

# The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity

Aspects of archaeology and ancient history

Edited by

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

With the assistance of

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## Preface

The ambition of this present volume is to cover a very large area – the Black Sea region, Paphlagonia, Pontus (the latter in two geographical terms as the Romans understood them) and Phrygia. The papers vary in their coverage, from the archaeological to the linguistic, from numismatics to pottery (and peoples), jewellery to rock-cut tombs, inscriptions to basilicas, and from the myth of the Argonauts to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Some present new evidence, others reinterpret old; in addition, there are contributions with a more theoretical focus. From the outset, the aim was to bring together all different types of available evidence about the areas under consideration, plus the results of recent excavations and surveys, particularly in Pontus, Paphlagonia and Phrygia (this last represented by the appendices on Pessinus). I hope that this has been realised.

Papers are arranged alphabetically: the original intention of dividing them into various headings and categories did not survive close scrutiny of their contents, since so many of them cross borders, geographical and thematic; and their chronological range is almost a millennium. Moreover, those focused on the Black Sea form an overwhelming plurality. It is in acceptance of the diversity that I also cast aside a plan to write an Introduction that would have sought to bind all the regions and contents together: the 35 papers in this collection simply range too wide to be done justice in this way. As a partial substitute, my own paper, ‘The southern Black Sea coast and its hinterland: an ethno-cultural perspective’, seeks to cover a broad spectrum of recent developments and interpretations for the southern Black Sea coast and hinterland.

The volume has been three years in gestation. Editing, copy-editing and the checking of references are time-consuming activities. I would like to thank James Hargrave, William Anderson and Ergün Laflı for their help with these tasks. Ergün Laflı translated all the abstracts into Turkish, except those for the appendices, which were the work of Tugce Tagmat. My sincere thanks go to David Davison and his colleagues at Archaeopress for agreeing to publish the volume and for their technical help.

Gocha R. Tsatskheladze  
Melbourne

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# REGIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE SETTLEMENT NETWORK OF THE COASTAL PONTIC PROVINCES IN THE EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD

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**Abstract:** *The aim of the paper is to examine the settlement network in the coastal Pontic provinces (Honorias, Paphlagonia, Helenopontus and Pontus Polemoniacus) in the Early Byzantine period (4th-7th centuries AD). Three historical cross sections have been attempted in order to clarify the administrative transformations of the region: a) in the 4th century (Laterculus Veronensis); b) in the 5th century (Notitia Dignitatum); and c) in the 6th century (Synecdemus of Hierocles). A cartographic representation of the historical topography was created in order to describe and clarify the regional context. An accompanying database was also constructed in order to classify settlements according to historical and geographical criteria. The first set of criteria is related to parameters and variables such as the date of foundation, continuous habitation in five distinct historical periods, ancient and modern place names. The second set is related to the location of the settlement and uses parameters and variables such as geomorphology, water elements, communication networks and the presence of a nodal point or port. The final object of the paper is the enrichment of historical-geographical knowledge regarding the settlement network of the Pontic region, the correlation of this information with communication networks and cultural exchange.*

## ERKEN BİZANS DÖNEMİNDE PONTOS'UN KIYI EYALETLERİNDE BÖLGESEL DEĞİŞİMLER VE YERLEŞİM AĞI

**Özet:** *Bu bildirinin amacı kıyasal Pontos eyaletlerinin (Honorias, Paphlagonia, Hellespontus ve Pontus Polemoniacus) Erken Bizans (İ.S. 4.-7. yy.) Dönemi'nde yerleşim ağını inceleyecektir. Bu bölgenin yönetsel değişimlerini anlamak için tarihi üç kesitte incelendi: a) İ.S. 4. yy.'da (Laterculus Veronensis); b) İ.S. 5. yy.'da (Notitia Dignitatum); ve c) İ.S. 6. yy.'da (Hierokles' in Synecdemus'u). Bölgenin tarihi coğrafyasının kartografik temsili bölgesel konteks içinde tanımlanmak ve açıklanmak için oluşturuldu. Buna paralel olarak yerleşimleri tarihi ve coğrafik kriterlere göre tasnif etmek adına bir veri bankası oluşturuldu. Oluşturulan birinci tasnif bazı parametrelerin belirlenmesi ve kuruluşların tarihi, beş farklı tarihte varolan yerleşim tarihi eski ve yeni yer isimleri gibi değişkenlere ilişkindir. İkinci tasnif ise yerleşimlerin yerleri ve kullanım parametreleri ile jeomorfoloji, su faktörü, iletişim ağı ve ulaşımında bir düğüm noktası ya da limanın varolmasına ilişkindir. Bu bildirinin son amacı Pontos bölgesinin tarihi coğrafya bilgilerinin zenginleştirilmesi, iletişim ağının ve kültürel değişiminin bu bilgilerle ilişkilendirilmesidir.*

## METHODOLOGY

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the study of the administrative transformations of the coastal Pontic regions and the examination of their settlement network in the Early Byzantine period (4th-7th centuries AD). The study area covers four provinces (Honorias, Paphlagonia, Helenopontus and Pontus Polemoniacus), with the intent of enriching our historical-geographical knowledge regarding the settlement network of the region and correlating this information with communication networks and cultural exchanges in the 6th century.

A number of historical cross-sections have been attempted in order to describe, clarify and understand the administrative and spatial transformations on the diachronic level.<sup>1</sup> The spatial scales used in order to analyse space are: a) regional, i.e. the administrative provinces in the context of the *Dioecesis Pontica* (a larger administrative/institutional unit) and b) provincial, i.e. the settlement network in the context of the four Early Byzantine coastal Pontic provinces. A cartographic representation of the

historical topography has been created to describe the regional context and clarify the provincial borders. A vector-based map has been designed to allow layer classification of geographical data, polygon construction of elevations and area calculations. Three sources of cartographic information have been investigated in order to register a corpus of 125 settlements in the Early Byzantine period: E. Honigmann,<sup>2</sup> the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* for Paphlagonia<sup>3</sup> and the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.<sup>4</sup> These are accompanied by a database which classifies the settlements according to historical and geographical criteria. The first set of criteria is related to parameters and variables such as the date of foundation, continuous habitation over five historical periods, ancient and modern place names. The second set is related to the location of the settlement and uses parameters and variables such as geomorphology, water elements, communication networks and the presence of a nodal point or port. The information used to construct the database comes from two sources: first, a

<sup>2</sup> Honigmann 1939, map 1, Scale 1:4,000,000.

<sup>3</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, map 1, Scale 1:800,000.

<sup>4</sup> *Barrington Atlas*, maps 62-64, Scale 1:500,000; and maps 86-87, Scale 1:1,000,000. Modern geographical features have been extracted from the MairDumont map 'Turkey', Scale 1:750,000 (2006).

<sup>1</sup> Johnston *et al.* 1989, 85. A cross-section is a description of a society and its landscape at a particular point in time.

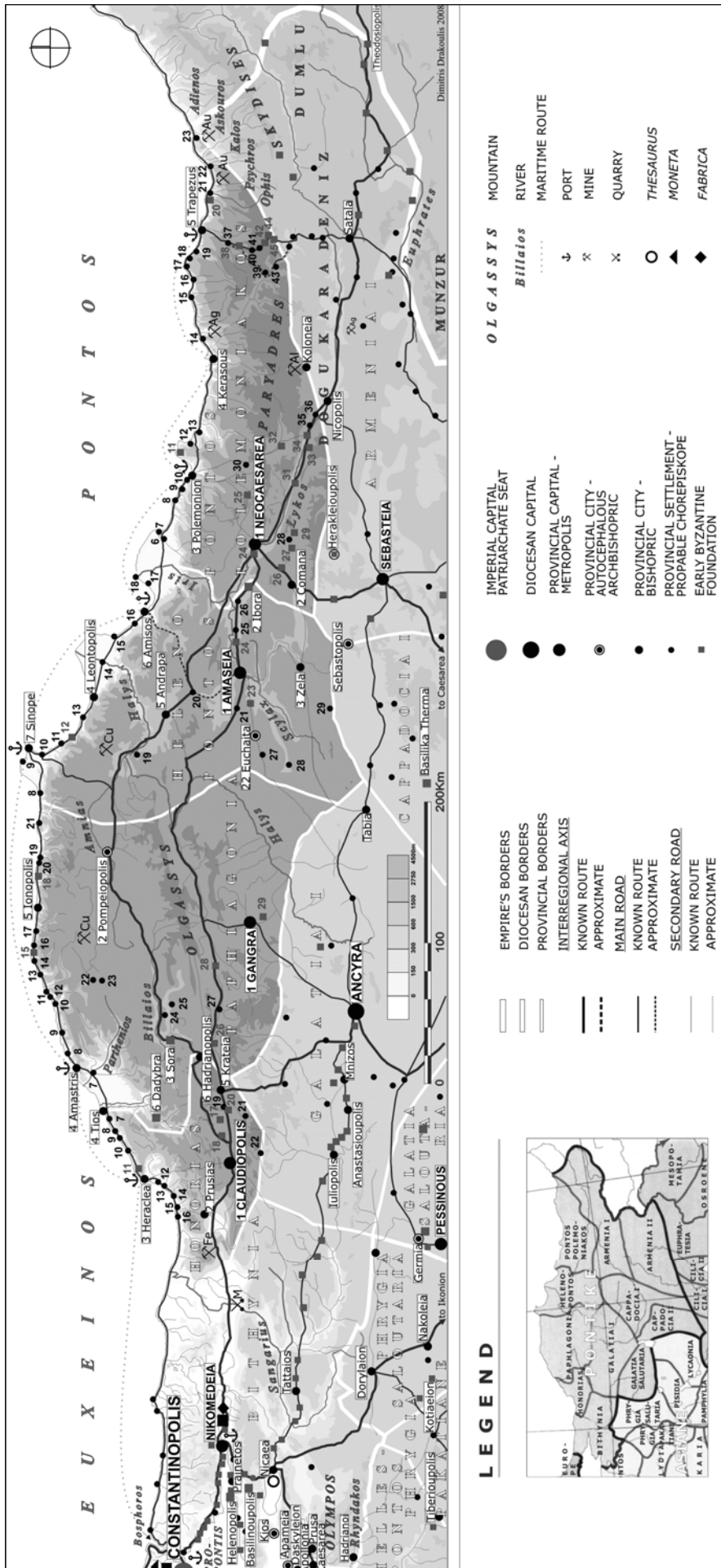


Fig. 1: The coastal Pontic provinces in the Early Byzantine period



Fig. 2: The Eastern Roman Empire in the 6th century AD (after *Barrington Atlas*, map 102)

6th-century Greek text, a traveller's guide called *Synecdemus* written by the geographer Hierocles. It contains a table of administrative divisions of the empire and lists of their cities and is dated AD 527-528, according to Ernest Honigmann.<sup>5</sup> Second, the *Barrington Atlas*, as applied to towns and villages of the Early Byzantine period.

## DESCRIPTION/ANALYSIS

### Geomorphology

The study area (Fig. 1) is located in the northern part of Asia Minor which borders on the Black Sea, the Pontus Euxinus.<sup>6</sup> The northern coastal border begins in the west

at the estuaries of the Sangarios river,<sup>7</sup> and includes to the east the coasts as far as the estuaries of the rivers Adienos,<sup>8</sup> Askouros,<sup>9</sup> Kalos,<sup>10</sup> Psychros<sup>11</sup> and Ophis.<sup>12</sup> The eastern border follows the course of the Adienos river and is oriented in a south-eastern direction towards the Skydises mountains.<sup>13</sup> The southern border comprises the Paryadres, the eastern part of the Pontic mountain chain.<sup>14</sup> It continues towards the west to the River Billaios,<sup>15</sup> the mountain called Hypios,<sup>16</sup> up to the valley of the Sangarios. The western border is formed by the course of the Sangarios to its estuary. The region has extensive

<sup>5</sup> Honigmann 1939, 1.

<sup>6</sup> *RE* suppl. 9, s.v. Pontus Euxinus: the Black Sea, in Turkish, Karadeniz. For a complete survey of the Black Sea area and the Archaic and Classical *poleis*, see Avram *et al.* 2004. For a survey of Hellenistic foundations, see Cohen 1995, 381-89. For the Roman period, see Marek 1993, 7-13. For the Byzantine period, see Bryer and Winfield 1985, 1-12.

<sup>7</sup> *RE* s.v. Sangarius fl.: modern Sakarya.

<sup>8</sup> Bryer and Winfield 1985, 332, Adienos fl./Adineos fl.: Kibledağı Dere.

<sup>9</sup> Bryer and Winfield 1985, 332, Askouros fl.: Taşlı Dere.

<sup>10</sup> Bryer and Winfield 1985, 11, 325, Kalos fl.: İyi Dere.

<sup>11</sup> *RE* 2, s.v. Psychros fl.: Baltacı Dere.

<sup>12</sup> Bryer and Winfield 1985, 323, Ophis fl.: İstala Dere.

<sup>13</sup> *RE*, s.v. Skydises M.: Kaçkar Dağ.

<sup>14</sup> *RE*, s.v. Paryadres M., 484-88.

<sup>15</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 178, Billaios fl.: Filyos Çay/Gerede Çayı/Yenice Irmağı.

<sup>16</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 217-18, Hypios M.: Kardüz Dağı.

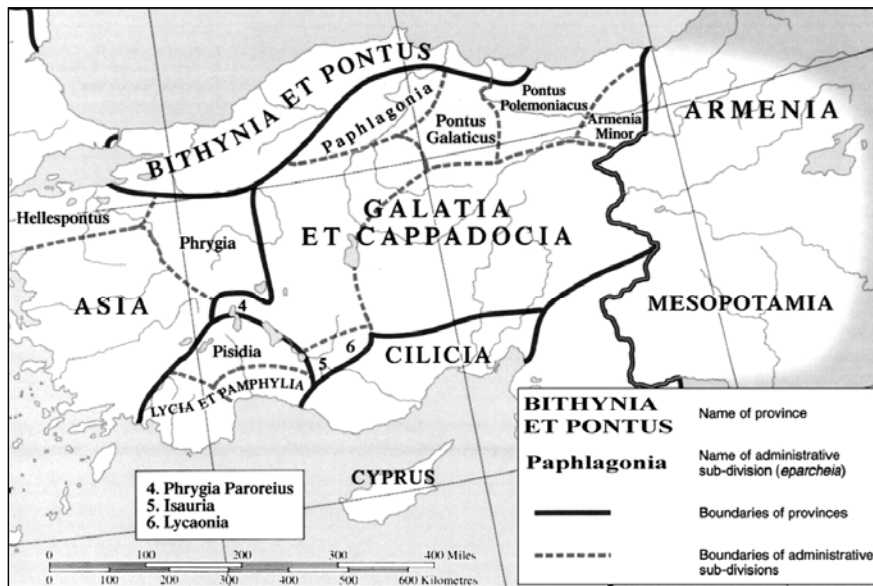


Fig. 3: The Roman provinces in Asia Minor in the 3rd century AD (after *Barrington Atlas*, map 100)

mountainous areas. The Pontic mountain chain dominates and the northern slopes rise close to the shores of the Black Sea. These slopes are segregated through valleys and rivers, such as the Sangarios in Honorias, the Halys<sup>17</sup> in Helenopontus, the Iris<sup>18</sup> and the Lykos<sup>19</sup> in Pontus Polemoniachus. The vegetation of the area can be differentiated into three different zones from the north to the south. On the coast there is a zone of mixed forest of deciduous and evergreen species. The northern slope of the Pontic chain is characterised by a zone of deciduous oak, while at higher elevations we find a zone of beech forest.<sup>20</sup> The area is not part of the olive vegetation zone, except for small areas on the north-eastern coasts between the estuaries of the rivers Halys and Iris.<sup>21</sup> The substratum is rich in gold, silver, copper and iron deposits.<sup>22</sup>

### Regional Transformations

The study area forms the northern part of the *Dioecesis Pontica* (Fig. 2), one of the six higher administrative structures (along with Illyrikon, Thrakike, Asiatic, Anatolike and Aegyptiacke) that constituted the Eastern Roman Empire in the 6th century.<sup>23</sup> In the 3rd century (Fig. 3) this area was shared between the two Roman provinces Bithynia et Pontus and Galatia et Cappadocia. The former was the result of the integration of Bithynia and Pontus by Pompey after his victory over Mithradates VI Eupator. The *provincia* was divided into several eparchies, which are smaller administrative sub-divisions and which included Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus and

Pontus Polemoniachus.<sup>24</sup> In the first quarter of the 4th century (Fig. 4), as part of the Diocletianic and Constantinian provincial reforms, the area was incorporated into the *Dioecesis Pontica*. The latter comprised seven provinces (Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Diospontus, Pontus Polemoniachus, Armenia Minor, Cappadocia and Galatia).<sup>25</sup> The *Laterculus Veronensis*, a document in Latin also known as the Verona List, contains the lists of all the *provinciae* of the Roman empire between AD 314 and 324. It also gives information about the official foundation of the *provincia* Paphlagonia.<sup>26</sup>

At the beginning of the 5th century (Fig. 5), in the context of the reforms of Theodosius II (AD 408-450), the *vicarius* of the *Dioecesis Pontica* became the governor of eleven provinces (Bithynia, Honorias, Paphlagonia, Helenopontus, Pontus Polemoniachus, Armenia Prima and Secunda, Cappadocia Prima and Secunda, Galatia and Galatia Salutaris). The *Notitia Dignitatum*, a Latin reference book for the internal use of the Roman authorities and according to Gilbert Dagron dated before AD 430, gives information about the foundation of the new province of Honorias from parts of eastern Bithynia and western Paphlagonia.<sup>27</sup> Of the four coastal provinces, Paphlagonia was governed by a *corrector* (middle rank) and Honorias, Helenopontus and Pontus Polemoniachus by a *praeses* (lower rank).<sup>28</sup>

For the beginning of the 6th century (Fig. 6), our source is the *Synecdemos* of Hierocles. It confirms the situation described above. The *Dioecesis Pontica* has the same eleven provinces and the four coastal provinces remain as

<sup>17</sup> *RE*, s.v. Halys fl.: Kızıl Irmak.

<sup>18</sup> *RE* 3, s.v. Iris fl.: Yeşil Irmak.

<sup>19</sup> *RE* 8, s.v. Lykos fl.: Kelkit Cay.

<sup>20</sup> Birot 1964, 77, fig. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Birot 1964, 68, fig. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Koder 2001, 77, fig. 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Barrington Atlas*, map 102.

<sup>24</sup> *Barrington Atlas*, map 100.

<sup>25</sup> Jones 1964, 42-47.

<sup>26</sup> Seeck 1876b, 246-47; Barnes 1982, 207.

<sup>27</sup> Seeck 1876a, 54-55, XXV; Dagron 1984a, 75.

<sup>28</sup> Jones 1964, 45, 48.



Fig. 4: The provinces of the Dioecesis Pontica in the 4th century AD, according to the *Laterculus Veroniensis* (after *Barrington Atlas*, map 101)



Fig. 5: The provinces of the Dioecesis Pontica in the 6th century AD, according to the *Synecdemus of Hierocles* (after *Barrington Atlas*, map 102)

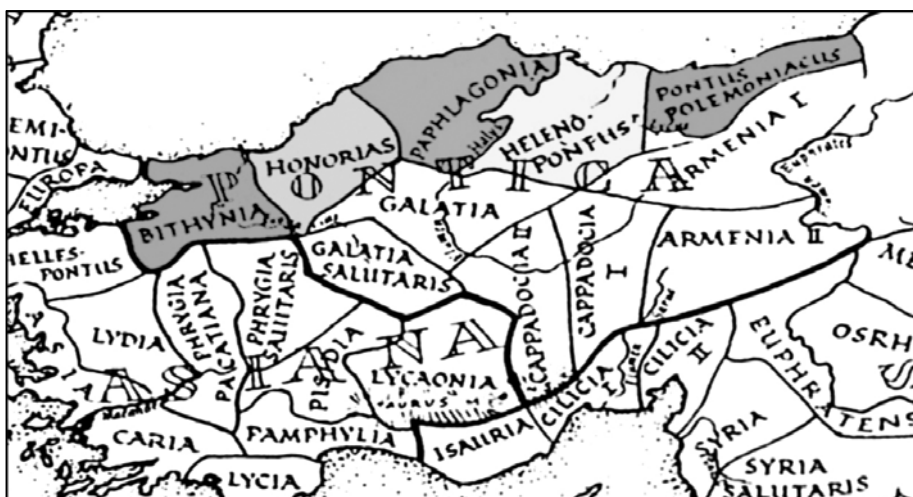


Fig. 6: The coastal Pontic provinces in the 5th century AD, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (after Jones 1964, map III)



Fig. 7: The coastal Pontic provinces during the Justinianic reforms, *Novellae XXI-XXIX*, AD 535-548 (after Jones 1964, map VI)

Table 1: Quantitative features of the study area

PROVINCE	AREA km <sup>2</sup>	POPULATION (at a density 15 inhabitants/km <sup>2</sup> )	LOWLAND (0-300 m)		MIDLANDS (300-600 m)		HIGHLANDS (over 600 m)	
			km <sup>2</sup>	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%
Honorias	8810	132150	960	10.9	1760	20.0	6090	69.1
Paphlagonia	33342	500130	868	2.6	149	0.4	32325	96.9
Helenopontus	23580	353700	1988	8.4	827	3.5	20765	88.1
Pontus Polemoniacus	27366	410490	1248	4.6	379	1.4	25739	94.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>93098</b>	<b>1396470</b>	<b>5064</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>3115</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>84919</b>	<b>91.2</b>

they were divided during the 5th century.<sup>29</sup> A transformation occurs in the reign of Justinian, more precisely for the period between AD 535 and 548 (Fig. 7). The provinces of Paphlagonia and Honorias were merged into a single province, named Paphlagonia. The governor held the title of *Praetor Paphlagoniae Justinianus*, a *spectabilis* (senatorial rank) who had both civil and military authority. In the same manner Helenopontus and part of Pontus Polemoniacus were merged into one single province, named Helenopontus, while the other part of Pontus Polemoniacus was annexed to Armenia Prima.<sup>30</sup> One possible reason for the temporary unification of political and military powers is banditry. The so called *xylokaballarioi*, literally men with wood weapons, were terrorising the hinterland. After AD 548 the administrative divisions returned to a situation such as that described before in the *Synecdemus* and continued so up to the establishment of the thematic administration in the 8th century.<sup>31</sup>

We note that the two big provinces of the 3rd century were divided into three administrative units in the 4th century, probably for more effective tax collection. In the

5th century there is a fourth segmentation of the area, a situation that remained stable up to the AD 530s. With the exception of the Justinianic reforms, the fourfold provincial division remained stable up to the 8th century, a situation that served political and military power and was amplified by a similar development at the level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (see below).

### Productive Activities

The area studied comprises about 93,000 km<sup>2</sup>. With an average density of 15 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>, as Johannes Koder has suggested, the probable population would amount to some 1.4 million inhabitants.<sup>32</sup> Table 1 shows quantitative features of the individual provinces (area in km<sup>2</sup>, probable population and land area in relation to elevation).

It can be observed that 91.2% of the study area is mountainous and only 8% is flat land. Concerning the primary sector of production, agriculture and cultivation were exercised in the large valleys of the rivers Amnias, Ladon, Halys, Hypios and Billaios. Wheat and wine were produced on the western coasts. Hazelnuts, nuts (*ponticae nuces*) and fruits were also produced (Pliny *NH* 15. 24.

<sup>29</sup> Honigmann 1939.

<sup>30</sup> *Codex Justinianus* XXIX; *TIB Paphlagonien*, 67.

<sup>31</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 68.

<sup>32</sup> Koder 2001, 206.

Table 2: Historical and cultural criteria

PROVINCE	TOTAL No. of SETTLEMENTS	CITIES	TOWNS & VILLAGES	ARCHAIC foundation	CLASSICAL	HELLENISTIC	ROMAN	EARLY BYZANTINE
HONORIAS	22	6	16	0	2	4	13	3
PAPHLAGONIA	29	6	23	5	1	3	13	7
HELENOPONTUS	29	7	22	1	5	5	14	4
PONTUS POLEMONIACUS	45	5	40	1	7	4	20	13
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>27</b>

88). Livestock farming and pastoralism played an important role in the productive activities. Fishing was also practiced. But the most important activity was woodcutting and the export of timber, which served for ship construction and also for building purposes.<sup>33</sup> Concerning the secondary sector of production, copper and mineral salt was extracted in Paphlagonia.<sup>34</sup> Strabo (12. 3. 40) mentions the extraction of *sandarake*, an arsenic sulphide used as a pigment and extracted from mines located in Helenopontus. Concerning the tertiary sector of production, we note the general sea trade, the wheat trade between the Pontic coasts and Chersonesus, the exporting of hazelnut oil from Amastris, the port city of Paphlagonia, and the conservation and export of tuna fish in the Black Sea area.<sup>35</sup> The anonymous 4th-century text *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (44) refers to the inhabitants of Pontus and Paphlagonia as rich and intelligent and outstanding in learning. They worked at the imperial courts, were reliable in matters of debt and naturally good people, thus they are urged toward bigger and better things. Various professions are known, such as medical doctors, architects, painters, cloth and fur merchants, butchers, ship builders, etc.<sup>36</sup>

### Settlements of the Early Byzantine Period

Four categories of settlements form the spatial hierarchy. At the top is the provincial capital, the seat of the provincial governor, responsible for political administration, taxation, financial management and legal matters. He was assisted by a *dux*, responsible for the management of the military legions garrisoned within the province.<sup>37</sup> The second category is the provincial city, the *polis*, a compact settlement, often already fortified after the end of the *Pax Romana*, with a high density of buildings with political, economic, religious and cultural functions over a surrounding countryside of varying size.<sup>38</sup> The third category is the town – the *kome*, *metrokomia* or *komopolis* in the Greek terminology of the Early Byzantine period. It had a market as a result of artisanal production, and small-scale trade and periodical fairs (*panegyreis*, *nundinae*) were held there. The *komai* represent the ‘satellite towns’, as Gilbert Dagron calls

them, similar to the ‘secondary centres’ that were developing in the West during the same period.<sup>39</sup> The fourth category is the village, *chorion* or *fundus*, a region with concrete boundaries and with a rural settlement. It constitutes an economic and legal unit inhabited by several owners (*katochoi*) and surrounded by individual farms (*kteseis*), by small collective ownerships (*agridia*) and by larger landholdings (*proastia*).<sup>40</sup>

The boundaries of the four provinces have been traced according to map 102 of the *Barrington Atlas*. The information regarding provincial capitals and cities is taken from the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles. Towns and villages have been identified and located following the *Barrington Atlas*. The administrative hierarchy is as follows:

- 1) Honorias (Table 4) was governed by a *praeses* with Claudiopolis as capital city, 5 cities/*poleis* (Prusias Heracleia, Tios, Krateia and Hadrianopolis) and 16 towns and villages – *komai* and *choria* (Psylla, Krenides, Sandarake, Oxinas, Aulia, a settlement in the modern location Kilisecik, Kales, Elaios, Lilaos, Diospolis, a settlement in the modern location Derekoy, a settlement in the modern location Kandamış, Mantineion, Mandris, a settlement in the modern location Cetikoren and a settlement in the modern location Ayman Yaylası).
- 2) Paphlagonia (Table 5) was governed by a *corrector* with Gangra-Germanicopolis as capital city, and has 5 cities (Pompeiopolis, Sora, Amastris, Abonouteichos-Ionopolis and Dadybra) and 23 towns and villages (Parthenia Kome, Eryth(r)inoi, Kromna, Kytoron, Aigialos, Klimax, Thymena, Timolaion, Marsylla-Kallistratia, Zephyrion, Garios, Aiginetes, Kinolis, Antikinolis, Stephane, a settlement in the modern location Horma, Ziporea, a settlement in the modern location İlbarut, a settlement in the modern location Karakoyunlu, Potomia Cepora, Antoniopolis, Anadynata and Kobara).
- 3) *Helenopontus* (Table 6) was governed by a *consulares* with Amaseia as capital city, has 6 cities (Ibora, Zela, Salton Zaliches-Leontopolis, Andrappa, Amisos and Sinope) and 22 towns and villages (Potamoi, Armene, Kyptasia, Karousa-Polichnion, Garzoubanthon-Orgibate, Zagora, a settlement probably named

<sup>33</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 139.

<sup>34</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 145.

<sup>35</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 147-51.

<sup>36</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 146-47.

<sup>37</sup> *LMA s.v. Metropolis*.

<sup>38</sup> Koder 1986, 157.

<sup>39</sup> Dagron 1984b, 49-52.

<sup>40</sup> Antoniadis-Bibicou 1996, 147-48.

Table 3: Geographical and spatial criteria

COASTAL PROVINCES	CITIES	TOWNS and VILLAGES	TOTAL NUMBER of SETTLEMENTS	TOPOGRAPHY								COMMUNICATIONS				
				GEO-MORPHOLOGY			WATER ELEMENTS					STREET NETWORK			FEATURES	
				LOWLAND	MIDLAND	HIGHLAND	RIVER	LAKE	MARITIME	INLAND	INTER-REGIONAL	MAIN	SECONDARY	NODE	PORT	ABSENCE
1. HONORIAS	6	16	22	12	1	9	11	0	12	3	17	0	2	5	9	9
2. PAPHLAGONIA	6	23	29	18	0	11	11	0	16	6	23	0	2	2	14	13
3. HELENOPONTOS	7	22	29	13	1	15	13	0	13	8	18	4	1	6	9	15
4. PONTOS POLEMONIAKOS	5	40	45	19	3	23	18	0	18	12	34	2	5	8	11	28
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>65</b>

Table 4: Settlements of Honorias (cities according to the *Synecdemus*; towns and villages according to the *Barrington Atlas*)

PROVINCIAL REGISTRY NUMBER	PERIOD of SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION					MODERN NAME	REFERENCES
	ARCHAIC	CLASSIC.	HELLENISTIC	ROMAN	EARLY BYZANTINE		
1	2					3	4
1.1.			<i>Bithynion</i>	<i>Bithynion - Claudiopolis - Hadriana</i>		<i>Claudiopolis</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 235-37
1.2.			<i>Kieros - Prusias</i>	<i>Prusias ad Hypium</i>		<i>Prusias</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 264-66
1.3.		<i>Heraclea</i>	<i>Heraclea</i>	<i>Heraclea</i>		<i>Heraclea</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 208-16
1.4.			<i>Tios - Tieion</i>	<i>Tios - Tieion</i>		<i>Tios</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 276-78
1.5.				<i>Krateia - Flaviopolis - Agrippeia ? - Krateia</i>		<i>Krateia</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 239-40
1.6.				<i>Kaisareia - Hadrianopolis - Proseilemmene</i>		<i>Hadrianopolis</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 155-57
		<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>			

PROVINCIAL REGISTRY NUMBER	PERIOD of SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION					MODERN NAME	REFERENCES
	ARCHAIC	CLASSIC.	HELLENISTIC	ROMAN	EARLY BYZANTINE		
1	2					3	4
1.7.				<i>Psylla</i>	<i>Psylla</i>	Catal Ağzı	TIB Paphlagonien 266-67
1.8.			<i>Krenides</i>	<i>Krenides</i>	<i>Krenides</i>	Kilimli	TIB Paphlagonien 240-41
1.9.				<i>Sandarake</i>	<i>Sandarake</i>	Zonguldak	TIB Paphlagonien 270
1.10.				<i>Oxinas</i>	<i>Oxinas</i>	Oksina	TIB Paphlagonien 257-58
1.11.				<i>Metroon</i>	<i>Metroon - Aulia</i>	Near Kosecağız	TIB Paphlagonien 252
1.12.				?	?	Kilisecik - 4 km S <i>Heraclea</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 231
1.13.		<i>Kales</i>	<i>Kales</i>	<i>Kales</i>	<i>Kales</i>	Alaplı	TIB Paphlagonien 223
1.14.				<i>Elaios</i>	<i>Elaios</i>	At mouth of Elaios fl.	TIB Paphlagonien 193
1.15.				<i>Lilaos</i>	<i>Lilaos</i>	E Akcakoca	TIB Paphlagonien 248
1.16.				<i>Dia - Diospolis</i>	<i>Diospolis</i>	Akcakoca	TIB Paphlagonien 189-90
1.17.					?	Derekoy	TIB Paphlagonien 189
1.18.					?	Kandamış	TIB Paphlagonien 224
1.19.				<i>Mantineion</i>	<i>Mantineion</i>	Near Ada Koy	TIB Paphlagonien 249-51
1.20.					<i>Mandris</i>	Doğancı	TIB Paphlagonien 249
1.21.				?	?	Cetikoren	TIB Paphlagonien 183-84
1.22.				?	?	Ayman Yaylası	TIB Paphlagonien 175-76
		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>		<b>3</b>	

Helega or Gadilonitis, Naustathmos, Eusene, Chadisia, Ankon, Pteria, Thermai Phazemoniton, Cromen, Euchaita, Virasia, Palalce, C(h)oloe, Pida, Carissa, a settlement in the modern location Tekke and Pleuramis.).

- 4) Finally, the province of Pontus Polemoniacus (Table 7) was governed by a *praeses* with Neocaesarea-Sebaste (modern Niksar) as capital city, has four cities (Comana Pontica-Hierocaesarea, Polemonion, Kerasous and Trapezus) and 40 towns and villages (The-miskyra, Lamyron-Herakleion, Caena, Camila, Phadisane, Stamene, Boon, Kotyora, Tripolis,

Libiopolis, Kerasous, Hieron Oros, Kordyle, Hermyse, Kaine Parembolē, Hyssos-Sousarmia, Ophis, Rhizaion, Mirones, Bartae, Seramisa, Gagonda, Syderos, Magabula, Sauronisena, Danae, Matuasco, Speluncis, Anniaca, Megalossos, Mesorome, Ad Vincesium-Magnana, Gizenenica-Chaszanenica, Zigana, Bylae, Frigidarium, Patara, Thia, Medoci(n)a and a settlement with the probable name Schamalinichon). Overall there are 125 settlements, of which 4 (3.2%) are provincial capitals, 24 (19.2%) are cities and 101 (80.8%) towns and villages.

Table 5: Settlements of Paphlagonia (cities according to the *Synecdemus*; towns and villages according to the *Barrington Atlas*)

PROVINCIAL REGISTRY NUMBER	PERIOD OF SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION					MODERN NAME	REFERENCES
	ARCHAIC	CLASSIC.	HELLENISTIC	ROMAN	EARLY BYZANTINE		
<b>1</b>				<b>2</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1.			<i>Gangra</i>	<i>Gangra - Germanicopolis</i>	<i>Gangra</i>	Çankırı	TIB Paphlagonien 196-99
2.2.			<i>Pompeopolis</i>	<i>Pompeopolis - Sebaste</i>	<i>Pompeopolis</i>	Taşköprü	TIB Paphlagonien 260-62
2.3.					<i>Sora</i>	Zora - Kaleköy	TIB Paphlagonien 272-73
2.4.	<i>Sesamos</i>		<i>Anastris</i>	<i>Anastris</i>	<i>Anastris</i>	Amasra	TIB Paphlagonien 161-70
2.5.				<i>Abonouteichos - Ionopolis</i>	<i>Abonouteichos</i>	Inebolu	TIB Paphlagonien 219-21
2.6.					<i>Dadybra</i>	Devrek	TIB Paphlagonien 186-87
	<b>1</b>		<b>3</b>		<b>2</b>		
PROVINCIAL REGISTRY NUMBER	PERIOD OF SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION					MODERN NAME	REFERENCES
	ARCHAIC	CLASSIC.	HELLENISTIC	ROMAN	EARLY BYZANTINE		
<b>1</b>				<b>2</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
2.7.				<i>Parthenia</i>	<i>Parthenia</i>	Bartın	TIB Paphlagonien 258-59
2.8.	<i>Eryth(r)inoi</i>	<i>Eryth(r)inoi</i>	<i>Eryth(r)inoi</i>	<i>Eryth(r)inoi</i>	<i>Eryth(r)inoi</i>	Cakraz	TIB Paphlagonien 194-95
2.9.	<i>Kromna</i>	<i>Kromna</i>	<i>Kromna</i>	<i>Kromna</i>	<i>Kromna</i>	Tekeonu	TIB Paphlagonien 241-42
2.10.	<i>Kytoron</i>	<i>Kytoron</i>	<i>Kytoron</i>	<i>Kytoros</i>	<i>Kytoron</i>	Kıdros - Sutluce	TIB Paphlagonien 245-46
2.11.	<i>Aigialos</i>	<i>Aigialos</i>	<i>Aigialos</i>	<i>Aigialos</i>	<i>Aigialos</i>	Karaağac Limanı	TIB Galatien 117-18 / TIB Paphlagonien 158
2.12.				<i>Klimax</i>	<i>Klimax</i>	Kazallı	Belke 1992, 149 / TIB Paphlagonien 237
2.13.				<i>Thymena - Teuthrania</i>	<i>Thymena</i>	İmme - Uğurlu	TIB Paphlagonien 274-75
2.14.				<i>Timolaton</i>	<i>Timolaton</i>	Near Cayyaka	TIB Paphlagonien 275
2.15.				<i>Kallistratia</i>	<i>Marsylla - Kallistratia</i>	Kışla?	Belke 1992, 152 / TIB Paphlagonien 223
2.16.				<i>Zephyrion</i>	<i>Zephyrion</i>	Doganıyurt	TIB Paphlagonien 284
2.17.				<i>Gartos</i>	<i>Gartos</i>	Kaurga	TIB Paphlagonien 199-200
2.18.					<i>Aiginetes</i>	Hacıveli	TIB Paphlagonien 158-59
2.19.				<i>Kinolis</i>	<i>Kinolis</i>	Ginoğlu	TIB Paphlagonien 232-33
2.20.				<i>Antikinolis</i>	<i>Antikinolis</i>	Opposite <i>Kinolis</i>	TIB Paphlagonien 232-33
2.21.				<i>Stephane</i>	<i>Stephane</i>	Istifan	TIB Paphlagonien 273-74
2.22.				?	?	Horma	TIB Paphlagonien 216-17
2.23.				<i>Ziporea</i>	<i>Ziporea</i>	Karafasıl	TIB Paphlagonien 284-85
2.24.				?	?	İlbarut	TIB Paphlagonien 218
2.25.				?	?	Karakoyunlu	TIB Paphlagonien 226
2.26.					<i>Potomia Cepora</i>	Near Bayındır	TIB Paphlagonien 263-64
2.27.				<i>Antonopolis</i>	<i>Antonopolis</i>	Cerkes	TIB Paphlagonien 172
2.28.					<i>Anadyrnata</i>	Near Kurşunlu	TIB Paphlagonien 171-72
2.29.	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	Doğantepe	TIB Paphlagonien 238

Regarding the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the area belongs to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and comprises four *metropoleis*. According to the first *Notitia Episcopatum*, the four seats were located in the provincial capitals. There were also two autocephalous archdioceses, that is, bishoprics not belonging to the provincial ecclesiastical

authorities but reporting directly to the Patriarchate; these are Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia and Euchaita in Pontus Polemoniacus.<sup>41</sup> There were also 22 bishoprics which correspond to the remaining urban centres of these

<sup>41</sup> Gerland 1931, 8-9.

Table 6: Settlements of Helenopontus (cities according to the *Synecdemus*; towns and villages according to the *Barrington Atlas*)

PROVINCIAL REGISTRY NUMBER	PERIOD of SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION				MODERN NAME	REFERENCES
	ARCHAIC	CLASSIC.	HELLENISTIC	ROMAN		
1				2	3	4
3.1.		<i>Amaseia</i>	<i>Amaseia</i>	<i>Amaseia</i>	Amasya	PECS
3.2.				<i>Ibora</i>	Iverönü	Olshausen 1984, 137
3.3.		<i>Zela - Zelitis</i>	<i>Zela - Zelitis</i>	<i>Zela</i>	Zile	RE 1
3.4.		<i>Andrapa Neápolis</i>	<i>Zaliches</i>	<i>Salton Zaliches - Leontopolis</i>	Alaçam, formerly Konga	Bryer 1985, 89-90
3.5.			<i>Andrapa</i>	<i>Andrapa</i>	Vezirköprü	Jones 1971, 159
3.6.		<i>Amisos - Peirataeus</i>	<i>Amisos</i>	<i>Amisos</i>	Samsun	Bryer 1985, 92-95
3.7.	<i>Sinope</i>	<i>Sinope - Sinopitis</i>	<i>Sinope - Sinopitis</i>	<i>Sinope</i>	Sinop	Bryer 1985, 69-89
	1	1	3	1		
PROVINCIAL REGISTRY NUMBER	PERIOD of SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION				MODERN NAME	REFERENCES
ARCHAIC	CLASSIC.	HELLENISTIC	ROMAN	EARLY BYZANTINE.		
1				2	3	4
3.8.				<i>Potamoi</i>	Gibelit	TIB Paphlagonien 262-63
3.9.	<i>Armene</i>			<i>Armene</i>	Aklıman	RE
3.10.		<i>Kyptasia</i>	<i>Kyptasia</i>	<i>Kyptasia</i>	Near Eren Boğazi	RE Paphlagonia, col. 2545
3.11.	<i>Karousa</i>		<i>Karousa - Polichnion</i>	<i>Karousa - Polichnion</i>	Gerze	RE Karus(s)a
3.12.			<i>Garzoubanthon - Orgibate</i>	<i>Garzoubanthon - Orgibate</i>	Kurzuwet	Olshausen 1984, 131
3.13.			<i>Zagora</i>	<i>Zagora</i>	Cayagzi	RE Zacoria
3.14.		<i>Gadilon</i>	<i>Gadilon</i>	<i>Helega ? - Gadilonitis</i>	Bafra ?	Bryer 1985, 90
3.15.			<i>Nauastathmos</i>	<i>Nauastathmos</i>	E end of Kızı Irmak delta	RE 3
3.16.			<i>Eusene</i>	<i>Eusene</i>	Incesukahvesi ?	Olshausen 1984, 129
3.17.	<i>Chadisia</i>		<i>Chadisia</i>	<i>Chadisia</i>	Near Karabahe	Olshausen 1984, 121
3.18.		<i>Ankon</i>	<i>Ankon</i>	<i>Ankon</i>	At mouth of Yeşil Irmak	RE
3.19.	<i>Pteria</i>			<i>Pteria</i>	Eğrikale ?	RE 1
3.20.			<i>Thermai Phazemoniton - Phazemonitis</i>	<i>Thermai Phazemoniton</i>	Havza	Magie 1950, 1067-68
3.21.			<i>Cromen ?</i>	<i>Cromen</i>	Cataikaya, formerly Galgiras?	ItMiller 671 / Olshausen 1984, 192
3.22.			<i>Euchaita</i>	<i>Euchaita</i>	Beyozu, formerly Avkat	Olshausen 1984, 128
3.23.				<i>Virasia</i>	Doğantepe, formerly Zara ?	ItMiller 668
3.24.			<i>Palalce</i>	<i>Palalce</i>	Baraklı	Olshausen 1984, 153-54
3.25.			<i>C(h)oloe</i>	<i>C(h)oloe</i>	Dortyol, formerly Kalekale ?	Olshausen 1984, 122
3.26.			<i>Pida</i>	<i>Pida</i>	Akca, formerly Fid	RE Suppl. 8
3.27.			<i>Carissa</i>	<i>Carissa - Garsi</i>	Elvan Celebi ?	ItMiller 678
3.28.			?	?	Tekke	Anderson 1903, 22
3.29.		4	<i>Pleuromis</i>	<i>Pleuromis</i>	Tell W Curuk Koy	Olshausen 1984, 159
		2	13	3		

provinces. The bishops supervised the surrounding countryside through the *chorepiskopoi*, a kind of itinerant bishop, with no constant official seat but probably

resident in the towns-*komai*.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Troianos 1978, 274-75.



Tables 8-11 show the geographical and spatial features of the settlements within the four provinces. Each table has eight columns. These contain the settlement's provincial registry number, the cities, towns and villages and the modern place names. In the fifth column is contained information regarding geomorphology, with three variables (lowlands 0-300 m, midlands 300-600 m and highlands more than 600 m above sea level). The sixth column concerns the water elements and has four variables (river, lake, maritime and inland locations). The seventh records the street network with three variables (interregional, main and secondary road axes). The last column contains information about communication features, such as nodal points or ports. The results are compiled in Table 3:

We observe that settlement location is distributed almost equally between lowlands and highlands, despite the fact that more than 90% of the study area is mountainous.

This indicates a preference for, and a consequent density of, settlements in the lowlands. The majority of the settlements are related to water elements and 47% of them are located on the Black Sea. The majority are connected by interregional roads, a fact that indicates the importance of the region as a military transition axis in relation to the empire's eastern borders. Finally, 73% of the maritime settlements are possible ports.

### Road Network

The primary source concerning the road network comes from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. This diagrammatic map contains, among several natural elements, and also shows the network of main roads, settlements, *mansiones* and *mutationes*, overnight and horse-changing stations.<sup>43</sup> At the end of the 19th century, Konrad Miller, in his *Itineraria Romana*, transcribed the *Tabula* in a more readable manner.<sup>44</sup> At the end of the 20th century, Klaus Belke and the other collaborators of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* presented the road network of the region in a more systematic way.<sup>45</sup> In the beginning of the 21st century, the compilers of the *Barrington Atlas* have furnished a more sophisticated representation of the road system.<sup>46</sup> The data from the abovementioned sources have been combined for research purposes.

The road network has been analysed in three categories: inter-regional axes, main and secondary regional roads.<sup>47</sup> The road network of the study area in the Early Byzantine period (Fig. 1) can be described as two sets of horizontal and transversal inter-regional axes respectively. A first horizontal road begins from Constantinople and follows the coastline in an easterly direction. It passes along the coasts of Bithynia and Honorias, through Heracleia and Tios and then enters Paphlagonia through Amastris and

Ionopolis. It proceeds to Helenopontus through Sinope, Leontopolis and Amisos, then enters Pontus Polemoniacus, passes through Trapezus and ends outside the empire's boundaries. A second horizontal road begins in Constantinople and passes through Nicomedeia in an easterly direction. It connects Claudiopolis with Krateia in Honorias, passes through Paphlagonia and Helenopontus, connects Amaseia with Neocaesarea and ends in Armenia Prima. A third horizontal road is found between the two mentioned previously. It connects Claudiopolis with Hadrianopolis, Sora and Pompeiopolis, then passes through Andrappa and ends in Neocaesarea. There are three transverse roads. The first has a southerly direction and connects Krateia with Ancyra. The second starts in Sinope and ends on the third horizontal axis at Claudiopolis-Neocaesarea. The third axis connects Neocaesarea with Sebasteia, capital city of Armenia Prima. Finally, the most eastern transverse road connects Trapezus with Satala in Armenia Prima. It can be observed that there is a topographical limitation on the development of transversal roads, due to the Pontic mountain chain which traverses the whole area. In reverse, the horizontal axes are considered more important for military purposes, as they reinforce the *limes*.

### Articulation of the Settlements Network

The settlements of the study area follow linear distribution models in relation to the coastline and the road networks.<sup>48</sup> A first linear model is formed along the coast and is supported by the presence of the interregional axis Constantinople-Trapezus. A second is formed along the axis Constantinople-eastern borders. On this network are located three of the four provincial capitals (Claudiopolis, Amaseia and Neocaesarea). A third linear model is formed along the axis Claudiopolis-Pompeiopolis-Neocaesarea.

### CONCLUSION

Despite the geographical constraints, such as the Pontic mountain chain and the lack of lowland areas even near the seashore, the urbanisation of the area began in the Archaic period and continued in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. It became more intense in the Roman period and continues with normal rhythms in the Early Byzantine period. The majority of the foundations in the Roman and the Early Byzantine periods are towns and villages, a fact that can be seen as a possible trend to a more agrarian society. The settlements are connected through and supported by a well organised state road network, as well as a large number of ports.

In conclusion, the study area flourished in the Early Byzantine period, but from the 7th century invaders arrived, first the Sasanids, then the Arabs. The territorial transformations of the provinces up to the constitution of the thematic organization grew out of military

<sup>43</sup> Drakoulis 2007, 163-65; Podossinov, this volume.

<sup>44</sup> *ItMiller*, 629-84.

<sup>45</sup> *TIB Paphlagonien*, 115-37.

<sup>46</sup> *Barrington Atlas*, maps 62-64, 86-87.

<sup>47</sup> Koder 2001, 99-101, fig. 7.

<sup>48</sup> Chorley 1967, 65.



Table 9: Geographical and spatial features of Paphlagonia

PROVINCIAL REGISTRY NUMBER	CITIES	TOWNS and VILLAGES	MODERN NAME	TOPOGRAPHY						COMMUNICATIONS										
				GEO- MORPHOLOGY			WATER ELEMENTS			STREET NETWORK		FEATURES								
				LOWLAND	MIDLAND	HIGHLAND	RIVER	LAKE	MARITIME	INLAND	INTER- REGIONAL	MAIN	SECONDARY	NODE	PORT	ABSENCE				
				5	6			7		8										
1	2	3	4																	
2.1.	<b>Gangra</b>		Cankırı formerly Kângırın			X	X					X								
2.2.	<i>Pompeiopolis</i>		Taşköprü		X	X	X					X								X
2.3.	<i>Sora</i>		Zora - Kaleköy		X					X										X
2.4.	<i>Amasris</i>		Amasra							X										X
2.5.	<i>Abonouteichos</i>		Inebolu		X					X										X
2.6.	<i>Dadybra</i>		Devrek		X					X										X
2.7.			<i>Parthenia</i>		X					X										X
2.8.			<i>Eryth(r)inoi</i>		X					X										X
2.9.			<i>Kromna</i>		X					X										X
2.10.			<i>Kytoron</i>		X					X										X
2.11.			<i>Aigtalos</i>		X					X										X
2.12.			<i>Klimax</i>		X					X										X
2.13.			<i>Thymena</i>		X					X										X
2.14.			<i>Timolaton</i>		X					X										X
2.15.			<i>Marsylla - Kallistratia</i>		X					X										X
2.16.			<i>Zephyrion</i>		X					X										X
2.17.			<i>Garios</i>		X					X										X
2.18.			<i>Aiginetes</i>		X					X										X
2.19.			<i>Kinolis</i>		X					X										X
2.20.			<i>Antikinolis</i>		X					X										X
2.21.			<i>Stephane</i>		X					X										X
2.22.			?		X					X										X
2.23.			<i>Ziporea</i>		X					X										X
2.24.			?		X					X										X
2.25.			?		X					X										X
2.26.			<i>Potomia Cepora</i>		X					X										X
2.27.			<i>Antoniopolis</i>		X					X										X
2.28.			<i>Anadytnata</i>		X					X										X
2.29.			<i>Kobara</i>		X					X										X
	6			3	0	3	3	0	2	1	5	0	1	1	2	3				
		23		15	0	8	8	0	14	5	18	0	1	1	12	10				
			29	18	0	11	11	0	16	6	23	0	2	2	14	13				





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