***I. General introduction***

Ethnography is very much a topic nowadays. We live in a multicultural, global society, where ethnicity has become very important for one's identity. But even in ancient times there already were authors who were interested in the peoples of their world. The question asked by ethnography is of course a very vital one: 'what does it mean to be a human'? (Gay y Blasco, Wardle 2007: 1). We must therefore not be very surprised when we see the vast production of ancient geographies, histories and ethnographies. However, all writers of whatever kind of ethnography use their own society as a starting point for understanding and representing the 'other' (Gay y Blasco, Wardle 2007: 17), and the ancient Greek and Roman authors were no different, as the existence of the term 'barbarians' indicates.

Albeit writers like Herodotus, Strabo, Pausanias, Polybius and Cassius Dio lived in a society that had a polyvalent attitude towards 'barbarians', they still give us a lot of information about their manners and customs. It even seems like some of these 'savages' earned their grudging respect. The opposition of Greeks versus barbarians has fascinated many scholars, although the opinions about its exact meaning vary. Most of the time, the antithesis is seen as a way to contrast West and East, whereby the West stood for democracy, science and other good things, while the East stood for despotism, theocracy and effeminate men. However, in Roman times, all kinds of 'barbarians' were discovered in the north, west and south, so this opposition was no longer valid. For a long time the predominant opinion was that the barbarians were the 'other' who formed a mirror which reflected the Greeks (and later the Romans) themselves. For in seeing the manners of the barbarians, they could establish their own identity in opposition to these peoples (Hartog 1988). Recently, a new view has risen, taking into account the many interactions and exchanges between the ancients and their neighbours who were seen as 'barbarians' (Vlassopoulos 2013: 2-3).

Vlassopoulos, who tries to bring these two views together - the one who stresses the polarity and conflict between the Greeks and the barbarians, as well as the one who accentuates the interaction and exchange - emphasizes the importance to remark that the word 'barbarian' originated from the Greek word 'βαρβαρόφωνος'. Though it is not altogether clear what exactly is meant by this, it is obvious that it has to do with the language of the people, whether it meant that they spoke a non-Greek language or that they just spoke Greek badly. However, even if the first were the case, it still

can't be seen as evidence for the existence of a view of a Greek-speaking people versus the not Greek-speaking peoples. There were so many Greek dialects that it is not easy to determine where exactly the Greek language stopped and where a new one began. In the end, it was their shared literature (for each genre had its own dialect) and their shared mythology that made them one unity, and not so much their language (Vlassopoulos 2013: 4 & 37).

The concept 'barbarian' seems to have evolved through the ages. In the Archaic Period there was no distinct opposition between them and the Greeks. It is only in the Classical Period that the opposition began to show. Some present the Persian Wars as a cause, others only as a catalyst for a movement that had already begun. Whatever the cause may have been, in this period the opposition was prominent and sometimes even bordered on racism. After Alexander's campaigns had changed the Mediterranean countries, the Greek identity became a synonym of the Greek culture; it was possible to become a Greek if one was willing to adopt their customs, language and institutions (Vlassopoulos, 2013). With the coming of the Roman times and the subsequent conquering of all kinds of barbarian countries, the meaning of the concept 'barbarian' shifted, from a rather language-centred meaning to a more general cultural meaning. This is the meaning that comes closest to our word 'barbarian'.

Even without being able to pinpoint exactly what the opposition between Greeks and barbarians encompassed, it is clear that the Greeks were fascinated by these peoples. As already mentioned, this shows in the large amount of geographies and histories concerning peoples that were written in this time, some of which survived the ages, while others didn't.

Modern people are all the more fascinated by these 'barbaric' peoples, since these can often tell them where they came from and thus establish part of their identity. We only need to look at the great interest of some American citizens in their roots and their ancestors, or the pride of the Belgians when they read Caesar's '*horum omnium Belgae fortissimi sunt*' to understand this. Since the interest in ethnic identity has grown so much, the Herodotos Project is an endeavour that wants to anticipate this demand and establish a database about the ancient peoples of the Mediterranean. As of today, there is no single source yet that brings all this information together. All ethnography is shaped by an inevitable gap between the text and reality (Gay y Blasco, Wardle, 2007) and the long history that separates us from antiquity widens this gap even more. The Herodotos Project therefore tries to bridge this gap and bring the network between the different ethnic groups in the ancient world back to life.

The audience that is targeted with this endeavour is thus a very wide one: classicists, archaeologists, historians, linguistics, anthropologists, etc. The project is named after Herodotus, since he is often called the ‘father of history’ (Myres, 1966), by which the history of *peoples* is designated. The project is based at the Ohio State University and works in association with the University of Ghent. Both universities want to focus on the peoples themselves, with particular interest in their language, mores, ties to other groups, religion, geographical location etc. In order not to get too preoccupied with merely the ancient texts or the archaeological remains, this project seeks to work in an interdisciplinary dialogue.

This paper focusses on Strabo’s contribution to this database. In his *Geography* (Γεωγραφικά) he describes the countries that lie around the Mediterranean Sea and were known in his time. Despite the title ‘*Geography*’, he only portrays places that were inhabited by *people* and he displays a distinct interest in the ethnic groups that lived there. The prime reason and starting point for describing a certain region was the civilisation that was situated there (Clarke, 2001: 210-228). Strabo of Amaseia was born in Pontus, around 64-63 B.C. in a family of nobles. He was wealthy enough to travel a lot and visit many of the peoples he describes in his work. Even though he was perhaps not the most critical ethnographer to our modern standards, he still gives us a lot of concrete and usable information. Next to the *Geography*, he also wrote a historiographical work, the Ἱστορικὰ Ὑπομνήματα, but sadly nothing of this work remains to this day. He himself was never actively involved in politics, but his family had ties with the royal court of Mithridates VI of Pontus. He stayed in Rome for a period of his life, and eventually he died in A.D. 24. His life thus encompasses a turbulent and dynamic part of history (for Strabo’s biography see: Dueck, 2000).

Next to the appendix to this paper, where we each have collected all the data about the peoples in the *Geography*<sup>1</sup>, this paper will contain a case-study on one of the peoples in Strabo’s *Geography* (the Britons by Anke De Naegel and the Cappadocians by Julie Boeten). Not only will we research all records of these populations in ancient literature (using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*), but we will also look into epigraphic, papyrological and archaeological remains in order to create a complete image of this particular people.

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<sup>1</sup> Julie Boeten: Abii-Ionians; Anke De Naegel: Isseans-Zygi.

***II. An ethnographic case-study:  
The Cappadocians***

## **II.1. Introduction**

In the heart of Anatolia, surrounded by mountain ranges in the south and the Black Sea in the north, lies the region that is called Cappadocia. Today it is known for its barren wastelands and the stunning views of its rocky, ochre-coloured landscape, which is why most people now know it as a touristic destination. But this place has a long and rich history, as do the people who once lived there.

Searching for the ethnicity of the Cappadocians is a rather difficult mission, however. First of all because ethnicity is a rather vague concept, that is sometimes used as a synonym for a much less popular concept: race. But there is much more to it than that. What is it exactly that constitutes a sense of peoplehood? It is not simply biological or genetic determinism, since plenty of peoples nowadays consist of very mixed races but still consider themselves to be one and the same people. Indeed, ethnicity also includes an attachment to a territory, a common history, and a shared language and customs. But many of these elements can be created and shaped, which very often makes ethnicity a construct (McInerney, 2014). Diaz-Andreu (1998: 205) puts it like this:

‘Ethnicity [is] ... an aspect of a person’s self-conceptualization, which results from identification with one or more broader groups in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent.’

As we will see, language is a very important factor in the creation of a Cappadocian identity: it is what gave them a common name and distinguished them from the other peoples in Asia Minor (Haarmann, 2014). However, no doubt the ethnicity of the Cappadocians must be seen as a mix of all these elements and we must look deeper into each and every one of them.

Next to that, the Cappadocians are a very difficult people to pin down. Throughout their history, their land has been invaded, plundered, conquered and crossed through by so many different ethnic groups that it’s hard to make out any autochthonous group in the mixed population that thus originated. Or as Strabo puts it:



‘καὶ ἡ Καππαδοκία δ’ ἐστὶ πολυμερὴς τε καὶ συχνὰς δεδεγμένη μεταβολάς.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.1)<sup>2</sup>

‘Cappadocia consists of many parts and has experienced frequent changes.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

Moreover, there seem to have existed a dozen names that could be applied to their nation: Hatti, Hittites, Assyrians, Syrians, White Syrians, Persians, even Greeks and Ῥωμαῖοι (‘Romans’). Also, they were frequently situated on the margins of certain empires or civilisations, whether it was the Assyrian or Persian civilisation, the Roman or Byzantine empire. The Cappadocians were thus always considered to be a ‘people on the edge’, which is why personages like Digenes Acrites were situated there. They were essentially a δι-γενής people: ‘double-born’ and thus mixed, belonging neither here nor there.

In this paper, however, we will try to describe the Cappadocians and search for their ethnographic roots. In these modern times, ethnic identity and nationality are indispensable tools for people in order to have a sense of ‘belonging’. We live in a world that is constantly migrating, where cultures always meet and sometimes even clash. Globalisation has made it possible for all sorts of ethnic groups to mix, and therefore we have essentially become δι-γενής, ‘double-born’ as well. Since cultural and ethnic identity is most certainly a topic that is very much alive in this modern world, and especially amongst the descendants of these ancient Cappadocians, research into the ethnographic amalgamation of the region may be very interesting.

First of all, we will describe the landscape and geography of the Cappadocian country, since that is of great importance to understand the people who lived in it. Also, the image that the ancients had of the Cappadocians was very much connected with the land they inhabited. Next, we will try to find some order within the chaos of the ever changing names of this people, whereby we will focus mainly upon the nomenclature of ‘White Syrians’. In short, we will ask ourselves who exactly were designated by the term ‘Cappadocians’. Thirdly, we will of course describe the great lines of their history. Here we shall focus upon the different population groups that came and went into the region and how they did or did not affect the indigenous populace. After this, we will turn our attention to another crucial point if one wants to describe an ethnic group: language. Do we know what language the Cappadocians

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<sup>2</sup> Edited in: Jones, 1917.

spoke? How did their language evolve and change during their long history? At last then, we will take a look at the image of the Cappadocians that emerges from ancient literature. How did western civilisation look upon these people? For this last part, the Greek literature will prevail over the Latin, even though the major Latin works will be cited as well, because the Greek literature has more to say about the Cappadocians.

## **II.2. Geography and landscape**

The fact that environment is essential to understand a people and the image-making about this people was something Strabo already understood. That is why he called his work '*Geography*', even though the only reason to describe a certain region for him was the people inhabiting it (Clarke, 2001: 210-228). Ethnography and geography are fundamentally intermixed.

As for Cappadocia, Strabo himself had obviously travelled a lot through this region, as we can see by the colouring of his account. His report is clearly one that is based upon his own experiences (so-called *autopsia*: Panichi, 2005: 204). Then again, that shouldn't surprise us since he originated from Amaseia, in northern Cappadocia (Dueck, 2000). He is thus one of the most important and direct sources when it comes to this region. For example, he is the one who tells us that the entire region of Cappadocia was divided into two parts, ever since the Persian rule:

‘τὴν δὲ Καππαδοκίαν εἰς δύο σατραπείας μερισθεῖσαν (...) ὧν τὴν μὲν ἰδίως Καππαδοκίαν ὠνόμασαν καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καὶ νῆ Δία μεγάλην Καππαδοκίαν, τὴν δὲ Πόντον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Καππαδοκίαν.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.4)

‘Cappadocia was divided into two satrapies (...) and one of these kingdoms they named “Cappadocia Proper” and “Cappadocia near the Taurus” and even “Greater Cappadocia” and the other they named “Pontus”, though other named it Cappadocia Pontica.’  
(translation: Jones, 1917)

Cappadocia Proper thus encompassed the more southern regions, while Pontus was the area more towards the Black Sea (see attachment 4). Strabo also mentions the ten *strategiae* (στρατηγίαι) that made up Cappadocia during his own lifetime<sup>3</sup>: Melitene, Cataonia, Cilicia, Tyanitis, Garsauritis, Laviansene, Sargarausene, Saravene, Chamenene and Morimene. These were administrative and military districts that might perhaps be compared to provinces<sup>4</sup>. The region of Bagadaonia was independent from this division was added to these ten *strategiae* in Roman times.

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<sup>3</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.4.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.2.

### II.2.1. Boundaries: the isolation of Cappadocia?

The boundaries of Cappadocia as a region have always been described rather vaguely. This probably has to do with the fact that the region was locked up from all sides by solid natural phenomena, and there was thus little point in distinctly delineating them with human hands. The landscape comprised of a rolling plateau, cut off by mountains on most sides. The centre of the plateau was crowned by mount Argaeus (today called Erciyes Dağı), with his eternal snow. In the east there were bare highlands, in the west a nearly treeless landscape. To the north, however, the valleys were more sloping and fertile and in the south the area was slightly more economically valuable (Weiskopf, 1990).

The region stretched from lake Tatta (Turkish: Tuz Gölü) in the west, to the river Euphrates in the east, and from the Black Sea in the north to the Taurus mountain range in the south. The entire area contained 80,000 square kilometres, but was very sparsely populated (Ruge, 1919). The scarce urbanisation of the region – even after the Romans had acquired it – mainly had to do with this sparse population: Strabo only mentions two πόλεις (Mazaca<sup>5</sup> and Tyana), next to numerous villages that were not worthy of the name ‘city’ (Panichi, 2005). However, whatever the region lacked in cities, it recompensed in roads. Anatolia has always been an important junction between the west on the one hand and Mesopotamia on the other. The nature of the landscape limited the number of roads and defined its courses, but that made the roads that did manage to cross the mountains, gorges and rivers all the more important. Most of these roads were forced through the central plateau of Cappadocia (Syme, 1995: 5). For example, the Royal Road of the Persians ran through the area, which was then called ‘Katpatuka’<sup>6</sup> (Mostafavi, 1967). In Strabo’s time, there were two main routes that gave the region importance: one through Mazaca to Melitene (and further to Tomisa at the Euphrates), the other through Tyana and to the Cilician gates in the Taurus. Later on, in Byzantine times, Cappadocia became even more important, since the capital of the empire had been relocated at ancient Byzantium (Constantinople) and the second most important city had become Antioch in Mesopotamia. The only way to get from the one to the other was through Cappadocia (Van Dam, 2002).

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<sup>5</sup> Mazaca is considered a difficult city to live in by Strabo (*Geography*, XII.2.7), because of the marshy ground and the lack of city walls. The whole area was very volcanic and the earth sometimes erupted in small fiery pools.

<sup>6</sup> More about ‘Katpatuka’: cf. *infra*.

We may thus conclude that, even though at first sight Cappadocia seems to have been isolated by the natural obstacles that surrounded it, it was by no means cut off from its neighbouring civilisations. If anything, it was the crossroad where these civilisations met, merged and possibly clashed.

### II.2.2. Rivers and mountains

Whenever ancient authors described the geography of Cappadocia, the mountains and rivers were predominant everywhere. We get the image of a rough and unspoiled mountainous landscape, crossed by countless rivers and streams, running through the country like veins through a body.

The entire southern half of the eastern part of the region was completely covered by the mountain range the Taurus, which had an average height of 1,400 to 1,900 metres and sometimes even reached 3,300 metres (Ruge, 1919). To the west and north of this mountain range, smaller ranges (offshoots, so you want) spread out. These mainly were the Cilician Taurus and the Anti-Taurus. Whenever Cappadocia had to be situated in ancient texts, the Taurus was the main orientation point. But there is also mount Argaeus that was very well known, mostly because the city Mazaca was planted at its feet. This mountain was the consequence of the volcanic activity in the area, the same activity that rendered the region west of the Argaeus into a tuff area with strange, earthen pyramids and a tendency to suddenly form holes (Ruge, 1919).

The greatest and most important rivers of Cappadocia were the Halys in the north-west, and the Euphrates in the east. The Halys had a sort of iridescence, which was readily explained by the orator Himerius, who suggested that the god Dionysus had once placed people of India in the Cappadocian mountains and when they bathed in the river, their colour rubbed off and the water turned darker<sup>7</sup> (Van Dam, 2002). There also were the rivers Pyramus and Sarus in the south, through which the region was connected with the Mediterranean sea. However, neither of these river was very well fit for traffic with ships, since they mostly ran through deep gorges and had the habit of suddenly dropping away into small waterfalls.

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<sup>7</sup> Himerius, *Orationes*, 18.2-3 (edited in: Colonna, 1951).

### II.2.3 Climate

The Cappadocian climate was legendary for its coldness and its winter storms (Van Dam, 2002: the title of his book already gives it away: *Kingdom of Snow*). Herodianus mentions this when he says: ‘δυσχεῖμερος γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ Καππαδοκία, ἐξαίρετως δὲ ὁ Ταῦρος’<sup>8</sup>, but Libanius also characterizes the Cappadocians as ‘smelling like frost and snow’<sup>9</sup>. It is also mentioned several times as a place of exile for this very reason. One special case is the emperor (or usurper, so you want) Basiliscus of the Byzantine empire and his family, who, after his defeat, were banished to Cappadocia. Procopius tells us it was winter time and they didn’t receive decent clothing or food, leaving us to understand that they probably froze or starved to death<sup>10</sup>. Strangely enough, the south was colder than the north, most likely because of the merciless mountains:

‘νοτιωτέρα δ’ οὔσα τοῦ Πόντου ψυχροτέρα ἐστίν.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.10)

‘Although it lies farther south than Pontus, it is colder.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

The whole area is a frontier zone between the typical climate of northern Mesopotamia and the typical, more Mediterranean climate of central Anatolia. It underwent very strong fluctuations, though, on a daily but also on a yearly basis (Ruge, 1919). The Lycaonian plain was the driest part of Cappadocia, but the north and the east had more frequent rainfall, as did the Taurus. These areas were more fertile and even grew wild fruit trees. The region nearby the Argaeus and the city Mazaca was more steppe-like and perfect for breeding horses. This is why Cappadocian horses and the Cappadocian cavalry were so very famous<sup>11</sup>.

However, horses were not the only thing the Cappadocians exported. From Melitene there were fruits, and Cappadocian sheep, cattle and wild asses were wanted as well. Other quite famous products of

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<sup>8</sup> Herodianus, *Ab excessu divi Marci*, III.3.7.5-6 (edited in: Stavenhagen, 1967). ‘The whole of Cappadocia is wintry/stormy, but most of all the Taurus mountains’ (own translation).

<sup>9</sup> Libanius, *Epistularum Basilii et Libanii quod fertur commercium*, XV.1.2 (edited in: Foerster, 1997); Basiliscus of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 349.1.2 (edited in: Courtonne, 1966): ‘ἀποζόντων γριτῆς καὶ χιόνος’.

<sup>10</sup> Procopius, *De Bellis*, III.7.24 (edited in: Dewing, 1961).

<sup>11</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VII.4.16 (edited in: Miller, 1994); Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, XXXVII.40 (edited in: Foster, 1959); Appianus, *Historia Romana*, XII.60.7 (edited in: Gabba, Roos & Viereck, 1962); Oppianus, *Cynegetica*, I.171 (edited in: Mair, 1963); Themistius, *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς τόποις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσέχειν*, 335b (edited in: Schenkl, Downey & Norman, 1971); Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae (orat. 43)*, III.2.5: εὐῖπρον (edited in: Boulenger, 1908).

the country were onyx and crystal, but also metal that was shipped all over the Mediterranean and to Mesopotamia. There is mention of 'Phrygian stone', which was probably a light, spongy stone and was mined in Cappadocia<sup>12</sup>. The so-called Sinopian ruddle (μίλτος Σινωπική) was very famous, too<sup>13</sup>. It is what makes the earth look so ochre in many places and it was used in ancient times for painting the walls. But the most mention was made of the Cappadocian salt, whereby the adjective 'καππαδοκικόν' was practically synonym of 'quality'<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Dioscorides Pedanius, *De materia medica*, V.104.1 (edited in: Wellmann, 1914).

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.10; Dioscorides Pedanius, *De materia medica*, IV.177.1; Oribasius, *Collectiones medicae*, XIII.mu.3 (edited in: Raeder & Hakkart, 1969); Aetius of Amida, *Iatricorum liber II*, V.5 (edited in: Olivieri, 1935).

<sup>14</sup> Ps-Galenus, *De succedaneis liber*, XIX.724 (edited in: Kühn, 1830); Zosimus, *Ζωσίμου τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐρμηνείας*, II.137.18 (edited in: Berthelot & Ruelle, 1888); Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, III. 162.1; Olympiodorus, *De arte sacra*, II.751.17 (edited in: Berthelot & Ruelle, 1888); Aetius, *Iatricorum liber III*, 81.4; Aetius, *Iatricorum liber VII*, 48.30; Aetius, *Iatricorum liber XVI*, 132.22 and 152.4; Paulus Medicus of Aegina, *Epitomae medicae libri septem*, III.22.7, III.22.24, III.24.7, IV.43.3, VI.21.2, VII.12.40, VII.13.17, VII.13.20, VII.17.69 and VII.25.2 (edited in: Heiberg, 1924); *Hippiatrica*, 28.6 (edited in: Hoppe & Oder, 1971).

## **II.3. Nomenclature**

We now know what kind of region the Cappadocians inhabited, but who exactly were the Cappadocians? Where did this name come from and to whom did it pertain? Were there any other names that were applied to them?

### **II.3.1. Katpatuka**

As we will see, the Persians conquered Cappadocia somewhere in the sixth century B.C. and they were the first ones to call the area of central Anatolia 'Katpatuka', which led to the Greek name Καππαδοκία and from there to the Latin form 'Cappadocia'. The earliest attestation of this name is in the so-called Behistun-inscription (Moradi-Ghiyasabadi, 2005). The etymology of this Persian word is not certain. Some assume it meant 'land of the Tucha/Ducha' or 'land of the beautiful horses' (Ruge, 1919), but neither of these possibilities can be indisputably ascertained. Tischler (1977: 72) considers the name to be Luwian or Hittite, because of the analogy with Anatolian names such as *Kappatta*, *Kapa*, *Kapanuwanta* and *Kapitta*. The Auslaut [-ka] is certainly quite frequent in Anatolian geographical names. However, this cannot give us a decisive etymology either. Another hypothesis is that it might go back to the Hittite city 'Katapa' (in northern Pontus) and the Aramaean city 'Tuka' (in northern Syria) which were merged into one name. The name 'Katpatuka' might then refer to the fact that it was the region roughly situated in between of these two cities (Meesters, 2011). However, it seems quite unlikely that these exact city names were still in existence in Persian times. Either way, this was the name that was given to the region of approximately today's Cappadocia and that was the foundation for all further mention of this people in ancient literature.

### **II.3.2. Syrians, Assyrians and White Syrians**

The fact that the name 'Cappadocians' was at first strictly a Persian one becomes clear when we notice how the Greek version originally was 'Syrians'. Herodotus already reports this when he says:

‘οἱ δε Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται’ (Herodotus, *History*, I.72)<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Edited in: Godley, 1963. 'The Cappadocians are called Syrians by the Greeks' (own translation).



And later:

‘οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται’ (Herodotus, *History*, VII.72)<sup>16</sup>

This denomination of ‘Syrians’ is probably partly due to an imprecise western perception of the eastern peoples (Weiskopf, 1990). We can see this reflected in the fact that Herodotus gives other peoples this same name as well: he considers the Palestinians to be Syrians, too<sup>17</sup>, and he assumes that Syria was adjacent to Egypt<sup>18</sup>. Even the coastline of Arabia was considered to be ‘Syria’<sup>19</sup> and the Assyrians were collected under the header ‘Syrians’ by him as well<sup>20</sup>. As we will see, there probably is an etymological connection between Σύριοι and Ἀσσύριοι, but we can tell that Herodotus is here just generously appointing the name to a considerable amount of peoples who most likely did not call themselves so.

A related nomenclature that is always used in connection with the Cappadocians is Λευκοσῦροι, which literally means ‘White Syrians’. Strabo is the first one to mention this name and he assumes that the distinction with the ‘real’ Syrians on the other side of the Taurus, who had a more tanned skin, is the explanation for this term:

‘Σύρους λέγοντα τοὺς Καππάδοκας καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Λευκόσυροι καλοῦνται, Σύρων καὶ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου λεγομένων κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου σύγκρισιν, ἐκείνων ἐπικεκαυμένων τὴν χροάν τούτων δὲ μή, τοιαύτην τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν γενέσθαι συνέβη.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.9)<sup>21</sup>

‘By “Syrians”, however, he [Herodotus] means the “Cappadocians”, and in fact they are still to-day called “White Syrians”, while those outside the Taurus are called “Syrians”. As compared with those this side of the Taurus, those outside have a tanned complexion, while those this side do not, and for this reason received the appellation “white”.’  
(translation: Jones, 1917)

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<sup>16</sup> ‘Those Syrians are called Cappadocians by the Persians’ (own translation).

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus, *History*, III.5.

<sup>18</sup> Herodotus, *History*, II.116.

<sup>19</sup> Herodotus, *History*, II.12.

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus, *History*, VII.63.

<sup>21</sup> Also see: Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.5, XII.3.25 and XVI.1.2.

From the first line we can deduce that the name ‘Cappadocians’ was already more integrated in Strabo’s time, since he feels the need to explain Herodotus’ ‘Syrians’ as ‘Cappadocians’ instead. Even though ‘Syrians’ is a denomination that will remain deployed until later times – as we can see by Hesuchius’ mention that Cappadocians were Syrians<sup>22</sup> – the names ‘Cappadocians’ and ‘White Syrians’ will become much more frequent from Strabo onwards. Stephanus of Byzantium says that all Cappadocians were given the name Λευκοσῦροι<sup>23</sup>, and Photius connects ‘White Syrians’ both with ‘Cappadocians’ and with ‘those who were called Syrians by the Ionians’<sup>24</sup>. The interesting thing is, however, that the Λευκοσῦροι were frequently situated more towards the north of Cappadocia, along the shores of the Black Sea. Claudius Ptolemaeus, for example, mentions the White Syrians separately from the Cappadocians and situates them near the river Iris (today’s ‘Yeşilırmak’)<sup>25</sup> and along the boundaries with Galatia<sup>26</sup>. Marcianus of Heraclea also makes the distinction between the northern White Syrians and the more southern Cappadocians<sup>27</sup>. Even emperor Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus situates them northwards, in the cities Amaseia and Dazumon<sup>28</sup>. It is possible, of course, that this distinction only came into being in later times, because it is strange that Strabo doesn’t mention this, despite the fact that he himself was native from the ‘White Syrian’ area (that is, Amaseia: Dueck, 2000). However, it does look like the more northern Cappadocians from the region Pontus did indeed hold a more or less different status from the other Cappadocians in the eyes of the Greeks, perhaps because of the historical separation between the Hellenistic kingdoms Cappadocia and Pontus (cf. *infra*). Eustathius sets these northerners apart as well, even though he gives them the name ‘Assyrians’ (near the estuary of the river Thermodon, today’s ‘Terme’)<sup>29</sup>. The ‘White Syrians’ were then the more southern Cappadocians, according to him.

This connection between Cappadocians and Assyrians is a recurrent one. Flavius Arrianus mentions the Assyrians in connection with the Cappadocians as well, but he situated them in Mesopotamia, not along the Black Sea<sup>30</sup>. According to him, the Cappadocians were originally Assyrians who had changed their name after a certain Kappadox, who was the son of Ninus (the mythological founder of the city Niniveh). Where does this connection come from? It is true that there seems to have been an

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<sup>22</sup> Hesychius, *Lexicon*, Σ.2769 (edited in: Hansen, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, 594.9-12 (edited in: Meineke, 1849).

<sup>24</sup> Photius, *Lexicon*, Λ.224 (own translation) (edited in: Porson, 1822).

<sup>25</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, V.6.1 (edited in: Müller, 1883).

<sup>26</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, V.6.9.

<sup>27</sup> Marcianus of Heraclea, *Menippi periplus maris interni (epitome Marciani)*, IX.44-48 (edited in: Müller, 1855).

<sup>28</sup> Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus: Asia*, II.34 (edited in: Pertusi, 1952).

<sup>29</sup> Eustathius, *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem*, 970.6-19 (edited in: Müller, 1855).

<sup>30</sup> Flavius Arrianus, *Bithynicorum fragmenta*, fr.51. 5 (edited in: Roos & Wirth, 1968).

etymological connection between Syria and Assyria, which is corroborated by the statue of a god that was found in Cineköy in 1997. This statue bears a bilingual inscription (known as the 'Cineköy-inscription'), in Luwian and in Phoenician, about a treaty between the Hittites and the Assyrians (Rollinger, 2006). Here the Luwian form of 'Assyria' has undergone an *aphaeresis* and has become the basis for 'Syria'. This would mean that the shift from Ἀσσύριοι to Σύριοι was not just a Greek one, but was a consequence of the multilingualism in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. We may therefore assume that the Cappadocians were connected with the Syrians (White or not) because there was somehow a link between the Cappadocians and the Assyrians. As we will discuss later, the Assyrians had an obvious influence on Anatolia during the Middle Bronze Age because of their trading colonies. The only question is, of course, if this could have been the reason for this association. A gap of 1200 years lurks between the Assyrian colony period and Herodotus, and archaeology shows us many breaches and a great discontinuity throughout this period (Meesters, 2011), making this highly unlikely. Besides, trading colonies are not the same as a thorough and deep political, cultural and ethnographical influence. However, the region which Herodotus calls 'Syria' roughly seems to coincide with the area of the later Neo-Assyrian empire that existed from 911 to 609 B.C., so it is possible that the region has gotten this name because of a vague memory of this more recent domination (Nöldeke, 1881; Schwartz, 1931). This may thus have been the reason why Cappadocians were called Assyrians and therefore also Syrians.

The only question that needs solving then, is why the Cappadocians were called *White* Syrians. Obviously, Strabo gives us the answer to this very question: because they were set apart from the other Syrians, who had a darker skin (cf. *supra*). Only, Strabo's response raises more questions than it really answers: who were these 'Black Syrians' then? Why were the Cappadocians so much whiter than them? And why is it that the modern Cappadocians and Turks have become 'tanned' as well? What did Strabo think was 'white' and how black was 'black'? In order to try to answer some of these questions, we will have to take a look at the different ethnic peoples in the area and the invasions that have left certain demographical traces. In short, we need to fully understand the ethnographic composition of the Cappadocians in Strabo's time. We will therefore come back to this issue later in this paper.

### II.3.3. A multitude of names

There are a number of other names that seem to be always mentioned alongside the Cappadocians and that are sometimes even equalled with them. Mostly they are smaller sub-tribes or neighbours of

our White Syrians, but in order to completely understand the impact of the term ‘Cappadocians’, we will shortly present them here.

The Amiseni (Ἀμισηνοί) were the inhabitants of the city Amisus, along the coast of the Black Sea. It is today’s Samsun. Strabo mentions them and says that their territory belonged to the White Syrians (who lived in the country after the Halys river)<sup>31</sup>. Obviously, they were Pontic Cappadocians. They were mostly connected with the cities Themiscyra and Sinope.

The Cataonians are mentioned several times by Strabo as well<sup>32</sup>. Cataonia was a region in Cappadocia, surrounding the city Comana and the river Pyramus, in the south-eastern area. They were probably originally a separate tribe, because the ‘ancients’ still set them apart as a different people. However, Strabo reports us that they spoke the same Cappadocian language and had the same Cappadocian customs in his time<sup>33</sup>.

The Tibareni (Τιβάρηνοί) were another sub-tribe of the Cappadocians. They were always situated amongst the Chalybians (or Chaldaeans) and Mossynoeci<sup>34</sup>, the latter of which are mentioned by Xenophon as a people with surprisingly white skin (are these our ‘White’ Syrians?)<sup>35</sup>. They once belonged to the nineteenth province of the Persian empire, together with the Moschi (cf. *infra*) and the Mossynoeci<sup>36</sup> and were dressed and equipped in the same way as these two peoples<sup>37</sup>. Stephanus of Byzantium calls them the neighbours of the White Syrians, however, and thus considers them to have been a separate people altogether<sup>38</sup>. They were also called ‘Thobeles’ or ‘Tubal’, being the foundation for the later Neo-Hittite name ‘Tabal’ (cf. *infra*).

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<sup>31</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.9.

<sup>32</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, I.3.7, II.5.32, XI.12.2 and XII.2.3.

<sup>33</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.2.

<sup>34</sup> Herodotus, *History*, III.94; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, II.377 (edited in: Fraenkel, 1961); Plutarchus, *Lucullus*, XIV.3, XIV.8 and XIX.1 (edited in: Ziegler, 1969); Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V.5.1 (edited in: Marchant, 1904).

<sup>35</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V.4.33.

<sup>36</sup> Herodotus, *History*, III.94.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus, *History*, VII.78.

<sup>38</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, 622.611.

The Moschi (Μόσχοι) or Mosocheni (Μεσχηνοι) seem to have been quite an old people and were supposedly the founders of the Cappadocians. Flavius Josephus says that this same race was in his days called 'Cappadocians'<sup>39</sup> and Philostorgius even connects the name of the city Mazaca to them<sup>40</sup>, as does Hiëronymus<sup>41</sup>. A certain Mosoch is repeatedly mentioned as their founder<sup>42</sup>, and sometimes he was considered to have been the son of Japheth, son of Noah. These Moschi are also connected with the Muški, who in their turn were possibly related with the Phrygians (Meesters, 2011, cf. *infra*).

Strangely enough, some authors connect the White Syrians with the Heneti (or Veneti), who were in historical times situated in northern Italy. The city Venice and the region Veneto are named after them. However, Strabo<sup>43</sup> says that the Heneti were in fact White Syrians from Paphlagonia who had gone to fight in the Trojan War as allies of the Trojans. These warriors afterwards migrated together with the Thracians and wandered as far as the region Veneto in Italy, thus accounting for the presence of Heneti in Italy. The ones who stayed behind in Anatolia, however, wandered south-eastwards and became Cappadocians. The city Henete would then have to be equalled with the city Amisus, thereby also equalling the Amiseni (cf. *supra*) with the Heneti. Strabo assumes this is quite plausible, since it would explain why in his time there were two different dialects spoken along the border with Paphlagonia and why there were so many Paphlagonian names in the Cappadocian language (such as 'Bagas', 'Biasas', 'Aeniatas', 'Rhatotes', 'Zardoces', 'Tibius', 'Gasys', 'Oligasys' and 'Manes'). Hecetaeus of Miletus confirms this story of Strabo's<sup>44</sup>.

Arethas of Caesarea even manages to connect the mythical Amazons with the Cappadocians. He tells us a story where the Amazons used to be black, but when they came to live with the Cappadocians, they turned white<sup>45</sup>. It is not quite clear whether he means this literally or figuratively, whereby black would then stand for 'bad' and white for 'good'. In a literal way, however, could this be another indication for our 'White Syrians'? Either way, this attestation is a rather late one and the mythical embedding makes us seriously question its historical value.

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<sup>39</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, I.125 (edited in: Niese, 1955).

<sup>40</sup> Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IX.12.2 (edited in: Winkelmann, 1981).

<sup>41</sup> Hiëronymus, *Liber quaestionum Hebraicarum in Genesim*, XIV.11 (edited in: De Lagarde, 1959).

<sup>42</sup> Theodoretus, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, XX.719 (edited in: Guinot, 1984); Johannes Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, I.23 (edited in: Dindorf, 1868).

<sup>43</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.25.

<sup>44</sup> Hecataeus of Miletus, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 199.7 (edited in: Jacoby, 1954-1969).

<sup>45</sup> Arethas of Caesarea, *Scholia in Porphyrii eisagogen*, 110.32 (edited in: Share, 1994).

## **II.4. History and Ethnography**

To write ethnography is essentially to write history. History is always a history of *people* and their deeds (Clarke, 2001). Therefore, if we want to understand the ethnic composition of Cappadocia and unravel the reason why its inhabitants were called 'White Syrians' in Strabo's time, we must take a look at the several predominant peoples in this area and try to understand the impact they may or may not have had upon its inhabitants.

### **II.4.1. Before Assyria**

There is very little information about the inhabitation of Cappadocia before the period of the Assyrian trading colonies (cf. *infra*). The start of this Assyrian period must be situated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. and is very well documented because of the clay tablets with writings in an old Assyrian dialect (Orlin, 1970). Anything earlier than this period is rather vague. We know of a supposedly autochthonous people who were called 'Hatti' or 'Hattians', but very little is known about them (Janse, 2008; Bryce, 2009). However, the linguistic elements that could be recovered from the so-called 'Cappadocian tablets' (cf. *infra*) show that they probably spoke a West-Caucasian language (Diakonoff, 1990: 62), which seriously questions the claim that they were autochthonous. At any rate, they are the first ethnic group that we can discern in the long history of Cappadocia. However, next to them we can uncover three other peoples that left certain traces in Anatolia in pre-Assyrian times: the Sumerians, the Akkadians and the Indo-Europeans.

#### **a) Sumerians**

The first people that we can distinguish in Anatolia are the Sumerians, who appear in the area about 3800 B.C. They are also the first people in Mesopotamia who left distinct written records (Bryce, 2009). The only, though obvious, problem with the Sumerians is that the heartland of their civilisation was situated too much east- and southwards to have had any detectable influence on Cappadocia and its inhabitants. A certain cultural influence cannot be excluded, but ethnographically they were rather insignificant for Anatolia.

## b) Akkadians

The Semitic empire of Akkad was one of the reasons for the end of the Sumerian dynasty (Bryce, 2009). These Akkadians expanded their territory as far west as Anatolia and as far north as perhaps Armenia, which means there is some chance that they may have had contact with our mysterious indigenous Cappadocians. Sargon of Akkad was the main founder of this empire, since he was the one who defeated king Lugalzagessi of the Third Dynasty of Uruk and annexed all his lands. This occurred somewhere between 2467 and 2413 B.C. (Orlin, 1970). It so happened that king Lugalzagessi had recently conquered lands that were situated more to the west than any of the large kingdoms of Mesopotamia had ever conquered. This encompassed today's Syria and surroundings, an area which now belonged to the Akkadian empire. The main question for us is, of course: did Sargon ever go further north than the Taurus<sup>46</sup>, into Cappadocia? Gadd (1963) certainly believes that he did. The so-called 'king of battle'-story<sup>47</sup> connects Sargon with the city Burušḫanda<sup>48</sup> (later called 'Purushanda'), which was situated in Cappadocia. This story was written much later (in Hittite times, cf. *infra*), which undermines its historical credibility, but Gadd argues that there are other sources that confirm Sargon's northern expansion. For example: there is a tablet that mentions the loss of the city Burušḫanda under the fourth Akkadian king, 'as though it had been the most distant bound of the Akkadian possessions' (Gadd, 1963: 15). Even if this is true, we should not overestimate any potential political influence in the region, since the Akkadian 'empire' never encompassed a strong or tightly-administered organization (Orlin, 1970). Sargon's successors never had much authority over the western parts of their empire, and certainly not over Anatolia – even if it fell within the official boundaries. If there was any influence at all, it would have been a cultural one.

When we consider the archaeological remains for this period, we find what looks like attestations of rich city-states in Cappadocia. Furthermore, in the archives of Akkad we find the names of the numerous kingdoms that revolted against king Narām-Sīn (2380-2325 B.C.), one of the successors of Sargon (Orlin, 1970). Two names are of importance for us here: king Pamba of Ḫatti and king Zipani of Kaniš. 'Ḫatti' is interesting, because the phrase *māt ḫatti* ('land of Hatti') will later be used to indicate the territory of the Hittite kingdom, which roughly encompassed Cappadocia (Janse, 2008). Moreover, 'Ḫattuš' or 'Ḫattuša' is the later name of the capital of the Hittite kingdom (Orlin, 1970; Janse, 2008; Bryce, 2009; Meesters, 2011). 'Kaniš', on the other hand, denominated the city that is today called Kültepe, in central Anatolia. Both can thus be situated in Cappadocia. These names confirm what

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<sup>46</sup> The mountains of the Taurus were then called the 'Silver Mountains'.

<sup>47</sup> Edited in: Güterboch, 1934: 86-91, and again in: Westenholz, 1997: 102-139.

<sup>48</sup> The diacritic <ḫ> was pronounced as a hard, laryngeal [ch], while <š> was pronounced as [sh].

archaeology presupposed: separate city-states in Anatolia, with a king ruling each of them. Next to that, at the archaeological site of Kültepe we find materials that point to a significant trading relationship between Central Anatolia on the one hand and Syrian and Cilician sites on the other (Orlin, 1970). Syria and Mesopotamia lacked the precious metals that were abundant in Anatolia, thus stimulating the economic contact. This leads us to assume that the Syro-Mesopotamian cities were quite well known in Anatolia. A cultural influence from the Akkadian kingdom is therefore certainly not to be excluded.

With the fall of the Old Akkadian Dynasty, it looks like Anatolia lost all contact with the Syro-Mesopotamian region, until it would later be firmly and more permanently re-established by the Assyrians and their trading colonies (cf. *infra*). The reasons for the fall of the Akkadian empire are not entirely clear, but it is certain that shortly afterwards the Babylonian empire and the Old Assyrian Kingdom rose in Mesopotamia (2000-1760 B.C.), whether they had something to do with the fall of Akkad or not (Bryce, 2009). But before either of these two could grow to maturity, the Indo-Europeans<sup>49</sup> invaded Anatolia.

### c) Indo-Europeans

Several ideas and hypotheses exist about the coming of the Indo-Europeans into Anatolia. According to Orlin (1970) their invasion is approximately coincidental with the end of the Early Bronze Age and the widespread destruction that accompanied it (~ 2300 B.C.). We can see a severe reduction of the number of sites and a diminution of the areas that were inhabited. Mellaart (1963) believes this devastation was the work of Indo-Europeans who invaded from Europe. They would have come in from Europe through the Bosphorus and left a layer of destruction at the site of Troy I. Later, when they had been 'Anatolianized' (Orlin, 1970), they came further down to central and southern Anatolia to settle there. This 'Anatolianisation' would have encompassed a thorough assimilation to the local culture, which is (according to Orlin) the only possible explanation for the great continuity in archaeological remains between the Early and Middle Bronze Age in central Anatolia. For even though the Indo-Europeans marked the coming of a new era (the Middle Bronze Age), the archaeological changes they left behind are minimal, apart from the layer of devastation that we already mentioned. The ethnic

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<sup>49</sup> Some call them 'Hittites', but this is a deceptive term, since it recalls the later 'Hittites' of the Hittite kingdom. These later Hittites are not simply Indo-Europeans, but consist of a variety of ethnic groups: Indo-European (Palaites, Neshites, Luwians) or not (Hattic, Hurrian) (Orlin, 1970). Therefore we have preferred the more neutral term 'Indo-Europeans', even though they were of course a separate and distinct group from other Indo-European peoples (such as the Greeks or the Germanic people).



change that thus would have occurred barely left any traces. This hypothesis of the ‘Anatolianisation’ of the Indo-Europeans is as hard to prove as it is to refute. It is true that there was a widespread destruction during this period, that seems to have come in like a tidal wave from the Bosphorus into Anatolia. It is also true that the material culture in Troy and along the coast changed after this wave. However, the archaeological remains in Cappadocia did *not* change afterwards, and if we consider other Indo-European invasions in other regions, we never find an assimilation that is so complete that it hardly left any traces. Moreover, the destruction and subsequent changes in material culture were most prominent in the western and southern parts of Anatolia (Bryce, 2005) and would therefore not account for the presence of Indo-Europeans in the Cappadocian area. Is an ‘Anatolianisation’ a sufficient explanation for this? Another remark we might make is how it would be plausible for the Proto-Indo-Europeans to have come in from the Bosphorus and thus from the west? It is rather hard to explain why they didn’t come from the north-east, where the Indo-European homeland is generally situated. There is of course the possibility that they migrated together with the other Indo-Europeans into Europe, and from there on to the Bosphorus and Anatolia. However, this would have meant that they moved to the Balkan together with the Indo-European Greeks, before these latter migrated southwards into Greece (somewhere in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C., cf. Drews, 1988) and split off from “our” Anatolian Proto-Indo-Europeans. The fact, then, that these two Proto-Indo-European peoples would have stayed together for such a considerable amount of time, would have had to leave linguistic traces. However, the Anatolian languages and the Greek language don’t have enough linguistic similarities to corroborate this. On the contrary, reality shows us that the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European languages is rather an exceptional one – so exceptional that it is sometimes thought to have split off from the original Proto-Indo-European language earlier than all the other branches (this is the so-called ‘Indo-Hittite’ hypothesis, cf. Sturtevant, 1962). In short, this theory has many drawbacks and can certainly not explain everything.

Another possibility to explain the great continuity in material culture in Bronze Age Cappadocia is that the Indo-Europeans were only a very small minority in central Anatolia (Özgüç, 1963). The rich Anatolian leaders lived in fortified cities, were certainly used to fighting and moreover were by far the majority group, so that there is no way that they could have been overthrown by the evidently ‘lower culture’ of the Indo-Europeans, who were also outnumbered. And that is why there would be no change in material culture, because after their invasion, the Indo-Europeans mixed unnoticed with the local population. Next to the unverifiable and ill-used phrase ‘lower culture’, Özgüç makes the mistake of assuming that an invading majority is needed for a change in material culture. History teaches us that this does not always have to be the case (Orlin, 1970). It happened before in Mesopotamia, where

the minority of Amorites conquered some Sumerian cities, or where the Israelites took over strong Canaanite cities. In both of these cases, there still were clear archaeological indications of a breach in culture, even though the invaders were only a minority. Next to that, this assumption doesn't take into account the rise of the Hittite kingdom here in later times, or the wide spread of the Indo-European languages Luwian, Palaic and Hittite throughout most of Anatolia (cf. *infra*). This could only have happened if the Indo-Europeans did have a definite ethnographic or demographic influence in the area and cannot be explained if only a small number of them came down to Cappadocia. Also, the Assyrian tablets (cf. *infra*) give us an image of a large Indo-European population group in the Assyrian period. So where did they come from if this invasion only encompassed a small number? An extra argument against an Indo-European minority in Anatolia is genetics. Indeed, the population of modern Turkey still owns a considerable amount of haplogroups in their genes that point to Indo-European ancestors (Cinnioglu et al., 2004). How could this have left such substantial traces after such a long time, if the amount of Indo-Europeans invading the area was so small?<sup>50</sup>

Renfrew (1998) supports another thesis, namely that Anatolia might actually have been the homeland of the Proto-Indo-Europeans and that they were thus autochthonous there. In this view, the 'autochthonous' Hatti would be the intruders, since their language was a West-Caucasian one (Diakonoff, 1990) and they therefore may have invaded from the Caucasus. There is nothing that forces us to assume that the Hatti were earlier in Anatolia than the Indo-European Hittites. The only thing that is true, however, is that the two peoples as a matter of fact had the *same* name ('people of the Land of Hatti'): we only make the arbitrary distinction between 'Hittites' and 'Hatti' in English, because there were obviously two different ethnic groups in Cappadocia who called themselves so. Either the Hatti were first and the Hittites came later and adopted their name, or the other way around. Although there are some problems with Renfrew's hypotheses about the further spread of the other Indo-European peoples, the idea that Anatolia may have been the homeland of the Proto-Indo-Europeans cannot be entirely excluded. This thesis certainly would explain why the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European languages was so special (Sturtevant, 1962, cf. *supra*). Another argument for this theory are the tombs that were excavated in Alaca Höyük, Horoztepe and Mahmatlar (all from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C.)<sup>51</sup> that display certain Indo-European characteristics, such as the method of burial, solar discs and

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<sup>50</sup> We have to exclude the possibility that these haplogroups are the result of later Indo-European invasions, such as the Greek or Roman domination. As we will see, the Cappadocians only became 'Hellenized' and 'Romanized' after a very long time, and this did certainly not include great migrations of Greeks or Romans to Anatolia. Except for the sporadic soldier that decided to stay there, they had very little to do with the ethnic composition of Cappadocia. One other Indo-European invasion into Cappadocia was the Phrygian one, but this migration is reflected in another set of haplogroups, pointing to the Balkan (Cinnioglu et al., 2004) (cf. *infra*).

<sup>51</sup> See attachment 1.

theriomorphic standards (Bryce, 2005). They strongly remind us of the later Mycenaean burial tombs. They seem to point to an early presence of Proto-Indo-Europeans in at least the immediate neighbourhood of these sites, earlier than the destructions at the end of the Early Bronze Age (cf. *supra*). Moreover, Anatolia as the Indo-European heartland would also explain the great impact of Indo-European haplogroups on the Turkish population to this day, without however leaving a trace of an invasion or large-scale migration. In this hypothesis, there is no place for a real 'invasion' of Indo-Europeans, because this was their homeland. The layer of destruction mentioned by Orlin and Mellaart (cf. *supra*) could then have been the result of raids and plunders by the people who had invaded Troy and the western coast of Asia Minor. These people may or may not have been Indo-Europeans, may have settled in Troy and along the rest of the coast, but maybe never went to live as far as central Anatolia. Later they could have plundered and raided more south- and eastwards (accounting for the minor destruction in Cappadocia), only to return to their 'base' in the west afterwards.

There can be no certainty about the Indo-European homeland or the date of their possible arrival in Asia Minor. Whatever the truth is, genetics (Cinnioglu et al., 2004) and the later 'Cappadocian tablets' (cf. *infra*) show us that the Indo-Europeans have had a great impact on the Cappadocian population. The later rise of the Hittite kingdom and the long-time dominance of Indo-European languages in the area vouch for this as well.

#### d) The dawn of the Assyrian colonies

This was the demographic situation in Cappadocia at the moment of the first Assyrian trading colonies: a mixed ethnic composition, with however a large amount of Indo-European inhabitants. By this time, the political map of Anatolia was already quite well stabilised. The Assyrian clay tablets (the 'Cappadocian tablets', cf. *infra*) speak of *mātū* or 'lands' in Anatolia, but also of smaller city-states. These *mātū* seem to have encompassed a city and a large territory surrounding it, thus making it more powerful than the smaller city-states. The Anatolian rulers each had different ranks in relation to one another and there seems to have been a system of parity and vassalage (Orlin, 1970). The more vassals one had, the more powerful one was. The rulers of the large territorial states (*mātū*), and patrons to a great number of vassal cities, were called 'Great Prince' (*rubā'um rabī'um* in the Assyrian texts), while others who were less powerful were simply called 'Prince' (*rubā'um*). We have three names of city-states that were clearly very potent and were thus ruled by a 'Great Prince': Kaniš (today's Kültepe), Waḥšušana and Buruḫattum (Orlin, 1970). We know of other rulers who were called 'King' (*šarrum*) instead of 'Prince'. This did not mean, however, that these latter were more powerful.

It is clear that there was no overall and uniform rule in central Anatolia during those days. Archaeologists like to divide the area into different regions (the Northwest, the Southwest, Central Anatolia, the Konyan Plain, etc.) for this period, because of the great variations in material culture (Mellaart, 1963). The system of vassals between the separate city-states is perhaps one that may be compared to the situation in Greece in the archaic and classic period, with the network of πόλεις and their hegemonies and colonies. However, the Anatolian equivalent of these πόλεις did not leave any written records, which makes it all the more difficult to reconstruct the workings and everyday ins and outs of these places. The only sources that we dispose of are the archaeological finds and the later Assyrian clay tablets, that can give us an outsider's view.

Archaeology tells us that the so-called *kārū* (singular *kārum*) – that is, the places where the Assyrians were about to settle their trading colonies – were already inhabited during the period *before* the first attestations of Assyrian presence (Orlin, 1970). These *kārū* were settlements nearby important city-states, where traders and craftsmen were accommodated and where trading caravans came and went to sell or buy their goods. They were situated a little outside the city-walls, so that tradesmen could come and go freely, without disturbing the city's other day to day activities. However, with the coming of the Assyrians, these *kārū* were about to get an immense boost and a much better organisation, jumpstarting the economy in Cappadocia. Furthermore, the Assyrians picked out all of the major political centres to settle their colonies (Kaniš, Buruṣḫattum and Waḥšušana, cf. *supra*, but also Ḫattuš and Zalpa), thus further developing and raising them to power. We will therefore see many of these cities again in the later Hittite kingdom.

As a conclusion we can state that even before the Assyrian period started, the region already was a crossroad between different ethnic groups, cultures and languages. The Hatti may or may not have been autochthonous (Janse, 2008; Bryce, 2009) and possibly spoke a West-Caucasian language. The Sumerians but briefly touched Asia Minor and probably didn't have any substantial influence in the area. The Akkadians were of greater importance, however, and may have left certain cultural and linguistic traces, even though this is not verifiable with the material that we have today. New discoveries might elucidate this further. The Indo-Europeans, on the other hand, (whether they were autochthonous in the area or not) were a very important group for the further history of Cappadocia and its language. They were the speakers of a Proto-Anatolian language, that would later evolve into Hittite, Luwian and the other Anatolian languages (Watkins, 2004). These languages would be predominant in the area for a very long time (cf. *infra*).

#### II.4.2. The Assyrian *kārū*

The Assyrian period in Cappadocia lasted from approximately 2000-1200 B.C. Its beginning followed the rise of the Old Assyrian Dynasty in the heart of Mesopotamia, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Orlin, 1970). Before this time, Assyria had been a vassal state to several Mesopotamian dynasties, such as the Sumerians and the Akkadians (Bryce, 2009). However, with the ascension of the first Assyrian ruler (Puzur-Aššur I), it started increasing both its power and its land and soon dominated most of the Fertile Crescent (Orlin, 1970; Bryce, 2009). Whether the Assyrians ever really ‘conquered’ central Anatolia or not, is subject for discussion (cf. *infra*), but it is certain that from the second millennium onwards, they started building trading posts nearby Anatolian cities. These posts were called *kārū* (singular *kārum*) and were the links in a huge trading network that went all the way to the Black Sea.

The Assyrian word *kārum* was a Sumerian loan word, derived from *kar*, which meant ‘quay’ or ‘dam embankment’ (Orlin, 1970). It has gone through quite a semantic evolution before it came to designate the Cappadocian colonies. Initially, the word was used to designate the earthen banks that were built along the Mesopotamian rivers, where the cargo from ships or vessels was unloaded. Later, the markets that grew almost organically along these quays were given the same name. With a next broadening of the sense, the word also came to designate the community of specialized traders who worked in these markets and surely lived close to them as well. Eventually, it came to mean the administration and government of these trading communities too. This latter meaning was the one that was applied to the Cappadocian colonies. Within the Anatolian context, these *kārū* were of course trading entities, but they also represented the entire Semitic (Assyrian) community, in an otherwise foreign country (Orlin, 1970). In this sense, they were thus also the representatives of the Assyrian rulers whenever negotiations with the Anatolian rulers were necessary. This made these Anatolian *kārū* very different from the trading communities back home, in Assyria.

Every *kārum* was situated a little away from the Anatolian city it belonged to and was built upon a level terrace. This was perfectly normal, so that the busy caravans and merchants coming and going could easily access it (cf. *supra*). These colonies became highly organised under the Assyrians, with a complex, international import and export business (Orlin, 1970; Meesters, 2011). The most wanted Cappadocian wares were copper and clothing, which were mostly exchanged with Assyrian wool, tin and all kinds of manufactures. But also smaller products were exchanged, such as barley, oil, straw,

hides or honey. All these goods were transported with donkey caravans and sometimes with wagons that were pulled by donkeys (so-called *erriggātum*).

It looks like the Assyrian traders lived in their own, separate quarter of the *kārum*, where they maintained their Semitic customs, language and religion (Orlin, 1970). They kept on using their own, Assyrian calendar to set dates for certain appointments, and they used their own weights, measurements and monetary value ratios in every transaction. The Anatolian traders most likely retained their own customs as well, although we don't know what these might have been (because of the deplorable lack of written records from their side). However, these two peoples certainly did not remain entirely separate in everything. The Assyrians heavily relied upon Anatolian craftsmen for domestic utilities, such as their pottery, and some of them even maintained indigenous women as their second wives. Of course, they also did business with them and there are some extant records of certain loans of money to the Anatolian inhabitants. The Assyrian presence thus must have stimulated the local economy enormously. And since the members of the *kārum* were mostly itinerary, leading their caravans up and down, they depended very much upon the Anatolian farmers for food. This has led to archaeological remains that look almost perfectly Anatolian, if it hadn't been for the typically Mesopotamian seals and the cuneiform tablets (cf. *infra*) that are witness to Assyrian presence. We can therefore certainly assume that there was a great intermixing of the two peoples.

We have the complete list of city-names where the several Assyrian colonies were settled throughout Cappadocia, of which the following are the most important ones: Buruṣḫattum, Waḥṣušana, Ḫattuṣ and Kaniš (Orlin, 1970; Bryce, 2009; Meesters, 2011)<sup>52</sup>. All four of them were already mentioned before as being important and potent Anatolian city-states (cf. *supra*). However, *kārum* Kaniš was clearly the most important of all *kārū* and was situated at modern-day's Kültepe (cf. *supra*). 'Kaniš' or 'Kaneš' is the name we find in the Assyrian cuneiform script, but it was most likely the equivalent of the Hittite name 'Neša' (Güterboch, 1958), a city that will be very important in Hittite times. It was the main and chief executive colony and stood in close contact with the Assyrian capital Aššur (Orlin, 1970). The network between all these *kārū* was incredibly extensive and can still be traced back today. This underpins the image of a regularly and thoroughly visited area, despite its vastness and desolateness.

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<sup>52</sup> The complete list is: Buruṣḫattum, Durḫumit, Ḫaḫḫum, Ḫattuṣ, Hurama, Kaniš, Niḫria, Tawinia or Tamnia, Uršu, Waḥṣušana, Zalpaḫ, Badna, Ḫanaknak, Karaḫna, Mama, Šalatuwar, Šamuḫa, Tuḫpia, Ulama, Wašhania, Zalpa or Zalpuwa (Orlin, 1970).

### a) Colonisation?

The biggest point of controversy about these Assyrian colonies is whether they were actual 'colonies' or only outposts. In other words, did Cappadocia geographically and politically belong to the Assyrian empire or was it simply a region at its outskirts, handy to trade with? Were the inhabitants of Cappadocia 'Assyrian', as in that they had to obey an Assyrian law? Some elements seem to hint that they were. Indeed, we have seen that the Assyrian traders still abided by the Assyrian law and continued to employ Assyrian traditions and customs. They continued to be subjects of Aššur and openly paid homage to the Assyrian government (Orlin, 1970), so it seems like the hand of the Assyrian authorities did reach as far as Cappadocia.

However, the indications that the Anatolian rulers were still very independent from Assyria are much more numerous and convincing. We can discern indigenous governments in the cities (the 'Princes' and 'Great Princes', cf. *supra*), who kept certain rights and privileges to themselves. This is definitely not very consistent with their being a supposed vassal of Assyria. There is also no proof whatsoever that the Anatolian cities would have paid tribute to Aššur (Orlin, 1970). Furthermore, there is no archaeological or other evidence of a military occupation in Cappadocia. It seems impossible that Assyria could have kept political control over the area without any military coercion. Besides, the princes of the cities retained their own soldiers and military equipment, something that would not have been possible in the case of a military invasion. Next to that, letter KTP 14 (of the Cappadocian tablets)<sup>53</sup> shows us that *kārum* Kaniš did not want to take action (in this case: swear an oath to the new prince of another Anatolian city) unless the prince of Kaniš told him to do so. The letter explicitly states that the city of Kaniš was their superior (Orlin, 1970). Moreover, Assyrian power was present in the *kārū*, but even there it was limited. Many of the decisions or actions in the colony were made by the personal directive or the assembly of the *kārum*, not by some far magistrate in Aššur – let alone by the ruler of Assyria. Also, there was no law that held the Anatolians as inferior to the Assyrians. Anatolian administrators would have been sure to defend the rights of their subjects in a dispute between an Assyrian and a Cappadocian. At last, the religious situation doesn't show an Assyrian domination either, since the Assyrian gods certainly did not take the place of the local gods (Orlin, 1970).

We may conclude that there certainly was Assyrian influence, but we must distinguish that from real 'power' (Orlin, 1970). It seems like the Assyrians managed to expand a trading network in foreign

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<sup>53</sup> Edited in: *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, 11 (1927), 119.

countries *without* inducing war. There was an emigration of persons into Cappadocia, but it wasn't a very large wave. *Kārum* Kaniš was the only one of its kind that was of a considerable size and even that wasn't really overwhelming. The greatest immigration in this period was one of capital, goods and ideas (such as the importation of the cuneiform script). If anything, we can state that Assyria had a commercial monopoly in Anatolia and that they were a kind of tutors for them to expand their economy. This must have grown gradually, beginning with isolated traders who made lonely expeditions into Syria and Anatolia. Eventually, the Anatolians would have gotten used to the presence of Assyrian traders and their rulers would have encouraged them to settle there. It was a perfectly symbiotic relationship between Semitic and non-Semitic groups, as it would later be again under wholly different circumstances (cf. *infra*: II.4.9).

#### b) The Cappadocian tablets

An important exception to the assimilation of the Assyrian traders to the local culture, are the cuneiform clay tablets that have been found in some *kārū*. These are clearly Assyrian, both because of the language they use (Old Assyrian) as by the sort of script (cuneiform). The tablets are called the 'Cappadocian tablets' (Goetze, 1957; Schoop, 2006) and are of great importance for the area, since they are the first introduction of written texts in Cappadocia. Next to that, they are economically and historically interesting as well, since they can tell us which transactions happened between whom. But ethnographically they are certainly of a considerable interest too, since the names that are mentioned in these texts can tell us about the different the ethnic groups of the inhabitants (Goetze, 1957; Janse, 2008; Meesters, 2011). Because of these documents, we can glimpse the day to day activities of the inhabitants of the *kārū*, since they consisted of private records as well as business notes and letters. All of them were written on a more or less regular basis from 1940 to 1781 B.C. (Orlin, 1970). They were mostly discovered in today's Alishar Hüyük<sup>54</sup> and in Boğazköy (ancient Hattuš), but surprisingly enough to a lesser extent in Kültepe/Kaniš (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2009).

We can thus attempt to reconstruct the ethnographic composition of the *kārū*, based upon the names mentioned in the tablets. We find some Hatti, speakers of the Hattic (West-Caucasian) language, next to a relatively insignificant number of Hurrian names (Güterboch, 1954), who were Caucasians as well (Janse, 2008). These latter are negligible, though, since they probably only consisted of isolated individuals who happened to have found employment in the Assyrian caravans (Orlin, 1970).

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<sup>54</sup> There is no consensus about the name of the Bronze Age city that was situated there.



Obviously, there are a lot of Assyrian names too, but we cannot assume that the frequency of their names in the tablets represents their relative presence in the area in a realistic way. The tablets were written by Assyrians for Assyrians, so it is only normal that their names would occur more regularly. We can see many Assyro-Babylonian (East-Semitic) names here, some of which are composed of Assyrian god-names, such as 'Ašurbani' which reminds of the god Aššur. Other names were rather West-Semitic, however. Finally, we discern many Indo-European names as well, mostly Hittite and Luwian, but also of another Anatolian dialect that seems to have existed and is sometimes denoted as the [-ahšu-] language (Meester, 2011). Bryce (2005) says that the ratio of Indo-European to Hattic names in *kārum* Kaniš was about 6:1. This has been explained by assuming that the city Kaniš was the Indo-European bastion in Anatolia, but that the 'autochthonous' Hattic population had a greater presence in other Anatolian cities. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Indo-Europeans were so numerous everywhere. On the contrary, genetic information hints at this as well (Cinnioglu et al., 2004, cf. *supra*). We may even ask ourselves once again if this may not be explained by an Indo-European homeland in Anatolia. Either way, we can deduce that the Indo-Europeans comprised of quite a substantial part of the population in Asia Minor.

We may conclude that the *kārū* were certainly not just inhabited by Assyrians, but by the complex mix of peoples that inhabited this region. This doesn't tell us anything about the population of the Anatolian cities, of course, but we may assume that it didn't differ very much from the inhabitation of the *kārū*. The Cappadocian tablets give us a glimpse of the cultural symbiosis in the Assyrian trading colonies, that must certainly have led to influences from all sides (as we can see, for example, by the adoption of the cuneiform script by the Hittites in later times).

### c) The end of the Assyrian period and the rise of the dynasty of Kuššara

The *kārum*-time in Anatolia ended in the 18<sup>th</sup> century B.C., most likely because of the many conflicts between the Anatolian rulers and because of the rise of the dynasty of Kuššara, one of the kingdoms in south-eastern Asia Minor (cf. *infra*) (Bryce, 2005; Meesters, 2011). However, the Assyrian period consisted of a pivotal era in the history of Cappadocia and it left an irreversible impression on the region and its inhabitants. It did not make Assyria very great, but it was an economic catalyst in Anatolia: it stimulated the mining of precious metals, a sense of economic unity and laid the foundations for the trading routes with neighbouring areas (Orlin, 1970; Bryce, 2005).

One important consequence of the *kārū* in Anatolia is that it encouraged a greater sense of territorial consciousness among the Anatolian rulers. Indeed, it had become beneficial for them to clearly define the boundaries of their territories, since this enabled them to determine which local administration had jurisdiction over which area where the merchants passed through. It thus regulated who had the right to impose levies and tolls upon them and their wares. Also, a cooperation between the various authorities was needed throughout the lands where the Assyrian traders travelled. This was the only way to keep the roads free at all times and to ensure safety along the trading routes. Moreover, the communication system was given a great boost because of the roads that were constructed and/or improved during this period, which in turn furnished a closer contact between the several kingdoms (Bryce, 2005). Ironically, the Assyrian trade might have been the economic stimulus that paved the way for the rise of the Hittite kingdom, one of Assyria's greatest enemies.

However, all this also grew to be the perfect context for disputes between the Anatolian kingdoms amongst each other. In *kārum* Kaniš we can see increasing disturbances and open conflict on archaeological level II, which was the period towards the end of the Assyrian colonisation, and at the same time the city of Kaniš itself was also destroyed somewhere in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Orlin, 1970; Bryce, 2005). The so-called 'Anitta-inscription'<sup>55</sup> (cf. *infra*) tells us that it was conquered and looted by a certain Uḫna, the ruler of the northern city-state Zalpa (in the Pontic region), perhaps in association with the king of the city Ḫatti. Uḫna carried off the statue of the city-god of Kaniš, thus enslaving the city and effectively taking away its soul. The inscription doesn't mention the reason for this, but perhaps Kaniš had come to overexploit its position as central *kārum* in the Assyrian trading network and had threatened to cut off the northern trade routes to Zalpa. After this, the *kārum* at Kaniš was deserted for more than a generation, indicating a serious breach in the trading contacts with Assyria. The next archaeological level, Ib (the period 1775-1755 B.C.), shows the resettlement and hesitant reestablishment of the Assyrian trade, but also a continuing instability, which must have kept providing difficulties for the merchants of the *kārum* (Orlin, 1970; Bryce, 2005).

Next to other factors that led to the disruption of the Assyrian trading network, such as the pressure of the Hurrians on the communication links with Mesopotamia and problems in the Assyrian homeland, the series of events concerning the rise of the Kuššaran dynasty must have been a major factor as well. Pitḫana was the ruler of the kingdom Kuššara, the exact location of which is still not

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<sup>55</sup> Edited in: Laroche, 1971, and in: Neu, 1974.

quite certain, but must have been situated somewhere in the south-east of Anatolia, in the Anti-Taurus region (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2009). The same 'Anitta-inscription' already mentioned tells us how the city of Kaniš (which is called 'Neša' here, cf. Güterboch, 1958) did something to anger Kuššara and how Pitḫana therefore captured it. This was thus the second occasion within a short space of time on which the city was conquered. We don't know how much time had gone by since Uḫna of Zalpa had taken Kaniš/Neša, but it certainly looks like the city was by this time a vassal of Zalpa, which may have been symbolised by the taking of the divine statue of Neša (Orlin, 1970). However, something very striking recorded in the 'Anitta-inscription' is the fact that Pitḫana didn't harm any of the inhabitants of the city, but on the contrary made the people of Neša 'his mothers and fathers'<sup>56</sup>. This phrase has been the cause of a lot of speculation: should it be seen as a mere symbolic saying or is the meaning more literal? In the literal sense it might have indicated a certain ethnic link between the Kuššaran dynasty and the (mostly Indo-European) population of Neša. This is very hard to proof, however, and we have no means whatsoever to apprehend the nature of this potential link either. But if they were indeed of the same stock, it might explain why Pitḫana treated them in such a friendly way and we might understand his invasion as a 'liberation' from the yoke of Zalpa, since Zalpa would certainly have placed one of their men on the throne in Neša. All of this is lashing out in the dark, however, especially since we have no way of knowing to which ethnic group the Kuššaran dynasty belonged (Bryce, 2005).

After this conquest by Pitḫana, Kaniš/Neša became the new royal seat of Kuššara. This was most likely a strategic choice, in order to bring the entire region of central Anatolia under his sway from this central position<sup>57</sup>, an ambition that was eventually fulfilled by his son Anitta. He became the first Great King of the Hittite heartland, by conquering the cities of Zalpa and Ḫatti (here called 'Ḫattuš'<sup>58</sup>) as well (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2009). The city Buruḫhattum duly surrendered to him. Anitta was also the one who started working on the image-making of his dynasty and the acculturation of the local culture to his own. For example, he made sacrifices to the god of the city Neša *Šiušummi*, hereby restoring the god to the city after he had been stolen by Zalpa, but he installed his own dynastic god, the 'Weather-god of Heaven' *Ḫalmašut*, as a more dominant god. This is a fine example of religious syncretism. Moreover, he was also the author of the 'Anitta-inscription', where he mentions all the great deeds of his father and himself. Several copies of this inscription were made and dispersed through the area

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<sup>56</sup> Laroche, 1971: 5-9.

<sup>57</sup> Another possible reason for making Neša his capital was perhaps the *kārum* that was situated nearby and still functioned, though perhaps to a lesser extent. Indeed, one of the materials imported by the Assyrians here was tin, a very important resource if one wanted to forge weapons (Bryce, 2005).

<sup>58</sup> An interesting fact to notice is that he razed the city Ḫattuš to the ground and declared its site accursed (Laroche, 1971: 48-51). Later, however, this will be the capital of the Hittite kingdom (cf. *infra*).

(Bryce, 2005; Neu, 1974) – a great example of image-making that will be imitated by many other great rulers in history as well (think about the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*).

These conquests dramatically changed the political face of Cappadocia. All of the old kingdoms ceased to exist and instead a unified 'empire' arose. It also severely interrupted the existence of all Assyrian colonies. However, Anitta's kingdom was given only little time: less than a generation after his conquests, it crumbled down and collapsed (Bryce, 2005). But from its ruins a new empire was to emerge, one which was to have a much more lasting impact on the Anatolian landscape: the Hittite kingdom.

### II.4.3. The Hittite kingdom

During the first half of the seventeenth century B.C., the so-called Hittite kingdom arose in north-central Anatolia (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2009). The region had long before been known as *māt ḫatti*, ‘Land of Ḫatti’ and now became united in one kingdom, with Ḫattuša (the former Ḫatti and later Ḫattuš)<sup>59</sup> as its capital. The city Neša remained the headquarters for merchant operations, however. It is from the biblical references to a people named *hittî* or *hittîm* (cf. *infra*) that scholars adopted the name ‘Hittite’. As far as we know, however, the Hittites never used any ethnic or political nomenclature to refer to themselves as such. They simply called themselves ‘people of the Land of Ḫatti’. Quite a lot of the inhabitants didn’t speak the official language of the kingdom, but what gave all of them a common identity in their eyes was therefore the fact that they lived in a clearly defined region: the *māt ḫatti* (Bryce, 2005). That was what established their ‘Hittite’ identity.

The history of the Hittite kingdom is generally divided into the Old Hittite and the New Hittite Kingdom, although the distinction is somewhat arbitrary (Bryce, 2009; Bryce, 2005)<sup>60</sup>. We might say that the Old Kingdom lasted from the seventeenth century to 1400 B.C., while the New Kingdom went from 1400 to the twelfth century B.C. The fourteenth century was its acme, when its territory and vassals stretched from the Aegean coast to Mesopotamia, and from the Black Sea all the way through Syria as far as Damascus (Bryce, 2009). For a very complete history of the Hittite kingdom, we would like to refer to Bryce, 2005.

The discovery of the Hittites is quite a recent one. Until a century ago, we still thought they were the *hittîm* of the Bible: a small Canaanite tribe living somewhere in Palestine. However, the deciphering of the Hittite hieroglyphic writings and the discovery of the extensive archive at Ḫattuša (today’s Boğazköy) jumpstarted the research for the Hittite kingdom. The excavations of the Hittite cites are still busy and regularly bring new buildings and new information to light, most importantly perhaps the tablets that belonged to the archive of Ḫattuša. It may therefore take many years before most findings are uncovered and even longer before they are all fully analysed. That is why we have to relativize everything we are about to say in light of possible future discoveries.

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<sup>59</sup> Modern-day Boğazköy/Boğazkale.

<sup>60</sup> See attachment 3.

#### a) The foundations of the Hittite kingdom

An important point of discussion is the potential link between the Hittite kingdom and the Kuššaran dynasty of Piṭḫana and Anitta (cf. *supra*). How do we fill in the gap between this dynasty and the first Hittite king, Hattušili? Because a gap it certainly is: all written records cease to exist and archaeological material is practically non-existing (Bryce, 2005). We may perhaps assume there were many conflicts after the fall of Anitta's empire, during which the Hittite kingdom rose to power, thus explaining why it was quite well established by the time the dust started to settle. The Hittite tradition mentions Kuššara as its former seat and origin, making it therefore very well possible that the Hittite kings were of the same stock as Piṭḫana and Anitta. However, we don't know how these two dynasties connected exactly. Moreover, we must recall that Anitta fought the city Ḫattuša, completely destroyed it and cursed its site (cf. *supra*). How can we explain then that this very same city was the capital of the later Hittite kingdom? Güterboch and Gurney (1962) assume that a change of dynasty at Kuššara is a legitimate explanation. It is possible that Anitta settled in Neša and ruled his empire from there, but that a falling out happened between him and Kuššara, where a new power may have arisen. This new power might then have been the foundation for the Hittite dynasty.

The first Hittite king that is clearly attested, is Hattušili I, since the earliest Hittite documents were produced during his reign. However, his dynasty seems to have extended back at least two generations *before* Hattušili. He was the one who refounded the destroyed and cursed city Ḫattuš as Ḫattuša, probably changing his name into Hattušili to refer to this new capital. However, he himself was almost certainly original of Kuššara and the official language of his kingdom was *nešili*, the language of Neša (commonly referred to as 'Hittite', cf. *infra*), thus connecting all important centres of that time in one person. The earliest Hittite records that were written under his reign are very important for our understanding of the foundations of the Hittite kingdom. They were the 'Annals'<sup>61</sup> and the so-called 'Testament'<sup>62</sup>. There is the 'Proclamation of Telipinu' as well, also known as the 'Edict'<sup>63</sup>, which is a very important source, but was written about a hundred years after Hattušili's reign, under king Telipinu (about 1525 B.C.). All of these texts were bilingual, in Akkadian and Hittite, giving us an extra argument for the Akkadian cultural and linguistic influence in Anatolia during earlier times (cf. *supra*).

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<sup>61</sup> Edited in: de Martino, 2003.

<sup>62</sup> Edited in: Sommer and Falkenstein, 1938.

<sup>63</sup> Edited in: Hoffman, 1984.

The 'Proclamation of Telipinu' starts his history of the Hittite kingdom with a certain king of Kuššara, called Labarna. He came to power in Kuššara, which was then still very small, but he conquered one country after another until he eventually reigned over the entire region south of the Marassantiya river (the river Halys, today's Kızılırmak) all the way to the Mediterranean and the Konya Plain. Even though some scholars doubt the historical authenticity of this Labarna-figure, many arguments point to a genuine founder of the Hittite kingdom (Bryce, 2005). The Hittite kings later used the name 'Labarna' as a title, much like the name 'Caesar' came to be a title for the Roman emperors. How is this Labarna then connected with the first king Hattušili? In his 'Testament' Hattušili mentions his grandfather, and although he does not give us his name, the possibility certainly exists that he was this Labarna of Telipinu's 'Proclamation'. Hattušili inherited this enlarged kingdom from his grandfather, united the area firmly under his sway and looked to conquer further areas, such as Syria and Arzawa (the region in south-western Anatolia). On his deathbed, Hattušili appointed his grandson Muršili as his successor, thus officially establishing the Old Hittite Kingdom (Bryce, 2005).

#### b) Territories and rivals

The Hittite cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts provide us with hundreds of toponyms, but we don't know where exactly to situate many of them. Some names are assigned to places that had a similar name in later periods in history (the so-called *homophonic* approach), but this is rather problematic (Bryce, 2005). It is therefore always difficult to fully understand the extent of the Hittite region. However, we can discern four major components in the Hittite territory: the heartland with Ḫattuša and surroundings, the peripheral territories, the vassal states and the viceregal kingdoms. The Hittite heartland comprised of only a small part of what would later become Cappadocia, centred around Ḫattuša and Neša. The peripheral territories still fell under the direct control of the king or of one of his officials, but were never as fully integrated into the kingdom as the heartland was. They were mostly buffer zones against the many enemies that surrounded the Hittite kingdom, since the natural conditions of the heartland didn't provide very good defences. The vassal states, on the other hand, fell under the authority of local vassal rulers, who had obligations towards the Hittite king (such as tribute) but also received protection from them. The viceregal kingdoms, however, were a sort of government that was established under king Suppiluliuma I, who appointed his sons as heads of these kingdoms. That way they remained in the direct control of the Hittite empire, but were still entities on their own (Bryce, 2005).

From its early days the Hittite kingdom had many powerful enemies and therefore there were many occasions on which the empire staggered and almost fell (Bryce, 2005). These enemies will become important after the collapse of the kingdom, since many of them will invade the country and settle amongst the inhabitants. The Kaška tribes were one of them. They inhabited the northern fringes of the kingdom, along the Black Sea and raided the Hittite heartland more than once. The Luwians who inhabited Arzawa and Lukka (south-western Anatolia) were formidable enemies of the kingdom as well. During certain periods they were vassal states of the Hittites, but they were never a united or coherent people, which made their government a difficult business. The Hurrians of the kingdom Mitanni were another powerful opponent. This kingdom arose somewhere during the sixteenth century B.C. and was situated to the south-east of the Hittite heartland. The names of their kings were all clearly Indo-Aryan, making it possible that the Indo-Europeans somehow had a role in the ascension of this kingdom (Güterboch, 1954; Hoffner, 1973). Other great players on the game board of Mesopotamia were Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, who often collided with the Hittites as well.

### c) Ethnicity in the Hittite kingdom

We can never make the assumption that the 'Hittites' as such existed as one tight group or that the Hittite kingdom was a monolithic one, culturally and ethnographically speaking (Bryce, 2005; Meesters, 2011). The Hittites existed out of many different ethnic groups, a fact that was already established in Assyrian times and even earlier (cf. *supra*). In Hittite times, however, this was intensified even more because of the numerous deportations out of the conquered areas into the Hittite heartland, which was a common practice in Mesopotamia (think about the Babylonian exile). The leading class of the conquered region was brought into Cappadocia, where the Hittite king could keep a close eye on them. These expatriates frequently remained there all their lives and intermixed with the local population a lot. The number of languages thus spoken in the kingdom must have been incredibly big. *Nešili* ('Hittite') was only the official court language, but there were also Palaic, Luwian, Hurrian and no doubt Semitic languages (such as Akkadian or a later form of it), next to many other dialects and smaller languages that are now lost to us (Goetze, 1957; Bryce, 2005; Meesters, 2011).

We must also discard the notion that the Hittite history began with the supremacy of a group of Indo-Europeans over the 'native' Hatti (Bryce, 2005). We don't know exactly to what ethnic group the Hittite dynasty originally belonged (though they were probably Indo-European), but that most likely didn't matter anymore either: the long cohabitation of the many races in Anatolia must have rendered most ethnic differences empty. A lot of reciprocal influence and acculturation must have happened along



the way, until all of them had simply become 'Anatolian'. Next to that, we know that only a small number of families provided all the occupants for the Hittite throne and because of the many marriages, adoptions and coups, numerous Hattic, Luwian and Hurrian elements must have sneaked into these families. Gerd Steiner even goes so far as to state that the Indo-Europeans had little to do with the Hittite kingdom and that the rulers were of a Hattic origin instead (Steiner, 1981). Indeed, many Hattic elements remained predominant throughout the Hittite history, mostly in the areas of mythology, religion and art. However, we can see no traces of Hattic precedents in the literature of the kingdom (Hoffner, 1973) and the Hattic influence on the Hittite language and institutions has been quite overestimated in previous times (Melchert, 2003). The royal titles 'Labarna' and 'Tawananna' have long been thought to be Hattic, but now turn out to be Indo-European as well (Bryce, 2005). Also, if the rulers were Hattic, this could not explain why the official language of the court was an Indo-European one. It is therefore still plausible that the ruling class of the kingdom was Indo-European, but as we already said, this most likely was only of very little importance for the inhabitants – also because the politics of the Hittites existed out of a careful including of all the local gods and original cultures into their own.

We may therefore conclude that the Hittites never had a single common ethnic core. They were multi-racial and spoke a wide variety of languages (Goetze, 1957; Bryce, 2005).

#### d) The fall of the Hittite kingdom

At the start of the twelfth century B.C. the Hittite empire started to crumble down. In Suppiluliuma II's reign all Hittite records stop abruptly and there are archaeological signs for a partial evacuation of Hattuša and a subsequent incineration of the main buildings. The last records we have are those of a naval battle off the coast of Cyprus, something no Hittite king had never ventured before (Bryce, 2005). During the same period, we see immense movements and emigrations of all kinds of peoples over the entire eastern Mediterranean, running from something or searching for something, and marauding all along the way (Bryce, 2009). Many established and old systems collapsed in this time, making the Hittite kingdom only one domino in what looks like a chain reaction. There are many theories about the causes for this, but most likely it was a combination of many factors (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2009).

Some scientists believe natural forces must have been the reason for the collapse of the many Mesopotamian kingdoms and empires in this period. The theories about a devastating earthquake are

no longer given any credibility, however, since there is no convincing archaeological evidence for this (Bryce, 2005). A prolonged drought finds more approval, because the large movements of populations might then have been spurred on by hunger. However, can this really explain why all these systems in the Middle East crashed? This could certainly not have been the first period of drought in the history of many of them. It can therefore not be the entire explanation (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2009).

Another hypothesis is a radical innovation in warfare, whereby 'barbarians' from outside the old systems were given a military advantage over the chariot-based armies of the Mesopotamian kingdoms. These 'barbarians' would then have been Libyans, Palestinians, Israelites, Lycians and the inhabitants of northern Greece. Even though it is true that these peoples invaded the great kingdoms of this time, we have no idea what this radical innovation would have been and why the old powers would suddenly have become so weakened – all at approximately the same time (Bryce, 2005).

Yet another possibility is to look inside the Hittite kingdom itself. Under Suppiluliuma II the kingdom was internally very much divided and weak, thus practically inviting in outside forces. The civil war between Urhi-Tesub and his uncle Hattušili III shortly before had debilitated the kingdom gravely. Also, the vassal states were giving Suppiluliuma much trouble, surging in rebellion time after time. One of the biggest conflicts was with Tarḫuntašša, a vassal in south-western Anatolia. The port of Ura was very close to Tarḫuntašša, which is where the grain shipments were brought in from Egypt and Canaan. A war with Tarḫuntašša must therefore have been incredibly devastating for the Hittite kingdom, especially since we can see how the Hittites relied more and more upon imported grain during the last decades leading up to its collapse. Perhaps this was also the reason why Suppiluliuma II undertook a sea battle in this area: to try and secure the trade routes for the grain supplies (Bryce, 2005; Meesters, 2011).

Lastly, the so-called Sea People and their raids may also have had a role in the demise of the kingdom. The name 'Sea Peoples' is quite inappropriate, however, since they generally consisted of all kinds of populations who swept through Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, across the Mediterranean and to the coast of Egypt, and some of them had nothing to do with the sea whatsoever. Their overall movement was southwards, across the Levantine coast. Pharaoh Ramesses III mentions them on his funerary temple at Medinet Habu (Pritchard, 1969) and tells of how the Hatti, amongst others, succumbed under their forces. However, were they the agents of all the upheavals and collapses during the Late Bronze Age?

Or rather the victims? And who were they exactly? Pharaoh Ramesses III mentions the following piratical peoples in his inscription: the Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Weshesh and Denyen (Pritchard, 1969: 262). We notice how many of these peoples seem to have originated in Anatolia, mainly in western Anatolia (Bryce, 2005). The Peleset were the Philistines, who were original from Anatolia. It is only during this period of great migrations that they eventually settled in Canaan. The name 'Tjekker' is sometimes associated with 'Teucer', the mythical ancestor of the people in the Troad who were called 'Teucroi' by the Greeks and Romans. The Shekelesh were of Anatolian origin too and may be identified with 'the people of Shikila who live on boats', who were mentioned in a Hittite letter (the Tablets from Ras Shamra 34.129)<sup>64</sup>. The Denyen, on the other hand, are to be associated with Cilicia, in south-western Asia Minor. We may therefore assume that western Anatolia was the first region to have started crumbling down, where all of this started going in a sort of snowball-effect. With the decline of the Ahhiyawan (Achaean) and Hittite influences in this region, the movement of populations would have increased even more. Indeed, the habit of these regimes to deport and relocate whole ethnic groups led to unsettling conditions in the area. When these powers fell away, entire groups started abandoning their lands, where safety couldn't be guaranteed anymore, and went on a quest for new lands. They may have started marauding during their wanderings, which accelerated the crumbling down of other structures that were already weakened (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2009; Meesters, 2011). The 'Sea People' were thus probably both the consequence and a partial cause of many collapses of this time.

No doubt a combination of many factors eventually was the downfall of the Hittite kingdom. The greatest problem with this period, however, is the deplorable lack of archaeological evidence, except for an obvious break in the occupation along the Syro-Palestine coast and of some sites more inland about 1200 B.C. (Bryce, 2005). But this break tells us nothing about the ethnic groups the emigrating peoples belonged to or why they emigrated at all. In Anatolia we see the conflagration of Hattuša, but there is no evidence for violent destructions of any sites west of the Marassantiya river. Eastwards, the incineration is more obvious, but the western sites seem to have been simply abandoned. This confirms the hypothesis that the whole emigration wave started from western Anatolia (Bryce, 2005, cf. *supra*).

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<sup>64</sup> Edited in: Malbran-Labat, 1991: no. 12.

#### e) The aftermath: Neo-Hittites and Neo-Assyrians

Which ethnic groups remained in Anatolia at the start of the Iron Age? Who had invaded the area and who had left? Most of these questions are very hard to answer, because of the difficulty of interpreting the archaeological remains of this period. We may, however, assume that a lot of the original ethnic groups remained very present in Asia Minor and that the western Anatolians have left their traces while passing through the more eastern parts on their way to Mesopotamia and the south. The Luwian-speaking people of what would later be called 'Lycia' had remained put, which is why the Luwian language was preserved in that area until the Roman times (seen in city names such as 'Oenoanda', which was derived from the Luwian 'Wiyawanda'). The kingdom of Tarḫuntašša remained Luwian as well and was to become Cilicia and Pamphylia in later times. Next to that, many of the enemies that were pressing on the Hittite borders now rolled into Cappadocia, such as the Kaškans (Bryce, 2005), the Hurrians and the Aramaeans (from 1100 B.C. onwards).

#### THE NEO-HITTITE KINGDOMS

We know of some members of the royal Hittite family who resided in the small kingdom of Karchemiš in northern Syria after the fall of the Hittite kingdom. Other members left traces in the kingdom of Melid (later Melitene), that had emerged from the ruins of the Hittite kingdom. Thus several new and smaller kingdoms arose, such as Kummukh (the later Commagene) or Tabal in central Anatolia (Bryce, 2005; Meesters, 2011; Bryce, 2012). Many of them may have been a refuge for the Hittite royal family, probably whilst they waited until they could rise to power once more – something that would never happen, of course. These kingdoms were given the name 'Neo-Hittite' because of the Hittite veneer that remained, in the form of Hittite-type monuments, sculptures, hieroglyphic inscriptions and the use of the Luwian language. Moreover, many of these Neo-Hittite kings had names that strongly reminded of Hittite kings, such as Mutallu (from Muwattalli), Lubarna (from Labarna) and Sapalulme (from Suppiluliuma). Also, outside forces kept on referring to the area as *māt ḫatti*, as though nothing had changed. For example, the mentions of *hittî* or *hittîm* in the Bible is a reference to this period<sup>65</sup> (cf. *supra*). These Biblical mentions can be divided into two main groups: some refer to the Canaanite Hittites who lived in Palestine and had Semitic names, the others clearly refer to the Neo-Hittite kingdoms more to the north (Bryce, 2005). From this we may conclude that some Hittites had obviously

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<sup>65</sup> *Genesis* 10.15, 23.10 and 26.34; *Exodus* 3.8; *Josue* 1.3-4; *II Regnorum* 7.6; *II Paralipomenon* 1.17 (edited in: Rahlfs, 1971).

left their homeland and went to live in the Middle East, but that others had remained. Both groups were still seen as the descendants of the Hittite kingdom (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2012).

The name 'Neo-Hittite' is rather problematic, however, since the people it refers to were very multi-ethnic and multi-cultural and many of the inhabitants had little or no link with the Hittites. Especially the influx of Aramaeans into Anatolia breached the continuity with the Hittite kingdom. An obvious example of this breach is the disappearance of the cuneiform writing. The loss of the Hittite identity probably happened rather quickly for the people on the street, because there never even was a common name for the 'Hittites' (cf. *supra*). Moreover, the Greek sources forgot about the Hittite kingdom rather soon as well. Homer doesn't mention them in his *Iliad* anymore, even though he does mention certain Mycenaean cities that had fallen in about the same period (Latacz, 2004). The Neo-Assyrian empire seems to have had a much more lasting impact in the minds of the Greeks, as is shown by their use of the nomenclature 'Syrians' (cf. *supra*). That is why the term 'Syro-Hittite' instead of 'Neo-Hittite' is used as well (Bryce, 2005; Bryce, 2012).

The area of these Neo-Hittite or Syro-Hittite kingdoms approximately encompassed what would later become Cappadocia Prima or Cappadocia by the Taurus: that is, the more southern part of the area (Bryce, 2009; Meesters, 2011). The most 'Cappadocian' of these kingdoms was Tabal, which had the river Marassantiya as its northern boundary, the kingdoms Gūrūn and Melid to its east and Hilakku and Que to the south. At its start it probably consisted out of many even smaller kingdoms, as we can see by an inscription of the Assyrian king Šalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.):

'In my twenty-second regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-second time (and) received tribute from all the kings of the land Hatti. Moving on from the land Hatti, I crossed Mount [...]inzini (and) received tribute from the people of the land Melid. I crossed Mount Timur (and) went down to the cities of Tuatti, the Tabalite. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities. The fearful radiance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed Tuatti and he remained confined in his city to save his life. I surrounded Artulu, his royal city. Kikki, his son, was afraid to fight and submitted to me. I received tribute from him. I received gifts from twenty kings of the land Tabal.' (Grayson, 1996: 79)

From this inscription we may deduce that the name 'Hatti' was apparently used to designate the more southern Neo-Hittite kingdoms and not so much the people inhabiting the 'real' Hittite heartland in the north. Also, the king Tuatti seems to have had a somewhat prominent role in a scattered Tabal. By the time of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.), Tabal is mentioned under one king: Wassurme (on the so-called 'stele of Iran' and in the Calah-annals<sup>66</sup>). However, some of the kings that are mentioned next to Wassurme in this inscription must be situated in the same area in Anatolia<sup>67</sup>, and Bryce (2009) supposes that they belonged to the so-called *Tabal Minor*: they were the smaller kings and probably vassals of Wassurme. The Topada inscription (in Luwian hieroglyphs, in today's Acıgöl)<sup>68</sup> commemorates the exploits of a certain king Wasusarmas, who is most likely this same person since he is mentioned as the Great King of Tabal and his father is called Tuwati, who must be the Tuatti mentioned by Šalmaneser III (Bryce, 2009; Meesters, 2011).

The situation in Cappadocia had thus gone back to something quite similar to the Anatolian *mātū* in earlier times: smaller entities who were interconnected through a complex network of vassals and allies. However, Wasusarmas was driven from the throne shortly afterwards by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III. This is when Anatolia became a part of the Neo-Assyrian empire (Bryce, 2009; Bryce, 2012).

## THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

Of the great powers in Mesopotamia, Egypt was one of the few who remained in existence after the tumultuous period at the end of the Bronze Age, but it was so severely damaged that it never again regained its full power and glory. Assyria was troubled in this period as well, but only to a minor extent and was therefore the only real survivor. In the early first millennium it even started a period of new expansion, until under the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) it once again owned the entire Fertile Crescent, from the Persian Gulf to Anatolia (Bryce, 2005). This was the so-called Neo-Assyrian empire. It is the domination of this empire in Syria and Asia Minor that was the reason for the Greek nomenclature 'Syrians' for the Cappadocians (cf. *supra*). Under the vassal king Ambaris, who ruled the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of Tabal and Hillaku for the Assyrian king, the name 'Bīt-Burutaš' emerged in

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<sup>66</sup> Edited in: Tadmor, 1994: 64 and 109.

<sup>67</sup> One of them is the king of Tuhana, which was the Assyrian variant of 'Tuwana' (from the Hittite 'Tuwanuwa'), the city that would later become the Greek *TuFάνα* (Tuάνα) and Latin 'Tyana'.

<sup>68</sup> Edited in: Hawkins, 2000.

Cappadocia. This toponym is Aramaean and thus Semitic of origin, pointing towards a large Aramaean presence in Anatolia. The Aramaeans lived in tribal communities and all of their territories received a name that started with 'Bīt' followed by a name: it meant 'the house of...' with the name of the chief in question (Hawkins, 1984; Bryce, 2009). The Aramaeans invaded from the east, from northern Arabia, and there was to be a great reciprocal exchange between them and the local culture in the coming times, as we can see by the later spread of the Aramaean language.

## CONCLUSION

We may conclude that after this turbulent period, the already mixed peoples of Cappadocia became even more mixed. Next to the Hatti, Hurrians and Indo-Europeans that already lived there, the Aramaeans and Kaškans now left thorough demographical traces, as did the Assyrians with their Neo-Assyrian empire. This is the first period of definite Semitic influence in Anatolia, through the Aramaeans and the Assyrians, who this time definitely *did* colonise the area. In later times, the Phrygians, Muški, Cimmerians and Medes started to mix up this cocktail as well. In the next chapter we will discuss how all of these peoples cohabited until the Persians would come along and change the political surface of Anatolia forever.

#### II.4.4. The country 'in between'

In the period that followed, Cappadocia lost all the centrality it had basked in during the Hittite kingdom. Whereas then it had been the centre of their part of the world, it now became the country in between of several other centres. They first became part of the eastern Phrygian empire and later of the Cimmerian country, wedged between them and the Neo-Assyrians of Northern Syria. Later still, they became part of the north-western fringes of the Median (and later Persian) empire. The Aramaeans grew to power in this period as well, but even though their heartland certainly touched upon Cappadocia, it was not exactly a part of it. Cappadocia thus effectively became 'the country in between'.

##### a) The Muški, the Phrygians and the Moschi

There are two peoples who are frequently mentioned in the Cappadocian area during the twelfth to seventh century B.C.: the Phrygians and the Muški. They were certainly connected to one another, but there is some discussion about whether or not they were the actually same people (Bryce, 2005; Meesters, 2011; Bryce, 2012).

##### THE MUŠKI

The Assyrian sources mention the invasions of the Muški quite early in history already. Their name greatly resembles that of the Moschi (Μόσχοι, cf. *infra*). Tiglath-Pileser I, for example, tells us about them in one of his royal inscriptions:

'In my ascension year: 20,000 Mushki with their five kings, who had held for fifty years the lands Alzu and Purulumzu – bearers of tribute and tithe to the god Ashur My Lord – (the Mushki), whom no king had ever repelled, being confident of their strength, they came down and captured the Land of Kadmuḫu. With the support of the god Ashur, My Lord, I put my chariotry and army in readiness and not bothering about the rear guard, I traversed the rough terrain of Mount Kashiari. I fought with their 20,000 men-at-arms and five kings in the Land of Kadmuḫu. I brought about their defeat. Like a storm demon I piled up the corpses of the warriors on the battlefield and made their blood flow into the hollows and plains of the mountains. I cut off their heads and stacked them like grain piles around their cities. I brought out their booty, property, and possessions without



number. I took the remaining 6,000 of their troops who had fled from my weapons and submitted to me and regarded them as people of my land.’ (Grayson 1976: 6-7)

This is the earliest attestation of the Muški (Meesters, 2011). However, it is unclear what their origins or ethnic affinities were, nor where their countries were situated exactly. Bryce (2005) thinks they may have formed an alliance with the Kaškans from northern Cappadocia, but that is quite uncertain. It is possible that they entered Anatolia from the west, from the Balkan, because of their frequent association with the Phrygians but even that is not entirely sure. Whatever the truth is, they seem to have amalgamated with the Phrygians and became firmly established in Anatolia (Bryce, 2012). This inscription tells us that they apparently lived in the country for about fifty years already, which makes it quite likely that they came to live in Anatolia during the aftermath of the fall of the Hittite empire. However, the Muški seem to be situated a little too much towards the east to be straight away equalled with the Phrygians (Bryce, 2009: 34 and 567), even though their exact location is uncertain. They disappear from all sources for a while after this first attestation, until they turn up again in 717 B.C., where their king Mita is mentioned<sup>69</sup>. Thus, it looks like they were united under one king by this time, contrasting with the five kings in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser. We may also deduce that they had become rather important for international politics, since they had managed to make the Assyrian vassal state Karchemiš revolt (Luckenbill, 1927). Other inscriptions (Luckenbill, 1927; Meesters, 2011) clearly show that the Assyrian king Sargon II and Mita were not so much vassal and patron, but much more like equals or allies. This king Mita may have been the origin of the Greek myth about king Midas, since under his reign the Muški attained high prosperity.

## THE PHRYGIANS

The Phrygians were situated in approximately the same area (mostly around the city Gordion, south-west of today’s Ankara), during the same period (from 1180-700 B.C.), but are only mentioned by Greek sources. Homer is the first one to mention them, as allies of the Trojans in the Trojan War<sup>70</sup>. In another episode, he situates them near the river Σαγγάριος, today’s Sakarya:

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<sup>69</sup> Inscription edited in: Luckenbill, 1927.

<sup>70</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.862 (edited in: Murray, 1999).

ἔνθα ἶδον πλείστους Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπώλους,

λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μυγδόνοος ἀντιθέοιο,

οἳ ῥα τότε ἔστρατόωντο παρ' ὄχθας Σαγγαρίου.' (Homer, *Iliad*, III.185-187)

'And there I saw in multitudes the Phrygian warriors, masters of glancing steeds, the men of Otreus and godlike Mygdon, who were then encamped along the banks of Sangarius.'

(translation: Murray, 1999)

This is the area west of today's Ankara, a little more to the west of where Tiglath-Pileser I had situated the Muški. However, we don't know if these Muški already lived here during the historical period to which Homer refers in this passage, mostly because there are many layers of historical periods that Homer refers to throughout his work. This is therefore no sufficient prove that the Phrygians were in fact the Muški. Herodotus mentions the Phrygians as well, when he enumerates the armies of Darius, Great King of the Persian empire:

Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον δὲ παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆιοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι.' (Herodotus, *History*, VII.73)

'The Phrygian equipment was most like to the Paphlagonian, with but small difference. By what the Macedonians say, these Phrygians were called Briges as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbours of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia they changed their name also and were called Phrygians. The Armenians, who are settlers from Phrygia, were armed like the Phrygians.' (translation: Godley, 1963)

Shortly before this passage, Herodotus mentions the Cappadocians as clearly separate from the Phrygians, and he rather seems to connect the Phrygians with the Armenians. Should we therefore assume that there was no connection whatsoever between the Phrygians and the Cappadocians? Most likely not. Herodotus had much of his information from hearsay and the fact that he considered the Palestinians to be Syrians (cf. *supra*) must warn us against any definite ethnographic interpretation based upon his work. However, he does tell us about the migration of the Phrygians from the Balkan,

something that is corroborated both by Strabo<sup>71</sup> and Brixhe (2004: 777). Brixhe confirms that a name like 'Briges' may have been construed in the Phrygian language, since it was an Indo-European language that evolved the Proto-Indo-European sonorant fricative [bh] into the sonorant [b], whereas the Greek language changed it into a voiceless fricative [ph]. This would therefore explain why the Phrygians called themselves something like 'Bruges' or 'Briges', but why the Greek called them 'Phruges' (Φρύγες). However, it would mean that the Greeks and the Phrygians already had frequent contact from the time where the [bh] still existed and wasn't evolved yet, since they both must have known the version with the old [bh]. This is very well possible. Brixhe (1994) says there are some clear isoglosses that connect Greek with Phrygian and he therefore assumes that they existed in close contact with one another during the prehistory. They may even have come south to the Balkan together, when they split off from the other Proto-Indo-Europeans. A smaller set of haplogroups of the modern day population of Turkey still points to the Balkan, possibly because of this immigration of Phrygians (Cinnioglu et al., 2004).

Were these Phrygians then Muški? The core of the Phrygian empire was the city Gordion, but the so-called 'Midas city' close by is Phrygian as well. This latter city is very interesting, since its architecture resembles certain monuments of the kingdom Urartu. It therefore looks like the two had contact and culturally influenced one another. In the Assyrian sources the Urartians and the Muški were mentioned together as a great threat to the Assyrian empire, so this may be seen as an extra argument that the Phrygians were in fact the Muški, or were at least related to them, since both seem to have had close contact with the Urartians (Meesters, 2011). Another interesting aspect of the 'Midas city' is a Paleo-Phrygian inscription found in it: 'Ates... has dedicated [this monument] to Midas, lavagtas and vanax'<sup>72</sup>. This name 'Midas' reoccurs in several inscriptions south and east of the river Halys, for example in the later city Tyana (Young, 1969). The resemblance between this 'Midas' and 'Mita', king of the Muški, is of course very great and may as well serve as an argument for the Phrygians being the Muški. However, we must never forget that no contemporary source ever connects the Phrygians with the Muški. Bryce (2009) therefore suggests that they were originally two separate peoples who were united under one king: Mita/Midas. For a full reconsideration of the Phrygians-Muški problem, we would like to refer to Kossian, 1997.

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<sup>71</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, VII.3.2.

<sup>72</sup> Inscription M-01a: edited and translated in: Brixhe, 2004: 786.

## THE MOSCHI

To complicate things even more, Herodotus repeatedly mentions another people that is almost certainly connected with the Muški: the Μόσχοι (cf. *supra*)<sup>73</sup>. They are situated near the Tibareni, who were connected with the name 'Tabal'. The Bible also mentions a certain Mešech, whose name was transliterated in Greek as Μόσχοι and was the foundation for the name 'Moschi' (Janse, 2002). The fact that two separate traditions (Herodotus and the Bible) both mention this people strengthens the credibility of their historicity. These Moschi and Tibareni were originally situated near the Black Sea, but Herodotus clearly mentions them in Cappadocia, which means they must have been one of the peoples who immigrated southwards after the fall of the Hittite kingdom. It is even possible that the Kaškans were amongst them (Meesters, 2011). It is very well possible that they were the Muški of the Assyrian inscriptions.

## CONCLUSION

We may conclude that the Phrygian empire was never simply inhabited by Phrygians. As it had always been in Anatolia, the population was a very mixed one. The Indo-European Phrygians from the Balkan certainly must have left traces in Asia Minor, whether or not they were the same as the Muški. When the Cimmerians will attack Anatolia in approximately 700 B.C., the Phrygians will archaeologically vanish completely, but we may certainly assume that they remained present in the population nonetheless. A new Indo-European layer was thus added to the mixed ethnography of the Cappadocians. We can also see that the Moschi found their way into the Hittite heartland during the vacuum after the collapse, perhaps in association with Tibareni and Kaškans. With the coming of the Cimmerians, the demographic composition of the area will be severely disarranged once more.

### b) The Cimmerians

The Cimmerians attacked central Anatolia somewhere in the seventh century B.C. and utterly destroyed Gordium and the Phrygian empire along the way. Herodotus says that they were driven out of their homeland by the Scythians:

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<sup>73</sup> Herodotus, *History*, III.94 and VII.78.

‘ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἴλον.’ (Herodotus, *History*, I.15)

‘And it was while he [Ardys, son of Gyges] was monarch of Sardis that the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomad Scythians, came into Asia, and took Sardis, all but the acropolis.’ (translation: Godley, 1963)

They thus most likely came from the east, something that is confirmed by the Assyrian sources that mention them. Sennacharib wrote a letter to his father Sargon II about them (ABL 197<sup>74</sup>), saying how they attacked the kingdom of Urartu. Strabo connects the death of king Midas/Mita with the Cimmerians:

‘οἳ τε Κιμμέριοι, οὓς καὶ Τρῆρας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἢ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πόλλακις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῇ αὐτοῖς, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας τοτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες, ἠνίκα Μίδαν αἶμα ταύρου πιόντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεών.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, I.3.21)

‘And those Cimmerians, whom they also call Trerans, (or some tribe or other of the Cimmerians) often overran the countries on the right of the Pontus and those adjacent to them, at one time having invaded Paphlagonia, and at another time Phrygia even, at which time Midas drank bull’s blood, they say, and thus went to his doom.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

The anecdote about the drinking of the bull’s blood is probably something that was conceived afterwards, with the *taurobolium* (ταυροβόλιον) of the rites for Cybele in mind (Meesters, 2011). However, we may certainly suppose that the Cimmerians had something to do with the disappearance of the Phrygian empire, since they appear on stage at the exact moment when the Phrygians/Muški disappear (Bryce, 2009). It is also during this period that the Assyrian influence started to fade in Anatolia and that the smaller kingdoms began to recover themselves a little. However, under the Assyrian king Aššurbanipal (668-630/627 B.C.) they were brought back into the Neo-Assyrian empire,

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<sup>74</sup> Edited in: Parpola, 1987: 31-32.

even though it wasn't for a long time anymore. It is possible that the Anatolian kings sought help from Aššurbanipal against the raids of the Cimmerians (Bryce, 2009; Meesters, 2011).

The Cimmerian leader was called Dugdamme, mentioned by Strabo as Λύγδαμις<sup>75</sup>. He was the one who killed Gyges, the king of the Lydian empire in western Anatolia (that had incorporated parts of the former Phrygian empire). However, he himself was killed shortly afterwards (652 B.C.) during an expedition against Aššurbanipal. From this moment on, the Cimmerians disappear from every source: they were lost in the local population. The impact they had upon the Cappadocians is probably only minimal, because they only appeared so shortly and didn't leave a great deal of archaeological material behind (Bryce, 2009; Meester, 2011).

After this period, the face of Anatolia changed drastically. Urartu went up in flames during the seventh century, the Lydians picked up the bits and pieces of the Phrygian empire until they owned all of western Asia Minor, and in the meantime the Assyrians were losing control of their gigantic empire. Numerous rebellions arose, as for example the Median rebellion in 614 B.C (Bryce, 2009).

### c) The Medes

During this Median rebellion, the collective of Medes managed to conquer Aššur, thereby putting an end to the Neo-Assyrian empire<sup>76</sup>. Later, under Umakištar (in Greek: Cyaxares<sup>77</sup>), they even sacked Ninive with the help of the Babylonians. Their heartland was thus situated in Mesopotamia and therefore south-east of Anatolia. Whether or not they also conquered Cappadocia, is not entirely certain, however. Herodotus seems quite convinced that they did, under this same king Cyaxares. This was the reason, according to him, for a war with the Lydian king Alyattes:

‘οὗτος δὲ Κυαξάρη τε τῷ Δηϊόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίου τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἴλε, ἐς Κλαζομένας τε ἐσέβαλε.’ (Herodotus, *History*, I.16)

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<sup>75</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, I.3.21.

<sup>76</sup> Also see: Herodotus, *History*, I.95.

<sup>77</sup> Herodotus, *History*, I.103.

‘[Alyattes] waged war against Deioces’ descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove out the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon), and invaded the lands of Clazomenae.’ (translation: Godley, 1963)

According to him, Cyaxares was the first to have divided the Medes in companies<sup>78</sup>, leading them to conquer the area east of the river Halys.

However, when we only consider the Assyrian and Babylonian sources, it looks like the Medes never established a real ‘empire’ and that they never reached central Anatolia. The oldest record of the Medes is under the Assyrian king Šalmaneser III, who led an expedition against them. Then they were situated in north-western Iran. Under king Esarhaddon they are mentioned as a confederation of tribes, who didn’t always live in mutual peace<sup>79</sup>. Herodotus partly seems to agree with this, since he mentions six Median tribes as well: the Βοῦσαι, the Παρητακηνοί, the Στρούχατες, the Ἀριζαντοί, the Βούδιοι and the Μάγοι<sup>80</sup>. According to him, Deioces was the first king to have collected all the Median forces into one, but we don’t find his name in any Assyrian or Babylonian sources. Also, the war between the Lydians and the Medes mentioned by him<sup>81</sup> is very hard to verify. It would have originated because of some Scythians who fled into Media and were treated badly by Cyaxares: they were so angry because of this that they cut up one of the local boys and fed him to the king, after which they fled into Lydia. Alyattes, however, didn’t want to give these Scythians over to Cyaxares and this is how the war began – according to Herodotus, at least. However, he is the only one to tell us such a story, we don’t know of any Scythians fleeing into Lydia or of any war between the two nations, and the plot of the story strongly reminds of Greek tragedies, such as those about Tereus or Thyestes.

A central name in the whole Median question is ‘Pteria’. It was a city that is mentioned by Herodotus as being ‘the most powerful land of Cappadocia’ during this period and later:

‘Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπέιτε διαβάς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκητο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Περίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Περίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν

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<sup>78</sup> Herodotus, *History*, I.103.

<sup>79</sup> Prisma A, of Esarhaddon: edited in: Luckenbill, 1927: 215-216.

<sup>80</sup> Herodotus, *History*, I.96-101.

<sup>81</sup> Herodotus, *History*, I.16 and I.73-74.

ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους.’ (Herodotus, *History*, I.76)

‘Croesus then passing over with his army came to the part of Cappadocia called Pteria (it is the strongest part of this country and lies nearest to the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea), where he encamped and laid waste the farms of the Syrians.’ (translation: Godley, 1963)

Here we can once again see how Herodotus calls the inhabitants of Cappadocia ‘Syrians’. Other than that, there has been quite some speculation about Pteria and where it was situated. Summers (1997 and 2000) thinks it was a Median city and therefore assumes that Herodotus was right when he said that the Medes had conquered Anatolia. He equals it with the Iron Age site of Kerkenes Dağ, since the geographical position east of the river Halys and close to Sinope certainly works. However, Herodotus never connected Pteria with the Medes: it was simply a place in Cappadocia for him. Bryce (2009) thinks Pteria was Ḫattuša, since we have no idea what the name of the city was in the Iron Age.

Rollinger (2003a and 2003b) doesn’t think the site at Kerkenes Dağ can be Median, because there is no way that the Median influence could still have reached Cappadocia in the sixth century B.C. The decline of the empire started at the beginning of the sixth century (Bryce, 2009), so by the middle or end of the century the river Halys cannot have been its border anymore – even if it once reached so far. Herodotus may simply have mixed up some different historical periods. It is therefore unlikely that the Medes politically dominated Anatolia, at least not for a very long time. As with the Akkadians, we may however assume that a cultural and perhaps linguistic influence occurred during this period.



#### II.4.5. The Persian Achaemenid empire

During the sixth century, Cyrus the Great expanded the first Persian empire (called 'Achaemenid') as far west as Anatolia, thereby including Cappadocia in it. At its acme, the Persian territory stretched from Egypt to India and from southern Russia to the Indian Ocean (Brosius, 2006). For the first time now, but not for the last, Cappadocia was situated on the fringes of an immense empire. Perhaps this was the reason for the emergence of the nomenclature 'Katpatuka' in this period, because the Cappadocians may have felt the need to establish some kind of cultural identity in opposition to the other countless peoples that surrounded them. The fact that they were distributed into one Persian satrapy probably helped to determine the boundaries of their culture and established a consciousness of the 'Cappadocian ethnicity'.

The Persian empire is mainly known to us through the eyes of Greek and Roman writers, who saw them as the prototypes of βάρβαροι, 'barbarians'. During the Persian Wars (490 and 480-479 B.C.), the term 'barbarians' was reserved especially for them. They were always seen as the 'other' great power in the east that represented an immense threat, which is why they were often stereotyped and seen as inferior. There was a clear contrast between the western, Greek 'freedom' and 'frugality', and the eastern, Asian 'despotism' and 'decadence'. However, this Indo-European civilisation was very highly developed and had a lot of influence on the west, both cultural and linguistic (Brosius, 2006). Its influence on Cappadocia, therefore, was all the more thorough.

##### a) Foundations of the Persian Achaemenid empire

The Persians were an Iranian people who had migrated from the east into the Iranian plateau somewhere around 1000 B.C. They settled here alongside to the original population, the Elamites, who had their power based in the cities of Susa and Persis. These Elamites had lived in the area from the third millennium onwards and had been fervent enemies of the Assyrians. The Persians adopted the Elamite script (cuneiform) and part of their culture (Brosius, 2006). The Achaemenid empire therefore consisted of a mix of the Elamite and Indo-European culture. The name 'Achaemenid' is derived from 'Achaemenes' ('Haxāmaniš' in Old Persian) and the clan of the 'Achaemenidae' who provided occupants for the Persian throne. This information is gathered from Herodotus:

‘ἔστι δὲ Πέρσεων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι.’ (Herodotus, *History*, I.125)

‘There are many tribes in Persia: those of them whom Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. On these hang all the other Persians. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia.’ (translation: Godley, 1963)

In this passage we can also see that Persia was inferior to Media in the beginning, and that the Achaemenid empire was established by a revolt against the Medes. However, the rise of a real ‘empire’ had to wait until Cyrus II the Great (559-530 B.C.), who conquered the entire Median empire and even the lands beyond (such as Cappadocia). His predecessors had been Teispes, Cyrus I and Cambyses I, who bore the title of ‘king of Anšan’, a title with an Elamite origin (Brosius, 2006).

A famous story in this context, told by Herodotus, is the one with king Croesus of Lydia. He tells of how Croesus crossed the river Halys in Cappadocia to stop the rise of the Persian power and to set the boundary of his own empire safe:

‘ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἡμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε.’ (Herodotus, *History*, I.73)

‘The reasons of Croesus’ expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own share, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subdued Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, king of Media, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus’ brother-in-law.’ (translation: Godley, 1963)

The oracle Herodotus here refers to is the one that was given to Croesus by the Pythia at Delphi when he went to inquire about his expedition against Cyrus. The oracle, with her typical ambiguity, told him that he would destroy a great empire if he advanced against the Persians. Croesus obviously thought this great empire would be Persia and subsequently advanced into Cappadocia. Herodotus tells us how this expedition went terribly wrong for Croesus<sup>82</sup> and Cyrus engulfed the whole of Lydia (in 546 B.C.), for the empire that was to be destroyed if Croesus crossed the Halys was of course his own. This is how the Persian reign over Cappadocia began (Brosius, 2006; Meesters, 2011).

#### b) The satrapy of Katpatuka

The Persian empire disposed of a highly sophisticated and efficient administrative organisation, something that was indispensable for such a vast stretch of land. The system was to leave the existing structures of the conquered places in existence and simply absorb them into the greater 'umbrella' that was Persia. The entire empire was divided into satrapies (provinces), each governed by a satrap (from the Old Persian *xshaçapāvan*, which meant 'protector of the realm') who was accountable to the Persian Great King<sup>83</sup>. The high officials that worked under the satrap were recruited from the local population (Weiskopf, 1990; Brosius, 2006).

One of the tasks of this satrap was to forward local tribute to the royal palace, which consisted out of 1500 horses, 2000 mules and 50,000 sheep in the case of Cappadocia<sup>84</sup>. From this we can deduce that the satrapy was even then already well known for its cattle, but mostly for its horses and cavalry, as we have already mentioned before. Xenophon<sup>85</sup> and Arrianus<sup>86</sup> tell us the same story. Shortly after Artaxerxes III's ascension, the satrapy was divided in two halves, as is reported to us by Strabo<sup>87</sup>: the region of Pontus and Cappadocia near the Taurus (cf. *supra*). The reason for this was most likely because the satrap of Cappadocia had gotten too powerful because of the vast stretch of land he governed (Weiskopf, 1990; Brosius, 2006).

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<sup>82</sup> Herodotus, *History*, I.76-86.

<sup>83</sup> See attachment 5.

<sup>84</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XI.13.8.

<sup>85</sup> Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, II.1.5.

<sup>86</sup> Flavius Arrianus, *Alexandri Anabasis*, III.11.7 (edited in: Roos & Wirth, 1968).

<sup>87</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.4.

### c) Ethnicity in the Persian empire

The fact that the Achaemenids managed to control such a vast stretch of land, was mostly thanks to their ability to absorb and accept the cultural, religious and ethnic diversity of the peoples they had conquered. The Persians never attempted to impose the Persian language or religion upon their subjects, but managed a seemingly perfect syncretism on all levels. Multilingualism was therefore an essential part of the Persian empire and administration. The Persepolis Fortification Archive (509-493 B.C.) contains many documents with ethnonyms, which can uncover several languages that must have been spoken throughout the empire. Next to the obvious languages such as Persian, Median and Elamite, we also find Aramaean, Akkadian, Greek and Phrygian (Gates-Foster, 2014). When Cyrus thus conquered Cappadocia, the inhabitants by no means immediately became 'Persian'. This we can see by the limited spread of Old Persian in the area (Janse, 2008), but the frequent use of Aramaean in the western parts of the empire, probably both in script as in daily use, as a *lingua franca* (Brosius, 2006). However, there is an Iranisation in the names of the satraps of Cappadocia, probably indicating a slow acculturation process that had started in the top layers of society. Ctesias of Cnidus<sup>88</sup> for example mentions the Cappadocian satrap Ariaramnes, which is clearly an Iranian name (since *Aria* means 'Persian'). In later Hellenistic times, these Iranian names will persist in Cappadocia, for example through the dynasty of the Ariarathids (Janse, 2008; Meesters, 2011).

The fact that the empire consisted of so many different peoples and cultures seems to have been something the Persian rulers were quite proud of. Their monuments and royal inscriptions often depict the many populations, in order to display the vastness of their power. An example are the tombs of Darius I (DNe) and of Artaxerxes II (A2Pa) at Naqsh-e Rostam<sup>89</sup>, where all the peoples they conquered are extensively enumerated. Next to that, a title Darius II liked to give to himself was 'king of the land of all tongues' (Gates-Foster, 2014). Moreover, the Apadāna (literally 'great hall') at Persepolis is the visual version of this: the reliefs here depict numerous peoples coming to bring tribute to the Persian Great King. The Cappadocians are identified in these reliefs with some certainty and we can see here that their clothing and general appearance greatly resembles that of the Medes and the Armenians (Meesters, 2011)<sup>90</sup>. They wear the same sort of trousers and shoes and a typical sort of headgear that must be Median in origin. However, they also wear a clearly visible *fibula* to keep their cloaks together, something that distinctly sets them apart from both the Medes and the Armenians. Muscarella (1967) sees some parallels between these *fibulae* and the ones typical of western Iran and the southern

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<sup>88</sup> Ctesias of Cnidus, *Persica*, fr. 13.20: come to us through Photius' *Bibliotheca* (edited in: Henry, 1977).

<sup>89</sup> Edited in: Schmidt, 1970.

<sup>90</sup> Photos of these reliefs are to be found in: Walser, 1966: 32, 38, 54, 55.

Caucasus, whilst Barnett (1957) assumes they were of a Phrygian origin. Others (Walser, 1966) think they are something typical of Cappadocia. Whatever the truth is, we may conclude that they were seen as a rather 'eastern' people here, based on their clothing, since their garments appoint them to a group of Iranian peoples (along with the Medians, Bactrians, Sogdians, Scythians, Armenians and Parths) (Shahbazi, 1992). Of course, it concerns the view of the Persians *about* the Cappadocians, not a real-life representation with all its nuances. Also, their representation as Medes indicates the Iranisation of the upper layer of the inhabitants, but doesn't tell us how the 'normal' people were dressed. However, it seems plausible that there were many influence from other peoples, such as the Armenians and Medes, because Cappadocia had never known an ethnic unity. Another such visual representation of the Cappadocians can be found at the foot of a statue of Darius I in Susa (Azarpay et al., 1987: 184). Here the names of each people are added in hieroglyphs, so we can be absolutely certain about the identification of the Cappadocians. The figure on this statue also wears a headgear that looks like a sort of fusion between that of the Medes and that of the Armenians, which corroborates that there is some historical truth in this representation.

If we then turn to Herodotus, we see that he also connects the Armenian military uniform with that of the Cappadocians (through quite some intermediate steps, though: the Cappadocian gear looks like the Paphlagonian one, the Paphlagonian one looks like the Phrygian one and the Phrygian one resembles the Armenian gear)<sup>91</sup>. Strabo also sees a connection with Armenia, especially because horse breeding was something that was common to both these areas<sup>92</sup>. Most likely this connection must have had some foundation in reality.

We may therefore conclude that the ethnic composition of the Cappadocians, their language and culture remained largely untouched during the two centuries of Persian rule, except for an Iranisation of the elite and nobles. From the outsider's view (that is: the Persians and the Greeks) the Cappadocians were rather connected with the Armenian and Median peoples and may have experienced a great cultural and linguistic influence from them.

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<sup>91</sup> Herodotus, *History*, VII.72-73.

<sup>92</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XI.13.7 and XI.14.9.

#### d) Alexander the Great and the end of the Achaemenid dynasty

In the fourth century, Alexander the Great conquered the entire Achaemenid empire from the west, bringing his army of Greeks and Macedonians with him. Fighting only a small number of real battles, he managed to defeat Darius III and impose a Hellenistic government in the entire east. For more information about the conquests of this semi-legendary figure, we would like to refer to Bosworth & Baynham (2000). For some time, Cappadocia remained the staging for attempted reconquests and resistance, but what is most important for our purpose here is the crumbling of Alexander's empire and the subsequent establishment of the Hellenistic kingdoms in Cappadocia. This would be start of a long period of gradual Hellenization in the area.

#### II.4.6. Hellenistic kingdoms

The Cappadocians remained rather rebellious and uncontrollable under the ‘Diadochi’, Alexander’s successors who picked up the bits and pieces of his scattered empire after his death in 323 B.C., and they could not prevent the rise of two independent kingdoms in the area: Pontus and Cappadocia (Syme, 1995). These kingdoms were the direct successors of the two Persian satrapies, as Strabo already told us<sup>93</sup> (cf. *supra*). Pontus flourished under the Mithridatic dynasty, and most of all under Mithridates VI (120-63 B.C.). The kingdom of Cappadocia, on the other hand, was founded by Ariarathes, a former satrap under Darius III:

‘προσεκτήσατο δ’ αὐτοὺς Ἀριαράθης ὁ πρῶτος προσαγορευθεὶς Καππαδόκων βασιλεὺς.’  
(Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.2)

‘At any rate, they [the Cataonians] were once a distinct tribe, but they were annexed by Ariarathes, the first man to be called king of the Cappadocians.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

He refused to bow for Alexander the Great or his successors and was thus the founder of the Ariarathid dynasty, the first house to rule the Cappadocian kingdom (Janse, 2007). The kings of his dynasty sought close ties with the Seleucids in the east and they married into their family quite often. Later, during the Roman exploits in the east, Pontus revived greatly and the reigns of Ariarathes VI till Ariarathes VIII were marked by repeated attempts by Pontus to exert some influence over the kingdom of Cappadocia (Weiskopf, 1990). When the Ariarathids became extinct, however, the second family in charge of Cappadocia was the house of Ariobarzanes, who was supposedly chosen by the Cappadocians but was in fact mostly a vehicle of the Romans:

‘οἱ δὲ πρεσβευσάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν παρητοῦντο (οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι φέρειν αὐτὴν ἔφασαν), βασιλέα δ’ ἡξίουσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδειχθῆναι. οἱ δὲ θαυμάσαντες εἴ τινας οὕτως εἶεν ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἐπέτρεψαν δ’ οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐλέσθαι κατὰ χειροτονίαν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται: καὶ εἵλοντο Ἀριοβαρζάνην: εἰς τριγωνίαν δὲ προελθόντος τοῦ γένους ἐξέλιπε, κατεστάθη δ’ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος οὐδὲν προσήκων αὐτοῖς Ἀντωνίου καταστήσαντος.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.11)

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<sup>93</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.4.

‘But those who came on the embassy not only begged off from the freedom (for they said that they were unable to bear it), but requested that a king be appointed for them. The Romans, amazed that any people should be so tired of freedom, – at any rate, they permitted them to choose by vote from their own number whomever they wished. And they chose Ariobarzanes; but in the course of the third generation his family died out and Archelaus was appointed king, though not related to the people, being appointed by Antony.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

The idea that ‘barbarians’ were inferior and therefore unfit to rule themselves is a very recurrent one. The Romans often used this as an excuse to invade a country and subject its inhabitants (Panichi, 2005; Kim, 2013). We can see this same opinion in Strabo about the Parthians<sup>94</sup>. It was the house of Ariobarzanes that witnessed the wars between Rome and Pontus (the so-called ‘Mithridatic wars’), which resulted in the destruction of the Pontic power and the annexation of the area by the Romans (Sherwin-White, 1984). One of the greatest sources for these wars is the *Historia Romana* of Appianus of Alexandria<sup>95</sup>. However, the house of Ariobarzanes was soon extinct and the Romans once more placed someone upon the Cappadocian throne: Archelaus Philopatris, whose dynasty consisted of just himself. He was contemporary to Strabo and received Cilicia Tracheia as an addition to the region, because the Romans hoped that he would help to stop the piracy in the area (Panichi, 2005). Under his reign, stability was brought to the kingdom and when he married the widow Pythodoris of Pontus, he managed to unite the two Cappadocian kingdoms into one again. However, this unity was short-lived. When Archelaus died, the Romans officially annexed both Cappadocia and Pontus, even though it is quite obvious that they had been the masters in the area for a much longer time before.

#### a) The Cappadocian Hellenistic culture

From 323 B.C. to A.D. 17 Cappadocia was officially a Hellenistic area, but even in Roman times it was more ‘Hellenized’ than ‘Romanized’ – a trend we can see in the entire eastern part of the Roman empire. The Greek language became an important *lingua franca* and the nobles and royals of the area liked to present themselves as ‘hellenophiles’. But how did this work exactly? Did the Iranian background from Persian times vanish completely? It certainly didn’t: the Ariarathids stills tied themselves to the Achaemenids and legitimised their power by tracing their lineage back to the Persian satraps:

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<sup>94</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, VI.4.2.

<sup>95</sup> Edited in: Gabba, Roos & Viereck, 1962.



‘ὅτι λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖς εἰς Κῦρον ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος τὸν ἐν Πέρσαις, διαβεβαιοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν τῶν τὸν μάγον ἐπανελομένων ἐνὸς ὑπάρχειν ἀπόγονοι.’ (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, XXXI.19.1)<sup>96</sup>

‘The kings of Cappadocia say that they trace their ancestry back to Cyrus the Persian, and also assert that they are descendants of one of the seven Persians who did away with the Magus.’ (translation: Walton, 1968)

Also, the Iranian religious practices still survived into this era, as Strabo mentions when talking about the Persians<sup>97</sup>. As we have seen, the royal Hellenistic names were still very Persian as well, with *Aria-* meaning ‘Persian’. However, they adopted nicknames such as Εὐσεβής or Φιλοπάτωρ, thus profiling themselves as thoroughly Hellenized (Janse, 2008). In this way names such as ‘Ariarathes Eusebes Eupator’ emerged, which was a perfect reflection of the syncretic culture that had arisen in the higher ranks: a Hellenistic Iranian culture. We can see this reflected in the geographical position of Cappadocia: it was situated in a stretch of land between the completely Hellenised western Asia Minor and the thoroughly Iranised inland of Anatolia. Asheri (1983) therefore considers the Cappadocian culture to have been one where Hellenism and Iranism met. Through time, however, the Hellenized part became more and more dominant. We can see that the kings Hellenized their institutions, in order to resemble the larger realms of the Seleucids or the Attalids. Also, the entire royal family received a Greek education:

‘τοῦτον δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα καὶ Ἀριαράθην φασὶ μετονομασθῆναι, παιδείας τε Ἑλληνικῆς μετασχεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἀρετὴν.’ (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, XXXI.19.7)

‘He [Ariarathes V], they say, changed his name to Ariarathes after he grew to manhood, received a Greek education, and won commendation as well for other merits.’ (Walton, 1968)

Diodorus here considers this Greek education to be an ἀρετή: a merit, an excellence, since it became strongly connected with virtue and nobility. The fact that Ariarathes V ‘Eusebes Philopator’

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<sup>96</sup> Edited in: Walton, 1968.

<sup>97</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XV.3.15.

jumpstarted the Hellenization-process, was something Theodor Mommsen already noted: ‘Durch ihn drang [die hellenische Bildung] ein in das bis dahin fast barbarische Kappadokien’ (Mommsen, 1874: ii.55; cited in Janse, 2002). The Greek *paideia* became something indispensable for any royal or nobleman. Also, the fact that they took the royal title of βασιλεύς and the evolution in coinage from Iranian types with Aramaean inscriptions to Greek coins with Greek inscriptions point to a thorough Hellenization of their culture. All of the newly founded or re-founded settlements were given the name of the king, such as ‘Ariaramneia’ or ‘Ariaratheia’ etc. This practice was something they had taken from the Hellenistic Seleucids. The later annexation by the Romans in A.D. 17 will only strengthen this Hellenization-process (Janse, 2008):

‘τελευταῖοι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐφ’ ὧν ἤδη καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀποβεβλήκασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι, γεγονότος ἐτέρου τινὸς μερισμοῦ τῆς χώρας.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.4.6)

‘And lastly, the Romans, under whose reign most of the peoples have already lost both their dialects and their names, since a different partition of the country has been made.’  
(translation: Jones, 1917)

However, we must not exaggerate the Hellenization of Cappadocia. As we will see later, there are indications that the Cappadocians retained an indigenous language for a long time, well into Roman times (cf. *infra*). Most likely the inhabitants first became bilingual, until eventually their language died and was replaced by Greek. We must hereby also note that this Hellenization was something typical for the nobility and the Anatolian cities, but that the rural parts of Asia Minor must certainly have Hellenized much more slowly (Janse, 2002). However, as we have seen, the area was scarcely urbanised and most habitation comprised of settlements around an estate, surrounded by forts or roads which gave them the appearance of villages:

‘πόλιν δ’ οὔτε τὸ τῶν Καταόνων ἔχει πεδῖον οὔθ’ ἡ Μελιτηνὴ, φρούρια δ’ ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τὰ τε Ἀζάμορα καὶ τὸ Δάσταρκον, ὃ περιρρεῖται τῷ Καρμάλα ποταμῷ. (...) οὐδὲ αἱ ἄλλαι στρατηγίαι πόλεις ἔχουσι πλὴν δυεῖν.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.6)

‘Neither the plain of the Cataonians nor the country Melitene has a city, but they have strongholds on the mountains, I mean Azamora and Dastarcum; and round the latter

flows the Carmalas River. (...) Neither do the other prefectures, except two, contain cities.’  
(translation: Jones, 1917)

This means that the Hellenistic culture must not have been very widespread in the area – certainly not at the beginning. The two exceptions mentioned by Strabo here are of course the cities Mazaca and Tyana, both of which were renamed during this period into ‘Eusebeia’. Mazaca became ‘Eusebeia near Argaeus’ and Tyana became ‘Eusebeia at the Taurus’ (Weiskopf, 1990). This is an extra argument for the urban Hellenization here. But as we will see, the image of the Cappadocians was mostly that of rural, uneducated farmers who were proverbially stupid (Syme, 1995). They were ‘barbarians’ in all meanings of the word, who cannot have been that thoroughly Hellenized.

#### b) Strabo of Pontus

Strabo was native from Amaseia, a city in the Hellenistic kingdom of Pontus (Dueck, 2000), but when he describes his homeland in the *Geography*, he seems to consistently ignore the history of Pontus and only relates to the present changes that were made by the Romans (Syme, 1995). Especially Mithridates VI and the Mithridatic wars seem to have been a touchy subject:

‘τοῦ δὲ Πόντου καθίστατο μὲν Μιθριδάτης ὁ Εὐπάτωρ βασιλεὺς. εἶχε δὲ τὴν ἀφοριζομένην τῷ Ἄλυϊ μέχρι Τιβαρανῶν καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλυος τὰ μέχρι Ἀμάστρεως καὶ τινῶν τῆς Παφλαγονίας μερῶν. προσεκτήσατο δ’ οὗτος καὶ τὴν μέχρι Ἡρακλείας παραλίαν ἐπὶ τὰ δυσμικὰ μέρη, τῆς Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ πατρίδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰναντία μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας, ἃ δὴ καὶ προσέθηκε τῷ Πόντῳ. καὶ δὴ καὶ Πομπήιος καταλύσας ἐκεῖνον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὅροις οὔσαν τὴν χώραν ταύτην παρέλαβε.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.1)

‘As for Pontus, Mithridates Eupator established himself as king of it; and he held the country bounded by the Halys River as far as the Tibarani and Armenia, and held also, of the country this side of the Halys, the region extending to Amastris and to certain parts of Paphlagonia. And he acquired not only the sea-coast towards the west as far as Heracleia, the native land of Heracleides the Platonic philosopher, but also, in the opposite direction, the sea-coast extending to Colchis and Lesser Armenia; and this, as we know, he added to Pontus. And in fact this country was comprised within these boundaries when Pompey took it over, upon his overthrow of Mithridates.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

After this extremely short mention of Mithridates, he embarks on a long digression of all the changes introduced by Pompeius Magnus and his successors. It is clear that he doesn't wish to talk about Mithridates or his own ties with the Mithridatic family (Dueck, 2000), as though he has an uneasy conscience. Whenever he does speak about the Pontic past, however, it rather resembles a sort of antiquarianism, with for example primitive tribes who used to live in trees<sup>98</sup> (Syme, 1995). There is some speculation that Strabo's work was perhaps dedicated to queen Pythodoris of Pontus, who would later marry king Archelaus of Cappadocia (cf. *supra*). However, this doesn't seem to be very likely since Pythodoris isn't mentioned nearly as often as Emperor Augustus throughout the text. Strabo doesn't seem to 'take sides' in his work and he never explicitly states that either Mithridates or the Romans were wrong, but the fact that he is so reluctant to say much about this part of history is rather significant. He appears to be caught between his allegiance to his native country and his admiration (and perhaps fear?) for the Romans. Clarke (2001) on the other hand seems to think that he situated himself in the intellectual world of *paideia* in Asia Minor and not so much in Rome nor in Pontus. Whatever the case, Strabo still did leave us a very detailed political-administrative description of the kingdom of Cappadocia, a much safer subject than Pontus. This is something quite unique, since we don't have such detailed description of any other Hellenistic kingdom (Panichi, 2005).

In general, Strabo seems to agree with the Roman idea that centre equals civilisation and periphery equals barbarism (Clarke, 2001; for more about this idea, see: Praet, 2008). However, he doesn't appear to think of the Cappadocians as downright 'barbarians', even though they were situated very much on the periphery. Perhaps this was because he himself was native in the area and he was therefore more capable of putting this whole idea in perspective. So maybe he didn't write as impartial as we might think at first sight.

### c) Archelaus Philopatris and the dawn of the Roman period

Cappadocia and Pontus soon became entangled within the tense triangle of Rome-Armenia-Parthia. Tigranes was the ruler of Armenia, a country that was the subject of dispute between the two great powers of Rome and Parthia (the new Persian empire). This is why they had agreed that Armenia would always remain independent, serving as a buffer zone between them two, with the river Euphrates as their boundary:

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<sup>98</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.18.

‘ὄριον δ’ ἐστὶ τῆς Παρθυαίων ἀρχῆς ὁ Εὐφράτης καὶ ἡ περαία: τὰ δ’ ἐντὸς ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων οἱ φύλαρχοι μέχρι Βαβυλωνίας.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI.1.28)

‘The Euphrates and the land beyond it constitute the boundary of the Parthian empire. But the parts this side of the river are held by the Romans and the chieftains of the Arabians as far as Babylonia.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

As we have seen, Pontus and Cappadocia were by this time practically Roman, as a sort of vassal states. This is why Strabo calls the inhabitants on the western banks of the Euphrates ‘Romans’, even though they were simply Cappadocians under Roman rule. The Roman campaign against Mithridates Eupator (the Mithridatic wars) didn’t fall very well with Tigranes of Armenia, however, since Mithridates was his father-in-law. An important source for this relationship between the two is Plutarch’s *Lucullus*<sup>99</sup>. Tigranes therefore turned towards the Parthians for help and this is how Pontus was indirectly sucked into the tense triangular situation in Anatolia (Bennett, 2006). In the meantime Pompeius Magnus had bestowed the principality of Comana upon Archelaus (the father of king Archelaus Philopatris, cf. *supra*), thereby making him as good as king of Pontus. Indeed, Comana was the most important religious centre of Cappadocia and the priest of Comana was second in power to no one but the king<sup>100</sup>. In 55 B.C. Archelaus died and his eldest son inherited Comana. However, he didn’t keep it for very long, since Caesar shortly after installed someone else who was more loyal to himself<sup>101</sup> (Syme, 1995):

‘υἱὸς δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρέλαβεν: εἴθ’ ὕστερον Λυκομήδης, ὃ καὶ τετράσχοινος ἄλλη προσετέθη.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.35)

‘But his son succeeded to the priesthood; and then later Lycomedes, to whom was assigned an additional territory of four hundred schoeni.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

With the family thus disgraced in Pontus, we find Glaphyra, the widow of this first Archelaus, in the kingdom of Cappadocia a short time later. She brought her younger son, Archelaus (the later king) with her. Cappadocia was at that time the background for troubles between a feeble and discordant dynasty on the one hand and an unruly baronage on the other (Syme, 1995). It was therefore not very difficult for Glaphyra to work her way into the royal court. Moreover, the queen mother of Cappadocia and

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<sup>99</sup> Edited in: Ziegler, 1969.

<sup>100</sup> For this information, see: Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.3.

<sup>101</sup> Also see: Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, XXXIX.57.1 ff (edited in: Cary, 1940).

widow of Ariobarzanes II, Athenais, was the daughter of Mithridates of Eupator of Pontus<sup>102</sup>, whilst the grandfather of little Archelaus had claimed to be the bastard son of Mithridates Eupator:

‘ἦκε δ’ ἀντ’ ἐκείνου προσποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Μιθριδάτου υἱὸς τοῦ Εὐπάτορος Ἀρχέλαος, ὃς ἦν μὲν Ἀρχελάου υἱὸς τοῦ πρὸς Σύλλαν διαπολεμήσαντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, πάππος δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Καππαδόκων ὑστάτου καθ’ ἡμᾶς, ἱερεὺς δὲ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ Κομάνων.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XVII.1.11)

‘But in his place came a man who likewise had pretended that he was a son of Mithridates Eupator – I mean Archelaus, who was the son of the Archelaus who carried on war against Sulla and afterwards was honoured by the Romans, and was grandfather of the man who was last to reign as king over the Cappadocians in our time, and was priest of Comana in Pontus.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

Glaphyra could therefore claim that her son was family of the royal house. Cassius Dio, however, has another explanation for the fact that Glaphyra worked her way into the royal family so quickly: he describes her as a ‘hetaera’ who seduced her way in<sup>103</sup>. Next to that, the sparsely populated country contained many centres of resistance against the power at Mazaca, so much that the king had to rely upon the fortifications and fortresses for his safety<sup>104</sup>. Cataonia, Comana and Garsaura were all rebellious regions, making the power of the Cappadocian king very feeble and unstable. At the moment when Glaphyra arrived, Ariobarzanes III occupied the throne, but his father had come to a violent end and his brother Ariarathes was preying on the throne. Soon afterwards, Ariobarzanes died under very suspicious circumstances:

‘καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιωθεὶς ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς ἔδρασεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἀντέστησάν οἱ, καὶ εὖνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἦν ἐκεῖ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπεποίητο εἶχε), τὰς δὲ δὴ ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ ὄσια καὶ τὰ ἱερά, πλὴν τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ Ἥλιου, παρεσπάσατο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε.’ (Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, XLVII.33.4)

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<sup>102</sup> Appianus of Alexandria, *Historia Romana*, XII.66; CIG III.543.

<sup>103</sup> Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, XLIX.32.3-4.

<sup>104</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.9.

‘Afterwards Cassius himself crossed over to their island, where he met with no resistance, possessing, as he did, their good-will because of the stay he had made there while pursuing his education; and though he did the people no harm, yet he appropriated their ships, money, and public and sacred treasures, with the exception of the chariot of the Sun. Afterwards he arrested and killed Ariobarzanes.’ (translation: Cary, 1940)

It is of course not certain whether his brother had something to do with this murder, but it cannot be excluded since he was the one to fill the empty throne. Ironically, Ariarathes nicknamed himself ‘Philadelphus’ (‘loving one’s brother’) (Syme, 1995). However, in 36 B.C., Marcus Antonius passed through Anatolia and deposed Ariarathes, to put little Archelaus on the throne instead. Appianus<sup>105</sup> supposes this was because he was ‘influenced’ by the beauty of his mother, Glaphyra. Thus Archelaus Philopatris, last king of Cappadocia rose to the throne. After thirty years of rule he married Pythodorus of Pontus, thus uniting his original homeland Pontus with his royal country Cappadocia. Shortly after the death of Emperor Augustus and after fifty years of reign, Archelaus was summoned to Rome to face the charges that were brought up against his administration. Old age and probably anguish eventually were the end of Archelaus, even before he could defend himself against these charges, in A.D. 17<sup>106</sup>:

‘Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. (...) ut versa Caesarum subole imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quae non dissimulatis filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad precandum veniret. ille ignarus doli vel, si intellegere crederetur, vim metuens in urbem properat; exceptusque immiti a principe et mox accusatus in senatu, non ob crimina quae fingeantur sed angore, simul fessus senio et quia regibus aequa, nedum infima insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit. regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levare posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam in posterum statuit.’ (Tacitus, *Annales*, II.42)<sup>107</sup>

‘King Archelaus had been in possession of Cappadocia for fifty years, and Tiberius hated him because he had not shown him any mark of respect while he was at Rhodes. (...) When, after the extinction of the family of the Caesars, Tiberius acquired the empire, he

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<sup>105</sup> Appianus of Alexandria, *Bella Civilia*, V.7.31.

<sup>106</sup> Also see: Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, LVII.17.7.

<sup>107</sup> Edited in: Jackson, 1956.

enticed Archelaus by a letter from his mother, who without concealing her son's displeasure promised mercy if he would come to beg for it. Archelaus, either quite unsuspecting of treachery, or dreading compulsion, should it be thought that he saw through it, hastened to Rome. There he was received by a pitiless emperor, and soon afterwards was arraigned before the Senate. In his anguish and in the weariness of old age, and from being unused, as a king, to equality, much less to degradation, not, certainly, from fear of the charges fabricated against him, he ended his life, by his own act or by a natural death. His kingdom was reduced into a province, and Caesar declared that, with its revenues, the one per cent. tax could be lightened, which, for the future, he fixed at one-half per cent.' (translation: Jackson, 1956)

This is how Cappadocia officially fell into Roman hands, even though it had been under severe Roman influence for a long time already.



### II.4.7. White Syrians?

Now that we have discussed all the peoples that inhabited Cappadocia or invaded the country until Strabo's time, we may return to the question that we have posed before: why did he and his contemporaries call the Cappadocians 'White Syrians'?

First, we must dig deeper into this idea of a white skin. The distinction with the 'Black Syrians' must have been rather obvious, since the name Λευκοσῦροι wouldn't have originated or survived so long if it wasn't. We also see that Strabo considers the Egyptians and northern Indians to be a kind of black<sup>108</sup>, though not as black as the Ethiopians. This slightly tanned complexion must therefore have been entirely different from the 'λευκός' he attributes to the Cappadocians. Most likely this was the kind of 'black' Strabo had in mind when he named the 'Black Syrians' black. We have to assume that 'white' here really means what we consider to be some kind of 'Scandinavian white'.

When we look at the different population groups that have left traces in the area, we see that indeed most of them must have had a lighter skin-colour. Mathieson (et al., 2015) provides genetic evidence that the first farmers of Mesopotamia (8500 years ago) had a white skin, since the emergence of farming jumpstarted a selection for lesser pigmentation. This is why some Kurds, Armenians, Georgians and Jews till today still have such light skin and even have blonde or ginger hair: they all descend from this common, white ancestor in Mesopotamia (Ömer, 2011). This means that the original Cappadocians, whoever they may have been, most likely had a white skin too. The Indo-Europeans, whether they were autochthonous or not, had a white skin as well (Haak, 2015; Mathieson et al., 2015) and certainly had a huge genetic impact on the area (cf. *supra*, Cinnioglu et al., 2004). In these early days, there was quite some cultural and linguistic influence from the Akkadians and Assyrians, but neither of these peoples left significant demographic traces. During the Hittite kingdom, we see more and more Hurrians in the area, but they were a Caucasian tribe and therefore cannot have had a very dark skin. With the fall of the kingdom, lots of peoples left the country, but the Kaškans, Aramaeans and Assyrians (with the Neo-Assyrian empire) trickled in. The Kaškans came from the Pontic zone and physically probably didn't differ from the Hittite inhabitants, but the Aramaeans (and perhaps the Assyrians) must have had a somewhat darker skin. The Aramaeans came from northern Arabia, so they especially gave the first genetic input for a slightly tanned complexion in this area. However, as we have seen, the Aramaean heartland didn't exactly comprise Cappadocia, but was situated more to the

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<sup>108</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XV.1.13.

south and east: in other words, exactly the area that Strabo designates as ‘outside the Taurus’ (‘ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου’: Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.9). ‘Within the Taurus’ the Aramaean impact must have been less noticeable. Cinnioglu (et al., 2014) confirms this, since the genes of modern Turks possess a subgroup of haplotypes that points to Arabian populations, but there is a decreasing frequency of this subgroup as you go northwards. In the period that followed, the Phrygians invaded the area and this Indo-European people must have added a new – so to speak – layer of ‘white genes’ in Cappadocia<sup>109</sup>, thereby undoing much of the Aramaean influence. However, we know that the Phrygians never lived ‘outside the Taurus’, where the Aramaean genes could therefore keep on thriving. This would again confirm Strabo’s assertion that the people south of the Taurus had a darker skin.

After these great migrations, no great population shifts happened in Cappadocia anymore for a while. The Persians only ruled politically and culturally in the area, but didn’t bring hordes of peoples into Anatolia. Neither did Alexander the Great when he passed through the area and laid the foundation for the Hellenistic kingdoms, nor the Romans in later times. All of these conquests were mainly cultural and linguistic.

Janse (2002) already suggested that the Black Syrians ‘outside the Taurus’ may have been Aramaeans, and even though there is some truth in this it certainly wasn’t this simple. The population that was given this name ‘Black Syrians’ was not of one (Aramaean) stock, but consisted of a mix of peoples – amongst them also the descendants of the Hittite royal families who had found a new home here (cf. the Neo-Hittite kingdoms). No doubt many Hittite inhabitants had come along with their kings, following them in search of a better place. The presence of *hittîm* in Palestine (cf. *supra*) confirms that at least a part of the population south of the Taurus were ‘Hittites’. Why is it then that these *hittîm* were later given the name ‘Black Syrians’, whilst the ones who had remained in Anatolia became ‘White Syrians’? Obviously because of a greater genetic impact of the Aramaeans, but can this really be the only explanation? Thienpont (2014) states that a great deal of physical differences between peoples have to do with adaptations to the milieu and therefore to the climate. A lot of genetic features of different populations correlate with climatological factors. When it comes to skin, we can see that the geographical differentiation of skin-colour is connected with the geographical differentiation of

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<sup>109</sup> In terms of genetics and evolutionary science this is of course too simplistic, since there are no such things as ‘white genes’. What we mean to say, however, is that a set of genes was added into the Cappadocian mix that had an inclination towards a whiter skin. This didn’t mean that the phenotype of these peoples always resulted into a white skin, but only that their genotype was more inclined to it (Thienpont, 2014).

ultraviolet radiation of the sun. Is it therefore possible that a change of climate helped the darker (Aramaeans) genotype to actually find expression in a darker phenotype?

As we have seen, the Hittite kings had to import increasingly more grain from outside the kingdom (cf. *supra*). We don't know what the cause for this exactly was, but no doubt an extensive exploitation of natural resources and a serious population growth must have been some of the factors. However, Chew (2005) tells us that Mesopotamia had it much worse than Anatolia. By 2200 B.C. there was a heavy exploitation of resources and an intensified agriculture, next to a trend of urbanisation. All this increased the vulnerability of the ecological system. The level of the Red Sea and many other lakes dropped and we see other indications of a serious drought. Weiss (2000) suggests that these changes were the consequence of alternations in solar radiations and of changes in the ocean circulations, thereby resulting in changes of temperature. Most likely, however, it was a combination of human and natural causes. Either way, this could have been a set off for a change in skin-colour in southern and central Mesopotamia, since the local climate changed into a more hot and dry one. During the centuries that followed, we can see how the Fertile Crescent became less and less fertile, until eventually we see that today's Middle East has a completely dry and arid climate. The desert has even conquered most of what Herodotus used to call 'Syria'. This drought coming from Mesopotamia must have triggered a selection for a darker skin as far north as today's Syria, especially since the influx of Aramaeans and, to a lesser extent, Assyrians had already laid the genetic foundation for this. The drought must have been less heavy in Cappadocia, mostly because the mountains were quite rainy and cold (cf. *supra*). We can still see this today, since Cappadocia now has a much more steppe-like climate and not so much the desert climate of the Middle East.

We may therefore conclude that the 'White Syrians' were so pale and the 'Black Syrians' were darker both because of a genetic proclivity and because of climatological changes. The 'Black Syrians' were probably as 'black' as the Egyptians and the northern Indians were, which must have been approximately the same skin-colour of most inhabitants of modern Turkey and the Near East. The Cappadocians must have been a 'Scandinavian white' for the most part of their history.

#### II.4.8. The Roman empire

For the further history of Cappadocia we must make do with little scraps of information gathered from everywhere, since there is a definite gap between Strabo's writing and the medieval Church Fathers (Weiskopf, 1990). We do know for certain that Cappadocia remained a classical Roman province from the first to the fourth century A.D. and that the Roman empire never reached further east than Cappadocia and the Euphrates (Van Dam, 2002; Bennett, 2006). The region was thus once more reduced to a province on the distant fringes of a great empire.

##### a) A rich province in the east

As we have already seen, Cappadocia received a rather special treatment from the Romans, since they were allowed to choose their own king (Ariobarzanes I)<sup>110</sup>. The so-called Treaty of Apamea which regulated the relationship between Rome and Antiochus III of the Seleucid empire was crucial for the relationship with Cappadocia as well (Panichi, 2005). Important sources for this treaty are Polybius<sup>111</sup> and Appianus of Alexandria<sup>112</sup>. All of our information seems to suggest that the Romans wanted to remain on friendly terms with Cappadocia and Pontus, even when they were still 'independent' kingdoms. This most likely had to do with the fact that they formed a kind of buffer zone with the Parthians in the east, but it looks like there was more to it than that.

In A.D. 14 the last king of Cappadocia, Archelaus, was summoned to Rome by Emperor Tiberius under an admittedly poor pretext (cf. *supra*). Before a definite answer could be given to the accusations, Archelaus died in A.D. 17. There is no proof that he may have died an unnatural death, since he was already an old man by then, but the dates do tell us that the lawsuit had been dragged out for an extremely long time (for more than three years). What followed next makes the whole thing even more suspicious. Tiberius asked official permission of the Senate to annex Cappadocia as a province, even though Archelaus seems to have had at least one son and heir. As a rule, a vassal state was only annexed as a province when there was no heir to the throne, and even then they often simply put a new king on the throne instead. For example, no annexation happened in Commagene and Cilicia, whose rulers died in about the same period (Bennett, 2006). Cappadocia must therefore have been a

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<sup>110</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.11 (cf. *supra*).

<sup>111</sup> Polybius, *Historiae*, XXI.42 (edited in: Büttner-Wobst, 1967).

<sup>112</sup> Appianus of Alexandria, *Syriaca*, XXXIX (edited in: Gabba, Roos & Viereck, 1962).

special case, if Tiberius wanted it to be annexed in defiance of all rules. Moreover, Emperor Augustus had stated in his will that all the frontier zones of the empire should stay exactly as they were:

‘Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidium.’ (Tacitus, *Annales*, I.11)

‘All these details Augustus had written with his own hand, and had added a counsel, that the empire should be confined to its present limits, either from fear or out of jealousy.’  
(translation: Jackson, 1956)

Tiberius thus overtly ignored the wishes of his adoptive father, which is why he needed the consent of the Senate (even though that was merely a formality). Everything indicates that the decision to annex Cappadocia had already been taken before the death of Archelaus. Tiberius was already counting the many extra revenues he would receive *before* the region was even his<sup>113</sup>. The area must have been very rich and of real economic value if he wanted it in his possession so badly. Strabo confirms this:

‘ἀγαθὴ δὲ καρποῖς, μάλιστα δὲ σίτῳ καὶ βοσκήμασι παντοδαποῖς· νοτιωτέρα δ’ οὔσα τοῦ Πόντου ψυχροτέρα ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ Βαγαδανία καίπερ πεδιάς οὔσα καὶ νοτιωτάτῃ πασῶν (ὑποπέπτωκε γὰρ τῷ Ταύρῳ) μόλις τῶν καρπύμων τι φέρει δένδρων, ὀναγροβότος δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ αὕτη καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς ἄλλης, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ περὶ Γαρσαύιρα καὶ Λυκαονίαν καὶ Μοριμηνήν.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.2.10)

‘It is an excellent country, not only in respect to fruits, but particularly in respect to grain and all kinds of cattle. Although it lies farther south than Pontus, it is colder. Bagadania, though level and farthest south of all (for it lies at the foot of the Taurus), produces hardly any fruit-bearing trees, although it is grazed by wild asses, both it and the greater part of the rest of the country, and particularly that round Garsauira and Lycaonia and Morimene.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

Also, the Sinopean ruddle we already mentioned and particularly the well-bred horses were important riches of the land. Quintus Veranius was the one who received the command to change the

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<sup>113</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, II.42.

administration in Cappadocia, in order to make it a province (Bennett, 2006). All provinces that bordered on hostile regions as a rule became *propraetorian* provinces, which means they housed one or more legions and were ruled by a *propraetor* (later called *legatus*) (Dando-Collins, 2012). However, Cappadocia was the exception here, even though it bordered on Parthian territory. It was the first province to become an *imperial equestrian* province, sometimes also called *imperial praesidial* province. This was a fancy name to say that the province was in fact personal property of the emperor himself. Its governor was chosen from the emperor's own clientele, who presided over a small auxiliary force to defend the area (Bennett, 2006). This decision was rather strange, since Cappadocia had been a very important buffer zone and bordered directly on Armenia Maior, a country that wasn't always as loyal to Rome as they would want, but also on Parthia, their greatest enemy in the east. It was a risky move, made so that the many revenues of the area would go directly into Tiberius' own pockets. The capital of Cappadocia remained the old city of Mazaca, however, which had been renamed 'Caesarea' by Archelaus in honour of Emperor Augustus (Bennett, 2006).

#### b) The Cappadocian frontier

*Propraetorian* province or not, the area of Pontus and Cappadocia remained an important frontier zone during the entire Roman and Byzantine history. The boundary began at Trapezus in the north and entered the Euphrates valley near Eriza, after which it followed the river. It had a length of about 550 kilometres and was thereby the longest uninterrupted frontier in the Roman empire (Bennett, 2006). The real fixation and fortification of this frontier happened under Emperor Nero, after the reigns of Caligula and Claudius had once more seen many conflicts within the triangle Rome-Armenia-Parthia. The line of this frontier is described in the *Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti*<sup>114</sup> and in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>115</sup>. Under Nero's reign the province of Cappadocia was added to Galatia, so that they formed one whole: this meant Cappadocia now had more legions and was promoted to a real imperial province, with Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo as its *legatus* (Dando-Collins, 2012). He immediately started building *praesidia* along the frontier. All this seems to point to an increased troubled situation in the area, because it looked like Corbulo was preparing for a war here. In response to this threat, Pontus was now added to the province Galatia-Cappadocia as well. The war with the Parthians that followed ended undecided, however. With the proclamation of Vespasianus as emperor, the situation changed once more. He added Cilicia Tracheia to the province Galatia-Cappadocia-Pontus, thereby

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<sup>114</sup> Edited in: Löhberg, 2006.

<sup>115</sup> Edited in: Weber, 1976.

making it a consular province, with two legions encamped there. This restored the peace in the area for a longer time (Bennett, 2006).

### c) Roman influence?

The Romans changed the face of Cappadocia by constructing a network of roads, something that was essential for troop movements. The fortifications that existed were ameliorated and new ones were constructed. A change of domination is also to be seen in coinage, where the *princeps* now replaced the kings and the dating system became that of imperial regnal years. The status of the area seems to have gradually grown in the eyes of the Romans: the officers that were sent to govern the province became higher and higher in rank (Weiskopf, 1990; Bennett, 2006). Whereas at first it was simply one of the many faraway, eastern provinces, it became more and more clear that Cappadocia was a key area in order to protect all their other eastern properties. Martialis makes fun of this in one of his epigrams:

‘Sexagena teras cum limina mane senator,  
esse tibi videor desidiosus eques,  
quod non a prima discurram luce per urbem  
et referam lassus basia mille domum.  
sed tu, purpureis ut des nova nomina fastis  
aut Nomadum gentes Cappadocum ve regas (...)’ (Martialis, *Epigrammata*, XII.29(26).1-6)<sup>116</sup>

‘When you, a senator, go about knocking at sixty doors every morning, I appear in your estimation but a slothful knight, for not running all over the city from the first dawn of day, and bringing home, fatigued and worn out, some thousand kisses. But you do all this, that you may add a new name to the Fasti, or that you may be sent as governor to the Numidians or Cappadocians (...)’ (translation: Shackleton Bailey; 1993)

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<sup>116</sup> Edited in: Shackleton Bailey, 1993.

However, there never was any great Roman influence on the population of the area, who kept on speaking their own language (Janse, 2002; Janse, 2008). Even though the Roman occupation was the start of urbanization in Cappadocia, the region still remained very rural and the only cities of some importance were still Tyana and Caesarea/Mazaca (Van Dam, 2002). The administrative structure also remained very much what it had been in Achaemenid and Hellenistic times and the *strategiai* were still in use. Moreover, many aristocratic estates continued without interruption into Roman times (Weiskopf, 1990). But even in the cities the Romanization was barely felt. As Weiskopf (1990) puts it, Mount Argaeus never became the 'eighth hill of Rome', since there lived only a few more Romans than there had before. The Roman influence was mainly political and technical (concerning the construction of roads and buildings), but it was the Greek culture that remained dominant in the Cappadocian cities. Each city was a background for aristocrats and nobles to display their *paideia* and was a sort of island of Greekness in the vast sea of 'uncivilised' Cappadocians (Van Dam, 2002). It is therefore significant that almost no Cappadocians ever achieved any important position within their own province. Only Roman and Greek nobles were given this opportunity. In comparison with the other provinces of Asia Minor, Cappadocia stayed far behind when it came to producing senators or equestrians (Van Dam, 2002).

#### d) The Byzantine empire

The division of history into eras is always an arbitrary one and so is the supposed break between the late Roman and Byzantine empire. This is all the more exemplified by the fact that the Byzantines kept on calling themselves Ῥωμαῖοι, 'Romans'. However, some kind of breach can be discerned in the year 395 with the death of Emperor Theodosius I (Browning, 1992). Indeed, after this date the empire would never be whole again: the western Roman Empire would from now on walk a separate path from the eastern Roman Empire. The area of Cappadocia was of course part of this latter empire. In the third century, under Emperor Diocletianus, both Pontus and Cappadocia had each already been chopped up into little administrative bits (Van Dam, 2002). In the fourth century now, the eastern part of Cappadocia was furthermore split off and named 'Armenia Secunda' (with Armenia Minor turned into 'Armenia Prima'), while Lycaonia in the southwest became a separate province, too. Under Emperor Valens in 371, the remains of the province Cappadocia was once more split in half: 'Cappadocia Prima' in the east (with Caesarea) and 'Cappadocia Secunda' in the west (with Tyana) thus arose. From this moment on, there was not only a bishop of Caesarea anymore, but also a bishop of Tyana, even though Caesarea did retain predominance. A great rivalry and feud thrived between them for a long time (Van Dam, 2002).



From the fourth century onwards, the area of Cappadocia became extremely important – a contrast with the earlier Roman times. Of course its frontier remained crucial and its cavalry and horses were wanted very much during the wars against the Persians, but it had also become the area one had to travel through if one wanted to reach the second most important city of the east: Antioch. With the move of the Roman capital to Constantinople (the first most important city), this tendency was only strengthened. Emperors and bishops frequently passed through the area from now on. Nicephorus Xanthopulus even mentions a sort of imperial residence not far from Mount Argaeus, in a region called ‘Macellus’<sup>117</sup>. Cappadocia suddenly became one of the best documented regions in Asia Minor, something that certainly never was the case before (Van Dam, 2002). This flourishing coincided with the era of the so-called Cappadocian Church Fathers: Basilus of Caesarea, Gregorius of Nyssa and Gregorius of Nazianzus. For more about them, we would like to refer to McGrath (1998). The growing importance of Cappadocia was also reflected in the fact that local aristocrats began to have more opportunities to participate in the imperial administration. It still took some time, however, before they were able to serve as governors or occupy higher positions. A consequence of this is that many Cappadocians went to study in Constantinople, as we can see from the letters between Libanius and Basilus of Caesarea. Later still, the way was even open for a Cappadocian emperor: Emperor Flavius Mauricius Tiberius Augustus was the first one in 582, but he soon lost the throne in a military coup (more about this later).

During Byzantine times, local notables and aristocrats became more and more important for the growth and wellbeing of the Cappadocian communities. Emperors were going through hard times, both because of intern and extern problems, and they didn’t have the time or money to spend much attention to Cappadocia (Browning, 1992). This resulted in a heightened importance of the local notables. They exploited the agrarian society, where land equalled wealth and prestige. Horse-breeding was also something that differentiated the wealthy aristocrats, since the Cappadocian tradition with horses was long-standing and almost legendary (cf. *supra*). Horse-breeders basked in all the prestige that magistrates, generals or rhetoricians enjoyed as well. This tendency towards more local powerful rulers probably emanated from the fact that Cappadocia had to deal with remote monarchs and intrusive kings for thousands of years already. There had therefore grown a constant tension between centre and periphery, between imperial and regional power (Van Dam, 2002).

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<sup>117</sup> Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, X.1.46 (edited in: Migne, 1857-1866).

#### II.4.9. From Manzikert to today: Turks and the Cappadocian diaspora

From the start of the eleventh century onwards, the Seljuks were increasingly pressing on the eastern Byzantine borders, turning Cappadocia into a crucial battlefield that both parties wanted to keep in hands. The Seljuks were a Turkish people who had come in from the north-east, southern Russia. An important turning point in the tensions was the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 (Browning, 1992). The Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes was defeated by the Seljuk Alp Arslan, who managed to settle in the Plain of Konya, southwest of Cappadocia. By the twelfth century Cappadocia was completely awash with these Seljuk Turks, who cut the region completely off from the Greek-speaking world and Constantinople. This has had a dramatic impact on the Cappadocian language, which now became a mixed dialect of Greek and Turkish (Janse, 2002; Janse, 2008). However, even before the Battle of Manzikert the Seljuks were already frequently raiding into Cappadocia. One of the earliest sources for this is the author Theophanes Confessor (8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>118</sup>:

‘τοῦ δὲ Μασαλμᾶ ἐλθόντος εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ἀπογνόντες ἑαυτῶν οἱ Καππάδοκες ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν λαβεῖν αὐτούς.’ (Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 389)

‘When Maslama came to Cappadocia, the Cappadocians lost all hope for themselves and went out to him, inviting him to conquer them.’ (own translation)

Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik was an Arabian prince who will later also besiege Constantinople (Browning, 1992). We can see how Theophanes is very bitter about what looks like the betrayal of the Cappadocians, but we must keep in mind how the local notables had become increasingly important for the community and how the emperor in Constantinople must have seemed like a faraway, blurry figure for the inhabitants. Besides, there were no imperial forces protecting these people, so there was no real reason to remain loyal to the Byzantines. They had become used to governing themselves and it therefore didn’t matter very much whether Ῥωμαῖοι or Arabs called themselves their masters. Most likely this period was the one when the medieval novel of Digenes Acrites originated (Jeffreys, 1998). The protagonist is called δι-γενής because he is the mix of Cappadocian-Byzantine and Arabian blood. The fuse of these two different ethnic groups must have happened frequently from this period onwards. Cinnioglu (2004), however, tells us that the Turkish population has had surprisingly little

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<sup>118</sup> Also see: Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 411 and 473 (edited in: de Boor, 1963); Emperor Leo Sapiens, *Tactica*, XVII.65 (edited in: Dennis, 2010).

genetic impact upon today's Turks. They have given their name, culture, religion and language to the area, but the inhabitants of Cappadocia are genetically speaking still very much the ethnic mix that existed in Persian times and earlier. The fact that their skin-colour had become darker and that they can't be called 'White Syrians' anymore must have had to do with a change of climate and the small Turkish genetic impact that gave an impulse towards a darker skin.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth century the Ottomans (Osmanlı) took over from the Seljuks, but the situation for the Cappadocians remained very much the same. Even when Constantinople eventually fell in 1453, this didn't lead to great changes for the Cappadocians since every contact with the capital had been lost for a long time already. The fact that the Cappadocian language assimilated so much to the Turkish one (Janse, 2002; Janse, 2008) is an indication that there was a general cultural symbiosis with the Turkish culture in Asia Minor. Many orthodox Christians converted to the Islam, even though some of them retained their faith.

The Ottoman empire disintegrated in the nineteenth century, however, and Greece became independent in 1832. Still, this didn't end the wars between the Greeks and Turks, since there was still a lot of discussion about the exact boundaries of their countries (Clogg, 2002; Janse, 2008). Eventually the struggles ended in 1922 with what the Greeks called the Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή, 'the disaster of Asia Minor': Anatolia was lost to the Turks. Of course, the area had been Turkish for five centuries by now, so the Cappadocian 'Greeks' didn't really think of themselves as Greeks anymore (Janse, 2008). The real καταστροφή was that the Greek dream of reconquering Asia Minor was permanently destroyed (Janse, 2007; Janse, 2008). The subsequent Cappadocian diaspora was the consequence of the Treaty of Lausanne that was signed in 1923, shortly afterwards (Clogg, 2002). This treaty stated that an exchange of peoples was to happen between Greece and Turkey: 1,100,000 orthodox 'Greeks' were forced to leave their homeland in Turkey and move to Greece, while 380,000 Muslim 'Turks' had to move to Turkey. This was called the Άνταλλαγή (Clogg, 2002; Janse, 2008). It was an exchange that was purely based upon religion, not upon language or ethnicity. Of the orthodox Greeks who were forced to move, 40,000 of them were Cappadocians. However, they were not received very well by the indigenous Greeks, because they were seen as 'the enemy' and fundamentally different. Their unique Cappadocian language (cf. *infra*) was socially stigmatized until it was thought to have been completely extinct. In 2005, however, Prof. Dr. Mark Janse discovered that Cappadocian was still a spoken language within intimate circles (never in public). The younger generations today want to revive this Cappadocian dialect and are looking for an ethnic identity for themselves, based upon their common

language and common history. However, there is no doubt that the language is a dying one and that this new Cappadocian identity is very much a construct (Janse, 2002; Janse, 2008). None of their ancestors ever felt very 'Cappadocian' but simply identified themselves with the village or community they lived in. This searching for a cultural and ethnic identity is very much something of our modern society.

## **II.5. Language**

Ethnic identity is very much connected with language, especially since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the rising of the concept 'nationalism' (McInerney, 2014). The fact that the younger generations of Cappadocians wish to preserve their language is a clear sign of this. Did the Cappadocians ever feel connected as one people because of their language? With the coming of so many peoples into Anatolia, how did the languages in Cappadocia evolve through time?

### **II.5.1. Hattic and the Anatolian languages**

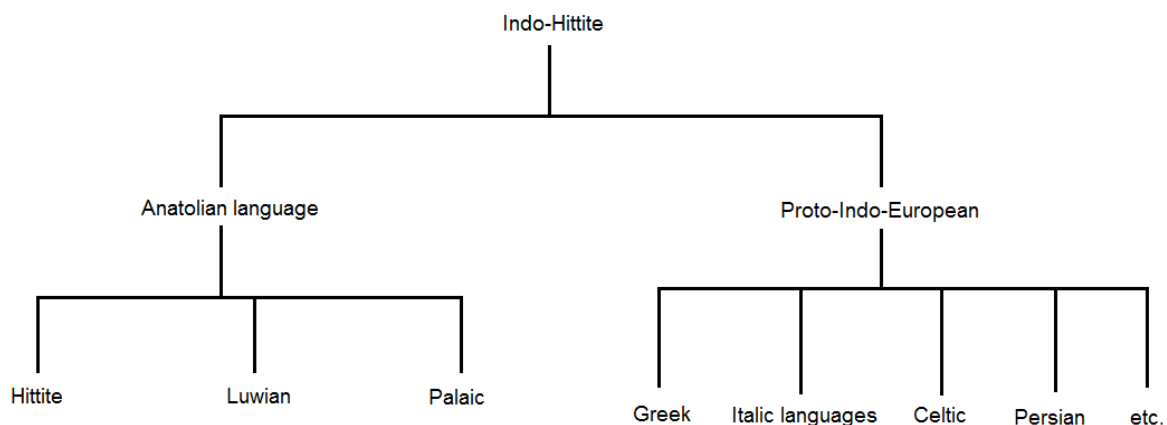
The earliest languages that we can retrace in Anatolia are the so-called Anatolian languages and the supposedly autochthonous Hattic language. As we have mentioned earlier, it cannot be stated without contestation that Hattic was the 'original' language in the area and that the Indo-European Anatolian languages infiltrated and dominated this Hattic language. We only know that both appear together in the Cappadocian tablets and that they clearly belong to two different families (Renfrew, 1998).

#### **a) Hattic**

Hattic or Proto-Hattic was a West-Caucasian language (Diakonoff, 1990). The name 'Hatti' is very much connected with the Cappadocian country itself (think about *māt ḫatti*) and the language was thus given this name because it was thought to be the indigenous language of the area (Goetze, 1957). The language used to be rather important, because many Hattic elements remained in the Hittite mythology and religion (Bryce, 2005), but by the second millennium it was reduced and replaced by the Anatolian languages. It kept on being used by the Hittite priests every now and then, but they obviously didn't speak the language anymore (Goetze, 1957). In Hittite geographical names we can still find traces of this language: for example *Kaneš* is thought to have been a Hattic name. We also know that prefixes were often used: for instance the prefix to indicate plural nominal forms was [le-] as we can still see in the Greek reference to the people of the Leleges, where the singular is Λέξ and the plural Λέλεγες (Goetze, 1957). However, our knowledge about the Hattic language is still very rudimentary.

## b) The Anatolian languages

The Anatolian languages, on the other hand, are much better known. They were a set of Indo-European languages that once were most likely one language, which then split into three main groups: Hittite (*nešili*), Luwian (*luwili*) and Palaic (*palaumnili*). These languages are Indo-European, but they differ so much from the other Indo-European languages we know and they are so much older than the others that it is sometimes thought that this language group was the first one to have split off from the Proto-Indo-European language. This is the so-called ‘Indo-Hittite’ hypothesis. It has gotten this name because the hypothesis calls the overall proto-language group ‘Indo-Hittite’, whereas the name ‘Proto-Indo-European’ is used for the language group *after* the splitting off of the Anatolian language (Sturtevant, 1962). A family tree would then be something like this<sup>119</sup>:



The least known of the three Anatolian languages is Palaic. The Hittite adverb *palaumnili* literally meant something like ‘in the way of a man from Pala’, derived from *\*palaumnaš*. The land Pala seems to have encompassed about a third of the Hittite kingdom and was situated in the north of the Anatolian plateau, bordering on Paphlagonia (see attachment 2). The language had four cases: a nominativus in [-š], an accusativus in [-n], a genitivus in [-anza] and a dativus in [-i]. It also had a Medio-Passive with an [-r-] suffix (Goetze, 1957).

The Luwian language was predominant in most of the Hittite kingdom and left traces in later languages such as Lycian, Lydian and Carian. Perhaps it served as a sort of *lingua franca* for the entire kingdom. Originally, it was the language of the land Luwija, in south-western Asia Minor, but later spread more north and eastwards as well. Just like the Hittite language it still had the Proto-Indo-European laryngeal [h] and didn’t assibilate [t] to [z] when before an [i]. There were four cases as well: a nominativus in

<sup>119</sup> Image made by the author, based upon the works of Sturtevant, 1962; Renfrew, 1998.

[-s], an accusativus in [-n], a genitivus in [-ašša/ašši] and a dativus in [-i]. Luwian had the same Medio-Passive as Palaic, but also possessed an iterative-durative suffix for verbs [-šk-] (which is of course very similar to the [-σκ-] of Greek) (Goetze, 1957). The names of the Hittite gods were often Luwian, such as Tarḫunt (the storm- and weather-god, depicted with a lightning bolt), Kupapa (associated with agricultural richness and procreation) and Santas (the war-god). An interesting fact is that the Greek name for the land 'Ionia' is originally Luwian as well (with the older Greek form being Ἰωνία). It is derived from the Luwian *lawana*, with *ia* meaning 'mainland' and [-wana] being a typical Luwian suffix. It therefore is a country that is not an island (Umar, 1991).

Hittite is of course the most known of all the Anatolian languages, since it was the official and administrative language of the Hittite kingdom. 'Hittite' is a modern name that was given to the language, but the Hittites themselves called it *nešili*, 'the language of Neša'. It largely resembled Luwian and Palaic, but didn't have a feminine morphology for nouns. There was a system with no less than seven cases, but in plural only three of them were really distinguished (nominativus, accusativus and genitivus/dativus). It also only made a distinction between a present and past time for the verbs: the present hereby served as a future tense as well. There were many periphrastic tenses, though, built with [eš-] ('to be') and [ḫar(k)-] ('to have') (Goetze, 1954; Goetze, 1957).

As we have seen earlier, the Hittites never used the name 'Hittites' for themselves but called the entire mix of peoples living in their heartland 'people of the Land of Hatti'. This is a clear indicator that they didn't see language as their main ethnic, unifying factor, but rather geographical position. The many different ethnic groups that inhabited Cappadocia in these days must have been the cause for this.

### II.5.2. Persian times

After the fall of the Hittite Kingdom, the languages in Anatolia must have evolved rather rapidly, changing in interaction with the languages of their many invaders and neighbours. It is therefore quite unclear what language was spoken in Cappadocia by the time the Persians conquered the area. There might have been a Phrygian influence, because there are Phrygian inscriptions as far as the eastern borders of the river Halys (Meesters, 2011). However, it wasn't Phrygian, since Herodotus clearly distinguished the Cappadocians from the Phrygians<sup>120</sup>. There may have been a Median influence, but most likely it wasn't Median *per se* either. The official languages of the Persian empire were Old-

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<sup>120</sup> Herodotus, *History*, VII.72-73.

Persian, Elamite and Akkadian (see the Behistun inscription, cf. *supra*), the first two of which probably never really reached Cappadocia (Janse, 2008). We have already discussed the potential cultural and linguistic influence of the Akkadian empire as far as Anatolia, maybe as a *lingua franca*. However, it seems unlikely that the Cappadocians would have spoken Akkadian amongst themselves. Another important language in eastern Anatolia was Aramaean, but as we have already mentioned the Aramaean heartland was rather situated in northern Syria and Mesopotamia, not so much in Cappadocia itself.

As we have seen, the Persian empire was a very multilingual one. There is no way of really knowing what language the Cappadocians spoke exactly and what affinities that language had. Strabo says it was related to Cataonian<sup>121</sup>, but we don't know anything about this mysterious language either. However, if we look to the surrounding areas, we see remnants of the Luwian language (Carian, Lydian and Lycian), so it doesn't seem improbable that the Cappadocians spoke a language that had Luwian or Hittite affinities. We cannot be certain, however, unless perhaps we find new sources of information. We may assume that whatever language they spoke in Persian times, was still spoken in Greek and Roman times, with some minor changes. However, none of our later sources specify the Cappadocian language either, leaving us very much in the dark.

### II.5.3. Hellenization

As McInerney (2014) states, there is a sort of fuzziness about the concept of ethnicity. What determines whether a people are considered to be one ethnic entity? For Strabo, one of the most important features that set the Cappadocians apart from the other Anatolian peoples was their common language. This is what makes them one *ethnos* in his eyes:

‘οἱ δ’ οὖν ὁμόγλωττοι μάλιστα εἰσιν οἱ ἀφοριζόμενοι πρὸς νότον μὲν τῷ Κιλικίῳ λεγομένῳ Ταύρῳ, πρὸς ἑὼ δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ τῇ Κολχίδι καὶ τοῖς μεταξὺ ἑτερογλώττοις ἔθνεσι, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἰλίου, πρὸς δύσιν δὲ τῷ τε τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἔθνει καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐποικισάντων μέχρι Λυκαόνων καὶ Κιλικίων τῶν τὴν τραχεῖαν Κιλικίαν νεμομένων.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.1)

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<sup>121</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XII.1.2.



‘The inhabitants who speak the same language are, generally speaking, those bounded on the south by the Cilician Taurus, as it is called, and on the east by Armenia and Colchis and by the intervening peoples who speak a different group of languages, and on the north by the Euxine as far as the outlets of the Halys River, and on the west both by the tribe of the Paphlagonians and by those Galatae who settled in Phrygia and extended as far as the Lycaonians and those Cilicians who occupy Cilicia Tracheia.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

The keyword here is ὁμόγλωττοι, ‘speaking the same tongue’. This common language was spoken both in Pontus and in Cappadocia and it united the two Hellenistic kingdoms into one people, across the boundaries. The obvious problem here is that Strabo doesn’t tell us which language this was. It certainly wasn’t Paphlagonian, Armenian, Phrygian or Cilician, since these languages are where the Cappadocian linguistic area *ends*. Nor is Persian is a very likely candidate, since the only Iranian elements in Anatolia at that time were the names of the Ariarathids and the name of the city Mazaca. Also, even in Persian times the spread of Old-Persian never reached Anatolia (Janse, 2008). In the names on the Cappadocian funerary inscriptions there are only little Iranian names either (see attachment 6). It obviously wasn’t Greek either, or else Strabo would have mentioned that. We also have the testimony of Xenophon of Ephesus, who confirms that Cappadocian wasn’t a Greek language:

‘καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἰππόθοος ἐμπείρως εἶχε τῆς Καππαδοκῶν φωνῆς, καὶ αὐτῷ πάντες ὡς οἰκείῳ προσεφέροντο.’ (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca*, III.1.2)<sup>122</sup>

‘Hippochoos connaissait, en effet, la langue du pays et les gens le traitaient comme un des leurs.’ (translation: Dalmeyda, 1962)

Basilus of Caesarea<sup>123</sup> and Gregorius of Nyssa corroborate this:

‘ἡμεῖς οὐρανὸν τοῦτο λέγομεν, σεμαεὶμ ὁ Ἑβραῖος, ὁ Ῥωμαῖος καίλουμ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Σύρος ὁ Μῆδος ὁ Καππαδόκης ὁ Μαυρούσιος ὁ Θραξ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, οὐδὲ ἀριθμῆσαι ῥάδιον τὰς

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<sup>122</sup> Edited in: Dalmeyda, 1962.

<sup>123</sup> Basilus of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto*, XXIX.74.51: ‘λέγομεν ἐγχωρίως’ (edited in: Pruche, 1968).

τῶν ὀνομάτων διαφοράς, ὅσαι κατὰ ἔθνος περί τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πραγμάτων οὔσαι τυγχάνουσιν.’ (Gregorius of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, II.1.406)<sup>124</sup>

‘We call it οὐρανός, the Hebraean calls it *semaeim*, the Roman *caelum*, and the Syrian, Mede, Cappadocian, Maurusian, Thracian and Egyptian all call it something else. It is not easy to count the differences between the names that exist in every tribe, about the sky or about the other things.’ (own translation)

It is too bad that Gregorius fails to mention the Cappadocian word for ‘sky’, because that might have given us an idea where to start looking. However, we now know it wasn’t a Syrian or Median language either. It wasn’t Aramaean either, since none of the Cappadocian Fathers seems to have been very familiar with this language. Nor are there any traces of Aramaean in the inscriptions of Cappadocia nor in the modern Cappadocian dialect (Janse, 2008). It was most likely only used as a kind of *lingua franca*. The Acts of the Apostles help us, though only a little, by confirming that they spoke an entirely different language:

‘καὶ πῶς, φησὶν, ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν, Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἑλαμίται καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαῖαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, Κρήτες καὶ Ἄραβες, ἀκούομεν λαλούντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ’ (*Acta Apostulorum*, II.7-11)<sup>125</sup>

‘And they were being amazed and were marvelling, saying; “Look, are not all of these who are speaking Galileans? So how are we each hearing our own dialect in which we were born? Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and those living in Mesopotamia, Judeaeans, Cappadocians, Pontus, and the region of Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya which are near Cyrene, and those who are visiting from Rome, Jews and pagan converts, Cretans and Arabs, we are hearing them speaking in our own languages about the great things of God!’ (translation: Thornhill, 2014)

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<sup>124</sup> Edited in: Jaeger, 1960.

<sup>125</sup> Edited in: Aland et al., 1968.

Theodorus Prodromus called Cappadocia βαρβαροχουμένη ('speaking a barbarian language')<sup>126</sup> up to his days (12<sup>th</sup> century). The Cappadocians must therefore have Hellenized only very slowly, if they still spoke an incomprehensible language by then. The problem is that βαρβαρίζω can mean 'speak a bad sort of Greek' as well, so it is very well possible that Prodromus here simply refers to the accent of the Cappadocians. However, if they had a typical Cappadocian accent, this must point to a certain retention of the indigenous language in order for their Greek to be influenced by this. For instance, Arrianus tells us how they mispronounced the name 'Tyana':

‘όποτε καί τὰ Τύανα τὰ ἐν τοῖς Καππαδόκαις Θόανα λέγουσιν ὅτι ὠνομάζετο ἐπὶ Θόαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταύρων’ (Arrianus, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, VI.4)<sup>127</sup>

‘Thus they say that Tyana in Cappadocia was called, about the time alluded to, Thoana, from Thoas king of the Tauri.’ (translation: Page, 1805)

Flavius Philostratus seems to find it necessary to make Apollonius of Tyana even more saint and miraculous by stating that, even though is a native Cappadocian, he had no accent:

‘καὶ ἡ γλῶττα Ἀττικῶς εἶχεν, οὐδ’ ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους.’ (Flavius Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, I.7)<sup>128</sup>

‘His Greek was of the Attic kind and his accent unaffected by the region.’ (translation: Jones, 2005)

And in another work he explains that the Cappadocians usually have a thick accent (about Pausanias the sophist):

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<sup>126</sup> Theodorus Prodromus, *Carmina historica*, 19.52 (edited in: Hörandner, 1974).

<sup>127</sup> Edited in: Roos & Wirth, 1968.

<sup>128</sup> Edited in: Jones, 2005.

‘ἀπήγγελλε δὲ αὐτὰ παχεῖα τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθες, συγκρούων μὲν τὰ σύμφωνα τῶν στοιχείων, συστέλλων δὲ τὰ μακυνόμενα καὶ μακύνων τὰ βραχέα.’ (Flavius Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II.13)<sup>129</sup>

‘Yet he used to deliver his declamations with a coarse and heavy accent, as is the way with Cappadocians. He would make his consonants collide, would shorten the long syllables and lengthen the short.’ (translation: Wright, 2005)

From this latter anecdote we may perhaps deduce that the native language of the Cappadocians was one without a distinctive difference between long and short syllables. This would explain why they mixed up the long and short syllables when they spoke Greek.

Epigraphic sources only tell us what the higher classes and noblemen wrote down, which is mostly very much Hellenized. Every inscription that is not Greek is Latin, but these latter only encompass imperial inscriptions from the classical Roman times. There are no sources left that were written in the indigenous Cappadocian language. However, funerary inscriptions can still tell us quite something: the gods these people believed in<sup>130</sup> and – most importantly – their names (see attachment 6). The greater majority of the names is either Greek or Roman or a mix of both. In this context it is interesting to note that there are more Roman names than there are Latin inscriptions, meaning that many Romans wrote their inscriptions in Greek instead. The upper layer of the area thus had become quite thoroughly Hellenized during the first centuries A.D. There is a ‘rest group’ in the names, however, which contains a set of names of uncertain origin – perhaps local. A remarkable feature here is that there are more female names that have a local colour, whilst there are more male names that are Greco-Roman. For example, the most popular female name was ‘Ma’ (Μᾶ), but the most common male name was ‘Apollonios’ (Ἀπολλώνιος). We also have a noteworthy group of names that consist of a mix of Greco-Roman and local names. These people were probably ‘natives’, firmly rooted in the area, who adopted a Greek or Roman name in order to find their way into the Hellenized elite. Of course, the epigraphic resources we have to our disposition here are only a small percentage of the original number of inscriptions that were once made, so we cannot make too big generalisations. But perhaps a closer

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<sup>129</sup> Edited in: Wright, 2005.

<sup>130</sup> Next to Asclepius and Hermes, a very frequent religious name is Mithras (which is also reflected in personal names such as Mithridates, Mithrateidios, Mithratochmes and Mithres).

inspection of the etymology and origin of these names can give us a better idea of the indigenous Cappadocian language.

Eventually there was a linguistic Hellenization process in all layers of the Cappadocian society, however, since the Cappadocians had become largely Greek-speaking by the time the Turks invaded the area. This we know because the modern Cappadocian dialect is a mix of Greek and Turkish elements. But there is no way of knowing exactly when the indigenous languages of Asia Minor withered away and were replaced by Greek. Socrates Scholasticus mentions that Phrygian and Gothic were still spoken in the fifth century<sup>131</sup> and Hiëronymus says that Galatic was still vivid as well<sup>132</sup>. Some languages never disappeared, such as Aramaean, Armenian and Kurdish (Janse, 2008). However, Asia Minor was one of the areas that was most successfully Hellenized, so we may safely assume that the inhabitants of Cappadocia lost their own language in favour of Greek by first becoming bilingual and eventually Greek-speaking. This may have happened somewhere after the fifth century, along with the language death of Phrygian and Galatic.

#### II.5.4. Turkish and the Cappadocian dialect

With the coming of the Seljuks and later of the Ottomans into Cappadocia, the inhabitants underwent a great Turkish influence, both culturally and linguistically. The Cappadocians who had converted to the Islam had no reason to retain the Greek language whatsoever and became Turkish-speaking. The ones who had remained orthodox Christians, however, kept on using the Christian Greek texts – much in the same way that the Latin Christian texts were still read in western Europe even though the ‘normal’ people didn’t speak Latin anymore. Indeed, Dawkins (1916: 1) shows that the clerics only used Greek for their hymns and the gospels, but that they didn’t know any Greek themselves anymore. Their lectures were completely Turkish, a great indication that the people they wanted to reach spoke Turkish as well. This decline of the Greek language in Cappadocia was something that had already begun in earlier times, but was even more accelerated by the Cappadocian diaspora (Janse, 2007a; Janse, 2008).

Cappadocian is a very special dialect of Modern Greek, so special that it is sometimes considered to be a proper language and not so much dialect. Indeed, the distinction between ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ is

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<sup>131</sup> Socrates Scholasticus, *Patrologia Graeca*, 67.648 (edited in: Migne, 1857-1866).

<sup>132</sup> Hiëronymus, *Patrologia Latina*, 26.382 (edited in: Migne, 1844-1864).

often very politically and ideologically determined (Janse, 2007a). It is therefore perhaps more fitting to speak of a Greek-Turkish mixed language, since it has as many Turkish elements as it does Greek. We must also note that there is no such a thing as ‘a Cappadocian language’, but it is rather a composition of different kinds of dialects, that differ from village to village. The Greek element in Cappadocian is not based upon Ancient Greek nor upon Modern Greek, but upon the Byzantine, medieval Greek that was spoken in the period when the area was sealed off from the Greek-speaking world by the invasions of the Turks. This is why certain elements of the language are rather archaic, compared to Modern Greek. The Turkish element is not Ottoman (Osmanlı), but a Central-Anatolian sort of Turkish, with traces of both Seljuk and Old-Ottoman (Janse, 2007a; Janse, 2008). It uses a Turkish phonology, making it sound very much like Turkish: the use of the sounds [ö], [ü], [š], [tš] and [dž], the disappearance of the Greek dental fricatives (eg. *zeós* < *θεός*), and the syncope of many syllables with an atonic [i] or [u]. For a complete description of the Cappadocian language, we would like to refer to Janse (2004; 2007b).

By the time Dawkins (1916) went to research the Cappadocian language in the field, the situation had already become quite precarious:

‘The men among themselves generally speak Turkish, although they as a rule know common Greek. They also understand the local dialect, although they do not talk it very freely. The use of the dialect is thus almost confined to the women and children, and as Turkish women often come to the Greek houses to help in house-work, the women also are apt to acquire the habit of talking Turkish amongst themselves as well as to their husbands, which materially helps the decline of the dialect.’ (Dawkins, 1916: 14-15)

As we already mentioned, the withering of the dialect was only strengthened by the *Ἀπαλλαγὴ* between Turkey and Greece. Whereas the dialect was not frequently used in public in Cappadocia, it was *never* used in public in Greece. Since it sounded so very Turkish and the Greeks had acquired a rather hostile attitude towards everything Turkish, the dialect was socially stigmatized. It went to live underground, which led to the assumption that it was completely extinct. However, the discovery that the dialect was still spoken in 2005 (cf. *supra*) proved this assumption wrong and led to the first public speeches in the Cappadocian language. Even though it is not spoken by the younger generations anymore (a clear sign that it is in fact a dying language), it triggered a consciousness of the Cappadocian

ethnic identity and led to a thorough research of the language and its folk tales. This way, the last words of a dying dialect were still preserved.

## **II.6. Image-making**

The opinions about Cappadocians in ancient literature are rather distinct, even though nobody seems to agree whether they were downright terrible or extremely wonderful. There is a story about how the Persian king Artaxerxes gave the land of Cappadocia as a gift to one of his subjects, as a thank you for saving him from a murderous lion<sup>133</sup>. If we believe all the bad things that are said about the Cappadocians throughout ancient literature, however, it doesn't seem like Artaxerxes was doing him very much of a favour.

### **II.6.1. The three most terrible *kappas***

The Cappadocians had the dubious honour of being one of the τρία κάππα κάκιστα: the three most terrible *kappas*. The Suda specifies who they were: the Cretans (Κρήτες), the Cilicians (Κίλικες) and the Cappadocians (Καππάδοκες)<sup>134</sup>. Crete was mostly known for its pirates and Cilicia for its bandits<sup>135</sup>, but the Cappadocians were thought to be deceitful, impudent, headstrong, treacherous and brutish (Van Dam, 2002). A famous and much-cited epigram is the following one:

‘Καππαδόκαι φαῦλοι μὲν αἰεί, ζώνης δὲ τυχόντες  
φαυλότεροι, κέρδους δ’ εἵνεκα φαυλότατοι,  
ἦν δ’ ἄρα δις καὶ τρίς μεγάλης δράξωνται ἀπήνης,  
δὴ ῥα τότε εἰς ὥρας φαυλεπιφαυλότεροι.  
μή, λίτομαι βασιλεῦ, μὴ τετράκις, ὄφρα μὴ αὐτὸς  
κόσμος ὀλισθήσῃ καππαδοκιζόμενος.’ (Demodocus, *Fragmenta*, Fr.5)<sup>136</sup>

‘Cappadocians are always bad, but when they get a belt they are worse, and for the sake of gain they are worst of all. And if two or three times they get hold of a big load, indeed at that time they are two or three times worse. But king, I beg you, may they not be four

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<sup>133</sup> Polybius, *Fragmenta ex incertis libris*, Fr.54.11-21 (edited in: Büttner-Wobst, 1967).

<sup>134</sup> Suda, *Lexicon*, Δ.1262 (edited in: Adler, 1935). Cited in: Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus: Asia*, II.68.

<sup>135</sup> See: *Antologia Palatina*, XI.236: ‘πάντες μὲν Κίλικες κακοὶ ἄνδρες’ (edited in: West, 1989).

<sup>136</sup> Edited in: West, 1989 and in: *Anthologia Palatina*, XI.238.



times worse, so that the universe will not be destroyed by being the victim of the Cappadocians.’ (own translation)

We can deduce from this epigram that they were considered to be greedy and avaricious, since the ‘belt’ referred to is most likely a money belt. Even Basilus of Caesarea, who himself was a Cappadocian, mentions this notoriously bad character of the Cappadocians and calls them cowardly and stubborn (δυσκίνητος)<sup>137</sup>. Ptolemaeus blames the constellation for their being overly bold (θρασύς), worthless (πονηρός) and treacherous (ἐπιβουλευτικός)<sup>138</sup>. Joannes Lydus is not soft on them either and calls them deceitful (δολερῶς), as would be expected from a Cappadocian (‘οἱ Καππαδόκης’)<sup>139</sup>. They were seen as quite quarrelsome and rebellious too, probably based upon their frequent resistance against their governors and superiors. Nicephorus Blemmydes names them ‘οἱ πολεμικώτατοι Καππαδόκαι’<sup>140</sup> and so do the *Paraphrases in Dionysium Periegetam*<sup>141</sup>. All these supposed bad habits have resulted in a wholly new verb to encompass this all: καππαδοκίζειν.

#### a) Barbarians and oriental trash

One of the possible explanations for this bad image of the Cappadocians is that they were put under one and the same header with the Persians, who (as we have seen) were considered to be the prototype of ‘barbarians’. Plutarchus tells us that the soldiers in Crassus’ army were convinced that the Cappadocians were in fact Parthians, and thus Persians:

‘ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ θράσος ὑπήρειπε: πεπεισμένοι γὰρ οὐδὲν Ἀρμενίων διαφέρειν Πάρθους οὐδὲ Καππαδοκῶν.’ (Plutarchus, *Crassus*, XVIII.4)<sup>142</sup>

‘When the soldiers heard this, their courage ebbed away. For they had been fully persuaded that the Parthians were not different at all from the Armenians or even the Cappadocians.’ (translation: Perrin, 1959)

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<sup>137</sup> Basilus Caesariensis, *Epistulae*, 48.1.6 ff (edited in: Courtonne, 1966).

<sup>138</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Apotelesmatica*, II.3.41 (edited in: Boer & Boll, 1957).

<sup>139</sup> Joannes Lydus, *De magistratibus populi Romani*, 220.16 (edited in: Bandy, 1983).

<sup>140</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Conspectus geographiae*, 466.2.36 (edited in: Müller, 1855).

<sup>141</sup> *In Dionysii Periegetae orbis descriptionem*, 970-976.7 (edited in: Müller, 1855).

<sup>142</sup> Edited in: Ziegler, 1969.

Or in other words, as Syme (1995) puts it: they were all considered to be ‘oriental trash’. Libanius tells us that the regular Cappadocian greeting was not ‘χαῖρε’ or anything like that, but ‘προσκυνῶ σε’<sup>143</sup> (something like ‘I worship you’ or ‘I prostrate myself for you’). This reminds us of complete subjection to an absolute ruler, which is something that very much characterized the Persians in the eyes of western cultures: the Greek ‘freedom’ was always opposed to the Persian ‘despotism’ (Brosius, 2006). This greeting thus denoted the Cappadocians as typical Persians. Moreover, in Strabo’s time, the Persian religion was still quite present in the area, which makes it very credible that the Cappadocians were seen as Persians from a western perspective:

‘ἐν δὲ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ (πολὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ τῶν Μάγων φύλον, οἳ καὶ πύραιθοι καλοῦνται: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν ιερὰ), οὐδὲ μαχαίρα θύουσιν, ἀλλὰ κορμῷ τινι ὥς ἂν ὑπέρω τύπτοντες.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XV.3.15)

‘In Cappadocia (for in this country there is a great body of Magi, called Pyraethi, and there are many temples dedicated to the Persian deities) the sacrifice is not performed with a knife, but the victim is beaten to death with a log of wood, as with a mallet.’ (translation: Jones, 1917)

#### b) Avaricious and decadent pimps

As the epigram of Demodocus already pointed out, the main characteristic of the bad Cappadocian image was their greediness. It was the ‘κέρδος’ which made them so ‘φᾶυλος’ (cf. *supra*). This is something we see reflected in the Latin literature as well, more specifically in Plautus’ *Curculio*<sup>144</sup>, where the object of Phaedromus’ love is a slave girl in the hands of an evil pimp called ‘Cappadox’. One of his most distinct features is of course his avariciousness. However, even though the Cappadocians were thought to be avaricious, they were never seen as poor – rather on the contrary. They were considered to be decadent and voracious, something that fitted perfectly into the stereotype image of the Persians as well. As long as it was for their own pleasure, they had no trouble spending their money. In the *Cena Trimalchionis*<sup>145</sup> the character of Trimalchio is known for throwing lavish parties and he recognizes a kindred spirit in a Cappadocian slave (Van Dam, 2002). Also, Menander lets the character Bias (in his ‘Colax’) say that he once drank three golden cups of liquor, filled to the brim, and this was

<sup>143</sup> Libanius, *Epistularum Basilii et Libanii quod fertur commercium*, XV.1.

<sup>144</sup> Edited in: De Melo, 2011.

<sup>145</sup> In the *Satyricon* of Petronius, edited in: Müller, 1961.

in Cappadocia<sup>146</sup>. He is obviously bragging here, making it sound very luxurious and decadent. Much later, Joannes Lydus still confirms this stereotype:

‘τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀδηφαγίαν’ (Joannes Lydus, *De magistris populi Romani*, 232)<sup>147</sup>

A passage where Isidorus of Sevilla rants against the Cappadocians is cited by Georgius Monachus. He calls them all sorts of ugly names (θηροτρόπος, πονηρότατος, ἀλλόφυλος, ψευδόλογος, κακόσχολος, ὑπολήψης, κάκιστος and κακοηθής), but he also emphasises their unrestrained eating and drinking: according to him they were masters in getting drunk (οἰνοδυναστής) and thieves with a gigantic belly (γιγαντοκοιλιολάτρης)<sup>148</sup>.

Strabo confirms that Cappadocia was a rich country<sup>149</sup> and we have also seen that Tiberius was very keen to have the Cappadocian revenues for himself (cf. *supra*). This is perhaps where the idea of decadent Cappadocians came from. No doubt the elite class of the area was very rich, but the stereotype includes *all* the Cappadocians, because that is what stereotypes do: generalize. Athanasius tells us about a certain Georgus who was a tax collector of Constantinople, but who had to flee because he had made some money disappear – into his own pockets<sup>150</sup>. This is the image that was extended to the entire Cappadocian population. The richness of their country must have indirectly given them the name of untrustworthy money-grubbers, even though the people on the street cannot have been rich at all.

### c) Strong but stupid

At the other end of the spectrum, we find a wholly other view of the Cappadocians that may seem to be rather contradictory: that of uneducated and stupid farmers. It is true that the majority of Cappadocians was rather poor, having to fight for their income in a mountainous country, and therefore education or *paideia* was the very last thing on their mind (Van Dam, 2002). As we have

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<sup>146</sup> Menander, *Colacis fragmenta aliunde nota*, Fr. 2 (edited in: Sandbach, 1972).

<sup>147</sup> ‘the gluttony of the Cappadocians’ (own translation).

<sup>148</sup> Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 666.15 ff (edited in: de Boor, 1904).

<sup>149</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, XI.13.8.

<sup>150</sup> Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 75.1 (edited in: Opitz, 1940).

already seen, the climate in Cappadocia was reputed for its coldness and winter storms<sup>151</sup>. This is why the Cappadocians were renowned for their hardness: they were stronger than rock (and more stubborn too). This we can see in another epigram of Demodocus:

‘Καππαδόκην ποτ’ ἔχιδνα κακὴ δάκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ  
κάτθανε γευσασμένη αἵματος ἰοβόλου.’ (Demodocus, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 4)<sup>152</sup>

‘A viper once bit a Cappadocian, but the viper died, having tasted the venomous blood.’  
(own translation)

This is of course not very flattering for the Cappadocian, but it does show how they were considered to be strong – stronger than any venom. However, the unlearned and simple Cappadocian was a much more popular topic in literature than the tough Cappadocian. The region was always situated on the edge of the ancient world and therefore remained marginal in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans. Next to that, the economy was mostly agrarian, with a lot of livestock breeding. All of this encouraged an image of a proverbially stupid Cappadocian:

‘(...) οὔτε ὡς Ἀττικὸς οὔτε ὡς φιλόσοφος, ἢ Καππαδοκίας πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦκων.’  
(Alciphron, *Epistulae*, IV.17.5)<sup>153</sup>

‘(...) not like an Attic person and not like a philosopher, but like a Cappadocian who has come to Greece for the very first time.’ (own translation)

The unknowing Cappadocian is opposed here to the Attic philosopher and thus to *paideia* and education. An example of the fact that they were considered to be very uneducated can be found in Lucianus:

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<sup>151</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, XVIII.5.4: ‘τὸν ἀέρα δυσχεΐμερον’. Nicetas Choniatis, *Historia*, John II.34: ‘κρυμώδης (...) ψυχρινόν καὶ δριμύτατον’.

<sup>152</sup> Also *Anthologia Palatina*, 11.237.

<sup>153</sup> Edited in: Schepers, 1905.

‘θᾶπτον ἔην λευκοὺς κόρακας πτηνάς τε χελώνας

εὐρεῖν ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην’ (Lucianus, *Epigrammata*, XI.436)<sup>154</sup>

‘It was easier to find white ravens or flying tortoises than to find a decent Cappadocian orator.’ (own translation)

This last example must have also had to do with the thick accent of the Cappadocians (cf. *supra*). Joannes Chrysostomus names the Cappadocians as a people who urgently needs to get to know ‘τὰ ἡμετέρα ἄγαθα’ and who must thus be cultivated in the Greek way<sup>155</sup>. Hesychius also calls Cappadocia the ‘ἀγρὸς πατρῷος’ (‘the agrarian homeland’) of Longinus<sup>156</sup>.

## II.6.2. The land of cattle and honey

Not all ancient images about Cappadocia were bad, however. There were some positive stories about the country as well, even though it is very striking that all of these stories *only* pertain to the country and none of them speaks about the inhabitants. It looks like these most terrible Cappadocians inhabited a wonderful land – a land of cattle and honey. As we have already seen, Cappadocia was quite famous for its cattle and especially its horses, but there was plenty of honey as well:

‘περὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἔν τισι τόποις ἄνευ κηρίου φασὶν ἐργάζεσθαι τὸ μέλι, γίνεσθαι τὸ πάχος ὅμοιον ἐλαίῳ.’ (Corpus Aristotelicum, *Mirabilium auscultationes*, 831b.21-22)<sup>157</sup>

‘They say that in Cappadocia, in certain places, honey is made without a honeycomb, and that its consistency resembles that of olive oil.’ (own translation)

How wonderful must a country be so that it produces honey without the honey bees? Athenaeus also mentions the rumour that there is plenty of good-drinkable water in Cappadocia that never goes bad, and it runs everywhere under the ground<sup>158</sup>. The land is literally sprouting with nourishment. Aristotle goes on and says that even the mules are fertile in this area<sup>159</sup>. This is both an expression of the

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<sup>154</sup> Edited in: MacLeod, 1967. Also *Anthologia Palatina*, XI.436.

<sup>155</sup> Johannes Chrysostomus, *De sancto Meletio Antiocheno*, L.518 (edited in: Migne, 1857-1866).

<sup>156</sup> Hesychius, *Homilia i in sanctum Longinum centurionem*, XIX.5.15 (edited in: Aubineau, 1980).

<sup>157</sup> Edited in: Bekker, 1960.

<sup>158</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, II.19.6-8 (edited in: Kaibel, 1966).

<sup>159</sup> Corpus Aristotelicum, *Mirabilium auscultationes*, 835b.1.

supposed miraculous fertility of the country and of the fame of Cappadocian cattle. Strabo gives us some more information about the very soft wool that the sheep of the area Gadilonitis produce:

‘ἔχει δὲ καὶ προβατεῖαν ὑποδιφθέρου καὶ μαλακῆς ἐρέας, ἥς καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον σφόδρα πολλὴ σπάνις ἐστί.’ (Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.13)

‘It affords also pasture for flocks of sheep which are covered with skins, and produce a soft wool; very little of this wool is to be found throughout Cappadocia and Pontus.’  
(translation: Jones, 1917)

Indeed, the Cappadocian textile was very wanted across the Mediterranean and even the goats there grew a sort of wool that could be shaved and used for cloth<sup>160</sup>. Also, Cappadocian slaves were wanted in the west (despite their rumoured bad character) because they were said to be the best bakers in the world<sup>161</sup>. They made a special sort of soft bread:

‘παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καλεῖται τις ἄρτος ἀπαλὸς ἀρτυόμενος γάλακτι ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ἀλσὶν ἀρκετοῖς. δεῖ δὲ τὴν ματερίαν ἀνειμένην ποιεῖν. οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἄρτος λέγεται Καππαδόκιος, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπαλὸς ἄρτος γίνεται.’  
(Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, III.79.15-19)

‘And among the Greeks there is a kind of bread which is called “tender”, being made up with a little milk and oil, and a fair quantity of salt; and one must make the dough for this bread loose. And this kind of loaf is called the Cappadocian, since tender bread is made in the greatest quantities in Cappadocia.’ (translation: Young, 1854)

In short, the land was considered to be a sort of paradise with an overflow of food and drink. That is what Xenophon of Ephesus refers to when he says: ‘Let us leave Cilicia behind and go to Cappadocia and Pontus. They say the people are happy there.’ (own translation)<sup>162</sup>.

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<sup>160</sup> Timotheus of Gaza, *Excerpta ex libris de animalibus*, XVI.4 (edited in: Haupt, 1869).

<sup>161</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, III.77.23-24.

<sup>162</sup> Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca*, II.14.3: ‘ἴωμεν οὖν Κιλικίαν μὲν ἀφέντες ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐκεῖ λέγονται γὰρ οἰκεῖν ἄνδρες εὐδαίμονες’.

### II.6.3. Restored honour

The reputation of the stubborn, avaricious, impudent and stupid Cappadocians was surprisingly pertinacious throughout the Hellenistic and Roman times. Their honour was slightly restored, however, from the fourth century onwards. As we have seen, Cappadocia became a very important region during that time and the bishop of Caesarea came to be one of the most powerful people in the entire east. This was mostly due to the Cappadocian Church Fathers, who had put Cappadocia on the map. They were also the reason for sayings like this:

‘ἐνθεος ἦν ὁ Σύρος, πολυγράμματος ἦν δὲ ὁ Φοῖνιξ, Καππαδόκης δ’ ἄμφω καὶ πλέον ἀμφοτέρων.’ (Joannes Geometres, *Carmina hexametrika et elegiaca*, XXII)<sup>163</sup>

‘The Syrian was full of God, the Phoenician was learned, but the Cappadocian was both and even more than them.’ (own translation)

No more sign of the uneducated Cappadocians here, but rather on the contrary. One of the consequences of this was that many important people came to study in Caesarea now, for example the later emperor Julian the Apostate grew up in the area (Van Dam, 2002). The region became, so to speak, holier than the pope and the number of Cappadocian martyrs was extremely high: there were Martianus<sup>164</sup>, Saba<sup>165</sup> (a very local name), Georgius<sup>166</sup> and many, many others. It was the gruesome habit in Cappadocia to break the martyrs on a wheel, as Eusebius mentions<sup>167</sup>.

However, this process of Christianization was by no means not an easy one. Athanasius of Alexandria even still complains that the Cappadocians worshipped other gods up to his days<sup>168</sup> and Epiphanius tells us that they kept the old chronology with the Persian names of the months<sup>169</sup>. And even without numerous apostates, there were great differences within Christianity itself. This is what Photius means with the ‘καινοτομία’ (‘novelty’) of the Cappadocians<sup>170</sup>: monophysitism was a theological movement that thrived in Cappadocia and would become crucial for the discussions about Christology. However,

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<sup>163</sup> Edited in: van Opstall, 2008.

<sup>164</sup> Gregorius of Nazianzus, *Epigrammata*, VIII.113 (edited in: Beckby, 1965-1968).

<sup>165</sup> Cyrillus, *Vita Sabae*, 86.28 (edited in: Schwartz, 1939).

<sup>166</sup> Georgius Syceota, *Vita sancti Theodori Syceotae*, 108.9; 161.156 and 161.205 (edited in: Festugière, 1970).

<sup>167</sup> Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VIII.12.1 (edited in: Bardy, 1967).

<sup>168</sup> Athanasius, *Contra gentes*, XXIII.17 (edited in: Thomson, 1971).

<sup>169</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, II.293.6 (edited in: Holl. 1933).

<sup>170</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 230.273b.16.

even with all these intern and extern problems we may safely state that Cappadocia became firmly Christianized during this period. From now on, the road was open for the first Cappadocians with considerable renown and fame.

#### II.6.4. Famous Cappadocians

All of the famous Cappadocians lived *after* the Christianization of Cappadocia, except for one: Apollonius of Tyana, who is mostly known to us through the writing of Flavius Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii*). He lived in the first century B.C. and was born in the city of Tyana, the only considerable Cappadocian city next to Caesarea. He was a Pythagorean philosopher and travelled through the eastern Mediterranean while working miracles everywhere. This is why he is sometimes compared to Jesus (Flinterman, 1993).

Three other famous Cappadocians were already mentioned earlier: the Cappadocian Church Fathers. Especially Basilus of Caesarea and Gregorius of Nyssa are mentioned extremely often in the later Greek sources. Xanthopulus calls them the ‘θεία ξυνωρίς’ (‘divine pair of horses’)<sup>171</sup>, which is of course very fitting for the horse-breeding Cappadocians. But Gregorius of Nazianzus was certainly very popular as well. They were the ones who permanently managed to improve the image of the Cappadocians and paved the road for other Cappadocians to reach higher positions, within the clergy but also in the bureaucratic system of the empire.

One position that was thus open for the native Cappadocians was the one of emperor. We have already seen that Emperor Mauricius was the first Cappadocian one, but that he reigned only for a very short time (cf. *supra*). The one to dethrone him was Flavius Phocas, another Cappadocian emperor but not a very popular one<sup>172</sup>. That is why he didn’t rule very long either. After him, it was a long time before another Cappadocian ascended to the throne again: in the tenth century, Nicephorus II Phocas did. He descended from a rich Cappadocian family<sup>173</sup> and was a very successful general when he was acclaimed emperor by his troops. After a long reign that was marked by several great military exploits, he was murdered, however, by the lover of his wife. Eventually, the most famous Cappadocian emperor only came a century later, with Romanus Diogenes. He was the one who lost the Battle of Manzikert in 1071

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<sup>171</sup> Nicephorus Xanthopulus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, XI.29.14 (own translation).

<sup>172</sup> Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, 662.10 ff.

<sup>173</sup> Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, II.293.9-10 (edited in: Bekker, 1839).



(cf. *supra*), which ironically was the starting point of the Turkish presence in his own homeland Cappadocia (Browning, 1992).

Another famous Cappadocian was Digenes Acrites, the heroic leading character in the homonymous Byzantine novel. His father was an Arab emir and his mother the daughter of a distinguished Roman family, which is why he was fundamentally δι-γενής. This makes him a 'real' Cappadocian, for ethnic combination had been the rule in Cappadocia for a long time. Digenes was also a very independent landowner and warrior, who can almost be seen as a sovereign leader of Cappadocia, as though the Byzantine emperor had no real power there (Jeffreys, 1998). This may very well be the reflection of the real situation, where there was no real authority (either Greek or Turkish) but where people fell back to their local leaders – as they had done many times before in their history.

## **II.7. Conclusion**

The Cappadocians are a difficult people to pin down, but we have tried to do so in this paper nonetheless. The territory they inhabited was essential for the image that arose in later times: they were hardened farmers, ‘smelling like frost and snow’<sup>174</sup>. Their geographical position turned them into a crossroad between civilisations, ethnic and linguistic groups, and empires. There were various names to designate the people inhabiting the country, too. One of these nomenclatures was Λευκοσῦροι, ‘White Syrians’, a name that had both genetic and climatological origins, as we have seen.

We may perhaps state that the main feature that remained constant throughout the entire history of Cappadocia was ethnic hybridity and the meeting of different peoples. This mix of populations is something that characterized the area even from the very beginning, since we already find Hatti and Indo-Europeans living together. But even today this characteristic is still very present in the Cappadocian language, as it is a perfect reflexion of the syncretism between two peoples. It is therefore impossible to say who exactly ‘the’ Cappadocians were. The region has remained mostly Indo-European throughout its history, but there were definite contacts with Semitic groups as well, mostly the Assyrians, Aramaeans and Turks. Moreover, the cultural and linguistic influences were very often eastern as well. This is why the western point of view considered them to be oriental.

Their language has changed frequently through time, which has resulted into large gaps in history, of which we don’t know the contemporary language. We do know that they retained an accent till later times, which must have been a consequence of this unknown indigenous language. Perhaps further research into the linguistic origin of several names in the epigraphic sources may give us some indication as to which language they spoke during Greek and Roman times or to which family that language belonged.

The image of the Cappadocians in ancient times was one of stubborn, impudent and boorish people living in a wonderful country, that was highly sought after by the Romans and the Parthians. Their honour was restored from the fourth century onwards, however, and the bad image disappeared from literature. In these modern times, where ethnicity has become increasingly important for constituting

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<sup>174</sup> Libanius, *Epistularum Basilii et Libanii quod fertur commercium*, XV.1.2.

one's identity, the image of the ancient Cappadocians has gotten a rather nostalgic hue. This is the consequence of the modern way of thinking (since the rise of nationalism), but also of the Cappadocian diaspora. The Cappadocian identity has become one of the many identities and layers of identities for the descendants of the old Cappadocians. A reflexion of this is the saying written on the lighter that the visitors of Gavústima receive as a souvenir:

‘είμαι περήφανος που είμαι Έλληνας Ορθόδοξος Μιστιώτης Καππαδόκης Μικρασιάτης.’

(Janse, 2008: 129)

‘I am proud that I am Greek, orthodox, Mistiotis, Cappadocian and from Asia Minor.’

(translation: Janse, 2008, translated in English by the author)

In a certain way, modern day Cappadocians feel much more like ‘Cappadocians’ than their ancestors did.

***III. Appendix:***  
***Strabo's index,***  
***peoples of the Mediterranean***

# A.

## 1. Abii

There is some discussion as to whether the Abii should be seen as a mythical people or not. The etymology of their name (cf. *infra*) leads us to believe they are indeed an invention. Strabo, however, treats them like an actual *ethnos*.

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀβιοί. The Latin version is thus 'Abii', which is also the standard English name. Its etymology leads us back to ἄ-βίος, which means something like 'resourceless men' (literally 'without a living, without a life'). Strabo explains this by suggesting they live apart from their women and this is, of course, only half a life: hence ἄ-βίος.

### Geographical notes

They are always mentioned alongside the Scythians and Sarmatians (sometimes they are even equalized as all being the same), and must therefore be situated somewhere north of the Black Sea.

### Conditions of life

They are nomads who dwell in wagons and feed only on mare's milk. They excel in justice, even though (or maybe because) they live furthest away from all the rest of mankind.

### Other authors about the Abii

Homer mentions the Abii in his *Iliad*<sup>175</sup>: 'γαλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων'. This verse is cited by Strabo several times and seems to have been the prove (at least for him) that they really did exist. He also reasons that Homer didn't know the Scythians yet and simply gives them this name instead.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.3.2; VII.3.3; VII.3.6; VII.3.7; VII.3.9; XII.3.26

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<sup>175</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIII.6.

## **2. Acarnanians**

The Acarnanians were a Greek people. The Curetes were sometimes thought to have been a separate branch of this people.

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀκαρνανεῖς. The Latin version is 'Acarnanes', but the standard English name is 'Acarnanians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Acarnania, a region in the western parts of Greece. The Achelous River is one of its boundaries. Their neighbours to the east were the Aetolians, with whom they were constantly at war, quarrelling about the region Paracheloïtis.

### **History**

It is said the Taphii and Teleboae were the first people to inhabit this country. Their chief was supposedly Cephalus, who was appointed as a sovereign of the islands about Taphus and Acarnania by Amphitryon. According to Homer, a certain Lacedaemon, who was a follower of Icarius (the father of Penelope, wife of Odysseus) settled a colony there. Other versions say that Icarius, when he was banished from his home country, settled there himself.

They were once a strong people who firmly held their ground against the Macedonians and the Romans, but in Strabo's time they have been reduced to impotence because of their continual wars. They were clever enough, however, when the Romans conquered Greece, to trick them into giving them autonomy, by claiming that their people didn't have any part in the expedition against the ancestors of the Romans.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VIII.1.1; IX.4.11; X.2.19; X.2.23 – X.2.25; X.3.1

## **3. Achaeans**

The Achaeans were an Aeolic and thus Greek tribe.

## Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀχαιοί and the Latin version is 'Achai'. The standard English nomenclature is 'Achaeans'. A disambiguation is needed for this term. Homer used it to denominate all the Greek peoples as a collective, but the term wasn't used in that sense anymore in Strabo's time. It now denominated a branch of the Greeks who lived in the Peloponnesus. They got their name from their mythological founder Achaeus.

## Geographical notes

They gave their name to the region Achaea, in the northern Peloponnesus. This is where they lived during historical times, but they supposedly migrated from Laconia in the southern Peloponnesus.

## Migrations and history

In a distant prehistory, the Achaeans used to live in Phthiotis, an area in Thessaly. They are thus sometimes called 'Phthiotae'. But then they moved along with Pelops into the Peloponnesus and conquered Laconia. They inhabited Lacedaemon (Sparta) for a long time. This is the reason why the city Argos is sometimes called 'Achaean Argos'. But when the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus they were driven out of Laconia and moved to Peloponnesian Ionia (which in Strabo's time was called 'Achaea'). Legend says, however, they were persuaded by a friend of Orestes (called Tisamenus) to leave the country and move to Achaea. Whatever the truth is, in the process of conquering Achaea, they drove the Ionians who lived there out and back to Attica.

They were a very powerful race, who founded a lot of cities in Asia Minor and Pontus, of which only Tarentum is left in Strabo's time. The others used to be very famous, however. They also held the temple of Olympia for a certain period. Eventually they established the so-called Achaean League to withstand the Macedonian rule in Greece. But the League scattered and they finally fell under Roman rule.

## Constitution

The Achaeans were extremely powerful, even to the point of surpassing the Spartans. At first they lived under kings, but later they established a democracy. They were so famous for their constitutions that the Italiotes even borrowed their constitution from them.

## Citations in Strabo

I.2.28; I.3.21; II.5.31; VI.1.11; VI.1.15; VIII.1.2; VIII.2.2; VIII.3.33; VIII.5.4; VIII.5.5; VIII.6.18; VIII.7.1 – VIII.7.4; IX.2.42; IX.5.5; IX.5.9; XII.8.7; XIII.1.31; XIII.1.36; XIII.3.5; XIV.6.3

#### **4. Achaemenidae**

##### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this tribe is Ἀχαμενίδαι. The Latin version and the English name is 'Achaemenidae'.

##### Geographical notes

This tribe lived in Persis, an area that approximately encompassed present Iran.

##### Citations in Strabo

XV.3.1

#### **5. Aconites**

##### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀκώνιτες. The Latin version and standard English name is 'Aconites'.

##### Geographical notes

They lived in the mountains on the island Sardinia. They were cave-dwellers.

##### Citations in Strabo

V.2.7

#### **6. Acragantini**

##### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀκραγαντῖνοι. The Latin and standard English version is 'Acragantini'.  
An alternative name is 'Agrigentini'.

##### Geographical notes

Their emporium and main trade market lied approximately 20 miles from Heracleium, on the isle of Crete.



## Citations in Strabo

VI.2.1

### **7. Acridophagi**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀκριδοφάγοι. The etymology is most clear in this version: it literally means 'locust-eaters'. The Latin and standard English name is 'Acridophagi'.

#### Geographical notes

They live in a region in Ethiopia which is not further specified.

#### Physical information

They have a blacker skin and are shorter than the peoples that live around them. They also have the shortest life-span, since they only rarely reach the age of forty. According to Strabo, this is because they are infested by parasites.

#### Conditions of life

They live on locusts, which are driven into their region by a strong wind every spring-time. They cast smoking timbers into the ravines where the locusts are hidden and literally smoke them out. Sometimes they also pound the insects with salt and bake cakes out of them.

## Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.12

### **8. Adiabeni**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀδιαβηνοί. The Latin and standard English name is 'Adiabeni'. An alternative name is 'Saccopedes'.

#### Geographical notes

They lived in Adiabene, a small part of the Assyrian empire.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.1.9

## **9. Aedui**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name Strabo uses for this people is Αἰδουί, which is clearly the Greek transliteration of the Latin name 'Aedui'. Sometimes they are also called 'Haedui'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe who lived in the area that is today called Burgundy (France). The river Arar (today the Saone) divided them from the Sequani. The Helvetii were their southern neighbours. The city of Cabyllinum and the fortress Bibracte belonged to them.

### Roman rule

They were the first to enter into friendship with the Romans and are therefore even said to be related to them. It is this alliance with the Romans which spurred their enmity with the Sequani, who were great opponents of the Roman rule. They quarrelled over the river Arar and the tolls that had to be paid to pass it. In Strabo's time, however, all of them were under Roman control.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.1.11; IV.3.2; IV.3.4

## **10. Aegestani**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἰγεσταιοί. The Latin and standard English variant is 'Aegestani'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Sicily. Strabo calls them respectable, but they are by no means densely populated.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.2.1; VI.2.5

## **11.Aegialians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Αἰγιαλεῖς (from the singular Αἰγιαλεύς).

### **Geographical notes**

They are the Ionians who lived in the Aegialus (Peloponnesian Ionia) until the Achaeans came to drive them back into Attica. Ever since the region was called 'Achaea' instead.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VIII.6.10

## **12.Aeginetans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Αἰγινῆται. The Latin version is 'Aeginetae', but the standard English name is 'Aeginetans'. Sometimes they are also called Μυρμιδόνες ('ants'), because of their conditions of life (cf. *infra*).

### **Geographical notes**

As their name indicates, the Aeginetans are the inhabitants of the island Aegina, not far from the coast of Athens.

### **Conditions of life**

They earned their nickname Μυρμιδόνες because they excavated the earth like ants. And since they lived in a rocky region, they also spread soil over the rocks, so as to be able to till the ground. Most often they were employed as merchants, because their soil was so poor. This is where the phrase 'Aeginetan merchandise' comes from, which means 'petty wares'.

### **History**

The Aeginetans founded some colonies, some of them in Cydonia in Crete, others in the land of the Ombrici. They also shared in the same glory as the Athenians because of the victory at Salamis.

## Citations in Strabo

VIII.6.16; IX.1.9

## **13.Aegyptians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἰγύπτιοι. The Latin version is 'Aegyptii', but the standard English nomenclature is 'Aegyptians' or 'Egyptians'.

### Geographical notes

The Aegyptians lived in Egypt, as they still do today. There was an island of Aegyptians as well, also called 'the island of the fugitives', where those Aegyptians who had revolted from Psammeticus established a community. The location of this island is, however, unknown.

### History

They had a reputation for a long and civilised history. The regions they settled in have always been well-known to the ancients and they have always led a civic and cultivated life. According to Strabo, this is because they have divided their country well and have taken good care of its fortunes. They also divided the people in three classes: priests, soldiers and farmers. Their early kings were quite content with what they had in their own country and didn't import anything. They were prejudiced against all those who sailed the sea, especially the Greeks. But that changed eventually.

They have had colonial expeditions into Ethiopia and Colchis. They weren't very successful in their dealings with the Romans, however, since they were the ones who treacherously murdered Pompey the Great.

### Genealogy

They are regarded as the ancestors of the Judaeans. Moses is thus said to have been an Aegyptian priest, who went to Judaea because he disagreed with the fact that their gods were depicted as animals. In Strabo's time, some Aegyptians still lived in Judaea.

Some say they were kinsmen with the Colchians, perhaps because legend says they founded it as a colony (cf. *supra*).

### Habits and peculiarities

Their philosophers had wide renown, along with the Babylonians. They were the ones who invented geometry and learned it to the Greeks. Strabo says this is because the Nile confounded all the boundaries of their land every time it flooded, and therefore they needed to calculate them over and over again.

The Aegyptian women were supposedly very fertile and carried lots of children. It was also their custom to rear every child that was born and to circumcise the boys and excise the girls. These were the same practices as the ones the Jews had, and this is why they are thought to have been the ancestors of the Judaeans (cf. *supra*).

They had the habit of putting their ill ones out on the streets, so that passers-by might happen to know what to do about their illness.

The Aegyptians were no warriors and were therefore rather inclined to peace.

It was their custom to knead mud with their hand, but suet for bread with their feet. Also, beer was a very common drink for them, and they brewed it in a special way.

They used asphalt to embalm the bodies of their dead.

### Physical information

They had the same skin-color as the northern Indians, which was slightly tanned, but still lighter than that of the Aethiopians and southern Indians.

### Citations in Strabo

I.3.21; I.4.2; II.3.7; II.5.14; III.3.7; XI.2.17; XII.3.27; XV.1.13; XV.1.22; XVI.2.24; XVI.2.34; XVI.2.35; XVI.2.45; XVII.1.3; XVII.1.6; XVII.1.12; XVII.1.53; XVII.2.5

## **14.Aenianians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἰνιᾶνες. The Latin equivalent is 'Aenianes' and the English name is 'Aenianians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived at Mount Oeta, south of Phthiotis.

## History

They are said to have first lived at Dotium, near Mount Ossa in Thessaly. There, the Perrhaebians were their neighbours. But most of them were driven out by the Lapiths and they became predominant at Mount Oeta. Eventually, they were destroyed by the Aetolians and Athamanians.

## Other authors about the Aenianians

Homer calls them the 'Enienians' (Ενιῆνες) and still situates them on the Dotian Plain<sup>176</sup>.

## Citations in Strabo

I.3.21; IX.4.10; IX.4.11; IX.5.20; IX.5.22

## **15.Aeolians**

The Aeolians were a branch of the Greek peoples (next to the Ionians, Dorians and Achaeans<sup>177</sup>) and gave their name to one of the Greek dialects.

## Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἰολεῖς, from the singular Αἰολεύς. They got their name from their mythical ancestor Αἰολός. The English nomenclature is 'Aeolians'.

## Geographical notes

Strabo uses the name 'Aeolians' to indicate all the Greek peoples outside of the Corinthian isthmus, except for the Athenians, Megarians and Dorians. They were situated in Aetolia, but also in Asia Minor.

## History

They used to live in the Peloponnesus, but they were partly driven out, partly mixed up with the Ionians in the Aegialus and then the Dorians. They were also compelled to leave Thessaly, together with the Boeotians. Eventually, they went to live with the Aetolians and overthrew the Epeians of Elis in the process. They also destroyed the Aetolian city Olene and rehomed the city Pulene to higher ground, after which they changed its name to 'Proschium'. Some of them fought in the army of Penthius on Euboea, and therefore there are still Aeolians on Euboea in Strabo's time. They were also the ones to drive the Curetes out of Pleuronia.

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<sup>176</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.748.

<sup>177</sup> Even though the Achaeans and the Aeolians are sometimes considered to be the same people.

After the capture of Troy, they held the mastery in Asia Minor. They had colonies scattered all over the Trojan country and reigned over most of its coastline: the region was called the 'Aeolis'. It reached from the Hermes to the seacoast at Cyzicus. This colonisation preceded the Ionian one by no less than four generations. It is said that Orestes was the first to try.

The Aeolians are said to have driven out the people of Smyrna and taken the city. They also had cities on the Adramyttene Gulf.

### Habits and peculiarities

They had a certain month which they called 'Pornopion'. Strabo says that is the month when they performed sacrifices to Apollo Pornopion.

### Citations in Strabo

I.3.21; VIII.1.2; IX.3.12; X.1.8; X.2.6; X.3.4; X.3.6; XII.4.6; XIII.1.3; XIII.1.4; XIII.1.6; XIII.1.8; XIII.1.39; XIII.1.49; XIII.1.64; XIV.1.4

## **16.Aetnaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἰτναῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Aetnaei', but the standard English name is 'Aetnaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Sicily. The Catanaeans drove them out of their original location and they went to live a little further in a district called Inessa, which was from then on named 'Aetna'.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.2.3; VI.2.4

## **17.Aequi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἴκιοι, which is the Greek transliteration of the Latin name 'Aequi' or 'Aeci'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Latium. Their cities were located 'beyond' the Via Latina, along with the Volsci and Hernici. Another neighbour of theirs were the Curites (Κυρῖται).

### Citations in Strabo

V.3.2; V.3.4; V.3.10

## **18.Aethiopians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἰθίοπες, literally meaning 'people with the scorched faces'. The Latin version is 'Aethiopes' and the standard English name is 'Aethiopians' or 'Ethiopians'.

### Geographical notes

Strabo situates them south of Egypt. Their country ran in the same direction as Egypt and resembled it in position and with respect to the Nile, since it also got flooded according to the tides of the river. It was a narrow and long country. Because of the inundation of the Nile, it was fertile enough, but beyond the reach of this inundation it was desolate, parched and unfitted for habitation.

The country was split into two halves by the isthmus that is formed by the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. Thus Strabo always speaks of western and eastern Aethiopians. The people who lived more towards the south were not as numerous as the ones in the north, and they never assembled in one mass. The western Aethiopians were considered to be the last of the peoples that lived south of Carthage.

The metropolis of the Aethiopians was Meroe (Μερόη). The Megabari and Blemmyes were their neighbours and subjects.

### History

The Tartessians reported that, when the Aethiopians settled in Libya<sup>178</sup>, some of them penetrated far into the west to settle there. But most of them settled along the sea shores or along the Nile.

Sesostris the Aegyptian was the first one to subdue this people.

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<sup>178</sup> Libya is what we would call North-Africa, as opposed to Asia and Europe.



Once, when a part of the Roman force in Egypt had been withdrawn, they picked up the courage to attack their northern neighbours and they plundered Thebaïs and Syene. They also managed to capture Elephantine and Philae. Before Petronius could drive them away, they managed to enslave the inhabitants and pull down some statues of Caesar. Their queen at that time was Candace. Augustus pardoned them for this attack.

### Habits and peculiarities

Even though they bordered the Red Sea, they didn't use or navigate it at all.

In battle, they mostly used lances, bow and arrow. Their bows were four cubits long and made of wood. For protection, they wore oblong shield made of ox-hide. Their women were armed as well, most of whom had a copper ring through their lip.

They revered their kings as gods, but they mostly staid shut up at their home. Those persons who excelled in beauty, superior cattle-breeding, wealth or courage were appointed or elected as king. It was also their custom, whenever one of their kings was maimed or killed, that his closest relatives had to undergo the same thing.

They regarded their gods as immortal and the cause of everything, but they also worshipped their benefactors and royals like gods. The inhabitants of Meroe worshipped Heracles, Pan, Isis and another barbaric god. Some of the Aethiopians were considered to be atheists by the Romans, because they are said to hate the sun.

They casted their dead into the rivers, although some of them enclosed them in alabaster to keep them at home. Even others buried them around the temple, in coffins made of clay. The dead were the most sacred of all for them, and it was their custom to swear their oaths over their dead.

### Conditions of life

The Aethiopians mostly led a nomadic and resourceless life, because their country was so barren and the climate was unseasonable. They weren't numerous either, and not warlike, even though they were brought to be so by the ancient Aegyptians. They lived a hard life and went almost naked. When they did wear clothes, they wore sheep-skins, since their sheep had the same hair like that of goats and they thus had no wool. Some also wore girdles, loin-cloths or strands of woven hair. Their domestic animals were very small, just like themselves.

They lived on millet and barley, from which they also made a sort of drink. They didn't have any fruit trees, except date-palms.

### Physical information

The Aethiopians were not as robust as the Indians, but more 'dried up' by the heat of their climate. They were as dark skinned as the southern Indians, but darker than the Egyptians. This dark skin and woolly hair was, according to Strabo, the consequence of the scorching of the sun; not because the sun was closer to them than to any other people, but because it was more nearly in a perpendicular line with reference to them. This made the surface of their skin very dry and made their hair curly.

### Other authors about the Aethiopians

Homer says they live at the end of the world and mentions the isthmus that splits the country in half (cf. *supra*)<sup>179</sup>. Strabo, however, says Homer has never been there and is thus very ignorant about a lot of things. Hesiod mentioned them as well<sup>180</sup>.

### Citations in Strabo

I.1.6; I.2.24 – I.2.26; I.2.28; II.3.7; II.5.15; VII.3.6; VII.3.7; XII.3.27; XV.1.13; XV.1.24; XVI.4.4; XVI.4.17; XVI.4.27; XVII.1.2; XVII.1.5; XVII.1.53; XVII.1.54; XVII.2.1 – XVII.2.3

## **19.Aetolians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αἰτωλοί. They got this name from their mythological founder Αἰτολός. Their English name is 'Aetolians'.

### Geographical notes

The Aetolians must be situated in Aetolia, in western Greece. The Acarnanians were their neighbours, with whom they were in constant dispute about the country Paracheloitis.

### History

It is said they came into the Peloponnese with the Heracleidae (the Dorians) under Oxylus. There, they took up their abode with the Epeians, they enlarged Coele Elis and seized Pisatis and Olympia. In the fight with the Epeians over the city Elis, they decided for a single combat, since their armies were

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<sup>179</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, I.23.

<sup>180</sup> Hesiod, *Fragmenta*, 150.

evenly matched. The Aetolian candidate Pyraechmes used the sling, which was recently invented by the Aetolians, and won the match. They were ejected, however, by the Aeolians (cf. *supra*).

They colonised Temesa in Bruttium, Italy, but were driven out by the Brettii. The city Naupactus was also appointed to them by Philip of Macedonia. They later helped the Romans, however, when they wanted to capture Macedonia.

The Aetolians were once very powerful and even destroyed the Aenianians. They stood strong against the Macedonians and the Romans for a long time. In Strabo's time, however, they were exhausted and reduced to impotence by their continual wars.

### Genealogy

Strabo agrees with Ephorus on the kinship of the Aetolians with the Eleians.

### Other authors about the Aetolians

Homer speaks of them under one name, classing cities and not tribes, except the Curetes. Ephorus says they have never been subject to another people, but have remained untouched, because of the ruggedness of their country and their training in warfare.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.1.5; VIII.1.1; VIII.3.30; VIII.3.33; IX.3.12; IX.4.7; IX.4.11; IX.4.17; IX.4.18; IX.5.20; X.1.19; X.2.23; X.3.2; X.3.3

## **20.Agraeans (Aetolian)**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀγραιῶν. The Latin equivalent is 'Agreai' and the standard English name is 'Agraeans'. They are not to be confused with the Arabian Agraeans (cf. *infra*).

### Geographical notes

The Agraeans were an Aetolian tribe and must therefore be situated in Aetolia, more towards the south of the region.

### Citations in Strabo

X.2.1; X.2.5

## **21.Agraeans (Arabian)**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀγραῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Agrei' and the standard English name is 'Agraeans'. They are not to be confused with the Aetolian Agraeans (cf. *supra*).

### **Geographical notes**

Strabo denotes their position quite vaguely, somewhere in the eastern parts of Arabia.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XVI.4.2

## **22.Agri**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἄγριοι. The Latin and standard English name is 'Agri'.

### **Geographical notes**

The Agri were a tribe of the Maeotians and thus lived east of the Sea of Azov (Black Sea).

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.2.11

## **23.Agriadians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀγριάδες. The Latin equivalent is 'Agriades' and the English nomenclature 'Agriadians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived about the city of Elis and later became a part of the city as a separate community.

### Citations in Strabo

VIII.3.2

## **24.Agrianes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀγριᾶνες. The Latin and standard English name is 'Agrianes'.

### Geographical notes

They lived about Mount Rhodope, not far from Parorbelia (a district in Macedonia). The Triballi were their neighbours.

### History

They were attacked by the Scordisci, until their country became depopulated and was transformed into trackless forests. In Strabo's time, the Paeonians dwell in the country instead.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.1; VII.5.12; VII.fr.36; VII.fr.41

## **25.Agyllaei**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀγυλλᾶιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Agyllaei'. This name was an alternative for the 'Caeretanians', because their country was formerly called Agylla. Legend says that, when the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) waged war against them, one of them approached the city wall and asked them what the name of the city was. One of the Agyllaei who stood on the walls, instead of answering his question, mockingly saluted him 'χαῖρε'. That is why the Tyrrhenians changed the name of the country to Caerea after they conquered them; hence the 'Caeretanians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Latium, in the region Agylla (Caerea), about modern Cerveteri. Quite quickly, they belonged to Etruscan territory.

## Citations in Strabo

V.2.3

## **26.Albanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλβανοί. The Latin equivalent is 'Albani' and the English name is 'Albanians'. We need to make a distinction between two different peoples that can be indicated by this name. In a more "mythological" sense, it may refer to the inhabitants of the city Alba Longa. In a more ethnographic sense, it refers to a people in northern Asia Minor.

### Geographical notes

When we speak of the inhabitants of Alba Longa, we must obviously situate them in Italy.

However, Strabo locates the Asian people 'beyond Colchis' and says that Jason passed in this country when he was searching the Golden Fleece. They must be situated in between of the Caucasian Iberians and the Caspian Sea, with the Armenians as their southern neighbours.

### History

The inhabitants of Alba Longa were at first very friendly towards the Romans, because they spoke the same language and belonged to the same Latin stock. They married with the Romans quite often then. But later there erupted a war between them and the Romans destroyed their city and declared the inhabitants Roman citizens.

The Asian Albanians were conquered by the Romans as well. Every now and then, they attempted insurrections against their Roman rules, but Strabo blames a lack of Roman attention for their people for this. Generally speaking, they were an easily governed people according to him.

### Conditions of life

The Asian Albanians (who will solely be the subject of our discourse from here on) pursued a sort of shepherd life. Even though their country was fertile, they didn't cultivate it. They closely resembled the nomadic tribes of that region, but they were no savages like they were and were much less disposed to war.

### Habits and peculiarities

The Albanians were good tradesmen: simple in their dealings and not fraudulent. They didn't use coined money, but only traded their wares. As such, they also didn't really care about the exactness of weight or measure for their dealings, and they didn't know any number above one hundred. War, agriculture and government were also things they weren't familiar with. Whenever they were forced to defend themselves, however, they used javelins and bows.

They were always ruled by a king. Sometimes there was one king governing them all, sometimes there were several kings, each governing certain parts of their country.

They worshipped the Sun and the Moon, but the Moon was more important for them. The priest of the Moon was therefore a very powerful person, only the king had more power than him. Sometimes they sacrificed humans, by piercing them through the heart with a sacred javelin. The manner in which the victim fell down was then interpreted as an omen and afterwards the community trampled upon his body to purify themselves.

They paid the greatest respect to old age, and not just to their own family. Next to that, it was considered to be impious to mention the deceased or to show any other concern for them. Their money was buried with them, and so the living lived in poverty.

### Citations in Strabo

V.3.4; VI.4.2; XI.4.1 – XI.4.4; XI.4.6 – XI.4.8; XI.14.15

## **27.Albienses**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλβιᾶς, from the singular Ἀλβιεύς. The Latin equivalent and standard English name is 'Albienses'.

### Geographical notes

The Albienses must be situated in the northern part of the Alps, in what is today part of France. The 'plateau d'Albion' has received its name from these people.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.4

## **28.Albioeci**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλβίουκοι. The Latin name is 'Albici' or 'Albioeci', the latter of which is also the English name.

### **Geographical notes**

They are mentioned alongside the Albienses (cf. *supra*) and must likewise be situated in the French Alps.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.6.4

## **29.Alexandrians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, from the singular Ἀλεξανδρεύς. The Latin version is 'Alexandrii' and the English nomenclature is 'Alexandrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

The Alexandrians were the inhabitants of the city Alexandria in Egypt. They existed out of three classes: the native Aegyptians, the Greek Alexandrians and the mercenary class.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XVII.1.12

## **30.Allobroges**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλλόβριγες. The Latin variant and English standard name is 'Allobroges'.



### Geographical notes

The Allobroges are to be situated in France, between the rivers Rhone and Isère. They used to be very warlike, but they were much more subdued in Strabo's time, since they had even built a city of considerable importance: Vienna. It was their metropolis and was built upon the Rhone.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.1.11; IV.3.4

## **31.Allotrigans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλλότριγες. The Latin version is 'Allotriges' and the English nomenclature 'Allotrigans'.

### Geographical notes

They are an Iberian tribe and must therefore be situated on the Iberian peninsula. However, Strabo doesn't find them important and thus he says nothing more about them.

### Citations in Strabo

III.3.7

## **32.Alopeconnesians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλωπεκοννήσιοι. The Latin version is 'Alopeconnesii' and the English standard name 'Alopeconnesians'.

### Geographical notes

The Alopeconnesians were a Thracian people, who founded the city Aenus on the Gulf of Melas (today the Gulf of Saros).

### Citations in Strabo

VII.fr.51(52)

### **33.Amardi**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμαρδοί. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Amardi'. Sometimes they are also called 'Mardi'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Asia Minor, in the northern parts of the Taurus mountain range.

#### **Conditions of life**

The country they inhabited was cold and rugged, and therefore they were mostly migrant. They were also mountaineers and predators.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.7.1; XI.8.1; XI.13.3

### **34.Amathusians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμαθούσιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Amathusii' and the English name is 'Amathusians'. This is a different name for the Cyprians.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were located on the island of Cyprus.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

VIII.3.8

### **35.Amazons**

Even though Strabo mentions the Amazons as one of the peoples about the Mediterranean, he is very sceptic about them. He says that people don't seem to make a difference between historical facts and mythology when it comes to the Amazons. This implies that he does believe there once was an ethnic group 'Amazons', but he doesn't believe everything that is told about them. For example, he wonders

about how a community could be organized without men, and how such a community could be a martial one and send out expeditions. Nonetheless, he does treat them as a historical ethnic group and not merely as a myth.

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμαζόνες. The etymology supposedly leads back to ἄ-μαζον, which means 'no breast', referring to the legendary anecdote that Amazons seared off one of their breasts (cf. *infra*). The Latin version is 'Amazones' and the standard English name is 'Amazons'.

### Geographical notes

There is quite some disagreement about the supposed geographical position of the Amazons. Legend has it that they gave their names to a lot of places and tombs (eg. Ephesus, Smyrna<sup>181</sup>, Cyme, Myrina<sup>182</sup>, etc.), but in Strabo's time they have utterly disappeared so he is not sure where exactly to locate them.

Mostly, they are said to have lived in the mountains north of Albania. The Scythian tribes the Gelae and the Legae were thus said to live in between of the Albanians on one side and the Amazons on the other. Others, however, say they bordered upon the Gargarians, at the foot of the Caucasian Mountains. Yet other authors situate them between Mysia, Caria and Lydia, somewhere close to Cyme.

### History

They were once attacked by the king of Troy, Priam, and before that even by Bellerophontes. According to Strabo, this is the reason why they didn't like the Trojans very much at first, because they had fought against them as an ally of the Phrygians. But since there was no other underlying cause for their hatred, they became allies anyway and the help of the Amazons in the Trojan War is legendary.

The Gargarians are said to have attacked them, together with the Thracians and the Euboeans. But when nobody could win, they made a pact and lived together in peace.

Some stories say that Thalestra, who was the Amazon queen at a certain point, had intercourse with Alexander the Great.

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<sup>181</sup> Smyrna was named after the Amazon who captured Ephesus. This is also why certain Ephesians are called Sisyrbidae, after Sisyrbē, one of the Amazons under Smyrna's leadership.

<sup>182</sup> Myrina was the name of an Amazon who was buried on the Trojan plain. There was a hill there that was said to have been her tomb.

### Conditions of life

There are some recurring elements about their conditions of life that everybody seems to agree upon. For example, they are always said to live completely to themselves. They performed all such manly work such as ploughing, pasturing cattle and particularly training horses, with their own hands. The strongest of them also spent much of their time hunting and practising warlike exercises.

### Habits and peculiarities

Legend has it that they seared off their right breast when they were children, so that they were better able to use their right arm for throwing the javelin. But they also frequently used the bow and the *sagaris* (a kind of sword). They made helmets, coverings for their bodies and girdles of the skins of wild animals.

In spring there were two special months during which they would go up into the mountains that separated them from the Gargarians<sup>183</sup>, where they sacrificed together with their neighbours and had intercourse with them in order to sear offspring. The females that were thus born, were retained to be trained as Amazons. The males were taken to the Gargarians, for them to rear.

### Other authors about the Amazons

Homer mentions them repeatedly, since they fought in the Trojan War. Pindar says that the Amazons ‘swayed a Syrian army that reached afar with their spears’, indicating that they lived in Themiscyra. Palaephatus says they used to live in Alope, but later in Zeleia.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.5.1 – XI.5.4; XII.3.9; XII.3.21 – XII.3.24; XII.3.27; XII.8.6; XIII.3.6; XIV.1.4

## **36.Ambiani**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμβιάνοι. The Latin and English variant is ‘Ambiani’.

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<sup>183</sup> Strabo here assumes that the Amazons are situated nearby the Gargarians, cf. *supra*.

### Geographical notes

The lived in Gallia Belgica, close to the Menapii and the sea. The river Somme ran through their country. The road that led from Lugdunum (Lyon) to the sea passed through their territory as well.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.3.5; IV.6.11

## **37.Ambrones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμβρωνες. The Latin and standard English version is 'Ambrones'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Germania.

### History

Marius fought them and had the Massiliotes as allies against them.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.1.8

## **38.Ambryseans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμβρυσεῖς, from the singular Ἀμβρυσεύς. The English standard name is 'Ambryseans'.

### Geographical notes

They must be situated in Boeotia, next to their neighbours, the Panopeis and the Daulieis.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.3.16

### **39.Amiseni**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμισηνοί. The Latin and English name is 'Amiseni.'

#### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Asia Minor, in the territory of the 'White Syrians' (Cappadocians, cf. *infra*). They inhabited a part of the country Gazelonitis.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

XII.3.9; XII.3.13

### **40.Amphaxites**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμφαξιῖται or Παίονες. The Latin and English version is 'Amphaxites'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were called 'Amphaxites' because they lived on both sides of the river Axion (ἄμφ-αξιον). Their main city was called Amphaxion.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.fr.11; VII.fr.11b

### **41.Amphilocheians**

They were an Epeirotic tribe. Strabo calls them a barbarian people.

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμφίλοχοι. They are said to be called after Amphilocheus, the brother of Diomedes. The Latin version is 'Amphilochei' and the standard English name is 'Amphilocheians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Argos Amphilochium, north of the Acarnanians. The Thesproti, Cassopaei, Molotti and Athamanes were their neighbours, and they didn't live far from the Aetolians.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.1; VII.7.7; VII.7.8; IX.5.1; X.2.1

## **42.Amphiscians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμφίσκιοι. They have received this name because, at midday, the shadows in their country first fall to one side and then to the other of objects (ἀμφι-σκιοι). This of course implies that the sun would stand perpendicular to the earth. The Latin name is 'Amphiscii' and the English standard variant 'Amphiscians'.

### Geographical notes

They are located in the area of the equator, but Strabo keeps in vague.

### Citations in Strabo

II.5.37; II.5.43

## **43.Amphissians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμφισσεῖς, from the singular Ἀμφισσεύς. The English standard name is 'Amphissians'.

### Genealogy

They belonged to the people of the Ozolians Locrians, a Greek people.

### Geographical notes

They are situated in the Peloponnesus. They restored the city Crisa and cultivated the sacred plain that the Amphicytons<sup>184</sup> had consecrated. But they were punished by the Amphictyons and they had to give the plain back to the gods.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.3.4

## **44.Amycteres**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμύκτηρες. The Latin and English variant is 'Amycteres'.

### Geographical notes

They are vaguely situated somewhere in India by Strabo.

### Conditions of life

They ate everything, even raw meat. They never reached very old age.

### Physical appearance

Their upper lip protruded more than their lower.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.1.57

## **45.Amythaonides**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμυθαονίδαι. The Latin version is 'Amythaonidae' but the standard English nomenclature is 'Amythaonides'.

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<sup>184</sup> The Amphictyons were an ancient religious association of several Greek tribes, who protected Delphi and its sacred areas.



### Geographical notes

They were migrants from Pisatis and Triphylia who went to live in Argos.

### Citations in Strabo

VIII.6.10

## **46.Anariacae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀναριάκαι. The Latin and English version is 'Anariacae'.

### Geographical notes

They lived along the coast of the Caspian Sea. Their neighbours were the Amardi, Hyrcani, Vitii, Cadusii and Gelae. They also had a city there, called Anariacae.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.6.1; XI.7.1; XI.8.8

## **47.Andizitii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀνδιζήτιοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Andizitii'.

### Geographical position

They were a tribe of the Pannonians and must therefore be situated in Pannonia (the Balkan).

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.3

## **48.Andrians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀνδριοί. The Latin name is 'Andrii' but the English standard version is 'Andrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the isle Andrus (Cyclades). They also founded the city Acanthus on the isthmus of Mount Athos, after which the Gulf was sometimes called the Acanthian Gulf instead.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.fr.31

## **49.Antandrians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀντάνδριοι. The Latin version is 'Antandrii' and the English name is 'Antandrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived along the coast of Troas in the city Antandrus, in Asia Minor.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They superintended the temple of Astyrene Artemis in Astyra, along with the holy rites for this goddess.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XIII.1.51; XIII.1.65

## **50.Antiocheians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀντιοχεῖς, from the singular Ἀντιοχεύς. The English name is 'Antiocheians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Antiochia, in southern Asia Minor.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They worshipped Triptolemus as a hero. Next to that, they also held general festivals in a grove nearby Daphne, in honour of Apollo and Artemis.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XVI.2.5; XVI.2.6

## **51.Aonians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἄωνες. The Latin name is 'Aones' but the English standard nomenclature is 'Aonians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a barbarian people, who inhabited Boeotia in earlier times (before the Greeks invaded the land).

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.2.3

## **52.Aorsi**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀορσοί. The Latin and English variant is 'Aorsi'.

### Geographical notes

They are mentioned alongside the Sarmatians and the Scythians, and were thus situated 'north of the Oceanus'. They lived alongside the river Tanaïs.

### History

There were the 'upper' and 'lower' Aorsi, the latter of whom were most likely fugitives from the first. Spadines was once the king of the 'lower' Aorsi and he could send 200,000 horsemen into battle when they fought against Pharnaces, who held the Bosphorus. However, the 'upper' Aorsi sent a larger number still, because they owned more land (and were thus richer).

### Citations in Strabo

XI.2.1; XI.5.8

## **53.Apameians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀπαμεῖς, from the singular Ἀπαμεύς. The English variant is 'Apameians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the Seleucid city Apamea (Ἀπαμεία), which is to be situated in Syria, along the river Orontes.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.2.7

## **54.Aparni**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀπαρνοί. The Latin and English variant is 'Aparni'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Daae (Δάαι), who lived along the river Ochus (today the Panj River). They were the tribe of the Daäe that lived closest towards the Caspian Sea and thus to the west.

### History

The Aparni once assisted the Scythian leader Arsaces, when he wanted to invade Parthia.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.8.2; XI.9.2

## **55.Apasiacae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀπασιάκαι. The Latin and English version is 'Apasiacae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Scythian tribe and lived between the rivers Oxus and Tanaïs.

### History

They received the fugitive kings of the Parthians, Arsaces, into their country when he fled from Seleucus Callinicus.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.8.8

## **56.Aphamistae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀφαιμῖται. The Latin and standard English variant is 'Aphamistae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a servile tribe, located on the island of Crete.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.1.34

## **57.Aphneii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀφνειοί. The Latin and English version is 'Aphneii'. They are thought to have been named after Lake Aphnitis.

### Geographical notes

They were a Lycian tribe and must therefore be situated in Asia Minor. The foot of Mount Ida was their abode. Lake Aphnitis, after which the tribe was called, is the same lake as Lake Dascylitis.

### Other authors about the Aphneii

Homer mentions these people as being 'Trojans'. They fought in the Trojan War under the command of Pandarus<sup>185</sup>.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.7; XIII.1.9

## **58.Appaïtae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀππαῖται. The Latin and English version is 'Appaitae' or 'Appaïtae'. They were formerly called 'Cercitae' (Κερκῖται).

### Geographical notes

They lived in a region not far from Armenia Secunda and Colchis, with Mount Scydises stretching through their country. The Tibareni, Chaldaei and Sanni were their neighbours.

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<sup>185</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II. 824.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.3.18

## **59.Apuli**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀπουλοί. The Latin and English nomenclature is 'Apuli'. They are also called 'Daunians' by the Greeks.

### Geographical notes

They were a Dacian tribe, situated somewhere in today's Transsylvania. Teanum was a city of theirs.

### Citations in Strabo

V.4.2

## **60.Aquitanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀκυιτανοί, which is clearly the Greek transliteration of the Latin 'Aquitani'. The standard English name is 'Aquitanians'.

### Genealogy

They were considered to be one of the three main tribes in Celtica Transalpina, next to the Celtae (or Galatae) and the Belgae. Their name encompassed more than twenty separate tribes (ἔθνη), all of which Strabo considers to be small and rather obscure. Some of these were: the Elui, the Vellaei, the Averni, the Lemovices, the Petrocorii, the Nitiobriges, the Cadurci, the Santoni, the Pictones, the Ruteni and the Gabales. The Bituriges were the only tribe of Celts that lived amongst the Aquitanians.

### Geographical notes

The Aquitanians roughly inhabited the region of southern-west France. Their country was bounded by the river Garonne on one side and the Pyrenees by the other. Some of them dwelled in the northern Pyrenees and the Cevennes Mountains, but most lived by the ocean. The soil in the mountain regions

was really good, but the sandy coast only produced millet and was barren of fruit. The Tectosages were one of their neighbours.

### Habits and peculiarities

They differed profoundly from the Celts (Galatae) and Belgae in their habits, language and governing system. In all these aspects they rather resembled the Iberians instead.

### History

The Averni were a very famous tribe of the Aquitanians, mostly because of their celebrated king Vercingetorix. They were a tribe along the Loire who were fierce opponents of the Romans. Under Caesar, they were all subdued and Vercingetorix was killed. After this, some of them even received the 'Roman right'.

### Physical appearance

They didn't look much like the Celts (Galatae), even though it is not very clear what Strabo means with this. Possibly they had a slightly darker skin and darker hair.

### Other authors about the Aquitanians

Caesar is a very important source about the Aquitanians, mostly in his 'Commentarii de Bello Gallico'. He uses approximately the same distinction between the Aquitanians, the Belgae and the Celts as Strabo does.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.1.1; IV.2.1

## **61.Arabians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀραβες. The Latin version is 'Arabes', but the English standard name is 'Arabians'.



### Geographical notes

The Arabians were situated in the Arabian Peninsula, to the south-west of the Chaldaeans and the Babylonians. Some of their tribes also inhabited Judaea. The Arabian Gulf separated them from the Troglodytes and their desert was situated in front of Maecene (Μακρίνη).

### Conditions of life

Strabo doesn't consider them as civilised as the Syrians. They wore animal skins and lived on dates from the palm trees. They built huts in trees to live and sleep in, so that they would be safe from wild animals. Those who lived in the mountains on the Massyas Plain, however, were robbers, who had strongholds as bases for their robbery operations.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were famously rich because of their trade. Some of their chieftains preferred to heed to the Romans, others to the Parthians instead, so their loyalty was always shifting. Certain Arabians lived in the mountains in Syria, in deep-mouthed caves, and robbed the merchants that came from and went to Arabia Felix.

### History

Some Arabians are said to have crossed the Aegean Sea together with Cadmus, and have settled in Euboea.

They were the only people of the earth who didn't send ambassador to Alexander the Great when he conquered the eastern world.

Because Emperor Augustus had heard that they were so wealthy and that they sold aromatics and the most valuable stones, but that they never expended the money they got for this with outsiders, he wanted to either befriend or subject them. He sent Aelius Gallus there to explore the nature of the country and its inhabitants. Syllaeus, the minister of the Nabataeans, promised to help him on this endeavour, but he was treacherous and purposely led him wrong on every turn. For example, he persuaded him to build boats (as a gift for the Arabians?), while the Arabians weren't good warriors and they were even worse warriors at sea than at land.

### Physical appearance

Physically, the Arabians resembled the Armenians and the Syrians.

### Other authors about the Arabians

They were unknown to Homer, even though some say that the Homeric Erebbians are the same people as them. Artimidorus described them at length and discussed the fertility of the palm trees in their country.

### Citations in Strabo

I.2.32; I.2.34; VII.3.6; X.1.8; XVI.1.6; XVI.1.8; XVI.1.11; XVI.1.27; XVI.2.1; XVI.2.18; XVI.2.20; XVI.2.34; XVI.4.1; XVI.4.18; XVI.4.22; XVI.4.27

## **62.Arachoti**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀραχωτοί. The Latin and English variant is 'Arachoti'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of Arachosia, a former satrapy of the Persian, Seleucid and Parthian empire. The river Indus was a boundary of their land. The country of the Bactrians bordered on theirs and was parallel to it. The Drangae and Paropamisadae were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.8.8; XV.2.8; XV.2.10

## **63.Aradians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀράδιοι. The Latin version is 'Aradii' and the English standard name 'Aradians'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Phoenicia, Asia Minor. Some of them lived in Europe, but they were considered to be colonists from the Asian ones.

### Constitution

In ancient times they were governed by kings, just like all Phoenician cities. But then they were reduced to subjects, first by the Persian, then the Macedonians (under Alexander the Great) and finally by the Romans. During the period of the Diadochi, they befriended the Syrian Hellenistic kings and subjected themselves to them. Most of all, they supported Seleucus Callinicus, and as a reward they achieved the right to receive refugees from the kingdom into their territory. These refugees were mostly important men who knew important things, and because of this the Aradians have prospered greatly.

### Habits and particularities

They were a prudent and industrious people, who were very successful in their maritime affairs and prospered greatly because of this. They navigated the sea, but also the river Lycus and Jordan with heavy vessels.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.2.12; XVI.2.14; XVI.2.16; XVI.4.27

## **64.Arambians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀραμῖται. The Latin version is 'Arambi' and the English nomenclature is 'Arambians'. Sometimes they are called 'Erembians' as well.

### Geographical notes

They are mentioned as one of the three great Arabian tribes and are therefore situated in Arabia.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.27

## **65.Aramaeans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀραμαῖοι or Ἀραμμαῖοι. The Latin variant is 'Aramaei' and the English name is 'Aramaeans', 'Arammaeans', 'Arameans' or 'Arimaeans'. Sometimes they are equalled with the 'Arimi'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were another one of the three Arabian tribes, but Strabo situates them in Syria instead of the Arabian Peninsula.

### **Physical appearance**

They strongly resembled the Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians and Arians. Some believed they were Syrians instead.

### **Citations in Strabo**

I.2.34; XIII.4.6; XVI.4.27

## **66.Arbies**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρβίες. The Latin and English version is 'Arbies'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of Ariana (Ἀρειανή) or Aria, a province in the Persian Achaemenid empire, which was situated in today's north-western Afghanistan.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XV.2.1

## **67.Arcadians**

The Arcadians were a Greek tribe and were reputed to be the most ancient tribe of all Greeks.

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρκάδες. The Latin equivalent is 'Arcades' and the English standard name is 'Arcadians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the mountainous country in the central Peloponnesus. Some assume that they belonged to the Triphylia (the 'three tribes'), an ancient (compound) tribe who lived on a stretch of land in the central Peloponnesus.

### History

They were strong enough to war with the Pylians during the Bronze Age. However, the Dorians took much of their land when they conquered parts of the Peloponnesus and drove them back into the mountains. Some of them are thought to have been admitted in the land of the Peucetians (in Apulia, today's southern Italy) after this. The ones who stayed in Greece sided with the Messenians in their war against the Dorians. They appointed Aristocrates, the king of Orchomenus, as their general in this fight, but they lost.

### Conditions of life

They were mountaineers and, since they hadn't had a share in the allotments of territories by the Dorians when they conquered the Peloponnesus, they didn't own much land.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were in charge of the priesthood of Heleian Artemis in Laconia.

They pronounced the word *berethra* (from βερέθρον, 'pits') as *zerethra*.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.3.8; VIII.1.2; VIII.3.3; VIII.3.21; VIII.3.25; VIII.3.30; VIII.4.10; VIII.8.1; VIII.8.4

## **68. Ardeatae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρδεᾶται. The Latin and English variant is 'Ardeatae'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Latium (Italy), on marshy and unhealthy land.

### Citations in Strabo

V.3.5

## **69.Ardiaei**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρδιαῖοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Ardiaei'. In later times they were called 'Vardiaei' instead (Οὐαρδιαῖοι).

### Geographical notes

They lived in Dalmatia, on the Illyrian coast, south of Paeonia. The river Naron flowed through their neighbourhood and they lived close by the Daorizi, the Auriatae and the Pleraei. The island Paros (or Pharos) was not far from their shore either.

### History

In earlier times they used to be continually at war with the Auriatae over the salt-works on their common frontier. In Strabo's time, however, they were entirely reduced and destroyed by the Romans.

### Conditions of life

They used to pester the seas with piracy and lived mostly from this activity. However, they were pushed back by the Romans into the interior of their land, where they were forced to till the soil for survival. But since their country was very rough and poor, the tribe has been completely ruined.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.3; VII.5.5; VII.5.6; VII.5.10; VII.5.11; VII.fr.4

## **70.Argeadae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀργεᾶδαι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Argeadae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Thracian tribe and must therefore be situated in today's eastern Balkan. They were said to have been the most powerful of all the other Thracian tribes. Amongst others, Abydon on the river Axios, a place called Amydon by Homer, was destroyed by them.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.fr.11; VII.fr.20

## **71.Argives**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀργεῖοι. The Latin version is 'Argivi' and English variant is 'Argives'. Strabo warns us, however, that the Homeric Argives were not the same ones as the Argives in his own time, probably because in Homer's time the term was applied much more broadly.

### Geographical notes

The Argives were the inhabitants of the ancient city Argos, in the Peloponnesus.

### History and colonisations

They were said to have joined Triptolemus when he was questing to find Io, who had disappeared in Tyrus. Along their journeys, they founded Tarsus in Cilicia. During their heydays, they were so powerful that they ruled over all of their neighbouring cities, many of which they destroyed because of their disobedience.

Just like the Arcadians, they were allies of the Messenians when they fought their war against the Dorians, but they lost. Sometime later, they fought with the Spartans again, because of a dispute about Thyraea, but once again the Spartans won.

They were the first to colonize the island Aegina. They are also said to have founded the city Tralleis in Asia Minor and Aspendus in Pamphylia. After the battle of Salamis and the defeat of the Persians, they utterly destroyed the old city Mycenae and divided the land among themselves.

They didn't allow Pyrrhus of Epirus into their city. Legend has it that, when he tried to, an Argive woman threw a roof tile upon his head and he died. Later, they joined the Achaean League, but eventually they came under Roman dominion.

### Citations in Strabo

I.2.28; I.4.7; VIII.4.10; VIII.6.7; VIII.6.1; VIII.6.14; VIII.6.16 – VIII.6.19; XIV.1.42; XIV.4.2; XIV.5.12; XVI.2.5

## **72.Argyripenni**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀργυριπίνιοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Argyrippeni'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Greek people in Apulia, southern Italy. Their metropolis was Argyrippa (supposedly from Argos Hippium) and was later called Arpi. Their port was Salapia, later called Salpi.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.3.9

## **73.Argyrusci**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀργυρούσκοι, which is clearly the Greek transliteration of the Latin 'Argyrusci'.

### Geographical notes

They were one of the Italic peoples in Latium, but were very soon overrun by Rome.

### Citations in Strabo

V.3.4

## **74.Arians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀριανοί. The Latin equivalent is 'Ariani' and the English standard name is 'Arians'. They are not to be confused with the Arii (Ἀριοί).



### Geographical notes

They were an Asian people, situated in Mesopotamia. The Syrians, Armenians, Arammaeans and Arabians were their neighbours.

### Physical appearance

They greatly resembled the Assyrians, Arammaeans, Armenians, Syrians and Arabians.

### Other authors about the Arians

Eratosthenes calls them a refined people.

### Citations in Strabo

I.2.34; I.4.9

## **75.Arii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀριοί. The Latin and English version is 'Arii'. Their name greatly resembles that of the Arians, but Strabo distinctly uses two different names: Ἀριανοί and Ἀριοί.

### Geographical position

They must be situated along the river Indus. The Arachoti, Gedrosii, Drangae and Paropamisadae were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.2.9

## **76.Arimaspian**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀριμασποί. The Latin version is 'Arimaspi' and the English standard nomenclature is 'Arimaspian'.

### Geographical notes

They were one of the Scythian tribes, who lived north of the Black Sea, the river Ister (Danube) and the Adriatic Sea.

### Physical appearance

Strabo says they were one-eyed (μονόμματος) and this might be on whom Homer inspired himself to invent the Cyclopes.

### Citations in Strabo

I.2.10; XI.6.2

## **77.Arimi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἄριμοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Arimi'. Sometimes they are equalled with the Arammaeans (cf. *supra*), but that is not entirely certain.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the so-called 'Catacecaumene Ge' (Κατακεκαυμένη γῆ), the 'burnt earth'. It was called so because there grew no trees and the whole region was volcanic and covered in ashes. Strabo situates this country in Asia Minor, somewhere in Mysia or Lydia, along the river Orontes. Some say the Catacecaumene Ge is Phrygia.

### Other authors about the Arimi

They are mentioned by Homer<sup>186</sup>, but he doesn't say to which tribe they belonged. The river Orontes is also the setting of a myth about these people (and their king Arimus) and about Typhon. Typhon would then be the cause of the conflagration of their country.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.3.27; XII.8.19; XIII.4.6; XVI.2.7

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<sup>186</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.783.

## **78.Armenians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρμένιοι. The Latin variant is 'Armenii' and the English standard name is 'Armenians.'

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in the mountainous area of northern Asia Minor, on 'our' side of the Taurus range. They also held part of the Moschian country and in ancient times they regularly plundered the Median Empire. Much of Mesopotamia was in their control and they were mighty enough to oppress the surrounding peoples. The Gordyaeans, for example, were held in subjection by them.

### **History**

They once held the supreme mastery in their region, and they seized whole of the country outside the Taurus (so north-west of the Taurus) as far as Phoenicia. They were one of the three great tribes of that part of the world, next to the Medes and the Babylonians. These three continuously fought amongst each other, until the Parthians came and subdued all, except the Armenians. They could not be overcome by force.

In Strabo's time they (partly) belonged to the Roman Empire and were excellent subjects, who only required the presence of some good men to lead them. However, sometimes the Romans neglected them and then they did try to revolt every now and then.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They were used to fighting on foot and on horseback, both in light and full armour. Most of their habits were the same as those of the Medes, because their countries were very similar. However, the Medes are considered to have been the originators of these habits.

Their religious rites were still the Persian rites, which they kept in honour, especially those of the goddess Anaitis. They built temples for her, of which the one in Acilisene is most famous, where male and female slaves were dedicated to her. The most illustrious Armenians consecrated their maiden daughters to this goddess, so that they could be prostituted in her temple before they were wedded off.

### **Physical appearance**

They strongly resembled the Syrians and Arabians.

### Citations in Strabo

I.2.34; II.5.32; VI.4.2; XI.2.18; XI.4.4; XI.13.2; XI.13.9; XI.14.16; XII.3.37; XIV.5.2; XVI.1.19; XVI.1.24; XVI.1.16

## **79.Arnaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρναῖοι. The Latin version is 'Arnaei' and the English name is 'Arnaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Thessaly, but when the Phoenicians under Cadmus came there, they formed one group with them and moved southwards to Boeotia.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.2.3

## **80.Arrechi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρρηχοί. The Latin and English version is 'Arrechi'.

### Genealogy

They were one of the tribes of the Maeotians.

### Geographical notes

They lived on the east coast of the so-called 'Maeotian swamp'. This was the name given to the several swamps at the mouth of the river Tanaïs, where it empties into the Sea of Azov.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.2.11

## **81.Artabrians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρταβροί, Ἀροτρέβαι or Ἀροτρέβες. The Latin name is 'Artabri' or 'Arotrebae', but the English standard name is 'Artabrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Celtic tribe, living in the north-western corner of the Iberian Peninsula. Cape Nerium (today Cape Finisterre) was nearby their territory. Their cities were quite densely populated.

### **Citations in Strabo**

II.5.15; III.3.5

## **82.Arvacans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀρουάκοι, which is clearly the transliteration of the Latin 'Arvaci' or 'Arevaci'. The English nomenclature is 'Arvacans'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Celtiberic tribe, situated in today's central-east Spain, near the sources of the river Tagus. Strabo even calls them the most powerful of the Celtiberians. The Carpetani were their neighbours. Numantia was their most renowned city, but they also had Segeda and Pallantia.

### **History**

They waged a twenty-year long war against the Romans, during which they destroyed many Roman armies and displayed their courage. Eventually, however, they got caught in their city Numantia and were besieged for a long time. They bore their famine with a great constancy, until there were too little of them left and they had to surrender.

### **Citations in Strabo**

III.4.13

### **83.Arverni**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀουέρνοι, which clearly is the Greek transliteration of the Latin 'Arverni'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were a Celtic tribe, more specifically an Aquitanian tribe, who lived in Aquitania in southern France. The river Liger (Loire) flowed through their country. They were one of the most renowned tribes nearby Lugdunum and several peoples belonged to their territory, for example the Vellavi.

#### **History**

Once, they were very powerful and expanded their domain as far as Narbo and the boundaries of Massiliotis. Certain tribes by the Pyrenees even fell under their command. They often fought the Romans, amongst others during the war of Vercingetorix against Caesar. Eventually, like all others, they were defeated and annexed to the Roman Empire.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.1.14; IV.2.2; IV.2.3; IV.3.4; IV.4.3

### **84.Asbystians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀσβύστες. The Latin variant is 'Asbystes' and the standard English name is 'Asbystians'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Libya, in the area of Cyrene and Lake Tritonis. Strabo situates them not far from Carthage.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

II.5.33

## **85.Asii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀσίοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Asii'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Scythian tribe, who (as their name indicates) lived in Asia. Strabo doesn't locate them any more specifically.

### **History**

They helped to take the region Bactriana (today's north-eastern Afghanistan) away from the Greeks.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.8.2

## **86.Aspurgiani**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀσπουργιανοί. The Latin and English version is 'Aspurgiani'.

### **Geographical position**

They were a tribe of the Maeotians and must thus be situated about today's Sea of Azov. They lived in between of the cities Phanagoria (Φαναγόρεια) and Gorgippia (formerly called Sindica).

### **History**

King Polemon once attacked them under the pretence of friendship. They managed to capture him alive and they eventually killed him.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.2.11; XII.3.29

## **87.Assyrians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀσσύριοι. The Latin version is 'Assyrii' and the standard English name 'Assyrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

It is not entirely certain which people Strabo designates with this, since the Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian Empire were but a distant memory in his days. He situates Assyria contiguous to Persia and Susiana and in fact equals it with Babylonia.

### **Physical appearance**

They strongly resembled the Armenians, Syrians, Arabians, Arammaeans and Arians.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They revered the Chaldaean philosophers.

### **Citations in Strabo**

I.2.34; XVI.2.39

## **88.Astaceni**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀστακηνοί. The Latin and English version is 'Astaceni'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe in India, who lived in between of the rivers Indus and Cophes. Their neighbours were the Masiani, Nysaei and Hypasii.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XV.1.27



## **89.Astae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀσται. The Latin and English variant is 'Astae'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Thracian tribe, situated north of Byzantium. Their royal residence was the city Bizye (Βιζύη). They plundered all those who were cast ashore on the beach of Salmydessus, on the shore of the Black Sea. The city Calybe (Καλύβη) belonged to their territory, where to Philip of Amyntas had once banished the most villainous people of his kingdom.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.6.1; VII.6.2; VII.fr.47(48)

## **90.Asturians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀστούριοι. The Latin version is 'Asturii' but the standard English nomenclature is 'Asturians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Basque people, who lived in the mountains of today's northern Spain. The Celtiberians lived to their east. The river Melsus flowed through their country. The city Nougat (Νοῖγα) was situated in their territory, close by an estuary formed by the ocean which separated them from the Cantabrians. Their closest neighbours were thus the Gallicians and the Cantabrians.

### **Conditions of life**

They were mountaineers.

### **Citations in Strabo**

III.3.7; III.4.12; III.4.20

## **91.Astypalaeans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀστυपालαιεῖς, from the singular Ἀστυपालαιεύς. The English standard name is ‘Astypalaeans’.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the island Astypalaea, in the Aegean Sea. They also held possession of Rhoeteium.

### **History**

They were the first to settle Polium of the Simoeis River, but they didn’t make it a very well-protected site, since it was soon demolished.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XIII.1.42

## **92.Atarneïtae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀτάρνεῖται. The Latin and English equivalent is ‘Atarneitae’ or ‘Atarneïtae’.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Asia Minor and inhabited the tract of seacoast ‘after’ the Leleges<sup>187</sup>. The Adramyttenei and the Pitanaei were their neighbours.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XIII.1.60

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<sup>187</sup> Strabo means to say: the country you arrive in *after* you have passed through the territory of the Leleges.

### **93.Athamanes**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀθαμᾶνες. The Latin and English version is 'Athamanes'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They lived in the north-western part of Greece, along with the Aetolians, Acarnanians and Amphilocheians. Their country was situated north of Acarnania and Aetolia and west of the Thessalians and the Oetians.

#### **Genealogy**

They were an Epeirotic tribe, and Strabo therefore calls them 'barbarians'.

#### **History**

They once lived at Oeta, but later took possession of the western part of the country. However, before that, they destroyed the Aenianians, who lived at Oeta.

Their country was once a sanctuary for refugees from the Perrhaebians.

They were the last of the Epeirotes to have attained a certain distinction, but in Strabo's time they were extinct and their territory was annexed to Thessaly.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.7.1; VII.7.8; IX.4.11; IX.4.17; IX.5.1; IX.5.11; IX.5.19; X.1.16

### **94.Athenians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀθηναῖοι. The Latin version is 'Athenaei' and the English standard nomenclature is 'Athenians.'

#### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Athens, in Attica.

## Genealogy

They were considered to have been autochthonous in their country and were seen as the ancestors of the Ionians.

## History

In ancient times, they turned over their government to Ion, since they had high regard for him because he had conquered the Thracians. Ion then divided them into four tribes, and later into four occupations. However, when their country became too populous, they sent a colony of Ionians to the Peloponnesus (to the Aegialus) and called the area Ionia. When the Dorians came, they were driven out of Ionia by the Achaeans and returned to Athens and Attica.

Legend says the Athenians joined Eurystheus in his expedition against Iolaüs.

Sometimes they were very peaceful and compliant, like when they voluntarily accepted Melanthus, a Messenian king, as their own king. Other times they were rather violent and quarrelsome. For example, they fought with the Boeotians about Oropus, they had a fight with the Megarians over the island of Salamis (which they eventually came to possess) and when they once sent an expedition to the island Melos, they slaughtered most of the inhabitants. They also once voted that all the Mitylenaeans from youth on should be slain. But they changed their mind and word has it that their counter-decree only reached their generals a day before the planned execution. It also happened that they once besieged Ceos.

Strabo tells us that they fined the tragic poet Phrynichus with 1000 drachmas (a downright fortune), because he had dared to write a play entitled *The Capture of Miletus by Dareius*. A play with the Persian Great King in the leading part was of course very much not done in Athens.

During the Peloponnesian Wars the Spartans were their great enemies. When they sailed to Sicily on their second expedition, they rebuilt Pylus as a fortress against them. On the island of Sphagia they captured and forced to surrender 300 Spartans.

Later on, the Macedonians became their opponents. Under Antipater they fought in the so-called Lamian War against them. However, at Chaeronea, Philip (father of Alexander the Great) defeated them.

Eventually, the Romans conquered their country. When Haliartus was thus destroyed in the war against Perseus, the Romans gave this territory to the Athenians as a gift. In Strabo's time, the island Delos was in Athenian hands, after the Romans had turned it into a slave market.

## Colonies

The Athenians founded many colonies throughout their long history. They are said to have colonised Amisus, under Athenocles, and to have changed its name to Peiraeus. Chalcis and Eretria are two colonised that they founded even before the Trojan War. When Menestheus led the Athenians in the expedition to Troy, they founded Elaea in Asia Minor. Some say the Athenians of the deme Histiaea are the ones who colonized Histiaea in Euboea. Athenae Diades is another colony of theirs in Euboea.

Southern Italy harboured some of their colonies as well. Naples would have been one of them, and they were the ones who changed its name from Parthenope to Neapolis. They agreed to live together with the inhabitants at the newly rebuilt Sybaris in Italy. However, they had conceived such contempt of them that they slew them all and destroyed their city. They built up a new one a little further and named it Thurii.

The island Aegina was once colonised by them as well. They divided it among their own by lot, but eventually they lost it to the Spartans. Together with the Megarians they founded Astacus on the Propontis. Under Phrynon, the Olympian victor, they seized Sigeium in the Troad (Asia Minor). Adramyttium in Asia Minor is also a colony of theirs. Perciles and Sophocles (the poet) also went on an expedition to Samos, to besiege and take it. Later they sent 2000 allottees (κληροῦχοι) from their own people to live there.

## Habits and peculiarities

They were lovers of philosophy, but Strabo doesn't think this was in their nature: they simply learned to do so by habit.

They were different in speech (dialect) and in customs from the other Greeks, even though they were few in number compared to them. According to Strabo, this was because they lived in a thin-soiled and rugged country. No one ever drove them out or desired their poor country, which is why they have been spared from devastation and they are regarded as an indigenous people. Because of all this, they were able to develop a separate dialect and their own customs.

The violent wind that ravaged their mountainous country was called Argestes by most Greeks, but they called him Sciron (Σκίρων), after a mythological personage.

When they went on an expedition, they were used to despatch 400 ships.

They frequently used the road from Athens to Delphi for their Pythian processions.

The Athenians were famously hospitable to foreign things, even foreign gods and worship. They accepted many foreign rites, for example Thracian and Phrygian ones, and they were sometimes ridiculed by comic writers because of that.

### Constitution

In earlier times, they were ruled by kings, but then they changed it into democracy. However, Peisistratus and his sons became tyrants after that, and when they were chased away, the democracy was instituted again. However, an oligarchy arose later (first the one of the 400, then of the 30). They rid themselves of all these and set up their democracy once again, until the Romans conquered them.

It is said that they were governed the best when Cassander was king of the Macedonians and the Greeks, since he was kindly disposed towards them. But when the Romans took them over, they also let them keep their autonomy and liberty.

It was an Athenian habit to divide the Athenians in demes.

### Citations in Strabo

I.4.7; II.3.7; V.4.7; VI.1.13; VIII.1.2; VIII.4.2; VIII.6.16; VIII.6.19; VIII.7.1; IX.1.4; IX.1.6; IX.1.10; IX.1.15; IX.1.20; IX.1.21; IX.2.30; IX.2.37; IX.3.12; IX.5.10; X.1.3; X.1.5; X.1.8; X.3.18; X.5.1; X.5.4; X.5.6; XII.3.14; XII.4.2; XIII.1.38; XIII.1.51; XIII.2.3; XIII.3.5; XIV.1.7; XIV.1.8

## **95. Atintanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀτινῆνες. The Latin version was 'Atintanes' and the English name is 'Atintanians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Chaonia, the north-western part of the Epirus, Greece.

### Genealogy

They were an Epeirotic tribe.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.8

## **96.Atmoni**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀτμόνοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Atmoni'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe who lived on the shores of the river Danube.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.3.17

## **97.Atrebates**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀτρεβάτιοι. The Latin version is 'Atrebatii' or 'Atrebates', the latter of which is the English name as well.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Celtic tribe, who lived in Gallia Belgica. They were situated west of the Treviri and Nervii. Other neighbours of theirs were the Senones, Remi and Eburones. Their country strongly resembled that of the Morini, Eburones and Menapii.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.3.5

## **98.Attasii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἀττάσιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Attasii'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe of the Massagetae and the Sacae, who lived east of the Caspian Sea.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.8.8

## **99. Attici**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀττικοί. It is simply another, broader way of naming the Athenians.

The Latin and English nomenclature is 'Attici'. They were formerly called 'Iones' (cf. *infra*).

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of Attica, Greece.

### Habits and peculiarities

It was their custom to name their slaves with names that were used among the Getans or Daci.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.3.12; VIII.1.2

## **100. Auscii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αὔσκιοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Auscii'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Aquitanian tribe and thus lived in today's southern France. Their country had good and fertile soil.

### History

They achieved the so-called 'Roman right'.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.2.1; IV.2.2



## **101.     Ausonians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αὔσονες. The Latin version is 'Ausones', but the English name is 'Ausonians'. This is another name for the Opici.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Italy, nearby the Pomentine plain. Most of Campania was in their hands and the Osci were one of their neighbours. The Ausonian Sea nearby is named after them. Temesa and Bruttium were founded by them.

### Language

Their dialect was still spoken amongst the Romans in Strabo's time.

### Citations in Strabo

V.3.6; V.4.3; VI.1.5

## **102.     Autariatae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Αὐριᾶται. The Latin and English variant is 'Auriatae'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Illyrian tribe, who bordered on Paeonia. Their neighbours were the Bessi and the Ardiaei, with whom they were continuously at war over the salt-works at their common border.

### History

They were once a very powerful people. There was a time when they even conquered the Triballi and they held sway over both the Illyrians and the Thracians. However, in the end they were virtually destroyed by their constant wars amongst each other and later against the Macedonians. Eventually, they were overthrown, first by the Scordisci and later by the Romans.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.1; VII.5.6; VII.5.11; VII.5.12; VII.fr.4

### **103.     Azanes**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀζᾶνες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Azanes'.

#### Geographical notes

They were an Arcadian tribe and must thus be situated in the central Peloponnesus. They bordered on the area of Elaea and their neighbours were the Parrhasii.

#### Citations in Strabo

VIII.3.1; VIII.8.1

### **104.     Azotians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀζῳτῖοι. The Latin version is 'Azotii' and the English nomenclature is 'Azotians'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Syria, but Strabo doesn't situate them more specifically.

#### Citations in Strabo

XVI.2.2

## **B.**

### **1. Babylonians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βαβυλώνιοι. The Latin version is 'Babylonii' and the English standard name is 'Babylonians'.

#### Geographical notes

They lived in Babylon and surroundings, in the Middle East. They were the greatest of the tribes in this part of the world, next to the Medes and the Armenians, with whom they were continually at war.

#### History

They constantly fought against the Medes and the Armenians, and in their turn they were fought by the Cassaei and the Elymaei. Antimenidas, the brother of the poet Alcaeus, once helped them in battle. In Strabo's time, they were ruled by the Parthians.

#### Habits and peculiarities

They were famous philosophers, but Strabo doesn't believe this was by nature, but rather by training.

Their customs greatly resemble those of the Persians, but one custom is very peculiar to them, that is to appoint wise men as their rulers. These rulers present and sell marriageable girls by auctions to their bridegrooms, always selling first those who are highly prized.

It is custom in their marriage, every time they have had intercourse, to go out, each separately, to offer incense at the temple. They also have to bathe every time when they have had intercourse, before they touch anything else. There also is a custom, in accordance with an oracle, that their women have intercourse with strange men. These women go to the temple of Aphrodite (Ishtar) with a great retinue, wreathed around their heads. Any man can approach her there, take her away from the sacred part of the temple, place money upon her lap and have intercourse with her. This money is then sacred to the goddess.

They had three tribunals: one for those who are free from military service, one for the most famous men, and one for the old men.

They have a habit of placing the sick somewhere where three roads meet and to question passers-by if they perhaps have a cure for the malady.

They bewail their dead just like the Egyptians, and they bury them in honey after having besmeared them with wax.

### Conditions of life

Some of the Babylonian tribes had to grain, because they lived in marshes and were fish-eaters.

Their clothing comprised of a linen tunic that reached to the feet, an upper garment of wool and a white cloak. They wore their hair long and their shoes resembled felt-slippers. They carried around a seal and a staff with designs on it, having on top an apple or a rose or anything like that. It was customary for them to anoint themselves with sesame.

### Citations in Strabo

II.3.7; XI.13.6; XIII.2.3; XVI.1.19; XVI.1.20

## **2. Bactrians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βάκτροι. The Latin version is 'Bactrii' and the English standard name is 'Bactrians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Bactriana, which was approximately today's Afghanistan. They also possessed a part of Sogdiana nearby and part of Mount Paropamisus. Their most famous cities were Bactra (also called Zariaspa), Darapsa and Eucratidia (named after the king Eucratides).

### Habits and peculiarities

Their customs didn't differ very much from those of the nomads that dwelt nearby. However, Strabo calls them a little more civilised than the nomads.

It was their habit to throw out their elderly or sick as a prey for the dogs, and their cities were thus filled with bones. But Alexander the Great stopped this habit when he came there.

### Language

They approximately spoke the same language as the Arians, which is why their country was sometimes called Ariana.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.11.2; XI.11.3; XV.2.9; XV.2.10

## **3. Balari**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βάλαροι. The Latin and English variant is 'Balari'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe that lived in the mountains of Sardinia.

### Citations in Strabo

V.2.7

## **4. Bardyetans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βαρδυήτες. The Latin version is 'Bardyetes' and the English name 'Bardyetans'. They are equalled with the 'Bardulians' (Βαρδοῦλοι).

### Geographical notes

They were an Iberian tribe, whom Strabo mentions but doesn't think to be very important. The Berones were adjacent to them and the Celtiberians lived south of them.

### Citations in Strabo

III.3.7; III.4.12

## **5. Bastarnians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βαστάρναι. The Latin variant is 'Bastarnae' and the English standard name is 'Bastarnians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived north of the river Danube, beyond Germania, approximately in today's Ukraine. The Tyregetae and the Germans were their neighbours. They also took possession of the island Peuce on the river Danube and are therefore also called Peucini.

### Genealogy

They were thought to have been of Germanic stock.

### Citations in Strabo

II.5.30; VII.1.1; VII.2.4; VII.3.15; VII.3.17

## **6. Bastetanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βασσητανοί. The Latin version is 'Bastetani' and the English name is 'Bastetanians'. They were also called Bastulians (Βαστοῦλοι).

### Geographical notes

They were an Iberian tribe, who inhabited today's Spain, approximately about the modern cities Granada and Malaga. The Sidetani and the Oretani were their neighbours.

### Habits and peculiarities

Their women were allowed to dance promiscuously along with the men, all holding each other's hands. Strabo seems to have been quite shocked by this.

The Bastetanians were all dressed in black, most of them in cloaks that were called *saga* (σάγοι), in which they slept on their beds of straw. Their women, however, wore embroidered dresses and garments.

Just like the Celts, they used wooden vessels. They also made vessels, spanned with animal skins, which they used to cross lagoons. Their marrying customs were the same as those of the Greeks. And just like the Egyptians, they had the custom to expose their sick on the highways, hoping some passer-by might know a cure for their illness.

They didn't use money, but exchanged their wares instead. Whenever they did use silver, however, they simply used pieces that were cut off silver plates, no coins.

Whenever they sentenced someone to death, it was their custom to stone him. Parricides were put to death outside their boundaries.

#### Citations in Strabo

III.1.7; III.2.1; III.3.7; III.4.1; III.4.12; III.4.14

## **7. Bebrycians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βέβρυκες. The Latin version is 'Bebryces' and the standard English name is 'Bebrycians'.

#### Geographical notes

They were one of the Thracian tribes that went to live in Asia Minor. They were situated in Mysia, before the Bithynians came to live there.

#### History

They were Thracians who crossed the Hellespont to Asia Minor in prehistorian times. King Mariandynus once conquered them and they were then part of the land of the Mariandyni. After the Trojan War, they colonised Abydus.

#### Other authors about the Bebrycians

They are not mentioned by Homer, because they then still belonged to the Phrygians. Only later they became a separate tribe.

#### Citations in Strabo

VII.3.2; XII.3.3; XII.3.4; XIII.1.8; XIV.5.23

## 8. Belgae

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βέλγαι. The Latin and English name is 'Belgae'.

### Genealogy

They were one of the three great tribes in Celtica Transalpina, next to the Aquitanians and the Celts.

### Geographical notes

They lived south of the river Rhine, approximately in today's northern France, Belgium and Luxembourg. The Osismii were one of their tribes who lived in Brittany. They also had a colony on the Adriatic coast.

### History

The Veneti (or Heneti) were one of their tribes who waged war against Caesar. But of course, a lot more Belgian tribes than this one tried to resist the Romans.

### Habits and peculiarities

The Belgae were the bravest of all their neighbours<sup>188</sup>, and it is because of that that they alone could hold out against the Germans, the Teutones and the Cimbrians.

### Other authors about the Belgae

Caesar is a very important source for the Belgae, especially in his 'Commentarii de Bello Gallico'. It was him who first divided the people of Celtica Transalpina into three main tribes.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.1.1; IV.4.1; IV.4.3

## 9. Bellovaci

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βελλοάκοι, which is the Greek transcription of the Latin 'Bellovaci'.

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<sup>188</sup> Strabo almost literally translates Caesar's '*horum omnium Belgae fortissimi sunt*' in this passage.



### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic, Belgian tribe, who lived close by the sea and the Morini. The Ambiani, Suessiones and Caleti were their neighbours. There also was a road that went through their country and led to the ocean.

### Habits and peculiarities

Strabo calls them the bravest of the Belgian tribes.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.3.5; IV.4.3; IV.6.11

## **10.Berecynes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βερέκυντες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Berecynes'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Phrygian tribe, who emigrated from Europe to Asia Minor.

### History

In Strabo's time, they were no longer in existence.

### Habits and peculiarities

They worship Rhea as the Mother of the Gods and honour her with orgies. Also Agdistis and Phrygia, great goddess, do they worship. The Greek call the ministers of Rhea the Curetes or Corybantes.

### Citations in Strabo

X.3.12; XII.8.21; XIV.5.29

## **11.Berones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βήρωνες. The Latin and English variant is 'Berones'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtiberian tribe who lived in northern Spain. The Cantabrians were their neighbours and Varia was the name of their main city.

### Citations in Strabo

III.4.5; III.4.12

## **12.Bessi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βέσσοι. The Latin and English nomenclature is 'Bessi'. They were also called 'Tetrachoritae' or 'Tetracomí'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Thrace, who inhabited most of Mount Haemus. The river Hebrus flowed through their territory.

### Conditions of life

They were a tribe of brigands, who were called brigands even by the brigandish tribes that surrounded them. They lived in huts and led a wretched life.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.12; VII.fr.47(48); VII.fr.59(58a)

## **13.Bisaltae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βισάλται. The Latin and English version is 'Bisaltae'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Macedonia, not very far from the sea, north of the city Amphipolis, all the way to the city Heraclea (also called Sintica). The valley they occupied was very fertile, and the river Strymon flowed through it. One of their villages was called Berga. Their neighbours were the Edoni and Odomantes.

### Genealogy

Some of them were considered to be indigenous, but other have come to Macedonia (Strabo doesn't specify from where).

### History

King Rhesus once reigned among them.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.fr.11; VII.fr.36

## **14.Bistonian Thracians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βίστονες Θράκες. The Latin name is 'Bistones Thraces' and the English standard name is 'Bistonian Thracians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in the area of the city Abdera, in Thrace.

### History

They were once ruled by Diomedes.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.fr.43(44)

## **15.Bithynians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βιθυνοί. The Latin version is 'Bithyni' and the English name is 'Bithynians'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Thracian tribe who migrated to Bithynia, in Asia Minor, thus giving their name to the country. The area was formerly called Mysia.

### Habits and peculiarities

They resembled the Mariandyni and Caucones greatly in many things.

### Other authors about the Bithynians

They are not mentioned by Homer.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.3.2; XII.3.3; XII.3.4; XIV.5.23

## **16.Bituriges ‘Cubi’**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βιτούριγες οἱ Κοῦβοι, which is a Greek transliteration of the Latin ‘Bituriges Cubi’. They were one part of the Bituriges, who had fallen apart in two tribes.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe in Aquitania.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.2.2

## **17.Bituriges ‘Vivisci’**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βιτούριγες οἱ Οὐβίσκοι, which is a Greek transliteration of the Latin ‘Bituriges Vivisci’. They were another part of the Bituriges, who had fallen apart in two tribes.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic in Celtica, in the area of today’s Bordeaux.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.2.1

## **18.Blemmyes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βλέμμιες. The Latin and standard English name is 'Blemmyes'.

### Geographical notes

They lived south of Egypt and were subjects of the Aethiopians.

### Citations in Strabo

XVII.1.2; XVII.1.53

## **19.Boeotians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βοιωτοί. The Latin version is 'Boeoti' and the English equivalent is 'Boeotians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited Boeotia, an area in northern Greece, north of Attica. After the Trojan War, they also took possession of Orchomenus and Coronea.

### History

The inhabitants of Boeotia were first called Aonians, and they once devastated Attica. These were a pre-Greek people. Later, the Phoenicians ruled over this country (they built Thebes), but they were ejected by the Thracians and the Pelasgians. The Boeotians then went to live in Thessaly and were called 'Boeotians' from then on. Later they returned to their own country (Boeotia). This is when they conquered Orchomenus, and with the help of its inhabitants they drove out the Pelasgians.

They once made a treaty with the Thracians, but these attacked them nonetheless, which is where the proverb 'Thracian pretence' (Θρακία παρεύρεσις) came from.

They once went to the oracle at Dodona, where the oracle prophesied that they would prosper if they committed sacrilege. However, they assumed she was lying to them, because of her kinship with the Pelasgians, who were their enemies from ancient times. That is why they threw her on a burning pile, because they didn't think they could lose either way – whether she was lying or not.

They had a fight with the Athenians about Oropus.

Philip (father of Alexander the Great) conquered them along with the other Greeks at Chaeronea.

### Habits and peculiarities

They built the temple of Itonian Athena in the plain at Coronea, after the Thessalian temple for Athena. They called the river that ran by Coronea 'Cuarius' after the Thessalian river, too. We can thus assume that they had undergone quite some Thessalian influence. They also called the month Pornopion 'Locusts'.

### Other authors about the Boeotians

They are mentioned by Homer as fighting along in the Trojan War. Pindar says they were once called 'Syas' ('swines').

### Citations in Strabo

I.4.7; VII.7.1; IX.1.20; IX.2.3; IX.2.4; IX.2.29; IX.2.37; IX.5.7; XIII.1.64

## **20.Boii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βόιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Boii'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe who migrated from Celtica Transalpina, across the Alps, into Italy. Their territory was situated between the Alps and the Apennines, and the Rhaeti, Vindelici and Helvetians were their neighbours.

Later, they were ejected out of Italy by the Romans and they went to live north of the Alps, alongside the Taurisci. Here, their territory bordered on Lake Constance.

## History

Once they were one of the biggest Celtic tribes. However, they were driven out of Italy by the Romans, who had the Cenomani and the Heneti to help them. They were ruled by Critasirus at that time. When they were driven out, they went to live with the Taurisci, from whence they warred against the Dacians until they perished entirely. The Getans also had a hand in their destruction.

## Other authors about the Boii

Poseidonius says that they dwelled in the Hyrcanian Forest in earlier times.

## Citations in Strabo

IV.4.1; IV.6.8; V.1.6; V.1.9; V.1.10; VII.1.5; VII.2.2; VII.3.2; VII.3.11; VII.5.2; VII.5.6

## **21.Bomians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βωμιεῖς, from the singular Βωμιεύς. The English standard name is 'Bomians'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Aetolian tribe, who lived in the country of the Ophienses, in Central Aetolia.

### Citations in Strabo

X.2.5

## **22.Bosporians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βοσποράνιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Bosporani' and the English name is 'Bosporians'. The name indicates all the peoples who were subject to the potentates of the Bosphorus, both in Europe and in Asia.

### Geographical notes

They were all the peoples about the Bosphorus, as far as Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov). For the European Bosphorians, the metropolis was Panticapaeum, for the Asiatic Bosphorians Phanagoreium. The land is very productive of grain.

### History

The Cimmerians once held sway in the Bosphorus and that is why it was sometimes called the 'Cimmerian Bosphorus'.

The Bosphorians long lived under a monarchy, until Parisades gave Mithridates the sovereignty over the area. In Strabo's time, however, they were subjects to the Romans.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.4.2; VII.4.3; VII.4.4; VII.4.7; XI.2.10

## **23.Bottiaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βοττιαῖοι. The Latin version is 'Bottiaei' and the English equivalent is 'Bottiaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They occupied much of lower Macedonia, together with the Thracians. Alorus was regarded as one of their cities.

### History

They originally were colonists from Crete who had been driven out of their course. Botton was their chieftain.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.3.2; VII.fr.11; VII.fr.20



## **24.Branchidae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βραγχίδαι. The Latin and English variant is 'Branchidae'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived at Didyma and in the area around it, on the coast of Asia Minor.

### **History**

They betrayed the god of Didyma (Apollo) by handing over his riches to the Persian Great King Xerxes. After this, Xerxes set the oracle on fire and the Branchidae accompanied him further on his journeys in order to escape punishment for this betrayal. Xerxes then gave them their city as a reward.

Alexander the Great arrived at Didyma and, even though the oracle had refused to speak for a long time since the betrayal of the Branchidae, it started speaking again for Alexander. He destroyed then the city of the Branchidae, because he loathed their treachery and sacrilege.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.11.4; XIV.1.5; XVII.1.43

## **25.Brenae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βρέναι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Brenae'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived along the river Hebrus, in Thrace.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.fr.47(48)

## **26.Brettii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βρέττιοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Brettii'. They are sometimes also called 'Bruttii'. Their neighbours the Leucani gave them this name, for they used to call all revolvers 'βρέττιοι'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in southern Italy, occupying the region from Metapontium to Thurii. The river Laus was their boundary, and north of them lived the Leucani. They lived along the isthmus from Scylletium to the Hipponiate Gulf. Their metropolis was Consentia.

### **History**

They used to tend the flocks for the Leucani, but then they revolted, at about the same time when Dio made his expedition against Dionysius of Syracuse. They managed to capture some parts of Magna Graecia: for example, they ejected the Aetolians from their colony Temesa. However, in Strabo's time they had deteriorated so much that it was difficult to even distinguish their settlements. This is because they were crushed by Hannibal and then by the Romans. For example, they were in possession of Hipponium, but the Romans took it away from them and changed its name into Vibo Valentia.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They served the Romans as couriers and letter-carriers.

### **Citations in Strabo**

V.1.3; V.4.13; VI.1.2; VI.1.4; VI.1.5

## **27.Breuci**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βρεῦκοι. The Latin and English version is 'Breuci'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Pannonian tribe, and thus inhabited Pannonia in the Balkan.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.3

## **28.Breuni**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βρεῦνοι. The Latin and English nomenclature is 'Breuni'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Illyrian tribe, who lived north of today's Lago Maggiore, on the boundaries between Italy and Switzerland. The Genauni were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8

## **29.Brigantii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βριγάντιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Brigantii'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Celtic Vindelici, who lived south of the Danube and east of the Helvetii. Their territory was approximately today's north-east Switzerland.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8

## **30.Brigi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βρίγες or Βρύγοι. The Latin and English name is 'Brigi' or 'Brygi'. This name is probably the origin of the name 'Phrygians'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Thracian tribe, who occupied Mount Bermium. Some of them crossed into Asia Minor and changed their name into 'Phryges'; hence 'Phrygians'.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.8; VII.fr.25; XII.3.20

## **31.Britons**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βρεττανοί. The Latin name is 'Brettani' or 'Brittani', but the English standard name is 'Britons'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the British Isles. Their country was very rainy and misty.

### History

Caesar won two or three victories over them, but he soon returned to the mainland again. Some chieftains in Strabo's time had obtained the friendship of Rome and submitted to heavy duties on import and export products.

### Habits and particularities

Their habits were partly like those of the Celts, except that they were more simple and barbaric. For example, they had milk but they didn't make cheese, and they didn't know agriculture. Their chieftains were nonetheless very powerful.

Their forests were their cities, since they didn't build any out of stone.

### Physical appearance

They were taller than the Celts and their hair was darker (they were not so ξανθό-θριξ, 'light-haired', as the Celts).

### Citations in Strabo

IV.5.2; IV.5.3

### **32.Bructeri**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βρούκτεροι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Bructeri'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were a Germanic tribe, who lived in western Germany, nearby the Teutoburg forest.

#### **History**

They were defeated by Drusus during a naval battle on the river Amasias. The ones who were taken captive marched along in the triumphal procession in Rome.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.1.3; VII.1.4

### **33.Brundusians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βρεντεσῖνοι. The Latin name is 'Brundusii' and the standard English name is 'Brundusians'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of Brundisium, today's Brindisi in southern Italy. They were said to have been a colony from Crete. Their port was superior even to that of Tarentum.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

VI.3.5; VI.3.6

### **34.Buprasians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βουπρασῖες, from the singular Βουπρασῖεύς. The English name is 'Buprasians'. Sometimes they are equalled with the 'Eleians' or 'Epeians', but that is not entirely sure.

### Geographical notes

They were situated in the northern Peloponnesus.

### Other authors about the Buprasians

Homer mentions them in connection with the Eleians.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.3.8; VII.3.29

## **35. Butones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βούτωνες. The Latin and English variant is 'Butones'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Germanic tribe (even though some think they were Goths), who lived north of the river Danube, in southern Germania. Their neighbours were the Lugii, the Zumi, the Mugilones, the Sibini and the Semnones.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.1.3

## **36. Bylliones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Βυλλίονες. The Latin and English version is 'Bylliones'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Illyrian tribe, who lived north of the cities Epidamnus and Apollonia (in today's Albania), all the way to the Ceraunian Mountains.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.8

### **37.Byzacians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βυζάκιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Byzacii' and the English name is 'Byzacians'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were situated east of Carthage, in northern Africa.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

II.5.33

### **38.Byzantians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βυζάντιοι. The Latin name is 'Byzantii' and the English standard name is 'Byzantians'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of Byzantium at the Propontis. They also possessed parts of land around Lake Dascylitis.

#### **Habits and peculiarities**

Their temple was called the 'Sarapieium'.

They always received one third of the catch from the fisheries at Sinope.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.6.1; XII.3.11; XII.8.11

### **39.Byzeres**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Βύζηρες. The Latin and English version is 'Byzeres'.

### Geographical notes

They were a barbarian tribe who lived in eastern Cappadocia Pontica, in Asia Minor.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.3.18



## C.

### 1. Cadurci

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καδούρκοι. The Latin and English version is 'Cadurci'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe in Aquitania, today's southern France.

#### Citations in Strabo

IV.2.2

### 2. Cadusii

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καδούσιοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Cadusii'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Asia Minor, who lived along the coast of the Caspian Sea. Their region was called 'Media Atropatene' and was situated north of the Taurus mountain range and Greater Media, in the Median and Armenian Mountains. It approximately coincided with today's north-western Iran. Their neighbours were the Gelae, the Amardi, the Anariacae, the Albanians, the Vitii, the Hyrcani and the Caspii.

#### Conditions of life

They inhabited a sterile country and were thus migrants. They were predatory mountaineers.

#### Habits and peculiarities

They had a great number of foot-soldiers, because the places they lived in were too rugged for cavalry. Their javelin-throwers were excellent.

#### Citations in Strabo

XI.6.1; XI.7.1; XI.8.1; XI.8.8; XI.13.3; XI.13.4; XI.13.6

### **3. Caeni**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καίνοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Caeni'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Thrace.

#### History

Attalus II Philometor commanded an expedition into Thrace and defeated their king Diegylis.

#### Citations in Strabo

XIII.4.2

### **4. Caeretanians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καίρεταινοί. The Latin version is 'Caeretani' and the English standard name is 'Caeretanians'. They used to be called the 'Agyllaei' instead, because their region was formerly called 'Agylla' (cf. *supra*).

#### Geographical notes

They lived in Tyrrhenia (Tuscany, Italy), at today's Cerveteri. Their port-town was Pyrgi. There were neighbouring hot springs that were called 'Caeretana', which were frequently visited for their healing powers.

#### History

Their town was said to have been founded by Pelasgians from Thessaly. Soon, it was conquered by the Etruscans, however, and later by the Romans.

They defeated the Galatae, who had captured Rome, and managed to save the Roman refugees, the immortal fire of Vesta and the priestesses of Vesta. The Romans, however, didn't treat them the way they should have, according to Strabo, and only gave them right of citizenship, but didn't enrol them

among the citizens<sup>189</sup>. The Greeks, however, did esteem them very highly and honoured them for their bravery and because they refrained from piracy.

They erected a treasury 'of the Agyllaei' at the oracle at Delphi.

#### Citations in Strabo

V.2.3; V.2.8

### **5. Calabrians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καλαβροί. The Latin equivalent is 'Calabrii' or 'Galabrii' and the English standard name is 'Calabrians'.

#### Geographical notes

They lived in southern Italy, in a region called 'Iapygia' by Strabo. He says that the inhabitants called it 'Apulia' instead (as it still is today) and the Greeks called in 'Messapia'. The Salentini and the Peuceti were their neighbours.

#### Citations in Strabo

VI.3.1

### **6. Caleti**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κάλετοι, which is the Greek transcription of the Latin 'Caleti'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a Belgian tribe, who lived in today's Normandy (France). Their territory was situated north of the river Seine. The Lexovii were their neighbours.

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<sup>189</sup> This piece of history is attested in the so-called *Tabulae Caeritum*.

## Citations in Strabo

IV.1.14

### **7. Callaïcans**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καλλαϊκοί. The Latin variant is 'Callaici' or 'Gallicii' and the English nomenclature is 'Callaïcans' and 'Gallicians'. Sometimes they are called 'Lusitanians'.

#### Geographical notes

They lived in the mountains in Iberia, in north-western Hispania. The Celtiberians and Lusitanians lived to their east. The Asturians were their neighbours as well. Their most important cities were Castulo and Oria.

#### Conditions of life

They were mountaineers and thus very frugal. For example, they slept on the ground and their main beverage was water. They also used beer, but wine was very scarce. For the better part of the year, they lived on acorns, which they dried and ground to use in some kind of bread. If they ate meat, it was mostly goat. They also used butter instead of oil.

#### Habits and peculiarities

It was their habit to sacrifice goats, horses and prisoners of war to their god Mars (meaning, their equivalent of the god Mars). They also sacrificed hecatombs in the manner of the Greeks. However, some say didn't worship any gods at all and were atheists.

They also resembled the Greeks in that they practiced gymnastic exercises, like boxing, running, skirmishing and fighting in bands. They did all of this either as heavy-armed soldiers or as cavalry. They were thus very hard to fight with in battle and have given their name to the man who defeated the Lusitanians, as a nick name. They have also given their name to all Lusitanians in general, which is why they are sometimes called 'Lusitanians' (cf. *supra*).

They took their meals sitting on seats that were set up along the walls, where they took place according to their age and rank. While they would drink, they would dance to the sound of flutes and trumpets.

### Physical appearance

The men wore their hair extremely long, in the fashion of women. Whenever they went to battle, they bound it to their forehead.

### Citations in Strabo

III.3.2; III.3.3; III.3.7; III.4.3; III.4.12; III.4.16; III.4.20

## **8. Callipidae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καλλιπίδαι. The Latin and English variant is 'Callipidae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Scythian tribe, who lived beyond the river Borysthenes (today's Dnjepr).

### Citations in Strabo

XII.3.21

## **9. Campanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καμπανοί. The Latin version is 'Campani' and the standard English name is 'Campanians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Campania, in today's Italy, south of Latium. Their country was very fertile. They also held some parts of Magna Graecia, but they have in fact become Romans in Strabo's time.

### History

They were a very extravagant and effeminate people, who regularly invited gladiators to their dinners, which is why they readily submitted to all peoples who tried to overrun them. The Samnites, Hannibal and the Romans all didn't encounter very much resistance.

When they received Hannibal's army, his soldiers became so effeminate because of their influence that Hannibal decided to retreat them. When they came under Roman dominion, however, they got some more sense.

#### Citations in Strabo

V.4.11; V.4.13; VI.1.2

### **10.Campsiani**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καμψιανοί. The Latin and English variant is 'Campsiani'. Sometimes they are called 'Campsani' as well.

#### Geographical notes

They were a German tribe, who lived near the ocean and so near the northern edge of the known world. Their neighbours were the Sicambri, the Chaubi, the Cimbri, the Cauci and the Caulci.

#### History

They were defeated by the Romans and marched in a triumphal procession in Rome.

#### Citations in Strabo

VII.1.3; VII.1.4

### **11.Camuni**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καμοῦνοι, which is clearly the Greek transliteration of the Latin 'Camuni'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Rhaeti, who lived in today's Lombardy (northern Italy).

## Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8

## **12.Cantabrians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καντάβροι. The Latin equivalent is 'Cantabri' and the English version is 'Cantabrians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in northern Hispania, in a region that is today still called 'Cantabria'. They bordered on the Callaicians.

### History

At the time of the Cantabrian war against the Romans, mothers used to kill their children before being taken captive, or they killed themselves. Eventually, however, they were subdued under Emperor Augustus.

### Habits and peculiarities

They lived on a low moral plane and had bestial instincts. For example, they bathed in urine and washed their teeth with it. However, they are also very courageous, men and women alike. When women had given birth, for instance, they sent their husband to bed and took care of the child themselves, and they also helped to till the soil.

It was their custom that husbands must give dowries to their wives, and not the other way around. They also preferred female children, since the heirs always had to be female.

Cantabrians had the habit of riding double on horseback.

Some of them, when they had been defeated by the Romans and were nailed to their cross, kept on singing the paeon of victory.

It was custom to keep a poison close at hand, at all times, just in case. They would rather die than be taken captive.

Cantabrians were extremely loyal, even to the point of dying for one another.

## Citations in Strabo

III.4.16 – III.4.18; III.4.20; VI.4.2

## **13.Cappadocians**<sup>190</sup>

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καππάδοκες. The Latin version is 'Cappadoces' and the English equivalent is 'Cappadocians'. They are also called 'White Syrians' (Λευκοσῦροι), in opposition to the 'Black Syrians' on the other side of the Taurus mountain range.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the country north of the Taurus, west of Armenia and Colchis, south of the Black Sea and east of the Paphlagonians and the Galatae.

### Genealogy

There were several Cappadocian tribes and one of them, the Cataonians, were once a wholly different tribe, according to the ancients. Strabo, however, doesn't see any difference in their language or customs with the other Cappadocians.

He does make a distinction between two main tribes, however: the one that lived more near the Taurus and the one that inhabited the region towards the Black Sea.

### History

They were once attacked by Sisines, who tried to take hold of the region.

### Habits and peculiarities

They honoured the Cataonian Apollo and have made this Cataonian temple the model for all their temples.

### Language

Strabo is very certain that all the inhabitants of Cappadocia spoke the same language. However, he does not specify which language that was.

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<sup>190</sup> The Cappadocians were of course treated more elaborately in the case-study.



### Other authors about the Cappadocians

They were never mentioned by Homer.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.1.1; XII.1.2; XII.2.6; XII.3.5; XII.3.27; XIV.5.23; XVI.1.2

## **14.Cardaces**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κάρδακες. The Latin and English variant is 'Cardaces'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Persia, but Strabo doesn't specify their position any further.

### Conditions of life

They lived on thievery and banditry. This is why they got their name, since '*carda*' means 'manly and warlike spirit'.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.3.18

## **15.Carrians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κάριοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Carae' and the English nomenclature is 'Carrians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of what was then called Caria (and later would be called Ionia) in Asia Minor. The plain of the river Maeander belonged to their territory. They inhabited that region together with the Leleges, which is why some say they are the same people as the Leleges. Others say they were their fellow-inhabitants and fellow-soldiers. Some also confused them with the Lycians.

## History

There are many accounts about the Carians and no one is certain where exactly they came from, but it is generally accepted that they used to be islanders. Some say they were subjects to king Minos of Crete and that they were called 'Leleges' at that time, but not everyone agrees with that. At a certain point, they migrated to the mainland of Asia Minor, taking possession of much of the coastline and the interior land. They took this land away from the original Leleges and the Pelasgians who lived there. Some say the Cretans helped them settle in Asia Minor, others say they were driven there by some other people.

They fought in the Trojan War and once occupied Miletus, Myus, Mycale, Ephesus and Samos (which was then still called Parthenia). They were partly driven out by the Ionians, however, when they came there under the leadership of Androclus to colonise the coastline. Strabo assumes that they partly mixed with the Greeks as well. Some of them also took refuge in the other parts of Caria.

They went on expeditions to Greece, accompanied by the Leleges. This is when they devastated Attica and seized Epidaurus, which was then still called Epicarus (Ἐπίκαρος).

## Habits and peculiarities

They have always lived in close contact with the Greeks, even after they were driven into Asia. They used to roam all of Greece, serving on expeditions for money as a sort of mercenaries.

All of them worshipped the Carian Zeus, as did the Lydians and the Mysians.

## Other authors about the Carians

Homer mentions them and clearly sets them apart from the Leleges<sup>191</sup>, even though some say they were one and the same people. He says they spoke a barbarian language, and thus they were the very first ones to be called 'barbarians', because of the way they spoke. The verb 'καρίζειν' would then have been the origin of 'βαρβαρίζειν', according to Strabo.

The tragic poets repeatedly confuse them with the Lycians.

## Citations in Strabo

I.3.21; VII.7.2; VIII.6.15; IX.1.20; XII.8.5; XII.8.7; XIII.1.58; XIII.1.59; XIII.3.1; XIV.1.3; XIV.1.15; XIV.1.21; XIV.1.38; XIV.1.42; XIV.2.8; XIV.2.23; XIV.2.27; XIV.3.3; XIV.5.23

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<sup>191</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, X.428.

## **16.Carmanians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καρμάνιοι. The Latin version is 'Carmanii' and the standard English name is 'Carmanians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe in Persia, approximately in today's Iran.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They were a warlike people, who only worshipped Ares (that is, their equivalent of the god Ares). There was a great shortage of horses in their region, which is why they mostly used asses for their wars.

Their customs and language were mostly like those of the Medes and the Persians.

None of them could marry before he had cut off the head of an enemy and presented it to the king. This was a very big deal for them. The king would then store the skull in his palace, after he had cut out the tongue. Then he would mince the tongue and mix it with flour. After he had tasted it himself, he would then give it to the man to eat. The king with the most heads was the highest reputed.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XV.2.14

## **17.Carni**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κάπνοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Carni'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived near the recess of the Adriatic Sea, about the city Aquileia. Their coastline was situated in today's utmost west of Italy. These districts were called the Transpadane districts. They also possessed the city Tergeste. The Norici and the Istrians were their neighbours.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.6.9; V.1.9; VII.1.5; VII.5.2; VII.5.3

## **18.Carnutes**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καρνοῦτοι, which is a Greek transcription of the Latin 'Carnutes'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Celtic tribe, who inhabited the area between the rivers Loire and Seine. They were the most conspicuous tribe of their neighbourhood.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.3.4

## **19.Carpetanians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καρπητανοί. The Latin variant is 'Carpetani' and the English nomenclature is 'Carpetanians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Celtic tribe, who lived in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. They were situated east of Lusitania and west of the Celtiberians. The Oretani, Vettones and Vaccaeii were their neighbours.

### **Citations in Strabo**

III.1.6; III.3.2; III.3.3; III.4.12

## **20.Carretanians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κερρητανοί. The Latin version is 'Carretani' and the English variant 'Carretanians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived north of the Pyrenees, and thus on the Celtic side of the mountains, but they were of Iberian stock.

### Habits and peculiarities

They cured excellent hams and made a good income out of them.

### Citations in Strabo

III.4.11

## **21. Carthaginians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καρχηδόνιοι. The Latin version is 'Carthaginienses' and the English standard name is 'Carthaginians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of Carthage, approximately today's Tunis in Tunisia.

### History

Their city was founded by Dido from Tyrus, according to legend. It was raised to be a rival of Rome and waged three great wars against them (the Punic wars).

Before these wars, they were a great force in the Mediterranean: they had 300 cities in Libya and 700,000 inhabitants in their city. They conquered most of Iberia and all of Sardinia, from where they waged the war against the Romans. However, they abused all of the inhabitants of Sicily and forced the Hyblaean Megarians that lived there to migrate away from the isle. They also conquered Tarentum in southern Italy and laid waste to the acropolis, after which they carried off the dedicated and sacred objects from the temple as booty.

### Habits and peculiarities

It was their custom to drown any foreigner who sailed past their country on their way to Sardinia or to the Pillars of Heracles (Gibraltar).

They had elephant-stalls in their city.

### Other authors about the Carthaginians

Eratosthenes says they were refined.

### Citations in Strabo

I.4.9; III.4.5; V.2.7; VI.2.3; VI.2.4; VI.3.1; VIII.7.5; XVII.1.19; XVII.3.14; XVII.3.15

## **22.Casii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κάσιοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Casii'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the islands about Casus, east of Crete. They were the ones who gave their name to 'Casus'.

### Citations in Strabo

X.5.18; X.5.19

## **23.Caspians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κάσπιοι. The Latin version is 'Caspia' and the English standard name is 'Caspians'.

### Geographical notes

As their name indicates, they lived along the Caspian Sea. Their neighbours were the Amardi, the Anariacae, the Cadusii, the Albanians, the Vitii, the Hyrcani and the Derbices.

### Habits and peculiarities

It was their custom to shut in and starve to death all people over seventy. Then they put out their bodies in the desert and watched what happened with them from a distance. If they were dragged off by birds, they were considered to have been fortunate, if they were dragged off by dogs, not so fortunate. However, if nothing wants to eat them, they were considered cursed.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.8.8; XI.11.3; XI.11.8

## **24.Cassopaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κασσωπαῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Cassopaei' and the standard English name is 'Cassopaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They were a barbaric people that inhabited the land north of Acarnania and Aetolia, in north-western Greece. They were situated on the seaboard from the Ceraunian Mountains to the Gulf of Ambracia. Their country was very fertile.

### Genealogy

They were Epeirotae, not Greeks, and were a tribe of the Thesproti.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.1; VII.7.5; VII.7.6

## **25.Cataonians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κατάονες. The Latin version is 'Cataones' but the English variant is 'Cataonians'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Cappadocia, who inhabited the city Comana and its surroundings.

### Genealogy

They were a Cappadocian tribe, even though they used to be set apart by the ancients.

### Habits and peculiarities

They had the same language and uses as the Cappadocians did.

Their priests held more power than their king, since Comana was the most important religious centre of Cappadocia.

### Citations in Strabo

II.5.32; XII.1.2; XII.2.3

## **26.Catoriges**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κατόριγες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Catoriges'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the peaks of the Alps, not far from the Lake of Geneva.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.6

## **27.Cattabanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καταβανείς, from the singular Καταβανεύς. The English version is 'Cattabanians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in the extreme part of Arabia, as far as the passage across the Arabian Gulf. Their royal seat was Tamna. Their neighbours were the Minaei, the Sabaeans and the Chatramotitae.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.2



## **28.Caucasians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καυκάσιοι. The Latin version is 'Caucasii' and the English standard name is 'Caucasians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were all the inhabitants of the Caucasian Mountains east of the Black Sea. They used the region of Diocurias (a city on the eastern shores of the Black Sea) as an emporium.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.2.16

## **29.Cauci**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καῦκοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Cauci'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Germanic tribe, who lived towards the ocean. Their neighbours were the Chaubi, the Cimbri, the Caulci, the Campsiani, the Sicambri and the Bructeri.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.1.3

## **30.Cauconians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καύκωνες. The Latin variant is 'Caucones' but the standard English name is 'Cauconians'.

### Geographical notes

It looks like the Cauconians had two divisions: one in Greece and one in Asia Minor. Strabo says they were settled in several places and existed out of collection of people, which is why they had already disappeared in his own time.

In Greece they inhabited the Peloponnesus, in between of Pylus and Lacedaemon (Sparta). They are said to have been an Arcadian and wandering tribe.

In Asia Minor, they were called 'Cauconitae' (Καυκωνῖται). They inhabited part of Triphylia, the country from the Mariandyni onwards, all the way to the river Parthenius. This is why they are sometimes called 'Mariandyni' as well. They took this country away from the Lepreatans and the Cyparissians. This is also the reason why Dyme is sometimes called 'Cauconian' and why the river nearby is called 'Caucon'. Tieium was one of their cities here.

### History

Some say the country Eleia in the Peloponnesus used to be called Cauconia. Others say that they were the subjects of Nestor. Either way, in Strabo's time their name didn't survive in anywhere in the Peloponnesus anymore.

The Arcadian portion of the Caucones couldn't endure to be ruled by the house of Lepreus anymore and they sailed away to Asia Minor. They took up their abode on the sea-coast by the Mariandyni. In Strabo's time, however, they had been entirely destroyed.

### Other authors about the Cauconians

Homer mentioned them in Eleia<sup>192</sup>, but also as allies of the Trojans, where he seems to be talking about a Paphlagonian tribe<sup>193</sup>. This refers to the Cauconitae.

Antimachus calls the inhabitants of Epeia both Epeians and Cauconians.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.1; VII.7.2; VII.fr.63; VIII.3.11; VIII.3.16; VIII.3.17; VIII.3.30; VIII.7.5; XII.3.2; XII.3.4; XII.3.5; XII.3.9; XIII.1.58; XIII.3.1; XIV.5.23; XIV.5.28

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<sup>192</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, III.636.

<sup>193</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, X.428.

## **31.Caülci**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καοῦλκοι. The Latin and English version is 'Caülci'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Germanic tribe, who lived towards the ocean. Their neighbours were the Chaubi, the Cimbri, the Cauci, the Campsiani, the Bructeri and the Sicambri.

### **History**

They walked in a triumphal procession in Rome, after they were defeated.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.1.3; VII.1.4

## **32.Caunians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Καύνιοι. The Latin version is 'Caunii' and the English standard name is 'Caunians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe in Caria, along the coast of south-western Asia Minor. Their city was called Caunus, and not far off they had the stronghold Imbrus. Their country was very fertile and had abundant fruits in autumn, but it was too hot in summer to the point of being unhealthy.

### **History**

They were said to have come from Crete and they retained the customs and laws of that country.

Once they revolted from the Rhodians, but when they were conquered by the Romans, these gave them back into the custody of Rhodes.

### **Language**

They spoke the same language as the Carians.

### Other authors about the Caunians

The citharist Stratonicus is said to have laughed at the Caunians, for the paleness of their skin. He also jested at the unhealthiness of their city.

### Citations in Strabo

XIV.2.3

## **33.Cavari**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Καουάροι, which is the Greek transcription of the Latin name 'Cavari'. This name prevailed in the area, which is why almost all the peoples there were called 'Cavari'.

### Geographical notes

They were Gallic a tribe, who inhabited the Rhône valley, north of Marseilles. Their country stretched as far as the junction of the river Isère with the Rhône. Their city was Caballio, which is today called Cavaillon. The Salyes were their neighbours, and the Vocontii, the Tricorii, the Icomi and the Medylli were situated north of them.

### Habits and peculiarities

In Strabo's time, they were becoming more and more Romanised.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.1.11; IV.1.12

## **34.Cebrenian Thracians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κεβρήνιοι Θράκες. The Latin version is 'Cebrenii Thraces' but the English equivalent is 'Cebrenian Thracians'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Thracian tribe, who inhabited the shores of the river Arisbus in Thrace.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.fr.61; XIII.1.21

## **35.Cebrenians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κεβρήνιοι. The Latin variant is 'Cebrenii' but the English standard nomenclature is 'Cebrenians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Aeolis, in north-western Asia Minor, more specifically in the Scamander valley in the Troad. Their city was called Cebrene. Their neighbours were the Neandrians and the Dardanians.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.51

## **36.Ceians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κείοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Ceii' but the English version is 'Ceians'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Asiatic tribe, whose neighbours were the Bactrians and the Caspians.

### Habits and peculiarities

It was their custom to order everyone over sixty to drink hemlock, so that there would be sufficient food left for the younger people.

Much of their laws and customs resembled those of the Caspians.

### Citations in Strabo

X.5.6; XI.11.3

## **37.Celtae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κέλται. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Celtae'. They are not to be confused with the 'Celti' (Κέλτοι), who were the Galatic race (cf. *infra*). These 'Celtae', on the other hand, indicated the tribes who inhabited Celtica Transalpina.

### **Geographical notes**

They were one of the three peoples in Celtica Transalpina, next to the Aquitanians and the Belgae. They inhabited the country that was bounded by the Pyrenees in the south, the ocean in the west and north, the Mediterranean and the Alps in the east, and the river Rhine in the north.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They all had different polities and modes of lives.

### **Language**

They didn't all speak the same language, but the differences weren't very great.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.1.1; IV.1.14

## **38.Celti**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κέλτοι. The Latin and English version is 'Celti'. 'Celts' is also used as a nomenclature. They are not to be confused with the 'Celtae' (cf. *supra*), even though Strabo doesn't seem to understand the difference very well himself. However, the name 'Celti' seems to have designated the entire Galatic race (the Gauls), that spread all over Europe, Asia Minor and the British Isles, whereas the 'Celtae' were only the inhabitants of Celtica Transalpina.

The Greeks formerly called the inhabitants of Narbonitis 'Celtae', and because of that the name for the whole Galatic race has become 'Celti'. Strabo assumes this was either because these Celtae were very famous, or because they happened to live closest by the Greeks in that region and were thus best known to them.

### Geographical notes

Some of them inhabited the country about the river Padus (Po), in Italy. These regions were called Cispadana (south of the Po) and Transpadana (north of the Po). However, the Galatic race also inhabited a piece of land in Asia Minor, called Galatia (today's Turkey). Some of them also lived in Iberia.

### Genealogy

They were considered to be kinsmen of the Germans.

### History

Many of them migrated, across the Alps into today's Italy, but also to Hispania and Galatia. The ones who lived about the river Po were stopped in their unrestrained licence when they were conquered by the Romans. Gnaeus Ahenobarbus routed them completely. The ones who inhabited Cisalpine and Transalpine Celtica, however, warred against the Romans until they were entirely subdued. The Ligures were the first ones of them to have been conquered. They were captured only part by part, but then Caesar acquired them all in one big war. He reports many quarrels amongst them when he came there, which made it easier for him to subdue them.

### Habits and peculiarities

They used waxen vessels and some tribes had the custom of using chariots for war.

Just like the Cantabrians, they had the custom to bathe in urine and to sleep on the ground. Their women were brave and sometimes even ruled, just like those of the Cantabrians did. And they also rather wanted to kill themselves than to be captured by their enemies.

They were rather fond of strife, and it was common for their young men to be prodigal of their youthful charms.

They were thought to have been kinsmen of the Germans and thus resembled them greatly. They only varied slightly, in that the Germans were wilder. Other than that, they had the same habits and modes of life.

They were trained in the virtue of fearlessness, but still they meekly abided by the destruction of their homes by the tides of the seas. They waited till the water had retreated and simply started rebuilding again. More of them died because of the water than because of war.

### Physical appearance

On the one hand they resembled the Britons, even though they were not as tall as the Britons. On the other hand they resembled the Germans, but these had yellower hair and were taller as well.

### Citations in Strabo

III.2.2; III.3.7; III.4.16; III.4.17; IV.1.11; IV.1.14; IV.4.1; IV.4.2; IV.4.6; IV.5.2; IV.5.3; IV.6.4; V.1.4; V.1.6; VI.4.2; VII.1.2; VII.2.1

## **39.Celtiberians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κελτίβηρες. The Latin version is 'Celtiberes' and the English name is 'Celtiberians'. The Romans also called them 'Togati'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe in the north-eastern parts of Hispania.

### Genealogy

They were Celts. The Artabrians were one of their tribes, who lived about Cape Nerium.

### History

They once subdued most of the Iberian Peninsula and were regarded as the most brutish of all peoples in that area.

### Habits and peculiarities

Marcus Marcellus exacted six hundred talents from them as tribute, so we can safely state that they were rich and numerous.

They and their northern neighbours offered to a nameless god at full moon. They then danced all through the night.

### Citations in Strabo

III.1.6; III.2.15; III.3.5; III.4.5; III.4.13; III.4.16



## **40.Celto-Scythians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κελτοσκούθαι. The Latin variant was 'Celtoscythae' and the English standard version is 'Celto-Scythians'. It was a term that was used by ancient historians.

### **Geographical notes**

Despite the fact that they were a Galatic, Celtic people, they lived in Scythian areas, more specifically north of the Caspian Sea.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.6.2

## **41.Cenomani**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κενομόναι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Cenomani'.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited Transpadane regions, meaning that they lived north of the river Padus (Po) and south of the Alps.

### **History**

They often aided the Romans in their battles. For example, they helped them in their campaign against Hannibal.

### **Citations in Strabo**

V.1.9

## **42.Centrone**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κέντρωνες. The Latin and English version is 'Centrone'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in the Alps in Gallia Narbonensis, north of the river Po. An important route ran through their territory.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.6; IV.6.7; IV.6.11

## **43.Cephalenians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κεφαλλῆνες. The Latin name is 'Cephalenes' and the standard English variant is 'Cephalenians'. Sometimes they are called 'Taphians' or 'Teleboeans' as well.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the Greek island of Cephalenia, situated west of Greece in the Ionian Sea.

### History/legend

Strabo considers them to be the same Cephalenians that were the subjects of Odysseus and his father Laërtes. It was then one of the vassal islands to Ithaca. In that case they would have fought in the Trojan War, under Odysseus.

Another legend says that Amphitryon colonised the island, but then gave it to Cephalus, after whom the Cephalenians were called.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.1.10; X.2.8; X.2.10; X.2.14

## **44.Cerbesians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κερβήσιοι. The Latin variant is 'Cerbesii' but the English nomenclature is 'Cerbesians'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Phrygian tribe.

### History

In Strabo's time they didn't exist anymore.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.8.21

## **45.Cercetae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κερκέται. The Latin and English variant is 'Cercetae'.

### Geographical notes

They lived near the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, along the Black Sea. They occupied 850 stadia of the coast, where their mooring-places and villages were situated. Their neighbours were the Zygi, the Heniochi and the Macropogones.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.2.1; XI.2.14

## **46.Ceteians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κετῆιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Ceteii' but the standard English name is 'Ceteians'.

### Geographical notes

Strabo is not certain where exactly they lived, but he supposed they lived in Asia Minor, since in the region Elaïtis, there is a river called Ceteium.

### Other authors about the Ceteians

Homer mentioned them as led by Eurypylus in the Trojan War.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.69; XIII.3.2; XIV.5.23

## **47.Ceutrones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κεύτρωνες. The Latin and English name is 'Ceutrones'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe in Gallia Narbonensis, who lived in mountain peaks of the Alps. A broad road ran through their country, suitable for wagons.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.6; IV.6.7; IV.6.11

## **48.Chalcedonians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χαλκηδόνιοι. The Latin name is 'Chalcedones' and the English standard nomenclature is 'Chalcedonians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Chalcedon, in Bithynia in Asia Minor. They were situated close to Byzantium, but didn't share in the natural abundance of this latter city, because the πηλαμίδα ('tuna') didn't come to their harbours as it did to the harbours of Byzantium. That is why the oracle of Apollo ordered the Byzantians to found their city across the 'blind ones', because the Chalcedonians were the first ones to sail through this area, but they still chose the poorer land and not the rich land of Byzantium.

### Habits and peculiarities

Their temple was the temple of Zeus Urius.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.6.1; VII.6.2

## **49.Chalcidians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χαλκιδεῖς, from the singular Χαλκιδεύς. The standard English name is 'Chalcidians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Chalcis on the island of Euboea, east of Attica.

### History and colonies

The Chalcidians were very keen colonists. They co-founded the city Cumae, together with the Cumaeans. They made an agreement that it should be the colony of Chalcis, but the namesake of Cumae. Also, they founded Rhegium in Italy, because one out of every ten men had to leave Chalcis, since there was a heavy shortage of crops and food. It is from Rhegium that some of them emigrated to Delphi, in Greece. The cities Naxos and Euboea on Sicily were also colonised by them, but they were driven out of the latter by Gelon. The native city of Aristoteles, Stagira, also belonged to the Chalcidians. Next to that, they became very powerful in Thrace and peopled thirty cities there, in the land of the Sithones. However, later on, the majority of the Chalcidians was thrown out of Thrace and the ones that remained went to live together in one city, Olynthus. They were called the 'Thracian Chalcidians'.

It is mentioned as well that in the time of Alexander the Great, Chalcis enlarged its city walls and fortified them with towers, gates and a wall.

### Habits and peculiarities

An oracle that was once given to the people of Aegium would have said that the Chalcidians were the bravest of all.

### Citations in Strabo

V.4.4; VI.1.6; VI.2.2; VII.fr.35; X.1.8; X.1.13; X.1.15

## **50.Chaldaeans (Babylonian)**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χαλδαῖοι. The Latin variant is 'Chaldaei' and the standard English name is 'Chaldaeans'. This name can designate the local philosophers in Babylonia, but apart from that, they were a people as well. We will only mention the people here.

### Geographical notes

They were a small tribe in the far south-eastern corner of Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Arabia and the Persian Sea. Later, they were swallowed by the Babylonian and Assyrian empire.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.1.6

## **51.Chaldaeans (Cappadocian)**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χαλδαῖοι or Χάλυβες, of which Χάλυβες is their most ancient name. The Latin versions are 'Chaldaei' or 'Chalybes'. The English standard names are 'Chaldaeans' or 'Chalybians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the region Chaldia in Pontus, northern Cappadocia. Their territory was situated north of Trapezus and Pharnacia and extended as far as Armenia Minor.

### History

When they lost their land to the Armenians, they were called 'Chaldaeans' instead of 'Chalybians'. They were held as subjects by the Armenians, but later king Mithridates Eupator or Pontus did.

### Other authors about the Chaldaeans

They were not mentioned by Homer.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.14.5; XII.3.18; XII.3.19; XII.3.28; XIV.5.23

## **52.Chamaecaetae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χαμαικάται or Χαμαικοῖται, which literally means ‘those who live on the ground’. The Latin and English equivalent is ‘Chamaecaetae’.

### Geographical notes

They lived in between of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. The Troglodytae, the Polyphagi and the Eisadici were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.5.7

## **53.Chaones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χάονες. The Latin and English nomenclature is ‘Chaones’.

### Geographical notes

They were an Epeirotic tribe, who occupied the coast stretching from the Ceraunian Mountains to the Ambracian Gulf. Their neighbours were the Thesproti and the Cassopaeans.

### History

They were one of the most famous Epeirotic tribe, because they once occupied the whole Epeirotic country. Later, they were thrown out by the Molossi.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.5

## **54.Chatramotitae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χατραμωτῖται. The Latin and English version is 'Chatramotitae'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in south Arabia, furthest to the east. Their neighbours were the Cattabaneis and their city is Sabata.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.2

## **55.Chatti**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χάττοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Chatti'.

### Geographical notes

They were an indigent Germanic tribe.

### History

They were defeated by the Romans, and the daughter of their chief Ucromirus walked in the triumphal procession of Germanicus at Rome, along with the others that were taken captive.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.1.3; VII.1.4



## **56.Chattuarii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Χαττουάριοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Chattuarii'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were an indigent Germanic tribe.

### **History**

They were defeated by the Romans and the ones that had been taken captive walked along in a triumphal procession in Rome.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.1.3; VII.1.4

## **57.Chaubi**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Χαῦβοι. The Latin and English name is 'Chaubi'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Germanic tribe, who lived near the ocean and thus towards the end of the world as it was known for Strabo. Their neighbours were the Sicambri, the Cimbri, the Bructeri, the Cauci, the Caulci and the Campsiani.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.1.3

## **58.Chaulotaeans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Χαυλοταῖοι.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe who lived in the north-western parts of the Arabian Peninsula. Their neighbours were the Nabataeans and the Agraeanes.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.2

## **59. Chelonophagi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χελωνοφάγοι, which literally means 'turtle-eaters'. The Latin and English nomenclature is 'Chelonophagi'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Ethiopia, but Strabo doesn't specify their position any further. However, since he mentions the fact that they owned three islands (Tortoise Island, Seal Island and Hawk Island), we can assume that he situated them along the eastern shore.

### Habits and peculiarities

They lived under the cover of turtle-shells. These shells were so large that they also used them as boats. This is why they have gotten their name 'turtle-eaters'.

The seaweed that was thrown ashore along their territory was so numerous and came in such great quantities that it heaped up and formed high hills. Some people dug their shelters in there.

They had the custom to throw out their dead on the beach and let them be caught up by the flood-tides.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.14

## **60.Cherusci**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Χηροῦσκοι. The Latin and English version is 'Cherusci'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were an indigent Germanic tribe.

### **History**

They were trusted the most by the Romans, but they also did them the most harm. They tricked three Roman legions and their general Quintilius Varus in an ambush (known as the defeat by the Teutoburg Forest, or in Latin the '*Clades Variana*').

In the end, however, they were defeated as well. Their chieftain Sigimuntus, his sister Thusnelda (who was the wife of Armenius, the commander of the ambush) and her son Thumelicus walked along in the triumphal procession of Germanicus at Rome, along with the others who were taken captive.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.1.3; VII.1.4

## **61.Chians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Χῖοι. The Latin version is 'Chii' and the English name is 'Chians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the Greek island Chios, in the eastern Aegean sea.

### **Genealogy**

They themselves said that the Pelasgians from Thessaly were their founders.

### **History**

They claimed to have been the home of Homer and said that the men on the island who called themselves Homeridae were his descendants.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.3.3; XIV.1.35

## **62.Chonians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χῳνεῖς. The Latin version is 'Chones' but the English nomenclature is 'Chonians'. They took their name from the city Chone (Χῳνή).

### Geographical notes

They inhabited Leucania or Lucania in Magna Graecia, today's southern Italy. Petalia was regarded as their metropolis and it has always been very populous.

### Genealogy

They were an Oenotrian tribe, meaning that they were the original Italic inhabitants of the area.

### History

They were said to have been founded by Philoctetes (which is of course contradictory with their being an Oenotrian tribe).

The Greeks later colonised their territory. For example, they once held the city Siris, but the Ionians took it away from them. Even later, the Romans conquered them.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.1.2 – VI.1.4; VI.1.14

## **63.Chorasmians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Χοράσμοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Chorasmii' and the English standard name is 'Chorasmians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the regions east and south of the Caspian Sea.

### Genealogy

They were a tribe of the Massagetae and the Sacae.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.8.8

## **64.Cibyratae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κιβυρᾶται. The Latin and English variant is 'Cibyratae'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited south-western Asia Minor.

### Genealogy

They were said to have been the descendants of the Lydians and their neighbours, the Pisidians.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were rated to have the greatest jurisdiction of Asia.

### Language

They spoke four languages: Lydian, Pisidian, Greek and the language of the Solymi.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.4.17

## **65.Cibyratae the Lesser**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κιβυρᾶται οἱ μικροί. The English equivalent is 'Cibyratae the Lesser'.

They were a separate branch of the Cibyratae (cf. *supra*).

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited the coast of Pamphylia, in Asia Minor. Their territory was situated east of their kinsmen, the Cibyratae.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XIV.4.2

## **66.Cicones**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κίκονες. The Latin and English variant is 'Cicones'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Thracian tribe, who lived more to the west.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.fr.57(58)

## **67.Cilicians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κίλικες. The Latin equivalent is 'Cilices' but the English standard nomenclature is 'Cilicians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited the region Cilicia in southern Asia Minor, south of the mountain range Taurus. Their country was divided into Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia Pedias.

## History

They originally lived in the Troad, in north-western Asia Minor. There they were neighbours of the Leleges. In Strabo's time, however, this coast line was inhabited only by the Adramytteni, the Atarneitae and the Pitanaei. Strabo thus assumes that at a certain point, they were driven out of their country and were forced to migrate and settle in Syria. They took a region from the Syrians and called it 'Cilicia'. Some of them remained in Hamaxitus, however, in the Troad.

They founded the cities Thebe and Lyrnessus in Pamphylia.

They destroyed the piracy of the Cretans, but they in turn had to stop their own piracy because of the conquests of the Romans.

## Conditions of life

They mainly lived off piracy and banditry. Strabo says they were actually trained to be pirates and that this had come to be so because they were ruled so badly. They sold the ones they had taken captive in the city Side, in Pamphylia, even though they knew these people were originally free men.

## Habits and peculiarities

They shared quite some characteristics with their neighbours, the Pamphylians, who didn't abstain from piracy either.

## Constitution

They were two-fold – that is, they existed out of two dynasties or tribes. Each of these tribes were governed by tyrants. One of them was called Eëtion, another Mynes.

## Other authors about the Cilicians

They were close relatives of the Trojans, but they aren't mentioned separately in the Homeric catalogue. Strabo interprets this by saying that they were already driven out of the Troad and their leaders had already been killed, so that the few of them that still remained were simply placed under Hector.

Homer says that the majority of them lived in the Adramyttium Gulf and that they were two-fold. Both he and the tragic poets called Cilicia 'Pamphylia' instead.

### Citations in Strabo

II.5.32; X.4.9; XII.7.2; XII.7.3; XII.8.4; XIII.1.49; XIII.1.51; XIII.1.58; XIII.1.60; XIII.1.63; XIII.3.1; XIII.4.6; XIV.3.2; XIV.4.2; XIV.5.1; XIV.5.2; XIV.5.16; XIV.5.21; XVI.2.14

## **68.Cimbri**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κίμβροι. The Latin and English variant is 'Cimbri'.

### Geographical notes

They were an indigent Germanic tribe near the ocean, who inhabited today's Denmark.

### History

A lot of stories were told about the history of the Cimbri, for example that they became a wandering and piratical people because the peninsula they inhabited was flooded by the sea. Strabo doesn't believe this however, because they still inhabited that same peninsula, as they did in ancient times. But it is true that they made an expedition to Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov) and that the Bosphorus is therefore sometimes called the 'Cimmerian Bosphorus', since the Greeks called the Cimbri 'Cimmerians'. From there on, they wandered westwards. There, they would have attacked the Boii, but they were repulsed by. Then they went down the river Danube to the country of the Galatae and the Helvetii, the latter of whom sallied forth with them.

They were all subdued by the Romans. They sent forth their most sacred kettle to Emperor Augustus, as a plea for his friendship and amnesty, which he granted them.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were very wild and could only be withstood by the Belgae.

They were so rich and had so much opulence, that the Helvetii tried to rob them, even though they had plenty of gold themselves.

It was their custom that their wives accompanied them on their expeditions and that they were attended by a sort of priestesses or seers. These seers were always grey-haired, clothed in white and bare-footed.



They had the habit of crowning their prisoners of war with wreaths, leading them to a brazen kettle and slicing their throats over this kettle. Some would then draw a prophecy from the blood that was thus gathered, others from the bodies and the entrails of the victims.

During battles, they always beat drums of stretched hides, which produced an unearthly noise.

#### Citations in Strabo

IV.3.3; IV.4.3; VII.1.3; VII.2.1 – VII.2.4

### **69.Cimmerians**

They were a historical people, on whom Homer inspired himself for the Cimmerians in the Odyssey.

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κιμμέριοι. The Latin variant is 'Cimmerii' but the English nomenclature is 'Cimmerians'.

#### Geographical notes

They inhabited the land from the Bosphorus to Ionia, in Asia Minor. Some situate them by Lake Avernus, near Cumae, in today's Italy as well.

#### History

Strabo doesn't say where the Cimmerians came from, only that they conquered their territory in Asia Minor and invaded Paphlagonia and Phrygia as well. Since Homer inspired himself on them, he assumes that the invasion of the Cimmerians must have happened in Homer's time or shortly before. They once held great power in the Bosphorus, which is why it is sometimes called the 'Cimmerian Bosphorus', and they also gave their name to Mount Cimmerius.

They were driven out of there by the Scythians, however, and then the Scythians were driven out by the Greeks.

They are said to once have fought the Trojans, which seems legit if we consider their invasion in Asia Minor.

At a certain point, they captured the Greek city Sardis.

### Habits and peculiarities

The ones who lived in Italy were said to have lived underground, in so-called '*argillae*'. They visited each other through tunnels and lived from what they got from minings and the gifts from those who came to consult the oracle there.

### Other authors about the Cimmerians

Homer mentions them as a mythological people and situates them on the very edge of the world, near Tartarus<sup>194</sup>. Strabo says this was either because the regions they inhabited were northern and very gloomy, or because the Ionians generally hated the Cimmerians and therefore situated them in the underworld<sup>195</sup>.

### Citations in Strabo

I.1.10; I.2.9; I.3.21; III.2.12; V.4.5; VII.4.3; XI.2.5; XII.3.24; XII.8.7; XIII.4.8; XIV.1.40

## **70.Clautenatii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κλαυτηνάτιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Clautenatii'.

### Geographical notes

They were said to have been the boldest tribe of the Vindelici and were therefore situated south of Germania and north of Italia, in the Alps.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8

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<sup>194</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, VIII.485; Homer, *Odyssey*, XI.14-20.

<sup>195</sup> Strabo here assumes that Homer was an Ionian.

## **71.Clazomenians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κλαζομένιοι. The Latin version is 'Clazomenii' but the English variant is 'Clazomenians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the Ionian city Clazomenae, along the coast of Asia Minor. They inhabited an isthmus in the Gulf of Smyrna. Some look-out places along the Bosphorus belonged to them, and they were the founders of Caria (together with the Milesians).

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.2.4; VII.fr.51(52); XIV.1.31

## **72.Cleonaean**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κλεωναῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Cleonaei' and the English standard name is 'Cleonaean'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Cleonae, in the northern Peloponnesus, Greece.

### **History**

They helped the Argives to destroy Mycenae, after the battle of Salamis.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VIII.6.19

## **73.Cnidians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κνίδιοι. The Latin version is 'Cnidii' and the English name is 'Cnidians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the island Cnidus, in the Aegean Sea. They also colonised the island Lipara and founded Black Corcyra (in the Adriatic Sea).

### Citations in Strabo

VI.2.10; VII.5.5

## **74.Cnossians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κνώσσιοι. The Latin name is 'Cnossii' and the English equivalent is 'Cnossians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Cnossus, in the island of Crete.

### History

They once fought a war against the Gortynians (other inhabitants of the island).

### Citations in Strabo

X.4.10

## **75.Coadui**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κοάδουοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Coadui'. They are sometimes called 'Coldui' (Κόλδουοι) as well.

### Geographical notes

They belonged to the Suevi or Suebi, who were an indigent Germanic tribe.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.1.3

## **76.Coans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κῶοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Coi' and the standard English nomenclature is 'Coans'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the island Cos, in the Aegean Sea.

### **History**

They fought in the Trojan War, led by Pheidippus and Antiphus.

They founded the city Elpiae among the Daunians (in Italy), together with the Rhodians.

It is said that the Romans once paid them 100 talents (quite a fortune) for a painting of Apelles that had belonged to their people.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XIV.2.6; XIV.2.10; XIV.2.19

## **77.Codridae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κοδρίδαι. The Latin and English version is 'Codridae'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Attica, but accompanied the Ionian colonists to Asia Minor (Caria and Lydia).

### **Citations in Strabo**

VIII.7.1

## **78.Colchians**

This people is not the same as the mythical Colchians, although Strabo says the mythical ones were based upon the real ones.

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κόλχοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Colchi' but the English variant is 'Colchians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in the southern Caucasus, along the eastern shores of the Black sea. They also founded the city Pola (today's Pula, in Croatia).

### **Citations in Strabo**

I.2.10; I.2.39; V.1.9

## **79.Colophonians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κολοφώνιοι. The Latin version is 'Colophonii' and the English name is 'Colophonians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the Greek city Colophon, on the northern shores of Ionia in Asia Minor.

### **History**

They once possessed a very notable naval and cavalry force.

Famous Colophonians were: Mimnermus, Xenophanes the philosopher, and some say even Homer.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They were the origin of the proverb 'he put Colophon to it' (τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἐπέθηκεν), that was used whenever a sure end was put to any affair. This is because their cavalry forces were so superior, that battles that were hard to end soon ended, whenever they decided to choose a side.

### Citations in Strabo

XIV.1.28

## **80. Coniacans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κωνιακοί. The Latin version is 'Coniaci' and the English name is 'Coniacans'. Sometimes they are called 'Coniscans' (Κονίσκoi) as well. They are not to be confused with the Κωνιακοί in India, for whom we will use the reference 'Coniaci' instead (cf. *infra*).

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Iberia, in today's northern Spain. They lived along the river Iberus (Ebro).

### History

They used to be a very rough people and they waged a lot of war against the Romans, but in Strabo's time, they took the field for the Romans and fought for them in the Roman army. For example, they took part in the Roman expedition to Cantabria.

### Citations in Strabo

III.3.8; III.4.12

## **81. Coniaci**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κωνιακοί. The Latin and English version is 'Coniaci'. They are not to be confused with the Iberian Coniacans (cf. *supra*).

### Geographical notes

They were an Indian tribe, who lived in the most southerly parts of India.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.1.11; XV.1.14

## **82.Convenae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is either Κωνουέναι, which is the transcription of the Latin ‘Convenae’, or Σύγκλυδες, which is the literal translation of ‘Convenae’, meaning ‘assembled ramble’.

### **Geographical notes**

They were an Aquitanian tribe, who lived near the Pyrenees, quite far from the coast. Their country was very fertile.

### **History**

They obtained the so-called ‘Latin right’.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.2.1; IV.2.2

## **83.Coralli**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κόραλλοι. The Latin and English version is ‘Coralli’.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Thracian tribe, who didn’t live far from Mount Haemus.

### **Conditions of life**

They were a tribe of brigands.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.5.12



## **84. Coraxi**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κοραξοί. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Coraxi'.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited the western parts of the Caucasus.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They exported remarkable wool.

### **Citations in Strabo**

III.2.6

## **85. Corcyraeans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κερκυραῖοι. The Latin version is 'Corcyraei' but the standard English name is 'Corcyraeans'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the island Corcyra (today's Corfu), in western Greece.

### **History**

They founded the city of Epidamnus, which was in Strabo's time called Dyrrachium. They also founded Apollonia, together with the Corinthians, which Strabo calls an exceedingly well-governed city.

They once dedicated a statue to the temple at Dodona, which represented a brazen vessel with a man suspended over it. The man held a whip in his one hand, with three straps hanging from it, and small bones suspended from the straps. Whenever the wind blew, the bones would strike the brazen vessel and produce a long protracted sound. This offering is the reason for the proverbial phrases 'the brazen vessel of Dodona' (τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ χαλκίον) and 'the Corcyraean scourge' (ἡ Κερκυραίων μάστιξ).

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.5.8; VII.fr.3

## **86. Corinthians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κορίνθιοι. The Latin version is 'Corinthii' but the standard English nomenclature is 'Corthinhians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Corinth, on the Isthmus of Corinth.

### **History**

They founded Apollonia, together with the Corcyraeans, which Strabo calls an exceedingly well-governed city. They also founded Potidaea, on the isthmus of Pallene. Later it was called Cassandreia, after king Cassander of Macedonia had restored it after its destruction. The city Tenea belonged to them, but they revolted from them.

They were conquered by Philip of Macedonia at Chaeronea, along with the other Greeks. But later they sided with Philip and were his subjects. They also behaved contemptuously towards the Romans. Some Corinthians poured filth over the heads of the Roman ambassadors when they passed by their houses. But they soon paid the price for this, when the Romans conquered Greece, for their city was razed to the ground by Leucius Mummius. Most of their country was then given away to the Sicyonians.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.5.8; VII.fr.25; VIII.6.22; VIII.6.23; IX.2.37

## **87. Coronii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κορώνιοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Coronii'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the Boeotian city Coroneia.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.2.29

## **88.Corpilians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κορπίλοι. The Latin version is 'Corpili' and the English equivalent is 'Corpilians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Thracian tribe, who lived along the river Hebrus. Their country was called 'Corpilice' (Κορπιλική).

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.fr.47(48); VII.fr.58

## **89.Corsicans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κορσικοί. The Latin name is 'Corsici' but the English version is 'Corsicans'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the island Corsica, west of Italy.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They had the nature of wild animals. When they were sold as slaves, they either couldn't endure to live in captivity, or they irritated their masters so much that these regretted their purchase.

### **Citations in Strabo**

V.2.7

## **90.Coscinii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κοσκίνιοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Coscinii'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Caria, Asia Minor. A river ran from their territory to Alabanda.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.10

## **91.Cossaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κοσσαῖοι. The Latin version is 'Cossaei' but the English name is 'Cossaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the mountain range north and north-east of Media, in Mesopotamia.

### History

They were the allies of their neighbours the Elymaeans, when they warred against the Susians and the Babylonians. They supplied them with 13,000 bowmen.

### Conditions of life

They were a predatory tribe, existing out of mountaineers and mostly bowmen. They were always out on foraging expeditions, because their country was so small and barren.

### Habits and peculiarities

All of them were fighters, and they were a very powerful people.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.12.4; XI.13.6; XVI.1.18

## **92.Cotuantii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κοτουάντιοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Cotuantii'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Rhaeti and must therefore be situated south of Germania, in the northern parts of the Alps.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were the boldest tribe of the Rhaeti.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8

## **93.Crannonians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κραννώνιοι. The Latin variant is 'Crannonii' and the English standard name is 'Crannonians'. They were in earlier times called the Ephyri (Ἐφυροί).

### Geographical notes

They were a branch of the Perrhaebians and must therefore be situated in northern Greece, near Macedonia.

### Citations in Strabo

VIII.3.5; IX.5.21

## **94.Creophagi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κρεοφάγοι, which literally means 'meat-eaters'. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Creophagi'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Indian tribe, north of the harbour of Antiphilus. Their neighbours were the Ichthyophagi and the Colobi.

### Habits and peculiarities

The men had their sexual glands mutilated and the women were excised, in the fashion of the Jews.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.9; XVI.4.13

## **95.Cretans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κρήτες. The Latin version is 'Cretes' but the standard English nomenclature is 'Cretans'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the island Crete, in the southern Aegean sea.

### History

It was said that some of them had sailed with king Minos to Sicily, but that they were driven out of their course to Taras. Some went to Macedonia from there and were called Bottiaean.

They helped the Carians and the Leleges to settle on the mainland.

They colonized Aegina and founded Miletus, where old Miletus was, in Asia Minor. They colonised it from the Cretan Miletus and thus called their colony after their home city. This colony had formerly been in possession of the Leleges. They also founded Magnesia on the river Maeander in Asia Minor, together with the Magnesians from Thessaly.

They succeeded the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) when it came to ravaging the Mediterranean with their piracy, but they were overthrown by the Cilicians.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were famous pirates and were once masters of the sea. This is where the proverb 'the Cretan does not know the sea' (ὁ Κρῆς ἀγνοεῖ τὴν θάλατταν) comes from, since it was applied to those who pretended not to know something that they knew all too well.

They had a serf class that was called the Mnoan class.

### Constitution

They had a peculiar and famous constitution. Ten Archons were chosen by them, but for matters of the greatest importance they used a council of Gerontes. The Romans had taken over in Strabo's time and only the administration was still done as it used to be done. For all other matters, the Roman constitution was used.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.3.2; VIII.6.16; X.4.9; X.4.17; X.4.22; XII.3.4; XII.8.5; XIV.1.6; XIV.1.11

## **96.Crisaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κρισαῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Crisaei' and the English name is 'Crisaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the plain nearby the city Cirrha, in Phocis, central Greece.

### History

They destroyed the city Cirrha.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were rich and prosperous because of the duties they levied on importations from Sicily and Italy, and because of the taxes on visitors of the temple at Delphi. This was against the decrees of the Amphictyons<sup>196</sup> and they were thus punished by them.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.3.4

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<sup>196</sup> The Amphictyons were an ancient religious association of several Greek tribes, who protected Delphi and its sacred areas.

## **97.Crobyzi**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κρόβυζοι. The Latin and English version is 'Crobyzi'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe who inhabited the banks of the river Danube. They were situated quite eastwards, towards the Black Sea, and north of the cities Callatis (Mangalia) and Tomis. The Scordisci, the Triballi, the Mysi and the Troglodytae were their neighbours.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.5.12

## **98.Crotoniates**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Κροτωνιάται. The Latin and English variant is 'Crotoniates'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Croton, in southern Italy (today's Calabria). They were a Greek colony.

### **History**

They fought the so-called Battle of Sagra, on the river Sagra, against the Locrians and Rhegini. Many of them fell there and they were defeated.

They destroyed the city Sybaris.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They produced a very large number of Olympic victors (they even once won all seven disciplines at the Olympic festival), whence the proverbial saying 'the last of the Crotoniates was the first among all Greeks' (Κροτωνιατῶν ὁ ἔσχατος πρῶτος ἦν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων).

They also produced a lot of Pythagorean philosophers.



### Citations in Strabo

VI.1.10; VI.1.12; VI.1.13

## **99. Cumaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κύμαιοι. The Latin version is 'Cumaei' and the English equivalent is 'Cumaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the Greek colony Cumae, on the west coast of Italy.

### History and colonies

They founded Cumae together with the Chalcidians.

They drove the Sidicini out of Campania and conquered the area, but later they were driven out themselves by the Tyrrheni (Etruscans).

They founded Aenus on the Melas Gulf, together with the Mitylenaeans, and Side in Pamphylia.

### Citations in Strabo

V.4.3; VII.fr.51(52), XIV.4.2

## **100. Curetes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κουρήτες. The Latin and English variant is 'Curetes'. They are sometimes also called 'Pleuronii' (Πλευρώνιοι). We have to make a distinction between two sorts of Curetes. There is the college of the priests or attendants of the goddess Rhea (in which case they are the same as the Corybantes) and there is the tribe. We will only speak of the tribe here.

There are many possible etymologies that Strabo gives for this name. One is that they shaved their head (cf. *infra*) and were therefore called 'κοῦρας' ('with cropped hair'). Another is that they got their name from certain heroes that they worshipped, or from Mount Curium nearby. Some say they were

called so because they like ‘the girls’ (αἱ κόραι) or because they dressed like girls. Or maybe because they tended to their hair so much that they got lots of attention from both κόραι and κοῦροι. Finally, there is also the possibility that the name for the first ones who danced the war-dance was ‘Curites’ and this name got extended for the entire tribe.

### Geographical notes

Strabo classifies them as an Aetolian tribe. They inhabited part of Acarnania and Pleuron (for which reason they were called Pleuronii) in Aetolia, northern Greece.

### Genealogy

Some say that they were Acarnanians, others that they were Aetolians. There also is a hypothesis that they originated from Crete or from Euboea.

### History

They held possession over the whole country of Aetolia and Pleuronia, which was then still called Curetis. However, Aetolus from Elis and his subjects overpowered them and drove them out. They partly withdrew into Acarnania, partly in Chalcis (Euboea), but they kept on waging war for the Lelantine Plain with them.

They invented the war dance.

### Physical appearance

They let the back of their hair grow long and cut the front short, for which they were called ‘Curites’ (cf. *supra*). Strabo explains this by saying that their enemies used to drag them down by the front of their hair, whenever they were defeated. By shaving the front part of their head, this could not happen anymore.

They then migrated to Acarnania and found people there who were unshorn (ἄκορος), which is why they gave them their name ‘Acarnanians’.

### Other authors about the Curetes

They were mentioned by Homer<sup>197</sup>, who seems to refer to them as being Aetolians or at least related to the Aetolians.

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<sup>197</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, IX.525.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.2; IX.4.18; X.2.5; X.3.1; X.3.2; X.3.6; X.3.8; X.4.6

## **101.     Cydonians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κύδωνες or Κυδωνιᾶται. The Latin version is 'Cydones' and the English variant is 'Cydonians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the western part of the island Crete, in the southern Aegean sea.

### Genealogy

They were considered to be autochthonous, in opposition with the other peoples inhabiting Crete.

### Citations in Strabo

X.4.6; X.4.13

## **102.     Cynamolgi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κυνάμολγοί, which literally means 'dog-milkers'. The Latin and English version is 'Cynamolgi'. The natives called them 'Agrii' (Ἄγριοι), however.

### Geographical notes

They lived in the southern parts of India.

### Habits and peculiarities

They kept a breed of very large dogs, whom they used to hunt down the cattle that had come wandering into their territory.

Their incursions were from summer solstice to midwinter.

### Physical appearance

They wore their hair very long and had long beards as well.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.10

## **103.     Cyprians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κύπριοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Cyprii' but the English standard name is 'Cyprians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the island Cyprus.

### Constitution

In earlier times they were ruled by tyrants, but later the Ptolemy dynasty of Egypt ruled over them.

### Citations in Strabo

XIV.6.6

## **104.     Cyrenaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κυρηναῖοι. The Latin variant is 'Cyrenaei' and the English name is 'Cyrenaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the island Thera in the Aegean Sea. Cyrene in Libya was their colony.

### Citations in Strabo

X.5.1

## **105.     Cyrtii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Κύρτιοι.

### Geographical notes

They were a Median tribe, who lived in the mountains of Persis. Their neighbours were the Cadusii, the Amardi and the Taphyri.

### Conditions of life

They were a tribe of brigands. Since they were mountaineers in a barren country, they were also migrants and predators.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.13.3; XV.3.1

## **106.     Cyziceni**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name of this people is Κυζικηνοί. The Latin and English version is 'Cyziceni'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the island and the homonymous city Cyzicus, in Mysia, northern Asia Minor, along the coast of the Black sea. There were several smaller, nearby islands that were inhabited by them as well. The main island (Cyzicus) was situated in the Propontis and was connected to the mainland with two bridges. The entire area was very fertile. Two great mountains stood nearby: the Arcton Oros (ἄρκτων ὄρος or 'bear mountain') and the Dindymus, where a temple of Dindymene was situated. On the island itself, there was another mountain called Artace (Ἀρτάκη) and in front of it lied a small island that was also called Artace.

The city Zeleia, in the Troad, belonged to them as well, as did the mountain range that was adjacent to it (in Peirossus).

### History

The temple for Dindymene on the mountain Dindymus was founded by the Argonauts.

They prospered greatly during the Mithradic War and they even almost managed to capture Mithridates himself. The Romans therefore honoured this city and up to Strabo's time it was free and held a large territory. They even received extra territory from the Romans.

#### Habits and peculiarities

It was a very beautiful city, with directors who took good care of it.

They kept their grain from spoiling by mixing it with Chalcidic earth. This was one of the reasons why they had such a great advantage in the Mithradic War.

#### Citations in Strabo

II.5.23; XII.8.11; XIII.1.5; XIII.1.17

## **D.**

### **1. Däae**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δάαι. The Latin and English version is 'Däae' or 'Dahae'. In later times they also got the surname 'Aparni' (Ἀπαρνοί).

#### Geographical notes

They were a Scythian tribe, who lived near Hyrcania, east of the Caspian Sea. They inhabited the left coast of the Caspian Sea as one sails into it, according to Strabo.

#### Genealogy

The greater part of the Scythians was called 'Däae'. Some of these Däae were later called 'Aparni' or 'Xanthii' or 'Pissuri'.

#### History

The Aparnian Däae were said to be emigrants from those Däae who lived north of lake Maeotis, and who were by then called the 'Xandii' or the 'Parii'.

They once invaded Parthia and conquered parts of it, together with Arsaces.

#### Citations in Strabo

VII.3.12; XI.7.1; XI.8.2; XI.9.2; XI.9.3

### **2. Dacians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δάκεις. The Latin variant is 'Daces' and the English nomenclature is 'Dacians'. Sometimes they are called 'Getans' (Γέται) as well (cf. *infra*).

#### Geographical notes

They inhabited a region in the Balkan, south of Germania. It was bounded in the south by the river Danube and Mount Haemus, and in the east by the Black Sea.

### Genealogy

They were a division of the Getans, who lived north of the general branch of Getans.

### History

They once warred against the Boii, until these latter perished utterly.

In earlier times they were very powerful. For example, they were able to send forth an expedition of 20,000 men. But in Strabo's time they were reduced to as few as 40,000 in total, because of the so-called Dacian War against the Romans. According to Strabo, they had by then come close to yielding obedience to the Romans, but they weren't submissive yet because they still had their hopes on help from the Germans.

### Language

They spoke the same language as the Getans.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.10; V.1.6; VII.3.12; VII.3.13; VII.5.1

## **3. Daesitiatae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δαισιτιᾶται. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Daesitiatae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Pannonian tribe and must therefore be situated in the Balkan.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.3



## **4. Dalmatians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Δαλματεῖς, from the singular Δαλματεύς. The Latin equivalent is 'Dalmatae', but the English standard name is 'Dalmatians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited Dalmatia, the region along the coast of the Balkan that was opposite to Italy (across the Adriatic Sea). Their sea-port was Salo. The region had about fifty noteworthy settlements, which was quite a lot, some of which were worthy of the name city (Salo, Priamo, Ninia, Sinotium).

### **History**

They carried on their war against the Romans for a very long time. Every one of their fifty noteworthy settlements was set on fire when they were finally subdued, under Emperor Augustus.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They had the peculiar custom of redistributing their land every seven years.

They were one of the very few peoples in the world that didn't use coined money, but still traded their goods.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.5.5

## **5. Danaäns**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Δαναοί. The Latin version is 'Danai' and the English variant is 'Danaäns'.

### **Geographical notes**

Strabo says this name refers to the Pelasgians, but that Homer used it for all the Greeks.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VIII.6.9; XII.8.7

## **6. Dandarii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δανδάριοι. The Latin and English name is 'Dandarii'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Maeotians and thus lived about Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), north of the Black Sea.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.2.11

## **7. Danthalatae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δανθηλῆται. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Danthalatae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a brigandish tribe who lived in the Balkan, near Mount Haemus.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.13

## **8. Daorizi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δαόριζοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Daorizi'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Dalmatia, the Balkan along the coast opposite of Italy (across the Adriatic Sea). Their territory was near the river Naron and the island of Black Corcyra. Their neighbours were the Ardiaei and the Pleraei.

## Citations in Strabo

VII.5.5

## **9. Dardanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δαρδάνιοι. The Latin name is 'Dardanii' and the English equivalent is 'Dardanians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the region Dardania, in today's Serbia. Their territory bordered on Paeonia and they lived north of the Cebrenians. They extended as far as the cities Palaescepsis and Scepsis.

### History

They were led to the Trojan War under the leadership of Aeneas.

They used to be a very powerful people, but they were reduced by wars, first amongst each other, later against the Macedonians and finally against the Romans.

### Conditions of life

They were an utterly wild people who lived in the caves that they dug beneath their dung-hills. However, they were refined enough to care for music. They always used musical instruments, both flutes and stringed instruments.

### Other authors about the Dardanians

Homer mentions them several times. He names them under the leadership of Aeneas<sup>198</sup>, he says Dardanus was their founder<sup>199</sup> and he calls them ἀγχιμαχηταί ('those who fight in close combat')<sup>200</sup>.

## Citations in Strabo

VII.5.1; VII.5.6; VII.5.7; XIII.1.7; XIII.1.24; XIII.1.51

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<sup>198</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.819.

<sup>199</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XX.215.

<sup>200</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XV.425.

## **10.Dasaretii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Δασαρήτιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Dasaretii'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe who lived in the Balkan, not far from Macedonia and Paeonia. Their neighbours were the Auriatae, the Danthaetae and the Hybrianes.

### **History**

They were destroyed by the Scordisci.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.5.7; VII.5.12

## **11.Daulians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Δαυλιεῖς, from the singular Δαυλιεύς. The English standard nomenclature is 'Daulians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe in northern Greece, who bordered on the settlement of Parapotamii. This place was settled on the river Cephissus and was not far from Chaeronea.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.3.16

## **12.Daunians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Δαύνιοι. The Latin variant is 'Daunii' but the English name is 'Daunians'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Apuli and thus lived in southern Italy, in today's province Apulia.

### History/legend

Diomedes once ruled this country.

The story was told that Phaeton and Heliades changed into alders in this region, on the borders of the river Eridanus, although Strabo doesn't believe a word of it (ironically, not because the idea of humans changing into alders is too absurd for him, but because there is no geographical location that might correspond to a river Eridanus).

### Citations in Strabo

V.1.9; V.4.2

## **13.Debae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δέβαι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Debae'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Arabian people, who didn't live very far from the Nabataeans and Petra, along the coast. Their stretch of coast was very rugged, however. There was a river that flowed through their country and that carried gold-dust, but the Debae didn't know how to work it.

### Genealogy

There were several smaller tribes of the Debae, but Strabo doesn't give their names because he considers them to be insignificant and the pronunciation of their names is too strange anyway.

### Conditions of life

Most of them were nomads, who got their livelihood entirely from camels. They waged war from the backs of camels, they travelled upon camels, they ate camel meat and they drunk camel milk. Some of them were farmers instead of nomads, however.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.18

## **14.Decietae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δεκίται. The Latin and English version is 'Decietae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Ligurians, who lived in today's north-western Italy.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.2

## **15.Delians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δήλιοι. The Latin variant is 'Delii' and the English equivalent is 'Delians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the island Delos, in the Aegean Sea.

### Habits and peculiarities

They invoked Apollo Ulius, a god of health and healing. The Greek word 'οὔλειν' means 'to be healthy'.

### Citations in Strabo

XIV.1.6

## **16.Delphians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Δελφοί. The Latin version is 'Delphi' and the English name is 'Delphians' (to make a distinction between the city and its inhabitants).

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the homonymous city Delphi, in northern Greece.

### **History**

They were the indigenous inhabitants of the Parnassus mountain range and were thus considered to be autochthonous.

The Spartans induced them to revolt from the Phocian organisation so that they were allowed to form a separate state of their own.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.3.12; IX.3.15

## **17.Derbices**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Δέρβικες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Derbices'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe who lived in Hyrcania, south of the Caspian Sea. Their neighbours were the Hyrcanians and the Taphyri.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They had the habit of slaughtering people, even for the slightest offences.

They worshipped Mother Earth, so they tried never to kill or eat anything that was female.

Whenever men became over seventy years of age, they were killed and their flesh was consumed by their family. When they died before the age of seventy, however, they were just buried. Their old women were killed, too, but they were strangled and buried.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.8.8; XI.9.1; XI.11.8

## **18.Derdae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δέρδαι. The Latin and English version is 'Derdae'.

### Geographical notes

They were a large Indian tribe, who lived in the mountains towards the east.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.1.44

## **19.Deuriopes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δευρίοπες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Deuriopes'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited a part of Paeonia, in today's Macedonia. The river Erigon (today's river Crna) flowed through their country.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.8

## **20.Diagesbes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Διαγησβεῖς, from the singular Διαγησβεύς. The Latin and English variant is 'Diagesbes'.



### Geographical notes

They lived in the mountains on the island Sardinia.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were used to ravaging and plundering the country.

### Citations in Strabo

V.2.7

## **21.Ditiones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Διτίωνες. The Latin and English version is 'Ditiones'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Pannonian tribe and must therefore be situated in the Balkan.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.3

## **22.Doliones**

The mythical people of the Doliones was based upon a real people.

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δολίονες. The Latin and English variant is 'Doliones'.

### Geographical notes

They lived about Cyzicus, north of Mount Olympus, in the Troad, Asia Minor. Their territory was occupied by the Cyziceni in Strabo's time. It was difficult to draw the boundary with their neighbours, the Mygdonians and the Trojans.

### Other authors about the Doliones

They were not mentioned by Homer, because they were still included in other tribes at that time.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.4.4; XII.8.10; XII.8.11; XIV.5.23

## **23.Dolopians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δόλοπες. The Latin version is 'Dolopes' and the English nomenclature is 'Dolopians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived in northern Greece, north of the Acarnanians. The farthestmost parts of the region Phthia (southern Thessaly) belonged to them. They lived south of Mount Pindus. The city Trica bordered upon their territory. This region was called Dolopia and belonged to Upper Thessaly.

### History

They were the subjects of Peleus (father of Achilles) and later of Phoenix.

When the Perrhaebians were overpowered by the Lapiths, they were forced to emigrate to Dolopia.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.5.5; IX.5.8; IX.5.11; IX.5.12; IX.5.17; IX.5.19; X.2.1

## **24.Dorians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δωριῆς, from the singular Δωριεύς. The Latin version is 'Dores' and the English nomenclature is 'Dorians'. They are named after their leader Dorus, who united them about Parnassus.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the Peloponnesus, between the Aenianians and the Epicnemidii. Their metropolis was Tetrapolis, which existed out of four cities (Erineus, Boeum, Pindus and Cytinium). But they also inhabited the eastern part of the island Crete.

### History

They migrated to the Peloponnesus from the north, possibly from Thessaly, a country that was beforetime called 'Doris' but was in Strabo's time called 'Hestiaiotis'. According to legend, they came together with the Heracleidae, the descendants of Heracles. Strabo explains it this way: in former times, the king of their territory in the Peloponnesus was Aegimius, who had been driven out, but was then restored to his throne by none less than Heracles. Out of gratitude for this, Aegimius adopted Heracles' son, Hyllus, as his heir to the throne. That was the reason why the Heracleidae invaded the Peloponnesus, because they wanted back their rightful throne. The Dorians helped them to drive out the Peloponnesians that lived there. They seized the Aegialus (which was later to be called 'Achaia') and founded Megara and many other cities.

Because they became so predominant in the area, all of the other peoples who lived there were reputed to speak the Doric dialect as well.

They colonised the islands Aegina, Rhodes, Cos, and they founded the cities Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Megara. They accompanied Althaemenes the Argive to Crete and founded ten cities on the island.

### Language

The Dorians spoke a particular Greek dialect. Strabo considers this dialect to be the same as that of the Aeolians. But since the Dorians came with so little people to the Peloponnesus and they lived in a rugged country, they didn't have much intercourse with other people, so their speech and customs have changed a great deal over time. This is why the dialect didn't sound much Aeolic anymore.

### Other authors about the Dorians

Andron notices how the *epitheton ornans* 'τριχάϊκες'<sup>201</sup> is often attributed to the Dorians and he explains it as 'three-fold' (probably because of the element [τρι-]), since the Dorians founded Erineus, Boeum and Cytinium. However, most other authors don't believe Andron.

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<sup>201</sup> 'Of the waving plumes'.

### Citations in Strabo

I.3.21; VIII.1.2; VIII.6.16; VIII.7.1; IX.1.7; IX.4.10; X.4.6; X.4.15; XIV.2.6

## **25.Dosci**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δόσκοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Dosci'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Maeotians, and thus must be situated about Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov).

### Citations in Strabo

XI.2.11

## **26.Dryopians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δρύοπες. The Latin equivalent is 'Dryopes' and the standard English name is 'Dryopians'.

### Geographical notes

They were inhabitants of a portion of the Peloponnesus, inside the isthmus. Dryopis was their metropolis, but later it was called 'Doris'. They colonised Asine in the area Argolis, and Abydus and surroundings in Asia Minor (the Troas).

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.1; VIII.6.13; IX.5.10; XIII.1.8

## **27.Dyestae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δυέσται. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Dyestae'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the Balkan, north of Greece, near the Ceraunian Mountains. Their territory lay in today's south-western Albania. They lived near the silver mines of Damastium and their neighbours were the Enchelii.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.8

## **28.Dymaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Δυμαῖοι. The Latin variant is 'Dymaei' and the English name is 'Dymaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the city Olenus, in Achaea (northern Peloponnesus). Mount Scollis belonged to them as well.

### Citations in Strabo

VIII.3.10; VIII.7.5

## ***E.***

### **1. Eburones**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐβούρωνες. The Latin and English variant is 'Eburones'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Gallia Belgica, who lived west of the Treviri and the Nervi. The Remi and the Atrebates were their neighbours.

#### Citations in Strabo

IV.3.5

### **2. Edetanians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐδητανοί. The Latin version is 'Edetani' and the English nomenclature is 'Edetanians'.

#### Geographical notes

They were an Iberian tribe, who inhabited the eastern parts of Hispania. They occupied the region between New Carthage (Carthagera) and the river Ebro. The Bastetani, the Bastuli and the Oretani were their neighbours.

#### Citations in Strabo

III.4.1; III.4.14

### **3. Edones**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἠδῶνες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Ebrones'. They are not to be confused with the 'Edoni', cf. *infra*.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Edoni and must therefore be situated in Macedonia.

### Genealogy

They were a smaller subdivision of the larger Edoni, cf. *infra*.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.fr.11

## **4. Edoni**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἑδωνοί. The Latin and English version is 'Edoni'. They were also called 'Mygdones' and 'Sithones'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Thracian tribe, who lived in Macedonia. They inhabited the region between the rivers Strymon and Nestus. The Bisalti were their neighbours.

### History

King Rhesus once reigned over them.

They were later conquered by the Macedonians.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.fr.11; VII.fr.36

## **5. Eisadici**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Εἰσάδικοι. The Latin and English variant is 'Eisadici'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the region in between of the Black and the Caspian Sea. Their neighbours were the Troglodytae, the Chamaecaetae and the Polyphagi.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.5.7

## **6. Eleians**

### Nomenclature

Their Greek name for this people is Ἠλεῖοι. The Latin version is 'Eleii' but the English name is 'Eleians'. They are sometimes equalled with the 'Epeians' (cf. *infra*).

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the area of Eleia, in the north-western Peloponnesus. They were one of the three peoples in Triphylia, next to the Epeians and the Minyans. Mount Scollis was also their property, which was situated 130 stadia away from the city Elis. Their neighbours were the Dorians, but they had little intercourse with them, because they were regarded as sacred to Zeus Olympius, and they thus lived to themselves in peace.

### Genealogy

The Buprasians were an Eleian tribe.

### History

Before and during the Trojan War, they were not very prosperous because they were humbled by the Pylians and by Heracles. That is why they only sent forty ships to Troy. However, when the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus together with the Dorians, they swore that the Eleians would from then on be sacred to Zeus. This meant that anyone who invaded Eleia with arms should be cursed and anyone who failed to defend Eleia with all his might would be equally cursed. Therefore the Eleians prospered in peace ever since. They gained control of Olympia and installed the Olympic Games. From then on, they were credited with the magnificence and honour of the temple for Zeus at Olympia and had complete charge over it. This remained so until the 26<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, but in later times they regained control over the games and the temple again.



Because they lived in peace, they were also easy to invade. Pheidon the Argive did this, but the Eleians took up their arms in response and were aided by the Spartans, so that Pheidon was completely destroyed and the Eleians took control of the regions Pisatis and Triphylia.

They were the allies of the Spartans in the Messenian War, and in return the Spartans helped them to gain control over the entire country of Eleia. The Pylans were defeated then, too. They settled them at Lepreum and exacted tribute from them.

In the second Messenian revolt, they sided with the Messenians, however.

### Language

They spoke the Aeolic (Greek) dialect. Therefore they were sometimes ridiculed by comedians, because they often used the letter [r]<sup>202</sup>, not only at the end of the word, but also in the middle.

### Other authors about the Eleians

Homer mentions the Eleians and seems to equal them with the Epeians (cf. *infra*)<sup>203</sup>. Strabo deduces from these quotes that there must have been a city called 'Buprasium' in Eleia, which no longer existed in his time.

Hecataeus of Miletus says that the Eleians were not the same as the Epeians, but Strabo disagrees with him.

### Citations in Strabo

VIII.1.2; VIII.3.3; VIII.3.8 – VIII.3.10; VIII.3.28; VIII.3.30; VIII.3.33; VIII.4.10; X.1.10

## **7. Elephantophagi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐλεφαντοφάγοι, which literally means 'elephant-eaters'. The Latin and English name is 'Elephantophagi'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in India, whose position is not further specified.

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<sup>202</sup> Strabo talks about rhotacism.

<sup>203</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.615 and XXIII.630.

### Habits and peculiarities

They frequently engaged in the chase of elephants. Whenever they spotted a herd of elephants in the forest, they didn't simply attack them but they stealthily followed them, in order to hamstring the ones that wandered from the rear of the group. Some killed them with arrows that were dipped in the poisonous gall of serpents. The shooting of these arrows happened in a peculiar way, though: two of them would step forward and firmly hold the bow, while a third one stood back and pulled the string.

Some of them would catch the elephants in a different way. They tracked down the trees against which the elephants were wont to rest and cut the trunks of those trees halfway down. When next an elephant would then rest against it, the tree would fall down and catch the elephant.

The nomads called these elephant-hunters 'acatharti' (ἀκαθάρτοι) or 'impure ones'.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.10

## **8. Elimiotae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐλιμιῶται. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Elimiotae'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Epeirotic tribe who bordered on Macedonia, in northern Greece. Later they were annexed by the Macedonians.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.5.11

## **9. Ellopians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐλλοπιεῖς, from the singular Ἐλλοπιεύς. The English nomenclature is 'Ellopians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the city Histiaea, on the island Euboea. Later they were forced to migrate to Ellopieia, a small district within Histiaeotis, in Thessaly.

### History

Originally, they inhabited Histiaea, on Euboea. After the battle of Leuctra (Peloponnesian Wars), however, they were forced to migrate by the new tyrant of the city, Philistides. The city was renamed Oreus from then on. The Ellopians moved away to Thessaly.

### Conditions of life

They were mountaineers.

### Citations in Strabo

X.1.3; X.1.4

## **10.Elui**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐλουοί, which is the Greek transliteration of the Latin 'Elui'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Aquitania, who lived between the rivers Garonne and Loire, commencing at the Rhône. The Vellaei were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.2.2

## **11.Elvetii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐλουήττιοι, which is the Greek transcription of the Latin 'Elvetii'. They are sometimes also called 'Helvetii'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe, who inhabited today's Switzerland. They inhabited the plateaus that bordered upon the Lake of Constance. Their neighbours were the Rhaeti, the Vindelici and the Boii. They were the first of all peoples who lived on the river Rhine, whose sources were in their territory.

### History

They turned to robbery when they saw the immense opulence of their neighbours, the Cimbri, even though they had plenty of gold themselves. Two of their three tribes were completely obliterated in this encounter.

In the war against Caesar, about 400,000 of them were killed, but the rest (about 8,000) was allowed to flee to the territory of the Germans.

### Habits and peculiarities

Their women were very good at bearing and nursing children, as their incredibly large numbers prove.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.3.3; IV.4.3; IV.6.8; VII.1.5; VII.2.2

## **12.Elymaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐλυμαῖοι. The Latin version is 'Elymaei' but the standard English name is 'Elymaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the mountainous country north of Babylonia. Their neighbours were the Paraetaceni, but they possessed a larger and more diversified country than them. The Persians, Susians and Babylonians bordered on their territory as well.

### History

They once warred against the Susians and the Babylonians. They were then assisted by the Cossaei, who were their allies, with 13,000 bowmen.

They were so powerful that they even managed to kill Antiochus the Great, when he once tried to rob their temple for the god Belus.

#### Habits and peculiarities

They lived in an extensive mountainous region, where their soldiers were reared, mostly bowmen. Their military force is great – so great that their kings refused to be the subjects of either the Parthians or the Macedonians.

#### Citations in Strabo

XI.12.4; XI.13.6; XVI.1.8; XVI.1.18

### **13.Emiseni**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐμισηνοί. The Latin and English version is 'Emiseni'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in today's Syria.

#### History

Their chieftains were Sampsicaremus and his son Iamblichus, who once possessed Arethusa.

#### Citations in Strabo

XVI.2.10

### **14.Emporitans**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐμποριῖται. The Latin variant is 'Emporitae' and the English equivalent is 'Emporitans'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of Emporium, a city in Iberia (today's Spain) at 4,000 stadia distance from the Pyrenees. It was founded by Greeks from Massilia (southern France). The little town Rhodope belonged to them as well. Some say this town was founded by the Rhodians, other say that the inhabitants were the ones who founded Rhodos. Formerly, they lived on a little island off the coast, but later they went to live on the mainland. Some of them went to live in the Pyrenees. A river ran through their country which has its sources in the Pyrenees and the outlet of which served as their port. Their inland territory is partly fertile, but partly not (the so-called Juncarian plain, which was a large plain with no water). The Indictans were their neighbours.

### Habits and peculiarities

They worshipped the Artemis of Ephesus.

Their city was split in two by a wall, because in former times the Indictans, who lived there together with them, wanted such a wall for security (against the Greeks). In time, they became one single government that was partly Greek, partly barbarian. The wall remained, however.

They were skilled at flax-working, because of the plant *spartum* that grew on the Juncarian plain.

### Citations in Strabo

III.4.8; III.4.9

## **15.Enchelii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐγγέλειοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Enchelii'. They are sometimes also called 'Sesarethii' (Σεσαρήθιοι).

### Geographical notes

They were inhabitants of the Epirus, in northern Greece. Their neighbours were the Perisadyes, the Lyncestae and the Eordi.

### History

Even though they were a barbarian tribe, they were governed by the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia, and were thus not ruled by native princes.

## Citations in Strabo

VII.7.8

## **16.Enetians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐνετοί. The Latin version is 'Eneti' and the English nomenclature is 'Enetians'. They are sometimes also called 'Henetians' or 'Venetians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited an area in northern Italy, along the Adriatic coast, which corresponds with today's region of Veneto (cf. Venice). Their seaboard closed off a large plain in the Alps, and the city Aquileia was not far from their territory.

Before they migrated thither, they inhabited Paphlagonia, in Asia Minor. In Strabo's time, however, there were no Enetians in Paphlagonia anymore.

### History

They were once the most notable tribe of the Paphlagonians, but when Troy was captured, they migrated to the Adriatic coast. Some say Antenor led them there. Others say they were alone and they crossed over to Thrace, after which they wandered on into the Enetian country. This would be the reason why there were no Enetians in Paphlagonia anymore and the Veneti were sometimes called 'Paphlagonians'. Strabo considers this to be a traditional fact.

Later on, they used to help the Romans in battle. That is why they were accorded equality of civic rights from the Romans.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were very much devoted to horse-breeding, which would be a proof of their being originally 'Trojan', according to Strabo.

They decreed honours for the hero Diomedes and sacrificed white horses to him. There are many stories told about him in this area and they say he had an apotheosis in this country. They also worshipped the Argive Hera and the Aetolian Artemis.

### Other authors about the Enetians

Homer mentions them in Paphlagonia:

‘Παφλαγόνων δ’ ἡγεῖτο Πυλαιμένος λάσιον κῆρ

ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων.’<sup>204</sup>

‘And the Paphlagonians Palaemenes of the stout heart led from the land of the Eneti, from which is the race of wild she-mules.’ (translation: Murray, 1999)

Maeandrius says they left Cappadocia (not Paphlagonia) to go fight in Troy, after which they departed together with the Thracians. Those Enetians that didn’t take part in the Trojan expedition, however, became part of the Cappadocians. Strabo seems to find this plausible, since he considers that is why the part of Cappadocia near the river Halys (and thus near Paphlagonia) spoke two languages and why the Cappadocian language abounded with Paphlagonian names.

### Citations in Strabo

I.3.2; I.3.21; III.2.13; IV.4.1; V.1.1; V.1.3; V.1.4; V.1.8; V.1.9; VI.3.9; XII.3.8; XII.3.25

## **17.Eordi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἑορδοί. The Latin and English version is ‘Eordi’.

### Geographical notes

They lived in Macedonia, north of Greece, not far from the cities Edessa and Pella. Elimia and Eratyra were close as well. The so-called Egnatian Way passed through their territory. The Lyncestae, the Enchelii and the Perisadyes were their neighbours.

### Constitution

In earlier times, they used to be ruled separately by their own dynasty. However, later they were conquered by the Macedonians and then by the Romans.

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<sup>204</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.851-852.



## Citations in Strabo

VII.7.4; VII.7.8

## **18.Epeians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐπειοί. The Latin variant is 'Epeii' and the English name is 'Epeians'. They are sometimes equalled with the 'Eleians' (cf. *supra*).

### Geographical notes

They inhabited Elis in the northern Peloponnesus, from Messenia all the way to Dyme. They were one of the three tribes in Triphylia, next to the Minyans and the Eleians. They also inhabited the Enchinades islands (or the Oxeiae), west of Greece.

### History

They were under the dominion of Pylus, but when Neleus (the father of Nestor) started to get old, they conceived contempt of him and started to treat the Pylians with disrespect.

Their country was once ravaged by Heracles.

Some took up their abode in Aetolia, after their king Salmoneus had driven Aetolus and the Aetolians out of Eleia and into Anatolia. They constituted a great part of the peoples who stayed among the Aetolians, and together they founded the first cities in Aetolia. However, Oxylus, descendant of Aetolus, brought the Aetolians back to the Peloponnesus and drove the Epeians out, and some Aetolians went to live in Elis now.

### Other authors about the Epeians

Homer mentions Otus as their chief in the Trojan War<sup>205</sup>. He speaks of the Eleians and Buprasians as though they were Epeians<sup>206</sup>. Strabo therefore assumes that the Epeians had a pre-eminence in the area and were more powerful than the Eleians, but that later on this changed and the people were called Eleians instead.

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<sup>205</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XV.518.

<sup>206</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.615 and XXIII.630.

Hecataeus of Miletus says the Eleians and the Epeians were two different people, but Strabo thinks they were the same.

#### Citations in Strabo

VIII.3.1; VIII.3.3; VIII.3.4; VIII.3.8; VIII.3.9; VIII.3.17; VIII.3.26; VIII.3.28 – VIII.3.30; VIII.3.33; IX.3.12; X.2.14; X.2.19; X.3.2; X.3.4

## **19.Epeirotes**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἑπειρώται. The Latin version is 'Epirotae' or 'Epirotes'.

#### Geographical notes

They bordered on the Greeks and possessed the parts north of Acarnania and Aetolia. The rivers Haliacmon, Erigon and Axius were the boundaries with Macedonia and Paeonia.

#### Genealogy

The term 'Epirotes' is a sort of umbrella which covers a lot of smaller tribes. In total, fourteen tribes were considered to be Epirotes.

#### History

Seventy of their cities were destroyed by Paulus Aemilius when he conquered the area. Some tribes were included within a Roman province in Strabo's time.

#### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.1; VII.7.3; VII.7.5; VII.fr.12; XVII.3.26

## **20.Ephesians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐφέσιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Ephesii' and the English version is 'Ephesians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the Greek city Ephesus, on the western coast of Asia Minor.

### History

In ancient times, they were fellow-inhabitants with the Smyrnaeans. That is why they were sometimes still called 'Smyrnaeans'. Later, they were the ones who induced Smyrna to join the Ionian League.

They once possessed Neapolis in Italy, but they exchanged it for Marathesium of the Samians.

They were once defeated by the Magnetians in a war.

### Citations in Strabo

XIV.1.4; XIV.1.20; XIV.1.40

## **21.Ephyri**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐφυροί. The Latin and English variant is 'Ephyri'.

### Geographical notes

There were the Aetolian or Thesprotian Ephyri, who inhabited the Epirus in northern Greece. Their city was called Cichyrus or Ephyra, of which the latter name gave them their nomenclature. Strabo also mentions Perrhaebian Ephyri, who lived in Thessaly and were also called 'Crannonians'.

### Other authors about the Ephyri

Homer mentions them and calls them 'Crannonians', but he situates them in Thrace<sup>207</sup>.

### Citations in Strabo

VIII.3.5; IX.5.21

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<sup>207</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIII.301.

## **22.Epicnemidii**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἐπικνηνίδιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Epicnemidii'. They got this name from the Mountain Cnemis (Κνημὶς) nearby. Sometimes they are called 'Locri Epicnemidii' or 'Epicnemidian Locrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in northern Greece, in what used to be Phocis but what later became Locris. They inhabited the coast north of Boeotia, opposite of Euboea. Opus was their metropolis, but the city Cnemides (Κνημίδες) also belonged to them. On the other side of the strait, opposite of Cnemides, there was the Euboean city Cenaeum. The Oetaei and the Malienses were their neighbours. The Parnassus Mountains separated them from the Locri Hesperii (or Hesperian Locrians). The Lichades, three small islands, were situated close to their territory.

Some of them lived on the side of Boeotia as well. They colonised Phthiotis in Thessaly and some of them lived in Oeta, together with the Aenianians.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.2.42; IX.3.1; IX.3.17; IX.4.1; IX.4.4; IX.4.9; IX.4.10; IX.5.5

## **23.Epidaurians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἐπιδάυριοι. The Latin variant is 'Epidaurii' and the English equivalent is 'Epidaurians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Epidaurus in the north-eastern Peloponnesus.

### **History**

They once colonised the island Aegina.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VIII.6.16

## **24. Epizephyrian Locrians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἐπιζεφύριοι Λοκροί. The Latin version is 'Epizephyrii Locri' and the standard English name is 'Epizephyrian Locrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Magna Graecia, in southern Italy. They inhabited the proverbial tip of the Italian boot.

### **History**

They were founded by the Ozolian Locrians, also known as Hesperian Locrians.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.4.9

## **25. Erembians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἐρεμβοί. The Latin variant is 'Erembi' and the English equivalent is 'Erembians'. A possible etymology for this name is that it comes from ἔραν ἐμβαίνειν, or 'to go into the earth'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were mentioned by Homer, but historians in Strabo's time were at loss as to which people is meant by this. Some equalled them with the Troglodytes, some with the Arambians. Either way, it seems plausible that they were an Arabian people.

### **Other authors about the Erembians**

In the story about the wanderings of Menelaus, Homer talks about the Erembians<sup>208</sup>.

### **Citations in Strabo**

I.1.3; I.2.31; I.2.34; XVI.4.27

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<sup>208</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, IV.84.

## **26.Eretrians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἐρετριεῖς, from the singular Ἐρετριεύς. The English variant is 'Eretrians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Eretria on Euboea. They also held the territory about the city Carystus, in southern Euboea.

### **History**

They were colonists from the Athenian deme of the Eretrians. Once they had a lot of power, which was still to be seen in Strabo's time by the pillar they set up in the temple of Artemis Amarynthia. They used to rule of the islands Andros, Teos, Ceos and others.

They participated in the Ionian League against the Persians, at the dawn of the Persian Wars, and were therefore destroyed and carried off by them. Ever since they have taken up their abode in Gordys.

### **Language**

Because people from Elis came to settle with them, they came to rhotacise their [s] as well.

### **Citations in Strabo**

X.1.3; X.1.6; X.1.10; XVI.1.25

## **27.Erysichaeans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἐρυσιχαῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Erysichaei' but the English name is 'Erysichaeans'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in the interior of Acarnania, in northern Greece.

### **Other authors about the Erysichaeans**

They are mentioned by the lyrical poet Alcman.

### Citations in Strabo

X.2.22

## **28.Erythraeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἐρυθραῖοι. The Latin variant is 'Erythraei' and the English name is 'Erythraeans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the Greek city Erythrae, on the western coast of Asia Minor.

### Habits and peculiarities

The ones who lived near Mount Mimas worshipped Heracles 'Ipoctonus', because he was the destroyer of the vine-eating worm (ἀμπελοφάγος ἴψ). And indeed, their territory was the only Erythraen land where no such worms lived.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.64

## **29.Estiones**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἑστίωνες. The Latin and English version is 'Estiones'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Vindelici and must therefore be situated in today's north-eastern Switzerland.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8

### **30.Eteo-Cretans**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἐτεόκρητες. The Latin equivalent is 'Eteo-Cretes' and the English name is 'Eteo-Cretans'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were the autochthonous population of the island Crete. In Strabo's time, they occupied the southern part of the island.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

X.4.6

### **31.Euboeans**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Εὐβοεῖς, from the singular Εὐβοεύς. The English standard nomenclature is 'Euboeans'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the island Euboea, before the coast of Attica.

#### **History**

They fought in the Trojan War. When they returned homewards, some of them were driven out of their course and decided to try and reach their homeland through Macedonia. However, they stuck around in the area of Edessa and founded a city there, called 'Euboea'.

#### **Habits and peculiarities**

They excelled in the 'standing' combat or close combat. They also used their spears outstretched, like Homer mentions<sup>209</sup>.

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<sup>209</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.543.



### Citations in Strabo

X.1.13; X.1.15

## **32.Europeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Εὐρωπαῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Europaei' and the English variant is 'Europeans'.

### Geographical notes

They were all the inhabitants of Europe, as opposed to Asia. The boundary was about somewhere along the Caspian Sea, with the Scythians and Sarmatians as Asian peoples.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.2.3; XI.6.2

## **33.Eurytians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Εὐρυτᾶνες. The Latin variant is 'Eurytanes' and the English version is 'Eurytians'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Aetolian tribe, who lived near the city Oechalia, in northern Greece.

### Citations in Strabo

X.1.10; X.2.5

### **34.Evergetae**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ευεργέται, which means ‘benefactors’. The Latin and English version is ‘Evergetae’. They received this name from Cyrus the Elder for their kindly services when he marched through their country.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were an Asian tribe, who lived about the district of Carmania, in today’s Iran.

#### **History**

They were visited by Alexander the Great, when he marched east.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

XV.2.10

### **35.Exitanians**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἑξιτανοί. The Latin variant is ‘Exitani’ and the English standard name is ‘Exitanians’. They are sometimes called ‘Hexitanians’ or ‘Sexitanians’ as well.

#### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Iberia, in today’s southern Spain. The cities Malaca (Malaga) and Gades (Cadiz) were close by their territory.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

III.4.2; III.5.5

## ***F.***

### **1. Falisci**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Φαλίσκοι. The Latin and English version is 'Falisci'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a distinct people in Italy, who formed a separate nation. Some situate them in the city Falerium, others in Aequum Faliscum (on the Via Flaminia).

#### Language

They spoke a language peculiar to themselves.

#### Citations in Strabo

V.2.9

### **2. Frentani**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Φρεντανοί. The Latin and English version is 'Frentani' or 'Phrentani'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a people in southern Italy, in today's Apulia. The Apuli and the Daunians were their neighbours, but the boundaries between all these nations were very poorly defined.

#### Citations in Strabo

VI.3.8

## **G.**

### **1. Gabales**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαβαλεῖς, from the singular Γαβαλεύς. The Latin and English version is 'Gabales'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Aquitania, who lived nearby Narbonitis. The Ruteni were their neighbours. They owned silver-mines in that region.

#### Citations in Strabo

IV.2.2

### **2. Gaditanians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαδιτανοί. The Latin name is 'Gaditani' and the English equivalent is 'Gaditanians'.

#### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of Gades and surroundings in today's south-western Spain. Some lived on a small island, on the western part of which the city Gades was situated, while others lived on the continent across the island. On this western part of the island, where Gades is, there was a temple for Cronus, while on the eastern side there was a temple for Heracles. The Gaditanians were very numerous, even though they only lived on a small island.

#### History

There are several stories about the founding of Gades. It is said that an oracle was given to the Tyrians that they had to found a colony by the Pillars of Heracles. However, the scouts who had to explore the area, mistook the two capes that formed the strait of Gibraltar for the Pillars. They landed east of the strait and made sacrifices there, to see if the gods favoured of this place, but they didn't. So they went back home. Later, other scouts were sent, and they actually passed Gibraltar and went west of the

strait. They sacrificed again, but they weren't favourable once more, so they went home as well. But third time's a charm, because the third expedition founded Gades.

They used to live in a very small city, but Balbus of Gades built a new one that was called 'Nea'. The city that encompassed both of these cities was called 'Didyme'.

#### Habits and peculiarities

All of their cities were rather small, but not very crowded, because they mostly lived at sea.

#### Citations in Strabo

III.5.3; III.5.5

### **3. Gaetulians**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαίτουλοι. The Latin version is 'Gaetuli' and the English name is 'Gaetulians'.

#### Geographical notes

They were the largest tribe of Libya, who inhabited the deep interior of the land, which is mountainous and mostly desert. The Garamantes lived north of them. Between their territory and the coast with the Mediterranean Sea, there were many plains, mountains, great lakes and rivers, some of which had the habit of sinking into the earth and disappearing.

#### Conditions of life

They were simple in their mode of life and in their dresses. In several respects, they resembled the Arabian nomads.

#### Habits and peculiarities

They married numerous wives and had very much offspring.

#### Citations in Strabo

XVII.3.2; XVII.3.9; XVII.3.19

#### **4. Gaezatae**

##### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαιζᾶται. The Latin and English variant is 'Gaezatae'.

##### Geographical notes

They were one of the largest Celtic tribes, who lived in Gallia Cispadana: south of the river Po.

##### History

They once captured territory that belonged to the Romans, but later they were utterly annihilated by them.

##### Citations in Strabo

V.1.6; V.1.10

#### **5. Galabrii**

##### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαλάβριοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Galabrii'.

##### Geographical notes

They were a Dardanian tribe, who lived in the Balkan. In their territory, there was an ancient city.

##### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.1

#### **6. Galactophagi**

It is far from certain whether the Galactophagi were a real or mythical people, but Strabo seems convinced that they were real.

## Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαλακτοφάγοι, which literally means something like ‘milk-eaters’. The Latin and English version is ‘Galactophagi’. Very often, the word is simply considered to have been an *epitheton ornans* in Homer (cf. *infra*).

## Geographical notes

Strabo connects them with the Mysians, Scythians and Sarmatians. They must therefore be situated somewhere along the Caspian Sea.

## Conditions of life

They were a nomadic people who lived on the meat of horses, cheese made from mare’s milk, or mare’s milk (fresh and sour). This is where they got their name (cf. *supra*).

## Habits and peculiarities

They were reputed to be very just men.

They dwelled in wagons.

## Other authors about the Galactophagi

The main reason for Strabo to mention the Galactophagi is because Homer mentions them as well:

‘Μυσῶν τ’ ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν ἵππεμολγῶν

γαλακτοφάγων ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.’<sup>210</sup>

‘... and of the Mysians who fight in close combat, and of the lordly Hippemolgi who drink the milk of mares, and of the Abii, the most just of men.’ (translation: Murray, 1999)

In this translation, the word is seen as an adjective by ‘Abii’. However, Strabo and most of his contemporary ethnographers were convinced that they were a separate people altogether.

Apollodorus says that they were fabrications of Homer’s fantasy, but Strabo says this isn’t true.

## Citations in Strabo

VII.3.2; VII.3.3; VII.3.6; VII.3.7; VII.3.9; VII.4.6; XII.3.26; XII.3.27

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<sup>210</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIII.5.

## **7. Galatians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γαλάται. The Latin variant is 'Galatae' and the English name is 'Galatians'. They were approximately the same as the 'Celti' (cf. *supra*) or the 'Gauls', even though the name 'Galatians' seems to be more frequently used for the Asian division of this people.

### **Geographical notes**

There lived Galatians in all parts of the world. They lived all along the outer coast of western Europe, all the way to the city Gades (southern Spain). They had fourteen tribes between the rivers Garumna (Garonne) and Liger (Loire) in today's France, and some in the land of the Rhône and in Narbonitis. They inhabited the region Galatia in Asia Minor, west of Cappadocia and south of Paphlagonia. These Asian Galatians were divided into three tribes: the Trocmi, the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages.

### **Genealogy**

Some names of Galatian tribes are: the Teuritsae, the Taurisci, the Scordiscan Galatae, etc.

The Germans were named after the Galatians, since *germani* means 'genuine' and people thought that they were the genuine Galatae.

### **History**

The people of the Galatians has known many emigrations in their history. One of the most important ones is the one into Asia Minor. They wandered for a long time, overrunning the countries of the Attalic and Bithynian kings and even settling at Ilium for a while, even though they soon deserted it since it had no walls and was therefore useless as a stronghold. Finally they received the present of Galatia (also called Gallo-Graecia) by voluntary concession.

The ones who lived in northern Italy once conquered Rome, in ancient times, but were then defeated by the Caeretani. In Hellenistic times, they were conquered in a great battle by Attalus I. Eventually, however, the Romans conquered them all. The Cisalpine Galatians (south of the Alps) even achieved equality of civic rights from them. Later, they dedicated a temple to Augustus in the city Lugdunum (Lyon).

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They resembled the Aquitanians, in respect to their language and their physique.



They claimed that their mines in the Cemmenus Mountains (at the foot of the Pyrenees) were equal to those of the Turdetanians. However, their metal wasn't nearly esteemed as highly as that of the Turdetanians.

The Massaliotes taught the ones in Gallia to be fond of the Greeks and their authors, and to even write their contracts in Greek.

### Language

The three Asian Galatic tribes spoke one and the same language, but Strabo doesn't specify which language.

### Constitution

The ones in Asia were each divided into four portions, called tetrarchies, all with its own tetrarch. They were used to gathering in the council of twelve tetrarchs (four for each of the three tribes). In Strabo's time, however, the power had been passed to three, then to two, and then to one ruler, until finally the Romans took it over.

### Citations in Strabo

I.3.21; I.4.5; III.2.8; IV.1.1; IV.1.5; IV.1.14; IV.2.1; IV.3.2; V.1.1; V.2.3; VII.1.2; VII.2.2; XII.1.1; XII.3.1; XII.3.9; XII.5.1; XII.8.1; XII.8.7; XIII.1.27; XIII.4.2; XIV.5.23

## **8. Gamabrivii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαμαβριούιοι, which is the Greek transliteration of 'Gamabrivii'.

### Geographical notes

They were an indigent Germanic tribe.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.1.3

## **9. Garamantes**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γαράμαντες. The Latin and English name is 'Garamantes'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a people in the western parts of Libya, who lived east of today's Tunisia. The Gaetulians lived to their south and the Nasamones and Psylli were their neighbours too.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XVII.3.19; XVII.3.23

## **10. Gargarians**

The historicity of this people is about as questionable as that of the Amazons, but Strabo treats them like a real *ethnos*.

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γαργαρεῖς, from the singular Γαργαρεύς. The English name is 'Gargarians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They bordered on the territory of the Amazons, in the northerly hills of the Caucasian Mountains. Strabo mentions Themiscyra as their city, which was possibly situated in today's Turkey.

### **History**

They once revolted against the Amazons, together with the Thracians and Euboeans, but the war was soon ended and they made a pact to live together.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

Every spring they would go up into the mountains to sacrifice together with the Amazons and to have intercourse with them, for the sake of offspring. They also raised the male children that were thus born out of this union.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.5.1; XI.5.2

## **11.Garindaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαρινδαῖοι. The Latin version is 'Garindaei' and the English variant is 'Garindaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Arabian tribe, who lived along the coast of the Arabian Peninsula.

### History

They conquered their territory from the Maranitae, by attacking them while they were celebrating a festival and exterminating the entire tribe.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.18

## **12.Gazaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γαζαῖοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Gazaei' and the English nomenclature is 'Gazaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Syria, most likely close to today's Gaza strip.

### Conditions of life

They were mostly farmers.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.2.2

### **13.Gedroseni**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γεδρωσηνοί. The Latin and English version is 'Gedroseni'. They are also called 'Gedrosii' (Γεδρώσιοι).

#### **Geographical notes**

They were an Indian tribe, who lived along the Indus, south of Carmania, in today's Iran. The Drangae and the Arachoti were their neighbours.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

XV.2.9

### **14.Gelae**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γῆλαι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Gelae'.

#### **Geographical notes**

They were said to have lived in between of the Amazons and the Albanians, in the north-eastern parts of the Taurus mountain range. They inhabited the region at the foot of the Armenian and Median Mountains, south of the Caspian Sea. Their neighbours were the Cadusii, the Amardi, the Vitii and the Anariacae.

#### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.5.1; XI.7.1; XI.8.1

### **15.Geloans**

#### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γελῶοι. The Latin variant is 'Geloi' and the English name is 'Geloans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the city Acragas on Sicily (today's Agrigento).

### Citations in Strabo

VI.2.5

## **16.Genauni**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γενάῦνοι. The Latin and English version is 'Genauni'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Illyrian tribe and must therefore be situated in Illyria, the region east of Italy, across the Adriatic Sea. They lived close to the Alps, upon the today's boundary between Italy and Switzerland, together with the Breuni.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8

## **17.Georgi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γεωργοί, which literally means 'farmers'. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Georgi'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the region Chersonesus, north of the Black sea, on the modern Crimean peninsula.

### Conditions of life

As their name indicates, they were farmers. They got this name because the people who lived beyond this region were all nomads.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were generally considered to be more gentle and civilised than the nomads, but they were money-getters and sometimes even engaged in piracy.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.4.6

## **18.Gephyraeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γεφυραῖοι. The Latin variant is 'Gephyraei' and the English name is 'Gephyraeans'. This was an alternative name for the 'Tanagraeans' (Ταναγραῖοι).

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the Greek city Tanagra in Boeotia, north of Attica.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.2.10

## **19.Gergithians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γέργιθες. The Latin version is 'Gergithes' and the English standard name is 'Gergithians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the city Gergitha in the Troad, Asia Minor, near the river Caicus (today's Bakırçay).

### History

King Attalus destroyed their country and afterwards settled them in the city Gergitha.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.70

## **20.Germans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γερμανοί. The Latin equivalent is 'Germani' and the English name is 'Germans'. They were called so by the Romans, because *germani* means 'genuine' and they were thought to have been the most genuine part of the Galatae.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived eastwards beyond the river Rhine and bordered on the ocean in the north. Those who lived in between of the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe were the most known, but anything beyond Albis were not known to the Romans. The river Rhine was the boundary with the Galatic race.

### **History**

They often joined forces with the Sequani to attack Italy, but in their turn they were sometimes overrun by Italic peoples. In Strabo's time, they were still being warred and obviously were the new great enemy of Rome.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They were kinsmen of the Gauls (Galatae) and had the same nature and government. However, they still had a lot of customs that the Gauls didn't have any longer since they were dominated by Rome. That is why they got the name 'Germani' (cf. *supra*).

### **Physical appearance**

They differ from the Gauls, however, in that they are wilder, taller and have yellower hair.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IV.3.2; IV.4.2; IV.6.8; VI.4.2; VII.1.2; VII.2.4; VII.3.13

## **21.Gerrhaeans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Γερραιῶν. The Latin variant is 'Gerrhaei' and the English nomenclature is 'Gerrhaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They were situated somewhere near Babylon, in the Middle East.

### Habits and peculiarities

They conveyed aromatics, mostly to the Palaestine country, and this trade has made them extremely rich.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.18; XVI.4.19

## **22.Getans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γέται. The Latin version is 'Getae', which is sometimes also used as the English name. However, 'Getans' is also a frequent nomenclature.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe south of Germania, west of the Black sea and east of the Dacians. The Suevi and the Tyregetae were their neighbours. Their territory was rather narrow at first, but in the south it extended along the river Ister (Danube), of which they occupied both banks. However, it was very unclear where their exact boundaries ran. The so-called Desert of the Getae was situated between the rivers Ister (Danube) and Tyras (Dniester) and comprised of a wholly flat and waterless plain.

### History

They were once conquered by Alexander the Great. In earlier times, they were very powerful. So much that they could manage to send forth an expedition of 200,000 men. However, later they were reduced to as few as 40,000. In Strabo's time, Boerebistas governed their tribe and he raised them to greatness again, by establishing a great empire and submitting the neighbouring peoples. Later he began to be formidable to the Romans, though, and he started being a threat, but some men rose up against Boerebistas and deposed of from the throne before the Romans could even march against him. His successors then divided his empire in parts. They were eventually very close to yielding obedience to the Romans, but they weren't submissive yet because they still have their hopes on help from the Germans.



### Habits and peculiarities

They considered the women to be the chief founders of their religion. The zeal for their religion was very strong in their tribe, so strong that they abstained from eating all living things. The Pythagorean Zamolxis was worshipped as a god, as was Decaeneus, the diviner of Byrebistas. They also regarded the priest and counsellor of the king as a god and believed that Mount Cogaeonum was sacred.

They were a very straightforward people. Strabo gives the example of the expedition under Lysimachus against them: the Getans defeated him and managed to capture Lysimachus alive, but instead of killing him or demanding a ransom, their king Dromichaetes pointed out the poverty of the tribe and their dependence of others and he bade him not to war against them again. When he consented to this, he was set free.

A lot of Attic slaves got the name 'Geta', because they originally were Getans.

### Language

Their language was the same as that of the Dacians, but they were much better known to the Greeks than the Dacians, because of their frequent migrations south of the river Danube and their intermingling with Thracians and Mysians.

### Other authors about the Getans

Menanders says that they weren't very restrained when it came to women: they married ten or more women and if anyone were to die before he had married more than five, he was lamented as a wretch without bride. However, Strabo doesn't believe this, since they considered a life without women to be the most pious life.

### Citations in Strabo

II.5.30; VII.3.1; VII.3.4; VII.3.5; VII.3.8; VII.3.11 – VII.3.14; VII.3.17; VII.5.1; XVI.2.39

## **23.Gordyaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people Γορδυαῖοι. The Latin version is 'Gordyaei' and the English name 'Gordyaeans'. The ancients called them 'Carduchians' (Καρδοῦχοι) instead.

### Geographical notes

They lived near the river Tigris in the Fertile Crescent. Their cities were Sareisa, Satalca and Pinaca.

### History

They were subjects of the Armenians, but afterwards they fell to the Romans.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were experts in the construction of siege engines. However, this could not save their city Pinaca when the Romans attacked it.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.1.24

## **24.Gortynians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γορτύνιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Gortynii' and the English variant is 'Gortynians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Gortyna (or Gortys or Gortyn) in the southern parts of the island Crete.

### History

They once waged a war against the Cnossians.

### Citations in Strabo

X.4.10

## **25.Greeks**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is "Έλληνες". The Latin version is 'Helleni' or 'Hellenes' or 'Graeci'. The English nomenclature is 'Greeks'. In earlier times, they were called 'Argives' as well, because of the fame of Argos.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited Greece and its many colonies.

### **Genealogy**

This term of course covers a lot of smaller subdivisions, the largest and most ancient of which were the Thessalians.

Some say they were kinsmen with the Romans.

The name was used to refer to the two divisions of mankind: Greeks and barbarians.

### **History**

They were the first great civilisation of Europe and thus helped to make Europe independent from the Asian and African civilisations. They were hated by the earliest Aegyptian kings, because they sailed the seas.

During and after the Trojan War, they invaded lots of lands and migrated all across the Mediterranean. They were of course also the ones who razed Troy to the ground.

In the Persian Wars, they completely wiped Mardonius and 300,000 Persians at Plataea.

Certain of them caused Bactria to revolt from the Syrian kings. They became very powerful in this area because of the fertility of the land there, and they overmastered Arian and India. They subdued even more tribes than Alexander the Great had. It was to avenge them that Alexander burnt down Persepolis, because the Persians had also destroyed Greek temples and cities.

They once received 2,100,000 medimni grain from Leuco, the king of the Cimmerian Bosporians. The Sinopeans helped them out many times as well.

The inhabitants of Magna Graecia once met total disaster at the hands of the Leucani, because they had misinterpreted an oracle.

They joined the Carthaginians in revolution against Rome, and therefore the Romans had to conquer them, to keep them subdued. Caesar once settled five hundred of them at Comum in Italy, where they received the Roman citizenship. They changed the name into Neocomitae (Νεοκομίται), but decided not to stay there anyway.

### Colonies

The historian Coelius says that they were the founders of Rome, because the Roman hereditary sacrifice to Heracles strongly resembled the Greek ritual for Heracles. Strabo doesn't seem to agree with this, but he does say that there were many Greek migrations after the Trojan War, that disturbed and confused the entire Mediterranean Sea.

They were in control of Magna Graecia, in southern Italy, but also of the entire seaboard of Sicily. They founded Praeneste and Tibur, also in Italy.

Some of them inhabited the seaboard of the Propontis, some the Hellespont or the Gulf of Melas (today's Gulf of Saros). They founded Panticapaeum and several other cities on the Bosphorus. They also inhabited Rhodes and Cos, even long before the Trojan War.

They had many colonies in Asia, which has made it difficult for geographers to discern exactly where the boundaries of the lands and peoples there were. They colonised Ionia, of course, but also Phrygia. They took possession of Bactria, with its city Eucratidia, and divided it into satrapies. However, two of these satrapies were soon taken away by the Parthians. They held the region of Sogdiana as well, east of Bactria.

They also had a colony at Cirta in Masyilia, Libya. Alexandria was of course also a Greek city, and one of the most important tribes inhabiting it in Strabo's time was still Greek.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were happy to live on a barren and rocky soil, because they focused on good governing, arts and the science of life instead. This is perhaps why they were the most talkative of men.

Their custom to offer hecatombs and their customs of marriage were followed by some other peoples, such as the Lusitanians. They often vowed to the gods to dedicate everything that was produced that year. They obeyed both human and divine mandates, the latter of which were mostly given through oracles. It was common for them to perform their religious rites in combination with festivals. This sometimes encompassed religious frenzy, sometimes only music, and sometimes they were completely secret. They modelled their gods in human forms.

They had the reputation for choosing very well in sites for colonies or new cities. However, the Romans were better at adding self-made supplies, such as roads, aqueducts and sewers.

They often designated things with different names. For example, they called the ministers of the goddess Rhea 'Curetes' and they named the boats of some pirates 'camarae' (καμάραι). They called the 'paeanismos' of the Thracians 'titanismos'. They named the Cimbri 'Cimmerii' and the region Iapygia they gave the name 'Messapia'. They also supposed the Getans to be Thracians.

They had the greatest regard for the Scythians and considered them to be the most straightforward of men and the least prone to mischief, more frugal and independent than they themselves were. This is why they held Anacharsis and Abaris in great esteem.

Many of their beliefs and opinions were the same as those of the Indians. For example, they shared the idea that the universe was spherical, created and therefore destructible. The earth was situated in the centre of the universe, according to them. They also believed that the creator of the universe regulated and pervaded everything, and that the primal element was water. However, they thought there was a fifth element as well, of which the heavens and planets were made.

They learned geometry and astronomy from the Aegyptians and arithmetics from the Phoenicians. They also learned astrology from the Chaldaeans.

#### Citations in Strabo

I.4.7; I.4.9; II.5.26; III.3.7; III.4.19; III.5.5; V.1.6; V.3.3; V.3.5; V.3.8; V.3.11; V.4.12; VI.1.1; VI.1.2; VI.2.4; VI.3.1; VI.4.2; VII.2.2; VII.3.2; VII.3.7; VII.3.8; VII.4.6; VII.7.4; VII.fr.40; VIII.6.9; IX.2.31; IX.4.18; X.3.9; X.3.12; XI.1.2; XI.2.5; XI.2.12; XI.6.1; XI.11.1; XI.11.2; XII.3.11; XII.8.4; XII.8.6; XII.8.7; XIII.1.1; XIII.1.3; XIII.1.36; XIII.1.41; XIII.2.3; XIV.2.5; XV.1.3; XV.1.59; XV.3.6; XVI.2.24; XVI.2.35; XVI.2.38; XVII.1.6; XVII.1.12; XVII.1.29; XVII.3.13

## **26.Guranii**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γουράνιοι. The Latin and English version is 'Guranii'.

#### Geographical notes

They lived in Asia Minor, beyond Armenia and close to the Medes.

### Citations in Strabo

XI.14.14

## **27.Gymnesians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γυμνήσιοι. The Latin variant is 'Gymnesiae' but the English nomenclature is 'Gymnesians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands, nearby Spain. The largest island had two cities: Palma and Polentia, respectively in the western and eastern part of the isle. The soil of the islands was good, as were their harbours.

### History

Because of their great soil and harbours, they were always the object of plots. However, they mostly lived in peace, except for the time when they were cast into disrepute, because a few criminals had formed partnerships with some pirates.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were considered to be the best slingers, something they had practiced ever since the Phoenicians had acquired the islands.

### Citations in Strabo

III.5.1

## **28.Gyrtonians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Γυρτώνιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Gyrtonii' and the English name is 'Gyrtonians'. They used to be called 'Phlegae' in earlier times, named after Phlegas who was the brother of Ixion.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Gyrton, in Thessaly in northern Greece.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.5.21

## **H.**

### **1. Halizoni**

The Halizones were an obscure and unknown tribe, mentioned by Homer, but most likely not extant anymore in Strabo's time.

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀλιζῶνοι. The Latin and English version is 'Halizoni'. They are sometimes also called 'Halizones' (Ἀλιζῶνες), but Strabo thinks this name is the fault of Apollodorus, who misspelled the name 'Halizoni'.

#### Geographical notes

There were various opinions about where the Halizoni should be situated. Strabo seems to place them near Palaescepsis in the Troad, in the interior of the land. Other say they lived near Pallene, or Pharnacia.

#### Other authors about the Halizones

They were mentioned by Homer as allies of the Trojans<sup>211</sup>.

#### Citations in Strabo

XII.3.20; XII.3.22; XIII.1.45; XIV.5.22 – XIV.5.24; XIV.5.28

### **2. Hamaxitans**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμαξιτεῖς, from the singular Ἀμαξιτεύς. The English standard name is 'Hamaxitans'.

#### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Hamaxitus, in the Troad, Asia Minor. The Neandrians were their neighbours.

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<sup>211</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.856.



### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.51

## **3. Hamaxoeci**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἀμαξοῖκοι, which literally means 'who live in wagons'. The Latin and English version is 'Hamaxoeci'.

### Geographical notes

They lived by the rivers Don and Dnjeper, north of the Black sea, and near Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov). They inhabited the region that was closest to the only part of Europe that was not inhabitable. Their territory must therefore be situated along the ocean in the north, according to Strabo.

### Genealogy

The Abii were considered to be Scythian Hamaxoeci.

### Conditions of life

They were nomads who, as their name gives away, lived in wagon-houses. They survived on their herd, milk and cheese.

### Habits and peculiarities

They don't know how to lay up treasures or how to deal in merchandise.

### Citations in Strabo

II.5.26; VII.3.2; VII.3.7; XI.2.1

## **4. Heleii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is "Ἑλαιοί, which means 'marsh-people'. The Latin and English variant is 'Heleii'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Aethiopian tribe, who inhabited the marshes together with the Rhizophagi ('root-eaters').

### Habits and peculiarities

They had the habit of cutting roots out of the marshy ground, crushing them with stones and forming cakes out them. Then they would heat these cakes in the sunshine, so that they could be eaten.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.4.9

## **5. Hellenes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is "Ἕλληνες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Hellenes'. It used to be the name of the Thessalian tribe (cf. *infra*) but later on it would come to be the name of all the Greeks.

### Geographical notes

The Hellenes were a Thessalian tribe, who lived in the regions Alope, Phthia, Trachis, Hellas and Argos – all in northern Greece. Pyrrha (Melitaea) was one of their cities.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.5.5; IX.5.6

## **6. Helli**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἑλλοί. The Latin and English version is 'Helli'. They are sometimes also called 'Selli' (Σελλοί).

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in the neighbourhood of Dodona, in Epirus, north-western Greece.

### **Other authors about the Helli**

Homer mentions them and calls them 'men with feet unwashen, men who sleep on the ground'<sup>212</sup>. Strabo thus assumes that they must be barbarians.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.7.10

## **7. Helots**

They were strictly speaking not an ethnic people, but more a class of persons.

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἑλωτες. The Latin variant is 'Helotes' and the English name 'Helots'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the servile tribe of the Spartans, who partly consisted of their neighbouring peoples. However, those Spartans who didn't take part in the Messenian War were adjudged slaves and were given the same name as well. Later, the name was given to all sorts of servile tribes in all parts of the world.

### **History**

The peoples surrounding Sparta used to have equal rights, but Eurysthenes deprived them of that and ordered them to pay taxes. All of them obeyed, except the Heleians (Ἑλεῖοι), who were then defeated in the so-called 'War against the Helots' and adjudged slaves of the Spartans.

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<sup>212</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XVI.235.

They once plotted against the Spartans, but their plans were betrayed. The Spartans didn't believe they could win from the Helots, however, since there were too many of them, and they managed to persuade them instead to leave the country and found a colony. This is how Taras in Italy was founded.

They joined the Romans to fight against the Spartans.

#### Citations in Strabo

VI.3.2; VI.3.3; VIII.5.4; VIII.5.5; XII.3.4; XV.1.34

### **8. Heniochi**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἡνίοχοι, which literally means 'charioteers'. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Heniochi'.

#### Geographical notes

They were a tribe who inhabited the tract of land between the Black sea and the Caspian Sea. They lived along the mostly harbourless and mountainous coast of the Black sea, north of Colchis, in the Caucasian Mountains. The Zygi, the Achaeans, the Cercetae, the Moschi and the Macropogones (the 'long-beards') were their neighbours.

#### History/legend

They were supposedly founded by the charioteers (Ἡνίοχοι) of the Laconians, who settled there in the area after the quest for the Golden Fleece.

#### Conditions of life

Despite their name, they lived by robberies and piracies at sea and managed to master the sea with the help of the people of the Bosphorus. They lived a nomadic life, since their land was narrow and sterile.

#### Habits and peculiarities

They used slender, narrow and light boats that could only hold twenty-five people. The Greeks called these 'camarae' (καμάραι). Since they had no anchorages or harbours, they carried their *camarae* on their shoulders into the forests where they lived.

Sometimes they also wandered about on foot to kidnap people, whom they readily released again for ransom.

### Constitution

They were governed by chieftains that were called 'sceptuchi' (σκηπτοῦχοι), who in their turn were subject to tyrants or kings. In the time of Mithridates of Pontus, they had four kings.

### Citations in Strabo

II.5.31; XI.2.1; XI.2.12 – XI.2.14; XVII.3.24

## **9. Heptacomitae**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἑπτακωμῆται ('with the seven villages?'). The Latin and English equivalent is 'Heptacomitae'. They are sometimes also called 'Mosynoeci' (Μοσυνοίκοι).

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the mountains north of Colchis, in the Caucasus mountain range.

### History

They managed to cut down three maniples of Pompey Magnus' army, when he tried to pacify the east. They placed a sort of honey in bowls ready for the soldiers, but when they drank it they lost their senses. Then the Heptacomitae attacked.

### Conditions of life

They lived on the flesh of wild animals and nuts, but they also attacked travellers for resources.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were 'worse' than the other mountain-peoples in the area.

Some of them lived in trees or a sort of turrets. That was the reason the ancients called them 'Mosynoeci', because the turrets were called μосуνοί. They were thus called 'dwellers in turrets'.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.3.18

## **10.Heracleotae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people Ἡρακλεῶται. The Latin and English variant is 'Heracleotae'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Chersonesus, in the region Chersonesus (today's Crimean peninsula). They were named after their hometown, since they were native from Heraclea Pontica, along the southern coast of the Black Sea.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.4.2

## **11.Hermondori**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἑρμόνδοροι. The Latin and English version is 'Hermondori'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a tribe of the Suevi, and must thus be situated in Germania. They dwelled on the far side of the Albis mountain range.

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.1.3

## **12.Hernici**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἑρνικοί. The Latin and English variant is 'Hernici'.

### **Geographical notes**

They lived in Latium, Italy, and were autochthonous, since they already lived there before Rome was founded.

## History

They were soon overthrown by the Romans and every city that existed in their territory was thus founded by the Romans.

## Citations in Strabo

V.3.2; V.3.4; V.3.10

# **13.Hesperian Locrians**

## Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἑσπέριοι Λοκροί. The Latin equivalent is 'Locri Hesperii' and the English name is 'Hesperian Locrians'. They are also called 'Ozolae' (Ὀζόλαι) or 'Ozolian Locrians' (Ὀζόλιοι Λοκροί).

## Geographical notes

They lived in Locris, a region in northern Greece, upon the Corinthian Gulf.

## Habits and peculiarities

They had the Hesperus star (evening star) engraved on their seal.

## Other authors about the Hesperian Locrians

Homer doesn't specifically mention their name, but he does distinguish them from the other Locrians<sup>213</sup>.

## Citations in Strabo

IX.3.1; IX.4.7

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<sup>213</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II.535.

## **14.Heteroscians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἑτερόσκιαι. The Latin version is 'Heteroscii' and the English nomenclature is 'Heteroscians'. They are called this way because at midday, the shadows in their country fall to the north, as they do on the entire northern half round. It is thus not the same as with the Amphiscians (cf. *supra*), where the shadows alternately went from one side to the other. Therefore Ἑτερο-σκίαι, 'where the shadows fall to one side'.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited the African continent, north of Syene (today's Aswan, in southern Egypt) and beyond the summer tropics.

### **Citations in Strabo**

II.5.37; II.5.43

## **15.Hierapytnians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἱεραπύτνιοι. The Latin equivalent is 'Hierapytnii' and the English version is 'Hierapytnians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited the city Hierapytna on the island of Crete.

### **History**

They destroyed Prasus to the ground.

### **Citations in Strabo**

X.4.12



## **16.Hippemolgi**

They were mentioned by Homer, but Strabo suspects that he made them up.

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is ἵππημολγοί, which means ‘mare-milkers’.

### **Geographical notes**

Homer mentions them as a Scythian people, but Strabo isn’t sure where to situate them. Perhaps he mixed them up with the Hamaxoeci and the nomads there.

### **Other authors about the Hippemolgi**

Homer mentions them along with the Galactophagi and the Abii (cf. *supra*):

‘Μυσῶν τ’ ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν ἵππεμολγῶν

γαλακτοφάγων ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.’<sup>214</sup>

‘... and of the Mysians who fight in close combat, and of the lordly Hippemolgi who drink the milk of mares, and of the Abii, the most just of men.’ (translation: Murray, 1999)

### **Citations in Strabo**

VII.3.2; VII.3.3; VII.3.6; VII.3.7

## **17.Hirpini**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ἱρπῖνοι. The Latin and English version is ‘Hirpini’. Their name is derived from the Samnite word *hirpus*, which means ‘wolf’. They were called that way because of the legendary wolf that led the way for them to settle their colony.

### **Geographical notes**

They were a Samnite people, who lived in southern Italy. They bordered upon the Leucani.

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<sup>214</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIII.5.

### Citations in Strabo

V.4.12

## **18.Histiaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰστιαεῖς, from the singular Ἰστιαεύς. The standard English nomenclature is 'Histiaeans'. They were later also called 'Oreitae'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Histiaea (formerly called Oreus), on the island of Euboea.

### History

They were driven out by the Perrhaebians and were forced to migrate to Thessaly, in an area from then on called 'Histiaeotis'. Later they were settled again in their city. However, when the Athenians overpowered Euboea, led by Pericles, the Histiaeans migrated to Histiaeotis once again. About 2,000 Athenians of the deme Histiaea then came to live in the city Oreus.

### Citations in Strabo

IX.5.17; X.1.3

## **19.Homonadeis**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ὀμοναδεῖς. The Latin version is 'Homonadenses' or 'Homonadeis', the latter of which is also the standard English name.

### Geographical notes

They were a Cilician tribe, who inhabited Cilicia Tracheia in southern Asia Minor. The Selgeis, the Pisidians and the Catennenses were their neighbours.

### History

They were once considered to be too strong to be captured, but Amyntas (of the Tectosages) conquered them anyway. However, later on, he was killed by the Cilicians.

### Citations in Strabo

XII.6.3; XII.6.5; XII.7.1

## **20.Hyantes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is "Ἰάντες. The Latin and English version is 'Hyantes'. They are sometimes also called 'Hyintes'.

### Geographical notes

They were a barbarian tribe who lived in Phocis, northern Greece. The cities Hyas and Hyampolis were named after them.

### History

They originally lived in Boeotia, but they were driven away from there and went to live amongst the Aetolians in Phocis.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.7.1; IX.2.3; IX.3.15; X.3.4

## **21.Hybrianes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is 'Υβριᾶνες. The Latin and English variant is 'Hybrianes'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Thracian tribe, who lived close to the Rhodope Mountains. The Ardiaei, the Dasaretii and the Dardanians were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.12

## **22.Hydraces**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is "Υδράκες. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Hydraces'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Indian tribe.

### History

They were once summoned by the Persians to be their mercenary troops.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.1.6

## **23.Hypasians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is 'Υπάσιοι. The Latin variant is 'Hypasii' and the English version is 'Hypasians'.

### Geographical notes

They were an Indian tribe, who lived in between of the rivers Indus and Cophes. Their neighbours were the Astaceni, the Masiani and the Nysaei.

### Citations in Strabo

XV.1.17; XV.1.27

## **24.Hyperboreans**

Strabo treats this people as a mythical people and assumes that it is the general ignorance about the northern regions that fed myths like these.

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ὑπερβόρειοι, which means 'those who live over the north-wind'. The Latin equivalent is 'Hyperborei' and the English name is 'Hyperboreans'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were generally situated very much to the north. Some situate them north of the Black Sea, the Adriatic Sea and the river Danube.

### **Habits and peculiarities**

They supposedly lived a thousand years.

### **Citations in Strabo**

I.3.22; VII.3.1; XI.6.2; XV.1.57

## **25.Hyrceanians**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ὑρκανοί. The Latin version is 'Hyrcani' and the English equivalent is 'Hyrceanians'.

### **Geographical notes**

They inhabited the region of Hyrcania, south of the Caspian Sea. The Anariaci and the Amardi were their neighbours.

### **History**

They first paid tribute to the Persians, but later to the Macedonians.

### **Citations in Strabo**

XI.6.1; XI.9.1

## **26.Hyrieans**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ὑριεῖς, from the singular Ὑριεύς. The standard English nomenclature is 'Hyrieans'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the colonists of the city Hysiae in Boeotia, also called 'Hyria'.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.2.12

## **27.Hysiatae**

### **Nomenclature**

The Greek name for this people is Ὑσιᾶται. The Latin and English version is 'Hysiatae'.

### **Geographical notes**

They were the inhabitants of the city Hysiae, in south-western Argos, in the east of the Peloponnesus.

### **Citations in Strabo**

IX.2.12

# **I.**

## **1. Iaccetanians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰακκητανοί. The Latin variant is 'Iaccetani' and the English equivalent is 'Iaccetanians' or 'Jaccetanians'.

### Geographical notes

They lived along the river Ebro, in northern Hispania. It was in their territory that the rebel Quintus Sertorius fought against Pompey.

### Citation in Strabo

III.4.10

## **2. Iapodes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰάποδες. The Latin and English version is 'Iapodes' or 'Japodes'.

### Geographical notes

They lived along the coast with the Adriatic Sea, opposite to Italy. They inhabited Mount Albius, which was the termination point of the Alps, and their country was contiguous to the region Istria. They reached as far as the Pannonians on one side and the river Danube on the other. Their cities were: Metulum, Arupinum, Monetium and Vendum. Their country had very poor soil, however.

### Genealogy

They were a mixed tribe of Illyrians and Celts.

### Conditions of life

Because their country was so poor, they chiefly lived on spelt and millet.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were a very warlike people, until they were subdued under Emperor Augustus. Their armour was after the Celtic fashion.

Their bodies were 'punctured' (tattooed) in the same way of all the Illyrian and Thracian peoples.

### Citations in Strabo

VII.5.2; VII.5.4

## **3. Iapyges**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰάπυγες. The Latin and English version is 'Iapyges' or 'Japyges'. They were called after Iapix, the son of Daedalus and some Cretan woman.

### Geographical notes

They lived in southern Italy, in today's Calabria. They inhabited the land of the Tarantini, and they used to inhabit the city Croton. There were the three capes of the Iapyges (Latin: *Iapygum tria promontoria*, Greek: Ἰαπύγων ἄκραι τρεῖς). They are today's Capo delle Castella, Capo Rizzuto and Capo della Nave.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.1.4; VI.1.11; VI.1.12; VI.3.2

## **4. Iberians (Asiatic)**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰβηρες. The Latin equivalent is 'Iberes' and the English name is 'Iberians'. According to Strabo, they were given the same name as the western Iberians (cf. *infra*) because of the gold mines that were to be found in both countries. However, the fact that these Iberians were migrators from the European Iberia must also have contributed to the name.



### Geographical notes

The Asian area Iberia was situated south of the Caucasus, in between of the Black and the Caspian Sea. The Iberians also held part of the Moschian country.

### Habits and peculiarities

The ones who lived on the plains were rather inclined to farming and peace. They dressed after the Armenian and Median fashion. The ones who lived in the mountains, however, were more warlike and lived like the Scythians and Sarmatians. That is to be explained by their bordering on these peoples and the fact that they were kinsmen. They, too, engaged in farming sometimes.

They had the habit of assembling in huge numbers (tens of thousands) whenever anything slightly alarming happened.

They were rather good subjects to the Romans: they required only the presence of some men to lead them. However, when they were neglected by the Romans, they used to attempt revolutions.

### Citations in Strabo

VI.4.2; XI.2.18; XI.2.19; XI.3.3

## **5. Iberians (European)**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰβηρες. The Latin version is 'Iberes' and the English nomenclature is 'Iberians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the original inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, before the Celts came there. Some of them migrated east to the regions across Pontus and Colchis (cf. *supra*).

### History

They were overrun first by the Tyrians, then the Carthaginians, then the Celts and the Veronians, and finally by the Romans (even though they were the ones to have begun the war with Rome).

They were the first settlers of Sicily.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were harder to defeat than the Gauls, but were still relatively easy to subdue, because they had become so terribly split up and self-sufficient. There was very little contact amongst each other. They were 'naturally' insincere imposters, who liked to attack and rob, but they never did so in great expeditions, because they never established confederations.

Just like the Celts, they bathed in urine and slept on the ground.

Most of them were peltasts and thus went to battle with a light sort of armour. They were armed with a javelin, a sling and a dirk. However, they also had some cavalry forces, since they had trained their horses to climb mountains. Generally, they ride double on horseback, but in battle one of these two fought on foot.

They were very courageous people, who would rather die than be taken captive. It was their custom to keep poison close at hand, so they could commit suicide when the situation asked for it. They devoted their entire lives to whomever they attached themselves.

They were taught the rites of the Ephesian Artemis by the Massiliotes.

### Physical appearance

In some places, their women wore iron collars that were bended over their foreheads and which they used to draw veils over to cover their faces against the sun. In other places, they wore a 'tympanium' (τυμπάνιον) that was tightly bound over their head. Some women also plucked the hair off the foremost part of their head, while others twisted their hair around a rod and draped a veil over it.

### Citations in Strabo

I.2.27; I.3.21; III.4.5; III.4.15 – III.4.18; III.5.5; IV.1.5; IV.4.2; VI.2.4; VI.4.2

## **6. Ichthyophagi**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is ἰχθυοφάγοι, which literally means 'fish-eaters'. The Latin and English variant is 'Ichthyophagi'.

### Geographical notes

Strabo situates them south of the tropics. They lived along the African coast of the Red Sea in a country that wasn't very fertile. It was on sea-level, but mostly without trees (except for palms) and there was a scarcity of water and cultivated food in the area. The Creophagi and the Colobi were their neighbours, more into the interior of the land. They lived along the promontory of Deire, in a homonymous town (Δειρή).

### Conditions of life

Because of the barrenness of their country, both the people and their cattle ate fish (whence their name), which was the reason why the meat of their cattle smelled like fish. Some of them caught some shell-fish and kept them in gullies and pools, so they could feed and fatten them. Whenever food was scarce then, they ate them. They also had a sort of ponds where they grew and hatched fish.

They drank rainwater or water from wells. Some of them had to walk to get to drinking water, however, and they did so every day, whilst singing paeans along the way. When they arrived there, they threw themselves to the ground and drank the water like cattle does. After they had drank as much as they could, they returned to their village.

They lived in caves or pens.

### Habits and peculiarities

Their houses (or pens) were built mostly of the bones of whales and of oyster-shells. Strabo gives us the striking anecdote that the ribs of the whales were used as beams, and their jawbones as doorposts. The vertebral bones of the whales were used for mortars.

However, sometimes they used this 'mortar' to pound some roasted fish in and to mix some flour through, so they could make a sort of bread out of it. They baked this in the sun and sometimes also in a covered earthen vessel. Sometimes, they removed the flesh from the fish, piled up their bones, and tread the flesh with their feet to make a sort of cake out of it. When the weather was bad and they couldn't go out fishing, they pounded the bones they had piled up and moulded them into cakes as well. Now and then, they also sucked the bones when they were still fresh. However, most of the time, they ate their fish raw.

They didn't know iron. To catch their fish, they made nets out of palm-bark. Sometimes they collected them at ebb-tides as well.

### Citations in Strabo

II.2.3; XV.2.2; XV.2.14; XVI.4.4; XVI.4.13

## **7. Iconii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰκόνιοι. The Latin and English equivalent is 'Iconii'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Celtic tribe, who must be situated in the southern-French parts of the Alps. They inhabited the loftiest ridges of the mountains there. They lived north of the Cavari, and the Vocontii, the Tricorii and the Medylli were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.1.11; IV.6.5

## **8. Idumaeans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰδουμαῖοι. The Latin version is 'Idumaei' and the English standard name is 'Idumaeans'.

### Geographical notes

They were a Syrian tribe, who lived in the western parts of Judaea.

### Genealogy

They originally were a tribe of the Arabian Nabataeans (Ναβαταῖοι).

### History

They were banished from their country and went to live with the Judaeans. In Strabo's time, they completely shared the Judaeans customs.

### Citations in Strabo

XVI.2.2; XVI.2.34

## **9. Igletes**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰγλήτες. The Latin and English version is 'Igletes'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe in Iberia, in between of the river Ebro and the Pyrenees.

### Citations in Strabo

III.4.19

## **10. Ilergetans**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰλέργητες. The Latin variant is 'Ilergetes' and the standard English name is 'Ilergetans'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited northern Hispania, not far from the river Iberus (Ebro). Their cities were Ilerda and Osca.

### Citations in Strabo

III.4.10

## **11. Ilians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰλιεῖς, from the singular Ἰλιεύς. The English name is 'Ilians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of the city Ilium, in north-western Asia Minor. Their village, which was situated about thirty stadia away from their city, was on the spot where the ancient city of Troy (Ilium) is thought to have been.

### History

They say that Ilium was in fact not completely wiped out when it was captured by the Greeks at the end of the Trojan War. It was never completely deserted.

The whole stretch of coastline was subject to them in earlier times. Once they razed the city Sigieum to the ground, because of their disobedience.

Alexander the Great is said to have been very kindly disposed towards them.

Ilium was first ruined by the Romans, under Fimbria. But then Sulla came and he consoled them with many improvements to their city. But Caesar bestowed even more kindness upon them, because he was very fond of Alexander, who was his example in many things, but also because he had a certain kinship with the Ilians (he traced his lineage back to Aeneas, who was a Trojan prince).

### Habits and peculiarities

They offered sacrifices to Achilles, Patroclus, Aias and Antilochus, but they didn't honour Heracles because he once sacked their city.

### Citations in Strabo

XIII.1.27; XIII.1.32; XIII.1.35; XIII.1.39; XIII.1.40

## **12. Illyrians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰλλυριοί. The Latin variant is 'Illyrii' and the English nomenclature is 'Illyrians'.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the region Illyria, along the western coast of the Balkan. All of their tribes lived south of the river Danube.

### Genealogy

The name 'Illyrians' indicated a collection of smaller tribes, of which the Breuni and the Genauni were only a few.

### History

They began the war with the Romans, but in Strabo's time they were entirely subdued. The city Aquileia, although founded by the Romans, was given as an emporium to those Illyrians who lived by the river Danube.

### Habits and peculiarities

They traded very much along the river Danube, carrying their products inland on wagons.

They had the habit of tattooing themselves.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.8; V.1.8; VI.4.2; VII.1.1; VII.5.4

## **13.Indians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰνδοί. The Latin variant is 'Indi' and the English equivalent is 'Indians'.

### Geographical notes

They were the inhabitants of India.

### Habits and peculiarities

They were considered to be very refined. They led a simple life, especially when they were on expeditions, and they didn't like useless disturbances and therefore always behaved very orderly. Their greatest self-restraint pertained to thievery, which is why they left their possessions unguarded at home and were always very trusting in their deals. Also, there were gold and silver mines in their country, but they were inexperienced in mining and melting it. Still, they were happy in their simplicity and frugality. Their funerals were very simple as well, and their mounds quite small. Above all, they respected virtue and truth, which is why old people didn't get precedence unless they were also superior in wisdom. Anyone who was caught giving a false witness had his hands and feet cut off.

Anyone who maimed a person, had his hands cut off, except when the maiming had led to the loss of an eye or a hand of a craftsman, because then the person was even put to death.

Their laws were all unwritten and they regulated everything from memory. Strabo considers this might have been because they didn't know how to write. However, they wrote missives on linen that was very closely woven, which means they must have known how to write.

They didn't drink wine, but a sort of beverage that was made from rice. Their food mostly consisted of a sort of rice porridge. They had the habit of each eating alone and they didn't have a common hour for dinner.

They could be very vain, too, however. They wore all sorts of ornaments with precious stones and gay-coloured linen garment. They also smoothed their bodies with sticks of ebony and wherever they went, they always took along sun-shades.

It was their custom to marry many wives, whom they purchased from their parents and got them in exchange for a yoke of oxen. If their husband didn't force the women to be chaste, they were allowed to prostitute themselves. In some tribes, the virgins were set out as a prize for the man who won a victory in a fist-fight. They could then marry the victor without a dowry. Their king was taken care of by many women, who had all been purchased from their parents as well. He never slept during the day and even at night he was forced to change beds from time to time, because of the numerous plots against his life.

When they made sacrifices or libations, they never wore garlands, nor did they cut the throat of the victim, but they strangled it. This was because they wanted it to reach their gods entirely and not mutilated. Their priests were called Brachmanes and they had the same beliefs and opinions as the Greeks. They worshipped Zeus, the river Ganges and certain local deities. It was their custom to also offer prayers to the king and all the other who were in authority.

Their weapons were the bow and arrows or a javelin. They also used a broad sword and a small shield.

They were very skilled in all sorts of handiwork, which is one of the reasons they had such a thriving commerce with the Egyptians.

The ones who lived in the country of Musicanus held slaves.

### Physical appearance

Strabo calls them physically better developed than the Ethiopians, and not as black. The southern Indians, however, did have approximately the same skin-colour as the Ethiopians and the same colour



of hair as well. Only their hair didn't curl so much because of the humidity. The southern Indians more resembled the Egyptians.

The men dyed their beards with florid colours and their garments were dyed as well. They were generally fond of adornments.

#### Citations in Strabo

I.4.9; II.3.7; II.3.8; XV.1.13; XV.1.24; XV.1.30; XV.1.53 – XV.1.55; XV.1.59; XV.1.66; XVI.1.67; XVI.1.69; XVI.2.39; XVII.1.13

### **14.Indicetans**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰνδικῆται. The Latin equivalent is 'Indicetae' or 'Indicetes' and the English name is 'Indicetans'.

#### Geographical notes

They lived in Iberia, between the river Ebro and the Pyrenees. They were divided into four tribes and lived together in a city with the Emporitans, even though they had their own government.

#### Citations in Strabo

III.4.1; III.4.8

### **15.Insubri**

#### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰνσουβροι. The Latin and English version is 'Insubri'. They are sometimes called 'Symbri' as well.

#### Geographical notes

They were one of the largest Celtic tribes, who were still in existence in Strabo's time. Their metropolis was Mediolanum (Milan) and the Rhaeti and Norici were their neighbours.

### Citations in Strabo

V.1.6; VII.1.4

## **16.Intemelii**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἰντεμέλιοι. The Latin and English name is 'Intemelii'.

### Geographical notes

They were a tribe of the Ligures, who lived in today's northern Italy. The city Albium Intemelium, approximately on the border of France with Italy, was named after them.

### Citations in Strabo

IV.6.2

## **17.Ionians**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἴωνες or Ἰάονες. The Latin variant is 'Iones' and the English standard name is 'Ionians'. Rarely, they are called 'Iaonians' as well.

### Geographical notes

In earlier times, the Ionians inhabited Attica and Achaia in northern Greece. Later on, they colonised the coast of Asia Minor, but we will speak of these Ionians as a separate people (cf. *infra*).

### Genealogy

They were thought to have sprung from the Attic people.

### History and colonies

In earlier times, they held Attica and the region of Megaris, but they also colonised the city Siris (on Sardinia).

They conquered the region of the Aegialus, in the Peloponnesus, and changed its name into Ionia. They divided it into twelve cities, a so-called 'dodecapolis'. With the coming of the Dorians they were driven out by the Achaeans, however, who in turn changed the name into Achaea. From there, they fled to the city Helice, but they were expelled as well. Later on, this city was submerged by the sea and this was thought to have been a punishment by Poseidon, because of this chasing away of the Ionians and also because the Ionians had wanted back the statue of Poseidon in the city but they weren't granted it.

The ones who lived in the Attic Tetrapolis accompanied the Heracleidae and the Dorians to Argos, where they took up their abode with the Carians in Epidaurus.

Later, they colonised Asia Minor and called the region there Ionia as well (cf. *infra*). They conquered the seaboard of Caria and Lydia together with the Codridae and founded twelve cities there as well, just as they had done in Achaea.

### Habits and peculiarities

They worshipped the Heliconian Poseidon and performed pan-Ionian sacrifices to him in the city Helice, until they were driven out and it was submerged into the sea. They believed that they could obtain omens from these sacrifices, but only when the bull would bellow during the sacrifice.

### Other authors about the Ionians

They are mentioned by Homer. He calls them 'with the trailing tunic' (ἐλκεχίτωνες)<sup>215</sup>.

### Citations in Strabo

I.3.21; VI.1.14; VIII.1.2; VIII.5.5; VIII.6.10; VIII.6.15; VIII.7.1; VIII.7.2; VIII.7.4; IX.1.5; IX.5.7

## **18. Ionians (Asiatic)**

### Nomenclature

The Greek name for this people is Ἴωνες or Ἰάονες. The Latin version is 'Iones' and the English nomenclature is 'Ionians'.

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<sup>215</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIII.685.

### Geographical notes

They inhabited the western coast of Asia Minor and possessed much of Caria. They lived together with the Carians and Leleges. Their royal seat is at Ephesus.

### Genealogy

They sprang from the Athenians.

### History and colonies

They expelled much of the Carians and the Leleges from Ionia and inhabited the country themselves.

After the Trojan War, they had the supreme mastery over Asia Minor. They founded cities on the Scythian seaboard and changed the 'Axine' ('unwelcoming') sea into the 'Euxine' ('welcoming') sea.

### Habits and peculiarities

They all had a common hatred against the Cimmerians, because they had once invaded Ionia and left much destruction.

All of them worshipped the Delphinian Apollo and they celebrated the Alexandria games at the sacred precinct above Chalcideis (also called 'Chalcitis').

### Citations in Strabo

III.2.12; IV.1.4; VII.3.6; VII.7.2; VIII.1.2; XII.4.6; XII.8.15; XIV.1.3; XIV.1.31

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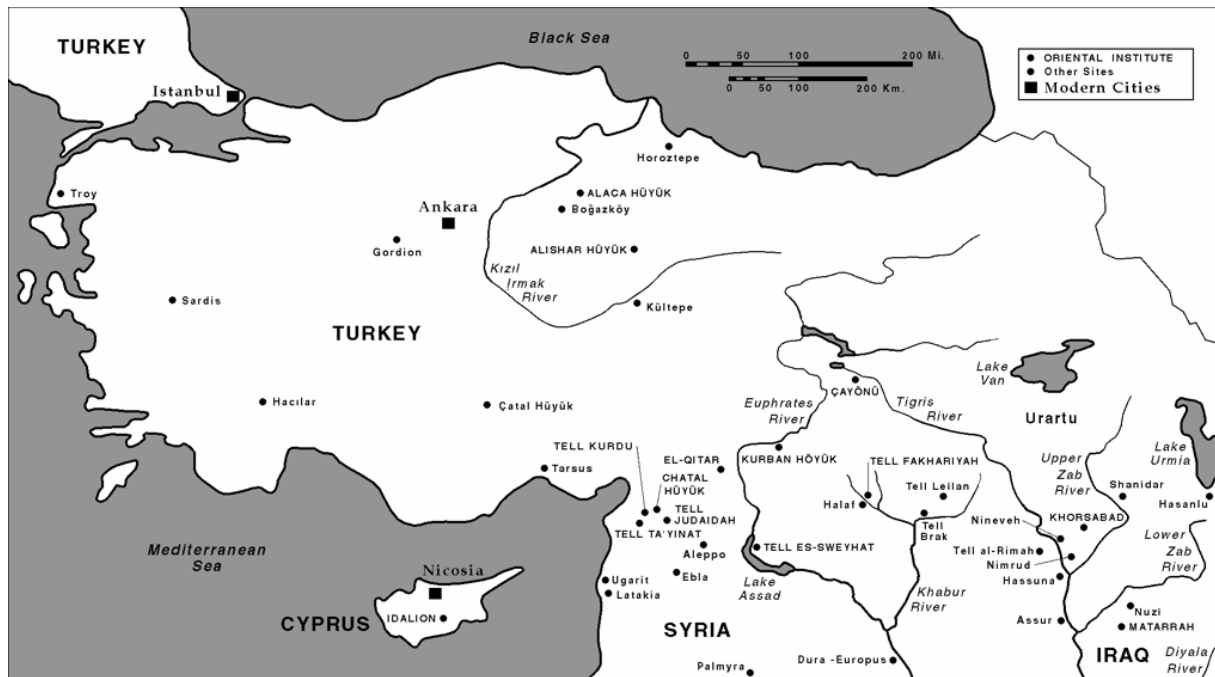
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## ***V. Attachments***

## 1. Anatolia in the Bronze Age



Source: Sams, K. (2010) 'The Archaeology of the Ancient Near East', internet, last consultation 20/05/15 (<http://www.unc.edu/depts/classics/courses/clar241/sq4EBAnat.html>).

## 2. Anatolia in the Iron Age





Source: Mark, J. J. (2011) 'Ancient History Encyclopedia: the Hittites', internet, last consultation 20/05/15 (<http://www.ancient.eu/hittite/>).

### 3. Hittite kings

#### **Old Kingdom**

Labarna	?-1650	
Hattušili I	1650-1620	grandson
Muršili I	1620-1590	grandson, adopted son
Hantili I	1590-1560	brother-in-law
Zidanta I	1560-1525	son-in-law
Ammuna		son
Huzziya I		brother of Ammuna's daughter-in-law
Telipinu	1525-1500	brother-in-law
Alluwamna	1500-1400	son-in-law
Tarhurwaili		interloper
Hantili II		son of Alluwamna?
Zidanta II		son?
Huzziya II		son?
Muwattali I		interloper

#### **New Kingdom**

Tudhaliya I/II	1400-1350	grandson of Huzziya II?
Arnuwanda I		son-in-law, adopted son
Hattušili III		son?
Tudhaliya III		son?
Suppiluliuma I	1350-1322	son
Arnuwanda II	1322-1321	son
Muršili II	1321-1295	brother
Muwattalli II	1295-1272	son
Urhi-Tešub	1272-1267	son

Hattušili III	1267-1237	uncle
Tudhaliya IV	1237-1228	son
Kurunta (coregent?)	1228-1227	cousin
Tudhaliya IV (again)	1227-1209	cousin
Arnuwanda III	1209-1207	son
Suppiluliuma II	1207-?	brother

Source: Bryce, 2005.

#### 4. Anatolia in Persian, Hellenistic and Roman times



Source: Suthan, R. (2011) 'Ancient Anatolia', internet, last consultation 20/05/15 (<http://www.ancientanatolia.com/maps.htm>).

## 5. Cappadocian satraps

Under King Darius	Ariaramnes
Under King Artaxerxes II	Cyrus Karanos Datames
Under King Artaxerxes III	Ariarathes
Under King Artaxerxes IV	Mithrobouzanes

*Source: Weiskopf, 1990.*

## 6. Epigraphic sources: names

### **Greek names (276)**

Abaskantos	
Agathemeros	
Alexandros	5
Alkimos	
Amasis	
Amphilochos	
Anoptenes/os	7
Anthime	
Antidoros	2
Antigas	
Antigonos	9
Antiochis	
Antiochos	2
Aphelia	
Aphrodeisia	
Apion	
Apollonarios	
Apollonios	16
Apollo	3
Apollonia	2
Archelais	
Archelaos	3
Areion	
Aristios	
Arkimos	
Arsinoös	
Artemidoros	2
Asklepiades	7

Asklepiodoros	3
Atezoös	
Athenaios (Athenios)	8
Athenais (Nais)	12
Atheno	
Athenodoros	2
Athenogenes	
Bakkhos	
Basilisa	
Berenikianos	
Bromios	
Dalasena	
Daphnikos	
Deia	
Deilios	2
Deios	2
Demetria	2
Demetriadis	
Demetrios	3
Diodoros	
Diogeneia	
Diogenes	2
Diomedes	
Dionusios	
Eisidora	
Eliane	
Ereptos	
Euboulos	
Eugenia	
Euphemia	
Euphrates (an Armenian)	
Euphratia	
Eusebios	
Eustatheia	
Euthumia	
Eutuchia	
Epiktetos	
Eutuches Taura	
Gapte (< Agapete)	
Ge	
Glukera	
Gordianos	
Graphikos	
Gumnasis	
Hedeia	

Hedië	
Helene	
Heliodora	
Heliodoros	2
Herais	
Herakles	
Hermes	
Hermias	
Hermodora	2
Hermogenes	
Hermon	
Iason	3
Iasonis	2
Iollos	
Iazemios / Iazamios	2
Kale	
Kallinikos	
Kalliope	2
Kalokairos	
Kapiton Tileus	
Karterië	
Khariton	
Kelsiane	
Koiranos	
Komatille	
Konstantinos	
Krateros	
Kratinos	
Ksennios	
Ktesianos	
Kurilla	2
Kurillos	
Kurionikos	
Lampitos	
Laomedon	
Lesbios	2
Longinos	3
Loukianos	
Lusimachos	
Marianos	2
Marthine	
Menophilos	
Menandris	
Metrodoros	
Mithrateidios	
Mithratochmes	2

Narkissos	
Nikeia	2
Nikianos	
Nikokles	2
Nonnos	
Numphon	
Nusa/e	2
Noumenios	
Olumpias	
Olump(i)os	2
Pantaleus	
Pardalas	
Perseus	
Phaedros	
Pharnakos/es	3
Philagrios	
Philetairoös	
Philodemos	
Philopator	
Pomateles	
Proklos	
Protophenes	
Psuchepheon	
Pulados	2
Rhodon	
Romanos	
Sebasta	
Selene	
Seleukos	4
Semeiramis	
Sokrates	2
Sosandros	
Stasikrate	
Statia	
Staturos	
Stephanos	5
Straton	
Tauriskos	2
Tauros	3
Teukros	2
Themistokles	
Theodora	
Theodoros	5
Theophilos	

Tikernos Heliados	
Titomos	
Truphon	
Zoë	
Zosimos	

**Roman names (92):**

Aelius Diodotus	
Agrippa(s)	2
Antonius Valens	
Asinius Lepidus	
Augustalius	
Aurelius	2
Aurelius Claudius	
Aurelius Germanus	
Balbus	
Caninia Prima	
Caninius	
Claudia	
Claudiana Marciana	
Claudianus	3
Claudius	2
Clemens	
Coesia Granilla	
Coesius Florus	
Decmus (< Decimus)	
Diodotus	2
Domna	2
Fabia	
Flavia Aeliana	
Flavia Prima	
Flavius Asclepiodotus	
Flavius Asiaticus	2
Gaius Coesius	
Gaius Helvius Capreolus	
Gaius Laitorius Martialis	
Gaius Minucius Patlus	
Grania Nigella	
Granius Bassus	
Iulia	4
Iuliana	

Iulianetus	
Iulianus	2
Iulius	2
Iulius Asiaticus	
Iulius Capitonus	
Iustinus	
Lacritus	
Licinius	2
Lucius	
Lucius Salbuis Niger	
Marcella	2
Marcellus	8
Marcianus	
Marcus Agusius Urbanus	
Marcus Aurelius	
Marcus Aurelius Lucius	
Marcus Saturninus	
Martinus	
Matrona	3
Maximus	
Prima	
Sagarius	
Secunda	
Seianus	
Sextus Lucillius Secundus	
Theodotus	
Tiberia	
Tiberius	
Tiberius Claudianus Theodotus	
Titus	
Titus Claudius Aelianus	2
Titus Flavius Aelianus	
Titus Flavius Claudianus Bassus	

**Roman-Greek double names (35):** almost always first a Roman and then a Greek name

Aurelia Arsinoë	
Aurelia Heliadora	
Aurelia Kaletuche	
Aurelia Kurilla	
Aurelia Kuze (bilingual inscription: Latin and Greek)	
Aurelia Menodora	
Aurelia Patrikios	
Aurelius Alexandros	2



Aurelius Archelaos	
Aurelius Claudius Hermodoros	
Aurelius Hedistos	
Aurelius Heliodoros	2
Aurelius Hermias	
Aurelius Iason	
Aurelius Kurillos	
Aurelius Socrates	
Cassius Apollinarios	
Claudius Philetairos	
Flavia Hupatia	
Flavia Nuse	
Flavia Ristane	
Flavius Apollonios	
Flavius Heliodoros	
Flavius Helion	
Iulia Athenais	2
Iulia Kleopatra	
Iulia Metrodora	
Iulius Flavius Theophilos	
Iulius Sebastos	
Tiberius Iulius Stratonikes	
Ulpus Apollinarios	
Zosimos Marcellus	

#### Iranian names (4):

Ariarathes	2
Ariobarzanes	2

#### Egyptian names (2):

Isis	
Serapion	

#### Jewish or Christian names (19):

Anastasios	
Eli	2
Eudokia	2

Ioannes	4
Maria	5
Martha	
Paulos	2
Thecla	
Thomas	

**Phrygian names (6):**

Gordios	6
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**Rest group (97):**

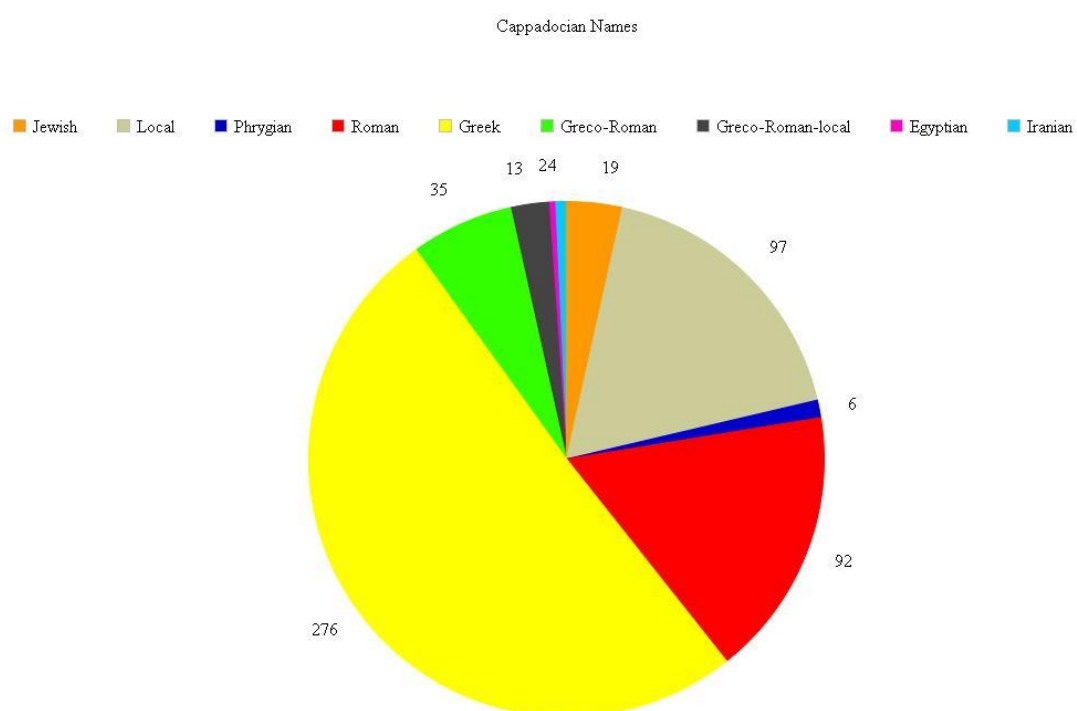
Aiopha	
Akuline	2
Amme	2
Ammios Na	
Andomon	
Appas	
Aribas	2
Arioukes (with an Aramaean inscription)	2
Aroute	
Aste	
Atinatos	
Azmantos	
Babudos	
Balibardas	
Dama	
Dama Varna	
Didas	
Diogas	
Gomene/a	2
Hedubios	4
Hedubios Dama	2
Imma	
Indes	2
Kilaloös	
Koleis	

Koula	
Lathebis	
Ma(i)	13
Maidatos	
Maifarnos	
Mama(s)	4
Mandana	
Mazobina/e of Mazoubina/e	2
Mes Keibadas	
Mikke	
Mithres	4
Moathas	
Mounos	
Nouios	
Oromanes (with an Aramaean inscription)	
Roupha	
Rouphine	
Rouson	
Sabatreus	
Teires	5
Tilles	
Papos	2
Phamainos	
Porpas	
Sa Mira Mos	
Sandaïos	
Sasas	4
Semeirames	
Sindenos	
Sinipha	
Siscia	
Socella	
Sosibios	
Tiarabes	
Zethos	

**Greco-Roman and local double names (13):** mostly first the Greco-Roman name and then the local name

Aemilia Ma	
Agiallos Mana	
Akeilia Psuche	
Apollonios Abba	
Athenais Ma	
Aurelia Iulia Mave	
Aurelius Diogas	
Demetrios Sasa (a high priest)	
Iasoon Mama (a high priest)	
Mithratochmes Arsames Tritantaichmes	2
Tuche Mas	
Varennia Baibia	

## Visual representation:



*Sources: Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Anthologia Graeca, Bulletin Epigraphique, Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Inscriptiones Graecae ad Romanas pertinentes.*