

IMPERIAL MATCHMAKER

The Involvement of the Roman Emperor in the Arrangement of Marriages between Client Kings

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates that the emperor Augustus (27 BC to AD 14) did encourage and instigate marriage-alliances between the families of Roman client kings, as suggested by the sources. Analysis of the marriage-alliances formed before Augustus' reign reveals a number of characteristics that did not apply to many of the marriage-alliances formed during Augustus' reign and beyond. New or modified characteristics have assisted in the determination of which marriage-alliances were arranged by the emperor. Furthermore, this thesis also assesses the possible aims that compelled Augustus to arrange or encourage these marriages, how this policy complied with the emperor's other beliefs and policies regarding marriage in general, and whether his policy was continued by his successors. Finally the repercussions and problems that arose from binding the client kings together through intermarriage are examined and the policy assessed in terms of success or failure. The study of Augustus' policy of intermarriage between client kings also illuminates the nature and role of client kings within the framework of the principate and shed further light on their relationship with the emperor.

Certification

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis and all sources used have been acknowledged in this thesis.



Signature

Table of Contents

Table of Figures	9
Abbreviations	10
Introduction	13
Methodology	14
Ancient Sources.....	16
Modern Sources.....	25
Scope	34
Client Kings.....	36
Thesis Outline.....	39
Chapter 1. Marriage-alliances before Augustus	44
Marriage-alliances before Pydna	46
Passive Marriage-alliances	53
Defensive Marriage-alliances.....	55
Aggressive Marriage-alliances	58
Remedial Marriage-alliances.....	64
Legitimising Marriage-alliances.....	68
Rewarding Marriage-alliances	72
Other Elements of Marriage-alliances.....	75
Marriage-Alliances after Pydna.....	77
The Senate and the Client Kings	78
The Marriage-alliances of Mithridates IV Eupator	92
The Marriage-alliances of Armenia	98
Republican Generals and the Client Kings.....	103
Conclusions	108
Chapter 2. Marriage-alliances under Augustus	113
Augustus and the Client Kings	114
Restoring Kingdoms to Native Dynasties	116
Client Kingdoms as Integral Parts of the Empire.....	124
Audiences with Kings	130
Augustus: conciliator et fautor	133
The Marriages.....	136
1. Juba II and Cleopatra Selene	138
2. Mithridates III of Commagene and Jotape	140
3. Alexander of Judaea and Glaphyra of Cappadocia	143
4. Polemo of Pontus and Dynamis of the Bosporus	147

5. Antipas of Judaea and Phasaelis of Nabataea	150
6. Archelaus of Cappadocia and Pythodorus of Pontus	153
7. Juba of Mauretania and Glaphyra of Cappadocia	156
8. Sampsigeramus of Emesa and Jotape of Commagene	160
9. Herod Archelaus of Judaea and Glaphyra of Cappadocia.....	162
10. Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus	163
Summation of the Marriage-alliances	167
Intra-dynastic Marriages	169
Polygamy amongst Client Kings	171
Herod.....	171
Polemo.....	173
Juba.....	176
Conclusion	177
Chapter 3. Marriage-alliances after Augustus	181
Emperors and Client Kings.....	182
Tiberius.....	183
Gaius.....	188
Claudius.....	192
Nero	197
Vespasian.....	200
Trajan and Hadrian	203
The Antonines	207
Client Kings in the Third and Fourth Centuries	209
Client Kings after Augustus	210
Royal marriages between the reigns of Tiberius and Vespasian	214
11. Aspurgus of the Bosphorus and Gepaepyris of Thrace.....	215
12. Ptolemy of Mauretania and Urania of Emesa (?).....	219
13. Aristobulus of Judaea and Jotape IV of Emesa.....	220
14. Epiphanes of Commagene and Drusilla of Judaea (betrothed only).....	222
15. Cotys of the Bosphorus and Eun[ice].....	223
16. Azizus of Emesa and Drusilla of Judaea	226
17. Sohaemus of Emesa and Drusilla of Mauretania	228
18. Polemo and Julia Mamaea of Emesa (?)	229
19. Polemo of Cilicia and Berenice of Judaea.....	237
20. Alexander of Cilicia and Jotape of Commagene.....	239
Intra-dynastic Marriages	242
Polygamy in the Later Empire.....	243

Conclusion	244
Chapter 4. Augustus Pater	249
Augustus as <i>Paterfamilias</i>	250
Augustus as <i>Pater Patriae</i>	264
Augustus as <i>Pater Orbis</i>	273
Conclusion	285
Chapter 5. Managing Dynastic Claims.....	288
A “Good” Client King	288
Dynastic Claims in the Ancient World.....	294
Manipulating Dynastic Claims	305
Antony and the Client Kings	308
Octavian and the Antonian Appointees	312
Augustan Appointments	315
Armenia Minor	318
Armenia Major	322
Southern Syria & Judaea	328
Cilicia	332
Other Royal Placements and the Eastern Aristocracy.....	339
Conclusion	341
Chapter 6. Problems with Intermarriage	344
Missing Kingdoms.....	345
Galatia	346
The Tarcondimotids	351
Iberia.....	353
Edessa.....	357
Missing Wives and Husbands.....	358
Repercussions	364
Importing Trouble	365
Spreading Suspicion	372
Too Friendly Kings	379
Conclusion	386
Conclusions	389
Appendix 1 – Marriages between Parthian Client Kings	400
Appendix 2 – Coinage of Roman Client Kings.....	403
Macedonia	405
Thrace.....	405
The Bosporan Kingdom	406

Pontus	407
Bithynia	408
Pergamum.....	408
Cappadocia	409
Commagene.....	410
Armenia	411
Seleucids.....	412
Judaea	413
Nabataea	414
Egypt	414
Mauretania.....	415
Client Kingdoms without a tradition of coinage	416
Bibliography	419
Ancient.....	419
Modern.....	423

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Roman Client Kingdoms in the First Century AD.....	36
Figure 2. Inter-dynastic marriages before Pydna.....	51
Figure 3. Marriage-alliances of Antiochus III.....	59
Figure 4. Inter dynastic marriages after Pydna.....	85
Figure 5. Marriage connections of Mithridates VI of Pontus.....	97
Figure 6. Connections of Tigranes II of Armenia	102
Figure 7. Marriage of Cleopatra Selene and Juba	139
Figure 8. Marriage of Jotape and Mithridates	142
Figure 9. Marriage of Glaphyra and Alexander	145
Figure 10. Marriage of Dynamis and Polemo	148
Figure 11. Marriage of Phasaelis and Antipas.....	151
Figure 12. Marriage to Pythodoris and Archelaus.....	154
Figure 13. Marriage of Glaphyra and Juba.....	158
Figure 14. The Jotapes with Macurdy's postulations	161
Figure 15. Marriage of Antonia and Cotys.....	165
Figure 16. Plan of known marriage-alliances arranged during Augustus' reign	179
Figure 17. Marriage of Gepaepyris and Aspurgus	218
Figure 18. Marriage of Jotape and Aristobulus	221
Figure 19. Marriage of Eunice and Cotys.....	225
Figure 20. Marriage of Drusilla and Azizus	227
Figure 21. Marriages of Polemo of Cilicia	238
Figure 22. Marriage of Jotape and Alexander	241
Figure 23. Marriage-alliances between client kingdoms after the reign of Augustus	247
Figure 24. Kings of Armenia I (Median House)	324
Figure 25. Kings of Armenia II (Judaeian House)	326
Figure 26. Rulers of Chalcis	332
Figure 27. Rulers of Cilicia	338
Figure 28. Connections between Kings at Tiberias.....	383
Figure 29. Coinage of the Roman Client Kingdoms	404

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for ancient authors follow the standard set by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Abbreviations for journals adhere to *L'Année Philologique* abbreviations. Other abbreviations used by this thesis are listed below.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
<i>BMCRE</i>	H. Mattingly, and R. A. G. Carson, <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , 6 vols, London, 1923-62
<i>CAH</i> ¹	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 1 st edition, Cambridge
<i>CAH</i> ²	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2 nd edition, Cambridge
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1863-
<i>FHG</i>	C. and T. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols, Paris, 1853-70
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> , 15 vols, Berlin-Leiden, 1923-58
<i>HA</i>	<i>Historia Augusta</i>
<i>IGBulg</i>	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae, Bulgaria Repertae I</i> , 2 nd edn, Sophia, 1970
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin, 1892-1916
<i>JNAA</i>	<i>Journal of Numismatic Association of Australia</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2 vols,

Hildesheim, 1903-1905

- OLD*¹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1968
- PIR*¹ P. von Rohden, and H. Dessau (eds), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 3 vols, Berlin, 1898.
- PIR*² E. Groag, A. Stein and L. Petersen (eds), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd edn, Berlin & Leipzig, 1933-
- PLRE* A. H. M. Jones, R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1971
- RECAM* S. Mitchell et al., *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor*, Oxford, 1982
- RIC* H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 10 vols, London, 1913- (vol. 1 revised by C.H.V. Sutherland, London, 1984; vol. 2 part 1 revised by I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey, London, 2007)
- RPC* *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vols I, II, III, IX, London-Paris, 1992-
- RRC* M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974
- VDI* *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Preface

Before beginning the thesis, several points should be made clear:

1. Since this thesis straddles the period between BC and AD all dates will be clearly labelled as either BC or AD.
2. This thesis adheres to the Footnoting Reference style guide from the UNE School of History for footnoting and bibliography:

http://www.une.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/87811/REF_Trad.-Footnoting.pdf

Introduction

*Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor ...*¹

“He [Augustus] also united the kings with whom he was in alliance by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships amongst them ...”

Suetonius thus stated that the Roman emperor Augustus (31 BC to AD 14) readily created or encouraged marriage-alliances amongst the Roman client kings (known as *amici et socii*, “friends and allies”). The aim of this thesis is to analyse and explore these marriages, attempting to identify specifically which marriages Augustus may have encouraged and their characteristics. Additionally this thesis will explore the possible motives behind this Augustan policy. The scope of this thesis is not necessarily restricted to the Imperial period. While the main focus of this work is the reign of Augustus, this thesis also assesses marriages between Hellenistic kingdoms, before and during the Republican period, to provide a contrast to those marriages formed under Augustus’ reign. Marriages fashioned during the reigns of later emperors (to the third century AD) are also assessed to ascertain if this policy was continued by his successors.

This thesis demonstrates that Augustus did, as per Suetonius’ description, develop an interest in the marriage-alliances between Roman client kings, whether by sanctioning unions already arranged or by actively encouraging and suggesting these unions. Furthermore these marriages were another component of a much broader Augustan interest in the institute of marriage and supported Augustus’ image as *pater orbis* (“Father of the World”). As the primary reason for royal marriage was the production of legitimate heirs, this thesis also establishes that Augustus was keen to spread legitimate dynastic claims amongst the children of his client kings in order to be able to provide future kings for particular territories that

¹ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1 (trans. J. C. Rolfe). See also J. M. Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, London, 1982, pp. 167-68; D. Wardle, *Suetonius Life of Augustus*, Oxford, 2014, pp. 354-55. This passage and its translation will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 2.

would be perceived as legitimate by their new subjects. The client kingdoms in the first century AD represented a large portion of the Roman Empire and it was important to Augustus that the kings supported by Rome ruled their territories competently. By spreading dynastic lineage more broadly, Augustus could produce a number of candidates for a particular client kingdom, many educated at Rome, who had legitimate connections to these territories.

Methodology

To ascertain whether Augustus did encourage intermarriage amongst the kings that were *socii et amici* of the Roman Empire, it is necessary first to examine the marriage-alliances formed in the period before Augustus became master of the Roman world in 31 BC and define their characteristics. Comparing these to the characteristics of marriage-alliances formed during Augustus' reign should reveal marriages that the emperor may have "artificially" created (in other words, these marriage-alliances would not have formed naturally). For the sake of completeness, the thesis then examines the characteristics of later marriage-alliances (those arranged during the reigns of Augustus' successors) to determine whether Augustus' policy was followed by the Julio-Claudian and later emperors.

Only a thorough survey of the surviving sources (whether literary, epigraphical or numismatic) can produce the evidence required to study all these marriage-alliances. A dynastic chronicle of a local ruling family is the only record that would produce most of this evidence – unfortunately only one survives from antiquity: the works of the Jewish scholar Josephus. Otherwise royal marriages are infrequently mentioned in ancient sources. Surviving inscriptions and coins that do provide details on the names and identities of kings are abundant. Unfortunately these sources mention their spouses less frequently. Similarly the literary sources provide details on rulers and their wars and policies, but less detail on their wives and their antecedents. Fortunately the particulars that do emerge are reliable – excepting errors in translation and copying, there are few motives for fabrication or exaggeration from the authors of these works when chronicling these details.

Determining the factors behind such marriage-alliances, however, is more fraught. Ancient historians, particularly later historians, are prone to exaggerate or to invent for their own purposes the motivations that might have compelled such alliances between kings. For example, the ancient historians often dismiss marriages between a king and a commoner as being driven by lust or decadence. As another example, Augustan and later historians frequently depicted the marriage between Antony and Cleopatra as an example of Antony's obsession with the Egyptian Queen and her seductive power over him. A close reading of the sources is required to lift out all available data for each marriage-alliance, and the context that surrounds it.

After gathering and examining the surviving evidence of royal marriages, the thesis needs to assess Augustus' motivations for pursuing such a policy, or indeed if it was a policy or merely a predilection. Again the sources tend to fail – Suetonius and Cassius Dio mention or suggest that Augustus was predisposed to arranging these marriages, but do not outline or explore his intention behind pursuing such a policy. Sources do reveal that Augustus did pursue several other policies involving marriage in general: his succession plans for his own dynasty, for example, and his laws to define and encourage marriage amongst the Roman citizens. How then would a policy of encouraging marriage between client kings synchronise with these other practices? Examination of the results of these marriages, the problems that occurred and the progeny produced, may divulge an inkling of what Augustus was attempting to achieve.

First the reliability of the sources from which the available data on these marriages must be assessed. Unfortunately the literary sources provide only a few isolated clues as to royal marriages, rarely substantiated by other sources. The biases and limitations of the authors of these sources, detailed below, must be understood before drawing any conclusions based on their records. Overall the literary sources are usually lax in providing details for these marriages, often mentioning them only in passing, as producing a dynastic chronicle was not their aim. Sometimes the names and backgrounds of the spouses are ignored and need to be conjectured. Only one literary source, Josephus, is forthcoming in details regarding marriages, and these are confined to the Judaeen royal families which he chronicled. A study of inscriptions and numismatic evidence can also draw other clues regarding the kings and their marriages.

Ancient Sources

The first chapter of this thesis examines the early marriage-alliances, particularly those formed during the Hellenistic period – the period between the death of Alexander (323 BC) to the death of Cleopatra VII, the last member of the family of Ptolemy (30 BC). The remainder of the thesis concentrates on the reign of Augustus (31 BC to AD 14) and his successors until the third century crisis (AD 14-235). Many of the sources that provide the history for this spread of five hundred odd years are unsatisfactory, but with several gems from sound historical works that have fortunately survived. The patchy state of the evidence means that the details of marriage-alliances are incomplete. Particularly for the Hellenistic dynasties, the data related to the reigns of the kings is generally complete – but in regards to more far flung kingdoms there is much argument amongst scholars regarding kings and their relations to the successors, even their names. Modern scholars studying the Parthian kings, for example, are yet to ascribe dates confidently (or even a sequence to the Arsacid dynasty) and much of the relationships between its members. Many kings, such as those that ruled Iberia and Media, are unchronicled and therefore unknown. For royal spouses there are far less data available, as they are often ignored by even epigraphical sources, let alone for the circumstances of their marriages. The literary sources provide the best scope for understanding the context that surrounds dynastic intermarriage, but for the most part they are sparse. The following survey of the available sources assesses the reliability of the works that provide details regarding Hellenistic royalty and client kings during the Roman Imperial period.

The primary surviving chronicler of Alexander's successors was Diodorus Siculus, a historian writing in Greek between 60 and 30 BC.² His work endeavoured to chronicle the deeds and wars of the Hellenistic kings after Alexander in his *Bibliothēke* and he ended his chronicle around the time of the Mithridatic Wars. Although writing much later than the events he records, his work is generally reliable – according to P. J. Stylianou, Diodorus was “a second-rate epitomator who used first-rate sources.”³ The surviving text of Diodorus outlined several

² K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century*, Princeton, 1990, p. 3; P. J. Stylianou, *A Historical Commentary on Diodorus Siculus, Book 15*, Oxford, 1998, p. 21.

³ Stylianou, *Historical Commentary on Diodorus*, p. 1. A major source used by Diodorus for the Diadochic period was Hieronymus of Cardia, an contemporary of the events he chronicled, but is now lost; see D. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death: the Hellenistic Dynasties*, London, 1999, p. xxiii.

marriage-alliances between kings and sometimes provided insights into the motivations behind these marriages and betrothals, particularly for the generals jostling for power and alliances immediately after the death of Alexander.⁴

In a truncated form, Justin's *Epitome* of Trogus supplied some useful information missing from Diodorus. Pompeius Trogus wrote his *Historiae Philippicae* in Latin during the reign of Augustus.⁵ The majority of this universal history chronicled the Macedonian dynasty (books 7 to 33) while later books (to book 44) covered more recent history.⁶ Although it is now lost, truncated versions including the *Prologi* (short summaries of each chapter) and Justin's *Epitome* survive.⁷ The *Epitome* was written, also in Latin, around AD 200 and, although it is only an abbreviated version of Trogus, many details of marriage-alliances and their backgrounds survived.⁸ Unfortunately Justin, and presumably his source Trogus, dwelled on those marriages that could be termed scandalous or even murderous.⁹ Justin presumably wrote his *Epitome* of Trogus to be a shorter and more popular version of the original. His work, however, is complete and valuable for understanding some of the dynastic politics of the Hellenistic period.

Polybius, a Greek historian writing in Greek for Greeks, provided a few further facts – his *Histories* covered the period between 264 and 146 BC and concentrated particularly on the rise

⁴ For example, according to Diodorus, Perdikkas attempted to marry Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander to obtain a claim on the Macedonian Empire (Diod. 18.23.2). Cassander also attempted to obtain the same claim by first wooing Cleopatra but finally marrying Thessalonice, another sister of Alexander (Diod. 19.52.1-2).

⁵ For a full analysis of this work, see J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'An Augustan World History: The 'Historiae Philippicae' of Pompeius Trogus', *G&R* 34.1, 1987, pp. 56-72. See also R. Syme, 'The Date of Justin and the Discovery of Trogus', *Historia* 37.3, 1988, pp. 358-71.

⁶ Alonso-Núñez, 'Augustan World History', p. 58. The author of the *Historia Augusta* described Trogus as one of the four great Latin historians (with Sallust, Livy and Tacitus); see *HA Aur.* 2.1, *Prob.* 2.7.

⁷ Alonso-Núñez, 'Augustan World History', p. 56. For Justin, see J. C. Yardley (trans.), *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, Atlanta, 1994.

⁸ Syme, however, suggests it was written towards the end of the fourth century AD, at the time of the other epitomisers (Syme, 'Date of Justin', pp. 359-71). Develin, on account of Justin's language, discounts a date that late; see R. Develin, 'Introduction', in *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, J.C Yardley (trans.), Atlanta, 1992, p. 4.

⁹ Justin provided a lengthy description of the marriage of Berenice of Cyrene and Demetrius the Fair, revelling in the details about Demetrius' affair with Berenice's mother and their subsequent murder (Just. *Epit.* 26.3.2-8).

of Rome.¹⁰ Marriage-alliances between the Hellenistic kings are not a primary concern, at least as far as the surviving sections of his work illustrate. Only on a few occasions, such as the marriage-alliance between Antiochus III and Xerxes of Armenia, does he provide any details.¹¹ The historian Appian wrote a *Roman History* in Greek during the second century AD.¹² His *Syrian Wars* and *Mithridatic Wars* reported or corroborated several marriage-alliances of the Seleucid kings and Mithridates Eupator. His *Civil Wars*, that provide the only complete historical account of the period between the Gracchi and the Second Triumvirate, provide only a few, but sometimes interesting, facts in regards marriage-alliances.¹³ In the main, however, marriages amongst kings are only alluded to in passing and most have to be extrapolated from descriptions of one king's relation to another – a fault common with many of the ancient historians.

Several works of Plutarch, a Greek historian and biographer of the late first century AD, survive. Most of these works are biographies, juxtaposing a famous Greek general, leader, or king against a Roman counterpart. Unfortunately the “lives” of most of the Diadochi and the Hellenistic kings that succeeded them have not survived or were never written. Scraps of information regarding dynastic marriages, however, can be gleaned from biographies of Lucullus, Pompey, Caesar and Antony. Plutarch's prime focus is, of course, on the subject of each of these lives, but when they interact with Eastern kings, he allowed some snippets of information regarding the king's family to be revealed. Plutarch was writing much later than the events he recorded, but he used a variety of sources. His *Moralia*, a collection of philosophical works with historical examples, also provides some more details regarding

¹⁰ Polybius began working on his history between 150 and 146 BC; see Walbank, *Polybius*, pp. 6, 16. The best commentary on Polybius remains F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1957-1979. For an overview of more recent scholarship on Polybius, see F. W. Walbank, *Polybius, Rome and the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 1-27.

¹¹ Polyb. 8.23.5; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, p. 100; S. M. Sherwin-White and A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, Berkeley, 1993, pp. 190-91; J. D. Grainger, *A Seleucid Prosopography and Gazetteer*, Leiden, 1997, p. 8.

¹² For the most modern treatment of Appian, see K. Welch, *Appian's Roman History: Empire and Civil War*, Swansea, 2015. For the date, sources and composition of his work, see K. Welch, 'Appian and the Roman History: A Reappraisal', in *Appian's Roman History: Empire and Civil War*, K. Welch (ed.), Swansea, 2015, pp. 1-2; J. Rich, 'Appian, Polybius and the Romans' war with Antiochus the Great: a Study in Appian's Sources and Methods', in *Appian's Roman History: Empire and Civil War*, K. Welch (ed.), Swansea, 2015, pp. 65-72.

¹³ The account of Cassius Dio for much of this period is fragmentary and epitomised (see below for further details on Cassius Dio). Appian, for example, is the only source to report that Pharnaces offered his daughter in marriage to Caesar (App. *BCiv.* 2.91).

Eastern royalty. Since, however, this work concentrated on didactic details rather than prosopographical facts, some information may not be reliable.¹⁴

Of the literary sources that detail the dynastic relationships that survive, this thesis owes the largest debt to Josephus. His two chronicles of the Jewish people, paying meticulous attention to the family of Herod, provide the most detailed accounts of royal marriages between the family of Herod and other dynasties. His *Jewish War* was written first, in the AD 70s.¹⁵ While most attention was focussed on the Jewish War of AD 66 to 73, Book 1 in particular encapsulated, in some detail, Jewish history up to the War.¹⁶ Thus, despite the subject of the work, a considerable part focussed on the reign of Herod.¹⁷ The work was first written in Aramaic, so its audience was intended to be Jews or people familiar with Jewish customs, in part to explain the Jewish War in which Josephus himself participated.¹⁸ Produced sometime later, around the AD 80s or 90s, his *Antiquities of the Jews*, also written in Greek, was intended for a non-Jewish audience, and expanded in scope and detail on his previous work.¹⁹ The *Antiquities*, composed of twenty books, started from the beginnings of Jewish history and extends to the outbreak of the Jewish War in Nero's reign. The escapades of the Herods are the focus of seven books (Books 14 to 20), about a third of the work's contents. Josephus is particularly meticulous about providing details of all of Herod's family, following through to his most obscure descendants.²⁰ Many of the dynastic marriages made during Augustus' reign and later are only known through the writings of Josephus, which also creates an unfortunate Herodian bias to the known examples.

¹⁴ For example, the wife of Deiotarus of Galatia is given as Stratonice and, elsewhere, as Berenice. No other source corroborates the identity of Deiotarus' wife. He may have had two, or Plutarch has confused their names.

¹⁵ For title, see T. Rajak, *Josephus: the Historian and his Society*, London, 1983, p. 201. For dating, see S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: his Vita and Development as a Historian*, Leiden, 1979, pp. 84-90 (who concludes that the work was finished before AD 81).

¹⁶ T. Rajak, 'The Herodian Narratives of Josephus', in *The World of the Herods*, N. Kokkinos (ed.), Stuttgart, 2007, p. 23.

¹⁷ This "Preface" is examined by Rajak, 'Herodian Narratives of Josephus', pp. 23-24.

¹⁸ Josephus later translated his chronicle into Greek for a wider audience, and it is this translation that has survived; see Joseph. *BJ* 1.1-3. For the earlier, now lost Aramaic version, see R. J. H. Shutt, *Studies in Josephus*, London, 1961, pp. 23-26; Rajak, *Josephus*, pp. 237-38. On his intended audience, see Rajak, *Josephus*, pp. 201-02; G. Mader, *Josephus and the Politics of Historiography: Apologetic and Impression Management in the Bellum Judaicum*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 5-17.

¹⁹ Rajak, 'Herodian Narratives of Josephus', p. 23. For arguments on date, see T. Rajak, *Josephus*, pp. 237-38.

²⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.130-142. For the details of Herod's family, drawn mainly from Josephus' works, see N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse*, London, 2010.

Josephus is reliable for the bare details of marriages contracted with the family of Herod. For example, his reference to the marriage of Juba of Mauretania and Glaphyra of Cappadocia, mentioned almost in passing in both the *War* and the *Antiquities*, is unrecorded by any other literary source.²¹ Yet an inscription in Athens confirms that Glaphyra was married to Juba.²² For the reigns of Augustus and Herod, Josephus relied heavily on Nicolaus of Damascus, a member of Herod's court, frequent ambassador to Augustus, and an eyewitness to many of the events described.²³ In regards to events outside Judaea, and to ascribing motives behind these marriages, however, Josephus is less reliable. In the same example, in both accounts, the *War* and the *Antiquities*, Josephus recorded that Glaphyra was no longer married to Juba, because the king of Mauretania had died.²⁴ He then recorded that she married Herod Archelaus, the brother of her first husband, before he was banished by Augustus. Archelaus was banished in AD 6, which would mean that Juba must have died before then. Juba still issued coins in his name and bearing his portrait until AD 23, and it is generally accepted that he died shortly afterwards.²⁵ Glaphyra must have divorced Juba before marrying Herod Archelaus, and not waited until the king of Mauretania died.

The next most valuable source for royal marriages is Strabo. His *Geography* was written in instalments over the last years of Augustus and the early reign of Tiberius, and the last revision appears to have been after AD 23.²⁶ Although he is primarily concerned with geography, the names and customs of people, Strabo also delivers potted accounts of the history of rulers of the territory he is describing. He also provided some clues as to the nature

²¹ Joseph. *AJ* 17.349, *BJ* 2.115; R. D. Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', in *ANRW* II 7.2, 1980, p. 1166, Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228; D. W. Roller, *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal Scholarship on Rome's African Frontier*, New York, 2003, p. 247.

²² *OGIS* 363; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1166; N. Kokkinos, 'Re-Assembling the Inscription of Glaphyra from Athens', *ZPE* 68, 1987, pp. 288-90; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 247.

²³ Josephus quite often explicitly distanced himself from Nicolaus' account; see Rajak, 'The Herodian Narratives of Josephus', pp. 28-29. Several fragments of Nicolaus' histories survive; see *FGrH* 90.

²⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 17.350, *BJ* 2.115. For the details of this marriage, and the arguments regarding the fate of her marriage to Juba II, see Marriages 7 and 9 below.

²⁵ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 248; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1166, n. 228. For coins, see J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris, 1955, p. 106; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 112.

²⁶ For arguments and theories regarding Strabo's publication date and revisions, see R. Syme, *Anatolica: Studies in Strabo*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 356-67 and, more recently, D. Dueck, 'The Date and Method of Composition of Strabo's Geography', *Hermes* 127, 1999, pp. 467-78; D. W. Roller, *The Geography of Strabo*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 27.

of client kings and what role they played in governing the empire. Strabo related details regarding the dynastic connections between the Armenian, Median and Parthian ruling houses and also recorded some details regarding the family of Pythodoris, Queen of Pontus.²⁷ These scraps of information can be gleaned throughout his account. Strabo's historical details are sporadic and lack chronological flow, but it was not his intention to write a history or chronicle.

The traditionally more useful historians, namely Tacitus and Dio, are less valuable regarding details of the dynasties of client kings. Tacitus' *Annals*, written in Latin and published between AD 117 and 123, although prejudiced against imperial rule in general and some emperors in particular, is the more valuable account for this thesis.²⁸ His other work, the *Histories*, was written earlier and chronicled the Civil War of AD 69 and the early years of Vespasian's reign and is only extant up to AD 71.²⁹ Tacitus' narratives mainly provided details of events in Rome and only when client kings touched on matters relating to the capital were some particulars about them included.³⁰ Tacitus, however, did allot a sizeable portion of the *Annals* to detailing the inter-family disputes in Iberia and Armenia, between Pharasmanes (king of Iberia), his bother Mithridates (king of Armenia) and his son Radamistus.³¹ Unfortunately the *Annals* are missing the accounts of Gaius' reign and the early years of Claudius, when some of the client kings would have featured more prominently. Overall Tacitus remains a valuable source, although his judgements have to be treated with caution and his primary focus is events at Rome or that directly affected the Empire. Client kings are treated by Tacitus as examples of his argument that imperial rule tended to reduce freedom

²⁷ For intermarriage between Armenian, Median and Parthian royals, see Strab. 11.13.1; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 308-16; R. D. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome 100-30 BC*, Toronto, 1990, p. 295. For details of the family of Pythodoris, see Strab. 12.3.29; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 298-99; D. Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo, friends of Rome in the Black Sea Region', in *Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat*, A. Coşkun (ed.), Göttingen, 2005, pp. 252-70.

²⁸ For the date of the *Annals*, see R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 471-73; R. Mellor, *Tacitus*, New York, 1993, pp. 23-28.

²⁹ For the date and composition of the *Histories*, see Syme, *Tacitus*, pp. 117-20; Mellor, *Tacitus*, pp. 19-23.

³⁰ Tacitus reputation regarding foreign matters was recently (and correctly) restored by A. M. Gowing, 'Tacitus and the Client Kings', *TAPhA* 120, 1990, pp. 315-31. Regardless it is fair to say that the family matters of these kings and their marriages were not one of Tacitus' primary concerns.

³¹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.44 and 12.46-47; D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, Oxford, 1994, p. 221.

and initiative, and so, consequently, client kings are generally portrayed as being slavish and/or docile.³²

Dio wrote a universal history of Rome in Greek around the AD 220s and 230s, from the very beginnings right up to his own times (in the reign of Severus Alexander, AD 222-235).³³ Most of the work is preserved only in epitomisers, but large portions, such as those recording the reign of Augustus, for example, survive intact.³⁴ He chronicled the apportioning of territory to client kings in the reigns of Augustus, Gaius and Claudius, but only rarely provided information regarding the family relationships between these kings. One passage of Dio does appear to support Suetonius' assertion that Augustus married the children of client kings to each other. When chronicling the events after Actium, Dio stated that, on arriving at Alexandria, Octavian found many children of client kings kept as hostages by Antony and that he sent some home, and married some off to each other, but Dio did not elaborate on which of these hostages received which treatment.³⁵

Suetonius, the biographer of the first twelve Caesars, wrote his work in Latin in AD 120s-130s.³⁶ He provides little detailed information regarding client kings, but does provide several broad, valuable descriptions of Augustus' policy regarding these kings. The first suggested that Augustus returned conquered kingdoms to their native dynasties, encouraged friendships and marriage-alliances between these kings and treated them as integral parts of the empire.³⁷

³² For an excellent study into Tacitus' portrayal of client kings, versus the reality that these kings faced and how they performed, see Gowing, 'Tacitus and the Client Kings', pp. 315-31 and also N. Andrade, 'Seducing Autocracy: Tacitus and the Dynasts of the Near East', *AJP* 133.3, 2012, pp. 441-75.

³³ For dates of publication, see C. L. Murison, *Rebellion and Reconstruction: Galba to Domitian*, Atlanta, 1999, pp. 8-12; F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 38-41.

³⁴ Millar, *Cassius Dio*, p. 83. Since Millar's work a series of commentaries on Dio's History now span all of Augustus' reign: M. Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate: an Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History Books 49-52 (36-29 BC)*, Atlanta, 1988 (Books 49-52); J. W. Rich, *The Augustan Settlement: Roman History 53-55.9*, Warminster, 1990 (Books 53-55) and P. M. Swan, *The Augustan Succession: an Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History, Books 55-56 (9 BC - AD 14)*, Oxford, 2004 (Books 55-56).

³⁵ Dio 51.16.1; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 138-39.

³⁶ A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: the Scholar and his Caesars*, London, 1983, pp. 1, 8-11. Although Baldwin believed at least some of the biographies were published by AD 117; see B. Baldwin, *Suetonius*, Amsterdam, 1983, pp. 47-51.

³⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Carter, *Divus Augustus*, pp. 167-68. For analysis of this passage, or parts of it, see F. Millar, 'Emperors, Kings, and Subjects', in *Rome, the Greek World and the East: Government, Society and Culture*, vol.

The second passage related how each of these kings founded a city in Augustus' name and, when visiting him in Rome, conducted themselves as his clients.³⁸ Individual client kings rarely feature in his *Lives*, and no insights are provided into the manner in which subsequent emperors handled their client kings.

Fortunately, there is also a large number of inscriptions and numismatic evidence that partially fills in the gaps left by the literary sources. Private dedications in Greek kingdoms often refer to the reigning king, which can be used to dating purposes. In addition, inscriptions frequently record the immediate ancestors of their subject. Inscriptions set up by rulers also tend to highlight their illustrious descent, which is essentially their right to rule (detailed further in Chapter 5). Several royal marriages are only known due to inscriptions. The name of the wife of Cotys of the Bosporan Kingdom has only partially survived in a single inscription set up by King Rhescuporis to honour his parents.³⁹ The marriage between Pythodoris II and Rhoemetalces II is known from an inscription from Apollonia, and their identities secured due to the information provided regarding their grandfathers.⁴⁰ Frequently, inscriptions corroborate marriages recorded by the literary sources, providing at least some level of verification of a factual event.⁴¹ While inscriptions, if they survive in a decipherable condition, do provide names, antecedents and sometimes dates, they usually do not provide any context or suggest motives or policies regarding the marriage.

Numismatic evidence provides further details on Eastern royalty and royal marriages. While the primary purpose of coinage was economic, Greek and Roman authorities quickly learnt to use the surfaces and dispersion of coins to promulgate ideas. At first the obverses of Greek coins depicted gods and goddesses, but, by the Hellenistic period, the portraits of living rulers

2, Chapel Hill, 2004, p. 230; D. Braund, 'Client Kings', in *The Administration of the Roman Empire 241BC – AD193*, D. Braund (ed.), Exeter, 1988, p. 77.

³⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 60.1; Carter, *Suetonius*, p. 181. This passage in particular has influenced the label of these kings as "client" kings; see Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 77; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 268.

³⁹ N. Frolova, *The Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom from the First Century BC to the Middle of the First Century AD*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 83-84; *CIRB* 1118.

⁴⁰ *I.G. Bulg.* 399; R. D. Sullivan, 'Thrace in the Eastern Dynastic Network', *ANRW* II 7.1, 1979, pp. 205, 207 n. 93.

⁴¹ An inscription from Athens, for example, supports Josephus' claim that Glaphyra was once married to Juba; see Joseph. *AJ* 17.350, *BJ* 2.115; *OGIS* 363; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1166; Kokkinos, 'Re-Assembling the Inscription of Glaphyra', pp. 288-90; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 247.

featured on the obverses of coins. Roman republican coins were more conservative and stuck to mythological or legendary themes with obverses depicting the portraits of gods, but with the names of the magistrates responsible for coining. In the reign of Augustus, the features of the emperor became ubiquitous on Roman coins. Provincial coins (issued independently by city states within the Roman Empire) also issued coins, and these featured either the portrait of the emperor, or a member of the imperial ruling family.⁴² The coinage of client kings tends to fall into this category. The survey of client king coinage in Appendix 2, however, demonstrates that there are few consistencies across the coins issued by these kings. Sometimes the portrait of emperor appears, sometimes the king, at other times both grace the coins. Some rare examples also depict the queen of the client king.⁴³ Rhoemetalces of Thrace issued bronze coins with jugate portrait of himself and his queen on one side, with jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia on the other side.⁴⁴ Unfortunately while the king's name and title appeared (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ), his wife remained unnamed. The identity and relationship of Gepaepyris of the Bosphoran Kingdom is solely deduced from her coins. Her name and portrait features on her own coins and those of Mithridates, the son of Aspurgus. Her name links her to the Thracian royal family and the coins reveal that she was the wife of Aspurgus who reigned briefly as regent for her son Mithridates.⁴⁵ Julia Mamaea, wife of a M. Antonius Polemo is also known from coins – her portrait and name features on one side, her husband's on the other. Her name suggests that she was a member of the dynasty of Emesa.⁴⁶ The survey of royal marriages in Chapters 2 and 3 lists several marriages known only from coins, such as the marriage of Aspurgus and Gepaepyris (Marriage 11) and Polemo and Julia Mamaea (Marriage 18). Generally the coin evidence, like inscriptions, is reliable. Die cutter

⁴² For a survey of Roman provincial coinage, including the coins of many of the client kings, see *RPC I* (44 BC to AD 69), *RPC II* (AD 69-96), and *RPC III* (AD 96-138). Other volumes are being collated, however after volume 2, few client kingdoms remained that still issued coinage (the Bosphoran Kingdom being the main exception).

⁴³ Portraits of queens had sporadically graced coins since Hellenistic times. Ptolemy II of Egypt, for example, struck coins featuring the portrait of his sister-wife Arsinoe II and around the same time Heiron of Syracuse issued coins featuring the portrait of his wife Philistis; see P. Thonemann, *The Hellenistic World: Using Coins as Sources*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 151, 163.

⁴⁴ *RPC I* 1708-1710. Sometimes only the portrait of Augustus graces the obverse (*RPC I* 1711-1712).

⁴⁵ For the coins with the name and features of Gepaepyris, see Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosphoran Kingdom*, pp. 8-9, 71-72; *RPC I* 1905-1907, 1911, 1928. See also N. Frolova, *Essays on the Northern Black Sea Region Numismatics*, Odessa, 1995, pp. 120-21. For Gepaepyris as the daughter of a Thracian king, possibly Cotys, see M. Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus', *JRS* 39, 1919, p. 108; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 211; S. Y. Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus under the Early Roman Emperors', *Scythians and Greeks: Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (Sixth Century BC - First Century AD)*, D. Braund (ed.), Exeter, 2005, pp. 172-73; A. A. Barrett, 'Claudius, Gaius and the Client Kings', *CQ* 40.1, 1990, p. 286.

⁴⁶ *RPC I* 3844; H. Seyrig, 'Monnaies hellénistiques', *RN* 11, 1969, pp. 45-47; A. Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus and M. Antonius Polemo', *Historia* 27.3, 1978, pp. 445-46; R. D. Sullivan, 'King Marcus Antonius Polemo', *NC* 139, 1979, p. 16. Her legend reads ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΜΑΜΜΑΙΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ.

errors and legend blunders are known, but the scale and production of the coins generally demonstrated some effort on the part of the state to reproduce the details correctly. Coin iconography was frequently used for propaganda, such as the infamous FEL TEMP REPARATIO (“Happy times have returned”) series from Constans and Constantius II, but in relation to the names and identities of rulers and their wives there is little case for exaggeration.

Modern Sources

“Client” or “Friendly” kings have been the focus of several works of modern scholarship. Overall, however, these authors have either accepted without analysis or ignored Suetonius’ statement regarding marriages between these kings. One of the earliest works on Roman client kings, P. C. Sands’ *Client Princes*, details the manner in which various Hellenistic kingdoms became “client kings” of Rome.⁴⁷ The marriages between these kings were not subject to analysis and are rarely discussed. D. Braund’s seminal work on Roman client kings – *Rome and The Friendly King* – forensically analyses almost every aspect of the client king, particularly focussing on their relationship with Rome. Apart from a lengthy footnote, however, the marriages of these kings were passed over.⁴⁸ Several other works on the reign and policies of Augustus also note his predilection for arranging marriages between client kings. G. W. Bowersock, in *Augustus and the Greek World*, twice acknowledges this behaviour and twice describes it as a policy of Augustus – first a “studied policy” and, later, a “considered policy.”⁴⁹ A. H. M. Jones, in his *Augustus*, describes the emperor as a “great matchmaker between the sons and daughters of his kings.”⁵⁰ Other biographical and prosopographical works on the client kings note Augustus’ custom, but also fail to analyse the evidence further. Of these, the most useful is R. D. Sullivan’s *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome* and his numerous articles on client kingdoms in *ANRW*.⁵¹ Augustus’ policy in

⁴⁷ P. C. Sands, *Client Princes of the Roman Empire under the Republic*, Cambridge, 1908.

⁴⁸ D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, London, 1984, pp. 178-80 n. 79.

⁴⁹ G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 54 and 60.

⁵⁰ A. H. M. Jones, *Augustus*, London, 1970, p. 109.

⁵¹ Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, pp. 186-211; R. D. Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, *ANRW* II 7.2, 1980, pp. 913-30; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1125-168; R. D. Sullivan, ‘The Dynasty of Emesa’, *ANRW* II 8, 1977, pp. 198-219; R. D. Sullivan, ‘The Dynasty of Judaea in the First Century’, *ANRW* II 8, 1977, pp. 296-354; R. D. Sullivan, ‘The Dynasty of Commagene’, *ANRW* II 8, 1977, pp. 732-98; R. D. Sullivan, ‘Papyri Reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network’, *ANRW* II 8, 1977, pp. 908-38; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*.

encouraging these marriages was often mentioned in these works, but never properly analysed.⁵² G. Macurdy, in her *Vassal Queens*, also notes the policy and accepts it as fact.⁵³ Invariably all these scholars cite Suetonius' passage and accept the policy as fact, although Suetonius' statement has never been properly examined and tested, let alone the policy assessed as a success or failure. Neither has the intention (or intentions) behind this policy been surmised.

Sands was the first scholar to make the client kings the subject of a major study. His work focusses specifically on the client kings under the Republic but did, on occasion, wander into the Imperial period.⁵⁴ He views these kings very much as "clients" with Rome as their "patron", and defines them as, "rulers ... limited in their power ... and had either to receive Rome's sanction for their actions or let Rome act for them; who owed Rome certain services, but in return received her protection."⁵⁵ Sands examines closely the exact appellations these kings were given in the sources: first *amicus* and then *socius et amicus* and notes distinctions between these statuses. Sands also places these kingdoms firmly outside the empire, at least during the Republic.⁵⁶ Although Sands mentions the "intermarriage" between "various royal houses" of client kings, these marriages are not analysed further.⁵⁷ Although technically outside the scope of his study, Sands recognises a change in the relationship between Rome and her client kings under Augustus, particularly in the bestowing of lands and the respect for "royal blood."⁵⁸

Sands views 190 BC, after the defeat of Antiochus III at the battle of Magnesia, as the turning point in Rome's attitude towards the East, but Badian (following Polybius) argues for Pydna as the real introduction of Rome as a power in the East.⁵⁹ Badian devotes a large part of his

⁵² Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 322; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 199 and hinted at in Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 780-81.

⁵³ G. H. Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, Baltimore, 1937, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁴ Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 1-8, but pp. 86 and 119, for example, Sands contrasts effects on client kings under Augustus and the Empire.

⁵⁵ Sands, *Client Princes*, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Sands, *Client Princes*, p. 114.

⁵⁷ Sands, *Client Princes*, p. 90.

⁵⁸ Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 86, 119, 142.

⁵⁹ Sands, *Client Princes*, p. 152; E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 110-11.

Foreign Clientelae to the study of Rome's client kings and their treatment, but unfortunately (for this study) its focus is the period 264 to 70 BC. Badian depicts Rome's treatment of its client kings in a blunt manner – Rome is unquestionably dominant and the minor kingdoms are dependants. Whereas Sands suggests the client kingdoms benefitting from the deal, Badian argues, “they get little in exchange.”⁶⁰ The best they could hope for, in way of protection, was help from other Roman allies. Badian paints a picture of a paranoid patriarchy: “the Senate is on the watch for chances of weakening the kingdoms of even its most faithful allies ... ready to transfer its support (without provocation) to their enemies.”⁶¹ This rather cynical, almost savage, view of the Senate's behaviour implies that the Roman state followed a continuous policy for almost two centuries. “Grand strategy” of this kind, however, would have been difficult for a republic with its highest officials changing annually.

Since its publication in 1984, Braund's *Rome and the Friendly King* has become the seminal work on Roman client kings. Throughout the work, Braund prefers the term “Friendly King” over “Client King”, arguing the client kings had much more independence than previously believed and that they were more than just a temporary measure before their kingdom could be fully integrated with the empire. While Braund demonstrated this to be true, the term “client king” remains in use – even by Braund himself in his later works.⁶² The term is ensconced in historical tradition and the term “friendly king” is just as unsatisfactory as the label implies, from a modern view, an equal relationship between the king and Rome. Braund also pointed out that these friendly kings were “the frontiers of the empire”, at the same time neither and both “inside or outside of the Roman Empire.”⁶³ Braund concentrated on analysing the roles and functions of the friendly kings themselves, not their kingdoms or people. The relationship between Rome and these kings, particularly under the empire, was a personal one. He systematically addressed most aspects of client kingship, by theme in each chapter, from the education of the king-to-be and recognition of his claim, through his reign and relationships with Rome, to the end of his reign – with numerous examples from source material in each chapter. While most aspects of the king's life and role were discussed, the marriage of the client king was passed over almost completely and dynastic politics only

⁶⁰ Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, p. 111.

⁶¹ Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, p. 111.

⁶² See Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 69-96.

⁶³ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 182.

touched upon.⁶⁴ Who the king might marry and what freedom he had in choice (as per Augustus approving Polemo's marriage to Dynamis) could have merited further exploration.⁶⁵

Marriages and dynastic politics, however, are thoroughly examined by Sullivan, first in a series of seven articles for *ANRW*, and secondly in his work *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome*. Sullivan's chapters in *ANRW* examine the dynastic politics and family arrangements between client kings from a prosopographical viewpoint during the first century AD.⁶⁶ The research in these works is extremely detailed and thorough – all the known information for each king is provided, pieced together from literary sources, inscriptions and papyri. Each article analyses and examines a particular kingdom: Thrace, Pontus, Cappadocia, Commagene, Emesa and Judaea. "Footnotes" (i.e. stray kings and queens) obtained from papyri for what Sullivan terms the "Eastern Dynastic Network", are revealed in the final article.⁶⁷ Overall Sullivan presents some interesting results, such as the important role the little-studied kingdom of Emesa played in this network.⁶⁸ While each kingdom's rulers are examined, there appear to be some omissions in the kingdoms studied. Numidia, at least under the emperors, is a part of this "dynastic network", as is Nabataea (admittedly only one marriage is known, between a daughter of Aretas IV and a son of Herod and this did not end happily).⁶⁹ The most glaring omission, however, is the Bosporean Kingdom. This client kingdom, one of the oldest and arguably the most important, is only touched upon (under the article on Pontus).⁷⁰ Sullivan cannot have believed this kingdom lay outside his "Eastern Dynastic Network" as he acknowledged several marriage links (between Dynamis and Polemo of Pontus and between

⁶⁴ A long footnote addresses the subject of marriage-alliances, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 178-80, n. 79.

⁶⁵ For Polemo's marriage to Dynamis, see Dio 54.24.7; A. Primo, 'The Client Kingdom of Pontus between Mithridatism and Philoromanism', in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 165-67; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 253-54; E. S. Gruen, 'The Expansion of the Empire under Augustus', *CAH*² 10, p. 151; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 294; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 919; J. G. C. Anderson, 'The Eastern Frontier under Augustus', *CAH*¹ 10, 1934, pp. 267-68; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the end of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton, 1950, p. 478; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', pp. 99-100.

⁶⁶ Sullivan, 'Thrace' (*ANRW* II 7.1, 1980), 'Dynasts in Pontus', 'The Dynasty of Cappadocia' (*ANRW* II 7.2, 1980), 'The Dynasty of Emesa', 'The Dynasty of Judaea in the First Century', 'The Dynasty of Commagene', 'Papyri Reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network' (*ANRW* II 8, 1978).

⁶⁷ Sullivan, 'Papyri', pp. 908-38.

⁶⁸ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 198-219.

⁶⁹ For this marriage and its aftermath, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.109-115; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 229-32; D. Kennedy, 'Syria', *CAH*² 10, p. 735; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 306-07.

⁷⁰ Sullivan, 'Pontus', pp. 915, 918-20.

Aspurgus and Gepaepyris of Thrace).⁷¹ The Bosporan Kingdom deserved an entire article to itself (it also may have been omitted because such a chapter was not required by *ANRW*) and could well benefit from the same treatment Sullivan applied to Emesa. The format of these articles (each devoted to a separate kingdom) also prevented any overarching analysis of the entire “network” as a whole.

Sullivan’s later work, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome 100-30 BC*, published posthumously, studies the same “Eastern Dynastic Network” under the Republic. Once again Sullivan details each ruler and family member by kingdom, but the work as a whole is separated into two chronological parts with the year 70 BC nominally selected as the divider. In the second part Sullivan re-examines each kingdom to see how it fared between 70 and 30 BC. While the work is just as well researched as his earlier articles in *ANRW* and adds much to the prosopographical research of the client kings of this period, this layout divides the narrative, and the division appears to be arbitrary.⁷² Sullivan once again stays within his boundaries: Thrace, Pontus, Cappadocia, Commagene, Emesa and Judaea (with some sections on Parthia and the trans-Euphrates dynasties). Numidia, the Bosporan Kingdom and Nabataea had no known links to the “Eastern Dynastic Network” during the Republican period and so they are omitted. During this period, however, Thrace also had no dynastic links to the same network, yet Sullivan devoted some effort to the kingdom and its obscure kings. In this format (as opposed to the previous separated articles in *ANRW*), Sullivan can provide an interpretation of the “network” as a whole and prove that in the East there existed “a society organised along royal lines and firmly controlled by its aristocracies, a type of government that the Romans understood” and could work with.⁷³ The final chapters also look ahead at the fate of these dynasties post Actium (reflecting Sullivan’s previous works). Augustus’ role in continuing the “Eastern Dynastic Network” is recognised but barely touched upon by Sullivan.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Sullivan, ‘Pontus’, pp. 919-20; Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 211.

⁷² Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 2-3. Sullivan argues that not only does the break at 70 BC mark a generational change but also heralds the downfall of Tigranes and the Seleucids. A more typical divide, for example, would be the year 63 BC when Pompey reorganised Rome’s eastern provinces and kingdoms. Although Braund describes this cut-off as “sensible enough” (D. C. Braund, ‘Near Eastern Kingdoms and Rome (Review)’, *CR* 43, 1993, p. 111).

⁷³ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 333. Frézouls would elaborate on this point later (see below).

⁷⁴ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 322.

Augustus' role in the East, however, is the central theme of Bowersock's *Augustus and the Greek World*. This wider work encompasses Augustus' relationship with the Greeks in his empire: the citizens, colonies and the cities. Fortunately, a major part is devoted to Augustus' handling of the Greek client kings that he inherited from Antony after Actium.⁷⁵ Bowersock demonstrates that Augustus eventually came to respect Antony's appointments in the East and most client kings retained their kingdoms after Actium. Several cases are outlined where Augustus removed an "Antonian house" from rule and then was forced to re-establish it.⁷⁶ Bowersock mentions odd marriages between eastern royal families and reports, "it was the studied policy of the first Princeps to unite his client dynasts by the mutual bonds of intermarriage" but does not elaborate.⁷⁷ The question of why Augustus would want his client kings "unified" is not explored. Bowersock again acknowledges Augustus' system of linking these client kings together in the summary as an example of Augustus' recognition of the importance of the client king system. Again, no motive is offered for Augustus' "considered policy."⁷⁸

In a number of works, Millar agrees with Braund on the importance of the client kingdoms. Millar points out that, during the first century AD, "a large proportion ... perhaps 10 per cent" of the Empire was under the control of these "subordinate" kings.⁷⁹ He presents two case studies; in *The Roman Near East* he focuses on the kingdom of Judaea and its role in the empire during the first century AD, and in *Emperors, Kings and Subjects* he focuses on the Bosphoran Kingdom: "the longest lasting and most interesting of them all ..."⁸⁰ Millar places these kingdoms squarely in the empire, pointing out that their subjects existed under a "two-level monarchy."⁸¹ For Millar, the Roman Empire was a complex structure and not only was the relationship between the client king and the emperor important, but also the relationship between the client king and the neighbouring governors. Through the example of Agrippa II

⁷⁵ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 42-61.

⁷⁶ In Cilicia Philopator was removed and then reinstated ten years later. In Emesa Augustus deposed Alexander and then, again some ten years later, had to restore the kingdom to Iamblichus (Alexander's nephew). See Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁷ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 54.

⁷⁸ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 61.

⁷⁹ Millar, 'Emperors, Kings, and Subjects', p. 230.

⁸⁰ F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC - AD 337*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 27-79; Millar, 'Emperors, Kings and Subjects', p. 244.

⁸¹ Millar, 'Emperors, Kings and Subjects', p. 229.

and Berenice meeting the governor of Judaea at Caesarea, Millar demonstrates that the client king also had a presence and influence on nearby provinces.⁸² Marriage-alliances between these kingdoms, however, are not Millar's concern.

E. Frézouls in his *La politique dynastique de Rome en Asie Mineure* investigates the use of client kingdom dynasties in Asia Minor and their diminished importance under Vespasian.⁸³ Whilst acknowledging Augustus' marriage-arrangements, Frézouls interprets the dynastic arrangements in Asia Minor as a Julio-Claudian idea. He argues that the early emperors, who owed their own positions to their descent from Julius Caesar and Augustus, preferred the dynastic principle to govern client king succession, which reflected their own sense of inheritance. In Gaius, Frézouls perceives the perfect example – an emperor himself an heir of Augustus, Antony, Agrippa and Germanicus who favoured the heirs of client kingdoms and restored to them their ancestral domains.⁸⁴ Frézouls also acknowledges the role of queens as carriers of dynastic legitimacy, using Dynamis and the Jotapes as examples.⁸⁵ The move away from these dynastic models was gradual, but became definite in the reign of Vespasian, who Frézouls argues is a non-dynastic emperor, raised from the administrative class of new men who saw no need to continue these dynasties. Frézouls limits himself to discussing Asia Minor, although the same dynastic principles applied to other client kingdoms.⁸⁶ The Bosporan Kingdom, however, is included and the work could have encompassed Mauretania and Armenia (which Frézouls acknowledges he deliberately excised but without giving any reasons for the choice) where evidence of these same policies also existed.⁸⁷

Overall, most of the work regarding client kings has focussed on the kings themselves. Macurdy's works, however, focus on the politics and personalities of the queens. Her *Vassal Queens*, a sequel of sorts to her earlier *Hellenistic Queens*, examines the main female rulers

⁸² Millar, 'Emperors, Kings and Subjects', pp. 236-37. Braund also addresses this same topic (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 79-85).

⁸³ E. Frézouls, 'La politique dynastique de Rome en Asie Mineure', *Ktema* 12, 1987, pp. 175-82.

⁸⁴ Frézouls, 'La politique dynastique', p. 187.

⁸⁵ Frézouls, 'La politique dynastique', pp. 180-82 (Dynamis), 189-190 (the Jotapes).

⁸⁶ Dynastic models, for example, were followed also in Mauretania, under Juba II and Ptolemy, in Nabataea, under Aretas IV, Malichus II and Rabbel, and in Armenia, under Tigranes IV, Erato, Tigranes V and VI.

⁸⁷ Frézouls, 'La politique dynastique', p. 185.

that Macurdy saw as “vassals” of Rome, as such kingdoms were then perceived.⁸⁸ Macurdy suggests that Dynamis, Queen of the Bosphorus, was particularly important due to the fact that she co-ruled with some of her husbands, and Pythodoris who ruled Pontus alone and just as well (in Strabo’s eyes at least) as the other client kings.⁸⁹ Macurdy does attempt to name some of the marriages she believes Augustus to have arranged, but does not dwell on the political motivations for this practice.⁹⁰ Her work is primarily a collection of biographies of the wives and daughters of client kings. Macurdy does attempt to date the marriages of her subjects wherever possible, but, because of the dearth of evidence regarding the lives of these Queens, she is also prone to providing her own elaborations and unnecessary speculations.⁹¹ As a whole the work is also a little out of date (published in 1937), so some of the research that she based her analysis on has been superseded.⁹²

Several modern works also investigate dynastic dynamics in the Hellenistic world. The circumstances around these marriages, including their geo-political aspects, however, are rarely analysed. Seibert, in his *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen*, made a thorough examination of the marriage-alliances made between the Hellenistic Kingdoms after the death of Alexander.⁹³ His work concentrates on those marriage-alliances formed between Alexander’s successors and later Hellenistic kings and is extremely useful for Chapter 1, but needs to be supplemented with marriages made by western kingdoms, such as Numidia, and those formed in the Late Republic. The last marriage-alliances examined by Seibert are those made by Mithridates Eupator – later marriage-alliances, such as between Tigranes and the Parthian kings, or between Herod and the Hasmonaeans, are outside the scope of his work. Carney’s *Women and Monarchy in Macedonia* explores the role of royal women in Macedonian society and also provides succinct biographies of her subjects.⁹⁴ Her work is important in analysing some characteristics of Macedonian (and by association

⁸⁸ Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*; G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore, 1932.

⁸⁹ Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 29-38.

⁹⁰ Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 16-17.

⁹¹ Such as her suggestion that Antonia wrote letters to her sister-in-law Cleopatra Selene (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 6) or the musing on the possibility of correspondence between the “Amazonian” Dynamis and Livia (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 32-33).

⁹² For example, Aspurgus is no longer seen as a fourth husband of Dynamis (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 32) but her son, see Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 160; *PIR*² A 1265.

⁹³ Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*.

⁹⁴ E. D. Carney, *Women and Monarchy in Macedonia*, Norman, 2000.

Hellenistic) royal marriages, namely marriages inside the dynasty versus those outside and the evolution from polygamous royal marriages to those that were “officially” monogamous. Complementing Carney’s work is Ogden’s *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death* which examines the range of polygamous behaviour amongst the Hellenistic kings and its effects on inter familial feuding. Ogden highlights the use of “levirate” marriage (marriage to one of the previous ruler’s widows) to legitimise new regimes, particularly in Argead Macedonia.⁹⁵ Ogden traces the instability in the Hellenistic dynasties to “amphimetric” disputes (between two or more half-brothers) exacerbated by the polygamous marriages of the kings.⁹⁶ The first chapter of this thesis, however, seeks to assess the political reasons that these marriages were formed in the Hellenistic world and to demonstrate that almost all marriages were made between neighbouring kingdoms (to contrast later with the marriage-alliances with those made during the reign of Augustus) – factors which are outside the scope of the works mentioned above.

Special note must also be made of scholars focussing on one client king or dynasty. N. Kokkinos’ *Herodian Dynasty* has been invaluable in this thesis’ analysis of members of the Herodian Dynasty, including investigation into the marriages with accompanying dating.⁹⁷ Most modern works have viewed client kings as an Eastern phenomenon, but D. W. Roller’s *The World of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene* not only brought attention to an often neglected client king in the west and his distinguished wife, but also on the equally neglected Numidian/Mauretanian dynasty as a whole.⁹⁸ His analysis of the few marriages that linked this dynasty to the wider ancient world has proven to be invaluable. A. Kropp has recently published a thorough study of the royal art and iconography of the eastern client kings of Commagene, Emesa, Judaea and Nabataea.⁹⁹ Several collections and colloquia, only recently published, on client kings in general have also provided numerous articles focussed on a particular client king or aspect of client kingship.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 3.

⁹⁶ Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. ix-x.

⁹⁷ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*.

⁹⁸ Roller, *World of Juba II*.

⁹⁹ A. Kropp, *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC-AD 100*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.

¹⁰⁰ See particularly T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, Stuttgart, 2010; O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds), *Imaginary Kings*, Stuttgart, 2005; Kokkinos, *The World of the*

In summary, it should be apparent that the subject of client kings and their role in the empire has been covered by several major modern scholars. Of these, however, only Sullivan and Frézouls have particularly examined the dynastic principle of succession in these kingdoms. Although the dynastic arrangements of client kings rightly lie outside the scope of many of excellent works, others have ignored these aspects to the detriment of their own study. That Augustus involved himself in the arrangement of marriages between his subject kings has been acknowledged by all these scholars. Only Macurdy has opined which of these marriages were encouraged by Augustus (her analysis is, however, superficial), and no one has investigated why the emperor would choose to involve himself in these matters or what the consequences of this “considered” policy were. This remains an area of unstudied importance in understanding the relationship between the client king and the emperor and the emperor’s management of these allied kings.

Scope

This thesis is only concerned with analysing the marriages between (or within) the families of kingdoms that operated under a centralised dynastical monarchy as client kingdoms of the Roman Empire. Specifically these kingdoms are: Thrace, the Bosporan Kingdom, Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia Minor, Armenia, Iberia, Media Atropatene, Commagene, Cilicia, Emesa, Edessa, Judaea, Nabataea and Numidia/Mauretania.¹⁰¹ The term “kingdoms” will be used to apply to those territories ruled dynastically by an absolute ruler, in the style of

Herods: Volume 1 of the International Conference ‘The World of the Herods and the Nabataeans’ held at the British Museum, 17-19 April 2001, Stuttgart, 2007; K. D. Politis (ed.), *The World of the Nabataeans: Volume 2 of the International Conference ‘The World of the Herods and the Nabataeans’ held at the British Museum, 17-19 April 2001*, Stuttgart, 2007; E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds), *Amici - socii - clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*, Berlin, 2015. M. R. Cimma’s earlier work on client kings is also worth noting: M. R. Cimma, *Reges Socii et Amici Populi Romani*, Milan, 1976. Other noteworthy recent contributions to the study of client royalty are C. Ricci, ‘Principes et Reges Externi (e loro Schiavi e Liberti) a Roma in Italia. Testimonianze Epigrafiche di età Imperiale’, *RAL* 7, 1996, pp. 561-92; M. Facella, ‘Membra Partesque Imperii: Brevi Considerazioni sulla Definizione di “Re Clienti”’, *Teoria* 27.1, 2007, pp. 58-70; D. Jacobson, ‘Three Roman Client Kings: Herod of Judaea, Archelaus of Cappadocia and Juba of Mauretania’, *PEQ* 133.1, 2001, pp. 22-38 and C-G. Schwentzel, ‘Théocraties et Rois Clients: Antiochos Ier de Commagène et Hérode le Grand’, *Dialogues d’histoire Ancienne* 36.1, 2010, pp. 119-36.

¹⁰¹ Most scholars believe that in 25 BC Augustus transferred Juba II, son of the king of Numidia to the kingdom of Mauretania and Numidia became a full Roman province (Dio 53.26.2) – the various views will be discussed in Chapter 2, p. 104 below.

Hellenistic monarchy. Usually the rulers of these territories were granted the title king, *rex* or *basileus*, and advertised their titulature on their coins. Rulers of the smaller principalities (dynasts, tetrarchs and phylarchs) that were dotted around Anatolia and Syria, such as Olba, Comana and Chalcis, will be included within the scope of this thesis where their mention is merited, but they are not the central focus of this thesis. By and large these realms followed the same monarchical dynastic government as the Hellenistic kings, but with smaller domains and less majestic titles. Even in states where the ruler was a religious leader, these priesthoods tended to remain within local noble families, and often followed the dynastic principle.¹⁰² Unfortunately, due to the limited documentation that has survived regarding these principalities, there are few known cases of intermarriages between them and their larger neighbours.

Tribal kingdoms, such as those within Britain, Germania and even Galatia for example, lie outside the scope of this thesis. While they share many characteristics with the client kings of the Hellenised East, the absence of a strong hereditary principle meant the application of dynastic politics was not an effective means of controlling them. The difference is neatly summed up by Braund: “These [client kings] included rules as disparate and distant as chieftains of Britain in the west on the one hand, and the sophisticated royal regimes of the east on the other. However, it was the latter rulers who mattered most in imperial thinking and, by and large, in imperial action.”¹⁰³ The client kingdoms of the neighbouring Parthian Empire (such as Adiabene and Gordyene for example) also lie outside the scope of this work, as their structures and dynamics are incomparable to the Roman system.¹⁰⁴ The relationship

¹⁰² For recent studies of these priest kings as Roman client kings, see T. Kaizer, ‘Kingly Priests in the Roman Near East?’, in *Imaginary Kings*, O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds), Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005, pp. 177-92; T. Kaizer, ‘Kings and Gods: Some Thoughts on Religious Patterns in Oriental Principalities’, in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 113-24.

¹⁰³ D. C. Braund, ‘The Black Sea Region and Hellenism under the Early Empire’, in *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, S. E. Alcock (ed.), Oxford, 1997, p. 123. Luttwark also differentiated between “client kingdoms” and “client tribes” (E. N. Luttwark, *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*, Baltimore, 1976, pp. 32-33).

¹⁰⁴ See R. Fowler, ‘King, Bigger King, King of Kings: Structuring Power in the Parthian World’, in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 75-76. One important difference was that Parthian client kings could intermarry with their Arsacid masters – Roman client kingdoms could not easily form marriage-alliances with leading Roman families, or under the emperors, the Imperial family.

between the emperor and the client kings was different to the relationship between the Parthian kings and his satellite kings.¹⁰⁵



Figure 1. Roman Client Kingdoms in the First Century AD

Client Kings

This thesis cannot commence without first addressing the nature and role of the Client Kings under the Roman Empire. Since the publication of Braund's *Rome and the Friendly King*, it has been generally accepted that these kings were not clients of Rome or the Roman Empire, at least not in the modern interpretation of the patron/client relationships under the Roman Republic.¹⁰⁶ The ancient sources mostly refer to these kings as *amici et socii* ("friends and

¹⁰⁵ The differences are worth examining, though not central to the thesis, and are addressed in Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁶ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 7; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 267; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, pp. 19-22; Facella, 'Membra Partesque Imperii', pp. 58-70. The previous view is best summarised by Badian, who included these kings in his work, *Foreign Clientelae* (and Sands, *Client Princes*, p. 1). More recently, Burton attempts to rationalise the Senate's role in terms of international *amicitia* rather than *clientela*; see P. J. Burton, *Friendship and Empire: Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic (353-146 BC)*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 3-6. Some modern scholars, however, still assume the Patron/Client model applied to kings, for example see R. D. Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus: a Look at Patron-Client Relationships', *Studia Antiqua* 2, 2002, pp. 3-24.

allies”), hence Braund’s preferred term “Friendly King.”¹⁰⁷ While the use of “Client Kings” as a label for these rulers has remained in lieu of a more satisfactory term, Braund is correct to argue that the kings had more power and independence than previously thought. This thesis, however, will demonstrate, during the imperial period, that they were not independent enough to negotiate their own marriage-alliances without at least the sanction of the emperor.

Many of these kingdoms were remnants of earlier Hellenistic monarchies that were gradually defeated or humbled by Rome’s reluctant expansion. Several kings could boast illustrious ancestors and could claim descent from Alexander’s generals or Darius, the Persian King of Kings. Their relationship with the Senate was often awkward, as demonstrated in numerous embassies sent by kings to plead or defend cases.¹⁰⁸ The Senate, if the view of such a body can be generalised, tended to regard the kings with suspicion (for their monarchical rule was at odds with the Republican ideal) but at the same time recognised these kings as being useful for the Senate’s control of territories outside the provinces.¹⁰⁹ The relationship with particular Romans became much closer during Pompey’s Eastern campaigns (66-62 BC), and the kings preferred to deal with an individual and generally proved loyal to the republican generals such as Pompey, Caesar, Cassius and Antony, if not necessarily to Rome.¹¹⁰ The personal relationship between the king and Roman ruler only strengthened under Augustus. There is little evidence, however, for a systematic policy of dealing with client kings.¹¹¹ Overall, according to Suetonius, Augustus endeavoured to form friendships between his client kings,

¹⁰⁷ Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 77-78; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 23-24; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 268; Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 42-43. A. Lintott preferred the term “Allied kings” (A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanorum: Politics and Administration*, London, 1993, pp. 32-36) which, in some ways, is a better fit, but “client kings” remains the preferred term by modern scholarship.

¹⁰⁸ Braund, ‘Client Kings’, p. 83. For example, the Senate’s refusal to permit their once loyal ally, Eumenes of Pergamum, to visit Rome (Polyb. 29.6.4) and, at another time, banning the visit of kings to the Senate altogether (Polyb. 30.19.6); see also Burton, *Friendship and Empire*, pp. 294-96.

¹⁰⁹ The best assessment of the Roman view of kings can be found in E. Rawson, ‘Caesar’s Heritage: Hellenistic Kings and Their Roman Equals’, *JRS* 65, 1975, pp. 148-59. See also Lintott, *Imperium Romanorum*, p. 32; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 42; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 73-74. “At Rome, ‘king’ was a title redolent of power, authority, status and wealth – exotic and attractive, yet potentially dangerous” (Braund, ‘Client Kings’, p. 95). For the Senate’s role in changing or supporting client kings, see O. Hekster, ‘Kings and Regime Change in the Roman Republic’, in *Imperialism, Cultural Politics, and Polybius*, C. Smith and L. M. Yarrow, Oxford, 2012, pp. 184-202.

¹¹⁰ Frézouls, ‘La politique dynastique’, pp. 175-76; A. Raggi, ‘First Roman Citizens among Eastern Dynasts’, in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, p. 83; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, p. 371; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹¹ Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 71-73; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, p. 33; Kennedy, ‘Syria’, p. 729.

but, other than that each king and kingdom was treated according to their situation.¹¹² These kings were never seen by Rome as temporary measures before a territory could be ruled directly by Rome.¹¹³ When a king died, or even before he died, some kingdoms were converted to provinces, even under Augustus' rule, while other continued as client kings into the third century.¹¹⁴ Modern scholars have sometimes described these conversions by using terms such as “absorb” and “annex”, yet such terminology then assumes that these kingdoms were not part of the empire. This thesis instead describes such transformations as “conversions” – in essence the king was replaced by a governor.¹¹⁵

These take-overs are often described as annexations by modern scholars, which overlook the fact that these kingdoms were already considered, at times, part of the empire, at least under the principate.¹¹⁶ Their anomalous status is best described by Braund – they were neither and both inside and outside the empire.¹¹⁷ Strabo's view, that some territories were given to kings to govern due to local troubles, engenders the idea that these dependant kingdoms were actually just Roman territories ruled by a different type of governor.¹¹⁸ He further encouraged this view in another passage where he maintained that the portion of the empire ruled by kings belonged to the emperor's administration.¹¹⁹ These kings were dependant on the emperor's whims: territories were assigned, redistributed or removed as if they were imperial

¹¹² Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 76-77; Jacobson, ‘Three Roman Client Kings’, pp. 22, 27-28.

¹¹³ Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 69-70; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 187; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, p. 31.

¹¹⁴ Witness Augustus' incorporation of Galatia as a province on the death of Amyntas in 25 BC and Vespasian with Commagene in AD 72 versus the ongoing client kingdoms of the Bosporan Kingdom and Iberia.

¹¹⁵ The only true examples of absorptions during this transformation process occurred when kingdoms were added to the responsibility of the governor of an existing province. For example, Commagene was absorbed several times into the province of Syria, but it was never absorbed into the Empire – the Romans had always maintained and acted as though the kingdom of Commagene was Roman territory. The distinction is important.

¹¹⁶ For example of “annexations”, see Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, pp. 38, 112; Frézouls, ‘La politique dynastique’, p. 177. These kingdoms as already part of the empire, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 182; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, pp. 36-37.

¹¹⁷ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 182; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, p. 92. Kaizer and Facella suggest some caveats on this statement (Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, p. 33).

¹¹⁸ Strab. 17.3.24; Millar, ‘Emperors, Kings, and Subjects’, p. 230. Isaac makes the point that no boundary markers of the empire have been found, barring one marking the border between the province of Osrhoene and the Kingdom of Abgar, which Isaac viewed as an example of stone marking the border between different parts of the empire, of which the client kingdoms were considered to be a part (B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, Oxford, 1990, p. 397). See also P. Brunt, ‘Laus Imperii’, in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, P. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds), Cambridge, 1978, pp. 168-70.

¹¹⁹ Strab. 17.3.25; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, p. 81; Millar, ‘Emperors, Kings, and Subjects’, p. 230.

property.¹²⁰ At the same time, the kings were expected to rule independently and maintain the peace, not necessarily in the name of Rome, although the kings were keen to advertise that they were friends of Rome (under the Republic) or friends of Caesar (under the principate).¹²¹ Some modern scholars have interpreted the issuing of coins by the kings as a right bestowed upon them by the emperor.¹²² Kings minted their own coins, usually with Greek legends and often bearing their own portrait, portrayed according to local fashion. Quite often the coins also bore the portraits of the emperor or other members of the imperial family, but there is little evidence of imperial control over the coinage.¹²³ In essence, the client kings were an anomaly – they were independent dependants of Rome, or rather they were dependants of Rome, but it was in both the interests of Rome and the king that the king appeared independent.

Thesis Outline

The thesis will be divided into two parts. The first part, containing the first three chapters, examines, from all the available evidence, the actual marriage-alliances made before, during and after Augustus' reign and compare their characteristics. The second part, containing the remaining three chapters, addresses the outcomes of Augustus' policy of encouraging intermarriage between his subject kings and explores the possible motivations or intentions behind this activity.

To understand the marriage-alliances made between kingdoms, the first chapter addresses the history of these alliances between the Hellenistic kingdoms and the other dynastic states that grew up around them, and defines the characteristics of “normal” Hellenistic marriages,

¹²⁰ Late Republican generals such Pompey, Caesar and Antony exercised similar power, see Chapter 1, p. 89. See also Lintott, *Imperium Romanum*, pp. 34-35. Kropp notes the similarities and transfer between client kings and governors, at least from the Roman view (Kropp, *Images and Monuments*, p. 12).

¹²¹ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 105-07; Braund, 'Client Kings', pp. 80-81; Kropp, *Images and Monuments*, p. 12.

¹²² Many numismatists (following T. Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, 1887-1888, p. 712), however, maintain that the right to coin, and in what metal, was determined by imperial policy; see Appendix 2 for details.

¹²³ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 123-26; Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 80; M. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic*, London, 1985, p. 273. See also Appendix 2 below.

mainly relying on the information gleaned by Seibert.¹²⁴ Whether any of these characteristics changed for marriage-alliances made after Pydna is examined, when the Senate undertook a more dominant role in the politics of the East and many of these rulers became “client” kings. For the most part, this chapter demonstrates that the senate took little interest in proposing or encouraging marriage-alliances between “client” kingdoms. Furthermore, once the Senate assumed an arbitrary role in affairs within the wider Mediterranean, dynastic marriage-alliances were now sometimes used as an excuse by some kings for interfering in another kingdom’s politics.¹²⁵

The second chapter examines first Augustus’ treatment of client kings in general, before defining the marriage-alliances between kings made during Augustus’ reign. Each known marriage (whether attested in literary sources, inscriptions or coins) is dated and described from evidence. The characteristics of the marriages made under Augustus are highlighted and that marriage-alliances flourished during his reign is established, and it is demonstrated that the geographic proximity of the joined dynasties was no longer a limiting factor.

The third chapter analyses those marriage-alliances made under Augustus’ successors, assessing whether there was still active encouragement on the emperors’ part, or other evidence of a continuation of the Augustan pattern of far flung marriages. If the marriage occurred early in the reign of Tiberius for example, Augustus may still have arranged the betrothal. That some of the characteristics of these marriages (geographically distant, for example) remained is also established.

Overall the first part demonstrates conclusively that, although a variety of reasons for dynastic marriage were possible, the primary goal was to establish an alliance between neighbouring states. These marriages continued under the Senate’s guardianship for the same reasons. It

¹²⁴ J. Seibert, *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in Hellenistischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1967.

¹²⁵ Nicomedes III married Nysa of Cappadocia justifying himself as the “protector” of the interests of young Ariarathes VII, her son. Mithridates VI of Pontus also attempted to use his family connections as an excuse to interfere in the Cappadocian succession. For their wrangling over Cappadocia, see Just. *Epit.* 38.1-2, and Chapter 1, p. 81 below.

was only under Augustus' reign (and afterwards) that these characteristics changed – the kingdoms now joined did not have to be neighbours and the need for an alliance, while both were client kingdoms of the Roman Empire, had been negated.

Within the second part, the fourth chapter examines Augustus in the role of a patriarch. Are the marriages between client kings formed because Augustus was merely keen to promote friendships between his subject kings (as alluded to by Suetonius)? Within his own family he demonstrated a readiness to “marry off” those in his charge and he was keen to promote the institution of marriage and encouraging procreation amongst Romans “of good standing.”¹²⁶ While this may have been one reason to encourage these weddings, it cannot have been the prime reason for what Bowersock calls a “studied” and “considered” policy.¹²⁷

The fifth chapter assesses dynastic claims in the centralised monarchies of the ancient world, and highlights the importance of legitimacy through dynastic claimants to kingdoms, in a manner that pioneered the dynastic claim system of medieval Europe. The chapter demonstrates that many subjects expected to be ruled by people descended from their native dynasties and were more likely to accept a ruler closely tied to the local ruling family.¹²⁸ The chapter also determines that the marriages encouraged by Augustus produced offspring with multiple claims to various client kingdoms. This pool of potential client princes meant the emperor could manipulate the succession for a particular client kingdom. After careful marriage arrangements, princes were produced who had potential claims to several different kingdoms, through their parents and/or grandparents. The emperors' preferred candidate could be promoted to troublesome kingdoms with (hopefully) an increased chance of acceptance by the local population. In Armenia, for example, Augustus first put up

¹²⁶ Dio 54.16.1-7 on the various laws and incentives Augustus introduced to encourage marriage and children amongst Romans. See also Suet. *Aug.* 34.1.

¹²⁷ Bowersock, *Augustus and Greek World*, pp. 54, 61.

¹²⁸ Augustus was keen to emphasise that his candidates were connected to the previous ruling family (*RG* 27.2; A. E. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augustae: Text, Translation and Commentary*, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 231-32; P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (eds), *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*, Oxford, 1967, p. 72). That Mithridates of Pergamum (Strab. 14.4.3) and Scribonius (Dio 54.24.4) both claimed to be sons of Mithridates VI Eupator to bolster their claims to the Bosporan Kingdom, strongly suggests that descent from Mithridates was extremely important to the people of the Bosporan Kingdom. Likewise, the Parthians preferred those “from the stock of Arsaces” to be their kings (Amm. Marc. 23.6.6).

Ariobarzanes (2 BC-AD 4) and Artavasdes III (AD 4-6), both from Media Atropatene, and then Tigranes V (AD 6-12), Herod's grandson.¹²⁹ Tiberius and Nero also supported claims of contenders for the Armenian throne.¹³⁰ This practice continued into the second century AD.¹³¹

The sixth and final chapter examines those kings and kingdoms outside the Eastern Dynastic Network: Galatia, Edessa, the Tarcondimotids of Cilicia and Iberia. Why would these kingdoms be left “unconnected”? Or were they connected and any evidence of familial relationships has not survived in the sources? Moreover, not all the outcomes of these policies were so beneficial. This chapter will also demonstrate some of the repercussions of such close marriage ties between various kingdoms. For one, this policy could produce kings that had greater loyalty to each other than to the emperor, as evidenced by Agrippa I's conference at Tiberias in AD 41.¹³² Although Augustus undoubtedly sought to bring these kings closer together, it could also serve as an area of disagreement as kings became embroiled in the family feuds of their neighbours. Archelaus disputed with Herod over the treatment of his daughter's husband and his brother (Herod's sons). Aretas IV, king of Nabataea, went to war with Herod Antipas for the treatment of Phasaelis, Antipas' wife and Aretas' daughter.¹³³

As a whole this thesis demonstrates that Augustus did encourage intermarriage between his client kings as suggested by Suetonius. In fairness, Augustus could be described, as Jones had, as being a “great matchmaker.” Furthermore, an examination of Augustus' motives reveals that his behaviour was part of a policy, not a personal predilection, and that Bowersock was correct to describe it as a “considered policy.” While these and other modern scholars have taken Suetonius' claim at face value, this thesis demonstrates that an

¹²⁹ Ariobarzanes and Artavasdes: Dio 55.10a.7. Herod's grandson Tigranes V: Joseph. *AJ* 18.139. Both are specified in *RG* 27.2 (see Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-32; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72).

¹³⁰ Germanicus (under Tiberius) installed Zeno son of Polemo of Pontus as Artaxias III of Armenia (*Tac. Ann.* 2.56). Tiberius later encouraged Mithridates of Iberia's bid for Armenia (*Tac. Ann.* 6.23.3; Dio 58.26.3). Nero raised Tigranes VI (also from Judaea and nephew of Augustus' candidate) as a candidate for Armenia (*Tac. Ann.* 14.26.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.140).

¹³¹ Sohaemus (AD 164), Marcus Aurelius' candidate for the kingdom of Armenia (Dio 71.2.3), certainly came from the royal house of Emesa.

¹³² Joseph. *AJ* 19.338-342.

¹³³ Archelaus versus Herod: Joseph. *AJ* 16.325-334; Aretas versus Herod Antipas: Joseph. *AJ* 18.109-119.

examination of the marriages made before, during, and after Augustus' reign proves that Suetonius was correct. The more interesting question, however, is why Augustus concerned himself with the marriage relations between his client kings. This thesis demonstrates that the emperor may have had several reasons – but the production of competent heirs with a variety of claims was the outcome of this policy most beneficial to Augustus and his successors and it may have been the outcome that Augustus was hoping to achieve.

Chapter 1. Marriage-alliances before Augustus

To understand completely the marriage-alliances between kings arranged during Augustus' reign, it is important to understand how marriage-alliances worked in the wider ancient world prior to 31 BC. Augustus' immediate predecessors, the late Republican generals Antony, Caesar, Pompey and Sulla, demonstrated their power to allocate territories and to assign or replace the rulers over these territories. No evidence survives, however, that demonstrates that they took any interest in arranging marriage-alliances between these kings and rulers. In the century before Pompey's reorganisation of the East, the Senate also demonstrated no interest in these matters. The rulers of the Eastern kingdoms were left, by and large, to tend to their own interests and the Senate rarely (and reluctantly) interfered with these interests. Before Rome's expansion into the East (marked, as far as this thesis is concerned, by the battle of Pydna in 168 BC), the Hellenistic kings arranged their own marriages to form alliances for their own political ends.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part will briefly examine marriage-alliances in the ancient East before focussing on Alexander's successors and the independent Hellenistic Kingdoms. The second part will focus on the period when Rome dominated the East and will investigate whether the nature of marriage-alliances changed from the previous period or whether Rome interfered in or encouraged certain marriage-alliances. The Battle of Pydna in 168 BC will be used to separate the two periods. Polybius marked this as the point that Rome's role in the Mediterranean became dominant.¹ Chronological boundaries are rarely so stark in history, and analysis of the marriages will demonstrate that the role of Rome had gradually altered the politics in the East since at least the defeat of Antiochus III at the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BC. Sherwin-White disputes that the Battle of Pydna was a water-shed

¹ Polyb. 3.1.9. See also F. W. Walbank, *Polybius*, Berkeley, 1972, pp. 26-27; D. W. Baronowski, *Polybius and Roman Imperialism*, Bristol, 2013, p. 114; E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, Berkeley, 1986, p. 345; G. E. Sterling, 'Explaining Defeat: Polybius and Josephus on the Wars with Rome', in *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium: Aarhus 1999*, J. U. Kalms (ed.), Münster, 2000, p. 136; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, p. 96; B. McGing, 'Subjection and Resistance: to the Death of Mithridates', in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, A. Erskine (ed.), Oxford, 2003, p. 73. Braund also notes that after Pydna there was an increase in the number of princes sent to Rome for education and also that "a flood of embassies" from the East came to Rome (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 9, 55).

moment and both Braund and he have highlighted independent behaviour from client kings in the period after Pydna, when they were supposed to be completely subservient to Rome.² Regardless, although the Roman Senate arguably took a laissez-faire attitude towards the eastern Greek kingdoms, it nevertheless did, after Pydna, have a more definite presence in the East.

Close examination will indicate that all the known marriage-alliances since the formation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms shared similar traits or characteristics. Firstly, the marriage between the royal family of one state and the royal family of another sealed a formal alliance, as it had done in the earlier ancient world. These alliances came in several forms. Many were defensive alliances, a case of protecting one's borders.³ In some cases, however, they formed part of an aggressive alliance, forged in preparation for war.⁴ At other times the marriage-alliances were part of a peace made after a recent war had concluded.⁵ Secondly, and quite importantly, these marriages were usually between neighbouring states. There are few, if any, examples of marriage-alliances between two kingdoms that did not share a border or border region. Sometimes not all parties were equally eager to unite their houses, such as when the marriage-alliances were forced upon a dynasty in the power of another.⁶ Marriage-alliances were also used to unite the new ruling dynasty with the old, legitimising the new regime.⁷ After Rome officially recognised these Hellenistic kingdoms as their "friend and ally", these royal marriages continued with little interference from the Senate. During this later period,

² A. N. Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia, 167-88 BC', *JRS* 67, 1977, p. 62; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 63-67. McGing notes that kings in Anatolia still invaded each other's territories without seeking assistance or approval from Rome in the period after Pydna (McGing, 'Subjection and Resistance', p. 77). In analysing Rome's interactions with the Seleucids in the period after Pydna, Gruen concludes that Rome was generally apathetic to Eastern affairs (E. S. Gruen, 'Rome and the Seleucids in the Aftermath of Pydna', *Chiron* 6, 1976, pp. 73-95).

³ These "passive" alliances will be detailed in their own section and remain the default reason for marriage-alliance where the sources neglect to illuminate any other reasons, as detailed from p. 58 below.

⁴ The most famous, and telling, example is Antiochus III's marriage-alliances with neighbouring kingdoms before the onset of his war with Rome, as described by Appian (*App. Syr.* 5). These marriage-alliances will be investigated in their own section below, see page 46 below.

⁵ For examples, see the marriage-alliance between Sandrocottus and Seleucus I (*Strab.* 15.2.9; *App. Syr.* 55), between Magas of Cyrene and Ptolemy (*Just. Epit.* 26.3.2), and between Antiochus III and Xerxes, his wayward satrap of Armenia (*Polyb.* 8.23.5; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, p. 100). Each of these examples is investigated further in the relevant section below, see pages 52, 53, 56 below.

⁶ The Parthian marriage-alliances with the Seleucids were definitely arranged when the Parthians had the upper hand, as outlined below.

⁷ Alexander was keen to marry two Persian princesses at the end of this period, and Herod was keen to marry into the Hasmonaeans in the first century BC. Both marriage-alliances are detailed below.

marriage-alliances could be now used as an excuse for one kingdom to interfere in a neighbouring kingdom's politics with the hope that Rome's suspicions would not be aroused.⁸

Marriage-alliances before Pydna

Marriage-alliances are as old as politics. One of the oldest known peace treaties, c. 1290 BC, between Ramesses II of Egypt and the Hittite Ḫattušili III, was sealed with the marriage of Ḫattušili's daughter to Ramesses.⁹ Alexander the Great was himself the product of a dynastic union between Philip II of Macedon and Olympias, daughter of the King of the Molossians (a neighbouring state).¹⁰ The uncertain political situation that formed after Alexander's death left his empire in the hands of several rival generals. A flurry of marriage-alliances sprang up as a response to the "Partition of Babylon" (323 BC). Marriage-alliances created under the immediate successors of Alexander continued into the period that saw these territories evolve into permanent kingdoms. For some time it has been assumed that royal monogamy evolved over this same period, but recently it has been demonstrated that polygamy remained a common marriage state for some of these kings.¹¹

Marriage-alliances, in the strictest sense, did not have to be between states. In Athens, leading families formed factions and alliances, "frequently linked by marriage-ties."¹² Around 556 BC, Peisistratus of Athens formed an alliance with his rival Megacles in order to take over the city. The alliance was sealed with the marriage of Megacles' daughter to Peisistratus.¹³ When

⁸ Mithridates Eupator was particularly apt in using his family's connections as excuses to interfere with neighbouring kingdoms, as demonstrated below, see page 80.

⁹ S. Langdon and S. A. H. Gardiner, 'The Treaty of Alliance between Ḫattušili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt', *JEA* 6.3, 1920, p. 205; A. Dodson and D. Hilton. *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, London, 2004, p. 158. There were actually two marriages between Ramesses II and a daughter of Ḫattušili III, see G. Robbins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1993, p. 32. For other Egyptian royal marriages during this era, see A. R. Schulman, 'Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom', *JNES* 38.3, 1979, pp. 177-93.

¹⁰ Plut. *Alex.* 2.1; Just. *Epit.* 9.5.9; Satyrus *FHG* 3.161 F5 (from Athenaeus 557b-e); N. G. L. Hammond, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman*, 3rd edn, London, 1980, pp. 35-36. For an analysis of the marriage and its negotiation, see particularly E. D. Carney, *Olympias: Mother of Alexander the Great*, New York, 2006, pp. 10-15; see also Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 17-20.

¹¹ Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. xiv-xv; Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 228-31.

¹² P. J. Bicknell, *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy*, Wiesbaden, 1972 (preface).

¹³ Hdt. 1.60; Arist. *Const. Ath.* 14.4; D. Asheri, A. B. Lloyd, A. Corcella, O. Murray and A. Moreno, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 122-23.

the marriage failed, so did the coalition between Megacles and Peisistratus.¹⁴ Roman Republican families themselves formed a network of marriage-alliances, with the most famous being the marriage of Caesar's daughter, Julia, to Pompey in 59 BC, which formed the foundation of the so-called First Triumvirate.¹⁵ Non-political marriages (that is "love matches") amongst the elite in the Greek and Roman world were rare and worthy of comment.¹⁶

A fragment of Satyrus outlining the marriages of Philip II of Macedon provides some of the purposes of these "royal" or "state" marriages. Philip married Audata, the daughter (or niece) of the neighbouring Illyrian king – in addition, "wanting to bring into his camp the Thessalian people, he made children from two Thessalian wives", "he brought over to himself also the kingdom of the Molossians when he married Olympias", and "when he took Thrace, Cothelas the king of the Thracians came to him with his daughter Meda ..."¹⁷ Although Plutarch suggested that two of these marriages were "love matches", Satyrus was clear, and Ogden agrees, that they were political matches.¹⁸ Of course, it is entirely possible that many political

¹⁴ Hdt. 1.61; Arist. *Const. Ath.* 15.1. Asheri *et al.*, *Commentary on Herodotus*, pp. 123-24; D. Ogden, *The Crooked Kings of Ancient Greece*, London, 1997, p. 96. For other examples of Athenian marriage-alliances, see Bicknell, *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy*, pp. 62, 70-71, 73-74, 80-81.

¹⁵ Plut. *Caes.* 14.7, *Pomp.* 47.6; Cic. *Att.* 2.17; C. Pelling, *Plutarch: Caesar*, Oxford, 2011, pp. 197-98. Her death in 54 BC was a fundamental reason that led to the breakdown of this pact, see Plut. *Caes.* 23.5; *Pomp.* 53.3-5, 70.4. The importance of factions and family alliances in the Roman Republican politics has been much debated by modern scholars – for summary of arguments, particularly from M. Gelzer, C. Meier and others, see B. Twyman, 'The Metelli, Pompeius and Prosopography', *ANRW I* 1, 1972, pp. 826-32.

¹⁶ Plutarch (*Dem.* 38) reported that Antiochus' marriage to his father's wife was because he had "fell in love" with her – though Ogden also points out the levirate legitimacy this marriage would have also given Antiochus (Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 122-23). Antiochus III's second known marriage, to a daughter of Cleoptolemus of Chalcis, was because he had "fallen in love" (Polyb. 20.8.1-5; Liv. 36.11.1-2; Diod. 29.2; App. *Syr.* 16; Plut. *Philop.* 17.1, *Flam.* 16.1; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 137-38; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 3, p. 75).

¹⁷ Satyrus *FHG* 3.161 F5 (preserved in Ath. 557b-e). For translation and analysis, see A. Tronson, 'Satyrus the Peripatetic and the Marriages of Philip II', *JHS* 104, 1984, pp. 116-26; also Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 17-21; Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 52-57; N. G. L. Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*, London, 1994, pp. 40-41. On his marriage to Audata, see Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 59-60; J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, London, 1976, pp. 47-48; Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*, p. 27. On Olympias: Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 62-67; Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*, p. 30; Ellis, *Philip II*, pp. 61-63. On his Thessalian wives (Nicesipolis and Philinna), see Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 60-62; Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*, p. 29; Ellis, *Philip II*, p. 61. Dickie identifies the "Philinna of Thessaly" ascribed as the author of a spell on a fragment of papyrus as the wife of Philip II, see M. W. Dickie, 'The Identity of Philinna in the Philinna Papyrus (PGM 2 XX.15; SH 900.15)', *ZPE* 100, 1994, pp. 119-22. On Meda, see Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, p. 68; Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*, p. 124; Ellis, *Philip II*, pp. 166-67.

¹⁸ Plut. *Alex.* 2.2 and 9.4 – refuted by E. Carney, 'The Politics of Polygamy: Olympias, Alexander and the Murder of Philip II', *Historia* 41.2, 1992, p. 173. The importance of Satyrus' fragment, stressed by Ogden, demonstrates that these marriages are equal and all "formal marriages" as opposed to concubinage (Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 17-18).

matches were also “love matches”, or became so over time. These would be royal marriages that were both politically beneficial and happy.

From around 300 BC to the battle of Pydna (168 BC), Seibert’s catalogue of dynastic marriages lists over fifty known marriages, marriage offers, and betrothals. The table produced below is a translated version based on the thorough work done by Seibert.¹⁹ As this thesis is concerned primarily with inter-dynastic unions, marriages listed by Seibert within dynasties or with nobles within the kingdom have been omitted. It should be noted that all these marriages have been directly mentioned by primary source material, and are not conjectures inferred by more modern scholars, such as Tarn’s conjectured marriage between Diodotus I of Bactria and a daughter of Antiochus II.²⁰

Year (BC)	“Groom”	“Bride”
299?	Seleucus SYRIA	Stratonice, d. Demetrius MACEDON
299/298	Demetrius MACEDON	Ptolemais, d. Ptolemy EGYPT
297	Alexander MACEDON	Lysandra, d. Ptolemy I EGYPT
297?	Antipater MACEDON	Eurydice, d. Lysimachus THRACE
295	Pyrrhus EPIRUS	Lanassa, d. of Agathocles SYRACUSE
294	Dromichaetes GETAE	?, d. Lysimachus THRACE
292	Pyrrhus EPIRUS	Birkenna, d. Bardylis ILLYRIA
c. 291	Pyrrhus EPIRUS	?, d. Audolean PAEONIA
287	Demetrius MACEDONIA	Lanassa, d. Agathocles SYRACUSE

¹⁹ Table has been translated into English by the author from Seibert (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 130-33).

²⁰ W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 72-74. Tarn’s conjecture is refuted by Holt. (F. Holt, *Thundering Zeus: the Making of Hellenistic Bactria*, Berkeley, 1999, pp. 67-69).

285 or 283	Ptolemy II EGYPT	Arsinoe I, d. Lysimachus THRACE
280	Pyrrhus EPIRUS	?, d. Ptolemy Keraunos MACEDON, EGYPT
c. 274	Magas CYRENE	Apama, d. Antiochus SYRIA
c. 270	Attalus, nephew of Philetaerus PERGAMUM	Antiochis, d. Achaios SYRIA
255?	Ariarathes III CAPADOCIA	Stratonice, d. Antiochus II SYRIA
261/60	Demetrius II, s. Antigonus Gonatas MACEDONIA	Stratonice, sister of Antiochus II SYRIA
252	Antiochus II SYRIA	Berenice, d Ptolemy III EGYPT
250-248	Ptolemy III EGYPT	Berenice, d. Magas CYRENE
246	Demetrius, brother of Antigonus MACEDON	Berenice, d. Magas CYRENE
245	Mithridates II PONTUS	Laodice, sister of Seleucus II SYRIA
244	Demetrius, son of Antigonus MACEDONIA	Nicaea, wife of Alexander CORINTH
239	Demetrius II MACEDONIA	Phthia, d. Olympias EPIRUS
c. 234	Antiochus Hierax SYRIA	?, d. Ziaelas BITHYNIA
233	Gelon, son of Heiro II SYRACUSE	Nereis, d. Pyrrhus II EPIRUS
222	Antiochus III SYRIA	Laodice, d. Mithridates II PONTUS
220?	Achaios SYRIA	Laodice, d. Mithridates II PONTUS
206	Demetrius, son of Euthydemus BACTRIA	?, d. Antiochus III SYRIA
204/203	Ptolemy V EGYPT	?, d. Philip V MACEDONIA

197	?, son of Nabis SPARTA	?, d. of Philip V MACEDONIA
c. 195	Ariarathes IV CAPPADOCIA	Antiochis, d. Antiochus III SYRIA
194/193	Ptolemy V EGYPT	Cleopatra, d. Antiochus III SYRIA
192	Eumenes II PERGAMUM	?, d. Antiochus III SYRIA
188	Eumenes II PERGAMUM	Stratonice, d. Ariarathes IV CAPPADOCIA
182	?, son of Philip V MACEDONIA	?, sister of Bastarnae noble BASTARNAE
177	Perseus MACEDONIA	Laodice, d. Seleucus IV SYRIA
c. 177	Prusias II BITHYNIA	Apama, sister of Perseus MACEDONIA
c. 168	Teres THRACE	?, sister of Perseus MACEDONIA

Most of these, particularly for the earlier period, are “grand” marriages between the three largest kingdoms: Macedonia, Syria and Egypt. Many of these marriages can be represented cartographically (see Figure 2 below). Only marriages between kingdoms are represented here – marriage-alliances between tribal “kings” (for example the alliances between Pyrrhus and Illyria and Paeonia) and with city-states (such as those between Macedonia and the rulers of Corinth or Sparta) have been omitted to depict the pattern of royal marriages more clearly.

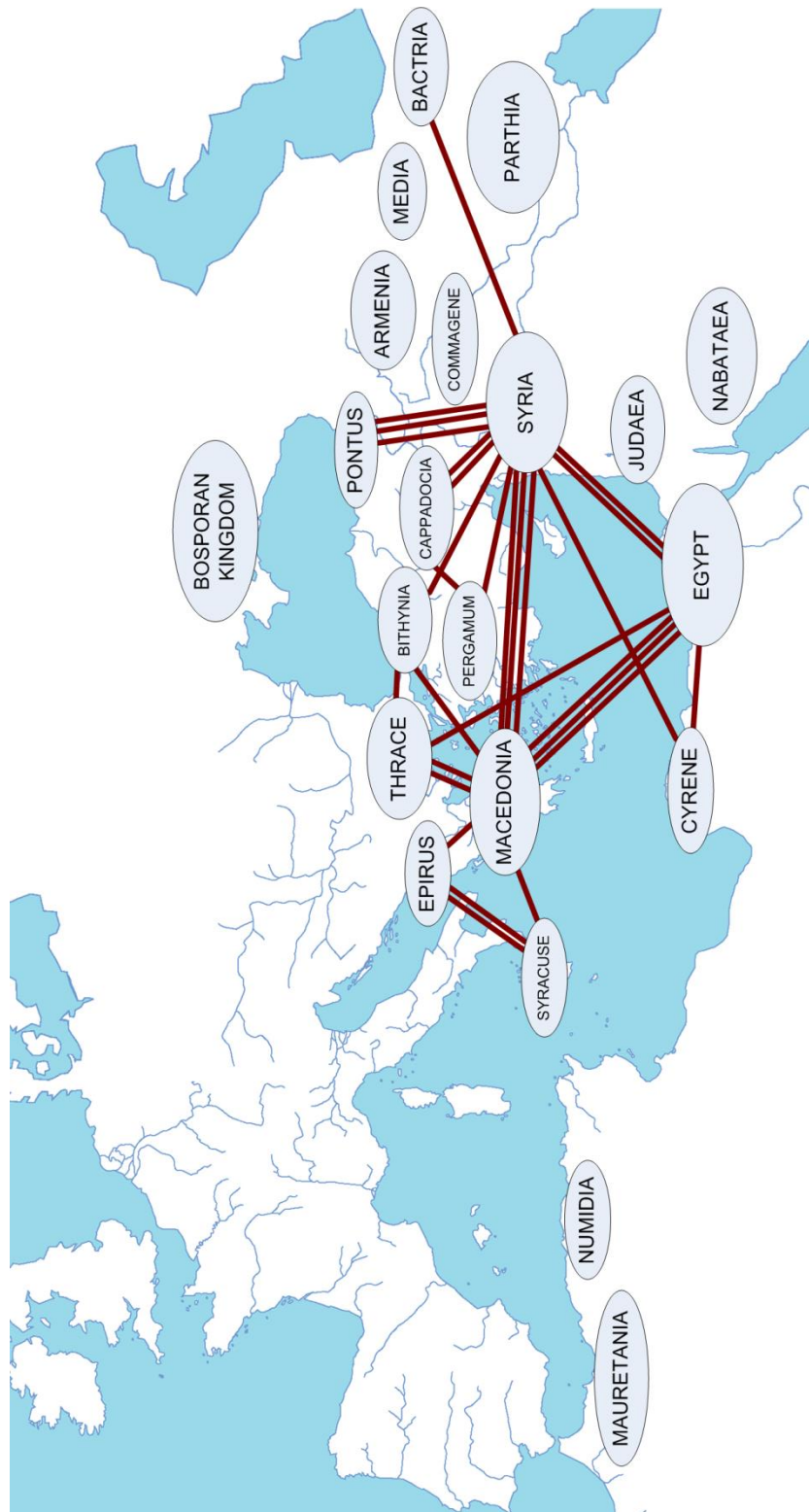


Figure 2. Inter-dynastic marriages before Pydna.²¹

²¹ The number of lines represents the number of known marriages between the kingdoms – i.e. there are three known marriage-alliances between Ptolemaic Egypt and the kingdom of Macedon, but only one known

This map demonstrates that most of these marriages were between “neighbouring” kingdoms, given that, at different times, the Ptolemies of Egypt and Seleucids of Syria controlled areas of Southern Anatolia and the Aegean and so would have been “neighbours” of each other and Macedonia. A few exceptions appear at first glance: the marriage of Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, to Pyrrhus of Epirus, for instance, appears to stretch the definition. Syracuse in Sicily cannot be easily described as a “neighbour” of Epirus. Although Plutarch stated that Agathocles also possessed Corcyra (an island just off the Epirus coast) at that time, which made Syracuse and Epirus effectively neighbours.²²

It is also important to recognise that many of the marriages of the Diadochi were polygamous, that they had several wives concurrently. As Ogden states, “since marriage alliances constituted the most important diplomatic tool available to the kings, they would not have wanted to hobble their foreign policy with monogamy.”²³ While Ogden argues that it was these multiple marriages that led to internal strife within the dynasties, obviously the kings deemed versatile marriage-alliances to be more effective as only a few of the kings are definitely known to have been monogamous. Carney, in her survey of Macedonian royal women, notes that “virtually all royal marriages were contracted, at least in part, for political and dynastic reasons.”²⁴ She also differentiates between marriages “in” (to consolidate and limit rivals) or “out” of the dynasty (to “connect to the ruling elite” and “broaden the dynasty”).²⁵

marriage-alliance between Syracuse and Macedon. Background outline map courtesy of d-maps (www.d-maps.com).

²² In fact the island came with Lanassa as part of her dowry; see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.1; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 100, 104; P. R. Franke, ‘Pyrrhus’, *CAH*² 7.2, 1989, p. 461; K. Meister, ‘Agathocles’, *CAH*² 7.1, 1984, pp. 406-07.

²³ Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. xvi. See also D. Ogden, ‘The Royal Families of Argead Macedon and the Hellenistic World’, in *Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, B. Rawson (ed.), Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010 pp. 93-96, 106. Previously polygamy was perceived as a practice that had died out by the early third century BC amongst the Hellenistic Kings, see, for example, J. Roy, ‘The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King’, in *When Men were Men: Masculinity, Power, and Identity in Classical Antiquity*, L. Foxhall and J. Salmon (eds), London, Routledge, 1998, p. 118. Ogden, however, has demonstrated, that polygamy continued as a royal practice throughout the Hellenistic Age (Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. xii-xiii).

²⁴ Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, p. 19.

²⁵ Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 20-21.

The characteristics of these marriages, the “dynastic and political reasons” themselves, have not yet been categorised. The primary function of this chapter is define these broad characteristics, these types of marriage-alliances, to determine whether marriage-alliances formed under the Republic or under the Principate had any significant differences. In this first period (Hellenistic marriage-alliances made before the battle of Pydna), royal marriages are categorised into the following terms created for this thesis - Passive, Defensive, Aggressive, Remedial, Legitimising or Rewarding. A characteristic of all these types of marriage-alliances is that they were almost always formed between geographic neighbours. Passive marriage-alliances are difficult to define as they appear to have been made with no clear objective other than to secure relationships with neighbouring states, as evidenced by the marriages made by Pyrrhus. Aggressive marriages-alliances were formed with the clear intention of garnering allies before embarking on a war. Defensive marriage-alliances were the opposite, and were formed with the intention of creating allies against a threat, whether real or imagined, from another state.

Commonly, marriage-alliances were also used to patch up differences at the conclusion of war – these have been termed in this thesis as Remedial marriage-alliances. A related type of marriage-alliance was Legitimising marriages, namely those formed by an invader with the former ruling dynasty to bolster his credentials and to legitimise the new dynasty, at least in the eyes of the subjects. In rare circumstances, royal brides were also given to satraps or sub-kings as a reward for faithful service, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter. Each of these marriage types will be explored below in more detail. These categories are not strictly limited, and a royal marriage may have fulfilled two or even more categories of marriage-alliances. It is important to define the categories of marriage-alliances of this period to contrast them with the marriages arranged during Augustus’ reign.

Passive Marriage-alliances

Many Hellenistic marriage-alliances were doubtlessly “passive.” They were made between neighbouring kingdoms, to safeguard their borders, and with no particular war or enemy in mind. The sparse information provided by the sources as to the reasons for many of the

marriage-alliances make these difficult to detect with certainty. A prominent example of such marriage-alliances may be the wives of Pyrrhus of Epirus, described by Plutarch:

...he [Pyrrhus] married several wives so as to increase his power and further his political interests. One of these was the daughter of Autoleon, king of the Paeonians, another was Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians, and a third was Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles, the ruler of Syracuse ...²⁶

All of these marriages-alliances were with neighbouring states (the case for Syracuse as a neighbour to Epirus has been argued earlier). Having neighbouring allies provided a potential benefit in case of any unexpected war, if they were relatives, the bond was only stronger. Many of the marriage-alliances listed in the table above could fall in this category.

Pyrrhus' first wife was Antigone, step-daughter of Ptolemy I, and the marriage was made in 297 BC while he was a hostage in Egypt and before he was king of Epirus.²⁷ This marriage, detailed by Plutarch earlier in his biography, is not listed in Plutarch's passage (quoted above) with his other marriages, which seem to be only those he formed while king of Epirus. Two years later, as dated by Seibert, Pyrrhus made his second marriage, with Lanassa of Syracuse.²⁸ When Pyrrhus invaded Italy around 278 BC, he found his connections to the old King of Sicily useful, but this was some fifteen years after the marriage and unlikely to have been his prime motive in marrying the daughter of Agathocles.²⁹ As a child, Pyrrhus had been brought up in Illyria where, according to Plutarch, he formed a close connection to the king at the time, Glaucias, and the royal family.³⁰ A marriage-alliance between Pyrrhus and his

²⁶ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.1. While Plutarch stated that these were political marriages that furthered Pyrrhus' power, he did not articulate the alliances that these marriages forged. See also Franke, 'Pyrrhus', p. 461; N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus: the Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas*, Oxford, 1967, p. 572.

²⁷ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 4.5; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 76 and 100; G. W. Adams, 'The Unbalanced Relationship Between Ptolemy II and Pyrrhus of Epirus', in *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*, P. McKechnie and P. Guillaume (eds), Leiden, 2008, pp. 93-94; Franke, 'Pyrrhus', p. 459. Pyrrhus was, more correctly, king of the Molossians; see Hammond, *Epirus*, pp. 570-71.

²⁸ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.1; Diod. 21.4, 22.8.2, App. *Samn.* 11; Just. *Epit.* 23.3.3; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 100, 104; Franke, 'Pyrrhus', p. 461; Meister, 'Agathocles', pp. 406-07.

²⁹ Diod. 22.8.2, App. *Samn.* 11; Just. *Epit.* 23.3.3; Franke, 'Pyrrhus', p. 474. For Pyrrhus in Sicily, see Franke, 'Pyrrhus', pp. 477-81. Seibert dates his remaining two marriages to 292 and 291 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 101). Franke dates both to 292 BC (Franke, 'Pyrrhus', p. 461).

³⁰ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3.1-3; Franke, 'Pyrrhus', p. 459; Hammond, *Epirus*, p. 568. Plutarch has, however, neglected to differentiate between two Illyrian tribes. Glaucias was king of the Taulantii (Hammond, *Epirus*, p. 568). Bardyllis II, Pyrrhus' father-in-law mentioned by Plutarch, was the grandson of Bardyllis I who was finally

foster-family in Illyria would appear natural. Pyrrhus appears to have conducted no campaigns in Illyria or Paeonia, at least at the times these marriages were conducted. In fact, Pyrrhus concentrated his efforts in Macedonia and in Southern Italy – “he [Pyrrhus] could safely turn his back on the northern boundaries of Epirus.”³¹ These three marriage-alliances would, on the face of it, appear to be passive marriage-alliances. Pyrrhus would have made these alliances with his northern neighbours to ensure no interference from that direction while he concentrated efforts elsewhere. The sources were unlikely to define the purposes of these marriage-alliances because they were formed with no clear objective in mind. Therefore many of the undefined marriage-alliances reported by the ancient sources may indeed be passive marriage-alliances, formed out of habit and the need to ensure stability on the king’s borders.

Defensive Marriage-alliances

Sometimes the sources detail explicitly the reasons behind a marriage-alliance and the circumstances behind these marriages can be examined more thoroughly. Several of these cases can be put forward as defensive alliances strengthened by a marriage. These alliances were made to defend against a particular enemy. Seleucus I’s marriage-alliance with Demetrius, Magas of Cyrene with Antiochus I, and Ptolemy V with Philip V of Macedon all appear, according to the sources, to fulfil the criterion of defensive marriage-alliances formed in the face of a specific threat.

Around 299 BC Lysimachus of Thrace made at least one marriage-alliance with Ptolemy of Egypt by espousing Ptolemy’s daughter Arsinoe II.³² Plutarch inferred that another marriage-alliance was formed at the same time, between Agathocles the son of Lysimachus and

defeated by Philip II of Macedon – these “Illyrians” were Dardanians; see Diod. 16.4.4-7; Hammond, *Epirus*, p. 587.

³¹ Franke, ‘Pyrrhus’, p. 461.

³² Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3. Marriage dated to c. 299 BC by Ogden (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 59) whereas Seibert dated to 300 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 74, 95). See also H. S. Lund, *Lysimachus: a Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship*, London, 1992, p. 88.

Lysandra (another daughter of Ptolemy).³³ Plutarch reported that this alliance alarmed Seleucus I, who countered the perceived threat by securing an ally and arranged to marry a daughter of Demetrius.³⁴ The latter was technically without a kingdom since he and his father Antigonos had been defeated by an alliance of kings at Ipsus in 301 BC. Demetrius did, however, have men and ships which he brought to Seleucus. The threat of the Ptolemy and Lysimachus alliance never eventuated (Seleucus did not face Lysimachus in war until 281 BC).³⁵ Seleucus' marriage-alliance with Demetrius, at least according to Plutarch, was in response to the threat of a Ptolemy-Lysimachus alliance, also sealed with royal marriages.

Ptolemy II's half-brother Magas was appointed governor of Cyrene but revolted against Egypt and crowned himself an independent king around 276 BC.³⁶ According to Pausanias, Magas married Apame, the daughter of Antiochus I, and he persuaded Antiochus to go to war with Egypt.³⁷ In this instance, Antiochus and Magas could not be described as neighbours, as the kingdom of Ptolemy lay between them. The marriage-alliance was clearly intended to be defensive, for if (or when) Ptolemy attempted to reconquer the lands around Cyrene, Antiochus would invade Egypt from the other side. The war between Cyrene and Egypt started the same year, and was later resolved with another marriage-alliance.³⁸

³³ Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3. Pausanias, however, reported that Lysandra was already married and had produced children for Agathocles when Lysimachus and Arsinoe were married (Paus. 1.9.6 and 1.10.3). Several articles have attempted to resolve the issues of reconciling these two sources; see Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 59, 65 n. 76.

³⁴ Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3; J. D. Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom*, London, 1990, pp. 132-33. The marriage festivities are described by Plutarch (Plut. *Demetr.* 32.1-3; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 121). Stratonice was later married to Seleucus' son (by an earlier marriage) Antiochus I; see Plut. *Demetr.* 38.1-9; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 121-24.

³⁵ For the defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucus at the Battle of Corupedium, see Polyb. 18.51.4; Nepos 21.3.2; Liv. 34.58.5; Strab. 13.4.1; Plin. *HN* 8.143; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 5.7; Plut *Mor.* 970c; App. *Syr.* 62, 64; Paus. 1.10.5; Polyæn. 8.57.1; Lucian. *Macr.* 11; Just. *Epit.* 17.2.1-3; Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator*, pp. 182-83; Lund, *Lysimachus*, pp. 198-204. Dmitriev traces Lysimachus' defeat and death to his last marriage, to Ptolemy's daughter Arsinoe; see S. Dmitriev, 'The Last Marriage and the Death of Lysimachus', *GRBS* 47.2, 2007, pp. 135-49.

³⁶ Paus. 1.7.1-2. For Magas, see B. F. van Oppen de Ruiter, *Berenice II Euergetis: Essays in Early Hellenistic Queenship*, New York, 2015, pp. 7-19; D. L. Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*, Oxford, 2014, pp. 30-35.

³⁷ Paus. 1.7.3; van Oppen de Ruiter, *Berenice II*, p. 15; C. Marquaille, 'Foreign Policy of Ptolemy II', in *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*, P. McKechnie and P. Guillaume (eds), Leiden, 2008, p. 44; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, pp. 35-36. Seibert dates this marriage to around 274 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 51-52). Van Oppen de Ruiter proposes that the marriage took place in 269/8 BC (van Oppen de Ruiter, *Berenice II*, p. 19).

³⁸ Pausanias indicated that Antiochus was prepared for war, but his invasion was foiled by Ptolemy's ruses; see Paus. 1.7.4. For the First Syrian War, see H. Heinen, 'The Syrian-Egyptian Wars and the New Kingdoms of Asia Minor', *CAH²* 7.1, 1984, pp. 413-20; W. W. Tarn, 'The First Syrian War', *JHS* 46.2, 1926, pp. 155-62.

Shortly after the young Ptolemy V was crowned king of Egypt (204 or 203 BC) the country felt threatened by Antiochus III of Syria. Polybius related that ambassadors were sent to Antiochus and Philip V of Macedon. The embassy to Antiochus was to ensure good relations between the two kingdoms, while the embassy to Philip V was to request a marriage-alliance with a daughter of the Macedonian king “to arrange for the proposed match and to beg for his help if Antiochus attempted any serious violation of his obligations.”³⁹ Macedon and Egypt do not appear to be neighbours at first glance, but at the beginning of the second century BC the Ptolemies still had possessions in south and western Anatolia, just across the Aegean from Philip.⁴⁰ Egypt proved right to fear aggression from Antiochus III, as in the next few years he took away their possessions in Anatolia, as well as in the Levant.⁴¹ It is not known whether Ptolemy’s proposal was accepted or not, but it was probably ignored or rejected outright, as Philip V soon allied himself with Antiochus instead.⁴² Regardless, Egypt made the proposal with the intention of forming a defensive marriage-alliance with their neighbour Macedon in the face of a threat from Syria.

These three cases are clear examples of Hellenistic marriage-alliances being used to form defensive power-bloc from a particular threat – whether the threat was real or imagined. The effectiveness, however, of these defensive marriage-alliances is difficult to ascertain. The alliance between Seleucus and Demetrius may have been effective in dissuading any attack from Lysimachus or Ptolemy. It is also may have been borne from paranoia – no such threat may have existed. In the second case, Antiochus may have intended to come to Magas’ aid, but was thwarted. On the other hand Magas was able to maintain the independence of Cyrene until his death around 250 BC. In the third case, Egypt was unable to prevent its lands in

³⁹ Polyb. 15.25.13; J. D. Grainger, *The Roman War of Antiochos the Great*, Leiden, 2002, p. 19; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, p. 678. Walbank suggests the proposal was between Ptolemy Epiphanes and a daughter of Philip V (Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius*, p. 484).

⁴⁰ Particularly Cilicia and Caria; see J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 39-43; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, pp. 532-33, 613.

⁴¹ Polyb. 16.18.2-19.11, 22a.1-7, 28.1.3-5; Joseph. *AJ* 12.129-137; Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities*, pp. 88-89; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, p. 21; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, p. 679.

⁴² Polyb. 3.2.8; Diod. 28.2.1-4.1; Liv. 31.14.5; App. *Mac.* 4 (although Polybius and Appian differ on the terms of the agreement); Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities*, pp. 74-75; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, pp. 20-21; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, pp. 614-15. On Livy’s version, see J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books XXXI-XXXIII*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 37-39, 95.

Anatolia falling to Antiochus III, partly due to being unable to form a defensive alliance with Macedon. In only one of these cases is a clear alliance made with some geographic distance between the two parties. Geographic proximity would have been a definite bonus for a defensive alliance if a king was to expect support in a timely manner.

Aggressive Marriage-alliances

At other times marriage-alliances were formed by the aggressor in an attempt to build alliances before embarking on a war. These new allies could provide support during the war in the forms of troops or ships, or even just maintain security on the borders at home while the war was being waged. Once again these allies would have to be neighbours, or at close to the theatre of war, to be most useful. Kingdoms some distance away were not useful allies – any assistance they could provide would be hampered by geography.

This point is best highlighted by the example of Antiochus III and the Syrian War (192-188 BC). When referring to Antiochus III's preparations for war against Rome, Appian reported "determining no longer to conceal his intended war with the Romans, he [Antiochus] formed alliances by marriage with the neighbouring kings."⁴³ For war against Rome Antiochus needed allies and he created these allies by dynastic marriages with neighbouring kings. Antiochus had made earlier marriage-alliances – his sister to his satrap Xerxes and another daughter betrothed to Demetrius the son Euthydemus of Bactria (both outlined further below). These are unlikely to be the marriages that Appian was alluding to.⁴⁴

Appian further enumerated these marriage-alliances that he perceived as being part of Antiochus plan to build an anti-Roman alliance. First, "to Ptolemy [V] in Egypt he sent his daughter Cleopatra" – this intention of alliance was first made in 196 BC.⁴⁵ A few years later

⁴³ App. *Syr.* 5; Rich, 'Appian and the Roman War', pp. 81-82; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 141.

⁴⁴ The marriage-alliances with Xerxes (Polyb. 8.23) and Demetrius (Polyb. 11.34.9-10) were made many years before the outbreak of the war (212 and 206 BC respectively).

⁴⁵ App. *Syr.* 3. See also Polyb. 18.51.10; Liv. 33.40.3; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, pp. 107-08; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 65, 85; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, p. 684; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 82-

(winter 194/3 BC) the betrothal became a marriage.⁴⁶ The land of Coele-Syria, which Antiochus had captured from Ptolemy in the previous war, was now returned as Cleopatra's dowry.⁴⁷ Appian explicitly recounted that Antiochus was "flattering the young king in order to keep him quiet during the war with the Romans."⁴⁸ It therefore appears that Ptolemy was not expected to play any active part in the war – Polybius and Livy also did not outline any expectations of Ptolemy. As Coele-Syria lay between the two empires, the kingdoms were obviously neighbours.

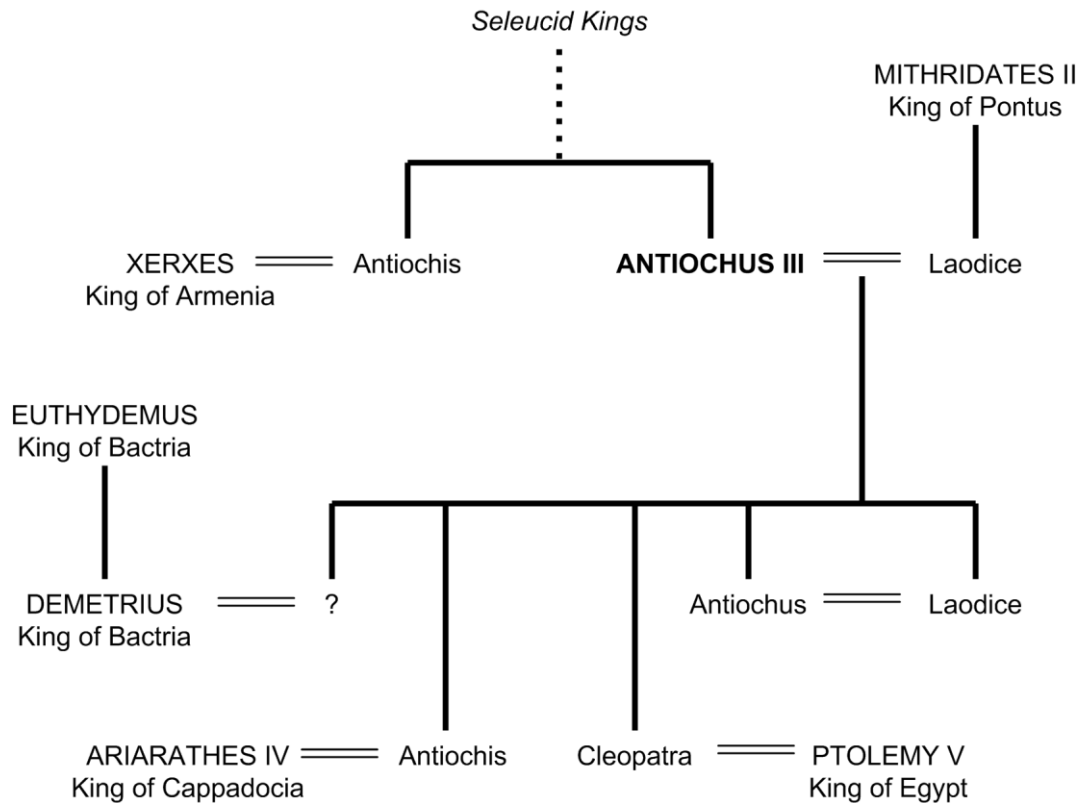


Figure 3. Marriage-alliances of Antiochus III

83. According to Polybius, Livy and Appian, this offer was made to Ptolemy while Roman envoys were visiting Antiochus in that year to negotiate a peace between Syria and Egypt.

⁴⁶ Liv. 35.13.4; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 65, 85; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, p. 142; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, p. 684.

⁴⁷ App. Syr. 5; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, p. 107; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 83. Ogden points out that Polybius still refers to Coele-Syria as being in Seleucid hands (Polyb. 28.1), and so the grant to Egypt may have been in name only (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 83).

⁴⁸ App. Syr. 5. Grainger saw the alliance as fortuitous timing, rather than created with the thought of war with Rome in mind (Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, p. 142). Ogden suggests that the marriage was "imposed on the young Ptolemy (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 82) but Gruen suggests that Egypt, frustrated with recent interactions with Rome, "now threw her lot in with the Seleucids" (Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, p. 684).

The next marriage that Appian listed was that of Antiochis and Ariarathes IV in 195 BC – “to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent his daughter Antiochis ...”⁴⁹ Grainger identifies Antiochis as the same Seleucid bride who was first offered to Eumenes (see below), thereby placing the marriage-offer to Eumenes first, *contra* the order presented by Appian.⁵⁰ Ariarathes was already half Seleucid – his mother, Stratonice, was the daughter of Antiochus II Theos.⁵¹ Ariarathes played an active part in Antiochus’ subsequent war with Rome.⁵² Cappadocia was also, as Appian correctly noted, a neighbouring kingdom to the Seleucids. After Antiochus lost the war to the Romans in 190 BC, Ariarathes made entreaties to the Romans and became a “friend and ally.”⁵³

The final marriage listed by Appian is quite significant in underlining the connection between a royal marriage and an alliance. Antiochus offered his “remaining” daughter (unnamed) to Eumenes II of Pergamum. The King of Pergamum, however, refused Antiochus’ offer: “seeing that Antiochus was about to engage in war with the Romans and he wanted to form a marriage connection with him on this account, refused her.”⁵⁴ Eumenes knew marrying Antiochus’ daughter would draw him into the war (on the wrong side) and states so clearly to his brothers.⁵⁵ A royal marriage meant an alliance and the two could not be separated easily.

⁴⁹ App. *Syr.* 5; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 64, 114; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 134-35; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, pp. 116-17 (though Grainger incorrectly identifies the Cappadocian king as Ariarathes III); Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, p. 8 (correctly identified as Ariarathes IV). Diodorus also mentioned the marriage, but did not elaborate as to the motivations (Diod. 31.19.7).

⁵⁰ Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, pp. 116-17 n. 62. Grainger’s arguments, however, are not compelling as he is concerned that Antiochus would have a spare unmarried daughter. This assumes that all the marriages of Antiochus’ daughters have been identified in the documentary evidence that has survived. There is no compelling reason to doubt Appian’s order of marriages, nor to identify the bride offered to Eumenes as Antiochis.

⁵¹ Diod. 31.19.6. Marriage dated to around 255 BC; see Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 59 and 114. See also Heinen, ‘Syrian-Egyptian Wars’, p. 426.

⁵² Liv. 37.4.10, 37.31.4; Appian also counted Cappadocian troops on Antiochus’ side at the battle of Magnesia, sent by Ariarathes (App. *Syr.* 32); Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, p. 278. Pastor noted that the Ariarathes’ contribution of “only” 2000 men may have been limited by the feudal nature of raising troops in Cappadocia at that time, and reflect the royal contingent (L. B. Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus, Client Kingdoms of the Roman Republic from the Peace of Apamea to the Beginning of the Mithridatic Wars (188–89 BC)’, in *Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. - 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)*, A. Coşkun (ed.), Frankfurt, 2008, p. 46).

⁵³ Polyb. 21.44.1; Liv. 38.39.5; Strab. 12.2.11; App. *Syr.* 42. Strabo noted that the treaty of friendship made between Rome and Cappadocia was made in the name of the Cappadocian king and his people jointly; see Strab. 12.2.11; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 46.

⁵⁴ App. *Syr.* 5; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, p. 116. Seibert dated the offer to c. 192 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 66 and 112). See also Hansen, *Attalids of Pergamum*, p. 77.

⁵⁵ App. *Syr.* 5. Polybius reported similar sentiments in a speech Eumenes made in Rome (Polyb. 21.20.8-9). See also Hansen, *Attalids of Pergamum*, p. 76; McShane, *Foreign Policy of the Attalids*, p. 142.

Needless to say, Eumenes was another neighbour of Antiochus – his recent acquisitions from Ptolemy meant the Seleucids controlled much of southern Anatolia.

Although Rome ultimately prevailed over Antiochus and his alliances in 190 BC, it appears that Perseus, King of Macedon, may have attempted Antiochus' tactic before his war with Rome. The sources are indefinite as to Perseus' motives, but the chronology of the known marriages demonstrate a flurry of marriage-alliances between Perseus of Macedonia and his neighbours in the years before the Third Macedonian War (see table above). Livy reported Perseus' influence with the foreign kings, highlighting that Seleucus of Syria initiated a marriage between his daughter and Perseus and that Prusias of Bithynia had "begged" for the sister of Perseus as his bride.⁵⁶ It also appears that another sister of Perseus was married to Teres, king of Thrace.⁵⁷ These neighbouring kings could have provided aid to Perseus if he was planning a war with Rome, and Eumenes carefully reminded Rome of the fact when he condemned Perseus in Rome.⁵⁸

Although the Hellenistic kingdoms lay east of Rome, there were tribal kingdoms in the West moving towards a central Hellenised model of kingship, particularly in Numidia and Mauretania. At the outset of the Second Punic War (218-201 BC), Hasdrubal the Carthaginian general had betrothed his daughter Sophonisba to Massinissa, a Numidian tribal king allied to Carthage.⁵⁹ To bring over another Numidian king who was at the time allied to Rome,

⁵⁶ Liv. 42.12.3-4; also App. *Mac.* 11.2; *Mithr.* 2. Briscoe suggested that the "initiative may well have been taken by Perseus" (J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books 41-45*, Oxford, 2012, p. 190). For the marriage of Apama to Prusias, see P. Meloni, *Perseo: e la Fine della Monarchia Macedone*, Roma, 1953, pp. 120-21; C. Habicht, 'The Seleucids and Their Rivals', *CAH*² 8, 1989, p. 339. For Laodice, Perseus' wife and Seleucus' daughter, see J. M. Helliesen, 'A Note on Laodice Number Twenty', *CJ* 75.4, 1980, pp. 295-98.

⁵⁷ Diod. 32.15.5; P. Delev, 'From Koroupedion to the Beginning of the Third Mithridatic War (281-73 BCE)', in *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, J. Valeva, E. Nankov, D. Graninger (eds), Chichester, 2015, p. 65; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 44; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 187; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 74.

⁵⁸ App. *Mac.* 11.2. Gruen, however, believed that this was not an anti-Roman power bloc; see E. S. Gruen, 'Rome and Rhodes in the Second Century BC: A Historiographical Inquiry', *CQ* 25, 1975, pp. 66-67. Habicht believed that Gruen underestimated this power-bloc of marriage-alliances (Habicht, 'Seleucids and Their Rivals', p. 339, n. 53). Seibert dates the marriage between Perseus and the daughter of Seleucus IV to 177 BC, and the marriage between Prusias II and Perseus' sister to around the same time; see Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 43, 69, 116. See also Habicht, 'Seleucids and Their Rivals', p. 339.

⁵⁹ App. *Pun.* 10, 27; Dio 17.57.51. Diodorus, however, stated that Sophonisba was married first, not just betrothed, to Massinissa (Diod. 27.7). See J. D. Chaplin, 'Scipio the Matchmaker', in *Ancient Historiography and its Contexts: Studies in Honour of A. J. Woodman*, C. S. Kraus, J. Marincola and C. Pelling (eds), Oxford,

Hasdrubal instead married his daughter to Syphax.⁶⁰ As a result of the broken betrothal Massinissa made war on Carthage and later joined the Romans' cause.⁶¹ At one time the new alliance between Syphax and Carthage weakened (Scipio suspected that Syphax was tired of his Punic bride) but Sophonisba's entreaties, however, kept Syphax in the Carthaginian camp.⁶² This was not only an example of a marriage being used to form a military alliance, but an example of the advantage they could provide – the new wife could act as an agent for her homeland, seeking to be an on-going influence over her husband. It also demonstrated how a broken betrothal could turn an ally (in this case Massinissa) into an enemy. After Syphax was captured, Sophonisba fell into Massinissa's hands but Scipio vetoed any marriage, fearing she would forever act as an agent of Carthage.⁶³ Rather than being led in a Roman triumph she committed suicide.⁶⁴ While it should be remembered that most of the details of Sophonisba's story emerge from the Roman writers, such as Livy, who painted a rather romantic tale, the key facts, as far as this chapter is concerned, were her marriage to Syphax and what this meant to Carthage. The sources also tend to dwell on the story that Massinissa fell under Sophonisba's spell and his role in her suicide. In light of his earlier broken betrothal to Sophonisba, Massinissa may well have been attempting to assert possession over a wife he saw as rightfully his.

The story of Sophonisba is not an isolated example of Carthaginian marriage into the Numidian ruling dynasty. When Massinissa's father, Gaia, died towards the end of the Second Punic War, the kingship of the Maesyli passed to Gaia's brother, Oezalces.⁶⁵ Oezalces was

2010, p. 64 n. 12. For a recent treatment of the story of Sophonisba, particularly in Livy, see D. S. Levene, *Livy on the Hannibalic War*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 255-59; B. Kowalewski, *Frauengestalten im Geschichtswerk des T. Livius*, Leipzig, 2002, pp. 219-39. For Massinissa, see Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 12-17; P. G. Walsh, 'Massinissa', *JRS* 55.1/2, 1965, pp. 149-60.

⁶⁰ Liv. 29.23; J. Briscoe, 'The Second Punic War', *CAH*² 8, 1989, p. 62. Appian however (*Pun.* 10) alludes to the marriage between Syphax and Sophonisba being made by Carthage without Hasdrubal's knowledge.

⁶¹ App. *Pun.* 11-14; Liv. 29.23.2-5. This marriage-alliance and its effect on Roman alliance most recently analysed in Burton, *Friendship and Empire*, pp. 96-99.

⁶² Polyb. 14.1.4, 14.7.6. Levene ascribes the description of Syphax's dallying about the Carthaginian alliance to the stereotype of Numidians being fickle (Levene, *Livy on the Hannibalic War*, p. 256).

⁶³ Liv. 30.14.9-11; Diod. 27.7; App. *Pun.* 28.

⁶⁴ Liv. 30.15.8; App. *Pun.* 28. Diodorus (27.7) says Massinissa forced her to drink poison. Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 16-17. For an assessment of Livy's account of Massinissa and Sophonisba, see Chaplin, 'Scipio the Matchmaker', pp. 64-67.

⁶⁵ Liv. 29.29.5-6; D. Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty: Power and Politics in the Western Mediterranean, 247-183 BC*, London, 2003, p. 153. This account of the Massinissa's immediate family may have come from Polybius

married to the daughter of Hannibal's sister.⁶⁶ When this marriage was arranged is difficult to determine – the only surviving source is Livy, who reported that Oezalces did not reign long.⁶⁷ The marriage was probably arranged by Hannibal.⁶⁸ A certain Mazaetullus, according to Livy, gained control of the tribe and married Oezalces' widow.⁶⁹ The marriage-alliances between elite Carthaginians and the ruling Numidian families demonstrate that the Carthaginians were keen to bind Numidia, and more importantly, Numidian forces, to the Carthaginian side.⁷⁰ The fate of this marriage also demonstrates the perils of attempting a marriage-alliance with a tribal society. Numidia, at this stage, was not a monarchy organised along Hellenistic lines. The succession of the Maesyli, for example, passed from Gaia to his brother Oezalces to his son Capussa to his brother Lacumazes before reverting, via a civil war, back to Massinissa, the son of Gaia.⁷¹ There was also not one clearly defined Numidia – both Syphax and Massinissa ruled different parts of Numidia. Neither of these examples could be described as a successful marriage-alliance.

Marriage-alliances in the Hellenistic world could be used to pursue an aggressive agenda by securing allies before the war. As far as Appian is concerned, that is the prime motive for the marriage-alliances Antiochus III attempted to form between 195 and 192 BC, before he embarked on a war with Rome. Eumenes' rejection of the marriage underlined the importance and significance of marriage-alliances and the upcoming war. Carthage too attempted to use

who may have heard it first hand from Massinissa; see P. J. Smith, *Scipio Africanus and Rome's Invasion of Africa: a Historical Commentary on Titus Livius, Book XXIX*, Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 61-62.

⁶⁶ Liv. 29.29.12; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 12 – technically Roller is incorrect when describing Oezalces as Hannibal's brother-in-law, as Oezalces was married to Hannibal's niece. See also Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 153.

⁶⁷ Liv. 29.29.7; Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 153. Livy only mentioned the marriage in passing and no account remains of the desired intentions behind the marriage-alliance.

⁶⁸ Hoyos suggested that Hannibal have approved or initiated the match, as being the head of the Barcid family when Oezalces became king (Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 153), but the marriage could have been arranged earlier.

⁶⁹ Liv. 29.29.8-12; Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 153. This may have been a further example of levirate succession but it also meant, as Livy also pointed out, that it kept alive the alliance with Carthage; see Liv. 29.29.13; Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 153.

⁷⁰ Hamilcar Barca promised an earlier Numidian prince, Navaras, a daughter in marriage (Liv. 1.78.8; Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 38). The Barcids also made marriage-alliances in Spain. Hasdrubal, Hamilcar Barca's son-in-law, married the "daughter of an Iberian prince" and was then "proclaimed general with unlimited power by the whole Iberian people" (Diod. 25.12.1; Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 74). Hannibal had married a girl from Castulo in Spain (Liv. 24.41.7), whom the poet Silius claimed to be noble (*clarumque genus*) and named Imilce (Sil. 3.97-107). Hoyos saw this marriage strengthening Hannibal's Spanish ties (Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, p. 88).

⁷¹ Liv. 29.29-30; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 12; Walsh, 'Massinissa', p. 150 n. 12. The Maesyli were one of the important Numidian tribes.

marriage-alliances to secure allies in Numidia during its war with Rome. The shifting nature of Numidian tribal politics, however, meant that marriages, at times, had to be broken and remade again. The example of Sophonisba demonstrates the important influence a wife could exert over her husband on behalf of her father. Despite Massinissa's passion for Sophonisba, Scipio recognised that she was too dangerous and could threaten the Roman-Numidian alliance.

Remedial Marriage-alliances

Sometimes royal marriages were brokered to seal a peace between two kingdoms after a recent war. Herodotus, when describing a peace treaty between Lydia and Media, highlighted how important the ancient world regarded peace treaties sealed with marriage-alliances: “They persuaded Alyattes to give his daughter Aryenis to Astyges, son of Cyaxares – knowing that treaties seldom remain intact without powerful sanctions.”⁷² Some examples, such as between Seleucus and Sandrocottus, may have been organised to broker a quick end to an inconclusive (and potentially costly) war. Other examples, such as between Lysimachus and the Getae, had been forced – a penalty paid by the defeated. The ancient sources have provided several examples of these remedial marriages which enforced the idea of peaceful harmony within the new wider family, even if those members had only recently been at war.

After enumerating Seleucus' conquests, Appian then reported that Seleucus I (around 305 BC) “crossed the Indus and waged war with Androcottus, king of the Indians ... until they came to an understanding with each other and contracted a marriage relationship.”⁷³ Although some scholars have assumed this marriage was between a daughter of Seleucus and “Sandrocottus”, both sources are vague.⁷⁴ According to Diodorus, by 302 BC, many of the Diadochi had come

⁷² Hdt. 1.74; W. Röllig, ‘Politische Heiraten im Alten Orient,’ *Saeculum* 25, 1974, p. 22.

⁷³ App. *Syr.* 55; On the war in India, see Grainger, *Seleucus Nikator*, pp. 107-09. On the peace treaty, see Grainger, *Seleucus Nikator*, pp. 109-12 (although Grainger does not mention the marriage-alliance at all). Seibert dates the marriage to 303 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 46; Grainger, *Seleucus Nikator*, p. 112). Strabo related much the same story, including the marriage, but named the Indian king as “Sandrocottus” (Strab. 15.2.9). Modern scholars identify this king with Chandragupta; see Grainger, *Seleucus Nikator*, p. 107.

⁷⁴ Macurdy, for example, assumes that Seleucus married the daughter of Sandrocottus; see Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 77-78. Seibert, however, assumes that Sandrocottus married a daughter or niece of Seleucus; see Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 46. It may have also been merely an agreement of intermarriage between the two states – *epigamia*; see Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 159-60, n. 16. Strabo used “ἐπιγαμίαν” (Strab. 15.2.9).

to an agreement to ally against Antigonus.⁷⁵ In 301 BC this alliance defeated Antigonus at Ipsus.⁷⁶ In that case, Seleucus' troops would have been required at the opposite end of his large kingdom – he would have needed to come to an agreement quickly with the king of India. According to Strabo, Seleucus also received 500 elephants for his army – this would have also been advantageous in his coming war against Antigonus.⁷⁷ His eastern borders would also have to be made secure while he was fighting in the West – he could not have simply pulled out of the war and left his lands to an angry Sandrocottus. A marriage agreement to secure peace would have been to his benefit.

After the Battle of Ipsus, as noted above, the alliances shifted amongst the remaining Diadochi, and with them their marriage-alliances. The same Seleucus had made a marriage-alliance with Antigonus' son, Demetrius, also noted above. Later Seleucus arranged for his new ally and father-in-law Demetrius to be “reconciled” with Ptolemy.⁷⁸ This reconciliation was sealed when Demetrius agreed to marry Ptolemais, Ptolemy's daughter, in 299 or 298 BC.⁷⁹ The marriage, however, did not take place until some eleven years later (287 BC).⁸⁰ It is clear that Seleucus brokered this marriage (Plutarch reported this twice) and that the aim of the marriage was to heal the rift after Ipsus.

To bring about peace to the war between Egypt and Cyrene, also outlined earlier, Justin related that Magas, king of Cyrene, “betrothed his only daughter Berenice to his brother Ptolemeaus' son, in order to end all disputes between them.”⁸¹ After Magas' died, his wife

⁷⁵ Diod. 20.106-113; É. Will, ‘The Succession to Alexander’, *CAH*² 7.1, 1984, p. 59.

⁷⁶ Diod. 21.1-4b; Plut. *Demetr.* 29.1-8; App. *Syr.* 55; Paus. 1.6.7; Arr. *Anab.* 7.18.5; Just. *Epit.* 15.4.22; Will, ‘The Succession to Alexander’, p. 60.

⁷⁷ Strab. 15.2.9; Grainger, *Seleucus Nikator*, pp. 109-12; Will, ‘The Succession to Alexander’, p. 60.

⁷⁸ Plutarch mentioned twice that Seleucus arranged the marriage; see Plut. *Dem.* 32.3, 46.3. See also Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 64.

⁷⁹ Plut. *Dem.* 32.3; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 72; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 30-32.

⁸⁰ Plut. *Dem.* 46.3; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 32; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 56-58; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 176. Macurdy suggested this might be to avoid issues with multiple wives (his first wife Phila committed suicide recently; see Plut. *Dem.* 45.1). Ptolemais may have also been too young in 299/298 BC as Ptolemy married her mother Eurydice in 322/1 BC and Ptolemais was one of some four to six children borne from this marriage (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 69) – she may have been born as late as 310 BC.

⁸¹ Just. *Epit.* 26.3.2; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 80; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 80-81; van Oppen de Ruiter, *Berenice II*, p. 19; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 131. Magas' “brother Ptolemeaus” was his half-brother Ptolemy II and his son was Ptolemy III. Magas was the son of Berenice and a Philip and Ptolemy II was the son of Ptolemy I and Berenice (Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 70-71). According to Seibert, this marriage was made between

(and Berenice's mother), Apame, attempted to derail the marriage and instead marry the girl to Demetrius the Fair, brother of Antigonos II Gonatas.⁸² Berenice arranged for the death of her mother and intended husband (who, according to Justin, was also the mother's lover) and went on to marry Ptolemy III as per her father's original instructions.⁸³ While these events became a salacious story in Justin, the attempt by Apame to change her daughter's intended husband may have been also an attempt to preserve Cyrene's independence from Egypt.⁸⁴ After the marriage to the future Ptolemy III went ahead, Cyrene was returned to the kingdom of the Ptolemies.

Lysimachus, as King of Thrace, appears to have waged two wars against the Getae.⁸⁵ The first war concluded with the capture of Agathocles, Lysimachus' son.⁸⁶ The second war ended when Lysimachus himself was captured and detained by the king of the Getae, Dromichaetes.⁸⁷ According to Pausanias, Lysimachus married his daughter to their king Dromichaetes in order to end the war peacefully.⁸⁸ In his passages referring to the second war, Diodorus recorded that Dromichaetes addressed Lysimachus as "father" twice, underlining Lysimachus' status as the Thracian King's father-in-law.⁸⁹ Regardless, Pausanias suggested that this marriage-alliance was foisted on Lysimachus, the only option he had to end the war and bring about his son's release. If Delev is correct, then the marriage-alliance did not bring about lasting peace between Lysimachus and Dromichaetes – the second war against the Getae was probably brought about by Lysimachus to expunge the dishonour brought upon him, although Dromichaetes again appears to have triumphed. For Dromichaetes the marriage

250 and 248 BC; (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 80-82). For arguments on dating, see Clayman, *Berenice II*, pp. 34-35.

⁸² Just. *Epit.* 26.3.2; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 131; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 80-81; van Oppen de Ruiter, *Berenice II*, pp. 19-20. Justin recorded Berenice's mother as Arsinoe, but she almost definitely Apame; see Clayman, *Berenice II*, pp. 35-36; van Oppen de Ruiter, *Berenice II*, p. 11.

⁸³ Just. *Epit.* 26.3.2; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 80-81; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 131-32.

⁸⁴ The story also suspiciously reads like the tale of Eyrxo, an earlier Queen of Cyrene; see Hdt. 4.160; Plut. *De Mul. Virt.* 25.260e-261d; Clayman, *Berenice II*, pp. 27-28.

⁸⁵ Diod. 21.11-12; Strab. 7.3.8; Just. *Epit.* 16.1.19; Plut. *Demet.* 39.3, 52.4; Paus. 1.9.7. For a full analysis of these wars, see P. Delev, 'Lysimachus, the Getae, and Archaeology', *CQ* 50.2, 2000, pp. 384-401.

⁸⁶ Diod. 21.11.1; Paus. 1.9.7; Delev, 'Lysimachus, the Getae', p. 387.

⁸⁷ Diod. 21.12.1-6; Plut. *Demet.* 39.3, 52.4; Strab. 7.3.8; Paus. 1.9.7; Delev, 'Lysimachus, the Getae', p. 387.

⁸⁸ Paus. 1.9.7; Lund, *Lysimachus*, p. 48. Delev proposes that this arrangement ended the first war (around 297 BC), and brought about the release of Agathocles; see Delev, 'Lysimachus, the Getae', pp. 388-89. Seibert assumed it the marriage was arranged on conclusion to the second war, thus his dating of 294 BC – Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 97.

⁸⁹ Diod. 21.12.2 and 21.12.5; highlighted by Delev, hence his belief that the marriage must have occurred after the first war (Delev, 'Lysimachus, the Getae', p. 388).

was doubtlessly a hard-won concession from one of Alexander's successors and a marriage that greatly enhanced his prestige.

Several ancient sources allude to the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II, and Antiochus II.⁹⁰ Only a fragment of Porphyry, preserved in Jerome's *Commentary On Daniel*, supplied motives: "After many years Ptolemy Philadelphus wished to put an end to the tiresome struggle, and gave his daughter, Berenice by name, to Antiochus as wife."⁹¹ According to Porphyry, Ptolemy stipulated that Antiochus reduce his former wife's status to concubine and that his daughter Berenice was to be Antiochus' only royal wife.⁹² In regards bringing a peaceful end to a long and costly war, the marriage appears to have been effective – no sources hint of any further clashes between Ptolemy and Antiochus and, even though Antiochus was later to bring his first wife back, Berenice retained her status until her husband's death (246 BC). After his death, however, his son Seleucus II (with the urging of his mother, Laodice) had Berenice and her son killed – war broke out with Egypt almost immediately.⁹³

When Antiochus III faced a revolt from Xerxes, his satrap of Armenia, he brought his forces to Arsamosata.⁹⁴ Xerxes sought a conference in 212 BC and Antiochus agreed. According to Polybius, Antiochus had the upper hand in the campaign but he reinstated Xerxes as satrap

⁹⁰ Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 11.6; Athenaeus 2.45c; Polyaeus 8.50; App. *Syr.* 65; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 128-31; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 79; For the story of Berenice, see Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 87-90.

⁹¹ Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 11.6a (translated by Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 128). The marriage is firmly dated to 252 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 79). Antiochus II already had a wife, Laodice, who was probably his half-sister who he was married to before ascending to the throne in 261 BC (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 128; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 82-87). The war between Antiochus II and Ptolemy II had been encouraged by the earlier aggressive marriage-alliance between Antiochus and Magas of Cyrene to make war on Egypt (detailed above).

⁹² Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 11.6a; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 129. Ogden had earlier noted that marriage-alliances between kings, even if they were already married, had such status that they had to be formal marriages, not "disrespectful" concubinage (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. xvi).

⁹³ Polyaeus 8.50; Just. *Epit.* 27.1.1-7; App. *Syr.* 65; Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 11.6a; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 129-31; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 88-90. Appian stated that the Parthians took "advantage of the confusion", i.e. the turmoil in the Seleucid kingdom at the death of Antiochus II and the Egyptian invasion, to revolt. According to Justin, Ptolemy invaded Syria when he heard his sister was in danger, but arrived too late to save her (Just. *Epit.* 27.1.6-7).

⁹⁴ Polyb. 8.23.1; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, pp. 190-91. For this campaign, see J. D. Grainger, *The Seleucid Empire of Antiochus III, 223-187 BC*, Barnsley, 2015, pp. 57-59; M. J. Taylor, *Antiochus the Great*, Barnsley, 2013, pp. 73-74.

and married his sister Antiochis to him.⁹⁵ Although Antiochus was lauded for his magnanimity, it appears that the Seleucid king later used his sister to murder her new husband.⁹⁶ If Antiochis acted on her brother's instruction, however, ten years is an inordinate amount of time to wait for revenge. Regardless, a costly siege and protracted war was averted and peace secured with a marriage-alliance between Syria and Armenia. After Antiochus' defeat at Magnesia by Rome, Artaxias (possibly a member of Xerxes' family) revolted from Syria and declared Armenia independent.⁹⁷

Of all these remedial marriages, only one example was not made between neighbouring kingdoms: the marriage of Demetrius to the daughter of Ptolemy. It could be argued, however, that Demetrius was stateless at the time or, as he only had a fleet remaining under his command, the Mediterranean Sea was his domain. Regardless, these remedial marriages usually were arranged to heal a rift caused by war. If the two states were previously at war, it follows that they were within reach of each other's armies and fleets, hence neighbours. Although these marriages may have brought about peace, the peace sometimes only lasted as long as the marriage survived (as in the case of Ptolemy II and Antiochus II).

Legitimising Marriage-alliances

Often a conqueror or usurper would marry into the family of his defeated enemy, thereby legitimising his reign over the new territory. The chosen bride was usually the daughter of the previous king.⁹⁸ The closer the tie to the old king, the stronger the claim of legitimacy. After

⁹⁵ Polyb. 8.23.5; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 62; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 132, 134. Walbank suggests she could have been a full or half-sister of Antiochus (Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, p. 100). Paton's translation for Loeb incorrectly translates the bride as a "daughter" of Antiochus (Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, p. 100).

⁹⁶ John of Antioch *FHG* 4 F53; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, pp. 190-91. See also Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 134. Grainger, dating Xerxes' death to around 202 BC, points out that the source is late (John of Antioch was a 7th century chronicler) and unreliable and believes it more likely that Xerxes died a natural death (Grainger, *Seleucid Empire of Antiochus III*, p. 96).

⁹⁷ Strab. 11.14.5, 11.14.15; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, p. 192; L. Patterson, 'Rome's Relationship with Artaxias I of Armenia', *AHB* 15.4, 2001, pp. 153-54. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt suggest that Artaxias was the satrap who replaced Orontes in Armenia and Zariadris (possibly Artaxias' son) replaced Xerxes in Sophene (not Armenia); see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, pp. 192-94.

⁹⁸ Although it could be any female family member, as Ogden points out, it could also be the widow of the previous king (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 3).

conquering Persia, Alexander took measures to ensure he was perceived to be the legitimate ruler – he not only married Stateira daughter of his enemy Darius III, but also Parysatis, the daughter of Darius’ predecessor Artaxerxes III.⁹⁹ In Ogden’s words, these marriages expressed “Alexander’s claim to be the successor to not one but two strands of the Achaemenid family.”¹⁰⁰ Plutarch remarked that these political marriages were advantageous to Alexander, providing a “union of two races.”¹⁰¹

Perdiccas, appointed Regent after the death of Alexander, first arranged to marry Nicaea (the daughter of Antipater, the satrap of Macedonia). Later he also attempted to marry Cleopatra, Alexander’s sister, around 322 BC.¹⁰² This decision alienated Antipater and aroused the suspicions of the other Diadochoi that Perdiccas was endeavouring to marry into the Argead royal family.¹⁰³ Perdiccas’ proposed marriage to Alexander’s sister appeared much like the marriage-alliance between an old dynasty and a new one and would give Perdiccas and any children of this marriage a claim on Alexander’s empire. In response to this, Antipater arranged to marry Nicaea to Lysimachus the satrap of Thrace, her sister Phila was married to Craterus and her other sister Eurydice to marry Ptolemy of Egypt (322/321 BC).¹⁰⁴ These

⁹⁹ Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 2.6.1; Curtius Rufus 10.3.12; Arr. *Anab.* 7.4; Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 108-12; A. B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 156-57; A. F. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander’s Image and Hellenistic Politics*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993, p. 182. Marriage to Stateira had been already offered to Alexander by a desperate Darius in hope of reaching an agreement with the conqueror, but Alexander rejected it (Arr. *Anab.* 2.25; Curtius Rufus 4.5.1-7, 4.11.5-6; Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*, p. 76).

¹⁰⁰ D. Ogden, *Alexander the Great: Myth, Genesis and Sexuality*, Exeter, 2011, p. 122.

¹⁰¹ Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 2.6.1. Alexander’s two marriages took place in 324 BC together in a mass marriage ceremony when Alexander forced his generals to marry noble Persian brides. Stewart points out, however, that the mass marriages did not involve Macedonian brides being married to Persian nobles (Stewart, *Faces of Power*, p. 189). Bosworth maintained that the marriages, including Alexander’s, symbolised that power had now passed to the Greeks (Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*, p. 157).

¹⁰² Diodorus Siculus recounted that Perdiccas married Nicaea “for the time” (Diod. 18.23.2), but Justin implied that Perdiccas never actually married Nicaea (Just. *Epit.* 13.6.7). Arrian’s account is vague (Arr. *Diad.* 13 and 17). See E. Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander the Great: Royal Relicts’, *Historia* 37.4, 1988, pp. 399-400; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 13-15. The marriage may have been initiated by Cleopatra and her mother Olympias (Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, p. 124; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 37).

¹⁰³ Diod. 18.25.4; Just. *Epit.* 13.6.8; Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander’, pp. 399-400; Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, p. 125; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 37-38. Antigonos had fallen out with Perdiccas and fled to Antipater’s court – according to Diodorus, he spread the story that Perdiccas was aiming to marry Cleopatra and claim Alexander’s empire (Diod. 18.25.3, A. B. Bosworth, ‘Perdiccas and the Kings’, *CQ* 43.2, 1993, pp. 425-26; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 38).

¹⁰⁴ Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 59. For the marriage of Nicaea to Lysimachus, see Strab. 12.4.7; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 57-58; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 16, 93. For the marriage of Phila to Craterus, see Diod. 18.18.7; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 12. For the marriage of Eurydice to Ptolemy, see Paus. 1.6.8; App. *Syr.* 62; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 16, 72; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 69.

marriage-alliances cemented an anti-Perdiccas faction and Perdiccas was defeated and killed before he could marry Cleopatra.¹⁰⁵ The interesting aspect of Perdiccas' marriage to Cleopatra was the immediate response from the other Diadochoi – underlining the importance of political marriage as a means of succession. While it could be argued that Antipater may have felt snubbed by Perdiccas' repudiation of his daughter, Lysimachus and Ptolemy obviously perceived Perdiccas' actions as an attempt to lay claim to Alexander's dominion.

Of all the marriages that Alexander arranged between his Greek generals and Persian brides in 324 BC, only one endured. While the Persian wives of the other kings disappear from the record, Seleucus retained his Persian wife Apama (or Apame).¹⁰⁶ Apama was probably the daughter of Spitamenes, the Satrap of Bactria and one of the last Persians to fight against Alexander.¹⁰⁷ Livy described the city of Apamea as being founded in the name of Seleucus' sister, but it was more probably named after this wife.¹⁰⁸ According to Ogden she “was a valuable token of legitimacy ... to Seleucus in his claim to be Lord of Persia.”¹⁰⁹

Around 316 BC Cassander married Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip II of Macedonia, to strengthen his claim on the kingdom of Macedonia. Diodorus made his intentions clear:

[Cassander] began to embrace in his hopes the Macedonian kingdom. For this reason he married Thessalonice, who was Philip's daughter and Alexander's half-sister, since he desired to establish a connection with the royal house.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Diod. 18.36.5; Just. *Epit.* 13.8.1-10; Plut. *Aum.* 5-7; Arr. *FGrH* 156, F 26-27; Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, p. 125; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁶ Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 119. The fate of the other marriages is not known, but it is believed the Diadochi abandoned their new Persian brides once they became politically expedient (Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 119).

¹⁰⁷ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.6; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 77. According to Strabo, however, she was the daughter of Artabazus, another Persian satrap (Strab. 12.8.15). Macurdy describes Strabo as “confused” (Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 77). For her details, see Grainger, *Seleucid Prosopography and Gazetteer*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ Liv. 38.13.4. The name “Apama” is not attested in Seleucus' family before his marriage to Apama, thereafter it appears amongst their descendants, so it unlikely that Seleucus had a sister named Apama. Macurdy suggests that Livy was mistaken by the title of “sister” used by Seleucid Queens (Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 77).

¹⁰⁹ Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 119. Macurdy upheld that the half-Iranian blood of the son of Seleucus and Apame (Antiochus) was an advantage (Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 78).

¹¹⁰ Diod. 19.52.1-2. See also *Heid. Epit.* 2.3; Just. *Epit.* 14.6.13 (who mistakenly called Thessalonice the “daughter of King Arrhidaeus” rather than of Philip II); Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 21; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 54; Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander’, p. 388. For Cassander in Diodorus Siculus, see F. Landucci Gattinoni,

Like Perdikkas before him, this aroused the envy of the other Diadochoi. In another passage in Diodorus, Antigonos accused Cassander of marrying Thessalonice by force and “trying to establish his own claim to the Macedonian throne.”¹¹¹ Gattinoni describes Cassander’s actions, including his marriage to Thessalonice, as “part of a strategy that aimed at presenting himself as Philip II’s spiritual heir.”¹¹² Cassander appeared to be particularly keen to form a link with the Argead dynasty to give him a claim on Macedonia. Earlier the same year (316 BC), Cassander was one of the suitors for the hand of Cleopatra, Alexander’s full sister – according to Diodorus they were “seeking alliance with the royal house in order to gain supreme power ...”¹¹³ As Cleopatra was beyond his reach, Cassander instead married Cleopatra’s half-sister, Thessalonice.¹¹⁴ Cassander further underlined the importance of his wife by founding the city of Thessalonica, which Carney describes as “probably the first to be named after a royal Macedonian woman.”¹¹⁵ Cassander’s enthusiasm to marry any remaining daughter of Philip II that he could obtain, even by siege, underscores the importance of marriage into the previous dynasty as a means of legitimising a new ruler.

As related above, when Magas the King of Cyrene died around 250 BC, his widow Apame ignored his wishes and arranged a different match for their daughter Berenice. She sent for Demetrius the Fair, son of Demetrius I, “to marry the young woman and assume the throne of Cyrene.”¹¹⁶ Demetrius not only agreed but also became the paramour of the old queen – possibly a “levirate” marriage (as per Ogden) to further shore up his claim to Cyrene.¹¹⁷ It

‘Cassander and the Legacy of Philip II and Alexander III in Diodorus’ Library’, in *Philip II and Alexander the Great: Father and Son, Lives and Afterlives*, E. Carney and D. Ogden (eds), Oxford, 2010, pp. 113-21.

¹¹¹ Diod. 19.61.2; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 54. See also Diod. 19.52.1; Just. *Epit.* 14.6.13 (who erroneously describes Thessalonice as the daughter of Philip III not Philip II); Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 21. Antigonos’ claim supported by Carney, who pointed out that Thessalonice was won by Cassander after a prolonged siege (Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander’, p. 388).

¹¹² Gattinoni, ‘Cassander and the Legacy of Philip II’, p. 116.

¹¹³ Diod. 20.37.4; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 21; Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander’, p. 389. According to Macurdy “each general being intent on preventing a marriage to her [Cleopatra] that should disturb the balance of power, except if it might be in his own interest” (Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 38).

¹¹⁴ Diod. 19.52.1-2, 19.61.2; Just. *Epit.* 14.6.13; Heidel. *Epit. FGrH* 155 F 2.4; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 21; Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander’, p. 388. Cleopatra was held at Sardis, out of Cassander’s reach, either protected by Antigonos, or his prisoner, see Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander’, pp. 401-02.

¹¹⁵ Carney, ‘The Sisters of Alexander’, pp. 389-90. For the founding of the city of Thessalonica, see Heidel. *Epit. FGrH* 155 F 2.3; Dion. Hal. 1.49.4; Strab. 7.21.1; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 54.

¹¹⁶ Just. *Epit.* 26.3.3; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 131; Clayman, *Berenice II*, p. 4; van Oppen de Ruyter, *Berenice II Euergetis*, pp. 19-20. Justin erroneously names Berenice’s mother as Arsinoe, when in fact, she was the Apame that cemented an anti-Egypt alliance between Magas and Antiochus I as noted above.

¹¹⁷ Just. *Epit.* 26.3.4-6; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 80-81; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 131.

came to nothing when the daughter conspired to have her husband murdered and married the son of Ptolemy as her father had originally planned.¹¹⁸ In the view of Apame and Demetrius, as reported by Justin, marriage to Berenice, the sole surviving heir of Magas, gave Demetrius a legitimate claim to Cyrene. The affair between Demetrius and his intended bride's mother may not have been as salacious as Justin recounted. For Demetrius a connection with Magas's wife gave him levirate legitimacy to Cyrene, and for Apame, as noted above, diverting her daughter's marriage to Demetrius instead of Ptolemy could have been an attempt to retain Cyrene's independence from Egypt.

Marriage to a daughter (or other close female relative) of the old king could legitimise the rule of the new king, if he was unconnected to the old ruling family. These Legitimising Marriage-alliances had two varieties – a marriage to a daughter of the old dynasty by a conquering king which would hopefully lead to his new subjects accepting him as their legitimate ruler, or, alternatively, marriage to an heiress hoping to obtain a claim to rule a territory. Cassander and Perdikkas' marriages to the sisters of Alexander gave them a claim to Alexander's empire, but they were prevented from realising their ambition. Contenders could use marriage to obtain a legitimate claim to a kingdom and hopefully achieve acceptance from their new subjects.

Rewarding Marriage-alliances

When the prestige of a dynasty was so great, marriage into such a family became its own reward. These examples follow the underlining core of Legitimising Marriage-alliances – where the prestige of a previous dynasty is transferred to the new, but are usually distributed by the reigning king as rewards to keep vassals content and loyal. Of course it obviously enhanced the prestige of the ruling dynasty if its scions were given in marriage as a reward or even sop (and not demanded, as in the case of Lysimachus and Dromichaetes mentioned above). Once again, these marriages were usually given to states bordering, or even within, the realm of the benefactor.

¹¹⁸ Just. *Epit.* 26.3.8; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 131-33; van Oppen de Ruiter, *Berenice II Euergetis*, p. 20; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 80-81.

According to Memnon, Dionysius the tyrant of Heraclea “gave such outstanding aid to Antigonus ... as a reward received Antigonus’ nephew Ptolemaeus to be his daughter’s husband.”¹¹⁹ This aid appears to have been Heracleian troops sent to support Antigonus’ siege of Tyre, which capitulated in 314 BC after a fifteen month-long siege.¹²⁰ Ptolemaeus was the nephew and general of Antigonus stationed with troops at the Hellespont, close to Heraclea.¹²¹ Memnon went on to assert that “after receiving such distinction, he [Dionysius] disdained the title of tyrant and called himself king.”¹²² Having made a marriage-connection to the family of Antigonus, Dionysius obviously felt he could afford a grander title. Memnon, the only surviving source, explicitly connects the title of king with the marriage between Ptolemaeus, Antigonus’ nephew, to Dionysius’ daughter.

When Antiochus III undertook a campaign against the Bactrians in 208 BC, it was initially successful, but then stifled by a long siege.¹²³ Euthydemus, the king of the Bactrians, sent his son Demetrius as an envoy to Antiochus to sue for peace. According to Polybius, Antiochus was so impressed by Demetrius that he “first promised to give him one of his own daughters, and secondly conceded the royal title to his father ...” – whether or not the marriage actually ever took place is unknown.¹²⁴ As with the case of Dionysius of Heraclea above, the marriage-alliance was closely linked to royal recognition – it would enhance Antiochus’ prestige, while placating an errant vassal and also bringing about a peaceful conclusion to the

¹¹⁹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 4.6; S. M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: the Emergence of Heracles on the Black Sea*, Berkeley, 1976, p. 77.

¹²⁰ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 4.6 (who claims it was the siege of Cyprus, probably a textual confusion with Tyrus); Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism*, pp. 77, 139 n. 88. For the siege of Tyre, see Diod. 19.58.1, 19.61.5. Antigonus either arranged this marriage when the siege commenced, or when it ended – Seibert dated the marriage to 315 BC when Antigonus first gathered allies for the siege (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 26).

¹²¹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 4.6. Ptolemy as Antigonus’ nephew: Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 4.6; Diod. 19.57.4, 20.27.3; Plut. *Eum.* 10.5. Ptolemaeus’ exact relationship to his uncle is never detailed – he could have been the son of either a brother or sister of Antigonus.

¹²² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 4.6. Burstein argues this elevation to king was a split with Antigonus, perhaps with Lysimachus’ connivance (Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism*, p. 81). There is little evidence for such a split – moreover, in a later passage, Memnon reported that Antigonus “carefully protected the interests of the children of Dionysius” after Dionysius died in 306/305 BC (Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 4.9). Burstein, however, portrays Antigonus’ protection in a sinister manner (Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism*, p. 81).

¹²³ Polyb. 10.49.1-15; Lerner, J. D. *The Impact of Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau: the Foundations of Arsacid Parthia and Graeco-Bactria*, Stuttgart, 1999, pp. 51-52; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, p. 198.

¹²⁴ Polyb. 11.34.9; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, p. 313; A. K. Narain, ‘The Greeks of Bactria and India’, *CAH*² 8, 1989, p. 398; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, pp. 198-99; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 134-35; Lerner, *Impact of Seleucid Decline*, pp. 51-52.

revolt. Marriage-alliances, such as this one, could achieve several outcomes and fall under multiple categories.

The gift of a marriage-alliance with one of the Great Houses (namely Macedonia, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies) was desired by minor dynasts seeking alliances and recognition. Around 255 BC Ariamnes of Cappadocia arranged for his son (the future Ariarathes III) to marry Stratonice the daughter of Antiochus II Theos.¹²⁵ Ariarathes III is generally considered the first independent king of Cappadocia owing to this marriage, although the kingdom remained closely allied to the Seleucids.¹²⁶ The marriage to a Seleucid brought the kingdom of Cappadocia out of obscurity and made it something beyond a Seleucid satrapy.

Ogden notes Antiochus III's preference for marrying his daughters to satraps and minor kings. To receive such a bride, in Ogden's view, was to "accept the precedence and patronage of the father-in-law."¹²⁷ If Antiochus married his daughters off to enhance his prestige then it is the reverse of the Achaemenid practice, noted by Brosius, of adding the daughters of subject kings to the royal harem.¹²⁸ In 222 BC Antiochus III married Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates II of Pontus.¹²⁹ McGing remarks that Antiochus III's marriage to Laodice, is the first known instance of a Seleucid king accepting the daughter of a "small non-Macedonian ruling house" as a bride.¹³⁰ Unlike with Lysimachus and Dromichaetes, there is no evidence of Antiochus being within Mithridates' power and being forced to accept a marriage-alliance beneath Seleucid dignity. The only surviving literary source of this marriage, Polybius,

¹²⁵ Diod. 31.19.6; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 56 and 114; O. L. Gabelko, 'The Dynastic History of the Hellenistic Monarchies of Asia Minor According to the Chronography of George Synkellos', in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, J. M. Højte (ed.), Aarhus, 2009, p. 51; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 201; Grainger incorrectly assigns her marriage to Ariarathes II (Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, p. 67, entry Stratonike (2), most probably a typo) but corrects it in a later entry on Ariarathes III (Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, pp. 639-40).

¹²⁶ Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 114; B. C. McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, Leiden, 1986, p. 72; A. Simonetta, 'The Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings: A Revision and a Catalogue of the Simonetta Collection', *Parthica* 9, 2007, p. 41; Heinen, 'Syrian-Egyptian Wars', p. 426; Gabelko, 'Dynastic History of the Hellenistic Monarchies', p. 51; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 201-02.

¹²⁷ Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 135.

¹²⁸ M. Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia, 559-331 BC*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 43, 193.

¹²⁹ Polyb. 5.43.1-4; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 60 and 118; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 133-34; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 22-23. Macurdy, however, dates the marriage to 221 (Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 91).

¹³⁰ McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 22.

provided little detail, but did mention that she was “affianced” to Antiochus and stressed her father was a “descendant of one of those seven Persians who had killed the Magus.”¹³¹ A bride descended from the Achaemenid dynasty that previously ruled most the Seleucid lands could only enhance further Seleucid claim to Iran. Antiochus’ rule had only started the year before (223 BC) so if the marriage was already arranged, it was most probably arranged by Antiochus’ predecessors, his father Seleucus II (246-226 BC) or his brother Seleucus III (226-223 BC).

Marriage into a great and powerful dynasty was a great honour for a minor king or dynast. The prestige of the Greater house would raise the prospects of the lesser. For Dionysius, the tyrant of Heraclea, the marriage of his daughter to a relative of Antigonos gave him the effrontery to entitle himself king. A magnanimous ruler of the great house, like the Seleucids, could give away daughters as brides as rewards to loyal and capable satraps and vassals. When Antiochus III arranged a marriage between his daughter and Demetrius, son of the rebel satrap Euthydemus, he allowed the use of the title of king. At that time Pontus was a relatively minor kingdom, so the marriage of Laodice of Pontus to Antiochus III, the Seleucid King, was a signal honour, as noted by McGing. Even minor kings could have a noble ancestry that was worth marrying into. Whether the Pontic kings gained more prestige from marrying into the Seleucids, or the Seleucids gained more from marrying a descent of the Achaemenids, is unknown. Compared to the Achaemenids, the Seleucids were parvenus, so perhaps both houses gained from the marriage-alliance.

Other Elements of Marriage-alliances

The reasons outlined above were the immediate motivations for forming marriage-alliances. Sometimes the marriage-alliances also provided other benefits as well as those immediate policies that created them. When a marriage-alliance produced children, these heirs inherited an informal claim to both houses. When the Carthaginians attacked Syracuse, the Syracusans

¹³¹ Polyb. 5.43.1-4. Laodice was also Antiochus’ cousin – his aunt Laodice (III) was married to Mithridates in 245 BC; see Just. *Epit.* 38.5.3; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 58 and 118; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 133-34. The ruling family of Pontus claimed descent from the Achaemenid dynasty through Mithridates Ctistes, tyrant of Cius; see A. B. Bosworth and P. V. Wheatley, ‘The Origins of the Pontic House’, *JHS* 118, 1998, pp. 155-64.

sought aid from Pyrrhus “because of his wife Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles [the former Tyrant of Syracuse], who had borne Pyrrhus a son, Alexander.”¹³² According to Justin, Pyrrhus gave himself the title King of Sicily and intended the same for his son “as an inheritance from his grandfather (for he was the son of Agathocles’ daughter).”¹³³ Later, when the advisors of young Hieronymus, tyrant of Syracuse 216-215 BC, tried to encourage him to extend his dominion over all of Sicily, they reminded him of his descent from King Pyrrhus, as Hieronymus was the son of Gelon and Nereis, daughter of King Pyrrhus, “the only man whom all the Sicilians had accepted as their leader and king.”¹³⁴

Further evidence of the strength of a marriage-alliance can be obtained by examining the results after a marriage ended. Whilst Pyrrhus’ polygamy granted him multiple marriage-alliances, it also affected his personal relationship with one of his wives, Lanassa. According to Plutarch she went to Corcyra (her father’s wedding gift to Pyrrhus) and offered herself and the island to Demetrius, “so Demetrius sailed there, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.”¹³⁵ Pyrrhus lost not only his wife but her dowry as well. Pyrrhus’ daughter Olympias, seeking a strong ally, offered her daughter, Phthia, to Demetrius II of Macedonia.¹³⁶ This marriage caused Demetrius’ first wife, Stratonice, to withdraw to her brother Antiochus II, king of Syria. There, according to Justin, she “excited him to war upon her husband.”¹³⁷ Furthermore, when Seleucus II killed his stepmother Berenice and her son this incurred a war with Ptolemy III.¹³⁸ This Berenice was the daughter of Ptolemy II and was married to

¹³² Diod. 22.8.2. For the marriage of Lanassa to Pyrrhus of Epirus, detailed above, see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9; Diod. 21.4; App. *Samm.* 11; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 100, 104; Franke, ‘Pyrrhus’, p. 461.

¹³³ Just. *Epit.* 23.3.3, although Justin confuses the names of Pyrrhus’ sons: it was Alexander, not Helenus, who was son of Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles (see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.1) and doubtlessly Pyrrhus’ intended future “King of Sicily.”

¹³⁴ Polyb. 7.4.5. Walbank fully discusses various theories of Hieronymus’ exact descent from Pyrrhus and which Pyrrhus (Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, pp. 34-35). Polyb. 7.4.5. For the marriage of Gelon and Nereis, see Paus. 6.12.3; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 103; Hammond, *Epirus*, p. 590 nn. 4 and 5.

¹³⁵ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 10.5; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 175-76; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 66-67. See also E. M. Anson, *Alexander’s Heirs*, Chichester, 2014, p. 179, who also highlights that Lanassa was transferring her allegiance from one polygamist to another.

¹³⁶ Just. *Epit.* 28.1.2; Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, p. 190; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 179; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 71. Seibert dated this marriage to 239 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 37).

¹³⁷ Just. *Epit.* 28.1.4; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 71; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 179. Carney, however, highlighted several errors in the ancient accounts of Justin and Agatharchides (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.206-208 = FGrH 86 F 20) regarding Stratonice leaving her marriage to Demetrius, but notes Justin supplies at least a plausible motive; for details, see Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, pp. 184-86.

¹³⁸ App. *Syr.* 65; Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, 11.6a; Just. *Epit.* 27.1.3; Polyæn. 8.50; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 88-90; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 130-31.

Antiochus II to end the war between them, as mentioned above. As Ptolemy III's sister and nephews were killed, the alliance was ended and war broke out.

Carney is correct to state that most of these royal marriages were political marriages. Without dwelling on the more romantic and sexual interests in marriage, these royal marriages were arranged, at least foremost, for political purposes. The first part of this chapter defines what policies these marriages attempted to fulfil and what other defining factors were associated with these marriage-alliances between states. So far the chapter has demonstrated that these marriage-alliances could be used to create a peaceful outcome to a costly war, or to legitimise a new ruler by connecting him to the dynasty of previous rulers. The marriage-alliances could also build military alliances, to pursue aggressive policy, or provide support in case of attack from a shared enemy, or even provide passive support, for unknown or undefined dangers on a kingdom's borderlands and by building good relations with your neighbours. That predominantly most of these marriage-alliances were between neighbouring states, a fact often assumed, has now been demonstrated as almost ubiquitous. It is important to define these factors in order to understand if the same factors compelled or restricted marriage-alliances amongst these states after Rome started taking more of an interest in the East.

Marriage-Alliances after Pydna

Rome's victory at the battle of Pydna in 168 BC assured her supremacy over the Eastern Mediterranean.¹³⁹ As will be demonstrated below, king after king jostled to be enrolled as a "friend and ally" of the Romans. Although Rome interfered politically in the affairs of these kingdoms, little evidence remains of her interfering in marriage-alliances, either by proposing them or even directly vetoing them. In the later period Republican generals, such as Pompey, Caesar and Antony, involved themselves in setting up or deposing kings. There is, however, little evidence that they attempted to influence marriage-alliances.

¹³⁹ Polyb. 3.1.9; also Walbank, *Polybius*, pp. 26-27; McGing, 'Subjection and Resistance', p. 73; Baronowski, *Polybius and Roman Imperialism*, p. 114; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, p. 345; Sterling, 'Explaining Defeat', p. 136; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, p. 96; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East 168 BC to AD 1*, London, 1984, p. 30.

The Senate and the Client Kings

A good example of the changing relations between the kings in the East and Rome is the case of Ariarathes V, king of Cappadocia (164-130 BC).¹⁴⁰ Ariarathes' father, Ariarathes IV, had married a daughter of Antiochus III and been an ally of the Seleucid king during his war with Rome.¹⁴¹ When the war concluded in 190 BC with defeat, Ariarathes IV became a friend and ally of Rome.¹⁴² He also betrothed his daughter Stratonice (and sister of Ariarathes V) to Eumenes of Pergamum, a Roman ally.¹⁴³ Before Pydna, Ariarathes IV sent his son to Rome, "so that he might from his boyhood become familiar with Roman manners and Roman men."¹⁴⁴ Ariarathes V, who was the son of Antiochis the Seleucid bride, renewed his alliance with Rome on his ascension in 164 BC.¹⁴⁵ Around the same time (164/3 BC), a Roman delegate was sent to Anatolia to investigate Galatian complaints against Cappadocia (for events that appear to have occurred during his father's reign) – the delegates left Cappadocia

¹⁴⁰ For the senatorial dealings with Cappadocia, see Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 40-42; J. Briscoe, 'Eastern Policy and Senatorial Politics 168-146 B.C.', *Historia* 18.1, 1969, pp. 56-57. The regnal coinage of Cappadocia should supply support to the chronology of this period, however there remains severe disagreement regarding the attribution of Cappadocian royal coinage, particularly Ariarathes V; see B. Simonetta, 'Notes on the Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings', *NC* 1, 1961, pp. 9-50; O. Mørkholm, 'Some Cappadocian Problems', *NC* 2, 1962, pp. 407-11; B. Simonetta, 'Remarks on Some Cappadocian Problems', *NC* 4, 1964, pp. 83-92; O. Mørkholm, 'Some Cappadocian Die-Links', *NC* 4, 1964, pp. 21-25; B. Simonetta, 'Some Additional Remarks on the Royal Cappadocian Coins', *NC* 7, 1967, pp. 7-12; O. Mørkholm, 'The Classification of Cappadocian Coins', *NC* 9, 1969, pp. 21-31; B. Simonetta, *The Coinage of Cappadocian Kings*, Fribourg, 1977; O. Mørkholm, 'The Cappadocians Again', *NC* 19, 1979, pp. 242-46; Simonetta, 'Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings', pp. 11-152.

¹⁴¹ Diod. 31.19.7; App. *Syr.* 5; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 40; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 64, 114; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 134-35; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, pp. 116-17 (though Grainger incorrectly identifies the Cappadocian king as Ariarathes III); Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography*, p. 8 (correctly identified as Ariarathes IV); Briscoe, 'Eastern Policy', p. 56.

¹⁴² Polyb. 21.41.4-7, 45; Liv. 38.37.5-6, 39.6; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 40; Briscoe, 'Eastern Policy', p. 56.

¹⁴³ Liv. 38.39.6; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 26; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 202; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 40; Briscoe, 'Eastern Policy', p. 56. Seibert dated this betrothal to 188 BC (Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 113). Strabo reports that they were later married and had a child (Strab. 13.4.2) but it is not known when they were actually married. It is the marriage-alliance with Eumenes, a Roman ally, that Livy presents as aligning Ariarathes with Rome's interests: "now that he was connected by marriage with Eumenes, he [Ariarathes] associated himself with all their [the Romans] policy, both in peace and war" (Liv. 42.29.4).

¹⁴⁴ Liv. 42.19.5; Diod. 31.1.9.7; J. Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 156; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 9; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, pp. 105-06; Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia', p. 63; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 46; Gruen follows fantastical Diodorus' account that it was not Ariarathes V that was sent to Rome, but another son to clear the path for Ariarathes to succeed his father (Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, pp. 194-95). In Diodorus' account Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus III and wife of Ariarathes IV, faked two earlier births to her husband in lieu of an heir, before finally producing a legitimate heir – the story appears too incredible to believe and may have been a mangled version of a story spread to discredit the legitimacy of Orophernes (Ariarathes V's brother and rival for the throne of Cappadocia).

¹⁴⁵ Polyb. 31.3.15; Liv. *Per.* 46; Diod. 31.19.8; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 47; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 202; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, p. 106.

impressed by the king and declared him a “true friend of Rome.”¹⁴⁶ Around 160 BC Ariarathes received an offer of a marriage-alliance from the Seleucid king Demetrius. As Demetrius at the time was viewed with great suspicion by the Senate, Ariarathes rejected his overtures.¹⁴⁷ Ariarathes then sent a gift of ten thousand gold coins to the Senate with the news that he had rejected Demetrius’ offer on their behalf.¹⁴⁸

Around 158 BC Ariarathes’ reign was challenged by his brother Orophernes.¹⁴⁹ Having been previously spurned by Ariarathes, Demetrius supported his Orophernes’ claim on Cappadocia.¹⁵⁰ Ariarathes, having been driven from his kingdom, came to Rome in person to request support and his brother also sent delegates to argue his case before the Senate.¹⁵¹ The Senate decided that Cappadocia should be divided between the brothers.¹⁵² After Eumenes of Pergamum died, his brother and successor, Attalus, married his widow (Ariarathes’ sister) and helped Ariarathes drive both Orophernes and Demetrius out of Cappadocia.¹⁵³ Although Zonaras hinted that it was Ariarathes’ status as “friend and ally of Rome” that gave him the advantage, there is no evidence of any support from Rome, at least not overtly.¹⁵⁴ Ariarathes,

¹⁴⁶ Polyb. 31.2.13 and 31.8.1-8; S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1993, p. 26; Briscoe, ‘Eastern Policy’, p. 56; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 226, 770 n. 72 and 1097 n. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Diod. 31.28.1; Just. *Epit.* 35.1.2. Gruen, ‘Rome and the Seleucids’, p. 88; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 357; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41.

¹⁴⁸ Polyb. 32.1.1; Diod. 31.28.1. The Senate “expressed its approval” of Ariarathes and sent in return the gift of a sceptre and ivory *sella* (Polyb. 32.1.2; Diod. 31.28.1). See Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 202; Briscoe, ‘Eastern Policy’, pp. 56-57.

¹⁴⁹ Diod. 31.32.1; Just. *Epit.* 35.1.2; Trogus *Procl.* 34; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 359; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 47.

¹⁵⁰ Justin stated that Demetrius had a grudge against Ariarathes for this rejection (Just. *Epit.* 35.1.2). Diodorus noted that Orophernes paid Demetrius seventy talents and owed him another four hundred (Dio. 31.32.1). See also App. *Syr.* 47; Liv. *Per.* 47.7; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 48; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 359; McGing, ‘Subjection and Resistance’, p. 77.

¹⁵¹ Polyb. 32.10.1-4; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 359; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 47.

¹⁵² App. *Syr.* 47; Zonaras 9.24; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 202; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 359; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 48; McGing, ‘Subjection and Resistance’, p. 77; Briscoe, ‘Eastern Policy’, p. 57; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41. Pastor suggests the reason the Senate arrived at this decision was to prevent neighbouring powers from taking advantage of a civil war and to actually make Cappadocia more cohesive. If this was the intention, then it soon failed.

¹⁵³ For Attalus’ marriage to Stratonice, see Plut. *Mor.* 184B, 489F; E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca, 1971, p. 130; Briscoe, ‘Eastern Policy’, p. 56. Attalus’ support of Ariarathes: Polyb. 32.12.1; Zon. 9.24; Hansen, *The Attalids*, pp. 130-31; R. B. McShane, *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamum*, Urbana, 1964, pp. 187-88; McGing, ‘Subjection and Resistance’, p. 77; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 48; Briscoe, ‘Eastern Policy’, p. 57; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 202.

¹⁵⁴ Zon. 9.24; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 359. The *Periochae* of Livy also claims it was with Roman support that Ariarathes was restored (Liv. *Per.* 47.7), although all other sources are silent about this and

in turn, supported his benefactor by supplying troops to defend Pergamum against an invasion from Bithynia in 154 BC.¹⁵⁵ During the war against Aristonicus (after 131 BC), Ariarathes gave personal support to the Roman cause, and died in battle.¹⁵⁶ Ariarathes V, notwithstanding his father's earlier alliance to Antiochus III and himself being a product of that marriage-alliance, had proved himself a loyal ally to Rome. Despite this, the Senate was unable to support him outright when it came to choosing between himself and his brother, even when a suspected enemy of Rome (Demetrius) moved to oust him. Ironically, Ariarathes became Demetrius' enemy and almost lost his kingdom due to a sense of loyalty to Rome. Even when Rome proved unable or unwilling, to support him, he maintained his loyalty and died fighting for a Roman cause in Asia Minor. His example highlights the difficulties that the kings faced when relating to a Republic rather than another monarch.

The example of Ariarathes V also illustrates that although the extension of Roman power and influence eastwards may have been inevitable, it was also reluctant.¹⁵⁷ Until Pompey, most of the Eastern territories that had become Roman provinces had been kingdoms willed to Rome on the death of their king: Asia Minor (133 BC), Cyrene (96 BC) and Bithynia (74 BC).¹⁵⁸ Even the acceptance of these bequests was debated in the Senate. At one point the kingdom of Egypt was granted to the Senate and People of Rome in the will of Ptolemy X, but it was

only mention Attalus' support. Polybius inferred that Attalus' action occurred soon after he succeeded his brother to the throne (158 BC); see Polyb. 32.12.1.

¹⁵⁵ Polyb. 33.12.1; McGing, 'Subjection and Resistance', p. 77; McShane, *Foreign Policy of the Attalids*, p. 189; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41. Ariarathes formed part of a coalition with Attalus of Pergamum and Mithridates IV of Pontus.

¹⁵⁶ Just. *Epit.* 37.1.2; Eutrop. 4.20; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 151, 202; McShane, *Foreign Policy of the Attalids*, p. 197; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 49. As a reward for his services, the Romans granted Lycaonia and Cilicia to his successors; see Just. *Epit.* 37.1.2; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 202; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 49.

¹⁵⁷ Brunt, 'Laus Imperii', pp. 172-73. Sherwin-White argues that the Senate was not interested in defending (or for that matter controlling or occupying) Anatolia, but managing it through allied kings and envoys (Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia', pp. 65-66).

¹⁵⁸ For the royal wills in general, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 129-64. For Attalus' will of Pergamum (Asia Minor) to Rome, see Sall. *Hist.* 4.67; Liv. *Per.* 58 and 59; Val. Max. 5.2 ext. 3; Plin. *HN* 33.148; Flor. 1.35.2; App. *BCiv* 5.4; Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 14.1; Just. *Epit.* 36.4.5; Eutrop. 4.18; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 80-84; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 131-33. For Cyrene, see Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.51; Sall. *Hist.* 2.41; Liv. *Per.* 70; App. *Mithr.* 121; Just. *Epit.* 39.5.2-3; Fest. *Brev.* 13.2; Eutrop. 6.11.3; Amm. Marc. 22.16.24; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 133-34. For Bithynia, see Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.40; Liv. *Per.* 93; Vell. Pat. 2.4.1, 2.39.2; App. *Mithr.* 7 and 71; *BCiv* 1.111; Arr. *Bith.* Fgr 1, 4; Eutrop. 6.6; Fest. *Brev.* 11.1; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 319-20; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 135.

decided to restore it to its native dynasty.¹⁵⁹ After Pydna and the defeat of Perseus, the last Macedonian king, the Senate now found it had to administer a new kingdom. At first the kingdom was divided into four territories to be governed independently.¹⁶⁰ Only reluctantly did the Senate finally convert Macedonia into a province. As Gruen demonstrates, Roman expansion eastwards was not the product of a masterplan or grand strategy and Rome was generally apathetic to Eastern matters.¹⁶¹ It must be remembered that the Senate, a body of 600 aristocrats, rarely kept to any constant strategy, particularly as it consisted of several competing factions.

The Senate also, it is fair to observe, found it awkward when dealing with Kings.¹⁶² Rome at this time was a Republic – fiercely so – yet the Senate often preferred areas outside the immediate empire to be ruled by native Kings. Kings, at times, would visit Rome, particularly after the Senate had become a de-facto adjudicator of Hellenistic disputes – a role it appeared to have relished as well as abhorred. They also sent their sons to Rome to be educated and to understand the ways of Roman politics. This practice was a direct response to the kings realising that they had to now often negotiate with this new foreign power – it was certainly not a policy that the Senate encouraged. Kings and princes in Rome were treated with respect, but also had a tendency to develop close relationships with the dominant Roman personalities of the day. The Romans were also conscious, at least rhetorically, of the effect that monarchy had in seducing Roman *mores*. Conservative members of the Senate were always on the watch for subversive elements attempting to establish a monarchy in Rome.¹⁶³ At the same time, kings were expected to act with the dignity of their station and kings that behaved in a

¹⁵⁹ Or Ptolemy XI, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 134-35. The will of Ptolemy VIII Physcon had earlier (155 BC) bequeathed his kingdom to Rome if he died without heirs, which did not eventuate; see SEG 9.7; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 129-30.

¹⁶⁰ Diod. 31.8.6; Liv. 45.17-17; McGing, 'Subjection and Resistance', p. 73; P. Drow, *Rome, Polybius, and the East*, Oxford, 2015, pp. 74-77; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 30; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁶¹ Gruen, 'Rome and the Seleucids', pp. 73-95. See also Brunt, 'Laus Imperii', pp. 172-73. Sherwin-White points out that Rome only ever intervened in Eastern affairs when prompted by allies – even then they were usually requesting approval or arbitration, not direct interference (Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 29-30).

¹⁶² See Rawson, 'Caesar's Heritage', pp. 148-59. Rawson demonstrates that the Senate initially had a hostile reaction to Hellenistic kings, as Perseus' words (conveyed by Livy) to his neighbouring kings suggest; see Liv. 44.24.1-6.

¹⁶³ See Plut. *Cat.* 45.4, 47.2. The accusations that Caesar was attempting to become the King of Rome damaged his contemporary and future reputation; see Plut. *Caes.* 60-62; Rawson, 'Caesar's Heritage', pp. 148-50.

servile manner towards Rome were mocked in the ancient sources. Witness Prusias II, who declared himself a freeman of the Romans and who Diodorus labels “a man unworthy of the royal dignity.”¹⁶⁴ Although these sources, predominantly Roman, would prefer to depict a slave-like behaviour amongst the client kings, it is interesting that they suggest that such behaviour from the king is also unbecoming.¹⁶⁵

To ascertain Rome’s influence over these other kingdoms, it worth noting when each kingdom first became “friend and ally” of the Roman people.¹⁶⁶ Some of these kings came to Rome voluntarily seeking an alliance, others became allies after being defeated by Romans. Ptolemy II was one of the first kings to recognise Rome’s importance and made a treaty of friendship in 273 BC.¹⁶⁷ Attalus I of Pergamum was another Hellenistic king to be solidly allied with Rome, during the First Macedonian War.¹⁶⁸ After being defeated at the Battle of Magnesia (190 BC), Antiochus consented to be called a friend of the Romans.¹⁶⁹ Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia, Antiochus’ ally, was fined after the same battle and enrolled as an ally of Rome.¹⁷⁰ After the Battle of Pydna (168 BC) Prusias II of Bithynia appeared to be already enrolled as an ally of Rome – during the war with Macedonia, he attempted to remain neutral, despite his marriage-alliance to Perseus.¹⁷¹ The aftermath of the same battle might have seen

¹⁶⁴ Diod. 31.15.2; also Polyb. 30.18.1-5; Liv. 45.44.19; Dio 20.69; App. *Mithr.* 2.3-5; Val. Max. 5.1.1e; Plut. *Mor.* 336E; Eutrop. 4.8.4; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 30 n. 2; Rawson, ‘Caesar’s Heritage’, p. 156; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 2, p. 573. For analysis of this episode, see D. C. Braund, ‘Three Hellenistic Personages: Amyntander, Prusias II, Daphidas.’ *CQ* 32.02, 1982, pp. 353-54.

¹⁶⁵ For other examples, see Sall. *Cat.* 9.5. See Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 23, 30 n. 2.

¹⁶⁶ Sands’ work is invaluable here, chronicling each kingdom’s descent from “friendship” to near complete dependence; see Sands, *Client Princes*, p. 163 onwards (Appendix A).

¹⁶⁷ Liv. 27.4.10; App. *Sic.* 1; Dio 10.41.1; Eutrop. 2.15. See Sands, *Client Princes*, p. 165; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, pp. 62-63; Adams, ‘The Unbalanced Relationship’, p. 100. Later Ptolemy II attempted to mediate between Rome and Carthage, claiming he was a friend to both states (App. *Sic.* 1.1).

¹⁶⁸ Liv. 26.24, 29.11, 31.46; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 19; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 13; Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 184-85.

¹⁶⁹ Polyb. 21.42.1; Diod. 29.24.1; App. *Syr.* 38-39. It appears that prior to his war with the Romans, Antiochus was an *amicus et socius* of Rome, see Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, p. 65. Earlier Antiochus had requested a formal alliance through treaty (*foedus sociale*) with Rome three times, in 195 BC (Liv. 34.25.2), early in 193 BC (Liv. 34.57-59; Diod. 28.15) and again later in the same year (App. *Syr.* 12; Liv. 35.15-16); see Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, p. 23.

¹⁷⁰ Polyb. 21.41.4-7, 45; Liv. 38.37.5-6, 39.6; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 40; Briscoe, ‘Eastern Policy’, p. 56. Ariarathes V later renewed his father’s alliance with Rome: Diod. 31.20.8; Polyb. 31.3.1-5; Liv. *Per.* 46; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 47; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 202; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, p. 106.

¹⁷¹ Liv. 42.29; App. *Mithr.* 2; Sand, *Client Princes*, p. 197; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 55; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 44-45. For Prusias’ marriage to Perseus’ sister, see Liv. 42.12.3-4; App. *Mac.* 11.2; *Mithr.* 2; Meloni, *Perseo*, pp. 120-21; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and Their Rivals’, p. 339.

Mithridates IV of Pontus also now allied to Rome – although Appian stated that Mithridates V was the first king of Pontus “to be called a friend of the Roman people.”¹⁷² In the West, Massinissa the King of Numidia became an ally of Rome during the Second Punic War (218-201 BC) and was rewarded with expanded territories.¹⁷³ Neighbouring Mauretania only became a “friend and ally” as part of the conclusion to the Jugurthine War in 106 BC and was granted part of Numidia as a reward.¹⁷⁴ As noted above, the war with Antiochus III and the war with Perseus each added new kings to Rome’s list of “friends and allies.” Some of these were reluctant allies, such as Antiochus, who finally acknowledged Rome’s dominance. Others, allied to the defeated, such as Ariarathes, appeared to be quick to adhere themselves to Rome and Rome’s allies. Likewise, by the end of the war with Mithridates (63 BC), Pharnaces, king of the Bosphorus and Tigranes II king of Armenia consented to be “friends and allies” of Rome as well as a swathe of kingdoms – Iberia, Commagene and Nabataea.¹⁷⁵

There appears to be few similarities, however, between the kings that modern scholars have labelled “Client Kings of Rome.” Although Sands suggests that there may have been some hierarchy between those that were “friends” of Rome and those that were “friends and allies”, there appears to be little difference in the title *socii et amici* conferred upon these kings.¹⁷⁶ This has led earlier scholars to see little difference in the kings themselves and to categorise them all as subordinate to Rome.¹⁷⁷ Many came to earn the title, however, by voluntarily seeking alliance with Rome, such as Ptolemy II. Others, such as Massinissa, were wooed by Rome. Others, such as Antiochus III, wore the title as a badge of defeat. In truth, some kings

¹⁷² An inscription labelled Mithridates Philopator Philadelphus (Mithridates IV, reign c. 175-156 BC) as a friend and ally of Rome; see *OGIS* 375 (= *CIL* I² 730 = *IGR* I 62). Mithridates V (reigned c. 156-120 BC) was the son of Mithridates IV; see App. *Mithr.* 10; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 194, 1090-91 nn. 48, 49; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 43.

¹⁷³ Liv. 30.15.11-14; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 12-14; Walsh, ‘Massinissa’, pp. 150-51; Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 174-75; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 24.

¹⁷⁴ Sall. *Iug.* 102, 104; Flor. 1.36.16; Plut. *Mar.* 32; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 49; Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 180-81.

¹⁷⁵ App. *Mithr.* 104 (Tigranes of Armenia), 106 (Commagene, Nabataea and Judaea), 113 (Pharnaces of the Bosphoran Kingdom). For an analysis of the kingdoms brought into the Roman fold by Pompey’s eastern campaigns, see Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 226-34.

¹⁷⁶ Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁷⁷ Sands, *Client Princes*, pp. 1, 49; Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, pp. 20-30; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, pp. 110-15. On treaties and kings (in particular the absence of formal treaties), see A. M. Eckstein, ‘Pharos and the Question of Roman Treaties of Alliance in the Greek East in the Third Century B.C.E.’, *CPh* 94 n. 4, 1999, pp. 401-06.

were subordinate, or acted as such, such as Prusias II.¹⁷⁸ Others were independent, and sought to use Rome for their own advantage, such as Eumenes II and Attalus II of Pergamum.¹⁷⁹ How Rome viewed these kings, and how the king viewed their relationship with Rome, depended on the king, the kingdom, and the state of Rome at the time.

A quick glance at a map of marriage-alliances in this period (below) highlights that arrangements continued to form between neighbouring kings.

¹⁷⁸ Polyb. 30.18.1-5; Diod. 31.15.2; Liv. 45.44.19; Dio 20.69; App. *Mithr.* 2.3-5; Val. Max. 5.1.1e; Plut. *Mor.* 336E; Eutrop. 4.8.4; Zon. 9.24.7; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 30 n. 2; Rawson, 'Caesar's Heritage', p. 156; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 2, p. 573; Braund, 'Three Hellenistic Personages', pp. 353-54.

¹⁷⁹ McShane, *Foreign Policy of the Attalids*, pp. 182-86, 190-92.

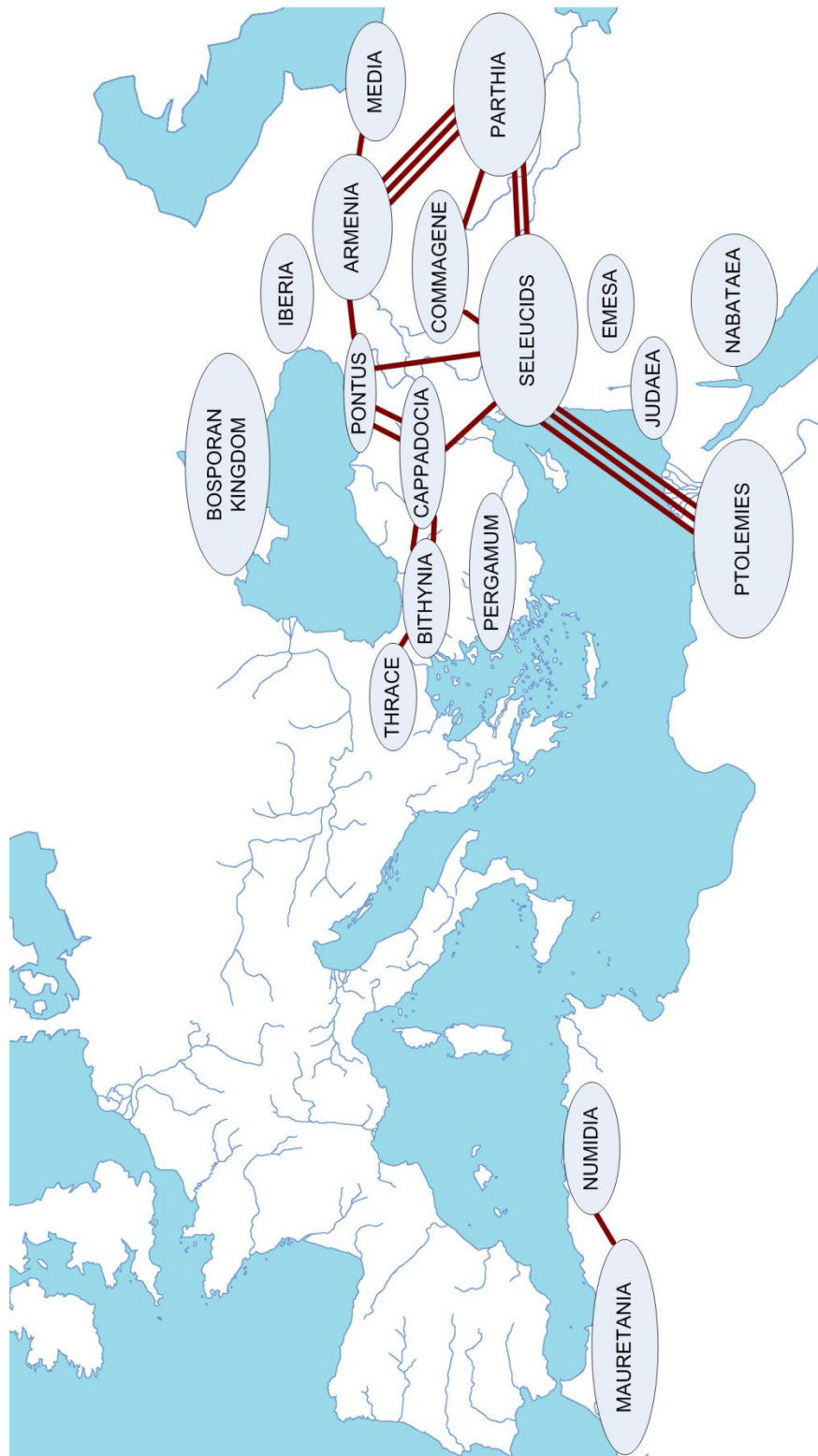


Figure 4. Inter dynastic marriages after Pydna¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ As with previous map, the number of lines represents the number of known marriages between the kingdoms – i.e. there are three known marriage-alliances between Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucids, but only one known

Once again Seibert’s table of marriage-alliances is the basis of analysis for this period.¹⁸¹ As Seibert’s interest lay in the Hellenistic kingdoms proper and his work did not include many of the marriages with the Parthian and Armenian royal families that begin to appear in the sources over this period (Justin, Diodorus, Appian) – these have been added to the table.

Year (BC)	“Groom”	“Bride”
160/59	Pharnaces PONTUS	Nysa, d. ? SELEUCID
145	Demetrius II SELEUCID	Cleopatra Thea, d. Ptolemy VI EGYPT
139-138	Demetrius II SELEUCID	Rhodogune, d. Mithridates I PARTHIA
130?	Phraates II PARTHIA	Laodice, d. Antiochus VII SELEUCID
124	Antiochus VIII SELEUCID	Cleopatra Tryphaena, d. Ptolemy VIII EGYPT
c. 124	Ariarathes VI CAPPADOCIA	Laodice, d. Mithridates V PONTUS
Before 109	Mithridates I COMMAGENE	Laodice, d. Antiochus VIII SELEUCID
112-104	Jugurtha NUMIDIA	?, d. Bocchus MAURETANIA
103	Antiochus VIII SELEUCID	Cleopatra Selene EGYPT
c. 100	Nicomedes III BITHYNIA	Laodice, d. Mithridates V CAPPADOCIA
After 94	Nicomedes IV BITHYNIA	Nysa, d. Ariarathes VI CAPPADOCIA
93	Tigranes II ARMENIA	Cleopatra, d. Mithridates VI PONTUS

marriage-alliance between Commagene and the Seleucids. Background outline map courtesy of d-maps (www.d-maps.com).

¹⁸¹ Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 133-34.

Before 88	Mithridates II PARTHIA	Aryazate, d. Tigranes II ARMENIA
81	Ariobarzanes II CAPPADOCIA	Athenais, d. Mithridates V PONTUS
c. 65	Tigranes the Younger ARMENIA	?, d. Phraates III PARTHIA
67?	Mithridates MEDIA	?, d. Tigranes II ARMENIA
66-60	Pacorus PARTHIA	?, d. Tigranes II ARMENIA
65	?, Princes SCYTHIA	?, d. Mithridates VI PONTUS
50s?	Deiotarus GALATIA	? ARMENIA
50s?	Orodes II PARTHIA	Laodice, d. Antiochus I COMMAGENE

A cursory glance at this table reveals far fewer marriages during this period than are listed in the period before Pydna (Figure 1).¹⁸² After the battle of Pydna, Macedonia was reduced to a number of semi-independent regions – this left Syria and Egypt alone to form marriages between houses of equal prestige.¹⁸³ The non-Macedonian kingdoms, such as Cappadocia, Pontus, Parthia and Armenia, feature more prominently forming a web of intermarriage that included Syria and Egypt when a marriage with those houses was conceded. The remaining sources for this period are less inclined to postulate motives for the marriages and merely note, sometimes only indirectly, that a royal marriage had been made. The few examples that remain, however, suggest marriage-alliances were formed in much the same way and for the same reasons as the period before Pydna.

¹⁸² The thirty six marriages between 300 and 168 BC (132 years) as opposed to the nineteen marriages between 167 and 31 BC (106 years).

¹⁸³ For the fate of Macedonia post-Pydna, see Diod. 31.8.6; Liv. 45.17-17; P. S. Derow, 'Rome, the Fall of Macedon and the Sack of Corinth', *CAH*² 8, 1989, pp. 317-18; McGing, 'Subjection and Resistance', p. 73; P. Derow, *Rome, Polybius, and the East*, Oxford, 2015, pp. 74-77; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 30; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, pp. 96-97.

The fewer recorded marriage-alliances also stemmed from the replacement of Macedonia with Rome. The Hellenistic kingdoms were unable to form traditional alliances by marriage with Rome. Whilst Rome would accept them as “friends and allies”, no marriage-alliances with Rome could be arranged for two reasons. Firstly, Rome was not a monarchy but a Republic. No marriage, even with the most prominent Roman family of the day, could ensure a steady alliance with a kingdom. Secondly, Roman law “did not recognise the marriage of a Roman and a foreigner.”¹⁸⁴ Even if a marriage-alliance was brokered, the marriage would not be recognised as a formal marriage, at least by the Romans, and any issue would be considered illegitimate.

By humbling Syria in 190 BC and removing Macedonia as an independent kingdom in 168 BC, Rome naturally had an effect on the alliances in the Hellenistic world. As noted above, to increase his standing with the Romans, Ariarathes V of Cappadocia apparently rejected an offer of a marriage-alliance with the Seleucid King Demetrius I. Demetrius had escaped Rome to take up his inheritance without permission from the Senate. Ariarathes sent envoys to Rome to inform them of “his renunciation, on their account, of an alliance of marriage and friendship with Demetrius.”¹⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that the “alliance of marriage” and “friendship” were so closely linked. Heavy hints to Ariarathes may have suggested that a marriage-alliance with Demetrius would not sit well with Rome, although there is no evidence that Rome forced or even encouraged him to reject the suit.¹⁸⁶ Diodorus clearly gave the impression that the first the Romans heard of the marriage proposal was through Ariarathes’ envoys, after Ariarathes had already rejected Demetrius’ overtures. Around the same time that Ariarathes rejected Demetrius’ overtures, Pharnaces of Pontus, another Roman client king, married Nysa, one of Demetrius’ female relations (possibly the same daughter offered to

¹⁸⁴ J. Baldson, *Roman Women*, London, 1962, p. 175. For details of legal marriages and *conubium*, see S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 43-49; J. F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society*, London, 1986, p. 31. For the actual laws, see *Tit. Ulp.* 5.3-5 and 5.8; Gaius 1.55-56.

¹⁸⁵ Diod. 31.28.1. See also Just. *Epit.* 35.1.2; Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 357; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 41; Gruen, ‘Rome and the Seleucids’, p. 88.

¹⁸⁶ The Roman legates sent to Asia led by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, however, may have been in the area at the same time; see Polyb. 31.32.3. Habicht argued that Ariarathes was pressured to decline the proposal by these envoys (Habicht, ‘Seleucids and their Rivals’, p. 357), however Gruen argued that there was no pressure (Gruen, ‘Rome and the Seleucids’, p. 88 n. 104). Since there is no evidence that Senate had previously interfered with any marriage-alliances, it may be that Gruen was correct.

Ariarathes), with no hint of displeasure from Rome.¹⁸⁷ Rejecting Demetrius' daughter would have other consequences – when Ariarathes faced a revolt from his brother Orophernes, Demetrius decided to support Ariarathes' brother.¹⁸⁸

Once Rome broke the power of the Seleucids, more cases of minor kingdoms demanding prestigious marriage-alliances (as outlined above) occurred, in the rare situations in which the lesser dynasty had a hold on the greater. As the power of the Seleucids waned and the Parthian Arsacids waxed, the Parthian king Mithridates defeated and captured the Seleucid king Demetrius II in 139 BC.¹⁸⁹ While a prisoner Demetrius married Rhodogune, the Parthian king's daughter.¹⁹⁰ Justin suggested that the Parthians kept Demetrius because they had "designs" on his kingdom.¹⁹¹ Some type of dynastic take-over is not beyond the realms of possibility – by marrying into the Seleucids, the Arsacids were providing later generations with legitimate claims to Seleucid territory. The Arsacids later strengthened the connection – Phraates II, Mithridates' son and successor, had the good fortune to capture the daughter of Demetrius II in battle. He married her, according to Justin because he was "enamoured" of her, but doubtlessly also because of the prestige her family could add to the Arsacid dynasty.¹⁹² M. R. Shayegan proposed that the Parthians actively pursued a policy of retaining captured claimants to hostile kingdoms to later be released to instigate pro-Parthian policies in

¹⁸⁷ OGIS 771. See also McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 32; Habicht, 'Seleucids and their Rivals', p. 357. Mørkholm suggested Nysa was the daughter of Antiochus IV, and therefore Demetrius' cousin (O. Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, Copenhagen, 1966, p. 54; Grainger, *Seleucid Gazetteer*, p. 52).

¹⁸⁸ Just. *Epit.* 35.1.2; Dio. 31.32.1; App. *Syr.* 47; Liv. *Per.* 47.7; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 48; Habicht, 'Seleucids and their Rivals', p. 359; McGing, 'Subjection and Resistance', p. 77. Justin stated that Demetrius had a grudge against Ariarathes for this rejection.

¹⁸⁹ Diod. 33.28.1; Joseph. *AJ* 13.186, 218; App. *Syr.* 67; Athenaeus 4.153a; Just. *Epit.* 36.1.5-6, 38.9.2-3; *Prol.* 36, 38. For a full assessment of Demetrius' capture, see M. R. Shayegan, 'On Demetrius II Nicator's Arsacid Captivity and Second Rule', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 17, 2007, pp. 83-84. While imprisoned, Demetrius II's younger brother Antiochus VII became the Seleucid king and married Demetrius' wife Cleopatra Thea; see Joseph. *AJ* 13.220-222; Just. *Epit.* 36.1.9; App. *Syr.* 68; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 149.

¹⁹⁰ Just. *Epit.* 38.9.3; App. *Syr.* 67; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 97; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 117; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 148-49. Appian stated that it was Phraates, not Mithridates that married Rhodogune to Demetrius. Based on chronology, however, it appears Appian was in error; see Shayegan, 'Demetrius Nicator's Arsacid Captivity', pp. 84-85.

¹⁹¹ Just. *Epit.* 38.9.10. Ogden notes that by marrying a Parthian princess, Demetrius may have been acknowledging Parthian precedence; see Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 148-49.

¹⁹² Just. *Epit.* 38.10.10; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 117; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 150. The battle in which Phraates captured Laodice also saw the death of Antiochus VII. Demetrius II was released to return to Antioch where his wife Cleopatra Thea, apparently jealous of his new Parthian wife, betrayed him; see App. *Syr.* 68; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 151.

said kingdoms.¹⁹³ Marriage-alliances with these hostages would only strengthen the Parthian hold on these pawns.

The Parthians were a newly emerging force in the East during this period, hence a number of marriage-alliances were quickly established between the newer Arsacids and the older kingdoms. As well as the marriage-alliances outlined above that they extracted from the Seleucids, they also formed marriage-alliances with Armenia and Commagene. The marriage-alliances with Armenia will be outlined in greater detail later, but the marriage with Commagene shall be investigated here. Commagene was a relatively minor kingdom that broke away from the Seleucids not long after the Battle of Pydna, under Ptolemaeus.¹⁹⁴ Ptolemaeus' son Samos (c. 130 BC) fought successfully against the Seleucids and was able to procure a daughter of Antiochus VIII, Laodice Thea Philadelphus, as a bride for his son Mithridates.¹⁹⁵ This may have been a case of grudging acceptance of the status of Commagene as an independent kingdom, as per Antiochus III's acceptance of Demetrius and break-away Bactria seen in the previous period. These marriage-alliances would have been used to admit the independence of the new kingdom but also bind it via a marriage to Seleucid fortunes.

A dynastic connection was also established between Commagene and the Parthians in the reign of Antiochus I, son of Mithridates. Around the same time as Crassus's disaster at Carrhae (53 BC), a marriage was arranged between a daughter of Antiochus and Orodes II, the king of Parthia.¹⁹⁶ Sullivan ascribes this marriage to Antiochus, a "friend and ally" of Rome and argues it was designed to ensure good relations with the other great empire that lay on his

¹⁹³ Shayegan, 'Demetrius Nicator's Arsacid Captivity', pp. 83–103 (particularly p. 97).

¹⁹⁴ Diod. 31.19a; M. Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην: Roman Perception of Commagenian Royalty', in *Imaginary Kings*, O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds), München, 2005, pp. 87-88; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 743; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 60, 65.

¹⁹⁵ Several inscriptions dedicated by Mithridates' son Antiochus attest to this marriage (see *IGL Syr* 1, 3 and 5). Sullivan dates this marriage to the reign of his father Samos (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 60). See also Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 153; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', pp. 88-89.

¹⁹⁶ Dio 49.23.4; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 58. An inscription names her as Laodice and confirms her position as wife of Orodes; for the inscription, see J. Wagner, 'Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene. Forschungsgeschichte und neuere Funde', *Istambuler Mitteilungen Tübingen* 33, 1983, p. 208. See also Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 194-95; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 98; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 766. Around the same time, Orodes' son Pacorus was married to a sister of Artavasdes of Armenia, detailed below.

borders.¹⁹⁷ If that was the case, from Antiochus' point of view, then this was an example of a Passive marriage-alliance. From Orodes' viewpoint it became an extremely useful alliance, and one that allowed him access to Rome's Eastern provinces in the counterattack after Carrhae in 51 BC. Although Commagene later returned as a "friend and ally" of Rome, its royal family's links with Parthia may have made the kings suspect, even into the imperial era.

Rome's advance had inadvertently affected the nature of marriage-alliances in the Eastern Mediterranean. The need for Defensive marriage-alliances for those kings enrolled as "friends and allies" of Rome had lessened. It was not in Rome's interest for kingdoms in that region to grow too powerful by absorbing its neighbours.¹⁹⁸ Now ambitious kings had to move more cautiously to avoid arousing Rome's interest. Dynastic excuses were provided as reasons for war, as in the case of Antiochus IV's invasion of Egypt in 170 BC. In 193 BC Antiochus III (the father of Antiochus IV) has arranged a marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Ptolemy V (detailed above).¹⁹⁹ Their son, Ptolemy VI, inherited the kingdom of Egypt in 180 BC aged only about six. Ostensibly Antiochus argued that he was invading Egypt on behalf of his nephew, to protect his interests.²⁰⁰ In reality it was more likely that Antiochus was using the marriage-alliance his father had established as an excuse and sought to, as O. Mørkholm suggests, "establish a hegemony over Egypt."²⁰¹ The list of marriages during this period (Table 2, above) highlights that two names contribute a third of all the known marriage-alliances: Mithridates VI of Pontus and his son-in-law Tigranes II of Armenia. Dynastic unions formed a large part of their foreign policy, both by forging alliances and providing reasons for interfering politically in the affairs of neighbouring kingdoms.

¹⁹⁷ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 765-66; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 194.

¹⁹⁸ Bearing in mind Gruen's correct analysis that Roman foreign policy in the East was "fragmentary, intermittent, and rarely intense – concentrated, short bursts of activity rather than continuous vigilance" (Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 2, p. 723).

¹⁹⁹ Polyb. 18.51.10; Liv. 33.40.3; App. *Syr.* 3; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 65, 85; Grainger, *Roman War of Antiochos*, pp. 107-08; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and Rome*, vol. 2, p. 684; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 82-83; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, p. 623.

²⁰⁰ Liv. 44.19.8, 45.11.1-8; Polyb. 28.23.4; Diod. 31.1; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, p. 68; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 46-47. It was this invasion of Egypt that prompted Rome to send C. Popilius Laenus to mediate and where the envoy gave Antiochus IV his famous blunt demand that the king should decide whether he was a friend or enemy of Rome before stepping outside the circle Popilius drew around him; see Polyb. 29.27.1-7; Liv. 45.12.3-6; Diod. 31.2.1-2; Vell. Pat. 1.10.1; Val. Max. 4.4.3; App. *Syr.* 66; Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F 50; Plin. *HN* 34.24; Just. *Epit.* 34.3.1-4; Plut. *Mor.* 202 F; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 3, pp. 403-04; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, p. 219; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 47.

²⁰¹ Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, pp. 68 (and 83).

The Marriage-alliances of Mithridates VI Eupator

Mithridates VI, King of Pontus (c. 120 – 63 BC), effectively used marriage-alliances to dominate Anatolia during the first half of the first century BC. His marriage-alliance with Armenia may have been formed as an Aggressive Marriage-alliance in mind, it also acted to secure his borders, which enabled him to concentrate his expansion in other directions. Most of Mithridates' marriage-alliances, however, were established to enable him to legitimately interfere in the politics of neighbouring kingdoms. These provided the excuses he could use to allay Rome's suspicions. Even in defeat, Mithridates was also capable of using a Remedial Marriage-alliance to continue to spread his influence. Like many marriage-alliances during the Hellenistic period, many of Mithridates' marriage-alliances served several purposes. While the Senate roused itself time-to-time to check Mithridates' territorial ambitions, it appears to have made no attempt to check the spread of his influence through marriage-alliances.

In a similar fashion to Antiochus IV, Mithridates first attempted to benefit from his father's earlier marriage-alliance to achieve dominance in Cappadocia. Mithridates V of Pontus (c. 150-120 BC) had arranged a marriage between his daughter Laodice and the young Ariarathes VI of Cappadocia around 124 BC.²⁰² When Ariarathes VI died (c. 111 BC), his widow Laodice was left to protect their young sons. As Mithridates VI was Laodice's brother, he assumed the role of concerned relative to secure the reign of his nephew.²⁰³ Unfortunately Nicomedes III of Bithynia had similar designs on Cappadocia and Laodice herself was not interested in her brother's overtures of protection. Nicomedes, like Mithridates, had to move carefully to avoid Rome's suspicions and arranged to marry Laodice and become protector of her sons as their step-father.²⁰⁴ Enraged, Mithridates invaded Cappadocia to drive out Nicomedes and Laodice

²⁰² Just. *Epit.* 38.1.1; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 22.1; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 37-38; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 105; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 194; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 38-39; Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia', p. 71.

²⁰³ Just. *Epit.* 38.1.3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 39; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 203; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 73-74; Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia', p. 71.

²⁰⁴ Just. *Epit.* 38.1.4; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 74; Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia', p. 71; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 105; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 39; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 203.

and reinstated his nephew Ariarathes VII.²⁰⁵ By now Rome was alert and both parties had to provide answers to the Senate – both used their dynastic ties with Cappadocia as excuses.²⁰⁶ As Mithridates had removed two of Ariarathes VI's sons, Nicomedes and Laodice now tried to produce a third, probably a fake.²⁰⁷ Instead Rome eventually, after an abortive attempt to declare the Cappadocians “free”, decided to elevate a Cappadocian nobleman, Ariobarzanes, and appointed him king.²⁰⁸ When Laodice fled to Bithynia, she evidently brought her remaining family with her. No doubt with a view to build a future claim on Cappadocia, Nicomedes IV, son of Nicomedes, married Laodice's daughter, Nysa.²⁰⁹ Bithynia's ambitions on Cappadocia were merely postponed.

Both Bithynia and Pontus used marriage-alliances to establish claims for legitimate interference with Cappadocian affairs – claims they hoped would not arouse the suspicion of the Senate. The Senate did not attempt, at least as far as the surviving evidence suggests, to discourage these marriage-alliances. Both kingdoms were, at the time, friends and allies of the Romans, yet the Senate avoided interfering as long as it could. During a speech to his soldiers in Justin's account, Mithridates again tried to take advantage of an earlier Pontic marriage-alliance to legitimise his designs in Anatolia. During the speech Mithridates claimed that a past marriage-alliance between Mithridates II and Seleucus II gave Greater Phrygia to Pontus

²⁰⁵ Just. *Epit.* 38.1.5; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 74-75; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 105; Sherwin-White, ‘Roman Involvement in Anatolia’, p. 71; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 203; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 39. Young Ariarathes proved to be not as compliant as Mithridates had hoped and he was murdered; see Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 22.1; Just. *Epit.* 38.1.5-10. Ariarathes VII's brother, Ariarathes VIII, succeeded, but only for a short before he was defeated by Mithridates and died (Justin reported “by a disease brought on by grief”); see Just. *Epit.* 38.2.1-2.

²⁰⁶ Mithridates appointed his own son as King of Cappadocia, as Ariarathes IX; see Just. *Epit.* 38.1.10, 38.2.5; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 75; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 39; S. Dmitriev, ‘Cappadocian Dynastic Rearrangements on the Eve of the First Mithridatic War’, *Historia* 55.3, 2006, pp. 288-89; Sherwin-White, ‘Roman Involvement in Anatolia’, p. 71.

²⁰⁷ Just. *Epit.* 38.2.3-4; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 77; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 39; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 106-07; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 204; Sherwin-White, ‘Roman Involvement in Anatolia’, p. 71.

²⁰⁸ Just. *Epit.* 38.2.8, 38.5.9; Strab. 12.2.11; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 77; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 107; Dmitriev, ‘Cappadocian Dynastic Rearrangements’, pp. 289-90; A. N. Sherwin-White, ‘Ariobarzanes, Mithridates, and Sulla’, *CQ* 27.1, 1977, pp. 173-74; Sherwin-White, ‘Roman Involvement in Anatolia’, p. 71; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 40.

²⁰⁹ Gran. Licin. 35.30. See Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 33; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 319-20. Nysa would have been the daughter of Ariarathes VI and sister of Ariarathes VII and VIII.

as a dowry.²¹⁰ Later in the speech Mithridates also emphasised of the fact his lineage gave him legitimate claims to the local area: “on his father’s side to Cyrus and Darius, the founders of the Persian Empire, and on his mother’s side to Alexander the Great and Seleucus Nicator, the founders of the Macedonian Empire.”²¹¹ Mithridates presented himself as the heir of both sets of previous rulers of Anatolia – the Achaemenids and the Macedonians – brought together in marriages that produced him. Rome, by contrast, had no claim on the area, and was an intruder. Historical speeches are dubious sources, and as a historical source Justin has many flaws – but even this fictitious speech illustrates the power of dynastic claims in the view of the sources.

After Mithridates was thwarted in Cappadocia and unwilling to attempt a full blown war with Rome, the king of Pontus turned his ambitions elsewhere. To secure his borders he sought a marriage-alliance with Tigranes II of Armenia – Justin claimed he was “desirous to engage an ally in the war ... against the Romans.”²¹² Around 93 BC he arranged for his daughter Cleopatra to marry the young king of Armenia, and an alliance was formed that favoured each equally. According to Justin, this was an Aggressive Marriage-alliance, forged with the intention of going to war against Rome. The marriage-alliance also served another purpose – now secure in one direction, both kings could expand freely in the other. In these terms it also functioned as the Passive Marriage-alliances formed during the Hellenistic Period. The Kingdoms of Iberia, Colchis and the Bosphorus that Mithridates had conquered northward were not “friends and allies” of the Romans. Tigranes pushed against Media, Parthia and the Seleucids. After the success of these conquests and confident of his alliance with Tigranes, Mithridates finally felt powerful enough to challenge Rome, and embarked on the First, and then Second, Mithridatic Wars over Cappadocia and Asia Minor (88-84 BC and 83-81 BC).

²¹⁰ Just. *Epit.* 38.5.3. For this marriage between Mithridates II and Laodice (sister of Seleucus II) dated to 245 BC, see McGing, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 21-22; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 58. For Mithridates’ speech, see Just. *Epit.* 38.4.1-38.7.9.

²¹¹ Just. *Epit.* 38.7.1; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 94-95. For the ancestry of Pontus, including the claim of descent from Cyrus and Darius, see Bosworth and Wheatley, ‘Origins of the Pontic House’, pp. 155-64. See also Sall. *Hist.* 2.85; Flor. 1.40.1; Tac. *Ann.* 12.18.2; App. *Mithr.* 112; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 187; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 10.

²¹² Just. *Epit.* 38.3.1-2; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 78; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 109; M. J. Olbrycht, ‘Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran’, in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, J. M. Højte (ed.), Århus, 2009, p. 178; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 206; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 42.

To end the Second Mithridatic War (83-81 BC), Sulla ordered Murena to “reconcile Mithridates and Ariobarzanes with each other.”²¹³ According to Appian, at the conference between the kings, Mithridates betrothed his daughter to Ariobarzanes (usually inferred as being Ariobarzanes II, the son of Ariobarzanes).²¹⁴ This was another example of a Remedial marriage-alliance – cementing a peace between two kingdoms after a recent war. It is not certain whether the initiative for this marriage-alliance came from Mithridates, Ariobarzanes or even Murena (or Sulla) representing Rome’s interests. If the latter it would be the first known example of Rome encouraging a marriage-alliance between kings. It is more likely, however, that the initiative came from Mithridates – he would gain the most from a dynastic union with Cappadocia and it certainly would not be in Rome’s interest for Mithridates to have yet another political link to Cappadocia. McGing definitely saw the marriage-alliance as strengthening Mithridates’ position.²¹⁵ Even when checked by Rome, Mithridates was able to gain advantage using a Remedial Marriage-alliance.

Evidence exists that Mithridates also sought to forge dynastic links to the Ptolemies. Two Ptolemaic princes of Egypt and Cyprus seem to have fallen into Mithridates’ hands at some point during the Mithridatic wars. He betrothed a daughter of his to each one, although neither kingdom could be described as a neighbour of Pontus, as remarked by Seibert.²¹⁶ This could be a case of Mithridates’ optimistic view of his future conquests (that is, he would soon be a neighbour of these kingdoms if he could defeat Rome). Or it could be that he was attempting to build bridges to allies further afield. Unfortunately the sources offer no explanation for this

²¹³ App. *Mithr.* 66; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 135; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 245; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 46. L. Licinius Murena was Sulla’s legate during the First Mithridatic War and appointed by Sulla to govern the province of Asia. Murena provoked the Second Mithridatic War by invading Pontus in 83 BC. Mithridates complained to Rome, but Murena continued his raids on Pontus. Only after Murena was soundly defeated by Mithridates did Sulla, as Dictator in Rome, react by ensuring Murena came to terms with Mithridates. See App. *Syr.* 64-66; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 26.1-4; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 243-45; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 149-52.

²¹⁴ App. *Mithr.* 66; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 135; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 46; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 151; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 245; E. Olshausen, ‘Mithridates VI und Rom’, *ANRW* I 1, 1972, pp. 813-14.

²¹⁵ McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 135. Sherwin-White agreed, maintaining Mithridates was soon “exploiting the marriage connection to maintain control over the part of Cappadocia that he had surrendered” (Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 151).

²¹⁶ App. *Mithr.* 111; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 120; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 176. These princes appear to have been the sons of Ptolemy IX who were raised in Cos and captured by Mithridates. After defeating Mithridates, these princes came into Sulla’s control and he appointed one as Ptolemy XII (Auletes) King of Egypt, and the other as Ptolemy, King of Cyprus. See App. *BCiv* 1.101; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 91-92; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 99; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 175-76.

betrothal. It was most probably a case of Mithridates using any opportunity he had to further his interests and influence. Even in defeat Mithridates attempted to use royal marriages to build alliances, right up to the end. After Pompey drove him out of Pontus, Mithridates fled to the Bosphoran Kingdom, which his son Machares was ruling in his stead.²¹⁷ According to Appian, Mithridates promised more of his daughters to Scythian princes in exchange for their help.²¹⁸ It is unknown whether any of these betrothals became marriages before Mithridates' suicide in 63 BC.²¹⁹

Mithridates' frequent use of marriage-alliances echoes the marriage-alliances arranged by Antiochus III, detailed above. Of all these marriages, only the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Tigranes, king of Armenia was effective. In the end even Tigranes could not help his father-in-law. That Tigranes resisted as long as he could, despite the military and political pressure applied by Rome, is a measure of the strength of the marriage-alliance. Tigranes was concerned with the damage to his prestige if he broke this solemn covenant, concerns that highlight the ancient view of the marriage-alliance:

Tigranes refused to hand him [Mithridates] over, saying that he would incur universal censure if he betrayed the father of his wife; therefore, though he knew the worthless character of Mithridates, he would respect their ties of kinship.²²⁰

²¹⁷ App. *Mithr.* 99-102; Dio 36.50.1-3; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 193; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 164. Machares had earlier betrayed his father and made entreaties to the Romans (App. *Mithr.* 83) – learning of his father's advance, Machares committed suicide (App. *Mithr.* 102).

²¹⁸ App. *Mithr.* 108; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 165; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 203. Sherwin-White suggests that this ploy was a failure, and the Scythian chiefs refused to cooperate. Sullivan, however, suggests that these alliances were the basis of Mithridates new army and supplies (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 154).

²¹⁹ Appian stated that the guardians responsible for these princesses handed them over to Pompey; see App. *Mithr.* 108.

²²⁰ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 31.2. Lucullus' demands, made through his envoy Ap. Claudius Pulcher, were also recorded by Plutarch, who repeated Tigranes' negative reply, but did not give the marriage-alliance as the reason for why Tigranes could not give up his father-in-law; see Plut. *Luc.* 21.6-7.

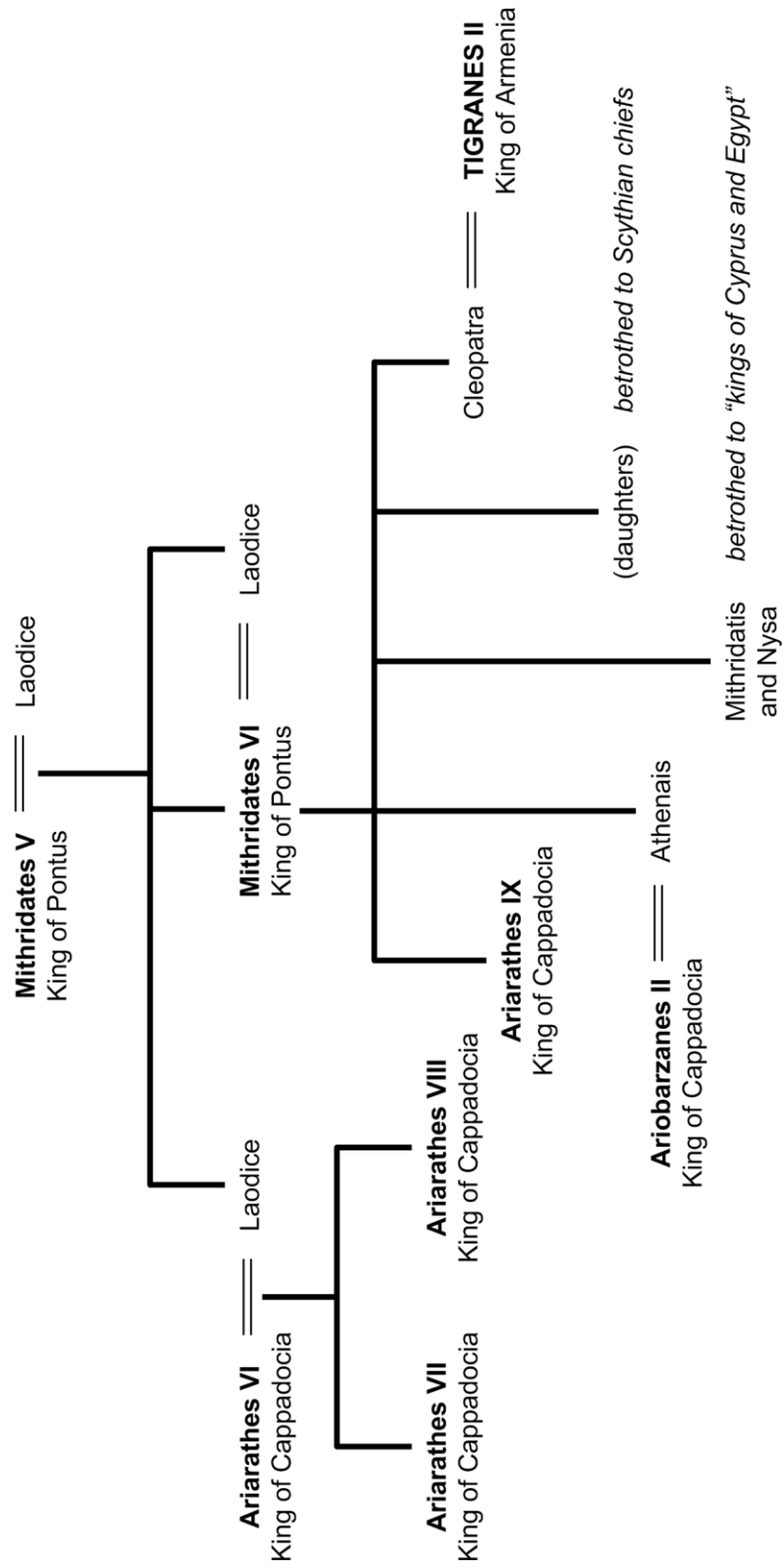


Figure 5. Marriage connections of Mithridates VI of Pontus

Mithridates' polygamous marriages and numerous progeny provided much material for his marriage-alliances.²²¹ He provided wives for the Kings of Cappadocia and Armenia and betrothed others to Ptolemaic and Scythian princes. Seibert notes that because many of these daughters were so young that they could only be betrothed meant Mithridates was mainly denied the firm alliance that he truly only achieved with Tigranes.²²² Mithridates demonstrated that he could use any marriage-alliance to his advantage, emphasising the marriage-alliances made by his forefathers that gave him claims to his neighbouring kingdoms, as Legitimising Marriage-alliances. He used his daughter Cleopatra to establish an Aggressive Marriage-alliance with Tigranes of Armenia, with a view to a future war with Rome, while utilising his other daughter, Athenais, to form a Remedial Marriage-alliance with Cappadocia after the Second Mithridatic War. Even in the end he desperately attempted to form marriage-alliances with the Scythian tribes with the aim of gaining allies for his ongoing struggle against Rome. The only other figure to utilise marriage-alliances to a similar degree was his son-in-law, Tigranes.

The Marriage-alliances of Armenia

Like his father-in-law, Tigranes also attempted to establish many marriage-alliances. His marriage with Cleopatra in 93 BC brought him as much profit as it did Mithridates. With a strong alliance with Pontus behind him, Tigranes need not expect any invasion or quarrel from that quarter and was free to expand South and South West, into Parthia and Syria. By 67 BC Tigranes had arranged a marriage-alliance with neighbouring Media Atropatene. Dio described how, while Lucullus was besieging Mithridates of Pontus in Armenia, "the other Mithridates from Media, the son-in-law of Tigranes, fell suddenly on the Romans."²²³ As an

²²¹ Appian named at least five daughters of Mithridates: Cleopatra and Eupatra (App. *Mithr.* 108), Mithridatis and Nyssa (App. *Mithr.* 111) and Orsabaris (App. *Mithr.* 117). Another daughter, Athenais, is not named by Appian when describing her marriage to Ariobarzanes II (App. *Mithr.* 66) but her name is deduced thanks to an inscription at Athens naming her (OGIS 354-356; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 57). Another daughter, Drypetina, is known from Valerius Maximus on account of her dental issues (Val. Max. 1.8.13). Conversely Pastor notes that Mithridates had several sisters that were unmarried and suggests this was deliberate policy to prevent outsiders laying claim to the Pontic Kingdom; see L. B. Pastor, 'Eupator's Unmarried Sisters: An Approach to the Dynastic Struggle in Pontus after the Death of Mithridates V Euergetes', *Anabasis* 4, 2013, pp. 61-72.

²²² Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 121.

²²³ Dio 36.14.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 309. Sullivan dated this marriage to the period after Tigranes declared himself "King of Kings", if so the marriage occurred somewhere between 69 and 67 BC (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 296).

aside, it is worth highlighting that Mithridates of Pontus here benefitted from this marriage-alliance made by his son-in-law Tigranes, a filter-up effect. Plutarch indicated that this marriage-alliance gave Tigranes access to Median troops: “an army of Armenians and Medes which Tigranes has sent to assist Mithridates.”²²⁴ As a neighbour of Armenia, a marriage-alliance with Media would be the traditional mode of securing the borders, particularly for a king intent on expanding his power and influence. According to Syme, “the connection was perhaps a material factor in Tigranes’ policy of expansion, protecting Armenia on the side where it was vulnerable to a Parthian invasion.”²²⁵

Several marriage-alliances also tied Armenia and Parthia. Before he became king, Tigranes was held as a hostage in the court of Mithridates II of Parthia.²²⁶ In return for seventy valleys, Mithridates agreed to let Tigranes leave for Armenia to claim his throne.²²⁷ Later, Tigranes married his daughter to Mithridates II, where she achieved prominence amongst his senior wives.²²⁸ After Mithridates II died, Tigranes used this connection to claim parts of the Parthian empire and justify his possession of the title “King of Kings” (the title used by Mithridates II of Parthia).²²⁹ In the earlier period errant satraps (such as Ariarathes III of

²²⁴ Plut. *Luc.* 9.4. In the same life he also mentions a king of Media (unnamed) amongst Tigranes’ allies (26.4). Memnon of Heraclea also lists the Medes as being among Mithridates’ allies; see Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 22.4. See also Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 309; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 296; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 208-09.

²²⁵ Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 308.

²²⁶ Strab. 11.14.15; Just. *Epit.* 38.3.1; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 97; Olbrycht, ‘Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran’, p. 165; K. W. Dobbins, ‘Mithradates II and his Successors: a Study of the Parthian Crisis 90-70 BC’, *Antichthon* 8, 1974, p. 69.

²²⁷ Strab. 11.14.15; Olbrycht, ‘Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran’, p. 165; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 97-98; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 32.

²²⁸ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 100, 283; Sullivan, ‘Papyri’, pp. 911-14; Olbrycht, ‘Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran’, p. 169. Her name, according to papyri, was Aryazate; see E. Minns, ‘Parchments of the Parthian Period from Avroman in Kurdistan’, *JHS* 35, 1915, p. 31; E. Dąbrowa, ‘The Parthian Kingship’, in *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity*, G. B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger (eds), Padova, S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria, 2010, p. 126 n. 20. Bigwood, however, does not assign the papyri’s reference to Mithridates II; see J. M. Bigwood, ‘Some Parthian Queens in Greek and Babylonian Documents’, *IA* 43, 2008, p. 244. Since Mithridates died in 91 BC, this marriage must predate that; see G. Assar, ‘Genealogy and Coinage of the Early Parthian Rulers’, *Parthica* 7, 2005, p. 52. Sullivan considered the marriage to be made sometime before 88 BC (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 100). Dobbins suggests that the marriage formed part of an alliance between Mithridates and Tigranes against Mithridates’ brother Gotarzes who held northern Parthia; see Dobbins, ‘Mithradates II and his Successors’, p. 71 n. 26.

²²⁹ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 283; Dobbins, ‘Mithradates II and his Successors’, pp. 77-78. The opportunity arose when Parthia disintegrated into a short civil war after the death of Mithridates II and Tigranes found no organised opposition to his abrogation of this title. Tigranes used the title of “King of Kings” between 83 and 77 BC; see Dobbins, ‘Mithradates II and his Successors’, p. 77. For the state of Parthia after the death of Mithridates II, see E. Dąbrowa, ‘The Arsacids and their State’, in *Altertum und Gegenwart. 125 Jahre Alte*

Cappadocia, Dionysius of Heraclea and Euthydemus of Bactria) who received Rewarding Marriage-alliances with the Seleucids earned the right to the appellation of king. In a similar manner, Tigranes usurped the title of “King of Kings” from the Parthians, with whom he had formed a marriage-alliance.

Another marriage-link between Armenia and Parthia was forged during Tigranes’ reign, albeit to that king’s detriment. Tigranes’ son, Tigranes the Younger, rebelled against his father around 65 BC and fled to the Parthian court.²³⁰ Phraates III, now the Parthian King, supported the youth and married his daughter to him.²³¹ The elder Tigranes’ power at this stage was waning having received setbacks from both Lucullus and Pompey. From the Parthian view this was an Aggressive Marriage-alliance with the aim of retaliating against Armenia. If successful, Phraates III may have hoped to set up an ally as king of a neighbouring kingdom, as they had attempted with the Seleucid king Demetrius II. Tigranes the Younger, however, fell into Pompey’s power and Parthian plans in Armenia came to nothing.²³² Pompey had arranged peace with the elder Tigranes, who became a “friend and ally” of Rome in 66 BC and remained King of Armenia until he died around 55 BC.²³³

After Tigranes’ death, his son Artavasdes II (54-34 BC) continued his father’s policy of fostering marriage-alliances. To develop further a strong relationship with Parthia, Artavasdes married his sister (therefore a daughter of Tigranes II) to Pacorus I, king of Parthia. According

Geschichte in Innsbruck. Vortraege der Ringvorlesung Innsbruck 2010, R. Rollinger et al. (eds), Innsbruck, 2012, p. 30; Dobbins, ‘Mithradates II and his Successors’, pp. 63-79. For the title of “King of Kings” amongst the Parthians, see Dąbrowa, ‘Parthian Kingship’, p. 131.

²³⁰ App. *Mithr.* 104; Plut. *Pomp.* 33.1; Dio 36.51.1; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 285; Syme, *Anatolica*, 88; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 353; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 195; R. Seager, *Pompey the Great*, 2nd edn, Malden, 2002, p. 55.

²³¹ Dio 37.6.4; Plut. *Pomp.* 33.6 (where Pompey described Phraates as Tigranes’ son-in-law); Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 285; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 88; Seager, *Pompey the Great*, p. 55; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 353.

²³² Dio 36.51.3; App. *Mithr.* 104; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 195; Seager, *Pompey the Great*, p. 55. At first Pompey granted Sophene to Tigranes the Younger, but changed his mind and the prince was sent to Rome to be displayed in Pompey’s triumph; see App. *Mithr.* 105, 117; Plut. *Pomp.* 33.5; Dio 36.53.2-6; Seager, *Pompey the Great*, p. 56; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 139. Phraates of Parthia demanded the return of his son-in-law, but Pompey refused; see Plut. *Pomp.* 33.6; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 88. After Pompey’s triumph, Tigranes the Younger was kept at the house of L. Flavius but was stolen away by Clodius in an attempt to embarrass or undermine Pompey by sending him back to Armenia, but was prevented by an attack on the Appian way; Dio 38.30.1-2; Plut. *Pomp.* 48.6; Allen, *Hostages*, pp. 117, 90 n. 73; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 285.

²³³ Dio 36.53.6; App. *Mithr.* 104; Plut. *Pomp.* 33.3-5; Seager, *Pompey the Great*, p. 56; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 193-95; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 282.

to Plutarch, the arrangement of this marriage was forged in the immediate aftermath of Crassus' defeat at Carrhae in 53 BC.²³⁴ This marriage had all the hallmarks of a Passive Marriage-alliance with a neighbouring kingdom, and one that Armenia may have entered reluctantly.²³⁵ An aside in one of Cicero's letters also indicates that, around 50 BC, a daughter of Artavasdes was also betrothed to the son of Deiotarus, king of Galatia.²³⁶ Whether this marriage ever took place is unknown. Such a marriage-alliance, at first glance, seems to be an aberration. Galatia and Armenia lay many miles apart, with Cappadocia in between. But Pompey had granted Armenia Minor to the same Deiotarus to govern and by 51 BC the Senate had ratified the appointment – thus Deiotarus and Artavasdes were now neighbours, and in this context, the proposed marriage-alliance makes sense.²³⁷

²³⁴ Plut. *Crass.* 33.1. Cicero also mentions the marriage, but not the context (*ad Fam.* 15.3.1). See also Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 290; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 286; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 96. Later the same Artavasdes was accused again of betraying Rome and, in particular, Antony; see Strab. 11.14.15.

²³⁵ Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 290. See also Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 286.

²³⁶ Cic. *Att.* 5.21; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 286. Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 142; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 36.

²³⁷ Cic. *Att.* 5.17.3; Caes. *BAlex* 67; Strab. 12.3.1, 12.3.13; Eutrop. 6.14; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 33; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 226, 228; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 164-65; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 374. Syme thought the betrothal was arranged "soon after Deiotarus acquired his new kingdom" (Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 142).

Mithridates worked together on joint ventures (such as the invasion of Cappadocia) but were safe to turn their backs on each other and concentrate on pushing in other directions. Only reluctantly did Tigranes give up this alliance. The marriage-alliances with Media and Parthia also gave him interests in those areas. The marriage-alliances arranged by his son and successor Artavasdes did much to ensure stability between Armenia and its neighbours, whether Parthia or a Roman client kings such as Deiotarus. Armenia had used marriage-alliances first to expand its empire and then, after being defeated by Pompey, king Artavasdes used marriage-alliances to consolidate what had remained of his father's empire.

Republican Generals and the Client Kings

The first century BC saw Roman politics dominated by powerful generals, many of whom had a direct effect on the Eastern kingdoms. Sulla fought Mithridates there (88-84 BC); Pompey completed the task and rearranged the Eastern kingdoms (65-63 BC). Caesar (48-47 BC), and then Antony (42-30 BC), left their own mark on the East. Although these generals had direct influence over the Eastern kingdoms, and could remove and promote kings, grant new territories or reduce them, there is no evidence that any of them displayed any interest in influencing the marriages of their Eastern client kings. While the status of these kings remained formally that of "friends and allies" of Rome, they could be more properly referred to as the client kings of particular generals. In the same manner as the legions in the Late Republic, more and more kings owed their position and loyalty to certain generals and were expected to aid those generals when required. In the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, for example, many client kings provided troops to Pompey.²³⁸ In the civil war between the Triumvirs and Brutus and Cassius, client kings were again asked to take sides.²³⁹ The final

²³⁸ Caesar listed Deiotarus of Galatia, Ariobarzanes (II) of Cappadocia and Sadalas son of Cotys of Thrace as well as men sent by Antiochus of Commagene on Pompey's side (Caes. *BCiv.* 3.4). Dio stated that all the allied kings that had befriended Pompey, with the exception of Pharnaces of the Bosporan Kingdom and Orodes of Parthia sent either money or troops (Dio 41.55.3). Appian gives two lists of all the allied forces amongst Pompey's army during the civil war (App. *BCiv.* 2.49 and 2.71). See Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 299.

²³⁹ App. *BCiv.* 4.136 tells the story of "Rhascus" and "Rhascupolis", Thracian princes and brothers, one of each deliberately fought on different sides at Philippi in hope that the "victor might save the vanquished."

showdown between Octavian and Antony at Actium once again saw many client kings and their troops on one side or the other.²⁴⁰

Sulla's impact on the East was limited by his rushed war with Mithridates – unable to complete it satisfactorily, he had to return to Rome to fight his rivals. As Dictator of Rome (82/81 BC) he was kept busy there with his reforms. Yet of all the generals, Sulla is the only one with some evidence of influence on a Hellenistic marriage-alliance. As noted previously, Sulla ordered Murena to bring an end to the short-lived Second Mithridatic War. At the conference between the two kings concerned, Mithridates VI of Pontus and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, a betrothal between Mithridates' daughter and Ariobarzanes' son was agreed.²⁴¹ Appian, the only remaining source, does not elaborate on the negotiations for this marriage and it cannot be known whether the idea came from Sulla (or even Murena).²⁴² It remains the strongest hint of a possible Roman involvement in a marriage-alliance during this period.

Pompey's impact on the East was far more overt. He directly concerned himself with the removal and appointment of kings and made free with territories, taking them away from some kings and granting them to others. Pompey enrolled Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, as a "friend and ally" of the Romans and granted him the Bosporan Kingdom.²⁴³ After initially supporting some Seleucid puppets, Pompey removed the Seleucids from power altogether and made Syria a Roman province.²⁴⁴ His legate Scaurus received the supplication of Aretas, king

²⁴⁰ Initially Antony was supported by Bocchus of Mauretania, Tarcondimotus of Cilicia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, Polemo of Pontus, Herod of Judaea and Sadalas of Thrace (Plut. *Ant.* 61.1-2). Dio claims Antony became suspicious of the kings on his side, suspecting Iamblichus of Emesa, Amyntas of Galatia (Dio 50.13.7-8). Tarcondimotus of Cilicia died fighting for Antony (Dio 50.14.2).

²⁴¹ App. *Mithr.* 66. The crescent and star symbols that appear frequently on the coins of the Pontic kings (F. de Callataÿ, 'The First Royal Coinages of Pontos (from Mithridates III to Mithridates V)', in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, J. M. Højte (ed.), Aarhus, 2009, pp. 66 and 69 [Mithridates III], 70 [Pharnaces I], 74-75 [Mithridates IV]) and also appeared on the coins of Ariobarzanes III, the son of Ariobarzanes II and Mithridates' daughter – highlighting his Pontic descent (Simonetta, *Coins of the Cappadocian Kings*, p. 44).

²⁴² McGing suggested it was an example of Mithridates' upper hand in the negotiations (McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 135).

²⁴³ App. *Mithr.* 113; Dio 37.14.2; Seager, *Pompey*, p. 60; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 226-27; K. Nawotka, 'The Attitude towards Rome in the Political Propaganda of the Bosporan Monarchs', *Latomus* 48, 1989, 329, pp. 327-28; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 155.

²⁴⁴ App. *Syr.* 49, *Mithr.* 106; Just. *Epit.* 40.2.3-4; Dio 37.7a.1; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 212-13; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 204; Seager, *Pompey*, p. 58.

of Nabataea.²⁴⁵ Arab phylarchs, such as Sampsigeramus in Emesa, were recognised and granted extra territories and Deiotarus was given Armenia Minor in addition to his Galatian realms.²⁴⁶ Amongst all these changes there is no evidence of Pompey being involved in arranging marriages between any client kings. The question of a dynastic marriage, however, did arise during Pompey's watch. Ptolemy XII Auletes was dethroned in 58 BC and his unmarried daughter Berenice was made ruler.²⁴⁷ The Egyptians sought a consort for her and requested Archelaus (the son of Archelaus, a general of Mithridates) who was in the company of Pompey's legate Gabinius.²⁴⁸ Strabo is quite clear that although Archelaus went to Egypt and married Berenice, it was without Gabinius' knowledge.²⁴⁹ Pompey later supported Ptolemy Auletes' bid to regain the throne in 55 BC after Berenice and Archelaus were killed.²⁵⁰ There is also some evidence that Gabinius had previously vetoed the Seleucid Philip II from marrying the aforementioned Berenice.²⁵¹ When the opportunity to become directly involved in the marriage affairs of a client queen, both Pompey and Gabinius actively avoided the responsibility. While Pompey was quite comfortable in installing or deposing client kings, or enlarging or reducing client territory, this example illustrates perfectly the Roman reluctance to interfere in the domestic and internal affairs of client royalty.

²⁴⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 1.159; *AJ* 14.80-81; App. *Mithr.* 106; Just. *Epit.* 40.2.3; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 214-15; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 541. A coin of 58 BC issued by Scaurus, depicted a kneeling king with a camel in the background and the legend REX ARETAS (*RRC* 422/1b). The scene illustrated Scaurus' subjugation of Aretas III of Nabataea in 61 BC, although the coin appears to have misrepresented the situation; see G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, Harvard, 1983, pp. 34-35 and Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 219.

²⁴⁶ For Sampsigeramus, see Seager, *Pompey*, p. 61; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 201-05; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 199-200. For Deiotarus, see Cic. *Att.* 5.17.3; Caes. *BAlex* 67; Strab. 12.3.1, 12.3.13; Eutrop. 6.14; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 226, 228; Seager, *Pompey*, p. 61.

²⁴⁷ Strab. 27.1.11; Dio 39.12.1-13.1; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 265; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 239-40; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 180-81; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 100.

²⁴⁸ Strab. 27.1.11; Dio 39.57.2; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 226. According to Dio, she first married a Seleucus, nicknamed Cybiosactes ("Fish-packer"), who claimed to be descended from the Seleucids – after he proved unsatisfactory (perhaps his claim was discovered to be fabricated), she had him killed (Dio 39.57.1-2). See Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 100-01; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 182-83; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 241-43.

²⁴⁹ Strab. 27.1.11. Dio claimed that Gabinius had full knowledge, but did not interfere (Dio 39.57.2-3). See Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 273; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 242.

²⁵⁰ Strab. 27.1.11; Dio 39.58.3; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 266; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 183; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 243.

²⁵¹ Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F 2.14 (= Eusebius *Chron.* I 261): "He [Philippus] wanted to go to Egypt, because he too had been invited by the inhabitants of Alexandria to rule there, but Gabinius, an officer of Pompeius who was the Roman governor of Syria, stopped him from going." The same section of Porphyry also stated that envoys from Berenice were in negotiations with another Seleucid called Antiochus to be her husband, who died before any agreement. See Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 101; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 182.

Caesar had less time in the East. While in Alexandria in 47 BC he organised the marriage between Ptolemy XIII and his sister Cleopatra VII to reconcile the warring parties.²⁵² How much of the marriage was Caesar's interference is debatable because their father's will bequeathed the throne to both of them and charged Rome with supporting the will.²⁵³ After concluding affairs in Egypt, Caesar marched to Anatolia to deal with Pharnaces.²⁵⁴ While there, he gave part of Armenia Minor to Ariarathes, the brother of Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.²⁵⁵ After Pharnaces was killed, Caesar assigned the Bosphoran Kingdom to Mithridates, supposedly a son of Mithridates VI of Pontus.²⁵⁶ Caesar kept many of Pompey's arrangements in place, and, like Pompey, he did not arrange marriages between his client kings (the only possible exception is mentioned above).

Kings were now beginning to notice the gradual consolidation of power within the Roman government towards individuals. While Pompey had held extraordinary powers, particularly in the East, Caesar's powers were unrivalled. Essentially Rome was no longer a Republic and it was now effectively governed by Caesar, as Dictator. The first impediment to marriage-alliances between external kingdoms and Rome was removed – a king could now deal with another king (although Caesar avoided the title, it was obvious that he held an absolute position in the Roman government). Pharnaces was the first king to attempt to grasp the opportunity. He offered his daughter (possibly Dynamis, later ruler of the Bosphoran Kingdom) to Caesar as a wife.²⁵⁷ The second impediment however, remained – marriages between Roman and non-Roman citizens were not legally recognised. Pharnaces' marriage

²⁵² Caes. *BCiv* 3.107-8, *BAlex* 33; Strab. 17.1.11; Plut. *Caes.* 49.3-4; Dio 42.35.4-6; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 258-59; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 187; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 101.

²⁵³ Caes. *BCiv* 3.108; Dio 42.35.4; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 187. The brother-sister marriage was also normal Ptolemaic practice, although Caesar obviously did not object to the marriage. It was also an intra-dynastic marriage (within the same family and kingdom), and outside the scope of this thesis.

²⁵⁴ Caes. *BAlex* 76; Liv. *Per.* 113.4; App. *BCiv* 2.91; Dio 42.47.1-5; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 300; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 157.

²⁵⁵ Caes. *BAlex* 66; Dio 41.63.3, 42.48.3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 166, 179; Syme, *Anatolia*, p. 132; F. E. Adcock, 'Lesser Armenia and Galatia after Pompey's Settlement of the East', *JRS* 27.1, 1937, p. 17; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1145; H. van Wijlick, 'Attitudes of Eastern Kings and Princes towards Rome in the Age of Civil War, 49–31 BC', in *Amici – Socii – Clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*, E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds), Berlin, Ed. Topoi, 2015, pp. 54-55. Armenia Minor and how it was allocated to various rulers is discussed further in Chapter 5, from p. 348.

²⁵⁶ Caes. *BAlex* 78; Dio 42.48.4; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 300; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 160-61; Syme, *Anatolia*, p. 133; K. Nawotka, 'Asander of the Bosphorus: his Coinage and Chronology', *AJN* 3, 1992, p. 35.

²⁵⁷ App. *BCiv* 2.91; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 98; Braund describes Pharnaces' offer as "standard Hellenistic strategy" (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 178-79).

offer was declined.²⁵⁸ Of course, the impediment could have possibly been overcome by granting Pharnaces citizenship, as Caesar had done just recently to Antipater, the *epimeteles* of Judaea, but there was only disadvantage for Caesar in this marriage and this would be the major reason why Caesar rejected the proposal outright.²⁵⁹

After Caesar's assassination in 44 BC and the defeat of his assassins in 42 BC, Antony was given the Eastern provinces and client kingdoms to govern. As with Pompey, Antony freely created or removed kings and kingdoms, although he preferred to create dynasts from non-royal stock. Amyntas was raised to be king of Galatia, although he was previously the "secretary of Deiotarus", a past king of Galatia.²⁶⁰ Ariarathes X of Cappadocia was executed and replaced by Archelaus, who was descended from a general of Mithridates VI of Pontus.²⁶¹ First Darius, then Polemo was given the kingdom of Pontus – Polemo was the son of Zeno, a prominent citizen of Laodicea who had previously given aid to the Romans in the Parthian invasion after Philippi.²⁶² Herod was made client king of Judaea in 40 BC and Antigonos, the last Hasmonean king, was displaced in 37 BC.²⁶³ Antony was conspicuous in preferring candidates from non-royal stock.²⁶⁴ Antony also formed non-Roman marriages. He put aside his wife Octavia, Octavian's sister, and in 37 BC married Cleopatra, although the marriage

²⁵⁸ App. *BCiv.* 2.91. Braund highlights the expression ὑπᾶνοίᾳς ("foolishly") that Appian ascribed to this offer, because the "prospective bride ... would not have been a Roman citizen" (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 178-79).

²⁵⁹ For citizenship granted to Antipater by Caesar, see Joseph. *AJ* 14.137; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 218; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 98; Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 86-88; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 44. It was also not yet Roman practice to give citizenship to kings (Antipater was a governor), a process that only became procedure during the reign of Augustus, see Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 81-97.

²⁶⁰ Dio 49.32.3; Strab. 12.5.1; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 259; C. Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', *CAH*² 10, 1996, p. 29; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 136; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 171-72; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 38.

²⁶¹ Dio 49.32.4; Strab. 14.5.6 and 12.2.11 (for his origins); Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 260; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 29; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 182-83; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1149-153; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 144; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 63-64.

²⁶² Dio 49.25.4, Strab. 12.8.16; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 259-60; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 28; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 171; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 161-62; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 915-18; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 39; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 60. For Polemo's father Zeno, an orator, see Strab. 14.2.24.

²⁶³ Strab. 16.2.46; Joseph. *AJ* 14.385. *BJ* 1.284; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 223; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 20; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 306; A. K. Marshak, *The Many Faces of Herod the Great*, Grand Rapids, 2015, p. 102; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 25; P. Richardson, *Herod King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*, Minneapolis, 1996, pp. 127-30; E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: from Pompey to Diocletian*, Leiden, 1981, pp. 54-55.

²⁶⁴ Sherwin-White claimed this was due to Antony's desire to rule the East in the most direct manner (Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 259).

was not formally recognised in Rome because of Cleopatra's status.²⁶⁵ His children by Cleopatra may not have been considered Roman citizens legally and he betrothed their son Alexander to Jotape, the daughter of Ariobarzanes, King of Media.²⁶⁶ Other than his personal marriage-alliances, there is no evidence that Antony sought to encourage, suggest or arrange marriages between his other client kings.

Pompey and Caesar respected traditional ruling families of the kingdoms, and generally confirmed kings rather than rearranged them. Antony, however, made radical changes in the East, (which will be fully explored in Chapter 5). It is obvious that, even under absolute rulers (such as Caesar and Antony), the Romans did not seek to arrange or otherwise interfere with the marriage-alliances of the kings that were "friends and allies" and now could be called the client kings of individual Republican generals. It was not from a sense of propriety or respect of the king's prerogatives. These generals had the power and will to demote, even execute, kings that displeased them. It was more likely that these autocrats did not think these marital matters important or beneficial in any way. Only Augustus sought to arrange the marriages of his client kings, and these marriage-alliances and their effects shall be dealt with by the remainder of this thesis.

Conclusions

Both Seibert and Carney cited political reasons as the number one consideration for marriage-alliances in the Hellenistic world.²⁶⁷ The politics of royal marriages, as this chapter demonstrates, were driven by a number of reasons. Analysis of these marriages also demonstrates that their purposes did not generally change between the periods when the Hellenistic kings were independent and when Roman power was dominant in the Eastern

²⁶⁵ Strab. 17.1.11; Suet. *Aug.* 69.1; Eutrop. 7.6; Octavia was not formally divorced until 32 BC; see E. G. Huzar, 'Mark Antony: Marriages vs. Careers', *CJ* 81.2, 1985, pp. 106-07; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 51. See also Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 269. Nothing technically prevented Antony from making Cleopatra a Roman citizen. For an examination of this marriage, and other marriages between Romans and Eastern royalty, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 179 n. 79.

²⁶⁶ Plut. *Ant.* 53.6; Dio 49.44.2; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 97; G. H. Macurdy, 'Iotape', *JRS* 26.1, 1936, p. 40; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 82; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 273; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 48.

²⁶⁷ Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 2; Carney, 'Politics of Polygamy', pp. 169-70.

Mediterranean. Most commonly these marriages were Passive Marriage-alliances, arranged to secure good relations with neighbours, but with no immediate political consideration in mind. These marriages generally ensured that the king was not set upon by those kings that were now part of his extended family. If the king had to defend his kingdom, then he could hope for support from those neighbours he had contracted marriage-alliances with. Although many marriages are known from the sources, the purposes of these marriages have not been divulged in the extant texts. Hence many marriage-alliances are categorised as Passive in lieu of any surviving context.

Many marriage-alliances, however, were active – they had a particular purpose in mind and generally were an alliance for the purposes of war – this chapter has divided them into Aggressive and Defensive Marriage-alliances. Some kings, like the Seleucid Antiochus III, endeavoured to make marriage-alliances with neighbouring kings before embarking on a particular war. When Antiochus III and Rome fought, the Seleucid king could count on allies, such as Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia, who had married his daughter Antiochis. Other marriage-alliances were Defensive – arranged to form pact against the aggression of a common enemy. As demonstrated in this chapter, the sources reveal that Magas of Cyrene formed a marriage-alliance with the Seleucid king Antiochus II because he was fearful of Ptolemy of Egypt.

In other situations, the Hellenistic kings used marriage-alliances for peaceful purposes. When kings needed to end a war between them suddenly and definitely, they used what this thesis has termed a Remedial Marriage-alliance to ensure lasting peace. When Seleucus found himself across the Indus fighting Sandrocottus of India but his presence was required urgently at the other end of his kingdom, he contracted a marriage-alliance with his erstwhile enemy. Often an invader or outsider, when conquering a kingdom, needed to make peace with his new subjects, he often formed a marriage contract with the wife or daughter of the king that he had defeated. Any children of this marriage would also belong to the old ruling family. Alexander the Great recognised the importance of these unions when he orchestrated the mass marriages of his Macedonian generals with the noblewomen of the newly conquered Persian Empire. These were Legitimising Marriage-alliances that endeavoured to engender acceptance for the new dynasty.

Some marriage-alliances were sought for their prestigious elements. Larger and more powerful kingdoms were generally ruled by more prestigious dynasties. These kingdoms could reward smaller allies with marriages to their sons and daughters. Often these marriages came with recognition for the minor dynasty from the more dominant dynasty. Dynasts, tyrants and even rebels that had formed a marriage-alliance with a great house, such as the Seleucids, could now call themselves kings, as Dionysius of Heraclea and Euthydemus of Bactria did. Sometimes, when the king of a great house fell into the power of a minor house, through misfortune, these marriage-alliances could be demanded as the price of freedom. Dromichaetes of Thrace demanded such a marriage-alliance from Lysimachus, as did Mithridates I of Parthia for the Seleucid Demetrius II.

Most royal marriages detailed by the sources fulfil at least one of these categories and some fulfil more than one. Of course these reasons were just the political motivations for marriages between dynasties. Intermarriage between kings was also formed for social and reproductive reasons as well. The primary reason for marriage in general was to produce legitimate children. In royal families the desire for legitimate and royal heirs was the primary motivation for royal marriages. A legitimate marriage between a king, or son of a king, and a commoner did happen but the desire for a suitable match meant these marriages were infrequent.

The overwhelming considerations of all these marriages, however, were the geographical proximity of the involved kingdoms. Almost all the marriage-alliances outlined by Seibert (and further) were between kingdoms that shared a common border or border region. Now this could be said to be common sense – an alliance with a far flung kingdom could provide little assistance when called upon. Usually a shared enemy meant all three territories were neighbours or, in the case of Cyrene and the Seleucids, the common enemy (Egypt) lay between them. For the purposes of communication and supply, kingdoms in the ancient world had to be single geographic units across land. Foreign or enemy territory could not separate cities within the kingdom – only seas. The same restrictions applied to kingdoms in alliance.

In the period after Pydna, marriage-alliances continued for the same political reasons. The advent of Rome on the Eastern Hellenistic kingdoms did not necessarily mean there was any overt interference on their marriage-alliances. By the gradual subsumption of kingdoms (first Macedon, then Pergamum, Cyrene, Bithynia and Pontus) they inadvertently diminished the pool of potential royal grooms and brides. As the second part of this chapter has demonstrated, this had a drastic effect on the number of marriage-alliances arranged during this period, but it was not the only effect the advent of Rome in the East had on dynastic politics. Both periods provide examples of kings that used marriage-alliances extensively for several of the political reasons outlined. Antiochus III managed to build marriage-alliances with Cappadocia, Egypt, Bactria, Armenia and Pontus. In the period after Pydna, Mithridates VI and his son-in-law Tigranes similarly formed and used an extensive network of marriage-alliances.

Roman law and Roman government meant the Hellenistic kings could not interact diplomatically with Rome in the same fashion as they interacted with each other. They could not form marriage-alliances with Rome and so relied on treaties, and were enrolled as “Friends and Allies.” As Rome grew and absorbed kingdoms, not only did the pool of potential marriage-alliances shrink, but so did the need for at least defensive alliances. If you were a “friend and ally” of Rome, the strongest power bloc in the Mediterranean, what was the need to ally yourself to another kingdom for protection. Marriage-alliances in the period after Pydna flourished mainly amongst kingdoms outside Rome’s influence (Armenia and Parthia for instance) or those kings planning to reject their “friend and ally” status (such as Mithridates VI of Pontus).

Gruen once described Rome’s concern for Eastern affairs as “apathetic”, and this could generally also be used to describe Roman concern for Hellenistic marriage-alliances. While Roman conquest had removed some Hellenistic kingdoms from the equation, it was obviously not driven by a desire to reduce the potential marriage-alliances. The Romans understood marriage-alliances, and used them extensively themselves to form coalitions and factions for political alliances within the framework of the Republic. As demonstrated there are a few instances when Roman generals prevented nearby marriage-alliances from occurring. Scipio prevented Massinissa of Numidia from marrying the Carthaginian Sophonisba – according to

Livy he was concerned for the political ramifications for Numidia's alliance with Rome. Gabinius, as governor of the new province of Syria, actively prevented Berenice of Egypt from forming marriage-alliances with the remnants of the Seleucid royal family. Gabinius was charged with restoring Ptolemy Auletes on the throne of Egypt and it was not in his, or Rome's, interests for Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter but rival, to form alliances. Apart from these instances the sources rarely provide examples of Roman interference with the Hellenistic marriage-alliances.

Once Rome became governed by ambitious generals, some Hellenistic kings may have attempted to form traditional marriage-alliances with Rome (such as Pharnaces' offer to Julius Caesar) but their marriage laws kept the Romans isolated from the Eastern Dynastic Network. Although these generals, particularly Pompey and Antony, took great interest in these kingdoms, enrolling new "friends and allies" of Rome, allotting them territories, or even removing them, there is no evidence that they ever sought to interfere in their marriage-alliances, which still continued. The Romans demonstrated awareness, even respect, for Eastern Dynastic Network but never any inclination to expand or encourage its growth through marriage-alliances. When Octavian became master of the East after 31 BC, this began to change. The next chapter will demonstrate how the characteristics of marriage-alliances defined in this period substantially shifted after Actium, and how geographic proximity no longer restricted the marriage-alliances between Roman client kings.

Chapter 2. Marriage-alliances under Augustus

The previous chapter investigated the tradition of marriage-alliances that Augustus inherited after he defeated Antony at Actium in 31 BC. Royal marriages under the Hellenistic kings were almost always alliances, forged between neighbouring kingdoms and this practice continued with little interference from Rome after Pydna in 168 BC. This chapter investigates the change in the relationship between the client king and Rome under Augustus' reign, and how that may have affected the marriage-alliances between these kings. Towards the end of the Republic, kings had developed strong but personal relationships with the Romans that controlled the East, namely Pompey, Caesar and Antony. This personal relationship continued under Augustus, but the emperor went further, according to Suetonius, formalising the education of young princes, appointing guardians to rule kingdoms and even encouraging or suggesting marriages between the royal families. This chapter examines and tests Suetonius' testimony regarding the policies Augustus implemented to manage his client kings with special reference to the policy of encouraging intermarriage. This chapter also identifies which of the known marriages arranged during Augustus reign may have been influenced by the emperor. The analysis of these marriages reveals that one of the important restrictions on Hellenistic marriage-alliances, namely the geographical proximity of the kingdoms involved, was now defunct. Marriage-alliances now connect kingdoms separated by vast distances, and it is these marriages in particular that suggest that a central power, namely the emperor, provided not only the means and opportunity but also the will to create such connections. These marriages in particular suggest that Suetonius was correct in stating that Augustus not only encouraged these marriages but, in some cases, instigated them.

First this chapter explores the relationship Augustus had developed with his client kings and outlines his dealings with them. Augustus' policy towards client kings, if it can be called a policy, evolved over many years and a chronological examination reveals how this policy may have developed. Never before had the relationship between king and Rome been so formalised, as Suetonius claims Augustus had managed his client kings. The introduction and education of princes ensured the future rulers developed a relationship with Roman power from an early stage. The informal courts, carefully held away from Rome, provided the opportunity for client kings to not only petition the emperor, but to also develop connections

to each other. Augustus, like other Romans other than Antony, greatly respected the dynasties that had traditionally ruled these kingdoms, and Suetonius claims that he restored many conquered territories to these dynasties. Once the relationship between the emperor and his client kings is defined and understood, this chapter can investigate the evidence for Augustus' stated policy of intermarriage between the client kings. Suetonius' statement requires close examination along with supporting evidence from other sources, such as Dio.

Secondly this chapter scrutinises the actual marriages made under Augustus' reign, defines the characteristics of these marriages, where they differed from the earlier marriage-alliances and assesses the evidence for Augustus' involvement, to test against the statements provided by Suetonius and Dio. As noted above, marriages that do not conform to the characteristics of Hellenistic marriage-alliances outlined in Chapter 1, particularly the geographic limitations, are prime candidates for "unnatural" marriages and therefore may be signs that the emperor suggested the match. The issue of polygamy amongst client kings for this period will also need to be addressed as the issue of concurrent marriages obscures the analysis for some kings, such as Polemo I of Pontus. Several marriages have tight timeframes if considered sequentially, as they have traditionally been viewed, but concurrent marriages (that is polygamy) neatly avoid the issues regarding chronology. Intra-dynastic marriages (marriages made within the same ruling family) are also investigated to assess how much involvement from Augustus (if any) can be detected.

Augustus and the Client Kings

Before investigating the actual marriages known to have been established during Augustus' reign, his other interactions with client kings require examination and assessment first. Antony left an effective system of client kings functioning more or less smoothly in the East that Augustus inherited. Augustus had almost no experience with the East after he defeated Antony at Actium. He had also little experience with client kings. When the triumvirs divided the empire, Antony had to monitor five large client kingdoms (Cappadocia, Pontus, Galatia, Judaea and Egypt) as well as numerous smaller kingdoms and principalities. In the West, Octavian had experience only dealing with tribal leaders in Spain, Gaul and Germany. Young Juba, the son of Juba I, king of Numidia, was brought up with Octavian in Rome, but at that

stage had no kingdom to rule.¹ Herod had visited Rome to negotiate with Octavian and Antony in 40 BC, when he was awarded the kingdom of Judaea.² This was the total known experience Octavian had with allied potentates.

Suetonius, in two passages, outlined some of the overall ideals that Augustus followed when dealing with his client kings.³ Namely he:

1. Mostly restored kingdoms conquered to their native dynasties;
2. United his kings together with bonds of friendship and intermarriage;
3. Considered their kingdoms integral parts of the empire;
4. Appointed guardians for those too young or incapable;
5. Raised their children and educated them at Rome;
6. Would meet his client kings at Rome and in the provinces, and they would often appear in togas and behave in the manner of clients.

In today's terms, many of these elements taken together would be considered a policy, but it difficult to ascertain how formal this policy was and how it evolved. Clearly many of these points, such as the appointment of guardians and the raising and educating of princes, would be considered paternal, and this is examined in Chapter 4. Suetonius' evidence, however, was once considered untrustworthy as a historical source and has faced much criticism previously regarding his style, bias and rigour.⁴ Suetonius' ultimate source for much of his *Life of Augustus* may have been Augustus' lost memoirs, but Augustus' own words that have

¹ Caesar had incorporated Numidia into the province of Africa, actually a second African province known as Africa Nova, after defeating Juba I in 46 BC; see Caes. *BAfr* 97; Vell. Pat. 2.39.2; App. *BCiv* 2.100, 4.53; Dio 43.9.2-3; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 167-68; S. Raven, *Rome in Africa*, 3rd edn, London, 1993, p. 54; C. R. Whittaker, 'Roman Africa: Augustus to Vespasian', *CAH*² 10, 1996, p. 587. For young Juba II brought up in Rome, see Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 59-65; A. Kamm, *Julius Caesar: A Life*, London, 2006, p. 131.

² Strab. 16.2.46; Joseph. *AJ* 14.381-389. *BJ* 1.282-285; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 223; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 20; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 306; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 101; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 127-29. Marshak demonstrates that Octavian's role in supporting Herod's bid for the Kingship of Judaea is exaggerated as an anachronism (Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 101). Richardson suggests that Octavian's support of Herod was due to obligations inherited from his adopted father Caesar and the Roman patronage system (Richardson, *Herod*, p. 128).

³ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1 and 60.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 167-68, 181; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', pp. 22-23; Braund, 'Client Kings', pp. 76-77.

⁴ A good assessment of previous criticisms of Suetonius (and a defence) can be found in Bradley's introduction of the latest revised edition of Rolfe's translation of Suetonius, who notes a decline in quality in the biographies is noticeable, but most scholars usually place this decline after the 'Life' of Augustus at least; see K. R. Bradley, 'Introduction', in *Suetonius*, vol. 1, J. C. Rolfe (trans.), Cambridge MA, 1998, pp. 13-26. See also T. Power, 'Suetonius' Tacitus', *JRS* 104, 2014, pp. 205-25.

survived, through the *Res Gestae*, barely mention client kings. The policy of intermarriage is integral to this thesis and is examined further later in this chapter, but, for now, this chapter first tests Suetonius' assertions about the other aspects of client kingship in Augustus' reign by briefly iterating through the evidence.

Restoring Kingdoms to Native Dynasties

In the passage, Suetonius declares Augustus....

...Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, praeter pauca, aut iisdem quibus ademerat reddidit aut alienigenis contribuit.⁵

Sometimes the “those from whom he had taken” the territories (*quibus ademerat reddidit*) has been translated in a broader sense – not as the individual king, but the native dynasty that ruled the territory.⁶ In this capacity, Augustus' appointments appear to corroborate this translation of Suetonius' assertion, but the emperor's initial forays in appointing client kings also betrays a lack of confidence in this area. Apart from individual instances, two occasions comprised most of the granting of kingdoms in Augustus' reign: immediately after Actium, and then during a visit to Syria later in 20 BC.

Antony had heralded a new domination of client kings during his time in the East. Pompey had demonstrated that powerful Republican generals with proconsular imperium could install or remove kings and enlarge or reduce their territories. Pompey was careful to use (or reuse) native dynasts, however, in his organisation of the East.⁷ Antony felt more secure, installing kings, particularly for the large client kingdoms, that did not hail from the native ruling

⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1. “Except in a few instance he restored the kingdoms of which he gained possession by the right of conquest to those from whom he had taken them or joined them with other foreign nations” (trans. J. C. Rolfe).

⁶ See Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 167; R. Graves (trans.), *Suetonius: the Twelve Caesars*, London, 1957, p. 82.

⁷ For a treatment of Pompey's actions in the East, see Seager, *Pompey the Great*, pp. 59-62; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 226-34. For a brief examination of the kings appointed by Pompey in the East, see Chapter 1 above. Pompey's preference for rulers from native dynasties probably reflects a general Roman preference for legitimate rulers, as articulated by Josephus (Joseph. *AJ* 14.386).

dynasties.⁸ In Galatia, after the death of Deiotarus, he placed Amyntas, Deiotarus' secretary, as king.⁹ Antony also installed Polemo, son of a prominent citizen of Laodicea, as king in Pontus.¹⁰ Herod, who was only related to the previous ruling dynasty of the Hasmoneans by marriage, had already been created king of Judaea.¹¹ In Cappadocia, Antony has Ariarathes X executed and appointed Archelaus, the grandson of a Mithridatic general, as King.¹² Only in Egypt was Cleopatra, descendant of the Ptolemies, left in power.

Client kings were now reduced to a new kind of dependence on Rome. Previously, under the Republic, they aspired to be allies and to be recognised by Rome as kings of their ancestral territories. Under Pompey and Caesar, they could be deposed or rewarded on the general's whims. Under Antony, they could be executed.¹³ Now they did not even have hereditary right or ancestral tradition to legitimise their rule over their kingdoms. Their power they owed entirely to Antony. During Antony's recent Parthian expedition he became suspicious of the loyalty of established client kings. Armenia under Artavasdes was thought to be treacherous

⁸ Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 259; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 24. Antony also had a hesitant start in developing this policy. His first appointment to the kingdom of Pontus in 39 BC followed the dynastic principle by appointing Darius, a son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates VI; see App. *BCiv* 5.75; S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, Oxford, 1993, p. 38. Patterson linked these appointments to preparations for his Parthian War (L. E. Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', *TAPA* 145.1, 2015, p. 82).

⁹ Dio 49.32.3; Strab. 12.5.1; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 259; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 29; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 171-72; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 39; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 136; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63.

¹⁰ Dio 49.25.4, Strab. 12.8.16, 14.2.24; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 259-60; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 28; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 63-64; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 161-62; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 915-18; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 39; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 171.

¹¹ Strab. 16.2.46; Joseph. *AJ* 14.381-389. *BJ* 1.282-285; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 223; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 20; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 306; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 25; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 101; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 127-29; Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 54-55.

¹² Dio 49.32.4; Strab. 14.5.6 and 12.2.11 (for his origins); Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 260; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 29; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 182-83; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1149-153; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 144-50; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', pp. 24-25. The "Sisines" mentioned by Appian and Strabo (Strab. 12.2.5; App. *BCiv* 5.7) is generally thought to have been the original name or another name of Archelaus, but may have been a different person altogether, probably his brother; see Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 182; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 148-50.

¹³ The sources explicitly state that Antony was the first to have a king (Antigonus of Judaea) executed in 36 BC: Joseph. *AJ* 15.9 (quoting Strabo); Plut. *Ant.* 36.2; Dio 49.22.6; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 55. Further on Antigonus' execution, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.357; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 28. Antony also, on the eve of Actium, had Iamblichus of Emesa killed on suspicion of treachery, see Dio 50.13.7. While not executed, per se, Cassius did have Ariobarzanes III of Cappadocia killed in 42 BC; see Dio 47.33.1-4; App. *BCiv* 4.63; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1146; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 180.

and in league with Parthia.¹⁴ Commagene had recently acquiesced during the Parthian invasion of 40 BC and had formed an earlier marriage-alliance with Parthia.¹⁵ Antony too would have been conscious of the treachery that Crassus apparently faced at Carrhae in 53 BC.¹⁶ Since these new client kings owed their position to Antony, and not dynastic inheritance, he obviously assumed that they would be more loyal to Rome and to him personally. In the end, although some client kings fought on his side, others changed their allegiance to Octavian on the eve of the Battle of Actium (31 BC).¹⁷

This was the state of the East that Octavian inherited after 31 BC. After arriving in Alexandria in 30 BC, according to Dio, Octavian found the children of some client kings held at Antony's court as hostages.¹⁸ Some of these, such as Jotape, daughter of the Artavasdes of Media, he returned to their parents.¹⁹ Octavian inaugurated other changes almost immediately. Egypt was reduced to a personal province.²⁰ Bowersock demonstrates that some minor client princes

¹⁴ Cic. *Fam.* 15.3.1; Strab. 11.13.4, 11.14.15; Plut. *Ant.* 39.1, 50.2. Whether Artavasdes was truly treacherous to the Roman cause is difficult to ascertain (he is depicted as a traitor by most of the sources), see H. Prantl, 'Artavasdes II - Freund oder Feind der Römer?' in *Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. - 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)*, A. Coşkun (ed.), Frankfurt, 2008, pp. 91-108 and also Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 286-89.

¹⁵ For Commagenian compliance during the Parthian invasion, see Dio 49.22.1; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 196; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 52-53. For the marriage-alliance between Orodes and Antiochus, see Dio 49.23.4; Wagner, 'Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene', p. 208; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 194-95; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 765-66 and Chapter 1, p. 78 above.

¹⁶ Some literary sources suggested that Crassus was betrayed by Abgarus, the king of Osroene apparently friendly to Rome (Plut. *Crass.* 20.1-22.6; Flor. 1.46.6-7; Dio 40.20.1-4; Festus *Brev.* 17.1). Artavasdes of Armenia appears to have also been blamed for failing to aid Crassus; see Plut. *Crass.* 22.2-3 For the disaster at Carrhae, see Cic. *Div.* 2.22; Ov. *Fast.* 5.583-586, 6.465-468; Vell. Pat. 2.46.4; Val. Max. 1.6.11; Plin. *HN* 6.47; Plut. *Luc.* 36.5-7, *Pomp.* 55.1, *Crass.* 23.1-27.8; Flor. 1.46.8-10; App. *BCiv.* 2.18; Dio 40.21.1-25.5, 49.21.2; Just. *Epit.* 42.4.4; Festus *Brev.* 17.2; Eutrop. 6.18.1, 7.5.1; Oros. 6.13.3; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 279-90; S. P. Mattern-Parkes, 'The Defeat of Crassus and the Just War', *CW* 96.4, 2003, pp. 387-96.

¹⁷ Antonian client kings that changed sides either before the battle or during were: Rhoemetalces of Thrace (inferred from Plut. *Mor.* 207A, *Rom.* 17.3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 151), Deiotarus of Paphlagonia (Plut. *Ant.* 63.3; Dio 50.13.5) and Amyntas of Galatia (Vell. Pat. 2.84.2; Plut. *Ant.* 63.3). See also Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 37; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 443; C. B. R. Pelling, *Plutarch: Life of Antony*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 274-75.

¹⁸ Dio 51.16.1; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 82-83; Macurdy, 'Iotape', pp. 40-41; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 138-39.

¹⁹ Dio 51.16.2; Macurdy, 'Iotape', pp. 40-41; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 311; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 298; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 138.

²⁰ *CIL* VI 701-702 (=ILS 91); *RG* 27.1; Strab. 17.1.12; Vell. Pat. 2.39.2; Tac. *Hist.* 1.11; Dio 51.17.1; Fest. *Brev.* 13.3; Eutrop. 7.7.1; *Epit.* 1.4.6; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 229; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 71-72; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 140-41; A. K. Bowman, 'Egypt', *CAH*² 10, pp. 676-79.

were also removed.²¹ Ituraea, that Antony had previously granted to Cleopatra, was given to Zenodorus, who was probably related to the family of the native dynasts.²² Significantly, however, the rulers of the larger client kingdoms, although they had supported Antony at Actium, remained in place. The minor princes that Octavian removed were possibly a display of power, but Octavian either felt conscious of his inexperience in the East or confident of the competence of Antony's arrangements so left the major client kings in place. According to Josephus it was Herod's loyalty to Antony that impressed Octavian and allowed the king to retain Judaea.²³ Josephus' accounts create the impression that it was Herod's speech that earned him his continued position in Judaea, but Augustus was similarly lenient to other Antonian client kings, even those like Archelaus of Cappadocia and Polemo of Pontus who remained loyal to Antony right until the end.

The next major arrangement of the affairs of client kings by Octavian (now Augustus), however, was in the West – the granting of Mauretania to Juba II. After Caesar's defeat of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica (cos. 52 BC) at Thapsus in 46 BC, Juba I of Numidia (a Pompeian ally) committed suicide.²⁴ Caesar then converted the client kingdom into a province, attaching it to Africa and the young Juba II was brought to Rome and displayed in Caesar's African triumph.²⁵ It was generally believed that Augustus temporarily granted

²¹ Namely Strato, the tyrant of Amisus, Adiatorix at Heraclea, Nicias at Cos, the sons of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia, Alexander at Emesa, Boëthus at Tarsus, Lycomedes at Pontic Comana and Aba at Olba; see Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 44-49.

²² Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East*, Los Angeles, 2003, p. 93; N. L. Wright, 'Ituraean Coinage in Context', *NC* 173, 2013, p. 67. Ituraea was taken away from Lysanias and granted to Cleopatra (Joseph. *AJ* 15.91-92; Plut. *Ant.* 36.2, 54.4; Dio 49.32.5) by Antony. Zenodorus, the son of Lysanias, leased the territory back from Cleopatra, but on her death was granted it by Augustus (Wright, 'Ituraean Coinage', p. 66; Butcher, *Roman Syria*, p. 38; W. Schottroff, 'Die Ituräer', *ZPalV* 98, 1982, pp. 142-43).

²³ Joseph. *BJ* 1.386-393, *AJ* 15.187-196; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 139-41; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 171-73; Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus', pp. 13-14. Nevertheless Herod had already taken the precaution of executing the last remaining Hasmonaean with a claim to Judaea, see Joseph. *AJ* 15.164; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 169; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p.140. Josephus also noted that Octavian had not yet finally defeated Antony and inferred that he acted cautiously to prevent Herod providing assistance to Antony (Joseph. *BJ* 1.386).

²⁴ Caes. *BAfr* 94; App. *BCiv* 2.100; Dio 43.8.3; W. C. McDermott, 'M. Petreius and Juba', *Latomus* 28, 1969, pp. 858-62; Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 53; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 37.

²⁵ Caes. *BAfr* 97.1; Vell. Pat. 2.29.3; App. *BCiv* 2.100; Plut. *Caes.* 55.3; Dio 43.9.4; Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 54; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 37-38; Whittaker, 'Roman Africa', p. 587.

Numidia back to Juba II to rule in 26 BC, but later moved him to rule Mauretania in 25 BC.²⁶ Dio reported that after the Cantabrian rebellion (25 BC):

“To Juba he [Augustus] gave portions of Gaetulia in return for the prince’s hereditary domain, the most of whose inhabitants had been enrolled in the Roman state, and also the possessions of Bocchus and Bogud [Mauretania].”²⁷

Dio was explicit that Numidia was exchanged for Mauretania, but he also may have meant that Mauretania was given to Juba in *lieu* of his ancestral domains that had been taken from him by Julius Caesar. There is no concrete evidence amongst inscriptions or coins that Juba was ever king of Numidia.²⁸ Augustus’ grant of Mauretania to Juba does not appear to be an example of the emperor returning conquered provinces to their native dynasty. Juba was descended from the kings of Numidia and the fate of the dynasty of Mauretanian kings after the death of Bocchus (33 BC) is unknown.²⁹ One case of intermarriage is known between the Numidian and Mauretanian kings (although there doubtlessly others), it may be that Augustus (or Suetonius) viewed the Numidian and Mauretanian ruling families as close enough that this assertion was justified.³⁰

The Eastern arrangements had to be permanently settled at some time. It was not until 20 BC, however, that Augustus held court at Antioch to reorganise Eastern matters, in what Sullivan calls “major realignments.”³¹ Some client princes, such as Zenodorus of Chalcis, appear to

²⁶ Strab. 17.3.7; Dio 53.26.2. This view briefly outlined by Whittaker (Whittaker, ‘Roman Africa’, p. 600).

²⁷ Dio 53.26.2. For commentary on this passage, see Rich, *The Augustan Settlement*, p. 161; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 103.

²⁸ Modern scholars now believe that Juba was created king of Mauretania without ever becoming king of Numidia first, see Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 103-05; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 168; Whittaker, ‘Roman Africa’, p. 592; Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 55.

²⁹ Dio 49.43.7; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 81; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 95. Mackie refers to the state of Mauretania during this time as an “interregnum” and that Augustus may have been planning to convert Mauretania into a full province, but instead changed his mind and reverted its status to kingdom under Juba; see N. K. Mackie, ‘Augustan Colonies in Mauretania’, *Historia* 32.3, 1983, pp. 336-37.

³⁰ Between Jugurtha and Bocchus I; see Sall. *Jug.* 80; Plut. *Mar.* 10, *Sull.* 3; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 48-49, 105. There may well have been other cases of intermarriage, particularly as the two neighbouring kingdoms were isolated from other Hellenised kingdoms.

³¹ Dio 54.9.1; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 781; Kennedy, ‘Syria’, pp. 728-29. How much was decided or broadcast while he was in Antioch is unknown, but Augustus did spend some three years away from Rome, mainly in Samos, dealing with Eastern matters; see J. A. Crook, ‘Political History, 30 BC to AD 14’, *CAH*² 10, pp. 89-90. Velleius Paterculus merely reported Augustus “was absent from the city engaged in regulating the affairs of Asia and of the orient, and in bringing to the countries of the world by his personal presence the blessings of Augustan peace” (Vell. Pat. 2.92.1-2).

have mismanaged their territories.³² In other kingdoms, such as Armenia Minor and Commagene, their rulers had died and the emperor had yet to decide on the succession.³³ Some of the princes that he hastily had installed over Antonian placements had to be removed and, in some instance, Antonian princes that had been deposed were reinstated.³⁴ Some client kings were rewarded with extra territories.³⁵ It appears that Augustus had left the East neglected for too long and his excursion to Antioch was an attempt to resolve long-standing issues.

Most of the redistributions of territories in 20 BC corroborate Suetonius' description. In Armenia, Augustus himself provides some insight, with some exaggeration, of restoring the kingdom. Augustus claimed in his *Res Gestae* that he had the opportunity to convert the kingdom into a province, but restored it to its kings, and first specified the commission of Tiberius to restore Armenia to Tigranes.³⁶ Nevertheless, Suetonius' ultimate source may have been Augustus' memoirs and the *Res Gestae*. Granting Commagene to Mithridates III could constitute returning a kingdom to its native dynasty, but there is no sense (nor indeed any surviving evidence) of how long the kingdom had remained in limbo since the death of its previous king, Mithridates II.³⁷ Although no dateable evidence has survived, Sullivan thought

³² Joseph. *AJ* 15.344-353, *BJ* 1.398-400; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 55-56; Wright, 'Ituraean Coinage', pp. 68-69; F. E. Peters, 'The Nabateans in the Hawran', *JAOS* 97.3, 1977, p. 26. The Zenodorus in Strabo that lead a "band of robbers" around Damascus may be the same man (Strab. 16.2.20). Chalcis is often referred to as Ituraea in some sources.

³³ Dio 54.9.2-3. Artavasdes ("the Mede" in Dio 54.9.2) had died, see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1155.

³⁴ Augustus had to reinstate the family of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia (Dio 54.9.2), Iamblichus in Emesa (Dio 54.9.2), and the descendants of Aba in Olba (Strab. 14.5.10; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 162-63). See also Kennedy, 'Syria', pp. 728-29; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 154; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 46-49.

³⁵ Archelaus of Cappadocia was given Armenia Minor (Dio 54.9.2; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1155). Herod was given the territory of Zenodorus (Joseph. *BJ* 1.399, *AJ* 15.360; Dio 54.9.3; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 238-39; Kennedy, 'Syria', p. 729; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 142).

³⁶ *RG* 27.2; Vell. Pat. 2.94.4; Strab. 17.1.54; Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Suet. *Tib.* 9.1; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Dio 54.9.4-5; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 159; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 325; M.-L. Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome et l'Iran', *ANRW* II 9.1, 1976, pp. 74-75; Crook, 'Political History', p. 90; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-32; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72; Gruen, 'Imperial Policy of Augustus', p. 386; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 13-14. Augustus' claim that he could have converted Armenia into a province, however, is seen as an exaggeration – according to Gruen, Augustus desired to leave an impression of aggression and that he cultivated the image of a conqueror while staying within the limits of the empire, see Gruen, 'Imperial Policy of Augustus', pp. 388-98, 410.

³⁷ Mithridates II, as the brother of Antiochus, is only obliquely referred to in the sources and in inscriptions that have survived on his coinage and in his tomb, see Plut. *Ant.* 61.1-2; Dio 54.9.3 and Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 775-80 (including coinage).

the previous king had died not long before 20 BC.³⁸ Other grants during this year, according to Dio, were Emesa to Iamblichus and Cilicia to Tarcondimotus.³⁹ Both territories had been removed from their native dynasties by Augustus after Actium and both were now restored to their rightful rulers. The other distributions of this year fall into Suetonius' alternate category, of kingdoms amalgamated with other foreign kingdoms. Herod received the neighbouring territory of Zenodorus (Chalcis), who had failed to prevent bandit uprisings.⁴⁰ Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, received nearby Armenia Minor.⁴¹

In 16 BC, a crisis of succession in the Bosphoran Kingdom drew the attention of both Agrippa and Augustus. The old king, Asander, who was married to Dynamis, the great-granddaughter of Mithridates Eupator, died and his throne was usurped by a certain Scribonius, who married the old king's widow.⁴² In 14 BC Agrippa, who was presumably still in the East, threatened to intervene and Herod of Judaea came personally with troops to Sinope to aid the planned campaign against the Bosphoran Kingdom.⁴³ Presumably other client kings, particularly those nearby in Pontus and Cappadocia, also lent support. Fortunately the threat of intervention was enough and Scribonius' subjects revolted and killed him.⁴⁴ Agrippa, with either Augustus'

³⁸ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 780. Sullivan is probably correct as it would not suit Rome's interests to leave a client kingdom on the border with Parthia leaderless for too long.

³⁹ Dio 54.9.2; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 47. For Cilicia, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 475 (although he relates that Tarcondimotus was the only Antonian client to be removed, *contra* Bowersock). For Emesa, see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 211. Bowersock noted several other returns to Antonian dynasts during this realignment (Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 46-48).

⁴⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 1.398-400, *AJ* 15.360; Dio 54.9.3; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 55-56; B. Isaac, 'Bandits in Judaea and Arabia', *HSCP* 88, 1984, p. 178; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 86-87; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 238-39; Kennedy, 'Syria', p. 729; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 142; Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus', p. 22. According to Josephus, Augustus had made an earlier grant of some of Zenodorus' land to Herod in 24 BC, but Zenodorus had already sold some of this land (Auranitis) to the Gadarenes for 50 talents – which created a feeling of unrest and no doubt did not endear Zenodorus to Augustus (Joseph. *BJ* 1.398-399, *AJ* 15.351-353; Wright, 'Ituraean Coinage', p. 68).

⁴¹ Strab. 12.3.29; Dio 54.9.2; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1155; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 475-76; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51, n. 4; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 311; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 27.

⁴² Lucian. *Maecr.* 17; Dio 54.24.4; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 918; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 165 (although Primo mistakenly labels Dynamis as the "niece" of Mithridates); Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 477; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', pp. 98-99. For Dynamis, see *PIR*² D 211.

⁴³ Joseph. *AJ* 16.15-21; Dio 54.24.5; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 336. While with Agrippa (Josephus reported at Ionia), Herod supported a Jewish delegation (Joseph. *AJ* 16.27-60; E. S. Gruen, 'Herod, Rome and the Diaspora', D. M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds), *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st-23rd June 2005*, 2009, p. 21).

⁴⁴ Dio 54.24.5. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 478; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 30; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 99; *PIR*² S 256; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 180, n. 35.

direction or his sanction, installed Polemo, who was already king of Pontus, as king of the Bosphorus.⁴⁵ He was married to Dynamis, the old queen, to bolster his claim.⁴⁶ This was another example of Suetonius' assertion that Augustus amalgamated territories with other kingdoms as Polemo was now king of both Bosphorus and Pontus.⁴⁷

In 4 BC Augustus sent Gaius on a mission to the East to resolve issues with Armenia and Parthia. In Armenia, the last remaining king of the Artaxiad dynasty, Tigranes, had died.⁴⁸ Although Dio recorded that it was Gaius who installed Ariobarzanes, previously king of Media, as king of Armenia, he also detailed that the king was given the kingdom by "Augustus and the Senate."⁴⁹ Gaius was too young and too inexperienced to resolve matters of foreign policy without direction. Although the *Res Gestae* does not claim that Ariobarzanes was a member of the native ruling dynasty of Armenia, it does claim that the subsequent king, appointed shortly after, *erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus*.⁵⁰ It worth noting that the Median kings, Ariobarzanes' family, also had earlier marriage ties to the Artaxiads of Armenia, so, as with Juba of Numidia previously, Suetonius and Augustus may have perceived them as being connected to the local ruling family and therefore close enough to be considered as belonging to the native dynasty.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Dio 54.24.5; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 918-19; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 165; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Gruen 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 336; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 478; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 99.

⁴⁶ Dio 54.24.6; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 165-66, Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 918-19; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 336; Gruen 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 478; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 99.

⁴⁷ His continued fighting against rebellious Bosphorans (Strab. 11.2.3 and 11.2.18) demonstrates he was not just Dynamis' consort and that he intended to rule as king.

⁴⁸ Dio 55.10a.5; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 326; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 77-78; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 162.

⁴⁹ Dio 55.10a.7. The *Res Gestae* also claimed it was Augustus who granted Armenia to Ariobarzanes, although he does ascribe the subjugation of Armenia to Gaius (RG 27.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 232; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72). Although Tacitus claims this Median king was accepted by Armenians it appears that the Armenians revolted and either before, because of, or after the revolt, Ariobarzanes was replaced with his son Artavasdes (Tac. *Ann.* 2.4). See also Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 162; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 81; Syme, *Anatolia*, p. 313.

⁵⁰ RG 27.2: "a scion from the royal Armenian house" (trans. P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore); Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72. Tigranes was, in fact, a grandson of Herod the Great, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.139; *PIR*² T 206; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 258-63; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 83; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 233-34.

⁵¹ Strab. 11.13.1. Also Mithridates of Media is known to be the son-in-law of Tigranes II of Armenia (Dio 36.14.2; Syme, *Anatolica: Studies in Strabo*, p. 309; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 296). Dynastic connections and legitimacy is explored further in Chapter 5.

Overall, Suetonius' description of Augustus' actions in parcelling out kingdoms and territories appears to be correct. A majority of kings that he appointed to rule territory did belong to the local ruling families, although for some this would have to be interpreted in a broad sense. Other territories were, at times, adjoined to neighbouring kingdoms, such as the Bosphoran Kingdom to Pontus, or Armenia Minor to Cappadocia. At times, these policies were followed on the sudden death of a king or revolt. At other times, Augustus appears to have made two major realignments to the East. The first, after Actium, by and large, left Antonian appointees in place. The second, in 20 BC, stamped a more solid Augustan policy over these kingdoms.

Client Kingdoms as Integral Parts of the Empire

Suetonius stated that Augustus treated these kingdoms as, literally, the "limbs and parts of the empire" (*membra partisque imperii*).⁵² Suetonius made the distinction, whether deliberately or not, that Augustus considered or treated them as integral, not that they were actually integral. This is often interpreted to mean that the client kingdoms, at least during Augustus' reign, were members or elements of the empire. Strabo, to some degree supported this idea: "... kings too and dynasts and decarchies are and have always been in the emperor's part of the empire."⁵³ Suetonius used the two following points, the appointment of guardians for incapable kings and the raising of their children in Rome, as evidence of Augustus' ideas that these kingdoms were part of the empire.

⁵² Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, p. 355; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 167; Facella, 'Membra Partesque Imperii', pp. 58-59; C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: a Social and Economic Study*, Baltimore, 1994, p. 17; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, pp. 24-26; Millar, 'Emperors, Kings and Subjects', p. 231.

⁵³ Strab. 17.3.25; Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 51; Lintott, *Imperium Romanum*, p. 36; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 25; J. Bennett, 'The Origins and Early History of the Pontic-Cappadocian Frontier: In Memoriam Charles Manser Daniels (10 August 1932-1 September 1996)', *AS* 56, 2006, p. 85; Millar, 'Emperors, Kings and Subjects', pp. 230-31; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, p. 24. Tacitus also lists some client kingdoms in a survey of the empire under Tiberius as being part of the empire (*Tac. Ann.* 4.5).

Appointment of Guardians for Client Kings

Suetonius stated that Augustus was in the habit of appointing guardians for kingdoms where the ruler was too young or too sick to rule capably. Again this policy reveals Augustus was fairly conservative regarding the rulers of kingdoms. Such cases ordinarily might have warranted the deposition of the king in favour of a more experienced or capable candidate. Instead, Augustus preferred to keep the rightful king, but to employ others to rule in his stead until the king matured or recovered. Unfortunately there are few documented cases of this policy – in fact one of each of Suetonius’ types: a guardian for Archelaus of Cappadocia because of the state of his mind, and a guardian for Cotys of Thrace because of his youth.

The case of Archelaus demonstrates that Augustus did indeed appoint guardians for those kings whose “minds were affected” (*mente lapsis*).⁵⁴ Dio explicitly reported that Augustus appointed a guardian for Archelaus at one point, because he was mentally ill.⁵⁵ When this occurred is difficult to place. Dio reported the incident when describing how Archelaus had been brought to Rome during Tiberius’ reign (AD 17) to answer charges, although he explicitly stated that the event took place during Augustus’ reign. This is the only reported occurrence of Augustus’ appointing a guardian for an insane king, but, although Suetonius hinted that more than one king required guardians in these circumstances, it may have been only Archelaus that required this treatment.

Another case of guardianship is known and is an example of Augustus appointing guardians for young rulers. Until about 11 BC most of Thrace was ruled by two different dynasties: the Sapaeans and the Astaeans.⁵⁶ These two dynasties were linked by intermarriage: Cotys V of the Odrysian house was married to the sister of Rhoemetaces of the Sapaean house.⁵⁷ Dio

⁵⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, p. 355; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 147.

⁵⁵ Dio 57.17.5; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1159; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 147; F. E. Romer, ‘A Case of Client-Kingship’, *AJPh* 106.1, 1985, pp. 79-80; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 152; R. Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia*, Philadelphia, 2002, p. 33 (although Van Dam ascribes the appointment of a guardian for Archelaus to Tiberius, not Augustus. Dio, however, is explicit).

⁵⁶ Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 189; Y. Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*, Oxford, 1976, p. 50.

⁵⁷ Cotys V: *PIR*² C 1553; Rhoemetaces: *PIR*² R 67. The marriage deduced by Dio’s description of Rhoemetaces as the uncle of Cotys’ children (Dio 54.20.3, 54.34.5), see Sullivan, ‘Thrace in the Eastern Dynastic Network’,

remarked that, in 16 BC, that Rhoemetalces was the guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of the sons of Cotys.⁵⁸ As Cotys and Rhoemetalces ruled two different (albeit related) kingdoms, only Augustus would have the power to appoint one king as guardian for the sons of the other. When Cotys died is not known, but Rhoemetalces was obviously still guardian in 16 BC. In 11 BC the Bessi, another Thracian tribe, rose up in revolt and killed Rhescuporis, the son of Cotys V, and drove Rhoemetalces out of the Thrace.⁵⁹ When the Bessi were quelled, Rhoemetalces became sole king of Thrace.⁶⁰ The fate of the other son or sons of Cotys V is unknown, but it seems likely that they were killed during the Bessi uprising as well and the Astaeon royal house became extinct.

Further examples of guardianship can be speculated. Mithridates III, when appointed by Augustus to rule Commagene in 20 BC, was still a boy, according to Dio.⁶¹ If Suetonius is correct and Dio's description of the king's age is accurate, Mithridates would have been an ideal candidate for Augustus to have appointed a guardian to rule Commagene in the young king's name.⁶² Regardless Dio's separate description of guardians appointed for young Rhescuporis and the sick Archelaus confirm Suetonius' account of Augustus' preference for guardians when rulers proved to be incapable of providing strong leadership.

pp. 193-94; Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*, p. 50. Saprykin argued that Rhoemetalces may have been, however, Cotys' brother and therefore uncle of his children (S. Y. Saprykin, 'Pifodorida-tzaritza Frakii', *VDI* 2, 1984, pp. 141-53).

⁵⁸ Dio 54.20.3; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 193, 198; M. Tačeva, 'The Last Thracian Independent Dynasty of the Rhascuporids', in *Studia in Honorem Georgii Mihailov*, A. Fol (ed.), Sofia, 1995, p. 459.

⁵⁹ Dio 54.34.5. For Rhescuporis, see *PIR*² R 59; M. Manov, 'Who Was Rhascuporis, Killed in 11 BC?', in *Thrace and the Aegean: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Thracology*, Sofia-Yambol, 2000, vol. 2, pp. 627-31. For the Bessi, see D. Graniger, 'Ethnicity and Ethne', in *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, J. Valeva, E. Nankov and D. Graniger (eds), Chichester, 2015, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁰ Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 199; Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*, p. 54; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', p. 460. The coins of Rhoemetalces I, although undated, are generally thought to be issued after the Bessi were quelled and he was king of all Thrace; see *RPC* I 1704-1720.

⁶¹ Dio 54.9.3; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 780; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 58; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 97-98.

⁶² Although no source can verify this, Sullivan, for example, takes for granted that there would have been a regent due to Mithridates' young age (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 780).

Raising the Children of Kings

Kings had sent sons to Rome for education for many years before Augustus' reign.⁶³ After defeating Juba I at Thapsus, Julius Caesar brought his young son Juba II to Rome, possibly to be educated and brought up with, or close to, Octavian.⁶⁴ Roller considered Juba's time in Rome to be either spent in Caesar's household or, more likely, the household of his niece Octavia (Octavian's sister).⁶⁵ Octavian would have then been intimately aware of the practice of educating young princes at Rome. When he became Augustus, according to Suetonius, he improved this practise, and "he brought up the children of many of them [kings] and educated them with his own."⁶⁶ Braund highlights the education of young princes in Rome, but notes only under Augustus "did the phenomenon become anything like a custom."⁶⁷ Thanks to Josephus, several Judaeian princes that were sent to Rome are known.

Josephus reported that, around 24 BC, Herod sent his three sons by Mariamne "to Rome, to present themselves to Caesar."⁶⁸ They were lodged at the house of Pollio and at the Palace.⁶⁹ Herod visited his sons Alexander and Aristobulus in Rome around 17 BC and returned to

⁶³ The son of Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia, the future Ariarathes V, had been sent to Rome (Liv. 42.19; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 9; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, pp. 105-06; Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia', p. 63). Nicomedes, son of Prusias II of Bithynia, accompanied his father to Rome in 167 BC (Liv. 45.44; Just. *Epit.* 34.4.1-5; App. *Mithr.* 4; Diod. 32.21.1; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 9-10). Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV of Syria, was kept in Rome as a hostage (Just. *Epit.* 34.3.6-9; Polyb. 31.11.1-12.13). See Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 9-17; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 174. Some of these princes were, like Demetrius, hostages; see Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, pp. 1-22.

⁶⁴ Plut. *Caes.* 55; App. *BCiv.* 2.101; Aelian. *Nat. Anim.* 7.23; Dio 51.15.6; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 59-75; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 16-17; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 137-38.

⁶⁵ Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 61-64, based partly on the fact that Octavia was known for raising children beyond her own (Plut. *Ant.* 87).

⁶⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Carter provides Agrippa, the grandson of Herod, Juba son of Juba and Tigranes son of Artavasdes II of Armenia as examples (Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 167). See also Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, pp. 355-56; O. Hekster, 'Trophy Kings and Roman Power: A Roman Perspective on Client Kingdoms', in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁷ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 15.342 (trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren). In the *War*, Josephus specifically described that these sons "were educated at Rome" (Joseph. *BJ* 1.435 and 1.446). See also Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 175; Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus', p. 22; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 228, 239; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 26. For dating and arguments, see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 369-70.

⁶⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 15.343. The identity of this Pollio may be Asinius Pollio, Vedius Pollio, or a Jewish Pollio in Rome; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 17, n. 9; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 175; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 214, n. 27; D. Braund, 'Four Notes of the Herods', *CQ* 33, 1983, pp. 240-41; L. H. Feldman, 'Asinius Pollio and Herod's Sons', *CQ* 35, 1985, pp. 240-43; M. Goodman, 'Judaea', *CAH*² 10, 1996, p. 742; R. Syme, 'Who was Vedius Pollio?', *JRS* 51, 1961, p. 30.

Judaea with them.⁷⁰ The third son (unnamed) had died whilst in Rome.⁷¹ While the education of these princes at Rome gave Augustus an opportunity to educate and to acquaint himself with future rulers, it also gave the princes an opportunity to form a connection with the emperor for their future benefit. According to Josephus, around the same time or shortly after the boys were sent to Rome, Augustus gave Herod leave to appoint his own heir.⁷² Herod had an elder son, Antipater, born of a common wife, Doris, who was not (yet) sent to Rome for education.⁷³ Initially, according to Josephus, Herod preferred his sons by Mariamne, because of their royal blood and the fact that they were born after he had become king (whereas Antipater had been born earlier).⁷⁴ Augustus, having grown to know Alexander and Aristobulus, obviously agreed and this dispensation from the emperor would legitimately neutralise claims from rival sons. The relationship they had built with Augustus also meant the emperor was keen to preserve them when, some years later, Herod attempted to have them tried for conspiring to overthrow him.⁷⁵

Herod later sent further sons to Rome – seven in all were sent to the emperor.⁷⁶ In 13 BC he gave Antipater, his eldest son, to Agrippa's care to take to Rome so "he might become the

⁷⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 16.6; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 215; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 239.

⁷¹ On the death of the youngest son, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.435; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 214. Richardson suggests that part of Herod's journey to Rome would have been to bring the remains of his son back to Judaea (Richardson, *Herod*, p. 239).

⁷² Joseph. *AJ* 15.343. Also stated (or restated) at different sequences: 16.92, 16.129, *BJ* 1.454, 1.458; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 139-40; S. Rocca, *Herod's Judaea: A Mediterranean State in the Classic World*, Tübingen, 2008, p. 57; Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus', pp. 22-23. Braund suggests that the first grant (*AJ* 15.343) may have been anachronistic (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 160, n. 54). Richardson suggests that the first grant was for a single heir, but the second grant may have allowed Herod to carve up his kingdom amongst his sons as he saw fit (Richardson, *Herod*, p. 258, n. 69). Despite this promise to Herod, in the end Augustus decided on Herod's will; see Joseph. *AJ* 17.317-320, *BJ* 2.93-95; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742.

⁷³ Joseph. *BJ* 1.433, 1.562, *AJ* 14.300, 16.80, 17.19; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 208-09; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 313; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 276.

⁷⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 1.435; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742. After being estranged from Alexander and Aristobulus, Herod raised his eldest son, Antipater, as his heir and, even after becoming reconciled, still placed Antipater first; see Joseph. *AJ* 16.133; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 160, n. 55; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 276-77. In the *War*, however, Josephus implied that the three sons were equal heirs; see Joseph. *BJ* 1.458; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 160, n. 55.

⁷⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 16.121-125, *BJ* 1.454; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 258.

⁷⁶ Braund says eight (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 10-11), but included Herod the younger, although the text of Josephus states that only his brother (Philip) was brought up at Rome (Joseph. *AJ* 17.21). Other scholars also repeat that eight sons were sent to Rome, see Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 174-77; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 26; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 231-32. In all, Herod sent his three sons by Mariamne (Alexander, Aristobulus and a nameless son that died there, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.435, 1.445, *AJ* 15.342), Antipater (Joseph. *BJ* 1.573, *AJ* 16.86), Archelaus and Antipas (Joseph. *BJ* 1.602, *AJ* 17.20, 17.80) but, of Herod the younger and Philip (his sons by Cleopatra), only Philip (Joseph. *AJ* 17.21). Allen correctly

friend of Caesar” – Joseph insinuated that this marked Antipater now as Herod’s heir, and that Alexander and Aristobulus were disinherited.⁷⁷ According to Josephus, Archelaus and Philip were already in Rome, being educated, in 5 BC when Antipater was recalled and executed.⁷⁸ Antipas was also sent to Rome but he and Archelaus were apparently not housed in the palace with Caesar, instead “brought up in Rome with a certain Jew.”⁷⁹ A fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus reported that Herod left his sons at Rhodes on his way to Pontus in 14 BC, and that they were to be taken to Italy by Nicolaus.⁸⁰

No evidence survives to indicate whether other kings also sent their sons to Rome for education, but it is likely that they did. Roller suggests young Ptolemy may have been sent to Rome for education during the reign of his father Juba II.⁸¹ Cotys, the son of Rhoemetalces, may have also been educated in Rome – his sons certainly were in the reign of Tiberius.⁸² Mithridates III, the boy whom Augustus elevated to be king of Commagene in 20 BC, may have also been educated in Rome in the years beforehand.⁸³ The evidence from Josephus alone, however, testifies that Suetonius’ description of Augustus as educating the children of these kings with his own is correct.

identifies that only Philip went, but passes over Herod and Mariamne’s third son, and totals six sons of Herod that were sent to Rome (Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking*, pp. 142-43).

⁷⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 16.86 (trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren). In the *War*, Josephus specifically stated that Antipater was carrying with him to Rome, for Augustus, Herod’s latest will which named Antipater as sole heir (*BJ* 1.573; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 277).

⁷⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 17.79-80; *BJ* 1.602; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 10-11; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 308.

⁷⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 17.20 (trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren); Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 308; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 229.

⁸⁰ Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrH* 90, F134. Kokkinos argues that these sons of Herod were Archelaus, Philip and Antipas and they were sent to Rome together in that year (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 236-37).

⁸¹ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 253. Jacobson also thought it likely that Ptolemy as well as Archelaus II, the Archelaus, were educated in Rome (Jacobson, ‘Three Roman Client Kings’, p. 26). Braund suggests that it is highly likely that other kings sent other sons to the emperor – they just did not have their own historians to record the event (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 11).

⁸² An inscription (*IGRR* IV145) attested that they were raised with Gaius; see Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Thrace’, pp. 207-08; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 172; S. Dmitriev, ‘Claudius’ Grant of Cilicia to Polemo’, *CQ* 53.1, 2003, p. 287; Ricci, ‘Principes et Ereges Externi’, p. 563.

⁸³ His unnamed father had been murdered by the previous king, Mithridates II (Dio 54.9.3; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 780). A sojourn in Rome could explain how Mithridates III survived. Kokkinos argues that the sons of Alexander of Judaea, Aristobulus and Tigranes, were also educated in Rome because of the danger at Herod’s court (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 247).

Audiences with Kings

Suetonius further alleged that the kings would meet with Augustus, either at Rome or in the provinces. Such meetings would be considered natural. Suetonius further alleged that, on meeting Augustus, these kings often dressed and behaved in the manner of clients addressing their patron.⁸⁴ So far, Augustus' policies regarding his client kings could be considered paternalistic or even patronising: he appointed guardians for them, he arranged marriages between them, he considered their kingdoms integral to the empire, and he raised and educated their children. Importantly, though not mentioned by Suetonius, he also appears to have made them citizens.⁸⁵ There appears to have been two types of meetings between the emperor and the kings (whether in Rome and in the provinces): individual meetings with Augustus to plead a case or defend themselves, or mass meetings, where Augustus met with many client kings at once, in what could be termed conclaves or even a court.⁸⁶

The individual consultations with Augustus were undoubtedly numerous. Josephus alone described several meetings between Herod and Augustus. Herod came to Rome in 17 BC to collect his sons and to meet with Augustus.⁸⁷ In 12 BC Herod desired to charge Alexander and Aristobulus before Augustus and sailed with them to Rome. He first met Augustus in Aquileia, and then later charged his sons before the emperor at Rome.⁸⁸ Josephus alluded to a

⁸⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 60.1; Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 77; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 181; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, p. 400. See also Eutropius, who also alleges that kings came from their kingdoms, dressed in togas, to see Augustus (*Eutrop.* 7.10).

⁸⁵ This can be deduced from the extant *tria nomina* of the kings and their descendants. Dynasties with the *gens* Julius may have been granted citizenship by Julius Caesar (such as Antipater, see Joseph. *AJ* 14.137, *BJ* 1.194) or Augustus; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 39-46; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 26. Raggi considers the majority of client dynasties to have received citizenship from Augustus in 20 BC (Raggi, 'The First Roman Citizens', pp. 90-97).

⁸⁶ Gruen describes the kings with Agrippa mentioned by Josephus as part of his *consilium* (Joseph. *AJ* 16.30; Gruen, 'Herod, Rome and the Diaspora', p. 21). "Durbar" is also used as a term by some modern historians, particularly British historians, which harkens to the British imperial system of meeting with native rulers in India (For example, see A. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor*, London, 1997, pp. 69 and 225; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 66; B. Levick, *Claudius*, London, 1990, p. 142).

⁸⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 16.6; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 214-15; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 239; Rocca, *Herod's Judaea*, p. 80; P. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World: The Jews of Palestine from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, London, 1995, p. 96; M. Sicker, *Between Rome and Jerusalem: 300 Years of Roman-Judaeon Relations*, Westport, 2001, p. 94.

⁸⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 16.90-91; *BJ* 1.452; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 278; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 23. Examining the chronology, Kokkinos suggested that Augustus was at Aquileia returning home after a tour of the western provinces that year (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 371). Kokkinos also argued that was possible that

third visit to Rome by Herod, after Archelaus of Cappadocia reconciled Herod again with his sons. Josephus did not elaborate as to details of the visit, although it can be dated to 10 BC.⁸⁹ After Herod died (5/4 BC), his surviving sons also made the journey to Rome to petition the emperor regarding Herod's will and the rule of Judaea.⁹⁰ Augustus eventually decided to distribute Herod's kingdom between his three surviving sons.⁹¹ Later, in AD 6, Archelaus was again accused before the emperor and had to visit Rome. This time the emperor banished Archelaus to Vienne and confiscated his property.⁹² None of these visits described by Josephus could be described as purely social calls. While renewing and strengthening the relationship with the emperor was important – most of these documented visits was for the purposes of discussing state business. Most of the business appears to have been answering or pressing charges at Rome for the emperor to judge. It may well have been to the king's advantage in these cases to dress or behave as if they were a client beseeching a patron, particularly as they were in Rome. Suetonius deliberately mentioned times when Augustus met with the kings while in the provinces. Two occasions present themselves as strong candidates to support this statement: Augustus' conclave immediately after Actium in 31 BC, and Augustus' court at Antioch during his eastern settlement in 20 BC.

The events after Actium are confused. Dio foreshadowed much during his narrative of this time and it is unclear which kings made terms with Augustus immediately after the battle of Actium or a year later, when Augustus returned from Actium to winter at Samos.⁹³ Plutarch preserved an anecdote of Augustus' opinion of Rhoemetalces, the king of Thrace who

Herod arrived at Rome first and then proceeded to Aquileia being "eager, as always, to be among the first to welcome the emperor" (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 372).

⁸⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 16.271; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 23. If Kokkinos is correct that Aretas IV began his reign in 11/10 BC (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 375), then Herod may have been visiting Rome to meet the emperor regarding the Nabataean rule (Joseph. *AJ* 16.294-295), which Augustus had been considering granting to Herod (Joseph. *AJ* 16.353).

⁹⁰ Josephus stated that Archelaus (*AJ* 17.222; *BJ* 2.14-19), then Antipas (*AJ* 17.224; *BJ* 2.20), left Judaea for Rome. See also Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 226. Herod Archelaus met with the emperor and had to defend charges laid against him by other members of Herod's family and, later, by the Jews in general, see Joseph. *AJ* 17.228, 17.301-314; *BJ* 2.23-38, 2.80-92; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 226.

⁹¹ Joseph. *AJ* 17.317-320; *BJ* 2.93-96. This appears to have been a ratification of Herod's last will, although Archelaus did not formally receive the title of king, which Herod obviously desired; see Joseph. *AJ* 17.188-189; *BJ* 1.664; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 141; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 309; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742.

⁹² Strab. 16.2.46; Joseph. *AJ* 17.341-344, *BJ* 2.111; Dio 55.27.6; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 744; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 173.

⁹³ Dio 51.1.5, 51.18.1. For Augustus at Samos, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 440-45.

changed allegiance from Antony before the battle. According to Plutarch, Augustus remarked “I like treachery, but I cannot say anything good of traitors” to another king while Rhoemetalces became intoxicated.⁹⁴ The time or place is not described, but it probably occurred not long after Actium, and possibly at Samos, when other kings made their terms with Augustus, but the anecdote hints at a meeting of kings with Augustus. The dispensation of kingdoms mentioned by Dio immediately after the victory at Actium probably took place the next year (30 BC), while Augustus was again wintering at Samos. According to Josephus, Herod, who was not present at Actium, sailed to meet Augustus at Rhodes and negotiated to remain as King of Judaea.⁹⁵ Personally securing the loyalty of the eastern client kings would make sense before approaching Antony in Alexandria for a final confrontation, but his redistributions and removals (discussed above), were probably made after, again at Samos.

At Antioch in 20 BC, Augustus carried out an important reorganisation of the Eastern provinces and kingdoms.⁹⁶ Kingdoms were once again distributed or reallocated, and several kings attended him. Zenodorus and Herod are known to have been in Antioch at the same time.⁹⁷ Archelaus, being nearby, probably also attended.⁹⁸ Other kings that were nearby and who benefitted from Augustus’ allocations, such as Iamblichus of Emesa and Mithridates III of Commagene, must have also been in attendance. Dio later recorded that Augustus returned to winter at Samos, and there received embassies (although only the Indian embassy is detailed).⁹⁹ Although no source explicitly recorded any meeting of kings, the sense of a court or gathering at Antioch is present.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Plut. *Mor.* 207A, *Rom.* 17.3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 151; Saprykin, ‘Thrace and the Bosphorus’, p. 170.

⁹⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 15.187-195; *BJ* 1.387-393. For Herod’s meeting with Augustus at Rhodes, see Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 165-68. Marshak dates the coins of Herod that depict a diadem to his early years, when, according to Josephus, at Rhodes he presented Augustus with his diadem and the emperor returned it to him, symbolising the return of Judaea to Herod’s rule by Augustus’ grant.

⁹⁶ For Augustus at Antioch, see Dio 54.9.2-3; Vell. Pat. 2.92.1-2; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 781; Kennedy, ‘Syria’, pp. 728-29; Crook, ‘Political History’, pp. 89-90.

⁹⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 15.354-359. Zenodorus died there in Antioch, in suspicious circumstances, see Joseph. *AJ* 15.359; Wright, ‘Ituraean Coinage’, p. 69; Schottroff, ‘Die Ituräer’, p. 143.

⁹⁸ According to Josephus, Archelaus assisted Tiberius in his expedition to Armenia later the same year (Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Dio 54.9.4).

⁹⁹ Dio 54.9.7-10; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 90.

¹⁰⁰ Agrippa, as Augustus’ representative, also appears to have met with kings. When Herod came to meet Agrippa in 14 BC to assist in the projected “invasion” of the Bosphorus, he supported a delegation of Jews who met with Agrippa and “such of the kings and rulers as were there” – Gruen labels this Agrippa’s *consilium* (Joseph. *AJ* 16.30; Gruen, ‘Herod, Rome and the Diaspora’, p. 21).

It is no coincidence that Augustus appears to have met with his kings in a personal capacity when in Rome, and hosted royal courts in the provinces. Augustus, unlike his great grandson Gaius, knew that excessive royal association and company did not present the Republican image he was keen to promote. Not only would this court or conclave of kings provide opportunity for the kings to meet personally or in groups with the emperor, but they would also provide the opportunity for the kings to meet with each other – fostering the friendship that Suetonius claimed Augustus was keen to encourage. The families of kings may have also been in attendance at these occasions – royal children may have had a chance to meet those that their father’s or the emperor had betrothed. Betrothals themselves may well have been mooted at these conclaves and agreement or encouragement from the emperor sought.

Augustus: conciliator et fautor

The evidence for Augustus’ involvement in encouraging marriage-alliances between his client kings is scant. Suetonius, however, is explicit:

Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor ...¹⁰¹

Suetonius’ passage is most important, as far as this thesis is concerned. In this passage, Augustus is either a supporter (*fautor*) or promoter (*conciliator*) of mutual ties between the kings.¹⁰² These mutual ties are actively promoted or suggested by the emperor, or, if suggested by others (presumably the kings themselves), then he is a keen supporter. As far as Suetonius reported, Augustus is absolutely not a passive player – these are not alliances made that he has allowed or permitted. Nor is Augustus dictating or commanding the marriages – he is planning them with assistance and agreement from the kings. The alliances or relationships themselves (*necessitudinibus*), Suetonius has described as belonging to two types: alliances of friendship (*amicitiae*) and alliances of marriage (*affinitatis*). *Affinitatis* (or *affinitas*), of

¹⁰¹ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1: “He [Augustus] also united the kings with whom he was in alliance by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships amongst them” (trans. J. C. Rolfe). See Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 167-68; Wardle, *Suetonius Life of Augustus*, pp. 354-55.

¹⁰² The term *conciliator* was used by Cornelius Nepos to describe Antony’s role in bringing together Agrippa and Atticus’ daughter (Nep. *Att.* 12.2).

course, can also mean an alliance or connection in general. The two types go together – this is not an either/or situation – a marriage-alliance means friendship, at least the Roman definition of friendship. Suetonius has already defined one type of alliance as being by friendship (*amicitiae*), therefore *affinitatis* must be used to define an alliance by marriage.

The primary definition of *affinitas* in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is a “relationship by marriage or a particular instance of it, a marriage connexion, affinity; ... the relationship between husband and wife ... relations by marriage ...”¹⁰³ Of course Suetonius could have employed a more direct word for marriage (such as *coniugo* or *marito*), but Augustus was not directly marrying the kings to each other – he was building a marriage connection or linking them by intermarriage – usually by marrying their children together.¹⁰⁴ Two other words used in the passage also have connections to marriage: *iunxit* and *necessitudinibus*.¹⁰⁵ The term *affinitas* has been translated as intermarriage or marriage connection in all major English translations of Suetonius’ *Life of Augustus*.¹⁰⁶ *Affinitas*, or its derivatives, was also used in several other passages in Suetonius’ works.¹⁰⁷ In the *Life of Julius Caesar*, Suetonius described the marriage-alliance between Caesar and Pompey as a “new alliance” (*novam adfinitatem*).¹⁰⁸ In the *Life of Tiberius*, Sejanus is described as hoping for marriage into the imperial family (*affinitatis*).¹⁰⁹ Suetonius uses the term to describe Nero’s destruction of all who were connected to the emperor’s family (*aut affinitate aliqua sibi aut propinquitate coniunctos*).¹¹⁰ In all these passages, Suetonius consistently uses *affinitas* to mean a connection by intermarriage.

¹⁰³ *OLD*, v. 1, 79.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Suetonius does use *marito* to describe Augustus’ marriage laws (Suet. *Aug.* 34.1).

¹⁰⁵ *OLD*, v. 1, p. 980, second definition of *iugo*: “to join in marriage, marry, couple.” *OLD*, v. 2, p. 1165, second definition of *necessitudo*: “A person bound by close ties, relative or other connexion.”

¹⁰⁶ J. Gavorse translated the passage as “propose or favour intermarriages or friendships among them” (J. Gavorse, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, New York, 1931, p. 84). Rolfe’s translation is identical for this passage (trans. J. C. Rolfe). R. Graves translated as “[he] followed a policy of linking together his royal allies by mutual ties of friendship or intermarriage, which he was never slow to propose” (R. Graves, *The Twelve Caesars*, Harmondsworth, 1957, p. 78). See also Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁷ See A. A. Howard and C. N. Jackson, *Index Verborum C. Suetoni Tranquilli*, Hildesheim, 1963, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Suet. *Caes.* 21.1. The marriage-alliance referred to is, of course, the marriage between Caesar’s daughter Julia and Pompey, which helped cement the First Triumvirate.

¹⁰⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 65.1; H. Lindsay, *Suetonius: Tiberius*, London, 1995, pp. 173-74.

¹¹⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 35.4; K. R. Bradley, *Suetonius’ Life of Nero: an Historical Commentary*, Bruxelles, 1978, pp. 213-14.

The only other passage from a literary source that suggests Augustus arranged marriages between his client kings comes from Cassius Dio, who, to some degree, supports Suetonius' statement:

τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ἢ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων παῖδες οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὀμηρεῖα οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ὕβρει τρεφόμενοι εὐρέθησαν, τοὺς μὲν οἴκαδε αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλήλοις συνώκισεν, ἑτέρους τε κατέσχευ.¹¹¹

Suetonius suggested that this was part of an ongoing policy of Augustus; whereas Dio alluded that it was a one-off solution to the hostages found at Alexandria after the battle of Actium – Dio does not record any other marriages arranged by Augustus elsewhere in his history, although he did recount that marriage between Dynamis of the Bosporan Kingdom and Polemo of Pontus in 14 BC required Augustus' sanction.¹¹² This raises an important point and suggests that the client kings were no longer able to fashion their own marriage-alliances at their own whims. Previously, as Chapter 1 demonstrates, the Senate paid little attention to these marriage-alliances and anti-Roman alliances, such as those between Mithridates and Tigranes, had engineered long wars with Roman involvement. Marriage-alliances between client kings in the Roman sphere, such as Commagene, had been allowed to be forged with Parthia, Rome's traditional rival. These marriage-ties often made the Commagenian kings suspect to Roman eyes. Dio is clear that such state marriages were now monitored by Augustus, even if he did suggest that Augustus encouraged them.

There is no further evidence for this Augustan marriage policy. Coins and inscriptions might celebrate particular marriages but do not point to an overarching imperial policy. Although the *Res Gestae* mentions various client kings installed by Augustus, it makes no mention of any royal marriages that he arranged. Other literary sources also make no mention: Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Josephus or Appian are silent. Regardless, this policy is more or less

¹¹¹ Dio 51.16.1-2: "And since there were found at the court many children of princes and kings who were being kept there, some as hostages and others out of a spirit of arrogance, he sent some back to their homes, joined others in marriage with one another and retained still others" (trans. E. Cary). See Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking*, p. 61; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 138-39.

¹¹² Dio 54.24.6; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 166.

accepted by modern sources. Jones labels Augustus as a “great matchmaker.”¹¹³ Bowersock, whose work concentrated on Augustus’s relationship with the Greek kingdoms, describes it a “considered policy” and a “studied policy.”¹¹⁴ None of the marriages that Suetonius and Cassius Dio alluded to, however, have been identified or analysed.

The Marriages

There are a number of known marriages between client dynasties that can be dated to Augustus’ reign (31 BC to AD 14).

	“Groom” and native dynasty	“Bride” and native dynasty	Probable Date
1.	Juba II MAURETANIA	Cleopatra Selene EGYPT	25 or 20 BC
2.	Mithridates III COMMAGENE	Jotape ATROPATENE	c. 20 BC
3.	Alexander JUDAEA	Glaphyra CAPPADOCIA	18/7 BC
4.	Polemo I PONTUS	Dynamis PONTUS	14 BC
5.	Antipas JUDAEA	Phasaelis NABATAEA	7/6 BC
6.	Archelaus I CAPPADOCIA	Pythodoris PONTUS	After 8 BC
7.	Juba II	Glaphyra	c. 1 BC

¹¹³ Jones, *Augustus*, p. 109.

¹¹⁴ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 60 and 54. Suetonius’ statement is also accepted by Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 322 and Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 98.

	NUMIDIA	CAPPADOCIA	
8.	Sampsigeramus II EMESA	Jotape COMMAGENE	c. 5 BC – AD 5
9.	Herod Archelaus JUDAEA	Glaphyra CAPPADOCIA	c. AD 4/5
10.	Cotys VIII THRACE	Antonia Tryphaena PONTUS	c. AD 13/14

In all, ten known marriage-alliances were made during Augustus' reign. There would, most probably, be others not identified by surviving sources. Each of these marriages is investigated in turn and assessed in the following manner:

- a. Whether they match any of the categories of Hellenistic marriage-alliances defined in Chapter 1;
- b. Whether they match the geographical proximity restriction that naturally occurred with Hellenistic marriage-alliances;
- c. Whether they matched the criteria of a marriage arranged or encouraged by Augustus, as described by Suetonius;
- d. Whether they would match Dio's description of the children of kings that Augustus joined together in marriage at Alexandria.

If the marriage does not fit the first two criteria, then it appears unlikely to have formed naturally or independent of any imperial interference. Those marriages would then be prime candidates for the marriages advanced by Augustus. In order to ascertain these qualities, it will be necessary to compile all relevant data regarding these marriages: the names and backgrounds of the parties involved, the possible date or dates and the context that surrounds the marriage, as best identified from available source material.

1. Juba II and Cleopatra Selene

The most famous pairing is the marriage arranged by Augustus for Juba II to Cleopatra Selene – often provided by modern scholars as an example of Suetonius description of Augustan marriage policy.¹¹⁵ Juba II was the son of the Juba I of Numidia, who appears to have been a companion of Augustus.¹¹⁶ Cleopatra Selene was the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, who was paraded with her brothers as part of Augustus’ triumph.¹¹⁷ Cassius Dio was explicit on Augustus’ involvement in arranging this marriage:

“Cleopatra was married to Juba, the son of Juba; for to this man who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave both the maid and the kingdom of his fathers ...”¹¹⁸

Augustus “gave” Cleopatra to Juba – according to Dio, Cleopatra is a gift to Juba, and therefore the marriage is one of Augustus’ arrangements. The passage also suggested that the marriage and the granting of Numidia to Juba occurred at the same time. Plutarch likewise described the fate of Antony children, but it is to Octavia he ascribed as the instigator for joining Juba and Cleopatra together.¹¹⁹ Numismatic evidence also exists to support this marriage. A number of silver denarii were issued by Juba II in Mauretania and many of the types celebrated his wife Cleopatra Selene with either her portrait or the symbols of Egypt (the sistrum or crocodile) and the legend ΒΑCΙΑΙCΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΙΑΤΡΑ (or variants).¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ See Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 86-87; D. Braund, ‘Anth. Pal. 9.235: Juba II, Cleopatra Selene and the Course of the Nile’, *CQ* 34.1, 1984, pp. 175-76; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 53-54; Mackie, ‘Augustan Colonies in Mauretania’, p. 342; Raven, *Rome in Africa*, p. 55; A. Harders, ‘An Imperial Family Man: Augustus as Surrogate Father to Marcus Antonius’ Children’, in *Growing Up Fatherless in Antiquity*, S. R. Hübner and D. M. Ratzan (eds), Cambridge, 2009, pp. 231-33; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 61.

¹¹⁶ Strab. 17.3.7; Ael. *Nat. Anim.* 7.23; App. *BCiv* 2.101; Plut. *Caes.* 55.3; Dio 51.15.6; Braund 602; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 137-38; *PIR*² I 65. The most modern and thorough treatment of Juba, his ancestry and his reign, is Roller, *World of Juba II*, particularly pp. 59-75.

¹¹⁷ Plut. *Ant.* 36; Dio 49.32.4, 49.41.3. See *PIR*² C 1148; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 76-90; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 53; Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, pp. 224-28; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 267; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 61.

¹¹⁸ Dio 51.15.6 (trans. E. Cary); Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 137-38; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 84-86; Harders, ‘An Imperial Family Man’, pp. 232-33.

¹¹⁹ Plut. *Ant.* 87.2. Pelling suggests Plutarch has exaggerated Octavia’s role in arranging the marriages (Pelling, *Life of Antony*, p. 325), as does Harders, who describes Augustus as the “main force behind Selene’s marriage” (Harders, ‘An Imperial Family Man’, pp. 232-33). The marriage is also alluded to in Suetonius and Strabo; see Suet. *Calig.* 26.1; Strab. 17.3.7.

¹²⁰ See Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum*, pp. 109-21. Draycott argues that the crocodile on the reverse of coins is a Augustan symbol of Egypt (J. Draycott, ‘The Symbol of Cleopatra Selene: Reading Crocodiles on Coins in the Late Republic and Early Principate’, *Acta Classica* 55, 2012, pp. 43-56). See also Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 53-55.

Neither Dio nor any other source gave any clue as to the date of this marriage. This aside appears in the section outlining Octavian's dealings at Alexandria after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra (30 BC) in a section on the future of their children. Augustus' granting of Numidia to Juba appears to go hand-in-hand with his bestowal of Cleopatra Selene, according to Dio. The date for Juba's marriage to Cleopatra Selene is usually given, however, as 20/19 BC, when Augustus held the gathering of client kings at Antioch and rearranged territories and the earliest year that coins of Cleopatra Selene have been dated.¹²¹ An epigram of Crinagoras is thought to refer to their marriage, although it gives no clue as to the date.¹²² Roller thought the "most probable year" was 25 BC.¹²³ This would put the granting of Cleopatra Selene's hand in marriage and the new kingdom of Mauretania at the same time. Regardless, this was Augustus' first foray into marriage-alliances between his client kings and came some years after he had consolidated his supreme power over the Empire.

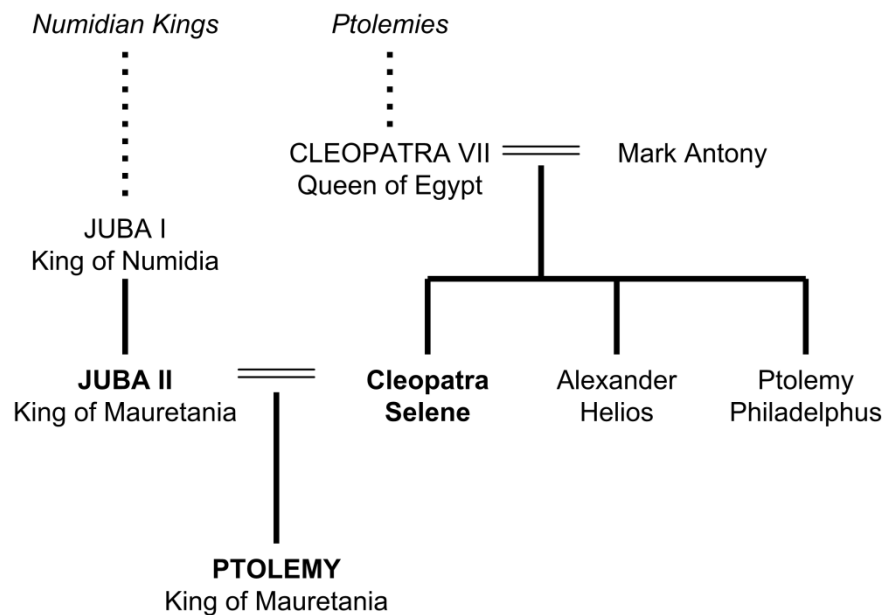


Figure 7. Marriage of Cleopatra Selene and Juba

¹²¹ For arguments, see Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 86-87. The distributions of 20 BC were, however, eastern in nature, hence Augustus' personal appearance at Antioch; see Dio 54.9.2-3; Vell. Pat. 2.92.1-2; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 781; Kennedy, 'Syria', pp. 728-29; Crook, 'Political History', pp. 89-90. For the coins of Cleopatra Selene and their dates, see Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum*, pp. 117-18; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 53-54.

¹²² Crinagoras 26 (= *Greek Anthology* 9.234). See Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 87-89; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 54; Braund, 'Anth. Pal. 9.235', pp. 175-78; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 133.

¹²³ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 86. Macurdy dated the marriage between 25 and 20 BC (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 53).

This marriage is the first clear example of Augustus breaking the traditional mould of Hellenistic marriage-alliances. As an alliance it makes no sense. Egypt was absorbed into the empire and was no longer a political entity to ally with Numidia. Regardless it also made no sense on geographical grounds: thousands of miles lay between the two kingdoms. The reasons for Augustus arranging this marriage-alliance are not suggested by Dio or by any other sources. This marriage, moreover, cannot be an example of the marriages of the hostage children of princes described by Dio. For one, Juba is quite clearly part of Augustus' retinue and secondly, Dio would not have described Cleopatra Selene, as Antony's daughter, as a hostage in her own father's court. While this marriage does not fit the criteria for marriage-alliances between hostages of Alexandria, it certainly fits the criteria of Suetonius' definition. Dio not only credits Augustus with bringing Juba and Cleopatra Selene together, it also appears to fit none of the categories of a Hellenistic marriage-alliance and neither is it a marriage-alliance between neighbouring kingdoms.

2. Mithridates III of Commagene and Jotape

For this marriage there is little evidence – although it is generally accepted by modern scholars, it is ignored by the surviving ancient sources. Mithridates III was probably the nephew of Mithridates II and Augustus granted him the kingdom of Commagene in 20 BC when the emperor was parcelling out other eastern kingdoms at Antioch – the only mention derives from Dio's narration of Augustus' settlements: "and to one Mithridates, though still a mere boy, he gave Commagene, inasmuch as its king had put the boy's father to death."¹²⁴ Jotape was the daughter of Artavasdes the former king of Media.¹²⁵ She was previously held at Alexandria as a hostage by Antony and betrothed to his son Alexander Helios around 33 BC when Plutarch describes her as a "young child."¹²⁶ When recording the fate of the hostages

¹²⁴ Dio 54. 9.3. See *PIR*² M 637; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 97; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 780; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 179. For commentary, see Rich, *Cassius Dio*, p. 184. For Augustus' policy in regards distributing kingdoms, see above, from p. 134.

¹²⁵ Dio 49.44.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 82. See *PIR*² I 44; Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 40; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 97; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 189.

¹²⁶ Plut. *Ant.* 53.6; Dio 49.40.2 and 49.44.2; Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 40; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 189; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 48; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 297; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 76, 82.

that Augustus found at Alexandria after defeating Antony, Dio reported that Augustus either returned the hostages to their families, or married them to each other. The historian provided Jotape as an example of Augustus returning a hostage, as opposed to arranging her marriage.¹²⁷

Macurdy notes the appearance of the dynastic name Jotape in the later Commagenian dynasty and conjectures that Jotape, the daughter of Artavasdes was married by Augustus to the new king of Commagene, Mithridates III.¹²⁸ She further surmises that the occasion for this marriage would have been during Augustus' eastern settlement of 20 BC.¹²⁹ While the evidence for this marriage may appear flimsy at first, Macurdy makes the strong point that the name "Jotape" appears nowhere else in the sources with the exception of the daughter of Artavasdes of Media and several later Commagenian princesses (which Macurdy argues must be her daughters and granddaughter).¹³⁰ Similar use of inherited names can be seen with the Ptolemies when Cleopatra is introduced as a family name after Cleopatra I, the daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus III, married Ptolemy V in 193/4 BC.¹³¹ Thereafter it becomes quite common amongst her descendants (the later Ptolemies). Likewise Laodice became a dynastic name throughout the Pontic ruling family after Laodice married Mithridates II.¹³² Sullivan and other modern scholars have accepted Macurdy's hypothesis.¹³³

¹²⁷ "of his [Octavian's] own accord he restored Jotape to the Median king, who had found asylum with him after his defeat" (Dio 51.16.2, trans. E. Cary); Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 138-39. See also Macurdy, 'Jotape', pp. 40-41; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 189; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 311; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 297. Antony's Median alliance collapsed when Artavasdes was defeated by the Parthians – he may have fled to Octavian, as Octavian returned Jotape to her father after defeating Antony.

¹²⁸ Macurdy, 'Jotape', pp. 40-42. Expanded further in her later work, see Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 97-98.

¹²⁹ Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 42. Sullivan agrees with the date, but mentions that although there are several arguments, "none of which are conclusive" (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 780).

¹³⁰ Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 40; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 96-97.

¹³¹ Marriage of Cleopatra I to Ptolemy III: Polyb. 18.51.10; Liv. 33.40.3; App. *Syr.* 3; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 65 and 85. Thereafter sprang their daughter (Cleopatra II), granddaughters (Cleopatras III, IV and V), great-granddaughter (Cleopatra VI) and great-great granddaughter (Cleopatra VII) who was married to Antony.

¹³² Marriage of Laodice, sister of Seleucus II, to Mithridates II of Pontus: Just. *Epit.* 26.3.2, Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 58 and 118. Their daughter Laodice (II) married her cousin Antiochus III (Polyb. 5.43.1-4; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, pp. 60 and 118). Another daughter, also Laodice, married Achaïos (Polyb. 5.74.5, 8.20.11; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 118). Another Laodice was a daughter of Mithridates V (Just. *Epit.* 29.3.2; App. *Mithr.* 12; Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, p. 119).

¹³³ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 780-81; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 297; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 189. Syme suggests it possible that Jotape may have been Archelaus of Cappadocia's first wife, but concedes that the marriage to Mithridates was more probable (Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 150).

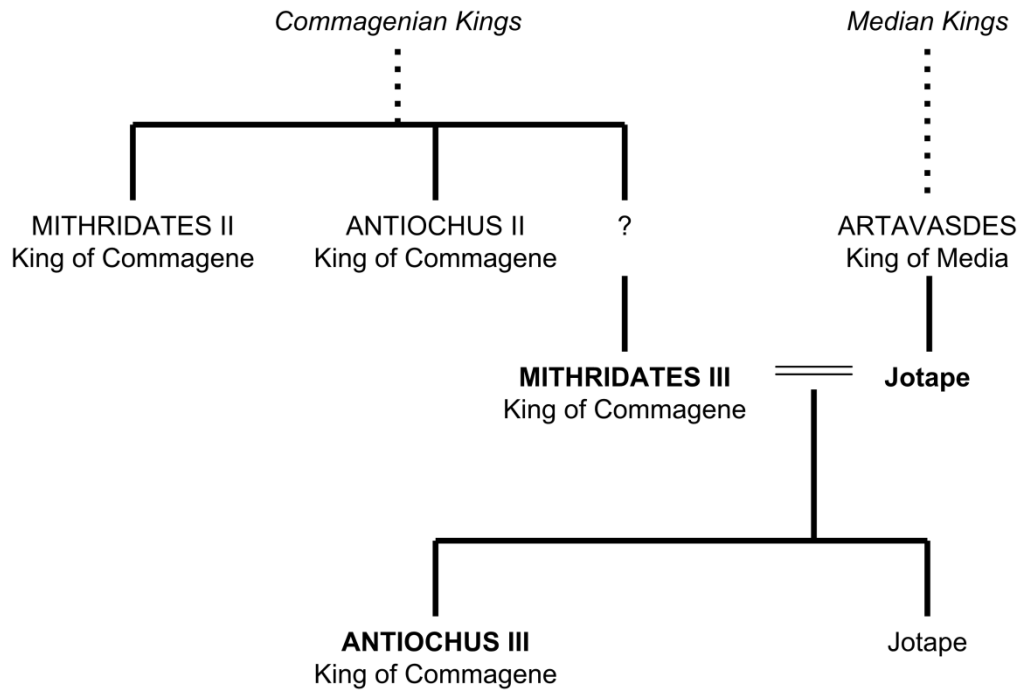


Figure 8. Marriage of Jotape and Mithridates

Mithridates may have also been a hostage in Antony’s court. He would have been extremely young at the time, being probably born only a few years earlier.¹³⁴ Commagene was certainly one of the client kingdoms within Antony’s jurisdiction, although little evidence of their kings’ relationship with the triumvir survives. Some years before Antony’s invasion of Parthia, the king of Commagene had married his daughter (Laodice) to Orodes II the king of Parthia.¹³⁵ After Pacorus, the son of Orodes by an earlier wife, died invading Syria, P. Ventidius Bassus accused Antiochus of Commagene of sheltering Parthian refugees.¹³⁶ First Ventidius, and then Antony, besieged Samosata, but in the end Antony and Antiochus came to an agreement and the siege was lifted.¹³⁷ The kings of Commagene may have remained

¹³⁴ Dio’s definition of a παιδίσκωφ (“young boy”) is indeterminate (Dio 54.9.3). Ten years separates Alexandria (30 BC) from Augustus’ eastern settlement (20 BC). Mithridates, described then as a “παιδίσκωφ”, would have to be at least 12 or 13 to be old enough to have been a hostage kept at Alexandria.

¹³⁵ Dio 49.23.4; Wagner, ‘Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene’, p. 208; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 194-95; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, pp. 765-66. See Chapter 1 above, p. 78; Facella, ‘Φιλορόμαιος καί Φιλέλλην’, p. 98.

¹³⁶ The reason Dio gave for Ventidius’ subsequent siege, however, was the king of Commagene’s wealth, see Dio 49.20.5; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 769; Facella, ‘Φιλορόμαιος καί Φιλέλλην’, p. 99.

¹³⁷ According to Josephus, it was Herod’s arrival that forced Antiochus to deliver up the city. According to Dio, Antony was sick of the siege and opened secret negotiations with Antiochus. According to Plutarch, Antioch first offered Ventidius 1000 talents to lift the siege, but Antony wished to win the siege in his own name and so it continued. Eventually Antony acquiesced and received 300 talents from Antiochus. See Joseph. *BJ* 1.321-322,

suspect in Antony's eyes and it would warrant Antony requesting hostages before embarking on any war with Parthia, to ensure Commagene's continued support.¹³⁸ It is certainly possible that Jotape was betrothed to Mithridates by Augustus when he arrived in Alexandria and also returned to her father in the meantime.

The marriage probably did occur and, if it did, it fits the criteria of an Augustan-arranged marriage. Commagene and Media were not geographically close (although not as distant as Numidia and Egypt above). It also does not fit any of the categories of Hellenistic marriage-alliances, particularly as Jotape's father was probably dead at the time of the marriage. The only possible policy Augustus could have pursued in arranging this marriage would be to introduce dynastic claims to Media into the Commagenian ruling family. As Dio explicitly mentioned, Jotape as the example of Augustus returning an Alexandrina hostage to their father, she may not have been one of the hostages that he joined in marriage, and it cannot be discounted that Mithridates too was a hostage in Alexandria.

3. Alexander of Judaea and Glaphyra of Cappadocia

Alexander was Herod's eldest son by his wife Mariamne, the daughter of the last Hasmonean ruler.¹³⁹ Josephus recorded that Herod "provided" his sons, when they came of age, with wives and that he married Alexander to Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus of Cappadocia.¹⁴⁰ Glaphyra was Archelaus' daughter by his first wife, who was almost certainly from the Armenian ruling family.¹⁴¹ At the time, Alexander may have been Herod's intended heir as he was the product of a marriage between the old ruling dynasty of Judaea, the Hasmoneans, and

AJ 14.445-447; Plut. *Ant.* 34.4; Dio 49.22.1-2; Oros. 6.18.23; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 769; M. Facella, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of an Allied Kingdom: the Case of Commagene', in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010, p. 195; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 52.

¹³⁸ Dio is adamant, however, that Antony received no hostages from the siege of Samosata, "except two and these were of little importance." Antony may have received hostages at a later date however and from a stronger position. Regardless Mithridates III could not have been born in 38 BC to have become a hostage at that stage. See Dio 49.22.1-2.

¹³⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.561-562, *AJ* 17.19-21. See also *PIR*² A 498 and J 137; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 213-15; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 100; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 1.446, *AJ* 16.11; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 57; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1161-162; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 239; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 150-51.

¹⁴¹ *PIR*² G 176; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1161; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 259; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 150. Her illustrious descent is explored further in Chapter 5 below.

the new ruling family of Herod.¹⁴² Alexander, Herod could argue, was a continuation of the old Jewish ruling family. Josephus is the only source for this marriage but frequently made references to Glaphyra, her father and her marriage to Alexander throughout the *Antiquities*.¹⁴³ Sullivan places the marriage in 18 or 17 BC, based on Josephus' account of Herod's visit to Rome.¹⁴⁴ Kokkinos, however, argues for the end of 16 BC, placing the marriage after Herod's son returned to Judaea.¹⁴⁵ It may be that both are correct, as will be demonstrated later. Alexander was born around 36 BC, making him 21 years old at the time of the marriage.¹⁴⁶ Glaphyra's birth date cannot be calculated, but she can be presumed to be about 12 to 16 years old in 16 BC as this seems to have been her first marriage (she was to feature heavily in future dynastic marriages).

Josephus implied that it was Herod who arranged the marriage, but his role may have been exaggerated as Herod was the central character of this part of Josephus' history.¹⁴⁷ Archelaus of Cappadocia was an independent client king of Rome and not under Herod's jurisdiction – his complicity would have required cultivation. At the very least, such a marriage-alliance would also necessitate the sanction of Augustus (as per Dio's account of the marriage of Polemo and Dynamis detailed below). Closer examination into Josephus' account, however, suggests Augustus played a greater role in the arrangement of this marriage. Immediately before describing the marriage, Josephus related how Herod set off to Rome to visit Augustus and his two sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, who were already residing in Rome at that time.¹⁴⁸ At an audience with Augustus, Herod's sons were returned to him and they went back with him to Judaea and there, Josephus noted, they were given brides.

¹⁴² Joseph. *BJ* 1.435, *AJ* 16.97; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 215; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 112; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 100. Herod's eldest son, Antipater, born to a common wife and born before Herod became king, had been sent away from court (Antipater would not return until 14 BC), see Joseph. *BJ* 1.433, 1.448; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 209.

¹⁴³ Joseph. *AJ* 16.11, 16.97, 16.193, 16.328, 17.11, 17.349; also *BJ* 1.446, 1.476, 1.499, 1.508 for just some examples.

¹⁴⁴ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1161. Jacobson agrees (Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 24). Macurdy dates the marriage to 17 BC (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 57).

¹⁴⁵ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 21 n. 33.

¹⁴⁶ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 213.

¹⁴⁷ Rajak, 'Herodian Narratives', pp. 23-24, 29. Herod was also the central character of his ultimate source, the works of Nicolaus of Damascus (Rajak, 'Herodian Narratives', pp. 28-29). Josephus also mentions the memoirs of Herod, which may have been another source (Joseph. *AJ* 15.174; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 31).

¹⁴⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 16.6. For the education of Alexander and Aristobulus at Rome, see section above, p. 132.

Examining the marriage in context also reveals Augustus' influence. Cappadocia and Judaea were not neighbours.¹⁵⁰ Nor do any of the Hellenistic political motivations for marriage-alliances appear to apply. Neither king was planning an independent war which the other could provide assistance. The marriage-alliance may have been forged out of genuine friendship between the two kings.¹⁵¹ The most probable explanation is that this marriage was arranged or encouraged by Augustus, possibly while all parties were in attendance at Antioch in 20 BC, and is another example of Suetonius' assessment of Augustus' policy towards his client kings. It does not appear, however, to be an example of the hostages joined in marriage by Augustus in Alexandria, as described by Dio. Alexander would be young, but Herod had given Antony no cause to doubt his loyalty. Glaphyra may not even have been born then and Archelaus had proven himself as a loyal Antonian king until after the defeat at Actium.

The marriage proved to be both a blessing and a curse for future imperial policy. During their marriage Alexander and Glaphyra had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, who were to feature in future dynastic manoeuvrings by the Julio-Claudians (see Chapter 5).¹⁵² Glaphyra herself proved to be a catalyst for several ructions within Herod's court and, in part, fed the dissatisfaction between Herod's siblings and Alexander.¹⁵³ In 7/6 BC Herod finally executed Alexander, much to the consternation of Archelaus, Alexander's father-in-law.¹⁵⁴ Glaphyra was returned to her father with her dowry to help smooth over any unpleasantness.¹⁵⁵ In only her mid-twenties, Glaphyra would prove useful in future dynastic marriages.

¹⁵⁰ Archelaus' did rule beyond just Cappadocia, although his closest domain to Judaea were some coastal parts of Cilicia (including Elaëussa) granted to him by Augustus in 20 BC; see Strab. 12.2.11, 14.5.6; Dio 54.9.2; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1155; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152.

¹⁵¹ Josephus mentioned Archelaus in the *Antiquities* and *War* frequently, but only after the marriage between Alexander and his daughter. The friendship between Herod and Archelaus may have extended before this, however, particularly if one of Herod's sons, born around 27 BC, was named Archelaus after Archelaus of Cappadocia (Joseph. *BJ* 1.562; *AJ* 17.20; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 225). Romer suggests that Augustus "approved the marriage" (Romer, 'Case of Client Kingship', p. 89).

¹⁵² Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1164-166; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 330-31; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 24 and outlined in Chapter 5 below.

¹⁵³ Joseph. *BJ* 1.476-477, *AJ* 17.193; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 151; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1162-163; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 57-58. This is explored in greater detail in Chapter 6 below.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 1.551, *AJ* 16.394, 18.139; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1163; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 242; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 214; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 288; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 101; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 1.553, *AJ* 17.11; MacCurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 58; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 247; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1163; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 289. Glaphyra's sons by Alexander, Tigranes and Alexander, initially stayed with their grandfather Herod; see Joseph. *BJ* 1.552-560, *AJ* 17.12-18; Kokkinos,

4. Polemo of Pontus and Dynamis of the Bosphorus

This marriage is attested by Dio in his account of the events of 14 BC and the passage is worth quoting in full:

And the revolt amongst the tribes of the Cimmerian Bosphorus was quelled. It seems that one Scribonius, who claimed to be a grandson of Mithridates and to have received the kingdom from Augustus after the death of Asander, married Asander's wife, named Dynamis, who was really the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithridates and had been entrusted with the regency by her husband, and thus he was holding Bosphorus under his control. Agrippa, upon learning of this, sent against him Polemo, the king of that part of Pontus bordering on Cappadocia. Polemo found Scribonius no longer alive, for the people of the Bosphorus, learning of his advance against them, had already put him to death; but when they resisted Polemo through fear that he might be allowed to reign over them, he engaged them in battle. But although he conquered them, he was unable to reduce them to submission until Agrippa came to Sinope with the purpose of conducting a campaign against them. Then they laid down their arms and were delivered up to Polemo; and the woman Dynamis became his wife, naturally not without the sanction of Augustus.¹⁵⁶

Polemo was the king of Pontus appointed by Antony and left in charge of his kingdom by Augustus.¹⁵⁷ Dynamis, as the passage indicates, was the granddaughter of Mithridates and the dynastic link needed to achieve legitimate control of the kingdom.¹⁵⁸ Three of her marriages are outlined in this passage: first to Asander, then to Scribonius, and finally to Polemo – each husband used the marriage to strengthen their claim to rule the Bosporan Kingdom.

Herodian Dynasty, p. 246; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 58. Kokkinos suggests that that after Herod died (c. 4 BC) they were transferred to the care of their grandfather, Archelaus of Cappadocia and then later educated in Rome (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 246-47). For analysis of the "unpleasantness", see Chapter 6 below.

¹⁵⁶ Dio 54.24.4-6 (trans. E. Cary). See also Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', pp. 98-100; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 294; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 165; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 30; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 918-19; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 180; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁵⁷ Dio 49.25.4. See *PIR*² P 531; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 916; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 162-63; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 916-18.

¹⁵⁸ See also *PIR*² D 211; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 174; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 161, 165; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 30-31; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 182.

Pharnaces, Dynamis' father, died in 47 BC fighting the usurper Asander.¹⁵⁹ This meant the youngest Dynamis could have possibly been when married to Polemo I in 14 BC was 33 years old. If she was the same daughter that Pharnaces offered to Caesar then she would be even older, beyond child-bearing age.¹⁶⁰

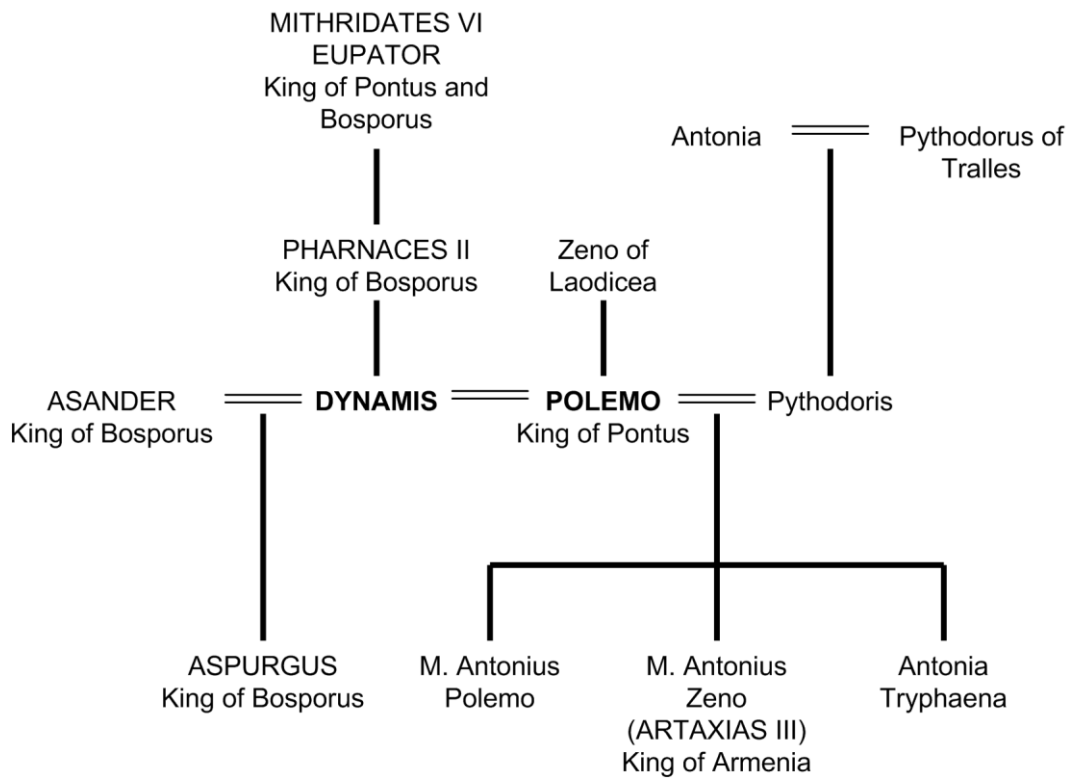


Figure 10. Marriage of Dynamis and Polemo

The intention may have been for Polemo to rule the Bosphorus; although, at Dynamis' age, it does not appear that it was the intention of the newly married couple to found a dynasty of Bosphoran rulers. Furthermore, Dio ascribed to Agrippa the plan to use Polemo to bring the Bosphorus to heel and by extension the marriage to Dynamis. Dio added that such a marriage required Augustus' sanction and it may be possible that the entire proceedings were part of his

¹⁵⁹ App. *Mithr.* 121; Dio 42.47.5; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 98; Nawotka, 'Asander of the Bosphorus', pp. 34-35; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 160.

¹⁶⁰ For the marriage offer to Caesar, see App. *BCiv* 2.91; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 98; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 178-79 and Chapter 1 above. Rostovtzeff notes that her first marriage to Asander may have been arranged before his rebellion or afterwards and, if the later, then the marriage was purely political and she may still have been a child (Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 98 and n. 14).

plan which Agrippa implemented. Polemo died fighting in the Bosphorus and there is some contention as to whether Dynamis predeceased him.¹⁶¹

The long-held belief amongst modern scholars is that the marriage of Polemo and Dynamis failed, and this led to the uprisings in which Polemo was killed (with Dynamis' support or compliance).¹⁶² This theory has little actual evidence to support it, other than Strabo's claim that Polemo was killed by the Aspurgians (taken to be followers of Aspurgus) and the fact that Polemo was also married to Pythodoris, either before, during, or after his marriage to Dynamis.¹⁶³ Aspurgus is believed to be either Dynamis' fourth husband, or, more probably, her son with Asander.¹⁶⁴ If Dynamis was working against her husband Polemo (the Roman nominee), she still described herself as φιλορῶμαιοσ and loyal to Rome.¹⁶⁵ Primo suggests, however, that Polemo did not die until shortly after Dynamis – when he struggled to hold the throne against Aspurgus and his faction (the “Aspurgians” of Strabo).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Nina Frolova outlines some of the various positions taken by scholars since Rostovtzeff on the dates and death of Dynamis' reign. See Frolova, *Essays on the Northern Black Sea Region Numismatics*, pp. 41-67. See also Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', pp. 100-03; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', pp. 151-52; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 294; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 167-69; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 920; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 181.

¹⁶² Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', pp. 170-71; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 104; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 31.

¹⁶³ Polemo killed by Aspurgians: Strab. 11.2.11; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 102; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 170; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 294; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 167-68; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 260-61; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 31; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 919. Braund held that Dynamis predeceased Polemo, who then married Pythodoris (Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 258).

¹⁶⁴ For Aspurgus as Dynamis' fourth husband, see Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', pp. 103-04; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 32; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 53. For Aspurgus as Dynamis' son, see Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 170; Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', p. 329; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 168 n. 88; G. Bongard-Levine, G. Kochelenko and V. Kouznestov, 'Les fouilles de Phanagorie: nouveaux documents archéologiques et épigraphiques du Bosphore', *CRAI* 150.1, 2006, pp. 268-72; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 261.

¹⁶⁵ *CIRB* 31, 38, 978, 979, 1046; Nawotka, 'Political Propaganda of the Bosporan Monarchs', p. 328. Nawotka correctly points out that her portrait and description of herself as the granddaughter of Mithridates (*CIRB* 31, 979) is not exactly pro-Roman, but this is consistent with Roman client kings advertising their rule as native and legitimate (Nawotka, 'Political Propaganda of the Bosporan Monarchs', pp. 328-29). The two inscriptions mentioned describe Dynamis as both a “friend of the Romans” and the descendant of Mithridates (Rome's arch enemy) – perfect example of being independently dependant (or vice versa). More on the “cordial relations” between Augustus and Dynamis has been examined by Primo (Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 166-67). See also Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 258; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁶⁶ Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 169. The only hindrance to this theory is Polemo's marriage to Pythodoris. If it is now accepted that he married polygamously (see below, p. 184) then Primo's theory is very convincing.

Regardless, Dio's inference is that this marriage-alliance was condoned by Augustus, rather than encouraged, which may well be the case. Although the Bosporan Kingdom and Pontus are not exactly neighbours, only the Black Sea lies between them. They also share a history – both were part of the domain of Mithridates Eupator, the King of Pontus who conquered the Bosporan Kingdom.¹⁶⁷ Even though the kingdom was forcibly added to Mithridates' realm, the people there appear to have held his descendants as their rightful rulers, as Dynamis' marriages demonstrate. Regarding motivations for Hellenistic marriage-alliance, for Polemo this was a Legitimising Marriage-alliance – and to return the Bosporan Kingdom to the rule of the Pontic King appears to be recreating something that was once sundered. Despite his marriage to a grand-daughter of Mithridates, as well as Roman support, Polemo appears to have been rejected by the people of the Bosphorus.¹⁶⁸ It is difficult to ascertain what Augustus was attempting to achieve with this marriage-alliance, if he did encourage it.¹⁶⁹

5. Antipas of Judaea and Phasaelis of Nabataea

Only Josephus provides an account of the marriage of Antipas, the youngest son of Herod, to the daughter of Aretas IV of Nabataea.¹⁷⁰ When discussing Antipas falling in love with his niece Herodias around AD 33/34, Josephus mentions that Antipas had been married to an unnamed daughter of Aretas for “a long time.”¹⁷¹ Learning of his plan to divorce her in order to marry Herodias, Aretas' daughter, according to Josephus, smuggled herself out of Judaea to inform her father. Antipas' treatment of his daughter gave Aretas an excuse for war.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ Strab. 7.4.7; App. *Mithr.* 64 and 67; Just. *Epit.* 37.3.2; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 46-47; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 37; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 95; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 102-03.

¹⁶⁸ Strab. 11.2.3, 11.2.11; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 170; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 169; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 260-64; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 919.

¹⁶⁹ Rostovtzeff suggests that the marriage of Dynamis to Polemo preventing any other adventurer, such as Scribonius, from attempting a similar coup in that kingdom (Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 99). Saprykin suggests that Augustus and Agrippa planned to join both kingdoms together (Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', pp. 169-70) – however, for the scheme to become permanent and legitimate, Dynamis would have to be young enough to produce Polemo's heirs, which is doubtful.

¹⁷⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.109; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 229-32; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306; Kennedy, 'Syria', p. 735; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 744; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 185; A. Negev, 'The Nabataeans and the Provincia Arabia' *ANRW* II 8, 1980, p. 768.

¹⁷¹ Joseph. *AJ* 18.109 (trans. L. H. Feldman); Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306. For Herod Antipas, see *PIR*² A 746; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 183-87.

¹⁷² Joseph. *AJ* 18.113; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568; Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 59. For the subsequent war, see Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, pp. 65-68; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 186-87; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 306-07.

Kokkinos places the arrangement of the marriage of Antipas and the daughter of Aretas at 7/6 BC, when Herod appointed Antipas his successor and not long after Augustus had ratified Aretas as king of Nabataea.¹⁷³ Furthermore Kokkinos identifies the daughter as being Phasaelis, the eldest of Aretas' daughters, via a process of elimination of the known children of Aretas in surviving inscriptions.¹⁷⁴ Kokkinos also points to coinage in Phasaelis' name issued by her father in the same year as evidence of a celebration of the marriage. He argues that the emblem of the palm branch on the reverse of the coins symbolised an "important and joyous event."¹⁷⁵ Kokkinos seems to be correct in the identification of Phasaelis, but the date of the marriage cannot be confidently ascribed to 7/6 BC on the interpretation of the scant evidence that remains.

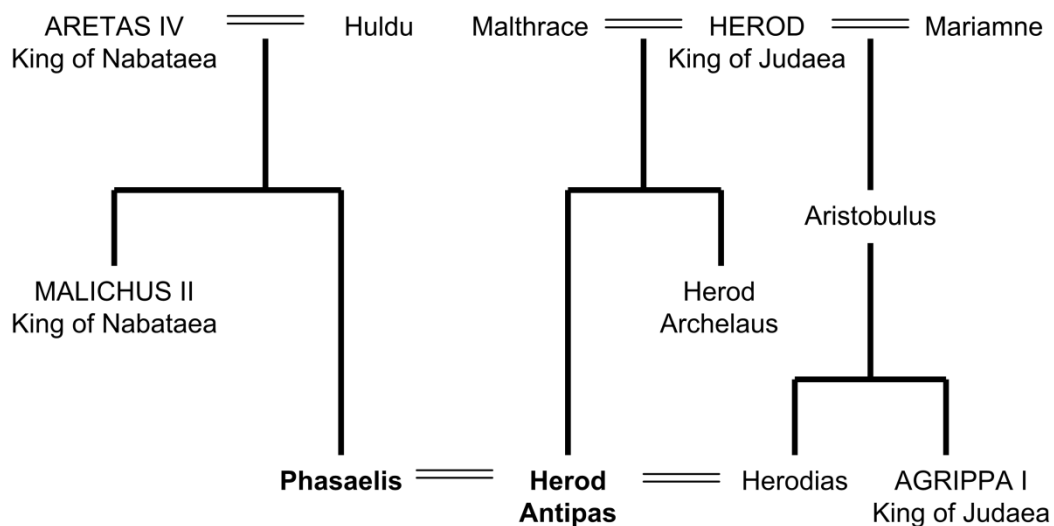


Figure 11. Marriage of Phasaelis and Antipas

Some other points, however, should be added. It is likely that the marriage was made late during the reign of Herod the Great or at least before Augustus' final decision on Herod's will. After Herod's death, the fate of Judaea was left in Augustus' hands. The emperor

¹⁷³ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 229. For Antipas as Herod's heir, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.646, *AJ* 17.146; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 36; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 103. For Augustus ratification of Aretas' rule of Nabataea, see Joseph. *AJ* 16.294-299; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 567.

¹⁷⁴ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 230-31 and 376-77. Meshorer argues that coins represent the birth of a "Phasael", Aretas' first son after becoming king (Y. Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 48-49); Kokkinos, however, highlights new inscriptions that reveal "Phasael" was female and entitled as a queen, hence Phasaelis (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 230-31).

¹⁷⁵ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 231. For coins of Phasaelis, see Meshorer 60-64A. For coins of Phasaelis issued same year with palm issuing from two cornucopiae, see Meshorer 61-63A. These coins were all issued in "Year 5" of Aretas' reign.

decided that the kingdom be separated as per Herod's final decision.¹⁷⁶ Antipas became tetrarch over roughly a quarter of Herod's kingdom.¹⁷⁷ As the intended heir of Herod, Antipas may have been considered a good match for the eldest daughter of the Nabataean king. Kokkinos calculates that Phasaelis must have been around 12 years of age in 7/6 BC (Antipas would have been 19).¹⁷⁸ She would have been therefore about 14 when Herod died and a little older by the time Augustus made his decision. If the marriage was made in Tiberius' reign then, using Kokkinos' calculations, she would have been 32, far too old for the first marriage of the eldest Nabataean princess (although the option remains that Kokkinos is mistaken and it may well have been one of her younger sisters). With these points in mind, Kokkinos' date of 7/6 BC seems probable, though another date (even after the death of Herod) could be possible.

Regardless, Josephus' mention of the longevity of the marriage in AD 33/34 places the marriage most probably in the reign of Augustus (although the early years of Tiberius cannot be discounted, depending on Josephus' definition of a "great while"). As a dynastic arrangement it follows the traditional lines of a marriage-alliance between neighbouring kingdoms. Nabataea and Judaea had frequently been involved with border disputes.¹⁷⁹ The marriage, the first definitely attested between the ruling families of Judaea and Nabataea, may have been initiated to end quarrels between the kingdoms, in other words a Remedial Marriage-alliance. The end of the marriage certainly brought about a war between Antipas and Aretas that Rome had to be called upon to resolve.¹⁸⁰ The marriage was probably

¹⁷⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 2.93-98, *AJ* 17.188-189; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 109-10. For an examination of the division of Judaea, see Chapter 5, p. 356 below.

¹⁷⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 17.318; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306. Antipas' territories included Galilee and Peraea, see Joseph. *BJ* 2.94-95, *AJ* 17.318; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 233; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 110.

¹⁷⁸ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 231 (Phasaelis' age) and 229 (Antipas' age).

¹⁷⁹ A few examples: between Alexander Jannaeus and Obodas I around 93 BC (Joseph. *AJ* 13.374; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 535) and again later around 90 BC (Joseph. *AJ* 13.382; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 569); Herod's invasion of Malichus in 32/31 BC (*BJ* 1.365-385, *AJ* 15.108; Negev, 'Nabataeans', pp. 543-44; Goodman, 'Judaea', pp. 740-41); disputes between Herod and Syllaeus in 10/9 BC (*AJ* 16.271-285; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 566).

¹⁸⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.113-115; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 306-07; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 744; Kennedy, 'Syria', p. 730; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568. The repercussions of this divorce are examined further in Chapter 6 below.

arranged between Herod and Aretas and, as Dio suggested, his sanction would have been necessary.¹⁸¹

6. Archelaus of Cappadocia and Pythodoris of Pontus

The marriage between Archelaus and Pythodoris is attested only by Strabo, their contemporary: “she herself [Pythodoris] married Archelaus and remained with him to the end; but she is living in widowhood now.”¹⁸² Earlier in the same passage Strabo recorded that she was previously married to Polemo king of Pontus and had three children by him. Since Polemo probably died after 8 BC, the marriage to Archelaus cannot be dated earlier and, as Sullivan admits, the exact date is unknown.¹⁸³ No children are recorded for Pythodoris and Archelaus and, as it was his second marriage also, it may well have been late in their lives.

Pythodoris, as Polemo’s widow, ruled Pontus and Polemo’s other territories with the aid of an unnamed son, according to Strabo.¹⁸⁴ Her father was Pythodorus of Tralles (an Antonian ally and supporter) and her mother, Antonia, is popularly believed to have been a daughter of Mark Antony.¹⁸⁵ If true then her illustrious background would have been truly sufficient for her to be the wife of the kings of Pontus then Cappadocia. Other than these marriages, Pythodoris does not seem to have any royal connections. If she was Antony’s granddaughter, she may have been married to Polemo during Antony’s eastern rule. If she was merely the

¹⁸¹ Although it cannot be discounted, as Kokkinos points out, that it was at Augustus’ suggestion; see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 230 n. 90.

¹⁸² Strab. 12.3.29. See also Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 921; Braund, ‘Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo’, p. 256; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 170; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 36; Frézouls, ‘Politique Dynastique’, p. 183; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 152.

¹⁸³ Sullivan, ‘The Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1158. For the death of Polemo, see details outlined in Marriage 4 above.

¹⁸⁴ Strab. 12.3.29; Sullivan, ‘The Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1158; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 922; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, pp. 171-74; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 35; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 53.

¹⁸⁵ For origins and discussion, see *PIR*² P 1114; D. Campanile, ‘Pitodoride e la sua Famiglia’, *SCO* 56, 2010, pp. 57-85; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 8. An Antonia being the mother of Pythodoris is attested in an inscription (*OGIS* 377). The theory that Antony was Pythodoris’ grandfather accepted by Sullivan (‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 920-21), Frézouls (‘Politique Dynastique’, pp. 181, 183) and Macurdy (*Vassal Queens*, pp. 33-34.). Rejected by Magie (*Roman Rule*, pp. 1130-131, n. 60), Bowersock (*Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 8, n. 4) and Thonemann (P. J. Thonemann, ‘Polemo, son of Polemo (Dio 59.12.2)’, *EA* 37, 2004, p. 148). Campanile suggests that Antonia instead was the daughter of one of Antony’s brothers (Campanile, ‘Pitodoride’, pp. 71-73). See also Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 170.

daughter of a rich and prominent citizen of Tralles, then she may have been married to Polemo in Augustus' reign, with no dynastic or diplomatic considerations that Augustus would need to encourage or even to sanction.

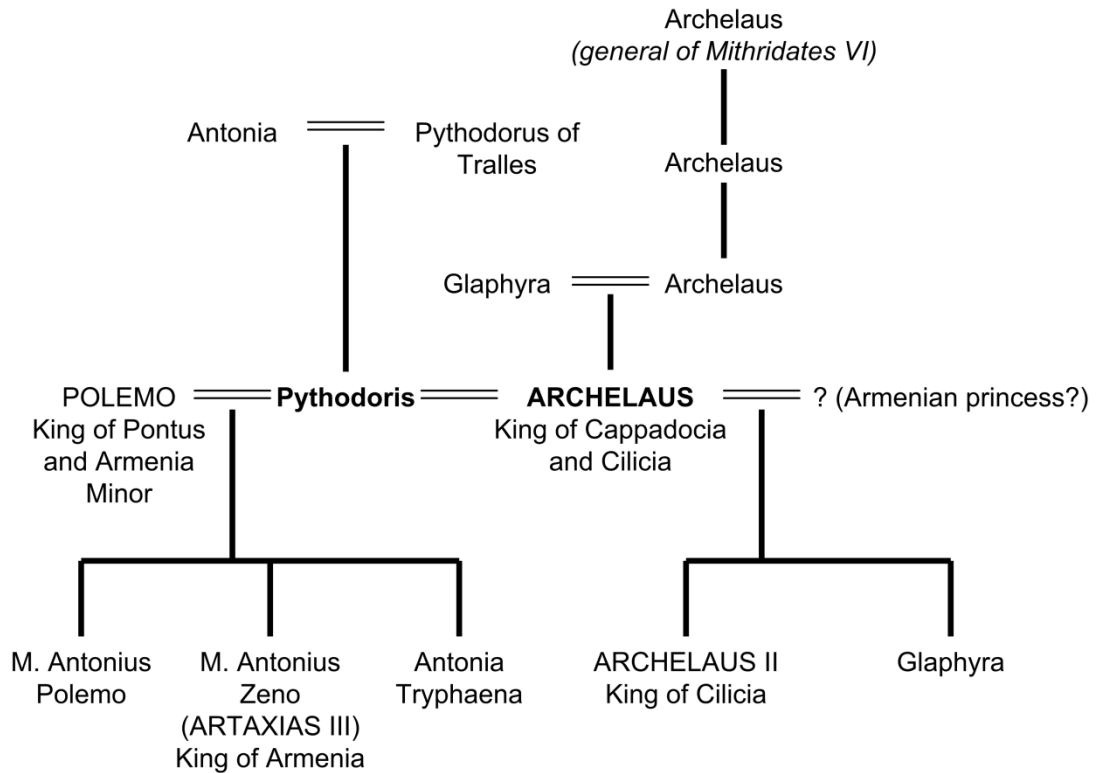


Figure 12. Marriage to Pythodoris and Archelaus

The date of her marriage to Polemo, however, is unclear. They may have been married, had children and were divorced before Polemo's Bosporan adventures. Otherwise she may have married Polemo after a divorce from Dynamis and had their three children before Polemo died fighting in the Bosporus. Another possibility is that Polemo was polygamously married to both Dynamis and Pythodoris at the same time. This solution fits best with the small time frame allowed during Polemo's reign of both Pontus and Bosporus. While there is little evidence for polygamous marriages between client kings during the Imperial age the existence of these marriages cannot be discounted, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

Regardless, Pythodoris' marriage to Archelaus, as current ruler of Pontus, would have required Augustus' considered sanction. Although the marriage does not seem to have made

Archelaus king of Pontus as well as Cappadocia, the kingdoms were united to some degree by the marriage and so would have created a considerable power bloc in Anatolia. Sullivan suggests that Tiberius sought to break this quasi-unification of Pontus and Cappadocia by arranging the trial for Archelaus and, after the old king's death in AD 17, Tiberius converted Cappadocia into a province.¹⁸⁶ As the union between these two rulers was too late to produce heirs, it appears doubtful that the marriage was arranged at Augustus' suggestion and there appears no clear reason why Augustus would propose such a union let alone sanction it.

The marriage might have been suggested by Augustus, however, to ensure that Cappadocia was competently ruled. Strabo praised Pythodoris' administrative skills and she appears to have been a loyal and capable client ruler.¹⁸⁷ Archelaus, however, seems to have ruled Cappadocia rather erratically. At one time a deputation from the Cappadocians appealed to the emperor against their king.¹⁸⁸ His physical and mental state is also derided by Dio: "the man [Archelaus] was not only stricken in years, but also a great sufferer from gout, and was furthermore believed to be demented. As a matter of fact, he had once lost his mind to such an extent that a guardian was appointed over his domain by Augustus."¹⁸⁹ Despite this he evidently continued to enjoy Augustus' favour, and he was never in any real danger of being deposed.

Dio does not name Archelaus' guardian and nor does he ever mention Pythodoris, as ruler of Pontus or as Archelaus' wife. If Archelaus had reached such a poor state during Augustus'

¹⁸⁶ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1159. Sullivan highlights two sources that suggest rebellious conduct from Archelaus: Dio 57.17.4 and Philostr. *Apoll.* 1.12.2. On the trial of Archelaus, see Suet. *Tib.* 37.9; Tac. *Ann.* 2.42.2, Dio 57.17.3-7; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', pp. 183-84.

¹⁸⁷ Strab. 12.3.29; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 35. Pythodoris is frequently mentioned in Strabo, she "receives a disproportionately full and very laudatory treatment" (Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 253). For Strabo's treatment of Pythodoris, see Braund. 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 254-60. Braund also highlights Strabo's positive description of Pythodoris' domains (Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 264-68).

¹⁸⁸ Dio 57.17.4; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 54; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1154. Sullivan also suggests this case may have been the case that Tiberius started his civil career defending, see Suet. *Tib.* 8; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 157-61; B. Levick, 'The Beginning of Tiberius' Career', *CQ* 65, 1971, pp. 478-86; Romer, 'Case of Client Kingship', pp. 77-79. For Archelaus in general, see *PIR*² A 1023.

¹⁸⁹ Dio 57.17.5; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 54; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1159. Romer, however, suggests that Archelaus' insanity may have been a ploy (Romer, 'Case of Client Kingship', pp. 79-84).

reign then a neater solution may have been to appoint Pythodoris, the ruler of neighbouring Pontus, as guardian for Archelaus and sealing the deal with a marriage. Augustus could, and did, depose client kings on the grounds of disloyalty or incompetence.¹⁹⁰ The major benefit of a client king, however, was that he ruled the territory for life and Augustus was also reluctant to change regimes needlessly. Archelaus had proved himself loyal to Rome for many years and any degradation in his ruling abilities appears to have sprung from misfortune rather than incompetence or laziness. Such a solution would keep Archelaus technically on the throne and salvage the pride of the old king.

The late age of Archelaus and Pythodoris, in this case, could have been a bonus. The union of two rulers would normally risk producing a child that was heir to both kingdoms. A super-kingdom of Pontus and Cappadocia ruled by one king could never pose a risk to Rome, but it could prove to be a source of problems. Since Pontus and Cappadocia already had separate heirs with claims to these kingdoms, added to the fact that Pythodoris was undoubtedly beyond child bearing age, meant that such a union could only be temporary. This would exactly fit Augustus' requirements if he was after a competent guardian to assist in the governing of Cappadocia. Although these kingdoms were neighbours, it does not meet the other factors that characterise Hellenistic royal marriages – there is no obvious purpose to this marriage, other than the fact that it would suit Augustan policy.¹⁹¹

7. Juba of Mauretania and Glaphyra of Cappadocia

Both Juba of Mauretania and Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus of Cappadocia, have had their previous marriages assessed in this chapter.¹⁹² Josephus and a single inscription are the only surviving sources for this marriage. In the *Antiquities* Josephus merely reported: “for when Alexander was put to death by his father, she [Glaphyra] married Juba, the king of

¹⁹⁰ Client Kings that caused too much trouble to their subjects were usually removed – such as Herod Archelaus in AD 6 and Zenodorus in 20 BC. Acceptance by their subjects was an important criteria for client kings, as discussed in Chapter 5; see from p. 325 below.

¹⁹¹ According to Gruen the match was “doubtlessly orchestrated by Augustus” (Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 152).

¹⁹² For the marriage of Juba and Cleopatra Selene, see Marriage 1 above. For the marriage of Glaphyra to Alexander, see Marriage 3 above.

Libya.”¹⁹³ The inscription from Athens also mentioned Glaphyra as wife of Juba, and appears to have been inscribed on the base of a statue dedicated to her – this inscription has been tentatively dated between 1 BC and AD 4.¹⁹⁴ Previously, regarding Alexander’s death, Josephus had stated that Herod had returned Glaphyra to her father in Cappadocia.¹⁹⁵ Roller believes that Juba, as part of Gaius’ retinue in the East around that time, met Glaphyra at her father’s court and the marriage was arranged there, no earlier than there AD 2.¹⁹⁶ Kokkinos thought they met around 1 BC and married between AD 1 and 4.¹⁹⁷ The problem lies with the fate of Juba II’s previous wife: Cleopatra Selene.

There are three possibilities: that Cleopatra Selene had died, that she had been divorced or that Juba’s marriage to Glaphyra was polygamous. Both Roller and Macurdy believe that Cleopatra Selene must have died first.¹⁹⁸ Roller claims that the later coinage of Cleopatra Selene is either incorrectly dated or an issue commemorating the elevation of Ptolemy, the son of Juba and Cleopatra, to joint ruler of Mauretania.¹⁹⁹ This also brings the tentative date of the inscription into question as well as the purpose of Cleopatra’s later coins. That Juba could have divorced Cleopatra to marry Glaphyra is not outside the realms of possibility. A few years later Herod Archelaus divorced his wife to marry the same Glaphyra.²⁰⁰ As

¹⁹³ Joseph. *AJ* 17.349-350 (trans. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren). In the *War* Josephus stated: “Glaphyra was married, after his [Alexander’s] death, to Juba, king of Libya; and, after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father” (Joseph. *BJ* 2.115). See Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 247; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1165-166; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59.

¹⁹⁴ *OGIS* 363; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 247; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1165-1166. For a full description of the inscription, and its history, see N. Kokkinos, ‘Reassembling the Inscription of Glaphyra from Athens’, *ZPE* 68, 1987, pp. 288-90.

¹⁹⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 1.553, *AJ* 17.11; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1163-1164; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 58; Jacobson, ‘Three Roman Client Kings’, p. 24.

¹⁹⁶ Plin. *HN* 6.141; Roller, *World of Juba and Cleopatra*, p. 249; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 58; Jacobson, ‘Three Roman Client Kings’, p. 24. For Gaius’ eastern expedition, see Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 212-26; F. E. Romer, ‘Gaius Caesar’s Military Diplomacy in the East’, *TAPhA* 109, 1979, pp. 199-214. Romer notes that Juba is not attested to be in Gaius’ retinue, but the reference of Pliny “reasonably infers” that he was (Romer, ‘Case of Client Kingship’, p. 97).

¹⁹⁷ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228.

¹⁹⁸ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 249; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 54-55. Roller uses a poem of Crinagoras to match the death of Selene to an eclipse (Crinagoras 18 = *Greek Anthology* 7.633) and then narrows down the known eclipses to one in 5 BC. This method, however, does take a literal interpretation of the poem to two events (Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 249-51).

¹⁹⁹ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 249. Macurdy merely claims that Juba continued his wife’s coinage to AD 11 after her death – this would include, however, the period in which he was married to Glaphyra (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 55-56).

²⁰⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 2.115, *AJ* 17.350; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 249; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 309; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59. For Archelaus’ marriage to Glaphyra detailed below, see Marriage 9.

demonstrated above, Herod Antipas divorced his wife of many years, and daughter of a fellow client king, to marry another (Marriage 5). This option, however, draws even more questions around the later Mauretanian coinage of Cleopatra and can be safely discounted. A polygamous marriage to Glaphyra is accepted by Kokkinos.²⁰¹ The option is however, decidedly rejected by Roller, who claims it was an un-Roman practice and argues that Juba, Cleopatra and Glaphyra were probably Roman citizens which would make the marriage unlawful.²⁰² Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence that any of these rulers were Roman citizens and the option of a polygamous marriage must remain open, as will be examined later within this chapter.²⁰³

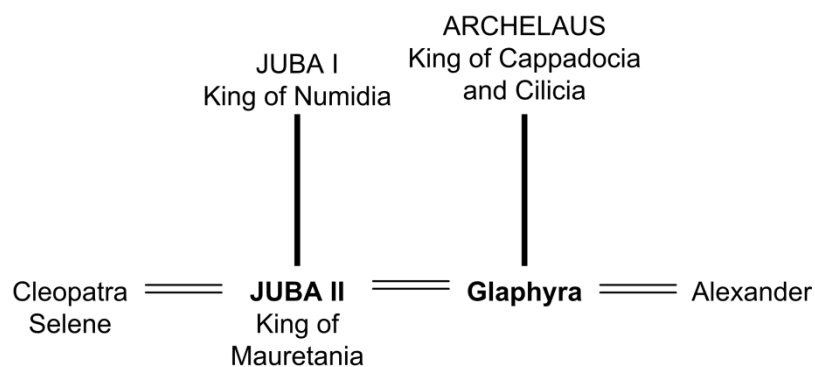


Figure 13. Marriage of Glaphyra and Juba

Regardless of when the marriage occurred, it is known not to have lasted long. This was only Glaphyra's second marriage and she had one more to enact: to Herod Archelaus of Judaea.²⁰⁴ Herod Archelaus was exiled by Augustus in AD 6.²⁰⁵ Josephus recorded that Glaphyra returned to Cappadocia after her marriage to Juba, so it is unlikely that she had time to marry Herod Archelaus after AD 5.²⁰⁶ Therefore, at the most, she remained wed to Juba for some six years. Josephus gave Juba's death as the reason for the marriage ending, which is certainly

²⁰¹ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228 n. 81.

²⁰² Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 249. Macurdy does not appear to even contemplate a polygamous marriage (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 55-56).

²⁰³ See section below, p. 181.

²⁰⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 2.115, *AJ* 17.350; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 249; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1166; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 309; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 24; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 117. See Marriage 9 below.

²⁰⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 2.111, *AJ* 17.344; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 117; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 249; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 60; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 24.

²⁰⁶ Apparently Archelaus fell in love with Glaphyra when he saw her at her father's house; see Joseph. *BJ* 2.115; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 248; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1166; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59.

incorrect as he is known to have died in AD 23 or 24, well after Glaphyra.²⁰⁷ As Juba of Mauretania was a minor character in Josephus' works which concentrated on Judaea, the Jews and the Herodian dynasty, Josephus must have made an error or an assumption on a king peripheral to his work.²⁰⁸

Roller suggests that the marriage may have been annulled by Augustus, who was fearful of a powerful alliance between Cappadocia and Mauretania.²⁰⁹ This is improbable, on three counts. Firstly the geographic distances between the countries make a coordinated alliance unlikely or unwieldy at best. Secondly, as Dio and Suetonius recorded and this chapter demonstrates, Augustus was an active matchmaker for exactly these marriage-alliances – those that united client kingdoms together. Thirdly, as Dio demonstrated when relating the marriage of Polemo of Pontus with Dynamis of the Bosporan Kingdom, Augustus had the final sanction on marriage-alliances. Kokkinos suggests, more probably, that issues within the polygamous marriage may have driven Glaphyra back to Cappadocia.²¹⁰

As to the motives behind the marriage, as noted previously, the sources provide no clues. The vast distances between Cappadocia in Anatolia and Mauretania of the North African coast discount a traditional marriage-alliance. It is certainly then a candidate for Augustan interference, although its purpose is unclear, particularly if the marriage was polygamous and Juba already had an heir. Possibly Juba, as part of Gaius' retinue in the East and far from his wife in Mauretania, met Glaphyra there and arranged a marriage with Augustus' approval.

²⁰⁷ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 248. Roller suggests a different interpretation for Josephus' phrase μεταστάντος in the *Antiquities*, meaning Juba "went away" instead of dying – this does not correct the error in the *War* where Josephus' language is more exact (Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 248). Juba's last coins are dated to AD 23/24; see Mazard #386 and #387. For more on the marriage of Herod Archelaus and Glaphyra, see Marriage 9 below. Macurdy supports the theory that the term μεταστάντος was used in Josephus' original source, which he misinterpreted when writing the *War* (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59).

²⁰⁸ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 248; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228, n. 81; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59.

²⁰⁹ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 248.

²¹⁰ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228, n. 81. Sullivan merely states they divorced, and does not speculate further (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1166).

8. Sampsigeramus of Emesa and Jotape of Commagene

As with the marriage of her mother Jotape of Media (Jotape 1), this marriage of this Jotape is also based on a conjecture by Macurdy.²¹¹ Studying the known Jotapes and in which dynasty they appear, Macurdy derived several marriage-links. Jotape, daughter of Artavasdes king of Media, is known (*PIR*² I 44). Likewise Jotape 3, daughter of Antiochus III of Commagene (*PIR*² I 47), Jotape 4, daughter of Sampsigeramus of Emesa (*PIR*² I 45), and Jotape 5, daughter of Antiochus IV of Commagene (*PIR*² I 48), are also known. As outlined above, Macurdy proposed a marriage between the first Jotape and Mithridates III to explain the sudden appearance of the name Jotape amongst the dynasty of Commagene (see Marriage 2).

To explain further the appearance of the name “Jotape” within the Dynasty of Emesa two generations later, Macurdy conjectures the existence of another Jotape (Jotape 2). Macurdy suggests she was the daughter of the Jotape 1 and Mithridates III of Commagene and was married to Sampsigeramus of Emesa.²¹² She became the mother of the Jotape 3 (known to have existed from source material), who would later marry Aristobulus of Judaea.²¹³ Thus the connections are neatly and convincingly resolved. The existence of this Jotape 2 is accepted by modern scholars such as Sullivan and Frézouls.²¹⁴ It is important to remember, however, that no ancient evidence can be provided for Jotape 2, let alone her marriage to the Emesan king.

²¹¹ Macurdy, ‘Jotape’, p. 42; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 99. See also Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 782; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, p. 212; Frézouls, ‘Politique Dynastique’, pp. 188, 189.

²¹² Macurdy, ‘Jotape’, p. 42; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 99. It is worth pointing out that while a daughter of Jotape and Mithridates III that married Sampsigeramus of Emesa is conclusive, that fact that she was named “Jotape” is not. Her daughter Jotape (Jotape 4, *PIR*² I 45) may have been named in honour of her grandmother (the original Jotape). Regardless, the important criterion for this thesis is that a daughter of Commagene was married to a son of Emesa, with Augustus’ blessing. Her name is not so important.

²¹³ Joseph. *AJ* 18.135; Macurdy, ‘Jotape’, p. 42; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 99; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, pp. 213-14.

²¹⁴ Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 782; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, p. 212; Frézouls, ‘Politique Dynastique’, p. 188, 189. Sullivan appears to conjecture yet another Jotape, daughter of Mithridates of Commagene and Jotape 1, that was married to her brother Antiochus III (Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 782). While brother-sister marriages are known in Commagenian royalty (between Antiochus IV and his sister Jotape 3 for example; see Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 96), there is no evidence for this sister-wife of Antiochus III, let alone her name of Jotape. The further conjecture is superfluous.

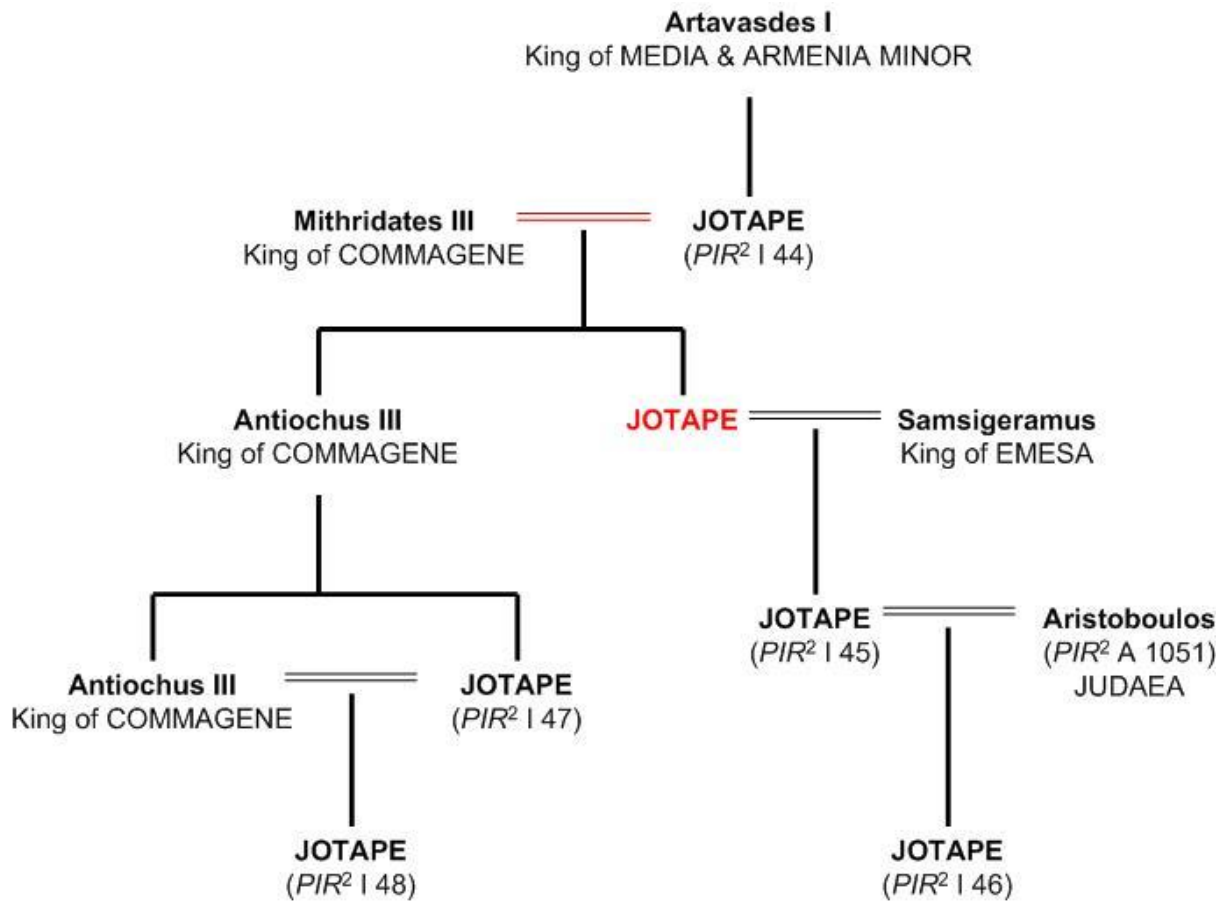


Figure 14. The Jotapes with Macurdy's postulations

C. Julius Sampsigeramus (Sampsigeramus II) is known from an inscription to have been the king of Emesa around AD 17-19.²¹⁵ The last known Emesan king was Iamblichus II, made king by Augustus during the Eastern Settlement of 20 BC.²¹⁶ Sampsigeramus' relationship to Iamblichus is unclear, or whether there was a king, or even a generation, between them.²¹⁷ Sullivan proposes the earliest date for a marriage between Sampsigeramus and Jotape 2, daughter of the king of Commagene, would have been about 5 BC, although he suggests a

²¹⁵ An Palmyrene inscription places Sampsigeramus with Germanicus during his sojourn in the East, see J. Cantineau, 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du Temple de Bel', *Syria* 12.2, 1931, pp. 139-41. For other evidence of Sampsigeramus, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.135, 19.338; *ILS* 8958 (= *IGLS* 6 2760); *CIL* VI 35556a; *IGLS* 6 2747. See also *PIR*² I 541, Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 213; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 188 n. 106; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 44.

²¹⁶ Dio 54.9.2. See *PIR*² I 7; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 211-12; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 47.

²¹⁷ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 212-13. W. Ball suggests that Sampsigeramus II was the son of Sohaemus, son of the ill-fated Zenodorus, ruler of Ituraea/Chalcis and only distantly related to Iamblichus II. It is possible, but there is no evidence that the rulership of Emesa passed to another branch of the family (W. Ball, *Rome in the East: the Transformation of an Empire*, London, 2000, pp. 35-36).

later date of AD 5/6 as more likely.²¹⁸ Either way this marriage was arranged during the reign of Augustus.

The territory of Emesa, hitherto unconnected to the existing network of client kings, lay in the middle of Syria. Geographically it was no neighbour to Commagene, but also lay no great distance apart.²¹⁹ In later years it would create marriage-links to Judaea and Pontus, as will be seen in the next chapter. As a candidate for a marriage arranged by Augustus it is difficult to define, especially as it may well be possible that the marriage, or even Jotape 2, may not have existed at all. In regard to producing heirs, Jotape would be passing claims to Commagene (from her father) and to Media (from her mother) into the Emesan dynasty. This spreading of dynastic claims through the families of the client kings is a common by-product of the marriages that Augustus had arranged thus far, and is explored further in Chapter 5.

9. Herod Archelaus of Judaea and Glaphyra of Cappadocia

Josephus is once again the main source for Glaphyra's third marriage. He recorded that Herod Archelaus abruptly ended his marriage with his first wife Mariamne, after he met Glaphyra at her father's court and fell in love with her.²²⁰ Glaphyra married Herod but afterwards had a dream in which her first husband Alexander (who was also a half-brother of Herod Archelaus) admonished her and she died shortly afterwards.²²¹ Josephus also presented this marriage,

²¹⁸ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 212.

²¹⁹ Macurdy does describe this marriage as "uniting the ruling families of the two neighbouring Syrian principalities" (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 99). Commagene is difficult to describe as "Syrian principality" however, although Strabo incorporates it in his description of Syria, it was an independent kingdom in its own right since the second century BC and of moderate size (for details, see Strab. 16.2.1-3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 59-62). Emesa, in southern Syria at modern Homs, was closer to Judaea than Commagene and much of the Roman province of Syria lay between Commagene and Emesa.

²²⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 2.115, *AJ* 17.341, 350. See also Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1166; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 59-50; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 227-28; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 309; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 116; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 24).

²²¹ Joseph. *BJ* 2.116, *AJ* 17.350-352; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1166; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 24.

scandalous to Jews as being against Jewish law and custom, as being the reason for Herod Archelaus' reign ending shortly afterwards.²²²

Herod Archelaus was the son of Herod and Malthrace, a “Samaritan”, born around 27 BC.²²³ His name is an example of the close bond between Herod and Archelaus of Cappadocia, both client kings that would be joined closer by a marriage-alliance some ten years after Herod Archelaus' birth. Of Herod Archelaus' first wife, Mariamne, nothing is definitely known.²²⁴ Kokkinos dates Herod's second marriage (to Glaphyra) to AD 4/5.²²⁵ If Glaphyra was as young as 14 when she married his half-brother Alexander in 18/7 BC, then she must have been at least 36 by the time of her third marriage (to Herod Archelaus). Although Josephus gives emotional reasons for the marriage, political reasons cannot be discounted. The houses of Cappadocia and Judaea had previously been bound in marriage and friendship, by Augustus, although they lay some distance apart with Roman territory between. The troubles that Glaphyra brought into Herod's family with her first marriage (detailed below in Chapter 6) suggest that Augustus could not have been too keen to encourage intermarriage again between Cappadocia and Judaea, particularly with the same bride.²²⁶

10. Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus

The joining of the royal houses of Thrace and Pontus with a marriage must have occurred late in Augustus' reign. This marriage is mentioned by Strabo when referring to the children of Pythodorus: “a daughter, who was given to marriage to Cotys the Sapaean, but was widowed upon his murder.”²²⁷ A number of inscriptions mention the royal couple.²²⁸ Cotys was the son

²²² This marriage was against Jewish levirate laws (*Lev.* 18.16 and 20.21), see Joseph. *AJ* 17.341. See also Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 298; Romer, ‘Case of Client Kingship’, p. 97, n. 42; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 116.

²²³ Joseph. *BJ* 1.562, *AJ* 17.20; *PIR*² A 1025; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 223-25; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 308; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 298.

²²⁴ Kokkinos believes she was the same Mariamne who was his niece (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 227). Sullivan describes her as a “kinswoman” (Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 309).

²²⁵ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 227.

²²⁶ For analysis of the repercussions of intermarriage between Cappadocia and Judaea, see Chapter 6 below, p. 396.

²²⁷ Strab. 12.3.29 (trans. H. L. Jones). See also Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 203; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 922; Saprykin, ‘Thrace and the Bosphorus’, p. 172; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 41; B. M. Levick, ‘Greece and Asia Minor’, *CAH*² 10, 1996, p. 649; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 59; Tačeva, ‘Last Thracian

of Rhoemetalces, the first King of a unified Thrace.²²⁹ Antonia Tryphaena is known to be the daughter of Polemo of Pontus and Pythodoris.²³⁰ They had at least four, possibly five, children together. When Rhoemetalces died around AD 13, Augustus divided the kingdom of Thrace between his son Cotys and his brother Rhescuporis.²³¹ After Augustus died, Rhescuporis invaded his nephew's domain.²³² Tiberius settled the affair but then Rhescuporis captured Cotys, who died in captivity around AD 19.²³³ Tacitus mentions Cotys' wife petitioning the emperor, but does not name her.²³⁴

The children of Cotys and Antonia Tryphaena later had exalted careers. Rhoemetalces III eventually inherited his father's kingdom of Thrace in AD 38.²³⁵ At the same time Gaius appointed Rhoemetalces' brother Polemo as king of Pontus and his younger brother Cotys became king of Armenia Minor.²³⁶ At least one daughter is also known, Pythodoris II, who married her cousin Rhoemetalces II, the son of Rhescuporis.²³⁷ Another daughter was postulated by Rostovtzeff: Gepaepyris, the wife of Aspurgus the king of the Bosphorus.²³⁸ That she was daughter of the royal Thracian house seems likely, due to her Thracian name and the

Independent Dynasty', p. 460; D. Kotova, 'Les Femmes et la Famille en Thrace Ancienne: Glanes sur Quelques Textes Antiques', *DHA* 26.2, 2000, p. 23.

²²⁸ *I.G. Bulg.* 399 (= *SEG* 34-700); *I.G. Bulg.* 743; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 200 n. 56.

²²⁹ The aforementioned inscriptions both detail the pedigree of Cotys. See also *PIR*² C 1554; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 199-200; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 42-43; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', p. 460.

²³⁰ The same inscriptions also detail the pedigree of Antonia. See also *PIR*² A 900; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 922-23; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 172; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 41-42; Kotova, 'Les Femmes et la Famille en Thrace', p. 23.

²³¹ *Tac. Ann.* 2.64; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 200; J. J. Wilkes, 'The Danubian and Balkan Provinces', *CAH*² 10, 1996, p. 555; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 59; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', p. 460.

²³² *Tac. Ann.* 2.64; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 200-01; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 555; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', pp. 460-61.

²³³ *Tac. Ann.* 2.66; *Strab.* 12.3.29; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 201; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 172; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 43; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 555; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 59.

²³⁴ *Tac. Ann.* 2.67; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 201; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 41.

²³⁵ *Dio* 59.12.2; *Strab.* 12.3.29; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 209-11; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 172; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 922; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 174; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 43.

²³⁶ *Dio* 59.12.2; *Strab.* 12.3.29; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 207-09; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 922; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 172-73; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 174; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 43. These dynastic placements will be explored further in Chapter 5.

²³⁷ *I.G. Bulg.* 399 (= *SEG* 34-700); Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 205; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 922; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 47. There are some alternative theories, however, regarding the descent of this Pythodoris II; see Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', p. 462. Both theories summarised by Tačeva add too many imponderables, and the original theory of Dessau's (followed by Sullivan) is the simplest and probably correct.

²³⁸ Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 108; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 207; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 922; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 47.

names that feature in the future kings of Bosphorus (such as Cotys, Rhoemetalces, and Rhescuporis). The possibility remains, however, that she may have been a daughter of Rhescuporis, or even a sister of Cotys rather than his daughter.²³⁹ Her exact relationship to Cotys is unknown.

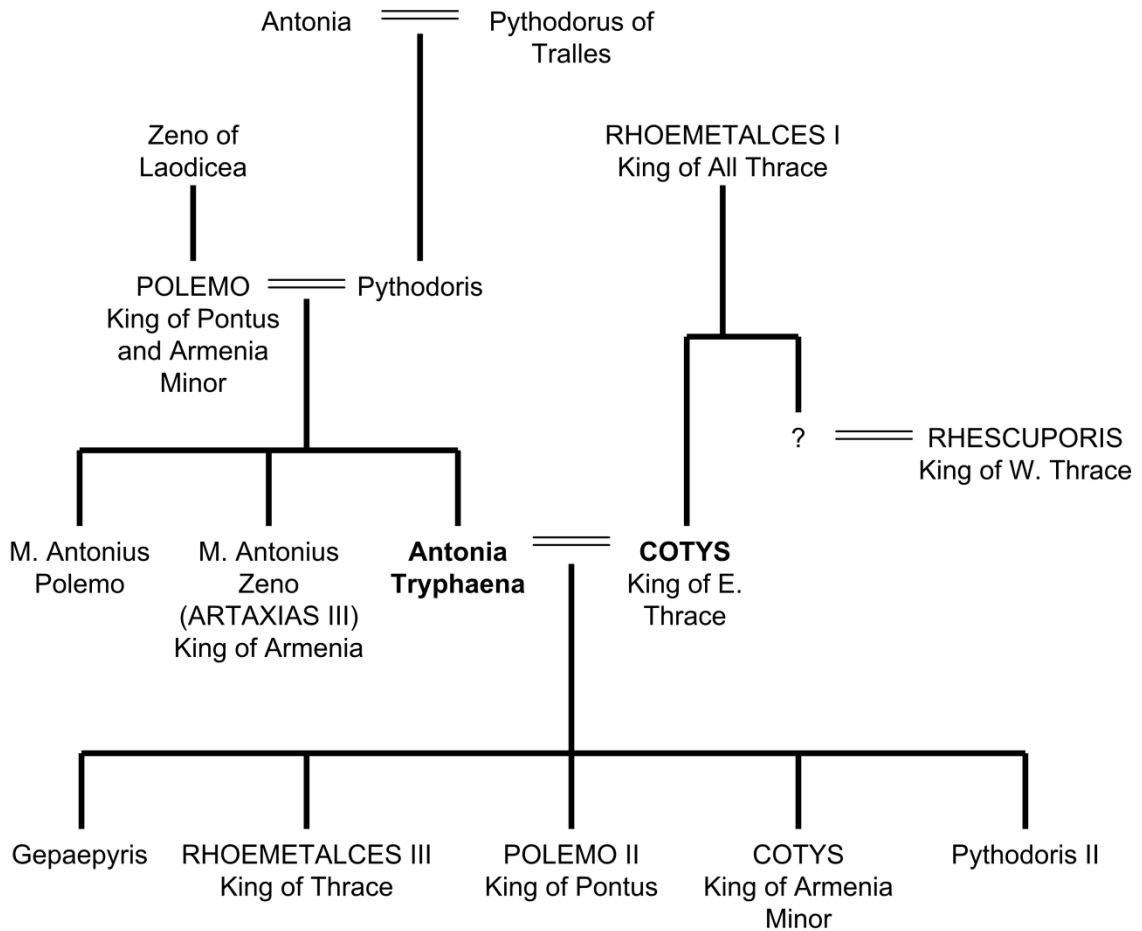


Figure 15. Marriage of Antonia and Cotys

Since Cotys died around AD 19 and had at least four children, it is doubtful that the marriage was arranged after Augustus' death. Sullivan certainly believes the marriage was arranged before Rhoemetalces' death – he suggests the reason for Cotys being given the easternmost lands in Augustus' settlement was due to the fact that they were closer to his wife's

²³⁹ Saprykin disagreed that she was the daughter of Cotys, but agreed she was from the Thracian Royal house (Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', pp. 172-73).

homelands.²⁴⁰ It is possible, however, that the marriage and settlement were arranged at the same time. Since Coty's children are said by Tacitus to be very young, the marriage cannot have been arranged much earlier than the last years of Augustus' reign, around AD 10.

Traditionally the kings of Thrace rarely married into the other Hellenistic kingdoms.²⁴¹ Their tribal nature and uncentralised monarchy would have been a hindrance for a political marriage-alliance. By the early first century AD Augustus, however, had remedied that. Although his kingdom was initially plagued with revolts, one severe enough to oust him, by 11 BC the Sapaean Rhoemetals had become king of a centralised monarchy in the Hellenistic tradition.²⁴² Cotys' marriage to Antonia Tryphaena is the first known connection of the Sapaean house to Sullivan's 'Eastern Dynastic Network'.

That Augustus played a significant role in arranging this marriage is very probable. As a traditional marriage-alliance it fails the test of geographic proximity. Although they were much closer to one another than Cappadocia and Mauretania, nevertheless many miles of Roman territory separated the two states. Both kingdoms did share the same body of water, the Black Sea. Pythodorus, regent of Pontus at the time since Polemo was long dead, would normally have had little reason to ally with Rhoemetals of Thrace. Nor was there a history of closeness between the two states. If Augustus did arrange this marriage, it probably would have been the last nuptials he had a hand in organising.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 200. For the division of Thrace, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.64; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', p. 460; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 555; D. C. Samsaris, 'Le Royaume Client Thrace aux Temps de Tibère et la Tutelle Romaine de Trebellenus Rufus (Le Stade Transitif de la Clientèle à la Provincialisation de la Thrace)', *Dodona* 17.1, 1988, p. 159.

²⁴¹ Some marriages with the kings of Macedon in the Classical era as well as marriage between Lysimachus and tribal kings are outlined in the Chapter 1 above.

²⁴² Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 199; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', p. 460; J. Iliev, 'The Roman Conquest of Thrace (188 BC – 45 AD)', *Traci tra Geografia e Storia* 9, 2015, p. 139.

²⁴³ Sullivan believes that the match was arranged "doubtless with the encouragement of Augustus" (Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 199). Levick points out that it was "one of the marriages that created for Augustus a nexus of dynastic families and a supply of potential client rulers..." (Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 649).

Summation of the Marriage-alliances

Of the ten inter-dynastic marriages known or postulated to have been arranged during Augustus' reign, only one was specifically ascribed to Augustus' policy by the literary sources: the marriage between Juba II of Mauretania and Cleopatra Selene of Egypt (Marriage 1). Some were possibly arranged by the kings themselves with the arrangement permitted by Augustus. The marriages formed along traditional alliances are the strongest candidates for these: the marriage between Herod Antipas of Judaea and Phasaelis of Nabataea is the best example (Marriage 5). The marriages between geographically removed kingdoms, such as Cappadocia and Mauretania, Cappadocia and Judaea, and Thrace and Pontus, are the best candidates for marriages arranged for Augustus for his own reasons.

A survey of the marriages formed during Augustus' reign also highlights several interesting points. Firstly, a case could be made that, chronologically, only one marriage was made before 20 BC. Even with this marriage, Macurdy and Roller, the main proponents for the 25 BC marriage for Juba II and Cleopatra, both admit that a later date of 20 BC is possible. If that is the case, combined with the strong case for two other marriages being arranged in that year, then it is possible that Augustus' policy came about after ruling the empire for ten years, and it formed part of his overall policy with managing client kings. Secondly, Augustus reveals a habit of reusing spouses. Dynamis had been married three times (admittedly the first two had no input from Augustus), Glaphyra two had been married twice and Augustus had hand in arranging both known marriages for Juba II, his boyhood companion. Whether this reveals a scarcity of potential dynasts, or personal preference for the advancement of certain dynasts, is difficult to ascertain.

Of the hostages that Augustus found in Alexandria after Actium and joined together in matrimony, as described by Dio, only one of these cases corresponds to his description.²⁴⁴ The marriage between Jotape of Media and Mithridates III of Commagene is the only possible

²⁴⁴ Dio 51.16.1-2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 138-39. For the situation of the hostages in Alexandria, see Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking*, p. 61.

case. Jotape is known as one of the hostages kept at Alexandria by Antony.²⁴⁵ As noted above, Mithridates III, as the young nephew of Mithridates II (one of Antony's client kings), may have also been kept as hostage. Although Dio recorded that Jotape was sent back to her father, it may be still possible that the emperor arranged a betrothal beforehand.²⁴⁶ When both children were old enough (in 20 BC), they could well have been formally united, as per Macurdy's hypotheses.²⁴⁷ All other known cases of marriage between client dynasties during the reign of Augustus do not fit Dio's account.

Assessing the marriages against Suetonius' description, however, is more rewarding. The geographic isolation, something extremely rare in previous Hellenistic marriages, reveal Augustus' part in arranging six marriages-alliances: Juba of Mauretania and Cleopatra Selene of Egypt; Mithridates of Commagene and Jotape of Media; Alexander of Judaea and Glaphyra of Cappadocia; Polemo of Pontus and Dynamis of the Bosporan Kingdom; Juba of Mauretania and Glaphyra of Cappadocia; Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus. Augustan intervention is also highly possible for marriage of Archelaus of Cappadocia and Pythodoris of Pontus and Sampsigeramus of Emesa and Jotape of Commagene. The marriage of Antipas of Judaea and Phasaelis of Nabataea is between neighbouring kingdoms and consists of many factors similar to the Remedial Marriage-alliances formed in the Hellenistic period. It would have required Augustus' approval, which he doubtlessly gave wholeheartedly. It is difficult to see even Augustus' sanction in the marriage between Herod Archelaus and Glaphyra, despite the separation between their kingdoms. Glaphyra had already proved to have been a disaster in her earlier marriage to a Judaeen prince, and Augustus was to exile her latest spouse within a year or so of the marriage. Like his other assertions of Augustus' treatment of client kings, this section has demonstrated that Suetonius was correct when he wrote "He [Augustus] also united the kings with whom he was in alliance by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships amongst them."

²⁴⁵ Plut. *Ant.* 53.6; Dio 49.40.2 and 49.44.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 76. She was technically in Alexandria as the future bride of Alexander Helios, Antony's son, but as the daughter of Antony's new ally Artavasdes of Media Atropatene, she was probably a hostage as well.

²⁴⁶ For Augustus release of Jotape back to her father, see Dio 51.16.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 138; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking*, p. 61; Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 41; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 97.

²⁴⁷ Macurdy, 'Jotape', pp. 40-42. Expanded further in her later work, see Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 97-98. See also Marriage 2 above and Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 781.

Intra-dynastic Marriages

There were also many marriages arranged within the ruling family of a client kingdom, particularly with the families of Herod and Rhoemetalces. These marriages had more meaning within the kingdom itself and were usually meant to strengthen ties within the ruling family. Consequently Augustus may have only had a peripheral effect on these marriages as they had much smaller political and diplomatic impacts on the wider empire. On further analysis, however, some of these “intra-dynastic” marriages may have elements that would have interested the emperor. For the sake of completeness it is worth briefly iterating through these known intra-dynastic marriages during the reign of Augustus.

Within Herod’s family there were many marriages, ably detailed by Josephus and admirably researched by Kokkinos. Herod’s other son by Mariamne, Aristobulus, was married to Berenice, the daughter of Herod’s sister Salome.²⁴⁸ Aristobulus’ sister, Cyprus was married to Berenice’s brother Antipater.²⁴⁹ The daughter of Aristobulus and Berenice, Herodias was married to three different sons of Herod the Great: Herod (III), Philip and then Antipas.²⁵⁰ These arrangements would doubtlessly be at the behest of Herod himself, but may have reflected the similar intra-dynastic marriages that Augustus arranged within his own family. After Herod’s death the Herodian dynasty continued to intermarry. According to Josephus, when organising Herod’s legacy, Augustus personally arranged the marriage of two unnamed daughters of Herod to the sons of Pheroras.²⁵¹ This is the third explicit reference from the extant source to Augustus arranging marriages within client dynasties, albeit that these

²⁴⁸ Joseph. *BJ* 1.446, 1.552; *AJ* 16.11; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 215; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 310; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 239; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, p. 187; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 15.

²⁴⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.566; *AJ* 17.22, 18.130; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 313; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 192; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 48.

²⁵⁰ For the marriage of Herodias to Herod (III), see Joseph. *BJ* 1.557, *AJ* 17.14; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 265-66; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 313 n. 53. For her marriage to Philip, see Mk. 6:17; Mt. 14:3; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 266-67. For her marriage to Antipas, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.109-115; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 267-69; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 306. It was this final marriage that caused the divorce between Antipas and the daughter of Aretas IV (see Marriage 5 above).

²⁵¹ Joseph. *BJ* 2.99; *AJ* 17.322; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 173.

marriages were arranged within the same dynasty. Other marriages within the dynasty continued to be contracted under Augustus' successors.²⁵²

Within the Thracian tribal kingdoms, inter-marriage was also quite common. The first king of all Thrace, Rhoemetals I, was able to inherit his nephew's lands because of a marriage arranged between his sister (Sapaean) and Rhescuporis of the Odrysian house.²⁵³ He in turn married his daughter to his brother, another Rhescuporis.²⁵⁴ As mentioned earlier, the daughter of Cotys and Antonia Tryphaena, Pythodoris II, was married to Rhescuporis' son Rhoemetals II. The earlier marriages were probably used to bolster dynastic strength and claims. This marriage, however, may have been arranged by Augustus after the separation of Rhoemetals' kingdom between his brother and his son, but it also may have been arranged by Tiberius to heal the intra-dynastic rift opened by Rhescuporis' murdering of his nephew in AD 19.²⁵⁵

Although there is definite evidence that Augustus did arrange at least one marriage within a dynasty, they were probably not marriages that usually concerned the emperor. The management of the local ruling family, as demonstrated in Herod's case, was the responsibility of the client king and Augustus was loathe to needlessly intervene. Marriages within the ruling family also had negligible impact on other client kingdoms and the wider Empire, so could be safely left to the king to organise. Only on the death of Herod, and

²⁵² For example, Cyprus the wife of Herod Agrippa was the granddaughter of Herod's brother Phasaël, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.130, Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 276. Herod Agrippa's brother, Herod of Chalcis married the granddaughter of another brother of Herod the Great, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.134, Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 305; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 310.

²⁵³ Dio 54.20.3. 54.34.5; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 193-94; Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*, p. 50. Although it is perfectly possible that Rhoemetals was married to the sister of Rhescuporis – this would also make him the uncle of Rhescuporis' son and provide the antecedents of Rhoemetals' wife depicted on his coins; see *RPC* I 1708-1712.

²⁵⁴ Derived from an inscription (*I.G. Bulg.* 399) that calls Rhoemetals [II] the grandson of Rhoemetals I and Cotys [VII] (Rhoemetals' father). This is only possible if his mother was the daughter of Rhoemetals I and his father was Rhescuporis, Rhoemetals I's brother and son of Cotys VII (disgraced in the reign of Tiberius and hence not named). See Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 204-05.

²⁵⁵ For the ructions within the Thracian royal family between Rhescuporis and his nephew Cotys, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.64-5, 3.38; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 59; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 200-04; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 43.

possibly when Rhoemetalces I died, did the emperor organise the betrothals and marriages of the king's unwed offspring.

Polygamy amongst Client Kings

Whilst polygamy has recently been shown to prevail amongst Hellenistic kings, only one client king is definitely known to have been polygamous: Herod the Great.²⁵⁶ Polygamous marriage, however, neatly avoids some dating issues with the wives of several client kings, namely Juba II and Polemo. The question of polygamy could also be linked to the question of citizenship. Technically polygamy was illegal for Roman citizens.²⁵⁷ If early client kings were Roman citizens, as recently argued by Raggi, how could they have been polygamous?²⁵⁸ The law may have been ignored and the citizenship perceived merely as an honour. If not, then the client kings that were Roman citizens should not have polygamous marriages. Alternatively, the fact of polygamous marriages may forbid the idea that these early client kings were given citizenship at all during the reign of Augustus. Fortunately, Augustus had a lengthy reign that may allow time for the kings to arrange polygamous marriages and then, later, receiving citizenship. Investigation of the kings in questions and the dates of their marriages may suggest that citizenship was granted later, rather than earlier, during Augustus' reign. The three kings that require assessment are Herod, Polemo and Juba.

Herod

Herod the Great was inarguably polygamous. Josephus accounts for eight wives and several others are postulated. Raggi argues that Herod was granted citizenship, if the "C. Iulius

²⁵⁶ For polygamy amongst Hellenistic kings, see Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, p. 228; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. ix-xix.

²⁵⁷ W. Scheidel, 'Monogamy and Polygyny', in *Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, B. Rawson (ed.), Chichester, 2010, p. 111. Concubinage does not appear to have been an alternative for marriage for these alliances – to treat the daughter or sister of a fellow king as a concubine instead of a proper wife would presumably insult the prospective ally. For concubinage in the Roman world, see R. Friedl, *Der Konkubinat im Kaiserzeitlichen Rom von Augustus bis Septimius Severus*, Stuttgart, 1996.

²⁵⁸ Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 81-97. Citizenship of client kings also discussed by Braund (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 39-53; Braund, 'Client Kings', pp. 82-83).

Herodes” in an inscription is referring to same Herod.²⁵⁹ At first glance this is incongruous: either the “Herodes” in question is not Herod or the granted citizenship was merely honorary and its restrictions against polygamy ignored. Fortunately Kokkinos had carefully provided a table of Herod’s wives and the dates they were married and divorced, which is worth duplicating here.

Doris	Married c. 47 BC, sent away 37 BC
Mariamne I	Married 37 BC, executed 29/28 BC
Unnamed niece	Married c. 37 BC
Unnamed cousin	Married c. 34 BC
Mariamne II	Married 29/28 BC, divorced c. 7/6 BC
Malthrace	Married 28 BC, died in 4 or 5 BC
Cleopatra	Married 28/27 BC
Pallas	Married c. late 16 BC
Phaedra	Married c. late 16 BC
Elpis	Married c. late 16 BC

Table 1. Marriages of Herod the Great.²⁶⁰

The table demonstrates several periods when Herod was married to more than one wife simultaneously. Mariamne I, as a Hasmonean princess, was important enough for Herod to send away his first wife, Doris, in order to facilitate this important marriage.²⁶¹ He still made

²⁵⁹ Raggi, ‘First Roman Citizens’, p. 87 (inscription in question cited n. 31). Herod’s father Antipater was rewarded citizenship by Julius Caesar (Joseph. *AJ* 14.137; *BJ* 1.194) but that citizenship may not have necessarily passed to Herod. Sullivan, however, considers that this grant would mean all his descendants would bear the *nomen* Julius (Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 313).

²⁶⁰ Table of Herod’s marriages reproduced from Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 208.

²⁶¹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.432; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 209; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 48-49; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 121. Mariamne was the grand-daughter of two Hasmonaean rivals for Judaea: Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II and her marriage to Herod served as a Legitimising Marriage-alliance for the new ruler of Judaea; see Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 111-13.

further marriages, to his unnamed cousin and niece, after marrying Mariamne I.²⁶² After Mariamne was executed, he swiftly married Mariamne II and, shortly afterwards, Cleopatra.²⁶³ He married his final three wives around 16 BC.²⁶⁴

A window of some 12 years then lies open for Herod to be granted citizenship before his death around 4 BC – such a grant should have meant the end of polygamous marriages. Raggi suggests several of the kings were granted citizenship at the same time as Augustus' grand eastern settlements in 20 BC.²⁶⁵ Caesar's grant of citizenship, however, Raggi believes, also included his son Herod.²⁶⁶ This would signify that Herod was a Roman citizen during all his marriages and would suggest that the citizenship was perceived to be more of an honour than a legal obligation. If Herod was granted citizenship much later, it prompts other questions though: would a client king on receiving Roman citizenship be expected to send away his multiple wives? Probably not, and certainly Herod did not, unless he avoided citizenship altogether.

Polemo

Polemo was appointed King of Pontus by Antony sometime before his Parthian expedition.²⁶⁷ It is often argued that Polemo received citizenship from Antony, because of the existences of one or more M. Antonius Polemos in the first century AD and, of course, Polemo's daughter

²⁶² Joseph. *BJ* 1.563, *AJ* 17.19; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 216-17. Smallwood suggests that the women in Herod's court beyond Doris, Mariamne I and II were concubines but concedes that his cousin and niece may have been official wives due to their rank (Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 102 n. 148).

²⁶³ For marriage to Mariamne II, see Joseph. *AJ* 15.322, 17.19; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 221. For marriage to Cleopatra, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.562; *AJ* 17.20; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 235-36. Mariamne II was the daughter of priest, who Herod raised to be High Priest, and thus worthy to be father-in-law to the King; see Joseph. *AJ* 15.319-322; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 91.

²⁶⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 1.562-563; *AJ* 17.21; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 240-42. Richardson, however, dates the final marriages to between 22 and 19 BC (Richardson, *Herod*, p. 236).

²⁶⁵ Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 94-95. Regarding citizenship amongst client kings, see also Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 39-46.

²⁶⁶ Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 86-87. For the grant of citizen to Antipater, see Joseph. *AJ* 14.137; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 218; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 98; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 44; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 313.

²⁶⁷ Sullivan dates his kingship to 36 BC because of Dio's first mention of Polemo as king of Pontus in events of 36 BC (Dio 49.25.4; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 916).

Antonia Tryphaena.²⁶⁸ Raggi, however, argues that Antony gave out citizenship to kings sparingly, because of Cleopatra's jealousy.²⁶⁹ It also cannot be proved whether M. Antonius Polemo is a descendant of Polemo, the Roman citizenship could have been conferred upon Polemo's relations (he possibly had a brother, Zeno) to honour his family but avoid giving a king Roman citizenship.²⁷⁰ It is possible that Antonia Tryphaena received her name from her grandmother, Antonia, known from inscriptions.²⁷¹

Magie held that Polemo was already married to Pythodoris before his "irregular" marriage to Dynamis.²⁷² Other scholars felt that Dynamis and Polemo were married for only a very short period before they separated and Polemo married Pythodoris, having three children by her before he died.²⁷³ This would infer that there was a curious absence of marital activity on Polemo's part for the first twenty years of his reign before he plunges into two marriages and three children. The simplest solution would be an earlier marriage to Pythodoris followed by a polygamous marriage to Dynamis in 14 BC. In Pontus there was precedent for polygamous marriage. Mithridates VI Eupator, the previous king of Pontus, is known to have married many wives and concubines concurrently.²⁷⁴ His ancestors possibly followed a similar practice, though far less knowledge of the earlier kings of Pontus has survived. Such a marriage for Polemo would not have surprised his subjects, although it may have surprised others if he was a Roman citizen.

²⁶⁸ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41. See also Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 922; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 173-78.

²⁶⁹ Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', p. 89. Braund does not think that Antonius' grant of citizenship to be "unlikely" due to the closeness between them (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41). It is also possible that Polemo's father Zeno was granted the citizenship by Antony in thanks to his services defending Laodicea against the Parthian Invasion of 40 BC, and that Polemo was a Roman citizen before he was elevated to be King of Pontus.

²⁷⁰ There is some argument regarding the identity of M. Antonius Polemo and C. Julius Polemo and which is son of Polemo and which is the grandson. See Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', pp. 437-48, and Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 173-78 for some of the discussion. See also Chapter 3 below, p. 244.

²⁷¹ *OGIS* 377; Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', p. 88; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41.

²⁷² Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1341, n. 32. Followed by Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 920.

²⁷³ Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 166; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254.

²⁷⁴ Some of Mithridates' known wives or concubines: Laodice, his sister (Just. *Epit.* 37.3.6); Adobogiona (Strab. 13.4.3); Monime (App. *Mithr.* 21, 48; Plut. *Luc.* 18.2-4, *Pomp.* 37.2); Berenice (Plut. *Luc.* 18.2-5); Stratonicè (App. *Mithr.* 107; Plut. *Pomp.* 36.3-6); Hypsicratea (Plut. *Pomp.* 32.8).

As described earlier, Polemo married Dynamis after 14 BC. He was also married to Pythodoris and had three children by her – one of them, Antonia Tryphaena had at least four children before her husband Cotys died in AD 19 (Tacitus describes some of these children as young, *iisque nondum adultis*).²⁷⁵ Therefore the latest Antonia could have been born is around 1 BC, quite possibly some years earlier. Polemo is known to have died at the hands of Bosporan rebels, the “Aspurgiani”, and Strabo recorded that this had happened “recently.”²⁷⁶ Coins dated to 8 BC issued in the Bosporan Kingdom with a monogram of Dynamis’ name alone have led to assumptions that Polemo must have died at the time of the issue.²⁷⁷ As Sullivan pointed out, however, Dynamis ruled the Bosporan kingdom in her own right before her marriage to Polemo, the absence of his name does not necessarily mean that he had died.²⁷⁸ 8 BC also does not fit neatly with Strabo’s use of “recently.” Additionally some of these gold staters with the same monograms have more recently been found with earlier dates, going back to 12/11 BC.²⁷⁹ Primo, for one, believed that Polemo outlived Dynamis, who he believes died in AD 7/8 based on the last date of her coinage.²⁸⁰ He contends that Polemo’s battle with the “Aspurgians” related by Strabo happened in the wake of Dynamis’ death, in a struggle to gain control of the Bosporan Kingdom, between AD 7/8 and 10/11, when coins of Aspurgus first appear.²⁸¹

The tightness of the timeframe of Polemo’s marriages is therefore created by the assumption that he died in 8 BC. If Primo is right, and he lived far longer, then he had plenty of time for two sequential marriages (possibly three unless Polemo was unmarried between 40 and 14 BC). A polygamous marriage no longer needs to be the simplest solution. This also allows the strong case for Antony granting Polemo Roman citizenship.

²⁷⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 2.67; Levick, ‘Greece and Asia Minor’, p. 649; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 172; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 922. For the marriage of Cotys and Antonia, its dating and offspring, see Marriage 10 above.

²⁷⁶ Strab. 11.2.11; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 919; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, pp. 167-69; Braund, ‘Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo’, pp. 260-62; Rostovtzeff, ‘Queen Dynamis’, p. 102; Saprykin, ‘Thrace and the Bosphorus’, p. 170; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 294; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 31.

²⁷⁷ Outlined by Frolova, ‘On the Period of the Reign of Dynamis’, pp. 43-44.

²⁷⁸ Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 920.

²⁷⁹ D. MacDonald, *An Introduction to the History and Coinage of the Kingdom of the Bosphorus: Including the Coinage of Panticapaeum (with Apollonia and Myrmecium), Phanagoria, Gorgippia, Sindicus Limen or the Sindoi, Nymphaeum, Theodosia and the Kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus*, Lancaster, 2005, pp. 57-58.

²⁸⁰ Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 169.

²⁸¹ Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 169.

Juba

The case of Juba of Mauretania is clearer. Somewhere between 26 and 20 BC he is “given” Cleopatra Selene to marry as his first wife by Augustus. Between the death of her first husband in 7 BC and the exile of her third husband in AD 6/7, Juba also married Glaphyra. Coins bearing the likeness and name of Cleopatra Selene have been found in hoards dating to AD 17.²⁸² Amongst the Numidians (Juba’s ancestors) there are precedents for polygamous marriages. Only about a hundred years before Juba’s reign, Sallust related that the Numidians “have as many wives as his means permits – some ten, others more, and kings a still greater number.”²⁸³ The case for a polygamous marriage for Juba appears strong.²⁸⁴

However, Roller, Juba’s most recent biographer, strongly denies the case for polygamy: “polygamy, not a Roman practice, does not seem to be a possibility” and argues that while other kings like Herod were polygamous, Juba was “heavily Romanised.”²⁸⁵ That Juba was reared and educated in Rome is incontestable. Client kings, however, were not appointed to broadcast Roman ideals or to soften an area for an adoption of Roman culture. As Braund demonstrated some time ago these were native kings, friendly to Rome, not Roman puppets or temporary Romanised rulers or even agents to further Romanisation.²⁸⁶ Juba would have been expected to reign as a Mauretanian monarch, not as a Romanised king. Saddington points out in his review of Roller’s work: “the Romans did not expect client kingdoms to adopt Roman culture.”²⁸⁷ Client kings issued inscriptions and coins in Greek, rarely Latin. Although Juba’s coins usually use a Latin legend, the coins or dies devoted to his wife use Greek, her native

²⁸² K. Regling, ‘Zum fund von Iubadenaren in Alkasar’, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 28, 1910, p. 11. Admittedly dating from hoard evidence cannot be exact.

²⁸³ Sall. *Jug.* 80.6-7 (trans. J. C. Rolfe). For Sallust’s view of Numidian marriages, see M. Comber and C. Balmaceda, *Sallust: The War against Jugurtha*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2009, p. 248.

²⁸⁴ Accepted by Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228, n. 81.

²⁸⁵ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 249, n. 24. It is true that Juba had spent much of his childhood in Rome, unlike Herod. Agrippa I also spent much of his early life in Rome (Joseph. *AJ* 18.142-204, *BJ* 2.178-182; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 322; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 272-73; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 187), but considered himself Jewish (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 278; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 325).

²⁸⁶ In regards to citizenship, for example, Braund notes that to the kings it was not significant and more of an honour (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p.46; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, p. 82).

²⁸⁷ D. B. Saddington, ‘Romanized Africans or Sophisticated Cosmopolitans?’, *Scholia Review* 13, 2004.

language.²⁸⁸ Roller also suggests that Juba and Cleopatra were married in Rome under Roman law, but there is no evidence that suggests this was the case.²⁸⁹ If Juba were a Roman citizen however, this would make a stronger case against polygamy. Roller argues that the case for Juba being a Roman citizen is “indirectly documented” by the names of freedman and Juba’s position as *patronus coloniae* at New Carthage.²⁹⁰ Juba lived until around AD 23. If he was granted citizenship by Augustus, there is no reason that this could not have been done after his polygamous marriages to Cleopatra and Glaphyra.

Polygamy amongst the client kings certainly existed, as Herod’s marriages testify. Such a practice also neatly resolves issues with Juba’s two marriages and possibly Polemo’s (if he died around 8 BC). Polygamy does bring into question the date Roman citizenship was granted to some of the client kings, or whether as Roman citizens the client kings would be expected to comply with Roman law and practice.

Conclusion

The evidence supplied by the ancient sources suggests that Suetonius’ statements regarding Augustus’ management of client kings is correct. Where possible, Augustus did ensure kingdoms were ruled by their native royal families. Examples exist that prove Augustus did appoint guardians to manage the kingdoms for those kings that were too young (such as Rhescuporis of Thrace) or too ill (such as Archelaus of Cappadocia). That Augustus also encouraged young princes to be sent to Rome for education is also clear, especially regarding the sons of Herod. Augustus (or Agrippa) also met regularly with the kings, either in Rome or out in the provinces. Clear cases for all these statements by Suetonius can be found in other ancient sources, except for his allegation that Augustus encouraged intermarriage amongst his client kings.

²⁸⁸ Mazard 297-374; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 151; Draycott, ‘Symbol of Cleopatra Selene’, p. 55. The use of Greek for Cleopatra’s reverses reflects her Ptolemaic heritage, as does the use of Egyptian iconography on her reverses; see K. Dahmen, ‘With Rome in Mind? Case Studies in the Coinage of Client Kings’, in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, p. 100.

²⁸⁹ Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 24, n. 24. No extant inscriptions however explicitly give Juba’s name as “C. Iulius Iuba”, which might be expected if he was granted citizenship from Augustus (Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 74). Braund also thinks Juba II and Ptolemy had Roman citizenship (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 45).

²⁹⁰

The only strong literary evidence to back Suetonius' claim that Augustus took an active role in suggesting or encouraging marriages between his client kings is for the marriage between Juba and Cleopatra Selene, which Dio stated Augustus arranged. Even there the evidence is conflicting, as Plutarch claimed it was Octavia that arranged the match. At first glance the position accepted by modern scholars appears shaky without analysis. If the characteristics of these marriages between client kings during Augustus' reign, however, are compared with the marriage links forged previously, under the Republic and Hellenistic periods, then glaring differences emerge. The first chapter demonstrated that marriage-alliances were predominantly alliances forged between neighbouring kingdoms and usually for particular political reasons. During Augustus' reign, the royal marriages between client kings, while still forging friendship between the two states, no longer are bound by geographic proximity. The marriage links between Mauretania and the newly defunct kingdom of Egypt (Marriage 1), between Judaea and Cappadocia (Marriage 3), between Mauretania and Cappadocia (Marriage 7) and between Thrace and Pontus (Marriage 10) can provide no obvious military benefit to each other. The alliance, at least in terms of military support, must be a low-order concern. These client kingdoms were not only separated by thousands of miles, but also their "patron" state, the Roman Empire, often lay between them.

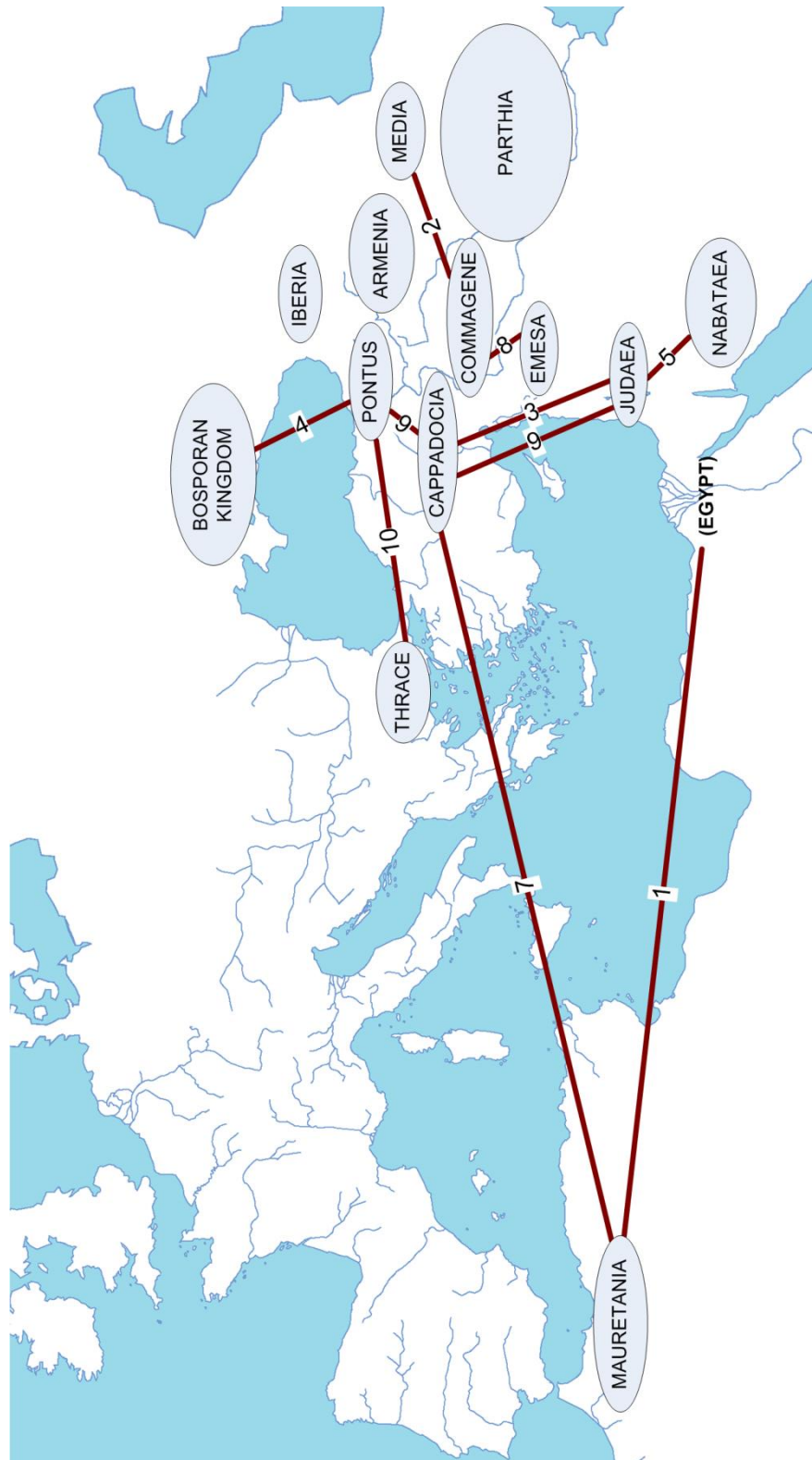


Figure 16. Plan of known marriage-alliances arranged during Augustus' reign

Doubtlessly some of these marriages were forged in the time-honoured tradition: for instance between Judaea and Nabataea (Marriage 5), or Cappadocia and Pontus (Marriage 6),

neighbouring client kingdoms or between Commagene and Emesa (Marriage 8) which lay no great distance apart. For the remainder of cases, however, the hand of Augustus is visible, nurturing relationships that would ordinarily be non-existent. The known cases are also restricted by the evidence that remains. Many kings had wives that remain nameless, or their origins unknown. Many more marriage-links may have been forged. Analysis of the marriages indicates this was not a predilection or preference, but an Augustan policy, although more probably personal rather than formal or a state policy. Such concern for the domestic arrangements of these kings also strongly suggests a paternalistic rule from the emperor and provides insights into the importance of client kings within the Roman Empire, and the nature of their role. The encouragement of intermarriage between these kings does not indicate that these kings were stopgap measures whose only role was to Romanise and pacify a territory until it could properly be annexed. Instead it indicates that these kings were very much treated as part of the Roman Empire, and that Augustus intended the king and his successor manage these territories. Whether this policy of Augustus' was continued by his successors is the focus of the next chapter, which will analyse those marriage-alliances forged between client kingdoms during the reigns of the Julio-Claudian and later emperors.

Chapter 3. Marriage-alliances after Augustus

This chapter analyses the marriage-alliances formed between client kings during the reigns of Augustus' successors – the Julio-Claudian and later emperors. As in the previous chapter, the emperor's relationship with his client kings needs to be first understood. Some emperors, such as Tiberius and Vespasian, demonstrate a tendency to convert client kingdoms into provinces. Others, such as Gaius, Claudius and Nero, demonstrate a preference for client kings, even reinstating client kings to rule territories that were once, even for only a short time, provinces. Individual relationships between client kings and the emperor were also important and analysis demonstrates that, like Augustus, the relationships between the two rulers were personal as well as professional. Augustus' policies in client king management appear to have been respected and followed, to some extent, by the early Julio Claudian emperors but many of them did not have personal experience of the East.

Secondly, but more importantly, this chapter then examines the marriages made between client kings during this period. This chapter will then attempt to determine how closely Augustus' successors adhered to his policy of encouraging intermarriage. As in the previous chapter, each of the known marriage alliances between client kings for this period shall be examined individually. In these sections the people involved in the marriage, the existing sources and the circumstances behind it will be scrutinized and an attempt to arrive at as close a date to the marriage as possible given the scarcity of evidence.

A continuation of Augustus' policies regarding client kings, particularly the encouragement of intermarriage, would indicate that they were formal policies, perhaps even strategies, ingrained into the principate. The haphazard nature, however, that subsequent emperors followed Augustus' methods, indicates that Augustus' policy regarding his client kings was a personal policy. Only one marriage is known from the sources for the reign of Vespasian, and none for the rest of the emperors of the second and third centuries. This reflects the dearth of evidence for this period, but also the decline in the number of client kingdoms, as well as a tendency for emperors not continuing to encourage intermarriage between client kings. This

chapter also demonstrates that by not encouraging growth in the Eastern Dynastic Network, subsequent emperors were limiting the potential for heirs to inherit kingdoms when the old kings died. While some client kingdoms were deliberately converted into province, despite the existence of heirs, others were perhaps converted because the absence of heirs meant there were no other options available.

Emperors and Client Kings

The previous chapter outlined some definite, if not personal, policies that Augustus had evolved in regards managing the client kings of the Roman Empire. One of these policies is the primary interest of this thesis – the encouragement of intermarriage amongst the eastern royal families. Before the chapter can assess the marriages known to be forged in the reigns of Augustus’ successors, their wider policies in dealing with client kings in general will first need to be assessed. If any of the subsequent emperors reveal signs that they followed Augustus’ other policies in managing client kings, then it might be expected that so too would the policy of intermarriage between kings be likewise encouraged. The comparison or contrast of how these emperors handled their client kings with Augustus’ methods will also reveal much regarding the way marriages between kings also evolved and why. Chapter 2 has demonstrated that intermarriage was integral to Augustus’ complete client management package and the marriages made under his successors cannot be examined in isolation. This important section of the chapter will endeavour to understand how these emperors dealt with other aspects of client kingship.

A survey of the treatment of client kings by the emperors following Augustus reveals several interesting points. The early Julio-Claudian emperors were particularly affected by Augustus’ policy in raising the children of client kings in the Imperial household and educating them as if they were his own.¹ Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius all display signs of having a close relationship with certain client kings, which may have affected their judgement. Augustus’ habit of meeting his kings together *en mass* in the provinces is not reflected in the early

¹ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 167-68; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, pp. 355-56. For further details on this policy, see Chapter 2 above, p. 118.

emperors who, by and large, remained at Rome, but later emperors, such as Trajan and Hadrian, did entertain conclaves of kings. Augustus' tendency to distribute territory to different kings was followed by the emperors as well as his policy of keeping such territory, where possible, in the hands of kings that a legitimate dynastic claim to the land and its people. These distributions sometimes occurred at the beginning of the emperor's reign, as in the case of Gaius and Claudius. Later emperors, from Nero onwards, also developed a habit of entertaining visiting kings in Rome in a lavish and public display. Augustus, on the hand, appeared to conduct such visits in a much more private and personal manner.

Tiberius

By the time Tiberius became emperor in AD 14 he had already amassed considerable experience dealing with client kings. As noted by Rutledge, Tiberius had more extensive experience with the Greek world than Augustus did after Actium.² As an agent of Augustus, he was with the emperor in the East during his settlement of 20 BC.³ Tiberius was responsible for the crowning of Tigranes as king in Armenia in the same year.⁴ When Tiberius was given command of suppressing the Pannonian revolt (AD 6-8), Rhoemetalces, king of Thrace, with his brother Rhescuporis, provided troops and fought alongside Tiberius.⁵ In many ways Tiberius appears to have followed faithfully in Augustus' footsteps. In Armenia, Tiberius continued Augustan policy of controlling the kingdom through kings not only friendly to Rome, but also connected to the previous ruling dynasty of the Artaxiads. Although in contrast to Augustus, Tiberius maintained a personal level of animosity to one client king (Archelaus of Cappadocia) and had undertaken the change in status of three client kingdoms to direct Roman rule.

² Rutledge also states that Tiberius had more experience in the East than all the other Julio-Claudian emperors, see S. H. Rutledge, 'Tiberius' Philhellenism', *CW* 101.4, 2008, p. 456.

³ B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, Rev. edn, London, 1976, pp. 13-14.

⁴ *RG* 27.1; *Vell. Pat.* 2.122; *Tac. Ann.* 2.3.2; *Suet. Tib.* 9.1; *Dio* 54.9.4; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72; Colley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-32; R. Seager, *Tiberius*, London, 1972, p. 14; Crook, 'Political History', p. 90; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 14; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 74-75. It is worth noting that Tiberius was accompanied by Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia on this expedition, see Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 13; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 159.

⁵ *Vell. Pat.* 2.112.4; *Dio* 55.30.3 and 6; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 553; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 199; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 34; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Dynasty', p. 460.

As emperor, Tiberius largely left Augustus' arrangements regarding client kings in place. For example, surviving sources indicate that many princes were still educated at Rome and brought up in the Imperial household, and guardians assigned to rule kingdoms of young kings.⁶ With one client king in particular, however, Tiberius had a more complex relationship. Archelaus of Cappadocia had earlier been on good terms with Tiberius, who undertook to defend the king in the courts at Rome.⁷ Archelaus had also accompanied Tiberius on his mission to Armenia – Levick describes Archelaus' role as a “mentor” to the 21 year old Tiberius.⁸ Later, during Tiberius' retirement in Rhodes, Archelaus appears to have slighted him.⁹ In AD 17 Archelaus was brought to Rome to stand trial – the charges were ostensibly “rebellious conduct”, although no details are given.¹⁰ The sources claimed the charge was levied merely to settle old scores, but agreed the trial was before the senate, not the emperor, and that Archelaus was acquitted, although he died shortly afterwards.¹¹

⁶ A young Herod Agrippa was a friend of Drusus and later was assigned by Tiberius to be Gaius' companion, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.143, 266; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 11; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 110; A. A. Barrett, *Caligula: the Corruption of Power*, London, 1989, pp. 34-36. The sons of Cotys of Thrace, for example, were known to be raised with Gaius in Rome, see *IGRR* IV 145, Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 208. The same sons had a guardian appointed to govern their portion of Thrace, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.67; Wilkes, ‘Danubian and Balkan Provinces’, p. 555; Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 209.

⁷ Dio 57.17.3; Suet. *Tib.* 8.1; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 12. Levick, ‘Beginning of Tiberius' Career’, pp. 478-86; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 157-61; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 81. Levick also suggests that Archelaus may have had hereditary client connections with the Claudii (Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 9). For the date of this trial, see Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 157-61 (who suggests 20 BC) and Levick, ‘Beginning of Tiberius' Career’, pp. 478-86 (who suggests 26 BC),

⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 13. If Archelaus was married to an Armenian princess (see Chapter 5, p. 302 onwards below for arguments) then his contacts would have been invaluable.

⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Dio 57.17.4. Apparently Archelaus ignored Tiberius at Rhodes and paid court to Gaius Caesar instead. See also Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 81; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1160-61.

¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Suet. *Tib.* 37.4; Dio 57.17.4; Philostr. *Apoll.* 1.12.2; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 110; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly*, p. 166; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1160-61; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 82; A. A. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, New Haven, 2002, pp. 80-81. According to Tacitus, a friendly letter from Livia lured Archelaus to Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 2.42).

¹¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Dio 57.17.7; T. E. J. Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, *CAH*² 10, 1996, p. 210; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1160-161; Hekster, ‘Trophy Kings and Roman Power’, pp. 45-46; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 82. Sullivan suggests that Archelaus' “extraordinary powers” (since he was married to Pythodoris, the Queen of Pontus) were a threat to Tiberius and he was planning revolution (Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1160-161). The charge of rebellion, although repeated by some sources, cannot be taken too seriously, as Archelaus must have been at least 73 in AD 17, and probably a great deal older. The combined powers of the kingdoms of Pontus and Cappadocia at this time would have been troublesome rather than threatening. Wiedemann suggests the kingdom was converted into a province to raise funds to pay for the shortfall in military pay (Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 210). Wiedemann stresses that the old king died of natural causes, but the hostility of Tiberius had “exacerbated” it (Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 210). Pani suggests that Archelaus was accused of assisting his relative, Zeno-Artaxias, onto the throne of Armenia (M. Pani, *Roma e I Re d'Oriente da Augusto a Tiberio*, Bari, 1974, pp. 173-75; Levick, *Tiberius*, p.110). Zeno was only Archelaus' step-son, however, and Germanicus established him on the throne of Armenia a year after Archelaus was brought to Rome for trial.

During Tiberius' reign three Augustan client kingdoms were absorbed into the empire. By AD 17, the death of three client kings had left vacant kingdoms: Archelaus of Cappadocia (mentioned above), Antiochus III of Commagene and Philopator II in Cilicia.¹² Germanicus was sent to the East to manage these issues around AD 18. Cappadocia was organised into a new province, although Archelaus' son, Archelaus II, was allowed to retain his father's domains in Cilicia.¹³ Germanicus oversaw the incorporation of Antiochus III's kingdom of Commagene, as well as Philopator's territories in Cilicia, into the province of Syria.¹⁴ These were the first conversions of kingdoms into provinces since Augustus added Paphlagonia to Galatia in 6/5 BC.¹⁵ While the records for the Tarcondimotid family are scant, evidence survived to demonstrate that at least the kings of Cappadocia and Commagene still had family that survived them – Archelaus II in Cappadocia and Antiochus IV in Commagene. The deaths of the old kings gave Tiberius an opportunity to convert these kingdoms, but it was not a necessity – both Cappadocia and Commagene had surviving heirs and could continue as client kingdoms.

The final part of Germanicus' eastern expedition involved the appointment of Zeno, son of Polemo of Pontus, as king of Armenia. Zeno adopted the dynastic name of Artaxias and didrachms and drachms were issued from Cappadocia depicting his coronation by Germanicus.¹⁶ Other client kingdoms remained untouched, and Tiberius continued Augustus' principle of transferring them to kings with dynastic claims. At the death of Rhoemetalces I around AD 13, Thrace had been divided between his brother and his son, probably in the final

¹² Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Joseph. *AJ* 18.53; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 670; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 110-11; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 82. For Germanicus' mission East in general, see D. C. A. Shotton, 'Tacitus, Tiberius and Germanicus', *Historia* 17.2, 1968, pp. 204-08.

¹³ Strab. 12.1.4; Tac. *Ann.* 2.52, 6.41; Suet. *Tib.* 37.4; Dio 57.17.7; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 63; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 210; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 670; Seager, *Tiberius*, pp. 82, 85; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1159-1160; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 111; Wiedemann suggests the kingdom was converted into a province to raise funds to pay for the shortfall in military pay (Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 210). Levick, however, suggests it was a continuation of Augustus' policy to strengthen the Eastern borders (Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 111).

¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.4; Strab. 16.2.3; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 111; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 784-85; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 670; N. Wright, 'The House of Tarkondimotos: a Late Hellenistic Dynasty between Rome and the East', *AS* 62, 2012, p. 80; Facella, 'Case of Commagene', p. 195; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 85.

¹⁵ Strab. 12.3.41; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 92; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 465; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 650; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 153.

¹⁶ Strab. 12.3.29; Tac. *Ann.* 2.56; *RPC* I 3629 and 3630; *PIR*² A 1168; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 86-87; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 923-25; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146. Zeno's ancestry spelt out in *OGIS* 377.

years of Augustus' reign. When Rhescuporis killed his nephew Cotys and attempted to reunite Thrace, Tiberius intervened.¹⁷ Rhescuporis was exiled, but the partition of Thrace continued and followed natural succession: Rhoemetalces II inherited his disgraced father's western portion and the eastern portion was temporarily monitored by a Roman appointee until the sons of Cotys reached maturity.¹⁸ Around AD 23 Juba II, king of Mauretania, died and the kingdom appears to have passed to his son Ptolemy without imperial interference.¹⁹ Apart from the conversions of Cappadocia, Commagene and Cilicia in AD 18, Tiberius left most other client kingdoms remain under royal rule and allowed natural succession to replace kings that had died. Only when Philip, the son of Herod, died in AD 33 did Tiberius absorb his territories into the province of Syria rather than redistribute his land to the other members of Herod's family.²⁰ As Levick noted, Tiberius was reluctant to absorb client kingdoms unnecessarily and resisted the idea of annexation.²¹

Towards the end of his reign, circumstances forced Tiberius to twice more interfere with the affairs of his client kings. After the death of Artaxias (around AD 35), Artabanus the king of Parthia, invaded Armenia and set up his son, Arsaces, as its king.²² Rebellious elements in Parthia, however, requested a king from Tiberius to replace Artabanus. Tiberius first sent Phraates, a son that Phraates IV sent to Augustus decades ago.²³ After Phraates failed to unseat Artabanus, Tiberius sent another, a Tiridates, with Iberian support.²⁴ Mithridates,

¹⁷ Vell. Pat. 2.129.1; Tac. *Ann.* 2.66-67; Suet. *Tib.* 37.4; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 555; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 200-01. Tacitus suggested that the division of Thrace, leaving Rhescuporis with the rougher section, caused the split with his nephew. Sullivan suggests Cotys received the civilized eastern section because it was closer to the homeland of his wife, Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus (Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 200). Augustus may have, however, granted Rhescuporis the rougher western half because he was more experienced, having experience in putting down rebellions with his brother Rhoemetalces (Dio 55.30.6).

¹⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 2.67. See also Samsaris, 'Le Royaume Client Thrace', pp. 159-66; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 114; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 555; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 209.

¹⁹ Strab. 17.3.7, 17.3.25; Tac. *Ann.* 4.23; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 252-53; Whittaker, 'Roman Africa', p. 595; Raven, *Roman Africa*, p. 61. Juba appears to have raised his son as his co-ruler in his later years: see Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 244.

²⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.108; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 240; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 744; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 182. Philip's last coin was issued in his 37th year (AD 33/34); see *RPC I* 4952-4953.

²¹ Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 111.

²² Tac. *Ann.* 6.31; Dio 58.26.1; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 924. Arsaces was killed shortly afterwards, so Artabanus sent another son, Orodes; see Joseph. *AJ* 18.52.

²³ Tac. *Ann.* 6.32; Dio 58.26.3; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 115; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203.

²⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 18.97; Tac. *Ann.* 6.32; E. Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia from Pompey to Domitian', in *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire. Proceedings of a Colloquium held at Anakara in September 1988*,

brother of the King of Iberia, was sent to invade Armenia to rule as a Roman client king. Artabanus defeated Tiridates and retained his rule over Parthia, but Mithridates of Iberia held Armenia.²⁵ When Herod Antipas of Judaea divorced the daughter of Aretas of Nabataea (a marriage made during Augustus' reign), Aretas invaded Antipas' territories and defeated him in battle.²⁶ Antipas wrote to Tiberius, a personal friend, and the emperor ordered L. Vitellius (cos. 34), the governor of Syria, to intervene with two legions.²⁷ Tiberius died, however, before Vitellius could invade Nabataea and the governor, in lieu of any direction from the new emperor, returned to Syria with his army.²⁸

Tiberius was known to be a strong advocate and continuator of Augustan policy.²⁹ Raised in Augustus' household and for many years an agent of Augustan foreign policy in Germania and Armenia, Tiberius would have been privy to the designs, methods and solutions employed by Augustus. Tiberius' reign cannot be dismissed, however, as merely a continuation of Augustus' principate. Unlike Augustus, Tiberius did appear to have more complex personal relationships with some of his client kings. Archelaus, once a friend, was now treated like an enemy – even allowing for the obvious exaggeration in the sources, Tiberius does appear to have subjected Archelaus to harsh treatment.³⁰ Tiberius also appears

D. H. French and C.S. Lightfoot (eds), Oxford, 1989, p. 69; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 115; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 219.

²⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 6.32; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 115; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 219-20.

²⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 18.113-114; Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 65; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 268.

²⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.115; H. W. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 55-56; Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, pp. 65-69; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 143; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 268-69. On Tiberius' friendship with Antipas, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.36; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 234; Hekster, 'Trophy Kings and Roman Power', pp. 53-54. Antipas also named the city of Tiberias in honour of the emperor, see Joseph. *BJ* 2.168; *AJ* 18.36; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 138. Antipas was about 20 years Tiberius' junior (if he was born around 23 BC; see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 225) but Antipas was sent to Rome to be educated when Tiberius was ascendant as Augustus' "right hand man" (Hoehner suggests 8/7 BC; see Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, p. 14).

²⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 18.124; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 269; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 307. Sullivan suggests that there may have been Parthian involvement in the affair as well, considering Agrippa's later claim to Gaius that Antipas was conspiring with the Parthians (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 307-08).

²⁹ According to Tacitus, "to Tiberius, his [Augustus'] decisions were sacred" (Tac. *Ann.* 1.77). In a speech to the senate Tiberius declared that "... observing as I do his [Augustus'] every action and word as law ..." (Tac. *Ann.* 4.37). See also Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 60-61; Seager, *Tiberius*, pp. 174-77; D. Shotter, 'Tiberius and the Spirit of Augustus', *G&R* 13, 1966, pp. 207-12.

³⁰ Augustus is known to have expressed disappointment and even anger with client kings at times (Rhoemetalses of Thrace, Herod of Judaea and Aretas of Nabataea all suffered Augustan criticism), but the emperor appears to

to have supported a client king who was a personal friend (Antipas of Judaea) in a dispute with another king (Aretas of Nabataea). Regardless, if the arrangement of marriages between client kings was deliberate Augustan policy, then one would expect that Tiberius would be strongest adherent of this policy amongst the succeeding emperors. It is important to highlight that for at least two of the kingdoms that Tiberius converted into provinces, Cappadocia and Commagene, heirs existed that could have continued the dynasty if the emperor chose. These kingdoms therefore became provinces for political reasons, and not because the dynasty had died out.

Gaius

Under Gaius an even stronger relationship between the emperor and the kings developed. It appears that several princes educated in Rome had been raised in Antonia's house with Gaius, such as the three sons of Cotys.³¹ When Gaius succeeded Tiberius, these companions were rewarded. Herod Agrippa was granted the title of King and the tetrarchy of Philip in Judaea.³² The sons of Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus inherited three kingdoms: the eldest, Rhoemetalces III, was granted his father's portion of Thrace, Polemo inherited his maternal grandfather's kingdom of Pontus, and the youngest son, Cotys, inherited Armenia Minor – territory that had also once belonged to his maternal grandfather.³³ Antiochus, son of Antiochus III of Commagene, was granted his father's former kingdom, even though Tiberius

have made every effort to treat them in a professional manner – none of these examples suffered indictment or penalties despite his displeasure.

³¹ *IGRR* IV 145; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 208; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 24; S. Wilkinson, *Caligula*, New York, 2005, p. 37.

³² Philo *Flacc.* 25, 40; Joseph. *BJ* 2.181-182, *AJ* 18.237; Dio 59.8.2; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 279-80; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 741; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 63; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 323; D. Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', *CQ* 42.2, 1992, p. 439; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 60. Herod Antipas, encouraged by his wife (Agrippa's sister) also petitioned Gaius for the title of king, but the emperor, heeding Agrippa, exiled Antipas instead and granted Antipas' realm to Agrippa, see Joseph *AJ* 18.240-255; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 269; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 740; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 183. Barrett points out that during the recent war between Judaea and Nabataea (mentioned above) Herod Antipas would have been fighting against Aretas IV, a comrade of Germanicus (Gaius' father) which would have prejudiced the emperor against Antipas (Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 183; for Aretas' support of Germanicus, see *Tac. Ann.* 2.57).

³³ *IGRR* IV 145; Dio 59.12.2; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 223; Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', p. 439; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 208-09; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 670; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 172-73; Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 437. The passage of Dio calls Polemo the "son of Polemo" – whether this is a mistake, or referring to another Polemo, see below for arguments and bibliography, p. 18. Polemo and Julia Mamaea of Emesa (?)²²³. Wiedemann considers that Rhoemetalces, Polemo and Cotys were "probably cousins" (Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 223) but the inscription above (*IGRR* IV 145) describes them as all the children of Cotys and another inscription names Antonia Tryphaena as Rhoemetalces' mother and Polemo and Cotys as his brothers (*IGRR* IV 147).

had previously absorbed it into Syria.³⁴ The structure of Dio gives the impression that this parcelling out of kingdoms was implemented in two separate events: the first, to Herod Agrippa and Antiochus, in AD 37 and the second, to the remaining kings, in the following year.³⁵

Although no marriages can be definitely dated to Gaius' short reign (AD 37-41), it is apparent that client kings wielded important influence during his early years. The power of the kings and the gifts Gaius showered upon them was highlighted by the ancient sources. Suetonius claimed that restored kings were also repaid tax in arrears since their deposition and reported that Antiochus received a million *aurei* from the public treasury.³⁶ According to Josephus, Agrippa was given chains of gold in lieu of the iron chains from his imprisonment.³⁷ Dio asserted that these kings encouraged Gaius' autocratic behaviour, calling Antiochus of Commagene and Agrippa of Judaea "two tyrant-trainers."³⁸ Gaius also appeared to prefer the company of kings. Josephus, always quick to emphasise the strong relationships between the Jewish rulers and the Roman emperors, highlighted the bond between Agrippa and Gaius during the last years of Tiberius' reign.³⁹ Furthermore Agrippa did not leave for his new realm until the second year of Gaius' reign.⁴⁰ Both Dio and Suetonius mentioned that Darius, a Parthian prince in Rome, accompanied the emperor across the triumphal bridge constructed between Puteoli and Bauli.⁴¹ Suetonius also alluded to a dinner party where several unnamed

³⁴ Dio 59.8.2; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 63; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 786; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 223; Facella, 'Case of Commagene', p. 195; Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', p. 439; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 36.

³⁵ First lot (AD 37): Dio 59.8.2; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 63; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 279. Second lot (AD 38): Dio 59.12.2; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 63. The last coins of Polemo with Claudius (*RPC I* 3820) and first coins of Polemo with Nero (*RPC I* 3829), i.e. AD 54/55, are both dated Regnal Year 16 (IZ) confirm that he first received his kingdom AD 38/39, see also Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 437 n. 3.

³⁶ Suet. *Calig.* 16.3; Facella, 'Case of Commagene', p. 195; Barret, *Caligula*, p. 222; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 223; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 36.

³⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.237; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 282-83.

³⁸ Dio 59.24.1; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 58. As Barrett argues, Gaius' mentors and earlier associations with kings from a young age is often used to explain Gaius' move towards "Oriental Despotism." Claudius, however, had the same close association with Kings, yet avoided such a label; see Barrett, *Caligula*, pp. 221-22.

³⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 18.168; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 278; Barrett, *Caligula*, pp. 34-37; Goodman, 'Judaea', pp. 744-45; Barrett, 'Claudius, Gaius and the Client Kings', p. 284.

⁴⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.238. Modern scholars have highlighted how little time Agrippa spent in his new kingdom during the reign of Gaius; see Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 284-85.

⁴¹ Dio 59.17.5; Suet. *Calig.* 19.3; M. Kleijwegt, 'Caligula's 'Triumph' at Baiae', *Mnemosyne* 47.5, 1994, p. 655; S. J. V. Malloch, 'Gaius' Bridge at Baiae and Alexander-Imitatio', *CQ* 51.1, 2001, p. 211. Darius was the son of

kings dined with Gaius.⁴² Gaius' royal company was stressed by the ancient sources, who were keen to reflect on the emperor's own autocratic tendencies.

At some point later in his reign, Gaius appears to have reversed his pro-client king policy. Kings that had previously held their realms in Tiberius' reign, or even those that Gaius had only recently appointed, lost their kingdoms. The demise of Ptolemy of Mauretania was probably the most infamous.⁴³ The ancient sources pointed to either petulance or greed as Gaius' motives, such motivations enhanced their portrayal of the young emperor as dangerously unpredictable. Suetonius claimed that Ptolemy's wearing of a purple cloak in public at an amphitheatre antagonised the emperor.⁴⁴ Dio related that Ptolemy was called to Rome and executed, because "he was wealthy."⁴⁵ Seneca implied that Ptolemy was imprisoned first before he was executed.⁴⁶ The sources and numismatic evidence point to these events being dated to sometime in AD 40.⁴⁷ Malloch makes an interesting suggestion that Suetonius' outrageous claim is possibly closer to the truth. He suggests Ptolemy's public display in a purple robe was a slight on Gaius' recent military "victories" as well as asserting the higher ranking of a *rex* over an *imperator*.⁴⁸ Fishwick and Shaw suggest a stronger motive for Ptolemy's execution, pointing out the connection between the conspirator Gaetulicus and Ptolemy.⁴⁹ They draw attention to the fact that Ptolemy was the cousin of Gaius' sisters, who

Artabanus III of Parthia (Joseph. *AJ* 18.103, Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 115; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 91). Whether Darius was a trophy or a companion is not clear; see Allan, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking*, p. 122.

⁴² Suet. *Calig.* 22.1; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 222.

⁴³ Sen. *Tranq.* 11.12; Plin. *HN* 5.11; Suet. *Calig.* 26.1, 35.1; Dio 59.25.1. As noted by Suetonius, he was Gaius' cousin through Marcus Antonius (Suet. *Calig.* 26.1; see also *PIR*² P 1025). See also Wilkinson, *Caligula*, pp. 35-36; Barrett, *Caligula*, pp. 117-99; Roller, *World Of Juba II*, pp. 254-55; D. Fishwick, 'The Annexation of Mauretania', *Historia* 20.4, 1971, pp. 467-87; S. J. V. Malloch, 'The Death of Ptolemy of Mauretania', *Historia* 53.1, 2004, pp. 38-45; D. Fishwick and B. D. Shaw, 'Ptolemy of Mauretania and the Conspiracy of Gaetulicus', *Historia* 25.4, 1976, pp. 491-94; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 227; Whittaker, 'Roman Africa', pp. 596-98.

⁴⁴ Suet. *Calig.* 35.1; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 117; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 35.

⁴⁵ Dio 59.25.1; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 35; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 117. Wiedemann agrees that Gaius needed the income (Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 227).

⁴⁶ Sen. *Tranq.* 11.12; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 170.

⁴⁷ Dio 59.25.1. Ptolemy's last dated coins feature the date regnal date XX (Year 20 which would be AD 40) but none after this (Mazard 496). There is also an inscription that dates Mauretania's first year as a province to this year (*CIL* VIII 8630). See Fishwick, 'Annexation of Mauretania', pp. 467-68 and Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 117.

⁴⁸ Malloch, 'The Death of Ptolemy', p. 45. Ptolemy's victories were over Tacfarinas in the reign of Tiberius, for which he was granted an embroidered robe and an ivory sceptre (Tac. *Ann.* 4.26).

⁴⁹ Fishwick and Shaw, 'Ptolemy and Conspiracy', pp. 491-94. Roller agrees (Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 254-55), as does Whittaker (Whittaker, 'Roman Africa', p. 597). Both Whittaker and Roller mention Ptolemy's issuing of gold coins (Mazard 398 and 399) as a further sign of his "assertion of emancipation" – gold coins had, however, been issued from the Bosporan Kingdom for years under client kings there, see Braund, *Rome and the*

were also implicated in the plot.⁵⁰ Regardless of Gaius' motives, the process of incorporating Mauretania into the empire now began and would be finished later under Claudius.⁵¹

Other client kings also earned Gaius' wrath, but with less dire consequences. The emperor imprisoned Mithridates of Iberia, who Tiberius had appointed as king of Armenia in AD 35.⁵² None of the ancient sources noted even a fanciful motive as to why Gaius had him imprisoned, but Barrett suggests that it may have been part of the peace process with Artabanus of Parthia.⁵³ Originally Tiberius granted Mithridates, the brother of King Pharasmanes of Iberia, Armenia to thwart Artabanus' ambitions to make his own son king Armenia.⁵⁴ Mithridates, with aid from his brother, was successful in warding off Parthian invasions and Pharasmanes even wounded a son of Artabanus.⁵⁵ His removal by Gaius would certainly go some way towards mollifying Parthian insecurities. Another king deposed was Antiochus IV of Commagene. Dio related that Gaius "although he had given him [Antiochus] the district, had taken it away again."⁵⁶ Antiochus had been close to Gaius and was only recently appointed king by the young emperor. This, as well as a lack of corroboration from other sources, has seen some modern scholars, such as Wilkinson, claim Dio was mistaken.⁵⁷

Friendly King, pp. 123-26 and for gold staters of Mithridates of the Bosporan Kingdom issued under Gaius, see Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, p. 72.

⁵⁰ Fishwick and Shaw, 'Ptolemy and Conspiracy', p. 494; Whittaker, 'Roman Africa', p. 597.

⁵¹ Pliny the Elder (*NH* 5.2) clearly attributed the annexation of Mauretania to Gaius. Barrett (*Caligula*, p. 119) determines that the decision to annex was Gaius' but the implementation delayed by local insurrections until Claudius' reign. Other, more fanciful, theories of Ptolemy's execution have been put forward, including the argument that Gaius was jealous of Ptolemy because of hair, see D. Woods, 'Caligula, Ptolemy of Mauretania, and the Danger of Long Hair', *Arctos* 39, 2005, pp. 207-14.

⁵² Sen. *Tranq.*, 11.12; Dio 60.8.1; Tac. *Ann.* 11.8.1; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 170; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 91; Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', pp. 441-43; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 220. Seneca infers that he was exiled after his imprisonment.

⁵³ Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 64. Wardle is not so sure and suspects punishment for ceding some Armenian territory to Parthia (Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', pp. 442-43). As Wardle admits, without more information, all these theories are highly speculative.

⁵⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.32; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 219.

⁵⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 6.35; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 88-89.

⁵⁶ Dio 60.8.1; Joseph. *AJ* 19.276; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 787; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 37.

⁵⁷ Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 37. Barrett believes Dio did not correctly understand Claudius re-instatement of Gaius' appointments and so assumed Gaius had dismissed Antiochus at some time (Barrett, 'Gaius, Claudius and the Client Kings', p. 285). Wardle disputes this and points out that the lack of such an account in Dio's Book 59 is because, in its current form, it relies on epitomisers such as Xiphilinus and Zonaras (Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', pp. 440-41).

In the light of the deposition of other client kings, however, it is possible to see a trend that suggests Gaius was starting to reverse his initial pro-Client king policy.

Regardless, both Wilkinson and Barrett portray Gaius' use of client kings as a strength of his principate.⁵⁸ Gaius, although marked by Tiberius as one of his principle heirs, appears to have undertaken no formal training or experienced commands that would prepare him for the Principate. Although the government of the Roman Empire was a minimal operation, there would still be some machinery of government that would have continued on from Augustus and Tiberius. Augustus' management of client kings appears to have been a personal policy and is not known to have been part of the various instructions that he left for his successors. Gaius' policy towards his client kings was personal, but not in a manner that reflects that of his great grandfather. Whereas Augustus appears to have only met kings *en mass* in the provinces, and individually in Rome – Gaius appears to have publically revelled in the company of kings, and the disfavour of this is revealed by the sources. Even as echoes of his own autocratic position, Gaius does appear to have understood the importance of monarchical rule in some territories within the empire. The reversal of his uncle's position in Commagene, for example, may have been deliberate, rather than whimsical.⁵⁹ Overall, Gaius' reign reveals a tendency to encourage rule by client kings in the eastern empire, and was quite comfortable with their presence in Rome and in the imperial entourage. While the sources tend to use these examples to portray Gaius as an autocrat in the company of other autocrats, his treatment of client kings was not that dissimilar to Augustus'. Whereas Augustus appeared careful not to associate with kings in public, however, Gaius was less careful.

Claudius

Like his predecessor, Claudius (AD 41-54) was quite comfortable with leaving some sections of the empire under the rule of client kings. According to Barrett, Claudius' abolition of Gaius'

⁵⁸ Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 62; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 222. Kaizer describes Commagene as being “tangoed between kingdom and province” (Kaizer, ‘Kings and Gods’, p. 115).

⁵⁹ Although Gaius does appear to have later misgivings himself. Antiochus IV remained as client king, and Commagene as a friendly kingdom for some thirty years before it was to be retransformed back into the province of Syria by Vespasian; see below, p. 212.

acts would have included negating the appointment of client kings during that reign.⁶⁰ Early in his reign Claudius re-instated Mithridates of Iberia to Armenia and Antiochus IV to Commagene.⁶¹ In the same passage Dio related that another Mithridates was made ruler of the Bosporan Kingdom, Agrippa was given larger domains in Judaea, and Agrippa's brother Herod was given Chalcis to rule.⁶² M. Julius Cottius was also given larger domains in the Cottian Alps and the title of King.⁶³ Like Gaius, Claudius would have been familiar with the royalty of the allied kingdoms, who were frequently raised in the house of Antonia, his mother.⁶⁴ Unlike Gaius, however, Claudius successfully expanded the empire, being the first Roman emperor since Augustus to significantly add to the totality of the empire. Claudius' major military invasion of Britain aside, most of these expansions were at the expense of client kings. Claudius completed the conversion of Mauretania from kingdom to province, started by Gaius, and did not return it to its native dynasty of kings. Unlike the former kings of Armenia and Commagene, Ptolemy had been executed under Gaius and it is unknown whether he had any living heirs.⁶⁵ When Rhoemetalces III was killed by his wife in AD 45, Claudius converted the kingdom of Thrace into another province.⁶⁶ Claudius may have decided to convert Thrace regardless of any heirs, although this appears to have led to some difficulties. An extant passage of Tacitus alluded to exhaustion from the recent Thracian wars, an event perhaps dealt with in a previous, but now lost, passage – the allusion implies the

⁶⁰ Barrett, 'Claudius, Gaius and the Client Kings', pp. 284-86. For the annulment of Gaius' *acta*, see Suet. *Claud.* 11.3 (*acta omnia rescidit*); Dio 60.4.1. Wardle, however, disagrees and argues that Dio, unlike Suetonius, alludes to a overturning of specific acts of Gaius over a period of time, whereas Suetonius suggests all of Gaius' acts were repealed. Wardle also doubts that the appointment of client kings under Gaius' reign were part of his *acta*; see Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', pp. 437-39.

⁶¹ Dio 60.8.1-2. See J. Edmondson, *Dio: the Julio-Claudians: Selections from the Books 58-63 of the Roman History of Cassius Dio*, London, 1992, p. 201. Reinstatement of Mithridates: Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 159; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 220. Reinstatement of Antiochus (who was granted parts of Cilicia as well): Joseph. *AJ* 19.276; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 165; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 787.

⁶² Dio 60.8.1-2. Though Mithridates was previously become king of the Bosphorus under Gaius according to a gold stater issued AD 39/40, see *RPC* I 908 and 909 (Smallwood 202) and Edmondson, *Dio: the Julio-Claudians*, p. 201.

⁶³ Dio 60.24.4. See C. Roncaglia, 'Client Prefects? Rome and the Cottians in the Western Alps', *Phoenix* 67.3/4, 2013, pp. 355-56.

⁶⁴ Dio 60.2.5. See Levick, *Claudius*, p. 12. For the sons of Cotys raised with Gaius, see *IGRR* IV 145; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 208; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 24; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 37.

⁶⁵ No evidence exists to determine if Ptolemy was even married; see Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 256. It is doubtful whether Claudius would have reinstated the dynasty even if there were surviving candidates.

⁶⁶ Syncellus 631. See Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 210-11; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Dynasty', p. 465. An inscription recorded children for Rhoemetalces III, but not their names and it is unknown whether they were old enough to succeed their father or whether they were still alive in AD 45 (*AE* 1937, no. 168).

annexation was not so unproblematic.⁶⁷ The possibility remains, however, that both Mauretania and Thrace became provinces because no other option was possible, and both kings had died heirless.

Major strife between two client kingdoms also occurred during Claudius' reign. Mithridates, re-instated in Armenia by Claudius in AD 41, was ousted in AD 51 by his nephew Radamistus. Pharasmanes, Mithridates' brother and king of Iberia, apparently wished to remove a troublesome son and so encouraged Radamistus to seek his fortune in neighbouring Armenia.⁶⁸ With Iberian help Mithridates was deposed.⁶⁹ The Roman governor of Syria, C. Ummidius Quadratus, protested at Radamistus' behaviour but did little to avenge Claudius' appointee.⁷⁰ There is no recorded response from Claudius to this crisis.⁷¹ These troubles proved to be an opportunity for Vologaeses, the new king of Parthia who wished to establish his brother Tiridates on the Armenian throne.⁷² Around the same time Cotys of Armenia Minor appeared to have been approached by Armenian nobles and offered Greater Armenia as well (since that kingdom was in dispute) but a letter from Claudius dissuaded Cotys from interfering.⁷³ Radamistus was in turn ousted by the Parthians, and then temporarily won Armenia back before being killed in AD 54.⁷⁴ These issues led to the Armenian War in Nero's reign, but there is little evidence of Claudius attempting to intercede in a family disagreement between Armenia and Iberia.

⁶⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 12.63; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 211.

⁶⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.44; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 92-96; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 221. Tacitus' account of the strife in Armenia and Iberia is extensive, for its possible purpose, see E. Keitel, 'The Role of Parthia and Armenia in Tacitus *Annals* 11 and 12', *AJPh* 99.4, 1978, pp. 462-73.

⁶⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.45; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 221-22; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 95-97; C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', *Traditio* 25, 1969, p. 12; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160.

⁷⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 12.48; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 96-97; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 222; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160. For career of Ummidius Quadratus, see R. Syme, 'The Ummidii', *Historia* 17.1, 1968, pp. 73-75.

⁷¹ Dąbrowa suggests Claudius was following Tiberius' policy of not becoming involved, as Roman interest in Armenia were served as long as Parthia was not controlling the kingdom (Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70).

⁷² Tac. *Ann.* 12.50; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 97-98; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160.

⁷³ Tac. *Ann.* 11.9; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 92; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 208.

⁷⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.51; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 223; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 98; Toumanoff, 'Early Kings of Iberia', p. 12.

Interneceine strife in another client kingdom did involve Claudius more directly. Mithridates, the son of Aspurgus, was confirmed in his father's kingdom of the Bosphorus early in Claudius' reign.⁷⁵ His brother Cotys was sent as an envoy to Claudius. According to Dio, Mithridates was already planning to rebel from Roman overlordship despite his mother's warnings.⁷⁶ Once in Rome, Cotys betrayed his brother's plans to the emperor, who sent Cotys back with troops to replace Mithridates.⁷⁷ Mithridates made a temporary withdrawal but returned after the Roman troops had left.⁷⁸ Cotys allied with the king of a neighbouring tribe, the Aorsi.⁷⁹ Their combined forces defeated Mithridates' tribal alliance.⁸⁰ He was sent to Rome but Claudius was lenient and exiled him.⁸¹ He later had a small part, according to Plutarch, in Nymphidius Sabinus' plot against Galba in AD 69.⁸²

In Tiberias in AD 42 a group of client kings met under the aegis of Agrippa I.⁸³ This meeting was not sanctioned by the emperor, nor was Claudius present. Client kings had met each other before and visited each other's kingdoms, but no meeting like this has ever been recorded.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ Dio 60.8.2; Levick, *Claudius*, pp. 65-66; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 174.

⁷⁶ Dio 60.28.7. Dio erroneously claims that Mithridates here is king of Iberia, confusing him with the other client king Mithridates (Edmondson, *Dio: the Julio-Claudians*, p. 227). See also Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 174. Some modern scholars seek to demonstrate anti-Roman sentiment in Mithridates' reign, such as Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', pp. 329-30, whereas Levick believes that "rebellion is improbable" (Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157).

⁷⁷ Dio 60.28.7; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 174; Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', p. 329; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157.

⁷⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 175; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157. A. Didius Gallus, the commander of the force dispatched by Claudius to install Cotys as King did leave some cohorts under the command of Julius Aquila (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 94; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556).

⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157.

⁸⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 12.16; Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', p. 330; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157.

⁸¹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.21; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 157; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556. This episode in Tacitus should depict Claudius in a magnanimous manner, but, according to Gowing, Tacitus' purpose is to reveal Claudius' gullibility and to "disparage the emperor" (Gowing, 'Tacitus and the Client Kings', pp. 328-29). Mithridates was not led in triumph, but was put on public display beside the Rostra (Tac. *Ann.* 12.21; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 94).

⁸² Plut. *Galb.* 13.4 and 15.1; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Barret, 'Claudius, Gaius and the Client Kings', p. 286; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 94. If Mithridates was incarcerated he was obviously in Rome free to conspire (or be accused of conspiring) by the reign of Galba.

⁸³ Joseph. *AJ* 19.338-9; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 300; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 324; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 159; D. R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea*, Tübingen, 1990, pp. 137-38; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 81. That the families of all the kings were joined in marriage-alliances, some of them during Augustus' reign must point towards an obvious repercussion of such a policy – this is investigated more thoroughly in Chapter 6.

⁸⁴ Herod visited Archelaus in his realm (Joseph. *AJ* 16.23, 16.131), and Archelaus visited Herod in Judaea (Joseph. *BJ* 1.499-512, *AJ* 16.261-69). Eurycles, tyrant of Sparta, also paid a visit to Herod's court (Joseph. *BJ*

Claudius' reaction is not recorded, but the governor of nearby Syria, C. Vibius Marsus, acted swiftly – he travelled to Tiberias and dispersed the meeting.⁸⁵ Earlier Marsus had reported to Claudius that Agrippa was strengthening the walls of Jerusalem, and Claudius wrote a letter requesting the king desist.⁸⁶ Whether Agrippa was truly attempting to organise some sort of rebellion is difficult to assess, for the king died shortly afterwards. It is interesting to note that all the kings who were at the meeting were either directly or distantly related to Agrippa, many by marriage-alliances arranged by Augustus. The significance of this is explored further in Chapter 6.

Levick is less than impressed with Claudius' achievements in the East, as opposed to the West.⁸⁷ Claudius appears to have left the Eastern kings to their own devices, loathe to interfere, except in the case of Mithridates of the Bosphorus. Levick also points out that Claudius had no personal experience with the East.⁸⁸ Like Gaius, Claudius also had little experience in government but plenty of personal experience with princes, many of whom had grown up in his mother's household. Some of these princes became kings, such as Agrippa I, who benefitted from a close relationship with Claudius. Client kings under Claudius appear to have felt they could act more independently, as the actions of Cotys of Lesser Armenia and Agrippa I of Judaea illustrate. Both were sent letters from Claudius, but no other action is recorded and both kings retained their posts. As with Augustus and Gaius, Claudius respected the dynastic principle – all kings appointed throughout his reign belonged, or were strongly

1.513-31, *AJ* 16.300-10). Previously kings known to gather together to support a Roman war or met with the emperor, or his designate (such as Agrippa, Gaius or Germanicus) in the provinces; see Chapter 2 above, p. 121.

⁸⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 19.340-2; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 324; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 159; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 81; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 137-40; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 300.

⁸⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 2.218, *AJ* 19.326-7; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 324; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 81; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 140-43; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 295-96. Schwartz suggests that both events were a product of the rivalry between Agrippa and Marsus for power in the Roman East and that Marsus was eager to subsume Judaea into Syria; see Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 137-43.

⁸⁷ Levick, *Claudius*, pp. 160-1. Osgood agrees, although he stresses that Roman territory remained protected (J. Osgood, *Claudius Caesar*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 238, 240).

⁸⁸ Levick, *Claudius*, p. 161. It is true to say that Claudius appears to played a more active role in the West, such as the Invasion of Britain, were he had more personal experience. Dio also highlighted that Claudius had no previous experience of authority (Dio 60.2.1).

related to, the native ruling families. Claudius also appears to have continued the policy of educating young princes at Rome.⁸⁹

Nero

Nero (AD 54-68) inherited the dispute in Armenia from his predecessor. The death of Mithridates and then his nephew Radamistus in AD 54 left Armenia open to a contender – Tiridates, brother of the Parthian king Vologaeses. Nero was keen to find a Roman champion for Armenia. During Augustus’ reign Tigranes, son of Alexander and Glaphyra, had been one of the short-lived rulers set up by Rome to rule Armenia (AD 6-12). This Tigranes’ nephew, also Tigranes, was selected by Nero to be Rome’s nominee in Armenia.⁹⁰ Assisted by the general Corbulo, this scion of the Judaeian and Cappadocian dynasties was established as Tigranes VI.⁹¹ Tacitus was scathing of Tigranes’ character, describing him as a having “slave-like docility”, and suggesting that he had been raised and educated in Rome for some time.⁹² Neighbouring client princes in Iberia, Armenia Minor, Pontus and Commagene were ordered to assist Tigranes.⁹³ Despite Tacitus’ opinion of the new Armenian king, Tigranes appeared to have ruled somewhat competent. His raids into Parthia may have been too successful, as they spurred Vologaeses and his vassals into action.⁹⁴ Monaeses, commissioned by Vologaeses to

⁸⁹ Agrippa’s son Agrippa II was educated in Rome, as was Aristobulus, the son of Herod of Chalcis; see Joseph. *AJ* 19.360; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 309.

⁹⁰ Tacitus described him as a member of the Cappadocian royal house and the great-grandson of Archelaus, (*Ann.* 14.26). Josephus described him as the son of Alexander, son of Alexander and Glaphyra (*AJ* 18.139-40). See also M. T. Griffin, *Nero: the End of a Dynasty*, London, 1984, p. 226; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 248; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 107; K. Gilmartin, ‘Corbulo’s Campaigns in the East: An Analysis of Tacitus’ Account’, *Historia* 22.4, 1973, p. 603.

⁹¹ *Tac. Ann.* 14.26; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 226; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 248; Gilmartin, ‘Corbulo’s Campaigns in the East’, p. 603; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 107; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 248. For an examination of Tacitus’ account of Corbulo’s campaign, see Gilmartin, ‘Corbulo’s Campaigns in the East’, pp. 583-26. For the chronology, see E. L. Wheeler, ‘The Chronology of Corbulo in Armenia’, *Klio* 79.2, 1997, pp. 383-97. Both Tigranes were believed to have been descended from an Armenian princess, hence their claim on that country; this claim is examined in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁹² *Tac. Ann.* 14.26; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 226; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 248; Gilmartin, ‘Corbulo’s Campaigns in the East’, p. 603; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 107.

⁹³ *Tac. Ann.* 14.26; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 248-49; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 107; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 224.

⁹⁴ *Tac. Ann.* 15.1; Dio 62.20.2; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 249; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 248. Warmington considers that Tigranes acted without Roman approval (B. H. Warmington, *Nero: Reality and Legend*, London, 1969, p. 92) and Griffin labels Tigranes a “fool” for stirring up the Parthian response (Griffin, *Nero*, p. 226). Regardless of the repercussions of his actions, Tigranes does not act like a puppet of “slave-like docility.” Gowing demonstrates that Tacitus’ impression of Tigranes fits his other account of kings appointed by Rome: hostages, educated in Rome and unacceptable to their subjects (Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, p. 322).

expel Tigranes from Armenia, “failed ... to catch Tigranes unawares”, despite a forced march.⁹⁵ Although Tigranes successfully held out in Tigranocerta against a Parthian siege, he was ordered to vacate Armenia after the Romans came to an agreement with Parthia.⁹⁶ Tiridates was to become the king of Armenia, but he was to be crowned by the Roman emperor.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, even as a foil to Parthian ambitions in Armenia, Tigranes, a product of Augustan marriage-alliances, had proven useful.

Nero made few other changes amongst his client kings. Aristobulus, Tigranes’ Judaeian cousin, was appointed king of Armenia Minor.⁹⁸ This appointment must have been in conjunction with Tigranes’ own elevation and in response to the Armenian War. Josephus related that Aristobulus, who was the son of Herod king of Chalcis, was appointed to be king of Armenia Minor in Nero’s first year.⁹⁹ Either Cotys, the previous king of Armenia Minor, had died by AD 54, or he was considered untrustworthy since Armenia was again in dispute. Another king was appointed at the same time, Sohaemus, over Sophene. Barrett argues convincingly that this was the same Sohaemus who was king of Emesa, although the two regions lay some distance apart.¹⁰⁰ It is worth noting that this Sohaemus was also related by marriage to Aristobulus and, by extension, Tigranes VI. Sohaemus’ rule in Sophene would have been granted at the same time.

⁹⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 15.4; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 249.

⁹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 15.5-6; Dio 62.20.3; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 249-50; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 248.

⁹⁷ Suet. *Ner.* 13; Dio 62.21.2; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 227; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 108; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 248; J. Malitz, *Nero*, Malden, 2005, p. 60; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 227; Dąbrowa, ‘Arsacids and their State’, p. 35. What became of Tigranes is unknown, but Josephus recorded that Tigranes had a son who would in future become a Roman client ruler in Cilicia; see Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 249-50; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, pp. 794-95.

⁹⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 20.158; Tac. *Ann.* 13.7.1; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 311; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 319. See also *PIR*² A 1052. Aristobulus issued bronze coins depicting his portrait (and one of his wife Salome), see *RPC* I 3839-3840.

⁹⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 2.252, *AJ* 20.158; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 319. Kokkinos notes that Aristobulus does not appear to have any known dynastic claim to the area (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 311). Armenia Minor, however, had no native dynasty and was frequently appended to the kingdoms of other kings; see Chapter 5 below.

¹⁰⁰ A. A. Barrett, ‘Sohaemus, King of Emesa and Sophene’, *AJPh* 98. 2, 1977, p. 154. Sullivan agrees (Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, p. 216). *Contra* Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1412. Josephus related that Azizus, the previous king of Emesa and Sohaemus’ brother, had died in Nero’s first year and Sohaemus replaced him in the same year (Joseph. *AJ* 20.158).

Nero later removed some client kings from their dominions – Polemo II in Pontus and possibly Cotys in the Bosporan Kingdom. In AD 64 Polemo was relieved of his kingdom of Pontus and the territory was added to the province of Bithynia.¹⁰¹ Because Polemo of Pontus and the Polemo that ruled Cilicia were believed to be the same person, it is assumed that the kingdom of Pontus was taken away from Polemo. Recent theories demonstrate that it is more likely that Polemo of Pontus and Polemo of Cilicia were different rulers.¹⁰² If that is the case then it is uncertain as to whether Polemo of Pontus was even married, had heirs and therefore it may have been his death in AD 64 that prompted Nero to convert the kingdom into a province.

At the end of his reign Nero was contemplating an expedition to Albania and Braund suspects that around this time, Pharasmanes, king of Iberia and staunch ally of Rome, died late in Nero's reign – this may have spurred Nero's interest in the region.¹⁰³ Bosporan numismatics highlight, around the same time, more than usual Roman interference in that kingdom. The monogram of the king, Cotys, disappears from the gold staters dated after AD 62 and thereafter, the gold staters are only issued with Nero's monogram and his portrait.¹⁰⁴ Whether this was because Cotys was temporarily deposed, or had died, or for some other reason, it is not known.¹⁰⁵ Nero appeared to be contemplating some advance in the eastern Black Sea region in his later years, and was not afraid to depose kings in that area, such as Polemo II of Pontus and Cotys of the Bosporan kingdom, to further these ambitions.

¹⁰¹ Suet. *Ner.* 18.1; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 930; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 228; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 71. Drachms of Polemo were issued up to regnal year 25 (KE) = AD 62/63, see *RPC* I 3836. This annexation to Bithynia was deemed, with the conversion of the Cottian Alps, Nero's only noteworthy addition to the Empire and stressed by the duplication of this statement in later epitomisers; see Eutrop. 7.14; Victor 5.

¹⁰² The various identities, arguments and theories of Polemo II of Pontus examined further and in detail in the exploration of the marriage of Polemo and Julia Mamaea, see Marriage 18 below.

¹⁰³ Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 224-26; also Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 71. For Nero's projected military activity in the Caucasus, see Suet. *Ner.* 19.2; Tac. *Hist.* 1.6.

¹⁰⁴ Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, p. 10; Frolova, *Essays on the Northern Black Sea Region Numismatics*, pp. 104-5; A. B. Bosworth, 'Arrian and the Alani', *HSPH* 81, 1977, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁵ Griffin believes, with the annexation of Pontus, that it was part of a plan to consolidate direct Roman rule over the Black Sea (Griffin, *Nero*, p. 228). This may have been an earlier stage to a planned projection into Albania. See also Bosworth, 'Arrian and the Alani', p. 225.

Nero found himself a beneficiary of the Augustan policy of encouraging marriage-alliances amongst client kings. By the AD 50s dynastic claims had dispersed through many ruling families of the Roman Near East, particularly because of Augustus' shrewd encouragement of marriages across widely distributed kingdoms. Nero's placements of Aristobulus in Armenia Minor, Sohaemus in Sophene and Tigranes VI in Armenia had drawn upon that policy. Again Nero was a respecter of the dynastic principle (the same principle that gave him legitimate control of the Roman Empire) and could provide kings related to the native ruling families of kingdoms, even if some were only loosely connected. These kings in turn provided troops in support of the emperor during the Armenian War. Nero, however, does not appear to have displayed any inclination in furthering Augustus' marriage policy to provide the same benefits he gained for his successors.

Vespasian

It was with the support of the Eastern client kings that Vespasian was able to succeed in his bid for the empire in AD 69. Nero had commissioned Vespasian to put down the Jewish revolt in AD 66 and, together with his son Titus, Vespasian had been dealing with eastern client kings in the course the war when Nero died.¹⁰⁶ Tacitus noted military support for Vespasian as emperor was provided by the kings of Judaea, Emesa and Commagene.¹⁰⁷ Agrippa II, as king of parts of Judaea, was already providing troops to Vespasian during the Jewish War that started in AD 66.¹⁰⁸ Other neighbouring client kings must have lent similar support – when Titus continued the Jewish War, Tacitus noted the personal attendance of Agrippa II and

¹⁰⁶ For Vespasian's command of the Jewish War, see Joseph. *BJ* 3.3-8; Tac. *Hist.* 1.10; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 306-07. For support from eastern kings during the war, Josephus details the troops sent from Antiochus of Commagene, Sohaemus of Emesa, Agrippa of Judaea and Malichus of Nabataea; see Joseph. *AJ* 3.68-69.

¹⁰⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 2.81; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 791; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 217; B. Levick, *Vespasian*, London, 1999, pp. 47 and 54. Vespasian's close relationship with the kings, particularly with Agrippa II of Judaea was assisted by the affair between his son Titus and Queen Berenice, Agrippa's sister. Her influence in gathering support for Vespasian is noted; see E. Anagnostou-Laoutides and M. B. Charles, 'Titus and Berenice: the Elegiac Aura of an Historical Affair', *Arethusa* 48.1, 2015, pp. 17-46. pp. 25-26; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 386.

¹⁰⁸ Joseph. *BJ* 3.29, 68; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 339; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 327; Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 28 and 29. Agrippa had been in Rome but had returned home just before the troops proclaimed Vespasian emperor (Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 47).

Sohaemus as well as troops from Commagene.¹⁰⁹ Being in the East meant Vespasian received substantial military support from neighbouring kings. How useful this support was in deciding the outcome of AD 69 is debatable, but probably negligible. The early involvement of the eastern client kings, however, along with Ti. Julius Alexander in Egypt and C. Licinius Mucianus in Syria would have built a momentum of support for Vespasian.¹¹⁰ Both Vespasian and Titus had substantial experience in dealing with these client kings during the course of the Jewish War.¹¹¹

During Vespasian's reign many client kingdoms were converted into provinces. Aristobulus' kingdom of Armenia Minor was absorbed into the "super-province" of Galatia-Cappadocia, possibly before Antiochus was ousted from Commagene.¹¹² No coins of Aristobulus in Armenia Minor have been found dated after AD 71.¹¹³ When Armenia Minor was taken from Aristobulus he may have been given Chalcis by way of compensation.¹¹⁴ In AD 72/3, Antiochus IV of Commagene, who had supplied troops for Vespasian's bid for the empire, was accused of complicity with the Parthians by the governor of Syria, L. Caesennius Paetus (cos. 61).¹¹⁵ Vespasian ordered Paetus to remove Antiochus, aided by the client kings Aristobulus of Chalcis and Sohaemus of Emesa.¹¹⁶ Antiochus surrendered, but his sons

¹⁰⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 5.1; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 47. Tacitus also described "strong levies of Arabs" which may have been from Nabataea. Malichus of Nabataea had previously provided troops to Titus earlier during the Jewish War in AD 66; see Joseph. *BJ* 3.68; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 637.

¹¹⁰ Certainly it was the Danubian legions under Antonius Primus that won Rome for Vespasian.

¹¹¹ Vespasian and Titus were assisted in the War personally by Agrippa II of Judaea and Sohaemus of Emesa (Tac. *Hist.* 5.1). Bowersock also notes that Vespasian had much more personal experience of the East of any emperor since Tiberius (G. W. Bowersock, 'Syria under Vespasian', *JRS* 63, 1973, p. 133).

¹¹² Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 63. In the section dealing with this king's aid in invading Commagene, Josephus only refers to Aristobulus as the king of Chalcis (Joseph. *BJ* 7.226).

¹¹³ *RPC* II, p. 246. Levick dates the absorption of Armenia Minor to AD 71 or 72 (Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165), others to AD 72/73 (Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 118; A. B. Bosworth, 'Vespasian's Reorganization of the North-East Frontier', *Antichthon* 10, 1976, p. 66).

¹¹⁴ Josephus noted that Vespasian's conversion of Commagene was assisted by "Aristobulus of Chalcis" (Joseph. *BJ* 7.226), which is assumed to be the same Aristobulus, especially as his father had previously been king of Chalcis; see Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 320. If this is correct then, even if both kingdoms were taken over in the same year (AD 72/73), Armenia Minor was converted before Commagene (see below).

¹¹⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 7.221-224. See also Facella, 'Case of Commagene', p. 197; Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 165-66; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 792; Bowersock, 'Syria under Vespasian', p. 135. Josephus suggested that Paetus may have been motivated out of personal animosity towards the king of Commagene (Joseph. *BJ* 7.220). Levick believes the story of Antiochus rebelling is "doubtful", but the fact that Commagene had a history of connections with Parthia, including dynastic ties, meant that even a doubtful story had legs – this is explored further in Chapter 6 below.

¹¹⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 7.225-226; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 320; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 792-93; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 218.

Epiphanes and Callinicus put up some resistance before fleeing to Parthia.¹¹⁷ Antiochus was well treated by Vespasian and allowed to retire in some comfort, first in Greece and then later in Rome, and Commagene became part of the province of Syria.¹¹⁸ As Antiochus was alive and had sons to continue his line, the conversion of Commagene was obviously a considered decision, rather than one forced by the death of an heirless king. Any references to Sohaemus as king of Emesa cease after AD 72 and Emesa, like Commagene, was probably added to Syria.¹¹⁹ Not enough is known about Sohaemus to determine whether he had died or whether he had heirs to continue the dynasty. Although the tomb of a Julius Sampsigeramus outside Homs with an inscription dated to AD 78/9 suggests that the royal family of Emesa continued.¹²⁰

The impression of Vespasian as anti-Client king in modern scholarship, or at least eager to subsume their kingdoms, however, is not entirely correct.¹²¹ Agrippa II continued as king of parts of Judaea into the reign of Domitian.¹²² In Iberia a fort at Harmozica was restored during Vespasian's reign demonstrating Roman assistance for King Mithridates of Iberia.¹²³ Furthermore an inscription found within a silver dish in Iberia mentions a King Flavius Dades.¹²⁴ This implies that the kings of Iberia received Roman citizenship from Vespasian (or Titus or Domitian).¹²⁵ As their coinage demonstrates, Nabataea and the Bosporan kingdom

¹¹⁷ Joseph. *BJ* 7.227, 234-237; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 793. Coins of the brief resistance of Epiphanes and Callinicus in AD 72 can be found in *RPC* I p. 573.

¹¹⁸ Joseph. *BJ* 7.238-240; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 166; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 794. Epiphanes, his son, later made his peace with Vespasian and joined his father in Rome (Joseph. *BJ* 7.241-243). On Commagene becoming part of Syria: Suet. *Vesp.* 8.4; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 166; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 794.

¹¹⁹ A. Kropp, 'Earrings, Nefesh and *Opus Reticulatum*: Self-representation of the Royal House of Emesa in the First Century AD', in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, p. 205; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 166. Although Sullivan contends that, due to lack of civic coins, "dynasts could have ruled Emesa on into the second century" (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 218).

¹²⁰ *IGRR* III 1023 (= *IGLS* V 2212 = *OGIS* 604); Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 218-19; *PIR*² J 542. For the tomb, see Kropp, 'Earrings, Nefesh and *Opus Reticulatum*', pp. 204-07.

¹²¹ Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, p. 112; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 572-76; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 191. Vespasian's three incorporations, however, match Tiberius' conversions of Cappadocia, Commagene and Cilicia.

¹²² Agrippa's coins continue to AD 94/5 – *RPC* II 2296-2299. Agrippa II is traditionally thought to have died in AD 100 based on Photius' summary of Justus that dated the death of the king to Trajan's third year (Phot. *Bibl.* 33; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 338-40, 396-99).

¹²³ *SEG* 20.112. Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 169. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 227-29. For Vespasian's activities in regards to Iberia, see Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', pp. 70-72.

¹²⁴ For details of the silver dish and its inscription, see: D. Braund, 'King Flavius Dades', *ZPE* 96, 1993, pp. 46-50.

¹²⁵ Braund, 'King Flavius Dades', p. 49. Braund questions this, especially as most client kings had already received their citizenship by the end of Augustus' reign. There is little recorded cooperation, however, between

also continued as client kings.¹²⁶ At some stage in Vespasian's reign the emperor gave part of Cilicia to Alexander, the son of Tigranes VI who was also married to the daughter of Antiochus IV (the recently ousted king of Commagene).¹²⁷

Vespasian had the most experience in command and managing client kings since Tiberius, but his reign was also a break from the established Julio-Claudian dynasty. Scholars, such as Frézouls, have attempted to demonstrate that Vespasian was therefore not interested in the dynastic principle established by Augustus. While Vespasian definitely converted some kingdom into provinces, he also left many undisturbed. His placement of Alexander in Cilicia also demonstrates that he understood the need for these territories to be ruled by dynasts that had a legitimate claim to that territory. Although Vespasian's rule spelt the end of the old dynasty, it also ushered in a new one – Vespasian was keen to establish his own dynasty and both his sons, Titus then Domitian, reigned after him.

Trajan and Hadrian

There is little evidence in the surviving accounts of any relations with client kings for the reigns of Titus, Domitian and Nerva. Both Titus and Nerva had short reigns, and Domitian, though widely travelled across the empire, concentrated his attention in the areas bordering Germania and Dacia. Before his Parthian War, there is also little evidence of Trajan's dealings with his client kings. Dacia could not be described as a client-state and Decebalus certainly was not a client king – the conquest of Dacia was not the conversion of a client state into a province. One Augustan client kingdom, however, was converted into a province. Around AD 106, Rabbel II, the king of Nabataea and grandson of Aretas IV, died and A.

Rome and Iberia before the end of Tiberius' reign. Also, the kings of the Bosphorus received their citizenship from Tiberius (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41) and the kings of Edessa from Septimius Severus (see the coins of "Septimius" Abgar: *BMC* 28, plate L, 10 and 11). Braund is correct that there may have been, however, a break in the ruling dynasty of Iberia, or that Flavius Dades may not have been a king of Iberia.

¹²⁶ For Nabataean coinage of Rabbel (AD 70/71 to 106) see Meshorer 142-164. His known coins are dated up to regnal year 32 (AD 101/102). For the Bosphoran coins of Rhescuporis I (AD 68-90) and Sauromates I (AD 90-123), see N. A. Frolova, *The Coinage of the Kingdom of Bosphorus AD 69-238*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 14-18.

¹²⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.141; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 794-95. Both ancestors had dynastic claims to rule part of Cilicia, so this may have been an example of Vespasian following the dynastic principle; see Chapter 5 below.

Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, was directed by Trajan to annex Nabataea.¹²⁸ Coins were issued depicting Arabia (sometimes with a camel) and the legend ARAB(ia) ADQ(uisita).¹²⁹ At least one son, Obodas, is known so it is doubtful that the king died heirless.¹³⁰ Even at this early stage, Trajan may have been mindful of a future war with Parthia and was looking to secure his eastern frontiers. As Ball points out, however, the kingdom of the Nabataeans hardly posed a threat to the region nor provided a strategic advantage to Rome's interests in a possible Parthian War.¹³¹

When the Parthian War did break out in AD 113, although Trajan's rationale was that the Parthian King had ignored the agreement negotiated between Rome and Parthia regarding Armenia, it seemed more likely that this was a pretext.¹³² Exedares, son of the previous Parthian King, Pacorus II, was deposed in favour of his brother Parthamasiris by his uncle Osroes, the new king of Parthia.¹³³ Technically this was in breach of the understanding forged in Nero's reign that the king of Armenia, even if he was a Parthian appointee, received the kingdom from the Roman emperor. First at Satala in AD 114 and then later at Elegeia, Trajan appears to have gathered conclaves of client princes, what Birley refers to as a *durbar*.¹³⁴ According to Eutropius, Trajan, "gave a king to the Albani and received into alliance the kings of the Iberians, the Sarmatians, the Bosphorani, the Arabs, the Osroeni and the

¹²⁸ Dio 68.14.5; Amm. Marc. 14.8.13; Negev, 'Nabataeans', pp. 641-42; J. Bennett, *Trajan: Optimus Princeps*, Bloomington, 1997, pp. 175-76. The Roman acquisition of Arabia is dated to AD 106 by Bowersock (G. W. Bowersock, 'The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia', *ZPE* 5, 1970, pp. 37-40). Since the annexation did not seem to face major resistance (Bowersock, 'Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia', pp. 37-40) it has been assumed that Rabbel II died (R. Wenning, 'Nabataeans in History', in *World of the Nabataeans*, K. D. Politis (ed.), Stuttgart, 2007, p. 40).

¹²⁹ *RIC* 2 94-5, 244-5 465-8, 610-5. Bowersock noted that these coins portray *adquisita* instead of *capta* (Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 81). Graf notes that there was little evidence of conquest in the archaeological record (D. F. Graf, 'The Nabataeans under Roman Rule (After AD 106)', in *The World of the Nabataeans: Volume 2 of the International Conference 'The World of the Herods and the Nabataeans' held at the British Museum, 17-19 April 2001*, K. D. Politis (ed.), Stuttgart, 2007, p. 173). See also Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 176; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 642.

¹³⁰ Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 80; Ball, *Rome in the East*, p. 63; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 176). See also *PIR*² R 2.

¹³¹ Ball, *Rome in the East*, pp. 63-64. Ball suggested that the kingdom was annexed purely to enhance the glory of Trajan. Isaac is also nonplussed as to Trajan's motives (B. H. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: the Roman Army in the East*, Oxford, 1990, pp. 119-20).

¹³² Dio 68.17.1; Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, p. 51. Bennett agreed (*Trajan*, pp. 189-90). *Contra* Arr. *Parthica*, 33.

¹³³ Dio 68.17.3; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 184; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 130, 131. On learning of Trajan's plans for war, Osroes was prepared to back down, but his entreaties were ignored by Trajan; see Dio 68.17.3; Bennett, *Trajan*, pp. 191-92; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 131.

¹³⁴ Dio 68.18.2 and 68.19.2; Bennett, *Trajan*, pp. 192-94; Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 69. On embassies from Osroene, the Scenite Arabs and Anthemusia, see Dio 68.18.1 and 68.21.1; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 191.

Colchi.”¹³⁵ This is the first recorded meeting of many client kings with an emperor in the provinces since Augustus in 20 BC. In Armenia, Trajan refused to crown Parthamasiris and another client kingdom was converted into a province of the Roman Empire, albeit only temporarily.¹³⁶

While Trajan had converted some kingdoms, he also pushed the boundaries of Rome’s influence further east and added more kingdoms that now became friendly to Rome. Trajan invited Parthian client princes, such as Abgar of Osrhoene and Mannus of the Scenite Arabs, to meet him and thus placed them in an awkward situation. On Trajan’s approach, Abgar relented and met Trajan in person – the emperor received the king with friendship and from this point onwards Osrhoene fluctuated between being a client state of Rome and Parthia.¹³⁷ Athembelus, king of Mesene on the Tigris, also entered into an alliance of friendship with Rome.¹³⁸ Finally Trajan appointed Parthaspates, a son of Osroes, as a client king of Parthia.¹³⁹ On Trajan’s death in, AD 117 however, his eastern conquests were given up by Hadrian.¹⁴⁰ Although Dio describes these conquests as being worthless in the end, it is important to remember that Trajan did push Rome’s sphere of influence further east.¹⁴¹ Now Rome held potential client rulers east of the Euphrates. Many of these rulers were once client

¹³⁵ Eutrop. 8.3.1; Bennett, *Trajan*, pp. 194-95; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 133. Many of these kings are reported by Arrian during the reign of Hadrian (Arr. *Per.* 2.2-3).

¹³⁶ Dio 68.20.3; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 194; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, pp. 134-37. Hadrian later restored Armenia to the status of kingdom soon after becoming emperor; see *HA Hadr.* 21.11; Eutrop. 8.6.2; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, pp. 143-44. Campbell notes the change to “aggressive” diplomacy during Trajan’s reign, contrasting with the last meeting of a Roman emperor and Armenian king between Nero and Tiridates; see B. Campbell, ‘Diplomacy in the Roman world (c.500 BC-AD 235)’, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 12, 2001, pp. 15-16.

¹³⁷ Dio 68.21.2; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 196; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, pp. 139-40; M. Sommer, ‘Modelling Rome’s Eastern Frontier: the Case of Osrhoene’, in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 217-18.

¹³⁸ Dio 68.28.4; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 199. Potts suggests that “Athembelus” was replaced with Meredat (an Arsacid) after Trajan withdrew, in response to Mesene acquiescing before Rome (D. T. Potts, ‘Arabia and the Kingdom of Characene’, in *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology*, D. T. Potts (ed.), Copenhagen, 1988, p. 151).

¹³⁹ Dio 68.30.3; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 200. See also *RIC* II 667 and pp. 239-40 for REX PARTHIS DATVS coins.

¹⁴⁰ Fronto *Princ. Hist.* 11; Dio 68.33.1; *HA Hadr.* 5.3-4; Eutrop. 8.6.2; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 203; Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 78. The Parthians rejected Parthaspates (who Hadrian transferred to Osrhoene) and Hadrian confirmed Vologaeses, son of Sanatruces, as king of Armenia; see Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 203; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 144; Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 78.

¹⁴¹ Dio 68.33.1; Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 204. Sommer notes that the conversion of Nabataea from kingdom to province meant Rome now had established direct rule over all the territories west of the Euphrates and was seeking to establish indirect ruler beyond the Euphrates (Sommer, ‘Modelling Rome’s Eastern Frontier’, pp. 220-21).

states of Parthia and might be considered untrustworthy, nevertheless kingdoms such as Osroene would prove useful in future operations across the Euphrates, under Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Gordian III.

Birley notes that Hadrian (AD 117-138) also held a conclave of kings, what he terms a *durbar*, in AD 129.¹⁴² One king is known to have snubbed the gathering: Pharasmanes II of Iberia. The author of the *Historia Augusta* delightfully recorded that the king “scorned to come and see him.”¹⁴³ While the poor relationship between Pharasmanes and Hadrian was possibly exaggerated by the *Historia Augusta*, Syme and Braund acknowledge some coolness between the two, noting that Iberia was most engaged with Rome when the empire was involved in Eastern struggles, particularly against Parthia, a constant threat to the south of Iberia.¹⁴⁴ There may have been also a personal edge to Pharasmanes’ view of Hadrian. Amazaspus, brother of King Mithridates of Iberia, fought with Trajan in his Parthian War and died on campaign – Amazaspus was most probably Pharasmanes’ uncle.¹⁴⁵ Hadrian’s decision to abandon Trajan’s eastern conquests must have affected the king of Iberia, considering that his uncle died assisting Trajan in those conquests. This could also explain Hadrian’s extravagant gifts to Pharasmanes to mollify the king.¹⁴⁶ Many of the gifts that the author of the *Historia*

¹⁴² Birley, *Hadrian*, pp. 220-25; R. Syme, ‘Hadrian and the Vassal Princes’, *Athenaeum* 59, 1981, p. 275. Arrian mentioned three kings of tribes and regions on the Black sea coast, namely Malassus of the Lazi, Rhesmagas of the Abasci and Spadagas of the Sanigai, which received their kingdoms from Hadrian (Arr. *Per.* 11.2-3). Birley suggests that the kings of Armenia and Osroene could have also been in attendance (Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 225).

¹⁴³ *HA Hadr.* 13.9 – as well as the nameless king of the Albani. See also Syme, ‘Hadrian and the Vassal Princes’, p. 275; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 232-33; Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 225; D. Braund, ‘Hadrian and Pharasmanes’, *Klio* 73, 1991, pp. 208-19.

¹⁴⁴ Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 232; Syme, ‘Hadrian and the Vassal Princes’, pp. 278-82. Braund suggests that the difficulty between Pharasmanes and Hadrian was no more than a “temporary difference” (Braund, ‘Hadrian and Pharasmanes’, p. 219).

¹⁴⁵ See *PIR*² P 342. See also Braund, ‘King Flavius Dades’, p. 48. Mithridates is considered to be the predecessor (and possibly father) of Pharasmanes – however, the exact relationship between Mithridates II and Pharasmanes II remains unclear. Toumanoff describes him as the son of Amazaspus, making the relationship even stronger (Toumanoff, ‘Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia’, p. 16). See also Ricci, ‘Principes et Ereges Externi’, pp. 573-74.

¹⁴⁶ For Hadrian’s gifts to Pharasmanes, see *HA Hadr.* 17.12; Syme, ‘Hadrian and the Vassal Princes’, pp. 278-79; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 232; Braund, ‘Hadrian and Pharasmanes’, pp. 214-15. For the *HA*’s story that Hadrian used the gifts to mock the king, Syme correctly points out that “public derision of a foreign prince” was a dereliction of duty beyond credulity. The king of Iberia was later involved with another incident during Hadrian’s reign: instigating the Alans to ravage Parthian dominions in AD 135, which Vologaeses III of Parthia sent an embassy to Hadrian complaining of Pharasmanes’ actions, although Juntunen suggests that the Vologaeses named by Dio may have been Vologaeses I of Armenia; see Dio 69.15.1-2; K. Juntunen, ‘Pharasmanes and the Iazyges: The Date of the Two Embassies in Cassius Dio 69.15.2’, *Historia* 62.1, 2013, pp. 123-27; Bosworth, ‘Arrian and the Alani’, pp. 217-55; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 233; Syme, ‘Hadrian and the Vassal Princes’, p. 277; Braund, ‘Hadrian and Pharasmanes’, pp. 217-18.

Augusta criticised Hadrian for lavishing on kings could have been given to soften the effects of Hadrian's withdrawal from the East.

While Trajan and Hadrian appear to have resurrected the Augustan practice of meeting with client kings *en mass* in the provinces, and to distribute kingdoms and territories at these meetings, they do not appear to have used the situation to broker marriage-alliances.¹⁴⁷ In fact no marriage-alliances between client kings are known after Vespasian. The paucity of evidence is doubtlessly a factor, but there appears to have also been a paucity of candidates and kingdoms. By the beginning of Hadrian's reign the Bosphoran Kingdom was the sole surviving Augustan client kingdom. While these emperors had incorporated new kingdoms into Rome's fold (such as Edessa) or strengthened relationships with kingdoms that were only peripherally part of the Roman sphere previously (such as Iberia), these new kingdoms had few connections to the dynastic groundwork prepared by Augustus.

The Antonines

Despite his long reign, the evidence for the relationships between Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) and his client kings is scant. The *Historia Augusta* recorded that "he settled the legal disputes of several kings" and gave a king named Pacorus to the Lazi, the people living between Iberia and the Black Sea coast.¹⁴⁸ Two kings appear to have visited Rome to see Pius. Pharasmanes of Iberia arrived with his wife and son (both unnamed).¹⁴⁹ Any coolness in the relationship between Rome and Pharasmanes, hinted at earlier by the *Historia Augusta*, seems to have thawed by this time. Dio reports that Antoninus enlarged Pharasmanes' territories and the King and his son enacted an "exercise in arms" for the emperor's benefit.¹⁵⁰ Another king, Rhoemetalces of the Bosphoran kingdom, also appears to have visited Rome.

¹⁴⁷ Braund is not completely convinced, however, that either Trajan or Hadrian held gatherings of kings, and suggests it is possible that the kings, clumped together in the sources, may have met the emperor individually *en route* (Braund, 'Hadrian and Pharasmanes', p. 212).

¹⁴⁸ *HA Ant. Pius* 9.6; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 180. The Lazi were a tribe based in eastern Colchis (Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 180, n. 35).

¹⁴⁹ *HA Ant. Pius* 9.6; Dio 69.15.3; Braund, 'Hadrian and Pharasmanes', p. 218; Syme, 'Hadrian and the Vassal Princes', p. 278; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 233. An inscription, a fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses* also records their visit (*AE* 1959, 38) where Pharasmanes' wife is recorded as "Phr ..." (see *PIR*² P 393a).

¹⁵⁰ Dio 69.15.3; Braund, 'Hadrian and Pharasmanes', p. 218; Syme, 'Hadrian and the Vassal Princes', p. 278; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 233.

The *Historia Augusta* reported a dispute between himself and “Eupator” over the succession to the Bosporan Kingdom.¹⁵¹ Inscriptions of Sauromates II, a later king, declare his father to be Rhoemetalces, but no inscriptions recorded Eupator’s antecedents.¹⁵² All kings shared the same forenames: Tiberius Julius, so they all belonged to the royal family.¹⁵³ On Rhoemetalces’ death, the throne reverted to Eupator and on his death to Sauromates II, Rhoemetalces’ son. Regardless of the succession, the issue brought to Antoninus was obviously settled in Rhoemetalces’ favour – Eupator had to wait until AD 154/155.

Most of the recorded dealings of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) with foreign kings involved the tribes as part of the Marcomannic and Sarmatian Wars (such as the Quadi and Iazyges) and are thus outside the scope of this thesis.¹⁵⁴ During the Parthian War (AD 161-166), however, Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius were responsible for setting up a pro-Roman king, Sohaemus.¹⁵⁵ A fragment of Iamblichus related that Sohaemus was a descendant of the Achaemenids and the Arsacids and was a senator and consul before becoming “king of Greater Armenia” and Iamblichus described him as “occupying the throne of his forefathers.”¹⁵⁶ Sohaemus’ name and noble connections suggest that he was a scion of the long defunct Emesan dynasty and could trace his ancestry through them back to the Persian, Parthian and Armenian kings. Sohaemus was installed as King of Armenia in AD 164, ousted by Parthians and then reinstated by P. Martius Verus.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ *HA Ant. Pius* 9.6; G. Blanco, J. Antonio, ‘Antonino Pio: estudio biográfico y bibliográfico de una época’, *Lucentum* 11, 1995, p. 110. Coins were issued for Rhoemetalces between AD 131/132 and 153/154. His early coins were issued in the same year as his predecessor, Cotys II, but no epigraphic evidence recorded their relationship. Coins of Eupator were issued between AD 154/155 and 170/171. Coins of the next king, Sauromates II were issued between AD 174/175 and 210/211.

¹⁵² *CIRB* 1256 and 1242. See Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41.

¹⁵³ For their names see *PIR*² C 276 (Cotys II), E 300 (Eupator), R 516 (Rhoemetalces) and S 551 (Sauromates II). It may be that Rhoemetalces was brother to Cotys II and succeeded him over Eupator, who may have been Cotys’ son.

¹⁵⁴ Dio 71.11.15-19, 72.2; L. F. Pitts, ‘Relations between Rome and the German ‘Kings’ on the Middle Danube in the First to Fourth Centuries AD’, *JRS* 79, 1989, pp. 49-51; A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius: a Biography*, Rev. edn, London, 1987, pp. 169-71, 189-90. Coinage of Antoninus Pius also shows that he “gave” a king to the Quadi: *RIC* III 620 and 1059; Pitts, ‘Relations between Rome and the German Kings’, p. 49.

¹⁵⁵ Fronto *ad Verum* 2.1.15; Dio 71.3.1; Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 131; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, pp. 149-52. For coins struck “REX ARMENIIS DATVS” to commemorate the event, see *RIC* III 511-3 and 1370-5.

¹⁵⁶ Iamblichus, *Babylonica* (preserved in Photius *Bibl.* 98). See also *PIR*² S 761; Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 131; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, pp. 149-50; A. Birley, *Septimius Severus: the African Emperor*, Rev. edn, London, 1988, pp. 71 and 224.

¹⁵⁷ Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, pp. 150-51; Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 175.

Although Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius did not incorporate any more kings into the Roman fold, their conservative rule saw the continuation of traditional practices in managing client kings. Antoninus appear to have upheld the dynastic principle and ensured that Rhoemetalces, the legitimate ruler, remained king of the Bosphorus. He also mended relationships with Iberia. Like Nero, Marcus Aurelius became a beneficiary of Augustan marriage-alliance policies by being able to produce a candidate for the Armenian throne. Sohaemus was almost definitely a scion of the Emesan dynasty, which Augustus had married into dynasties that had links to Armenia. The seeds that Augustus had sown almost two hundred years ago were still bearing fruit – this case in particular is more closely examined in Chapter 5.

Client Kings in the Third and Fourth Centuries

During Septimius Severus' Eastern Wars (AD 194-195 and AD 197-198), client kings again began to receive slight mentions in the surviving sources. In the civil war between Niger and Severus, King Barsemius of Hatra provided aid to Niger and for this Severus later marched on Hatra.¹⁵⁸ In AD 195 Osrhoene was conquered and made into a province but its king, Abgar, was allowed to keep his city of Edessa and its surrounding lands.¹⁵⁹ His coins give him the name "Septimius Abgar", so it can be assumed that he received citizenship from Severus.¹⁶⁰ Evidently the King later visited Septimius in Rome with such an escort that Dio considers it worth comparing to another escort in the reign of Elagabalus.¹⁶¹ Severus' son Caracalla also campaigned in the East, ambitiously seeking to marry the daughter of Artabanus, the king of Parthia.¹⁶² According to Dio, Caracalla also tricked two client kings, Abgar (son of the king of

¹⁵⁸ Herodian 3.1.3, 3.9.1; Birley, *Septimius Severus*, p. 133; Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, pp. 153-54.

¹⁵⁹ *HA Sep.* 18.1; Victor *Caes.* 20.14; Birley, *Septimius Severus*, p. 115; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 222; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 473. Later, during another attack on Parthia, Abgar surrendered his children to Severus as hostages – they may have been brought to Rome and educated as per Augustus' policy (Herodian 3.9.2; Birley, *Septimius Severus*, p. 115; S. K. Ross, *Roman Edessa: Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire, 114 - 242 CE*, London, 2000, p. 52). An inscription reveals that two sons of a "former king of Edessa" lived at Rome, see *IGR* I 179; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 477.

¹⁶⁰ *PIR*² A 8; *BMC* 28, plate L, 10 and 11. His son, deposed under Caracalla, issued coins with the name Severus Abgar (*BMC* 28, 96).

¹⁶¹ Dio 80.16.2; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 222; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 473.

¹⁶² Dio 79.1.1; Herodian 4.10.1-11.7; Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, p. 30. Herodian has a different account to Dio – whereas Dios merely stated the Parthians rejected Caracalla's offer, Herodian detailed that they refused initially

Edessa mentioned above) and the Armenian king, into coming to Rome where they were arrested and imprisoned in AD 212/213.¹⁶³ He then attempted to acquire their kingdoms – Edessa he converted into a province, but Armenia resisted.¹⁶⁴ Under Gordian III (AD 238-244) Edessa was again made into a client kingdom.¹⁶⁵ The Bosphoran Kingdom lasted until the fourth century, before it fell to Scythian tribes. Zosimus draws a parallel between its fealty to Rome and its dynasty of native kings.¹⁶⁶ Armenia, which had become Persian during the third century crisis, reverted back into the Roman sphere after Galerius' successful campaigns in the reign of Diocletian.¹⁶⁷ In the reign of Valens (AD 364-375), Iberia became a point of contention between Rome and the Persian King Sapor II. Its king, Sauromaces, was replaced by his pro-Persian cousin Aspacures.¹⁶⁸ Eventually an agreement was formed in AD 370 where Iberia was divided between the two kings and between Rome and Persia.¹⁶⁹ Sapor, declaring he was not consulted, broke the treaty in AD 377/8 and Valens pulled out the Roman troops – Iberia became a Persian client kingdom.¹⁷⁰

Client Kings after Augustus

As noted above, the view, championed by Luttwark, that client kings were “stop-gap rulers” of troublesome territories that Rome could not be bothered to annex has long been disproved by Braund.¹⁷¹ An analysis of the kingdoms show that many were indeed converted into

but were then persuaded. Herodian detailed Caracalla's letter of offer, suggesting the empire unite and listed the advantages of such unification through such a marriage. This tactic appears to have been an interesting echo of earlier Hellenistic marriage-alliances, particularly the Legitimising Marriage-alliance, as well as Antony's attempts to establish dynastic connections in the East with his own family.

¹⁶³ Dio 78.12.1; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 476; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 222; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 63. For a full assessment of Caracalla's ploy and surrounding scholarship, see L. E. Patterson, 'Caracalla's Armenia', *SyllClass* 24, 2013, pp. 173-99.

¹⁶⁴ Dio 78.12.1; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 222; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 476; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 63.

¹⁶⁵ Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 222; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 476. Coins exist for Gordian III and King Abgar issued in Edessa, see *BMC* 28, 113-117. For this king's descent from the Severan Abgars, see S. K. Ross, 'The Last King of Edessa: New Evidence from the Middle Euphrates', *ZPE* 97, 1993, pp. 187-206.

¹⁶⁶ Zosimus 1.31.2. See also Millar, 'Emperors, Kings, and Subjects', p. 244.

¹⁶⁷ S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, London, 1985, pp. 85-86.

¹⁶⁸ Amm. Marc. 27.12.4 – their relationship is spelt out at 27.12.16 (*consobrini*). See Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 260; H. W. Bird, 'Eutropius and Festus: Some Reflections on the Empire and Imperial Policy in AD 369/370', *Florilegium* 8, 1986, p. 11.

¹⁶⁹ Amm. Marc. 27.12.16-17; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 260-61; Bird, 'Eutropius and Festus', p. 11.

¹⁷⁰ Amm. Marc. 27.12.18, 30.2.2-8; Bird, 'Eutropius and Festus', p. 11; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 261.

For prosopographical details of Sauromaces and Aspacures, see *LPRE* I pp. 117-18, 809.

¹⁷¹ Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, p. 114; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 187-89.

provinces, but the process was so long and gradual that there does not appear to be any overwhelming Roman policy directing it. Augustus converted the kingdoms of Galatia and Paphlagonia into a province. Tiberius oversaw the conversion of Cappadocia and Commagene. Gaius gave back Commagene and then re-converted it, as well as Mauretania. Claudius enlarged Herod Agrippa's domains, returned Commagene to Antiochus IV but converted Thrace. Under Nero Pontus was absorbed into the neighbouring province, Vespasian ended the independent regimes of Commagene, Emesa and Armenia Minor. Trajan brought into the fold new client kings while attempting to convert older ones, such as Armenia and Nabataea. The new client kingdom of Osroene was reduced by Septimius Severus, converted into a province by Caracalla, and reinstated as a kingdom by Gordian III. All this time the kingdoms of the Bosphorus and Iberia continued with little hindrance. Unfortunately the surviving sources only bring these kingdoms to the fore briefly, but both survived until the fourth century. Sometimes the kingdom was converted when a king died leaving heirs, sometimes even while the king was still alive. These conversions, therefore, were deliberate. At other times a king died leaving no known heirs and the kingdom was perhaps converted into province for that reason. Once a kingdom was converted into a new province, or absorbed into a neighbouring province, it rarely ever returned to an independent status. This gives an impression of the overwhelming march of Rome, absorbing smaller satellite states *en route*, that is quite incorrect.

In this survey four themes stand out prominently in the emperor's dealing with client kings. First is the strong relationship, some would argue too strong a relationship, between some kings and the Julio-Claudian emperors. Second is the granting of kingdoms to kings, often reflected in DATVS coinage and often granted in batches early in the emperor's reign. The third is the conclave of client kings paying court to the emperor, usually when he is present in the east, often on campaign against Armenia or Parthia. These two events doubtlessly occurred at the same time in some cases. The fourth is the pomp of client prince's state visit to Rome.

According to Suetonius, it was one of Augustus' policies that the children of client kings be raised in Rome and educated there. Chapter 1 has demonstrated that the extant evidence points to the fact that this claim was true. A side effect of this was the personal relationship

that built up between the young dynasts and the Imperial household. Even Tiberius, who could not claim to have been brought up alongside any of these princelings, developed friendships with kings such as Archelaus and Antipas – both these relationships appeared to have coloured his involvement with these kings when he became emperor. Gaius was brought up with the three sons of Cotys and probably other young princes, such as Antiochus IV. Claudius, in the household of his mother Antonia, also developed a strong relationship with Herod Agrippa. Since princes, such as Agrippa II, were still raised in Rome during Claudius' reign, Nero also probably had a close relationship with some of them and could explain his choice of distribution early during the Armenian War outlined above (Tigranes VI to Armenia and Aristobulus to Armenia Minor).

As with Augustus' settlement in the East in 20 BC, many examples of the granting of kingdoms are simultaneous with a gathering of client kings. The emperors awarded some of these kingdoms, however, from Rome. As noted, Dio gives the impression that Gaius' grants to Herod Agrippa, Antiochus IV, Rhoemetalces III, Polemo II and Cotys were in two gestures during his first and second years.¹⁷² Claudius' grants of Armenia to Mithridates and the Bosporan Kingdom to another Mithridates seem to have been awarded in a single session in his first year.¹⁷³ For the rest of the first century emperors there is no direct evidence of any further conclaves. The parcelling out of kingdoms at the beginning of the reigns of Gaius and Claudius, however, suggests a strong possibility that kings may have been present, perhaps in Rome to attend the inauguration of the new emperor as it would certainly be in their best interest to attend to the new ruler as soon as possible. Herod Agrippa I of Judaea was imprisoned in Rome when Tiberius died – he was freed and so present in Rome when his kingdom was granted to him by Gaius.¹⁷⁴ The same king also happened to be in Rome when Gaius was assassinated, and advised Claudius in his early days.¹⁷⁵ Conclaves outside of Rome are known in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, as outlined above, and are reminiscent of

¹⁷² Dio 59.8.2 and 59.12.2; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 63; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 279; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 27. See in section on Gaius above, p. 177.

¹⁷³ Joseph. *AJ* 19.274-277; Suet. *Claud.* 22.5; Dio 60.8.1; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 27; Edmondson, *Dio: the Julio-Claudians*, p. 201, and see in section on Claudius above, p. 181. Nero also granted some kingdoms, according to Josephus, in his first year (Joseph. *AJ* 20.158-159).

¹⁷⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 2.178-183, *AJ* 18.166-170, 236-237; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 278; Goodman, 'Judaea', pp. 744-45; Barrett, *Caligula*, pp. 50 and 63; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 323.

¹⁷⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 2.206-216, *AJ* 19.237-245, 265-266, 274; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 289; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 33.

Augustus' audiences with kings after Actium in 31 BC and during settlement at Antioch in 20 BC.

Chapter 2 demonstrated that client kings, such as Herod, visited Rome during Augustus' reign. There survives no great account of the fanfare and elaborate public engagements that might be expected from a state visit. The visits of kings to the emperor at Rome, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, were personal engagements. In this period, however, Tiridates' visit to Rome in AD 66 stands out as a grandly feted visit – what Dio calls an “event of great glory.”¹⁷⁶ A gladiatorial contest was staged at Puteoli and “Tiridates shot at wild beasts from his elevated seat” and Rome itself was garlanded and lit for the coronation.¹⁷⁷ In the reign of Vespasian, Agrippa II of Judaea, accompanied by his sister Berenice, also visited Rome and was awarded the rank of praetor.¹⁷⁸ In the reign of Antoninus Pius, Pharasmanes II of Iberia paid a visit to the capital – his wife and son (both unnamed) were in his entourage and some sort of exercise was staged for the emperor.¹⁷⁹ Abgarus of Edessa visited Rome during the reign of Septimius Severus and, although no direct account of it exists, lavish celebrations were staged.¹⁸⁰

Any of these three events would have provided the emperor with an opportunity to arrange a marriage between his client kings, or even a betrothal. It is also strongly possible that in some cases the kings themselves might have negotiated the marriage at these gatherings, particularly for the marriage-alliances forged between distant realms. Any such alliance between kings would of course require the approval of the emperor, conveniently presiding over these gatherings.

¹⁷⁶ Dio 63.1.1; Suet. *Ner.* 13.1-2, 31.2; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, pp. 116-23; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 27; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 253; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 109.

¹⁷⁷ Dio 63.3.2-4. Suetonius also gives a vivid description of the event (Suet. *Ner.* 13.1-2) and claims Nero spent 800,000 sesterces a day on the visit (Suet. *Ner.* 31.2). Whether the events actually included closing the doors to the Temple of Janus, see Griffin, *Nero*, p. 122; G. B. Townend, ‘Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus’, *Hermes* 108.2, 1980, pp. 233-42.

¹⁷⁸ Dio 65.15.3-4; Suet. *Tit.* 7.2; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 329. For details and dates of this visit, see D. C. Braund, ‘Berenice in Rome’, *Historia* 33.1, 1984, pp. 120-23.

¹⁷⁹ *HA Ant. Pius* 9.6; Dio 69.15.3; Braund, ‘Hadrian and Pharasmanes’, p. 218; Syme, ‘Hadrian and the Vassal Princes’, p. 278; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 233.

¹⁸⁰ Dio 80.16.2; Sommer, ‘Modelling Rome’s Eastern Frontier’, p. 222; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 473.

Royal marriages between the reigns of Tiberius and Vespasian

The table below outlines briefly the marriages that will be investigated in this section, in chronological order. The nine marriages and one betrothal for this period are gathered from the surviving sources. Once again, Josephus' accounts have proved invaluable – without his works modern scholarship would be unaware of four of these marriage links. Outside Josephus the remainder of marriages are known from inscriptions and coin evidence only. Neither Dio, Suetonius, Strabo nor Tacitus mentioned any further marriages between client kings after Augustus. Two of the marriages, between Ptolemy and Urania and between Sohaemus and Drusilla, have been conjectured by modern scholars on scant evidence and may be suspect, but will be included in the analysis.¹⁸¹

	“Groom”	“Bride”	Approx. date AD (emperor)
11.	Aspurgus BOSPORAN KINGDOM	Gepaepyris THRACE	20s (Tiberius)
12.	Ptolemy MAURETANIA	Urania EMESA?	20s-30s (Tiberius)
13.	Aristobulus JUDAEA	Jotape IV EMESA	30s (Tiberius)
14.	Epiphanes COMMAGENE	Drusilla JUDAEA	Betrothed, 40s?
15.	Cotys BOSPORAN KINGDOM	Eun[ice] Aorsi?	48/49 (Claudius)
16.	Azizus EMESA	Drusilla JUDAEA	53 (Claudius)
17.	Sohaemus EMESA	Drusilla MAURETANIA	54/5? (Nero)
18.	Polemo II PONTUS	Julia Mamaea EMESA?	60s (Nero)

¹⁸¹ Ptolemy and Urania: J. Carcopino, ‘La Reine Urania de Mauretanie’, *Melanges dédiés à la mémoire de Felix Grat*, vol. 1, 1946, pp. 31-38. Sohaemus and Drusilla: C. Bennett, ‘Drusilla Regina’, *CQ* 53.1, 2003, pp. 315-19.

19.	Polemo II PONTUS	Julia Berenice JUDAEA	60s (Nero)
20.	Alexander CILICIA	Jotape VII COMMAGENE	70s (Vespasian)

These marriages are enumerated commencing from eleven, as a continuation from the ten marriage-alliances arranged during Augustus' reign in Chapter 2.

11. Aspurgus of the Bosporus and Gepaepyris of Thrace

Scholars have long argued about the exact relationship between certain personalities of the Bosporan Kingdom: namely Aspurgus, Gepaepyris, Dynamis and Mithridates. Coin evidence demonstrates that Aspurgus ruled the Bosporan Kingdom after Dynamis.¹⁸² Early in his reign Claudius confirmed Mithridates as the king of the Bosporus and Dio stated that he was a lineal descendant of Mithridates Eupator and that Cotys was his brother.¹⁸³ Coins of Gepaepyris were issued jointly with Mithridates and are dated to the early part of his reign.¹⁸⁴ Coins of King Cotys, Mithridates' successor, also honour Gepaepyris.¹⁸⁵ Several inscriptions name Aspurgus as the father of Cotys and two inscriptions name Aspurgus as the son of king "Asandrachos."¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Fortunately the Bosporan Kingdom used a static rather than regnal dating system. The coins with a monogram usually attributed to Dynamis cease after AD 7 (*RPC I* 1876) and the earliest coins of Aspurgus begin in AD 14 (*RPC I* 1881). There is some debate whether the ΔM monogram on the coins issued between 9 BC and AD 7 stands for Dynamis, see Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, pp. 8 and 63. Aspurgus survived to issue coins featuring the portrait of Gaius (*RPC I* 1904; Barrett, 'Claudius, Gaius and the Client Kings', p. 286).

¹⁸³ Dio 60.8.2 and 60.28.7; Barrett, 'Claudius, Gaius and the Client Kings', p. 286. In the latter passage Dio mistakenly calls Mithridates and Cotys the kings of Iberia (see Levick, *Claudius*, p. 230, n. 25). There was another king Mithridates of Iberia around this time and this is the source of Dio's confusion.

¹⁸⁴ These coins featured both the portrait and titles of both Mithridates and Gepaepyris, see Frolova, *Coinage of Bosporan Kingdom*, pp. 71-72; *RPC I* 1911. Coins featuring the portrait and name of Gepaepyris only were also issued, dated to the years immediately before Mithridates as well, see *RPC I* 1905-1907. See also Frolova, *Essays on the Northern Black Sea Region Numismatics*, pp. 120-21.

¹⁸⁵ Frolova, *Coinage of Bosporan Kingdom*, pp. 8-9; *RPC I* 1928.

¹⁸⁶ See *CIRB* 41, 42 and 958 for examples of Cotys as the son of Asander. For Asander's father, see *CIRB* 40. The second inscription was only discovered recently: see Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 168 n. 88; Bongard-Levine, Kochelenko and Kouznestov, 'Les fouilles de Phanagorie', pp. 268-72 (= *SEG* 56-932).

Since the lineal descendant from Mithridates Eupator acknowledged by Dio probably stemmed through Dynamis, it was initially thought that when Aspurgus became king of Bosphorus he married Dynamis to legitimise his position (as Asander, Scribonius and Polemo had done before). After she died he then married Gepaepyris. Mithridates was thus the son of Dynamis, and Cotys was the son of Gepaepyris.¹⁸⁷ The problem with this hypothesis is Dynamis' age. As her father, Pharnaces II, died in 47 BC, she would have been at the very least 35 years old by the time she was married to Polemo in 14 BC, assuming she was born just before her father's death.¹⁸⁸ It would be an extremely tight time frame for her to have married Polemo, divorced him, married Aspurgus and borne him a son, Mithridates, all before she was past child-bearing age.

Most modern scholars now believe that Aspurgus was the son of Dynamis and Asander and that he married Gepaepyris and had two children by her – Mithridates and Cotys.¹⁸⁹ This neatly resolves the issue of Aspurgus' father, King "Asandrachos" – the name is too close to Asander to be a coincidence, and also provides the "lineal descent" from Mithridates Eupator affirmed by Dio.¹⁹⁰ Also according to Dio, Asander died before 14 BC.¹⁹¹ Since Dynamis was doubtlessly very young when Asander married her for political reasons, then a late birth for Aspurgus seems more likely. When he came of age, he disputed the rule of his step father Polemo, who fell to his forces between AD 10 and 14 (the "Aspurgiani" mentioned by Strabo) and they killed him.¹⁹² Aspurgus was probably officially recognised by Tiberius and received

¹⁸⁷ This theory was first held by Rostovtzeff ('Queen Dynamis', p.106) and followed by Barret (A. A. Barrett, 'Gaius' Policy in the Bosphorus', *TAPA* 107, 1977, p. 3).

¹⁸⁸ Dio 42.48.1; App. *Mithr.* 120; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 98. This point is acknowledged by Rostovtzeff, who states "she could not have been younger than forty-five", but dismissed (Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 106, n. 35).

¹⁸⁹ See *PIR*² A 1048; Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, pp. 8-9; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', pp. 170, 172; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41; Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', p. 329; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 168.

¹⁹⁰ Dio 60.8.2. See also Lucian *Macr.* 17; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41; Bongard-Levine, Kochelenko and Kouznestov, 'Les fouilles de Phanagorie', pp. 270-71. Nawotka dates Asander's death to 16/15 BC (K. Nawotka, 'Asander of the Bosphorus: his Coinage and Chronology', *AJN* 3, 1992, pp. 35-38).

¹⁹¹ Dio 54.24.4; Frolova dates his last stater to 20 BC (Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, p. 6).

¹⁹² Strab. 11.2.11, 12.3.29; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 260-64. Using Primo's dating of the death of Dynamis (Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 169).

Roman citizenship – although no surviving inscriptions give Aspurgus the *trianomina*, inscriptions name his son and grandsons as “Tiberius Julius.”¹⁹³

The antecedents of Gepaepyris can easily be guessed. Although mentioned by Dio as the mother of Mithridates, she is not named or identified.¹⁹⁴ Her name is Thracian and the name of her son, Cotys, and her grandson, Rhoemetalces, point to the royal family of Thrace. Indeed many of the subsequent rulers of the Bosporan Kingdom, all descended through her, have Thracian names: three Cotys’, four Rhescuporis’ and one Rhoemetalces.¹⁹⁵ Rostovtzeff surmises that she was a daughter of Cotys and Antonia Tryphaena and the name of her second son honouring her father is appropriate.¹⁹⁶ She would have to be one of the elder children of Cotys and Antonia, as they were married late in the reign of Augustus. Her depiction on the early coins of Mithridates and her counsel to her son in Dio suggest that she had a brief reign as regent after her husband Aspurgus died in AD 38.¹⁹⁷ This suggests that Mithridates may have been a little young, in his teens, in AD 38. A marriage for Aspurgus and Gepaepyris in the years AD 20-22 seems likely, and therefore suggests that Gepaepyris was probably born AD 6-8 at the latest.

¹⁹³ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41. An inscription records that Aspurgus travelled to Rome to see Tiberius – it was perhaps on this trip that he was confirmed as King and given citizenship (Braund 618). For inscriptions of his son (Cotys) and grandson (Rhescuporis) as “Tiberius Julius” see *CIRB* 33 and 42.

¹⁹⁴ Dio 60.28.7. See also *PIR*² G 168; Frolova, ‘Reigns of Gepaepyris and Mithridates’, pp. 110-27.

¹⁹⁵ Rhescuporis I/II the son of Cotys I (*PIR*² I 512, reigned AD 68/9-93/4), Rhescuporis II/III (*PIR*² I 513, reigned AD 211/2-228/9), Rhescuporis III/IV (*PIR*² R 62), Rhescuporis IV (*PIR*² R 63); Rhoemetalces (*PIR*² I 516, reigned AD 131-154); Cotys I the son of Aspurgus (*PIR*² C 1556, reigned AD 45/6-68/9), Cotys II (*PIR*² I 276, reigned AD 123/4-131/2) and Cotys III (*PIR*² I 277, reigned AD 227/8-233/4).

¹⁹⁶ Rostovtzeff, ‘Queen Dynamis’, p. 108. See also Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 211. Saprykin argues that Gepaepyris cannot have been the daughter of Cotys because the timeframe is too tight. However he assumes that Gepaepyris and Aspurgus married at his accession in AD 14 and that she would have to be a younger child of Cotys and Antonia. He supposes that she is instead the daughter of Rhoemetalces and a sister of Cotys (Saprykin, ‘Thrace and the Bosporus’, pp. 172-73). Barrett, however, describes Gepaepyris as a “lady of Bosporan nobility” without details (Barrett, ‘Claudius, Gaius and the Client Kings’, p. 286).

¹⁹⁷ Dio 60.28.7; Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, pp. 8-9; Frolova, *Essays in Northern Black Sea Region Numismatics*, pp. 110-27.

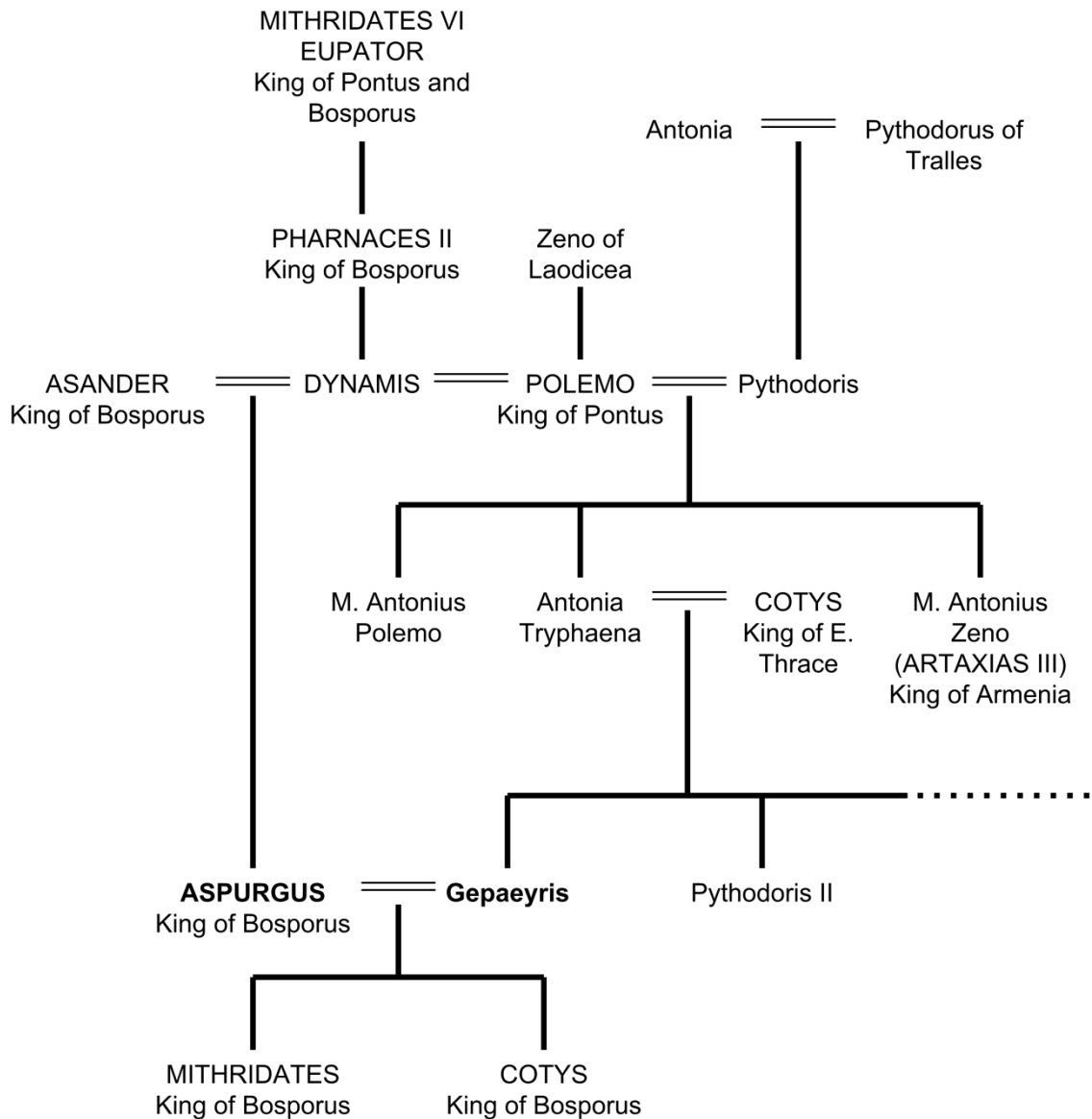


Figure 17. Marriage of Gepaepyris and Aspurgus

Regardless, her marriage to Aspurgus was arranged during the reign of Tiberius. A traditional marriage-alliance between these kingdoms is unlikely, but possible. Geographically they shared the same body of water, the Black Sea, but lay some 750 miles apart.¹⁹⁸ Granted, the Bosphoran Kingdom was a frontier kingdom of Hellenistic civilization surrounded by

¹⁹⁸ The Bosphoran Kingdom also had a history of ties to Thrace – one of the early dynasties, the Spartocids, was probably of Thracian descent, see J. Hind, ‘The Bosphoran Kingdom’, *CAH*² 6, 1994, p. 491; D. Braund, ‘Thracians and Skythians: Tensions, Interactions and Osmosis’, in *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, J. Valeva, E. Nankov, D. Graninger (eds), Chichester, 2015, p. 357; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks: a Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 571.

“barbarian” tribes and often in danger of raids and invasions – it could have benefited from an alliance. Thrace, however, surrounded on land by the Roman Empire, had only internal issues to deal with. It is uncertain how much one kingdom could have helped the other with a traditional alliance. A marriage between Aspurgus of the Bosphorus and Gepaepyris of Thrace was quite possibly arranged by Tiberius following the precepts of his step-father. It is also possible that the marriage was arranged, if not enacted, on Aspurgus’ journey to Rome on Tiberius’ ascension, where the king could have also been made a Roman citizen.¹⁹⁹

12. Ptolemy of Mauretania and Urania of Emesa (?)

Ptolemy was the son of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene, whose marriage was discussed in the previous chapter, and he was probably born between 13 and 9 BC.²⁰⁰ Ptolemy succeeded his father as king of Mauretania around AD 23 after a period of joint-rule.²⁰¹ His wife, or if he was married at all, is not recorded among the surviving literary sources. However, an inscription found on a tombstone of a freedwoman Julia Bodina in Caesarea mentions a “Urania Regina.”²⁰² Carcopino suggests that this “Queen” Urania was possibly the wife of Ptolemy – Settiani agrees and goes further to construct a possible ancestry for her – by linking the name “Urania” with the Emesan kings and high priests, he suggested that she was an Emesan princess.²⁰³ Normally such a far-flung marriage between Mauretania and Emesa would be immediately discounted, but during the period after Augustus it certainly fits the mould of many other marriages this thesis examines. If such a marriage was arranged for Ptolemy, it would be most probably enacted during Tiberius’ reign. Ptolemy is considered the “young”

¹⁹⁹ Saprykin describes the marriage of Aspurgus and Gepaepyris as being “without a doubt inspired by the Romans although he places the marriage around AD 13 – just in the reign of Augustus (Saprykin, ‘Thrace and the Bosphorus’, p. 173). Although this thesis argues that the marriage was later, it is possible that the marriage was arranged by Augustus as a betrothal and implemented by Tiberius according to his step-father’s wishes.

²⁰⁰ Strab. 17.3.8; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 244 and see above, p. 131. See also *PIR*² P 1025.

²⁰¹ Strab. 17.3.8; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 252. For Ptolemy’s coins, see Mazard 398-514. The only other mention of Ptolemy’s reign (apart from his death, detailed above) come from Tacitus when describing the king’s part in putting down the revolt of Tacfarinas (Tac. *Ann.* 4.23-6; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 252-53; Whittaker, ‘Roman Africa’, pp. 596-98).

²⁰² Carcopino, ‘La Reine Urania’, pp. 31-38.

²⁰³ Carcopino, ‘La Reine Urania’, p. 31. C. Settiani, *Continuité Gentilice et Continuité Familiale dans les Familles Sénatoriales Romaines à l’époque Impériale: Mythe et Réalité*, Oxford, 2000, p. 438, n. 11. Bennett sees this marriage as the union that brought forth Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra who married the powerful freedman M. Antonius Felix mentioned by Tacitus (Tac. *Hist.* 5.9; Bennett, ‘Drusilla Regina’, pp. 318-19). Whereas Roller believes the Drusilla in question would be Ptolemy’s sister, not his daughter (Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 251-52).

king of Mauretania by Tacitus early in Tiberius' reign.²⁰⁴ If Urania was an Emesan princess, it is difficult to be exact about her antecedents as knowledge of the Emesan kings and their dates is scant. She could have been the daughter of either Iamblichus II, appointed by Augustus as king of Emesa in 20 BC, or Sampsigeramus II, who was king of Emesa early in Tiberius' reign.²⁰⁵ Although this hypothetical marriage would be dated to Tiberius' reign, it also may have been arranged during Augustus' last years. It is important to remember that the marriage and its Emesan connection are hypothetical, based solely on one inscription that mentions a "Urania Regina" (Urania the Queen).²⁰⁶

13. Aristobulus of Judaea and Jotape IV of Emesa

The marriage connection between Judaea and Emesa is known from Josephus, who recounted that, "the other brother of Agrippa, Aristobulus, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa."²⁰⁷ Aristobulus was the youngest son of Aristobulus (himself the son of Herod the Great) and Berenice – his oldest brother, Herod Agrippa, became king of Judaea under Gaius and the middle brother, Herod, become king of Chalcis under Claudius.²⁰⁸ No territories were known to have been assigned to Aristobulus, and he is barely mentioned in the works of Josephus, described only as a "private person."²⁰⁹ As his older brother Agrippa can be calculated to have been born in 12 BC and their father died in 8 BC, Kokkinos conjectures that the younger Aristobulus was born only shortly before his father's death.²¹⁰ Jotape is clearly the daughter of Sampsigeramus II, king of Emesa during Tiberius' reign.²¹¹

²⁰⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 4.23.1. If Roller's date range for Ptolemy's birth is correct, then the king would be 32-36 years old when he succeeded his father.

²⁰⁵ For Augustus' appointment of Iamblichus II see Dio 54.9.2. An inscription names both Sampsigeramus II and Germanicus and so has been dated to AD 17-19, see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 213 n. 91.

²⁰⁶ Roller was dismissive of the implications this had for the Mauretanian dynasty, and rightfully stated that it is just as possible she was a concubine or other member of the court and the title "Queen" may have been a nickname (Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 252, n. 41).

²⁰⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.135 (trans. L. H. Feldman); *PIR*² A 1051; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 319; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 314-17; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 213.

²⁰⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 18.133-135; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 319. For Agrippa's elevation by Gaius, see Joseph. *BJ* 2.181, *AJ* 18.237. For Herod's elevation by Claudius, see Joseph. *BJ* 2.217, *AJ* 19.277.

²⁰⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 2.221; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 319; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 317. Kokkinos suggests that he may have lived in Emesa for some time with his wife, and demonstrates that Aristobulus "developed a great reputation amongst the aristocracy of Syria" (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 317).

²¹⁰ Kokkinos estimates he was born c. 8 BC and would have been educated in Rome like his brothers (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 271-72).

²¹¹ Sullivan, *Dynasty of Emesa*, p. 213; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 315; *PIR*² J 45. Her mother would be the Jotape conjectured by Macurdy, as mentioned in the previous chapter, see above, p. 155 (Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 42; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 97).

Kokkinos suggests that she was born sometimes after AD 5 and he places their marriage to the early AD 30's.²¹²

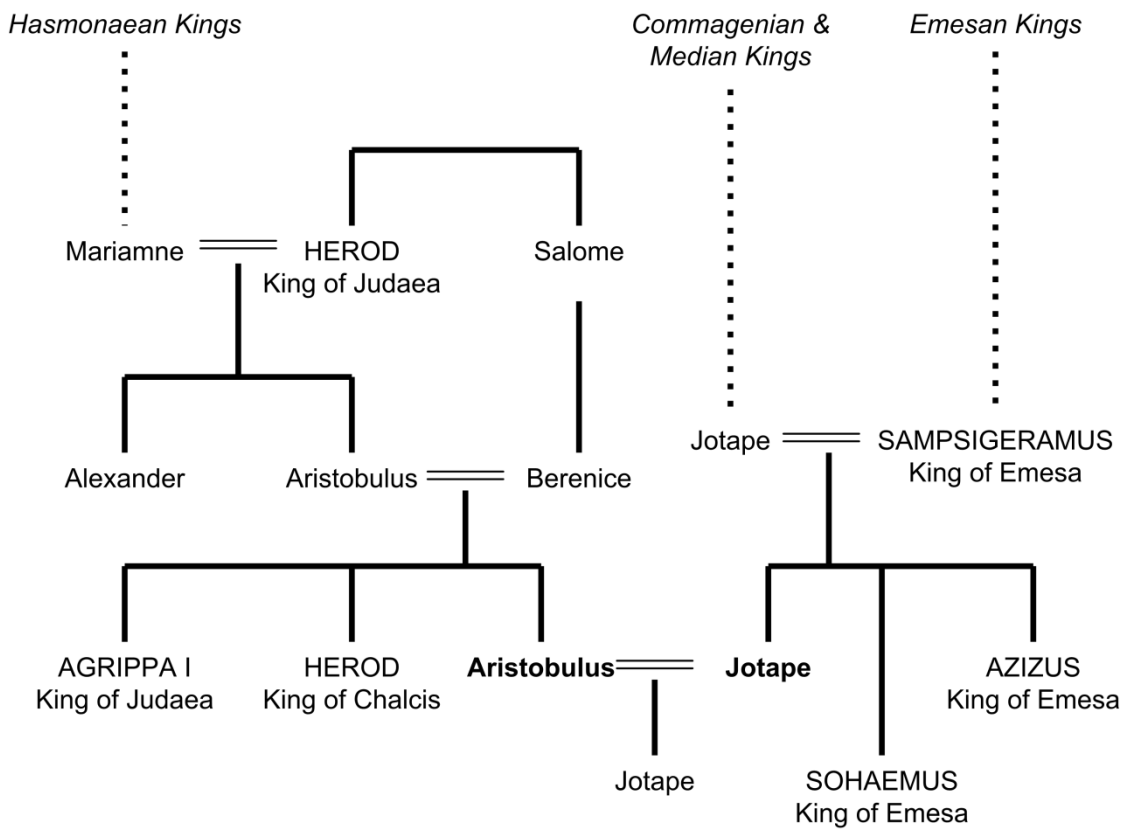


Figure 18. Marriage of Jotape and Aristobulus

The proximity of Emesa to Judaea would suggest that this marriage was a traditional marriage-alliance between neighbouring kingdoms. While such a union would have required sanction from the emperor (almost definitely Tiberius), it would not have necessarily been arranged or even encouraged by him. Kokkinos notes that relations between Emesa and Judaea had previously been friendly and this marriage would have only strengthened the closeness.²¹³ As Sullivan suggests, the marriage-alliance may have been responsible for the presence of Emesa in the “notable assemblage” of client kings at Tiberias in AD 42.²¹⁴

²¹² Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 315. Josephus does record that the marriage produced a daughter, another Jotape (*PIR*² J 46) who was deaf, see Joseph. *BJ* 2.221, *AJ* 18.135.

²¹³ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 315. There appears to have been no history of intermarriage between the two kingdoms – this is the first known marriage between the Judaean and Emesan royal houses, although Jotape’s brother Azizus would later be married to Drusilla, the daughter of Herod Agrippa; see Marriage 16.

²¹⁴ Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, p. 213. The conference at Tiberias is mentioned above earlier in this chapter, but is examined more thoroughly in Chapter 6 below, see p. 414.

Although, as a political marriage-alliance, there was no one king of Judaea at this time to arrange such an alliance – Herod’s kingdom had been divided amongst his sons and other parts of his kingdom were directly managed by Rome. The marriage may have been privately negotiated by Aristobulus or by the king of Emesa himself, watchful for a prince of an aristocratic station that would befit his daughter. The sons of Aristobulus the Elder were not yet in line to succeed for any of the Judaeian ethnarchies – in time this would change, but Aristobulus missed out.

14. Epiphanes of Commagene and Drusilla of Judaea (betrothed only)

When recounting the aftermath of Agrippa I’s death, Josephus related that he left three daughters: Berenice, Drusilla and Mariamne.²¹⁵ Drusilla, aged only six, had been betrothed to Epiphanes the son of king Antiochus of Commagene.²¹⁶ Epiphanes was the son of Antiochus IV and his sister-wife Jotape, and Josephus described him, while recounting the Jewish War, as, “something of a warrior himself, he was of an adventurous nature and withal so robust that his daring was seldom unsuccessful.”²¹⁷ This betrothal had to have been arranged between Gaius’ award of territories to Agrippa in AD 37 and Agrippa’s death in AD 44. The most probable occasion would have been the meeting of client kings at Tiberias in AD 42, of which Antiochus, the king of Commagene, was a member.²¹⁸ Furthermore Antiochus (Epiphanes’ father) had been deposed from his kingdom by Gaius and was not restored until Claudius’

²¹⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 19.354-355. Berenice was married to Herod of Chalcis and Mariamne was betrothed to “Julius Archelaus.” Julius Archelaus (*PIR*² J 173) was the son of Helcias who was the grandson of Herod’s sister Salome – his *nomen* testifies that his ancestors were either granted citizenship by Caesar or Augustus (Joseph. *AJ* 19.355, *Apion* 1.51; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 197-98). Josephus is adamant that all these marriages were arranged by Agrippa before he died. See also Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 294-95. For Drusilla, see *PIR*² D 195.

²¹⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 19.355; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 785; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 294-95; Macurdy, ‘Jotape’, p. 42; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 329; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 99; Barrett, ‘Sohaemus’, p. 154.

²¹⁷ Joseph. *BJ* 5.463 (trans. H. St. J. Thackeray), *AJ* 19.355; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 785; *PIR*² J 150. Epiphanes proved to be an active client prince in the Roman service. Later in life he fought for Otho at the First Battle of Cremona in AD 69 and was wounded (Tac. *Hist.* 2.25.2; K. Wellesley, *The Year of the Four Emperors*, 3rd edn, London, 2000, p. 65). After that, he served during the siege of Jerusalem in AD 70 (Joseph. *BJ* 5.460-465). When Commagene was converted under Vespasian, Epiphanes offered resistance and fled to Parthia. He later returned, forgiven by Vespasian, although not, as Wellesley states, having been given citizenship (Wellesley, *Four Emperors*, p. 122) – his name demonstrates that family were given citizenship earlier, probably under Augustus (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 42-43; Raggi, ‘First Roman Citizens’, p. 94).

²¹⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 19.338. Kokkinos believes that this was the occasion for the betrothal, whereas Agrippa’s other (and older) daughters had their marriages arranged earlier, in AD 41 (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 294-95).

reign, so an earlier date is unlikely.²¹⁹ The marriage, however, never took place. Epiphanes had promised, at the time of betrothal, to convert to the Jewish religion. When it came time for the marriage to be held, sometime after her father had died, Epiphanes reneged on his promise and refused to convert to Judaism.²²⁰ Instead Drusilla was married to another.²²¹ Epiphanes later married Claudia Capitolina and had two children: Julia Balbilla and Philopappus.²²²

Regardless, the betrothal was arranged with a marriage in mind. Commagene and Judaea are far enough away to be not considered neighbours. If the betrothal was formed at the meeting at Tiberias, and if that meeting was arranged by Agrippa with a view to building his own power bloc, then the union would not have been blessed by the emperor.²²³ Although Josephus typically exaggerates the power and influence of his subject, the Herodian dynasty, it is the strongest case of all the marriage-alliances studied to be have independently brokered.

15. Cotys of the Bosphorus and Eun[ice]

An inscription set up by King Rhescuporis of the Bosphorus honours his parents Cotys and “Eun...” (restored to Eunice).²²⁴ Bronze coins, dated to either late in Cotys’ reign or early in the reign of Rhescuporis, bear a monogram BA EYN or variants.²²⁵ Cotys was the son of

²¹⁹ Dio 60.8.1. For the reinstatement of Antiochus, see Joseph. *AJ* 19.276; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 165; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 787.

²²⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 20.139; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 321. Josephus does not reveal why Epiphanes reneged on his promise, whether the “warlike” and “naturally bold” man was afraid of the process of converting or Judaism (or what he imaged was the process of converting to Judaism) or whether the betrothal, arranged at a meeting connected to rebellious plans against Claudius, was an association that Commagene would not prefer to forget. Syllaeus, the vizier for Nabataea, also refused to convert to Judaism to marry Herod’s sister Salome (Joseph. *AJ* 16.220-225; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 183).

²²¹ Azizus of Emesa, see Marriage 16 below, p. 225.

²²² Claudia Capitolina appears to have been the daughter of Ti. Claudius Balbillus, the prefect of Egypt; see *PIR*² C 1086. Julia Balbilla (*PIR*² J 650) was a companion during Hadrian’s tour of Egypt and C. Julius Antiochus Philopappus (*PIR*² J 151) was suffect consul in AD 109 and constructed a huge inscribed mausoleum in Athens (*OGIS* 409, 410, 412; Pausanias 1.25.8). See Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, pp. 796-97; M. Facella, *La Dinastia degli Orontidi nella Commagene Ellenistico-romana*, Pisa, 2006, p. 338.

²²³ Josephus definitely stated that betrothal was arranged by Agrippa (Joseph. *AJ* 19.355).

²²⁴ *CIRB* 1118. Ti. Julius Rhescuporis reigned AD 69-93, see *PIR*² J 512. For his coinage, which ranges in dates from EET (Year 365 = AD 69) to HIIT (Year 388 = AD 91), see *RPC* II 451-479.

²²⁵ Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, p. 83; *RPC* I 1931. This monogram is usually resolved to spell out “Eunice”, the wife of Cotys. These bronze coins appear to be issued after Cotys’ death and suggest some sort

Aspurgus and Gepaepyris, and the brother of Mithridates.²²⁶ Mithridates, who Dio claimed was planning to rebel against the Romans, sent his younger brother as an emissary to Claudius.²²⁷ At Rome, Cotys apparently betrayed Mithridates to Claudius, who ordered an expedition led by A. Didius Gallus in AD 45 to oust Mithridates from the throne of the Bosporan Kingdom to install Cotys in his place.²²⁸ Mithridates fled but after the majority of the Roman forces had left, the exiled king attempted to retake the kingdom. The cohorts left under the command of Julius Aquila were not enough to defend the kingdom and so Cotys joined in an alliance with Eunones, the king of the neighbouring tribe of the Aorsi.²²⁹ The combined forces defeated Mithridates and the rejected king appealed to Eunones for sanctuary, who delivered him to Claudius for justice in AD 49.²³⁰

The identity and antecedents of Cotys' wife Eunice have been ignored by modern scholarship, although it may be possible to ascertain where she originated from. The similarity of the names Eun[ice] and Eunones is enough to raise suspicions. It is not unheard of in the Greek world for daughters to have names based on the feminine variant of their fathers' or other male relations: Antiochus III had a daughter Antiochis; Mithridates Eupator had a daughter named Mithridatis; Pythodorus of Tralles had a daughter Pythodoris.²³¹ "Eun..." could probably be better restored as "Eunis" or even "Eunonis."

of regency of Eunice, see N. Frolova, 'Copper Coins of Cotys I as a Historical Source', *Essays on the Northern Black Sea Region Numismatics*, Odessa, 1995, pp. 104-5.

²²⁶ *PIR*² C 1556. For marriage of parents, see Marriage 11 above, p. 215.

²²⁷ Dio 60.28.7; Barrett, 'Gaius, Claudius and the Client Kings', p. 286; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosporus', p. 174. The charge of rebellion has never been proven. Nawotka notes that the epithets φιλόχαισαρ and φιλορώμαιοι do not appear in Mithridates' inscriptions and also states that later staters of Mithridates feature only the king's portrait, not the emperors (Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', pp. 320-30). While the portrait of Mithridates and his name appear on bronze coins (which may mean something as names of the Bosporan kings had been relegated to monograms since 16 BC), his portrait does not feature on any known staters; see Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, p. 72; *RPC* I 1908-1909.

²²⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15.1; Dio 60.28.7; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 556; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 597-98; Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', p. 330; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosporus', p. 174. Gallus was the first governor of the new province of Moesia, who also organised the conversion of Thrace, usually dated to AD 46 (Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosporus', p. 174). The first coins of Cotys are dated BMT (Year 342 = AD 45); see Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, p. 74; *RPC* I 1912. This could explain why only a skeleton garrison was left in the Bosporan Kingdom, if Gallus had to abandon the project to undertake the conversion of Thrace from Client Kingdom to province.

²²⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15.1. For the Aorsi, a Sarmatian tribe by the Tanais, see Strab. 11.2.1, 11.5.8. For Eunones (not otherwise mentioned in literary or epigraphic sources), see *PIR*² E 113.

²³⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 12.16-19; Gowing, 'Tacitus and the Client Kings', p. 328; Hekster, 'Trophy Kings and Roman Power', pp. 48-49; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 598.

²³¹ Antiochis: Diod. 31.19.7. Mithridatis: App. *Mithr.* 111. Pythodoris: Strab. 12.3.29.

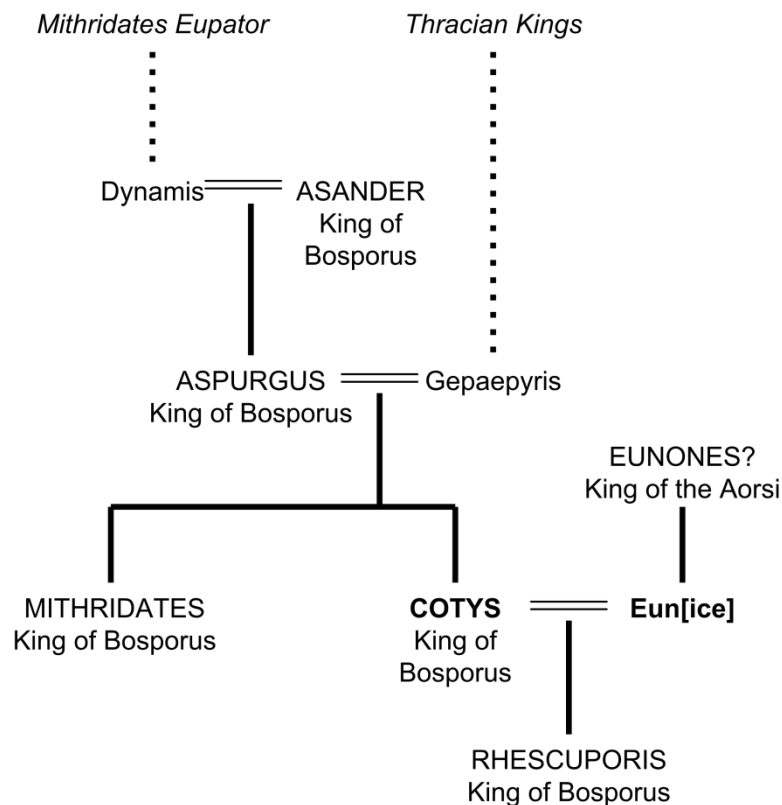


Figure 19. Marriage of Eunice and Cotys

Very little is known of Eunones other than from Tacitus’ account, which recorded that the alliance made between Cotys and Eunones “presented little difficulty.”²³² Earlier, Tacitus described Cotys as *iuvēta* (“young”) and therefore eligible, if he was not already espoused.²³³ A marriage-alliance between Cotys and Eunones also fits the traditional ancient model outlined in the first chapter – namely neighbours arranging an Aggressive Marriage-alliance. It is possibly the same marriage ties that saw Mithridates, when defeated, appealing to Eunones for assistance, as Mithridates would now be the brother of Eunones’ son-in-law and part of Eunones’ wider family.²³⁴ Therefore a case may be made for Coty’s wife being the

²³² Tac. *Ann.* 12.15.1. Although Tacitus suggested that ease in which Eunones entered the alliance was because of the Roman support behind Cotys. Once the alliance is brokered, the parties immediately divide their roles in the upcoming war – the Roman contingent is responsible for sieges, and the Aorsi responsible for cavalry fighting.

²³³ Tac. *Ann.* 12.15.1. Tacitus also described Cotys (in the same sentence) as *rudem* (“simple”), but this is hardly likely to affect his marriage chances.

²³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.18.1. According to Tacitus, Mithridates deliberately did not petition his brother, who had betrayed him, for mercy. Mithridates chose Eunones, “who was not embittered against him by private

daughter of Eunones, king of the Aorsi. If this is the case, then the marriage is unlikely to have been arranged by Claudius. The language of Tacitus suggests a quickly-made alliance, arranged as a reaction against the approaching forces of Mithridates. It is unlikely that there would have been time to negotiate a royal marriage between Cotys, Eunones and Claudius in Rome. Furthermore, it is known that the Aorsi were not, before the alliance, *socii et amici* of Rome, as Cotys was.²³⁵ The marriage should still have been sanctioned by Claudius, as marriage-alliances made between client kingdoms had the potential for political ramifications.

16. Azizus of Emesa and Drusilla of Judaea

Once again it is Josephus who recorded this marriage. In his *Antiquities*, he mentioned that:

“After receiving this gift from the emperor, Agrippa [II] gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, who had consented to be circumcised ...”²³⁶

Josephus then recorded that Drusilla had previously been promised to Epiphanes of Commagene by her father (outlined above), but since then he had balked at converting to Judaism.²³⁷ The younger Agrippa must have been more careful than his father, or Azizus was more desperate, because this marriage took place. Drusilla’s antecedents have been already described above (Marriage 14). Azizus, however, was already king of Emesa when the marriage took place, or so Josephus implied. Azizus was the son of the union of Sampsigeramus II and (possibly) Jotape of Commagene discussed in the previous chapter.²³⁸ The evidence for the kings of Emesa is extremely scant. Azizus’ father is mentioned at the gathering at Tiberias in AD 42 by Josephus.²³⁹ He would have died sometime after that and his

animosities.” Of course Tacitus has the opportunity here to mention any marriage connection if there was one or he knew about it.

²³⁵ The Aorsi were a nomadic tribe whose lands lay roughly to the east of the Bosporan Kingdom and rarely would have seen examples of Roman administration or had much regular contact with the Roman Empire (Strab. 11.2.1). According to Tacitus, Eunones’ power had increased because of the “recently formed friendships” with the Romans – it clear before the alliance with Cotys, Eunones was not a client king of Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 12.18).

²³⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 20.139 (trans. L. H. Feldman); Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 330; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 323; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, p. 215.

²³⁷ See Marriage 14 above, p. 222.

²³⁸ See *PIR*² A 1693. See also Marriage 8 above, p. 155. Josephus noted that Azizus was the brother of Sohaemus who reigned after him (Joseph. *AJ* 20.158) and an inscription was dedicated to Sohaemus the son of Sampsigeramus, *Sohaemo regis magni Samsigerami filio*; see *IGL Syr.* 2760; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, pp. 215-16.

²³⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 19.338; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, pp. 213-14. On this conference of kings and the marriage-alliances that connected them, see Chapter 6 below, p. 414.

eldest son, Azizus, succeeded him. The date of their marriage is quite easily determined. Josephus related that in Claudius' twelfth year he gifted extra territories to Agrippa II and at the same time the marriage was arranged – this would be AD 53.²⁴⁰ Unfortunately the marriage did not last long – in the same passage Josephus relates how the procurator Felix, the brother of the freedman Pallas, fell in love with Drusilla and married her.²⁴¹

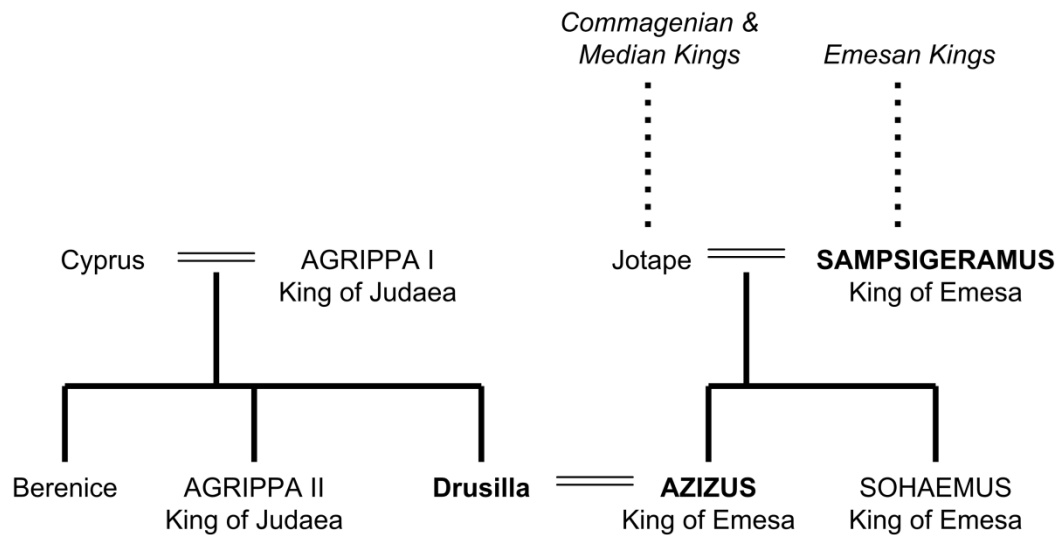


Figure 20. Marriage of Drusilla and Azizus

The marriage of Drusilla and Azizus was the second of several marriage-alliances made between the kingdoms of Judaea and Emesa. Agrippa II's domains in Judaea themselves were spread out, interspersed within the Roman province. Emesa was the closest state north, and a natural ally. Sullivan notes that one of the territories recently gifted by Claudius (the tetrarchy of Abila) bordered with Emesan territory.²⁴² With this in mind it is natural to assume this marriage falls in the category of an alliance arranged locally between the two kings, and then sanctioned by the emperor. The section above in Josephus, however, stated that Claudius had just gifted extra territories to Agrippa II and that the marriage was arranged at the same time. It has been noted previously that some marriage-alliances were made at the same time as

²⁴⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 20.138-139; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 215; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 320. Despite the divorce that was to come, Azizus did not live long after his marriage – Josephus recorded that he was dead by Nero's first year (AD 54), see Joseph. *AJ* 20.158.

²⁴¹ Joseph. *AJ* 20.141-143. Suetonius recorded that Felix married three "queens" in his life, and Drusilla was obviously one of them (Suet. *Claud.* 28.1). Tacitus noted that Felix married another "Queen" Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra (Tac. *Hist.* 5.9). After their marriage, Drusilla and Felix had a son (Agrippa) who Josephus noted perished in the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 (Joseph. *AJ* 20.144).

²⁴² Sullivan, "Dynasty of Emesa", p. 215.

kings were confirmed or lands parcelled out by the emperor – at least two royal marriages are thought to be linked to Augustus’ eastern settlement of 20 BC.²⁴³ Although Josephus also recorded that Agrippa “gave” his sister in marriage, it is not impossible to see Claudius’ hand in the arrangement.

17. Sohaemus of Emesa and Drusilla of Mauretania

There is no evidence at all for this marriage and it purely relies on speculation. Bennet, noting the evidence of Suetonius that the procurator Felix married three queens, combined with evidence from Tacitus that Felix married Drusilla, a granddaughter of Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra, proposes the existence of Drusilla, a daughter of Ptolemy and Urania.²⁴⁴ To make her a queen, Bennet further suggests that Felix arranged for his wife to marry Sohaemus, the brother of Azizus, to leave the procurator free for Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa II (see above).²⁴⁵

Bennet proposes that Felix arranged the marriage around the same time that the Jewish Drusilla left Sohaemus’ brother Azizus to smooth over any diplomatic ructions this may have caused.²⁴⁶ This would place the marriage in the years immediately after AD 53 and therefore either very late in the reign of Claudius, or very early in Nero’s reign. The Mauretanian Drusilla’s marriage to Sohaemus also possibly provides the descent from Cleopatra that later

²⁴³ Kokkinos notes that it was possible that Agrippa was in Rome to receive Claudius’ grants. Josephus specifically linked the granting of territory to the marriages that Agrippa arranged for his sisters. For the marriages possibly arranged during Augustus’ Eastern Settlement of 20 BC, see Marriages 1, 2 and possibly 3 above.

²⁴⁴ Bennet, ‘Drusilla Regina’, p. 319. One of Felix’s queens was definitely Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa, mentioned directly above (Joseph. *AJ* 20.141-143). Suetonius’ statement that Felix married three queens (Suet. *Claud.* 28.1) and Tacitus’ statement that Felix married a Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra (Tac. *Hist.* 5.9) have excited scholarship in identifying Felix’s wives; see, for example, Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 251; F. E. Brenk and F. Canali De Rossi, ‘The ‘Notorious’ Felix, Procurator of Judaea, and His Many Wives (Acts 23-24)’, *Biblica* 82.3, 2001, pp. 410-17; Bennet, ‘Drusilla Regina’, pp. 315-19.

²⁴⁵ Bennet, ‘Drusilla Regina’, p. 317. Bennet takes Suetonius’ description of Felix’s wives as “queens” literally – but has demonstrated that all other references of “Queens” in his lives are literally correct – they were all married to Kings, see Bennet, ‘Drusilla Regina’, p. 317.

²⁴⁶ Bennet, ‘Drusilla Regina’, p. 317. This would have to have been a carefully choreographed dance of Kings and Queens. Azizus was dead by Nero’s first year and Sohaemus was now the King of Emesa (Joseph. *AJ* 20.158).

Emesan scions, such as Zenobia, were to claim.²⁴⁷ Bennet’s arguments are persuasive but have little factual basis. On those grounds it is difficult to speculate how such a marriage was arranged and whether the emperor had a hand in it. Bennet further suggests that Felix may have arranged the match because he wanted to remove an unwanted wife, rather than the match arranged as a matter of politics.²⁴⁸

18. Polemo and Julia Mamaea of Emesa (?)

There is definite evidence for this marriage: a coin of Polemo with his portrait and titles on the obverse and the portrait and titles of his wife, Julia Mamaea, on the reverse.²⁴⁹ The difficulty is, who is this Polemo and who is this Julia Mamaea? There are fourteen separate references to a ruler named Polemo from the various ancient sources. Obviously many of these are referring to the same person, but which ones are the same? Many scholars have explored that issue, each arriving at a separate answer. In rough chronological order, the table below lists the fourteen references to rulers named Polemo during this period, and their sources.

	Source	Nomen	Title	Territory	Year/Era
1	<i>RPC I 3735-3739</i>	Antonius	Dynast	Olba	Tiberius?
2	Dio 59.12.2	-	-	-	AD 39 (Gaius)
3	<i>IGRR IV 147</i>	-	King	Pontus	AD 40s
4	<i>RPC I 3810-3838</i>	-	King	Pontus	AD 49-57 (Claudius–Nero)
5	<i>P. Lond. III 1407</i>	Julius	-	Pontus	AD 47 (Claudius)
6	Dio 60.8.2	-	-	Cilicia	Claudius
7	Jos. <i>AJ</i> 19.338	-	King	Pontus	AD 42 (Claudius)

²⁴⁷ Although Zenobia’s claim is only articulated by the unreliable *Historia Augusta* (*HA Tyrann. Triginta* 27, 30), Bennet does attempt to demonstrate that Zenobia herself made the claim, see Bennet, ‘Drusilla Regina’, pp. 317-18.

²⁴⁸ Bennet, ‘Drusilla Regina’, p. 317. Regardless, the kingdom of Mauretania itself was now a province of the Empire and no longer an independent state. The main appeal to Sohaemus, presumably, would have been gaining a wife of royal and illustrious ancestry.

²⁴⁹ *RPC I 3844*; Seyrig, ‘Monnaies hellénistiques’, pp. 45-47; Barrett, ‘Polemo II of Pontus’, pp. 445-46; Sullivan, ‘King Marcus Antonius Polemo’, p. 16. The sole coin of this type is housed at the National Museum of Beirut.

8	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 14.26	-	-	-	AD 60 (Nero)
9	Suet. <i>Ner.</i> 18	-	King	Pontus	AD 64 (Nero)
10	<i>RPC I</i> 3740	Antonius	King	Olba	Nero
11	Jos. <i>AJ</i> 20.145	-	King	Cilicia	Nero
12	<i>RPC I</i> 3741	Antonius	King	Olba	AD 68/69 (Galba)
13	<i>RPC I</i> 3742	Antonius	King	-	AD 70s?
14	<i>RPC I</i> 3844	Antonius	King	Armenia?	?

Reference 1 is represented on coins of Olba as M. Antonius Polemo with the title of dynast. The fabric and make of these coins closely resemble that of the coins of the previous dynast at Olba, Ajax son of Teucer – therefore it is believed that this dynast held Olba during Tiberius’ reign.²⁵⁰ Reference 2 was mentioned by Dio when cataloguing the kingdoms and territories parcelled out by Gaius. He reported Gaius gave “to Polemo, son of Polemo, his ancestral domains.” What these “ancestral domains” were was not defined, and Dio did not elaborate.²⁵¹ Reference 3 is attested to on an inscription set up by Antonia Tryphaena for her son Rhoemetalces III of Thrace which lists his “brothers, Polemo king of Pontus and Cotys ...”²⁵² There are several coin types for Polemo (Reference 4) – all silver drachms attributed to Pontus with his name and title always ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ.²⁵³

Reference 5 upsets much of the previous and subsequent evidence. A rescript of Claudius, dated AD 47, refers to games held jointly by Julius Antiochus (King of Commagene) and a

²⁵⁰ For coins of Olba for M. Antonius Polemo, see *RPC I* 3735-3739. For coins issued from Olba in the name of Ajax, see *RPC I* 3724-3734. The coins bear the dates of 5 and 10, although it is not known if a local dating system is used, or whether regnal dates of Tiberius are being employed. See also Sullivan, ‘King Marcus Antonius Polemo’, pp. 8-10; Barrett, ‘Polemo II of Pontus’, pp. 440-41.

²⁵¹ Dio 59.12.2; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 927. Magie suggested that that Dio was confused: Dio is describing the grant of Pontus to Polemo, son of Cotys (not Polemo), by Gaius (Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1417, n. 62). Thonemann and Primo argue that Dio is correct, and it is a different Polemo that Dio is referring to (although they differ as to which Polemo it is), see Thonemann, ‘Polemo, son of Polemo’, pp. 144-45; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 176.

²⁵² *IGRR IV* 147. Since the previous passage of Dio earlier refers to Gaius granting Thrace to Rhoemetalces and the kingdom was absorbed by Claudius sometime in the mid to late 40s, it is assumed the inscription was set up sometime between these dates.

²⁵³ *RPC I* 3813-3838. No *nomen* is ever given, and they are issued with reverse portraits of his mother Antonia Tryphaena (*RPC I* 3810-3812, 3822-3827), Claudius (*RPC I* 3813-3820), Nero (*RPC I* 3828-3838) and one type with facing portraits of Claudius and Nero (*RPC I* 3821).

Julius Polemo “of Pontus.”²⁵⁴ Reference 6 is stated by Dio when describing Claudius’ grant of the Bosporan Kingdom to Mithridates. Dio stated that Claudius gave “to Polemo some land in Cilicia in place of it [the Bosporan Kingdom].”²⁵⁵ Reference 7 is a statement by Josephus to a “Polemo, who held sway over Pontus” when numbering the kings present at the conference convened by Agrippa I at Tiberias in AD 42.²⁵⁶ Reference 8 is listed by Tacitus as one of the kings who benefitted from parts of Armenia that were parcelled out by Nero to neighbouring kings: “any district of Armenia adjoining the frontier of Pharasmanes or Polemo, or Aristobulus or Antiochus, was ordered to obey that prince.”²⁵⁷ Reference 9 was described by Suetonius as a Polemo losing his kingdom: “Kingdom of Pontus, ceded to him [Nero] by Polemo.”²⁵⁸ A coin of a King “M. Antonius Polemo” was also issued from Olba, with Nero’s portrait on the reverse – labelled here as Reference 10.²⁵⁹ Josephus referred to another Polemo (Reference 11) when describing the marriage of Berenice, sister of Agrippa II of Judaea – he said she “induced Polemo, King of Cilicia, to be circumcised and to take her in marriage.”²⁶⁰ More on this marriage will be detailed later. Another bronze coin of Olba was issued for a King M. Antonius Polemo (Reference 12) this time with the head of Galba on the reverse.²⁶¹ Another coin of King M. Antonius Polemo was struck without his portrait or that of the

²⁵⁴ P. Lond. III 1178; Smallwood, *Documents*, 374; Sullivan, ‘King Marcus Antonius Polemo’, pp. 11-13; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 175; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 928-29.

²⁵⁵ Dio 60.8.2; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, pp. 175-76; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 928; Dmitriev, ‘Claudius’ Grant of Cilicia’, p. 286. Once again Dio does not give a *nomen* for Polemo, nor does he state that he was king or dynast or of which territory.

²⁵⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 19.338 (trans. L. H. Feldman); Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 381; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 928. On this conference, much referred to in this thesis, see Chapter 6 below, p. 414.

²⁵⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 14.26; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 930; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 178. Barrett notes, however, that this passage of Tacitus has been amended from the original manuscript – *pars nipulique* was amended to *Pharasmanni Polemique* (Barrett, ‘Polemo II of Pontus’, p. 446). The kingdoms adjoining Armenia at the time were Armenia Minor (Aristobulus), Commagene (Antiochus IV), Pontus (Polemo) and Iberia (Pharasmanes).

²⁵⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 3.47; Suet. *Ner.* 18.1. Later sources, such as Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, copy the same statement (Eutrop. 7.14; Victor 5). This event is dated to AD 64 based on the dated coins of the area, see Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 178; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 254; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 930.

²⁵⁹ *RPC* I 3740; Sullivan, ‘King Marcus Antonius Polemo’, pp. 14-15. Unfortunately, although this coin bears the portrait of Nero on the obverse, it does not bear the portrait of Polemo, just his name and titles (BACIAEYC M ANT ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ) around a winged caduceus with two snakes.

²⁶⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 20.145 (trans. L. H. Feldman); Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 322; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 312; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 178; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 929. For details of this marriage, see Marriage 19 below, p. 246.

²⁶¹ The obverse bears the legend ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΣΕΡΓΙΩΝ ΓΑΛΒΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΙ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ and a portrait of Galba. The reverse depicts a helmeted Athena with the legend Μ ΑΝΤ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΒΑΚΙΑΕΥΣ. See *RPC* I 3741; Barrett, ‘Polemo II of Pontus’, p. 445; Sullivan, ‘King Marcus Antonius Polemo’, pp. 16-17.

reigning emperor.²⁶² The final Polemo is attested from another coin (Reference 14) which was published by Seyrig who suggests that the ΜΕΓ that forms part of his titulature reflects traditional titulature of the coinage of the Great Kings of Armenia.²⁶³ This is the Polemo that is the crux of this marriage outlined above.

Obviously many of these *Polemones* are the same person. Magie suggests that, based on the different *nomina*, that there were two Polemos: [C.] Julius Polemo and M. Antonius Polemo. The first was king of Pontus (References 2-5 and 7-9) and the second was dynast at Olba and then king of parts of Cilicia (References 1, 6 and 10-13).²⁶⁴ Sullivan asserts that all these *Polemenes* were the same person. This individual started out as dynast in Olba, was promoted to King of Pontus by Gaius, then given territories in Cilicia by Claudius before having his Pontic territories taken away from him by Nero and surviving into the reign of Galba and possibly later.²⁶⁵ This would make him an unusually long-reigning King and it also does not explain the change in *nomen*. Barrett contends that M. Antonius Polemo was a dynast at Olba (Reference 1) and a separate figure. He also questions the legitimacy of the rescript that gives Polemo's name as "Iulius", pointing out that is attached to a certificate of membership dated to AD 194.²⁶⁶ Barrett upholds Dio's statement that Polemo of Pontus was granted territories in Cilicia and therefore identifies him with all the remaining Polemos (References 2-14).²⁶⁷ Braund pointed out that the change in *nomen* is "not impossible, but it is difficult" and believes Josephus went out of his way to distinguish between Polemo of Pontus and Polemo of Cilicia because they were different men.²⁶⁸

²⁶² The legend of this coin reads M ANT ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; see *RPC I* 3742. The issue contains Flavian symbols and is tentatively dated to the AD 70s by *RPC* (*RPC I*, p. 364). See also Sullivan, 'King Marcus Antonius Polemo', pp. 17-18.

²⁶³ *RPC I* 3844. The full obverse legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓ Μ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ. On the basis of the ΜΕΓ the compilers of *RPC* follow Seyrig and attribute it to Armenia, noting the earlier apportioning of parts of Armenia by Nero to Kings such as Polemo; see *RPC I*, p. 571; Seyrig, 'Monnaies hellénistiques', pp. 45-47; Sullivan, 'King Marcus Antonius Polemo', p. 16.

²⁶⁴ Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1407, n. 26.

²⁶⁵ Sullivan, 'King Marcus Antonius Polemo', p. 19.

²⁶⁶ Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 445.

²⁶⁷ Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 448.

²⁶⁸ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 49-50, n. 22. Braund does not, however, specify which Polemo is which.

The question of Polemo is examined again by Dmitriev, who outlines some of the early theories but declines to decide the matter.²⁶⁹ Dmitriev argues that Julius Polemo may have been granted the Bosphoran Kingdom briefly in Gaius' reign and that Claudius' grant of Cilicia was compensation for the kingdom given and taken by Gaius, not an exchange as previously thought.²⁷⁰ Thonemann argues that Dio's reference to "Polemo, son of Polemo" is not a mistake as previously thought.²⁷¹ Thonemann suggests that this Polemo is M. Antonius Polemo (References 2, 6, 10-14). He is indeed the grandson of Polemo I, but through his son, M. Antonius Polemo (Reference 1), thus Dio's "Polemo, son of Polemo." This also means that the Polemo married to Berenice (Reference 11) is the King of Cilicia and not of Pontus. Finally, Kokkinos attempts to resolve the issue thus: the dynast of Olba (Reference 1) and a descendant of his (References 12-14) were separate but Polemo the King of Pontus was also granted lands in a different part of Cilicia, thus Josephus refers to him first as King of Pontus (Reference 7) and after he lost Pontus, as King of Cilicia (Reference 11).²⁷² By Kokkinos' reckoning, References 2-11 are the same person.

Scholar (Year)	Polemo	REFERENCES													
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Magie 1950	Polemo King of Pontus														
	Polemo King of Cilicia														
Barrett 1978	Polemo Dynast at Olba														
	Polemo King of Pontus & Cilicia														
Sullivan 1979	Polemo King of Pontus & Cilicia														
Kokkinos 1998	Polemo Dynast at Olba														
	Polemo King of Cilicia														
	Polemo King of Pontus														
Thonemann 2004	Polemo Dynast at Olba														
	Polemo King of Cilicia														
	Polemo King of Pontus														

²⁶⁹ Dmitriev, 'Claudius' Grant of Cilicia', pp. 286-91.

²⁷⁰ Dmitriev, 'Claudius' Grant of Cilicia', pp. 290-91.

²⁷¹ Thonemann, 'Polemo, son of Polemo', pp. 144-50.

²⁷² Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 381-82.

Primo 2010 Polemo King of Olba & Cilicia

Polemo King of Pontus

These scholars have explored the identity of the various *Polemenes*. On the basis of this analysis, there were probably three or four different *Polemenes* and need to be enumerated. Polemo 1 is the King of Pontus appointed by Antony and the ancestor of all the subsequent *Polemenes*. Another Polemo is definitely known: Polemo, son of Antonia Tryphaena of Thrace (herself the daughter of Polemo 1) and Cotys of Thrace. For the purposes of this section and identification, he will be known as Polemo 2. His full name would be C. Julius Polemo and he was granted the kingdom of Pontus by Gaius and continued to reign there until the reign of Nero.²⁷³ His name and title on his Pontic coins is always ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ and he also issued coin in the name of his mother with her portrait.²⁷⁴ Polemo 2, the King of Pontus, was the son of Cotys – the family were obviously granted citizenship by either Caesar or Augustus.²⁷⁵ His mother, Antonia Tryphaena either received her name from her grandmother, known from inscriptions as Antonia, or her father who was probably granted citizenship by Antony and known as M. Antonius Polemo – although this is conjectured from possible descendants with the forenames M. Antonius.²⁷⁶ As the son of Cotys there is expectation that Polemo king of Pontus would be named C. Julius Polemo and the rescript mentioned above named him as such. It would be unlikely that he took the *gens* of his mother's father (Antonius), although it was his maternal grandfather's kingdom he inherited.

Another Polemo also existed, Polemo 3, possibly around the same time, more probably a little earlier. He was high priest of Olba during the reign of Tiberius and had the name M. Antonius

²⁷³ Dio 59.12.2 – although this reference is most probably referring to Polemo C (see below).

²⁷⁴ *RPC* I 3813-3838. For coins of Polemo with Antonia Tryphaena, see *RPC* I 3808-3812. These coins also demonstrate, via their regnal years, that he was confirmed as King of Pontus in Gaius' reign.

²⁷⁵ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41; Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 92-94. Raggi argues that citizenship was granted by Augustus to Rhoemetalces I, Polemo's paternal grandfather.

²⁷⁶ Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 88-89; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 41-42. For conjectured descendants of Polemo, including a stemma, see Thonemann, 'Polemo, son of Polemo', pp. 144-50. Both Polemo and his father Zeno were probably granted Roman citizenship as a reward for their defence of Laodicea during Pacorus' invasion of Rome's eastern territories. For Zeno's defence of Laodicea, see Strab. 12.8.16, 14.2.24; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 171; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 161; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 915-16; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 162-63.

Polemo.²⁷⁷ As Raggi argues, the family was probably granted citizenship by Antony, either to Polemo before he became King of Pontus, or to his father Zeno, after his defence of Laodicea against the Parthians.²⁷⁸ This Polemo is likely to have been the son of Polemo I of Pontus and Pythodoris mentioned by Strabo, who does not give this son's name (but it is likely to be M. Antonius Polemo) and reported that this son was helping his mother govern her ἀρχήν (“empire” or “realm”).²⁷⁹ The term used here by Strabo infers an area more than Pontus and, at this time, Pythodoris was married to Archelaus, the King of Cappadocia, who also governed parts of Cilicia Tracheia as well.²⁸⁰ Either as regent for Archelaus or as his Queen, Pythodoris could have made Polemo ruler at Olba and surrounding parts of Cilicia, therefore assisting his mother in governing her “realm.”

At Olba, during the reigns of Nero and Galba, other coins of a Polemo were issued (Polemo 4), this time with the appellation of king. The obverse legends read M ANT ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC. This Polemo might be identical with the Polemo above (Polemo 3) after he was granted the title of King or, more likely, he was the son of that Polemo above. Either Polemo 4 or Polemo 3 could be the “Polemo, son of Polemo” that Dio stated Gaius granted “his ancestral domain” (Reference 2).²⁸¹ Although Sullivan and Barrett argue that most (if not all) these Polemos are the same person, the trouble with the names remains: how can a C. Iulius Polemo be the same as an M. Antonius Polemo?²⁸² Polemo 4 also probably made some claim on the Bosporan Kingdom (his grandfather was married to Dynamis) during the reign of

²⁷⁷ As coins were issued at Olba depicting his portrait with the legend ΜΑΡΚ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩC; see *RPC* I 3735-3739.

²⁷⁸ As Raggi demonstrates, there are no definite cases of Kings being granted citizenship until the reign of Augustus (Raggi, ‘First Roman Citizens’, pp. 88-90).

²⁷⁹ Strab. 12.3.29. If Polemo I (son of Zeno) was following conventional Greek naming convention, the eldest son would be named after his grandfather – this would mean Zeno, appointed by Germanicus to be King of Armenia, was the eldest. The younger son would be named after his own father.

²⁸⁰ Strab. 12.3.29. See Marriage 6 above, p. 155. For the various divisions of rulerships over Cilicia, see Chapter 5 below, p. 358.

²⁸¹ Dio 59.12.2. Dio here also uses ἀρχήν and is not specific as to who this Polemo is or what realm he was given. Dio could be deliberately vague as he himself may have been confused as to which Polemo was Polemo and which realm they governed.

²⁸² Much of this lengthy point may appear to be deviation from the main thesis, but it is important to define each of the parties in a marriage-alliance, their identity and background, before it can be analysed further. As a Polemo is represented in two marriages during this period (see below), it is doubly important to define which Polemo is which. Later in the thesis (Chapter 5) it is also relevant when sorting out which dynasts had dynastic claims to which territories.

Claudius, but according to Dio, Claudius left Mithridates in charge and gave Polemo 4 (more) lands in Cilicia (Reference 6).

A coin of Polemo and Julia Mamaea, the sole example of which resides in the Beirut Museum, may be yet another Polemo (Polemo 5?). The name and title on the coin is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓ Μ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ. This makes it unlikely for the coin to depict the same Polemo as C. Iulius Polemo the king of Pontus (Polemo 2), but he may be identical with Polemo 4, who struck coins in Olba, or related to him. The coin has no date, but *RPC* places it between AD 60 and 64. The “ΜΕΓ” in the title also suggested to the compilers of *RPC* that it was issued in Armenia. ΜΕΓ or ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ does appear amongst the titles of many Armenian kings but also features in the legends for others kings, for example some of the legends for coins of Antiochus IV of Commagene issued in Cilicia.²⁸³ According to Tacitus, Polemo was granted a portion of Armenia for helping the Romans in Nero’s Armenian War.²⁸⁴ Hence this Polemo may have felt justified abrogating an Armenian royal title, and this may have been Antiochus’ reasoning as well.

The legend for Polemo’s wife on the reverse of the coin reads ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΜΑΜΜΑΙΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ, and depicts her bust diademed. Her antecedents are not known, but her name reflects that of an empress of Rome in the early third century, Julia Mamaea, mother of Severus Alexander and member of the family of the Emesan high priests, who were apparently descended from the old Emesan royal family.²⁸⁵ Inscriptions give the forenames of the kings of Emesa as “C. Iulius”, so they were granted citizenship by Caesar or, more probably, Augustus.²⁸⁶ On this basis alone Julia Mamaea wife of M. Antonius Polemo is

²⁸³ See the coins of Tigranes and Artavasdes in the same volume (*RPC* I 3841-3843). For the coins of Antiochus IV with ΜΕΓΑΚ or ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, see *RPC* I 3701, 3703, 2704-3705, 3712, 3717-3720. Braund believes the ΜΕΓ in the titulature does not necessarily mean the issuer was connected to Armenia (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 49, n. 22).

²⁸⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 14.26. Antiochus was also granted a section of Armenia at the same, which may explain his use of the same title (see above footnote). Aristobulus of Armenia Minor was also allocated his bordering region of Armenia, but his coins do not advertise the same title, see *RPC* I 3839-3840.

²⁸⁵ For Julia Mamaea, daughter of Julia Maesa, see *PIR*² J 649; Barrett, *Septimius Severus*, p. 222. For her descent from the Emesan royal family, see B. Levick, *Julia Domna: Syrian Empress*, London, 2006, pp. 13-15, Birley, *Septimius Severus*, p. 72 and stemma on pp. 216-17; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, p. 219.

²⁸⁶ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 44; Raggi, ‘First Roman Citizens’, pp. 90-91. The first Emesan king attested with Roman *trinomina* was C. Julius Sohaemus (*PIR*² J 582, his name attested in *ILS* 8958). Since he

thought to belong to the Emesan royal family. She may have been the daughter of the king Sampsigeramus II, or (if the coin is correctly dated to the early AD 60s) even kings Sohaemus or Azizus.

The evidence for this marriage relies on a single example of a coin that has been accepted as genuine by Seyrig and the compilers of *RPC*. Regardless, this marriage is frustratingly difficult to analyse. Julia Mamaea was most probably an Emesan royal, but the identity of the husband is difficult to ascertain. Unless Polemo II of Pontus used two different names, it is likely that this Polemo is either Polemo 4, king of Cilicia, or another Polemo, related to the family. The dating of the marriage is next to impossible. The dating of the coin relies on the supposition that the “MEΓ” on the obverse refers to it being issued in Armenia and therefore possibly the Polemo who was granted Armenian lands during Corbulo’s Armenian Wars. To speculate whether this marriage was arranged by an emperor or a traditional marriage-alliance relies on too many imponderables.

19. Polemo of Cilicia and Berenice of Judaea

The same conundrum exists for this marriage as well. Josephus related that Berenice, to avoid rumours about her relationship with her brother Herod Agrippa II, “induced Polemo, king of Cilicia, to be circumcised and to take her in marriage.”²⁸⁷ Earlier Josephus mentions that a Polemo was present at the meeting at Tiberias in AD 42, but he describes this Polemo as “Polemo, who was king of Pontus.”²⁸⁸ Since the section above has defined at least two Polemos at this time, one as King of Pontus and the other as King of Cilicia, Josephus must be drawing a distinction. Based on the analysis in the previous marriage, this thesis argues that the Polemo in question is M. Antonius Polemo only king of Cilicia, and was never king of Pontus (Polemo 4).

became king in the reign of Nero (AD 54) – it is assumed that he received the *trinomina* from his father King Sampsigeramus II or earlier.

²⁸⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 20.145 (trans. L. H. Feldman); Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 312; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 178; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 322; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 88.

²⁸⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 19.338; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 300; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 929-30. For analysis of this conference, see Chapter 6 below, p. 413.

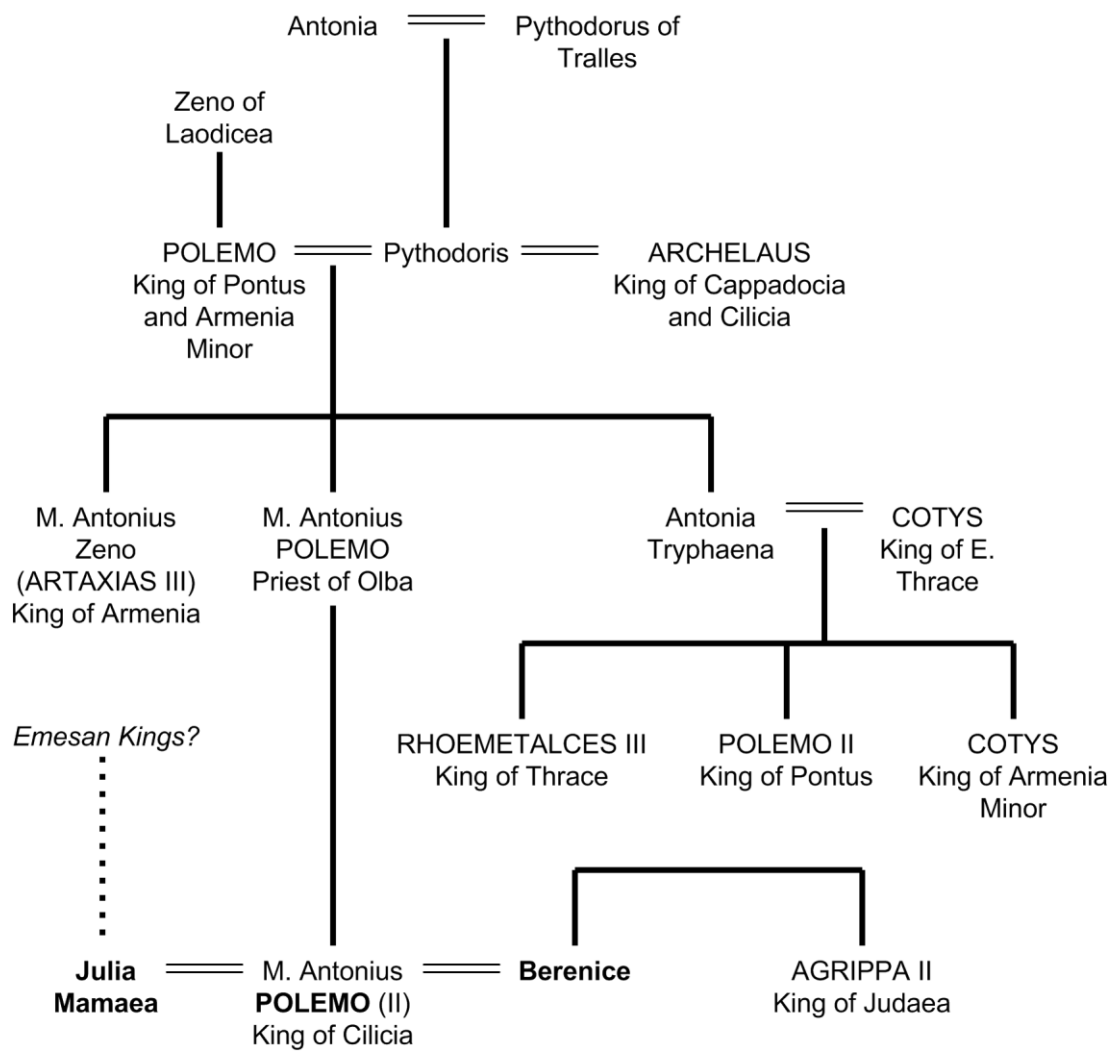


Figure 21. Marriages of Polemo of Cilicia

Berenice was previously married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis, by her father Herod Agrippa I.²⁸⁹ Herod of Chalcis died in AD 48, the “eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar” and Josephus also noted that “after the death of Herod [of Chalcis], who had been her uncle and husband, Berenice lived for a long time as a widow.”²⁹⁰ Kokkinos dates the marriage to Polemo to c. AD 63, but on the assumption that the Polemo in question is Polemo II of

²⁸⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 19.277; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 302; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, pp. 311-12; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 87. Kokkinos dates this marriage to the Passover of AD 44. Berenice was first married to an Alexandrian Jew, Marcus Julius Alexander by her father Herod Agrippa before he died, but the marriage did not last long as Marcus died shortly afterwards (Joseph. *AJ* 19.276-277; *PIR*² J 138; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 311; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 87). For Julia Berenice in general, see *PIR*² J 651.

²⁹⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 20.145 (trans. L. H. Feldman); Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 382; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 312; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 87. For her earlier marriage to Herod of Chalcis, see Joseph. *AJ* 20.104.

Pontus.²⁹¹ Since this thesis argues that it is more likely that Berenice married M. Antonius Polemo, king of Cilicia only (Polemo 4), then the marriage does not need to be delayed as far as AD 63.

The wording of Josephus inferred Berenice arranged her own marriage to Polemo.²⁹² Josephus stated that Berenice wished to avoid scandalous discussion of her relationship with her brother Agrippa II (with whom she was living at the time).²⁹³ Such a marriage, even if not arranged by Nero, should have required the emperor's approval. Regardless, the marriage did not last long, and Berenice left Polemo to return to her brother's court.²⁹⁴ Berenice later became the mistress of Titus during the Jewish War, and visited him in Rome, but apparently any question of marriage between the two came to nothing when Titus sent her away.²⁹⁵

20. Alexander of Cilicia and Jotape of Commagene

This marriage is once again attested by Josephus. At the end of a passage outlining the fate of Herod's descendants, he mentioned that Tigranes, great-grandson of Herod the Great, had a son "Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagene."²⁹⁶ This marriage is nowhere else attested. Alexander, as Josephus described in the quote above,

²⁹¹ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 382. At the same time the coins of Polemo II of Pontus cease to be issued, and it is in the year that most scholars believe Polemo was deposed at Pontus by Nero and was left with only his domains in Cilicia. In this context, as Kokkinos asserts, it is entirely justified for Josephus to refer to Polemo at the time of his marriage to Berenice as "king of Cilicia" (Joseph. *AJ* 20.145), when he is referred to earlier as "king of Pontus" (Joseph. *AJ* 19.338), see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 381-82. Primo dates the marriage to after AD 48 but that ignores Josephus who stipulated it was a "long while after" (Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 178).

²⁹² Joseph. *AJ* 20.145. Josephus depicted Polemo as being rather passive in the arrangement, and suggested that he "was prevailed upon, chiefly on account of her wealth" (Joseph. *AJ* 20.146, trans. L. H. Feldman).

²⁹³ *Juv. Sat.* 6.157-58; Joseph. *AJ* 20.145; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 86-88; G. H. Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', *AJPh* 56.3, 1935, pp. 249-51; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 322. For the suggestion that she may have been "sister-wife" to Agrippa II, see Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', p. 249.

²⁹⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 20.146; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 88. Kokkinos suggests she was back with Agrippa II by AD 65 but this is based from his date of the marriage at c. AD 63 (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 322). Since literary support for one marriage M. Antonius Polemo ending, then it would be more efficient to place this marriage before his other marriage to Julia Mamaea outlined above (Marriage 18) – *contra* Primo, who places the marriage of Julia Mamaea earlier, but this based on the assumption that it is the same M. Antonius Polemo who was dynast of Olba during Tiberius' reign and thus a very old man (Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 178).

²⁹⁵ Suet. *Tit.* 7.1-2; Dio 65.15.3-5; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 329-30; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 312. See also Braund, 'Berenice in Rome', pp. 120-23.

²⁹⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 18.140 (trans. L. H. Feldman); Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 101. Although Sullivan refers to a coin of the two rulers, none such exists in the more recent *RPC* (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 794-95; references T. E. Mionnet, *Description de Médailles Antiques Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, 1835, p. 297, n. 570).

was the son of Tigranes who had been appointed king of Armenia by Nero in AD 58, in opposition to Vologaeses' nominee Tiridates.²⁹⁷ Tigranes' father was Alexander, the second son of Alexander, who was son of Herod, and Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus – a marriage arranged during Augustus' reign.²⁹⁸ Therefore his ancestors had been kings of Judaea, Armenia, Cappadocia and parts of Cilicia. Of these domains, Vespasian gave Alexander parts of Cilicia – by this time Cappadocia had been absorbed into the empire, Armenia was in the hands of the Arsacid Tiridates, and much of Judaea was still ruled by Agrippa II.²⁹⁹

Jotape was the daughter of Antiochus IV of Commagene and his sister-wife Jotape.³⁰⁰ Coins of Antiochus demonstrate that he also had some domains in Cilicia.³⁰¹ Although Antiochus had provided assistance to Vespasian during the civil wars of AD 69, the emperor deprived him of his domains in AD 72 and he retired to Rome.³⁰² Jotape also had at least one sister, as Josephus mentioned at one point that Antiochus fled with his wife and daughters (plural) – Kokkinos suggests Jotape would have been the youngest and born in the middle AD 50s.³⁰³ There is no specific mention of the fate of Antiochus' lands in Cilicia after his deposition from Commagene, but, as he resided in Athens and then Rome afterwards, they must have reverted into the emperor's hands.

²⁹⁷ For Alexander, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; *PIR*² A 500; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 794; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 251. Alexander was probably born in AD 50s (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 252). For his father Tigranes, see Tac. *Ann.* 14.26.1.

²⁹⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; Tac. *Ann.* 14.26.1. See Marriage 3 above.

²⁹⁹ For Vespasian's grant of Cilicia to Alexander, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 794-95; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 253. Technically Josephus only mentions "an island in Cilicia", but this has been extrapolated out to mean the lands around Elaeussa, which Strabo describes as a "fertile island" and where Archelaus of Cappadocia built a palace and resided (Strab. 12.2.7, 14.5.6); see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 253.

³⁰⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; *PIR*² I 48; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 794-95; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 251;

³⁰¹ In Cilicia, bronze coins featuring the names and portraits of Antiochus IV (and sometimes those of his wife Jotape) were issued at Selinus (*RPC* I 3701-3702), Cietis (*RPC* I 3703), Anemurium (*RPC* I 3704-3708), Celenderis (*RPC* I 3709-3710), Corycus (*RPC* I 3712-3713) and Elaeussa/Sebaste (*RPC* I 3716-3722).

³⁰² Vespasian's deposition of Antiochus told in Joseph. *BJ* 7.219-43. See also Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 791-94; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 100; Facella, 'Case of Commagene', p. 197; Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 165-66; Bowersock, 'Syria under Vespasian', p. 135.

³⁰³ Joseph. *AJ* 7.234; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 252.

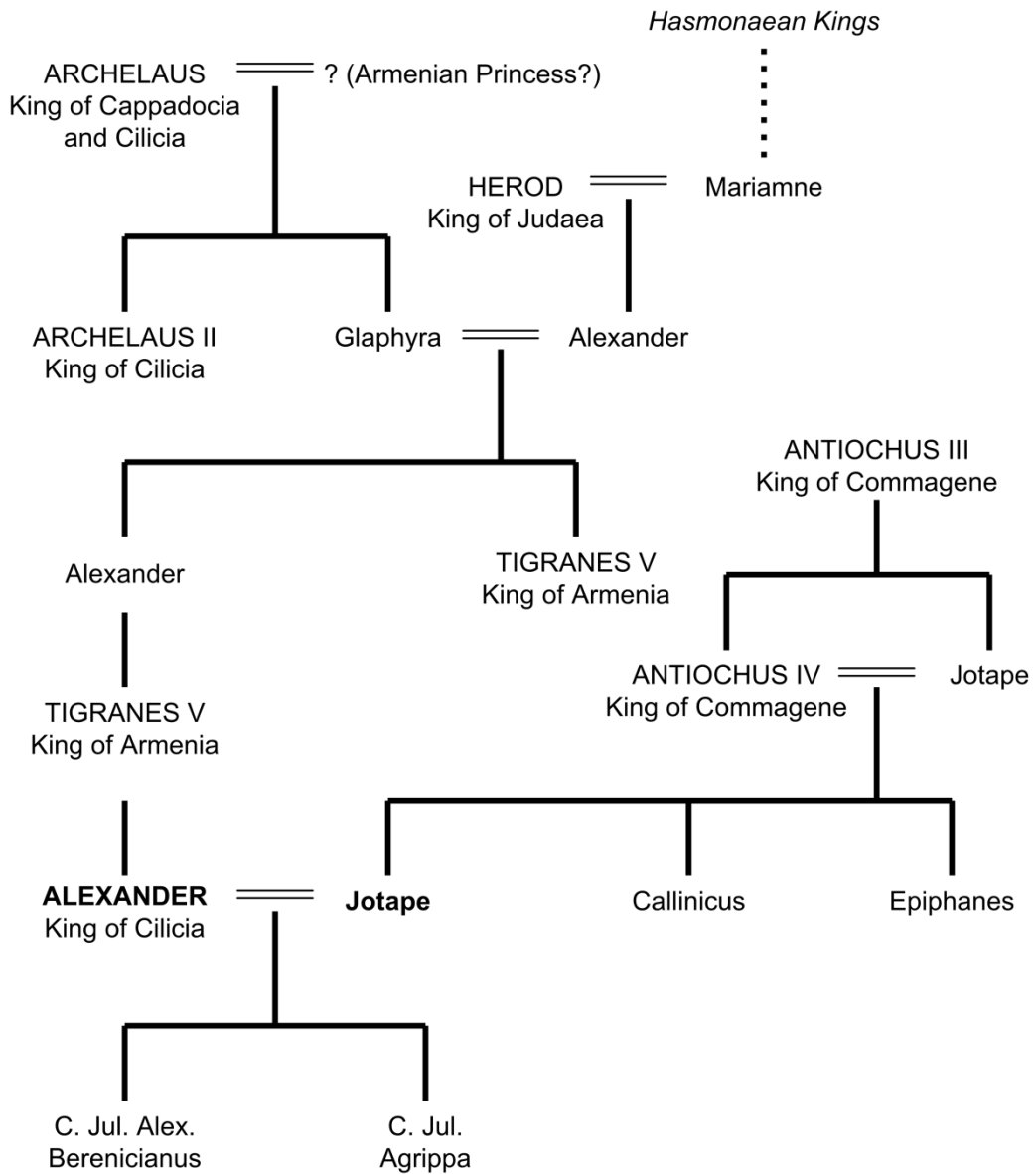


Figure 22. Marriage of Jotape and Alexander

Kokkinos postulates that the marriage may have taken place around AD 75 after Antiochus and Jotape’s brothers had settled in Rome.³⁰⁴ Vespasian’s grant of Cilicia to Alexander may have occurred at the same time – Kokkinos describes it as a possible “wedding present.”³⁰⁵ Josephus mentioned the marriage and the grant of Cilicia in the same passage, but his history

³⁰⁴ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 252. Kokkinos also suggests that the wedding was held in Rome and that Agrippa and Berenice, in Rome at the time, may have attended.

³⁰⁵ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 253. If Kokkinos is correct and the wedding was held in Rome, then Vespasian may well have attended, or even arranged the alliance.

here is condensed and some years could have passed between the two events.³⁰⁶ If the wedding was held in Rome then it is difficult to see the marriage occurring without Vespasian's complicity, but there is also little to suggest that the emperor arranged the marriage in an Augustan manner. As noted above, Vespasian is often portrayed by modern scholars as the harbinger of the end of the client system, but, as demonstrated, he allowed many client kingdoms to continue. He also appears to have respected dynastic claims to territories as both Alexander and his wife Jotape were descended from kings who had ruled these lands. This marriage demonstrates that royal marriages continued after Vespasian became emperor, but it is difficult to assess how complicit the new emperor was in such matters.

Intra-dynastic Marriages

During the period after Augustus, kings also continued to arrange endogamic marriages, i.e. within their own family. As with similar marriages made during Augustus' reign, many of these probably were made without the emperor's connivance or possibly without even the need of his consent. From Josephus' accounts, several marriages within the Herodian dynasty are known to have continued in Judaea. As noted above, the difficulty of finding suitors willing to convert to Judaism provided an extra hurdle. In AD 44 Agrippa married his daughter Berenice to his brother Herod of Chalcis.³⁰⁷ Herod's son Aristobulus married a Salome, almost certainly another Herodian.³⁰⁸ Intra-dynastic or endogamic marriages continued outside Judaea – in Commagene, Antiochus IV married his sister Jotape – Macurdy contends

³⁰⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 18.140 – the whole passage refers to the fate of the children of Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Herod and is placed right after narrating the war between Antipas and Aretas of Nabataea before AD 37.

³⁰⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 19.277, 20.104, 20.145; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 308; Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', p. 249; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 87; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 310-12. Sullivan notes that the marriage could have been held as early as AD 43. Berenice had earlier been married to Marcus, son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria by her father, but Marcus died soon after the marriage; see Joseph. *AJ* 19.276-277; Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', p. 249; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 87; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 294-95.

³⁰⁸ Joseph. 18.137; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 310-11. Josephus claims that the Salome in question was the daughter of Herod's son Herod (III), but Kokkinos argues that she was too old and suggests that Josephus had confused his Salomes and that Aristobulus wife was actually "Herodias Salome", the daughter of Antipas. Coins of Aristobulus and Salome from his kingdom of Armenia Minor survive; see *RPC* I 3839-40.

that his father (Antiochus III) also married his sister, also named Jotape.³⁰⁹ Of the cases supported by the existing evidence, none are described as being arranged by the emperor.

There may have been only one intra-dynastic marriage suggested by the emperor: that of Rhoemetalces II of Thrace to his cousin Pythodoris II. This marriage is known only from inscriptions.³¹⁰ The marriage may have been made as part of a reconciliation after Rhescuporis murdered his nephew Cotys, and may have even involved the emperor.³¹¹ Rhoemetalces II was the son of Rhescuporis and Pythodoris II appears to have been the daughter of Cotys and Antonia Tryphaena (Marriage 10).³¹² It would have been good politics for Tiberius to ensure that a blood feud within the Thracian royal family did not continue into the next generation, and marriage between the two branches of the family would have been a step to ensure that it did not.

Polygamy in the Later Empire

Once again the scarcity of surviving evidence makes it far from definite, but royal polygamous marriages appear to have been less fashionable by the end of Augustus' reign. Whether the kings were taking their Roman citizenship more seriously, or a paucity of marriage candidates in the dwindling Eastern Dynastic Network made it more difficult to contract multiple marriages, is not known.

³⁰⁹ Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 40. For coins of this Jotape, the sister-wife of Antiochus IV, see *RPC* I 3853, 3857-3858 and 3865.

³¹⁰ *IGBulg.* 399 (= *IGR* I 1503 = *SEG* 34-700); Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 204-05.

³¹¹ For the internecine strife in Thrace at the time, see *Vell. Pat.* 2.129.1; *Tac. Ann.* 2.66-67; *Suet. Tib.* 37.4; Wilkes, 'Danubian and Balkan Provinces', p. 555; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 200-01. The marriage could have also been arranged by Augustus late in the reign, to strengthen the family after Augustus divided the kingdom of Rhoemetalces.

³¹² *IGBulg.* 399(= *IGR* I 1503 = *SEG* 34-700); *Tac. Ann.* 2.67; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 204-05. This version of the Thracian royal family, however, as noted above, is contended by some scholars. Tačeva, for example, suggests that Pythodoris II was the daughter of Rhoemetalces II and that she married Rhoemetalces III, the son of Cotys and Antonia (Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Dynasty', p. 463). If so, the marriage would have been made late in Tiberius' reign and still might have been a gesture towards healing the breach in the Thracian royal family.

While Herod the Great under Augustus had several polygamous marriages, the remaining Herodian dynasty appears to have kept to one wife at a time, as Antipas' divorce of Phasaelis to marry Herodias, outlined in the previous chapter (Marriage 5), demonstrates.³¹³ For this period, only the Nabataean dynasty is known to retain polygamous marriages. Several wives of Aretas IV (9 BC – AD 40), Malichus II (AD 40-70) and Rabbel II (AD 70-106) are known.³¹⁴ Many of these wives have the title “sister”, but this may have been an honorific title, rather than a statement of consanguinity – the two wives of Rabbel II, Gamilat and Hagaru, are known to have the same parents, Malichus II, as their husband.³¹⁵ No evidence remains to demonstrate that the kings of Mauretania and Pontus had multiple wives during this period – in fact there is no evidence of any wives for some kings, such Polemo II of Pontus.³¹⁶

Conclusion

There is a noticeable decline in the known marriage-alliances between client kings for the period after Augustus. The evidence suggests only eight definite marriages between dynasties are known for these years (as well as two speculative ones) versus the ten known marriages for Augustus' reign (27 BC to AD 14).³¹⁷ This is due to three main considerations. Firstly, there is a parallel decline in the number of kingdoms considered “friends and allies” for this period. While some client kingdoms did not disappear, it can be argued that there were far fewer by the end of Vespasian's reign than there were at the beginning of Tiberius'. With a smaller pool of potential brides and grooms, some dynasties may have turned to members within their own royal family, or with local nobility, for partnerships. Secondly, there is also a decline in

³¹³ Joseph. *AJ* 18.109-112; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 229-32; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 306; Kennedy, ‘Syria’, p. 735; Goodman, ‘Judaea’, p. 744; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 185; A. Negev, ‘The Nabataeans and the Provincia Arabia’ *ANRW* II 8, 1980, p. 768.

³¹⁴ Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 63. Aretas IV had at least two wives, Huldu and Shaqilat I. Malichus II also had two wives, his full sister Sha'dat and his half-sister Shaqilat II. Rabbel II was married to two full sisters: Gamilat II and Hagaru II. See *PIR*² A 1033, M 109 and R 2; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 376-77. Negev suggests, however, that the queens were consorts sequentially and not concurrently; see Negev, ‘Nabataeans’, pp. 569, 637.

³¹⁵ Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, pp. 63, 74; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 376-77.

³¹⁶ It remains a possibility however, that Polemo II of Pontus is the Polemo in Marriages 18 and 19. Also, the marriage between Ptolemy of Mauretania and Urania is supposed and no definite evidence survives to demonstrate that Ptolemy was married at all. This phenomenon is explored further in Chapter 6.

³¹⁷ While there are also two marriage-alliances during Augustus' reign that are also speculative (between Mithridates of Commagene and Jotape of Media, and between Sampsigeramus of Emesa and Jotape of Commagene; Marriages 2 and 8 respectively), there is strong reason for why these marriages have been accepted by modern scholarship.

the evidence that has survived – doubtlessly there were more royal marriages during this period for which no evidence has survived. Thirdly, it seems likely that Roman emperors no longer pursued the Augustan policy of actively linking client kings together by ties of matrimony. It is no accident that most of the marriages that appear to be imperially influenced occur during the reign of Tiberius, who had been an integral part of Augustan policy long before he became emperor. Gaius and Claudius, while quite comfortable in the company of kings, had little previous experience in governance or administration and would not have been privy to Augustus' thoughts on managing his eastern kings. It would be fair to say that during the first and second centuries there was no overall continuing policy in dealing with client kings. The practice, even if acknowledged by subsequent emperors, may have been actively discontinued, considering some of the problems that arose from client kings dynastically-linked to each other.

An overview of the history of the client kingdoms during the first century AD demonstrates an overall decline in the number of allied kingdoms. While this does not represent the relentless growth of the empire as it first appears, there is without a doubt fewer Roman client kingdoms during Domitian's reign than there was during Augustus' reign. Augustus himself started the trend when he converted Galatia and Paphlagonia from the rule of kings to the rule of governors. Tiberius removed three more kingdoms. Gaius reinstated some, and then perhaps changed his mind. Vespasian removed three more kingdoms. While in the second century Trajan added more states to the list of allied kingdoms, such as Edessa, he also removed the independence of some, such as Nabataea. The ruling families of these kingdoms, however, were not extinguished, and formed part of an eastern aristocracy, that became senators and then consuls. The removal of these kingdoms, however, did have an impact on dynastic politics amongst the client kingdoms. The remaining kings had a diminishing pool of candidates to select fitting spouses for their sons and daughters from. Internecine strife within the kingdoms also helped reduce numbers. After the death of Rhoemetalces I, Thrace erupted into a short, but savage civil war. Herod the Great, during Augustus reign, had executed many from his fecund family. These factors had a draining effect on the Eastern Dynastic Network – a network that Augustus recognised needed nourishment if it was to survive. By ignoring Augustus' policy or encouraging marriage between client kings, or by not implementing similar policies, future emperors had neglected the program that had ensured the survival of

dynastic rule in the client kingdoms, and yet none of the emperors show the slightest indication of following Antony's policy of promoting kings from non-royal stock.

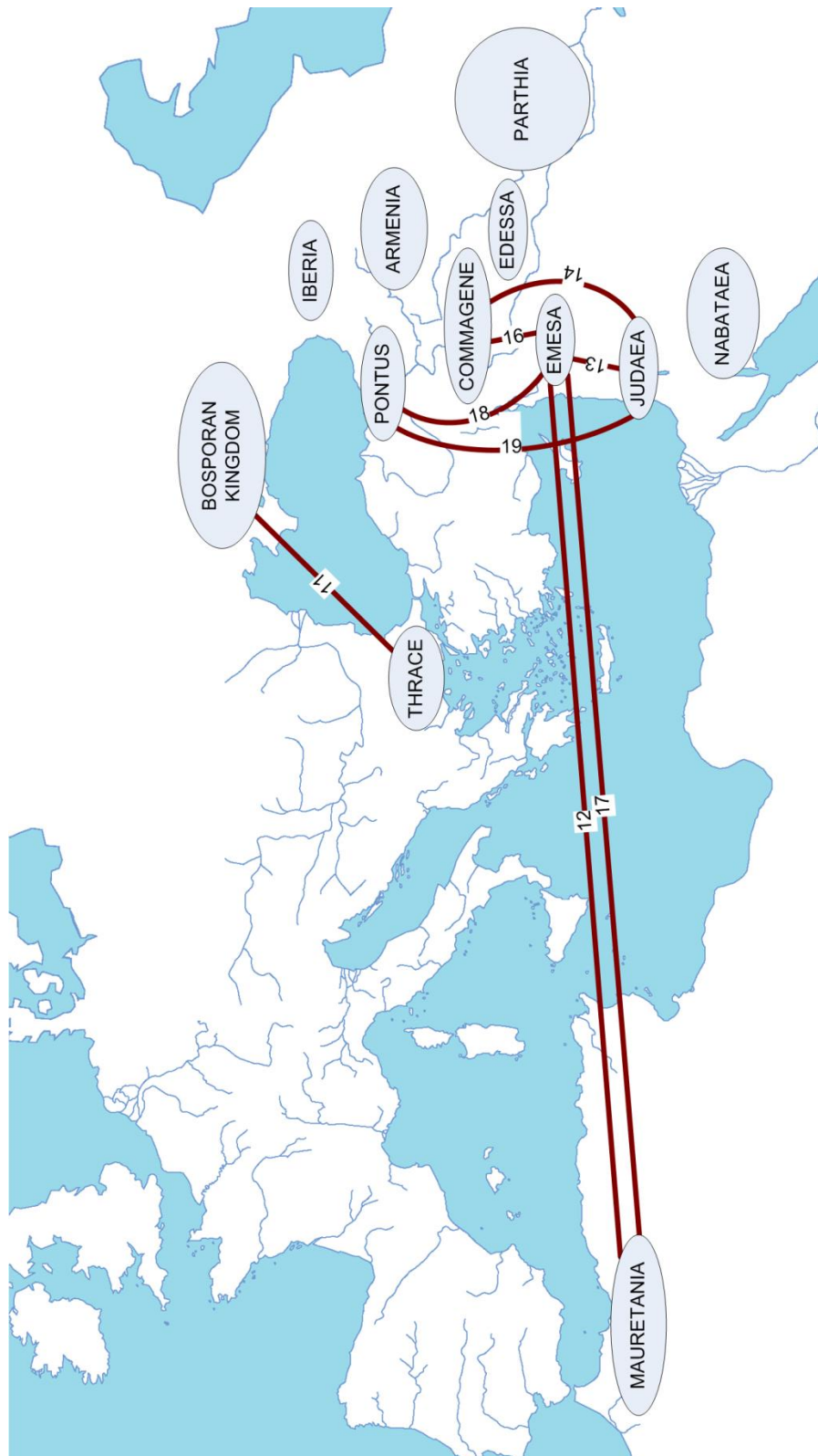


Figure 23. Marriage-alliances between client kingdoms after the reign of Augustus

Some client kingdoms were converted into province even though the ruling dynasty had not died out. When Archelaus died, Tiberius took measures to convert Cappadocia into a province, even though he had at least one son, Archelaus II. At the same time Antiochus III of

Commagene died and his kingdom was absorbed into the province of Syria, although he had a son, Antiochus IV, who was to eventually inherit his kingdom during Gaius' reign. Other kingdoms, however, were converted into provinces simply because no heirs remained for the territory to continue as a kingdom. When Ptolemy of Mauretania died during Gaius' reign, no evidence survives to demonstrate that he had a family, or even that he was married. Similarly Nero converted the kingdom of Pontus into a province when Polemo II – another client king who may not have been married, or least no evidence survives to suggest he did, nor had any heirs. Rhoemetalces III was apparently killed by his wife during Claudius' reign, according to a late source, but no evidence of heirs survives and the kingdom became a province. So while some kingdoms became province as a matter politics, others may have been converted purely because no representative of the ruling family survived. As an ally of Rome, the kings during the principate did not seem to have the freedom to marry as they pleased. When recounting the marriage of Polemo and Dynamis (Marriage 4) Dio revealed that the marriage of a king required at least the emperor's sanction. This unfortunately meant that if the emperor did not actively encourage marriages between the client kings, then the dynasty was susceptible to dying out.

The fact that Augustus' policy regarding client kings in general, as well as the intermarriage between them, was only followed haphazardly by his successors underscores the point it was a personal rather than a formal policy, and not one ingrained within the little bureaucracy that the empire possessed. The motives, means and assessment of this personal policy of Augustus' will be addressed in the next chapters.

Chapter 4. Augustus Pater

Holy “Father of his Country,” this title was conferred by the people,
by the senate, and by my class, the knights.
But history conferred it sooner. Belatedly you received your proper
title; you’ve long been father of the world.
You have the same title here on earth as Jupiter has in the heaven.
You are father of men, as he is father of gods.¹

Earlier chapters have demonstrated that Augustus did encourage and organise intermarriage between the families of his client kings. What would motivate the ruler of the known world to involve himself in the domestic matters of minor kings? A clue might present itself in Augustus’ view of marriage in general. To Augustus, the institution of marriage itself was important and formed part of each of three easily identifiable roles that Augustus articulated for himself. It was the duty of the Roman *paterfamilias* to arrange marriages for his sons and daughters within his own family – Augustus did so with diligence. Augustus was also *Pater Patriae*, (Father of the Country), the title granted to him by the Senate in 2 BC and repeated in Ovid’s words above. As *Pater Patriae*, Augustus could involve himself with marriages outside his immediate family. Additionally, to some extent, Augustus also cast himself as *pater orbis*, the Father of the World (as confirmed by Ovid above). As he granted Roman citizenship to some of his client kings, Augustus could have felt obliged, in the Republican tradition, to consider them his personal clients and he their patron. The concept of marriage itself was important to Augustus’ ideals. He enacted three laws in his reign that attempted to

¹ Ov. *Fast.* 2.127-132 (trans. B. R. Nagle); K. Scott, ‘Emperor Worship in Ovid’, *TAPA* 61, 1930, p. 54; T. Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of the Title Pater Patriae in 2 BC’, *Antichthon* 43, 2009, pp. 102-03; K. Allen, ‘The Fasti of Ovid and the Augustan Propaganda’, *AJPh* 43.3, 1922, pp. 257-58; C. E. Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti*, Ithaca, 1995, p. 188. For Augustus’ other “father” roles (*paterfamilias* and *Pater Patriae*) in Ovid, see H-P. Schönbeck, ‘Augustus als “Pater Patriae” und “Pater Familias” im Zweiten Tristienbuch des Ovid’, *Hermes* 126.4, 1998, pp. 454-65.

codify and encourage Roman marriages. This chapter will attempt to examine Augustus' own dynastic strategy through marriages, his attempts to adopt the persona of the *paterfamilias* of the Roman Empire, and his attempts to strengthen the institution of marriage itself.

Augustus as *Paterfamilias*

Since early times, the *paterfamilias*, as the senior surviving male of a Roman family, legally had complete power (*patria potestas*) over his children and his children's children.² As the head of the family, one of the *paterfamilias*' duties was the arrangement of marriages for his children.³ This duty was not exclusively that of the *paterfamilias*, however, as there are several cases known where marriages were arranged by mothers, brothers or even family friends.⁴ According to Livy, for example, Aemilia the wife of Scipio was irritated that she was not involved in the decision of selecting the husband for their younger daughter.⁵ The *paterfamilias*' consent, however, would have also been required for any betrothal or marriage to proceed.⁶ An informal duty of a senatorial *paterfamilias* would have also included securing political alliances through these marriages. As *paterfamilias*, Augustus first utilised and furthered the network of marriages that connected him to other senatorial families, but, once secure in power, Augustus adjusted the focus of his marriage-alliances, at least for the male heirs of his family, to stay within the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

² Tab. 4.1; A. Watson, *Rome of the XII Tables: Persons And Property*, Princeton, 1975, pp. 20-33; B. Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, New York, 2003, p. 9; S. M. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, Oxford, 1991, p. 15. The extreme powers of the *patria potestas* were rarely used, see J. A. Crook, 'Patria Potestas', *CQ* 17, 1967, p. 120; R. P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 122. When a *paterfamilias* died, his adult sons became *paterfamiliae* of their own families (Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 15). A study of the use of the term *paterfamilias* in the ancient sources, however, reveals that many uses, particularly in legal texts, meant "estate owner" without referring to the role within the family, see R. P. Saller, 'Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household', *CPh* 94.2, 1999, pp. 190-91.

³ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 125; B. Rawson, 'The Roman Family', in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, B. Rawson (ed.), London, 1986, p. 21; S. Dixon, *The Roman Family*, Baltimore, 1992, p. 64.

⁴ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 134; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 12; Rawson, 'The Roman Family', p. 21.

⁵ Liv. 38.57.6-8; C. F. Konrad, 'Livy on the Betrothal of Cornelia Gracchi (38.57.7)', *Philologus* 133.1-2, 1989, pp. 155-57. For more detail on the issues involving marriage and matchmaking, see S. Treggiari, 'Ideals and Practicalities in Matchmaking in Ancient Rome', *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, in *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, D. I. Kertzer and R. P. Saller (eds), New Haven, 1991, pp. 91-108.

⁶ Paul. Sent. 2.19.2; 5.6.15; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 146; L. F. Raditsa, 'Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage, Procreation, Love Affairs and Adultery', *ANRW* II 13, 1980, p. 308; Gardner, *Women in Roman Law*, p. 41.

Augustus was both *paterfamilias*, responsible for his own family, and Princeps, with responsibility for the empire. To intertwine the two, he laid the groundwork for a dynasty, a ruling family, the *domus Augusta*.⁷ Through ill-fortune, Augustus had to mark out a variety of successors throughout his long reign – he made first M. Claudius Marcellus and then Agrippa his son-in-laws.⁸ After Agrippa's death in 12 BC, Gaius and Lucius, Augustus' grandsons, were too young to undertake any responsibilities and so his stepson (and new son-in-law) Tiberius was given honours and responsibility.⁹ When they matured, Gaius and Lucius replaced their step-father.¹⁰ After they had both died, Tiberius was restored as the intended heir.¹¹ All these potential successors came from within Augustus' family, which has become what Severy calls a "public institution."¹² The dynasty provided more than just heirs – it symbolised the stability of the new regime. In his *Res Gestae*, the only people outside his family that Augustus named were the consuls for the years and foreign kings.¹³ Augustus

⁷ See M. Corbier, 'Male Power and Legitimacy through Women: the Domus Augusta under the Julio-Claudians', in *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*, R. Hawley and B. Levick (eds), London, 1995, p. 192. See also D. Wardle, 'Valerius Maximus on the Domus Augusta, Augustus, and Tiberius', *CQ* 50.2, 2000, pp. 479-93.

⁸ For Marcellus, see Dio 53.30; Vell. Pat. 2.93; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1. For Agrippa, see Dio 54.6; Vell. Pat. 2.93; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1. See also W. Eck, *The Age of Augustus*, 2nd edn, London, 2007, pp. 151-52; D. Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*, London, 1991, p. 86. More recently Gruen attempted to prove that Augustus' appointment of a successor could not be overt to avoid the impression of a hereditary monarchy, see E. S. Gruen, 'Augustus and the Making of the Principate', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, K. Galinsky (ed.), New York, 2005, pp. 33-51. *Contra* Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 157; T. Stevenson, 'The Succession Planning of Augustus', *Antichthon* 47, 2013, pp. 118-39.

⁹ Dio 54.31.1; Vell. Pat. 2.96, 2.99; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, pp. 152-53; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 18-19; D. C. A. Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, London, 1992, p. 11; Stevenson, 'Succession Planning of Augustus', p. 131. Technically both Tiberius and his brother Drusus were raised together as potential successors, see F. Hurlet, *Les Collègues du Prince sous Auguste et Tibère. De la légalité républicaine à la légitimité dynastique*, Rome, 1997, pp. 81-85; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1; Vell. Pat. 2.99.1. Whether Tiberius' subsequent self-imposed exile to Rhodes was an attempt to clear the path for the career of his steps-sons, or a pique of jealousy at their advancement, or neither or not known, has fascinated ancient and modern scholars alike; see Vell. Pat. 2.99.1; Suet. *Tib.* 10-12; Tac. *Ann.* 1.53.1; Dio 55.9.5-8; Barrett, *Livia*, pp. 48-49; Crook, 'Political History', pp. 100-01; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 153; Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, pp. 12-13; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 22-30; Stevenson, 'The Succession Planning of Augustus', pp. 132-33; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 163; Swan, *The Augustan Succession*, pp. 86-88.

¹¹ Vell. Pat. 2.103-4; Suet. *Tib.* 15.2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1; Dio 55.13.1a; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 33-35; Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, pp. 13-14; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, pp. 157-58. Lucius died in AD 2 at Massilia shortly after Tiberius returned to Rome as a private citizen with Gaius' support (Suet. *Tib.* 13.2; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 157). Gaius died shortly afterwards on campaign in the East in AD 4. Augustus, perhaps reluctantly, adopted Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus (Gaius and Lucius' younger brother) as his sons, see Suet. *Aug.* 65.1; Crook, 'Political History', pp. 104-05. The sudden deaths of both of Augustus' grandsons so close together and the subsequent advancement of Tiberius spurred most ancient sources naturally to suspect Livia of being involved in their deaths (Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1; Dio 55.10a.10. *contra* Barrett, *Livia*, pp. 53-54).

¹² Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 3.

¹³ *RG* 8.2 (Agrippa), 8.4 (Tiberius), 14.1 (Gaius and Lucius), 21.1 (Marcellus), 22.2 (Agrippa) and 27.2 (Tiberius and Gaius). For named kings, see *RG* 27.2, 32.1-2 and 33.1. See also Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 37; Levick, *Augustus*, pp. 232-33.

carefully promoted and gave prominence to his dynasty – he built public works in the names of his family, he issued their likeness on coins, and gave them important military commands. All these measures ensured that the Roman world knew that not only was Augustus in control, but that there was also a royal family behind him.

Augustus built and restored many public works in Rome, as he proudly declares in his *Res Gestae*.¹⁴ Many of these were named after himself, as would be expected, to enhance the glory of the ruler.¹⁵ There were also many buildings that Augustus constructed and named in honour of members of the imperial family. Others he permitted or encouraged to build in their own name. Of these his son-in-law Agrippa was the most prolific – the Pantheon, an aqueduct, and the first public bath were built by Agrippa and featured his name prominently.¹⁶ Suetonius mentioned further building work undertaken by others outside the imperial family, but encouraged by Augustus.¹⁷ There were several buildings that Augustus constructed and named in honour of other family members as Suetonius succinctly described:

¹⁴ *RG* 19-21; Suet. *Aug.* 29.1-3; D. Favro, “‘Pater Urbis’: Augustus as City Father of Rome”, *JSAH* 51.1, 1992, pp. 61-84; Shotter, *Augustus*, p. 72; M. K. Thornton, ‘Julio-Claudian Building Programs: Eat, Drink, and Be Merry’, *Historia* 35.1, 1986, pp. 34-36; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 61-62. Favro points out that Augustus’ own domus was relatively modest as “the Princeps did not wish to set himself apart on a personal level. Instead, he expended his wealth and effort on the city. In effect, he treated Rome as his ‘domus’” (Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, p. 72). Some, however, of the building program of Rome under Octavian/Augustus, does stem from the Triumviral period and how much of this was part of Antony’s program too has often been ignored; see D. W. Roller, ‘The Lost Building Program of Marcus Antonius’, *AC* 76, 2007, pp. 89-98.

¹⁵ For example, The Forum of Augustus (*RG* 21.1, Suet. *Aug.* 29.1), the Curia Julia (*RG* 19.1) and the Basilica Julia. The Solarium Augusti was dedicated in 10 BC and the “largest sun dial ever built” with an Egyptian obelisk as its pointer (P. Zanker, *The Power and Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor, 1988, p. 144). Some of these works were planned by Caesar, but the work completed by Augustus, testament to the gens Julia; see Zanker, *Power and Images*, pp. 79-82. Thornton makes the point that “new dynasties need such psychological proof of power” (Thornton, ‘Julio-Claudian Building Programs’, p. 28).

¹⁶ Pantheon: *CIL* VI 896, Dio 53.27.2; the aqueduct Aqua Virgo: Frontinus 1.10; Thermae Agrippae: Dio 53.27.1 and 54.29.4, Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 139. For Agrippa’s part in Augustus’ building regime, see Suet. *Aug.* 29.5; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 133; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 145; Thornton, ‘Julio-Claudian Building Programs’, p. 36. Eck notes that many of the “utilitarian projects were usually entrusted to Agrippa” (Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 145), although the famous Pantheon is an obvious exception.

¹⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 29.5; Shotter, *Augustus*, p. 76; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 132-33. Suetonius listed the Temple of Hercules and the Muses rebuilt by L. Marcus Philippus (cos. 38 BC), the Theatre built by L. Cornelius Balbus (cos. 40 BC, dedicated in 13 BC, see also Dio 54.25.2), the *Atrium Libertatis* built by C. Asinius Pollio (cos. 40 BC, which contained the first public library in Rome, see also Plin. *NH* 35.2; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 69-70), the temple of Saturn reconstructed by L. Munantius Plancus (cos. 42 BC) and an amphitheatre built by T. Statilius Taurus (cos. 26 BC, dedicated in 29 BC, see Dio 51.23.1; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 159). It is worth noting that all these constructions named by Suetonius, apart from the Theatre of Balbus, were built before the Principate (27 BC).

“Some of Augustus’ public works were undertaken in the names of relatives: such as the colonnade and basilica of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius; colonnades of his wife Livia and his sister Octavia; the theatre of his nephew Marcellus ...”¹⁸

The Basilica Julia was originally planned by Julius Caesar. Augustus completed it and, after it burnt down, rebuilt it, naming the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius in honour of his grandsons in AD 12.¹⁹ Several buildings were constructed by Augustus in the name of his wife, Livia. The Portico Liviae was erected on the site of P. Vedius Pollio’s palace on the Esquiline – Augustus had the house “razed... to the ground” so that “Pollio should have no monument in the city” and Ovid likened Augustus’ role here to that of a censor, removing vice and excess.²⁰ On the Esquiline were also the markets, the Macellum Liviae which were dedicated by Tiberius in 7 BC.²¹ The Portico Octaviae was built by Augustus sometime after 27 BC, in honour of his sister.²² Nearby, Augustus constructed the Theatre of Marcellus, in honour of his nephew.²³ These public works, built in the names of Livia, Octavia, and Marcellus, promoted the idea of an imperial dynasty and they were large physical reminders of the importance of Augustus and his family.

Two of Augustus’ own buildings particularly projected the imperial family: the *Ara Pacis* and his own mausoleum. The *Ara Pacis*, the Altar of Augustan Peace, was commissioned in 13 BC

¹⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 29.4 (trans. J. C. Rolfe); Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 131-32. Carter notes that although the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius was technically rededicated in those names after a fire, it continued to be known to the Romans as the Basilica Julia. See also Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 145-47; R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford, 1986, p. 69.

¹⁹ *RG* 20.3; Dio 56.27.5; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 193-94; Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 221. Carter suggests Dio’s dating for the dedication (AD 12) may be incorrect (Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 131).

²⁰ *Ov. Fast.* 6.639-6.348; Dio 54.23.6; Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 137; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 72; N. Purcell, ‘Rome and its Development under Augustus and his Successors’, *CAH*² 10, 1998, p. 792. Vedius, a friend of Augustus’ with a reputation for cruelty, bequeathed his massive palace to Augustus when he died in 15 BC (Dio 54.23.5). See also R. Syme, ‘Who Was Vedius Pollio?’, *JRS* 51, 1961, pp. 23–30.

²¹ Dio 55.8.2 (although it may be to the Portico Liviae here that Dio is referring); Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 144; Purcell, ‘Rome and its Development’, p. 792; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 145.

²² Dio 49.43.8 – although Dio dates it to circa 33 BC, it is probably due to confusion with the Portico of Octavius (see Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 145; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 81). Vitruvius still refers to the Portico of Metellus (3.2.5) in 27 BC. The Portico Octaviae replaced the Portico Metellae. Pliny places the Portico Octaviae near the Temple of Jupiter Stator (Plin. *NH* 36.4.42). The Portico contained temples and a library (Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 145).

²³ *RG* 21.1; Plut. *Marc.* 30.6; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 199-200; Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 147. The *Ludi Saeculares* were held there in 17 BC, and it was formally dedicated in 31 BC (*CIL* VI 323.23; Dio 54.26.1). A library was also named in honour of Marcellus, situated inside the Portico of his mother (Plut. *Marc.* 30.6).

on Augustus' safe return to Rome from three years in the Western provinces.²⁴ It was not completed until 9 BC and it promoted Augustus' family as a "corporate entity", with relief sculptures around the perimeter portraying most of the imperial family.²⁵ Construction of Augustus' mausoleum, also on the Campus Martius, was completed by 28 or 23 BC.²⁶ This building, his final resting place and monument, was an example of Augustus' long term planning, as it may have started before Actium.²⁷ Marcellus was the first to be interred there, followed by Octavia, Agrippa, Drusus, Gaius and Lucius – the perimeter was inscribed with the achievements of those buried within.²⁸ As a father, Augustus had provided a place for his children to rest in peace if they happened to predecease him, as well as a gentle reminder for other Romans of the deeds of this illustrious family. Augustus was of course buried there himself in AD 14 and it was used as a tomb by many of the future Julio-Claudian emperors.²⁹ Later the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* was inscribed on the mausoleum and Cooley describes the building itself as a "powerful dynastic statement."³⁰ By constructing these buildings and monuments around the city, particularly the political centre, Augustus ensured that the names

²⁴ RG 12.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 154-57; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p.p. 53-54; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 120-21; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 123. The Altar was situated in the Campus Martius on the Flaminian Way.

²⁵ P. Southern, *Augustus*, London, 1998, pp. 158-59; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 120-23. The Ara Pacis itself has excited scholarship, mainly concerned with interpretation or identification of members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty or gods and goddesses; for some examples, see D. E. Kleiner, 'The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae: Greek Sources Roman Derivatives and Augustan Social Policy', *MEFRA* 90.2, 1978, pp. 753-85; R. Syme, 'Neglected Children on the Ara Pacis', *AJA* 88.4, 1984, pp. 583-89; N. T. de Grummond, 'Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae', *AJA* 94.4, 1990, pp. 663-77 (*contra* G. K. Galinsky, 'Venus in a Relief of the Ara Pacis Augustae', *AJA* 70.3, 1966, pp. 223-43); P. Rehak, 'Aeneas or Numa? Rethinking the Meaning of the Ara Pacis Augustae', *ABull* 83.2, 2001, pp. 190-208; D. E. E. Kleiner and B. Buxton, 'Pledges of Empire: The Ara Pacis and the Donations of Rome', *AJA* 112.1, 2008, 57-89; J. R. Crawford, 'A Child Portrait of Drusus Junior on the Ara Pacis', *AJA* 26.3, 1922, pp. 307-15; J. Pollini, 'Ahenobarbi, Appuleii and Some Others on the Ara Pacis', *AJA* 90, 1986, pp. 453-60.

²⁶ Strab. 5.3.9; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 3; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 72-77; P. J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*, Austin, 2004, pp. 13-19; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 154-56.

²⁷ Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 3. Eck suggests that its conception in the lead up to Actium was also a political point against Antony, as Augustus was demonstrating that the political centre of the Empire was at Rome (Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 159) and would not be relocated to a foreign site, such as Egypt. Galinsky outlines some of the questioned dates for when the mausoleum was conceived and completed, and its influences; see Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 154-56.

²⁸ E. Fantham, *Julia Augusta: the Emperor's Daughter*, London, 2006, p. 29; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 5; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, p. 13; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 160. Strabo stated that within the mausoleum were "the graves intended for him, his relatives, and friends" (Strab. 5.3.9). Crook notes that Augustus' illnesses prompted him to build his mausoleum early (Crook, 'Political History', p. 78) – this also may explain his obsession with the succession.

²⁹ A. Claridge, J. Toms and T. Cubberley, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 2010, p. 206; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, p. 19. Nerva, who may have claimed a tenuous connection to the Julio-Claudians, was the last emperor to be buried there (*Epitome* 12.12).

³⁰ Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 3-4; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, p. 13. Galinsky also describes the "towering structure" as a monument "fit for a monarch and a dynasty" (K. Galinsky, *Augustus: Introduction to the Life of an Emperor*, Cambridge, 2012, p. 156).

of his family were prominent in Rome and this promotion of his family assisted their elevation as the imperial family.

Augustus also promoted the imperial family on coinage.³¹ Previously, during the Republic, coins depicted the likeness of deities and referred to mythical or historic events.³² Julius Caesar was the first living Roman to be depicted on coins.³³ His adopted son continued the practice and the minting of gold and silver coins now became the prerogative of Augustus. Most of these coins, as well as the bronze *sestertii*, *dupondii*, and *assarii*, featured his portrait prominently.³⁴ He also issued coins featuring the portraits of his son-in-law Agrippa, his daughter Julia, his grandsons Gaius and Lucius and his step-son Tiberius.³⁵ Around 13 BC, Augustus issued coins of his daughter and her husband. The head of Agrippa, who now had powers that matched many of those of Augustus, featured on the reverses of gold aurei and silver denarii in that year (Augustus' portrait remained on the obverse).³⁶ A similar denarius,

³¹ For the coinage of Augustus and the imperial period, see *RIC I*; M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 499-543; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy 31 B.C.-A.D. 68*, London, 1951; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952, pp. 182-211; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. 1, London, 1923, pp. xcii-cxxvii, 1-119; A. Burnett, 'The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces', *JRS* 101, 2011, pp. 1-14; A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus', *JRS* 76, 1986, pp. 66-87.

³² Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, pp. 727-29; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority', pp. 74-75. For the argument regarding the intention, message and imperial influence behind Roman coinage, see A. H. M. Jones, 'Numismatics and History', in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland (eds), London, 1959, pp. 13-33; C. H. V. Sutherland, 'The Purpose of Roman Imperial Coin Types', *RN* 25, 1983, pp. 73-82; B. Levick, 'Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage', *Antichthon* 16, 1982, pp. 104-16; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority', pp. 66-87; B. Levick, 'Messages on the Roman Coinage: Types and Inscriptions', in *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire*, G. M. Paul (ed.), Ann Arbor, 1999, pp. 41-60. It is the view of this thesis, despite the excellent points made by Jones and Levick, that, while the primary purpose of Roman coinage was economic, the Romans, since the Republican period, had also used the coin itself to illustrate a particular message. How effective this message was understood by its audience (intended or otherwise) is less certain.

³³ Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, pp. 734-35; Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, p. xxxviii; F. Millar, 'State and Subject: the Impact of Monarchy', in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, F. Millar and E. Segal (eds), Oxford, 1984, p. 44; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority', p. 70.

³⁴ *RIC*² I, p. 24; Millar, 'State and Subject', p. 44; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority', pp. 70-71. Wallace-Hadrill, however, notes several important exceptions to Millar's statement that almost all coinage between 31 BC and AD 14 portrays the head of Octavian/Augustus (Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority', p. 71).

³⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority', p. 79. For discussion of these coins, see C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, London, 1951, pp. 53-78; and M. D. Fullerton, 'The Domus Augusti in Imperial Iconography of 13-12 BC', *AJA* 89.3, 1985, p. 480. The coins were issued the same year as Augustus returned from his tour of the West and the Ara Pacis was dedicated. Fullerton demonstrates that the coinage, the Imperial Family and the Ara Pacis and 13 BC are all interconnected (Fullerton, 'The Domus Augusti', pp. 480-83).

³⁶ Strictly speaking, these coins were issued by the moneyers C. Sulpicius Platorinus (13 BC) and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus (12 BC). Platorinus' coins depict either a portrait of Agrippa on the reverse bare headed (*RIC*² I 408) or wearing a combined mural and rostral crown (*RIC*² I 409). A mural crown was a crown made of city walls and usually depicted on the heads of generals who successfully besieged towns. A rostral crown was

with Julia's portrait on the reverse (as Diana) and with her father's on the obverse was also issued in 13 BC.³⁷ Another type, also issued in that year, featured a portrait of Julia flanked by the portraits of her sons, Gaius and Lucius.³⁸ One of the most common coins issued by Augustus from Lugdunum between 2 BC and AD 11 featured his grandsons on the reverse. The legend read "C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT" – promoting Gaius and Lucius as the sons of Augustus and Princes of the Youth (*princeps iuventutis*) and featured them holding the silver shields and spears that were granted to them by the equestrian order.³⁹ Later, towards the end of Augustus' reign, aurei and denarii were issued from the mint of Lugdunum with the head of Tiberius, now Augustus' adopted son and heir, on the reverse.⁴⁰ Promoting the portrait of the ruler had been an important function of coinage since Hellenistic times.⁴¹ Augustus now used coins to promote his wider family, his intended successors and the idea of a ruling dynasty.

Augustus was careful to promote his family in the military arena as well. In many ways it was more important for legions to recognise and respect the idea of the imperial family than the wider populace of Rome. Younger members of the family were displayed during triumphs and at age 12, young Gaius was presented to the legions on the Rhine.⁴² Suetonius recorded

composed of ship's prows and signified naval victories (in Agrippa's case predominantly at Actium). Another denarius of Platorinus depicted Agrippa seated next to Augustus (*RIC*² I 406-407), highlighting the partnership between the two men. Lentulus' coin also depicted Agrippa wearing the combined mural and rostral crown (*RIC*² I 411). See Fullerton, 'The Domus Augusti', pp. 474-75; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 216-17.

³⁷ Issued by the moneyer C. Marius (13 BC, *RIC*² I 403). The portrait on the reverse is technically described as Diana, but has usually been taken to represent Julia, see Fullerton, 'The Domus Augusti', p. 476; Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 216.

³⁸ *RIC*² I 404-405. This coin was issued by C. Marius as well. A portrait of Julia is depicted on the reverse between those of Gaius and Lucius, all facing right, and an oak wreath (the *corona civica*) is placed above Julia's head. The dynastic implications of this type cannot be spelt out further. See Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 216; Fullerton, 'The Domus Augusti', p. 476; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 124.

³⁹ *RG* 14.2; *RIC*² I 205-212; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 165-67; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 56-57. The legend on the coins (*RIC*² I 205-212) clearly defines both of Augustus' grandchildren as his (adopted) sons (AVGVSTI F) and that Gaius was designated Consul and both were Prince of the Youth. See Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 218-19.

⁴⁰ *RIC*² I 225-226. Other coins were issued at the same time in the same metals featuring Tiberius' name, but not his portrait (*RIC*² I 221-224). Also from Lugdunum bronze coins were issued between AD 9-14 with Tiberius' portrait on the obverse, and the Altar of Lugdunum on the reverse (*RIC*² I 235-248a). Even the "official" mint at Rome issued bronze coins late in Augustus' reign (AD 10-12) featuring Tiberius' portrait on the obverse (*RIC*² I 469-470).

⁴¹ O. Mørkholm, P. Grierson and U. Westermark, *Early Hellenistic Coinage: from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 BC)*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 23; N. Davis and C. M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms: Portrait Coins and History*, London, 1973, p. 9; Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, p. 65.

⁴² On Augustus' family in triumphs, see Southern, *Augustus*, pp. 108-09. After the triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus in 19 BC, triumphs themselves were reserved only for the emperor and members of the imperial family,

that both Marcellus and Tiberius rode on either side of Augustus in his triumph after Actium in 29 BC.⁴³ Augustus was also careful to grant large territorial commands and military commands to close family members only. Agrippa was given proconsular imperium for five years in 23 BC and sent to reorganise the East.⁴⁴ In 20 BC Tiberius was given a command to place Tigranes on the throne of Armenia.⁴⁵ After Agrippa's death in 12 BC, Tiberius was given the command of the Pannonian War, and was the first to win the *ornamenta triumphalia* – which had replaced the triumph under Augustus.⁴⁶ Around the same time, his brother Drusus was given command of the German War.⁴⁷ After Drusus died in 9 BC, Tiberius took over the command of the German War and won a second *ornamenta triumphalia*.⁴⁸ While the command of some wars was given to generals outside the imperial family, Augustus, “reserved serious wars ... for his family.”⁴⁹ Keeping commands and governorships in the family increased the security of Augustus' own position, but it also exposed his family to the army, gave them experience in command and, hopefully, ensured the army's loyalty towards the imperial family.

see M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 68-70; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 91. For Gaius presented to the Rhine legions, see Dio 55.6.4; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 83.

⁴³ Suet. *Tib.* 6.4; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, p. 224; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 75. For the triple triumph of Augustus, see R. A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, Ann Arbor, 1995, pp. 19-36; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, p. 300. Augustus never celebrated a triumph again (Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 75; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, p. 300).

⁴⁴ Dio 53.32.1, although not in disgrace or, as Suetonius depicted it, a fit of jealousy over Marcellus (Suet. *Aug.* 66.3); see Southern, *Augustus*, pp. 123-5. Crook suggests Agrippa was sent East as an experiment in some sort of double rule, as Augustus had almost died from illness earlier in the year, and there was plague in Rome (Crook, ‘Political History’, pp. 84-85).

⁴⁵ *RG* 27.2; Vell. Pat. 2.94.4; Suet. *Tib.* 9.1; Dio 54.9.5-6; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 90; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 323; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-32; Gruen, ‘Imperial Policy of Augustus’, p. 386; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 13-14; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72.

⁴⁶ Vell. Pat. 2.96.2; Suet. *Tib.* 9.2; Dio 54.31.2-4. The recompense for the lack of triumph was a new award, the *ornamenta triumphalia*; see Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 91; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, p. 70; Southern, *Augustus*, pp. 231-32 n. 11.

⁴⁷ Vell. Pat. 2.97.1-3; Dio 54.32.1; J. W. Rich, ‘Drusus and the Spolia Opima’, *CQ* 49.2, 1999, p. 548. Drusus was also awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia* for his victories in Germany, see Suet. *Claud.* 1.3; Dio 34.33.5; Rich, ‘Drusus and the Spolia Opima’, p. 548.

⁴⁸ Vell. Pat. 2.97.4; Suet. *Tib.* 9.2; Rich, ‘Drusus and the Spolia Opima’, p. 551. Rich suggests that Drusus' desire to win the *spolia ornamenta* (the spoils taken from an enemy commander killed in battle) was encouraged or even prompted by Augustus, who wanted both his step-sons to win military glory (Rich, ‘Drusus and the Spolia Opima’, p. 552).

⁴⁹ Southern, *Augustus*, p. 197. For example, the command of the Dacian war was entrusted to M. Crassus in 29 BC (Dio 51.23.3; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 160-64). Brunt viewed the reservation of military glory for the imperial family as part of Augustus' dynastic strategy (P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes*, Oxford, 1990, p. 448).

Finally Augustus, as *paterfamilias*, undertook to arrange marriages for his family members.⁵⁰ Octavian became *paterfamilias* of his own family at a young age, as his father, C. Octavius (Pr. 61 BC), died when he was four and his adoption by Julius Caesar only occurred posthumously in the Dictator's will.⁵¹ Traditionally, Republican noble families furthered their connections with marriages to other well-connected families. These ties were marriage-alliances that were similar to the marriage-alliances forged by Hellenistic Kings, except that they were used predominantly to increase a family's prestige and to form political alliances (rather than military alliances).⁵² According to Southern, "family connections, the importance of which cannot be over stressed," assisted the young Octavian.⁵³ The earliest marriages that Octavian arranged were his own to Scribonia and then Livia, and that of his sister Octavia.⁵⁴ Octavian was first betrothed to a daughter of P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (cos. 41 BC), but, during the formation of the Second Triumvirate, Octavian broke off this betrothal and instead arranged to marry Antony's step-daughter Claudia, to cement their new alliance.⁵⁵ The marriage did not last long and ended when Fulvia, Claudia's mother and Antony's wife, led a rebellion with L. Antonius (cos. 41 BC) against Octavian.⁵⁶ After the siege of Perugia (41-40 BC), during which Fulvia died, Octavian and Antony publically reconciled their differences

⁵⁰ For Augustus' marriage arrangements, see Severy, *Augustus and the Family*; Corbier, 'Male Power'; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939, pp. 419-39; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, pp. 148-58, and Stevenson, 'Succession Planning of Augustus', pp. 118-39.

⁵¹ Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 130.48; Liv. *Per.* 117; Vell. Pat. 2.59.1-2; Suet. *Aug.* 8.1; Plut. *Brut.* 22.1; App. *BCiv* 3.11.1; Dio 45.3.1; Shotter, *Augustus*, p. 22; B. Levick, *Augustus: Image and Substance*, London, 2010, pp. 25-26; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 5, 15.

⁵² Marriage-alliances within republican families were, of course, no guarantee of support. Many factions were fluid and it is quite common to find political opponents nevertheless linked by intermarriage. See E. S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Berkeley, 1974, pp. 52-59; S. Dixon, 'The Marriage Alliance in the Roman Elite', *Journal of Family History* 10.4, 1985, pp. 353-78.

⁵³ Southern, *Augustus*, p. 75. Galinsky also points out that Octavian was "embedded in a network" of family connections (Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 7).

⁵⁴ Octavia was technically free from the *patria potestas* of her brother, but there is no doubt that Octavian arranged her marriage to Antony. Octavia's first marriage, to C. Claudius Marcellus, was arranged in 56 BC, possibly by her stepfather, L. Marcius Philippus (Plut. *Ant.* 31.1, *Marc.* 30.6; Suet. *Iul.* 27.1; Nic. Dam. F 128.90). After the death of Julia, the daughter of Caesar, the dictator attempted to arrange a marriage between Octavia and Pompey, to preserve the alliance (Suet. *Iul.* 27.1). The proposal came to nothing and Octavia remained wed to Marcellus.

⁵⁵ For Octavian's betrothal to the daughter of Vatia Isauricus, see Suet. *Aug.* 62.1; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 40. Isauricus had been Caesar's colleague in the consulship of 48 BC (App. *BCiv.* 2.48). For Octavian's betrothal to Claudia, see Vell Pat. 2.65.1; Suet. *Aug.* 62.1; Dio 46.56.3-4; Levick, *Augustus*, p. 31; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 40. Servilia appears to have later married Lepidus' son, see Vell Pat. 2.88.3; R. D. Weigel, *Lepidus: The Tarnished Triumvir*, London, 1992, p. 96.

⁵⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 62.1; Vell. Pat. 2.65.2; App. *BCiv.* 5.53; Dio 48.5.2; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 40; Levick, *Augustus*, pp. 34-35. For L. Antonius' rebellion (who may or may not have been supported by Antony) and the subsequent siege of Perugia, see App. *BCiv* 5.18-49; Dio 48.5.1-14.6; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', pp. 14-16; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, pp. 20-21; Levick, *Augustus*, pp. 34-36.

and Antony married Octavia in 40 BC by senatorial decree.⁵⁷ When faced with Sex. Pompeius in Sicily, and needing to time to build up a navy, Octavian decided to make peace and married Scribonia, sister of L. Scribonius Libo (cos. 34 BC), but the marriage lasted only long enough for Scribonia to bear him one child, Julia.⁵⁸ Octavian's marriage to Livia was longer lasting, and his new bride had strong connections to many ancient Republican families.⁵⁹

Octavian's early family marriages were obviously forged to make broad connections with senatorial families. Octavia's marriage to Antony cemented a powerful alliance and their divorce signalled the end of the alliance. When that time came, it also gave Octavian (through Octavia) the role of the wronged party. Long after Actium, the breach with Antony's family was finally healed when Augustus gave his niece Marcella to Antony's son in marriage.⁶⁰ After that, however, the marriage-alliances of Augustus' family changed – only rarely did the emperor attempt to fashion wider family alliances in the traditional Republican model. Instead the marriage-alliances were forged within either Augustus' own family, or the family of Agrippa.⁶¹ The family of Augustus had become a closed shop, and by excluding most other aristocratic families, the emperor was now positioning the imperial family to be superior to all.

⁵⁷ Liv. *Per.* 127; Vell. Pat. 78.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10; Plut. *Ant.* 31.1-3; App. *BCiv.* 5.65; Dio 48.31.3; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 19; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, pp. 22-23; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 44; Levick, *Augustus*, p. 36. The marriage-alliance was equally beneficial to Antony, as it secured good faith with the triumvir in Rome while Antony could concentrate on governing the Eastern territories.

⁵⁸ App. *BCiv.* 5.53.1; Suet. *Aug.* 63.1; Dio 48.16.3, 48.34.3; Levick, *Augustus*, pp. 36-38; Southern, *Augustus*, p. 75; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 40. Scribonius Libo was a Pompeian and Sex. Pompeius' father-in-law; see Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 255. Around the same time, Octavian's nephew Marcellus was betrothed to Sex. Pompeius' daughter, see Dio 48.28.3; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, pp. 248, 256.

⁵⁹ Vell. Pat. 2.79.2, 2.94.1; Plin. *HN* 15.136; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10, 5.1; Suet. *Aug.* 62.2, 69.1; Dio 48.43.6-44.1; R. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 1939, p. 229; Levick, *Augustus*, p. 38; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 40-41. This could have also served to give credibility to Octavian, a parvenu in the eyes of many of these families.

⁶⁰ Vell. Pat. 2.100.4. On Marcella the Elder and her marriages, see Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, pp. 143-44. Previously, in 28 BC Augustus had given Marcella to Agrippa to his niece (Dio 53.1.2. Suet. *Aug.* 63.1; Plut. *Ant.* 87; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 36). Previously it appears that Agrippa was married to the daughter of T. Pomponius Atticus (Nep. *Att.* 12.1-2; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 143).

⁶¹ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 64; Southern, *Augustus*, p. 137. Severy noted particularly the male children of Augustus' and Livia's family were only married to other members within the family (each of these marriages detailed below): Marcellus to Julia, Agrippa to Marcella then Julia, Tiberius to Vipsania then Julia, Drusus to Antonia, Gaius Caesar to Livilla, and Germanicus to Agrippina. Female members, of whom Augustus appeared to have in excess, so to speak, were infrequently married to members outside the family (also noted below).

The most infamous victim of Augustus' marriage arrangements was his daughter Julia. It is no coincidence that her husbands were always marked as Augustus' heirs, as Augustus had no male children. It is important at this point to note the recent scholarship around Augustus' intention towards the succession, if any at all. Following Gruen, many scholars now question whether, or at what point, Augustus intended that the principate become a hereditary succession.⁶² While Gruen is correct that Augustus never made his expectations towards a successor explicitly known, it appears as if he did mark out implicitly and broadcast subtle suggestions as to who he intended to succeed him as Princeps in the event of his death.⁶³ One of the methods Augustus used was the choice of husband for his only child, Julia. Her first husband, Marcellus, was Augustus' nephew – they were married in 25 or 24 BC at Augustus' arrangement.⁶⁴ When Marcellus died in 23 BC, Julia was soon married to Agrippa, also by Augustus' arrangement.⁶⁵ Julia bore Agrippa five children (Gaius, Lucius, Julia, Agrippina the Elder and Agrippa Postumus), but when he died in 12 BC their children, Augustus' grandchildren, were too young to be left without a step-father and too young to shoulder responsibility in assisting Augustus in running the principate. Augustus' solution was to marry Julia to his step-son Tiberius.⁶⁶ When Julia's infidelities finally came to Augustus'

⁶² Gruen, 'Augustus and the Making of the Principate', pp. 33–51; C. J. Simpson, 'Rome's "Official Imperial Seal"? The Rings of Augustus and His First Century Successors', *Historia* 54.2, 2005, p. 181. *Contra* Syme, *Roman Revolution*, pp. 341, 416-17, 420-31; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, pp. 82-85, 93-94.

⁶³ This is the position taken by J. Osgood, 'Suetonius and the Succession to Augustus', in *The Julio-Claudian Succession: Reality and Perception of the "Augustan Model"*, A. G. G. Gibson (ed.), Leiden, 2013, pp. 26-33. See also Stevenson, 'Succession Planning of Augustus', pp. 118-39; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 513.

⁶⁴ Dio 53.27.5; Fantham, *Julia Augusta*, p. 29; Crook, 'Political History', p. 43; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 123. For a modern treatment of Julia, see Fantham, *Julia Augusta*. While Augustus obviously marked Marcellus as future heir, whether he also meant for him to become his successor as Princeps is debatable (Vell. Pat. 2.93.1). An adoption of a son-in-law or nephew (in this case Marcellus was both) by an aristocrat with no male heirs was common Republican practice to ensure the family continued. According to Dio, when Augustus fell ill in 23 BC, he handed his ring to Agrippa, signifying Agrippa, the older, more experienced man, as his successor over Marcellus, although Agrippa was not yet directly connected to Augustus' family (Dio 53.30.2). Simpson examines this event more thoroughly and concludes that this ring in question was a signet ring, not yet part of the official imperial regalia that signified succession, and that Dio's testimony is anachronistic (Simpson, 'Rome's Official Imperial Seal', pp. 180-88).

⁶⁵ Dio 54.6.5; Vell. Pat. 2.93.2; Fantham, *Julia Augusta*, pp. 56-57; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 144; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 123-24.

⁶⁶ Suet. *Tib.* 7.2; Dio 54.31.2 and 54.35.4; Vell. Pat. 2.96.1; Fantham, *Julia Augusta*, p. 79; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 124-25; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 18; Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, p. 11. It is interesting to note here that Augustus also used divorce, the antithesis of marriage, to achieve his aims. Until the second century AD, a *paterfamilias* could force those under his *patria potestas* to divorce, see J. E. Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood*, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 196. Earlier Agrippa had divorced his wife Marcella to marry Julia (Dio 54.6.5, 54.31.2), and now to marry Julia Tiberius was clearly forced to divorce his first wife Vipsania (Suet. *Tib.* 7.2; Dio 54.31.2; Levick, *Augustus*, p. 181). Whether Augustus used legal force or the threat of it is unlikely since neither Tiberius nor Vipsania were technically under his *patria potestas*, it was probably extreme pressure exerted by his step-father and possibly his mother.

notice (or he felt it time to act) in 2 BC, she was banished.⁶⁷ By this time her sons, Gaius and Lucius, were marked as Augustus' heirs and had been adopted by him in 17 BC.⁶⁸ Augustus had used Julia, his only daughter, to provide him with successors, either through her husbands or through her children. Augustus was quite comfortable using marriage as a political tool to further his needs and the needs of the principate.

Augustus was also eager to arrange the marriages of family members beyond his daughter. As noted above, only a few were marriage-alliances made outside the axis of Augustus, Agrippa and Livia. The first generation of Augustus' family after Actium included his daughter, two step-sons, two nieces, and a nephew by Octavia. Julia's marriage to Marcellus, then Agrippa, then Tiberius, has already been detailed. In 16 BC Antonia the Younger, Augustus' niece, was married to Nero Drusus, Augustus' step-son.⁶⁹ Around 20 or 19 BC, before his marriage to Julia, Tiberius was married to Agrippa's daughter Vipsania.⁷⁰ Antonia the Elder, Augustus' other niece through Octavia, was married to L. Domitius Ahenobarbus around 22 BC.⁷¹ Syme

⁶⁷ Vell. Pat. 2.100; Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 4.6; Plin. *HN* 7.149; Tac. *Ann.* 1.53, 4.71; Suet. *Aug.* 65.1, *Tib.* 11.4; Dio 55.10.14; Fantham, *Julia Augusta*, pp. 85-91; Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, p. 12; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 125-26; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 29.

⁶⁸ Dio 54.18.1; Suet. *Aug.* 64.1; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 133-34. Augustus had ensured he was consul for the years 5 and 2 BC when each of his grandsons donned the *toga virilis*. They were also styled *principes iuventutis*; see Crook, 'Political History', p. 100. The title later became a mark of intended succession after Claudius resuscitated it for Nero, see *RIC*² I 76-7, 82-3, 107; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 73; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 240; Barrett, *Agrippina*, p. 132. Gaius had earlier conferred the title on his cousin Gemellus, but not as any part of succession planning (Dio 59.8.1) – Wiedemann suggests it was to underline Gemellus' youth and prevent him being marked as Caligula's partner or rival (Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 222). For a full study of the creation of this title and its history, see M. Horster, 'Princeps Iuventutis: Concept, Realisation, Representation', in *Figures d'empire, fragments de mémoire. Pouvoirs et identités dans le monde romain impérial IIe s. av. n. è - VI s. de n. è*, S. Benoist et al. (eds), Lille, 2011, pp. 73-103.

⁶⁹ Suet. *Calig.* 1.1; *Claud.* 1.6; Plut. *Ant.* 87; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 141. Antonia Minor was the daughter of Antony and Octavia, born 36 BC. From her marriage to Nero Drusus, she bore Germanicus and the future emperor Claudius. For details of her life, see N. Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta: Portrait of a Great Roman Lady*, London, 1992.

⁷⁰ Nep. *Att.* 19.4; Suet. *Tib.* 7.2; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 14; Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, p. 8; Barrett, *Livia*, p. 32; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 37. The couple were betrothed around 30 BC. According to Nepos, Augustus managed this betrothal and marriage: "Caesar betrothed her [Vipsania], when she was scarcely a year old, to Tiberius Claudius Nero, son of Drusilla, and step-son to himself; an alliance which established their friendship, and rendered their intercourse more frequent." This marriage, according to Suetonius, was happy and produced a son, Drusus.

⁷¹ Suet. *Ner.* 5.1; Plut. *Ant.* 87; Tac. *Ann.* 4.44; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 141. The Domitii Ahenobarbi were one of the few remaining "grand" republican families (Suet. *Ner.* 1-3; see Griffin, *Nero*, pp. 20-22) and appear to have been considered worthy of Augustus' niece.

notes that, “by methods traditional in the aristocracy, the principate of one man was thus annexing alliances that surpassed the various efforts of Pompeius Magnus ... and Caesar.”⁷²

In the second generation, Augustus forged links with other prominent families, the Aemilii and the Quinctilii. Julia the Younger, daughter of Julia and Agrippa, was married to L. Aemilius Paullus (cos. AD 1) around 5 or 4 BC.⁷³ First Claudia Pulchra, a daughter of Marcella Minor, and then Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa and Marcella Major, married P. Quinctilius Varus (cos. 13 BC) – both women were granddaughters of Octavia.⁷⁴ Otherwise, the marriages in the second generation were forged exclusively within Augustus’ family. The emperor ensured that his grandson Gaius married Livilla (daughter of Nero Drusus and Antonia), before he gave Gaius a special command in the East.⁷⁵ Germanicus, Livilla’s brother, was married to Agrippina, the other daughter of Agrippa and Julia, between 5 and 1 BC.⁷⁶ Tacitus portrayed the marriage of the grandson of Livia and the granddaughter of Augustus as politically important as it finally united Augustus and the Augusta in shared grandchildren.⁷⁷ Claudius, Germanicus’ brother, was betrothed to Aemilia Lepida, the daughter of Julia the Younger, before the betrothal was broken off.⁷⁸ After Gaius died in the east, his widow,

⁷² Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 37.

⁷³ Plin. *HN* 7.58 (inferred); Suet. *Aug.* 64.1; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 111. Both Aemilius Paullus and, it seems at a different time, Julia the Younger were exiled by Augustus for conspiracy; see T. D. Barnes, ‘Julia’s Child’, *Phoenix* 35.4, 1981, pp. 362-63; A. Pettinger, *The Republic in Danger: Drusus Libo and the Succession of Tiberius*, Oxford, 2012, pp. 93-101, 123-33; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, pp. 115-27.

⁷⁴ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, pp. 64-65; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, pp. 146, 149; M. Reinhold, ‘Marcus Agrippa’s Son-in-Law P. Quinctilius Varus’, *CPh* 67.2, 1972, pp. 119-21. The Quinctilii were an ancient family but Varus was to ultimately prove unworthy of the honour of twice marrying into the Imperial family – for the Varian disaster, see Vell. *Pat.* 2.117-121; Strab. 7.1.4; Flor. *Epit.* 2.30; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3; Suet. *Aug.* 23.1; Dio 56.18-24.

⁷⁵ Dio 55.10.8; Corbier, ‘Male Power’, p. 184; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 120; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 112; Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 134. For Gaius’ command in the East, see Romer, ‘Gaius Caesar’s Military Diplomacy in the East’, pp. 199-214; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 104.

⁷⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 64.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.33; Dio 57.5.6; Corbier, ‘Male Power’, p. 183; Barrett, *Agrippina*, p. 21; Barrett, *Livia*, p. 56; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 105; D. C. A. Shotter, ‘Agrippina the Elder: A Woman in a Man’s World’, *Historia* 49.3, 2000, p. 343; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 93. If Augustus’ aim was to combine Julian legitimacy with his Claudian male heirs, then the marriage proved to be productive, see H. Lindsay, ‘A Fertile Marriage: Agrippina and the Chronology of her Children by Germanicus’, *Latomus* 54.1, 1995, pp. 3-17. According to Barrett, Agrippina “the only Augustan descendant of her generation to sustain his [Augustus’] hopes” (Barrett, *Agrippina*, p. 21).

⁷⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 5.1; Barrett, *Livia*, p. 78. The marriage, in the previous generation, of Tiberius and Julia would have united the two families a generation earlier, if it had provided surviving children.

⁷⁸ Suet. *Claud.* 26.1; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 16; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 121. According to Suetonius, the betrothal was broken because the girl’s parents (Julia the Younger and Aemilius Paullus) had “offended Augustus” (*Augustum offenderant*). As noted above, Julia the Younger was exiled in AD 8 on charges of adultery (Suet. *Aug.* 65.1; Tac. *Ann.* 4.71; Crook, ‘Political History’, pp. 108-9; Syme. *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 118).

Livilla, was married to Drusus, Tiberius' son by Vipsania.⁷⁹ All these marriages served to strengthen internally the imperial family – the marriage of Germanicus and Agrippina, for example, was not only the marriage between the descendants of Augustus and Livia, but also would provide heirs from both sides of their family. Tacitus highlighted the importance of this aspect, and it was the next best solution for the emperor and wife, who had no joint issue.

In regards to arranging the marriages of those in his *patria potestas*, Augustus was most diligent. His family had provided him with a surfeit of females, at times he could afford to marry the excess off into outside families.⁸⁰ The few male members of his family he only married to female relatives of either himself or Agrippa.⁸¹ Augustus was evidently proud of the marriages of his family – when his marriage laws met with opposition late in his reign he was able to bring forth Germanicus and Agrippina and their children (his great-grandchildren) as living examples of the prosperity that Rome required.⁸² The *Ara Pacis* also paraded his entire family, with their many marriages and children, in public – all commemorated in stone.⁸³

Like her mother, she was banned from being interred in Augustus' mausoleum (Suet. *Aug.* 101.3). Aemilius Paulus was executed for conspiring against Augustus, perhaps earlier than his wife's banishment (Suet. *Aug.* 19.1; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, pp. 118-21).

⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 4.40; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 120. Livilla's birth of twin sons in AD 19 (Tac. *Ann.* 2.84; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 122-24; Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, p. 45) was commemorated on coinage of Tiberius, see *RIC*² I 42. Livilla was later accused of complicity with her husband's death by on the encouragement of her lover Sejanus, see Tac. *Ann.* 4.11.2; Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 171. Shotter believes there is little reason to doubt the story given in Tacitus (Shotter, *Tiberius Caesar*, pp. 45, 49) but Wiedemann and Levick think this was unlikely, see Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 213; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 127).

⁸⁰ As noted above, Antonia the Elder's marriage to Domitius Ahenobarbus, Varus' marriage to two granddaughters of Octavia and the marriage of Julia the Younger, Augustus' granddaughter, to Aemilius Paulus, were some of the few examples of marriages to members outside the imperial family.

⁸¹ His nephew Marcellus was married to his daughter Julia; his stepson Tiberius was first married to Agrippa's daughter Vipsania, and then Julia; his grandson Gaius was married to Livilla, the daughter of Nero Drusus and Antonia; Tiberius' brother Drusus was married to Antonia; Tiberius' son Drusus was married to Livilla; and Germanicus was married to Agrippina, Augustus' granddaughter.

⁸² Suet. *Aug.* 34.2; S. Treggiari, 'Social Status and Social Legislation', *CAH*² 10, p. 887; A. M. Kemezis, 'Augustus the Ironic Paradigm: Cassius Dio's Portrayal of the Lex Julia and Lex Papia Poppaea', *Phoenix* 61.3/4, 2007, p. 276; Raditsa, 'Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage', p. 333;

⁸³ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, pp. 107-08; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 158-59 and 217-18; Kleiner, 'Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis', pp. 757-62; Corbier, 'Male Power', p. 179; Syme, 'Neglected Children', p. 583; Crook, 'Political History', p. 96.

As Corbier points out, the lack of males in Augustus' family drove such complex marriage arrangements – legitimacy was passed on by marriage or adoption and, in most cases, both.⁸⁴ Augustus had promoted this family through buildings and coins, and reserved special military commands for them exclusively. The people he had marked out as potential heirs or successors were either directly descended from him (such as Gaius and Lucius Caesar), or married to his daughter (such as Marcellus, Agrippa and Tiberius). Augustus also tightly bound his family members together in marriage. While Corbier is correct in suggesting the formation of *domus Augusta* was casual rather than grand strategy, it was also the inevitable result of the deliberate policies implemented by its *paterfamilias*.⁸⁵ While Augustus did promote his family by other means, marriage was an important tool used by the emperor to bring potential successors into the family, strengthen the connections within the dynasty and to help define the imperial family.

Augustus as *Pater Patriae*

Augustus also sought to portray himself as the Father of all Romans, beyond his family. The Senate conferred the title of *Pater Patriae* (“Father of the Fatherland”) on him in 2 BC, but this was a culmination of his paternalistic policies, not their beginning.⁸⁶ Augustus used marriage to help cement this role for himself. He enacted several pieces of legislation to support and regulate marriage and he sought to influence Roman marriage outside his family. When he became *Pater Patriae*, he had already been acting as the Father of the Roman state for some time, as noted by Ovid. The image of Augustus as the *pater* of Rome and the Romans had been cultivated by Augustus well before 2 BC. In 27 BC, Augustus accepted the *corona civica*, an honour associated to both Cicero and Caesar, previous *Parentes Patriae*.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Corbier, ‘Male Power’, p. 178. Not all agree with this established notion of hereditary succession planning by Augustus, notably Gruen, ‘Augustus and the Making of the Principate’, pp. 33-51 (partly refuted by Stevenson, ‘Succession Planning of Augustus’, pp. 118-39). Augustus’ family, the *domus Augusta*, had become more than just the *gens Julia* (Corbier, ‘Male Power’, p. 190).

⁸⁵ Corbier, ‘Male Power’, p. 192.

⁸⁶ For a thorough study of Augustus’ image as *Pater Patriae*, see M. Strothmann, *Augustus: Vater der Res Publica*, Stuttgart, 2000. For the title of *Pater Patriae* and its evolution, see Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of the Title Pater Patriae’, pp. 97-108; Crook, ‘Political History’, pp. 101-02 and Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, pp. 158-86.

⁸⁷ For Augustus’ acceptance of the *corona civica*, see *RG* 34.2; Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of the Title Pater Patriae’, p. 99; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 264-66; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 78. For the other recipients of the *corona civica*, see Suet. *Iul.* 2.1; App. *BCiv* 2.106; Dio 44.4.5 (Caesar) Gellius *NA* 5.6.15 (Cicero, proposed).

Polybius recorded that the man saved by the winner of the *corona civica*, “reverences his preserver as a father all through his life, and must treat him in every way like a parent.”⁸⁸

Denarii, issued around 18 BC, addressed Augustus with the legend “SPQR PARENTI CONS SVO” (or variations).⁸⁹ The title of *Pater Patriae* or *Parens Patriae* may have been first been offered in 27 BC and refused.⁹⁰ Augustus also garnered the power of the Censor, arguably another office that exercised paternal power.

In terms of marriage between Romans, Augustus enacted at least three pieces of legislation.⁹¹ The first two were introduced around 18/17 BC and a third amendment passed in AD 9. Modern scholars, such as Severy, viewed these laws as paternal in nature because they regulated family behaviour.⁹² By codifying marriage and casting himself as the guardian of traditional morals, Augustus was declaring himself to be the Father of Rome and the Romans. These laws were met with opposition at the time and during the reigns of future emperors, such as Tiberius.⁹³

According to Weinstock, Cicero did not officially receive the *corona civica*, it was merely a proposal for his part in defeating the Cataline Conspiracy (S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford, 1971, p. 202). For Cicero awarded the title *Parens Patriae*, see Cic. *Pis.* 3.6; Plut. *Cic.* 23.6. Plutarch recorded that Cicero was the first to be granted this title (Plut. *Cic.* 23.6). For Caesar awarded the title of *Pater Patriae*, see Cic. *Off.* 3.21; Liv. *Per.* 116; Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 130.80; Suet. *Iul.* 76.1; Flor. 2.13.91; Dio 44.4.5, App. *BCiv* 2.106. Both Appian’s and Dio’s account mention the *corona civica* and the title *Pater Patriae* within the same passage. See also T. R. Stevenson, ‘The Ideal Benefactor and the Father Analogy in Greek and Roman Thought’, *CQ* 42.2, 1992, p. 421.

⁸⁸ Polyb. 6.39.7. The *corona civica*, a crown of oak leaves, was normally a military honour awarded to a soldier who had saved the life of a Roman citizen, as when it was first awarded to a young Julius Caesar at the siege of Mytilene (80 BC). Its association with Cicero, its second awarding to Caesar and its award to Augustus had wider implications, that the entire *res publica* had been saved by the recipient. See also Plin. *NH* 16.5; Gellius *NA* 5.6.11-12.

⁸⁹ *RIC*² I 96-101. Swan explicitly links these coins to Dio’s statement that the title of Father was applied to Augustus before the official *Pater Patriae* acclamation in 2 BC (Dio 55.10.10; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, p. 104). These coins were issued in Spain and depicted a *toga picta* on the obverse next to a wreath, and an empty quadriga on the reverse – all elements of the *ornamenta triumphalia*.

⁹⁰ The offering of the title *Pater Patriae* and its refusal is described by Suetonius (*Aug.* 58.1) in an undated passage, in language that inferred that it was not that long before his eventual acceptance in 2 BC. Severy suggested that it may have been offered as early as 27 BC and Stevenson agreed, see Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 186; Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of the Pater Patriae’, p. 99.

⁹¹ Raditsa delivers the best summary of the earlier scholarly analysis of Augustus’ marriage laws (Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, pp. 278-90). See also Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, pp. 50-56; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, pp. 60-80; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, pp. 887-93; H. Last, ‘The Social Policy of Augustus’, *CAH*¹, 1934, pp. 443-56.

⁹² Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 176.

⁹³ Tac. *Ann.* 3.28.6; *Dig.* 23.2.16; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, p. 885. The *lex Papia Poppaea* itself was an attempt to improve the original legislation after complaints, see Kemezis, ‘Augustus the Ironic Paradigm’, p. 274.

The *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*, came into effect in 18 BC.⁹⁴ It sought to restrict marriages between the senatorial class and freedmen, freedwomen or actors.⁹⁵ The law also penalised a *paterfamilias* who prevented his children from marrying.⁹⁶ The law also restricted how much property or legacies celibate people could inherit in wills.⁹⁷ The law also gave benefits to those married with children. A candidate for office could stand a year earlier than the age proscribed for each child he had and the number of children also determined seniority between consuls and dictated preference in allocation of senatorial provinces to govern.⁹⁸ The *lex Iulia de adulteriis* was passed probably in 17 BC and this law sought to make adultery a public crime.⁹⁹ Another law enacted in AD 9, the *lex Papia Poppaea*, made further changes – ostensibly passed by the consuls M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppaeus Secundus (ironically both childless themselves), it was doubtlessly driven by Augustus.¹⁰⁰ Some provisions of the earlier marriage laws were relaxed and “loopholes” closed.¹⁰¹ The earlier laws had taken betrothal periods into account when determining marriage and some men were reportedly betrothing themselves to children to count as being legally married while actually staying

⁹⁴ Dio 54.16.1-7; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 60. There may have been earlier attempts by Augustus to introduce similar marriage laws in 27 BC – for discussion of these arguments, see Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, pp. 295-96.

⁹⁵ *Dig.* 23.3.44. See Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 61; Kemezis, ‘Augustus the Ironic Paradigm’, p. 274; Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, pp. 326-27; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, p. 888; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 143.

⁹⁶ *Dig.* 23.2.19; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 143; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 65; Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation concerning Marriage’, p. 320. Ironically, Raditsa suggests these stipulations weakened the power of the *paterfamilias* (Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, p. 320).

⁹⁷ Celibate beneficiaries had to be close relatives and married but childless beneficiaries could only inherit half the intended legacy; see A. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Family and Inheritance in the Augustan Marriage Laws’, in *Augustus: His Contributions to the Development of the Roman State in the Early Imperial Period*, J. Edmondson (ed.), Edinburgh, 2009, pp. 250-74; Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, p. 84; Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, pp. 321-22; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, pp. 88-89; Gardner, *Women in Roman Law*, p. 78; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 143.

⁹⁸ Dio 53.13.2; *Dig.* 4.4.2; see also Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 66; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, p. 889; Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, p. 84; Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, p. 329.

⁹⁹ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, pp. 277-79; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, pp. 890-92. For dating, see Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, pp. 296-97. It is debatable whether this legislation came before or after his laws concerning marriage; for arguments, see Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, pp. 295-96. Augustus may have also tried to tighten these laws after 18 BC, but met with opposition; see Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, p. 297.

¹⁰⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 3.25; Dio 56.10.3; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 60. References to these laws are often conflated in the ancient sources, making it difficult to distinguish the differences between the two laws (Jones, *Augustus*, p. 132). For the laws passed in Augustus’ name and thus enacted by others, “though obviously he was their real promoter”, see G. Mousourakis, *A Legal History of Rome*, London, 2007, p. 103.

¹⁰¹ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 60. For example, originally a betrothed couple were also allowed to count as married as far as this law was concerned, a loophole that was quickly exploited but corrected in this later legislation; see Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; Dio 54.16.7; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 65; Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, p. 86.

single as long as possible.¹⁰² The new law countered this by reducing the betrothal period to two years.¹⁰³ These laws sought to make celibacy, as Treggiari ventures, “socially and economically disadvantageous.”¹⁰⁴ According to Severy, the laws “created a system of legal rewards for married parents and penalties for the unwed and childless.”¹⁰⁵

These laws met with mixed success. They were unpopular with certain sections of Roman society.¹⁰⁶ They were far from perfect either, as the laws required further adjustment in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius and later.¹⁰⁷ Zanker saw the laws as a “failure” and described them as “misguided.”¹⁰⁸ Treggiari is more circumspect.¹⁰⁹ Regardless of how successful these laws were, the fact that Augustus saw fit to restrict and regulate marriage positioned him as the Father of all the Roman people and several modern scholars have made the association between Augustus’ marriage laws and his “paternal” image. To Severy, “much of Augustus’ [marriage] legislation ... was censorial in nature, but might also be seen as paternal, since the laws regulated familial behaviours.”¹¹⁰ To Raditsa, the laws compliment Augustus’ image as the father of the Romans:

Augustus related to his subjects like a father. He looked after them, feeding them when they were too poor to feed themselves, giving the higher-born money to meet the Senatorial property qualification if their lives merited. Called upon to check the

¹⁰² Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 65; Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, p. 86; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 145.

¹⁰³ Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; Dio 54.16.7; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 65; Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, p. 86; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁴ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, p. 84. Wallace-Hadrill is clear that the laws did not compel Romans to marry (or remarry) and have children; see Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Family and Inheritance’, pp. 256-57.

¹⁰⁵ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 3.25. While “the prohibitions affected all citizens” (Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation concerning Marriage’, p. 326), modern scholars have pointed out that many of the restrictions, rewards and penalties applied mainly to the senatorial classes; see Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, p. 322; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 54; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, p. 889; Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Family and Inheritance’, pp. 251-52.

¹⁰⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.28; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, pp. 77-78; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, p. 893; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 78; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 123. Domitian appears to have revived the adultery law in his reign (implying that it had been neglected); see Suet. *Dom.* 8.3; B. W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, London, 1992, pp. 76-77; Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, p. 893.

¹⁰⁸ Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁹ Treggiari, ‘Social Status and Social Legislation’, pp. 892-93.

¹¹⁰ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 176.

once untameable furor and desire ... of his subjects, Augustus also harboured a severity and cruelty within his apparent mildness ...¹¹¹

Augustus' motives for the laws seem clear. Horace declared that the laws would help provide more children.¹¹² Suetonius included the marriage laws in a selection of other laws which dealt with morality and stated that the laws were an encouragement "of marriage in the Senatorial and Equestrian orders."¹¹³ Augustus himself did not directly refer to the marriage laws in his *Res Gestae*, but in the years that the laws were passed (19 and 18 BC) he recounted, "the Senate and the Roman people unanimously agreed that I should be elected overseer of laws and morals ..."¹¹⁴ Doubtlessly the marriage laws are alluded to here. Amongst modern scholars there is general agreement. Baldson believes the laws aimed to increase the birth rate and to create larger families.¹¹⁵ Jones describes the aims of the adultery law as a "protection of marriage" and the marriage laws as a means to "encourage marriage and the procreation of children."¹¹⁶ Last agrees that these laws aimed to "restore children to their place as [marriage's] end and object."¹¹⁷ Syme suggests the "aim of the new code was ... to bring the family under the protection of the State."¹¹⁸ Severy highlights Augustus' paternal role in enacting these laws, noting that the emperor was "acting as a father over all families and over the community itself" by pushing through these laws.¹¹⁹

Augustus also intervened in the marital affairs of his peers, outside his family. He felt free to suggest and arrange marriages amongst senators. At times some of these suggestions are

¹¹¹ Raditsa, 'Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage', p. 332. Raditsa sought to demonstrate that the marriage laws actually set Augustus up as the "father of all" by weakening the individual power of the *paterfamilias* (Raditsa, 'Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage', p. 333).

¹¹² Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 19-20; Treggiari, 'Social Status and Social Legislation', p. 892; R. F. Thomas (ed.), *Horace Odes Book IV and Carmen Saeculare*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 68-69.

¹¹³ Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, pp. 275-79; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 141-45.

¹¹⁴ *RG* 6.1; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 130-31; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 45-46.

¹¹⁵ Baldson, *Roman Women*, pp. 75-76.

¹¹⁶ Jones, *Augustus*, pp. 131-32.

¹¹⁷ Last, 'The Social Policy of Augustus', p. 455.

¹¹⁸ Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 444.

¹¹⁹ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 56. Raditsa also connected Augustus' marriage laws with his role as *Pater Patriae*; see Raditsa, 'Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage', pp. 332-33. Severy was also careful to note the protection of rank, namely the Senatorial and Equestrian classes, in both the marriage and adultery laws (Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 54).

reported with overtones of pressure. Here again, Augustus was acting as a *paterfamilias* for a wider family. Augustus' interest may well have been genuine, but in arranging the marriages of his peers he also cast himself as the Father of Rome.¹²⁰ Tacitus related that Augustus supplied a million sesterces to M. Hortensius Hortalus so that the senator could afford to marry and have children.¹²¹ Augustus was apparently concerned that such a distinguished line did not die out, and the traditional Roman support for adoptions reflected concerns that these Republican families did not disappear.¹²² Although initially successful (Hortalus produced at least four sons), Tiberius was reluctant to provide further money for those "protégés of the deified Augustus" to procreate.¹²³ Dio recounted that after Cornelius Sisenna "was censured for the conduct of his wife", he responded that he had married her on the advice of Augustus.¹²⁴ Both these cases have survived as historical asides, and there is no telling how many other senatorial marriages may have been influenced by the emperor.

Augustus' image as the Father of Rome was enhanced by introducing marriage laws and influencing marriages themselves. Marriage, however, was just one aspect to the Father of Rome image. Severy relates that Augustus also sought to be the "spiritual father" of Rome as well.¹²⁵ The imperial cults enhanced this aspect. In 12 BC after the death of the previous incumbent, Lepidus, Augustus became the Pontifex Maximus.¹²⁶ Although the position had

¹²⁰ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 155; Raditsa, 'Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage', pp. 332-33.

¹²¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.37; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 71; J. Geiger, 'M. Hortensius M. f. Q. n. Hortalus', *CR* 20.2, 1970, p. 133. See *PIR*² H 0210.

¹²² Tac. *Ann.* 2.37. Hortalus' ancestor, Q. Hortensius Hortalus (cos. 69 BC), was a famous orator (Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 71). Geiger argues that he was a grandson of the orator through his second marriage to a Marcia, see Geiger, 'M. Hortensius M. f. Q. n. Hortalus', pp. 132-34. Dio recounted that Augustus did, at times, provide the necessary funds to enable them to stand for public office, the qualification for which he had raised to a million sesterces (Dio 54.17.3). See also M. Corbier, 'La descendance d'Hortensius et de Marcia', *MEFRA* 103.2, 1991, pp. 655-701; J. Briscoe, 'The Grandson of Hortensius', *ZPE* 95, 1993, pp. 249-50; W. Eck, 'Marcus Hortalus, Nobilis Iuvenis, und Seine Söhne', *ZPE* 95, 1993, pp. 251-60.

¹²³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.37; Corbier, 'La descendance d'Hortensius', pp. 658-59; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 71. Tiberius did eventually grant each of the sons 200 000 sesterces; see Tac. *Ann.* 2.37; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 71.

¹²⁴ Dio 54.27.4. The passage in Dio is dated to 13 BC. For L. Cornelius Sisenna, see *PIR*² C 1454. Unlike Hortalus, Sisenna does not appear to have been of noble descent, his only possible ancestor would be the Pompeian historian, L. Cornelius Sisenna.

¹²⁵ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 96.

¹²⁶ *RG* 10.2; Ov. *Fast.* 3.415-28; Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; Dio 54.27.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 148-50; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 52-53; S. R. F. Price, 'The Place of Religion: Rome in the Early Empire', *CAH*² 10, pp. 825-27. The triumvir M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 46 BC) secured Caesar's title of Pontifex Maximus in an election of the pontiffs in 44 BC (Liv. *Per.* 117; Vell. Pat. 2.63.1; App. *BCiv* 2.132; Dio 44.53.6-7; Price, 'The Place of Religion', p. 825; Weigel, *Lepidus*, pp. 48-9). Although Lepidus had long been in disgrace since 36 BC, he had been allowed to retain the title until his death, even in exile (App. *BCiv* 5.131; Dio 49.15.3; Weigel, *Lepidus*, pp. 94-95; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 37).

many real advantages, it also enhanced his image as the spiritual father of Rome. In many ways Augustus sought to work his family into the “religious framework” of Rome.¹²⁷ *Pietas*, “the typical Roman attitude of dutiful respect towards gods, fatherland, and parents and other kinsmen”, provided a means to achieve this.¹²⁸ The many public works, beyond temples, and often in the names of his family members as demonstrated earlier, led Augustus to claim that he had left Rome clothed in marble, having found her built of brick.¹²⁹ Velleius Paterculus also recorded that he “induced” triumphant generals “to adorn the city.”¹³⁰ Augustus could also claim the image of a *pater urbis*, the Father of the City. Favro draws the parallel between the *paterfamilias*, in charge of his own *domus*, and Augustus, who treated the whole city as his personal *domus*.¹³¹ With Agrippa as his partner, Augustus busied himself with the maintenance of the city, as well as initiating building laws and restrictions.¹³² All these endeavours clearly assisted the image of a father looking after his children – the *pater urbis* was the *Pater Patriae* and vice versa.

It could also be argued that the powers of the Censor were patriarchal as well. The position of Censor had traditionally been filled by ex-Consuls and held the highest dignity (after the Dictator) during the Republic.¹³³ According to Gellius, Cato the Elder once equated the power of husband over a wife with that of a censor.¹³⁴ Cicero also likened the censorship to parental

¹²⁷ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 96.

¹²⁸ W. C. Greene and J. Scheld, ‘Pietas’, *OCD*⁴, p. 1148; see also Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 98; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 102-04.

¹²⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 28.3; Dio 56.30.3; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, p. 222; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 128-29; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, p. 304. Dio, however, translated Augustus’ quote metaphorically. See also Purcell, ‘Rome and its Development’, pp. 784-85, 795.

¹³⁰ Vell. Pat. 2.89.4; see also Southern, *Augustus*, p. 103; Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, p. 72; Purcell, ‘Rome and its Development’, pp. 787-88. Suetonius reported that Augustus asked others who had been awarded triumphs to fund the rebuild other major roads after he himself had rebuilt the *Via Flaminia* with the funds from his Triple Triumph (Suet. *Aug.* 30.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 134). Although Tacitus was later to marvel that Augustus did not bar the practice of triumphing generals to decorate Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 3.72), Favro points out that the emperor could not legally prohibit it (Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, p. 72, n. 80).

¹³¹ Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, p. 72.

¹³² Suet. *Aug.* 30.1-2; Dio 49.43.1-5; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 133-34; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 79-80; Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, pp. 71-83. Agrippa was famed in particular for his work on the aqueduct system at Rome; see Plin. *HN* 36.121; Dio 48.32; Purcell, ‘Rome and its Development’, pp. 788-89; H. B. Evans, ‘Agrippa’s Water Plan’, *AJA* 86, 1982, 401-411; Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, p. 76; F. W. Shipley, *Agrippa’s Building Activities in Rome*, St Louis, 1933, pp. 24-36. It is noteworthy that the emperor had also abrogated some of the city-building responsibilities of the censor in Republican times (Polyb. 6.13.3, 6.17.2; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1, pp. 678-79, 692-94; Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, p. 66).

¹³³ See A. E. Astin, ‘Cicero and the Censorship’, *CPh* 80.3, 1985, pp. 233-39. See also Cic. *Leg.* 3.7.

¹³⁴ Gell. *NA* 10.23. Stevenson has demonstrated other paternal ideals behind much of the Republican political structure; see Stevenson, ‘Ideal Benefactor’, pp. 429-31.

duty.¹³⁵ Dio related that Augustus accepted *ensoria potestas* for five years in 19 BC.¹³⁶ With these powers Augustus conducted several censuses and demoted undesirable senators and equestrians.¹³⁷ His appointment also coincided with the introduction of his marriage laws, their moral overtones were well suited to censorial duties – as noted above, Severy described his marriage laws as “censorial.”¹³⁸

Finally, in 2 BC the Senate granted Augustus the title *Pater Patriae* (“Father of the Fatherland”).¹³⁹ Suetonius described the honour as a “sudden unanimous impulse” from the “whole of the citizen body” and related that the title was twice offered to Augustus, because he refused it the first time.¹⁴⁰ M. Valerius Messalla (cos. 3 BC) formally hailed him as “Father of the Country” in the Senate, which Augustus accepted “with tears in his eyes.”¹⁴¹ The title

¹³⁵ Cic. *Rep.* 4.6. As well as conducting the census, the Censors also appear to be concerned in other matters relating to the population. A speech of the censor of 131 BC, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, about increasing the birth rate was read out in the Senate by Augustus as a preamble to discussion regarding his marriage-laws; see Liv. *Per.* 59; Suet. *Aug.* 89.2; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 199; Zanker, *Power of Images*, p. 157. Gellius also refers to a speech by “Metellus Numidicus” (who was censor in 102 BC) regarding marriage (Gell. *NA* 6.1) – this speech, however, may have been mistakenly attributed to Numidicus and is, in fact, the same speech by Macedonicus above; see A. Berger, ‘Note on Gellius, N. A., I, 6’, *AJPh* 67.4, 1946, pp. 320-28.

¹³⁶ Dio 54.10.5; Crook, ‘Political History’, pp. 76, 91. It is thought to conflict with Augustus’ own statement that he refused “extravagant powers” (*RG* 1.6), but, as Jones argues (Jones, *Augustus*, p. 62), both passages could be correct. The *Fasti Venusini* recorded that Augustus held censorial powers, but not the actual office of Censor (Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 139).

¹³⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 27.5; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 125-26. Augustus attempted at least twice to reduce the membership of the Senate. According to Dio, in 45 BC Caesar had increased membership of the Senate to nine hundred (Dio 43.47.3). Augustus’ first attempt to reduce Senate numbers was in 28 BC with, according to Dio, his powers as Censor (Dio 52.42.1; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 211; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 76). The emperor again tried to reduce the Senate to three hundred members in 18 BC causing much angst, but could not get the number below six hundred (Dio 54.13.1-14.5; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 93).

¹³⁸ Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 176. She also draws a direct parallel between the censorship and his paternal legislation (p. 56).

¹³⁹ *RG* 35.1-2; Suet. *Aug.* 58.1; Dio 55.10.10; E. S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus’ “Res Gestae”*, Stuttgart, 1987, pp. 104-10; Crook, ‘Political History’, pp. 101-2; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 179-81; Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of the Title Pater Patriae’, pp. 97-108; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, pp. 158-86; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 272-76; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 80. Velleius Paterculus, a contemporary historian, however, makes no mention of the honour, passing from the retirement of Tiberius from Rome (6 BC), to Julia’s scandal (2 BC), to Gaius’ expedition East and his visit to Tiberius (AD 2) – in fact the only mention of events in Rome while Tiberius was away is the scandal of Julia and her banishment, an event for which Tiberius, Velleius’ subject for this part of his history, was thankfully absent.

¹⁴⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 58.1. On Augustus’ refusal, see A. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King’, *JRS* 72, 1982, pp. 36-37; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 186; Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of Pater Patriae’, p. 99; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 180. The title of Pater Patriae was explicitly refused or deferred by a number of emperors; see Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Civilis Princeps’, p. 37, n. 35; T. Stevenson, ‘Roman Coins and Refusals of the Title Pater Patriae’, *NC* 167, 2007, pp. 119-41.

¹⁴¹ Suet. *Aug.* 58.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 180-81; Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of Pater Patriae’, p. 103. M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus was one of the most respected senators remaining under Augustus’ regime

came with no specific powers or duties, it was “purely honorific.”¹⁴² Earlier Cicero had been awarded the title *Parens Patriae* for his role in the suppression of Cataline’s conspiracy and Caesar too was awarded a similar title.¹⁴³ Although Augustus did not receive the title until 2 BC, as demonstrated above, he was addressed in a similar fashion much earlier – Dio records, for that year, that Augustus “was given the strict right to the title of Father; for hitherto he had merely been addressed by that title without the formality of a decree.”¹⁴⁴ The conferring of the title was not a heralding of the beginning of a paternalistic approach to government, but a confirmation that Augustus had been acting as the Father of the Romans for some time. The year 2 BC proved to be significant. Augustus himself was consul for that year (with M. Plautius Silvanus) and early that year the Senate conferred on Augustus’ adopted son Lucius the same honours as his elder brother Gaius.¹⁴⁵ On the 5th February Valerius Messalla led the declaration of *Pater Patriae* – Suetonius described the move as “universal” and relates that the people had previously sent a delegation to Augustus in Antium.¹⁴⁶ In his *Res Gestae*, the title of *pater patriae* is Augustus’ crowning achievement, conferred by “the Senate and the equestrian order and the entire Roman people.”¹⁴⁷ According to Cooley, “the grant of this title

that had a reputation for independence which made him an ideal candidate to offer this honour to Augustus – for his career in depth, see Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, pp. 200-16.

¹⁴² Jones, *Augustus*, p. 60. See C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, Berkeley, 2000, p. 44; Crook, ‘Political History’, pp. 100-01. Crook is explicit that the title did not infer that the state was now under the *patria potestas* of Augustus (Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 101; also Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 160). For the debate as to whether the title was an “empty” honorific or not, see T. Stevenson, ‘Andreas Alföldi on the Roman Emperor as Pater Patriae’, in *Andreas Alföldi in the Twenty-First Century*, James H. Richardson and Federico Santangelo (eds), Stuttgart, 2015, pp. 189-90.

¹⁴³ Cicero himself refers to the title as *parentem patriae* in Cic. *Pis.* 3.6 (also Plut. *Cic.* 23.6); Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, pp. 158-59. For Caesar, see Suet. *Iul.* 76.1 and 85.1 (first as *patris patriae*, the second as *parenti patriae*); Favro, ‘Pater Urbis’, p. 70; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 159. On some coins issued in 44 BC, Caesar is depicted with the title PARENS PATRIAE, see *RRC* 480.19-20. Severy remarks on the difference between *Pater* and *Parens*, suggesting *Pater* implied “heritability of that role” (Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 161).

¹⁴⁴ Dio 55.10.10; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, pp. 103-05; Raditsa, ‘Augustus’ Legislation Concerning Marriage’, p. 332; Stevenson, ‘Roman Coins and Refusals’, pp. 120-21. An inscription on a milestone from Urgavo in Baetica dated 6/5 BC names Augustus as *Pater Patriae* four years before the title was conferred upon him, see *ILS* 96 = Braund 21; Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of Pater Patriae’, p. 102.

¹⁴⁵ Vell. Pat. 2.100.2; Dio 55.9.10; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, p. 91; Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 100; Stevenson, ‘Acceptance of Pater Patriae’, p. 102; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, p. 161. A largess was also distributed to the people (Dio stated 60 denarii) and the temple to Mars Ultor opened; see Dio 55.10.1-2; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, pp. 91-96).

¹⁴⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 58.1-2; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 179-81. For date, see Ov. *Fast.* 2.127; *Fasti Praenestini* (Ehrenberg-Jones, p. 47); Crook, ‘Political History’, p. 101.

¹⁴⁷ *RG* 35.1; Ramage, *Nature and Purpose of Res Gestae*, p. 104; E. T. Salmon, ‘The Evolution of Augustus’ Principate’, *Historia* 5.4, 1956, pp. 476-77; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 272-75; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 80. Augustus could portray himself “as *pater patriae* who cared for all the Roman *ordinares* alike”, see Z. Yavetz, ‘The *Res Gestae* and Augustus’ Public Image’, *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, Oxford, 1984, p. 15.

to Augustus was not simply just another meaningless honour, but ... evoked ideas of someone acting as saviour, patron and god.”¹⁴⁸

So, after acting as *paterfamilias* to his own family and developing the idea of the domus Augusta, Augustus also abrogated a role for himself as *Pater Patriae*, the father of the Romans. Although the Senate did not formally confer this title until 2 BC, both Dio and Ovid demonstrate that Augustus had been acting in this role for some time. Once again, marriage was a tool that Augustus utilised to depict himself as a father to Rome. He formalised and codified marriage itself and attempted, albeit not too successfully, to connect it to various advantages and penalties to make the institution appear more rewarding. He has already proved himself diligent in arranging marriages within his own family and now the emperor was encouraging and suggesting marriage-alliances for Senators outside his family – this was well beyond the remit of a *paterfamilias*, but well within the duties of a friend or colleague – and also for a patriarch of the Roman people.

Augustus as *Pater Orbis*

After becoming *paterfamilias* of his own family, Augustus grew to become the *Pater Patriae* – the father of the Romans. The next progression appears logical – *pater orbis* – the Father of the World. Augustus extended his paternal rule to include provincials, client kings and even foreign kings. Strabo described the empire being transferred into Augustus’ care, “as to a father.”¹⁴⁹ While *Pater Patriae* was a title, *pater orbis* was a description, or metaphor, for Augustus’ wider role. There is no evidence Augustus referred to himself in such terms, but, as the passages of Ovid and Strabo demonstrate, the emperor could, in fairness, be described as the “Father of the World.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 275.

¹⁴⁹ Strab. 6.4.2 (trans. H. L. Jones); Allen, Hostage and Hostage-taking, pp. 140-48. Braund recognised that the relationship between client king and Rome was sometimes depicted as a filial relationship (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 23).

¹⁵⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 2.130 (passage quoted at the top of the chapter). Elsewhere Ovid also compares Augustus and Jupiter, both rulers and both fathers (Ov. *Met.* 15.353-360); see Scott, ‘Emperor Worship in Ovid’, pp. 52-53.

In the same way as he cared for his Roman citizens as a father, Augustus cared for the provinces and cities. Suetonius described many instances where Augustus came to the aid of cities in need.¹⁵¹ Augustus was also diligent in establishing colonies, Suetonius recorded some twenty eight colonies for Italy alone.¹⁵² An inscription of Augustus from Cyrene provides the first stated intention of a Roman ruler to govern on behalf of all members of the empire.¹⁵³ After Augustus received the title of *Pater Patriae*, he was often referred to as “Father of his country” in Greek inscriptions – Ando demonstrates that other cities were keen to extend Augustus’ role as father to include them, with inscriptions that translate to “Father of the fatherland and the entire human race.”¹⁵⁴ Likewise in the coinage Augustus is referred to as PATER PATRIAE by many provincial mints and a coin from Antioch in Pisidia, for example, refers to him as “PARENS CAESAREA[] COL” on its legend.¹⁵⁵ The cities and colonies also honoured the imperial family. Millar notes that coins honouring Gaius and Lucius appear from over thirty different cities.¹⁵⁶

Amongst client kings Augustus also behaved as a father, and they honoured him like a father or patron. They founded or refounded cities in his name and sent him their children for education and safe keeping. The client kings also reflected Augustus’ promotion of his *domus Augusta* by giving many honours given to members of the imperial family. Some of their children were named after members of the imperial household, and many dynasts left slaves and property to the same family in their wills. Suetonius described client kings meeting Augustus in the provinces to “show him the attentions usual in dependents” (*more clientium*).¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ Suet. *Aug.* 47.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 165-66. Dio also reported that Augustus gave money to Paphos to repair their city after an earthquake and aided other cities too numerous for the historian to mention (Dio 54.23.7-8).

¹⁵² *RG* 28.2; Suet. *Aug.* 46.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 161-63; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 240-41; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 72-73; L. J. F. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 14–47 BC*, London, 1983, pp. 114-22. Carter attempts to identify the twenty eight colonies (Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 162). Dio declared that Augustus also founded many colonies in Gaul and Spain (Dio 54.23.7).

¹⁵³ *SEG* 9-8. See Millar, ‘State and Subject’, pp. 52-53.

¹⁵⁴ Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, p. 403.

¹⁵⁵ Sometimes abbreviated to “P P.” See *RPC* I 285, 287, 289-290, 392-396. For the coin from Antioch, see *RPC* I 3529.

¹⁵⁶ Millar, ‘State and Subject’, p. 45. Millar also notes *vota* from Colonia Iulia Paterna Narbo Martia that included vows to Augustus and “his wife, his children, his family” (Millar, ‘State and Subject’, p. 55).

¹⁵⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 60.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 181.

Suetonius also stated that Augustus was honoured with several cities named Caesarea.¹⁵⁸ In Mauretania, Juba renamed Iol, an important maritime city, Caesarea.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, Archelaus renamed Mazaca in Cappadocia, once the seat of the Cappadocian kings, Caesarea.¹⁶⁰ In Judaea, Herod rebuilt a harbour city, formerly Strato's Tower and named it Caesarea in Augustus' honour and, after it was finished some ten years later, Herod inaugurated games in Augustus' honour, to be held there every five years.¹⁶¹ Anazarbus in Cilicia was likewise re-founded as Caesarea by Tarcondimotus II.¹⁶² The practice of naming cities after the king or members of the royal family stems from the Hellenistic period. As Braund points out, however, with the possible exception of a fortress in Judaea and a city in Paphlagonia possibly named after Antony, it was previously unknown for Eastern kings to found cities in

¹⁵⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 60.1; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 107-09; Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 79. Braund notes that the re-founding of cities in the names of the king and his family was common in Hellenistic times (and continued under the client kings) but to found a city in the name of the "other" ruler (the emperor) was "adapting" the practice (Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 80).

¹⁵⁹ Plin. *NH* 5.1.20; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108; Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 79; Roller, *Word of Juba II*, pp. 119-20; Whittaker, 'Roman Africa', p. 604. Previously named Iol, Caesarea was situated on the coast and became the capital of Mauretania under Juba II. For a study of the city (now modern Cherchel) and its buildings, see Roller, *Word of Juba II*, pp. 121-30; T. W. Potter, 'Models of Urban Growth: the Cherchel Excavations 1977-1981', *BAC* 19b, 1985, pp. 457-68.

¹⁶⁰ Plin. *NH* 6.3.8; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 652; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 28; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1971, p. 179; D. W. Roller, *The Building Program of Herod the Great*, Berkeley, 1998, p. 257. Archelaus also renamed Elaeussa to Sebaste; see Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 28; Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, p. 256. For Elaeussa, see E. E. Schneider (ed.), *Elaiussa Sebaste I: campagne di scavo, 1995-1997*, Roma, 1999; E. E. Schneider (ed.), *Elaiussa Sebaste II: Una porto tra Oriente e Occidente*, Roma, 2003; E. Kirsten, 'Elaiussa-Sebaste in Kilikien, Ein Ausgrabungswunsch an den Ausgräber von Side und Perge', *Mélanges Mansel* 2, 1974, pp. 777-802; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937, p. 205.

¹⁶¹ Joseph. *AJ* 15.331-342, 16.136-141; J. Patrich, 'Herodian Caesarea: the Urban Space', in *The World of the Herods*, N. Kokkinos (ed.), Stuttgart, 2007, p. 93; Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, pp. 133-44; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 28. For Strato's Tower / Caesarea Maritima with its harbour of Sebastos, see E. Netzer, 'The Ideal City in the Eyes of Herod the Great', in *The World of the Herods*, N. Kokkinos (ed.), Stuttgart, 2007, pp. 77-82; Patrich, 'Herodian Caesarea', pp. 93-129; B. Burrell, 'Herod's Caesarea on Sebastos: Urban Structures and Influences', in *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st-23rd June 2005*, D. M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds), Leiden, 2009, pp. 217-34; R. L. Hohlfelder, 'Images of Homage, Images of Power: King Herod and his Harbour, Sebastos', *Antichthon* 37, 2003, pp. 13-31; D. W. Roller and R. L. Hohlfelder, 'The Problem of the Location of Straton's Tower', *BASO* 252, 1983, pp. 61-68. Herod also established a Sebaste in Samaria, see Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, p. 88; Netzer, 'Ideal City', p. 71; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 28; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108. Herod's sons also established cities named after Augustus. At Panias, Philip founded Caesarea Philippi; see Joseph. *AJ* 18.28; J. F. Wilson and V. Tazaferis, 'An Herodian Capital in the North: Caesarea Philippi (Panias)', in *The World of the Herods*, N. Kokkinos (ed.), Stuttgart, 2007, pp. 131-43. Antipas' city of Autocratoris over Sepphoris may have also been named after Augustus; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108; S. S. Miller, 'Josephus on the Cities of Galilee: Factions, Rivalries and Alliances in the First Jewish Revolt', *Historia* 50.4, 2001, p. 466; K. A. Larson, 'The Architecture of Kingship: Herod the Great's Palatial Complex at Caesarea', in *Its Good to be the King: The Archaeology of Power and Authority*, S. Morton and D. Butler (eds), Calgary, 2011, pp. 233-41.

¹⁶² Wright, 'House of Tarkondimotos', p. 78; Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 204; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108; M. Gough, 'Anazarbus', *AS* 2, 1952, pp. 85-150; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 652.

the names of grandees of the Roman Republic.¹⁶³ The practice continued after Augustus – for example, the founding of Tiberias by Herod Antipas in AD 26.¹⁶⁴

Augustus' efforts in promoting his family were also assisted by his client kings, as they not only honoured their benefactor, but also other prominent members of his family. Cities and structures were built and named in their honour by these kings. Herod had forged a strong relationship with Agrippa, as the king was a wily enough to ensure he had established a firm friendship with not only Augustus, but also his intended successor.¹⁶⁵ When Agrippa was in Lesbos, Josephus recorded that Herod sailed to meet him there and persuaded the emperor's second-in-command to visit Judaea, which Agrippa did and, while in Judaea, Herod exhibited his newly founded cities to Agrippa.¹⁶⁶ This certainly would have included Caesarea but also possibly included Agrippias – while Josephus related that Herod renamed the city of Antheon to Agrippias in Agrippa's honour, he does not date the renaming.¹⁶⁷ Polemo I of Pontus repaid

¹⁶³ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 108-09. For Antonopolis in Paphlagonia, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 109; Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 168. For the fortress of Antonia, formerly Baris, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.401, *AJ* 15.409; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 106-07; M. Ita, 'The Antonia Fortress', *PEQ* 100, 1968, pp. 139-43.

¹⁶⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 18.36; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108. Braund also cites other examples: Germanicopolis in Cetus named after Gaius by Antiochus IV of Commagene, who also re-founded a Claudopolis after Claudius, Agrippa II changed the name of Caesarea-Panias to Neronias and Tiridates of Armenia renamed Artaxarta to Neroneia (Dio 63.7.2).

¹⁶⁵ "Whereas there were two men that governed the vast Roman Empire, first Caesar and the Agrippa, who was his principal favourite, Caesar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa; and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Caesar ...", Joseph. *AJ* 15.361. See also Joseph. *AJ* 16.60-61, *BJ* 1.400; Gruen, 'Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora', p. 20; E. Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder*, Grand Rapids, 2008, pp. 20-21. Herod had previously transferred his loyalty from Antony to Octavian artfully enough to retain his realm, see Joseph. *AJ* 15.187-201; Goodman, 'Judaea', pp. 740-41. Roller demonstrates that Agrippa had a strong connection with Herod and was a source of Roman influence over the king (Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, pp. 43-53).

¹⁶⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 16.12-14; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 263; Gruen, 'Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora', p. 20; Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, p. 13. Later, when Agrippa moved to Sinope to support setting up Polemo as king of the Bosphorus, Herod went to meet him to provide assistance and advice; see Joseph. *AJ* 16.16-22; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 264. When Agrippa finished his Eastern command and returned to Rome, Herod saw him off and transferred his eldest son Antipater, to Agrippa's care to take to Rome; see Joseph. *AJ* 16.86; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 277; Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, p. 13. Netzer suggests that Agrippa was impressed by Herod's buildings that he lent the king Roman assistance via engineers and architects, which explains the Roman influence in Netzer's "fourth stage" of building, from after Agrippa's visit to 9 BC (Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, pp. 56-57, 304-05).

¹⁶⁷ The city was formerly known as Anthedon and its re-founding is mentioned in three passages: Joseph. *BJ* 1.87, 1.118 and 1.416, *AJ* 13.357. See also Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 153-54; Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, pp. 228-29; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108; Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, pp. 128-29. Roller suggests that the city was re-founded at a date after Agrippa's death in 12 BC (Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, p. 129). As noted by Marshak, however, there is no reason it is necessary to see the renaming of the city as posthumous (Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 154).

his benefactor by later renaming Phanagoria to Agrippeia.¹⁶⁸ Herod's grandson, Herod Agrippa, was named after the same man and the name remained in the family.¹⁶⁹ Herod also inscribed Agrippa's name in the gate he erected over the Temple at Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰ The example of Agrippa is prominent, but other members of the imperial family were likewise honoured. According to Josephus, Herod also named a sea tower in the newly founded Caesarea after Drusus, Augustus' step-son.¹⁷¹ In Judaea, cities were founded in honour of Livia and Julia.¹⁷² This honouring of other members of Augustus' family assisted in establishing the idea of an imperial family and went some way in furthering the continuation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The client kings recognised that Augustus, the emperor, was the father of not only the imperial family, but a family that included the entire Roman Empire.

The children of client kings were also sent to Augustus, ostensibly for their education.¹⁷³ Children of kings had been sent to Rome during the Republican period, sometimes as hostages, and the process of receiving a Roman education for a future client king had long been recognised.¹⁷⁴ The son of Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia, the future Ariarathes V, had

¹⁶⁸ *CIRB* 979, 982-983; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 167. Another inscription, *CIRB* 1051, from Hermonassa dated AD 307, calls the city Agrippeia Caesarea (Ἀγριππέων Καισαρέων) which indicates that Phanagoria's new name was both, whereas Braund suggests that it was Panticapaeum renamed to Caesarea; see Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 167, n. 73; Braund *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108. For Agrippa's support of Polemo's takeover of the Bosphorus, see Joseph. *AJ* 16.16; Dio 54.24.6; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 918-19; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 166.

¹⁶⁹ Kokkinos believes Herod Agrippa was born in 12 BC, the year Agrippa died (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 271-72). See also Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 111; Sullivan, *Dynasty of Judaea*, pp. 321-22; Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 1.416; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 263; Netzer, *Architecture of Herod*, p. 228.

¹⁷¹ Joseph. *AJ* 15.336; A. Lichtenberger, 'Herod and Rome: Was Romanisation a Goal of the Building Policy of Herod', in *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st-23rd June 2005*, David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos (eds), Leiden, 2009, p. 43; R. L. Vann, 'The Drusion: a Candidate for Herod's Lighthouse at Caesarea Maritima', *IJNA* 20.2, 1991, pp. 123-39. Braund suggests that the tower may have been named after Drusus' death in 9 BC (Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 109).

¹⁷² Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 108. Livias (or Julias) was founded by Herod Antipas, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.27; D. E. Graves and S. Stripling, 'Re-examination of the Location for the Ancient City of Livias', *Levant* 43.2, 2011, pp. 178-200. Julias was founded by Philip around AD 20 and, although Braund (following Josephus) suggests it was named after Julia, it could have been named after Livia, as Strickert suggests, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.28; F. Strickert, 'The Founding of the City of Julias by the Tetrarch Philip in 30 CE', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61.2, 2010, pp. 220-33.

¹⁷³ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1. Chapter 2 demonstrated that Herod sent a number his sons and grandson to Rome for an education and to meet with the emperor and that other client kings probably also did so.

¹⁷⁴ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 7-21. While it was useful for future kings to be aware of Roman culture, it was more useful to establish contacts with important people at Rome. There was no formal policy of 'Romanising' the client kings (see Chapter 2). For the Roman practice of taking hostages, see Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*.

been sent to Rome just before the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC).¹⁷⁵ Nicomedes, son of Prusias II of Bithynia, accompanied his father to Rome in 167 BC; doubtless the contacts he made there were converted to support when he successfully ousted his father some years later.¹⁷⁶ Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV of Syria, was kept in Rome as a hostage, before he escaped.¹⁷⁷ The young Juba II, son of Juba I, was brought to Rome by Caesar, educated there, and became a companion to Augustus.¹⁷⁸ Dio related that the children of client kings were kept in Alexandria by Antony as hostages.¹⁷⁹ During Augustus' reign many children of client kings were kept in Rome for their education, in Augustus' care. As noted earlier in Chapter 2, according to Suetonius, Augustus, "brought up many of their children with his own, and gave them the same education."¹⁸⁰ In modern terms, this could be described as fostering and the paternal implications are obvious. The sources illuminate several examples and Josephus specifically stated that Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Herod, were sent to Augustus for their education.¹⁸¹ These "visits" to Rome not only established connections between the emperor and a future king, and also educated the prince in Roman ways, but also symbolised the kings putting their children in Augustus' care, thus further building Augustus' image as Father of the World.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ Liv. 42.19; Diod. 31.19.7; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 9; Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, pp. 105-06; Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia', p. 63; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, p. 156; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 46; Gruen, *Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, pp. 194-95.

¹⁷⁶ Liv. 45.44; Just. *Epit.* 34.4.1-5; App. *Mithr.* 4; Diod. 32.21.1; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 9-10. In Appian, Meneas, an adherent of Nicomedes, made a speech to his Bithynian troops reminding them that "the leading Romans are fond of the young man [Nicomedes]" (App. *Mithr.* 5, trans. H. White). Although the Senate did send a deputation to end the war between Prusias and his son, when Prusias was murdered, they confirmed Nicomedes as King of Bithynia (App. *Mithr.* 7).

¹⁷⁷ Just. *Epit.* 34.3.6-9; Polyb. 31.11.1-12.13; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 3, p. 478. Demetrius himself was the second hostage from the Seleucids – earlier his uncle Antiochus had been sent to Rome as a hostage (App. *Syr.* 39) but swapped for Demetrius around 178/7 BC; see Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, vol. 2, p. 646. Another, Demetrius, the son of Philip V, was also sent to Rome as a hostage after the Macedonian War in 197/6 BC (Polyb. 18.39.5, 21.3.3; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, p. 601). After returning to Macedonia, he was accused of conspiracy with Rome by his brother Perseus and killed; see Polyb. 23.7.1-7; Liv. 40.7-16, 20, 23-24; E. S. Gruen, 'The Last Years of Philip V', *GRBS* 15.2. 1974, pp. 221-46.

¹⁷⁸ Plut. *Caes.* 55; App. *BCiv.* 2.101; Aelian. *Nat. Anim.* 7.23; Dio 51.15.6; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 59-75; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁷⁹ Dio 51.16.1; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 82-83; Macurdy, 'Iotape', pp. 40-41; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 138-39; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, p. 61.

¹⁸⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, pp. 355-56; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 167-68. Suetonius earlier discussed Augustus' method of extracting hostages from barbarian tribes; see Suet. *Aug.* 21.2; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, pp. 174-75; Kleiner and Buxton, 'Pledges of Empire', p. 59 n. 6.

¹⁸¹ Joseph. *AJ* 15.342 and 16.6; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, p. 142; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 174-77; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 26; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 231-32. As to the actual number of sons sent by Herod, see Chapter 2 above.

¹⁸² Allen in particular notes the manner in which Augustus acted as *paterfamilias* for these client dynasties, see Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking*, pp. 140-48.

Even amongst kings firmly outside the empire, similar practices occurred. Before 10 BC Phraates IV of Parthia sent several sons to Augustus, an event well attested in ancient sources.¹⁸³ In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus claimed, “Phrates, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent all his sons and grandsons to me in Italy, not because he had been conquered in war, but rather seeking our friendship by means of his children as pledges.”¹⁸⁴ Augustus used the word *pignora*, which may be translated to “pledge” or “hostage” – Justin, Suetonius and Velleius Paterculus used *obsides*, which is usually translated to mean “hostage.”¹⁸⁵ This version naturally enhances the status of Rome and Augustus if Parthia were sending its children to them as hostages. Tacitus differed – he stated that Phraates sent his children to Augustus for safekeeping, away from the dangers of the Parthian court: “as a bond of friendship he sent Augustus several of his children – not so much from fear of Rome as from doubts of his own people’s loyalty.”¹⁸⁶ Dio recorded that Phraates first gave Augustus one of his sons “as a hostage” in 30 BC, after Antony had been defeated and Phraates had seen off his rival Tiridates.¹⁸⁷ The account of the later transfer of Phraates’ sons to Augustus’ care is not recorded by Dio, but inferred later, when the next Parthian king, Phraataces, in AD 1 demanded “the return of his brothers.”¹⁸⁸ Justin related a different story: Tiridates (Phraates IV’s rival) fled to Augustus bringing with him the captured youngest son of Phraates.¹⁸⁹ The *Res Gestae* merely mentioned that, “Kings of the Parthians, Tiridates, and later Phrates, the son of King Phrates, took refuge with me as supplicants.”¹⁹⁰ Strabo is more illuminating – he

¹⁸³ *RG* 32.2; Suet. *Aug.* 21.3; 43.4; Vell. Pat. 2.94; Just. *Epit.* 42.5.12; Tac. *Ann.* 2.2.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.42; Strab. 6.4.2, 16.1.28. See also E. Nedergaard, ‘The Four Sons of Phraates IV in Rome’, T. Fischer-Hansen (ed.), *East and West: Cultural Relations in the Ancient World*, Copenhagen, 1988, pp. 102-15; Ricci, ‘Principes et Reges Externi’, pp. 567-71; C. B. Rose, ‘The Parthians in Augustan Rome’, *AJA* 109.1, 2005, pp. 36-37; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 160; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 254-55; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 74-75; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, pp. 104-08. For date, see Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 109.

¹⁸⁴ *RG* 32.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 254-55; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 74-75; Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, p. 317; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, pp. 104-08; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 12; Rose, ‘Parthians in Augustan Rome’, p. 36.

¹⁸⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 21.3; 43.4; Vell. Pat. 2.94.4; Just. *Epit.* 42.5.12. See also Eutrop. 7.9 and *Epit.* 1.8.

¹⁸⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 2.2.1; Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, p. 317; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, p. 226.

¹⁸⁷ Dio 51.18.3; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 145-46; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 105. This son was later returned as part of the negotiations to return the captured legionary eagles (Dio 53.33.2).

¹⁸⁸ Dio 55.9.20; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, pp. 117-18; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 324; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 326.

¹⁸⁹ Just. *Epit.* 42.5.6; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 322; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 317; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 105. Nedergaard dates this to 26 BC and perceives this a separate event to the report of Phraates first handing over of a son as hostage by Dio (see above).

¹⁹⁰ *RG* 32.1; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 252-53; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 74; Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking*, pp. 84-85. Whether the “Phrates” who came later was the “Phrates” kidnapped by Tiridates as related by

related that Phraates “entrusted to Augustus his children and also his children’s children” and later names them.¹⁹¹ In his accounts, Strabo defined them as “hostages” (ἐξομηρευσάμενος and ἐνεχείρισεν). If Strabo was correct, then it appears that Phraates could be the same as the youngest son of Phraates IV brought to Augustus by Tiridates and the *Res Gestae* then is being disingenuous in having plural “kings” of Parthia becoming supplicants – young Phraates is not recorded as a king. According to Josephus, however, it is the machinations of “Thermusa” that Phraates feared – Thermusa (or Thea Musa) was the Italian concubine that Augustus sent to Phraates.¹⁹² She wished to remove Phraates’ legitimate sons to ensure the succession for her son, Phraataces.¹⁹³ Regardless of the intentions and motivations of the Parthian king, the sending of four of his children to Rome and into the care of Augustus was a powerful message that further underlined the image of Augustus as a father to the world beyond Rome.

The ancient sources, even though they disagreed on motivations, all labelled the sons of Phraates in Augustus’ care as “hostages.” It must be remembered that these sources are all Roman or Romano-centric – the image of Parthian “hostages” elevated the prestige of the Romans and Augustus (remembering his *Res Gestae* was one of these sources). Augustus himself must be wrong when he claims Phraates sent him “all” his sons: Phraataces obviously remained and Strabo recorded only four that were sent. Dio claimed that Phraates sent his son Phraates to Augustus in 30 BC as a hostage, but Justin’s account recorded that Tiridates fled to Augustus with Phraates, a son of Phraates IV whom he had captured. Tacitus may not be far from the truth when he claimed that Phraates IV sent his sons to Rome for protection. Justin also recorded that earlier Phraates himself murdered his own father and thirty of his own

Justin, or one of the sons of Phraates sent amicably is not clear. This may refer to the expulsion of Phraataces, only recorded by Josephus (Joseph. *AJ* 18.43) who have fled to Rome before dying by unspecified means; see E. Strugnell, ‘Thea Musa, Roman Queen of Parthia’, *IA* 43, 2008, pp. 294-95.

¹⁹¹ Strab. 6.4.2. Later Strabo recorded more, naming four sons: Seraspadanus, Rhodospes, Phraates and “Bonones” (Strab. 16.1.28). In the same passage Strabo also recorded two unnamed wives of the above and four of their sons. See Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 12.

¹⁹² Joseph. *AJ* 18.40-42; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 106; *PIR*² T 180. For the most recent treatment of Musa, see Strugnell, ‘Thea Musa’, pp. 275-98. Coins of Phraataces depict the portrait of his mother on the reverse, an original concept for Parthian coinage; see Sellwood 58.8-10, 12; Strugnell, ‘Thea Musa’, p. 286.

¹⁹³ Joseph. *AJ* 18.41. Phraataces later murdered his father with his mother’s assistance, according to Josephus, and became king of Parthia in 2 BC; see Joseph. *AJ* 18.42; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 324; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 160; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 109.

brothers to become recognised as the Parthian king.¹⁹⁴ The Parthian court had a long history of internecine strife. Tacitus' account that the sons of Phraates IV were sent to Augustus for safekeeping seems far from unlikely. He emphasised that they were not spoils of victory and even the *Res Gestae* admitted that Phraates sent his children, "not because he had been conquered in war."¹⁹⁵ Children sent as hostages to the emperor hardly increased Augustus' image as a *pater orbis*, but what if they were sent for safekeeping or entrusted into his care? The *Res Gestae* avoided the use of *obsides* despite the obvious political advantages. Strabo, although he described the act of "obsequiously" giving "hostages" also says they were "entrusted to Augustus Caesar."¹⁹⁶ Tacitus relayed Vitellius' final words to Tiridates III after escorting him to the Parthian border, in which Vitellius described the emperor (now Tiberius) as the king's "foster father" (*altoris Caesaris*).¹⁹⁷ It certainly suited Augustus to be portrayed as a foster father to the children of the Parthian king, particularly as he sought to be perceived as *pater orbis*.

Modern scholars are far from convinced that these Parthian princes were hostages. Braund is adamant that these sons of Phraates were not hostages in the strict modern usage. He highlights that *obses*, the Latin word usually translated to mean "hostage", basically means "one who remains."¹⁹⁸ As Braund points out, it would be to Augustus' advantage to claim to have "extorted hostages from Parthia", but he could not in truth support that claim.¹⁹⁹ Gruen agrees – the act was not one of deference or subordination – and Sherwin-White also concurs: "Phraates ... safeguarded it [his throne] by the convenient exile of his own children, neatly

¹⁹⁴ Just. *Epit.* 42.5.1; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 308; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 313-14; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 28; Ball, *Rome in the East*, p. 15. The repetition of parricide of Phraates IV killing his own father Orodes and Phraates latter being killed by his own son Phraataces has led to differing readings of Ovid, who cautions Gaius on the parricidal nature of the rulers of Parthia (Ov. *Ars Amat.* 1.198); see A. S. Hollis, 'Ovid, A. A. i. 197-8: The Wrong Phraates?' *CR* 20.2, 1970, pp. 141-42.

¹⁹⁵ *RG* 32.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 254-55; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, pp. 74-75; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 12.

¹⁹⁶ Strab. 6.4.2 (trans. H. L. Jones).

¹⁹⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 6.37.1 – although Vitellius may have been referring to Tiberius rather than Augustus, the point remains.

¹⁹⁸ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 12-13 – although he also points that it could mean hostage. Nedergaard, however, supports the ancient view that these sons of Phraates IV were hostages (Nedergaard, 'Four sons of Phraates IV', pp. 110-11). While she makes some valid points, particularly regarding Augustus' display of the hostage at the games, mentioned by Suetonius, she does not attempt to refute Braund's translation of *obsides* (Nedergaard, 'Four Sons of Phraates IV', pp. 108-09; Suet. *Aug.* 43.4).

¹⁹⁹ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 12. For the Parthians in Augustan imagery, see C. U. Merriam, 'Either with Us or Against Us: The Parthians in Augustan Ideology', *Scholia* 13, 2004, pp. 56-70.

turning the system of hostages to his own advantage.”²⁰⁰ In this light, Augustus acting as a guardian and “foster-father” of Phraates’ sons supported his image as the *pater orbis*. Of course, how Augustus displayed these “guests” to Rome did not necessarily reflect Phraates’ intention of sending his sons to Rome. Augustus would have won great prestige if Rome believed these Parthian princes were hostages, although their presence at Augustus’ court may have been for different reasons.

The sons of Phraates IV also proved to be advantageous for future relations with Parthia. From them and their stock, Rome was to provide no less than four rival candidates for the Parthian throne. While these candidates failed to achieve a stable reign over Parthia, Roman foreign policy may have intended merely to keep aggressive Parthian kings distracted. Phraataces was deposed by his subjects around AD 4 after they installed a usurper, Orodes – he did not reign long and an embassy to Augustus asked him to choose another king.²⁰¹ Of the sons of Phraates IV in Rome, Augustus chose Vonones, and he became king of the Parthians in AD 6, but Josephus and Tacitus claimed that the Parthians rejected him, however, because he had been a hostage, and they referred to Vonones as a “slave.”²⁰² A rival from a collateral branch of the family, Artabanus II, was brought in from Media in AD 12 and Vonones was expelled to take up the then vacant throne of Armenia.²⁰³ Artabanus proved to be much more aggressive towards Rome, and Tiberius sent two rivals to upset his rule. First, around AD 35,

²⁰⁰ Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 160; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 325. A similar case is recorded by Josephus regarding Izates, the king of Adiabene. Josephus related that on succeeding his father as king of Adiabene, Izates sent his brothers, who were rival claimants, out of harm’s way to Claudius and to Artabanus III. Josephus still described them as “hostages”, even though the king plainly sent them away because of the threat they posed to his rule; see Joseph. *AJ* 20.36-37; Fowler, ‘King, Bigger King’, p. 63; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 13.

²⁰¹ Joseph. *AJ* 18.44-46; *RG* 33.1; Suet. *Aug.* 21.3; *PIR*² O 151; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 255; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 75; Wardle, Suetonius: *Life of Augustus*, p. 180; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 331; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 110.

²⁰² *RG* 33.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.46-48; Tac. *Ann.* 2.2.1; Suet. *Aug.* 21.3; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 255; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 75; Wardle, Suetonius: *Life of Augustus*, p. 180; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 162; Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, pp. 316-17; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 110. Gowing points out that Vonones’ “slavish” qualities are exaggerated by Tacitus to relay his criticisms of Julio-Claudian foreign policy and he highlights that Vonones reigned somewhat successfully over Parthia for some five years and was accepted by the majority of Parthians (Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, pp. 318-20).

²⁰³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.3.1, 2.4.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.50; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 110. Artabanus may not have been a Median; see M. J. Olbrycht ‘The Genealogy of Artabanos II’, *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica*, 15, 2014, pp. 92-97. Later, in Tiberius’ reign, the Armenians expelled Vonones from their kingdom (Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.1). The hapless Arsacid was moved to Syria and then, on request of Artabanus, Germanicus moved him to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia (Tac. *Ann.* 2.58.1). He died shortly after trying to escape (Tac. *Ann.* 2.68.1) although Suetonius (*Tib.* 49.1) claimed that Tiberius “killed and robbed him”; see Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 326-27; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 110.

he sent Phraates, another son of Phraates IV, but he fell ill and died in Syria, *en route* to Parthia.²⁰⁴ Tiberius immediately replaced him with Tiridates III, (a grandson of Phraates IV) – while initially successful, however, Tiridates was defeated by Artabanus’ forces around AD 37 and fled back to Syria.²⁰⁵ Finally, in AD 49, a delegation of Parthians to Claudius requested Meherdates, the son of Vonones, to be sent to Parthia to rule instead of Gotarzes I (Artabanus’ son).²⁰⁶ Claudius sent Meherdates with Roman backing, but he was betrayed and captured by Gotarzes, who cut off his ears.²⁰⁷

Other children from foreign lands were given as hostages, but often depicted as being delivered into Augustus’ care. The Boscoreale Cups record a scene of barbarian fathers handing “over their children to Augustus’ fatherly protection.”²⁰⁸ The image is plainly paternal and Kutter suggests that the children are being “welcomed into Rome’s authority” and that the fathers are “handing their children out of their own *patria potestas* into Augustus’ fatherly authority.”²⁰⁹ This is not portrayed as scene of hostage-taking; the act is presented as voluntary. Regardless of how the situation may have actually played out, the engraver is at pains to portray Augustus as a substitute father to the barbarian children – Augustus is seated, elevated, holding out an open hand to the child below, who has been lifted up and likewise holds outstretched open hand towards Augustus. Barbarian children were also portrayed on

²⁰⁴ Dio 58.26.2; Tac. *Ann.* 6.32.1; Nedergaard, ‘Four Sons of Phraates IV’, p. 110; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 115; Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, p. 320.

²⁰⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 6.37.1, 6.44.1; Dio 58.26.3; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 115; Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, p. 320.

²⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 11.10 (specified as son of Vonones in 12.10). See Levick, *Claudius*, pp. 159-60; Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, p. 320; D. Braund, ‘Kings Beyond the Claustra: Nero’s Nubian Nile, India and the Rubrum Mare (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.61)’, in *Amici - Socii - Clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*, E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds), Berlin, 2015, p. 129; Keitel, ‘Role of Parthia and Armenia’, p. 466.

²⁰⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 12.14.1; Braund, ‘Kings beyond the *Claustra*’, p. 129; Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, p. 321. Gowing compares Tacitus’ report of another king sent by Claudius, an Italicus, sent to become king of the Cherusci who Tacitus portrays also as a foreigner to his homeland (Gowing, ‘Tacitus and the Client Kings’, pp. 321-22) – for other interpretations of these passages in Tacitus, see Keitel, ‘Role of Parthia’, pp. 467-68.

²⁰⁸ A. L. Kutter, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: the Case of the Boscoreale Cups*, Berkeley, 1995, p. 4; Rose, ‘Princes and Barbarians’, p. 460. The cups belonged to a treasure hoard recovered from the Vesuvian area near the modern village of Boscoreale in 1895 (Kutter, *Dynasty and Empire*, p. 6).

²⁰⁹ Kutter, *Dynasty and Empire*, p. 112. See also Rose, ‘Princes and Barbarians’, p. 460. The scene is echoed on a coin type of Augustus issued in 8 BC that depicts the emperor seated receiving a child handed to him by a cloaked figure (*RIC*² I 200-201). Mattingly describes the cloaked figure as a “barbarian”, *BMCRE* I, p. 84. Like the scene on the Boscoreale cup, the child is extending its arms to the emperor. These images both symbolise the transfer of power to Rome and the emperor, see Rose, ‘Princes and Barbarians’, p. 460; J. D. Uzzi, ‘The Power of Parenthood in Official Roman Art’, *Hesperia Supplements* 41, 2007, p. 76.

the north frieze of the Ara Pacis, not as hostages but as part of the *domus Augusta*.²¹⁰ The identification of the figures in the Ara Pacis is debatable, but several figures have been identified as children of kings milling at the feet of other members of the Imperial family.²¹¹

While Augustus used the fact that children were sent into his care, or as hostages, to portray himself as *pater orbis*, so too, it could be argued, that the giving of kings to kingdoms was also a paternal act, particularly if they were to regions traditionally beyond Rome's influence. In his *Res Gestae* Augustus claimed to have sent to the Armenians many kings: first Tigranes III, then Ariobarzanes, Artavasdes, and finally Tigranes V.²¹² Later Augustus boasted that: "from me the people of the Parthians and of the Medes received the kings for whom they asked ... the Parthians Vonones, son of King Phrates, grandson of King Orodes; the Medes Ariobarzanes, the son of King Artavasdes, grandson of King Ariobarzanes."²¹³ Augustus here was selective with the facts. Although he claimed that he could have converted Armenia into a province, but decided to give it a king instead, the realities of the situation make it unlikely Armenia could ever have been totally Romanised.²¹⁴ The fact that he listed so many Armenian kings that he appointed demonstrates how ineffective his appointees proved to be in establishing themselves on the Armenian throne. As noted above, Vonones' claim on Parthia was immediately challenged by Artabanus, who eventually ousted him. Augustus' appointee in Media Atropatene, Ariobarzanes, likewise only occupied the throne for a short while.²¹⁵ Rome's hegemony over Media was only temporary. Regardless of the realities, however, Augustus was at pains to portray himself as supplying kings to kingdoms in need. As *pater orbis* he was setting the affairs of the world in order.

²¹⁰ Kutter, *Dynasty and Empire*, p. 104; Rose identifies the child often thought to be Lucius on the north frieze to be a barbarian child, associated with Augustus' achievements in Gaul and Germany (Rose, 'Princes and Barbarians', pp. 459-60).

²¹¹ Rose, for example, as a counterpoint of the barbarian prince on the north frieze reflecting Augustus' achievements in the West (see directly above), suggests the child on the south frieze, often interpreted to be Gaius Caesar, is actually an eastern prince, possibly Aspurgus the son of Dynamis and Asander, to reflect Agrippa's operations in the East (Rose, 'Princes and Barbarians', pp. 456-61).

²¹² *RG* 27.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-33; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72.

²¹³ *RG* 33.1; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 255-56; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 75; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 312.

²¹⁴ Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-33; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 335-37. Coinage "supported" his claim, with one reverse proclaiming ARMENIA CAPTA (*RIC*² I 290-292) – which Levick describes as "insidiously deceitful" (Levick, *Augustus*, p. 209).

²¹⁵ Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 313. Augustus later directed Gaius to make the same Ariobarzanes, presumably no longer King of Media, as King of Armenia around AD 2; see *RG* 27.2; Tac. *Ann.* 2.4.2-3; Dio 55.10a.5-7; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 326; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 162; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 232-33; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, pp. 128-32.

As Augustus used marriage as part of his role as *paterfamilias* and as *pater patriae*, so too did he encourage and arrange intermarriage between his client kings, which assisted his portrayal of himself as *pater orbis* (the Father of the World). The intermarriage described by Suetonius and demonstrated in Chapter 2 underlined Augustus' paternal role. Augustus not only took care of the children sent to him, he educated them and he espoused them. Strabo has already indicated that some of the wives of Phraates' son came with them, but to provide candidates for the Parthian throne generations later, the emperors must have encouraged, or at least allowed, the children of these "hostages" to marry and reproduce. Suetonius connected Augustus' endeavours of intermarriage with uniting the kings together in friendship, which underscores one of the goals of a paternal regime – harmony. Arranging marriages was one of the duties of a *paterfamilias* and if Augustus desired to portray himself as the *paterfamilias* of the World then he would have to arrange the marriages of those beyond Rome.

Conclusion

Stevenson demonstrates that, in the Greek and Roman world, the ideal ruler modelled himself as a father.²¹⁶ Augustus portrayed himself as a father in three different roles. First, he was *paterfamilias* – a father to his own children, step-children and sons-in-law. He had increased the prestige of his entire family by placing them forefront in Rome, forming an imperial ruling house: the *domus Augusta*. Secondly, he behaved as a father to all Romans. He enhanced the capital of Rome and became the *Pater Patriae*. Thirdly he behaved as *pater orbis*: the Father of the World. He took in children of client and foreign kings and he allotted kings to kingdoms and behaved as if he was setting world affairs in order. This is not to conclude that these three levels were subsequent stages – the actions that articulated these images are enacted concurrently and often interconnect. The imagery on the Ara Pacis does not solely articulate the idea of Augustus as *paterfamilias* – it simultaneously enhances Augustus' family (of which he is *paterfamilias*), as well as depicting the children of foreign

²¹⁶ Seneca urged his charge (Nero) to rule like a father over his children (Sen. *Clem.* 1.14; Stevenson, 'The Ideal Benefactor', p. 431). Stevenson also demonstrates that the paternal aspects of power can be perceived amongst the Republican offices and even the senate itself, as *patres conscripti* (Stevenson, 'The Ideal Benefactor', pp. 429-31). This ideal complements or stems from Greek ideas of beneficial rule; see Stevenson, 'The Ideal Benefactor', pp. 431-36.

kings and barbarians and enhancing his image as *pater orbis*. The founding of cities by foreign kings in his name and in the names of Agrippa, Livia and Tiberius honour Augustus as *pater orbis*, but also honour the family that Augustus heads as *paterfamilias* – the ruling or imperial family.

For each of these three roles he used marriage to enhance further his image as *pater*. As *paterfamilias* he organised his own network of marriages within his family. These marriages formed political alliances with other powerful families, particularly in the early stages of his rise to power. Once secure, Augustus shaped marriages to secure legitimacy for his successors and to set up the imperial family as an institution – the *domus Augusta*. As *pater patriae* he formed marriage laws for all Romans and even suggested marital matches for senators outside his own family. As *pater orbis* it was therefore natural for him to arrange marriages for his client kings. As noted above, he even sent a “wife” (Thermusa) to Phraates IV of Parthia. His interest and encouragement in the marital affairs of his client kings was another plank in a wider strategy to present himself as father of all world affairs.

Marriage, of course, was not the only tool Augustus used to cast himself as *paterfamilias*, *Pater Patriae* and *pater orbis*. As *paterfamilias*, Augustus reserved major wars (and therefore military glory) for members of his family. He also dedicated many buildings in Rome in their name, and issued coins featuring their likenesses and their names and titles. By acting as censor and rebuilding and reorganising the capital, Augustus was also acting as *Pater Patriae*. Finally, the education of foreign princes and his behaviour to the wider world, such as the giving of kings to kingdoms, cemented his image as *pater orbis*. It is also no accident, however, that the arrangement of marriages, the duty of a father, also played a part in formulating these images.

Using marriage to support each of these three Father images cannot have been the only reason for implementing the policy of encouraging intermarriage between client kings. This chapter has established that the institution of marriage was important to Augustus – it was directly connected to a series of aspects and virtues Augustus was keen to promulgate: *pietas*, stability, growth and security. Successful depiction of himself as *paterfamilias* of the imperial

family, the father of the Romans and of the World in turn assisted in cementing Augustus' own security. Caesar's assassins successfully portrayed their crime as tyrannicide. If all agreed that Augustus was the Father of the World then any assassination against him would be global patricide – something far more abhorrent and, more importantly, unthinkable. While this chapter seeks to demonstrate that Augustus used marriage to assist in building this image, it does not seek to exaggerate the importance of this policy or to even suggest that it was a formal deliberate policy. Marrying together the families of client kings was only one aspect to a much larger construction. While encouraging this intermarriage did help build this picture, the policy also had more direct effects and purposes which suggest the emperor had other motives for arranging these dynastic affairs. As his cultivation of representatives of the Parthian royal house has demonstrated, the progeny of these marriages may have been Augustus' primary inspiration, and that area is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 5. Managing Dynastic Claims

The previous chapter has demonstrated that the institution of marriage was profoundly important to Augustus. In this regard, imperial involvement in the arrangement of marriages between client kings appears to have been a natural progression from Augustus' personal beliefs and interests. This wider interest in marriage, however, cannot have been the only motivation, or even his prime motivation, for furthering marriage-alliances between allied and friendly kings. A closer examination of the marriages Augustus arranged or sanctioned reveals a cynical manipulation of dynastic claims to territories within Rome's influence. This chapter aims to demonstrate that Augustus attempted to broaden his options for future candidates for various kingdoms by arranging matches between dynasties. The products of these unions would thus have claims to the kingdoms of both parents. A good client king was a person acceptable to their people, loyal to Rome and Rome's interests, and an able and independent administrator. Chapter 2 has demonstrated that Augustus was able to overlook loyalty to enemies and rivals, such as Antony, if the king proved capable in these other areas. Additionally, the importance of ancestry to claims on areas and peoples was tantamount in much of the ancient world – often royal descent was the only factor that legitimised a king's rule. Augustus was mindful of these considerations and an assessment of the kings he nominated to rule troublesome areas reveals that this was an overriding factor. An assessment of the kings subsequently chosen by his successors will reveal that they followed the Augustan model and benefitted from his forward planning.

A “Good” Client King

Before the qualities that a “good” client king should possess, from the Roman viewpoint, can be judged, the role and function of client kings in the early principate must first be understood. The client king is often depicted in modern scholarship as merely a transitional ruler, one that would guide a kingdom into finally being annexed as a province of the Empire

and now managed by a Roman governor.¹ When judged ready, the emperor would move troops in and declare the kingdom a province with the minimum of fuss. While it is true that many kingdoms did become provinces, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, the process was haphazard and not deliberate imperial policy or a “grand strategy.”² Although Galatia, Cappadocia and Commagene were converted into provinces by Augustus, Tiberius and Vespasian respectively, other kingdoms, such as Iberia and the Bosporan Kingdom, remained clients for centuries with little interference from Rome. Sometimes kingdoms that were converted to provinces were even reconverted back to friendly kingdoms. When Antiochus III died in AD 17, Tiberius absorbed the kingdom of Commagene into the province of Syria.³ In AD 38, Gaius returned it to Antiochus’ son, Antiochus IV, and then reacquired some time afterwards.⁴ Claudius returned the kingdom to him in AD 54 and it remained under his rule for another eighteen years.⁵ Finally, in AD 72, Vespasian ordered the governor of Syria to depose Antiochus IV and Commagene was assimilated back into the province of Syria.⁶ The case of Commagene demonstrates that the Roman Empire did not necessarily inevitably convert kingdoms into provinces and if they did, the conversion was not necessarily permanent.

The wide variations amongst the kingdoms also make these states difficult to define. While a definition of client kings and client kingdoms has been employed in the Introduction of this thesis, it is worth expanding and defining more solidly to understand the role and the qualities

¹ As indicated in the Introduction, “annexation” still tends to be the term employed for describing the process of how client kingdoms became Roman provinces, but this assumes that the kingdom was outside of the empire. Instead kingdoms are better viewed as a different type of Roman territory. Lintott breaks the organisation of the Roman Empire into three sections: *Provinciae*, *Allied Kingdoms* and *Free Cities* (Lintott, *Imperium Romanum*, pp. 22-40). See also Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 69-71.

² Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, pp. 20-40; Braund, *Rome and The Friendly King*, p. 187; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, pp. 69-71. For a more modern view of the concept of Roman “Grand Strategy”, see K. Kagan, ‘Redefining Roman Grand Strategy’, *Journal of Military History* 70.2, 2006, pp. 333-62.

³ Commagene was converted along with Cappadocia and parts of Cilicia, whose rulers had all died by AD 17; see Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.4; Strab. 16.2.3; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 141; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, pp. 784-85; Levick, ‘Greece and Asia Minor’, p. 670; Facella, ‘Case of Commagene’, p. 195; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 85.

⁴ For Gaius returning Commagene to its native kings, see Dio 59.8.2; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 63; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 786; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 223; Facella, ‘Case of Commagene’, p. 195; Wardle, ‘Caligula and the Client Kings’, p. 439; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 36. For Gaius later revoking this decision, see Dio 60.8.1; Joseph. *AJ* 19.276; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 787; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 37; Barrett, ‘Gaius, Claudius and the Client Kings’, p. 285; Wardle, ‘Caligula and the Client Kings’, pp. 440-41. See also Chapter 3 above for evidence of Gaius treatment of Commagene.

⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 19.276; Dio 60.8.1; Edmondson, *Dio: the Julio-Claudians*, p. 201; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 165; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 787.

⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 7.223-225; Facella, ‘Case of Commagene’, p. 197; Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 165-66; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 792; Bowersock, ‘Syria under Vespasian’, p. 135; Millar, ‘Emperors, Kings, and Subjects’, p. 234. See also Chapter 3 above.

that Rome would have best appreciated. One traditional description of these kingdoms was that they were vassals of Rome, which conveys a feudal sense of their obligation to Rome, but they did not necessarily owe their “liege lord” fealty or tribute.⁷ While some exchange of money between Rome and a friendly kingdom did occur at times, it is not always obvious whether Rome was paying the kingdom (thereby outsourcing the protection of the border territories of the Empire) or if the kingdom was paying tax or tribute to its overlord. Lucian’s encounter with officials of the Bosporan Kingdom carrying funds does not explicitly mention whether the funds were going to the Bosporan Kingdom from Rome or vice versa.⁸ While it is certain that Rome held some sort of hegemony over them, it is also clear that the kingdoms had a fair degree of independence. Parallels between the patron/client relationships in the politics of Republican Rome cannot realistically be used to describe the relationship between the allied kingdom and Rome. Braund’s view that the term “client king” should be replaced by “friendly king” is more technically correct, but the term “client king” has remained in standard use. In ancient times, amongst the Romans, these kingdoms were described as *amici et socii*, friends and allies, of the Roman people. In modern usage, however, terms such as “friendly” kings or “allied” kings presents these rulers as having a more equal relationship with the empire and does not accurately describe Rome’s more dominant role.⁹ That the relationship between one “friendly king” and Rome was standard is also probably incorrect. It is more probable that the relationship was fashioned differently for different kingdoms, and different kings. One king might well receive payment and reward from the emperor, while another might contribute forces or money to the emperor. Factors such as the strategic importance of the kingdom, the nature or qualities of the king ruling the area and the policy focus of the current emperor all need to be taken into consideration.

⁷ Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, pp. 21-24. Macurdy referred to the female rulers of client kingdoms as “Vassal Queens” (Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, esp. pp. 1-6). Syme also had a tendency to refer to these kingdoms as “vassal states” (Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 128) or the rulers as “vassals” or “vassal princes” (Syme, ‘Hadrian and the Vassal Princes’, pp. 277, 279).

⁸ Lucian, *Alexander*, 57. On the issue of payments to kings from Rome or from kings to Rome, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 63-66; Millar, ‘Emperors, Kings, and Subjects’, p. 235; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, p. 94.

⁹ Recognised by Braund himself – for his discussion of the term “friendly”, see Braund, ‘Kings Beyond the Claustra’, p. 125.

The ancient sources provide little insight into the role of the client king. Strabo is clear that that the territories ruled by kings are part of the Roman Empire and subject to Romans.¹⁰ He is also clear that the management of these kings are the responsibility of the emperor.¹¹ Regarding their role, Strabo only mentioned, while discussing Cilicia, the need of local rulers to govern unruly parts of the Empire:

... for since the region was naturally well adapted to the business of piracy both by land and by sea — by land, because of the height of the mountains and the large tribes that live beyond them, tribes which have plains and farm-lands that are large and very easily overrun, and by sea, because of the good supply, not only of shipbuilding timber, but also of harbours and fortresses and secret recesses — with all this in view, I say, the Romans thought that it was better for the region to be ruled by kings than to be under the Roman prefects sent to administer justice, who were not likely always to be present or to have armed forces with them.¹²

Indeed parts of Cilicia remained under the rule of kings until well into the reign of Vespasian, and the suppression of bandits and pirates was doubtlessly perceived as a major role of the client king.¹³ Other ancient writers, such as Tacitus, only mention client kings when they touch upon the theme of their work, and outline no other role or intention behind the use of kings.¹⁴ Suetonius recorded that Augustus treated these kings as *membra partesque imperii*, agreeing with Strabo's assessment of the kings and their territories as part of the empire.¹⁵ Certainly there is no mention of them as "vassal" states, or even "client" states by the sources.¹⁶ Nor is there any hint of long-term plans to assimilate kings and their subjects, or the idea of the kings as temporary rulers.

¹⁰ Strab. 17.3.24. Tacitus also complained that no longer could private individuals cultivate kings (Tac. *Ann.* 3.55). See Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 81; Millar, 'Emperors, Kings, and Subjects', p. 231.

¹¹ Strab. 17.3.25. For modern analysis of these passages of Strabo, see Millar, 'Emperors, Kings and Subjects', p. 230.

¹² Strab. 14.5.5; Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 91.

¹³ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 91-92; Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁴ For Tacitus' treatment of client kings, see Gowing, 'Tacitus and the Client Kings', pp. 315-31.

¹⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1: "as limbs and organs of the empire." See Braund, 'Client Kings', p. 77; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, p. 355; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, p. 167; Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, p. 17; Kaizer and Facella, *Kingdoms and Principalities*, pp. 24-26; Millar, 'Emperors, Kings and Subjects', p. 231. See also Chapter 2 above.

¹⁶ Suetonius at one point described the kings as presenting themselves before Augustus *more clientium* (Suet. *Aug.* 60). Braund points out that even Suetonius was drawing the contrast between being clients and acting like clients, see Braund, 'Client Kings', pp. 77-78. See also Chapter 2 above.

The primary quality for a good client king was loyalty to Rome and the Roman cause, not necessarily a personal loyalty to the Roman ruler. Augustus forgave the client kings that had fought for Anthony at Actium. Some, such as Rhoemetaces of Thrace, switched to Octavian's side before Actium.¹⁷ Others fought for Anthony at Actium and still retained their positions – although some, like Polemo, initially lost some territory.¹⁸ Many client kings threw their lot in with Vespasian in AD 69 – if he had failed in his bid it seems unlikely that Vitellius would have punished them too severely.¹⁹

Another important factor for a good client king was acceptance by the people he had to rule. While the king's position was supported by Rome, it was not in Rome's interest to reinstate kings regularly who had been rejected by their subjects. Rarely did Rome forcibly re-instate a king that had been ousted or rejected by his people. When Vonones was ousted from Armenia by Parthian sympathisers, he was quietly moved to Syria and then onto Cilicia.²⁰ Vonones himself had earlier been Augustus' candidate for the Parthian throne – he had been rejected with no recorded military response from Rome.²¹ When Herod Archelaus faced unrest in his portion of his father's kingdom, and the Jews sent a delegation to Rome to complain, Augustus exiled Archelaus and absorbed his territory into the province of Syria.²² Although when Rhoemetaces of Thrace was faced with a serious rebellion in 13 BC, the uprising was

¹⁷ Inferred from Plut. *Mor.* 207A. See also Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 151; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 58; Pelling, *Triumviral Period*, p. 57. Amyntas of Galatia also appears to have switched sides before Actium (Plut. *Ant.* 63.3; Pelling, *Triumviral Period*, p. 57) as did Deiotarus of Paphlagonia (Plut. *Ant.* 63.3; Dio 53.12.5-6; Pelling, *Triumviral Period*, p. 57; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 151; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51).

¹⁸ Inferred by the fact that Augustus had granted Armenia Minor, previously belonging to Polemo, to the Median king; see Dio 54.9.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 299; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 443. There was also a delay in officially reconfirming Polemo position as a friendly king until 26 BC; see Dio 53.25.1; D. A. Bowman, 'The Formula Sociorum in the Second and First Centuries B.C.', *CJ* 85.4, 1990, p. 330; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 443.

¹⁹ For the client kings that supported Vespasian's bid for the Empire, see Tac. *Hist.* 2.81; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 791; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 217; Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 47 and 54; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 185.

²⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 17.50-52; Tac. *Ann.* 2.4, 2.58; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 84-85; R. Gonnella, 'New Evidence for Dating the Reign of Vonones I', *NC* 161, 2001, pp. 72-73; Gruen, 'The Expansion of the Empire', p. 162.

²¹ Joseph. *AJ* 17.46-49; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 162; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 83-84. Vonones now appears to have been expelled from Parthia around AD 15; for the latest discussion of the dates of Vonones reign in Parthia, see Gonnella, 'New Evidence for Vonones I', pp. 67-73.

²² Joseph. *BJ* 2.111, 2.117, *AJ* 17.342-344, 17.354. Dio and Strabo, however, only mentioned Archelaus' brothers as his accusers (Strab. 16.2.46; Dio 55.27.6). See Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228.

eventually put down with Rome's help and Rhoemetalces re-instated.²³ At the time Rhoemetalces appears to have only been ruling part of Thrace and his nephew, Rhescuporis, another – the rebellion started in Rhescuporis' territory and spread into Rhoemetalces' territory.²⁴ The revolt appeared to stem from Bessi insurgence, not dissatisfaction with Rhoemetalces per se. For his subjects to regard their king as their legitimate ruler was crucial, and the most important legitimising factor for ancient monarchies was to be a member of the ruling or royal family.

Augustus and his successors demonstrated a preference for placing kings over territories with which they had some connection. Belonging to the local ruling family was one obvious connection, but sometimes other, more obscure, connections were deemed satisfactory. For example, Augustus awarded the priesthood of Pontic Comana to the Galatian Dyteutus, the son of Adiatrix, after a display of filial courage at his father's execution.²⁵ Adiatrix had been previously given the rule over the city of Heraclea Pontica to govern by Antony, but before Actium, had rebelled and killed many Roman citizens.²⁶ After Actium he was captured and paraded with his family in Augustus' triumph in 29 BC. The emperor ordered Adiatrix and his eldest son (Dyteutus) to be executed, but another son claimed to be the eldest in order to save his brother. The brothers argued and such an unusual display of family duty and courage (in the manner of Orestes and Pylades) persuaded Augustus to reward Dyteutus, who had to be convinced to survive, with the domain of Pontic Comana.²⁷ To install Dyteutus in

²³ The rebellion was led by a certain Vologaeses of the Bessi, see Dio 54.34.5-7; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 198. Rhoemetalces had assisted M. Lollius in first subjugating the Bessi around 19/18 BC (Dio 54.20.3; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 193, 198). To leave a rebellion in Thrace, at that time in the midst of the Empire, unchecked was not in Rome's interest.

²⁴ Dio 54.34.5. Usually Thrace has been seen as divided between two kings at this stage: Rhescuporis ruling the Odrysian Kingdom, and his uncle Rhoemetalces ruling the Sapaean/Astaeon kingdom (Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 193-94 and 194-99; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 152-56). More recently Tačeva has attempted to demonstrate that Rhoemetalces was the paternal uncle of Rhescuporis and, at that not time, not referred to as king – therefore all these personages were from the same family and ruling the same kingdom; see Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Dynasty', pp. 459-67. Her theory is based on a different interpretation of the various Rhoemetalces, Cotys and Rhescuporis that appear in the inscriptional evidence, and is no more convincing than the original interpretation of Dessau (see Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 152).

²⁵ Strab. 12.3.35; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 649; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 171; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 48; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 293-94.

²⁶ Strab. 12.3.6; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 649; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 45; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 169-70. Adiatrix belonged to Galatian royalty – his father Domnilaus ruled the Tectosages jointly with Castor (and may have been his brother); see Caes. *BCiv* 3.4; Strab. 12.3.6; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 130; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 169.

²⁷ Strab. 12.3.35; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 169; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 171.

Comana made little sense as a dynastic placement, as he had no known familial link to the traditional dynasty of high priests. Braund demonstrates, however, that part of the ritual worship at Comana was a cult to Orestes, and such display of Orestian duty and love by Dyteutus and his brother gave the Galatian a connection to the cult and the territory.²⁸ Another non-dynastic placement was made early in the reign of Tiberius. In AD 17, Germanicus crowned Zeno, son of Polemo, as king of Armenia and he reigned long and successfully over a kingdom notoriously difficult for Rome or Parthian nominees to hold.²⁹ Zeno, although he took the name Artaxias, had no known Armenian pedigree and was completely unrelated to the previous dynasty of the Artaxiads.³⁰ Nevertheless, Tacitus recorded that the Armenians preferred him, “for the prince, an imitator from earliest infancy of Armenian institutions and dress, had endeared himself equally to the higher and the lower orders by his affection for the chase, the banquet, and the other favourite pastimes of barbarians.”³¹ Tacitus thrice stresses that the entire nation of Armenia, nobles and populace alike, affirmed the Roman’s choice of Zeno as their king.³² Obviously descent from the native dynasty was not every concern.

Dynastic Claims in the Ancient World

Before the advent of Rome in the ancient Near East, descent from the founding dynasty was usually the core requirement to rule a kingdom. Kingdoms naturally passed from father to son and, unless the kingdom was conquered, any variation in the succession usually stayed within the ruling dynasty – in the absence of a direct heir, the rule passed to an uncle, cousin or

²⁸ See D. Braund, ‘Orestes Among the Taurians and Emperors at Work: Augustus and Nero on Dyteutus and Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus’, unpublished article. Braund traces the cult of Orestes from Tauric Scythia to Cappadocian Comana (Strab. 12.2.3), and from there to Pontic Comana which was “copied after that city” (Strab. 12.3.32).

²⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.56, 2.64; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 333. A didrachm issued from Caesarea in Cappadocia during the reign of Gaius depicts Germanicus crowning the king with the legend ARTAXIAS GERMANICVS (*RIC*² I 59; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 923).

³⁰ Zeno’s mother was Pythodoris (Strab. 12.3.29) but regardless Polemo himself had no known Armenian claims. For Zeno’s family, see Strab. 12.3.29; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 913-30.

³¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.56 (trans. J. Jackson). See Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 923-25.

³² Tac. *Ann.* 2.56. It must be remembered that Zeno was appointed by Germanicus, who was used by Tacitus in the *Annals* as a foil for his depiction of Tiberius, so any appointment he oversaw would be expected to be depicted as correct (for Tacitus’ complex portrayal of Germanicus, including an overview of recent scholarship around it, see C. Pelling ‘Tacitus and Germanicus’, in *Oxford Readings in Tacitus*, R. Ash (ed.), Oxford, 2012, pp. 281-313). Nevertheless, despite the lack of other evidence for Zeno-Artaxias’ reign, its length (some eighteen years) goes some way to demonstrating that his rule was accepted by the Armenians.

brother. Generally the founder of most ruling dynasties gained a heroic status, assisted by his successors – their popularity and acceptance ensured their own legitimacy and the legitimacy of their descendants. This heroic status was not achieved only by deeds, but also assisted by careful management of images, ceremony and buildings. Often the founder also claimed descent from an earlier dynasty. All the Hellenistic kingdoms founded after the death of Alexander (the kingdoms of the Seleucids, the Ptolemies, the Attalids, Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia and Parthia) followed the principle of dynastic succession. While the image and idea of the founder that was carefully cultivated was extremely important, these section aims to demonstrate that dynastic inheritance passed on from the founder was the primary source of legitimacy for many of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

After the death of Alexander, the territories assigned to his generals eventually evolved into the kingdoms of Syria, Egypt and Macedon and each of these kingdoms rigorously adhered to the principle of dynastic succession for legitimacy. Syria remained a possession of Seleucus' descendants until it was finally converted into a province of the Roman Empire under Pompey in 63 BC.³³ Likewise Egypt remained in the hands of Ptolemy and his descendants until Octavian defeated Cleopatra in 30 BC. Although Hellenistic monarchs were overthrown or murdered at times, each time the succession remained in the ruling family and did not pass to an outsider. Macedon passed from its traditional ruling family, the Argeads, after the last king, Philip III, was murdered in 317 BC. It was ruled for a short time by the descendants of Antipater before passing to the descendants of Antigonus, who ruled the kingdom without interruption until the reign of Perseus (179-168 BC). Other Hellenistic kingdoms that sprang up during this period followed similar patterns of succession. The kingdom of Bithynia was founded around 297 BC by a chieftain of the Bithyni tribe, Zipoetes.³⁴ It remained in his

³³ There was a small interruption under the usurper Alexander Balas (150-146 BC) who revolted against Demetrius and was claimed to be a son of Antiochus IV. Justin is adamant that Alexander was of "low station" and "humble rank" (Just. *Epit.* 35.1.6, 9). Appian also claimed Alexander was "falsely pretending" (App. *Syr.* 67). Josephus, however, described Alexander as "the son of Antiochus Epiphanes" and betrayed no doubt about the issue (Joseph. *AJ* 13.35). The Senate also apparently believed his story, or it suited their foreign policy at the time, and supported Alexander's claim (Polyb. 33.18.1-14). For an excellent analysis of the evidence, see Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 143-46. Regardless of whether Alexander's claim was fictitious or not, the example still highlights the importance of dynastic succession amongst the Seleucids.

³⁴ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 12.5-6; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 185. The Bithynians were originally a tribe with strong Thracian connections as evidenced by the names of their early leaders; see App. *Mithr.* 1-2; D. Glew, 'Nicomedes' Name', *EA* 38, 2005, pp. 131-32.

family until the reign of Nicomedes IV (c. 94-74 BC) who bequeathed his kingdom to Rome.³⁵ The kingdom of Pergamum was founded by Philetaerus around 281 BC.³⁶ He did not have any children, so the succession passed to his nephew, Eumenes, who also did not have any children, so after Eumenes died in 241 BC, the kingdom passed to his cousin Attalus I.³⁷ The kingdom remained in the family until the death of Attalus III (131 BC) who bequeathed the kingdom to Rome, although Rome's inheritance was challenged by Aristonicus, who claimed to be an Attalid – a bastard son of Attalus III.³⁸ Although he rebelled and was defeated, his claim to the kingdom rested on the story that he was the son of Attalus III. The Romans, keen to legitimise their own rule, either denounced Aristonicus' claims as lies or sought to weaken his claim with accusations of bastardry.³⁹

The kings of Pontus all claimed descent from Mithridates Ctistes (“Founder”) who reigned somewhere between 302 and 266 BC.⁴⁰ They also claimed that Mithridates was a descendant of the Persian ruling family that Alexander had extinguished: the Achaemenids.⁴¹ Ariarathes,

³⁵ Sall. *Hist.* 4.69.9; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.40; Liv. *Per.* 93; Vell. Pat. 2.4.1, 2.39.2; App. *Mithr.* 7 and 71; *BCiv* 1.111; Arr. *Bith.* Fgr 1, 4; Eutrop. 6.6; Fest. *Brev.* 11,1; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, pp. 319-20; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 135.

³⁶ Strab. 13.4.1; E. Kosmetatou, ‘The Attalids of Pergamon’, in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, A. Erskine (ed.), Malden, Blackwell, 2003, pp. 159-61. Philetaerus never used the title of King, however, and Pergamum's evolution into an independent state was slow and careful, maintaining a limited autonomy from his nominal Seleucid overlords; see Kosmetatou, ‘Attalids of Pergamon’, p. 160; Hansen, *Attalids of Pergamum*, pp. 16-21; McShane, *Foreign Policy of the Attalids*, pp. 30-35; R. Evans, *A History of Pergamum: Beyond Hellenistic Kingship*, London, 2012, pp. 13-14. The portrait of Philetaerus featured on all the tetradrachms issued by the subsequent Attalids (Evans, *History of Pergamum*, p. 138; Hansen, *Attalids of Pergamum*, p. 20).

³⁷ Strab. 13.4.2; Paus. 1.8.1; Ogden, *Polygamy*, p. 201; Kosmetatou, ‘The Attalids of Pergamon’, pp. 160-61; Hansen, *Attalids of Pergamum*, pp. 21, 28; McShane, *Foreign Policy of the Attalids*, pp. 42, 58.

³⁸ For Pergamum willed to Rome, see Sall. *Hist.* 4.67; Liv. *Per.* 58 and 59; Val. Max. 5.2 ext. 3; Plin. *HN* 33.148; Flor. 1.35.2; App. *BCiv* 5.4; Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 14.1; Just. *Epit.* 36.4.5; Eutrop. 4.18; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 80-84; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 131-33; Kosmetatou, ‘The Attalids of Pergamon’, p. 165. For Aristonicus' revolt, see Just. *Epit.* 36.4; App. *BCiv* 1.18; *Mithr.* 12; Sall. *Hist.* 69.8; Kosmetatou, ‘The Attalids of Pergamon’, pp. 165-66. See also Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 208-10; Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, pp. 592-610.

³⁹ Just. *Epit.* 36.4; Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. 207-10. Accusations of bastardry were often used to the Ancient world to weaken the legitimacy of claimants. Nevertheless even bastards, or those accused of being bastards, still held some dynastic legitimacy and were often accepted as Kings by their subjects, particularly in lieu of other claimants. As many of the Hellenistic kings had polygamous marriages, accusations of bastardry were common, (particularly from the monogamous Romans) considering there does not appear to have been a standard method across the kingdoms of grading the official capacity of Royal wives. The best study of polygamy and legitimacy in the Hellenistic world remains Ogden (Ogden, *Polygamy*, pp. xiv-xix particularly).

⁴⁰ App. *Mithr.* 112; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 186. For an overview of the very beginnings of the royal family of Pontus, see Bosworth and Wheatley, ‘Origins of the Pontic House’, pp. 155-64; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, pp. 13-19.

⁴¹ Sall. *Hist.* 2.85; Flor. 1.40.1; Just. *Epit.* 38.7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 12.18.2; App. *Mithr.* 112; Pastor, ‘Cappadocia and Pontus’, p. 187; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 10. Mithridates VI made much of this claim to appeal

a descendant of the traditional satraps of Cappadocia, overthrew the Macedonian control of his native lands and founded a dynasty that claimed descent from the Achaemenids and continued until Mithridates of Pontus displaced Ariarathes VIII around 95 BC.⁴² Rome chose a different ruler from the Cappadocian nobility: Ariobarzanes.⁴³ His claim was weak and he had no known connections to the previous dynasty. That he was ousted from his kingdom three times is in an indication of the weak hold he had over the kingdoms and its subjects.⁴⁴ His son, Ariobarzanes II, married a daughter of Mithridates VI of Pontus.⁴⁵ Their son Ariobarzanes III promoted the only connection he had (descent from Mithridates) and the Pontic Crescent and Star symbol appeared on his coins.⁴⁶ Similarly, Artaxias declared himself ruler of Armenia after he overthrew the Seleucid control of his homeland.⁴⁷ His direct descendants, the Artaxiads, ruled the kingdom until Erato's reign (who died c. AD 6).⁴⁸ In the west, Massinissa, with Rome's assistance, forged the kingdom of Numidia from various

to the native peoples of Anatolia and legitimise his overthrow of Roman and Hellenistic rulers; see Just. *Epit.* 38.7.1; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 162.

⁴² Diod. 31.19.5. For descent from Cyrus, see Diod. 31.19.1-2; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, p. 72; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', p. 187. Ariarathes was defeated and killed by Perdiccas (Diod. 31.19.4; Just. *Epit.* 13.6.1; App. *Mithr.* 8; Pastor, 'Cappadocia and Pontus', pp. 184-85), but the revolt was continued successfully by his successor Ariarathes II (Diod. 31.19.5). For a commentary on relevant section of Justin, see P. Wheatley and W. Heckle, *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, V. 2, Oxford, 2011, pp. 135-37.

⁴³ Just. *Epit.* 38.2.8, 38.5.9; Strab. 12.2.11; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 77; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 107; Dmitriev, 'Cappadocian Dynastic Rearrangements', pp. 289-90; Sherwin-White, 'Ariobarzanes, Mithridates, and Sulla', pp. 173-74. The appointment of Ariobarzanes is examined in more detail in Chapter 1 above.

⁴⁴ Ariobarzanes was first ejected from Cappadocia around 96/95 BC by Mithridates of Pontus and Tigranes of Armenia; see Just. *Epit.* 38.3.1; Dmitriev, 'Cappadocian Dynastic Rearrangements', p. 290; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 78 – although the date is disputed, see Dmitriev, 'Cappadocian Dynastic Rearrangements', pp. 290-91. After being reinstated by Sulla, Ariobarzanes was ejected for a second time between 91 and 89 BC, see App. *Mithr.* 10; Just. *Epit.* 38.3.4; Dmitriev, 'Cappadocian Dynastic Rearrangements', pp. 293-96. The king was reinstated again and expelled for a third time when Lucullus withdrew his forces to Galatia in 67 BC, see Cic. *Leg. Man.* 5, 12; App. *Mithr.* 91; Dio 36.17.1; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 185. Admittedly these expulsions were brought about by Mithridates rather than by the Cappadocians, but there is also little record of resistance or protection of Ariobarzanes by his subjects. Ariobarzanes' tenuous hold on his kingdom was not helped by his non-royal stock.

⁴⁵ App. *Mithr.* 66; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 135; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 151; Olshausen, 'Mithridates VI und Rom', pp. 813-14. App. *Mithr.* 66. The marriage is examined in more detail in Chapter 1 above.

⁴⁶ Simonetta, *Coins of the Cappadocian Kings*, pp. 43-44. The Star and Crescent is depicted on several coins of the Pontic Kings, Mithridates III, Pharnaces I, and Mithridates IV. See Callatay, 'First Royal Coinage of Pontos', pp. 66-77; also McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 97.

⁴⁷ Strab. 11.14.15; Patterson, 'Rome's Relationship with Artaxias I', pp. 154-55. The founding of Artaxias' capital at Artaxarta was supposedly with the assistance and advice of Hannibal, see Plut. *Luc.* 31.3-4.

⁴⁸ Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 77; P. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*, London, 1978, pp. 36-37.

tribes.⁴⁹ His descendants ruled Numidia until the reign of Juba II, when Augustus relocated the dynasty to neighbouring Mauretania around 23 BC.⁵⁰

The examples above demonstrate dynastic succession in the ancient world by the understanding of each king's relationship to his predecessors. Consequently kings were keen to establish their credentials on coins and inscriptions. There are also several cases where the ancient literary sources explicitly declare that descent from a founding figure was the main, or only, legitimising factor for a particular kingdom. For the Bosphoran Kingdom after 63 BC, it was descent from Mithridates of Pontus. For the Parthians, it was descent from its founder Arsaces. The surviving sources for these two kingdoms unambiguously declare this key for legitimate rule of these lands during the Imperial period.

Although the Bosphoran Kingdom had been initially ruled by different dynasties, the image of Mithridates VI of Pontus, its eventual conqueror, was so all pervading that only his descendants were accepted by its people to be their legitimate rulers. The kingdom was founded by the Archaeanactid dynasty around 480 BC on the north coast of the Black Sea.⁵¹ This dynasty was displaced in 438 BC by a Spartocus, who was possibly a Thracian.⁵² His descendants ruled and enlarged the Bosphoran Kingdom until the reign of Paerisades V (c. 110 BC), who Strabo recorded was having increasing problems with Scythian tribesman and appealed to Mithridates of Pontus for help.⁵³ Mithridates sent his general Diophantus and, after repelling the barbarians, took over the kingdom.⁵⁴ Mithridates then ruled the kingdom as

⁴⁹ App. *Pun.* 106; Liv. 30.44.12; Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 12-17. In defeating his rival Mazaetullus, according to Livy, he "won back the throne of his ancestors" (Liv. 29.30).

⁵⁰ For Massinissa's descendants ruling Numidia, see Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 17-38. For the relocation of the Numidian dynasty to Mauretania, see Dio 53.26.1; Strab. 17.3.7; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 100 and also Chapter 2 above.

⁵¹ Diod. 12.31.1; H. F. Graham, 'Soviet Classical Scholarship and the Black Sea Region', *CJ* 56.5, 1961, p. 195.

⁵² Diod. 12.31.1. See also R. Werner, 'Die Dynastie der Spartokiden', *Historia* 4.4, 1955, pp. 412-44. Although Graham suspects it was more likely that they were Graeco-Scythians (Graham, 'Soviet Classical Scholarship', p. 195).

⁵³ Strab. 7.4.3. For Mithridates involvement in the Bosphoran Kingdom, see McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, pp. 46-47. For coins of the late Spartocids, see N. Frolova, 'Catalogue of Coins of the Kings of the Spartocid Dynasty in the 2nd Century BC (Hygiaenon, Spartocus and the Paerisades)', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 19.2, 2013, pp. 217-75.

⁵⁴ Strab. 7.4.3 and 7.4.4. In both passages Strabo twice claimed that Paerisades voluntarily gave up his kingdom. See also *IOSPE I*² 352 (the Diophantus decree); McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 50; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 582; Graham, 'Soviet Classical Scholarship', p. 199.

part of his empire, and later gave the kingdom to his son Machares to rule.⁵⁵ After Mithridates committed suicide in 63 BC, another son Pharnaces continued to rule the Bosporan Kingdom.⁵⁶ Seeking to take advantage of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, Pharnaces attempted to reconquer his homeland of Pontus in 47 BC.⁵⁷ He was defeated by Caesar and had to return quickly to the Bosporan Kingdom where the ruler he appointed, Asander, had rebelled.⁵⁸ Asander defeated Pharnaces and, to legitimise his rule, married Pharnaces' daughter, Dynamis.⁵⁹ After Asander died in 16 BC a usurper known as Scribonius attempted the rule the kingdom, claiming to be a son of Mithridates – he also married Dynamis for the same reasons as Asander.⁶⁰ Augustus and Agrippa asserted the Roman right to appoint who would rule the Bosphorus and selected Polemo, the client king of Pontus, to rule the Bosporan Kingdom as well.⁶¹ As the sole descendant of Mithridates, Dynamis was exploited as a legitimising force by three different rulers who married her to bolster their claim to the Bosporan Kingdom. Dynamis proudly advertised her descent from Mithridates in an inscription: “βασιλίσσης Δυνάμεως φιλορωμαίου, τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου Φαρνάκου, τοῦ ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου Εὐπάτορος...”⁶² The kingdom eventually passed to Aspurgus who was most probably the son of Dynamis and Asander.⁶³ His son, Mithridates, was named for his famous great-great grandfather. Dio explicitly recorded that he was “a lineal descendant of Mithridates the Great” who had conquered the Bosporan Kingdom.⁶⁴ By the

⁵⁵ App. *Mithr.* 67 and 113; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 135. Although Mithridates had to, at least once, suppress a rebellion there (App. *Mithr.* 64). Machares himself also revolted from his father around 70 BC and gave assistance to Lucullus; see App. *Mithr.* 83; Liv. *Per.* 98; Plut. *Luc.* 24; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 37.6; Nawotka, ‘Attitude towards Rome’, p. 327; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 587-88.

⁵⁶ App. *Mithr.* 113; Nawotka, ‘Attitude towards Rome’, pp. 327-28; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 166; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 589.

⁵⁷ Caes. *BAlex* 41.1-2; Strab. 12.3.14; Dio 42.45.2.

⁵⁸ For Caesar's defeat of Pharnaces at Zela, see Caes. *BAlex* 72.1-77.2; Cic. *Deiot.* 14; Liv. *Per.* 118; Plut. *Caes.* 50.2-4; Suet. *Caes.* 35.2; Flor. 2.13.63; App. *BCiv* 2.91, *Mithr.* 120; Dio 42.47.5-48.2, 44.46.1; Eutrop. 6.22.2. For Asander's revolt, see App. *Mithr.* 120; Dio 42.46.4.

⁵⁹ Dio 42.47.5; App. *Mithr.* 120; Nawotka, ‘Attitude towards Rome’, p. 328. Marriage inferred from Dio 54.24.4. For more details on Queen Dynamis and her marriages, see Rostovtzeff, ‘Queen Dynamis’, pp. 88-109. For most recent scholarship on Asander's coinage, see Nawotka, ‘Asander of the Bosphorus’, pp. 21-48.

⁶⁰ Dio 54.24.4; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, p. 165; Rostovtzeff, ‘Queen Dynamis’, p. 99.

⁶¹ Dio 54.24.5. As described in Chapter 2, Polemo married Dynamis (Dio 54.24.6 and Marriage 4 above). For Polemo's excursion into the Bosporan Kingdom, see Braund, ‘Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo’, pp. 253-54; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, pp. 166-68; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 918-19.

⁶² *CIRB* 31: “Queen Dynamis Philoromaïos, [the daughter] of King Pharnaces the Great, [son] of King Mithridates Eupator.” Another inscription recorded similar sentiments, see *CIRB* 979. See also Nawotka, ‘Attitude towards Rome’, pp. 328-29.

⁶³ Inscriptions of Aspurgus record him to be the son of an “Asandrachos”, see *CIRB* 40; also Nawotka, ‘Attitude towards Rome’, p. 329. For details of Aspurgus, see Marriage 11 above.

⁶⁴ Dio 60.8.2. According to Tacitus, the king himself boasted of his Achaemenid descent to Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* 12.18.2).

death of Pharnaces in 47 BC, the dynasty of Mithridates had sufficient hold on the Bosporan Kingdom that only a descendant of his could rule the kingdom.

The Parthians held the family of Arsaces in such great esteem that only his descendants were accepted as their ruler. Around 238 BC a tribe of the Parni, led by a certain Arsaces, revolted from their Seleucid overlords.⁶⁵ His victories and long reign led to a heroic status amongst the Parthians, and Justin records that they venerated him, “as renowned a figure for the Parthians as Cyrus is for the Persians, Alexander for the Macedonians and Romulus for the Romans.”⁶⁶ He was succeeded by his son, also Arsaces – “the Parthians revered his [Arsaces I] memory by giving all their subsequent kings the names Arsaces.”⁶⁷ All successive Parthian kings came from his family and the Parthian succession generally proceeded in a haphazard fashion, the only consideration being descent from Arsaces I. Brother succeeded brother or uncle succeeded nephew (as when Gotarzes I succeeded his nephew Mithridates II). Without primogeniture succession, accessions in Parthia were often challenged, and at times the Parthian kingdom was split between two or even three concurrent contenders. The exact relationship between kings is not always known and often a matter of contention between modern scholars.⁶⁸ The habit of naming each king “Arsaces” meant that the coins and inscriptions provide little assistance in the identification and dating of reigns.⁶⁹ A king’s credentials (i.e. their relationship to the founder Arsaces) were often open to question by their rivals. Vonones, the son of Phraates IV and the king sent to Parthia by Augustus, was eventually rejected because of his non-Parthian habits and education – the Parthians instead

⁶⁵ Strab. 11.9.3; Just. *Epit.* 41.4.1-10; R. N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, München, 1984, pp. 206-08. For date of this rebellion, see K. Brodersen, ‘The Date of the Secession of Parthia from the Seleucid Kingdom’, *Historia* 35.3, 1986, pp. 378-81. According to Justin, Arsaces was previously a bandit, and it is not known whether he was a native Parthian at all; see Just. *Epit.* 41.4.6-7; Frye, *History of Ancient Iran*, p. 206; Lerner, *Impact of Seleucid Decline*, pp. 18-19; R. Fowler, ‘Most Fortunate Roots: Tradition and Legitimacy in Parthian Royal Ideology’, in *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds), Stuttgart, 2005, pp. 130-33. See also Strab. 11.9.2-3, who also suggested that Arsaces may have come from Bactria.

⁶⁶ Just. *Epit.* 41.5.5 (trans. J. C. Yardley). Frye discusses the royal *farn* (glory or fortune) of Arsaces which had similar characteristics, although not divine, to the Hellenistic *theos* (Frye, *History of Ancient Iran*, pp. 216-17).

⁶⁷ Just. *Epit.* 41.5.6 (trans. J. C. Yardley). See also Strab. 15.1.36, 16.1.28; Joseph. *AJ* 18.44; Amm. Marc. 23.6; Lerner, *Impact of Seleucid Decline*, p. 28; Dąbrowa, ‘Arsacids and their State’, p. 27.

⁶⁸ For most recent discussion of genealogy and stemma, see Assar, ‘Genealogy and Coinage of the Early Parthian Rulers’, pp. 29-63. The Parthians appear to have held to the principle of primogeniture until the end of the reign of Phraates I, who preferred his brother over his sons to rule as Mithridates I (Just. *Epit.* 41.5.10; Dąbrowa, ‘Arsacids and their State’, p. 28).

⁶⁹ For coins, see D. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia*, London, 1971, pp. 1-2.

turned to Artabanus II, the king of Media Atropatene and an Arsacid on his mother's side.⁷⁰ Tiring of his rule, the Parthians turned to Tiridates, another son of Phraates IV and undermined Artabanus' descent from Arsaces. According to Tacitus the people of Seleucia, "poured abuse on Artabanus as an Arsacid on his mother's side, but otherwise of ignoble blood."⁷¹ Later Parthian nobles again sided with Artabanus, one complaining that because Tiridates' ally Abdagaeses actually ruled, "it was no Arsacid that held sway."⁷² As Tiridates' descent from Arsaces could not be questioned, the disenchanted suggested that Tiridates was just a figure-head and that his non-Arsacid advisors were actually ruling. An overview of these reigns demonstrates that belonging to the family of Arsaces was the primary importance before all other qualities, even competence. An incompetent Arsacid king could be (and was) removed, often after first belittling his Arsacid claim, but only to be replaced by another Arsacid.

The Parthian's requirement for their king's descent from Arsaces was acknowledged by Greek and Roman historians and often remarked upon. Strabo, when discussing the reign of Phraates IV, stated "he knew that no person could prevail against him unless that person supported some member of the house of Arsaces, because of the fact that the Parthians were extremely fond of the house."⁷³ According to Josephus, "it was their [the Parthians'] constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces nor did their law allow of any others."⁷⁴ After the death of Phraates V around AD 4, Josephus relates that the Parthians, "called Orodes to take the crown ... though he was accused of very great cruelty and was of an intractable

⁷⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.47-48; Tac. *Ann.* 6.42; Gowing, 'Tacitus and the Client Kings', pp. 318-19.

⁷¹ Tac. *Ann.* 6.42 (trans. J. Jackson). See Olbrycht, 'Genealogy of Artabanus II', pp. 92-97; note also Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203.

⁷² Tac. *Ann.* 6.43 (trans. J. Jackson); Gowing, 'Tacitus and the Client Kings', p. 320.

⁷³ Strab. 16.1.28. For Strabo's treatment of Parthia, see J. W. Drijvers, 'Strabo on Parthia and the Parthians', in *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse: The Arsacid Empire*, Josef Wiesehöfer (ed.), Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 279-94. Wolski argues that Strabo's source for Parthia was ultimately Apollodorus of Artimeta and therefore reliable. Drijvers, however, highlights the major chronological flaw with Strabo's tale of the origin of the Arsacid house, since Arsaces' revolt occurred well before Euthydemus' revolt; see Strab. 11.9.2; J. Wolski, 'Untersuchungen zur frühen parthischen Geschichte', *Klio* 58.1-2, 1976, p. 444; Drijvers, 'Strabo on Parthia', p. 283.

⁷⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 18.44. For a modern assessment of Josephus' information regarding Parthia, see T. Rajak, 'The Parthians in Josephus', in *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse: The Arsacid Empire*, Josef Wiesehöfer (ed.), Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 309-24. Rajak believes that much of Josephus' account of Parthia and Parthians is reliable and that the Jews had strong connection across to Parthia.

temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces.”⁷⁵ In Josephus’ words, descent from Arsaces was more important to the Parthians than ability to rule. Much later, when describing the Arsacids, Ammianus Marcellinus stated, “only a man who is of the stock of Arsaces (if there is one anywhere) is preferred to all in mounting the throne ... everyone avoids as sacrilege the lifting of his hand against an Arsacid”⁷⁶

After the Artaxiads died out around 2 BC, the Arsacids considered the kingship of Armenia their possession as well. The defeated Vonones of Parthia fled to Armenia and sought to rule it, having been accepted by the Armenians.⁷⁷ Around AD 35, after the death of Artaxias III of Armenia, Artabanus II of Parthia installed his son Arsaces on the Armenian throne.⁷⁸ After Arsaces was murdered, Artabanus appointed another son, Orodes.⁷⁹ In AD 53 Vologaeses endeavoured to set up his brother Tiridates as King of Armenia.⁸⁰ Following an inconclusive Parthian War, Nero agreed and crowned Tiridates in Rome in AD 66.⁸¹ In Dio’s words, Tiridates announced his pedigree in Rome as “the descendant of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologaeses and Pacorus.”⁸² Later, when Trajan conquered Armenia, he received Parthamasiris, the Arsacid Armenian King, at Elegeia. Dio described Parthamasiris as “the king, descendant of Arsaces, a son of Pacorus, and a nephew of Orodes, standing before Trajan without a diadem, like a captive.”⁸³ Even in defeat, the Armenian’s Arsacid ancestry was worth highlighting. From the middle of the first century AD onwards, Arsacid descent had now become a requirement for the Kings of Armenia as well.

⁷⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 18.44. Later Josephus declared the credentials of Artabanus “king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces” (Joseph. *AJ* 18.48). Artabanus may previously have ruled Media Atropatene, see Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 314-15.

⁷⁶ Amm. Marc. 23.6.6; J. W. Drijvers, ‘Ammianus Marcellinus’ Image of Arsaces and Early Parthian History’, in *The Late Roman World and Its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*, J. W. Drijvers and D. Hunt (eds), London, 1999, p. 172. For the image of Arsaces in Ammianus and his purpose, see Drijvers, ‘Ammianus’ Image of Arsaces’, pp. 174-76.

⁷⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 2.3.1, 2.4.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.50; Nedergaard, ‘Four sons of Phraates IV’, p. 110. Later, the Armenians expelled Vonones from their kingdom (Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.1) and the ex-king was moved to Syria and then moved to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia (Tac. *Ann.* 2.58.1). He died shortly after trying to escape (Tac. *Ann.* 2.68.1); see Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 326-27.

⁷⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 6.31; Dio 58.26.1; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 88.

⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 6.33; Joseph. *AJ* 18.52.

⁸⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 12.50.

⁸¹ Suet. *Ner.* 13; Dio 62.5.4; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 227; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 108; Wiedemann, ‘Tiberius to Nero’, p. 248; Malitz, *Nero*, p. 60.

⁸² Dio 62.5.2.

⁸³ Dio 68.19.4.

Even the Romans seemed to have preferred their rulers to come from within the family, despite Augustus' efforts to hide or deny his monarchical position. The study of dynastic rule within the Roman Empire has been the subject of much scholarship and it is only the intention here to highlight that, like the Hellenistic dynasties above, a cursory study of the Roman emperors of the first to third centuries demonstrates that a great majority belonged to only a few families.⁸⁴ Even during Republican times, family ties and connections were important and for the early part of his reign, Octavian/Augustus was keen to promote his connection to Julius Caesar, his divine father.⁸⁵ The loyalty of Caesar's legions to their general appears to have transferred to his heir – the "Martian" and the Fourth legions coming over to Octavian without a fight in 44 BC.⁸⁶ The previous chapter demonstrated Augustus' endeavour to ensure his successor came from within his family. His eventual successor, Tiberius, was keen to demonstrate that he too was a son of a Divine Father.⁸⁷ When the Julio-Claudian dynasty failed to produce any more candidates after the death of Nero, a civil war determined the next dynasty and the emperors of AD 69 to 96 all came from Vespasian's family, the Flavians. The so-called "adoptive" dynasty from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius all came from within the same family.⁸⁸ The only case of non-hereditary peaceful succession between 31 BC and AD 235 was from Nerva to Trajan – there is no known family connection between the two emperors. The majority of emperors for this period came from within four families: the Julio-Claudian, Flavian, Adoptive and Severan dynasties. The support of the legions, usually proven by

⁸⁴ For various studies on dynastic rule within the Roman Empire, see particularly O. Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*, Oxford, 2015. For some other studies of Roman dynasties, see also D. Baharal, *Victory of Propaganda: the Dynastic Aspects of the Imperial Propaganda of the Severi*, Oxford, 1996; A. C. Bush and J. J. McHugh, 'Succession to the Throne of Rome through 192 AD', *Indo-European Studies* 2, 1974, pp. 259-77; O. Hekster, 'All in the Family: the Appointment of Emperors Designate in the Second Century AD', in *Administration, Prosopography and the Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire*, L. De Blois (ed.), Amsterdam, 2001, pp. 35-49. There were also attempts to maintain dynastic rule throughout the third century crisis, see A. Kluczek, 'Dynastic Policy in the Roman Empire in the Years 235-284', *Eos* 85, 1998, pp. 135-41; M. Shillam, 'Abortive Dynasties: Dynastic Politics AD 235-285', unpublished MA thesis, ANU, 2006.

⁸⁵ App. *BCiv.* 3.11; Dio 45.3.2-5.1; D. Sear, *History and Coinage of the Roman Emperors 49-27 BC*, London, 1998, pp. 63 and 187-188; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 22-26;

⁸⁶ Liv. *Per.* 117; Nic. Dam. F130 139; Vell. Pat. 2.61.2; App. *BCiv.* 3.45; Dio 45.13.3; Galinsky, *Augustus*, pp. 26 and 28; Eck, *Age of Augustus*, p. 57; Levick, *Augustus*, p. 27; Zanker, *Power of Images*, pp. 33-37.

⁸⁷ For example, see the "DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER" coinage of Tiberius, *RIC*² I 70-83.

⁸⁸ Albeit a loosely connected family: Hadrian was Trajan's cousin and married to Trajan's niece, Marcus Aurelius was a kinsman of Hadrian (Dio 69.21.2) and Antoninus Pius was Marcus' Aurelius' uncle and father-in-law.

victory in the civil war that usually followed the demise of the last ruling dynasty, legitimised the next family to rule the Roman Empire.

That many ancient people preferred (or, more probably, expected) to be ruled by kings from their native dynasty is further demonstrated by Josephus' account of the death of King Antiochus III of Commagene in AD 17:

Now Antiochus, king of Commagene died; and there arose a conflict between the masses and the men of note. Both factions sent embassies, the men of substance requesting reconstitution of the state as a Roman province, while the masses supported the monarchical tradition of their ancestors.⁸⁹

Clearly the subjects in the client kingdoms, at least the Commagenians, preferred to be ruled by kings from their local royal family. The alternative option would be to have a Roman (and therefore a foreigner) as a governor. Likewise, Strabo twice noted that the Nabataeans selected their rulers from a single royal family.⁹⁰ The penchant for many regions, especially in the ancient near east, to prefer a ruler (be it a king, phylarchs, or priest) that sprang from a particular family, usually the founding family of the political unit, has clearly been demonstrated.

As would be then expected, there are numerous surviving inscriptions of kings detailing their immediate descent, usually describing themselves as the son of a previous king. Sometimes the kings (and queens) carefully spell out, in the inscriptions they erected, their royal descent further, going right back to the glorious founder of their dynasty. The inscription of Dynamis describing herself as the daughter of Pharnaces, himself the son of Mithridates, has been described already above. An inscription in New Carthage was dedicated to King Juba of

⁸⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 18.53. Tacitus also described the same delegation, but reported that “a majority desired a Roman governor, and the minority a monarch” (*Tac. Ann.* 2.42.5). As Sullivan determined, Josephus' account is preferred (Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 785) – not only was Josephus closer geographically, chronologically and culturally to the events described, but also considering Tacitus' anti-monarchical sentiments. Goodyear also prefers Josephus' account and notes that, “in such areas, the upper classes tended to be the most pro-Roman” (F. R. D. Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus Books 1-6*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1981, p. 322).

⁹⁰ Strab. 16.4.22 and 16.4.25. That Aretas IV Philopatris (9 BC – AD 40) was reigning over Nabataea during Strabo's time, it must be assumed that he too, perhaps only peripherally, belonged to the same family as the previous Nabataean kings.

Mauretania, describing his antecedents all the way back to Massinissa, whom the Romans encouraged to be the first king of a united Numidia.⁹¹ The descent of Juba's son, King Ptolemy (being also the son of Cleopatra Selene) from King Ptolemy of Egypt was flaunted in an inscription set up in Athens.⁹² On an inscription at Berytus, Queen Berenice advertised herself as the daughter of King Agrippa I, who was the grandson of King Herod.⁹³ Clearly, at times, it benefitted the ruler to remind their people not only of their immediate descent, but also of their connection all the way back to the dynasty's founder.

From the cases investigated it appears that hereditary succession in the Hellenistic world was usually the only legitimate succession. Even a cursory examination, which has all that has been afforded on these pages, demonstrates that many of the Eastern kingdoms were ruled by kings belonging to the local ruling family and had been, by the time of Augustus, ruled this way for centuries. Its acceptance was generally universal and is rarely mentioned by the surviving sources. For most occasions they chronicle the accession of a new king, supplying his relationship from the previous king as credentials. On a few occasions the literary sources did specifically announce dynastic succession as the most important legitimatising factor to a new reign. Although Rome, at that time, was not governed by such methods, the Romans were mindful of the local traditions of the friendly kingdoms and usually Appointed kings that belonged to the native dynasties, as the next section will demonstrate.

Manipulating Dynastic Claims

This section investigates how dynastic claims to client kingdoms were handled in the lead up to Augustus' reign. Generally, under the Republic, the Romans were content to let native

⁹¹ Braund 602 (= *EJ* 162 = *ILS* 890): *regi Iubae re[gis] Iubae filio regi[s] Iempsalis n. regis Gau[dae] pronepoti regis Masiniss[ae] pronepotis nepoti ...* The inscription honours Juba as a patron of this colony and certainly his antecedents were well known.

⁹² Braund 607 (= *EJ* 164 = *OGIS* 197). Presumably the Ptolemy in question is Ptolemy I, being too far removed to spell out the descent in detail. Athens was often decorated with statues and inscriptions set up by client kings; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 78; Roller, *World of Juba II*, p. 271.

⁹³ Braund 638b (= Smallwood 212b); Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', p. 247. Berenice and her brother Agrippa II spent time in Berytus during the Jewish War; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 77.

dynasties continue to rule their kingdoms.⁹⁴ Pompey set up dynasts in Emesa, Judaea, Syria and Armenia Minor but was careful to draw these from local ruling families. Caesar left the earlier Eastern appointments mostly undisturbed. During his custodianship of the East, however, Antony disrupted the dynastic principle of succession. Most of Antony's appointments during his period of rule betray a distrust of the dynastic principle. As touched upon in Chapters 1 and 2, Antony preferred new men, without a connection to the ruling dynasties, as kings. Normally kings from the native dynasties still owed their elevation or confirmation to Romans such as Pompey and Caesar – doubtlessly Antony considered them to be more loyal if they owed their elevation totally to him.

After his war with Mithridates, Pompey used his extraordinary powers to reorganise Eastern territories into client kingdoms or Roman provinces. In Galatia the kingdom had previously been ruled by twelve tetrarchs across three different tribes– the Trocmi, Tolistobogii and Tectosages.⁹⁵ These 'tetrarchies' had been combined into three by Pompey, and one of the tetrarchs, Deiotarus, received the title of King.⁹⁶ Pompey interfered with the Jewish struggle for the kingship, first sympathising with Aristobulus but then finally supporting his brother Hyrcanus.⁹⁷ Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates who had betrayed his father, was confirmed as king of the Bosporan Kingdom.⁹⁸ Appian enumerated other kings and kingdoms that Pompey

⁹⁴ Nicomedes II' usurpation of his father's kingdom of Bithynia was sanctioned by the Senate (App. *Mithr.* 4-7) and they later confirmed the succession of Nicomedes IV, son of Nicomedes III, despite Mithridates' aggression (Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 22.5). At times there would be attempts to trick the Senate into supporting a fictitious claim to a kingdom. The Senate saw through the attempt by Nicomedes IV and Nysa to fabricate a third son of Ariarathes VI for the Cappadocian throne (Just. *Epit.* 38.2.3-4). Likewise they refused to accept Ariarathes IX, who was Mithridates' son, as a claimant to Cappadocia (Just. *Epit.* 38.2.5). The Senate did support, however, the claim of Alexander Balas when presented to them as a son of Antiochus IV (Polyb. 33.18.1-14). These attempts either betray a lack of detailed understanding of the local dynasties of the kingdoms friendly to Rome from within the Senate, or an expectation that Senate was not across the detail of these dynasties. As mentioned previously, only after the dynasty of Ariarathes died out did Rome appoint an outsider, a Cappadocian nobleman, as king of Cappadocia (Strab. 12.2.11, and see Chapter 1 above).

⁹⁵ Strab. 12.5.1; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 27; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 373; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 49-50; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 129. In Livy however, the description of Mn. Vulso's invasion of Galatia in the second century BC only mentions four tetrarchs (Liv. 38.18.1, 19.1). Whether the system had evolved since then to structure outlined by Strabo, or whether Strabo or Livy was mistaken, is not known; see Mitchell *Anatolia*, p. 27.

⁹⁶ Strab. 12.3.13; App. *Mithr.* 114; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 129-30; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 33; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 164; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 373. The other tetrarchs were all appointed from the previous ruling families (Strab. 12.3.1; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 129).

⁹⁷ Joseph. *BJ* 1.133, *AJ* 14.46-47, 73; Dio 37.15.2-16.2; Seager, *Pompey the Great*, p. 59; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 214-18; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 216-17.

⁹⁸ App. *Mithr.* 114; Dio 37.14.2; Seager, *Pompey the Great*, pp. 59-60; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 155-56; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 160.

conferred: Attalus in Paphlagonia, Aristarchus in Colchis and Archelaus in Comana.⁹⁹ Overall Pompey kept to the Republican tradition and favoured elevating local rulers and using members of native dynasties.¹⁰⁰

Caesar's experience in managing the East was less extensive than Pompey's.¹⁰¹ In the short period he was there (49 BC) he ratified several kings and dynasts. In Syria he charged neighbouring kings with defence of the province and then moved north to meet Pharnaces.¹⁰² Caesar assigned the priesthood of Pontic Comana to Lycomedes, who was "of royal descent" and had an "incontestable" claim to Comana.¹⁰³ There he also mediated between Ariobarzanes III of Cappadocia and his brother Ariarathes by assigning Armenia Minor, formerly under the rule of Deiotarus of Galatia, now occupied by Pharnaces, to Ariarathes, but kept him subordinate to his older brother.¹⁰⁴ Deiotarus himself then met with Caesar and pleaded for forgiveness for supporting Pompey's cause, and Caesar retained him as King of Galatia (presumably minus his territories in Armenia Minor).¹⁰⁵ After defeating Pharnaces, Caesar assigned the rule of the Bosphoran Kingdom to Mithridates of Pergamum, also of "royal descent."¹⁰⁶ Caesar also only made minor changes to Pompey's appointments: Deiotarus remained King of Galatia, but without Armenia Minor, and Archelaus was replaced in Pontic

⁹⁹ App. *Mithr.* 114; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 166-67. Other rulers, such as Sampsigeramus (a local Arab chief), were raised to the rank of phylarchs (petty kings); see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 201-04.

¹⁰⁰ Although in Syria, Pompey deposed Antiochus Asiaticus and converted the territory into a Roman province (App. *Syr.* 49; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 212-13).

¹⁰¹ For details about Caesar's sojourn in the east, see Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 299-301.

Caesar of course had served in Asia Minor and Cilicia in his younger days and had developed a strong rapport with Nicomedes IV, the king of Bithynia; see Suet. *Caes.* 2-3; Plut. *Caes.* 1-2.

¹⁰² Caes. *BAlex* 65; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 80. At Cilicia he met with more kings and representatives from local communities and then marched to Comana in Cappadocia (Caes. *BAlex* 66). This charge by Caesar to the client kings for the defence of "the province" (Syria) has been often used as evidence that the client kings were "buffer states"; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 93.

¹⁰³ Caes. *BAlex* 66; Strab. 12.3.35; App. *Mithr.* 121; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 179; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 166-67.

¹⁰⁴ Caes. *BAlex* 66; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 179; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 147; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1145. If Caesar's decision was meant to satisfy Ariarathes or resolve the difference between the brothers, then it either failed or soon broke down, as Ariarathes was in Rome in 45 BC petitioning Caesar for a kingdom (Cic. *Att.* 13.2a).

¹⁰⁵ Caes. *BAlex* 66. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 300; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 132-33; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 166; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ Caes. *BAlex* 78. App. *Mithr.* 121; Strab. 13.4.3; Dio 42.48.4; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 158-59; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 160-61. Since Caesar's victory at Zela, Pharnaces had to return to try and win back the Bosphoran Kingdom from Asander, but died in the attempt (Dio 42.47.5). Since Mithridates of Pergamum claimed to be the bastard son of Mithridates of Pontus (Strab. 13.4.3), his appointment by Caesar would fulfil the dynastic requirement of the kingdom.

Comana with Lycomedes. As his appointments also demonstrated, Caesar remained respectful of the local preference for native dynasties.

Antony and the Client Kings

The next major force in the East, Antony, applied different methods. Initially Antony's early appointments followed the tradition form of preferring kings that came from the native dynasties. When Antony converted part of Pontus back into a client kingdom in 39 BC, his first appointee was Darius, the son of Pharnaces and therefore grandson of Mithridates VI, the last king.¹⁰⁷ Ariarathes, the brother of Ariobarzanes III, was probably appointed (or ratified) as King of Cappadocia under Antony.¹⁰⁸ Sometime around 36 BC it appears Antony changed his policy and started to appoint non-royal candidates to kingdoms. Even when existing kings from native dynasties were ruling, Antony was keen to replace them with loyal outsiders.

Judaea was one of the first kingdoms to have its dynastic rule overturned. Earlier Caesar had given areas of Judaea to be administered by Antipater the Idumaeen, whom he had previously granted citizenship.¹⁰⁹ After Antipater was murdered, his son Herod vied for power with the last remaining Hasmoneans and in 40 BC Antony persuaded the senate to confirm Herod as King of Judaea, over Antigonus of the native dynasty.¹¹⁰ As with Archelaus and Polemo, Herod's ancestors are obscure, and definitely not "royal." His marriage to the Hasmonean princess, Mariamne, in 37 BC, went some way in mitigating this handicap.¹¹¹ The marriage is

¹⁰⁷ App. *BCiv* 5.75; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 170; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 160-61; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 162-63. According to Appian, Darius was one of the kings that paid a bribe to Antony to gain his kingdom.

¹⁰⁸ Ariobarzanes III was killed under Cassius (App. *BCiv* 4.63) and it is not clear what arrangements were made to rule Cappadocia before Philippi. Ariarathes is named as King of Cappadocia while contending with a usurper named Sisines sometime after Philippi (App. *BCiv* 5.7). It is unlikely that he remained as king of Cappadocia for so long without being first ratified by the Triumvirs.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.199, *AJ* 14.137, 143; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 44; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 98; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 218; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 106; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 39; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 21.

¹¹⁰ Strab. 16.2.46; Joseph. *AJ* 14.385. *BJ* 1.284; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 223; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 20; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 306; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 102; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 25; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 127-30; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 54-55.

¹¹¹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.344, *AJ* 14.300, 14.467, 20.248; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 223; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 212; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 111; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 158; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 741; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 48-49.

unlikely to have been Antony's suggestion – they were betrothed in 42 BC.¹¹² Cleopatra, nevertheless, appeared to sympathise with the Hasmoneans, the dynasty that Herod replaced.¹¹³ Chronologically, Herod was Antony's first known non-Royal appointee, but the Idumaeans had strong connections through his father to both Antony and Caesar (and therefore Octavian). Herod was a sign of a significant shift in the way Eastern kings would be appointed in the future.

Around 36 BC Ariarathes X, the last native ruler of Cappadocia and descendant of Ariobarzanes I, was removed and replaced with Archelaus.¹¹⁴ Archelaus' antecedents are murky but doubtlessly not Cappadocian royalty. His father, also Archelaus, was high priest at Pontic Comana.¹¹⁵ His grandfather may have been the Archelaus who was first appointed to the priesthood of Pontic Comana by Pompey and later briefly married to Berenice, contender for the throne of Egypt.¹¹⁶ His great-grandfather appears to have been Archelaus, the Mithridatic general.¹¹⁷ Archelaus' "royalty" is questionable and his mother, Glaphyra, appears to have been Antony's lover at one time.¹¹⁸ Appian referred to him as "Sisines" and records that the kingdom of Cappadocia was disputed between him and Ariarathes X.¹¹⁹ Antony decided in favour of "Sisines", who possibly took the name Archelaus on becoming king.

¹¹² Joseph. *BJ* 1.241, *AJ* 14.300; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 212; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 223. Josephus stated that Herod married Mariamne to "become a relation of the king" (Joseph. *BJ* 1.241).

¹¹³ Alexandra, the mother of Herod's royal wife, complained to Cleopatra of Herod's treatment of her (Joseph. *AJ* 15.45). Cleopatra responded by persuading Antony to investigate, accusing Herod of being a king that did not belong to his kingdom (Joseph. *AJ* 15.63). Antony did summon Herod, but the king managed to mollify the triumvir (Joseph. *AJ* 15.75-76).

¹¹⁴ Strab. 12.2.11; Dio 49.32.3; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 182-84.

¹¹⁵ Strab. 17.1.11; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 167; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 183.

¹¹⁶ Strab. 17.1.11; App. *Mithr.* 114; Dio 39.57.2; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 183; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 167. This Archelaus pretended to be a son of Mithridates VI of Pontus (Strab. 17.1.11), no doubt to bolster his royal credentials as a fitting suitor for Berenice of Egypt. Berenice and her husband were slain by Gabinius and Ptolemy (Strab. 17.1.11; Dio 39.58.3).

¹¹⁷ Strab. 17.1.11; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 183; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1149. Archelaus was a loyal and capable general of Mithridates, who defeated Nicomedes (App. *Mithr.* 18) and invaded Greece (App. *Mithr.* 27), before finally being defeated and deserting to Murena during the Second Mithridatic War (App. *Mithr.* 64).

¹¹⁸ App. *BCiv* 5.7; Dio 49.32.3; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 144. Reinhold suggests the story about Antony and Glaphyra "stems from Octavian's propaganda machine" (Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63).

¹¹⁹ App. *BCiv* 5.7. Appian stated that the mother of Sisines was Glaphyra, who is attested elsewhere as the mother of Archelaus (Dio 49.32.3). Syme suggests that Sisines was a separate and earlier pretender to his brother Archelaus for Cappadocia; see Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 148-50.

By 36 BC, Antony had altered his policy towards Pontus and it became the fief of Polemo, a loyal friend. Polemo's father, Zeno, had organised resistance at Laodicea against Labienus and the Parthians in 40 BC.¹²⁰ For this, he and his son earned Antony's gratitude Polemo was given territories in Cilicia to rule in 39 BC.¹²¹ In 36 BC Polemo was assisting Antony in his expedition against Media and was captured – he was referred to now as “King of Pontus” by Dio.¹²² After Polemo was freed, he assisted in brokering an agreement between Antony and the king of Media – for this Antony expanded Polemo's territories by granting him Armenia Minor.¹²³ As with Archelaus of Cappadocia, Polemo could not claim to be of royal descent. He was a loyal adherent to Antony who had proved himself capable and deserving, but he had known connection to the Pontic kings, or indeed, any other Eastern royalty.¹²⁴

In Galatia, Antony again made a non-dynastic appointment. Deiotarus, the king appointed by Pompey and confirmed by Caesar, died in 40 BC.¹²⁵ One of his rivals, Castor II, tetrarch of the Tectosages, was appointed as king of Galatia by the Triumvirs.¹²⁶ In 36 BC Antony appointed Amyntas, previously Deiotarus' secretary, as king – it is not known whether Castor had died or was deposed.¹²⁷ Earlier, in 39 BC, Antony had appointed Amyntas king in Pisidia and sections of Lycaonia.¹²⁸ Amyntas' antecedents are also unknown but in 36 BC, Antony gave

¹²⁰ Zeno appears to have been an orator at Laodicea, see Strab. 12.8.16, 14.2.24; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 171; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 161; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 915-16; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, pp. 162-63.

¹²¹ App. *BCiv* 5.76; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 916. Polemo may have been given parts of nearby Lycaonia to rule as well, as Strabo recorded that he also held the city of Iconium; see Strab. 12.6.1; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 218.

¹²² Dio 49.25.4; Strab. 12.8.16; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 161-63; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 259-60; Pelling, ‘The Triumviral Period’, p. 28; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 171; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 915-18; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 39. He was probably given that kingdom earlier, Sullivan believes in 37 BC (Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 916). No sources chronicle his accession, and the fate of the previous king, Darius son of Pharnaces (another Antony appointee) is not known.

¹²³ Dio 49.33.1, 49.44.3; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 65, 82; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 917; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 170.

¹²⁴ Sullivan states that “Polemo stands out as the main exception to the dictum that kings there required birth into the ‘dynastic aristocracy’ ...” (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 161). Syme describes Polemo as “an upstart from Laodicea, son of the orator Zeno” (Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 171).

¹²⁵ Dio 48.33.5; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 135; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 168-69; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 37.

¹²⁶ Dio 48.33.5; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 37; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 169; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 135-36; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51.

¹²⁷ Strab. 12.5.1; Dio 49.32.3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 170. Castor had at least one son, Deiotarus Philadelphus, who Antony must have passed over by appointing Amyntas; see Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 136; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51.

¹²⁸ App. *BCiv* 5.75; Dio 49.32.3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 172; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 213-14; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 38; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63.

the whole of Galatia to Amyntas even though Dio asserted “he had been only the secretary of Deiotarus.”¹²⁹ Antony had given Amyntas some minor territory (Pisidia) to govern first, in much the same manner he had given Cilicia to Polemo. Although no evidence survives relating to Amyntas’ stewardship over Pisidia, it is most likely that he had proved himself competent enough to be elevated to King of Galatia as well, despite that kingdom’s tradition of dynastic rule.

Only by examining Antony’s appointments together is a pattern revealed. As noted above, Antony had supported Herod’s bid for the kingdom of Judaea in 40 BC, and had convinced Octavian and the Senate to agree. Josephus recorded that Herod was surprised at the appointment, because of the known tendency for the Romans to appoint kings from the native dynasties.¹³⁰ Herod worked diligently to recover his new kingdom and to support his Roman allies in their wars.¹³¹ The next year Antony, as triumvir responsible for the East, made several more appointments and, according to Appian, these appointments reflected his need for funds.¹³² Polemo, Amyntas and Darius had bribed Antony to make them kings of Cilicia, Pisidia and Pontus respectively. As noted above, only one of these new kings (Darius) had any dynastic connection to his new kingdom. At the time Antony was engaged in a war against the Parthians and had only recently recovered Rome’s eastern territories. Several Roman client kings had provided, or were suspected of providing, aid to the Parthian invasion.¹³³ These kings had come from the traditional ruling families, some of which had

¹²⁹ Dio 49.32.3; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63. See also Strab. 12.5.1; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 259; Pelling, ‘The Triumviral Period’, p. 29 *PIR*² A 572. Sullivan suspects that Amyntas, despite his Greek name, “need not have stood completely outside the families of the tetrarchs” (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 172). Nevertheless, no evidence as yet exists that he was related to Deiotarus or any of the other Galatian rulers. Mitchell agrees that, despite his name, Amyntas probably came from Celtic stock, but “he clearly did not belong to the same dynastic network as the tetrarchs of the previous generation” (Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 38).

¹³⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 14.386. Josephus inferred the idea came from Antony, and that Herod had hoped to convince the Romans to appoint his brother-in-law who was a Hasmonaean. Herod may have intended to rule through his wife’s brother but it is more likely he lobbied hard for such a position.

¹³¹ Herod’s first task was to oust Antigonus, the Parthian appointed king in Judaea (Joseph. *AJ* 14.399-491). While in the process of recovering Judaea, he marched to Samosata to assist Antony in his siege of Antiochus of Commagene (Joseph. *AJ* 14.439-447).

¹³² Appian list the kings at that time who bribed Antony for their positions (App. *BCiv* 5.75). Later, when chronicling the events of 36 BC Dio lists territories that Appian had assigned earlier, such as the grant of Lycaonia to Amyntas (Dio 49.32.3). See Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63.

¹³³ Lysanias, the ruler of Ituraea was killed on suspicion of assisting the Parthians (Joseph. *AJ* 15.92; Dio 49.32.5; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 64). Antipater of Derbe also might have assisted the Parthian invasion, hence why he was ousted by Amyntas despite being a Roman appointee; see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 38.

marriage-connections to the Parthian royal family. In these times of uncertainty, Antony may have distrusted the dynastic model which had been used in the East. His own appointments came with no family connections to the Arsacids and they relied more than usual on their benefactor. Without him they could necessarily even rely on the support of their subjects, as they had no right beyond Antony's whim, to rule there. Antony moved cautiously but by 36 BC he was evidently satisfied with his new model, as Polemo and Amyntas had been promoted to be kings of Pontus and Galatia respectively and Archelaus, another non-Royal, had been made king of Cappadocia. Antony had created four large powerful kingdoms that owed their total loyalty to him.

Octavian and the Antonian Appointees

After the battle of Actium, Octavian assumed Antony's responsibilities for the East territories. Octavian had little experience with Rome's eastern sphere and most of the Romans that had that experience had fought for Antony. Wisely Octavian left many of Antony's arrangements in place. As will be demonstrated, only minor Antonian dynasts were removed. The Kings of Galatia, Pontus, Judaea and Cappadocia were retained, once they had transferred their allegiance to Octavian. Of the minor adjustments that Octavian did make to Antony's arrangements, many had to be revisited. As noted in Chapter 2, Octavian obviously preferred the old Roman practice of appointing Kings that belonged to the native dynasties, but he retained Antony's Kings. Instead he began to ensure that these kings from "new" families developed connections into the old Eastern Dynastic Network, as Herod had done.

Bowersock enumerates three cases where Octavian's interference in the appointments by Antony had to be altered or reversed.¹³⁴ Each of these cases is worth discussing. In Emesa, Antony had replaced its king Iamblichus with his brother Alexander, just before the battle of Actium.¹³⁵ After the battle, Octavian deposed him and it appears Emesa was left without a

¹³⁴ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46. Reinhold presents a full list of the rearrangements made by Octavian, including some not mentioned by Dio or Bowersock (Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 122-23).

¹³⁵ Dio 50.13.7; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 202. Technically Antony had executed Iamblichus his father, but since Octavian found Alexander in the position after Actium, it can be assumed he was appointed by Antony; see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 210-11; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 47.

king.¹³⁶ By 20 BC Octavian was now Augustus and restored the dynasty, appointing Iamblichus, son of Iamblichus, as king.¹³⁷ In “Rough Cilicia”, Antony recognised Tarcondimotus as king.¹³⁸ Octavian deposed his son Philopator in 30 BC.¹³⁹ In 20 BC, Augustus re-established “Tarcondimotus son of Tarcondimotus” as king of most of his father’s realm.¹⁴⁰ At Olba in Cilicia, Antony had confirmed Aba in charge of the city.¹⁴¹ Octavian removed her, and then, at a later date, returned the city to her descendants.¹⁴² In another case Augustus reused the son of an Antonian appointee whom he had earlier dismissed. Octavian placed Cleon, who had deserted Antony, in charge of Pontic Comana, but he proved ineffective and was killed for “contravention of a local taboo.”¹⁴³ Augustus replaced him with Dyteutus, the son of Adiatorix, the Antonian tyrant of Heraclea Pontica.¹⁴⁴ As Bowersock suggests, Augustus’ initial motive was probably to set an example to other Antonian client kings and to remind them that he had the power to grant or retract kingdoms and territories.¹⁴⁵ By 20 BC Augustus had returned many of the Antonian placements that he had earlier removed, thus validating the competence of Antony’s management.

¹³⁶ Dio 51.2.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 123; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 47; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 202. According to Dio, Alexander won his kingdom (from Antony) by denouncing Octavian and so was led in triumph and later executed. Josephus also records that after Octavian confirmed Herod in Judaea, the king pressed for Octavian to be lenient to a companion of Antony’s named Alexander. Octavian refused. This was probably Alexander of Emesa who must have been a good friend for Herod to have pressed his luck in arguing for clemency; see Joseph. *AJ* 15.197.

¹³⁷ Dio 54.9.2; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 202; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, p. 211; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 47.

¹³⁸ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 190. Tarcondimotus fought with Antony at Actium and died there (Plut. *Ant.* 61.1; Dio 50.14.2).

¹³⁹ Dio 51.2.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 123; Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotus’, p. 78; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 191.

¹⁴⁰ Dio 54.9.2; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 191; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46.

Whether Tarcondimotus Philopator was one man, deposed by Octavian and restored by Augustus or whether Tarcondimotus was Philopator’s brother (as Syme believes) is not known; see Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 163.

¹⁴¹ Strab. 14.5.10; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 163; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp 48-49.

¹⁴² Strab. 14.5.10; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 49. Syme highlights that Aba may have already belonged to the dynasty that ruled Olba, as her father’s name (Zenophanes) is also found in inscriptions detailing other members of the priesthood; see Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 163.

¹⁴³ Strab. 12.8.9; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 169; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁴ Strab. 12.3.35; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 171; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 169; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁵ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46. As noted above Caesar also made minor adjustments to the arrangements implemented by Pompey. After Pompey’s defeat, Caesar appeared content to retain most of the appointments, but minor tweaks, such as the transfer of Armenia Minor from Deiotarus to Ariarathes, would have reminded the kings of Caesar’s power.

In regards to the larger client kingdoms, Augustus left them as exactly as Antony had arranged. Antony had, as has been demonstrated above, ignored the Eastern Dynastic Network and put new men in charge of Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Judaea. Subsequent actions reveal that this obviously sat uncomfortably with Augustus. He clearly wished to keep the experience and competence of the Antonian appointees, but he also had a preference, as Caesar and Pompey before him, for the legitimacy of local royalty. Augustus compromised and set to work bringing the kings outside the Eastern Dynastic Network to the inside with the marriages examined in Chapter 2. He married Glaphyra, Archelaus' daughter, to Alexander, the son of Herod (see Marriage 3). Polemo of Pontus was married to Dynamis of the Bosporan Kingdom and a grand-daughter of Mithridates the Great (see Marriage 4). Juba first married Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra (see Marriage 1), and then was married to Glaphyra after Alexander's death (see Marriage 9). Mithridates III of Commagene was married to Jotape, the daughter of the king of Media (see Marriage 2). Antipas, another son of Herod, was married to Phasaelis, the daughter of Aretas of Nabataea (see Marriage 5). Archelaus of Cappadocia was married to Pythodoris, Polemo's widow (see Marriage 6) and Sampsigeramus II of Emesa was married to Jotape of Commagene (see Marriage 8). Finally, probably only years before his death, Augustus arranged for Cotys VIII of Thrace to marry Antonia Tryphaena, the daughter of Polemo of Pontus (see Marriage 10). These marriages ensured two primary objectives. First, the new kings were to be joined to each other in matrimonial ties, as Suetonius highlighted. The second objective was to link the dynasties back to ancient lines, enhancing their local prestige and legitimising their rule in the dynastic tradition. Polemo's marriage to Dynamis, the grand of Mithridates of Pontus, for example, undoubtedly gave him a claim to the Bosporan Kingdom, but it also strengthened his claim to his own kingdom of Pontus. Macurdy's hypothesis has demonstrated that Augustus married the ancient line of the Median kings, who were connected to Armenia and Parthia, to Commagene and then to Emesa.¹⁴⁶ Augustus proved both far-sighted and far-reaching. The children of the unions he had proposed were married to the children of other such unions. Kingdoms, such as Numidia and Thrace, traditionally outside the Eastern Dynastic Network, he brought into the network.

¹⁴⁶ Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 40; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 97-99. See also Marriage 2 and Marriage 8 in Chapter 2 above.

To Augustus it was profoundly important that the client king was perceived to be legitimate by his people. On a number of occasions he had to provide kings for kingdoms. Usually the “giving of kings” (DATVS REX) was merely a formal acknowledgement of the existing ruler by Rome. Several times, particularly in Armenia and Armenia Minor, Augustus had to provide his own nominee. In most of these cases, Augustus appointed a ruler related to the local ruling family, maintaining dynastic continuity. Amongst his successors, this continued – in fact Augustus’ marriage arrangements had provided many potential kings or kings-in-waiting. Frézouls highlighted some time ago that the Julio-Claudian support for the dynastic claims of their client-kings reflected the dynastic claim they had to the Roman Empire.¹⁴⁷ Most occurrences of succession or the allocation of “client” territories under the Julio-Claudians follow the hereditary pattern. All beneficiaries belonged to one (or more) of the established dynasties and there are no known instances of kingdoms or territories being allotted to “new men” (kings outside these dynasties).

Augustan Appointments

An examination of the appointments made by Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors reveals the strong tendency to follow dynastic legitimacy wherever possible. Augustus’ marriage-policy helped provide his successors, and even himself, with progeny with the descent necessary to be claimants for several kingdoms. The clearest sign of Augustus’ policy providing benefits for his successors was early in the reign of Gaius. Late in Augustus’ reign, the marriage between Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus was arranged (Marriage 10 above). Cotys’ father, Rhoemetalces I, was King of Thrace and Antonia’s father, Polemo I, had been King of Pontus and Armenia Minor. At least three sons were born from this union, and they appear to have grown up with Gaius, most probably in the house of Antonia in Rome.¹⁴⁸ Around AD 38 these three sons, Rhoemetalces, Polemo and Cotys, were granted the kingdoms of Thrace, Pontus and Armenia Minor respectively (as noted in Chapter 3). Each had inherited a dynastic claim to these territories from their grandfathers. The appointment of kings over territories during the Julio-Claudian period demonstrates that the emperors preferred dynastic succession amongst their client kings.

¹⁴⁷ Frézouls, ‘La politique dynastique’, pp. 186-87.

¹⁴⁸ *IGRR* IV 145; Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 208; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 24; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 37.

Augustus evidently thought the kingship over the Nabataeans was his to bestow. Nabataea had first become *socius et amicus* of Rome under Aretas III during Pompey's sojourn in the East.¹⁴⁹ Aretas III was succeeded by Obodas II and then Malichus I. Part of Malichus' realm was given by Antony to Cleopatra and he died shortly after the battle of Actium in 31 BC.¹⁵⁰ He was succeeded, with Octavian's obvious compliance, by Obodas III, who both Strabo and Josephus depict as a weak king under the power of his advisor Syllaeus.¹⁵¹ When Obodas died in 9 or 8 BC, an Aeneas, taking the name Aretas IV, seized control of the kingdom.¹⁵² Syllaeus, in Rome at the time, objected to Augustus, who was indeed incensed that the new king did not wait for Rome's approval. It appears some protracted negotiations with embassies from Aretas, Herod and Syllaeus, delayed Augustus' decision. According to Josephus, Augustus may have considered granting Nabataea to Herod.¹⁵³ Like most ancient peoples, the Nabataeans preferred rulership from their line of kings, and Strabo made this clear, twice, in his *Geography*.¹⁵⁴ Herod may have been related to the Nabataean royal family. His mother, Cypros, was from a distinguished Nabataean family and some modern scholars have suggested that she may have been a daughter of the Nabataean royal family.¹⁵⁵ Troubles in Herod's family and Syllaeus' penchant for treachery meant Augustus finally accepted the status quo and confirmed Aretas as king of the Nabataeans.¹⁵⁶ Aretas was obviously not a descendant of the previous king, as, in Hellenic tradition, he took the epitaph *Philopatris* ("Lover of his Country") rather than the *Philopator* usually taken by sons succeeding their

¹⁴⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.159; *AJ* 14.80-81; App. *Mithr.* 106; Just. *Epit.* 40.2.3; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 214-15; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 541; Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 219.

¹⁵⁰ The territories of Malichus and Herod that Antony granted to Cleopatra had to be paid back by those kings. Malichus reneged on his repayments (Joseph. *AJ* 15.106-107) and so Cleopatra bade Herod wage war against the Nabataeans which Herod did while Antony and Cleopatra were battling Octavian at Actium (Joseph. *BJ* 1.366-388, *AJ* 15.108-112; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 165-69). Malichus died the next year. See Negev, 'The Nabataeans', pp. 543-45; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 213; R. Strootman, 'Queen of Kings: Cleopatra VII and the Donations of Alexandria', in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds), Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010, pp. 142-43.

¹⁵¹ Strab. 16.4.24; Joseph. *AJ* 16.220. See *PIR*² O 3; Negev, 'The Nabataeans', pp. 558-66; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 57; Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 46.

¹⁵² Joseph. *AJ* 16.294; See *PIR*² A 1033; Negev, 'The Nabataeans', p. 567; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 287.

¹⁵³ Joseph. *AJ* 16.294-296; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 287.

¹⁵⁴ Strab. 16.4.22 and 16.4.25.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 1.181 ("a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians"), *AJ* 14.121 ("a daughter of one of their [the Nabataeans] eminent men") and see Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty*, p. 95 n. 39.

¹⁵⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 16.355; Negev, 'The Nabataeans', p. 567. Syllaeus was accused of betraying Aelius Gallus' expedition into Arabia (Strab. 16.4.24; Negev, 'The Nabataeans', pp. 561-62) as well conspiracy against Herod (Joseph. *AJ* 17.54-56). See Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 56. Regarding Gallus' expedition, Bowersock alleges that Strabo, with hindsight knowledge of Syllaeus later escapades, unfairly accused Syllaeus of treachery; see Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, pp. 47-48.

father or *Philodelphus* for those succeeding their brothers.¹⁵⁷ This may not be an example of Augustus appointing a complete outsider, even though the choice was forced upon him. Strabo, when discussing Aelius Gallus' expedition to further Arabia, mentioned the lands of "Aretas, a kinsman of Obodas [III]."¹⁵⁸ Although Aretas, according to Josephus, should have been called Aeneas at this time, it may be a case of Strabo (writing after Aeneas had changed his name) transposing his future name to an earlier time – or he may be another Aretas altogether.¹⁵⁹ Writing during Aretas' reign, Strabo also noted that "Petra is always ruled by some king from the royal family."¹⁶⁰ Therefore it is possible that Augustus was not confirming an outsider as king of Nabataea, but a relative, albeit probably not a directly connected, of the previous king. As will be demonstrated, Augustus was keen to promote any connection that his appointees had with the native ruling family.

At least four kingdoms or territories within Rome's influence had a number of rulers appointed to them during the Julio-Claudian period that, at first glance, appear to have been a haphazard, unrelated collection of kings. The rulers of Armenia Minor, for example, since the time of Pompey, were often kings of neighbouring territories. Other territories, such as Cilicia and the Levantine, were often carved up and allotted to various, seemingly unconnected kings and Armenia Major, after the ruling Artaxiad dynasty died out, was allotted by Augustus and his successors, to numerous candidates with varying degrees of success. A closer examination, however, reveals that many of these appointments for each of these territories did have some connection, usually a dynastic connection, to the local ruling family or, failing that, were descendants of an earlier candidate.

¹⁵⁷ In Cappadocia, for example, Ariobarzanes III, succeeded his father and took this epitaph Philopator. After he died, his brother, Ariarathes X, took the epitaph Philadelphus. Archelaus of Cappadocia, who was not directly related to the last of the Cappadocian kings, also took the epitaph Philopator (*OGIS* 357-361; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1153). Philadelphus is also sometimes used for in matrimonial relationships between a brother and sister. For a complete analysis of the title, see F. Muccioli, 'Considerazioni Generali sull'epiteto Φιλάδελφος nelle Dinastie Ellenistiche e sulla sua Applicazione nella Titolatura degli Ultimi Seleucidi', *Historia* 43, 1994, pp. 402-22.

¹⁵⁸ Strab. 16.4.24; Negev, 'The Nabataeans', p. 562.

¹⁵⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 16.294. *PIR*² has separate entries for the king (A 1033) and the relative of Obodas (A 1034). Bowersock suggests that Aretas may have been related to Obodas' predecessor, see Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁰ Strab. 16.4.21. Strabo's work would have been composed during Aretas' reign (8/9 BC to AD 39), see S. Potheary, 'The Expression 'Our Times' in Strabo's Geography', *CPh* 92, 1997, p. 235; Dueck, 'Date of Strabo's Geography', p. 475 (includes summary of previous theories of the date of Strabo's writings, pp. 467-74).

Armenia Minor

The territory known as Armenia Minor, or Lesser Armenia, lay wedged between Pontus and “Greater” Armenia.¹⁶¹ Mithridates Eupator added Armenia Minor (then ruled by an “Antipater, son of Sisis”) and Colchis to his Pontic realm.¹⁶² Under Pompey’s organisation of the East, Armenia Minor was given to Deiotarus, the king of Galatia.¹⁶³ Under Caesar, the rulership of Armenia Minor was removed from Deiotarus and given to Ariarathes X, under the overlordship of his brother Ariobarzanes III, king of Cappadocia.¹⁶⁴ When Ariobarzanes died, Ariarathes X succeeded him as King of Cappadocia, most probably bringing the title of Armenia Minor with him. Antony replaced Ariarathes in Cappadocia with Archelaus around 36 BC but Armenia Minor was given to Polemo.¹⁶⁵ After Actium, Augustus took the territory from Polemo and gave it to Artavasdes, the king of Media Atropatene, who had been ejected from his native kingdom by the Parthians.¹⁶⁶ During Augustus’ reorganisation of the East in 20 BC, responsibility for Armenia Minor was given to Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia.¹⁶⁷ In AD 38 Gaius gave Armenia Minor to Cotys, the son of Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena.¹⁶⁸ Finally, in AD 54, Nero bequeathed the territory to Aristobulus, the son of Herod of Chalcis.¹⁶⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, under Vespasian Armenia Minor was directly ruled by the Romans but, from Pompey to Vespasian, the kingdom had traded hands many

¹⁶¹ Strabo reports that the Euphrates formed part of the boundary of Armenia Minor (Strab. 11.12.3).

¹⁶² Strab. 12.3.1; 12.3.28; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 137. Sullivan suggests that Antipater may have been kept on as a client ruler of Armenia Minor under Mithridates (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 37-38).

¹⁶³ Caes. *BAlex* 67.1; Eutropius 6.14; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 64-65. Though this gift may have been from the Senate, not Pompey: see Adcock, ‘Lesser Armenia and Galatia’, pp. 12-17; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 137.

¹⁶⁴ Caes. *BAlex* 66.5; Dio 41.63.3, 42.48.3. See Adcock, ‘Lesser Armenia and Galatia’, p. 17; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 179; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 142; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1145. Harper suggested that the text of the Alexandrine War was confused and instead Ariarathes X was granted Cappadocian Comana (R. Harper, ‘Tituli Comanorum Cappadociae’, *AS* 18, 1968, pp. 100-01). Dio, however, twice mentioned that Caesar had given part of Armenia to Ariobarzanes (his younger brother’s overlord).

¹⁶⁵ Dio 49.33.2, 49.44.3; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 143; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 162; Pelling, ‘Triumviral Period’, p. 48; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, pp. 65, 82.

¹⁶⁶ Inferred from Dio 54.9.2. See also Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 143; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 298-99; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, pp. 151, 158; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 325; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51.

¹⁶⁷ Dio 54.9.2; Strab. 12.3.29; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1153; Gruen, ‘Expansion of the Empire’, p. 152. Syme definitely views Armenia Minor as traditionally belonging to Cappadocia by now (Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 143). The specific fate of Armenia Minor after Tiberius converted Cappadocia into a province is not known but it probably became part of the new province as well.

¹⁶⁸ Dio 59.12.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 143; Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, pp. 208-09; Levick, ‘Greece and Asia Minor’, p. 670; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 223; Wardle, ‘Caligula and the Client Kings’, p. 439; Primo, ‘Client Kingdom of Pontus’, pp. 172-73.

¹⁶⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 2.252, *AJ* 20.158; Tac. *Ann.* 13.7; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 310-12; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, pp. 319-20; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 143.

times – as Strabo succinctly stated: “Lesser Armenia, it was ruled by different persons and different times, according to the will of the Romans.”¹⁷⁰

At first glance it seems this small kingdom was parcelled out as a reward to a variety of kings. Mostly these rulers were already rulers of nearby kingdoms: Galatia, Pontus and Cappadocia. During the later Julio-Claudians, the kingdom was ruled by its own king, though still no native dynasty had formed. Lesser and Greater Armenia also seem to have been strongly connected, though the Romans were careful to ensure that the same king did not rule both.¹⁷¹ Lesser Armenia was definitely within the Roman sphere, but control of Greater Armenia was contested between Rome and Parthia. A closer examination of the rulers of this territory reveals that many of the kings of Lesser Armenia did have a claim. From Archelaus’ point of view, the kingdom naturally belonged to Cappadocia, since it was granted to Ariarathes by Caesar. From Polemo’s point of view, the territory was incorporated into Pontus under Mithridates Eupator. After Actium, Octavian was anxious to retain the services of the exiled king of Media Atropatene, Artavasdes. This king could prove useful to Augustus in future disputes with Parthia, as the kings of Media Atropatene were also intricately linked to the king of Armenia by marriage-ties.¹⁷² When Octavian gave Armenia Minor to Artavasdes he was keeping a Parthian client king within the Roman fold. His daughter, Jotape, was later married to Mithridates, the king of Commagene, blending the blood lines.¹⁷³ From Octavian’s viewpoint, Artavasdes, being descended from the kings of Greater Armenia, would hopefully prove acceptable to the people of Lesser Armenia.

When Artavasdes died, Augustus did not give Lesser Armenia to his son, Ariobarzanes. In 20 BC, in Syria, Augustus adjusted the territories of many client kings and, as Dio recorded, “... Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Mede [Artavasdes], who had previously

¹⁷⁰ Strab. 12.3.29.

¹⁷¹ For Lesser Armenia being traditionally friendly to the Greater, see Strab. 12.3.28. It also on the main route from Pontus to Armenia (Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 137). Armenia Minor has been insufficiently assessed by modern historians, the best treatments remain Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 137-43 and Adcock, ‘Lesser Armenia and Galatia’, pp. 12-17.

¹⁷² An earlier king, Mithridates, is described as the son-in-law of Tigranes the Great by Dio (Dio 36.14.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 309; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 296). Strabo also noted that the dynasty that ruled Media, right up to his day, was linked to ruling families of Armenia and Parthia (Strab. 11.13.1).

¹⁷³ See Macurdy, ‘Jotape’, pp. 40-42 and Marriage 2 above.

had ruled them, was dead.”¹⁷⁴ In the meantime, it appears Ariobarzanes was the Roman candidate installed to rule Media and later he was brought in to rule Armenia Major.¹⁷⁵ Armenia Minor presumably stayed in Archelaus’ dominions until his death in AD 17. Strabo gave no direct account of the kingdom’s current ruler, but part of it might have been transferred to Archelaus’ widow, Pythodoris, ruling in Pontus – when discussing Armenia Minor, Strabo related “the Tibareni and Chaldaei, extending as far as Colchis, and Pharnacia and Trapezus are ruled by Pythodoris ...”¹⁷⁶

Regardless, no definite ruler of Armenia Minor emerges from the record until the reign of Gaius. In AD 38 Gaius granted Armenia Minor to Cotys, a product of the marriage between Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus, arranged late in Augustus’ reign.¹⁷⁷ While Cotys and his brothers apparently grew up with Gaius during the reign of Tiberius, the gift of Armenia Minor does not appear to be just a gift to a friend and ally – Cotys had a strong claim to Armenia Minor. His maternal grandfather, Polemo, as demonstrated earlier, was given the kingdom by Antony. His maternal grandmother, Pythodoris, was later married to Archelaus, who was given the kingdom by Augustus and, after his death, may have governed the territory herself from Pontus. An inscription from Cyzicus makes this absolutely clear: “to the children of Cotys, Rhoemetalces and Polemo and Cotys, who were raised with him and are his companions, he restored the kingdoms belonging by right of descent from their fathers and ancestors.”¹⁷⁸ In this case, Gaius was following the clear example set by Augustus, of preferring to appoint rulers who belonged and had some connection or claim to the territory they were appointed to govern. What is more, a marriage arranged by Augustus gave his eventual successor a candidate to rule Armenia Minor.

¹⁷⁴ Dio 54.9.2 (trans. E. Cary); Rich, *Augustan Settlement*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁵ For Ariobarzanes ruling Media Atropatene, see *RG* 33.1; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 256; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 75. For Ariobarzanes being appointed to rule Armenia Major, see Dio 55.10a.7 and in the next section below.

¹⁷⁶ Strab. 12.3.29. For analysis of Strabo’s attitude towards Pythodoris, see Braund, ‘Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo’, pp. 254-60. These territories are usually regarded, since the time of Mithridates Eupator, as being part of the kingdom of Pontus, so it is unclear whether Strabo is referring to them being part of Lesser Armenia traditionally (i.e. pre-Mithridates) or whether they were more recently, perhaps after the death of Archelaus, transferred to Pythodoris and the kingdom of Pontus.

¹⁷⁷ See *PIR*² C 1555; Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 208. Cotys’ brothers were granted similar kingdoms to govern (Dio 59.12.2. See also the inscription *IGRR* IV 147 which spells out the brothers and their kingdoms).

¹⁷⁸ *IGRR* IV 145. See Sullivan, ‘Thrace’, p. 208; Thonemann, ‘Polemo, Son of Polemo’, p. 144.

The records that survive relate no stories of rebellion or revolt by the population of Armenia Minor and Cotys is again referred to in Tacitus' account, regarding events dated to AD 47. At that time unrest in Greater Armenia meant some factions attempted to press the king of nearby Armenia Minor to rule them.¹⁷⁹ Tacitus' account suggested that Cotys would have complied, but was restrained by a letter from Claudius. Even a client king of a minor territory, such as Lesser Armenia, felt confident to act independently without deferring the decision to Rome, although in the end Rome overruled him. The names alone of the two territories suggest some common culture between the people of these kingdoms. Cotys could also boast a blood connection to Armenia Major – Artaxias III, the king of the Armenians enthroned by Germanicus and who reigned successfully from AD 17 to 35, was his uncle.

After this incident, Armenia Minor again disappears from the record until the reign of Nero, when in AD 54 he appointed Aristobulus, from the family of Herod, as king of Armenia Minor.¹⁸⁰ This was probably in response to the recent Parthian threat to Armenia. Either a descendant of the Artaxiads of Armenia, or of either Polemo of Pontus or Archelaus of Cappadocia, would have had a strong claim to rule Armenia Minor. Josephus noted that this Aristobulus was the son of Herod of Chalcis and Mariamne.¹⁸¹ None of Aristobulus' antecedents appear to have a claim on Lesser Armenia, although others in the Judaeen royal family did.¹⁸² Why Nero granted Armenia Minor to Aristobulus is not recorded, as he had no obvious family claim to the territory. No children are recorded (or even a wife) of the previous king, Cotys, and there may have been no suitable candidates ready with family claims to Armenia Minor. If that were the case, Nero did the next best thing and appointed a scion of another proven dynasty, the family of Herod and resisted the Antonian method of appointing someone competent, but completely outside the Eastern Dynastic Network.

¹⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 11.9; Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 208; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 92.

¹⁸⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 2.252, *AJ* 20.158; Tac. *Ann.* 13.7. As Sullivan suggested, Cotys had probably died somewhere between 47 and this date (Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 209). If a king was appointed for Armenia Minor between these two reigns, no record of it has survived. A final bronze coin type of Aristobulus with his name and portrait commemorates Titus and was issued in his 17th year (AD 70/71); see *RPC* II 1692.

¹⁸¹ Joseph. *AJ* 20.158; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 304-05. Herod of Chalcis, like his brother Herod Agrippa I, was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice (Joseph. *AJ* 18.133-134).

¹⁸² For example, Tigranes VI, descended from Glaphyra of Cappadocia had a claim, as did another Aristobulus, married to Jotape, sister of Sohaemus. Kokkinos is also puzzled as to the reason behind Nero's appointment of Aristobulus to Armenia Minor (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 311-12). See also Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 319-20; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 273.

On closer examination the diverse group of rulers that were assigned Armenia Minor to govern by Augustus and his successor now appear to have had a claim on the territory either through a dynastic connection to the ruling family of Armenia Major or descent from a ruler appointed by Pompey, Caesar or Antony to manage the territory. Under Augustus, Artavasdes could claim connection to the Armenian royal family and Archelaus could claim Armenia Minor as an ancestral fief of Cappadocia. Cotys, a product of a marriage arranged by Augustus, appointed by Gaius, could claim descent from Polemo, who was given Armenia Minor to rule by Antony. Only Aristobulus, appointed by Nero, had no clear connection, although he was connected to relatives who could claim Armenia Minor. Armenia Minor was not handed out haphazardly to a motley series of rulers, but bestowed on proven rulers or descendants of proven rulers, who could claim some connection to the land they were given to govern. The absence of any recorded trouble in the territory also suggests that the people of Armenia Minor accepted the rulers the Romans set up to administer them, unlike their cousin in nearby Armenia Major.

Armenia Major

Armenia Major, or Greater Armenia, had been a kingdom since Artaxias had led the country in revolt against Seleucid control around 180 BC.¹⁸³ From Artaxias a dynasty ensued with many marriage connections to nearby Media and Parthia, according to Strabo.¹⁸⁴ In regards to its relationships to Rome, it had a chequered history. The ambitions of its most famous king, Tigranes II, had been successfully curtailed by Lucullus and Pompey. Realistically it was not in Armenia's interest to have either Rome conquer Parthia or vice versa. During Crassus' invasion of Parthia in 53 BC, Artavasdes prevaricated about sending aid.¹⁸⁵ During Antony's invasion of Parthia, the same king at first assisted Antony and then may have played him false

¹⁸³ Polyb. 8.23.1; Strab. 11.14.5; Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, pp. 98-99; M. Chahin, *Kingdom of Armenia*, London, 1987, p. 193.

¹⁸⁴ Strab. 11.13.1; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 295.

¹⁸⁵ Plut. *Crass.* 22.2-3. During Pacorus' retaliatory invasion of Syria, the Armenian King allied to Parthia and married his sister to Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia; see Plut. *Crass.* 33.1. See also Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 72-73; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 287.

when he withdrew his troops at the siege of Phraaspa.¹⁸⁶ Artavasdes' son, Artaxias, remained obviously hostile to Rome until he was murdered by an internal conspiracy.¹⁸⁷ Augustus then saw his opportunity and sent Tiberius on a mission in 20 BC to crown Tigranes, son of Artavasdes, king of Armenia.¹⁸⁸ Tigranes and his children reigned until 2 BC, when the Artaxiad dynasty died out.

Augustus' frequent attempts to propose and support a candidate for the Armenians that they might find acceptable demonstrated that the emperor was anxious to preserve the Roman privilege of appointing the kings of Armenia. The Armenians had demonstrated their fractious nature and Augustus appeared keen to select a king acceptable to them. In ancient terms, the chance of acceptance was increased if the nominee was related to the native dynasty. It appears the only remaining Artaxiad was Erato, daughter of Tigranes III.¹⁸⁹ Augustus broadened his search to look for candidates in the co-lateral branches of the dynasty. That Ariobarzanes of Media was descended from the kings of Armenia, at least through a daughter of Tigranes II, is probable and, according to Tacitus, the "Armenians raised no objections" to this nominee.¹⁹⁰ Dio contradicted this account and instead recorded that the Armenians "went to war with the Romans because they were being handed over to a Mede, Ariobarzanes."¹⁹¹ The confusion in the sources probably stems from the fact that it would be difficult to define what all the Armenians desired in this situation. At least four different factions in Armenia at that time can be speculated: a pro-Roman faction, a pro-Parthian faction, an independent faction wanting nothing to do with either power, and probably a faction that cared little who

¹⁸⁶ Strab. 11.13.4; 11.14.15; Plut. *Ant.* 39.1; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 73. Artavasdes was captured by Antony and eventually executed (Strab. 11.14.15; Joseph. *AJ* 15.104; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Plut. *Ant.* 50.4).

¹⁸⁷ *RG* 27.2; Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', pp. 158-59; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 290-91; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 323; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 74; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 230; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72.

¹⁸⁸ *RG* 27.2; Vell. Pat. 2.94; Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Suet. *Tib.* 9.1; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Dio 54.9.5-6; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 74-75; Crook, 'Political History', p. 90; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 323; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-32; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72; Gruen, 'Imperial Policy of Augustus', p. 386; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁸⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.4; Dio 55.10a.7. See *PIR*² E 85; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 76-77; Chahin, *Kingdom of Armenia*, p. 213.

¹⁹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 2.4. As noted earlier, a daughter of Tigranes II was married to a Mithridates of Media (Dio 36.14.2) and Strabo noted that the Armenian royal family had married into the Median royals, and that the dynasty of Atropatene had continued unbroken to his day (Strab. 11.13.1).

¹⁹¹ Dio 55.10a.7 (trans. E. Cary); Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 326; Swan, *Augustan Succession*, pp. 132-33.

ruled them. Ariobarzanes died from an accident after a short reign, probably around AD 2.¹⁹² His son, Artavasdes, was rejected by the Armenians.¹⁹³ Tacitus next described, “an experiment in female government” under Erato, who was shortly expelled.¹⁹⁴

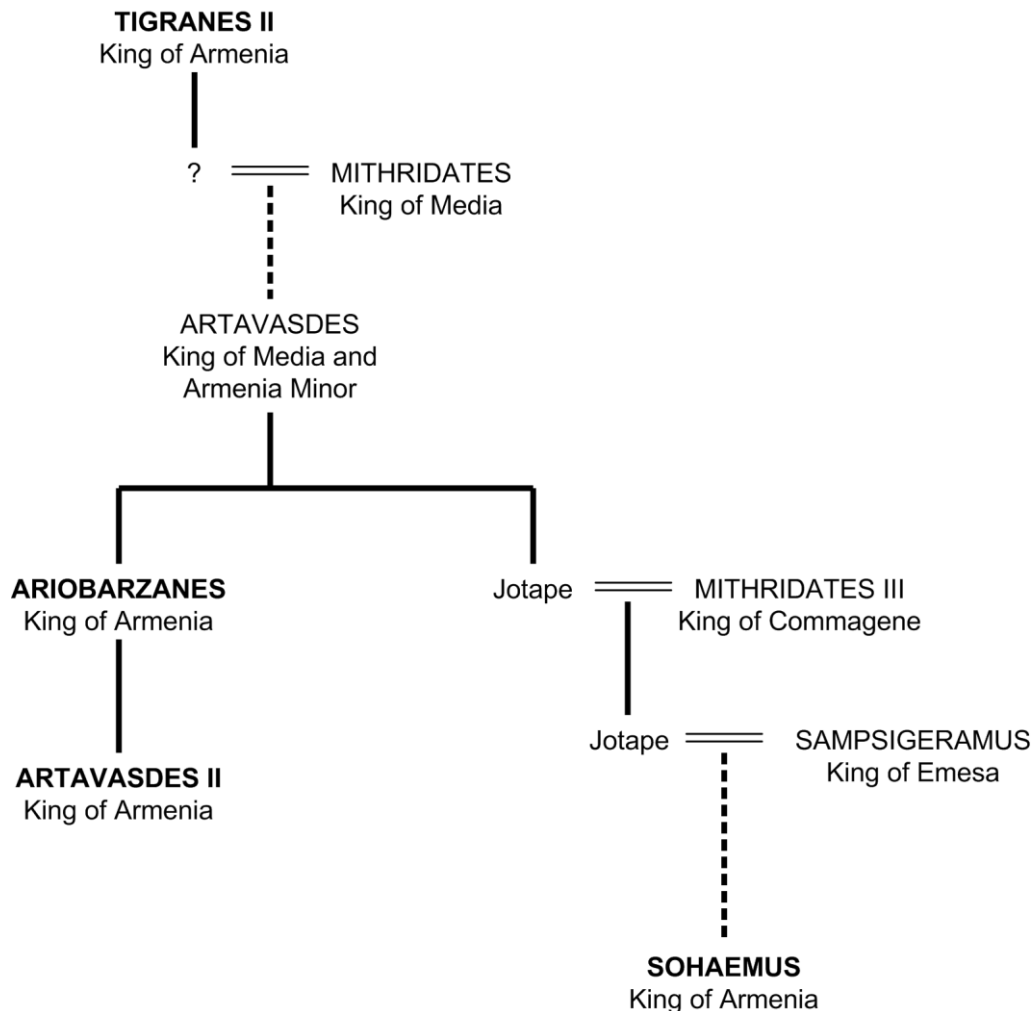


Figure 24. Kings of Armenia I (Median House)

Now Augustus’ policy of intermarriage between the families of his client kings could at last generate results, and within his lifetime. From the Judaeen royal family Augustus produced another candidate: Tigranes V. In the *Res Gestae*, he described Tigranes as being *ex regio*

¹⁹² *RG* 27.2; *Tac. Ann.* 2.4; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 233; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 82; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72.

¹⁹³ *RG* 27.2; *Tac. Ann.* 2.4; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 82; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 233; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72. A silver drachm was issued at this time featuring the portrait of Augustus and Artavasdes; see Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads*, p. 76 n. 163.

¹⁹⁴ *Tac. Ann.* 2.4. See also Dio 55.10a.7, who says she “resigned her sovereignty” though this may refer to an earlier reign; note too Chahin, *Kingdom of Armenia*, p. 213.

genere Armeniorum (“from the royal family of Armenia”) – as Cooley points out, Augustus is being deliberately vague here, but he is not necessarily being dishonest.¹⁹⁵ Modern scholars have sought to provide Tigranes of Judaea with Armenian connections, and there is a strong case. Tigranes was the son of Alexander of Judaea and Glaphyra of Cappadocia (see Marriage 3 above). On his father’s side there is no evidence for a connection. Alexander was the son of Herod the Great and Mariamne the Hasmonaean, and both their parents are known to have no Armenian connections.¹⁹⁶ Tigranes’ mother, Glaphyra, may well have been the daughter of an Armenian princess and her father, Archelaus, may have married a daughter of Artavasdes of Armenia either prior or during Antony’s eastern campaigns. Alexander and Glaphyra were married around 18/17 BC (see Marriage 3 above), so the earliest Glaphyra could have been born would be around 32 BC. It is accepted by most modern scholars that Glaphyra’s mother was most probably an Armenian princess, on the basis of three pieces of evidence:¹⁹⁷

1. As noted above, Augustus, in the *Res Gestae*, claims that his nominee Tigranes was a descendant of the royal Armenian house;
2. Josephus reported that while in Herod’s court, Glaphyra boasted of her mother’s descent from Darius and she lorded her illustrious descent over the “lower born” women of Herod’s court.¹⁹⁸ Glaphyra’s mother was obviously royal, and the descent from Darius could be provided through the Artaxiads, who claimed to be descended from the Iranian Orontids.¹⁹⁹ It must also be acknowledged that there would be many other candidates for descent from Darius, real or fictional – Glaphyra’s mother could have descended from the royal families of Pontus, Media or Commagene;
3. The name of Glaphyra’s eldest son: Tigranes. The name does not feature in either the Cappadocian or Judaeian royal families. It is, however, a common name amongst the Artaxiads of Armenia.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ *RG* 27.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 233; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 259; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1164. See also *PIR*² T 206.

¹⁹⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 1.561, *AJ* 17.16; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 213.

¹⁹⁷ Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 83; J. G. C. Anderson, ‘The Eastern Frontier under Augustus’, *CAH*¹ 10, p. 277; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 259; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1161.

¹⁹⁸ Joseph. *BJ* 1.476-477; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1162; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 259.

¹⁹⁹ Steles were placed at Armenia’s boundaries by Artaxias, as described by Modes of Khorene (2.56). Several of these stones have been found with the inscription “King Artaxias, the son of Orontid Zariadres”; see Chahin, *Kingdom of Armenia*, p. 193; Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads*, p. 7.

²⁰⁰ Tigranes II (95-55 BC) was the most famous of the Artaxiad kings of Armenia. His grandson Tigranes III (20-c. 8 BC) was the candidate installed by Tiberius in 20 BC. His son, Tigranes IV (c. 8 BC - AD 1), ruled briefly afterwards. Of course, Tigranes could have adopted such a name on being bestowed Armenia, in a similar

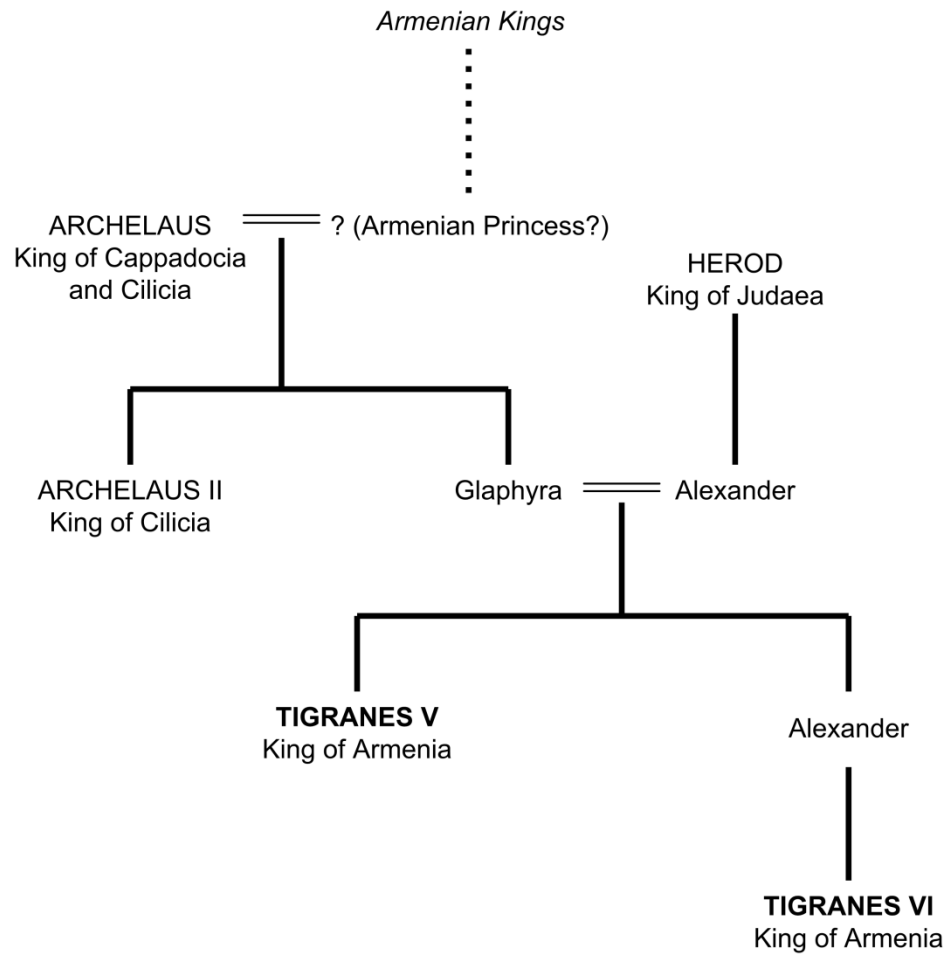


Figure 25. Kings of Armenia II (Judaean House)

If Glaphyra was descended from the Artaxiads, then marriage between Cappadocia and Judaea, surely masterminded by Augustus, bore useful fruit. Their children, Tigranes and Alexander, would probably have been educated in Rome and had potential claims to the kingdoms of Armenia, Judaea and Cappadocia. When the opportunity arose, as it did in Armenia around AD 6, Augustus had at hand a prince with a Roman education and the right credentials. Unfortunately, Tigranes proved ultimately unacceptable to the Armenian people. Even though it seems, from numismatic evidence, that he was associated in his rule with Erato, he was eventually expelled.²⁰¹ Around the same time Vonones, the son of Phraates IV

fashion to Zeno who changed his name to Artaxias (see below) after becoming King of Armenia. Josephus, however, only refers to him as Tigranes.

²⁰¹ Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads*, pp. 38-40. Tigranes returned to Rome, where he eventually died childless and charged with treason (Joseph. *AJ* 18.139; Tac. *Ann.* 6.40). Neither sources report the nature of the charges.

and the king Augustus boasts of giving to the Parthians, was expelled from that realm and found a haven in Armenia, which was now leaderless.²⁰²

Tiberius apparently also preferred to appoint kings that had strong connections to their kingdoms. The removal of Vonones had left a vacancy on the Armenian throne and in AD 17 Germanicus was sent east to settle the affairs of several client kingdoms. Cappadocia and Commagene, noted above, became territories under direct imperial rule. In Armenia, Germanicus crowned Zeno, the son of Polemo and Pythodoris, as king.²⁰³ Zeno adopted the name Artaxias, a traditional name of many previous rulers of his new homeland.²⁰⁴ At first glance, the son of the King of Pontus seems an odd choice for a king of Armenia, although Polemo previously had been ruler of Lesser Armenia. Zeno/Artaxias proved to be acceptable to the Armenians, and he reigned until AD 35. Like previous nominees, Zeno had probably had a Roman education but unlike previous nominees, he carefully and eagerly adopted Armenian custom and dress.²⁰⁵

Armenia again became a thorny issue after Zeno/Artaxias died in AD 35 who appears to have never married or left any issue. The Parthian King set up his son Arsaces as King of Armenia. During the manoeuvring between Rome and Parthia that followed, Tiberius invited Mithridates, brother of the neighbouring King of Iberia, to take over Armenia.²⁰⁶ As neighbouring kingdoms, it might be expected that the Armenian and Iberian royal houses were linked in marriage. Iberian historical tradition, as preserved by Toumanoff, recorded

²⁰² *RG* 33.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.46-50; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 255; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 75. Vonones appears to have been tolerated there by Romans and Armenians alike, but eventually ousted for fear of upsetting Artabanus, his rival in Parthia (Joseph. *AJ* 18.51-53).

²⁰³ Strab. 12.3.29; Tac. *Ann.* 2.56, 2.64; *PIR*² A 1168; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 86-87; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 923-25; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146. A silver didrachm issued from Caesarea in Cappadocia commemorates the crowning of Artaxias by Germanicus (*RIC*² 59). Zeno's ancestry is spelt out in *OGIS* 377.

²⁰⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 2.56; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 923-25. Tacitus erroneously suggested that Zeno's new name was chosen from the Armenian capital, Artaxarta. In truth, Artaxarta was founded by Artaxias, the first of the independent Armenian kings; see Strab. 11.14.6; Plut. *Luc.* 32.3; Chahin, *History of Armenia*, pp. 194-95.

²⁰⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 2.56; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 923.

²⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 6.32; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 219-20.

several Armenian princesses married to Iberian Kings.²⁰⁷ That Mithridates had some claim on Armenia would be expected, although the surviving sources report no such connection. With his brother's help, the Parthians were expelled and Mithridates reigned in Armenia until he was deposed by his nephew in AD 51.²⁰⁸ This is probably another case of a Julio-Claudian emperor preferring to appoint a king connected to the native-ruling family, albeit tenuously.

The struggle between Mithridates and his Iberian nephew, Radamistus, for Greater Armenia lasted into Nero's reign. Parthia recognised an opportunity and King Vologaeses attempted to place his brother, Tiridates, on the Armenian throne.²⁰⁹ Rome, of course, objected and during the subsequent Armenian War, Rome was able to produce Tigranes VI as an appointee for the Armenia. This Tigranes was the son of Alexander of Judaea and nephew of one of Augustus' appointees, Tigranes V (see above).²¹⁰ The marriage of Glaphyra to Alexander, another marriage arranged in Augustus' reign, had again born useful descendants. Tigranes was sent to Armenia with backing from Corbulo.²¹¹ Ultimately his candidature failed.²¹² Although unsuccessful, Nero benefitted from Augustus' arrangements, which had provided a candidate for Rome to use to oppose Parthia's aggression.

Southern Syria & Judaea

In Southern Syria and Judaea there existed a number of small principalities that Augustus and his successors tended to allocate based on dynastic claims. Augustus had promised Herod the

²⁰⁷ Toumanoff, 'Early Kings of Iberia', pp. 10-12. According to this tradition Mithridates of Iberia was the grandson of Pharnabazus II of Iberia and an Artaxiad princess. Pharnabazus II himself was supposed to be the grandson of an Artaxiad Artaxias and an Iberian princess.

²⁰⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.45-7; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 221-22; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 95-97; Toumanoff, 'Early Kings of Iberia', p. 12; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160.

²⁰⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.50; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 97-98; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 241; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160.

²¹⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; *BJ* 2.222; Tac. *Ann.* 14.26; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 248-50; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 226; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 107; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 248; Gilmartin, 'Corbulo's Campaigns in the East', p. 603.

²¹¹ Tac. *Ann.* 14.26; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 226; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 248; Gilmartin, 'Corbulo's Campaigns in the East', p. 603; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 107; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 248.

²¹² Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 107-11. Rome eventually accepted Parthia's nominee Tiridates, who made the journey to Rome to be crowned King of Armenia by Nero in AD 66; see Suet. *Ner.* 13; Dio 62.5.4; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 122; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 248; Dąbrowa, 'Arsacids and their State', p. 35.

king of Judaea the distinction of being able to appoint his own heir.²¹³ If Augustus had not formally recanted this privilege, he obviously had no intention of honouring it. On Herod's death around 4 BC, Augustus divided his kingdom between his three surviving sons. Josephus recorded that the major part of the kingdom fell to Archelaus, Herod's anointed heir, although Augustus withheld the title of king. The territories of Trachonitis, Gaulanitis and Batanea (roughly a quarter of the original kingdom) went to Philip with the title of tetrarch. Galilee and Peraea (another quarter) went to Antipas, who also received the title of tetrarch.²¹⁴

After some ten years a petition from Archelaus' subjects saw Augustus remove Archelaus and absorb his realm into the province of Syria.²¹⁵ Augustus was not afraid to bring direct rule to territories formerly ruled by client rulers. Tiberius too followed his predecessor's method of handling Judaea. When Philip died in AD 33 (and Josephus noted that he had no living sons), Tiberius transferred his territories to the responsibility of the governor of Syria.²¹⁶ Gaius had no issue with undoing Augustus' acts. One of his earliest acts as emperor in AD 37 was to assign to his friend, Herod Agrippa, the tetrarchy of Philip, along with the appellation of king.²¹⁷ Herod Agrippa was the grandson of Herod the Great and nephew of Philip and so had a strong claim to the territories. When the remaining tetrarch, Antipas, attempted to undermine Agrippa, Gaius exiled him to Lyons and gave all Antipas' territories to Agrippa, who was Antipas' nephew and brother-in-law.²¹⁸

²¹³ Joseph. *AJ* 15.343,16.92, 16.129, *BJ* 1.454, 1.458; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 139-40; Rocca, *Herod's Judaea*, p. 57; Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus', pp. 22-23. But this may have first occurred well before the strife that beset Herod's family.

²¹⁴ For the terms of Augustus' decision, which basically confirmed Herod's final will, see Joseph. *AJ* 17.317-320, *BJ* 2.93-95; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 25-26.

²¹⁵ Strab. 12.2.46; Joseph. *BJ* 2.111, *AJ* 17.342-344; Dio 55.27.6; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 744; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 227-28; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 117; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 59-60. Archelaus was exiled to Vienne in Gaul. Part of the Judaeian complaints against Archelaus was his irreligious marriage to his brother's widow (Glaphyra); see Marriage 9 above and Chapter 6 below.

²¹⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 18.108; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 240; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 744. Smallwood suggests that Tiberius only put Philip's territories temporarily under the control of the Syrian governor until the emperor could decide on an heir (Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 182).

²¹⁷ Philo *Flacc.* 25, 40; Joseph. *BJ* 2.181-182, *AJ* 18.237; Dio 59.8.2; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 279-80; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 741; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 63; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 323; Wardle, 'Caligula and the Client Kings', p. 439; Wilkinson, *Caligula*, p. 60.

²¹⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 18.240-255; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 269; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 740; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 183. Agrippa was the son of Antipas' half-brother Aristobulus and Antipas was married to Agrippa's full sister Herodias.

Just to the north lay Chalcis, or Ituraea, a territory that had been ruled by a Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, in the first century BC, who provided assistance to the Hasmonean Antigonus which included a marriage-alliance.²¹⁹ Sometime after Actium it appears that Augustus returned Chalcis to a Zenodorus, probably a descendant of Ptolemy. After Zenodorus had been encouraging banditry in the area, Augustus transferred his territory to Herod to govern in 20 BC.²²⁰ Augustus most probably gave Herod Chalcis because he was the nearest competent client king. Herod also had a slight claim to the kingdom, through his wife Mariamne, who was related to Ptolemy's Hasmonean bride.²²¹ Although Mariamne was dead by 20 BC, her sons and Herod's heirs (at that time) were in Rome with Augustus.²²² With an eye towards the future, Augustus may have intended that Herod's Hasmonaeans eventually rule the lands of their cousin Zenodorus. In the meantime, Herod had proved himself capable and was nearby. If Augustus did have such a plan, then it came to nothing, as Herod executed his sons in 8/7 BC. After Herod died around 4 BC, Ituraea was not mentioned in Josephus' account of Augustus' carving up of Judaea, so the tetrarchy may have been given to a surviving scion of the family of Ptolemy, or been absorbed into the province of Syria. Dio noted that Gaius granted the territory of Ituraea to a Sohaemus in AD 38.²²³

Claudius likewise made dynastic connections a priority when dispensing kingdoms and territories in Judaea and Southern Syria. The Judaeans territories formerly ruled by Archelaus,

²¹⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 14.126. For the modern treatment of this territory and its rulers, see Wright, 'Ituraean Coinage in Context', pp. 55-71. Ptolemy's son Philippon married Antigonus' sister Alexandra and, according to Josephus, Ptolemy killed his son and took his bride for himself (Joseph. *AJ* 14.126). The line of Chalcis continued with Lysanias, who ruled between 40 and 36 BC, before he was executed by Antony, who gave his territory to Cleopatra (Joseph. *AJ* 15.91-92; Dio 49.32.5).

²²⁰ Dio 54.9.3; Joseph. *BJ* 1.398-400, *AJ* 15.345, 360; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 55-56; Isaac, 'Bandits in Judaea and Arabia', p. 178; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 238-39; Kennedy, 'Syria', p. 729; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 142; Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus', p. 22. Zenodorus complained, but died of a "ruptured intestine" in Antioch (Joseph. *AJ* 15.359). Coins of Lysanias, Cleopatra, Zenodorus and Herod were issued at Chalcis, see *RPC I* 4768-4776; Wright, 'Ituraean Coinage', pp. 55-73.

²²¹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.344; *AJ* 14.297-300, 467; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 212. Herod's wife Mariamne was the niece of the Alexandra who first married Philippon then his father Ptolemy of Chalcis, noted above.

²²² For Mariamne's death, see *BJ* 1.443-444, *AJ* 15.236; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 213; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 741. For Herod's sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, in Rome, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.435 and 1.446, *AJ* 15.342; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 175; Hunt, 'Herod and Augustus', p. 22; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 228, 239; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 26; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 369-70.

²²³ Dio 59.12.2. This Sohaemus was either a descendant of Ptolemy and Lysanias or a scion of the nearby Emesan royal family, which may have been closely related to the family of Ptolemy and Lysanias (Ball, *Rome in the East*, p. 35).

were removed from the province of Syria and added to Agrippa's domains.²²⁴ Claudius also appointed Herod king of Chalcis – through his grandfather, the younger Herod (Agrippa's brother) had a claim on Chalcis, and his Hasmonean descent connected him with the earlier rulers of Chalcis, the family of Ptolemy.²²⁵ Although Claudius absorbed Herod Agrippa's dominions in Judaea on his death in AD 44, his son Agrippa II was only temporarily left without an inheritance.²²⁶ When Agrippa I's brother, Herod, died in AD 48, Claudius transferred his realm of Chalcis to Agrippa II, although Herod had sons that survived him.²²⁷ Like his uncle, Agrippa II had a strong claim, Herodian and Hasmonean, to Chalcis. Four years later Claudius removed Chalcis from him but also gave him several other Judaeian tetrarchies that had belonged to his father Agrippa I.²²⁸ Claudius clearly followed the Augustan policy of appointing client kings with strong claims on the kingdoms they intended to rule. Aristobulus, the son of Herod of Chalcis who was given Armenia Minor by Nero, may have later inherited his father's kingdom. Josephus referred to a "Aristobulus of Chalcidice" who provided troops to assist in removing Antiochus IV from Commagene – it is not clear whether Aristobulus was given his father's realm when Agrippa II was moved to Judaea by Claudius, or by Nero either before or after he was given Armenia Minor, or even by Vespasian, in lieu of Armenia Minor when it was added to Cappadocia.²²⁹

²²⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 2.215, *AJ* 19.274; Dio 60.8.1-2; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 289; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 192. Now Agrippa possessed the core kingdom that was his grandfather Herod's territory.

²²⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 2.217, *AJ* 19.277; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 310; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 192; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 306-07. According to Josephus, Claudius made this grant to Herod as favour to Agrippa.

²²⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 2.219-220, *AJ* 19.360-362; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 200; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 318.

²²⁷ Joseph. *BJ* 2.223, *AJ* 20.104; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 310; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 262; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 318-19.

²²⁸ Joseph. *BJ* 2.247, *AJ* 20.138; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 320. See Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 332-33 for explanation of which new territories Agrippa II was given.

²²⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 7.226; S. Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaeian Politics*, Leiden, 1990, p. 149; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 312; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 320; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 339 n. 25.

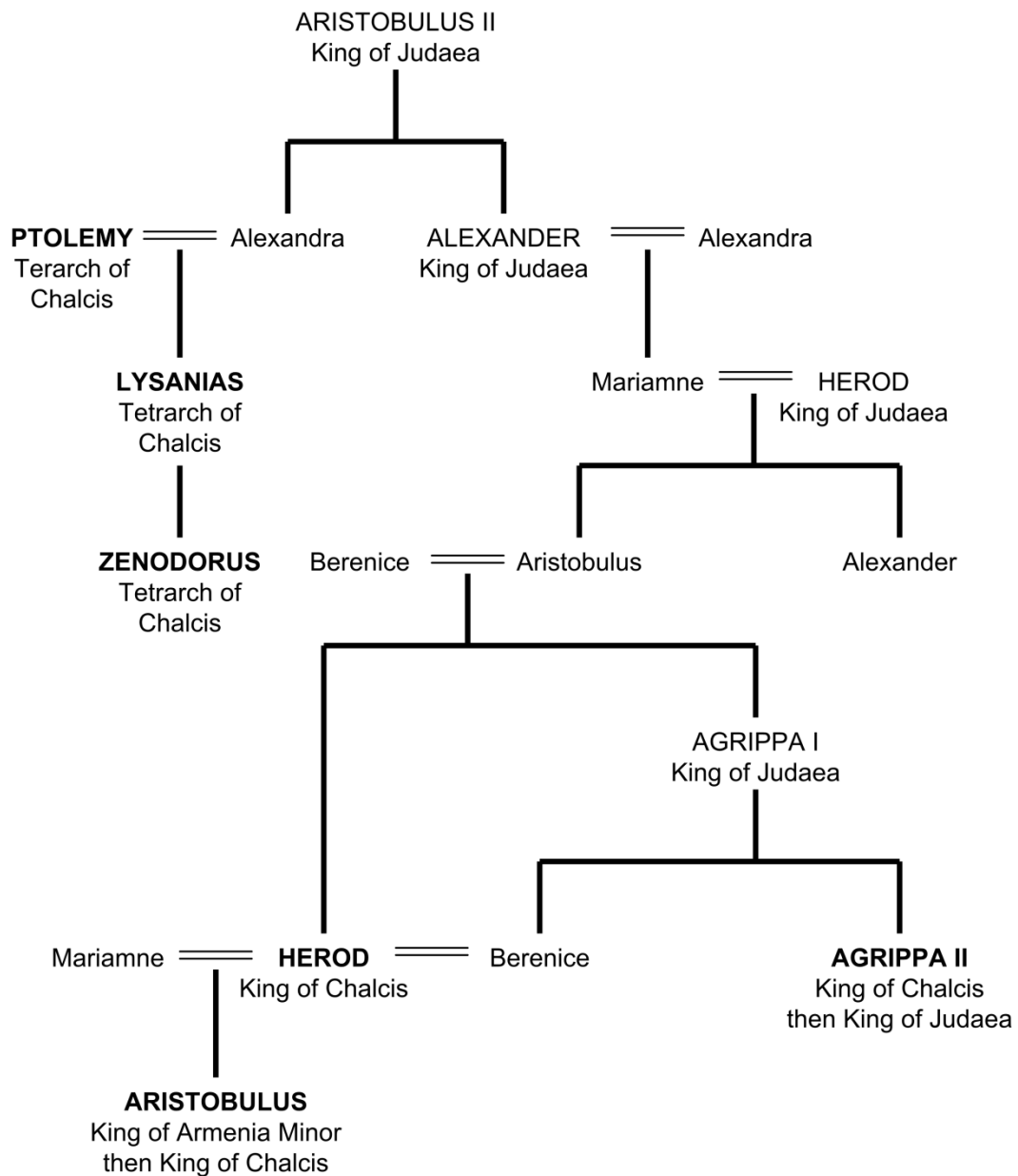


Figure 26. Rulers of Chalcis

Cilicia

Cilicia was traditionally a territory plagued by pirates and bandits, and Rome tended to leave much of the province to local kings and dynasts to govern. It was during the description of this territory that prompted Strabo to explain Rome’s use of client kings: “since the region was naturally well adapted to the business of piracy both by land and by sea ... the Romans thought that it was better for the region to be ruled by kings than to be under the Roman

prefects sent to administer justice, who were not likely always to be present or to have armed forces with them.”²³⁰ Cilicia was divided naturally into main areas, as Strabo elaborated, Cilicia Pedias, the richer eastern section, and Cilicia Tracheia, the rougher mountainous areas of the western part.²³¹ Olba, an important religious centre which lay between the two areas, was ruled by its own dynasty of priest-kings.²³² Unfortunately these main areas had further divisions, and generals and emperors would allot them to various rulers at various times to which the sources rarely provide clear delineations. Careful analysis below demonstrates, however, (particularly during the imperial period) a certain logic to this apportioning: Cilicia, like the territories analysed in this section, was usually allotted to kings who either had a dynastic or traditional claim to rule the area.

After Actium, Augustus awarded Cilicia Tracheia to the nearby king of Galatia, Amyntas.²³³ When Amyntas died in 25 BC, much of the territory was added to the new province of Galatia. The eastern section, however, was allotted to Archelaus of Cappadocia.²³⁴ Augustus’ apportioning to Amyntas and then Archelaus were not allocations based on dynastic claims. Instead these were most probably awards to nearby competent rulers who had proved their worth and loyalty. Since Cilicia had no traditional ruling family, there was little else Augustus could do if he wished the area to be ruled by client kings. After Archelaus died, Tiberius divided his kingdom. His native kingdom of Cappadocia became a province, but Archelaus II, son of Archelaus, was granted his father’s dominions in Cilicia, to which he obviously had a claim.²³⁵ In AD 37, according to Dio, Gaius presented Antiochus IV not only with

²³⁰ Strab. 14.5.6 (trans. H. L. Jones); Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 92; Braund, ‘Client Kings’, p. 91. For an overview of Cilicia during this period, see T. B. Mitford, ‘Roman Rough Cilicia’, *ANRW* II 7.2, 1980, pp. 1230-231.

²³¹ Strab. 14.5.1; Mitford, ‘Roman Rough Cilicia’, pp. 1230-231. Unlike other regions, Cilicia was frequently divided and portioned out, first by the Republican generals, and the practice continued under the emperors; see Mitford, ‘Roman Rough Cilicia’, p. 1240.

²³² Strab. 14.5.10; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 162-63; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 269.

²³³ Strab. 14.5.6; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 173. Cilicia Tracheia was initially awarded to Cleopatra by Antony (Strab. 14.5.6; Strootman, ‘Queen of Kings’, p. 141).

²³⁴ *OGIS* 357; Strab. 12.1.4; Dio 54.9.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 162; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1155. This new territory included the island of Elaeussa, which Archelaus renamed in honour of Augustus and built a palace there (Strab. 14.5.6; Joseph. *AJ* 16.131).

²³⁵ *PIR*² A 1024, inferred from Tac. *Ann.* 6.41. See also Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1167; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 230; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 494; Levick, ‘Greece and Asia Minor’, p. 670; Mitford, ‘Roman Rough Cilicia’, p. 1244. Little evidence remains of the younger Archelaus’ rule, although he had to deal with local insurrections in AD 36 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.41).

Commagene but also “the coast region of Cilicia.”²³⁶ While Cilicia lay close to Antiochus’ ancestral domains in Commagene, he appears to have been granted that part furthest from Commagene. Antiochus also had no known ancestral claim to any part of Cilicia inherited from either side of his family.

Territories in Cilicia Tracheia were later granted to Alexander (the son of Tigranes VI of Armenia) to rule – according to Josephus, “Vespasian appointed him king of Ceticus in Cilicia.”²³⁷ He was married to Jotape, daughter of Antiochus IV of Commagene (see Marriage 20). This Alexander inherited a claim to lands in Cilicia from his great-great grandfather, Archelaus of Cappadocia. His father-in-law was Antiochus IV of Commagene who Gaius granted part of Cilicia to rule. Once again, the marriage-alliance between the Cappadocian royal family and the Herodians forged in Augustus’ reign provided another candidate with the right pedigree for a future emperor to set up as a client king. Although Alexander came from the family of Herod, and his father was King of Armenia, he inherited two claims on Cilicia, from the dynasties of Cappadocia and Commagene. This time it was Vespasian, an emperor traditionally perceived by modern scholars as unfavourable to client kings, who brought together the two strands of dynastic rule in Cilicia Tracheia.²³⁸

Although much of Cilicia Pedia, the eastern half of that land, was ruled directly by the Roman Empire, however, a section of the mountainous terrain to the north, around Mount Amanus, was given to a series of kings to rule. The first to rule this area was Tarcondimotus, who appears to have been appointed to this area by Pompey around 70 BC during his

²³⁶ Dio 59.8.1 (the section regarding Gaius distributions of kingdoms and territories); Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 786; Mitford, ‘Roman Rough Cilicia’, p. 1243. Early in Claudius’ reign, Antiochus IV of Commagene was re-awarded “part of Cilicia” (Joseph. *AJ* 19.276). Coins issued in Antiochus’ name (or that of his sister-wife Jotape) were minted at Selinus (*RPC* I 3701-3702), Ceticus (*RPC* I 3703), Anemurium (*RPC* I 3704-3708), Celendris (*RPC* I 3709-3710), Seleucia (*RPC* I 3712-3713) and Elaeussa (*RPC* I 3717-3722). These cities lay in the western half of Cilicia, i.e. Cilicia Tracheia, which was previously Archelaus’ domain. It would be safe to assume that Archelaus II had died by AD 37, probably heirless, and Caligula granted his domains to Antiochus (Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 513; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, pp. 1167-168).

²³⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 794; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 576; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 252; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 44.

²³⁸ Based on three incorporations into provinces (of Commagene, Armenia Minor and Emesa, noted in Chapter 3 above); see Luttwark, *Grand Strategy*, p. 112; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 572-76; Frézouls, ‘Politique Dynastique’, p. 191.

reorganisation of the East and appears to have held the title “toparch.”²³⁹ Tarcondimotus supplied Pompey, his benefactor, with aid and troops against Caesar during the civil war.²⁴⁰ Like Pompey’s other allies, Caesar spared him.²⁴¹ Tarcondimotus survived under Antony, and appears to have been given the title of “king” as he is named so amongst Antony’s allies at Actium – in fact Tarcondimotus appears to have died fighting with the Antonian forces.²⁴² His son, “Philopator, the son of Tarcondimotus”, succeeded him briefly, before Octavian deposed him in 30 BC.²⁴³

In 20 BC Octavian re-instated the Tarcondimotid dynasts, and he gave “Tarcondimotus, the son of Tarcondimotus, the kingdom of Cilicia.”²⁴⁴ Whether this is the same son of Tarcondimotus that Augustus had earlier demoted, or his brother, is unclear. The same source (Dio) calls one Philopator and the other Tarcondimotus. Because Philopator is usually used as an epithet amongst Greek kings, some scholars, such as Bowersock, have assumed they are the same person.²⁴⁵ Coins with the monogram TAP have been discovered, as well as other coins with the monogram ΦΙΑ and yet others with both.²⁴⁶ In AD 17 Tacitus recorded the death of “Philopator of Cilicia” as one of the three kings whose recent deaths prompted

²³⁹ Strab. 14.5.18; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 187-88; N. Andrade, ‘Local Authority and Civic Hellenism: Tarcondimotus, Hierapolis-Castabala and the Cult of Perasia’, *AS* 61, 2011, pp. 123-27; N. Wright, ‘Tarkondimotid Responses to Roman Domestic Politics’, *JNAA* 20, 2009, pp. 74-75; Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotos’, pp. 72-73; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 161-65; After Crassus’ disaster at Carrhae and the threat of Parthian retaliation, Cicero commended Tarcondimotus as “our most faithful ally beyond the Taurus and the most friendly to the Roman people” (Cic. *Fam.* 15.1.2).

²⁴⁰ Flor. 2.13.5; Dio 41.63; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 189; Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 74; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 162.

²⁴¹ Dio 41.63; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 189. Tarcondimotus may have even been awarded citizenship by Caesar, like Antipater of Judaea, as his daughter bore the name Julia; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 42; Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotos’, pp. 74-75.

²⁴² Plut. *Ant.* 61.1; Dio 50.14.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 161; Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotos’, pp. 76-77; Pelling, ‘Triumviral Period’, p. 56; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 190. According to Dio, Tarcondimotus had earlier allied himself with Cassius, although it not clear how much support he provided to Caesar’s assassins (Dio 48.26.2).

²⁴³ Dio 51.2.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 123; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 162; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 191; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46. Soon after this the “sons of Tarcondimotus” were involved in suppressing a revolt of pro-Antonian gladiators in Cilicia, which suggests that even after Octavian’s recall of their kingship, they still held some authority in their father’s domains (Dio 51.7.4; Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 77; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 132).

²⁴⁴ Dio 54.9.2; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 191; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 162; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46.

²⁴⁵ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 46-47. An inscription also names a “rex Tarcondimotus Philopator” as the father of a Julius Strato (*AE* 1914, 134; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 192).

²⁴⁶ See Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotos’, pp. 77-78.

Germanicus' mission to the East.²⁴⁷ While the simplest solution would be the identification of one king, Tarcondimotus Philopator, who reigned from the death of his father in 31 BC to AD 17, there is some merit in Wright's identification of three kings across two generations.²⁴⁸ Regardless of the exact lineage of these kings, it appears that both Augustus and Tiberius supported dynastic rule in "Upper" Cilicia. Whether as punishment, or because he assumed Tarcondimotid territory could safely be absorbed into direct Roman rule, Augustus removed Philopator. Ten years later, he returned the territory to the rule of kings, granting it to another son of Tarcondimotus. Only under Tiberius, when the last king of the Tarcondimotid dynasty died, did "Upper" Cilicia return to direct Roman rule. Like the other client kingdoms under the Julio-Claudians, the choice was between direct Roman rule and a member of the native Tarcondimotid dynasty – never an outside candidate with no royal connections.

Between Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia Pedia lay another territory, that of the priest-kings of Olba, that Strabo described as being "mountainous country."²⁴⁹ The city, with its temple to Zeus, was founded by "Ajax, son of Teucer."²⁵⁰ The dynasts from this line were called either Teucer or Ajax, until Aba's reign. It appears that this Aba was the daughter of a Cilician pirate chief, Zenophanes, and had married into the Teucid house – her dominion over Olba was approved by Antony and Cleopatra.²⁵¹ Sometime after Actium Augustus removed Aba and returned Olba to the Teucid dynasty, which were now descendants of Aba as well.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Wright, 'The House of Tarkondimotos', p. 80; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 670; Goodyear, *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. 2, p. 321.

²⁴⁸ Wright, 'House of Tarkondimotos', pp. 69-80. Philopator, Tarcondimotus I's eldest surviving son reigned first, from the death of his father until the mid-20s BC. He was succeeded by his brother Tarcondimotus II until sometime before AD 14. Finally, the dynasty ended with Tarcondimotus II Philopator, a grandson of Tarcondimotus I, in AD 17.

²⁴⁹ Strab. 15.4.10; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 269;

²⁵⁰ Strab. 15.4.10; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 162; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 269; Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 439.

²⁵¹ Strab. 15.4.10; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 269; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 162-63; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 48-49.

²⁵² Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 49; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 163. Strabo also mentioned that her "descendants" still reigned in Olba during his time (Strab. 15.4.10). Bronze coins of Ajax were issued during this period at Olba (*RPC* I 3724-3734).

Later, during the reign of Tiberius, bronze coins were issued at Olba in the name of M Antonius Polemo.²⁵³ The name alone suggests lineage from Polemo of Pontus rather than Aba or Teucer. Two passages of Dio provide more insight into this Polemo. In Gaius' reign (AD 38) Dio noted that the emperor gave to "Polemo, the son of Polemo, his ancestral domain."²⁵⁴ Some scholars have assumed that Dio, or a copyist, made a mistake and that he meant Polemo, grandson of Polemo I, since the section follows immediately on from the distributions Gaius made to the other grandsons of Polemo I.²⁵⁵ Likewise in Claudius' reign Dio recorded that the emperor gave the Bosporan kingdom to Mithridates, "giving to Polemo some land in Cilicia in place of it."²⁵⁶ Since Polemo I had married Dynamis the Queen of the Bosporan Kingdom and had ruled it for a period, that his son or grandson, might have a claim on it is understandable. The earlier passage may be referring to this same Polemo, as it does not explicitly refer to Pontus, the kingdom that Gaius did grant to Polemo the grandson of Polemo. Could this "ancestral domain" be part of Cilicia? Before Antony gave him Pontus, Polemo I, according to Strabo, did rule in Iconium.²⁵⁷ Appian noted that Antony set Polemo up in "part of Cilicia" at the same time as he appointed Darius, the son of Pharnaces, to be king of Pontus (38 BC).²⁵⁸ These territories in Cilicia could well have encompassed Olba, with the priest-kings there ruling under Polemo. With this in mind, Gaius could have been adhering to the dynastic principle by granting M. Antonius Polemo, the son of Polemo I of Pontus, his ancestral domains in Cilicia and Claudius later confirming or adding to them.

Overall the land known as Cilicia was easily divided into bundles that could often to be passed from king to king as rewards or extensions of their territory. In Cilicia Tracheia, most of the territory was first granted to Amyntas under Augustus, but then divided further – some

²⁵³ *RPC* I 3735-3739; Sullivan, 'King Marcus Antonius Polemo', pp. 8-10. The coins are described as resembling those of Ajax (Sullivan, 'King Marcus Antonius Polemo', p. 9; Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 440).

²⁵⁴ Dio 59.12.2; Thonemann, 'Polemo, Son of Polemo', p. 144; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 927.

²⁵⁵ For example, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1407, n. 26; Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 437; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 927. For a more thorough study of the problem and literature, see Dmitriev, 'Claudius' Grant of Cilicia to Polemo', pp. 286-91.

²⁵⁶ Dio 60.8.2; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 928; Dmitriev, 'Claudius' Grant of Cilicia to Polemo', pp. 286-87.

²⁵⁷ Strab. 12.6.1; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 916; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 218; S. Mitchell, 'Iconium and Ninica: Two Double Communities in Roman Asia Minor', *Historia* 28.4, 1979, p. 412; Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 438.

²⁵⁸ App. *BCiv.* 5.75; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 218; Barrett, 'Polemo II of Pontus', p. 438; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 160-61; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 916.

became part of the Roman province of Galatia, and the rest went to Archelaus of Cappadocia. On Archelaus' death the Cilician portion appears to have remained in the hands of his son, Archelaus II, before being transferred to Antiochus IV of Commagene. When Commagene was absorbed by Vespasian into the province of Syria, his Cilician lands were assigned to Antiochus' son-in-law, Alexander, who was also the great-grandson of Archelaus. In Cilicia Pedia, a section centred on Mount Amanus, remained in the hands of the descendants of Tarcondimotus. At Olba, the territory remained with the Teucrids until it appears to have been given to Polemo. Either the same Polemo, or an eponymous son, continued to issue coins there until the reign of Galba. At first glance, some of these distributions appear haphazard, but many of these gifts were actually made to rulers with a proven dynastic connection to the territory that they inherited. The fate of Cilicia during the Julio-Claudian period demonstrates a clear case of the emperors, wherever possible, adhering to the dynastic principle when allocating territories.

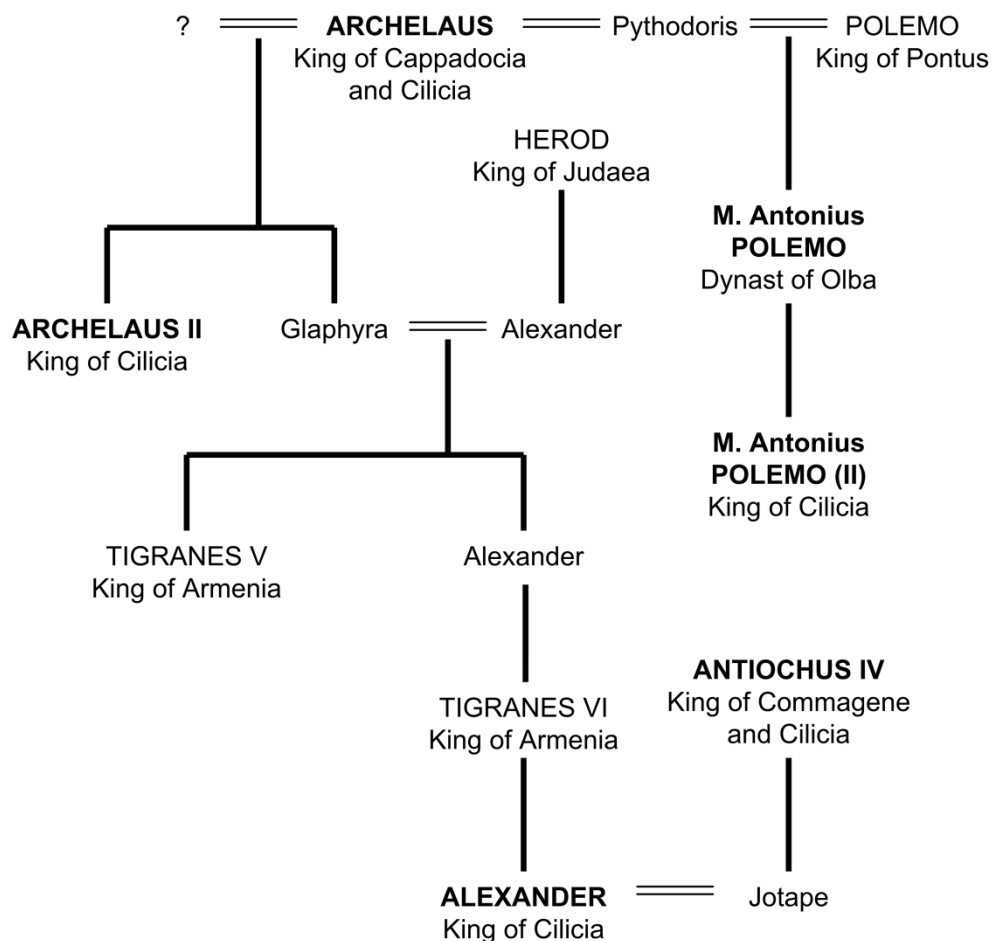


Figure 27. Rulers of Cilicia

Other Royal Placements and the Eastern Aristocracy

Although Greater and Lesser Armenia, Judaea and parts of Cilicia were territories frequently granted to various members of the client dynasties, territories were also awarded on a seemingly ad hoc basis. Despite the fact that most of Antony's "new men" were left in their kingdoms after Actium, Augustus was careful to follow the hereditary principle for any successions during his reign, and no "new men" are appointed to kingdoms during his long reign. The hereditary principle appears to have encouraged Augustus to interconnect his client dynasties together with marriages. Although there was not enough time for Augustus to reap much in the way of fruits of his labour, his successors definitely profited from his far-sighted policy.

The appointment of kings during Nero's reign, although all from the standard dynasties, reveals confused claims. Nero's appointment of Aristobulus of Judaea to Armenia Minor, for which he had no known dynastic connection, has already been noted above. As part of the Eastern arrangements put in place to support the Armenian War, Sophene was granted to a "Sohaemus" – Barrett has argued convincingly that this is the same Sohaemus who was king of Emesa, despite the geographical distance that lay between the two states.²⁵⁹ Sophene was traditionally a part of Greater Armenia, and there is no evidence that previously the area was granted to a king under the Roman Empire. This Sohaemus may have been connected to another Sohaemus that Gaius granted the client-state of Ituraea to rule in AD 38, which had been attached to the province of Syria after his death around AD 49.²⁶⁰ At first glance there is little claim that an Emesan prince could have on Sophene. Sohaemus would have been the offspring of Sampsigeramus II of Emesa and Jotape of Commagene (who herself was the daughter of Jotape of Media Atropatene) according to Macurdy's hypothesis.²⁶¹ The marriage was probably arranged under Augustus' guidance (see Marriage 8 above). However diluted, a claim from the Armenian kings could have passed down from Media, through Commagene, to Sohaemus of Emesa.

²⁵⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 13.7; Barrett, 'Sohaemus, King of Emesa', pp. 153-59; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 216. Magie, however, believed the distances too great (Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1412, n. 41). There is, however, such a precedent – as has already been demonstrated earlier, Polemo I of Pontus was also given the Bosporean kingdom to govern, and Gaius granted Antiochus IV of Commagene territories in Cilicia Tracheia.

²⁶⁰ Dio 59.12.2, Tac. *Ann.* 12.23. See *PIR*² S 765 and Barrett, 'Sohaemus, King of Emesa and Sophene', p. 154.

²⁶¹ Macurdy, 'Jotape', pp. 40-42 and see Marriage 8 above.

By the end of Vespasian's reign many of the traditional client kingdoms had disappeared. The descendants of Augustan client kings, however, thrived and became, in Sullivan's words, "post-royal aristocrats."²⁶² Philopappus, grandson of Antiochus IV of Commagene, was made a senator by Trajan and later became suffect consul in AD 109.²⁶³ C. Julius Severus, proconsul of Asia in AD 152, boasted an illustrious descent from the Attalids, and the kings of Galatia.²⁶⁴ In his inscription he names as relatives other consular colleagues: Julius Quadratus, "King" Alexander, Julius Aquila and Claudius Severus. These cousins doubtlessly shared part of his royal heritage. Many of these new senators were conscious of their illustrious descent. The Philopappus monument in Athens boasted of Philopappus' descent from Antiochus III and IV of Commagene and even from Seleucus I.²⁶⁵ The inscription of Julius Severus enumerated his ancestors as Kings of Pergamum and Galatia. While it is true that the Eastern Dynastic Network that connected many of these illustrious ancestors together had existed for hundreds of years before the advent of Rome in the East, Augustus ensured that the network survived and thrived, and many of these royal and aristocratic senators owed their descent to marriages that he arranged or encouraged.

From this eastern aristocracy, descended from marriages made during Augustus' principate, came a late candidate for the Armenian throne. Since Nero's agreement with Vologaeses, the kingship of Armenia remained the prerogative of the Arsacid descendants of Tiridates.²⁶⁶ In AD 161, at the beginning of Marcus Aurelius' reign, the Parthian king Vologaeses III invaded Armenia and installed his own nominee, a Pacorus.²⁶⁷ Lucius Verus, Marcus' colleague, was

²⁶² Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 327. During Trajan's reign, many of these families were adlected into the Senate (Bennet, *Trajan*, p. 108).

²⁶³ Sullivan, 'Papyri reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network', p. 937; Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 62; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 797. His sister, Balbilla, was a friend and companion of Hadrian's wife Sabina (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 796; Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 63).

²⁶⁴ Smallwood 215 = *IGRR* III 173 = *OGIS* 544; Sullivan, 'Papyri reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network', pp. 936-37.

²⁶⁵ Paus. 1.25.8 (who dismisses Philopappus as a "Syrian"). For a detailed study of the monument, see D. E. E. Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos in Athens*, Rome, 1983.

²⁶⁶ Suet. *Ner.* 13; Dio 62.21.2; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 227; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 108; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 248; Malitz, *Nero*, p. 60. Trajan disrupted this convention with his Parthian War, but the status quo returned under Hadrian; see *HA Hadr.* 5.3; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 143-44; Birley, *Hadrian*, p. 78.

²⁶⁷ Dio 71.1.3; *HA MAur.* 8.6; Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 121; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 147-48. This Pacorus was probably the same as the "Aurelius Pacorus" described as King of Armenia Major in an

given command of the war and, after Armenia was secured, installed a Sohaemus as king of Armenia.²⁶⁸ Coins with the legend REX ARMENIIS DATVS were issued to commemorate the event.²⁶⁹ In a short summary on the author Iamblichus, Photius related that Iamblichus wrote in the time of Sohaemus, the king of Greater Armenia and that Iamblichus described Sohaemus as descended from the Arsacids and Achaemenids and as a fellow Emesene.²⁷⁰ Sohaemus' name is indeed prominent in the Emesene royal family and its descendants.²⁷¹ As Birley suggests, the Emesene dynasty could boast descent from these dynasties through Median and Commagene connections – connections forged during Augustus' reign when Jotape of Media married into the Commagene family, and in turn her daughter married into the kings of Emesa.²⁷² Well into the second century, the effects of Augustus' marriage policies were still providing benefit.

Conclusion

The marriages that Augustus encouraged during his reign supplemented his overall marriage policies and complemented the marriages he made within his own family. Augustus had a proven record of making decisions with the further future in mind. The marriage he made between Agrippa and Julia was organised with an eye towards their possible progeny, his potential heirs. Later, his adoption of Tiberius was made with the proviso that Tiberius, in turn, adopted Augustus' great grandson Germanicus. So too with the marriages of his client kings Augustus was organising smooth transitions in the future for their kingdoms and territories. Succession planning, as the fate of his own dynasty bore out, was a difficult business with the risk of heirs being educated and cultivated but then removed by disease, war

inscription (*OGIS* 382) – if so he appeared to have obtained citizenship from Marcus Aurelius; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 43; Ricci, 'Principes et Ereges Externi', pp. 581-83.

²⁶⁸ Dio 71.3.1; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 147, 149-51; Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 131; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 94.

²⁶⁹ *RIC* 3 511-513, 1370-1375; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 150; Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 131.

²⁷⁰ Photius *Bibl.* 94. Although Bowersock dismissed Iamblichus' fanciful claims (G. W. Bowersock, 'Roman Senators from the Near East: Syria, Judaea, Arabia, Mesopotamia', *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, Tituli* 5, Rome 1982, p. 665), such an illustrious descent is possible and Iamblichus' information gives some insight into Sohaemus' possible antecedents.

²⁷¹ Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', pp. 216, 219; Barrett, 'Sohaemus, King of Emesa', pp. 153-54. Sohaemus appears also in Ituraea, the land between Emesa and Judaea. Gaius appointed a Sohaemus to rule here in AD 38 (Dio 59.12.2, Tac. *Ann.* 12.23) and a Sohaemus also appeared in Josephus, as a friend of Herod's (Joseph. *AJ* 15.185, 205-207).

²⁷² Birley, *Septimius Severus*, p. 224; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Emesa', p. 212. See also *PIR*² S 761.

or murder before they could fulfil their potential. Augustus was not just ensuring that his client kings were married and producing heirs, he also ensured that they were married into each other's families. In this manner any progeny from such a union had a claim inherited from both their mother and their father to different kingdoms. In short, he was hedging his bets. In Armenia, Augustus' desperate measures to provide kings with connections to the ruling Artaxiad family demonstrated how important he viewed dynastic succession. The example of the three sons of Cotys being granted different ancestral dominions by Gaius in AD 38 demonstrated perfectly the fruits of Augustus' policy. The example of Sohaemus, one of the last Roman nominees of Armenia in AD 164 and a product of several Augustus-inspired marriages, demonstrated how long Augustus' policy provided benefits for his successors.

Of course, Antony had demonstrated that perfectly capable client kings could be fashioned from more common clay, and that they did not necessarily need illustrious descent or a connection to the local ruling dynasty. Augustus used Antony's appointments but he gentrified them – connected them by intermarriage where possible with each other and to older dynasties. The legitimacy of a reign by dynastic right reflected Augustus' bolstering of his own right to rule, with his descent from Julius Caesar and the dynastic principle he used to ensure his own family would succeed him. Successive Julio-Claudians followed suit – by ensuring royal succession in the client kingdoms, they were underlining the same dynastic right they had to rule the Empire.

While Augustus' continued employment of the Antonian kings is often used as a confirmation for the soundness of Antony's policy, it does not follow that Augustus approved of these non-dynastic appointments. His inexperience in the East made him cautious of disturbing a harmonious ensemble of kings that was working effectively. He also may not have had much choice – recent civil war and Antonian whims had seen many local dynasties extinguished. Some new kings, like Herod, actively destroyed any remnants of the old ruling families. If Augustus preferred dynastic rule amongst the client kings, then he would have to start again with the new kings that Antony appointed. Analysis of those territories that did not have their own local ruling families but where the Romans preferred the rule of client kings (such as Armenia Minor and Cilicia) reveals that Augustus and his successors encouraged the creation of a local ruling family. By continuing to place rulers that were descendants of previous rulers

over these territories, the emperors were laying the foundations for local dynasties, often grafted from nearby ruling families.

By the time of Actium, civil war and ill fortune had also depleted the stocks of the Eastern Dynastic Network. By linking Antonian client kings into this ancient network, Augustus was also introducing new blood. A good client king, as demonstrated, was a capable administrator who was loyal to the Roman cause and who was also accepted by the subjects he was appointed to rule. The most common way to gain acceptance from the locals was to belong to the family that had traditionally ruled them, and to promote that connection. While Roman support was usually all that was required, it was not in the emperor's interest to continually have to suppress local disagreement with the ruler sent by Rome. The best client kings were probably quiet client kings – those that left no trace in the literary record because no revolts, family strife or treachery made them worthy of record to the Roman historians. Herod, usually held up as an example of a good client king, was probably a headache for Augustus. Josephus' loud and frequent proclamations of the great friendship between Augustus and Herod (and Agrippa) had the hallmarks of local media relaying the endearments that modern superpowers repeat when visiting their allies.

This chapter has demonstrated that the results of Augustus' policy of intermarriage between his client kings were a plethora of candidates with excellent credentials to rule with acceptance two (or more) client kingdoms. These candidates were elevated by Augustus and his successors into those roles. Of course, this may have been the effect rather than the cause, but Augustus' past performance in setting up institutions with the far future in mind, such as the succession to his own position, suggests that the emperor probably had the progeny of the marriages that he encouraged in mind. While the intention behind Augustus' policy in arranging marriage connections has been demonstrated, how effective the policy was has not been tested. Tightly connecting his client kings together also created problems for Augustus and his successors, and this is the theme of the next chapter.

Chapter 6. Problems with Intermarriage

The study of royal marriages made during the Roman Imperial period has uncovered a number of problems that can be separated into two categories. Firstly, the potential problem of isolated kings and dynasties, which may have been created from deliberate policy or may have been instead stemmed from a problem in the analysis – namely, from a lack of evidence. The other major problem is the repercussions Augustus and future emperors faced from connecting client kings together in intermarriage. This chapter addresses these problems.

A single stemma could be created that connected most ancient royalty, from the Achaemenid to the kings of the Bosphorus, in one substantial web of family relationships – Sullivan’s Eastern Dynastic Network.¹ This network already included the kingdoms of the Seleucids, the Ptolemies, Parthia, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. Augustus added several kingdoms that were previously outside this network: Judaea, Emesa, Mauretania, Thrace and the Bosporan Kingdom. Other kingdoms, however, remained still unconnected for reasons that are unclear. At least the surviving evidence suggests they were unconnected – several princes and kings had wives whose names and antecedents have not survived. Others were known to remain bachelors. Part of this chapter seeks to understand why certain dynasts might have been passed over or why entire dynasties developed in isolation to the Eastern Dynastic Network. Were either deliberate decisions or is it possible that they were connected, but the evidence had not survived?

More importantly, Augustus’ tendency to connect his client kings together through intermarriage created its own set of problems. Family disputes now reverberated across kingdoms, foreign brides caused ructions within royal families, and kings eventually came to acquire ties that threatened to bind them together more closely than the ties that bound them

¹ See Sullivan’s *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome* and his articles in *ANRW*: ‘Thrace in the Eastern Dynastic Network’, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, ‘Dynasty of Emesa’, ‘Dynasty of Judaea in the First Century’ and ‘Papyri reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network’.

to Rome. Husbands and wives chosen or supported by Augustus also introduced problems into their new homeland. By expanding the Eastern Dynastic Network, Augustus also helped promulgate Parthian blood ties to the dynasties within Rome's sphere of influence, later providing grounds for mistrust between the king and the emperor. The negative effects of Augustus' attempts to bring his client kings closer together with intermarriage need to be assessed before determining how successful his policy was.

Missing Kingdoms

As has been made evident in earlier chapters, Augustus exploited the Eastern Dynastic Network that connected by marriage and descent many of Rome's client kingdoms. He used and expanded that network to incorporate families and kingdoms that had been traditionally isolated from this network. Augustus removed the geographic limitations of the Eastern Dynastic Network and extended it further across the Empire to include Mauretania, the Bosporan Kingdom and Thrace.² It was no longer "Eastern" only. A number of kingdoms, however, still remained outside this network. Galatia was neglected dynastically, even though it was embedded in Anatolia and surrounded by kings related to each other. Edessa, on the other side of the Euphrates, remained unconnected even after it became a Roman client kingdom during the reign of Trajan. Tarcondimotid Cilicia, resembling Galatia in this instance, was left alone although it was surrounded by dynasts connected to each other. Finally Iberia, an important client kingdom in the first and second centuries AD, continued outside Augustus' network of royal marriages. Were these kings and kingdoms deliberately left outside the Eastern Dynastic Network and, if so, why? Or is it merely a case of incomplete records – that is, that marriages were forged with these kingdoms but no evidence of them has survived? As much as possible each of these dynasties outside the Eastern Dynastic Network needs to be examined.

² Marriages discussed in Chapter 2 between Glaphyra of Cappadocia and Cleopatra Selene of Egypt with Juba II of Mauretania (Marriage 1), between Dynamis of the Bosporan kingdom and Polemo of Pontus (Marriage 4), and between Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus (Marriage 10).

Galatia

Galatia lay in central Anatolia, covering land that was traditionally known as Phrygia – Sullivan described the land as a “treeless, semi-arid plateau.”³ In the third century BC Celtic tribes in the Danubian lands were invited to cross over the Hellespont to assist Nicomedes I of Bithynia:⁴

“After advancing over much of the country, the Gauls withdrew and chose a section of land to keep for themselves, which is now called Galatia. They split this land into three parts, for the tribes of the Trocmi, Tolistobogii and the Tectosages...”⁵

Apart from Leonnorijs and Luturijs, the legendary kings that purportedly led this migration, few of the names of the kings or tetrarchs of these Gallic tribes have survived.⁶ Deiotarus, the tetrarch of the Tolistobogii between 83 and 40 BC, is the first Galatian ruler to feature significantly in chronologies.⁷ His marriage-alliances reveal his political ambitions. His daughter, Adobogiona, was married to Brogitarus, the tetrarch of the Trocmi.⁸ Another daughter was married to Castor, the tetrarch of the other Galatian tribe, the Tectosages.⁹ Deiotarus soon emerged as the most significant of the Galatian rulers, at least from a Roman viewpoint. Deiotarus provided assistance during Lucullus’ command against Mithridates.¹⁰

³ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 48. See also A. Coşkun, ‘Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: the Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World’, *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World*, S. L. Ager and R. Faber (eds), Toronto, 2013, p. 82; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 1. Despite this depiction, however, the land may have been quite productive, see G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell and L. Vardar, ‘The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor’, *AS 50*, 2000, p. 94.

⁴ Liv. 38.16; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 11.2; Just. *Epit.* 25.2.1-11. For details of this migration, see D. Rankin, *Celts in the Classical World*, London, 1996, pp. 188-90; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 15-16; Coşkun, ‘Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia’, pp. 73-74.

⁵ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 11.6. See also Strab. 12.5.1; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 6. For a comprehensive study of Celtic Galatia, see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 11-46; Darbyshire, ‘The Galatian Settlement’, pp. 75-97. For the title of tetrarch and its history in Galatia, see A. Coşkun, ‘Die Tetrarchie als hellenistisch-römisches Herrschaftsinstrument Mit einer Untersuchung der Titulatur der Dynasten von Ituräa’, in *Amici – Socii – Clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*, E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds), Berlin, 2015, pp. 168-77.

⁶ Liv. 38.16; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 11.3. Strab. 12.5.1 (only mentioned Leonnorijs); Coşkun, ‘Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia’, pp. 73-74.

⁷ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 51; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 127-36; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 31.

⁸ His daughter, Adobogiona, and her marriage to Brogitarus, the son of tetrarch of Trocmi is attested in an inscription from Pergamum, *MDAI(A)* 37, 1912, 294-96 (= *IGR* IV 1683); *IGR* IV 3 (= *OGIS* 348 = *SEG* 45-1086). See Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 164; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 131.

⁹ Strab. 12.5.3. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 164; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 28; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 131. According to Strabo, Deiotarus later attacked and killed his son-in-law and his daughter in their stronghold at Gorbeus (Strab. 12.5.3; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 28; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 128).

¹⁰ App. *Mithr.* 75. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 164; Coşkun, ‘Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia’, p. 85; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 31;

Later, when Pompey took command of the war, Deiotarus continued to provide assistance, and was rewarded by Pompey with extra lands, including Armenia Minor, as well as the title of king.¹¹ Although Deiotarus supported Pompey during the Civil War, Caesar pardoned him (although with many other kings allied to Pompey), only removing Armenia Minor from Deiotarus' stewardship.¹² Later, in Rome, Deiotarus' grandson Castor II brought a case against Deiotarus for plotting against Caesar – Cicero defended the king in a speech that has survived.¹³ Deiotarus survived and, after Caesar's death, moved against his son-in-law Castor (the father of Castor II).¹⁴ By bribing Antony in 44 BC, Deiotarus was recognised as King of the Galatians.¹⁵ The next year, however, he gave support to Brutus and Cassius, although at Philippi in 42 BC his troops defected to Antony and Octavian.¹⁶ After he died in 40 BC, his grandson Castor II inherited his territories.¹⁷ By 36 BC Antony had transferred Galatia and the title of King to Amyntas, formerly Deiotarus' "secretary."¹⁸ Amyntas, with no known relationship to the family of Deiotarus, supported Antony during the civil war, but was one of

¹¹ Strab. 12.3.13; Caes. *BAlex* 67; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 164; Coşkun, 'Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia', p. 85. Brogitarus was also given the title of 'king' by the senate, according to Cicero through bribery; see Cic. *Har. Resp.* 29. Cicero became acquainted with Deiotarus during his governorship of Cilicia, and frequently mentions the king in his letters (Cic. *Att.* 5.17-18, 20, 6.1; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 34-35).

¹² Dio 41.63.1-4. Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 142; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 36; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 166; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 413.

¹³ Cic. *Deiot.* 2; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 37; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 133-34; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 167. Castor II was the son of Castor and Deiotarus' daughter. For Cicero's speech, see Cic. *Deiot. passim*; T. Nótári, 'Handling of Facts and Strategy in Cicero's Speech in Defence of King Deiotarus', *Nova Tellus* 30.2, 2012, pp. 99-116; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 167; Coşkun, 'Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia', pp. 85-86; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 128.

¹⁴ Both Castor and his wife (Deiotarus' daughter) were killed when Deiotarus captured Gorgeus; see Strab. 12.5.3; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 135; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 37; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 168.

¹⁵ Cic. *Att.* 14.12; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 168; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 135. The bribe consisted of 10 million sesterces and recognised Deiotarus as ruler of the Trocmi, thus finally uniting all of the Galatian tetrarchies (Cic. *Att.* 14.12; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 37).

¹⁶ App. *BCiv* 4.88; Dio 47.24.3, 47.48.2 (although it seems Deiotarus first attempted to refuse); Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 168; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 645; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 136. Deiotarus did not personally attend the battle – his general (and later successor) Amyntas did and led the defection.

¹⁷ Dio 48.33.5. Strabo appears to have skipped from Deiotarus straight to Amyntas (Strab. 12.5.1). Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 169; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 22; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 260; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 135; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 647 (although described his "son" Castor as inheriting his dominions). Deiotarus' memory, however, continued – the Legion XXII was surnamed *Deiotariana* to commemorate its founder – Deiotarus had previously raised a legion trained in the Roman manner; see Cic. *Phil.* 11.33; L. Keppie, 'The History and Disappearance of the Legion XXII Deiotariana', in *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel: Collected Essays*, A. Kasher, U. Rappaport and G. Fuks (eds), Jerusalem, 1990, pp. 54-61; L. Keppie, 'The Army and the Navy', *CAH*² 10, 1996, p. 376; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 128.

¹⁸ Dio 49.32.3; Strab. 12.5.1, 12.5.4 and 14.5.6; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 172; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 136; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 434; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 39. Amyntas had perhaps impressed Antony with his timely defection at the Philippi, noted already above.

the first to defect to Octavian just before the Battle of Actium.¹⁹ He was pardoned by Octavian and remained king of Galatia until his death in 25 BC, when Galatia became a Roman province.²⁰

Although the Galatians had occupied central Anatolia for two hundred years, little evidence has survived to demonstrate that they had formed any connections in the Hellenistic web of marriage-alliances. In part this is not surprising. For much of their early years, the alliances formed between the kings of Anatolia were pacts of protection against the aggression of these newcomers.²¹ Although they eventually adapted many aspects of Hellenistic civilisation, their Celtic background would have also created a cultural barrier that would not have made marriage-alliances any easier.²² The major difference between the Galatians and their neighbours was their tribal political structure. Strabo related that the three tribes remained in Galatia, each with their own capital, and the representatives of these tribes would meet yearly at Drynemetum to decide policy.²³ Marriage-alliances were, by their nature, personal alliances that brought two families closer together. An alliance between a Hellenistic king and Galatian tetrarch, who could not have necessarily guaranteed the rest of the Galatians would honour any agreement or pact, would have provided little benefit for the Hellenistic king. With these considerations in mind, it is not surprising that no marriage-alliances are recorded between the Galatian tetrarchs and the neighbouring kings. A Galatian tetrarch would not have been an effective ally for a Hellenistic King, so in this case it was probably not the fault of the record.

¹⁹ Vell. Pat. 2.84.2; Plut. *Ant.* 63; Hor. *Ep.* 9.17-18. Dio only mentioned that Antony suspected Amyntas' loyalty (Dio 50.13.8). See also Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 57. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 173; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 136.

²⁰ Dio 53.26.3; Strab. 12.6.5; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 173; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 61-63; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 393; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 136; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', pp. 152-53. Amyntas had at least one son, Pylaemenes and the kingdom was not willed to Rome; see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 62; Gruen, *Expansion of the Empire*, p. 152.

²¹ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 19-26; Coşkun, 'Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia', p. 74; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 49. Another Bithynian king, Ziaelas, was killed by Galatians (Athen. 2.58c; *Prol.* 27), Eumenes of Pergamum faced a Galatian uprising in 168-166 BC (Polyb. 29.22.1-4; Diod. 31.13.1-14.1).

²² Diodorus labelled them "barbarous" (Diod. 31.13.1). According to Sullivan, "adjacent kingdoms remained aloof from the Celts, who lacked both the Hellenic and Iranian heritage that furnished so rich source of local pride" (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 49). For a more thorough picture of the Galatians in the Graeco-Roman world, see Coşkun, 'Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia', pp. 73-95.

²³ Strab. 12.5.1; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 49. The name appears to have meant "sacred oak grove", see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 27; Coşkun, 'Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia', p. 80.

By the reign of Deiotarus (59-40 BC), many of these factors would have been nullified or at least reduced. Over time the Galatians had adopted more Hellenistic culture and ideas and were no longer the alien invaders of Phrygia.²⁴ By 59 BC Galatia was ruled by a single figure and it appears that the surrounding kingdoms were prepared to deal with the Galatians in their traditional manner. Deiotarus himself may have taken a royal bride, a descendant of the Attalids. Plutarch mentions a Stratonice as a wife of Deiotarus, whose name echoes Stratonice of Cappadocia, husband of Attalus III.²⁵ The last Attalid, Attalus III, died in 133 BC and willed his kingdom to Rome, but this does not preclude a daughter or granddaughter surviving him.²⁶ An inscription set up by a Julius Severus lists King Deiotarus and the Attalids among his ancestors – this marriage would neatly provide this descent.²⁷ A connection to the Attalids would have doubtlessly provided Deiotarus and, more importantly, his descendants, with the prestige to match his neighbouring kings. It must be admitted, however, that there is little evidence for such a bride for Deiotarus.²⁸

Another marriage connection with another King Attalus, however, who was a contemporary of Deiotarus, may have also been possible. When Pompey reorganised the East in 63 BC and allotted territories to rulers, he divided Paphlagonia, an area on the southern shores of the Black Sea and a buffer between Bithynia and Pontus, between an Attalus and Pylaemenes.²⁹ Attalus died around 40 BC (the same time as Deiotarus of Galatia) and his territories were inherited by Castor II, the grandson of Deiotarus.³⁰ It is not clear what claim, if any, Castor II

²⁴ Mitchell notes the dynastic principle prevailing in the first century BC in Galatia, for example (Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 28). Darbyshire also noted the Hellenization in the Galatian ruling elite by the first century BC (Darbyshire, 'The Galatian Settlement', p. 95).

²⁵ Plut. *Mor.* 258c. See Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, stemma 3; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 28, n. 8.

²⁶ For Attalus III's death and will; see Sall. *Hist.* 4.67; Liv. *Per.* 58, 59; Val. Max. 5.2 ext. 3; Plin. *HN* 33.148; Flor. 1.35.1-3, 1.47.7; App. *Mithr.* 62, *BCiv* 5.4; Just. *Epit.* 36.4.5; Eutrop. 4.18. Possible daughter/granddaughter: noted by Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, stemma 3.

²⁷ *OGIS* 544; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 324. The passage of Plutarch, however, highlights Stratonice's duty for her husband in providing another match for him because she was barren, and therefore unlikely, even if she was a descendant of Attalus, to be Julius Severus' ancestor.

²⁸ Evans notes that a different connection to the Attalids instead from Deiotarus' other known wife, Berenice (Evans, *History of Pergamum*, p. 146). Another passage of Plutarch (Plut. *Adv. Coloten* 1109b) names the wife of Deiotarus as Berenice, supported by an inscription (*RECAM* 2 188); see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 28, n. 8.

²⁹ App. *Mithr.* 114; Eutrop. 6.14; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 113; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 156; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 372. Strabo does not name the kings but noted that Pompey gave Paphlagonia to the "descendants of Pylaemenes" (Strab. 12.3.1), suggesting Attalus and Pylaemenes were brothers or cousins.

³⁰ Dio 48.33.5; Strab. 12.3.41; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 169; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 22; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 433; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51. Dio noted that both Deiotarus and Attalus died in Galatia. Castor also inherited Galatia from his grandfather at the same time.

had on Attalus' Paphlagonian territories. At that time, as noted in Chapter 5, the Senate still preferred candidates with a dynastic connection, so a marriage connection between Attalus of Paphlagonia and Deiotarus of Galatia, who were contemporaries, neighbours and both appointed by Pompey, could have been possible (which would provide Castor II with a claim on Paphlagonia). When Antony reorganised the East around 36 BC, Paphlagonia was granted to Deiotarus Philadelphus, the son of Castor II.³¹ Deiotarus Philadelphus reigned in Paphlagonia until he died in 5/6 BC and Augustus converted his territories to direct Roman rule.³² King Attalus of Paphlagonia appears to be a more suitable candidate for the ancestor of whom C. Julius Severus boasts – the inscription, however, is quite clear: “Attalus, king of Asia”, which can only have meant one of the Attalids of Pergamum, most likely Attalus III.³³

Cicero also mentioned, in 50 BC, that the son of Deiotarus, Deiotarus the younger, was betrothed to an unnamed daughter of Artavasdes, the King of Armenia.³⁴ There is no other evidence for this marriage, nor is it known whether the marriage progressed beyond the betrothal. The Romans viewed Artavasdes of Armenia as a questionable ally – Sullivan notes that a marriage-alliance between Deiotarus and Artavasdes, even if not consummated, could explain Caesar's distrust of Deiotarus and his ambitions.³⁵ Certainly Deiotarus appeared to have provided little assistance for the Roman defence against the Parthian invasion of 40 BC – Syme maintained that he “lay low.”³⁶ The king, however, was very old by this time, and Dio noted that he died later that same year.³⁷

³¹ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 169; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 294-95; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 29; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 434. As noted above, Amyntas received Castor II's kingdom of Galatia.

³² Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 153; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 294, 300; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 52; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 465. Deiotarus defected from Antony's force prior to the battle of Actium and so continued his reign during Augustus' principate; see Plut. *Ant.* 63.3; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152.

³³ Sullivan, 'Papyri reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network', p. 936. Of course it is possible that Julius Severus is himself confused regarding the exact details of his heritage back more than 200 years.

³⁴ Cic. *Att.* 5.21; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 36; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 168. See Chapter 1 for more detail about this betrothal.

³⁵ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 168.

³⁶ Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 259. On Syme's judgement of Deiotarus, see Coşkun, 'Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia', p. 86.

³⁷ Dio described him as “very old” in 42 BC (Dio 47.24.3). On his death by 40 BC, see Dio 48.33.5; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 259; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 135; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 168-69.

Nevertheless no evidence remains of any attempt by Augustus to include Amyntas, the King of Galatia, in his network of marriage-alliances. Amyntas, who Dio described as merely a secretary of Deiotarus, may have lacked the illustrious ancestry to be a suitable match for a potential royal suitor.³⁸ Amyntas was also dead by 25 BC and his kingdom was converted into a Roman province. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, almost all of the known marriage-alliances arranged by Augustus between his client kings occurred in or after 20 BC. The only marriage that possibly falls before this date is the marriage between Juba II and Cleopatra Selene in 25 BC.³⁹ Therefore it is likely that this “studied policy” of Augustus did not evolve much before 20 BC.⁴⁰ By that time Galatia was no longer a client kingdom.

Galatia’s absence from the Eastern Dynastic Network therefore can be explained by two factors. First, the Galatians were late interlopers in Anatolia and their culture, politics and behaviour did not dispose them towards being suitable familial allies. Deiotarus made at least one attempt (by betrothing his son to an Armenian princess) to connect to the surrounding Hellenistic dynasties, but most of his efforts were centred on furthering his political control of Galatia within the families of his fellow tetrarchs. Secondly, Deiotarus’ ultimate successor, Amyntas, similar to many of Antony’s other appointees, did not belong to the ruling families of the territory that he ruled. When he died in 25 BC, Augustus instead decided to convert Galatia into a Roman province, rather than include his family in the network of marriage-alliances that the emperor was starting to encourage.

The Tarcondimotids

The Tarcondimotids ruled a small kingdom centred around Mount Amanus for some ninety years, but no known dynastic connection was formed with their neighbours or the wider Eastern Dynastic Network. The evidence for this dynasty is so slight that the identities of the rulers that followed Tarcondimotus (the Founder) are not universally accepted amongst

³⁸ Dio 49.32.3; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 63. Sullivan considered Amyntas may have been related to a Galatian noble family but noted that his name was Macedonian (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 172).

³⁹ See Marriage 1 above. There are even arguments that this marriage did eventuate until 20 BC too; see Roller, *World of Juba II*, pp. 86-89.

⁴⁰ Bowersock described Augustus’ habit of encouraging intermarriage between his client kings as a “studied policy” and “considered policy” (Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 54 and 61).

modern scholars. Such a paucity of evidence could explain why no known connections to the other Hellenistic kingdoms have survived, but other factors may have also excluded them.

Tarcondimotus came to Rome's attention during Pompey's settlement of the East. Like Deiotarus, Tarcondimotus could hardly boast any illustrious ancestors, at least none are known – although Wright describes him as a “member of the Hellenised Kilikian elite.”⁴¹ Syme, following a passage from Lucan, suggests that Tarcondimotus was a pirate chief.⁴² He appears to have been a local dynast who proved useful to Pompey and so was promoted to look after a troublesome area on Rome's behalf.⁴³ Antony recognised Tarcondimotus as King and the Cilician published the epithet “Philantonius” on his coins.⁴⁴ After Actium, Octavian deposed Tarcondimotus' sons – their father had died in the battle of Actium fighting for Antony.⁴⁵ In 20 BC Augustus reinstated the family as rulers of their homeland and they remained Augustan client kings until Tiberius absorbed the kingdom into the province of Syria in AD 17.⁴⁶

From Tarcondimotus a dynasty sprang that ruled the area around Mount Amanus for two or three generations.⁴⁷ Unlike Galatia, it remained a territory ruled by kings until the reign of

⁴¹ Wright, ‘House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 72; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 187.

⁴² Luc. 9.215-225; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 163. Wright notes, however, that Lucan could not necessarily be trusted; see Wright, ‘The House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 73.

⁴³ Dio 41.63; Wright, ‘The House of Tarkondimotos’, pp. 72-73; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 188. According to Andrade, “little perhaps distinguished him [Tarcondimotus] from other Cilicians whom Roman authorities identified as bandits, pirates or barbarians” (N. Andrade, ‘Local authority and civic Hellenism: Tarcondimotus, Hierapolis-Castabala and the cult of Perasia’, *AS* 61, 2011, pp. 123).

⁴⁴ Pelling, ‘Triumviral Period’, p. 29; Wright, ‘The House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 75; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 190; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46, n. 3. For the coins of Tarcondimotus, see *RPC* I 3871.

⁴⁵ Plut. *Ant.* 61.1; Dio 51.2.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 123; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46; Wright, ‘The House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 77; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 190-91; Pelling, ‘Triumviral Period’, p. 56.

⁴⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Goodyear, *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. 2, p. 321; Wright, ‘The House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 80; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 46. Philopator renamed the city of Anazarbus to Caesarea (Plin. *HN* 5.93; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 46-47). The Tarcondimotids were also granted citizenship, most probably by Augustus, but possibly earlier by Julius Caesar; see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 42; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 47; Wright, ‘The House of Tarkondimotos’, p. 74; Raggi, ‘First Roman Citizens’, p. 92.

⁴⁷ Strab. 14.5.18. For the Tarcondimotids in general, see also Wright, ‘Tarkondimotid Responses to Roman Domestic Policy’, pp. 73-81; J. Tobin, ‘The Tarkondimotid dynasty in Smooth Cilicia’, *La Cilicie. Espaces et pouvoirs locaux*, 1999, pp. 381-87; O. Lange, ‘Tarkondimotos, König von Kilikien und seine dynastie’, *Berichte*

Tiberius. Similar to Galatia, the ruling family was hardly the sort of material royal suitors with claims of descent from Alexander or Darius would be searching for. The evidence for the Tarcondimotids is patchy and incomplete at best. Daughters within the dynasty are known, two Julias, but not their husbands.⁴⁸ Sons, such as Tarcondimotus II and Philopator, are also known, but not the identity of their wives or the wife of Tarcondimotus I himself.⁴⁹ It is certainly possible that the Tarcondimotids were linked to nearby Eastern royal families, but if so no evidence has survived.

It is possible that the dynast also was considered too minor and was overlooked. That area of Cilicia did not have a traditional dynasty of rulers that could provide a connection to legitimise the rule of the Tarcondimotids. While Tarcondimotus was a parvenu, so too were the other Antonian kings – Amyntas, Archelaus, Polemo, Iamblichus and Herod. None of them could boast of an ancestry far more illustrious than that of the Tarcondimotids.

Iberia

North of Armenia, in the Caucasus Mountains, lay the kingdom of Iberia.⁵⁰ As with many other Eastern kingdoms, it first came into the Roman fold during Pompey's campaigns in the East. After bringing Armenia to heel, Pompey pressed further, and defeated the King of Iberia, Artoces, as well as its neighbouring kingdom, Albania.⁵¹ As part of Antony's projected conquest of Parthia, his general P. Canidius Crassus invaded Iberia and Albania.⁵² After that

der münzen und medaullensammler 159, 1988, pp. 336-43; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 187-92; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 161.

⁴⁸ See Wright, 'The House of Tarkondimotos', pp. 81-82. For the first Julia, daughter of Tarcondimotus I, see *PIR*² I 637. Although the other Julia (II), daughter of Philopator, is known from an inscription (G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris, 1987, p. 71) where her name is mentioned along with an unnamed priest-king of Olba. It has been suggested that this may be her husband – for arguments, see Wright 'The House of Tarkondimotos', pp. 81-82.

⁴⁹ For the complexities of reconstructing the house of Tarcondimotus, see Wright, 'The House of Tarkondimotos', pp. 69-88.

⁵⁰ For an overview of Iberia during this period, see Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia' and Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*.

⁵¹ Diod. 40.4; Plin. *NH* 7.98; Plut. *Pomp.* 34; App. *Mithr.* 103 and 117. See Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 163-68; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 292; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 358-59; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 56; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 199.

⁵² Dio 49.24.1; Strab. 11.3.5 (on Canidius' route); Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 59; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 216-17; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 307; Sullivan, *Near Eastern*

Iberia disappears from the surviving Roman records until the reign of Tiberius – Strabo laments the fact that the Romans have neglected to manage these otherwise excellent subjects.⁵³ In AD 35 Tiberius encouraged Mithridates, the brother of the then king of Iberia, Pharasmanes, to invade Armenia with his brother's help.⁵⁴ The ploy was successful and Mithridates ruled in Armenia until the reign of Gaius, when it appears he was called to Rome and temporarily imprisoned.⁵⁵ Tacitus recorded that in Iberia Mithridates' brother Pharasmanes was keen to transfer his troublesome son, Radamistus, to the kingdom of Armenia.⁵⁶ Radamistus appears to have been ambitious and Pharasmanes obviously preferred him to be causing trouble in his uncle's kingdom rather than in Iberia. Radamistus was married to his uncle's daughter, Zenobia – his uncle, in turn, was married to Radamistus' sister.⁵⁷ Radamistus eventually succeeded in ousting his uncle from Armenia, but in the process drew Parthian attention to the opportunity in Armenia that the turmoil offered. Vologaeses, the king of Parthia, had decided the time was ripe to provide a kingdom for his own brother, Tiridates.⁵⁸ Consequently Radamistus was driven out by the Parthians. Nero retaliated and the subsequent Parthian War eventually dragged on into a stalemate. By AD 66 Tiridates was recognised as Rome's client king in Armenia and the Iberian royal family retreated to Iberia.⁵⁹ Thereafter Iberia disappears again from the record for a number of years. An inscription in Rome dated to AD 114 is dedicated to an Amazaspus, brother of a king

Royalty, pp. 292-93; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 56; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 31; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 59.

⁵³ Strab. 6.4.2, although the Iberians receive a brief mention in the *Res Gestae* (RG 31.2) as sending an embassy to Augustus. See Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 217-18; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69. Tacitus mentioned the Kings of Iberia and Albania as securing Rome's borders in that region during an overview of the state of the Empire in Tiberius' reign (Tac. *Ann.* 4.5; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 93).

⁵⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.32; Dio 58.26.4; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 219; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 508; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88.

⁵⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 11.8; Sen. *Dial.* 9.11.12; Dio 60.8.1; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 220; Barrett, *Caligula*, p. 64; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69. Mithridates was released in Claudius' reign and returned to Armenia in AD 47; see Tac. *Ann.* 11.8; Sen. *Dial.* 9.11.12; Dio 60.8.1; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 220; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 159; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69.

⁵⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 12.44; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 221. Pharasmanes' eventual successor, another Mithridates, was most probably Radamistus' elder brother and the chosen heir of his father; see stemma of Iberian kings in Sullivan, 'Papyri Reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network', p. 939. See also Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 214-15.

⁵⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 12.46-47 mentioned the family relationships between Pharasmanes, Mithridates and Radamistus three times over these passages; see also stemma of Iberian kings in Sullivan, 'Papyri Reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network', p. 939; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 222-23.

⁵⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.50; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 97-98; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 223; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 241. For Tacitus' account of the campaign, see Gilmartin, 'Corbulo's Campaign in the East', pp. 583-626.

⁵⁹ Dio 62.22.3-4, 63.1.1-6.6; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 248; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 224; Gilmartin, 'Corbulo's Campaign in the East', p. 586.

Mithridates of Iberia.⁶⁰ There was understandably some Iberian involvement in Trajan's Parthian invasion. Hadrian's subsequent withdrawal from Armenia and Parthia appears to have provoked an Iberian reaction and the *Historia Augusta* recorded a coolness between Hadrian and the king of Iberia, Pharasmanes II.⁶¹ The relationship was patched up again by the reign of Antoninus (AD 131-161), and Pharasmanes visited Rome, bringing his wife and son.⁶² Iberia again fades from the historical records until the Late Empire, when the land was involved in disputes between Rome and Persia.⁶³

There are several possible reasons why no record of Augustan involvement in marriage-alliances exists. The historical evidence for Iberia at all is slim and no details surface until Tacitus' account of Mithridates' invasion of Armenia.⁶⁴ Marriage-alliances probably already existed, particularly with neighbouring Armenia. Other candidates would be Pontus, during Mithridates' conquest, and Media Atropatene – another country neglected by the historical record. Toumanoff's reconstruction of historical tradition has Pharnabazus (the son and successor of Artoces) married to an Artaxiad princess – such historical tradition is usually suspect, but a marriage-alliance between Iberia and Armenia would not be surprising, even expected.⁶⁵ It would also later give Mithridates of Iberia a claim of Artaxiad connection that would boost his chances of holding Armenia at a time when the Artaxiads had long died out. If Tiberius was keen to follow the Augustan (and Roman) practice of appointing kings with dynastic claims to their allotted territory, then such a claim could explain Tiberius' offer of Armenia to the brother of the Iberian king.

⁶⁰ *IGRR* I 192; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 230-31; Braund, 'King Flavius Dades', p. 48. This is either the son of Pharasmanes or, considering the timeframe, a grandson; see *PIR*² M 638 and 639. For a discussion on the King Mithridates of this period, see Braund, 'King Flavius Dades', p. 48.

⁶¹ *HA Hadr.* 13.9; Braund, 'Hadrian and Pharasmanes', pp. 211-17; Bosworth, 'Arrian and the Alani', p. 228. Dio mentioned that the king of Parthia complained to Hadrian regarding Pharasmanes' conduct; see Dio 69.15.1-2; Bosworth, 'Arrian and the Alani', pp. 228-32; Syme, 'Hadrian and the Vassal Princes', pp. 278-79; Braund, 'Hadrian and Pharasmanes', pp. 217-18; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 232.

⁶² Dio 70.2.1; *HA Pius* 9.6; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 233-34; Braund, 'Hadrian and Pharasmanes', p. 218; Syme, 'Hadrian and the Vassal Princes', p. 278.

⁶³ Ammianus Marcellinus chronicled several disputes under Valens between the Roman-backed Sauromaces and his pro-Persian cousin Aspatures; see Amm. Marc. 27.12.1-4, 17-18 and 30.2.2; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 260-61.

⁶⁴ Even Strabo had little to say about the kingdom; see Strab. 11.3.1-6; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 205. For the best modern treatment of Iberia during the Roman period, see Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 152-70, 205-267.

⁶⁵ Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', p. 11. Sullivan, for one, accepted the story; see Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome*, p. 292.

Strabo hints at another reason. It appears, during his time anyway, that the Romans had little interest in this area. Although Augustus briefly had ambitions in Media Atropatene and appeared to form marriage-alliances that bound this kingdom closer to Rome, he does not seem to have taken in any interest in nearby Iberia.⁶⁶ According to Strabo, "... the peoples who are situated above Colchis, both Albanians and Iberians, they require the presence only of men to lead them, and are excellent subjects, but because the Romans are engrossed by other affairs, they make attempts at revolution."⁶⁷ Iberia's absence from Augustus' efforts to broaden the Eastern Dynastic Network may just be that they were already included and/or he had little interest in that particular area at the time. It was not until late in Tiberius' reign that Iberia proved useful in Roman foreign policy.

The scarcity of evidence regarding the Iberian royal family hinders modern assessment of marriage-alliances with their neighbours – although it appears probable that they did intermarry with the Artaxiad dynasty of their major neighbour Armenia, as Iberian historical tradition recorded. Iberia is also an example of how client kingdoms are difficult to compare to each other. Its remoteness during the Augustan period meant it was treated differently to more engaged, closer kingdoms such as Cappadocia, Pontus and Commagene. Its kings also appear to have acted more independently than the traditional client kings, as the actions of Pharasmanes I and Pharasmanes II demonstrate. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Augustus did not make active measures to connect the kings of Iberia in marriage to his other client kings because they were already connected to the Eastern Dynastic Network and that the emperor had no solid plans to further Roman involvement in that arena.

⁶⁶ It is barely mentioned in his *Res Gestae* (RG 31.2), as part of a list of countries that sent ambassadors to Augustus: "Our friendship was sought, through ambassadors, by the Bastarnae and Scythians, and by the kings of the Sarmatians ... and by the king of the Albani and of the Hiberi and of the Medes." See Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 251; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 217.

⁶⁷ Strab. 6.4.2; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, pp. 218-19. As noted above, Tacitus considered the Iberians and Albanian in the period immediately after the death of Augustus as buffer states (Tac. *Ann.*4.5) and does not hint at any wider involvement in *Roman Foreign Policy*.

Edessa

The city of Edessa lay just on the other side of the Euphrates and was sometimes referred to as Osrhoene by the sources (the name of the surrounding territory).⁶⁸ The kings of Edessa, invariably named Abgar or Mannu, were properly within the Parthian sphere of influence.⁶⁹ The first king to come to Roman attention was Abgar II, a king who allied with Crassus, before supposedly betraying him to the Parthians before Carrhae in 53 BC.⁷⁰ A century later, another Abgar (V) was apparently responsible for betraying Meherdates, Roman's nominee for the Parthian throne.⁷¹ During Trajan's conquest of Armenia and Parthia, yet another Abgar (VII) was reluctant to attend Trajan's "durbar" of client princes, but met him instead on the road and hosted a banquet in his honour.⁷² From this point onwards, Edessa is drawn strongly into Rome's sphere. Abgar VIII evidently visited Rome at some time during the reign of Septimius Severus.⁷³ Later Caracalla arrested another Abgar (IX), and subjected Edessa to direct Roman rule.⁷⁴ Coins of another Abgar (X) demonstrate that the kingdom was restored during the reign of Gordian III (AD 238-244), probably during his Persian war.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ For an introduction to the early history of Edessa, see J. B. Segal, *Edessa: the Blessed City*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 1-9. For the period after Trajan's conquest, see Ross, *Roman Edessa*; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', pp. 217-26. For a study of the Edessan kings, see A. Luther, 'Die ersten Könige von Osrhoene', *Klio* 81.2, 1999, pp. 437-54.

⁶⁹ Segal, *Edessa*, p. 11; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 106; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 20.

⁷⁰ Dio 40.20.1-21.1; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 10; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 107. Braund (*Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 97) points out that any king acting as a guide for Roman forces would tend to receive blame for any mishaps, and may not have always been as treacherous as depicted by the predominantly Roman sources.

⁷¹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.12; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 10; *PIR*² A 5.

⁷² Dio 68.21.1-3; Ball, *Rome in the East*, p. 90; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, pp. 32-35. Previously he had sent gifts to Trajan; see Dio 68.18.1 *PIR*² A 6. See also Bennett, *Trajan*, p. 190; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', pp. 220-21.

⁷³ Alluded to by Dio 80.16.2 and explicitly compared to Tiridates' visit to Nero; see *PIR*² A 8. See also Birley, *African Emperor*, p. 115; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, pp. 56-57; Ball, *Rome in the East*, p. 91. Severus had, however, earlier reduced the size of Abgar's kingdom because he supported Pescennius Niger; see Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 222.

⁷⁴ Dio 78.12.1²; *PIR*² A 9; Ball, *Rome in the East*, p. 91; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 222; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, pp. 60-64. Patterson suggests that Caracalla's conversion of Edessa to direct Roman rule, and his attempt to do likewise in Armenia was part of a projected Parthian War (Patterson, 'Caracalla's Armenia', pp. 173-99).

⁷⁵ The kingdom was restored to Abgar X, see *PIR*² A 11; Ball, *Rome in the East*, p. 91; Sommer, 'Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier', p. 223. The coins depict Abgar Severus, the king of Edessa, with the portrait of Gordian III. There appears to be two main types of these common bronze coins issued by Abgar (all with the portrait of Gordian III on the obverse) – a portrait of Abgar on the reverse with legend ΑΒΓΑΡΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC (*SNG Cop.* 226), and another depicting Abgar handing Nike to Gordian seated on a throne, legend ΑΥΤΟ Κ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΒΓΑΡΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC (*SNG Cop.* 223).

For Augustus' reign, Edessa cannot be described as a client kingdom of Rome. At that time, as a strong Parthian client, it would have been unwise for Augustus to propose a marriage-alliance between Edessa and a neighbouring Roman client kingdom, especially in view of the difficulty of suspect loyalties that will be investigated later in this chapter. No evidence exists for a marriage-alliance with these kings and it would be unlikely for such a marriage-alliance to be arranged. Edessa may have already been included in the Eastern Dynastic Network. As Segal points out, the names of the Edessan rulers suggest Arab connections, and marriage-alliances between neighbouring Arab kingdoms, such as Emesa or Nabataean, would not be unexpected.⁷⁶ When Edessa was later brought towards the Roman fold, the management of client kings had already faded from the Augustan model. Trajan and Septimius Severus demonstrated no inclination to managing marriages between the remnants of the client dynasties.

Missing Wives and Husbands

An incomplete historical record has left in the records the names of many members of client dynasties, but not the names of their spouses. Only the Herodians, thanks to Josephus' accounts, come close to a complete family record. A few kings and princes are known to have been bachelors. Whether this was by choice, lack of suitable or candidates, or imperial interdiction, is not known. Others were definitely married, it is simply the names or antecedents of their wives that are unknown.

Josephus plainly stated that Tigranes V of Armenia, the son of Alexander (I), the son of Herod the Great, "died childless", but neglects to mention any wife.⁷⁷ No wife is named for his brother Alexander (II) either, but his descendants are outlined, so it can be assumed that he had at least one wife.⁷⁸ Her identity was unknown to Josephus or unimportant. Herod had

⁷⁶ Segal, *Edessa*, p. 11; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 163; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 106. Pliny described the people of Osrhoene as "Arabs"; see Plin. *HN* 5.20.2, 6.9.1. Ross also indicates that the language and culture were akin (Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 63).

⁷⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.139. For many of the other male members of Herod's descendants listed in 18.130-142, Josephus does provide details for their wives. For more details about Tigranes V, see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 258-63; *PIR*² T 206.

⁷⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 18.140. For details of Alexander (II), see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 246-48; *PIR*² A 499.

organised betrothals for Tigranes and Alexander (II) (his grandsons), but they had come to nothing.⁷⁹ These sons of Alexander (I) were later sent to Rome, possibly on the insistence of their other grandfather, Archelaus of Cappadocia, for safe-keeping. Tigranes would have been around 20 when Augustus sent him to rule Armenia around AD 6, and quite possibly had already been married. Erato, the sister-wife of the previous Armenian king, was still alive and her portrait continued to be used on the coins of the “new” Tigranes.⁸⁰ As the last direct descendant of the Artaxias she was still politically useful. It is not beyond the realms of possibility that she was married to this king from Herod’s family to further legitimise his rule over Armenia.⁸¹ After being deposed around AD 12, Tigranes appears to have returned to Rome, where he was executed for conspiracy in AD 36.⁸²

Another Armenian king in the reign of Tiberius, Zeno-Artaxias (AD 18-35), may have been unmarried.⁸³ No name of a wife or even evidence of children can be found. As this was one of the more successful Roman appointees to Armenia and as Tiberius was a keen devotee of Augustan policy, it is interesting to see that this king seemingly died unmarried or without issue. At his death in AD 35, the Parthian king was keen to appoint his own son, Arsaces, as king of Armenia.⁸⁴ The Parthian takeover of Armenia may have included the death of any children of Zeno-Artaxias, but if so, the surviving sources, Dio and Tacitus, who mention Artaxias’ death, do not mention any such massacre of the royal family. Either Artaxias’ children predeceased him, or he remained unmarried and/or childless through his life.

⁷⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 17.12-18; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 246-47.

⁸⁰ For details on the coinage, see *RPC* I 3841-3842; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 262; For arguments for these coins belonging to the “Judaean” Tigranes, see P. Bedoukian, ‘Coinage of the Later Artaxiads’, *ANSMN* 17, 1971, pp. 137-39; Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads*, pp. 138-39. For issues regarding this attribution, see R. D. Sullivan, ‘Diadochic Coinage in Commagene after Tigranes the Great’, *NC* 13, 1973, pp. 18-39. Arguments are further confused by the authors using different enumerations of the Tigranes.

⁸¹ Augustus had previously used marriage to legitimise his candidates claim to rule a kingdom; for example, Dynamis was married to Polemo to help secure his claim to the Bosporan kingdom; see Dio 54.24.5 and Marriage 4.

⁸² Joseph. *AJ* 18.139; Tac. *Ann.* 6.40; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 262; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 167.

⁸³ For details of this king see Tac. *Ann.* 2.56; Strab. 12.3.29; *PIR*² A 1168; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, pp. 923-25. For his crowning as King of Armenia, see also *RPC* I 3629 and 3630; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146. Artaxias/Zeno’s ancestry is spelt out in *OGIS* 377.

⁸⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.31; Dio 58.26.1; Sullivan, ‘Dynasts in Pontus’, p. 924; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Chaumont, ‘L’Arménie entre Rome’, p. 88.

No evidence of marriage exists for several other Julio-Claudian appointees. Archelaus, son of Archelaus of Cappadocia, ruled parts of Cilicia with no wife mentioned in the sources and no issue that seem to have survived him.⁸⁵ No wife or children, or at least evidence of their existence, have survived for Cotys, who was appointed king in Armenia Minor by Gaius.⁸⁶ Mithridates of the Bosphorus, who succeeded his father Aspurgus in AD 38 and was deposed by Claudius in AD 45, issued coins for a Gepaepyris, but she appears to have been his mother.⁸⁷ Agrippa II of Judaea seems to have been a confirmed bachelor – Josephus recorded marriage for all of the surviving children of Agrippa I, but remains silent for his only son and heir.⁸⁸ A love-affair with his sister Berenice was rumoured.⁸⁹ Berenice felt compelled to enter another marriage to dispel these rumours, but there is no record of Agrippa II doing similar.⁹⁰ The Herods had been faithful client kings under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians and the childlessness of Agrippa II helped ensure that, on his death, he was the last Herodian client king.⁹¹ It seems incredible that an unmarried life was at the request of either Claudius or Nero, particularly as the existence of heirs did not presuppose that the client kingdom had to continue. Agrippa's wife-less existence was doubtlessly through choice.

⁸⁵ For the scant evidence of his reign, see *OGIS* 362; Tac. *Ann.* 12.55; *PIR*² A 1024; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1167-168. He perhaps died heirless because much of Cilicia, including Archelaus II's domains, was granted to Antiochus IV of Commagene by Caligula; see Dio 59.8.1; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 786; Mitford, 'Roman Rough Cilicia', p. 1243 and Chapter 5 above.

⁸⁶ For this king, see *PIR*² C 1555; Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 207-09. Again Cotys may have died heirless because Armenia Minor was granted by Nero to Aristobulus of Judaea; see Joseph. *BJ* 2.252, *AJ* 20.158; Tac. *Ann.* 13.7; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 310-12; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 319-20; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 143 and Chapter 5 above.

⁸⁷ Dio 60.28.7 (erroneously labelled "Mithridates, king of the Iberians"); Rostovtzeff, believing Mithridates was the son of Dynamis, perceived Gepaepyris to be his step-mother (Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 106), it is more likely, however, that Aspurgus was the son of Dynamis and Asander, not her husband, and that Mithridates and his brother Cotys were the children of Aspurgus and Gepaepyris; see *PIR*² M 635; for Gepaepyris, see *PIR*² G 168. For their coins, see Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 20.139-140; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 320-21. Smallwood described him, on his death as "unmarried and childless" (Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 354).

⁸⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 20.145-146; Juv. *Sat.* 6.157-158; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 322. For the suggestion that the title of *regina* in an inscription of Berenice indicates that she ruled together with Agrippa II as his sister-wife, and its refutation, see Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', pp. 248-49; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 84-87.

⁹⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 20.146; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 322; Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', p. 250; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 87.

⁹¹ Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 340; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 354. It is unlikely that an absence of wife for Agrippa stems from an incomplete historical record for Josephus was close to the Judaeian royal family (Rajak, 'Herodian Narratives of Josephus', p. 29; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 344) and would have known the identity and background of any wife of Agrippa II, but is silent on this matter.

Other kings were known to have been married, but the names and origins of their wives have not survived in the historical record. Archelaus of Cappadocia had at least two children that survived him: Archelaus II and Glaphyra.⁹² According to Strabo, he was also married to Pythodoris, the widow of Polemo – she must have been a later wife.⁹³ His daughter Glaphyra, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, was married around 14 BC, which means she would have been born no later than 27 BC. Polemo died no earlier than 16 BC, when he is recorded to have been married to Dynamis, and most probably died between 8 BC and AD 11.⁹⁴ Pythodoris could not then have moved on to marry Archelaus and provide him with Glaphyra as a daughter. Archelaus' must have had an earlier wife, unrecorded by history. As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 5, she is likely to have been an Armenian princess.

Rhoemetalces I of Thrace likewise had two children known to history: Cotys and an unnamed daughter that was married to his brother Rhescuporis.⁹⁵ The portrait of his wife is paraded on his bronze coinage, so her likeness is known, but no name accompanies the portrait.⁹⁶ That she was important enough to portray on coinage is evident, but who she was, and her antecedents are unknown. Youroukova erroneously identifies her as Pythodoris – the same Pythodoris that was married to Polemo of Pontus (and bore at least three children to him) and then to Archelaus of Cappadocia.⁹⁷ If such a marriage did take place, it must have been before or after she married Polemo, as she remained married to Archelaus, according to Strabo, until his death in AD 17.⁹⁸ Rhoemetalces died around AD 13. The only evidence for this marriage

⁹² For Archelaus of Cappadocia, see *PIR*² A 1023; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1149-161. For his son Archelaus II, see *PIR*² A 1024; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1167-168 (and above). For his daughter, see *PIR*² G 176; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1161-166.

⁹³ Strab. 12.3.29; *PIR*² P 834; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 921; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1158-159; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 166; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 149-50; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152. See also Marriage 6 above.

⁹⁴ The date of Polemo's death has excited much conjecture. For most recent analysis and discussion of arguments, see Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 167-69.

⁹⁵ Derived from an inscription (*IGBulg.* 399 = *IGR* I 1503 = *SEG* 34-700) that refers to Rhoemetalces [II] the grandson of Rhoemetalces I and Cotys [VII] (Rhoemetalces' father). This is only possible if his mother was the daughter of Rhoemetalces I and his father was Rhescuporis, Rhoemetalces I's brother and son of Cotys VII (disgraced in the reign of Tiberius and hence not named). See Sullivan, 'Thrace', pp. 204-05.

⁹⁶ Rhoemetalces' wife appears in two coin types, both as a jugate portrait with her husband. The legend on both types reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΑΚΟΥΥ with no mention, or even monogram, to identify his Queen. See *RPC* I 1708-1112.

⁹⁷ Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*, p. 58. The error is most probably due to a mistranslation but has been repeated in modern numismatic material; for example, see *RPC* I pp. 312, 314.

⁹⁸ Strab. 12.3.29; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 170; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 921. *PIR*² R 67 is adamant that she was not the wife of Rhoemetalces.

appears to have been an inscription that records a King Rhoemetalces and his wife, Pythodoris. Sullivan (from Dessau) has demonstrated that this inscription, which names their ancestors, makes it clear that this is Rhoemetalces II of Thrace and Pythodoris II, the daughter of Cotys.⁹⁹ The wife of Rhoemetalces I, the mother of Cotys, remains a mystery. Such a marriage would probably have fallen during Augustus' reign (or the later years of Antony). Whether she was a scion of another dynasty or the royal daughter of another Thracian tribe is not known.

Children, and therefore presumably wives, are known also for several other kings. Tigranes III of Armenia, appointed by Augustus and installed by Tiberius in 20 BC, had two children: Tigranes IV and Erato, but their mother is not recorded.¹⁰⁰ Artavasdes I of Media Atropatene, who died that same year, also had a son and daughter: Ariobarzanes who later became the Roman nominee in Armenia, and Jotape, who married Mithridates III of Commagene.¹⁰¹ The wives of Artavasdes and his son Ariobarzanes are not known. Tigranes VI, Rome's nominee in Armenia under Nero is known to have had a son: Alexander, appointed by Vespasian to rule in Cilicia.¹⁰² The marriage that produced him is also unrecorded.

One other factor may have been influential in these kings remaining without recorded wives. As the client dynasties died out, or were reduced in number, there was obviously a narrowing pool of candidates as suitable royal wives. Some of these kings may have remained without a wife due to the scarcity of options with the right connections and the required prestige. Other kings may have married beneath their station in the absence of suitable brides. If so, they may

⁹⁹ *IGBulg.* 399 (= *IGR* I 1503 = *SEG* 34-700); Sullivan, 'Thrace', p. 205. The only other interpretation, provided by Tačeva, is that the inscription refers to Rhoemetalces III being married to Pythodoris, who is supposed to be a daughter of Rhoemetalces. This theory adds too many assumed extra marriages; e.g. for Pythodoris to become a daughter of Rhoemetalces would mean that Rhoemetalces must have married a daughter of Pythodoris and Polemo. See Tačeva, 'Last Thracian Independent Dynasty', p. 462. Regardless, even this proposition does not have Rhoemetalces I married to Pythodoris I.

¹⁰⁰ For Tigranes III, see *PIR*² T 204. For Tigranes IV, see *PIR*² T 205. For Erato, see *PIR*² E 85. See also Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 75-77.

¹⁰¹ For Jotape as the daughter of Artavasdes of Media, see Dio 51.16.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 138; Macurdy, 'Jotape', pp. 40-41; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 40; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 780-81. For Ariobarzanes as the son of Artavasdes of Armenia, see *RG* 27.2, 33.1; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 232-33; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 82.

¹⁰² Joseph. *AJ* 18.140; *PIR*² T 207 (Tigranes VI), A 500 (Alexander); Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 794-95; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 250-51.

have then avoided advertising the marriage on coins and inscriptions. The wives of Tigranes and Alexander of Judaea, Artaxias of Armenia and Mithridates of the Bosporan Kingdom may be unrecorded because they were not “worthy” of historical record.

While the removal of some client kings may have had reduced the pool of marriage-able candidates, unmarried kings may have, in turn, led to the removal of client kingdoms. Augustus had linked Antony’s client kings into the remnants of the Eastern Dynastic Network with carefully arranged marriages. Thereafter there is absolutely no evidence that suggests that emperors ever appointed new men to manage client kingdoms. This did mean, however, that if a king died without heirs, there may have been no recourse other than to convert the kingdom into a province. From the history of the client kingdoms narrated in Chapter 3, the following table outlines the circumstances in which kingdoms were converted to provinces.

Kingdom converted	Date	King died?	Known married?	Known heirs?
Galatia	25 BC	Yes	Assumed	Yes
Paphlagonia	6 BC	Yes	Not known	Not known
Judaea (Herod Archelaus)	AD 6	Yes	Yes	No direct
Cappadocia	AD 18	Yes	Assumed	Yes
Commagene	AD 18	Yes	Assumed	Yes
Tarcondimotid Cilicia	AD 18	Yes	Not known	No direct
Judaea (Philip)	AD 33	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mauretania	AD 41	Yes	Not known	Not known
Thrace	AD 45	Yes	Yes	Not known
Pontus	AD 64	Unknown	Not known	Not known
Commagene	AD 72	No	Yes	Yes
Emesa	AD 73?	Unknown	Not known	Yes
Judaea (Agrippa II)	AD 100?	Yes	No	No
Nabataea	AD 106	Unknown	Yes	Yes
Edessa	AD 212/3	Yes	Assumed	Yes

The table demonstrates that usually the death of a client king provided the Roman emperor with the opportunity to convert the kingdom into a province. Only one kingdom

(Commagene, on the second attempt to absorb it into the province of Syria during Vespasian's reign) was definitely converted into a kingdom while the king was still alive. In several cases the king died with sons, or other indirect heirs from his wider family, that could have succeeded him if the emperor preferred the territory to remain a client kingdom. The fact that the kingdom was instead converted into a province suggests that the emperor at the time decided that the situation required direct control by the empire, usually for political purposes. On the other hand, sometimes a king died and no evidence survives to suggest that he had any direct heirs to succeed him. The lack of heirs may have been the overriding reason why Mauretania, Thrace, Pontus and Judaea became Roman provinces. By not following Augustus' policy and actively encouraging intermarriage between client kings, future emperors may have been partly responsible for the inability for some territories to continue as client kingdoms.

Repercussions

Missing and incomplete evidence are methodological problems with the study of Augustus' policy of connecting his client dynasties with intermarriage. The policy of encouraging intermarriage between client kings itself, regardless of its aims, also created problems for Augustus and his successors – some of which were surely unsurprising and must have been anticipated. Joining two families together in any era is fraught with difficulty and in the personal rule of ancient monarchies, domestic issues quickly overflowed into the arena of international politics. Augustus' candidates for marriage were not always ideal. On at least two occasions, outlined below, the emperor's choice of bride or groom had a negative impact on the stability of the realm in question. At the other end of the scale, closer family unity across client states had the possibility of creating tighter links and loyalty between client states than the bonds that tied them to Rome. Any family loyalty to the Julio-Claudians had disappeared after Nero's reign (along with the Julio-Claudians themselves) and the closer family bonds between the remaining client kings may have been viewed with suspicion by Flavian and later emperors. Some client kings were suspected of having closer family connection across the Euphrates, towards Parthia.

Importing Trouble

Welcoming a newcomer, as the bride or groom, into any family always had the potential for increased tensions, particularly if the newcomer came from a more prestigious family (or believed that they did). The marriage between Glaphyra of Cappadocia and Alexander of Judaea, around 18/17 BC (Marriage 3), brought Glaphyra into Herod's court. Intra-dynastic strife was already rife in this court due to Herod's earlier marriage to Alexander's mother, Mariamne. Mariamne was a Hasmonaean, the traditional royal family of Judaea.¹⁰³ Her ancestors were much more prestigious than Herod's and it appears the relationship with Herod's sister Salome was already strained.¹⁰⁴ Glaphyra appears to have also thought many in Herod's family were beneath her social standing. Josephus recorded the ructions this caused within Herod's court:

“Salome's hostility was aggravated by Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, who boasted of her noble ancestry and claimed to be mistress of all the ladies at court, because she was descended on her father's side from Temenus, on her mother's from Darius, son of Hystaspes. On the other hand, she was constantly taunting with their low birth Herod's sister and his wives, all of whom had been chosen for their beauty and not for their family ... all these, on account of Glaphyra's arrogance and abuse, hated Alexander.”¹⁰⁵

To be fair, Glaphyra did not create the tensions within Herod's court – those tensions were already there. Competition between Herod's sons, particularly between Antipater, Herod's eldest son but by a lowborn wife, and Alexander and Aristobulus, Herod's sons by Mariamne his Hasmonaean second wife, were already evident.¹⁰⁶ Salome and Pheroras, Herod's sister and brother, were already enemies of Alexander and Aristobulus.¹⁰⁷ Glaphyra's behaviour in Herod's court certainly exacerbated those tensions. Aristobulus, Alexander's brother, was

¹⁰³ Joseph. *BJ* 1.344, *AJ* 14.300, 14.467, 20.248; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 211-13; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 741; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 48-49; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 223; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. 111; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 158.

¹⁰⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 1.438, *AJ* 16.66; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 71; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 178-79, 212-13; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 217; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 69-72.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 1.476-477 (trans. H. St. J. Thackeray); Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1163; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 57; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 187.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 16.78-86, *BJ* 1.449-451; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742. Alexander and Aristobulus were also understandably suspicious of (and angry with) their father, who had their mother Mariamne executed around 28/27 BC; see Joseph. *AJ* 15.236, *BJ* 1.443-444; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 213.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph. *BJ* 1.498; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 274; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 72; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 186-87.

married to Berenice, Salome's daughter, and, according to Josephus, vocally complained about his brother's royal wife compared to his lowborn one – when her daughter reported this to Salome, it only increased her antagonism towards Mariamne's sons and Glaphyra.¹⁰⁸ Conspiracy between Antipater, Salome and Pheroras against the sons of Mariamne eventually led to the arrest of Alexander and Aristobulus. Around 13/12 BC, Herod brought them and his case against them to Augustus, who reconciled the king of Judaea with his sons.¹⁰⁹

The reconciliation did not last long. According to Josephus, Antipater, Salome and Pheroras returned to conspiring and eventually the brothers were again arrested.¹¹⁰ That a foreign bride could cause such problems in the royal court would be expected, but when her father was a king of another client territory within the Roman sphere, domestic tensions become inter-dynastic tensions. Archelaus, Glaphyra's father, grew so fearful for his son-in-law's fate, that he came in person to Judaea to reconcile Herod with his son.¹¹¹ Josephus portrayed Archelaus as expressing faux anger at his daughter and son-in-law to calm Herod's own anxieties. The threat of divorce, however, may have been real. Such a situation between two client kings would have upset the cordiality that Augustus was so keen to foster. Even after Herod, Archelaus and Alexander were reconciled, Archelaus still maintained that he would have to visit the emperor in Rome, as "he had already written a full account of the whole matter."¹¹² While there is no record of Augustus' response from the sources, a comment of Augustus', that he would rather be Herod's pig than Herod's son, reveals some inkling as to Augustus' thoughts on the internecine strife in Herod's court at this time.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Joseph. *BJ* 1.478-479; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 187. For Aristobulus' marriage to Berenice, which occurred at the same time as his brother's marriage to Glaphyra, see Joseph. *AJ* 16.11, *BJ* 1.446; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 310-11; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 72; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 186; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 239.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 16.87-126, *BJ* 1.452-454; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 100; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742. For dating, see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 215.

¹¹⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 1.488-497, *AJ* 16.241-253; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 215; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 284.

¹¹¹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.499-511, *AJ* 16.261-269; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 285; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 27; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1162; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 169; Romer, 'Case of Client-Kingship', p. 81.

¹¹² Joseph. *BJ* 1.510. See also *AJ* 16.270; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1163; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 285.

¹¹³ *Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium* (Macr. *Saturn.* 2.4.11). See Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, p. xiii; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 169; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 1-2; Braund, 'Greek and Roman Authors on the Herods', p. 41. Macrobius attributes the quote to the supposed "Slaughter of the Innocents", but its direct reference to Herod's son(s) suggests that Augustus made the quip in response to Herod's family troubles, particularly the execution of his sons Alexander and Aristobulus.

Other dynasts became involved. Eurycles of Sparta paid a visit to Herod's court around 8 BC, and stirred up more trouble between Antipater and his brothers.¹¹⁴ Alexander was arrested again and, as the father-in-law of Herod's errant son, Archelaus too became suspect in Herod's view.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile Eurycles had reported falsely to Archelaus that he had reconciled Herod with Alexander, and the Spartan received a reward.¹¹⁶ Augustus was also notified of Herod's arrest of his sons and granted Herod's permission to deal with his sons, although he suggested clemency and suggested Archelaus be involved in the assessment of his son-in-law's guilt.¹¹⁷ Herod ignored Augustus' suggestion and excluded Archelaus from the trial, and Alexander and Aristobulus were executed in 8/7 BC.¹¹⁸ Soon afterwards, Glaphyra was returned to Cappadocia with her dowry, to avoid further tension between the two kingdoms.¹¹⁹

A major diplomatic row between two client kingdoms would have been a serious cause for concern for Augustus. Although Josephus only hinted at the tension between the two kingdoms, there was clearly now discord between Judaea and Cappadocia. Archelaus and Herod were both Antonian client kings who had proved their loyalty to Augustus. Joseph stressed the affection between Augustus and Herod and Agrippa, but it is also true that Archelaus, although not the subject of Josephus' works, was also involved in this tight

¹¹⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 1.513-526, *AJ* 16.301-308; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 27; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 285-86. For a general overview of Eurycles and his background, see G. W. Bowersock, 'Eurycles of Sparta', *JRS* 51.1-2, 1961, pp. 112-18 and H. Lindsay, 'Augustus and Eurycles', *RhM* 135.3/4, 1992, pp. 290-97.

¹¹⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 16.332. Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1163; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 286. In the *Antiquities*, Josephus mentions this time a Cappadocian nobleman, Melas, was sent to Judaea; see Joseph. *AJ* 16.325 (there is no mention of the Cappadocian in the *BJ*).

¹¹⁶ Joseph *BJ* 1.530, *AJ* 16.309-310; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 27; Bowersock, 'Eurycles of Sparta', p. 115; Lindsay, 'Augustus and Eurycles', pp. 293-94. Later Augustus became aware of the trouble this dynast had caused, including his involvement in the dispute between Cappadocia and Judaea, and Eurycles was punished; see Joseph *BJ* 1.531, *AJ* 16.310; Strab. 8.5.5; Bowersock, 'Eurycles of Sparta', p. 116; Lindsay, 'Augustus and Eurycles', pp. 294-95; Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', p. 655. Strabo only refers to trouble that Eurycles stirred up locally in Greece as the cause of his banishment.

¹¹⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 16.357; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 287; McCurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 58; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 101.

¹¹⁸ Joseph *BJ* 1.551, *AJ* 16.360, 16.394; McCurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 58; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 742; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 215; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 288; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 101. Goodman dates to c. 7 BC, Kokkinos to c. 8 BC.

¹¹⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 1.553, *AJ* 17.11; McCurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 58; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 247; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1163.

circle.¹²⁰ Archelaus visited Herod in Judaea, Herod visited Archelaus at Elaeussa.¹²¹ One of Herod's sons was given the name Archelaus and, of course, there was the marriage-alliance between their two families. Archelaus and Cappadocia are no longer mentioned in the sections of the *Antiquities* and the *War* that record the rest of Herod's reign— it is obvious that any friendship between the two kingdoms had ended. The relationship between Augustus and Herod also appears to have soured. According to Josephus, Augustus had designs on granting the rule of Nabataea to Herod but, in light of the recent disturbance and the trouble Herod was having with his sons, Augustus instead reluctantly confirmed Aretas as its king.¹²² The ramifications of this marriage-alliance were a disruption of Augustus' plans and discord between two kingdoms.

That the problems in Herod's family were already present was evident – the Herodian court appeared to have become a fine example of Ogden's study of amphimetric strife in Hellenistic courts brought on by polygamous marriages.¹²³ Herod's poor relationship with his sons stems from his execution of their mother and the jealousy and intrigues rife in his family. Josephus ascribed Herod's problems as justice for his sacrilegious life, namely when Herod opened the tomb of David intending to loot its treasures.¹²⁴ Without a marriage-connection to Cappadocia, however, Herod's problems would have been confined to Judaea. By encouraging a marriage-alliance between Herod and Archelaus, Augustus allowed Herod's problems to spill across borders. Glaphyra appears to have only exacerbated strife between Alexander and his father. It would not be the last time Glaphyra would have a negative impact

¹²⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 1.400, *AJ* 15.361, 16.60-61; Gruen, 'Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora', p. 20; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, pp. 88-89; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 153-54; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1162-163; Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', pp. 23-25; Richardson, *Herod*, pp. 262-64.

¹²¹ Herod visited Archelaus at Elaeussa in 12 BC (Joseph. *BJ* 1.456, *AJ* 16.131). Archelaus visited Herod in Judaea (Joseph. *BJ* 1.499-511, *AJ* 16.261-269). Herod also passed through Cappadocia on his way home from Sinope in 14 BC and it is possible that he visited Archelaus then although Joseph makes no mention of it (Joseph. *AJ* 16.23). Jacobson has collated and dated Herod's movements in a table by Jacobson (Jacobson, 'Three Roman Client Kings', p. 23).

¹²² When Obodas III died, the rule of Nabataea was taken over by Aretas IV without waiting for Augustus' explicit approval. Josephus suggested that Augustus was considering adding Nabataea to Herod's rule, but the recent troubles meant Augustus instead overcame his anger at Aretas' presumption and confirmed the Nabataean as king; see Joseph. *AJ* 16.353-355; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 150.

¹²³ For Ogden's study into amphimetric strife (i.e. the problem created from polygamous royal marriages, uncertain succession, and rivalry between half-brothers) in the Hellenistic kingdoms, see Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death*, particularly pp. xxvi-xxx.

¹²⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 16.188; Rocca, *Herod's Judaea*, p. 27; Richardson, *Herod*, p. 193; Marshak, *Many Faces of Herod*, pp. 280-81; A. Kasher and E. Witztum, *King Herod: A Persecuted Persecutor: a Case Study in Psychohistory and Psychobiography*, Berlin, 2007, pp. 281-85.

on Judaeen affairs. If Augustus' intention in encouraging marriage-alliances between his client kings were to bring his kings together harmoniously, then he failed with the marriage between Alexander and Glaphyra. What should have cemented friendship between Judaea and Cappadocia instead drove them further apart.

Another marriage dispute, this time in the reign of Tiberius, seriously embroiled two client kingdoms, bringing about war between them. The match was originally arranged in Augustus' reign. As described in Chapter 2, sometime late in Augustus' reign, Herod Antipas was married to Phasaelis, the daughter of Aretas IV of Nabataea (Marriage 5).¹²⁵ On a sojourn in Rome during Tiberius' reign, Antipas stayed at the house of his brother Herod and fell in love with his wife, Herodias, who would only agree to marry him on the proviso that he first divorce his Nabataean wife.¹²⁶ When Phasaelis heard of this plan, she fled to her father in Nabataea and the subsequent quarrel between Antipas and Aretas led to both sides preparing for a war. Aretas was initially victorious, but then Tiberius intervened on the side of Antipas.¹²⁷ The emperor ordered Vitellius, the governor of Syria to invade Nabataea to capture Aretas alive or dead, according to Josephus.¹²⁸ Josephus presented the divorce as the primary reason for the dispute, although he also mentioned boundary problems between the two kingdoms.¹²⁹ Josephus, the only surviving source for this serious dispute, portrayed Antipas' fate as punishment for his sacrilegious life.¹³⁰ Regardless, a royal divorce,

¹²⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 18.109; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 229; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306. Kokkinos identified Antipas' bride as Phasaelis, Aretas' eldest daughter (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 230-31).

¹²⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 18.109-110; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 267-68. Kokkinos disputes some of the details of Josephus' story regarding how Antipas met Herodias.

¹²⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.113-115; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 268-69; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, p. 65; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 187.

¹²⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 18.115; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 269; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 306; Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, pp. 65-69; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 187; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 143; Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568. Only on hearing of Tiberius' death did Vitellius retire his forces back to Syria; see Joseph. *AJ* 18.124; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 269; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 307. Negev, 'Nabataeans', p. 568. Sullivan also suggests that there may have been Parthian involvement in the affair as well, considering Agrippa's later claim to Gaius that Antipas was conspiring with the Parthians (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 307-08).

¹²⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 18.113 (who recorded that disputed territory was Gamalitis). Kokkinos suggests that Gaius may have eased tensions by granting Gamalitis to Agrippa I, which might have mollified Aretas as Agrippa was Antipas' enemy (Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 269).

¹³⁰ Jensen suggests that Josephus' accounts of Antipas and his fate were shaped by Antipas contravening Jewish law, namely the founding of Tiberias, the marriage to Herodias/divorce of Phasaelis and the execution of John the Baptist; see M. H. Jensen, 'Josephus and Antipas: A Case Study of Josephus' Narratives on Herod Antipas', in *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*, Z. Rodgers (ed.), Leiden, 2006, pp. 287-312.

particularly as the bride hailed from a neighbouring kingdom, had repercussions and encouraged bad feeling between the kings that Augustus hoped to join together in friendship.

Augustus' choice of bride or groom sometimes also brought problems into the kingdoms they were introduced. On two occasions the populace rejected the emperor's candidate. The first was the marriage between Dynamis of the Bosporan Kingdom and Polemo of Pontus, arranged in 16 BC as discussed in Chapter 2 (Marriage 4). Augustus was at least complicit in this arrangement if not the instigator. Dio did not record Dynamis' feelings on the marriage, but her people soon made their feelings clear. According to Dio, the Bosporan people resisted the idea of Polemo as their king and only the proximity of Agrippa and the threat of Roman arms negated the threat of rebellion.¹³¹ Despite this Polemo was not greeted with rapture and several rebellions are recorded in his reign.¹³² The timeframe is murky, but it appears around 8 BC he was killed trying to subdue a rebellion from the "Aspurgiani" – probably the followers of Aspurgus.¹³³ As noted in the previous chapter, the people of the Bosporan Kingdom seemed to have a preference for kings descended from Mithridates Eupator. Polemo, although king of Pontus, was not descended from Mithridates – he was an Antonian ally set up in Pontus and the son of Zeno, an oligarch of Laodicea in Lycaonia.¹³⁴ Augustus' choice (Polemo) was soundly rejected by his future subjects, and he died trying to subdue them. The fact probably caused Augustus some embarrassment and it is not until the reign of

¹³¹ Dio 54.24.5; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 170; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 165; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 30.

¹³² Strabo records at least two – the city of Tanias (Strab. 11.2.3) and the "Aspurgiani" (Strab. 11.2.11), although they may have both been part of a wider rebellion. See also Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 919; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 260-64.

¹³³ Strab. 11.2.11; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', pp. 260-61; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', pp. 167-68; Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 102; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', p. 170; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 294; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 31; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 919. Aspurgus, as noted in Chapter 3, appears to have been an earlier son of Dynamis by Asander; see *PIR*² A 1048; Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom*, pp. 8-9; Saprykin, 'Thrace and the Bosphorus', pp. 170, 172; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41; Nawotka, 'Attitude towards Rome', p. 329; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 168.

¹³⁴ Strab. 12.8.16; Dio 49.25.4; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 915-16; Primo, 'The Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 163; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 433. See also *PIR*² P 405. Rostovtzeff describes the family of Polemo as "pretenders" in Pontus (Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', p. 97).

Tiberius that Aspurgus was recognised as King of the Bosphorans and given Roman citizenship.¹³⁵

In the second case, Augustus appears to have allowed Glaphyra to again marry into Judaeian affairs. In all fairness, given her recent impact on the Herodian house, it is unlikely that Augustus actively encouraged this match, but he obviously neither banned nor discouraged it. According to Josephus, Herod Archelaus married Glaphyra (Marriage 9), the widow of his brother, after Juba II, her second husband, died.¹³⁶ Such a marriage, however, was against the laws and customs of the Jews – Josephus labelled it as “detestable” and in the next passage described a mission of the “principal men of Judaea” to Augustus because they were unable “to bear his barbarous and tyrannical” rule.¹³⁷ At least in Josephus’ mind the two events are linked and certainly Archelaus’ marriage to Glaphyra did not endear him further to his subjects. Augustus summoned Herod Archelaus to Rome and exiled him to Vienna in Gaul – Archelaus’ kingdom was merged into Syria.¹³⁸ Glaphyra died, according to Josephus, two days after she had a dream of her first husband, Alexander, rebuking her for her recent marriage to his brother.¹³⁹ Augustus may have thought the death of Herod had mollified Archelaus, or the rift between Judaea and Cappadocia caused by Herod’s execution of Archelaus’ son-in-law had been otherwise smoothed over, and allowed the marriage to proceed, or at least did not endeavour to prevent it. Regardless, Glaphyra’s marriage again appears to have caused disruption in Judaea.

¹³⁵ Nawotka, ‘Attitude towards Rome’, p. 329. On the grant of citizenship to Aspurgus, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 41. Saprykin suggests that Augustus allowed Aspurgus to continue to rule in the Bosphorus, but denied him the title of king (Saprykin, ‘Thrace and the Bosphorus’, p. 171).

¹³⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 2.115, *AJ* 17.341; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 227; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1166; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 116; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59.

¹³⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 17.341-342. See also Joseph. *BJ* 2.111; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59. Several scholars have pointed out that Josephus gave no examples of such tyranny from Archelaus; see Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 117; Jensen, ‘Josephus and Antipas’, pp. 296-97.

¹³⁸ Strab. 12.2.46; Joseph. *BJ* 2.111, *AJ* 17.344, 354; Dio 55.27.6; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228; Goodman, ‘Judaea’, p. 744; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 117; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, pp. 59-60.

¹³⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 2.116, *AJ* 17.350-352; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 228; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Cappadocia’, p. 1166; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 116; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 59; Jensen, ‘Josephus and Antipas’, p. 297. For an analysis of how dreams are used in Josephus, see R. K. Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Historical Analysis*, Leiden, 1996.

Spreading Suspicion

In the East, Augustus found a dynastic network already operational and not only employed it, but nourished and expanded it by encouraging further intermarriage. While this network provided the connections that bound Rome's client kings closer together, it also provided connections across the Euphrates to Parthia and her subject kingdoms. Client dynasties of the Artaxiads of Armenia and the Commagenian kings had strong marriage links to the Arsacids, and Augustus encouraged other client dynasties to marry Armenian and Commagenian spouses. Connections to the only other empire that could rival Rome's power, however, also encouraged suspicion. In at least two cases, Rome had to deal with wavering loyalties, or suspected loyalties, of client kings that had some connection to the Arsacids. Herod Agrippa's (probably baseless) accusations of Parthian intrigue against his rival Herod Antipas in AD 39, and Gaius' reaction, demonstrated how sensitive emperors were to the slightest hint of treachery.¹⁴⁰ While the marriages of their ancestors alone did not make later client kings suspect in Roman eyes, such connections may have lent further weight to accusations of disloyalty.

Armenia was connected to Parthia geographically and culturally. The Armenians had been dealing regularly with the Parthians that dwelt at the foot of their mountainous state since the reign of Mithridates II. The Armenians also had more in common with the Iranian culture of Parthia than the Graeco-Roman west. Parthia was closer to Armenia in many more ways than Armenia was to Rome. The Armenian royal family was also connected to the Parthian Arsacids through traditional marriage-alliances. Strabo noted that the ruling families of Armenia, Media and Parthia were all interconnected.¹⁴¹ At least three marriages are documented between the Arsacids and the Artaxiads, although more may well have been made. Late in the reign of Mithridates II, a marriage-alliance was forged between that

¹⁴⁰ Joseph. *AJ* 18.250; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 191; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 307. Agrippa accused his cousin Antipas of colluding with Artabanus the king of Parthia, and of stocking arms. When Antipas could not refute the charge of amassing an armoury, Gaius took the accusation as proven and exiled Antipas to Lugdunum in Gaul. In the *War*, Josephus merely noted that Antipas was "punished for his ambition" but "banished into Spain" (*BJ* 2.183). The relationship between the Jews and Parthians is explored in greater detail by Rajak; see Rajak, 'Parthians in Josephus', pp. 311-12.

¹⁴¹ Strab. 11.13.1; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 308; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 295.

Parthian king and a daughter of Tigranes II of Armenia.¹⁴² Around 69 or 68 BC another king of Parthia, Phraates III, made a marriage-alliance between his unnamed daughter and the young Tigranes, son of Tigranes II.¹⁴³ Later, Artavasdes II of Armenia married his sister to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king Orodes II.¹⁴⁴ By the time of Actium, the Armenian Artaxiads were tightly bound dynastically to the Parthian Arsacids.

These marriage-alliances gave Parthia a strong claim on Armenia and, only after the Artaxiads died out, the Parthians pressed that claim. Vonones, an ex-king of Parthia took up the throne of Armenia apparently on his own initiative in AD 12.¹⁴⁵ Later, Artabanus III sent his son Arsaces to rule Armenia in AD 35 and, after he was killed the same year, another son, Orodes, was sent in his place.¹⁴⁶ Tiberius responded with his own candidate, Mithridates of Iberia.¹⁴⁷ Late in Claudius' reign, Vologaeses installed his brother Tiridates as king of Armenia.¹⁴⁸ Nero sent Corbulo to contend the issue, but the compromise in AD 63 left

¹⁴² Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 116-17; Olbrycht, 'Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran', p. 169. This marriage is detailed in Chapter 1 above. Her name, according to papyri, was Aryazate; see Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 116; Sullivan, 'Papyri reflecting the Eastern Dynastic Network', p. 911; Minns, 'Parchments of the Parthian Period', p. 31. Bigwood, however, does not assign the papyri's reference to Mithridates II (Bigwood, 'Some Parthian Queens', p. 244). Nevertheless, it does still represent a marriage between an Armenian princess and a Parthian king.

¹⁴³ As noted in Chapter 1, Tigranes the Younger was rebelling against his father and made a marriage-alliance to gain Parthian support; see Dio 37.6.4; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 285; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 353; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 88.

¹⁴⁴ The marriage was made shortly after Crassus was defeated at Carrhae in 54 BC; see Plut. *Cras.* 33.1; Cic. *Fam.* 15.3.1; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 286; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 290; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 96; Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', p. 83.

¹⁴⁵ *RG* 33.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.46-50; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3-4; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 332-33; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 162; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 85; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 255. Vonones appears to have been tolerated there by Romans and Armenians alike and Augustus seems to have been content to leave him there; see Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 162.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 18.52; Tac. *Ann.* 6.31-33; Dio 58.26.1; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 88-89; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', p. 924. There is some disagreement as to whether Josephus' passage refers to an earlier attempt by Artabanus to place a son called Orodes on the Armenian throne, or whether the passage has been incorrectly inserted chronologically, for arguments, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1356, n. 15.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 18.97; Tac. *Ann.* 6.32; Dio 58.26.3-4; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 88; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 69; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 203; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, p. 219.

¹⁴⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.50; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 97-98; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 241; Dąbrowa, 'Roman Policy in Transcaucasia', p. 70; Levick, *Claudius*, p. 160; Dąbrowa, 'Arsacids and their State', pp. 34-35.

Tiridates as king of Armenia, albeit crowned by a Roman emperor.¹⁴⁹ Thereafter Armenian kings were usually Arsacids.

The Romans viewed the loyalty of the Artaxiad kings as suspect, partly as a result of their marital alliances. Earlier, during the Mithridatic Wars, Tigranes II of Armenia had been a strong ally of Mithridates VI of Pontus. This alliance was forged on Tigranes' marriage to Mithridates' daughter, Cleopatra.¹⁵⁰ During Crassus' eastern campaign, Artavasdes II acted as a Roman ally and supporter, but after the disaster at Carrhae in 53 BC, he switched, or was compelled to switch, to support the Parthians.¹⁵¹ As noted above, one sister (presumably much older) had been married to a Parthian king (Mithridates II) and his brother Tigranes had been married to the daughter of another Parthian king (Phraates III). The current Parthian king, Orodes II, was, therefore, his brother-in-law. It was probably at this time that he married his sister to Pacorus, the son of Orodes II.

After the Battle of Carrhae (53 BC), Artavasdes remained a Parthian ally until Antony's invasion but, while Antony was besieging Phraaspa in Media, Artavasdes returned to Armenia.¹⁵² For this abandonment, viewed as a betrayal, Artavasdes was eventually captured by Antony and executed.¹⁵³ His son, Artaxias II, naturally espoused strong anti-Roman

¹⁴⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 15.24; Suet. *Ner.* 13; Dio 63.1.2, 62.3.4; Wiedemann, 'Tiberius to Nero', p. 248; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', p. 108; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 227; Malitz, *Nero*, p. 60. Dąbrowa depicts this as a victory for Parthia; see Dąbrowa, 'Arsacids and their State', p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ App. *Mithr.* 15; Just. *Epit.* 38.3.1-2; Olbrycht, 'Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran', p. 178; McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates*, p. 78; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 109; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 42; Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 206. See also Chapter 1.

¹⁵¹ Sullivan suggested the tradition linking the marriage between Pacorus and Artavasdes' daughter and the betrayal of Crassus is "too neat" (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 287). See also Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', p. 83.

¹⁵² Strab. 11.14.9, 11.14.15; Plut. *Ant.* 50.1-2; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 33; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 287-89; Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', p. 88. Pacorus had died in 38 BC and his father Orodes II not long afterwards – another son of Orodes, Phraates IV, now ruled in Parthia, see Plut. *Ant.* 37.1; Dio 49.23.3-4; Just. *Epit.* 42.4.11-42.5.3; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 313; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 58. Sherwin-White proposes the marriage-alliance between Artavasdes and the Arsacids as one reason why Artavasdes left the Roman alliance (Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 312).

¹⁵³ Liv. *Per.* 131; Vell. Pat. 2.82.3; Strab. 11.14.15; Joseph. *AJ* 15.104; *BJ* 1.363; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Plut. *Ant.* 50.4; Dio 49.39.2-6, 51.5.5; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', p. 40; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 75; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 321; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 289; Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', p. 92.

sentiments, but Augustus left him alone in Armenia for the time being.¹⁵⁴ When Artaxias II died in 20 BC, his brother Tigranes III was installed as king of Armenia by Tiberius with the backing of a Roman army.¹⁵⁵ That the Romans portrayed the Armenian kings as untrustworthy was predominantly due to the way the Armenian kings would switch their loyalties. Armenia's only hope of survival as an independent state was to play its two stronger neighbours off against each other. Additionally, the strong connections the Artaxiads had with Parthia helped confirm this view of Armenia as kings who could not permanently disengage from the rest of their family in Parthia.

Armenia also had connections with other client states in Parthia's sphere. Strabo's quote above demonstrated that the kings of Media Atropatene were also bound up with the ruling family of Armenia. Another Artavasdes, the king of Media, was an Antonian ally who later fled to Rome. Antony obviously could not trust Artavasdes to completely turn against his family members amongst the Arsacids – he kept Artavasdes' daughter Jotape in Alexandria as an intended bride for his son Alexander Helios.¹⁵⁶ After Antony's defeat in the Parthian War, Artaxias, with Parthian assistance, ousted Artavasdes from Media.¹⁵⁷ Artavasdes took refuge with Augustus and ruled Armenia Minor (as noted in Chapter 5) until he died in 20 BC.¹⁵⁸ Around that time Augustus appears to have married Artavasdes' daughter Jotape to another

¹⁵⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 290-91; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 323. For an analysis of when Artaxias returned to Armenia as King, see Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', pp. 101-03.

¹⁵⁵ *RG* 27.2; Vell. Pat. 2.94.4; Strab. 17.1.54; Joseph. *AJ* 15.105; Suet. *Tib.* 9.1; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Dio 54.9.4-5; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 159; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 325; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 74-75; Crook, 'Political History', p. 90; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 231-32; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72; Gruen, 'Imperial Policy of Augustus', p. 386; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵⁶ Plut. *Ant.* 53.6; Dio 49.44.2, 51.16.2; Macurdy, 'Jotape', pp. 40-41; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 97; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 297; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 311; Pelling, 'The Triumviral Period', p. 48; Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', p. 96 n. 50; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 82.

¹⁵⁷ Dio 49.44.4; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 311; Patterson, 'Antony and Armenia', p. 102; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 298. Reinhold suggests that Dio places this event to early, and that it would not have happened before 31/31 BC (Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 82).

¹⁵⁸ Dio 54.9.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 311; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 325; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 298-99; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', pp. 151, 158; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 51. After Actium Augustus returned Jotape to Artavasdes; see Dio 51.16.2; Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate*, p. 138; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 311; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 298.

client king: Mithridates III of Commagene (Marriage 2) – she would be bestowing her Parthian connections on her descendants.¹⁵⁹

The events of 20 BC (Tiberius' crowning of Tigranes III, the death of Artavasdes of Media, the reorganisation of the eastern client kingdoms and the marriage of Jotape to Mithridates III of Commagene) all point to a renewed Roman interest beyond the Euphrates. Here the family connections of the Kings of Armenia and Commagene with kingdoms within the Parthian sphere of influence may have been perceived as beneficial. These kings and their dynastic connections could prove advantageous to Rome if the Empire was indeed seeking to expand its influence eastwards. Instead Augustus faltered, or thought better of it.¹⁶⁰ The Parthian connections that Augustus introduced and spread within his dynastic network, however, remained and would have repercussions for future emperors.

The marriage of a Median princess to a Commagenian king had strengthened Parthian connections that were already evident. Mithridates III's aunt, the daughter of Antiochus I of Commagene, had previously been married to Orodes II.¹⁶¹ Antiochus I was himself the son of a Seleucid princess, Laodice.¹⁶² At the time, Antiochus I had already cemented an alliance with Rome under Pompey.¹⁶³ Having recently been conquered by Tigranes II of Armenia, he also shrewdly formed a marriage-alliance by marrying his daughter Laodice to Orodes II of Parthia.¹⁶⁴ These connections made him seem unreliable in Rome, as Cicero wrote.¹⁶⁵ When

¹⁵⁹ Macurdy, 'Iotape', p. 42; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 98; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 299; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 780-81; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 189. Syme proposes alternatives but concedes the marriage to Mithridates was more probable (Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 150).

¹⁶⁰ Sherwin-White acknowledged the opportunity afforded in 20 BC; see Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, pp. 330-35 but particularly p. 333. To Gruen, Augustus had no intention of expanding beyond the Euphrates – instead he "projected the image of a conqueror who extended Roman sovereignty to the East" (Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 163).

¹⁶¹ Dio 49.23.4; Wagner, 'Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene', p. 208; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 766; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 194-95; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 98.

¹⁶² Antiochus' parentage was repeatedly inscribed at Nemrud Dag; see *IGL Syr.* 1, 3, 5, 8, 14-18, 22, 26-28, 31-35, 46-47, 52; Sullivan 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 753; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 88.

¹⁶³ App. *Mithr.* 106; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 764; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 194; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 227; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 187.

¹⁶⁴ Dio 49.23.4; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 766; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 194-95; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 98. The marriage was also spelt out in an inscription; see Wagner, 'Dynastie und Herrscherkult', p. 208.

the Parthians invaded in 40 BC, they were led by Pacorus, who may have been Antiochus' grandson (or least the son of Antiochus' son-in-law).¹⁶⁶ Antiochus appears to have provided some assistance on this occasion to the Parthians and Parthian fugitives.¹⁶⁷ When Antony led the Roman resurgence, Antiochus had to pay a hefty bribe to retain rulership of Commagene.¹⁶⁸ When Augustus married Jotape to Antiochus' grandson, he was enhancing Parthian connections that were already present, in a kingdom perceived to be of fickle loyalty to the Roman cause.

Nevertheless, the next hint of betrayal from Commagene was not until the reign of Vespasian. In AD 72, the governor of Syria, Caesennius Paetus, wrote to the emperor accusing Antiochus and his sons of being in league with Parthia and planning to revolt.¹⁶⁹ Despite Antiochus providing assistance to Vespasian during the Jewish War, the emperor obviously believed Paetus' accusation.¹⁷⁰ With assistance from other client kings, such as Sohaemus of Emesa and Aristobulus of Chalcis, former comrades in the Jewish War, Roman forces marched on Commagene.¹⁷¹ Antiochus fled, but eventually surrendered himself.¹⁷² His sons successfully fled to Parthia.¹⁷³ There they were welcomed by Vologaeses, to whom they were probably related, but returned to Rome some years later, their sins forgiven.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁵ Cic. *Fam.* 15.1.2; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 766-67; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 96. For the most recent treatment of Cicero and his relationship with Antiochus I, see Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', pp. 194-99.

¹⁶⁶ Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 196. It is not known whether Antiochus' daughter, Laodice, was the mother of Pacorus or another, perhaps earlier, wife of Orodes II. Regardless, they were closely connected.

¹⁶⁷ Plut. *Ant.* 34.2-3; Dio 48.41.5, 49.20.3; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 306; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 768; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', pp. 23-24.

¹⁶⁸ Plut. *Ant.* 34.3-4; Dio 49.20.5; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 195; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 768-69; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, p. 306; Pelling, 'Triumviral Period', pp. 23-24.

¹⁶⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 7.220-221; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 792; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; Bowersock, 'Syria under Vespasian', p. 135.

¹⁷⁰ For Antiochus' efforts during the Jewish War, see Tac. *Hist.* 2.81, 5.1; Joseph. *BJ* 2.500, 3.68, 5.460-462; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 790-91. For Vespasian's response to Paetus' letter, see Joseph. *BJ* 7.223-224; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 791-92.

¹⁷¹ Joseph. *BJ* 7.225-227; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 792-93; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; E. Borgia, 'The Rule of Antiochus IV of Commagene in Cilicia: a Reassessment', in *Rough Cilicia, New Historical and Archaeological Approaches (Conference Lincoln 2007)*, M. C. Hoff and R. F. Townsend (eds), Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2013, p. 90; Barrett, 'Sohaemus King of Emesa', p. 155.

¹⁷² Joseph. *BJ* 7.228-229; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 792-93; Borgia, 'Rule of Antiochus IV', p. 90.

¹⁷³ Joseph. *BJ* 7.237; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 793; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; Borgia, 'Rule of Antiochus IV', p. 90.

¹⁷⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 7.242-243; Borgia, 'Rule of Antiochus IV', p. 90; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 794.

Rebellion from Commagene, which had been a client kingdom of Rome since Pompey, appears incredible at first. The Julio-Claudians to whom Antiochus and his ancestors had loyally served, however, were now extinct. Although Antiochus had served under Vespasian (who, in turn, was serving under Nero) during the Jewish War and later provided military support during Vespasian's bid for the Empire in AD 69, this may not have fully replaced the family loyalty instilled in the Commagenian kings.¹⁷⁵ A year of civil war might have brought a feeling of uncertainty to all the Roman client kings. Certainly it is reasonable – after such a change in the political climate in Rome, Commagene may have felt closer ties to neighbouring Parthia. Although Commagene had been a Graeco-Roman state for two and half centuries, its local culture would have retained strong Iranian influences.¹⁷⁶ On top of this and courtesy of a marriage arranged by Augustus, Antiochus IV was a descendant of Jotape, herself from Media, a Parthian client kingdom, whose family was interwoven with the Parthian Arsacids. There are also theories that the king of Parthia, Vologaeses, was also descended from the Median kings – certainly his brother, Pacorus, was king of Media.¹⁷⁷ The kinship between Antiochus and Vologaeses, assisted by earlier Augustan royal marriages, may have swayed Commagene's loyalty to Rome.

Regardless of how close Commagene was to Parthia, there is little evidence to support any intention of Commagene actually defecting to Parthia. Vologaeses had not many years ago already fought a war with Rome over Armenia, and the result was not stunning victory. It is doubtful that Parthia was preparing for another full-scale war with Rome. It is more likely that the Parthian was ready to exploit any sign of Roman weakness. In AD 72, only three years

¹⁷⁵ For Antiochus' efforts during the Jewish War, see Tac. *Hist.* 2.81, 5.1; Joseph. *BJ* 2.500, 3.68, 5.460-462; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 790-91. For Antiochus' assistance during the Civil War of AD 69, see Tac. *Hist.* 2.25.2; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 791; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 99; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 47; Barrett, 'Sohaemus King of Emesa', p. 155.

¹⁷⁶ The kings of Commagene prided themselves on their descent from Orontes and Darius; see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', p. 736; Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην', p. 88.

¹⁷⁷ Josephus claims that Artabanus III of Parthia was king of Media before he became king of Parthia in AD 10 (*AJ* 18.48). Josephus also reported that Artabanus was followed by his son Vardanes, who was succeeded by his brother Gotarzes, who was later succeeded by another brother, Vologaeses (*AJ* 20.73-74). Tacitus, however, stated that Vologaeses was the son of Vonones II, also previously king of Media (*Tac. Ann.* 12.14). Regardless of whether Vologaeses was the son of Artabanus III or Vonones II (who were both were previously kings of Media Atropatene) there is a strong dynastic connection to Atropatene in the later Parthian kings. Strabo contended that the line of Median kings continued to his day (*Strab.* 11.13.1-2). For discussion, see Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 199-200. Syme, however, thought that Strabo's statement was written early and that Artabanus III and his family did not necessarily belong to the dynasty of Media Atropatene (Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 314-16). For Pacorus as King of Media, see Joseph. *AJ* 20.74; *Tac. Ann.* 15.2.

after the disastrous wars of AD 69, it would not have been obvious that the Flavian dynasty was stable and ruling without dissent.¹⁷⁸ Likewise, it is more probable that Antiochus was preparing the way in case he did have to defect if the Roman Empire collapsed. But the Flavian dynasty was secure and any opportunities that the Parthians were preparing to take advantage of, if civil war erupted again, did not eventuate. Paetus' motives can only be guessed at (Josephus suggested "hatred for Antiochus"), but it is likely he was exaggerating the problem.¹⁷⁹ Regardless of Commagene, Vespasian may have felt conscious of Rome's current vulnerability in the East and wary of the Parthians taking advantage of it.¹⁸⁰

Even if Antiochus could have been trusted, Vespasian still moved to oust him. Whether he was loyal or not loyal, he was perceived as unsound. This perception would have been driven, in part, by Antiochus' strong connections to the Arsacids. As noted above, when Antiochus' sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, fled, they naturally fled to Parthia. The king there welcomed them – this is unsurprising as he may have been their cousin. While emperors were content to keep client kings with Parthian connections, they were also quick to move against them at the slightest hint of suspicious activity. Whatever prompted Augustus to marry a Median princess into the Commagenian dynasty, it later provided one basis for suspected loyalties.

Too Friendly Kings

Suetonius claims Augustus sought to bring his client kings together in friendship and intermarriage.¹⁸¹ Having so many kings closely allied to each other through traditional marriage-alliances obviously had the potential to create a power-bloc. If the ties that bound the client kings to each proved tighter than those that bound them to Rome, then moves

¹⁷⁸ In that twelve month period the empire had been ruled sequentially by different four emperors – for the most recent monograph of the civil wars of AD 69, see G. Morgan, *69 AD the Year of Four Emperors*, New York, 2007.

¹⁷⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 7.220. Facella convincingly debunks the fiction of Antiochus IV's disloyalty (Facella, 'Φιλορόμαιοις καὶ Φιλέλλην', pp. 99-102). Levick too discounts the charge of disloyalty (Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165.) and considers the amalgamation of Syria and Commagene to always have been Vespasian's objective.

¹⁸⁰ As pointed out by Bennet, the recent Jewish War and Civil War had left Rome's eastern frontier in a "perilous situation" (Bennett, 'Origins and Early History of the Pontic-Cappadocian Frontier', p. 89). Borgia suggests that Antiochus' suspect loyalty was just an excuse for Vespasian to strengthen the Eastern frontier (Borgia, 'Rule of Antiochus IV', p. 90).

¹⁸¹ Suet. *Aug.* 48.1; Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus*, pp. 167-68; Wardle, *Suetonius Life of Augustus*, pp. 354-55.

towards independence would have been natural. While many of the marriages forged during Augustus' reign were spread over great geographical distances, many were still between neighbouring countries, in the traditional manner. Since many of the royal marriages during the Hellenistic age were for political purposes and alliances, would Augustus have been unaware of the prospective for creating powerful alliances within Rome's sovereignty? There are only a few clues that client kings may have been aiming for independence through the strength of their family alliances, but in two cases at least, Augustan marriage-alliances were the key factor that brought these client kingdoms together.

Modern scholars, such as Sullivan, have sought to explain Archelaus' sudden demise early in Tiberius' reign as a sign that the old king had grown too powerful in Tiberius' opinion.¹⁸² While this is only one possible explanation for his recall to Rome, Archelaus did have several strong connections to other client kingdoms that would have made him potentially powerful. The marriage between his daughter Glaphyra and the heir to Judaea, Alexander (Marriage 3), gave him influential and useful allies. Herod and Archelaus, as demonstrated above, were firm allies and the next King of Judaea would potentially be Archelaus' son-in-law. Alexander's death would have been a setback for any aspirations Archelaus might have held, but his daughter married again – to Juba of Mauretania (Marriage 7). Archelaus himself, sometime after 8 BC, married Pythodoris (Marriage 6) and temporarily united the neighbouring kingdoms of Cappadocia and Pontus. Even after Juba and Glaphyra divorced, Archelaus' daughter was swiftly married to Archelaus of Judaea (Marriage 9), rebuilding the alliance between Cappadocia and Judaea. Later in Augustus' reign, Archelaus' grandson (Glaphyra and Alexander's son) Tigranes was placed on the throne of neighbouring Armenia (by now Archelaus had received the additional territory of Armenia Minor).¹⁸³ Although several of Glaphyra's marriages had failed, Archelaus was nevertheless in a powerful position in the last years of Augustus' reign.

¹⁸² For the threat posed by Archelaus, see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1159-161; Romer, 'Case of Client Kingship', pp. 75-100. For the circumstances under Archelaus' deposition, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Suet. *Tib.* 37.4; Dio 57.17.4; Levick, *Tiberius*, pp. 111, 140-141; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly*, p. 166; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1160; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 82; Barrett, *Livia*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁸³ For Tigranes V as King of Armenia, see *RG* 27.2; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, p. 233; Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, p. 72; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 259; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1164. For the allocation of Armenia Minor to Archelaus in 20 BC, see Dio 54.9.2; Strab. 12.3.29; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 143; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1153; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 152.

Any cynical manipulation of dynastic marriages, however, would still require the complicity of the emperor. Dio's comment on the marriage of Polemo and Dynamis has indicated that Augustus had the final say on state marriages between his client kings.¹⁸⁴ If Archelaus was pushing Glaphyra as a pawn to build political alliances, then perhaps Augustus deliberately encouraged her marriage to Juba in far-away Mauretania. The sources did hint that Archelaus was planning rebellion, but the king would have been at least in his 70s, and by many accounts, almost infirm.¹⁸⁵ Even if Archelaus' position by the end of Augustus' reign was achieved accidentally, then he still was, as demonstrated by Sullivan, powerfully connected and a potential threat for Tiberius' incoming regime. Tiberius appears to have had personal motivations for deposing Archelaus, but removing the king of Cappadocia would have also removed a potential risk and the keystone of a power-bloc formed by Augustan marriage-alliances.¹⁸⁶ It is interesting to note that subsequent to Archelaus' death, Tiberius did not pass the kingdom of Cappadocia onto his son Archelaus II, who only received his father's Cilician territories. As indicated earlier in this chapter, Archelaus II also had no known wife or descendants – Tiberius could have prevented Archelaus' connections being passed onto his descendants by merely avoiding the assignation of a wife for Archelaus II. It is most likely that Tiberius was ill-disposed towards Archelaus but also recognised the threat that Archelaus and his connections posed. While Archelaus probably intrigued to gain this power within the framework of the Roman client system, rather than seeking outright rebellion, his extraordinary dynastic position may have posed a potential risk for a new regime.¹⁸⁷ By encouraging or supporting intermarriage between his client kings, Augustus had allowed Archelaus to achieve pre-eminence amongst the Eastern kings, with connections to the

¹⁸⁴ Dio 54.24.6. See also Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis', pp. 98-100; Gruen, 'Expansion of the Empire', p. 151; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 294; Primo, 'Client Kingdom of Pontus', p. 165; Braund, 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo', p. 254; Macurdy, *Vassal Queens*, p. 30; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 918-19; Frézouls, 'Politique Dynastique', p. 180; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁸⁵ Dio reported that the official charge against Archelaus was "rebellious conduct", but also described the king as "stricken in years" and "also a great sufferer of gout" (Dio 57.17.4). Tacitus preferred to assign personal reasons for Tiberius' conduct towards Archelaus and described the charges as "fictitious" (Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Goodyear, *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. 2, pp. 319-21).

¹⁸⁶ Apparently Archelaus ignored Tiberius at Rhodes during his exile and paid court to Gaius Caesar instead; see Tac. *Ann.* 2.42; Dio 57.17.4; Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 81; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', p. 1160.

¹⁸⁷ Sullivan rejects the evidence for outright rebellion, but concludes that Cappadocia combined with Pontus presented a threat to the new emperor (Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Cappadocia', pp. 1160-161). Romer also concludes that Archelaus intrigued to increase his advantages, but not to the detriment of the Roman Empire (Romer, 'Case of Client Kingship', p. 100).

kingdoms of Judaea, Mauretania, Pontus and Armenia. Amongst Archelaus' step-children (the children of his last wife Pythodoris), were a Queen in Thrace, a dynast in Olba and the next Roman candidate for the king of Armenia.¹⁸⁸

Augustan marriage-alliances also created a situation in the reign of Claudius that may have posed a risk to Roman security. At Tiberias in AD 44 a number of kings convened under King Agrippa I. Those present were Agrippa himself, his brother Herod of Chalcis, Sampsigeramus of Emesa, Antiochus IV of Commagene, and Polemo II of Pontus and his brother Cotys.¹⁸⁹ Many of these kings were directly related to Agrippa. Herod of Chalcis was not only his brother, but was also married to Agrippa's daughter Berenice.¹⁹⁰ His other brother, Aristobulus, was married to Sampsigeramus' daughter, Jotape (Marriage 13), so the King of Emesa was Agrippa's brother's father-in-law. Others were more distant relatives. Jotape's mother, another Jotape, was the aunt of Antiochus of Commagene.¹⁹¹ If Polemo II of Pontus was the same as Polemo of Cilicia, as some scholars have ascertained, then he was married to a Julia Mamaea, almost certainly an Emesan princess (Marriage 18), and would later be married to Berenice, Agrippa's daughter, after her husband and uncle died (Marriage 19). If they were different men, as is the view of this thesis, then they shared the same grandfather, Polemo of Pontus. Cotys, was, of course, the brother of Polemo of Pontus. Even the kings not directly related to Agrippa, were at least related to each other.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ See Strab. 12.3.29. Antonia Tryphaena was married to Cotys of Thrace late in Augustus' reign (Marriage 10). M. Antonius Polemo, the dynast of Olba, has been demonstrated to be the unnamed son of Polemo and Pythodoris mentioned by Strabo (see arguments under Marriage 18). In AD 17, the year Archelaus was deposed, Germanicus installed Zeno, Pythodoris' other son) as King of Armenia; see Tac. *Ann.* 2.56; *RPC* I 3629 and 3630; Chaumont, 'L'Arménie entre Rome', pp. 86-87; Sullivan, 'Dynasts in Pontus', pp. 923-25; Levick, *Tiberius*, p. 146.

¹⁸⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 19.338; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 300; Goodman, 'Judaea', 745; Levick, 'Claudius', p. 159; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 198; Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 42; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 787-89; Frézouls, 'La politique dynastique', p. 190; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 81; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 137-40; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 324.

¹⁹⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 2.217, *AJ* 19.277; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 308; Macurdy, 'Julia Berenice', p. 249; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, p. 134. This was Berenice's second marriage and organised by Agrippa in connection to his request to Claudius for a kingdom (Chalcis) for Herod; see Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 311-12.

¹⁹¹ For the connections of the Jotapes, see Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 42. Both this Jotape and Antiochus IV of Commagene were grandchildren of a marriage arranged by Augustus between Jotape of Media and Mithridates of Commagene; see Marriage 2.

¹⁹² The dynastic connections of these kings was not lost on Macurdy, Frézouls or Sullivan; see Macurdy, 'Jotape', p. 42; Frézouls, 'La politique dynastique', p. 190; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Commagene', pp. 787-88.

The meeting was dispersed by Marsus, the governor of Syria. According to Josephus, “he took it for granted that a meeting of minds amongst so many chiefs of state was prejudicial to Roman interests.”¹⁹⁴ Marsus’ actions were perfectly understandable. While one king might have visited another, such as Archelaus’ visit to Herod, such a large gathering of kings without the presence of the emperor appears to have been unprecedented.¹⁹⁵ That these kings were bound together in friendship and marriage-alliances would only encourage suspicions of the worst intentions. The event may have also been tied to Agrippa’s earlier rebuilding of the wall around Jerusalem. Earlier, Josephus reported that, “he repaired them [the walls] at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth and higher in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish.”¹⁹⁶ Marsus reported these activities to Claudius, who requested that Agrippa desist. Agrippa acquiesced. Evidently Marsus was suspicious of Agrippa, and kept a close eye on activity in nearby Judaea.¹⁹⁷ The governor of Syria certainly played an important role in watching the Eastern client kingdoms.¹⁹⁸ The conference at Tiberias, particularly with such family connections between the delegates, aroused the suspicions of Marsus, Governor of Syria.

How important this gathering was is difficult to ascertain. The event is only chronicled by Josephus and ignored by Tacitus and Dio (although the sections of Tacitus concerned with Claudius’ early reign are missing). Josephus understandably wrote from a pro-Jewish standpoint and he may have exaggerated the importance of a Jewish king in international events. Josephus also recorded a scene at Caesarea where the crowd proclaimed Agrippa a

¹⁹⁴ Joseph. *AJ* 19.341; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 300; Goodman, ‘Judaea’, 745; Levick, ‘Claudius’, p. 159; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 198; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 324; Frézouls, ‘La politique dynastique’, p. 190; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 139-40.

¹⁹⁵ For Archelaus visiting Herod in Judaea, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.499-511, *AJ* 16.261-269. For Herod visiting Archelaus, see Joseph. *BJ* 1.456, *AJ* 16.131; Jacobson, ‘Three Roman Client Kings’, p. 27. Kings met together in Rome or with the emperor (such as at Antioch in 20 BC). A number of kings were also gathered at Sinope in 14 BC, but under the auspices of Agrippa; see Joseph. *AJ* 16.30; Gruen, ‘Herod, Rome and the Diaspora’, p. 21. For meetings of kings with Augustus, see section in Chapter 2 above, p. 130.

¹⁹⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 19.326-327. See also Joseph. *BJ* 2.218; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 197; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 324; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 295-96; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 140-44; Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 81.

¹⁹⁷ Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 81. Marsus, either because of these actions or for earlier transgressions, was deemed an enemy by Agrippa (Joseph. *AJ* 19.342; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 296).

¹⁹⁸ Similar conduct is seen later in Caetus’ behaviour in notifying Vespasian regarding his suspicions in Commagene, outlined above (Joseph. *BJ* 7.220-221; Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Commagene’, p. 792; Levick, *Vespasian*, p. 165; Bowersock, ‘Syria under Vespasian’, p. 135).

god.¹⁹⁹ Certainly in Josephus' narrative there is the sense of anticipation and a build-up of fervour around Agrippa. His death so soon after this proclamation also suggested divine punishment for his sacrilegious boldness. What Agrippa would have dared next, or if he had some sort of plan to further expand his power and influence, whether at Rome's expense or not, will never be known. Rome may have avoided another crisis in Judaea when Agrippa's life was cut short in AD 44.

How serious the Roman's considered this threat, if there was one, is uncertain. Marsus almost certainly presented Agrippa's action in a negative light, and twice acted to neutralise a perceived threat to Roman rule. That the Roman-centric sources are silent suggest that the threat might have merely been Marsus' imagination. Agrippa had been a close friend and confidant of the Julio-Claudians, including the current emperor, Claudius. Josephus portrayed Agrippa as being pivotal during Claudius' accession.²⁰⁰ The Jewish king was in Rome at the time, and gave advice and encouragement to Claudius. He also acted as a messenger between Claudius and the Senate. While Agrippa may have proved himself a supportive friend during the early reign, he was also rewarded for it, with an enlarged kingdom and territories for his brother, Herod, to rule.²⁰¹ Realistically though, Agrippa's options were limited. Only if he had succumbed to egomaniacal fervour (induced perhaps by being hailed a god) could he have believed that he had a chance to break Judaea away from Rome and carve out for himself an independent kingdom.

Kokkinos ascribes megalomania as the source of Agrippa's actions, but at the same time accuses Marsus of exaggerating the threat – "Marsus' suspicions cannot have been well founded, for Agrippa was highly unlikely to have been planning an open revolt against

¹⁹⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 19.345; Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 303.

²⁰⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 2.206-210, *AJ* 19.236-245; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 192; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', pp. 324-25; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745. Even Dio acknowledged Agrippa's role during the disruptive period that immediately followed Caligula's assassination (Dio 60.8.2).

²⁰¹ Joseph. *BJ* 2.215-217, *AJ* 19.274-277; Dio 60.8.2; Sullivan, 'Dynasty of Judaea', p. 325; Goodman, 'Judaea', p. 745; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 192. On the territories granted to Agrippa I by Caligula and Claudius, see Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, pp. 280-81. Schwartz, however, argued that Claudius' grants to Agrippa and Herod were only partly due to any debt that Claudius owed Agrippa; see Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 191-93.

Rome.”²⁰² Sullivan describes the event as causing “serious strains” and the conference at Tiberias clear evidence of the client kingdoms still exerting “strong political and social forces.”²⁰³ Goodman thought that Marsus’ “charge was implausible, for Agrippa would have gained nothing and lost much by independence.”²⁰⁴ Levick’s study of the reign of Claudius barely mentions the incident, suggesting it was perceived as no major threat to Claudius’ reign, but ascribed the events as leading to Claudius’ decision “to annex Judaea.”²⁰⁵ How serious the meeting was judged at the time can be assessed by noting that neither Dio, Tacitus nor Suetonius made any reference to the event. Even so, a family gathering of kings should be an expected outcome from a policy of uniting client kings together through intermarriage. These kings now were bound together by marriage-alliances fostered by Augustus and his successors over several generations.

Conclusion

An incomplete historical record is probably the most likely reason for large gaps in the Eastern Dynastic Network. As had been noted in earlier chapters, many of the marriages that bound this network together are only known from the fortunate survival of inscriptions and coins. Josephus’ two complete works provide details, and sometimes insights, into the Herodian connections, but are less useful for those dynasties that were not married into Herod’s family. It cannot be discounted, however, that the Tarcondimotids and Amyntas were isolated from the web of royal marriages for political reasons. Other unconnected kingdoms, such as Edessa and Iberia, became client kingdoms too late to benefit from Augustus’ policy of intermarriage. As Chapter 3 has demonstrated, evidence for marriage-alliances begins to wane late in Tiberius’ reign and had almost disappeared by the Flavians. Both of these kingdoms were also old enough to have forged marriage-alliances in the period prior to Augustus’ reign and policy. Certainly the known marriages made during Augustus’ reign

²⁰² Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty*, p. 300. Schwartz also dismisses the charges and argues that Marsus actions were instigated by personal animosity against Agrippa and ambition to include Judaea as part of his province of Syria; see Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, pp. 138-40.

²⁰³ Sullivan, ‘Dynasty of Judaea’, p. 324.

²⁰⁴ Goodman, ‘Judaea’, p. 745.

²⁰⁵ Levick, *Claudius*, p. 159. Smallwood also plays down the impact of the Conference of Tiberias, but suggests Agrippa was “exceedingly ill-advised” to host such a gathering; see Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, p. 198.

outlined in Chapter 2 as well as the absence of Galatia in those plans, point heavily towards the policy only becoming active as part of Augustus' reorganisation of the East in 20 BC.

Furthermore, the surfeit of kings and princes without known brides is also a product of an incomplete historical record. The children of many of these rulers point to marriages, most probably "royal" – it is simply the case that the name and origin of the mother is unknown or postulated, as in the case of Glaphyra's mother. Even when the record does not indicate marriage or children, such as with Tigranes V, it appears unlikely that the ruler was unmarried, either by choice or imperial policy. As Suetonius indicated, Augustus' marriage "policy" was most probably due to encouragement and suggestion and unlikely to have been dictated – it is therefore doubtful that kings would be deliberately excluded and left as bachelors – particularly as their bloodlines and ancestry have been demonstrably the most useful benefit to Augustus' policy. Nevertheless, if royal marriages had to be sanctioned by the emperor, as suggested by Dio, then emperors had to be mindful of the king's domestic affairs – the Eastern Dynastic Network now had the tendency to die back if it was not tended by the emperor. Opportunities for dynastic marriages may pass by if the emperor was proactive in this field. Fewer marriages would mean fewer heirs and fewer candidates as future client kings. When a king died, the opportunity arose to convert his kingdom into a province – if the king died heirless, then the emperor may have had no other choice.

The historical record, albeit incomplete, has provided enough examples to illustrate several repercussions of this policy. Intermingling solid Roman client kings with those with ties to Parthia, such as Commagene, Armenia and Media had benefits if the emperor was planning to extend Rome's influence beyond the Euphrates. During times of peace, however, it promoted suspicion – evident in Commagene in AD 72. Herod's family had already provided plenty of examples of intra-dynastic feuding and intrigue. Extending these connections beyond the boundaries of Judaea only embroiled other normally quiet kingdoms – as demonstrated by the three-way unpleasantness between Archelaus, Eurycles of Sparta and Herod. Due to his daughter's marriage into the Herodians, Archelaus was frequently dragged into Judaeian squabbles. The divorce of Antipas and the daughter of Aretas of Nabataea almost brought war between two Roman client kingdoms. Augustus' choice of bride or groom was not always

accepted by the other party either – witness the troubles of Polemo of Pontus in the kingdom of his new bride, Dynamis of Bosphorus – troubles that he eventually died trying to resolve.

Bringing client kingdoms together, bound with intermarriage and friendship, could create a bloc with closer ties and loyalties amongst themselves than to the emperor. By the end of Augustus' reign, Archelaus of Cappadocia had been the beneficiary of a number of marriage-alliances with his fellow client kings. His trial in Rome early in Tiberius' reign may have been the removal of a threat (or potential threat) that had connections to several other kings. Furthermore, the conference at Tiberias where several kings united in friendship and intermarriage (Augustus own aims according to Suetonius) met together at the beck of one king, Agrippa, rightly brought a concerned governor of Syria in to disband them. That these problems arose should have been no surprise to Augustus and the later Julio-Claudians. The problems caused by this policy of intermarriage, and to some extent, the problems in the evidence, need to be weighed against the achievements and goals of actively binding the Roman client kings together, before Augustus' policy can be judged to have been successful.

Conclusions

Analysis of dynastic marriages made during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period in this thesis has produced a number of revelations, and assisted in the understanding of how client kingdoms formed part of the Roman Empire. The brief analysis of approximately three hundred years leading up to the principate of Augustus in Chapter 1 has demonstrated that most royal marriages in these kingdoms were arranged for political reasons, basically an alliance that could fulfil one or more broad requirements. Most of these alliances were for military purposes, to attack a common enemy, or defend against them, or to forge a peace after a recent war. Amongst the Hellenistic kingdoms the bond of marriage that brought two royal families together was considered strong, almost sacrosanct. That is not to say that the connected kingdoms did not or could not break these bonds, as they often did, but the Hellenistic world nevertheless considered intermarriage to be a veritable treaty itself. According to Memnon, Tigranes of Armenia complained to Roman envoys that to surrender or betray his father-in-law Mithridates would invite “universal censure.”¹ These royal marriages were also more flexible than formal treaties – although a marriage might be arranged with a particular purpose in mind, the marriage would establish a bond between the two ruling families that had no expiry, no clauses and no limitations. The only expectations were a general mutual cooperation and non-aggression between the two kingdoms.

A cursory study of the geography of the kingdoms united in marriage demonstrates that they were mostly neighbours, usually sharing a border or border region. Since most of the marriages were arranged with military alliances in mind, this would appear obvious. Nevertheless, very few of the known marriage-alliances were not between neighbouring kingdoms. Prestige also figured certainly in the marriage-alliances between Hellenistic kingdoms. Few kings married commoners or brides not from their own dynasty or a neighbouring dynasty. Newer kingdoms, such as the Parthians, were eager to marry, by force if necessary, into older and more prestigious dynasties, such as the Seleucids. Such marriages gave these parvenus a sense of legitimacy.

¹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 31.2. See also Chapter 1.

As the presence of Rome pushed further east, the situation gradually changed. Many of the smaller kingdoms became Roman client kingdoms. Larger states, such as Macedonian and the Seleucid Empires, were reduced and eventually became provinces of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, the Romans were reluctant to engage militarily in the East, preferring to maintain stability through allied kingdoms rather than conquest. As Rome became the dominant power in the Mediterranean, military marriage-alliances between kingdoms became less important. Although kings could not form marriage-alliances with the Romans, due to Roman law and the Roman political system, they could be enrolled as *socii et amici* – allies and friends of the Roman people. Once a kingdom was allied with the dominant regional power, then it did not necessarily need to form alliances, including marriage-alliances, with other kingdoms. After Pydna, most of the known marriage-alliances were between kingdoms outside Rome’s sphere of influence, namely Pontus (during the reign of Mithridates VI), Armenia and Parthia. Nevertheless, marriages were still formed between kingdoms, even Roman client kingdoms, and for much the same reasons and, more importantly, without any recorded interference from Rome.

During the principate of Augustus, however, the system of marriage-alliances underwent further changes, as revealed in Chapter 2. According to passages from several sources, Augustus developed a keen interest in supporting or proposing marriage-alliances between the client kings of Rome. Of the ten known or conjectured dynastic marriages between client kings forged during Augustus’ reign, most demonstrate imperial influence. Some marriages were arranged between kingdoms that were separated by miles of Roman imperial territory. These marriages in particular stand out as alliances inspired by the emperor, as they overrode an important restriction of traditional Hellenistic marriage-alliances. Marriages now connected the far-flung royal families of Mauretania and Egypt (Marriage 1), Judaea and Cappadocia (Marriages 3 and 9), Pontus and the Bosporan Kingdom (Marriage 4), and Thrace and Pontus (Marriage 10). Augustus developed other policies regarding his management of client kings that also affected these marriages. Client kings were encouraged to meet personally with the emperor either at Rome or when he was out in the provinces, and the children of client kings were encouraged to be sent to Rome for education and for the next generation of rulers to form personal attachments to the emperor and the imperial family.

Previously, marriage-alliances would have been limited to neighbouring kingdoms because of the greater opportunities for the kings and their families to meet. Now Rome and the emperor became a central point where the kings could meet, form friendships, and arrange marriage-alliances, despite the vast distances that might otherwise have separated them.

Suetonius stated that Augustus was an instigator (*conciliator*) and supporter (*fautor*) of these marriage-alliances, so that he could encourage friendship between his client kings. The broader view of Augustus' policies outlined in Chapter 4, however, demonstrates that he had a keen interest in the institution of marriage itself. As *paterfamilias*, he encouraged marriages within his own family, many generations ahead. Driven by a strong desire for a successor, Augustus promoted the idea of an imperial family, the *domus Augusta*, to ensure that the principate remained within his family. Marriage was one tool the emperor utilised to define the imperial family. Augustus also encouraged marriage amongst the wider Roman elite. He formulated marriage laws to encourage growth and stability and even went as far as proposing and arranging marriages amongst Roman senators. Acting as *Pater Patriae*, even before he was officially conferred the title in 2 BC, he was well within his remit to encourage marriage amongst the Romans. So marriages between client kings complemented Augustus' overall policy towards strengthening the institution of marriage. By undertaking to propose or support intermarriage between allied kings, Augustus also strengthened his image as *pater orbis* (Father of the World).

Friendship and closer ties between client kings may not have been the only intention behind Augustus' involvement in their marriages. Augustus, like the other Republican generals who left their mark on the East, had a Roman preference for the continuation of local dynasties. Only Antony demonstrated any deviation from this policy – he removed established dynasties and installed new kings in the major client kingdoms, such as Amyntas in Galatia, Archelaus in Cappadocia, Herod in Judaea and Polemo in Pontus. These kings had no hereditary basis to rule their kingdoms and were totally reliant on Antony's support to maintain their positions. The only claim to rule a kingdom during this period was a dynastic claim or by right of conquest. As the subjects in these kingdoms often demonstrated a preference to be ruled by their traditional monarchies, Augustus was faced with a problem when he inherited Antony's control over essentially illegitimate kings. Antony's kings had proved themselves capable and

loyal and, as Augustus had little experience in Eastern matters, the new Roman ruler wisely left Antony's arrangements in place.

In order to bolster the kings' claim to their kingdoms, as outlined in Chapter 5, the emperor endeavoured to establish connections by marriage to each other and to the residual Eastern Dynastic Network leftover from the Hellenistic period. Archelaus of Cappadocia had already married an Artaxiad princess, and his daughter was married to Herod's son (Marriage 3), who was the product of marriage between Herod and a Hasmonaean princess. Polemo was married to Dynamis (Marriage 4), the granddaughter of Mithridates VI, thus establishing for him a claim on his own kingdom, as well as one on the Bosphoran Kingdom. Polemo's daughter was married into the family of Rhoemetalces of Thrace, whose family had intermarried with the ancient Thracian dynasty of the Odrysians. New blood was intermingled with old blood.

Augustus' intentions went further – into the progeny of these marriages. Children born from these marriages inherited claims from both their parents. Glaphyra appears to have inherited a claim on Armenia from her mother, and her husband, Alexander, inherited a claim on Judaea from his Hasmonaean mother. When Augustus required a candidate for the Armenian throne late in his reign, he selected the Cappadocian-Judaeian Tigranes, the son of Glaphyra and Alexander (Marriage 3). It was Augustus' successors, however, that benefitted from the fruits of this policy. The three sons of Cotys of Thrace and Antonia Tryphaena of Pontus (Marriage 10) were raised with Gaius in Rome. On succeeding Tiberius, Gaius granted kingdoms to his childhood companions: Rhoemetalces received Thrace, Polemo II received Pontus, and Armenia Minor, which was once ruled by their grandfather Polemo I, was granted to Cotys. Frézouls pointed out some time ago that by supporting the dynastic model, the Julio-Claudians were also highlighting their own right to rule the Roman Empire they inherited from Augustus.²

² Frézouls, 'La politique dynastique', pp. 186-87.

By encouraging intermarriage between the client dynasties, Augustus was then ensuring future candidates for those kingdoms, and later emperors reaped the rewards. Even beyond the Julio-Claudians, however, future Roman emperors still maintained the dynastic right to rule these client kingdoms. Vespasian, often touted as the destroyer of client kingdoms, installed Alexander in Cilicia, the territory ruled by his great-great grandfather Archelaus. It had also been ruled by Antiochus IV of Commagene, the father of Alexander's wife, Jotape (Marriage 20). Vespasian was keen to promote his own new dynasty (the Flavians) and confirming dynastic rule in the client kingdoms meant Vespasian was confirming the dynastic rule at Rome. The emperors were also conscious that the dynastic model had the broad support of the people these kings were set up to rule, and some kingdoms, such as Armenia and Parthia, took violent exception to foreign rulers, or rulers raised in foreign lands, being installed as their kings. No emperor is known to have followed Antony's precedent and installed "new men", unconnected to the local dynasty, to rule a client kingdom. Even when the emperors had no candidates from the local dynasties left, they still choose one from another dynasty, who perhaps had a claim from a remote ancestor.

Encouraging marriage-alliances also had disadvantages, as outlined in Chapter 6, and some that Augustus should have foreseen. The introduction of Glaphyra, for example, into the court of Judaea further increased the ructions evident in Herod's family. In the end, Herod's son, her husband, was tried and executed, drawing her father, Archelaus of Cappadocia, into the political storm. Marriage connections had expanded intra-dynastic troubles into inter-dynastic strife. When a dynastic marriage ended, as in the case of Herod Antipas of Judaea and Phasaelis the daughter of Aretas IV of Nabataea (Marriage 5), the trouble could precipitate war between the kingdoms and require the intervention of the emperor (in this case, Tiberius). A good client king was essentially a quiet client king: he administered his kingdom for the good of Rome, was accepted by his people, maintained peace and stability, and caused no trouble within the empire, or outside the empire. A good client king probably had some advantages for the emperor over a governor – a king could rule his kingdom for decades and his position had more flexibility and less expectations. Unfortunately quiet client kings would be ignored by the Rome-centric ancient historians, and the record is replete with war and scandals amongst the client kings. In some cases, however, the sources reveal that Augustus' marriage policies had introduced troubles amongst client kings, even war, and unquiet client kings created an undesirable situation.

The question that remains to be answered is whether Augustus' encouragement of marriage between client kings was a predilection or a policy. An assessment of its results and postulated intentions indicates that it was a policy, even a "studied policy" or "considered policy" as described by Bowersock.³ Nevertheless it was a personal policy of Augustus rather than formal state policy. By 20 BC there is marked direction by Augustus to form a policy in regulating and managing his client kings – the distribution of citizenship has been demonstrated by Raggi to be one part of this policy that probably started at that time.⁴ Suetonius' passages outline other parts of this policy: the meeting of kings, the education of royal children at Rome, and the appointment of guardians for kings that were too young or too ill. The Augustan model of client kingship was followed, in an uneven form, by his successors. The children of kings were still sent to Rome for education and kings were still appointed based on their dynastic claims to kingdoms. Intermarriage between the kingdoms also continued, though there is little sign it was supported or encouraged to the same extent. Analysis of the marriages that followed Augustus' reign (in Chapter 3) demonstrates that marriages were still arranged over long distances (see Marriages 11, 12, 14, 17, 19 and 20) and that geography still ceased to be the limitation it was for the Hellenistic Kingdoms.

So how successful was Augustus' policy? If its intention was purely to bring client kings closer together and form friendships then it both succeeded and failed. The marriage between Glaphyra and Alexander (Marriage 3) resulted in a strong friendship between their fathers Archelaus and Herod. They visited each other kingdoms, advised each other and bequeathed each other presents. That this marriage was the lynch-pin of their friendship was demonstrated when Alexander was executed, with distrust (and probably enmity) resulting between the two kingdoms. Such disagreement might have forced Augustus to confirm or support a second marriage – between Glaphyra and Alexander's half-brother Herod Archelaus (Marriage 9), to heal the breach between Cappadocia and Judaea after Herod died. The problems triggered by intermarriage were possibly a reason Augustus' successors cooled towards the policy. If Augustus' intention was, however, to produce viable candidates that could be installed in a

³ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 54, 61.

⁴ Raggi, 'First Roman Citizens', pp. 94-95.

variety of kingdoms, then the policy definitely bore fruit, albeit mainly for his successors. The ailing Eastern Dynastic Network was propped up with new blood from Antonian kings, and the old blood of past kingdoms served to legitimise the new kings and their families.

Examining the characteristics of marriage-alliances formed during the Hellenistic period and comparing them to the characteristics of marriage-alliances formed during Augustus' principate demonstrates that Suetonius was correct when he stated that Augustus encouraged and proposed intermarriage between his kings. While Suetonius inferred that the intention behind this policy was to strengthen friendship between the kings, the marriages also produced heirs that had claims on numerous client kingdoms. These heirs would prove to be useful in future dynastic placements of Augustus and his successors. Galinsky describes Augustus as a ruler that "tapped into existing networks and structures but provided a sense of direction" and no better example of this is provided than by Augustus' use of marriage-alliances and the Eastern Dynastic Network.⁵

The study of the marriage policies of client kings under the empire has also assisted in understanding the nature of these client kingdoms. While it has been long established that these kings were not merely vassals or puppets of the Roman Empire, a study of their marriages has revealed some level of dependence on Roman foreign policy. An aside from Dio revealed that a royal marriage required the blessing, or least the agreement, of the emperor, so while the kings were appointed to manage their kingdoms independently, they were not encouraged to marry freely. The analysis of Hellenistic royal marriages in Chapter 1 has demonstrated that these marriages were political marriages, and intermarriage between dynasties was a matter of state and integral to the kingdom's foreign policies. A client king was responsible for the peaceful management of his kingdoms, to secure its borders and not involve himself with foreign wars without Rome's sanction. Furthermore, it follows that a king could not form an alliance, let alone a marriage-alliance, with a foreign power without Rome's permission. Under the Republic, the kings continued to form marriage-alliances without hindrance from the Senate. Antiochus I of Commagene, for example, formed a

⁵ Galinsky, *Augustus*, p. 164.

marriage-alliance with the Arsacids. It may have been because of this marriage-alliance that the kings of Commagene, linked to the Parthian ruling family, often fell under suspicion at Rome. Under the Principate, no such marriage-alliances are known between Roman client-kings and Parthia or Parthian client kingdoms. Even within the Roman Empire, intermarriage between client kings had the consequence of forming power-blocs and alliances that could produce issues for future emperors. It was in the empire's best interest to monitor, and even limit at times, the marriage-alliances of its client kings.

Some kings, as Chapter 6 has revealed, had no known wives and no evidence survives to indicate that they married at all. While many of these instances are doubtlessly a reflection of the lack of evidence, there may be well be some instances when kings remained unmarried, either because the emperor did not encourage or sanction a marriage or because the dwindling pool of candidates made it difficult to arrange a suitable match. Augustus' encouragement of intermarriage nourished the dying Eastern Dynastic Network, but by neglecting his policy, future emperors allowed the network to wither. Removing some kingdoms from the network, by converting them into provinces, further reduced the number of royal families active in the Eastern Dynastic Network. This, in turn, may have led to some dynasties dying out altogether and forcing even more kingdoms to become provinces. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the Julio-Claudian and later emperors relied exclusively on the Eastern Dynastic Network to provide candidates that could be installed to rule a Roman client kingdom. The support which the Senate and generals (such as Pompey and Caesar) provided to dynasts in the second and first centuries BC demonstrates the tendency for Rome to respect the native ruling dynasties. Antony alone was the only Roman power that attempted to place new men in charge of client kingdoms and to rule them in the name of Rome. Even though Antony's system appeared to work satisfactorily, Augustus and his successors preferred to appoint kings that had dynastic claims to a territory. Augustus kept Antony's kings in place, but during his reign they quickly formed marriage-connections with each other and to any remnants of the old ruling families that survived, and future emperors exclusively selected client kings from these dynasties.

If the Roman emperors felt bound to appoint kings within the dynasties that had traditionally ruled the kingdom, then it was their duty to encourage those local dynasties. Augustus recognised this and took measures to encourage royal marriages across the client dynasties.

These marriages not only ensured the production of heirs, but, because the marriages were between dynasties (rather than within the same dynasty or with other local noble families), those heirs inherited claims to multiple kingdoms. Augustus' system provided the flexibility to appoint candidates for troublesome kingdoms, such as Armenia and Cilicia, and to draw those candidates from remote kingdoms such as Judaea and Media. More importantly the marriages, when they produced children, ensured that the Eastern Dynastic Network survived. Neglecting the maintenance of the Eastern Dynastic Network, as indicated in Chapter 6, may have meant that future emperors did not have the opportunity to continue the system of client kings and had to convert some kingdoms into provinces when a king died leaving no heirs.

As Millar stressed, ten percent of what constituted the Roman Empire in the early first century AD lay in territories ruled by those kings that the Romans termed *socii et amici*, but what they considered to be part of the Roman world.⁶ The manner in which Augustus, the founder of the Principate, managed these kings is an important area of study. Suetonius claimed that Augustus had several methods which he employed to control or to influence these client kings: he restored native dynasties to rule them, he treated them as integral components of the Empire, he appointed guardians to rule when the king was incapable, and he raised their children at Rome with his own children. The study of client kings and their kingdoms over several decades has examined and tested these claims. Modern scholarship has also unearthed other methods, unremarked by the ancient sources, which Augustus also applied to strengthen the ties these kings had to Rome and the emperor, such as enrolling them as Roman citizens and their promulgation of the worship of Rome and Augustus in their kingdoms.

Suetonius, however, also stated explicitly that Augustus was the instigator or supporter of intermarriage between these kings. Modern scholars have either accepted or ignored this claim but subjected it to no serious examination. Even scholars, such as Sullivan and Frézouls, who concentrated on the dynastic politics of client kingdoms, did not test or evaluate Suetonius' statement. Did the emperor actually involve himself with seemingly domestic matters of kings allied to Rome, and for what reason? This thesis demonstrates that

⁶ Millar, 'Emperors, Kings, and Subjects', p. 230.

the marriages between kings was no mere domestic matter, but highly political and the basis for strategic and military alliances. As allies of Rome it was important to the welfare and stability of the Empire that the emperor monitored or managed their alliances, including marriage-alliances. It was these marriages that continued the dynasties that had traditionally ruled their kingdoms and the Romans were keen to use these dynasties to provide candidates to rule other territories. That, around one hundred and fifty years after Augustus' death, the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus installed a Sohaemus as king of Armenia, is testament to Augustus' policy and foresight. This Sohaemus was undoubtedly the eventual product of the marriage between Jotape of Media and Mithridates III of Commagene (Marriage 2), instigated by Augustus around 20 BC.

The allegation that Augustus was breeding potential heirs to govern client territories within the Roman Empire in the manner similar to a farmer managing the bloodlines of prize stock may seem fantastical. Nevertheless, the evidence demonstrates that Augustus and his successors relied solely on the progeny from the Eastern Dynastic Network as Roman candidates to rule allied kingdoms. Augustus' actions were indeed extraordinary, as previous Romans acted without interest in the domestic affairs of these kings, and indeed future emperors also largely left the kings to rule their kingdoms undisturbed. The arguments of this thesis also presume that Augustus had the foresight to plan for the long term, but this is precisely how Augustus also set up the institutions, such as the Imperial family and the succession to his own position, that supported the principate. This thesis demonstrates that not only was Suetonius correct in asserting that Augustus encouraged these marriage-alliances amongst the Roman client kings, but also suggests the motives that may have compelled him to adopt such a practice. Intermarriage between client kings not only ensured he and his successors had a supply of future kings (and the option for the system of client kings to continue), but also complemented his wider interests in marriage and supported his image as *pater orbis*. The practise also had repercussions, leading to in-fighting within the various royal families and the trouble this caused may have led to his successors eventually abandoning the policy. After Tiberius there is little evidence that future emperors encouraged intermarriage amongst the client kings, and this in turn may have led to the withering of the Eastern Dynastic Network and one of the reasons why client kingdoms had to be converted into provinces. While some kingdoms were obviously converted for strategic reasons, others may have been decisions forced on the emperor when a client king died and no candidate was

available to continue his rule. The study of the client kingdoms in general has also benefitted from this thesis, as the personal nature of the relationship between the emperor and the client king has been underscored and better understood. While the kingdoms and their status within the Empire are anomalous and difficult to categorise, Augustus' policy does reveal that, in the area of dynastic politics, he acted as if they were friends, and encouraged friendly relations, but they were also subordinate to his overall plan.

Appendix 1 – Marriages between Parthian Client Kings

The Roman and Parthian systems of client kings have little by way of similarities.¹ As the evidence for the Parthian Empire is scant, it is difficult to define exactly the nature between the Parthian king and their client or satellite kings. It appears, however, that the relationship was closer to that of an overlord and vassal, than the allied and friendly king system of the Romans. Fowler highlights a difference to with the hierarchy, describing the Roman system as “verticality” (clients kings were well separated from the central power, which was unattainable) and the Parthian system as “horizontality” (client kings were below the central power, but that position was attainable).² Another important difference was that there was no legal or political barrier between a subject king forming a marriage-alliance with the Arsacid overlord, and the evidence suggests that they did.

As Arrian’s *Parthica* (written early second century AD) only survives in fragments, the remaining ancient literary sources only dwell on the Parthians when they impact their subject area – usually Roman history. Of their subject kings, the kings of Adiabene, Gordyene, Media, Persis, the source reveal even less, let alone their marriages. Josephus, however, does illuminate several marriage-alliances in his account, the *Jewish Antiquities*. He devoted several passages to describing the fate of Izates, the Jewish subject king of Adiabene, and noted other relatives linked to the Parthian royal family. Tacitus and Strabo also discuss Parthian royal connections at times. Regardless, enough evidence survives to point to several marriage-alliances formed between Parthian client states. Despite the fact that the system of client kings used by the Parthians differed greatly to the Roman system, and despite the lack of evidence for royal marriages east of the Euphrates, it worth articulating the few cases of royal intermarriage amongst the Parthian client kings, for the sake of completeness.

¹ For a recent study of the Parthian system of client kings, see Fowler, ‘King, Bigger King, King of Kings’, pp. 57-77.

² Fowler, ‘King, Bigger King, King of Kings’, pp. 75-76.

One important difference was the tendency for the Arsacid house to intermarry with the dynasties that ruled its client states, an option which was uncountenanced by Roman rulers. Strabo noted that the Parthian, Armenian and Median royal houses were intermarried.³ Dio, by describing Mithridates of Media as Tigranes II's son-in-law, demonstrates at least one marriage between Armenia, although not technically a Parthian client state, and Media, which was.⁴ As demonstrated in Chapter 1, Tigranes also married his daughter to the Parthian king Mithridates and Tigranes II's son, Artavasdes, married his sister to Pacorus, son of the Parthian king Orodes.⁵ No details for the marriages between Parthia and Media Atropatene, alluded to by Strabo, are known, but later Parthian Kings, such as Artabanus, Vonones II and Vologaeses hailed from Media, or were related to Median Kings.⁶

In a section detailing the history of Izates, the Jewish ruler of Adiabene, Josephus provided some details about the domestic affairs of the royal house of a Parthian sub kingdom. Izates was the son of King Monobazus of Adiabene and his sister-wife Helena and he had an older full brother, another Monobazus.⁷ Izates was sent to the court of another Parthian sub-king, Abennerig of Charax-Spasini (Characene), according to Josephus this was to remove Izates from the jealousy of his brothers.⁸ At the court of Abennerig, Izates married the king's daughter, Symmacho.⁹ Josephus was chiefly concerned with Izates' conversion to Judaism, along with his mother Helena, and his wise rule, but his story provides some insights into the marriage arrangements for at least Characene and Adiabene. In Josephus' account there was no hint of agreement, or agreement sought, from their shared overlord, the Parthian king – it was Abennerig who arranged their marriage, and granted Izates some land within his

³ Strab. 11.13.1; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 308; Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, p. 295.

⁴ Dio 36.14.2; Syme, *Anatolica*, p. 309.

⁵ For Aryazate-Automata, daughter of Tigranes II married to Mithridates I of Parthia, see Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, pp. 100, 283; Sullivan, 'Papyri', pp. 911-14; Olbrycht, 'Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran', p. 169; Minns, 'Parchments of the Parthian Period', p. 31; Dąbrowa, 'The Parthian Kingship', p. 126 n. 20; Dobbins, 'Mithradates II and his Successors', p. 71 n. 26; Bigwood, 'Some Parthian Queens', p. 244 (although Bigwood leaves the identity of her Parthian husband open)

⁶ For Artabanus as King of Media before becoming King of Parthia, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.48; Syme, *Anatolica*, pp. 314-15. Olbrycht, however, doubts that Artabanus was a Median (Olbrycht 'Genealogy of Artabanos II', pp. 92-97). For Vonones II as the previous king of Media, see Tac. *Ann.* 12.14. For Vologaeses' brother, Pacorus, as King of Media, see Joseph. *AJ* 20.74; Tac. *Ann.* 15.2.

⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 20.18, 20.20. For a study of this story in Josephus, see Rajak, 'Parthians in Josephus', pp. 317-22; Fowler, 'King, Bigger King, King of Kings', pp. 59-69.

⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 20.22; Fowler, 'King, Bigger King, King of Kings', p. 61.

⁹ Joseph. *AJ* 20.23; Rajak, 'Parthians in Josephus', p. 316; Fowler, 'King, Bigger King, King of Kings', p. 61.

kingdom. Brother-sister marriages, at least for Adiabene, also appear to have been common or accepted.¹⁰

Josephus earlier alluded to another possible marriage connection. When describing the exploits of Asineus and Anileus, Jewish brothers and bandits with in Parthia, Joseph mentioned a Mithridates, “a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus’ daughter.”¹¹ Mithridates appears to be a ruler of some kind, as Josephus stated that one of the bandits’ targets were villages that belonged to Mithridates, and again reiterated that Mithridates, “was of one of the principal families among the Parthians.”¹² This could well be another case of a marriage-alliance between the Parthian king and a satellite king, although Mithridates may not have been a king as such, but a Parthian of some station and responsibility from a family important enough to be linked to the Parthian royal house.

Overall, the most important distinction between the way Parthians and Romans managed their client kings dynastically was that the Parthian kings had the option to intermarry with their client dynasties. Most cases involve the Parthian king marrying daughters from other kingdoms, perhaps as a form of tribute and formal acknowledgement of the king as the overlord. The only case of a daughter of the Arsacid house marrying outside the family is possibly provided by Josephus’ account of Mithridates, an important man with an unspecified role. Josephus also provides a case for Parthian sub kings marrying amongst themselves. That such a marriage probably occurred without the Parthian king’s sanction would be typical of kingdoms that often arranged their foreign affairs more independently than Roman client kings.¹³

¹⁰ Brother-sister marriages are also attested amongst the Parthia royal family; see Bigwood, ‘Some Parthian Queens’, pp. 260-62.

¹¹ Joseph. *AJ* 18.353. For the whole story of Asineus and Anileus, see Joseph. *AJ* 18.310-379; Rajak, ‘Parthians in Josephus’, pp. 314-17.

¹² Joseph. *AJ* 18.357.

¹³ For example, Izates of Adiabene sent children as hostages to both Rome and Parthia (Joseph. *AJ* 20.37). Armenia and Media, during Antony’s Parthian invasion, also dealt with Antony independently of Parthia.

Appendix 2 – Coinage of Roman Client Kings

Amongst modern numismatists and scholars the belief that the Roman emperors controlled the coinage of their client kings has remained strong. Many still believe that there was a “right” of coinage, particularly the issue of gold coinage, which had to be awarded by the emperor.¹ Braund attempted to demonstrate, as an excursus in his *Rome and the Friendly King*, that this was not the case, at least in regards to gold coinage.² Nevertheless, the opinion persists. A cursory study of the coinage of the client kings, however, demonstrates that, similarly to the general policy of managing client kings, there were no standards or rules.

A number of characteristics are used by numismatists to define or understand imperial control of coinage. Firstly, there is the metal used for the coin: gold (AV), silver (AR), and bronze or base metal (AE). Because the Bosphoran kingdom was the main client kingdom to issue in gold, many argue that they must have possessed the right to issue gold coins, permitted by the emperor. Silver coins were also only rarely issued by client kings and most coinage of client kings, if issued at all, was issued in bronze. Secondly, some argue that the client king’s portrait, together with his name and title, on a coin is a sign of independence from the client king, particularly if it follows with a lack of the emperor’s portrait and titles.

The table displayed below demonstrates, however, that these characteristics of coinage featured on that kingdom’s issues before imperial times, and even before the advent of Rome in the East. As can be understood, neither the Senate (under the Republic) nor the emperor in imperial times paid any attention to the coinage issued by their client kings. The same “apathetic” attitude described by Gruen regarding the Roman management of royal affairs, can be similarly used to describe Roman attitudes towards royal coinage. The table

¹ First articulated by Mommsen as “Münzrecht” (Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, vol. 3, p. 712). For some earlier views of Mommsen and other historians, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, p. 123.

² Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, pp. 123-26. Argument taken up by Dahmen, ‘With Rome in Mind?’, pp. 99-112.

demonstrates that, by and large, the kings continued to issue in the fashion as they had in earlier times.

Kingdom	Pre-Pydna		Post Pydna		Principate		
	Metal	Royal Portrait?	Metal	Royal Portrait?	Metal	Royal Portrait?	Emperor Portrait?
Macedonia	AV AR AE	Y	-	-	-	-	-
Bithynia	AR AE	Y	AR	Y	-	-	-
Pergamum	AR	Y	AR	Y	-	-	-
Thrace	AE	Y	AE	Y	AR AE	Y	Y
Pontus	AR	Y	AR	Y	AR	Y	Y
Bosporan Kingdom	AE	N	AV AE	Y	AV AE	Y	Y
Armenia	-	-	AR AE	Y	AE	Y	N
Iberia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commagene	AE	Y	AE	Y	AE	Y	N
Cappadocia	AR AE	Y	AR	Y	AR	Y	N
Judaea	AE	N	AE	N	AE	N	N
Chalcis	-	-	AE	Y	AE	Y	N
Egypt	AV AR AE	Y	AR AE	Y	-	-	-
Numidia/Mauretania	AE	Y	AR	Y	AV AR	Y	N

Figure 29. Coinage of the Roman Client Kingdoms

Of course the table cannot adequately represent the issues of all the kings in these periods, or indeed, all the issues of a king during his reign. A brief outline is required of the coinage of each the kingdoms to expand further on the characteristics of that kingdom and its coinage.

Macedonia

This kingdom issued regularly silver tetradrachms and, rarely, drachms depicting the portrait and Greek legend of their kings.³ The silver tetradrachms of Philip II were the first regular issue of coin for this kingdom, and reflected the expansion of the kingdom under his reign. As would be expected for the economy of a vast empire, the coinage of his son Alexander was even more common and was issued from a variety of mints. Neither king issued coin featuring their portrait, as this was not yet a feature of coinage – instead Philip's coins usually depicted a bearded Zeus and Alexander's depicted Herakles wearing a lion skin headdress. Both kings issued in gold as well. The uncertain times that followed Alexander's death is reflected in the coins. Philip III, Alexander's half-brother, continued to issue coins like Alexander, but in his name. Cassander, despite his ambitions, only issued in bronze, although some of the coin types of Philip II, Alexander III, and Philip III continued to be struck but under the auspices of Cassander. The Antigonid kings, however, did issue gold, silver and bronze coins depicting their portrait and bearing their names. When Perseus was defeated at Pydna, Rome divided the kingdom into four independent territories that issued their own coins, and royal coinage ceased for Macedonia.

Thrace

The kings of the various Thracian tribes issued bronze coins bearing their names and a variety of designs up until the reign of Lysimachus, who issued coins resembling the types of Alexander.⁴ After Lysimachus, Thrace returned to a divided state, both politically and numismatically. Silver coins were rarely issued, but coinage continued sporadically after Pydna. After Thrace was united again under one king, Rhoemetaces, during Augustus' reign, regular bronze coins were issued with a variety of portrait groups.⁵ One group was composed of jugate portraits of Rhoemetaces and his unnamed queen on one side, with Augustus and Livia on the other.⁶ There was also a rare issue of a silver coin from Byzantium depicting

³ For the silver coins of Philip II, see G. Le Rider, *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II*, Paris, 1977. For the coins of Alexander the Great and Philip III, see M. J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*, London, 1991.

⁴ For the coins of the kingdoms and tribes of Thrace, see Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*.

⁵ For coins of Rhoemetaces I, see *RPC I* 1704-1720.

⁶ *RPC I* 1708-1710.

portraits of Rhoemetalces and Augustus on either side, together with their titles.⁷ The coins of Rhoemetalces' successors followed suit, depicting the portrait of the king and his titles, together with the portrait and name of the emperor, but only in bronze.⁸

The Bosporan Kingdom

The coins of the Bosporan kingdom are plentiful.⁹ During the periods before and after Pydna, coins were rarely issued, in bronze, with the titles of the kings. For a time its coinage was overtaken by the Pontic issues of Mithridates VI (see below, Pontus). The coins of Pharnaces, his son and successor, follow the Pontic standard – issues in gold and silver, with his name and title. His successor, Asander, however, was not recognised by Julius Caesar. Asander did not entitle himself king, but issued coins, including gold coins, with the title of Archon for a number of years. Sometime after that, perhaps after his marriage to Pharnaces' daughter Dynamis, he took the title of king, presumably after agreement from the Senate. Even before he was acknowledged as king, however, he issued, like Pharnaces, gold staters in his name, and continued to issue them as king right up to his death around 16 BC, well into the reign of Augustus. The portrait of the emperor did not appear on his coins, but a nameless portrait did appear on the gold coins of his queen and successor Dynamis. Aspurgus, who followed her and was probably her son, was not recognised by Augustus (he was involved in a revolt against Polemo, the emperor's nominee for the Bosporan kingdom). Under Tiberius, he appeared to have been recognised and on his bronze coins feature the portrait and title of the emperor, together with the king's portrait and monogram.¹⁰ Only under his successor, Mithridates, did the king's title formally, but briefly, appear.¹¹ When Mithridates was deposed by his brother Cotys with Roman backing, the king's title reverted to a monogram.¹² Coty's son and successor Rhescuporis also issued gold staters without the emperor or the king's titles (but bearing their portraits) until AD 80/81, when his titles appeared around his portrait, with

⁷ *RPC I* 1774-1775.

⁸ For coins of Rhoemetalces II, see *RPC I* 1721. For coins of Rhoemetalces I, see *RPC I* 1722-1726,

⁹ The coin types of the Bosporan Kingdom are covered by Frolova, *Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom from the First Century BC to the Middle of the First Century AD*, and Frolova, *Coinage of the Kingdom of Bosphorus AD 69-238*. There is also a recent introduction to Bosporan numismatics, see MacDonald, *An Introduction to the History and Coinage of the Kingdom of the Bosphorus*.

¹⁰ See *RPC I* 1903-1904.

¹¹ *RPC I* 1908-1911.

¹² *RPC I* 1912-1933.

the nameless portrait of Domitian on the reverse.¹³ This continues into the third century, when the gold staters of the Bosporan kingdom gradually become electrum and then a smaller billon issue.

Pontus

The coins of Pontus were sporadically and irregularly issued mainly in the form of tetradrachms before the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator.¹⁴ During Mithridates' reign, his enlarged domains could support a regular currency, so more regular tetradrachms were issued. After Pompey defeated Mithridates in 66 BC, Pontus became part of the Roman province of Bithynia and did not return to an independent kingdom until Antony took charge of the East. His first nominee for the kingdom of Pontus, Darius, did not issue any coins that are known. His successor Polemo, however, reigned for many years, but only two rare coin types are known, both silver drachms. The first depicts the portrait of Polemo with the eight-rayed star of the Pontic kings on the reverse.¹⁵ The second also sports Polemo's name and portrait, and depicts a Pegasus (a mythical animal often depicted on the reverse of Mithridates VI's tetradrachms) on the reverse.¹⁶ Rare silver drachms of his wife, Pythodoris, who appeared to have reigned in Pontus for a period after his death, are also known. They depict the head of the emperor on the obverse (either Augustus or Tiberius), and Pythodoris' name on the reverse with either an eight-rayed star, Capricorn, or cornucopiae.¹⁷ These coins, not the coins of Pythodoris' grandson Polemo II as stated by Dahmen, are the first Pontic coins to depict the Roman emperor's portrait.¹⁸ The next coins of Pontus were issued by Polemo II, who also issued coins of his mother Antonia Tryphaena – whether Antonia Tryphaena reigned as a regent for young Polemo, or he merely wished to honour his mother (who was Polemo I's

¹³ *RPC* II 457-466.

¹⁴ For the coins of the early kings of Pontus, see de Callatay, 'The First Royal Coinages of Pontos'. For the coins of Mithridates Eupator, see F. de Callatay, *L'histoire des guerres Mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1997.

¹⁵ *RPC* I 3801.

¹⁶ *RPC* I 3802.

¹⁷ *RPC* I 3803-3807.

¹⁸ Dahmen, 'With Rome in Mind?', p. 104. The coins of Pythodoris, however, are certainly earlier and the laureate head that features on the obverse of most of her coins (*RPC* I 3803-3805, 3807) must be the reigning emperor, either Augustus or Tiberius.

daughter) is not known.¹⁹ His silver drachms, often depicting Claudius or Nero on the obverse, are more common than the other previous Pontic coins.²⁰ Once again, although the denomination (drachm) is less well known in Pontus, the client kings of Pontus continued to issue coins in the manner of their predecessors and reusing their predecessor's iconography, particularly the Pegasus and eight-rayed star.

Bithynia

Early coins of Bithynia were issued by Nicomedes as tetradrachms, drachms and bronze denominations.²¹ Ziaelas only issued bronze coins, but his son Prusias I minted tetradrachms and bronze coins. Prusias II, after the battle of Pydna, became a client king of Rome, but there appears to have been no Roman interference in the issuing of Bithynian coins, and Prusias II, like his father issued tetradrachms and bronze coins. His successor, Nicomedes II, educated at Rome and who overthrew his father with a little assistance of some Romans, even issued rare gold staters as well as a more regular issue of silver tetradrachms. His successors Nicomedes III and IV continued to issue silver tetradrachms right down to Nicomedes IV's death in 74 BC, after which he willed the kingdom over to Rome. Between the coins the Bithynian kings issued as truly independent monarchs and the coin they issued as client kings of Rome there is no change.

Pergamum

Like Bithynia, Pergamum was only a client kingdom during the Roman Republic. Its early coins were issued with the likeness of Philetaerus, the founder of the kingdom. His successors continued to issue silver tetradrachms with his portrait even after they became Roman *socii et amici*. Cities within the kingdom of Pergamum also issued *cistaphori* (large silver coins

¹⁹ For the coins of Antonia Tryphaena, see *RPC I* 3808-3809. These coins are dated to AD 54 and 56, some fifteen years or so after he was initially granted the kingdom of Pontus by Gaius, so it is doubtful that they were issued under a regency.

²⁰ For the drachms of Polemo, see *RPC I* 3813-3838.

²¹ No recent study of Bithynian coinage has yet been attempted and the major reference for these coins remains W. Waddington et al., *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1904-25.

named for the *cista mystica* depicted on the reverse). After Attalus III died in 133 BC and willed the kingdom to Rome the royal coinage ceased, but the *cistaphori* continued to be issued right down to Augustus, and examples are known for later emperors till the reign of Hadrian (AD 117-136).

Cappadocia

Earlier coins of Cappadocia appear to have been issued in bronze. Amongst numismatists there is some dispute between the attribution of coins for the early Cappadocian rulers.²² Not only are they all called Ariarathes, many reuse the same epithet, particularly Eusebes, which was used by Ariarathes IV, V and IX. From the reign of Ariarathes V onwards the Cappadocian kings regularly issued drachms bearing the royal portrait with the king's name and epithets flanking Athena holding Nike on the reverse. A complicated series of monograms, as yet undeciphered, were also inscribed on the reverse, with Greek letters in the exergue numbering the regnal years of the issuer. When the Romans placed Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia (several times), he continued to issue coins in the manner of the old dynasty. His grandson Ariobarzanes III even acknowledged his Pontic descent by placing the eight rayed star over crescent on his reverses – despite the fact that his other grandfather, Mithridates VI, had been an implacable enemy of Rome. Archelaus, the client king of Cappadocia installed by Antony in 36 BC, continued the issue of drachms from Cappadocian mints sporadically. His drachms featured his portrait, but not that of Antony or Augustus, and a club on the reverse with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ

²² See Simonetta, 'Notes on the Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings', pp. 9-50; Mørkholm, 'Some Cappadocian Problems', pp. 407-11; Simonetta, 'Remarks on Some Cappadocian Problems', pp. 83-92; Mørkholm, 'Some Cappadocian Die-Links', pp. 21-25; Simonetta, 'Some Additional Remarks on the Royal Cappadocian Coins', pp. 7-12; Mørkholm, 'The Classification of Cappadocian Coins', pp. 21-31; Simonetta, *The Coinage of Cappadocian Kings*; Mørkholm, 'The Cappadocians Again', pp. 242-46. The most recent catalogue of Cappadocian coins is A. Simonetta, 'Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings', pp. 11-152 (who follows his father's attributions over Mørkholm's).

ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ around.²³ The regnal years show his coins were issued for years 20 (K, 17/16 BC), 22 (KB, 15/14 BC), 39 (ΛΘ, AD 1/2), 40 (M, AD 2/3), 41 (MA, AD 3/4) and 42 (MB, AD 4/5). Archelaus' twentieth year corresponds roughly to Agrippa's plans to install Polemo of Pontus as King in the Bosporan Kingdom, so it is likely that Archelaus issued these drachms as part of the preparations for this campaign. Archelaus' fortieth year corresponds roughly to the expedition of Gaius to install Ariobarzanes of Media as King of Armenia. Although no sources record that Archelaus provided monetary support for this expedition, the king of Cappadocia was (at least briefly) in Gaius' company. Archelaus died early in Tiberius' reign (AD 17) and his kingdom was converted into a province. Although the royal coinage ends there, Cappadocian drachms continued to be issued from Caesarea, but now resembled Roman coinage, sometimes even with Latin legends, until the reign of Hadrian. Only Archelaus' coinage exists as an example of Cappadocian client kingdom coinage for the Imperial period, but his coins display no great change compared to earlier Cappadocian coinage – predominantly consisting of drachms with the king's portrait, and no hint of Roman imperial overrule. Neither the portrait of Augustus or Tiberius feature on Cappadocian coins.

Commagene

Although often touted as a rich client kingdom by the ancient sources, the Commagenians, since early times, issued coins predominantly in bronze.²⁴ These coins, ranging between 16 and 20mm diameter, are known for the kings Samos and Mithridates, mostly bearing royal portraits with name and titles. Commagene became a friend and ally of Rome during

²³ See *RPC I* 3601-3606. Hemidrachms without royal or imperial portraits were also produced (*RPC I* 3607-3608).

²⁴ For the coins of Commagene, see M. Facella, 'Coinage and the Economy of Commagene (First Century BC-First Century AD)', in *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*, S. Mitchell and C. Katsari (eds.), Swansea, Classical Press of Wales, 2005, pp. 225-50; P. Z. Bedoukian, 'Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene', *ANSMN* 28, 1983, pp. 71-88.

Pompey's command against Mithridates, but his coinage continues in the same manner as his father and grandfather. Antiochus reigned until Actium and thereafter fewer examples of Commagenian royal coinage has survived. At the death of Antiochus III Commagene is added to the province of Syria by Germanicus, acting under the auspices of Tiberius. In the reign of Gaius it was returned to the status of client kingdom under Antiochus IV, who reissued coins in his name and that of his sister-wife Jotape.²⁵ These coins, however, are much larger than previous coins of Commagene, although still only in bronze. The portraits also betray a strong Graeco-Roman influence and the Iranian headdress worn by his predecessors was replaced with a Hellenistic diadem. Bronze coins were also issued for Antiochus and Jotape amongst the cities in the territories of Cilicia that Claudius had granted him.²⁶ No coins of Antiochus were issued, however, featuring the portrait of any emperor during the king's long reign.

Armenia

The kingdom of Armenia had a chequered history of strength and dependence and, by the time of Actium, was either a client kingdom of Rome or Parthia. This is reflected in the coinage.²⁷ Early copper coins of Tigranes I are known, but when Tigranes II became king and extended Armenia's power, silver drachms and tetradrachms were also regularly issued. Artavasdes II continued his father's issue of silver with the copper coins, but far less regularly. Thereafter, apart from a single instance of a drachm issue for Tigranes III, subsequent Artaxiad kings only issued in bronze. Artavasdes IV, a Median prince installed by Gaius and Augustus in AD 4, however, issued a rare heavier silver coin that resembled the

²⁵ For the coins of Antiochus from Commagene, see *RPC* I 3852, 3854-3857, 3864. For the coins of Jotape from Commagene, see *RPC* I 3853, 3855, 3865.

²⁶ Coins issued in Antiochus' name (or that of his sister-wife Jotape) were minted at Selinus (*RPC* I 3701-3702), Cietis (*RPC* I 3703), Anemurium (*RPC* I 3704-3708), Celendris (*RPC* I 3709-3710), Seleucia (*RPC* I 3712-3713) and Elaeusa (*RPC* I 3717-3722). These cities lay in the western half of Cilicia, i.e. Cilicia Tracheia, which was previously the domain of Archelaus II.

²⁷ The standard reference for royal Armenian coins remains Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*.

Roman denarius more than the Greek drachms.²⁸ The portrait on the obverse did not wear an Armenian tiara but a diadem and the reverse carried a portrait of Augustus. It is not surprising that the Armenians rejected this king. The next Roman nominee, Tigranes V from the Judaeian kingdom, issued coins in the traditional late Artaxiad manner (in bronze and wearing an Armenian tiara). Although the portrait of Augustus did feature on some coins, so did the portrait of Queen Erato, the last surviving Artaxiad, on others. Coins also are known of Tigranes VI, Tigranes V's nephew and Nero's nominee for Armenia during Corbulo's Armenian War. Until only recently was a coin of a subsequent Armenian king discovered, that of the Arsacid Tiridates I and his wife Cleopatra.²⁹

Seleucids

The Seleucids had a long history of issuing silver drachms and tetradrachms and common bronze coins.³⁰ After defeating Antiochus III in 190 BC, the Seleucid Empire became a friend and ally of Rome. Seleucid coinage, however, was maintained, and no hint of their new status can be detected on the coins. As the Seleucid state declined, so did the silver content in their tetradrachms, but coins were still issued for the last Seleucid kings in the same manner and design as their forebears. After Pompey converted the kingdom to a province in 63 BC, the mint at Antioch continued to issue tetradrachms, especially under the Roman Imperial period.

²⁸ See *RPC* I 3843. The compilers of *RPC*, however, allow that the coin may have been issued by Artavasdes III, who reigned from 5-2 BC.

²⁹ F. Kovacs, 'Tiridates I of Armenia', *JNG* 55/56, 2005, pp. 105-10; Dahmen, 'With Rome in Mind?', p. 112.

³⁰ Seleucid coins are comprehensively studied and catalogued by a recent publication; see A. Houghton and C. Lorber, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalog*, 2 vols, Lancaster, 2002.

Judaea

The Hasmonaean kings issued coins from the reign of John Hyrcanus (135/4-105 BC) and always issued bronze coins, usually small, often featuring a double cornucopiae, Jewish script, and never bearing a portrait, as per Jewish law.³¹ Herod overthrew the last Hasmonaean king after he was appointed King of Judaea by Antony and the Senate in 40 BC. Herod carefully married into the dynasty he was replacing and continued to issue coins in the manner of his Hasmonaean predecessors. No silver coins are attributed to Herod, and no portrait coins were issued with his likeness. The king's name and titles, however, were now inscribed in Greek. The first Herodian portraits on coins were issued for Philip, one of Herod's sons and successors.³² Philip's territory, however, was predominantly non-Jewish and was least likely to offend any subjects. Coins of Agrippa I issued for unified kingdom of Judaea, were predominantly Jewish and followed the Hasmonaean model. For coins issued at Pania, formerly in the territory of his uncle Philip, however, Agrippa issued coins with his portrait and the portraits of the emperors Gaius, then Claudius.³³ His brother Herod of Chalcis also issued portrait coins, but Chalcis was a non-Jewish kingdom. Agrippa II, like his father, only issued portrait coins in non-Jewish parts of his kingdom.³⁴ Generally the Herodian client kings respected the laws and customs of their subjects – wherever possible, they did issue their portraits on coins, but only rarely and only in parts of their kingdom where it was acceptable to do so. Herod, despite his strong friendship with Augustus, did not issue any coins featuring Augustus' portrait, and portraits of the emperor first appeared on coins of his

³¹ For ancient Jewish coins, see Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 2 vols, New York, 1982; D. Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 5th edn, New York, 2010.

³² *RPC I* 4938-4953. Portraits of Augustus, Tiberius and jugate portraits of Tiberius and Livia were issued, along with portraits of Philip.

³³ *RPC I* 4973-4979. Coins of Caesarea Maritima, a predominantly non Jewish city founded in Augustus' name by Herod and featuring a temple to Rome and Augustus, were also issued by Agrippa I featuring his portrait with Claudius' (*RPC I* 4982-4987).

³⁴ For coins of Agrippa II, see *RPC I* 4988-4992, *RPC II* 2242-2299.

son Philip. There are no signs of Roman interference, or indeed much influence, in the coinage of the Judaeen kingdoms.

Nabataea

Royal Nabataean coinage starts with Aretas III (c. 87-62 BC), who issued a large silver coin (tetradrachm or shekel) featuring his portrait, name and titles, along with smaller similar bronze coins.³⁵ His successors Obodas II and Malichus I did likewise with smaller silver drachms. Silver drachms of Aretas IV and later rulers were regularly issued with the king's portrait and even, on occasion, the portrait of his queens. The emperor's portrait, or even the emperor's name or reference to the Roman Empire, never featured on Nabataean coinage, which continued until Rabbel II (AD 70-106), after which the kingdom became a Roman province under Trajan. Thereafter, a short issue of Arabian drachms modelled more closely on the Roman denarii, rather than the Royal Nabataean drachms, was issued for a short time.³⁶

Egypt

The economy of Ptolemaic Egypt was large enough to support a more regular issue of gold coins, sometimes quite large gold coins. Silver tetradrachms were also issued, usually featuring an eagle on the reverse. Ptolemy II was one of the first kings to be a friend and ally of Rome, but there is no sign of Roman influence over Egyptian politics until much later when the Romans intervened to prevent Antiochus IV from invading Egypt in 168 BC. After that Egyptian power declined and the state of coinage reflected this. Gold was no longer issued and the silver content of the Ptolemaic tetradrachms declined and the designs became

³⁵ For royal Nabataean coinage, see Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*.

³⁶ For a recent study of these "camel" drachms of Trajan, see B. E. Woytek, and K. Butcher, 'The Camel Drachms of Trajan in Context: Old Problems and a New Overstrike', *NC* 175, 2015, pp. 117-36.

cruder. Regardless, no sign of subservience to Rome featured on the coins, and the designs continued untouched. Cleopatra issued a larger variety of bronze coins from other domains that Antony had granted her, but her Egyptian coinage followed the Ptolemaic model.³⁷ Royal Egyptian coinage ceased after the Battle of Actium (31 BC), but the mint at Alexandria continued to issue coins, now in Augustus' name and featuring his portrait. The isolated status of Egypt decreed by Augustus meant it continued to issue its own coins until the reign of Diocletian (AD 284-305), when the mint at Alexandria became an official Roman mint.

Mauretania

The coinage of Mauretania before Juba is scarce, but Juba II's direct ancestors were Numidian.³⁸ Large bronze coins were issued by either Massinissa or Micipsa. Juba I, Juba II's father, however, regularly issued in silver, with a Latin legend on the obverse, and Punic script on the reverse. These silver coins were roughly the same weight as the Roman denarius, rather than the Greek drachm. The coinage of Juba II followed the principles of his father's coins, consisting of a regular issue of silver denarii with Latin legends on the obverse. Juba issued coins featuring his wife's (Cleopatra Selene) name and/or portrait. Her name and titles were always inscribed in Greek and if no portrait was used, depicted Egyptian motifs instead, such as the sistrum or crocodile. Their son, Ptolemy, also issued silver coins with Latin legends. Both Juba II and Ptolemy also issued rare gold coins.³⁹ The portraits of the emperor, however, never featured on Mauretanian bronze, silver or gold coins.

³⁷ Coins of Cleopatra were issued in Cyrenaica (*RPC I* 924-925), Patras (*RPC I* 1245), Cyprus (*RPC I* 3901), Syria (*RPC I* 4094-4096), Orothosia (*RPC I* 4501-4502), Tripolis (*RPC I* 4510), Berytus (*RPC I* 4529-4530), Ptolemais (*RPC I* 4741-2), Dora (*RPC I* 4752), Chalcis (*RPC I* 4771-4773), Damascus (*RPC I* 4781, 4783) and Ascalon (*RPC I* 4866-4868). All were bronze, and many featured her portrait.

³⁸ For the coins of Numidia and Mauretania, see Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*.

³⁹ Mazard 297-298, 398-399.

Client Kingdoms without a tradition of coinage

Several client kingdoms did not have a tradition of coinage, either because their economic condition could not support this, or that the kingdom was new and did not have a “tradition” at all, such as the Tarcondimotid kingdom in Cilicia. Some of these new kingdoms still did not issue coins, such as Emesa. Other older kingdoms, such as Iberia, existed as political units before becoming client kingdoms of Rome, developed a strong centralised Hellenistic monarchy, and still did not issue coinage. Tarcondimotus in Cilicia issued bronze coins with his portrait and titles in Greek.⁴⁰ In nearby Olba, Ajax, the Teucid ruler, issued a bronze coin bearing the portrait of Augustus on the obverse, but with Ajax’ name and titles (no portrait) on the reverse.⁴¹ His successor, M. Antonius Polemo, did likewise, with his own portrait or with the emperor’s.⁴²

As this overview has established, the coins of the Roman client kings followed no fixed model, and clearly demonstrates that Rome, either under the aegis of the Senate, a Roman general such as Pompey or Caesar, or even the emperor, was not overly inclined to manage the domestic matters of the kingdom that was its friend and ally, and this included its coinage. Some kings, such as the rulers of the Bosphoran kingdom, regularly featured the portrait of the reigning Roman emperor on their coins, and sometimes also included the wider Roman imperial family. Other client kings, such as Polemo of Pontus, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Juba

⁴⁰ *RPC* I 3871. For the corpus of Tarcondimotid coinage, see Wright, ‘Tarkondimotid Responses to Roman Domestic Politics’.

⁴¹ *RPC* I 3724, 3726. For other coins of Ajax, some with his portrait or Tiberius’, see *RPC* I 3725-3726, 3728-3734.

⁴² For the bronze coins of M. Antonius Polemo, see *RPC* I 3735-3739. A M. Antonius Polemo with the title of King also issued later coins at Olba (*RPC* I 3740-3742), who was probably his son or descendant.

II of Mauretania and Herod of Judaea, never featured the portrait of Augustus on their coins. Their successors might, as Philip of Judaea and Pythodoris of Pontus did. Nor were the kings expected to only issue bronze coins, requiring imperial permission to issue in silver or gold. The fact of the matter was that the kingdoms continued to issue their coins in the metals that they had traditionally coined in. These metals were determined more from the requirements of the local economy rather than by Roman policy. Generally the economic needs of the kingdom remained unchanged after becoming a *socii et amici* of Rome, and when Rome became the principate these needs were probably still unchanged. The primary feature of the coinage was to serve the kingdom's inhabitants, so it stands to reason that local designs and symbols were given greater priority than Roman Imperial designs. This conclusion has also recently been arrived at by Dahmen, but there appears to have been even less interference or restrictions placed on the coinage from Rome than he allows. For example, Dahmen concludes that the long-haired wind-swept appearance favoured by Mithridates VI Eupator was not followed by subsequent kings. This is true in Pontus, where a new dynasty under Polemo took root, but in the Bosporan Kingdom the memory of Mithridates, although he was Rome's implacable enemy, was still honoured. Coins of Aspurgus, who was probably Mithridates' great-grandson, depict him with long hair flowing at the back, perhaps not as "wind swept" as Dahmen describes.⁴³ His son, Mithridates, was depicted in a similar manner – whilst Mithridates was suspected of plotting against Rome, his Eupator-like portraiture was probably not an indication of this, nor the absence of the emperor's portrait. Rather, Mithridates was honouring his ancestor, from whose blood Mithridates' claim to rule the Bosporan Kingdom stemmed.

⁴³ Dahmen, 'With Rome in Mind?', p. 111.

Dahmen also concludes, correctly, that the metals the kingdom issued in were determined by “local traditions and minting practise”, but continues on to state that if precious metals were used, then the “portrait of a Roman emperor appeared.”⁴⁴ This was not necessarily the case at all. Polemo of Pontus issued silver coins without the emperor’s name or portrait. Archelaus of Cappadocia also issued several silver drachms, and none of them featured the portrait of the emperor (although Dahmen uses Cappadocia as a case to support his point). In fact, the coinage of the client kings reflects the very nature of these kings, as concluded by Braund some years ago – that these kings were anomalies, their roles within the Empire and their relationship to the emperor depended on the kingdom, its people, the emperor reigning and the king himself. With the coins of these kings, there are more exceptions than rules and it is difficult to see any overt influence of Rome, either in the designs, the metals they used, or the legends they inscribed.

⁴⁴ Dahmen, ‘With Rome in Mind?’, p. 110.

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