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“THE BOSPORAN ARMY” AND “THE ARMY ON THE BOSPORUS” IN THE TIME OF MITHRADATES VI EUPATOR, KING OF PONTUS

Abstract: During the reign of Mithradates VI Eupator, king of Pontus, the Cimmerian Bosphorus was incorporated to the kingdom of Pontus. Detachments of the Mithradatic army were located on the Bosphorus. The military forces of which the Bosphorans disposed of also stayed on the Bosphorus. The organization of the military forces as well as soldiers' arms and armour are discussed. Special attention is devoted to the epigraphic material which is evidently the most important piece of evidence relating to the military history of the Bosphorus of Mithradatic times.

Keywords: Bosphorus, Mithradates VI Eupator, army, arms and armour

About 107 BCE Bosporan Kingdom (map 1) lost its independence¹. The Bosphorus had come under the rule of Mithradates VI Eupator, king of Pontus² (Fig. 1). Units of Mithradates³ army were located in the Bosporan centers⁴, as had been done in other north Pontic cities⁵ incorporated into Mithradates' sphere of interest at the end of the second century BCE. Appian's passage about the “rebellion” of the Bosphorans⁶,

which took place during the first Mithradatic war against Rome and just after, indicates that after subjugation to Mithradates, significant military forces stayed in disposition of the Bosphorans⁷. Appian wrote that a strong fleet and numerous Pontic forces were ordered against Bosphorus⁸. On the other hand Appian's account is very interesting, as the economic⁹ situation of the Bosphorus was far from being prosperous before its incorporation to Mithradates VI's possessions.

The military history of the Cimmerian Bosphorus in the late second and the first century BCE as presented in the literature on the subject is mostly based on the fragmentary literary sources, epigraphic material (supplemented by recent finds), and sporadic archaeological finds (also enreached in recent years), among which important iconographic material exists. In effect the topic has not received the effort it deserves¹⁰, despite significant works devoted to Bosporan military architecture published in recent years¹¹. During Mithradates VI's reign fortified settlements were developed in the Bosphorus, as in other parts of Mithradates VI

¹ Strab. 7.4.4. See Shelov 1983, 40; McGing 1986, 46ff; Vinogradov 1987, 67-69; Saprykin 1996, 140. Also in these works is found discussion on the date of the events. The change is explained as result of Diophantos' victory over the Scythians under Saumakos (from the rich literature on the subject see especially: Rubinskhon 1980; Gavrilov 1992, 53-73; Molev 1994, 120-131; Vinogradov 2009, 130-131), as well as the subjugation of Theodosia and Panticapaeum (IOSPE I² 352 v. 40-41: παρέλαβ[ε] μὲν Θεοδοσίαν καὶ Παντικάπειον). Traces of destruction visible at Panticapaeum, Phanagoria and Cepi are associated with the war between Saumakos and Diophantos, and the wars of Mithradates VI. Saprykin and Maslennikov 1995, 266-267.

² Strab. 7.4.4. From rich literature: Reinach 1895, 58-62; Gaidukevich 1971, 60-72; Molev 1974, 60-72; Molev 1994, 114-131; Molev 2009, 321-328; McGing 1986, 46, 50-53; Vinogradov 1987, 66-67; Saprykin 1996, 140-151. Other literature in the cited works. The position of Bosphorus in the Pontic kingdom is still under discussion. For instance Saprykin 1998, 190. Also Shelov 1985, 40-44; Molev 2009, 321-322. See SEG 37, 1987, 668 and Vinogradov, Molev and Tolstikov 1985, 595. Also Hainen 1993; Vinogradov 2003-2004.

³ IOSPE I² 352. 6000 hoplites Diophantos sent against the Roxolani – Strab. 7.3.17.

⁴ App. *Mithr.* 108.

⁵ Olbia. IOSPE I² 35, Shelov 1985, 556; Yu.G. Vinogradov 1989, 250-263; Krapivina and Diatropov 2005a, 67-73; Krapivina and Diatropov 2005b.

⁶ App. *Mithr.* 64. See McGing 1993, 496-522.

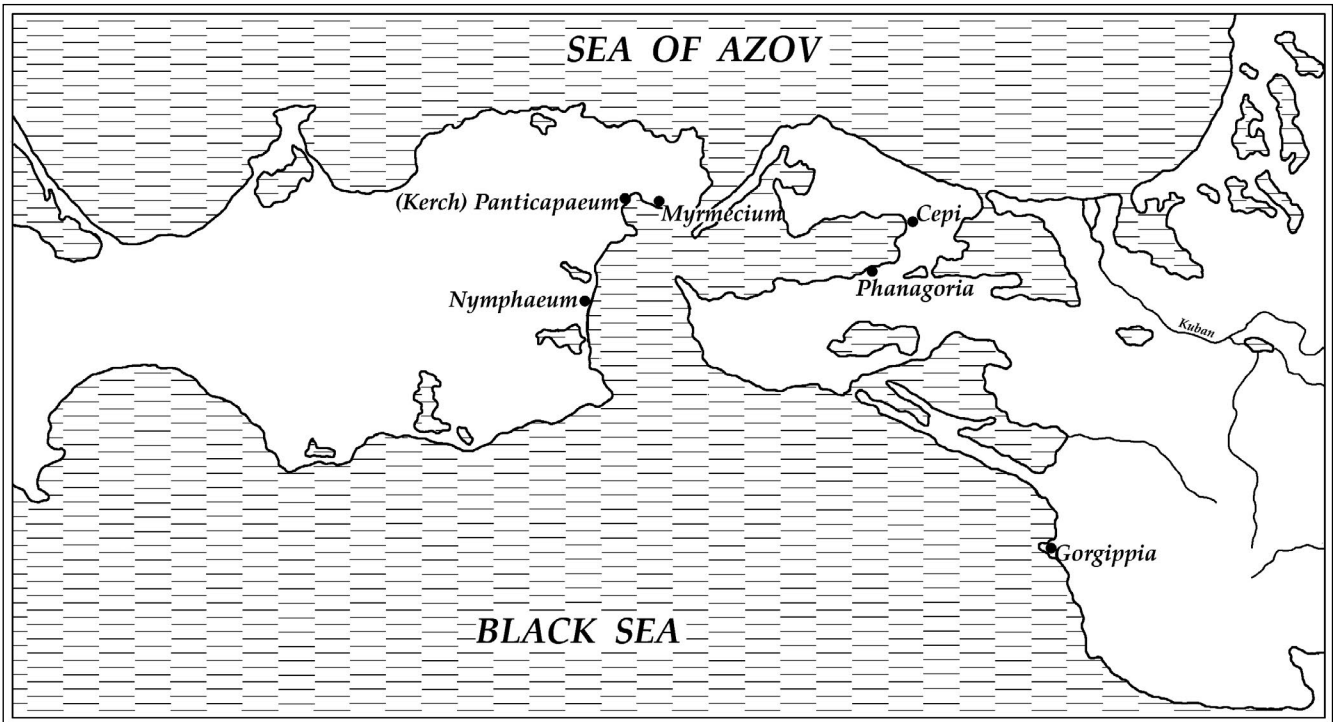
⁷ It cannot be ruled out that among the Bosporan units “in rebellion” was a “remnant” of the Spartocids army. For an opposite opinion: Molev 2009, 325-326.

⁸ App. *Mithr.* 64.

⁹ Strab. 7.4.4 and scanty archaeological evidence – Kruglikova 1975, 101-103; Saprykin 1997, 196.

¹⁰ See: Mielczarek 1999a, 65-77; Goroncharovskii 2003; Vinogradov 2004, 142-176; Vinogradov 2009, 129-148; Tolstikov and Nephedkin 2010, 647-648.

¹¹ See Strab. 12.3.38. Publications mainly written by the Russian scholars, for instance Kobylina 1989, 82-83; Vinogradov 2009; Tolstikov and Nephedkin 2010, 610-649.



Map 1. Bosporan Kingdom. Drawing by E. Górka.

kingdom, especially in the case of the χώρα βασιλική¹². These were settled by soldiers¹³.

An almost complete inscription¹⁴, found accidentally near ancient Phanagoria in the Asiatic part of the Bosporan kingdom in 1986, seems still to be the most important piece of evidence relating to the military history of the Bosporus during Mithradatic times¹⁵. Yu.G. Vinogradov, the first editor of the monument, regarded the inscription as an excerpt of a more detailed document¹⁶.

Phanagoria defended the Bosporan kingdom from the East¹⁷. Especially against the local tribes, which role is attested by Strabo's information on Neoptolemos' victories over Barbarians¹⁸ (we leave to one side the view that the Bosporans were the enemies of Neoptolemos¹⁹). The members of the king's family were accommodated in Phanagoria²⁰. Phanagoria was also one of the first cities to rise up against Mithradates, when he fell from power²¹. In 63 BCE the city was besieged by Mithradates' army, while the Phanagorians set fire to the town's fortress in which

king's children were staying²². Pompey left Phanagoria with its own "freedom and independence" while he recognized Pharnakes as a friend of Rome and ruler of Bosporus. On the other hand Phanagoria, and Nymphaeum²³, were Bosporan cities in which Mithradates was "called" "king of kings"²⁴. In Phanagoria the use of this title by Mithradates is attested by an inscription from Taman', dated to the time of Dynamis²⁵ – in this period a local renaissance of the legend of Mithradates VI is evident²⁶.

The Phanagorian inscription of 1986 informs us that during Mithradates VI Eupator's reign, in the year 210 of the Bosporan era, i.e. 88/87 BCE, the *boule* and *demos* of Phanagoria proclaimed citizenship and other honors to a group of mercenaries. The mercenaries had received a grant of citizenship in return for their loyal service to Mithradates.

As Yu.G. Vinogradov²⁷ has announced, the words used in the inscription to describe the soldiers, i.e. τούς απο ξένης στρατιώτας, may be taken as an indication that the soldiers mentioned in the inscription do not come from Phanagoria. It is even very probable that the inscription deals with mercenaries recruited outside of the Bosporus. The term ξένοι, στρατιώται was used instead of ξένοι, popular from the

¹² Saprykin 1997, 196-197, 199-200.

¹³ Saprykin 1997, 200.

¹⁴ SEG XLI 625. Yu.G. Vinogradov 1991, 14-33; Yu.G. Vinogradov and Wörle 1992, 159-170.

¹⁵ Mielczarek 1999a, 69-71; Ivanchik 2010, 363-364.

¹⁶ Yu.G. Vinogradov 1991, 28.

¹⁷ See Strab. 7.4.5. Kuznetsov 2010.

¹⁸ Strab. 2.1.16, 7.3.18. See Vinogradov 1999, 18-19; Vinogradov 2001, 65-69; Vinogradov 2009, 131-134.

¹⁹ Lomouri 1979, 104. Cf. Vinogradov 2009, 131.

²⁰ App. *Mithr.* 108. Panov 2005; Kuznetsov 2007, 238-243.

²¹ App. *Mithr.* 108; Oros. 6.5.1.

²² App. *Mithr.* 108.

²³ SEG 37, 668. Yu.G. Vinogradov, Molev and Tolstikov, 1985, 595-599.

²⁴ See Strab. 7.4.3. as κατέστη κύριος. See comments: Molev 2009, 322.

²⁵ CIRB 979. See Karyshkovskii 1985, 572-573.

²⁶ Saprykin 2002, 90-124.

²⁷ Karyshkovskii 1985, 573; Vinogradov 1991, 18.

fourth century BCE²⁸, or the most popular term *μιστοφόροι* which might be expected from other inscriptions and some other documents relating to Bosporan history. Soldiers of Pontic garrison in Olbia came from Little Armenia²⁹. In relation to Bosphorus, according to Appian, we must consider also another possibility that Mithradates' forces stationed in Bosphorus might also have included Celtic mercenaries. Appian mentions units of Celts under the command of Bitoitēs present in the Bosphorus in 63 BCE³⁰.

The text of the Phanagorian inscription informs us that the mercenary soldiers had *συστρατεύσασθαι* with the Phanagorians. This phrase could confirm that the Phanagorians too had been in service into the army of Mithradates VI. At this point it is interesting to add that when Pharnaces subdued Phanagoria, he is mentioned by Appian as having been defeated in the battle by Phanagorians. The text of the inscription can be also used as information³¹ on the relations between the king's units stationed on the Bosphorus and local Bosporan troops, if we suppose that the Phanagorians mentioned in the inscription to be a “home guard”³². A “home guard” is attested in Olbia and Chesonesus, too³³. In the opinion of E.A. Molev, “home guard” units were “restored” on Bosphorus by Mithradates VI.

According to Appian the garrison of Phanagoria (most probably not the troops mentioned in the inscription under discussion), was commanded by a Phanagorian named Castor³⁴. It is possible to conclude from the words of Appian that Castor held a position of some importance in the court of Mithradates VI³⁵.

As is made clear in the inscription from Phanagoria, the units were paid by the city. J.M. Højte suggests that so called “municipal” coinage of Mithradates VI's period could be connected with necessity to pay mercenaries stationed in the city³⁶. F. de Callatay's study of the monetary policy of Mithradates VI has proved that the production of Mithradates VI's silver coins is strongly related to wars³⁷.

Late in the reign of Pairisades V, the last king of Spartocid dynasty, silver drachms and hemidrachms, together

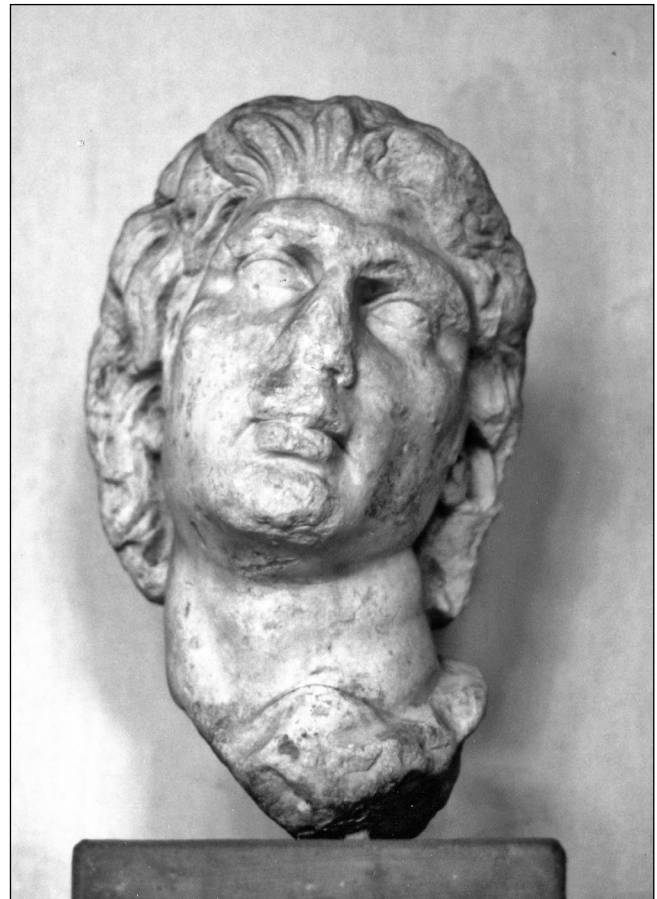


Fig. 1. Head of Mithradates VI Eupator. Odessa Archaeological Museum, National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Courtesy of the Odessa Archaeological Museum.

with bronze coins of the same type as the silver pieces, were produced in Panticapaeum. In Mithradatic times, probably at the end of the second or early first century BCE new silver drachms of greater weight than the previous emission, and bronze coins of two denominations were struck in Panticapaeum, Phanagoria and Gorgippia. It was suggested that the head of Apollo on the obverse of some coin types, has received the facial features of Mithradates³⁸. In the case of the bronze currency the production of a higher denomination, described as a tetrachalcus, was more intensive in Phanagoria than in Panticapaeum³⁹. Phanagoreian pieces circulated mainly in the Asiatic part of Bosphorus. In place of the small Bosporan bronzes, bigger pieces were introduced. Also a new type of silver coin was introduced (bearing the head of Dionysus, with whom Mithradates associated himself⁴⁰; a motive was adopted on the Bosphorus under Pontic influence)⁴¹. Drachms were struck in Panticapaeum

²⁸ See Gauthier 1971, 44-79.

²⁹ IOSPE I² 35. Probably some hundred people. Krapivina and Diatroptov 2005, 71. See also Strab. 12.3.1, 12.3.28 and Molev 1979, 186-190. Little Armenia supported Mithradates by 10,000 horsemen. In the time of Pharnaces Little Armenia and Pontus were still in a military alliance (Polyb. 25.2).

³⁰ App. *Mithr.* 111. Treister 1993; Mielczarek 1999a, 72.

³¹ On the other hand this document can be treated as special evidence to position of cities in Mithradatic kingdom – see Højte 2009, 98-99.

³² Molev 2009, 323.

³³ Lomouri 1979, 147; Yu.G. Vinogradov 1989, 262; Molev 2009, 323.

³⁴ App. *Mithr.* 108, 114.

³⁵ Panov 2005; Zavoikina 2013, 304.

³⁶ Højte 2009, 100.

³⁷ Callatay de 1987, 57-63; Callatay de 1997; Callatay de 2000, 337-364. See also Callatay de 2007.

³⁸ See Anokhin 1986, 72.

³⁹ Golenko and Shelov 1963, 7-8.

⁴⁰ For the interpretation of the meaning of the iconography: Price 1968, 4-5. See also the discussion on the portrait sculpture identified as Mithradates portrayed as Dionysius – Savostina 2012, 189-200.

⁴¹ Frolova and Ireland 2002, 1.

and Gorgippia – Bosporan pieces were often overstruck on drachms of Amisus⁴². In the 90s and 80s BCE a new series of coins were introduced – three denominations of silver and two denominations of bronze. Coins were struck in Panticapaeum, Phanagoria and Gorgippia. These coinages, in fact, could really be used for the payment of mercenaries.

In light of the archaeological evidence from Phanagoria, after its subjugation to Mithradates VI, coins from Panticapaeum and Phanagoria, as well as those struck in several cities of Pontic kingdom⁴³, were in circulation; both silver, including Mithradatic tetradrachms, as well as those struck in bronze⁴⁴. Bosphorus was full of bronze coins of Pontic type (the influx of some earlier Pontic coins into Bosphorus was not connected with the subjugation of Bosphorus to Mithradates)⁴⁵, and coins produced in other Pontic centers (mainly Amisus, Sinope, Comana Pontica) during the years 111-70s BCE⁴⁶. This situation suggests that these pieces were in everyday use, as well as that the unification of the monetary system of Mithradates VI's state developed over time.

From early first century BCE didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms and bronze tetrachalkoi were struck in Phanagoria. Bronze coins dominate in hoards. The same situation is observed in other cities of the northern Black Sea coast⁴⁷. Coins from the last period of Mithradates' reign are present in both cities⁴⁸.

It is possible that the fact that the three important Bosporan cities of this time⁴⁹ were engaged in striking coins is serious support for the idea, that municipal coinage was produced for military purposes. Phanagoria produced full-worth silver and bronze pieces⁵⁰. So it cannot realistically be excluded, that the coins were produced for paying mercenaries⁵¹, and not only to support the autonomy of the cities⁵².

Worthy of attention is one of two hoards of bronze coins from the settlement at Polyanka⁵³. The settlement was

established at the time of Mithradates VI. In the opinion of S.Yu. Saprykin and A.A. Maslennikov the settlement can be treated as an example of a military-agricultural settlement. The hoard consists of 1100 coins of the type "Apollo-eagle on lighting", anonymous Bosporan pieces and coins of Pontic cities of Mithradates VI's reign, which are the earliest pieces in the hoard (the last coins belong to Asander's emissions of 45-42 BCE). The hoard is treated as payment for the military settlers⁵⁴.

The service of Scythians and Sarmatians under the command of Mithradates VI is the next problem. According to Appian's account they were persuaded to join into an alliance with Mithradates⁵⁵.

In Justinus, opinion Mithradates subjugated the Scythians⁵⁶, above all these living on the Pontus and Lake Meotis⁵⁷. They were described as "friends of Mithradates" in Appian's account⁵⁸, and the king commanded the Scythian army to support his army drawn up against Rome⁵⁹. The Scythians Olkabas and Sobadakos rebelled against Mithradates while serving in Mithradates army⁶⁰.

Maybe the warrior burial discovered near the village Chisten'koe, some kilometers south of Sympheropol', should be considered as a late Scythian. Here, in a Bronze Age barrow, a later catacomb grave dated to the second half of the second or first century BCE was discovered⁶¹. A horse was buried in the first chamber, the warrior burial was located in the second. The body was placed in a wooden coffin. The warrior was equipped with one spear and two javelins (the javelin heads barbed, which is typical for the Meotioi⁶²), a Sarmatian sword with a triangular-section blade, and what is probably a ring pommel (the pommel is partly damaged), and arrows. In the opinion of A.V. Simonenko,⁶³ the warrior buried in Chisten'koe could belong to the Scythian or Sarmatian units serving in the army of Mithradates VI Eupator⁶⁴.

As regards the Sarmatians, they are mentioned as being "federated" with Mithradates several times by Appian. This can be confirmed by Strabo's information about the military forces of the Siraces and the Aorsoi⁶⁵, with reference to the times of Pharnakes. They were united with the Bosporan ruler during his preparations for the war with Rome.

⁴² Golenko 1960, 28-31; Golenko 1968, 38-42; Frolova and Ireland 2002, 3; Callataÿ de 2002, 23.

⁴³ The coins of Mithradates VI and those issued in Pontic and Paphlagonian cities during his rule appeared in larger numbers on the northern coast of the Black Sea, not only in the Bosphorus, as an effect of the incorporation of that region into the Pontic kingdom. They were used alongside with local issues. Golenko 1960, 28-31; Golenko 1964a, 58-73; Golenko 1965, 307-322; Shelov 1965, 42-48.

⁴⁴ Abramzon and Kuznetsov 2010, 59.

⁴⁵ It cannot be not excluded that the influx of silver Pontic coins into Bosphorus began under the Spartocids. Golenko 1968, 39.

⁴⁶ Golenko 1964a, 58-73; Golenko 1965, 307-322.

⁴⁷ Golenko 1964b, 50-73; Karyshkovskii 1965, 62-74.

⁴⁸ Shelov 1983, 41.

⁴⁹ On the Bosporan coinage of this time: Anokhin 1986, 72-76; Frolova and Ireland 2002, 1-5 (comments on the Anokhin propositions there).

⁵⁰ Shelov 1983, 46.

⁵¹ See very important notice by de Callataÿ 1987, 59.

⁵² Cf. Price 1968, 5; Shelov 1983, 46.

⁵³ Saprykin and Maslennikov 1995, 271-272.

⁵⁴ Saprykin and Maslennikov 1995, 271.

⁵⁵ App. *Mithr.* 19, 57, 69.

⁵⁶ According to Justin 38.3 and 38.7 Mithradates conquered the Scythians; this was said in contrast to Achaemenid king Darius and Philip II of Macedon.

⁵⁷ App. *Mithr.* 101.

⁵⁸ App. *Mithr.* 15.

⁵⁹ Just. 38.3 and 38.7. The Cimbri, Gallogreeks, Sarmatians and Bastarnae Mithradates had been "asked" for cooperation.

⁶⁰ App. *Mithr.* 79.

⁶¹ Zaitsev 1999, 144; Zaitsev and Koltukov 2004, 242-259.

⁶² Simonekno 2002, 119.

⁶³ Simonenko 2001, 94, 98; Simonenko 2002, 121-122.

⁶⁴ Strab. 11.5.8.

⁶⁵ Strab. 11.5.8.



Fig. 2. Stele from Akhtanizovka. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. After Tolstikov 1976. Drawing by E. Górska.

Is not easy to discuss arms and armour of Bosporan warriors from the times of Mithradates VI. Bosporan finds of military equipment dating to the Mithradatic period are sporadic. These were found in the settlement of Chorkasskii mys (first century BCE)⁶⁶.

It has been suggested that a series of Etrusco-Italic helmets found in Sarmatian burials dating to the first century BCE may have been taken from the Romans by the Sarmatians participating in the campaigns of Mithradates VI in 80s and 70s BCE⁶⁷.

Archaeological evidence found on the Bosporus demonstrates that the Beotian helmet also came into use at this time. A late variant of a bronze helmet of this type has been found in a Sarmatian grave from Orekhovka in the Stavropol'skii krai (north-west from the border of Asiatic part of the Bosporan state), dating to the second century or the first century BCE⁶⁸. Finds of other helmets of a similar date have been reported from the campsite near Akhtanizovka, near the ancient city Tyrambe, in the Asiatic part of the Bosporan kingdom. The Beotian helmet may have been borrowed from the repertoire of contemporary Hellenistic or Roman military equipment⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ Maslennikov 1996, 69.

⁶⁷ Raev, Simonenko and Treister 1991, 465-496; Treister 1993, 791-796.

⁶⁸ Pavlovich 1995, 200-205.

⁶⁹ Waurick 1988, 159-163.

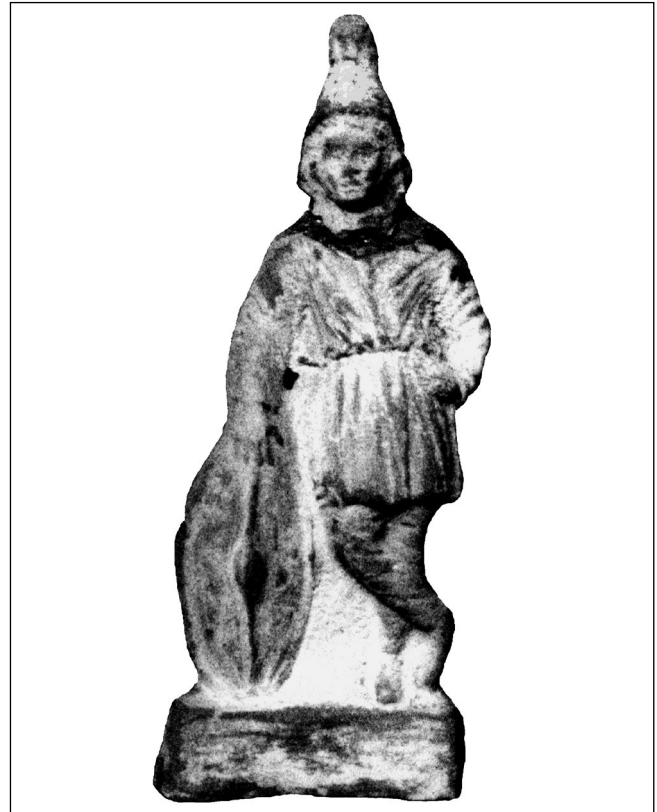


Fig. 3. Terracotta figurine. Odessa Archaeological Museum, National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Courtesy of the Odessa Archaeological Museum

The most probable representation of a Bosporan soldier from the time of Mithradatic rule over the Bosporus is a figure of a warrior carved on a stele 101 cm high, now in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, which was found also on the shore of Akhtanizovskii liman⁷⁰. The stele (Fig. 2) was carved by a local Bosporan sculptor, which is demonstrated by the imbalance in the proportion and in the modeling of the sculpture⁷¹. Many parallels of the hair style and beard can be found in Bosporan sculptures, particularly in those coming from the Asiatic part of the Bosporus.

The stele shows a foot soldier in full length. He wears a garment which could be a short-sleeved kaftan, but which equally well could be a coat of scale armour – it seems probable that the details of the armour could originally have been painted onto the stele⁷². On the other hand, it is difficult to say whether scale armour (very popular later on) had become common on the Bosporus as early as the Mithradatic period. The warrior holds a spear and a large oval shield, which takes up the greater part of the picture. We can say nothing about the real length of the spear as it may have been shortened to fit into the size of the stele. The shield with its long vertical rib resembles a Celtic shield in appearance.

⁷⁰ Tolstikov 1976, 80-90; Mielczarek 1999a, 74-75.

⁷¹ Tolstikov 1976, 80-81.

⁷² Tolstikov 1976, 84.

Shields of this shape had become popular on the Bosporus in the second half of the third century BCE⁷³. A series of terracotta figurines becomes common on the Cimmerian Bosporus at the turn of the second and first centuries BCE and remains popular through the first few centuries AD. Terracottas of this type are found on the territory of the Bosporan Kingdom⁷⁴. The terracotta found in Iluraton (Fig. 3) shows a young man wearing a torque round his neck, which could be interpreted as another Celtic feature represented on terracottas. They show a young man in distinctive dress, which was once taken to be Sarmatian (but this view cannot be treated as certain). The man's hand is leaning on a large oval shield with long vertical rib resembling the shield of the warrior from the Akhtanizovka stele.

The iconography of Bosporan stelai of the first century BCE also attest to the growing role of cavalry. To judge by the grave stelai Bosporan cavalry were equipped with both spear and bow, as on the stele of Pharnakion son of Pharnakes (Fig. 4), dated to the first century BCE⁷⁵.

Worthy of attention is the passage in Tacitus relating the struggle for the Bosporan throne between Cotys I (45/6-67/8) and Mithradates III (39/40-44/45)⁷⁶. He mentions "Bosporans equipped in our (i.e. Roman) manner"⁷⁷. Appian and Plutarch mention 12,000 warriors of Mithradates VI equipped in the Roman style⁷⁸. Whether they included the Bosporans we cannot be certain, but this seems possible⁷⁹.

After the fall of Mithradates VI and his successors, rule on the Bosporus was seized by kings of Sarmatian origin. The character of the Bosporus changed⁸⁰. From the first century AD the role of the Sarmatian elements in the Bosporus army began to rise.

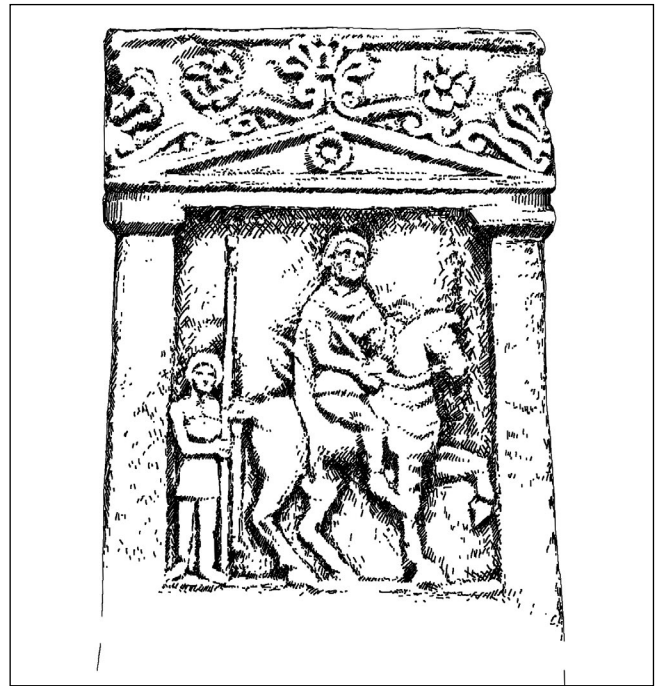


Fig. 4. Stele of Pharnakion son of Pharnakes. State Hermitage Museum, Sankt Petersburg. After the photo. Courtesy of State Hermitage. Drawing by E. Górska.

Abbreviations:

CIRB – *Korpus Bosporskikh nadpisey – Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani*, Moskva – Leningrad 1965

IOSPE – B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, I-IV Petropoli 1885-1901; I² Petropoli 1916 [reed. Hildesheim 1965]

SEG – *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, Lugduni Batavorum 1923 –.

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⁷³ Mielczarek 1999a, 75

⁷⁴ Pruglo 1966, 205-213.

⁷⁵ *Bosporskie ...* 1990, no. 43.

⁷⁶ Tacit. *Ann.* 12.15-21. Mielczarek 1999a, 80-81.

⁷⁷ Tacit. *Ann.* 12.16.

⁷⁸ Plut. *Lucull.* 7; App. *Mithr.* 69.

⁷⁹ On the acceptance of Roman military equipment see, for instance: Mielczarek 1999b, 5-9; Novichenkova 2011 and also Ivanchik 2013.

⁸⁰ On the military questions Mielczarek 1999a, 79-100; Goroncharovskii 2003; Goroncharovskii 2009.

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Streszczenie

„Wojsko bosporańskie” i „wojsko na Bosporze” w czasach Mitrydatesa VI Eupatora, króla Pontu

Podporządkowanie państwa bosporańskiego Mitrydatesowi VI Eupatorowi, królowi Pontu, wyznaczyło nowy okres w militarnej historii Bosporu. W miastach bosporańskich rozlokowano jednostki Mitrydatesa. Pozostawiono jednak również oddziały będące w dyspozycji „Boporańczyków”.

Studia nad wojskowością bosporańską tego okresu są prowadzone od dawna na podstawie źródeł narracyjnych, danych epigraficznych oraz materiałów archeologicznych i ikonograficznych. W ostatnim czasie podstawa studiów została rozszerzona o nowe inskrypcje i ostatnie znaleziska archeologiczne. Nadal jednak główną podstawą analiz jest inskrypcja z Fanagorii informująca o najemnikach służących w tym mieście.

Po raz kolejny rozważono treść wspomnianej inskrypcji, zwracając jednak uwagę przede wszystkim na kwestię żołdu najemników w świetle oceny produkcji monetarnej w Poncie i na Bosporze. Podkreślono fakt emitowania monet z przeznaczeniem na żołd dla najemników. Odniesiono się też do problemu zaciągu do oddziałów związanych z miastem („home guard”).

Opierając się na dyskutowanym już materiale ikonograficznym, krótko scharakteryzowano broń wojowników bosporańskich. Wskazano nowe znaleziska (przede wszystkim pochówek odkryty w Chisten'koe, koło Symferopola), mogące odnosić się do doby Mitrydatesa VI Eupatora.

