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2016

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Cities on the Periphery: Urbanization in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia under the Roman Empire

by

Erin Mikael Pitt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Carlos Noreña, Chair Professor J. Theodore Peña Professor Jan De Vries

Spring 2016

Cities on the Periphery: Urbanization in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia under the Roman Empire

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ABSTRACT

CITIES ON THE PERIPHERY: URBANIZATION IN BITHYNIA, PONTUS, AND PAPHLAGONIA UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

by

Erin Mikael Pitt

Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology University of California, Berkeley Professor Carlos Noreña, Chair

This dissertation, entitled "Cities on the Periphery: Urbanization in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia under the Roman Empire," seeks to provide the first comprehensive urban history of the region during the period of Roman rule. Modern scholarship on this region has focused on cultural and political topics, including Greek reactions to Roman rule; provincial elites and euergetism; and urban life. This scholarship has ignored dramatic increases in the number of new settlements in north central Anatolia, urban and rural, as well as consistent vitality and even growth during the turbulent 3rd century CE. I address these lacunae and investigate the factors behind this growth and stability. I analyze the complexities of this development across four frameworks: the construction and finance of civic monuments, shifting settlement patterns, the extent of bulk and prestige goods networks, and integration into networks of administration, military affairs, and imperial ideology.

The introductory first chapter documents the dramatic increases in the number of urban and rural settlements in the region and poses a set of key questions regarding urbanization, imperial intervention, and local stability. I then set out the methodology of my dissertation. I briefly review and critique previous scholarship on this region, which has focused mainly on cultural and political topics of urban and imperial life. I then indicate the advantages of shifting the focus to consider the diachronic nature of urbanization over the long term, the archaeological record, integration and connectivity, and interpretive questions that address the uniqueness of the region. My approach is highly interdisciplinary, making heavy use of evidence from archaeological surveys, epigraphic finds, and network theory, as well as ancient literary and historical accounts.

The second chapter examines how local preferences and financial resources influenced the construction and use of civic monuments. The emphasis on Graeco-Roman cities as lived environments, not synchronic monumental landscapes, plays a critical role in this analysis. My discussion qualifies recent assertions that cities in the eastern empire expressed their Greek identity by building democratic monuments with public money. Monuments such as theaters and temples are clearly prioritized, yet cities also enthusiastically adopted monuments marked as Roman, such as baths, or used democratic structures for Roman entertainment. Though civic funds remained a consistent resource, the patronage of local elites and the emperor were essential in the 1st and later 3rd and 4th centuries, respectively.

The third chapter synthesizes five decades of archaeological survey. I identify broad trends in expansion, size, and continuity from the Iron Age to the Late Roman period and assess the extent of Roman influence behind these fluctuations. Administrative, economic, and military priorities guided the efficient management of this region. This was achieved by the creation of a few new cites and by an extensive road network. Both constituted unique developments and indirectly encouraged the proliferation of small towns and villages, which benefitted from the demands of regional capitals and access to roads. This produced a balanced urban system that fashioned a robust administrative hierarchy, but that was relatively moderate in overall urban density.

The fourth and fifth chapters discuss connectivity across a range of landscapes: city and hinterland, the Black Sea area, and the Mediterranean basin as a whole. The third chapter focuses on the circulation of staple goods and luxury items. This area was remarkably well integrated and even self-sufficient at the local and regional levels. Its position on the periphery of the Roman empire limited intensive contact with the broader Mediterranean, but encouraged intensive commercial relationships with the Black Sea, Armenia, and Syria. The fourth chapter also examines connectivity, but in the context of imperial administration, communication, and military activity.

This project ultimately seeks to provide the first comprehensive synthesis of the urban history of north central Anatolia in the Roman period. Roman intervention and traditional urban ideals were early stimuli; as I argue, however, regional preferences, a geographical position on the Mediterranean periphery, and heightened imperial interests in the 3rd century were the most prominent influences on urban development and stability in north central Anatolia. The region occupied a unique geographical, political, and economic position within the Roman empire and it represents a compelling contrast to the urban character of other Roman provinces. I conclude by stressing the complexity of the urban development of this region as well as the strong role that local traditions and geographical position played in negotiating imperial interaction.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my committee for their support and keen insight throughout the process. I could not have had a better dissertation chair than Carlos Noreña, whose seminar on urbanism in the Roman Empire planted the seeds that ultimately germinated in this dissertation. His guidance, encouragement, and enthusiasm made this project possible. Ted Peña consistently encouraged me to think about the material in a variety of ways and I have benefited greatly from his feedback. Finally, Jan De Vries has provided insightful feedback and I am grateful for his input.

I have also benefited tremendously from the faculty and students in the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology at Berkeley. From graduate seminars, lectures, conference presentations, and each stage of the dissertation, I have never enjoyed a more stimulating intellectual environment. I am grateful for the guidance and support I have received, not only for classes and work on the Berkeley campus, but also for fieldwork and research abroad.

I could not have gone through this process without the invaluable support of my family and friends. My parents, Ron and Kay Pitt, have never wavered in their support or patience since I began my graduate studies. Claire Weiss and Christy Schirmer have never failed to make me laugh and enjoy life, from San Francisco to Pompeii to our computer screens on Skype. At Berkeley, I have been fortunate to go through this process with Elizabeth Wueste and Caroline Cheung, two strong and intelligent women whom I am lucky to call friends and colleagues. Finally, my husband, Mirgen Shametaj, who joined me when I was halfway through this journey, but who has experienced every high and low as if it were his own, all the while providing patience, humor, and love.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: CITIES ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

I. Roman Cities in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia

The fragmented topography of the southern Black Sea coast and the interior of north-central Anatolia have been instrumental in determining how this region has been studied and understood (fig. 1.1). The large coastal centers and neighboring tracts of fertile land have consistently been the focus of studies concerned with Archaic Greek colonization and Hellenistic trade networks.¹ The harsh landscape of the Pontic Mountains and the interior plateaus have remained the domain of scholars interested in Iron Age communities or the migration and settlement of the Celtic tribes in the 3rd century BCE.² Only recently has a more comprehensive view emerged, one that examines how these disparate landscapes operated as a single political region under the Mithridatic kingdom.³ It was this integrated entity that the Roman empire acquired following Pompey's annexation of the Mithridatic kingdom in 63 BCE. This was the territory that was initially administered as the province of Pontus-Bithynia and later divided into the separate provinces of Pontus-Bithynia and Paphlagonia.

Studies of the resulting changes in this area following its incorporation into the Roman empire have remained focused on cultural and political topics. These include Greek reactions to Roman rule; the participation of provincial elites in civic euergetism; the growth of the economy; and the nature of urban life and the growth of cities.⁴ While these previous studies have been critical in establishing an understanding of specific areas of this region (primarily the urban centers along the Black Sea coast) during the Roman period, they do not adequately consider two interrelated issues. First, though urban expansion in the provinces of Pontus-Bithynia and Paphlagonia is hardly comparable to the spectacular growth and density in the neighboring province of Asia (or, for that matter, the provinces of North Africa), this region also experienced a dramatic rise in the number of new cities and towns as well as sustained growth and expansion in previously established urban centers.⁵ From the end of the Hellenistic period until the end of the Roman period (30 BCE - 300 CE) the number of urban sites in north central Anatolia increased two-fold (fig. 1.2). More important, while a number of other provinces, such as Asia Minor, Spain, and Greece experienced a drastic decline in the number and size of urban sites after 150 CE and during the course of the 3rd century, these two provinces not only maintained their urban centers, but also continued to grow (albeit in small numbers).

Second, the degree of integration of these provinces under the Roman empire is less well understood than it is for the preceding Hellenistic period. This understanding has been obscured by the distant position of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia on the periphery of Rome's Mediterranean empire. Instead, the focus often remains upon the more well-known, affluent, and decidedly Greek cities along the southern Black Sea coast. While these sites remained important economic and administrative centers, the high concentration of Roman-era foundations in the interior plateaus and valleys of north central Anatolia and the proliferation of smaller settlements are regional developments that are distinctive for the Roman period. Thus, the expansion of new

¹ Stolba and Hannestad 2005; Bilde and Stolba 2006; Gabrielsen and Lund 2007.

² Mitchell 1993; Johnson 2010.

³ Ercivas 2006b.

⁴ Magie 1950; Cremer 1992; Corsten 2006; Madsen 2009.

⁵ Barrington Atlas: Doonan 2004: Matthews and Glatz 2009: Johnson 2011: Summerer 2011.

⁶ These figures come from my own compilation and synthesis of data from the *Barrington Atlas*.

⁷ Important, that is, for regional economic exchange, imperial administration, and cultural development.

sites across the previously isolated landscapes of northern Anatolia and the resulting urban connectivity within the province(s) represent important but underappreciated processes of long-term settlement and urban history of this region under the Roman empire. These trends, moreover, may also prove critical to explaining the continued stability and expansion of urban sites in this area after 150 CE.

This dissertation, therefore, explores the following questions. How did incorporation into the Roman empire, on the one hand, and the persistence of local factors, on the other, interact with one another to produce an urban system in these provinces? How can this system of urban creation and expansion be documented and analyzed? Finally, why did the provinces of Pontus-Bithynia and neighboring Paphlagonia experience such stable urban expansion and continuity in the period after 150 CE, a period when other parts of the empire experienced a dramatic degree of urban decline? These questions are deliberately broad and will require a number of small-scale investigations before any satisfactory conclusions can be made. These narrower examinations will address questions pertaining to the most appropriate models for understanding urbanism in this region; the impact of the empire on the economic development of the region; the role of prior settlement strategies during the process of Roman urbanization; and the degree to which this region was integrated (as opposed to merely linked) into local, regional, and Black Sea networks as well as the Roman empire as a whole. Before we can examine these questions, however, we need to consider the geography of the region and its long-term history, in order to put its urban development in perspective.

II. Landscapes of Contrast

A survey of the topography and geography of north central Anatolia reveals a landscape of contrasts (fig. 1.3). The region begins at the eastern end of the Sea of Marmara and includes territory on the eastern side of the Strait of Bosporus until it opens onto the Black Sea. The southern shore of this area is a strategic, but often treacherous, coastline. It varies from imposing volcanic cliffs to small valleys with easy landings. In antiquity, many of these natural harbors became established local ports, both large and small. Numerous small rivers wind their way down from the inland mountains to the coast. Fertile valleys, rolling hills, and lush forests fill the space between this coastline and two mountain ranges, benefitting from the high level of precipitation that prevailing northern and western winds bring from the Black Sea.

Alluvial soils along the coast support a wide range of vegetation, both natural and cultivated. Thick forests of elm, laurel, oak, pine, chestnut, and cherry cover the foothills, while the flat coastal plains support the cultivation of cereals as well as olives. Further east, along the coast of central Pontus, abundant deposits of high quality clay can be found, a natural resource that was exploited early and often in antiquity. Complementing these terrestrial resources is an abundance of fish species and marine resources readily available from the sea itself. Fishing and agricultural cash crops remain important sectors of the region's modern economy.

In the west, in Bithynia and Paphlagonia, the lowland valleys and hills extend for a significant distance before the Olgassys mountains rise steeply. Along the central and eastern coast

⁸ These include not only the general methodological models for analyzing urban systems (rank-size analysis, site hierarchy, etc.), but also detailed analyses of different types of urban relationships, such as individual studies of the large urban centers of this region, investigations of urban-hinterland relationships, and the importance of the proliferation and continuity of small sites in this regions (villages, hamlets, military forts, etc.).

⁹ Christian Marek's extensive work on the southern Black Sea and central Anatolia provides the best introduction to the geography of the region. See Marek 2003, 8–11; Marek 2010, 27–33. Another good description of Anatolia is given in Mitchell 1993, 143–48.

of Pontus, the rugged Paryadres mountains begin almost at the coast and limit the land available for agricultural production. The central Anatolian plateau extends south from both of these mountain ranges into Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. The landscape of the plateau can be barren, but scrub and upland forests are also plentiful, making it particularly suitable for raising livestock. A pastoral economy still predominates today.

The plateau is punctuated by deep, fertile river valleys. The Halys, Lykus, Sangarius, and Iris rivers are the chief waterways in the interior. All four originate in the Anatolian highlands and flow into the Black Sea. These rivers provide some of the best access to and water resources for the immediate interior of north central Anatolia. Cereals are the primary agricultural products cultivated in these river valleys, but the landscape also yields several additional types of natural and mineral resources. Timber was frequently sourced in antiquity and remains in abundant supply; however, iron, copper, and gypsum were also mined as early as the Bronze Age.

The political and cultural history of the region is as diverse as the physical landscape. The earliest settlements in the region date to the upper Paleolithic (15000–10000 BCE). Over the course of the prehistoric and ensuing Bronze Age, settlements remained dispersed, but gradually moved from sites on highly defensible ridges to the coastal areas. A dramatic transformation of the settlement and cultural landscape took place at the advent of Greek colonization from the 8th–6th centuries BCE. Greek colonization, driven by population pressure in mainland Greece, sought to establish trade centers and exploit substantial local resources. Colonists favored coastal sites and natural ports, particularly those at the mouths of rivers. The city of Miletus was one of the most extensive colonizers from the Greek world. Along the southern coast, Miletus established Kalchedon, Tieum, Ionopolis, Sinope, Amisos, and Trapezus. The city of Megara added to the number of Greek sites on the southern coast when it founded the successful colony of Herakleia Pontike.

This preference for coastal settlement stemmed from several factors. First, the commercial importance of the region intensified during the Classical period. Rapid population growth in Greece as a whole placed greater demands on staple products, particularly cereals. These demands were increasingly met by imports from the Black Sea, which subsequently became an area of strategic importance in conflicts during the Classical period, particularly the Peloponnesian War. Second, trade routes in and out of the Black Sea region were especially dangerous and lengthy. Thus, coastal cities not only provided safe harbors to ships making the long journey, but also ports of sale for the numerous traders engaged in small-scale cabotage, the predominant form of maritime trading in the Mediterranean. This preference for coastal sites as well as the difficult topography of the interior of the southern Black Sea region continued to influence these colonies as they developed during the Classical period. Greek cities spread out along the coast of the Black Sea and rarely penetrated further inland, where an entirely different, indigenous cultural group of

¹⁰ Doonan 2004, 53.

¹¹ This involved not only a change in the physical landscape, but the establishment of new settlers and religious and social life. See Malkin 1987; Graham 2001; Malkin 2011.

¹² Grain was the primary commodity, since it alleviated frequent shortages in Greece (particularly Attica) that arose from overpopulation, fragmented ecological areas, and poorer soils. However, there is no evidence for massive grain importation from the Black Sea region until the late 5th century. Braund 2007, 39–42.

¹³ Greaves 2007, 13, 16–20.

¹⁴ Braund 2007, 54–5.

¹⁵ One round trip from Athens to the Cimmerian Bosporus lasted the better part of the entire sailing season. Casson 1994. 521–22.

¹⁶ Horden and Purcell 2000, 137–43; Madsen 2009, 22–3.

inhabitants resided. The colonies were governed on the *polis* principle and maintained strong connections with their respective mother cities. These circumstances facilitated an intense degree of commercial connectivity around the Black Sea as well as cultural cohesiveness with other recognizably Greek communities and *poleis*.¹⁷ Isolation from the interior, however, created a strong political and cultural divide between the coastal Greek cities and the indigenous settlements of the central plateau.

The ensuing period under the rule of the Achaemenid Empire (ca. 550–330 BCE) did little to alter these conditions. Persian involvement in the region was strategic and defensive. The Caucus Mountains and the southern shore of the Black Sea formed natural borders for the empire. Satrapies were organized in order to protect these frontiers. In keeping with Achaemenid administrative policy, these satrapies maintained the status quo of local communities, while benefiting from taxation and locations that were strategic for defense.¹⁸

The conquest of Alexander the Great removed the last Achaemenid king, Darius III, from power in 331 BCE. Yet little changed in this zone in terms of administrative supervision. Alexander and the Diadochoi preferred to maintain the Achaemenid satrapal units. ¹⁹ The real administrative change within the zone was the division between the Hellenistic kingdoms. The kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus both established their sovereignty at the beginning of the third century BCE. ²⁰ For these Black Sea kingdoms, independence coupled with the lucrative commercial activities of the coast and the Black Sea as a whole spurred economic and urban growth. The amphorae industry in particular gathered considerable steam during the Hellenistic period. ²¹ This vigorous industry not only strengthened the position of pre-existing port cities and their connections to other Black Sea centers.

The consolidation and expansion of the Hellenistic kingdoms encouraged urbanization. The foundation of cities emerged as a prerogative of Hellenistic kings in the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus as well as in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic realms. Hiltery aggression, expansion, and consolidation drove the establishment of military colonies and the (re)founding of cities in areas that were already culturally Greek. Civic euergetism intensified the growth and development of urban centers, now greatly aided by the increased influx of commercial revenues. Cities also benefitted from the generosity of royal dynasties, who competed with one another to establish political dominance in this part of the Greek world. Thus, despite the instability and disruption that frequently accompanies warfare, the expansion and consolidation of the Hellenistic kingdoms in north central Anatolia further entrenched Greek and urban culture along the southern Black Sea coast.

In the central parts of Paphlagonia and Pontus, by contrast, urban growth remained sluggish during the Hellenistic period. Strife from a massive migration of Celtic tribes and local responses

4

¹⁷ In contrast to the more Asiatic communities in the interior. Magie 1950, 188; Doonan 2004, 9–11.

¹⁸ This is not to say that the area was not impacted by the culture of the Achaemenid Empire. For the cultural impact of the Achaemenids, see Briant 2002; Nieling and Rehm 2010.

¹⁹ Marek 2010, 249–50.

²⁰ The kingdom of Bithynia was established by Zipoites in 297 BCE, the kingdom of Pontus in 291 BCE by Mithridates I.

²¹ Of these, amphora production at Sinope appears to have been one of the largest in the Black Sea region during the Hellenistic period. Production became even more extensive and intensive under Roman rule. For Hellenistic amphora production in Pontus, see Garlan 1999. For archaeological evidence of expansion and intensification during the Roman and Byzantine period, see Doonan 2004, 103–8.

²² Jones 1967, 6.

²³ Dmitriev 2005, 290.

²⁴ Ibid.

to this upheaval are the primary reasons for a muted urban efflorescence. Gauls began incursions into the area in the early to mid 3rd century, a process that included raids and warfare as well as attempted settlement.²⁵ Such violence and instability only further discouraged settlement in the region. A few large administrative centers were either founded or maintained by the kings of Pontus (such as Cimiata in Paphlagonia) in order to effect a somewhat greater supervision of the area than practiced under the Achaemenids.²⁶ However, cities remained relatively sparse in the interior, perhaps to avoid potential centers of unrest in the more remote realms of the kingdoms.²⁷ Instead, the interior remained inhabited primarily by small farmers living in villages in the mountains, largely untouched by Hellenism.²⁸ These circumstances only began to change in the late second century when tribes became more sedentary and increasingly receptive to Hellenic culture.²⁹

Incorporation into the territory of the Roman empire was a long and turbulent process. Roman involvement in the region began in earnest in 133 BCE with the bequest of the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum to Rome. Parts of the Pergamene kingdom were apportioned to the kingdoms of Pontus and Cappadocia and these kingdoms along with cities throughout Anatolia remained relatively independent in practice. Only the aggression of the kings of Pontus and the subsequent Mithridatic Wars (89 to 63 BCE) occasioned extensive and punitive Roman involvement throughout the Black Sea and north central Anatolia. Pompey's defeat of Mithridates VI in 63 BCE and the ensuing settlement of the *lex Pompeia* utterly changed the administration of north central Anatolia as well as its urban landscape.

By this imperial act Rome annexed the remains of the former Pontic kingdom of Mithridates VI, which had encompassed all three regions of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia at its height, and reorganized their respective urban and political structures to facilitate Roman rule. Pontus was joined to Bithynia as a new province; the new province was divided into eleven districts to be administered through a network of cities, most of which were founded anew by Pompey himself (fig. 1.4). The kingdom of Paphlagonia went through this transformation more slowly. Pompey's settlement divided rule between two dynasts, Pylamenes and Attalus, and the region's two urban territories, Pompeiopolis and Germanikopolis, were placed in control of Pontus. When Deiotarus Philadelphus, the last king of Paphlagonia, finally died, the kingdom was officially annexed into the empire in 6/5 BCE. The province was still sparsely urbanized. This changed when Pompeiopolis and Germanikopolis were transferred back into the control of the region and the new city of Neoklaudiopolis was founded.

The provincial boundaries of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia continued to change over the course of the Roman imperial period. Following the annexation of Paphlagonia in 6/5 BCE,

²⁵ These only ended around the middle of the second century BCE. Mitchell 1993, 18–20, 29.

²⁶ Magie 1950, 188; Jones 1967, 5–6.

²⁷ Jones 1967, 6.

²⁸ Similar to the situation in Pontus. Magie 1950, 188.

²⁹ A process that was nearly finalized by the middle of the first century BCE. Mitchell 1993, 35.

³⁰ Mitchell 1993, 29

³¹ The *lex Pompeia* will be discussed at various points throughout this study. For general discussions as to its provisions and ultimate impact, see Magie 1950, 1232–34; Mitchell 1993, 31–4; Madsen 2009, 27–40.
³² Bithynia had originally been bequeathed to Rome in 74 BCE, but was appropriated by Mithridates VI. Some of

³² Bithynia had originally been bequeathed to Rome in 74 BCE, but was appropriated by Mithridates VI. Some of Pompey's cities were re-foundations of pre-existing cities, as at Magnopolis (later Sebasteia) which was the site of Mithridates' unfinished capital. Others were founded *ex novo*, such as Pompeiopolis. Mitchell 1993, 31–2; Marek 2003, 36–41.

³³ Strabo 12.3.41; Appian *Mith*. 114; Eutropius 6.14.1.

³⁴ Mitchell 1993, 92, n. 129.

additional territories were added to the provinces of this region, as the ruling dynasts died and their kingdoms came into the possession of Rome. Pontus Galaticus was added in 3/2 BCE, the temple state of Komana Pontika in 34/5 CE, and Pontus Polemoniacus in 64/5 CE (fig. 1.5). The creation of these separate provinces was something of a formality, as much of the area had already been under the rule of Rome since the Late Republic as the original province of Pontus-Bithynia. By the reign of Vespasian these provincial boundaries had become relatively fixed and would remain in place until the extensive reorganization of Diocletian around 293 CE. Despite shifts in the boundaries and numbers of provinces in north central Anatolia after the settlement of Pompey, the region remained a relatively cohesive administrative unit. When I refer to the region of "north central Anatolia," I refer to the collection of the three territories of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia that was composed of these five provinces (Pontus-Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Komana Pontika). All of the provinces in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia were supervised primarily by the governor of Pontus-Bithynia, though the governor of Galatia is also known to have had some interaction with cities in southern Paphlagonia.

Increased mobility, communication, and connectivity in the region was achieved through the construction of a new and extensive road system (see Chapters 4 and 5). Administrative oversight and urban culture developed side-by-side. The Roman administrative authority ruled indirectly through cities and civic life. Old and new cities in north central Anatolia became administrative centers that were responsible for maintaining local peace and security as well as for collecting taxes for the imperial treasury. The administrative and cultural system that was established by Roman imperial rule not only created a state of interdependence and interconnection among these cities. It also encouraged competition between them for social prestige and imperial favor. These cities were: Apameia, Kaisareia-Germanike, Prusa ad Olympum, Kios, Kalchedon, Nikaia, Nikomedia, Prusias ad Hypium, Herakleia Pontike, Bithynion-Klaudiopolis, Iuliopolis, Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis, Germanikopolis, Abonuteichos-Ionopolis, Tieum, Amastris, Pompeiopolis, Sinope, Neoklaudipolis, Amisos, Amaseia, Zela, Sebastopolis, Sebasteia, Neokaisareia, and Trapezus (fig. 1.3). In contrast to the larger region of north central Anatolia, each of these cities constituted a local unit, the polis and its hinterland. Throughout the remainder of this study, the terms "city," "polis," and "local" are used more or less interchangeably to denote a single urban area and its surrounding territory.

In addition to this administrative infrastructure, Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia also remained connected to one another by shared cultural histories and ecological conditions. The contrast between the large, urban, commercially-oriented cities with strong traditions of Graeco-Roman culture on the southern Black Sea coast, on the one hand, and the smaller village centers and indigenous character of the interior, on the other hand, continued. This contrast was shaped partly by the difficult physical landscape that had always separated the coast from the interior as well as by the different cultures that had emerged within each area. Yet the very same geographical obstacles that physically separated the two regions also bound them together. The variability of the landscape and the diverse ecological conditions across the region, including a high number of microclimates, were circumstances to which all communities in the region had to adapt and respond. The exploitation of the landscape and the exchange of commercial goods were necessary in order to guarantee the stability and prosperity of each individual city as well as the three provinces. The provincial framework of the Roman empire created physical boundaries around the region and established it as a political unit. Finally, Roman roads and military traffic and demand

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³⁵ Pliny *Ep.* 10.27–28; Mitchell 1993, 63.

linked the cities of north central Anatolia to one another not only physically, but economically as well. The physical and political landscape conditioned how the communities of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia interacted with one another as well as the broader Roman empire.

In many ways, the structural role of the Black Sea as a unifying force in the region was just as important than the political unification imposed under the Roman empire. Indeed, the Black Sea has played an important role in the economic, political, and cultural development of its surrounding lands for millennia. As a result, it has become the subject of studies similar to those on the Mediterranean region concerning its central place and unique contributions to the development of distinctively "Black Sea" cultures (fig. 1.6). The sea was a natural connecting force that facilitated the movement of people and goods as well as communication as early as the prehistoric period. This connectivity has been subsequently explored for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, both in terms of the circulation of goods, and also the establishment and maintenance of political ties. These recent studies play an important role in this study and the question of the contribution of the Black Sea to the urban development of north central Anatolia remains a central question throughout the discussion. In what follows, I use the term "macroregion" when discussing the Black Sea and its surrounding areas. This includes not only the region of north central Anatolia, but also the northern, western, and eastern coasts of the sea as well as the Crimea and the Bosporan kingdom.

The structural role of the Black Sea as well as the impact of Roman urbanization are the features that unify the disparate landscapes of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. This dissertation grew out of another project that examined the urbanizing influence of the Roman state.³⁸ In the course of that study, it became apparent that the region of north central Anatolia represented somewhat of an anomaly in the context of urbanism in the Roman empire. Though not as densely urbanized as other provinces in the central Mediterranean, such as the neighboring province of Asia (which had over 1,500 sites recorded in the *Barrington Atlas*, in contrast to north central Anatolia's 152), the region shows a substantial increase over time not only in the number of its cities and towns, but also in settlements of any size. Large cities remain relatively few in number, but medium and small towns and settlements double and even triple in number (fig. 1.2). More important, these small cities, towns, and villages remained relatively stable in size and number in the later Roman period, a time when the most densely urbanized and central provinces experienced urban contraction and decline.³⁹

From the provincial beginnings of this region under Pompey in 63 BCE to its transformation under Diocletian and the Tetrarchy, the trajectory of urban growth and regional settlement deviated from historical precedent in the region as well as from other Roman provinces. What was responsible for the urban efflorescence of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia that occurred under Roman imperial rule? To what degree was this a purely Roman phenomenon? Why did the region seemingly escape the vicissitudes of the tumultuous 3rd century? I began to believe

³⁶ Bauer 2006.

³⁷ Braund 2005, 119–32; Doonan 2004, 1–22; Doonan 2010.

³⁸ It began as a graduate student seminar paper that was tasked with recording and explaining the urban development of different regions of the Roman empire from the Classical to Late Roman Period based upon data from the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. The mission was to illustrate the fundamental impact of the Roman state on urban density throughout the empire as well as identify its causes. Based upon the size criteria for the *Barrington Atlas*, sites are categorized into 5 classes based upon size, physical remains, literary references, and civic status. Rank 1 represents isolated farms, villas, or hamlets, rank 2 small villages, ranks 3 and 4 towns and cities, and rank 5 extremely large cities (of which there are none in north central Anatolia).

³⁹ Greece: Alcock 1993. Italy: Morley 2002; Patterson 2006; Morley 2011. Spain: Mackie 1983.

the physical location of the provinces on the empire's periphery and the importance of the Black Sea, instead of the Mediterranean, might constitute at least two of the most influential factors.

III. North Central Anatolia: Isolated Communities, a Cohesive Region, or Part of the Black Sea Macroregion?

Studies of this region have remained focused on the extent to which broad cultural and political changes occurred following its incorporation into the Roman empire. Literary and historical studies have addressed Greek reactions to Roman rule; the participation of provincial elites in local politics and the imperial administration; and the question of whether the polis system and local communities remained constant or changed due to Roman intervention. 40 Archaeological and epigraphical investigations have concentrated on the development of individual cities at specific chronological periods; the documentation of localized settlement patterns; and the adoption or continuation of the epigraphic habit. 41 Such studies have greatly advanced our understanding of specific aspects of this region, but only at isolated periods of time and in specific locations. While we know about the architectural landscape of Nikomedia, for example, there is no discussion that places it in the context of similar developments at its rival, Nikaia, or at other cities in the region with which it undoubtedly interacted. Similarly, numerous archaeological survey projects have been completed across large portions of the region, but have yet to be analyzed together in order to make broader connections. This body of archaeological data has remained largely inaccessible to western scholars, too, having been published almost entirely in Turkish and in obscure journals.

In light of the nature of the previous scholarship on the region, the time has come to examine the broader phenomenon of urban and settlement growth across the whole landscape of north central Anatolia. This regional approach has proven illustrative of urban systems and circumstances in other provinces of the empire. Neville Morley, for example, has demonstrated the need to consider several types of networks in defining and understanding urban systems under ancient Rome. For Rome and the Italian peninsula, Morley identified the importance of trade and markets, political connections, and social prestige in the production of an urban system and its hierarchy of sites. 42 Annalisa Marzano has considered many of these same issues in her discussion of the cities of the Iberian Peninsula and Britain. In her rank-size analysis of these regions, Marzano explored the economic, military, and political factors that impacted the size, scale, and character of the urban systems in these provinces. 43 Finally, J.W. Hanson has explored how the economic pull of Rome influenced urban density and site distribution in the province of Asia. 44 Given that north central Anatolia was incorporated as a relatively cohesive unit into the Roman empire, exhibits the same characteristics of urban growth, and was connected by roads, trade routes, and political and economic ties, a similar approach is required. This study uncovers the circumstances of the region that shaped the character of its urban landscape and the trajectory of urban development with a specific view as to the role of within that development.

⁴⁰ Jones 1940, 60–1, 69–72; Millar 1993, 249; MacMullen 2000, 9–10, 19–20; Madsen 2009.

⁴¹ Such as the excavations of Nikomedia (Şahin 1973), Nikaia (Merkelbach 1987), Sinop (Akurgal and Budde 1956), Pompeiopolis (Summerer 2011); Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis (Laflı and Christof 2012). ⁴² Morley 1996; Morley 1997.

⁴³ Marzano is particularly interested in why the largest towns are smaller than they should be, statistically. She identifies the commercial pull of Rome as the agent responsible for this tempered urban growth, as resources, taxes, and capital were siphoned away to Rome and not reinvested in the local urban landscape. Marzano 2011, 220–23. ⁴⁴ Hanson 2011. See also Woolf 1997 for a discussion of Roman urban networks in the East.

IV. Defining Cities, Settlement, and Empire in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia

Thus far, I have used the terms "city" and "settlement" interchangeably. There is, however, an important semantic difference between these two terms. The cultural diversity of the region and its multiple histories of imperial rule complicate the formulation of appropriate definitions for each category. For the purposes of this examination, the competing, though not contradictory, definitions of the city offered by Greek and Roman writers are the most relevant. Ancient Greek writers consistently emphasized the political and functional autonomy of the polis. 45 In this tradition, the urban center was equipped with the monuments necessary for civic life and was inseparable from its supporting, rural hinterland.⁴⁶

Under the Roman empire this political autonomy was largely revoked, but the necessity of urban monuments and a hinterland retained.⁴⁷ Urban status was conveyed primarily by legal definition. Cities in the empire received titles that corresponded to their political and social rank. The *colonia* was a category of city that was originally founded *ex novo* or given to cities where veterans were settled; by the time of the Principate and the High Empire, the title conveyed a prestigious social and political connection to Rome. 48 Since few *coloniae* were established in the Greek exist, the polis model remained in use. They were equipped with all the structures of civic government, but also held administrative authority over settlements in their hinterland.⁴⁹ Other labels, such as forum and kome, could be smaller centers of nucleated settlement and of civic and economic activity. Many such centers constructed religious or civic monuments to demonstrate their urban aspirations. ⁵⁰ In antiquity, then, what we call a "city" was largely defined by its legal status and civic activity, but also by its suite of monuments that embellished its physical space.

Modern studies have endeavored to expand the model of the ancient city by establishing new definitional criteria. The models of the consumer and producer city, for example, address the economic relationship between the city and its hinterland. The former is opportunistic, draining the taxes and resources of the countryside to support a city-based elite.⁵¹ The latter recognizes the concentration of specialized labor in cities and its role in markets and economic growth.⁵² Other modern approaches have looked beyond the economic definition of a city. These advocate the importance of population size or monumental building. For scholars, like Bairoch and Hansen, urban populations must meet a minimum of at least 5,000.⁵³ For Hansen and others this number can be much lower, around 1,000, as long cities at this population threshold also demonstrate a commitment to civic life and monumental building.⁵⁴ While no single definition or model has established an all-encompassing definition of a city, many have established important defining qualities of what an urban center can or should be. With concentrated populations, civic institutions, cultural activity, monumental building, and an economic role, the city of the Graeco-Roman world was a patchwork of criteria subject to a variety of combinations.

The definitions of "city" and "settlement" in this study are equally important. The Roman legal definition of what constitutes a city prevails in this study. For north central Anatolia, the

⁴⁵ Aristotle *Pol.* 1330a34ff; Pausanias 10.4.1.

⁴⁶ Ibid.; Finley 1977, 303–7.

⁴⁷ Mitchell 1993, 80–1; Woolf 1997, 2–3. ⁴⁸ Aulus Gellius *NA* 16.13; Boatwright 2000, 36–56; Laurence et al. 2011, 37–8, 57–63.

⁴⁹ Woolf 1997, 3, 9–10; Boatwright 2000, 36–56.

⁵⁰ Woolf 1997, 2–3.

⁵¹ Sombart 1933, 198–205; Weber 2013.

⁵² Childe 1950, 15; Hansen 2008, 70.

⁵³ Bairoch 1988, 137.

⁵⁴ Hansen 2008, 72.

number of coloniae was relatively few (Apameia, Herakleia Pontike, and Sinope) and all were symbolic re-foundations. These are easily identified urban communities. Hellenistic cities that survived the transition to the Roman period are also considered cities because of their prior position as Greek poleis and because of the presence of a constitution. These include Abonuteichos-Ionopolis, Amaseia, Amastris, Amisos, Bithynion-Klaudiopolis, Iuliopolis, Kalchedon, Kios, Nikaia, Nikomedia, Prusa ad Olypum, Prusias ad Hypium, Tieum, and Trapezus. Finally, several new foundations were established by Pompey for the precise purpose of administering the subjected territories and performing the basic functions of the Roman city. In this vein, the cities Kaisareia-Germanike, Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis, Germanikopolis. Neoklaudiopolis. Pompeiopolis, Sebasteia, Sebastopolis, and Zela were all founded to function as the capitals of administrative territories.⁵⁵ The Roman definition of the city was clearly imposed upon the settlement landscape of north central Anatolia, but it also followed the parameters established by Greek polis culture. Nevertheless, this approach does not discount or ignore the economic, cultural, and demographic qualities outlined above. Rather, these factors will be shown to have played a influential role in the development and history of the urban sites of this study.

In this study I maintain the ancient idea of the relationship between the urban core and its hinterland and emphasize the role of this relationship to facilitate the development of new settlements outside of the urban core. Whereas the definition of the ancient Roman city differed primarily in legal and political terms, the types of settlement that are included in this study may be differentiated primarily by their size and function. In general, non-urban settlements are smaller in size, have an agricultural or productive function, and have little independent or centralized political organization. Individual farms occupy the smallest end of this spectrum, while hamlets and villages represent the largest. Other forms of settlement, such as mine and kiln sites, can vary in size and were focused on resource exploitation and economic profit. Through these various settlement types we can document important regional developments and how they contributed to urban stimulus and growth. These include rising populations, demographic shifts, resource exploitation, and industrial production. Though not cities per se, such settlements occupied a position in the urban system of a region because they were nucleated centers of population and production. They also reflect the administrative and economic impact of larger urban centers. Cities and settlements were distinct from one another legally, economically, culturally, and socially. These distinctions, however, only enriched the ways in which they were connected; it did not isolate them from one another.

Another concept that is fundamental to this investigation and, thus, requires additional clarification is that of the Roman "empire." The term "empire" evokes a plethora of images that range from the purely topographical boundaries of a territorial power to the practical institutions of administrative and political bureaucracies to more abstract ideas concerning the construction and deployment of power and/or force. By employing the word "empire" in my discussion, I seek to take advantage of this diversity to explore the equally complex processes of urbanization. Specifically, I use "empire" to refer to the multiple and mutually constitutive structures and processes that resulted from the annexation of a territory into the political, military, and administrative apparatus of the Roman state. This incorporation resulted in both direct and indirect consequences for a region. The most deliberate actions were the creation and installation

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⁵⁵ Magie 1950, 1232–34; Mitchell 1993, 31–32.

⁵⁶ Which itself encompasses an amalgamation of economic, social, political, and cultural processes.

⁵⁷ Since my own characterization of "empire" incorporates multiple frameworks, both conceptual and functional, I will engage more thoroughly with current discussions and definitions of "empire" in the dissertation itself.

of administrative frameworks for the supervision and control of a region. Provincial governors, officials in the imperial bureaucracy, city foundations, and military installations were responsible for maintaining order and the uninterrupted collection of taxes. The formation of local and provincial political and patronage networks, economic development and prosperity, increased social mobility, and the potential for substantial cultural interaction and change, however, were important (if not always meticulously planned) products of empire. This vast potential for change following physical, political, and ultimately economic connection to Rome make the concept of empire an important underlying structure for this dissertation's investigation of the urban development of north central Anatolia.

V. A Multiscalar Approach to North Central Anatolia

Like other provinces, the urban development of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia was a complex system that resulted from imperial influence, local urban-rural relations, and long-standing regional preferences. Yet unlike other provinces in the Roman empire, these three are distinctive for the relatively high number of small towns that developed as well as the stability of these towns in the later empire. How did the urban landscape develop throughout the Roman period? Relatedly, to what extent did Rome directly influence urban culture and settlement in this region? Did Roman rule and influence help to create an urban landscape that was significantly different from how urban life and settlements had existed previously? If so, how? How closely connected was this peripheral region to the economic, administrative, and military networks of the central empire? What factors contributed to the stability and resilience of the region in the 3rd century? This turbulent period witnessed urban contraction and decline in the more densely urbanized provinces. How and why did north central Anatolia escape this widespread urban decline?

The complexity of the material and these questions require a multi-scalar, multi-disciplinary approach. In order to provide a cohesive regional perspective, the study must address a broad range of topics. These include, but are not limited to, the construction and use of urban monuments; regional settlement patterns; and the administrative structure of the cities, province, and imperial bureaucracy more generally. I have divided the remaining investigation into four chapters. Each chapter addresses a specific aspect of urban development that runs from the reorganization of the region under Pompey in 63 BCE to the end of the reign of Diocletian in 305 CE. Each chapter examines individual case studies as well as evidence for broader trends across north central Anatolia. This diachronic approach weaves together the evidence for urban development from multiple "tiers" (the individual city, the region of north central Anatolia, and the macroregion of the Black Sea) in order to produce an urban history for Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia that has not been attempted in prior scholarship.

Chapter 2 examines the concrete efforts of local communities to adorn their urban landscape with monuments. By analyzing the types of monuments that were built and the parties responsible for financing their construction, the discussion illustrates how urban culture was practiced in individual cities and the extent to which it was distributed across the region. These developments are assessed not only by the acts of initial construction and funding, but also the construction of multiple monuments of the same type, the maintenance of older monuments, and, finally, by the political, social, and cultural activities that accompanied their use. The evidence for this chapter is primarily archaeological and epigraphic. It relies on the remains of public buildings and public documents that record their construction and use in order to illustrate changes to the regional urban landscape over three and a half centuries.

Chapter 3 shifts the focus from the architectural development of cities to the spread of urban centers. It also considers broader settlement patterns. It identifies the defining features of the urban system and settlement hierarchy of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. The chronological parameters of this chapter are significantly longer than others in this study. They span from the Iron Age to the Ottoman period, since it is only in the context of *longue durée* change that we can assess the nature of the Roman impact. What types of settlement had existed in the region prior to Roman control? What differences or similarities are identifiable for the Roman period? How can these be defined and characterized? To what extent was a Roman influence responsible for these changes? The chapter analyzes nearly five decades of archaeological survey data from the region and examines quantitative changes, site continuity, hierarchy, and density. It defines and characterizes the distinctive features of the urban system of north central Anatolia as well as the role of Rome in creating new cities and rural settlements.

Chapter 4 explores the economic integration of individual cities, in particular, and of the wider region of north central Anatolia, in general, with regard to the economic networks of the Roman empire. Past scholarship has argued that access to markets across the empire and the demands of Rome significantly impacted urban growth, positively and negatively. In contrast, scholars whose work focuses on the region have recently begun to argue for the primacy of the Black Sea. They claim that the sea and its surrounding areas should be understood on a model similar to that posited by Horden and Purcell for the Mediterranean. The Black Sea exerted its own pull as a central place and unifying force. I adopt a network approach to examine the circulation of bulk goods and prestige items at three different levels: the urban center and hinterland, the north central Anatolia and the Black Sea Region, and the Mediterranean. The results challenge the previous claim that inclusion in the Roman empire facilitated greater access to trade networks and opportunities for all of its provinces. Instead, I argue that the peripheral position of north central Anatolia was an important economic buffer, particularly in the later period. The Black Sea maintained a strong, centralized economic and cultural role.

The fifth and final chapter continues to gauge the intensity with which individual cities and the provinces were connected to and influenced by the imperial power. It focuses on the administrative and military spheres of Roman influence. I explore whether the imposition of the imperial administrative authority resulted in significant changes to local and regional administrative practices. Did cities and its provinces continue to govern themselves as they had in the preceding Hellenistic period? Was intervention from an imperial authority, either the emperor or his agents, a frequent and disruptive occurrence? Did Roman administrative rule encourage or discourage frequent and close interaction with the capital and the central Mediterranean? I also consider how contact (official and informal) with the Roman military was experienced by inhabitants of north central Anatolia. Was interaction with the Roman army a daily reality or a rare occurrence? How did the geographic location of north central Anatolia shape the type and intensity of contact with Rome's military? How did military activity in the region impact urban and regional infrastructures? Was this beneficial or disadvantageous for urban life and development in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia? The conclusions that result contrast with the economic impact of Rome that was detailed in Chapter 4. They also show that the strategic importance of the region in the 3rd century and the increased contact with the imperial administration and the military that followed were key contributions to the distinctiveness of the region.

⁵⁹ Supra n. 36–7.

⁵⁸ Woolf 1997; Patterson 2006, 89–183; Marzano 2011; Marzano 2013a.

VI. The Argument

The result of the examination shows that urbanism and prosperity in north central Anatolia were not directly driven by Roman intervention and initiative. Imperial strategies of rule, as I will show, encouraged the establishment of urban life. The peripheral location and status of the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, however, tempered the intensity of Roman imperial intervention. Moreover, strong regional preferences, connections, and self-sufficiency allowed the region to flourish. These features also provided a buffer against many of the negative forces that impacted Rome's Mediterranean core. This was particularly evident in regard to economic networks, where local, regional, and Black Sea networks dominated. The strong persistence of local economic connections may partially explain why urban growth was not as dramatic, from a commercial perspective. On the other hand, the urban system that resulted was also moderate enough in size and scale that it did not overextend its resources.

This argument does not preclude or deny a meaningful role for Rome and its empire. The region was connected to the wider Mediterranean world and to Roman political, cultural, and social practices in several ways. The intensification of urban culture and the construction of civic monuments introduced Roman forms of entertainment, leisure, and cult practice that were popularly received. Citizens from the region received attention from the emperor and some advanced to illustrious careers in the service of Rome. The Roman military was particularly prominent and it helped to transform the landscape and infrastructure of these provinces. These represent just a few of the ways in which north central Anatolia was engaged in the empire and culture of Rome. These developments also contributed to the region's vitality in the 3rd century. At this time, north central Anatolia became an important nexus for military activity, security, and intensified administrative supervision. Coupled with the stable financial and trade networks that existed, the sustained involvement in civic life by the populace, and a new infusion of imperial patronage, the region escaped many of the woes that plagued the provinces encircling the Mediterranean basin. The argument, then, is not that north central Anatolia did not experience problems, invasion, and crisis. Rather, it aims to show how distinctive regional circumstances and the moderate size of the urban system enabled the region to negotiate and recover from these difficulties more swiftly.

CHAPTER 2: CONSTRUCTING URBAN LANDSCAPES AND LONGEVITY: CIVIC MONUMENTS AND THE URBAN EXPERIENCE

I. Introduction: Monuments of Urbanism

A study of urban life in northern Anatolia during the Roman period must investigate the construction and use of civic monuments that embellished the urban landscape. The initial act of construction as well as the continued presence and use of such monuments illuminate the local conditions of urban development in this area under Roman rule. These activities defined urban status, facilitated local elite participation in civic affairs, and signaled the adoption of the Roman strategy of imperial rule through cities. In the Classical period, Greek conceptions of the *polis* emphasized its legal status, specifically its autonomy, the areas over which it exercised control, and its possession of public buildings. The imposition of Roman administration decreased this autonomy and control as well as its appeal. Towns and cities became economically and politically bound to the empire's administrative network. They also gained access to more resources in both regional towns and urban centers throughout the Mediterranean basin.

The continuity of civic monuments in the cities of Bithynia and the creation of new monuments in Pontus and Paphlagonia during the Roman period reflects these trends. Given the success of Roman urbanization throughout the empire and the similarity of these trends across provincial boundaries,⁴ the region of north central Anatolia may not be particularly unique. Yet, there has been no comprehensive investigation of the civic monuments of this region. The motivations behind the construction and use of these monuments and their continuing importance in the urban landscape have also been ignored. Rather, episodes of urban building are commonly treated as generic and synchronic evidence of urban activity.⁵ This tendency to generalize has

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¹ In direct opposition to a *kome*, which was defined by its subjection to a *polis*. Mitchell 1993, 80–1, 198; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 45. Greek writers living under the Roman empire in the 2nd century CE emphasized the constraint of this autonomy and the limitless power of the emperors in order to contrast it with the nostalgic freedom during the days of Perikles and Demosthenes. Plutarch, *Mor*. 813d–3; Dio Chrysostom 34.24–5, 34–42, 49–53.

² Through the provision of taxes and military supplies. Mitchell 1993, 98.

³ Mitchell 1993, 80–1, 245–55; Woolf 1998; Doonan 2004, 93–117; Braund 2005; Mitchell 2005, 98–103; Hanson 2011, 265–68.

⁴ As well as the evidence of substantial urban growth documented across the entire empire. Urban growth is understood here as both the creation of new towns and cities as well as the growth of existing sites. For study and discussion of urbanization across the entirety of the empire, see Bowman and Wilson 2011. For more focused, provincial or regional studies, see Alcock 1993 (Greece); Woolf 1998 (Gaul); Mitchell 1993 (Anatolia); Parkins 1997 (Italy and Mediterranean); Morley 2002 (Italy); Mackie 1983 (Spain).

That is, the process of adding to the urban topography and the accumulation of monuments over time, with little differentiation paid to the types of or trends in monuments. In the vast majority of cases, observations of building campaigns in the Hellenized cities of Bithynia and Pontus either emphasize the influence of the Hellenistic period and subsequently take monumental building as a given or are accompanied by discussions of the availability of local money for such resources. Most of these discussions stem from the correspondence of Pliny the Younger, who frequently appealed to Trajan on the topic of local spending and the success or failure of these projects. Examinations also frequently reference Dio Chrysostom, who criticized inter-city rivalry and competitiveness, but was also indicted for his failure to adequately fund a building project of his own design in Prusa. Sherwin-White 1966. Mitchell 1993, 211–13; Marek 2003 90–5; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 49–56; Barat 2011, 36–7. Commentary pertaining to the cities and towns of the interior regions, such as Pompeiopolis or Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis, is almost entirely absent. Mitchell's treatment (1993, 91–4, 213–17) of public building in central Anatolia briefly examines Ancyra (which is not a part of this study), but concentrates on the southern regions of Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. What these projects may have meant to the local communities or how they represented continuity to or divergence from other building campaigns is rarely treated, even in passing.

obscured the complexity of a region as highly diverse as the southern Black Sea. It has also ignored the role that monuments played in establishing and perpetuating permanent settlement and urban life in the region during the third century CE.

Recently scholars have looked beyond these static, often aesthetic, interpretations. They argue that monuments must be understand within the broader fabric of the city. These buildings were the setting for the dynamic, sustained experience of daily urban life that was continually "lived" and financially supported by multiple generations of inhabitants. Targeted regional examinations have also begun to question entrenched scholarly views regarding the construction of monuments, the dominant role of elite benefactions, and the intensity of Romanization in the Greek East. The incorporation of these new approaches into a discussion of urban monuments in north central Anatolia, the regions of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, is rewarding. Often overshadowed by larger and richer Roman province of Asia Minor, the region was highly diverse in antiquity. Home to Greek, Roman, and indigenous populations it was also characterized by a distinctive urban-rural dynamic.

The construction, renovation, and continued use of civic monuments constitute, I believe, one contributing factor to this urban dynamic and later stability. I use the region as a case study to examine the role of civic monuments in the lived experience and longevity of these cities. The investigation is divided into three parts. First, I discuss recent approaches that articulate the "lived" experience of Roman urban life and emphasize the contribution of elite munificence and the continuity of *polis* autonomy and ideals under the empire. Second, I survey three types of monuments (imperial cult buildings, theaters, and bath/*gymnasia* complexes) in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia within the framework of these new approaches. Finally, I examine the question of funding. Who bore the responsibility for financing these monuments? How changes over time impact daily civic life and the life of the city?

These examinations demonstrate that local preferences, use, and the financial resources behind civic monuments best characterize the urban system of north central Anatolia. These criteria not only illustrate local priorities of urban life, but its evolution and continued practice in adverse circumstances as well. Civic monuments received an early start due to the generous donations of local elites; however, intensive periods of construction and use only began in the early to mid 2nd century CE. Financial responsibility eventually became the domain of the city, while elites continued to provide significant infusions in the form of small additions and liturgies. From the third century onward, the political and strategic importance of the region captured the attention and wealth of the emperor. More importantly, each of these periods reveals a dedication to the construction, repair, and experience of civic monuments. These buildings not only succeeded in fostering community involvement and sustaining urban life, but also participated in a complex amalgam of Greek and Roman cultural institutions. Even in the face of warfare and political turmoil, regional communities continued to commingle and participate in local, Greek, and Roman ideals of civic life well into the later empire.

II. The City as a Living Monument: Past and Current Approaches

The focus of urbanism studies and monumental architecture has begun to shift to examine the urban landscape as a lived environment. Recent arguments stress that the city and its monuments were not static in their construction, meaning, or daily use. Instead, they were areas of continual use and experience that were re-experienced and re-lived on a daily and generational basis. This experience differed across social and political hierarchies. At the top, the Roman state and the emperor, the construction of civic monuments signaled an acceptance of and participation

in the Roman model of urban life and its administrative control. The prevailing scholarly view argued that the proliferation of civic monuments was the product of elite benefactions, which mirrored the ideal of the beneficent emperor and introduced aspects of Romanization into the provinces. For local elites, benefactions that were civic monuments were constant, concrete reminders of their munificence and social rank. Finally, ordinary citizens viewed and interacted with monuments as elements of their civic identity and pride. Theaters, baths, and gymnasia provided entertainment and leisure, but also represented places of political participation, local identity, and autonomy. These experiences necessarily changed over time as identities and priorities shifted within the empire.

The topics of elite euergetism and Romanization in the Greek East are central to these discussions. Urbanism studies of the provinces have long argued that the Roman state encouraged elite oligarchies in cities in order to fund monumental building, reduce the democratic character and autonomy of cities, particularly those in the Greek world, and thus facilitate Roman control.⁸ Euergetism was one of the chief means by which civic elites exerted control over the urban landscape and impressed their ideological mark upon it. In the provinces, benefaction mirrored the generosity of the emperor, thus establishing behaviors identified as Roman. It also constructed an urban environment whose form and use was modeled on the imperial capital and Roman cultural practices, such as bathing and entertainment, the constant use of which helped to entrench these cultural ideals. 10 In the Greek East, however, many "Roman" monuments had Greek predecessors. Elements of Roman culture could be diffused through certain Roman institutions, the reduction of political autonomy, imperial administrative rule, and taxation.

These assumptions have recently been nuanced and critiqued. Louise Revell has argued for the need to consider the city as a diachronic entity and its architecture as an instrument of cultural interaction. Cities, monuments, and the activities that took place within them were settings of concentrated political, cultural, social, and religious interaction, the performance of which became entrenched over time. 11 Arjan Zuiderhoek, moreover, has persuasively argued for a revised view of the financial role of elite benefactors and the continuity of the polis. He argues that a larger percentage of monuments was financed by the civic body, not individual benefactors, as previously believed. 12 He also argues that a clear preference for civically-funded monuments represented what he classifies as "collective" architecture. Communities built theaters, gymnasia, agoras, and other monuments that reflected and reinforced Greek ideals that were central in *polis* life. ¹³ Zuiderhoek's view that collective urban architecture embodied urban status has strong ancient precedents. It is perhaps most clearly expressed in Pausanias' disdainful description of the town of Panopeus (10.4.1):

"From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no marketplace, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine."

⁶ Mitchell 1993, 117, 210; Revell 2008, 76–9.

⁷ Mitchell 1993, 210; Revell 2008, 72.

⁸ Jones 1966, 135, 244; Mitchell 1993, 117, 210. ⁹ Mitchell 1993, 117, 210; Revell 2014.

¹⁰ Woolf 1998, 121–22; Revell 2014.

¹¹ Revell 2008, 72, 76–9; Revell 2014.

¹² Zuiderhoek 2005, 171, 177–78; Zuiderhoek 2009, 23–36.

¹³ Zuiderhoek 2014.

Panopeus may have maintained its legal status as a "city," yet the absence of specific structures that underpinned participation in civic activities and sustained urban life made Panopeus a city in name alone.

Studies concerning civic construction projects in the western Roman empire also guide this discussion. In Gaul and the Italian peninsula, discrete episodes of monumental building were influenced by evolving economic and political conditions. The most representative of these studies is John R. Patterson's examination of rural settlement and civic transformation in Italy. Patterson observed that theaters, temples, and infrastructural projects represented the highest concentration of construction programs in the cities and towns on the Italian peninsula in the first century CE. ¹⁴ He connected these bursts of construction activity to the importance of local political participation and the financial support produced by competitive elite spending. ¹⁵ In contrast, the emphasis shifted to the construction of baths, *basilicae*, *macella*, and the support of public distribution and feasts during the second century. According to Patterson, these changes reflected the declining importance of local political participation and the increasing role of public entertainment and consumption. ¹⁶

The urbanization of Gaul followed a similar trajectory. Permanent monumental building began in earnest near the close of the first century BCE, when forum complexes constituted the priority. This was followed by an almost universal preference for theaters in the late first and early second centuries CE. Woolf argued that the preference for these structures stemmed from the desire of local elites to acquire the civic *accoutrements* that best exemplified Roman civic life and the entertainment that took place within them. Gallo-Roman cities continued to enhance and repair their monuments until the early third century, during which time baths became not only the most favored, but perhaps the most civilizing form and focus of urban embellishment. Bath buildings were the most common public building that was constructed in urban communities across the western empire; while bathing activities defined a Roman, urban identity by bestowing *civilitas*, marking the transformation of the barbarian, and facilitating community action. There was no sense of the urban without monumental baths; cities in the western empire consistently reaffirmed this concept and held onto their urban status by building baths well into the fourth century CE.

The approaches of Patterson, Woolf, and others cannot be adopted indiscriminately for a comparable study in north central Anatolia. As part of the Greek East, sections of this region (specifically Bithynia) were urbanized and adorned with their own set of civic monuments prior to their annexation into the empire. Sinope, for example, already possessed a *gymnasium*, walls, a marketplace, and several colonnades. Nikaia had been established on a Hippodamian plan and

¹⁴ Patterson 2006, 125–30.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 176–83.

¹⁷ These *forum* complexes included several monumental structures that conveyed the civic and religious importance of this urban quarter. These included the open space of the *forum* itself as well as surrounding temples and *basilicae*. Woolf 1998, 121–22.

¹⁸ Though the first theaters were built in *coloniae*, other urban centers constructed theaters throughout the first century CE. Ibid., 122.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Laurence et al. 2011, 203, 228–230.

²¹ Ibid., 213–14.

²² Ibid., 213, 228–29.

²³ At least at the time when Strabo was writing ca. 18/19 CE. Strabo 12.3.11.

boasted four gates within its circuit walls.²⁴ Amisos received multiple temples from Mithridates VI.²⁵ Yet, urban building projects did not cease once Roman rule took hold. Nor did civic amenities and festivals remain static in their performance and meaning. Pliny the Younger's correspondence during his tenure as imperial legate testify to ongoing construction projects in Bithynia as well as Pliny's preoccupation with improving the infrastructure of the province. 26 Vast areas of Pontus and Paphlagonia only began to urbanize and build monuments after their annexation into the empire. They also mirror the pre-Roman, pre-urban conditions of western provinces, such as Gaul. Strabo's survey of these regions in the early first century CE consistently reveals a lack of urban centers and amenities.²⁷ Many of the inland "cities" of Mithridates VI were, in fact, little more than hill fortresses.²⁸ Each city had its own characteristic set of conditions that could promote or hinder construction, including natural topography, access to materials and technical knowledge, the availability of labor, and the money to finance it all.

These characteristics of the region of north central Anatolia make it an important case study regarding the significance and sustained experience of urban monuments. Initially sparsely urbanized, the construction of civic monuments and the experience of urban life were new introductions under Augustus and the early Principate. Following periods of intense renewed building or renovation in the second and third centuries CE, certain monuments had become entrenched, but their meaning, use, and experience fluctuated due to local and empire-wide circumstances and wealth. The discussion that follows investigates these factors and identifies the buildings, civic activities, and periods of construction and use that encouraged urbanization and stability across the diverse landscapes of north central Anatolia. These are divided into three categories: imperial cult buildings; theaters, odeia, and bouleteria; and bath complexes, gymnasia, and aqueducts.

III. An Urban Typology: Monumental Building Across Time & Space

A. Principles of Organization

This section produces more than an updated appendix of the urban topography of north central Anatolia. It investigates identifiable preferences, uses, and chronological trends in the urban monuments that were constructed, their role in a dynamic and evolving urban system, and the broad social, political, and economic forces underlying their construction and use. I focus on categories of monuments. This approach focuses on the meaning and use of monuments in local and regional contexts, but also charts their distribution across time and geographical space. I am constrained, however, by the preservation of the physical remains as well as modern interest and investigation. Wherever possible, I have incorporated material from the published excavations, archaeological survey, subsurface magnatometry and geophysical survey, and the standing remains. Where the archaeological record is silent, I have included epigraphic and literary references. Because modern knowledge of some sites in this region remains minimal, I have restricted the number of categories to monuments that are best attested and widely distributed.

²⁴ Strabo 12.4.7. ²⁵ Strabo 12.3.14.

²⁶ They also reveal the problems that plagued particular construction projects. The most significant letters for this study are 10.17, 23, 37, 39, 49, 54, 91. In addition, several orations of Dio Chrysostom (45) mention building projects in progress in Prusa, specifically the construction of colonnades and fountains.

²⁷ In the form of buildings and services. However, Strabo does not dismiss the political and economic significance of these interior regions, simply because they did not possess or make use of monumental civic architecture. Strabo 12.3. ²⁸ Strabo 12.3.37–8; Erciyas, 2006b, 41, 45–53.

B. Catalogue

1. Imperial Cult Buildings

In his study of central Anatolia, Stephen Mitchell asserted that the establishment and reception of the imperial cult formed the strongest urbanizing force in the region. The creation of regional centers of emperor worship, particularly where urbanization and a civic ethos had not yet taken root, resulted in the first examples of monumental urban architecture in a Graeco-Roman style. ²⁹ Moreover, the communal activities, liturgies, and civic benefactions that accompanied the performance of the imperial cult established and sustained new patterns of civic life. Urban inhabitants benefited from distributions of grain, oil, and public feasts, while the local aristocracy accumulated social and political prestige from their service to the emperor and local display. ³⁰

Mitchell's argument centers upon two points: (1) the important early role of the imperial cult as an urban impetus and (2) how ideals of civic and urban behavior were established in the previously non-urban regions of Pontus and Paphlagonia. Yet, Mitchell does not explore the prolonged practice and subsequent development of the imperial cult, temples, and festivals. The imperial cult, its performance, and the physical presence of the temple within the community were not synchronic forces. If this institution was as pivotal in the nascence of public architecture and urban growth as Mitchell argues, then it stands to argue that its subsequent development was equally influential upon the success or decline of these urban communities.

Temples and festivals associated with the imperial cult were eventually established in five cities in northern Anatolia: Nikomedia, Nikaia, Neokaisareia, Amaseia, and Herakleia Pontike (fig. 2.1). Early establishments of the cult in Nikomedia and Nikaia support Mitchell regarding the early, Augustan influence on the urban landscape. In 29 BCE, Octavian granted Nikaia the right to establish the cult of Roma and the deified Julius Caesar, while Nikomedia gained the honor of *neokoros* of Rome and the living emperor in the same year.³¹ No temple to either cult is known from the archaeological record. Depictions of the early temple to Rome and Augustus at Nikomedia are known from the city's silver cistophori during the reign of Hadrian (fig. 2.2).³² Silver and bronze coinages consistently show an octastyle temple with Corinthian columns. The cistophori show an empty pediment or one containing a disc; the bronze coinage frequently depicts additional sculpture, such as the Roman wolf and twins or a draped male figure.

At Nikaia, the practice of the imperial cult seems to have lapsed during the first century CE. Moreover the honor and titulature were ultimately revoked by Septimius Severus in 198 CE. Nevertheless, Nikaia persistently clung to the titles of *metropolis* and 'first of Bithynia and Pontus' for their prestigious connotations and material benefits. As an inland city without a natural harbor, Nikaia struggled to compensate for the reduced economic opportunity and affluence that existed in the territory of its rival, Nikomedia. By attaching titles that claimed a connection to the imperial cult and household, Nikaia sought to take advantage of the urban affluence and civic benefaction that accompanied emperor worship.

²⁹ Mitchell 1993, 102.

³⁰ Mitchell 1993, 117.

³¹ Cassius Dio 51.20.6–7; Suetonius *Augustus* 52.

³² Despite the intervening 150 years, this late depiction of the temple, which was granted in 29 BCE, should not be interpreted as evidence that the temple was not constructed until the Hadrianic period. Bithynia did not issue silver cistophori before Hadrian and architecture rarely appeared on the provincial or municipal coinage. Thus, the issue of a new provincial coinage was a suitable occasion for the portrayal of a monument as prestigious as the provincial temple. Metcalf 1980, 139; Burrell 2004, 147–48.

³³ When the Nikaians openly supported Severus' rival Pescennius Niger.

These early examples of cults established to Rome and the emperor are the exception. Widespread celebration of the imperial cult, festivals, and the creation of new cults and festivals did not occur until the 2nd century CE (fig. 2.3). Neokaisareia became *neokoros* under Trajan; Nikaia was granted its cult by Hadrian; Amaseia received its first and only cult under Marcus Aurelius; and Nikomedia was allowed to create cults to Commodus and Septimius Severus. Each of these events prompted the construction of a new imperial cult building or the reuse and refurbishment of a previous temple. Representations of the temples on coinage are the primary evidence of their construction. These convey the civic pride in these monuments as well as the significance of their presence in the urban environment. Neokaisereia, the provincial capital of Pontus Polemoniacus, first declared itself *neokoros* in association with Trajan. ³⁴ It celebrated by issuing multiple coin types containing not only the title, but a tetrastyle temple with Corinthian columns as well (fig. 2.4). ³⁵ Nikaia repeatedly petitioned for the honor to hold festivals and games for several emperors. ³⁶ The first and only imperial cult at Amaseia occurred under Marcus Aurelius; its use of the title dates to 161/162. Architectural representations of the temple are not known until 225/226, when an issue shows a tetrastyle or hexastyle temple built on the slopes of the city (fig. 2.5). ³⁷ The city continued to use the title through to the reign of Severus Alexander.

Nikomedia added two new cults during the 2nd century, the receipt of which occasioned further embellishment of the civic and sacred topography of the city. Nikomedia claimed the title of *dis neokoros* sometime after 180 CE under Commodus, though this title and the neokoria were soon withdrawn.³⁸ This brevity makes it difficult to determine whether a temple to Commodus was in fact completed.³⁹ Coinage issues bearing the title *dis neokoros* are either schematic or resemble the earlier temple of Roma and Augustus. Firmer evidence of a second temple is found on coinage from 195/196, when the city once again became *dis neokoros* under Septimius Severus. The coins depict an octastyle, Corinthian temple that sits on a large podium with a draped figure in the

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³⁴ The association with Trajan is known from one coin (Paris 1277), is the only one found to date that attests to this title. Neokaisareia, moreover, may have been the first of the Pontic *metropoleis* to declare a neokorate, besting Amaseia. Burrell 2004, 206.

³⁵ The earliest attestation of *neokoros* is a coin depicting the laureate head of Trajan on the obverse and the name of the city and title *neokoros* on the reverse. Depictions of the temple do not appear (or examples have not been found) until coinage dating to 161/162. That is also the same year in which both Neokaisereia and Amaseia began using the title of *neokoros* consistently on their coinage. Burrell 2004, 206. For the coin types, see *SNGvA* 97; Oxford 25.9.1929; Berlin, Löbbecke; Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer; Berlin 550/187; Berlin 7909; Oxford, Godwyn.

³⁶ Demonstrating the appeal and benefits that the imperial cult and its official structure entailed Cassius Dio 73.12.2; Robert, HSCP 81 (1977), 32–3; Karl 1975, 131–2; Mitchell 1993. 220–21.

³⁷ The image makes it difficult to determine whether it represents a specific temple.

³⁸ The title of *dis neokoros* is known from multiple coin types. *BMC* 25; Paris 1342; *SNGvA* 7106; London 1920.1-11-2; *BMC* 34; London 1961.3-1-121; Paris 1354; Vienna 15790; Berlin 8639; Paris 1353. The revocation is witnessed by the absence of the title on later coinage (Paris 1347; *BMC* 33) as well as the downfall of Saoterus, the citizen responsible for the obtaining the privilege. Cassius Dio 73.12.

³⁹ Bosch and Burrell suggest that the temple was completed, but downgraded from provincial to municipal status when the title was revoked. Bosch 1935, 192–93; Burrell 2004, 153–54. Yet, there is no evidence that a festival in connection with the cult ever took place (though a *Kommodeia* was awarded to Nikaia). If a temple was constructed, it was most likely reused for the cult of Septimius Severus; however, depictions of both temples are markedly different. Types for the temple referencing the cult of Commodus depict a hexastyle, octastyle, or tetrastyle temple, and lacks the degree of architectural and decorative detail evinced by the Temple to Rome and Augustus and the later octastyle temple to Severus. Such variety and simplicity as well as the hastiness of the issue suggest that the use of the temple on the coinage was intended to be symbolic, celebratory, and boastful (especially given the competitive relationship with the Nikaians), at least until the new temple could be completed and represented in further detail. The revocation of the cult, however, ultimately made this unnecessary.

pediment.⁴⁰ This second provincial temple is also frequently depicted with the first imperial cult building and later coinage also celebrates the *Severeia*.⁴¹ All these issues emphasize the status of the city as *dis neokoros*, the centrality of the imperial cult building, and the activities that took place for its celebration.

The 3rd century was the period of equal popularity. Nikaia was granted games in honor of the Severans sometime after 204. ⁴² Neokaisareia established a second imperial cult, to Severus Alexander, in 225. It issued coins that showed both temples, tetrastyle and Corinthian in style, as well as crowns that symbolized the festivals that accompanied each cult. ⁴³ Nikomedia became *tris neokoros* first under Elagabalus as early as 220 and then subsequently under Valerian and Gallienus around 255. ⁴⁴ Whereas the previous grants had occasioned the construction of a new monument, these final establishments of imperial cult marked the reuse of sacred space. The city announced its third neokoria by stamping the title in its coinage, where it depicted no less than three temples. ⁴⁵ This third temple, however, was not a new construction, but the well-attested Temple of Demeter, the patron goddess of Nikomedia. ⁴⁶ Nikomedia had hosted both Caracalla and Elagabalus for extended visits, the expense of which had drained the city's financial resources. ⁴⁷ The city lacked the financial resources to construct a third temple; nor was it likely to receive help from the other cities in the province. Finally, Herakleia Pontike became *neokoros* for the first time with a cult to Philip in the middle of the 3rd century. ⁴⁸

This timeline suggests that the imperial cult wielded an early, but fleeting, influence in the region. This does not mean that the same mechanisms of Romanization and community involvement never developed. Rather, they only became prominent much later in the imperial period. The establishment of the imperial cult in north central Anatolia played a significant role in the initial impetus to urbanize, particularly in regions with a less developed Graeco-Roman civic ethos. ⁴⁹ Yet the creation and subsequent influence of the imperial cult in northern Anatolia were not as early as previously argued nor was this impact synchronic in nature. The cult of the emperors and the monumental construction and celebrations that were associated with it provided repeated stimuli over time. The establishment of new cults for later emperors prompted sustained engagement with the urban environment, especially in cities where the cult was established relatively late. In many cases, new temples were built and new festivals were instituted. The former represented a renewed commitment to and engagement with the urban topography. Elites, municipal officials, and citizens had to find or clear new space, accumulate the resources sufficient for the construction and decoration of the temple as well as equip the cult with various accoutrements, including its priesthood.

The late examples of new cults and festivals illustrate the incorporation of central Roman cultural values and highlight their impact on the regional communities. These cults and celebrations facilitated a strong sense of community identity and activity in service to the city,

⁴⁰ New York 55.59; Burrell 2004, 155.

⁴¹ Paris 1370; Berlin, von Rauch, fig. 122.

⁴² Mitchell 1993, 220–21.

⁴³ Burrell 2004, 208.

⁴⁴ After Severus Alexander had withdrawn the cult to Elagabalus. Burrell 2004, 156–59.

⁴⁵ Elagabalus: *BMC* 56; New York, 1944.100.42315; Paris 1406; Vienna 15817. Valerian and Gallienus: *BMC* 68; *BMC* 69; *BMC* 70.

⁴⁶ BMC 157–58, 160.

⁴⁷ Cassius Dio 78.9.5–7; Millar 1977, 31–6; Lehnen 1997, 88, 93–5, 182.

⁴⁸ Price and Trell 1977, fig. 7; Price 1984, 266; Burrell 2004, 278.

⁴⁹ As Mitchell argued. Supra n. 29.

emperor, and empire. This is highlighted by the remarkable longevity of the practice of imperial cult. Civic benefaction and construction decreased drastically in the western provinces of Gaul and Italy in the late second century.⁵⁰ In north central Anatolia, monumental construction, public benefaction, and agonistic festivals in connection with the imperial cult remained a regular occurrence well into the late-3rd century.⁵¹

The continued predominance of celebrations and festivals stemmed from the plethora of economic, social, and political benefits that accompanied their performance. Agonistic festivals attracted individuals from around the province or even further afar and induced them to take advantage of the city by spending their money or requiring elites to spend theirs for public entertainment. Competition between cities, albeit often disadvantageous, enhanced these benefits. Nikomedia and Nikaia in Bithynia or Neokaisareia and Amaseia in Pontus conveyed their status by participating in and thereby perpetuating the benefits of the imperial cult to urban life. As a result, these cities, as the seats of the imperial cult, were the primary settings of these officially sanctioned festivals.

Other festivals and sites dedicated to the celebration of the emperor could and did occur in other cities. Celebrations with names clearly connected to the Roman emperor, such as the *Sebasteia*, *Augusteia*, *Severeia*, and *Commodeia* are attested throughout the provinces of this region. Cult sites often referred to as *Kaisareion* or *Sebasteion* could be established at sites that were not necessarily *neokoros*. These provided a local setting for rituals dedicated to the emperor. Examples have been documented throughout Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, including Iuliopolis, Prusa, Neapolis, and Pompeiopolis. Though these were not the official provincial locations of the imperial cult, these rituals and *agones* maintained a direct link to the emperor as well as the reputation associated with hosting such celebrations. The creation of the imperial cult in Anatolia was a strong, urbanizing force in the region. Its development, popularity, and enduring prestige into the late 3rd century CE, however, provided some of the strongest underpinnings for the continuing appeal and practice of urban life.

2. Theaters, *Odeia*, and *Bouleteria*

In contrast to the slow start of the imperial cult, theaters were one of the earliest and widely distributed monuments that were constructed in north central Anatolia. Theaters and their counterparts, *odeia*, and *bouleteria*, are not only the most-represented, but also best-preserved urban monuments in north central Anatolia (fig. 2.6). This popularity has driven recent arguments concerning "collective" architecture in the eastern empire. Arjan Zuiderhoek views the fervor for theaters as indicative of the ideals and practices of *polis* politics. ⁵⁷ Autonomy, democracy, and self-government were the heart of *polis* life, therefore, Greek cities under the Roman empire continued to build and use public monuments that embodied this ideology. This view rightly recognizes the continuing political and cultural legacy of these monuments in the region. Yet it also overemphasizes this legacy to the near exclusion of Roman cultural influence, whose potency

⁵⁰ Woolf 1998, 122–23; Patterson 2006, 182–83; Laurence et al. 2011, 303–19.

⁵¹ Ziegler 1985, 118; Mitchell 1993, 219.

⁵² Such festivals were also one of the most effective means of moving people and cultural ideas that facilitated the pervasive spread of Hellenic and Roman cultural traditions. Mitchell 1993, 217–25; Marek 2009, 41–43.

⁵³ Cassius Dio 73.12.2; Robert 1977, 32–3; Ziegler 1985, 35, 79, 118.

⁵⁴ Price 1984, 134.

⁵⁵ Price 1984, 265–67.

⁵⁶ Cassius Dio 73.12.2; Price 1984, 101–32, 134; Ziegler 1985, 35, 79, 118.

⁵⁷ Zuiderhoek 2014.

is apparent across the empire. Substantial portions of Pontus and Paphlagonia were a *tabula rasa* at the time of their annexation and, therefore, inherently more flexible concerning the construction and use of theaters and similar monuments.

A brief summary of their numbers is indeed staggering. Fourteen cities built at least one theater in the Roman period. At least four of these cities, moreover, had one or more smaller theater, *odeion*, or *bouleterion*. The vast majority of these monuments were initially constructed in the late 1st or early 2nd century CE (fig. 2.7). At Prusias ad Hypium, the theater is still visible today. It was built into the upper slope of a hill within the town and dates roughly to the first quarter of the 1st century CE (fig. 2.8). The theater at Amastris was in use by 98 CE, as attested by inscriptions recording the gladiatorial and wild beast shows that it hosted. The theater at Nikaia, whose structural and financial problems detailed by Pliny the Younger, is perhaps the most famous in the region (fig. 2.9). The monument was constructed during the reign of Trajan and seems to have joined a pre-existing theater that was built in the Hellenistic period. The theater at Bithynion-Klaudiopolis was constructed and dedicated rather late in 128/129 CE.

A few cities have theaters that have not been securely dated, but the construction of which could have plausibly occurred during these crucial first few centuries. Nikomedia had a large theater that may have dated back to the Hellenistic period. It also had a small theater that may have been constructed as part of Nikomedia's enhanced position in the first and second centuries CE. The theater at Tieum was built into a hillside in the southeast quarter of the town; it was paired with a smaller theater or *odeion* directly to the south. At Pompeiopolis, two theater buildings were constructed as part of a cohesive building project around the agora that equipped the new Roman city with the requisite civic monuments. The theater at the new Roman city of Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis was also built into a hillside. Similarly, the theater at Zela, a Roman city that grew out of a small, fortified Pontic temple state, was also cut into a hillside. Finally, given the size and importance of Sinope, it is logical to assume that the city possessed at least one, if not two, yet undiscovered theaters.

A number of these monuments received extensive renovation or redecoration in the 3rd century. The *scaenae frons* at Prusias ad Hypium was completely redecorated in the first half of the 3rd century CE. ⁶⁹ Parts of the odeion at Amastris were repaired, perhaps around the same time. ⁷⁰ The theater at Nikaia was used at least until the city suffered a series of earthquakes in the mid-4th

⁵⁸ Including Nikomedia, Amastris, Tieum, and Pompeiopolis.

⁵⁹ *I Prusias* no. 12–13, 20; Perrot 1862, 23–6; Mendel 1914, 338–39, 361; Ferrero 1970, 125–32; Marek 2003, 92; Sear 2006, 359.

⁶⁰ Robert 1937, 259–60; Marek 1985, 152, 159, no. 35; Sear, 2006, 358.

⁶¹ Pliny *Ep.* 10.39.

⁶² The theater may be the one depicted on coin issues from the city and connected with Hadrian's visits to the city, which was the home of Antinous. *I. Klaudiupolis* 1–2; Magie 1950, 622; Mellink 1973, 191; Fıratlı 1979, 111–20. Though currently obscured, travel accounts from the 19th century and excavations from the 1970s place the theater near the citadel of town, near its central forum. Leake 1824, 108, 117; Mellink 1973, 190–91; Mellink 1980, 516. ⁶³ Bosch 1935, 218.

⁶⁴ Since the literature specifies a "large theater," there was likely a smaller one as well. Libanius *Oratio* 61.10; Sear 2006, 359.

⁶⁵ Robert 1937, 280–81; PECS 925; Sear 2006, 359.

⁶⁶ Additional buildings included a *macellum*, a *gymnasium*, and a set of baths. Fassbinder 2011, 19–27; Müller 2011, 29, 35–7.

⁶⁷ Laflı and Christof 2012, 4, 14–25, 29–31.

⁶⁸ Meral and Meral 1983, 17–20.

⁶⁹ I. Prusias 12–13, 20; Sear 2006, 359.

⁷⁰ Robert 1937, 259–60; Marek 1985, 152, 159, no. 35; Sear, 2006, 358.

century.⁷¹ Coinage from Herakleia Pontike demonstrates that the theater there remained a point of civic pride and use in the mid-3rd century and likely beyond (fig. 2.10). Apameia received a theater during the Hellenistic period,⁷² one that would have needed repairs at least once during the Roman period. The city may have also used the first century CE theater that was constructed in Prusa, a neighboring city with which it had formed a *synoecism*.⁷³ The large theater at Nikomedia was still a point of civic pride when it was destroyed by an earthquake in 358 CE. In order to maintain this structural integrity and local reputation, the building would have undergone significant repair or even total reconstruction in the 100 or 150 years leading up to its destruction.⁷⁴ Presumably it was also rebuilt after this natural disaster.⁷⁵

The premise that the preference for theaters reflects the practice of *polis* politics, however, describes just one dimension of their use and significance. The widespread distribution and the diverse functionality of these monuments convey a complex role within the urban topography and history of the region. This was based upon two components: (1) the claim to urban status and (2) the flexible setting and use of these monuments. In the Greek cities of the fifth century BCE, theaters and *odeia* were the setting for political assembly as well as civic participation that were also linked to religious festivals and sacred space. During the Roman period, the theater continued to act as a locus of political activity where citizens assembled. The possession of a theater also represented a key feature of local political autonomy and civic education, one that was highly prized and publicized by the free Greek cities.⁷⁶

The continued use of theaters, *odeia*, and *bouleteria* in the Roman period complicated this identity. Across the empire, the act of theater construction was one of the most assertive claims to urban identity. In Italy, early theaters at Gabii and Praeneste were associated with extra-urban sanctuaries. This religious and ritual affiliation facilitated the eventual construction of permanent stone theaters in the capital itself, most notably the Theater of Pompey and the Temple of Venus Victrix at its summit. The subsequent proliferation of late Republican and early imperial stone theaters, such as the Theaters of Marcellus and Balbus, made the structure the object of intense imitation that created monumental, visible connections to Rome, the most important city in Italy. These links were further solidified within the theater itself, as seating arrangements in the *cavea* directed the gaze of spectators toward the elites, the building's sculptural program, and other manifestations of local commemoration and imperial benefaction at the front of the stage. In the western provinces, theaters were constructed in veterans' colonies, frequently with the support of the emperor or members of the imperial family, as a means of illustrating the shared urban identity of these colonies with Rome and the cities in Italy. In towns where veterans were absent, the construction of theaters is commonly viewed as an attempt to mimic and acquire this urban identity.⁷⁷

Under Roman rule, theaters continued to host a diverse array of activities that incorporated political, social, cultural, and religious spheres, all of which were frequently linked with one

⁷¹ After which time much of the city was restored by Valens, though the possible reconstruction of the theater at this late date is unclear.

⁷² It was reportedly constructed by the town's new founder, King Prusias I, around 200 BCE. Strabo 12.4.3.

⁷³ Sear 2006, 359.

⁷⁴ Sear 2006, 17–19.

⁷⁵ Sear 2006, 358–59.

⁷⁶ Mitchell 1993, 203–5, 206–7,212–14; Sear 2006, 110, 113–15; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 45; Madsen 2009, 34–5, 53–7; Laurence et al. 2011, 252–58.

⁷⁷ For a thorough discussion on the development and significance of theaters in the western empire, see Laurence et al. 2011, 237–43.

another during a single instance of use. In Roman Asia Minor and Anatolia, the theater continued to act as a locus of political activity for civic training and assembly. The monuments were common settings for meetings of the local council, law courts, and the transaction of political and financial business, both formal and informal.⁷⁸ The construction of new monuments during Roman rule facilitated the daily execution of these civic activities. It also gave them expanded and frequently grander space. The connection between civic-political and religious activities remained intact.

Evidence of the Roman cultural use of theaters in north central Anatolia is abundant. Gladiatorial games and other *agones* associated with the imperial cult also occurred in theaters. The veneration of the imperial cult and the participation of the community on various levels were particularly important, as they constituted political acts that adhered to the ideology of empire. Wild beast shows were held in the theater at Amastris. Contests dedicated to the emperor are also known at Nikaia, Nikomedia, and Bithynion-Klaudiopolis. Thus, theaters remained a central monument in urban life, as evident by their construction, the construction of duplicates, and their maintenance well into the 3rd century. This continued to maintain the political ideas of *polis* life, but also brought citizens and visitors together as a community and celebrants for Romano-centric events. This flexibility coupled with the financial dedication to the monuments continued to reinforce the participation of the urban community, particularly in the later periods when entertainment and *agones* increased dramatically in popularity.

The construction and use of Roman-era theaters in the *coloniae*, new foundations, and Hellenized cities of north central Anatolia also advertised claims to urban status, both past and present. Of the three colonies of Sinope, Apameia, and Herakleia Pontike, only Herakleia built a new theater during the Roman period. The other two had theaters that were constructed in the course of the Hellenistic period. A patent zest for theater building in new foundations and pre-existing cities is more obvious. Bithynion-Klaudiopolis, Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis, Zela, and Pompeiopolis, all of which were newly established or organized under Roman rule, also all constructed theaters during the Roman period. The residents of Pompeiopolis built both a theater and an *odeion/bouleterion* alongside one another. A similar eagerness for new theaters or the extensive renovations of pre-existing structures also prevailed in the previously Hellenized cities. Citizens of Nikaia, Prusias ad Hypium, Tieum, Amastris, and Nikomedia all built or rebuilt theaters during the Roman period.

The successful completion of a theater or related building confirmed the successful implementation of Roman practices as well as the local commitment to a pre-existing civic legacy. Construction required substantial and reliable resources of labor, materials, architectural knowledge, and financial support. 88 In new cities in Pontus and Paphlagonia, theater construction

⁷⁸ Balty 1991; Sear 2006, 38–42; Bekker Nielsen 2008, 45.

⁷⁹ Golvin 1988, 239–42; 319–20.

⁸⁰ Price 1984, 109–10; Welch 1998, 122–30.

⁸¹ The context of the reference implies that gladiatorial contests were also very likely. Lucian, *Toxaris* 58–9.

⁸² Cassius Dio 73.12.2; Price 1984, 265–67.

⁸³ The evidence itself is quite late and comes from a depiction of the theater on coinage issued under Gordian. Babelon and Reinach 1926, n. 225; Marek 2003, 92.

⁸⁴ The monument at Apameia was reportedly constructed by the town's new founder, King Prusias I, around 200 BCE. Strabo 12.4.3. Given the size and importance of Sinope, the assumption that the city possessed an as yet undiscovered theater cannot be rejected.

⁸⁵ Supra n. 62, 66–68.

⁸⁶ Fassbinder 2011, 19–20.

⁸⁷ Supra n. 59–68.

⁸⁸ Sear 2006, 11–22.

represented the willingness of local elites to participate in the socio-political frameworks of civic benefaction in order to equip their city with the requisite civic monuments. In existing cities, new theaters or considerable renovations confirmed the importance of the monument both as a marker of civic life and the setting for cultural and social display. Theater construction, therefore, signified the monument as a continuing ideological marker of urban status. It was worthy of cities of any legal status, but was also the foundation for civic life. Despite natural disasters and external pressure, theaters represented a continuous source of urban stability, activity, and pride. They were, perhaps, the most significant monuments in north central Anatolia.

3. Baths, Gymnasia, and Aqueducts

Like theaters, baths and *gymnasia* were some of the most popular and widespread urban monuments in north central Anatolia (fig. 2.11). They also have an identity that is equally as complicated. The roots of this popularity and complexity began in the Hellenistic period, when the *gymnasion* was an important outlet of cultural and social life in the city. It was not only the setting for physical exercise, but also for the education of the city's youth. ⁸⁹ Given this importance prior to Roman rule, attempts to locate Roman elements can be misguided and simplistic. Two important changes were the addition of hot baths and the Roman bathing tradition. ⁹⁰ These established intimate links to Roman urban identity, since the baths bestowed the *civilitas* that was associated with the cleanliness, exercise, social interaction, and entertainment that was provided. ⁹¹ The *gymnasion* lost a degree of its cultural primacy under Roman rule; however, the practices of Roman bathing transformed both monuments into popular centers for exercise, education, and social interaction in daily, urban life. It was a popularity so great in this region even Trajan could not refrain from comment. ⁹²

In Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, the connection between baths, *gymnasia* and Rome was effected by the infrastructural necessity of aqueducts, the monumentality of the structures, and the parties that were responsible for financing the projects. Many of the region's monumental bathing and *gymnasia* complexes would have been impossible without the construction of Roman aqueducts. These are known from six cities: Prusias, Nikomedia, Sinope, Nikaia, Amaseia, and Tieum (fig. 2.12). Each of these cities, moreover, had at least one large bathing complex that was constructed over the course of the Roman period (see below). A wealthy citizen of Prusias financed the construction of its aqueduct late in the first century. While Pliny was in Pontus and Bithynia, neither Nikomedia nor Sinope had an aqueduct. Nikomedia had twice abandoned its attempts to construct one. The remains of two, possibly three, aqueducts, however, are still visible today and the city was well-supplied with water through the 4th century. One aqueduct has been securely identified at Sinope; a second aqueduct appears likely (fig. 2.13). The aqueduct at Nikaia is absent from Strabo's account, but was built sometime during the Roman period and subsequently restored by Justinian. Amaseia built its aqueduct in the late first or early second century CE; an

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⁸⁹ Quass 1993, 286–87.

⁹⁰ Quass 1993, 317–19; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 80.

⁹¹ Yegül 2010, 14–20; Laurence et al. 2011, 203–5, 228

⁹² In response to the construction activities at Nikaia and Bithynion-Klaudiopolis. Pliny *Ep.* 10.39–40.

⁹³ I. Prusias 19.

⁹⁴ Pliny *Ep.* 10.37, 90–91.

⁹⁵ Libanius *Or.* 61.7.18; *PECS* Nikomedia.

⁹⁶ For the identification of the aqueduct at Sinope as well as a possible second aqueduct, see Barat 2011.

⁹⁷ Procopius *De Aed*. 5.3.

inscription records its repair in the third century.⁹⁸ The remains of the aqueduct are visible at Tieum, but are undated.⁹⁹ Finally, the remains of a possible aqueduct channel have been uncovered in recent excavations at Pompeiopolis, though this identification needs further substantiation.¹⁰⁰

These substantial infrastructural projects were essential precursors to the construction of large public baths, since only they could provide the quantity of water needed in an efficient manner. The influx of private and municipal funds, which were quickly followed by the construction of new bath-*gymnasia* complexes, were important urban developments. They contributed to the infrastructural stability of the city by creating access to dependable sources of water. These new water resources could not only be used to meet the requirements of daily. They could also be channeled toward the delights and privileges of urban living, such as fountains and, naturally, baths.

The financial source behind the construction of baths and *gymnasia* was a second important connection to Roman influences. Few cities bankrolled the construction of a bath or *gymnasion* from civic funds. Apameia and Bithynion-Klaudiopolis were notable exceptions. The colony at Apameia, however, constructed and dedicated its bathing complex to Hadrian. Bithynion-Klaudiopolis built a new monumental public bath around the same time, in the early second century. Similar monuments at Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis and Pompeiopolis may have also resulted from civic money, since they appear to have been constructed as part of a cohesive building program that equipped each new city with the requisite monuments. These were built, however, in cities that were founded by Roman imperial instigation and in the interest of provincial and local administration. These represent, therefore, a clear connection to the thrust of Roman cultural priorities that accompanied the process of urbanization.

The majority of the monuments for which benefactors can be identified are the products of imperial generosity or elite benefactions from local Romans. Construction episodes mirror those documented for imperial cult buildings and theaters (fig. 2.14). Baths and *gymnasia* experienced a brief period of intense construction in the first century CE. The main periods of construction, however, are clearly the second and third centuries. The baths at Nikaia and Nikomedia were both reconstructed by Hadrian following a devastating earthquake. Prusa's original bath complex was financed by private donors, though precisely who is unknown. Nikomedia had the Antonine Baths, which were funded by Caracalla, but subsequently rebuilt and aggrandized by Diocletian. A set of baths at Sebastopolis was funded by Marcus Antonius Sergius Rufus. Tiberius Claudius Nestor funded a *gymnasion* at Prusias and the city's baths of Domitius were repaired by Marcus Iulius Gavinius Sacerdos in the 3rd century. The colony of Sinope already had a grand *gymnasion* from the Hellenistic period, but must have also constructed a set of baths during the Roman

⁹⁸ And remained in use through the Ottoman period. *Studia Pontica* III.100; Nicholson and Nicholson 1993, 144–45.

⁹⁹ Robert 1937, 278–80; *PECS* 925.

¹⁰⁰ Turbatte 2011, 121–28.

¹⁰¹ In 128/9 CE. *Í. Apameia* 4.

¹⁰² Pliny *Ep.* 10.39.

¹⁰³ Fassbinder 2011, 19–20; Müller 2011, 29; Laflı and Christof 2012, 1, 7, 13–19.

¹⁰⁴ Nikaia: Robert *HSCP* 81 (1977), 7–8 = *OMS* vi.217–18; *SEG* 27.819, 820–21; *I Iznik* 1.25–8. Nikomedia: *TAM* iv.I.22. Boatwright 2000, 121–23.

¹⁰⁵ Pliny *Ep.* 10.23–4.

¹⁰⁶ CIL 3.324; Magie 1950, 1552, n. 42.

¹⁰⁷ EA 13 (1989) 65.10.

¹⁰⁸ I. Prusias 20, 42.

period.¹⁰⁹ Tieum, must have also constructed at least bathing complexes and/or *gymnasia* during the Roman period, given the evidence of the aqueduct.¹¹⁰ In total, at least 16 bath and *gymnasia* complexes are known from the region, a popularity that is matched only by theaters. Such intense building, use, and reuse comingled Greek and Roman cultural ideas of leisure and training, but one very clearly supported by Roman infrastructure and Roman financial resources.

The concentration of these Roman stimuli shed light on the trajectory of urbanization in the region as well as its longevity. In the rural, minimally urbanized regions of Pontus and Paphlagonia, the construction of baths and *gymnasia* and participation in their activities aided the establishment, proliferation, and stabilization of an urban system. Like theaters and temples of the imperial cult, baths and *gymnasia* constituted local claims to urban status and the acceptance of responsibilities of civic and urban life. Both monuments constituted as tools of *civilitas* and civic education. In the Greek East, the Hellenistic *gymnasion* was a social and cultural nucleus. The role of Roman bath buildings and bathing culture in creating and perpetuating a Roman urban model and system is a recent development. The social and cultural activities, entertainment, and physical exercise that accompanied baths bestowed *civilitas* upon the community and connected it to the urban model represented by Rome.

This connection was important for the perception of the city and its citizens. Baths and *gymnasia* became important settings within the performance of daily civic life as well as the articulation of an urban identity. This was true for fledgling urban foundations as well as pre-existing towns and cities. The fact that emperors and Roman citizens were the primary sponsors further highlights the *Romanitas* embedded in these structures. Theaters may have been the most popular, local preference, but the equally popular and long-lived Roman preference for bath complexes was also an unequivocal lynchpin for maintaining social ties, communal interaction, leisure, and civic training well past the 3rd century CE.

IV. Whose Money? Civic and Private Funds and Imperial Benefaction

The late introduction, physical maintenance, and prolonged use of these three categories of monuments were one set of processes that contributed to the stability of cities in north central Anatolia in the 3rd century. The financial sources behind these constructions and repairs were the second. On the topic of urban finances, Zuiderhoek has argued that local, community funds played a larger role in the construction of monuments, at least in Asia Minor. Based upon the the quantitative data for elite expenditure recorded in the epigraphic record, Zuiderhoek concluded that it amounted to no more than a few percent of elite annual income. Rather, the financial burden of equipping a city with a set of public buildings fell on civic resources. Elite expenditure, particularly the instances documented in the epigraphic record, represented embellishments or restorations of existing buildings. 114

In north central Anatolia the financial patronage of civic monuments underwent a significant evolution. Although the epigraphic corpora of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia do not preserve the quantitative expenditure of local elites to as detailed an extent as western Asia

 $^{^{109}}$ Strabo 12.3.11. The Roman era baths must be inferred from the need for and subsequent construction of an aqueduct. Pliny *Ep.* 10.90; Barat 2011, 37–42.

¹¹⁰ *IGR* III.115; Pliny *Ep.* 10.17b, 23–4; *TAM* iv.I.29. The baths at Tieum, like those at Sinope, must also be inferred from the construction of an aqueduct at the site. Robert 1937, 278–79.

¹¹¹ Quass 1993, 286–87.

¹¹² In particular, see Yegül 1992; Fagan 1999; Yegül 2010, 5–39; Laurence et al. 2011, 203–30.

¹¹³ Yegül 2010, 14–6, 18–9; Laurence et al. 2011, 203–5.

¹¹⁴ Zuiderhoek 2005, 171, 177–78; Zuiderhoek 2009, 23–36.

Minor, inscriptions and literary accounts do provide excellent evidence of the patronage behind many of the monuments built in these provinces. First, individual elite benefactions (many with Roman ties or citizenship) were an important source of funds in the early imperial period (fig. 2.15). A range of monuments was funded solely by individual elites in Pontus, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia. Tiberius Claudius Nestor funded the *gymnasion* at Prusias ad Hypium around 77/78 CE. ¹¹⁵ Publius Domitius Iulianus financed the construction of an aqueduct and baths in the same city a few decades later. ¹¹⁶ In the late 1st/early 2nd century CE, a member of a Roman senatorial family dedicated a stoa in Bithynion-Klaudiopolis. ¹¹⁷ Finally, Marcus Antonius Sergius Rufus was honored for his *gymnasion* at Sebastopolis. ¹¹⁸ The first century flurry of the construction by Roman elites was an important first step toward the urbanization and Romanization of the region. Such intense building established the priorities of urban life across a range of activities. These monuments, their activities, and their ideology were also intimately connected to the Roman cultural sphere, since construction was undertaken at the impetus of local individuals with ties to the relatively new imperial authority.

After the 1st century, individual elite benefactors remained involved, but only partially. Pliny the Younger reported that embellishments to the civic-funded theater at Nikaia, such as galleries and basilicas, were the responsibility of local elites.¹¹⁹ He also reported that private donors were responsible for a new bathhouse at Prusa in order to replace an older, dilapidated structure. The *odeion* at Amastris was repaired by Sextus Vibius. At Prusias, Marcus Aurelius Philippianus Iason contributed to a colonnaded street around 212 CE. Meanwhile, the repair of the baths of Domitius was undertaken by Marcus Iulius Gavinius Sacerdos in the early 3rd century CE. This individual also helped finance a second aqueduct. Another local elite helped redecorate the *scaenae frons* of the city's theater around the same time. Another local elite helped

Elite contributions also increasingly took the form of liturgies. These offices supported the daily activities of urban life and kept residents engaged in the political, social, and cultural affairs of the city. On one hand, they were an excellent means by which provincial elites could earn the adoration of the local population as well as imperial favor. For example, Julius Largus, a wealthy citizen of Pontus, provided for quinquennial games in honor of the emperor in his will. The act financed entertainment for Largus' fellow residents, but also displayed his loyalty to the emperor. On the other hand, they could become a point of contention for elites seeking to escape financial obligation or disgruntled citizens directing their frustration at local officials. Dio Chrysostom, for example, had to defend himself before a group of angry citizens by claiming to have performed numerous liturgies in service to his native city of Prusa. 127

The positions of the *agonothetes* and the *gymnasiarch* were particularly important, as they funneled personal wealth toward *agones*, festivals, and services at the *gymnasion* and baths. The

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¹¹⁵ I. Prusias 42.

¹¹⁶ *I. Prusias* 19.

¹¹⁷ Syll. ³ 841; Boatwright 2000, 99 n. 75.

¹¹⁸ EA 13 (1989) 65.10.

¹¹⁹ Pliny the Younger *Ep.* 10.39.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 10.23–4.

¹²¹ The date of this action remains unknown. Marek 1985, 152 no. 35.

¹²² I. Prusias 9.

¹²³ I. Prusias 20.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ I. Prusias 12–13, 20.

¹²⁶ Pliny *Ep.* 10.75.

Though he gives no further detail to the nature of these liturgies. Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 46.6.

agonothetes was the magistrate in charge of the agones, primarily at personal expense. Frequent attestation of the office in the epigraphic corpora of the provinces reveals the importance of an office that was responsible for public entertainment. In Bithynia, the office is documented at Apameia (1), Bithynion-Klaudiopolis (4), Kalchedon (2), Nikaia (1), Prusa ad Olympum (4), and Prusias ad Hypium (28). Evidence is scarcer for Pontus and Paphlagonia, though this may reflect the generally poorer condition of the epigraphic record for these provinces. The office is attested at Amastris (1), Amisos (1), and Sinope (1). 129

The *gymnasiarch*, though not as prestigious as the *agoranomos* or the *agonothetes*, was potentially the most burdensome. The baths and *gymnasion* required regular maintenance to combat the wear of daily use. It also required substantial sums to cover the costs of operation, including oil and fuel. Municipal funds were almost never sufficient to cover all of these expenses and the magistracy ultimately became a mixed liturgy, a financially burdensome one at that. Furthermore, imperial favor and patronage could be fickle. The promised funds could prove insufficient for the completion of the project. It also did not necessarily provide for the continuing infrastructural support and maintenance of baths and *gymnasia* beyond their initial construction. The civic responsibilities of the *gymnasiarch*, therefore, and evidence of their continued role in municipal life are the best evidence of the continued vitality of baths and *gymnasia* in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia.

The magistracy is found relatively frequently in the cities of Bithynia, a testament to the its importance of the office and the continuing popularity of baths at later periods. *Gymnasiarchs* are known at Apameia, Kios, Bithynion-Klaudiopolis, Nikaia, Nikomedia, Prusa ad Olympum, and Prusias ad Hypium. In the majority of the Bithynian cities, the earliest evidence of the office comes from the late 1st or early 2nd century CE, mirroring the intensification of elite-sponsored public building discussed above. The office was still in use well into the 3rd century. An inscription from Nikaia attests its fulfillment in the mid-3rd century; the office was performed at Prusias under Caracalla and Elagabalus.

In Pontus, evidence for the *gymnasiarch* has been recovered for Sinope, Pompeiopolis, Amastris, Sebastopolis, and Amaseia. Though the number of attestations in Pontus and Paphlagonia is lower than those for Bithynia, they follow the same pattern. The magistracy was in place in Sinope and Pompeiopolis by the late 1st or early 2nd century CE. ¹³⁵ It appears slightly later at Amastris and Sebastopolis, in the mid 2nd century. ¹³⁶ The attestations at Amaseia are undated as are the remaining examples of the office at Pompeiopolis and Amastris. ¹³⁷ The archaeological

¹²⁸ Quass 1993, 303–17; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 74.

¹²⁹ For the dates and complete citations, see the Appendix at the end of this study.

For evidence of just how expensive this magistracy and the maintenance of baths could be, see Mitchell 1993,
 Quass 1993, 206–7; Patterson 2006, 155–57; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 80
 As was the case with the baths promised by Hadrian in Ostia, which exceeded the promised sum of two million

As was the case with the baths promised by Hadrian in Ostia, which exceeded the promised sum of two million sesterces. Boatwright 2000, 126–27.

¹³² Some emperors and members of the imperial family, however, did provide occasional grants, such as free entry or oil, for restricted periods of time or to defined subsets of people. Agrippa waived the entrance fees to celebrate holding an aedileship Pliny *HN* 36.121. Nero gave grants of oil to senators and equestrians alike when his baths in the Campus Martius opened. Suetonius *Nero* 12.3.

¹³³ Kios: *I. Kios* 16; Nikaia: *I. Iznik* 1071; Prusa: *I. Prusa* 24, 34, 1042; Prusias: *I. Prusias* 24. The supporting inscriptions for Apameia, Bithynion-Klaudiopolis and Nikomedia are undated.

¹³⁴ I. Iznik 61; I. Prusias 1, 11.

¹³⁵ I. Sinope 101, 103; Marek 1993, kat. Pompeiopolis 1.

¹³⁶ Marek 1993, kat. *Amastris* 44; *IGR* III.115.

¹³⁷ Amaseia: *SEG* 35.1309; Amastris: Marek 1993, kat. *Amastris* 114; Pompeiopolis: *CRAI* 1897.316b.

evidence from the baths at Pompeiopolis, however, shows that the complex there was renovated around the third century CE and remained in use well into the late Roman period. The frequency of late attestations of both offices as well as evidence of repair or renovation in the third century suggest the continuing importance of and local, municipal support for festivals, baths, and *gymnasia* in both provinces. Elite expenditure may have no longer entailed the construction of complete monuments. The longevity of both liturgies, the *agonothetes* and the *gymnasiarch*, however, support the claim that use of public buildings and civic space continued to influence urban life in these provinces by encouraging community interaction and investment.

Civic finances and imperial benefactions replaced local elites as the primary source of money in the 2nd and 3rd centuries (fig. 2.16). The aqueduct, theater, and bathhouse at Nikaia were financed with civic funds, even though the profligacy with which they were spent greatly alarmed Pliny. The fees paid by new members of the city council at Bithynion-Klaudiopolis were funneled towards the construction of a grand new set of baths. Apameia proudly dedicated its civic-financed baths to Hadrian in 128/9. Bithynion-Klaudiopolis mirrored Nikaia in building a new theater as well as a large temple on its acropolis. The forum, aqueduct, and the temples housing the imperial cult at Nikomedia (and most likely the imperial cult temples at Herakleia Pontike, Amaseia, and Neokaisareia as well) drew from civic money. Give this pattern and the observations of Zuiderhoek, the set of public monuments that were built in the new cities of Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis and Pompeiopolis also drew from the public purse.

Imperial benefactions also became increasingly prevalent in the second and third centuries. Hadrian rebuilt the baths and *gymnasia* at both Nikaia and Nikomedia following a devastating earthquake in 120 CE. The emperor is also said to have restored the agoras, main city streets, and walls at the same two cities (fig. 2.17). Caracalla spent the winter of 214/15 in Nikomedia, during which time he funded the *lavacrum Thermarum Antoniniarum*. These same baths were later reconstructed and enlarged by Diocletian, who engaged in even more intense public building when he made Nikomedia his eastern capital. This included arsenals, public halls, and a circus. A Severan emperor repaired the aqueduct at Amaseia in the 3rd century. Finally, new city walls were built at Nikaia and Prusias around 260 CE to protect them from the Gothic invasions.

The increased prevalence of imperial benefaction in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia during the reign of Hadrian were a product of (a) the emperor's extensive travel and cohesive program of imperial generosity and (b) the restoration of communities in the wake of natural disasters. Hadrian's extensive travels resulted in a plethora of emperor-sponsored public building

¹⁴¹ I. Apameia 4.

¹³⁸ Koch 2011, 63–5.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 10.39.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴²I. Klaudiupolis 1-2.

¹⁴³ Pliny *Ep.* 10.33, 37, 49; Cassius Dio 73.12.2.

¹⁴⁴ Nikaia: Robert *HSCP* 81 (1977), 7–8 = *OMS* vi.217–18; *SEG* 27.819, 820–21; *I. Iznik* 1.25–8. Nikomedia: *TAM* iv.I.22. Boatwright 2000, 121–23.

¹⁴⁵ I. Iznik 55; TAM IV.I.10; Robert 1978; I. Apameia 4, ; Mitchell 1993, 212–13.

¹⁴⁶ CIL 3.324; Magie 1950, 1552, n. 42.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. And again by Justinian. Procopius *Aed*.5.3.7.

¹⁴⁸ Not. Dign. 11; Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 7; Aurelius Victor, Caes. 39, 45; Libanius 41.5.

¹⁴⁹ Nicholson and Nicholson 1993, 144–45.

¹⁵⁰ SNGvA 915; Price and Trell 1977, 104–5; Weiser 1983, 90–91.

across Greece and Asia Minor. 151 This campaign of travel and patronage was intended to convey imperial favor, illustrate beneficence, and establish a model of municipal responsibility among local elites. 152 This is especially true of Bithynia, which held personal significance for Hadrian as the birthplace of Antinous. Reconstruction following a spate of natural disasters also accounts for the concentration of Hadrianic gifts, particularly in Nikomedia and Nikaia. Both cities were severely damaged by earthquakes in the second century and received generous imperial support to rebuild their baths, theaters, and walls. 153 Such imperial support was common in the Greek East, where frequent fires and earthquakes necessitated rebuilding. Thus, the prevalence of buildings financed from the imperial purse in Bithynia, Pontus and Paphlagonia and attributed to Hadrian reflects an increase in the interest and importance of the area to the emperor himself. It should not, however, be connected to any sense of local economic decline or instability.

Similarly, the benefactions associated with Caracalla, Diocletian, and any emperors between their reigns reflect the increasing importance and visibility of this region in the 3rd century. Campaigns on the Euphrates frontier and in the Balkans made the region the practical location for winter headquarters and for mobilizing forces and supplies. Both Caracalla and Elagabalus wintered in Nikomedia. 155 Inscriptions from Prusias, moreover, document the ways in which the local magistrates and citizens provided lodging, supplies, and transport for soldiers and emperors between 190 and 230. 156 Numerous funerary reliefs testify to the renewed military activity against Parthia on the eastern frontier. 157 Continued turbulence on the eastern frontier in the later 3rd century and the Gothic incursions and attacks garnered a substantial degree of attention from Diocletian. As a result, the period is notable as one of the most concentrated episodes of road construction and maintenance, especially under Diocletian. ¹⁵⁸ Military endeavors on this frontier demanded so much of the emperor's attention and presence, that Nikomedia eventually became the eastern capital of Diocletian's reorganized empire. 159

Imperial attention and patronage arose out of military action and the destabilization of the empire's boundaries. The benefits of this volatility, however, were palpable for the cities of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. Increased military involvement translated into higher demands on the region's resources and commodities. For example, increases in the production of storage and transport vessels as well as the cultivation of agricultural products, such as oil, in these provinces have recently been linked to increasing military demand on the frontiers. 160 Thus the emperor and Roman army's increased presence and activity supplied new stimuli to the local and regional economy, a topic more thoroughly discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The imperial purse added to these stimuli by repairing and constructing public monuments that continued the tradition of urban life. These endowments also revitalized civic life with fresh infusions of entertainment and leisure. The combination of these, therefore, further encouraged and supported the continued

¹⁵¹ Boatwright 2000, 83–143.

¹⁵² Boatwright 2000, 204–9.

¹⁵³ Supra n. 144.

Most memorably the earthquake of 17 CE in Lydia. Tiberius not only funded the reconstruction efforts in cities around the region, but also granted them a five-year remission from all taxation. Tacitus Ann. 2.47.

¹⁵⁵ Cassius Dio 78.17–19. 79.8, 39, 80.7–8. 156 Ameling 1983.

¹⁵⁷ Mitchell 1993, 232, n. 26, 28.

¹⁵⁸ French 2003, 53.

¹⁵⁹ Lactantius Mort. Pers. 7.

Not only the eastern frontier, but also that along the Danube. Hitchner 1993; Braund 2005; Mitchell 2005, 98– 103. A more detailed analysis of the economic integration of these provinces follows in Chapter 4.

stability of urban centers in the region, whereas their absence and periods of relative neglect in the West played a primary role in urban decline and loss.

V. Conclusions

This chapter explored the construction of civic monuments as well as the cultural and financial stimuli behind civic building programs in north central Anatolia. The first part of this discussion examined three categories of civic monuments: imperial cult buildings, theaters, and baths/gymnasia. This analysis documented several important features that characterize the development of an urban landscape in these provinces. This included not only the role of local preferences and the influence and integration of Roman cultural ideals, but also a more detailed chronological framework that explains the relative stability of cities during the 3rd century.

Temples and activities associated with the imperial cult constituted some of the earliest efforts to create an urban environment. It was the longevity of this institution, however, and the concentration of new cults established in the second and third centuries that provided one of the strongest stimuli for sustained monumental building, civic participation, elite benefaction, and imperial favor. The establishment of new cults in the *koinon* capitals continued well into the third century and was accompanied by new sets of sacred games and festivals. The creation of these cults and festivals occasioned the designation of new sacred space and its architectural articulation. Ritual celebrations and elite-sponsored entertainment attracted individuals from throughout the region. These festivities were important settings for elite patronage, but were also economically advantageous for the city, which profited from the influx of visitors. The continued vitality of the imperial cult contributed to the continuing political, social, and economic vitality of the city because communities continued to adhere to the ideal model of the successful Graeco-Roman city and maintain the attention of the emperor.

Theaters, *odeia*, and *bouleteria* as well as baths and *gymnasia* reflect a similar episodes of longevity. Both monuments were hallmarks of urban identity for cities of the region. Both types of monuments were also popular centers for public leisure and entertainment. Theaters and other theater-type monuments were one of the most widespread monuments in north central Anatolia, a popularity that was solidified by continual construction and maintenance throughout the region. Theaters embodied the political and social practice of urban life that was rooted in the autonomous ideal of the Greek *polis*. Yet they also hosted Roman cultural practices, such as beast and gladiatorial shows and the celebration of the imperial cult, which conferred a new Roman element and identity upon this physical space. New towns and cities constructed theaters in order to acquire a complete set of urban monuments. Pre-existing cities constructed new theaters in addition to the ones they possessed prior to Roman rule. All cities remained dedicated to the monuments and their role in civic life by redecorating, repairing, or even reconstructing entire monuments through the 4th century CE.

Baths and *gymnasia* followed a similar path. These facilities bestowed the cultural pedigree of a civilized city, one that was intimately connected with Roman patrons or even the emperor himself. They also owed their existence to the construction of Roman aqueducts and the willingness of citizens to finance their supervision and equipment. Like temples dedicated to the imperial cult, the construction and use of baths began in the late first/early second century CE, Like theaters, public baths and *gymnasia* were the object of prolonged public use, popularity, and repair. These factors facilitated civic stability and cohesion because the monuments themselves and the activities connected with their use continued to play a role in the daily life of the municipality.

Finally, fluctuations in the funding sources of civic monuments trace shifting local priorities and fiscal responsibilities. They also illustrate the development of successive stable funding sources. Civic monuments received an early start from the generous donations of local elites, but concentrated periods of construction and use only began in the early to mid 2nd century. This financial responsibility ultimately came under the purview of the city, while elites continued to provide significant infusions in the form of small additions and liturgies. From the third century onward, the political and strategic importance of the region captured the attention and wealth of the emperor. Each of these periods of financial security remained dedicated to the construction, repair, and use of civic monuments that were designed to and succeeded in fostering community involvement and sustaining urban life, while simultaneously participating in both Greek and Roman cultural institutions. The result was the prolonged longevity of these cities and this region that, even in the face of warfare and frontier turmoil, continued to commingle indigenous, Greek and Roman ideals of civic life well into the 4th century.

CHAPTER 3: IT TAKES A VILLAGE: SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, HIERARCHY, AND URBAN DENSITY

I. Introduction

The advent of archaeological survey in the Mediterranean has now resulted in countless projects and vast quantities of data that catalogue the number of settlements and patterns in which people in antiquity lived. Numerous obstacles impact the practice of survey as well as recovery rates for historical sites. These include geographical and geological factors, such as erosion and vegetation. Human-based activities, such as agriculture and modern construction, are also problematic. The varying criteria used to identify and define sites and settlement categories, moreover, also influence the rates at which sites are recovered and identified. For the majority of these projects, however, the advantages of archaeological survey far outweigh the disadvantages. The collection of ceramic fragments and artifacts and the extrapolation of pre-existing settlements over time are essential to the study of urban development.

The previous chapter focused on the development of the urban landscape in north central Anatolia. This chapter shifts the focus to the regional landscape and the settlements that complemented larger urban centers. In north central Anatolia over four decades of surface surveys have revealed dramatic fluctuations in both the extent and intensity of settlement across a 6,500year timespan.² This data, however, have only recently been examined within the field of Roman urbanism studies. This chapter collates and analyzes the results of these regional projects in order to create a more cohesive body of survey data for the region. My examination at a regional scale minimizes some of the inherent problems in comparing survey data from different projects. It investigates broad trends across a large region, but does not attempt to correlate each distinctive, local development. I use these results to characterize the defining features of the regional urban system and to identify elements that contributed to its longevity. The archaeological survey data from the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia is directed to four questions. Did increases in the size or number of settlements (or both) stem from Roman influence in these provinces? Did these same phenomena indicate economic development? How can these patterns be efficiently quantified and understood? Finally, can archaeological survey data provide an adequate sense of urbanization and urban density for the region?

The answers to these questions are explored in five sections. First, I review the history of archaeological survey in the region and the various methodologies used to obtain the data. Next, I turn to a broad history of settlement and survey projects wherein I emphasize topics that receive closer scrutiny in the remainder of the chapter. I continue on to the evidence of expansion, topographical trends in settlement, and the subject of site continuity. Finally, I discuss site specialization and site hierarchies in order to assess the degree to which urban life changed and was experienced in these provinces during the Roman period. These investigations produce a broad set of conclusions. Some of these conclusions are now common in urbanism studies of the Roman

¹ For a full discussion of the disadvantages associated with survey archaeology and on-going discussions of the refinement of methodology and the creation of regional-specific models, see Alcock et al. 1994; Vermeulen and de Dapper 2000; Vermeulen and Antrop 2001; Attema and de Haas 2011; Mattingly 2011; Price 2011; Witcher 2011. For methodologies specific to the region of north central Anatolia, see Doonan 2004, 23–49, 145–46; Matthews 2009b, 1–26. For methodological disparities among numerous projects in Pontus in particular, see Erciyas 2006b, 53–6.

² At varying degrees of precision and accuracy.

empire. Others reveal how the urban system of Roman north central Anatolia differed from other provinces in the empire.

II. The Nature of the Data

Human and natural factors shape the nature of the data that is collected from archaeological surveys. The presence of buildings, towns, or roads, modern farming practices, and numerous environmental factors (such as erosion or dense vegetation) are some of the largest obstacles.³ These problems are further complicated by the wide variety of methodologies used by survey projects. This is particularly true of the methodologies that were used when the field of survey archaeology was in its infancy as opposed to the practices that are employed now. While the former were pioneering the initial attempt to understand settlement and landscape archaeology, the latter have had decades to be refined. Archaeological survey in north central Anatolia began in the 1970s and continues to the present day. In this time, projects have employed different strategies concerning the identification, collection, recording, and analysis of sites.

In 1973, B. Alkım began a series of excavations and surveys in Samsun province that continued until 1980 (fig. 3.1).⁴ The results of each field season were published in Turkish archaeological journals, but no larger analytical publication was produced following their completion. Alkim and his successors used a term that most closely corresponds with "settlement" in English. I have preferred to use the word "site" in order to recognize that the locations that were recovered could have also been cemeteries, tumuli, or forts. Alkım's reports link each site to a period based upon the pottery that was recovered (Iron Age, Hellenistic, Roman, etc.). M. Özsait succeeded Alkim in conducting surveys in Samsun province beginning in 1986.⁵ He has also worked extensively in Amasya province since 1986 and Tokat province since 1988. Members of Özsait's project walked transects in selected areas; they were spaced approximately 10 meters apart and collected pottery. The survey reports include distribution maps and lists of sites that were recovered and dated based upon pottery. The distribution patterns of the pottery were not recorded, but the size of each new site was recorded as was its geographical location relative to modern settlements. Analyses of the individual chronological periods have not been published; however, Özsait's project and methodology are notable for their comprehensiveness and recording among all of these early projects. In 1997, S. Dönmez reinvestigated the sites that were mentioned by Alkım. Dönmez not only re-examined and published the periods indicated by the pottery, but also recorded the sizes of the sites.

Surveys from Corum and Sivas provinces commenced slightly later than those in Samsun, Tokat, and Amasya. T. Sipahi and T. Yıldırım began investigations in Corum in 1996. Selected areas were chosen based upon available maps and information from local communities. These survey results were presented in a similar way to those detailed above. The locations of sites were recorded as were their size and dates for the pottery. Distribution maps were not included and

³ Alcock et al. 1994; Vermeulen and de Dapper 2000; Mattingly 2011.

⁴ Alkım 1972a; Alkım1972b; Alkım 1973a; Alkım 1973b; Alkım 1974a; Alkım 1974b; Alkım 1975a; Alkım 1975b; Alkım 1976; Alkım 1980.

⁵ Özsait 1988; Özsait 1989; Özsait 1990; Özsait 1991; Özsait 1995; Özsait 1998; Özsait 1999.

⁶ Özsait 1988; Özsait 1989; Özsait 1991; Özsait 1996; Özsait 1998; Özsait 2002; Özsait 2004; Özsait 2005; Özsait 2006; Özsait 2009; Özsait and Özsait 2010; Özsait and Özsait 2011.

⁷ Dönmez 1999.

⁸ Sipahi and Yıldırım 1998; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2001; Sipahi 2003; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2004; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2005; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2007; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2008; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2009; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2010; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2011; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2012.

additional synthesis of the results has not been published. The project at Sivas was conducted by T. Ökse and began in 1992. Ökse and her team intensively surveyed the plains and peripheries north of the Kızılırmak river and identified 328 sites (including settlements, mounds, tombs, and cemeteries). The geographic locations and size of these sites were recorded as well as the dates of pottery. Ökse is a leading figure in archaeological survey in the region, having published a synthesis of her results. Finally, D. Erciyas has followed Ökse's example and methodology with her most recent surveys in Komana province. ¹⁰

With the exception of Özsait in Samsun and Amasya provinces, Ökse in Sivas province, and Erciyas in Komana province, the majority of these early projects do little more than document the presence of pottery at a particular site. There is no information that can be used to determine the character or function of the site apart from its possible size. Nor is it possible to extrapolate relationships that might have existed between sites. Nevertheless, the data obtained and disseminated by these earlier projects should not be disregarded entirely. The catalogue of sites that has been continuously produced since the 1970s is an important barometer for broad fluctuations in the total number of sites as well as the potential ways in which populations engaged with the landscape over multiple chronological periods. The data are not refined enough to discuss specific changes in the types of site or use of the land. Yet similar trends in later projects with more developed approaches show that these early results reflect important, albeit broad, trends for the region.

Over the past fifteen years, three foreign projects have established a more rigorous framework for surveys in the region. As a result, these projects have produced a body of data that has facilitated a more detailed analysis and understanding of settlement development and distribution in the region. Under the direction of O. Doonan, the Sinop Regional Archaeological Project (SRAP) investigated the Sinop promontory on multiple levels of intensiveness and extensiveness. Doonan's approach to the landscape emphasizes its variability and patchiness and has utilized a range of techniques to not only recover sites, but also to understand how environmental, human, geological, and climatological factors impacted settlement and engagement with the promontory. 11 The SRAP project first conducted extensive surveys of the promontory in order to understand how topography may have influenced broader settlement trends (fig. 3.2). Participants walked at 10-meter intervals and collected pottery and other cultural material. These were followed by targeted intensive surveys and excavations along the coast, coastal valleys, and foothills (fig. 3.3). Smaller areas, called quadrats, were defined and all material, including pottery, mosaic fragments, and spolia, was recovered. Subsurface research was conducted through geophysics and study of the geomorphology. Sites were categorized according to size, location, and the types of materials that were recovered (table 1). The resulting volume synthesized the project's results and discussed settlement and land use on the promontory from prehistory to the Ottoman period.

In Paphlagonia, two separate projects have researched and mapped sites and settlements. Under the direction of R. Matthews, the British School undertook a series of campaigns in what constituted Inner Paphlagonia in antiquity, modern Çankırı province. The survey area was approximately 8,454 km² (fig. 3.4). Directors of the project consulted with local communities and used maps of known settlements in order to determine large areas for extensive survey (fig. 3.5). 12

⁹ Ökse 1995; Ökse 1996; Ökse 1998; Ökse 1999; Ökse 2001; Ökse 2002.

¹⁰ Ercivas 2006a; Ercivas 2007; Ercivas et al. 2008; Ercivas and Sökmen 2009; Erciyas and Sökmen 2010.

¹¹ Doonan 2004, 33–49.

¹² Matthews 2009, 12–26

Walkers covered these areas in intervals of 10 meters, recovering pottery, mosaic fragments, spolia, and other evidence of cultural activity. Based upon these extensive surveys, 10 areas were selected for intensive survey. These were covered multiple times and as much as material was recovered as possible (fig. 3.6). The result of these surveys produced 337 sites (fig. 3.7). These sites were categorized by size and type according to a rubric that closely approximates the one used by SRAP (tables 2, 3). Finally, P. Johnson has conducted survey in the hinterland of the ancient city of Pompeiopolis in Kastamonu province (figs. 3.8, 3.9). ¹³ Johnson's approach to site collection mirrors that employed by Matthews and Project Paphlagonia. The project used intensive sampling to collect material and identify sites in the plains and elevated ridges that surround the site of Pompeiopolis and constituted its hinterland in antiquity. Johnson's synthesis not only categorizes the sites by size and type, but examines their geographical relationships with the urban center.

The SRAP, Project Paphlagonia, and Pompeiopolis projects have produced a substantial dataset from a large geographical area on which broader conclusions about settlement in north central Anatolia can be based. The rigorous methodology and highly refined nature of the data produced by Doonan, Matthews, Johnsons, and, to some extent, Özsait, Ökse, and Erciyas allow more specific claims about settlement distribution, hierarchy, and engagement with the landscape to be made. These results will be examined in greater detail later. Moreover, each of these most recent projects confirms the broad settlement trends that are reflected in the earlier surveys of the region. Finally, the re-investigation of sites that was undertaken by Dönmez has increased the quality of the early data that were obtained by Alkım. The efforts of Dönmez have not only confirmed the presence of the sites in Samsun province. The investigations have also established a better understanding of site size, function, and date by measuring the extent and density of ceramic scatters and employing refined ceramic chronologies. All of these factors mitigate some of the problems associated with the use of these earlier surveys and allows them to be used in order to discuss general trends throughout the region. It is those broad trends that I turn to next.

III. Regional History and Broad Patterns from the Iron Age to the Roman Period

Broad trends in the settlement history of north central Anatolia follow consistent patterns, despite the cultural and topographical diversity of the region. These similarities begin in the Iron Age, which witnessed the densest and most extensive settlement in the region to that point in antiquity. 14 Sites in the interior proliferated along ridges and above valleys. These locations allowed populations to take advantage of elevated, naturally fortified locations; arable land for agricultural exploitation; and natural resources, specifically minerals. ¹⁵ Along the coast of Bithynia and Pontus, there were both local, indigenous sites as well as Greek colonies for the period. This mix of local and alien settlement naturally increased settlement density in the region; however, the

¹³ Johnson 2011.

¹⁴ Settlement history in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages have been the subject of projects in the region and have produced a substantial body of data. The inclusion of Iron Age settlement data in this study is the most appropriate body of comparative data because it constitutes a baseline from which to more accurately gauge the impact of Greek and Roman interaction on local settlement. For studies of settlement histories from the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age periods, see Alkım 1972a; Alkım 1972b; Alkım 1973a; Alkım 1973b; Alkım 1974a; Alkım 1974b; Alkım 1975a; Alkım 1975b; Alkım 1976; Alkım 1980; Bilgi 1996; Bilgi 1997; Bilgi 1998; Bilgi 1999; Dönmez 1999; Ökse 1995; Ökse 1996; Ökse 1998; Ökse 1999; Özsait 1988; Özsait 1989; Özsait 1990; Özsait 1991; Özsait 1995; Özsait 1998; Özsait 1999; Sipahi and Yıldırım 1998; Doonan 2004, 51-67; Matthews 2009c, 75-106; Matthews, Glatz, and Schachner 2009, 107-48.

¹⁵ Matthews 2009a, 154; Matthews and Glatz 2009b, 243–46; Johnson 2011, 195, 200.

character of indigenous and Greek settlements differed substantially. Local settlements were established inland from these coastal areas and exploited the surrounding territory for agricultural purposes; Greek colonies, by contrast, remained almost singularly focused on commercial and maritime activities.¹⁶

A significant phase of abandonment and agglomeration followed the Iron Age. Throughout the Mediterranean basin the Hellenistic period was a period of urban development during which intensive settlement occurred in a few large centers. ¹⁷ In north central Anatolia, settlement was concentrated in the pre-existing Greek colonies from the Archaic period and the urban centers of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, not small units, such as farms or indigenous communities. ¹⁸ The abandonment of Iron Age sites and the subsequent preference for larger, agglomerated urban living resulted from several factors. The strongest was the adoption and propagation of an urban ideal by the monarchs of the newly established Hellenistic kingdoms, which emphasized the cultural and political benefits of urban living. ¹⁹ Another early influence that encouraged concentrated settlement was the disruption caused by the immigration and raiding practices of the Celts. ²⁰ Finally, the unremitting warfare and turmoil of the Mithridatic wars was a prominent, thought late, factor that also made urban life appealing because of the protection it offered through the presence of concentrated military forces and large fortifications. ²¹

The demographic shift to urban centers in the Hellenistic period marked the beginning of another phenomenon: expansion beyond a strictly defined urban core and the increased exploitation of agricultural and other natural resources. Urban centers like Amaseia, Sinope, Sebasteia, Amastris, and Tieum either sprang up or dramatically increased in size as a result of the successful propagation of the urban ideal. Urban centers also had to accommodate the influx of immigrants and residents, but also as the result of the propagation of the urban ideal. This aggregation of population placed greater demands on the countryside. The result was increased exploitation of rural territories for agricultural cultivation as well as the technologies associated with the transport of these products, specifically amphora.

A large rise in the number of settlements of all categories followed the Hellenistic period and the annexation of the region into the Roman empire. This rise was accompanied by an increased intensity of settlement and exploitation of the countryside than that witnessed in the preceding Hellenistic period. Established urban centers along the coastal areas of Bithynia and Pontus increased in size, population, and architectural embellishment (see Chapter 2). They also

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¹⁶ To the extent that no settlement and/or exploitation of the surrounding land nor marginal coastal villages are visible in the archaeological record. Doonan 2004, 69–78.

¹⁷ Alcock 1993. Bintliff 2007.

¹⁸ As was the case in the preceding Classical and succeeding Roman eras. Magie 1950, 119–20; Jones 1971,147–57; Ercivas 2006b, 56–61; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 173–77.

¹⁹ Magie 1950, 120, 141, 146; Jones 1971, 149–51, 153–56; Mitchell 1993, 82–4. Though the degree to which cities in Pontus, in particular, functioned as administrative centers within the kingdom is still unclear.; Højte 2009, 97–104

²⁰ Mitchell 1993, 13–19; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 177.

²¹ Appian, *Mith.* 76–80, 88–91, 98–100; Mitchell 1993, 29–31; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 177. ²² Høite 2009, 97.

This phenomenon is most frequently observed in coastal areas, which had the double advantage multiple urban centers in relatively close proximity and more convenient, accessible lines of communication and transportation. Doonan 2004, 78–92; Erciyas 2006b, 57–61. Along the southern coast of the Black Sea, this resulted in the rapid development of a thriving amphora industry that remained active well into the Byzantine era. Garlan and Kassab Tezgör 1996; Garlan and Tatlican 1998; Kassab Tezgör 1996; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlican 1998; Fedoseev 1999; Doonan 2002.

became important centers of administration and support for the smaller villages, villas, and coastal settlements that rapidly proliferated throughout the countryside.²⁴ Regional centers of unprecedented size and number were established in the interior regions of Pontus and Paphlagonia; smaller settlements moved down from the fortified ridges to the fertile valleys.²⁵

This extensive and intensive urbanization had two important consequences. The first was the creation of a clearly defined site hierarchy that had never existed in this region. This hierarchy not only facilitated the Roman administrative supervision of these provinces. It also created a system of support that encouraged the establishment of smaller sites that were more diverse in character and function. Second, this network of extended settlement increased and diversified the exploitation of the countryside at unparalleled levels. From agricultural production to mineral extraction and industrial production, the investment in and use of the countryside, its resources, and new manufacturing centers intensified to a degree that was not reached again until the Ottoman period.

This broad overview highlights the most important aspects of the following discussion of settlement in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, including the intensification of settlement, changes in land use practices, and political and economic influences. The numbers and regions that comprise the dataset are not complete nor do they cover the topography in its entirety. These surveys, however, have been conducted in several modern Turkish provinces that once constituted the territory of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, including Tokat, Sivas, Samsun, Komana, Çorum, Amasya, Sinop, Çankırı, and Kastamonu provinces, (fig. 3.1). Nevertheless, the volume of data produced by past and current projects, however, has reached a level where regional characterizations can be offered with certainty.

IV. Quantitative & Topographical Trends

The observation that the number of settlements in the region increased throughout the Roman period is a categorical understatement. Hellenistic sites are nearly absent in the provinces

Çankırı: Matthews and Glatz 2009a.

Kastamonu: Johnson 2011.

Tokat: Özsait 1990; Özsait 1999; Özsait 2002; Özsait 2004; Özsait 2005; Özsait 2006; Özsait 2007.

Sivas: Ökse 1995; Ökse 1996; Ökse 1998; Ökse 1999; Ökse 2001; Ökse 2002.

Samsun: Alkım 1972a; Alkım1972b; Alkım 1973a; Alkım1973b; Alkım1974a; Alkım 1974b; Alkım 1975a; Alkım1975b; Alkım1976; Alkım1980; Bilgi 1996; Bilgi 1997; Bilgi 1998; Bilgi 1999; Bilgi et al. 2002; Bilgi et al. 2003; Bilgi et al. 2004; Bilgi et al. 2005; Dönmez 1999; Özsait 1999.

Komana: Erciyas 2006a; Ercyias 2007; Erciyas et al. 2008; Erciyas and Sökmen 2009; Erciyas and Sökmen 2010. Çorum: Sipahi and Yıldırım 1998; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2001; Sipahi 2003; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2004; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2005; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2007; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2008; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2010; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2011; Sipahi and Yıldırım 2012.

Amasya: Özsait 1988; Özsait 1989; Özsait 1991; Özsait 1996; Özsait 1998; Özsait 2002; Özsait 2004; Özsait 2005; Özsait 2006; Özsait 2009; Özsait and Özsait 2010; Özsait and Özsait 2011; Dönmez 1999; Yüksel and Dönmez 2011.

²⁴ Doonan 2004, 93-117;

²⁵ Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 178–86; Johnson 2011, 200.

²⁶ There are copious publications that distribute this data, many of which do not encourage accessibility, engagement, and interpretation (being published in Turkish in obscure Turkish journals). These publications span decades of annual research projects and reports, but must be referenced in this chapter. For Sinop, Çankırı, and Kastamonu I have only included the final publications for each project, as these include all the data from each research season. For the remaining provinces I have had to include every annual publication, as no final volumes exist for these projects.

Sinop: Doonan 2004.

of Tokat, Sinop, and Çankırı. What the Roman period brought was an explosion of settlements that varied in both size and function (figs 3.10, 3.11, 3.12). The provinces of Sinop and Tokat produce the most dramatic results, preserving 4 and nearly 60 times the number of Roman sites than Hellenistic sites, respectively.²⁷ Samsun, Çorum, and Amasya, show a slightly more concentrated level of settlement during the Hellenistic period, though these small increases were also followed by dramatic increases in the Roman period (figs. 3.13, 3.14, 3.15). In general, all of the surveyed areas saw at least a two-fold increase in the number of sites from the Hellenistic to the Roman period. A two-fold increase in settlement from the Iron Age to the Roman era also occurs in the majority of the provinces.²⁸

These extraordinary increases during the Roman period require closer examination and explication. Without historical context, these quantitative measures can elide the importance of previous settlement patterns and the significance of the increases witnessed during the Roman period. Did expansion in the Roman period follow a trajectory of steadily increasing settlement frequency? Or, do previous histories of regional settlement diverge from this model? Previous settlement histories are an important baseline against which intensified settlement and urbanization in the Roman period can be measured.

No single pattern characterizes the entire region; however, two features are significant. The efflorescence of settlement during the Iron Age and its contraction in the Hellenistic period was followed by a second surge in extensive settlement during the Roman period. Seven of the nine provinces (Tokat, Samsun, Çorum, Amasya, Sinop, Çankırı, and Kastamonu) show increases following a period of widespread abandonment and aggregation during the transition from the Iron Age to the Hellenistic period. The widespread instability of the Hellenistic era and the advantages associated with living in large, protected urban centers certainly contributed to this dramatic drop-off.²⁹ Increases during the Roman period signal a reversal of these circumstances. They could also suggest a return to the Iron Age conditions that encouraged widespread settlement in a variety of settlement categories. One such condition is the physical topography of the region. Most fortified hill and ridge sites (locations that were favored in the Iron Age) were abandoned during the Roman period. Settlements from both periods display a preference for waterways and areas with easy access to and exploitation of natural resources.³⁰ The relative stability of both periods, moreover, encouraged the (re)establishment of trade routes and contacts as well as local production and prosperity.

The second significant pattern is the steady increase in settlement density during the chronological periods preceding Roman rule. This slows during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. Unlike the majority of the regions, the provinces of Komana and Sivas show steady increases from at least the Iron Age through to the Byzantine period. The reason for this divergence

²⁷ The astronomic increase in the number of sites in Tokat is almost unbelievable. Such a sharp upswing must also stem from the visibility and identification of Hellenistic material in the field surveys from the region. The overall upward trend in the number of Roman sites, however, is not to be doubted, due to the more distinctive character of Roman material assemblages. For the difficulties of identifying Hellenistic material in the region and its impact on site recovery, see Erciyas 2006b, 55–6; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 173–74.

²⁸ Two provinces, Tokat and Samsun, record a fewer number of sites in the Roman period than in the earlier Iron Age. Unfortunately, other indications of settlement development, such as site size, are unknown for these two areas. It is impossible to know, therefore, whether the aggregate area of Roman settlement exceeded that from the Iron Age, regardless of an overall decrease in the number of settlements. Comparative data from the neighboring regions of Cankırı and Sinop suggest that this would be true for Tokat and Samsun as well.

²⁹ Supra n. 8–10.

³⁰ Including agriculture produce minerals, and timber. Matthews and Glatz 2009b, 241–46; Johnson 2011, 195, 200.

is not altogether clear (figs. 3.16, 3.17). Komana represents a unique example because of its status as a temple-state to the goddess Ma, the practice of which stretches back to at least the Hellenistic period.³¹ Throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the sanctuary, the practice of the cult, and the administration of the priesthood at Komana increased in both importance and independence.³² The Roman administrative stimuli for settlement and urban development could only begin when Komana was annexed into Pontus Galaticus in 34/35 CE.³³ Thus, the cultivation and settlement of the region were not necessarily subject to the same factors of abandonment and contraction in non-temple states. The factors behind the divergence in Sivas are still unclear. Though Komana and Sivas differ slightly from the other provinces, their evidence still shows that settlement increased throughout the Roman period.

V. Site Abandonment and Continuity: Who Stays? Who Goes?

Site continuity is an important component of these quantitative trends, since the relationship between the establishment of new sites and the loss of old ones influences how a region's settlement history can be characterized. A degree of new sites throughout successive periods is desirable, from the perspective of demographic and economic growth, because it suggests that broader factors encouraged or influenced increased settlement and population density. The abandonment of pre-existing sites can accompany the creation of new ones. On the other hand, the creation of new sites does not necessarily signal demographic growth. Similarly, the abandonment of too many sites, regardless of the number of new ones, implies an erratic and unstable system. The issues of site continuity and abandonment are, therefore, closely related to scale. When both phenomena occur on a large scale, they signal the creation of a new hierarchy or settlement pattern.

When settlements "live" throughout successive periods of time, with few losses, this indicates the stability of an urban environment or region. These stable settlements also encourage the establishment of additional sites in territories under their control. When these additional sites are major cities, towns, or large villages, urban life is supported, while cultivation and industrial production in the countryside at farms, hamlets, and villas also intensify.³⁴ Intensification and expansion are encouraged in order to meet the demands of profitable consumer markets located in urban and regional centers.³⁵ Similarly, the continuity of smaller rural, agricultural and industrial sites sustains larger urban centers by providing a reliable source of necessities and commodities.

D. Erciyas has advanced our understanding of site continuity in Pontus in the districts of Tokat, Samsun, Sivas, Çorum, and Amasya. For each province, she charted the chronological span of each site that was recovered. She then calculated the percentages for sites lost, maintained, or created for each period from the Iron Age to the Byzantine period. The numerous surveys she has

³¹ The sanctuary and its surrounding territory were administered by the cult's priesthood and supported by the labor of 6,000 slaves, sacred prostitution, and offerings from festivals. Strabo 12.2.3; Erciyas 2009, 290–91; Saprykin 2009, 249–50; Sökmen 2009, 282–83.

³² Owing primarily to its advantageous location within a lucrative trade network with Armenia. Settlement density was subsequently increased at periodic intervals during the Roman era, most notably when Komana was made an independent principality (64 BCE) and received territories from both Pompey and Caesar. Pompey added 2 *schoeni*, while Caesar added 4 *schoeni*. Magie 1950, 371; Wilson 1960, 229; Sökmen 2009, 282.

³³ *IGR* III 105; Waddington et al. 1904, 109.

³⁴ Christaller 1933; Lösch 1967; Morley 1997, 49–53.

³⁵ Christaller 1933; Lösch 1967; Hohenberg and Lees 1995, 49; Morley 1997, 49–53.

collated are subject to their own methodological problems.³⁶ Nevertheless, her comparisons present a fairly consistent picture of site continuity and site creation across the region. From the Iron Age to the Hellenistic period, sites display an overwhelming degree of continuity (table 4). An average of 80% of sites across all provinces continued. The majority of these were cities with access to arable land and trade routes.³⁷ The low percentage of new sites, the loss of small sites and villages, and the high continuity rate of the larger regional cities support the argument for aggregated living in larger urban areas.³⁸ A minor shift occurred during the Roman period. Site continuity diminished slightly to a rate of 65%. The creation of new settlements, on the other hand, increased from 18% in the Hellenistic period to 34% in the Roman period.

Note that the data represent all reported settlements and does not distinguish differences in size or aggregate area. Low rates of site continuity and high percentages of new settlements, which are all characteristics of the Roman period, do not necessarily represent instability among pre-existing sites. One must address, however, the loss of sites during the transition from the Hellenistic period. The loss of settlements is to be expected. Small farms and hamlets were more vulnerable to the vicissitudes of changing economic and political circumstances, such as warfare or absorption by larger neighboring sites. The loss of major villages, towns, and cities has a greater impact upon regional settlements. Erciyas does not provide data refined enough to make these distinctions clear. Historical accounts and recent GIS models, however, provide clearer evidence of the types of settlements that continued to function or ceased to exist altogether.

Historical accounts of the area's annexation and reorganization by Pompey record his emphasis on urban settlement. Strabo details the destruction of small, fortified sites and strongholds in order to discourage rebellion.³⁹ Such sites were more useful for defense and warfare as opposed to the pacification and settlement of larger populations.⁴⁰ The loss of small farmsteads undoubtedly accompanied the disruption caused by warfare and Roman intervention throughout the first centuries BCE and CE. Landowners were the biggest group of casualties from the Mithridatic Wars. The imposition of Roman administrative rule, moreover, resulted not only in the reorganization of territories and redistribution of agricultural land to new owners, but also new strategies of cultivation. Sinope, Apameia, and Herakleia Pontike became Roman colonies, one effect of which was the seizure and redistribution of land to Roman citizens.⁴¹ Epigraphic studies in the cities of Bithynia have documented the disappearance of indigenous Thracian and Bithynia landowners and their replacement by wealthy Romans.⁴² Surveys and GIS modeling in the hinterlands of Amaseia, moreover, have demonstrated how small, independent farmsteads from the Hellenistic period were subsumed into larger agricultural holdings governed by Roman villa practices and, presumably, Roman villa owners.⁴³

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³⁶ Including the differing surface areas covered by each project, the intensity of recovery, and inconsistent definitions of site/settlement sizes and functions. Erciyas 2006b, 53–6; Højte 2009, 97.

³⁷ Erciyas 2006b, 57–60.

³⁸ Erciyas 2006b, 57–61.

³⁹ Strabo also records that Mithridates had established a minimum of 75 strongholds in the interior of Pontus. Strabo 12.3.1; 12.3.28.

⁴⁰ And such actions follow a similar precedent in the pacification of other provinces, Gaul in particular. Woolf 1998, 107–116. Pompey established multiple cities instead in order to establish an administrative basis for the province. Strabo 12.3.28. Appian, *Mith.* 115; Mitchell 1993, 31–34, 88.

⁴¹ Romano 2003, 283–86, 293–98; Laurence et al. 2011, 45–8.

⁴² Corsten 2006, 85–92.

⁴³ Kocabiyik 2012, 178–79.

In short, towns and cities were deliberately created, protected, and promoted. Cities were useful political, ideological, and economic tools for restructuring the new province into a functioning part of the empire and for instituting its administrative policies. 44 Pompey founded or re-founded at least eleven cities to create a cohesive and easily governed provincial territory. 45 The lex Pompeia, moreover, implemented revisions to the polis constitution and civic life. 46 These historical accounts seem to be verified by the data collected in the Barrington Atlas. As noted in this study's introduction, the atlas records no loss of any major town or city sizes 2 and larger (fig. 3.18). Major cities, Germanikopolis, Herakleia Pontike, and Sinope for example, remained large and important urban centers. The losses that are recorded occur most frequently among size 1 sites, the smallest and least important settlements, i.e. small farms or hamlets. Since many of these losses were confined to smaller settlement, they likely did not negatively impact the larger settlement system of north central Anatolia.

Surveys from Paphlagonia show a more dramatic evolution of site continuity, creation, and abandonment. The data for the Hellenistic and Roman periods are complicated by the fact that the material is not always chronologically distinct nor has a typology and chronology of local ceramics been firmly established.⁴⁷ A sufficient number of securely identified sites has been recovered, however, to merit analysis and comparison. In contrast to Pontus, only 29% of sites in Paphlagonia carry over from the Iron Age into the Hellenistic-early Roman period. 71% of the recovered sites were new settlements and 89% of the Iron Age sites were abandoned (table 5). The aggregate area of settlement increased from 21ha in the Iron Age to 50 ha in the Hellenistic period, mirroring the trends in Pontus (fig. 3.12). These trends only intensified in the Roman period. Just 4% of the recovered sites existed previously, while 86% of Hellenistic-Roman sites were abandoned and 96% constituted new establishments. The aggregate area occupied by settlements reached its peak during this period at 163ha. The Roman-Byzantine period witnessed a greater degree of continuity at 16%, with 63% of sites from the preceding Roman period having been abandoned.

The low rates of continuity and high rates of site creation in Paphlagonia contrast sharply with the results from Pontus. The relatively restricted nature of the Project Paphlagonia survey explains some of these differences. The region of Pontus has been investigated for over 40 years. During this time at least ten different projects have surveyed six provinces that cover a total area of 40,000 square kilometers (4 million hectares). 48 Project Paphlagonia was conducted over a mere five years and selectively investigated an area covering just 8,454 square kilometers (845,400 hectares), an eighth of the time and a fifth of the area. 49 Disparities between the two areas were unavoidable.

The paucity of Hellenistic material is a second factor. Settlements in Paphlagonia go from nearly non-existent in the Hellenistic period to 20 and 60 sites in the Roman and Late Roman periods, respectively. The extremely low number of Hellenistic settlements guaranteed a large disparity for comparison with site creation in the Roman period. The creation of any new sites would have doubled the pre-existing number. The loss of one Hellenistic site also guaranteed a

⁴⁴ Mitchell 1993, 80–1; Laurence et al. 2011, 64.

⁴⁵ Though precise identifications are still disputed, these cities were likely the following: Amastris, Sinope, Amisos, Amaseia, Magnopolis, Megalopolis/Sebasteia, Neapolis/Neoklaudiopolis, Pompeiopolis, Diospolis/Neokaisaeria, Zela, and Nikopolis. Magie 1950, 1232–34; Mitchell 1993, 31–2.

⁴⁶ Madsen 2009, 29-40.

⁴⁷ Ercivas 2006b, 55–6; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 173–74.

⁴⁸ Surveys began in Samsun province in 1971 (Alkım 1972a; Erciyas 2006b, 53) and have continued annually in surround provinces since. 49 Matthews 2009b, 1, 13.

disproportionate figure for settlement abandonment. Paphlagonia also lacked the Hellenistic urban centers that were present in Pontus. New, large settlements that developed into important centers in Paphlagonia were only established in the Roman period. These included Germanikopolis, Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis, and Pompeiopolis, the self-proclaimed metropolis of the region. The absence of large centers to act as markets, facilitate exchange, and encourage major trade routes and communication corresponded with a lack of smaller settlements that depended on and provisioned such centers. The results are evident in the dramatic percentages witnessed in Paphlagonia. Increases during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods imply significant stabilization. These fluctuations reflect a more accurate picture of settlement within the region and will surely be refined should survey in the region continue.

Surveys of the Sinop peninsula and the hinterlands of ancient Sinope did not strictly measure site continuity over time. Surveyed areas were documented by artifact density and the extent of settlement. Significant changes in settlement patterns can be examined through the abandonment, contraction, and expansion of sites. Settlements around the districts of Sinop fluctuate in number and size over multiple time periods (fig. 3.19). It is difficult to determine whether changes in the numbers of settlements occurred because a given site or sites were abandoned or because their aggregate size increased and they were assigned a new size category. In order to analyze continuity, abandonment, and contraction of settlements on the promontory, I examined the Sinop data in terms of changes in aggregate settlement area. This method best approximates continuity and abandonment by illustrating contraction or expansion. The patterns from Sinop resemble those from Paphlagonia and Pontus. Following a period of marked contraction in the Archaic/Classical period, settlements in the Hellenistic period remained small and medium in size, but increased in number. As a result, the overall aggregate settlement area increased five-fold. Increases also occurred in preferred forms of settlements (small and medium), suggesting the continuity of some of these sites from previous periods.

Aggregate settlement density increased substantially from the Hellenistic to the Roman period. Aggregate settlement increased by 350%; sites of all sizes increased in number across all of the survey districts. While these increases do not explicitly illustrate any loss of settlement, it is reasonable to assume that the disappearance of some sizes of settlements actually represents a transition to a larger size category. For example, investigations in Boztepe document an apparent loss of 6.2 loci/km2 of small settlements from the Hellenistic to the Roman period (fig. 3.20). The same survey quadrats, however, document an increase in settlement density of nearly equivalent size in medium-sized settlements. Given the nearly equal change in size density, the loss in one size category and its gain in another most likely represent the increased size of pre-existing settlement(s). The same phenomenon occurs in quadrats from the central Demirci Valley and the inner Karasu Valley (figs. 3.21, 3.22). These changes in small and medium settlements mirror trends in Paphlagonia and Pontus and suggests that these settlements were subject to the same negative forces discussed earlier.

Thus settlement patterns in Sinop, Pontus and Paphlagonia followed a consistent trajectory. After a period of contraction and abandonment during the Hellenistic age, all regions show substantial increases in the number and sizes of settlements during the Roman period. New settlements were founded along riverbeds, plains and valleys, and roads. These were areas that not only facilitated communication, connectivity, and exchange, but also marked a departure from the fortified hill and ridge sites that were preferred by indigenous communities in the Iron Age and Hellenistic period. The increased abandonment of Hellenistic sites combined with the creation of

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 $^{^{50}\} Matthews,\ Metcalfe,\ and\ Cottica\ 2009,\ 180-86;\ Summerer\ 2011,\ 3-5;\ Laflı\ and\ Christof\ 2012,\ 1-24.$

numerous new Roman sites in all three territories (particularly Paphlagonia), moreover, suggest the establishment of a new settlement hierarchy during the transition to Roman rule.

The next two sections explore the nature of this settlement hierarchy in greater depth, specifically in terms of its size, scale, and defining characteristics. The discussion examines how new settlements, the physical landscape of the region, and contact with the Roman imperial administration shaped this hierarchy.

VI. New Hierarchies and Settlement Specialization

The development of towns and cities as central places in an urban network over time is one of the main tenets of central place theory and the focus of site hierarchy studies. Such studies seek to explain the number, size, and location of settlements in an urban system. Cities and towns, therefore, are conceptualized as central places that provide gods and services to the surrounding areas. New and pre-existing towns and cities become entrenched in the landscape as trade and administrative organization intensify.⁵¹ This encourages the establishment of smaller, interdependent settlements across the landscape that benefit from and cater to the demands and opportunities of cities. 52 Empires tend to impede the spread of medium-sized cities and encourage an urban system composed of a few large cities and a profuse expanse of smaller, differentiated types of settlement.⁵³ In the Greek East, the dissolution of the ideological autarky of the *polis* facilitated both interdependency among and competition between cities, towns, villages, and farms for mutual survival and prosperity. 54 Yet, settlement hierarchies do not always follow a framework that is defined solely by size. Roman administrative policy encouraged a hierarchy that was also differentiated by legal status and prestige. Juridical definitions of urban status established a set of urban, legal hierarchies, such as *municipia*, *colonia*, or *fora*. ⁵⁵ Imperial favor and connections to centers and individuals of economic, political, and social affluence further stratified these tiers. 56 Numerous hierarchies co-existed under Roman imperial rule and added a dynamic complexity to the way Roman rule was implemented and regional settlements interacted.

From surveys of north central Anatolia, we can reconstruct the settlement hierarchy for much of the region. The development of settlements and sites of various sizes and functions dramatically intensified in the region during the Roman period. These trends are confirmed by surveys in every region. In Sinop, increases in the number of small sites occurred alongside the creation of large central settlements for the first time. The number of sites that were devoted to industrial production in the Roman period in nearly ten times greater than the number of industrial sites in the Hellenistic period (fig. 3.19). In Paphlagonia, a high variability in settlement size and density recalls the Iron Age, but aggregate settlement area reaches an exceptional level (figs. 3.12, 3.23). Similar patterns occur in Pontus in the territories of sizable Hellenistic and Roman cities, including Amaseia, Komana Pontika, Neoklaudiopolis, Sebasteia, and Sebastopolis (fig. 3.24). All of the recovered sites were established within the territory of these larger urban centers. Recent

⁵⁴ Woolf 1997, 10–13. This entanglement of the movement of goods, people, information, and power was also a characteristic of the urban system in Italy. Morley 1997, 47–8.

⁵¹ Hohenberg and Lees 1995, 49.

⁵² These are sites such as permanent and periodic markets as well as commercially driven villages and towns. Hohenberg and Lees 1995, 49; Morley 1997, 49–53; Woolf 1997, 8–12.

⁵³ Woolf 1997, 9–10.

⁵⁵ Though there was a still a very strong correlation between administrative status and size. Morley 1997, 47. For a discussion of the impact of changes in urban, legal status under a single emperor, see Boatwright 2000, 36–56.

⁵⁶ Morley 1997, 47. For stratification created by legal status and the receipt of Roman citizenship in the province of Asia Minor, see Boatwright 2000, 41.

work in the territory of Amaseia, for example, has modeled the location of these sites. It confirmed the existence of a hierarchy by revealing a large number of small farms, villas, and even market centers and villages.⁵⁷

This evidence for a discernible hierarchy in north central Anatolia is a new and significant contribution to the knowledge of its settlement history. What factors shaped this hierarchy? What are the defining characteristics of this hierarchy? How did the character of this hierarchy contribute to the distinctiveness of the region of north central Anatolia within the broader context of the Roman empire?

Annexation by Rome and the imposition of an administration for imperial rule were two important, though not the only, influences. Imperial policy in the provinces encouraged the ideal of urban life and the administrative benefits it delivered to the Roman administrative authority. The Graeco-Roman city was the ideal unit for pacifying and administering vast expanses of the empire as well as for guaranteeing the efficient collection of taxes. Evic life presented a model for social, political, and cultural behavior that allowed provincial populations to participate in and reap the benefits of imperial life. The Roman city was the nexus at which the imperial authority exerted its control while local elites and inhabitants took advantage of the peace, stability, and economic benefits offered by empire. Roman rule was a complex combination of administrative, juridical, political, social, cultural, and economic elements. I focus on only two of these in this chapter: the administrative and the economic.

The creation of cities and the promotion of pre-existing urban centers for administrative and economic benefits was an early and systematic process in the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, Pompey's annexation of the region established the preliminary boundaries of the provinces and divided them into governing districts. Each district was subject to its own administrative capital, which Pompey founded (or re-founded, in the case of pre-existing cities) and that supervised provincial life from monumental building to the collection of taxes. The boundaries of these provinces and their respective administrative districts changed during the first centuries BCE and CE. Nevertheless, Pompey's policy established an early administrative hierarchy that would remain in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia.

At the top of this hierarchy were the largest and most important cities, a position they held because of their supervisory role and because they were hubs of commercial exchange and production. In north central Anatolia, these large cities were exceedingly rare and the number of smaller cities was also not very high. Based upon the size criteria for the *Barrington Atlas*, sites are categorized into 5 classes based upon size, physical remains, literary references, and civic status. Rank 1 represents isolated farms, villas, or hamlets, rank 2 small villages, ranks 3 and 4 towns and cities, and rank 5 extremely large cities (of which there are none in north central Anatolia).

For all of north central Anatolia, the *Barrington Atlas* records a total of 152 sites (ranks 1-5), a number that is dwarfed by the total number of urban sites in the province of Asia, which has 1,381 for ranks 2-5 and 176 for ranks 3 and 4 alone (fig. 3.18).⁶³ Nikomedia, Nikaia, Herakleia

⁵⁷ Kocabiyik 2012, 178–79.

⁵⁸ Mitchell 1993, 80–1; Laurence et al. 2011, 65–90.

⁵⁹ Morley 2011, 153–56.

⁶⁰ Some of these districts were initially returned to client kings in Paphlagonia, but were eventually reincorporated following the end of these local dynasties. Strabo 12.3.1; Appian, *Mith.* 114; Mitchell 1993, 31–33.

⁶¹ Strabo 12.3.1; Mitchell 1993, 32, On these cites, see n. 33 above.

⁶² Talbert 2000, xxv.

⁶³ Hanson 2011, 236–37.

Pontike, and Sinope are the only rank 4 cities in the region; all existed prior to Roman rule. The creation of new cities, therefore, was not a necessary precondition for the emergence of a settlement hierarchy in Bithynia, Pontus, or Paphlagonia. Cities and towns that existed prior to Roman intervention in north central Anatolia remained important centers and assumed the same administrative responsibilities. Sinope was one of the largest and most densely populated of these in Pontus. The city was already established in the political and urban landscape of Pontus when it was re-founded as a colony by Julius Caesar in 47 BCE. Likely had a population between 24,000 and 45,000 throughout the Roman period and was an important regional administrative and commercial center. It was also an important center for the numerous settlements that arose in its hinterland.

Pompeiopolis, Germanikopolis, and Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis were little more than small cities or large towns. The first two are classed as rank 3 cities while Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis is rank 2. Yet all three were some of the largest cities to exist in Paphlagonia. Each was founded during Pompey's reorganization of the provinces and their affluent position was intimately connected to their administrative role. Pompeiopolis embraced this new position and consistently promoted itself as the *metropolis* of Paphlagonia. The city also assumed responsibility for collecting the area's tax burden and became the center of political and religious life. Since it sat on the main northern route in Pontus, it constituted a major hub in Inner Paphlagonia. Germanikopolis was the seat of local dynasts until the death of Deiotarus Philadelphus and remained an important regional capital thereafter. The foundation of Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis was an administrative necessity, since the city administered a wide area. Each of these new cities was founded at Pompey's initiative and evolved to fulfill their role as regional administrative centers. They occupied the top tier of the administrative hierarchy, despite their moderate size and population. The number of rank 3 urban sites is equally low, a total of 12, including such places as Prusias, Prusa, Amaseia, and Amisos.

Other administrative centers, including the cities of Neoklaudiopolis, Sebastopolis, and Sebasteia, were small, rank 2 sites. To call these villages, as the *Barrington Atlas* classification would, ignores the fact that these centers had civic constitutions and functioned as cities in antiquity. Though smaller than Sinope, they were all re-founded to serve as regional capitals. Like Sinope, they also supported numerous sites of various sizes and functions in their territory and were some of the most densely populated cities of central and southern Pontus.⁷¹ Their relatively

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⁶⁴ As a colony that was founded by Miletus in the second half of the seventh century BCE, as the founder of subsequent colonies to the east along the southern coast, as a mass produce and exporter of amphora, and as the capital of the Pontic kingdom under Mithridates. Strabo 12.2.10, 12.3.10; Garlan and Tatlican 1998; Fedoseev 1999; Doonan 2004. 69–92.

⁶⁵ Particularly for the production of amphora. Kassab Tezgör 1996; Kassab Tezgör 1999; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlican 1997; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlican 1998.

⁶⁶ For the physical size of these cities, see Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 179–86; Summerer 2011, 3–5; Laflı and Christof 2012, 1–13, 14–24.

⁶⁷ Summerer 2011, 4. On both coinage and inscriptions, particularly dedications to the emperor and members of the imperial family. For the inscriptions, see Marek 1993, 65–70, kat. *Pompeiopolis* 13. For coinage, see Dalaison 2010, 45–81.

⁶⁸ Magie 1950, 1083–86; Winfield 1977, 151–66.

⁶⁹ So much so that it was the setting of the oath of allegiance when it was sworn by the Paphlagonians in 4/3 BCE. Magie 1950, 465; Jones 1971, 167; Mitchell 1993, 92; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 180.

⁷⁰ Including twelve hyparchies Wilson 1960, 156; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 182.

⁷¹ Hanson 2011, 250–61; Price 2011, 22–23.

small size, however, as well as the large number of rank 2 sites in the region (at 44) is one of the most important developments for the region.

The hierarchy that developed in north central Anatolia in the course of the Roman period was distinctive, therefore, because of the predominance of these small cities and towns. Rome was pivotal in the creation and promotion of at least some of these as part of its provincial administrative strategy. The creation of urban centers of any size implemented an infrastructure that was designed to administer and tax these provinces. In Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, Roman administrative rule created and subsequently relied on settlements that were effectively small towns. These specific cities controlled their own territories and within these territories new towns and villages of equal size ultimately developed. Inclusion within the empire brought with it an extensive network of trade contacts, consumer demand, profits, ideas, information, and power. Cities and towns throughout history have propelled consumer demand and commercial exchange, which require constant supply from rural territories, neighboring regional centers, and even long distance contacts (see the following chapter for the degree to which this integration was effected in north central Anatolia). ⁷² In north central Anatolia, the Roman administration established cities that were administrative units, accumulated revenue from taxing and exploiting their hinterland, participated short and long distance trade, and vied for imperial favor. These actions facilitated the creation and growth of settlements of equal size and importance as well as smaller sites that supported nucleated settlement in towns and small cities. These developments further balanced the hierarchical disparity of settlement that had existed prior to Roman rule. They are explored in the following three case studies.

(A) The Sinop Peninsula:

Sinope and its territory had benefitted from its advantageous position on the southern coast of the Black Sea and its thriving amphora and olive oil industry since the Hellenistic period. That these facilitated the explosive expansion of settlement witnessed during the Roman period is unquestionable. Doonan's regional survey recorded substantial expansion into the coastal and agricultural hinterlands of the peninsula. On the Demirci and Karasu coasts, settlement density rose by 500% and 50%, respectively, and ranged in size from small farms to villages and towns (figs. 3.25, 3.26). Doonan connects occupation of these coastal areas with an expanded fishing industry around Sinope. This seems likely, given the notoriety and popularity of fish and fish products from Sinope in antiquity.

Increases in stratified settlement are as equally significant as increases in the overall number of settlements. Along the Demirci coast east of the ancient city, the small farm or hamlet predominates. ⁷⁵ This stretch of coast is defined by shallow stretches of coastline that are dominated

This is only one function of the city. I do not advocate the view that the ancient city was purely a consumer, essentially devouring the produce of the territory under its control. Nor do I subscribe to the view that strict divisions existed between the "city" and the "country." Rather, both city and countryside/hinterland represented and performed multiple functions, including such activities as production and consumption. My views align more with recent challenges to the singularity of urban versus rural definitions and embrace the ideology of the city as a lived experience on economic, social, and cultural levels. These discussions can be found here: Morley 1997; Zanker 1998; Zanker 2000; Revell 2009, 40–79; Morley 2011.

⁷³ Supra n. 12, 55–6.

⁷⁴ Strabo 7.6.2, 12.3.11; Pliny, *NH* 9.18; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 3.118c, 7.307b; Doonan 2004, 95. This popularity that was especially lucrative, given the voracious tastes for fish products, garum in particular, in Rome and the Italian peninsula. Diodorus Siculus 37.3.5; While not one of the big three food items – wine, oil, and grain – garum was likely a strong contender for fourth place. Bekker-Nielsen 2005, 93–4.

⁷⁵ Though evidence of one major town site has been recovered.

by ridges and expanses of colluvial soils that sit unstably atop clay beds.⁷⁶ These environmental factors discouraged extensive agricultural cultivation, but were keenly suited for industrial sites that sprang up in the Roman period, particularly ceramic production.⁷⁷ The area also provides few suitable harbors that would encourage large villages and trading centers. Its rich marine resources and proximity to coastal roads were better suited to the development of small settlements in marginal locations. Such sites were inhabited by groups of ten or fifteen individuals and were almost wholly devoted to fishing.⁷⁸ Thus, they were reliant upon the services and resources of Sinope, particularly for commercial exchange. Aelian's description confirms fishing activities along this same coast; he details the size, frequency, and source of manpower that characterized these practices.⁷⁹

In contrast, settlement in the Karasu valley and delta, west of the city, was concentrated in large villages. The western coastline, with its rich soils and open river valley and delta, is eminently more suitable for agricultural production. ⁸⁰ It is also better suited for maritime trade outlets because it occupies a protected inlet on the Sinop promontory. Settlements along the Karasu coast easily supported larger, denser settlements and benefitted from a close proximity to Sinope and its lucrative markets. Settlement expansion in each area of the Sinop promontory, therefore, exhibits preferences for different sizes of settlements. Yet, each district reflects intensified coastal exploitation that resulted from the demand of Sinope and its commercial connections.

Similar patterns occur in the inner valleys and lowland hills of the peninsula. A large proportion of small and medium farms, villas, and industrial sites developed in these areas during the Roman period (figs. 3.27, 3.28). 81 The establishment of small and medium farms parallels the exploitation of the marginal areas of the coast. These sites were focused on the production of agricultural commodities, primarily olives. 82 Larger agricultural properties and concentrated scatters of Roman fine wares, marble, and mosaic fragments attest to the increasing presence of villas and Roman landowners in the landscape. 83 The rise in settlements, particularly those associated with Roman villa culture, suggests shifting patterns of landownership on the peninsula. Finally, multiple instances of industrial production were also discovered in these survey districts. These sites are almost entirely dominated by amphora and ceramic kilns. 84 Their recovery confirms the continuation of an important regional commercial enterprise during the Hellenistic period.⁸⁵ The sharp increase in production sites and produce corresponds with the evidence for the intensification of exploitation of marine and agricultural resources. These commodities required vessels for transport and ceramic production that had to match the increased volume of agricultural and marine products. The size, location, and functional preferences for settlements around Sinope provide empirical evidence that site development was driven by resource extraction and rural production. The remaining case studies will address whether these elements characterize settlement patterns for the entire region.

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⁷⁶ Doonan 2004, 39–40.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ As well as the major town site, the exact size and nature of which have yet to be fully examined.

⁷⁹ Aelian, *Animalium* 15.4–5, 10.

⁸⁰ Doonan 2004, 40–41.

There is also substantial evidence for at least one large village and one town/city. Doonan 2004, 95–6, 101–117.

⁸² Strabo 12.3.12; Doonan 2004, 11, 95.

⁸³ Doonan 2004, 103–113.

⁸⁴ Kassab Tezgör 1996; Kassab Tezgör 1999; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlican 1998; Doonan 2004, 101–108, 111.

⁸⁵ Garlan and Tatlican 1998; Fedoseev 1999.

(B) Amaseia:

Like Sinope, Amaseia was a cultural center during the Hellenistic period, having been the capital of the Pontic kingdom until 183 BCE. Reven after this title was transferred to Sinope, Amaseia remained an important civic and religious center. Unlike Sinope, Amaseia was established in the interior of Pontus and was a fortified city on the cliffs above the Iris River. Its position along a waterway facilitated a moderate degree of trade and communication; however, it depended on its agricultural lands for its livelihood. The prosperity of its territory was so famous in antiquity that the surrounding valley was called Chiliocomon, 'the thousand villages.' Revenue the capital surrounding valley was called Chiliocomon, 'the thousand villages.'

These differences are not reflected in the development of settlement around the city. During the Roman period, the number of settlements around Amaseia more than doubled. Seventy-four percent of these were new foundations (table 4, fig. 3.15). GIS work conducted by Coşku Kocabıyık has refined the types of settlements involved in this expansion. Kocabıyık mapped the distribution of Hellenistic and Roman sites around Amaseia and focused on the elevation, slope, and aspect of each recovered settlement. He then analyzed historical preferences for site selection and, if possible, the socio-political aspects behind these site selection preferences. Hellenistic settlements were primarily associated with roads and clustered around ancient trade routes, all within a mean range of 5km. Settlements exhibited a wide range of elevation preferences, but showed a particular inclination for higher elevations at the edges of mountainous regions to the west. On the settlement of the sett

Settlements in the Roman period deviated considerably. These were recovered in lowland, flat areas that could be irrigated via watersheds. Sites increased in number and preferred locations within 10km of roads and trade routes. Kocabiyik argues that these shifts reflected important socio-economic changes in the landscape. Increases in settlement, the preference for flat, irrigated sites, and a tendency toward nucleation (a trend that was absent in the Hellenistic period) suggest intensified agricultural production for large, demanding urban markets. Changes in landownership and property organization occurred in order to meet these demands. Villas were the most visible and significant cultural change. Their creation amassed large expanses of agricultural land for production beyond mere subsistence. Amaseia's reputation agricultural prosperity and the extensive tracts of fertile farmland were its best resource. It merely required more efficient investment and exploitation.

(C) Pompeiopolis and Inner Paphlagonia:

The case studies of Sinope and Amaseia connect on several levels. Each was an important regional capital in the Hellenistic period and benefitted from advantageous positions along roads, trade routes, and substantial tracts of fertile agricultural territory. These conditions also accounted for the similarities of settlement changes in both regions during the Roman period. The third and

⁸⁶ Strabo 12.3.39-40.

⁸⁷ To Zeus Stratios. French 1996b.

⁸⁸ Erciyas 2006b, 37, 40.

⁸⁹ Particularly the trade route that connected the area to Sinope and the rest of inland Pontus. Kocabiyik 2012, 178.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 178–79.

⁹⁴ Mitchell 2005, 85; Kocabiyik 2012, 178–79.

final case study of Pompeiopolis is drawn from decidedly different circumstances in order to test whether the same phenomena can be observed and generalized for all of north central Anatolia. Pompeiopolis was founded *ex novo* as part Pompey's settlement of Pontus and Paphlagonia; it became the metropolis of Paphlagonia around the time of Antoninus Pius. Like other parts of Paphlagonia, the territory of Pompeiopolis was nearly devoid of urban elements when it was incorporated into the empire. The site was founded on a ridge crest overlooking the alluvial Gökırmak Valley and depended on natural springs for its water supply. Major roads and trade routes bypassed the region in favor of Sinope to the north; settlement conformed to the same defensive, fortified qualities that had dominated the Anatolian plateau for millennia. Pompeiopolis lacked the highly developed pedigree and advantageous contacts that existed at Sinope and Amaseia. It should, therefore, provide an excellent case study to examine urban development in areas that lacked a strong urban history.

Settlement in the territory of Paphlagonia had slowly intensified since the Iron Age, but these increases accelerated in the Roman period. Roman period. It is the fertile plains around Amaseia and Sinope, settlement expansion in the Gökırmak Valley took the form of small farms and hamlets that intensified agricultural exploitation in the valley. This intensification conforms to the patterns witnessed elsewhere in Roman Paphlagonia, but also reflects the traditional agricultural and pastoral practices of the Anatolian plateau. The expansion of settlement around Pompeiopolis also reflected increasing interest in agricultural and non-agricultural commodities. In addition to the farming communities in the valley, settlements penetrated the surrounding ridges, foothills, and mountains to obtain timber and metal resources, specifically copper. The preference for settlement at mining sites began during the Bronze Age; however, the number and extent from the Roman period demonstrate that extraction of these resources intensified well beyond the point of self-sufficiency or low-level profit.

The marginal position of these sites merits a brief discussion. Settlements were often fortified for protection and frequently had access to water sources, such as springs. Staples, supplies, and the market for the extracted resources must have come from neighboring villages and Pompeiopolis. North central Anatolia had to adapt to extremely variable topography and climates. Coastal cities had moderate tracts of available agricultural land, but these were constrained by numerous rugged mountain ranges that begin close to the coast. The interior is punctuated with fertile alluvial valleys, but dominated by small mountain ranges and vast plateaus that are better suited for pastoralism than agricultural endeavors. The development of these smaller, tenuous settlements, therefore, demonstrates an enormous effort to overcome environmental constraints and the necessity of settlement interdependence in that endeavor.

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⁹⁵ For the foundation of Pompeiopolis as part of the settlement of Pompey, see Strabo 12.3.40; Magie 1950, 1232–34; Mitchell 1993, 31–2. For the city's use of *metropolis*, see Marek 1993, 65–70, kat. *Pompeiopolis* 13. For coinage, see Dalaison 2010, 45–81.

⁹⁶ Magie 1950, 119–20; Jones 1971, 155–58; Mitchell 1993, 32–3, 80–86; Johnson 2011, 195, 200.

⁹⁷ Mitchell 1993, 32; Johnson 2011, 195, 200; Summerer 2011, 4–5.

⁹⁸ Johnson 2011, 195, 199–200.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

For Paphlagonia, see Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 178–89; Matthews and Glatz 2009b, 247–48. For similar results in other regions of Anatolia, see Kealhofer 2005, 148 (Phrygia); Pleket 2003, 89 (Lydia); Baird 2004, 232 (Konya); Vanhaverbeke et al. 2004, 255 (Sagalassos); Blanton 2000, 60 (Cilicia).
 Johnson 2011.

¹⁰² Matthews and Glatz 2009b, 243–48; Johnson 2011.

¹⁰³ Johnson 2011, 198–200.

¹⁰⁴ Magie 1950, 34–52; Mitchell 1993, 1; Marek 2003, 8–11; Matthews 2009b, 3–11; Marek 2010, 27–36.

The development around Pompeiopolis is a recurring pattern in the rest of Inner Paphlagonia. Two features are significant. First, development and exploitation took place even in the smallest pockets of arable land and natural resources. Matthews et al. attribute this to widespread prosperity and stability produced by the *Pax Romana*. Second, a settlement hierarchy of large, agglomerated sites, such as villages and towns, developed over time, yet it did not negatively impact the existence and increase of small farmsteads and hamlets. Rather, the establishment and prosperity of towns and cities in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia supported the spread of smaller settlements, both agricultural and industrial, that became the most efficient means for utilizing the variable landscape of the region.

(D) The Role of Roman Roads:

Roads are the final thread that connects these three case studies. ¹⁰⁷ Incorporation in the Roman empire was not only accompanied by a network of administrative centers, but also came with an infrastructure that facilitated communication and the movement of people and goods between regional centers and between the entire region and the Mediterranean. Four major episodes of road building are known for Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia (fig. 3.29). The Flavian period marked the first instance of renewed interest in and organization of the area. ¹⁰⁸ The second, third, and fourth occurred under Hadrian, the Severans, and Diocletian, respectively. ¹⁰⁹ All four also constituted periods of significant urban development (see Chapter 2) as well as concentrated military activity and scrutiny in the region (see Chapter 5). The construction of Roman roads in north central Anatolia, therefore, facilitated urban, demographic, and economic growth.

Of the three case studies, an established road network had the greatest impact on Pompeiopolis and Inner Paphlagonia. The city and region benefited from a northern east-west route that fed into the greater east-west road that ran from Byzantium to Amaseia. This connected the city and Paphlagonia to northern Pontus and important commercial centers, such as Sinope. This new road network in Paphlagonia facilitated the transportation of imperial commodities, taxes, and troops. It also facilitated the local connectivity necessary to spur and support local settlement, markets, around individual urban centers. It established connections to opportunities in markets further afield in Anatolia and the east as well as the broader empire (discussed more extensively in Chapter 4).

The influence of Roman roads on economic exchange and communication was lower for the other case studies. Sinope and Amaseia maintained solid trade contacts with several centers in the Black Sea and benefitted from their location on pre-existing Hellenistic routes. The construction of Roman roads, however, codified and improved many of these pre-existing routes. Roads facilitated faster, more reliable, transport thereby improving the position of these cities by. Road construction also opened up new opportunities in previously untapped parts of the interior of Anatolia. Perhaps the most significant change was the impact upon small and medium settlements. The creation of a reliable and extensive road network encouraged the creation of smaller settlements that were focused on production, transport, sale, and distribution. At Amaseia, agricultural settlements preferred sites within 10km of roads, a distance that was easily covered in

¹⁰⁵ Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 189.

As is characteristic in the Hellenistic period. Erciyas 2006b, 61; Matthews, Metcalfe, and Cottica 2009, 189. For detailed studies of Roman roads in all of north central Anatolia, see Magie 1950, 1083–86; Wilson 1960, 311–414.

¹⁰⁸ Mitchell 1993, 124; French 2003, 53.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Wilson 1960; Mitchell 1993, 32; Erciyas 2006b, 37–42.

a day's journey.¹¹¹ At Sinope, coastal villages and settlements relied upon the coastal road for connection to Sinope; valley farms, villas, and kiln sites also benefitted from nearby roads to transport their products.¹¹² Roads were not revolutionary in these areas, but that did not diminish their role in encouraging small, localized settlement.

VII. Settlement Hierarchy in Roman North Central Anatolia: A Region of Cities, Towns, or Villages?

The preceding case studies have produced four broad conclusions that can be extrapolated for the whole region. First, Roman annexation and administrative oversight of the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia was one impetus toward settlement expansion and increased urbanization. This was particularly true in the former kingdoms of Pontus and Paphlagonia. Roman administrative rule and the imperial bureaucracy depended on urban centers for oversight. This policy encouraged and supported major, pre-existing Hellenistic centers in these provinces and created an administrative hierarchy. A small number of new towns and cities that were moderate in size and were responsible for local supervision were established. Second, this administrative policy and the light imperial bureaucracy that accompanied it, coupled with the *Pax Romana*, created a set of advantageous circumstances. Cities and towns were promoted as centers for administration, economic exchange, and communication. Urban centers also became more closely connected through the construction of an extensive network of Roman roads. Peace and security, moreover, were established on an unprecedented scale throughout the region. Settlements exploded across the landscape in order to meet the demands of the administrative authority, the urban populace, and a region in which travel and transport had become easier.

Third, the low level of continuity of pre-existing sites and the sharp rise in the number of new foundations produced a settlement hierarchy unprecedented for the region in its scale and complexity. This hierarchy is still the best illustration of the character of, and influence upon, settlement in the Roman period as well as the distinctiveness of the region within the empire as a whole. The urban hierarchy that resulted in north central Anatolia under Roman rule was one that tempered the dominant presence of pre-existing large urban centers with a few small cities, but numerous towns. Some of these small cities and towns were created by direct Roman intervention in order to serve an important administrative function. The remaining towns developed as a result of the stability provided by Roman rule and the increasingly efficient exploitation of the countryside. These developments are reflected not only in the number of rank 1 and 2 sites recorded in the *Barrington Atlas*, but also by the results of the archaeological surveys examined above. The individual case studies at Sinope, Amaseia, and Pompeiopolis as well as the broad results of other projects in Pontus show that, along with the 44 rank 2 towns that are recorded in the *Barrington Atlas*, a plethora of villages, villas, and small farmsteads formed the large base of this settlement hierarchy.

The abundance of these settlements and the overlap between towns, villages, and rural life that existed in antiquity also deviated from what had constituted rural and urban life for residents in the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. In contrast to the Hellenistic period, the promotion of urban life and town centers did not discourage the establishment of small farms and hamlets. These smaller types of settlement were widely distributed across the landscape during the Roman period and were located in a variety of locations, from marginal areas to areas closely

Such as the coastal road that ran along the southern shore of the Black Sea. Wilson 1960; French 2013.

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¹¹¹ Kocabiyik 2012, 178. Modern and ancient estimates of the maximum distance of a day's travel, either by foot or by pack animal, average around 37km or 20-30 Roman miles for 8 hours of travel. Bekker-Nielsen 1989, 30.

associated with roads. Cultivation and exploitation of the countryside proceeded at unprecedented levels. In a region characterized by isolated pockets of arable land, the proliferation of small settlements illustrates the intense effort that was channeled into achieving maximum efficiency and exploitation. The intensification of the villa landscape followed a similar pattern, but also marked a shift in both landholding patterns and the identities of the landholders. Villages, market towns, and hamlets occupied the middle position between these two extremes. From the survey data, towns and villages were the most popular settlement preference in Pontus and Paphlagonia. The *Barrington Atlas* confirms this for the province of Bithynia as well, though cities and towns tended to be slightly larger than those in Pontus and Paphlagonia. These towns and villages benefited from new and improved road networks and trade routes. They were intermediaries between the smallest farms and the very small number of large cities as well as centers for local and imperial administration. They were the setting for regional exchange, transportation, and communication as well as some of the most concentrated centers of population.

Thus, the settlement hierarchy that developed under the course of Roman rule was one that tempered the dominance of large urban centers that had prevailed in the Hellenistic period and that created a more variegated hierarchy of settlement for the region. It resulted in an intensity of urban life and a proliferation of rural settlement that had not existed previously nor was experienced again until the Ottoman period; although the urban density of this region remains low in comparison with other provinces. This increase in urban density and hierarchy was a new development for north central Anatolia, but a common one for a territory within an imperial framework. Empires encourage hierarchy, which is produced by variable access to and competition for economic resources as well as political and social status. While a few, relatively large centers continued to exist in north central Anatolia, Roman imperial rule facilitated a diversification of this hierarchy both directly and indirectly. The administrative authority purposefully created a few new small cities or towns with explicit administrative functions, but also assigned similar administrative duties to pre-existing towns. The foundation of additional cities was not explicitly pursued, yet further stimulus was provided by intensive periods of road-building, which served military and security concerns.

Numerous small urban centers and villages sprang up in the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia as an indirect, yet fortuitous, consequence. These benefited from the stable position and prosperity of pre-existing cities, but also from the peace, increased mobility, communication, connectivity, and intensified interest in production and trade that was made possible by the Roman empire. These results are not particularly surprising within the greater context of Roman urbanism studies. They represent an important change, however, in the character of urban life in north central Anatolia. The diversification of the settlement hierarchy that resulted from numerous new towns and villages, not to mention small rural settlements, changed how life in these provinces was experienced. Small towns and perhaps even villages increasingly became the settings of urban living. For isolated small farms, villas, or hamlets, urban living was not a daily experience, but it was increasingly a possibility.

The relative stability of both large urban centers and small towns and villages in the Late Roman period is the fourth and final feature of regional settlement. Throughout north central Anatolia, sites that were larger than small farms experienced a longer, sustained period of stability, one that extended into the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. The persistence of these smaller centers, particularly villages, however, has been viewed by some as the basis for the inherent

¹¹³ For agricultural produce, mineral and timber resources as well as craft (i.e. ceramic) production.

¹¹⁴ Sinopoli 1995; Woolf 1997, 9–10.

fragility of urban life in the region. A.H.M. Jones considered urban life in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia to be artificial in character and its survival doomed or precarious at best. Jones' sentiments reflect an older belief in the strict division between the rural and the urban spheres, one that is now the subject of intense scrutiny and reevaluation. Recent studies stress the important relationship between city and country, not only in terms of power dynamics and the boundaries of urban life, but the ways in which each formed an interdependent unit and contributed to the survival of the other.

The rural elements and local character of the settlement history in Roman northern Anatolia must be re-examined under the same framework. Instead of associating strong rural preferences with the failure, artificiality, or fragility of the urban system, one should consider its contribution to stability. Regional preferences maintained local traditions, but the increase and distribution of settlements maximized engagement with the countryside. It also avoided overextending resources in order to construct and maintain cities that could not be supported. New cities were a monumental financial and physical undertaking. Though the smaller populations of this region were not necessarily poor, they also did not have the vast resources to build cities on the size, scale, and number as their neighbors in western Asia Minor. That cities such as Germanikopolis, Pompeiopolis, and Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis successfully constructed the architectural armature of a city was an impressive feat. The dominance of small towns, villages, and agricultural settlements, however, curbed overzealous spending that could and did lead to urban instability and abandonment in other areas of the empire. Cities were an important part of provincial life and support for the countryside, but the provinces remained a world of villages that simply became even more prevalent across the vast countryside of north central Anatolia.

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¹¹⁵ "The urbanization of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus retained to the end the artificial character which it had had at the beginning. The inhabitants of these regions did not take naturally to city life. The few cities that there were either Greek colonies or artificial creations of the central government, and these cities ruled enormous territories where the primitive village life of the natives continued to flourish unaffected by them. Pompey had partitioned up the kingdoms into city territories for administrative convenience, and his system was maintained and extended by later rulers for the same motive. It had no effect on the civilization of the district, which remained essentially of a rural type." Jones 1971, 172

¹¹⁶ Hohenberg and Lees 1995, 49; Morley 1997, 49–53; Woolf 1997, 10–12

Numerous cities in Italy suffered due to fickle imperial favor or fluctuating trade routes. Patterson 2006, 92–106.

CHAPTER 4:

REGIONALISM AND AUTONOMY IN THE ECONOMIC NETWORKS OF NORTH CENTRAL ANATOLIA, THE BLACK SEA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

I. Introduction: Connectivity in North Central Anatolia

The preceding two chapters have argued for a complex relationship between Rome and north central Anatolia, especially regarding imperial presence, influence, and visibility in the region. Chapter 2 explored the construction of and financial resources behind public monuments in north central Anatolian cities and towns. A discernible preference for democratic monuments certainly existed as did the prominent and consistent utilization of civic finances. The patronage of local elites in the 1st century CE and imperial favor in the 3rd and 4th centuries, however, were essential contributions to the construction of public monuments, which were both Greek and Roman in both form and function. Civic euergetism not only played an important early role in constructing urban landscapes, but helped stabilize urban life during later turbulent periods as well. The synthesis of regional survey data undertaken in Chapter 3 qualified this image of Roman influence by suggesting that the region was more detached from imperial interest, intervention, and integration than provinces in the central Mediterranean. The establishment of a few modestsized regional capitals, the proliferation of and local preference for smaller order settlements, and a low urban population density argue against a policy of deliberate urbanization under the Roman imperial administration. Roman imperial power certainly facilitated an unprecedented and distinctive urban system of north central Anatolia, but much of the causation, I have argued, was only indirect.

Together, the findings from the first three chapters underscore the importance of understanding the precise nature and "position" of north central Anatolia within the Roman empire. The position itself was multifaceted and was shaped by geographic, economic, political, military, and ideological elements. This chapter will not only establish a deeper historical understanding of the broad influences and importance of the region as a whole. It will also facilitate a more thorough understanding of the urban dynamic and history of this region, particularly in the 3rd century. The investigation, just like the region's position, pursues multiple threads. I focus on four models of networks that have proven fruitful in World Systems studies in general as well as the Roman empire more specifically. These networks are (i) bulk goods; (ii) prestige goods; (iii) military; and (iv) administration. Each network incorporates political, economic, religious, and social forces at varying degrees of size and intensity. Due to the size and complexity of this discussion, the first two networks are discussed in the present chapter, the last two in the chapter that follows. These four networks are best examined on three levels that already constituted important units in the region of north central Anatolia in antiquity: the polis-hinterland of cities (local), north central Anatolia and the Black Sea (regional), and the Mediterranean Basin (imperial).

The results produce a provocative view of the fluctuating connectivity and supra-regional centrality of north central Anatolia over the course of Roman rule. The regions of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia were closely connected in terms of their local cities, hinterlands, and the Black Sea region. This created a relatively stable region that was not particularly disrupted by the Roman administrative supervision. Geographic isolation and moderate imperial supervision, however, did not hinder a prosperous Black Sea trade in regionally specific prestige items as well as bulk goods. Nor did it necessarily encourage Mediterranean connections and integration. Distance and pre-

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¹ Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Scheidel 2014.

existing patterns of exchange most influenced the position of north central Anatolia within Rome's Mediterranean network of exchange. Centuries of economic activity in the Black Sea continued to play a determinative role in the exchange of commercial goods. This relationship was reinforced by the expense of transporting regional goods over long distances to the Mediterranean core, where goods of comparable quality and quantity were more readily and cheaply available.

II. Exploring Connectivity Through Networks and Locality

The study of connectivity and integration for any unit, from small cities to vast land empires, is restricted most by the variable of size. No one theoretical model can address units that vary widely in size and complexity within the same study. Studies in World Systems Theory and geospatial modeling have developed multiple networks that vary significantly in size, incorporate multiple elements of analysis, and overlap with each other in order to establish a more cohesive image of connectivity. The study by C. Chase-Dunn and T.D. Hall on the comparison of world-systems, for example, is successful in bridging these different scales. Scheidel has built upon Chase-Dunn and Hall, focusing on geospatial modeling and connectivity in the Roman empire.

Bulk-goods networks are customarily the smallest in scale, due to the relatively low-value of the goods involved, the constraints of transportation and container costs, and the dependence on locally cultivated products. Despite their small size, bulk-goods networks constitute the most intense examples of regional integration. The remaining three networks are more expansive and encompass a wider range of geographical boundaries, physical objects, and cultural ideas. Prestige goods, by nature of their exotic appeal and socio-cultural value, cross vast geographical boundaries. Administrative and military networks, like the Roman empire, not only co-exist with other state systems, but also incorporate several smaller units of local, regional, and imperial administration. Information, too, is amorphous, flexible, and expansive in nature and its ability to flow through multiple outlets.⁴

The framework of Mediterranean connectivity that was formulated by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell also shapes this discussion. Horden and Purcell emphasize the ecological and geographical fragmentation of the Mediterranean, but argue that these disadvantageous circumstances actually encouraged higher levels of connectivity throughout the Mediterranean. The necessity of mutual cooperation in order to minimize risk, a general but highly fragmented wealth of natural resources, the capacity to travel (especially over water), and the persistence of these circumstances over millennia reinforced the influence of this corrupting sea. North central Anatolia occupies a important position within this ecology. The region sits on the periphery of the Mediterranean, yet was closely connected with the sea in antiquity via imperial rule, on the one hand, and commercial ties, on the other. As such, it is subject to many of the same determinative influences of Mediterranean life. On the other hand, the Black Sea constitutes its own distinct macroregion. Its size and its topographical, climatological, and ecological variability produced some of the same conditions that encouraged connectivity and prosperity in the Mediterranean (figs. 4.1, 4.2). The intersection of similar modes of connectivity between both regions during a

² Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997.

³ Scheidel 2014.

⁴ Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997, 52–55; Scheidel 2014, 11–12.

⁵ Horden and Purcell 2000.

⁶ Horden and Purcell 2000.

⁷ Doonan 2004, 3–11, 119–43, 158–60; Braund 2005.

period of intense political, military, and economic contact constitutes a further argument for the necessity of this discussion.

To these frameworks, I add three lenses of scrutiny: the *polis* and hinterland, the Black Sea, and Rome's Mediterranean core. These correspond well with the way these four networks were nested within one another. More important, they refine the image of connectivity within each network by addressing the recurrent theme of geographical fragmentation that is so central to Horden and Purcell's timeless Mediterranean. The first lens is also the smallest. In antiquity, the dynamic between a city or town and its hinterland was fundamental to economic vitality, religious practice, administration, and daily life. Insights from the Black Sea region show cooperation and contact across a larger and topographically diverse geographical area. Geospatial modeling and evidence of interaction with Mediterranean-centric provinces examine claims about the economic connections and benefits of Roman urbanism.

Finally, what does it mean to be "integrated" or "connected?" These relationships exist on a level that is primarily physical. When I discuss "connectivity" and "integration," I refer to the degree to which a location or entity is physically connected to another. This connection can be established by multiple criteria. On the one hand, cities can be established close together such that interaction and movement between the two is easy and frequent. On the other hand, cities and settlements can be widely distributed across the landscape. This distance and the surrounding terrain can hinder travel, interaction, and connection. Cities, regions, and empires can be connected by various routes for travel and communication, including roads and waterways. Moreover, physical objects, such as commercial products and their containers, can suggest established lines of collection between producers and consumers. Yet, connectivity and integration can also be perceived. Are communities linked by sight and their visibility in the landscape? Do citizens and urban centers conceive of themselves as individuals or as part of a larger community? When analyzing connectivity in north central Anatolia, we must consider not only the physical ties that connected individual cities, the Black Sea macroregion, and the Roman empire. We must also consider the agents behind these connections and how these ties were established.

III. Bulk-Goods Networks: From Self-Sufficiency to Imperial Commodities

A. The Local Level and Self-Sufficiency

Bulk-goods networks are commonly the smallest networks that exist, due to the nature of the objects involved and the economic investment surrounding their transport. In north central Anatolia the bulk-goods network was a key component in the self-sufficiency of individual cities. The concept of local political and economic autonomy was already embedded in the ideology of the Greek *polis* as early as the Classical period. A key element of the successful *polis*, even in northern Anatolia, was its ability to maintain independence and support its citizens. During the Roman period full autonomy, even as an ideological construct, was no longer possible and, therefore, no longer determined urban status. The previous chapter demonstrated that cities in north central Anatolia and the settlements in their hinterland tended toward sizes and relationships that were small and sustainable. When these features are analyzed alongside the production and circulation of bulk-goods, the image of small, individual cities with strong, stable economic connections to their territories emerges.

The staple products of daily Mediterranean life and commerce are an appropriate starting point. The proximity and fertility of the Black Sea region facilitated the production of wheat,

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⁸ Pausanias 10.3–4; Mitchell 1993, 81; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 45, 66, 70–71.

⁹ Mitchell 1993, 81; Woolf 1997, 10–13.

grapes, and olives throughout north central Anatolia during the Roman period. Local preferences, topography, and climate influenced the production of these staples. All three crops were extensively and intensively cultivated throughout the entire region, with some micro-regional differences. For example, the Black Sea region was renowned in antiquity for its grain-producing capabilities. 10 This reputation was rooted primarily in the Bosporus, however, which often had problems producing the famed surpluses. 11 Several varieties of wheat could be grown in most areas of north central Anatolia, but the coastal plains of Bithynia around Nikaia and Nikomedia were the main areas of cultivation. 12 Many cities in Bithynia and Pontus imported large quantities of wheat from the Bosporan kingdom and maintained close political and commercial ties with the kingdom for that purpose. 13 A popular and more widely available alternative was millet, which complemented wheat consumption to a substantial degree. ¹⁴ Grapevines were distributed widely and evenly across western Asia Minor and Anatolia. ¹⁵ Olive cultivation, on the other hand, was more sporadic. A combination of climate and geographical factors impeded large-scale production from Byzantium to Sinope. 16 In these more hospitable areas, olives and oil were not only intensively exploited as well as exported in large volumes.¹⁷ With the exception of the few noted examples, these three agricultural staples were cultivated and consumed extensively throughout the region.

Four factors facilitated a highly integrated bulk-goods network at the local level. First, the size of the *chorai* and the local preference for small towns and villages encouraged the efficient cultivation of substantial quantities of agricultural produce. Self-sufficiency among small sites and villages is a stronger possibility, due to the smaller level of demands. Even larger cities in this region, however, could provide much of the bulk goods from their extended hinterland. The inordinately large size of the urban districts and *chorai* in these provinces was the main reason. This size discrepancy was a direct result of Pompey's settlement in the mid 1st century BCE. The underdeveloped urban character of the region most influenced Pompey, who created new cities as well as twelve new administrative districts. These actions allocated large tracts of relatively uninhabited territories to these cities. The policy may also have ultimately hindered the foundation of new urban centers thereafter, which would have lacked an adequate amount of territory for the city and its surrounding hinterland.

A comparison with urban territories in western Asia Minor highlights this disparity. Hanson's recent work on connectivity in that province demonstrated a well-connected and heavily exploited region. This resulted from a high number of sites spread across the landscapes. The radius of city territories and hinterlands averaged 23.7 km, though these territories were already

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¹⁰ Herodotus 7.147; Demosthenes 20.30–33; Isocrates 17.57. Broughton 1938, 607–9.

¹¹ Garnsey 1988, 14; Rosivach 2000, 41; Braund 2003; Braund 2005, 121; Braund 2007.

¹² Strabo 12.4.7; Galen *De alim. Fac.* 1.13.9, 22.

¹³ Strabo 7.4.6; CIRB 46, 54, 55; Braund 2005, 128–30.

¹⁴ As well as other grains such as sorghum. Strabo 12.3.15; Pliny *HN* 18.101; Galen *De Alim. Fac.*, 1.15.3; Broughton 1938, 609; Braund 2005, 122.

¹⁵ Broughton 1938, 609; Magie 1950, 34,

¹⁶ Polybius (4.38) records the intensive importation of wine and olive oil into the Black Sea, though he specifically focuses on Byzantium and notes the abundance of numerous other resources in the Pontic region. Broughton 1938, 602, Braund 2005, 122; Mitchell 2005, 91–92.

¹⁷ Strabo (12.3.12, 30) emphasizes their abundance, high quality, and intensive cultivation. Archaeological surveys around the Sinop promontory have recovered numerous sites dedicated to the production and processing of olive as well as the amphorae for their storage and transportation. Garlan and Kassab Tezgör 1996; Kassab Tezgör 1996; Garlan and Tatlican 1998; Kassab Tezgör 1999; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlican 1998; Doonan 2002; Doonan 2004, 97–117. See also Broughton 1938, 611; Braund 2005, 122; Mitchell 2005, 98–103.

contiguous at a radius of 18.5 km (fig. 4.3). ¹⁸ In contrast, northern Anatolian cities of the same rank, order, and size have territories more than twice the average size of their western neighbors. 19 Voronoi diagrams that reconstruct the possible boundaries of these territories best illustrate this difference (fig. 4.4). ²⁰ City hinterlands are at least twice as large.

These larger territories were advantageous and, in theory, would have facilitated the ability of individual cities to cultivate and supply higher volumes of staple produce for the population of the local district. I do not presume, of course, that the entirety of every *chora* was subject to or suitable for cultivation. Soils in northern Anatolia vary significantly in fertility. The topography of the region is significantly more difficult than western Asia Minor. The higher elevations of the central plateaus shorten growing seasons or prohibit it entirely. The removal of native vegetation, brush, and scrub is also extremely laborious. 21

Nevertheless, a high density of secondary settlements developed under the Roman empire. These were focused on agricultural exploitation and illustrate that local inhabitants as well as elite landowners took advantage of the space and opportunity to produce and profit from a surplus. The amount of arable land under cultivation during the Roman period reached unprecedented levels, a second factor that argues for a closely connected local network. As discussed in Chapter 3, surveys have demonstrated not only a pronounced increase in the number of settlements throughout the region, but a significant increase in its aggregate settlement density as well.²² Both trends reflect an intensified interest in capitalizing upon natural resources (agricultural, marine, and mineral), as well as in maximizing their exploitation. The motivations behind this intensification aimed to create a surplus of agricultural goods and mineral resources that exceeded local subsistence needs. This included new and developing commercial priorities as well as the payment of taxes.

As Chapter 3 also demonstrated, large increases in settlement occurred in areas with a wide variety of environmental conditions. Some were fertile plains and valleys that were relatively easy to access; others occupied more isolated and marginal places in the landscape. The development of rich agricultural plains of the coast and valleys best reflects a general trend of population growth and increased demands upon the land; however, the intensification of settlements and activities in isolated, vulnerable locations illustrates a concerted effort to exploit the landscape to its most profitable potential. Both affected connectivity at the local level by producing a larger quantity of available goods as well as facilitating the movement of those goods to larger markets in north central Anatolia, the Black Sea, and potentially the Mediterranean.

The large number of villages that developed in these territories under the empire represent one example of how local inhabitants and individual cities participated in the increased cultivation of the countryside. Amaseia, for example, was located in the fertile Iris River valley and was surrounded by a broad plain called Chiliocomon, "the thousand villages". This collection of villages was advantageously positioned for agricultural prosperity and self-sufficiency. The territory could support a population large enough to cultivate a substantial proportion of Amaseia's arable land. Strabo, moreover, asserted that the natural conditions of the area warded off famine

¹⁸ Hanson 2011, 237–44. ¹⁹ Hanson 2011, 242–46.

²⁰ Voronoi diagrams bisect the distance between each city so that central points are equidistant from the hypothesized boundaries. Ibid.

Magie 1950, 34; Doonan 2004, 9–10; Matthews et al., 2009, 31–33.

²² Increasing by as much as 350% around the Sinop promontory alone.

for the population and its livestock, a rarity in antiquity.²³ The confluence of these same favorable circumstances (fertile land, water, and manpower) was repeated at Amisos.²⁴

Elite and imperial estates were a second major component in this increased exploitation; they produced bulk goods for local sale, distribution, and consumption. Export was also a possibility. This is definitely the case for olive producers in Pontus in particular, and Anatolia in general, especially in the late Roman period. Two great centers of demand for oil, Rome itself and troops stationed along the frontier, encouraged elites to focus on olive cultivation on their estates. In north central Anatolia, this increased focus on olive production and processing was also accompanied by increases in ceramic containers for their storage and transport. The exact distinction between villages on these estates and those recovered through archaeological survey is unclear, since villages could be either independent or tenants on elite or imperial estates. Estates merit a separate discussion, regardless of the overlap, because of the commercial connections of their elite owners as well as different strategies for the volume of production.

The advent of the Roman period witnessed the greater accumulation of property into the hands of elites and the emperor. The bequest of the bankrupt kingdom of Bithynia to Rome was particularly lucrative for land-hungry Italians.²⁷ This transition is most clearly reflected in inscriptions from Bithynia. These not only record local land management practices, but also chart the disappearance of Thracian names among elite property owners and their replacement with Greek and Roman names.²⁸ Intensified exploitation of the landscape accompanied this acquisition. The fertile plains around Nikaia, which were largely unexploited before the imperial period, were rigidly organized and supervised.²⁹ Archaeological surveys from coastal Pontus show the creation of large villa sites that were engaged in wine and olive production.³⁰ These reached a substantial concentration in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Large regions of the interior were also steadily incorporated into imperial holdings, particularly under the Severans.³¹

Imperial and private estates functioned with profit in mind, a goal that was achieved through the agency of numerous individuals, including owners, leaseholders, and tenants. Estates were the property of an owner, whether the emperor or a private individual; however, they were often administered by a set of personnel that included supervisory agents of the proprietor (oikonomoi, pragmateutai, or imperial procurators), inhabitants and tenants on the estate (coloni), and temporary leaseholders (conductores). This structure as well as the process of rent collection

²³ Strabo notes the wide availability of wild produce and game, such as grapes, apples, and nuts, which could sustain the local population in addition to what they farmed. Strabo 12.3.13; Braund 2005, 121.

²⁴ Strabo 12.3.14; Braund 2005, 121.

²⁵ Hitchner 1993; Braund 2005, 122; Mitchell 2005, 98–103.

²⁶ Ibid.; Doonan 2004, 93–117.

²⁷ Mitchell 1993, 160.

²⁸ Corsten 2006. Most of Corsten's evidence comes from Nikaia, Nikomedia, and Prusa. The same shift must have also occurred at Apameia. The city was made a Roman colony and at least one Italian family became prominent landowners. The Catilii settled in the city with an elite group of colonists. They remained active members of the civic and imperial elite as well as extensive landowners at least until the middle of the 2nd century. *I. Apamea* 2, 21; *I. Kios* 105; Corsten 1985, 127–32. For an extensive list of landowners, see Broughton 1938, 663–76.

²⁹ As reflected by the increasing occurrence of *oikonomi*, *pragmateutai*, and untitled slave and freedmen agents in texts. *I. Nikaia* I.192, 205, II.i.1062, 1128, 1131,1201, 1203. Mitchell 1993, 160.

³⁰ Doonan 2004, 101–8, 111–13; Kocabiyik 2012, 178–79.

³¹ Broughton 1938, 648–63; Flam-Zuckermann 1972; Mitchell 1993, 182.

³² The best evidence for administration comes from North Africa, but is suitable in its application to northern Anatolia. For modern discussions, see Kehoe 1984, 193–219; Kehoe 1985, 151–72.

and payment had a significant impact on the volume of produce as well as its distribution.³³ Rents were paid in both coin and kind. *Coloni* were required to render both goods and services to the *conductor*; this was typically satisfied by working a prescribed number of days and handing over a fraction of his annual harvest.³⁴ The conductor was then free to sell his own share to pay the lease and, hopefully, retain a profit.³⁵ The system encouraged strategies of maximum cultivation and higher production yields, as this would anticipate potential losses and meet the personal needs and financial obligations of both the *colonus* and the *conductor*.

Sale at the local level was the most efficient course for the leaseholder or the landowner, for estates of all sizes. This strategy may not have been the most profitable, yet it did avoid expenses incurred by land transport and spoilage that resulted from time and exposure. In his correspondence Pliny the Younger frequently discusses his estates in Italy, which provides an invaluable account of the ownership and management of such properties. Numerous letters mention the sale of produce, particularly wine and grains, from his estate direct to local merchants. Despite his modesty, the younger Pliny might have received as much as HS400,000 in annual income from his Tifernum estate alone. 37

Similar practices can be traced throughout northern Anatolia. Elite estates in the territories of Nikaia and Apameia provide excellent examples. Around Nikaia, numerous texts name oikonomoi, pragmateutai, and other agents of imperial landowners such as C. Claudius Calpurnianus, C. Cassius Chrestus, and L. Claudius Pacorianus Eupator. ³⁸ The family of the Catilii of Apameia were early landholders and increased their holdings and administrative staff, including negotiatores, into the territories of Kios and Nikaia.³⁹ Thomas Corsten's work on the relationships between elite estates, city territories, and villages in southwestern Bithynia and northern Phrygia has shown that these elite estates participated in a "local or horizontal exchange of goods...which was mainly restricted to exchange between the village communities and city of a small area."40 In other words, estates that were close to urban centers sold their produce in urban markets or through locally established *negotiatores*, while more distant estates depended upon smaller villages and rural markets for exchange and distribution. This does not preclude the possibility that portions of these yields were ultimately exported to other regional urban centers, the Black Sea, or the wider empire, particularly for the produce sold at large urban markets.⁴¹ It simply illustrates that staple products that were produced in quantities that exceeded local demand were subsequently available to those in the closest proximity. The intensive exploitation of private and imperial estates contributed a surplus of local bulk goods that encouraged and supported a tightly integrated local, urban territory, but could be distributed more broadly in the region.

Third, the large rural territories that existed in the Roman period as well as the intensive and extensive cultivation of the countryside suggest that local urban and external demands not only encouraged an increase in local supply, but could be met by local production as well. Increases

³³ Though I acknowledge that the volume of produce and the issue of profitably are two separate variables.

³⁴ Six to twelve days and about one third, respectively. The majority of these regulations were detailed in the *lex Manciana* and, later, the *lex Hadriana*.

³⁵ Mitchell 1993, 163.

³⁶ Pliny *Ep.* 3.19.

³⁷ The senator also had extensive estates in Comum around Lake Como. Pliny *Ep.* 5.7, 6.30; Duncan-Jones 1965, 180.

³⁸ I. Nikaia i. 205, 192; I. Nikaia ii. I.1128

³⁹ I. Apamea 2, 21; I. Kios 105.

⁴⁰ Corsten 2005, 21–27.

⁴¹ Which undoubtedly occurred and will be discussed later in this chapter.

in rural settlement in the region follow a historical precedent in which villages and small agricultural communities constitute the most popular types of settlement.⁴² Prior to the Roman period, these settlements remained relatively isolated. Following the institution of Roman rule and the introduction of Roman villa culture (the objective of which was the production of agricultural surpluses), these settlements became connected to centers of demand. Effort was focused upon higher rates and more efficient forms of production that had not existed previously, but that could support both local and regional demands.

This development follows a trajectory similar to that of central Italy. As the metropolis of Rome grew in power, size, and consumer demand, the agricultural land of central Italy and, eventually, the entire Italian peninsula, became subject to more extensive and intensive cultivation. Small independent farms, villas, and large estates spread throughout the landscape in order to satisfy the capital's demand for oil and wine. ⁴³ Despite the large population of Rome (an estimated 1 million at its peak) and the needs of the rural population of Italy, Morley's study demonstrates that only 7% of all of the available farmland in Italy would have required cultivation in order to meet the demands of the city. ⁴⁴ Morley's study does not include grain production, which the capital imported from other parts of the empire. Nevertheless, his estimates and conclusions invite a few points of measured comparison with agricultural production and supply in north central Anatolia.

The two regions cannot be compared side-by-side without a few revisions that account for topographic, demographic, and climatological differences. Based upon Morley's study, the total amount of agricultural land in Italy during the Roman period was approximately 7.3 million ha, which amounts to about 25% of the entire area of the Italian peninsula. 45 A similar estimate prevails in the modern period. 46 The estimated area of north central Anatolia that was estimated in Chapter 3 totaled approximately 24 million hectares. Given the difficult topography and different climate of the region, it is impossible to assume that the region had the same percentage of arable land. More of north central Anatolia is dominated by mountain ranges and a high central plateau. The coast frequently receives more precipitation than parts of Italy. The regions south of the Pontic mountain ranges, however, are drier and rely on other natural sources, such as rivers and natural springs, for irrigation. Current estimates for the arable land in the modern Turkish provinces that comprise the region amount to approximately 4 million ha, or 16.6% of the total land area of the region.⁴⁷ The differences between the total amount of arable for Italy and for north central Anatolia, therefore, are not so great as to suggest that rural production in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia was hindered by geographical and climatological conditions. Producers in these provinces had access to a significant amount of arable land, even in the higher and drier elevations of the central plateau.

The size of the population is equally as important as the total amount of available arable land. Morley's estimates address a population demand of approximately 1 million in the city of Rome itself. There is no plausible reason to suggest that the population of Bithynia, Pontus, Paphlagonia ever reached this number in antiquity. The highest estimates for all of the cities in

⁴² See Chapter 2, sections VI and VII.

⁴³ See Morley 2002 for this development from 200 BCE to 200 CE.

⁴⁴ At 507,000 ha. Morley 2002, 146–47.

⁴⁵ Morley 2002, 147.

⁴⁶ According to the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.ARBL.ZS.

⁴⁷ The provinces of Bursa, Yalova, Kocaeli, Bilecik, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu, Zongulduk, Karabuk, Bartin, Kastamonu, Çankiri, Çorum, Sinop, Amasya, Samsun, Tokat, Ordu, Giresun, and Trabzon. http://www.turkstat.gov.tr.

neighboring Asia barely exceed 1 million.⁴⁸ An exaggerated population estimate of 2 million, however, underscores the agricultural potential of these provinces. In order to supply wine and oil to a proposed population of 2 million, approximately 1.15 million ha of land in north central Anatolia would have needed to be under cultivation. This number is still less than 30% of the arable land in the region and leaves a substantial amount that could have been devoted to cereals and other produce. As in Rome and as noted earlier, wheat could and was frequently imported. The production of other cereals, millet for example, was a popular and successful alternative. Thus the large size of the *chora* and the moderate size and demand of each local city provided the territory and stimulus for increased rural settlement. These combined factors, the unprecedented size of the rural hinterlands and the extensiveness of surrounding rural settlement, suggest that production could meet much of the urban demand, though perhaps not all of it.

Finally, urban environments were not wholly dependent on rural producers, but also contributed to the production and distribution of food commodities. Urban market gardens are known from Sinope, for example.⁴⁹ These were likely far more frequent in urban contexts than what has been preserved in the literary or archaeological record, given the strong rural connections and modest size of cities in these regions These gardens raised smaller volumes of more specialized, though still basic, foodstuffs, such as fruits and vegetables, which were then sold within the city.⁵⁰ Residents of the town or city were clearly the target customers.

The three preceding topics all demonstrate that local settlements, regardless of size, experienced relatively few problems producing and distributing bulk commodities. In the fourth topic I scrutinize the impact of geography upon local connectivity. The variable and difficult topography of the region circumscribed mobility and encouraged dependence on local supply networks for bulk-goods. This was both practical and economical. From the southern Black Sea coast, the mountains rise quickly and precipitously. The interior of Pontus and Paphlagonia were defined by a labyrinth of plateaus and valleys that were best accessed by major river systems and roads. River ways were not as common in north central Anatolia as in Asia Minor, though the Amnias, Halys, Iris, Lycus, and Sangarius rivers did reach most of the important centers (fig. 4.5). Roads were just as limited and were only constructed and maintained in large, adequate forms beginning under the Flavian dynasty. Subsequent periods of intensive road construction occurred infrequently, under Hadrian and again under the Severans (fig. 4.6). Second construction occurred infrequently, under Hadrian and again under the Severans (fig. 4.6).

When the distribution of the cities of north central Anatolia is mapped onto the landscape, the difficulties of connectivity and regional mobility are further emphasized. While more inland cities were established during the Roman period, a clustering near the coast is clearly illustrated. In general, cities in the region were located at far distances from one another. The potential problems associated with the distance become more clear when a radius of distance is mapped around each city. Using the figures of 18.5km and 37km established by Bekker-Nielsen as the average and maximum distances, respectively, possible for foot travel in a day, the resulting image is illustrative (figs. 4.7, 4.8). The lower figure shows that most cities were barely within half a day's travel. The maximum estimate of 37km illustrates that many territories may have been contiguous at that distance; however, any form of frequent interaction, particularly economic, or efficient travel was possible for only some of the coastal centers. Travel between many urban

⁴⁸ Hanson 2011, 254–55.

⁴⁹ Strabo 12.3.11.

⁵⁰ Strabo 12.3.11; Broughton 1938, 612–15.

⁵¹ Wilson 1960, 311–424; Mitchell 1993, 124; French 2003, 53.

⁵² Ibid. See also Magie 1950, 1083–86 for general study of Roman roads in north central Anatolia.

centers would have spanned at least one or two days. While the construction of Roman roads and the use of waterways facilitated a greater degree of mobility, it still did not change the total distance between the far flung cities of north central Anatolia.

As a result, any transport of bulk goods like food staples and supplies overland would have been cumbersome, slow, and inevitably expensive. For example, an overland route from Amaseia to Amisos covering approximately 116 km would take about 4 days traveling at the fastest speed and in the best conditions. Such a journey would also cost 3.25 denarii/kg of wheat on a donkey or 4.06 denarii/kg in a wagon. In contrast, a journey from Karambis to Sinope, which used the sea and covered approximately 182 kilometers, would have taken just over a day. The costs of shipping produce also dramatically decreases, to 0.13 denarii/kg of wheat. Travel and transportation between cities that were located relatively near to one another could also still be expensive and laborious. The overland journey between Nikaia and Nikomedia spanned 58 km and could take two days. The trip might have cost around 1.65 denarii/kg of wheat even though the route itself traversed fairly easy terrain.

A comparison with the neighboring province of Asia is striking. Cities in the province were not only more numerous and densely packed, but also achieved a higher level of city-to-city and regional economic integration. The 249 km trip from Ephesus to Smyrna could be completed over water. This limited the time to 1.7 days and the expense of wheat to 0.17 denarii/kg. A long journey to the nearest city was almost never a reality in Roman Asia. The nearest city was almost always less than a day's journey away (fig. 4.9). Such connectivity between the cities of Asia was necessary, however, since the small size of their individual territories and the competition for resources required frequent interaction and exchange.

The variable topography along with difficult and expensive transportation also encouraged more intensive cultivation of other staples, which supplemented the Mediterranean triad. North-central Anatolia was well known for nuts and fruits, particularly cherries, apples, and figs. The areas around Amaseia and Amisos were famous for the abundance of this produce, both wild and cultivated. This bounty of fruits and vegetables was complemented by a wide variety of animal products. These included cattle and sheep, particularly their wool, meat, and cheese, as well as wild game, such as boar. As a result, urban centers and their territories were not only well connected and supplied in terms of the universal staples of the Mediterranean and Black Sea. They also enjoyed access to a wide variety of agricultural and animal products that were locally plentiful, that supplemented more common bulk commodities, and that had the potential to appeal to larger markets further abroad.

The topics of transportation and the local availability of goods raise the important question of markets. Beginning in the Roman period, the conveyance of bulk-goods from small villages and villas to large urban markets, though not necessarily essential, became easier. New settlements occupied more beneficial physical settings that took advantage of trade routes and traffic. For example, settlements around Amaseia developed in well-irrigated, lowland areas that were often

⁵³ Transport over water represents a different case, but forms a larger portion of the discussion concerning the Black Sea region. Trade between the coastal cities of Bithynia and Pontus should not be discounted.

⁵⁴ All estimates from ORBIS, the Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World: http://orbis.standord.edu.

⁵⁵ http://orbis.stanford.edu.

⁵⁶ Hanson 2011.

⁵⁷ Hanson 2011, 237.

⁵⁸ Strabo 12.3.13; Broughton 1938, 611–20.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

within 10km of roads and trade routes.⁶⁰ These circumstances not only eased the expense and physical obstacles involved in transporting bulk goods to larger urban centers, but also encouraged the development of smaller, localized markets that benefitted local inhabitants, travelers, established merchants and traders, and even civic communities.

Consequently, numerous small local and regional markets existed and operated at regular intervals. Markets increasingly developed as pre-existing towns and cities and became established and as trade expanded and intensified following annexation into the empire. Apameia, for example, became an important trading center for other regions in Anatolia, including Phrygia and Cappadocia. This status was further enhanced when the city became an assize center. Other markets sprang up along newly constructed roads in the region. Such markets were extremely influential in daily life. They lessened transportation times and costs for local producers and provided an additional means of individual self-sufficiency for those who cultivated small amounts of produce, flowers, or herbs in their personal garden. This made agricultural production more profitable, a benefit that likely encouraged the evidence of greater land exploitation discussed above. The frequency and proximity of such markets also established a state of interdependence among the smaller settlements within the urban administrative territory. These became increasingly reliant upon one another for the continuation of these markets as a venue for sale and purchase. These circumstances also encouraged a closer relationship with cities, the ultimate destination of these commodities and the primary source of demand.

B. Bulk-Goods and the Black Sea Network

The developments that supported highly integrated bulk-goods networks in urban territories also encouraged a highly connected regional network around the Black Sea. The roots of this network began in the Hellenistic period, when Sinopean amphorae were exported in substantial quantities to the northern coast. The dramatic intensification in agricultural cultivation coupled with more expansive urban territories and private and imperial estates generated increased supply. Export to the neighboring Black Sea, central Anatolia, and territories on the eastern frontier was practical, relatively efficient, and profitable.

Grain was the most famous Black Sea bulk-commodity in antiquity. The region surrounding the Black Sea was renowned for its fertile plains and coveted grain supply from the very beginning of Greek colonization and well into the Roman period. This staple was a unifying force of connectivity in the region. For north central Anatolia, however, the importance of wheat was not as an export, but an import. This was particularly true for the larger coastal cities, where agricultural land was increasingly focused on production for export. The most prolific producers

⁶⁰ Kocabiyik 2012, 178.

⁶¹ Hohenberg and Lees 1995, 49; Morley 1997, 49–53; Woolf 1997, 8–12

⁶² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 35.14–16.

⁶³ Strabo 12.8.13, 576.

⁶⁴ Gren 1941, 30–59; Mitchell 1993, 258.

⁶⁵ The household garden both inside and outside of urban contexts remains a key feature of domestic architecture in the region today. Broughton 1938, 613.

⁶⁶ Woolf 1997, 8–12.

⁶⁷ These were most likely filled with oil and have been recovered from several contexts in the Aegean, particularly Athens. Garlan 1998; Garlan 1999; Garlan 2004; Garlan 2007.

⁶⁸ Supra n. 10–12.

⁶⁹ Olives, for example.

and exporters of grain in the Black Sea were the northern shores and the Bosporan kingdom. 70 Though north central Anatolia produced, consumed, and could export large volumes of other cereals, the majority of its wheat was procured from the northern Black Sea region. Some evidence survives in numerous inscriptions that record public decrees and honors that have been recovered from numerous sites around the Black Sea. A decree from Olbia, for example, provides a chance view into the commercial activities in the city around 200 CE. It honors a local resident for his commercial enterprises and names numerous southern Black Sea cities, including Nikomedia, Nikaia, Herakleia Pontike, Amastris, Tieum, Prusias, Apameia, and Sinope. 71

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ὄσαι πόλεις ἐστεφάνωσαν Θεκλέα Σατύρου ἥρωα χρυσέοις στεφάνοις
Όλβιοπολεῖται,
Νεικομηδεῖς,
Νεικαιεῖς.
'Ηρακλεῶται,
Βυζάντιοι,
Άμαστριανοί,
Τιανοί,
Προυσεῖς,
Όδησσεῖται,
Τομεῖται,
Ίστριανοί,
Καλλατιανοί,
Μείλητος,
Κύζικος,
Άπάμεια,
Χερσόνησσος,
Βόσπορος,
Τύρα, Σινώπη.
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The inscription testifies to substantial trading activities at Olbia as well as those in Pontus and Bithynia. Prusias, Herakleia Pontike, and Amastris appear in a second, similar decree found on the southern shore. 72 Citizens of Prusias, Chersonesus, Herakleia Pontike, Sinope, and Amastris were also the recipients of such honors on the northern coasts; some are even specifically identified as naukleroi, or ship owners.⁷³

Similar instances of public decrees and public honors document the weighty role of the Bosporan kings in the grain supply of the southern Black Sea. They also demonstrate the exceptionally close relationship that existed between the kingdom of the Bosporus and the provinces of Pontus, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, especially in the 3rd century CE. The record is sporadic, a feature that Braund has interpreted to reflect the episodic nature of surpluses supplied in the wake of local shortages. ⁷⁴ An equally likely possibility is simply the chance survival of these

⁷⁰ Though even this region experienced periodic shortages. Garnsey 1988, 14; Rosivach 2000, 41; Braund 2003; Braund 2005, 121; Braund 2007.

⁷¹ *IOSPE* I² 40. ⁷² *IOSPE* I² 41.

⁷³ Who were typically wealthier and better connected than *emporoi* (traders). *IOSPE* I² 357, 358, 359, 364; Reed 2003, 6–14.

74 Braund 2005, 128.

documents. Civic dedications on behalf of the cities of Amastris, Prusias, Nikaia, and Sinope bestowed the title of "benefactor" upon the Bosporan kings Rhescuporis III and Sauromates. These decrees not only honored the kings as benefactors, but included the erection of a statue in the capital of the kingdom, Panticapaeum, as well. The honorific title of "benefactor" could result from many different actions, including financing religious festivals or other endowments. The Bosporus, however, had a long legacy of receiving honors from Greek cities for its grain donations. The city of Sinope, moreover, had a particularly hungry reputation in its requests from other kingdoms.

Private dedications were also possible. Around 249 CE a citizen of Herakleia Pontike dedicated a statue and bestowed the title of benefactor upon a prominent individual in the administration of Rhescuporis V. A similar private dedication from another citizen of Herakleia occurred the following year, this time to Rhescuporis V. The reoccurrence of several of the same cities that were mentioned in the Olbia inscription substantiates the claim of significant commercial activity across the Black Sea as well as the cities that were the most active participants in this exchange. It also widens the scope of this regional network to include the distant northeastern shores. Next to the Roman emperor, the king of the Bosporus region was one of the most honored leaders in the region. But his status relied heavily on economic cooperation and agricultural luck.

The importation of substantial quantities of wheat from the northern Black Sea documents only one component of a wider Black Sea bulk-goods network. It also only illustrates the flow of goods in a single direction and the connections that existed for this one commodity. In reality, the evidence for trade of all levels across the Black Sea suggests that a more balanced and dynamic network of bulk-good commerce and reciprocal exchange existed. The distribution of cities in north central Anatolia suggests that the sea was a force that drew cities and settlements toward it. The distinct preference toward coastal settlement is illustrated by the number and densities of these settlements. Moreover, the surviving evidence also suggests that the entire Black Sea region was tightly integrated, at least for those communities on the coast and immediately inland. This connectivity was so beneficial that economic networks in the Black Sea often excluded the broader Mediterranean network and could do so without significant detriment to itself. The focus of this Black Sea commerce centered on the universal staples of the Mediterranean triad, marine products, and valuable, utilitarian raw materials.

Olives and grapes and their secondary products were some of the most intensively cultivated and traded commodities, both spatially and chronologically. The intensive production of transport amphorae can be traced back to the mid 4th century BCE. ⁸¹ The vast majority originated at Sinope, but they have been recovered from contexts in the northern Black Sea, at port cities such as Panticipaeum, Tanais, and Olbia. ⁸² In contrast, little evidence for Hellenistic amphorae from Sinope exists south of the city, suggesting limited trade connections in that

⁷⁵ CIRB 54, 55. The dedication from Nikaia is the chronological exception, dating to 117 CE. CIRB 44.

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Gajdukevich 1971.

⁷⁸ Clem.Alex. *Protrept.* 4.48.2.

One Aurelius Rhodon, who is also described as an *eques Romanus*. CIRB 58.

⁸⁰ CIRB 59.

⁸¹ Monachov 1993; Garlan 1998; Garlan 2007, 143.

⁸² As well as sites in the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean. Athens and Rhodes have the largest concentrations for sites outside of the Black Sea. Monachov 1993; Conovici 2005; Garlan 1998, 31; Doonan 2004, 117; Garlan 2007; Opaiţ 2012; Vnukov 2012.

direction.⁸³ Though grain production could really boom in the northern Black Sea, the colder climate was particularly unsuitable for the cultivation of olives and a few grape varietals.⁸⁴ These products, as well as salted fish, were likely the most common contents of amphorae from the southern coast.⁸⁵ When combined with the wave of intensive olive and grape cultivation that occurred on the southern coast in the Roman period, these staples must have comprised a substantial volume of southern imports to the north.

Over the course of the Roman period amphora production from centers along the southern coast intensified. Evidence of this expansion is two-fold. First, concentrations of its Hellenistic-Roman and Late Roman amphorae not only increased, but were also distributed more widely. 60 Olbia and the Crimea became increasingly more prominent importers of Sinopean amphora (fig. 4.10). Second, the number of kilns and sites for amphora production also increased steadily following the onset of Roman imperial rule. Large industrial facilities have been fully recovered at Zeytinlik and Demirci plaj (fig. 4.11). 87 Surveys of the Demirci and Karasu Valleys have recovered enough evidence to suggest additional, albeit smaller kiln sites, in these areas as well. 88 These increases are particularly prominent during the third and fourth centuries CE. 89

This boom in amphora production resulted from two developments. First, it was driven to accommodate the burgeoning surplus of olive and vine products. Second, and relatedly, it occurred to meet the increased demands of new or expanded markets in the northern and southern Black Sea. Chapter 3 demonstrated that land exploitation reached unprecedented levels while under Roman control. In many areas, particularly along the coast, this exploitation corresponded with an increase in villa culture and settlement. Further inland and across the central plateau, the proliferation of villages and expanding elite and imperial estates increased the exploitation of the land. The storage and transport of much of this produce required containers, a demand that precipitated, and that was ultimately met, by the increased local production discussed above.

The increased production of staples and their requisite containers appears to have addressed higher demands around the Black Sea and Anatolian regions. Larger concentrations of pottery that originated from the southern coast have been documented at multiple sites further inland as well as the northern shores. ⁹³ At sites such as Panticipaeum, Tanais, Olbia, Scythian Neapolis, and Gorgippia in the north, this increase illustrates the intensification in and expansion of the volume of traded goods, activities that already existed in the Hellenistic period. At interior sites, such as Pompeiopolis, Sebastopolis, and parts of Cappadocia, these containers document the penetration these goods into new markets, which was likely facilitated by the developing Roman road system. The reasons for this increased demand are not entirely clear; however, larger populations and an

⁸³ Probably due to the difficulty and expense of transport as well as low demand. Doonan 2004, 10.

⁸⁴ Doonan 2004b, 43–45; Doonan 2010, 70.

⁸⁵ Doonan 2004, 95, 117; Braund 2005, 125.

⁸⁶ Vnukov 1993; Fedoseev 1999; Avram 1999; Kassab Tezgör 1999; de Boer 2001.

⁸⁷ Kassab Tezgör 1997; Garlan and Tatlican 1998; Kassab Tezgör 1998; Kassab Tezgör and Tatlican 1998; Doonan 2002.

⁸⁸ Doonan 2004, 104–117.

⁸⁹ Doonan 2004, 93–117.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 2, section V.

⁹¹ Doonan 2004, 95–6, 101–117; Kocabiyik 2012, 178–79.

⁹² Broughton 1938, 648–76; Mitchell 1993, 160, 182; Matthews and Glatz 2009b, 243–48; Johnson 2011.

⁹³ For northern sites, see Garlan 1998, 31; Doonan 2004, 117; Braund 2005, 123–25; Opait 2012. For southern sites see Braund 2005, 123–25; Domžalski 2011, 168; Vnukov 2012, 366–68.

increasingly larger military presence on the eastern Euphrates frontier were likely the most prominent factors. 94

Fish, salted fish products, and other marine resources were additional important Black Sea commodities. Fish were widely available to all the communities that were located around the Black Sea, which happened to be richer in fish products than the Mediterranean. The sea was largely confined by the Bosporus and Kerch Straits, which established an enormous corridor for large schools of fish, regardless of the season. It is also the endpoint for numerous large rivers, such as the Danube, Dnister, Dnieper, Bug, Don, and Kuban, which formed substantial deltas and fostered large concentrations of fish. Sturgeon, pike, tuna, palymedes, as well as migratory salt fish, such as herring, appear to have been the most dominant and popular varieties. The discovery of fish processing facilities all along the northern and southern coasts, therefore, is not surprising; however, the increase in their number and capacity during the Roman period reflects the transition to surplus production for higher profits and wider distribution. Production that exceeded local consumption began in the Hellenistic Period. Relatively large smoking and curing facilities dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries are known at Elizavetovka and Tanais in the northern Black Sea. Several more facilities that were devoted to drying fish, the easiest and preferred method of preservation, likely accompanied these. Unfortunately, such sites are virtually invisible in the archaeological record, since screens would have been made with wood.

The fish industry boomed in the Roman period. Beginning in the first century CE, fish processing facilities exhibit not only a precipitous numerical increase, but also a diversity of processing methods. Drying, smoking, and curing remained common, but vats for salted fish and fermented sauces surged in concentration and popularity. Excavations at Tyritake have uncovered 57 salting vats lined with waterproof *opus signinum* whose construction dates to the first century CE, but which continued in use well past the 3rd century (fig. 4.12). Smaller scale production is also documented in domestic contexts at Tyritake, particularly in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. In total, the installations at Tyritake could process up to 365 metric tons of fish at one time. Similar large and small facilities from the 1st through 3rd centuries are known at Myrmekion and Chersonesus, which had the largest known capacity for processing of any urban site. An upswing in southern coastal settlements that were devoted to fishing fueled this greater number of processing facilities. 104

In addition to the evidence for the intensified production of Pontic fish products, the amphora used for their storage and transportation may help document their proliferation and distribution. Attempts to identify certain types of amphorae that were used specifically for the trade of Pontic fish products have only recently begun in earnest. Of these nascent efforts, the studies of Andrei Opaiţ are the most substantial and thorough. Opaiţ bases his categorization on

⁹⁴ Hitchner 1993; Mitchell 2005, 98–103.

⁹⁵ Opait 2007, 106.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Strabo 7.6.2, 12.3.11; Pliny, *NH* 9.18; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 3.118c, 7.307b; Ivanova 1994; Doonan 2004, 95; Høtje 2005, 143–45.

⁹⁸ Marčenko, Žitnikov, and Kopylov 2000, 177–79.

⁹⁹ Høtje 2005, 142.

¹⁰⁰ Gajdukevič 1952a, 15–134.

¹⁰¹ Gajdukevič 1971, 408.

¹⁰² Marti 1941c, 103; Marti 1941b, 94.

With 100 salting vats in the harbor area and a total volume of at least 3500 metric tons. Gajdukevič 1952b, 135–220; Kadeev 1970, 5–26; Gajdukevič 1971, 378; Høtje 2005, 151–52.

Doonan 2004, 95.

morphological characteristics and argues that a wide mouth, a large trunco-conical neck, and an ovoid body ending in a massive spike were particularly suited for fish and fish products. He identifies six amphorae: the Zeest types 75, 75-similis, 83, 85-similis, and 89 as well as the fish table amphora 54 (fig. 4.13). The majority of these types originated in the northern Black Sea, including Chersonesus (Zeest 85-similis), the Taman Peninsula and Panticapaeum (Zeest 83 & 89), and Balaklava (fish table amphora 54) (fig. 4.14). The Zeest 75, however, may very well come from Sinope. These origins correlate well with the large number of fish processing facilities that developed in the same areas during the Roman period. Significant quantities of these amphorae have also been recovered from sites all around the Black Sea as well as further inland. These finds confirm the existence of a fairly robust Pontic fish trade, one that was connected to almost every microregion in the Black Sea.

Timber was the final bulk commodity that intimately connected north central Anatolia with a broader Black Sea network. Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia benefitted from vast timber resources that ranged in scale and use. The most common trees were (and still are) oak, plane, beech, fir, and mountain pine. The two latter types were particularly important in antiquity, especially for ship and house construction. The inland location of many of these forests encouraged regional connectivity in ways that differed from the circulation of other bulk-goods. Timber was a resource in such high demand that it was acquired in large volumes in spite of expense. The primary difficulty was transportation, which was resolved by floating or rafting timbers down rivers to ports on the southern coast or in western Asia Minor. This had the effect of encouraging cooperation between inland cities that were blessed with lush forests and coastal sites that sought to consume and market timber resources, an arrangement that was beneficial for both parties. An excellent example can be seen in the contentious relationship between Prusa and Apameia. Dio Chrysostrom's intervention in their squabble and plea for reconciliation cites the Apameians' desire for Prusa's timber and his native city's dire need for a harbor market for its own commodities. 111 Fairly substantial forests are also known on the northern coast at Panticapaeum and much of the Crimea. 112

The widespread presence of timber on both coasts and the utility and desirability of this resource made wood one of the most important (non-food-related) bulk commodities in the region. Timber formed the basis of Black Sea trade, literally and figuratively. Fir and pine were particularly suitable for ship construction. Both varieties could be obtained at three important cities and harbors on the southern coast, Sinope, Amisos, and Nikomedia. Bithynia and Pontus were also widely known in antiquity for these varieties and the quality of their timber in general. Ships and shipbuilding played a significant role in the vigorous Black Sea commerce that was

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¹⁰⁵ And not suitable for grain or wine. Opaiţ 2007, 106-8.

¹⁰⁶ Opait 2007, 109–16.

¹⁰⁷ Zeest 1960, 115–16; Hayes 1983, 155 (Type 39); Panella 1986; Abramov 1993; Alekseeva 1997; Turovskij et al. 2001, 66; Opaiţ 2007, 116.

¹⁰⁸ Monachov 1999; Monachov 2003.

¹⁰⁹ Including central Anatolia and the province of Moesia. Opait 2007.

A practice that was used for timber resources in Cappadocia as well. Strabo 12.2.10; Pliny Ep. 10.41.

¹¹¹ Dio Chrysostrom 40.30.

¹¹² Theophrastus *HP* 4.5.3; Strabo 11.12.15.

¹¹³ Theophrastus *HP* 4.5.5, 5.7.1–3.

¹¹⁴ Theophrastus *HP* 5.2; Pliny *HN* 16.76.197.

illustrated above for grape, wheat, and olive products. It was also necessary to maintain the Roman imperial fleet, the *Classis Pontica*, which was based at Trapezus in Pontus. 115

Public and religious monuments also required high quality timber in large volumes for doors and roof beams. Inscriptions from numerous panhellenic sanctuaries record the types and prices of timber used for their construction. 116 Though the corpus dates to the 4th century BCE, it presents a clear picture of the types, volumes, and economic value of different types of timber that were used in monuments, regardless of function or size. 117 It is an example that is also applicable to the numerous civic monuments in north central Anatolia, whose construction was analyzed in Chapter 2. Cypress is perhaps the most prominent, but fir, pine, elm, oak, and ash are also mentioned. With the exception of cypress, all of these species could be found in abundance in north central Anatolia and the Black Sea region more generally. 118 These same species must have also been used extensively for the construction of civic monuments in the region.

Thus the framework of the bulk trade network in the Black Sea that was suggested by the Olbia inscription has become more refined. Grain, olives, grapes, and timber skimmed across the hospitable sea in vast quantities. This occurred amidst a highly connected and complex network composed of civic entities, wealthy private merchants, kingdoms outside of direct Roman imperial rule, and expatriate trading communities. Evidence of the first three entities has already been presented and discussed. The fourth is a group whose presence and activity represent the close connection of communities around the Black Sea and the role of commerce and exchange within it. The names of numerous traders and entrepreneurs from the southern Black Sea have been preserved in the epigraphic record of the northern coast. The majority of these are epitaphs that come from Panticipaeum in the Bosporus and represent *naukleroi* as well as larger communities of expatriates. ¹¹⁹ In the Roman period, citizens from Tieum and Sinope frequently recur, perhaps unsurprisingly. 120 Citizens from Herakleia Pontike, Amisos, and Amastris are also well-attested. 121

The documentation of these individuals is a rare insight into the daily commercial activities of the Black Sea. The movement of agents in this commercial network was constant. Records of the Bithynian and Pontic origins of these agents confirm the strong linkages that existed across the Black Sea. More importantly, these linkages were not rooted solely in trade and commerce. The local recognition of these merchants as well as their residency at northern ports suggests that strong social and political ties also existed. The intensity of those connections will be investigated in the next chapter. For economic exchange, the relationship between locally produced commodities, merchants, and communities around the Black Sea dominated the flow of staple goods.

This occurred largely at the exclusion of the broader Mediterranean basin, but also impacted the communities of the interior of north central Anatolia. Coastal commercial centers and the high costs of transport to the fragmented distribution centers of inland Anatolia effectively crowded out these inland communities. This may be one reason why we do not see a large number of exports from the interior. Instead, the strength of these maritime networks further encouraged tighter local integration, a process that is illustrated well by the availability of wheat. While coastal

¹¹⁵ Arrian *Periplus* 1–2; Cumont 1906, 363–71.

¹¹⁶ Including Asklepios at Epidauros, Apollo at Delphi, Eleusis, and Delos, Hannestad 2007, 95.

For the full discussion, see Hannestad 2007, 95–6. For the inscriptions, see (Epidauraos) Burford 1966; Burford 1969; (Delphi) FD III, 5; Bousquet 1977; Meiggs 1982, 430–33; (Eleusis) IG II2, 1672; Meiggs 1982, 433–40; (Delos) *IG* II2, 135–289; *ID* 290–510; Meiggs 1982, 441–57.

Theophrastus 3.5.3, 5; 5.7.1–3; Strabo 11.12.15; Hannestad 2007, 88–92.

¹¹⁹ For a full discussion, see Braund 2005, 126–27.

¹²⁰ CIRB 129, 130, 131, 703a, 705, 732, 733.

¹²¹ CIRB 134, 144, 246, 530, 610, 923, 925, 1193; IOSPE i2 233, 542–45; Inscr. Olbiae 121; Kadeev 1981, 103–7.

communities could rely on a readily available supply of wheat from elsewhere in the Black Sea, communities in the interior regions of Pontus and Paphlagonia could not. Difficult topography and cost were the primary constraints. This limited supply encouraged not only the cultivation of other cereals in order to meet local demands, but tighter local integration for its distribution as well. The opportunities of the Black Sea may have tied the coastal centers closer together, but it also necessitated tighter connections between the interior centers of the region.

C. Bulk-Goods in the Empire

Given the limited size of bulk-goods networks in general and the predominance of local and regional connectivity that was discussed above, a circumscribed bulk-goods network at the broader Mediterranean level is not necessarily surprising. Adequate supply and product variety were not constraining factors. The cultivation of a plethora of cereals and produce and the export of secondary products, such as oil, wine, and preserved fish, occurred in substantial volumes in north central Anatolia. The Black Sea region in general, however, was relatively detached from the rest of the empire. Distance and travel conditions were the primary constraints. In the best conditions, the 3,333 kilometer journey from Rome to Sinope could take approximately 33 days; at 22 days, the 2,760 kilometer journey to Nikomedia was not much shorter. 122 This lengthy distance was complicated by the strong and adverse currents of the Dardanelles and the Bosporan Straits, which ships encountered as they sailed into the Black Sea. 123 The distance and time involved in transportation translated into costs that were prohibitive for all but the most important, desired, or profitable items.

Bulk-goods were more easily, quickly, and cheaply obtained from regions that were directly connected to the Mediterranean. Cereals, especially wheat, were abundant and imported in large volumes from North Africa and Egypt. 124 Olives and olive oil for the western Mediterranean were also frequently sourced from the African provinces in addition to Greece and western Asia Minor. 125 Wine from Pontus enjoyed a great reputation in antiquity. 126 Wines from Italy, however, were equally coveted and much easier to obtain. Fruits from Pontus and Bithynia, such as cherries, figs, and pears, were equally famous and desirable, but could never be exported successfully over long distances. 127

The only bulk-goods that originated from north central Anatolia and then navigated the wider commercial networks of the Mediterranean were those whose demand outweighed time and transportation costs and that could withstand the long journey. Fermented fish products greatly appealed to the tastes of the Mediterranean and the west. The Roman craze for salsamentum, garum, and other fish condiments is so well known that it hardly requires further discussion. The preservation of fish and production of processed fish, salt-fish, and fish sauces occurred in every

¹²² http://orbis.stanford.edu.

These currents could range between 2 and 5 knots. Davis 2009, 30–1.

¹²⁴ Josephus *BJ* 2.383; Tacitus *Ann*. 12.43; Rickman 1980, 108–12, 231–35; Kehoe 1988, 3–4.

¹²⁵ Camps-Fabrer 1953; Carandini 1983, 145–62.

For a compendium of ancient authors and their comments concerning wine from this region, see Broughton 1938, 609–11. Galen (De San. Tend. 5.5.14), Xenophon (Anab. 6.5.1), Strabo (12.3.30), and Pliny the Elder (H.N. 14.76, 109) are the most prolific sources and praise a high number of wines from a variety of places throughout the region, including Aminean varietals all over the region, Herakleia Pontike, Tieum, Trapezus, and Naspercene from the region of Pontus.

Due to spoilage. Pliny H.N. 17.233; Strabo 12.3.15; Broughton 1938, 611–16.

location in the empire that had access to the coast or fish. 128 With so many sources in the western Mediterranean, it is unlikely that Pontic fish products ever represented a measurable proportion. The condiment, however, is praised in several Roman sources in contexts outside of the region. 129 Despite this reputation and popularity, the number of Pontic fish amphorae in the western Mediterranean remained low until the 3rd century, primarily because of the strong competition with Iberian and Gallic producers. The volume of Pontic fish amphora and products greatly increases in this period, a phenomenon Annalisa Marzano has linked to the contraction of fish-salting production in the western Mediterranean, especially Iberia. ¹³⁰ There is also a relatively low number of fish amphorae from the western Mediterranean in the Black Sea, despite their generally wider distribution across the Mediterranean basin. 131 Instead, the development of regional amphora for their express use in the Pontic fish trade (as discussed above) suggests that processed fish was not a commercial good that connected the region with the broader empire, at least to the west, until fairly late in the Roman period. The Pontic fish industry was able to provide constant supply to regional communities, which made importation or exportation unnecessary.

Timber was potentially the only bulk good item that was exported in any substantial volume. As previously discussed, timber was an important, abundant, and lucrative natural resource for north central Anatolia as well as the Black Sea in general. Timber supplies far exceeded local and even regional demand and could accommodate the demands of the western empire. Unlike many other forests in antiquity the Ağaçdeniz ("Sea of Trees") in northern Anatolia escaped overexploitation while still meeting considerable demand. 132 The Roman navy that was stationed at Trapezus was likely built from these timber supplies and continued to use them for repairs and new vessels. 133 During the Roman period, the empire maintained large expanses of state forests. Roman colonies and cities also maintained public woodlands for the express purpose of securing and supplementing their own timber supplies. 134

The small number of commodities from north central Anatolia that were part of the Mediterranean network as well as the low degree of connection between the two are unsurprising. Given the small and local nature of most bulk-goods networks, those in the provinces of Pontus, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia conform to a somewhat universal paradigm. Two features are particularly significant, however, and will remain a central part of the remainder of this discussion as well as the following chapter. First, the predominance of moderately-sized urban settlements and villages greatly influenced connectivity in the region. Smaller settlements resulted in smaller markets and fragmented centers of aggregate demand so that they could be easily satisfied through local production. The need to import large volumes of agricultural staples over long distances was

¹²⁸ Spain, Italy, North Africa, and the Black Sea are frequently cited by ancient authors as sources. Strabo 3.1.8; 3.4.2, 6; 5.2.6, 8; 6.1.1; 7.6.1; 11.2.4; 12.3.1, 19; 17.3.18. Archaeological evidence of these processing facilities confirms these locations as major production areas. (Iberian Peninsula) Curtis 1991, 148-52; Ørsted 1998, 13-35; Lagóstena Barrios 2001; Étienne and Mayet 2002, 96. (North Africa) Ben Lazreg et al. 1995, 103-42; Ponsich 1988, 103-36, 139-59; Sternberg 2000, 133-53; Étienne and Mayet 2002, 118. (Black Sea) supra n. 98-104. For a general overview of these installations, see Curtis 2005, 37–9.

¹²⁹ Galen, De Alim. Fac. 3.24.6, 3.30.4; Strabo 6.6.2; Aelian Hist. Anim. 15.5.

¹³⁰ Opait 2007, 119; Marzano 2013a, 130–37. For an excellent recent study on the exploitation and circulation of marine resources in the Roman empire, see Marzano 2013b.

Broughton 1938, 616–17; Meiggs 1982, 372. For the most recent discussion on the degree and extent of deforestation in antiquity, particularly in Italy, see Harris 2011.

¹³³ Supra n. 115.

¹³⁴ Meiggs 1982, 329.

virtually nonexistent, which subsequently facilitated a greater degree of local and regional self-sufficiency and autonomy.

Second, ceramic and epigraphic evidence demonstrate that a robust Black Sea network not only existed, but played a dominant role in the production and exchange of bulk commodities in this region. This regional commercial network encompassed all of the communities around the sea as well as the interior by opening up more markets for abundant commodities such as grain, wine, and olives and supplementing local scarcities when they occurred. It was also a network in which communities of people, including merchants and expatriates, could and did flow freely and easily. The bulk goods of north central Anatolia may not have exerted a weighty presence in the more expansive network of the empire and the Mediterranean Sea. However, its geographical isolation and the strong influence of local preferences did encourage strong local connections and dependencies, circumstances that may have buffered against the destabilizing disruptions of the 3rd century CE elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

IV. Prestige Goods: The Tie that Binds?

The very nature of a prestige-goods network necessitates a wide geographical area. Such networks are frequently ephemeral, as they lack the large volumes and established routes that map the trade in bulk-goods and staple commodities. Thus, the reconstruction of prestige-goods networks is more circumstantial in its evidence and more complicated in its analysis. This discussion focuses on prestige goods for which ample archaeological evidence exists, specifically metals, stone, and ceramic finewares.

The region was quite famous in antiquity for the quality and desirability of numerous perishable goods, the evidence for which has been preserved in contemporary literary sources. Though the trade in these items cannot be traced or quantified by the archaeological record, these objects still merit attention as products that were a component of the prestige network and that forged a connection to the Mediterranean basin. Knowledge of their existence and their popularity in distant regions of the empire indicates their trade and consumption beyond the provincial level. Moreover, their limited availability, which resulted primarily from the constraints of distance, enhanced both their price and status. Food and delicacies are one such category. North central Anatolia was famous for its fruits, honey, nuts, and cheeses. Pears, apples, cherries, and figs are all well-suited to the climate as well as highly desired by locations in the western Empire. A section of the southern Pontic coast was famous for a honey said to have hallucinogenic properties. Finally, the interior regions produced cheeses that were highly prized.

Linen and other textiles were also especially popular and profitable. Wool would have been in constant demand; however, linen is laborious to manufacture, a characteristic that further enhances its status. North central Anatolia could accommodate the demand for both. Flax plants grow especially well along the southern Black Sea coast and the river valleys of the interior while livestock and grazing are best suited to the upland plateaus where soils are less fertile and

¹³⁵ Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997, 52–55; Scheidel 2014, 11.

Though many regions in the western Mediterranean were also able to cultivate these fruits. The fruits themselves were unlikely to have survived a long sea voyage, but the transportation of seeds or plants was a viable alternative. Strabo 12 3 13

¹³⁷ Strabo 12.3.18; Pliny *H.N.* 21.83.

¹³⁸ Strabo 12.3.13, 15, 30, 38–39; 12.4.7.

conditions are much drier. 139 Evidence suggests that the processing and production of linen took place in the region as well and locals were credited with the invention of linen thread. 140

Perfumes and ointments were another popular, regional prestige good abroad. Herakleia Pontike was one of the most famous cities in the region for the production of perfumes, ointments, and unguents. The small size of their containers would have facilitated shipment; however, the length of the journey contributed most to their inflated cost. The production of perfumes and ointments existed in tandem with the region's reputation for herbs, remedies, and poisons. Pontus was notorious for poisons and their use by famous natives both fictional, like Medea, and historical, like Mithridates VI. Aconite (wolfesbane) was sourced in prolific quantities from Herakleia Pontike. Pontike.

Finally, Pontus acquired a reputation for its pigments. The region was known as the source for *sinopis*, or ruddle, a red ochre that was prized for its appearance and utility. The ochre was suitable for a range of materials, including wood and masonry; it was used heavily on the northern Black Sea coast for public monuments, houses, and tombs. Sources of the pigment were spread throughout Pontus and Cappadocia, but its main trade was funneled through Sinope. Its utility made it a desired commodity and it was exported throughout the empire and the Mediterranean. Pliny mentions that the ochre could fetch as much as 2 denarii per pound. The regional demand for *sinopis* is obvious from its widespread use along the northern coasts. This demand alone may have been enough to warrant the transportation expense to Sinope from the multiple sources that were further inland. Compared to other red pigments, however, ruddle from Pontus was a commercial bargain. Cinnabar, for example, which was exported primarily from Ephesus, was tedious to extract and refine and, therefore, expensive. It also weathered poorly when exposed to the elements. Sinopis was an excellent and relatively economic alternative, a fact that balanced the cost and time associated with its export out of the Black Sea.

In contrast to this short list of luxury objects, mostly perishable in nature, marble was a local resource that was valued for its durability and aesthetic appeal. North central Anatolia was both a source and important commercial conduit for this prestigious building material. The local quarries are fewer in number and less well-known than those in western Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, and Greece (fig. 4.15). Nevertheless, their materials were just as desirable and intensively exploited in antiquity. This is certainly true for the white marble from the island of Proconnesus. Proconnesian marble is among the most common marble found in excavations and monumental architecture in Bithynia and Pontus. Nikomedia, which was advantageously located on the sea and close to the Island of Marmara, was instrumental in the trade of Proconnesian marble. The proximity of the quarries made its extraction and transportation to Nikomedia relatively cheap and easy, even though the island was technically a part of the province

139 Strabo 11.2.17; Broughton 1938, 615–16.

¹⁴⁰ Pliny *H.N.* 7.196.

¹⁴¹ Pliny *H.N.* 12.47–49; 20.177

¹⁴² Vergil *Ecl.* 8.97; Appian, *Mith.*, 111.

¹⁴³ Strabo 12.3.7.

¹⁴⁴ Pliny NH 35.31ff.; Strabo 12.2.10. Broughton 1938, 623–24.

¹⁴⁵ Braund 2005, 124.

¹⁴⁶ Pliny NH 35.31ff.; Strabo 12.2.10; Braund 2005, 124.

¹⁴⁷ At seventy denarii per pound. Vitruvius 7.8–9.

¹⁴⁸ Ironically, Vitruvius recommends applying Pontic wax to coat and protect surfaces painted with cinnabar. Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Proconnesian is perhaps the most famous and was quarried in the Propontis, quite close to Bithynia. Other famous examples from Asia Minor include Aphrodisian, Ephesian, and Phrygian from Dokimion.

¹⁵⁰ Ward Perkins 1980, 328–29; Pensabene 2002, 328.

of the Hellespont in northern Asia. 151 From there, the marble could travel to any point in the area or the empire.

Proconnesian was a popular material in north central Anatolia and western Asia Minor, especially for sarcophagi. Several different models were designed were different markets, but Proconnesian sarcophagi had virtual monopolies in the Black Sea, Asia Minor, and Syria. This local stone was also used intensively for architectural purposes. White marble from Attica and Dokimion were expensive to quarry and rarely used for architectural elements. Is Instead, Proconnesian was the white marble of choice for architectural marble in the Black Sea and the Levant, at the exclusion of almost all other imported white marbles.

The demand for Proconnesian, particularly for sarcophagi, reached outside of the eastern Mediterranean as well. Rome and the northern Adriatic, for example, were substantial importers of Proconnesian sarcophagi (fig. 4.16). Russell's recent analysis of shipwreck evidence and the stone trade confirms this image of high volumes of trade. Russell's examination of 73 shipwrecks illustrates that the Roman stone trade reached its peak in the 3rd century CE. A distinct pattern of extraction and transportation from east to west existed. Of these cargoes, Proconnesian exerts a weighty presence. Ten of the forty-two cargoes whose stone have been securely identified are Proconnesian. This marble from the island of Marmara, therefore, not only represented a highly desired and exploited local prestige good, but one whose acquisition was desired at the furthest reaches of the empire. The peak in 3rd century demand and supply, moreover, would have stabilized the economic environment of Bithynia. Quarrying and decoration remained constant sources of employment, while sale and transportation remained lucrative sources of income.

Nikomedia played a particularly important role in the marble trade. Not only was it the closest and largest urban port to the Proconnesian quarries, it was also one of only two outlets for the transport of Dokimian marble. There is substantially more evidence to suggest that Nikomedia exercised a prominent position in the marble trade aside from its convenient geography. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence illustrate the importance of marble procurement, regulation, sale, and manufacture. Bithynians refer to themselves as marble merchants ($\lambda\iota\theta$ έμποροι) or marble workers and sculptors ($\lambda\iota\theta$ οξόοι or *marmorarii*); there is even an architect who was building a bath in Olbia. These attestations range from the region of Nikomedia and the Black Sea, such as Tomis and Nikopolis-ad-Istrum, to important centers in the empire, including Lepcis Magna and Rome. Thus, the physical material of Proconnesian marble was not the only facet of its value to the region. The specialization and labor that were channeled

¹⁵¹ Ward Perkins 1980, 329.

¹⁵² Ward Perkins 1980, 328.

Ouarrying Pentelic marble involved discarding a large volume of material to obtain blocks of suitable dimensions. It was also expensive to haul down from Mt. Pentelikon. Phrygian marble was also expensive to transport, since it involved a long journey to the nearest navigable river. Ward Perkins 1980, 320, n. 12.

¹⁵⁴ Ward Perkins 1980, 329.

¹⁵⁵ Ward Perkins 1980, 328.

¹⁵⁶ Russell 2013, 144–45. This is most likely a combination of an increased demand and volume of trade of the 3rd century as well as the depreciating quality of ships used to transport these cargoes.

¹⁵⁷ Russell 2013, 148–51.

¹⁵⁸ Russell 2013, 140–41.

The Phrygian marble could be floated down the Sangarius to Nikomedia or the Maeander to Miletus. Humann et al., 1898, 56, 158, 209, 213, 332, 335; Ward Perkins 1980, 329.

¹⁶⁰ Robert 1960, 21–39.

¹⁶¹ SEG IV.106; IRT 264; IG Bulg, II.674; IGRR I.854.

into its intensive extraction, trade, and ultimate decoration were also highly lucrative commercial enterprises for the region.

Metals were a second highly desired and abundant export for the region, iron being the most prevalent. Iron resources in the region are mentioned as early as the 4th century BCE and remained an important livelihood throughout antiquity. ¹⁶² Traces of ancient workings were visible near Trapezus in the 19th century; however, the central plateau represented the most intense focus for ore extraction. 163 The region had been subjected to intensive mining since the Bronze Age. 164 The extraction of iron deposits and the creation of mining installations in Paphlagonia in particular, however, drastically increased in the middle and late Roman period. Mining settlements not only increased in number along fortified ridges, but in size and production capacity as well. 165

Military and security concerns could have had significant influence on iron production. Iron would have been indispensable for the manufacture of weapons, vehicles, and other miscellaneous equipment for the Roman military. The concentrated military presence on the Euphrates and Danube frontiers could have placed high demands on the region's deposits. ¹⁶⁶ Iron mines and works in north central Anatolia could, therefore, could have provided a fairly quick and consistent supply to either military zone. 167 This could be accomplished, furthermore, with a mind to cost and efficiency, since other iron-rich regions, such as Noricum and Britain, were prohibitive in both distance and transportation cost. Despite the utility of iron and its relative abundance in north central Anatolia, the precise position of the region's metal resources in the empire remains highly conjectural.

Ceramic finewares represent the largest, most diverse, and most readily available category of prestige goods that were exported from and imported to the region. As a producer and an exporter, the Black Sea was known for its own sigillata or redslip. The ware, coined as *Pontic* sigillata by J.W. Hayes in 1985, is typically a dense light brown or reddish brown clay with a slip that can range in hue from pale red to orange to reddish brown (fig. 4.17). Studies on the origins and production centers of Pontic sigillata are not as extensive as those of its North African and Italian counterparts. A remarkable number of forms, however, nearly 50 in total, have been identified. 169 Moreover, the largest concentrations of Pontic sigillata occur in the northern Black Sea, where it is presumed to have been produced. 170 Despite this northern origin, the ware circulated widely around the Black Sea and was a common fineware at both coastal and interior sites in north central Anatolia. 171 Pontic sigillata appears early on in the Roman period, around the mid 1st century CE, and becomes increasingly popular and widespread well into the 3rd century CE^{172}

¹⁶² Xenophon *Anab.* 5.5.1; Strabo 12.3.19.

¹⁶³ Broughton 1938, 622.

¹⁶⁴ Johnson 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Johnson 2011.

¹⁶⁶ Two legions were stationed on the Euphrates frontier that would have relied on supplies from north central Anatolia, the Fifteenth Legion at Satala and the Twelfth at Melitene.

¹⁶⁷ Just as they could with staple food products. Supra n. 94.

Hayes 1985; Zhuravlev 2000, 151–53; on major works and problems with Pontic sigillata.

¹⁶⁹ Zhuravlev 2010, 40, 67–69; Zhuravlev 2011, 2.

¹⁷⁰ It is unclear if the current typology of Pontic sigillata A, B, and C correspond to three main production centers, however. Zhuravlev 2000, 151–160.

¹⁷¹ Including Pompeiopolis (Zhuravlev 2011), Hadrianopolis (Laflı and Şahin 2012), and Sinope (Doonan et al. 2015). Thuravlev 2011, 9–10.

Pontic sigillata has also been documented at sites around the empire (fig. 4.18). A particularly active trade route appears to have existed between north central Anatolia and the eastern provinces. The largest quantities of Pontic sigillata have been recovered at Berenike in Libya, Knossos on Crete, Abdera in Thrace, Smyrna, and Gordion. This intensive eastern trade did not interfere with trade and contact with the western Mediterranean, however. Pontic sigillata occurs widely throughout the western empire, particularly Italy, though its distribution tends to be sparse and scattered. It has been documented in notable concentrations at Ostia, Pompeii, Ravenna, and Sardinia. The presence of Pontic sigillata at sites that were intimately connected to Mediterranean trade networks is not necessarily surprising, as they were far more likely to come into contact with Pontic traders and acquire products from the Euxine. Its presence is surprising, however, given the strong competition of other sigillatas in the western Mediterranean.

This commercial exchange of ceramic finewares was also reciprocal and the importation of fineware from neighboring provinces was frequent and intensive. Significant concentrations of Samian and Pergamene wares began to appear in the late Hellenistic period. This increase appears to be connected to the export of amphorae from the southern Black Sea coast, especially those from Sinope. Eastern sigillata, however, is one of the most common imported finewares from the Roman period that is recovered from excavations and archaeological surveys. The three types, A, B, and C, are believed to come from Syria, Tralles, and Çandarlı, respectively. All three types constitute common finds at sites in northern Anatolia, including Pompeiopolis, Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis, and Sinope, but do not rival the popularity of Pontic sigillata. Recent excavations of large pottery assemblages at these sites have also greatly expanded the current understanding of the development and trade of sigillata finewares, both Eastern and Pontic. The preference for both began in earnest in the mid-1st century CE and intensified and extended well beyond the 3rd century CE. Moreover, the wide availability and popularity of these two sigillata wares influenced the trade in imported sigillatas from the Aegean and western Mediterranean, which remained relatively low, especially at interior settlements.

The popularity of Eastern and Pontic sigillata, however, did not necessarily bar all trade in western Mediterranean finewares and sigillatas. Following annexation into the Roman empire the importation of ceramic fineware from the western empire increased. Finds of Italian and African redslip occurs primarily in coastal areas within close proximity to large commercial centers, such as Sinope. These sites are frequently associated with high-status residences, specifically the villas of the urban elite and Roman citizens of the area. Small assemblages of Italian and African redslip have been excavated at interior sites, most notably Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis. The small size and chronological scale of these excavations and the minute size of the assemblages, however, do not permit any substantial conclusions about the presence and use of western finewares in the

¹⁷³ Kenrick 1985, 271–82; Sackett 1992, 159; Forster 2001, 143; Malamidou 2005, 46–7, 83. It also occurs in numerous locations in Greece, including Athens, Corinth, Keos, and Thasos. Lund 2007, 187–88.

¹⁷⁴ Berti, Carandini, Fabbricotti, Gasparri *et al.* 1970, 212 and pl. 13.155; Kenrick 1985, 273–7; Carandini and Panella (eds.) 1973, 168, pl. 33.226 and pl. 54.451.a; Pucci 1977, 20-21, pl. 5.26-29; Maioli 1976, 160, n. 4; Hayes 2001, 150, fig. 5, no. 11; Lund 2007, 188.

¹⁷⁵ Zeest 1960, 29–38; Braund 2005, 125.

¹⁷⁶ Though no production centers have been securely identified for Eastern Sigillata A.

¹⁷⁷ Zhuravlev 2011, 8–9; Laflı and Şahin 2016, 143–204.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Doonan 2004, 97–104; Doonan 2015.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

¹⁸¹ Laflı and Şahin 2012.

interior at this time. At present, it is enough to note that the presence and increase of imported western fineware in north central Anatolia was most likely connected to the ease of its acquisition at large commercial centers, like Sinope and Herakleia Pontike. It may have also addressed a local demand that originated from wealthy urban elites eager to display their wealth and *Romanitas* or prior connection to an Italian or western heritage.

The preceding list of prestige items is not exhaustive. The aforementioned items are a small but representative subset of the items that flowed within the prestige-goods networks involving north central Anatolia. The region had several appealing categories of luxury and prestige objects to offer the Black Sea region as well as the more distant Mediterranean zone. Food and textiles were widely known and appreciated, but were restricted geographically to the Black Sea, Asia Minor, and northern parts of the Near East because of their perishable nature. Ointments and perfumes may have circulated more widely due to smaller and more durable packaging. A number of regional relationships recur, but often on a larger geographical scale. The increased and stronger connections with the eastern frontiers and Syria are particularly striking. Moreover, the procurement and export of valuable materials, including metals, stone, and pigment, established much broader, empire-wide connections. Rome, or at least the Roman state, constituted a particularly demanding consumer.

Fineware pottery, however, best demonstrates the general size and integration of these provinces into prestige good networks. While Pontic sigillata has been found in the western empire, demand in antiquity and its presence in substantial concentrations in no way match those for Italian and African varieties. Similarly, Italian redslip was not highly coveted in the Black Sea, though its increasing presence has helped to document settlement expansion in coastal areas. ¹⁸² Instead, regional varieties from Asia Minor and Syria dominate the most popular, imported finewares; both regions show a reciprocal affinity for Pontic pottery.

V. Conclusions

The preceding examinations have once again sketched an image wherein north central Anatolia was detached from several of the Mediterranean-based networks of the Roman empire. Yet, it has done so with a more critical eye toward exploring and explaining the region's distinctive circumstances and how this distinctiveness was impacted by Roman rule. In terms of trade, both of staple goods and luxury items, it is clear that the durability of goods and materials as well as their utility and sheer intrinsic value dictated the extent of their distribution and the expense of their transportation. Bulk and prestige goods from north central Anatolia did not reach Italian, Iberian, Gallic, or North African populations in any significant quantity. Incorporation into the empire and the peace, settlement, and development that followed, however, were strong stimuli for prosperity and relative self-sufficiency in the region.

The legacy of strong maritime trade that began in the Black Sea in the Hellenistic period only intensified this prosperity, as it simultaneously strengthened the regional connection and interdependency of north central Anatolia and the Black Sea. In place of Mediterranean networks, relationships with the Bosporus, the Euphrates frontier, central Anatolia, Syria and the northern Near East developed and remained highly influential for at least the next three centuries. These are the observations that challenge the previous models of isolation and underdevelopment that have characterized this region. In their place, north central Anatolia and its multiple provinces created profitable relationships, benefitting from their decreased dependence on the highly integrated networks of the Roman Mediterranean. Whether these dynamics also characterized the region's

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¹⁸² Ibid.

integration regarding administrative and military affairs will be explored in the fifth and final chapter.

CHAPTER 5:

LOCAL, REGIONAL, AND IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE ROLE OF THE ROMAN MILITARY

I. Introduction

The preceding chapter presented the defining economic characteristics of the connection of the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia to Rome's Mediterranean empire. It identified the peripheral location, self-sufficiency, and interconnectedness of the region regarding its economic commodities. The wider importance of the Black Sea and its dominant influence over networks of product exchange also emerged.

Unlike the trade in agricultural commodities, staples, and prestige goods, networks of administration and military defense, the focus of this chapter, were more closely and concretely connected to the empire by necessity. The scholarly consensus that the Roman administrative apparatus operated through a strategy of indirect rule via its provinces and the urban centers within them still prevails. But while cities and provinces in north central Anatolia appeared to maintain a certain degree of autonomy, the imperial bureaucracy was still present and visible in the form of provincial governors or imperial legates, imperial procurators who administered imperial estates, and the emperor himself. The presence of the Roman military and its operations was more keenly felt through legionary and auxiliary bases, road-building, frequent campaigns, and troop movement.

What impact did the imperial administration and military have on the cities and the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia? Did annexation change how civic life was structured and pursued in an urban setting? Did the administrative bureaucracy create a stronger connection that tied the cities and region of the southern Black Sea more closely with the central Mediterranean empire? Did the same geographical constraints that shaped the economic networks of the region also influence how cities in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia were administered by the empire? Did the presence of the Roman military provide any stimulus to urban growth and connectivity? Did military campaigns negatively impact the communities of the region?

Although this investigation follows different threads than the previous chapter, the same three geographical frameworks, that is the local *polis*, the Black Sea region, and the wider Mediterranean empire remain important. The actions of the imperial administration and the military varied over time in intensity and their affect on an individual city or province. I treat each topic separately, but acknowledge that some overlap between the two is unavoidable. For the imperial administration, I examine whether administrative offices and urban political participation changed after imperial annexation or maintained a degree of continuity. For the Roman military, I discuss how the increasing military presence impacted the infrastructure and economy of individual urban communities and the wider connectivity of cities in northern Anatolia. I also explore how interactions with the Roman military affected the daily lives of the residents of urban communities in the region.

II. Frameworks, Terminology, and Definitions

The previous chapter explored two networks of economic exchange that were opposites in terms of their size, extent, and participants. The perishable nature, widespread availability, and transportation cost of bulk goods ensured that these networks worked most efficiently on a small scale and at a local level. In contrast, the valuable nature of prestige goods relied upon much larger

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¹ Woolf 1998, 112–17; MacMullen 2000, 4–5; Garnsey and Saller 2015, 35–54.

networks of exchange, though these are inherently more difficult to trace. Administrative and military networks are shaped by factors that do not necessarily impact the economic sphere. Below I define the precise terminology ascribed to each network and discuss what each sphere encompassed.

The introduction placed considerable emphasis on the Roman imperial administrative apparatus as the primary agent in the regional administrative network. The term references both the bureaucracy and its implementation. Provinces were administered by an imperial bureaucracy that was few in number and exerted a relatively light presence. Governors or legates of the emperor and their staff supervised provinces and ensured peace and appropriate obedience to Rome, which was best expressed through the regular payment of taxes.² Other imperial agents, namely procurators, were stationed to oversee imperial interests, estates, and revenues.³ Urban centers were also highly encouraged, as cities constituted important centers for administration as well as the spread of political and social culture. ⁴ This combination of a light bureaucracy and the encouragement of cities raises questions about the extent to which the administrative network of the empire was truly indirect at the urban, provincial, and Mediterranean. The role of local administrative structures was equally important, as these conducted and shaped the majority of daily civic life in individual cities and territories. Above individual cities in the province, the koinon was the provincial administrative unit that represented local interests, but was also connected to the imperial bureaucracy.⁵ The administration of north central Anatolia was implemented through these three levels: the polis, the koinon, and the imperial bureaucracy. Each was a distinct unit with its own administrative function. Yet all three were interconnected in order to achieve the most efficient administration of the region. These interconnections provide the best evidence for changes to or the continuity of civic life in the urban environment and, more broadly, how inclusion in the imperial network was experienced.

Rome's military network is a more self-contained case study. Military operations and units were an overtly visible presence in the landscape in camps, convoys, and activity. More importantly, the military network was directly connected to the Roman imperial state by financial ties, imperial orders, and official interests. The size of Rome's military and the physical territory in which it was encompassed had to match the size of its Mediterranean empire, the value of its holdings, and the efforts expended to protect its boundaries. The extension of Rome's military network into north central Anatolia was accompanied by profound changes in the physical landscape as well as in the infrastructure and connectivity of the cities in the region. Where, how, and for what reasons was the Roman military established in north central Anatolia? Was interaction with the military experienced on an intensive and daily basis or was interaction more sporadic and dispersed? Did these interactions improve or hamper the quality of urban life in the region? How did the increasing militarization of the 3rd century impact the life and stability of cities in the region?

III. The Administrative Network

Polis Politics and Administration:

The administrative landscape of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia was diverse before Roman annexation. Though the entire region had been organized under a general scheme of

² Jones 1940, 60–1, 69–72; Jones 1963, 1, 5; MacMullen 2000, 9–10, 19–20.

³ Sherwin-White 1939: Millar 1964: Millar 1965.

⁴ Woolf 1998.106–41.

⁵ Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 82–6; Madsen 2009, 40–6.

governance by Mithridates VI, extensive regional variations persisted. Bithynia was the most organized and structured. The former kingdom possessed more urban centers and had a pre-existing administrative structure for supervising the *poleis* and their territories. Pontus and its hinterlands were more challenging. The kingdom and territory of Pontus was far less urbanized than Bithynia. In lieu of *polis* type administrations, supervision of the hinterland was handed over to eunuchs and to members of the royal family, who controlled fortresses as well as hundreds of villages.⁶ Finally, the kingdom of Paphlagonia was the complete opposite of Bithynia. The rural and isolated kingdom in the interior of north central Anatolia had almost no urban centers and therefore no *polis*-based administrative culture. Rule was effected through a single monarch and mediated through local tribal leaders in territories that are better characterized as fortified centers.⁷

The organization of the three regions by Pompey in 63 BCE impacted the pre-existing administrative strategies and practices in several ways. Pompey divided the regions into twelve governing districts, placing one capital city in a supervisory role over each district. These actions adhered to the long-established approach to provincial governance: the use of cities to supervise local areas, secure the payment of taxes, and moderate peaceful behavior. As just noted, such procedures were already familiar in Bithynia and Pontus, particularly the former. The foundation of new cities in Pontus was one visible impact of this imperial policy. Pre-existing fortresses were destroyed to remove opportunities for resistance, while cities such as Nikopolis and Neapolis were founded on pre-existing villages. The kingdom of Paphlagonia went through this transformation more slowly, precisely because of its less urbanized character. Pompey's settlement divided rule between two dynasts, Pylamenes and Attalus, and the region's two urban territories, Pompeiopolis and Germanikopolis, were placed in control of Pontus. When Deiotarus Philadelphus, the last king of Paphlagonia, finally died, the kingdom was officially annexed into the empire in 6/5 BC. The province was still sparsely urbanized. This changed when Pompeiopolis and Germanikopolis were transferred back into the control of the region and the new city of Neoklaudiopolis was founded. 10 Annexation into the empire and the slow creation of urban communities, new and old, were the earliest consequences of the imperial administration in Paphlagonia.

Pompey's reorganization extended beyond the establishment of administrative districts and capitals to revise local civic constitutions. The *lex Pompeia* established a minimum age of thirty years old for those wishing to hold a civil office or sit in the senate. An edict under Augustus revised the age of eligibility to twenty-two, but only for minor offices. The precise motivation and impact of these changes in Pontus, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia has been vigorously debated. One prevailing view asserts that the policy was designed not only to encourage a civic administrative structure in each city, but also to restrict the democratic character that was germane to prior *polis* life. The age requirement as well as the payment of fees upon election encouraged the development of an oligarchy of civic officials and local elites. An increasingly smaller number of individuals could afford to hold office and carryout civic service. As a result, these privileges eventually became restricted to handfuls of families, who remained supportive of the Roman regime because of the benefits of their connection to the imperial power. The opposing argument

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⁶ Madsen 2009, 29.

⁷ Strabo 12.3.41; Appian *Mith.* 114; Eutropius 6.14.1.

⁸ Strabo 12.3.28–40; Madsen 2009, 29.

⁹ Strabo 12.3.41; Appian *Mith.* 114; Eutropius 6.14.1.

¹⁰ Mitchell 1993, 92, n. 129.

¹¹ Pliny the Younger *Ep.* 10.79.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 66–8.

asserts that the changes had relatively little impact on the nature of the *polis* constitutions as well as the power and continuing practice of its component bodies.¹⁴ In order to choose between these two alternatives, one must determine whether the revisions of Pompey significantly changed local civic practices or whether urban administrative practices continued relatively unaffected after Roman intervention.

In principle, the constitutional revisions of the *lex Pompeia* would have had the greatest impact on the role and composition of civic governing bodies. In the Hellenistic period, civic government was distributed amongst three major bodies: the office of the archon, the boule, and the ekklesia. The boule, or city council, was primarily responsible for drafting and approving proposals to be placed before the ekklesia, while the annually-elected archors occupied the top administrative seat of the city. The revisions under the Pompeian code altered the composition of the councils, particularly the boule, by restricting membership by age and previous political experience. In theory, membership in the *boule* became essentially timocratic and monopolized by a smaller number of civic elites; as a result, the council gradually became more powerful and more important. 15 In reality the revision merely legalized what had already been the prevailing practice in civic communities in Bithynia and Pontus. It placed power in the hands of individuals that were ex-magistrates and from the wealthiest class, since men of lesser financial means were increasingly unable to meet the costs of holding civic office. ¹⁶ This did not necessarily impact other civic bodies negatively. The ekklesia, for example, remained an important governing body for the election of candidates and the approval of local laws. ¹⁷ The *polis* constitution was essentially preserved, despite the ability of elites to exert a stronger influence on local politics. Over two hundred years later, the historian Cassius Dio still praised Pompey's actions for using the original laws of Nikaia while completing his reorganization.¹⁸

Similarly, many of the local magistracies, laws, and responsibilities of *poleis* in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, persisted from the Hellenistic period or developed in due course during the Roman period. A comprehensive examination of all civic magistracies known from these provinces is unfeasible because of the fragmentary nature of our knowledge concerning all the names and functions of all civic offices. I have chosen to discuss five well-attested civic offices or institutions that continued from the Hellenistic into the Roman period. I investigate whether these offices reflect any changes in the way that civic life was performed that were connected to the establishment of Roman administrative rule.

The archon sat at the head of the local civic administration. The annually-elected magistracy is found in almost every major city in north central Anatolia, though the number of archons could vary widely from city to city. Nikaia had three, for example, while Prusias appears to have had as many as five. ¹⁹ The election of multiple archons has been taken to mean that they worked as a bureau, though the senior archon always maintained his eponymous status. ²⁰ The duties of the magistracy appear to have been the same as in the Hellenistic period. Archons supervised the *boule* and the *ekklesia*; several also acted as benefactors to their city. In the second century, Publius Domitius Julianus was honored by two separate *phylai* for bringing water to the

¹⁴ Madsen 2009, 39.

¹⁵ Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 66–8; Madsen 2009, 39–40.

¹⁶ Madsen 2009, 39.

¹⁷ Dio Chrysostom 49.15–15; Madsen 2009, 39.

¹⁸ Cassius Dio 37.20.1–2.

¹⁹ I. Nikaia 57, 61; I. Prusias 38.

²⁰ Fernoux 2004, 323.

city of Prusias, but also for ensuring the stable provision of grain, olive oil, and wine.²¹ Around 220 CE, Marcus Aurelius Asklepiadotos was similarly honored in the same city for his many liturgies by the citizens of several local *phylai*.²² Similar examples are attested in Pontus and Paphlagonia, such as the archon (whose name is now lost) who constructed an altar to Herakles in Amastris in the middle of the second century.²³ Such euergetism was not a requirement of the office in Bithynia, Pontus, or Paphlagonia, but was rooted in both the Hellenistic urban tradition as well as modes of Roman elite behavior. Magistrates were not legally required to expend personal financial resources for the community; however, social convention came to expect benefactions from urban elites who held civic office.²⁴ The more developed urban character of neighboring Asia may explain why instances of elite benefaction was much more pervasive.²⁵

Dedications to the emperor as well as inscriptions that invoked the name of the emperor and expressed the loyalty of the archon and the city's citizens were common. In Pompeiopolis, the archon invoked the name of the emperor in order to honor Gnaeus Claudius Sebasteros as patron and founder of the metropolis of Paphlagonia. The practice is particularly well-documented at Prusias. In the early third century, the archons in Abonouteichos were still avidly erecting honorific dedications to the emperor. The continuation of the top local civic magistracy by local citizens maintained an important link with *polis* past. The frequency with which holders of this office participated in behavior that evoked a Roman imperial presence, however, was an important development under imperial rule.

For those embarking upon a political career, the position of *agoranomos* was a crucial first rung on the political ladder, as well as one of the most functionally diverse and important civic offices in the city. The social and economic importance of grain linked the magistracy to urban prosperity and stability. As such, the *agoranomos* played a vital role in mediating between city and countryside. This office regulated the standards and prices in the marketplace, but also ensured a stable supply either from the city's rural hinterland or economic ties with trading partners. ²⁹ The responsibilities of the magistracy dictated a close relationship and frequent contact with urban and rural producers and merchants. Personal expenditure, when supply was disrupted, was rare, but did occur. An unnamed holder of the office in Prusias was honored for running the office out of his personal resources. ³⁰ In the mid-2nd century, Poplius Aelius Neoptolemus was also honored by the Prusan *phyle* Antonina for supporting the office from his personal wealth on several occasions. ³¹ Publius Aelius Agrippa acted similarly in the late 2nd and 3rd centuries at Nikaia. ³² Attestations of the office in Pontus and Paphlagonia are fairly substantial, but do not document the same extension of personal resources. In Sebastopolis, Marcus Sergius Rufus was honored as an *agoranomos* and for his personal expenditure, but the amount and the purpose for which it was

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²¹ I. Prusias 19.

²² I. Prusias 11.

²³ Marek, kat. *Amastris* 11.

²⁴ Veyne 1990.131–51.

²⁵ Quass 1993, 324–326.

²⁶ Marek, kat. *Pompeoipolis* 3.

²⁷ I. Prusias 11, 33, 38, 40.

²⁸ Marek, kat. *Abontouneichos* 3, 4.

²⁹ Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 75.

³⁰ *I. Prusias* 49.

³¹ I. Prusa 21.

³² I. Nikaia 1254.

used are unclear.³³ Similarly, the *demos* and the *boule* of Pompeiopolis honored Gaius Claudius Gallittianus for the office with a simple dedication.³⁴

Such actions on the behalf of the agoranomos are not attested in the Hellenistic period, though this may be the product of a spotty epigraphic record. The practice may have begun in the Roman period in emulation of the emperor, though the state of the Hellenistic evidence makes this impossible to confirm or deny. In times of extreme need, the emperor could and did intervene with aide at locations across the empire. 35 Some magistrates and provincial communities asked for relief from the emperor in times of extreme difficulty, effectively inviting oversight and intervention from the emperor or provincial governor to ward off starvation or civil unrest. The Roman governor of Pisidia, for example, received such a request and subsequent honors for his help in 93 CE.³⁶ The governor of Thrace was honored by a *sitophylax* from Cyzicus for restoring good grain relations between the city and Perinthus in Thrace.³⁷ These examples do not necessarily characterize the office in the Roman period, nor are they necessarily representative of north central Anatolia in general. They illustrate the possibility for Roman intervention as well as some of the options available under the imperial regime. It is more important that communities in Bithynia and Pontus more frequently turned to the Bosporus with requests for grain.³⁸ The heavier dependence on a local dynast likely resulted from pre-existing relationships and closer proximity. The kingdom of the Bosporus was one of the most fertile territories in the Black Sea region and had a robust role in the grain trade as early as the 5th century BCE.³⁹ Roman intervention in local and regional shortages could occur, but the close proximity of the grain producers in the Bosporus as well as pre-existing networks of exchange often took precedence.

The *agonothetes* and the *gymnasiarch* were two further magistracies that played a substantial role civic life and administration. Both offices were true liturgies from their inception, an aspect that reflects the persistence of elite euergetism from the Hellenistic period and the enduring Roman emphasis on elite patronage. The *agonothetes* was primarily concerned with the arrangement and finance of a wide range of athletic competitions and festivals, both local and inter-city. As such the magistracy and its related duties illustrate the vitality of institutions and competition typical of Greek *poleis* and communities dating back to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. In light of these historical roots, the office became more important and demanding in the Roman period, when the number of festivals increased dramatically. The office is continually attested throughout the Roman period in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. The driver of this increase in the number and occurrence of games was the celebration of the emperor, living, dead or deified. The Pontic citizen Julius Largus, for example, bequeathed a large amount of money in his will for the establishment of quinquennial games, presumably to the emperor. Other games

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³³ EA 13 (1989) 65.10.

³⁴ Marek, kat. *Pompeiopolis* 12.

³⁵ Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus intervened in supply problems at Concordia. *CIL* 5.1874; Ziegler 1977, 33; Mrozek 1994, 98. Similar imperial actions were taken with the market at Oxyrhynchus in 191 and 246 CE. Rowlandson 1998, nr. 174.

³⁶ AE 1925, 126.

³⁷ Garnsey 1988, 73.

³⁸ Braund 2005, 127–30. See also Chapter 4, section III.B of this study for specific examples.

³⁹ Lund 2007, 39.

⁴⁰ Quass 1993, 303–17; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 74.

⁴¹ Including Sinope (*I. Sinope* 101), Amastris (Marek, kat. *Amastris* 3), Amisos (*St.Pont* III.3), Bithynion-Klaudiopolis (*I. Klaudiupolis* 44, 61, 144), Kalchedon (*I. Kalchedon* 2, 19), Apameia (*I. Apameia* 114), Prusias (*I. Prusias* 1–3, 5–13, 15, 20, 47–50, 87), Prusa (*I. Prusa* 13, 21, 22) and Nikaia (*I. Nikaia* 56).

⁴² Pliny *Ep.* 10.75.

celebrating the imperial family, cult, or emperor himself are known at Prusias, Prusa, Bithynion-Klaudiopolis, and Kalchedon. Not all of these festivals would have focused on the emperor or imperial cult; nevertheless, they were important additions during the Roman period that consumed the time, money, and attention of the *agonothete*. Celebration of deities other than the emperor still occurred. Marcus Domitius Candidus held the office multiple times and was particularly honored for his organization of *agones* to Asklepius. Harcus Aurelius Philippianus Iason performed the same duty for Olympian Zeus. The nature and responsibility of the office remained relatively unchanged from the Hellenistic period, as did the Greek zeal for *agones*; however, the objects of festivities introduced an imperial presence and sense of obligation that would not be ignored.

The office of the *gymnasiarch* occupied a similar political and socio-cultural position. Though originally a simple venue for physical exercise, the *gymnasion* developed into an important hub of social and cultural life in the Hellenistic city. In the Roman period, the role of the *gymnasion* was supplemented by the addition of Roman baths and bathing culture. The magistracy was charged with maintaining and supplying the *gymnasia* and baths of the city, including the operating costs as well as the supply of oil and fuel, often at personal expense. A certain Deinarchos from Kios is a perfect example from the Hellenistic period and was honored for the use of his individual wealth. ⁴⁶ Similar individuals from the early and later Roman periods, who not only advertised their personal financial sacrifice or were honored for it by the community, can be found at Prusa, Prusias, Sinope, Pompeiopolis, and Sebastopolis. ⁴⁷

The development of the office is an important illustration of the continuity of local administrative organization as well as the impact of Rome. The magistracy remained focused on the primary activities related to the gymnasion: physical exercise, cultural education, and social interaction. Yet holders of the office also adapted themselves to address Roman bath buildings and bathing practices. The process maintained key links to social and political life, but also encouraged greater use of personal resources in order to meet the demands of the population and larger facilities. The latter required greater elite investment in and oversight of the social life of the city, a key Roman development. Furthermore, bathing facilities were some of the most popular monuments constructed in north central Anatolia following the Roman conquest. 48 Where the gymnasiarch of the Hellenistic period would have been responsible for perhaps one gymnasion and its primarily athletic, cultural, and educational activities, the office ultimately took on the supervision and financial burden of multiple baths, including their fuel, equipment, and personnel. Finally, gymnasiarchs were one of the civic magistracies most frequently included on dedications to the emperor, mirroring the imperial connections and visibility noted in the earlier discussion of the archon. A gymnasiarch from Pompeiopolis whose name is now lost dedicated an ephebic monument to Trajan. 49 Titus Flavius Seilon honored Trajan in a similar way at Prusa. 50 Thus, though the character and basic integrity of the office remained in tact, its duties intensified and diversified as a result of the introduction of Roman cultural tastes and the advertisement of imperial connections.

⁴³ I. Prusias 47; I. Prusa 21; I. Klaudiupolis 144; I. Kalchedon 19.

⁴⁴ I. Prusias 6.

⁴⁵ I. Prusias 9.

⁴⁶ I. Kios 5.

⁴⁷ I. Prusa 24; I. Prusias 11; I. Sinope 101; Marek, kat. Pompeiopolis 1; EA 13.65.10.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁴⁹ Marek, kat. *Pompeiopolis* 1

⁵⁰ I. Prusa 3.

Evidence of administrative change comes from the lowest level of *polis* administration. The phyle was the municipal tribe and the smallest administrative unit in the polis. In the Hellenistic period, *phylai* played a dominant role in the election of members to the councils. ⁵¹ The leader of each group and leading citizen of the phyle, the phylarch, could play a key role in these decisions. The revisions of the lex Pompeia removed this role, since ex-magistrates populated the council and censors could control membership more tightly.⁵² Yet, the *phylai* appear to have remained at least a locally important administrative unit. They continued to exist under the imperial system, though many of the names were changed to reflect emperors or members of the imperial family. A phyle named Antonina is known at Prusa.⁵³ Phylai named Germanike, Traiane, Antoniniane, and Aureliane are known at Prusias.⁵⁴ Many of these names are repeated at Bithynion-Klaudiopolis. That city added phylai named Antinois, Faustiniane, Hadriane, Iuliane, and Sabiniane. 55 The renaming of phylai need not be linked to the directive of a Roman authority. These were likely honorific in nature. A connection to the emperor and the imperial family was a source of social prestige in the urban world of the Roman empire. By renaming even the most minor municipal units after members of the imperial family, urban communities signaled a desire for this prestige as well as their participation in the urban framework under Rome. At Bithynion-Klaudiopolis this prestige was linked to the close connection and frequent presence of the emperor Hadrian and its importance as the birthplace of Antinoos. The names of the phylai at Prusias, therefore, may have advertised a similarly close connection with Hadrian's successors. At the very least the renamed *phylai* were an attempt to compete with the position of Bithynion-Klaudiopolis.

The local censors (*timetes*) reflect a small measure of direct Roman intervention at the administrative level of the *polis*. The office was a Roman innovation in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. Office holders were tasked with verifying the qualifications of new council members as well as removing members who no longer met the necessary qualifications. Though the magistracy was a Roman addition, it did not necessarily establish a direct link to the Roman imperial apparatus. The office was not an annual one, but appears to have been filled every five years. Those who held the office of *timetes* were still citizens of the town or city in which they were elected. They were not external Roman officials. Many had held multiple civic offices within their city as well. For example, both Domitius Asteros and Marcus Aurelius Philippianus Iason served as archons, *agonothetes*, *agoranomoi*, and *grammateis* in addition to serving as local censors. While they had the power to remove people from the council, that power did not extend to the appointment of new members. Nor did they hold any administrative authority over civic finances. Though the office was created by the Roman administrative authority and regulated local civic affairs, its quinquennial timeline and the citizenship of its holders maintained a strong connection to the individual *polis* community.

Many of the official local administrative changes discussed were light-handed. Roman administrative policy altered the composition of civic governing bodies and how they interacted; however, a strong interest against intervening in civic affairs or laws prevailed. The strategy of Roman imperial rule relied on the ability of local cities and territories to govern themselves in order keep the imperial bureaucracy and its staff relatively small. Though practical, the policy

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⁵¹ Quass 1993, 385.

⁵² Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 80; Madsen 2009, 38–9.

⁵³ I. Prusa 21

⁵⁴ *I Prusias* 1–11. For a discussion of *phyle* naming practices, see Marek 2002, 43–46.

⁵⁵ Marek 2002, 43.

⁵⁶ Due to such issues as immorality, criminal offense, or infirmity. Bekker-Nielsen 77–78.

⁵⁷ I. Prusias 2, 9

against intervention also reflected Rome's inability to do so. Frequent intervention and profound change in municipal affairs required a strong infrastructure of money and bureaucracy that Rome was unable to support. Consequently, cities and their magistrates became the key factors in the promotion of peace and the collection of taxes that were due to the imperial treasury. This functionary role required that any interference in cities be avoided lest the flow of revenues to Rome be disrupted. The impact of Roman administrative procedure was played out in the tasks and behaviors of civic officials and communities. Magistracies maintained a high degree of continuity with their Hellenistic predecessors, but these offices increasingly adopted a range of Roman cultural practices, religious and political celebrations, and imperial priorities. The competition among elites and urban communities for social prestige was one of the most common ways in which Roman administrative rule changed north central Anatolia.

The Koinon:

The *koinon* is best considered as the province-level governmental structure for the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. More substantial evidence for the activities of the *koinon* is known from the province of Asia. The underlying structures of the *koinon* in Bithynia as well as evidence of its activity are reasonably well-attested and may be somewhat extrapolated from the evidence for Asia Minor. Cassius Dio records the earliest attestation, which occurred in 29 BC, when Octavian gave Nikaia and Nikomedia permission to establish cults to Julius Caesar, Rome, and Octavian himself, respectively. Dio's language does not specifically mention a *koinon*, but rather refers to the residents of the regions as Hellenes. Bekker-Nielsen has argued that Dio's usage of this term is a synonym for regional council or *koinon*. This early example suggests that the *koinon*, at least in Bithynia, existed before the principate and that many of its duties pertained to regional government and supervision, not just cult activity. The same cannot be said of Pontus and Paphlagonia, whose regional government was based primarily on tribal divisions, client kingdoms, and clusters of fortified sites and villages.

After annexation, the *koinon* remained a regional council, but became almost singularly associated with the cult of the emperor. This function, in turn, spurred the establishment of *koina* in Pontus and Paphlagonia, two regions in which the organization does not appear to have existed before the Roman period. The *koinon* in Pontus was actually associated with two *metropoleis*, Neokaisareia and Amaseia. A coin from Neokaisareia that shows the portrait of Trajan and declares the city *neokoros* is the first evidence of the first imperial cult in this region. Other documentation of the *koinon* in this region only begins to appear at this same time. Amaseia began claiming *neokoros* status in 161/162 CE, thus suggesting its participation in the *koinon* structure at the latest by this time. The fact that Pompeiopolis advertised itself as the *metropolis* of

⁵⁸ *I. Priene* 106; Ehrenberg and Jones 1976, 300.

⁵⁹ See Marek 1993, 77–9 for a hypothetical reconstruction of the Bithynian *koinon*.

⁶⁰ Cassius Dio 51.20.5–9.

⁶¹ Bekker Nielsen 2008 82–3.

⁶² For the debate concerning the existence of one or multiple *koina* in Pontus (Pontus Polemoniacus and Pontus Galaticus), see Marek 1993, 73–82; Burrell 2004, 205–6. The strongest evidence points toward the existence of a single *koinon* with multiple *metropoleis* or cities claiming to be *metropolis* as opposed to the multiple *koina* that not only extended across multiple provinces, but also would have had to be united once these multiple provinces were reorganized and united under Vespasian.

⁶³ Paris 1277; Burrell 2004, 206.

⁶⁴ Deininger 1965, 64–66.

Paphlagonia, and the existence of titles such as Paphlagoniarch, makes it likely that Paphlagonia had its own *koinon* after Roman annexation, though the precise date has not been determined. 65

Responsibility for the imperial cult entailed not only routine ritual practice, but grander ceremonies and celebrations associated with particular anniversaries, festivals, and agonistic competitions. The high priest was the most conspicuous official in this council, and responsible for cult practice at the provincial level. Titles were drawn from the particular regional location of the cult, namely Bithyniarch, Pontarch, or Paphlagoniarch, and the position was shared among a number of people of diverse backgrounds. In a few cases, several individuals who held the position of Bithyniarch also held the position of Pontarch. At least six individuals are known to have held both positions and all are from either Prusa, Prusias, or Amastris. Citizenship in the resident *koinon* may not have been a prerequisite of the position.

The reduced administrative responsibility of the *koinon* and its reorientation toward the imperial cult might have been significant changes in Bithynia. The scarcity of evidence for a pre-Roman *koinon* in both Pontus and Paphlagonia does not permit a similar claim as to Rome's influence on the *koinon* and its practices in those two provinces. Regional councils did develop in both Pontus and Paphlagonia; these were administrative bodies that had no precedent in the two provinces. An ideological emphasis was placed on Rome and the emperor and the regional council was focused on urban status and prestige that was connected to imperial ties and celebration. The *koinon* became mainly honorific and symbolic in function. In addition to administering and promoting the imperial cult, the *koinon* was also involved in other honorary and symbolic actions. This included honorific decrees, embassies of *theoroi* to important festivals and gifts and delegations to monarchs and the emperor, and even administering justice over regional disputes.⁶⁹

This did not diminish the administrative responsibilities of the *koinon*. One remaining duty concerned relations between the province and the Roman governor. The provincial council played a leading role in prosecuting former governors for maladministration, perhaps one of its most important roles. In Bithynia and Pontus, this function was particularly important. The province seems to have pursued more *de repetundis* cases than any other province in the Roman empire, with seven attested cases in total. The council's ability and eagerness to take such action indicate the importance and intensity of the remaining power of the regional council, both pre-existing and newly established. While individual cities remained the *de facto* unit of administration, the *koinon* remained to mitigate potential imperial abuses, promote imperial cult, and unify the region under protection, religious practice, and celebration.

⁶⁵ A coin and inscription both citing a Paphlagoniarch are known from the early to mid 3rd century. Marek 2010, 518. Pompeiopolis' use of the term *metropolis*, however, dates earlier to approximately the time of Hadrian. Marek 1993, 69–71; Dalaison 2010, 45–81.

⁶⁶ Fernoux 2004, 350–52.

⁶⁷ I. Prusias 17, 29, 53; I. Prusa 13; OGIS 531 (Amastris)

⁶⁸ Since individuals from Pergamon and Ephesus are known to have been Bithyniarchs. Habicht 1957, no. 151 (Pergamon); *I. Ephesos* 627, 3056 (Ephesus).

⁶⁹ Bagnall 1976, 139–41; Fernoux 2004, 349–60; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 85–6.

⁷⁰ Deininger 1965, 166–7; Ameling 1985, 30.

⁷¹ Brunt 1961, 227, table III.

C. The Empire and its Province:

Pliny's letters to Trajan during his governorship of Pontus-Bithynia are an informative glimpse into imperial interest and intervention in local *polis* and provincial politics. ⁷² The second century CE correspondence reveals a concerted effort on Trajan and Pliny's part to avoid frequent intervention in and disruption of local administrative and political affairs. Trajan makes this approach unambiguous in several responses to Pliny, specifically where the imperial legate's inquiries pertain to local conflicts, legal matters, or constitutional issues. When consulted about the movement of graves, for example, Trajan tells Pliny that only local custom should prevail and that approval from Roman pontiffs is wholly unnecessary. ⁷³ Trajan's refusal to allow the establishment of fire brigades did not necessarily conflict with local practices, but did protect Roman interests by prohibiting potential rebellious groups from forming. ⁷⁴

Pliny's letters with Trajan also reveal the emperor's desire to keep the presence of the imperial bureaucracy relatively light. Despite several requests on Pliny's part for additional personnel he is repeatedly rebuffed by the princeps. Trajan denies his request for an architect to inspect the public buildings in Nikaia and Bithynion-Klaudiopolis, for example, telling him to find a local instead. A similar request from Pliny for a surveyor was denied in similar fashion. Though Pliny did have some military personnel at his disposal, he commanded no legions. Large numbers of troops were present in Cappadocia and Armenia, where they were more necessary.

Rather, Trajan's interest in the province and the bulk of Pliny's activity revolves around the use of public funds. This is the singular area in which Trajan appears willing to intervene and interfere with local autonomy, even where small amounts of money are concerned. Trajan unequivocally states that the primary mission of Pliny as his representative in Bithynia and Pontus: to maintain economic order among the regional cities. The majority of Pliny's efforts are directed at uncovering financial abuses by local officials, recouping these losses, and correcting profligate and competitive spending in the cities. Given the extent of financial disarray reported throughout his correspondence, the agenda of financial stability was desperately needed. At Nikaia an unfinished theater had cost over 10,000,000 sesterces and its completion lay in question. At Bithynion-Klaudiopolis an incomplete bath building was in danger of abandonment due to its problematic location. The Nikomedians had wasted over 3 million sesterces on not one, but two, failed aqueduct projects.

It is important to note that, despite the numerous examples of economic distress and mishandling that required Pliny's attention, most were not handled by unilateral action on Pliny's part. In cases where Pliny's corrective actions are known, the governor worked through local institutions in order to correct financial distress and establish local structures to prevent it from recurring. When Pliny requested the emperor's assistance concerning how best to recover debts

⁷² For a broad study on the letters of Pliny the Younger, see Sherwin-White 1966. For the nature of Book 10 and Pliny's depiction of the Black Sea region, see Woolf 2006; Woolf 2015.

⁷³ Pliny Ep. 10.68.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 10.34.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 10.40.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 10.17.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 10.21.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 10.17.

⁷⁹ Pliny *Ep.* 10.39–40.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid. 10.37–8.

from citizens, Trajan emphasizes that the law of each city should take precedence in such cases.⁸² Similarly, Trajan declined to establish a standard procedure across the province for the payment of fees by elected officials.⁸³ Financial resources were being mishandled, but were not so dire that any of these communities was close to collapse. Moreover, the use of local laws to recover the losses avoided inciting local, political outrage or inflaming what resentment may have already existed.

How similar was Trajan's agenda to that of other emperors? It seems that Trajan's motivation was based on economic and security concerns. The empire did not have an infrastructure capable of supporting and financing a large bureaucracy. It relied on a relatively low number of imperial officials to administer its Mediterranean empire, which kept costs relatively low. To provide additional officials to Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia would have removed individuals from less secure, stable areas (such as the Danube or Armenian frontiers) and inserted them into a region where such oversight was not only unnecessary, but potentially destabilizing. The former action would have reduced manpower in regions where intensive oversight was critical and would have potentially destabilized these border zones even further. The latter, an increased imperial presence in north central Anatolia, could have been hostilely received by local poleis and disrupted local stability unnecessarily. Third, the region was one of the most difficult and costliest to reach in terms of courier and communication. Scheidel's recent modeling of imperial connectivity has demonstrated that news and administrative staff from Rome could take at least a month, if not more, to reach even the western portions of these provinces (fig. 5.1).84 These estimates, moreover, apply only to optimal conditions; speeds would have been greatly reduced and costs increased during the inclement weather of the winter months. Given the costs and security risks, Trajan's unwillingness to acquiesce to Pliny's requests was perfectly reasonable.

The concerns that drove Trajan's policy in Pontus-Bithynia and Paphlagonia were equally relevant to rulers before and after his reign. Imperial interest in the region was reignited only in the Flavian periods when military infrastructure and road building were first implemented in the region (see below). In fact, the policy of emperors prior to Trajan in this region was even more hands-off. Pontus was largely ignored following the *lex Pompeia* and Paphlagonia remained under the control of a client king until 6/5 BCE. See Vespasian and Trajan's military prioritization of the region, their respective military campaigns, and the increasing importance of the Danube frontier spurred the majority of the interest in the area, but also shaped imperial policy. Trajan's approach provided sufficient oversight of the region, but also militated against too much interference. It is likely, therefore, that Trajan's conservative approach was maintained by his successors well into the late second and early third century CE.

Procurators and other officials connected to the administration of imperial estates were the other highly visible agents of the imperial bureaucracy in north central Anatolia. Large tracts of agricultural land made the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia prime locations for imperial estates. Once again, however, this administrative oversight was primarily economic in nature. Procurators were responsible for administering the estates, which included supervising agricultural production, sales, and leasing to tenants. 86 Pliny, for example, was ordered to provide

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⁸² Pliny *Ep.* 10.108–9.

⁸³ Pliny *Ep.* 10.113.

⁸⁴ Scheidel 2014, 14–24.

⁸⁵ Mitchell 1993, 32–3; Madsen 2009, 27–40.

⁸⁶ The most complete corpus of evidence comes from North Africa. Kehoe 1984, 193–219; Kehoe 1985, 151–72. Empire-wide studies have also been completed by Sherwin-White (1939) and Millar (1964, 1965).

protection for one of Trajan's freedmen and the imperial procurator who together were tasked with obtaining corn from Paphlagonia. While these duties necessitated frequent interaction with residents of these provinces and intensive involvement in local markets, their delegated powers did not extend to local administrations and political affairs. Instead, they themselves were subject to local laws and authority.

Finally, closer ties to the imperial administration established by the participation of provincials in the imperial bureaucracy. The number of native residents from Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia that are known to have had imperial careers is neither long nor impressive. The fact that most achieved these prominent positions by advancing through military service is a stronger argument for the impact of the military on the residents of the region than the imperial administration. Catilius Longus, a citizen of Apameia, began as a tribunus militum in the IV Scythian legion, but progressed to membership in the senate and served as the governor of Asia.⁸⁸ Similar to Longus, Flavonius Rufus, another resident of Apameia, began his career as a midranking officer in the army, spent the majority of his life climbing the ranks of the army, and was eventually admitted to the equestrian class.⁸⁹ A resident from Nikaia, Cassius Agrippa, was appointed consul suffectus in 130 CE, a position he reached from humble beginnings as a military tribune. While the career capstones of these individuals are impressive, the length of military service that each served dominated the majority of their lives. There is nothing to suggest, furthermore, that they returned to live in their native cities after achieving success in the imperial administration. For those residents of north central Anatolia who sought a career in the imperial administration, the military was a logical and popular route, but one that consumed most of their time and service and took them away from their native cities permanently.

The region also produced three particularly famous individuals. Dio Chrysostom's background destined him for an imperial political career. The orator came from a wealthy and politically elite family in Prusa, which had been relatively well connected with previous emperors. In addition to his extensive political life in his native Prusa, Dio was involved in multiple embassies to Rome and communications with the emperor, connections that he consistently advertised. PL Flavius Arrianus (Arrian) surpassed the imperial accomplishments of Chrysostom. A native of Nikomedia, Arrian was appointed to the senate and served as the governor of the neighboring province of Cappadocia. Cassius Dio left Bithynia and enjoyed a distinguished career in the senate and a member of the imperial administration under several emperors. All three individuals were also active literary figures, whose works established a connection to Rome and dealt with its impact on local culture and politics. Dio Chrysostrom's orations stressed the necessity of regional harmony in order to avoid Roman intervention. Arrian's *Periplus* fulfilled Hadrian's request to inspect the security of the Black Sea. The *Roman History* of Cassius Dio is more closely tied to Rome, as it adheres to the conventions of Latin

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⁸⁷ Pliny *Ep.* 10.27–8.

⁸⁸ I. Apameia.2.

⁸⁹ *I. Apameia* 8; Fernoux 2004, 444.

⁹⁰ *I. Nikaia* 57; Fernoux 2004, 461.

⁹¹ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 41.6, 46.6.

⁹² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 45, 46; Madsen 2009, 108.

⁹³ Fernoux 2004, 459–60.

⁹⁴ Fernoux 464–67; Madsen 2009, 67–8.

⁹⁵ Madsen 2009, 107–19.

⁹⁶ Such as his homeland and the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Madsen 2009, 119–23.

historical writers.⁹⁷ The careers and writing of the aforementioned individuals documents the willingness and success of elites from these provinces to participate in imperial politics. The success, however, was limited to a small number of individuals and almost always resulted permanent relocation away their native provinces.

From the time of its annexation until the third century, north central Anatolia remained loosely connected with the imperial administration, particularly agents of the imperial bureaucracy. Local *polis* constitutions were subject to slight revisions that prompted some changes in the composition and authority of governing bodies and magistracies, but the central state did not enact sweeping change to local self-governance. Rather, changes in these local administrative bodies and offices were reflected in how they developed to address and accommodate new Roman cultural introductions and priorities. The *koinon* remained a regional administrative council, especially for judicial exchanges with the imperial authority. It also became increasingly involved in maintaining the imperial cult and mediating honors and decrees. The few citizens who worked their way into imperial service wound up pursuing their careers far away from their native cities. The Roman administrative apparatus avoided frequent and profound intervention and followed an agenda focused on political, social, and economic stability. The primary goal always remained the uninterrupted collection of imperial revenues. Political transitions and military necessities in the 3rd century changed the intensity of imperial administrative involvement in this area. These later changes are discussed at the end of this examination.

IV. The Roman Military Apparatus

In contrast to the imperial bureaucracy, the Roman military was composed of a higher number of individuals and distributed across a wider area. The military was also the point of highest expenditure for the Roman state. It was composed of between 415,000 and 500,000 individuals by 200 CE. Sestimates of the Roman military budget have proposed a possible figure of 105 million denarii. Interaction with the Roman military could constitute a daily experience for many provincial populations, especially in densely militarized areas, such as frontier zones. Apuleius presents what form these interactions could take and conveys the angst and abuses that could accompany contact with the Roman military. After Lucius is sold to a gardener, he and his new owner endure several attempts at theft by Roman soldiers as well as physical abuse until one finally succeeds. On the other hand, Aelius Aristides celebrated the invisibility of the army in the provinces: There is no need for troops to garrison the strategic high peaks of these cities, because the most important and powerful people in each region guard their native lands for you.

The contrasting picture of Rome's military presence and impact presented in the works of these two author's requires clarification. Proximity to and interaction with the Roman military had the potential to shape local urban communities or even entire regions. The Roman military had access to unparalleled resources, both financial and provisionary. Thus, it could serve as a stimulus to local communities and entire provinces. Constant military traffic as well as the presence of soldiers with a stable source of income to spend, for example, could stimulate and benefit local markets. Conversely, close connections with military communities could have negative

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⁹⁷ Madsen 2009, 124–25.

⁹⁸ MacMullen 1984, 571; Duncan-Jones 1994, 34, table 3.1.

⁹⁹ MacMullen 1984, 580.

¹⁰⁰ Apuleius *Met.*, 9.39–42, 10.1–2.

¹⁰¹ Aelius Aristides *Ad Romam*.

¹⁰² Gren 1941, 89–155.

economic impacts or contribute to the destabilization of local regions. Military officials could and did commandeer resources from their regions, though they were required to pay for requisitioned supplies and transport. Soldiers could commit violence against local individuals, sometimes with impunity. The earlier example from Apuleius is drawn from a novel, but it had real-life parallels. Despite these potential disadvantages, a Roman military presence could and frequently did produce infrastructural benefits. The impetus for military action often resulted in the construction and maintenance of roads, aqueducts, and supply chains, all of which, I argue, proved particularly beneficial for the region.

North central Anatolia occupied a unique position in regard to the Roman military network. The region was the center of frequent and intense military action in the 1st century BCE as a result of the Mithridatic Wars. When this conflict was finally resolved and the region annexed into the provinces of Pontus-Bithynia and Paphlagonia in 63 and 6/5 BCE, respectively, military interest and action in the region sharply declined. This reduction did not mean the total absence of the Roman military, though, but rather a transformation of the region's position in and relationship with Rome's military forces. Instead of being the focus of military action, north central Anatolia became an important staging ground for operations on two frontier zones, the Danube and the Euphrates, both of which were far from Rome (fig. 5.2). The position of north central Anatolia between these two regions was economically advantageous. It became one of leading suppliers of staples to frontier zones in the Balkans, Cappadocia, and along the Euphrates frontier. This agricultural capability, the region's proximity to multiple frontier zones, and the increasing threat to frontier security, especially in the late 3rd century CE, drove infrastructural and economic developments in the region.

This study has thus far adopted a bottom-up approach to gauge degrees of intensity and integration in different types of imperial networks. Since the Roman military was always an outside force, such an approach is not necessarily helpful. In terms of the military, it is difficult to separate the empire from the region and/or province, since actions are taken in tandem. The following discussion acknowledges the persistent foreign and imperial character of the Roman army and discusses its impact upon and incorporation of local communities and the broader region.

The first century and a half following the cessation of hostilities under Pompey was a time of relative peace and stability in and around the region. A Roman military presence did not exist in any substantial concentration in Asia and north central Anatolia until the 70s CE. Vespasian was the first emperor to address the threat and instability of the eastern Euphrates frontier by establishing a robust frontier policy aimed at fortification and protection. Initial efforts were concentrated in eastern Cappadocia and resulted in the establishment of legionary stations at Melitene and Satala. The *legio XII Fulminata* was moved to Melitene in 70 CE following its humiliating defeat in the Jewish war. A few years later, the *legio XVI Flavia Firma* was moved to a garrison further north at Satala, following its recruitment in Syria. Based upon current archaeological investigations, up to six additional auxiliary camps were established between the two (figs. 5.3, 5.4, 5.5).

 $^{^{103}}$ Including grain and oil. Gren 1941; Mitchell 1983, 133–39; Mitchell 2005, 98–103. 104 Suetonius, $\it Vespasian$ 8.4.

¹⁰⁵ Josephus *BJ* 8.1.3, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Possibly around 75/76 CE. Tacitus *Ann*. 13.35; Mitchell 1993, 118. This legion was moved south to Samosata and the *legio XV Apollinaris* stationed at Satala during Trajan's Parthian campaign. Bosch 1967 110–112, 178, 187, 268, 366.

Though not strictly within the boundaries of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, these new legionary forts significantly increased the Roman military presence in Bithynia and Pontus in particular. The northeastern shore was a frontier of particular concern, being necessary to guard routes into Pontus and protect access to the newly annexed kingdom of Armenia. The area was strengthened a few years after the *legio XII Fulminata* was moved to Melitene. Trapezus became the official port of the *classis Pontica*, though it had been a strategic port since at least the time of Nero. 109 Additional legionary and auxiliary units were permanently stationed nearby at Hyssou Limen as well as along the route leading south from Trapezus to Satala. Legionary and auxiliary forts in the main territory of Pontus-Bithynia and Paphlagonia, however, were relatively scarce. Auxiliary units are only attested on the coast at Tieum and immediately inland at Prusias. 110 Although the majority of the permanent military presence was primarily stationed in Cappadocia, Vespasian's policy of frontier fortification instituted infrastructural changes in north central Anatolia that would continue for the next two and half centuries.

The construction of roads in order to unite the region and facilitate the movement of supplies and personnel was the most significant change (fig. 5.6). Road-building brought the region into close contact with the Roman military as well as the economic and infrastructural opportunities that accompanied it. The construction of Roman roads was a difficult endeavor with regard to financial resources, available materials, and labor. In north central Anatolia, the scale of this endeavor was magnified due to a relatively small population and an underdeveloped infrastructure. That soldiers assumed a primary role in the construction of these roads can be assumed. The scale of the regional road network that was first established under Vespasian, however, would have required a significant amount of labor and money to be drawn from the local population in order to achieve its completion. Records of road repairs from late republican and early imperial Italy show that repairs alone could cost between 66,666 and 111,500 HS per mile.¹¹¹ Given that the northern Anatolian system was built ex novo, it is likely to have exceeded the cost of the Italian repairs, perhaps topping 600 million HS. 112 This also exceeds the annual wage bill for both the army that was garrisoned on the Anatolian frontier as well as the annual military wage bill for the entire empire. 113 Frequent repairs would have only added to this economic and labor burden. Local contributions of money and labor were, therefore, a necessity.

The degree to which this local involvement was coerced, voluntary, or beneficial is an important question. The characteristically small size of the cities and subordinate communities in north central Anatolia meant that they never would have had the cash resources necessary to shoulder such a burden on their own. It is far more likely that local communities that were situated along the routes fulfilled their duty through the forced labor of their slaves and perhaps even their citizens. The underdeveloped urban culture that contributed to the inability of local cities and towns to pay for these constructions may have also meant that they may have also lacked the authorities to enforce such a system. That task likely fell on the officers and soldiers of the Roman army, who may have felt no compunction toward inflicting brutality. 114

¹⁰⁷ Annexed by Vespasian around 72/3 CE.

¹⁰⁹ Arrian *Periplus* 1–6; Tacitus *Hist.* 3.47; Reddé 1986, 259–60.

¹¹⁰ Arrian *Periplus* 1.1–6; Mitchell 1993, 130.

¹¹¹ Pekáry 1968, 93–5.

¹¹² Mitchell 1993, 126.

¹¹³ Calculated at 25 million HS and 450 million HS, respectively, and based upon Hopkins (1980, 117–19, 124–25) estimates.
¹¹⁴ Mitchell 1993, 127.

Despite the disadvantages connected to the construction of these roads, the increased accessibility and ease of transportation and communication across the region were unquestionable benefits. Increased efficiency in trade and transportation was first and foremost. Some scholars, particularly Stephen Mitchell, have sought to downplay the positive impact of military roads upon the economic development of Anatolia. Mitchell cites the continued expense associated with the long-distance transport of bulk goods as well as the inadequacy of paved roads for preferred methods of animal transport. The archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the construction and proximity of roads was advantageous for communities of all sizes. Recent surveys near Amaseia, for example, have shown that Roman period settlements moved down from their Hellenistic upland locations and were founded within 10km of roads. These patterns suggest that new settlements sought to take advantage of both the purpose of the road as well as the increased traffic upon it. Local rural producers did not have to use these newly constructed roads for long-distance trade. Rather, they used them to transport and sell their produce to nearby markets, which also profited from the presence of soldiers with money to spend and desires to fulfill.

The construction of roads also enhanced the position of several cities. One major route ran from Byzantium and Nikomedia through the valleys on Paphlagonia and Pontus. It linked the cities of Pompeiopolis, Neoklaudiopolis, Neokaisareia, and Nikopolis to the legionary headquarters at Satala, skirting the northern boundary of Galatia. This particular route was a critical early backbone in the regions of Pontus and Paphlagonia. It not only linked all of the new cities founded by Pompey, but provided them with access to resources, economic traffic, and administrative oversight, all of which were essential for ensuring the survival of urban life in the previously predominately rural provinces. The second most important route ran further north. This road linked Amaseia, Zela, and Komana Pontika and incorporated them into the major artery mentioned above. Amaseia in particular became an important hub in north eastern Pontus, the city at which no less than four highways converged. The result was a set of provinces that had become interconnected to a degree never before attempted. Only Sinope remained marginally isolated from the road network; however, its strategic sea port could access the major routes via other coastal harbors, particularly Amisos and Trapezus. Without the incentive, resources, organization, and force of the Roman military, such an infrastructural framework would have never existed.

Road-building initiatives, including maintenance of existing roads, continued to impact the region and further incorporate it into the military sphere of influence. Vexillations of the *legio XII Fulminata* and the *legio XV Apollinaris* were stationed at Trapezus sometime in the second century CE. Trajan's Parthian expedition sent significant numbers of troops through the region and Galatia, campaigns that were accompanied additional construction and maintenance projects. The experience was repeated three years later when the troops returned under Hadrian. Similar actions should be expected in the mid-2nd century during the Parthian campaign of Lucius Verus, though the evidence is scarce. The largest and most intense period of road building and military involvement following Vespasian's initial actions was under the Severans. Two substantial Parthian campaigns and the civil war against Pescennius Niger resulted in a massive military

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¹¹⁵ Namely that grassier or dirt-based routes were preferred by those transporting goods by pack animals, such as donkeys. Paved roads could be a liability for pack-animals. Mitchell 1993, 134.

¹¹⁶ Kocabiyik 2012, 178–79.

¹¹⁷ Magie 1950, 1083–86, 1309–10, 1349–50; Wilson 1960, 133–40; French 1981.

¹¹⁸ Bosch Ankara, no. 105.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. no. 117.

presence and intensified activity in the provinces and the eastern Euphrates frontier. The largest corpus of Roman milestones comes from this period, as does a substantial amount of epigraphic material and accounts of interactions between local communities and military personnel. In addition to these punctuated episodes of intensive military action, traffic on these roads must have been constant. Troops were continually moved between the northern and eastern frontiers as foreign and civil wars, minor or major, developed. Couriers and administrative personnel also depended upon these routes to transport themselves, correspondence, and provisions. The impact of military traffic and road use may be archaeologically visible only at certain times, but such traffic was a constant reality of provincial life. North central Anatolia may have been isolated administratively, but the constant military presence and movement made the region a critical cog in the Roman military network.

Documentary evidence for interactions between the Roman military and the communities of north central Anatolia is not as abundant as that provided by roads. The economic and physical burdens associated with road construction have already been discussed. Additional types of official business involved requisitioning and transporting provisions, the transportation and quartering of troops, communication, and diplomatic travel. Routine Roman military activity, particularly provisioning, could carry a significant burden for local communities. Provincial cities and dependent villages were obligated to provide food, clothing, housing, and even equipment for troops on the move. The obligation was a *munus* known as *prosecutio* or $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\mu\eta$. The duty eventually devolved from a responsibility of the municipal authorities to be distributed among the entire population, particularly the peasantry. The data of the provide of the municipal authorities to be distributed among the entire population, particularly the peasantry.

Extortion and the burdens of heavy military traffic could be particularly demanding on smaller communities (the dominant settlement type in north central Anatolia). Pliny wrote to Trajan requesting that a centurion and small contingent of soldiers be sent to Iuliopolis, on the border of Bithynia and Galatia, to keep order in a town where military traffic was intense and problematic. This request was denied by Trajan, who wished to avoid setting a precedent for helping all cities and taking vital military support away from the Danube frontier. A small detachment, however, had already been stationed at Byzantium to address similar claims of abuse. Sive of the most burdensome and onerous connected with incorporation within the Roman military network. Both Caracalla and Elagabalus wintered in Nikomedia during campaigns in the East. The task of supporting and entertaining not one, but two emperors and his troops drained the finances of the city to the point that the lack of civic funds prohibited the construction of a new imperial cult temple for Elagabalus.

More complimentary evidence from the constant military presence in the provinces shows the military personnel in positions of public authority and protection. Given the size of northern Anatolia and its moderate degree of urbanization and generally lower number of public officials, military personnel were uniquely suited and needed for positions of authority and police action.

¹²⁰ For the milestones, see French 2012; French 2013. For documents recording city-military exchanges, see Ameling 1983.

¹²¹ Mitchell 1976.

¹²² Skeat 1964; Mitchell and Arvites 1983, 133–36.

¹²³ Mitchell 1976, 127–28; Mitchell 1993, 134 n. 108.

¹²⁴ Pliny *Ep.* 10.77–78.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 10.77.

¹²⁶ Caracalla: 78.8.4. Elagabalus: Cassius Dio 80.3.1, 80.6.1; 80.7.3–4.

¹²⁷ Cassius Dio 78,9.5–7; Millar 1977, 31–6; Ameling 1984, 137–38.

One example of a police-like role is provided by funerary inscriptions that prescribed fines for tomb violators. At Tieum on the coast, dues were paid to the local *stationarius* or equivalent military officer. At Prusa, fines were paid to the soldier immediately. At Prusa, fines were paid to the soldier immediately.

Individual soldiers, cohorts, and legions also contributed to local communities while stationed or wintering in the area. The *ala Flavia Augusta Britannica militaria c. R.* erected a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Amaseia during a Parthian expedition in 113/14 CE. They followed the precedent of the tenth cohort of the *legio V Macedonica*, who set up a building dedication in the same city around 62 CE and the Armenian war. While the constant presence and traffic of military officers and troops could be incredibly burdensome, as noted above, it could also aim to maintain public order and the integrity of unprotected monuments of the deceased.

The discussion thus far has treated the Roman military as an outside force and has presented a slightly biased picture. For the Roman army was also a body with which residents of north central Anatolia deliberately involved themselves. Service in the army, for example, was the fastest and most direct path to a career in the imperial administration. Examples from the region begin as early as Claudius. As mentioned earlier, Catilius Longus, a citizen of Apamea, began as a *tribunus militum* in the IV Scythian legion, but progressed to membership in the senate and served as the governor of Asia. Similar to Longus, Flavonius Rufus, another resident of Apameia, began his career as a mid-ranking officer in the army, spent the majority of his life climbing the ranks of the army, and was eventually admitted to the equestrian class. Cassius Agrippa constitutes a final example. A resident from Nikaia, Cassius Agrippa was appointed *consul suffectus* in 130 CE, a position he reached from humble beginnings as a military tribune. While the career capstones of these individuals are impressive, the length of military service that each served dominated the majority of their lives. For those residents of north central Anatolia who sought a career in the imperial administration, the military was a logical and popular route, but one that consumed most of their time and service.

The success stories of these three cases prompt a broader question regarding recruitment and local involvement in the army. While epigraphic evidence that documents northern Anatolians in the Roman army across the empire is sparse, a few conclusions are possible. First, military involvement began at a relatively early period. Men from this region and Galatia were valued highly for their fighting skills and Augustus took control of substantial forces drawn from Paphlagonia, Pontus, and Galatia when he assumed control of Amyntas' troops. The majority of these were distributed to three legions, *III Cyrenaica*, *XXII Deiotariana*, and *VII Macedonica*, and were re-stationed in Egypt, where documentary evidence of Anatolians disappears after the second generation. Enlistees also served locally, namely the legionary installations at Satala and Melitene; we have far more attestations of soldiers from Pontus and Paphlagonia at these locations. Though the imposition of the army upon the civilian populace could be excessive, it also offered opportunities and stability for those willing to devote their lives to it.

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¹²⁸ Robert 1937, 285.

¹²⁹ I. Prusias 92.

¹³⁰SP iii. 104.

¹³¹ French 1990, 135.

 $^{^{132}}$ I. Apameia.2.

¹³³ *I. Apameia* 8; Fernoux 2004, 444.

¹³⁴ *I. Nikaia* 57; Fernoux 2004, 461.

¹³⁵ Lesquier 1918, 49–50; Mitchell 1993, 136.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ CIL III.6800; SP iii. no. 70.

In conclusion, the initial establishment and continuing presence of the Roman military in north central Anatolia resulted in significant infrastructural and economic developments as well as a profound impact on the lives of individual citizens, urban communities, and the broader region. As we have seen, the Roman military presence could be economically and physically burdensome. Forced requisitions and labor could disrupt public life. The Roman army was not always a negative force in the daily lives of provincial residents. Individual soldiers and cohorts contributed publically to religious life and architectural space. Frequent military traffic strengthened the infrastructure of the region by constructing roads, facilitating mobility, stimulating local economies, and enlisting its residents into service. As a result, north central Anatolia was more closely connected with and shaped by the Roman empire through its military. This stemmed largely from its strategic importance along the Euphrates frontier and the early, monumental efforts under Vespasian to secure and fortify this boundary. Scheidel's connectivity model also emphasizes the isolation of this region in military terms. ¹³⁸ Scheidel, however, models military action instigated at Rome. The Roman military was not only mobile and widely diffused, but also composed of decision making centers than the imperial bureaucracy. This resulted in a level of proximity and interaction with the Roman army that could never have existed on the administrative level. Integration was accomplished through the construction of forts, garrisons, and military roads for troop, supply, and communication movement, but it was most keenly felt through daily interaction, recruitment and enlistment, and the ebb and flow of Rome's military fortunes.

V. Changes in the late 3rd Century CE

The preceding discussion enumerated the avenues through which the region of north central Anatolia interacted with the administrative and military networks of the Roman empire. By the early 3rd century CE, the region remained relatively detached administratively from the rest of the empire. It had, however, become a critical node in the military and defensive network of the eastern empire. A series of significant events in the mid and late 3rd century intensified these relationships. These changes resulted in tighter administrative and military supervision and highlighted the political importance of the region.

Civil unrest and instability on the Euphrates frontier prompted these changes. The geographical position of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia made it an important region for security and defense. An entire legion, the *I Pontica*, was stationed at Trapezus. The measure was intended to further fortify the station of the fleet and strategic terminal point of routes along the fortified Armenian and Euphrates frontier. The reinforced military presence along the southern shore of the Black Sea was mirrored elsewhere in the provinces of eastern Anatolia. It was accompanied by the most intensive episode of road-building and maintenance since the Severans. Next to milestones of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, those commissioned in the late 3rd century are the most numerous. These milestones document the maintenance of established routes as well as the extension or enlargement of these roads. The increased instability of the frontier and escalation of hostilities and incursions demanded an increased volume of imperial troops and supervision. The concentrated attention paid to the routes that facilitated this movement and support illustrates the strength of the imperial response to this demand.

Increased military intervention along the Armenian and Euphrates frontier zones required additional, and often coerced, ground support from the local communities of north central

¹³⁹ Mitford 1974, 163, no. 2.

¹³⁸ Scheidel 2014, 14–24.

¹⁴⁰ Under Diocletian, Valerian, and Gallienus. French 2012a, 23–136; French 2012b, 238–77; French 2013, 26–111.

Anatolia. Whereas legionary recruitment from the region had been a longstanding reality since the first military operations under Vespasian, it had remained mostly voluntary. The economic constraints and demand for manpower that plagued the imperial treasury and military campaigns in the mid and late third century prompted an alternative and coercive approach from the imperial authority. Conscription into the military ranks was instituted as a form of taxation for communities in these provinces. 141 Intensified incorporation into the Roman military network was necessary for imperial defense and protection, but not necessarily worth the oppression suffered by the communities burdened by increased demands for supplies, requisition measures, and forcible conscription into the ranks.

The heightened strategic importance of the eastern frontiers also resulted in an increased imperial presence and oversight in the region. Emperors increasingly wintered in the region, most notably Caracalla and Elagabalus at Nikomedia. 142 The increased imperial presence could be burdensome upon the hosting communities, as civic funds were expended on feeding and accommodating the emperor and his retinue. The presence of the emperor could also bring benefits. As stated in Chapter 2, both Caracalla and Diocletian supported the construction of bath complexes at Nikomedia and a Severan emperor appears to have been responsible for repairing the aqueduct at Amaseia. 143 Additional building projects in Nikomedia occurred as a result of Diocletian's presence in the city and direct involvement in civic and regional affairs. This included arsenals, public halls, and a circus. 144

The increasing presence of the emperor in the region gradually incorporated the provinces of Pontus-Bithynia and Paphlagonia more intensively into the administrative network of the empire. Whereas the region had once been relatively isolated and arguably even ignored under the regime of provincial governors, imperial legates, and imperial procurators except for its revenue potential, in the 3rd century it became the focal point for an administrative presence and supervision (figs. 5.7, 5.8). This necessity and position was only fully realized when Diocletian made Nikomedia a tetrarchic capital in 286 CE. From an ordinary provincial city to capital, Nikomedia and the rest of north central Anatolia now became subject to a strong imperial authority and direct supervision. This involved political and administrative reorganization.

VII. Conclusions

The preceding examination has explored the position of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia in the administrative and military networks of the Roman empire. The Roman imperial administration exerted a lower presence and influence a lower degree of change, due in most part to the nature of the Roman imperial bureaucracy. Imperial rule was implemented at a distance and relied on urban centers and local elites to ensure peace and efficient taxation. In north central Anatolia, this required some Roman intervention in order to establish an urban landscape in the less developed areas of Pontus and Paphlagonia. Revisions under Pompey to polis constitutions in Bithynia resulted in small changes to the duties and powers of political bodies and civic magistrates in provincial cities, but the structure and practice of civic politics remained relatively preserved. Emperors, moreover, avoided excessive intervention in the area, except when financial or security concerns absolutely demanded it. The presence of the imperial administration was seen daily in

Mitchell 1993, 250–53.
 Cassius Dio 78,9.5–7.

¹⁴³ For the baths at Nikomedia, see CIL 3.324; Magie 1950, 1552, n. 42. For the aqueduct at Amaseia, see Nicholson and Nicholson 1993, 144-45

¹⁴⁴ Not. Dign. 11; Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 7; Aurelius Victor, Caes. 39, 45; Libanius 41.5.

the practice of civic politics, but in a setting on the periphery of the empire that was far away from imperial agents.

In contrast, the region experienced a progressively tighter incorporation into Rome's military sphere. The strategic importance of the region close to the Euphrates frontier and as a supply point for the Danube resulted in an intensive and sustained military presence in and traffic through the area from the Flavian period onward. This is best represented by the construction of numerous roads throughout all of north and central Anatolia, a mammoth endeavor that dramatically improved the infrastructure of the provinces and facilitated the movement of troops, supplies, and information. While the construction of these roads and increased military traffic brought economic benefits to the region, it was also accompanied by the burdens of military contact, such as forced labor, required provisioning, proscription, and violence. Contact with the Roman military could be burdensome and negative; it was also one of the most direct paths to social and political advancement in the imperial administration.

Finally, the region's position within each of these spheres only intensified in the mid and late 3rd century. Frequent campaigns on the eastern frontier introduced an even more concentrated military presence as well as its attendant demands for supplies and service. These campaigns also brought an increased imperial presence in the form of the emperor, many of whom wintered in the region. While the more frequent presence of the emperor was often accompanied by multiple instances of patronage, it also resulted in a much closer administrative supervision and intervention. This increased level of scrutiny and imperial importance was ultimately codified when Diocletian made Nikomedia the new imperial capital. The move elevated Nikomedia and the surrounding region not only politically, but also culturally, a fact that was reflected in the numerous building projects and events that eventually transformed the city. Though Nikomedia and north central Anatolia could never replicate the legacy of Rome and Italy, Diocletian's act changed the position of these provinces in general and Nikomedia in particular. For the majority of their time in the Roman empire, Pontus, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia had prospered slowly and steadily on the periphery, relatively free from imperial intervention and economic difficulties. Their new position as a center was not only a dramatic reversal, but a challenging and precarious one in the atmosphere of the turbulent late 3rd century.

CONCLUSION: A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Throughout this investigation the intriguing nature of the quantitative evidence has revealed the qualitative distinctiveness of the region of north central Anatolia. The questions regarding the urbanization of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia could not be answered by singular examinations of the histories of individual cities or regional settlement patterns. Nor could the analytical framework focus solely on the influence of Rome. Several circumstances distinguished these three provinces, including past settlement histories, political practices, cultural diversity, and the physical topography. These circumstances not only distinguished the region on its own, but also influenced how north central Anatolia interacted with Rome and its empire.

The urbanization of north central Anatolia was not explicitly driven by direct Roman initiative and intervention. Imperial strategies of rule, however, did encourage the establishment and pursuit of urban life. Chapter 2 demonstrated that Roman imperial policies were adopted throughout the region, but most visibly in the construction of monuments that were fundamental for the pursuit of urban life. These monuments were the setting for political, religious, and social activities in the city, the construction and maintenance of which required the financial dedication of individual elites as well as the city. Early efforts at embellishing the urban environment occurred under the aegis of elite benefaction. Yet contributions from civic funds and, later, imperial patronage continued to facilitate the construction and refurbishment civic monuments beyond the 3rd century CE. On one hand, the use of civic funds to construct monuments that were based on a collective, even democratic, past was an important link to the legacy of the pre-Roman Greek East. On the other hand, the construction of aqueducts; the overwhelming popularity of bathing complexes; and the use of collective spaces, such as theaters, for Roman forms of entertainment encouraged the adoption and diffusion of Roman cultural institutions. Imperial policy and cultural negotiation produced the urban landscape of these provinces. Urban topographies were articulated by different monuments as well as the political, social, economic, and cultural activities that accompanied their construction and use.

Chapter 3 shifted the focus from urban architecture to settlement patterns; the history of settlement in the region, pre and post Roman, as well the factors that facilitated the expanse of settlement during the course of the Roman period were examined. Roman annexation and administrative oversight were shown to be one impetus toward urbanization, particularly in the former kingdoms of Pontus and Paphlagonia. The necessity of urban centers for Roman administrative rule supported major urban centers in these provinces and created a more differentiated hierarchy by establishing a small number of new towns and cities. These urban centers were moderate in size and responsible for local supervision. Imperial agents, including the governor, his staff, and procurators remained few in number and avoided extensive local interference. This administrative strategy, coupled with relative peace and security, created a set of advantageous circumstances that allowed settlements, urban and rural, to proliferate in the region.

The peripheral location of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia tempered the intensity of Roman imperial intervention. This is most apparent regarding the integration of the region into the economic networks of the Roman Mediterranean. From the sale and circulation of staple goods, such as grain, grapes, and olives, to more specialized products, such as fish sauces, timber, and ceramics, local and regional Black Sea networks dominated. Strong macroregional connections and relative local self-sufficiency allowed the region to prosper and provided a buffer against

negative forces that impacted Rome's Mediterranean core. The resulting urban system was also moderate enough in size and scale that it did not overextend its resources.

The less-integrated character of the region in regard to its economic and administrative networks did not preclude Roman influence and interaction. Chapter 5 showed how the region became intimately connected to Rome's extensive empire most directly through its military. The presence of the military was one way in which Roman security interests and daily life became embedded in north central Anatolia. These activities gave the region a physical place within the empire, one that became integral to the region's vitality in the 3rd century. In the latter part of the century, north central Anatolia became a critical nexus for military activity and intensified administrative supervision. The region escaped many of the woes that plagued the provinces that encircled the Mediterranean basin due in large part to strong local and Black Sea trade networks; relatively stable civic finances; the sustained involvement of citizens in civic life; and a new infusion of imperial patronage and oversight.

The urban history of Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia was not defined by Rome, but it did benefit greatly from the administrative framework, peace, and security that were established by imperial rule. The region also endured its own problems, including invasion, crisis, and political turmoil. Nevertheless, a distinctive set of regional circumstances produced a landscape of urban centers and settlements that endured these difficulties more resiliently and recovered more swiftly.

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Appendix

Epigraphic Attestations of the Agonothetes

BITHYNIA:

Apan	neia
1 Ipui	LIVIU

I. Apameia 114 178–187 CE

Bithynion-Klaudiupolis

I. Klaudiupolis 44 Late 3rd century CE

I. Klaudiupolis 61 Roman Imperial Period (2 separate attestations)

I. Klaudiupolis 144 3rd century CE

Kalchedon

I. Kalchedon 22nd century BCE

I. Kalchedon 19 27 BCE–14 CE

Nikaia

I. Iznik 56 117–138 CE

Prusa ad Olympum

I. Prusa 13 117–138 CE

I. Prusa 21 138–161 CE (2 separate attestations)

I. Prusa 22 1st—early 2nd century CE

Prusias ad Hypium

I. Prusias 1 202–212 CE

I. Prusias 2 Before 212 CE

I. Prusias 3 Before 211 CE (2 attestations)

I. Prusias 5 Roman Imperial Period

I. Prusias 6 Post 212 CE (2 attestations)

I. Prusias 7 Post 212 CE I. Prusias 8 Post 212 CE

I. Prusias 9 211 CE (2 attestations)

I. Prusias 10 Before 212 CE

I. Prusias 11
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I. Prusias 20 Post 202 CE I. Prusias 47 Post 202 CE 2nd century CE

I. Prusias 48 Roman Imperial Period (2 attestations)

I. Prusias 49 Roman Imperial Period

I. Prusias 50 215 CE

I. Prusias 51
 I. Prusias 52
 I. Prusias 87
 Roman Imperial Period
 Roman Imperial Period

PONTUS & PAPHLAGONIA:

Amastris

Marek, *Kat. Amastris* 3 62 CE

Amisos

St.Pont. III.3 Roman Imperial Period

Sinope

I. Sinope 101 1st–2nd century CE

Figures

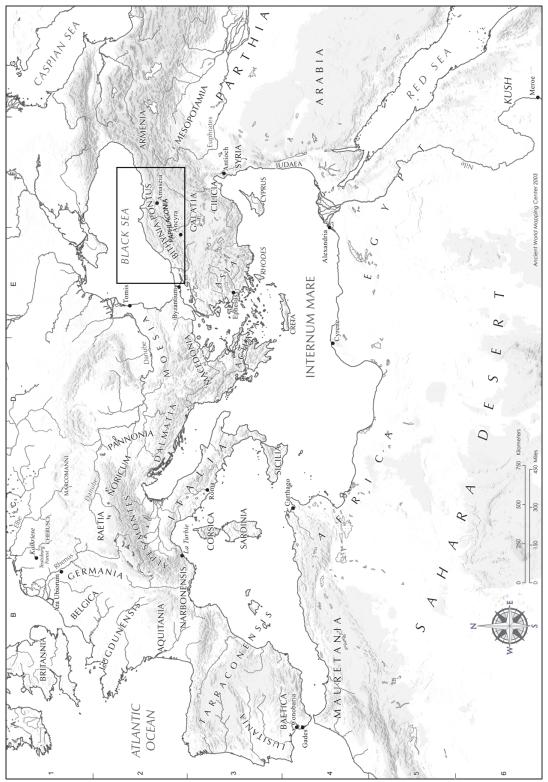


Figure 1.1. The Roman Empire in the time of August. North central Anatolia indicated by rectangle. (Map modified from the Ancient World Mapping Center: http://awmc.unc.edu/).

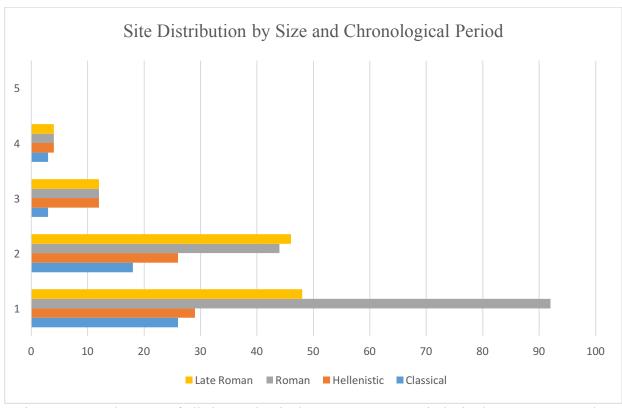


Figure 1.2. Settlements of all sizes, Classical to Late Roman Periods, in the *Barrington Atlas*.

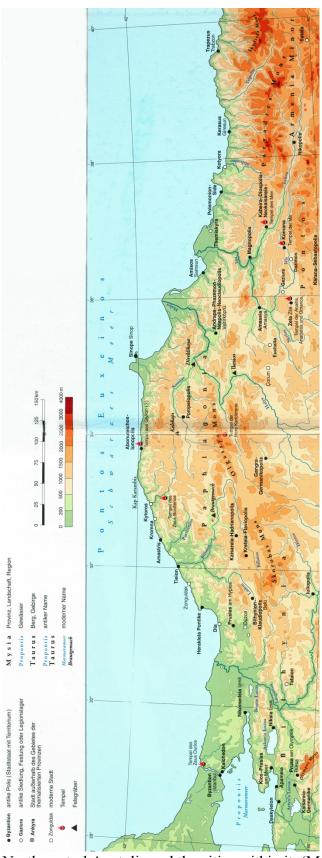


Figure 1.3. North central Anatolia and the cities within it. (Marek 2003).

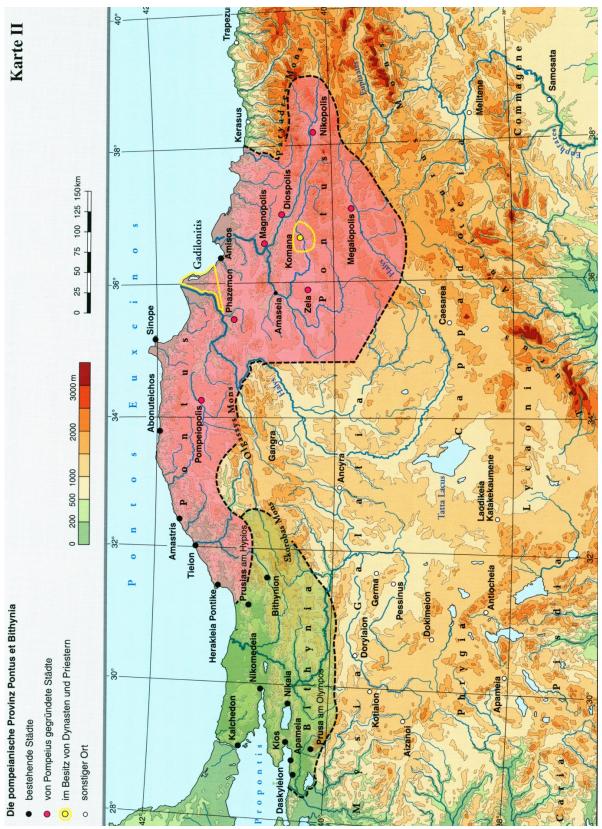


Figure 1.4. Provincial boundaries established by the settlement of Pompey the Great ca. 63 BCE. (Marek 2003, 182)

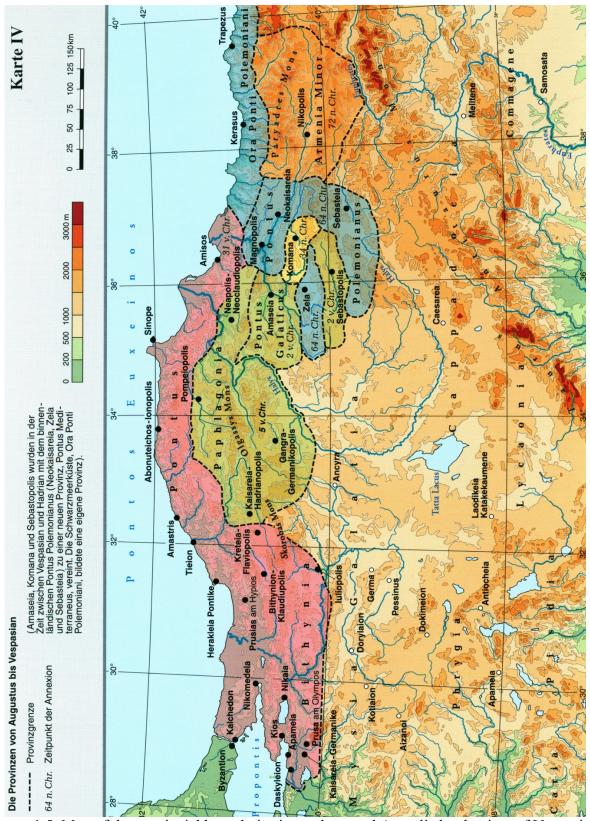


Figure 1.5. Map of the provincial boundaries in north central Anatolia by the time of Vespasian. (Marek 2003, 183).

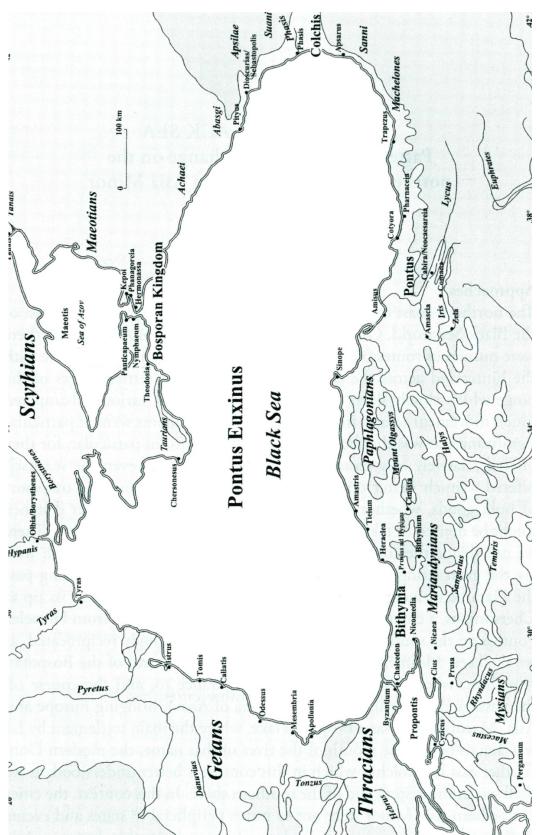


Figure 1.6. Map of the Black Sea and surrounding territories. (Braund 2005, 116).



Figure 2.1. Distribution map of imperial cults and temples.



Figure 2.2. Depiction of Temple of Roma and Augustus at Nikomedia. (London 1928.5-5-1).

		300 CE	
Severus Alexander (Neokaisareia) 225	verus Philip (Herakleia Pontike) 244–249	30	Valerian and Gallienus (Nikomedia) 255
Seve (Nec	Septimius Severus (Nikaia) 204	CE	Elagabalus (Nikomedia) 220
vurelius	Commodus (Nikomedia) 180	200 CE	Septimius Severus (Nikomedia) 195/96
Marcus Aurelius (Amaseia) 161/62	Trajan (Neokaisareia) 98–117	100 CE	Hadrian (Nikaia) 117–38
	Augustus and Roma (Nikomedia) 29 BCE	31 BCE	Caesar and Roma (Nikaia) 29 BCE

Figure 2.3. Timeline of imperial cults and temples in north central Anatolia.



Figure 2.4. Imperial Cult Temple at Neokaisareia. (Paris 1972.922).



Figure 2.5. Temple at Amaseia. New York, ANS 1944.100.41218.



Figure 2.6. Distribution map of theaters, *bouleteria*, and *odeia* in north central Anatolia.

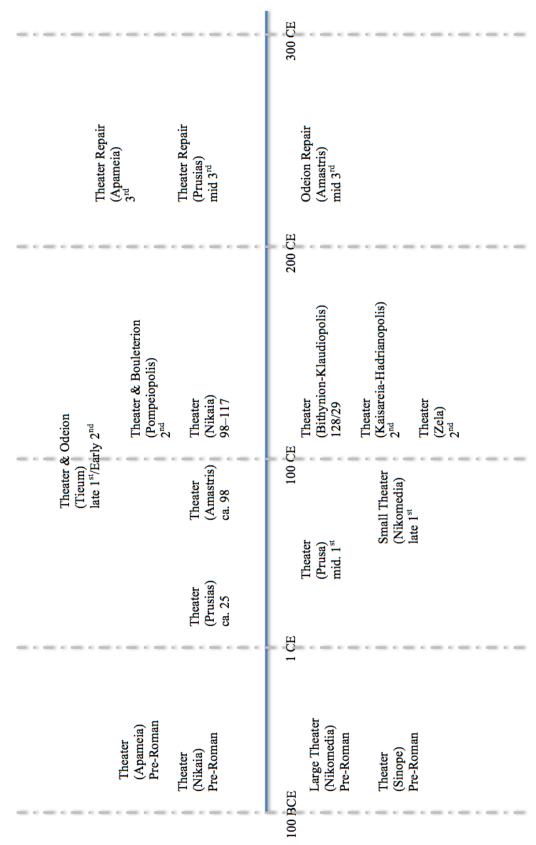


Figure 2.7. Timeline of theater construction and repair.

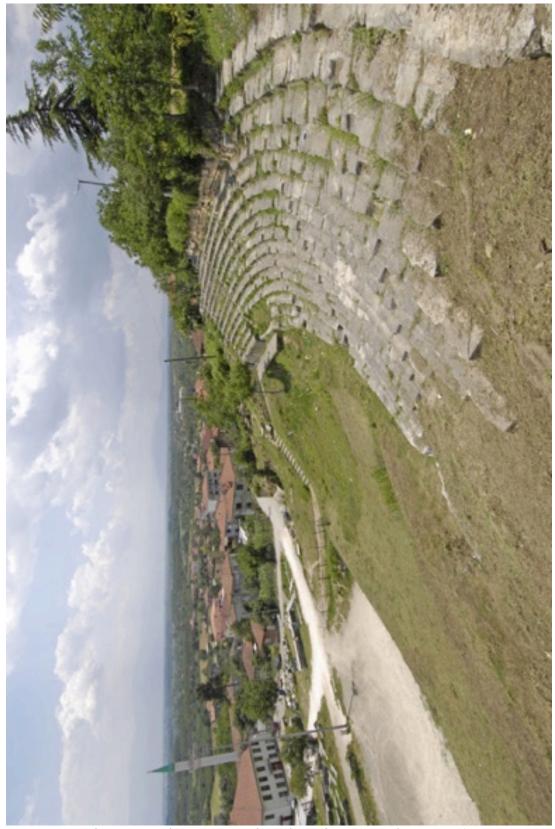


Figure 2.8. Theater at Prusias ad Hypium. (Marek 2003, 72).



Figure 2.9. Theater at Nikaia. (Marek 2003, 81).



Figure 2.10. Coin depicting the theater at Herakleia Pontike. (Marek 2003, 74).

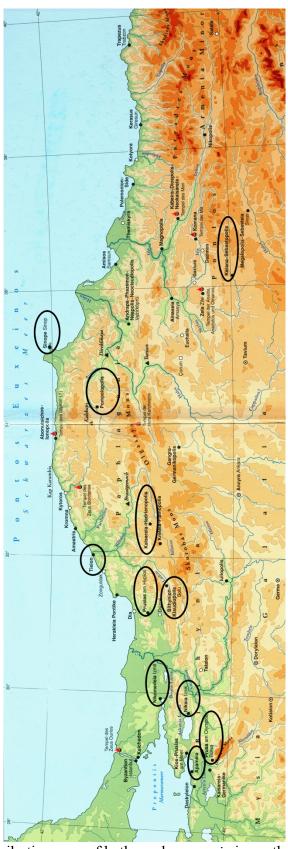


Figure 2.11. Distribution map of baths and *gymnasia* in north central Anatolia.



Figure 2.12. Distribution map of aqueducts in north central Anatolia.

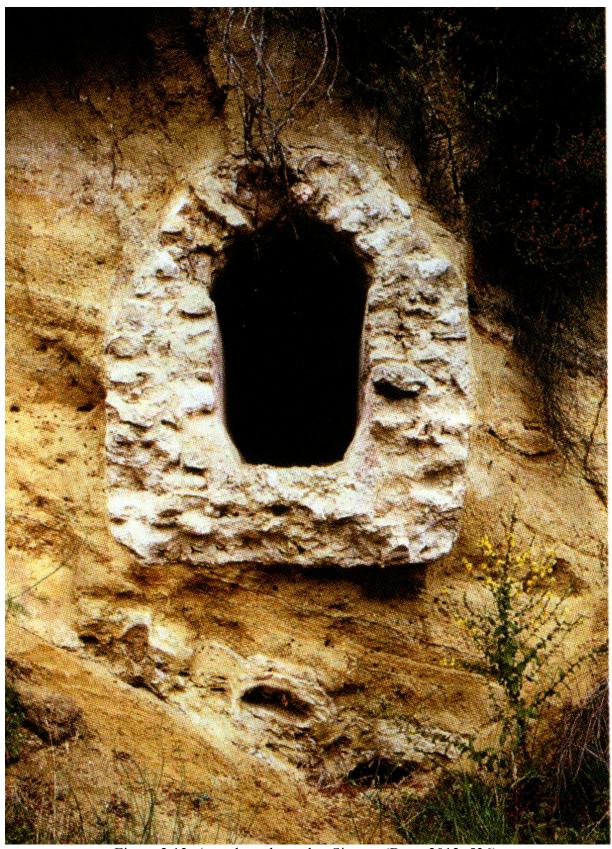


Figure 2.13. Aqueduct channel at Sinope. (Barat 2012, 536).

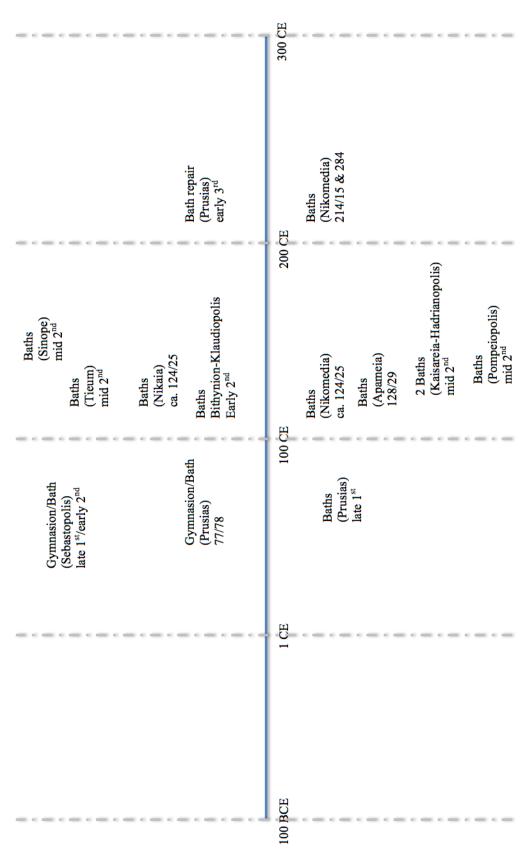


Figure 2.14. Timeline of bath construction and repair in north central Anatolia.

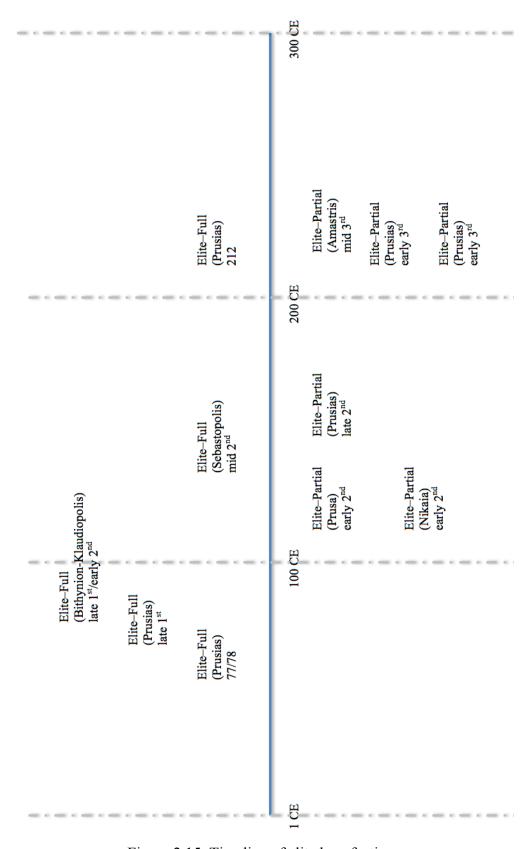


Figure 2.15. Timeline of elite benefaction.

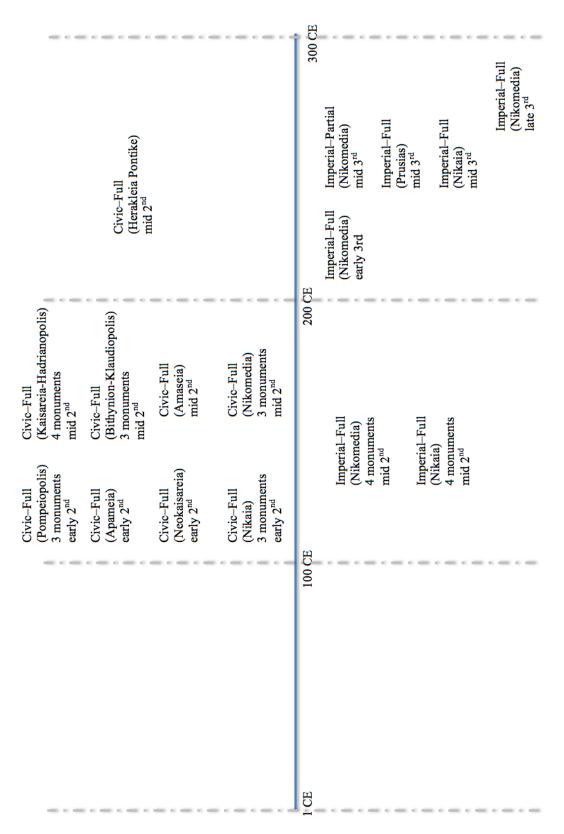


Figure 2.16. Timeline of civic-funded monuments and imperial benefaction.



Figure 2.17. Lefke Gate at Nikaia, restored by Hadrian. (photo by author).



Figure 3.1. Modern provinces of Turkey.

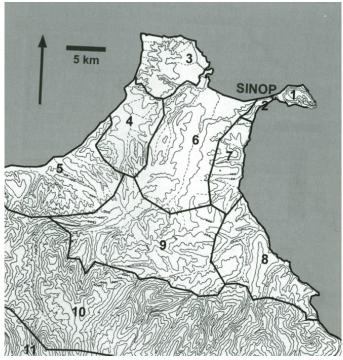


Figure 3.2. Environmental and topographic extensive survey zones on the Sinop promontory. (1) Boztepe, (2) Sinop, (3) Inceburun, (4) west coast valleys, (5) west coast, (6) Karasu valley, (7) Demirci coast valleys, (8) Demirci coast, (9) middle highlands, (10) highlands, (11) Kizilirmak-Gökirmak valley. (Doonan 2004, 36).

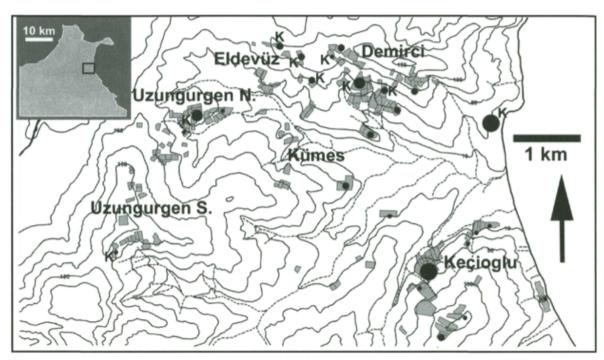


Figure 3.3. Quadrats (shaded) and Roman settlement in the Demirci valley. Small, medium, large, and major sites are indicated by smaller and larger dots. Presence of kiln debris is indicated by "K." (Doonan 2004, 104).

Type	Extent	Material "Signature"
Settlement, Farm	< 1 ha	Mixed ceramics, construction debris (daub, tiles, mortar), clustering of storage-related and consumption-related ceramics
Settlement, Farm (outbuilding)	< 0.1 ha	Construction debris (roof tiles, stones), little pottery, soil discoloration
Settlement, Village/Hamlet	ca. 1–5 ha	Mixed ceramics, construction debris (daub, tiles, mortar), clustered distribution of material indicating different functions, multiple units suggested by clustering
Settlement, Town	5.0+ ha	Mixed ceramics, construction debris (daub, tiles, mortar), clustered distribution of material indicating different functions, multiple units suggested by clustering
Cemetery	Various	Special finds in situ (sarcophagi, stelae), tumuli, human bones, fine pottery mixed with personal items, evidence of tumuli, cist tombs, and tilelined tombs
Religious	Various	Fine or miniature ceramics, topographic features (springs, caves, mountain tops, outcrops), figurines, church-related architectural features
Ceramic Kilns	< 0.1 ha	Ceramic wasters, vitrified kiln bricks, soil discoloration

Table 1. SRAP site interpretation criteria. (After Doonan 2004, 48).



Figure 3.4. Map of Turkey showing the survey region of Project Paphlagonia. (Matthews 2009, 2).

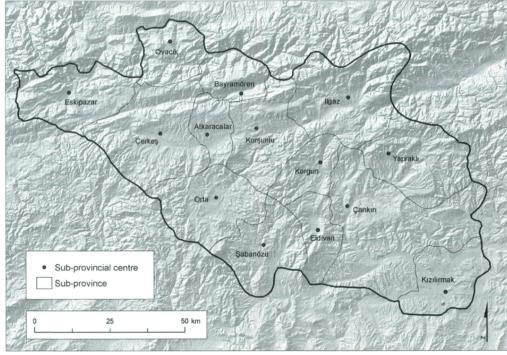


Figure 3.5. Map of Çankırı province showing the subprovinces studied in the initial extensive survey. (Matthews 2009, 14).

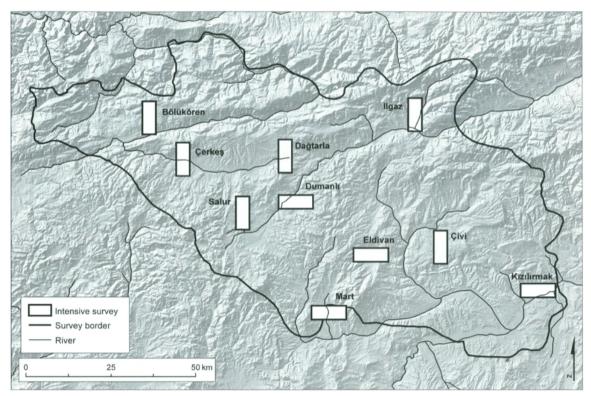


Figure 3.6. Areas selected for intensive survey by Project Paphlagonia in Çankırı province. (Matthews 2009, 18).

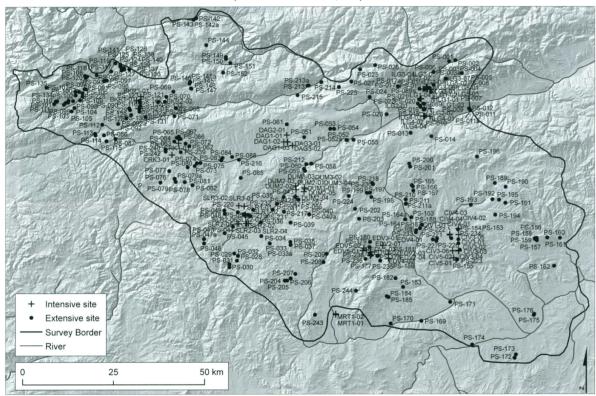


Figure 3.7. Map of all located sites through extensive and intensive survey in Çankırı province. (Matthews 2009, 17).

Category 1	Isolated small feature (e.g. inscribed pillar, architectural fragment, pithos)	
Category 2	Site covering up to 0.1 ha	
Category 3	Site covering 0.1–0.25 ha	
Category 4	Site covering 0.26–1.0 ha	
Category 5	Site covering 1.01–4.0 ha	
Category 6	Site covering 4.01–10.0 ha	
Category 7	Site covering more than 10.0 ha	

Table 2. Size categories of sites in Project Paphlagonia. (After Matthews 2009, 25).

Category A	Town/large village (including sites of Categories 6–7)	
Category B	Village (including sites of Category 5)	
Category C	Farmstead (including sites of Categories 2–4)	
Category D	Lowland fortified site	
Category E	Hilltop fortified site	
Category F	Rock-cut tomb/chapel/cistern	
Category G	Flat inhumation cemetery	
Category H	gory H Tumulus	

Table 3. Typology of sites in Project Paphlagonia. (After Matthews 2009, 26).

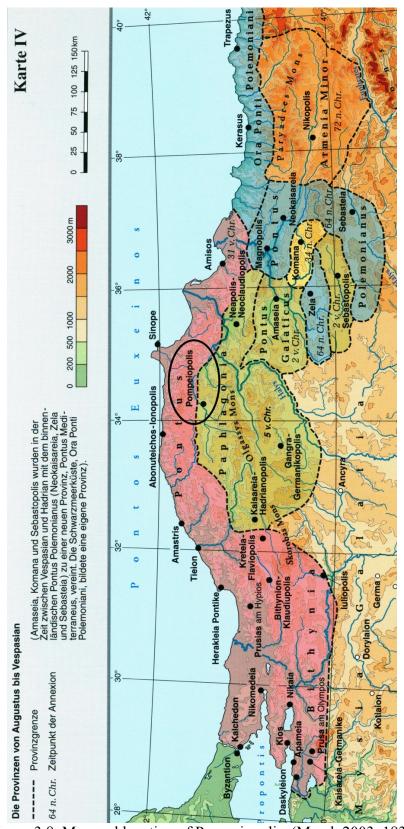


Figure 3.8. Map and location of Pompeiopolis. (Marek 2003, 183).

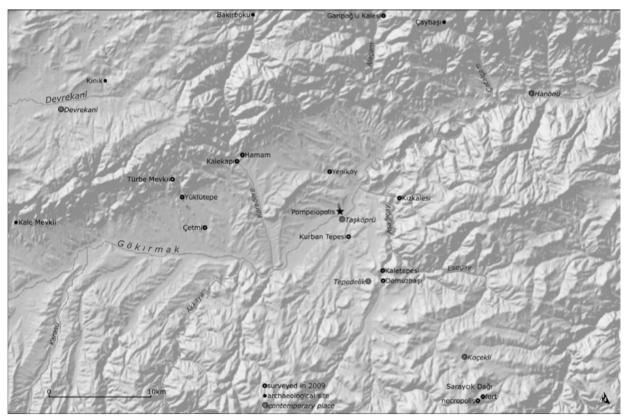


Figure 3.9. Surveyed sites around Pompeiopolis. (Johnson 2011, 202).

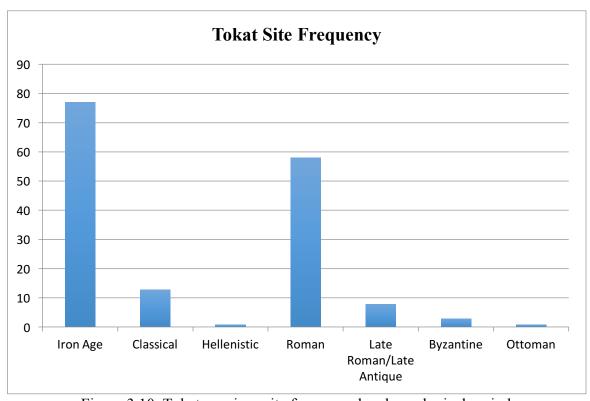


Figure 3.10. Tokat province site frequency by chronological period.

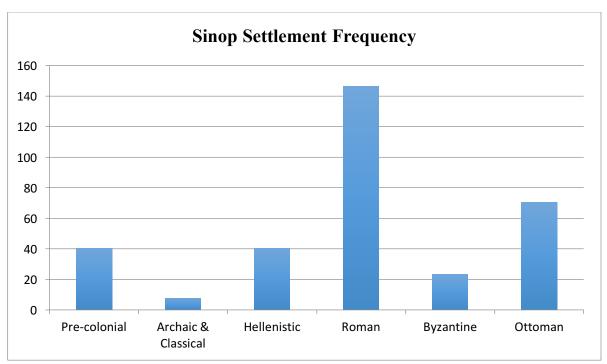


Figure 3.11. Sinop province settlement frequency by chronological period.

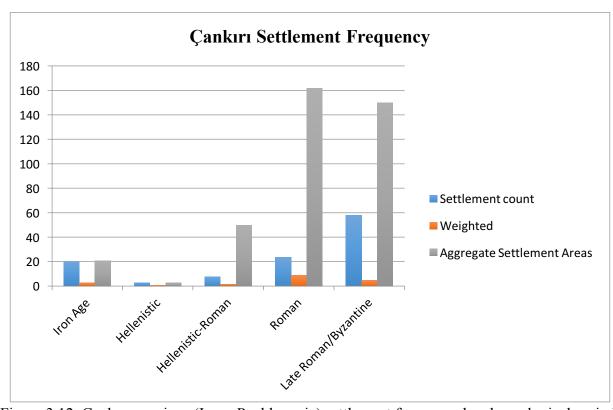


Figure 3.12. Çankırı province (Inner Paphlagonia) settlement frequency by chronological period.

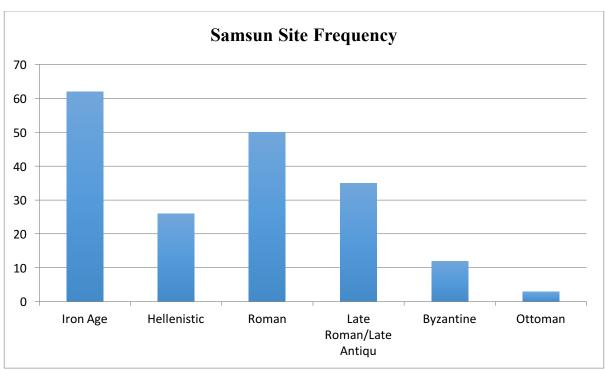


Figure 3.13. Samsun province site frequency by chronological period.

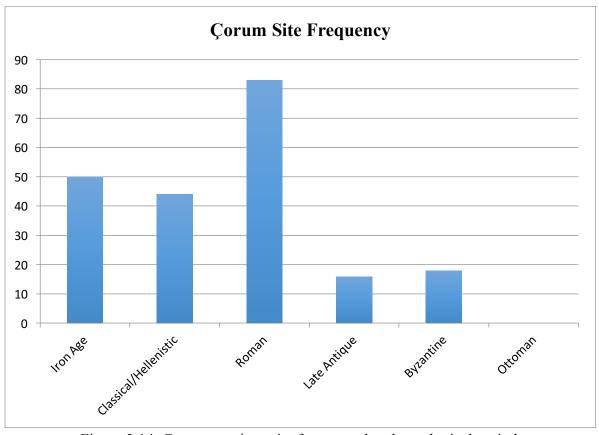


Figure 3.14. Çorum province site frequency by chronological period.

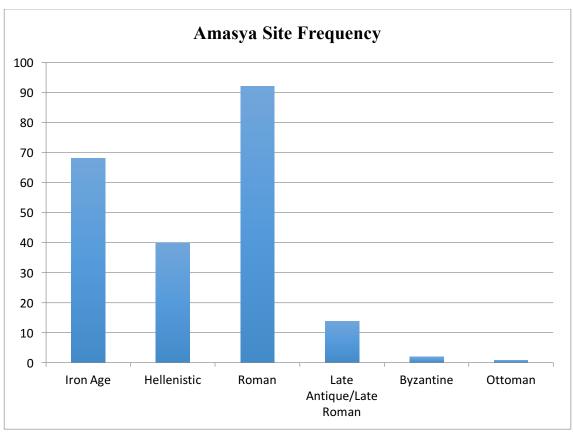


Figure 3.15. Amasya province site frequency by chronological period.

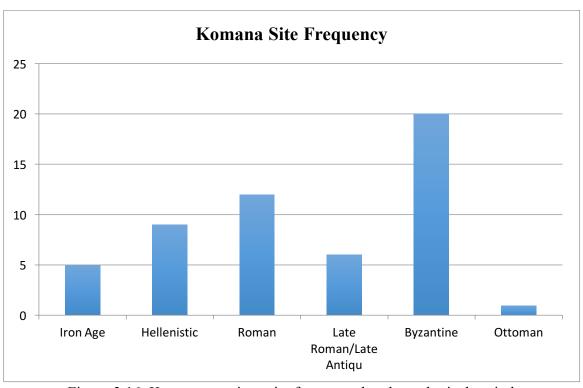


Figure 3.16. Komana province site frequency by chronological period.

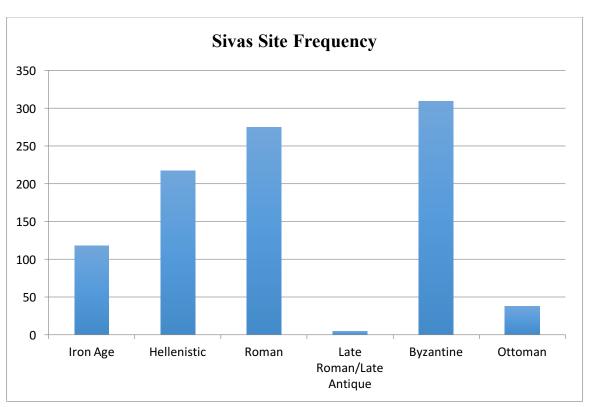


Figure 3.17. Sivas province site frequency by chronological period.

PRO	OVINCE	% CONTINUITY	% NEW
AMASYA	Hellenistic	80	20
	Roman	26	74
	Byzantine	_	_
SIVAS	Hellenistic	50.7	49.3
	Roman	97	3
	Byzantine	60.7	39.3
ÇORUM	Hellenistic	95.6	4.4
	Roman	50	50
	Byzantine	_	_
TOKAT	Hellenistic	92.3	7.7
	Roman	63.6	36.4
	Byzantine	80	20
SAMSUN	Hellenistic	90	10
	Roman	93.3	6.7
	Byzantine	32	68

Table 4. Site continuity in the central Black Sea Region from the Iron Age to the Byzantine period. (After Erciyas 2006b, 58).

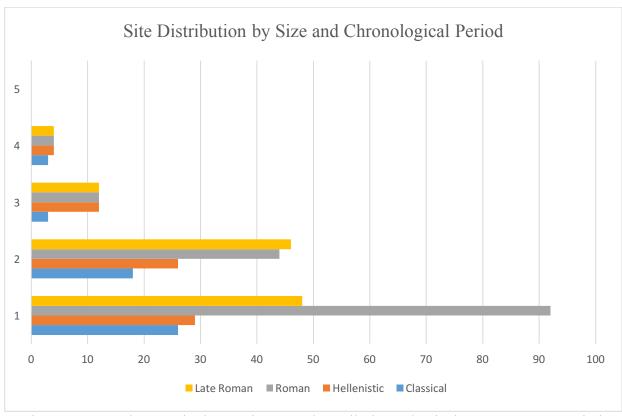


Figure 3.18. Settlements in the Barrington Atlas. All Sizes Classical to Late Roman Period.

Çankırı	Iron Age	Hellenistic-	Roman	Roman-Byzantine
Province	_	Roman		-
Continue	63%	29%	4%	16%
New	37%	71%	96%	84%
Abandon	89%	86%	63%	0%

Table 5. Settlement continuity and abandonment in Çankırı province. (After Matthews 2009, 241).

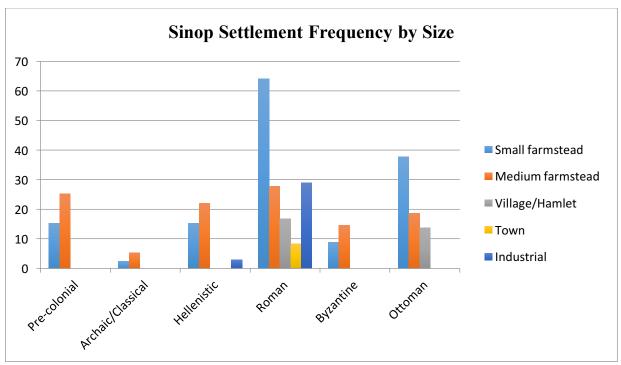


Figure 3.19. Sinop settlement frequency by site size and chronological period.

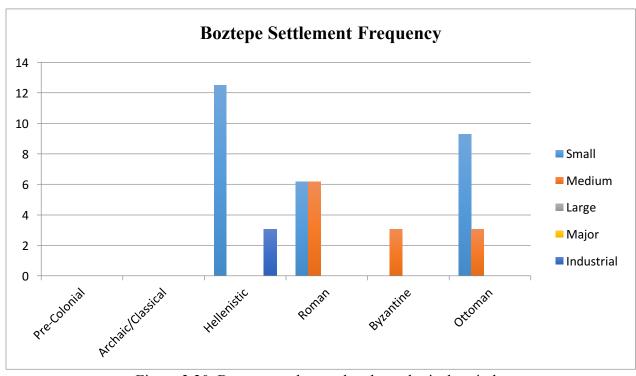


Figure 3.20. Boztepe settlement by chronological period.

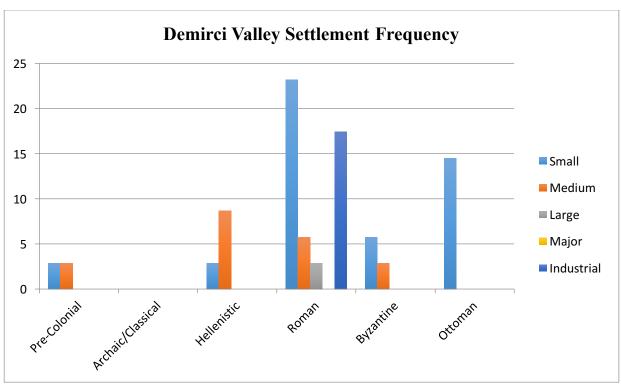


Figure 3.21. Demirci valley settlement.

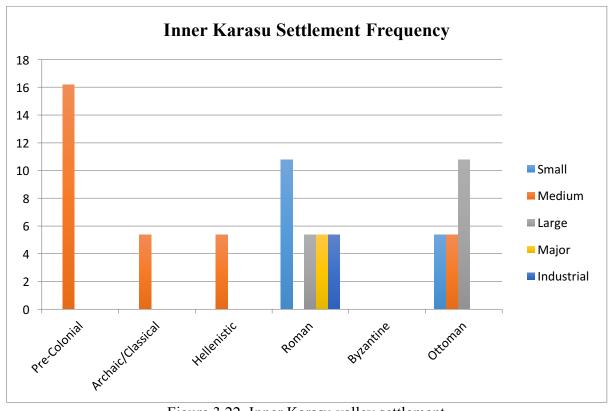


Figure 3.22. Inner Karasu valley settlement.

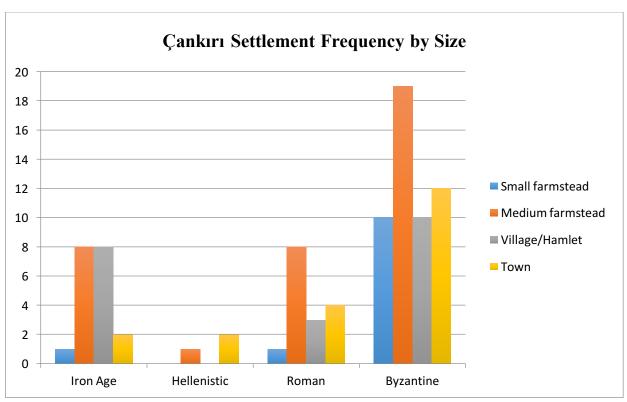


Figure 3.23. Inner Paphlagonia settlement frequency by size and chronological period.

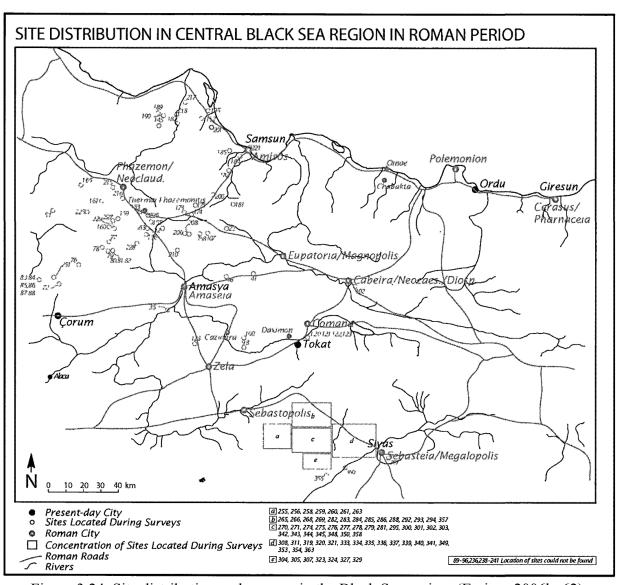


Figure 3.24. Site distribution and surveys in the Black Sea region. (Erciyas 2006b, 62).

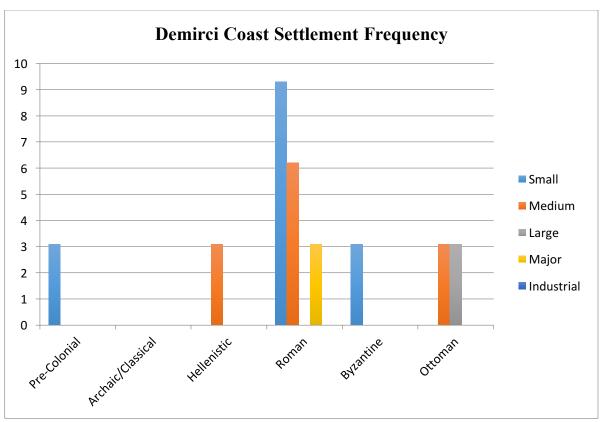


Figure 3.25. Settlement along the Demirci coast, Sinop promontory.

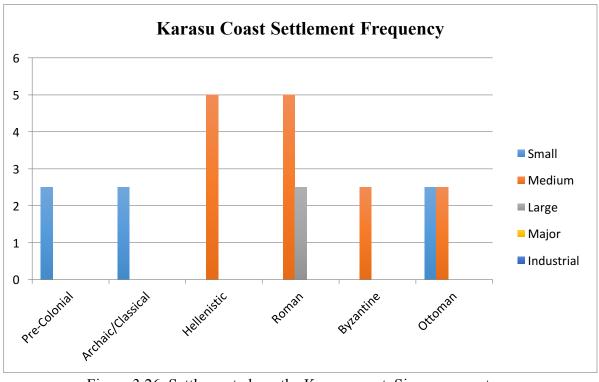


Figure 3.26. Settlement along the Karasu coast, Sinop promontory.

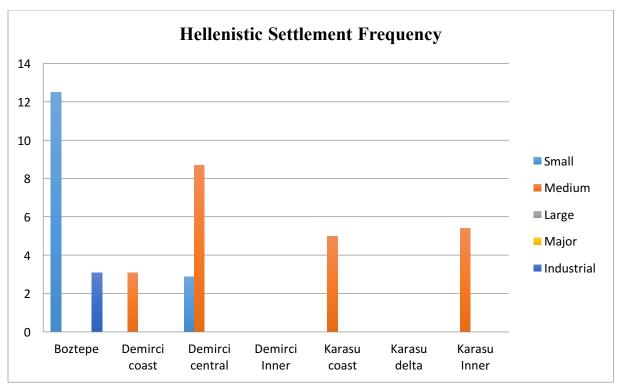


Figure 3.27. Sinop settlement distribution in Hellenistic period.

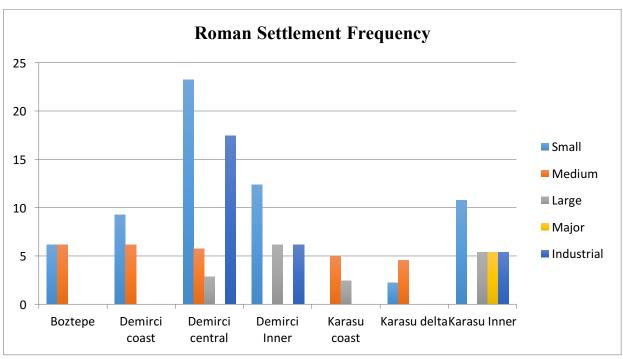


Figure 3.28. Sinop settlement distribution in Roman period.

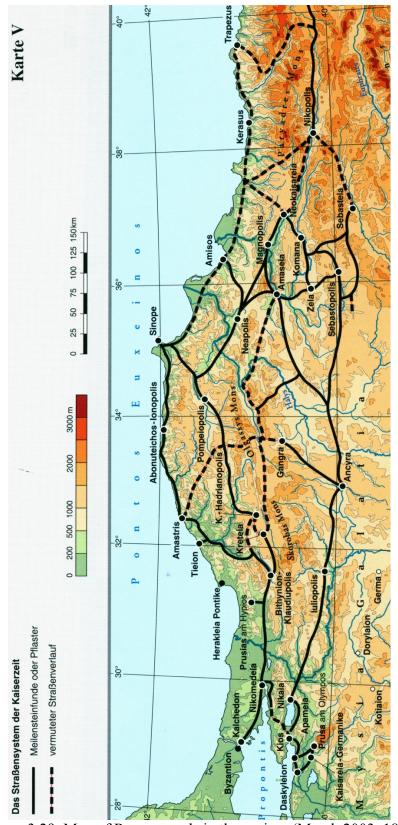


Figure 3.29. Map of Roman roads in the region. (Marek 2003, 183).



Figure 4.1. Map of Black Sea. (Braund 2005, 116).

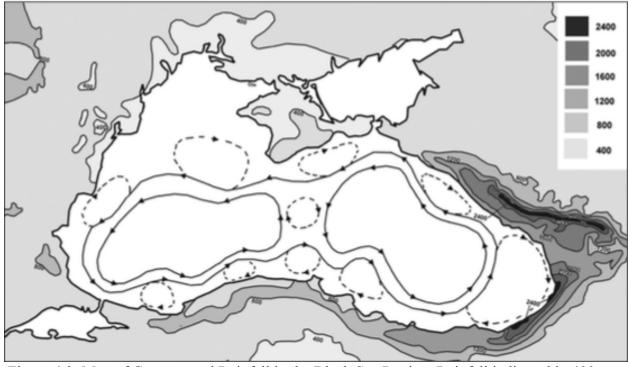


Figure 4.2. Map of Currents and Rainfall in the Black Sea Region. Rainfall indicated in 400 mm intervals. (Doonan 2010, 71).

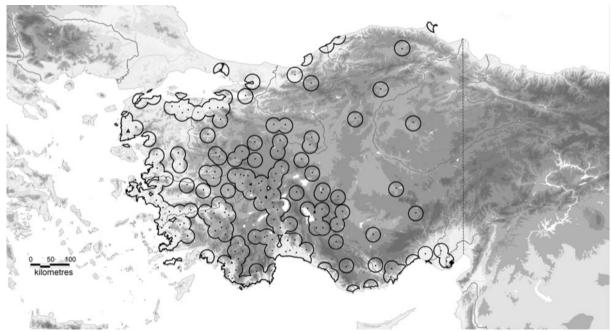


Figure 4.3. Distribution of cities in Asia Minor and north central Anatolia with aggregated radii of 18.5 km. (Hanson 2011, 238).

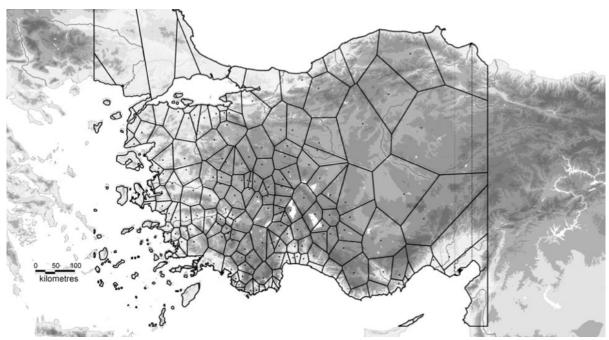
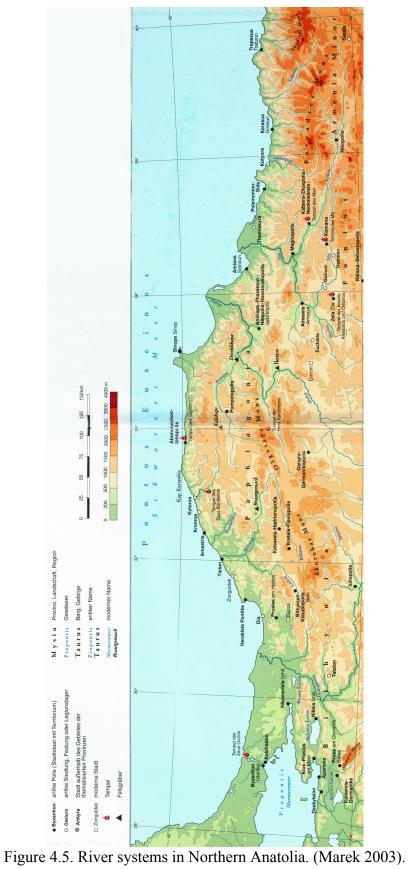
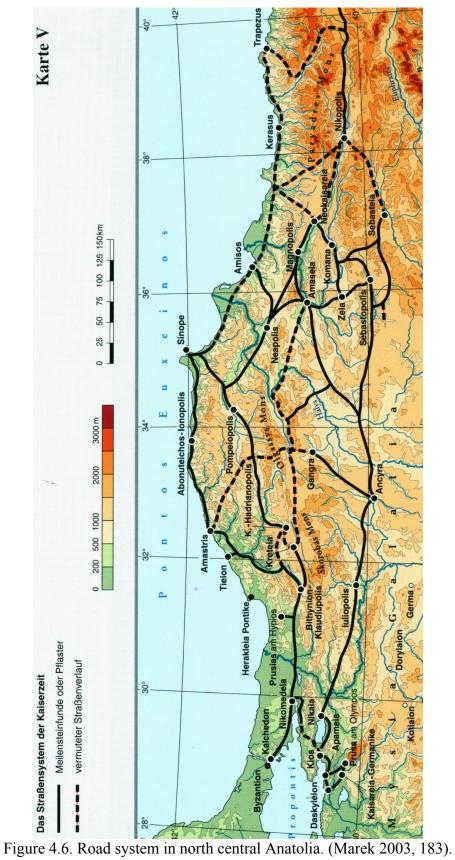


Figure 4.4. Site distribution with a Voronoi diagram to reconstruct possible city territories and hinterlands. (Hanson 2011, 240).





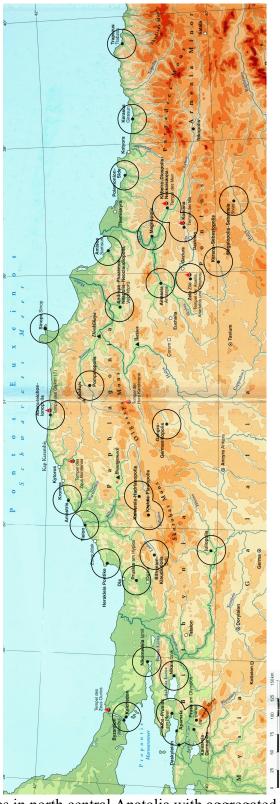


Figure 4.7. Cities in north central Anatolia with aggregated radii of 18.5 km. (Modified from Marek 2003).

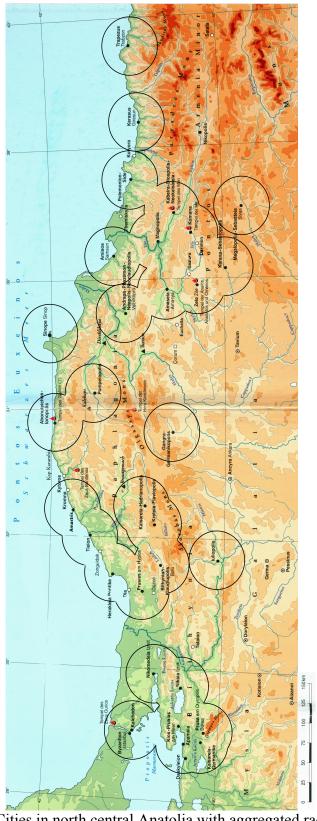


Figure 4.8. Cities in north central Anatolia with aggregated radii of 37 km. (Modified from Marek 2003).

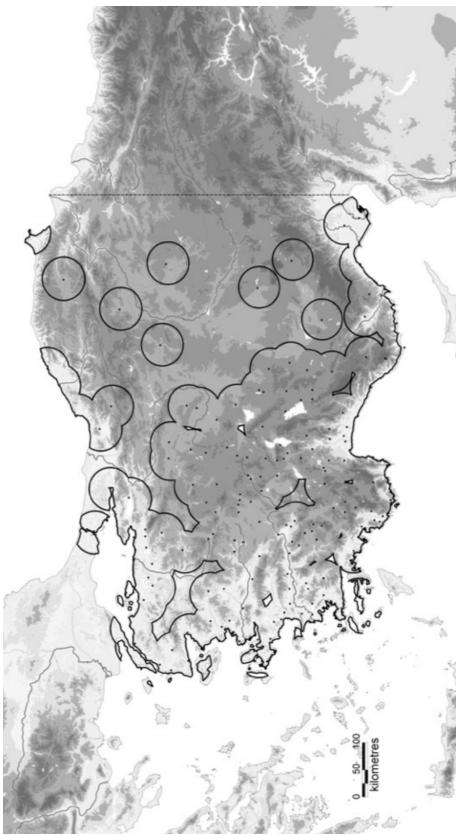


Figure 4.9. Cities in Asia Minor within a day's journey. (Hanson 2011, 239).

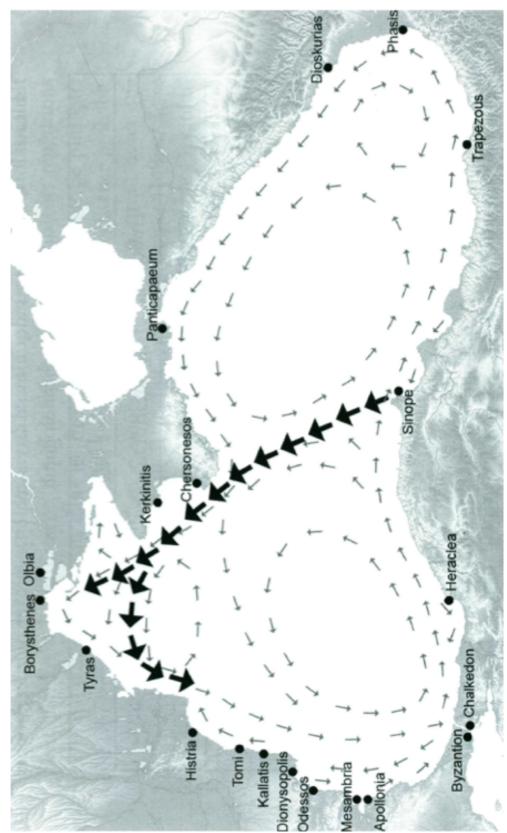


Figure 4.10. Trade route and distribution map of the primary importers of Sinopean amphorae during the Roman period. (Modified from Bozkova 2012, 438).

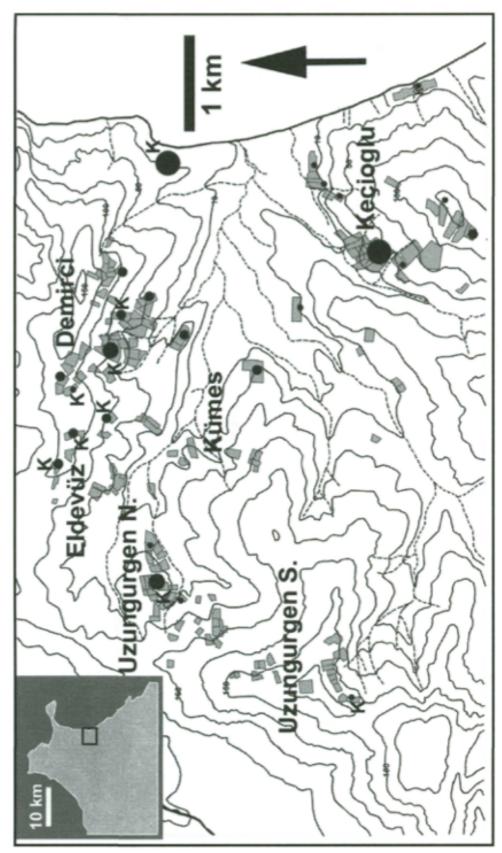


Figure 4.11. Kiln sites around Sinope. K symbols indicated kiln sites. (Doonan 2006, 54).



Figure 4.12. Plan of fish processing facilities at Tyritake. (Gajdukevich 1952 16).

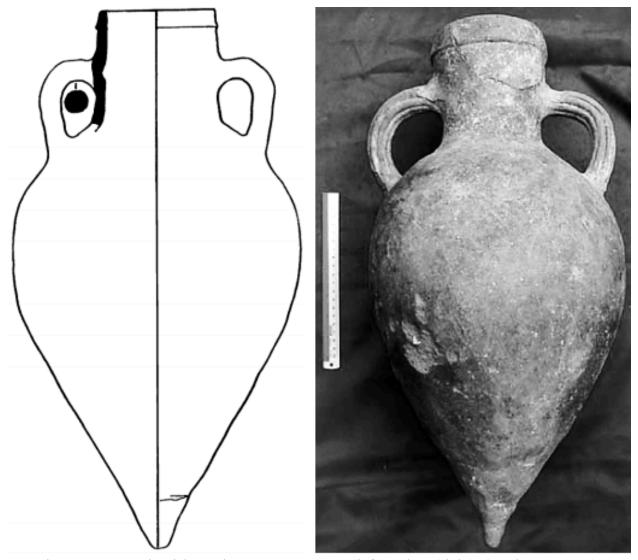


Figure 4.13. Pontic Fish amphora Zeest types 83 (left) and 89 (right). (Opait 2007, 116).

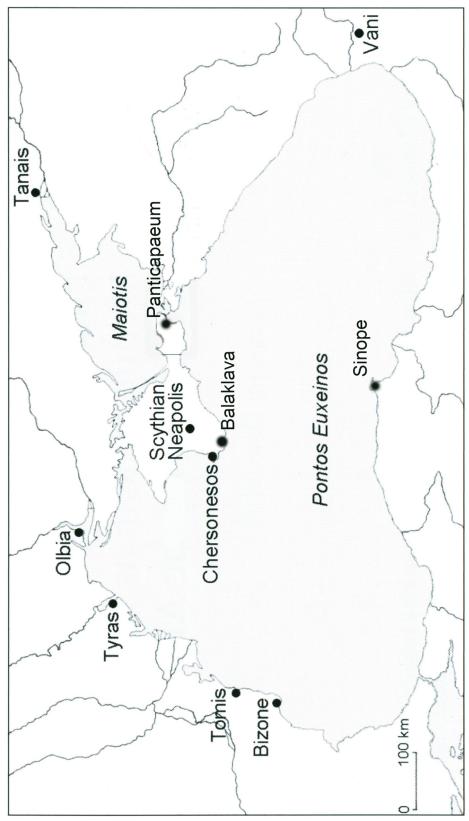


Figure 4.14. Production sources and common findspots of Pontic fish amphorae. (Modified from Domžalski 2007).

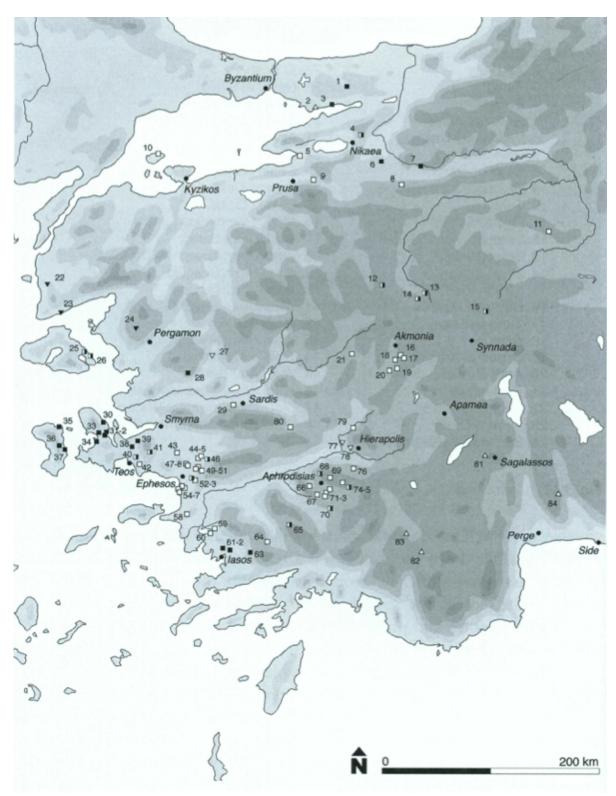


Figure 4.15. Marble and stone quarries in Asia Minor and northern Anatolia. (Russell 2013, 74).

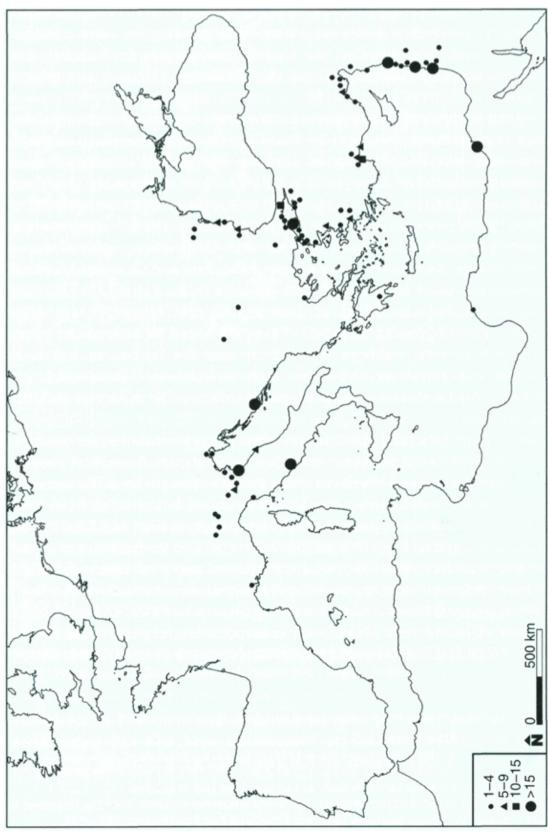


Figure 4.16. Distribution of Proconnesian marble sarcophagi in the Mediterranean. (Russell 2013, 171).





Figure 4.17. Pontic sigillata platters with relief decoration from Pompeiopolis. (Zhuravlev 2011, 16)

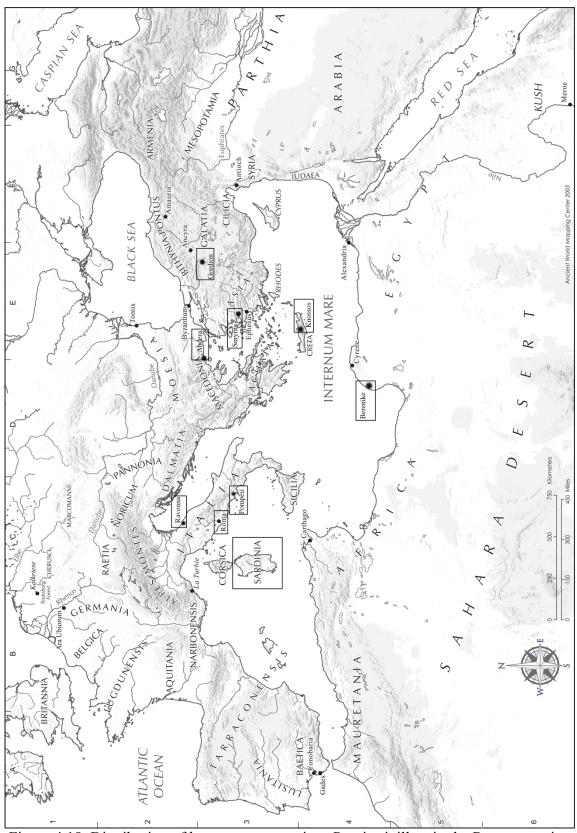


Figure 4.18. Distribution of largest concentrations Pontic sigillata in the Roman empire. (Modified from Ancient World Mapping Center: http://awmc.unc.edu/).

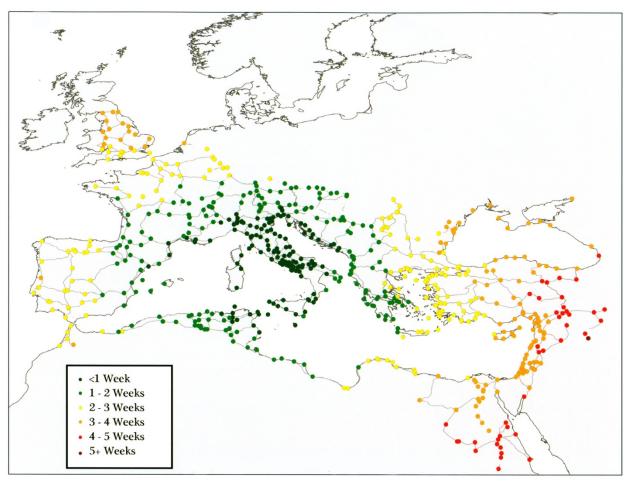


Figure 5.1. Time cost of courier speed from Rome. (Scheidel 2014, 18).

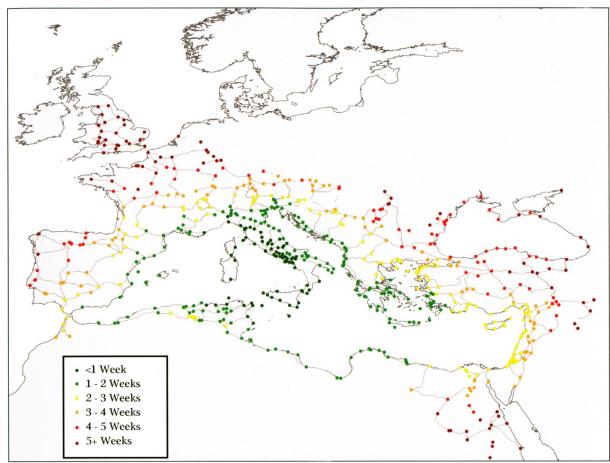


Figure 5.2. Time cost of high military speed from Rome. (Scheidel 2014, 17).

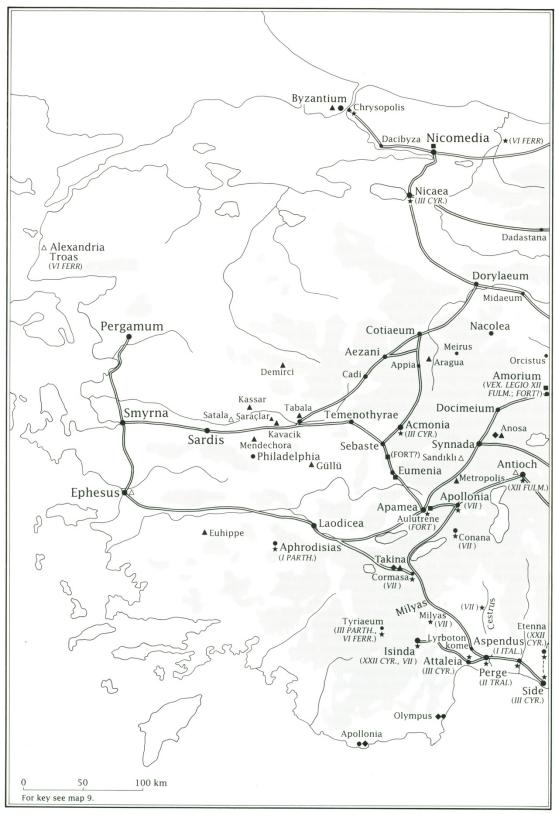


Figure 5.3. Military roads and garrisons in north central Anatolia. (Mitchell 1993, 130). See Figure 5 for key.

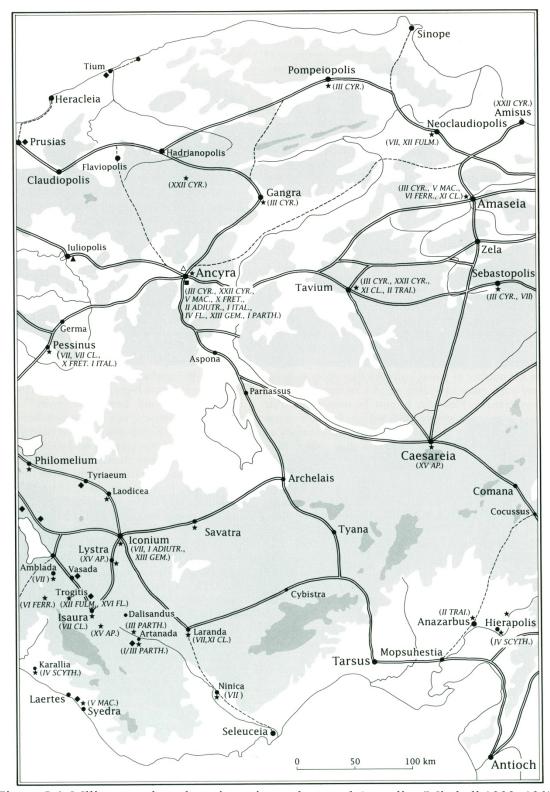


Figure 5.4. Military roads and garrisons in north central Anatolia. (Mitchell 1993, 130). See Figure 5 for key.

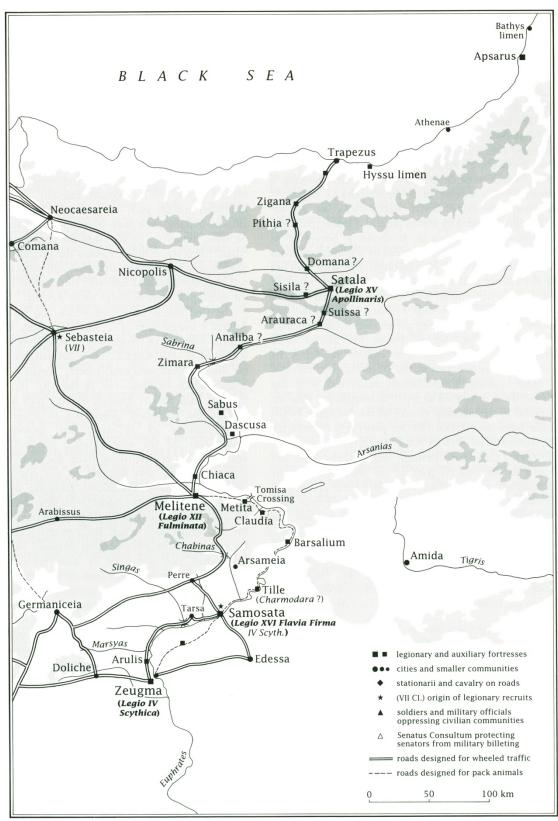


Figure 5.5. Military roads and garrisons in north central Anatolia and the Euphrates frontier. (Mitchell 1993, 130).

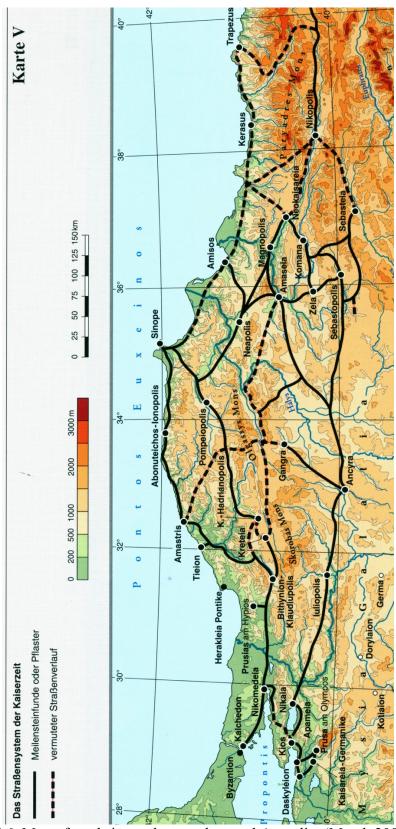


Figure 5.6. Map of roads in northern and central Anatolia. (Marek 2003, 183).

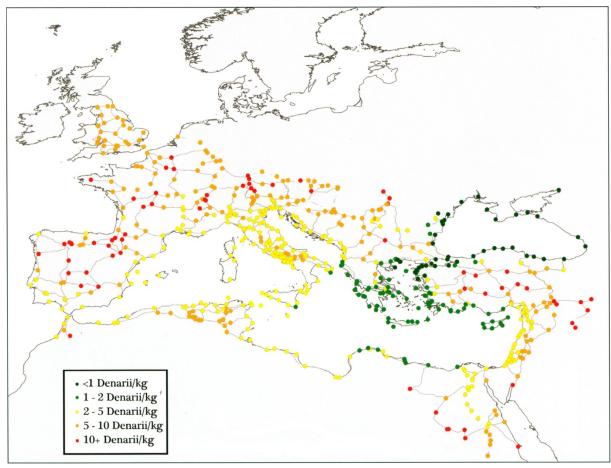


Figure 5.7. Price cost of courier speed from Constantinople. (Scheidel 2014, 20).

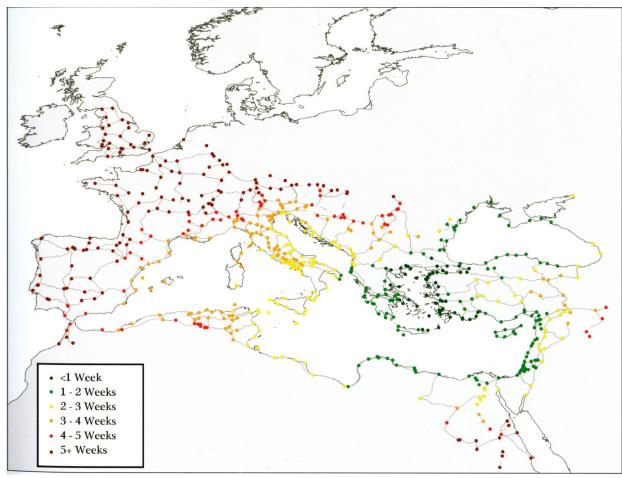


Figure 5.8. Time cost of high military speed from Constantinople. (Scheidel 2014, 19)