Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period

Edited by Kristina Winther-Jacobsen
and Lâtife Summerer

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Zum Geleit

Im Rahmen des vom Danish Council for Independent Research geförderten Forschungsprojekts *Where East meets West* veranstalteten Kristina Winther-Jacobsen und Lâtife Summerer im April 2014 in Amasya/Türkei ein Kolloquium mit dem Titel ›Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Early Byzantine Period‹. Thematisch schloss sich diese Veranstaltung an das Kolloquium ›Space, Place and Identity in Northern Anatolia‹ an, das 2012 ebenfalls im Rahmen des Projekts *Where East meets West* unter der Leitung von Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen in Kolding/Dänemark stattgefunden hatte und dessen Akten als Band 29 der Reihe *Geographica Historica* erschienen sind.

Der nun vorliegende Band entspricht nicht nur inhaltlich im engeren Sinn, sondern auch gleichsam ideell ganz der Konzeption der *Geographica Historica.* Einmal mehr zeigt sich, wie fruchtbar es ist, wenn Vertreter verschiedener Forschungsdisziplinen international zusammenarbeiten. Vor allem aber demonstriert dieser Band, welches Potential speziell im Bereich der Archäologie, damit aber auch der Historischen Geographie die Vernetzung universitärer und musealer, überregional und regional organiserter Forschung birgt.

Eckart Olshausen und Vera Sauer

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Kristina Winther-Jacobsen and Lâtife Summerer

Introduction

Under the Republic, the integration of conquered lands into the *Imperium Romanum* generally followed one of two approaches. In the West, existing towns were integrated as self-governing units and new colonies of Roman citizens were founded in strategic positions, while in the Hellenised East, new cities were not founded on any significant scale; instead, existing poleis continued to administer their territories on behalf of their new masters. The inland districts of the conquered Mithradatic kingdom, however, were unlike any that Rome had previously annexed, and unsuitable for either method of integration. The victorious general Pompey the Great made a radical new departure in terms of Roman imperialism by creating an urban network from scratch: seven poleis, spaced so as to control the maximum area of territory with the minimal use of resources, were established. Some of Pompey's work was undone by Mark Antony (39–31 BC), but the Pompeian structures were reinstated by Augustus.

The importance of urbanisation as an instrument of Roman domination is universally acknowledged among modern scholars, and in November 2012 the research project Where East meets West hosted a workshop in Kolding on *Space, Place and Identity in Northern Anatolia.* The aim of the workshop was to explore the genesis and function of the city and its sanctuaries, and their role in the process of provincialisation. On 24–26 April 2014 thirty people met in Amasya at the beautiful Historical Saraydüzü Barracks, National Struggle Museum and Conference Center under a banner welcoming us to the seminar on *Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Early Byzantine Period* (Fig. 1). The aim of this seminar was to view the Roman settlements and sanctuaries, and their trajectories specifically in the context of their territory. Over the course of three days researchers from all over the world, all working in northern Anatolia met to exchange ideas and compare results. The 26 papers explored the current state of knowledge on settlement patterns in central northern Anatolia from both archaeological and historical points of view. While some papers presented the results of recent field research, others surveyed little known material ripe for new interpretations.

The main principle behind the choice of venue in Amasya was to bring together researchers from both universities and museums: an approach not undertaken previously in Turkey. The aim was to prompt new dynamics in the archaeological exploration of northern Anatolia by encouraging and launching new communications and collaborations between scholars involved in on-going research projects and museum staff concerned with emergency excavations; the event offered the means to share knowledge, data and results that were otherwise difficult to access. With the breaching of the language barrier, the conference was fruitful for all the participants.

Fig. 1: Group photo taken in Amasya during the seminar, 22nd April, 2014.

Reflecting the nature of the seminar, this volume consists of a combination of articles; some focus on specific locations, others explore a specific region and some consider particular classes of material culture. Alongside these analytical studies, there are preliminary reports of rescue excavations. The articles are arranged in four thematic sections, as detailed below.

1. The dynamics of landscapes: cities and territories

The first three papers of the section on the dynamics of landscapes are closely related to one another and present new results of surveys in neighbouring regions. They are concerned with the identification of settlement patterns and the tracing of the dynamics of spatial organisation. Philip Bes presents the Roman finds from the Cide region revealed by the Cide Archaeological Project. Although the ancient landscapes have today been greatly transformed by natural and cultural processes, the carefully mapped find clusters allow the

identification of sites which are tentatively associated with ancient place names known from the written sources. Owen Doonan demonstrates the divergent histories of contrasting landscapes in the hinterland of Sinop. Some areas remained isolated for millennia while others became deeply integrated in the olive oil trade networks of the Black Sea region and beyond, especially during the Roman period. Meanwhile, Peri Johnson presents some of the results of survey in the district of Taşköprü. She argues that the prosperity and density of the settlements evidenced in the region correlate with the introduction of Roman urban institutions to Pompeiopolis and that the diffusion of monuments in the landscape reveals a need to establish a connection with the past.

The article by Kristina Winther-Jacobsen is the first of four articles which focus on the territory of Neoklaudiopolis.[1] Based on fieldwork conducted in 2013, she presents the current evidence for the settlement dynamics of the city's territory during the Roman and early Byzantine periods, although one nucleus of shifting settlements appears to date back to the Bronze Age. As the author notes, a more detailed analysis of the territories of the modern-day villages of the region would surely reveal more evidence for this nucleated, shifting settlement pattern. The contribution by Peter Bikoulis, Hugh Elton, John Haldon and Jim Newhard addresses an important methodological issue: the correlation between surface and subsurface finds based on the super-intensive survey of a church site at Avkat in 2009. In contrast to the evidence from Papaz Tarlası presented by Winther-Jacobsen, this study shows only a weak positive correlation between the surface distribution of artefacts and subsurface structures. Max Ritter examines the history of the Paphlagonian cities in late antiquity and argues that the alterations to the urban design reflect economic activities and that this should be understood as correlated with the general prosperity of the hinterland. Another example of late antique alterations to the city's layout is examined in the article by Baran Aydin, Laura Buccino and Lâtife Summerer.[2]

In the final article in this section, Celal Özdemir presents a preliminary report on the results of rescue excavations at the important Sanctuary of Zeus Stratios in the territory of Amaseia. This eagerly awaited report offers new impetus to the dynamic of the discussion on the character of this monumental hilltop sanctuary in northern Anatolia as well as that on the role of ritual space as common ground amongst the political territories of the region.[3]

2. The dynamics of mortuary space: *necropoleis,* graves and grave monuments

In the second section, on the dynamics of mortuary space, Pavol Hnila presents his thoughts on the Roman and Byzantine graves at Oymaağaç Höyük and places this rural necropolis and its population within the settlement dynamics of the territory of

[1] See also Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen and Rainer Czichon, Pavol Hnila (and Vera Sauer) and Vera Sauer below.

[2] See below.

[3] C. G. Williamson, 'Power, politics and panoramas: viewing the sacred landscape of Zeus Stratios near Amaseia', in T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Space, Place and Identity in Northern Anatolia* (Geographica Historica 29). Stuttgart, 175–88.

Neoklaudiopolis. This careful study of the necropolis provides evidence of long-term continuity – possibly over a millennium – of a rather small community. In an appendix, Vera Sauer offers the numismatic basis for the dating of two of the graves. Rather than *necropoleis,* Julia Koch focuses on individual funerary monuments and presents new evidence from Pompeiopolis on Phrygian doorstones and other monument types from Paphlagonia. Koch argues that identity was the dynamic behind the design and decoration of certain forms of funerary monuments in Paphlagonia. Meanwhile, based on the results of rescue excavations undertaken by the Amasya Museum between 1977 and 2014, the report of Muzaffer Doğanbaş considers the distribution of the *necropoleis* of Amaseia during the Roman and Byzantine periods and provides a glimpse of the burial customs of the ancient city by presenting evidence of the grave types and offerings. The final contribution to this section, by İlkay İvgin, reports on the results of the 2013 rescue excavation of a rock-cut tomb with tube-shaped clay sarcophagi in the village of Zafer in the territory of Amisos. The interpretation of this tomb is viewed against the occurrence of similar tombs and Hellenistic sites recorded in the territory of Amisos, mainly during the course of rescue excavations. İvgin notes that a large-scale research project is required in order to contextualise the results of the rescue excavations.

3. The dynamics of decoration: sculptures and mosaics

The first article in the third section, on the dynamics of decoration, is by Laura Buccino and Lâtife Summerer in cooperation with the director of the Amasra Museum, Baran Aydin, and considers changes in the use of urban space in Amastris in light of the discovery of a cache of buried statues. The material, excavated in 1993, illustrates an interesting example of changing intra-city dynamics during the Roman and early Byzantine periods, when the city contracted.[4] In the following article, Luisa Musso examines five Roman and early Byzantine mosaic designs from northern Anatolia. She concludes that, in general terms, most of the mosaic compositions studied differ markedly from the repertoire of western Asia Minor and that the northern Anatolian mosaic pavements tend to be more closely connected with the eastern territories of the Empire. In the final article of this section Esra Keskin documents the presence of a rural Roman villa decorated with mosaic floors in the territory of Amaseia. This is a preliminary report on the results of rescue excavations conducted in the village of Yavru.

4. The dynamics of circulation: roads, inscriptions and coins

The first contribution to the section on the dynamics of circulation, by Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen and Rainer Czichon, updates our current understanding of the ancient road network in the Phazemonitis linking the pre-Roman and Roman road networks. It also presents evidence for two roads linking Neoklaudiopolis to the commercial road identified by John Arthur Ruskin Munro. Christian Marek then revisits the question of

[4] See also Ritter above.

provincial *koina* and argues, in opposition to the *communis opinio,* that Paphlagonia did not belong to the *koinon* of Pontus. He concludes, on the basis of epigraphic evidence including the well-known imperial oath inscription from Vezirköprü and recently discovered inscriptions from Pompeiopolis, that there existed an independent *koinon* of the province of Paphlagonia. Finally, Vera Sauer discusses the coinage of Neoklaudiopolis and Pompeiopolis against the background of the minting practices of other Pontic and Paphlagonian cities. She argues that the minting strategies of these cities was simultaneously both individual and conventional.

5. Acknowledgements

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Philip Bes

Roman-period finds from the Cide region

1. Introduction

The Black Sea basin and northern Asia Minor in particular have long attracted scholarly attention, albeit on a fairly limited scale; in more recent years, however, the scope has been steadily widening.[1] From a Mediterranean perspective, Turkey's northern coast may be perceived as peripheral, yet culturally it has much in common with the Black Sea basin and inland Asia Minor, and, on a broader scale, also with the Aegean and Mediterranean;[2] this was also the case during the Roman period.[3]

This paper focuses on the Roman-period data – ceramic and architectural – that has been gathered by the Cide Archaeological Project (CAP hereafter) and which serves to illuminate both spatial and chronological patterns of occupation as well as economic life.[4] The scattered and restricted nature of the collected evidence precludes a detailed analysis;[5] nonetheless, 14 find clusters offer indications that the Cide region was a relatively well-settled area during the (late) Roman period.

The CAP survey area is located about two-thirds along the coast travelling from Constantinople towards Sinope. Ceramic data from these latter two locations together with newly-published evidence from Pompeiopolis, Hadrianopolis and the Paphlagonia survey have served to highlight the late Roman occupational character of the wider region (Fig. 1),[6] and the small quantity of datable ceramics from the CAP study area (211 fragments) – further complemented by scattered architectural finds and ancient sources – also

[1] Knipowitsch 1929; Asheri and Hoepfner 1972; Marek 1993; Belke 1996; Gabrielsen and Lund 2007; Kassab Tezgör 2010; Tsetskhladze 2012.

[2] Braund 2005: 115, 117.

[3] For a brief historical background, see Bes forthcoming (with bibliography).

[4] Düring and Glatz forthcoming.

[5] Düring and Glatz forthcoming: esp. chapter 4.1–3.

[6] Matthews and Glatz 2009; Domżalski 2011; Zhuravlev 2011; Lafli and Kan Şahin 2012a; 2012b; Lafli and Christof 2012. Hellenistic and Roman amphorae from Sinope were widely – if at times thinly – distributed throughout the (central and eastern) Mediterranean: Lund 2007; Pieri 2007: 8–9; Kassab Tezgör 2010; Reynolds 2010; De Boer 2013. Constantinople remains relatively poorly known: Hayes 1992; Bardill and Hayes 2002; Jobst 2005. Results from the Yenikapı and Theodosian Harbour excavations will add significantly to our understanding of Roman-period ceramic trends.

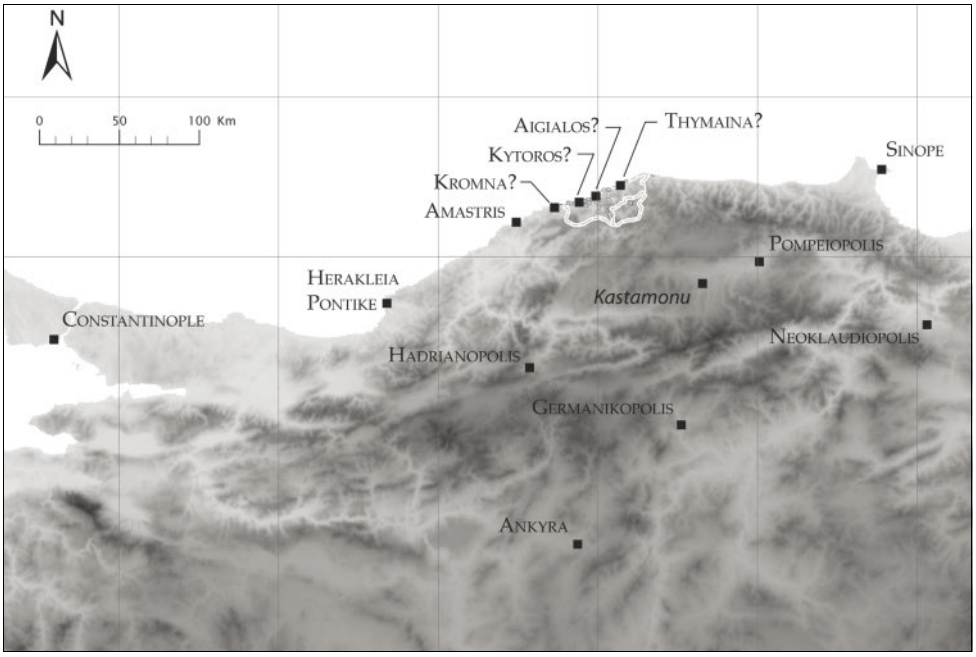

Fig. 1: Roman-period sites in the Black Sea area mentioned in the text (Toby Wilkinson, ©CAP).

signals activity and occupation during the Roman period (Fig. 2; also see Table 2 below).[7] This paper aims to combine and discuss these three sources of evidence in order to contextualise the results of the CAP survey.

2. The ceramic finds

Due to the restricted time in the field, only cursory observations could be made. A common methodological approach was followed; this was directed towards determining: (1) fabric (with the naked eye); (2) fragment (rim, handle, etc.); (3) decoration/surface treatment (e.g. slipped); (4) shape/type (e.g. Late Roman Amphora 2); (5) (primary) function;[8] and (6) chronological identification. Three (functional) groups were thus distinguished (Table 1).

2.1 Tablewares

Tablewares comprise vessels (open and closed) used for the serving and consumption of food and beverages, and which are also commonly characterised by the presence of slip and/or certain styles of decoration. At the same time, however, we should allow for a fair degree of variability concerning the quantity and variety of vessels in use as tableware – as

[7] Hellenistic: ca 325–25/1 BC; early Roman: ca 1–200; middle Roman: ca 200–400; late Roman: ca 400–650/700. Architectural fragments were studied from drawings and photographs.

[8] Peña 2007.

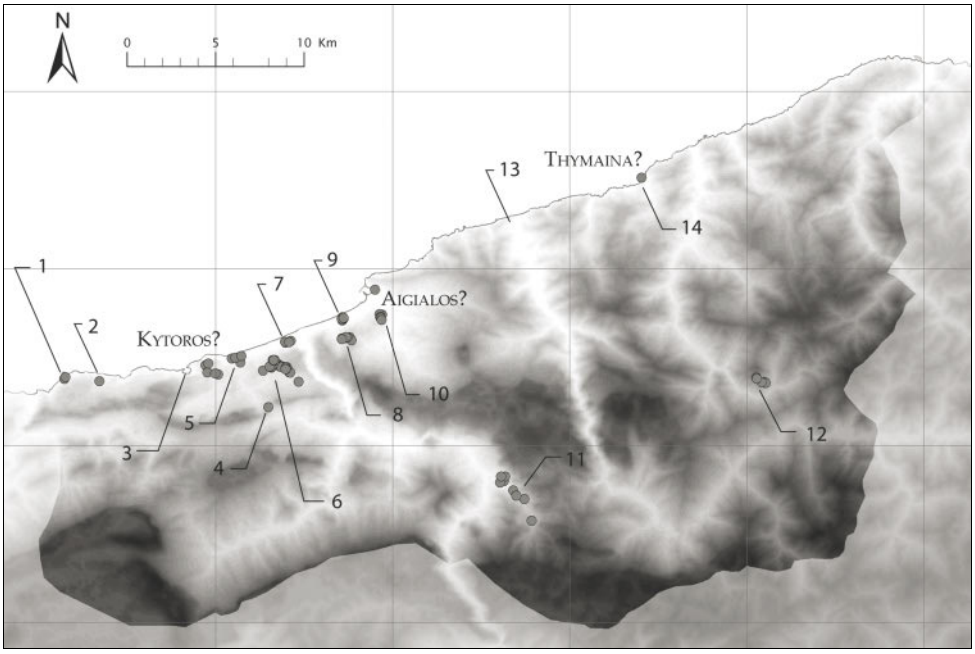

Fig. 2: Concentrations of predominantly Roman-period ceramic finds in the study area; the darker the shading, the lower the relief (Toby Wilkinson, ©CAP).

well as the materials these were made of – by a single family or household, as this was likely dependent on, for instance, socio-economic position, where one lived, etc.

Amongst a total of 18 fragments, of most precise chronological significance are 11 sherds of Phocaean Red Slip Ware (PRSW).[9] Originally associated exclusively with ancient Phokaia in western Turkey, we now know that several other locations in the same region produced similar shapes, and this has gradually prompted a return to the use of the former, more neutral term Late Roman C (LRC). Eight fragments are attributed to the Phokaia workshops proper, spanning the period between the early fifth and early seventh centuries.[10] Though obviously too small for a quantitative analysis, the fact that only form 3F occurs more than once is in line with more general (Mediterranean) trends. It is noteworthy that no other class of (late) Roman tableware was recognised. The absence of Pontic Sigillata and Pontic Red Slip Wares, otherwise well attested at Hadrianopolis, Pompeiopolis, Neoklaudiopolis and Sinope (see below), is particularly noteworthy.

[9] Hayes 1972: 323–70; Vaag 2005; Bes 2015.

[10] Hayes forms 3C (n=1), 3E (n=1), 3E–F (n=1), 3F (n=3), 3F/10A (n=1) and 10A (n=1). Three fragments are classified as Çandarlı Ware/Phocaean LRC: cf. Hayes 1972: 317, 369. Archaeometric analyses now indicate that it is not feasible to distinguish confidently between Çandarlı Ware produced during the first three centuries at Çandarlı (ancient Pitane), near Pergamon, and late Hellenistic to early Roman products from Pergamon proper (Pergamenische Sigillata): Japp 2009; Mommsen and Japp 2009; Schneider and Japp 2009.

2.2 Amphorae

Hellenistic to late Roman amphorae – vessels primarily intended for storing but above all transporting (agricultural) produce – are the best represented category in the CAP assemblage (n=180), yet the assemblage only modestly reflects this period's wide variety in amphorae morphology and provenance; most types and fabrics are attested in single or a few occurrences only. The exception is a group of 95 fragments with a presumed local (=Cide) provenance (see below).

Among the sample are Aegean classes such as Rhodian and Chian amphorae, the latter known from shipwrecks around Sinope;[11] Hellenistic to early Roman Knidian amphorae are marginally more common. Their fabric identifies three sherds as having originated in western Turkey: a distinctive profile probably belongs to the so-called Nikandros group from (the region of) Ephesos and resembles closely examples dating to the third century BC.[12] From the same area comes an amphora toe possibly from a middle to late Roman Agora M273/Samos Cistern Type,[13] as well as a small rim of possible Roman date. Also from the Aegean come 13 sherds of Late Roman Amphora 2 (LRA 2), a type manufactured at a number of locations yet still poorly understood.[14] Three fragments originate from the Argolid, and the horizontal combing on two other fragments tentatively suggests a date prior to the mid sixth century. If LRA 2 was indeed used (predominantly) for the transport of olive oil, its presence in the Cide region may reflect the Black Sea basin's 'enormous thirst' for olive oil.[15]

Seven fragments bear a strong resemblance to both the Kapitän II and Zeest 80/Knossos Type 39 amphorae. The origin (or origins) of these types, which share macroscopic characteristics,[16] remains poorly understood: a (northern) Black Sea origin has been postulated,[17] yet a Chian origin has also been proposed for the Kapitän II.[18] Further, four fragments appear to be of central North African origin. They are presumably middle to late Roman in date and all come from the wider area around Gideros; one fragment is tentatively assigned to the late Roman period.[19]

Amphorae from Sinope and its environs – tentatively associated with the transport of wine, (olive?) oil and non-liquid contents such as fish products – are represented by 21 fragments.[20] The identification is based on both colour and the presence of black volcanic inclusions (mostly pyroxene). Caution is, however, required with regard to the presence/absence of pyroxenes, in particular regarding the *pâte rosée*.[21] Only one fragment could be

[11] Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003: 172–3, nos 7–9.
[12] Lawall 2004: 180, figs 3, 4 left.
[13] Robinson 1959: 109–10, pl. 29; Reynolds 2010: 97; Pieri 2005: 132–7; on shipwreck finds around Sinope, see Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003: 181–3, nos 26–7.
[14] Karagiorgou 2001; Reynolds 2004: 231–2; Pieri 2005: 85–93; Slane and Sanders 2005: 286–7; Reynolds 2010: 95–7.
[15] Braund 2005: 122.
[16] At Tanagra and Hyettos in Boeotia, central Greece (personal observation).
[17] Reynolds 2010: 90.
[18] Opaiț and Paraschiv 2013: 319–20.
[19] Bonifay 2004: 9–44, 89–153; Franco 2012.
[20] Demir 2007; Lund 2007; Kassab Tezgör 2010: 121–2, 127, 133–4, 137.
[21] Erten et al. 2004: 105; also Kassab Tezgör 2010: 121, 123, 134–7.

typologically identified: in *pâte blanche/claire,* it belongs to type D Snp III, datable no later than the second half of the sixth century.[22]

2.3 Cooking wares and other forms

Eleven fragments have been confidently classified as cooking wares; the scarcity of reference points other than fabric allows the dating of nine only generally to the Hellenistic to late Roman period. One fragment is thought to come from northern Turkey, given the presence of black volcanic inclusions. One handle fragment contains abundant silvery micaceous inclusions, for which a source in western Turkey can be proposed.[23] One fragment of likely Roman date is the rim of a (small) pithos, a large(r) vessel type principally used for storing dry or liquid foodstuffs. Though our understanding of the production, use, life-span and socio-economic context of pithoi is relatively limited, some work has been carried out.[24]

3. Discussion

The limited quantity of identified Roman pottery precludes any detailed quantitative analyses or studies of surface scatters. Some interesting observations can nevertheless be made concerning the functional and chronological dimensions of the pottery and, combined with the architectural finds, their spatial distribution within the CAP survey region.

3.1 Provenance and proportions

A relatively significant proportion of the pottery comes from sources that lie well beyond northwestern Asia Minor, such as amphorae from the Aegean and central North Africa, and tablewares from western Turkey. From less distant sources come Sinope-region amphorae and, in particular, a group of narrow-necked amphorae (see below). On the whole, only a small proportion does not originate from a Pontic or Aegean source. The absence of certain well-known classes, however, is noteworthy. No fragments of Late Roman Amphora 1 (LRA 1) were identified; this is a type that was manufactured predominantly in Cilicia and Cyprus and which is attested far and wide at late Roman Mediterranean sites and beyond.[25] Tableware products that were supposedly manufactured in or around Hadrianopolis have not been identified,[26] nor has African Red Slip Ware (ARSW) from Tunisia.[27] Above all, the absence of Pontic Sigillata and Pontic Red Slip Wares is unexpected,

[22] Kassab Tezgör 2010: 135–7. The *pâte blanche/claire* need not have originated from Sinopean workshops alone: Erten et al. 2004: 104–5; Reynolds 2010: 96.

[23] Slane and Sanders 2005: 255–6.

[24] De Paepe and Vermeulen 1999; Devos et al. 1999; De Paepe et al. 2001; for a useful synthesis, see Giannopoulou 2010.

[25] Decker 2001. LRA 1 possibly (partly) circulated in conjunction with LRA 2: Karagiorgou 2001.

[26] Lafli and Kan Şahin 2012a: esp. 51–3.

[27] Hayes 1972: 13–299; Bonifay 2004, 45–65, 154–210. ARSW has been attested at, e.g., Hadrianopolis (Lafli and Kan Şahin 2012b) and Sinope (Firat 2010).

Fig. 3: Top part of an early Roman (?) gravestone reading ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ ΜΕΝΕΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΚΡωΜΝΕΙΤΕΣ ('Glaukos, son of Menephron, from Kromna') (©CAP).

since both are commonly attested at Sinope, Neoklaudiopolis and Pompeiopolis.[28] That only Phocaean LRC has been identified – at Sinope, for instance, a more varied tableware repertoire is observed – may be related to the region's closer proximity to Constantinople. Phocaean LRC is well documented at Constantinople,[29] the point of transition for seaborne traffic between the Black Sea and the Aegean, and from whence goods were brought to Asia Minor's northern shores.[30]

3.2 Spatial and chronological distribution

The majority of the datable pottery collected belongs to the middle Roman period and, above all, the late Roman period; this is a predominance that is well documented elsewhere, for example in rural Greece.[31] Geomorphological processes in the Cide region have altered the landscape considerably since antiquity – particularly the coastal and near-coastal zones, where Roman occupation is thought to have been predominantly concentrated – and this (partly) explains the scarcity of Hellenistic and Roman surface finds.[32] In spite of this, 14

[28] Firat 2010; Winther-Jacobsen and Bekker-Nielsen forthcoming; and Domżalski 2011 respectively.
[29] Hayes 1972: 418; 1992: 5, 7.
[30] Belke 1996: 135–7.
[31] Pettegrew 2007.
[32] Düring and Glatz forthcoming: esp. 2.3.

clusters with Roman features or finds can be distinguished: CAP's site type-classification allows to define some as groups (a collective of find concentrations and/or otherwise identifiable (architectural) traces of (past) occupation/activity), in other cases they are features or spot sites, and in many cases they are chance discoveries and *spolia* that are of interest.[33] Most of these were not significant centres of past human activity, and, since the artefact concentrations are mostly small to very small, this makes it not only difficult to investigate the associations between certain finds, but also, more importantly, to conclude whether these clusters can be referred to as habitation sites or if they represent other activity zones, whether or not they were permanently occupied and where specific agricultural, artisanal or other economic activities were carried out, such as olive-oil production, wine making or pottery production (Fig. 2; Table 2). These 14 clusters are discussed more comprehensively elsewhere[34] – here, Table 2 serves as a summary – yet a few significant finds may be singled out. Firstly, an *ex situ* early Roman(?) gravestone reads ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ ΜΕΝΕΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΚΡѠΜΝΕΙΤΕΣ (Fig. 3), and *Kromneites* could well signify that Glaukos, son of Menephron, was a native of Kromna, thought to be located at present-day Tekkeönü, some 27 km west of Cide.[35] Secondly, rescue excavations by the Museum of Kastamonu have revealed two cist graves at Türbe Tepe Üste (Cide), datable to the Roman period through the grave goods.[36] Significant finds that were not associated with any of these clusters include an early or middle Roman Ionic-Attic column base (an isolated find in the village of Ovacık), a fortification at Kazallı Kalesi, ca 6 km east of Cide that contains (a) Roman-period structure(s) which was/were reused in the middle or late Byzantine period.[37] Finally, the spectacular and well-preserved bridgehead at Atköprü, dramatically perched on the western cliff alongside the Devrekani (Fig. 4).[38]

4. Interpretation of the data

The ceramic finds and other remains, sometimes architecturally monumental, collected and mapped during three years of survey palely reflect a now largely obscured – due to human and natural factors – Roman cultural and religious landscape that, so it appears, was relatively intensively occupied and populated.[39] Despite these circumstances, some observations may nonetheless be made.

First and foremost, most of the clusters are coastal or near-coastal. Only two (11 and 12) are situated inland, ca 15 km and 14 km from the present coastline respectively. Whilst the coverage by CAP was inevitably selective (non-coastal data clusters are obviously also of note, such as Okçular, for instance, which could very well have functioned as a refuge in times of unrest) this general trend adds weight to the hypothesis that Roman occupation/

[33] Glatz et al. forthcoming: esp. table 4.2.
[34] Bes forthcoming.
[35] Marek 1993: 17, 185; Belke 1996: 241–2. Arrian gives a distance of 150 *stadia* between Kromna and Egilan/Aigialos/Cide, which corresponds to some 30 km: Arrian, *Periplus* 14.
[36] Bleda Düring, personal communication.
[37] Cassis forthcoming.
[38] Marek 1993: 10, 92.
[39] Roueché 2000: 579.

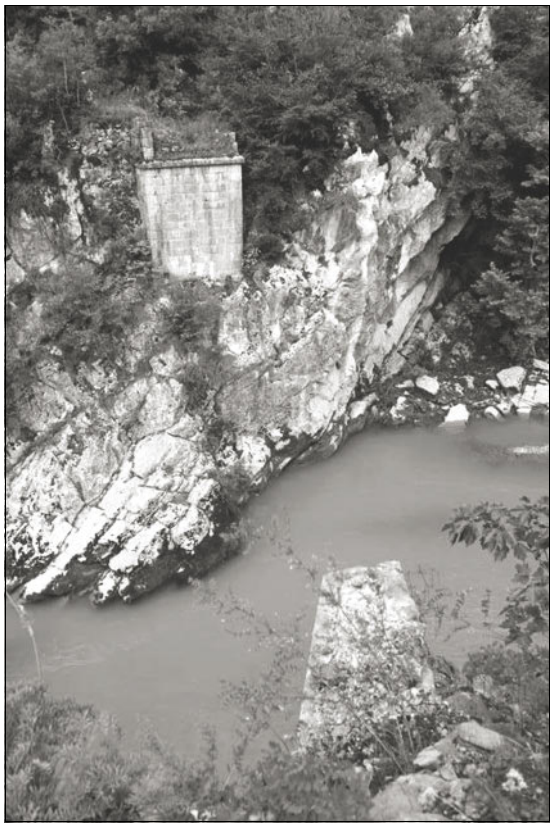

Fig. 4: The bridgehead along the Devrekani at Atköprü. Note the wall in the lower right of the picture, which is part of the bridgehead on the eastern side (©CAP).

habitation of the Cide region was largely a coastal affair. Secondly, the majority of the typologically, chronologically or otherwise identifiable pottery fragments belong to the (middle to) late Roman period; to what degree the (middle to) late Roman clusters were occupied contemporaneously remains unanswerable. The pottery by and large reflects exchange trends with west-east (largely Aegean; e.g. amphorae, Phocaean LRC) and east-west (e.g. Sinopean amphorae) directions. Most, if not all, of the non-Black Sea pottery presumably flowed into the Pontic basin via Constantinople, and the actual transport of goods, particularly international exchange, took place by ship.[40] Why then only Phocaean LRC is identified remains unclear; that red slip tablewares present a more mixed picture at Sinope might well mirror that city's economic and redistributive role, which surely promoted an important link with Constantinople.

Even if only selected parts of the coastal zone could be surveyed, with an intermediate distance of ca 2km (except between clusters 2–3, where it is ca 6km, and the outlier clusters 13 and 14), these clusters do occur with some regularity. One or more of these were surely good anchorages, also for larger ships, that offered sufficient opportunities for 'harbour-hopping'. In addition to the (partly conjectural) coastal road, Stephen Mitchell rightly

[40] Belke 1996: 127; Braund 2005: 115.

points out that the (largely unknown) non-coastal road network played a crucial role between and within inland regions as well as connecting to the coast;[41] the bridgehead at Atköprü attests to this.[42] Finally, whereas the scarcity of finds hampers a detailed discussion of site function and settlement hierarchy (cities, villages, estates, etc.), the fact that part of the pottery is non-regional but also functionally varied elucidates the occupational and consumptive character of these settlements, thus indicating that the region actively, albeit largely indirectly, took part in exchange patterns.[43] There are some archaeological and literary indications, however, that suggest the region was not merely an inactive consumer of extra-regional goods, but, in fact, held some trump cards that allowed it to take part in production and consumption networks, also during the fairly peaceful centuries of the late Roman period.[44] At the same time, this latter period was all but static: the rise of Christianity and monasticism, the changing nature and roles of city and countryside, and also external threats – even if Honorias-Paphlagonia basically remained unaffected – were some of the broader aspects that directed society. As a matter of fact, the Cide region shows signs of socio-cultural and occupational, and perhaps also economic continuity following the disruptive seventh century, even if that continuity was subject to further change.[45]

Several classical authors refer to northern Asia Minor as a source for quality timber, which perhaps was intended predominantly for shipbuilding.[46] It is plausible to think that this industry also prompted ancillary industries, such as the manufacture and upkeep of nets and sails.[47] We remain uninformed, however, as to whether this timber was used only locally or was also transported to, for example, Constantinople and other locations around the Pontic basin. We should suppose that these coastal communities practised some level of local shipbuilding and maintenance, if only for fishing activities and transporting goods to and from nearby settlements. In the event that the timber was also destined for further afield, and why should it not be, we may wonder whether in that context shipbuilding was partly decentralised along the northern shores of Asia Minor or whether shipbuilding and related industries were more centralised, in Constantinople for example; it is difficult to conceive that the capital, a city that saw the continuous coming and going of ships of all sorts and sizes, did not have an extensive and highly organised infrastructure for the construction, repair and maintenance of ships. With the exploitation of timber for shipbuilding may have come other commercial exploitation of the resource, perhaps for instance the working of the wood of the *Buxus sempervirens* L. (boxwood). Its wood is ideally suited for the manufacture of tools and other objects – its use in shipbuilding comes to mind, in the form of tools for instance – and Kytoros and Amastris are specifically mentioned as sources of quality boxwood.[48]

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41 Belke 1996: 127–30; Foss 2000; Matthews et al. 2009: 187–9, figs 6.25–7.
42 Mitchell 1993: 245–6.
43 Belke 1996: 138–51.
44 Roueché 2000.
45 Cassis forthcoming.
46 Broughton 1975: 836–7; Meiggs 1982: 47, 372, 393; Belke 1996: 139; Bittner 1998: 122–3; Braund 2005: 122.
47 Mitchell 2005: 102–3.
48 Among others Theophrastos; Pliny the Elder; Strabo; for which also see Meiggs 1982: 282; Marek 1993: 100; Belke 1996: 140, esp. n. 12, 245–6; Bittner 1998: 125; Braund 2005: 124.

Fig. 5: Fragments of (narrow-necked) amphorae from Cide (cluster 10b), probably locally manufactured (©CAP).

Slightly more tangible is the, albeit restricted, archaeological evidence for the local manufacture of amphorae. Noteworthy in this context are about 95 fragments of what appear to be narrow-necked amphorae, which were collected in particular at clusters 8–10 – the wider area of Cide – though similar fragments show up in a thin diffused scatter throughout the survey area (Fig. 5). All the fragments inspected share a homogeneous fabric, which is generally fine to very fine and buff to orange in colour. Inclusions usually comprise small to medium-sized dark (black) and some red grit, some (red) grog and calcitic and/or limestone bits; pores/voids are not infrequent. Morphologically, the handles often have pronounced ridges and can be made rather crudely. The few rims that were seen are lightly thickened yet otherwise plain; body sherds are by and large ribbed. Of particular interest is a production waster, found where more were noted in the field.[49]

The combination of the quantity, the attested wasters and the homogeneous fabric character amongst the fragments of this relatively sizeable group are reason enough to postulate a local origin. Even if the claim must remain tentative until, perhaps, one day, it can be substantiated through solid evidence (geophysical anomalies, pottery workshops, kilns, etc.) acquired by geophysical prospection and/or archaeological excavation, the proposed scenario suggests that at one or more locations in the wider Cide area there were workshops manufacturing amphorae. As far as the morphology of the fragments allows for any firm statements, interestingly, some fragments nevertheless strongly suggest that they formed

[49] Claudia Glatz, personal communication.

(smaller) amphorae with a high and narrow neck; such traits are not at all unfamiliar: both Herakleia Pontike and Sinope are known to have manufactured similar amphorae. Thus the amphorae thought to have been produced at or near Cide belong to a broader, regional phenomenon of amphorae manufacture along the northwestern coast of Asia Minor.[50] Both Herakleian and Sinopean amphorae are attested far and wide,[51] yet any statement about the distribution of the amphorae potentially from the area of Cide is impossible. It is not unthinkable that its dispersal – if this did occur – tapped into existing exchange systems, for example those that, among others, accommodated the distribution of Sinopean and other (regional) amphorae around the Black Sea, into the Aegean and around the Mediterranean as a whole.[52] The content of these amphorae, regrettably, is another vexing matter, and one that remains unanswerable at present. Although CAP did come across clues, tentative though they are, about ancient agricultural activities, no direct relation to the amphorae has been established. The morphology of the amphorae, if their identification as narrow-necked vessels is correct, does, however, offer a clue. The average neck/rim diameter of the Cide examples, as well as that of its 'family members', ranges around 3–4 cm, which suggests that the vessels were unlikely filled with anything less than fluid, let alone a more or less solid produce. Rather, liquid matters such as olive oil or, more likely, wine are obviously more suitable candidates.[53]

In addition, looking to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as well as remarks by ancient authors, some of the clusters may be (very) conjecturally identified with some of the ancient settlements along the coast (Table 3). First, cluster 3 is perhaps to be associated with ancient Kytoros – likely echoed in the modern name Gideros – that was equipped with a (natural) harbour.[54] It is worth mentioning that the distance between Cythero and Egilan as indicated on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is 8 (Roman) miles (= ca 11.8 km), which roughly equates to the distance between Gideros (= Kytoros) and Cide (= Egilan/Aigialos), as well as to the 60 *stadia* (= 12 km) mentioned by Arrian, who meaningfully also mentions a 'mooring for ships'.[55] Secondly, in relation to cluster 10, Klaus Belke has put forward the idea that ancient Aigialos might be situated near today's Cide, perhaps at Karaağaç Limanı west of Cide.[56] As a matter of fact, Apollonios Rhodios and Strabo both use the name Aigialoi for a stretch of the shore, 100 or more *stadia* long.[57] Strabo further mentions a village of the same name that is 'ten *schoeni* distant from Amastris', a distance that corresponds to some 55 km, which in turn approaches the distance between modern Amasra and Cide.[58] Thirdly and last, the scarce finds at cluster 14 may tentatively be connected to ancient Thymaina, located some 17–18 km east of Cide; it is alternatively known as Thymena, Teuthrania or

[50] Kassab Tezgör 2010: pls 8.4, 22, (related to) type D Snp I.
[51] Pieri 2007.
[52] Karagiorgou 2001; Swan 2004; 2007; Braund 2005: 120, 127–30; Salmeri 2005: 197.
[53] Opaiţ 2007: 101.
[54] Marek 1993: 17–8; Belke 1996: 245–6; Foss 2000; Kytoros is not to be confused with Kotyora, to which the Kytoros mentioned by Strabo refers: Strabo 12.3.17; Arrian, *Periplus* 117; Erciyas 2007: 1196.
[55] Arrian, *Periplus* 14; http://www.tabula-peutingeriana.de/tp/tpx.html, accessed 12 January 2015.
[56] Belke 1996: 158; Foss 2000; Marek 1993: 185–7.
[57] Arrian, *Periplus* 112.
[58] Strabo 12.3.8, 10.

Timle – the latter name is given to the two Byzantine *kales*.[59] Arrian offers a distance of 90 *stadia,* about 18 km.[60]

The schematic representation in Table 3, however, makes it clear that trying to associate the distances given in one or more of the ancient sources with archaeological and/or modern settlements does not lead to unambiguous results; this particularly applies to the left half of Table 3. This is not unexpected, as ancient measures could vary; see, for instance, the different distances between Amastris and Aigialos. Also, the given or suggested location of an ancient site can be doubtful or misinterpreted. One should also not overlook the fact that the topography, more often than not, will have determined the trajectory and thus its length.

5. Conclusion

Though the archaeological evidence collected by CAP is too scarce to reconstruct in detail the Roman-period settlement pattern for this region, it does help, however, in forwarding some tentative thoughts with regard to the localisation/identification of ancient sites along the coast (Table 3). The combined available data, archaeological and literary, do indeed provide significant clues for an active and possibly relatively well-populated Roman cultural landscape – some architectural remains suggest that at times the urban landscape must have housed some monumental structures.

That at least the ceramic evidence is most clear for the late Roman period – with continuation into the Byzantine period – need not result from survey and geomorphological circumstances alone; the region's relative proximity to the empire's capital possibly augmented already existing economic activities, for instance concerning the exploitation of wood/timber and grain, and plausibly initiated or advanced the manufacture of amphorae in the area of Cide proper. Evidence for this not only comes from the coastal parts alone; this implies that the rurally settled landscape (Okçular, Gideros/Abdulkadir and Çamdibi)[61] was able to tap into the pool of imported goods as well.

The continuing settlement occupation in the region of Cide following the late Roman period[62] – even if its character changed to comprise a landscape with a more rural character that included churches – does not seem to conform readily to that observed for Paphlagonia, where the centuries after the seventh century are (partly) characterised by 'fortified hilltop sites';[63] the region of Cide, nonetheless, continued to be a suitable place for human occupation, as it had been for many previous millennia.[64]

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[59] Marek 1993: 84; Belke 1996: 274–5; Foss 2000.
[60] Arrian, *Periplus* 14.
[61] Glatz and Düring forthcoming a.
[62] Cassis forthcoming; Glatz and Düring forthcoming a.
[63] Matthews et al. 2009: 190–9, figs 6.29, 6.35.
[64] Glatz and Düring forthcoming b.

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