



European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments

Medieval Ports
in North Aegean
and the Black Sea
Links to the Maritime Routes of the East

International Symposium

THESSALONIKE

4-6_12_2013

PROCEEDINGS



Thessalonike 2013

Medieval Ports
in North Aegean
and the Black Sea
Links to the Maritime Routes of the East

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International Symposium
Thessalonike, 4-6 December 2013

Organization

European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments

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Marina Livadioti, Athena Nella

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European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments

Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea. Links to the Maritime Routes of the East.

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Edited by Flora Karagianni

In the frame of the project
“OLKAS. From Aegean to the Black Sea
Medieval ports in the Maritime Routes of the East”

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Thessalonike 2013

Project Participants



European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments

Stratou 2 Avenue, 546 40 Thessaloniki, Greece • tel: 0030 2310 889830, fax: 0030 2310 853078
info@ekbmm.gr • www.ekbmm.gr



Istanbul University - Faculty of Letters - Department of Conservation of Marine Archaeological Objects

Ordu C. 34459 Laleli, Istanbul Turkey • tel: 0090 212 4555700 / 15743
ufukk@istanbul.edu.tr • www.istanbul.edu.tr



Cultural Awareness Foundation

Barbaros Bulgari, Pinar Apr. No: 163 K:4 D:7 34349 Balmumcu, Istanbul, Turkey
tel: 0090 212 3472425, fax: 0090 212 3472426 • kultur@kulturbilinci.org • www.kulturbilinci.org



Culture Center of Thessaloniki s.a.

21 Kolokotroni, Moni Lazariston, 546 30 Stavroupoli, Thessaloniki Greece
tel: 0030 2310641277, fax: 0030 2310 602799 • kepothe@otenet.gr



Varna Regional Museum

Boul. Maria Louisa no. 41, 9000 Varna, Bulgaria • tel: 00359 52681012/13/28, fax: 00359 52681025
archmuseum@bulstar.net • www.amvarna.com



Museum for National History and Archaeology from Constanta (MINAC)

Piata Ovidiu, nr 12 9000745 Constanta, Romania • tel: 0040 743043585, fax: 0040 241618763
archmus@minac.ro • http://www.minac.ro/



Branch for the Hellenic foundation for Culture

16-20 Krasnij Pereulok 65026 Odessa, Ukraine • tel: 00380 482357136/37/38, fax: 00380 482346640
hfc@hfcodessa.org • www.hfcodessa.org



G. Chubinashvili National Research Centre for Georgian Art History and Heritage Preservation

5 Tabukashvili st. 0105 Tbilisi, Georgia • tel: 00995 32931338, fax: 00995 32932248
research@gch-centre.ge

Project Management Consultant:

Alpha MENTOR
studies & project management

Scientific Committee of the Symposium

Anastasia Tourta,

Dr Archaeologist, Director of EKBMM (GREECE)

Flora Karagianni,

Dr Archaeologist, Head of Office for the Promotion of the Scientific Research of EKBMM, Scientific Coordinator of Olkas Project (GREECE)

Natalia Poulou - Papadimitriou,

Assistant Professor of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (GREECE)

Ufuk Kocabaş,

Associate Professor of the Istanbul University (TURKEY)

Ayca Tiryaki,

Associate Professor of the Istanbul University (TURKEY)

Valentin Pletnyov,

Director of Varna Regional Museum (BULGARIA)

Alexander Minchev,

Dr Archaeologist, Varna Regional Museum of History (BULGARIA)

Alexandru Barnea,

Emeritus Professor, Senior Researcher in “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest (ROMANIA)

Gabriel Talmaţchi,

Researcher at Museum of National History and Archaeology, Constanta (ROMANIA)

Aleksandr Aibabin,

Dr Archaeologist, Director of the Crimean Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (UKRAINE - CRIMEA)

Larisa Sedikova,

Dr Archaeologist, Deputy Director of the National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos (UKRAINE - CRIMEA)

Mariam Didebulidze,

Dr Art Historian, Director of the National Research Centre for Georgian Art History and Heritage Preservation (GEORGIA)

David Khoshtaria,

Dr Art Historian, Head of Medieval Department of the National Research Centre for Georgian Art History and Heritage Preservation (GEORGIA)

Organizing Committee

Flora Karagianni,

Dr Archaeologist, Head of Office for the Promotion of the Scientific Research, EKBMM

Marina Livadioti,

Archaeologist, EKBMM

Georgia Tavlaki,

Financial Manager of “Olkas” project and accounting support, EKBMM

Irene Paspala,

Executive Assistant, EKBMM

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Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
ΑΔ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
ΑΕ	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
ΑΕΜΘ	Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη
AM	Athenische Mitteilungen
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Byz	Byzantion. Revue International des Etudes Byzantines
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
ΔΒΜ	Δελτίο Βιβλικών Μελετών
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LCI	Lexicon der Christlichen ikonographie
ΠΑΕ	Πρακτικά της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca
PL	Patrologia cursus completus, Series latina
REB	Revue des Etudes Byzantines
TM	Travaux et Memoires
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik

List of Participants

Adam-Veleni Polyxeni

Dr Archaeologist - Theatrolgist, Director of Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki 6,
M. Andronikou, 54621, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +302310830538, e-mail: pveleni@culture.gr

Akrivopoulou Sophia

Dr Archaeologist, 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Heptapyrgion,
540 03, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +306932208114, e-mail: akrivopoulou.s@gmail.com

Androudis Paschalis

Dr Architect- Archaeologist, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki,
Lecturer of Byzantine Archaeology (Elected), 6 Olympou str., 57010 Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +306932485513, e-mail: archaio22@gmail.com

Aybabin Aleksandr

Director of the Crimean Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy
of Sciences of Ukraine, 2 Prospekt Vernadskoho, 95007 Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine,
tel.: +380503976381, e-mail: aleksandraibabin@rambler.ru

Balayan Karen

Historian, captain, shipbuilder 1, Charents str., Yerevan 0025, Armenia,
tel.: +37410578510, +37491430382 (mob.), e-mail: balayank@gmail.com

Barnea Alexandru

Emeritus Professor, "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Str. Henri Coandă 11,
010667, Bucharest, Romania,
tel.: +40742146284, e-mail: alex.barnea13@yahoo.com

Buzoianu Livia

Dr, Senior Researcher, Museum of National History and Archaeology, Ovidius Square, no. 12,
900745, Constanța, Romania,
tel.: +40241614562, fax: +40241618763, e-mail: liviabuzoianu@yahoo.com

Chatziioannidis Alexandros

Archaeologist, 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Heptapyrgion,
540 03, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +302313310430, e-mail: ahatson@gmail.com

Chotzakoglou Charalampos

Dr Byzantinist, Director of the World Forum for Religions and Cultures/
Hellenic Open University, Lefkonos 8, Apt. 3/ CY-1011 Lefkosia, Cyprus,
tel.: +35799759021, e-mail: chotzako@hotmail.com

Custurea Gabriel

Dr. Senior Researcher, Museum of National History and Archaeology, Ovidius Square, no. 12,
900745, Constanța, Romania,
tel.: +40241614562, fax: +40241618763, e-mail: custurea@gmail.com

Dadaki Stavroula

Archaeologist, Director, 12th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Amphipoleos 22,
654 03, Kavala, Greece,
tel.: +302510224716, e-mail: st.dadaki@yahoo.gr

Dellaporta Aikaterini

Archaeologist, Director, 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, 2 Klepsydras Str.,
105 55 Athens, Greece,
tel.: +302103218075, e-mail: adelaporta@culture.gr

Doukata Sophia

Archaeologist, Prevezis 7, 654 03, Kavala, Greece,
tel.: +302510243737, e-mail: sofia_dkt@yahoo.gr

Eliades Ioannis

Dr Electrical Engineer, Krinides Kavalas,
tel.: +302510516016, e-mail: ioheliades@yahoo.gr

Gkionis Panagiotis

Naval Officer, Hellenic Navy Hydrographic Service, Hydrographic Surveyor, MSc, MIMarEST, 16, Asprogeraka street, 10444, Athens, Greece,
tel.: +306979176159, e-mail: tragion@gmail.com

Güler Taner

Research Assistant, Ordu Street, Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters,
Department of Conservation of Marine Archaeological Objects, 34459, Laleli-Fatih/Istanbul, Turkey,
tel.: +905325087502, e-mail: teiseba@hotmail.com

Ivanov Oleksii

Dr Anthropologist, National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos, Head of the Department
of Bioarchaeological research, 1 Drevnia Str., 99045 Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine,
tel.: +380956221680, e-mail: ivav@yandex.ru

Karagianni Flora

Dr Archaeologist, European Centre for Byzantine and Post-byzantine Monuments,
Leophoros Stratou 2, 54640, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +302310889830, fax: +302310853078, e-mail: flkaragianni@gmail.com

Khoshtaria David

Art Historian, 5, Kekelidze str. Tbilisi, Georgia,
tel.: +995599231061, e-mail: davidkhoshtaria@yahoo.com

Kocabaş Ufuk

Associate Professor, Head of Department & Division, Istanbul University Letters Faculty,
Department of Conservation and Restoration of Artefacts, Division of Conservation
of Marine Archaeological Objects, Ordu Caddesi, Laleli-Fatih, İstanbul-Turkey,
tel.-fax: +902124555743, e-mail: ufukk@istanbul.edu.tr

Kostic Elena

Archaeologist, European Centre for Byzantine and Post-byzantine Monuments,
Leophoros Stratou 2, 54640, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +302310889830, fax: +302310853078, e-mail: ejkostic@yahoo.gr

Livadioti Marina

Archaeologist, European Centre for Byzantine and Post-byzantine Monuments,
Leophoros Stratou 2, 54640, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +302310889830, fax: +302310853078, e-mail: marinalivadioti@hotmail.com

Lychounas Michalis

Archaeologist, 12th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Kyprou 14, 65110, Kavala,
tel.: +302510224716, e-mail: mlychounas@hotmail.com

Mania Irina

Art Historian, 2/2 Chavchavadze ave. Tbilisi, Georgia,
tel: +995593906848, e-mail: irina_mania@yahoo.com

Manolova-Voykova Mariya

Associate Professor, Varna Regional Museum of History 41,
Maria Luisa Bvd. 9000 Varna, Bulgaria,
tel.: +359886861841, e-mail: mara_manolova@yahoo.de

Marki Eutepri

Dr Archaeologist, Thessaloniki, Filippou 65, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +302310226546, mob.: +306932404332, e-mail: eumarki@yahoo.gr

Mikeladze Ketevan

Art Historian, 1, Aragvis str, Tbilisi, Georgia,
tel.: +995599180241, e-mail: ketimikeladze@yahoo.com

Minchev Aleksandar

Assoc.prof. Responsible of the Department of Antiquity, Varna Regional Museum of History, 41,
Maria Luisa Bvd. 9000 Varna, Bulgaria,
tel.: +35952681028, e-mail: al.minchev.varna@gmail.com

Nastasi Irina

Archaeologist, PhD Student, Curator, Museum of National History and Archaeology,
Ovidius Square, no. 12, 900745, Constanța, Romania,
tel.: +40241614562, mob.: +40743043585, fax: 0241-618763, e-mail: irina.nastasi@gmail.com

Natsvlshvili Natia

Art Historian, 1, I. Petritsi str. Didi Dighomi,
tel.: +995599615100, e-mail: natsvlshvili.natia@yahoo.com

Papaggelos Ioakim

Dr. Archaeologist, Nikiforou Foka 29, 54621, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +306972699100, e-mail: ppggls@otenet.gr

Paraschiv-Talmaçhi Cristina

Dr Researcher, Museum of National History and Archaeology, Ovidius Square, no. 12,
900745, Constanța, Romania,
tel.: +40241614562, fax: +40241618763, e-mail: ctalmatchi@gmail.com

Preiser-Kapeller Johannes

Dr. Researcher at the Institute for Medieval Research, Division of Byzantine Research,
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Wohllebengasse 12-14/3, 1040 Vienna, Austria,
tel.: +431515813447, websites:
<http://oeaw.academia.edu/JohannesPreiserKapeller> resp.,
<http://oeaw.academia.edu/TopographiesofEntanglements>,
e-mail: Johannes.Preiser-Kapeller@oeaw.ac.at

Radzykhovska Olena

Associated Professor, Department of history of Ancient and Middle Ages,
Odessa National University, Department of History, 12 Elisavetinska Str., 65023 Odessa, Ukraine,
tel.: +380972799763, e-mail: dmsv@ukr.net

Samoylova Tetiana

Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Head of the Department
of Archaeology of the Northwest Coast of the Black Sea, 37 Pushkinska Str.,
65012 Odessa, Ukraine,
tel.: +380674807856, e-mail: tlsama@rambler.ru

Sedikova Larysa

Deputy director of the National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos, 1 Drevnia Str.,
99045 Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine,
tel.: +380504983110, e-mail: sedikova7@yahoo.com

Simeonov Grigori

MA, Historian, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien,
Postgasse 7/1/3 1090 Vienna, Austria,
tel.: +431427741017, e-mail: gsim@abv.bg

Talmaçhi Garbiel

Dr Researcher, Museum of National History and Archaeology, Ovidius Square, no. 12,
900745, Constanța, Romania,
tel.: +40241614562, fax: +40241618763, e-mail: gtalmatchi@yahoo.com

Stoycheva Evterpa

Dr Archeologist Senior Expert, "Nessebar - World Heritage Department",
Municipality of Nessebar, Bulgaria King Simeon str. N 12, Nessebar 8231, Bulgaria,
tel.-fax: +359 554 44268, mob.: +359898202636, e-mail: evtelpa.stoicheva@abv.bg

Tsamissis Christos

Archaeologist, 10th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Ippodromiou 7, Thessaloniki, Greece,
tel.: +302310285163, e-mail: ctsamissis@yahoo.gr

Türkmenoğlu Evren

Archaeologist, Istanbul University, Faculty of Humanities,
Division of Conservation of Marine Archaeological Objects, Ordu Cad. Fatih/İstanbul, Turkey,
e-mail: evrentu@istanbul.ed.tr

Zekos Nikolaos

Archaeologist, Chrysostomou Smyrnis 33, 65404 Kavala, Greece,
tel.: +302510240706, e-mail: nickzik@hotmail.com

Salutation

It is with particular pleasure that we welcome our partners, colleagues and participants in the International Symposium “Medieval Ports in the North Aegean and Black Sea: Links to the Maritime Routes of the East”. This Symposium, which is organized by EKBMM (the European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments) is the conclusion to the European project “OLKAS. From the Aegean to the Black Sea. Medieval Ports in the Maritime Routes of the East”, which was implemented under the leadership of EKBMM in 2012-2013.

Scholars from eight institutions (universities, museums, and cultural organizations) from Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine and Georgia collaborated with creativity and in a spirit of common understanding for the advancement and completion of this project. Thanks to our partners’ enthusiasm and faith in the importance of the program, which provided the first-ever opportunity for scholars from the above-named countries to collaborate on a region of common interest, the management difficulties encountered during the program’s implementation were overcome. I extend my heartfelt thanks to all for their understanding and patience.

The program had multiple objectives: scientific documentation of 45 ports in the North Aegean and Black Sea, consciousness-raising among students to the diverse, timeless relations among these ports from at least the medieval period (this, thanks to the educational programs that were carried out) to the presentation to the international public (through the website and a documentary film) of an extremely interesting cultural region (accessible with difficulty until the 1980’s) that can now become a promising new tourist destination and benefit local economies.

The brain and soul of the project was Dr Flora Karagianni, Head of EKBMM’s Office for the Promotion of Scientific Research. Thanks to her comprehensive scientific knowledge of the historical physiognomy of the North Aegean and Black Sea and her creativity and indomitable vitality, she successfully coordinated the project, traveling across the region on numerous occasions.

The “OLKAS” project will open new paths to scholarship, communication, cultural tourism, and the economy. The massive volume of the Symposium’s Proceedings, which was printed in parallel with the Symposium itself, already offers a tangible example of what the collaboration among scholars- thanks to this European Program- can produce. The European project “Limen”, an extension of the “OLKAS” one, which has already begun with EKBMM as lead partner and participants from the Black Sea countries I mentioned earlier, has a sound basis for its launch and all the prerequisites for a successful conclusion.

Emeritus Professor

Nikos Zias

President of the Administrative Board of EKBMM

Editor's Forward

The present Symposium is the one of the main outputs of the project "Olkas. From Aegean to the Black Sea. Medieval Ports in the Maritime Routes of the East", which is implemented during the last two years by a network of eight partners from six countries (Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine and Georgia) under the leadership of the European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments.

The project aims at the documentation and promotion of the medieval past of 45 city-ports located to North Aegean and the Black Sea. The rich medieval cultural heritage preserved in the area, became a real motive for all of us who worked together in order to achieve our common goal. During the two years of the implementation period, a lot of outputs have been realized, such as the documentation of the city-ports included in the official webpage of the project www.olkas.net, a photographic exhibition which was displayed in Thessaloniki, in Istanbul and in Odessa, a documentary film as well as educational programs for the students of the schools of Varna, Constanta and Istanbul.

The International Symposium entitled: "Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea. Links in the Maritime Routes of the East" is one of the most important activities of our project. Representatives of all the partners are participating in it with papers related to the several aspects of the medieval city-ports. The sessions are following several topics related to historical and archaeological aspects such as textual information on the ports, archaeological approaches of city-ports, and harbor installations, the fortifications, the coastal areas, the architectural-archaeological testimony and the medieval ships-shipwrecks. Finally, one session is dedicated to the presentation of analogous projects related either on the Black Sea area or on byzantine maritime routes and the ways of investigation.

This project would have never been completed without the precious help of the team of the EKBMM, and mainly of Anastasia Chatzinikolaou, Eleni Peristeropoulou, Marina Livadioti, Georgia Tavlaki and Irine Paspala, to whom I am grateful for our close and productive cooperation. I also thank Athena Nella who undertook a part of the editorial work of the volume of the proceedings as well Christina Pavlidou who designed and prepared on time this volume.

Above all, I want to thank the 35 participants of the Symposium, coming from several countries, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Austria, for their participation as well as for their direct correspondence on the pressing needs of the publication.

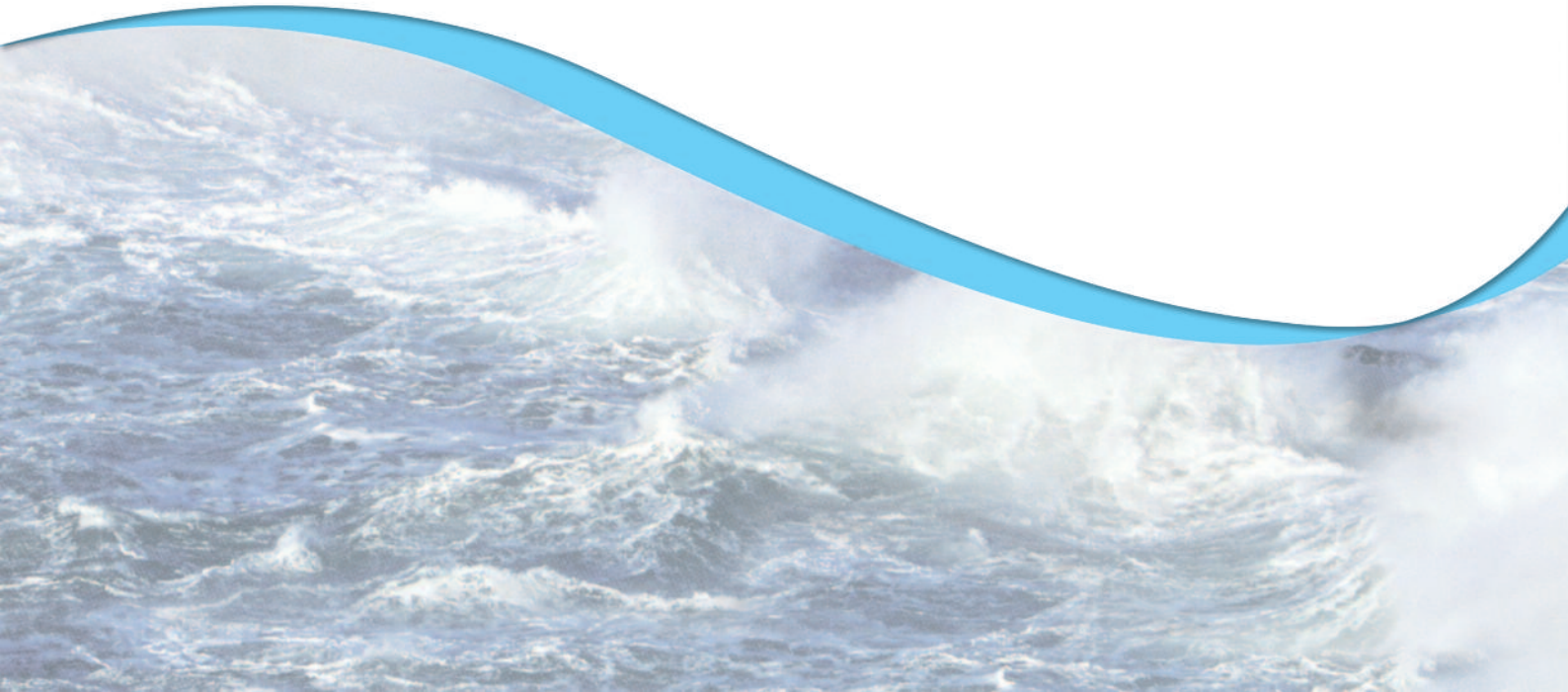
Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Administrative Board of EKBMM, the President Emeritus Professor Nikos Zias, the members, and particularly the Director of EKBMM Dr Anastasia Tourta, who trusted me on undertaking the scientific coordination of the project and supported in all means every activity of it.

Thessaloniki, November 2013

Flora Karagianni

Head of the Office for the Promotion of Scientific Research
Scientific Coordinator of "Olkas" Project

INTRODUCTION:
KEYNOTE ADDRESS



City-Ports from Aegean to the Black Sea. An Overview of their Early Christian and Medieval Past

Karagianni Flora

When Emperor Constantine the Great established the new capital of the Roman Empire in ancient Byzantium, named after him, on May 11, 330, a new era started. During his reign, he changed the historical fate of his empire by favoring glaringly Christianity, a religion gradually to become a superlative power within the empire. Constantinople had an amazingly quick and remarkable development, in terms of urbanism and wealth, so that it became the biggest and most important political, military, cultural and religious center of the fourth-century *oikoumene*: located in a strategic point at the edge of a peninsula between Europe and Asia, the City operated as a major metropolitan center which linked people, goods and ideas journeying from their places of origin to other destinations in the Black Sea, the Aegean and the rest of the Mediterranean Sea¹. The See of Constantinople, the New Rome, was promoted to the second rank after Old Rome at the second ecumenical council in 381 and, under the energetic episcopate of John Chrysostom (398-404), it extended its jurisdiction over the dioceses of Thrace in Europe, and Asia and Pontus in Asia Minor, as it was recognized by the fourth ecumenical council of Chalcedon in 451.

City-ports along the Mediterranean and the Pontus were founded centuries before the Constantinian era as Greek *emporion* or colonies² and they had a continuous life since then; indeed during Late Antiquity they formed an active and strong network of flourishing fortified urban centers. Remnants of their city walls, in many cases preserved until today, as well as references in written sources attest a great concern shown by emperors, from Constantine to Justinian, for the preservation and reinforcement of the defense of these coastal cities.

In Constantinople itself, the land walls of Constantine were not enough to cover the extended demands of the new dynamic capital; Theodosius II demolished them and built a new line of land and sea fortifications which comprised an extended surface to the West of Constantine's city³ (fig. 1). Theodosius I was possibly responsible for the big-scale works in the east and west sides of the walls in Thessaloniki, in order to secure the city from the forthcoming attack of the Goths⁴. The long lasting history of Thessaloniki proves that its ramparts, often renovated and strengthened, protected the inhabitants from several attacks and secured the functions of this major political, commercial, and economical center which constituted a basic link at the crossroads leading to the west, north and south parts of the empire (fig. 2).

Between the early fourth and the end of the sixth century many fortifications were repaired and new defensive constructions were added to existing city walls. Christoupolis (modern Cavala)⁵, Thasos, Limenas⁶ and Anastasioupolis-Peritheorion⁷ are some of them in the coasts of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace⁸. Depending

1. Avramea 2001, 57ff.
2. Grammenos, Petropoulos 2003. Grammenos, Petropoulos, 2007. Koromela 2001.
3. Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 13ff.
4. Velenis 1998, 107-11. Rizos 2011, 450-68.
5. Tsouris 1998, 396,417. Lychounas, Tsouris 2005, 33. 12th EBA 2008, 7.
6. *BCH* 96 (1972), 919-922. *BCH* 97 (1973), 541-8. *BCH* 98 (1974), 793-6.
7. Tsouris 1998, 422-23. Evgenidou 1997, 49-53.
8. Karagianni 2010, 48-53. Soustal 1991, 62-74. Soustal 2011, 43-57.

on the state of the fortification system of each city-port, many emperors have contributed significantly to the reinforcement of the ramparts of several cities in the West coast of the Pontus, as for instance in Agathoupolis (modern Ahtopol), Sozopolis (modern Sozopol), which was the largest port to the north of Constantinople⁹, Messemvria (modern Nessebar)¹⁰, and Kastritsi¹¹. The Dobroudja region, which was detached from Moesia Inferior and became an independent province under the name Scythia Minor, late antique phases have been acknowledged at the preserved fortification on the plateau of Cape Kalliakra (fig. 3): some of the earlier phases were attributed to Emperor Valens (364-378), while later renovations are dated to the sixth century¹². In Tomis (modern Constanța), which was the capital of the province, three inscriptions mention restoration works on the city walls, conducted during the sixth century, probably under Justinian¹³. The ramparts of Callatis (modern Mangalia) were also repaired in the same period; due to various reasons the city area at the end of Late Antiquity was regrettably reduced up to its half¹⁴. The same phenomenon also occurred in Histria, in which the inhabited area was constricted to the half of the size that the city occupied during the Roman period¹⁵. In both Callatis and Histria, local population found shelter and protection in their fortifications from the threats and sieges laid by various enemies, like Goths, Kutriguri, Huns, Avars, and Slavs, who devastated the entire region at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century.

Fortified city-ports existed also in the north part of the Black Sea, especially in the Crimean peninsula, where the most important port was that of Chersonesos, the ancient Cherson (modern Sevastopol). Its impressive city walls, dating back from ancient times, were intensively and largely restored by Emperors Theodosios I, Arkadios, Zeno, and Anastasios or Justin I¹⁶ (fig. 4). In the eastern part of the Crimea, in the Bosphorus Kingdom, located around the strait between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, where the Huns had settled, the city of Bosphorus (modern Kerch) was located at the crossroads between the north Caucasus, the Caspian steppes, the remote China, as well as the Turkish Khanate; Justinian I, according to Prokopios, recognized the strategic position of the city, annexed it to the empire and reinforced its defenses¹⁷.

On the Eastern shore of the Euxinus Pontus, next to quite busy commercial and military route which connected the empire with the west part of Georgia (Lazica), Justinian built the fortified city of Petra (modern Tsikhisdziri)¹⁸ (fig. 5). Some kilometers to the south, very close to the border, Apsaros, the well-known Roman stronghold, which was deserted during the fourth century, was invigorated and strengthened during the sixth century and continued its life during the following centuries as a fort under the name of Gonio (fig. 6). Thus, both written sources and archaeological data confirm that all over the empire an impressive building activity took place from the fourth century on, especially under Justinian: the erection of new castles and the reinforcement of old ones were among the main priorities and the strategic plans of the administration of the empire.

The physical setting, the site and its resources, as well as the surrounding hinterland in all city-ports of the Aegean and the Black Sea played a vital role for

9. Dimitrov 2009, 184. Panayotova, Drajeva 2003, 215-34.

10. Theoklieva-Stoycheva 2009,

11. Кузев 1981, 289-92.

12. Yossifova 2008, 160-1.

13. Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2012, 182.

14. Alexandru, Constantin, Ionescu 2012, 441.

15. Buzoianu, Chera 2006, 14.

16. Mack, Coleman Carter 2001, 61-9.

17. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, III, VII, 10-2.

18. On the castle of Petra see the paper of Irina Mania and Natia Natsvlishvili in this volume.

their shape, urban relief and tissue, and economic development. Constantinople and Thessaloniki, for instance, which were both located in highly strategic points at the crossroads of land and sea routes leading from east to west and from north to south and vice versa, endured all misfortunes and became major transit and transport hubs in the following centuries.

The fate of other city-ports was determined by their position and connection to preponderant commercial routes, and often according to their situation in the network of neighboring cities. One could record the case of the cities on the present-day Bulgarian coast as a representative one: these cities never ceased having constant connection with Constantinople and, thus, their development was bound to the prosperity of the capital. Sozopolis is a quite characteristic example: located only 100 miles away from the capital, it served as a main provider of food and raw materials to the capital, the largest consuming center of the east, as well as a post for ships, both commercial and warships, sailing from the north, following the well-known north-south sea route which passed through the strait of Bosphorus¹⁹ (fig. 7).

Moreover, written sources offer many details on the importance of city-ports serving as entrances to the hinterland as well as transit hubs where travelers, soldiers, tradesmen, artists, pilgrims, saints, even emperors had to embark and/or disembark. As a result, the circulation of goods and the transportation of people affected the physiognomy of these cities and, at the same time, it influenced them. Ports which were living upon sea-trade activities, mainly upon cargo exports to and imports from various destinations, developed as urban centers with the required substructure: harbor facilities, naval supplies stores, travelers' accommodations, baths, taverns, brothels, as well as road networks. This is the case of Christoupolis, Limenas, Sozopolis, Messemvria, Odessus, Tomis, Histria and Cherson.

A further examination of these city-ports brings us in front of the phenomenon of the existence of more than one harbor per city. This might be considered as normal for Constantinople in which more than six harbors have been developed on the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara²⁰, but in other cases, like Limenas, Christoupolis, Sozopolis and Messemvria, the two distinct harbors were constructed in places which had the analogous natural protection. These harbors covered mostly the high-scaled sailing needs, extra trade activities and storage facilities. In fact, Christoupolis (modern Cavala) was located on the high rocky peninsula of Panagia, which was surrounded by strong walls that secured the control of the wider area (fig. 8). During the Roman and Byzantine period all travelers by land from Thessaloniki and Western Macedonia to Constantinople and further on had to cross the city; sea followers had also to stop at one of Christoupolis' harbors after passing the Dardanelles²¹. Limenas was since ancient times the main port of the island of Thasos as well as a significant and densely populated city; the first of its two ports, known as the "closed" harbor, was conveniently protected by fortification walls and towers, while the second was the "open" one²². Sozopolis²³ and Messemvria²⁴ on the West shore of the Euxinus Pontus occupied strategic points in the sea routes of the Pontos and functioned as chief stations for ships sailing from or to Constantinople.

One of the issues in the study of medieval harbors is the documentation of their function as military or commercial ones. The question if trade ships and warships used equally the civilian ports, in most cases simply cannot be answered. It is

19. Dimitrov 2009, 171.

20. On the city-ports of Constantinople see Magdalino 2013, 13-5. Günşenin 2012, 99-105. Kocabaş 2012, 107-13.

21. Lychounas, Tsouris 2005, 30.

22. Bonias, Dadaki, 2002, 22.

23. Dimitrov 2009, 184.

24. Theoklieva-Stoycheva 2009, 220.

evident though that in the case of the existence of two harbors in one city the first had to cover commercial needs and the other would be a naval dock. In Limenas, for example, the “closed” harbor has been characterized as a military port and the “open” harbor as a commercial one. To strengthen more this argument one could mention that during underwater research in the closed harbor of Limenas, has been found that the discovered dockyards were reconstructed as covered places where the vessels of the Byzantine fleet were loaded²⁵ (fig. 9).

Military purposes are attested for the case of Messemvria²⁶, although the information offered by written sources does not precise if military vessels were stationed in one port and commercial ones in the other (fig. 10). The recent findings at the harbor of Theodosius in Constantinople may be quite helpful on this: the study of the unearthened shipwrecks has given enough evidence that galleys, sea-going traders and local trading vessels berthed at the same harbor²⁷. Although this might be quite incidental, one could argue that even in cases of cities with two harbors, both hosted all categories of vessels, warships and commercial ships, mostly during war. The dockyard - undoubtedly necessary for the protection of warships, while they were built, repaired or dry-docked - could have been constructed in the most convenient point at both harbors.

Unfortunately, the remains of late antique and medieval harbor installations are slight, since in the majority of the cases, harbors were in constant use for centuries and important traces of their history have been lost or covered by the sea. The recent excavations at the Yenikapı area in Istanbul have uncovered important parts of the Theodosius’ port: parts of the sea walls and of a breakwater, wooden piers where the ships’ ropes were fastened, remains of animals used to carry products from or to the city, as well as thousands of pottery sherds, mainly of amphorae; in some cases the ceramic containers had preserved their contents, seeds, spices, olive pits, hazelnuts and pine nuts, or remnants of fruit, such as figs, grapes, cherries, and melons²⁸ (fig. 11). Storage facilities have been unearthened in the artificial harbor of Constantine in Thessaloniki²⁹, in which the partly excavated dockyards have hosted ships, especially during the winter³⁰. At Synaxis, near Maroneia, which lays exactly opposite the Samothraki island, a peculiar building with many rooms has been excavated near the shore and recognized as an inn for pilgrims who embarked for the opposite coast and disembarked there from the island³¹. In Tomis³² an impressive multistoried building which was in constant use from the fourth up to the sixth century spread out on four terraces and has been associated with the harbor of the city; in its various rooms amphorae, metallic objects (anchors, nails, spikes etc.), rush light molds, scales’ weights etc. were kept. The largest hall had been paved with a more than 2000 m² polychrome mosaic (fig. 12).

Besides of their harbor installations and facilities, city-ports were also great religious centers, often associated to the cult of local martyrs and saints, or major hubs in great pilgrimage routes. From the fourth century on, the growth of Christianity in all the empire³³, as well as out of its borders, led to the transformation of the urban tissue: many Christian churches were inserted *per force* into the existent city grid³⁴. Thessaloniki remained for centuries the main Christian center of the north

25. Bonias, Dadaki, 2002, 22.

26. Theoklieva-Stoycheva 2009, 220.

27. Kocabaş 2012, 108-10.

28. Kiziltan, Baran Çelik 2013.

29. See the paper of A. Chatziioannidis - Ch. Tsamissis in this volume.

30. See the paper of E. Marki in this volume.

31. Bakirtzis 1994, 167-8.

32. Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2012, 197.

33. Popović 1996.

34. Karagianni 2010, 56-70.

Aegean: a big five-aisled basilica has been erected over the tomb of St. Demetrios which remained for centuries one of the important pilgrimage centers³⁵ (fig. 13). Another five-aisled basilica was built at the end of the fifth century on the spot where the cathedral of the city, dedicated to St. Sophia, would be later erected³⁶. According to archaeological research, in Thessaloniki more than twenty churches have been constructed during the Early Christian period to fulfill the liturgical needs of the faithful, inhabitants and travelers. Many other churches have been built in the city-ports along the north coast of the Aegean, sometimes above the ruins of pre-existing buildings, like the basilicas at Limenas, Thasos³⁷ and Maroneia³⁸.

In the Black Sea Christianity also flourished and numerous churches have been built in every city- port so that, if we are to believe what the written sources record, the west coast was transformed into a “sacred” place. The archaeological data substantiate this as well: along the Bulgarian coast, around Odessus in particular, a great number of martyrial shrines have been explored³⁹, which offer valid evidence for the martyrs’ veneration in this area during Late Antiquity⁴⁰. In the Scythian lands, the Christianization was also founded in the sacrifice of many martyrs, the greatest number of which has been registered in Tomis⁴¹, where the seven early Christian basilicas that have been identified up to now indicate the very extended Christian character of the city⁴². A few kilometers to the north, Histria’s sixth-century cathedral was one of the largest basilicas in the entire Dobroudja district⁴³; three more of the city’s churches dated to the same period have been also explored⁴⁴. Moreover, according to tradition, the conversion of the Crimean peninsula to Christianity was made by Apostle Andrew and Simon the Kananite who travelled across the region, following the well-known sea routes and stopping at the port cities of the area⁴⁵. Chersonesos, where more than twenty Early Christian churches have been unearthed, was the major ecclesiastical center of the whole region⁴⁶ (fig. 14). More to the east, numerous early Christian basilicas have been erected in the Colchis area⁴⁷, where several fortified cities existed already from the Roman period or were raised by Justinian; the Petra castle with its sixth-century basilica is a typical example⁴⁸ (fig. 15).

The period which started at the end of the sixth and continued up to the eighth century is generally considered as the most unstable and insecure; serious changes in the urban landscape took place during these times that life in all cities, but mostly in the harbors, was considerably degraded in many of its aspects. First, the invasions of Slavs, Avars, and Protobulgars led to the destruction of many of the harbors at the north coast of the Aegean and the west of the Euxinus Pontus⁴⁹. For instance, Tyrisis (modern Cape Kalliakra) suffered so much from such invasions that finally collapsed economically and politically⁵⁰. In the north shore of the Black Sea, cities suffered

35. The bibliography is very extended. Indicatively see Mentzos 1994. Bakirtzis 2002, 175ff.

36. Mentzos 1981, 201-20.

37. One of the early Christian basilicas has been constructed on the ruins of late roman baths. Dadaki 1994, 336-9.

38. The early Christian basilica has been erected on the ruins of a pre-existed building and this effected the plan of the narthex. Doukata-Demertzi 2008, 45.

39. Minchev 2006, 181-7.

40. Docheva 2006, 141-61.

41. Braniște 1977, 34-62. Barnea 1989, 168-74.

42. Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2012, 199-201.

43. Suceveanu 2007.

44. Suceveanu 2009.

45. On this issue see the paper of Charalampos Chotzakoglou in this volume.

46. Zavadskaya 2007, 3-10. Ajbabin 397-423.

47. On the early Christian monument of the East Black Sea Coast see: Khroushkova 2002.

48. See the paper of David Khoshtaria on this volume.

49. See the paper of Gabriel Custurea and Irina Nastasi in this volume.

50. Yossifova 2008, 161.

from attacks of Khazars and Petsenegs, while the east shore became an area of conflict between the Byzantines, the Persians and the Khazars⁵¹. On the other hand, the exacerbation of destructive natural phenomena such as earthquakes, the raising of the sea level, well attested in the Aegean, or the gradual silting of the bays caused serious damages to the substructures of ports like Makri⁵² and Histria⁵³.

A direct impact issued from these constant wars between the local population and the threatening tribes, was the realization of big scale restoration or rebuilding works on the existent fortifications in order to ensure the population's safety. In Constantinople itself, some renovations conducted in the city walls mainly focused on the addition of new towers. Many emperors funded the reinforcement of the capital's fortifications with towers bearing their names, as the preserved inscriptions make manifest⁵⁴. Constantinople remained the central city-port of the area and the main trade routes of the empire included the connection among the capital with the city ports of the Euxinus Pontus as well as with Thessaloniki⁵⁵. Thessaloniki's and Christoupolis' ramparts were also restored during the tenth century, as dedicatory inscriptions record; the walls of these two cities continued being under constant care during the Palaiologan period, since they remained the main Macedonian city-ports in the Aegean. Moreover, Thessaloniki was endowed with a new enceinte, the so-called Eptapyrgion, a safe refuge erected at the top of the plateau above the north-east corner of the city⁵⁶ (fig. 16). The small Macedonian city port of Anactorropolis (modern Nea Peramos) saw its ramparts reinforced by emperor Andronicos III Palaiologos in the beginning of the fourteenth century⁵⁷. The Thracian city-ports of Maroneia and Abdera were restricted to a smaller area within the perimeter of the ancient fortifications. During the middle byzantine period in both cases the city proper, transformed into castle, occupied the area around the harbor and new walls were built to secure the population⁵⁸.

During the middle ages, the ports on the west coast of the Black Sea were protected by strong fortifications, such as those preserved in Agathoupolis, Sozopolis, Messembria and Odessus⁵⁹. On the ancient site of Tomis, the modest settlement which survived the eighth century was later given the name of Constantia by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos; traces of an enceinte near the area of the port dated tentatively to the twelfth or the thirteenth century, in combination with other discoveries, attest an occupation of Constantia and a variety of its harbor activities well into the medieval period. In the north shore of the Pontos, Chersonesos remained an effective stronghold and port until the end of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century; residential areas, workshops, churches and cemeteries unearthed, give us a very clear idea on its importance during the Middle Ages⁶⁰.

A crucial point in the medieval past of the city-ports in the Aegean and the Black Sea region is related to the period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople and the trade growth of the Italian cities. It is historically and archaeologically proven that the Genoese, having become a major seafaring power in the Mediterranean Sea and the Euxinus Pontus, established garrisons in their *emporeia* and built new castles or renovated old ones in the areas of their interest⁶¹. Since the Crusaders

51. Kralides 2003.

53. Suceveanu 2007, 107.

54. Asutay-Effenberger 2007.

55. Ahrweiler 1966, 166.

56. 9th EBA 2001.

57. Karagianni 2010, 83-8.

58. On the byzantine phases of the walls see: Tsouris 2002, 433-34.

59. Pletnyov 206-7.

60. Rabinowitz, Sedikova, Henneberg 2010.

61. Balloni, Kukovalska 2009.

had lost their possessions in the eastern Mediterranean, the trade routes partially shifted to Black Sea and Azov Seas. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards, the Venetians and the Genoese, in order to secure their trade interests, fortified some harbors on the northern shore of the Euxine, such as Tyras which was called Asprocastron by the Byzantines and Maurocastron by the Latins (modern Bilhorod Dnistrovskiyi)⁶² (fig. 17). For the Genoese the area that was of great economic importance was that of the Crimean peninsula, since it was an intermediary key-site between the Rus', the Byzantines and the other Slavic states. Among the port cities in which they settled are Caffa (modern Feodosiya) (fig. 18), Soldaia (modern Sudak) (fig. 19), Cembalo (modern Balaklava) (fig. 20) and Aluston (modern Lusta), in which some restoration of the fortifications is attested⁶³.

As it comes forth from historical as well as archaeological investigations, all city-ports from the Aegean up to the Black Sea, except for their location, size and idiosyncrasies, share a common characteristic: they all occupied a place in the sea-faring routes and played a particular role on the trade activities of the late antique and medieval world. The maritime networks that developed in these seas realized an amazingly vast transportation of goods, people, ideas and technology from different parts of the world; the ships that operated within this networks, as they followed a coastal navigation, they stopped rather frequently at secure harbors in order to secure fresh water and food supplies for their crews⁶⁴. Until its conquest by the Crusaders in 1204, Constantinople was the largest consumption center, and for this reason, all provinces of the empire as well as foreign lands supplied food stuff, raw materials, semi-finished and manufactured products to its population⁶⁵. During Late Antiquity, the main source of grain supply for the capital was Egypt⁶⁶; when the Arabs conquered Egypt in 642, they caused a hard hit to the empire.

From that period onwards the maritime commercial routes that were in use for centuries, changed in a dramatic way. After the ninth century, the navigation plans on the trade map showed Constantinople being in unceasing contact with the city-ports of the Black Sea, which were the main providers of numerous goods for the capital. At times and in varying degrees, Constantinople's supply in food depended essentially on the safety in the areas north of Bosphorus; written sources largely confirm that already from the ninth century on, merchants travelled to city-ports, such as Anchialos (Pomorie) and Messemvria (Nessebar), to buy grain⁶⁷.

Excavations in almost all city-ports have unearthed a variety of containers, mainly amphorae, which were used for the transportation of goods. In Constantinople itself it is clear, after the discoveries in the Theodosius harbor, that ships carried amphorae containing wine for the markets of the capital; many of these potteries were produced in the neighboring area, whereas others originated from Ganos in the Propontis or from the Crimean peninsula⁶⁸. On the other hand, the early byzantine deposits excavated in Chersonesos contained numerous fragments of amphorae and other types of pottery produced at other places of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea such as at the coasts of Syria, Palaistine, Asia Minor as well as the Colchis area⁶⁹.

62. On the city port of Asprocaston-Maurocastron- Akkerman, see the paper of Tatiana Samoylova in this volume.

63. Balloni, Kukovalska 2009, 32-200.

64. Jacoby 2007, 681.

65. Jacobs 2010, 92-3.

66. On the grain supply of Constantinople see: Magdalino 1995, 35-47.

67. Teall 1959, 117-8.

68. Asal 2013, 9.

69. Golofast 2007, 45-75.

The ship's cargoes included other types of ceramics as well, such as plates and bowls, which were meant to be sold in the local markets for households' supply. The biggest amounts of such pottery have been found on Bulgarian and Crimean coastal cities. Imported glazed pottery is found in Sozopolis⁷⁰ and in Messemvria⁷¹ (fig. 21), in the Cape Kalliakra fortress⁷² (fig. 22), as well as in Chersonesos (fig. 23). Especially in the last one, the pottery and coins found during the excavation of the late byzantine layers of the city has shown that the Crimean city had developed a lot of connections with the byzantine world, the southwestern Black Sea as well as the Mediterranean⁷³. But still, even if Chersonesos functioned as a large transit trade center, Constantinople and its neighboring area from Late Antiquity through the Late Byzantine period remained the main manufacturer and supplier of a variety of products, mainly marble in the early period⁷⁴, but also objects, coins and works of art, jewelry, liturgical and luxury objects.

On the other hand, byzantine sources mention frequently that a variety of products were brought to Constantinople from the Rus' lands, the Bulgarian lands, the Indian Ocean, the Far East, as well as the rest of the Mediterranean. Especially the Italian merchants who had established new trade roads in the thirteenth century, tried to bypass the City by conveying products from the Black Sea directly to Genoa, but they were prevented from the byzantine emperors who were always trying to secure imperial revenue from the transit⁷⁵. The capital, thus, retained until its end the function of a major transshipment station.

The second city of the byzantine empire, Thessaloniki, had a totally comparable role as a major cultural, religious and commercial port city not only in the Aegean, but in the Black Sea as well. The biggest pilgrimage center of the city, the church of St. Demetrios, had an extended impact to the whole medieval world: in Varna (fig. 24) and Baltchik⁷⁶ (fig. 25) lead ampullae (*koutrouvia*) have been discovered, which the pilgrims took with them as *eulogiae* after the veneration of the saint's tomb, whereas bowls with the monogram "Demetrios" have been found in Odessus (fig. 26), Kastritsi (fig. 27), Kavarna and Messemvria, indicating their possible origin from Thessaloniki⁷⁷. Pilgrimage is a diachronic phenomenon in the Mediterranean, which depended upon sea transport and the various facilities of city-ports; *eulogiae* could have been used as amulets against the misfortunes and the dangers of seafaring, as well, apart for their role as souvenirs and talismans. In Chersonesos excavations have uncovered many minor objects of the kind, ampullae-*eulogiae*, crosses, plates, and icons from Egypt, Syria, Palaistine, and Asia Minor⁷⁸.

In conclusion, the study of the medieval ports from the Aegean to the Black Sea opens many horizons for the investigation of the way the port cities functioned as links of communication within the medieval world of the East. What one very easily understands is that ships have not only functioned as means of transportation; besides products, they carried people, and cultural trends which had a tremendous impact on the culture that was developed along the coasts of these two seas and

70. Dimitrov 2009, 220.

71. Kiyashkina, Bozkova, Marvakov, Ushev, Delev 2012, 132-7.

72. Rousseva 2006, 99.

73. Rabinowitz, Sedikova, Henneberg 2010, 450.

74. One could mention the case of the Proconnesian marble which supplied almost a vast number of early Christian churches all around the Aegean and the Black Sea, from Thessaloniki, to Nessebar, Byala, Obzor, Callatis, Histria, Chersonesos with architectural members (columns, capitals, architraves). Its transportation inevitably included the crossing of the capital and Bosphoros.

75. Jacoby 2010, 96-7.

76. Totev 2011. Totev, Pletnyov 2011, 168-71.

77. Totev, Pletnyov 2011, 99-101, 172-83.

78. Jašaeva 2010, 479-91.

much further beyond. From the capital of the Byzantine Empire Constantinople to the most distant city-port of the Aegean and the Black Sea, the network of harbors share much in common: urban features and fortification defenses, goods trade and harbor facilities, religious beliefs, trends in architecture and art. All the medieval city-ports were vivid settlements and they shared dynamic and constant development or undergone periods of recession and poverty, conditioned by the historical, political and economic circumstances. I believe that the “Olkas” project opened to us a new road of communication, in which we embarked for a very long and promising trip in order to discover and uncover the links between the Aegean and the Black Sea.

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City-Ports from Aegean to the Black Sea.
An Overview of their Early Christian
and Medieval Past

Karagianni Flora

Abstract:

The paper deals with the examination of the city-ports from North Aegean and the Black Sea during the early Christian and medieval period. Within this frame there are discussed several topics such as the development of the city-ports through the ages, their gradual transformation to Christian ecclesiastical centres at the beginning of the early Christian period, or to castles at the middle ages, as well as to their fortifications systems.

The paper focuses also to the interesting topic of the communication among the city-ports and mainly between them and the capital of the byzantine empire Constantinople which remained for centuries the major political, religious and cultural centre of the region. In relation with this, a special discussion is presented to the trade networks that have been established through the ages. For this reason, the archaeological material that comes from the excavations all around the area is taken under consideration, since it provides us with information on the kinds of products that were transported as well as on their origin. Pottery, objects of pilgrimage as well as objects of everyday life and works of art are considered as a main source for the recognition of the networks of transportation and trade.



Fig. 1: Turkey. Istanbul. The land walls of Constantinople.

Fig. 2: Greece. Thessaloniki. The east walls.





Fig. 3: Bulgaria. Cape Kalliakra. General view of the fortification.

Fig. 4: Crimaia. Sevastopol. View of the walls of Chersonesos.





Fig. 5: Georgia. Tsikhisdziri. General view of the walls of Petra.

Fig. 6: Georgia. Gonio. General view of the fortress of Apsaros.





Fig. 7: Bulgaria. Sozopol. View of the walls.

Fig. 8: Greece. Cavala. General view of the city port of Christoupolis.



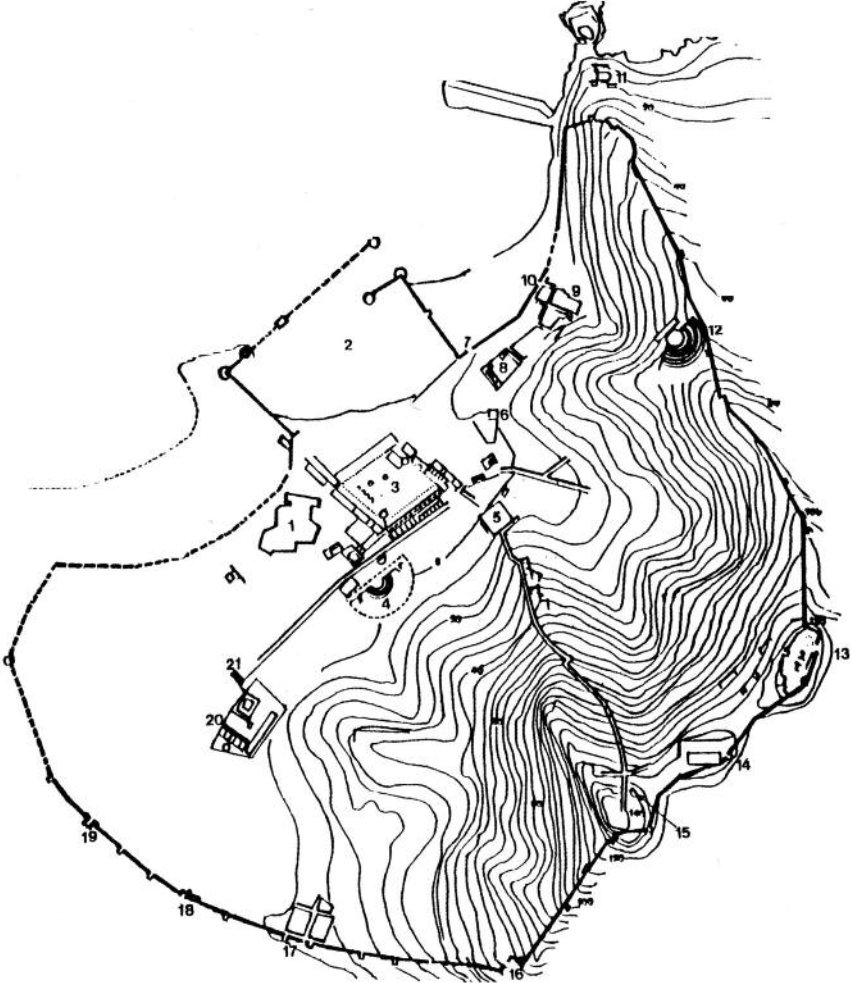


Fig. 9: Greece. Thasos. General plan of the Limenas. (Bonias, Dadaki 2002, 23).

Fig. 10: Bulgaria. Nesebar. View of medieval Messemyria. (Origin: Dimitrov 2009).





Fig. 11: Turkey. Istanbul. Constantinople. Theodosius harbor. Shipwreck YK 12. (Özsait-Kocabaş, 2013, 49).

Fig. 12: Romania. Constanța. Building with mosaics.





Fig. 13: Greece. Thessaloniki. The church of St. Demetrios.

Fig. 14: Crimea. Sevastopol. General view of Chersonesos.





Fig. 15: Georgia. Tsikhisdziri. View of the church of Petra.

Fig. 16: Greece. Thessaloniki. Eptapyrgion. (Origin: Evgenidou 1997, 125).





Fig. 17: Ukraine. Bilhorod Dnistrovsky. View of the Asprokastron.

Fig. 18: Crimea. Feodosiya. General view of the castle of Caffa.





Fig. 19: Crimaia. Sudak. General view of the castle of Soldaia. (Origin: Balloni, Kukovalska, 2009, 122).

Fig. 20: Crimaia. Balaklava. General view of the castle of Cembalo. (Origin: Balloni, Kukovalska, 2009, 154).





Fig. 21: Bulgaria. Nesebar.
Sgraffito Jug. 13th.c.
(Kiyashkina, Bozkova, Marvakov,
Ushev, Delev, 2012, 136).



Fig. 22: Bulgaria. Cape Kalliakra.
Sgraffito Bowls. 14th.c. (Russeva 2006, 99).



Fig. 23: Crimaia. Chersonesos.
Zeuxippos Ware plate. 13th.c.
(Rabinowitz, Sedikova,
Henneberg 2010, 451, fig.25).



Fig. 24: Bulgaria. Varna. Ampoulla. 12th-13th c. (Totev, Pletnyov 2011, 168).



Fig. 25: Bulgaria. Balchik environs. Ampoulla. 12th-13th c. (Totev, Pletnyov 2011, 170).

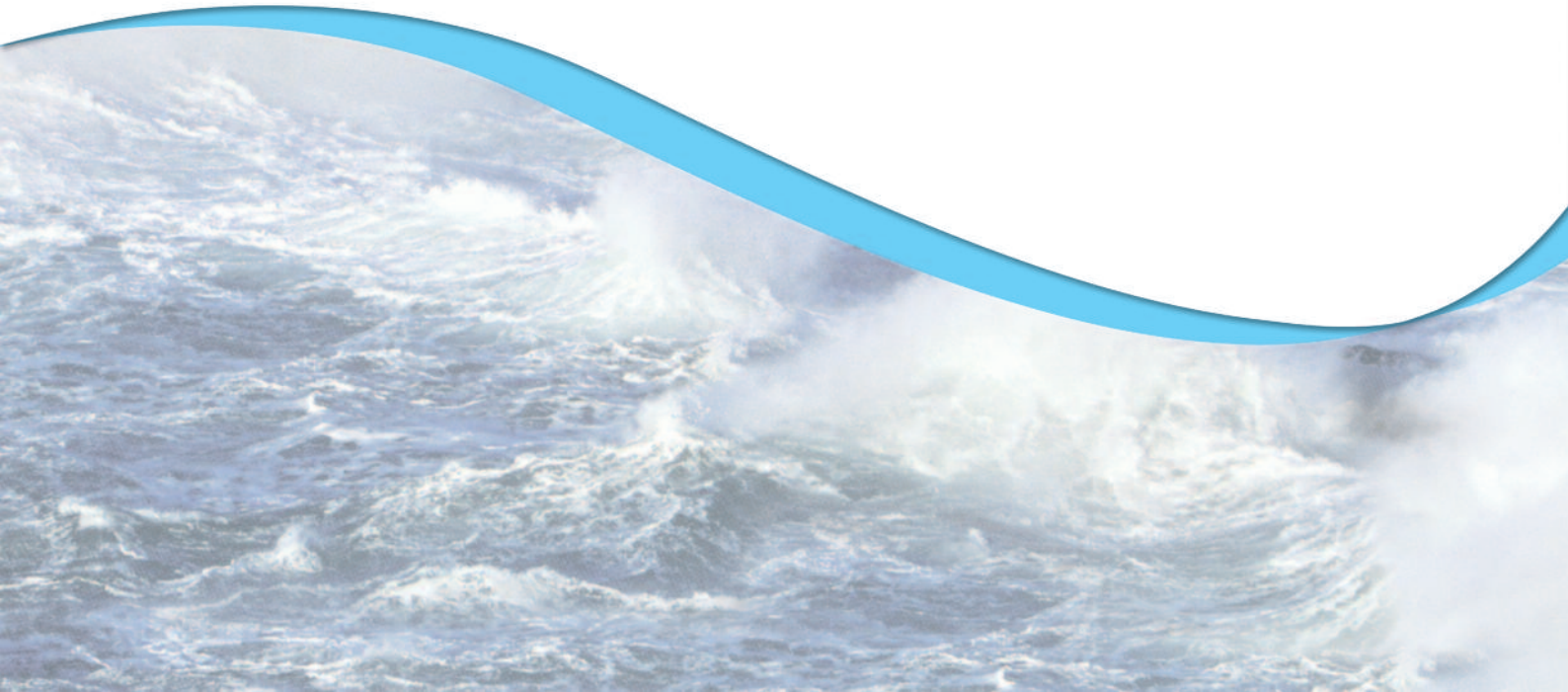
Fig. 26: Bulgaria. Varna. Glazed bowl with the monogram of Demetrios. 14th c.

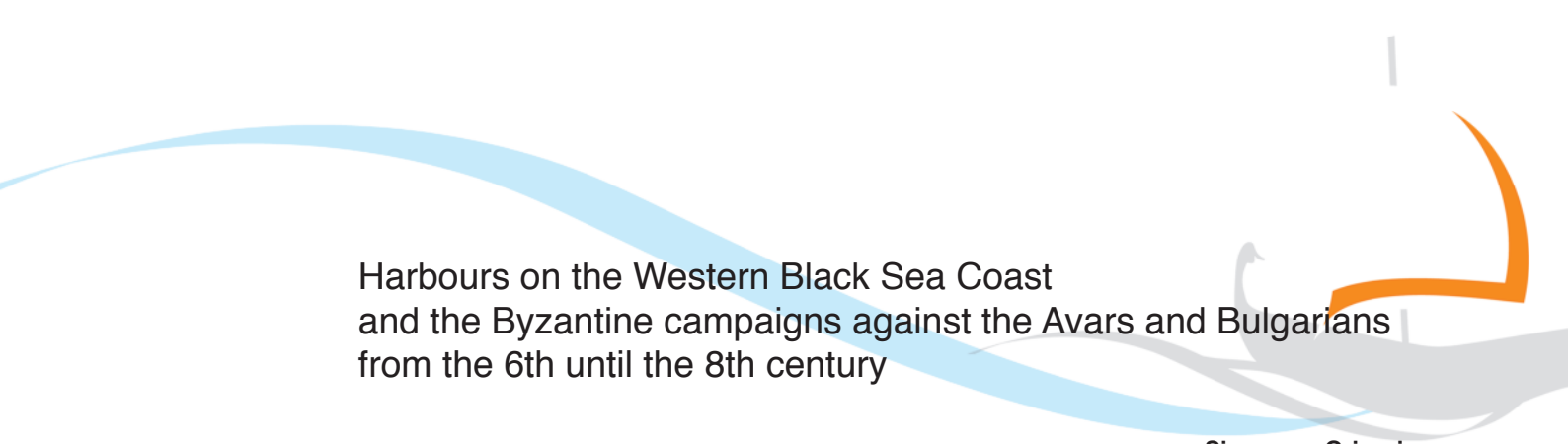


Fig. 27: Bulgaria. Kastritsi. Glazed bowl with the monogram of Demetrios. 14th c. (Totev, Pletnyov 2011, 172).



SESSION I:
THE CITY-PORTS. HISTORICAL APPROACHES





Harbours on the Western Black Sea Coast and the Byzantine campaigns against the Avars and Bulgarians from the 6th until the 8th century

Simeonov Grigori

Introduction

In this paper I shall try to present my recent work on the harbours on the Western Black Sea coast. As a case study I have chosen two harbours - Anchialos (Pomorie) and Mesembria (Nesebăr). Both of them lie on small peninsulas in the northern part of the Gulf of Burgas at the place of older settlements dating back to the Early Antiquity (fig. 1). The handbooks of sea navigation, the so called *periploi*, indicate the role which these cities played in sea travel during the Late Antiquity. According to their information Mesembria was a *hormos* (an anchorage)¹ and Anchialos a *limēn* (harbour)², which could be used by sailors on their way from the Northern Black Sea coast to the Bosphorus. Furthermore both of the cities were connected through traffic routes by land with Marcianopolis and the Lower Danube Region, with Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis in Thrace. The good land and sea connections and the vicinity to the new capital of the Empire and the Straits between Europe and Asia as well determined the importance of Anchialos and Mesembria during the wars which Byzantium had to wage after the death of Justinian I. That's why the majority of the literary sources from the Early and the Middle Byzantine period mention both of the cities under consideration in connection with the confrontation between the Empire and the barbarians in the eastern regions of the Balkan peninsula. Compared to other settlements on the Western Black Sea coast, such as Histria (located near the contemporary Istria in Romania) or Apollonia Pontica (Sozopol), which had a leading position in sea travel in Antiquity, Mesembria and especially Anchialos find often place in the narratives of the Byzantine historiography concerning the Early Middle Ages. This fact and the results of archaeological research enable us to formulate some theories about the role and the capacity of the harbours in Anchialos and Mesembria.

The Campaigns

One of the reasons for traveling to the Roman and Early Byzantine Anchialos was the near bath complex of *Aquae Calidae*. The *thermae* are marked on the late antique *Tabula Peutingeriana* and have an image near them (fig. 2). Except for Constantinople, this one is the largest among the images of the presented Eastern Balkan settlements. This stresses the role of the facilities of *Aquae Calidae* for the travelers both by land and sea. The bath complex is situated in the modern suburbs of Burgas and excavations have been taking place there since 2009. 86 classical coins were found in the pool. They originate from the Balkans, the entire Black Sea region and the Aegean. Nevertheless, the Byzantine coins have not been published

1. Arrian, *Periplus*, 25, 5 (86, 7-8).
2. Diller 1952.

yet. In spite of the importance of the thermae, the settlement around them lacked any type of fortification for a long period of time. According to Procopius, they were protected with a wall during the reign of Justinian I³. However, this defensive structure could not stop the Avar Chagan Bayan, whose troops devastated the region in 583/584. The Avars burned down the near villages and the church dedicated to the Holy Martyr Alexander and encircled the city. Nevertheless, the bath complex of *Aquae Calidae* had another fate. Theophylaktos Simokattes tells that it was sacked by the Avars, but it was spared by the Chagan. The reason was the request of his wives who had taken a bath there and noted the quality of the water⁴. In 586 and 592 Anchialos was basis of the Byzantine counterstrike against the Avars. The second campaign was lead by the emperor Maurice himself. A storm in the Sea of Marmara forced him to take the land road from Constantinople through Herakleia and Hadrianopolis to Anchialos⁵. The history of Simokattes contains no direct information about the city harbour or its function during the wars with the Avars. Anchialos was the most important city harbour in Northern Thrace and it was not chosen by accident for a basis for the Byzantine campaign on the Balkans. The fastest and easiest way to supply the imperial army was by sea and last but not least the Avars were no threat for the Byzantine navy. Therefore is to suppose a ruling role for the harbour of Anchialos in the imperial logistics at that time.

Some 100 years after these events Byzantium was forced to face the attacks of another people coming from the North. These were the Protobulgarians. In 680 Constantine IV undertook a campaign against them. After some days in which both armies stood against each other without any of them attacking the enemy, the emperor left the battlefield north from the Danube and sailed with five dromons to Mesembria⁶. The reason for him doing so was a disease - he suffered from gout (podagra) - and had to take a healing bath. The Potobulgarians used his departure and defeated the Byzantine army. As a result they established their state in the territories between the Lower Danube and the Balkan mountains.

Thanks to its strategical position and the proximity to the center of the new state which was located beyond the passes of the Eastern Balkan mountains, Anchialos was to play an important role in the Byzantine wars with Bulgaria in the 8th century. In 708 the emperor Justinian II undertook a campaign against the Bulgarian Chan Tervel. The basis of this expedition was Anchialos. According to the information which Theophanes gives us, the Byzantine navy didn't anchor in the harbour, but in front of the city walls. The cavalry built a camp at the fields around the city, but because of the emperor not being carefull, it suffered a bitter defeat and had to move behind the walls. Some days after that Justinian embarked his forces at night and left the harbour and the city of Anchialos ashamed⁷.

In 763 Constantine V organized another expedition against Bulgaria. The emperor himself traveled by land, but at the same time he sent in the Black Sea 800 chelandia (transport ships), its one of which carrying a cargo of 12 horses. Like Maurice did some 170 years ago, Constantine built his camp in front of the city walls of Anchialos⁸. From Theophanes' narrative it is not possible to conclude where did the transported cavalry embark. The next huge sea expedition, which was organized by Constantine V, could offer a suggestion in this point. In the summer of 766 he equiped another army, which was to be transported to the battlefield by

3. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, 111, 7, 20-3.

4. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, 47, 3-11.

5. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, 218, 12-4 and 220, 18-27-225, 1-12.

6. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 358, 27-30.

7. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 376, 13-20 and 28-9.

8. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 432, 29-30 and 433, 1-5.

2,600 chelandia⁹. The Byzantine objective was Achelos, a river between Mesembria and Anchialos. Theophanes and the Patriarch Nicephorus report that the ships dropped anchor in front of the steep coast¹⁰. Nicephorus tells us also the reason for this strange decision - the place was *alimenos* (without harbour) and caused to the sailors great troubles¹¹. Suddenly a severe northern wind started blowing; it destroyed the ships and a lot of soldiers drowned¹². Although the above mentioned ship numbers are exaggerated and can not be taken for granted, they indicate the capacity of the harbours in Anchialos and Mesembria, which couldn't take in a numerous fleet. In time for military expeditions by sea the navy didn't enter the local harbour, but dropped anchor either in the sea or at the coastline. In this way it had to stay away from the protection of the harbour and was exposed to different dangers. The disaster with the navy in 766 gives a good example in this direction. When it was a matter of smaller units, such as Constanine's 5 dromons, the sources call the city by name. This is a hint that these smaller units used the local harbours.

The harbours of Anchialos and Mesembria (localization)

The existing Byzantine written sources don't contain any information about the localization and the topography of the Early and Middle Byzantine harbours of Mesembria and Anchialos. Some possible conclusions concerning this topic could be made thanks to the archaeological research at the coastline. The antique and medieval harbour of Mesembria have already been localized. Near the southern harbour is preserved a part of the city wall which protected both the gate to the harbour and the city itself from attacks by sea. It is hard to say more about the harbour structure, because the old harbours lie under the sea level and there are modern facilities located at their place (fig. 3).

Far more difficult is to determine the medieval topography of Anchialos. Apart from one part of the late medieval walls there are no other remainings of the Roman and Byzantine city. It was situated partially in the region called "Paleokastro" where the contemporary new neighbourhood of Pomorie lies (fig. 4). The archaeological excavations - yet not quite advanced - have researched some buildings, a section of the street system, coins, seals and Byzantine and Bulgarian ceramics. In the late 80es a new approach was made thanks to the initiative of Mihail Lazarov. The scholars tried to determine the trace of the Roman and Byzantine fortifications and to localize the ancient harbour by well using electrical resistivity tomography. With the help of this geophysical technique they detected the western and parts of the southern and northern section of the city walls. Nevertheless, the trace of the eastern wall remains uncertain and hypothetical. The same refers for those parts of the other sections which have sunk under the sea level or lie nowadays in the salt lake of Pomorie. The archaeologists suppose that it is there, on the lake, where the Roman and Early and Middle Byzantine harbour of Anchialos lies¹³.

It becomes clear from the presented information that the harbours of Anchialos and Mesembria played an important role in Byzantine logistics during the wars, which the empire was forced to wage against Avars and Bulgarians from the 6th until the late 8th century. In most of the cases the harbours are mentioned in connection with transport activities carried out by Byzantine sea vessels (chelandia),

9. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 437, 19-21.

10. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 437, 21-2; Mango 1990, 156, 11-2.

11. Mango 1990, 156, 12-3.

12. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 437, 22-3; Mango 1990, 156, 14-6.

13. Stoev 1989, 37-40. (The city wall of ancient Anchialos was traced with the help of geophysical methods).

which had to supply or deliver troops - most often cavalry - from the region of the Straits to the Northern Thrace. Military ships (dromons) are named only once - in the narrative about the battle between the Byzantine forces and the Protobulgarians in 680 north from the Danube delta. Compared to the Northern Thracian coastline in the 8th century which was controlled by Byzantium, the area of the delta was dominated by the enemy, in this case the Protobulgarians. This fact explains why Constantine IV took military ships for his expedition, something which is not attested in Byzantine campaigns south from the Balkan mountains.

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Harbours on the Western Black Sea Coast and the Byzantine campaigns against the Avars and Bulgarians from the 6th until the 8th century

Simeonov Grigori

Abstract:

This paper discusses the role of the harbours of Anchialos (Pomorie) and Mesembria (Nesebăr) during the Byzantine campaigns against Avars and Bulgarians from the late 6th until the end of the 8th century. Both cities were important stations in Late Roman sea travel - a fact which determined their leading position during the wars between Byzantium and the new invaders who attacked the Balkan provinces after Justinian's death in 565. That's the reason why the majority of the literary sources from the Early and the Middle Byzantine period such as Theophylactus Simokattes, Theophanes and Patriarch Nicephorus mention Anchialos and Mesembria predominantly in connection with the confrontation between Byzantium on the one hand and Avars and Bulgarians on the other. Both cities especially Anchialos had a leading role in Byzantine logistics in times of war on the Eastern Balkans from the late 6th century on. Nevertheless the information of the written sources indicates that the harbour capacity of these cities was too small for military needs and they couldn't take in a whole navy sent from Constantinople. According to this the Byzantine army had to disembark in front of the city walls and outside the protection of the harbour. This peculiarity sometimes had fatal results for the Byzantine campaigns against the enemy.



Fig. 1: Gulf of Burgas.

Fig. 2: Tabula Peutingeriana.

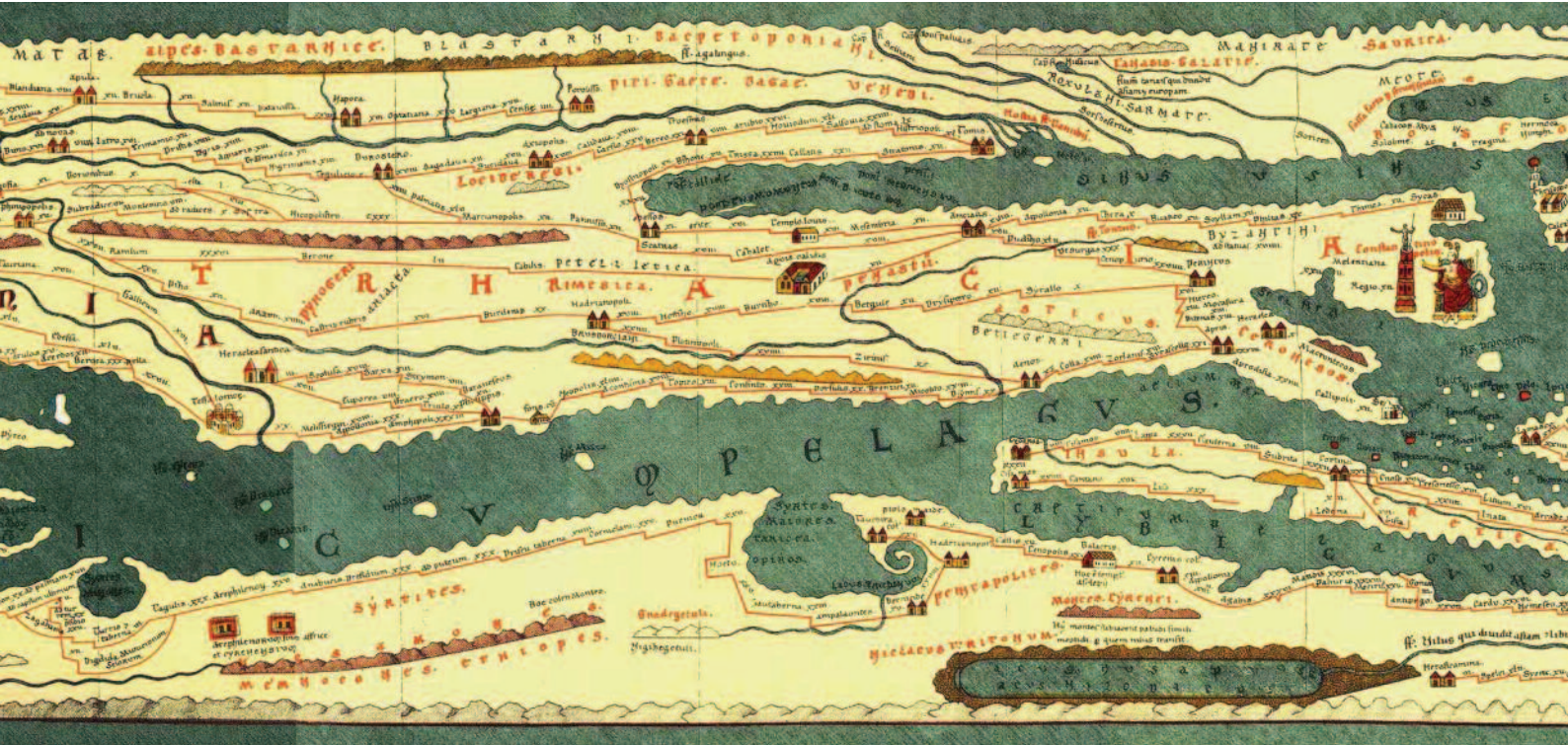
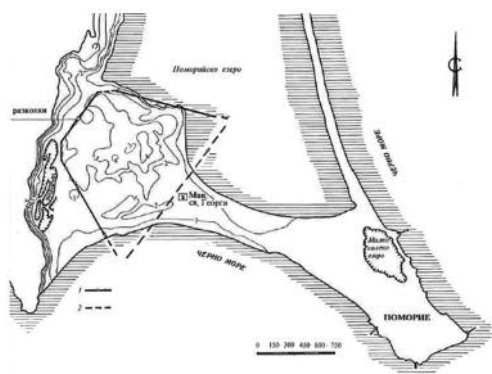




Fig. 3: Nesebar.

Fig. 4: Paleokastro - Geophysics (photo from: Stoev 1989, 38-9).



Written sources on Byzantine ports in the Crimea from the fourth to seventh century

Aibabin Alexandr

Laconic accounts of written sources document that between the fourth and the seventh century Crimea had two large ports in the cities of Bosporos (fig. 1) and Cherson and a harbour in the Bay of Symbols (Balaklava). The anonymous author of the *Periplous of Pontos Euxeinos* lists Theodosia among the Pontic cities, though ancient Theodosia was ruined in the fourth century. Archaeological excavations have uncovered there only the finds from Classical, Genoese, and Ottoman periods. The layers of the fourth-century destruction were overlaid by thick sterile layer; above, there was a layer containing fragments of glazed pottery, amphorae and coins from the 1340s-1380s or the fourteenth century. In M. V. Agbunov's opinion, the book known as "*Anonymous Periplous*" and usually dated to the fifth century is an enlarged version of the *Periplous* compiled by Arrian, so its main contents originates from the second century¹. M. V. Skrzhinskaya has provided well-reasoned arguments to date the *Periplous* to the early sixth century². We might explain the appearance of Theodosia in the *Periplous* by an anonymous author of Ravenna from the late seventh century in result of his uncritical compilation of early *periploi*³.

The port of Pantikapaion was established by Greek colonists from Miletos in the sixth century BC on the side of the strait connecting the Pontos and the Maiotis (fig. 2). The port of Chersonesos was constructed in the fifth century BC by the Greeks from Herakleia Pontika on the side of the Karantinnaya Bay, which was sheltered from all the sea winds. It provided a very convenient station for ancient Greek and Byzantine ships. The harbour on the side of deep and twisting Bay of Symbols was first mentioned by Strabo (ca. 64/63 BC - ca. 23/24 AD), Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD), and the second-century *Periplous* by Arrian⁴.

Written sources and archaeological surveys materials supply enough evidences that the city of Chersonesos and the Harbour of Symbols (fig. 3) were annexed by the Eastern Roman Empire in the second half of the fourth century⁵. In the fourth and fifth century the name of Chersonesos remained the same as in the ancient period, though historians from the sixth century and later called the city Cherson. This city port was the ending of maritime trade routes from Constantinople and other Byzantine ports in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. Although Cherson was close to Constantinople by sea, Procopius localizes Cherson "*at the extremity of the Roman Empire*"⁶.

The ports of Chersonesos and Bosporos developed economical contacts with the new imperial capital. In rhetorician Themistios' words, Bosporos and Chersonesos belonged to the most important suppliers of grain to Constantinople in the early 360s⁷. Zosimos informs us that Julian's nephew, Procopius, hid in Chersonesos after

1. Агбунов 1987, 13-4.

2. Скржинская 1980, 115, 120, 124.

3. Рекканеп 1979, 111-4.

4. Сарновский, Савеля 2000, 29.

5. Кулаковский, Сони 1996, 377. XXVI. 10. 8; Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle, II, IV. 5. 2. 266; Oxford Dictionary 1731.

6. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, 100-1. III.7.10; Procopius, *De bello Persico*, 57. I.12.7; Dagron 2000, 289-301.

7. Dagron 1968, 25; 1974, 531-2.

the failed plot against Valens and escaped from its port to Constantinople in 365 by taking a passing ship⁸. In 366, Phronemios, guilty of Procopius' treason, was banished to the city.

The *Theodosian Code* contains a novel informing about shipbuilding in Chersonesos. In September 419, emperors Honorios and Theodosios II published a decree freeing the Chersonesites from punishment for the betraying of the secrets of shipbuilding to the barbarians, because of the petition of the bishop of their city, Asklepiades⁹.

There is an inscription from Chersonesos from 488 AD¹⁰, indicating that emperor Zeno (474-491) transferred the government of this city to Byzantine officials. The garrison of Cherson was subordinated to the *vicar*, ad hoc officer, at the commander of the army (*magister militum*) stationed in the province of Thrace¹¹. Apart from other duties, this *vicariate* governed the *πρακτεῖον*, or customs, which collected taxes and duties particularly from merchant ships. These means were used to support *ballistarii* and to repair fortress walls. The mentioned inscription states that the *vicariate* and *prakteion* were headed by *komes* Diogenes, who represented the imperial administration. He obviously was supreme military and civil commander in the city¹². From the fact that the customs existed in this city, we might infer that the latter was included into the Byzantine trade network. Zacharias the Rhetorician informs that Monophysite patriarch Timothy Ailouros, who was banished to Cherson in the early 460s, still kept contacts with his supporters in Tomis and in the cities of Syria and Egypt¹³. Most likely, these contacts were performed by passing merchant ships.

The fifth-century inscriptions from Kerch and the Taman peninsula allow us to suppose that the Bosporan kingdom kept its independence until the late fifth century¹⁴. There is an inscription about a building discovered in Kerch and dated to 483 AD by Yu. G. Vinogradov; it mentions king Douptounos, a representative of the local dynasty of Tiberii Julii, as well as *komes* Sauagos and other supreme officials at the royal court. Yu. G. Vinogradov has provided well-reasoned arguments that the name of the same official, *komes* Sauagos, occurs in other inscriptions from Kerch and the Taman peninsula¹⁵. The latest of them is the inscription on a wall of a catacomb constructed in 491/2 AD¹⁶.

Written sources supply ambiguous evidences on the Byzantine annexation of Bosporos in the first decades of the sixth century.

The chronicle of Zacharias, the Rhetorician of Mitylene, finished in 569, tells that emperor Justin I (517-527) sent Probos on an embassy to the Huns "in order to hire some of them to meet the nations in war"¹⁷. According to Procopius, Justin I in 522 sent Patrikios Probos to Bosporos with a great sum of money in order to establish *symmachia* (alliance) with the neighbouring Huns and send them to wage war against the Persians in Iberia. This mission failed¹⁸.

Procopius suggests several versions of the Byzantine annexation of Bosporos in different books of his history of the wars. In the first volume of his "*Persian War*", he

8. Zosime 1979, II, IV. 5. 2. 266.

9. *Codex Theodosiani* MCCCCV, libri XVI, IX, 40, 24.

10. Латышев 1896, 10-5. №7.

11. Цукерман 1994/95, 559-60.

12. Ajbabin 2010, 397.

13. Hamilton, Brooks 1899, 79-80.

14. Виноградов 1998, 244-5; Айбабин 1999, 78; Ajbabin 2011, 70.

15. Виноградов 1998, 234-40.

16. Кулаковский 1891, 4.

17. Пигулевская 2011, 398, 596.

18. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, book I, XII, 6, 7.

mentions the Bosphorians, who had been autonomous since ancient time, but lately decided to become subject to the emperor Justinian I¹⁹, though the second volume of the “*Persian War*” discusses how Justinian I (527-565) annexed Bosphoros that was subject of the Huns²⁰. Moreover, the account of the reign of Justinian I in the book of the “*Gothic War*” states that the city of Bosphoros was subordinate by Romans not so long ago²¹. In the book of the “*Buildings*,” Procopius characterized the achievements of Justinian I: “*He strengthened the defences of Bosphoros particularly, which in ancient times had been a barbarous city lying under the power of the Huns, but which he himself had brought under Roman sway*”²². Therefore, we can see that the mentioned works by Procopius call Bosphoros both an independent city and a subject to the Huns, who roamed in steppes between Chersonesos and Bosphoros, near the Pontos and the Maiotis.

Contemporaries of Procopius, John Malalas (ca. 491-578) and John of Ephesus (507-586), have described how the leader of the Huns, who lived near Bosphoros, Gordas, arrived in Constantinople, was baptised there and returned to Bosphoros²³. The account of that event, according to John Malalas, was reproduced in the chronicles of John of Nikia²⁴ and Theophanes²⁵, as well as in the “*Sagas*” of Landulfus²⁶ and in “*Synopsis Historion*” of George Kedrenos²⁷. The second part of John of Ephesus’ “*History*” is included into works of Pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Machre and Michael the Syrian²⁸. Gordas arrived in Constantinople in the first year of Justinian I’s reign according to Malalas, though according to John of Ephesus it was in 534. In Malalas’ words, the emperor himself stood sponsor for the Hun and after bestowing many gifts upon him sent him away to his home country to guard the Roman territory and Bosphoros. The emperor stationed in the city a troop of Roman soldiers, who were Italians called Spaniards, under a *tribune*. The city of Bosphoros was a place of transactions between Romans and Huns. After Gordas returned to his country, he melted down Hunnic idols of silver and electrum and exchanged them for *miliaresia* in Bosphoros. The Hunnic priests were furious, so they incited the Huns to kill Gordas. His brother Mougel came to power. The Huns seized Bosphoros and destroyed its Byzantine garrison. The emperor dispatched to Bosphoros a squadron with a troop of Goths under the command of *apohypatos* John, the *komes* of the Straits of the Pontos Euxeinos, by sea and, simultaneously, sent Godilas and *stratelates* Badourias, the *strategos* of Thrace, against the Huns by land from Odysopolis. On hearing that the Byzantines are coming, the Huns fled from the city, which was taken by the *Romaion* army. Theophanes and Malalas date these events to 527/528²⁹.

In result of the mentioned events, the ports that formerly belonged to the Bosphoran kingdom were annexed by the Byzantine Empire. The text of a building inscription from the Taman peninsula, dated by V.V. Latyshev to 533³⁰, informs about the establishment of the self-government in the city of Bosphoros. According to D. Feissel, this inscription mentions *tribune* Angoulates and a *pater civitatis* (*pater tes poleos*). D. Feissel has supposed that *tribune* Angoulates was Isaurian by origin. From the fourth century on the *pater civitatis* in Byzantine self-government super-

19. Procopius. *De Bello Persico*, Book XII, 8.

20. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, book II, III, 40.

21. Procopius. *De Bello Gotico*. Book VIII, V, 26.

22. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, III, VII,10-12.

23. John Malalas, *Chronografia*, fr. 432, 250-1; Кулаковский 1891, 26-7; Пигулевская 2011, 310-1.

24. Charles 1916, 141, 66.

25. Чичуров 1980, 51, 79, 80.

26. Landulfus 1877, 369.

27. Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, I, 644-65.

28. Пигулевская 2011, 216, 310-1.

29. Чичуров 1980, 50, 51; John Malalas, *Chronografia*, fr. 431-3, 250, 251; Charles 1916, 141.

30. Латышев 1894, 567-9.

vised over public works and was responsible for military depots³¹. The city became an important Byzantine port on the side of the Strait of Bosphoros, where the roads to North Caucasus, Caspian steppes, Western Turkish khanate and China passed. Justinian I ordered the destroyed walls of the city of Bosphoros to be reinforced³².

The materials uncovered by archaeological excavations supply evidences that former urban planning and limits of Bosphoros survived. T. I. Makarova has discovered in the seaside part of the city remains of a basilica church (baptismal font and water well), which was probably built under Justinian I³³. Bosphoros imported various types of amphorae, red-slip and glass vessels from many Mediterranean and Black Sea centres³⁴. Apart from trade, metal-working and ship-building Bosphoros kept traditional branch of its economy, industrial fishing and fish-processing. Fishers probably lived in the seaside area of the city, not far from the port (fig. 4). In that very area, at the foot of Mitridat hill, close to the house of the Kerch Historical and Archaeological Preserve, in 2007-2008, the team of the Crimean Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies uncovered sites of residential and industrial buildings in three houses of fishmongers, dated to the sixth century. Excavation of one of these houses unearthed a fish-salting cistern, plastered with dark-pink *opus signinum*.

Cherson was a large port of transit located at the shortest sea route from Byzantium, which started in the port of Sinope. Menander describes how the Byzantines sailed along that route. In 576 Tiberios, in order to get assistance from the Turks in the war with Persia that resumed in 573, sent them an embassy with Valentine at the head. This embassy sailed on ships through Sinope to Chersonesos and thence by sea along the southern coast of the Crimea to Bosphoros³⁵. In Jordanes' words, Cherson received goods delivered by Asian merchants³⁶.

In 576, the Turks and their allies Utigurs³⁷ seized Bosphoros³⁸, burning and destroying urban quarters on Mitridat hill and in the coastal area; in 581, they menaced Cherson. A fragment of inscription discovered at the southern defensive wall: "*This wall [or tower] was built ... under [our most pious masters Justin] and Sophia... and under [works]... of the doux [of Cherson]... his serene highness Theagenes*"³⁹ documents the appearance of the *doux* in this city⁴⁰. In frontier areas, *doux* commanded local army and headed civil administration⁴¹. Obviously, the mentioned events forced the administration of Justin II (565-578) to rearrange the government of the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea and to strengthen the defences of Cherson. An inscription from Taman peninsula informs that *stratelates* and *doux* of Cherson, Eupaterios by name, restored a "*kaisar's house*" in Bosphoros⁴². This document informs that the imperial power was restored in Bosphoros and the imperial possessions in the Crimean peninsula were governed by single administration of the *doux* of Cherson⁴³.

However, the quarters in the city of Bosphoros remained not restored throughout the seventh century. My excavations in the city centre discovered that only one of the three burnt down houses was restored. A Christian cemetery was arranged

31. Feissel 1987, 219-20; 2004, 105; Ajbabin 2011, 86.

32. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, III, VII, 10, 12-3.

33. Макарова 1991, 140.

34. Айбабин 1999, 105; Смокотина 2008, 103-123; Смокотина 2009, 132-56.

35. Blockley 1985, fr. 19, 1. 171, 173, 275; Айбабин 1999, 134.

36. Jordanis, *Romana et Getika*, V, 37.

37. Кулаковский 1896, 12-4.

38. Blockley 1985, fr. 19, 1. 171, 173, 179.

39. Соломоник 1986, 213-4.

40. Цукерман 1994/1995, 560.

41. Jones 1973, 282-3, 567.

42. Латышев 1894, 671-2.

43. Ajbabin 2011, 89-90.

on the side of Mitridat hill and above the ruins of the fishmongers' quarter mentioned above. They continued to salt fish in cisterns located in the maritime area of the city⁴⁴.

According to scant accounts of written sources, the seventh-century Chersonesos remained the main Byzantine port city in the Crimea keeping wide trade connections. These connections are also documented by the seventh-century seals of Byzantine *kommerkiarioi* discovered in Cherson, including the seal of the general *kommerkarios* of the *apotheke* of Constantinople from 688/689⁴⁵. A letter written by Roman Pope Martin I informs us that the empire imported salt from the city⁴⁶.

Cherson was a place where delinquents were sent to exile by sea. According to the *scholia* on the *Life of Euprepios* (died in 655) and Theodoros (died in 667) in the *Collectanea* by Anastasios the Librarian from the ninth century⁴⁷, they were banished to Cherson. In 655 Pope Martin was exiled to Cherson⁴⁸.

Theophanes, Nikephoros and Ananias of Širak inform of the Khazar expansion into the Pontic steppe between 660 and 665⁴⁹. Nikephoros wrote that the Khazars “invaded with complete impunity” all the settlements at the Pontos⁵⁰. There is a thick layer of conflagration with a coin from 654-659 discovered in the seaside part of the Bosporan own, informing about the *terminus post quem* for the Khazar invasion to the northern Black Sea area. The date of this fire corresponds to the “*Armenian Geography*” account that the Khazars occupied the northern Black Sea area before 665⁵¹.

From the information of Theophanes⁵² and Nikephoros⁵³ on the events related to Justinian II's exile to Cherson in 695, we might reasonably suppose that the Khazars conquered almost all the Crimea. Theophanes mentions Papatzys, the governor of Phanagoreia and Balgitzis, the *archon* of Bosporos⁵⁴. Nikephoros refers to the governor of Phanagoreia as the “*archon of his [khagan's] tribesmen*”⁵⁵. A. A. Vasiliev has considered that the terms ὁ ἐκ προσώπου and ἄρχων are Greek interpretations of Turkish term *tudun*⁵⁶. The word Βαλγίτζις is Turkish, with its etymology derived from Turkish *Bulgi (Bolgi)tsi, Balgichi*, “governor”⁵⁷. The tenth-century Khazar-Hebrew document from Cambridge calls the *khagan's* governor of the Asiatic Bosporos BWLSSY (*balıqci*). He also was HMQR (*hapaqid*) and this Hebrew word signifies the “commander of a troop or a garrison”⁵⁸. The cited sources are unequivocal about the Khazar occupation of the port cities of Bosporos and Phanagoreia, so they established control over the Strait of Bosporos, the most important section of the way from Byzantium to the Azov Sea and thence to Asia.

The port town of Sudak was first mentioned in the “*Cosmography*” by an anonymous author of Ravenna from the late seventh century under the name of “Sugdaion” (from Greek Sougdaia)⁵⁹. The Sougdoi probably migrated to the southeastern Crimea in the last quarter of the seventh century being pressed by the

44. Макарова 1991, 140-1.

45. Соколова 1991, 205-6, 208, № 10, № 26.

46. Бородин 1991, 179, 187.

47. Шестаков 1908, 120; Vasiliev 1936, 78; Migne 1864, CXXIX, 684

48. Бородин 1991, 179.

49. Цукерман 2001, 330-2.

50. Nikephoros 1990, 88-9.

51. Newsen 1992, 55; Айбабин 2000, 169. Aibabin 2006, 33, 35, fig. 2; Ajbabin 2011, 170-1, Abb. 54-6.

52. Mango, Scott 1997, 519-23.

53. Nikephoros 1990, 106-9.

54. Чичуров 1980, 39/62,63.

55. Чичуров 1980, 155/163; Mango 1990, § 42, 20.

56. Vasiliev 1936, 84, 85; Чичуров 1980, 129-30.

57. Pritsak 1949, 99; Dunlop 1954, 172; Minorsky 1960, 130-7; Golb, Pritsak 1982, 137-8; Zuckerman 1995, 256.

58. Golb, Pritsak 1982, 116-7.

59. Ravennatis anonyimi, p. 175; Васильевский 1915, CXLV.

Khazars. It was the Byzantine name of the Adygians, who lived at the lower reaches of the Kuban river. They established trading and industrial settlement of Sougdaia on the seacoast. The earliest in Sudak is a seal from 696/697, of Kyriakos, *apohypatos* and general *kommerkiarios* and general *logothetes* of Constantinople⁶⁰. In the first half of the eight century the dynamically growing economy of the eastern Crimea made Sougdaia an important Khazar port in the area. They probably created their customs in the city in the early eight century. There are more than 400 Byzantine seals from the eighth to twelfth century discovered in the water area of the port. V. S. Shandrovskaia has published the mentioned seal of Kyriakos and those of general *kommerkiarioi* of the *apothekai* of Honorias, Paphlagonia and of the Pontic coast imperial *balnitor* Anastases and *hypatos* John from the period of the joint reign of Leo III and Constantine V in 720-741, as well as of the “*imperial kommerkia of the eparchies in Opsikion, protected by God*” from 745/746⁶¹, supplying information that Sougdaia was conducting direct trading with Constantinople and Byzantine ports in the Asia Minor.

Translated from Russian by Nikita Khrapunov

60. Шандровская 1995, 120-1.

61. Sandrovskaja 1993, 86-90. Шандровская 1995, 120-2.

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Written sources on Byzantine ports in the Crimea from the fourth to seventh century

Aibabin Alexandr

Abstract:

Laconic accounts of written sources document that the fourth-seventh century Crimea had two large ports in the cities of Bosporos and Cherson and a harbour in the Bay of Symbols (Balaklava).

The city of Chersonesos and the Harbour of Symbols were annexed by the Eastern Roman empire in the second half of the fourth century. Historians from the sixth century and later called the city Cherson.

Written sources supply ambiguous evidences on the Byzantine annexation of Bosporos in the first decades of the sixth century. The city became an important Byzantine port on the side of the Strait of Bosporos, where the roads to North Caucasus, Caspian steppes, Western Turkish khanate and China passed.

In 576, the Turks and their allies Utigurs seized Bosporos, burning and destroying urban quarters on Mitridat hill and in the coastal area; in 581, they menaced Cherson. The imperial power was restored in Bosporos and the imperial possessions in the Crimean peninsula were governed by single administration of the doux of Cherson.

Theophanes, Nikephoros, and Ananias of Širak inform of the Khazar expansion into the Pontic steppe between 660 and 665. We might reasonably suppose that the Khazars conquered almost all the Crimea.

The port town of Sudak was first mentioned in the "*Cosmography*" by an anonymous author of Ravenna from the late seventh century under the name of "Sugdabon" (from Greek Sougdaia). In the first half of the eighth century, dynamically growing economy of the eastern Crimea made Sougdaia an important Khazar port in the area.

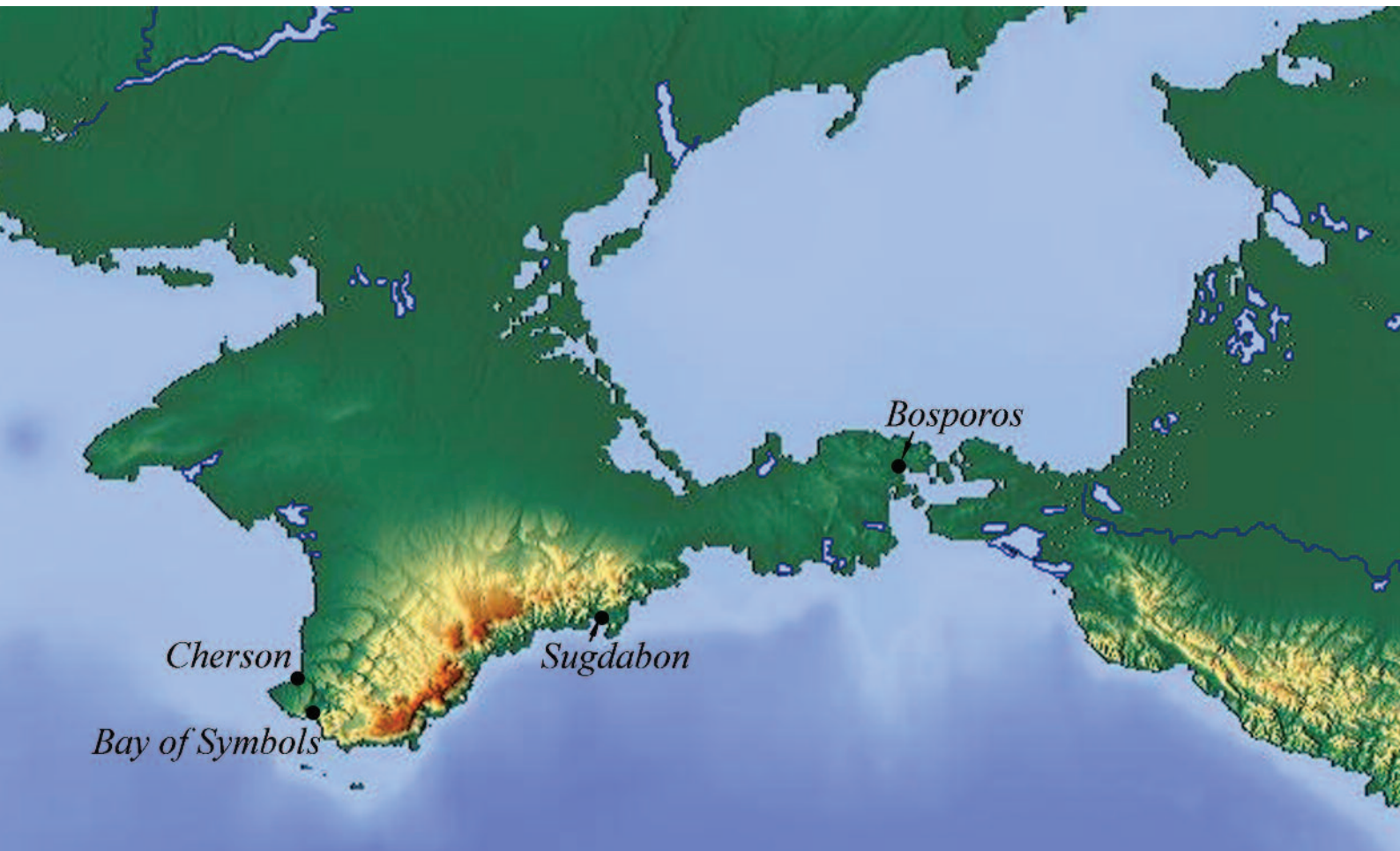


Fig. 1: Byzantine Ports in the Crimea from the Fourth to Seventh Century. Cherson, Bosphoros, Bay of Symbols (Balaklava) - ports IV - VII centuries; Sugdabon (Sudak) - port the end of the VII century.

Fig. 2: Port of Bosphorus (Kerch).

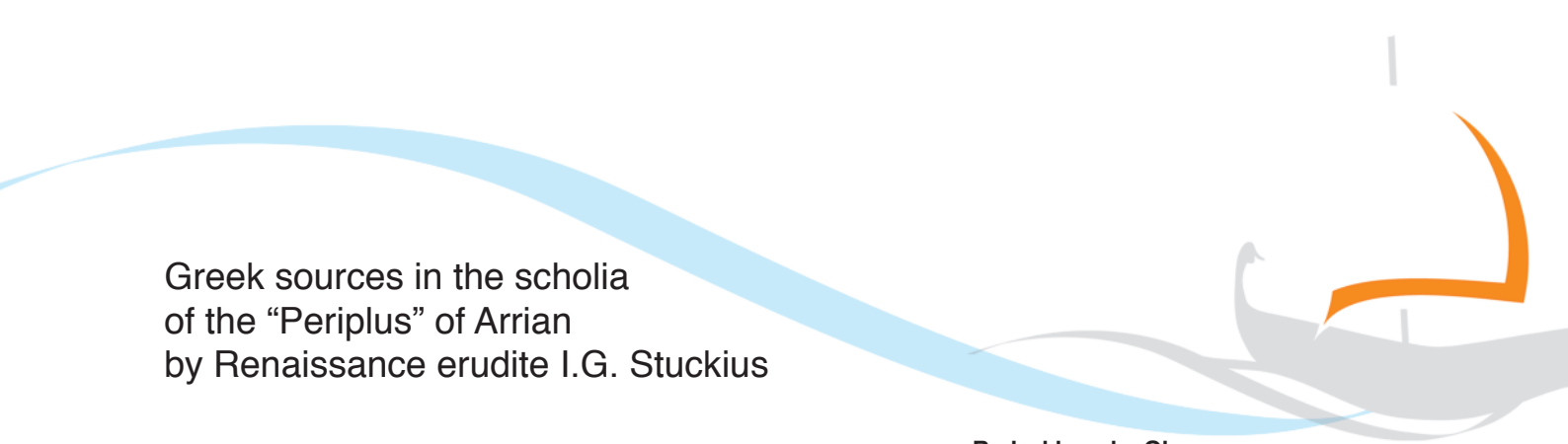




Fig. 3: Port in a bay of Symbols (Balaklava).

Fig. 4: House of the fisherman of the sixth century (Bosporus).





Greek sources in the scholia of the “Periplus” of Arrian by Renaissance erudite I.G. Stuckius

Radzykhovska Olena

Ancient Greek colonization of the Northern Black Sea coast is the first page of the civilization of the region. In the course of the subsequent historical periods, Greek settlements in a number of cases have become the basis for the formation of the local network. Research on the geography of ancient settlements situated on the Northern Black Sea coast has an old tradition. The literature entered in a fruitful phase about 180 years ago, and nevertheless the question is a notoriously controversial subject.

The writings on this theme contain a mass of material drawn from narrative sources, archaeological excavations and ancient geographic maps. As a result of this work much has been learnt about the subject, but the main focus was, and is, the coordination of different data. It is therefore reasonable to turn to the origins of the study of historical and geographic realities of the Euxine and try to understand its starting point.

Such is the work of I. G. Stuckius (1521-1607), an outstanding Renaissance Swiss scholar. He was the first scientist to make an attempt to translate and explain the “*Periplus Ponti Euxini*” by Arrian, using antique, Byzantine, medieval and Renaissance data on Pontus. It is known, that in 131 Arrian (ca. 89 - ca. 175 AD) was appointed governor of the Black Sea province of Cappadocia and commander of the Roman legions on the frontier with Armenia. He wrote a short account of a tour of inspection of the Black Sea coast in the traditional “periplus” form (i.e. “circumnavigation”) addressed to the Emperor Hadrian. Arrian wrote his work for practical purposes. He had to familiarize Hadrian with the Black Sea coasts and give him a good guide, “*bringing together information of purely geographic, military and administrative nature with some of the most interesting data of antique and historical sort*”¹.

Stuckius decided to translate into Latin this unique monument of Roman geographic literature, written in Greek, on the advice of his teacher I. Simler (1530-1576), mathematician, astronomer and Protestant theologian who lived and worked in his hometown of Zurich. This he tells himself, adding to the introductory remarks his high appreciation of the importance and diversity of the information contained in the “*Periplus*”: “*This Greek letter from Arrian to Adrian is short ..., but... contains profusely ... many useful things in historical and philosophical sense, and therefore it is worth to be known, for which reason I am happy to follow the advice of my teacher, Mr. Josiah Simler ... so, I decided not only to translate it into Latin, but also to provide it with explanations ...*”².

Thus, the Swiss scholar had not just translated the text of Arrian, but carried out a much larger work. His text sums a significant amount of knowledge about the Euxine accumulated by that time in humanistic environment in Western Europe. It is a kind of chorography, i.e. a detailed description of the entire Black Sea region and its memorable places.

1. Ростовцев 1925, 64.
2. Stuckius 1577, 1.

Structurally, Stuckius' work includes the following elements:

- 1) Letter of dedication to a certain Gebhart Schellenberg
- 2) List of authors whose competence the Zurich scholar resorted to while writing his work (*Catalogus authorum*)
- 3) Map of the Euxine (fig. 1, infra)
- 4) Letter from Arrian to Adrian (in Greek and Latin versions)
- 5) Praise in verses in Greek and Latin to Stuckius himself
- 6) Comments, or, as they used to be called by that time, scholia
- 7) Index of memorable things to the "*Periplus*" (*Rerum memorabilium in toto periplus Pontis Euxini comprehensarum, index ...*)
- 8) Index of geographic names (*Index ... periplus Ponti Euxini Geographica continens*).

The biggest part of the work are the scholia, where Stuckius tried to give a full explanation of the Black Sea historical and geographical realities, relying on his knowledge of biblical, antique, medieval Western European and Byzantine texts, and on a series of the newest writings. On his quest to understand the whole complex, he takes as guides antique authors, which is eloquently expressed at the beginning of the work: "*Just like in ancient times the Argonauts were led by excellent and glorious leaders, so was I, and being led by Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, Mela, Plinius, Solinus, Ammianus, and others, both ancient and modern historians, I carefully examined the sea and the neighbouring area*"³.

Apparently, the conclusions and observations suggested in the scholia made an impression on Stuckius' contemporaries, who called him "Polyhistor", i.e. widely educated scholar. In the eulogy, anticipating the text of the work, a certain Lambert Daneus calls him a man restoring the old names and returning to the new locations their former names, an excellent connoisseur of the Euxine ports, similar to which cannot be found even among the sailors:

*"... Tu renovas illis veteres urbesque finisque;
Atque novos veteri nomine restituis...
Nam maris Euxini portus ac oppida pingis,
Certior ut nullus navita scire velit..."*

For years, the writing by I.G. Stuckius - especially as it regards publication and translation into Latin of the text of Arrian - remained exemplary, so that when, after more than 250 years in Odessa A. Fabre decides to translate Arrian into Russian, he would refer to the text of the Swiss scholar⁴. Stuckius divides the whole text into two parts: the introduction (*procemium*) and the main part (*reliquum ipsius epistolae corpus*).

In the introduction one can see that his narrative unfolds according to a certain logic, the principles of which are defined very clearly. In his judgment, first of all it is necessary to characterize two personalities - Arrian, who wrote the letter, and the Emperor Hadrian, to which it is addressed. After having paid due attention to the persons, Stuckius goes to general theoretical considerations about the subject and the methods of description of the Euxine and the surrounding lands.

3. Stuckius 1577, 5.

4. Фабр 1838.

This is followed by a kind of “problem statement”: Stuckius intends to consider the names of the Euxine, its origin, evolution, boundaries, form and shape, quality, quantity, climatic conditions, the nature of the Pontian peoples, their talents, habits and especially the political status of the kingdom of Mithridates, and finally, the question of religion. Reflecting about the etymology of the word “Pontus” as the name of the sea, the scholar seeks to give full details and uses not only geographic, historical, theological works, but also antique myths and literature. However, he is not limited to book science. It is known that in 1567 he traveled to Italy to hear Guido Panzioli, a famous professor at the University of Padua.

While in Padua (1567-1568), he could have seen the works of Ptolemy, geographic maps and Venetian portolan charts, as well as contacted with local sailors. The Swiss scholar, obviously, used the method, which nowadays is called “oral history”, as in the text there are many references to the experience of practitioners - sailors.

So, arguing about the reason due to which the sea is called “Black”, he writes: *“In fact, as it is taught by the experience itself, the Pont is often covered with such a thick fog, that outlines of the coast are hidden, so that the pilot, who is in the stern, cannot see the bow of the ship. Of course, for this reason Arrian and today’s sailors call it simply the Black Sea”*⁵.

Concluding the reflection about the name of the Pontus, Stuckius notes the existence of many controversies and goes to the issue of its perimeter, width, length, and depth. This is followed by copious references to ancient authors. Among contemporary writers his most frequent references are to the famous J.J. Scaliger. Recalling Scaliger’s controversy with no being less glorious at that time to the opinion of J. Cardano about the salinity of the Black Sea, Stuckius joins the opinion of the first arguing that it was originally bland (*“Scaligeri ... sententia ... universum mare ab initio quum creatum fuit, dulce extitisse...”*)⁶. This assumption squares with the findings of modern geological science. The Swiss scholar also pays much attention to the flora and fauna of the Pontus. Lengthy passages are devoted to plants and minerals. Here, in addition to ancient and medieval texts Stuckius sought the expertise and assistance of two of his friends. One of them was the Zurich physician, author of the work on plants, Gaspar Wolf (c. 1525-1601) and the other was the Italian physician Taddeo Duni (1523-1613).

It was mentioned above that while defining his purposes the Swiss scholar stipulated the need to dwell on the climatic conditions (*coeli conditio*)⁷. To put it in modern terms, he was interested in the relationship between the natural and climatic conditions and social development. Turning in the scholia to the descriptions of the population of Pontian coasts, he builds a sort of concept, linking with “*coeli conditio*” features of daily life, customs and social institutions of local peoples.

Referring to Cicero, who thought about that interesting phenomenon, Stuckius offers his own philosophical assumptions: *“And there can be no doubt, that the morals of the people assimilate and conform mainly the climate and terrain in which they live ... Characters of men and women do not depend on kinship, but on the things we eat and live, which are delivered by the very nature of the terrain and by habits of life”*⁸.

The description of the population of Pontus is quite chaotic. It confuses reliable information with prejudices of antique time, the biblical tradition and representations of the European Middle Ages. First he talks about the Greek colonization of

5. Stuckius 1577, 11.

6. Stuckius 1577, 12-3.

7. Stuckius 1577, 5, 30.

8. Stuckius 1577, 30.

the Black Sea, gives a brief history of the Medes and Persians, and then goes back to the Roman period and Mithridatic wars with Rome. In this passage, he relies, in addition to ancient historians, on the works of such Renaissance scholars as A. Alciatus, C. Sigonius and Glareanus, who are considered to be the best experts in the field.

After all, the narrative comes to the Goths and residents of Russia, the first of them, in his opinion, taking their origin from biblical Gogh (*"Gog iste Gothus est ..."*), and the latter from other biblical character, Mesech by name (*"Mesech sunt Moschouij"*)⁹. Finally, the Turks, who owned at the time of Stuckius the entire Black Sea region, are announced to be the descendants of the Scythians. The history of the Turks, which, in Stuckius' opinion, dates back to the Scriptures, is presented to account for this source, but is mainly based on the information of Byzantine historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles.

The last part of this rather extensive introduction is devoted to the state and the conditions of the religious life of the population of the Pontus, which at the author's time had *"fallen into Mohammedanism"*. Here Stuckius doesn't miss an opportunity to mention "idolatry" of the Pontic peoples and reprobate a variety of superstitions, errors and heresies, in which few surviving Christians of different persuasions are mired¹⁰. To readers who wish to learn more about this subject, the Swiss scholar proposes to resort to the book *"De statu primitivae Ecclesiae ejusque sacerdotis"* by F. Hothman, whose lectures he listened in Strasbourg.

In the second part of the scholia which is the main, Stuckius offers, in addition to his translation of the "Periplus", a *"special description of some regions surrounding the Pont, as well as nations, cities, villages, temples, rivers, harbors, capes, and other places"*, to which he is going to join *"information of worthy authors"*¹¹. The point to note, is that with all due respect to Arrian, Stuckius does not feel so deep piety towards him. In his opinion, Arrian is but a humble imitator of Xenophon. When working on Arrian's text, he apparently tried to "double-check" all that was possible. For that purpose he enjoyed the rich library of the aforementioned I. Simler.

The second part of the scholia, unlike the previous one, is designed to directly comment on the *"Periplus"*. The *"Periplus"* is, in Stuckius' opinion, to be divided into four elements.

1. The first part is a description of the route from Trebizond to Sebastopol, former Dioskuriada.
2. The second, which, as Stuckius suggests, should have been the first, because this fits better the natural order, is the route that runs from Thracian Bosphorus, i.e. from the city of Byzantium, to Trebizond.
3. The third part is from Sebastopol to Cimmerian Bosphorus (the terminus here is Panticapaeum).
4. The fourth segment of Stuckius' systematizing is from Cimmerian Bosphorus to Thracian Bosphorus¹².

The first three parts he perceives as the right-hand side part of the Pontus, the latest is considered as the left one, which generally corresponds to the modern concept of the location of the compass on the chart.

What we do know is that the *"Periplus"* summarized the geographical and ethnographical picture of the Black Sea coast, established by Ionian science, particularly by Aristaeas, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Herodotus and completed by later Hellenistic geographers and Roman imperial military officers and officials, operating in

9. Stuckius 1577, 31, 46-9.

10. Stuckius 1577, 49-67.

11. Stuckius 1577, 66-7.

12. Stuckius 1577, 67.

Cappadocia and the Pontus¹³. The last antique scholar to explore information about the region, was Ptolemy, who left a work, widely known under the name of “*Geographia*”. All of these informative layers of ancient science are presented in Stuckius’ comments.

What new information besides this ancient complex does this part of the scholia include? Here, it must be said again, that Stuckius uses Byzantine, medieval and Renaissance sources, a close examination of any of which would make a separate large study, that goes beyond the scope of the present short survey. Nevertheless, it is at least possible to sketch some previous observations. These pieces of information can be subdivided into narrative and cartographic sources.

Very diverse narrative texts include the works of Byzantine, medieval and Renaissance authors, as well as some descriptions of travels, especially by Paolo Giovio and Sigismund Gerberstein. The Swiss scholar usually refers to the narrative texts, whereas there are no clear indications about maps.

Let us now begin with an attempt to establish how Greek sources were exploited by the Swiss scholar in his comments to the “*Periplus*”. In our opinion, one of the chief characteristics of his approach is the issue of the map that comes with the scholia. In this short survey it is not possible to cover the entire Black Sea basin. We shall therefore examine the section of this map showing the area from the antique city of Olbia to the northern arm of the mouth of the Danube (fig. 2, infra).

We shall consider at first the geographical data contained in the fragment of Arrian’s text which describes the shore from Olbia to the Danube, then confront them with what is mapped by Stuckius and after that attempt to clear up the way all that is commented in the scholia.

So, Arrian’s list of the toponyms and hydronyms in this area is as follows: Olbia, insula parva quanda, O [r] dessus, Istriorum portus, Isiacorum portus, Psylius ostium Istri, Achillea, Dromos Achillis.

Let us now look at the map (fig. 2, supra). We can see a few place names, which can be divided into two groups:

- 1) Antique - Olbia, Dromos Achillis, Boristhenis fl., Odessus, Axiacus fl., Niconia, Tyra fl., Turris Neoptolemi, Hermonactis, Thiagola ostium, Danubius fl., Achillea.
- 2) Medieval - Dianepro, Podolia, Savran fl., Obidovol, Turarza, Moldavia, Saline, Licosto [m] o.

The point to note, is that that the locations on the map, both the ancient and the medieval, are of two kinds:

- 1) provided with the names,
- 2) numbered (without names), which may have been the personal Stuckius’ contribution to the map. The information about them was not drawn from Arrian, but from a variety of other sources. Unfortunately, the scholia do not contain any explanation about the numbered locations, so that the establishment of all of their names is the task for special research.

It is thus clear that the map could hardly be considered as an illustration to the *Periplus*. This does not exclude a certain conformity between them, but in quite a small degree. One cannot find Arrian’s *Istriorum portus* and *Isiacorum portus* on the map. Conversely, the map contains such items, as *Turris Neoptolemi* and *Hermonactis*, which are absent in Arrian’s text. It should be noted here that Arrian did not mention the river Tyras (today the river of Dniester). Such a significant gap in the *Periplus* was explained by nineteenth and early twentieth century historians,

13. Ростовцев 1925, 10-1.

who argued - and very convincingly - that this part of Arrian's text may have been entirely based on some works and not on his own experience¹⁴. Stuckius did not comment on this gap, but just tried to fill it up on his map. It appears from the scholia, that in this field his main sources of information were Herodotus, Strabo, Mela, Plinius, Ptolomaeus, Eustathius from Thessaloniki (in his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes). However, he used their information very selectively. Not all of the locations contained in their works appear on his map.

An illustration of Stuckius' use of ancient texts may make this clear, if we take some obvious examples of how Stuckius treats the data of Strabo and Ptolemy. From Strabo he only draws such locations, as Turrus Neoptolemi, Hermonactis and Niconia, whereas, Ofiussa is omitted¹⁵ (Strabo, YII, 3, 16). Stuckius ignores the waters between the Dniester and the Danube as well. However, Strabo mentions them as "two large lakes", one of which "has a connection with the sea, so that it can serve as a haven, and the other has no entry"¹⁶ (YII, 3, 15). Apparently, Strabo refers to modern Sasyk lake and a series of interconnected lakes, the largest of which are Shagany and Burnas. These observations show that Strabo's information was known to Stuckius, but he was not able to use it properly while mapping the region.

Before we turn to Ptolemy, some previous remarks need be said. It is widely known that European Renaissance cartography, heir of antique science, was associated closely, if not crucially, with Ptolemy's *Geographia*. It is essential to bear in mind that by that time the Greek text of *Geographia* existed only in Byzantine manuscripts. At least two outstanding Byzantine scholars, Maximus Planudes (c. 1260-c. 1305) and Nicephoros Gregoras, (c. 1295-1360) - had treated Ptolemy's *Geographia* before it was translated into Latin by Manuel Chrysoloras and one of his Italian pupils, Giacomo d'Angelo da Scarperia(1406). Giacomo d'Angelo's translation is assumed to have been at the origins of further European cartography¹⁷. However, it must not be forgotten that Nicephoros Gregoras provided Ptolemy's text with numerous scholia. He is supposed to have made a world map as well¹⁸.

There is not any mention about Planudes in Stuckius' scholia. On the contrary, Gregoras is often referred to. Two important questions must therefore be asked: Would Gregoras' scholia and his map have been an element of Renaissance European cartography? Did Stuckius produce his map to account for Gregoras' geographic legacy? So far, it is not possible to answer them. A study on this subject would allow to reconstruct more exactly Byzantine representations about the Black Sea region and thus bridge the gap between antique and Renaissance cartography.

Now we may leave aside, for the time being, these problems and try to interpret Stuckius' elaboration of Ptolemy's data, whatever the nature of Ptolemy's text, which could have been exploited in the scholia. In the text of the scholia Stuckius mentions Ptolemy tirelessly, but does he thoroughly follow his work? To establish this appropriately, one may use as a "model" of Ptolemy's genuine map, the one reconstructed by Yu. Kulakovski (fig. 3, infra). This map¹⁹, not impeccable as though it would be, is very close to the text of Ptolemy's *Geographia*.

In his *Geographia* Ptolemy puts two locations - Olbia and Ordessus - on 57° longitude²⁰, whereas Stuckius localizes Olbia on about 60° longitude on the shore of the Gulf of Karkinites and not on the Dnieper- Bug estuary, which is absolutely absurd.

14. Ростовцев 1925, 69.

15. Стратановский 1964, 246.

16. Стратановский 1964, 245.

17. Багров 2004, 78.

18. Багров 2004, 78.

19. Кулаковский 1899, map 1.

20. Латышев 1948, 242.

However, Ordessus, is localized almost on its “*right place*” (i.e., almost respecting Ptolemy’s text). Let us now view the hydronym of Thinagola from Stuckius’ map. It must correspond to Ptolemy’s Thiagola, which is the northern arm of the mouth of the Danube. There is also the lake of Thiagola formed by the mentioned northern arm. The lake is neglected by Stuckius, while the arm is not properly localized. The coordinates proposed by Ptolemy to Thiagola (56° 15', 47°), are not respected. Stuckius kept on his map, but not in his scholia, where the northern arm of the mouth of the Danube is called Psylus - only the name of Ptolemy. And yet, we observe the omission of numerous other elements of Ptolemy’s map. One has only to compare it with Stuckius’ and note the differences. We would add that the values of degrees of latitude in Stuckius’ map are shifted north relatively to Ptolemy’s. Thus, while making the map, the Swiss scholar did not rely on his knowledge of geography and mathematics. He rather used a kind of “home-made” substitution knowledge and copied a certain pattern. However, the pattern from which he copied was not the map of Ptolemy. What pattern did he follow then?

As we have noticed above, Stuckius provided his text with a “*Catalogus authorum*”. One can find in the “*Catalogus*” the name of G. Mercator (1512-1594), the famous Flemish scholar and cartographer²¹. We can therefore assume that Stuckius knew his maps. Although the Flemish scholar was a great admirer of Ptolemy and respected his legacy, this did not prevent him from modifying Ptolemy’s maps²². It would thus be relevant to compare the map of G. Mercator (fig. 4, *infra*) with Stuckius’.

Such a comparison shows some similarities as well as significant differences between them. In Mercator’s map Olbia is localized almost correctly. However, at the site of ancient O[r]dessus Mercator, unlike Stuckius, puts such names as Axciasen and Oczakou. This information confirms the repeatedly challenged in the literature assumption that Strabo, Ptolemy and Arrian’s O[r]dessus should be localized near the modern city of Ochakov. The name of the city of Ochakov must have been derived from the ancient names *Isiacorum portus* and *Axiacus fluvius*. Contamination may have occurred in the medieval period, although in ancient times O[r]dessus and *Isiacorum portus* were different locations.

As to the river Axiacus on Stuckius’ map, it is very similar to the unnamed Mercator’s river, on which Oczakou is situated. This river is probably modern Tiligul estuary. Next, quite noticeable bodies of water are modern Kuyalnik and Khadzhibey estuaries. Arrian’s *Istriarum portus*, which is absent on both maps should be related to one of these estuaries.

The question of how *Istriarum portus* is correlated with medieval and modern place names, demands, in our opinion, further research. One conclusion can, however, be stated with some confidence. Mercator’s map allows us to decrypt the name of an unnamed location at number 68 on Stuckius’ map. In Mercator’s the corresponding location is named *Cecijcoite*, which can be correlated with medieval Khadzhibey, i.e. the Turkish castle where after the Russian-Turkish wars modern Odessa was built. Finally, as for the locations of *Turris Neoptolemi* and *Hermonactis* situated on both banks of the mouth of the river Tyra (the Dniester), they could have been something like a kind of double lighthouse in ancient times. We might identify them with the modern agglomerations of Zatoka and Carolino Bugaz.

The considerations above may be shortly summarized as follows. Stuckius’ comments to the “*Periplus*” of Arrian include rich ancient information, but his interpretation of it is rather superficial. The Swiss scholar did not much succeed in map-

21. Hondius 1636, 634-5.

22. Браун 2006, 251-3.

ping the shoreline of the Black Sea and linking his map with Arrian's text. However, his narrative constitutes a vantage point to bring to light some aspects of historical and geographical realities of the Pontus Euxinus. To eliminate ambiguity and restore the true historical picture of the Pontus needs apparently efforts of different specialists. Multidisciplinary approaches, especially that combine historical and geographical methods, may provide the framework necessary for better comprehension of the subject. A careful comparison of the data of old maps, documentary and archaeological material can highlight new perspectives for the correct identification of ancient locations and "anchor" them to a right point in space, finally, to establish continuity between the ancient, medieval and modern places.

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Greek sources in the scholia of the “Periplus” of Arrian
by Renaissance erudite I.G. Stuckius

Radzykhovska Olena

Abstract:

The article explores some aspects of the Northern Black Sea coast historical geography from its starting point. In author’s opinion the work of the Swiss scholar I.G. Stuckius on the “*Periplus Ponti Euxini*” by Arrian can be considered as such. He was the first to translate the “Periplus” from Greek into Latin. In his scholia, which come with the translation, Stuckius tried to give a full explanation of the Black Sea historical and geographical realities relying on his knowledge of biblical, antique, medieval Western European and Byzantine texts and on a series of the newest writings. The article aims at investigating the way in which Greek sources - and particularly Strabo and Ptolemy’s texts - were exploited in the scholia. For this purpose the author carries out a close examination of a fragment of Stuckius’ map. It is suggested that while making the map, the Swiss scholar did not follow Ptolemy’s works. The article rises the question of further research on ancient maps so as to find out the interlacing of ancient, medieval and modern localities of the Black Sea shores.



Fig. 1: I.G. Stuckius' map to the "Periplus Ponti Euxini" by Arrian.



Fig. 2: The north-western part of I.G. Stuckius' map to the "Periplus Ponti Euxini" by Arrian (between the Dnieper and the Danube).



Fig. 3: The north-western part of Ptolemy's map of the Black Sea reconstructed by Yu. Kulakovski.



Fig. 4: The north-western part of G. Mercator's map of the Black Sea.

Medieval ports of the Southern Coast of the Crimean peninsula. Navigation and Urbanization

Ivanov Oleksii

About a thousand years ago on the Southern coast of the Crimean peninsula there was formed a number of small seaside urban settlements. According to the data acquired from written sources and confirmed by archeological studies the following medieval settlements can be definitely considered as such: Alushta, Gurzuf, Partenit, Balaklava, probably Yalta and Lambat¹ (fig.1). Maritime communications that developed by the coast of Crimea played a crucial role in their formation and further existence².

Navigation history of the coast of the Crimean peninsula goes back to the age of great Greek colonization of 6th-5th centuries BC. Two busy shipping routes cross by the Southern point of the peninsula: the “circular” and the so called “meridional”³. The first one already known in Late Archaic age connected the Greek colonies of the Northwestern Black Sea region with the *poleis* located on the shores of the Kerch Strait or Cimmerian Bosphorus passing off shores of Crimea. The second one probably opened up by the end of the 5th century BC and connected Southern and Northern coasts of Pontus by the shortest line from Asia Minor’s Carambius (Kerempe) cape to Crimean Baraniy Lob cape. Significant for navigation points and navigational situation features by the Crimean coasts were described in a number of antique navigational *periploi* of Pseudo-Scylax, Schimnos of Chios, Flavius Arrianus, Pseudo-Arrianus and the geographical works of Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, Claudius Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder.

Probably one of the direct consequences of developing the “meridional” route was the foundation of the Tauric Chersonesos in 422-21 BC on the extreme South-western point of the Crimean peninsula. It was the latest of the big Greek colonies in the Northern Black Sea region⁴. On the Western coast of the peninsula the closest to Chersonesos urban settlement was Kerkinitis (modern Yevpatoria) founded significantly earlier; in the East it was Theodosia. The consequences of Chersonesos’ expansion in Western Crimea were the development of large agricultural lands along the coast and founding of an almost uninterrupted line of fortified settlements of different size. Two of them - Kalos Limen and Karadzhi settlement can be broadly considered as small urban centers⁵.

Graeco-roman authors had quite definite information about Southern coast of the peninsula as well. The above-mentioned sources point out a number of geographic points in this area: Parthenion (modern Fiolent) cape, Simbolon estuary (modern Balaklava bay), Kriumetapon cape (probably modern Ai-Todor cape), Lambat cape (modern Plaka cape), *Athineon harbor* (modern Kutlak bay). At the same time the whole area of the Southern Taurica’s coast right up to Theodosia doesn’t attract the Greek colonists’ attention, which is conventionally explained by the scarcity of local lands and active resistance of the native inhabitants.

1. Иванов 2013, 177-8.

2. Иванов 2001, 231.

3. Максимова 1954, 45; Гайдукевич 1969, 45; Золотарев 1979, 94; Иванов 2001, 225.

4. Максимова 1954, 51; Кац 1990, 106.

5. Ланцов, 2004, 122, рис. 1; Кутайсов 2006, 2-15.

Antique written tradition originating from Euripides's works described the Tauri tribes that inhabited Crimean highlands as stern, martial, xenophobic and inclined to coastal piracy. Archeological materials allow us to consider these appraisals as at least hypertrophied. Tauri evidently possessed neither sufficient mobilization resource nor economic means for both organization of resistance to systematic colonization and regular piracy activities. Mentioned in Tacitus's "Annals"⁶ Didius Gallus's expedition attack on Roman ships in distress, while returning from Bosporus in 46 AD evidently was such extraordinary an event, that it deserved a written mention.

Possibility of existence of a number of Greek trading outposts on the Southern coast by the Hellenistic time wasn't ruled out. However, identifying them with particular sites in the contemporary phase of archeological studies seems complicated. Perhaps such object existed in Ottoman possessions under the Western slope of Ayu-Dag mountain nearby modern Gurzuf. Cultural stratifications of the settlement existing here from 4th-3rd centuries BC until the turn of the 4th-5th centuries AD contain along with fairly big amount of moldy ceramics, typical for local barbarian inhabitants significant quantity of findings of imported ceramics such as Hellenistic and Roman age amphorae, black-glazed and late red-glazed tableware. There are numerous findings of coins issued during the period from the 3rd century BC till the 3rd century AD, which is not typical at all for ordinary rural settlements of the region⁷. Unfortunately, construction remains of the monument stay unstudied.

Flavius Arrianus place the only known to them Southern coastal settlement - Lambat - in the region under review (Arr. §78). However, the medieval center of the same name is located to the East from Ayu-Dag on Plaka cape. A complex of underwater findings of Hellenistic and Roman age nearby Plaka cape⁸ doesn't rule out presence of synchronous to them layers on the settlement itself that have not been yet discovered.

During ruling of king Asander in the end of the 1st century BC Bosporan authorities built a small fortress in the Eastern part of Southern coast nearby Kutlak bay to the West of modern Sudak. In this region late antique authors placed the *Athineon* harbor. Evidently the seaside fort marked the Western border of the Bosporan possessions and provided control over navigation in the nearest waters. The fortress existed for less than a century and was left during ruling of Aspurgus - middle of the 1st century AD, possibly under the pressure of Romans⁹.

Romans were themselves interested in securing their military presence on the Black Sea coast by regular marine communications necessary for maneuver of military contingents between Danube and Asia Minor, provinces and bread transportation, so they considered it necessary to consolidate on navigationally significant Ai-Todor cape. Researchers define the original purpose of the fortification according to Claudius Ptolemeus's message¹⁰ known as Charax, as the "fortified lighthouse"¹¹. Its building began by forces of Ravenna squadron sailors in about 60 AD during Plautius Silvanus's naval expedition. By the middle of the 2nd century the result of several stages of Romans' building activities was the quite strong fortification with an area of 3 hectare capable of containing of a subdivision as big as cohort¹². Roman garrison stayed on Ai-Todor cape till 20s-30s of the 3rd century. The fortification was deserted after the withdrawal of the Roman troops from Taurica to the Danube border¹³.

6. Тас. Анн. XII, 17.

7. Фирсов 1990, с.130-1; Лысенко, Тесленко 2002, 65,78.

8. Зеленко 2002, 115.

9. Ланцов 1997, 69-78.

10. Ptolemy, III, 6,2.

11. Орлов 1988, 22.

12. Зубарь 2004, 129-41.

13. Виноградов, Зубарь, Антонова 1999, 78.

Besides Ai-Todor cape, Romans used for their needs Balaklava bay, known in the works of geographers of the beginning of the Christian era as Simbolon harbor (port). In Kadykoye the suburb of modern Balaklava is located in a 2 km distance from the bay, as situated by their significant garrison¹⁴. By now the fact of the existence of an infrastructure of Roman age directly connected to the harbor is established but its nature stays unclarified.

Both Bosporan and Roman Southern border garrisons were supplied by sea, the though nearest bays and moorage usage greatly depended on the weather. One can say that both episodes of building on the Southern Crimean coast of fortified points in the Late Antique period didn't have any long-term consequences for the region. Distant location of the fortresses in the absence of convenient land communications made utilization of preserved elements of their infrastructure unattractive for the local inhabitants. As later historical events showed, Gurzuf-Lambat region in this aspect turned out to be more perspective and later stayed attractive for settlement during the whole Medieval age.

Events connected with naval trips of Gothic troops in the middle of the 3rd century bore direct relation to the region under review. Evidently one of the most large-scale enterprises was the trip of 268 AD. Meotida was its initial point, Germanic people broke through Bosphorus or even captured Bosporan ships and went along Southern and Western Crimea to the Northwestern Black Sea region, where their interim objective was, the city of Tyras. Then Goths and their allies attacked the Western Black Sea provinces of the Empire¹⁵. Even though Crimean coast wasn't ravaged by them, a breach in the marine communications caused quite tangible economic damage to the region. In Bosphorus and Chersonesos money emission stopped for several years¹⁶. By the middle of the 3rd century a part of Goths settled down on the Southern Crimea coast as permanent residents¹⁷.

Dionysius¹⁸ indicates that there were some navigational activities in the Crimea near the Black Sea waters. According to him there was constant movement of ships between capes Carambius and Kriumetapon. In the middle of the 4th century emperors Theodosius and Honorius issued special edicts that regulated the navigation in Taurica¹⁹.

The beginning of a new stage of fortification building on the Southern coast dates from the middle of the 6th century and was connected with the activities of the emperor of Byzantine Empire Justinian I. The goals continued to be the same: securing the regular marine communications between Chersonesos and Bosphorus²⁰. Procopius of Caesaria's works preserved information about the building of seaside fortresses in Aluston (modern Alushta) and Gorzuvitae (modern Gurzuf)²¹. Probably the emperor's undertaking was continued with building a similar fortification point "*froureion*" by Uytenskaya bay in Sudak²². With caution it can be assumed that an early Byzantine fortification on the Western part of the Southern coast in modern Semeiz existed²³.

14. Савеля, Сарновский 2000, 193-6; Зубарь 2004, 110-8.

15. Айбабин 99, 36-7.

16. Анохин 1977, 97; Фролова, 1980, 73.

17. Айбабин 1999, 36.

18. Donis, 42.

19. Сидоренко 1987, 138.

20. Мыц 1991, 69.

21. Прокопий 1939, 249-50.

22. Фронджуло, 139-42.

23. Archeological studies of Gurzuf and Alushta reveal the remains of early Byzantine fortifications (Домбровский 1974, 9-12, Мыц 1992, 170-9), date of the "seaside fortification" in Sudak remains debatable (Джанов 2004, 68-69, Вус 2013, 102-108). Simeiz is not archeologically studied enough, on the territory of the late medieval fortification there were revealed Byzantine temple remains with mosaic, that has many analogies among works of art of early Byzantine Cherson of the 6th-7th centuries, however it is dated by the researcher of the monument O.I. Dombrovskiy in the 10th-11th centuries (Домбровский, 1974, с.28-29). Besides in close proximity from the late medieval fortification there are located remains of a Christian necropolis in the 7th-8th centuries.

Existence of an early Byzantine settlement by Balaklava harbor now isn't confirmed archeologically. However, a mention of this port in *periploi* of Pseudo- Arrianus VI ct., the connection with Justinian I's escape from Chersonesos and exile in 704 and another one in a geographic text of the time of Constantine Porphyrogennetos probably indicate its existence²⁴.

Presumably by developing fortified points here the representatives of Byzantine authorities initially considered a perspective of political and economic contact with local inhabitants and a consolidation of the Empire's influence in this remote region. Early Byzantine fortifications were built in a well-inhabited area near convenient moorages and with a possibility of organizing of acceptable communications with inland regions of the peninsula. Southwestern Tauric population, a complex by its origin, interacts with the Empire authorities on contractual conditions and as "federates" they ensure control over border territories and accordingly through the peninsula ports and obtain a considerable amount of imports, which is confirmed by archeological materials from Southern coast necropolises.

A number of preserved evidence shows that well developed marine communications in the region under review were used by Byzantine diplomatic missions²⁵, including embassies of Valentinian²⁶ (576) and Petrona Komatir²⁷ (834). There was an interesting episode related to the next embassy of Petrona Komatir to Khazaria. In Cherson harbor they changed their nautical ships *helandias* to *caravia* - probably a type of ships more convenient for continuing the rout by shallow Meotida and lower Don. On the turn of the 8th-9th century monk Epiphanius travels along Saint Andrew's way using passing commercial ships²⁸.

An extract from Constantine Porphyrogennetos's treatise "*On the Administration of the Empire*"²⁹ proves the importance of the marine communications for the Tauric economy. Bearing in mind the separatist mood, which emerged from time to time in the peripheral province, Constantine composed a detailed instruction in this case. First all, the ships from Cherson should be detained, all the freight confiscated and the crews should be arrested. Later, officials with the directions about similar actions should be sent to Black Sea ports of the Asia Minor coast themes. Part of their further obligations was not to allow resumption of marine relations with Taurica by the initiative of local ship-owners.

As it is known, historical sources of the period of Justinian II and Vasileios II show, that sometimes the restoration of control over the province required organization of large naval expeditions against Cherson, accordingly of the patricians Stefan and Moor Bess in 710-711³⁰ and Andronicus in 1016³¹.

After a long period of conflicts with the Khazarian Empire, the Byzantine Empire regains political control over seaside territories of the Crimean peninsula. There are changes in economic and socio-cultural life of the inhabitants of Taurica, which promotes the formation of bases of urban life. The southern coast of the peninsula, according to the administrative division, forms a part of Cherson theme, established during the reign of Emperor Theophilos³². In the first middle of the 11th century a part of the coast stays in Sugdia theme, that existed for a short time³³. Commercial, economic and cultural relations between the region and developed regions of the

24. Иванов, Иванова 2009, 92-5.

25. Иванов 2001, 226-7.

26. Деспунис 1860, 417.

27. Константин 1989, 8, 42-3, 171.

28. Романчук 1996, 134.

29. Костантин 1989, 53, 275.

30. Чичуров 1980, 63-4, 126, 155, 163.

31. Якобсон 1950, 16.

32. Цукерман 1997, 312-23; Науменко 1997, 23-30; Сорочан 2005, 577-81.

33. Баранов, Степанова 1997, 86-7.

Byzantine Empire, where during this period small provincial cities are emerging and developing almost everywhere, are being strengthened³⁴.

As to formation of urban settlements, Taurica is not an exception. The period between the 10th and the 12th centuries is considered as the first period of urbanization both in the highlands on the Southwestern coast and on the Southern coast of the peninsula³⁵. Because of its specific location, in the case of Crimea it is naturally connected with the revival of marine communications.

Archeological studies show that urban settlements in Aluston and Gorzuvitae are being formed around a fortified center during the Justinian time. Partenit, Lambat (modern Maliy Mayak), Dzhalita (Yalta) and probably Yamboli (Chembalo, Balaklava) had in their basis seaside rural settlements or groups of such, which were placed near bays and convenient moorages. It is also important that all of them were the final points of land communications, that connected the South coast and the inner regions of the peninsula and went through the passes of the Main range of the Crimean mountains.

Lambat and Dzhalita aren't archeologically studied much, but al-Idrisi in 1154 informs us about the urban character of the settlements. He also characterized Partenit as a small, but well inhabited city, where ships are being built³⁶. This evidence is well confirmed by archeological data³⁷. Convent of Saint Apostles, that emerged near the "marketplace in Partenit", for some time was a episcopal residence³⁸. In two kilometers to the East from Partenit on Plaka cape there was a significant fortified settlement identified as Lambat or known from the sources "*emporium Kurusaitae*". In Constantinople the Patriarchate's acts in 1390 both nearby settlements appear as "*Lampadopartenitae*"³⁹.

In Aluston of the 10th century and Gorzuvit of the 10th-13th centuries there was noted construction of outer rings of fortification, that encircled dense suburban districts with elements of regular planning, which developed around the severely fortified center that performed functions of citadel⁴⁰. In Partenit a fortification on dominating over the city elevation Tepeler is built⁴¹. The presence of defenses is one of the important but not crucial signs of small Byzantine cities. The question about the presence of fortifications in Yalta and Balaklava during the pre Genoese time stays open.

The Forth Crusade in 1204 entailed the collapse of Byzantine Empire. There appeared a number of Latin and Greek government formations. Crimean possessions of Byzantium went to the sphere of influence of the Empire of Trebizond⁴². In the light of the difficult relations between Trebizond and the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum the story of the military conflict in 1223 is noteworthy. It started with the plunder of a Trebizond ship that brought government taxes from Cherson and Gothia in the port of Sinope⁴³. During the following marine expedition of Seljuks to the Crimean coasts, Cherson neighborhood and the settlements of the Southern coast were destroyed.

In the same year (1223) first the Mongols appear on the Crimea territory and attack settlements of Southeastern Taurica, destroying Sogdia out of its ports. The newcomers settle in the Eastern part of the peninsula. In 1260s their military and administrative center, Solkhat, is found⁴⁴. An armed conflict or a number of conflicts,

34. Каждан 1954, 186-8.

35. Якобсон 1979, 109; Паршина 1991, 94; Герцен 1995, 86-7; Мыц 1999, 170-4; Иванов 2012, 175-9.

36. Бейлис 1988, 67-76.

37. Паршина 1991, 69-91; 2002, 90-106.

38. Баранов 1990, 150; Сорочан 2005, 508.

39. Древнейшие акты 1867, 469.

40. Домбровский 1972, 95-8; 1974, 11, рис.4; Мыц 1991, 151-2.

41. Лысенко, Тесленко 2010, 323-46.

42. Джанов 2006, 341-2.

43. Смирнов 1887, 10-11; Джанов 2006, 343.

44. Джанов 2006, 346.

that stroke the Southwestern part of the peninsula evidently happened, somewhat later in 1278-1299⁴⁵. The invasion had fatal consequences for a number of small urban centers in inner highland regions of Southwestern Taurica. Even Cherson, the most significant urban center of the region with one and a half thousand years of urban history, didn't fully recover after the destruction⁴⁶.

Urban centers located on the coast were also ruined. Layers of this construction were noted during archeological studies on Gurzuf, Alushta and possibly Balaklava⁴⁷. The fortified settlement of Lambat on Plaka cape ceases to exist⁴⁸ in Gurzuf there are no more outer ring of city fortifications and Dzhaliya is no longer mentioned in later sources as a somehow significant settlement.

During the ruling of Genghis Khan's descendants the port of Sogdia is actively used for marine relations. The politics of Mongol empire rulers created favorable conditions for commercial exchange between Western Europe and the Mediterranean with countries of Central Asia and the Far East⁴⁹. The routes of traditional trade communications shifted from the Eastern Mediterranean to the North. Horde authorities interested in international commercial contacts open the Crimean ports for merchants from Venice, Genoa, Pisa. By the end of the 13th century a long period of domination of the Italian marine republics starts in the Black Sea commerce. Genoese were able to earn firmer positions in Crimea.

The Golden Horde's crisis of the beginning of the 14th century became a reason of its rejection by a number of outer territories - in Crimea it is marked by separatist moods of the Crimean beylik rulers. In the next stage of the history of the peninsula urban settlements are connected with formation of regional governmental and political foundations - the future Crimean khanate and its neighbor colonies of Genoa's commune on the Crimean coast and Principality of Theodoro. Chronologically it spreads over period from the 14th to the 15th century and up to Ottoman conquest in 1475. Among the settlements of the Southern coast those who retain its significance are Chembalo, Partenit and Aluston, that fell under Genoa's jurisdiction. Formally, the control over the Southern coast settlements belonged to the Latins according to the agreement of 1381 and 1387⁵⁰.

By this time West European navigators were fairly acquainted with Black Sea waters. Crimean coast is already described in the early written portolan chart "*Compasso da navigare*" of 1250-1265⁵¹ and Tammar Luxoro atlas in the beginning of the 14th century⁵². There are more than fifteen atlases and portalans of the 14th-16th centuries published, that contain information about the South coast of Crimea. Their authors mention a number of settlements and navigationally important objects between Cherson (Zersona, Sersona) and Sudak (Soldaya): Chembalo (Balaklava), Aia cape (Laya), Ai-Todor cape (San Toderò), St John's cape (S. Iani), Gurzuf (Gorsoui), Partenit (Pagropoli, Pangropoli), Alushta (Lusta, Lustra), to the West of Skuti (Uskut) - soldai consulate⁵³. Diplomatic documents and the text with the regulations of the colony of Genoa on Black Sea of 1464 add Laspi bay (Loco Caiton), Nikita (Sikita) and Ayu-Dag cape (Camello) to them⁵⁴.

45. Мыц 1997, 66-7; Зубарь, Сорочан, Марченко 2000, с.341; Айбабин 2002, 81; Адаксина, Кирилко, Мыц 2005, 35-6.

46. Якобсон 1959, 233; Рыжов 1999, с.180.

47. Домбровский 1972, 98-100; Мыц 1991, 151; Адаксина, Кирилко, Мыц, 2005, 35-6.

48. Мыц 2000, с. 338.

49. Джанов 2006, 346-7.

50. Basso 1991, 11, 15.

51. Motzo 1947, 1-137.

52. Kretschmer 1909, 108-9.

53. Фоменко 2001, с. 58-63.

54. Vasiliev 1936, 180; Устав 1863, 673, 675.

On the land of the Southern Crimean coast there is an autonomous area of Captainship of Gothia founded, probably with its center in Lusta (Alushta)⁵⁵. Here, and also in Partenit, Gurzuf and Yalta consulates are being founded⁵⁶. The character of the last two settlements during Genoese time is not clear, because of lack of archeological studies there. Most probably in the 14th-15th centuries there were castles - residences of the officials of Genoa's commune with adjoining rural settlements⁵⁷.

During Genoese time Alushta and Partenit maintain their significance as small ports, that are used along with Chembalo and a net of small bases for securing their influence on the Southern coast of the peninsula and also storing and further advancing the local production to export it afterwards through Kafa⁵⁸. In 1425 and 1464 new city fortifications in Alushta are built.

By the time the Latins had spread their influence over Yamboli-Chembalo (modern Balaklava), probably had already acquired small seaside city features. Foundation of a Genoese trading outpost here about 1344⁵⁹ put its urbanization process into shape. The settlement becomes the third Genoese center on the peninsula, according to its significance. In the middle of the 14th and third quarter of the 15th century extensive constructions are being carried out here, on the Kastron Mountain where a strong fortification complex is built. Outside the city walls, in the place where the modern historical part of Balaklava is, quarters of suburbs are formed⁶⁰.

Transportation of local products was carried out through the port of Chembalo⁶¹. Local shipyard was capable of building big enough ships. In 1393 ship-owner Giovanni di Sandonato finishes the building of a *nava* with a capacity up to 4,000-5,000 mines of grain (about 350-400 tons) and looks for companions to buy cargo of grain in the ports of Crimea and Taman⁶². In Chembalo marine trades and, consequently, offshore navigation flourish⁶³. From time to time the port is visited by Venetian vessels⁶⁴.

Beginning from the first quarter of the 15th century Theodoro's princes claim the controlled Southwestern coast of the peninsula. In 1424 in the depth of modern Sevastopol bay prince of Mangup Alexey builds a fortress known as Kalamita⁶⁵. Waters of the biggest bay of the coast start to be used in the commercial and political interests of the Principality. Further actions of the Principality of Mangup aimed at the ousting of the Latins from the Southern coast. During the period of aggravation of the conflict, Kafa's commune sends military ships for maintenance of control over the coast. In the period of the conflict in 1423 a galley under the command of Negro di Negro begins its cruise and in 1433 Marco Spinula de Lukulo's ship joins it⁶⁶.

The main object of *theodorites'* claims is Chembalo port. Twice during the conflicts of 1425 and 1433-1434 they manage to take hold of the fortress and the city. However, the energetic actions of the Latins let them regain control over the point that is important for them. What was determinant in this situation was the superiority of the Latins on the sea and their possibility in moving their military contingents by the sea. In 1425 it was succeeded by local forces under the command of

55. Мыц 2002, 175-6.

56. Устав 1863, 675.

57. Бочаров 2004, 188-9.

58. Паршина 1991, с.96.

59. Якобсон 1964, 120; Балар 2006, 123.

60. Иванов 2003, 249-50.

61. Карпов 1998, с.10.

62. Карпов 1998, с. 10.

63. Устав 1863, 791-3.

64. Карпов 1991, 88-9, 93.

65. Веймарн 1962, 81-6; Якобсон 1964, 121-3; Филиппенко 1997, 33, 56.

66. Vasiliev 1936, 203.

Giovanni Mainerio. In 1433 an expedition of Bartolommeo de Levonto from Per was defeated⁶⁷. The next year a squadron was sent from Genoa by the cost of a great effort of the country resources. It contained 20 big galleys equipped by artillery with military contingent of 6000 mercenaries under the command of Carlo Lomelino. On its arrival on the Crimean coasts it manages to take Chembalo by storm, destroy a couple more of *theodorites* fortifications, but in the decisive battle of the campaign the Latins are brutally destroyed by the Crimean Tatars who attacked them on land near Solkhat⁶⁸.

After the conflict of 1433-1434 there is certain military and political equilibrium. In any case the confrontation passes to the diplomatic sphere. Beginning from the middle of the century a certain weakening of Genoa's political influence in the region is observed. Turkish threat and financial and political problems in the country make the officials of Genoa pass the colonies of the Black Sea region under the administration of St. George's bank in 1453⁶⁹.

By the middle of the 15th century Theodoro's owners not only carry out active commercial operations in Kalamita port with active support of khan Hacı Giray, who considerably benefits by it⁷⁰, but also acquires their proper seagoing ships⁷¹. The Latin's reaction to this direct encroachment on their exclusive positions in Black Sea marine trade are full of indignation letters and unrealized plans of counteraction that developed into several cases of piracy⁷². In 1446 the ally of the Principality of Theodoro, Trebizond despot David Komninos, undertakes a big military and political demonstration aimed against the Latins. He sends a fleet of 13 galleys to the coasts of Crimea. Unexpectedly, it shows at the port of Kafa and damages a few Genoese ships, further passes along the coasts of the Genoese possessions, enters the port of Kalomity and meets there the rulers of Theodoro⁷³.

By 1470 the Latins loose control over Alushta. A person called Derbiberdi, a vassal of Mangup princes, governs the city and its neighboring district with 10 settlements in it⁷⁴. By the middle of the 15th century Genoese Kafa stops being an exclusive center of collection of local export products⁷⁵. Possibly, a further weakening of the Genoese influence in the region of the ports of Southern coast connected with export of local products of mainly agrarian economy and import of mass goods, that have constant demand on the local market.

A notable fact of our country's history is the visitation in the Crimean ports by a Russian traveler Afanasiy Nikitin in 1474 during his return from a trip to India. The ship on which he traveled from Trebizond to Kafa after receiving some damage during a storm had to enter Balaklava and Gurfuz.

In the middle of the 15th century common political actuals for the governmental structures of Taurica becomes the Ottoman thread. It becomes especially real after 1453, after the fall of Constantinople that shook the whole Christian world and established the Ottoman control over the Black Sea Straits. By 1454 the Crimean coast became a target of Demir Kahia's military expedition. He threatened to Kafa and destroyed many seaside settlements. However fortified points were not touched by the Ottomans⁷⁶. Turkish pirates appeared near the Southern coast⁷⁷.

67. Vasiliev 1936, 208.

68. Колли 1913, 111, 116, 118.

69. Мыц 2009, 353.

70. Данилова 1974, с. 209.

71. Карпов 1998, 51-52.

72. Данилова 1974, 209-10; Мыц 2009, 357-8.

73. Карпов 1981, 113; Мыц 2009, 212.

74. Бочаров 2004, 187; Мыц, 2002, 185-6.

75. Мыц 2009, 357-8.

76. Колли 1913, 129-30.

77. Мыц 2009, 280.

The destiny of the Crimean peninsula is decided by the Turkish invasion in 1475. Gedik Ahmed Pasha arrived at the coasts of Crimea with a fleet of no less than 400 ships of different purpose, while his military forces consisted of estimated 20,000 soldiers, besides the auxiliary units⁷⁸. After the surrender of Genoese Kafa and storm of Soldaya a part of the fleet was used for activities near the Southern coast. A number of the settlements of the Southern coast resisted to the Ottoman invasion. There are some archeologically fixed destructions and fires in Alushta and Partenit and the devastation of the castles in Gurzuf and Simeiz⁷⁹. According to the latest information, Balaklava was surrendered to the enemy without a fight⁸⁰. Anyway there were no traces of total destruction found during the archeological studies on the fortress. Judging by the findings in the coastal zone on the bay, of diorite balls for large-caliber Ottoman siege guns, its port must have been used for supplying of the siege army near Mangup.

Captured Crimean possessions of Genoa's commune and the Principality of Mangup formed a sultan's sanjak bordering on the North with the territory controlled by vassal owners of the Crimean khanate. Correspondingly, the settlements of the Southern coast appear to be under Turkish control as a part of kadiluks of Mangup and Sudak⁸¹. In the Ottoman period a degradation of urban settlements of the Southern coast is noted. Alushta and Partenit become mediocre seaside villages, since their inhabitants are hardly connected with navigation and marine trade.

Balaklava of the 16th-18th centuries also doesn't demonstrate any dynamic development, but it retains its urban status. The fortifications are maintained in fairly good conditions. The Muslim component of the city is steadily increasing. There are some typical features of oriental that can be seen in planning and building of the settlement⁸². Fairly complex production continues functioning in the city, including the shipyard, where annually up to 6 galleys are laid. Distant timber export is carried out through the port of Balaklava on large locally constructed vessels⁸³.

After the annexation of Crimea to Russia, Balaklava retains its status of secondary importance. Some of the historical settlements of the Southern coast regain their urban status by the new time.

78. Иналджик 1998, 119.

79. Домбровский 1974, 8-13, 28-9; Мыц 1991, 146, 151-2; 2002, 150, 155-7, 170-2.

80. Челеби 1999, 30-1.

81. Бушаков 1998, 37-9.

82. Иванов 2011, 148.

83. д'Асколи 1902, 89; Боплан 1990, 32.

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Abbreviations

АДСВ	Antique antiquity and the Middle Ages
ВВ	Byzantine Annals
ЗООИД	Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities
ИТУАК	Proceedings of Tauris Scientific Archive Commission
КСИИМК	Brief reports of the Institute of History of Material Culture
МАИЭТ	Materials on the history, archeology and etnografy of Tavrika
МИА	Proceedings of the Institute of Archaeology
НЭ	Numismatics and Epigraphy
СА	Soviet archeology
ХСб	Chersonese collection

Medieval ports of the Southern Coast
of the Crimean peninsula.
Navigation and Urbanization

Ivanov Oleksii

Abstract:

Navigation history of the coast of Crimean peninsula goes back to age of great Greek colonization of 6th-5th centuries BC. Two busy shipping routes cross by the Southern point of the peninsula: the “circular” and so called “meridional”. About a thousand years ago on the Southern coast of Crimean peninsula there was formed a number of small seaside urban settlements. According to the data acquired from written sources and confirmed by archeological studies the following medieval settlements can be definitely considered as such: Alushta, Gurzuf, Partenit, Balaklava, probably Yalta and Lambat. Maritime communications that developed by the coast of Crimea played crucial role in their formation and further existence.



Fig. 1: The medieval urban settlements inland areas and the coast of the Crimean peninsula.

Harbors and sea-routes of the Black Sea according to Greek hagiographical texts

Chotzakoglou Charalampos G.

Μνήμη Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σακελλαράκη
τοῦ βίου τὴν θάλασσαν τριετοῦς ἤδη καταλείψαντος,
καὶ τῷ εὐδίῳ λιμένι Σου προσδραμῶντος

Along with the archaeological remains, important information regarding the harbors and the sea-routes of the Black Sea during the byzantine period offer also the hagiographical texts. The Apostles Andrew and Matthias preached the gospel to the Black Sea (Euxeinos Pontos) according to their apocryphal *Acts*¹, while local martyrs, as St. Hyakinthos of Pontus (II.nd century) and St. Phocas planted the Christian seed into the population living around the Black Sea².

Sinope remained through the early Christian era the main harbor of the southern Black Sea, as it was described since the year 400 BC by Xenophon and his Ten Thousand³. According to the *Acta*, Apostle Andrew and other apostles came three times to the region: they returned every year to Jerusalem for Easter and then set out again. The *Acts*, as other related texts name the Black Sea harbours of Sinope, Heracleia Pontica and Bosphorus, as well as the anchorages of the rivers Phasis and Parthenios (see Map). More specific, Andrew begun his peregrinatio around the Black Sea from Sinope, identified with the city of the anthropophagoi⁴, since Andrew saved Matthias from being eaten alive⁵. Andrew reached Sinope, according to the *Acts*, on a small ship⁶. In his first tour, after he set free Matthias, Andrew went by land from Sinope along the Black Sea to Amisos (mod. Samsun), he continued to Trebizond and then to Iberia. From there he returned by sea to Jerusalem⁷, without naming the harbor he used, which could have been Rhizaion⁸, Apsaros⁹ or even Phasis¹⁰. In his second tour Andrew reached from Laodicea inland Nicaea and Nicomedia. From the port of Nicomedia he sailed to Chalcedon¹¹ and from there he reached by ship the harbor of Heraclea Pontica¹². Leaving Heraclea

1. Antonopoulos 2005, 223-48; 2010, 428-33; Lechner, 138-52; Bonnet et al, 1959, II./1, 65-116; Μαρτύριον 1894 354-78; Πράξεις 1894, 311-52.
2. Regarding local saints of Crim see: Albrecht 2013, 111.
3. Leaf 1916, 8-10.
4. Bonnet et al, 1959, 93; Πράξεις 1894, 317; Ἐπιφανίου, *Περὶ τοῦ Βίου*, col. 220. Epiphanius calls "anthropophagoi" also the citizens of Amastris (col. 240). On the monk Epiphanius (end 9th c.) see Albrecht 2013, 113 and note 91.
5. Therefore the iconography of St. Andrew preserves depictions with inscriptions stating: "St. Andrew, who preached in the land of the anthropophagoi": Chotzakoglou 2003, 33-4, fig. 59-62.
6. Bonnet et al, 1959, 69-84. For the dating of the text before or around the fourth century see: de Santos Otero 1989, II., 445;
7. Pseudo-Ἐπιφανίου, *Περὶ τοῦ Βίου*, col. 229: «Ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν διέτριψεν· καὶ πολλοὺς φωτίσας διὰ τῆς παρὰ θάλασσαν ὁδοῦ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διὰ τὸ Πάσχα». For the new edition and the dating of the text in the 8th/9th c. see also: Vinogradov 2005, 98-116 and 35-7; Peterson 1958, 41.
8. Bryer, Winfield 1985, 332-4; Nesbitt, Oikonomides eds. 2005, I., 103, no 35.2.
9. Apsaros was one of the important roman forts of the region, where five cohorts were based, i.e. one quarter of the Roman legionary forces in Cappadocia: Braund 1994, 181-7. For Apsaros see also the text of I. Mania and N. Natsvlshvili in the present volume.
10. Lordkipanidze 2000.
11. Πράξεις 1894, 328§22: «ἐκεῖθεν τε διὰ τοῦ θαλαττίου κόλπου παραπλεύσας ἐν Καλχηδόνι πόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας»; Miliopoulos 1906, 53-4. The text of «Πράξεις», known also as *Laudatio* (PG 105, 53-80) was written by Niketas Paphlagon and is dated to the 9th/10th c.
12. Ἐπιφανίου, *Περὶ τοῦ Βίου*, col. 240: «Καὶ πάλιν ἀπάρας πλέων τὴν Ποντικὴν θάλασσαν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν»; Πράξεις 1894, 328§22: «διὰ δὲ τῆς Ποντικῆς ἀναπλεύσας ἦλθεν εἰς τινὰ πόλιν καλουμένην Ἡράκλειαν».

he took a boat and sailed to Amastris¹³. From there he sailed through the river Parthenios and reached the place of Charax¹⁴. He proceeded by land along the Black Sea coast to Trebizond and then inland to Neocaesarea, Samosata and from there he returned to Jerusalem. In his last tour he reached by land Alania (Salania). After preaching in the land of Iberia he reached the river Phasis and he sailed to the inner of the land¹⁵. He returned to Abasgia, visited Sebastopolis and Zekchia, Sougdaia, Bosphorus, Theodosia and Cherson¹⁶. From Bosphorus Andrew embarked on a Chersonite ship and crossed the Euxeinos Pontos reaching Sinope and some days later he sailed from there to Constantinople (Byzantion)¹⁷.

Two brief references on harbours can be found in respective *Vitae* of local saints. The first one is related to the early martyr of the Black Sea, St. Hyakinthos, who was born in Amastris of Pontus and suffered the martyrdom during the II. c. Niketas Paphlagon (end of 9th c. - mid. 10th c.) in his XIX. *Oratio* on St. Hyakinthus¹⁸ described the southern part of the Black Sea as the place, where flourishing trade activities between the northern and southern coast were taking place. Niketas described Amastris as a town with splendid buildings, strong walls and good harbors, where no kind of ship was missing¹⁹.

The second reference is included in the *Vita* of St. Eugenios from Trebizond, who suffered the martyrdom during the first Christian centuries. He was sent to exile to the fortified coast-town of Pityous²⁰ at the eastern coast of the Black Sea. The coastal town of Pityous (modern Pitsunda)²¹ is recorded in the early Christian sources, as its bishop, Stratophilos, took part to the I. Ecumenical Council and St. John Chrysostomos was exiled there, although he died on the way to Pityous.

Noteworthy references to harbours and naval activity of the Black Sea can be also found in texts related to St. Phocas²³, who was born in the Heracleia Pontica. According to his *Vita*, his father was a shipwright in Heraclea, which also had a (technical)-school for shipbuilders²⁴. To this school was sent Phocas by his parents, a reference showing the paramount naval activity of the place. Of special im-

13. Πράξεις 1894, 328§22: «ἐν πλοίῳ ἀναχθεὶς τὴν Ἀμαστρανῶν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει».

14. Πράξεις 1894, 329§23: «ἀπὸ Ἀμάστρας ἀναπλεύσας διὰ τοῦ καλουμένου Παρθενίου ποταμοῦ ναυσιπόρου ὄντος, καταλαμβάνει τὸ τοῦ Χάρακος ἐμπόριον φερωνύμως οὕτω καλούμενον ὡς πόλιτιν ἐκδομημένην καὶ περιτετειχισμένην προσοικίος». For Charax, see also the text of A. Ivanov in the present volume.

15. Πράξεις 1894, 333§29: «τῆ τῶν Ἰβήρων χώρα προσεπιβαίνουσι καὶ ἔως τοῦ Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ναυσιπόρου ὄντος, ἐνθα βραδυπλοεῖν τὰ πλοῖα φασίν, ὕδωρ ἔνδον ἐπιφερόμενα».

16. Mango 2002, 255-264. See also: «Ὡς οὖν περὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους ἐπισυνάξας, τῷ Χριστῷ θυσιαστήριον ἐδράσας ἐν τῇ Ἀργυροπόλει, καὶ τὸν Στάχυν ἐπίσκοπον καταστήσας, εἰς Σινώπην τοῦ Πόντου μεθίσταται... Μετέπειτα ἐπορεύθη ἐν Σεβαστοπόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ, ὅπου ἡ παρεμβολὴ Ἄψαρος, καὶ ὁ Φάσις ποταμός, ἐνθα οἱ ἐσώτεροι Αἰθίοπες κατοικοῦσιν»: Pseudo-Dorotheos, *Σύγγραμμα ἐκκλησιαστικόν*, 1068CD.

17. Ἐπιφανίου, *Περὶ τοῦ Βίου*, col. 244: «Ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρέας ... ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Βόσπορον καὶ εὐρῶν πλοῖον Χερσακινὸν ἐπέρασεν εἰς Σινώπην»; Πράξεις 1894, 334§31: «... ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος πρὸς Βόσπορον αὐθὶς ὑπέστρεψεν· κάκειθεν ἀναχθεὶς ἐν πλοίῳ σκυθικῷ διεπέρασε καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μέρη· καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σινωπέων πόλει καταντήσας, ἐπ' ὀλίγαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐπιστηρίξας τοὺς ἤδη πεπιστευκότας... διαπλέων δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πόντου παραθαλασσίαν καὶ τὰς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστηρίζων κατήλθεν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον».

18. Niketae Paphlagonis, "Oratio". On Niketas see Schiffer.

19. Niketae Paphlagonis, "Oratio", col. 421-2: «Ἀμαστρα, ὁ τῆς Παφλαγονίας ... ὀφθαλμός, εἰς ἣν οἱ τε τὸ βόρειον τοῦ Εὐξείνου μέρος περιοικούντες Σκύθαι, καὶ οἱ πρὸς νότον δὲ κείμενοι, ὡσπερ εἰς τι κοινὸν συντρέχοντες ἐμπόριον, τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν τε συνεισφέρουσι, καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς ἀντιλαμβάνουσι πόλις... οὐδενὶ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ θαλάσσης ἀγωγίμων σπανίζεται· πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖσι δαφυλῶς εὐθυνουμένη, οἰκοδομήμασι τε λαμποῖς καὶ τεῖχεσι καρτεροῖς, ναὶ δὴ καὶ λιμέσι καλοῖς...».

20. Lampsidou 1953, 143: «Πολλὰ τοίνυν καθ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ Δουκὶ διασκεψαμένῳ ὑπερορίαν αὐτῶν καταψηφίσασθαι ἔδοξε καὶ παραπέμψαι τούτους τῇ Πιτιοῦντι (φρούριον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῆς Λαζικῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἔγγιστα διακείμενον)».

21. Khroushkova 2006, 98-104.

22. Parmentier, Scheidweiler 1954, 5.34.

23. Οἰκονομίδου 1952.

24. Vorst 1911, 272: «Ἦν δὲ ὁ Πάμφυλος τὴν ἐργασίαν ἔχων, ναυπηγὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ναυκληρίαν ἐπιστάμενος ...»; p. 273: «... παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν (ἐνν. Φωκᾶν) τοῦ παιδευθῆναι γράμματα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς ναυτικῆς τέχνης. Ὁ δὲ Φωκᾶς πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον οὐδὲν ἐφιλοσόφει τῶν λεγομένων αὐτῷ...».

portance is the reference that among the ships trading in the Black Sea, were some from Alexandria and Macedonia, matching with the archaeological finds of the region²⁵. Describing a miracle of St. Phocas the text refers to an alexandrinian ship, which spent some time in the bulwark (proteichisma) of the harbor of Heraclea due to the bad weather²⁶; more than 1.500 men could not push the ship down to the sea. St. Phocas prayed to the Lord and the ship could sail again. Phocas saved also a local ship, which crushed to the Isle of Klonide (or Kronide), as well as a macedonian ship, which entered the Pontic Sea and was in danger to sink because of rough sea and stormy weather²⁷. Andreas Chartophylax (14th c.) in his *Laudatio* to St. Phocas describes the strong walls of the coastal town of Sinope²⁸, while St. Asterios, bishop of Amaseia, also in his *Laudatio* to St. Phocas marks the wide reputation of St. Phocas not only in the Black Sea, but also in the Aegean and Adriatic Sea up to the western Ocean²⁹. The reputation of St. Phocas as protector of the sailors was indeed widespread not only in the Black Sea, but also in the most of the coastal cities and islands of the Aegean and the Mediterranean³⁰ till the 8th c., when the reputation of St. Nicholas replaced the one of Phocas³¹. No less, the widespread reputation of St. Phocas demonstrates the great number of ships coming from different ports and sailing in the Black Sea and in their way back transferring the cult of St. Phocas to all coastal cities.

An indirect reference to the harbors of the Black Sea is also included in the Vita of the holy martyr Orentios and his six brothers, as preserved in the Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum³². Orentios and his brothers refused the proposal of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian to deny Christ and therefore they were exiled to the regions of Abasgia and Zichia at the Black Sea. They were sent to the Colchian Roman fort of Caene Parembolē³³, where one of his brothers, Eros, died; the rest of the holy prisoners were distributed from there to further exile places, where they suffered the martyrdom; Holy Orentios was sent to Rhizaion, holy Pharnakios to Kordyle (mod. Görele), holy Phirminos and Phirmos to Apsaros, holy Kyriakos and Logginos to Ziganis (mod. Gudava/Gudakva)³⁴. The last one was further transferred from the Roman fort of Ziganis at the Lazike (Colchis). Although the text gives no details of the means of transportation, which were used for the holy prisoners, it makes an exemption for the last martyr, holy Logginos. He was sent from Ziganis to Lazike by ship. During a four-day trip and due to the stormy weather he died and

25. See the ceramic ampullae of St. Menas from Egypt found in Cherson: Jašaeva 2010, 479-80, fig. 4.
26. Vorst 1911, 274: «Ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐνεβλήθημεν εἰς πλοῖον· καὶ ἡ πολλὴ σφοδρότης τοῦ ἀνέμου ἀνερίπισεν ἡμᾶς· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι περιγενέσθαι παρεχειμάσαμεν ἐν τῷ λιμένι τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως...».
27. Vorst 1911, 274: «Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν συνέβη πλοῖον ἀπὸ Μακεδωνίας (sic) ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὸν Πόντον... τὸ γὰρ πλοῖον ἐκαλύπτετο ὑπὸ τῶν κυμμάτων ... Ὁ δὲ (ἐνν. Φωκάς) μὴδὲν μελλήσας ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα· καὶ μόνον ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον... Ἦν γὰρ τὸ χειμαζόμενον πλοῖον ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα...».
28. Ἀνδρέου Χαρτοφύλακος 1911, 285: «Φωκᾶ τοίνυν πατρίς ἢ πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ κατῳκισμένη Πόντῳ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης πόλις παραθαλαττίδιος, ἢ Σινώπῃ μὲν λέγεται, τείχεσι δὲ ἀραρότως παλαιοῖς τε καὶ, ὃ λέγεται, χαλκοῖς εὐκτισμένη, κρατερόν μὲν ὡς μάλα τὸ ἄστῳ».
29. Αστερίου Αμασεῶς, «Ἐγκώμιον», col. 309: «Ναῦται δὲ καὶ πλωτῆρες οἱ πανταχοῦ, οὐχ οἱ τὸν Εὐξείνῳ διαπλέοντες Πόντον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τὸν Ἀδρίαν τέμνοντες, καὶ ὑπὲρ Αἰγαίου φερόμενοι, καὶ ὅσοι τὸν Ὀκεανὸν πλέουσι τὸν Ἑσπέριον, καὶ τοῖς Ἐώσις κόλποις ἐνθαλαττεύουσι, τὰ συνήθη κελεύσματα, οἷς τοῦ πλοῦ τὸν πόνον προαναπαύουσιν, εἰς καινὴν τοῦ μάρτυρος μετέβαλον εὐφημίαν· καὶ διὰ γλώσσης ἐστὶν ὅλος ὁ Φωκάς αὐτοῖς ὑπερόμιος».
30. Oikonomides 1952, 202, 215-9.
31. Kountoura-Galake 2004, 103-4. For Ampullae with St. Phocas see: Oikonomides 1952, 195-6; Jašaeva 2010, 479-81, fig. 1.1-1.4.
32. Delehay 1902, col. 767-8.
33. Delehay, 1902, col. 768: «Κατὰ οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως πρόσταγμα ἀπαγομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν οὕτω λεγομένην Καινὴν Παρεμβολὴν φθασάντων...». On Caene Parembolē see Speidel 2009, 595-631 and spec. 596; Wheeler 2011, 256.
34. Khroushkova 2002, 331-2; Speidel 2009, 595-631 and spec. 598.

his body was buried in Pityous³⁵. This information reveals the presence of the ports in Ziganis and Pityous.

Interesting information regarding the harbors and the sea-routes of the Black sea can be also found in hagiographical texts preserved in other languages³⁶, where we have to take into consideration the dating of the text, as very often, later versions relate the activity of holy persons of the first Christian centuries with the Black Sea (e.g. Simon the Kananaïos or the Zealot³⁷).

Summarizing, references from hagiological texts display the Black Sea as an important commercial point of the early Christian period. In the frame of the research regarding the harbors of the Black Sea we have also to take into consideration navigable rivers and their anchorages. Many of the mentioned coastal towns were walled, protecting the city and the harbor. The sea-routes were not only near shore, but ships crossed also traverse the Black Sea, mainly from Cherson and Bosphorus to Sinope, if the weather allowed it. The widespread reputation of the local saint Phocas demonstrates in the best way the huge number of ships sailing to the Black Sea and proves that the trading activity was not restricted into the narrow borders of the Euxeinos Pontos, but from there they traded supplies with every part of the Mediterranean world.

35. Delehaye 1902, col. 768: «... ὁ μακάριος Λογγίνος ἐν τῷ παραπλέειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ζιγάνεως ἐπὶ τὴν Λαζικήν τρικυμίας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ γεγενημένης καὶ μεγάλου κλύδωνος, εὐξάμενος τῷ Θεῷ τὸ πνεῦμα παρέθετο καὶ κατετέθη εἰς Πιτυοῦντα μεθ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας, ἐκεῖσε τοῦ πλοίου ὀρμήσαντος». Maybe the early Christian basilica and the Martyrium, which were excavated in Pityous could be related to the martyr Logginos: Khroushkova 2002, 67-115.
36. St. Sabbas travelled from Constantinople to the port of Messembria and from there continued to Sofia in order to meet the king of the Bulgars, Ioannes II. Asan (1218-1241): Gjuzelev 1981, 325-355 and spec. 337. In Cherson were exiled St.s Euprepios and Theodoros: Anastasii Bibliothecarii, "Opera Omnia" PL 129, col. 683-4. See also the text of Al. Aibabin in the present volume.
37. According to later Latin versions (e.g. *Legenda Aurea* of ca 1260) of his Vita, Simon the Kananaïos or the Zealot preached at the east coast of the Black Sea and suffered the martyrdom in "Suanir"(Colchis): Khroushkova 2002, 28, 44, 46, 203; M. Lechner, lemma: "Simon (Zelotes)" *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 8, col. 368.

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Harbors and sea-routes of the Black Sea according to Greek hagiographical texts

Chotzakoglou Charalampos G.

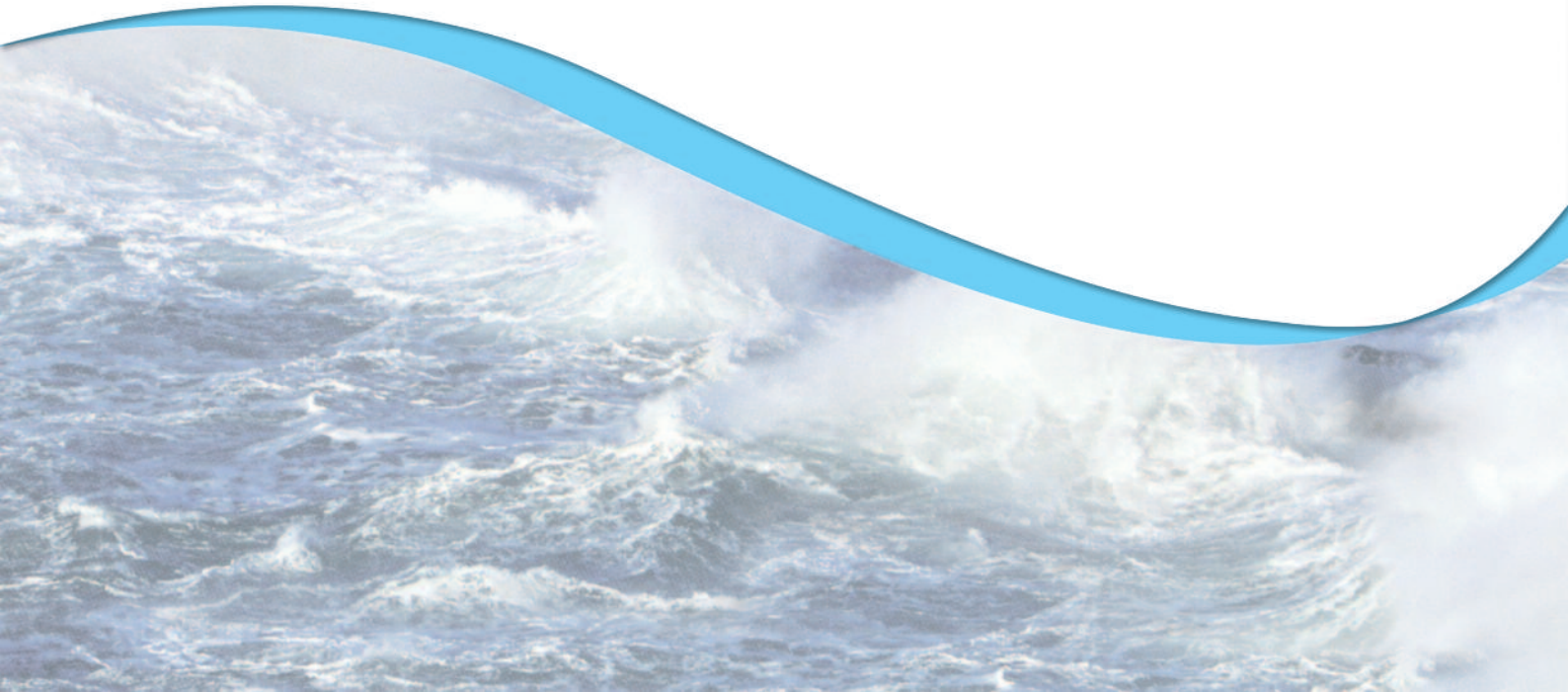
Abstract:

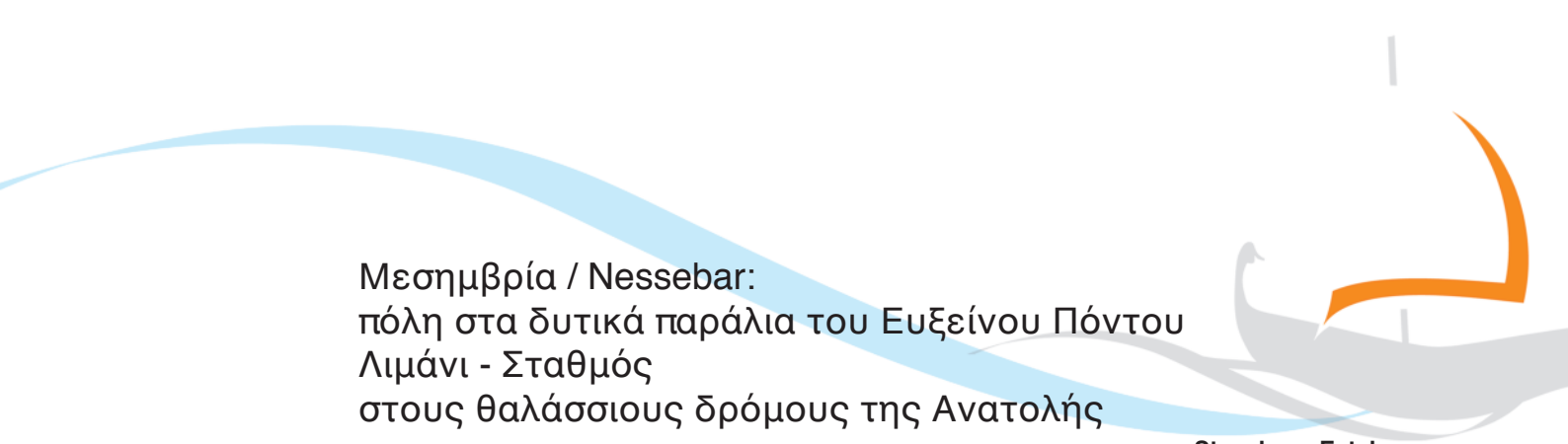
According to references on harbors mentioned in hagiological texts (Sts Andrew, Matthias, Hyakinthus, Phocas, Eugenios) we can draw on information regarding the main ports of the Black Sea, their fortification, as well as the sea-routes, which were used by the captains, in order to complete the information from the archaeological finds. The navigation was not restricted to the sea, but included also navigable rivers. The stormy weather of the region put often the sailors in danger. St. Phocas emerged as the early protector of them –before he was replaced by St. Nicholas and his reputation was widespread all over the Mediterranean world demonstrating the huge number of ships, sailing through the Black Sea.



Map of the Black Sea with ports referred in the hagiographical sources.

SESSION II:
CITY-PORTS





Μεσημβρία / Nessebar: πόλη στα δυτικά παράλια του Ευξείνου Πόντου Λιμάνι - Σταθμός στους θαλάσσιους δρόμους της Ανατολής

Stoycheva Evtelpa

Η θέση της Μεσημβρίας / Nessebar στα δυτικά παράλια του Ευξείνου Πόντου, στο μυχό του κόλπου του Πύργου (Μπουργκάς), προσέφερε στην πόλη δύο ιδεώδη λιμάνια, που αποτελούν φυσικό χώρο ελλιμενισμού. Τα φυσικά τους χαρακτηριστικά δεδομένα αξιοποιήθηκαν ήδη από την ίδρυση της πόλης κατά την Αρχαιότητα ως θρακικού οικισμού. Τα δύο λιμάνια - βόρειο και νότιο ταυτίστηκαν κατά τις μακροχρόνιες υποβρύχιες έρευνες¹.

Με βάση τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα οι αποβάθρες και οι πύργοι των λιμανιών, ακόμη κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, κατασκευάστηκαν ταυτόχρονα με το οχυρωματικό σύστημα της Μεσημβρίας. Έτσι, οι αποβάθρες των λιμανιών αποτελούσαν τη συνέχεια των τειχών με τις διανοίξεις προς τη θάλασσα, προς βορρά και προς νότο. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο στο δυτικό τμήμα της χερσονήσου είχε διαμορφωθεί μία ολοκληρωμένη γραμμή, έτσι ώστε τα λιμάνια δεν ήταν ορατά από την ξηρά (δύση). Το σχέδιο αυτό αποτελούσε μέρος ενός μεγάλου οικοδομικού προγράμματος, στο οποίο ανήκε το σύστημα οχύρωσης, το σύστημα ύδρευσης, όπως και η οικοδόμηση πολλών βασιλικών².

Η προνομιακή γεωγραφική θέση της Μεσημβρίας ως βασικού λιμανιού της Βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας και η θέση της ως ενδιάμεσου επικοινωνιακού σταθμού μεταξύ της παράλιας χώρας και της ενδοχώρας είναι οι κυριότεροι λόγοι που της έδωσαν συνεχή ζωή από τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους έως τα τέλη του Μεσαίωνα, ακόμη και μέχρι σήμερα.

Κατά τον Μεσαίωνα, όταν ο Εύξεινος Πόντος ήταν σταυροδρόμι του εμπορίου, ζώνη επαφών και σύνδεσμος επικοινωνιών μεταξύ Ευρώπης και Ασίας, η Μεσημβρία ήταν εμπορικό κέντρο και ένα από τα σημαντικότερα λιμάνια του Ευξείνου, που τη συνέδεε με την Κωνσταντινούπολη. Όπως στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, έτσι και στη Μεσημβρία (Nessebar) και σε άλλα μέρη της Βουλγαρίας, οι μακροχρόνιες αρχαιολογικές έρευνες έφεραν στο φως πολυάριθμα μολυβδόβουλα των κομμερκίων και των κομμερκιαρίων της Μεσημβρίας, τα οποία αποτελούν σημαντικές αποδείξεις για τον τελωνιακό σταθμό της πόλης³. Η λειτουργία του τελωνειακού σταθμού της πόλης σχετίζεται με τις αρμοδιότητες είσπραξης φόρων, ελέγχου του εμπορίου, οργάνωσης εμπορίας μονοπωλιακών ειδών και στελεχωνόταν από κρατικούς αξιωματούχους. Ανακαλύφθηκαν και μολυβδόβουλα αρχόντων, κλεισουαρχών, καπετάνιων, αρχιεπισκόπων, όπως και σφραγίδες εκπροσώπων (προσωπικές), που αντιστοιχούν στη θέση της ιεραρχίας και της βυζαντινής διοίκησης.

1. Θεοκλίεβα-Στόιτσεβα 2009, 219.
2. Θεοκλίεβα-Στόιτσεβα 2009, 99, 220, 226.
3. Iordanov 2003, 117-24, nn. 47.1-8.

Θα ήθελα να αναφέρω κάποιες από τις σφραγίδες αυτές.

Κομμερκιάριοι της αποθήκης της Μεσημβρίας:

Κοσμάς, γενικός κομμερκιάριος (690-691). Ανακαλύφθηκε στην Κωνσταντινούπολη⁴.

Κωνσταντίνος, γενικός κομμερκιάριος (700, 702). Ανακαλύφθηκε στην Κωνσταντινούπολη⁵.

Τα βασιλικά κομμέρκια της Μεσημβρίας αντιπροσωπεύονται από σφραγίδες που ανακαλύφθηκαν στην Κωνσταντινούπολη και τη Σικελία και χρονολογούνται από το 730 έως 812⁶.

Υπηρεσιακές σφραγίδες της πόλης:

Άρχοντες της Μεσημβρίας (VIII αι.): Αδριανός, Αλέξανδρος, Θεόδωρος. Τα μολυβδόβουλα αυτά ανακαλύφθηκαν στην Κωνσταντινούπολη⁷.

Άρχοντες της κλεισούρας της Μεσημβρίας (κλεισουράρχες): Αλέξιος (X αι.), Παγκράτιος (X αι.), Γεώργιος (IX-X αι.) και Βασίλειος (X-XI αι.)⁸.

Η ίδρυση του κομμερκίου στη Μεσημβρία, σύμφωνα με τη χρονολόγηση των μολυβδόβουλων, έχει γίνει κατά τους κανόνες της αυτοκρατορίας στα τέλη του 7ου αι., δηλαδή στα 690-691⁹. Η λειτουργία του συνεχίζει μέχρι το τρίτο τέταρτο του 8ου αι. Από τα τέλη του 8ου αι. και τις αρχές του 9ου, αναφέρονται τα βασιλικά κομμέρκια του Ευξείνου Πόντου και της Θράκης, σύμφωνα με την ανακάλυψη μολυβδόβουλων. Κατά τη γνώμη μου, αυτή η περίοδος το κομμέρκιον της Μεσημβρίας αποτελεί μέρος των αναφερόμενων βασιλικών κομμερκίων.

Με την κατάληψη της Μεσημβρίας από τους Βούλγαρους στις 4 Νοεμβρίου 812, ο ρόλος και η σημασία του λιμανιού της δεν αλλάζουν. Από αυτά τα χρόνια δεν ανακαλύφθηκαν πολλά μολυβδόβουλα, εκτός από ένα με την επιγραφή «+των βασιλικών κομμερκίων». Δεν αναφέρονται στοιχεία ούτε στις βυζαντινές πηγές. Το γεγονός αυτό συμπίπτει με τη γενική χρονολόγηση των μολυβδόβουλων, των κομμερκίων και των κομμερκιαρίων, δηλαδή από το β' μισό του 6ου αι. έως τα μέσα του 9ου.

Λίγα χρόνια μετά τη νίκη των Βουλγάρων, η Μεσημβρία πέρασε εκ νέου στα όρια της Αυτοκρατορίας μετά τη συνθήκη ειρήνης για τριάντα χρόνια, που υπογράφηκε τον χειμώνα του 815-816 μεταξύ του χάνου των Βουλγάρων, Ομουρτάγκ, γιου του Κρούμμου, και του βυζαντινού αυτοκράτορα Λέοντος Ε' του Αρμενίου¹⁰.

Κατά τον 9ο και 10ο αι. η Μεσημβρία αναφέρεται σε βυζαντινές πηγές σχετικά με σημαντικά ιστορικά γεγονότα και έργα της κεντρικής εξουσίας¹¹. Μία από τις μεγαλύτερες μάχες της μεσαιωνικής ιστορίας είναι η μάχη στον ποταμό Αχελώο, στη γύρω περιοχή της Μεσημβρίας στις 20 Αυγούστου 917. Σύμφωνα με το πολεμικό σχέδιο η συνάντηση του βυζαντινού στόλου και στρατού έπρεπε να γίνει στο λιμάνι της Μεσημβρίας. Έτσι, στην πεδιάδα της Αγχιάλου ο βουλγαρικός στρατός με αρχηγό τον βασιλιά του, Συμεών, νίκησε τους Βυζαντινούς υπό την ηγεσία του Λέοντος Φωκά, ο οποίος κατάφερε να ξεφύγει στη Μεσημβρία. Μετά την ήττα οι Βυζαντινοί παρέδωσαν και το φρούριο της Μεσημβρίας στα χέρια των Βουλγάρων.

4. Iordanov 2003, 118.

5. Iordanov 2003, 118.

6. Iordanov 2003, 118.

7. Iordanov 2003, 118.

8. Iordanov 2003, 119-20, nn. 47.1-4.

9. Iordanov 2003, 118.

10. Θεοκλίβα-Στόιτσεβα 2009, 13.

11. Θεοφάνης, Χρονογραφία, 497- 9, I: 13, V: 67, VI: 22, 28; Constantinus Porphyrogenitus.

Ο ρόλος του λιμανιού της Μεσημβρίας επισημαίνεται αργότερα από τον αυτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίνο Ζ΄ Πορφυρογέννητο (913-959) στο έργο του «Η διοίκηση της αυτοκρατορίας»¹². Εδώ αναφέρεται το λιμάνι της Μεσημβρίας σε σχέση με τους Ρώσους εμπόρους. Η εμπορική επαφή των Ρώσων με το Βυζάντιο πραγματοποιούνταν στις πόλεις της Κριμαϊκής χερσονήσου και στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, όπου κατέπλεαν με τα μονόξυλά τους, ακολουθώντας τους ποταμούς Δνείπερο και Δνείστερο παραπλέοντας τις ακτές του Ευξεινού Πόντου. Εκεί η Μεσημβρία αναφέρεται ως ένα από τα τελευταία λιμάνια του μακρινού δρομολόγιου των Ρώσων εμπόρων, γνωστό ως «Путь из варягов в греки». Από τα τέλη του 10ου αι. οι Ρώσοι υπηρετούσαν ως μισθοφόροι στο Βυζαντινό στρατό και επιπλέον στελέχωναν την αυτοκρατορική φρουρά, γνωστή ως «φρουρά των Βαράγγων».

Για περισσότερες από πέντε δεκαετίες η Μεσημβρία ανήκε στα όρια της Βουλγαρίας και η στάση του λιμανιού της, ως θαλάσσιου σταθμού, παρέμεινε σταθερή. Τότε η Μεσημβρία από βυζαντινό εμπορικό κέντρο μετατρέπεται σε βουλγαρικό εμπορικό κέντρο. Όταν το 971 ο αυτοκράτορας Ιωάννης Τσιμισκής κατακτά ξανά τη Μεσημβρία, στην πόλη ακμάζει το μεγάλο εμπόριο. Για το μεγάλο εμπόριο μας πληροφορεί ο Κωνσταντίνος Πορφυρογέννητος¹³. Τα πολλά ρώσικα πλοία, αντί να καταπλέουν στην Κωνσταντινούπολη προμηθεύοντάς την με εμπορεύματα, προσορμίζονται στο λιμάνι της Μεσημβρίας. Κατά τους χρόνους αυτούς στη Μεσημβρία συγκεντρώνεται μεγάλο μέρος του εμπορίου της πρωτεύουσας.

Κατά τη διάρκεια της βασιλείας των αυτοκρατόρων: Ιωάννη Τσιμισκή (969-976), Βασιλείου Β΄ (976-1025), Κωνσταντίνου Ζ΄ (1025-1028), Ρωμανού Γ΄ Αργυρού (1028-1034), Μιχαήλ Δ΄ (1034-1041), Κωνσταντίνου Θ΄ Μονομάχου (1042-1055), αλλά και στη συνέχεια, η Μεσημβρία αποτελεί εμπορικό κέντρο ανταλλαγών του Βυζαντίου. Κατά την έβδομη δεκαετία του 11ου αι., δηλαδή κατά τα χρόνια της εισβολής των Πατζινάκων και Κόμανων στη Θράκη, διοικητής της Μεσημβρίας ήταν ο στρατηγός Λέων Διαβατηνός, οποίος έλαβε τη θέση αυτή με ορισμένο σκοπό: να σταματήσει την επέλαση των εισβολέων με συνθηκολόγηση. Θα ήθελα να αναφέρω στο σημείο αυτό και την ανακάλυψη του μολυβδόβουλου του στρατηγού αυτού, όχι όμως στη Μεσημβρία. Η ύπαρξή του μας οδηγεί σε ενδιαφέρουσες σκέψεις σχετικά με τις εισβολές¹⁴.

Το λιμάνι της Μεσημβρίας κατά την παραπάνω αναφερόμενη περίοδο αποτελεί ναυτική πολεμική βάση του Βυζαντινού στόλου, η οποία στα τέλη του 11ου αι. μεταφέρεται στην Αγχιάλο.

Το εμπόριο στη Μεσημβρία συνεχίζει και κατά τον επόμενο αιώνα. Η πόλη αναφέρεται στο έργο «Γεωγραφικά» του Ιταλού Guido (από το 1119)¹⁵. Το 1134 ο Ρώσος βασιλιάς - κνιάζ της Γαλικίας, Ιωάννης Ροστισλάβοβιτς - Μπερλάδνικ, τιμώντας τους εμπόρους της Μεσημβρίας, τους απονέμει ευχαριστήριο δίπλωμα για το ελεύθερο εμπόριο στο βασίλειό του.

Ως στρατηγικό φρούριο της αυτοκρατορίας και ναυτική βάση, το λιμάνι της Μεσημβρίας χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε σημαντικά για την Αυτοκρατορία και το Βουλγαρικό κράτος γεγονότα. Κατά την εκστρατεία του αυτοκράτορα Ισαάκ Β΄ Αγγέλου (1185-1195) το 1190, σύμφωνα με το πολεμικό σχέδιο, ο βυζαντινός στρατός φτάνει στη Μεσημβρία με πλοία και από εκεί περνά τις δια-

12. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus.

13. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, 62.

14. Pemptousia, 5.

15. Guido, 135-6; Gjuzelez, 1981, 335.

βάσεις του ανατολικού τμήματος της Οροσειράς του Αίμου. Μέχρι το 1201 η Μεσημβρία και άλλες δύο παραλιακές πόλεις, η Αγκιάλος και η Σωζόπολη, ανήκουν στο Βυζάντιο. Τότε όμως ο βασιλιάς των Βουλγάρων, Καλογιάννης (1197-1207), κατέλαβε τα παράλια από την Βάρνα μέχρι την Αγαθούπολη. Μετά την κατάληψη της Κωνσταντινούπολης από τους Λατίνους οι παραθαλάσσιες αυτές πόλεις μαζί με τη Μεσημβρία ανήκουν στα όρια της Βουλγαρίας. Η προσπάθεια του αυτοκράτορα των Λατίνων, Ενρίκου της Φλανδρίας, να τις ανακαταλάβει το 1206 κατέληξε σε αποτυχία. Επί έξι δεκαετίες περίπου η Μεσημβρία ανήκε στα όρια της Βουλγαρίας¹⁶.

Η σημασία του λιμανιού της για το Βουλγαρικό κράτος φαίνεται από την περιγραφή του ταξιδιού επιστροφής του Αγίου Σάββα της Σερβίας από την Παλαιστίνη το 1235. Για τη συνάντησή του με τον βασιλιά των Βουλγάρων, Ιωάννη Β΄ Ασάνη (1218-1241), ο Άγιος Σάββας ταξίδεψε με πλοίο από την Κωνσταντινούπολη μέχρι τη Μεσημβρία και από εκεί για τη Βουλγαρική πρωτεύουσα¹⁷.

Είναι σημαντικό να σημειωθεί, ότι η κατάσταση στα Βαλκάνια μετά το 1204 άλλαξε εντελώς. Κατά τη διάρκεια του 13ου αι. έμποροι Βενετοί και Γενουάτες στέρησαν από τη Βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία την ηγεμονία στον Εύξεινο Πόντο. Το Βυζάντιο έκτοτε δεν κατόρθωσε να ανακτήσει την προηγούμενη θαλασσοκρατία του στην περιοχή του Ευξείνου Πόντου. Η Μεσημβρία όμως κράτησε σταθερή τη θέση της ως εμπορικό κέντρο.

Σύμφωνα με το χρονικό του Andrea Dandolo, το 1257 ο βενετικός στόλος αποτελούμενος από 10 γαλέρες υπό την αρχηγία του στρατηγού Jacopo Doro κατέλαβε τη Μεσημβρία, την λεηλάτησε και πήρε πολύτιμα λάφυρα, μεταξύ των οποίων και τα ιερά λείψανα του Αγίου Θεοδώρου του Τήρωνος, που φυλάσσονταν στην εκκλησία της «Αγίας Σοφίας»¹⁸.

Τα ιστορικά γεγονότα αποδεικνύουν τη στρατηγική θέση της Μεσημβρίας καθορίζοντας το σημαντικό ρόλο της στην πολιτική ιστορία των δυο κρατών, Βουλγαρίας - Βυζαντίου, έτσι ώστε κατά το δεύτερο μισό του 13ου αι. το κάστρο της Μεσημβρίας να εμφανίζεται ως σημείο κλειδί¹⁹.

Ταυτόχρονα, οι συγκρούσεις για τον βουλγαρικό θρόνο κατά το διάστημα της βενετικής κατάληψης οδήγησαν στην παράδοση της πόλης στους Βυζαντινούς το 1263.²⁰ Η ιστορία της Μεσημβρίας έχει διασώσει ενδιαφέρουσες στιγμές της ζωής των οικογενειών των αυτοκρατόρων και των βασιλιάδων που αναχωρούσαν για την Κωνσταντινούπολη²¹.

Περίπου τέσσερις δεκαετίες αργότερα, το 1308, η Μεσημβρία εντάσσεται και πάλι στα όρια του Βουλγαρικού κράτος κατά τη βασιλεία του Θεοδώρου Σβετοσλάβ. Σε λίγα χρόνια επανέρχεται στους κόλπους της αυτοκρατορίας. Ξανά την κατέχει ο Βούλγαρος βασιλιάς Μιχαήλ Σισμάν και ο αυτοκράτορας Ανδρόνικος Γ΄ Παλαιολόγος την ανακαταλαμβάνει μαζί με τις λοιπές παραλιακές πόλεις²².

Κατά τους χρόνους αυτούς από το λιμάνι της Μεσημβρίας γίνεται μεγάλη εξαγωγή σταριών, διαφόρων φρούτων και άλλων προϊόντων, που μεταφέρονται στην Κωνσταντινούπολη. Έμποροι Γενουάτες και Βενετοί διακινούν το εμπόριο με τα πλοία τους.

16. Chilen 1908, 614-5.

17. Gjuzeleu 1981, 337.

18. Gjuzeleu, 1981, 337-8.

19. Θεοκλίεβα-Στόιτσεβα 2009, 15.

20. Θεοκλίεβα-Στόιτσεβα 2009, 15.

21. Θεοκλίεβα-Στόιτσεβα 2009, 15. Βλ. και Κωνσταντινίδης 1945, 38-9.

22. Κωνσταντινίδης 1945, 39-40.

Σύμφωνα με τις ιστορικές πηγές, σημαντικά στοιχεία αναφέρονται στις σχέσεις των τελωνιακών αρχών της πρωτεύουσας με τους εμπόρους. Είναι φανερό η προσπάθεια των τελωνιακών αρχών να δημιουργήσουν προσκόμματα εναντίον των ξένων εμπόρων προς όφελος των εντόπιων πωλητών. Ο βαρύς τελωνιακός δασμός που επιβάλλεται στους εντόπιους εμπόρους που αγόραζαν προϊόντα από τους Βενετούς, αναγκάζει τους Βενετούς να πάρουν αυστηρά μέτρα²³.

Ταυτόχρονα, όμως, οι φιλικές σχέσεις μεταξύ του βασιλιά των Βουλγάρων Θεοδώρου Σβετοσλάβ και της Δημοκρατίας των Γενουατών διακόπτονται. Το αποτέλεσμα αυτό προκύπτει από την απόφαση του βασιλιά των Βουλγάρων να μη δεχτεί τα προνόμια που η Βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία έδωσε στους Γενουάτες εμπόρους. Τα εμπορεύματα των Γενουατών αποτελούσαν μεγάλο μέρος από το εμπόριο σιτηρών που γινόταν στη Μεσημβρία. Έτσι, με Διάταγμα της Δημοκρατίας (22 Μαρτίου 1316) απαγορεύεται στους Γενουάτες να εμπορεύονται με τις βουλγαρικές παραλιακές πόλεις²⁴. Αργότερα, κατά τη διάρκεια της βασιλείας του Ιωάννη Αλέξανδρου (1331-1371) οι Βενετοί έμποροι υποσκελίζουν τους Γενουάτες στο εμπόριο με τις παραλιακές πόλεις. Τον Οκτώβριο του 1352 υπογράφηκε νέα εμπορική συνθήκη με σπουδαία πλεονεκτήματα για τους Βενετούς. Σύμφωνα με τους όρους της συνθήκης, κατά την άποψη του Μ. Κωνσταντινίδη²⁵, στη Μεσημβρία υπήρχε Βενετική παροικία και η απόδειξη για αυτό είναι το μαρμάρινο άγαλμα του περωτού λέοντος, σύμβολο του Αγίου Μάρκου, που ανακαλύφθηκε εντοιχισμένο στην εκκλησία του Αγίου Ιωάννη του Αλειτούργητου.

Στις μελέτες του Βούλγαρου ακαδημαϊκού V. Gjuzelev για τη Μεσημβρία αναφέρονται πλούσια στοιχεία για το εμπόριο της πόλης βασιζόμενα σε ιταλικές συμβολαιογραφικές πηγές, την αποδεικνύουν ως εμπορικό κέντρο των Βενετών και των Γενουατών στον Εύξεινο Πόντο²⁶.

Επομένως κατά την περίοδο, τέλη του 13ου και πρώτο μισό του 14ου αι., έχουν συμβεί σημαντικά γεγονότα στα δυτικά παράλια του Ευξεινού Πόντου²⁷:

- Οι αλλαγές κυριαρχίας των παραλιακών πόλεων και συγκεκριμένα στο βουλγαρικό κράτος κατά τη βασιλεία του Θεοδώρου Σβετοσλάβ,
- ο πόλεμος μεταξύ των Γενουατών και Βενετών από 1293-1299 εξαιτίας του εμπορικού ανταγωνισμού τους στον Εύξεινο Πόντο και
- η κρίση στις σχέσεις μεταξύ των Ιταλικών πόλεων και των Τατάρων της Χρυσής Ορδής το 1343.

Το μακροχρόνιο αποτέλεσμα από την κρίση ήταν ο μεγάλος πόλεμος μεταξύ των συμμάχων Βενετών και Βυζαντινών εναντίον των Γενουατών κατά το 1351-1352.

Συμμετοχή στον παραπάνω πόλεμο είχε και η Μεσημβρία, η οποία δέχτηκε τις ακόλουθες εισβολές:

- Επίθεση του στόλου των Γενουατών υπό τον ναύαρχο Παγκανίνο Ντόρια και η λεηλασία της πόλης το 1351.
- Κατάληψη της Μεσημβρίας από τους ιππότες του Αμαδέου ΣΤ΄ της Σαβοΐας (του γνωστού Πράσινου κόμη) από τον Οκτώβριο του 1366 μέχρι τις αρχές Μαρτίου 1367, οπότε η Μεσημβρία απετέλεσε την έδρα του κόμη.

23. Κωνσταντινίδης 1945, 40.

24. Chilev 1908, 615.

25. Κωνσταντινίδης 1945, 42-3.

26. Gjuzelev 1972, 1975, 1981.

27. Laiou 1988, 172-7.

- Ανεπιτυχής προσπάθεια του Βυζαντινού αυτοκράτορα Ιωάννη Ε΄ Παλαιολόγου να καταλάβει την πόλη, η οποία αργότερα, μετά τον Μάρτιο 1367, παραδόθηκε στους Βυζαντινούς. Οι κάτοικοί της πλήρωσαν ως πολεμική αποζημίωση 17.500 υπέρπυρα²⁸.
- Τον Οκτώβριο του 1396 οι Οθωμανοί κατέλαβαν τη Μεσημβρία για πρώτη φορά.
- Το 1403 η πόλη παραχωρήθηκε στο Βυζάντιο (στον Μανουήλ Β΄ Παλαιολόγο), το 1410 ο σουλτάνος Μουσά την καταλαμβάνει για σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα και το 1413 ο βυζαντινός αυτοκράτορας την ανακαταλαμβάνει.
- Ακολουθεί η παραχώρησή της πόλης στον δεσπότη Κωνσταντίνο Δράγα Παλαιολόγο, ακολούθως στον Ιωάννη Η΄ Παλαιολόγο, στον Δημήτριο Παλαιολόγο και στον Κωνσταντίνο ΙΒ΄ Παλαιολόγο.
- Τέλη Φεβρουαρίου το 1453 «η κάποτε ανθούσα Μεσημβρία» πέφτει στα χέρια των Οθωμανών.

Η πλούσια σε γεγονότα ιστορία της μεσαιωνικής Μεσημβρίας, είτε ως βυζαντινής πόλης είτε ως βουλγάρικης, αποδεικνύει ότι ήταν πάντα το στρατηγικό φρούριο με το σημαντικό λιμάνι - σταθμό για τα εμπορικά πλοία, όπου γινόταν το μεγάλο εμπόριο, όπου τα βράδια οι ναυτικοί περιμένοντας τον έμπορά τους χάραζαν τα σχέδια των πλοίων τους στους μεγάλους πωρόλιθους των τοίχων της εκκλησίας του Αγίου Ιωάννη του Αλειτούργητου.

28. Κωνσταντινίδης 1945, 45.

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Mesemvria / Nessebar:
A town - Port on the West coast of Euxinos Pontos

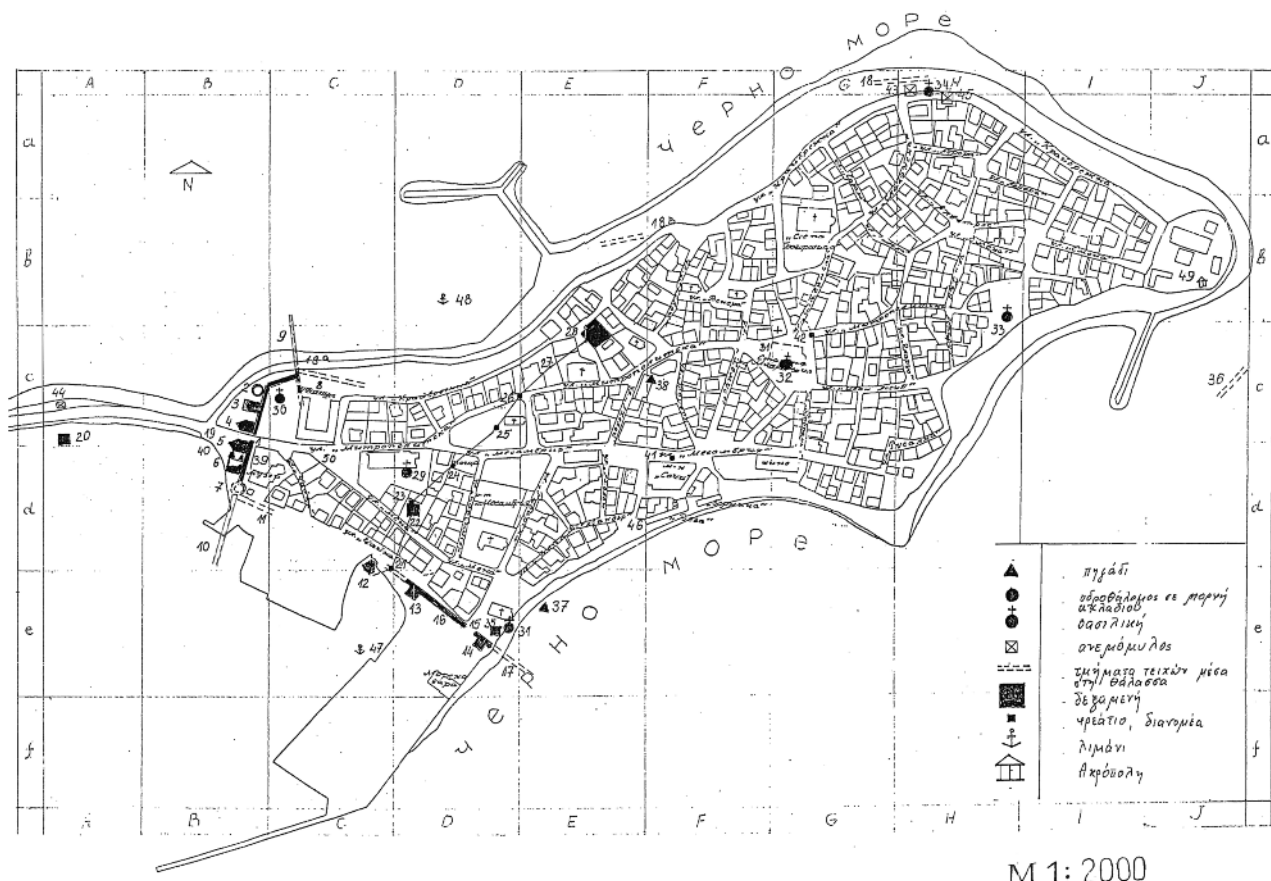
Stoycheva Evtelpa

Abstract:

The strategic location of the city of Mesemvria/Nessebar on the west coast of Euxinus Pontus and in the northern part of the bay of Burgas provided for two natural wharves, the advantages of which were recognized already in the Antiquity. During the Paleochristian period and in the Middle Ages quay walls were constructed, thus turning the two bays of the peninsula into a south-western and a north-western port. As parts of the fortification system in the western section of the town both ports were hidden behind the city walls. The building of the fortification system together with the quay walls was part of the large construction project, under which the water supply system and more than six basilicas were also built. The construction works took place during the Paleochristian period under imperial guidance.

Euxinus Pontus, on the other hand, being a significant crossroads for trade between Europe and Asia at that time, contributed to the development of the city not only into a commercial center, but also into one of the key ports with regard to the traffic to the capital Constantinople. This is being confirmed by a number of artifacts - such as the lead seals of the commercions and commerciarias - which serve as a proof of the customs in Mesemvria, run by state clerks.

Historical events took place on the peninsula in the Middle Ages. The city changed hands regularly in the course of time - sometimes under byzantine rule, otherntimes under bulgarian. These changes, however, did not apply to the port, because this was the aim of every new ruler. The historical sources provide abundant information about the trade with Russian merchants during the X century as well as about the business relations with merchants from Venice and Genua during the XIII and XIV centuries and later on. The development of Mesemvria as a trade center was determined by the geopolitics of the region.



Εικ. 1: Χάρτης της χερσονήσου της Μεσημβρίας.

Εικ. 2: Άποψη της χερσονήσου της Μεσημβρίας με τον ισθμό (1928).





Εικ. 3: Η पुलίδα στην βόρεια αποβάθρα.



Εικ. 4: Μολυβδόβουλα της Μεσημβρίας.

Εικ. 5: Η χερσόνησος της Μεσημβρίας από τα μάτια ενός ζωγράφου (1939).
Αριστερά και δεξιά τα ερείπια των αποβάθρων των λιμανιών μέσα στη θάλασσα.



Tomis - Ville commerciale au Pont Euxin (Documents épigraphiques et archéologiques)

Buzoianu Livia*

A côté d'Histria et Callatis, Tomis apparaît lors du processus de la colonisation grecque du Pont Gauche, au cours des VIIe-VIe s. av. J.-C.¹. Le promontoire tomitain s'offrait en tant qu'escale inévitable pour les navigateurs. Les sources littéraires² établissent sa place dans le Pont Gauche, entre Histria et Callatis ainsi que la distance en stades, par rapport à celles-ci: 250 stades³ jusqu'à Histria et 280 stades par rapport à Callatis, selon Strabon, ou bien 300 stades de distance, rapporté à toutes les deux, selon Arrianus.

L'emplacement de la cité est désigné par *terra Tomitana* (Ovide, *Ex Ponto*, I, 1, 1-2), tandis que les habitants sont les *Tomitae* (chez Ovide) ou *Tomeitai*, *Tomitani* (dans les sources épigraphiques). Dans les sources écrites du VIe s. ap. J.-C. (Hieroclès, Procopius de Césarée), parallèlement avec le vieux toponyme *Tomis*, il y en a un nouveau qui apparaît: *Constantiana*. Tout en s'appuyant sur Hieroclès, une source du Xe s., Constantine Porphyrogenitus conserve les deux toponymies - *Tomis et Constantiana*. Sur les cartes nautiques italiennes des XIVE-XVIe s., apparaît la forme de Constantza. Pendant la période ottomane, le nom de Küstenge ne fait pas du tout disparaître le vieux nom de Constantza. Finalement, l'administration roumaine instaurée après 1878 consacre définitivement le nom de Constanța.

Les sources littéraires ne nous rendent aucune information concernant le moment de la fondation. On a considéré que la cité de Tomis a été créée en même temps que les colonies milésiennes du Pont Euxin ou bien peu de temps après (au début du VIe s. av. J.-C., au plus tard)⁴. L'historiographie récente s'arrête toujours au VIe s. av. J.-C., mais pas plus tard que le deuxième quart du siècle⁵. La situation topographique constitue l'argument pour la date précoce de la fixation des Grecs dans cet espace: "en fondant Histria, les Milésiens devaient s'assurer à l'égard de toutes les stations principales, de la route d'accès vers Histria et du promontoire tomitain"⁶.

La première mention écrite sur Tomis apparaît chez Memnon et se rapporte à un événement du milieu du IIIe s. av. J.-C.: la guerre pour l'*emporion* de Tomis (περι Τόμewος τοῦ ἐμπορίου). La date tardive d'une mention littéraire et l'utilisation spéciale du terme d'*emporion* à la proximité de Tomis a fait possible une autre opinion aussi: Tomis ne serait pas en fait une colonie créée directement par les Milésiens mais par Histria⁷.

Même s'ils proviennent d'une période plus tardive, les éléments qui plaident pour une création directement milésienne sont trop nombreux pour les mettre, tous, sur le compte d'Histria: ainsi, nous avons en vue le dialecte des inscriptions, l'at-

* Livia Buzoianu: Musée d'Histoire Nationale et d'Archéologie de Constanța, Roumanie.

1. Pippidi 1965, 139-56; Alexandrescu 1988, 409-28; 1999, 1-48; Buzoianu 2001, 192-207.
2. Strabon - *Géogr.*, VII, 6, 1, Pomponius Mela - *De chorogr.*, II, 2, 22, Ptolémé - *Géogr.*, III, 10, 3, Arrianus, *Scutum Durae Europi repertum, Tabula Peutingeriana, Itinerarium Antonini*, etc. (Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 1995, 61-8; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2012, 11-4).
3. Un *stadium* (lat) ≈ 125 passus ou env. 185 m.
4. Stoian 1962, 18; Vulpe 1969, 150-52; Pippidi 1965, 152 et 157; Rădulescu, Scorpan 1975, 9-54 (notamment 46-9).
5. Tssetskhladze 1994, 111-35.
6. Vulpe 1969, 151.
7. Iliescu 1970, 91-2 et n. 52; Avram 1989, 73.

testation des tribus ioniennes, les institutions, les cultes, l'anthroponymie. On a essayé une conciliation entre les dates différentes attribuées à la fondation de Tomis par rapport à sa désignation en tant que *emporion* et *polis*⁸: la date récente se rapporterait à la phase d'*emporion* (laquelle aurait duré jusqu'à la date de l'événement du texte de Memnon), tandis que la date tardive désignerait la phase de *polis*⁹.

Puisque l'on a démontré que les deux termes ne s'excluent pas et n'ont aucune implication juridique¹⁰, il nous reste de prendre en considération la valeur du premier qui concerne une fonction économique et, aussi, de prendre Tomis pour une agglomération exclusivement portuaire, créée uniquement pour le petit commerce¹¹. Ainsi on pourrait expliquer aussi le niveau modeste auquel Tomis est longtemps resté après sa fondation ainsi que le manque de mention dans les événements qui ont impliqué le Pont Gauche jusqu'au IIIe s. av. J.-C. Par la suite, nous allons évaluer le développement économique de Tomis en tant qu'établissement portuaire au Pont Euxin à partir des sources littéraires, des documents épigraphiques et des découvertes archéologiques.

L'événement important qui a marqué Tomis au milieu du IIIe s. av. J.-C. (256/5-254 av. J.-C.) a été "la guerre de Tomis" ou bien selon le syntagme grec, *περὶ Τόμewς τοῦ ἐμπορίου*¹².

La source littéraire se rapporte à une confrontation militaire entre une coalition histo-callatienne et Byzantion comme partie adverse. L'objet du conflit était d'obtenir le monopole de l'*emporion* de Tomis. Nous n'insistons pas sur les circonstances extérieures, la stratégie, les interventions diplomatiques, etc.

Nous notons seulement la fin du conflit au détriment de Callatis. Le défi semble être venu de la part de Byzantion qui, selon R. Vulpe, "voulait s'emparer de cette ville située au milieu de la côte de Dobroudja et bien placée pour contrôler le commerce de tout le Pont Gauche"¹³. Nous apprécions que le Byzance a pris sur son compte cette guerre, vu que le but visé était de supprimer tout monopole sur Tomis et de le déclarer port libre. La mention expresse, par Memnon, du terme de monopole (*μονοπάλιον*) à côté du nom qui avait en vue les Callatiens, a déterminé certains historiens de supposer que l'institution de ce monopole était souhaitée exclusivement par les Callatiens, tandis que Histria devait se faire annexer une part du territoire rural tomitain¹⁴. Plus probablement, les Histriens visaient le même monopole sur le commerce de transit, lequel, conformément à l'alliance, ils allaient partager avec Callatis. A la date du conflit, les Callatiens ne le détenaient pas encore, ils "envisageaient" seulement de se l'assumer; quant aux Histriens, s'ils le possédaient, ils n'admettaient pas le perdre en faveur du Byzance ou de la confédération pontique, connue comme la Ligue du Nord¹⁵.

Les conséquences de la guerre, finie en faveur du Byzantion, sont bénéfiques pour Tomis: libre de tout monopole, Tomis devait consolider ultérieurement les forces qui allaient le propulser à la tête des cités du Pont. Pendant la seconde moitié du IIIe s. av. J.-C., on y émet les premières monnaies - il s'agit d'émissions en bronze, plus nombreuses et plus variées que celles qui étaient frappées lors de la même période à Histria et à Callatis¹⁶.

8. Stoian 1962, 18; Vulpe 1969, 153 et n. 19; Talmaçhi 2002-2003, 362 et n. 36, 37.

9. Le terme d'*emporion* est traduit généralement par "lieu de commerce", "port commercial" ou "port ouvert". Pour le terme d'*emporion*, voir Bresson 1993, 163-226; pour le terme *polis* voir Finley 1974, 72-81 et l'excellente livre de Hansen et Nielsen 2004.

10. Bresson 1993.

11. Vulpe 1969, 153-54.

12. Sur l'événement voir Rădulescu 1990, 23-8; Avram 1999, 26-32 et n. 116.

13. Vulpe 1938, 85-6.

14. Vulpe 1969, 154 et n. 22.

15. Will 1966, I, 120-1; Saprykin 1985, 49-61; 1986, 124-39.

16. Preda 1998, 78-84.

Mais la catégorie représentative pour la situation économique de la cité pour les échanges commerciaux avec le monde grec est la céramique. Les seules à même de mettre en évidence quelques périodes et de donner la note d'originalité (si cela a existé) de Tomis, sont les amphores. Leur présence à Tomis démontre une activité économique intense au Ve s. av. J.-C., dont les prémices se placent lors de la seconde moitié ou bien vers la fin du siècle antérieur¹⁷.

Les importations sont orientées vers Chios, Lesbos et Thasos. Cette caractéristique se maintient aussi pendant la première moitié du IVe s. av. J.-C.¹⁸

Un grand nombre de timbres amphoriques des IVe-IIe s. av. J.-C. proviennent d'un sondage effectué devant le dépôt X de l'édifice à mosaïque, lequel a touché "une fosse" avec du matériel hellénistique non mélangé¹⁹. On y a trouvé aussi et autres matériels, mais en mélange, à occasion de la découverte du mur du côté de l'édifice principal des dépôts situés plus près de la mer, devant la grande salle de l'édifice thermal, dans la zone de la basilique qui se trouve à l'entrée du port.

Les indices sont bien suffisants pour démontrer que nous sommes aux approches du port hellénistique, superposé, au moins partiellement, du grand édifice à mosaïque. Les matériels confirment la continuité de l'activité commerciale de la période antérieure. Tomis connaît une vraie libéralisation au IIIe s. av. J.-C., mise en valeur par l'apogée des produits sinopéens (entre 261-229/183 av. J.-C.) et rhodiens (210-188 av. J.-C.)²⁰. C'est la période qui a succédé à l'événement relaté par Memnon et qui, du point de vue économique, a été l'équivalent de la reconnaissance d'une fonction tout d'abord commerciale et de l'annulation de toute intention de monopole. Les valeurs des échanges économiques²¹ enregistrent une courbe en léger recul jusqu'au milieu du IIe s. av. J.-C. et sensiblement accentuée dans la seconde moitié du IIe s. et le début du Ier s. av. J.-C.

Les informations épigraphiques, à leur tour, font la preuve des préoccupations concernant les activités commerciales de la cité. Si l'on reconnaît aux archontes des attributions administratives générales, dans un cas spécial (ISM II, 2), nous avons la mention expresse de certains *ἄρχοντες ἐν τῷ λιμένι*, en tant qu'administrateurs du port ou du marché. C'est le premier document d'époque hellénistique où le port (*λιμήν*)²² est mentionné, même si dans notre cas, nous ne saurions point reconnaître son organisation²³ du point de vue archéologique aussi. Dans la première situation, il est à supposer une division des attributions des archontes; dans le second cas, la fonction se superposerait à celle détenue par l'*agoranome*²⁴. La fonction d'*agoranomos* est attestée dans une inscription où sont mentionnés aussi des commerçants - revendeurs (*οἱ μετὰβολοι*; ISM II 4). Les commerçants proprement-dits (*ἔμποροι*) sont mentionnés dans une inscription des IIe-Ier siècles av. J.-C. (ISM II, 5). Des activités spéciales sont celles liées à la levée ou au paiement des impôts, les entrées et les sorties du port, accompagnées, bien sûr, du péage des taxes de douane, l'acquisition de biens meubles, les actions en justice²⁵.

Les relations que Tomis avait dans le monde pontique sont expressément mentionnées dans les inscriptions des IIe-Ier siècles av. J.-C. Ainsi, un Tomitain, Euenolpides (?), le fils de Philolaos, est le bénéficiaire d'un décret de proxénie à

17. Buzoianu 1991, 75-96.

18. Buzoianu 1986, 406-15.

19. Gramatopol, Poenaru Bordea 1968, 43-4 et n. 9.

20. Buzoianu 1980, 119-39; 1981, 133-51.

21. Buzoianu 1992, 99-165.

22. Voir aussi le commentaire chez Stoian 1987, 32.

23. Selon Rougé 1966, 115-7 *limen* représente la forme de port grec le mieux organisé.

24. Stoian 1987, 32 et 143-4.

25. Prévoyances spéciales contenues dans le décret de l'ISM II 5.

Histria (ISM I, 48); un autre Tomitain, inconnu, est mentionné dans une inscription du I^{er} s. av. J.-C., toujours à Histria (ISM I, 38). Un décret d'Odessos (IGB I². 43 bis) est donné en l'honneur du Tomitain Artemon Chairionos, au I^{er} s. av. J.-C. A son tour, Tomis honore un habitant de Tyras qui "s'est montré prévenant" envers tous les commerçants tomitains en route vers Olbia, leur y facilitant même un traitement préférentiel (ISM II, 5)²⁶. C'est une attitude qui a continué de se manifester: un Olbien, Theocles, (fils) de Satyros, est honoré au début de l'ère chrétienne par sa cité natale et par 18 autres cités, parmi lesquelles Tomis aussi, pour des services rendus à leurs concitoyens qui se trouvaient temporairement à Olbia (IOSPE I, 22).

Sous administration romaine, Tomis a bénéficié d'une attention spéciale entre toutes les villes ouest-pontiques. Jusqu'à la période du règne de Vespasien, celle-ci a eu, paraît-il, le statut de *civitas libera* (ou *civitas sine foedere libera*)²⁷, statut qu'elle allait perdre, temporairement, devenant, à partir de cet empereur ou après la division de la Moésie en 86 ap. J.-C., une *civitas stipendiaria*, ayant certaines obligations militaires et financières envers Rome²⁸. L'intérêt pour la consolidation de l'autorité romaine allait croître pendant le règne des empereurs romains de la dynastie des Antonins. C'est du temps de l'empereur Antonin le Pieux (138-161 ap. J.-C.), que date le premier document épigraphique où Tomis est mentionné en tant que métropole du Pont Gauche (ISM II, 54), titre rendu, par la suite, par les documents épigraphiques jusqu'à la fin du III^e s. ap. J.-C.²⁹ A partir de la période des Sévères, la métropole porte le titre de "trop brillante" (λαμπροτάτη)³⁰. On reconnaît, généralement, que, pendant les I^{er}-III^e s. ap. J.-C., Tomis a connu un développement rapide, devenant un des centres commerciaux des plus importants du littoral ouest-pontique et capitale de la communauté des villes grecques du Pont Gauche³¹. Les inscriptions nous présentent Tomis comme un port cosmopolite, avec des relations commerciales étendues dans tout le bassin pontique et de la Méditerranée orientale, ayant des liens étroits tout d'abord avec les cités avoisinées - Histria et Callatis. A Tomis, on atteste la présence des étrangers d'autres centres pontiques - de Byzantion (un certain Aurelius Sozomenos, probablement petit commerçant), d'Olbia (un certain Ponticos de Neikias, stratège ou archonte à Olbia, fixé à Tomis). On y a mentionné aussi des étrangers originaires de la Grèce et de l'Asie Mineure - d'Athènes, Perinth, Cyzikos, Prousius, Nicomédie, Ancyre, Pessinus, Héraclée du Pont, Abonuteichos, Caesareia, Tius, Mazaca, Tyana, Néapolis (Syrie), Capitolias et Sidon. Stratocleus Prousius et Metrodoros fils de Gaius, commerçants (ἔμποροι) proviennent de Bithynie. Toujours de Bithynie, plus précisément de Prousa, il y avait aussi Euelpistos, nommé aussi "le Tomitain" (ISM II, 308).

Dans une épigramme funéraire, si la restitution est correcte, nous lisons dans la traduction: "Tout en quittant la ville sacrée de Prousa en Bithynie, je suis arrivé dans la trop glorieuse ville de Tomis. J'y ai été toujours connu entre les citoyens, malgré le fait d'être étranger" (ISM II, 368; III^e s. ap. J.-C.). Très suggestive est l'inscription latine trouvée à Cumpăna mais, à coup sûr, en provenance de Tomis (ISM II, 129), laquelle mentionne une série d'orientaux romanisés, venus des cités avoisinées au Pont: Thrace (Perinthus), Bithynie - Pontus (Tius, Nicomédie, Héraclée et Caesareia peut-être aussi), Galatia (Abonoteichos), Cappadocia (Tiana, Mazaca). Tous faisaient, sans doute, partie d'un *conventus* des Romains, qui aurait existé à Tomis aussi. Très suggestives sont les inscriptions posées par les associations eth-

26. Voir aussi Cojocaru 2004, 381-4.

27. Suceveanu 1977, 47.

28. Suceveanu 1975, 115-24; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 30 et 31.

29. L'inscription est datée 139-144 ap. J.-C.; voir Bărbulescu, Rădulescu 1997, 167-75.

30. ISM II, 92 et 97.

31. D'une bibliographie plus large sur la communauté pontique nous avons sélectionné Mihailov 1979, 7-42; Musielak 1994, 101-15; Nawotka 1990, 151-61.

niques ou professionnelles. Nous notons le monument votif dédié à Sarapis et “aux dieux honorés avec lui” par un certain Karpion, fils d'Anoubion au nom de l'association des Alexandrins (οἶκος τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ISM II, 153)³². Le terme consacré est celui d'οἶκος dans le sens de collègue, association, club ou siège. L'association des Alexandrins aurait été formée en grande mesure, sinon exclusivement, de commerçants, entre lesquels les armateurs³³ n'auraient pas manqué. D'ailleurs, à Tomis, il y a aussi une association des armateurs (οἶκος τῶν ἐν Τόμει ναυκλήρων; ISM II, 60) qui érige une statue au futur empereur Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Le même club ou un autre, peut-être, est mentionné dans l'inscription posée par Philoclès, fils de Chrestos, “donateur de la maison des armateurs” (φιλότιμος τοῦ οἴκου τῶν ναυκλήρων; ISM II, 132)³⁴. A côté du collège des armateurs tomitains, sont attestés des armateurs isolés, tel Theocritos fils de Theocritos “armateur dit le roi” (ναύκληρος ὁ καὶ βασιλεύς) sur la stèle funéraire duquel il y a l'image d'un bateau (ISM II, 186)³⁵. Une belle épigramme funéraire (ISM II, 375) est posée pour Eriphanie “née de mère athénienne et père originaire de Hermione” et qui, pendant sa vie avait vu “beaucoup de pays” et avait navigué au large de la mer, car son père et son mari étaient armateurs (γὰρ ἐμοὶ γενέτης καὶ γαμέτης ναύκληροι). L'inscription est posée par Hermogènes, le mari de la défunte, qui se recommande avec une double citoyenneté - “l'Ancyrain et le Tomitain”.

Nous constatons que les occupations de la population sont orientées en grande mesure, vers la navigation et le commerce. Nous avons déjà énuméré la “maison des Alexandrins” (ISM II, 152), la “maison des armateurs” (ISM II, 132), les familles des armateurs étrangers établies à Tomis (ISM II, 375) et les armateurs isolés (ISM II, 186 et 291). La qualité de commerçant (ἔμπορος), nous la retrouvons mentionnée sur un catalogue fragmentaire de noms propres (association professionnelle? ISM II, 403) et sur deux monuments funéraires (ISM II, 462 et 248) de quelques commerçants originaires de Prousius de la Bithynie. Sur une plaque en calcaire (ISM II, 463), on trouve le nom d'un “marchand de vins d'Alexandrie” (οἰνέμπορος Ἀλεξανδρίας). On y pratiquait aussi le petit commerce; bien que le terme de κάπηλος ne soit pas mentionné expressément dans l'inscription, il n'est pas difficile à reconnaître un tel commerçant sur le monument funéraire d'un étranger originaire de Byzance (ISM II, 257).

Il est à supposer aussi que même la fonction détenue par les *speculatores* mentionnés sur plusieurs inscriptions tomitaines³⁶ se réfère également à l'activité maritime locale³⁷.

On comprend facilement que les deux activités principales dans l'économie de la cité - le commerce et la navigation - étaient patronnées par des divinités consacrées: les Dioscures - vrais protecteurs de la ville³⁸, Hermès, Poseidon, Pontos ou Aphrodite Marine³⁹. En guise de confirmation, il y a le dieu Pontos, représenté près d'un bateau dans le groupe statuaire tomitain bien connu; la représentation de la déesse Tyche (la Fortune) avec le gouvernail d'un bateau sur des monnaies du temps de Gordien III, Sabina Tranquillina, Philip, Otacilia Severa et Philip Junior; la représentation du bateau d'un pont tomitain⁴⁰, pour ne plus parler des traverses

32. Le document est daté, en suivant l'ère égyptienne, le 26 mars 160 ap. J.-C.

33. Voir Suceveanu 1977, 120-8; Bounegru 2003, 105-19.

34. Les deux clubs des navigateurs sont différents de la “maison des Alexandrins”. Mais nous ne saurions nous prononcer si ISM II, 60 et 132 se rapportent au même club des armateurs ou bien il s'agit de deux clubs différents soit par l'orientation, soit par l'origine de leurs membres.

35. Voir Bordenache 1965, 279.

36. ISM II, 8, et 211.

37. Suceveanu 1977, 123.

38. Pour les Dioscures voir Babelon 1949, 24-33; Stoian 1966, 347-56; Doruțiu Boilă 1970, 117-26.

39. Canarache et alii 1963; Bordenache 1964, 167-75; Alexandrescu Vianu 2009, 27-46.

40. Moisil 1957, 284, no. 53.

de plomb et de divers fragments d'ancre découverts dans la proximité du port de Constantza⁴¹.

Toutes les données confirment le déroulement d'une activité commerciale intense à Tomis, due principalement à l'importance du port de la ville⁴².

Dans la nouvelle structure administrative du Dominat, Tomis, la capitale de la province de Scythia (Minor) a joui également d'une attention spéciale⁴³. Les constructions de la falaise-ouest, désignées par le nom de "grand édifice à mosaïque" et "lentiaron" sont célèbres. Le premier édifice servait de lieu de déploiement de la vie social-économique et commerciale de la ville. Placé devant le port antique, l'édifice est constitué de quatre terrasses qui correspondent, tour à tour, au niveau d'habitat de la ville antique, du pavement à la mosaïque et aux dépôts de marchandises. Au niveau de la deuxième terrasse, il y a une grande salle, pavée de plus de 2000 m² de mosaïque polychrome, superficie qui la place entre les plus grandes mosaïques de l'empire. La troisième terrasse représente le niveau des pièces-dépôts. Au nombre de 11, les dépôts ont 11 m de long et 6 m de large; les entrées massives ont 8 m de haut. Le niveau bas de la falaise, occupé par la quatrième terrasse, était destiné à d'autres dépôts. La zone du complexe était reliée à la plateforme de devant le quai ainsi qu'au niveau de la ville. On a établi que l'édifice faisait partie d'un système unitaire de constructions érigées lors d'une période de prospérité de la ville à la fin du IIIe s. et le début du IVe s. ap. J.-C. étant soumis, pendant son fonctionnement, à des compléments et à des réfections⁴⁴. Les monnaies du IVe s. ap. J.-C., découvertes au niveau d'un dépôt, pourraient être un indice d'utilisation des constructions, même à partir d'une période plus récente⁴⁵. Le dernier niveau de fonctionnement de l'édifice est daté des amphores effondrées trouvées *in situ*, unitaires du point de vue typologique et datées de la fin du Ve s. et du VIe ap. J.-C. En formes modifiées du point de vue fonctionnel, l'édifice a continué d'exister aussi à la fin du VIe s. et au début du VIIe s. ap. J.-C.⁴⁶

Selon une autre opinion⁴⁷, "la période de prospérité" pendant laquelle la mosaïque a dû être édifée est établie pour la première moitié du IIIe s. ap. J.-C., en accord avec l'époque florissante des Sévères et même des Antonins. La période où l'édifice aurait dû cesser de fonctionner serait elle aussi située plus tôt, vers la fin du IVe s. ou le début du Ve s. ap. J.-C., avec la mention que des formes de vie matérielle à l'intérieur de l'édifice continuent d'exister jusqu'au VIe s. ap. J.-C.

Vu que nous ne nous proposons pas un accord entre les opinions exprimées, nous les mentionnons comme des variantes acceptables dans une éventuelle réévaluation du complexe en entier.

L'édifice servait aux buts commerciaux du port. La prevue en est représentée par les quantités importantes de marchandises découvertes dans les dépôts: ancres, gros clous gardés dans des amphores, grandes quantités de minerais de fer, moules de lampes à huile, poids de marbre pour de grandes bascules et une grande quantité d'amphores. On a récupéré approximativement 120 exemplaires d'amphores complètes ou fissurées; beaucoup d'autres, on en a trouvé en état fragmentaire, écrasées par l'effondrement du pavement à mosaïque⁴⁸. En dehors des

41. Cosma 1974, 191-207. Les pièces ont été découvertes dans le golfe situé à la base du digue nord du port actuel. Leur présence en groupe indiquait, selon l'auteur, un lieu d'ancrage ou de refuge des navires.

42. Nous nous permettons ici de citer Suceveanu 1977, 120: "En ce qui concerne le port de la ville, il a duré jusqu'à nos jours, preuve incontestable qu'il ne s'est pas heurté aux difficultés rencontrées à Histria, ce qui a assuré à la cité une existence multimillénaire".

43. Barnea 1968; *passim*; Rădulescu, Bitoleanu 1998, 140-67; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 154-209.

44. Canarache 1961, 229-40; Rădulescu 1970, 52-6; Barnea 1976, 265-8.

45. Sâmpetru 1971, 224-5; 1973, 59-60.

46. Sâmpetru 1973, 59-60.

47. Suceveanu 1969, 349-51; 1977, 14 et 27; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 119-20.

48. Rădulescu 1973, 193-207; 1976, 99-114.

vins et des huiles, ils transportaient des résines végétales - colophone, résine de pin, térébenthine, mastic (résines de Chios), styrax, ou bien des résines élastiques - myrrhe et encens. D'autres contenaient des matériels minéraux - lingots de minerai de fer sémipréparé, ancras de fer à deux ailes et grands clous.

Le grand nombre d'exemplaires et leur qualité d'objets d'importation font la preuve d'une intense activité commerciale et, peut-être, de douane aussi, dans le port de Tomis, lors des IV^e-VI^e siècles ap. J.-C.⁴⁹ et documentent, en même temps, un niveau économique élevé de la cité reconnue encore, dans les sources tardives, comme "grande et riche ville au bord de la mer" (πόλις μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων παράλιος)⁵⁰. Les provinces telles l'Égypte, la Palestine ou la Syrie sont les premières en ce qui concerne les produits réaliés et exportés ici. Scythia Minor et, implicitement, Tomis entretenaient des relations commerciales avec des centres économiques situés aussi bien dans le cadre qu'en dehors de l'empire (mais on comprend bien que les premiers centres étaient les plus importants).

A Tomis, les amphores qui arrivaient apportaient des produits de la zone syro-palestinienne ainsi que de la Méditerranée occidentale ou des côtes de l'Arabie et de la Somalie⁵¹. En 599 ap. J.-C., quand Tomis était assiégé par les Avars, il a été possible d'offrir au khan avare quelques espèces de condiments exotiques, parvenus, probablement, de l'Inde⁵². Il est possible que certaines amphores, qui portent des inscriptions à caractère chrétien, représentent des cadeaux envoyés par les évêques syriens à l'évêque de Tomis⁵³. Plus que d'autres villes de la zone pontique, Tomis excelle par la variété des amphores nord-africaines. Si, à cette variété d'amphores, nous ajoutons celle de la vaisselle de table⁵⁴ et des lampes à huile⁵⁵, nous avons une image complète des produits - marchandise apportés dans cette ville.

La vie économique de Tomis est mise, à la fin du VI^e s. ap. J.-C., sous le signe des dernières manifestations de l'Empire au Bas-Danube. Les liens avec la capitale de l'Empire se sont manifestés aussi au VII^e s. ap. J.-C. Les éléments de culture matérielle ont permis de supposer que la vie a continué de se manifester dans des formes de culture romano-byzantine jusqu'en 680 ap. J.-C.⁵⁶ Après cette date, pour une période de presque trois siècles, l'histoire de Tomis allait entrer dans une étape historique peu connue.

49. Les datations générales pour les amphores découvertes dans les dépôts de l'édifice. Les amphores piriformes, majoritaires en fait, proviennent peut-être d'un centre de la côte Est de l'Asie Mineure, probablement Halicarnas (l'actuel Bodrum).

50. Sozomenos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία*, VI, 21.

51. Rădulescu 1976, 99-114; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 242 et 245.

52. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, 7, 13, 1-6.

53. Opaît 1996, 165.

54. Papuc 1973, 153-92.

55. Papuc 1976, 201-5.

56. Petre 1963, 348-53; Barnea 1968, 442-4; Vulpe 1969, 165.

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Tomis - Ville commerciale au Pont Euxin
(Documents épigraphiques et archéologiques)

Buzoianu Livia

Résumé :

Le travail passe en revue le processus de développement économique de Tomis de la perspective des sources littéraires, des documents épigraphiques et des découvertes archéologiques. On mentionne, tour à tour, les raisons économiques de la fondation de la colonie et de la “guerre de Tomis”, les institutions spécialisées destinées aux activités portuaires, les relations de Tomis avec le monde pontique et méditerranéen, les associations professionnelles, les édifices publics. Tout atteste une activité commerciale intense à Tomis, due au port.

Asprocastron - Monkastro - Akdja-Kermen - Akkerman - Belgorod Medieval Commercial Port in the Lower Dnestr (History and Archaeology)

Samoylova Tetiana

The modern city of Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy has a centuries-old history. Throughout its life, it has been known under different names mentioned in various written and numismatic sources. As far back as in the sixth century BC, ancient Greeks from Miletus, founded a city named Ophiussa-Tyras (fig. 1). The city, built on the bank of the full-flowing Lower Tyras river (today's Dnestr), became an important commercial port¹. Archaeological researches, texts of ancient authors and epigraphical sources proved that ships from various Mediterranean cities and the Black Sea region visited Tyras. Numerous fragments of amphoras used for transportation of wine, olive oil and other goods from Chios, Mende, Heraclea Pontica, Thasos, Sinop, Rhodes, Kos, Knid and Chersonesus; pieces of black-glazed wares from Attica and Anatolia; brown-glazed pottery from Olbia, Pergamon and Ephesus; ceramics and faience from Alexandria; glassware from Phoenicia and West Pontic Roman provinces; metalware from Olbia, the Bosporan Kingdom and Thrace show trade links of Tyras throughout its ancient history.

Archaeological excavations in the beginning of the twentieth century revealed a thick cultural layer of a medieval city². E.R. von Stern discovered medieval coins that belonged to khans of the Golden Horde, the Principality of Moldavia and the Ottoman Empire, Venetian glass, China porcelain, Turkish earthenware, variety of glazed ceramics, tobacco pipes and metalware, which he dated to the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries³ (fig. 2-4). 1920s-1930s witnessed some excavations on the territory of the Akkerman Fortress and its surroundings, which contributed to the collection of rarities, and facilitated the discovery of some medieval buildings⁴.

Since 1945 archeological excavations and historical researches in the medieval city became more planned and regular. Some constructions, such as remnants of domestic buildings dated to the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries, and ceramics complexes were discovered both inside and outside the Fortress⁵. Then, the remains of a basilica of the fifth-seventh centuries were uncovered on the square near the fortress of Akkerman⁶ and some buildings of the Ottoman period: a hammam in the Port Yard and two mosques in the Civil Yard of the fort⁷. Scientists of the twentieth century have accumulated materials, which help us understand not only the medieval history of the city, but also its significance as a trade center.

Medieval geographers and historians also paid much attention to the Lower Dnestr region. The first records about the cities of the area are about Tivertsy tribes, which inhabited the region between the Danube and Dnestr rivers. An anonymous Bavarian geographer, who collected information from merchants, wrote about 148 Tivertsy cities in the ninth century. The number seems clearly exaggerated, but the existence of these fortified centers suggests the rise of urban structures. An old

1. Samoylova 1988, 36-68.
2. Stern 1901, 33-61.
3. Stern 1901, 33-61; 1913, 92-101.
4. Nicorescu 1934, 378-415; 1931, 1-33.
5. Kravčenko 1986.
6. Samoylova, Kožokaru, Boguslavskij 2002, 159-90.
7. Biljaeva 2010, 67-72; Boguslavs'kij 2007, 210-6.

Russian source, *The Primary Chronicle*, mentions Tivertsy cities in the beginning of the twelfth century⁸.

The Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945-959) wrote in his work *On the Governance of the Empire* about empty forts, which stood near the crossing in the lower region of Dnestr. One of them was named Aspron for its stones, which seemed white. Remains of churches were found in these forts; moreover, seafarers knew well about the moorage in this region⁹. The word "Aspron", unlike other fort names, originates from the Greek and not from the Turkish language and means "white", which associates with the medieval Belgorod.

Toparcha Gothicus, a source from the last third of the tenth century, describes some events in the regions of the Lower Danube, Siret, Prut and Dnestr Rivers¹⁰. Though quite mysterious, this text poses a great interest to us. According to it, the Byzantine Empire controlled some regions of the North-West Black Sea region at that time, including the city of Mavrokastron, which presumably stood in the estuary of the Danube River¹¹. Muhammad al-Idrisi, an Arabic geographer of the middle twelfth century, also mentioned the berth in the Lower Dnestr¹².

There is more evidence about medieval Belgorod in the written sources of thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. Scientists traditionally use such sources, as Italian sea maps. Such names as "M.Castro", a city which stood in the Dnestr Estuary, was mentioned in one of the most ancient anonymous maps (called "*A Map of Pisa*") dated to the end of thirteenth - beginning of fourteenth century. From the fifteenth century, the city appeared on all maps. Its name was capitalized and written in red, as all the names of the most important commercial ports. Very often, it included a picture of a flapping flag with Tamga, the symbol of the ruling Batu Khan, above the name *Moncastro* or *Maurocastro*¹³.

Genoese notarial acts are among the prominent sources in the Latin language, which reflected the life of Black Sea colonies. One of the documents issued on May 28, 1290, by Lamberto di Sambuceto in Kaffa, the main Genoese colony in the northern Black Sea region, recorded a loan in silver for sale in the Malvocastro region¹⁴. It is the first chronologically and actually accurate evidence about Belgorod of the Golden Horde period and its trade links in the Black Sea region. Some fourteenth century notarial acts, which recorded slave trade at the Belgorod market, have also remained intact.

Practice of Trade, a book written by F.B.Pegolotti from Florence (middle fourteenth century), shows the importance of Belgorod for the Officium Victualium, which supplied Genoa with grain. This treatise characterized "*wheat from Maurocastro*" as high-quality grain, well preserved when transported by sea¹⁵.

Belgorod was also an important religious centre. According to Byzantine records, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the city was an episcopal centre and a part of the ecclesiastical province of Little Russia (Galicia). We know that in 1345 Bishop Cyril was the hierarch of Asprocastron¹⁶. Catholic and Byzantian churches were competing in their missionary activities in Belgorod. In the first part of the fourteenth century, the Khazarian region of the Eastern vicariate, established by the Pope in the northern Black Sea region, included a Franciscan monastery in

8. Povesť vremennykh let 1960, 14.
9. Konstantin Bagrjanorodnyj 1991, 51, 157, 173.
10. Vestberg 1910.
11. Polevoj 1979, 67.
12. Rybakov 1952, 18.
13. Konovalova, Russev 1994, 70-107.
14. Brătianu 1935, 176-7.
15. Pegolotti 1936, 42.
16. Giurescu 1967, 201-2.

Maurocastro or Maurum Castrum¹⁷. A historical work, featuring the life of an Orthodox saint, John the New, who became the patron saint of the Moldavian Principality, describes the hostility between the two Churches¹⁸.

Arabic encyclopaedists from the end of thirteenth-fourteenth century used the Turkic name of Belgorod - Akdja-Kermen. The city was quite large and trade-oriented, with ethnically and religiously diverse population. Its ruling top consisted of Khan administration and subordinate military units. The geographical position between East and West explains its ethnic and religious diversity¹⁹. Not only Tatars, but also Genoese Italians lived in the city and were engaged in trade. They specialized in sea commerce and exported grain to Constantinople. The Bulgarian population of Moncastro was into trade, too. Written sources also mention Armenian, Greek, and Jewish citizens.

Like in all the cities of the Golden Horde, many locals and visitors of Belgorod were engaged in commodity-money relations. Developed trade has greatly influenced the material culture. The city coined its own money for domestic and foreign markets. The Golden Horde administration, which resided in Akdja-Kermen, inherited well-established East-European trade routes and successfully used the advantageous geographical position of the city. The main routes went across the Black Sea through the Byzantine Empire to the Mediterranean, to the centre of Asia Minor, Italy and Spain. Mainly Genoese ships served this direction. Numerous artifacts found here point at the links with the Mediterranean: Byzantine ceramics, Italian and Spanish vessels. The second important direction was the caravan way, which led to the East through the Crimea, Tanais (Azov), Sarai Berke on the Volga River, Otrar, and Urgench to China or from Trebizond to Iran and further to China and India. In this regard, marine links of Belgorod with Crimean commercial centres were of great importance, especially with Kaffa (Feodosiya), one of the main administrative and political centres of Genoese trade in the Black Sea Basin. Both historical documents and artefacts prove active trade relations with Kaffa: a badge and a signet ring engraved with the coat of arms of Genoa.

The life story of St John the New confirms the importance of Belgorod as a commercial sea port. He was a rich Greek merchant from Trebizond, who came to Belgorod for business on board of an Italian ship. The description of this journey proves that such trips of Italian and Greek merchants to Belgorod were commonplace.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, Algirdas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, ousted Tatars from the area between the Danube and Dnestr rivers, and Belgorod became the part of Lithuania for a short time. It was the gate to the Black Sea and a part of the trade route between the northern Eastern Europe and the East. It is still unclear, whether the fortress was already built or not, but taking into account its importance as a port and political centre in the region, it must have already been built - though it did not look the way it looks nowadays. The name of Belgorod in the fourteenth century "Akdja-Kermen" (White Fortress) supports this theory and assumes that some defensive works might have existed even earlier. It is still unknown when the city on Dnestr became the part of the Principality of Moldavia, but it could have happened at the beginning of the fifteenth century, as stated in documents²⁰. In the first part of the fourteenth century, "Tatar Route" (a trade route), which connected German cities to the Black Sea, lay from Krakow through Lviv and

17. Golubovich 1913, 72, 102, 266-8.

18. Jackimirskij 1904, 467; Rusev, Davidov 1966, 90-109.

19. Kravčenko 1986.

20. Byrnja 1997, 115; Gorovei 1994, 49.

southern steppes to Kaffa. However, after Belgorod became the part of Moldavia, a new shorter and beneficial way appeared and was called “Moldavian Route” (“via valahia”). It connected Polish and German cities through Lviv to Belgorod, which opened a seaway to Constantinople. This also brought prosperity to Belgorod. The links with the East- and West-European cities, Crimea and the Asia Minor became stronger. Moreover, by governing this city, the Moldavian princes could control the Black Sea. It was even more important because of the aggressive Ottoman policy.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Turkish invasion threatened Belgorod. In 1420, the Turkish fleet attacked the city, trying to seize this important commercial port, but the city managed to beat off the enemy attack by itself. After this battle, Moldavia began to strengthen the fort, trying to turn it into a powerful defensive construction.

After the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Turks started to implement their idea of turning the Black Sea into an enclosed sea for their state. Victories of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror made this almost possible. In 1454, the Ottoman Navy set out against the Genoese Kaffa. In 1456 Sultan Mehmed signed a treaty with a Wallachian voivode (governor of province) Peter Aaron, which granted trade concessions to Belgorod merchants in the Ottoman cities of Constantinople, Adrianople and Bursa. Ottoman leaders continued their expansion policy in the North-Western Black Sea region. The last from the repeated attempts to subdue this land was a campaign of Bayezid II, who was in charge of a hundred thousand army. He crossed the Danube River in the end of July and captured Kiliya. Then Belgorod surrendered on August 5, 1484. The Sultan considered Belgorod (Akkerman in Turkish) “*the key and the gate to Poland, Russia, Tataria, and the whole Black Sea*”²¹. For the next 300 years the city and its fortress were under the Ottoman Empire. After the capture, many citizens were taken away and the city decayed for a short period, but Turkish authorities soon realized its importance as a military object and trade center and made efforts to restore the city. The population almost completely changed. Besides Muslims, there were Christians too, as some Orthodox churches remained in the city. Evliya Çelebi made the detailed description of Akkerman of 1650s-1660s²². He mentioned a strong fort, which hosted the Turkish garrison and the city governor, and described the city itself, with its citizens, workshops and markets. There was a berth near the city, visited by many foreign ships. The city was famous for its bread, wheat and barley. Its economic situation still depended on the international trade, especially by sea. More than 120 different goods were imported from Turkey. Excavations in Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy confirmed this fact and revealed numerous samples of Turkish ceramics from the large centers of İznik and Kütahya, glass and metalware. Many Turkish and foreign coins of this period suggest brisk trade. Most of the Akkerman merchants were of Moldavian, Greek, Armenian, Tatar, Russian and Jewish origin²³. They exported leather, grain, honey, wax, butter, lard, furs and harness.

During the Russo-Turkish wars in the second half of the eighteenth century, Belgorod was captured by Russia several times, but then returned to the Ottoman Empire. In 1806, the Russian army finally occupied Akkerman, which became the part of the Russian Empire under the Treaty of Bucharest. In the nineteenth century, the city was still an important seaport that exported mainly grain and products of animal husbandry too.

21. Iorga 1899, 161.

22. Evliya Çelebi 1961, 32-40.

23. Inaldžik 1998, 144.

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Asprocastron - Monkastro - Akdja-Kermen - Akkerman - Belgorod
Medieval Commercial Port in the Lower Dnestr
(History and Archaeology)

Samoylova Tetiana

Abstract:

In the sixth century BC, ancient Greeks from Miletus, founded a city named Ophiussa-Tyras on the place of the modern town of Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy. The greek city became an important commercial port. Archaeological excavations of the twentieth century revealed a cultural layer of a medieval city. Some constructions, such of buildings dated to the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries and ceramics complexes, were discovered both inside and outside the Akkerman Fortress. The remains of a basilica of the fifth-seventh centuries were uncovered on the square near the fortress of Akkerman and some buildings of the Ottoman period: a hammam and two mosques. Scientists have accumulated materials, which help us understand not only the medieval history of the city, but also its significance as a trade center. It was very important trade and military port during its history.



Fig. 1: View of ancient Tyras.

Akkerman fortress (14-18 cc).





Fig. 2: Metal products (13-15 cc).

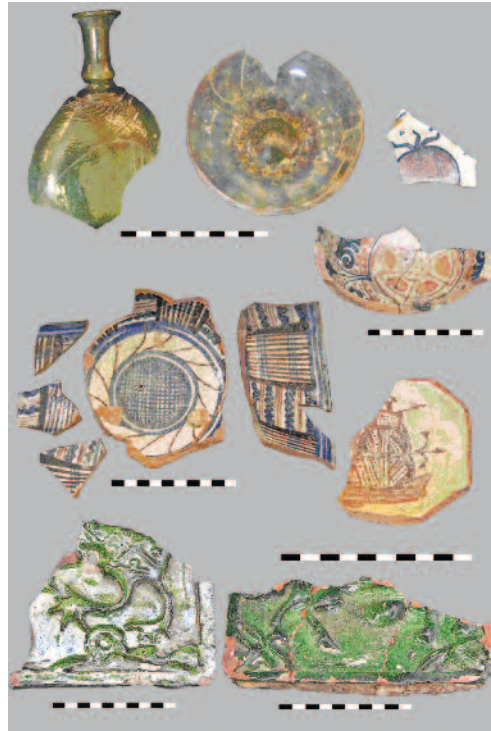


Fig. 3: Medieval imported ceramics and glass.

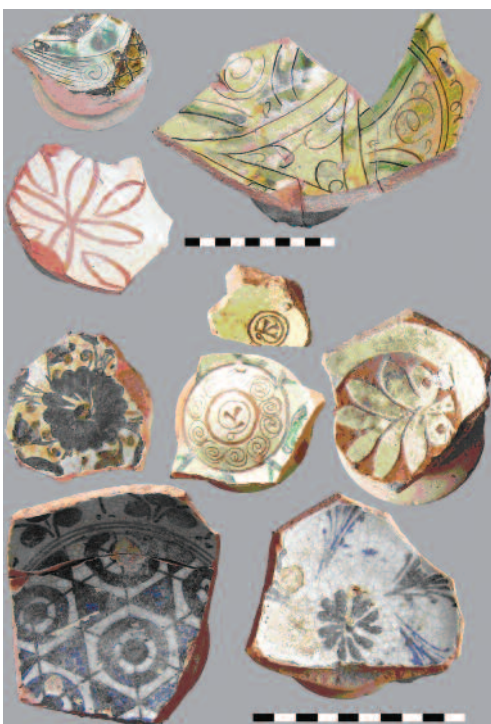


Fig. 4: Medieval imported ceramics.

Tauric Chersonesos. Medieval city-port

Sedikova Larissa

The ancient city of Tauric Chersonesos is one of the most distinguished archaeological monuments of the Southern Ukraine. It is located in the southwest of the Crimean Peninsula, in the territory of the modern city of Sevastopol.

Tauric Chersonesos was founded by the Dorian Greeks, who resettled from the colony of Herakleia Pontika in the fifth century BC. The name "Chersonesos" means "peninsula". This name fully conforms to the extraordinarily comfortable geographical position of the city - on a vast promontory formed by the coastline and the Quarantine Bay of modern Sevastopol. This promontory is situated in the northern part of a large peninsula, which has been called Herakleian since antiquity. Comfortable bays going deep into the coast created favorable conditions for seafaring, and naturally attracted ancient Greek settlers (fig. 1).

The city existed for two millennia and lived through both - polis independence and the Roman presence. After disintegration of the Roman Empire it became a part of the Eastern Roman Empire or Byzantine Empire where it remained until its decline in the 14th - middle 15th century.

Tauric Chersonesos with its integrally preserved archaeological ruins is the only ancient city in the Black Sea North area, which was an important political and economic center of the region during the Greek Colonization period and formation and decline of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. After the destruction of the city its territory was not reoccupied, owing to which the remains of the defensive, dwelling, auxiliary and religious structures, as well as the city planning system that preserved their integrity. Unlike the majority of other medieval cities, Chersonesos retained its regular planning established in the Antique period till the very end. The inner planning of the blocks had been changing through history, but the orientation of the streets and functionality of the districts remained the same.

For the ancient Greeks the most important governing factor for the choice of place for the new city was the availability of a comfortable harbor. The area of the modern Quarantine Bay on the Herakleian Peninsula fully conformed to this requirement. The southeastern part of Chersonesos is usually referred to as the Port Region, since the main port of Chersonesos was located there (fig. 2). As to the port installations, the available information about them is full of blank spots. There are several causes for our poor knowledge of the port structures. The main one is that the Black Sea level that has risen by 3.5-4 meters since antiquity, having flooded all port structures in the harbor of Chersonesos¹.

In 1960 a team of underwater researchers headed by Professor K. Blavatskiy discovered stone masonry on the bottom of the bay, which they attributed as the ruins of a medieval city block². In 1964-1966 the expedition from the Kharkiv University discovered the remains of structures interpreted as the ruins of a medieval pier and defensive towers³. In the 1970s a geoacoustic exploration carried out by

1. Shcheglov 1976, 248-52.

2. Blavatskiy 1985, 170.

3. Shapovalov 1987, 2; Vishnevskiy, Voitczenya, Ranyuk 1987, 21-2.

M. Zolotarev in the Quarantine Bay revealed the location of the ancient shoreline and rectangular undercuts on the bottom, which were interpreted as ancient slipways for the ships⁴. Exploration carried out in 2001 in the area of the port installations revealed the ruins of structures only at the edge of water. All other port structures were covered with a thick layer of silt by that time⁵.

The presence of a pier, if not a port, behind the western gate of medieval Chersonesos is confirmed by the ninth century primary source “*The Lay of Translation of the Relics of Saint Clemens*”⁶ (fig. 3).

The underwater exploration of the outer roadstead of Chersonesos revealed an accumulation of anchors, including Byzantine ones. Most probably anchorages were located there⁷.

Ships on the Black Sea followed three principal routes in the Antique and Medieval periods. The first one followed a coastwise route from the Thracian Bosphorus that went along the western coast of the Black Sea. The second was along the southern coast of the Black Sea to the cape of Carambis and further towards Taurica down to cape Criumetopon. The third and shortest route went directly from the Strait to Chersonesos⁸. In the autumn and summer the first variant of navigation was considered preferable.

In the Middle Ages Chersonesos, called Cherson since the sixth century, represented a city fortified with massive defensive walls and functioning as the outpost of Byzantium in the Black Sea North area. Constantinople controlled its northern borders through Chersonesos. The sea was the most important binder of the Chersonesos - Byzantium cooperation.

Executive orders were delivered to Chersonesos and taxes were taken away, all by sea; the ships brought disgraced emperors and leading clerics into exile here; warships carried punitive forces; trade vessels transported merchandise in and out. We learn about significant political events related to Chersonesos from written sources, while data on economy, trade and everyday life of the city is mostly revealed by the archaeological sources. During the 185 years of excavation in Chersonesos abundant archaeological material has been accumulated, revealing, among other things, broad trade connections of the city with various regions of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean world. Object finds include ceramics, glass, works of art, paleobotanical finds, household articles, coins, seals to name, but a few.

Hanging lead seals - *molybdoboulloi* - had once been used to seal the documents and sometimes to plumb trade goods. Discovery of a large number of seals of *commercarii* - customs officials from various regions of Byzantium - in Chersonesos proves that the city executed state control over the trade articles of foreign merchants as early as in the seventh century. Thanks to the sphragistic monuments we know that the city had close connections with many centers of the Balkan and Asia Minor regions: Constantinople, Hieron, Chrysopolis, Amastris, Abydos, Thessaloniki, Larissa, Thebes, Nikaia, Anchialos, Mytilini, etc⁹.

In various periods of Byzantine dominion in Chersonesos the degree of its dependency from the capital and distant trade partners was different. In the Early Byzantine period the state policy of Constantinople was aimed at strengthening Christianity in Chersonesos. Under Emperor Justinianos I there was intensive church building activity in Chersonesos. For their decoration marble architectural

4. Zolotarev 2004, 57-66.

5. Lebedinskiy 2002, 15-23.

6. Lavrov 1911, 130.

7. Lebedinskiy 2002, 17.

8. Zelenko 2008, 17.

9. Biernacki 2009, 149.

details were delivered to the city by the sea from the island of Prokonnesos in the Sea of Marmara¹⁰.

The analysis of ceramics import of the fifth-seventh centuries reveals that the prevailing types of imported ceramics at that period were amphorae and red slip ware from Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine regions¹¹.

During the so-called Dark Years the trade connections of Chersonesos with the capital and other areas of the Mediterranean reduced considerably, but nevertheless the finds of white clay glazed ware of Constantinople testify that those connections were not broken¹².

The period from the 10th to the middle 13th centuries was rather problem-free for Chersonesos. The city was a large transit trade center. Unfortunately, archaeological data cannot confirm the written sources, in particular information from the treatise by Constantine Porphyrogenitus stating that the Pechenegs bought silk cloths, velvet, pepper, Parthian leather and other products from Chersonesos. The source also reports that the Chersonites bought wax and skins from the Pechenegs, which they resold afterwards in Byzantium¹³. There is ground to believe that some of the ships carrying merchandise to Byzantium were Chersonesian¹⁴. At that time mainly the following goods were imported from the cities of Asia Minor for the needs of the city itself: agricultural products (grain, wine) and raw materials for the artisan production (non-ferrous metals, mercury)¹⁵.

Constantinople, the “workshop of splendor,” remained the major manufacturer and supplier of works of art. Wonderful samples of Byzantine art were discovered in Chersonesos - bronze, stone and ivory icons, jewelry. Splendid steatite icons with the image of Jesus Christ, warrior-saints, in particular St. Dmitry and St. George, are attributed to the Thessaloniki masters of the art¹⁶.

Rich archaeological materials come from the destruction layer of the city, which is traditionally associated with the Tatar invasion in the second half of the 13th century¹⁷. The period prior to the destruction of the city is characterized by the change in the political situation in Byzantium and consequently in Chersonesos. After Constantinople had been forced in 1204, Chersonesos entered the sphere of influence of the Empire of Trebizond. Since the early 13th century Southwestern Crimea became a part of the Empire of the Grand Komnenoi. Taxes collected from the Crimean territories went to Trabezon treasury¹⁸. This defined the character of its economic and cultural connections.

At the same time it should be noted that Chersonesos continued to import pottery from Constantinople made in the first half of the 13th century. Archaeological excavations revealed large amounts of white clay ware with under glaze painting (Glazed White Ware IV by J. Hayes), traditionally associated with capital produce¹⁹. The destruction layers contained numerous fragments of glazed ware of Zeuxippus Ware type, which was widespread on the territory of Byzantium²⁰.

10. Biernacki 2009, 149.
11. Golofast 2001, 164.
12. Sedikova 2005, 43.
13. Konstantin Bagrjanorodnyj 1989, 41, 275.
14. Bogdanova 1991, 63.
15. Bogdanova 1991, 58.
16. Zaleskaya 2011, 125.
17. Golofast, Ryzhov 2003, 224.
18. Karpov 2007, 413-4.
19. Golofast, Ryzhov 2003, 210; Hayes 1992, 30-3.
20. Golofast, Ryzhov 2003, 200-3.

Also, two groups can be distinguished within the glazed ware ceramics: one includes pottery, which was probably manufactured in the Aegean region, in Greece or on Cyprus (Incised Sgraffito Ware and possibly Slip-Painted Ware), while the other group is represented by the Polychrome Sgraffito Wares type, which was most likely manufactured in various centers of Syria, Central and Southeastern Asia Minor, and the wares coated with turquoise glaze most likely manufactured in the workshops of the Muslim Syria²¹. Besides ceramics, connections with the Muslim world are also proved by the copper alloys object finds. Those are figured locks and bowls bearing Arabic inscriptions, engraved mortars and cases. Also, numismatic finds, in particular coins of Kayqubad I, indicate trade connections with the Konya sultans²².

We have no data on the character of the trade fleet of Chersonesos and on the ships entering its port in the first half of the 13th century. However, graffiti depicting two ships discovered on the pithos wall from the destruction layer can be interpreted as the image of a large trade tall ship and a military sailing galley escorting it (fig. 4). Such vessels were used by both Byzantines and Italians in the 13th century²³.

In the 12th-13th centuries the role of Chersonesos - Cherson as an important centre of the transit trade began to fail, while the role of Soldaia (Sudak) strengthened and the Venetians appeared in the Black Sea, followed by the Geniuses. After the disastrous destruction of the city in the 13th century it could not recover. Town planning in the 14th century was not regular any more. Chersonesos preserved the island's isolated life, the majority of which concentrated in the Port Region. If Chersonesos maintained any trade connections with the Mediterranean in the 14th - middle 15th century, that could only have been through intermediaries of Italian ships and tradesmen.

A large trading outpost, Chembalo, emerged in the vicinity of Chersonesos and inside the city most probably there was a trading station²⁴. An Italian source dating from the second half of the 15th century already calls Chersonesos not a city, but an uninhabited place²⁵. Chersonesos sank into oblivion for many centuries and only after 1827 with the beginning of archaeological excavations it got a new lease of life: as an archaeological site.

21. Rabinowitz, Sedikova, Henneberg 2010, 450-1.

22. Rabinowitz, Sedikova, Henneberg 2010, 450-1.

23. Sedikova, Rabinowitz 2013, 40-6, fig. 2-3.

24. Bogdanova 1991, 97-8.

25. Yakobson 1950, 44-5.

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Tauric Chersonesos. Medieval city-port

Sedikova Larissa

Abstract:

The ancient city of Tauric Chersonesos, one of the most distinguished archaeological monuments of the Southern Ukraine, is located in the southwest of the Crimean Peninsula, in the territory of modern Sevastopol.

Tauric Chersonesos was founded by the Dorian Greeks, who resettled from the colony of Herakleia Pontika in the fifth century BC. Throughout its history the city lived through both - polis independence and the Roman presence. After disintegration of the Roman Empire it merged in the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire until its decline in the 14th - middle 15th century.

For the ancient Greeks the major factor in the choice of place for the new city was the availability of a comfortable harbor. The modern Quarantine Bay on the Herakleian Peninsula fully conformed to this requirement. The southeastern part of Chersonesos, where the main port of Chersonesos was located, is usually referred to as the Port Region.

The port installations of Chersonesos are poorly studied, since the Black Sea level has risen by 3.5-4 meters since antiquity, having flooded all port structures in the harbor. Underwater exploration in the bay revealed ruins of defensive towers and pier. Anchorages were located at the bay's entrance.

In the Middle Ages Chersonesos, called Cherson since the sixth century, was an outpost of Byzantium in the Black Sea North area. Abundant archaeological material accumulated during the 185 years of excavation in Chersonesos reveals broad trade connections with various regions of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

Medieval Chersonesos possessed traders transporting goods to the ports of the Byzantine Empire. Its main trade routes were to Constantinople, the Aegean Region and Asia Minor.

After the Italian trade stations had emerged on the Black Sea, the role of Chersonesos as the transit trade centre declined. In the 14th - middle 15th centuries Chersonesos was nothing more, but a small fishing village.



Fig. 1: Ancient City of Chersonesos. Aerial view.

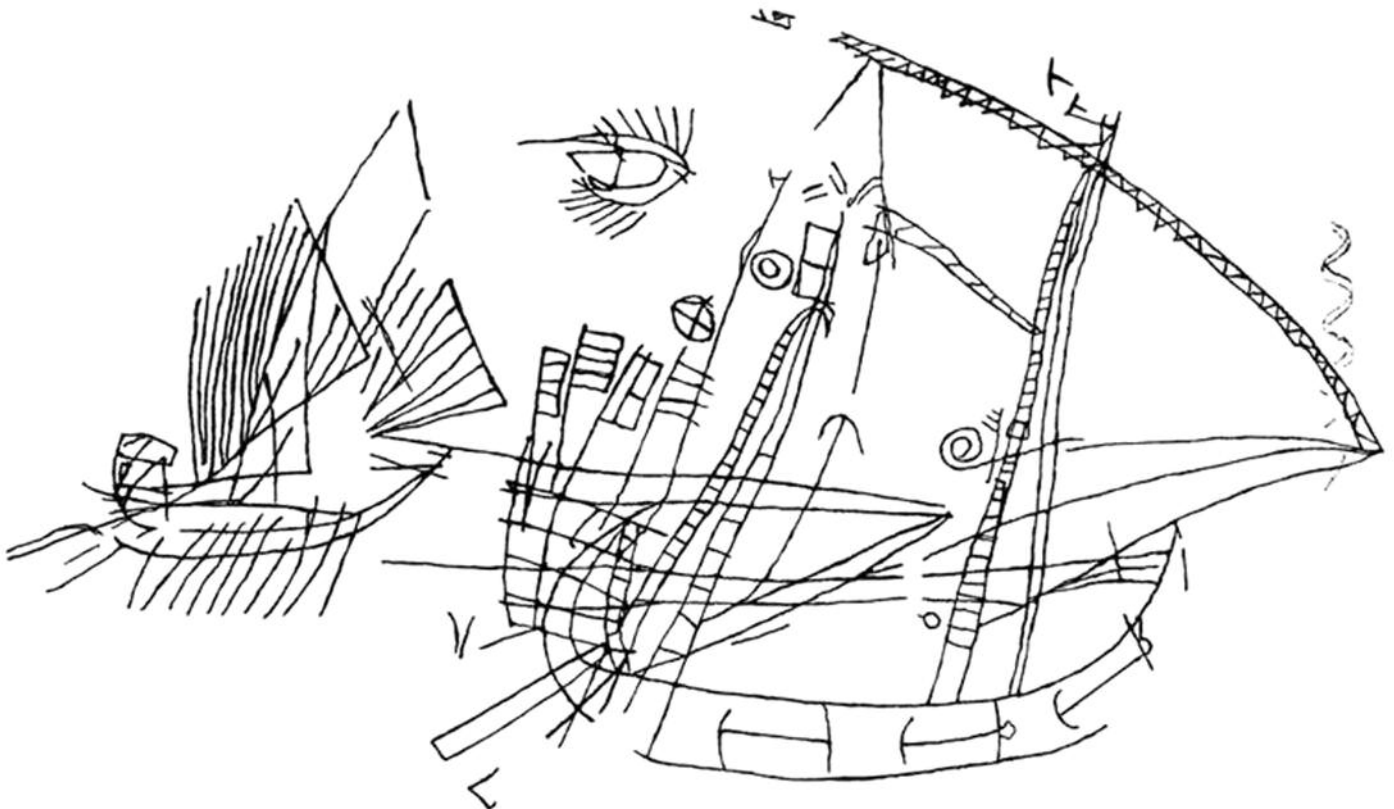
Fig. 2: Port Region of Chersonesos.



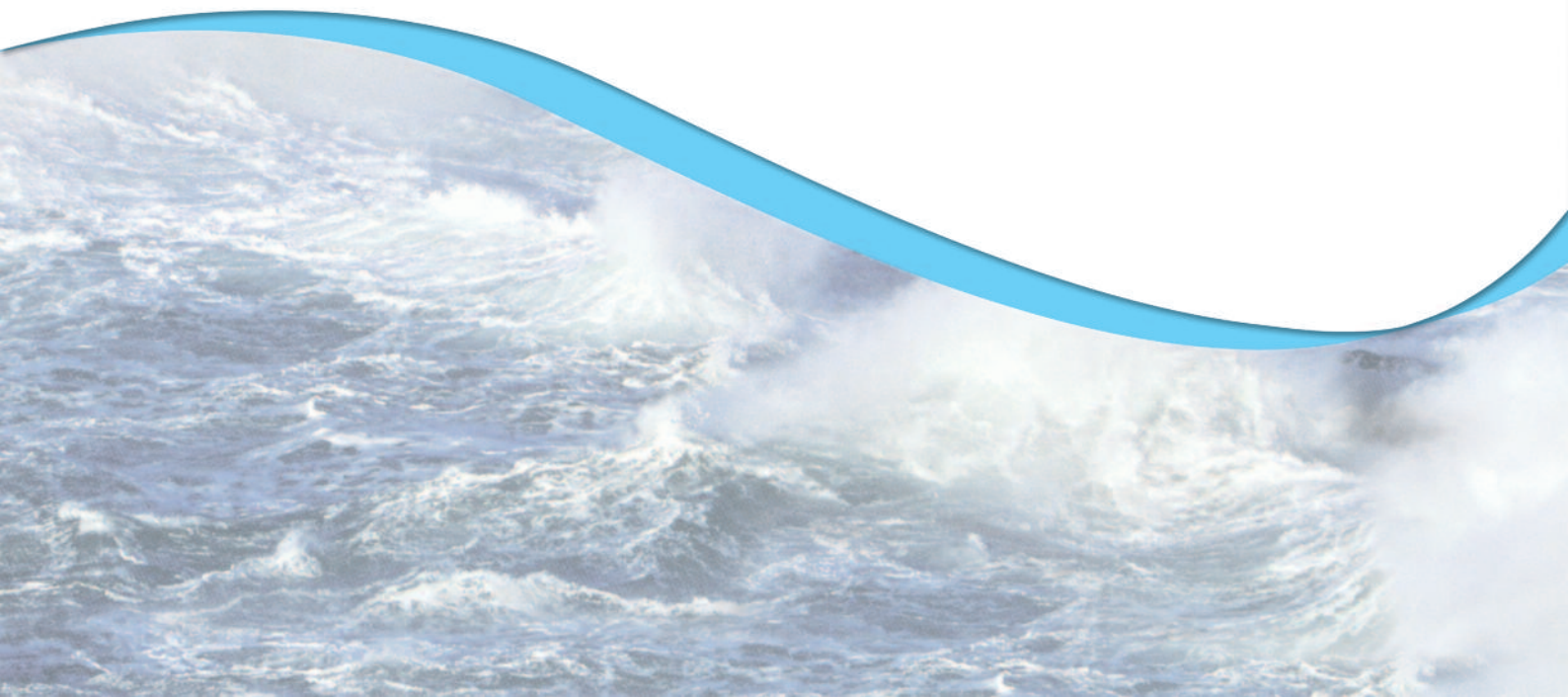


Fig. 3: Western defensive walls of Chersonesos.

Fig. 4: Ships graffiti from Chersonesos.



SESSION III:
HARBOUR INSTALLATIONS - FACILITIES.
THE CASE OF THESSALONIKI



Στο δρόμο για το λιμάνι Πολεοδομικά και τοπογραφικά Θεσσαλονίκης*

Ακριβοπούλου Σοφία

Το 1939, ο Hans von Schoenebeck¹, αξιοποιώντας τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα του Μεσοπολέμου και χάρτες προγενέστερους του 1917, διαπιστώνει και προσπαθεί να ερμηνεύσει την ύπαρξη δύο πολεοδομικών ιστών στη Θεσσαλονίκη, με διαφορετικό προσανατολισμό ο ένας από τον άλλο (εικ. 1). Μολονότι η ερμηνεία που πρότεινε, για επανίδρυση της πόλης από τον Αύγουστο, δεν βρήκε ακολούθους, δεν μπορούμε παρά να αναγνωρίσουμε ότι του οφείλουμε το γνωστό σκαρίφημα της πολεοδομικής οργάνωσής της που επανήλθε τις επόμενες δεκαετίες, καταρχήν από τον Vickers.

Ο Vickers βασίστηκε επίσης σε χάρτες παλιότερους της πυρκαγιάς του 1917, για να προτείνει ερμηνεία τόσο για τους δυο πολεοδομικούς καννάβους, όσο και για το λιμάνι του Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου². Οι χάρτες αυτοί, στους οποίους οι δυο ερευνητές έριξαν μεγάλο βάρος, κατά κάποιο τρόπο τους παραπλάνησαν, καθώς στο νοτιοανατολικό τμήμα της πόλης δεν σώζουν την αυθεντική πολεοδόμηση που επικρατούσε στο τέλος της οθωμανικής περιόδου και πιθανόν αντανάκλασε τη βυζαντινή, αλλά την πολεοδόμηση που ακολούθησε την πυρκαγιά του 1890 (εικ. 2).

Οι δυο διαφορετικοί πολεοδομικοί ιστοί στο σκαρίφημα των Schoenebeck και Vickers μοιάζει να χωρίζονται από τον *Decumanus maximus* (στο εξής DM): ο ιστός στα βόρεια έχει δρόμους κάθετους και παράλληλους στον DM, ενώ ο ιστός που καταλαμβάνει το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα του νότιου μέρους της πόλης έχει δρόμους λοξούς, που αποκλίνουν βορειοανατολικά-νοτιοδυτικά σε σχέση με τους *cardines* του βόρειου τμήματος. Πράγματι, κατά την ανασχεδίαση της πυρίκαυστης ζώνης του 1890, στη θέση λοξών δρόμων και παράγων οικοδομικών νησίδων χαραχτήκε ένα περίπου ιπποδάμμειο σύστημα, με σχεδόν κανονικά οικοδομικά τετράγωνα, στα οποία η παλιά πολεοδομική κατάσταση διασωζόταν μόνο στο γενικό προσανατολισμό των οδικών αξόνων. Αυτή η κανονικότητα, σε συνδυασμό με το διαφορετικό προσανατολισμό των δρόμων στα δυο τμήματα της πόλης, δικαιολογημένα οδήγησε τον Vickers στο συμπέρασμα ότι στα νότια εντοπίζεται το ελληνιστικό τμήμα, με τυπική για την εποχή πολεοδομική οργάνωση. Διακινδύνευσε τη θεωρία ότι ίσως εκεί βρισκόταν η ίδια η αρχαία Θέρμη, θέση που γενικά δεν έγινε δεκτή³. Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις πάντως, πίσω από τη λάθος ερμηνεία βρισκόταν μια πολύ σωστή διαπίστωση.

Σήμερα έχουμε την τύχη να διαθέτουμε δύο αλληλοσυμπληρούμενους χάρτες, προγενέστερους της πυρκαγιάς του 1890⁴. Πρόκειται για ένα χάρτη της πόλης από τις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1880 (χωρίς το θαλάσσιο τείχος δηλαδή) του Antoine Wernieski (εικ. 3) και το λίγο παλιότερο (1871) χάρτη του Πολύκαρπου Βιτάλη, που τον συμπληρώνει -έστω και με ατέλειες- καθώς πρό-

* Ευχαριστώ θερμά τον καθηγητή Γιώργο Βελένη και τον αρχαιολόγο Ιωακείμ Παπάγγελο. Χωρίς τη βοήθειά τους το κείμενο αυτό δεν θα είχε ολοκληρωθεί.

1. Schoenebeck 1940.

2. Vickers 1970a, 1970b.

3. Vickers 1970a, 1972. Για την αρχαία Θέρμη βλ. Vitti 1996, 44 κ.εξ. και Αδάμ-Βελένη 2003, 121-2.

4. Και τους δύο χάρτες δημοσίευσε για πρώτη φορά η Αλέκα Καραδήμου-Γερόλυμπος (Καραδήμου-Γερόλυμπος 2008, 158, 160-1).

κειται για μια αποτύπωση του θαλάσσιου τείχους πριν την ολοκληρωτική κατεδάφισή του⁵ (εικ. 4). Οι χάρτες αυτοί, σε συνδυασμό με τα μέχρι σήμερα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα, μπορούν να μας βοηθήσουν να προσεγγίσουμε τον πολεοδομικό σχεδιασμό της πόλης από την ίδρυσή της και σχεδόν μέχρι τη σύγχρονη εποχή.

Η επικρατέστερη άποψη για την ελληνιστική φάση της Θεσσαλονίκης είναι του Γιώργου Βελένη: η πόλη της εποχής του Κασσάνδρου ήταν μικρότερη από τη ρωμαϊκή και βρισκόταν σε απόσταση από τη θάλασσα⁶ (εικ. 5). Με αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα τεκμηριώνεται ότι η όδευση του ελληνιστικού τείχους δεν διέφερε πολύ από αυτήν που σώζεται σήμερα, όσον αφορά μόνο τις δύο πλευρές του, ανατολική⁷ και βόρεια⁸. Η δυτική πλευρά, όπως και η νότια, ίσως διέφεραν ουσιαστικά. Το δυτικό τείχος είναι πολύ πιθανό να έτρεχε ανατολικότερα, στη γραμμή της οδού Δημητρίου Πολιορκητού⁹, ενώ το νότιο εντοπίστηκε στο ύψος και στον άξονα της σημερινής οδού Αγίου Δημητρίου¹⁰, αρκετά βορειότερα από την ακτογραμμή. Η σημερινή οδός Εγνατία, ο ρωμαϊκός DM, ήταν ένας προϋπάρχων δρόμος στην περιοχή, έξω από την αρχική πόλη, στα νότιά της.

Ξεκινώντας από αυτήν την παραδοχή, θα προσπαθήσουμε να εντοπίσουμε βασικούς δρόμους μέσα και έξω από την πόλη από την εποχή της ίδρυσής της, να διαπιστώσουμε το κατά πόσο διατηρήθηκαν ή πως διαμορφώθηκαν κατά τις διαδοχικές επεκτάσεις της, όπως και που οδηγούσαν.

Οι δρόμοι στο νότιο τμήμα της πόλης

Για να εντοπίσουμε τους σημαντικότερους οδικούς άξονες του «λοξού» πολεοδομικού ιστού μπορούμε καταρχήν να αξιοποιήσουμε δύο υπάρχοντα μνημεία (εικ. 6). Ήδη στο σχέδιο του Schoenobeck (εικ. 1) σημειώνεται ο Άγιος Μηνάς (στο οικοδομικό τετράγωνο BII), που χτίστηκε στα ερείπια παλαιохριστιανικής βασιλικής¹¹, η οποία προφανώς ακολουθούσε το λοξό κάρναβο κι επέβαλε τον προσανατολισμό της και στο μεταγενέστερο ναό. Τον ίδιο προσανατολισμό ακολουθούν και τα γειτονικά λουτρά Γιαχουντί¹², στα Λουλουδάδικα, η παρακείμενη στα δυο μνημεία οδός Βασιλέως Ηρακλείου (από το ύψος της Κομνηνών) και η προέκτασή της, η οδός Φράγκων (στο εξής D1). Το δρόμο αυτό τον διακρίνουμε απόφιο στο χάρτη του Wernieski. Το ίδιο φαίνεται να ισχύει και για το μικρό τμήμα της οδού Κομνηνών μεταξύ Βασιλέως Ηρακλείου και Τσιμισκή, δίπλα στο λουτρό Γιαχουντί (στο εξής C1).

Στους δύο αυτούς δρόμους, που διασώθηκαν μέχρι τις μέρες μας και πιθανότατα επηρέασαν τον προσανατολισμό των δύο αυτών παρακείμενων τους μνημείων, μπορούμε να προσθέσουμε άλλους έξι που εντοπίστηκαν ανασκαφικά, πάντα στο νότιο τμήμα της πόλης (εικ. 6). Οι τέσσερις από αυτούς ακολουθούν τον λοξό κάρναβο, ενώ οι δυο τελευταίοι μάλλον όχι. Τα πιο ξεκά-

5. Λειβαδιώτη 2009, 19, 22.

6. Βελένης 1998. Αδάμ-Βελένη 2003, 123-6.

7. Τμήμα ελληνιστικού τείχους βόρεια της Λεωφόρου «ΟΧΙ». Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989α, 228-9. Βελένης 1998, 20 κ.εξ.

8. Βελένης 1998, 27 κ.εξ.

9. Ο Βελένης (1998, 30 κ.εξ.) θεωρεί λιγότερο πιθανή τη σήμερα σωζόμενη δυτική διαδρομή των τειχών. Ο Vittì (1996, 76) τοποθετεί το δυτικό τείχος μετά το Σαραπείο. Πρόσφατα η Ε. Μαρκή (2012, 94, εικ. 1) αναφέρει ελληνιστική φάση στο ύψος της Ληταίας Πύλης, για την οποία όμως δεν έχει παρουσιαστεί ως τώρα κανένα στοιχείο στις σχετικές δημοσιεύσεις (Μακροπούλου 1996. Μαρκή 2000α, 250 κ.εξ., 2000β, 743. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:76-8).

10. Αδάμ-Βελένη 2003, 127-8. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:56, 292.

11. Καμπούρη 1989. Μαντοπούλου-Ραπαγιοπούλου 1996.

12. Χατζητρύφωνος 1989-90, 85, σχ. 2, όπου η συγγραφέας κάνει συνδυασμό δύο τοπογραφικών, του σημερινού και κάποιου αρχαιότερου, προφανώς παλιότερου από την πυρκαγιά του 1917.

θαρα ευρήματα εντοπίστηκαν το 2010 στην οδό Βασιλέως Ηρακλείου 45, αμέσως νότια της σημερινής μονής της Αγίας Θεοδώρας¹³. Πρόκειται για δύο συμβαλλόμενους δρόμους με επάλληλα χωμάτινα οδοστρώματα. Ο πρώτος διέσχιζε το οικόπεδο κατά τη διαγώνιο, με διεύθυνση βορειοανατολικά-νοτιοδυτικά, ήταν δηλαδή ένας από τους *cardines* του λοξού καννάβου (εικ. 6: C2). Στο νοτιοανατολικό άκρο του συναντούσε κάθετα άλλον, που αποκαλύφθηκε σε πολύ μικρό μήκος (εικ. 6: D2). Υπόγειος αποχετευτικός αγωγός με θολωτή κάλυψη έτρεχε κάτω από το C2 κατά τον άξονα του μήκους. Συνδυάζοντας το σημερινό πολεοδομικό σχέδιο με τους χάρτες του Antoine Wernieski και του Βασίλη Δημητριάδη διαπιστώσαμε ότι ο C2 κατέληξε η οθωμανική *Kastilya Havrası*, που ξεκινούσε από το βορειοανατολικό όριο της μονής και μετέπειτα συνοικίας της Αγίας Θεοδώρας κι έφτανε μέχρι τη θάλασσα¹⁴. Ο συμβαλλόμενος δρόμος D2, που εντοπίζεται επίσης στο χάρτη του Wernieski, όχι όμως και στου Δημητριάδη, είναι μάλλον αυτός που χώριζε τη μικρή εβραϊκή συνοικία *Aguda* από την επίσης εβραϊκή συνοικία *Baru*¹⁵. Κι άλλα ευρήματα στην περιοχή εντάσσονται πολύ καλά στο λοξό κάρναβο: το τμήμα του καθολικού της Αγίας Θεοδώρας, που εντοπίστηκε στο όμορο προς βορρά οικόπεδο¹⁶, καθώς και οι γειτονικές αρχαιότητες της οδού Αριστοτέλους 19-21¹⁷.

Εκτιμώ ότι έχουν ανασκαφεί τμήματα άλλων δύο δρόμων στη νότια πόλη, επίσης με λοξό προσανατολισμό, που διέλαθαν της προσοχής. Το πρώτο εύρημα το εντοπίζω σε δύο γειτονικά οικόπεδα, νότια της Αγίας Σοφίας. Στη συμβολή των οδών Ζεύξιδος και Ικτίνου 18 ανασκάφηκε το 1970 μνημειακή στοά, προσανατολισμένη βορειοδυτικά-νοτιοανατολικά, μπροστά από την οποία περνούσε, κατά τον ίδιο άξονα, καμαροσκεπής αποχετευτικός αγωγός με δύο φρεάτια επίσκεψης στην κάλυψη¹⁸. Στην οδό Μακένζι Κινγκ 8, στο νότιο όριο του οικοπέδου, εντοπίστηκε η προς βορρά προέκταση του αγωγού αυτού¹⁹. Ο αγωγός δεν μπορεί παρά να ανήκε στην υποδομή ενός δρόμου που τότε δεν εντοπίστηκε, γιατί θα ήταν χωματόδρομος. Τοποθετώντας τις δύο αυτές ανασκαφές στο χάρτη του Wernieski διαπιστώθηκε ότι η όδευση του αγωγού συμπίπτει σχεδόν με την όδευση ενός λοξού δρόμου κάτω από την Αγία Σοφία, ο οποίος όριζε από νότο τη νησίδα όπου βρισκόταν ο ναός, το ρωμαϊκό λουτρό και το κρηναίο οικοδόμημα (εικ. 6: D3).

Ο δεύτερος δρόμος εντοπίστηκε το 1976 στην οδό Μητροπόλεως 53-55. Ανασκάφηκε καμαροσκέπαστος αποχετευτικός αγωγός, με διεύθυνση βορειοανατολικά-νοτιοδυτικά και πάνω από αυτόν τρεις επάλληλες στρώσεις δαπέδων από αναμεμιγμένα υλικά και ασβεστοκονίαμα, που θα μπορούσαν να είναι τα οδοστρώματα ενός *cardo*²⁰ (εικ. 6: C3). Σε μεταγενέστερη εποχή και με μεσολάβηση αρκετής επίχωσης χτίστηκε πάνω από τον αγωγό τοίχος με κάθετη διεύθυνση. Ο αγωγός αυτός, όπως και άλλοι ανάλογοι που έχουν εντοπιστεί, πιθανόν διατρύπούσε το τείχος και κατέληγε στη θάλασσα. Έναν τέτοιο αγωγό, που βρισκόταν περίπου στο ύψος της οδού Λέοντος Σοφού, ταύτισε ο Χατζηγιάννου με το «τσιρέμβολον»²¹.

13. Ακριβοπούλου 2010.

14. Ακριβοπούλου 2010.

15. Δημητριάδης 1983, 166-8.

16. Μπακιρτζής 1999. Bakirtzis 2003, 53-4 και εικ. 11.

17. Μακροπούλου 1994, 501-3.

18. Σιγανίδου 1970, 366-8, σχ. 5-6, πιν. 313 α-β. Vitti 1996, λήμμα αριθ. 91, 205-6.

19. Βοκοτοπούλου 1983, 265-7, σχ. 1. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 89, 202-3.

20. Κουρκουτίδου-Νικολαΐδου κ.ά. 1976, 270, πιν. 213α-δ.

21. Χατζηγιάννου 1880, 67. Για το *τσιρέμβολον* ή *τζερέμπουλο* υπάρχουν δύο ερμηνείες: ότι ήταν μεγάλος αποχετευτικός αγωγός (Tafel 1839, 207-8. Χατζηγιάννου 1880. Odorico 2003, 125 κ.εξ.) ή ότι ήταν λιμενοβραχίονας, μώλος (Tafel 1813, 17. Vickers 1970b, 268-9. Μπακιρτζής 1973 και 1975, 318-9). Η πρώτη ερμηνεία έχει με το μέρος της το ότι η λέξη απαντά και αλλού, σε περιοχή που δεν έχει θάλασσα. Βλ. Odorico 2003, 128-9 και 2009, 76-7, σημ. 2 και 141, σημ. 1 (Καμενιάτης).

Όλοι οι παραπάνω δρόμοι είχαν χωμάτινα οδοστρώματα. Πλακόστρωτος ήταν μόνο ο δρόμος που εντοπίστηκε το 2002 στην οδό Γρηγορίου Παλαμά 21-21Α, στη συμβολή της με την Πλατεία Ναβαρίνου, ένας *decumanus* που ακολουθεί τον κάνναβο της βόρειας πόλης (εικ. 6: D4). Το κατάστρωμά του ήταν στρωμένο με ορθογώνιες πλάκες κατά τον άξονα του δρόμου, στο βορειοδυτικό άκρο όμως η πλακόστρωση άλλαζε προσανατολισμό, επειδή ενδεχομένως να συνέκλινε με άλλον, κάθετο δρόμο, που κατηφόριζε προς τη θάλασσα (εικ. 6: C4). Κάτω από το οδοστρώμα του D4 διερχόταν μεγάλος, θολωτός αποχετευτικός αγωγός στον ίδιο άξονα με το δρόμο²².

Συνδυάζοντας τα δύο υπάρχοντα μνημεία και τα ανασκαφικά ευρήματα που αναφέραμε με το χάρτη του Wernieski, διαπιστώσαμε ότι τμήματα των οκτώ αυτών δρόμων διατηρήθηκαν ως το τέλος του 19ου αι. Αυτό φυσικά δεν ισχύει και αντίστροφα, δεν είναι, δηλαδή, όλοι οι δρόμοι του χάρτη υποχρεωτικά αρχαίοι. Ξέρουμε ότι οι οδοί Σαμπρί Πασά και Αγίας Σοφίας είχαν ήδη ευθυγραμμιστεί και διευρυνθεί λίγο πριν ή την εποχή που έγινε ο χάρτης²³. Ξέρουμε, επίσης, ότι λείπει ο δρόμος που έτρεχε δίπλα στο θαλάσσιο τείχος, που μάλλον τον περπάτησε ο Εβλιγιά Τσελεμπί²⁴, τον συμπληρώσαμε όμως χάρη στο χάρτη του Πολύκαρπου Βιτάλη.

Στην περιοχή νότια της Αγίας Σοφίας εντοπίστηκαν κι άλλες αρχαιότητες που ακολουθούν λοξό προσανατολισμό (εικ. 7): το λεγόμενο “κωνσταντίνειο κτίριο”²⁵, που είναι το αρχαιότερο εύρημα κάτω από την Αγία Σοφία, το νυμφαίο και οι παρακείμενες αίθουσες, τα ευρήματα στα οικόπεδα Μακέντζι Κινγκ 6 και 12²⁶, στην Αγίας Σοφίας 32-34²⁷, στη Ζεύξιδος 8²⁸, στη Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου 85²⁹ (σήμερα Τσιμισκή) και στη Γρηγορίου Παλαμά 3³⁰. Τέλος, πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι τον ίδιο προσανατολισμό (με σημαντικά μικρότερη απόκλιση) ακολουθούσαν και κάποια από τα ελληνιστικά ευρήματα που έχουν εντοπιστεί στην ευρύτερη περιοχή του Γαλεριανού: στη Γρηγορίου Παλαμά 16³¹, στην Παύλου Μελά 26³² και πιθανόν και στο ίδιο το Γαλεριανό συγκρότημα³³.

Οι δρόμοι στο βόρειο τμήμα της πόλης

Πολύ περισσότεροι δρόμοι έχουν εντοπιστεί βόρεια του DM. Οι δρόμοι του βόρειου τμήματος αναγνωρίζονται εύκολα, χάρη στα οδοστρώματά τους, που σε πολλές περιπτώσεις διατηρήθηκαν σε καλή κατάσταση (ειδικά όταν είναι πλακόστρωτα), και χάρη στις υποδομές τους, κυρίως αγωγούς αποχέτευσης³⁴. Ο ίδιος ο DM, ο νοτιότερος από τους δρόμους της ζώνης αυτής, που είχε εντο-

22. Καραμπέρη 2001-04, 46-7, σχ. 16, πιν. 13γ. Καραμπέρη, Χριστοδουλίδου 2002, 309-10, σχ. 1, εικ. 1α.

23. Καραδήμου-Γερόλυμπος 2008, 159, 163.

24. Φωτιάδης 1999-2000, 118.

25. Χατζητρύφωνος 1998-99, 105, για τους διαφορετικούς άξονες μεταξύ του αρχαιότερου κτιρίου, που είναι γνωστό ως κωνσταντίνειο κτίσμα (βασιλική) και των δύο μεταγενέστερων (πεντάκλιτη βασιλική και υφιστάμενος ναός Αγίας Σοφίας).

26. Ρωμοπούλου 1973-74, 678-81, σχ. 3-4, πιν. 492γ-δ. Ρωμοπούλου 1979, 275, πιν. 115β. Βοκοτοπούλου 1980, 360-2, πιν. 213α (το σχ. 1 που αντιστοιχεί σε αυτήν τη δημοσίευση είναι άσχετο, το σωστό σχέδιο υπάρχει πάντως στους χάρτες του Vitti). Vitti 1996, λήμμα 89, 202-3.

27. Αδημοσίευτη ανασκαφή, σημειώνεται όμως στους χάρτες του Vitti.

28. Βοκοτοπούλου 1984, 214-16. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 92, 206.

29. Αλεξανδρή 1973-74, 661-4, σχ. 7, πιν. 480α-γ. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 93, 206-7.

30. Αλεξανδρή 1973-74, 666-9, σχ. 10. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 93, 206-7.

31. Μπέσιος 1987. Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989α, 233-34. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 96, 210.

32. Καραμπέρη, Χριστοδουλίδου 1997, 397, εικ. 9.

33. Για ελληνιστικά ευρήματα στην περιοχή του Γαλεριανού βλ. Καραμπέρη, Χριστοδουλίδου 1997, 396 κ.εξ.

34. Για τους αγωγούς στη Θεσσαλονίκη γενικά βλ. Καϊάφα 2008, 1:312 κ.εξ.

πιστεί αποσπασματικά στο ύψος του γαλεριανού συγκροτήματος³⁵, έχει τεκμηριωθεί ικανοποιητικά χάρη στις ανασκαφές του μητροπολιτικού σιδηρόδρομου³⁶. Άλλοι δύο *decumani* έχουν εντοπιστεί. Ο επόμενος προς βορρά παράλληλος του DM είναι ο δρόμος που διερχόταν στον άξονα της Παλιάς Φιλίππου, ο οποίος εντοπίστηκε σε αρκετές ανασκαφές οικοπέδων (στις οδούς Χριστοπούλου³⁷, Φιλίππου³⁸ και Κρυστάλλη³⁹, πρόσφατα πιθανότατα και στη Ζεφύρων⁴⁰), αλλά και στη νότια παρυφή του αρχαιολογικού χώρου της Αγοράς (κατά μήκος του *cryptoporticus*⁴¹). Ο επόμενος προς βορρά είναι ο δρόμος που διερχόταν στον άξονα της Αγίου Δημητρίου, που εντοπίστηκε σχεδόν σε όλο το μήκος του κατά την ανασκαφή του αγωγού ύδρευσης Θεσσαλονίκης (2000-2002)⁴².

Οι *cardines* στα βόρεια της σημερινής Εγνατίας είναι αναπάντεχα πολλοί, πάνω από είκοσι. Οι περισσότεροι εντοπίστηκαν στο ύψος της οδού Αγίου Δημητρίου, κατά την ανασκαφή του αγωγού ύδρευσης⁴³. Συμπίπτουν είτε απόλυτα είτε κατά προσέγγιση με σημερινές κάθετους στην Αγ. Δημητρίου: Φιλώτα⁴⁴, Λέοντος Σοφού⁴⁵, Αντιγονιδών⁴⁶-Μιχαήλ Καραολή και Ανδρέα Δημητρίου⁴⁷, Στρατηγού Δουμπιώτη, Ίωνος Δραγούμη⁴⁸, Φιλήμωνος Δραγούμη⁴⁹-Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου⁵⁰, Τάσκου Παπαγεωργίου⁵¹, Μακεδονικής Αμύνης⁵², Προφήτη Ηλία⁵³, Φαληρέως⁵⁴, Αγίου Νικολάου⁵⁵-Πελοποννήσου με Ολύμπου⁵⁶-Μητροπολίτου Γενναδίου⁵⁷, Μενελάου⁵⁸, Σοφοκλέους⁵⁹-Πλάτωνος, Αγίας Σοφίας, Ευριπίδου-Αχειροποιήτου⁶⁰, Σωκράτους (σήμερα Μοιράρ-

35. Σιγανίδου 1970, 377 (Εγνατία με Καμβουνίων). Vitti 1996, 69, λήμματα 107-8, 224-6. Βελένης 1996, 497.
36. Μακροπούλου, Κωνσταντινίδου 2012.
37. Πλατεία Αχειροποιήτου με Χριστοπούλου (οικόπεδο Σ. Γεωργιάδη): Πέτσας 1967, 393-6. Χριστοπούλου 12: Vitti 1996, λήμμα 118, 232-4. Ρωμοπούλου 1975, 247 σχεδ. 2, πιν. 164 α-β. Κάτω από το οδόστρωμα διερχόταν χτιστός, θολωτός, αποχετευτικός αγωγός κατά τον άξονα του δρόμου.
38. Φιλίππου 25-27: Βαβρίτσας 1970, 365-6, σχ. 3-4, πιν. 312 β-γ. Ρωμοπούλου 1973-74, 681-2, σχ. 8, πιν. 495 γ-δ. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 60, 180.
39. Κρυστάλλη 4-6-8: Bakirtzis 1973. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 51, 177.
40. Ζεφύρων 7: Μαρκή 1999, 586. Νομίζω ότι το τμήμα αυτό δρόμου μάλλον είναι μέρος της παλιάς Φιλίππου, παρά το ότι ανήκε σε άλλο δρόμο, που ακολουθούσε την όδευση των σημερινών οδών Πτολεμαίων, Ιουστινιανού, Αχειροποιήτου και Μόδη, όπως πρότεινε η ανασκαφές. Βλ. και Μαρκή, Κομμάτας 2002, 330.
41. Βελένης 1990-95, 131-2. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 63, 185-6.
42. Μακροπούλου 1996, 489. Μαρκή 2000α, 250 κ.εξ. Καρύδας 2001. Μπακιρτζής 2001, 427-8. Bakirtzis 2003, 42-3. Μπακιρτζής 2006, σποράδην.
43. Μπακιρτζής 2006. Παραπέμπω στην έντυπη έκδοση.
44. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:120-5, 3:πιν. 25-26, σχ. 14 (τομέας K28N-K28N.10).
45. Χάραξη περίπου ίδια με της σημερινής οδού Λέοντος Σοφού φαίνεται πως ακολουθούσε κατά τον Χατζηιωάννου το «τουρέμβολον» (1880, 65, 67), ένας πλινθόκτιστος αγωγός αποχέτευσης που ήταν ορατός στις μέρες του, μεταξύ του Βοσνάκ Χαν και του απέναντι κτιρίου (βλ. και παραπάνω σημ. 21). Ο αγωγός αυτός βρισκόταν στη συνοικία Malta-Cedid, πολύ κοντά στην Οθωμανική Τράπεζα (Δημητριάδης 1983, 172-5) κι ανάμεσα σε δυο δρόμους παράλληλους και πολύ κοντινούς, αυτούς που βρέθηκαν στις οδούς Φιλώτα και Αντιγονιδών. Πιθανότατα βρισκόταν στην υποδομή ενός από αυτούς.
46. Σιγανίδου 1970, 375. Ρωμοπούλου 1973-74, 691, πιν. 499β. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 49, 176. Τασιά 2001-04.
47. Παπαζώλη με Μ. Καραολή-Α. Δημητρίου: Σιγανίδου 1970, 375-7. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 50, 176-7. Μ. Καραολή-Α. Δημητρίου 54: Κανονίδης 1994, 495-7.
48. Κανονίδης 1993, 343-4 και εικ. 2. Τασιά 1993, 334.
49. Σιγανίδου 1970, 377-8. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 136, 245-6.
50. Μακροπούλου, Κωνσταντινίδου 2012.
51. Σιγανίδου 1970, 372-3, σχ. 9-10. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 57, 179. Κάτω από το οδόστρωμα διερχόταν χτιστός, θολωτός, αποχετευτικός αγωγός κατά τον άξονα του δρόμου.
52. Καρύδας 2001, 310-11, σχ. 3. Κάτω από το οδόστρωμα διερχόταν χτιστός, θολωτός, αποχετευτικός αγωγός κατά τον άξονα του δρόμου.
53. Πέτσας 1969, 303, σχ. 9-10, πιν. 313α. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 130, 243.
54. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:191 κ.εξ. (υποτομέας K39-186-187), 3:σχ. 30-32.
55. Πελεκανίδης 1959. Πελεκανίδης 1960, 223, πιν. 193α. Σιγανίδου 1970, 377. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 128, 241. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:186 κ.εξ. (υποτομέας 184-185), 3:σχ. 30-32. Αγίου Νικολάου 3: Ελευθεριάδου κ.ά. 1998, 271-2.
56. Μπακιρτζής 1977, 267 σημ. 45. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 67, 189.
57. Σιγανίδου 1971, 385, σχ. 6-8, πιν. 381α. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 86, 199-201.
58. Σιγανίδου 1970, 375. Μακροπούλου 1987, 394-6. Ελευθεριάδου κ.ά. 1988, 271-2. Μακροπούλου 1988, 378-9. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 78, 193, λήμμα 83, 197-8. Κάτω από το οδόστρωμα διερχόταν χτιστός, θολωτός, αποχετευτικός αγωγός κατά τον άξονα του δρόμου.
59. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:318-21, 3:σχ. 64, πιν. 100-1 (τομείς Γ3-Γ4) και 1:322-5, 3:σχ. 65, πιν. 102-3 (τομείς Γ4-Γ5).
60. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 81, 194-7.

χου Κουφίτσα)⁶¹, Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου⁶², Λάζου Εξάρχη, Λεωνίδα Ιασωνίδου με Εγνατία⁶³, Αποστόλου Παύλου⁶⁴-Αγίου Γεωργίου⁶⁵, Δημητρίου Γούναρη και Τσουφλή⁶⁶-τμήμα της οδού μεταξύ Απ. Παύλου-Δ. Γούναρη-Χατζηανδρέου⁶⁷. Πολλοί από τους δρόμους αυτούς ήταν πλακοστρωμένοι, ενώ πολλοί είχαν στην υποδομή τους μεγάλους θολωτούς αποχετευτικούς αγωγούς. Σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις δίπλα στις παρειές των δρόμων τρέχουν στοές, σπανιότερα υπάρχουν καταστήματα, ενώ αρκετά συχνά οι παρειές ορίζονται από συνεχείς, αδιάθρητους τοίχους. Πρέπει να επισημάνουμε ότι τα καταστρώματα που εντοπίστηκαν -ακόμη και στον ίδιο δρόμο- χρονολογούνται σε διάφορες εποχές, από την αρχαιότητα ως την όψιμη τουρκοκρατία. Οι σημαντικότεροι από τους δρόμους αυτούς πρέπει να ήταν ο *cardo* της οδού Αντιγονιδών, δρόμος ιδιαίτερα φαρδύς, με στοές, που στο βόρειο άκρο του κατέληγε στην πλατεία με τη Στήλη των Όφεων⁶⁸ (εικ. 6:9) ενώ προς νότο κατέληγε στο λιμάνι⁶⁹, και ο *cardo* της Βενιζέλου, στη συμβολή του οποίου με τον DM σχηματιζόταν επίσης πλατεία. Σύμφωνα με τον Tafrafi, ο δρόμος αυτός στα νότια κατέληγε σε πύλη πάνω στο θαλάσσιο τείχος, την πύλη του Γιαλού⁷⁰ (εικ. 6:8).

Στη συντριπτική τους πλειοψηφία, τώρα, τα υπόλοιπα αρχιτεκτονικά ευρήματα στο βόρειο τμήμα της πόλης, αυτά δηλαδή που βρίσκονται στο εσωτερικό των οικοδομικών νησίδων, ακολουθούν τον άξονα του DM και τον πολεοδομικό κάρναβο που ανταποκρίνεται σ' αυτόν. Δύο μόνο περιπτώσεις διαφοροποίησης εντοπίσαμε βιβλιογραφικά, και οι δύο ασαφείς, και οι δύο ελληνιστικής περιόδου. Πρόκειται για το οικόπεδο στη συμβολή των οδών Κασσάνδρου-Παστέρ-Εθνικής Αμύνης, στο οποίο τα αρχαιότερα ευρήματα παρεκκλίνουν στον προσανατολισμό από τους άξονες των υπερκείμενων⁷¹, και για τα αρχαιότερα ευρήματα στην Πλατεία Διοικητηρίου, όπου συμβαίνει το ίδιο⁷². Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις τα ευρήματα αυτά είναι πρώιμα ελληνιστικά, ενώ η υστεροελληνιστική φάση που τα ακολουθεί φαίνεται να έχει άλλο προσανατολισμό, αυτόν που γνωρίζουμε σχεδόν αναλλοίωτο μέχρι σήμερα. Γνωρίζουμε ότι στο πρώτο εύρημα η απόκλιση των αξόνων σε σχέση με τα μεταγενέστερα είναι μάλλον μικρή (όπως περίπου στη Γρηγορίου Παλαμά 16⁷³), δεν έχουμε όμως επαρκή στοιχεία για τον δεύτερο.

Οι δρόμοι έξω από την πόλη

Η πόλη που ίδρυσε ο Κάσσανδρος, όπως ήδη αναφέραμε, πρέπει να έφτανε ως τη σημερινή οδό Αγίου Δημητρίου στα νότια, ενώ και στα δυτικά το πιθανότερο είναι να σταματούσε ανατολικότερα από τη ρωμαϊκή, ας πούμε, συμβατικά, στο ύψος της οδού Δημητρίου Πολιορκητού. Για τις πύλες της ελληνιστικής οχύρωσης, που θα μας εξηγούσαν πως οι μεγάλες οδικές

61. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:235-8 (τομέας 196-197).

62. Καρύδας 1997, 439-40.

63. Καρύδας 1997, 444. Μαρκή, Κομμάτας 2002, 328.

64. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:286-7. Μαρκή 1999, 586 (αγωγός Αποστόλου Παύλου 42) και 2001-04, 302-3 (δέσμη αγωγών Αποστόλου Παύλου 37).

65. Λιούτας, Μανδάκη 1997, 370, σχ. 1 και 6.

66. Ρωμοπούλου 1973-74, 678, σχ. 2. Vitti 1996, λήμμα 109, 226. Κάτω από το οδόστρωμα διερχόταν χτιστός, θολωτός, αποχετευτικός αγωγός κατά τον άξονα του δρόμου.

67. Μπακιρτζής 2006, 1:288-91 (τομέας 207-208).

68. Ρωμοπούλου 1975, 247, σχ. 1, πιν. 163α-β.

69. Vickers 1970b, 262.

70. Μακροπούλου, Κωνσταντινίδου 2012. Tafrafi 1913, 18, 111.

71. Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989α, 231-3. Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989β.

72. Τασιά 1999, 1104 κ.εξ. Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989α, 233-5.

73. Μπέσιος 1987, 349-50, σχ. 1. Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989α, 233-5.

αρτηρίες της εποχής έφταναν στο εσωτερικό της πόλης, δεν γνωρίζουμε σχεδόν τίποτε. Έχουμε όμως στοιχεία για τους δρόμους που περνούσαν σε μικρή απόσταση έξω από την ελληνιστική πόλη και είναι λογικό να καθόρισαν τόσο τη θέση της, όσο και την οργάνωσή της.

Ήδη από την ελληνιστική περίοδο τρεις σημαντικοί δρόμοι εντοπίζονται στην περιοχή της Θεσσαλονίκης⁷⁴ (εικ. 8), ενδεχομένως αρχαιότεροι της ίδρυσής της, καθώς γνωρίζουμε ότι η πόλη προέκυψε από συνοικισμό και είναι απλά λογικό να υποθέσουμε ότι οι προγενέστερες κώμες, οι διασκορπισμένες στην περιοχή, επικοινωνούσαν και μεταξύ τους και με τα σημαντικά αστικά κέντρα με δρόμους της υπαίθρου. Οι τρεις αυτοί δρόμοι ήταν οι εξής: ο δρόμος που πήγαινε στην ανατολική Μακεδονία (Αμφίπολη) μέσω της Λητής, ο δρόμος που πήγαινε στις μεγάλες μακεδονικές πόλεις στα δυτικά (Πέλλα, Αιγές και Δίον) και ο δρόμος που συνέδεε τη Θεσσαλονίκη με την άλλη σημαντική πόλη που ίδρυσε ο Κάσσανδρος, την Κασσάνδρεια στη Χαλκιδική, και με τα πολιίσματα στα ανατολικά (πχ. οικισμός Τούμπας)⁷⁵. Οι δύο πρώτοι δρόμοι έφταναν στα δυτικά της πόλης, ενώ ο τρίτος στα ανατολικά. Είναι πολύ πιθανόν οι δυο αντωποί δρόμοι, της Πέλλας και της Κασσάνδρειας, να ενώνονταν. Αυτή είναι η αρτηρία που αργότερα, στα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια, αποτέλεσε τον DM της Θεσσαλονίκης, περνώντας μέσα από την πόλη από τις πύλες Χρυσή, στα δυτικά, και Κασσανδρεωτική, στα ανατολικά⁷⁶. Ο τρίτος δρόμος, που βρισκόταν στα δυτικά, έμπαινε επίσης μέσα στη ρωμαϊκή πόλη από τη Ληταία (ή Λιταία) πύλη, μοιάζει να όδευε βορειότερα και παράλληλα με τον DM στα ανατολικά, και να έφτανε σε μία πύλη που αγνοούμε το αρχικό της όνομα, έμεινε, όμως, γνωστή ως Νέα Χρυσή πύλη⁷⁷. Από εκεί φαίνεται να έβγαινε έξω από την πόλη ένας δρόμος τοπικής σημασίας.

Καμία όμως από τις τρεις μεγάλες οδικές αρτηρίες δεν έφτανε ουσιαστικά στο εσωτερικό της ελληνιστικής πόλης, παρά μόνο ο δρόμος τοπικής σημασίας στα ανατολικά, ο αντίστοιχος του δρόμου της Λητής. Παρόλα αυτά, οι άλλοι τρεις δρόμοι αφενός θα πρέπει να επικοινωνούσαν μεταξύ τους, θα πρέπει δηλαδή να διασταυρώνονταν, αφετέρου θα πρέπει και ο δρόμος της Λητής κάπου να κατέληγε: είτε στο δρόμο Πέλλας-Κασσάνδρειας, με τον οποίο λογικά θα διασταυρωνόταν, είτε να προχωρούσε κι ακόμη νοτιότερα, για να συναντήσει τη θάλασσα. Γιατί κάποιος δρόμος θα έπρεπε να έφτανε και μέχρι τη θάλασσα⁷⁸.

Ο δρόμος της Λητής, αν προεκταθεί νοτιοανατολικά, θα διασταυρωθεί με το μετέπειτα DM και θα συναντήσει το ανατολικό τείχος της πόλης, λίγο πιο πάνω από το Λευκό Πύργο, μάλλον εκεί ή περίπου εκεί που υπήρχε άλλοτε επίσης μια πύλη, η πύλη Ρώμα, που υποθέτουμε ότι θα περιλαμβάνονταν στην αρχική φάση του τείχους το οποίο μας σώζεται σήμερα. Ο υποτιθέμενος αυτός δρόμος, λοξός, θα είχε όδευση βορειοδυτικά-νοτιοανατολικά, ανάλογη με του D3 που εντοπίσαμε νότια της Αγίας Σοφίας. Πραγματικά, υπάρχει ένας τέτοιος δρόμος στο χάρτη του Wernieski, ένας λοξός *decumanus* που ξεκινά περίπου από την πλατεία που σχηματιζόταν στη συμβολή του DM με την οδό Σαμπρί Πασά και συνεχίζει, με μικρά κενά αλλά με αυτήν τη γενική χάραξη ως το τείχος, πάνω από το Λευκό Πύργο. Στην πορεία του διασταυρώνεται με την *Kastilya Havrasi* (C2) και με τον D3. Σαν κοινός κλάδος, ο *decumanus* αυτός και ο D3, θα πρέπει να κατέληγαν στην πύλη Ρώμα, που βρισκόταν πολύ κοντά στο

74. Σισμανίδης 1985, 55-7.

75. Τμήμα του δρόμου αυτού εντοπίστηκε στη Διεθνή Έκθεση Θεσσαλονίκης (προέκταση Μακεδονικού Μουσείου Σύγχρονης Τέχνης). Τσιμπίδου 2001-04α. Τσιμπίδου κ.ά. 2001.

76. Η ιδέα αυτή υπέφωσκε ήδη από τότε που θεωρήθηκε ότι η ρωμαϊκή Εγνατία περνούσε μέσα από τη Θεσσαλονίκη, Makaronas 1951.

77. Γενικά για τις πύλες της Θεσσαλονίκης βλ. Spiesser 1984, 49-58 και σύντομα Vitti 1996, 129-30.

78. Για τις πληροφορίες που έχουμε για το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι βλ. σύντομα Λειβαδιώτη 2009, 37-43.

νοτιοανατολικό πύργο της οχύρωσης, τη θέση ή περίπου τη θέση του οποίου κατέχει σήμερα ο Λευκός Πύργος⁷⁹ (εικ. 6: με διακεκομμένη). Από το βορειότερο τμήμα του δρόμου αυτού, μεταξύ Αγίου Δημητρίου και DM, δεν σώζεται τίποτε, γιατί μάλλον θα ήταν χωματόδρομος. Ίσως όμως τα αρχαιότερα ελληνιστικά ευρήματα που ήδη αναφέρθηκαν (Κασσάνδρου-Παστέρ-Μακεδονικής Αμύνης και Πλατεία Διοικητηρίου) να επηρεάστηκαν στον προσανατολισμό από αυτόν.

Αν δεχτούμε ότι, τόσο ο κεντρικός αυτός *decumanus* του νότιου τμήματος της πόλης, όσο και ο DM, αποτελούν τμήματα αντίστοιχων αρχαιότερων δρόμων της υπαίθρου που τελικά ενσωματώθηκαν στην πόλη -κάτι που και σήμερα συμβαίνει στις δραστήριες πόλεις που συνεχώς επεκτείνονται- έχουμε μια καλή ερμηνεία για την ύπαρξη δύο πολεοδομικών ιστών στη Θεσσαλονίκη και ιδιαίτερα για την εμφάνιση και διατήρηση ενός λοξού καννάβου στο νότιο τμήμα της. Η πρώτη επέκταση της πόλης έγινε ανάμεσα στο τείχος της Αγίου Δημητρίου και στο μετέπειτα DM. Ο DM ήταν μέρος ενός δρόμου της υπαίθρου αρχικά, ο οποίος είχε μεγάλη σημασία για την πόλη και την ευρύτερη περιοχή⁸⁰. Είναι λογικό κι αναμενόμενο να επηρέασε την πορεία τόσο του νότιου τείχους της πόλης, που θα χτίστηκε σχεδόν παράλληλα με αυτόν, όσο και την πολεοδομική οργάνωση του αρχικού τμήματος της Θεσσαλονίκης, αλλά και της πρώτης επέκτασης κατά Βελένη⁸¹.

Το νοτιότερο τμήμα, που αποτελεί τη δεύτερη επέκταση της πόλης, πρέπει να οργανώθηκε επίσης σε αναφορά με έναν παλιό και σημαντικό δρόμο, αυτόν που ερχόταν από τη Λητή και κατέληγε στη θάλασσα, αφού είχε διασταυρωθεί με το δρόμο Πέλλας-Κασσάνδρειας (DM) στο ύψος περίπου του ρωμαϊκού *cardo* που ονομάστηκε αργότερα οδός Σαμπρί Πασά. Μέρος αυτού του παλιού δρόμου της υπαίθρου είναι ο *decumanus* που βλέπουμε στο χάρτη του Werkiesski, που συγκεντρώνει γύρω του τα ευρήματα με τη μεγαλύτερη απόκλιση (εικ. 6: με διακεκομμένη). Είναι, πιθανότατα, ο αρχαιότερος δρόμος του νότιου τμήματος και η αρχική κατοίκηση πρέπει να έγινε γύρω του. Άλλωστε, καθώς προχωρούμε νοτιότερα, οι *decumani* εμφανώς προσαρμόζονται στον προσανατολισμό του θαλάσσιου τείχους.

Το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι και η Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα

Ο βασικός *Decumanus* του νότιου τμήματος προφανώς δεν οδηγούσε απλώς στην παραλία, αλλά στο ελληνιστικό λιμάνι της πόλης, το οποίο βρισκόταν ανατολικά της χερσονησίδας του Λευκού Πύργου, εκεί όπου σε παλιούς χάρτες βλέπουμε να σχηματίζονται δυο κολπίσκοι⁸². Τα ευρήματα του 2002 στη ΧΑΝΘ επιβεβαιώνουν τους χάρτες: η ακτογραμμή εκτός τειχών εντοπίστηκε στο χώρο του αθλητικού κέντρου, στην οδό Νικολάου Γερμανού, από το βόρειο άκρο του γηπέδου ως την οδό Στρατηγού Δαγκλή⁸³. Τόσο στη ΧΑΝΘ, όσο και στη γειτονική ανασκαφή στο Θέατρο Κήπου⁸⁴, στην απέναντι πλευρά

79. Tafrafi 1913, 95. Spieser 1984, 49-50.

80. Αδάμ-Βελένη 2003, 124.

81. Αδάμ-Βελένη 2003, 124-5 και 2008, 92 (το ίδιο σχέδιο, πρόταση για τις διαδοχικές επεκτάσεις της πόλης του Γ. Βελένη). Οι δύο αυτές επεκτάσεις, πρώτη και δεύτερη, δεν έγιναν κατ' ανάγκη με χρονολογική σειρά, μπορεί τμήματά τους να έγιναν και ταυτόχρονα. Θα κρατήσουμε την αρίθμηση αυτή, αφού ήδη υπάρχει στη βιβλιογραφία, για να δηλώσουμε τις γεωγραφικές περιοχές της επέκτασης της πόλης (α' επέκταση: Αγίου Δημητρίου-Εγνατία, β' επέκταση: Εγνατία-θάλασσα).

82. *Θεσσαλονίκης ανάδειξις* 2008, 302 (χάρτης του θαλάσσιου μετώπου, του Gravier d'Otières, 1685), 110 (Plan de la rade de la ville et des environs de Salonique, 1784), 111 (Plan de Salonique, 1822).

83. Τσιμπίδου 2001-04β. Τσιμπίδου, Θεοδωρίδης 2002, 321-5.

84. Τα ευρήματα είχαν ταυτιστεί με το *Κελλάριον* κάτι που τελικά μάλλον δεν ισχύει (Τόσκα κ.ά. 1997). Για τα λιμάνια της Θεσσαλονίκης βλ. γενικά και σύντομα Λειβαδίτη 2009.

της οδού Νικολάου Γερμανού, βρέθηκαν εγκαταστάσεις που καταδεικνύουν την ύπαρξη στη θέση αυτή ενός λιμανιού, σε λειτουργία ήδη από τον 3ο αι. π.Χ. Στο λιμάνι αυτό οδηγούσε η πύλη Ρώμα και δεν είναι καθόλου απίθανο το όνομα της πύλης αυτής να δήλωνε ακριβώς τον προορισμό του θαλάσσιου δρόμου: την ίδια τη Ρώμη ή και τη Νέα Ρώμη.

Η ακριβής θέση της πύλης αυτής δεν έχει εντοπιστεί, το όνομά της όμως διατηρήθηκε για αιώνες⁸⁵. Σε δύο έγγραφα της μονής Ξενοφώντος αναφέρεται πύλη με αυτό το όνομα στην περιοχή του Ιπποδρομίου, πολύ κοντά σε μια μικρή μονή της Θεοτόκου, ιδιοκτησίας της μονής Ξενοφώντος. Στο έγγραφο του 1324 ο μοναχός Λαυρέντιος Κλάδων δωρίζει στην Ξενοφώντος αυτή τη μικρή μονή της Παναγίας, που βρίσκεται στη γειτονιά του Ιπποδρομίου, «*πλησίον του ανατολικού τείχους αυτής άγχιστά τε τής πόρτης τής όνομαζομένης Ρώμης*»⁸⁶. Στο έγγραφο του 1343 που αφορά πάλι την ίδια μικρή μονή, η πύλη Ρώμα αναφέρεται ως «*κεκλεισμένη*»⁸⁷.

Η μονή αυτή της Θεοτόκου, αν δεν είναι κάποια εντελώς άγνωστη σε μας, μπορεί να αναζητηθεί στη θέση του σημερινού ναού των αγίων Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης, όπου το 1973 είχε ανασκαφεί τμήμα υστεροβυζαντινού νεκροταφείου⁸⁸, πιθανότατα μικρής μονής (εικ. 6:5). Στο τμήμα του προτειχίσματος που διατηρείται ορατό στη συμβολή της οδού Φιλικής Εταιρείας με την οδό Τσιμισκή, πολύ κοντά δηλαδή στο ναό Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης, είναι εμφανής μια κλεισμένη πυλίδα, που πρέπει να σχετιζόταν με την πύλη Ρώμα⁸⁹. Η θέση της πύλης Ρώμα, πάντως, πρέπει μάλλον να αναζητηθεί μετά τη σφενδόνη του Ιπποδρόμου, το όριο της οποίας έχει εντοπιστεί αμέσως βορειοανατολικά της Νέας Παναγίας⁹⁰ (εικ. 6:6). Επομένως, θα ήταν συνετό να την αναζητήσουμε νότια της σημερινής Τσιμισκή, ενδεχομένως και της Μητροπόλεως. Θεωρώ πολύ πιθανόν η πύλη Ρώμα να είναι η παράγωνη αυλή που εικονίζεται σε επαφή με τον περίβολο του Λευκού Πύργου στο χάρτη του Βιτάλη (εικ. 9). Αυτή η αυλή-πύλη εικονίζεται, μάλλον, παρατοποθετημένη και με μορφή ορθογώνιας εσοχής στο χάρτη του Struck (εικ. 2). Την εσοχή αυτή ο Μπακιρτζής, αντιλαμβανόμενος σωστά ότι υπήρχε δεύτερο λιμάνι στα ανατολικά της πόλης, θεώρησε θέση του ελληνιστικού λιμανιού⁹¹. Η πύλη αυτή, που εικονίζεται στο χάρτη του Βιτάλη, είχε μάλλον τρία ανοίγματα, από ένα προς την κάθε μεριά της θάλασσας κι ένα προς την πόλη.

Ενδιαφέρουσα περιγραφή του ενός από τα δύο λιμάνια της πόλης βρίσκουμε στα *Θαύματα του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, σε σχέση με μια πολιορκία της Θεσσαλονίκης από τους Σλάβους που έγινε κάπου στις πρώτες δεκαετίες 7ου αι.⁹². Οι Θεσσαλονικείς, όταν αντιλήφθηκαν τον κίνδυνο που πλησίαζε από τη θάλασσα, προσπάθησαν να προστατέψουν το λιμάνι αυτό. Έφτιαξαν ξύλινες βάσεις για να στηρίξουν την αλυσίδα που θα έκλεινε το άνοιγμα του⁹³ και πίσω από την αλυσίδα έστησαν έναν υποβρύχιο φράχτη με αιχμηρές απολήξεις που μόλις εξείχε από το νερό⁹⁴, για να ανακόψουν τα μονόξυλα των

85. Παπαγεωργίου 1898, 58. Spiesser 1984, 49-50.

86. Actes de Xénophon, έγγραφο αρ. 20, στ. 3.

87. Actes de Xénophon, έγγραφο αρ. 26, στ. 4.

88. Αλεξανδρή 1973-74, 656-8. Vavylorouli 1989.

89. Ελευθεριάδου 1988, 392-3 και κυρίως πιν. 231β. Βλ. επίσης Odorico 2009, 109, 30.

90. Κούσουλα 1995. Γενικά θεωρείται ότι δεν θα είχε νόημα η ύπαρξη πύλης στο ύψος του Ιπποδρόμου (Spiesser 1984, 54).

91. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 320-1, εικ. 28.

92. *Θαύματα*, βιβλίο Β', θαύμα Α', 179-86. Βλ. και Odorico 2003, 131 κ.εξ.

93. Οι βάσεις ήταν μάλλον πλωτές. Spiesser 1986, 367.

94. Όρθιοι πάσσαλοι, ανάμεσα τους καρφωμένοι άλλοι χιαστί (προφανώς για να τους δένουν) και στο κέντρο κάθε χι ακόμη ένας όρθιος, όλοι επενδυμένοι με χυτό μέταλλο. Οι όρθιοι πάσσαλοι είχαν αιχμηρές απολήξεις.

Σλάβων, που θα προσπαθούσαν ανυποψίαστοι να μπουν στο λιμάνι. Πίσω από το φράχτη έφτιαξαν μια πλωτή γέφυρα από πλοία που βρίσκονταν εκείνη την ώρα εκεί, ώστε να έχουν έναν διάδρομο για να πολεμήσουν σε περίπτωση απόβασης. Έσκαψαν επίσης μια τάφρο, μπροστά σε ένα ναό της Θεοτόκου γειτονικό στο λιμάνι, γιατί ο τόπος εκεί είχε «καταστεί» ανοχύρωτος, κάτι που όλοι το γνώριζαν, τονίζει το κείμενο. Όπως αποδείχθηκε το εντόπισαν αυτό το αδύναμο σημείο και οι Σλάβοι, περιπολώντας τον κόλπο πριν την επίθεση. Μέσα στην τάφρο αυτή έβαλαν παγίδες που τις κάλυψαν με κλαδιά και φύλλα για να μην φαίνονται⁹⁵. Τέλος, έφραξαν το μώλο του λιμανιού, που ήταν επίσης ανοχύρωτος, με στηθαίο από ξυλεία.

Η επίθεση έγινε από δύο κατευθύνσεις στο θαλάσσιο μέτωπο (και από πολλά σημεία που δεν εξειδικεύονται από την ξηρά, αλλά αυτό δεν μας ενδιαφέρει εδώ). Ένα κύμα επιτέθηκε στον πύργο που βρισκόταν στα δυτικά της Εκκλησιαστικής Σκάλας, τοπωνύμιο που για πρώτη στη βιβλιογραφία αναφέρεται εδώ, με στόχο να παραβιάσουν το «παραπύλιο» που βρισκόταν πολύ κοντά του. Δεύτερο κύμα επιτέθηκε στο ανοχύρωτο μέρος, το οποίο προφύλαγε η τάφρος με τις παγίδες.

Η περιγραφή αυτή, συνοπτική αλλά και αρκετά ακριβής τόσο για τα τοπογραφικά στοιχεία, όσο και για τις πολεμικές μεθόδους, έχει προκαλέσει μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον και έγιναν προσπάθειες για την ταύτιση των πεδίων της μάχης⁹⁶. Οι περιγραφές των αμυντικών προετοιμασιών, όπως εύστοχα παρατήρησε ο J.-M. Spieser, μοιάζουν να βγήκαν απευθείας από τις σελίδες του σχετικού βιβλίου του Φίλωνος του Βυζαντίου, τα *Πολιορκητικά*⁹⁷. Μάλιστα, ο συγγραφέας των *Θαυμάτων* έχει παραλείψει ουσιώδη στοιχεία για την κατανόηση των αμυντικών μέτρων από το μεταγενέστερο αναγνώστη, όπως το ότι αυτός ο αιχμηρός φράχτης στηριζόταν μέσα στο νερό σε ξύλινη βάση στερεωμένη σε μεγάλα λιθάκια, ριγμένα επί τούτου στο βυθό. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για την τάφρο με τις παγίδες. Ευτυχώς, για όλα αυτά μας πληροφορεί συμπληρωματικά ο Φίλων. Φαίνεται πως οι μέθοδοι αυτές ήταν τόσο παγιωμένες, που αναπαράγονταν τυποποιημένες σε κάθε περίπτωση πολιορκίας από τη θάλασσα και η προηγούμενη γνώση τους επηρέασε τον συγγραφέα των *Θαυμάτων*, που τις παρέθεσε αυτολεξεί σχεδόν, αλλά και κάπως συνοπτικά, παραλείποντας, δηλαδή, κάποια στοιχεία που θα ήταν μάλλον αυτονόητα.

Το λιμάνι που περιγράφεται είναι πιστεύω το ελληνιστικό, το ανοχύρωτο, με ένα μώλο που τον αναφέρει και ο Rouquerville στο γράμμα του στον Tafel⁹⁸. Μετά την επισκόπησή τους⁹⁹ οι εχθροί, που είχαν ελλιμενιστεί ανατολικότερα, οπότε είχαν πολύ καλή θέα του λιμανιού αυτού, όπως και του νοτιότερου τμήματος του ανατολικού τείχους, φαίνεται πως δεν είχαν λόγο να διακινδυνεύσουν επίθεση στο οχυρωμένο λιμάνι που βρισκόταν στα δυτικά¹⁰⁰. Το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι είχε μάλλον μόνο εμπορική δραστηριότητα -έχει αυτό ήδη υποστηριχθεί¹⁰¹. Γι' αυτό εκεί βρίσκονταν εκείνη τη στιγμή άλλωστε μόνο εμπο-

95. Vickers 1970b, 271.

96. Μπακιρτζής 1975, σχ. 15. Odorico 2003, 131 κ.εξ.

97. Spieser 1986, 366 κ.εξ. Ο Vickers εντόπισε κάποιες ομοιότητες και με ακόμη παλιότερο έργο (1970b, 271-2) τις οποίες ως ένα σημείο ελέγχει ο Odorico (2003, 133).

98. Tafel 1842, 10. Ο Rouquerville μεταφέρει στο σημείο αυτό του γράμματος πληροφορίες του Γάλλου πρόξενου στη Θεσσαλονίκη Mr. de St. Sauver, τον οποίο είχε συναντήσει στο Παρίσι. Αυτός είχε δει ένα βυθισμένο μώλο στα νερά του Λευκού Πύργου.

99. *Θαύματα*, βιβλίο Β', θαύμα Α', 185.

100. Πιθανόν το οχυρωμένο λιμάνι, που είχε έναν προστατευτικό τοίχο μπροστά του -συνεχόμενο με την οχύρωση ή ελεύθερο, δεν έχει αυτό εδώ τόση σημασία (Odorico 2003)- να μην διακρινόταν κιάλας από τη θάλασσα, από την απόσταση των δύο μιλίων που επόπτευσαν οι εχθροί με γυμνό μάτι, παρά να φαινόταν σαν συνεχές με το θαλάσσιο τείχος. Στο λιμάνι αυτό, επίσης, μάλλον δεν υπήρχαν πολεμικά πλοία για να αντιμετωπίσουν την επίθεση από τη θάλασσα (*Θαύματα*, βιβλίο Β', θαύμα Α', 181). Γι' αυτό πανικόβλητοι οι κάτοικοι επιδόθηκαν αποκλειστικά σε αμυντικά έργα.

101. Λειβαδιώτη 2009, 39, 42.

ρικά ή μεταφορικά πλοία ξυλείας, οι «κυβαίες»¹⁰², που επιτάχθηκαν. Ο γειτονικός ναός της Παναγίας θα μπορούσε να βρίσκεται είτε στη θέση του υστεροβυζαντινού μικρού μοναστηριού ιδιοκτησίας της Ξενοφώντος (μάλλον στη θέση του Αγ. Κωνσταντίνου) είτε στη θέση της σημερινής Νέας Παναγίας¹⁰³. Η τάφος που φτιάχτηκε για να προφυλάξει το ναό που ήταν σε μέρος ανοχύρωτο -είχε καταστεί ανοχύρωτο, κυριολεκτικά, δεν ήταν, δηλαδή, πάντα έτσι¹⁰⁴- προφύλαγε και το λιμάνι. Μια τέτοια τάφος θα ξεκινούσε από το ανατολικό άκρο του λιμανιού, αφού το δυτικό συνόρευε με τον πύργο και προστατευόταν. Εκεί, στα ανατολικά, έβγαινε ένας χειμάρρος, η κοίτη του οποίου εντοπίστηκε ανασκαφικά¹⁰⁵. Η τάφος δηλαδή, που με τόση ταχύτητα φτιάχτηκε, μάλλον ήταν καθαρισμός και διεύρυνση της κοίτης αυτού του χειμάρρου, που θα είχε και άφθονα κλαδιά και φύλλα για να κρυφτούν με φυσικό τρόπο οι παγίδες. Τι ακριβώς ήταν ανοχύρωτο άραγε, το λιμάνι που προστατεύτηκε από ανατολικά κι από την ξηρά με την τάφο αυτή μέχρι το ύψος του ναού, ο ναός μόνο ή και τα δύο μαζί, αυτό δεν είναι απόλυτα σαφές. Αν και ο ναός βρισκόταν σε κίνδυνο, αυτό σημαίνει ρήγμα στο τείχος κι αυτό είναι δυνατόν ίσως να εξηγηθεί, καθώς μπορεί να προκλήθηκε κατά το σεισμό που έγινε το 620 περίπου¹⁰⁶.

Το άλλο κύμα των επιτιθέμενων όρμησε στον πύργο στα δυτικά της Εκκλησιαστικής Σκάλας για να παραβιάσει την πυλίδα που βρισκόταν πολύ κοντά. Η Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα είναι πιο δύσκολο να προσδιοριστεί. Μπορούμε όμως να προτείνουμε δύο εκδοχές. Κατά την πρώτη εκδοχή, μπορεί το ίδιο το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι να ονομαζόταν έτσι. Θα μπορούσε να εκληφθεί ως μια απλή αδυναμία της συνοπτικής, άλλωστε, αφήγησης η εμφάνιση ξαφνικά αυτού του όρου. Προφανώς ο συγγραφέας αντιλαμβανόταν ως αυτονόητα κάποια τοπογραφικά σημεία αναφοράς της πόλης¹⁰⁷, όπως αντιλαμβανόταν και ως αυτονόητα μερικά σημεία της περιγραφής της τυποποιημένης άμυνας και παρέλειψε έτσι να μας εξηγήσει πώς ο φράχτης με τα εξέχοντα καρφιά στηριζόταν μέσα στη θάλασσα. Ο πύργος στα δυτικά της Σκάλας¹⁰⁸, στην περίπτωση αυτή, θα ήταν ο νοτιοανατολικός πύργος της οχύρωσης, ας πούμε ο σημερινός Λευκός Πύργος. Η πυλίδα δίπλα στον πύργο θα μπορούσε να ήταν το άνοιγμα προς τη μεριά του θαλάσσιου τείχους που πιθανότατα υπήρχε στην πύλη Ρώμα.

Η δεύτερη εκδοχή προϋποθέτει άλλη μια πύλη πάνω στο θαλάσσιο τείχος. Η πύλη αυτή θα ήταν μάλλον η πύλη του Γιαλού (Porte Maritime), που ο

102. *Θαύματα*, βιβλίο Β', θαύμα Α', 183.

103. Γνωρίζουμε ότι η ίδρυσή της ανάγεται στο 12ο αι. Παπαγεωργίου 1897 και Δημητριάδης 1983, 260. Και στις δυο περιπτώσεις θεωρούμε ότι τα βυζαντινά ιδρύματα θεμελιώθηκαν στη θέση αρχαιότερων, κάτι πολύ συνηθισμένο.

104. «Τάφρον δὲ τότε πρὸς τῷ πανυμνήτῳ τεμένει τῆς ἀχράντου Θεοτόκου τῷ ὄντι πρὸς τῷ αὐτῷ λιμένι ἐποιήσαντο, ἀτειχίστου τοῦ τοιοῦτου καθεστώτος τόπου, ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπίστανται», *Θαύματα*, βιβλίο Β', θαύμα Α', 184.

105. Η κοίτη που εντοπίστηκε στη Διεθνή Έκθεση Θεσσαλονίκης, στο χώρο του Μακεδονικού Μουσείου Σύγχρονης Τέχνης, στη συνέχεια έστριβε νοτιοανατολικά, ακολουθώντας περίπου την ὁδὸς Μανόλη Ανδρόνικου. Τιμπίδου, Θεοδωρίδης 2002, 324.

106. Θεοχαρίδου 1994, 29-31. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, βέβαια, θα πρέπει να αποδειχθεί ότι η πολιορκία αυτή δεν έγινε το 619, όπως έχει προταθεί από τον Lemerle. Βλ. σύντομα Odorico 2003, 131, σημ. 32.

107. Αν θέλουμε να οργανώσουμε σε ομάδες τις τοπογραφικές πληροφορίες του κειμένου θα διακρίνουμε μάλλον τρεις. Οι συγκεκριμένες τοπογραφικές αναφορές της πόλης (αυτές δηλαδή που στα νέα ελληνικά θα αποδίδαμε με κεφαλαίο αρχικό) είναι το *Κελλάριον*, ο ναός της Παναγίας, η *Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα* και το μέρος των *Βρόγγθων*. Όλες αυτές οι θέσεις είναι προφανώς μοναδικές και άμεσα αναγνωρίσιμες από τον αναγνώστη της εποχής, εκτός ίσως από το *Κελλάριον* που ήταν έξω από την πόλη και προσδιορίζεται. Λιγότερο συγκεκριμένες αλλά όχι τόσο γενικές τοπογραφικές πληροφορίες είναι το ατείχιστο μέρος κοντά στο ναό, ο πύργος στα δυτικά της Εκκλησιαστικής Σκάλας και η πυλίδα της Σκάλας. Οι πληροφορίες αυτές είναι κατά κάποιο τρόπο περιγραφικές, μέσω συσχετισμού ή μια με την άλλη αποκτούν αξία, ο αναγνώστης της εποχής βοηθιέται δηλαδή για να αντιληφθεί που βρίσκονται οι θέσεις. Κατά τα άλλα ο συγγραφέας αναφέρεται σε μεγάλα τμήματα της πόλης με γενικό τρόπο: θάλασσα, λιμάνι, τείχη γενικά και τείχη από όλες τις μεριές, βόρεια, ανατολική, δυτική και θαλάσσια. Είναι πιθανόν το λιμάνι του Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου να είχε ιδιαίτερη ονομασία, αλλά καθώς δεν έπαιξε ρόλο στα γεγονότα δεν αναφέρεται.

108. «...εις τὸν πρὸς δῦσιν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς σκάλας πύργον...» (*Θαύματα*, βιβλίο Β', θαύμα Α', 186).

Ταφραλής τοποθετεί αμέσως ανατολικά του βυζαντινού λιμανιού, πάνω στο τείχος¹⁰⁹ (εικ. 6:8). Δίπλα σχεδόν στην πύλη αυτή, που είχε πύργο στα δυτικά της, τον ανατολικό πύργο του βυζαντινού λιμανιού, υπάρχουν δύο αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα που μπορούν να ερμηνευτούν ως προβλήτες: το παλιό εύρημα στη Στοά Χιρς (Τόττη), που αναφέρει ο Μπακιρτζής¹¹⁰ και ένα πολύ νεότερο και μάλλον ισχυρότερο, αν και ουσιαστικά αδημοσίευτο, που εντοπίστηκε το 1996 από την Κατερίνα Τζαναβάρη¹¹¹ και αναφέρεται μόνο από τη Μαρίνα Λειβαδιώτη¹¹². Το εύρημα αυτό, ένας ισχυρός τοίχος, κάθετος προφανώς στο θαλάσσιο τείχος, θα μπορούσε να είναι προβλήτα της Εκκλησιαστικής Σκάλας. Η εκδοχή αυτή ενισχύεται από τη γειτνίαση των λιμενικών αυτών εγκαταστάσεων με το ναό της Παναγίας, μετέπειτα του Αγίου Δημητρίου, που βρισκόταν στη θέση του σημερινού ναού του Γρηγορίου Παλαμά¹¹³, αλλά και με την Αγία Σοφία, το μητροπολιτικό ναό της πόλης πριν την τουρκοκρατία. Και στο λιμάνι αυτό οδηγούσε ένας σημαντικός δρόμος της πόλης, η σημερινή Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου και πρώην Σαμπρί Πασά. Ο δρόμος αυτός όμως δεν επικοινωνούσε άμεσα ούτε με το ναό της Παναγίας ούτε με τη Μητρόπολη (στη θέση της Αγίας Σοφίας).

Οποσδήποτε, η ταύτιση της Εκκλησιαστικής Σκάλας, όποια εκδοχή από τις δύο και να διαλέξει κανείς, προϋποθέτει μια πύλη πάνω στο θαλάσσιο μέτωπο και έναν πύργο στα δυτικά της σκάλας. Δεν θεωρώ καθόλου απίθανη την ύπαρξη και των δύο αυτών πυλών πάνω στο θαλάσσιο μέτωπο, και της λεγόμενης πύλης του Γιαλού και της πυλίδας στην πύλη Ρώμα. Ως τώρα, βέβαια, με πάθος απορρίφθηκε η ύπαρξη παραθαλάσσιων πυλών, αν και παράλογη δεν είναι, αφού γνωρίζουμε ανάλογες περιπτώσεις σε άλλες παραθαλάσσιες πόλεις¹¹⁴. Προτιμώ όμως την εκδοχή η Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα να ταυτίζεται με το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι στα ανατολικά. Ο πρώτος και βασικός λόγος που το πιστεύω -μια που δεν είμαι φιλόλογος, παρά μόνο πολύ φανατική αναγνώστρια- είναι η ροή της αφήγησης. Γενικά, έχω σχηματίσει την άποψη ότι η αφήγηση είναι συνοπτική, όχι όμως ατελής. Θα το θεωρούσα σημαντική αδυναμία από πλευράς του συγγραφέα -και όχι απλή παράλειψη, όπως οι ειδικότερες κατασκευαστικές λεπτομέρειες σχετικά με τα αμυντικά τεχνικά έργα- να μεταφέρει τη δράση εντελώς ξαφνικά και ειδικά σε σημείο κορύφωσής της σε άλλο γεωγραφικό χώρο, για τον οποίο καμία αναφορά ως τότε δεν είχε γίνει. Πόσο μάλιστα που ήδη μας έχει περιγράψει συνοπτικά τους χώρους της δράσης και η Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα όχι μόνο δεν είναι σ' αυτούς αλλά είναι κι ένα από τα ελάχιστα συγκεκριμένα τοπωνύμια που μας δίνει σε ολόκληρη την αφήγηση. Θεωρώ ότι το τοπωνύμιο «Εκκλησιαστική» μπορεί να εξηγηθεί, καθώς ο δρόμος που οδηγούσε σε αυτήν απευθείας ήταν ο δρόμος που περνούσε από τη Μητρόπολη (Αγία Σοφία), από το ανάκτορο και από τον Ιππόδρομο (νότια από όλα), αλλά και από τον έναν από τους δύο ναούς της Θεοτόκου που εντοπίσαμε ως τον πιθανότερο να είναι αυτός που αναφέρεται στα *Θαύματα*, τη Νέα Παναγία. Ο δρόμος αυτός κατέληγε στην πύλη Ρώμα, που είχε δύο ανοίγματα που οδηγούσαν στη θάλασσα. Τέλος, πιστεύω πως ίσως θα ήταν υπερβολή να υπάρχουν τρεις τόποι

109. Tafraли 1913, 18, 111-2.

110. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 319-20, σχ. 1:14.

111. Λειβαδιώτη 2009, 40, εικ. 56.

112. Λειβαδιώτη 2009, 40.

113. Μαντοπούλου 1980.

114. Λειβαδιώτη 2009, 26.

ελλιμενισμού σε λειτουργία στη σειρά την ίδια εποχή, το λιμάνι του Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, αμέσως ανατολικά η Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα, αν θεωρήσουμε ότι βρισκόταν δίπλα στον ανατολικό πύργο του προηγούμενου λιμανιού στη Στοά Χιρς, και το παλιό ελληνιστικό λιμάνι, μετά από χίλια μέτρα. Αντίθετα, μια προβλήτα στη θέση περίπου της Πλατείας Αριστοτέλους θα μπορούσε κάλλιστα να έχει δημιουργηθεί μετά την αχρήστευση ενός από τα δύο παλιότερα λιμάνια. Θεωρώ λοιπόν Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι.

Η πορεία αυτή στο χώρο και στο χρόνο της πόλης μας οδήγησε τελικά σε μια σειρά από συμπεράσματα. Η ελληνιστική πόλη χτίστηκε μεσόγεια, πολύ κοντά σε δυο μεγάλους, ήδη υφιστάμενους δρόμους της υπαίθρου. Ο ένας συνέδεε τις μακεδονικές πόλεις στα δυτικά με την Κασσάνδρεια και ο άλλος τις ανατολικές μακεδονικές πόλεις, μέσω της Λητής, με το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι, αφού προηγουμένως διασταυρωνόταν με το δρόμο Πέλλας-Κασσάνδρειας. Τόσο η αρχική Θεσσαλονίκη επηρεάστηκε από τους προϋπάρχοντες δρόμους, χτίζοντας το τείχος της σχεδόν παράλληλα με τον πρώτο δρόμο, όσο και οι επεκτάσεις της προς νότο, ειδικά η δεύτερη, που διατήρησε ως βασικό οδικό της άξονα το δεύτερο δρόμο που οδηγούσε στο λιμάνι, λοξό ως προς τον πρώτο. Το αποτέλεσμα ήταν να δημιουργηθούν δυο διαφορετικού προσανατολισμού πολεοδομικοί ιστοί, που φανερώνουν ότι οι επεκτάσεις της πόλης έγιναν αυθόρμητα, γύρω από τους μεγάλους δρόμους, και στάθηκε είτε δύσκολο είτε ανούσιο να ενοποιηθούν, τουλάχιστον στους πυκνοκατοικημένους πυρήνες τους. Αντίθετα, πιο απομακρυσμένες από τους πυρήνες περιοχές, όπως αυτή στα ανατολικά, όπου χτίστηκε το Γαλεριανό συγκρότημα, μπόρεσαν με ευκολία να προσαρμοστούν στο πολεοδομικό σύστημα της κυρίως (και παλιότερης) πόλης. Το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι, ο βασικός προσορισμός του λοξού δρόμου, που οδηγούσε σε αυτό μέσω της πύλης Ρώμα, όταν τελικά χτίστηκε η οχύρωση που συμπεριέλαβε συνολικά τις επεκτάσεις της πόλης μέχρι τη θάλασσα, ήταν σε δραστηριότητα τουλάχιστον ως το τέλος της όψιμης αρχαιότητας. Τότε το λιμάνι αυτό δέχτηκε το κύριο μέτωπο επίθεσης μιας από τις σλαβικές επιδρομές, που περιγράφεται στα *Θαύματα του Αγίου Δημητρίου*. Το λιμάνι αυτό δεν είναι απίθανο να είχε τότε κι ένα όνομα, αφού δεν ήταν πια το μοναδικό της πόλης. Πιστεύω πως ονομαζόταν *Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα*.

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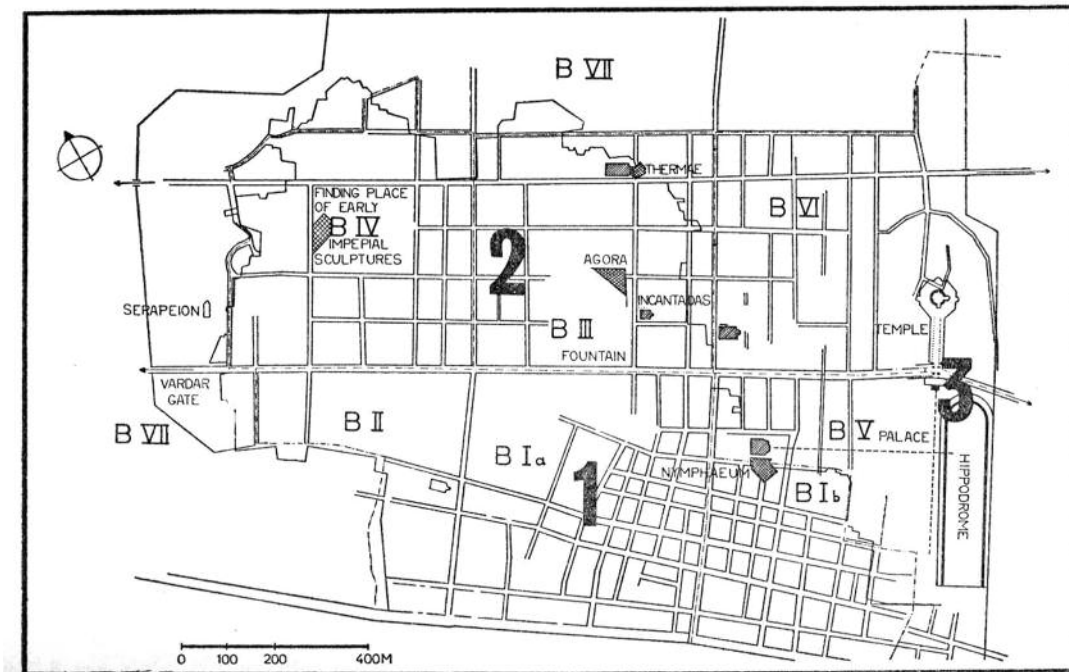
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On the road to the harbour Topography and town planning of Thessaloniki

Akrivopoulou Sofia

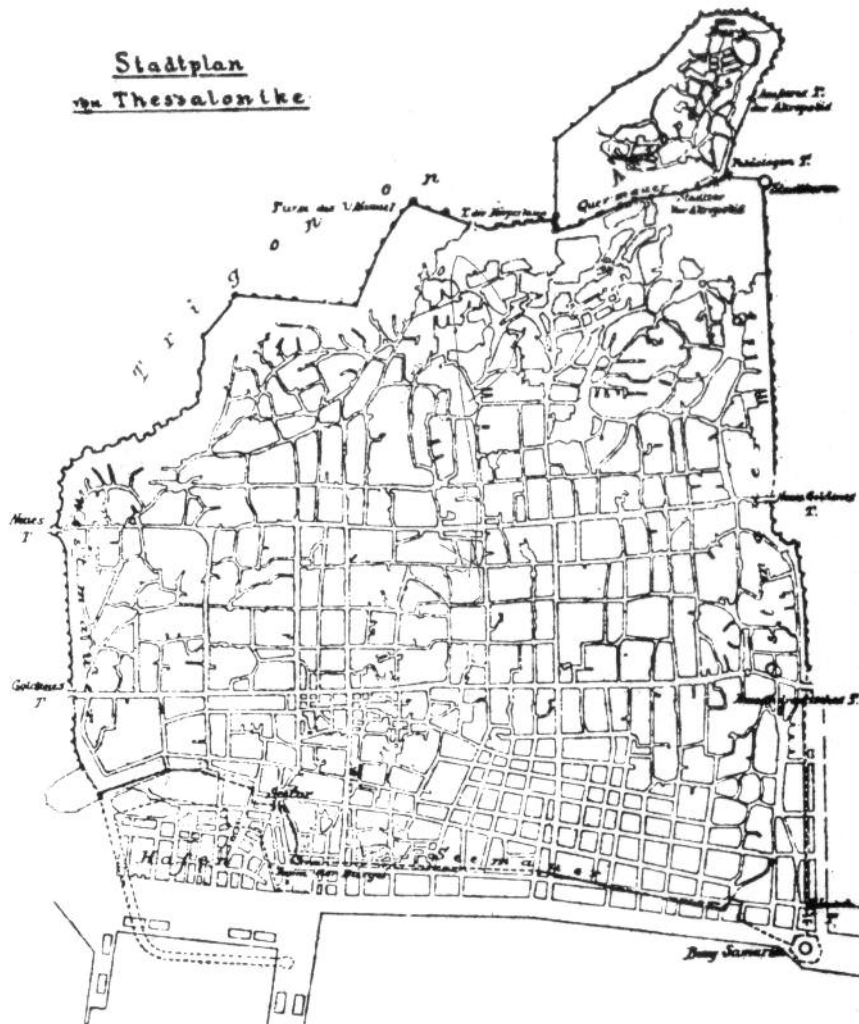
Abstract:

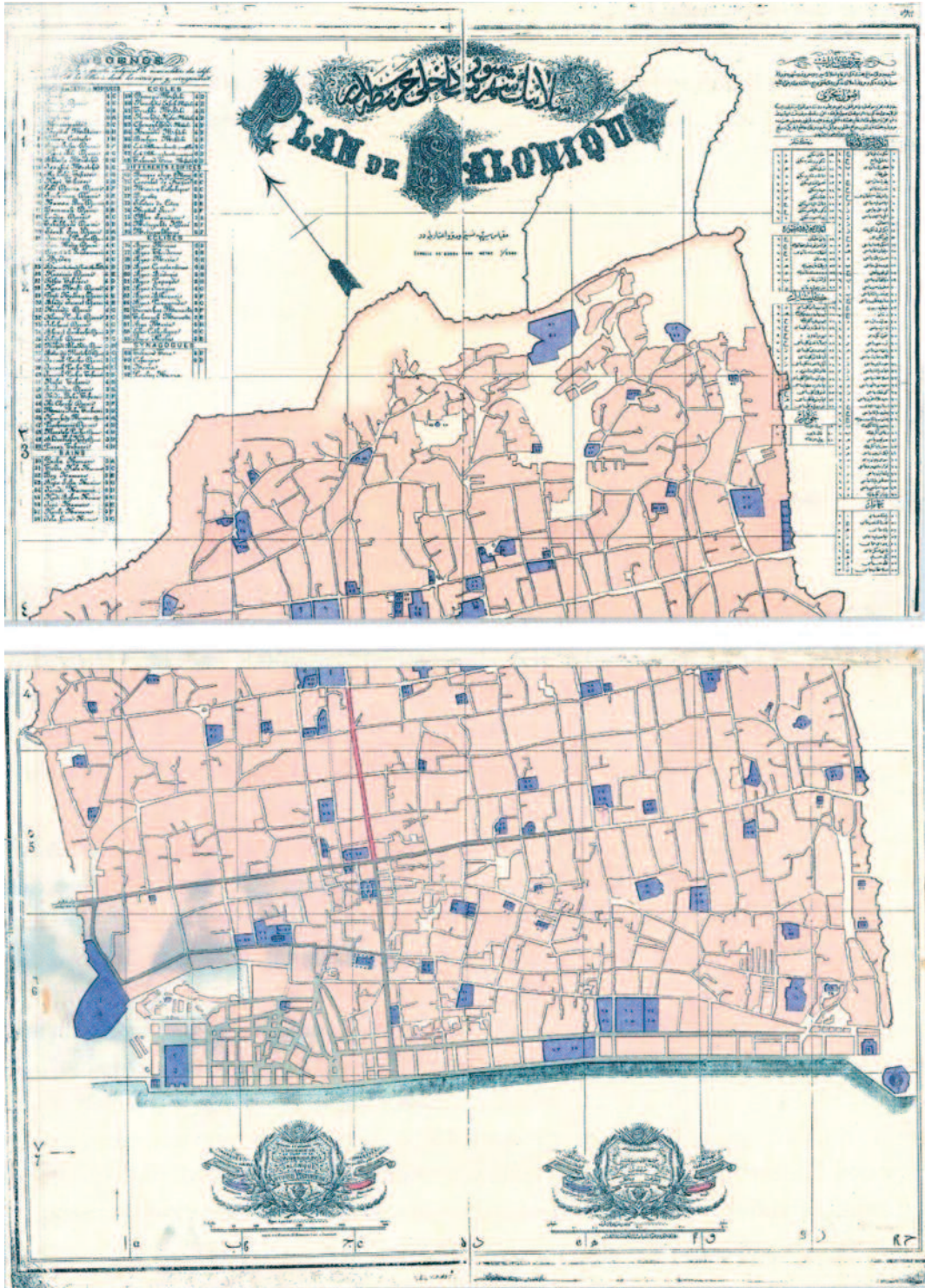
Two differently orientated urban tissues, separated by the roman *Decumanus Maximus* (today's *Egnatia Street*) have been traced in Thessaloniki early in the 20th century. This paper aimed to explain this phenomenon by attempting a historical presentation of the city streets. Those in the southern part were presented extensively, mainly because it is in this part that we trace the irregularity of the town planning. Furthermore, combining archaeological data with two 19th century maps that precede the 1890's great fire, leads us to the belief, that we have traced here some unknown streets. The streets of the northern part -*decumani and cardines*- and the roads that existed before the foundation of the city have also been presented in brief. The latter, that were used to pass outside of the city walls of the Hellenistic Thessaloniki, were embodied successively into the Roman town and became important city streets with a great impact on the shaping of its urban plan. The road connecting the Macedonian cities of the West with Kassandreia to the East (Chalkidike) became Thessaloniki's *Decumanus Maximus*. The other road was oblique; crossing the previous one, it connected the Macedonian cities of the East (Amphipolis) with the sea-side. Its axis has affected the urban tissue of the southern part of the city, which was a latter expansion of the Hellenistic core made rather on the spot and without special urban planning. The Hellenistic harbor, traced ten years ago to the northeast of the White Tower, is identified with *Ekklesiastike Skala*, known by the *Miracles of St. Demetrius*.



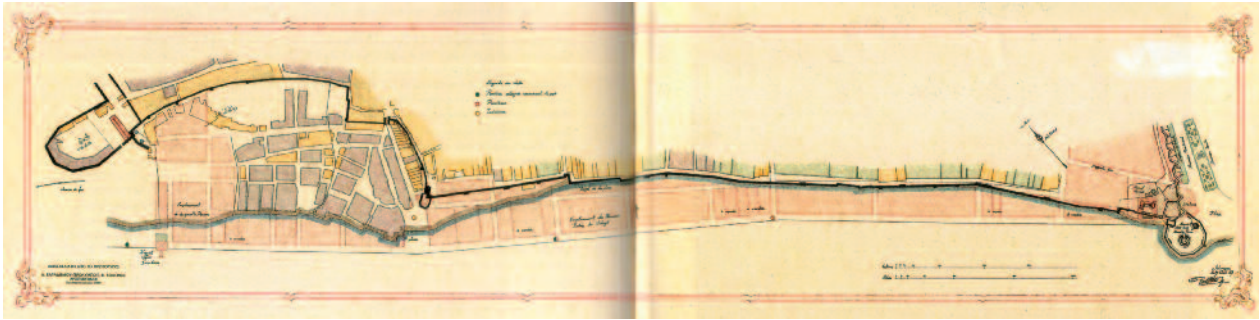
Εικ. 1: Σκαρίφημα της πολεοδομικής οργάνωσης της Θεσσαλονίκης, κατά Schoenebeck και Vickers (Vickers 1970α, εικ. 3, 248).

Εικ. 2: Χάρτης της Θεσσαλονίκης που δημοσίευσε ο Struck (1905). Απεικονίζεται η κατάσταση μεταξύ των δύο πυρκαγιών, με τη χαρακτηριστική λοξή πολεοδόμηση στο νοτιοανατολικό τμήμα (Struck 1905, 545).



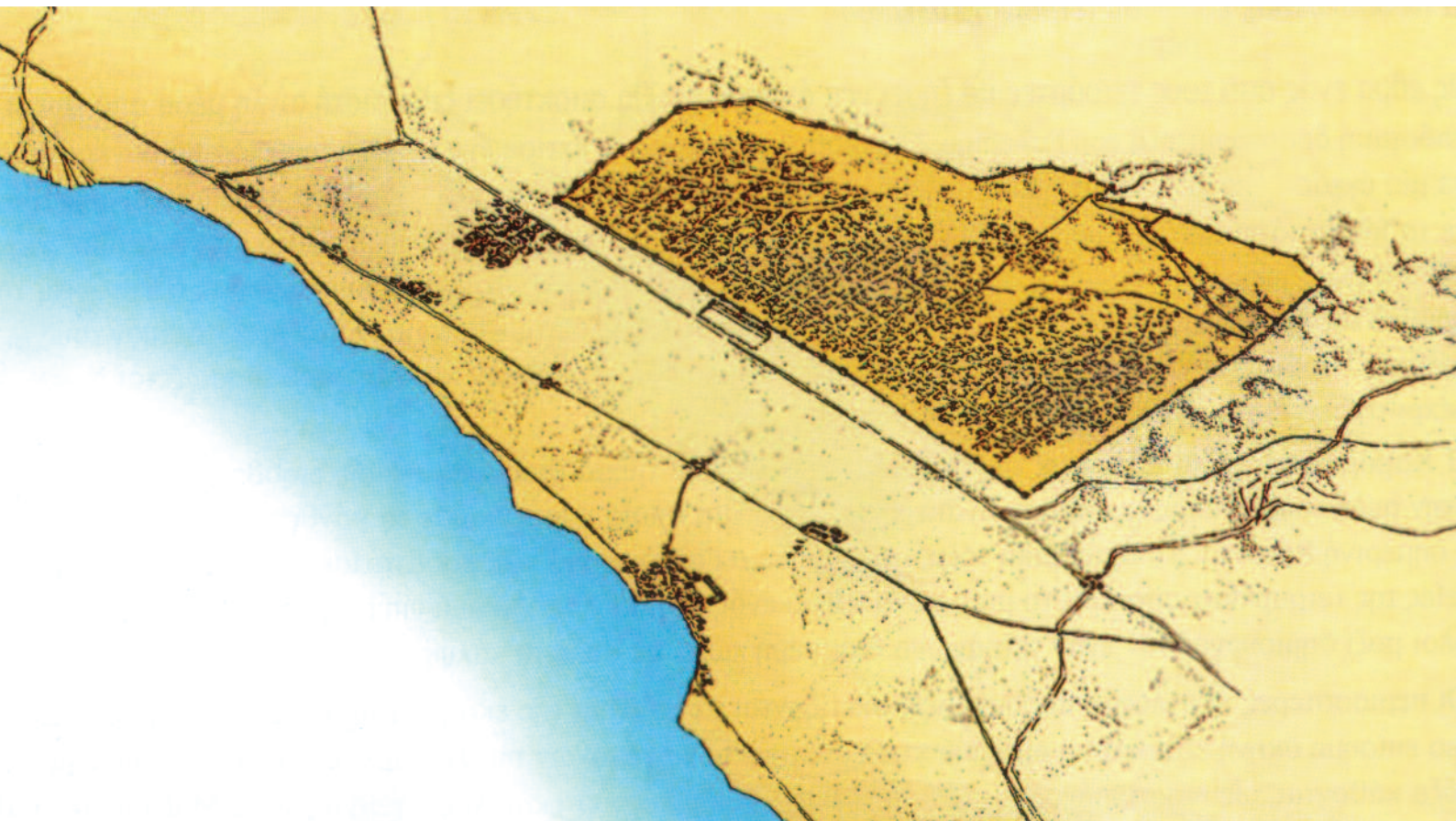


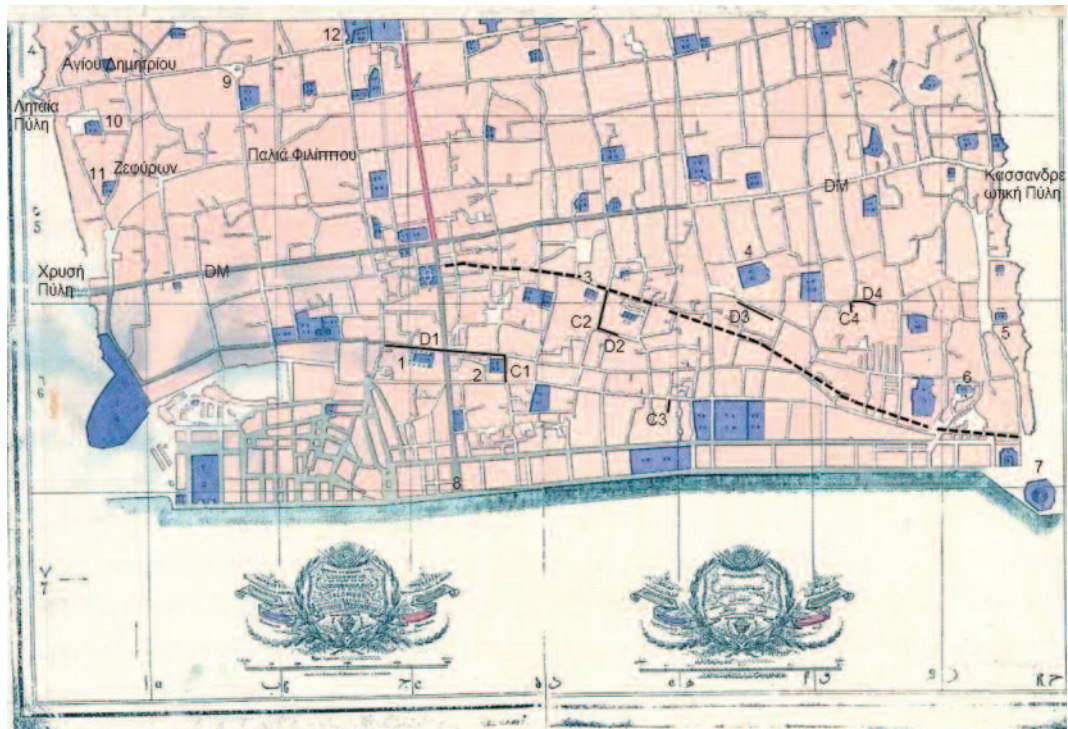
Εικ. 3: Ο χάρτης του Antoine Wernieski, 1880-82 (Γερόλυμπου 2008, 158).



Εικ. 4: Ο χάρτης του Πολύκαρπου Βιτάλη, 1871 (Καραδήμου-Γερόλυμπος 2008, 160-1).

Εικ. 5: Η Θεσσαλονίκη περίπου την εποχή της ίδρυσής της, πρόταση (Αδάμ-Βελένη 2008, 96).





Εικ. 6: Δρόμοι και μνημεία στο χάρτη του Wernieski.

Μνημεία: 1: Άγιος Μηνάς. 2: Λουτρά Γιαχουντί. 3: Αγία Θεοδώρα. 4: Αγία Σοφία.

5: Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος. 6: Μεγάλη (Νέα) Παναγία. 7: Λευκός Πύργος.

8: Πύλη του Γιαλού-cardo Σαμπρί-Πασά. 9: Πλατεία «Στήλης των Όφενων»-cardo Αντιγονιδών.

10: Άγιοι Απόστολοι. 11: Λουτρά Φοίνικας. 12: Διοικητήριο.

Δρόμοι: Με διακεκομμένη ο υποτιθέμενος αρχαιότερος δρόμος του νότιου τμήματος.

DM: Decumanus Maximus. D1-D4: Decumani. C1-C4: Cardines.

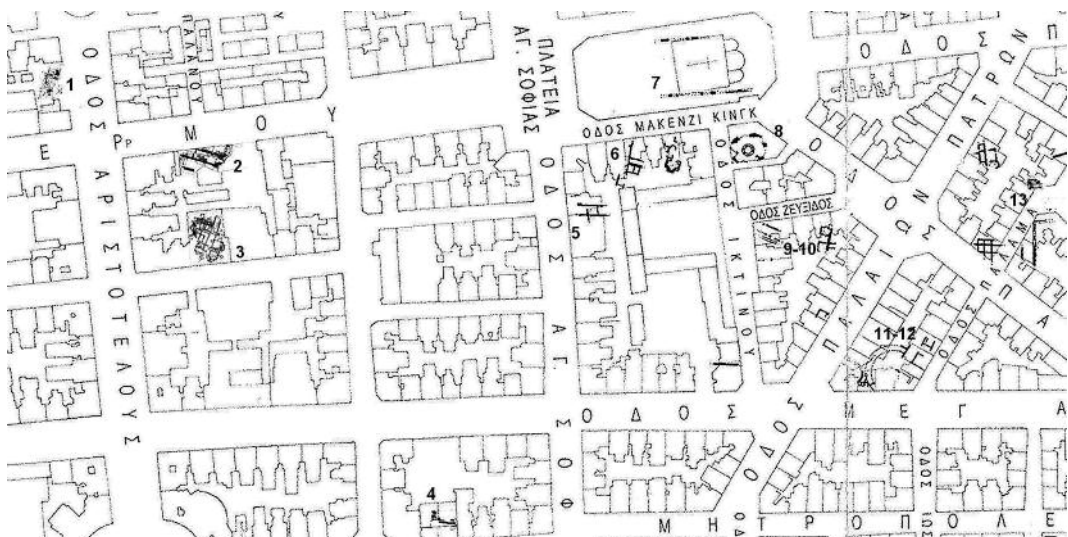
Εικ. 7: Αρχαιότερες νότια του DM που ακολουθούν το λοξό κάρναβο.

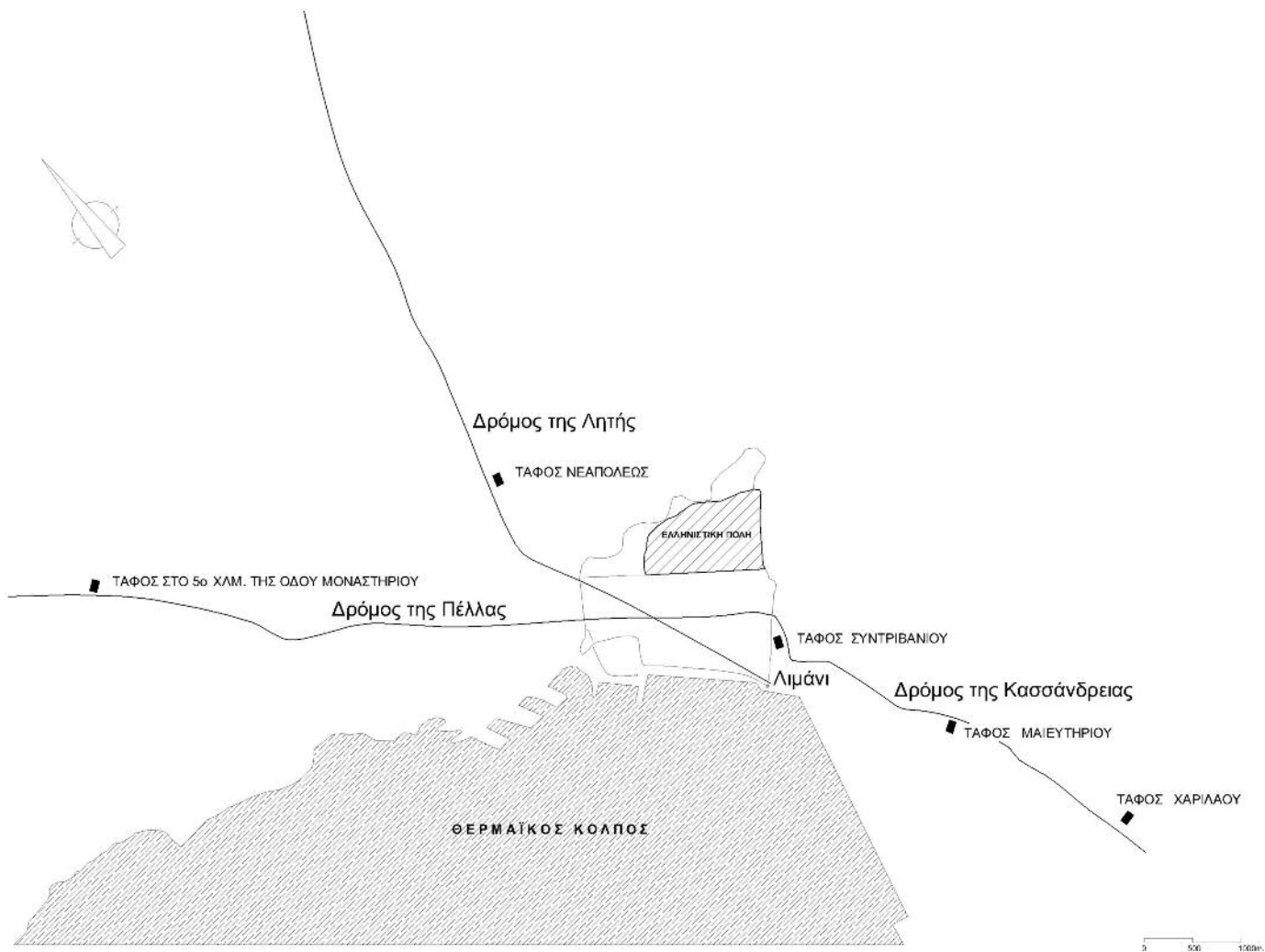
1: Αριστοτέλους 19-21. 2: Αγία Θεοδώρα. 3: Βασιλέως Ηρακλείου 45. 4: Μητροπόλεως 53-55.

5: Αγίας Σοφίας 32-34. 6: Μακένζι Κινγκ 6-8 και 12. 7: Αγία Σοφία (κωνσταντινείο κτίριο).

8: Νυμφαίο. 9: Ζεύξιδος και Ικτινίου 18. 10: Ζεύξιδος 8. 11: Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου 85.

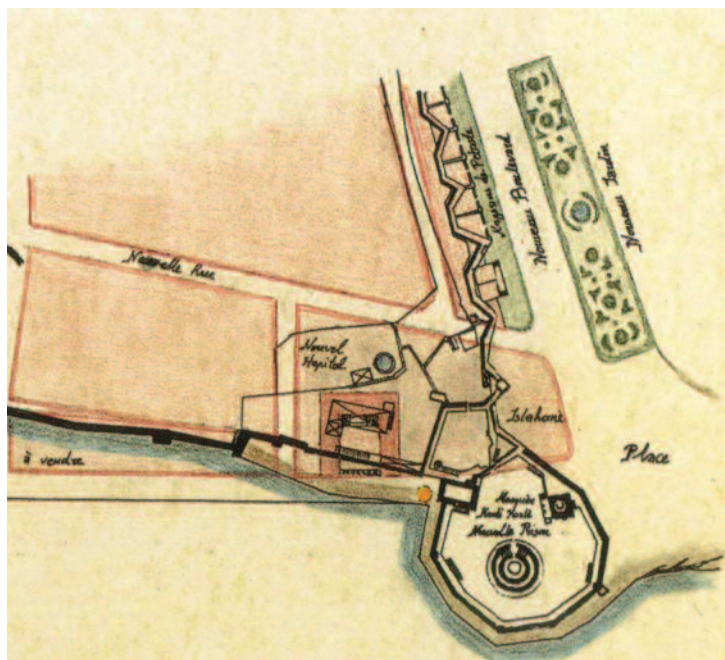
12: Γρηγορίου Παλαμά 3. 13: Γρηγορίου Παλαμά 21-21Α.





Εικ. 8: Ελληνιστική Θεσσαλονίκη και οι δρόμοι της υπαίθρου (Σισμανίδης 1985, 56, επεξεργασία του σχεδίου: Θωμάς Τηλιόπουλος).

Εικ. 9: Λεπτομέρεια του χάρτη του Βιτάλη, με το Λευκό Πύργο και την πολυγωνικά αυλή (πύλη Ρώμα) σε επαφή με τον περίβολό του, στην άκρη της οχύρωσης (Καραδήμου-Γερόλυμπου 2008, 161).



Το λιμάνι της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά την Ελληνορωμαϊκή και Παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο¹

Λειβαδιώτη Μαρίνα

«*Η Θεσσαλονίκη υπάρχει γιατί πρώτα υπήρξε το λιμάνι της. Τη Θεσσαλονίκη έχτισαν στο λιμάνι και όχι το λιμάνι στη Θεσσαλονίκη*»². Αυτή η διαπίστωση οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι λιμενικές εγκαταστάσεις οποιασδήποτε μορφής υπήρχαν από τα πρώτα χρόνια της εποίκησης της περιοχής.

Για το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι δυστυχώς τα στοιχεία που μπορούμε να συλλέξουμε δεν είναι επαρκή. Από πηγές γνωρίζουμε ότι ο Περσέας διέταξε το 148/47 π.Χ. να καούν τα νεώρια της πόλης για να μην καταληφθούν από τους Ρωμαίους³, χωρίς ωστόσο να έχει εντοπιστεί και να έχει ταυτιστεί μέχρι σήμερα η τοποθεσία τους. Έτσι, δύο είναι η επικρατέστερες απόψεις που δέχονται οι περισσότεροι μελετητές.

Ο Χατζηγιάννου, εισηγητής της πρώτης άποψης, υποθέτει ότι ο ναύσταθμος των Μακεδόνων βρισκόταν στα δυτικά της πόλης, παραμελήθηκε κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους και επισκευάστηκε από τον Μεγάλο Κωνσταντίνο⁴, αμφισβητώντας έτσι τη μαρτυρία του Ζώσιμου, σύμφωνα με την οποία ο βυζαντινός αυτοκράτορας το 322 μ.Χ. δημιούργησε «*τόν έν ταύτη λιμένα πρότερον ούκ όντα κατασκευάσας*»⁵.

Η δεύτερη άποψη διατυπώνεται από τον Μπακιρτζή, ο οποίος τοποθετεί το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι, και κατ' επέκταση και το ρωμαϊκό, στα ανατολικά της πόλης, στην περιοχή του Λευκού Πύργου. Συγκεκριμένα, υποστηρίζει ότι καταλάμβανε την περιοχή του οικοδομικού τετραγώνου μεταξύ των οδών Δημητρίου Γούναρη - Παύλου Μελά - Νικηφόρου Φωκά και Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου (σημερινή Λεωφόρο Νίκης)⁶.

Αφορμώμενος από την πρώτη άποψη ο Τσάρας ενισχύει την υπόθεση του Χατζηγιάννου με τα εξής επιχειρήματα: υποστηρίζει ότι η Θέρμη βρισκόταν «*στην περιοχή του σημερινού Διοικητηρίου και από κει σ' όλο το ΒΔ τμήμα ως τα κάστρα*»⁷. παρατηρεί, επιπλέον, ότι όλη η εμπορική και θρησκευτική ζωή της Θεσσαλονίκης των πρώτων αιώνων συγκεντρώνεται στο δυτικό της τμήμα. Καταλήγει, λοιπόν, στο συμπέρασμα ότι και το λιμάνι των ελληνιστικών χρόνων, που θα αντικατέστησε αυτό της Θέρμης, δεν θα μπορούσε παρά να ήταν στα δυτικά⁸.

Επίσης, είναι απόλυτος ως προς τον αριθμό των λιμανιών της πόλης. Επισημαίνει ότι κανένας συγγραφέας δεν έχει μιλήσει για πάνω από ένα λιμάνι στη Θεσσαλονίκη⁹, χωρίς να συνυπολογίζει όμως, όπως φαίνεται, τα

1. Η παρούσα μελέτη για το λιμάνι της Θεσσαλονίκης αποτελεί μέρος της διπλωματικής εργασίας μου «Το λιμάνι της Θεσσαλονίκης από την ίδρυση της πόλης μέχρι την κατάληψή της από τους Τούρκους το 1430», η οποία εκπονήθηκε στο πλαίσιο του Μεταπτυχιακού Προγράμματος Σπουδών της Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας του Τμήματος Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Α.Π.Θ. με επιβλέποντα καθηγητή τον κ. Γ. Βελένη, τον οποίο ευχαριστώ θερμά.
2. Τσάρας 1982, 43.
3. Λίβιος, XLIV, 10.
4. Χατζηγιάννου 1976, 44.
5. Ζώσιμος, 2.22.
6. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 320-1. Στην ίδια θέση τοποθετεί το ρωμαϊκό λιμάνι και ο Odorico (Odorico 2003, 135).
7. Τσάρας 1982, 46.
8. Τσάρας 1982, 47.
9. Τσάρας 1982, 50-1.

χωρία του Νικηφόρου Χούμνου «*παραπέμψασα πρὸς τοὺς λιμένας*», «*και τοὺς λιμένας ἑαυτῆς ὡς κάλλιστα ποιεῖται*»¹⁰ και του Χωνιάτη «*Τὰ τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων ἐπίνεια*»¹¹.

Σε γενικές γραμμές, βέβαια, θα μπορούσαμε να επισημάνουμε ότι σχεδόν όλοι οι μελετητές μιλούν για ένα λιμάνι κατά τη διάρκεια της ελληνιστικής περιόδου, το οποίο αργότερα αντικαταστάθηκε από το ρωμαϊκό και έμεινε σε λειτουργία μέχρι το 620/630 ως «*Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα*»¹².

Δυστυχώς, ελλείψει αρχαιολογικών δεδομένων και κατατοπιστικών πηγών δεν είμαστε σε θέση να προσδιορίσουμε με ακρίβεια τον αριθμό και τη θέση του λιμανιού/των λιμανιών της Θεσσαλονίκης στην αυγή της ιστορίας της. Έτσι, είμαστε αναγκασμένοι να κάνουμε μόνο εικασίες.

Τα στοιχεία, ωστόσο, που έχει φέρει στην επιφάνεια η αρχαιολογική έρευνα σε άλλες τοποθεσίες και που χρονολογούνται περίπου την ίδια εποχή, βοηθούν πιθανόν στην αλλαγή της οπτικής μας για την παράλια τοπογραφία της Θεσσαλονίκης. Με βάση τα ευρήματα αυτά γίνεται φανερό ότι υπάρχει σαφής διαχωρισμός μεταξύ εμπορικού και στρατιωτικού λιμανιού στις περισσότερες παραθαλάσσιες θέσεις. Ο Πειραιάς¹³ π.χ. εξυπηρετούνταν από τρία λιμάνια, εκ των οποίων η Ζέα¹⁴ ήταν ο κατεξοχήν στρατιωτικός-πολεμικός λιμένας, ενώ ο Κάνθαρος¹⁵ ο εμπορικός. Αλλά και μικρότερες σε μέγεθος και σημασία θέσεις εμφανίζουν την ίδια διάταξη. Χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα μπορούν να αποτελέσουν το Λέχαιο της Κορίνθου¹⁶, η Θάσος¹⁷ (εικ. 1) και η Μυτιλήνη¹⁸. Η ίδια διάταξη απαντά επίσης και σε άλλες περιοχές της Μεσογείου, όπως στην Κύπρο, π.χ. στο Κιτίον¹⁹ και στη Σαλαμίνα²⁰, αλλά και στο Ισραήλ, στο Ακκο (εικ. 2)²¹.

Λαμβάνοντας, λοιπόν, υπόψη τα παραπάνω, καθώς και τη διαπίστωση ότι η Θεσσαλονίκη οφείλει την ίδρυσή της στη στρατηγική θέση του λιμανιού της, θα μπορούσαμε πιθανότατα να προβούμε στην υπόθεση ότι κατά τα ελληνιστικά -ρωμαϊκά χρόνια η πόλη δεν διέθετε ένα μόνο λιμάνι, αλλά περισσότερα.

Οι πηγές μας μιλούν για νεώρια που κήκαν από τον Περσέα και ο Βασδραβέλλης σημειώνει ότι κατασκευάστηκαν από τον Φίλιππο τον Ε΄²². Τα νεώρια αυτά προφανώς υποδηλώνουν την ύπαρξη ενός πολεμικού λιμανιού. Πιθανότατα όμως τα συγκεκριμένα νεώρια δεν είναι τα πρώτα που κατασκευάζονται στην πόλη. Την υπόθεση αυτή φαίνεται να υποστηρίζει και ο Βασδραβέλλης, αφού αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά ότι «*κατά την εποχή του Φιλίππου Ε΄... ο λιμήν απέκτησε και νέα ναυπηγεία (νεώρια)*»²³, ενώ λίγο παραπάνω σημειώνει ότι ο Κάσσανδρος «*θα εχρησιμοποιεί τον λιμένα και ως ναυτικήν βάση του στόλου...*»²⁴. Μία ναυτική βάση, όμως, προϋποθέτει απα-

10. Χούμνος, 141-2.

11. Χωνιάτης, 95.1.

12. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 320-1. Θεοχαρίδης 1975, 387. Βακαλόπουλος 1987-88, 259-60.

13. Παισανίας, *Αττικά*.

14. http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/show_port.cgi?lan=el&id=44 (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

15. http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/show_port.cgi?lan=el&id=43 (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

16. http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/show_port.cgi?lan=el&id=60 (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

17. http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/show_port.cgi?lan=el&id=50 και http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/show_port.cgi?lan=el&id=54 (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

18. http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/show_port.cgi?lan=el&id=73 (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

19. M. Yon, 1994, 16, <http://www2.rgzm.de/navis2/home/framesGR.cfm> (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

20. <http://www2.rgzm.de/navis2/home/framesGR.cfm> (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

21. <http://www2.rgzm.de/navis2/home/framesGR.cfm> (υπάρχει και εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία).

22. Βασδραβέλλης 1959, 14.

23. Βασδραβέλλης 1959, 14.

24. Βασδραβέλλης 1959, 13.

ραϊτήτα τη δημιουργία νεωρίων, τόσο για την ασφάλεια του στόλου κατά τη διάρκεια του χειμώνα, όσο και για τις επισκευές των πολεμικών πλοίων.

Παράλληλα, η Θεσσαλονίκη ήταν και εμπορικό σταυροδρόμι, αφού στην ουσία αποτελούσε τη σημαντικότερη θαλάσσια έξοδο της βαλκανικής χερσονήσου. Άρα, θα δεχόταν μεγάλο αριθμό εμπορικών πλοίων από διάφορες περιοχές της Μεσογείου. Πέρα, λοιπόν, από λόγους ομαλής λειτουργίας και εξυπηρέτησης τόσο του εμπορικού, όσο και του πολεμικού στόλου, για καθαρά στρατιωτικούς και αντικατασκοπικούς λόγους το πολεμικό λιμάνι της πόλης, το οποίο αποτελούσε, όπως είδαμε παραπάνω τη βάση του μακεδονικού στόλου, δεν θα μπορούσε να είναι προσβάσιμο σε όλους και κυρίως στους μη Μακεδόνες εμπόρους που έρχονταν στην πόλη. Θα έπρεπε λοιπόν να υπήρχε κάποιου είδους διαχωρισμός μεταξύ εμπορικού και πολεμικού λιμανιού.

Για τη θέση και τη μορφή των λιμανιών όμως, όπως προειπώθηκε, δεν είμαστε σε θέση να προβούμε σε ασφαλή συμπεράσματα. Θα μπορούσαμε ίσως να υποθέσουμε ότι το εμπορικό λιμάνι στην ουσία δεν είχε κάποια μόνιμη υλική υποδομή, ώστε η παρουσία του να μαρτυρείται με αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα. Εξάλλου, όπως σημειώνει και ο Vitti, «δεν θα πρέπει να παραβλεφθεί και το γεγονός ότι κατά τους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους συνήθιζαν να σύρουν τα πλοία έξω στην ξηρά χωρίς να υπάρχει ανάγκη διαμόρφωσης του χώρου σε οργανωμένο λιμάνι»²⁵.

Το καλοκαίρι του 1996 στο ανατολικό τμήμα της Πλατείας Αριστοτέλους και περίπου στο ύψος της Λεωφόρου Νίκης ήρθε στο φως μια κατασκευή από πρασινωπό σχιστόλιθο με υπόλευκο κονίαμα²⁶ (εικ. 3). Πρόκειται για δύο εφαπτόμενους τοίχους, κάθετους προς τη θάλασσα, οι οποίοι φέρουν και ίχνη επιχρίσματος από ισχυρό υδραυλικό κονίαμα. Το συνολικό πάχος των τοίχων φτάνει το 1,70μ. Δυτικότερα και σε απόσταση 4,70μ. αποκαλύφθηκε το ανατολικό μέτωπο άλλου τοίχου με την ίδια διεύθυνση. Οι παράλληλοι αυτοί τοίχοι φαίνεται να γωνιάζουν στο βόρειο πέρας τους με άλλους, διεύθυνσης ανατολικά-δυτικά.

Η γειτνίαση του ευρήματος με τη θάλασσα, η θέση του έξω από το θαλάσσιο τείχος της πόλης και η ύπαρξη και άλλου παράλληλου τοίχου στα δυτικά και σε απόσταση 4,70μ. μας επιτρέπει ίσως να υποθέσουμε ότι πρόκειται για κάποια λιμενική εγκατάσταση και πιο συγκεκριμένα για νεώσοικους (εικ. 4). Το υλικό του, από την άλλη, ο πρασινωπός σχιστόλιθος, μας παραπέμπει σε μια πρώιμη εποχή κατασκευής, αφού το ίδιο υλικό συναντάμε και στα σωζόμενα τμήματα της ελληνιστικής οχύρωσης της Θεσσαλονίκης.

Επομένως, δεν θα θεωρούσαμε άτοπη την ταύτιση των συγκεκριμένων αρχαιολογικών καταλοίπων με τα ελληνιστικά νεώρια της πόλης, τα οποία καταστράφηκαν κατά διαταγή του Περσέα. Κατά συνέπεια, θα μπορούσαμε να τοποθετήσουμε το πολεμικό λιμάνι της εποχής στην περιοχή της Πλατείας Αριστοτέλους, δυτικά της πόλης μεν, ανατολικότερα όμως από το μετέπειτα βυζαντινό λιμάνι. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο επαληθεύεται και η μαρτυρία του Ζώσιμου για την κατασκευή του λιμανιού του Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου σε νέα τοποθεσία.

Ένα ακόμα εύρημα που θα μπορούσε να ανήκει, σύμφωνα με τον Τσάρα²⁷, σε ελληνιστική ή ρωμαϊκή λιμενική εγκατάσταση επισημαίνεται από τον Μπακιρτζή²⁸. Πρόκειται για τμήμα τοίχου που βρέθηκε στη Στοά Τόττη

25. Vitti 1990, 121.

26. Οφείλω την πληροφορία στην ανασκαφέα κ. Τζαναβάρη, την οποία ευχαριστώ θερμά για τη βοήθειά της.

27. Τσάρας 1982, 48.

28. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 319.

και βαίνει σχεδόν παράλληλα με την οδό Μητροπόλεως. Ήταν κατασκευασμένος από μάρμαρο και διατηρούσε σιδερένιους κρίκους, που θα μπορούσαν να χρησιμεύουν στην πρόσδεση των πλοίων. Θα πρέπει όμως εδώ να τονίσουμε, ότι ο συγγραφέας σε υποσημείωσή του επισημαίνει πως την πληροφορία για την ανακάλυψη του τμήματος αυτού την οφείλει στον μηχανικό Θαλή Αβδή²⁹. Έκτοτε, όλοι οι μελετητές δέχονται την ύπαρξη του ευρήματος ως δεδομένη, όμως η μορφή, η χρονολόγηση και η ίδια ακόμα η ύπαρξη του δεν μπορούν να τεκμηριωθούν με ασφάλεια, αφού στηρίζονται μόνο σε μία προφορική πληροφορία.

Εντούτοις, νεότερες έρευνες στο οικοδομικό τετράγωνο, έφεραν στο φως τμήμα τοίχου (εικ. 5) από αργολιθοδομή, πλάτους 3,46μ., το οποίο με βεβαιότητα μπορεί να ταυτιστεί με μέρος του θαλάσσιου τείχους. Το εύρημα αυτό, που βρίσκεται στην ίδια ευθεία με τον παράλληλο προς τη θάλασσα τοίχο του οικοπέδου της Εθνικής Τράπεζας, φαίνεται να διαψεύδει την πληροφορία του Μπακιρτζή, τουλάχιστον ως προς την τοιχοδομία της κατασκευής³⁰.

Μια ακόμα αμφισβητούμενη πληροφορία αντλούμε από την επιστολή του Rouquerville στον Tafel, στην οποία υποστηρίζει ότι τον 19ο αιώνα διακρίνονταν κάτω από το νερό τα υπολείμματα ενός μόλου κοντά στον Λευκό Πύργο. Ίσως τα κατάλοιπα αυτά να ανήκαν σε κάποια μακεδονική - ρωμαϊκή λιμενική εγκατάσταση, αν δεν πρόκειται ασφαλώς απλά για μια ξέρα, που μπερδεψε τον Γάλλο διπλωμάτη, όπως υποστηρίζει ο Τσάρας³¹.

Στην ίδια επιστολή σημειώνεται επίσης, ότι το λιμάνι που κατασκευάστηκε από τον «αυτοκράτορα» Φίλιππο βρίσκεται στο τετράγωνο των βυρσοδεψείων³², δηλαδή στα δυτικά της πόλης³³. Ο Tafel ταυτίζει τον «αυτοκράτορα» Φίλιππο με τον Μεγάλο Κωνσταντίνο³⁴, ταύτιση η οποία όμως δεν προκύπτει από κάποια άλλη μαρτυρία. Έτσι, ελλείψει άλλων στοιχείων θα μπορούσαμε ίσως να ταυτίσουμε τον «αυτοκράτορα» Φίλιππο με τον Φίλιππο τον Ε΄ που αναφέρει αργότερα και ο Βασδραβέλλης και στον οποίο αποδίδει την κατασκευή νεωρίων στην πόλη. Ίσως, λοιπόν, την εποχή των Rouquerville και Tafel να συγχέονταν πληροφορίες σχετικές αφενός με τη δημιουργία του ελληνιστικού πολεμικού λιμανιού από κάποιον «αυτοκράτορα Φίλιππο» και αφετέρου με την κατασκευή του μετέπειτα βυζαντινού λιμανιού από τον Μεγάλο Κωνσταντίνο, το οποίο πράγματι έχει εντοπιστεί στην περιοχή που κάποτε στεγάζονταν τα βυρσοδεψεία της πόλης. Το στοιχείο όμως που έχει ενδιαφέρον στις μαρτυρίες των παραπάνω περιηγητών είναι ότι οι πληροφορίες τους σχετίζονται με κάποιο λιμάνι στα δυτικά.

Έτσι, αν συνδυάσουμε τις παραπάνω πληροφορίες, που αφορούν στην ουσία δύο λιμάνια, ένα στα ανατολικά της πόλης, δίπλα στον Λευκό Πύργο, και ένα στα δυτικά, με τα επιχειρήματα που αναπτύσσουν οι υποστηρικτές και των δύο απόψεων για τη θέση του λιμανιού κατά την ελληνιστική-ρωμαϊκή εποχή, θα μπορούσαμε ίσως να εκφράσουμε την υπόθεση ότι το πολεμικό λιμάνι με τα νεώρια βρισκόταν στα δυτικά της πόλης, λίγα μέτρα ανατολικότερα από το σημείο όπου αργότερα κατασκευάστηκε το λιμάνι του Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ενώ το εμπορικό, το οποίο στην ουσία, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, δεν χρειαζόταν ιδιαίτερα εκτεταμένο και οργανωμένο χώρο,

29. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 319 υπ. 154.

30. Τσιμπίδου-Αυλωνίτη 2009, 267.

31. Τσάρας 1982, 54.

32. Tafel 1841, 10.

33. Λέτσας 1961, 217.

34. Tafel 1913, 16.

πιθανόν καταλάμβανε την περιοχή που βρίσκεται μεταξύ των οδών Δημητρίου Γούναρη - Παύλου Μελά - Νικηφόρου Φωκά και Λεωφόρου Νίκης. Και ενώ τα πρώτα χρόνια ένας ομαλός φυσικός όρμος ήταν ικανοποιητικός για τις εμπορικές ανάγκες της ελληνιστικής πόλης, αργότερα, επί Ρωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορίας, θα μπορούσε ίσως να έχει δημιουργηθεί κάποια πιο οργανωμένη εγκατάσταση, λ.χ. ένας μόλος, αφού, όπως επισημαίνει και ο Βασδραβέλλης, «τὸ εὐρὺ μέλλον τοῦ λιμένος τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης διεγράφη κυρίως ἐπὶ Ρωμαϊοκρατίας. Τότε ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη, ἔχουσα λιμένα ἀσφαλῆ, κατέλαβε θέσιν δεσπόζουσαν ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ρωμαϊκῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἐγνατίας καὶ τῆς πλουσίας ἐνδοχώρας, τῆς κοιλάδος τοῦ Ἄξιου»³⁵. Θα πρέπει επίσης να σημειώσουμε, ότι και το σχέδιο του Struck (εικ. 6) υποστηρίζει την ύπαρξη λιμενολεκάνης στα ανατολικά της πόλης και σε κοντινή απόσταση από τον Λευκὸ Πύργο, στη θέση του οποίου ίσως προϋπήρχε ένας πύργος που θα προστάτευε τόσο το ανατολικό πέρασ του οχυρωματικού περιβόλου της πόλης, όσο και το εμπορικό λιμάνι.

Την παραπάνω υπόθεση στηρίζει και η αποκάλυψη ενός στωικού ελληνιστικού κτιρίου στη συμβολή των οδών Γρ. Παλαμά 16 και Πλ. Ναυαρίνου, το οποίο, σύμφωνα με την Αδάμ-Βελένη, πιθανόν αποτελούσε χώρο εμπορικών συναλλαγών, μια οργανωμένη αγορά, η οποία έμεινε σε λειτουργία και σε μεταγενέστερη εποχή³⁶.

Ακόμα, κατά τη διάρκεια εκσκαφών στο χώρο του Θεάτρου Κήπου ήρθε στο φως εκτενές κτιριακό συγκρότημα με αποθηκευτικό ρόλο και δημόσιο χαρακτήρα, που η διάρκεια ζωής του υπολογίζεται από τον 4ο έως τον 6ο αι. Όμως, χαμηλότερα εντοπίστηκε και δάπεδο αρχαιότερου κτιρίου με σαφείς ενδείξεις ίδιας χρήσης³⁷. Η γειτνίαση αυτών των αποθηκών, όπως και αυτή του στωικού κτιρίου με τη θάλασσα, υποστηρίζουν τη θεωρία εμπορικής λιμενικής εγκατάστασης στην περιοχή.

Τέλος, λόγω της θέσης της λιμενολεκάνης θα μπορούσαμε ίσως να υποθέσουμε ότι με την ίδρυση του Γαλεριανού ανακτόρου το λιμάνι σταδιακά αλλάζει χρήση και πλέον εξυπηρετεί τις ανάγκες του αυτοκρατορικού συγκροτήματος, όπως συμβαίνει με τα αυτοκρατορικά παλάτια στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, π.χ. αυτό του Βουκολέοντα.

Για την ύπαρξη ή μή ενός λιμανιού ή μιας σκάλας που να σχετίζεται άμεσα με το Γαλεριανό ανάκτορο υπάρχει διάσταση απόψεων. Κατά τον Τσάρα μια τέτοια υπόθεση είναι αρκετά επισφαλής, αφού ο χαρακτήρας του ανακτόρου ήταν, κατά τη γνώμη του, περιστασιακός³⁸. Αντίθετα, ο Βελένης είναι πεπεισμένος ότι το ανάκτορο πρέπει να είχε πρόσβαση στη θάλασσα για να εξυπηρετεί τις ανάγκες του αυτοκράτορα³⁹. Η άποψη αυτή φαίνεται να υποστηρίζεται και από τα δεδομένα που προέκυψαν ύστερα από νεώτερες έρευνες.

Κατά τον Μέντζο, το ανάκτορο ήταν σε χρήση σε όλη τη διάρκεια της πρωτοβυζαντινής περιόδου και φαίνεται να εγκαταλείπεται μεταξύ 9ου και 11ου αιώνα. Επίσης, υπάρχουν ενδείξεις ότι δέχτηκε επεμβάσεις και επισκευές στα χρόνια του Κωνσταντίνου, του Λικινίου και κατά το δεύτερο μισό του 5ο αι. Έτσι, ο Μέντζος καταλήγει στο συμπέρασμα ότι ορθότερη είναι η

35. Βασδραβέλλης 1959, 15.

36. Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989, 233-5.

37. Τόσκα 1997, 420-3.

38. Τσάρας 1982, 55.

39. Βελένης 1996, 493. Την άποψη ότι το Γαλεριανό ανάκτορο θα πρέπει να εξυπηρετούνταν από κάποιο λιμάνι έχουν εκφράσει και άλλοι μελετητές. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 320. Θεοχαρίδης 1975, 387. Βακαλόπουλος 1983, 41. Φωτιάδης 1999-2000, 121. κ.ά.

αναφορά σε Βυζαντινό, παρά σε Γαλεριανό ανάκτορο της Θεσσαλονίκης⁴⁰. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο αναιρείται το επιχείρημα του Τσάρα σχετικά με τον περιστασιακό χαρακτήρα του συγκροτήματος.

Από την άλλη πλευρά, σύμφωνα με τον Ζώσιμο, ο Μέγας Κωνσταντίνος κατά τη διάρκεια των πολεμικών προετοιμασιών του κατά του Λικινίου κατασκεύασε στη Θεσσαλονίκη ένα τεχνητό λιμάνι⁴¹. Η μετάφραση του χωρίου του Ζώσιμου έχει προκαλέσει πολλές συζητήσεις. Ο Χατζηγιάννου, στηριζόμενος στην προγενέστερη μαρτυρία του Λίβιου για την καταστροφή των νεωρίων από τον Περσέα, υποστηρίζει ότι ο ιστορικός κάνει λάθος, όταν αναφέρει πως ο Κωνσταντίνος έφτιαξε το λιμάνι «*πρότερον ούκ ὄντα*», και υποστηρίζει ότι στην ουσία ο Ρωμαίος αυτοκράτορας επισκεύασε το παραμελημένο ελληνιστικό λιμάνι⁴². Στο ίδιο συμπέρασμα καταλήγει και ο Τσάρας μεταφράζοντας με διαφορετικό τρόπο το κείμενο του Ζώσιμου⁴³, ενώ ο Vickers έχει αντίθετη άποψη⁴⁴.

Με βάση, όμως, τα όσα παρουσιάσαμε έως τώρα, είναι δύσκολο να πιστέψουμε ότι μέχρι τον 4ο αι. μ.Χ. η πόλη δεν διέθετε καμία λιμενική εγκατάσταση. Είναι, λοιπόν, πιο πιθανόν ο Κωνσταντίνος πράγματι να επισκεύασε τμήμα του ελληνιστικού πολεμικού λιμανιού, το οποίο μετά την καταστροφή του από τον Περσέα δεν χρησιμοποιούνταν.

Σήμερα, όμως, με τον όρο λιμάνι δεν περιγράφουμε μόνο τη λιμενολεκάνη, αλλά κυρίως τις χερσαίες εγκαταστάσεις που σχετίζονται μ' αυτήν. Προεκτείνοντας λοιπόν αυτήν τη σημασία της λέξης και στην αρχαιότητα θα μπορούσαμε ίσως να προβούμε στο συμπέρασμα, ότι η αναφορά του Ζώσιμου για κατασκευή ενός λιμανιού έχει να κάνει περισσότερο με τα νεώρια, τους ναύσταθμους και τις υπόλοιπες εγκαταστάσεις που χρειάζεται ένα πολεμικό λιμάνι, παρά με τη δημιουργία αυτής καθ' αυτής της λιμενολεκάνης.

Οι περισσότεροι μελετητές υποστηρίζουν ότι ο αυτοκράτορας προέβη στη διάνοιξη σκαφτού τεχνητού λιμανιού⁴⁵. Κάτι τέτοιο, όπως σημειώνει και ο Φωτιάδης, αποτελεί έργο χρονοβόρο και δαπανηρό ιδιαίτερα για μια εμπόλεμη περίοδο. Έτσι, δεν είναι απίθανο ο Κωνσταντίνος να επισκεύασε μια υπάρχουσα λιμενολεκάνη, φυσική ή τεχνητή, επισκευή που δεν απαιτούσε ούτε πολύ χρόνο ούτε μεγάλες δαπάνες, αλλά να έκτισε από την αρχή τις εγκαταστάσεις του ναυστάθμου, που του ήταν απαραίτητες για τη διεξαγωγή του πολέμου. Η παραπάνω υπόθεση θα μπορούσε να δικαιολογήσει και την απόφαση του να μη χρησιμοποιήσει το ανατολικό εμπορικό λιμάνι. Δεν ενδιαφερόταν μόνο για την προστασία του στόλου του μέσα στο λιμάνι, αλλά κυρίως για τη δημιουργία μιας ναυτικής βάσης που θα του εξασφάλιζε τη φύλαξη και τη συντήρηση του στόλου του ή ίσως ακόμα και τη δημιουργία νέων πλοίων, αφού η ίδια πηγή μας ενημερώνει ότι «*τριηκόντοροι μὲν εἰς διακοσίας κατασκευάσθησαν*».

Ο Τσάρας στην επιχειρηματολογία του για την ύπαρξη ενός μόνο λιμανιού στην πόλη αναφέρει ότι αν δεχτούμε ότι το Γαλεριανό ανάκτορο διέθετε λιμενική εγκατάσταση, τότε «*όταν ο Μέγας Κωνσταντίνος ήρθε στη Θεσσαλονίκη στα 322, για να ετοιμαστεί ενάντια στον γαμπρό του και συνάρχοντά του Λικίνιο, πρέπει να βρήκε ένα λιμάνι έτοιμο από κάθε άποψη. Αν ωστόσο του ήτανε μικρό για τις πολεμικές του ανάγκες, δεν είχε παρά να το*

40. Μέντζος 1995-96, 350-63.

41. Ζώσιμος, 2.22.

42. Χατζηγιάννου 1976, 44.

43. Τσάρας 1982, 50.

44. Vickers 1970, 272. Vickers 1972, 169.

45. Tafrafi 1913, 15. Μπακιρτζής 1973, 332. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 315, Φωτιάδης 1999-2000, 120, κ.ά.

μεγαλώσει και να πάρει μέσα του και το «ελληνιστικό», αφού και αυτό ήτανε κάπου εκεί κοντά, αν όχι συνέχεια του»⁴⁶. Όμως, όπως αναφέρθηκε και παραπάνω, ο Μέγας Κωνσταντίνος φαίνεται να χρειαζόταν περισσότερο τις χερσαίες πολεμικές εγκαταστάσεις ενός λιμανιού, παρά την ίδια τη λιμενολεκάνη. Φαίνεται, ωστόσο, εύλογο ότι είτε το υποτιθέμενο λιμάνι του Γαλεριανού ανακτόρου είτε το Ρωμαϊκό εμπορικό στα ανατολικά της πόλης δεν χρειαζόταν νεώρια, καθώς δεν επρόκειτο για λιμάνι πολεμικό· επιπλέον, η αστική τοπογραφία της περιοχής δεν φαίνεται να άφηνε τον απαραίτητο χώρο για την κατασκευή τους.

Κατά την άποψή μας, λοιπόν, το ανατολικό λιμάνι εμφανίζεται ανεπαρκές για τις πολεμικές ανάγκες του Ρωμαίου αυτοκράτορα, με αποτέλεσμα ο Κωνσταντίνος να επιλέξει το δυτικό τμήμα της πόλης για την κατασκευή του πολεμικού λιμανιού. Δυστυχώς, λόγω της εκτεταμένης δόμησης στο νοτιότερο τμήμα της πόλης δεν έχει καταστεί μέχρι σήμερα δυνατόν να πραγματοποιηθεί μία ολοκληρωμένη ανασκαφική έρευνα που να ρίχνει φως στην τοπογραφία ενός τόσο ζωτικού για την πόλη χώρου, όπως είναι αυτός του λιμανιού ή των λιμανιών της.

46. Τσάρας 1982, 55.

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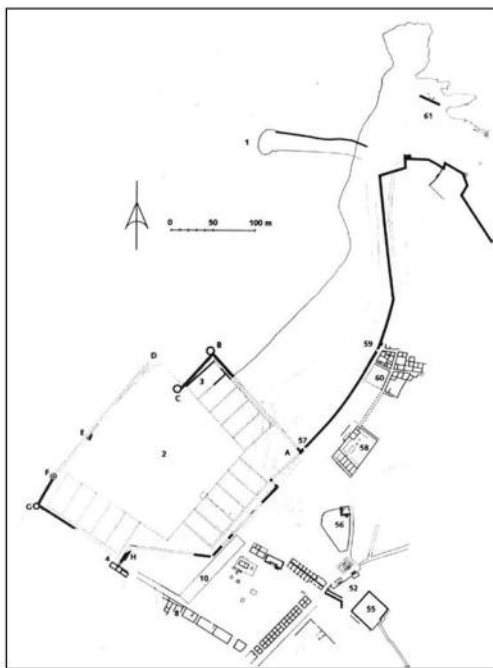
The harbour of Thessaloniki in the Hellenistic, Roman and early Christian era

Livadioti Marina

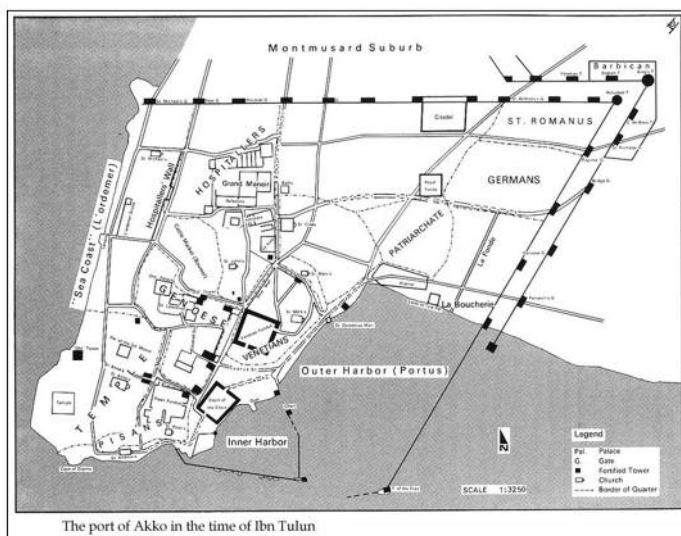
Abstract:

The city was founded thanks to the important position of its port. Built at the center of Thermaikos Gulf, it is the most important output of the Balkan Peninsula in the Mediterranean. Also, with the creation of the Via Egnatia, Thessaloniki combined land and sea trade. For these reasons, since its foundation, there existed different port facilities, commercial and military. Given the important role of the city in both sectors (commercial and military), we should consider the possibility of two separate ports, one commercial and one military. The position of the commercial port is proposed to be the location west of the White Tower. For the military one the area that nowadays Aristotle Square is. This military harbor was destroyed, according to sources, by Perseus. In the Roman times only the commercial port remained in use, in the east of the city, which was later used as the port of the Galerius Palace and finally was known as "Ekklesiastiki Skala".

In the 4th century AD Constantine the Great, during his preparations for war against Licinius, manufactured a military port in the west part of Thessaloniki (in the area that nowadays is known as Ladadika). Taking into account the cost and the time it takes to open a port basin and build a harbor from the beginning, particularly at a time of war, we believe it is more likely that Constantine used the existing basin of the abandoned Hellenistic military harbor and created establishments that were necessary in a military port, like shipyards etc., a that decision that saved him funds and time.



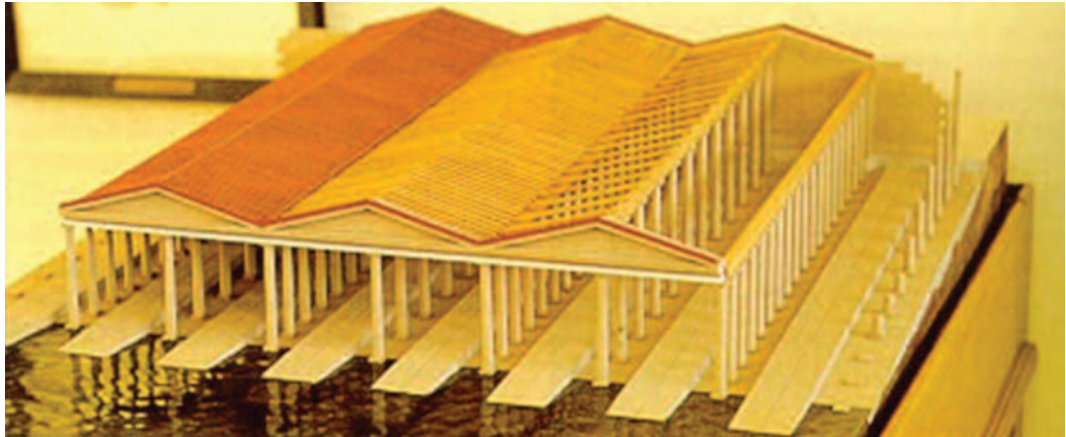
Εικ. 1: Σχέδιο των δύο λιμανιών της αρχαίας Θάσου. (http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/show_photos.cgi?id=54&lan=el, εικ. 2).



Εικ. 2: Το αρχαίο λιμάνι του Akko. (<http://www2.rgzm.de/navis2/home/framesGR.cfm>).



Εικ. 3: Άποψη της λίθινης κατασκευής στην Πλατεία Αριστοτέλους. (Φωτογραφία της αρχαιολόγου κ. Τζαναβάρη).



Εικ. 4: Μακέτα αρχαίων νεωσοίκων. (<http://www2.rgzm.de/navis2/home/framesGR.cfm>).

Εικ. 5: Τμήμα του θαλάσσιου τείχους στη στοά Χιρς (Γ. Σωτηροπούλου, «τείχη σε «διάλογο» με... βιβλία», Εφημερίδα Αγγελιοφόρος (1/4/2009), 25).



Εικ. 6: Σχέδιο της πόλης της Θεσσαλονίκης από τον Struck. (Struck 1905, 545).

Το Κωνσταντίνειο λιμάνι και άλλα βυζαντινά λιμάνια της Θεσσαλονίκης

Μαρκή Ευτέρπη

Η Θεσσαλονίκη από την ίδρυσή της διέθετε έναν φυσικό όρμο στο ανατολικό άκρο της οχύρωσής της που χρησίμευε ως λιμάνι. Από τις εγκαταστάσεις του αναφέρονται στις πηγές μόνον τα νεώρια¹, την πυρπόληση των οποίων διέταξε ο τελευταίος βασιλιάς της Μακεδονίας, Περσέας. Το λιμάνι αυτό ενδέχεται να περιελάμβανε έναν λιμενοβραχίονα - κυματοθραύστη σε κάποια απόσταση από την ακτή, για προστασία των πλοίων από τον νοτιοδυτικό άνεμο που πλήττει την πόλη.

Με βάση νεότερα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα, όπως η αποκάλυψη μεγάλου ελληνιστικού οικοδομήματος, που διαμόρφωνε αντηρίδες σε κανονικές αποστάσεις στη συμβολή της οδού Γρηγορίου Παλαμά 16 με την Πλατεία Ναυαρίνου², το οποίο συνδέθηκε με τα ελληνιστικά νεώρια³, το λιμάνι της ελληνιστικής Θεσσαλονίκης μπορεί να οριοθετηθεί με σχετική ακρίβεια μεταξύ των οδών Γρηγορίου Παλαμά και Δημητρίου Γούναρη, δηλαδή νότια του γαλεριανού συγκροτήματος. Εάν η υπόθεση αυτή είναι ορθή, τότε η ακτογραμμή των ελληνιστικών χρόνων πρέπει να τοποθετηθεί στο ύψος της σημερινής οδού Τσιμισκή.

Το ελληνιστικό λιμάνι εξακολούθησε να χρησιμοποιείται κατά τους αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους και η παρουσία του υπήρξε καθοριστικός παράγων στην επιλογή του υπερκείμενου ελεύθερου χώρου για την ανέγερση του γαλεριανού συγκροτήματος. Το ότι λειτουργούσε μέχρι τους πρωτοβυζαντινούς χρόνους, συμπεραίνεται από τα Θαύματα του Αγίου Δημητρίου, όπου αναφέρεται μια «Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα»⁴, δυτικά της οποίας υπήρχε πύργος και παραπύλιο. Είναι πιθανό την περίοδο αυτή να είχε δημιουργηθεί εκεί μια αποβάθρα (σκάλα) για επιβίβαση-αποβίβαση επιβατών⁵ και διακίνηση κάποιων εμπορευμάτων. Ο όρος «εκκλησιαστική σκάλα» οδήγησε παλαιότερους ερευνητές⁶ στην άποψη, ότι στους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους χρησιμοποιήθηκε αποκλειστικά για τις ανάγκες της Εκκλησίας και του κλήρου. Πιθανότερο, ωστόσο, φαίνεται να παραχωρήθηκαν την περίοδο αυτή οι πρόσοδοι του στην Εκκλησία. Ενδέχεται το λιμάνι αυτό να ήταν σε χρήση μέχρι τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους, αφού ο Νικηφόρος Χούμνος στο λόγο του *Θεσσαλονικεῦσι συμβουλευτικός* αναφέρεται κάπως αόριστα σε λιμάνια που υπήρχαν στην πόλη: *θάλασσαν δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀνήκε καὶ μεγάλας ὑπανείξασα τὰς ἀγκάλας προκαλεῖται τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους φιλανθρώπως εἰσδεχομένους καὶ γε παραπέμψασα πρὸς τοὺς λιμένας τοῖς ἰδίοις κόλποις ἀσφαλῶς ἄμα καὶ ἡδέως ἐπαναπαύει*⁷. Σε αυτά περιελάμβανε ίσως το γνωστό από τα *Θαύματα του Αγίου Δημητρίου, Κελλάριον*⁸, στην περιοχή του μύλου Αλλατίνι και πι-

1. Διόδωρος 30, 10,2, Liv. 44, 10, 15. Hammond, Walbank 1988.

2. Αδάμ-Βελένη 1989, 233-4. Vitti 1996, 133.

3. Αδάμ-Βελένη 2008, 83 (81-98).

4. Lemerle 1979, 177, 191. Σύμφωνα με τους Vickers 1970, 270-1 και Μπακιρτζή 1975, 312 πρόκειται για το ρωμαϊκό λιμάνι της Θεσσαλονίκης.

5. Η θαλάσσια συγκοινωνία κατά τους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους ήταν περισσότερο διαδεδομένη.

6. Χατζηιωάννου 1880, 46.

7. Νεράντζη-Βαρμάζη 2000, 276.

8. Lemerle 1979, 182. 16.

θανόν το μνημονευόμενο στον βίο του Οσίου Δαυίδ⁹, που βρισκόταν δυτικά του λιμανιού. *Καὶ λοιπόν πλησιάσαν τό πλοῖον τῆ πόλει κατά τό ἔθος οὐ προσώρμησεν τῷ λιμένι, ἀλλά πρὸς δυσμάς τῆς πόλεως ὥρμησεν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἐρρίφθησαν τά σώματα τῶν ἀγίων Θεοδούλου καὶ Ἀγαθόποδος*¹⁰.

Κάποιοι από τους ὄρμους αυτούς αποτελούσαν στους βυζαντινούς χρόνους αποβάθρες ειδικού σκοπού, ὅπως π.χ. οι σύγχρονες ιχθυόσκαλες.

Ὅταν το 320-322 ο Μ. Κωνσταντῖνος εγκαταστάθηκε στη Θεσσαλονίκη προετοιμάζοντας τον πόλεμο κατά του ανταγωνιστή του Λικίνιου, ἔκρινε απαραίτητο να προστατεύσει το νεόδμητο στόλο του με τη δημιουργία σκαπτού λιμένα, γιατί το υφιστάμενο λιμάνι της πόλης δεν επαρκούσε. Ο Ζώσιμος τονίζει την απουσία παλαιότερου λιμένα στην πόλη, για να δηλώσει το μέγεθος του εγχειρήματος. *Ἐπί τὴν Θεσσαλονικὴν ἐχώρει καὶ τὸν ἐν ταύτῃ λιμένα, πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα κατασκευάσας, ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Λικίνιον παρεσκευάζετο πόλεμον. Καὶ τριηκόντοροι μὲν εἰς διακοσίας κατασκευάσθησαν, ναῦς δε φορτίδες συνήχθησαν πλέον ἢ δισχίλιαι, πεζὸς δὲ στρατὸς εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας*¹¹. Το νέο λιμάνι κατασκευάστηκε με εκσκαφή στο νοτιοδυτικό τμήμα της θαλάσσιας οχύρωσης της πόλης, η οποία εντοπίστηκε ανασκαφικά¹² μεταξύ των οδών Τιμισκή και Μητροπόλεως. Αποτέλεσε ένα μοναδικό τεχνικό επίτευγμα για την εποχή του, που προκαλούσε θαυμασμό, ὅπως φαίνεται από την περιγραφή του Καμινιάτη¹³, *ὑποκοιλαινεται γὰρ τις ἐκεῖσε θαυμαστός λιμὴν, ὑπιάζων τοῖς πλωτῆρσι τὴν εἴσοδον ταῖς ἐκ πνευμάτων παντελῶς ἀπείρατος ταραχαῖς καὶ τὸν ὄρμον ἀκύμονα καθιστῶν, ὃν ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς θαλάσσης ὁ τεχνίτης ἀπέτεμε*. Ο Καμινιάτης τονίζει ότι το Κωνσταντῖνιο λιμάνι ἦταν τετράγωνο και ασφαλές, χάρη στο διατείχισμα που το προστάτευε, εμποδίζοντας την εισβολή των κυμάτων.

Κατά τις εργασίες εκσκαφής του μεγάλου αυτού τεχνικού ἔργου κρίθηκε απαραίτητο να ενισχυθεί η δυτική ρωμαϊκή οχύρωση της πόλης, η οποία δεν εντοπίστηκε εσωτερικά του παλαιοχριστιανικού τείχους στην περιοχή νότια της οδού Εγνατία, πιθανόν γιατί ξηλώθηκε κατά την ανέγερση του φρουρίου Βαρδαρίου. Ἐνας ισχυρὸς πύργος, ωστόσο, διαστάσεων 8,50x7μ., που ανασκάφηκε το 1977¹⁴ στη συμβολή των οδών Φράγκων και Μοσκῶφ, εσωτερικά της βυζαντινῆς οχύρωσης, φαίνεται ότι κτίστηκε ειδικά για την προστασία του λιμανιού (εικ. 1). Σῶζει μόνον τη θεμελίωση και το κάτω τμήμα του κι ἔχει τις τρεις πλευρές του (βόρεια, δυτική και νότια) κατασκευασμένες από μεγάλους ορθογώνιους δόμους, εκτός από την ανατολική, που επισκευάστηκε στους Βυζαντινούς χρόνους και ὅπου εντοπίστηκε η εἴσοδος του¹⁵. Νότια του πύργου αποκαλύφθηκαν δύο συμβαλλόμενοι τοῖχοι από αργολιθοδομή και ασβεστοκονίαμα πλάτους 1,30 και 1,20μ. ἀντίστοιχα, των οποίων η ανασκαφή δεν ολοκληρώθηκε και οι οποίοι ανήκαν σε κτήριο συνδεδεμένο με το λιμάνι. Πίσω από το κτήριο αυτό θα συνέχιζε την πορεία του ο δυτικός διπλὸς οχυρωματικὸς περίβολος του 3ου αἰώνα, διαμορφώνοντας στην ἀπληξή του το διατείχισμα του Κωνσταντῖνιου λιμένα. Το διατείχισμα, που σύμφωνα με τη μαρτυρία του Ιωάννη Αναγνώστη¹⁶ ονομαζόταν από τους

9. Lemerle 1979, 176. 16. Rose 1887, 13, 19-23.

10. Δεδομένου ότι το μαρτύριο των παραπάνω αγίων τοποθετείται στην περιοχή βόρεια του Σιδηροδρομικού Σταθμού, (Μαρκή 2006, 91), ο τόπος αποβίβασης του Οσίου Δαυίδ πρέπει να βρισκόταν στις εγκαταστάσεις του σημερινού λιμένα.

11. Zosime, *Histoire Nouvelle*, II 22.

12. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 297. Τσιμπίδου-Αυλωνίτη, Λυκίδου 2008, 286.

13. Ioannis Cameniatae, 6.15.

14. Κουρκουτίδου-Νικολαΐδου, Ε., Τσιούμη, Χ., Παζαράς, Θ., ΑΔ 32,1977, 233.

15. Μαρκή 1982, 133.

16. Ioannis Anagnostis, *De Thessalonicensi*, 508.

Θεσσαλονικείς και *τζερέμπουλο*, κατασκευάστηκε ως συνέχεια και προέκταση της δυτικής ρωμαϊκής οχύρωσης, όπως δείχνουν τα ίχνη του πίσω από το βόρειο τείχος του λεγόμενου «Πύργου του Αναγλύφου», ο οποίος οφείλει το όνομά του στο ανάγλυφο (εικ. 2) που κοσμεί τον ανατολικό τοίχο του, αλλά και ο εντοπισμός του κάτω από το υφιστάμενο γήπεδο καλαθόσφαιρας¹⁷. Μικρό τμήμα του ανασκάφηκε στην υποθεμελίωση του δυτικού τοίχου του Πύργου του Αναγλύφου, του τελευταίου ΝΔ πύργου της οχύρωσης της Θεσσαλονίκης, ο οποίος στους Βυζαντινούς χρόνους πρέπει να μετατοπίστηκε ανατολικότερα, ενώ στην αρχική φάση του ήταν προσκολλημένος σε αυτό. Το διατείχισμα ήταν κατασκευασμένο από μεγάλους μαρμάρινους δόμους και ασβεστοκονίαμα, είχε πλάτος 1,90μ., κατεύθυνση από Β προς Ν και όπως δείχνει παλιό τοπογραφικό του Φρουρίου Βαρδαρίου (εικ. 3) σε απόσταση λίγων μέτρων από τη θέση έναρξης απέκλινε προς ανατολάς, σχηματίζοντας πρόβολο¹⁸. Στη συνέχεια προχωρούσε νοτιοανατολικά και κατέληγε πιθανότατα σε άλλον πύργο απέναντι από τον πύργο της αποβάθρας, όπου διαμορφωνόταν το στόμιο (είσοδος) του λιμένα, το οποίο έκλεινε σε περίπτωση πολιορκίας με ανελκόμενη αλυσίδα. Κατά την εποχή κατασκευής του λιμανιού έκριναν ότι το διατείχισμα με τους πύργους του αρκούσε για την προστασία του και γι' αυτό έμεινε ανοχύρωτο, όπως προκύπτει από τα *Θαύματα*¹⁹ του Αγίου Δημητρίου, που αναφέρονται σε ατείχιστο μώλο²⁰ (προβλήτα). Ωστόσο, μετά τις επιδρομές και τους σεισμούς του 7ου αιώνα το λιμάνι οχυρώθηκε²¹.

Τη μορφή του Κωνσταντίνειου λιμένα διασώζει ο χάρτης του Πολύκαρπου Βιτάλη²² του 1871, που απεικονίζει και όλο το θαλάσσιο τείχος της Θεσσαλονίκης (εικ. 4). Σε αντιστοιχία με τη σύγχρονη πόλη, το λιμάνι του Μ. Κωνσταντίνου οριοθετείται βόρεια από την οδό Φράγκων²³, αφού το βόρειο τείχος του εντοπίστηκε κατά μήκος της νότιας οικοδομικής γραμμής της οδού, μέχρι τη συμβολή της με την οδό Λέοντος Σοφού, όπου υπήρχε η κύρια πύλη του²⁴. Στη συνέχεια από τις οδούς Εδέσσης και Βίκτωρος Ουγκό²⁵ βρισκόταν η δεύτερη πύλη του, η «Πύλη του Γιαλού», η θέση της οποίας σημειώνεται στο χάρτη. Τέλος, από την Πλατεία Εμπορίου, τις οδούς Κατούνη²⁶ και Μητροπόλεως και από το δυτικό άκρο της Πλατείας Ελευθερίας, όπου υπήρχε ο μεγάλος ανατολικός πύργος του, ο γνωστός και ως «πύργος της αποβάθρας».

Δύο πύλες, η μία από τις οποίες, η κύρια, βρισκόταν στο κέντρο περίπου του βόρειου τείχους και η δεύτερη στο ανατολικό τείχος του, στη συμβολή των οδών Βίκτωρος Ουγκό και Εδέσσης, επέτρεπαν την πρόσβαση στη θάλασσα. Το υπέρθυρο της κύριας πύλης, διαστάσεων 3,07x0,84x0,27μ. (εικ. 5) βρέθηκε το 1879 κοντά στην αρχική της θέση²⁷ και μνημονεύει την ανακαίνισή της λίγο πριν την επιδρομή των Σαρακηνών από τον στρατηγό της πόλης Λέοντα Χιτζιλάκη. *Ανεκενίσθη επί Λέοντος και Αλεξάνδρου των αυτοδέλφων και αυτοκρατόρων και φιλοχρίστων ημών βασιλέων και επί Νικολάου του οι-*

17. Μαρκή 1982, 148.

18. Μπακιρτζής 1973, 332.

19. Lemerle 1979, 176. 26.

20. Lemerle 1979, 176. 31.

21. Το τείχος του λιμανιού εντοπίστηκε στα οικοπέδα των οδών Φράγκων 9, Φράγκων 13, Φράγκων-Λέοντος Σοφού και Βεροίας (Μπακιρτζής 1975, 296) και Φράγκων 2-4 (9η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, Σωστικές Ανασκαφές (2001, 9).

22. Καραδήμου-Γερόλυμπου 2008, 160-1.

23. 9η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, Σωστικές Ανασκαφές 2001, 9.

24. Χατζηγιωάννου 1880, 35-6.

25. Ρωμοπούλου, Αι., ΑΔ 31, 1976, 244.

26. Ρωμοπούλου, Αι., ΑΔ 31, 1976, 244.

27. Χατζηγιωάννου 1880, 35.

κουμενικού ημών πατριάρχου. Ανεκενίσθη επί Λέοντος βασιλικού πρωτοσπαθαρίου και στρατηγού Θεσσαλονίκης του Χιτζιλάκη και επί Ιωάννου αρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης του εντοπίου. Το 3μ. πλάτος της επέτρεπε την άνετη διέλευση των αμαξών για φορτοεκφόρτωση εμπορευμάτων στα πλοία.

Το μέγεθος και οι εγκαταστάσεις του Κωνσταντίνειου λιμένα, που αρχικά ιδρύθηκε ως πολεμικός, αλλά γρήγορα εξελίχθηκε σε κέντρο του θαλάσσιου εμπορίου της Θεσσαλονίκης και της Μακεδονικής ενδοχώρας, προκαλούσαν εντύπωση μέχρι και τους Βυζαντινούς χρόνους, όπως μαρτυρεί ο Δημήτριος Κυδώνης²⁸. *Λιμένας δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπήνεσαν ὁ δ' ἐνταῦθα πάντων ἂν δικαίως ἐνίκησεν εἶναι παράδειγμα, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀντί πόλεως τε ὢν καὶ λιμένος καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν λήγουσαν παρεχόμενος, ἀλλ εἰς πόλιν ἐτέραν.* Στον περιβάλλοντα χώρο του υπήρχαν όλες οι συναφείς με την εμπορική δραστηριότητά του εγκαταστάσεις, όπως τελωνεῖο, νεώσοικοι, αποθήκες, πανδοχεία, λουτρά, αλλά και ναυπηγεία, σιδηρουργεία, ξυλουργεία, εργαστήρια επισκευής και εμπορίας εξαρτημάτων των πλοίων, όπως ιστίων, σκοινιών, κουπιών, ανυψωτικές μηχανές και διάφορα συναφή με το θαλάσσιο εμπόριο βιοτεχνικά εργαστήρια.

Από τις παραπάνω εγκαταστάσεις εντοπίστηκαν ανασκαφικά τμήματα των νεώσοικων, όπου φυλάσσονταν τα πλοία ή τα εξαρτήματά τους κατά τη διάρκεια του χειμώνα, κάποιες αποθήκες για τη φύλαξη των προς διακίνηση εμπορευμάτων, βιοτεχνικό εργαστήρι κεραμικής και πιθανόν το τελωνεῖο.

Νεώσοικοι ή νεώρια

Όπως μαρτυρούν τα ανασκαφικά ευρήματα στα οικόπεδα των οδών Μοσκόφ²⁹ και Δαναΐδων 3³⁰, που βρίσκονται λίγο βορειότερα του διατειχίσματος (τζερέμπουλου), οι νεώσοικοι της Θεσσαλονίκης, που είχαν οριοθετηθεί πιθανότατα από τον Κωνσταντίνο, αλλά δεν κατασκευάστηκαν εξαιτίας της εσπευσμένης αναχώρησής του από τη Θεσσαλονίκη λόγω λοιμού³¹, ήταν ένα επίμηκες οικοδόμημα του 5ου-6ου αιώνα, που καταλάμβανε όλο το οικοδομικό τετράγωνο που ορίζεται από τις σύγχρονες οδούς Φράγκων-Μοσκόφ, Εγνατία και στρατηγού Μπραντούνα. Εσωτερικά του θα υπήρχαν 10 τουλάχιστον στοές, από τις οποίες αποκαλύφθηκαν μέχρι σήμερα τρεις, σωζόμενου μήκους 23μ. Οι στοές διαμορφώνονταν από παράλληλους ισχυρούς στυλοβάτες που απείχαν μεταξύ τους 4,80μ., επάνω στους οποίους εδράζονταν εναλλάξ ορθογώνιοι και σταυρόσχημοι πλινθόκτιστοι πεσσοί, οι οποίοι υποβάσταζαν τη στέγη του (εικ. 6) και συνδέονταν στο άνω τμήμα τους με καμάρες, όπως δείχνουν τα πεσμένα κομμάτια τους, που κάλυπταν το μεταξύ των στυλοβατών διάστημα. Οι πεσσοί απείχαν μεταξύ τους 4,80μ., ήταν κτισμένοι με πλίνθους πάχους 3-4εκ. και συνδετικό κονίαμα πάχους 5εκ., και οι ορθογώνιοι από αυτούς είχαν διαστάσεις 2,10x0,95x1,09μ., ενώ οι σταυρόσχημοι 1,90x1,65x0,90μ. Εκατέρωθεν των στυλοβατών ανασκάφηκαν ίχνη φθαρμένου από πλίνθους δαπέδου.

Το όλο συγκρότημα παρουσιάζει ομοιότητες με τους σωζόμενους νεώσοικους³² του Πειραιά, το πλάτος των οποίων είναι 5,20μ. και πρέπει να κατασκευάστηκε για την ανέλευση και προστασία των πλοίων κατά τους χειμε-

28. Μονωδία επί τοῖς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη πεσοῦσι, *PG* 109, 641-4. Νεράντζη-Βαρμάζη 2000, 276.

29. 9η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, *Σωστικές Ανασκαφές* 2001, 15.

30. Μαρκή, Ε., *ΑΔ* 60, 2005, υπό έκδοση.

31. *Halkin* 1959-1960, 17.

32. *Baika* 2006, 588-97. Σταϊνχάουερ, Μαλικούτη, Τσοκόπουλος 2000, 9-123.

ρινούς μήνες. Μολονότι στην ταύτιση αυτή αντίκειται, α) ο μη εντοπισμός στη Θεσσαλονίκη της ράμπας ανέλκυσης των πλοίων, που θα πρέπει να υπήρχε στο ανερευνήτο οικοπέδο της οδού Φράγκων 1 και β) το μικρό πλάτος των στοών, ωστόσο είναι γνωστό πλέον από το ναυάγιο του Yassi-Ada³³, ότι τα βυζαντινά εμπορικά πλοία ήταν αρκετά στενά με λόγο μήκους προς πλάτος 1:4. Το μήκος τους υπολογίζεται σε 19μ. και το πλάτος τους στα 4-5μ., διαστάσεις που δεν αποκλείουν την ερμηνεία των ανασκαφικών ευρημάτων των οδών Μοσκόφ και Δαναΐδων ως νεώσοικων. Αν αυτό δεν ισχύει, τότε οι στοές αυτές, που διαφοροποιούνται κατασκευαστικά από τις ανασκαφείσες αποθήκες, θα πρέπει να χρησίμευαν για τη φύλαξη όχι των πλοίων, αλλά των εξαρτημάτων τους (ιστία, κουπιά). Πιθανότερη, ωστόσο, φαίνεται η εκδοχή της διπλής χρήσης τους, για προστασία των πλοίων ή των εξαρτημάτων τους κατά τους χειμερινούς μήνες και ως αποθήκες κατά τους θερινούς, όπως δηλώνει η άφθονη κεραμική του 5ου/6ου αιώνα που βρέθηκε στις επιχώσεις των ανασκαφέντων οικοπέδων. Είναι προφανές ότι μπροστά στους νεώσοικους υπήρχε αιγιαλός, οπότε η οχύρωση του λιμένα άρχιζε από το επόμενο οικοδομικό τετράγωνο.

Αποθήκες

Σε αποθήκες ανήκουν αναμφίβολα τα ευρήματα του οικοπέδου της οδού Δωδεκανήσου 2³⁴, όπου αποκαλύφθηκε επίμηκες οικοδόμημα μήκους 30μ., οι από αργολιθοδομή και ισχυρό ασβεστοκονίαμα τοίχοι του οποίου, πλάτους 0,90-1,20μ., διαμόρφωναν με τη βοήθεια κτιστών παραστάδων ανοίγματα και δημιουργούσαν έξι χώρους διαστάσεων 4,10x3,20μ. (εικ. 7). Μέσα στους χώρους αυτούς βρέθηκαν ακέραιοι αμφορείς του τύπου Καρθαγένης και θραύσματα αμφορέων με κόκκινες γραπτές επιγραφές. Το οικοδόμημα αυτό επισκευάστηκε πολλές φορές και χρησιμοποιήθηκε μέχρι και τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους.

Κτίσμα με τα ίδια αρχιτεκτονικά χαρακτηριστικά και πιθανότατα ανάλογου προορισμού αποκαλύφθηκε και σε γειτονικό οικόπεδο της οδού Μπραντούνα³⁵.

Με τις δραστηριότητες του λιμένα πρέπει να συνδέονται και οι φάσεις των ευρημάτων του οικοπέδου της οδού Φράγκων 28³⁶, που βρίσκεται κοντά στη δεύτερη πύλη του, την Πύλη του Γιαλού.

Εδώ ανασκάφηκε μεγάλο κτιριακό συγκρότημα (εικ. 8) του 6ου αιώνα, σωζόμενων διαστάσεων 31x18μ., το οποίο διαμορφώνεται από δίκτυο ισχυρών τοίχων πλάτους 0,80μ., κτισμένων με εναλλασσόμενη τοιχοποιία από αργολιθοδομή και ζώνες από τέσσερις σειρές πλίνθων, που συνδέονται με ισχυρό υποκίτρινο ασβεστοκονίαμα. Οι ισχυρές τοιχοποιίες διαμορφώνουν χώρους που επεκτείνονται κάτω από τα θεμέλια τόσο του όμορου οικοπέδου προς τα δυτικά, όσο και κάτω από τις επιχώσεις των οδών, που περιβάλλουν το οικόπεδο από βορρά, ανατολή και νότο. Το κτήριο είχε επιμελημένη κατασκευή, αφού η υποδομή των δαπέδων του είχε πάχος 50εκ. και ήταν κατασκευασμένη από επάλληλες στρώσεις ασβεστοκονιάματος και παρεμβαλλόμενη στρώση σχιστόλιθων και οι τοίχοι του ήταν επιχρισμένοι με δύο στρώσεις κονιαμάτων, ώστε να εξασφαλίζεται η στεγανότητα από την ανερχόμενη υγρασία.

33. Bass, van Doornick 1982.

34. Κανονίδης, Ι., ΑΔ 51, 1996, 493-5.

35. Αλεξανδρή, ΑΔ 29, 1973-74, 664.

36. Μαρκή, Χατζηιωαννίδης 2008, 274 κ.ε.

Το μέγεθος των διαμορφούμενων χώρων, το πλάτος των θυραίων ανοιγμάτων που κυμαίνεται από 1-1,60μ., τα στρωμένα με μαρμάρινα πλακίδια δάπεδα και η θέση του κτίσματος κοντά στην Πύλη του Γιαλού, μαρτυρούν το δημόσιο χαρακτήρα του. Ενδέχεται το συγκεκριμένο κτήριο που υφίστατο πριν από την οχύρωση του λιμένα, η οποία στη θέση αυτή διαμορφώνει προβολή για να το παρακάμψει³⁷, να συνδέεται με το τελωνείο της πόλης, όπου σφραγίζονταν τα διακινούμενα είδη από ειδικούς κρατικούς υπαλλήλους, τους κομμερκιάρους.

Στους μεσοβυζαντινούς χρόνους στα ερείπια του παραπάνω κτηρίου ιδρύθηκαν βιοτεχνικές εγκαταστάσεις με πηγάδι, που σώζονται αποσπασματικά, και το 14ο αιώνα εργαστήριο κεραμικής, με το οποίο συνδέεται λάκκος απορριμμάτων που περιείχε πλήθος αποτυχημένων θραυσμάτων αγγείων³⁸.

Παρά την αποσπασματικότητα των συνδεόμενων με το λιμάνι της Θεσσαλονίκης αρχαιολογικών ευρημάτων στα οποία πρέπει να προστεθεί ο θησαυρός των 14 χρυσών ιστάμενων του 11ου αιώνα³⁹, που βρέθηκε στην οδό Ολυμπίου Διαμαντή 11, πολύ κοντά στο βόρειο τείχος του, το μέγεθος και η σημασία του για την πόλη και την ενδοχώρα καταδεικνύεται α) από τους βυζαντινούς συγγραφείς στους οποίους αναφερθήκαμε και β) από τη λειτουργία σε αυτό των οικονομικών υπηρεσιών της Αβύδου και των κομμερκιάρων, που είναι γνωστές από τη σιγιλλογραφική⁴⁰ μαρτυρία. Σημαντική αναβάθμιση του λιμένα της Θεσσαλονίκης παρατηρείται τον 7ο αιώνα, λόγω του είδους του τελωνειακού ελέγχου που ασκούσε κατά την άφιξη και αναχώρηση των πλοίων, μέσω των υπηρεσιών της Αβύδου και των παραφυλάκων. Δυστυχώς, γνωρίζουμε ελάχιστα πράγματα για την υπηρεσία των βασιλικών κομμερκιάρων, κρατικών τελωνειακών υπαλλήλων, εισπρακτόρων του φόρου *κομμέρκιον*, που επέβαλε την καταβολή στο κράτος του 10% επί των πωλήσεων των εμπορευμάτων, ενώ το κομμέρκιο της Αβύδου ήταν επιπρόσθετος φόρος στα εμπορικά πλοία. Το 893 στο λιμάνι της Θεσσαλονίκης μεταφέρθηκε η αποκλειστική διεξαγωγή του βυζαντινού εμπορίου με τη Βουλγαρία, που σταμάτησε σύντομα λόγω της αισχροκέρδειας που επέδειξαν οι υπεύθυνοι ανώτατοι βυζαντινοί αξιωματούχοι σε βάρος των Βουλγάρων.

Από το λιμάνι της Θεσσαλονίκης διακινούνταν εμπορεύματα προς όλα τα εδάφη της αυτοκρατορίας, τη βόρεια βαλκανική και τη δυτική Ευρώπη. Εξάγονταν κυρίως σιτηρά, όσπρια, εργαλεία, υφάσματα, αρώματα και διάφορα είδη βιοτεχνικής παραγωγής (κεραμικά, είδη μικροτεχνίας, εργαλεία), από τη διακίνηση των οποίων, μετά την παραχώρηση προνομίων από τους Κομνηνούς στους Βενετούς και τους Γενουάτες, επωφελούνταν κυρίως οι ξένοι έμποροι, που δεν πλήρωναν δασμούς, σε αντίθεση με τους βυζαντινούς, που ήταν υποχρεωμένοι να καταβάλλουν φόρους. Οι ξένοι έμποροι έκτισαν τα σπίτια και τα εμπορικά τους κοντά στο λιμάνι και γι' αυτό η περιοχή του λιμανιού ονομαζόταν μέχρι τα νεότερα χρόνια *φραγκομαχαλάς* και η οδός πίσω από το βόρειο τείχος του λιμανιού ονομάζεται και αυτή μέχρι σήμερα οδός Φράγκων.

Με την άνοδο της στάθμης της θάλασσας το 18ο αιώνα το λιμάνι του Μ. Κωνσταντίνου άρχισε να επιχώνεται και το 1871, όταν σχεδιάσθηκε ο χάρτης του Πολύκαρπου Βιτάλη, φαίνεται ήδη διαμορφωμένη στη θέση του η εμπορική συνοικία «Αγορά Αιγύπτου» ή «Λαδάδικα».

37. Μαρκή, Χατζηιωαννίδης 2008, 276.

38. Μαρκή, Χατζηιωαννίδης 2008, 278.

39. Μαρκή 2000, 247-8.

40. Κολτσίδα-Μακρή 2000, 243.

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The port of Constantine and other Byzantine ports of Thessaloniki

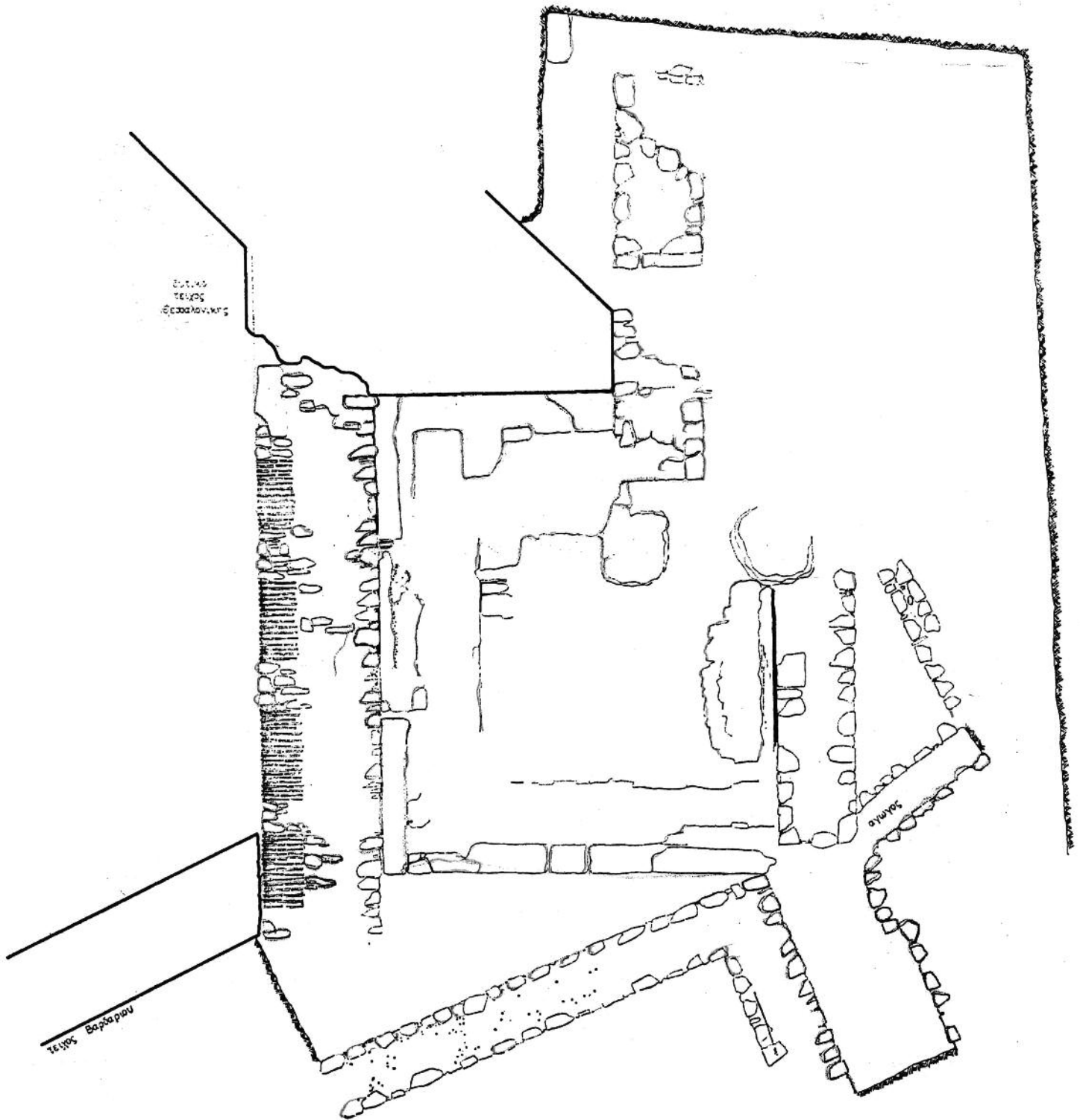
Marki Euterpi

Abstract:

Situated in the eastern edge of the city's shoreline, west of the Galerius complex, the natural Hellenistic port of Thessaloniki was continuously in use from the Roman Imperial to the Early Christian periods. However, the port could not protect the fleet that Constantine the Great planned to construct so as to face Licinius, when he settled in Thessaloniki between 322 and 323. Therefore, at the west side of the shoreline he built a spacious "dug" square port, which was protected by a fortified breakwater in the shape of an obtuse angle; this is referred in the sources as *diateichisma*. The *diateichisma* was 1.90 meters wide. It was made of large marble blocks and mortar and built as a continuation and extension of the western Roman fortification. It was reinforced by the construction of three towers; the first was excavated at the junction of Frangon and Moskov streets; the second in the position where the Byzantine "tower of the relief" was later erected; and the third at the last edge of the tower opposite the dock, where the entrance of the port was formed. There, in case of siege, a movable defense chain could close off the port.

Initially unfortified, the port of Constantine was fortified after the earthquakes and the sieges of the 7th century. It had two gates: the most important in the north wall and a second one in the eastern wall.

Several parts of the port premises were found in excavation. Thus, parts of the ship sheds were disclosed, where ships or their pieces were kept during the winter; some warehouses for the storage of the transit goods; a ceramic workshop; and a building that might have housed the customs office.



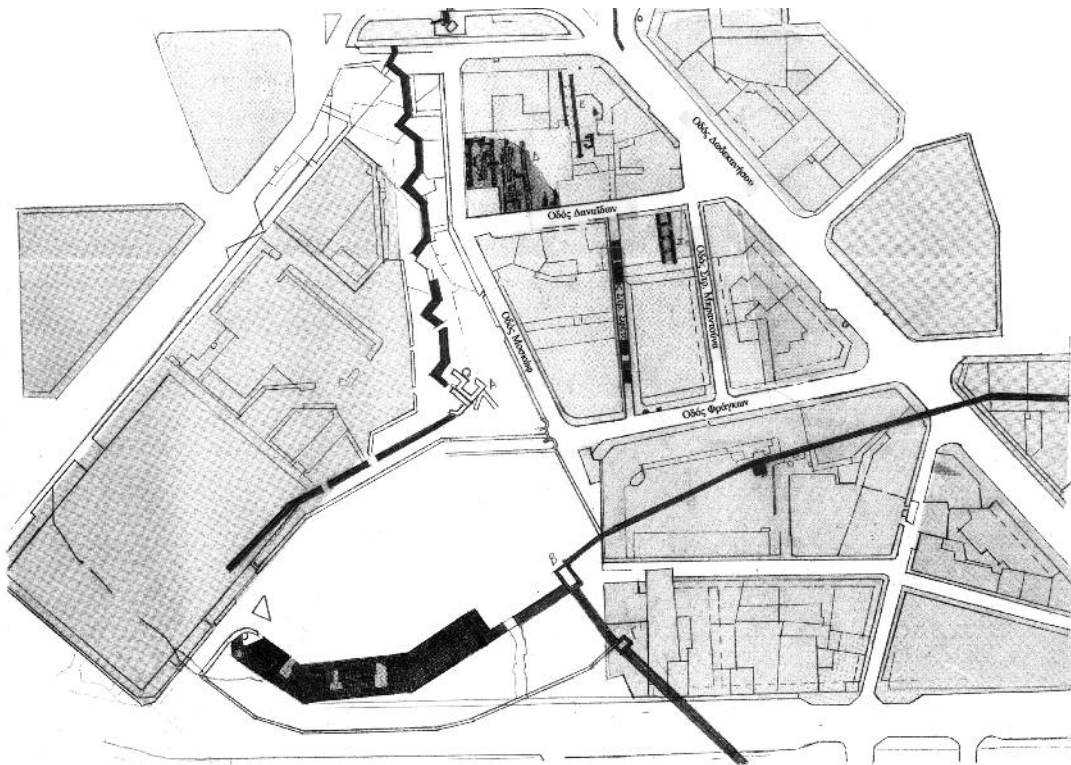
Εικ. 1: Η κάτοψη του πύργου που ανασκάφηκε στη συμβολή των οδών Φράγκων και Μοσκόφ.

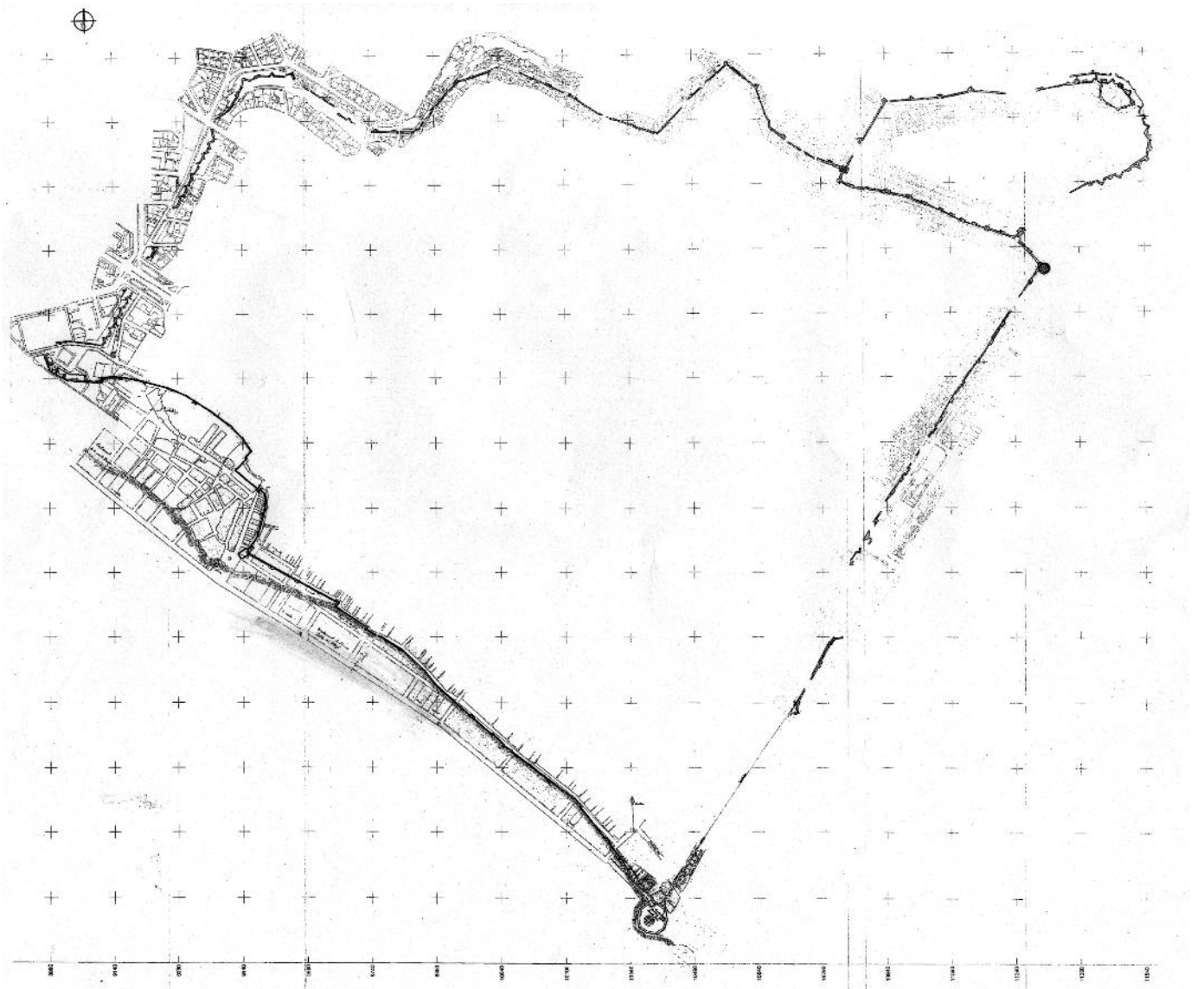


Εικ. 2: Άποψη του ανατολικού τοίχου του Πύργου του αναγλύφου.

Εικ. 3: Τοπογραφικό του φρουρίου Βαρδαρίου. Διακρίνονται:

- Α. η θέση του ορθογώνιου πύργου,
- Β. ο Πύργος του αναγλύφου,
- Γ. ο πρόβολος του τζερέμπουλου,
- Δ. οι νεώσοικοι που ανασκάφηκαν στη συμβολή των οδών Μοσκόφ και Δαναΐδων,
- Ε. οι αποθήκες της οδού Δωδεκανήσου,
- Στ. οι αποθήκες στην οδό Μπρανούνα.

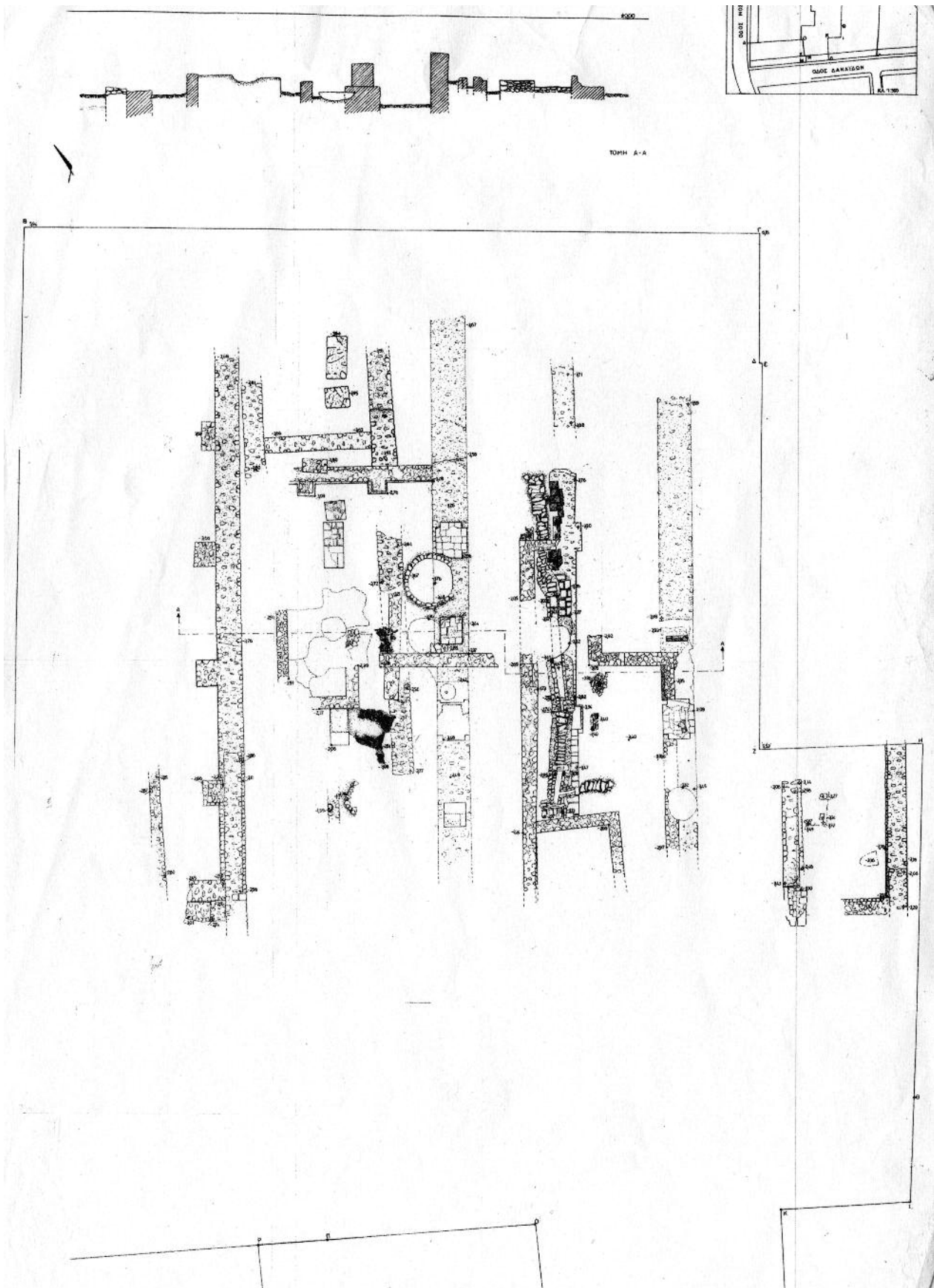




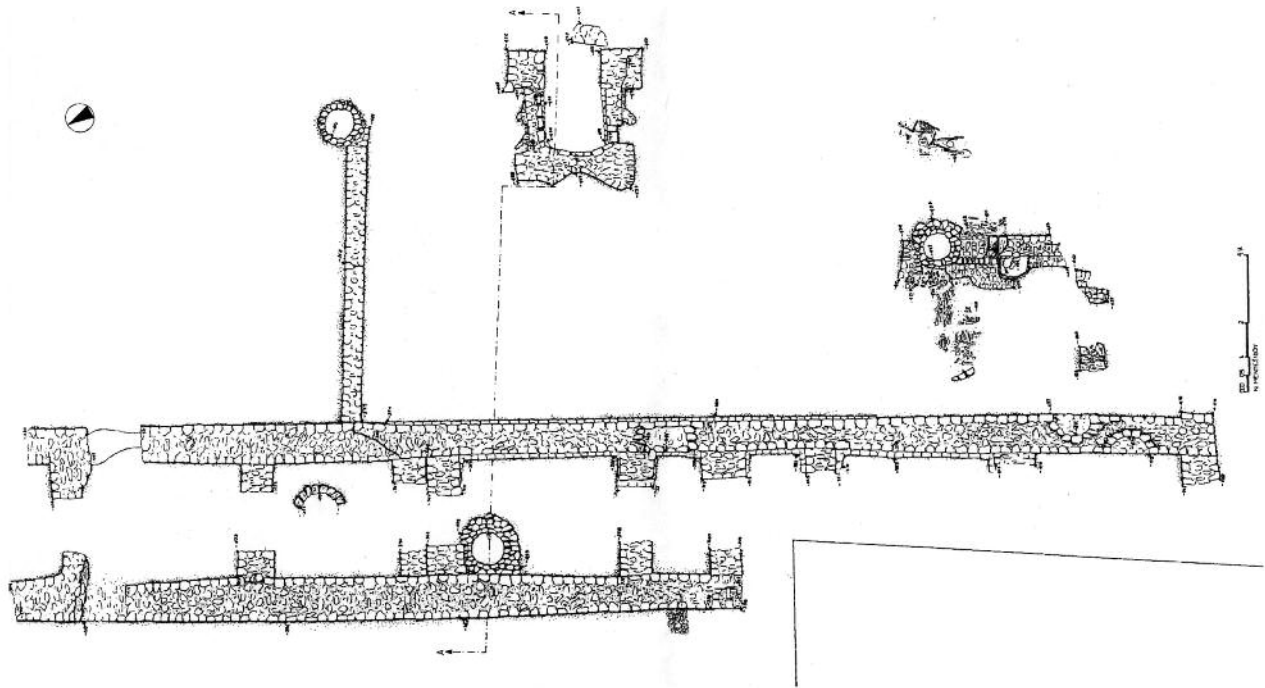
Εικ. 4: Τοπογραφική αποτύπωση της υφιστάμενης οχύρωσης της Θεσσαλονίκης από το Α.Π.Θ. υπό την εποπτεία του καθηγητή Κ. Τοκμακίδη (2009), συμπληρωμένη με το σχέδιο της θαλάσσιας οχύρωσης του Πολύκαρπου Βιτάλη (1871). Σύνθεση σχεδίων Ε. Σαραφιανού.

Εικ. 5: Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού. Το υπέρθυρο της κύριας πύλης του λιμένα.



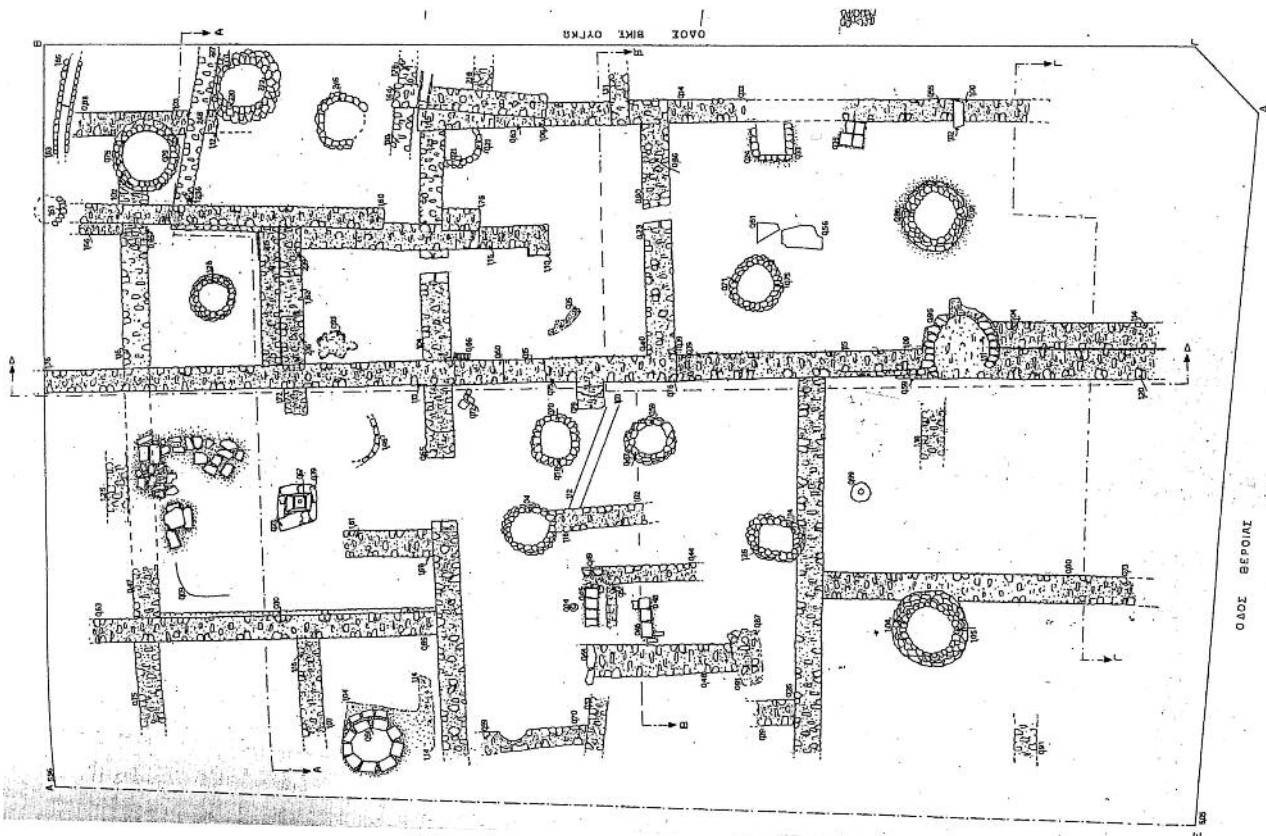


Εικ. 6: Κάτοψη της ανασκαφής στη συμβολή των οδών Μοσκόφ και Δαναΐδων. Διακρίνονται οι στυλοβάτες με τους εναλλασσόμενους ορθογώνιους και σταυρόσχημους πεσσούς.



Εικ. 7: Κάτοψη της ανασκαφής της οδού Δωδεκανήσου 2.

Εικ. 8: Κάτοψη της ανασκαφής της οδού Φράγκων 28.



Οι λιμενικές αποθήκες της Θεσσαλονίκης Από τα δημόσια ώρειά στην αποθήκη τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμερκίων

Χατζηιωαννίδης Αλέξανδρος, Τσαμίσης Π. Χρήστος

«...για να μπορέσουμε να κατανοήσουμε το Αρχιπέλαγος,
πρέπει να το συνδέσουμε με μια μεγάλη πόλη.
Παλιά υπήρξε ζωτικός χώρος της Αθήνας...
Έπειτα, βάση της βυζαντινής θαλασσοκρατίας.
...χάρη σ' αυτό διασφαλίστηκε η επικοινωνία με τη Δύση
μέχρι να πάρει τη σκυτάλη η Βενετία.»¹

Νέα ερωτήματα εγείρουν τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα που σχετίζονται με τη χρήση και τη λειτουργία των λιμενικών αποθηκών που αποκαλύφθηκαν στο ΝΔ τμήμα της εντός των τειχῶν Θεσσαλονίκης. Πρόκειται για τα τρία στωικά οικοδομήματα του συγκροτήματος που ταυτίστηκε με τα δημόσια ώρειά (*horrea*)², η θέση και η έκταση των οποίων θέτει νέες παραμέτρους για τη σημασία της πόλης ως μεταπρατικού και τροφοδοτικού κέντρου της βαλκανικής ενδοχώρας.

Τον άξονα, γύρω από τον οποίο θα κινηθεί η ιστορική ανάγνωση των ευρημάτων, και σημείο αναφοράς για τον διαχρονικό χαρακτήρα της περιοχής, όπου εντοπίζονται οι λιμενικές αποθήκες, αποτελούν οι δύο κύριες είσοδοι της πόλης: η Χρυσή Πύλη³, αφητηρία του κεντρικού *decumanus*, στα βόρεια, και ο λιμένας που φέρεται να (ανα)κατασκευάστηκε το 322 από τον μετέπειτα μονοκράτορα Κωνσταντίνο Α' στα νότια⁴. Με ποιον τρόπο όμως συνδέονταν μεταξύ τους οι δύο κύριες εμπορικές πύλες της Θεσσαλονίκης και πώς εντάσσονταν ως σύνολο στον περιβάλλοντα αστικό χώρο; (εικ. 1)

I. Σκιαγράφιση της περιοχής του λιμένα (3ος-5ος αι.)

Η σύνδεση του λιμένα με τη Χρυσή Πύλη θα πρέπει να εξαρτηθεί άμεσα από τις σταδιακές αλλαγές που επήλθαν στον χαρακτήρα της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Αν και παραμένει άγνωστη η περίοδος κατασκευής και ένταξης της θριαμβικής αψίδας στον οχυρωματικό περίβολο της πόλης, φαίνεται ωστόσο ότι η ανέγερσή της στη συγκεκριμένη περιοχή, σχετίζεται μάλλον με τη γειτνίασή της με τα παρακείμενα Ιερά και την εισαγωγή της αυτοκρατορικής λατρείας στην πόλη⁵, παρά με την οχυρωματική δραστηριότητα, η οποία ήδη από τον 1ο αι. π.Χ. βρισκόταν σε ύφεση⁶.

1. Braudel 1991, 137.

2. Για την οριοθέτηση των λιμενικών αποθηκών μέσα από τα αρχιτεκτονικά κατάλοιπα που αποκάλυψαν οι σωστικές ανασκαφές στην περιοχή, βλ. Χατζηιωαννίδης, Τσαμίσης, Δεληδημητρίου, υπό έκδοση.

3. Για τη Χρυσή Πύλη βλ. Touratsoglou 1988, 11-3. Vitti 1996, 57, 170-1 και Αλλαμανή-Σουρή 2003, 77-8.

4. Για τον κωνσταντινέιο λιμένα και την προβληματική που αναπτύχθηκε γύρω από το εάν αποτελεί εκ θεμελίων κατασκευή, βλ. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 301-16. Vitti 1996, 131-3. Malamut 2004, 135-7 ή εάν σχετίζεται με την ανακατασκευή του προϋπάρχοντος ρωμαϊκού λιμένα, βλ. Τσάρας 1983, 48-64 και Φωτιάδης 2000, 118-21. Για τον λιμένα της Θεσσαλονίκης στα αυτοκρατορικά χρόνια βλ. Νίγδελης 1995, 47, υπ. 2.

5. Για την εισαγωγή της αυτοκρατορικής λατρείας στη Θεσσαλονίκη βλ. Αλλαμανή-Σουρή 2003, 103.

6. Για τη μειωμένη οχυρωματική δραστηριότητα στην πόλη κατά τον 1ο αι. π.Χ., βλ. Αλλαμανή-Σουρή 2003, 82.

Πιθανή, επίσης, θα πρέπει να θεωρηθεί η σύνδεση της ανέγερσης της αψίδας με την αστική και εμπορική τάξη που δραστηριοποιούνταν από τα πρώιμα αυτοκρατορικά χρόνια στις όμορες περιοχές του λιμένα και των Ιερών⁷. Η γειτνίαση άλλωστε της πύλης με τον ναό του Σέραπη⁸ και η οδική επικοινωνία των Ιερών με την αποβάθρα του λιμένα⁹ συνθέτουν ένα σαφές χωροταξικό σχήμα, που καθιστά πρόδηλο τον αστικό και εμπορικό χαρακτήρα της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Κάτω από αυτό το πρίσμα δεν μπορεί να αποκλεισθεί η ταύτιση των δύο μορφών που απεικονίζονται στις παραστάδες του θριαμβικού τόξου με τους Διόσκουρους, τους δίδυμους αστέρες, *θεούς σωτήρες* των ναυτικών, και η ερμηνευτική σύνδεση των παραστάσεων με την εμπορική δραστηριότητα στην περιοχή¹⁰.

Ακολούθως, η απώλεια του αρχικού θριαμβικού χαρακτήρα της Χρυσής Πύλης και η ένταξή της στον οχυρωματικό και ελεγκτικό μηχανισμό της πόλης, ήδη από τα μέσα του 3ου αι.¹¹, αποτέλεσε το προοίμιο για τη σταδιακή ενσωμάτωσή της αψίδας στη νέα αστική ζώνη που άρχισε να διαμορφώνεται εκατέρωθεν των δυτικών τειχών κατά τη μεταβατική περίοδο της Τετραρχίας (293-324). Η συγκεκριμένη πολεοδομική επέκταση και ο εμπορικός χαρακτήρας της ευρύτερης περιοχής ανιχνεύεται μέσα από την ανασκαφική έρευνα, που αποκάλυψε εκτός των τειχών εκτενές συγκρότημα κρατικών αποθηκευτικών εγκαταστάσεων πιθεώνα εκατέρωθεν του δρόμου που οδηγούσε στη Χρυσή πύλη¹², και εντός των τειχών τμήμα εμπορικού στωικού κτίσματος με άμεση πρόσβαση στον κεντρικό *decumanus* και τη Χρυσή Πύλη¹³.

Κατά την κωνσταντινεία περίοδο (324-363), με την ανάπτυξη και διεύρυνση των λιμενικών υποδομών¹⁴, και την ανέγερση εκτενών και συγκεντρωτικών δημόσιων αποθηκών, ο κρατικός εμπορικός έλεγχος στη Θεσσαλονίκη θα παγιωθεί, συνεχίζοντας καθ' αυτόν τον τρόπο την πολιτική ενίσχυσης των υποδομών της πόλης που είχε ήδη ξεκινήσει κατά την προηγούμενη περίοδο. Άλλωστε, η πρακτική αυτή ακολουθήθηκε και στην περίπτωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης, με την ανακατασκευή του Προσφορίου και του Νεωρίου, των λιμένων της προκωνσταντινείας πόλης του Βυζαντίου¹⁵.

Όσον αφορά στη θέση του τεχνητού λιμένα της Θεσσαλονίκης, η πο-

7. Για τη σχέση των ιταλικών εμπορών αστών της Θεσσαλονίκης με τα Ιερά βλ. Νίγδελης 1995, 50.
8. Σύμφωνα με τον Βιτρούβιο "*Isidi et Serapi, in emporio*" (De Arch. 1.7.9). Για τον ναό του Σέραπη βλ. Vitti 1996, 50, 76, υπ. 176 και Koester 2010, 134-9. Για την καταγωγή και τη σχέση της αιγυπτιακής θεότητας με την εμπορική τάξη, όπου και παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία, βλ. Arbulo Bayona 2006, 205-209. Για την παρουσία παραστάσεων της Ίσιδας και του Σέραπη σε λιμενικές αποθήκες (*Horrea Hadriani*) στα Μύρα της Λυκίας, μεταγενέστερο κέντρο λατρείας του αγίου Νικολάου, βλ. Çevik 2010, 57. Για τον συσχετισμό με τον άγιο Νικόλαο βλ. Horden, Purcell 2004, 565.
9. Για τη σύνδεση του λιμένα με την κάθετη οδό που οδηγούσε στα Ιερά της πόλης βλ. Φωτιάδης 2000, 118.
10. Για την προβληματική γύρω από την ταύτιση των μορφών βλ. Touratsoglou 1988, 11-3, υπ. 44, 45, όπου παρατίθεται η επιγραφή από φερόμενο επιστόλιο της Χρυσής Πύλης [*ἡ πόλις θεοῖς σωτήρῃσιν ἀνέθηκεν*: IG X 2, 1.125. Πρβλ. την επιγραφή με την απόδοση στους Διοσκούρους από τον Champlin (2011, 96-7, υπ. 69) του προσωνομίου *θεοῖ σωτήρες*, ως προστάτες των ναυτικών. Από τα χρόνια του Τιβερίου Α' (14-37), η λατρεία τους εντάσσεται στην αυτοκρατορική προπαγάνδα και ενισχύεται, αντικαθιστώντας κατά τόπους την Ίσιδα Φαρία, την προστάτιδα των λιμένων.
11. Τα πρωιμότερα κατάλοιπα της οχύρωσης που έχουν βρεθεί στην περιοχή και αποτελούν ασφαλές χρονολογικό όριο για την ενσωμάτωση της Πύλης στα τείχη της πόλης χρονολογούνται την περίοδο πριν τις πρώτες γοθτικές επιδρομές του 253 (Βελένης 1998, 48, 51, 54-5 και Rizos 2011, 451-3).
12. Για τις κρατικές αποθηκευτικές εγκαταστάσεις πιθεώνα βλ. Μακροπούλου 1995, 526-7 και Μακροπούλου, Τζεβρένη, υπό έκδοση.
13. Το στωικό κτίσμα αποκαλύφθηκε ταπεινωμένο στα θεμέλια των δημόσιων αποθηκών. (Κατζηωαννίδης, Τσαμίσης, Δεληδημητρίου, υπό έκδοση).
14. Αποδεχόμενοι την ύπαρξη λιμένα αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων στην περιοχή και ερμηνεύοντας τη γνωστή πληροφορία του Ζώσιμου ότι το 322 «*τόν ἐν ταύτῃ λιμένα τὸν πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα κατασκευάσας*» (*Ἱστορία Νέα*, II.22), δεν μπορούμε να αποκλείσουμε την περίπτωση ο Κωνσταντίνος τον υφιστάμενο φυσικό λιμένα (*τόν ἐν ταύτῃ λιμένα*), ο οποίος αρχικά δεν ήταν τεχνητός (*τόν πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα*), να τον διεύρυνε (*κατασκευάσας*), εξοπλίζοντάς τον με νέα αποβάθρα και αποθήκες (Πρβλ. Τσάρας 1983, 50).
15. Mango 1986, 120. Για την αποβάθρα της Κωνσταντινούπολης και για τα έργα υποδομής στην πρωτεύουσα βλ. Magdalino 2000, 211-12 και Morrisson, Sodini, 2006, 336. Για τα νεότερα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα βλ. Asal, Eskalen, υπό έκδοση.

ρεία που ακολουθούσε, με βάση την υποθετική πορεία του μεταγενέστερου θαλάσσιου τείχους, θα πρέπει να θεωρηθεί ενδεικτικά η εξής¹⁶: το βόρειο σκέλος της αποβάθρας είχε ως αφετηρία τον νοτιοδυτικό πύργο της οχύρωσης της πόλης¹⁷. Εκτεινόμενο δυτικότερα κατά μήκος της οδού Φράγκων¹⁸, συναντούσε στη συμβολή με την οδό Λέοντος Σοφού την κάθετη οδό που συνέδεε ήδη από τα αυτοκρατορικά χρόνια τον λιμένα με την περιοχή των Ιερών¹⁹. Στη συνέχεια διαμόρφωνε πρόβολο, ακολουθώντας τεθλασμένη πορεία, για να παρακάμψει μεγάλο δημόσιο οικοδόμημα που προφανώς αποτελούσε μέρος των λιμενικών υποδομών²⁰. Ακολουθώντας, στην πλατεία Εμπορίου²¹ είχε αφετηρία το ανατολικό σκέλος της αποβάθρας²², το οποίο κατέληγε στον νοτιοανατολικό πύργο του λιμένα²³.

Στο συγκεκριμένο σημείο, κατά μήκος της οδού Κατούνη, θα πρέπει να τοποθετηθεί η Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα²⁴, το τμήμα δηλαδή της αποβάθρας που ήδη από τον 5ο αι. διαχειριζόταν η εκκλησιαστική διοίκηση της Θεσσαλονίκης και διεπόταν από ειδικό καθεστώς²⁵. Τον ίδιο αιώνα, με την επικράτηση του χριστιανισμού, θα ανεγερθούν στην περιοχή ανατολικά της Εκκλησιαστικής Σκάλας οι ναοί του Αγίου Μηνά²⁶ και της Θεοτόκου προς τῷ λιμένι²⁷, αντικαθιστώντας τη λατρεία του Σέραπη²⁸ και της Ίσιδας Πελαγίας²⁹, των προγενέστερων προστατών των εμπορίων και ναυτικών.

16. Διευκρινίζεται ότι η αποβάθρα του λιμένα των 500μ. μήκος πρέπει αρχικά να ήταν ατείχιστη. Εικάζεται ότι οχυρώθηκε μετά τους σεισμούς του 620-630 παράλληλα με την ανέγερση του θαλάσσιου τείχους (Μπακιρτζής 1975, 325-33. Μπακιρτζής 1977. 601, υπ. 42. Odorico 2003, 136-7).
17. Για τον καλούμενο πύργο του Αναγλύφου, βλ. Δροσσιάννη 1963, 242-3, σχ.2 και Μαρκή 1982, 144-51. Για τον παρακείμενο ορθογώνιο πύργο ο.π. 133-42. Για την ιστορική ονομασία του πύργου του Αναγλύφου βλ. Τσάρας 1983, 64-74.
18. Για το τμήμα οχύρωσης επί της οδού Φράγκων 2 βλ. Κούσουλα, 2000, 750 και επί της οδού Φράγκων 12, βλ. Κανονίδης 1995, 521-2.
19. Για τη σχέση του κάθετου οδικού άξονα (cardo) με τη μεταγενέστερη κεντρική πύλη του λιμένα (πύλη του Λέοντος) βλ. Φωτιάδης 2000, 118. Για το βόρειο τμήμα της οδού, που αντιστοιχεί στην νοητή γραμμή της οδού Λέοντος Σοφού βλ. Καραμανώλη-Σιγανίδου, 1970, 375 και Ρωμιοπούλου 1973, 691.
20. Για το δημόσιο οικοδόμημα και τη σχέση του με τον λιμένα, βλ. Μαρκή, Χατζηιωαννίδης 2011, 273-4.
21. Για τμήμα της οχύρωσης δυτικά της πλατείας Εμπορίου, επί της οδού Εδέσσης 2, βλ. Ρωμιοπούλου 1976, 244.
22. Για την προβληματική θέση των δύο πυλών του ανατολικού σκέλους του λιμένα (πύλη του Γαλού, πύλη της Σκάλας), βλ. Φωτιάδης 2000, υπ. 25 και Δημητριάδης 1983, υπ. 190-2.
23. Για τον λεγόμενο πύργο της Αποβάθρας βλ. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 305 και Τσάρας, 1983, 84-7.
24. Για την προβληματική γύρω από την ονομασία, τον χαρακτήρα και τη θέση της Εκκλησιαστικής Σκάλας βλ. Τσάρας 1983, 58-63 και Malamut 2004, 140, υπ. 68, όπου προτείνεται η θέση της εντός του κωνσταντινείου λιμένα, και Bakirtzis 2007, 94-5, όπου προτείνεται η ταύτιση της με τον λιμένα του γαλεριανού ανακτόρου. Πρβλ. επίσης Δημητριάδης 1983, 330, 362, υπ. 192, Χάρτης 1 και την ένδειξη *Τέμενος της Σκάλας*. Αν θεωρήσουμε την ονομασία του οθωμανικού τεμένους που βρισκόταν έξω από την πύλη της Σκάλας, κατάλοιπο της βυζαντινής παράδοσης για την Εκκλησιαστική Σκάλα, τότε λογικά αυτή θα πρέπει να εκτεινόταν εντός του τεχνητού λιμένα, κατά μήκος του ανατολικού του σκέλους και όχι στα ανατολικά τμήμα της πόλης.
25. Για την εκκλησιαστική εμπορική δραστηριότητα βλ. Kingsley, Decker 2001, 9-11. Για τις φοροαπαλλαγές βλ. Παπαγιάννη 1989, 399-401. Dagron 2000, 564-5, 577.
26. Για τον ναό του Αγίου Μηνά βλ. Mantopoulou-Panagiotopoulou 1996, 259-62.
27. Αν και η θέση του παλαιοχριστιανικού ναού της Θεοτόκου παραμένει άγνωστη, η σχέση του με τον λιμένα ερμηνεύεται μέσα από τον χαρακτηρισμό της Παναγίας ως *ἡ γὰρ λιμὴν τοῖς χειμαζομένοις* (Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος, «Ἐπαινος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Θεολόγον», PG 61, 719, 38). Για σχολιασμό της μαρτυρίας του ναού μέσα από τα Θαύματα του αγίου Δημητρίου, βλ. Μπακιρτζής, Σιδέρης 1997, 240 [184]. Πρβλ. Walter 2003, 183-4, όπου παρατίθενται παραδείγματα ναών, αφιερωμένων στον άγιο Μηνά, από την Θεσσαλονίκη, την Κωνσταντινούπολη, ομοίως πλησίον του λιμένα, τη Ρώμη και την Abu Mena.
28. Για τη μετάβαση από τη λατρεία του Σέραπη στη λατρεία του αγίου Μηνά στην Αλεξάνδρεια του 4ου αι. βλ. Haas 2006, 213-214. Πρβλ. Bakirtzis 2010, 403 για τον συσχετισμό των ιαματικών ιδιοτήτων του Σέραπη με τις αντίστοιχες του αγίου Δημητρίου. Για την επιβίωση της λατρείας της Ίσιδος και του Σέραπη έως τις αρχές του 4ου αι. βλ. Bagnall 1993, 264, 270. Για τη λατρεία του αγίου Μηνά στην παλαιοχριστιανική Αίγυπτο και τη σχέση της με τις αιγυπτιακές θεότητες, καθώς και για τη σχέση των θαυμάτων του αγίου με το θαλάσσιο εμπόριο βλ. Wilber 1940, 91, 103. Για τη σχέση του αγίου με τους προσκυνητές, βλ. Anderson 2004, 80.
29. Για τη λατρεία της Ίσιδας Πελαγίας στη Θεσσαλονίκη βλ. Blanchaud 1984, 710-1. Για την εικονογραφική εξέλιξη του τύπου βλ. Bruneau 1974, 351-2. Για την επιβίωση της τελετής προσφοράς ομοιώματος πλοίου στην Ίσιδα (Isidis navigium) έως τον 6ο αι. βλ. Reeder-Williams 1985, 111. Το συγκεκριμένο τελετουργικό ίσως σχετίζεται με το κολοσσαίο σύμπλεγμα γυναικείας μορφής και ομοιώματος πλώρης που φέρεται από περιηγητές ότι κοσμούσε τον πύργο της Ληταίας Πύλης (Touratsoglou 1988, 10). Για τη μετάβαση από τη λατρεία της Ίσιδας στη λατρεία της Θεοτόκου βλ. Mathews, Muller 2005, 8-9.

Εφεξής, η περιοχή του λιμένα δεν θα αποτελεί το πεδίο δράσης αποκλειστικά των ρωμαίων ανεξάρτητων αστώνπραματευτών (*negotiatores*), εμπόρων (*mercatores*) και ναυκλήρων (*navicularii*)³⁰. Οι κρατικοί και θρησκευτικοί αξιωματούχοι, απεσταλμένοι της Νέας και Παλαιάς Ρώμης θα αναλάβουν πλέον πρωταγωνιστικό ρόλο στη σκηνή του λιμένα³¹. Αυτοί θα αποτελέσουν μαζί με τους ταξιδιώτες-προσκυνητές³² τους φορείς των νέων κοινωνικών αντιλήψεων, που θα επικρατήσουν κατά τη μετάβαση της Θεσσαλονίκης από ελεύθερο αστικό κέντρο της ρωμαϊκής κοινοπολιτείας στο σημαντικότερο τμήμα του τροφοδοτικού δικτύου της βαλκανικής ενδοχώρας, γρανάζι της κρατικής μηχανής με έδρα την Κωνσταντινούπολη³³.

II. Τὰ δημόσια ὄρειά (4ος-7ος αι.)

Συγκεκριμένα, η ανασύνθεση των ανασκαφικών δεδομένων της ευρύτερης περιοχής μεταξύ της Χρυσής Πύλης και του λιμένα αποκαλύπτει μεγάλο δημόσιο αποθηκευτικό συγκρότημα, το οποίο σώζεται τμηματικά κατά 88μ. μήκος και 62μ. πλάτος³⁴. Οι δε ακέραιες διαστάσεις του υπολογίζονται στα 180μ. μήκος και 95μ. πλάτος, καλύπτοντας έκταση δύο οικοδομικών νησίδων του πολεοδομικού καννάβου³⁵. Ο προσανατολισμός του στον άξονα Β-Ν είναι τέτοιος, ώστε να έχει από βορρά άμεση επικοινωνία με τη Χρυσή Πύλη και από νότο άμεση πρόσβαση στην αποβάθρα του λιμένα. Το συγκρότημα συνθέτουν τρία επιμέρους ισομεγέθη στωικά οικοδομήματα³⁶, η συμμετρική διάταξη των οποίων υποδηλώνει ότι σχεδιάστηκαν και υλοποιήθηκαν κατά την ίδια περίοδο (εικ. 2: I-II-III). Βάσει των ευρημάτων αυτή τοποθετείται μετά την ανακατασκευή του λιμένα το 322 και πιθανώς στα μέσα του 4ου αι.³⁷.

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα διαθέσιμα ανασκαφικά στοιχεία που αφορούν στο δυτικότερο εκ των τριών οικοδομημάτων³⁸, προκύπτει ότι τα μεταξύ τους όρια είναι σαφή, καθώς τόσο από ανατολικά όσο και από δυτικά διαχωρίζονται με ισχυρή τοιχοποιία με αντηρίδες (εικ. 3). Το διάκενο μεταξύ των τριών κτισμάτων, πλάτους 3,50μ., χρησιμοποιήθηκε εξίσου ως χώρος αποθήκευσης, όπως αποδεικνύει ο ακέραιος αμφορέας LR2 που εντοπίστηκε σε παλαιότερη ανασκαφή μεταξύ του δυτικού και του κεντρικού κτίσματος³⁹.

Κάθε επιμέρους οικοδόμημα διαθέτει έξι παράλληλες στοές, πλάτους περί τα 4μ., οι οποίες ορίζονται από πέντε ενδιάμεσες πεσοστοιχίες. Εξ αυτών, η μία κατέχει κεντρική θέση, ενώ εκατέρωθεν της αναπτύσσονται οι δύο εσωτερικές και οι δύο ακραίες (εικ. 4). Οι εξωτερικοί τοίχοι είναι κτισμένοι κατά το μεικτό σύστημα με τέσσερις σειρές πλίνθων, οι στυλοβάτες είναι λι-

30. *Navicularii et mercatores olearii, qui magnam partem patrimonii ei rei contulerunt, intra quinquennium muneris publici vacationem habent. (Dig. 50.4.5, Scaevola 1 reg.)*

31. Για την εμπορική δραστηριότητα των εκκλησιαστικών αξιωματούχων της Θεσσαλονίκης βλ. Trombley 2001, 165-6.

32. Για τη σχέση των προσκυνηματικών δρόμων με το εμπόριο βλ. Αγγελίδη 1989, 677-9.

33. Dagron 2000, 606. Kingsley, Decker 2001, 3.

34. Σχετικά ο Βιτρούβιος (De Arch., V.XII) αναφέρει ότι περί του λιμένα *porticus sive navalia sunt facienda sive ex porticibus aditus ad emporia*. Για την ακριβή ερμηνεία των όρων «*ἐμπόριον/emporium*» (τόπος ἐμπορικός παρά τήν θάλασσαν) και «*ἐμπόρια/emporía*» (τά ἐμπορεύματα) βλ. Liddell, Scott 1997.

35. Πρβλ. τις διαστάσεις (167x146μ.) της αντίστοιχης αποθήκης της Ρώμης (*Horrea Galbana*), όπου αποθηκεύονταν ομοίως λάδι και κρασί (Mundell-Mango 2000, 193).

36. Πρβλ. τα πρωιμότερα στωικά οικοδομήματα από το Piccolo Mercato στην Όστια (Rickman 1971, 17-8) και από τη ρωμαϊκή Αγορά στη Μαρόνια (Κοκκοτάκη 2005, 13-4).

37. Στο β' μισό του 4ου αι. χρονολογούνται επίσης οι λιμενικές αποθήκες της Κωνσταντινούπολης (Mango 1986, 121).

38. Χατζηιωαννίδης, Τσαμίσης, Δεληδημητρίου [υπό έκδοση].

39. Μεταξύ των εξωτερικών τοίχων του οικοδομήματος I και II, όπου εντοπίστηκε ο αμφορέας, δεν βρέθηκαν ίχνη δαπέδου (Κανονίδης 1996, 494, πιν. 138α).

θόκτιστοι, ενώ οι πεσσοί όλων των πεσσοστοιχίων είναι ολόπλινθοι (εικ. 5). Γενικότερα, στον τρόπο δόμησής τους εντοπίζονται παράλληλα του 4ου-5ου αι. από την κωνσταντινεία και θεοδοσιανή φάση των παρακείμενων δυτικών τειχών⁴⁰ και την πεντάκλιτη βασιλική στην πλατεία Αγ. Σοφίας⁴¹, ενώ διακρίνονται και εκτενείς επεμβάσεις που ομοιάζουν με χαρακτηριστικά του 5ου-6ου αι. από το γαλεριανό συγκρότημα⁴². Ομοίως, βελτιωτικές επεμβάσεις επί Θεοδοσίου Α΄ ανιχνεύονται στις πηγές για τις αποθήκες της Κωνσταντινούπολης⁴³.

Η θέση και το σχήμα του κάθε πεσσού μαρτυρά το φέρον σύστημα κάλυψης του συγκροτήματος. Συνάλλα πλινθόκτιστα τόξα αντιστοιχούσαν στις κεραίες των σταυρόσχημων πεσσών, μεταφέροντας το βάρος της κάλυψης από την κεντρική πεσσοστοιχία εκατέρωθεν προς τις εσωτερικές και από εκεί στις ακραίες πεσσοστοιχίες και στους δύο εξωτερικούς τοίχους (εικ. 6). Ακέραια κρημνίσματα τόξων αποκαλύφθηκαν *in situ* εντός του στρώματος καταστροφής. Το μεγάλο πλάτος των εξωτερικών τοίχων (1.10μ.), των τοξοστοιχιών (0.90μ.) και των στυλοβατών (1.60μ.) που φέρουν τους πεσσούς καθιστά βάσιμη την υπόθεση πως το συγκρότημα διέθετε τουλάχιστον έναν επιπλέον όροφο⁴⁴. Εκεί πιθανώς να στεγάζονταν οι διοικητικές υπηρεσίες των αποθηκών, έδρα αρχικά του *comes commerciorum per Illyricum* και κατόπιν του *βασιλικού κομμερκιάρου αποθήκης Θεσσαλονίκης*⁴⁵, ενώ οι καμαροσκεπείς ισόγειες στοές θα στέγαζαν τα προς έλεγχο και αποθήκευση εμπορεύματα.

Από τις επιχώσεις που αντιστοιχούν στη χρήση του δυτικού οικοδομήματος των αποθηκών, πριν αυτές ανακατασκευασθούν κατά τον 7ο ή 8ο αι., συλλέχθηκε σημαντική ποσότητα κεραμικής 5ου-7ου αι. από αμφορείς, κυρίως τύπου LRA 1 και LRA 2⁴⁶ (εικ. 7). Εξ αυτών ορισμένοι έφεραν εγχάρακτες ή γραπτές επιγραφές με ερυθρό χρώμα⁴⁷. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρεται η εγχάρκτη επιγραφή με τα γράμματα ΠΡ, η οποία εντοπίστηκε σε τρία παραδείγματα και βρίσκει παράλληλα σε αντίστοιχες επιγραφές του 7ου αι. από το ναυάγιο του Yassi Ada⁴⁸ και την Τορώνη⁴⁹, καθώς και η γραπτή επιγραφή με τον ευχετικό χαρακτηρισμό *ευπλ(ο)ούν*. Επίσης, βρέθηκαν ενδείξεις που σχετίζονται με το καθαρό βάρος του εκάστοτε προϊόντος⁵⁰, με τη μικρότερη ποσότητα να αντιστοιχεί στους 23 (ΚΓ) ξέστες⁵¹ (*sextarii*) κρασιού ή λαδιού που μετέφερε ο συγκεκριμένος LRA 1 και με τη μεγαλύτερη στους 70 (Ο) ξέστες⁵²

40. Βελήνης 1998, 101, εικ. 78-79.

41. Μέντζος 1981, 218-9. Theocharidou 1988, 10-3.

42. Για παράλληλα που χρονολογούνται τον 5ο και 6ο αι. βλ. Mentzos 2010, 338-41.

43. Dagron 2000, 107, υπ. 46.

44. Αντίστοιχη αναπαράσταση προτείνεται από τον Hurst (2010, 56) για το στωικό οικοδόμημα του εμπορικού λιμένα της Καρθαγένης, όπου τοποθετεί ο Προκόπιος τη *Μαρίτιμον Αγοράν*.

45. Το αξίωμα του *comes commerciorum* συνδέθηκε αρχικά με τις διοικητικές μεταρρυθμίσεις του Διοκλητιανού. Κατά την ιουστινιάνεια περίοδο φαίνεται να αποκτά περισσότερες αρμοδιότητες, οι οποίες θα αποκρυσταλλωθούν τον 7ο και 8ο αι. υπό τον τίτλο του *βασιλικού* ή *γενικού κομμερκιάρου* (Haldon 2001, 8-9, 12-3).

46. Για πρώιμους τύπους LRA 1 βλ. Oraiῖ 2010a, 1015-22. Για ύστερους τύπους LRA1 βλ. Ferrazzoli & Ricci 2010, 818-9. Για τη χρήση του τύπου LRA 2, η οποία σχετίζεται με τον στρατιωτικό χαρακτήρα των αποθηκών και τη στρατηγική θέση της Θεσσαλονίκης ως πρωτεύουσας του Ανατολικού Ιλλυρικού βλ. Karagiorgou 2001a, 130, 154. Για μεταγενέστερους τύπους βλ. Arthur 1989, 81-9. Για αναλυτικότερη βιβλιογραφία βλ. Διαμάντη 2010, κεφ. 4,5.

47. Για ενεπίγραφους LRA 1 από την ανατολική Μεσόγειο βλ. Carboni 2010, 418-9, 423 και Oraiῖ 2010b, 114-5.

48. Bass, van Doornick 1982, 161-2. Για την ερμηνεία της ένδειξης ΠΡ ως πρ(εσβυτερος) βλ. van Doornick 1989, 250-2.

49. Papadopoulos 2001, 632, Fig.150, No 14.109

50. Για την ογκομέτρηση λαδιού και κρασιού στη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, όπου βιβλιογραφία βλ. De Sena 2005, υπ. 19 και Διαμάντη 2010, 63. Για επιγραφές από την επαρχία της Σκυθίας, όπου αναφέρεται το καθαρό βάρος των αμφορέων βλ. Radulescu 1973, 202-203 και 1976, pl.VII 3. Για επιγραφικά παράλληλα από εμπορικές σφραγίδες με ενδείξεις όγκου βλ. Papadopoulos 2001, 628, 632.

51. 12,557 ή 13,110 λίτρα.

52. 38,220 ή 39,900 λίτρα.

ενός πιθανού LRA 2. Αξιόλογες είναι και οι ενδείξεις ονομάτων, όπως το μονόγραμμα με σταυρό, το οποίο πιθανώς ανήκει σε κάποιον διοικητικό ή εκκλησιαστικό αξιωματούχο⁵³ (εικ. 8).

Με πιθανή εκκλησιαστική εμπορική δραστηριότητα σχετίζεται επίσης και το θραύσμα αρτοσφραγίδας ευλογίας με την επιγραφή *ΛΑΕ*, η παρουσία της οποίας στο στρώμα χρήσης των αποθηκών συνδέεται ίσως με τη λειτουργία του παρακείμενου εκτός των τειχών μονόχωρου ναού που εντοπίστηκε επί των ερείπων ενός προγενέστερου κρατικού πιθεώνα⁵⁴. Η άμεση γειτνίαση του ναού με τη Χρυσή Πύλη και τις λιμενικές αποθήκες, η επανάχρηση μέρους των αποθηκευτικών εγκαταστάσεων του πιθεώνα, καθώς και ο εντοπισμός μεγάλης ποσότητας αμφορέων και ευλογιών στον περιβάλλοντα χώρο του ναού επιβεβαιώνουν τον εμπορικό του χαρακτήρα και τη λειτουργική του εξάρτηση από τον λιμένα, από όπου θα διέρχονταν οι προσκυνητές⁵⁵.

Τέλος, ειδικό ενδιαφέρον ως εύρημα παρουσιάζουν οι ενσφράγιστες πλίνθοι, καθώς αποτελούν δομικό στοιχείο των αποθηκών και συνηγορούν στη χρονολόγησή τους. Ανάμεσα στα σφραγίσματα απαντώνται: μεμονωμένα γράμματα (*Ψ, Ι, Α, Δ, Υ, Ε*), σχηματική απεικόνιση ιχθύος, σταυρός εντός τετραγώνου, αστέρες, καθώς και η σύντμηση (+*ΕΝ+*), της οποίας η χρήση σε πλίνθους τοποθετείται στον 4ο και 5ο αι.⁵⁶. Την ανασκαφική εικόνα συμπληρώνουν πήλινα διάτρητα αποστρογγυλευμένα σταθμά διαφόρων μεγεθών, καρφιά, καθώς και ένας ικανός αριθμός χάλκινων νομισμάτων, εκ των οποίων τα περισσότερα αποτελούν μικρές υποδιαίρεσεις των αυτοκρατόρων Ονωρίου και Αρκαδίου (393-423), ενώ ορισμένα είναι κοπές των διαδόχων του Κωνσταντίνου Α' (337-361).

Η έλλειψη ανασκαφικών στοιχείων για τα δύο από τα τρία οικοδομήματα των *δημοσίων ώρειών* καθιστούν υποθετική κάθε ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση για την ειδικότερη χρήση τους ως οργανικού συνόλου. Λαμβάνοντας όμως υπόψη ότι εκ των έξι αποθηκών της Κωνσταντινούπολης η μία στέγαζε αποκλειστικά ελαιόλαδο και κρασί (*horrea olearia*), ενώ οι υπόλοιπες σιτηρά⁵⁷, φαίνεται λογικό η Θεσσαλονίκη να διέθετε τουλάχιστον μία αποθήκη λαδιού/κρασιού, η οποία ταυτίζεται με το ανασκαμμένο δυτικό οικοδόμημα (εικ. 1: I) και δύο σιταποθήκες, οι οποίες θα αντιστοιχούν στα δύο τεκμαιρόμενα κτίσματα (εικ. 1: II, III). Την παραπάνω υπόθεση ενισχύει η ταύτιση μεγάλου μέρους των αμφορέων που περισυλλέχθηκε από το δυτικότερο εκ των τριών οικοδομημάτων και ανήκει σε συντριπτικό ποσοστό στους κατεξοχήν τύπους που προορίζονταν για κρασί και λάδι, τον LRA 1 και 2.

Επιπλέον, η άμεση επικοινωνία των *δημοσίων ώρειών*, μέσω της Χρυσής Πύλης, με τις παρακείμενες εγκαταστάσεις πιθεώνα φανερώνει την πιθανή αλληλεξάρτηση που υπήρχε μεταξύ τους και τον διακριτό ρόλο που τους είχε επιφορτίσει η κρατική μηχανή, καθώς θα εξυπηρετούσαν συγκεκριμένους τομείς στο μεταπρατικό και τροφοδοτικό δίκτυο⁵⁸. Ως εκ τούτου, η βραχύβια

53. Πρβλ. την επιγραφή (εικ.8α) με Διαμάντη 2010, 93, 541, Σχ. 137, α/α 611-1402. Για επιγραφικά παράλληλα με μονόγραμμα και σταυρό βλ. Adamschek 1979, 117-8, pl. 29-31 και van Doornick 1989, 250-2. Για παράλληλα μονογράμματα από unguentaria 6ου-7ου αι., βλ. Hayes 1971, 244 και Degeest 1993, 183-90.

54. Ο πιθεώνας ήταν σε χρήση καθόλου τον 4ο αι., πριν ανεγερθεί ο μικρός μονόχωρος ναός τον 5ο αι. (Μακροπούλου, Τζεβρένη, υπό έκδοση).

55. Για παράλληλα αρτοσφραγίδων και πήλινων ευλογιών 5ου-6ου αι. που συνδέονται με εκκλησιαστική εμπορική δραστηριότητα βλ. Μπούσκαρη 2010, 277-8.

56. Για την ερμηνεία της ένδειξης +*ΕΝ+* σε ενσφράγιστες πλίνθους ως σύντμησης του όρου *ένδικτιών* βλ. Αθανασίου, Μάλαμα, Μίτζα, Σαραντίδου 2008, 299-317 και Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2010, 265-9. Αντίθετα ο Rizos (2011, 456-7) την ερμηνεύει ως σύντμηση κύριου ονόματος.

57. Για τις αποθήκες της Πρωτεύουσας βλ. Mundell-Mango 2000, 193-4.

58. Για παράλληλα ευρήματα συνύπαρξης ώρειών (*horrea*) και πιθεώνα (*dolia*) από την Caesaria Maritima της Παλαιστίνης και τη χρήση τους βλ. Patrich 2011, 227-35.

αποθήκευση για τον έλεγχο και τη φορολόγηση των εμπορευμάτων πιθανώς να επιτελείτο στα εντός των τειχών *ώρεία* κοντά στο λιμάνι, ενώ παράλληλα στις εκτός των τειχών κρατικές εγκαταστάσεις του πιθεώνα -προτού αυτός ταπεινωθεί τον 5ο αι. για την ανέγερση του μονόχωρου ναού- ενδέχεται να στεγάζονταν τα προς μεταποίηση και μεταφορά προϊόντα⁵⁹. Αυτά κατόπιν θα διαχέονταν ανά την ενδοχώρα μέσω των χερσαίων και πλωτών οδών, αφού μεταγγίζονταν σε καταλληλότερα μεταφορικά δοχεία, ενώ οι κενοί αμφορείς, ακατάλληλοι για χερσαία μεταφορά, θα αποθηκεύονταν, θα απορρίπτονταν ή θα επέστρεφαν κενοί (;) στον τόπο προέλευσής τους⁶⁰.

Συμπερασματικά, η κατασκευή και η μεγάλη έκταση που καταλάμβαναν οι δημόσιες αποθήκες σχετίζεται άμεσα με τη δημιουργία της νέας Υπαρχίας Ιλλυρικού (*Praefectura praetorio Illyrici*) που ανάγεται στα χρόνια του Κωνσταντίνου Α' (324-337) και με την επιλογή της Θεσσαλονίκης ως μίας εκ των τεσσάρων εδρών κατασκευής οπλισμού της Υπαρχίας⁶¹. Επί μονοκρατορίας του συνεχίζονται οι διοικητικές και οικονομικές μεταρρυθμίσεις του Διοκλητιανού και η οικοδομική δραστηριότητα που άρχισε να αναπτύσσεται επί Γαλερίου, ενισχύοντας τη γεωπολιτική θέση της πόλης, η οποία εδραιώνεται με την επιλογή της ως πρωτεύουσας της νεοσυσταθείσας *Διοίκησης Μακεδονίας*⁶². Η θέση της άλλωστε το ευνοούσε, όντας στο σταυροδρόμι του άξονα Α-Δ, μεταξύ της Νέας και Παλαιάς Ρώμης, και του άξονα Β-Ν, μεταξύ του βαλκανικού και αιγαιακού χώρου⁶³. Ο δημόσιος χαρακτήρας και η υπαγωγή των αποθηκών σε κρατικό έλεγχο με σκοπό τη στρατιωτική τροφοδοσία (*annona militaris*) της βαλκανικής έθετε επίσης τέλος στην αυτονομία της Θεσσαλονίκης ως *ελεύθερης πόλης (civitas libera)*, όπως αυτή είχε θεσμοθετηθεί στα αυτοκρατορικά χρόνια⁶⁴. Η εξάρτησή της πλέον από τις πολιτικές επιλογές της νέας πρωτεύουσας και τις συνεχείς διοικητικές μεταρρυθμίσεις που εφαρμόστηκαν στο Ιλλυρικό είναι εμφανής και παγιώνεται με την ανέγερση των νέων κρατικών λιμενικών εγκαταστάσεων.

Παράλληλα, με την ανακατασκευή του λιμένα και την επέκταση των υποδομών του, η πόλη καθίσταται σταθμός στο δίκτυο τροφοδοσίας της βαλκανικής ενδοχώρας, συνδέοντας μέσω των υδάτινων και χερσαίων οδών το Σίρμιο, την έδρα του Υπάρχου του Ιλλυρικού, με τις νοτιότερες διοικήσεις και επαρχίες που υπάγονταν στη δικαιοδοσία του⁶⁵. Μετά το 441 και την κατάληψη του Σιρμίου από τους Ούνους, η στρατιωτική και εκκλησιαστική θέση της Θεσσαλονίκης αναβαθμίζεται, λόγω της θέσης της ως νέας πρωτεύου-

59. Για τη χρήση αμφορέων και πήθων κατά τις εμπορικές συναλλαγές ενδεικτική είναι η άποψη του Πρόκολου, νομικού του 1ου αι.: "*vinum enim in amphoras et cados hac mente diffundimus, ut in his sit, donec usus causa probetur, et scilicet id vendimus cum his amphoris et cadis: in dolia autem alia mente coicimus, scilicet ut ex his postea vel in amphoras et cados diffundamus vel sine ipsis doliis veneat*" (Dig. 33.6.15, Proculus 2, epist.).

60. Για τη μετάγγιση των εμπορευμάτων σε άλλα μεταφορικά δοχεία, κατάλληλα για χερσαία μεταφορά, και την χρήση των κενών αμφορέων βλ. Gómez Iglesias 2010, 64. Κενοί αμφορείς ενδέχεται να μεταφέρονταν στο πλοίο του ναυαγίου του Yasi Ada (van Doornick 1989, 250-2).

61. Για την *Fabrica infrascraiae Thessalonicensis* βλ. Δρακούλης 2013, 24, υπ.39, όπου βιβλιογραφία. Για τη λειτουργία του συστήματος βλ. Κόλιας 1989, 466-8.

62. Με τις μεταρρυθμίσεις του Διοκλητιανού η Θεσσαλονίκη άνηκε στην ευρύτερη Διοίκηση Μοισίας *με πρωτεύουσα τη Σερδική. Μεταξύ των ετών 319-327, περίοδος ανάπτυξης του λιμένα, η πόλη ισχυροποιείται και ορίζεται πρωτεύουσα της νεοσυσταθείσας Διοίκησης Μακεδονίας* (Κωνσταντακοπούλου 1984, 39-40).

63. Για τις εμπορικές σχέσεις στη βαλκανική ενδοχώρα και την πολιτική που ακολουθήθηκε από τα χρόνια της Τετραρχίας έως τον Ιουστινιανό βλ. Πατούρα 1983, 333-7.

64. Για τις θεσμικές αλλαγές στη Θεσσαλονίκη τον 4ο αι. βλ. Μέντζος 2006, 36-7.

65. Για την Υπαρχία Ιλλυρικού, τη Διοίκηση Μακεδονίας και τη βαθμιαία ενίσχυση του γεωπολιτικού ρόλου της Θεσσαλονίκης, από την ίδρυση της Κωνσταντινούπολης έως και τη δημιουργία της *Quaestura Exercitus* βλ. Κωνσταντακοπούλου 1984, 40-7 και Γκουτζιουκώστας, Μονιάρος 2009.

σας της κατά πολύ συρρικνωμένης Υπαρχίας Ιλλυρικού, εξαρτώμενη διοικητικά από την Κωνσταντινούπολη και εκκλησιαστικά από τη Ρώμη⁶⁶.

Κατά την ιουστινιάνεια περίοδο η περαιτέρω ενίσχυση των υδάτινων και χερσαίων οδών για την ομαλή τροφοδοσία της ενδοχώρας εντάσσει τη Θεσσαλονίκη σε ένα ευρύτερο δίκτυο της κρατικής τροφοδοσίας, που περιελάμβανε τις παραδουνάβιες επαρχίες και τη νοτιοανατολική Μεσόγειο. Ο έλεγχος των υδάτινων οδών στα περὶχωρα της Θεσσαλονίκης θα ενισχυθεί με την κατασκευή φρουρίων, όπως το *Ἄρτεμίσιον*, στις εκβολές του Εχέδωρου ποταμού⁶⁷, ενώ στον Δούναβη με οχυρώματα που μετατρέπονται σε πόλεις με αποκλειστικό στρατιωτικό και θρησκευτικό χαρακτήρα⁶⁸. Μέσα στο ίδιο στρατηγικό πλαίσιο, η ταυτόχρονη ίδρυση το 536 της διοικητικής μονάδας *Quaestura Exercitus*⁶⁹ καθιστά την πόλη σύνδεσμο, μέσω του αιγαιακού χώρου, μεταξύ της βαλκανικής χερσονήσου και των ελαιο/οινοπαραγωγικών κέντρων της Κιλικίας και Αντιοχείας. Παρόλο που η Θεσσαλονίκη δεν ανήκε στη συγκεκριμένη διοικητική και στρατιωτική μονάδα, μεγάλο μέρος των αμφορέων που εντοπίστηκαν στις λιμενικές αποθήκες της βρίσκουν κεραμικά παράλληλα που προέρχονται από τα συγκεκριμένα κέντρα παραγωγής του αιγαιακού χώρου, επιβεβαιώνοντας τον επικουρικό, αλλά σημαντικό ρόλο που της είχε επιδοθεί στη δομή της *Quaestura*⁷⁰.

III. Η αποθήκη των βασιλικών κομμερκίων (7ος-10ος αι.)

Κατά τον 7ο ή 8ο αι., ίσως με αφορμή τις πρώτες σλαβικές επιδρομές και τους σεισμούς του 620-630, ο αρχικός πυρήνας των αποθηκών υπόκειται σε εκτενείς επισκευές και προσθήκες, όπως μαρτυρούν οι λασπόκτιστες τοιχοποιίες που αποκαλύφθηκαν κυρίως στο ανατολικό και βόρειο τμήμα του δυτικού οικοδομήματος. Κατά την αναδιαμόρφωση των χώρων οι στοές επιμερίζονται και πληρώνονται έως τη νέα επιφάνεια χρήσης με οικοδομικό υλικό και μεγάλη ποσότητα οστράκων που προήλθε από την προγενέστερη χρήση των αποθηκών. Παράλληλα, οι χώροι εξυγιαίνονται, για να τοποθετηθούν τα ανακατασκευασμένα δάπεδα που υπερυψώνονται ελαφρώς. Πλέον, ο δρομικός χαρακτήρας του οικοδομήματος έχει πια απολεσθεί (εικ. 9).

Ανάμεσα στα θραύσματα αμφορέων που εντοπίστηκαν στο στρώμα καταστροφής των χώρων, εντοπίζονται κυρίως επιβιώσεις LRA1⁷¹ και πιθανές παραλλαγές του σφαιρικού αιγαιακού τύπου⁷². Ενδιαφέρον επίσης παρουσιάζει ένα *μαγαρικό* 9ου-10ου αι.⁷³, καθώς και λίγα όστρακα εφυσωμένων αγγείων από λευκό πηλό της ίδιας περιόδου⁷⁴ (εικ. 10). Οι αποσπασματικές επιγραφές

66. Ήδη από το 441 η Υπαρχία Ιλλυρικού αποτελείται μόνο από δύο Διοικήσεις, της Μακεδονίας και της Δακίας. Για το θέμα και το συσχετισμό του με το θεσμό του Βικαρίου Θεσσαλονίκης βλ. Κωνσταντακόπουλου 1984, 83, 168-9.

67. Μέντζος 2006, 51.

68. Saradi 2006, 75. Karagiorgou 2001b, 207-8.

69. Για τα αίτια ίδρυσης και τον ρόλο της συγκεκριμένης διοικητικής περιφέρειας, που περιελάμβανε τις επαρχίες Μικράς Σκυθίας, Κάτω Μοισίας, Κυκλάδων, Καρίας και Κύπρου βλ. Γκουτζιουκώστας, Μονίαρος 2009.

70. Για τα κέντρα παραγωγής αμφορέων στις επαρχίες της *Quaestura Exercitus* και αντίστοιχη βιβλιογραφία βλ. Pieri 2007, 611-25. Για την στρατιωτική τροφοδοσία (*annona militaris*) στα Βαλκάνια βλ. Karagiorgou 2001a, 132-49. Για το δίκτυο της ανώννας βλ. Morrisson 2007, 301-2. Για τις εμπορικές παραμέτρους της στρατιωτικής τροφοδοσίας βλ. Διαμαντή 2010, 149, υπ. 22.

71. Για επιβιώσεις LRA1 κατά τον 8ο και 9ο αι. βλ. Sanders 2003, 39-40. Vroom 2004, 294-5. Armstrong 2009, 160-4.

72. Για τον τύπο του βυζαντινού σφαιρικού αμφορέα βλ. Poulou-Papadimitriou, Didioumi 2010, 743-4. Για παράλληλα βλ. Hayes 1992, 73, 180, fig. 60.22 (Type 48;).

73. Μπακιρτζής 1989, 74-81.

74. Το πρωιμότερο δείγμα ανήκει στην ομάδα Glazed White Ware II του Hayes (1992, 18). Για δείγματα από τη Θεσσαλονίκη βλ. Κανονίδης 2003, 72-6. Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή 2003, 48.

που φέρουν οι αμφορείς βρίσκουν παράλληλα στα αντίστοιχα ευρήματα από το ναυάγιο του *Serçe Limani*⁷⁵. Βάσει των λίγων νομισμάτων, εκ των οποίων τα υστερότερα ένας φόλλις Θεοφίλου (κοπής 830/831) και ένας Βασιλείου Α' (κοπής 870-879), οι συγκεκριμένοι χώροι των αποθηκών της Θεσσαλονίκης θα πρέπει να ήταν σε χρήση τουλάχιστον έως τις αρχές του 10ου αι.⁷⁶.

Γενικότερα, ο επιμερισμός των στοών των αποθηκών πρέπει να συσχετισθεί με τον μικρότερο, αλλά σημαντικό αριθμό αμφορέων και νομισμάτων που εντοπίστηκαν στα αντίστοιχα στρώματα⁷⁷. Το ενδεχόμενο η συγκεκριμένη ανασκαφική μαρτυρία να μην υποδηλώνει τη σταδιακή μείωση της εμπορικής δραστηριότητας κατά τον 8ο και 9ο αιώνα, αλλά τον μετασχηματισμό και την προσαρμογή της τοπικής κοινωνίας στα νέα γεωπολιτικά δεδομένα είναι προς διερεύνηση. Ο συσχετισμός με τον αραβικό παράγοντα στο Αιγαίο, ως επακόλουθο της απώλειας της Αιγύπτου το 642 και την αυξανόμενη βουλγαρική παρουσία στη βαλκανική ενδοχώρα ίσως μπορεί να φωτίσει μερικές πτυχές του ζητήματος⁷⁸. Ομοίως, καθοριστική είναι η επίδραση της ίδρυσης των Θεμάτων στην εμπορική δραστηριότητα και «η μετεξέλιξη του θεματικού στρατού σε ακμάζουσα κοινωνική τάξη»⁷⁹.

Με τον θεματικό στρατό συνδέεται επίσης η αύξηση της ανταλλακτικής οικονομίας που συντελείται υπό τον κρατικό έλεγχο κατά τον 7ο και 8ο αι., με αποτέλεσμα τη μεγαλύτερη διάρκεια χρήσης προγενέστερων κοπών⁸⁰, αλλά και την ανάγκη αποθήκευσης των ανταλλασσόμενων προϊόντων⁸¹. Άλλωστε ήδη από τα μέσα του 7ου αι. η τοπική παραγωγή νομισμάτων είχε διακοπεί, με το νομισματοκοπείο της Θεσσαλονίκης να παραμένει ανενεργό έως και την περίοδο των Μακεδόνων⁸².

Κάτω από το συγκεκριμένο πρίσμα πρέπει να ερμηνευθεί η μετάβαση από τα *δημόσια ώρεία* του 4ου-7ου αι. στην αποθήκη των *βασιλικών κομμερκίων* του 7ου-10ου αι.⁸³. Πράγματι, ο όρος *ἀποθήκα*⁸⁴ που αρχικά κατά τον 7ο αι. σήμαινε κυρίως τον χώρο αποθήκευσης των ελεγχόμενων από το κράτος εμπορευμάτων, έτεινε να χαρακτηρίζει από την περίοδο των Ισαύρων και εξής, με την καθιέρωση του διοικητικού συστήματος των Θεμάτων, την κρατική υπηρεσία που διαχειριζόταν τις αποθήκες κάθε διοικητικής θεματικής μονάδας⁸⁵.

Συγκεκριμένα, η εξάρτηση του θεματικού στρατού από τη λειτουργία των *ἀποθηκῶν* και το αξίωμα του γενικού κομμερκιάρου, το οποίο αναβαθ-

75. van Doornick 1989, 254, fig.3:18. Πρβλ. ιδίως την απόδοση του γράμματος *B* ως *R* (εικ. 9a), τάση που απαντάται από τον 9ο αι.

76. *Terminus post quem* για την καταστροφή του δυτικότερου οικοδομήματος των αποθηκών αποτελούν ένας φόλλις Θεοφίλου (κοπής 830/831) και ένας Βασιλείου Α' (κοπής 870-879), που βρέθηκαν στο ανώτερο στρώμα καταστροφής, ενώ *ante quem* ένας φόλλις αδιάγνωστου αυτοκράτορα (10ου-11ου αι.) και ένας φόλλις Κωνσταντίνου Ι' Δούκα (κοπής 1059-1067), οι οποίοι βρέθηκαν στην υπερκείμενη επίχωση του στρώματος καταστροφής. (Χατζηιωαννίδης, Τσαμίσης, Δεληδημητρίου, υπό έκδοση).

77. Αντίστοιχη μείωση του αποθηκευτικού χώρου παρατηρείται και στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, όπου από τις πέντε σιταποθήκες παρέμενε σε χρήση μόνο μία, μαζί με την αποθήκη λαδιού (Magdalino 2000, 213). Για την κατάργηση του θεοδοσιανού λιμένα, βλ. Dagron 2006, 124, υπ. 331.

78. Για το εμπόριο σιτηρών στη Θεσσαλονίκη σε εμπόλεμη περίοδο κατά τον 7ο και 8ο αι. μέσα από περιγραφή των πηγών βλ. Μπακιρτζής, Σιδέρης 1997, 283 [244], 303-5 [281] και Λαΐου 2006, 476-7. Για την αυξημένη εμπορική δραστηριότητα, ομοίως σε εμπόλεμη περίοδο, επί Βασιλείου Α', βλ. Μούσουρας 2006, 175.

79. Λουγγής 1985, 139, 222. Για τον θεματικό στρατό τον 8ο και 9ο αι. βλ. Βρυώνης 2000, 15, 18-9.

80. Saradi 2006, 21-2.

81. Treadgold 1998, 184.

82. Metcalf 2000, 171.

83. Για τη μετάβαση από τις το σύστημα διοίκησης των επαρχιών στο σύστημα των θεμάτων και τη σχέση τους με τον θεσμό των αποθηκών των *βασιλικών κομμερκίων* βλ. Ragia 2009, 243-4.

84. Ragia 2011, 96-9, 109-12.

85. Oikonomidès 1989, 189.

μίζεται, οφείλεται στον τρόπο διαχείρισης και τροφοδοσίας του στρατιωτικού υλικού⁸⁶, το οποίο όφειλαν οι κρατικοί κομμερκιάριοι να παρέχουν στους στρατιώτες-γεωργούς του Θέματος δικαιοδοσίας τους, με αντάλλαγμα κυρίως γεωργικά προϊόντα. Αυτά κατόπιν θα φυλάσσονταν στις δημόσιες αποθήκες κάθε Θέματος για να διακινηθούν είτε προς πώληση είτε προς τροφοδοσία, υπό τη διαχείριση του κρατικού φορέα των *βασιλικών κομμερκίων*⁸⁷.

Στην περίπτωση της Θεσσαλονίκης η λειτουργία των αποθηκών ίσως να ήταν διττή: αφενός θα τροφοδοτούσε τον θεματικό στρατό με τον αναγκαίο εξοπλισμό και τις απαιτούμενες προμήθειες, στο πλαίσιο της ανταλλακτικής οικονομίας, αφετέρου θα ήλεγχε και θα φορολογούσε τις ιδιωτικές εμπορικές συναλλαγές που συντελούνταν στο πλαίσιο της αστικής χρηματικής οικονομίας. Ως προς τούτο, ενδεικτικές είναι οι μαρτυρίες από μολυβδόβουλα του *γενικού κομμερκιάριου αποθήκης Θεσσαλονίκης*, του αξιωματούχου, δηλαδή, που ήταν επιφορτισμένος με την είσπραξη όχι μόνον του γενικότερου φόρου (*κομμέρκιον*), αλλά και ενός επιπρόσθετου ειδικού τελωνιακού τέλους (*ἄβυδον*)⁸⁸. Μάλιστα, η αποκλειστική δικαιοδοσία των λιμενικών αρχών της Θεσσαλονίκης να εισπράττουν το συγκεκριμένο τέλος - πέραν από την ομώνυμη πόλη της Αβύδου που το εισέπραττε για τη διέλευση των Στενών του Ελλήσποντου - εξαιρεί τη σημασία της πόλης ως του μοναδικού τελωνιακού σταθμού εισόδου προς τη βαλκανική ενδοχώρα. Προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση φαίνεται να θεσμοθετείται και ένα επιπλέον κρατικό αξίωμα, αυτό του *βαρδαρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, με πιθανή αρμοδιότητα τον έλεγχο των πλωτών μεταφορών. Οι σιγίλλογραφικές μαρτυρίες επιβεβαιώνουν την ύπαρξη του θεσμού των *βασιλικών κομμερκίων Θεσσαλονίκης* ήδη από τις αρχές του 8ου και τη λειτουργία τους ως *θεματικής* πλέον υπηρεσίας έως και τον 10ο-11ο αι.⁸⁹, περίοδο που, σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω στρωματογραφικά δεδομένα, συμπίπτει με την καταστροφή των αποθηκών.

Εν κατακλείδι, ο νέος ρόλος της Θεσσαλονίκης αποκρυσταλλώνεται με την ίδρυση του ομώνυμου Θέματος, πιθανώς μεταξύ 796-811, παγιώνοντας τον ήδη κατοχυρωμένο θεσμό του Επάρχου⁹⁰. Η θεσμοθέτηση του νέου Θέματος θα πρέπει να συσχετισθεί άμεσα με τη στρατηγική και εμπορική σύνδεση του αιγαιακού χώρου με τη βαλκανική ενδοχώρα⁹¹, ως συνέχεια της ιουστινιάνειας πολιτικής της *Quaestura Exercitus*⁹². Παρ' όλα αυτά, δεν μπορεί να καθορισθεί με ακρίβεια, εάν η βαθμιαία μείωση του ελεγχόμενου από το κράτος εμπορίου στη Θεσσαλονίκη και η διακοπή της στρατιωτικής τροφο-

86. Κόλιας 1989, 471.

87. Για τη σχέση του θεματικού στρατού με την ανταλλακτική οικονομία και το θεσμό του κομμερκιάριου, βλ. Haldon 1990, 234 και Treadgold 1998, 184-5.

88. Η ονομασία του τίτλου του αξιωματούχου που προϊστάτο της αποθήκης των *βασιλικών κομμερκίων* φέρει αρκετές παραλλαγές ανάλογα με την εποχή και τις αρμοδιότητες του εκάστοτε αξιώματος. Διεξοδικότερα για κατάλογο των σχετικών δημοσιευμένων μολυβδόβουλων που αφορούν στη Θεσσαλονίκη βλ. Κολτσίδα-Μακρή 2000, 249-51.

89. Οι όροι *ἀποθήκη* και *βασιλικά κομμέρκια* μαρτυρούνται στα μολυβδόβουλα έως το 783/4. Η επιβίωση τους όμως ως οικονομικές υπηρεσίες έως και τον 10ο -11ο αι. στο πλαίσιο των Θεμάτων θα πρέπει να θεωρηθεί πιθανή (Ragia 2011, 95, 108-9).

90. Το συγκεκριμένο αξίωμα βρισκόταν ήδη σε ισχύ κατά τον 8ο αι., αντικαθιστώντας το παλαιότερο του Υπάρχου Ιλλυρικού, το οποίο είχε ήδη καταργηθεί πριν το 680. Για πηγές και βιβλιογραφία βλ. Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα 1998, 159-62 και Μέντζος 2006, 38-9. Για τον συσχετισμό του θεσμού με τις δημόσιες αποθήκες βλ. Gkoutzioukostas 2013, 71-4.

91. Για την ίδρυση του ναυτικού Θέματος των Κιβυρραιωτών, που αρχικά εκτεινόταν στον αιγαιακό χώρο και τη νοτιοδυτική Μ. Ασία, βλ. Ragia 2009, 218, υπ. 88.

92. Για τον συσχετισμό ως συνέχεια της ιουστινιάνειας πολιτικής βλ. Trombley 2001, 138. Για τη διοικητική μετάβαση από την *Quaestura Exercitus* στο θεσμό του *Γενικού κομμερκιάριου αποθήκης τῶν Κυκλάδων Νήσων* στα τέλη του 7ου, βλ. Μονιάρος 1996, 296, υπ. 52.

δοσίας των βαλκανικών πόλεων είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την υποβάθμιση των υποδομών του λιμένα της⁹³.

Πάντως, όπως φανερώνουν οι υστερότερες σιγιλλογραφικές μαρτυρίες, ο χαρακτήρας της πόλης ως τροφοδοτικού και ελεγκτικού κέντρου του εμπορίου που διεξαγόταν στη βαλκανική ενδοχώρα, ιδιαίτερα μέσω των πλωτών ποταμών, μειώνεται σταδιακά ήδη από τις αρχές του 10ου αι.⁹⁴. Το γεγονός αυτό μπορεί να αποδοθεί τόσο στην όξυνση των έως τότε ομαλών σχέσεων με το βουλγαρικό κράτος⁹⁵, όσο και στην απορρόφηση μεγάλου μέρους της εμπορικής δραστηριότητας από τον αραβικό παράγοντα⁹⁶, τον 9ο αι., και από τον ανερχόμενο βενετικό, τον 10ο-11ο αι.⁹⁷. Ωστόσο, το ερώτημα παραμένει ανοικτό: επέφερε η λεηλασία της πόλης το 904 από τους Σαρακηνούς την καταστροφή των αποθηκών; Ή μήπως η οριστική τους εγκατάλειψη οφείλεται στη σταδιακή αλλαγή που επήλθε κατά τον 10ο-11ο αι. στη δομή του εμπορικού και πολεοδομικού ιστού της Θεσσαλονίκης⁹⁸, όταν οι *Βουργεσίοι* έμποροι⁹⁹, σαν τους αλλοτινούς *ιταλικούς* πραγματευτές, θα πάρουν και αυτοί τη θέση τους στη σκηνή του λιμένα;

93. Για τη μείωση του μεταπρατικού εμπορίου και τον σταδιακό εκφουδαλισμό της βυζαντινής κοινωνίας από τον 10ο αι. βλ. Kazhdan, Epstein 1997, 84-97.

94. Oikonomidès 1991, 247.

95. Για τις βυζαντινοβουλγαρικές εμπορικές σχέσεις κατά τον 9ο και 10ο αι. βλ. Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα 1998, 169-70.

96. Για τις εμπορικές παραμέτρους της αραβική επέκτασης βλ. Wickham 2004, 167-70.

97. Για την επέκταση του βενετικού εμπορίου στην ανατολική Μεσόγειο, βλ. Jacoby 2009, 372-6. Για τον συσχετισμό του βουλγαρικού και αραβικού παράγοντα με τη βενετική παρουσία στον αιγαιακό και βαλκανικό χώρο και την ευμενή προς τους Βενετούς εμπορική συμφωνία του 992, επί Βασιλείου Β', βλ. Nicol 1992, 40-5.

98. Για την αυξημένη εμπορική δραστηριότητα πριν την αραβική επιδρομή του 904 και την επακόλουθη μείωσή της στην περιοχή της Θεσσαλονίκης, σε αντίθεση με τη γενικότερη οικονομική άνθηση, βλ. Λαΐου 2006, 113-4.

99. Για τόν κατά τούς *Βουργεσίους* πύργο και τον πύργο τόν καλούμενο *Σαμαρείαν*, τα ονόματα των οποίων σχετίζονται με τις δραστηριότητες των Λατίνων εμπόρων στη Θεσσαλονίκη βλ. Μπακιρτζής 1975, 312-3, Τσάρας 1983, 65-7 και Malamut 2004, 139-40.

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The port warehouses of Thessaloniki From the Horrea to the Vassilika Kommerkia

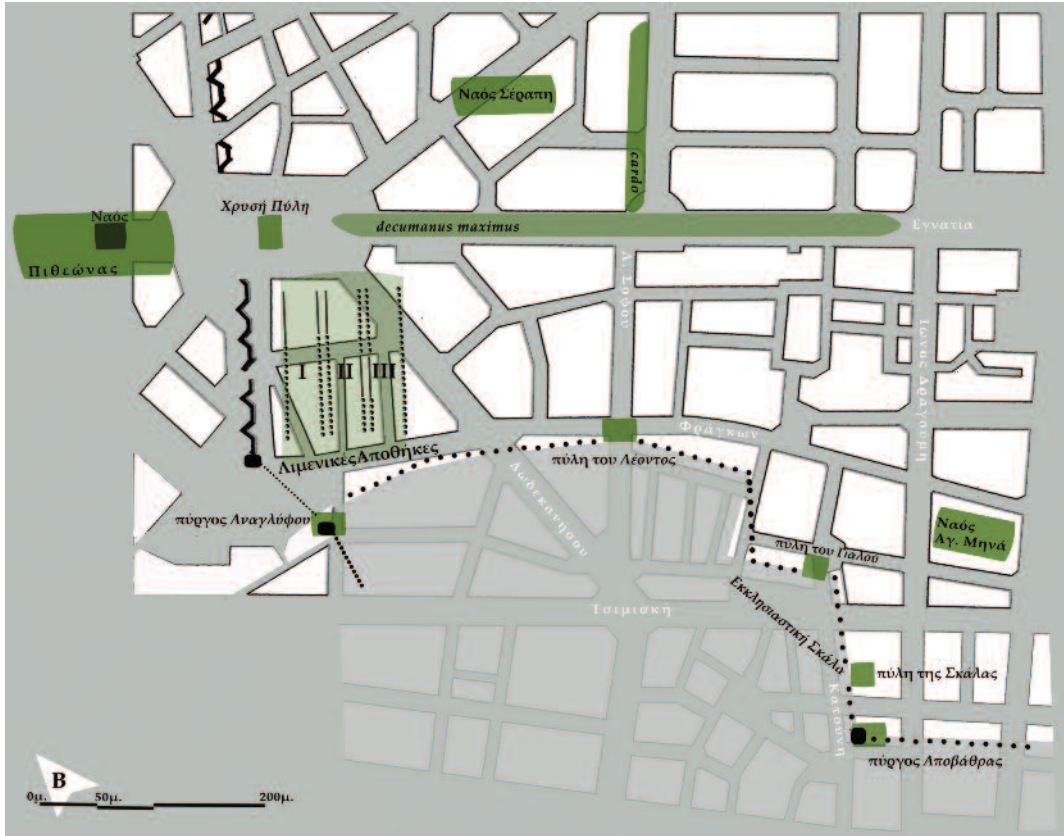
Chatziioannidis Alexandros, Tsamissis Christos P.

Abstract:

Setting up a chronological framework from the transitional Tetrarchy period (293-324) to the 10th/11th c., a period related to particular geopolitical correlations in the Balkans and the Aegean Sea, the paper deals with the location, the character and the supply system of the port warehouses of Thessaloniki.

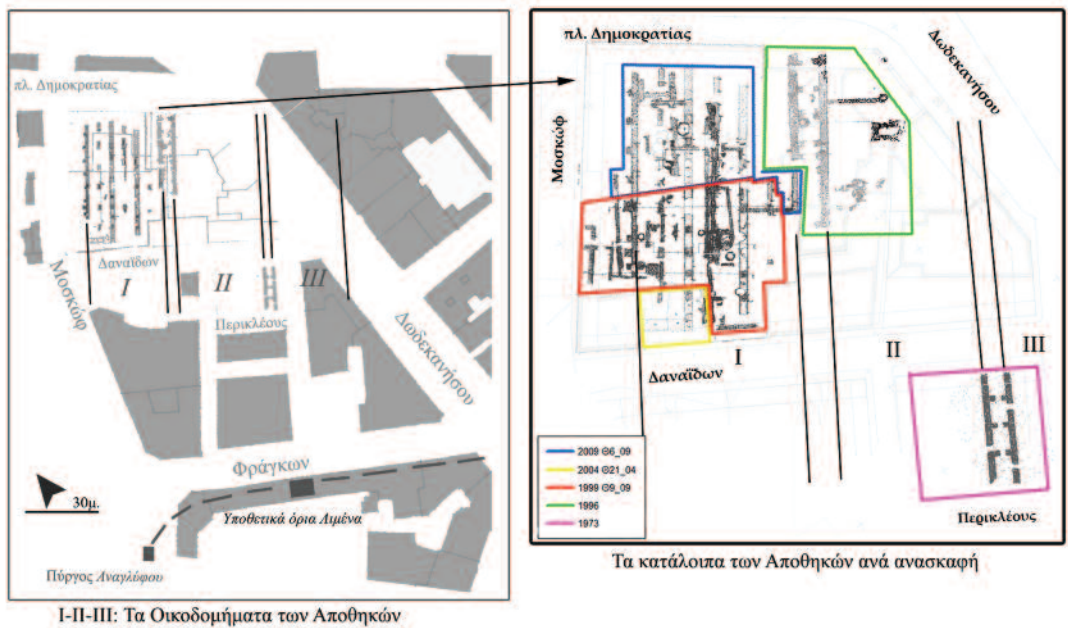
Considered as the commercial and military headquarters of the *Praefectura Praetorio per Illyricum*, during the 4th-7th c., and as the *seat of the Apotheke/Vasilika Kommerkia* and subsequently of the *Theme of Thessaloniki*, during the 8th-11th c., the city played an important role for the state in its policy of extending commercial and military control over the Balkans. In an attempt to define the buildings of which the complex of warehouses consists as part of the urban plan of the port zone, we had to correlate architectural remains and archaeological finds, that several rescue excavations in the south-western part of the city brought to light. Moreover, based on data both ceramic and numismatic and information derived from sigillographic sources, we tried to pinpoint the evolution of the strategic role of the city as the main link between the Balkan and Aegean hinterland.

However, in terms of the *longue durée*, the Balkans and the Aegean have never stopped being linked. In fact, the warehouses of Thessaloniki reveal a single aspect of that multi-regional economy, according to which the state of Constantinople, in its efforts to control and manage the existing cultural and commercial routes, established new supply networks and renovated the old ones, providing them with extended storage buildings and aggregate offices, as the *horrea* (*ὀρεῖα*) of Thessaloniki. The formation of that state-controlled system in Thessaloniki at the beginning of the 4th c., its evolution into the office of the *Apotheke/Vasilika Kommerkia* by the 8th c., and its gradual collapse during the 10th-11th c. is a preliminary conclusion we could reach and set for further discussion.

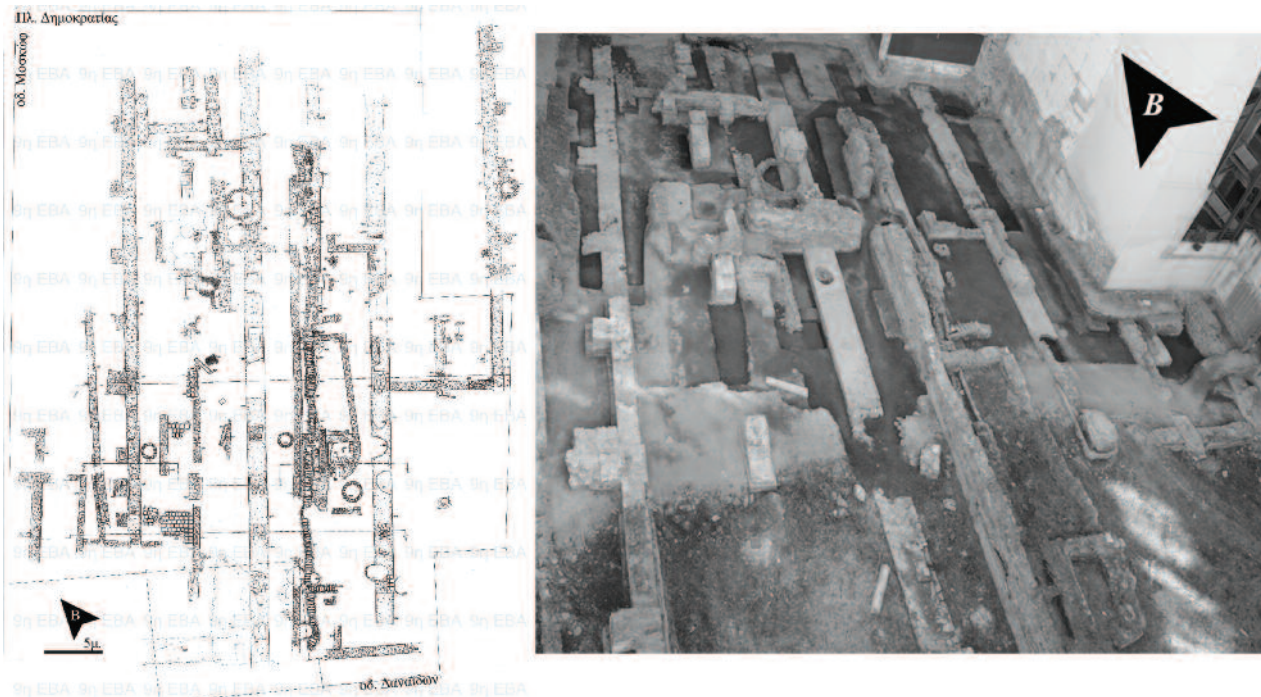


Εικ. 1: Η περιοχή του λιμένα.

Εικ. 2: Τα τρία (I, II, III) οικοδομήματα των Αποθηκών.

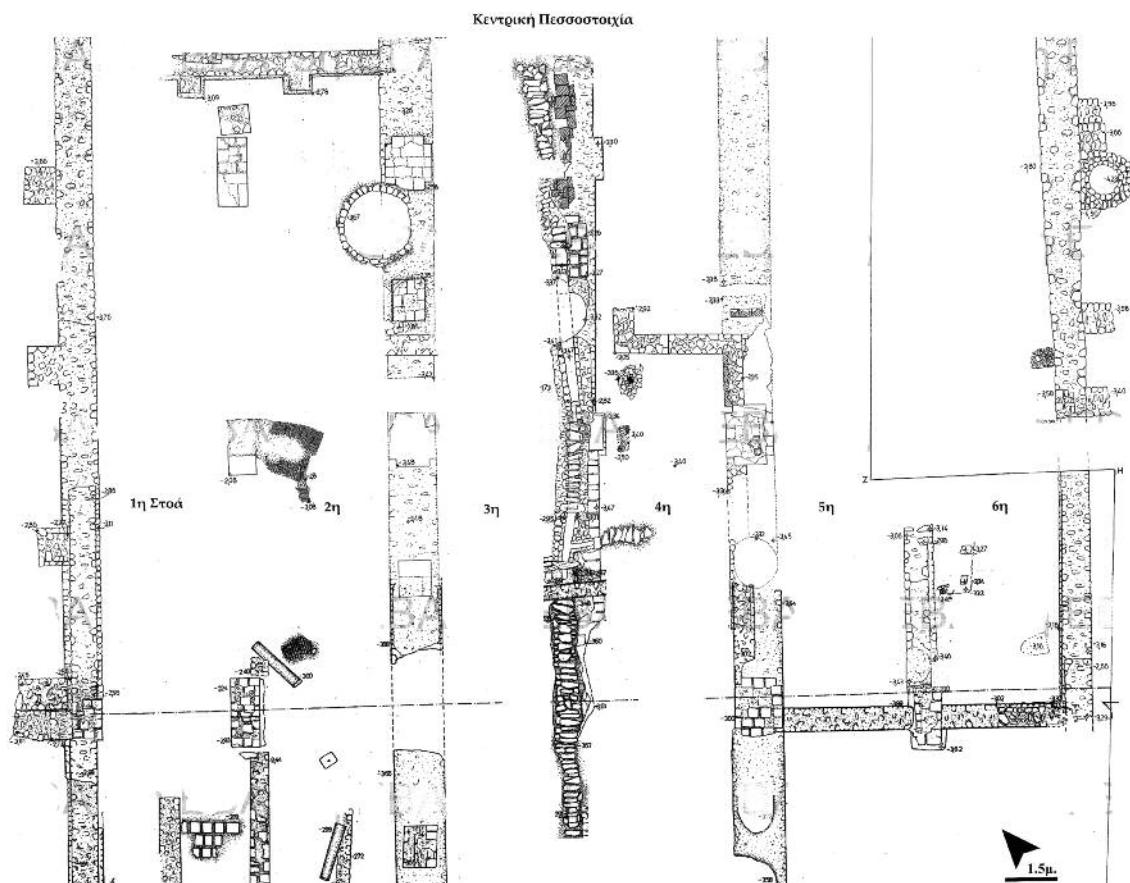


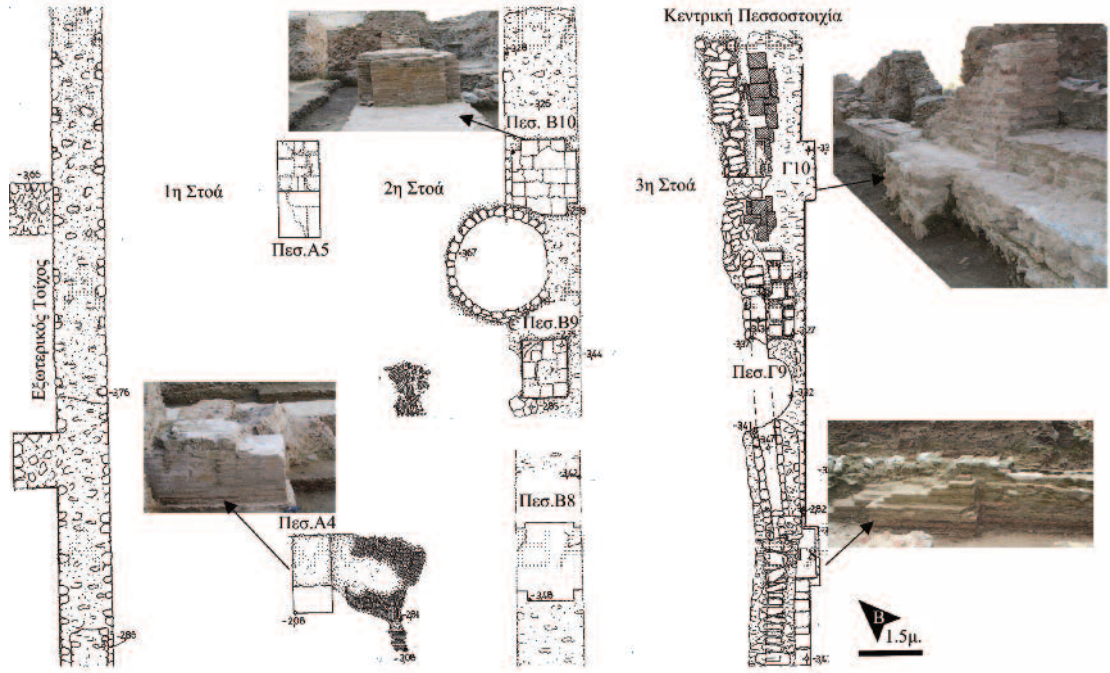
I-II-III: Τα Οικοδομήματα των Αποθηκών



Εικ. 3: Ανασκαφή οικοπέδου πλ. Δημοκρατίας και Μοσκόφ.

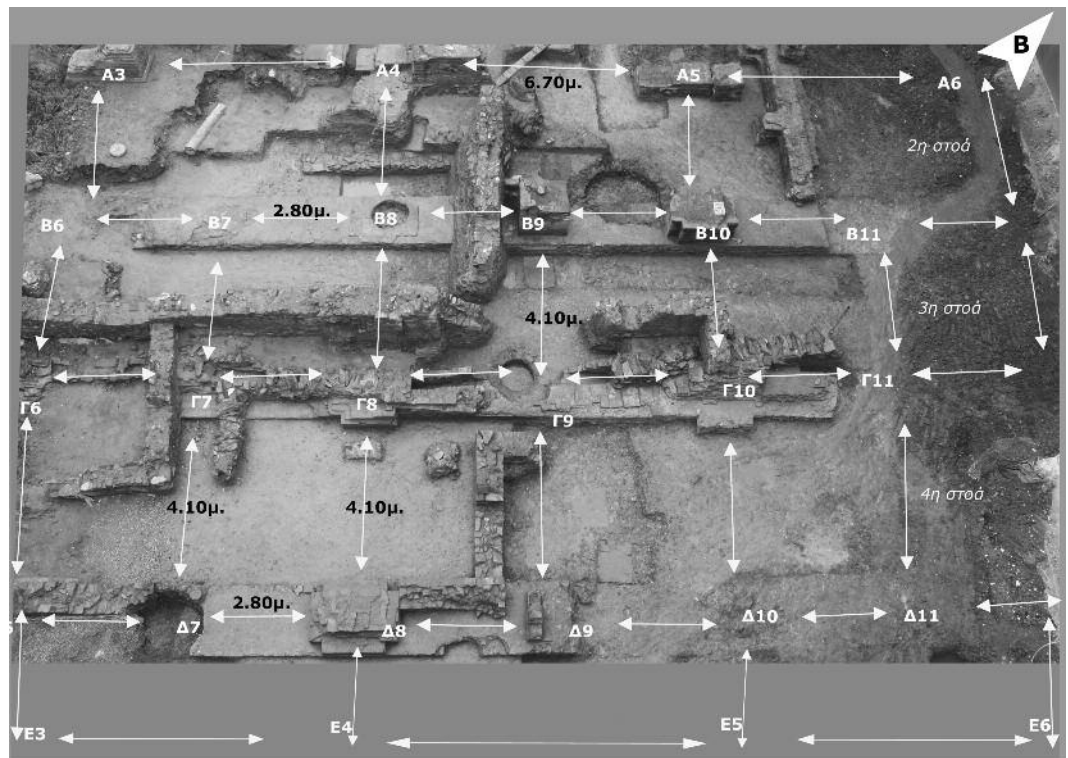
Εικ. 4: Οι έξι στοές του οικοδομήματος Ι.





Εικ. 5: Οι πεσσοί του Οικοδομήματος Ι.

Εικ. 6: Λιμενικές Αποθήκες, η διάταξη και σύνδεση των πεσσών.



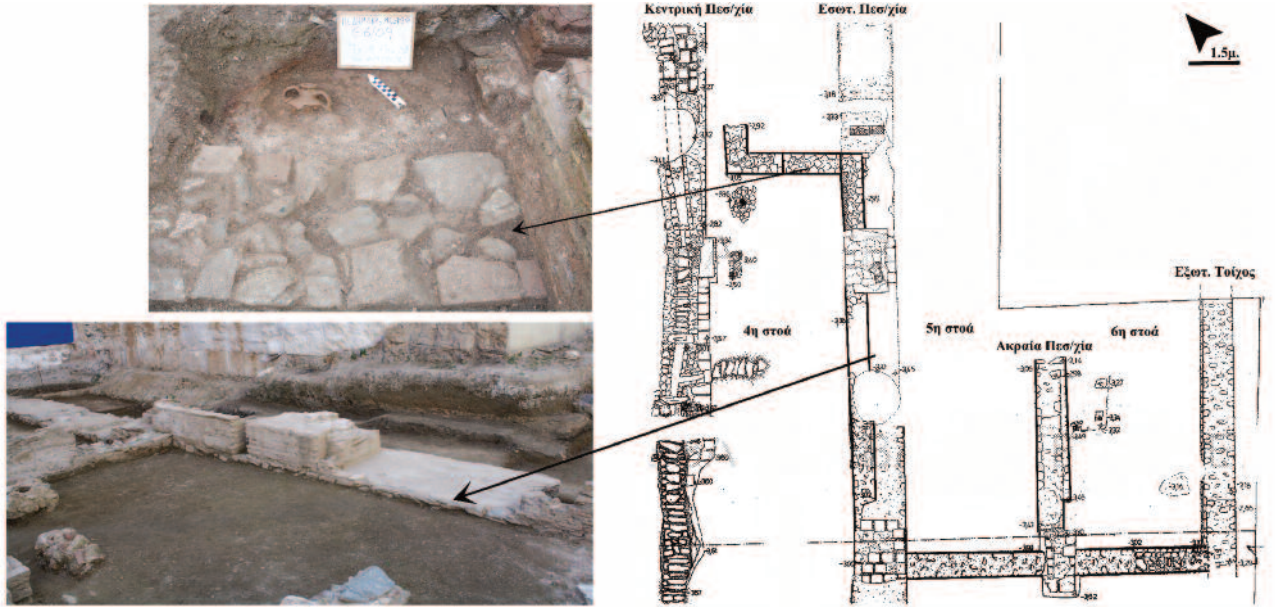
Η διάταξη των πεσσών ανα πεσσοστοιχία (Α' Β' Γ' Δ' Ε') & ανά θέση πεσσοί (...3-11...) ορίζεται έτσι ώστε σε κάθε ορθογώνιο πεσσοί της Α' & της Ε' πεσσοστοιχίας (...Α3-Α6... & ...Ε3-Ε6...) να αντιστοιχεί ένας σταυρόσχημος της Β' & Δ' (...Β5-Β7-Β9.. & Δ5-Δ7-Δ9..) και σε κάθε κίονα της Α' & της Ε' ένας ισόπλευρος πεσσοί της Β' & Δ' (...Β6-Β8-Β10.. & Δ6-Δ8-Δ10..)



Εικ. 7: Στρώμα χρήσης των αποθηκών βου-7ου αι.

Εικ. 8: Στρώμα χρήσης των αποθηκών βου-7ου αι.



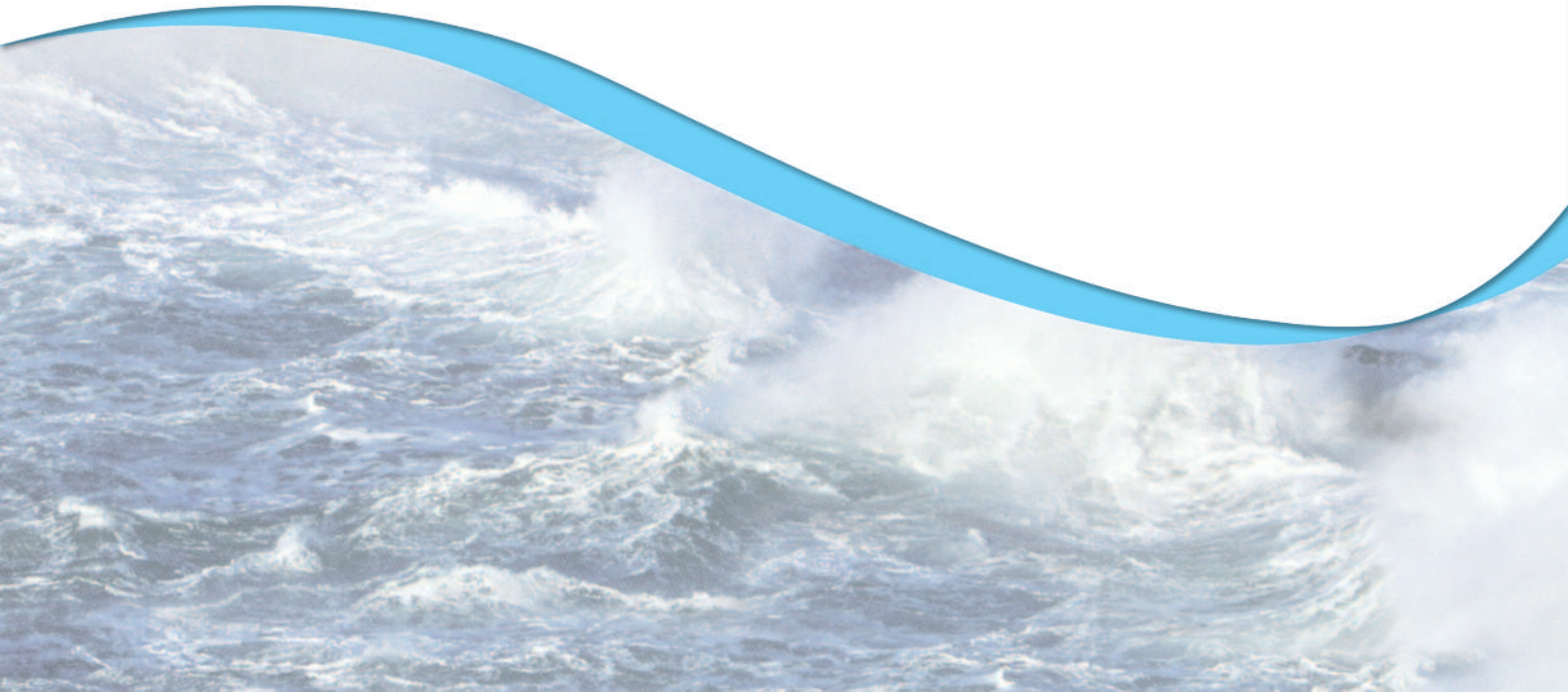


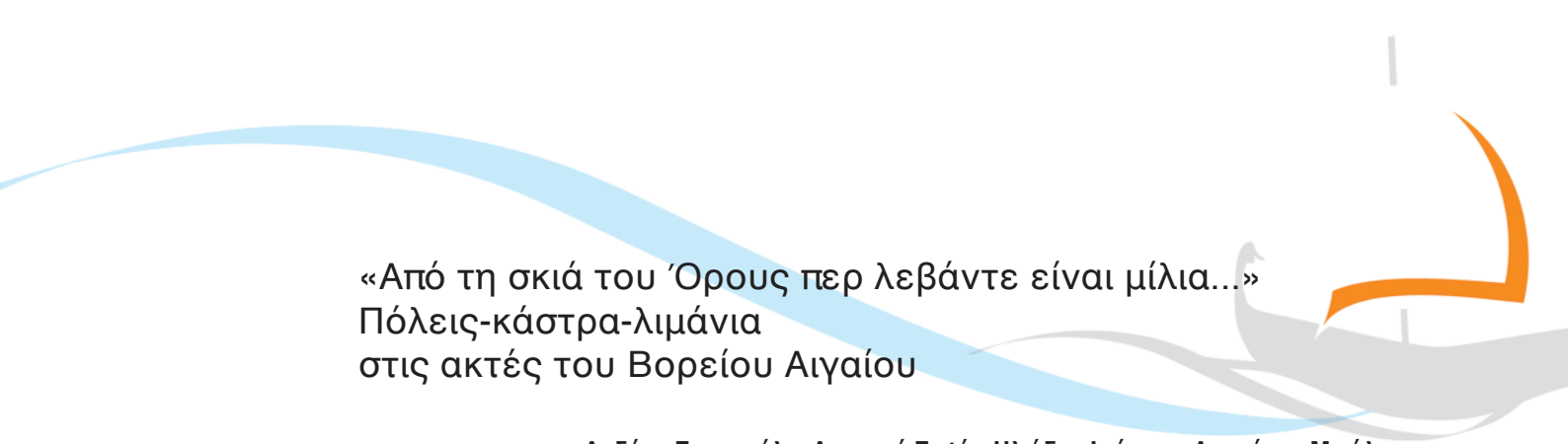
Εικ. 9: Οικοδόμημα Ι. Ο επιμερισμός των στοών.

Εικ. 10: Ευρήματα από το στρώμα καταστροφής των αποθηκών.



SESSION IV:
FORTIFICATIONS





«Από τη σκιά του Όρους περ λεβάντε είναι μίλια...»
Πόλεις-κάστρα-λιμάνια
στις ακτές του Βορείου Αιγαίου

Δαδάκη Σταυρούλα, Δουκατά Σοφία, Ηλιάδης Ιωάννης, Λυχούνας Μιχάλης

Η ακτή της Ανατολικής Μακεδονίας και της Θράκης οριοθετεί το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα της θαλάσσιας οδού μεταξύ της Κωνσταντινούπολης και της Θεσσαλονίκης. Ταυτόχρονα διασφάλιζε την έξοδο στη Μεσόγειο για τους κατοίκους της ανατολικής Βαλκανικής, καθώς και την είσοδο προς την ενδοχώρα για τους αποίκους της περιοχής από Νότο ή Ανατολή¹. Η ύπαρξη επίσης μόνο δύο νησιών, της Θάσου και της Σαμοθράκης, σε αρκετή για την εποχή απόσταση από την περαία, η οποία δεν επέτρεπε την ανάπτυξη στενής σχέσης νήσων και ακτής, όπως και η προτίμηση των Βυζαντινών για παράκτια πλεύση, παρά στις ανοικτές θάλασσες καθιστούσε τα λιμάνια κατά μήκος της ακτής σημαντικά.

I

Στη σκιά του Αγ. Όρους, και πέραν του κόλπου της Ρεντίνας, το πρώτο φυσικό λιμάνι που συναντούσε ο ταξιδιώτης της θάλασσας ήταν ο σχετικά ρηχός κόλπος του Ορφανού, γνωστός σε παλαιότερους χάρτες ως κόλπος της Κοντέσσας², η Χρυσόπολη των Πορτολάνων³. Πρόκειται για κομβικό σημείο διασταύρωσης χερσαίων οδικών δρόμων, καθώς εδώ κατέληγε ένας από τους κάθετους άξονες που από την ενδοχώρα της χερσονήσου του Αίμου δια μέσου του ρου του Στρυμόνα οδηγούσε στη θάλασσα⁴, ενώ λίγα μέτρα από την ακτή διέρχονταν η Εγνατία οδός, η οποία συγκέντρωνε την οριζόντια κίνηση από ανατολή σε δύση και το αντίστροφο⁵. Η ευμετάβλητη κατάσταση που δημιουργούσαν οι εκβολές του Στρυμόνα από την αρχαιότητα αφήνουν αρκετά αναπάντητα ερωτήματα για τη σχέση της αρχαίας Αμφίπολης με τη θάλασσα και το επίνειό της, την Ηιόνα⁶, αλλά και της παλαιοχριστιανικής Αμφίπολης, καθώς μέχρι στιγμής δεν έχουν εντοπιστεί λιμενικές εγκαταστάσεις. Ο συνδυασμός, ωστόσο, της εγγύτητάς της προς την ακτή και του πλωτού ποταμού που περιέπλεε την πόλη καθιστούσε την Αμφίπολη μια ιδιαίτερη περίπτωση⁷.

Από τον 10ο αι. και μετά, μια νέα πόλη διαδέχτηκε στο οικιστικό πλέγμα της περιοχής την παλαιοχριστιανική Αμφίπολη, σε θέση χωρίς αρχαιότερο παρελθόν και πιο κοντά στη θάλασσα: η βυζαντινή Χρυσόπολις. Η πόλη αναφέρεται στα τέλη του 10ου αι. σε έγγραφα που έχουν σχέση με την κτηματική περιουσία των μονών του Αγίου Όρους⁸. Ο Άραβας περιηγητής Idrisi την περιγράφει σαν παραθαλάσσια πόλη ανάμεσα στη Ρεντίνα και τη Χριστούπολι (σημ.

1. Για τον αποικισμό στις Θρακικές ακτές βλ. Isaaq, Σκαρλατίδου 1986, 50-8, για την ακτή της Καβάλας, βλ. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1998, 309-25, για την Αμφίπολη και την περιοχή της, Λαζαρίδης 1972.
2. Σφυρόερας, Αβραμέα, Ασδραχάς 1985.
3. Delatte 1947, Portulan II, 227 III, 307. Soustal 2011, 43-57.
4. Για την πορεία του κάθετου άξονα από το Δούναβη στην Αμφίπολη βλ.: Αβραμέα 2006, 137.
5. Λώλος 2008.
6. Για μια επισκόπηση της ιστορίας και των μνημείων της Αρχαίας Αμφιπόλεως βλ. 6. Λαζαρίδης 1993.
7. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη, Σαμαρτζίδου, Dunn, Cuttling, Τζιαβός, Αναγνώστου 1996, 639-55.
8. Actes de Vatopeđi, 89 no 6 στιχ 6.

Καβάλα). Ανα-φέρεται επίσης μαζί με το Περιθεώριον στο χρυσόβουλλο του 1082, με το οποίο ο Αλέξιος Α΄ Κομνηνός παραχώρησε διάφορα λιμάνια της βυζαντινής επικράτειας στους Βενετούς, πράγμα που υποδηλώνει ότι ήταν ένα εμπορικά δραστήριο λιμάνι. Στη διάρκεια των εμφυλίων πολέμων του 14ου αι. φαίνεται ότι διαδραμάτισε σημαντικό ρόλο στις επιχειρήσεις των αντιμαχόμενων πλευρών και ως λιμάνι και ως χερσαίος κόμβος, γεγονός που οδήγησε τον αυτοκράτορα Ανδρόνικο Γ΄ Παλαιολόγο να τη συμπεριλάβει στις θέσεις για τις οποίες μερίμνησε για την οχύρωση τους. Στα 1357 ο αυτοκράτορας Ιωάννης Ε΄ Παλαιολόγος την παραχώρησε στους αδελφούς Αλέξιο και Ιωάννη, οι οποίοι την είχαν ανακαταλάβει από τους Σέρβους. Η πόλη παρουσιάζεται ακμάζουσα και μετά την οθωμανική κατάκτηση γύρω στα 1380 και φαίνεται ότι διατήρησε τη σημασία της ως εμπορικό κέντρο και οδικός σταθμός στην οδό Θεσσαλονίκη-Κωνσταντινούπολη. Στα 1553 η πόλη αναφέρεται μεν με το όνομα της αλλά παρουσιάζεται ως εγκαταλελειμμένη. Κατά τα τέλη του 18ου-αρχές 19ου αι. παρατηρείται νέα άνθηση των οικονομικών και εμπορικών δραστηριοτήτων στην περιοχή, ως τόπου συγκέντρωσης των φόρων του σουλτάνου. Από τις περιγραφές των περιηγητών της εποχής αυτής προκύπτει η ύπαρξη ενός μικρού λιμανιού με την επωνυμία Τσαϊ-γεζί δυτικά της παλαιάς κοίτης του Στρυμόνα, δίπλα στα τείχη της, όπου υπήρχαν αποθήκες για συγκέντρωση σιτηρών, το οίκημα του τελωνοφύλακα και άλλες βοηθητικές εγκαταστάσεις⁹. Η διάβαση του Στρυμόνα στο σημείο αυτό γινόταν με περαταριά, είδος πορθμείου δηλαδή, το οποίο επίσης ονομαζόταν Τσαγγεζί.

Από τον οχυρωματικό περίβολο που ορίζει την πόλη διατηρούνται λιγοστά τμήματα, τα οποία όμως ανήκουν σε όλες τις πλευρές και επιτρέπουν την αποκατάσταση της πορείας του. Η βόρεια πλευρά εκτείνεται κατά μήκος της λιμνοθάλασσας, ακολουθώντας σε τεθλασμένη γραμμή την ακτογραμμή, ενώ οι υπόλοιπες τρεις σχηματίζουν ένα ορθογώνιο. Μια πύλη ανάμεσα σε δυο προεξοχές του τείχους ανοίγεται στη δυτική πλευρά και οδηγούσε μάλλον στην διάβαση του ποταμού. Μια δεύτερη, ανάμεσα σε δυο ισχυρούς πύργους, υπάρχει στην ανατολική πλευρά. Ίσως πρόκειται για την κύρια πύλη της πόλης που τη συνέδεε με τους χερσαίους δρόμους. Στο μέσον σχεδόν της εξωτερικής περιμέτρου ένας εσωτερικός ορθογώνιος περίβολος σχηματίζει την ακρόπολη της πόλης.

Πιο βόρεια και πάνω στον ρου του Στρυμόνα η ύπαρξη πύργων εκατέρωθεν του ποταμού, στον παρακείμενο υστεροβυζαντινό οικισμό που έφερε το όνομα Μαρμάρι, συνηγορούν στη διατήρηση της λειτουργίας της ευρύτερης περιοχής ως ενός συνδυασμού ποταμίσιου και θαλάσσιου λιμένος¹⁰.

Ο λεγόμενος πύργος της Απολλωνίας που υψώνεται στην κορυφή ενός χαμηλού λόφου σηματοδοτεί το επόμενο φυσικό όρμο της ακτογραμμής¹¹. Αν και η λειτουργία του ως οχυρωματικού έργου έχει τεθεί σε αμφισβήτηση, μετά την ταύτισή του με του Αρσενίου Τζαμπλάκωνα το πυργόσπιτο, είναι σχεδόν βέβαιο πως η θέση του πρόσφερε τη δυνατότητα και για τα δύο¹².

Ο υπήνεμος κόλπος των Ελευθερών βρίσκεται σε απόσταση 10 ναυτικών μιλίων από το σημαντικό από την αρχαιότητα ακόμη λιμάνι της Νεαπόλεως-Χριστουπόλεως-Καβάλας. Στην άμεση ενδοχώρα του υπήρχαν πλούσιες καλλιεργήσιμες εκτάσεις και λατομεία. Αυτοί ήταν μάλλον οι παράγοντες που οδήγησαν ήδη από την αρχαιότητα στην ίδρυση σε τέτοια εγγύτητα

9. Dunn 1998, 339-57.

10. Ζήκος 1998, 311-56. Για τον οικισμό του Μαρμαρίου βλ. Παπάγγελος 1990, 333-40. Τσαρούχας, Μπονόβας, 2010, 343-77.

11. Μπακιρτζής 1983, τ. 1, 4-9.

12. Ζήκος 2006, 57-67.

από την Χριστούπολι (Καβάλα) της αρχαίας Οισύμης, σε λόφο ωστόσο που απέχει από την ακτή¹³. Η διάδοχη κατάσταση, με τη γνωστή από πηγές βυζαντινή πόλη Αλεκτρούπολις-Ανακτορούπολις-Ελευθερούπολις, προσανατολίστηκε προς τη θάλασσα. Η ταύτιση των τριών ονομάτων με μία και μοναδική πόλη, την Ανακτορούπολη, θεωρείται βέβαιη. Η επισκοπή Αλεκτροπόλεως, ως επισκοπή υποκειμένη στην Μητρόπολη Φιλίππων, εμφανίζεται για πρώτη φορά σε επισκοπικό κατάλογο του 10ου αι.¹⁴ Από τον 11ο αι. εμφανίζεται και το όνομα Ανακτορούπολις, ενώ κατά τον 15ο αι. το όνομα Ελευθερούπολις. Μοναδική μνεία Επισκόπου της πόλης γίνεται σε μολυβδόβουλο του 11ου αι. Κατά τον 14ο αι. φαίνεται πως διαδραμάτισε ιδιαίτερο ρόλο στα ιστορικά δρώμενα, οπότε και αναφέρεται συχνότερα στις πηγές. Το 1350 ο Καντακουζηνός αναφέρει πως ένας πειρατής, ο Αλέξιος από τη Βιθυνία, χρησιμοποίησε το λιμάνι ως ορμητήριο. Ο Αλέξιος ήταν κατά τη διάρκεια του εμφύλιου πολέμου μισθοφόρος στην υπηρεσία του μεγάλου δούκα Αλέξιου Απόκαυκου. Ταυτίζεται με τον μετέπειτα μέγα στρατοπεδάρχη Αλέξιο. Μαζί με τον αδελφό του Ιωάννη, που κατείχε το αξίωμα του πριμηκήριου, εκμεταλλεύτηκαν τις δυναστικές έριδες του 14ου αι., έδρασαν στις ακτές του Βορείου Αιγαίου, αρχικά ως μισθοφόροι και έπειτα για λογαριασμό τους, καταλαμβάνοντας από τους Τούρκους ή από τους Σέρβους διάφορα κάστρα στην περιοχή. Το 1357, με χρυσόβουλο του αυτοκράτορα Ιωάννη Ε΄ Παλαιολόγου η Ανακτορούπολη, η Χρυσόπολη και η Θάσος παραχωρήθηκαν με τίτλο κληρονομικότητας στη δικαιοδοσία των δυο αδελφών. Επρόκειτο ουσιαστικά για αποδοχή της αδυναμίας της κεντρικής εξουσίας να ελέγξει την περιοχή, ακόμη και ενάντια σε πρώην μισθοφόρους, οι οποίοι διαβλέποντας την αδυναμία των μεγάλων ανταγωνιστών στην περιοχή, Βυζαντινών, Τούρκων και Σέρβων, κατόρθωσαν να δημιουργήσουν μια *de facto* δεσποτεία στα νησιά του Β. Αιγαίου και τις ακτές του.

Η Επισκοπή Ελευθερουπόλεως παρέμεινε ως όνομα έως και το β' μισό του 15ου αι. Πιθανώς ο οικισμός είχε μεταφερθεί αλλού, ίσως κοντά στο σημερινό ορεινό χωριό Ελευθερές στους πρόποδες του Συμβόλου όρους (Λεφτέρ και Λεφτερόπολη επί Τουρκοκρατίας).

Ο περίβολος της οχύρωσης με περίμετρο 654,74μ. έχει σχήμα ακανόνιστου τραπεζίου και περικλείει έκταση 15 στρεμμάτων περίπου (1,5 εκτάρια). Η ανατολική πλευρά ενισχύεται με προτείχισμα. Ένας εσωτερικός περίβολος με κατεύθυνση ανατολή-δύση δημιουργεί μια δεύτερη αμυντική ζώνη και διαιρεί το χώρο σε δύο άνισα τμήματα. Ο κυρίως περίβολος ενισχύεται με 13 πύργους, οι οποίοι προβάλλουν στην εξωτερική πλευρά του. Ο μεγαλύτερος όλων βρίσκεται στη ΝΑ γωνία και επέχει θέση ακρόπυργου. Πύλες σώζονται τρεις: μία στη δυτική, μία στη βόρεια και μία στη νότια πλευρά. Από αυτές η πύλη της δυτικής πλευράς θεωρείται η κεντρική, η βόρεια πύλη άνοιγε προς το λιμάνι, ενώ η τρίτη πύλη ανοίγεται δυτικά του ακρόπυργου, στη νότια πλευρά του περιβόλου. Με βάση πλίνθινη επιγραφή χρονολογείται είτε στο τρίτο τέταρτο του 12ου αι.¹⁵ είτε στα παραγμένα χρόνια των δυναστικών πολέμων, έργο του Αλέξιου Απόκαυκου¹⁶, που ενίσχυσε κάστρα σε λιμάνια μεταξύ Κωνσταντινούπολης και Θεσσαλονίκης.

Ποια είναι η σχέση δύο κοντινών λιμανιών όπως η Ανακτορουπόλι και η Χριστουπόλι, είναι δύσκολο να απαντήσουμε, αν δηλαδή η ανάδειξη της

13. Για την Οισύμη βλ. Μπακαλάκης 1938. 98 κ.ε. Κουκούλη, Γιούρη 1987, 363-75.

14. Lemerle 1945, 250-80.

15. Κακούρης 1980, 249-62.

16. Ζήκος 2005, 19-39.

πρώτης σημαίνει υποχώρηση της δεύτερης, ή αν συνυπάρχουν ως καλά οχυρωμένα, αλλά μικρά αστικά κέντρα. Αναμφισβήτητα η Χριστούπολις είναι μεγαλύτερη και σημαντικότερη. Η θέση της επιτρέπει να ελέγχει δύο φυσικά λιμάνια, εκατέρωθεν της χερσονήσου της Παναγίας, αλλά και το μοναδικό χερσαίο πέρασμα στον άξονα ανατολής-δύσης.

Η μεσαιωνική Χριστούπολις ακολούθησε τη μοίρα που είχε χαραχθεί κατά την Αρχαιότητα, απώτερη και ύστερη. Πιθανότατα αποικία των Παρίων αποίκων της Θάσου, υποχωρεί μπροστά στην άνοδο της πόλης των Φιλίππων. Η Νεάπολις είναι σημείο υποδοχής στρατευμάτων, αλλά και ιδεών, όπως έδειξε η περίπτωση του απόστολου Παύλου, ο οποίος ξεκινά τη διδασκαλία του στην Ευρώπη από εδώ. Η εμφάνιση του νέου ονόματος, Χριστούπολη, συμπίπτει με την αναδιοργάνωση της εποχής των Μακεδόνων¹⁷. Αν κρίνουμε από τον αριθμό των μαρτυριών, η Χριστούπολις καθίσταται το σημαντικότερο λιμάνι μεταξύ Κωνσταντινούπολης και Θεσσαλονίκης, σταθμός καταληκτικός για αλλαγές της διαδρομής από χερσαία σε θαλάσσια και αντίστροφα. Εδώ έφθασε ο Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Δεκαπολίτης προκειμένου να αλλάξει τη διαδρομή του από θαλάσσια σε χερσαία ή η πρεσβεία του 968/969 με τον Λιουτπράνδο¹⁸. Η σημασία της φαίνεται από τη φροντίδα των τειχών της στις αρχές του 10ου αι., όπως φανερώνουν οι σχετικές επιγραφές¹⁹. Οι ανακτήσεις των τειχών και τα μνημεία, κυρίως τεκμηριωμένα μέσα από αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη και μόλις πρόσφατα από την ανασκαφή μιας παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής²⁰ με συνέχιση του βίου της μέχρι την πρώιμη οθωμανική περίοδο, φανερώνουν την ύπαρξη ενός ζωντανού οικιστικού μορφώματος, ποτέ μεγάλης πόλης, αλλά προφανώς σημαντικής, στο σύστημα συγκοινωνιών και άμυνας το βόρειου Αιγαίου και της νότιας Βαλκανικής. Η αξία του λιμανιού της ενισχύεται από την άμεση σχέση της με την ενδοχώρα. Αυτό προφανώς ήταν το αίτιο για τον Ανδρόνικο Β΄ Παλαιολόγο να κτίσει το διατείχισμα στις αρχές του 14ου αι. από τον απέναντι της Χριστουπόλεως λόφο²¹. Η πόλη παρέμεινε στο ενδιαφέρον των διεκδικητών της περιοχής, όπως φαίνεται και από τη σύντομη παραμονή των Γενουατών στις αρχές του 15ου αι. Οι Οθωμανοί αναγνωρίζοντας την αξία της επένδυσαν στις υποδομές της πόλης στη δεκαετία του 1530²². Στην πόλη υπάρχει ναυπηγείο δίπλα από τις Καμάρες, το οποίο είδε ο Gabriele Cavazza το 1591. Το 1609 έχουμε αναφορά του βάλου της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προς το Δόγη της Βενετίας για την εξαγωγή σιτηρών από την Καβάλα. Με αφορμή αυτό αναφέρει δύο πειρατικές επιδρομές το 1609 και 1611. Το 1603, το 1619 και το 1628 έχουμε ανταρσίες χριστιανικών πληρωμάτων στις γαλέρες των μπέηδων της Καβάλας. Το 1684 έχουμε ανεπιτυχή επιδρομή του Φραγκίσκου Μοροζίνι στην Καβάλα και τη Θάσο. Το 1695 στάλθηκε στη Βενετία ένα φορτίο πρινοκόκκι πολύ καλής ποιότητας, παραγωγής της Καβάλας, για τη βαφή των μεταξωτών. Τον 18ο αι. από το λιμάνι της Καβάλας φορτώνουν για τον ναύσταθμο της Κωνσταντινούπολης τις μπάλες των κανονιών που κατασκευάζονταν στην Ελευθερούπολη²³. Το 1771 η Γαλλία ιδρύει εμπορικό οίκο και η Καβάλα έχει εμπορικές σχέσεις με τη Μασσαλία, την Κωνσταντινούπολη και τη Σμύρνη. Κύρια προϊόντα εξαγωγής ήταν το μπαμπάκι, το ρύζι της Δράμας και λάδι και κεριά από τη Θάσο. Οι

17. Για μια επισκόπηση της μεσαιωνικής ιστορίας της πόλης βλ. Λυχούνας, Τσουρής 2005, 30-49.

18. Δημητρούκας 1997, 63,82.

19. Για την οχύρωση της Καβάλας βλ. Τσουρής 1998, 387-454. Για το παράλιο τείχος της πόλης: Δάκαρη, Μπακιρτζή, Καραμπάση 2008.

20. Τάνου, Λυχούνας 2011, 547-55.

21. Μπακαλάκης 1938, 307-18.

22. Lowry 2010, 227-42.

23. Λαζαρίδης 1969, 49-54, 58, 61-2.

εξελιξείς, ιδιαίτερα με την έκρηξη του εμπορίου καπνού τον 18ο αι., μετέτρεψαν το είδος της σημασίας του λιμανιού από ένα στρατηγικό λιμάνι σε ένα μεγάλο εμπορικό λιμάνι, ενίοτε ανταγωνιστικό σε κίνηση και με εκείνο της Θεσσαλονίκης²⁴.

Απέναντι από τη Χριστούπολι, το νησί της Θάσου βρισκόταν σε έναν σημαντικό θαλάσσιο δρόμο κατά την αρχαιότητα. Στη Βυζαντινή εποχή, ωστόσο, απέκτησε δευτερεύουσα σημασία, τόσο στο θαλάσσιο δρόμο Κωνσταντινούπολης-Αλεξάνδρειας με πρώτο σταθμό μετά τα Δαρδανέλλια την Ίμβρο, όσο και σε εκείνον Κωνσταντινούπολης-Θεσσαλονίκης με ενδιάμεσο κύριο σταθμό τη Λήμνο²⁵. Ο αρχαίος πολεμικός λιμάν απέκτησε εμπορικό χαρακτήρα κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα και δέχθηκε τις τελευταίες επεμβάσεις στα Παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια²⁶. Το πρώτιστο εξαγωγικό αγαθό του νησιού, το μάρμαρο, εξακολούθησε να είναι σε ζήτηση μέχρι τις αρχές του 7ου αι.²⁷. Ο ανεφοδιασμός του στόλου του Λέοντα Τριπολίτη με ξυλεία από τα δάση του νησιού ενόψει της πολιορκίας της Θεσσαλονίκης, η ναυλοχία και η ήττα του βυζαντινού στόλου στα 829, η παρουσία ενός δούκα του στόλου στα 1278, υποδηλώνουν τη στρατιωτική, πρωτίστως, σημασία του λιμανιού κατά τη Μέση και Ύστερη Βυζαντινή εποχή²⁸. Πριν το 1384 ο μέγας πριμικήριος Ιωάννης, ένας εκ των αδελφών στους οποίους παραχωρήθηκε το νησί, έκτισε ένα φρούριο με πύργο στα κατάλοιπα του αρχαίου λιμανιού και της οχύρωσής του, μετατρέποντας το σε οχυρωμένη σκάλα²⁹.

Οι εκβολές του Νέστου δεν συνδυάζονται με κάποια οχύρωση ή πόλη, πιθανόν λόγω της διαμόρφωσης τους εδάφους. Θα μπορούσε να αναφέρει κανείς την Τόπειρο ως λιμάνι, όπως ο Προκόπιος, όταν την αποκαλεί *πρώτην μὲν Θρακῶν τῶν παραλίων*³⁰, κάτι που ωστόσο δεν επιβεβαιώνει η σημερινή θέση της πόλης. Πρόκειται άραγε για μεγάλη μεταβολή του τοπίου ή υπάρχει μια σχέση ποτάμιου και θαλασσίου λιμένα ή τέλος μπορεί να οφείλεται σε μια γενίκευση του συγγραφέα για την περιγραφή του τμήματος της Θράκης από τους προβούνους της Ροδόπης έως τις ακτές.

Το πρώτο από τα δυτικά λιμάνι στις ακτές της Θράκης είναι το Πολύστυλον, βυζαντινή πόλη ιδρυμένη στην ακρόπολη της αρχαίας ελληνικής αποικίας των Αβδήρων³¹. Το λιμάνι της αρχαίας πόλης σώζεται κάτω από την επιφάνεια της θάλασσας. Αυτό μαζί με την υπερυψωμένη θέση της ακρόπολης θα ήταν προφανώς οι λόγοι που οδήγησαν στην επιλογή αυτού του τμήματος της αρχαίας πόλης για τη δημιουργία του μεσαιωνικού οικισμού. Παρά τους ισχυρισμούς του Ιωάννη Στ' Καντακουζηνού πως ο ίδιος ίδρυσε το Πολύστυλον, τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα φανερώνουν κτίρια που έχουν κτιστεί στην Υστερορωμαϊκή και Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο, ενώ η οχύρωση και το ενδιάμεσο τείχος είναι έργα της Μέσης Βυζαντινής περιόδου. Ο ακρόπυργος φαίνεται να είναι έργο του Καντακουζηνού. Το λιμάνι παραμένει σταθμός, στον οποίο καταλήγουν δύο δρόμοι από την ενδοχώρα, ένας από την Ξάνθεια και ένας από το Περιθεώριον (Αναστασιούπολι). Μετά την κατάληψη από τους Οθωμανούς ο παράλιος βυζαντινός οικισμός εγκαταλείπεται προς χάριν

24. Koutzakiotis 2009.

25. Dadaki, Giros 2001, 513-9.

26. Μπόνιας, Δαδάκη 2002.

27. Για τις εξαγωγές μαρμάρου από τα λατομεία της Θάσου βλ. μεταξύ άλλων, Hermann, Barbin 1993, 91-103.

28. Dadaki, Giros 2001.

29. Giros 1991, 45-50. Η πρόταση των Kojelj, Wurch-Kozelj 2002, 41-5 ότι η οχύρωση του λιμανιού οφείλεται στους Gattilusi επιδέχεται αμφισβήτηση.

30. Προκόπιος, 468, 21-4.

31. Asdracha 1976, 408-10. Τσουρής 1998, 434, 436, 438, 443. Ζήκος, Δαδάκη 1998, 62-89.

της ενδοχώρας. Η υπαγωγή ωστόσο της νέας πόλης που ίδρυσαν οι Οθωμανοί της Γενησέας, στο εγιαλέτι των νήσων ενδεχομένως να υποδηλώνει ότι το παλαιό λιμάνι του Πολυστύλου εξακολουθούσε να λειτουργεί. Προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση μας οδηγούν και οι πορτολάνοι του 16ου αιώνα, οι οποίοι ανάμεσα στα λιμάνια του βορείου Αιγαίου και ανατολικά του Νέστου αναφέρουν λιμάνι με το όνομα Ασπερόζα, ενώ στους σχετικούς χάρτες σημειώνεται με το σήμα που υποδηλώνει οχυρωμένη θέση. Ότι πρόκειται για το βυζαντινό Πολύστυλο προκύπτει από το κείμενο του *Riazenca*, ο οποίος ανάμεσα στα ονόματα των αρχαίων Αβδήρων συγκαταλέγει το Πολύστυλο και την Ασπερόζα ή Αστίτζα³².

Μείζονα επέμβαση πάνω στην ακτογραμμή, ως οχυρωμένη επιθαλάσσια πόλη, ελέγχοντας ταυτόχρονα και τη χερσαία οδό με διατείχισμα, είναι η Αναστασιούπολις-Περιθεώριος³³. Έργο του ομώνυμου αυτοκράτορα, επέζησε ως τον 17ο αι. Η σημερινή κατάσταση δεν προδίδει τη λειτουργικότητα της σύλληψης. Η θέση της, ωστόσο, δίπλα σε θαλάσσια διέξοδο επέτρεπε τον ανεφοδιασμό της με τρόφιμα και πολεμοφόδια, γι αυτό και ήταν από τις τελευταίες πόλεις που υποτάχθηκαν στους Οθωμανούς³⁴. Η κεντρική πύλη με τους δύο ισχυρούς πύργους, όπως διαμορφώθηκε από τον Ανδρόνικο Γ΄ Παλαιολόγο, άνοιγε προς τη λιμνοθάλασσα, ενώ ένα τείχος που ξεκινά από την περιοχή της οχυρώσεως και κατευθύνεται προς τη Βιστωνίδα εξασφάλιζε ακόμη περισσότερο την πρόσβαση προς το θαλάσσιο μέτωπο.

Ιδρυμένη πάνω στο στόμιο της λιμνοθάλασσας της Βιστωνίδας, απ' όπου περνούσε ο κεντρικός δίαυλος προς την ανοιχτή θάλασσα, η πόλη Πόροι συμπλήρωνε το πλέγμα των λιμενικών εγκαταστάσεων στην περιοχή³⁵. Έργο του 9ου-10ου αι., χωρίς παλαιότερη φάση, επέζησε ως τον 13ο-14ο αι. Αν και ο ρόλος της στην παράκτια ναυσιπλοΐα ήταν δευτερεύουσας σημασίας, κατείχε μάλλον σημαντική θέση ως τόπος συγκέντρωσης και μεταφόρτωσης των προϊόντων της ενδοχώρας, καθώς και της εμπορίας των προϊόντων της λιμνοθάλασσας. Στα τέλη του 16ου αι., τη λειτουργία της διαδέχτηκε το λιμάνι του Πόρτο-Λάγους, το οποίο ενίοτε λειτουργούσε ως σταθμός όπου τερμάτιζε η θαλάσσια διαδρομή και άρχιζε η χερσαία για όσους ήθελαν να αποφύγουν τα Δαρδανέλια³⁶.

Στο κέντρο περίπου της θρακικής ακτής του Αιγαίου βρίσκεται η Μαρώνεια. Τεράστιας έκτασης αρχαία πόλη, την Παλαιοχριστιανική και Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο περιορίζεται στο επιθαλάσσιο οχυρωμένο άκρο της, δίπλα στο αρχαίο λιμάνι που τα κατάλοιπα του διακρίνονται υποθαλασσίως³⁷. Τα ευρήματα των ανασκαφών φανερώνουν μέχρι την Παλαιολόγεια περίοδο μια ανθηρή πόλη-κάστρο, που το λιμάνι της, δεδομένης και της μεγάλης απόστασής της από την Εγνατία οδό, σήκωνε το βάρος των επικοινωνιών και του εμπορίου. Η θέση του το καθιστούσε βασικό σταθμό πριν τη χερσόνησο της Καλλίπολης και την Προποντίδα. Νομίσματα και μολυβδόβουλλα αξιωματούχων και επισκόπων, μεγάλες ποσότητες αμφορέων, εισηγμένη εφυσωμένη κεραμική³⁸ και υψηλής τέχνης αντικείμενα μικροτεχνίας³⁹ αποδεικνύουν επαφές με την Κωνσταντινούπολη, αλλά και με άλλα κέντρα της αυτοκρατο-

32. Δαδάκη 2005, 441-61. Για την ταύτιση της Ασπερόζας με το Πόρτο-Λάγους βλ. Soustal 2011, 57-70.

33. Asdracha 1976, 98-104. Soustal 1991, 394-395. Τσουρής 1998, 422, 438, 442.

34. Ζαχαριάδου 1989, 345-51.

35. Asdracha 1996, 98-104. Soustal 1991, 412.

36. Yerasimos 1991, 33 σημ. 96.

37. Δουκατά-Δεμερτζή 2008, 40-4, εικ. σελ. 22 (αεροφωτογραφία βυζαντινού κάστρου).

38. Βλ. γενικώς, ό.π., ειδικότερα βλ. Δουκατά-Δεμερτζή 1994, 363-8, με προηγούμενη βιβλιογραφία. Δουκατά-Δεμερτζή 1999, 22.

39. Δουκατά-Δεμερτζή 2011, 611-39.

ρίας. Αλλά και τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής που ανασκάφηκε εκεί, παρουσιάζουν θεματολογικές και τεχνοτροπικές συγγένειες με εκείνα της βορείου Αφρικής και της νοτιοανατολικής Μεσογείου⁴⁰, γεγονός που υποδηλώνει επικοινωνία πέραν του Αιγαίου.

Τον 9ο αι. ο Γρηγόριος Δεκαπολίτης αναφέρει το λιμάνι της Μαρώνειας ως ενδιάμεσο σταθμό του ταξιδιού από τη Θεσσαλονίκη στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, κυρίως όταν οι συνθήκες στην ενδοχώρα δεν επέτρεπαν την επιλογή της χερσαίας διαδρομής (Εγνατίας οδού)⁴¹. Το λιμάνι της πόλης αναφέρεται επίσης στον βίο των μοναχών Σωφρονίου και Βαρνάβα, ιδρυτών της μονής της Παναγίας Σουμελά του Πόντου και από τον Ακάκιο τον Σαββαίτη στις αρχές του 13ου αι.⁴². Στους ναυτικούς χάρτες του 13ου αι. και στους πορτολάνους του 15ου αι. σημειώνεται με διάφορες παραλλαγές του ονόματός της⁴³. Τη λειτουργία του τον 15ο αι. βεβαιώνει και βενετσιάνικη πηγή που αναφέρει ότι το 1438-1439 γινόταν απ' αυτό εξαγωγή στύψης⁴⁴.

Την Υστεροβυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή περίοδο το παλιό κάστρο ερημώθηκε και λιθολογήθηκε και οι κάτοικοι της Μαρώνειας εξαιτίας της πειρατείας μετακινήθηκαν σταδιακά στα ενδότερα, εκεί που βρίσκεται το σημερινό παραδοσιακό χωριό⁴⁵. Το λιμάνι της, ωστόσο, έμεινε ενεργό για την από αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων συνεχή επικοινωνία με τη Σαμοθράκη, την Αίνο και άλλους κοντινούς προορισμούς.

Ανατολικότερα της Μαρώνειας υπάρχουν τα ίχνη του πύργου του Γάτου⁴⁶, κοντά στη Μεσήμβρια/Μάκρη. Ο πύργος αυτός μάλλον επόπτευε τις κινήσεις στο Θρακικό πέλαγος.

Η Μάκρη⁴⁷ είναι εγκατάσταση των Μεσοβυζαντινών χρόνων με πιθανές παλαιότερες φάσεις, καθώς είναι σταθμός της Εγνατίας στα Παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια. Παρά το γεγονός πως είναι μεσόγαια πόλη, η εγγύτητα της με την ακτή καθιστά βέβαιο πως έλεγχε την κίνηση της περιοχής.

Την αιγαιακή ακτή της Θράκης κλείνει η Αίνος⁴⁸, η οποία αν και σήμερα είναι αποκομμένη με εθνικά σύνορα, ανήκε στο σύστημα συγκοινωνιών του Έβρου και του Αιγαίου, περίπτωση ανάλογη της Αμφιπόλεως. Η οχύρωσή της επισκευάστηκε από τον Ιουστινιανό. Η μεσοβυζαντινή πόλη διέθετε ακρόπολη. Δύο τείχη ξεκινούσαν από εκεί και κατέβαιναν μέχρι τη λιμνοθάλασσα, όπου βρισκόταν πλέον το λιμάνι. Επισκευές μαρτυρούνται επιγραφικά από τα τέλη του 13ου έως το 15ο αι. Οι δύο τελευταίες οφείλονται στη διοίκηση των Γενοβέζων⁴⁹.

Η Σαμοθράκη, αν και αποτελούσε φυσικό σταθμό για όσους ακολουθούσαν τον θαλάσσιο δρόμο από τη Μικρά Ασία και τη Μαύρη θάλασσα προς τη Βόρεια Ελλάδα, δεν εντάχθηκε στους πολυσύχναστους θαλάσσιους δρόμους της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας. Οι φιλόξενες κατά βάση ακτές της και η σχετικά απόσταση από την περαιά ίσως έπαιξαν σημαντικό ρόλο στο θέμα αυτό. Η ανακάλυψη, ωστόσο, παλαιοχριστιανικών βασιλικών, αρχιτε-

40. Κουρκουτίδου-Νικολαΐδου, Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακά 1987-1990, 115-120. Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακά, 1989, 625-41.

41. Dvornik 1926, 23, 37, 40, 63.

42. Λαμψίδης 1990, 688-97.

43. Soustal 1991, 350-1.

44. Dorini, Bertelè 1956, 499, 642.

45. Δουκατά-Δεμερτζή 2005, 462-6.

46. Soustal 1991, 354-5. Τσουρής, Μπρίκας 2006, 186.

47. Asdracha 1976, 117-8. Soustal 1991, 342-3. Τσουρής 1998, 433. Τσουρής, Μπρίκας, 2006, 154-60. Ζήκος, 74-85.

48. Asdracha 1976, 120-124. Soustal 1991, 170-173. Ousterhout, Bakirtzis 2007, 21-3.

49. Ousterhout, Bakirtzis 2007, 17-46.

κτονικών μελών, διάσπαρτων σε όλο το νησί και ενός λουτρού του 6ου αι. μαρτυρούν τη δυναμικότητά του την εποχή αυτή. Από τον 8ο αι. και μετά, ωστόσο, το νησί παρακμάζει και καταλήγει να χρησιμοποιείται ως τόπος εξορίας, ενώ το λιμάνι της καταχώνεται και πέφτει σε αχρησία. Η ίδρυση του κάστρου της χώρας και μεμονωμένων πύργων στη Μέση και Ύστερη Βυζαντινή εποχή υποδηλώνει τη μέριμνα των αυτοκρατόρων να ενταχθεί στους στρατιωτικούς σχεδιασμούς της αυτοκρατορίας. Είναι οι Γενουάτες, ωστόσο, που στην προσπάθειά τους να αποκτήσουν ερείσματα στη ναυσιπλοΐα του Βορείου Αιγαίου εκμεταλλεύονται τη θέση του νησιού ιδρύοντας διάφορα οχυρωματικά έργα, τα οποία επόπτευαν τη θαλάσσια κίνηση, παρά έλεγχαν συγκεκριμένα λιμάνια⁵⁰.

II

Η σύντομη παρουσίαση των λιμανιών στις ακτές της Ανατολικής Μακεδονίας και Θράκης και η εξέλιξή τους στα νεώτερα χρόνια μάς επιτρέπει να διατυπώσουμε ορισμένες σκέψεις. Τα βυζαντινά λιμάνια στο Βόρειο Αιγαίο, με εξαίρεση της Αναστασιουπόλεως και των Πόρων, είναι παλαιότερες εγκαταστάσεις που συνεχίζουν τον βίο τους με μικρές αποκλίσεις από τη θέση της αρχαίας πόλης (Χρυσόπολις). Ακολουθούν σε γενικές γραμμές τις εξελίξεις στην Αυτοκρατορία (ακμή κατά την Παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, παρακμή στους λεγόμενους Σκοτεινούς Αιώνες, ανάκαμψη από τον 9ο-10ο αι. και μετά). Γνωρίζουν μια έντονη περίοδο επεμβάσεων τον 13ο και 14ο αι., καθώς βρίσκονται στο επίκεντρο των στρατιωτικών και πολιτικών εξελίξεων του κράτους⁵¹. Με εξαίρεση τη Χριστούπολη, κανένα δεν εξελίχθηκε σε μείζον οθωμανικό ή νεώτερο λιμάνι. Και πάλι με την ίδια εξαίρεση, οι θέσεις αυτές δεν ξέφυγαν από τον πολύ τοπικό χαρακτήρα. Αν και ορισμένα μπορεί να είχαν και ιδιαίτερη θέση στη μετακίνηση των προσκυνητών (Μαρώνεια/Σαμοθράκη), δεν υπάρχουν στοιχεία μεγάλης κίνησης ανθρώπων, εμπορευμάτων ή και προσκυνητών στην ιστορία τους. Παρά το γεγονός πως θεωρούνται σκάλες στο ταξίδι από την Κωνσταντινούπολη στη Θεσσαλονίκη, οι πηγές αναφέρουν πως η πρώτη σκάλα μετά από την έξοδο από τα στενά του Ελλησπόντου ήταν κάποιο από τα νησιά του Β. Αιγαίου, ή η Ίμβρος, ή η Λήμνος ή ακόμη και η Χαλκιδική⁵². Ίσως για αυτό και δεν μπόρεσαν να εξασφαλίσουν την ύπαρξη τους, την περίοδο μετά τα τέλη του 16ου αι., όταν οι ταραχώδεις συνθήκες στη θάλασσα και ιδιαίτερα η πειρατεία ή η πειρατική συμπεριφορά καθιστούσε τα παράλια έναν επικίνδυνο χώρο κατοικίας.

Κάποια από αυτά τα λιμάνια έχουν ιδιαίτερο εμπορικό χαρακτήρα για την εξαγωγή ενός τοπικού προϊόντος. Από το λιμάνι της Μαρώνειας εξαγόταν το περίφημο κρασί της περιοχής, ξύδι και στυπτηρία από τα ορυχεία της ενδοχώρας. Για την ξυλεία της Θάσου, αν και εμπορεύσιμη, δεν υπάρχουν πυκνές καταγραφές στις πηγές. Κατά το ρωσοτουρκικό πόλεμο το 1770, μοίρα του ρωσικού στόλου αγκυροβόλησε στη Θάσο και έκοψε 17.000 δένδρα για επισκευή των πλοίων τους στη Νάουσα της Πάρου. Τον 18ο αι. από

50. Βλ. Μάτσας, Μπακιρτζής 1998.

51. Για τα λιμάνια στην άμυνα βλ. Τσουρής 2013, 561-88.

52. Σε τρεις περιπτώσεις που αναφέρονται στις πηγές η μία (του Θεόδωρου Στουδίτη) η κίνηση είναι από τη Λήμνο στο ακρωτήριο Κανάστρο της χερσονήσου της Παλλήνης, η άλλη (του Θωμά Μάγιστρου, Περί του ές Βυζάντιον έκ Θεσσαλονίκης ανάπλου και αΐθις ές ταύτην κατάπλου), όπου και πάλι στην πορεία του και προς την Κωνσταντινούπολη πίνει μόνο στα νησιά του Β. Αιγαίο και η τρίτη (του Αγ. Σάβα από το λιμάνι της Μεγίστης Λαύρας προς Κωνσταντινούπολη) επίσης σταματά στα νησιά πριν μπει από τον Έλλησποντο στην Προποντίδα. Βλ. Αβραμέα 2006, 154-5.

το λιμάνι της Καβάλας φορτώνουν για τον ναύσταθμο της Κωνσταντινούπολης τις μπάλες των κανονιών που κατασκευάζονταν στην Ελευθερούπολη⁵³. Το λιμάνι της Χρυσούπολης ήταν τόπος συγκέντρωσης των γεωργικών προϊόντων της πεδιάδας των Σερρών⁵⁴.

Οι μεγάλοι θαλάσσιοι εμπορικοί δρόμοι της Κωνσταντινούπολης ήταν μάλλον προς το νότιο Αιγαίο με προορισμό τη Μ. Ανατολή και τη Βόρειο Αφρική, ενώ προς τη Δύση, η ρότα είχε ως πρώτες σκάλες τις Βόρειες Σποράδες ή την Εύβοια⁵⁵. Ο γνωστός χάρτης των ναυαγίων δεν έχει παραδείγματα στην περιοχή⁵⁶. Ήταν τα νερά και οι ακτές αφιλόξενες ή η βασική χερσαία οδός, η ρωμαϊκή Εγνατία, μετέπειτα Σταμπούλ γιολ, που κυριαρχούσε στις μεταφορές στο τμήμα μεταξύ Έβρου και Στρυμόνα ποταμού;

53. Λαζαρίδης 1969, 49-54, 58, 61-2.

54. Dunn 1998.

55. Αβραμέα 2006, 156.

56. van Doornick 2006, 715-25. Οι πιο γνωστές περιπτώσεις είναι στο Yassi Ada: Bass, van Doornick 1982.

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“From the shade of Mt. Athos per levante it takes miles...”
Cities-castles-ports on the North Aegean coast

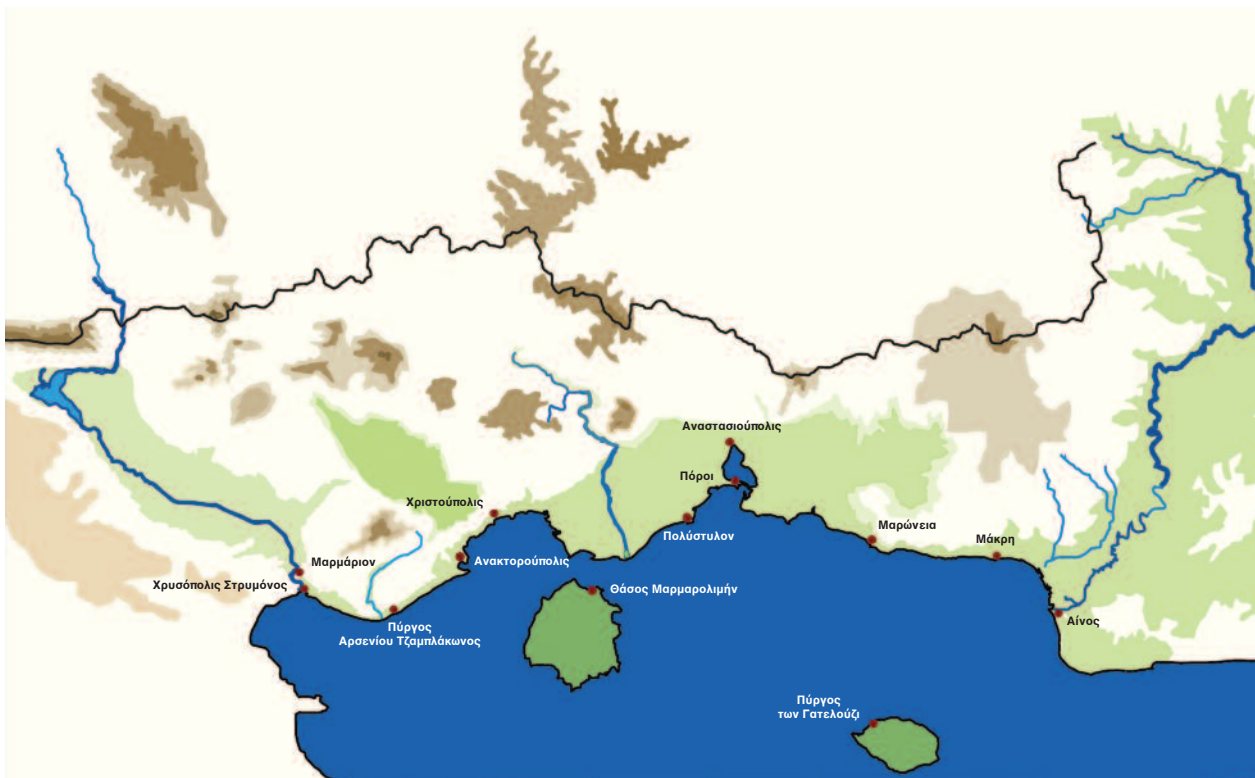
Dadaki Stavroula, Doukata Sophia, Elliades Ioannis, Lychounas Michalis

Abstract:

Most ports of the north Aegean coast in the mediaeval period (with the exceptions of Anastasioupolis and Poroi) were prior settlements and follow the general trends of Byzantine history. They played an important role in the civil wars of the 14th c., as they lay at the epicenter of the brutal conflict and suffered the consequences of the decline of the central government and the emergence of centrifugal powers, exemplified by the fiefdom established by the brothers Alexios and Ioannis or the Gattilusi. The ports were located along the main artery of the Via Egnatia or at the end of lateral routes coming down from the central Balkans. Some of them combined multiple functions as river and sea ports (Amphipolis, Ainos) or lay on lagoons (Anaktoroupolis).

Few of these ports seem to have had a major commercial role (such as Thasos with marble, or Maroneia with wine and vinegar) and, with the exception of the descendent of Christoupolis, Kavala, which boomed with the tobacco trade into an international port, none of them acquired any character beyond that of a small fishing port.

The north Aegean ports played a supplementary role to the mainland transportation and defense systems, and they increased in importance whenever the latter failed to guarantee the safety and security of its users. The main naval commercial routes of the Empire, even that between Constantinople and Thessaloniki, seem not to have included the ports of the north Aegean coast, as is also indicated by the absence of shipwrecks.



Εικ. 1: Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Χρυσουπόλεως.
Στο βάθος διακρίνεται η λιμνοθάλασσα που σχημάτιζε η παλαιά κοίτη του Στρυμόνα.





Εικ. 2: Κάστρο Χρυσουπόλεως.
Η θαλάσσια πύλη.
Άποψη από το εσωτερικό.

Εικ. 3: Κάστρο Χρυσουπόλεως. Ο ακρόπυργος της ακροπόλεως.



Εικ. 4: Ο πύργος της Απολλωνίας.





Εικ. 5: Το κάστρο της Ανακτορούπολης και ο κόλπος των Ελευθερών.

Εικ. 6: Το κάστρο της Ανακτορούπολης. Γενική άποψη από τα ΒΑ.





Εικ. 7: Το κάστρο της Ανακτορούπολης. Ο ακρόπυργος.

Εικ. 8: Το κάστρο της Ανακτορούπολης.
Η πλίνθινη επιγραφή.



Εικ. 9: Το κάστρο της Ανακτορούπολης.
Η θαλάσσια πύλη.





Εικ. 10: Καβάλα. Άποψη της οχύρωσης. Σε πρώτο επίπεδο το χερσαίο τείχος.



Εικ. 11: Άποψη της Καβάλας από τη θάλασσα. Λιθογραφία του 1864.



Εικ. 12: Θάσος Μαρμαρολιμήν. Ο πύργος του Ιωάννη πριν την κατεδάφισή του. (Φωτογραφικό Αρχείο Γαλλικής Σχολής Αθηνών).



Εικ. 13: Θάσος ακρόπολη. Μεσοβυζαντινός πύργος.



Εικ. 14: Πολύστυλο. Γενικά άποψη. Διακρίνεται τμήμα του αρχαίου μώλου πάνω δεξιά.



Εικ. 15: Πολύστυλον. Το νότιο τείχος της πόλης, ο αρχαίος και ο σύγχρονος μώλος.

Εικ 16: Αναστασιούπολη. Η επιθαλάσσια πύλη.

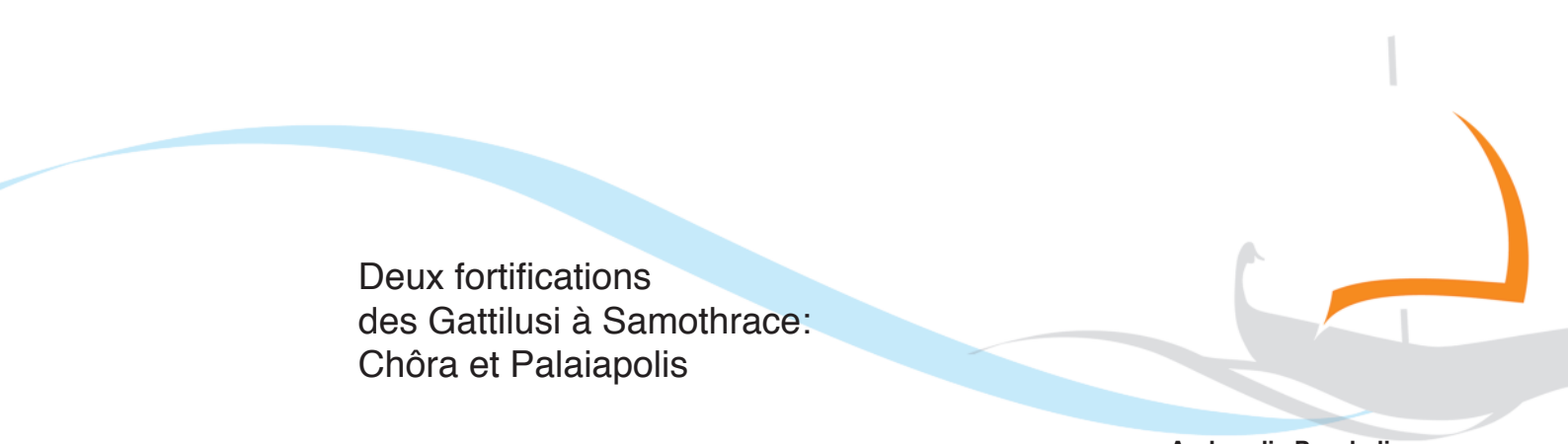


Εικ. 17: Το βυζαντινό κάστρο της Μαρώνειας με την παλαιοχριστιανική εκκλησία στο μέσον.



Εικ. 18: Σαμοθράκη. Ο πύργος των Γατελούζι.





Deux fortifications des Gattilusi à Samothrace: Chôra et Palaiapolis

Androudias Paschalis

Les deux majeures fortifications de l'île de Samothrace, au Nord de la Mer Égée, se trouvent à Chôra et à Palaiapolis. Quatre inscriptions de dédicace allant de 1431 à 1454/55 témoignent qu'elles furent édifiées par de membres de la famille génoise des Gattilusi, parents et alliés de la maison impériale grecque des Paléologues et seigneurs d'Ainos en Thrace, de la Phocée en Asie Mineure et des îles de Lesbos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace et Thasos¹. Une autre tour isolée à Samothrace, celle de Phonias, bâtie sur le littoral nord de l'île, fut aussi attribuée à l'activité militaire des Gattilusi².

Les sources épigraphiques et littéraires de l'époque, comme le voyageur Ciriaco d'Ancona, témoignent que les Paléologues donnèrent aux Gattilusi de Lesbos et ceux de la branche d'Ainos (ou Enos, auj. Enez) le gouvernement de leurs possessions maritimes pour les défendre plus efficacement contre les Ottomans³. Dans ce contexte politique, Palamède Gattiluso d'Ainos (1409-1450)⁴ qui succéda à Iakovos I (†1428) se vit confier (par l'empereur Jean VIII Paléologue) l'île de Samothrace. Celle-ci, comme les autres îles ne fut pas cédée formellement aux Gattilusi, mais dévolue en «fief»⁵. En effet, les Gattilusi gouvernaient ces îles au nom de l'empereur Grec, « ...ce qui les plaçait bien dans un rapport de "vassalité" à leur rencontre... Il va de soi que les termes de "suzeraineté" ou de "vassalité" sont employés ici par commodité, et ne renvoient nullement au sens très précis qu'ils connaissent dans le vocabulaire de la féodalité occidentale ... »⁶. Étant donné qu'il était responsable pour la garde et la défense de Samothrace, Palamède Gattiluso († 1455) fit bâtir deux forteresses puissantes à Chôra et à Palaiapolis, qui devaient assurer la défense de l'île non seulement par les Ottomans, mais aussi par les Vénitiens.

Il s'agit non pas de faire une publication exhaustive des deux forteresses des Gattilusi à Samothrace, mais de présenter des observations qui ont été rendues possibles grâce aux relevés que nous avons reçu l'autorisation d'exécuter pour préparer le projet de restauration de Chôra et celui de Palaiapolis.

Château de Chôra

Les témoignages sur l'évolution historique de Chôra sont peu nombreux. Le site (fig. 1) fut fortifié au cours du XIIIe siècle⁷. Il est vrai que Chôra bénéficie d'un cadre topographique assez exceptionnel. En effet, le grand roc massif sur lequel son château fut édifié (fig. 2) constitue un excellent poste d'observation qui devait

1. Sur les Gattilusi voir Miller 1913. Olgiati 1994. Mazarakis 2013, 21-41.

2. Mazarakis 1997, 226-7.

3. Ganchou 1998.

4. Sur Palamède Gattiluso d'Ainos voir Asdracha 1997, 41-5.

5. Ganchou 1998, note 48.

6. Ganchou 1998, note 48.

7. Probablement après l'abandon des deux sites fortifiés du Xe siècle sur l'île, le Τετράγωνον (voir Bouzek et al. 1985, 53-56) et le Καστέλλι à Κανταράτικα (Papathanasiou 2001, 37).

permettre de contrôler la route du Nord, celle des envahisseurs. Sa fortification byzantine primitive, datée probablement du XIII^e siècle, est marquée par la tour ronde, ce qui reste de cet ensemble. C. Buondelmonti dans son description de Samothrace (vers 1420) se réfère à un site fortifié au centre de l'île⁸. Le voyageur Ciriaco d'Ancona, durant sa visite à Chôra en octobre 1444 a rencontré Jean Lascaris Rontakênos qui gouvernait l'île pour Palamède Gattilusio⁹.

La forteresse de Chôra comprend deux enceintes (fig. 2), dont celle à l'intérieur occupe le plateau ovale du sommet du roc¹⁰. Le bourg, en état de ruine, fut construit en pierres de taille, qui sont plus grandes dans les angles.

L'angle S-Est de la forteresse de Chora est occupé par une tour en forme de cylindre, de diamètre 7 m et conservée à une hauteur maximale de 12 m (fig. 2 et 3). De là une enceinte se dirigeait vers le Nord (fig. 2). Vue que l'intérieur de la tour est solide et donc pas accessible, la défense se faisait du niveau sommital. À l'extérieur la tour fut construite avec des assises de pierres de taille, alternant avec des assises en brique, selon la technique caractéristique de l'époque des Comnènes et des Lascarides. Les joints sont grands et contiennent des morceaux de tuile. Une conque orthogonale dirigée vers l'entrée du château, présente d'affinités avec une autre conque du château de Peritheôrion, restauré en 1341 par l'empereur Andronic III Paléologue. Les assises en brique nous rappellent ceux dans les tours des châteaux de Didymoteichon et Pythion et non pas les assises de la période mésobyzantine. Ces remarques n'excluent pas la possibilité d'une construction tardive de la tour (XIII^e-XIV^e siècle).

Sur les restes de la muraille entre la tour ronde et la tour de l'enceinte extérieure fut bâtie le konak turc, une partie duquel a été incorporée dans le bâtiment de la police (fig. 2, no 9)¹¹. L'entrée du château se trouvait au bout d'un escalier; de la construction de son arc ne reste qu'une corniche en pierre jaune qui marquait le point du départ du cintre.

La tour extérieure de Chôra (fig. 2, no 2) porte la dalle avec les armes de Palamède Gattilusio; elle mesure 10,30 x 7,50 m et fut conservée à une hauteur maximale de 11,30 m (fig. 4, 5). De la construction originale sont conservés encore deux niveaux et la citerne souterraine; y manque le niveau sommital, qui devait être mâchicoulé. Une grande partie de la tour fut détruite lors de l'édification du Konak ottoman. Sur les parois intérieures des murs étaient visibles, avant les travaux de restauration, les trous de poutre des planchers en bois des étages de la tour qui communiquaient avec des escaliers en bois.

Toutes les fenêtres de la tour présentent la même forme d'archère, étroite à l'extérieur (haute de 1 m environ) et plus vaste à l'intérieur et s'inscrivent dans des chambres de tir ou niches de tir, c'est-à-dire des locaux voûtés en berceau et aménagés dans l'épaisseur des murs, du côté intérieur, et disposés de manière à abriter le tir et à faciliter son tir¹². Il peut se faire que ces ouvertures soient à deux usages : moyen d'éclairage et organe de tir. C'est pourquoi on les désigne alors sous le nom de jours-archères. Trois de ces jours-archères (diminuées à l'extrême limite de possibilité de tirer) sont encore visibles sur le côté Sud et deux autres sur le côté Est.

8. Dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Gennadeios à Athènes (éd. E. Legrand) existe une carte de Samothrace avec un site fortifié.

9. Bodnar et Mitchell 1976. Papageorgiou 1982, 88. Asdracha et Bakirtzis 1980, 279.

10. Androudis 2004.

11. Ce bâtiment, de dimensions 13,05 x 13,85 m fut construit au début du XX^e siècle. Il est accolé à l'enceinte extérieure et la tour ronde. Son côté oriental fait partie de l'enceinte médiévale.

12. Ses deux dimensions horizontales sont la profondeur, mesurée suivant l'axe de l'archère, et la largeur, mesurée perpendiculairement à cet axe. Entre chambre de tir et niche de tir, nous adoptons la distinction suivante, proposée par la plupart des chercheurs : est niche de tir un local ouvert, dont la profondeur est inférieure ou égale à la largeur ; est chambre de tir un local ouvert, dont la profondeur est supérieure à la largeur.

De l'entrée qui était aménagée sur le côté Ouest ne subsiste rien. Sur le côté Sud, juste au-dessus d'une construction très soignée (une fontaine?) surmontée d'un arc brisé (fig. 6) fut encastrée une dalle orthogonale en marbre, portant une inscription de dédicace de 1433 et les armoiries des Gattilusi et des Paléologues¹³. Dans l'arc s'alternent des voussoirs en pierre rouge et jaune¹⁴. Dans la construction de la fontaine on voit une corniche en pierre jaune, identique à celle de l'ancien arc d'entrée du château.

Le blason de la tour extérieure présente d'affinités avec d'autres blasons de la même famille encastrés dans l'enceinte du château de Mytilène, d'Ainos et dans l'ancienne Phocée. L'inscription nous apprend que le château fut bâti en 1433 par le *μαίστωρ* (maître bâtisseur) Grec Constantin, sur l'ordre de Palamède Gattilusio. L'inscription couvre les quatre côtés d'une dalle orthogonale en marbre qui figure, en bas-relief et dans trois panneaux, les emblèmes des Gattilusi et des Paléologues. Sur le premier cadre de gauche on voit un aigle monocéphale passant, ensuite l'emblème des Gattilusi et finalement le monogramme ΠΑΛΓ des Paléologues. Entre les deux premiers panneaux figurent les initiales grecques de Palamède (ΠΑΛΑΜ). Sur le côté gauche de la dalle furent gravées le nom et la profession du bâtisseur. L'inscription, en dodécasyllabes, rapporte¹⁵ :

+ Κ(αι) τοῦτον ἀνήγειρεν ἐκ
 βάθρων πύργον/ μέγας
 ἀριστεύς φιλόπολις
 4 αὐθέντης / Αἴνου λαμπρᾶς
 πόλεως κ(αι) τῆςδε νήσου / Πα-
 λαμήδης ἔνδοξος Γατελιούζος /
 ὅς κ(αι) τοῦτο ἔστησεν ἐν χρό-
 8 νοῖς ἔργον / τετράκις δέκα
 ἰππεύουσι κ(αι) πρὸς γε / ἑννα-
 κοσίαις κ(αι) χιλίαις ἑξά-
 12 ριον πολεμίοις
 ΣΑΜΑ
 Κωστ(αντῖνος) μα(ί)στ(ωρ)¹⁶

(Cette tour encore fut construite depuis ses fondations par le grand, excellent en vaillance, aimant la cité, seigneur de la célèbre ville d'Ainos et de cette île, Palamède, le glorieux Gattilusi, qui a érigé, lui l'illustre, aussi cette œuvre, au cours des années six mille neuf cent quarante plus une, forteresse terrible contre les ennemis. 6941 [=1433]; Constantin, le maître bâtisseur)

La deuxième enceinte de Chôra présentait une porte pour communiquer avec l'enceinte extérieure (fig. 2, no 5 et fig. 7) fut jadis protégée par une bretèche¹⁷. Après les travaux de restauration du Ministère Grec à Chôra, la porte fut transformée en une grande ouverture sommée d'un arc en plein cintre (hauteur 3, 67 m). Sur la face interne de l'entrée, les traces de la construction du deuxième niveau, laissent supposer l'existence à l'origine d'un parapet avec créneaux.

13. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 272-6.

14. La même technique fut employée dans d'autres constructions de l'époque. On l'observe dans l'arc de l'entrée de la tour ottomane de la chaîne (après 1430) à Thessalonique.

15. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 272-6.

16. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 272-3.

17. Cette entrée fut mal restaurée.

L'intérieur de l'enceinte (superficie d'environ 930 m²), est occupé par les restes pénibles de deux petites citernes orthogonales (fig. 2, nos 6 et 7) et d'autres ruines non-identifiées (no 8). L'enceinte et l'entrée sont protégées par une tour orthogonale mi-ruinée (fig. 2, no 3); de dimensions 5,60 x 7,25 m, elle est conservée jusqu'à l'hauteur de 12 m. La tour avait au moins deux niveaux: celui de l'entrée et des locaux avec les archères et le niveau sommital (terrasse). Édifiée sur le roc, la tour fut construite avec des pierres de taille, mais on y observe aussi l'emploi de petites pièces de brique. Sur son côté Est, une dalle orthogonale en marbre (longueur: 1, 15 m) encastrée à une hauteur de 4, 80 m, porte une inscription dédicatoire de 1431 et le blason de Palamède Gattilusio¹⁸. L'intérieur de la tour, plein de débris des étages supérieurs, est inaccessible. La deuxième enceinte jouait sans aucun doute le rôle du dernier refuge des assiégés si le reste de la fortification venait à être prise par les ennemis.

Le texte de l'inscription est la suivante:

1 MCCCCXXXI + [. ...] Palamides Paleol(ogus) Gatilu[sius dominus]
2 Eney zehedificar[i fe]cit hanc turrim diē XXVI marcii

Σ Λ Λ Θ'

Παλαμ(ήδης)

Μα(ίστωρ) Κωστ(αντίνος)¹⁹

(En 1481...Palamède Paléologue Gattilusio, seigneur d'Ainos, a fait reconstruire cette tour, le 26 mars, 6939 [= 1431]; le maître bâtisseur, Constantin)

Asdracha et Bakirtzis ont signalé à tort que la date 1481 est assez tardive, car les Turcs ne s'étaient installés à Samothrace qu'en 1479 et ne correspond pas avec la date grecque 1431 qui est la date correcte²⁰. Le maître bâtisseur Grec Constantin (Μαίστωρ Κωσταντίνος), est le même qui a laissé sa signature non seulement dans la dalle de la tour extérieure à Chôra en 1433, mais aussi dans deux autres dalles commémoratives plus anciennes (1421 et 1423) du château des Gattilusi à Ainos²¹.

On ignore l'emplacement initial d'une autre dalle du château de Chôra qui témoigne de la reconstruction d'une partie des murailles par Jean Lascaris Rontakènos «pour la sauvegarde et l'honneur de la cité», qui porte la date 1454/55²².

La forteresse médiévale à Palaiapolis

Quant à la forteresse médiévale à Palaiapolis (fig. 8), elle est dressée sur le littoral nord de l'île et date de 1431-1433²³. Bâtie dans les limites de l'enceinte de l'ancienne ville, à une petite distance de la mer, elle comprenait un fossé, et une enceinte de plan polygonal, munie d'une entrée et cinq tours de différentes dimensions (fig. 9, nos A-E), dont celle du S-Est (no A)²⁴ est conservée presque à toute sa

18. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 271-3.

19. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 271.

20. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 271.

21. Hasluck 1908/9, 254-256. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 272.

22. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 278-80.

23. Tsimbidis-Pentazos 1969, 30-5.

24. Vavritsas 1968, 365-6. Matsas, Bakirtzis, 2001, 34, 37 et 27 (plan de section de la tour).

hauteur. Aujourd'hui les ruines de la forteresse ne donnent qu'une image très réductrice de son volume. L'entrée se trouvait entre la tour A et B et plus proche à la première.

La grande tour rectangulaire A (fig. 10) est un véritable donjon, dont la construction a été menée d'un seul jet. Elle mérite une étude particulière, en raison de sa prééminence dans la forteresse et du soin particulier que l'on a apporté à sa conception et sa construction. Elle fut bâtie avec des pierres de taille et des remplois (*spolia*) en marbre. Plusieurs remplois sont visibles dans la fondation du côté Nord de la tour²⁵. De dimensions externes (11,50 x 9,95 m), le donjon culmine à 17,75 m au-dessus du sol et dominait le reste de la forteresse (fig. 11). Il comprend trois niveaux internes (les planchers en bois y manquent), auxquels s'ajoute la terrasse qui mesure 10,95 x 9,50 m (fig. 12). Le rôle essentiel de la tour étant de constituer le dernier réduit de la défense, il convient que son accès en soit difficile et bien protégé. De fait, la porte unique qui ne subsiste plus était située à son côté oriental, au niveau du premier étage. On n'y accédait que par une passerelle de bois facile à démonter en cas de menace ou d'attaque. Les trois niveaux internes étaient reliés par un escalier en bois qui ne subsiste plus et ne peut pas être localisé avec certitude. Par une ouverture à l'angle N-Est et un petit escalier on pourrait accéder le niveau de la terrasse.

L'épaisseur des murs du donjon de Palaiapolis qui est 2,85 m à la base, décroît à 1,60 m (à l'étage supérieur). Le niveau supérieur qui se trouve au-dessous de la terrasse est surmonté d'une voûte en berceau (direction du S-Ouest à N-Est), bâtie en pierre de taille et renforcée par un arc-nervure (fig. 12 et 13). Le donjon était destiné à servir à la fois de point d'observation, de poste de tir et de dernier refuge si le reste de la forteresse vient à être prise par les ennemis. Conçu pour être défendable même si tout le reste est déjà pris, il était donc doté d'une autonomie de résistance et qui forme réduit; ce qui réalise encore un échelonnement de défense à deux degrés.

La plate-forme sommitale (terrasse) du donjon avait des mâchicoulis dans tous les côtés, dont seules les consoles subsistent (fig. 12 et 14). Les créneaux sont aussi disparus. Ces mâchicoulis appartenaient à un type qui devint assez classique à la fin du XIV^e siècle. Le même type des mâchicoulis apparaissait aussi sur le niveau sommital de la tour centrale du côté occidental de l'acropole des Gattilusi aménagée dans la forteresse de Mytilène.

On conduisait l'eau de la pluie de la terrasse à une petite citerne circulaire (diam. 1,65 m) creusée au-dessous du niveau de l'entrée de la tour (fig. 11 et 12). Sur la terrasse (bâtie en briques et vases vides pour diminuer le poids) fut découverte une quantité considérable de pierres que les assiégés jetaient aux ennemis. Les fenêtres de la tour sont pour la plupart des jours-archères et s'inscrivent dans des chambres de tir ou niches de tir voûtées. Une petite bretèche restaurée existe sur la face extérieure du mur S.-Est et au niveau du second étage.

La porte d'entrée de la forteresse de Palaiapolis se trouvait dans la partie S-Ouest de la tour. Au côté Nord de la tour est annexée une citerne, dont la voûte en berceau est détruite. Un bloc de marbre (dimensions 43 x 70 cm) encastré dans le côté Sud de l'angle S.-Est de la tour porte une inscription gravée en lettres majuscules qui mentionne le nom de son constructeur, un certain Strôilos:

25. Bouzek et al. 1985, 139, Pls. 113-4.

[+] Ἄνε<ε>κτίστη ἐκ θεμελί -
 ον τὸ φρούριων τοῦτο <ο>
 ἕως τέλους ἐν ἐπι -
 στασίῃ Στρώϊλου τοῦ
 ὄω[μήτορος]

(Cette forteresse a été reconstruite depuis ses fondations jusqu'à la fin sous la surveillance du constructeur Strôilos)

L'inscription est généralement datée de la période 1431-1433²⁶. Quant à Strôilos, toutes les indices témoignent qu'il s'agit du directeur des travaux de la construction de la tour et de la forteresse en général. Il s'agit sans doute d'un haut personnage au service des Gattilusi, dont l'origine ethnique ne peut pas être déterminée avec certitude.

La deuxième plus grande tour de Palaiapolis (fig. 9, no B), de dimensions 5, 78 x 6, 63 (longueur maximale du côté Nord) est mi-ruinée et conserve deux étages à une hauteur maximale de 9, 50 m. Les autres tours de la forteresse sont très ruinées.

Conclusions

Avec l'intention pour assurer la défense de leurs possessions à Samothrace contre les Turcs et les Vénitiens, les Gattilusi de la branche d'Ainos ont menée dans la période 1431-33 une politique de construction ou de reconstruction des fortifications à Chôra et à Palaiapolis à Samothrace. À noter que les deux maîtres-constructeurs des forteresses des Gattilusi à Samothrace, Constantin et Strôilos y auraient travaillé vers la même époque²⁷.

Le château de Chôra avec ses deux enceintes successives fut non seulement une place forte et la demeure du gouverneur de l'île, mais aussi un refuge, au cas d'une attaque, pour la population du centre de l'île. Quant à la forteresse à Palaiapolis, sa masse, l'épaisseur de ses murs et leur difficulté d'accès ne forme qu'une défense passive en faisant une excellente retraite.

L'intérêt de deux forteresses réside dans le fait qu'elles sont bâties peu avant l'époque de la première période de l'usage des canons dans le territoire hellénique (deuxième moitié du XVe siècle) et donc pourraient être classées parmi les derniers spécimens de l'architecture dite «classique médiévale», dont les œuvres étaient défendables par des archères et des mâchicoulis.

26. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 276-8.

27. Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1980, 278.

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Two fortifications of Gattilusi in Samothrace: Chora and Palaiapolis

Androudis Paschalis

Abstract:

In 1431-1433, the Genoese dynasts of Samothrace, the Gattilusi, issued from the branch of Ainos, built two strong fortresses at the sites of Chora and Palaiapolis in order to defend the island against the attacks of the Ottomans and the Venetians.

The fortress of Chora is composed by two successive enceintes strengthened by towers. The external one has incorporated an earlier circular tower in the corner. The internal has a smaller orthogonal tower, dated in 1431 by an inscription, and a gate. The external orthogonal tower bears a dedicatory inscription of 1433 and the combined arms of Gattilusi and Palaiologi. The inscriptions also mention the name of the Greek master craftsman Konstantinos, who worked for Palamedis Palaiologos Gattiluso.

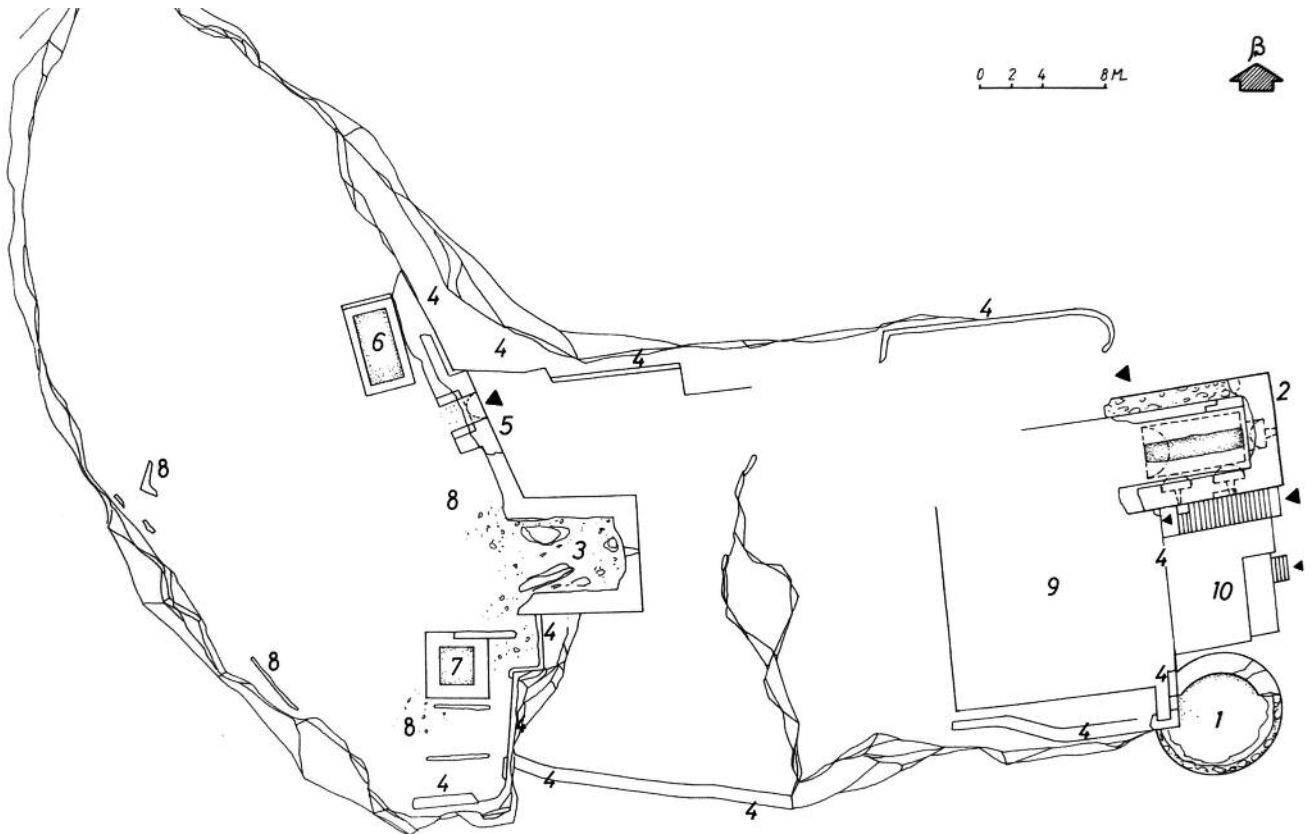
The fort of Palaiapolis served as an accommodation for the garrison in the region, which had been inhabited since the ancient times, on a site placed to keep watch over the north coast of the island.

Of the original defenses, five orthogonal towers, the enclosure, the gate to the east of the large tower and the moat around it survive. Of particular interest is the tower (a sort of "donjon") at the south-east corner, preserved almost intact, to a height of 17, 50 m. It is a three-storey structure with a small circular cistern at the lowest level. The entrance was accessible only by a wooden ladder. The walls have only small bow openings. The roof is flat and accessible by a built staircase constructed inside the highest level. The doorway to which it led opened into a turret formed on top of the flat roof. A row of stone corbels for machicoulis is preserved below the now destroyed original parapet.



Fig. 1: Samothrace, château de Chôra. Vue du S.-Est
(Photo de l'Institut Archéologique Allemand).

Fig. 2: Plan du château de Chôra (P. Androudis).



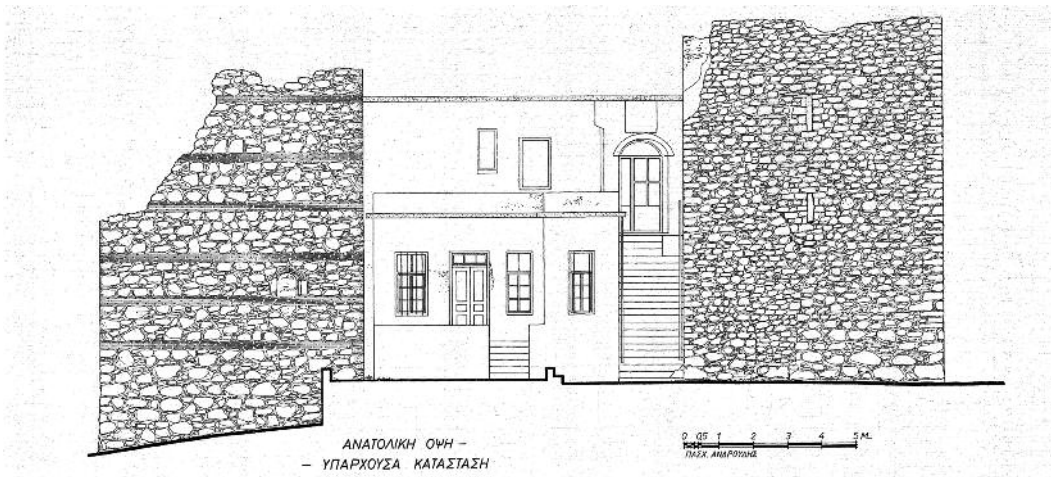


Fig. 3: Le côté oriental de l'enceinte extérieure du château (P. Androudis).

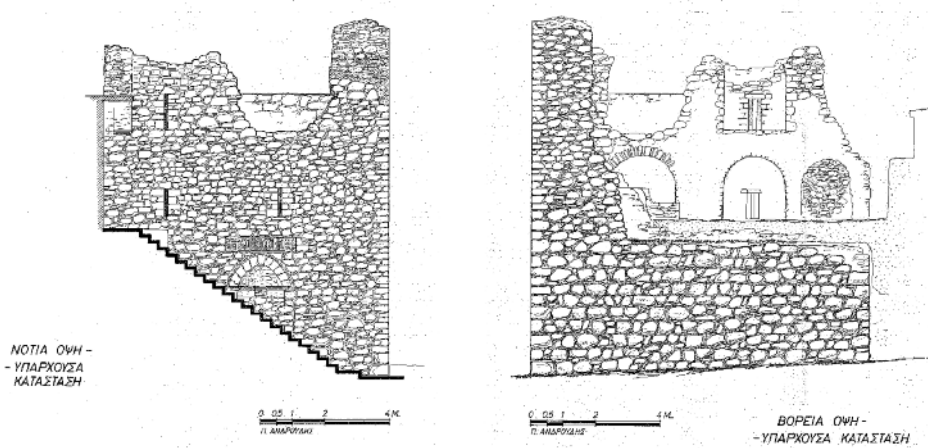


Fig. 4: La tour orthogonale de l'enceinte extérieure. Côté Sud et Nord (P. Androudis).

Fig. 5: Tour orthogonale de l'enceinte extérieure. Sections (P. Androudis).

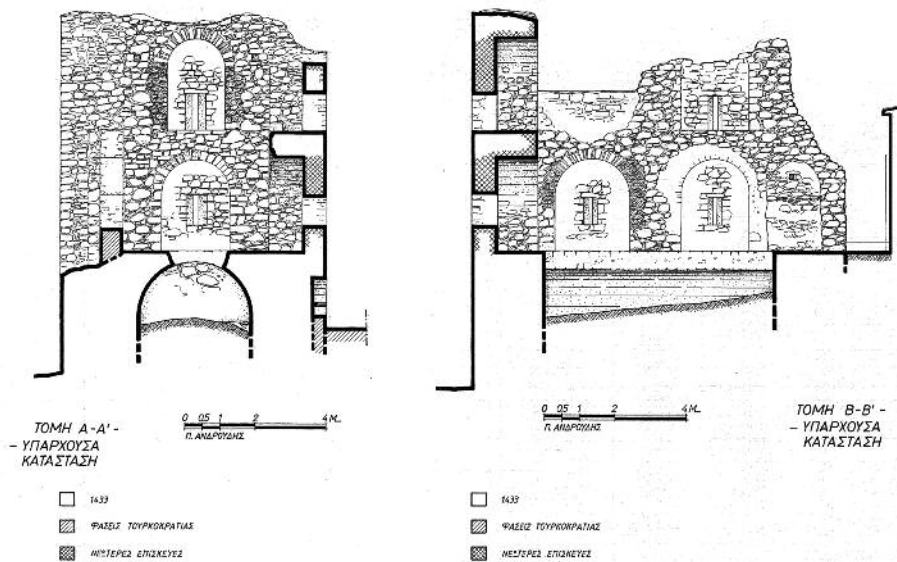


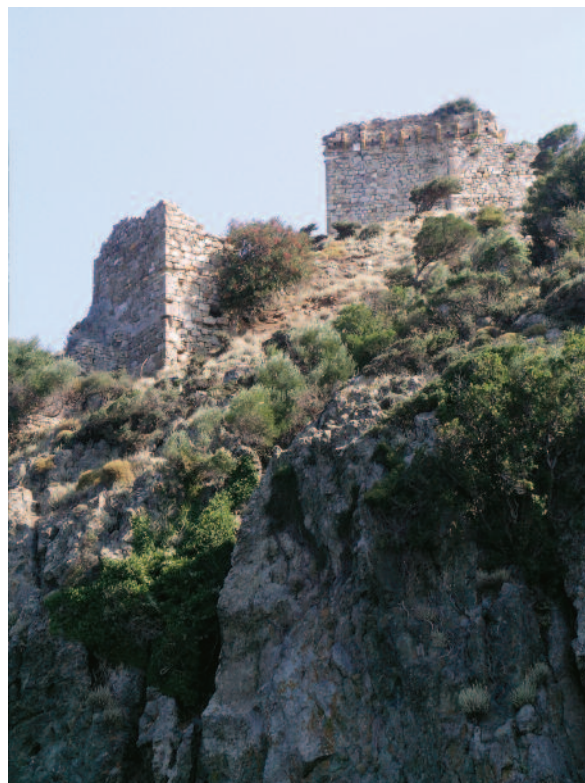
Fig. 6: La «fontaine» de la tour (P. Androudis, 2004).





Fig. 7: La tour et l'entrée de l'enceinte intérieure (1966, avant les travaux de restauration).

Fig. 8: Samothrace.
Forteresse des Gattilusi à Palaiapolis.
Vue de N-Ouest
(P. Androudis, 2006).



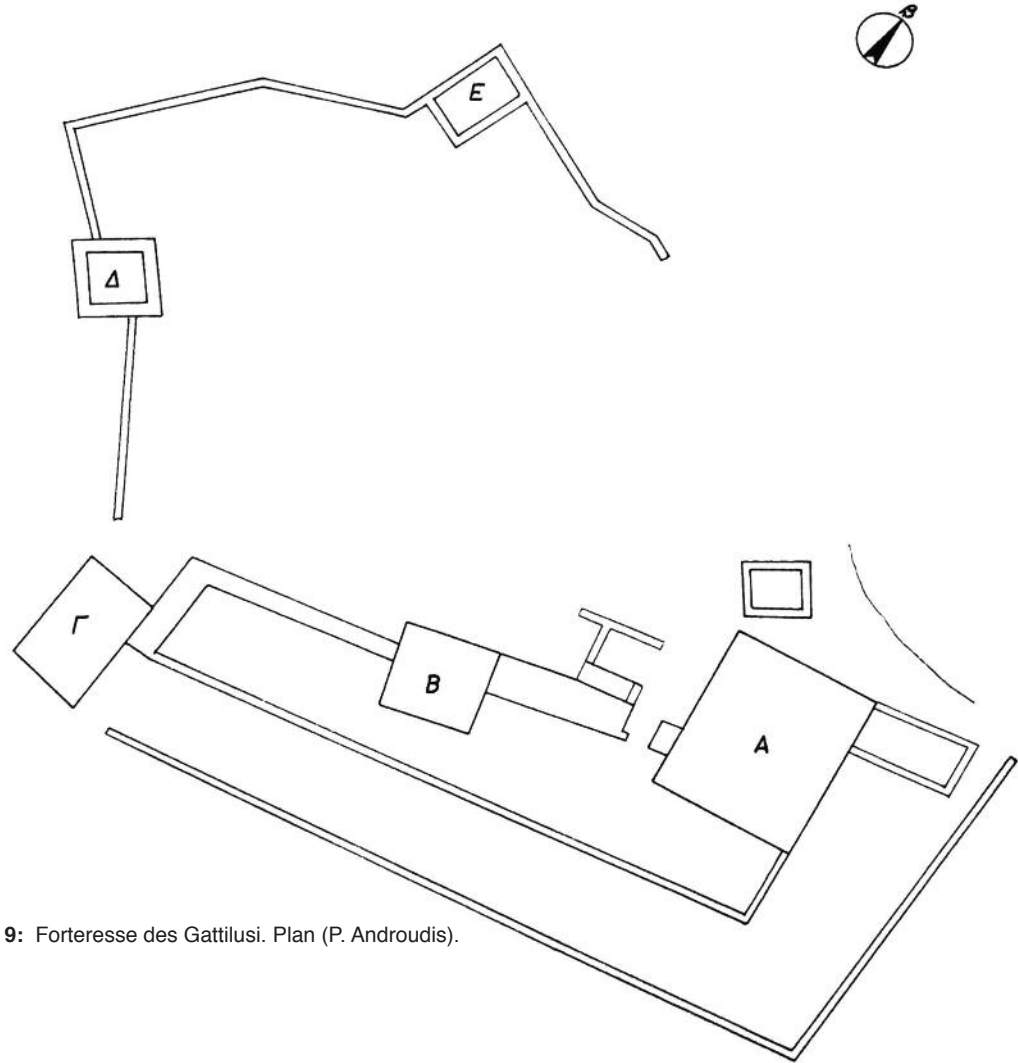
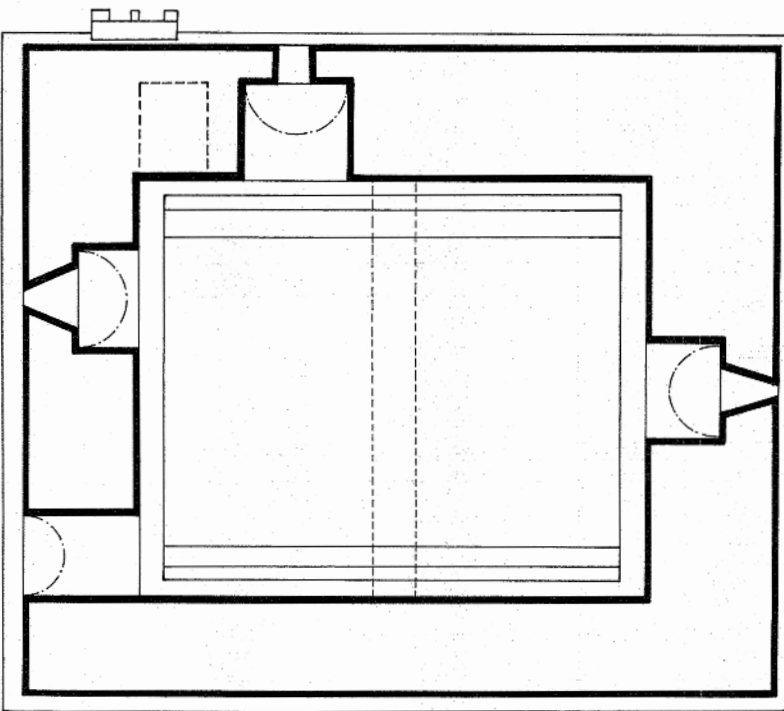
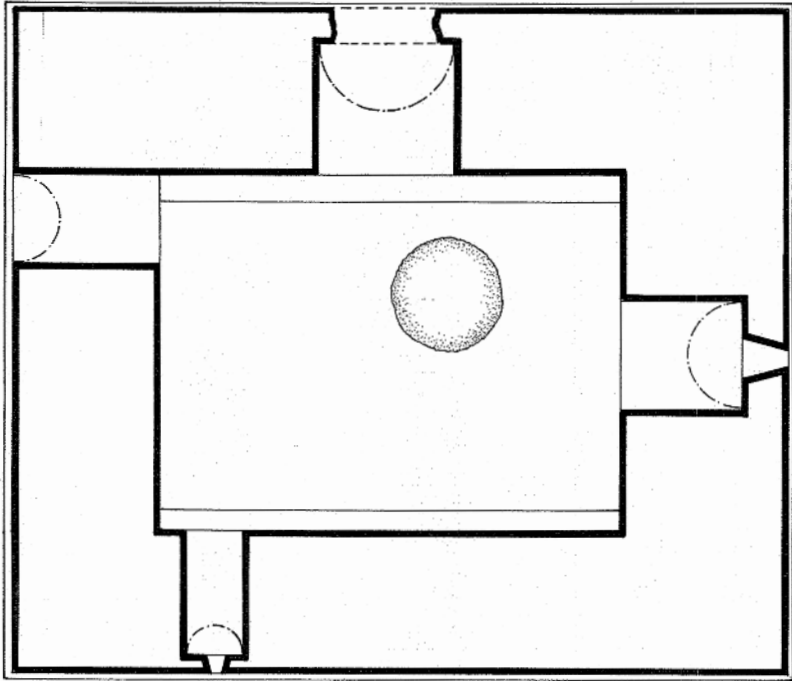


Fig. 9: Forteresse des Gattilusi. Plan (P. Androudis).

Fig. 10: Le donjon. Vue de N-Est (P. Androudis, 2006).





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Π. ΑΝΔΡΟΥΔΗΣ

Fig. 11: Plan du premier et du troisième niveau du donjon (P. Androudis).

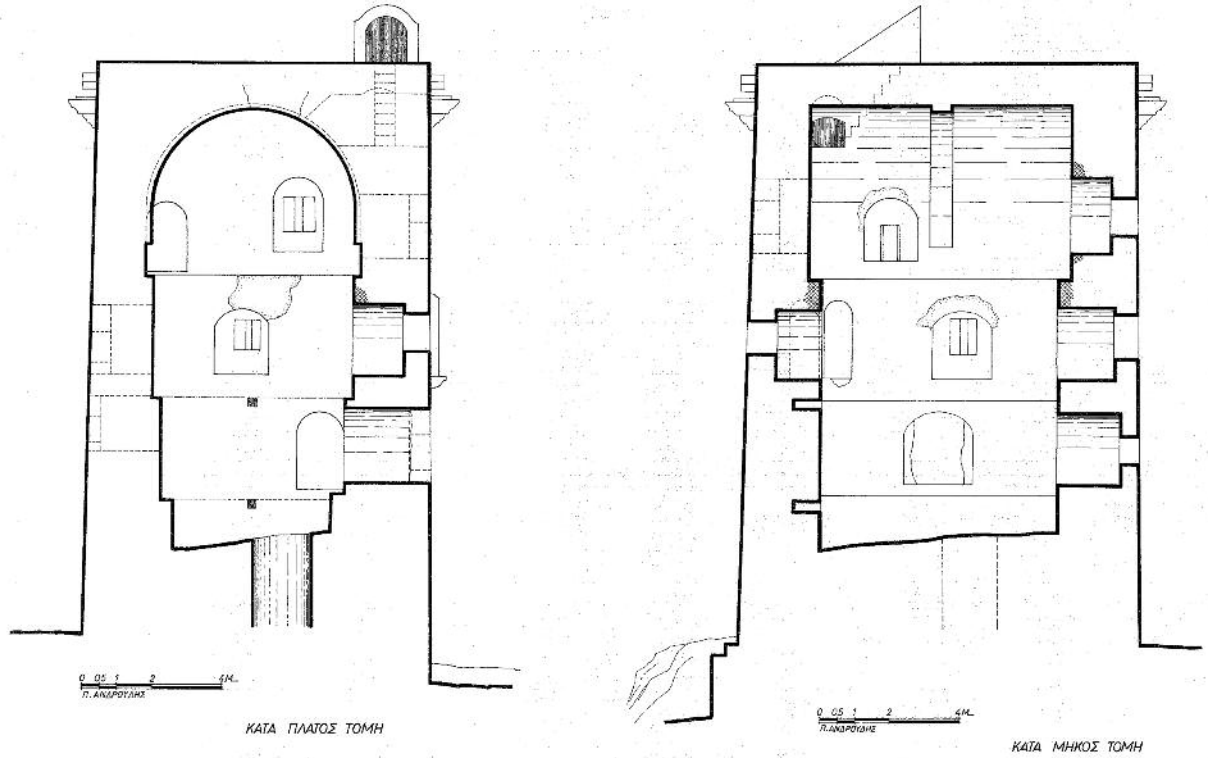


Fig. 12: Coupe transversale et longitudinale du donjon (P. Androudis).

Fig. 13: Intérieur de la tour, avec la voûte en berceau du niveau supérieur (P. Androudis, 2006).



Ten less investigated late antique fortresses on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast (4th - early 7th century AD)

Minchev Alexander

The number of the Late Antique fortresses located along the Bulgarian Black Sea coast in the period of discussion (4th - early 7th century AD) is quite large¹. This is the reason about choosing only ten of them² and their relatively short descriptions in this article. Most of them are located on the North part of the littoral (i.e. North of the Balkan Range) and only two are on the South one (fig. 1).

There is a large number of general works concerning the fortifications in that period³ but only a few of them use the number of works of contemporary Bulgarian archaeologists on the matter. This is probably due to the so-called “Speaking barrier”, which on my mind is not an excuse... It must be noted that various authors dealing with that period use to call it in various ways: Late Antique, Early Byzantine, Early Christian, Late Roman or even Roman (the later two usually for the earlier part of the period but not only⁴). I choose the “Late Antique” definition because despite the differences from the previous Roman one of 1st-3rd century AD (especially in the 6th century AD), in many ways this was in fact a period of continuity of the Greco-Roman cultural world and therefore a part of Antiquity. I must underline also that the historical fate of the Late Antique fortresses on the modern Bulgarian Black Sea coast North- and South of Haemus Mountain (Stara Planina/ Balkan Range) respectively was quite different, as it will be seen in the following discussion. I shall start the description with the North-most one.

1. CAREAS. (ancient: CARON LIMEN, CARIA, PORTUS CARIA; Late Antique: CAREA, CAREAS; now SHABLA)

The Ancient fortified town and port of Careas occupied in ancient time the modern Cape Shabla, located at some 7km East of Shabla Town, Region of Dobrich. It existed at least from the 5th century BC until late 6th century - early 7th century AD. The port/town has been mentioned in several ancient written sources: Pomponius Melas⁵; in the Anonimus' *Periplus of Pontus Euxinos*⁶, etc. The Late Antique fortress of Carea/ Careas was erected over the ruins of a Late Roman *quadriburgium* occupied also in the Late Antique period (ca Late 3rd century AD-mid 5th century AD). The now preserved in ruins fortified town and port was build ca mid-6th century AD (after AD 543-544) and it must be the one mentioned by Procopius as Creas = C[a]reas, reconstructed by Justinian⁷. Only the North-West part

1. See the forthcoming publication of OLKAS International project on Late Antique/ Medieval ports along the Black Sea and the Aegean: Thessaloniki, 2013, where the twelve largest ports on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast have been described and discussed by the author.
2. There are some more, even less investigated Late Antique fortifications, which are still awaiting excavations, detailed descriptions and comments. They are located mostly on the Southern Bulgarian littoral. See. Димитров 1981b, 427-38 and bibl.
3. See for instance the very informative work on the history of Byzantine fortifications of Lawrence 1983, 171-233.
4. Howard-Johnston 1989, 203-29.
5. Pomp. Mela De chron. II. 22 (ed. Frick); Arrianus (Arrian. Periopl. Pont. Eux. 34 (ed. Miller).
6. Anon. *Periopl. Pont. Eux.* 15 r; 10-4 (ed. Diller).
7. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, IV. 11. See also on the subject Beševliev 1970, 148 and discussion there.

of the fortress is still available on land now, the bigger one being under the sea due to sea-erosion. The transgression of the Black Sea in the area started in Early Hellenistic Age⁸ and continued through the Roman period, Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. This is the reason why it is not possible now to make a reconstruction of the original layout of the Late Antique fortress of Careas. However, it could be assumed that it was either rectangular or trapezoidal in shape. According to K. Škorpil, who visited the site at the turn of 20th century, it was rectangular and measured “67 x 40 steps”⁹, which means approximately 2.5 ha at the time. The excavation conducted in the late 20th-early 21st centuries revealed part of the fortification with a circular tower at the NW corner and another large rectangular one at the west wall (fig. 2a), which maybe flanked the main gate entrance to the town. It overlays partially the earlier quadriburgium, of which only parts of the substructures of the wall and two squares in shape towers: at the NW and SW corners have been discovered (fig. 2b). The walls and the towers of both fortifications were built in *opus emplectum* (of large well smoothed stones) fixed by mortar outside and a filling of chopped stones fixed also by mortar inside. This is clearly seen at the fortification parts cleared by the sea at the beach in front of the modern lighthouse (fig. 2c). The fortification wall is up to 2m. wide and the remained part of the fortress measures 65m. (NE) by 25m. (SW): covering an area of about 1.8 ha. Inside the fortified area, four largely damaged edifices of uncertain plan and use have been traced during the excavation in the 90ies of the 20th- and in the beginning of the 21st centuries. The earliest period of construction of the fortress was in the first half of the 4th century AD, maybe at the time of Constantine the Great or his immediate descendants, which was established on the base of coins- and pottery finds¹⁰. The findings inside the town: pottery-, amphora- and glass fragments, small metal finds and coins revealed that during 6th-early 7th century AD it was also an important port, which supplied with some imported goods the large region west of the town. The remains of a rectangular ancient port artificially protected by additionally construction over the existing natural reefs have been described by K. Škorpil in late 19th century¹¹. According to the archaeological and numismatic data discovered during 20th century excavations, the later fortress of Careas was built in the first half of 6th century AD - under Justinian. It has three shorter periods of occupation¹² and existed until the end of 6th - very beginning of 7th century AD, when it was ruined during one of the numerous Avar and Slavs invasions. The latest coin found in the fortified area is of Tiberius Mauricius minted in AD 588-589¹³, which marked the end of occupation of the site in the ancient times.

2. YAILATA (near the Village of KAMEN BRYAG, Region of DOBRICH; ancient and Late Antique name[s] unknown)

The Late Antique fortified town at Yailata area is located 2km south of the Village of Kamen bryag, Region of Dobrich. The fortress is situated on the high rock terrace of a little cape, in the footsteps of an even higher rocky plateau, where its

8. Anon. *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 15r, 11-2 (ed. Diller).

9. Торбатов 2002, 199, footnote 169. Here and later in my article all notes, measures and descriptions of K. Škorpil about ancient fortifications along the Black Sea coast not especially mentioned as footnotes, are mostly following the quotations of С. Торбатов (S. Torbatov). He has taken them from H. & K. Škorpil's unpublished archives kept in the Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia and referred to them in his recent book on the fortification system of Scythia province in Late Antiquity.

10. Торбатов 2002, 204. See also his footnote 181.

11. Ibidem, 199. See also footnotes 166-7.

12. Ibidem, 212-3.

13. Василчин 1994, 10-24, обр. 1-3. See also Торбатов 2002, 197-215 and bibl.

necropolis and an earlier Thracian cult site and/or sanctuary were located (fig. 3a). There are no mentions about it by the ancient historians and geographers. Thus, the name of the fortress in Antiquity remains unknown, although it must be one of the many not localized ones mentioned by Procopius in Late Antique Imperial province of Scythia [Minor], which to it geographically belonged. The site has been visited and briefly commented by H. and K. Škorpil in the late 19th century¹⁴. It was partially excavated in the 80s of the 20th century, but only a few brief descriptions have been published by the research team, the most comprehensive one in 1987¹⁵.

Due to its favorable location, having at East and North 20m. high vertical rocks ending in the sea, only the West and South sides of the town were fortified. There is an elongated not very big valley, which runs in NS direction in front of it. It served as land area for agriculture to the inhabitants of the town, but along the valley there have been traced remains of a number of *extra muros* houses, too. Through the ages, the Eastern-most and partially the North side of the cape have been heavily affected by the sea-erosion, which caused the same to these parts of the fortress, too. The original fortified area of the town is estimated to be ca 100 by 75m: i.e. ca 0.75 ha, of which only ca 0.45ha are available now. The wall is made in an excellent *opus emplectum*, which reminds outside the Hellenistic way of fortification techniques: it is built of large, up to 2.00 x 0.70m, carefully smoothed rectangular and pyramidal stones, sometimes cut at the corners to fit better with the upper stone, with no fixing mortar between. However, the filling (*emplectum*) is of chopped stones fixed by red mortar. Inside the wall is made of smaller, but equally well smoothed rectangular stones and sometimes the Roman type of so-called “Binder-Läufer” building system was applied (figs. 3b-c).

The shape of the still available western part of fortress is irregular with four extending out rectangular towers located 25-25.80m. away of each one. They are 2.90 to 3.90m. long and have a width of 4.45-5.15m. One of them is located at the SW corner and next to it, at the south wall, the large, brick built, rectangular in shape and extending out main gate-tower is located, over 8m. long. A small gate (*postern*) is located relatively close to it at the western wall. The fortification is quite well preserved at a height of over 4m. and has an width of 2.60m. There are three staircases 1.20-1.30m. wide, at different locations on the west wall, which helped the access to its upper level and the actual function of the wall. Inside, there were investigated a lot of made by stone- and brick houses of relatively small dimensions, built very close to each-other, which helps to assume that despite its obviously military function, this was in fact a civil fortified town¹⁶. Perhaps it served also as a refuge site for the people of the *extra muros* houses and farms as well as for other rural population of the villages in the vicinity. It was suggested by the excavators that the fortress was erected in the very late 5th-early 6th century AD¹⁷. Recently this suggestion has been revised and the erection was placed chronologically in the time of Justinian, after AD 551, actually with no conclusive reasons. The same author supposed that it served as an extension for the located near *extra muros* unfortified settlement and the function of the fortification was in fact as a citadel¹⁸. However, judging by the very characteristic building technique used in the fortification walls, which has good parallels in the Anastasian Wall in Thrace¹⁹, I believe that the fortress' erection was completed or at least started during the reign of Emperor Anastasius. On my mind, the erection of the

14. Шкорпил 1892, 56.

15. Salkin, Toptanov 1987, 22-35; see also Торбатов 2002, 215-20, figs. 42-4.

16. Торбатов 2002, 219-20.

17. Salkin, Toptanov 1987, 31-2.

18. Торбатов 2002, 219.

19. Crow, Ricci 1997, 235-62.

fortress at Yailata locality was part of the ambitious program for a new fortification system along the Black Sea coast launched by this emperor in late 5th century AD, which most contemporary scholars seem to avoid. Maybe this was even one of the first ones built according to this imperial plan along with the Late Antique fortress at Rusalka Resort site, which has the same building features and is situated not far in south direction of the Yailata one (see below No 4). The fortress at Yailata ceased to exist after a devastating fire (the fire level is ca 1.20m. high) at the end of 6th century AD, most probably caused by one of the Avar- and Slavs invasions in the Balkan Peninsula of the period. This has been proved by coin finds, the latest ones being issues of Mauricius Tiberius of the years AD 587-589²⁰.

3. **TOPRAK KALE (south of the village of KAMEN BRYAG, Region of DOBRICH; Ancient- and Late Antique name[s] unknown)**

The remains of this large, but very much destroyed Late Antique fortress is situated on a 35m. high above the sea, vertical rocky sea-side terrace. It is located ca 1km NE from the village of Kamen bryag, Region of Dobrich. There is no data about it in the ancient written sources and its name or names remain unknown. The first mentioning about it is by K. Škorpil, who published in 1905 a short note about the later better visible ruins, accompanied by a sketch with layout of the fortress and a cross-section of the wall. He suggested that it was in fact an earthen-made fortification consisting of two earthen walls and a ditch between them (which resembles the old Turkish *toponymus* of the site “Toprak kale”, meaning “Earthen fortress”). He believed that it is of Early Medieval Bulgarian origin- i.e. of ca 7th-8th centuries²¹. In fact no one of the later Bulgarian scholars accepted his view and all avoided his suggestion. Until recently the Škorpil’s short description remained the only one since late 19th century, because nobody else paid attention to it and there was no archaeological investigation provided on the site.

According to Škorpil’s sketch and notes, the fortification had an irregular rectangular layout measuring “90 (N) x 80 (W) x 50 (S) steps” (covering an area about 5.0-5.5 ha), the Southern wall having a sharp bend approximately in the center and the Northern one - a slight bend right in its center. On the Western wall the semi-circular ruins of three possible towers were visible, two of them at the NW and SW corners and the third one almost in the center, all depicted also on the layout made by Škorpil (fig. 4). The Eastern side was not fortified, because the rock terrace there is going down vertically up to the sea-bottom. The surface survey of the site done in the 90 of the 20th century revealed that nowadays only the Eastern part of the Northern wall is in a relatively good condition and it helped for the conclusion that originally the fortification was stone-and mortar made. What looks now like earthen walls, is in fact the debris of the construction, which was left aside after the extraction of stones of the walls apparently done by the locals still in the 19th century. The total extraction of stones helps to assume that the walls were made in *opus emplectum*, of which only smaller chopped stones of the filling with a lot of white mortar and some inclusions of crushed pottery is still available on the site. There are now no remains of the marked by Škorpil possible towers along the West wall, but their original existence is quite possible. The survey on the surface conducted in the 90s of the 20th century by S. Torbatov revealed that nowadays there are no

20. Торбатов 2002, 219-20 and bibl.

21. ОШкorpил 1905, 525, табл. СХV/1.

remains available of the sharp corner-like bend of the South wall marked on the layout sketch of Škorpil. On the other hand, on the North wall at the place of another slight bend two circular depressions in the ground of ca 4-5m. in diameter have been located, which look like traces of two circular towers²². It is quite possible that were constructed in order to protect a larger gate located there. No traces of houses have been noticed inside the fortification walls. Therefore, apart from its military function, it remains unclear whether the fortress served a refugee camp for the population in the surrounding area in case of a barbaric invasion or it was another fortified civil town, possibly with a small garrison stationed there.

There is no secure data about the time of erection of the fortress. Some pottery fragments collected on the surface were attested to the last centuries BC, which speak in favor of an earlier Thracian (?) unfortified settlement of the site. However, the bulk of the collected pottery fragments belonged to the Late Antique/Early Byzantine period: i.e. they are of 5th-6th century AD which helps to assume that it was built approximately in that time. S. Torbatov suggested recently that the fortress was erected by Justinian in the mid-6th century AD as part of his defensive strategy in this region of the Empire²³. On my mind an a bit earlier dating of its construction, namely in late 5th-early 6th century AD should not be excluded, too. In late 6th - early 7th century AD, most probably one of the Avar- and Slavs invasions put an end to the occupation of the fortified site and left it in ruins forever.

4. **RUSALKA (Near the village of SVETI NIKOLA, Region of DOBRICH; the ancient name[s] unknown)**

The Late Antique fortress is located within the modern resort site "Rusalka" ca 2.5km southeast of the village of Sveti Nikola, Region of Dobrich. The resort was constructed in the late 60s of the 20th century, which at the time led to the investigation and protection *in situ* of the ancient ruins there, too. The fortress is situated on a little, low, but wide rocky cape, which has a highest height of 8.5m. above the sea-level. The cape is extending between two little, not well protected of the winds bays, which however in ancient times may have been much larger.

The fortification consists actually of only one, 90m. long wall running almost East-West, which prevented the only way of access to the cape: from West. In front of it there is a shallow ditch, too. The preserved fortified area is ca 0.7-0.8 ha, but in Late Antiquity it was definitely more, because walls are ending abruptly in East and West direction and there are traces of their continuation towards the sea there (fig. 5a). It is obvious that through the passed centuries, both the cape and ancient site have been damaged by sea-erosion. The fortification wall is 2.00-2.10m. wide and at certain points is preserved at a height of up to 2m. It must be noted that at a large distance, its actual width is 3.60m. due to the two 1.50m. wide staircases constructively built behind it (fig. 5b). In the same way the two extending to the West solid built rectangular towers have been constructed. They measure 5.10 x 4 and subsequently 5.35 x 4m. and are built at a distance of 33m. between them. The only gate located in the Western-most side of the wall is quite simple and only 3.20m. wide, narrowing inside to 2.50m. because of two additional pilasters.

The fortification wall is constructed very precisely in *opus implectum* by using excellent fitted rectangular or trapezoid-shaped stones outside with filling of chopped stones fixed by red mortar inside (fig. 5c). The two towers received by the builders a special attention. They are constructed by especially made stones in the

22. Торбатов 200, 222.

23. Ibidem, 223.

shape of four-sided cut pyramids of a medium size 0.8-1.00 (up to 2.00) x 0.4-0.5m. in horizontal rows, which follow the line of the surface. At certain parts of their walls, the stones were cut in the corners, where small rectangular ones have been added in order to keep the line and to fit better. Inside, the wall is less carefully made by smaller rectangular stones, but equally well fitted. The building technique used is the same as at the Yailata fortress, which leads to the conclusion that they were erected in a very short chronological period, if not simultaneously. During the archaeological research of the wall, in the debris connected to its construction a coin of Anastasius I (491-518) was found²⁴, which gave a good *terminus post quem* for the fortress' erection. According to all other finds collected during the excavation, a date of late 5th-mid 6th century AD, possibly during the reign of Justinian has been suggested for the erection of the fortress²⁵. Inside the fortified area no buildings were discovered, but traces of an earlier occupation of the site during 3rd-5th century AD has been established. The remains were part of a much larger unprotected by walls settlement, which exceeded by far the area of the Late Antique fortress. Its foundation goes back to 3rd century AD and continued further without interruption up to the 5th century AD²⁶.

The lack of houses inside the fortress is an important evidence about its function as an assembly point for protection of refugees from the villages in its vicinity and maybe from around the region during barbaric invasions in 6th century AD. The fortress was probably abandoned by its inhabitants and heavily destroyed during one of the Avar- and Slavs' invasion by the end of the 6th or in very early 7th century AD²⁷.

5. TIMUM (near the village of BULGAREVO, Region of DOBRICH; ancient name uncertain)

The Late Antique fortress named Timum has been identified with a large fortified site located about 2km west from the village of Bulgarevo, Region of Dobrich²⁸. The ancient town was mentioned for sure only once in ancient written sources: by the Anonimus from Ravenna in his "*Cosmographia*"²⁹ namely as a *civitas*. This essential ancient-and medieval study was written probably in the late 7th - 8th century, but the extensive and quite reliable information for the region of Scythia Province and the Black Sea coast in this valuable source goes back prior to the 6th century AD. Maybe the same town called Timogittia was also mentioned in Arrian's *Periplus Ponti Euxini* written in AD 130-131³⁰.

The fortress is situated at a large terrace along the 80m. high rocks of the sea-coast, protected at its West side by a rather deep gorge and a stream at the bottom. The archaeological material collected on the surface of the area revealed a long time occupation, which started probably in the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period, and continued up to the late 6th-early 7th century AD. No archaeological excavation has been conducted on the site, but several times there have been done extensive surface surveys, which produced interesting and valuable data about it³¹.

The fortification has an almost rectangular layout extended in South direction and ending there with the sea-side rocks. It measured approximately 300 x 250m., having the impressive area of about 6-7.5 ha. (fig. 6a). The town was fortified from

24. Китов 1971, 14.

25. Ibidem, 14-5.

26. Торбатов 2002, 226 and bibl.

27. Китов 1971, 9-15; see also Торбатов, 2002, 215-20.

28. See about this localization and discussion in Тончева 1970, 91-2 and bibl.

29. Raven. Anon. *Cosmogr.* II. 6, 10 (ed. Schnetz).

30. Rennell 1831, 384.

31. Торбатов 2002, 232-8 and bibl.

East, West and North by a solid wall, which was 2.50m. wide at its far-most West side. Unfortunately, nowadays only its 1.20m. high remains of stones-and earth wall is available on the surface and no towers or gates can be traced. The inner area was inhabited by a large number of citizens, and the rests of their houses - even some of the layouts are still visible in negative on the ground. According to the archives of the Bulgarian Institute of Archaeology in the 60s of the 20th century almost in the center of the fortified area the remains of an Early Christian basilica were visible, which seems to have had marble furnishing inside. Most probably it was the source of a marble capital and fragments of a chancel screen plate that have been discovered and collected at the beginning of the 20th century. K. Škorpil, who did the survey and maybe some small scale archaeological investigations on the site described two imposing buildings “excavated” by the local people of Bulgarevo prior to his visit at the turn of the 20th century. One of the buildings had an almost square in shape layout and marble flooring and inside there have been found *tesserae* of a destroyed mosaic flooring, too. The other edifice had in general a rectangular layout and there were discovered marbles and mosaic *tesserae* too, which helps to assume that this was in fact the above mentioned basilica³². At the South-eastern corner of the fortress, a citadel was erected, probably in a bit later period. It had the shape of an irregular trapezoid covering an area of approximately 3ha. Its wider Southern side, which is about 120m. long, reached the edge of the high rocks of the terrace above the sea-coast line. The opposite shorter Northern side is 80m. long and beside the wall was additionally protected in front by an earthen wall and maybe a ditch, too. The shorter East and West walls are respectively 40 and 25m. long. They were all also heavily or totally destroyed in the past centuries. There is no available data about the way of construction of the citadel’s walls, but the mortars and stones on the line of this fortification gave indications for a possible *opus implectum*. K. Škorpil described one large, probably circular tower on the North wall, but later supposed that this was in fact the gate. He also mentioned two other possible little towers of unknown shape (they were already too much demolished by that time), which were located at the ends of the same wall: i.e. at the NE and NW corners³³. The large and strongly fortified area of Timum makes us believe that apart from a living and rich Late Antique town, it also served as a *refugium*. It served in case of emergency for the people of the region around it because of the barbaric invasions in that period.

The time of construction of both the large fortress and the citadel is uncertain, but the collected archaeological and numismatic material at the site suggested a dating in the late 5th or at the beginning of the 6th century AD³⁴. This connects the large fortified town of Timum again to the building program of Emperor Anastasius and consequently with two other, much better preserved fortresses of same dating on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, described and commented above: those by Yailata (No 2) and by Rusalka (No 4). At the end of the 6th - early 7th century AD, during an Avar- and Slavs invasion, both the fortress and the citadel of Timum had been captured and ruined. This has been proved by a coin hoard found at the site, which consisted of nine gold coins issued by several emperors starting with Justinian and ending with Tiberius Mauricius (582-602)³⁵.

32. Ibidem, 234-6 and bibl.

33. Торбатов 2002, 234-7.

34. Ibidem, 236-7.

35. Герасимов 1962, 239; see also Торбатов 2002, 237-8.

6. “TIMUM” - WEST (near the village of BULGAREVO, Region of DOBRICH; Late Antique name uncertain)

The Western side of the same rocky terrace where Timum is located was occupied by another one Late Antique fortress. It was built at a distance of 80m. of the first one and is also very much destroyed. The fortified area has a rectangular layout slightly extended to the Southwest, where it reaches the edge of the 85m. high rocks, too. When K. Škorpil visited it in the early 20th century, the configuration of the ancient remains was still better visible and the sketch made by him at the time is again the main source about some details of the fortification's layout (fig. 6b). Combined with some surveys on the site in the 90s of the 20th century and aerial photographs made at the same time, the following data have been collected.

There were three towers situated on the North wall of the fortress: one rectangular or maybe square in shape in the center (here the sketch of K. Škorpil is not correct) and two circular ones at the NE and NW corners. Another one of uncertain layout, maybe semicircular tower, was built in the center of the 90m. long West wall. Approximately in the center of the 100m. long East wall there was constructed the main gate of the fortification, to which led an ancient road still visible at the turn of 20th century. The gate was defended by two towers of uncertain shape built on both sides close to it. K. Škorpil mentioned a ditch running very close around the fortification, but now it can be traced only in front of the North wall. The Southern end of the fortification has collapsed a long time ago because of the erosion of the sea, while the about 100m. long North wall seems to have been totally demolished during the past time. Despite all damages, the construction remains on the surface make it clear that the fortress was built in *opus implectum*, with large worked stones on both sides of the walls and filling between them of chopped stones fixed mostly by white mortar except for the West wall, where red mortar was used. Inside the fortification there are visible remains of a number of ancient structures, no one of them clear as layout. Nevertheless, they speak in favor of an intensive life within the fortified area. Despite the fact that on the site regular excavations have never been conducted, the described layout of the fortress, which has parallels in similar ones excavated both in North- and South Bulgaria, as well as in North Africa (Algeria), showed clearly that it was a *castellum* built in a conventional type, widely applied throughout the Early Byzantine Empire³⁶.

Despite that in the near located museums of Dobrich and Kavarna there are enough finds from the large ancient site in the vicinity of Bulgarevo including numismatic and epigraphic materials, only a few of them have their exact place of discovery known. Some of the finds go back to the Hellenistic period (late 4th-1st century BC), including a bronze coin of Alexander the Great (336-323), discovered in Timum-West. It proved an earlier occupation of the site, a long time before that Late Antique fortress was erected. Two other coin finds, also discovered there, marked approximately the time of existence of the later one. A golden one of Justin I (518-527) gives the *terminus post quem* for the time when it was constructed and a bronze one of Mauricius Tiberius of AD 590-591, the same for the time of its destruction. Therefore, it may be assumed that Timum - West was erected in the first half of the 6th century AD, maybe under Justin I or Justinian. It was part of the large Late Antique military building program applied to Scythia [Minor], which affected to a great extend the coastal zone of the province, too. The fortress was destroyed at the end of the 6th or very early 7th century AD, obviously as a result of an Avar- and Slavs invasion in that time³⁷.

36. Topбатов 2002, 242 and bibl. See also Topбатов 2002b, 260-4.

37. Ibidem, 238-42 and bibl.

7. APHRODISION (former/ ancient APHRODISIAS, near the village of TOPOLA, Region of DOBRICH)

About the 4th century BC, a Thracian settlement of unknown now name was established ca 0.5km from the modern village of Topola, Region of Dobrich. It was situated on a pleasant sloping terrace overlooking the sea and was surrounded in west direction by fertile lands. The survey on the surface and the brief excavation in the area helped to localize three settlements of different periods: A) of the 4th-1st century BC, which is the largest one and covers almost entirely the terrace; B) of 1st-4th century AD, situated Northeast of it and of much smaller area and C) of 4th-6th century AD situated Westwards of the first one covering a small part of the Hellenistic site and beyond it (fig. 7a). In the Early Hellenistic period, its inhabitants probably accepted the offer of Greek colonists of unknown origin to settle down in their land. Maybe this was the reason the settlement or little town to be renamed Aphrodisias³⁸. A fortified town (*oppidum*) was erected on the same site ca 2nd - early 1st c. BC, which in that time was occupied maybe by a population of either Thracian or Scythian origin, famous for their good agriculture. The name of the settlement is mentioned also in an inscription of the 1st century BC (maybe of BC 42) as belonging to the near ancient town of Byzone, which for some reasons ceded it to the Thracian King Kotys³⁹. This fact has been mentioned by Plinius⁴⁰. Much later, Theophanes the Confessor also gave some data about this town: in AD 544-545 it was badly damaged probably by an earthquake and a tsunami wave, which occurred at the time in the Black Sea. In his description of this tragic event, the ancient author mentioned for the first time the change of the town's name in Late Antiquity to Aphrodision⁴¹.

The Late Antique Aphrodision was a fortress, which had the shape of an irregular pentagram, extended in a later stage to the Northeast (fig. 7b). It covered an area of ca 1 ha and occupied the better, naturally defended from south and slightly extended to the sea western part of the terrace. It was fortified from all sides, but no real remains of the walls survived on the surface through the centuries. The scattered along the visible line of walls, small chopped stones fixed by mortar, as well as information given by elderly local people about the extraction in the past of smoothed large stones, help to assume that most probably the walls were built in *opus emplectum*. According to K. Škorpil, who also visited the site at the turn of 20th century, there were remains of an existing inside the fortress Early Christian church, which was totally demolished in late 19th century, too. No excavation has been conducted on the site and there is no available data about the width of the walls nor where they placed and of what shape the towers were. The traces on the surface revealed that the Northern, most easily accessible part of the fortress, was strongly fortified by means of a doubled wall (a *proteichisma*) at a distance of 8m., built maybe in a later period of existence, while to the South and Southeast sections and to the walls on the edge of the cliffs, less attention have been paid and they were narrower. In front of the Northern wall a ditch was dug, too. The few coins collected during surface surveys conducted on the site or discovered by chance there start with one of late 4th century AD; there are also several ones of Justin II and finish with Mauricius Tiberius (582-602), thus giving the approximate time of existing of the fortress and the town. This idea has been supported by some very small frag-

38. Torbatov 2002b, 260 launched another possibility; that the settlement has been founded by Greek settlers, who either later abandoned it or the town was captured and was re-populated by neighboring people of autochthonous origin.

39. Mihailov 1997, 11-3, No 5011.

40. Plin. *Nat. hist.*, IV, 11, 44 (ed. Mayhoff).

41. Theoph. *Conf. Chron.* 22, 429-33.

ments of pottery collected on the site⁴². It has been suggested that the fortress was erected and used as a *refugium* for the people in the nearby larger settlement south-east of the fortified area. The construction started maybe a short time before AD 378 under the building program of Valens. There was an important reconstruction of the structure, probably during the reign of Justin II⁴³. A few years ago, outside the fortress but very close to it, an Early Christian basilica of 4th-6th century AD with several building periods (maybe a monastery?) and interesting furnishing made of limestone inside was excavated. It is located in the “Kavakluka locality” and only a preliminary report about the church complex has been published so far⁴⁴. The end of the fortified town must be connected to one of the Avar- & Slav invasions of the late 6th-early 7th century AD, when it was devastated and left in ruins⁴⁵.

8. TUZLATA (near BALCHIK; Ancient and Late Antique name[s] unknown)

This Late Antique fortress is located north of the Tuzlata Salt Lake, ca 4.5km east from the town of Balchik and ca 3.5km southwest from the Village of Topola, Region of Dobrich. It is situated on a flat, wide and slightly sloping to the sea terrace, ending to the edge of high cliffs above the sea. Through the centuries, the Southern part of the cliff terrace and that part of the ancient town (maybe half of it in fact) were destructed by the sea and/or an earthquake and the later one seems to have occurred a long time ago. Still in the early 20th century, when it was visited by K. Škorpil, the fortress' walls were totally demolished. The reason is, that erected on the high rock underground platform of the site, its foundations were built very close to the ground level and therefore it was very easy to extract the worked stones of the fortification. This happened probably ca mid-19th century and is evidenced by an Ottoman coin of that time, discovered by chance at the site. The short description made at the site by K. Škorpil and kept unpublished in his archive is the most important base of our knowledge about the fortress, as well as the survey on the surface conducted in the mid 90s of the 20th century). The visible protruded remains on land revealed the layout of a rectangular in shape fortification with three towers on the North wall: two circular ones at the NE and NW corners and a large rectangular one in the center (fig. 8). It is quite possible that the later marks the place of a gate entrance there. The East wall seems to be better preserved and at its Southern end maybe there was another tower of unknown shape. In the foundations of the walls chopped stones fixed by red mortar have been used. There is a ditch surrounding entirely the fortress at a distance of 5m⁴⁶. No excavation has been conducted on the site so far and no traces of edifices or other structures can be traced now inside the fortress. The scarce fragments of pottery collected on the surface are of the Late Antique period in general (i.e. 4th-6th century AD), without any possibility for more precise definition. The survived part of the fortified area occupies ca 4 ha and this was probably a *castellum*, which in case of emergency served also as a refuge point for the people in its vicinity. The layout of the fortification reminds very closely the already described fortresses of Careas (Shabla) and Timum - West near Bulgarevo, Region of Dobrich. Based on this similarity, the time of Justinian (ca mid-6th century AD) was suggested recently as the period of erection of the fortification at Tuzlata⁴⁷. I must note though, that in the early 50s of the 20th century,

42. Торбатов 2002, 257.

43. Ibidem, 257.

44. Иванов 2008, 498-550.

45. Торбатов 2002, 251-7 and bibl.

46. Ibidem, 259-60, стр. 66.

47. Ibidem 2002, 258-60 and bibl.

several tombs with a number of grave finds inside them were properly excavated by an archaeologist of the Varna Archaeological Museum. They belonged to a larger necropolis located close to the fortress. By no doubts, the graves belonged to local inhabitants. All graves had East-West orientation (i.e. following the Christian tradition) and according to the grave-finds they were dated to the 3rd-4th century AD⁴⁸, but they easily might be a bit later. In the debris around the graves there were found a little Thracian hand-made pot, maybe a child's toy, which can be dated to ca 6th-4th century BC and a fragment of Sinopean amphora stamp of ca 3rd-2nd century BC⁴⁹. This is an indication about the establishment of a large, maybe unfortified settlement or town at the site not later than the 4th century AD, where in late Classical- and Hellenistic periods a Thracian settlement was located, too. The construction of the fortress took place in a later period, which under circumstances could not be precisely defined, but late 5th- first half of 6th century AD seems to me to be a more appropriate time. The end of life in the Late Antique fortress/ *castellum* near Tuzlata must be connected again with one of the Avar-and Slavs invasions in the Balkans at the end of 6th or early 7th century AD⁵⁰.

9. AKRA (ancient AKRA; near the town of CHERNOMORETS, until 1951 - SVETI NIKOLA)

The Late Antique fortress is located at Cape Akra (also known as Cape Akin) in the North-most part of a not very big peninsula called Sveti Nikola (St. Nicholas) about 3km south of Chernomorets, Region of Burgas. The cape has an important strategic position in the Southern part of the large Bay of Burgas. During the centuries it was heavily eroded by the sea and a large part of it submerged (fig. 9a). The fortified town covers now an area of about 1.5 ha, but in the past it was obviously much larger, maybe twice as much. It is situated on an uneven sloping rocky terrace, the highest part of which is occupied by the ruins of an abandoned now 20th century military point. Unfortunately, the modern structures have destroyed the most interesting part of the ancient site. The fortress wall runs across the narrowest part of the peninsula, which coincided with the beginning of Cape Sveti Nikola. The wall continues in Southwest under the sea-level and its ruins are clearly seen underwater, while at the Northeastern end there is a short corner going almost to the North, despite that the wall continues underwater, too (fig. 9b). Recently, the available part of the fortification, about 50m. long, was excavated, as well as a section underwater. It is almost entirely constructed of chopped stones leveled in straight rows and fixed by white mortar (fig. 9c). The only exception to the rule is a large pilaster in the Southwest section, which is built in *opus mixtum*. At certain points the fortification survived at a height of up to 4m. and is 2.40 - 2.90m. wide, being wider in the western section where at the sea level it is much wider (3.60m.). In the Southeastern end of the wall, there is a rectangular extending out tower now almost entirely underwater (fig. 9d). It measures 5.30 x 3.70m. and its walls are 1m. wide. The outer face of the tower was built by larger, occasionally rectangular stones. An inner tower/ bastion 5 x 4m. at the inner side of the wall, close to the Eastern end was available only as foundation. It was constructed in the same way, but with *implectum* of small chopped stones, mixed with white mortar and soil. The

48. Тончева 1953, 119-23, обр. 142-50.

49. Ibidem, 123, обр. 151-2. See also Лазаров 1974, 36-8 with discussion about the dating of Sinopean amphora stamps.

50. Топбатов 2002, 258-60, обр. 66-7 and bibl. and discussion there.

Eastern part of the bastion was discovered totally destroyed, but its erection there helps to assume that most probably, the gate of the fortress was situated there⁵¹.

Inside, the fortified area was built-up by a number of small houses. Seven of them have been entirely or partially excavated. They brought to light various types of pottery, both locally made and imported, entirely preserved and fragmented Late Antique amphoras, *dolia*, fragments of glass vessels, clay and bronze lamps and utensils, coins, etc. There were discovered also traces of *extra muros* occupation of the site, which was the tradition of the period⁵². The imported pottery is of LRC and African red-slip ware and was dated to the second half of 5th - up to the 90s of the 6th century AD⁵³. A large part of the coins discovered in Akra started with Anastasius (491-518) and included all following emperors, finishing with a few coins of Mauricius Tiberius (582-602). The latest one of them was issued in 589-590 AD. There is also a *solidus* of Arcadius, which as a golden coin has functioned obviously in a longer period after it was issued⁵⁴.

The fortification served both as a military point and civil town, which controlled the Southern area of the large bay, known today as Bay of Burgas. All finds in the fortress led the archaeologists to the conclusion that the Akra fortress was erected in the late 5th century AD and ceased to exist in the late 6th - early 7th century AD. It was deliberately abandoned by its inhabitants and a short time later it had been ruined during one of the Avar- and Slavs invasions of that time. This marks the last period of occupation of the ancient site, but in the Middle Ages there was a monastery named Sveti Nikola (St. Nicholas), which gave the contemporary name of the cape. Some new, still unpublished pottery finds from the 2013 excavation season revealed that the cape was inhabited much earlier than the Late Antique town, namely in the Late Bronze Age (ca 13th-12th century BC).

10. URDOVIZA (ancient - Late Antique URDOBYZA(?); now the town of KITEN, Region of BURGAS)

The Late Antique fortress Urdoviza is located on the little peninsula/cape of the same name within the modern town of Kiten. The cape is 120m. long and 60-up to 80m. wide and ends abruptly with rocks with a height between 10 and 15m. The name of the cape and later fortress Urdoviza is of Thracian origin and goes back, maybe to the Late Bronze Age. An occupation of the site in that period has been traced on land and under water and has been proved by pottery fragments. A larger Thracian settlement and most probably a port appeared ca 5th century BC, which has been proved by locally made indigenous and imported pottery, amphoras, etc. century discovered during recent excavation and earlier underwater investigations⁵⁵. The Late Antique fortress wall was constructed approximately in the middle of the peninsula and is 68m. long and 1.8 to 2.5m. wide (fig. 10a). Part of it was excavated some years ago and a preliminary report has been published. Excavation continued also in 2013 at a larger scale and the new report with expected interesting results is forthcoming.

The fortress walls were built in *opus mixtum*: rows of fine worked rectangular stones of medium size and five rows of bricks fixed by red mortar alternate each- other. The wall survived at a height up to 4m. above the modern ground

51. Христов 2013а, 25-63, обр. 9-16.

52. Ibidem, 25-63.

53. Иванов 2013, 83-97, обр. 1-5.

54. Христов 2013б, 71-81.

55. Гюзелев 2009, 229-31.

level (fig. 10b). Two rectangular towers flanked the main gate and there is a ditch in front of the wall. At the rear side of the wall there is a wide staircase built of rectangular stones. It has been proved by coins, pottery and other finds, that the fortress was built definitely under Anastasius (492-518) and namely in the second half of his reign, i.e. in the early 6th century AD. The unfortified settlement on the site however, was established not later than early 5th century AD evidenced by both a large number of coins of Arcadius issued in 425-450 and local and imported pottery finds of the 5th century AD. There have been discovered remains of several edifices, most probably houses, inside the fortified area and close to the walls. About late 6th-early 7th century AD the fortress was devastated probably by Avars and Slavs. There have been established several partial reconstructions of the wall during the 6th century AD and some more later, in the Medieval period, namely between 9th-14th century⁵⁶. In favor of the later occupation and possible use of the fortification in that time evidenced numeral finds: fragments of medieval pottery- and glass vessels, amphoras of various size, small metal finds, coins, etc. The name of the site has been mentioned also in medieval maritime *portulan* charts and some written sources of the period⁵⁷. The fortification was abandoned most probably in late 14th-15th century, after the Ottoman occupation of Bulgaria but a small village still named Urdoziza continued to exist outside the fortified area during the following centuries⁵⁸.

The Late Antiquity: 4th -7th century AD, which can easily be called the beginning of the "Second Dark Ages" in the European history, was indeed a turbulent period of changes and transition in various directions. It led gradually the well organized Ancient world to the rather scattered and hardly uniform one of the Middle Ages, which in its earlier stage can hardly be described as a landmark of a more developed civilization. In the 4th and 5th centuries AD, certain political and military trends, which had their base in the decline of the imperial economy, weakened the ability of the army and state to defend the borders against the mutual barbarian invasions. It was especially determined for the limes along the Lower Danube. The military threats to Balkan provinces of the Empire came mainly from the North, where a number of barbaric tribes mainly of German origin have settled. Because of the almost mutual barbaric invasions and difficulties of providing military troops, weaponry and food supplies, as well as finances for repairing of the fortifications damaged by earlier attacks, sometimes the defence was transferred even upon the arms of the ordinary people on land. Most emperors of the Late Antique period had much reduced tax incomes from the land and commerce to maintain an army sufficient enough to oppose the barbarians. The military expenditures were a large drain upon the state fiscal system, which was heavily shattered already by the mutually decreasing population dealing with agriculture and stock- breeding, which was the main base of the ancient economy. This was maybe the reason for the new defensive strategy of the Empire, which started in the second half of the 4th century AD with Valens and continued with ups and downs during the next two centuries. It included erection of a large number of new fortresses inland and on the coastline, as well as recruits of *foederatae/federates* who little by little were (or had to be) allowed the Imperial rulers to settle in the almost depopulated regions south of Danube.

The Late Antique fortresses on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria in discussion provided important and rather interesting data about the defensive strategy applied

56. Даскалов, Панайотова 2008, 458-62.

57. Димитров 1981, 409-11 and bibl.

58. Димитров 1981, 408-11 and bibl.; See also Даскалов, Панайотова 2008, 461-2.

mostly in the period of late 4th -mid/late 6th century AD. They revealed to a big extent the gradual changes of the limes along the Western *Pontos* in 4th - 6th century AD. This process started probably under Constantine the Great or his immediate successors with the erection of the first surely dated in the first half of 4th century AD new fortress, that of Carias (No 1), which still has the traditional features of a Roman/ Late Roman *quadriburgium*. In other words it is an exception and marked the continuation of the military strategy of Rome. The second period of the building of new fortresses was in the second half of the 4th century AD under Valens and the only fortress surely erected by him was Aphrodision (No 7), reconstructed by Justin II in the second half of the 6th century AD. This time marked the new imperial policy for defending from the barbarians not only the Danubian limes but also the Western *Pontus* coast line, which started in the mid - late 4th century AD.

Most of the above described fortresses belong to the late 5th- 6th century AD and are evidence about the real change in the strategic thoughts of the Empire. After Valens, it was Anastasius the first emperor who accorded higher priority to repelling the challenges of the new political and economical situation in the Eastern part of the Empire, maybe precept by the lesson of the fall of the Late Roman state in the West. The new strategy of defense of Imperial borders concerned especially the Black Sea region and its coast, which until then apart from the old Greek cities (former *apoikia*) was almost not fortified. A number of new fortresses erected a *fundamentis* on the Danubian *limes* and inland were erected or re-fortified during the reign of Anastasius. Judging by the archaeological excavations and surveys on the surface, several new fortresses along the littoral have been more or less connected with his building program. Among them definitely Anastasian are the fortifications of: Yailata (No 2), Rusalka (No 4), Akra (No 9) and *Urdoviza* (No 10). Either with his program/time or with that of Justin I - Justinian may also be connected *Timum* (No 5) and Toprak kale (No 6). Definitely erected by Justin/ Justinian is *Timum* - West (No 6). All the other listed might be either Anastasian or Justinian in a broader sense, i.e. also when the later was in fact an acting ruler in the later reign of Justin I. According to Procopius, all listed in his book *De Aedificiis* fortifications have been either constructed or reconstructed by Justinian. Nevertheless, it has been admitted by most contemporary scholars who looked critically to his work, that in fact the building or repairs of a large part of the fortresses started by Anastasius and Justin I, but the works were completed by Justinian⁵⁹.

Through over two centuries of existence, most if not all fortifications on the Western Black Sea coast were reconstructed at different times after the damages made of the time and/or caused by barbarian invaders. A good part of these larger or smaller repairs of the fortresses along the Black Sea coast were undertaken by Justinian indeed and some of them started still in the reign of Justin I. The latest reconstruction[s], maybe completed in a smaller scale, have to be connected with Justin II, which has been proved for *Aphrodision* (No 7) and possibly for *Urdoviza* (No 10), too. The numismatic data collected in a recent publication revealed that a great change in the economy of *Moesia Secunda* and *Scythia* provinces happened in the late 70s of the 6th century AD, when the settlement network was heavily damaged or even destroyed by the continuous barbaric invasions in the following decades⁶⁰. Lastly,

I can summarize that in general, the 5th and 6th centuries AD were a time when the construction, design and care about the fortresses on the Western Black Sea coast continuously received great forethought and finances from the Empire.

59. Howard-Johnston 1989, 223-4 and bibl. See also Topárov 2002, 35-40 and Crow 2007, 397-410 and discussion there.

60. Mihailov 2012, 465-6. See also especially the lists of coin complexes to maps 2 and 3: 467-72.

This is also the transition period when settlements protected by such fortifications finally changed from “*urbs/polis*” to “*kastron*”, because as the unknown by name strategist of Justinian, called in modern time *Anonimus Byzantinus*, stated in his advisory military handbook *Pou dei ktizein polin*: “*Security, I think is more important than a nicer appearance*”...⁶¹. Maybe some of the construction ideas and techniques, as well as a part of the layouts applied to the Late Antique fortifications of Moesia Secunda, Scythia [Minor] and Thrace, spread or at least influenced the same policy conducted in other parts of the state in that period. That is why some of the similarities noted between fortifications in the Balkans and in Anatolia of 6th-7th century AD seem to be not accidental⁶². In this sense, the above described Black Sea fortifications more or less well dated (at least their final time of existence) may serve as comparative material to other ones constructed in the same period in the Eastern Empire.

61. Dennis 1985, 33 (*Strategy*, cap. 1).

62. Dunn 1998, 795-6.

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Ten less investigated late antique fortresses on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast (4th - early 7th century AD)

Minchev Alexander

Abstract:

In the given paper the author described and discussed ten Late Antique fortresses located on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast (fig. 1). Most of them have not been investigated archaeologically or mostly small scale excavations have been conducted on the sites by various Bulgarian scholars. For the first group, apart from surface surveys of late 20th century conducted by contemporary archaeologists, some descriptions, handmade sketches and layouts made in late 19th-early 20th century by the founders of Bulgarian archaeology H. and K. Škorpiľ have been used. They are part of their archives kept in the Bulgarian Academy of Science in Sofia and in later time have been also used by other scholars dealing with this topic.

The following fortresses have been listed:

1. *Careas*, near Shabla: early 4th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 2)
2. Yailata, near Kamen Bryag, Region of Dobrich: late 5th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 3)
3. Toprak kale near Kamen bryag, Region of Dobrich: late 5th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 4)
4. Rusalka, near the village of Sveti Nikola, Region of Dobrich: late 5th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 5)
5. *Timum*, near Bulgarevo, Region of Dobrich: late 5th/early 6th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 6 a), *Timum* - West, also near Bulgarevo: early/mid 6th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 6b)
7. *Aphrodision*, near Topola, Region of Dobrich: late 4th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 7)
8. Tuzlata, near Balchik: 4th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 8)
9. *Akra*, near Chernomorets, Region of Burgas: late 5th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 9)
10. *Urdoviza*, in Kiten, Region of Burgas: late 5th - late 6th/early 7th century AD (fig. 10).

The earliest fortification (No 1: *Careas*) was erected by Constantin the Great or his immediate successors and the next one under Valens (No 7: *Aphrodision*). Most of the others marked the defensive program of Emperor Anastasius launched in late 5th century AD and its continuation under Justin I/ Justinian. Some reconstructions made afterwards, the latest at the time of Justin II have been also traced. A continuation of occupation in 9th-12 century AD, and later as well as reconstructions up to late 14th century has been established only in the fortress of *Urdoviza*. All other fortified towns were devastated during the Avar- and Slavs invasions in late 6th - very early 7th century AD no later occupation of these sites has been traced. Because of their relatively good dating, the fortifications erected on the Bulgarian Black sea coast in Late Antiquity may serve as comparative material for other fortified towns in the Eastern part of the Empire.



Fig. 1: Map of the Bulgarian Black Sea coast with main ancient cities and the listed Late Antique fortifications (in green).

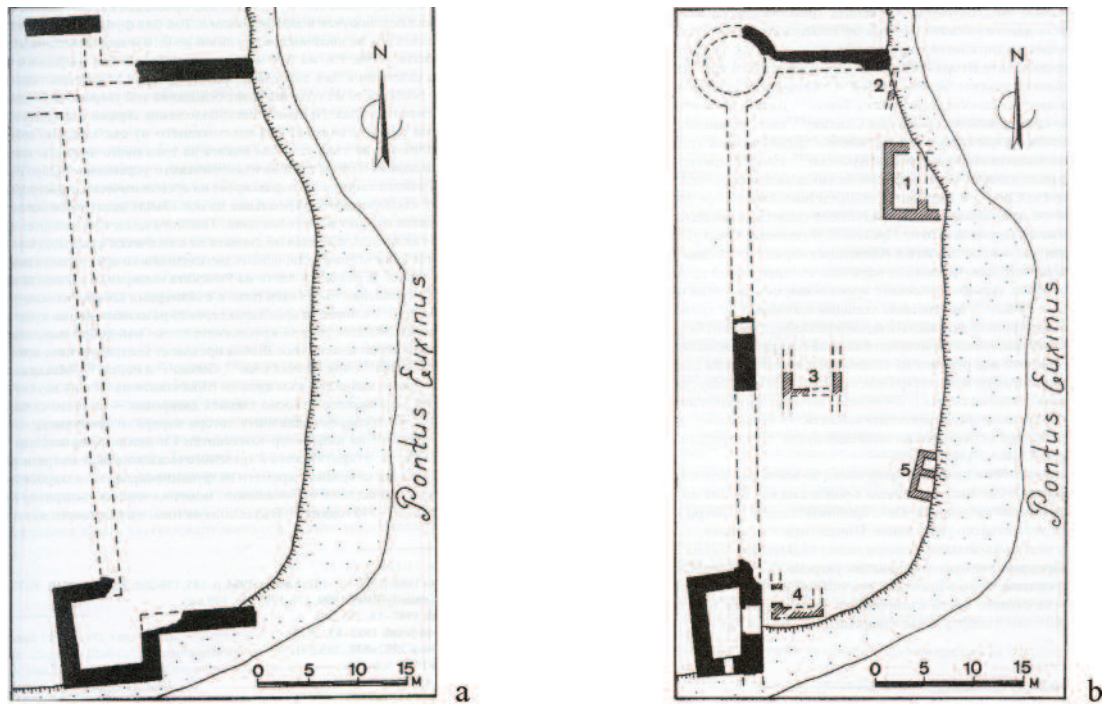


Fig. 2: The Late antique fortress Careas near Shabla:
 Fig. 2a. Layout of the Late Roman quadriburgium (after Топѡатов 2002, fig. 39);
 Fig. 2b. Layout of the Late Antique fortress (after Топѡатов 2002, fig. 40);
 Fig. 2c. View of the fortress from Northeast;
 Fig. 2d. Detail of the fortress' wall construction (photos of the author).

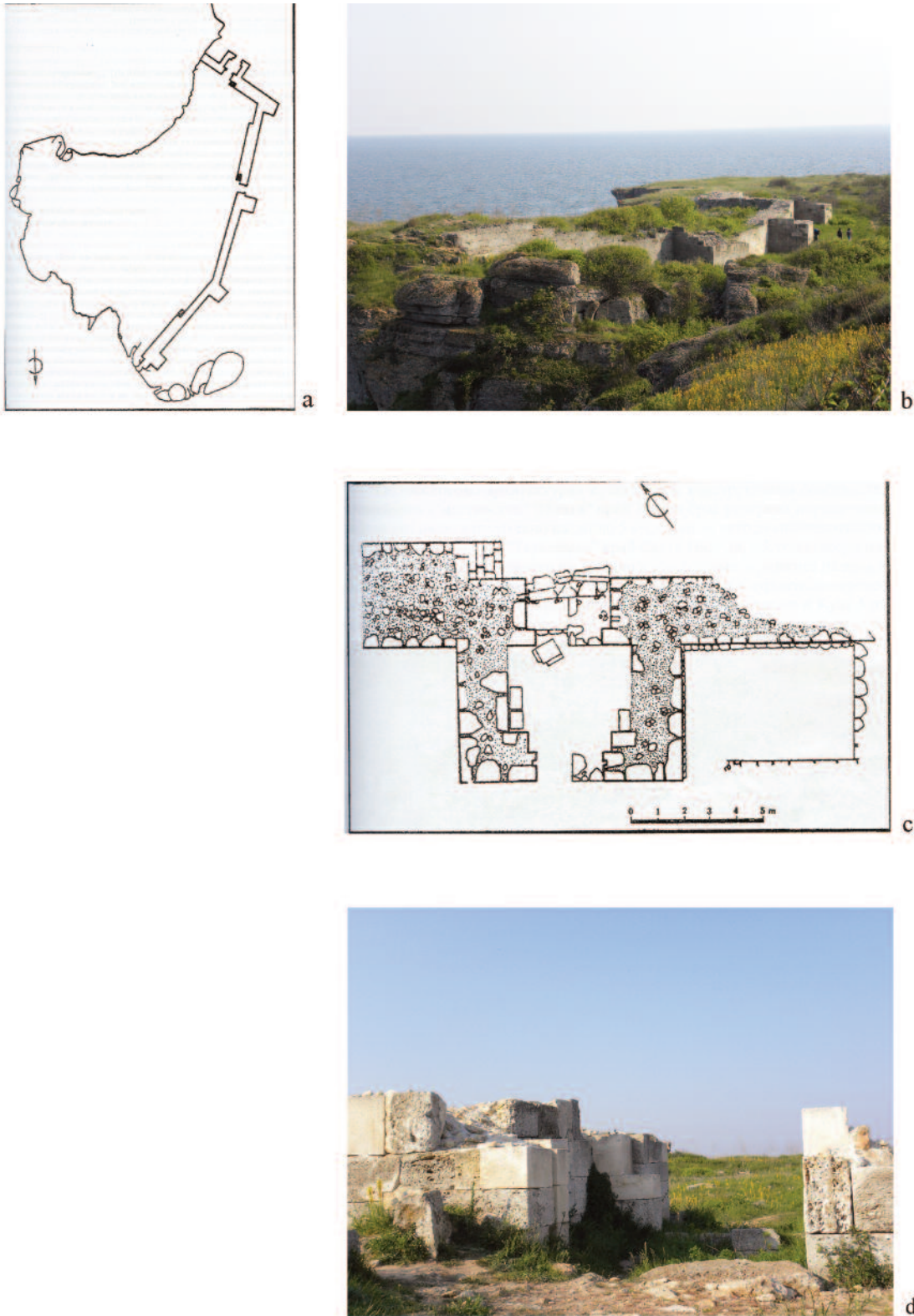


Fig. 3: The Late Antique fortress at Yailata near Kamen bryag:
 Fig. 3a. Layout of the fortress (after Salkin, Toptanov 1987, fig.2);
 Fig. 3b. General view of the fortress from North;
 Fig. 3c. Layout of the gate (after Salkin, Toptanov 1987, fig. 5);
 Fig. 3d. View of the gate (photos courtesy of P. Atanasov).

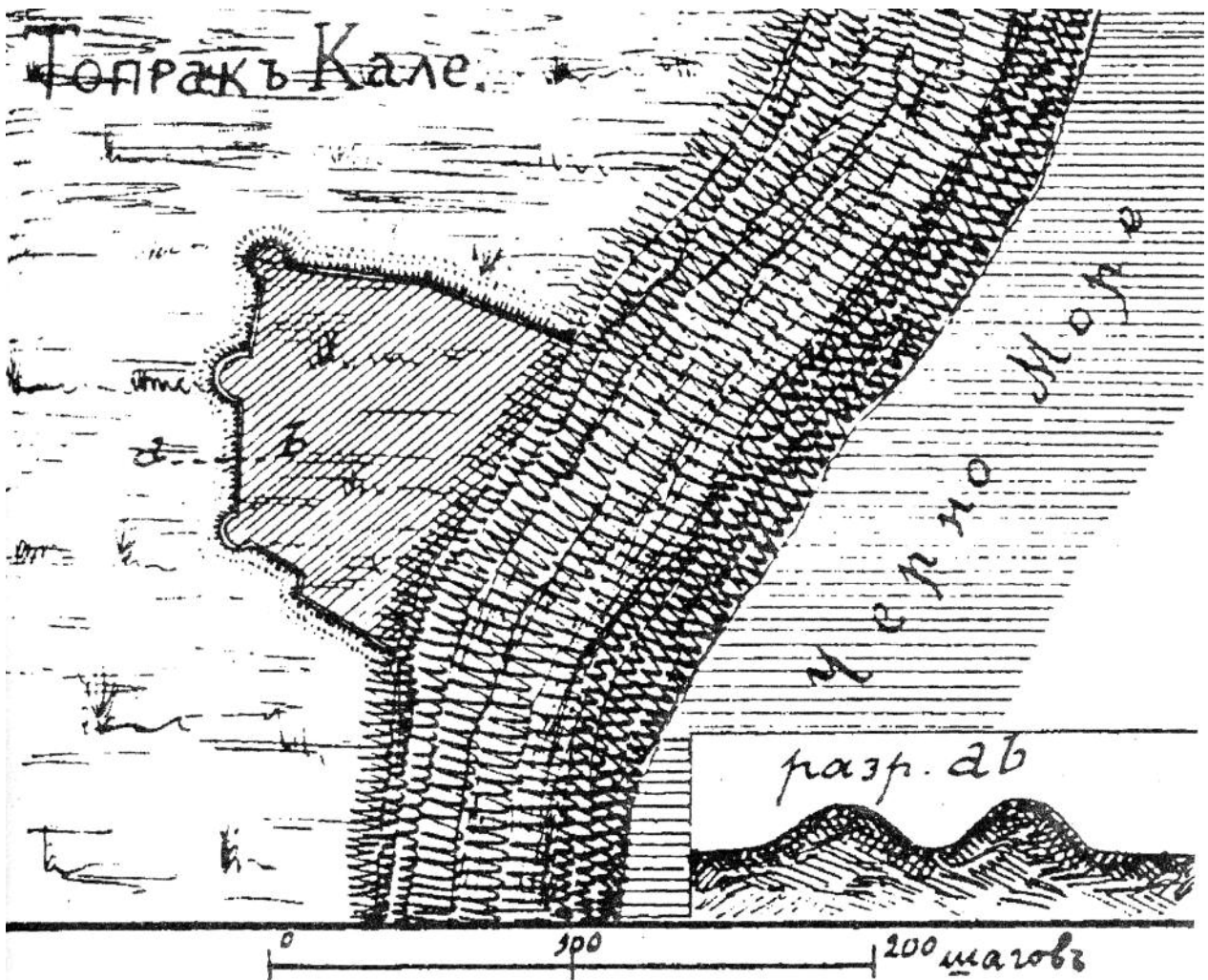


Fig. 4: The Late Antique fortress Toprak kale near Kamen bryag (after Шкорпил 1905, pl. CXV/1).

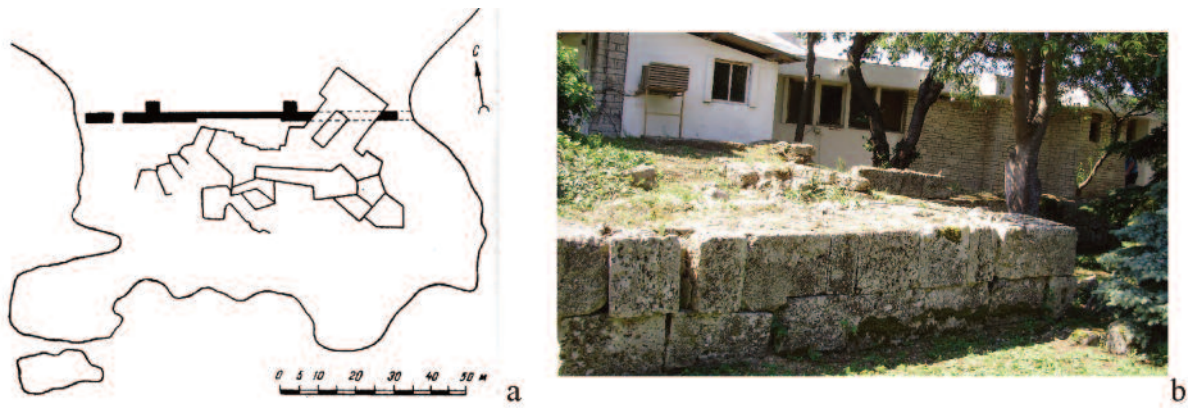


Fig. 5: The Late Antique fortress at Rusalka, near Sv. Nikola:
 Fig. 5a. Layout of the fortress (after Китов 1971, fig. 1);
 Fig. 5b. View of the fortress wall from west;
 Fig. 5c. View of the rear side of the fortress from Southeast;
 Fig. 5d. View of the staircase from Northeast (photos of the author).

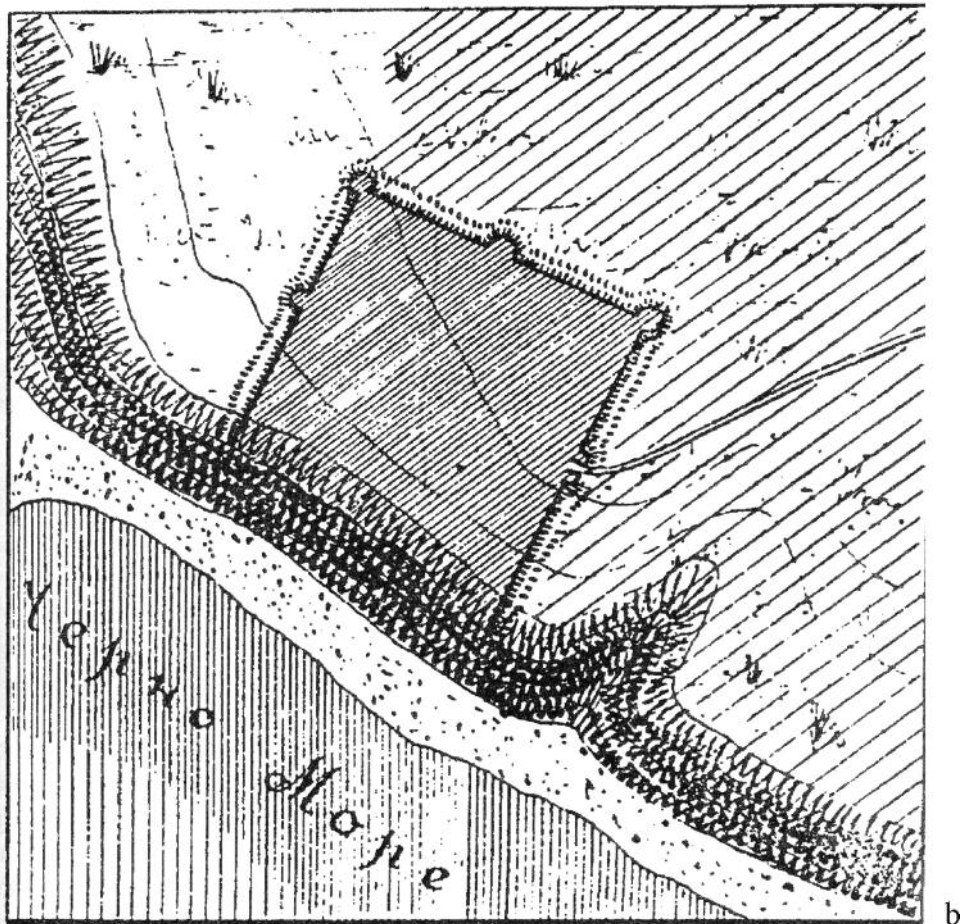
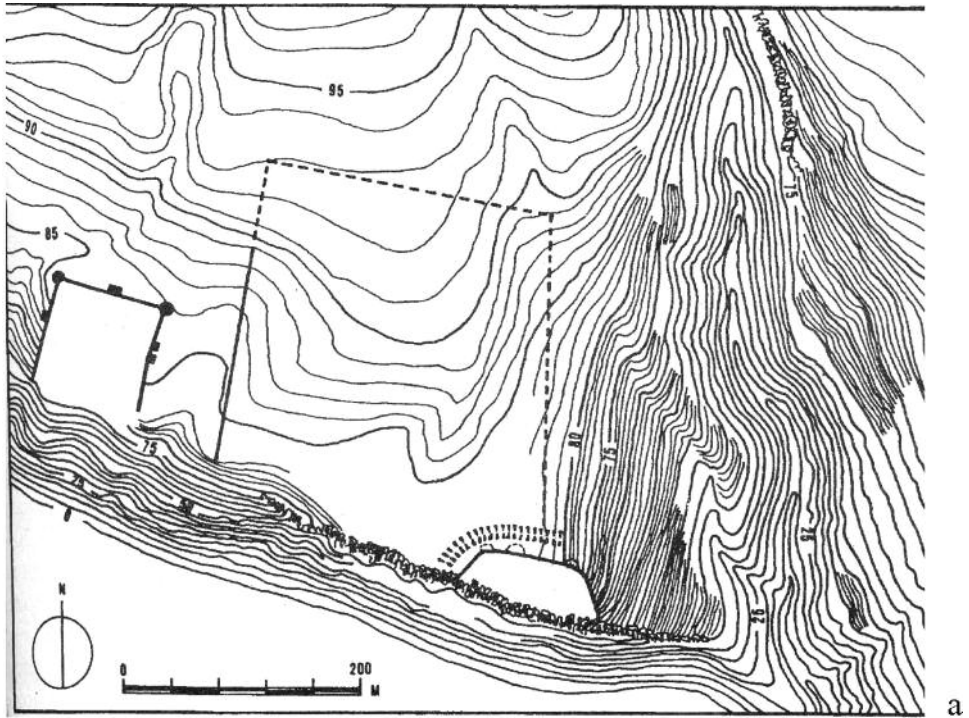
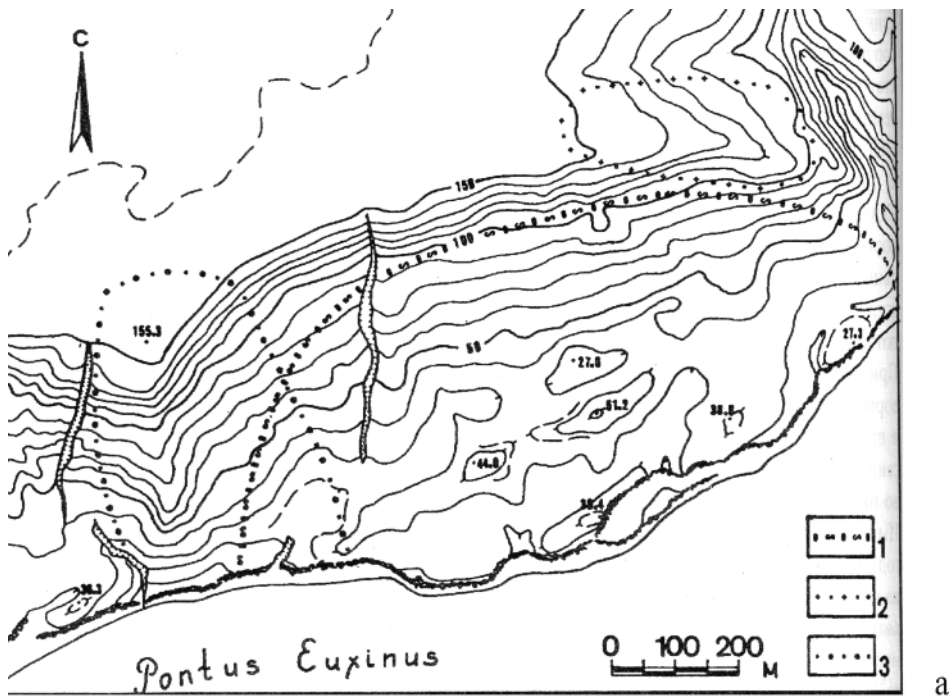
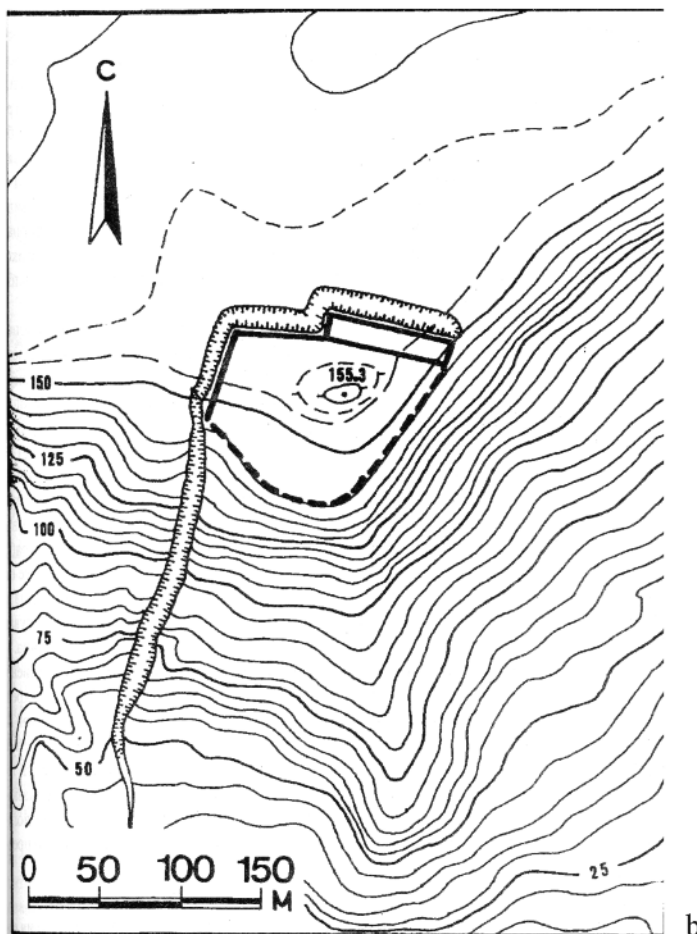


Fig. 6: The Late Antique fortifications Timum and Timum-West near Bulgarevo:
 Fig. 6a. General location and layouts and of the Late Antique fortifications Timum and Timum-West (after Шкорпил/ Торбатов 2002, fig. 53);
 Fig. 6b. Layout of Timum-West (after Шкорпил/ Торбатов 2002, fig. 55).



a



b

Fig. 7: The Late Antique fortress Aphrodision near Topola:

Fig. 7a. General locations of Ancient- and Late Antique Aphrodision (after Шкорпил/ Торбатов 2002, fig. 61);

Fig. 7b. Layout of the Late Antique Aphrodision (after Торбатов 2002, fig. 64).

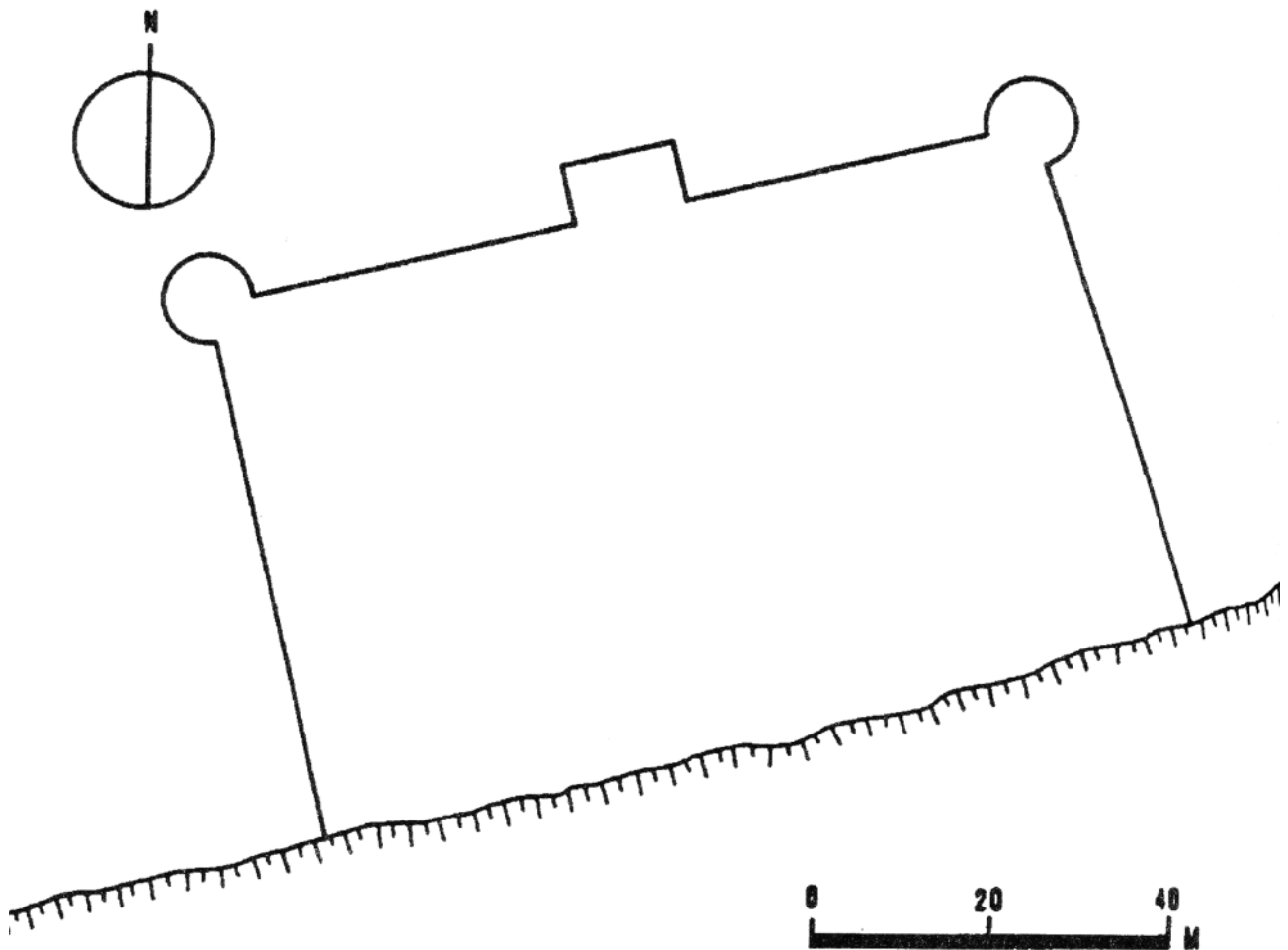


Fig. 8: The Late Antique fortress at Tuzlata near Balchik: reconstructed layout (after Шкорпил/Торбатов 2002, fig. 62).

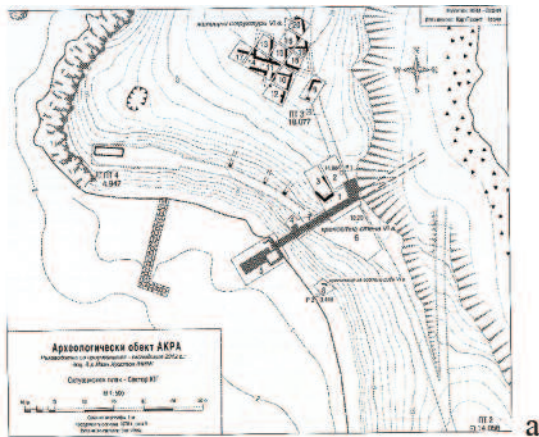


Fig. 9: The Late Antique fortress Akra near Chernomorets:

Fig. 9a: Layout of the fortress (after Христов 2012, pl. 2);

Fig. 9b. Bird eye view of the cape and excavated fortress (photo courtesy of I. Hristov);

Fig. 9c. View of the fortress from South after conservation and reconstruction;

Fig. 9d. View of the Eastern part of the fortress after conservation and reconstruction (photos of the author).



Fig. 10: The late Antique fortress Urdovyza in Kiten:
 Fig. 10a. Layout of the Late Antique fortress (after Панайотова and al. 2013, fig. 1).
 Fig. 10b. View of the front side of the fortress;
 Fig. 10c. The gate of the fortress;
 Fig. 10d. The rear side of the fortress with the staircase (photos of the author).

Littoral Fortifications in South-West Georgia

Mania Irina, Natsvlshvili Natia

In the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, a developed chain of fortifications was formed in West Georgia. During military conflicts and especially in the Byzantine-Persian wars, it played an important role, being the key to the domination of the region. Fortifications located in the environs of the present-day city of Batumi, were the southernmost links of that chain. They were under the close attention of the opposing sides because of their location on the routes connecting Anatolia with Lazica and further with Iberia and Armenia.

A strong defensive system created by the Romans from the first to the third century AD along the eastern shore of the Black Sea included three large fortresses - those of Pitiunt, Sebastopolis, and Apsaros (fig. 1). They were of particular importance, since they provided the control and protection of both terrestrial and maritime routes.

Apsaros (Medieval and Modern Gonio) was perhaps the most important Roman stronghold in the region. The exact date of its foundation is unknown¹. It was first mentioned by Pliny², but it may have existed - perhaps as a wooden fort - already in the first century BC. By 132 AD, when Arrian visited Apsaros, it was a large castrum in which five cohorts were stationed³, making it an exceptionally large garrison. *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows Apsaros with a schematic sketch of a fortress - an emphasis that was not given to other littoral fortifications of the region.

Archaeological investigation showed that the Apsaros fortress was deserted since the latter half of the fourth century. Local rulers did not use the fortress after its abandon by the Roman garrison⁴. Procopius described it as a derelict place⁵. Most probably the revival of Apsaros and restoration of its fortress started in the mid-sixth century. According to Agathias, briefly after 555, the murderers of the king of Lazica, Gubazes II, were imprisoned in the city of Apsarunt⁶. In the early Byzantine period the fortress was actively used, which is confirmed by archaeological discoveries⁷. Byzantine structures inside the wall circuit were built over the foundations of Roman buildings.

Apparently, Apsaros maintained its eminence throughout the early Middle Ages. It was suggested that the famous Khazar fortification at Sarkel on the left bank of the lower Don River was built in 830s following the plan of the Apsaros fortress⁸. The supposition is worth considering, taking into account that the Sarkel

1. Archaeological materials unearthed inside and around the fortress witness to the existence of a settlement in Apsaros-Gonio at least from the fourth century BC (Chkhaidze 1983, 87-93). See also Tsetskladze 1999, 87-98 and Kakhidze 2008, 314-24, for the archaeology of Apsaros; Plontke-Lüning 2003, for a concise history of Apsaros.
2. NH 6, 4.
3. *Periplus* 6. According to Arrian, the town was once called Absyrtus after the name of the brother of Medea, who was killed and buried in this place. Arrian supposed that Apsaros was a derivative of Absyrtus, distorted by neighbouring barbarians. This story is repeated by Procopius (*Wars* VIII, 2, 12-4).
4. Kakhidze (2008, 314) explained it by the fact that the ruling class of Lazica was not interested in communication by sea, but instead was preoccupied with strengthening the fortifications of the hinterland.
5. *Wars* VIII, 2, 14.
6. Agathias 3, 14.
7. Mamuladze, Khalvashi, Kakhidze 2009.
8. Attila 2012, 88.

fortress was built with Byzantine assistance and the supervisor of its construction, the engineer Petronas Kamateros, was possibly linked with the Theme of Paphlagonia, located on the southern shore of the Black Sea⁹.

Since the twelfth century Apsaros - already renamed Gonio - was within the united kingdom of Georgia. In 1547, Gonio was captured by the Ottomans and remained under their rule for more than three centuries.

Apsaros is one of the finest Roman fortifications of the eastern *limes* (fig. 2). It stands in the modern village of Gonio, on the left bank of the Chorokhi River, on the flatland near the coast. From the east the fort was protected by mountains, from the west by the sea and from the north by the river. On the relatively vulnerable south side its walls are thicker¹⁰.

In the Roman period, presumably the fortress was directly linked to a harbour in order to secure safe navigation. At present, it is approximately 200m. from the sea because of environmental change over the centuries. Even in the late Middle Ages, the sea was closer to the fortress than it is today. The seventeenth-century French traveller Jean Chardin described the Apsaros (Gonio) fortress as standing by the sea¹¹.

The fortress is distinguished by its large scale and for the quality of its masonry (fig. 3). It is of a slightly elongated regular plan, a rectangle 245m. × 195m., giving a perimeter of 880m. and covering an area of 4.78 ha. The fortress has an impressive wall-circuit of 5m. in height totally built of stone. Square, rectangular, and U-shape towers are built at intervals along the walls and at the corners of the circuit. Apparently, there were 22 towers before the Medieval reconstruction. Corner bastions are larger and higher, reaching 7m. in height. The majority of towers are two-storied. Chambers of both storeys had timber roofs.

Originally, the fortress had four gateways, one on each side, in the centre of the respective wall. The main entrance with arched gate is on the west, i. e. facing the sea. The other three doors served as posterns. In Ottoman times, they were walled up.

Inside the fortress, the rampart walk (*chemin de ronde*) runs right around the walls. Rebuilding conducted by Ottomans after they conquered the fortress, obliterated traces of the original breastwork. The present battlement, with its rectangular merlons and narrow crenels, is of the Ottoman period. Actually, the Ottomans should have repaired the rampart as well, but at least some of its parts remain from the Roman fortress. They are of the same height as the first storey of the towers, as normal in Roman military architecture¹².

Apsaros should have been a typical castrum, with *via principalis* and *via praetoria* running athwart each other and a central square at their intersection. Archaeological excavations revealed a praetorium, barracks, bathhouses, water cistern, system of sewerage and water supply, all from the Roman period. Apparently, the majority of structures inside the enclosure were built of timber on stone foundations¹³. This explains, why they fell into ruins soon after the fortress was abandoned. Procopius stated that in his days nothing but foundations remained of the buildings in Apsaros¹⁴.

9. *De Administrando Imperio*, 42.

10. Kakhidze 2008, 303-4.

11. Chardin 1686, 199.

12. Johnson 1983, 37.

13. Kakhidze 2008, 319.

14. *Wars*, VIII, 2. 14. Procopius also mentions a theatre and a hippodrome, that presumably were situated outside the wall circuit.

The date of the construction and reconstructions of the Apsaros Fortress is still debatable¹⁵. Apparently, there were two major building stages in Roman times. The first occurred in the first or second century AD, when the castrum was founded. The mortar of this period, along with lime and sand, contains pieces of tiles and amphoras. In the first half of the fourth century, the fortress was restored. Walls built in this period follow the plan of the earlier walls, but apparently they were thickened and thus fully refaced. Wall facing consists of large hewn blocks of greyish stone laid in more or less regular courses. In the extant fortress it is visible on all four walls of the circuit, both inside and outside.

The fortress was restored once again in the sixth century. It is difficult to distinguish early Byzantine walling within the Roman masonry, since the restorers extensively reused stones from the destroyed parts of the original fortress; this makes the general picture of the masonry extremely difficult to untangle. It seems that the Byzantines not only reused large blocks, but also dressed stones in the same manner themselves¹⁶. In some parts of the walls the masonry of much smaller and coarsely dressed stones occurs as well. Besides, builders of the Byzantine period applied brick for arches and vaults.

In all probability, the original fortress founded in the first or second century AD did not have towers. B. Issac¹⁷ and D. Braund¹⁸ are right, when stating that these towers would be unlikely to be present in the early years of the Roman occupation; the appearance of the fortress with its projecting towers is better suited to later times. The problem is that both the rectangular and U-shaped towers may equally well have been added in late Roman times, as in the early Byzantine. However, still one can assume that rectangular towers (including the best preserved north-western corner bastion) were built in the fourth century. Their masonry is largely bonded with that of the curtains and thus they should have been made at the same time. As regards the four U-shaped towers of the southern wall (including the south-western corner bastion) (fig. 4), most likely they appeared in the sixth century. As already stated, the fortress was the most vulnerable from the south and it seems that the southern wall underwent significant damage in the late Roman period. Apparently, the Byzantines restored it extensively, reusing the previous large blocks and changed the original rectangular form of the four projecting towers into U-shaped, a wide spread feature in early Byzantine fortifications¹⁹. The south-western corner tower was actually constructed anew - it is built on a foundation of roughly cut small stones, above which is a facing of large stone blocks. The long and narrow entrance to the tower is covered with a barrel vault built of thin square brick (33.0cm × 33.0cm × 3.5cm)²⁰.

The Ottoman mark on the Apsaros fortress has already been mentioned. Soon after the capture of the fortress in 1547, they rebuilt decayed parts of its wall circuit and added merlons. A notable feature of this masonry is the mixture of roughly cut small stones with reused blocks of various sizes and shapes. The Ottomans also built several new buildings inside the wall circuit, among which are a mosque, a bath and an inner fortification in the south-western part of the fortress.

15. The first attempt to identify various building periods on the basis of an analysis of the architecture was made by Lekvinadze (1961, 230-42). See also Japaridze (2006, 59, 182-91).

16. The building technique with large blocks of limestone was applied, along with *opus mixtum*, in a number of early Byzantine fortresses in the hinterland of Lazica (West Georgia), such as Archaeopolis (Nokalakevi), Sarapanis (Shorapani), Skanda, and Kutaisi. Discussing this technique Japaridze (2006, 58) refers to the Syro-Palestinian building tradition as a possible source of impact.

17. Isaac 1990, 45, n. 175.

18. Braund 1994, 182.

19. Lawrence 1983, fig. 2, 5, 8; see also fig. 12 and 13 for polygonal towers, which are in their form close to U-shape ones.

20. Brick of an almost similar size occurs in the sixth-century *opus mixtum* walling in Sarapanis (Japaridze 2006, 54).

The Byzantines restored the Apsaros fortress in the mid-sixth century; however, the period of the Byzantine building activity in West Georgia started earlier as a result of the Byzantine-Persian wars. The first half of the sixth century was a turbulent period for the region. For the first time since Pompey, great foreign armies fought in Lazica²¹. The Byzantines realized that through Lasica Persians could reach the southern Black Sea regions. In order to protect the eastern frontiers, they reinforced and enlarged the already existing fortifications and built new ones in Lazica, both along the coast and inland.

Among the fortifications built or reconstructed by Justinian in Lazica, Procopius mentions Losorion²² (fig. 5). It was identified with the Medieval fortress of Batumi, located at the northern entrance of the city and known as *Tamaris Tsikhe*, i.e. Queen Tamar's Castle²³. Unlike the standard Medieval Georgian fortress, the rectangular plan of the Tamaris Tsikhe does not follow the shape of the hill, which might be caused by the fact that it was built over a castellum. Indeed, archaeological excavations revealed the remains of an old citadel dating back to the early Byzantine period²⁴.

Procopius, who is usually accurate in his descriptions, stresses that Justinian constructed the Losorion fortress. This should mean that there was no earlier fortification on the site. To all appearance, it was a castellum, much smaller than Apsaros or Petra (see below). However, it must be taken into account that the site underwent significant destruction in the Middle Ages and then again in modern times.

The actual ruins of the fortress, built of coarsely hewn blocks, occupy an area of around 20m. × 20m. There is a small two-storied tower in its north-eastern corner. In the south-eastern (fig. 6) and south-western corners the wall forms rectangular projections, that are entirely open to the rear. This feature is typical of early Byzantine fortifications. In West Georgia, similar projections can be seen in the Sebastopolis fortress²⁵.

Another creation of Justinian, the fortress of Petra (fig. 7), was much more well known due to its exceptional role in the sixth-century history of the region. According to Procopius, "*there is a coast city named Petra in Colchis, on the sea which is called the Euxine, which in former times had been a place of no importance, but which the Emperor Justinian had rendered strong and otherwise conspicuous by means of the circuit wall and other buildings which he erected.*" Petra became one of the main battlefields during the Lazic War. Procopius refers to it a number of times when reporting the dramatic events of the war. He describes Petra as a hard-to-reach stronghold, protected by the sea, rocky hills, and impregnable walls.

Apparently, Petra was a small Roman fort, before it became a Justinian's stronghold. The Byzantines reconstructed it in the 530s and themselves destroyed it in 551, being afraid the Persians would seize it²⁶. Judging from the Procopius' information and archaeological evidence, the work done by the Byzantines must have included the expansion and reinforcement of the old citadel and the construction of an outer wall circuit. They also built a number of structures in the fortress.

21. Braund 1994, 268.

22. Procopius, *Buildings* 3, 7, 7.

23. Lekvinadze 1974, 170-2; Braund 1994, 295.

24. See Tsetskhladze 1999, 81-5, for the archaeology of Tamaris Tsikhe; Suleimanov 1957, for the history of Petra.

25. Lekvinadze 1974, 173, fig. 6.

26. Procopius, *Buildings* 3, 7, 7. That was a usual practice in Medieval military conflicts. The same was done in 551 in Rhodopolis (Vardtsikhe), a "*very large and ancient fort*" (Justinian, *Novella* 28) located in Inner Lazica. As soon as the Lazis felt the threat of losing the fortress to the Persians, they razed it to the ground (Procopius, *Wars* 8, 13, 21-2).

The remains of the Petra fortress are located on two coastal hills near the modern village of Tsikhisdziri²⁷. The citadel is situated on the northern hill, which is larger than the southern one, on which a tower stands. The citadel and the tower were connected by a long double-wall - presumably, a *proteichisma* (outwork). The idea of the wall consolidated with vaulted pylons was inspired by the wall of Constantinople built in the reign of Theodosius II (408-450)²⁸. The *proteichisma* was intended to block the approach of mantlets or battering rams. It also provided a refuge for people, who fled from the countryside²⁹. It was a common feature of the sixth-century fortresses in some countries, e.g. in Bulgaria³⁰. In West Georgia, the same feature is seen in the fortresses of Tsebelda, Archaeopolis (Nokalakevi), Kutaisi and Sarapanis (Shorapani)³¹.

The citadel occupies a large territory on the northern hill reaching approximately 200m. in length and 100m. in width. Extant remains contain northern, eastern and southern walls, as well as some ruins in the western part of the inner fortress³². The main entrance to the citadel revealed by archaeological excavations was made in the wall connecting the northern and southern hills and was flanked by two small rectangular towers. The curtains had two gates and were reinforced by four towers, which differ from each other in their shape and design. To the north of the eastern gate (fig. 8) there is a projecting rectangular tower. A round tower protruding from the south-eastern corner is of 8.2m. in height and 3.5m. in diameter at ground level tapering to the top. It has a double wall (the outer wall is of 1.41m. thickness and the inner wall of 1.35m.) for added strength. A double-wall can be seen in the Sarapanis (Shorapani) fortress as well - another sixth-century Byzantine fortification in Lazica. The other two towers project from the south-western corner and the western wall. There was also a smaller door - presumably postern - opened through the flank of the south-western tower.

Apart from the fortification walls and towers, the citadel was equipped with a bath-house composed of five different functional sections arranged in enfilade, a cistern and a water supply system, that guaranteed water delivery during a long siege. There was also a church, a three-nave basilica with a narthex, projecting apse and mosaic floor³³. All these structures should have been built in the age of Justinian (fig. 9).

Some other parts of Petra fortress can also be dated from the sixth century. In the first place, these are walls where the courses of stone blocks alternate with brickwork, comprised of two to seven courses of square brick; however, the most part of the walls is fully built of roughly cut stones. In the angles better dressed blocks also can be seen. The same building technique was used in the fortifications of Sarapanis, Skanda, Rhodopolis and Archaeopolis, all occupied by the Byzantines in the fifth and sixth centuries and presumably renovated in the Justinian's Age³⁴.

In the 1540s, the Petra fortress was captured and repaired by the Ottomans. They rebuilt not only the ruined upper parts of the curtains and towers, but also fully restored whole sections of the walls. The Ottomans kept a small garrison in the fortress.

27. Until the 1880s, the fortress was much better preserved covering a vast territory along the coast and on the rocky hills. The first damage to it was done in 1883, when the construction of the Batumi-Samtredia railway line began. A significant part of the hill was blown up and the walls of the fortress were demolished. From 1889 to 1895, stone quarrying at Tsikhisdziri resulted in serious damage to the fortress.

28. Japaridze 2006, 55.

29. Lawrence 1983, 190. Syrianus Magister, the author of the sixth-century Byzantine military manual, recommended to enhance the security of a fortification by means of outwork (*De re strategica*, X, 2, 5-9).

30. Lawrence 1983, 190.

31. Japaridze 2006, 56.

32. Inaishvili 1974, 122-3.

33. See the article by D. Khoshtaria in this volume for the architecture of the Petra church.

34. Japaridze 2006, 52-7.

The architecture of the fortresses of the south-western Georgian littoral reflected different stages in the development of late Roman and early Byzantine fortification architecture. The Romans usually used a standard plan, the simple rectangular outline of which was suited to flatland. Apsaros is a typical example of this kind of fortress. However, Losorion, built on the top of the hill, is also based on the regular geometry of the castellum plan, ignoring uneven landscape. Builders of early Byzantine strongholds owed much to the Roman concept of fortification, but were more flexible in their planning. The Petra fortress with its irregular contour hugging the hills illustrates a planning approach, that implies the compliance with a rugged terrain.

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Littoral fortifications in South-West Georgia

Mania Irina, Natsvlishvili Natia

Abstract:

In the late Roman and early Byzantine periods a developed chain of fortifications was formed in West Georgia. During military conflicts and especially in the Byzantine-Persian wars, it played an important role being the key to the domination of the region. Fortifications located in the environs of the present-day city of Batumi - Apsaros, Losorion, and Petra, were the southernmost links of that chain. They were under the close attention of the opposing sides, because of their location on the routes connecting Anatolia with Lazica and further with Iberia and Armenia.

The architecture of the fortresses of the south-western Georgian littoral reflected different stages in the development of late Roman and early Byzantine fortification architecture. The Romans usually used a standard plan, the simple rectangular outline of which was suited to flatland. Apsaros is a typical example of this kind of fortress, however Losorion built on the top of the hill is also based on the regular geometry of the castellum plan, ignoring uneven landscape. Builders of early Byzantine strongholds owed much to the Roman concept of fortification, but were more flexible in their planning. The Petra fortress with its irregular contour hugging the hills illustrates a planning approach, that implies the compliance with a rugged terrain.

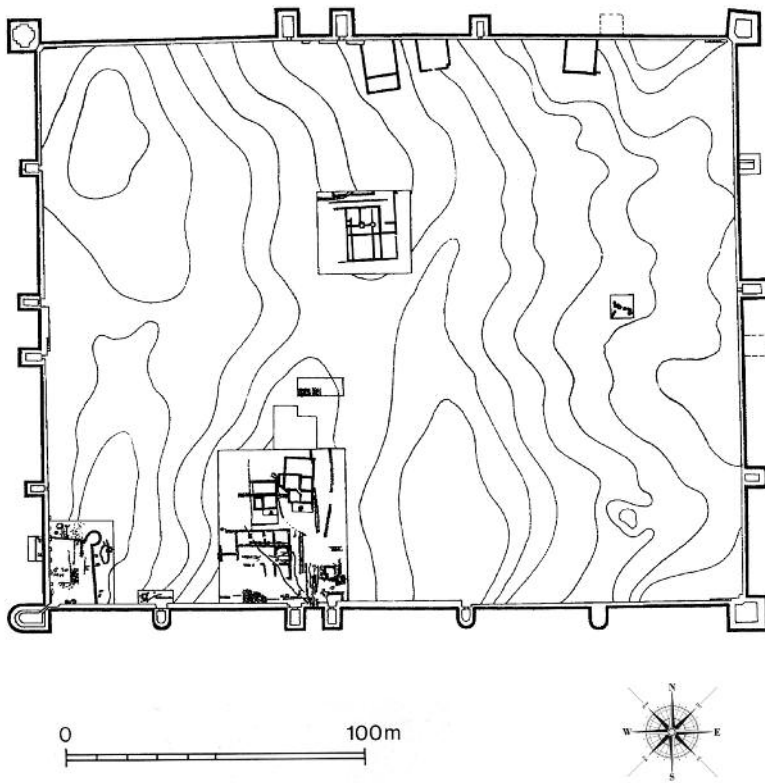


Fig. 1: Apsaros, fortress. Plan.

Fig. 2: Apsaros, general view of fortress looking northeast.





Fig. 3: Apsaros, masonry of western wall.

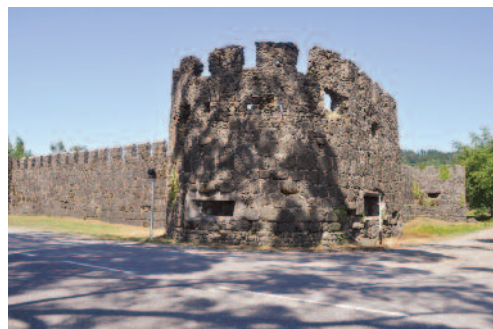


Fig. 4: Apsaros, southwestern corner tower.

Fig. 5: Losorion, fortress. Plan.

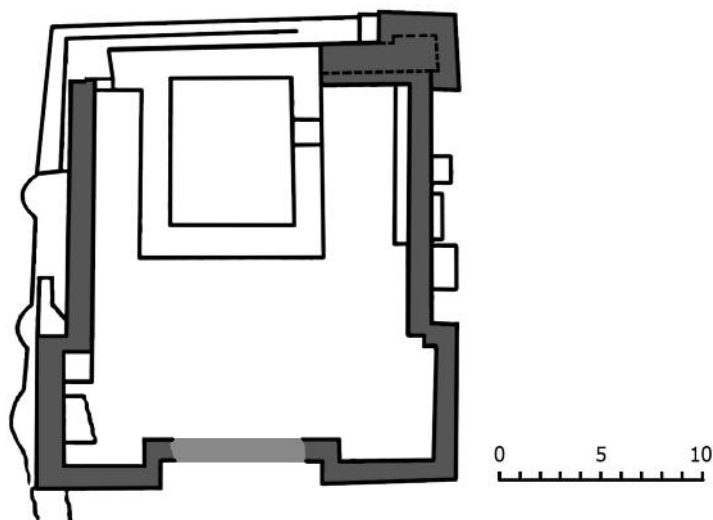


Fig. 6: Losorion, southeastern corner of fortress.



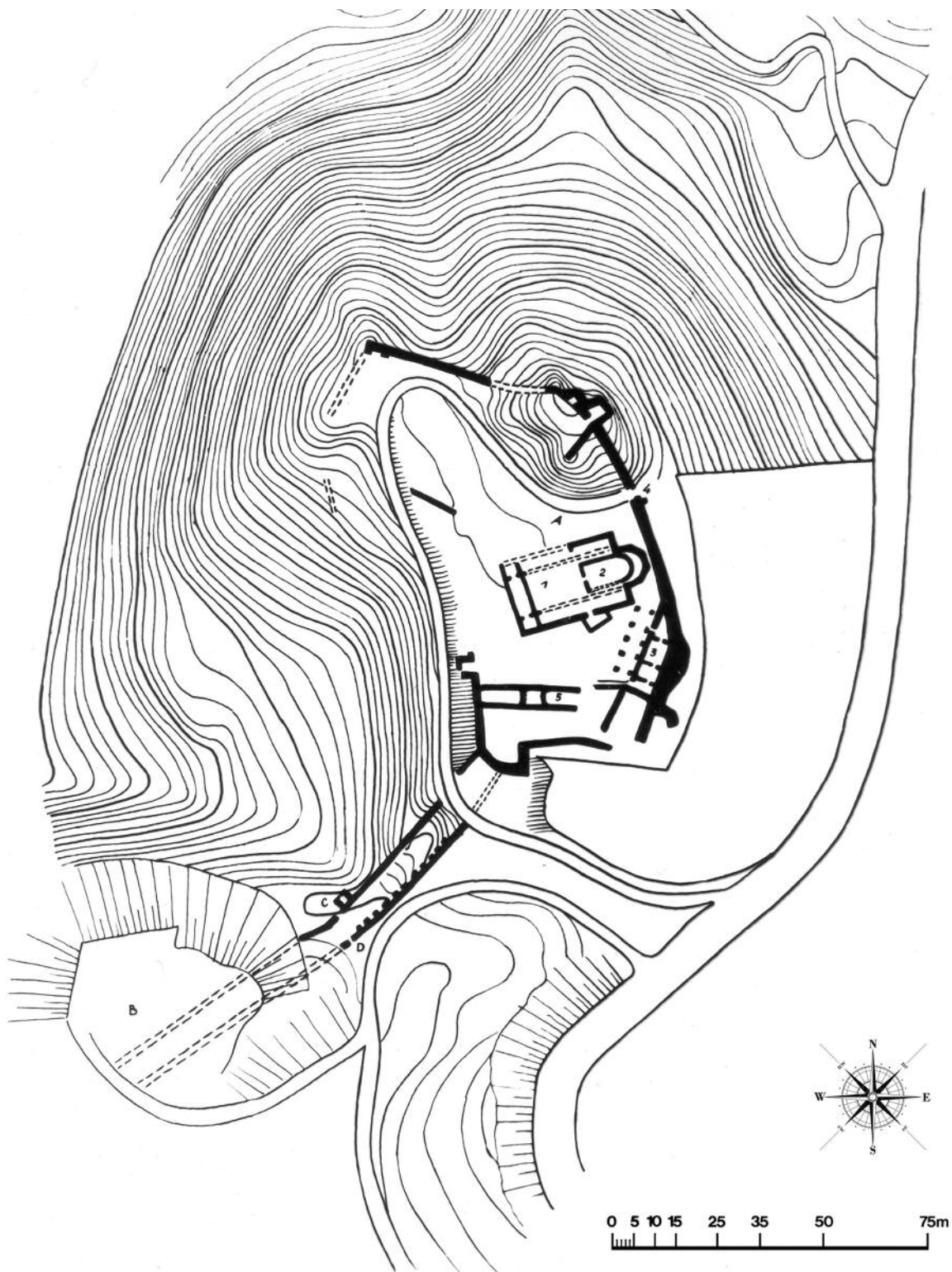


Fig. 7: Petra, fortress. Plan.

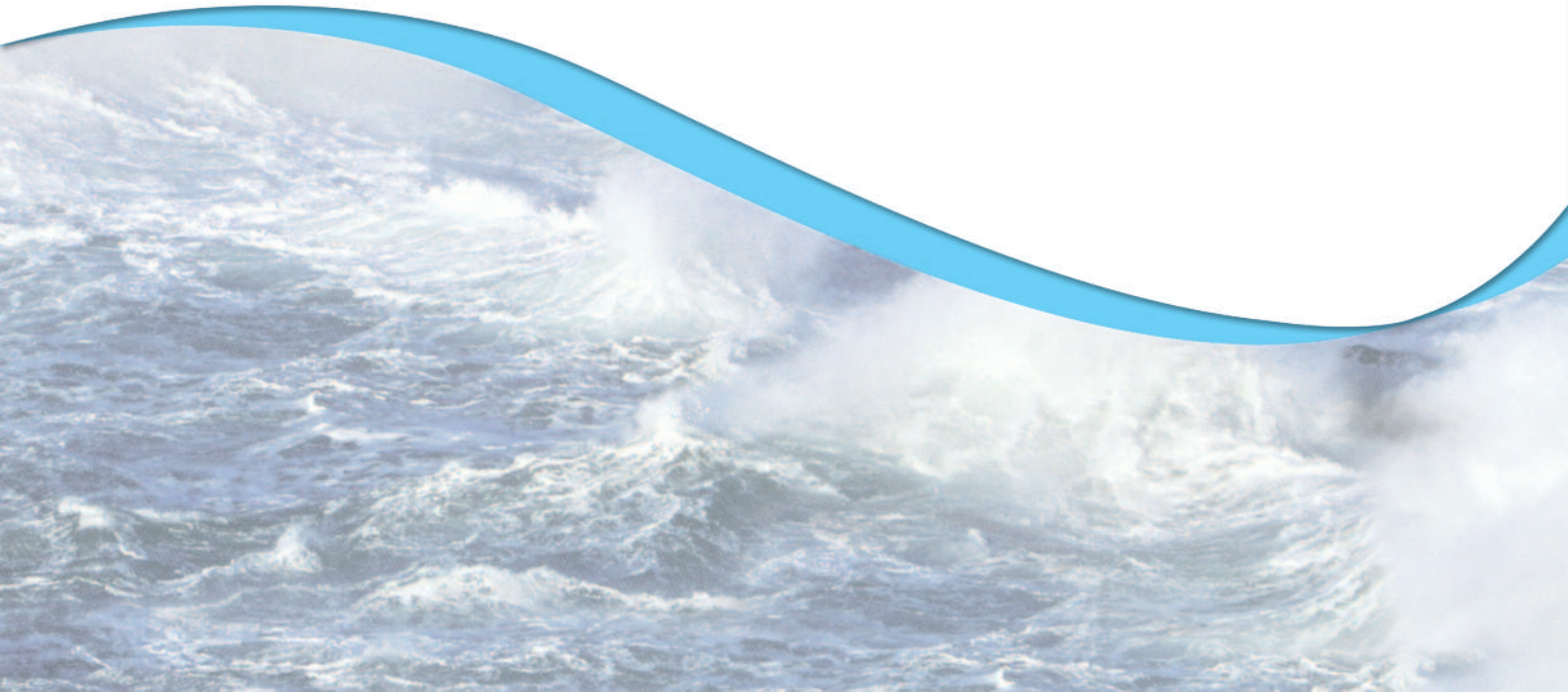


Fig. 8: Petra, eastern gate of fortress.

Fig. 9: Petra, general view of fortress looking south.



SESSION V:
COASTAL AREAS



Λιμάνια καὶ σκάλες στὴν Χαλκιδικὴ κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Χρόνους

Παπάγγελος Ἰωακείμ Α΄.

Ἡ ἰδιάζουσα γεωμορφολογία τῆς ἀκτογραμμῆς τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἡ ἐγγύτητά της πρὸς τὴν Εὐβοία συνετέλεσαν οὐσιαστικῶς στὴν ἵδρυση πλήθους παραθαλασσίων πόλεων, κυρίως σὲ θέσεις ὅπου ὑπῆρχαν ἤδη προελληνικὲς οἰκιστικὲς ἐγκαταστάσεις. Ἡ προτίμηση τῶν παραθαλασσίων θέσεων προφανῶς σημαίνει καὶ ναυτιλιακὲς δραστηριότητες τῶν κατοίκων, ἤδη ἀπὸ τὰ προϊστορικὰ χρόνια. Ἡ παλαιότερη ὅμως σχετικὴ ἱστορικὴ ἀναφορὰ προέρχεται ἀπὸ τὸν Ἡρόδοτο, ὁ ὁποῖος μᾶς πληροφορεῖ ὅτι ὁ Ξέρξης παρέλαβε πλοῖα καὶ στρατὸ ἀπὸ τὶς παράλιες πόλεις τῆς Χερσονήσου.

Λέγοντας «λιμάνι» ἐννοοῦμε μία περιοχὴ παραθαλάσσια (ἢ παραλίμνια, ἢ παραποτάμια) ἢ ὁποῖα ἐπιτρέπει παραμονὴ πλοίων γιὰ προστασία ἀπὸ καιρικὲς συνθήκες, γιὰ φορτοεκφορτώσεις ἐμπορευμάτων, γιὰ ἐπιβιβάσεις καὶ ἀποβιβάσεις ἀνθρώπων, γιὰ τροφοδοσία καὶ ἐφοδιασμὸ καὶ γιὰ ἐπισκευές.

Τὰ λιμάνια χωρίζονται σὲ δύο κατηγορίες· στὰ φυσικὰ καὶ στὰ τεχνητὰ. Τὰ τεχνητὰ συνήθως ἀξιοποιοῦν τὴν φυσικὴ διαμόρφωση τῆς ἀκτῆς, σὲ θέσεις ὅπου παρέχεται μερικὴ προστασία ἀπὸ κάποιους ἀνέμους καὶ ὅπου τὸ βάθος τῆς θαλάσσης εἶναι κατάλληλο γιὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πλοίων ποὺ προσεγγίζουν. Ἄν καὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀκτογραμμῆς τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ὑπολογίζεται σὲ περισσότερο ἀπὸ 600 χιλιόμετρα (ἀπὸ τὸ Μεγάλο Ἔμβολο μέχρι τὸν Σταυρό), τὰ φυσικὰ λιμάνια ποὺ παρέχουν προστασία ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς καιροὺς εἶναι πολὺ λίγα.

Τὰ παλαιότερα λιμενικὰ ἔργα ποὺ ἐντοπίζονται στὴν Χαλκιδικὴ πρέπει νὰ ἀνάγονται στὸν 5ον αἰ. π.Χ. Ἡ προσέγγισή τους καὶ ἡ κατανόησή τους διευκολύνεται ἂν λάβουμε ὑπόψη τὴν ἀνύψωση τῆς στάθμης τῆς θαλάσσης κατὰ τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς χρόνους, δηλαδὴ περὶ τὰ 2,5 μέτρα ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Ἡροδότου. Παραθέτω ἕναν πρῶτο κατάλογο τῶν ἀρχαίων λιμενικῶν ἔργων ποὺ ἐντοπίσθηκαν στὴν Χαλκιδικὴ, ἀρχίζοντας ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰ τοῦ Θερμαϊκοῦ κόλπου.

- Ὁ λιμενοβραχίων τῆς παλαιοχριστιανικῆς(;) Δικαίας, στὴν Νέα Καλλικράτεια (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 3).
- Τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Κασσανδρείας, στὴν πλευρὰ τοῦ Θερμαϊκοῦ, προφανῶς διεύρυνση τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Ποτιδαίας (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 8). Σ' αὐτὸ κατέληγε ἡ διώρυγα τῆς Κασσανδρείας, τὴν ὁποῖαν ὁ Στράβων ἀναφέρει ὡς «διορωρυγμένην».
- Τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Σκιώνης (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 15).
- Τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Ἀφύτου, στὴν θέση Πούντα (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 24).
- Τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Μηκύβερνας μὲ τὸν μεγαλειώδη λιμενοβραχίονα.
- Ἡ «ἀποβάθρα» τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Τορώνης, στὴν βόρεια πλευρὰ τῆς Ληκύθου (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 43).
- Ἡ «ἀποβάθρα» τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Σίγγου, στὴν βόρεια ἀκτὴ τῆς πόλεως, στὴν περιοχὴ «Πύργος» ἢ «Μυτάρι» Ἀγίου Νικολάου (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 55).
- Τὸ πιθανολογούμενο δυτικὸ λιμάνι τῆς Οὐρανιδῶν Πόλεως, ὑπὸ τὸ ἔλος τοῦ Ὀζολίμνου, στὰ Ξηροποταμινὰ τῆς Ἱερισσοῦ (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 58).
- Τὸ ἀνατολικὸ λιμάνι τῆς Οὐρανιδῶν Πόλεως, στὰ Νέα Ρόδα, στὴν βό-

ρεια ἔξοδο τῆς διώρυγος τοῦ Ξέρξου.

- Τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ὑπὸ τὸ νέο λιμάνι τῆς Ἰερισσοῦ (σχ. 1, ἀρ. 98).
- Ἐνδείξεις γιὰ λιμενικὴ χρῆση τοῦ ὄρμου νοτιοανατολικῶς τῶν Σταγείρων, (θέση «Λιοτόπι») πρὸς τὸν ὁποῖον ὁδηγοῦσε εὐρεία ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τὸ κέντρο τῆς πόλεως.

Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαιολογικὴ προσέγγιση τῶν προαναφερθέντων λιμανιῶν τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἔχουμε καὶ τρεῖς ἱστορικὲς ἀναφορὲς σὲ λιμάνια τῆς:

- Γιὰ τὸν Κωφὸ λιμένα παρὰ τὴν Τορώνη, ἀπὸ τὸν Θουκυδίδη.
- Γιὰ τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Κασσανδρείας, ὅπου κατασκευάσθηκαν 100 πλοῖα ἀπὸ τὸν Δημήτριον τὸν Πολιορκητὴ, τὸ 307 π.Χ. καὶ ὁργανώθηκε ἀποθήκη ναυπηγησίμου ξυλείας.
- Τὴν δυσσερμηνευτὴ ἀναφορὰ τοῦ Στράβωνος, «Κάπρος νῆσος καὶ λιμὴν», ὑπὸ τὴν ὁποία πρέπει νὰ ὑποκρύπτεται τὸ λιμάνι τῶν Σταγείρων.

Ἀπὸ τοὺς Μέσους Χρόνους (5ος-15ος αἰ.) οἱ πληροφορίες μας γιὰ ναυτικὴ δραστηριότητα στὴν Χαλκιδικὴ εἶναι ἐλάχιστες. Ὁ ὅρος «λιμὴν» ἀναφέρεται σὲ ἐλάχιστες περιπτώσεις. Οἱ χρησιμοποιούμενοι ὄροι γιὰ τὴν θέση προσέγγισης καὶ πρόσδεσης τοῦ πλοίου, συνηθέστατα εἶναι ὁ λατινογενὴς ὄρος «Σκάλα» καὶ σπανίως «Παρασκάλιον». Γιὰ τὸ παραθαλάσσιο οἶκημα πρῶτης ὑποδοχῆς ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑλικῶν, δηλαδὴ τὸν σήμερα λεγόμενον στὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος «Ἀρσανᾶ», χρησιμοποιοῦνταν ὁ ὄρος «Ἀποθήκη» («Μαγαζί» κατὰ τὸν 19ον-20ον αἰ.).

Γιὰ τὴν καθιέρωση μιᾶς Σκάλας δὲν ἦταν ἀπαραίτητη ἡ ὑπαρξη τεχνικῶν ἔργων· ἀρκοῦσε νὰ ἦταν ἡ ἀκτὴ κατάλληλη γιὰ προσέγγιση καὶ νὰ παρεῖχε περιστασιακὴ προστασία ἀπὸ κάποιους καιροὺς. Γιὰ τὴν διευκόλυνση τῆς λειτουργίας τῆς Σκάλας κατασκευαζόταν μία ξύλινη ἀποβάθρα, στὴν ὁποία προσέγγιζε τὸ πλοῖο γιὰ τὶς φορτοεκφορτώσεις. Δὲν ἔχουμε πληροφορίες γιὰ τὴν μορφή τῆς ξυλοκατασκευῆς. Ὑποθέτω ὅμως ὅτι δὲν θὰ διέφερε ἀπὸ τὶς ξύλινες πασσαλόπηκτες Σκάλες ποὺ ἐξακολουθοῦν νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦνται, τῶν ὁποίων τὸ χαρακτηριστικὸ γνῶρισμα εἶναι τὰ ἀραιὰ ξύλα τοῦ δαπέδου, προκειμένου νὰ ἐλαχιστοποιεῖται ἡ ἀντίσταση στὴν ὄρμη τῶν κυμάτων. Ἡ πράξη τῆς προσεγγίσεως ὀνομαζόταν «σκάλωμα (τό)», λέξη ἡ ὁποία ἔφθασε νὰ σημαίνει καὶ τὴν Σκάλα.

Παραθέτω ἕναν πρῶτο κατάλογο τῶν ἀναφερομένων καὶ τῶν τεκμαιρομένων «σκαλωμάτων» τῶν Μέσων Χρόνων στὴν Χαλκιδική, ἀρχίζοντας ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰ τοῦ Θερμαϊκοῦ κόλπου καὶ θεωρώντας ὅτι σὲ κάθε παραθαλάσσιον οἰκισμό λειτουργοῦσε καὶ μία (τουλάχιστον) Σκάλα. Στὸ δημοσιευόμενον χαρτογραφικὸ σκαρίφημα τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς χερσονήσου (σχ. 1) σημειώνεται ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῆς κάθε ἀναφερομένης Σκάλας, στὴν κατὰ προσέγγιση θέση τῆς.

1. Σκάλα πρέπει νὰ ὑπῆρχε στὴν ἀκτὴ τῆς μεγάλης ἀλυκῆς παρὰ τὸ Μεγάλο Ἐμβολο. Λειτουργοῦσε τουλάχιστον κατὰ τὸ 1415.
2. Στὴν παραλία τῆς Νέας Ἡρακλείας, ἡ ὁποία πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀξιόλογο παλαιοχριστιανικὸ οἰκισμό.
3. Στὴν θέση τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Δικαίας (σῆμ. Ν. Καλλικράτεια), ἡ ὁποία πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸν παρακείμενον ἀξιόλογο παλαιοχριστιανικὸ οἰκισμό («τοῦ παλαιοπύργου») καί, τουλάχιστον ἀπὸ τὸ 1089 καὶ ἐξῆς, τὸ μεγάλο μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς Ξενοφώντος, τὸ λεγόμενον «τοῦ Στομίου».
4. Σκάλα, πιθανῶς καὶ λιμενοβραχίονας, στὴν παραλία τῆς Βρύας, (σῆμ. Βεριᾶ, ἡ) ἡ ὁποία πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὴν παρακείμενη ἀξιόλογη κλασσικὴ, ὑστερορωμαϊκὴ καὶ παλαιοχριστιανικὴ πόλη καὶ τὸ μεσο-

- βυζαντινὸ κάστρο τῶν Βρυῶν, μέχρι τὴν καταστροφή του περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 12ου αἰ.
5. Στὴν παραλία τῆς Νέας Τρίγλιας, ἡ ὁποία πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὰ ἀξιόλογα χωριά τῆς ἐνδοχώρας, τὰ Βρωμόσυρτα τὴν Καρκάρα καὶ τοῦ Ρωσαίου, καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα ἀγιορειτικὰ μετόχια τῶν Μονῶν, Ἐσφιγμένου, Διονυσίου καὶ Σίμωνος Πέτρας. Στὴν περιοχὴ σώζεται τὸ μοναδικὸ πλήρες παράδειγμα παραθαλάσσιας μετοχιακῆς ἐγκαταστάσεως· εἶναι ἡ λεγόμενη «Μαγαζάρα» τοῦ μετοχίου «Σουφλάρ» (σήμερα Νέα Τρίγλια) τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου. Κτίσθηκε περὶ τὸ 1905, ὅταν ἀγοράσθηκε ἀπὸ τὴν Μονὴ τὸ πρῶην τσιφλίκι, καὶ πλουτίσθηκε μὲ τὰ ἀπαραίτητα κτηριακὰ συγκροτήματα γιὰ τὴν λειτουργία τοῦ νέου μετοχίου. Ἐνδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ἡ ἀπὸ 21 Νοεμβρίου 1911 ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Διευθυντοῦ τοῦ μεταλλείου τοῦ Βάβδου, πρὸς τὴν Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου, μὲ τὴν ὁποία ζητεῖ ἄδεια χρήσεως τῆς Σκάλας καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ὁποία ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς τὴν Σκάλα εἶναι δημόσια. Ἐπισημαίνω ὅτι ὁ Βάβδος βρίσκεται στὴν ἐνδοχώρα τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς καὶ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ τὴν Σκάλα περὶ τὶς τέσσερις ὥρες ὁδοιπορίας.
 6. Σκάλα κάπου στὴν παραλία τῶν Νέων Φλογητῶν, ὅπου πρέπει νὰ ἀναζητηθῆ ὁ Βολβός, τοῦ ὁποίου τὴν ὀχύρωση ἀνανέωσε ὁ Ἰουστινιανός. Ἐκεῖ ἔκαναν μικρὴ στάση τὰ πλοῖα τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Τριπολίτου καὶ ἔγινε ἐξαγορὰ Θεσσαλονικέων αἰχμαλώτων, τὸ 904. Ἡ ἴδια σκάλα πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε ἀργότερα καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα ἀγιορειτικὰ μετόχια τῶν Μονῶν, Ἰβήρων, Ζωγράφου, Ξηροποτάμου, Ἀγίου Παντελεήμονος καὶ Κασταμονίτου.
 7. Σκάλα, πιθανῶς καὶ λιμενοβραχίονας, στὴν παραλία τῶν Νέων Μουδανιῶν, ὅπου βρισκόταν μέχρι τὸ 1924 τὸ λεγόμενο «Γκαργκὶ Λιμάνι» ἢ «Στὰ Λιοντάρια». Ἡ μεγάλη διάβρωση τῆς ἀκτογραμμῆς ἀπὸ τὰ κύματα καὶ ἡ πρόσφατη κατασκευὴ τοῦ μεγάλου λιμανιοῦ δυσχεραίνουν τὴν μελέτη τῆς ἀρχαίας τοπογραφίας τοῦ τόπου. Ἡ θέση τοῦ ἀρχαίου πολίσματος ποὺ βρισκόταν στὴν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσα νοητὴ προέκταση τοῦ λόφου τοῦ Προφήτου Ἡλία, ἔχει διαβρωθῆ σχεδὸν ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου ἀπὸ τὴν θάλασσα. Δὲν μπορούμε πλέον νὰ κατανοήσουμε οὔτε τὴν ἀκτογραμμὴ τοῦ 1887, ὅταν ὁ ταγματάρχης Νικόλαος Σχινᾶς ἔγραφε ὅτι «ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποβάθρας ταύτης τῆς οὐδὲν ἐχούσης, δύο ἄρχονται ὁδοί (πρὸς Ἅγιον Μάμα καὶ πρὸς Πορταριά)». Τὸ τοπωνύμιον «τὰ Λεοντάρια», ἀναφέρεται γιὰ πρώτη φορὰ σὲ ἔγγραφο τοῦ 1047 καὶ ἀφοροῦσε ἓνα μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς Ἰβήρων, εὐρισκόμενο στὴν περιοχὴ ὅπου σήμερα ἡ κωμόπολις τῶν Νέων Μουδανιῶν. Σὲ ἔγγραφο τοῦ 1079 τὸ ἴδιον μετόχι ἀναφέρεται ὡς «προάστειον τὸ Λεοντάριον μετὰ τοῦ λιμένος αὐτοῦ». Τὸ 1348 «ἡ σκάλα τῶν Λεονταρίων καὶ τὸ παρασκάλιον τῆς Μικρᾶς Θαλάττης» συμπεριλαμβάνονταν στὰ κτήματα τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου. Μὲ τὸν ὄρο «Μικρὴ Θάλασσα» προσδιορίζεται ὁ Τορωναῖος Κόλπος, σὲ ἀντιδιαστολὴ πρὸς τὴν «Μεγάλῃ Θάλασσᾳ» μεταγενεστέρου ἔγγραφου, ἡ ὁποία ἀναφέρεται στὸν ἔξω Θερμαϊκόν.
 8. Σκάλα, πιθανῶς καὶ λιμενίσκος, πρέπει νὰ ὑπῆρχε σὲ τμῆμα τοῦ ἀρχαίου λιμανιοῦ τῆς Κασσανδρείας, στὴν πρὸς τὸν Θερμαϊκὸν ἔξοδο τῆς διώρυγος, ὅπως αὐτὴ ἐπαναχαράχθηκε κατὰ τὴν ἐπανίδρυση τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰουστινιανόν, συγχρόνως μὲ τὴν ἀνοικοδόμησιν τοῦ διατειχίσματος.
 9. Παρὰ τὴν ἀνοικοδόμησιν καὶ ὁ λιμενίσκος στὴν πρὸς τὸν Τορωναῖον ἔξοδο, ὅπου τὸ ἔργο ἦταν σύνθετο. Γιὰ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς διώρυγος ἀπὸ τὴν ἄμμο τῆς ἀκτῆς, τὴν ὁποία μετακινοῦν

συνεχώς τὰ κύμματα τῆς νοτιᾶς, τὸ διατείχισμα ἐξετράπη τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολικά κατευθύνσεώς του καὶ στράφηκε, σὲ σχῆμα Λ, πρὸς βορειοδυτικά. Ἔτσι ἐπιβραδύνθηκε ὁ ρυθμὸς προσχώσεως τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς διώρυγος καὶ δημιουργήθηκε καὶ ἓνα λιμάνι ἀσφαλὲς ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς ἀνέμους (σχ. 3). Γιὰ τὴν ἀσφάλεια τοῦ λιμανιοῦ κατασκευάσθηκαν δύο πύργοι στὸ διατείχισμα: ἓνας στὴν κορυφὴ τοῦ Λ καὶ ἓνας στὴν δυτικὴ ἄκρη του (σχ. 3, ἀρ. 1 καὶ 2). Δὲν γνωρίζουμε γιὰ πόσον καιρὸ λειτούργησαν ἢ διώρυγα καὶ τὰ λιμάνια. Θὰ πρέπει ὅμως νὰ θεωρηθῆ βέβαιον ὅτι οἱ δύο σκάλες θὰ λειτουργοῦσαν τουλάχιστον μέχρι τὸ 996, ἔτος τελευταίας ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ «πολιχνίου» τῆς Κασσανδρείας. Λίγα χρόνια ἀργότερα ἡ Κασσάνδρεια προφανῶς καταστράφηκε ἀπὸ βουλγαρικὴ καταδρομὴ καὶ ἔκτοτε δὲν ἐμφανίζεται παρὰ κατὰ τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 15ου αἰῶνος μὲ τὸ ὄνομα χωριὸ «τῶν Πορτῶν». Τὸ 1407 ἐπαναδιωρύχθηκε ἡ διώρυγα, πιθανῶς ὡς ὄχυρωματικὴ τάφρος, ἐπισκευάσθηκε τὸ διατείχισμα καί, προφανῶς, ἐπαναλειτούργησαν οἱ Σκάλες, ἂν εἶχε σταματήσει ἡ λειτουργία τους. Τὸ 1424 οἱ Βενετοὶ παρέλαβαν τὴν χερσόνησο τῆς Κασσάνδρας μαζὺ μὲ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ μέχρι τὸ 1430, ὅταν κυριάρχησαν οἱ Τούρκοι, συνέχισαν νὰ ἐνισχύουν τὶς ὄχυρώσεις τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ καί, προφανῶς, νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦν τουλάχιστον τὶς Σκάλες.

10. Σκάλα πρέπει νὰ ὑπῆρχε στὸ Γεράνι τῆς Κασσάνδρας, ὅπου λειτουργοῦσε ἡ μεγάλη ἀλυκὴ, ἀπὸ τὴν ὕστερη ἀρχαιότητα (τουλάχιστον) μέχρι καὶ τὸν 15ον αἰῶνα. Στὴν παραθαλάσσια λωρίδα γῆς ποὺ χώριζε τὴν ἀλυκὴ ἀπὸ τὴν θάλασσα, ἀναπτύχθηκε ἓνας μεγάλος ὕστερορωμαϊκός - παλαιοχριστιανικὸς οἰκισμὸς, ὁ ὁποῖος θὰ μπορούσε νὰ ταυτισθῆ μὲ τὸ «Μυριάνδριον», τὸ ἀναφερόμενο ἀπαξ σὲ ἀγιορειτικὸ ἔγγραφο τοῦ 1421. Κατὰ τὸν 15ον αἰῶνα ἡ Σκάλα, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀλυκὴ πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε καὶ τὸ γειτονικὸ μετόχι «Μαρίσκιν» τῆς ἀγιορειτικῆς Μονῆς Διονυσίου.
11. Μικρὸς λιμενοβραχίονας ὑπῆρχε στὴν Σάνη, ἀμέσως νοτίως τοῦ πύργου τῶν Μονῶν Ἐσφιγμένου - Σταυρονικήτα. Στὴν χερσόνησο τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου, ὅπου καὶ ὁ προαναφερθεὶς πύργος, βρισκόταν ὁ παλαιὸς τομέας τῆς πόλεως Σάνης, τῆς ὁποίας τὸ λιμάνι πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὴν ἴδια θέση περίπου. Ἀπὸ τὸν μόλις διακρινόμενο λιμενοβραχίονα προέρχεται τὸ μαρμάρينو ἀνάγλυφο ὑπέρθυρο, τὸ ἐνσωματωθὲν τὸ 1859 στὸν ἐνοριακὸ ναὸ τῆς Βάλτας (σῆμ. Κασσανδρείας), ἔργο τοῦ 6ου αἰ. μ.Χ., τὸ ὁποῖο φαίνεται νὰ προέρχεται ἀπὸ τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸ ναὸ τῆς Κασσανδρείας. Θὰ πρέπει λοιπὸν νὰ θεωρηθῆ ὡς πιθανὸν ὅτι ὁ λιμενοβραχίονας κατασκευάσθηκε κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1307-1309, ἀπὸ τὴν Καταλανικὴ Ἑταιρεία, ἢ κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1407-1429.
12. Στὸν ὄρμο τῆς Μεγάλης Κύψας, ὅπου ἀνασκάφηκε μεγάλη ἀγροικία τοῦ 4ου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος, σὲ θέση προγενέστερης ἐγκατάστασης. Στὴν ἀγροικία ἦσαν ἐνταγμένοι καὶ εἴκοσι, τουλάχιστον, μεγάλοι κεραμικοὶ κλίβανοι, μὲ πολὺχρονη διάρκεια λειτουργίας, ἢ παραγωγὴ τῶν ὁποίων, προφανῶς ἀποσκοποῦσε στὸ ἐμπόριο. Ἐχοντας ὑπ' ὄψη ὅτι στὴν ἀκτογραμμὴ, δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ τῆς Μεγάλης Κύψας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρὸς νότον Μικρὴ Κύψα, ἐντοπίζεται πλῆθος κεραμικῶν κλιβάνων τῆς ὕστερης ἀρχαιότητος, θὰ πρέπει νὰ θεωρηθῆ ὡς πολὺ πιθανόν, ἡ Σκάλα τῆς Μεγάλης Κύψας νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦνταν καὶ ὡς θέση φορτώσεως τῆς κεραμικῆς παραγωγῆς. Ἡ ἀγροικία ἐπεβίωσε μέχρι καὶ τὸν 8ον αἰ. Τὸ 1089 ἡ περιοχὴ ἐγίνε μετόχι τῆς ἀγιορειτικῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ξενοφώντος, γνωστὸ μὲ τὸ ὄνομα Σιβρῆ, στὴν ἰδιοκτησίᾳ τῆς ὁποίας παρέμεινε μέχρι τὴν δεκαετία τοῦ 1920. Προφανῶς ἡ

Σκάλα παρέμεινε ἐν χρήσει, τουλάχιστον γιὰ τὶς ἀνάγκες τοῦ μετοχίου τῆς Μονῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς δυσμὰς ὁμόρου τότε μετοχίου τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου. Ὁ ὄρμος τῆς Κύψας ἀναφέρεται στοὺς πορτολάνους ὡς ἀσφαλὲς ἀγκυροβόλιο (σχ. 2, Quipsa) καὶ στάση ὑδροδοτήσεως.

13. Κατὰ τὴν ὕστερη ἀρχαιότητα καὶ μέχρι τὸν 6ον αἰ. ὑπῆρχε ἕνας ἐκτεταμμένος παραθαλάσσιος οἰκισμὸς στὴν παραλία τῆς Φούρκας. Στὸ νότιο ἄκρο τῆς παραλίας, ὅπου καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερο ἀγκυροβόλιο, ἐντοπίσθηκαν πολλοὶ κεραμικοὶ κλίβανοι. Ὁ κάμπος τῆς Φούρκας εἶναι ὁ μεγαλύτερος καὶ ὁ πλέον εὐφορος τῆς Κασσάνδρας. Ἀπὸ τὸ πρῶτο μισὸ τοῦ 10ου αἰῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἐκεῖ μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, τὸ ὁποῖο λίγο ἀργότερα μεταβιβάσθηκε στὴν ἀγιορειτικὴ Μεγίστη Λαύρα καὶ ἀργότερα στὴν Μονὴ Ἰβήρων. Πρέπει νὰ ὑπῆρχε λοιπὸν μία Σκάλα ποῦ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸν ἀρχαῖο οἰκισμὸ καί, πιθανῶς ἢ ἴδια θέση, ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὰ μεσοβυζαντινὰ μετόχια καὶ τοὺς οἰκισμοὺς τῆς περιοχῆς. Στὴν μέση τῆς παραλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ χώρου τῆς Φούρκας λειτουργοῦσε, μέχρι τὴν δεκαετία τοῦ 1970, ὁ σταθμὸς συγκεντρώσεως τῆς ρητίνης καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκεῖ Σκάλα γίνονταν ἡ φόρτωσή της στὰ μεταφορικὰ πλοῖα.
14. Παρακάμποντας τὸ ἀμμῶδες καὶ ὀξὺ ἀκρωτήριο Ποσειδί, ὅπου ἀνασκάφηκε ἀπὸ τὴν μακαρίτισσα Ἰουλία Βοκοτοπούλου τὸ ἱερὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, φθάνουμε στὸν ὄρμο «Μόλα Καλύβα» - «Μπουλαμάτσια», ὅπου παρέχεται προστασία ἀπὸ ὄλους τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸν νοτιά. Κάπου ἐκεῖ πρέπει νὰ ἦταν τὸ λιμάνι(;) τῆς Μένδης καὶ ὁ ὄρμος πρέπει νὰ ἦταν ἕνα διαχρονικὸ ἀγκυροβόλιο.
15. Τὸ τεχνιτὸ λιμάνι τῆς ἀρχαίας Σκιώνης πρέπει νὰ παρείχε ἀκόμη προστασία κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοχριστιανικοὺς χρόνους, ὅταν στὴν γειτονικὴ θέση τῆς Παναγίας Φανερωμένης ὑπῆρχε μία ἀξιόλογη ἐγκατάσταση.
16. Ἡ ἐπομένη Σκάλα πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὸν Ἅγιο Νικόλαο, παρὰ τὰ λουτρά τῆς Ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς, ὅπου καὶ παλαιοχριστιανικὴ ἐγκατάσταση.
17. Στὸν Ἅγιο Γεώργιο ὑπῆρχε ἐγκατάσταση ἀπὸ τὸν 5ον αἰ. π.Χ. μέχρι καὶ (τουλάχιστον) τὸν 4ον αἰ. μ.Χ., μὲ τὴν αὐτονόητη Σκάλα.
18. Παρακάμποντας τὸ ἀκρωτήριο Κάνιστρο (τὸ Κανάστραιον τῶν ἀρχαίων) συναντοῦμε τὸν ὁμώνυμο ὄρμο (εἰκ. 1), ἀσφαλῆ ἀπὸ ὄλους τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκτὸς τοῦ βοριᾶ. Μέσα στὸν ὄρμο βρίσκεται καὶ ἡ χερσονησίδα τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου μὲ τὸν ὁμώνυμο ναῖσκο κτισμένον στὴν θέση παλαιοχριστιανικῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ τὸν οἰκισμὸ καὶ τοὺς κεραμικοὺς κλιβάνους στὴν γειτονικὴ ἀκτὴ. Ὁ ὄρμος ἦταν γνωστὸ καταφύγιο γιὰ τὴν ναυσιπλοΐα τοῦ βορείου Αἰγαίου καὶ συλλειτουργοῦσε μὲ τὸν ἀπέναντι εὐρισκόμενον ἀσφαλέστατο Κωφὸ λιμένα τῆς Σιθωνίας. Στὸν ὄρμο βρίσκονται τὰ ναυάγια πλοίων τὰ ὁποῖα, προφανῶς, τὰ ἔπασε ὁ βοριᾶς. Μεταξὺ αὐτῶν λέγεται ὅτι εἶναι καὶ ἕνα κατάφορτο μὲ μαγαρικά τοῦ 12ου αἰ.
19. Τὸ φυσικὸ λιμανάκι Χρούσω ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸν παρακείμενο παλαιοχριστιανικὸν οἰκισμὸ, ἀλλὰ ἦταν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς καταφύγιο γιὰ τὰ πλεούμενα τοῦ πλούσιου οἰκισμοῦ τῆς ὕστερης ἀρχαιότητος τῆς γειτονικῆς Ξενίας τοῦ ΕΟΤ.
20. Τὸ ἔλος τοῦ Γλαρόκαβου (σήμερα ὑποτυπῶδης μαρίνα), πρέπει νὰ ἦταν ἀλυκὴ, ἢ ὁποῖα λειτουργοῦσε κατὰ τὴν ὕστερη ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τοὺς παλαιοχριστιανικοὺς χρόνους καὶ πρέπει νὰ ἐπαναλειτούργησε κατὰ τὸν 15ον αἰ. Ὅπως καὶ στὸ Γεράνι, ὁ οἰκισμὸς ἀναπτύχθηκε

- στην άμμώδη λωρίδα μεταξύ τής άλυκής και τής άκτής. Ή Σκάλα πρέπει να βρισκόταν κάπου στην άμμώδη άκτή.
21. Στην σημερινή Χανιώτη θα πρέπει να λειτουργούσε ή έπομένη Σκάλα, άφου εκεί υπήρχε έκτεταμένη παλαιοχριστιανική έγκατάσταση.
 22. Στο Πολύχρονο υπήρχε κατά την άρχαιότητα μία από τις πόλεις τής χερσονήσου και ό εκεί οίκισμός συνέχισε να ύφίσταται μέχρι και τους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους. Προφανώς ή Σκάλα που έξυπηρετούσε την άρχαία πόλη, συνέχισε να λειτουργεί και στους έπόμενους αιώνες, στην ίδια ή σε γειτονική θέση.
 23. Στην θέση Σωλήνα, όπου και προϊστορική έγκατάσταση ήδη από την πρώιμη έποχή του Χαλκού, υπήρχε σημαντική πόλη κατά τους έλληνιστικούς χρόνους, ή όποία συνέχιζε να έπιβιώνει τουλάχιστον μέχρι τον 7ον μ.Χ. αί. Κατά τον 14ον αί. στην ίδια θέση υπήρχε τó χωριό «του Σωλήνος», με δύο πύργους έκατέρωθεν του εκεί χειμάρρου, οί όποιοι ήλεγχαν την πρόσβαση προς τó άγκυροβόλιο του όρμου του Σωλήνος, όπως αυτό εικονίζεται με έπιμονή σε παλαιούς χάρτες. Στην άκτογραμμή του Σωλήνος πρόλαβα και είδα πλήθος άρχαίων άρχιτεκτονικών μελών, άγνώστου προελεύσεως, τοποθετημένα σε άτακτη παράταξη παραλλήλως προς την άκτή και σε μικρή άπόσταση από αυτήν, τά όποια άναφάνονταν κατά τις άμπώτιδες του Φεβρουαρίου. Πιθανώς πρόκειται για μιá προσπάθεια, ίσως άποτυχούσα, κατασκευής λιμένος. Πάντως ή άκτή του Σωλήνος υπήρξε μία από τις σημαντικότερες Σκάλες τής Κασσάνδρας.
 24. Στην Άθυτο διακρίνεται άκόμη τó καταχωσμένο λιμάνι τής άρχαίας Άφύτου, από τó όποίο, μέχρι την δεκαετία του 1960, έπεβίωνε ένα έλος όνομαζόμενο «λίμνα (ή)». Ή Άφυτις συνέχισε να ύφίσταται μέχρι και τους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους και την ξανασυναντούμε σε έγγραφο του 1318 ως «Άφετον (τήν)». Πρέπει να θεωρηθή βέβαιον ότι ή Σκάλα τής Άφέτου βρισκόταν όπου και σήμερα, δηλαδή στην καταχωσμένη είσοδο του άρχαίου λιμανιού.
 25. Στην σημερινή Νέα Φώκαια βρισκόταν τó σπουδαίο μετόχι τής άγιορειτικής Μονής του Άγίου Παύλου. Κάτω από τόν πύργο του 1407, κτισμένον πάνω σε προϊστορικόν οίκισμό, ύπάρχει ένα άγκυροβόλιο άσφαλές από τους νοτίους, δυτικούς μέχρι και βορειοδυτικούς άνέμους. Στην εκεί άμμώδη άκτή βρισκόταν ή Σκάλα του μετοχίου (είκ. 2).
 26. Βορείως τής Ν. Φωκαίας, στην θέση «Λιμιώνας» (=μέρος που λιμανιάζει, δηλαδή άσφαλές άγκυροβόλιο), όπου παραθαλάσσιος άρχαίος έλαιώνας, ύπάρχει άγκυροβόλιο άσφαλές από τους νοτίους, δυτικούς μέχρι και τους βορείους άνέμους. Έκει πρέπει να ήταν ή έπί του Τορωναίου Σκάλα που έξυπηρετούσε τά μετόχια τών Μονών Διονυσίου και Σιμωνόπετρας.
Συνεχίζοντας την άκτογραμμή προς βορράν φθάνουμε στόν έπί του Τορωναίου λιμένα τής Κασσανδρείας, στόν όποίο έχουμε ήδη άναφερθή (άρ. 9) και ολοκληρώνουμε τόν περίπλου τής χερσονήσου Κασσάνδρας.
 27. Τó «παρασκάλιον τής Μικράς Θαλάττης», του 1348, ήταν ή έπί του Τορωναίου Σκάλα του μετοχίου τής Μονής Βατοπεδίου στην περιοχή του χωρίου του Άγίου Μάμαντος. Τó παρασκάλιο θα μπορούσε να βρίσκεται κάπου στην άμμώδη λωρίδα που διαχωρίζει σήμερα από την θάλασσα τó έπίμηκες έλος του Άγίου Μάμαντος.
 28. Στα Πτσακούδια (=Πευκάκια) βρίσκεται ή Σκάλα τής Όρμούλιας, μικρός όρμος, έκτεθημένος μόνον στους δυτικούς και βορειοδυτι-

- κούς ανέμους. Κατά την αρχαιότητα πρέπει να έξυπηρετούσε την γειτονική Σερμύλη και αργότερα την μεσοβυζαντινή και ύστεροβυζαντινή Έρμούλια και τα ύστεροβυζαντινά μετόχια τών Μονών, Μεγίστης Λαύρας, Ξηροποτάμου, Δοχειαρίου και Παντοκράτορος.
29. Στόν Πύργο τής Παλιομάννας, δηλαδή στό νοτιοανατολικό άκρο του κάμπου τής Όρμύλιας, κοντά στην εκεί έκβολή του ποταμού τής Όρμύλιας, πρέπει να βρισκόταν μία άλλη Σκάλα, ή όποια έξυπηρετούσε τους οίκισμούς και τα μετόχια που βρίσκονταν στόν νοτίως του ποταμού κάμπο τής Όρμύλιας. Στην πλευρά αυτήν υπήρχαν οί ρωμαϊκοί - παλαιοχριστιανικοί οίκισμοί στό κάστρο τής Καλλιπόλεως, στόν Πύργο και τό Γκβέλι του Βατοπεδίου, τό ύστεροβυζαντινό χωριό του Σωτήρος και τα μετόχια τών Μονών Βατοπεδίου, Ζωγράφου και Έσφιγμένου.
30. Στην Κασταμονίτη τής Νικήτης υπήρχε ένας αξιόλογος ρωμαϊκός - παλαιοχριστιανικός οίκισμός και λειτουργούσε συγκρότημα παραθαλασσίων κεραμικών κλιβάνων. Προφανώς λειτουργούσε και μία Σκάλα για την έξυπηρέτηση του τόπου.
31. Στην παραλία τής Νικήτης, στην περιοχή «Μάρμαρο», διακρίνεται ακόμη ένας μικρός ήμικυκλικός λιμενοβραχίονας για προστασία από τον νοτιά. Στην θέση αυτή ήταν ή παραδοσιακή Σκάλα του χωριού μέχρι την δεκαετία του 1940, και εκεί κτίσθηκαν οί δεξαμενές αποθηκείσεως τής ρητίνης, μέχρι να φορτωθή στα πλοία. Η ίδια Σκάλα, ή κάποια κοντινή, πρέπει να έξυπηρετούσε και τα δημόσια έλληνιστικά κτήρια που βρίσκονταν στην λοφώδη θέση «Άνεμόμυλος», σε απόσταση περίπου ένός χιλιομέτρου από την άκτή, αλλά και τό μετόχι τής Μονής Ξενοφώντος του 14ου αϊ.
32. Στην περιοχή Άγιος Γεώργιος τής Νικήτης υπήρχε ένας σημαντικός έλληνιστικός οίκισμός, με ιερό συλλατρείας τών Διοσκόρων και τής Μάντας. Ο οίκισμός άνθισε κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, όταν οίκοδομήθηκε ή πολυτελής βασιλική «του Σωφρονίου» και ή γειτονική της κοιμητηριακή βασιλική. Η έκτεταμμένη άμμόδης παραλία, σε απόσταση μόλις διακοσίων μέτρων, θα πρέπει να κρατούσε την Σκάλα του οίκισμου και να έξυπηρετούσε και την παραγωγή τών κεραμικών κλιβάνων που ήσαν διάσπαρτοι κατά μήκος τής άκτής.
33. Τό άκρωτήριο Καστρί βρίσκεται περι τή 4 χιλιόμετρα νοτιοανατολικώς τής Νικήτης· προέκταση του άκρωτηρίου είναι ή όμώνυμη νησίδα ή όποια απέχει περι τή 40 μέτρα από την άκτή. Θα πρέπει να λάβουμε υπ' όψιν μας ότι κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο τό νησί πρέπει να ήταν ακόμη ένωμένο με την άπέναντι ξηρά, διότι σήμερα υπάρχει μία βραχώδης διάβαση μεγίστου βάθους όχι περισσότερο από 0,70 μ. Στο νησί διακρίνονται επάλληλα στρώματα έγκαταστάσεως από την Μέση (τουλάχιστον) Έποχή του Χαλκού μέχρι και τους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους, ένώ στην σημερινή χερσόνησο ή έγκατάσταση εξαπλώθηκε κατά την έποχή του Σιδήρου (τουλάχιστον) και φαίνεται να διακόπτεται κατά τους κλασσικούς χρόνους. Σ' αυτή την ένιαία και έπιμήκη παλαιά χερσόνησο (άκρωτήριο+διάβαση+νησί) τοποθετείται ή θέση τής αρχαίας Γαληψού. Η έπιμήκης παλαιά χερσόνησος δημιουργούσε στην ΒΔ πλευρά της ένα καλό και εύρύχωρο λιμάνι, με άμμόδη όμαλή άκτή, τό όποιο παρείχε ασφάλεια από τους βορείους, ανατολικούς και νοτίους ανέμους. Σε περίπτωση κατά την όποια έπνεε δυτικός άνεμος, ό έλλιμενισμός μπορούσε να γίνη στην νότια πλευρά τής χερσονήσου. Στην βραχώδη άκτή του σημερινού άκρωτηρίου, λίγο βορειοδυτικότερα από τό νησί, υπάρχει ένας τεχνητός καμπύλος

λιμενοβραχίονας, κατασκευασμένος από άργους λίθους, μήκους περίπου 40 μ., του οποίου η κορυφή βρίσκεται σήμερα σε μέσο βάθος περίπου 60 εκ. Το βάθος αυτό, σε συνάρτηση με τον ρυθμό ανόδου του θαλασσιού επιπέδου, σημαίνει ότι το λιμενικό έργο θα πρέπει να κατασκευάσθηκε σε εποχή όχι πολύ μακρινή από την παλαιοχριστιανική φάση της εγκαταστάσεως στο Καστρί. Με αυτόν τον λιμενοβραχίονα δημιουργήθηκε ένας μικρός χώρος σχετικώς ασφαλούς έλλιμενισμού, για την σπάνια περίπτωση του νοτιοδυτικού ανέμου (του γαρμπί), του μοναδικού που θα μπορούσε να προκαλέσει προβλήματα στα έλλιμενισμένα σκάφη. Κοντά στην ένωση του λιθοσωρού - λιμενοβραχίονος με τον βράχο του ακρωτηρίου υπάρχει μία ισχυρή «ριζιμιά» πλάκα στην οποία διανοίχθηκε όπη διαμέτρου 10 εκ., προφανώς «δέστρα» πλοίου· η δέστρα βρίσκεται πλέον σε βάθος 40 εκ. κάτω από την επιφάνεια της θαλάσσης. Κατά τον 14ον αιώνα στο νησί «Καστρί», το οποίο προφανώς επικοινωνούσε ακόμη μέσω στενού ισθμού με την στεριά, υπήρχε το όμώνυμο χωριό, το οποίο θα χρησιμοποιούσε τις λιμενικές διευκολύνσεις του τόπου.

34. Νοτιότερα, στον κολπίσκο της «Κωβιούς», λειτουργούσε μία αξιόλογη ομάδα κεραμικών κλιβάνων της ύστερης αρχαιότητας. Στην μέση του άμμώδους κολπίσκου διακρίνονται, σε βάθος 1,5 μ., τα θεμέλια μεγάλης κτηριακής κατασκευής από μεγάλες καλοδολεμένες γρανιτόπλινθους. Πιθανώς πρόκειται για τα κατάλοιπα μιάς αποβάθρας φορτοεκφορτώσεων.
35. Σε απόσταση περίπου δέκα χιλιομέτρων νοτίως της Νικήτης έντοπίζονται τα ίχνη έκτεταμένης παλαιοχριστιανικής εγκαταστάσεως, στην περιοχή «Έλιά». Ο οικισμός, ύφιστάμενος ήδη κατά τον 4ον π.Χ. αί., ιδρύθηκε δίπλα σε έναν μικρό όρμο, ο οποίος ενισχύθηκε με μία λιθορριπή-λιμενοβραχίονα, όπως στο Καστρί, σχήματος μηνίσκου, προκειμένου να προσφέρει καλύτερη προστασία από τους νοτίους και νοτιοδυτικούς ανέμους.
36. Η περιοχή «Τριπόταμος» βρίσκεται στα παραθαλάσσια όρια των κοινοτήτων Νικήτης και Νέου Μαρμαρά. Πρόκειται για μία κοιλάδα έμβαδού περίπου ενός τετραγωνικού χιλιομέτρου, η οποία διαρρέεται από τρεις μεγάλους χειμάρρους. Στο νοτιοδυτικό παραθαλάσιο άκρο της έντοπίσθηκαν κατάλοιπα έλληνιστικής εγκαταστάσεως, η οποία έξελίχθηκε σε μεγάλη ύστερορωμαϊκή άγροικία που έπεβίωσε μέχρι τα μέσα του 6ου αί. Αναμφισβητήτως η άμμώδης παραλία της άγροικίας θα ήταν Σκάλα για τις μεταφορικές ανάγκες της άγροικίας. Η παρακειμένη αναστομωμένη κοίτη του χειμάρρου θα μπορούσε να χρησιμεύει για τον έποχιακό έλλιμενισμό των λέμβων, όπως γίνεται και σήμερα. Η ίδια Σκάλα θα πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούνταν και κατά τον 14ον αί., για την έξυπνέτηση του μετοχίου της Μεγίστης Λαύρας και, από τον 15ον αί. και έξης, του μεγάλου μετοχίου της Μονής Κασταμονίτου.
37. Στην βραχώδη χερσονησίδα η οποία προστατεύει το λιμάνι του Νέου Μαρμαρά από δυσμών, διακρίνονται τα ίχνη ενός ισχυρού διατειχίσματος, μήκους 120 μ. περίπου και πάχους 1,80 μ., το οποίο έμπόδιζε την από ξηράς πρόσβαση προς την άκρη της και, συνεπώς, προς τον αντίστοιχο τομέα του λιμανιού. Στην ράχη του ισθμού το διατειχίσμα ενισχυόταν από έναν τετράγωνο πύργο, ύπολογιζομένων διαστάσεων κατόψεως 9x9 μ. Στον αποκοπόμενο τομέα της χερσονήσου δέν παρατηρήθηκαν ίχνη εγκαταστάσεως, παρά μονάχα σε έναν μικρό τομέα, μέσα και σε έπαφή με το κάστρο, όπου είδα και λίγα

έφυαλωμένα ὄστρακα 14ου-15ου αἰ. Ἔχω τὴν γνώμη ὅτι τὸ κάστρο εἶναι κτίσμα τῆς βυζαντινῆς περιόδου καὶ ἀποσκοποῦσε στὴν ἀσφάλεια τοῦ λιμανιοῦ. Τὸ φυσικὸ αὐτὸ λιμάνι εἶναι τὸ ἀσφαλέστερο καταφύγιο στὴν διαδρομὴ Πόρτο Κουφός - Ἅγιος Μάμας, κυρίως ὅσον ἀφορᾶ τοὺς βορειοδυτικούς-βορείους-νοτιοανατολικούς ἀνέμους. Ὁ Πιρὶ Ρεῖς τὸ σημειώνει στὸν χάρτη του ὡς ἀσφαλὲς ἀγκυροβόλιο, καὶ ἐνῶ τὸ λιμάνι, τὸ 1569, χαρακτηρίζεται ὡς παλιὸς λιμὴν, οἱ ἀναφορὲς στὸ κάστρο εἶναι πολὺ ὄψιμες. Προφανῶς πρόκειται γιὰ δημόσιο ἔργο ποὺ ἀποσκοποῦσε στὴν ἀσφάλεια τοῦ λιμανιοῦ. Τὸ 1628 χρησιμοποιεῖται ἤδη γιὰ τὴν χερσονησίδα τὸ τουρκογενὲς τοπωνύμιο «Παλαπάνι» ἢ «Μπαλαμπάνι».

38. Περὶ τὰ 500 μ. ἀνατολικῶς τοῦ Νέου Μαρμαρᾶ βρίσκεται τὸ Γρηγοριάτικο, ὅπου οἱ ἐγκαταστάσεις τοῦ μετοχίου τῆς ἀγιορειτικῆς Μονῆς Γρηγορίου, τὸ ὁποῖο εἶχε ἤδη ἰδρυθῆ τὸ 1430. Στὴν θέση τοῦ μετοχίου καὶ γύρω ἀπὸ αὐτὴν ἀπλώνονται τὰ κατάλοιπα ἐνὸς οἰκισμοῦ ὃ ὁποῖος ἀρχίζει ἀπὸ τὰ ὄψιμα κλασσικὰ χρόνια καὶ συνεχίζει μέχρι τὰ παλαιοχριστιανικά. Ὁλητὴ παραλία τοῦ κάμπου εἶναι ἀμμόδης καὶ κατάλληλη γιὰ τὴν προσέγγιση πλοίων, ἀνάλογα μὲ τὶς ἀνάγκες φορτοεκφορτώσεως. Ἡ νότια ἄκρη τῆς ἀκτῆς τοῦ κάμπου, τὸ λεγόμενον «Κώχι», ὅπου καὶ ὄχυρωμένος οἰκισμὸς τῆς πρώιμης ἐποχῆς τοῦ σιδήρου, παρέχει ἀσφαλὲς ἀγκυροβόλιο γιὰ ὅλους τοὺς καιρούς, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸν μαῖιστρο, γιὰ τὸν ὁποῖον ὅμως ὑπάρχει τὸ ἀπέναντι Μπαλαμπάνι.
39. Τὸ νησὶ Γκέλφος (ἢ) βρίσκεται περὶ τὰ τρία μίλια Δ-ΝΔ τοῦ Νέου Μαρμαρᾶ. Ἡ ἐπιφάνειά του, ἐκτάσεως ἐνὸς τετραγωνικοῦ χιλιομέτρου περίπου, εἶναι βραχῶδης, δασοσκεπῆς, ἄνυδρη καὶ ἀνεπίδεκτη γεωργικῆς καλλιέργειας. Οἱ ἀκτὲς εἶναι δυσπρόσιτες καὶ μόνον στὴν βορειοανατολικὴ πλευρὰ ὑπάρχει ἕνας κολπίσκος μὲ μικρῆς ἐκτάσεως ἀμμόδη ἀκτὴ, ὅπου μποροῦν νὰ προσεγγίσουν πλοία, ὅταν ἡ θάλασσα εἶναι ἤρεμη. Ἐκεῖ ὑπάρχει καὶ μία μικρὴ σπηλιὰ ποὺ προσφέρει κάποια προστασία ἀπὸ τὴν βροχὴ. Πάνω ἀπὸ τὴν σπηλιὰ διακρίνονται διάσπαρτα θεμέλια παλαιοχριστιανικῶν κτηρίων καὶ ναοῦ. Στὴν βραχῶδη κορυφὴ (ὑψόμ. 140 μ.) διακρίνονται οἱ λιθωσοροὶ ἐνὸς ὄχυρωματικοῦ περιβόλου ἀπὸ ἀργολιθοδομή, ὃ ὁποῖος θὰ πρέπει νὰ σχετίζεται μὲ τὸν ἔλεγχο τῆς ναυσιπλοίας στὸν Τορωναῖο καὶ νὰ ἐντάσσεται στὴν ὀργάνωση τῆς περιφερειακῆς ἀμύνης τῆς Κασσανδρείας, μὲ τὴν ὁποία ὑπάρχει ὀπτικὴ ἐπαφή. Τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς παραλίας θὰ πρέπει νὰ σχετίζονται μὲ ἐγκαταστάσεις «ὑποδοχῆς» καὶ πρώτης ἀποθηκέυσεως ἐφοδίων.
40. Τὸ Πιτζακονήσι βρίσκεται περὶ τὰ πέντε χιλιόμετρα νοτίως τοῦ Νέου Μαρμαρᾶ, στὰ παραθαλάσσια ὄρια τῶν τέως μετοχιῶν τῶν Μονῶν Ἐσφιγμένου καὶ Παντοκράτορος. Στὴν ἀκρογιαλιά, πάνω στοὺς θαλασσοφαγμένους βράχους, διακρίνονται ἐρείπια ἐπαλλήλων ἀσβεστοκτίστων κτισμάτων. Ἡ σαφῶς διακρινόμενη δευτέρα οἰκοδομικὴ φάση τῶν ἐρειπίων θὰ πρέπει νὰ ταυτίζεται μὲ τὴν μετοχιακὴ Ἀποθήκη (=νεώριον) τοῦ ἐκεῖ μετοχίου τῆς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος, ἢ ὁποία μνημονεύεται σὲ ἔγγραφο τοῦ 1491/92, ὅπου καὶ ἡ παλαιότερη γνωστὴ ἀναφορὰ τοῦ τοπωνυμίου Πιτζακονήσι. Ἀμέσως βορείως καὶ βορειοανατολικῶς τῶν ἐρειπίων διακρίνονται θεμέλια παλαιοχριστιανικῶν κτηρίων καὶ παλαιοχριστιανικοῦ ναοῦ. Οἱ ὄρμοι τῆς περιοχῆς παρουσιάζουν κάποια ἀσφάλεια γιὰ προσέγγιση καὶ περιστασιακὸ ἐλλιμενισμὸ μικρῶν πλοίων.
41. Σπαλαθρονήσια ὀνομάζεται ἡ συστάδα τῶν τριῶν μικρῶν νησιῶν ποὺ

βρίσκονται άμέσως νοτίως άπό τó Πιτζακονήσι. Στο μεσαίο και μεγαλύτερο, τó λεγόμενο «Ρώσα» ή «νησί του Φιλιππίδη», διακρίνονται τοιχοποιίες και παλαιοχριστιανική κεραμική. Τó άμέσως πρòς βορράν νησί «Χτένι», άπέχει περί τά 50 μ. και χωρίζεται με πέρασμα βάθους, τó πολύ, 1,50 μ., τó όποίο είναι μία πλατεία ύφαλος λιθορριπή. Είναι προφανές ότι κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο τά δύο νησιά ήσαν ένωμένα με έναν χαμηλό και στενόν ίσθμό. Έχω τήν γνώμη ότι ή λιθορριπή είναι ό,τι άπέμεινε άπό τά κτήρια που ύπήρχαν εκεί κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, τά όποία διαλύθηκαν άπό τήν θάλασσα, καθώς ή θέση κατακλυζόταν άπό τήν σταδιακώς ύψούμενη στάθμη της. Στην βόρεια πλευρά του ίσθμου ύπήρχε ένα ασφαλές καταφύγιο για όλους τούς καιρούς, έκτός του μαΐστρου, για τόν όποϊον όμως ύπήρχε τó καταφύγιο τής νότιας πλευράς του ίσθμου.

42. Λίγο νοτιώτερα άπό τά Σπαλαθρονήσια βρίσκεται τó μεγαλύτερο νησί, ή Πούντα (ή «νησί του Γεροχρήστου»), τó όποίο συνδέεται με τήν άκτή με άμμώδη ίσθμό, περιστασιακώς κατακλυζόμενον άπό τά κύματα. Στο νησί ύπάρχει διάσπαρτη λίγη παλαιοχριστιανική κεραμική, τó όποίο δηλώνει κάποια δραστηριότητα κατά τήν έποχή εκείνη όταν, προφανώς, ύπήρχε μόνιμος και ασφαλής ίσθμός και τó σημερινό νησί ήταν χερσόνησος. Η Πούντα με τά δύο καταφύγια έκατέρωθεν του ίσθμου της, παρείχε καλό άγκυροβόλιο για όλους τούς καιρούς, τó όποίο συμπλήρωνε ό πρòς βορράν κοντινός όρμος «Βαθύς», ασφαλέςτατο καταφύγιο μικρών σκαφών για όλους τούς καιρούς, έκτός του νοτιά.
43. Η σημαντικότερη πόλη τής Σιθωνίας κατά τήν άρχαιότητα ήταν ή Τορώνη. Βρισκόταν βορειοδυτικώς του Κωφού λιμένος και πολύ κοντά του (σχ. 4, Pt Torron). Η μεγαλύτερη άκμή της ήταν κατά τούς κλασσικούς χρόνους, αλλά κατά τόν 4ο μ.Χ. αΐωνα είχε συρρικνωθή και κατελάμβανε ένα μικρό τμήμα άπό τόν χώρο τής πόλεως των κλασσικών χρόνων. Η παραθαλάσσια θέση τής Τορώνης, και μάλιστα στην άκτή όρμου, ό όποϊος παρέχει ασφάλεια στά πλοία άπό όλους τούς καιρούς, έκτός άπό τόν μαΐστρο, προεξοφλεί τήν ένασχόληση των Τορωναίων με θαλασσινά έπαγγέλματα και τήν ανάπτυξη του διαμετακομιστικού έμπορίου· άλλωστε, νοτιοανατολικά και σε άπόσταση μόλις είκοσι λεπτών πορείας, βρίσκεται ό περίφημος «Κωφός λιμήν», ό όποϊος άποτελεί τó ασφαλέςτατο καταφύγιο για τά πλοία που παραπλέουν τά επικίνδυνα άκρωτήρια των τριών χερσονήσων τής Χαλκιδικής. Η σπουδαιότης τής περιοχής για τήν ναυσιπλοία αναπλήρωνε τισ άπώλειες έκ του γεγονότος ότι ή Τορώνη βρισκόταν έκτός δρομολογίων Ξηράς. Η παρουσία πολλών παλαιοχριστιανικών άμφορέων προερχομένων άπό τήν Τυνησία, ή σχετιζομένων με τήν Γάζα τής Παλαιστίνης και έν γενει άμφορέων των όποϊων οί τύποι κυκλοφορούσαν σε όλη τήν Μεσόγειο και τόν Εύξεινο, δέν μπορεί παρά νά σημαίνει αύξημένη έμπορικη δραστηριότητα στο λιμάνι τής Τορώνης.
44. Ό Κωφός είναι ένα άπό τά σημαντικότερα λιμάνια του βορείου Αιγαίου (είκ. 3). Φαίνεται ότι μέχρι και τόν 19ον αΐωνα δέν αναπτύχθηκε κάποιος άυτοτελής συνοικισμός στον χώρο του λιμανιού και άπό τήν ίδρυση τής Τορώνης πρέπει νά ήταν περιοχή οικονομικής και λοιπής δραστηριότητος των Τορωναίων. Στην Τορώνη, δίπλα στην Λήκυθο, ύπήρχε χώρος φορτοεκφορτώσεων και προσωρινού έλλιμενισμού, αλλά ό κύριος χώρος έλλιμενισμού τής περιοχής πρέπει νά ήταν ό Κωφός λιμήν, ό όποϊος αναφέρεται με τó ίδιο όνομα ήδη άπό τόν Θουκυδίδη. Άν και πρόκειται για ένα άπό τά σημαντικότερα λιμάνια

του βορείου Αιγαίου, οι πηγές δὲν τὸ ἀναφέρουν γιὰ πολλοὺς αἰῶνες κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴ περίοδο. Ἡ ἐπομένη πρώτη γνωστὴ ἀναφορά του γίνεται σὲ ὄριοθέτηση τοῦ «1304», ὅταν ἡ ὄριογραμμὴ τοῦ ἐκεῖ μετοχίου τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας περνοῦσε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος τοῦ λεγομένου *Κωφοῦ*. Τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ λιμένος ὑπῆρξε ἡ αἰτία νὰ διαδραματισθοῦν ἐκεῖ πολεμικὰ γεγονότα καὶ νὰ γίνῃ τὸ λιμάνι κέντρο πειρατικῆς δραστηριότητος. Στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 1344 ἐγκαταστάθηκαν στὸν λιμένα τοῦ *Λογγοῦ*, ὅπως ἀναφέρεται, Τούρκοι πειρατὲς μὲ 60 πλοῖα καὶ ἀσχολήθηκαν μὲ ἐπιθέσεις κατὰ τῶν ἀγιορειτικῶν μονῶν, ἀπὸ στεριὰ καὶ θάλασσα. Τότε κατέλαβαν τὸ πλοῖο μὲ τὸ ὁποῖο ἐπέστρεψε ἀπὸ τὴν Μονὴ Ἐσφιγμένου μία ὁμάδα ἀγιορειτῶν προϊσταμένων καὶ τὸ ὁδήγησαν ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸν *Λογγὸν τούτων λιμένι*, ζητῶντας 500 νομίσματα ὡς λύτρα. Τὰ λύτρα ἀποδόθηκαν, οἱ προϊστάμενοι ἀπελευθερώθηκαν καί, ὅπως ἀναφέρει ὁ Καντακουζηνός, (τὴν 13 Μαΐου 1344) (...) ἡ λατινικὴ δύναμις ἢ ὀλίγω ὕστερον *Σμύρνη* ἐπελθοῦσα ἐκράτησε *τειχομαχίαν*, ἐν τέσσαρσι καὶ εἴκοσι τριήρεσι, περὶ *Παλλήνην* πεπυσμένοι πρὸς τινὰ *Λιμένα Λογγὸν ἐγχωρίως* προσαγορευόμενον *ναῦς ἐξήκοντα ἐφορμεῖν Περσικὰς*, ἐπέθεντό τε καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν *κενῶν*. τὸ γὰρ *Περσικόν*, μὴ *δυνάμενον ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν*, τὰς *ναῦς καταλιπόντες διεσώζοντο εἰς τὴν γῆν*. *Λατῖνοι δὲ ἀνελκύσαντες τὰς ναῦς καὶ πυρὶ παραδόντες ἀνεχώρουν*. *οἱ Πέρσαι δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες ἀπορία νεῶν, ἔγνωσαν δεῖν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον τῆς Θράκης διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀναχωρεῖν* (...).

45. Νοτίως τοῦ *Κωφοῦ* βρίσκεται ὁ *Μαραθιάς*, ὅπου καὶ οἱ μετοχιακὲς ἐγκαταστάσεις τοῦ παλαιοῦ μετοχίου τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας. Στὴν ἀμμώδη παραλία τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ *Μαραθιά*, ὁ ὁποῖος παρέχει ἱκανοποιητικὴ προστασία ἀπὸ τοὺς βορείους, βορειοανατολικοὺς καὶ δυτικούς ἀνέμους, προσήγγιζαν τὰ μοναστηριακὰ πλοῖα γιὰ νὰ παραλάβουν τὴν παραγωγὴ τοῦ μετοχίου, πρακτικὴ πού συνεχίσθηκε μέχρι τὰ μέσα τοῦ 20οῦ αἰῶνος.
46. Παρακάμποντας τὸ ἐπικίνδυνο ἀκρωτήριο *Καρτάλια* (τά) φθάνουμε στὸν ἀμμώδη (ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ τοπωνύμιο) ὄρμος *Καλαμίτσι*, ὁ ὁποῖος παρέχει ἱκανοποιητικὴ ἀσφάλεια ἀπὸ τοὺς δυτικούς, ΒΔ, βορείους καὶ ΒΑ ἀνέμους. Ἡ περιοχὴ ἦταν μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς *Διονυσίου* καὶ λειτουργοῦσε ὡς *Σκάλα* γιὰ τὴν παραλαβὴ τῆς παραγωγῆς τοῦ μετοχίου, μέχρι καὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 20οῦ αἰ.
47. Ἀκολουθεῖ ὁ εὐρὺς καὶ ἀμμώδης ὄρμος τῆς *Συκιᾶς*, στὸ νοτιοανατολικὸν ἄκρο τοῦ ὁποῖου βρίσκεται ἡ βασικὴ *Σκάλα* τῆς περιοχῆς, τὸ σήμερον ὀνομαζόμενον «*Λιναράκι*», ἐκτεθειμένο στοὺς βορείους ἀνέμους. Τὸ *Λιναράκι* ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸν παλαιοχριστιανικὸ οἰκισμὸ στὸν ὁποῖον ὑπαγόταν ἡ βασιλικὴ «τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς», καὶ τὸν γειτονικὸ του ἑλληνιστικὸ - παλαιοχριστιανικὸ οἰκισμὸ τοῦ *Κριαριτίσιου*. Ἡ θέση αὐτὴ ἀναφέρεται ὡς «*Σκάλα*» ἤδη τὸ 1321, ἐνῶ τὸ 1521 καταγράφεται ὡς *Engir Limani*, δηλαδὴ «*Λιμάνι τῆς Συκιᾶς*». Ἡ *Σκάλα* αὐτὴ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε καὶ τὴν παραλαβὴ τῶν προϊόντων τῶν ἐκεῖ μεγάλων μετοχιῶν τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας καὶ τῆς Μονῆς *Ξενοφώντος*.
48. Στὸ βορειοδυτικὸ ἄκρο τοῦ ὄρμου τῆς *Συκιᾶς*, στὴν θέση *Κεραμαριό*, λειτουργοῦσε μία συστάδα κεραμικῶν κλιβάνων, πιθανῶς τῆς ὀψιμῆς ἀρχαιότητος. Ἡ ἀμμώδης ἀκτὴ διευκόλυνε τὴν φόρτωση τῆς παραγωγῆς τῶν κλιβάνων καὶ ἡ θέση παρεῖχε ἀσφάλεια ἀπὸ νοτίους, δυτικούς καὶ βορείους ἀνέμους.
49. Τὸ μετόχι «*Βαλτί*» τῆς Μονῆς *Δοχειαρίου*, ὅπου καὶ «τὰ ἑλληνικὰ *κελλόπεδα*», ἐκτείνεται βορείως τοῦ ὄρμου τῆς *Συκιᾶς*, καὶ ἦταν

- κτῆμα τῆς Μονῆς ἤδη τὸν 12ον αἰ. Στὴν παράδοση τῆς Μονῆς γίνεται κατ' ἐπανάληψη ἀναφορὰ στὴν ἐπικοινωνία τῆς μὲ τὸ μετόχι μὲ πλοῖο, γεγονός τὸ ὁποῖο ἀπεικονίζεται καὶ σὲ σχετικὴ παράσταση στὶς τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Καθολικοῦ. Ὡς Σκάλα πρέπει νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦσαν τὴν προαναφερθεῖσα Σκάλα στὸ Κεραμαριὸ καί, ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς τὸ ἐπέτρεπε, τὸν μικρὸν ὄρμο ἀμέσως βορείως τοῦ σημερινοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου Συκιᾶς.
50. Ἡ θέση τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως Σάρτης, ἡ ὁποία διαδέχθηκε τὸν ἐκεῖ προϋπάρχοντα προϊστορικὸν οἰκισμὸ καὶ ἐπεβίωσε μέχρι καὶ τὸν 6ον αἰ. μ.Χ., ἔχει ταυτισθῆ πλέον ἀσφαλῶς μὲ τὴν θέση τοῦ ὁμώνυμου προσφυγικοῦ χωριοῦ. Ὁ ἐκεῖ ὄρμος εἶναι προστατευμένος ἀπὸ τοὺς βορείους, ΒΔ, δυτικούς καὶ ΝΔ ἀνέμους, ἀλλὰ ὁ ὄρμος εἶναι ἐκτεθειμένος στοὺς ΒΑ, ἀνατολικούς καὶ ΝΑ ἀνέμους. Παρ' ὅλα αὐτὰ ἡ θέση αὐτὴ ἦταν ἡ ἀρμοδιότερη γιὰ τὴν λειτουργία τῆς Σκάλας σὲ ὅλες τῆς ἱστορικὲς φάσεις τοῦ τόπου, καὶ ἐξυπηρέτησε τὸσο τὴν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ πόλη, ὅσο καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ μεταγενέστερα ἀγιορειτικὰ μετόχια τῶν Μονῶν Ξηροποτάμου καὶ Μεγίστης Λαύρας.
51. Τὰ κτηνοτροφικὰ μετόχια τῶν Μονῶν Ζωγράφου καὶ Κουτλουμουσίου βρίσκονται ἐν σειρᾷ μεταξὺ τοῦ μετοχίου τῆς Ξηροποτάμου καὶ τῆς Βουρβουρούς, σὲ περιοχὴ βουνώδη, δασώδη καὶ ἀλίμενη, ἐκτεθειμένη στοὺς βορείους καὶ ΒΑ ἀνέμους. Παρ' ὅλα αὐτὰ ὅμως, σὲ θέσεις ποὺ παρείχαν κάποια ἐλάχιστη προστασία ἀπὸ τὰ μελτέμια, λειτουργοῦσαν οἱ Σκάλες τῶν μετοχίων, μέχρι καὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 20ου αἰ. Ἡ Μονὴ Ζωγράφου μάλιστα ἔκτισε καὶ ἰσχυρὴ ἀποβάθρα κατὰ τὸν 19ο αἰῶνα, γιὰ νὰ διευκολύνῃ τὶς φορτοεκφορτώσεις.
52. Βουρβουροῦ ὀνομάζεται, ἤδη ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 11ου αἰῶνος, ἡ παραθαλάσσια περιοχὴ νοτίως τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου, ἡ ὁποία βρίσκεται ἀπέναντι ἀπὸ τὸ νησιωτικὸ σύμπλεγμα τῆς Διαπόρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μικρονησίδων. Πρόκειται γιὰ περιοχὴ, ἡ ὁποία περιβάλλει ἕναν μεγάλον καὶ περὶ κλειστον ὄρμο, ἔχει εὐφορα καὶ ὁμαλὰ ἐδάφη, ὑδρεύεται μὲ ρέοντα ὕδατα, εἶχε βιβάριο καὶ ἀλυκὴ. Ἄν καὶ πρόκειται γιὰ ἕναν ἀξιόλογο τόπο, δὲν εἶναι γνωστὸς κανένας οἰκισμὸς τῶν ἱστορικῶν χρόνων, ὁ ὁποῖος νὰ ἀναπύχθηκε ἐκεῖ. Στὴν παραλία, ἀμέσως βορείως τοῦ ἐξωκκλησίου τῆς Παναγίας, διακρίνονται θεμέλια παλαιοχριστιανικοῦ κτηριακοῦ συγκροτήματος. Πάνω ἀπὸ τὰ θεμέλια διακρίνεται καὶ δεύτερη οἰκοδομικὴ φάση, τῆς ὁποίας ἔχει προταθῆ ἡ ταύτιση μὲ τὴν μεσοβυζαντινὴ μονὴ τῶν Ἱερομνήμων, ἡ ὁποία, περὶ τὸ ἔτος 1000, περιῆλθε στὴν κυριότητα τῆς Μονῆς Ξενοφώντος. Προφανῶς, στὴν ἀκτὴ μπροστὰ στὰ διαδοχικὰ συγκροτήματα, λειτουργοῦσε ἡ Σκάλα, ἀσφαλῆς ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς καιροὺς.
53. Ἡ «Διάπορος» ἢ «νησὶ τῆς Βουρβουρούς», μὲ ἔκταση περὶ τὰ 3,5 τετραγωνικὰ χιλιόμετρα, εἶναι τὸ μεγαλύτερο καὶ σημαντικότερο στὸ νησιωτικὸ σύμπλεγμα τῶν ἑννέα νησίδων, τὸ ὁποῖο φράσσει τὸν κόλπο τῆς Βουρβουρούς. Στὴν Διάπορο ὑπῆρχαν δύο παλαιοχριστιανικοὶ οἰκισμοί, οἱ ὁποῖοι βρίσκονται στὴν ΒΔ πλευρὰ τοῦ νησιοῦ. Ὁ οἰκισμὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέα, ὁ σημαντικότερος, ἐκτείνεται στὴν ἄκρη τῆς χερσονήσου, ἡ ὁποία ἀποτελεῖ τὸν δυτικὸ βραχίονα ποὺ περιβάλλει τὸν μεγάλο καὶ ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα «Κρυφτός». Ἡ δημιουργία τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ δὲν πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἄσχετη μὲ τὴν ὑπαρξὴ τοῦ μεγάλου λιμανιοῦ, τὸ ὁποῖο εἶναι ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ ἐλάχιστα καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερο τοῦ Σιγγιτικοῦ κόλπου.
54. Ὁ ὄρμος τῆς Παναγίας εἶναι ἕνα ἀσφαλῆς λιμάνι γιὰ ὅλους τοὺς καιροὺς, ἐπηρεαζόμενο μόνον ἀπὸ τὸν βοριά, κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδό του.

Κατά την αρχαιότητα πρέπει να ήταν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καταφύγιο τῶν πλοίων τῆς γειτονικῆς Σίγγου καὶ τοῦ ἑλληνιστικοῦ οἰκισμοῦ ὁ ὁποῖος βρισκόταν στὸν σημερινὸ «Παλαίφουρνο», στὸν κάμπο δίπλα στὸ ὄρμο. Ἀπὸ τὸν 11ον αἰῶνα ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸ ἐκεῖ μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τὸ βασικὸ χωριὸ τῆς περιοχῆς, «τὰ Φουρνία». Οἱ ἀγιορεῖτες ποὺ εἶθελαν νὰ συντομεύσουν τὸ ταξίδι τους πρὸς τὰ μετόχια τῶν Μονῶν τους στὴν Καλαμαριά, ἔφθαναν στὸν ὄρμο μὲ πλοῖο καὶ συνέχιζαν τὸ ταξίδι ἔφιπποι.

55. Τὸ μονύδριο τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου τοῦ Χρυσοκαμάρου, ἀπὸ τὸν 11ον αἰῶνα μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς Ξενοφῶντος, βρισκόταν στὴν θέση Μυτάρη (=ἀκρωτήριο), ὅπου ὁ προϊστορικὸς οἰκισμὸς ὁ ὁποῖος ἐξελίχθηκε στὴν πόλη Σίγγο. Ὁ μεσημβρινὸς ὄρμος τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου παρέχει προστασία ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τοὺς ΒΑ, Α καὶ ΝΑ ἀνέμους. Θὰ πρέπει λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ νὰ λειτουργοῦσε μία περιστασιακὴ Σκάλα καί, γιὰ περισσότερη ἀσφάλεια, ὑπῆρχε πάντα τὸ γειτονικὸ καταφύγιο τοῦ ὄρμου τῆς Παναγίας.
56. Ὁ ὄρμος τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου, στὰ σημερινὰ Πυργαδικία, παρέχει τὸ ἀσφαλέστερο καταφύγιο τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Σιγγιτικοῦ κόλπου, προσφέροντας ἀσφάλεια ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς καιροὺς, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τοὺς νοτιοανατολικούς. Ὡς Σκάλα ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸ ἐμπόριο τῶν χωριῶν Μεγάλης Παναγίας καὶ Ἀρναίας, μέχρι καὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 20ου αἰῶνα. Μὲ τὴν ὑπαρξὴ τῆς Σκάλας πρέπει νὰ σχετίζεται ἡ γειτονικὴ ὄψιμη παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ ὑπὸ τὸν ναὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου καὶ τὸ μεσοβυζαντινὸ μεγάλο διατείχισμα τὸ ὁποῖο ἀπέκοπτε τὴν πρόσβαση πρὸς τὴν χερσόνησο τῶν Πυργαδικίων.
57. Οἱ μετοχιακὲς ἐγκαταστάσεις τοῦ μεγάλου μετοχίου τῆς Μονῆς Δοχειαρίου βρίσκονται στὴν βόρεια ἀκτὴ τοῦ μεγάλου ὄρμου τοῦ Πυργαδικίου, προφυλαγμένες ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς καιροὺς, ἐκτὸς τῶν ΒΑ, ἀνατολικῶν καὶ ΝΑ. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκεῖ Σκάλα ἐξυπηρετοῦνταν ἡ δικίνηση τῶν προϊόντων τοῦ μετοχίου.
58. Στὴν ἀμμώδη δυτικὴ ἀκτὴ τοῦ Ὀζολίμνου, βρισκόταν ἡ μεσημβρινὴ Σκάλα τῆς Ἱερισσοῦ, ἡ ὁποία ἐξυπηρετοῦσε καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου.
59. Στὴν Τρυπητὴ, ὑπὸ τὴν Σάνη τῆς ἀρχαιότητος καὶ ἀμέσως νοτίως τῆς μεσημβρινῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς διώρυγος τοῦ Ξέρξου, ὅπου καὶ ἡ σημερινὴ Σκάλα πρὸς τὴν Ἀμμουλιανή, σὲ θέση ἀσφαλῆ ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς καιροὺς, ἐκτὸς τῆς νοτιᾶς, ὑπῆρχε ἡ Σκάλα ποὺ συνέδεε τὶς Μονὲς Ζυγοῦ, Ζωγράφου, Ξενοφῶντος, Ἁγίου Παύλου καὶ Μεγίστης Λαύρας, μὲ τὰ μετόχια ποὺ εἶχαν στὴν περιοχὴ τοῦ Πρόβλακα.
60. Στὸ λιμάνι τοῦ νησιοῦ τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς ὑπῆρχε μία ἀξιόλογη παλαιοχριστιανικὴ ἐγκατάσταση, τῆς ὁποίας ἀπόηχος πρέπει νὰ εἶναι τὸ τοπωνύμιον «Μεγάλα Παλάτια τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς», καταγραφόμενον ἤδη τὸ ἔτος 944. Κατὰ τὸν 14ον αἰ. ἡ Ἀμμουλιανὴ ἦταν ἤδη μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου καὶ ὁ ἐκεῖ οἰκονόμος ἐπικοινωνοῦσε μὲ τὴν στεριά ἀποβιβαζόμενος σὲ μία ἀπὸ τὶς δύο Βατοπεδινὲς Σκάλες:
61. στὴν Κακοδιάβα (σήμερα ξενοδοχεῖον «Ἄετῶν Μέλαθρον») ἂν εἶθελε νὰ κινηθῆ πρὸς Ἱερισσό, καὶ στὸν πύργο τοῦ Προσφορίου, ἂν εἶθελε νὰ κινηθῆ πρὸς τὴν Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου.
62. Τὸ Προσφόριον, σήμερα Οὐρανόπολη, ἦταν ἤδη μετόχι τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου τὸ 1018. Οἱ μετοχιακὲς ἐγκαταστάσεις βρίσκονταν στὸ μικρὸ βραχῶδες ἀκρωτήριο ὅπου εἶναι κτισμένος ὁ Πύργος, καὶ ἡ Σκάλα πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὴν θέση τῆς σημερινῆς ἀποβάθρας, ὅπου ὑπῆρχε κάποια προστασία ἀπὸ τὴν νοτιᾶ. Γιὰ τὴν προστασία τοῦ

μετοχίου αλλά και τής Σκάλας κτίσθηκε, πρὸ τοῦ 1356, ὁ πύργος πάνω στὸν χαμηλὸ βράχο τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου. Ἡ Σκάλα τοῦ Προσφορίου ἦταν ἡ ἀσφαλέστερη τῆς μεσημβρινῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὅρους γι' αὐτό, τὸ 1379, ὁ Δεσπότης τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἔγραψε: «ἐπειδὴ τοῦ καιροῦ ἀντιποιοιμένου ἡμῖν ἡνίκα εἰς προσκύνησιν ἀπερχόμεθα τοῦ αὐθέντου μου τοῦ ἀγίου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ πατρός μου, κατήλθομεν εἰς τινὰ πύργον καλούμενον Προσφόρι τῆς θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς μεγάλης μονῆς τῆς βασιλείας μου τοῦ Βατοπεδίου», ὅπου παρέμεινε μέχρι νὰ βελτιωθῇ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ νὰ μπορέσει νὰ συνεχίσει τὸ ταξίδι του πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη.

63. Ἡ Μονὴ Ζυγοῦ ἰδρύθηκε πρὶν ἀπὸ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 10ου αἰ. καὶ καταστράφηκε περὶ τὸ 1180. Ἀπέχει ἀπὸ τὴν θάλασσα περὶ τὰ ἑκατὸ μέτρα, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀρχαιολογικὲς ἐνδείξεις συνηγοροῦν στὴν ὑπαρξη παραθαλασσιῶν βοηθητικῶν κτισμάτων συγχρόνων μὲ τὴν Μονή. Ἀναμφισβητήτως ἡ μεγάλη αὐτὴ μεσοβυζαντινὴ Μονὴ ἐξυπηρετοῦνταν, ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς τὸ ἐπέτρεπε, ἀπὸ μία Σκάλα, ἡ ὁποία βρισκόταν κοντὰ στὰ προαναφερθέντα παραθαλάσσια κτίσματα, δηλαδὴ στὴν δεξιὰ ὄχθη τῆς ἐκεῖ ἐκβολῆς τοῦ χειμάρρου Σταυρόλακκας.

Παραπλέοντας τὴν χερσόνησο τοῦ Ἄθω θὰ ἀναφερθοῦμε μόνον στὶς σημαντικότερες βυζαντινὲς Σκάλες. Ἐπισημαίνω ὅτι ἡ μεσημβρινὴ πλευρὰ τῆς χερσονήσου ὑποφέρει ἀπὸ τὸν νοτιὰ καὶ τὸν μαῖιστρο, ἐνῶ ἡ βόρεια ἀπὸ τὸν βοριᾶ καὶ τὰ μελτέμια.

64. Στὴν Γιοβάνιτσα βρισκόταν (καὶ βρίσκεται) ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σιγγιτικοῦ Σκάλα τῆς Μονῆς Χελανδαρίου, ἂν καὶ ἡ Μονὴ ἀπέχει περὶ τὶς 2.30 ὥρες πορείας.
65. Ἡ Μονὴ Ζωγράφου ἀπέχει περὶ τὰ 30 λεπτὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀκτὴ, ὅπου οἰκοδόμησε τὸ ἐντυπωσιακὸ συγκρότημα τοῦ ἄρσανᾶ (1475) μὲ τὸν ἰσχυρὸ πύργο τοῦ 1517 (εἰκ. 4 καὶ 5).
66. Ἡ Μονὴ Κασταμονίτου ἀπέχει περὶ τὰ 45 λεπτὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀκτὴ, ὅπου ὑπάρχουν τὰ ἐρείπια τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ νεωλκείου τῆς Μονῆς καὶ τοῦ πύργου (παλαιότερος τοῦ 1572), σὲ ἀπόσταση περίπου 150 μ. ἀπὸ τὸν ἄρσανᾶ τῆς Ζωγράφου (εἰκ. 5. Στὴν εἰκ. 6 εἰκονίζεται ὁ σημερινὸς ἄρσανᾶς).
67. Ἡ Μονὴ Δοχειαρίου, κτισμένη σὲ παραθαλάσσια πλαγιά, ἔχει στὴν ἀκτὴ τὸ πυργόσχημο νεωλκεῖο τῆς (περὶ τὸ 1600).
68. Ἡ παραθαλάσσια Μονὴ Ξενοφώντος, ἔχει ἐνσωματωμένο στὸν ὄγκο τῆς τὸ μεσοβυζαντινὸ μεγάλο νεωλκεῖο.
69. Στὴν θέση τῆς σημερινῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος (εἰκ. 7) βρισκόταν, μέχρι τὰ μέσα τοῦ 19ου αἰ., ὁ προστατευόμενος ἀπὸ τὸν πύργο «τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως» ἄρσανᾶς τῆς παλαιᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ ἴδιου Ἁγίου, ἡ ὁποία βρισκόταν στὸ ὑπερκείμενο βουνό, σὲ ἀπόσταση μιᾶς ὥρας.
70. Στὴν ἐκβολὴ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου βρίσκεται ὁ ἄρσανᾶς τῆς ὁμώνυμης Μονῆς, ἡ ὁποία ἀπέχει ἀπὸ τὴν ἀκτὴ περὶ τὰ 30 λεπτὰ τῆς ὥρας. Σὲ κοντινὸ λόφο, πρὸς δυσμᾶς, ὑπέρκειται ὁ λεγόμενος πύργος τῆς Πουλχερίας (παλαιότερος τοῦ 1744), ὁ ὁποῖος προστάτευε τὸν ἄρσανᾶ.
71. Τὸ λεγόμενο λιμάνι τῆς Δάφνης εἶναι Σκάλα σὲ ἀνοικτὸν ὄρμον, ἐκτεθειμένη στὸν μαῖιστρο καὶ στὸν νοτιὰ. Ἡ θέση τῆς στὴν μέση τῆς χερσονήσου, κάτω ἀπὸ τὶς Καρυές, ποὺ ἀπέχουν 2.30 ὥρες πορείας, τὴν ἔκαναν ἀπὸ πολὺ ἐνωρὶς βασικὴ ἀγιορειτικὴ Σκάλα.
72. Ὁ ἄρσανᾶς τῆς Σιμωνόπετρας, μὲ τὸ νεωλκεῖο καὶ τὸν πύργο τοῦ 1567, προφανῶς βρίσκεται στὴν θέση τῆς βυζαντινῆς Σκάλας, ἀπ'

- ὄπου, ἀνηφορικός καὶ δύσκολος δρόμος 30 λεπτῶν τῆς ὥρας, ὁδηγεῖ στὴν ὑπερκείμενη Μονή.
73. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Γρηγορίου μὲ τὸ νεωλκεῖο του, βρίσκεται στὸν μυχὸ ὄρμου, προστατευμένος κάπως ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο γνωστοὺς ἀνέμους.
74. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Διονυσίου μὲ τὸ νεωλκεῖο του βρίσκεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν σκιά τῆς Μονῆς, μέσα στὴν κοίτη τοῦ ἐπικίνδунου Ἀερόλακκου, ὁ ὁποῖος πολλὰς φορὰς τὸν κατέχωσε καὶ τὸν κατέστρεψε.
75. Ἀπὸ τὸν βυζαντινὸν ἀρσανᾶ τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου ἔχει μείνει μόνον ὁ ἐρειπωμένος πύργος του (παλαιότερος τοῦ 1569).
76. Παρακάμπτοντας τὰ ἐπικίνδυνα γιὰ τὴν ναυσιπλοία Ἀθωνικὰ ἀκρωτήρια συναντοῦμε τὸ Μανδράκι (εἰκ. 8;) τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὸ ὄχυρωμένο λιμάνι τὸ ὁποῖο ἔκτισε, περὶ τὸ 968, ὁ ἰδρυτὴς τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσῖος Ἀθανάσιος. Στὸν μυχὸ τοῦ λιμανιοῦ βρίσκονται τὰ δύο μεταβυζαντινὰ νεωλκεῖα, πιθανῶς στὴν θέση παλαιότερων. Σὲ ὑπερκείμενο βράχο, ἀμέσως βορείως τοῦ λιμανιοῦ, βρίσκεται ὁ Πύργος μὲ τὸ περιτείχισμά του, ποὺ προστάτευε τὸ Μανδράκι.
77. Στὸν ὄρμο τῆς Μορφωνοῦς βρισκόταν ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς ὑπερκειμένης (σὲ ἀπόσταση 20 λεπτῶν) Μονῆς τῶν Ἀμαλφινῶν, ἡ ὁποία ἀπορροφήθηκε ἀπὸ τὴν Μεγίστη Λαύρα τὸ 1287.
78. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Καρακάλλου πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὴν ἴδια θέση μὲ τὸν σημερινό. Τὸ ὑπερκείμενο καστράκι, τοῦ 1534, μὲ τὸν πύργο δὲν πρέπει νὰ κτίσθηκε γιὰ τὴν προστασία τοῦ ἀρσανᾶ, ἀλλὰ ἦταν μία ἀπόπειρα μεταφορᾶς τῆς Μονῆς ἀπὸ τὸ βουνό, ὅπου βρίσκεται, στὴν παραλία.
79. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Φιλοθέου βρίσκεται πολὺ κοντὰ στὸν Καρακαλλινό, καὶ πιθανῶς στὴν ἴδια θέση ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς ἰδρύσεως τῆς Μονῆς (πρὸ τοῦ 1013). Τὸ 1017 ἀναφέρεται ἡ ὑπαρξη μιᾶς «ἀποθήκης» τῆς Μονῆς Φιλοθέου κοντὰ στὴν θάλασσα, χωρὶς νὰ προσδιορίζεται ἂν ἐπρόκειτο γιὰ τὸν λεγόμενον σήμερον ἀρσανᾶ.
80. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Ἰβήρων μὲ τὸν ἰσχυρὸ πύργο του κτίσθηκε τὸ 1625. Ὁ προγενέστερος ἦταν ἐνσωματωμένος στὴν βορειοανατολικὴ γωνία τοῦ μοναστηριακοῦ συγκροτήματος, πιθανῶς στὴν θέση τοῦ ἀρσανᾶ τοῦ 10ου-11ου αἰῶνος. Ἡ Σκάλα τῶν Ἰβήρων εἶναι ἐκτεθημένη στοὺς βορείους καὶ ΒΑ ἀνέμους, γι' αὐτὸ ὁ ἡγούμενος τῆς Μονῆς ἐζήτησε ἀπὸ τὸν Πρῶτο, λίγο πρὸ τοῦ 985, τὴν ἄδεια νὰ οἰκοδομήσει «οἶκημα λόγῳ καταγωγίου» στὸν γειτονικὸ «ὄρμο» τῆς Γαλεάγρας.
81. Τὸ 985 χορηγήθηκε ἡ ἄδεια γιὰ τὴν ἀνέγερση τοῦ «καταγωγίου» «εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Γαλεάγραν, τουτέστιν εἰς τὸν ὄρμον τῆς Μέσης ὅπερ ἐστὶ κοινοτόπιον πάντων ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὄρει», καὶ ὡς ἀντάλλαγμα «περὶ τοῦ λιμένος αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς ἵνα, εἰ ἐστὶ πρὸς δύναμιν ἡμῶν, κατασκευάσεται καθ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται πρὸς ἀνάπαισιν καὶ σωτηρίαν πάντων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν παραβαλλόντων πλοιαρίων ἐκεῖσε. (...)». Τὸ 1422 συντάχθηκε συμφωνητικὸ ἔγγραφο γιὰ τὶς λιμενικὰς, ἀποθηκευτικὰς, οἰκοδομικὰς χρήσεις τοῦ χώρου τῆς «Καλῆς Ἄγρας», γιὰ τὴν προτεραιότητα χρήσεως τῶν ἐγκαταστάσεων σὲ περίπτωση συμπαρουσίας πλοίων καὶ γιὰ τὸ δικαίωμα καταφυγῆς στὸν πύργο σὲ περίπτωση ἀνάγκης.
82. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Σταυρονικήτα, πρέπει νὰ βρίσκεται στὴν θέση τῆς προγενέστερης Μονῆς τοῦ Στραβονικήτα, τοῦ 11ου αἰ.
83. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ τὸν φυσικὸ

λιμενίσκο, του οποίου ο βράχος-λιμενοβραχίων ενισχύθηκε με ισχυρό τείχος, και από τα δύο νεωλκεία. Παρέχει καλή προστασία από όλους τους καιρούς αλλά η είσοδός του είναι στενή (είκ. 8(;) και 9) και πολύ ριψοκίνδυνη σε περίπτωση κυματισμού. Η Μονή Παντοκράτορος ιδρύθηκε λίγο πρὸ τοῦ 1358, ἀλλὰ ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε, ἤδη τὸ 1039, τὰ προϋπάρχοντα μονύδρια τῆς περιοχῆς, ὅταν ἦταν ἰδρυμένη κάπου ἐκεῖ «εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν» μία «ἀποθήκη» καί, τὸ 1048, ἓνα «καραβοστάσιον».

84. Ἡ Σκάλα τῆς Κολιτσοῦς βρίσκεται σὲ θέση ποὺ παρέχει κάποια προστασία ἀπὸ τὸν βοριᾶ καὶ ἔχει δύο νεωλκεία γιὰ ψαρόβαρκες. Ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὶς ἀνάγκες τῆς ὑπερκείμενης βατοπεδινῆς κελλιωτικῆς ομάδος καὶ τοῦ πύργου τῆς Κολιτσοῦς (12ος-13ος αἰ.).
85. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου βρίσκεται στὴν ἀνατολικὴ πλευρὰ τοῦ ὁμώνυμου ὄρμου, σὲ θέση ἢ ὁποῖα παρέχει κάποια προστασία ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς ἀνέμους, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἐκτεθημένη στοὺς βορείους. Σὲ περίπτωσι βορείων ἀνέμων τὰ σκάφη τὰ ἔβγαζαν στὴν στεριά ἢ κατέφευγαν στὴν ἀμμώδη δυτικὴ πλευρὰ τοῦ ὄρμου, στὸ Καλαμίτσι. Στὴν ἴδια θέση πρέπει νὰ ἦταν καὶ ἡ Σκάλα ποὺ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὴν ἀρχαία πόλη καὶ τὴν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλική (μοναστήρι;) ποὺ βρισκόταν στὴν θέση τῆς Μονῆς. Τὸ μεγάλο νεωλκείο τῆς Μονῆς κτίσθηκε τὸ 1496. Ἀμέσως ἀνατολικῶς τοῦ ἀρσανᾶ τῆς Βατοπεδίου βρίσκεται ὁ λιμενίσκος «Γυναικολιμνιώνας», μὲ στοιχειώδη προστασία ἀπὸ τοὺς ἡπιούς ἀνατολικοὺς ἀνέμους. Δὲν παραδίδεται ἐξήγησι τοῦ ὀνόματός του.
86. Ἡ προαναφερθεῖσα Σκάλα τοῦ Καλαμιτσίου, παρέχουσα προστασία ἀπὸ τοὺς βορείους ἀνέμους ἀλλὰ ἐκτεθημένη στοὺς ἀνατολικούς, ἐξυπηρετοῦσε «τὸ μονύδριον τῆς Καλῆς Ἄμμου ἢ τοῦ Καλαμιτσίου» καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παλαιὰ μονύδρια τῆς περιοχῆς.
87. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Ἐσφιγμένου παρείχε κάποια προστασία ἀπὸ τοὺς βορείους ἀνέμους, ἀλλὰ ἦταν ἐκτεθημένος στοὺς ΒΑ καὶ τοὺς ἀνατολικούς, ὅποτε κατέφευγαν στὸν γειτονικὸ ὄρμον τῶν Ἀγίων Θεοδώρων.
88. Ὁ ἀρσανᾶς τῆς Μονῆς Χελανδαρίου παρείχε κάποια ἀσφάλεια ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς ἀνέμους, ἀλλὰ ἦταν ἐκτεθημένος στοὺς βορείους. Ἡ Σκάλα του πρέπει νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε καὶ τὴν ἀρχαία πόλη τῆς ὁποίας τὰ κατάλοιπα εἶναι διάσπαρτα στὸν ὑπερκείμενον λόφον «Μικρὴ Σαμάρεια».
89. Σὲ μικρὴ ἀπόστασι ΒΔ βρίσκεται τὸ ὄχυρον παραθαλάσσιον μονύδριον τοῦ Ἀγίου Βασιλείου, ἐξάρτημα τῆς Μονῆς Χελανδαρίου, ἐκτεθημένο στοὺς βορείους καὶ τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς ἀνέμους. Εἶχε δύο μεγάλα νεωλκεία, στὴν βόρεια καὶ τὴν δυτικὴ πλευρὰ του.
90. Ἡ Σκάλα τοῦ Ἀγίου Συμεὼν βρισκόταν στὸν μυχὸ βραχῶδους κολπίσκου καὶ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸ παρακείμενον παλαιὸ μονύδριον τοῦ Βοροσκόπου.
91. Ἡ Σκάλα τῆς Καλίτσας, πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὸν ἀμμώδη καὶ ἐκτεθημένον ὄρμον καὶ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸ παρακείμενον παλαιὸ μονύδριον τοῦ Καλύκα.
92. Παρακάμπτοντας τὸ ἀκρωτήριο Στυλιάρια εἰσερχόμεστε στὸν κόλπον τῆς Ἰερισσοῦ καὶ συναντοῦμε τὸν ἀσφαλῆ μικρὸν λιμένα «Φραγκολιμένα». Δὲν ἐξυπηρετοῦσε κάποια ἐγκατάστασι καὶ δὲν εἶναι γνωστὴ ἡ σημασία τοῦ ὀνόματός του.
93. Σὲ μικρὴ ἀπόστασι βρίσκεται ὁ εὐρὺς καὶ ἀσφαλῆς λιμένας «Πλατύς», δίπλα στὸν ὁποῖον διακρίνονται τὰ κατάλοιπα ἀξιόλογου ἀρ-

- χαίου οίκισμou, του οποίου έχει προταθή ή ταύτιση με την πόλη Δίον. Το όνομα του λιμένα αναφέρεται ήδη σε έγγραφο του 991, όταν ή περιοχή του ήταν μετόχι της Μεγίστης Λαύρας.
94. Πάντα στην βορειοδυτική πλευρά της χερσονήσου «Στυλιάρια», στον Άγιον Εύθύμιο, υπάρχει ένας όρμισκος ο οποίος παρέχει κάποια ασφάλεια από τον Βοριά. Εκεί ήταν ή Σκάλα που έξυπηρετούσε το υπερκείμενο μονύδριο του Αγίου Εύθυμίου, το οποίο ιδρύθηκε περί το 1015.
95. Στο βραχώδες ακρωτήριο όπου το μετόχι της Κουμίτσας της Μονής Χελανδαρίου, βρίσκονται τα ερείπια της παλαιάς Μονής του Σκορπίου (11ος-14ος αί.). Στην άμμώδη ακτή εκατέρωθεν του ακρωτηρίου θα πρέπει να βρισκόταν ή Σκάλα της Μονής.
96. Στα Πυργούδια σώζονται τα ερείπια του παλαιού μετοχίου και του πύργου της Μονής Ίβήρων. Το μετόχι ανήκε στην Μονή ήδη από το 982. Στην άμμώδη ακτή κάτω από τον πύργο θα πρέπει να βρισκόταν ή Σκάλα του μετοχίου.
97. Το σημερινό λιμάνι των Νέων Ρόδων κατασκευάσθηκε πάνω στην ύφαλο λιθοριππή παλαιού λιμανιού, το οποίο ταυτίζεται με το λιμάνι «του Λαρνακίου» που αναφέρεται το 1301. Από αυτό το λιμάνι πρέπει να έξυπηρετούνταν τα μετόχια που είχαν στον Πρόβλακα οι Μονές της βόρειας πλευράς της άθωνικής χερσονήσου: Βατοπεδίου, Χελανδαρίου, Έσφιγμένου και Παντοκράτορος.
98. Το σημερινό λιμάνι της Ίερισσοῦ κατασκευάσθηκε πάνω στην, εν πολλοίς, ύφαλο λιθοριππή παλαιού λιμενοβραχίονα, ο οποίος πρέπει να ταυτίζεται με το λιμάνι της αρχαίας Ακάνθου. Κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο ή Άκανθος ήταν μία ακμάζουσα πόλη και το λιμάνι της πρέπει να ήταν λειτουργικό. Κατά τα τέλη του 9ου αί. όταν έχουμε τις πρώτες πληροφορίες για την μεσαιωνική Ίερισσό, μετά την σιωπή τριών αίωνων, ο αρχαίος λιμενοβραχίονας πρέπει να παρείχε ακόμη κάποια στοιχειώδη προστασία, αφού ή θαλάσσια στάθμη ήταν χαμηλότερη τουλάχιστον κατά ένα μέτρο. Εκτός από την Ίερισσό, το λιμάνι πρέπει να έξυπηρετούσε και τα περίξ μετόχια των Μονών της βόρειας άγιορειτικής πλευράς: Ίβήρων, Άλυπίου-Κουτλουμουσίου και Καρακάλλου. Το 1301 ή Μονή Ίβήρων πλήρωνε φόρο «*ὕπερ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε ἡμίσεως σκαλιατικοῦ καὶ τοῦ λινοβροχείου ὑπέρπυρα ἔξ*», φόρος ο οποίος επαναεπιβάλλεται το 1318 και το 1320. Το 1341 επαναλαμβάνεται ή ίδια φορολογική διάταξη συμπληρωμένη: «*ὕπερ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε ἡμίσεως σκαλιατικοῦ καὶ τοῦ λινοβροχείου ὑπέρπυρα ἔξ, ἅτινα ὑπέρπυρα, τοῦ σκαλιατικοῦ δηλονότι, ὀφείλουσι διδόναι οἱ ἀκουμβίζοντες εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην σκάλαν κατὰ τὴν προτέραν νομὴν καὶ συνήθειαν*». Η κατοχή της μισῆς σκάλας της Ίερισσοῦ από την Μονή Ίβήρων κατοχυρώθηκε και με χρυσόβουλλο του Στεφάνου Δουσάν, το 1346. Από το χρυσόβουλλο του Ίωάννου Καντακουζηνού, του 1351, πληροφορούμαστε ότι ή Ίβήρων κατέχει την Σκάλα «*ἐπικοινωνῶς μετὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς άγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς Ίερισσοῦ*».
99. Η μόνη γνωστή αναφορά «*τῆς σκάλας τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Κορόνης*» γίνεται σε έγγραφο του 1320/1321. Βρισκόταν κάπου ανάμεσα στην Ίερισσό και το Κλεισοῦρι και πρέπει να σχετίζεται, τουλάχιστον ὀνοματολογικῶς, με τον εκεί πύργο του μετοχίου «Κρούνα» ή «Κορώνη» της Μονής Χελανδαρίου.
100. Βορειοδυτικῶς της Ίερισσοῦ βρίσκεται ή βραχώδης χερσόνησος «Κλεισοῦρι», εκατέρωθεν της οποίας δημιουργούνται ὄρμοι οι οποίοι παρέχουν ασφαλές καταφύγιο για ὄλους τους καιρούς. Η

εϋρύτερη περιοχή καταγράφεται ως Ἀρσενίκεια (Ἄνω καὶ Κάτω Ἀρσενίκεια) ἤδη σὲ ἔγγραφο τοῦ 995. Τὸ ἀρχαιοπρεπὲς τοπωνύμιο, σὲ συνάρτηση μὲ τὰ κατάλοιπα διάσπαρτων μεγάλων ἀρχαίων κτηρίων καὶ τὸ γειτονικὸ ὄνομα τοῦ χωριοῦ «Στρατόνι» (ἐκ τοῦ μαρτυρουμένου Στρατονίκεια), ὠθεῖ τὴν σκέψη μας στὴν ἀναζήτηση μὴ μαρτυρουμένης ἐλληνιστικῆς πόλεως «Ἀρσενίκεια». Ἡ Σκάλα πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὸν βόρειο ὄρμο τοῦ Κλεισουρίου, ὅπου ἀναφέρεται τὸ 995 «ὁ τοῦ Παπᾶ λιμὴν», σήμερα «ὄρμος Λιμιώνας» καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ὑποτιθέμενη Ἀρσενίκεια, ἐξυπηρετοῦσε κατὰ τὸν 10ο αἰ. τὸ μετόχι τῶν Μονῶν Κολοβοῦ-Ἰβήρων.

101. Στὸν ὄρμο τοῦ Στρατονίου βρισκόταν ἡ ἐλληνιστικὴ Στρατονίκεια, ἡ ὁποία ἀνθοῦσε κατὰ τὴν ρωμαιοκρατία καὶ τὴν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ περίοδο, ὅταν γινόταν ἐντατικὴ ἐκμετάλλευση τῶν μεταλλείων μολύβδου καὶ ἀργύρου τῆς περιοχῆς. Τὸ 1047 στὴν θέση τῆς πόλεως ὑπῆρχε ἓνα χωριὸ ὀνομαζόμενον Στρατόνιον, στὴν περιοχὴ τοῦ ὁποίου εἶχε παλαιὸ μετόχι ἡ Μονὴ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ-Ἰβήρων.
102. Στὸ βόρειο ἄκρο τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Ἰερισσοῦ, σὲ ἀπόσταση ± 300 μ. ἀπὸ τὸ ἀκρωτήριο Μπροστόμιτσα, βρίσκονται δύο ἀνισομεγέθη νησιά ποῦ ὀνομάζονται «Λευτερίδες» (εἰκ. 10). Τὸ μεγαλύτερο, ἐμβαδοῦ ± 150 στρεμμάτων, περιβάλλεται ἀπὸ ἀσβεστόκτιστο τεῖχος καὶ περιλαμβάνει διάσπαρτα ἐρείπια κτισμάτων. Ἡ πυκνὴ θαμνώδης βλάστηση δυσκολεύει τὴν μελέτη τοῦ νησιοῦ, προφανῶς ὅμως πρόκειται γιὰ στατιωτικὴ ἐγκατάσταση, ἡ ὁποία ἤλεγχε τὴν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ εἴσοδο στὸν κόλπο τῆς Ἰερισσοῦ, ἴσως κατὰ τοὺς μέσους χρόνους. Ἡ Σκάλα ποῦ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸ νησί πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὴν μεσημβρινὴ πλευρὰ του.
103. Στὴν βόρεια πλευρὰ τῆς Μπροστόμιτσας, στὴν περιοχὴ Ζέπκο, βρίσκεται καλὸς ὄρμος ἐκτεθημένος μόνον στοὺς βορείους καὶ ΒΑ ἀνέμους. Στὸν μυχὸ τοῦ ὄρμου ὑπῆρχε ἀξιόλογη παλαιοχριστιανικὴ ἐγκατάσταση, τῆς ὁποίας ἡ Σκάλα θὰ βρισκόταν στὴν ἐκεῖ παραλία.
104. Τὸ 1047 ἡ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων κατεῖχε ἤδη ἓνα μεγάλο μετόχι στὴν περιοχὴ τῆς σημερινῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Παράλληλα κατεῖχε καὶ τὸ ἀπέναντι νησί Καυκανᾶς. Ὑπῆρχαν λοιπὸν δύο Σκάλες γιὰ τὴν ἐπικοινωνία τῶν δύο μετοχίων. Ἡ Σκάλα τοῦ Καυκανᾶ πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὴν μεσημβρινὴ πλευρὰ τοῦ νησιοῦ, ὅπου ἡ ἀκτὴ εἶναι προσβάσιμη καὶ προστατεύεται κάπως ἀπὸ τὸν βοριᾶ.
105. Ἡ Σκάλα τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν στὴν ἀμμώδη ἀκτὴ μπροστὰ στὸ σημερινὸ χωριό.
106. Κάπου στὴν παραλία τοῦ σημερινοῦ Σταυροῦ, πιθανῶς ὅπου καὶ ἡ σημερινὴ Σκάλα, πρέπει νὰ βρισκόταν ἡ Σκάλα ποῦ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὴν Ἀρέθουσα τῆς ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τὸ βυζαντινὸ κάστρο τῆς Ρεντίνας.

Ports and wharfs in Chalkidiki during the Middle Ages

Papangelos Ioakeim Ath.

Abstract:

Even though the length of the coastline of the Chalkidiki peninsula is estimated at more than 600 km (from the *Megalo Embolo* until Stauros), the natural ports providing protection against all weathers are only a few. The oldest port projects in Chalkidiki must come from the 5th century BC. A first catalogue of the ancient port projects in the peninsula includes the ports in Dikaia, in Kassandreia, in Skioni, in Aphytos, in Mekyverna, in Toroni, in Siggos, as well as the uncertain western port in ancient Ouranoupolis and its eastern port, too, and the port in Akanthos. What we have is three historical references to the ports in Chalkidiki, i.e. to the port of Koufo, to the port of Kassandreia and the difficult to interpret reference made by Strabo ("*Kapros nisos kai limen*"), which must be referring to the port of Stageira.

Our information concerning any naval activity in Chalkidiki during the Middle Ages (5th-15th c.) is not much. The term *limen* is mentioned in a few cases. The terms used for the ships' approaching and mooring place is the latin term *Skala* and rarely *Paraskalion*. For the coastal building that firstly accepted any people or goods, which today's name in Agio Oros is *Arsanas*, the term used was *Apotheke* (*Magazi* during the 19th-20th c.).

For the establishment of a Skala technical projects were not necessary. What was needed was just a coast convenient to approach, which could also provide protection against any weather. So as to make the function of the Skala easier, a wooden platform is assumed to have also been constructed, to which the ship approached while loading and unloading.

What follows is a catalogue of 106 Skales, either just referred or even found, of the Middle Ages in Chalkidiki, taking into account that in every hamlet there must have been at least one Skala.



Σχ. 1: Χαρτογραφικό σκαρίφημα της Χαλκιδικής χερσονήσου, στο οποίο σημειώνεται ο αριθμός της κάθε αναφερομένης Σκάλας, στην κατά προσέγγιση θέση της.

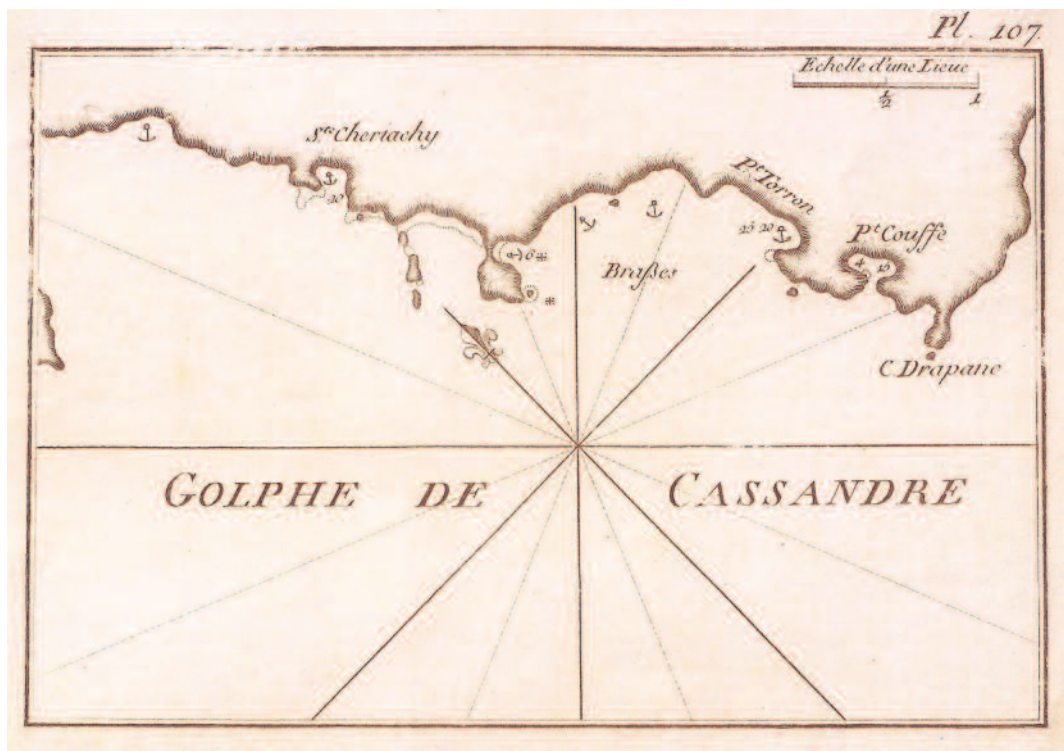
Σχ. 2: Χαρτογραφικό σκαρίφημα του Θερμαϊκού κόλπου, στο οποίο σημειώνονται και οι κατάλληλες θέσεις για άγκυροβόλιο, από την Θεσσαλονίκη μέχρι το Ποσειδί της Κασσάνδρας. (18ος αϊ.).





Σχ. 3: Τò διατείχισμα τῆς Κασσανδρείας με τούς 17 σωζόμενους πύργους του. Δεξιὰ τῶν πύργων 1, 2 καὶ 3 βρισκόταν τὸ ἀνατολικὸ λιμάνι τῆς Κασσανδρείας. (ἀρχεῖο 10ης ΕΒΑ).

Σχ. 4: Χαρτογραφικὸ σκαρίφημα τῆς ἀκτογραμμῆς τῆς Σιθωνίας ἐπὶ τοῦ Τορωναίου κόλπου, στὸ ὁποῖο σημειώνονται καὶ οἱ κατάλληλες θέσεις γιὰ ἀγκυροβόλιο, ἀπὸ τὸ Μπαλαμπάνι (Νέος Μαρμαρᾶς) μέχρι τὰ Καρτάλια (ἄκρωτ. Δρέπανο). (18ος αἰ.).





Εικ. 1: Ό όρμος στο Κάνιστρο τής Κασσάνδρας, από νότου.
Στήν χαμηλή έπιμήκη χερσόνησο διακρίνεται τó έξωκκλήσι τού Άγίου Νικολάου,
κτισμένο πάνω σέ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική. (φωτ. 1-5-1987).

Εικ. 2: Τό μετόχι τής Μονής τού Άγίου Παύλου στήν Κασσάνδρα (σήμ. Νέα Φώκαια).
(φωτ. τής δεκαετίας τού 1920).





Εικ. 3: 'Η έξοδος από τὸ Πόρτο Κουφό, ὅπως φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολη (Βίγλα) τῆς Τορώνης. (φωτ. 1974).

Εικ. 4: 'Ο ἄρσανάς τῆς Μονῆς Ζωγράφου. (φωτ. 1980).





Εικ. 5: Ό παλαιόπυργος του άρσανά της Μονής Κασταμονίτου καί, πίσω, ό άρσανάς της Μονής Ζωγράφου. (φωτ. 1980).

Εικ. 6: Ό άρσανάς της Μονής Κασταμονίτου. (φωτ. Ίούνιος 1980).





Εικ. 7: Ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ λιμένος τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος. (φωτ. ἀρχῶν 20οῦ αἰ.).



Εικ. 8: Ξεφόρτωμα στὸν ἀρσανᾶ τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας ἢ τῆς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος. (φωτ. Fred Boissonnas, 1928).

Εικ. 9: Ἐξοδος μὲ μελτέμι ἀπὸ τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος. (Σεπτέμβριος 1973).



Εικ. 10: Οἱ Λευτερίδες φωτογραφημένες ἀπὸ τὴν Μπροστόμιτσα. (φωτ. Κ. Χιούτης, 1-3-2008).



Vestiges paléochrétiens des ports de la Mer Noire de la province de Scythie. L'état actuel des recherches

Barnea Alexandru

Parce que l'espace demandé pour ce sujet pourrait couvrir un livre et le temps disponible en reste, par plusieurs raisons, trop court, on va noter plus bas la situation présente par rapport aux publications les plus complètes concernant ces vestiges du siècle précédent. Il s'agit de "*Les Monuments Paléochrétiens de Roumanie*"¹, livre paru à Vatican en 1977 et "*Arta Creștină în România*"², tous les deux appartenant à Ion Barnea, le meilleur spécialiste roumain de l'époque en archéologie chrétienne. Nous allons présenter ce riche répertoire par les catégories les plus importantes, en ajoutant chaque fois ce qu'il y en a de nouveau après la parution desdits répertoires.

Inscriptions

Tomis³, 45 inscriptions dont six en latin et une bilingue. Quelques découvertes ultérieures sont moins significatives. On peut y ajouter comme provenant du territoire de la ville l'inscription latine de Lazu⁴.

Histria⁵, six inscriptions dont deux en latin. La plus importante découverte plus récente est celle comprise dans des fragments d'une table d'autel circulaire de la basilique épiscopale de la ville (v. plus bas). Restituée par l'auteur de la découverte, feu Alexandru Suceveanu (1940-2013)⁶, *Histria XIII, La basilique épiscopale*, Bucarest, l'inscription en grec s'avère être la formule typique pour le "trisagion" accepté par le Concile de Chalcédoine de 451.

Callatis⁷, neuf inscriptions, dont deux en latin. Parmi les découvertes épigraphiques ultérieures, la plus importante reste celle des Psaumes en grec peints sur les parois d'un tombeau (Ve-VIe s.)⁸.

Édifices de culte

Tomis. En suivant les publications plus haut citées on peut constater que dans la ville capitale de province on connaissait quatre basiliques paléochrétiennes⁹. Toutefois, dans la plus récente histoire de la ville, les auteurs ont enregistré sept basiliques¹⁰. La dernière découverte, faite au commencement de l'an 1989,

1. Plus bas MPR.
2. Bucarest, 1979. Plus bas ACR.
3. MPR, 33-76.
4. MPR, 61. Nous avons repris la lecture de cette inscription, en la considérant votive, dans SCIVA 1986, 2, 134-40.
5. MPR, 86-9.
6. Suceveanu 2007, 151-3.
7. MPR, 77-86.
8. Barnea 1994, 21-33 ; idem 1995-1996, 183-6.
9. MPR, 123-8.
10. Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2012, 93-5.

est aussi la plus grande de la ville et de la région, longue de plus de 50 m. C'était sans doute la basilique épiscopale. Ses ruines ont été au moins fouillées, enregistrées et partiellement sauvées sous l'hôtel du Parti Communiste (parti unique dans le pays à l'époque) qu'on *devait* y ériger.

Argamum. La plus septentrionale ancienne colonie, par son nom grec *Orgame*, abrite les ruines de deux basiliques¹¹. Une troisième a été identifiée plusieurs années auparavant dans l'île située à l'extrémité orientale du lac Razelm¹². Plus tard, en 1993-1994, les recherches archéologiques de l'ouest de la fortification du Bas-Empire ont identifié les vestiges d'une petite autre basilique se trouvant *extra muros*. Signalée seulement dans les rapports des fouilles, elle va être publiée par dr. Vasilica Lungu qui l'a découverte. Il s'agit d'une basilique à fausse crypte et avec un tunnel menant vers le sud, monument que j'ai pu voir peu après sa découverte à l'invitation de notre collègue¹³.

Histria. On connaissait l'existence de cinq basiliques¹⁴. La sixième est aussi la plus grande et parmi les plus grandes de la région (autour de 50 mètres longueur, peut-être la deuxième après celle tomitaine). Découverte pendant les fouilles systématiques entreprises par notre collègue Alexandru Suceveanu, les vestiges de cette basilique, sans doute épiscopale, ont été publiés dans le XIIIe volume de la série monographique *Histria* plus haut cité.

Callatis. On y reste sur la même basilique ainsi-dite syrienne déjà connue¹⁵, bien que, à la suite de quelques découvertes faites vers la porte sud de la ville du Bas-Empire, maintenant comprise dans l'entrée de l'Hôtel "Président", une autre basilique soit identifiable là-bas sous la ville moderne.

Sculpture architectonique, décorations pariétales et mosaïques

On ne va plus insister sur ce sujet, déjà richement traité dans les livres de Ion Barnea plus haut cités. Les dernières années ont fait ajouter beaucoup d'autres découvertes pour la première catégorie énoncée dans le titre, mais, en général, la typologie reste inchangée.

Objets d'art mineur et céramique

Le paysage n'en est pas tellement changé bien que beaucoup enrichi. Ce qu'on a gagné, auprès d'autres découvertes ajoutées au répertoire connu, est l'identification de la basilique épiscopale tomitaine plus haut évoquée à laquelle appartenait le trésor découvert à Malaya Perescepina en Ukraine et se trouvant maintenant dans le Musée Ermitage de Sankt Petersburg¹⁶, dont la pièce la plus importante est la grande patène de l'évêque Paternus de Tomis du VIe siècle.

11. MPR, 141-4.

12. Barnea, dans Suceveanu 2007; Barnea 1991, 192.

13. Lungu 1995, 48; Barnea 1996, 425.

14. MPR, 135-41.

15. MPR, 128-34.

16. MPR, 71-3 et 220-4.

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Paleochristian vestiges from the ports of the Black Sea
from the province of Scythia.
The present day state of the researches

Barnea Alexandru

Abstract:

Inscriptions. The most of them are from *Tomis*, 45, the majority in Greek. From *Histria*, the most important recent discovery is from the fragments of an altar Christian table from the bishopric basilica concerning the so called "trisagion". From *Callatis*, we have to remember the Psalms inscriptions in Greek from a late Christian tomb.

Christian basilicas. After the last discoveries, there are seven identified basilicas in *Tomis*, one of them a big one bishopric, four for *Argamum* and its territory, six for *Histria*, one of them and the biggest the bishopric and, for *Callatis*, only one and an other probable.

Between other palaeochristian discoveries, it is very important the hoard concerning the *patena* of bishop Paternus of *Tomis* from sixth century AD, now in Ermitage Museum from Sankt Petersburg.

The End of Urban Life on the Dobroudjan Shore of the Black Sea in the 7th century AD

Custurea Gabriel, Nastasi Irina

1. Introduction

Far from being an independent event, occurred at a time with immediate and irreversible effects, the cessation of urban life in the former West Pontic colonies from Scythia Minor was in fact the result of several factors that we shall try to define.

Although there is rich bibliography on Roman-Byzantine cities in the province of Scythia Minor, only a small part refers to their extinction at the end of antiquity.

The cessation of urban habitation in the Dobroudjan port cities was a topic of concern, especially in recent years, for the specialists who have enjoyed more intense researches in those sites¹. We must add to these contributions those of the numismatists who bring to light new discoveries, analyze more fully the economic life of the province and state certain phenomena in monetary terms².

Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine) goes through complex transformations, especially under the pressure of external factors - repeated Hun invasions, disruption of the Ostrogoths -, that become endemic during the 6th century at the Danubian frontier. The arrival of the Avars and the pressure of Slavic tribes will be the *leitmotif* of Imperial Balkan policy. We may add to this uncertainty causing political instability also the consequences of the Gothic war (535-555 AD), of the wars with the Persians (540-545, 572-591 and 602-628), of the Arab offensive from 636 as well as the instability of the Constantinopolitan throne (602, 610).

Together with the political and military factors we also mention the demographic one, which was heavily disrupted by invasion and destruction and by the great plague (541/542, 558, 573/574), continued until the early 8th century³. It is estimated that the population has declined by 30%, despite the new territorial acquisitions of Emperor Justinian⁴.

Natural factors have also left their mark on the situation of the Empire in the 6th century. Climate change that took place after 530 with cold and dry winters contributed to decreased agricultural production and livestock. Earthquakes and floods are also elements that we need to take into account to some extent, especially locally.

Expanding forests and bushes in the 6th and early 7th century is a consequence of human activity withdrawal to urban areas that were better protected from invasions and raids and were appropriate for climate changes.

In this context described above we notice signs of a general impoverishment, a phenomenon taking place in the entire empire, from west to east.

1. Bounegru, Adumitroaei 2005-2006; Sîmpetru 1994; Zahariade 1988; Zugravu 2005.
2. Gândilă 2003-2005, 109-66; Custurea 2004-2005, 491-536; Iacob 2005, 75-80; Poenaru Bordea, Dima 2007, 153-93; Poenaru Bordea 1976, 203-13; Custurea 2008, 533-562; Preda, Nubar 1973; Poenaru Bordea, Ocheșeanu, Popeea 2004; Poenaru Bordea 1982; Iacob 2000.
3. Little 2007.
4. Geyer 2002, 41; Laiou and Morrison 2007, 38.

2. Natural factors' contribution to the gradual degradation of urban life features on the eastern shore of province Scythia Minor during Late Antiquity

2.1 Seismic activity and its effects

First, it must be considered that it is very hard to acknowledge local seismicity for ancient times. Written sources refer only to high magnitude earthquakes with disastrous consequences for famous regions, that were a topic of concern for ancient writers. Nevertheless, the destructive potential of hazards caused by faults, that structurally fragment Dobroudja was high of in antiquity⁵.

Moreover, Theophylactus Simocatta talks about the losses suffered by the Avars near Tomis, around 586-587, when a high tide would have drowned their army⁶. Given that there are almost no tides in the Black Sea, this episode cannot relate to anything but the formation of a large wave, just as literary sources have recorded in 545 at Odessos, Dionysopolis and Aphrodision⁷. This phenomenon can be regarded as the effect of an earthquake, therefore, as an indirect proof of a seismic hazard occurred in 586/587.

Therefore, the 6th century seems to be marked by an enhanced activity of seismic centers in western Black Sea⁸. Amid these natural hazards a series of barbarian invasions was developed, which paved the West Pontic cities decay in the next century. High seismic activity was recorded on the Turkish coast, but we do not know the effects it might have had on the west coast. Surely, these successive earthquakes have emphasized the weakness of the empire and attracted barbaric attacks under causal relationship between natural disasters and invasions, stated by R. Florescu⁹.

2.2 Sea level oscillations

Effects of sea level rise over time are best seen in Constanța and Mangalia, where today much of the area occupied by ancient habitation is below the water surface. For instance, rising sea level led to the coverage of approximately 10 hectares of Callatis¹⁰. Also the entire surface of the Tomitan port is now submerged¹¹. A topographic survey carried in the coastal area, in 1981, showed that the sea level raised.

5. Seghedi 2008.

6. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae* II, 10.

7. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, [6037].

8. Shebalin, Leydecker, Mokrushina, Tatevossian, Erteleva, Vassiliev 1998, 3.

9. Florescu (2000-2001, 451-7) emphasised the importance of the connection between the barbarian attacks and the natural events, by indicating an important and usefull cause-effect outline. According to this, earthquakes for example, would produce a breach in empire's defensive capacities and in such case barbarians would take advantage of its weakness.

10. Alexandru, Constantin, Ionescu 2012, 441.

11. Scarlat 1976.

2.3 Progressive silting of bays

Argamum, with a port located most likely in the south of the headland on which the city stood, was situated on the bank of a former bay which was transformed in 4th-6th centuries AD into a clogging coastal lagoon¹². Harbor life of the city was to be affected by this issue, which coupled with the political events of the end of late antiquity concluded the existence of this secular port city.

A new study on morphological changes of the Black Sea shore in the area of Histria posits as the main cause of their production the neotectonics¹³ activity. Closing down the ancient bay, undergoing some intense changes between 700 BC and 1100 AD¹⁴, occurred at the earliest between 1050 and 1340¹⁵. Probably since the early period, this phenomenon has influenced the evolution of the Histrian port and therefore the entire settlement, whose main pivot was the port itself.

2.4 Effects of the crisis caused by pathological factors

Besides the natural phenomena mentioned above, another factor that led to disturbance or even ended the existence of some settlements in the Balkans was the so-called Justinian plague that attacked the Byzantine Empire's population in waves starting in 541. Coming from Asia Minor, it penetrated Egypt and North Africa, following the shores of the Mediterranean in their entirety and finally reaching up to Britain and Ireland. It affected especially the population located in port cities¹⁶, mainly following trade routes, which have become channels for the spread of the disease.

Also, literary sources mention the disaster caused by the plague in the rural area of Thrace¹⁷. Imperial policy aimed at refreshing the population, whose number was considerably diminished, with groups brought from parts of the empire not affected by the disease¹⁸.

Despite the fact that this epidemic was certified in neighboring territories and despite the commercial relations that the West Pontic cities had with Mediterranean and South-Pontic centers struck by the pathological disaster, there are no literary or epigraphic confirmation stating the presence of the disease also in Scythia. Even if the plague did not reach the West-Pontic area, its effects on the empire indirectly affected this area, too. Demographic crisis in eastern empire weakened the power of retaliation against barbarian populations. This weakness has attracted numerous attacks and Scythia, a buffer province on the northern border of the empire, suffered the most.

3. Archeological perspective

On the continuity of life in old cities until today, W. Liebeschuetz makes a statement on the expression "the end of ancient city". Author cautions that we should rather refer to the disappearance of elements that made a difference between the Greek-Roman cities and others contemporary with them and not to an

12. Morhange, Marriner 2012.

13. Preoteasa, Birzescu, Hanganu, Vespremeanu - Stroe 2012, 201.

14. Preoteasa, Birzescu, Hanganu, Vespremeanu - Stroe 2012, 216.

15. Preoteasa, Birzescu, Hanganu, Vespremeanu - Stroe 2012, 218.

16. Little 2007.

17. Little 2007, 7.

18. Little 2007, 24.

end of this urban centers existence¹⁹. In Scythia Minor, in the case of cities like Tomis, which continued to exist throughout history under different names (Costanza, Kustendje, Constanța or Callatis, Pangala, Mangalia) this assertion is right to some extent. Indeed we are not facing a permanent cessation of living in these two sites but we can certainly talk about a cessation of urban life in both settlements for more than 12 centuries and their continued existence in a pronounced rural form. Instead, the situation is completely different for two other Greek-Roman urban centers on the coast of Scythia Minor, Argamum and Histria, both of them abandoned settlements, where housing did not continue in any form until today. But, at least when referring to Histria, we can assess that the definitive cessation of living was preceded by a period of rural dwelling in the ruins of the ancient city.

From the archaeological point of view this phenomenon can be seen through the following aspects, that we shall try to treat separately: fortified space reduction; changing perception of *intra* and *extra muros* space, culminating in complete deterioration of the urban organization; cessation of *extra muros* housing.

3.1 Fortified space reduction

West-Pontic cities reacted differently to these challenges, of course, also, according to the intensity felt by each one of them. Against the action of natural factors, that have made the access of commercial vessels increasingly difficult in its port and against barbaric attacks, and the general political situation, Histria reacted by reducing the defended urban territory.

This phenomenon of fortified space reduction is recorded also in Callatis, which from an area of 50 hectares in early Roman period reached only 23 hectares in the Roman-Byzantine period²⁰.

Unlike Histria and Callatis, Tomis has functioned in the wider area of the Roman-Byzantine precinct, extended in the late 5th century - early 6th century AD²¹. It is a particular situation motivated by the importance that Tomis, capital of the province Scythia Minor, gains in late Roman period. Probably this can also be related to a demographic growth, possibly by a large number of newcomers, because Tomis, as capital city, was by far the most attractive on the shores of Scythia Minor in late antiquity. We must also take into account that the expansion that took place during the 5th and 6th centuries AD is related rather to the need of building a religious complex on a land that didn't have high density housing, and also to include living space outside the city inside the fortress.

3.2 Cessation of *extra muros* housing

Cessation of *extra muros* housing is obvious at Histria. The reduction of fortified space in late 3rd century AD was followed by the temporary cessation of *extra muros* housing in the 5th century AD²². In the 6th century a new neighborhood was being developed in the same area. In late 6th century - early 7th century it is superposed by the late necropolis (6th - 7th centuries)²³. This moment marks the definitive

19. Liebeschuetz 1992, 1.

20. Alexandru, Constantin, Ionescu 2012, 441.

21. Rădulescu 1966, 23; see also Cheluță-Gerogescu 1977, 258-9.

22. The space that was previously occupied by *extra muros* complex is being superposed in late 4th century AD by the necropolis from 4th-5th centuries AD. Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2003-2005, 118.

23. The necropolis from 6th-7th centuries superposes the neighborhood built in the 6th century in the *extra muros* area. Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2003-2005, 118; Suceveanu 2007, 106.

cessation of the *extra muros* living²⁴. At the same time, the phenomenon of public space invasion by private construction was perceptible in Histria in the last quarter of the 6th century AD²⁵ announcing the downward direction on the urban trail, that Histria will follow in late antiquity, by changing how urban space began to be perceived.

In Tomis, the *extra muros* space is not abandoned but integrated in the fortification system by enlarging the *intra muros* space²⁶.

In Callatis, unlike Histria, living area outside the precinct walls appears to have continued in the late roman period, suburbs here being protected by a *vallum*²⁷. Life in Argamum also continues in the *extra muros* neighborhood until the first part of the 7th century²⁸.

3.3. Changing perception of urban space

Opposed to a strict organization of the living space, with a delimitation of public and commercial areas, in this case occupational differentiation of neighborhoods, begin to appear disorganized given the phenomenon of public space invasion. Therefore, public streets are being blocked in order to extend the living space and new constructions are placed in large public areas²⁹. In Histria, the interior space of housing is extended by blocking certain streets or lanes. Another example is the oven built at the intersection of two main streets³⁰.

In Tomis this phenomenon can be noticed in the edifice with mosaic in the open space in front of the 11 vaulted rooms. This complex, built on three levels (late 3rd century - early 4th century AD) by terracing the cliff in front of the ancient port, was provided on the second terrace, in front of the vaulted rooms with a rather generous public space (approx. 9.8-10m. width and equal to the length of the edifice respectively 101.2m.³¹). There was a fountain, too, in the SE of this square, which could provide sufficient drinking water through underground galleries; a section of these galleries went right under the mosaic. In a later period of time, after the 4th century AD, there were attached, in front of the storage rooms, in at least two phases, rooms that have slowly invaded the space, which was initially destined for the square. The fountain was included in the space inside the annex corresponding to the vaulted room no. 1. Because of modern buildings that have disturbed the stratigraphy and the ruins of the edifice with mosaic we are not able to state a definitive opinion about the chronology of this phenomenon. Even in this situation, it is important to mark its presence also in Tomis, because it proves a change in perception of public space, monumentality, symmetry and general aesthetics, which are characteristic to this architectural complex.

In Argamum the street located between the two late Roman edifices (denoted E2 and E5) is blocked by a construction dated in the first part of the 7th century³².

24. Nubar 1971, 200; Suceveanu 2007, 105-6.

25. Munteanu 2011a, 33.

26. Rădulescu (1966, 84) speaks about an earlier *extra muros* occupation of this area (3rd - 4th centuries AD), overlapped by the late roman *intra muros* district.

27. Alexandru, Constantin, Ionescu 2012, 442.

28. Coja 1972, 40.

29. Munteanu 2011b, 241; 248.

30. Munteanu 2011a, 33 and 38.

31. Rădulescu 1970, 55.

32. Topoleanu 1999, 201.

3.4 Late complexes that mark the transition from “town life” to “life in town”

In Histria, the threshold between phases V A (? 602 - ? 641 AD) and V B (? 641 - ? 681 AD) is equated with the time passing between *town-life* and *life in town*³³.

The last phase in Histria is marked by several humble dwellings, most of them cottages and a complete disregard of the limit between necropolis and settlement. A tomb dating from the last phase of the existence of the city³⁴ was discovered during the archaeological researches around the Episcopal basilica. Therefore, starting with phase V B (?641-?681 AD) Histria appears as a small village³⁵, among the ruins of what once used to be a prosperous city-port.

Unfortunately, in Tomis, late dwellings could not be seen in all preventive excavations, because in modern times almost every major construction was preceded by leveling the land on which it was to be built. Thus, the late layers of ancient dwelling were largely removed during these activities³⁶.

However, during some recent preventive archaeological researches conducted in the *intra muros* area of the late Roman city, a funeral from the 7th or 10th-11th centuries AD was brought to light³⁷. Late housing level found during these excavations, dated between 6th- early 7th century AD, attests an intense activity of slow dismantling of previous constructions, as well as simple dwelling structures and their corresponding pits. Some previous structures continued to be used until early 7th century: the Main Gate of the city (coins from Focas were found around it), the edifice with mosaic (a coin from Heraclius), the edifice with *lentiaron* (oil lamps 6th-7th century AD) and the north portico of the basilica located today beneath Ibis hotel, in the vicinity of one of the main city streets (a coin from Mauricius Tiberius 588-589 and one from Phocas 602-603³⁸).

The phenomenon of de-urbanization seems to have reached Callatis later. The precinct wall was rebuilt in the early 7th century³⁹. Construction works are recorded in the same period of time near present hotel “President”, situated on the promenade of Mangalia town (pavement dated by a coin from Phocas and three fountains⁴⁰).

Use of *spolia* in large numbers is another sign of decay. This situation illustrates the failure to acquire quality material, especially made for buildings erected in that time, therefore a low economic potential in a city that a few centuries ago ranked first among the West-Pontic colonies. This is a consequence of the impossibility of purchasing the construction materials needed, due to the financial inability to buy them, decay of trade of such products, that townsmen could not afford anymore and also to ceasing local production of building materials.

Ruralization phenomenon of Roman urban settlements was very appropriate named, with reference to the situation in Britain, the end of *town-life* and the beginning of *life in town*⁴¹. The same expression was used to depict a similar situation on the west-Pontic shore in late antiquity, where urban life ends and allows for a *survival* inside its ruins.

33. Munteanu 2011a, 42; Suceveanu 2007, 105-6.

34. Suceveanu, Scorpan 1971, 159; Suceveanu 2007, 43.

35. Suceveanu 2007, 129.

36. Rădulescu, Scorpan 1975, 11.

37. Papuc *et alii* 2008-2009, 290-2.

38. Rădulescu 1991, 34.

39. Bounegru, Adumitroaei 2005-2006, 264.

40. Alexandru, Constantin, Ionescu, 449; Bounegru, Adumitroaei, 265.

41. The expression belongs to J. Wachter and it was used to describe the situation in the coastal Scythian area by Suceveanu (2007, 105, n.91), Munteanu (2011a, 42) and Bounegru, Adumitroaei 2005-2006.

4. Numismatic perspective (fig. 1 - 2)

By analyzing single coin finds as well as hoards or deposits, the image of the de-urbanization phenomenon becomes clearer and extremely suggestive.

In Scythia Minor, 7th century emperors' coins were found scattered according to the habitation type, as shown in the following table⁴²:

Emperors	Rural settlements	Fortified settlements	Urban settlements
Phocas	6	6	12
Heraclius	1	7	11
Constans II	-	-	2
Constantin IV	3	1	3
Justinian II	-	1	-

In the Black Sea port cities, the situation is as the following tables illustrate:

Tomis

	AV	M	K	I	€
Phocas	-	19	24	4	2
Heraclius 610-616	-	14	3	-	-
Constans II	1	3	1	-	-
Constantin IV	-	-	1	-	-

Histria⁴³

	AV	M	K	I	€
Phocas	1	7	8	-	-
Heraclius 610-616	-	2	-	-	-

Argamum

	AV	M	K	I	€
Phocas	-	2	4	-	-
Heraclius 610-616	-	3	1	-	-

42. Data included in these tables is part of an unpublished volume G. Custurea, *Circulația monedei bizantine în Dobrogea (sec. VI-VIII)*.

43. A golden coin (*solidus*) from emperor Constantin IV was discovered at Istria-village, situated 5 km away from the ancient port city, Histria.

Callatis

	AV	M	K	IB
Phocas	-	3	1	-
Heraclius 610-616	-	2	-	1
Constans II	-	-	-	-
Constantin IV	-	1	-	-

By analyzing 7th century hidden coin hoards, we note that those from Bălgarevo, Cernavodă 1892⁴⁴, Histria 1950 (IV și VI), Histria 1954⁴⁵ and Pantelimon - Ulmetum⁴⁶, date to 601/602, the year of Phocas' rebellion.

The Bulgarian raids led by Asparuch can be related to the concealment of coin hoards in Constanța 1938, Valea Teilor⁴⁷ and possibly at Silistra⁴⁸.

The same unstable situation is demonstrated by coin hoards discovered in Varna (1967)⁴⁹ and Nesebăr (1947, 1975, 1980)⁵⁰. Both of them are dated to the second half of the 7th century.

From our brief presentation it can be noted that the urban life in the port cities on the western side of the Black Sea ends in the 7th century. Tomis, the capital city of Scythia Minor, Callatis, Argamum and partly Histria managed to resist, but only until the second decade of the 7th century. From this moment forward these settlements are scarcely inhabited, having an improvised aspect, limited to the everyday survival necessities, as archaeological discoveries show.

The above listed causes, as well as other specific ones, induced the collapse of urbanism and urban civilization in Britain (5th century AD)⁵¹, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia (5th - 6th centuries AD). While Syria, Palestine and Egypt enjoyed a long prosperous period under the Arab domination, Byzantium passed through a strong crisis, that caused decline in production, commerce, urban life and monetary system. All these resulted in a major transformation of the economic and social structures.

Translated from Romanian by Andreea Andrei

44. Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006, 140, no. 34; 164, no. 65.

45. Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006, 171-4, no. 72, 73, 74.

46. Custurea, Talmațchi 2011.

47. Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006, 167 no. 67; 180, no. 81.

48. When it was first published the hoard was supposed to have been hidden in year 680, but Morrisson (2006, 155, no. 56) dates it between 565 and 578.

49. Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006, 158, no. 60.

50. Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006, 141-143, no. 36, 37 and 38.

51. Ward-Perkins 2008, 104.

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The End of Urban Life on the Dobroudjan Shore of the Black Sea in the 7th century AD

Custurea Gabriel, Nastasi Irina

Abstract:

In this study we shall try to analyze the specific causes for the gradual degradation of life in the port cities Argamum, Histria, Tomis and Callatis. The authors emphasize the impact of natural factors in the process. The action of specific natural factors is conditioned by the geographic location of these four cities on the western coast of the Black Sea. The authors also mention, in the second part of the article, the main archaeological and numismatic evidence for the gradual decay of urban life in the geographical area mentioned.

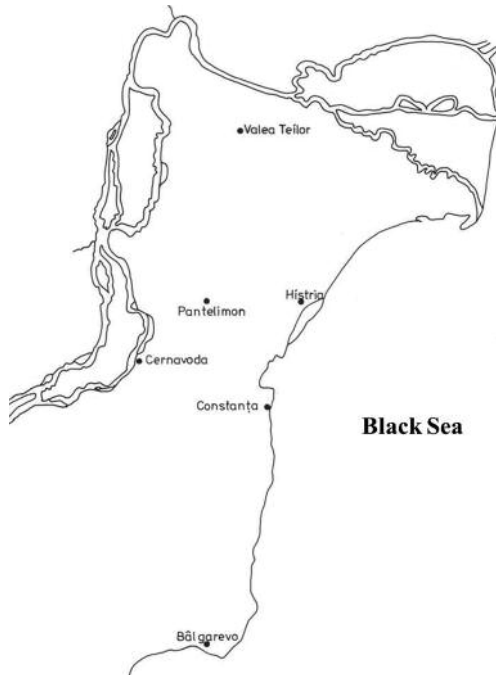


Fig. 1: Coin hoards in Scythia Minor. 7th century AD.

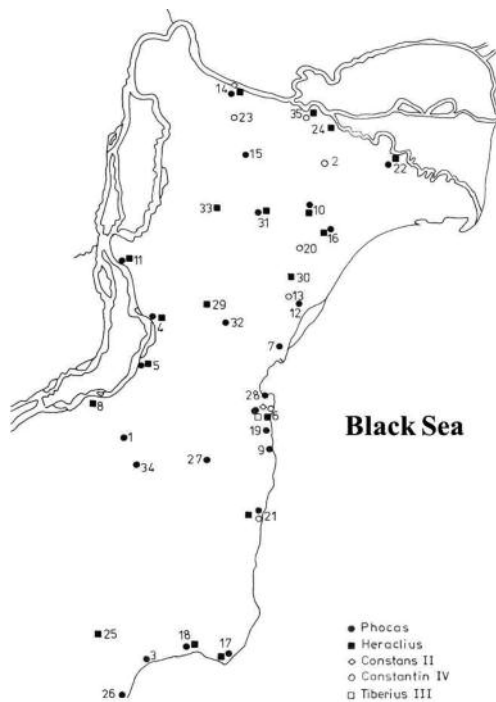


Fig. 2: Scattered coin finds in Scythia Minor. 7th century AD.

- 1. Adamclisi; 2. Agighiol; 3. Balcic; 4. Capidava;
- 5. Cernavodă; 6. Constanța-Tomis; 7. Corbu de Sus;
- 8. Dunăreni-Sacidava; 9. Eforie; 10. Enisala; 11. Hârșova;
- 12. Histria; 13. Istria-sat; 14. Isaccea; 15. Iulia;
- 16. Jurilovca-Argamum; 17. Kaliacra; 18. Kavarna;
- 19. Lazu; 20. Lunca; 21. Mangalia; 22. Murighiol;
- 23. Niculitel; 24. Nufăru; 25. Odârci; 26. Osenovo;
- 27. Osmancea; 28. Palazu Mare; 29. Pantelimonu de Sus;
- 30. Sinoe; 31. Slava Rusă; 32. Târgușor-Ester;
- 33. Topolog; 34. Tufani; 35. Tulcea.

Considerations regarding the commercial traffic through navigation in Danube's mouths area (10th-12th centuries)

Paraschiv-Talmațchi Cristina, Talmațchi Gabriel

10th-12th centuries represent for Danube mouths area a period of multiple political, military and economic changes. The territory between Istros and the Black Sea (Dobrudja), that will be the subject of our attention in the following rows, during periods of ascent and descent, will come up with these changes - a phenomenon that will be reflected in the economic development of the existing settlements, causing some commercial centers to reappear and others to disappear.

The lack of narrative sources in the territory of Dobrudja in the 10th century AD kept in obscurity the political and administrative situation of the area, leaving room for different interpretations. The scarce information from Byzantine and Russian chronicles sources divided the researchers into two groups, when it comes to their dominance. Some claim that its northern half was under byzantine rule, partly and by the Danube line and the coastline, before 971¹. Others think that for some time the entire Dobrudja was only under the authority of the first Bulgarian Czardom². One of the texts that underline these controversies comes from the paper *De administrando imperio*, written in the middle 10th century AD by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, describing the coastal road followed by the Russians when they go to Constantinople: “[...] Then they start again and float to Selina, a Danube channel. Until them pass the Selina channel, Pechenegs are accompanying them. If the sea throws a boat on shore, they unload all goods, to be able to face the Pechenegs. From Selina forward they are not afraid of no one, it enters the country of Bulgarians, and reaches the mouth of the Danube. From Danube is heading to Conopa, and from Conopa to Constantia, then towards Varna, and from Varnas float towards the Ditzina River: these are on Bulgarian soil”³. The toponyms of Byzantine origin from this text and some other existing settlements in the 9th-10th centuries in Dobrudja, in conjunction with some archaeological discoveries, would represent arguments to support the Byzantine presence, even if only on a part of the territory⁴ (fig. 1).

The military events that took place on the Lower Danube in 968-971, which ended with the victory of the Byzantine army led by John Tsimiskes against the Bulgarians and Russians, restored for almost two centuries, with short periods of weakening, the northern frontier of the Empire on Danube⁵. This led to the rapid restoration of the ancient Roman-Byzantine fortifications on the Danube line and also to the raising *a fundamentis* of other strategic points, a responsible action made under direct observations and with the important contribution of the Byzantines, as suggested by the massiveness of some of them. It was done gradually, depending on the importance of the objective position on the lines (also crossing over the river fords were among the first) and lasted until the beginning of the 11th century AD.

1. Diaconu 1962, 1215-35; Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 28-9; Florescu, Ciobanu 1972, 381-400; Diaconu 1972, 377-8; Florescu 1986, 171-7; Mănuțu-Adameșteanu 1991a, 307-9; Damian 1998, 180; Rădulescu, Bitoleanu 1998, 169; Damian 2004, 313; Zbucnea 2010, 320-1.
2. Madgearu 2007, 19.
3. Mihăescu, Ștefan, Hîncu, Iliescu, Popescu 1970, 660-1.
4. Diaconu 1977, 1894.
5. Obolensky 2002, 233-8.

Larger-scale archeological actions were found in *Axiopolis-Cernavodă* (Hionog)⁶, *Capidava*⁷, *Carsium-Hârșova*⁸ and *Dinogetia-Garvăn*⁹, where the debris were evacuated from the perimeter of the fortresses, were cleaned, repaired a part of the walls and gates, towers were rebuild and new premises were raised with smaller areas than the previous ones or buildings with strong military character.

Some interventions were also made at the fortifications from *Sacidava-Rasova*¹⁰, *Beroe-Piatra Frecăței*¹¹, *Troesmis-Iglița*¹², *Arrubium-Măcin*¹³, *Noviodunum-Isaccea*¹⁴, *Aegyssus-Tulcea*¹⁵ and Nufăru-Ilganii de Jos (disposed in mirror with *Proslavita-Nufăru*)¹⁶, but the research stage, more limited or at its beginning, does not allow us to make any appreciation of the extent of the repair actions.

In the second half of the 10th century and at the beginning of the next one new fortifications on the right bank of Danube appeared: *Păcuiul lui Soare*¹⁷, *Derwent*¹⁸, *Cetatea Pătulului*¹⁹ and *Proslavita-Nufăru*²⁰. The first two were placed in the south-west corner of Dobrudja, in a distance of 18km away from the capital of Theme *Distra/Paradunavon, Dorostolon-Silistra*. The third one on the south of *Axiopolis-Cernavodă* and the last one was made towards the Danube mouths, in the north-north-eastern part of the Danubian-Pontic territory, on the most navigable channel of the delta at that time. The existence of port facilities in *Păcuiul lui Soare* and *Nufăru* shows their importance accorded with the Byzantine fortifications, that continue having well defined roles in the structure of the borders. The first one, used as a naval base, controlled the movement of boats on the Danube, in order to protect the capital in Theme's province²¹. Also, from there they could quickly intervene, if the ford from *Dorostolon/Ostrov* was used as a cross-road for enemy troops, coming from the Romanian Plain. The second one, supposedly a Byzantine commandment²², could be an outpost to protect the cities from northern Dobrudja, maybe from those points of exchanging goods, recalled by *Svyatoslav*, before 971, that were pretty attractive to aspiring predators. The fortress from *Nufăru* was also placed near a ford that links with the delta, doubling its role of amortization of hazards. In times of peace or after the decline of close economic centers, it took a part of the goods that were transiting in the area, as the archaeological findings prove²³.

The small surface of some of them leads to the assumption, that they were only small fortresses, simple surveillance forts of the borders (*Derwent, Rasova, Cetatea Pătulului* and *Aegyssus-Tulcea*)²⁴. Unlike them, the others had representative developed settlements, from an economic point of view, giving them a character of an urban settlement in accordance to the Lower Danube area. At their ascendant trend, an important contribution was brought by ports, which in theory were mandatory installations for cities placed on river lines, that for centuries rep-

6. Barnea 1960, 76; Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2001, 40-2.

7. Diaconu 1970, 27-8, 48-9; Florescu, Covacef 1988-1989, 240-4.

8. Aricescu 1971, 356 and n. 15; Panait, Rădulescu, Ștefănescu, Flaut 1995-1996, 122-4.

9. Barnea 1961, 31-2; Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 20, 30-1.

10. Aricescu 1971, 356; Diaconu 1973-1975, 202-3.

11. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 80; Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2001, 48; Paraschiv-Talmațchi, Stănică 2007, 314.

12. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 80; Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2010, 442.

13. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 80; Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2001, 51.

14. Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2001, 55-8.

15. Vasiliu, Mănucu-Adameșteanu 1984, 149-50.

16. Baraschi, Moghior 1979, 189-91; Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2001, 61.

17. Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972, 23.

18. Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2001, 37-9.

19. Diaconu 1973-1975, 203; Florescu 1986, 173.

20. Damian, Vasile, Stănică, Bănăseanu, Samson 2007 (2008), 108-11.

21. Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972, 24.

22. Mănucu-Adameșteanu 2001, 65.

23. Baraschi, Damian 1993, 237-77; Mănucu-Adameșteanu 1984, 363-74; Damian 1996, 187-94.

24. Baraschi 1991, 134.

resented not only an axis of penetration towards the center of the European continent, but also a trade route.

The existence of port facilities during the 10th-12th centuries is archeologically proven, as we previously mentioned, in Păcuiul lui Soare and Nufăru. In *Axiopolis-Cernavodă* where signaled wooden constructions were found, probable traces of scaffolds²⁵. In Capidava the archeological research brought to light a part from the port facilities of the ancient period (2nd-4th centuries)²⁶. The last traces of its use are from the 9th-11th centuries, subsequently the quay being used only occasionally²⁷. In *Carsium-Hârșova*, based on visible facilities in the port area and the discovery of some *tegulae* with the stamp of the Danubian fleet *Classis Flavia Moesica*, we assume that that must have been the ancient (2nd-6th centuries) and early medieval Genovese (13th century)²⁸ port. Specialized research that started in 2012 proved the port facility presence “used at the end of antiquity and the early Middle Ages” by bringing 18 beams-holes (with a thickness “of 8-10cm up to 15-20cm”)²⁹ into the light. In this early stage of research the chronological framing is provisional and the authors of the discovery consider they might belong to the ancient period³⁰. We cannot however exclude the possibility that they are derived from a possible scaffold, that functioned between the 11th-12th centuries. This option is to be followed, especially if at that time the existence of a port cannot be archeological proven, counting on discoveries from the *intramuros* area that had revealed objects brought here by trade from distant areas of the Byzantine Empire and from the North of the Black Sea³¹.

Unfortunately, for many of the fortifications that guarded the right bank of the Danube in 10th-12th centuries we do not have reliable information, that had port facilities. The existence of an ancient facility (that was still being used³²) reaching the land level, leads to the assumption that they had ports³³ or wooden scaffolds (*σκάλαι*), a method used in medieval Constantinople³⁴.

From the narrative sources that reflect the existing situation in Lower Danube in the mentioned period few is the information containing the names of the settlements, which were not usually accompanied by explanations regarding the existence of port facilities. When it is mentioned, their toponym is in a political (events, names of local chiefs and Byzantine administration representatives), or economic context.

The 10th century mentioned toponyms from are the above-mentioned, in the description of the Russian coastal road towards Constantinople (Selina, Conopa and Constantia³⁵, of which only the last one seems to belong to a settlement, namely the ancient Tomis)³⁶ and Pereiaslaveț mentioned in the *Chronic* of Nestor³⁷. The last one (still unidentified on field) appears in a letter from the kneaz of Kiev, Svyatoslav, sent to his mother, Olga, in the area of Lower Danube during the events

25. Baraschi 1991, 142.

26. Matei 1987, 95-101; Matei 1988-1989, 121-41.

27. Talmațchi 2000 (2001), 37-8, n. 30.

28. Ciobanu 1970, 26, 28; Matei 1991, 152; Chiriac, Nicolae, Talmațchi 1998, 141, 149-50; Talmațchi 2000 (2001), 36.

29. Nicolae, Talmațchi, Bodolică, Georgescu, Mihai 2013, 65-6. The researches in this sector were made by C. Nicolae and V. Bodolică.

30. Nicolae, Talmațchi, Bodolică, Georgescu, Mihai 2013, 66.

31. Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2011, 102-15.

32. Baraschi 1991, 142.

33. Diaconu 1986, 225.

34. Baraschi 1991, 142; Damian 2004, 286-7.

35. The shape “Constanteia” we met at Georgios Cedrenos, possible still for Tomis or another fortress “beyond Istros”, according Elian, Tanașoca 1975, 141.

36. Mihăescu, Ștefan, Hincu, Iliescu, Popescu 1970, 660-1.

37. Popa-Lisseanu 1935, 73-6.

from 969-971. Pereiaslaveț was a “city from Danube”, which Svyatoslav wanted it to be the “center of my country” and about which he stated that “There are gathering all the riches: from Greece gold, fabrics, wine and different fruits; from Boemia and Hungary silver and horses; from Russia furs and wax and honey and slaves”³⁸. During the 11th century only Vicina (yet unidentified on field³⁹) appears in Anna Comnena’s “Alexiada”, mentioned as a city controlled by a leader “most important” of those “that live at Danube”⁴⁰. In the next century appears Vicina (“...a thriving city with open places, with fertile fields and cereal crops”), Garvăn-Dinogetia (which would have been conquered by the Cumans in 1148) and probably Nufăru⁴¹. To these we add, for the Lower Danube area, Theme’s capital Dorostolon-Silistra, present in written sources during this period⁴² (as a “well known city among those placed near Istros”, that had “two fortresses”)⁴³.

Other mentions are put in a general mode: “80 cities on Danube”⁴⁴ (the second half of the 10th century); “more than ten cities (πόλεις) and ... no less than five hundred villages (κώμαι)”⁴⁵ (end of 10th - beginning of 11th century); “cities from Danube”⁴⁶ (11th century); “Paristrieni cities”⁴⁷ (11th-12th centuries) or “cities from Danube”⁴⁸ (12th century). Even so, they reflect an approximate fresco of the area related to the density of the settlements at some time or their degree of development. To what extent their archaeological findings are is to see.

The objects produced in a craft workshop have a smaller or larger area of commercialization, given, generally, by their quality. This is closely related to the technical and aesthetic level reached by the respective workshop, often impelled by the development degree of the society, namely the community in which it operates. In Lower Danube, during the 10th-12th centuries, a lot of the “goods” requested were provided by the local production (existing mainly in urban settlements, but not only), while luxury items came from remote areas mostly through merchants. Without a doubt a considerable part of the cities and villages mentioned in Byzantine and Russian chronicles had developed handicrafts areas, which were part of the commercial and handicrafts centers, some at a larger scale, as Periaslaveț from Danube, which we mentioned before.

Findings from archeological discoveries confirm the existence of some craft areas and commercial activity in the territory of the recalled settlements in the mentioned period. In Păcuiul lui Soare numerous elements are to be found suggesting the existence of a workshop for clothing accessories, an activity also found in other settlements from the Lower Danube (Isaccea, Tzar Asen)⁴⁹. Moreover, objects that come from the same mold, but were discovered in Tzar Asen and *Dinogetia-Garvăn*⁵⁰, suggest the existence of trade exchanges between the two centers. The appearance of specific tools⁵¹ and of three bronze molds in Păcuiul lui Soare leads to the hypothesis of the presence of specialists in making ornament objects⁵². More-

38. Popa-Lisseanu 1935, 73-4.

39. Mainly, two are the settlements with which Vicina was identified in technical literature, Păcuiul lui Soare and Noviodunum-Isaccea.

40. Elian, Tanașoca 1975, 89.

41. Baraschi 1981, 316-9.

42. Baraschi 1981, 313-6.

43. Elian, Tanașoca 1975, 101.

44. Popa-Lisseanu 1935, 71.

45. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 90.

46. Elian, Tanașoca 1975, 159.

47. Elian, Tanașoca 1975, 155, 163, 225, 227.

48. Baraschi 1981, 314, n. 21.

49. Damian 1992, 309-21, n. 61.

50. Damian 1992, 318, 321 where is mentioned possible existence of itinerant specialists.

51. Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972, 167.

52. Diaconu 1987, 119.

over, the discovery in *Dinogetia*-Garvăn of an ornament made out of a golden leaf in one of the molds discovered in Păcuiul lui Soare seems to confirm a commercial activity between the two settlements⁵³. Processing of brass, bronze, lead and silver and supposedly of gold, is found in the settlement of *Dinogetia*-Garvan⁵⁴. There were also links to Nufăru, Tulcea, Isaccea, Greci, Păcuiul lui Soare and Silistra, in order to cover any needs in jewelry workshops⁵⁵, as proven by the discovery of conic-spheres vessels used for transportation (in Nufăru a deposit of 20 such vessels was discovered⁵⁶). The presence of some objects (crosses, pendants etc.) in Ostrov (Tulcea County), Isaccea, Oltina and in other parts of Dobruja⁵⁷, shows also a request of such products from the local population. The processing of iron, sometimes with all the steps involved before the final product, has been proven in numerous settlements from the Danubian-Pontic territory. In Păcuiul lui Soare and Gura Canliei the large amount of iron slag supports the existence of this activity⁵⁸, in Capidava and Oltina workshops were found⁵⁹, in *Dinogetia*-Garvăn a blacksmith "house"⁶⁰ and in Valu lui Traian kilns for melting ore⁶¹ were discovered. In *Dinogetia*-Garvăn and Păcuiul lui Soare there were signaled objects or workshops for the processing of bone and horn⁶² and weaving workshops⁶³. These are just some examples that can suggest an improvement of the technology level, such as the increased production, that can ensure the needs of the community, the influence of the area and, less likely, the requests of certain "clients" from outside this area. About the trade movement of some products over longer distances two examples were already mentioned above (*Dinogetia*-Garvăn/Tzar Asen, respective *Dinogetia*-Garvăn/Păcuiul lui Soare); obviously these cases are not the only ones. In what regards the local needs and the communities of its influence, tools for various occupations or crafts, weapons, ornaments and other items necessary for a household appear throughout this area, without neglecting the fact that some could be produced even by the owner.

The most abundant products of the period come from pottery. During the Middle Ages in the Istro-Pontic territory produced pottery at a level of a craft is proven in *Dinogetia*-Garvăn (through the discovery of three pottery kilns and some workshops, from the 10th-12th centuries)⁶⁴, in Nufăru (three pottery kilns, two dated in 10th-11th centuries and one at the end of 11th century and beginning of the following one)⁶⁵, in *Noviodunum*-Isaccea (a kiln from 10th-11th centuries)⁶⁶, in *Carsium*-Hârșova (two pottery kilns dated in the second half of 11th century and the beginning of the next one)⁶⁷, in Capidava⁶⁸, in Păcuiul lui Soare (a kiln that operated at the middle of the 11th century)⁶⁹ and the settlement from Bugeac hill (a kiln from 9th-10th centuries)⁷⁰. We will outline the areas of commercialization the ceramic products from this "pro-

53. Diaconu 1987, 120; Olteanu 2010, 236-8.

54. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 78-80.

55. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 80; Mănușcu-Adameșteanu 1984a, 363-74; Custurea 2000, 49-50.

56. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu 1984a, 363.

57. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu 1984b, 243-6; Custurea 2000-2001, 584-5; Mănușcu-Adameșteanu, Stănică, Poll 2008, 314; Custurea, Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2009, 485-92; Custurea, Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2011, 135-48.

58. Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972, 167; Irimia 1981, 117.

59. Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958, 141; Custurea, Talmațchi, Mototolea, Șova 2010, 131.

60. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 42, 72.

61. Cliante, Talmațchi, Talmațchi, Potârniche, Lungu, Bodolică, Șova, Heroiu, Dobrotă, Mitroi, Vasilescu, Lascu, Georgescu, Petcu, Petcu 2012, 294-5.

62. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 88; Diaconu 1987, 119.

63. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 119-21; Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972, 173.

64. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 127-9.

65. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu 1998, 81.

66. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu 1991b, 60, n. 6.

67. Panait, Rădulescu, Ștefănescu, Flaut 1995-1996, 133; Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2009, 429, 433.

68. Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958, 247.

69. Baraschi 1974, 461-72; Diaconu 1987, 117.

70. Baraschi, Papisima 1977, 591-5.

duction centers” taking into account the composition of pulp, of which the pottery and the stamps on the bottom of these recipients⁷¹ were made of.

In the settlement of *Dinogetia*-Garvăn a large number of pottery with stamps was found, whose pulp has white limestone⁷² in it, a rock considered to be found mostly in this area. For this period in which the respective center was active, pottery with stamps and white limestone are also met in Isaccea, Iglîța, Ostrov (Tulcea County), Basarabi, Mangalia and Păcuiul lui Soare⁷³ on Dobrudja territory, and in Moldavia in Hlincea and Iași⁷⁴. In *Noviodunum*-Isaccea the limestone is accompanied by crushed snail shells, observed also in a vessel from Iglîța, but not met in the pottery from *Dinogetia*-Garvăn, where among numerous types of signaled degreaser (limestone, oyster shell, Bugeac shale or quartzite, crushed shards) crushed snail shells do not find their place. This observation, as long with the presence in Iglîța of three other pots with white stamps, of which the pulp has in its composition only crushed shells, leads us to assume that between this settlement and the pottery center from *Noviodunum*-Isaccea there were trading exchanges.

The phenomenon of trading stamped pottery made from kaolin (a type of clay present in Dobrudja in the central-north area) can be proven by discoveries and by the presence of such recipients in southwest Dobrudja (Păcuiul lui Soare and Satu Nou-Constanța County), in south (Sultana) and east (Chiscani and Platonești) Muntenia, and in the Intra-Carpathian territory (at Brașov)⁷⁵. Pottery without stamps made out of kaolin discovered in the territory between Prut and Dniester is considered to come from the Lower Danube area⁷⁶.

Interesting for our approach is also the spread of jugs with pottery stamps. Presented through a single copy in the Danubian-Pontic territory (in Istria⁷⁷), this ceramic category is better represented in the south and Intra-Carpathian area, which leaves room for the assumption of a Balkan origin, hypothesis supported by their circulation in an earlier period of existence in the center of Nufăru, where such vessels, oxidant burned, were made in the end of the 11th century and at the beginning of the following one⁷⁸.

Another factor taken into account, when we followed the commercialization of common used pottery, was the decor. In the second half of 10th century appears, in Dobrudja, the ornament made with a toothed wheel, that in the first half of the next century will have a large spread in the settlements from the northern part of the respective territory⁷⁹. The rare occurrence of such pottery in the South of the province gave way to the assumption that they got there by trade⁸⁰.

However, beyond these factors, more or less viable, we must not neglect the possibility that some of these pots, which are at a distance from the production center, so as to get in the place of the discovery as a “wrapping” for food or as a recipient for water, needed to travel a longer path or even come from another commodity.

I made this statement in order to reflect the movement of goods within a relatively close space to the production center. That a part of these handicrafts reached these markets through naval commerce cannot be denied. This is sug-

71. Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2006, 22-57; Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2008, 43-56.

72. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 134, 174.

73. Barnea 1959, 905; Barnea 1962, 355-6; Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972, 71; Mănuclu-Adameșteanu 1977-1978, 233; Paraschiv-Talmațchi, Stănică 2005-2006 (2007), 287; Paraschiv-Talmațchi, Stănică 2007, 313-34.

74. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Wienckievici, Zaharia, Zaharia 1953, 317-8; Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2006, 54.

75. Mitrea, Anghelescu 1959, 538; Harțuche, Anastasiu, Broscățean 1967, 145; Pop 1968, 11; Diaconu, Baraschi 1974, 389; Mitrea 1988, 112, 114; Matei, Coman 1999, 86.

76. Postică 1994, 103.

77. Fiedler 1992, Taf. 18/7.

78. Mănuclu-Adameșteanu 1998, 81.

79. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 252.

80. Olteanu 2010, 236-8.

gested by the geographical position of these settlements, in which almost all of them were discovered close to Danube or some other rivers that flow into it.

Along with the common use of pottery in the earlier medieval settlements in Dobrudja, we also meet import pottery of superior quality consisting of jugs, pots, mugs, cups, bowls, plates and amphorae (fig. 2). A part of them has glazed body (fig. 2/4, 7), sometimes presenting relief ornaments or zoomorphic decor and sometimes decorated in the *sgraffito* technique. While making vessels with glaze (especially olive-green) is expected at a local level (without being yet proven), however, some of the respective pottery have a high level of specialization, apparently untouched by potters from the Lower Danube. This category is an evidence of the existence of ceramic material movement, also at large distances, being brought here especially from the Byzantine centers⁸¹.

The ceramic with golden engobe, with a discreet presence in the Dobrudjan sites, represents another category that reached Lower Danube through trade. It was discovered in Nufăru, Garvăn, Hârșova (fig. 2/5), Capidava, Oltina and Păcuiul lui Soare⁸². Its presence is consistent in sites which are south of Balkan Mountains suggesting its manufacture in that area⁸³, and respectively penetration in the Lower Danube done through naval trade (all discoveries of Dobrudja come from sites located on the right bank of the Danube). Its rarity could be due to transport difficulty of these vessels (with thin walls) at distance, including their price⁸⁴.

The amphoras and clay glazed eggs (fig. 3/5-8) are two more ceramic categories that entered the Dobrudjan settlements, especially through trade. If the first is found in significant amounts in almost all settlements on the Danube river bank and the Black Sea coast, but not only, the others have a very low presence. Glazed eggs and decorated with yellow curly braces on a dark background were found in Garvăn, Isaccea, Nufăru and Hârșova (along the Danube line) and on the coast, in Bulgaria, in Varna⁸⁵. The workshops, in which these clay glazed eggs were manufactured, were discovered in Kiev and in its proximity their existence in other regions is being attributed to the commercial links with these paternal centers⁸⁶.

Overall, the centers from which these products came through commercial links (especially naval routes) were either in the North of the Black Sea (Cherson, Sarkel-Belaja Veja or, further inland, Kiev), in the South, from the Byzantine Empire (Constantinople or other centers)⁸⁷. In general, they were brought either as luxury goods or served to transport some certain goods (e.g. amphorae).

Alongside pottery, we also meet common ornaments (rings, earrings, pendants, bracelets of gold and silver, glass beads and bracelets - fig. 4) or ornaments with religious character (golden reliquary-crosses) adorned with filigree technique and semi-precious stones, bronze crosses, a medallion in email cloisonnés with religious representations, small icons of sandstone, steatite and amber, miniature silver gilded diptychs - fig. 5) brought from Byzantine, Russian, Bulgarian and central European workshops (in Garvăn, Isaccea, Nufăru, Pietra Frecăței, Păcuiul lui Soare, Oltina)⁸⁸, silk embroidered with golden thread of Byzantine origin (in Garvăn)⁸⁹, clothing acces-

81. Vilceanu 1962, 382-4; Damian 1996, 188-9; Theodorescu 2002, 137-9.

82. Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 271-4; Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972, 113-5; Baraschi 1989, 187-98; Damian, Vasile, Stănică, Bănăseanu, Samson 2007 (2008), 118; Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2011, 103-7.

83. Baraschi 1989, 196; Borisov 1989, 220.

84. Borisov 1989, 216, where the lead repairing of such vessels found in Djadovo and Preslav is mentioned.

85. Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2011, 108-9.

86. Rybakov 1948, 362; Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967, 327.

87. Barnea 1954a, 516, 527; Barnea 1955, 3; Vilceanu 1962, 382-4; Diaconu, Stănescu 1970, 288 and n. 46-8; Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 282; Baraschi, Damian 1993, 243.

88. Barnea 1961, 50; Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 305-15; Mănucu-Adameșteanu 1977-1978, 238; Topoleanu 1988, 311-7; Theodorescu 2002, 132-7.

89. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 300.

sories from the northern Black Sea, the Byzantine Empire and perhaps the Asian Middle East (globular buttons; oval or pear-shaped; metal needles; belt buckles and ornaments; applica)⁹⁰, bronze and bone objects from the Russian steppes⁹¹, spindle whorl from Kiev area (in Nufăru, Garvăn, Hârșova - fig. 3)⁹² etc.

Such products were circulated throughout the Byzantine Empire, or between these areas and various regions. At long distance of goods circulation contributed the Byzantine merchants and also Russians, Arabs and Europeans. From the ports where the goods arrived they were taken over by "local" merchants. For example, in the 10th century the Russians brought from Constantinople silk products, various accessories, wine and fruits, considered as luxury products, requested by the upper class⁹³. In the 11th century to the same destination were transported "*fabrics, jewelry, pottery, crystal, pepper, olive oil, wine, fruits, icons and objects for liturgical use*"⁹⁴. Towards the capital of the Byzantine Empire, from the northern Black Sea they brought slaves, wax, honey, furs, fish (in high demand in fasting period) and wheat⁹⁵.

The close economic and commercial links between the Byzantine Empire and the Dobrudjan space finds two more determinants vectors in the extensive study of the analyzed problem - on one side is the existence of Byzantine sphragistics material, on the other side is the presence and circulation of Byzantine coins.

In the first situation, lead seals are found, especially, on the coast seaside and in the important crossing fords of Danube. Only the commercial seals are from the 4th-6th centuries (coming from Smirna, Koloë, Efes, Laodikea, Magnesia, Ypaipa, Sionia, Metropolis or coming from the emperors Constantine the Great, Julian the Apostate and Justinian)⁹⁶. In the 9th-12th centuries there is total lack of discoveries. Only one lead seal is from there, that could represent a possible commercial relation (or other things of this kind contained in a personal or official letter addressed to a person of the same rank and interests from Silistra)⁹⁷, that belong to a commercial agent (Imperial Customs chief) of Cherson, named John (dated in 9th century)⁹⁸. The absence of proper commercial seals has not affected the trade in general, conducted within Dobrudja, as we have already seen. The only category of lead seals, specifically during these centuries, present in discoveries, is that for correspondence. Still, we recall the hypnotize according to which there is a possibility that the imperial lead seals on bags with special goods served to merchants to be recognized as legal locally and regional in their daily journey. In other words we could discuss about the commercial seals-signs (as proposed for example for Silistra)⁹⁹. Lead seals attest an active military life, administrative etc. of Byzantine origin¹⁰⁰.

Byzantine coins are an uninterrupted present between the 9th-12th centuries, and mostly having the 10th century AD considered as the revival moment¹⁰¹. Penetrated either as payment (wage) for the soldiers in the local population (found in contexts of regional conflict, but also for the current guard of the known centers) or sometimes subsidies (the two situations are generally responsible of the coming of

90. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 300-5.

91. Barnea 1955, 10.

92. Barnea 1954b, 197-8.

93. Obolensky 2002, 208.

94. Obolensky 2002, 248.

95. Brătianu 1999, 238; Obolensky 2002, 208, 248.

96. Barnea 2000, 294-5.

97. Damian 2004, 291.

98. Barnea 1966, 283, no. 6.

99. Georgiev 1995, 187-8, n. 7-9.

100. Barnea 1971, 149-72; Barnea 1985, 297-312; Iordanov 1985, 98-107; Barnea 1986, 117-25; Barnea 1997, 183-9; Barnea 1996, 218; Barnea 1987, 93-8; Barnea 2000, 297-306.

101. Custurea 1986, 276.

denominations of precious metal), or through commercial ways (especially bronze) by the merchants and, in general, through the movement of people, coins have played an important role in the development of economic and trade relations. It is the most sensitive and accurate indicator of local development. The presence of byzantine monetary circulation (especially bronze, that express economic and commercial fluxes) from Dobrudja in the analyzed centuries, depended, along the numerous politico-military events, on the monetary-financial policy of each emperor in that area¹⁰². The byzantine hoards, specific in the studied chronological interval discovered in Dobrudja, are ordered in multiple hoards intervals, hid because of some serious situations, consequences of internal fights, invasions and anarchy's due to military uprisings¹⁰³. The monetary circulation analysis reveals us the concentration of discoveries in the Danube and the seaside area¹⁰⁴. The researches in the past two decades have provided us with rich information regarding the monetary situation of Dobrudja during the 10th-12th centuries. Thus, by the end of the 9th century and early 10th century, a sustainable monetization of the local economy was found, even if the monetary economy seems to had an insularity character¹⁰⁵. The 10th century will further improve the situation by multiplying the monetary economy and specimens dynamism, a more diversified penetration (as number), by a significant widening of the area of discovery (as expansion). Also, you can find a uniform repartition of discoveries from the Istro-Pontic territory¹⁰⁶. A source for the monetary luggage present in the Dobrudjan province comes also from Cherson, which would suggest a direct participation of some Byzantine naval units from the Crimean Peninsula in the Danubian space¹⁰⁷, with a maximum of presence and circulation during 919-944 AD¹⁰⁸.

In the 11th century (shaded until towards it's second half) there is a significant revival of Byzantine monetary circulation (as a result of the strong monetization of the economy and remarkable increase in the volume of currency on the market), due to the large investments made in the province to restore the old fortifications and cities, respectively even the building, a *fundamentis*, of new such settlements, monitoring and control points (the soldiers wages, taxes, trade payments)¹⁰⁹. Only invasions (and sometimes excessive taxation)¹¹⁰ and military uprisings are producing distortion and damage in a general positive evolution, leading to hindering the reach of Byzantine central imperial coins in the edge of imperial provinces with direct consequences on the dynamics of economic systems. Such variations of growth rate of monetary circulation have been observed (especially in the south of the province)¹¹¹, sometimes with substantial increases in the volume of coin in periods of monetization¹¹². However, their spread within findings is increasingly lower, concentrating in urban fortified centers. Another reason is the introduction of inflationary policies, started on a small scale under Constantine IX and maximized under Michael VII and Nicephorus III Botaneiates (a policy of slow inflation, but ongoing, called development inflation)¹¹³. Even though sometimes increases in the monetary presence can be identified, their intrinsic value falls unceasingly¹¹⁴. The Empire's

102. Custurea 2000, 73.

103. Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 146-53.

104. Custurea 1986, 276.

105. Custurea 2000, 100.

106. Custurea 2000, 122.

107. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1980a, 164.

108. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1996, 114, 123-4, no. 147, 153-4; Parușev 1990, 141.

109. Custurea 2000, 112.

110. As in the case of John Orphanotroph, Barnea, Ștefănescu 1971, 124.

111. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu 2001, 121-2.

112. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu 2001, 154.

113. Custurea 2000, 119.

114. Custurea 2000, 119.

deep economic and financial crisis has accentuated, the title of silver and golden pieces has diminished, as the weight of the bronze pieces, and in Dobrudja, gradually, we are witnessing a massive downfall of the volume of coin¹¹⁵. In this regard, to supplement the cash requirements, we mention the emergence at Isaccea of a local mint (probably also itinerant), which casted Byzantine copper issues (with an inferior value of the official standards), to pay the garrison and administration under Emperor Constantine IX and reactivated in the second half of the 11th century¹¹⁶. Local markets are becoming increasingly supplied with casted tiny coins (especially in the northern half)¹¹⁷ covering further currency needs required in the local trade¹¹⁸, due to the politico-economic uncertainty and the obstruction of coins circulation channels. Towards the end of the century it goes back to the island economic-monetary system, Danubian and coastal¹¹⁹.

Since the reign of Byzantine Emperor Alexios I the monetary circulation from the Danube mouths enters into a new phase, influenced by a monetary reform aimed at restoring the monetary and financial system of the Empire, even though the effects were not shown very soon, probably in the first two decades of the 12th century¹²⁰. Moreover, during this reign a new monetary workshop was identified in Isaccea, which issued three stamena issues, intended probably for the Byzantine army expenses¹²¹.

Then, during the next few centuries, the monetary circulation knew special valences, until the reign of Manuel I Comnen¹²². During the reign of this emperor, around the middle of this century (or even sooner), appear signs of the economic and financial regression¹²³. This situation was perpetuated towards the end of the century and the crisis was deepening strongly, limiting the role and importance of the monetary document in the economic life of Danube Mouths region, even if the depreciation was not sudden¹²⁴. The most striking indicator of the difficult economic and financial context is shown by the large number of monetary hoards buried in this period (1185-1203 AD) and even sooner¹²⁵. However, the monetary discoveries betray, by the presence of issuing mint, the existence of direct or indirect relations with centers from Macedonia, Greece, Thrace and the Crimea from the Byzantine Empire¹²⁶.

In conclusion, the monetary system present in Byzantine Dobrudja was (punctual) in close resonance with the exchange from the Empire, being directly influenced by events of larger or smaller scale (but with direct consequences) that occurred locally and regional. All this aspects contributed, especially towards the end of the studied interval, to the disappearance the monetary economy in Dobrudja¹²⁷.

The presence of import products in the area is due to the development and stratification of the society, but especially to the fact that the Istro-Pontic territory presented, at that time, both a reserved area for Byzantine trade and a commercial node in which, as presented in Nestor's *Chronica*, merchants from Central Europe,

115. Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 136.

116. About Isaccea workshop and its activity see Mănușu-Adameșteanu 1998b, 135, 147; Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 137-47.

117. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1983, 265-73; Mănușu-Adameșteanu 1998b, 148; Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 147.

118. At one point it restores the strong supremacy of the coins minted in relation to those molded and the monetary workshop stops its activity according to Mănușu-Adameșteanu 1998b, 148.

119. Custurea 2000, 122.

120. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1980b, 54-5.

121. Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 163-73.

122. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1989, 130; we mention a contrary opinion at Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 194.

123. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1980b, 55; Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 194.

124. Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 194.

125. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1980b, 56; Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 207-8.

126. Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1980b, 56.

127. Custurea 2000, 122.

northern Black Sea and the southern Balkan Peninsula were gathering. Fairs (as Thessaloniki and Ephesus¹²⁸) or only transit areas (as Trebizonda¹²⁹), some urban settlements from Lower Danube were capable to draw and absorb a part of the goods from the commercial and industrial centers of the time, both luxury and common use items.

The circulation of luxury merchandise was possible due to merchants¹³⁰, traders, upper class and, not last, of the church people¹³¹. But to the circulation of needed daily life products craftsmen (as producers and sellers) and common population could also contribute. From Middle East some goods arrived here throughout migratory populations¹³². Depending on these factors and the range area of products, goods will be local, regional, inter-regional or continental.

The situation of 10th-12th centuries will change significantly at the beginning of 13th century, with the conquest of Constantinople, when we can talk about another stage in the overall economic-commercial and monetary situation in the Black Sea, implicit in the Istro-Pontic area.

128. Barnea 1955, 2.

129. Barnea 1955, 2.

130. Olteanu, Șerban 1969, 39-40.

131. Barnea 1953, 646; Barnea 1955, 4; Olteanu, Șerban 1969, 39.

132. Barnea 1955, 9.

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Abbreviations

Materiale S.N. - *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* (serie nouă). București.
SCIV/A - *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche/ și arheologie*. București.

Considerations regarding the commercial traffic
through navigation in Danube's mouths area
(10th-12th centuries)

Paraschiv-Talmațchi Cristina, Talmațchi Gabriel

Abstract:

The two authors present a fresco of the economic, trade and monetary relations conducted at the Danube mouths, in the Istro-Pontic area, between the 10th-12th centuries. One of the central conclusions underlines their seamless continuity, with a variable intensity depending on the politico-military events that occurred in the Byzantine Empire, with the consequences being directly or indirectly perceived. Once with the beginning of the 13th century and the conquest of Constantinople we assist at a reset of all these forms of economic-commercial and monetary manifestations, taking into account the new geo-strategic and politico-military realities.

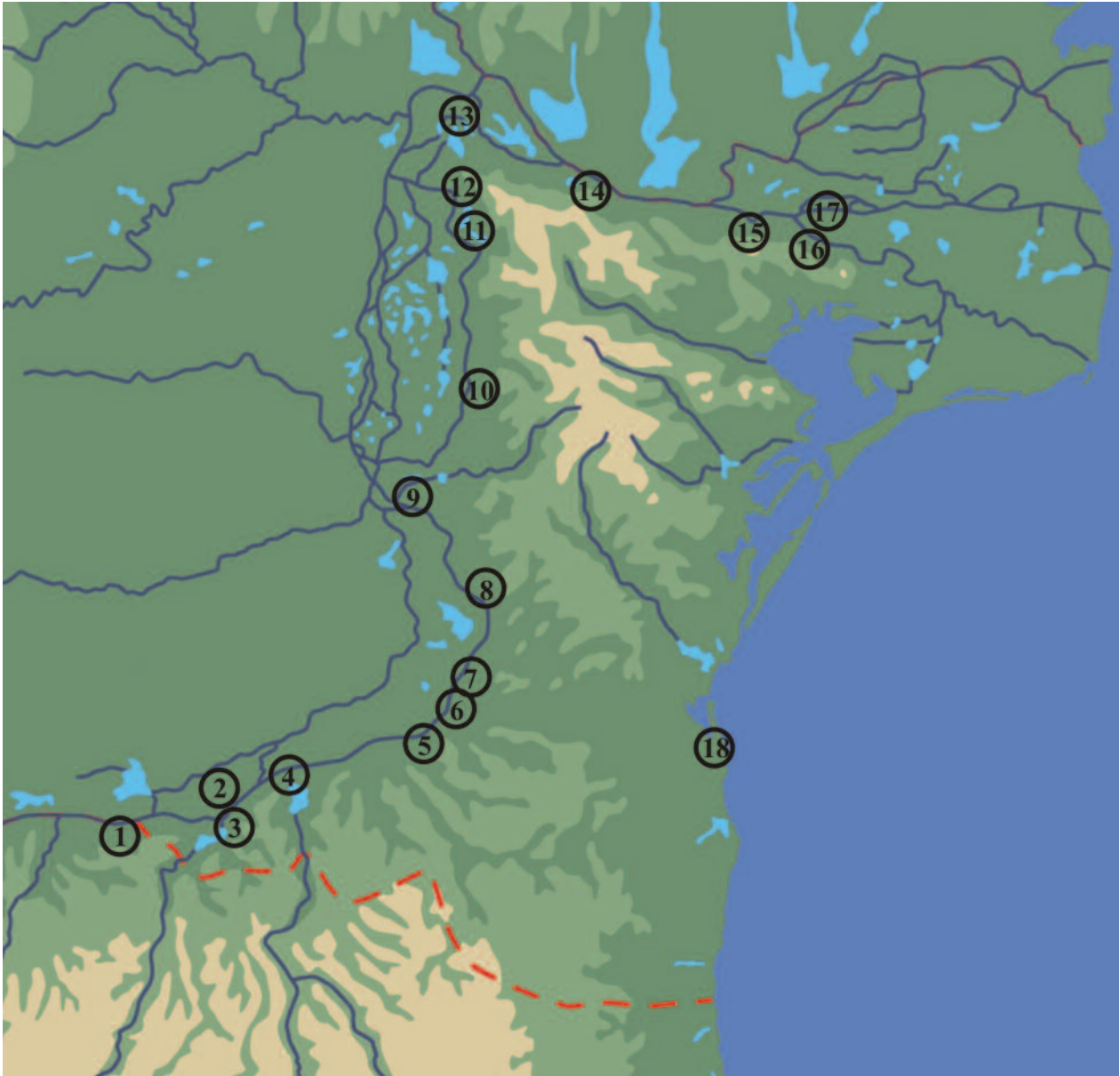


Fig. 1: Map with the settlements from Dobruja mentioned in the paper (1. *Dorostolon*-Silistra; 2. Pacuiul lui Soare; 3. Dervent; 4. Oltina; 5. *Sacidava*-Rasova; 6. Cetatea Patulului; 7. *Axiopolis*-Cernavoda; 8. Capidava; 9. *Carsium*-Harsova; 10. *Beroe*-Piatra Frecatei; 11. *Troesmis*-Iglita; 12. *Arrubium*-Macin; 13. *Dinogetia*-Garvan; 14. *Noviodunum*-Isaccea; 15. *Aegysus*-Tulcea; 16. Nufaru-Proslavita; 17. Nufaru-Ilganii de Jos; 18. Tomis-Constanta).



Fig. 2: Import pottery discovered in Dobrudja, 11th-12th centuries (1-4, 7 *Dinogetia*-Garvan; 5 Harsova; 6 Oltina) (7 Barnea 1961).



Fig. 3: Import spindle whorls and glazed eggs discovered in Dobrudja, 11th century (1-4, 8 Harsova; 5 Garvan; 6-7 Isaccea) (5-7 Teodor and Dumitriu 2000).

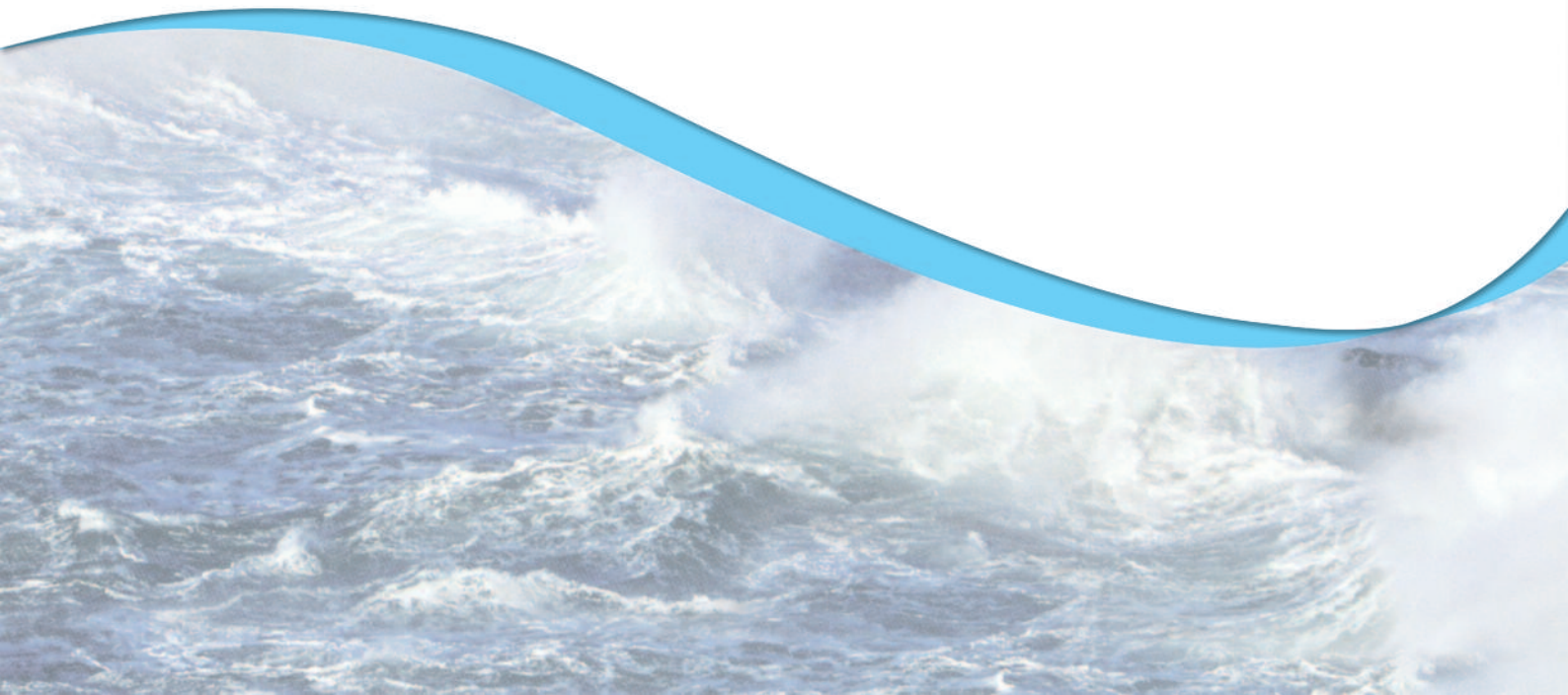


Fig. 4: Import adornment objects discovered in Dobrudja, 11th century (1, 3-9 *Dinogetia*-Garvan; 2 Pacuiul lui Soare) (1 Barnea 1961; 2-9 Dumitriu 2001).



Fig. 5: Import cult objects discovered in Dobrudja, 11th-12th centuries (1 Capidava; 2 Garvan; 3 Pacuiul lui Soare; 4-5, 7-8 Isaccea; 6 Nufaru) (1, 3-8 Stratulat and Iatcu 2011; 2 Teodor and Dumitriu 2000).

SESSION VI:
ARCHITECTURAL - ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTIMONY



Import of Middle Byzantine Glazed Pottery to the Western Black Sea Coast: the case of two cities - Varna and Anchialos

Manolova-Voykova Mariya

Since the antiquity Varna and Anchialos had been known as some of the greatest cities on the western Black sea coast. During the medieval period they maintained the position of prosperous towns with busy ports and wide trade contacts. Many documents of Byzantine, Bulgarian and Italian origin mention them in respect to various political events or maritime trade roads in the region. The historical research is well supported by the archaeological excavations in Varna and Anchialos, which gave many convincing evidences about the habitation of both cities in the Middle Byzantine period. Some of the most important finds, testifying the standard of everyday life in the towns and commercial contacts that they had maintained with Constantinople and other cities of the Empire, are pottery sherds that will be presented in this article¹.

The major part of Byzantine pottery in Varna was collected during the excavations of the Roman baths conducted in the 60s and 70s of the 20th century. Some more vessels and sherds came from rescue excavations in the modern city. At the moment Varna Archaeological Museum owns a rich collection of middle and late Byzantine pottery and just a small part of it is published².

In 2007 started the excavations in the locality called "Paleocastro" in the vicinities of modern town Pomorie. According to the written sources and archaeological survey, this site is considered to be the locality of the medieval town Anchialos. Since the beginning of the excavations, in a relatively short time, a significant quantity of Byzantine ceramics has been accumulated and a small part of it is illustrated bellow.

The classification of the pottery from Varna and Anchialos follows the approved classification systems made for the ceramics in Constantinople and the Aegean³. Eleven classes of glazed wares with a common chronology (9th-13th century) can be distinguished in Varna. Imports into Anchialos are less diversified, as they comprise seven classes of glazed wares dated in a shorter period (11th-13th century). Pottery from the 9th and 10th century still remains obscure, probably because of the small-scale excavations in "Paleocastro", that cover just a limited territory within the surroundings of the medieval town. Because most of the pottery sherds from Anchialos and Varna come from unstratified levels, their date should comply with the general chronology of the types in the Byzantine world.

Glazed White Ware II (GWW II)

A small group of dishes with "impressed" decoration from Varna belong to Constantinople's class GWW II (fig. 1. 1, 2). Their fabric is smooth, with a few fine sand inclusions. A thick layer of olive-green or yellowish glaze is applied on the in-

1. The pottery included in the article is a representative sample of different types of middle Byzantine imports from the collections of the Archaeological Museums in Varna and Pomorie.
2. Kuzev 2003, 77-80; see also Манолова 2003, 208-25.
3. Hayes 1992, 14-212; see also Stevenson 1947, 31-63; Vroom 2005, 66-104; Vroom 2003, 145-64.

side. The relief motifs of birds on the floor are poorly stamped.

Although disputed in the past, the chronology of GWW II seems to be already clarified. The earliest examples with “impressed” design come from the 9th century layer in the Great Palace in Constantinople⁴. Jakobson dated similar imports in Chersonessos to the second half in the 9th and 10th century⁵. At Saraçhane in Istanbul GWW II continued in the 10th and 11th century deposits⁶.

Glazed White Ware III (GWW III)

The import of GWW III into the cities on the Western Black sea coast was extremely scarce. It can be illustrated with a few cups of a fairly clean white fabric from Varna (fig. 1. 3). The most distinctive feature of the ware is a thick glaze that covers the whole vessel including the bottom and decays, forming a brownish crust difficult to detach. The bluish-green color of the glaze on some cups from Varna is exactly alike the “Turquoise Ware” described by Peschlow⁷.

According to the surveys in Constantinople the date of GWW III should be the second half of the 11th and early 12th century⁸.

Glazed White Ware IV (GWW IV)

In the course of the second half of the 11th-13th century GWW IV was the commonest tableware in Anchialos and Varna (figs. 1. 4-14, 2. 15-21, 5. 1-14, 6. 15-18). This pottery is characterized by a sandy micaceous fabric, white to beige or pinkish in color. The glaze is transparent, with a pale greenish or yellowish hue, and is thinly applied normally on the interior alone. Forms include various types of dishes and bowls, one- or two-handled cups, goblets and oil-lamps. Along with the plain glazed vessels (figs. 1. 4-8, 5. 1-6), many examples with painted and speckled decoration can be seen. Painted motifs, frequently blurred, are executed mostly in green and brown (figs. 1. 9, 10, 13, 14, 2. 16, 17, 5. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14). Blue paintings, sometimes in combination with brown are rarer (figs. 1. 11, 12, 2. 15, 5. 8, 9). Many dishes, bowls and cups have a decoration of green or brown specks under the thin layer of yellowish or greenish glaze (figs. 2. 18, 19, 6. 15-17). A small group of bowls has a specific ornamentation inside with a pattern of green lines often forming a cross in the center. This design is completed by a sort of marbling, made of a red engobe solution. Both sides of the vessels are normally glazed - the interior is covered with a transparent pale yellowish glaze and exterior bears a thin wash of green glaze, often absorbed by the fabric (figs. 2. 20, 21, 6. 18).

Although the chronology of GWW IV at Saraçhane in Istanbul is assigned with 12th and 13th century complexes⁹, the coin evidence and stratigraphic data in the Great Palace, Chersonessos and Lower Danubian region give reasons for an earlier dating of the ware's beginning in the second half of the 11th century¹⁰.

4. Stevenson 1947, 38-41.

5. Якобсон 1979, 84.

6. Hayes 1992, 18-28.

7. Peschlow, Şişmanoğlu 1977-78, 371-2.

8. Hayes 1992, 30.

9. Hayes 1992, 30-3.

10. Stevenson 1947, 46-52; see also Barnea 1967, 241; Якобсон 1979, 146.

Glazed White Ware V (GWW V)

Related to the class is a group of juglets from Varna, produced of gritty sandy yellowish or pinkish fabric (fig. 2. 22, 23). Their exterior is covered with yellowish to brownish glaze. The probable date of the import is the 12th century, since then was the zenith time of GWW V in Constantinople¹¹.

Polychrome Ware

The import of the finest Middle Byzantine pottery is attested into Varna by fragments of dishes and cups with soft, slightly sandy white or grayish fabric (fig. 2. 24-29). Their polychrome decoration, painted in yellow, green, black and blue is corresponding to two of the most widely spread decorative classes¹².

For many years after Morgan's publication of Corinthian pottery it was assumed that Polychrome Ware had a prolonged uninterrupted development from the 9th until the end of the 13th century. The subsequent excavations in Corinth and Constantinople revised this idea and gave reason for a new chronology of the type within the frames of 11th - early 12th century¹³. The same date should be accepted for the imported vessels into Varna.

Slip-Painted Ware

Slip-painted dishes from Varna and Anchialos have fine orange or pinkish-buff fabric (figs. 3. 30, 31, 6. 19). The group is distinguished by its decoration, applied with a white slip beneath a pale yellowish glaze. The ornamentation of circles, curvilinear, spirals and palmettes is akin to Fine sgraffito designs.

Slip-painted pottery had a vast distribution in Byzantine world. The earliest examples reported from Corinth are dated to the 11th century¹⁴, but the span of the group was during the next century¹⁵. It is evidenced by coins from Anchialos that during the 12th century Slip-painted wares reached the towns on the western Black sea coast¹⁶.

Green and Brown Painted Ware

The group is numerous in Varna whereas just a few sherds were excavated in Anchialos (figs. 3. 32-34, 6. 20). Dishes and bowls have a soft orange-red fabric. The interior is covered with a thick white slip and painting in different shades of brown and green beneath a thin transparent glaze. The decoration includes lines, stripes, dots spirals or broad floral patterns.

Green and brown painted pottery was reported from many sites in Constantinople, the Aegean, the Balkan region and the Northern Black Sea area¹⁷. It seems that it was most widely distributed from the second half of the 12th until the beginning of the 13th century¹⁸.

11. Hayes 1992, 33-4.

12. Morgan 1942, 64-7, 69-70; see also groups I and III; Hayes 1992, 35-6, classes 1 and 3.

13. Sanders 2001; see also Hayes 1992, 35.

14. Morgan 1942, 95-103.

15. Stevenson 1947, 50; see also Frantz 1938, 432, 440; Armstrong 1993, 311-3; Spieser 1996, 17-8; Baraschi, Damian 1993, 245; Занецкая 2011, 179-81; Vroom 2003, 150-1 with further literature.

16. Unpublished results from the excavations in Anchialos in 2009.

17. Baraschi, Damian 1993, 244; see also Макарова 1967, 24-5; Vroom 2003, 150-2 with further literature.

18. Sanders 2000, 166.

Fine Sgraffito Ware

Fine Sgraffito pottery was imported into significant amounts to the coastal towns of the Black Sea. Archaeological museums in Varna and Pomorie keep thousands of sherds and vessels with finely incised decoration (figs. 3. 35-37, 4. 38, 39, 6. 21-24, 7. 25). These are mostly dishes of a soft orange-red fabric. The interior and occasionally the exterior are covered with a thick layer of white slip and transparent glaze. The decoration is delicately scratched through the slip and is normally arranged into horizontal bands or medallions in the center of the bottom. The ornamentation comprises rinceaux, zigzag, palmettes, pseudo-kufic, interlaces, spirals and representations of animals. The date of the import into modern Bulgarian lands should be synchronized with the general chronology of the ware which is the middle 12th-early 13th century¹⁹.

Painted Fine Sgraffito Ware

Related to the class are many fragments of bowls with fine orange-red fabric, slipped in white or cream with transparent pale glaze (figs. 4. 40, 41, 7. 26). The decoration is thinly scratched through the white slip and consists of interlace medallions at the bottom and horizontal bands of scrolls, spirals or tendrils. These engraved patterns are artistically combined with spirals, lines or simple geometric and floral motifs painted in green and/or in brown. The date of the import is middle 12th - second half of the 12th century²⁰.

Incised Sgraffito Ware

Many shallow thick-walled dishes from Varna and Anchialos belong to this class (figs. 4. 42, 43, 7. 27-29). Their fabric has an orange-red color and contains many lime inclusions. The interior of the vessels is covered with a thick whitish slip. The decoration, roughly gouged through the slip, images various kinds of geometrical, floral and vegetal motifs engraved freely all over the surface of the vessel. The most representative examples have elaborate depictions of animals or human figures surrounded by floral ornaments. A sherd from Anchialos (fig. 7. 29) with a figure of warrior or hunter attributes to this group with several parallels in Greece²¹.

In accordance with archaeological surveys in various parts of Byzantine world the chronology of production and distribution of Incised Sgraffito pottery is assigned to the second half of 12th-early 13th century²². This date is well supported by the cargo of the early 13th century shipwreck at Castelorizzo²³.

Champlevé Ware

Pottery of this class was supplied in small quantities to the towns on the Western Black sea coast, but yet some exquisite examples can be seen in the collections of Varna and Anchialos (figs. 4. 44, 45; 7. 30, 31). Normally, these are shallow dishes

19. Stevenson 1947, 50-7; see also Hayes 1992, 44-6; Spieser 1996, 52; Vroom 2003, 152; Sanders 2000, 166.

20. Hayes 1992, 46; see also Vroom 2003, 153 with further literature.

21. Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 48-50, 176-9; see also Waywell, Wilkes 1997, 405, fig. 9.

22. Stevenson 1947, 50-2; see also Якобсон 1979, 128-31; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 48-56; Armstrong 1993, 332; Stillwell MacKay 2003, 406-8 with further literature.

23. Philotéou, Michailidou 1989.

of a gritty orange-red fabric with some lime inclusions. The interior is covered with a thick layer of white slip and yellowish glaze. The decoration is made by cutting away areas of engobe to expose the darker body prior to glazing. The ornamentation includes floral motifs and animal figures. One of the most representative samples is a dish from Anchialos with three animal figures engraved on the bottom - a horse, a running rabbit above it, and likely a similar figure below the horse's legs (fig. 7. 30). The style of this image corresponds to the best examples of Byzantine decorative art well-known from Corinth and elsewhere²⁴.

The date of Champlévé pottery from the cities of the Western Black Sea coast is late 12th - early 13th century²⁵.

The outlined above pottery gives grounds for several conclusions.

Throughout the whole Middle Byzantine period Varna received a regular supply of glazed pottery which was the commonest tableware in the city. This was due to the constant trade contacts maintained with Constantinople and other Byzantine towns.

The present stage of archaeological survey in Anchialos evidences a shorter period of intensive commercial contacts with Byzantine trade centers. The fact that excavations are still at their beginnings gives reason to assume a future change in this perceptio.

24. Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 62, 64, 181, 185; see also Залеская 2011, 143.

25. Vroom 2003, 163-4 with further literature.

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Import of Middle Byzantine Glazed Pottery
to the Western Black Sea Coast:
the case of two cities - Varna and Anchialos

Manolova-Voykova Mariya

Abstract:

The major part of Byzantine pottery in Varna was collected during the excavations of the Roman baths conducted in the 60s and 70s of the 20th century. Some more vessels and sherds came from rescue excavations in the modern city. At the moment Varna Archaeological Museum owns one of the richest collections of middle and late Byzantine pottery in Bulgaria.

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The classification of the pottery from Varna and Anchialos follows the approved classification systems made for the ceramics in Constantinople and Aegean. Eleven classes of glazed wares with a common chronology between the 9th and the 13th century can be distinguished in Varna. Imports in Anchialos are less diversified, as they comprise seven classes of glazed wares dated in a shorter period (11th-13th century). Pottery from the 9th and 10th century still remains obscure, probably because of the small-scale excavations in "Paleocastro", that cover just a limited territory within the surroundings of the medieval town.

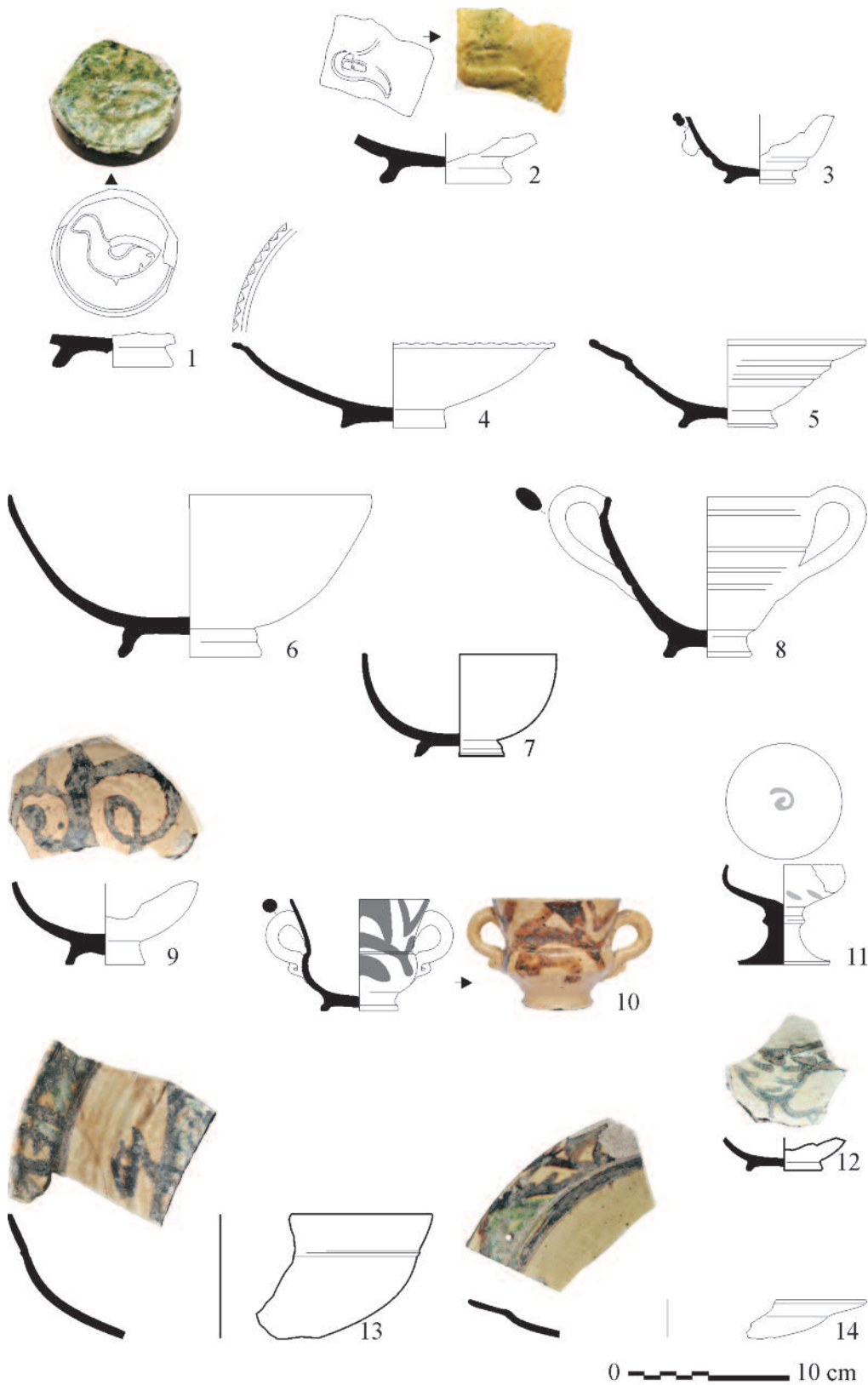


Fig. 1: Samples of Glazed Ware from Varna: 1, 2 - GWW II; 3 - GWW III; 4-14 - GWW IV.

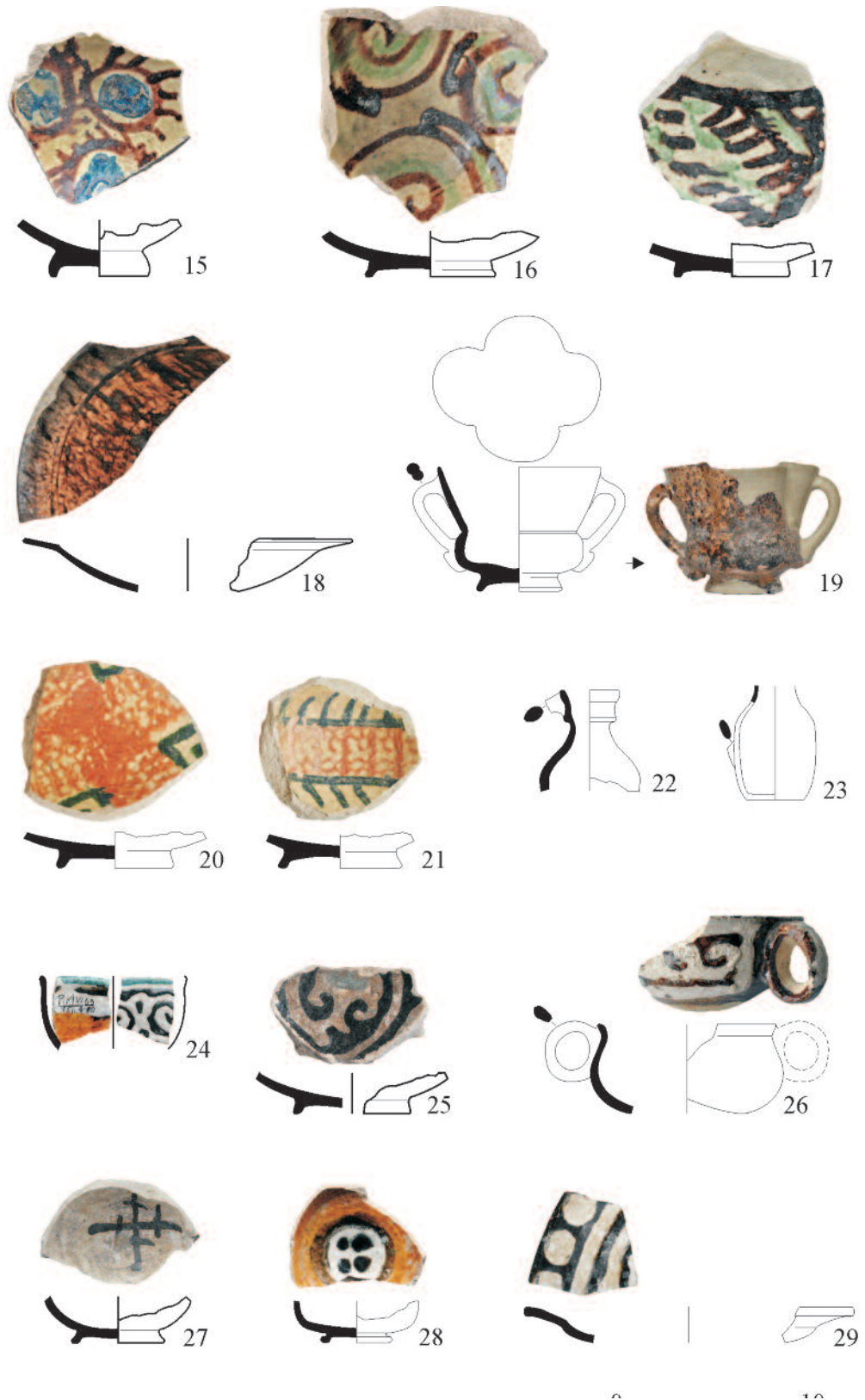


Fig. 2: Samples of Glazed Ware from Varna: 15-21 - GWW IV; 22, 23 - GWW V; 24-29 Polychrome Ware.

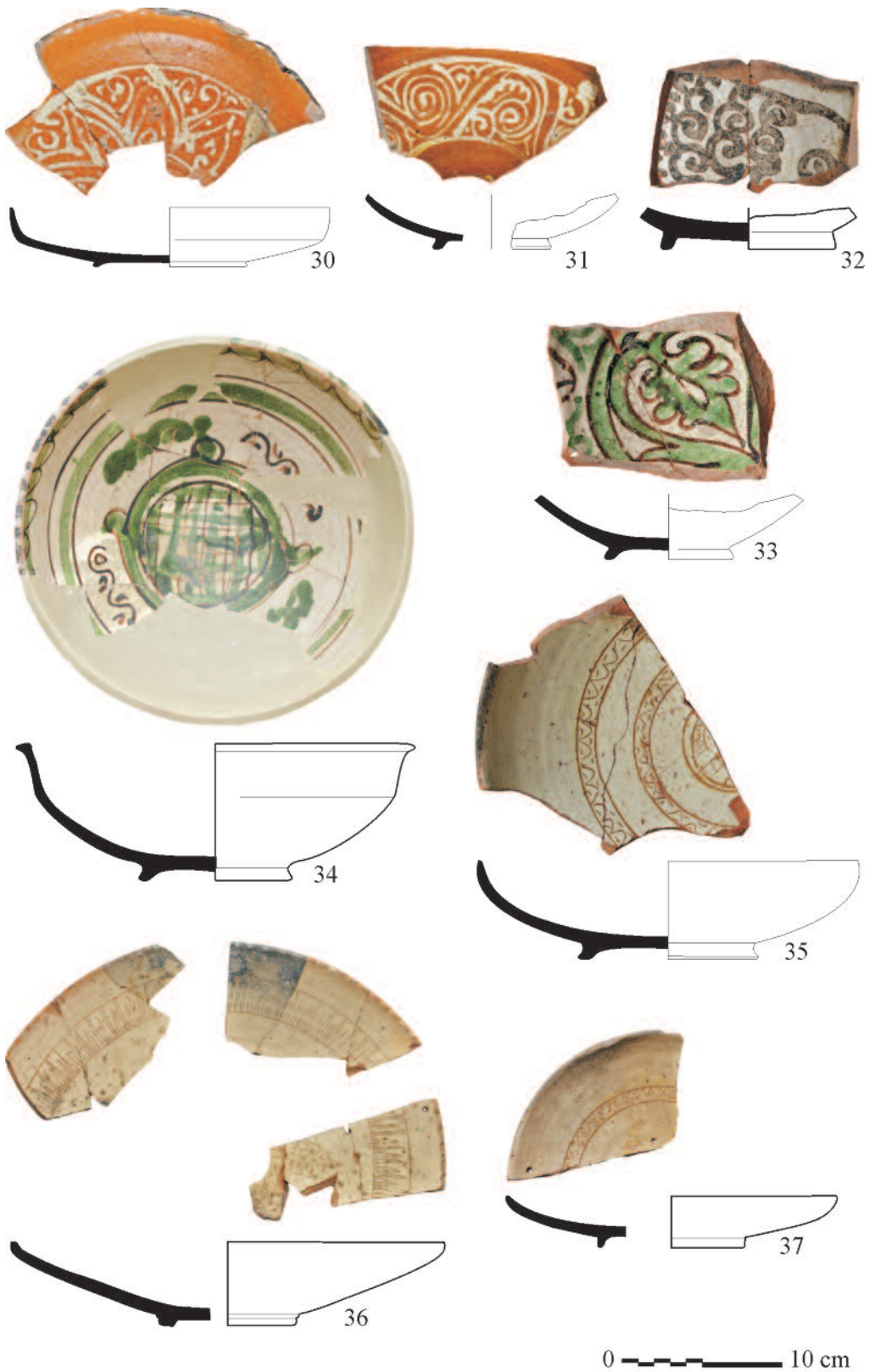


Fig. 3: Samples of Glazed Ware from Varna:
30, 31 - Slip-Painted; 32-34 Green and Brown Painted; 35-37 - Fine Sgraffito.

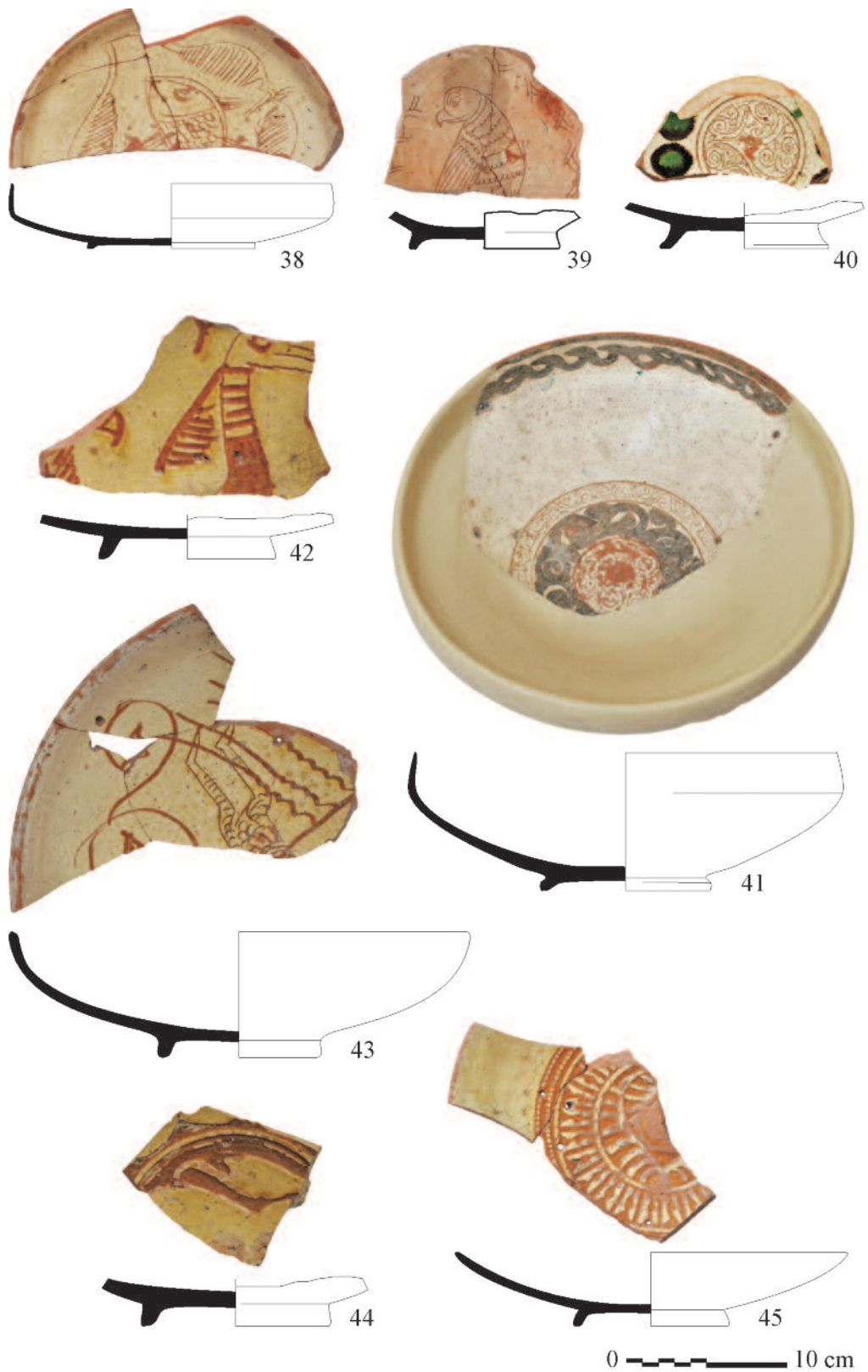


Fig. 4: Samples of Glazed Ware from Varna:
38, 39 - Fine Sgraffito; 40, 41 - Painted Fine Sgraffito; 42, 43 - Incised Sgraffito; 44, 45 - Champlévé Ware.



Fig. 5: Samples of GWW IV from Anchialos.

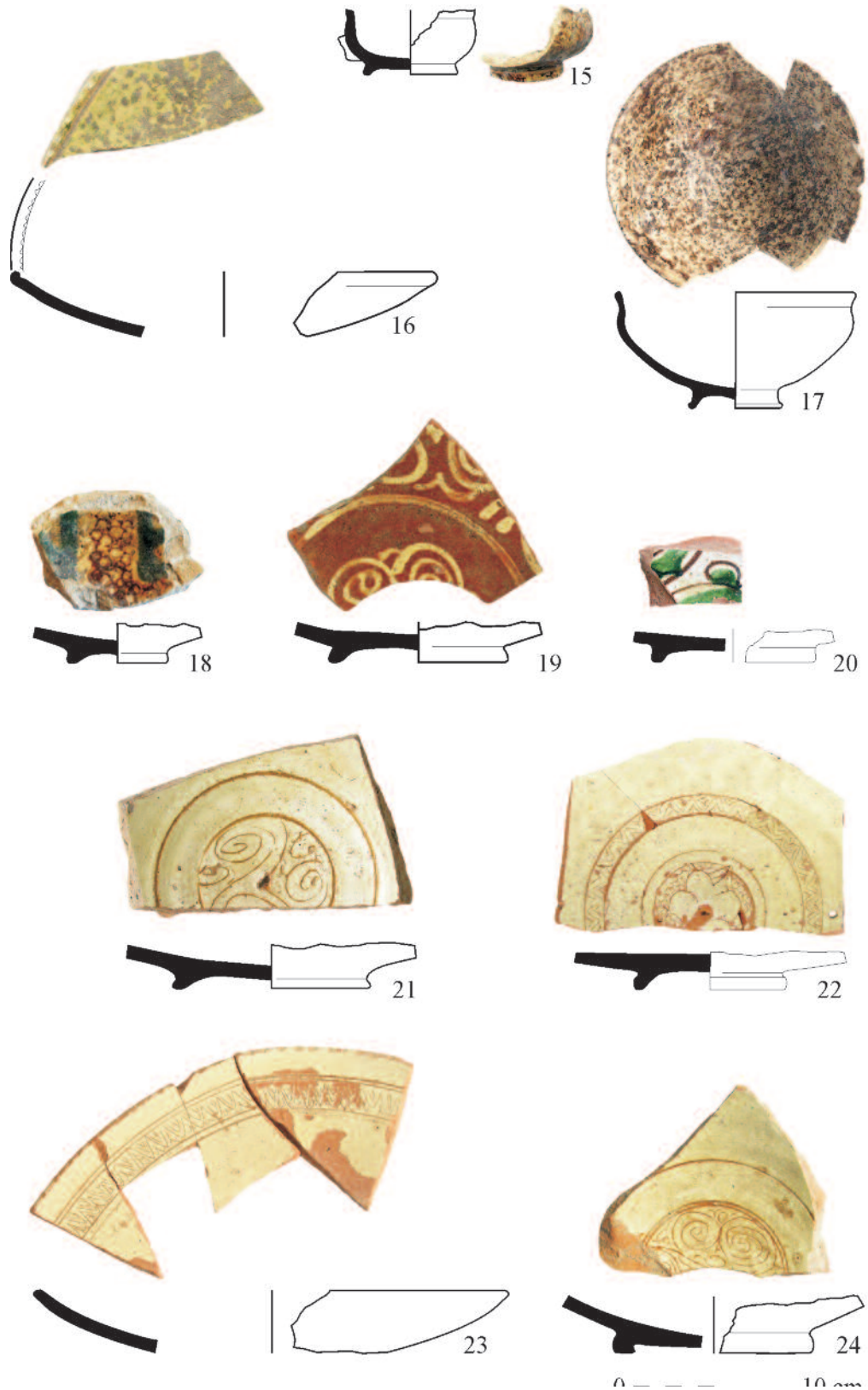


Fig. 6: Samples of Glazed Ware from Anchialos:
15-18 - GWW IV; 19 - Slip-Painted; 20 - Green and Brown Painted; 21-24 - Fine Sgraffito.

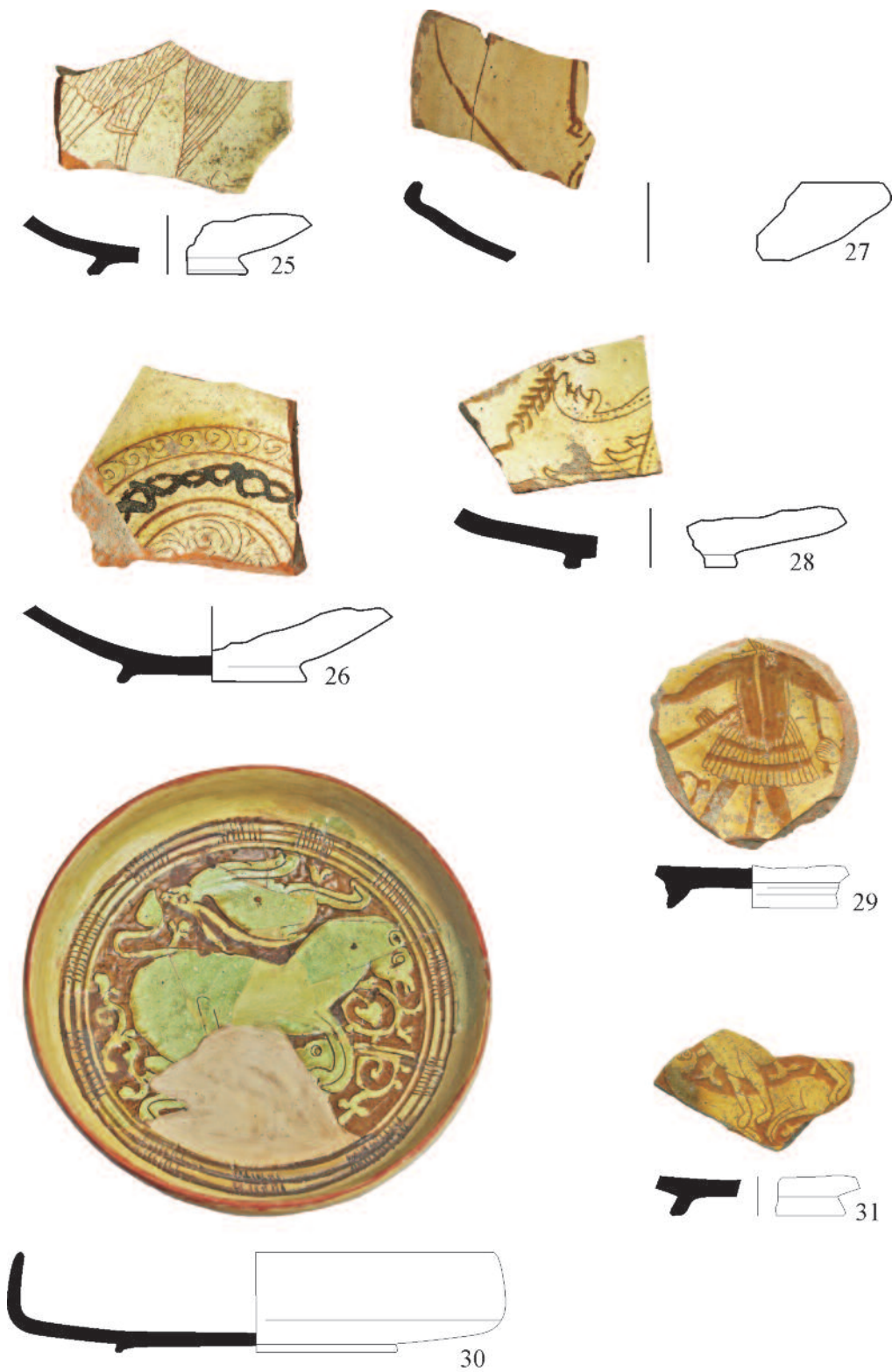


Fig. 7: Samples of Glazed Ware from Anchialos:
 25 - Fine Sgraffito; 26 - Painted Fine Sgraffito; 27-29 - Incised Sgraffito; 30, 31 - Champlévé Ware.

The Basilica at Petra (Tsikhisdziri)

Khoshtaria David

The city of Petra is perhaps the shortest-lived city in world history. Existing since early Antiquity as a small settlement and converted by the Romans into a fort circa 300 AD¹, Petra became a city owing to the efforts of the Emperor Justinian, who in the early 530s enclosed it within a strong defensive wall and constructed new buildings in it². The emperor stated that he permitted the city to be named after him - Iustiniana³. Apparently at the same time an episcopal see was established in Petra. In 551, the city was destroyed by the Byzantine army with the consent of its founder. Procopius states, obviously not without regret: “[Justinian] likewise founded Petra in Lazica, an admirable city, which the Lazi through their own folly handed over to the Persians, bringing Chosroes there with a great army; but the Romans prevailed over the Persians in the struggle and killed a part of the enemy and made the rest captive and razed the city, so that the barbarians might not again be able, by coming there, to work mischief”⁴.

In the twenty years of its existence, the city was destined to play a crucial role in Byzantine-Persian confrontation on the Black Sea littoral. Reduced to a small town in the Middle Ages, Petra never reached its previous significance, though it remained the centre of a bishopric, at least until the ninth century.

Excavations conducted on the site of Petra, in the environs of the modern village Tsikhisdziri in the 1960s led to the discovery of the remains of a large basilica located in the centre of the inner fortress⁵. It was constructed over the foundation of an earlier building - presumably, also a church. Later, when the basilica fell into ruins, a small single nave chapel was erected within its nave and sanctuary.

The basilica is only preserved at ground plan level. It is a sizeable building having 34.8m. in length and 19.2m. in width (fig. 1-2). On the east, the church is provided with a projecting apse, in ground plan horse-shoe shaped in the interior and pentagonal outside. On the west, there is a narthex. The nave was divided from the aisles by five pairs of piers and two pairs of engaged piers (on the west and the east) bearing six pairs of arches. Excavations revealed two doors, one in the centre of the western wall and the other in the southern wall, closer to its east end. The floor of the church was covered with mosaics, small fragments of which were unearthed in the apse (fig. 3).

The church was built of stone and lime mortar. Brick occurs seldom, mostly in the walls of the northern aisle and narthex⁶ (fig. 4). Besides that, brick fragments, presumably taken from the ruins of earlier buildings, were reused in the core of the

1. Braund 1994, 187-9; see also: Tsatskladze 1999, 74-81, for the history of the site from the sixth century BC to the fourth century AD, and the article by N. Natsvlishvili and I. Mania in this volume for the architecture of the Petra fortress.
2. Procopius, *Wars* II, 17, 3.
3. Justinian, Novella 28.
4. Procopius, *Buildings* 3, 7, 7.
5. Inaishvili 1974, for a comprehensive summary of the excavations; also: Inaishvili 1971 and Inaishvili 2009, for the discussion of the bishopric of Petra. Archaeological investigation in Petra-Tsikhisdziri continued from 1983 to 1987 (Inaishvili 1993) and then again from 2007 to 2009 (Kvitsiani 2009).
6. One should not be misled by the brickwork jamb of a door visible in the south aisle of the basilica. It belongs to the structure of uncertain function and later date.

walls. Building techniques of the apse and the rest of the basilica are different. The apse wall is built of smoothly finished and evenly squared oblong blocks facing a narrow rubble core that embodies approximately a third of the wall's total thickness (fig. 5). The masonry of the nave, aisles and narthex is poorer and consists of roughly cut small stones, which are laid in more or less regular courses. In angles, larger and better hewn stones are used. The former technique is typical for the early Medieval architecture of East Georgia, Armenia and the High Plateau of Asia Minor, while the latter has parallels in West Georgia, e.g. in the second and third, churches of Archaeopolis (Nokalakevi)⁷.

Compositional analogues of the church of Petra can be found in the group of early basilicas of West Georgia (fig. 6). Its plan bears the closest resemblance to that of the third church of Pitiunt (Bichvinta) in Abasgia, dating from the fifth century⁸. Actually, all the major elements of the plan are the same. The basilica in Tsandripshi (Gantiadi), which was convincingly identified as the church of the Mother of God⁹ built by the Emperor Justinian in the country of Abasgi¹⁰, is shorter having only four pairs of piers. Besides, unlike Petra and Pitiunt III, its aisles are slightly widened in their eastern sections and terminate in apses. The church at Alakhadzi, near Pitiunt, was much larger than other basilicas of West Georgia, including that of Petra¹¹. It also had additional apses on both sides of the sanctuary and was provided with a huge narthex divided into three chambers. Basilicas located in the hinterland of Lazica, Archaeopolis III¹² and Sepieti¹³, as well as Vashnari¹⁴, differ from the previously mentioned basilicas of the Black Sea littoral in the proportions of plan, which are almost square. In Archaeopolis II¹⁵ and III and Vashnari the aisles are connected by a passage on the west, forming a three-sided U-shape ambulatory that surrounds the nave.

The design of the sanctuary of the church at Petra, which displays the combination of a pentagonal outer shape with horseshoed inside plan, resembles that of the Archaeopolis II. Actually, almost all of the fifth- and sixth-century basilicas in West Georgia have projecting five-sided apses, but they are semicircular in plan inside. On the other hand, the church of Sepieti has a horseshoe shaped apse, but is semicircular outside. Beyond Georgia, analogues to the apse of the Petra basilica are found in Lycaonia and Cappadocia (e.g. Basilica no 3 in Binbirkilise¹⁶).

The edge sides of the projecting five-sided apse in Petra and Archaeopolis II are not parallel to each other, but taper towards the outside. The same peculiarity can be seen in the basilicas of Vashnari, Alakhadzi and Tsandripshi, as well as that of Sioni in the Iori Valley (East Georgia)¹⁷. Among more remote examples, the apse of the Church of St Theodore in Gerasa (494-496), in south Syria, should be men-

7. Zakaraia, Kapanadze 1991, tab. XLII-1, XLIII; Plontke-Lüning 2006, tab. 21-5.
8. Tsitsishvili 1977, 83-5, fig. 11; Khroushkova 2006, 32-3, pl. 4a.
9. Lekvinadze 1970, 173-7. The supposition has been adopted and supported with additional arguments by Khroushkova (2006, 45-56, fig. 14-24), who analysed a rich marble decoration of the Tsandripshi church, that is typical of the Justinian's Age.
10. Procopius, *Wars* VIII, 3, 21.
11. Khroushkova 2006, 40-1, pl. 11d.
12. Kapanadze 1987, 103-22; Zakaraia, Kapanadze 1991, 178-89, fig. 60, 66b. The reconstruction of the plan of the basilica suggested by the authors was shared by Khroushkova (1989, 105, fig. 27) and Plontke-Lüning (2006, tab. 22). For the discussion of other reconstructions, see Zakaraia, Kapanadze 1991, 190-1. Later the basilica was turned into a domed church and dedicated to the Forty Martyrs. See also Zakaraia, Lekvinadze, Lomouuri 1979, for a concise history of Archaeopolis-Nokalakevi.
13. Zakaraia, Kapanadze 1991, 198-214, fig. 72.
14. Japaridze 2006, 111-2.
15. Kapanadze 1987, 93-103; Zakaraia, Kapanadze 1991, 167-77, fig. 59, 66a.
16. Ramsay, Bell 2008, 53-5, fig. 13.
17. Archaeological evidence dates the church as being from the fifth century (Ramishvili 1970, 28-43). However Chubinashvili (1959, 132-3), judging from its architecture, supposed that it should have been built in the eighth or ninth century.

tioned. Later, the form also occurs in the Crimea, in the basilica at Eski-Kermen, built after the eighth century and fully reconstructed in its east part in the eleventh century¹⁸. However, for comparison with the Petra basilica, perhaps the most relevant are the sixth century domed churches of Cappadocia (Panaghia at Tomarza, Kizil Kilise at Sivrihisar¹⁹), which, like Petra, have horseshoed apses shaped in outer pentagon with tapering sides. Later this arrangement, fitted to the tripartite sanctuary, was adopted in the domed architecture of the Abkhazian kingdom (Anakopia²⁰).

It is commonly believed that the Petra basilica had a timber roof. This was first suggested by V. Lekvinadze, who considered the church walls to be too thin to support vaults²¹. However, the thickness of the longitudinal walls of the basilica is between 1.1m. and 1.2m., which together with good mortar should make them stable enough to stand the weight of barrel vaults. Bulky rectangular piers and narrow spans also indicate that the bearing structure was intended to hold a heavy stone roof.

The majority of fifth- and sixth-century basilicas in West Georgia are almost completely destroyed or reconstructed and this makes it impossible to discuss their roofing systems. The church in Tsandripshi with the preserved lower parts of barrel vaults in the nave and southern aisle is a happy exception. The strength of its supporting framework attests to the existence of stone vaulting from the beginning. Later, when the vaults apparently showed signs of falling, the structure was partly reconstructed and reinforced by adding buttresses to the piers and ribbing arches to the vaults²². In the church building of inner Lazica, vaulting had no alternative, at least from the late fifth century. The present stone roofing of Sepieti and Archaeopolis III is a result of later reconstructions, but evidently both basilicas had vaults from the beginning.

The architectural design of the Petra basilica clearly points to the sixth century as the date of construction. The date is confirmed by archaeological materials found during the excavation of the church²³ and by the style of the mosaic decoration revealed in the sanctuary. In written sources, there is no direct information about the construction of the church in Petra. When describing the building activity of Justinian, Procopius speaks of the city of Petra and its fortifications, with no reference to its church. However, in any case, the construction of the Petra basilica should be dated back to the short period of the flourishing of the city, i.e. to the 530s and 540s. It is difficult to imagine that this large church could have been built after the destruction of the city by the Byzantines. On the other hand, a date earlier than the Justinian's Age is also hardly probable. The fortification in Petra existed from the late Roman period and it is quite possible that it had a church well before the sixth century, but this church could not be the above-discussed basilica. A. Inaishvili suggested that structural remains discovered beneath the floor of the basilica may be pieces of the walls of the fifth-century church²⁴. However, they are too fragmentary and too vague to be definitely identified as the remnant of a church. In the tenth or eleventh century, when the basilica had already collapsed, a single nave chapel with a projecting apse on the east was constructed over its ruins. It occupies the area in the apse and the eastern part of the nave of the basilica. In the Ottoman

18. Parshina 1988, 48-50.

19. Bandmann 2005, 181, fig. 3-18.

20. Khroushkova 2006, 103-4, pl. 72b.

21. Lekvinadze 1974, 176.

22. Lekvinadze (1970; 1974, 179-85), who convincingly identified this basilica with the church built by the Emperor Justinian "in the country of Abasgi" (Procopius, Wars VIII, 3, 21), thought that initially it had a timber roof.

23. Inaishvili 1974, 137-8.

24. Inaishvili 1971, 103.

period this chapel also fell into ruins. At present, only its north wall and the northern half of the apse are preserved almost up to their initial height; other walls are destroyed. Small fragments of the wall paintings of the church were discovered during archaeological works²⁵.

Discussing the sixth-century basilica of Petra, the question naturally arises, from where did the builders of the Petra basilica come and where had they been trained. In the fifth and sixth centuries, Lazica and Abasgia saw a great wave of building activity, that resulted in the construction of a number of cities, fortresses and churches. Being initiated and largely sponsored by the Empire and supposedly conducted by architects from Asia Minor, these constructions provided not only jobs for hundreds of local masons, bricklayers and brick makers, but also a valuable training in the late Roman architectural tradition. Perhaps there is no direct link, but still it is noteworthy, that already in the early Middle Ages the province of Adjara, which immediately adjoins the Petra littoral area, became a supplier of skilled stone-masons who worked far beyond their native region²⁶. We know from written sources that sometimes they collaborated with masters invited from Byzantium. According to the “*Life of Serapion of Zarzma*”, when it was decided to build a new church in Zarzma Monastery, the abbot called in “*a man famous for his craftsmanship from the place called Khupati in the country of the Greeks, and he was accompanied by an assistant mason, Shuartkleli by name*”²⁷. Khupati (modern Hopa) was located in the easternmost part of Pontus, on the border with Lazica. As regards the name of the assistant, it derives from the toponym Shuartkali, a town in mountainous Adjara.

The discussion of the early Medieval architecture of Lazica urges one to make a comparative look at its neighbours and, in the first place, at Iberia (East Georgia), which already by the late fifth century had developed its own architectural language, that had absorbed not only Roman and Sassanian influence, but also a strong local building tradition. Did East Georgia produce any significant impact on the architecture of Lazica? The question is tied to the issue of interrelations between West and East Georgia in the fifth and sixth centuries, a subject which has often been discussed by scholars of different fields, among whom were archaeologists and architectural historians. Some of them clearly exaggerated the importance of these relations when trying to explain almost all of the architectural peculiarities of the early Medieval West Georgian churches through architectural developments in East Georgia. Others neglected even the possibility of the East-West Georgian architectural contacts pointing to Constantinople and Asia Minor as the only source of architectural techniques, designs and forms for Lazica²⁸. But, as usual, the truth lies somewhere in between these two extreme views. I leave to historians the task of giving a comprehensive picture of early Medieval East-West Georgian relations and confine my remarks to architecture, which shows that basilicas in the hinterland of Lazica had an obvious Iberian impact. It is manifested in the shortened plan, three-sided ambulatory around the nave²⁹, and in the L-shape plan of the westernmost piers of basilican churches. Actually, it should be no surprise, since this area

25. Inaishvili 2009, 279-80.

26. Tumanishvili, Natsvlshvili, Khoshtaria 2012, 133.

27. Abuladze 1965, 344. Within scholarship, a division exists between those who date the “*Life of Serapion of Zarzma*” as being from the seventh century and those who believe that it was written around 900 (Rayfield 2000, 51-3).

28. See, for instance, a review of the architecture of West Georgia (“East Pontus”) in: Plontke-Lüning 2007, 238-43.

29. Cf. Plontke-Lüning 2007, 240. When discussing three-sided ambulatories of Nokalakevi II and III and Vashnari basilicas, the author refers to remote parallels from Syria and Egypt, but rejects a comparison with similar ambulatories in East Georgian churches as not deserving consideration, because of the political realities of the fifth and sixth centuries.

directly borders East Georgia. From the mid-fifth century to 522 and then briefly in 540s, both Iberia and Lazica were in the sphere of Persian political influence³⁰. Persians constructed a new road between Iberia and Lazica, which was so smooth, that not only cavalry, but also elephants could comfortably pass it³¹. All these would have been favourable for the migration of masons and for the exchange of planning ideas and architectural forms between East and West Georgia³².

30. Braund 1994, 268.

31. Procopius, *Wars* VIII, 13, 5.

32. Braund (1994, 268) notices that Byzantine-Persian wars “*promoted the unification of what was to become the great medieval kingdom of Georgia*”.

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The Basilica at Petra (Tsikhisdziri)

Khoshtaria David

Abstract:

A basilica preserved in the middle of the Petra fortress at ground plan level is a sizeable building with a projecting apse on the east, horse-shoe shaped in the interior and pentagonal outside, and a narthex on the west. The nave was divided from the aisles by five pairs of piers. The apse of the church is built of smoothly finished and evenly squared oblong blocks, while the masonry of the nave, aisles and narthex consists of roughly cut small stones, which are laid in more or less regular courses. Thick longitudinal walls, bulky rectangular piers and narrow spans indicate that the supporting framework was intended to hold vaults. The closest parallel to the plan of the Petra church is the Pitiunt III basilica, while the design of its sanctuary resembles that of the Archaeopolis II basilica.

The architecture of the Petra basilica clearly points to the sixth century as the date of construction. The date is confirmed by archaeological materials found during the excavation of the church and by the style of the mosaic decoration revealed in the sanctuary. In written sources, there is no direct information about the construction of the church in Petra. When describing the building activity of Justinian, Procopius speaks of the city of Petra and its fortifications, with no reference to its church. However, in any case, the construction of the Petra basilica should be dated back to the short period of the flourishing of the city, i.e. to the 530s and 540s.

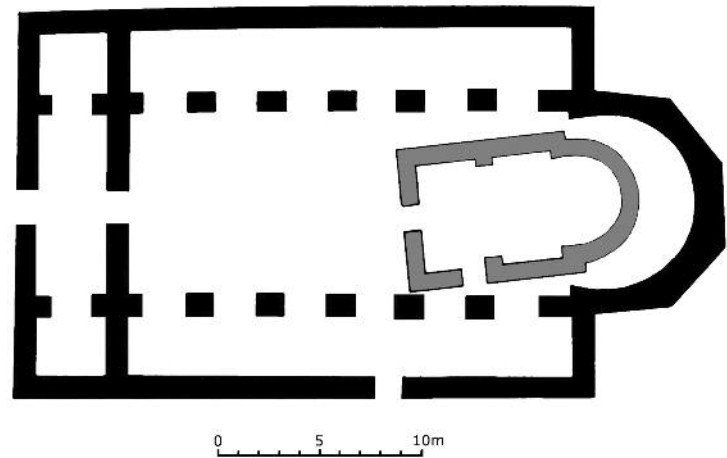


Fig. 1: Petra, basilica and single-nave chapel. Plan.

Fig. 2: Petra, ruins of basilica and single-nave chapel looking northwest.





Fig. 3: Petra, fragment of mosaic floor.

Fig. 4: Petra, masonry of the southern wall of basilica.



Fig. 5: Petra, masonry of the apse of basilica.

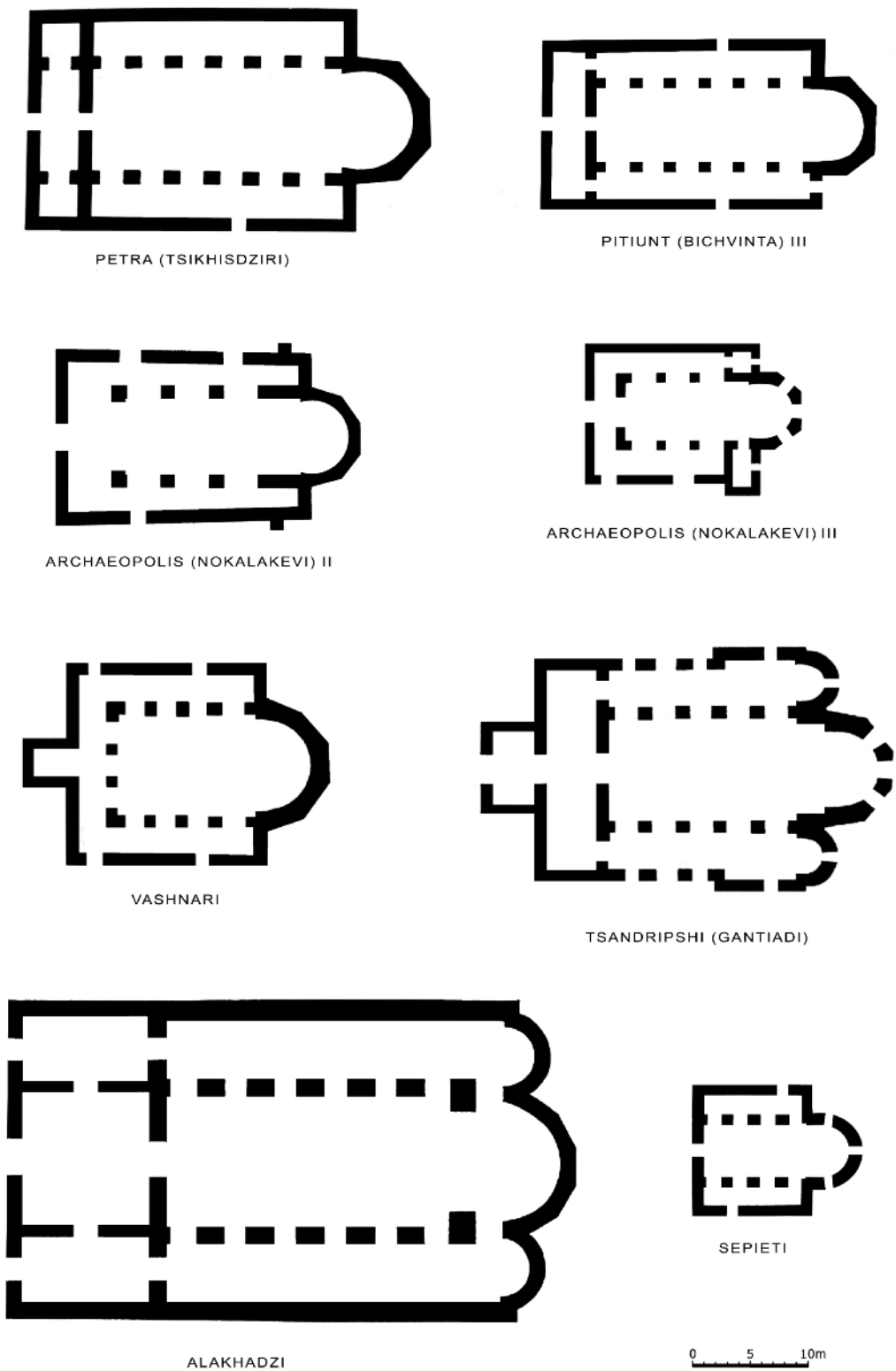


Fig. 6: Basilicas of West Georgia. Plans.

Artifacts from Gonio and Tsikhisdziri

Mikeladze Ketevan

The location of Georgia on the crossroad of east and west basically determined its history and culture. Throughout the centuries Georgia often became the object of political, strategic and economic interests of powerful states of the East and of the West. This resulted in endless wars and subjugations of the Georgian lands. However, the same reason, i.e. its geographical location and relations with its neighboring countries, caused Georgia to become familiar with oriental as well as with occidental cultures. Diverse artifacts and artistic tendencies penetrated into the country through sea and land routes. Georgian culture applied the achievements of both oriental and occidental arts and used them in the formation of its local culture.

In the project “OLKAS - From the Aegean to the Black Sea: Medieval Ports in the Maritime Routes of the East” Georgia was represented by Batumi, Gonio and Tsikhisdziri sites. The purpose of my paper is to overview and present, in my opinion, the most significant artifacts discovered in Gonio and Tsikhisdziri. Both of them are located in western Georgia, on the Black Sea coast¹.

The modern village of Gonio has been identified as being the ancient fortified city of Apsaros referred to several times in Roman and Byzantine written sources², while the fortified ensemble preserved in Tsikhisdziri is believed to be the remains of the historic city of Petra described in the sixth century Byzantine sources (Procop. BP. II, 15, 17, 29; BG. VIII, 11; Justinian Novelai, 31)³. The historic evidence coincides with the preserved fortifications, archeological discoveries and artifacts from Gonio and Tsikhisdziri.

Of course, each city has its own history and periods of prosperity. It seems that the 1st-2nd century was a flourishing time for the city of Apsaros and the early Christian period for Petra⁴.

In the 1st-2nd century AD western Georgia was under the political influence of the Roman Empire. When the Romans established a chain of military footholds down their eastern frontier in 1st-2nd century, they set up several military footholds along the Black Sea coast. One of those camps was in Apsaros⁵.

Certain parts of Gonio fortification together with archeological discoveries - remains of bathes, barracks, praetorium, water cistern, sewerage system and water supply, red glaze pottery, oil-lamps and louteria, gems, a rich collection of Roman coins and gold objects - witness to the fact that Apsaros gained particular importance in the Roman period⁶.

1. I would like to offer thanks to the experts of the project 'Olkas', to Professor A. Kakhidze, the director of Batumi Archeological Museum and to Dr N. Inaishvili, researcher of N. Berdzenishvili Institute of Batumi University for their advice, for giving me the opportunity to work in the Batumi Archeological Museum and for providing me with photos.
2. Plinius NH, VI, 12; Arrian, PPE. 7, Procopius, BG. VIII, 2 (Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 52-5; see also Mikeladze 1977, 35-7).
3. Janashia 1949, 29-44; see also Inaishvili 1974, 102-10.
4. For the history of Apsaros, see Mamuladze et al. 2007, 34-46; for Tsikhisdziri, see Inaishvili 1974, 102-57; see also for Gonio and Tsikhisdziri the article by I. Mania, N. Natsvlisvili in the present volume.
5. Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 52-5.
6. Mamuladze et al. 2007, 34-46.

I will focus on one of the most attractive discoveries, that of the collection of gold artifacts, which was brought to light quite by chance in 1974 during the construction of the road near the Gonio fortress. Scholars named this find as the “Gonio hoard”, since it was especially concealed in a metallic container and hidden under a large stone⁷. It is believed that those gold objects are a part of a tomb contents⁸. It could, however, have belonged to several tombs.

The Gonio hoard consists of more than 30 gold items and some of the pieces will be presented here.

The figurine of a naked youth (height 7.6cm) cast in gold is a remarkable item, for it is a rare example of gold sculpture surviving from the ancient times⁹. The youth is represented en face standing slightly in contraposto (fig. 1). He is wearing a *chlamys* wrapped over his chest and shoulders and a *pilos* engraved with stars on his head - a common attribute of Dioscuri. But instead of the reins of a horse, another common attribute of Dioscuri, he holds a phial in his right hand. This detail gives ground to scholars to suppose that the figurine represents Dioscur-Cabire-Corybant, for a phial is a typical attribute of Cabire¹⁰. However, according to another opinion, and this opinion seems persuasive, this is Dioscurus. This is confirmed by the 4th-3rd century BC votive terracotta plaques with Dioscuri figures holding phials from the sanctuary of Dioscuri in Tarentum¹¹. Originally, the Gonio figurine was a standing statuette cast together with its disc-shape pedestal, that probably had a cult or ritual function and served for private devotion. A loop soldered on the back of the figure seems to be a later addition and thus it had a secondary use as a pendant¹². But even in this case, the function of the figurine as a cult or ritual statuette does not change. Stylistically the Gonio statuette is in close relation with Roman minor sculptures, especially with those of bronze statuettes of the first century AD (for example, statuettes from the St Petersburg State Hermitage Museum)¹³. The Gonio figurine dates from the 2nd-3rd century¹⁴.

One more artifact from the Gonio hoard, that attracts especial interest, is a gold roundel of a quite large size (13.5cm in diameter) with a representation of a beasts fighting and richly adorned with inlay of red and greenish-blue pastes (fig. 2). The dynamic composition of two coiled beasts harmoniously fills the centre of the roundel. The figures are executed in high relief, are well molded and full of expression. Besides the stylization of the figures, they are decorated with inlay of different shapes of red and greenish-blue pastes. The edge of the roundel is outlined with the same pastes. The artistic approach and technical method of the roundel is convincingly different from other artifacts of the Gonio treasure. Its decorative style built on stylized figures of beasts and the use of inlay against a gold surface and polychrome technique demonstrates the Sarmatian Animal Style or Polychrome Animal Style, which was widely spread in the 1st BC-2nd AD¹⁵. In fact, the Gonio roundel has very close parallels with artifacts of the Sarmatian Animal Style (roundel from the Siberian collection of Peter the Great¹⁶, artifacts from the mounds of Khokhlach, Sadovaya, Migulinsk, Zhutovo in the Don Basin region), which date

7. For the detailed description of the Gonio hoard, see Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 57-76.

8. Lortkipanidze et al. 58.

9. Treister 1996, 95.

10. Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 75.

11. Treister 1996, 96.

12. supra 95.

13. Khudogestvenoe remeslo 1980, 31, pl. 52.

14. Lortkipanidze et. al. 1980, 76; see also Lortkipanidze 1989, 345-6; dating to the Hellenic period has also been suggested, see Treister 1996, 96; Stoles 1999, 189.

15. Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 76-7; Treister 1996, 93-4.

16. Rudenko 1962, 15-6, pl. III, 1,V, 4.

from the 1st BC-2nd c. AD¹⁷. Thus, the Gonio roundel can be assigned to the same period¹⁸.

From the four gold buckles of the Gonio hoard, three are preserved in more or less good condition. The buckles are all of nearly the same size (5.4x3.3cm; 5.1x3.4cm; 5x3.5cm) having an identical structure consisting of a central rectangular plate surmounted by one or two triangles and with three hanging chains ending in small discs. The buckles have hooks behind the plates, presumably for fastening to hair or garment. All the buckles are adorned with semi-precious stones and the decorative granulations composing a simple geometrical pattern. However, the buckles are not exactly the same in appearance. In particular, the central plates of two buckles are decorated only with stones while a chased figure of a rider is represented on the central plate of the third buckle (fig. 3,4,5). Yet, even the central plates of the first two buckles do not have a common layout of stones. The plate of one buckle is composed of quite a large oval-shape stone in the centre and small circular stones at each corner of the plate. All stones are red (fig. 3). The second buckle consists of a round yellow stone in the centre and almond-shape red stones at the corners (fig. 4). The buckle with a rider's figure is also adorned with four almond-shape red stones set at the corners (fig. 5). The triangle parts of the buckles also differ. The triangle of one buckle does not bear any figure, but is adorned only with almond-shape red stone (fig. 4). The triangle of the second buckle bears a chased figure of a lion (fig. 3)¹⁹ and the buckle with a rider's figure has two triangles with figures of the birds on the top (fig. 5). The figures of a rider as well as that of the birds and of a lion are treated quite schematically and decoratively using the gold grains and are roughly soldered. In spite of the variations and differences of the Gonio buckles, they show common artistic approach and probably were produced in the same workshop. The main artistic characteristic of the buckles is the combination of a warm gold background and colored stones. The application of various colored stones on a gold surface, the so called polychrome method, is typical of the jewelry of the Roman period²⁰. Artifacts in the polychrome style are also discovered in various regions of Georgia²¹. But the polychrome style is characterized not only by the use of colored stones, but also by flamboyant combination of warm and cold colors, e.g. red and green, or greenish-blue stones against a gold background. On the Gonio buckles, we have either simply red stones (fig. 3, 5) or a combination of warm colors, that of red and yellow (fig. 4). Very similar parallels to the Gonio items are the buckles from Kldeeti (second half of the 2nd century) in western Georgia and from Loo near Sochi²². There is the same way of application of colored stones decorative granulation and figures of the birds. However, there are differences as well. There is no buckle with chased figure on the central plate among the buckles from Kldeeti, nor from Loo. Unlike those from Gonio, the buckles from Kldeeti are almost identical in appearance, and are adorned with almandine and greenish-blue pastes and with birds on the triangles. In comparison to the Gonio buckles, they are more delicate and characterized by a higher technical level of craftsmanship. However, in spite of certain dissimilarities, the Gonio and the Kldeeti buckles are more closely related to each other, than to the Loo buckles. They share

17. Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 76-7; Treister 1996, 93-4; Kokoshina 1963, 128-30; Zasetzkaya, 2008, 45-6, pl. 1-4.

18. There is different opinion concerning the dating of the roundel, see Lortkipanidze et al. 1980 76; Lortkipanidze 1989, 346; and Treister 1999, 94; Stoles 1999, 191.

19. Originally there must have been two figures of lions.

20. Higgins 1980, 27-35, 174.

21. Chubinasvili, 41-70.

22. Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 68-73; for Kldeeti buckles, see Lomtadidze 1957, 30-6, 103-4, pl. 1, 2; XIV, 1, XV, 2; Brund 1994, 186-7; Stoles, 1999, 203, pl. 104.

same artistic conception, compositional structure, layout and system of decoration. Buckles from Loo are overloaded with decorative details, with grains of gold and stones and some of the buckles have elaborated forms²³. The four buckles from the Gonio hoard and the nine buckles from Kldeeti can stylistically be combined as a one group, which can be linked to a wide group of artifacts of the 1st-3rd centuries discovered in Georgia (for instance, artifacts from Armazi). The stylistic relationship between the Kldeeti and the Gonio buckles specify the date of the Gonio buckles as being from the 2nd -3rd century²⁴.

The Gonio artifacts obviously demonstrate different artistic and stylistic peculiarities. The buckles seem to be of local origin, since unlike, for instance, the Dioscurus gold figurine, which does not have any analogy in Georgian archeological material, the buckles have very close links with the Kldeeti buckles, as well as with other artifacts of 2nd-3rd centuries. The roundel of Sarmation Animal Style, as well as Dioscurus figurine prompts one to suppose that they may have been imported into Apsaros²⁵.

Our evidence regarding to Apsaros of the early Christian times is slight. Artifacts from the medieval period are less plentiful as well. It seems that by the early Christian time Apsaros had lost its former importance. However, it was active throughout the medieval period, that is confirmed by the Byzantine reconstruction of the fortification etc. But still from early Christian times on Petra (modern Tsikhisdziri), another fortified city on the Black Sea coast gained particular importance²⁶.

It was its location and fortification that made Petra one of the most important strategic points for the Byzantine political and military domination in Lazica (western Georgia). The city became one of the main battlefields during the war (541-562) between the Byzantine Empire and Sassanid Persia.

Among the artifacts from the medieval times revealed in Tsikhisdziri, the Byzantine lead seals without doubt attract especial interest. At various times during the excavation works, in cultural layers or quite by chance, ten Byzantine lead seals (Bulla) were found in Tsikhisdziri. A detailed research of those seals has been provided and published by Professor W. Seibt and Dr. I. Iashvili²⁷. The following is based on the results of their research.

First, I should underline that the large number, i.e. ten of the Byzantine seals from Tsikhisdziri is impressive, for apart from them only four Byzantine lead seals have ever been discovered on the territory of Georgia. It is also very important that the seals from Tsikhisdziri cover quite a long period - from the 6th to 11th centuries.

The earliest surviving lead seal (weight: 6.2 gr, diameter: 2.2x2cm) dates back to the third quarter of the 6th century, the period of Justinian I or Justinian II and belongs to the type of monogrammatic seals (fig. 6, 1). Monogrammatic seals covered with monograms and often decorated with a wreath around the edge of the seal were current in the 6th to early 8th century. Seals with block monograms exist from the 6th century and seals with cruciform monograms from the second half of the 6th to early 8th century²⁸. Tsikhisdziri seal presents a combination of block (on obverse) and cruciform (on reverse) monograms. The monograms have been deciphered as Paulos Stratelates (Obv.: Παύλου Rev.: στρατηλάτου)²⁹.

23. Lortkipanidze 1980, 70-3, pl. xxvii.

24. supra: 70-1, Braund 1994, 186-7.

25. There are different views regarding the homogeneity and dating of the Gonio hoard. According to one opinion (Lortkipanidze et al. 1980, 76-7; Lortkipanidze 1989, 345-56) all objects are stylistically identical and date from the 2nd-3rd century and according to another (Treister 1996, 82, 94) the objects are not homogeneous and belong to different periods.

26. Mumladze et al. 2007 for the history of Gonio; see also articles by I. Mania, N. Natsvlishvili for the history of Gonio and Tsikhisdziri in the present volume.

27. Iashvili, Seibt 2006, 1-9.

28. Oikonomides 1986, 152-3.

29. Iashvili, Seibt 2006, 2.

The second seal (weight: 10.5 gr. diameter: 2.7x2.5cm) is from the 9th century and belonged to Christophoros, Hypatos and Imperial Notary of Genikon (fig. 6, 2)³⁰. The seal has a cruciform monogram on its obverse. The inscriptions read as follows:

Obv.: Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ

O Mother of God, have mercy on your servant

Rev.: Χριστοφόρῳ ὑπ[άτ(ῳ)] (καὶ) βασιλικῷ νοτ(αρίῳ) τοῦ [γ(ενικοῦ)] λογοθ(εσίου)

Christophoros, Hypatos and imperial notary of Genikon logothesion.

Two seals date from the second half of the 10th century: one (weight: 5.6 gr, diameter: 2x2cm) belonged to Adrianos, Imperial Protospatharios and Officer of Megale Hetaireia.

Obv.: + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ)

O Lord, have mercy on your servant

Rev.: Ἀδριαν(ῶ) βασιλικῷ (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) ἐπὶ τ(ῆ)ς μεγάλ(ης) ἐτ(αι)ρεία(ς)

Adrianos, imperial protospatharios and Officer of Megale Hetaireia.

Another seal (weight: 4.0 gr, diameter: 1.8x1.6cm) belonged to Manuel, Imperial Ostiarios and Chief of Imperial Table. Rev.: + Μανουῆλ βασιλικός(ός)στ[ιά]ριος καὶ ἐπὶ τ(ῆ)ς οἰκ(ει)ακ(ῆ)ς τρ(α)πέζης³¹.

Both seals are quite similar in appearance - a Golgotha Cross is depicted on the obverse of the first and a 'crux florida' on the obverse of the second (fig. 6, 3).

It is well known, during the iconoclast period (8th-9th century) religious figurative iconography in the Byzantine art in general and on the seals as well was quite rare. After the iconoclast period, figurative images started to appear on Byzantine seals, though seals with crosses or inscriptions continue to exist³².

Most of the seals, namely six from Tsihisdziri, have survived from the eleventh century.

The seal of Abasios Asekretis, Protonotary and Judge of Peloponnes and Hellas, dates from the first half of the 11th century. The seal bears only inscriptions on both sides³³:

Obv.: [+] Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει [τῷ] σ[ῷ] δούλῳ Ἀβασίῳ

O Mother of God, have mercy on your servant Abasios

Rev.: βασιλικῷ ἀση[κ]ρήτ(ις) (πρωτο)[νο]τάρ(ιῳ) (καὶ) κρ[ιτ(ῆ)] Πελοπο[ν(νήσιου)] (καὶ) Ἑλ(λ)άδ(ος)

Royal aseketis, protonotary and judge of Peloponnes and Hellas.

The next two seals are typically linked to each other - on their obverse a bust of saints, those of St Michael the Archangel and St George are depicted. The first seal dates from the first half of the 11th century and the second seal from the second half of the 11th century³⁴. The seal (weight: 7.65gr, diameter: 2.3x2cm) with the image of St Michael the Archangel with a scepter in his right hand and a cross and glob in his left belonged to Theodoros Abasgos Taxiarchos (fig. 6, 5).

Rev.: [+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Θ]εοδῶ(ρῳ)] [τ]αξιάρχ(ῳ)] τῷ Ἀβ(ασγῷ)

O Lord, have mercy on Theodoros, taxiarchos, Abasgos (?)

The seal (weight: 3.85gr, diameter: 1.9x1.8cm) with the bust of St George holding the lance in his right hand and a shield in his left belonged to Georgios Pektes.

Rev.: Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γεωργί(ῳ) [τ](ῷ) Πήκτ(η)

O Lord, have mercy on Georgios Pektes.

30. supra: 3.

31. supra: 4-5.

32. Oikonomides 1986, 153.

33. Iashvili, Seibt 2006, 5.

34. Iashvili, Seibt 2006, 6-7.

It is worth mentioning that the seal with the bust of St George is of highly skilled workmanship (fig. 6, 6). The seal was discovered inside the 6th century basilica church on the Tsikhisdziri acropolis³⁵.

The seal (weigh 7.2 gr, diameter: 2x2cm) of Constantinos Kontoniketas, Bestes dates from the second half of the eleventh century³⁶. The inscription on the reverse reads as follows:

Rv.: [+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Κ]ων(σταντίνον) βέστ(ην) [τ](ὸ)ν Κ(ο)ντ(ο)ν(ι) κήτ(αν)

O Lord, have mercy on Constantinos Bestes, Kontoniketas.

A standing figure of St Theodor with a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left is represented on the obverse of the seal. In contrast to the figure of St George on the Georgios Pektes' seal, the St Theodor's figure is disproportional and only roughly represented (fig. 6, 7).

The next eleventh century seal (weigh: 15.6 gr, diameter: 2.8x2.5cm) belonged to Bardas Daes, Prothospatharios and Taxiarchos³⁷.

Rev.: Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Βάρδᾱ (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) ταξι(ι)ά(ρ)χ(ω) τ(ῶ) Δάη

O Mother of God, have mercy on Bardas, prothospatharios and taxiarchos, Daes.

A Virgin-Nicopeia is depicted on the obverse of the seal. A representation of the Virgin of various iconographic types is very common for Byzantine seals.

The iconographic types of Virgin, as well as of the saints, depicted on the seals is typical for Byzantine art and is common for medieval Georgian art as well. Several parallels of Tsikhisdziri seals can be cited from Byzantine sigillography of the 10th-11th centuries³⁸.

Unfortunately, the persons mentioned in the inscriptions of the Tsikhisdziri seals are unknown from the history and only the owner of one seal, Ignatios Kaiser Monachos, was identified (fig. 6, 4)³⁹. The inscriptions read as follows:

Obv.: + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῶ σῶ [δ(ού)]λῶ

O Lord, have mercy on your servant

Rev.: Ἰγνατίω (μονα)χ(ῶ) [τ]ῶ Καίσαρι

Ignatios, Monachos of Emperor

This Ignatios is believed to be John Duca, who was given the court dignity - Kaiser and who in 1075 took the monastic vow under the name Ignatios. The seal belonged to 1075-1081⁴⁰.

Thus, the earliest Byzantine seal from Tsikhisdziri belongs to the period of Justinian I or Justinian II and therefore to the period of Petra's prosperity. Layers of the Tsikhisdziri fortification, as well as the ruins of the basilica church together with its very significant floor mosaics date from the same 6th century⁴¹. Among the numismatics discovered on the site the gold coin of Justinian I should also be mentioned⁴².

As was pointed out already, apart from the Tsikhisdziri seals the four lead seals were discovered in Georgia: two in Bichvinta (Pitiunt) - one dates from the 6th-7th century⁴³, and another to the 7th-8th century⁴⁴, one seal of the 7th-8th century

35. Inaishvili 1974, 120.

36. Iashvili, Seibt 2006, 8.

37. supra: 8.

38. Likhachov 1991, 85, 101-2, 129-30, pl. LXI, 8, LXIII, 5, LXVI, 1

39. Iashvili, Seibt 2006, 9.

40. Iashvili, Seibt 2006, 9.

41. Inaishvili 1974, 130-8, Lekvinadze 1973, 169-86; see also the article by D. Khoshtaria in the present volume for Tsikhisdziri basilica.

42. Inaishvili 1993, 110.

43. Dundua 1973, 73-6; Dundua 1977, 335-42; Kauhchishvili 2004, 63-4.

44. Lekvinadze 1955, 403-6; Kauhchishvili 2004, 64.

in Nokalakevi (Archaepolis)⁴⁵ and a seal of the 6th-7th century was discovered in Akhali Atoni (Anacopia)⁴⁶. Scholars suggest that some of those seals can be attributed to local authorities and could be of local origin⁴⁷. Nevertheless, seals with their Greek inscriptions, layout and iconography do not differ from the Byzantine lead seals and should be attributed to the Byzantine sigillography. Even if the seals were produced in Georgia, the Byzantine models were obviously used. Using the Byzantine seals as models was a common practice, for example, this tradition was widespread in Russia since the eleventh century⁴⁸.

It is notable that the Byzantine lead seals have been found only in western Georgia. Those from Akhali Atoni, Bichvinta, Nokalakevi and one of the seals from Tsikhisdziri are from the 6th-7th century, the period when Lazica was under Byzantine political influence and the Empire controlled the naval trade⁴⁹. But other seals from Tsikhisdziri belong to the 10th and 11th centuries period of independence of Georgia. However, of course Georgia and Byzantium continued their political, social and economic relationships throughout the 10th-11th centuries, which is testified by pieces of evidence. Byzantine seals from Tsikhisdziri are still a further confirmation of that relationship. We do not yet have a clear picture of what was occurring in Tsikhisdziri during the 10th-11th century. However, the seals are a good witness to the fact that Tsikhisdziri and its fortress were active in the 10th-11th century and that Tsikhisdziri had intensive contacts with Byzantium and sea route was probably the main channel for this.

In addition, the Byzantine lead seals are very important, particularly taking into consideration that we do not have many purely Byzantine artifacts in Georgia.

Besides the Byzantine lead seals, a number of Byzantine coins have also been found in Tsikhisdziri and in Gonio as well⁵⁰. The coins also testify to the relationships with the Empire. But while Byzantine money was discovered in the whole territory of Georgia, the Byzantine seals are only from the western Georgia and most of them are from Tsikhisdziri, that deserves special note from the point of view of the Georgian-Byzantine political, economic and cultural relationships, particularly in the 10th-11th century. Byzantine lead seals from Tsikhisdziri obviously attest for close relations and cultural interaction between Byzantium and Georgia on this stage of the history.

45. Lekvinadze 1980, 275-81, Kaukhchishvili 2004, 133.

46. Khrushkova 1976, 146-8; Kaukhchishvili 2004, 76.

47. Dundua 1977, 335-42; Lekvinadze 1955, 403-6.

48. Lekvinadze 1955, 406.

49. Beradze 2009, 119-24.

50. For Tsikhisdziri coins, see Inaishvili 1993, 98-113; for Gonio coins, see Varshalomidze 2009, 261-6.

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Artifacts from Gonio and Tsikhisdziri

Mikeladze Ketevan

Abstract:

In the framework of the project “OLKAS - From the Aegean to the Black Sea: Medieval Ports in the Maritime Routes of the East” Georgia was represented by Batumi, Gonio and Tsikhisdziri sites on the Black Sea coast of western Georgia. The paper deals with significant artifacts, discovered in Gonio and Tsikhisdziri. The gold artifacts of Roman period from Gonio and ten Byzantine lead seals from Tsikhisdziri demonstrate the historic, economic and cultural relations of Georgia with its neighbouring countries on different stages of the history.



Fig. 1: Figurine of Dioscurus.



Fig. 2: Roundel with beast fighting.



Fig. 3: Buckle.



Fig. 4: Buckle.

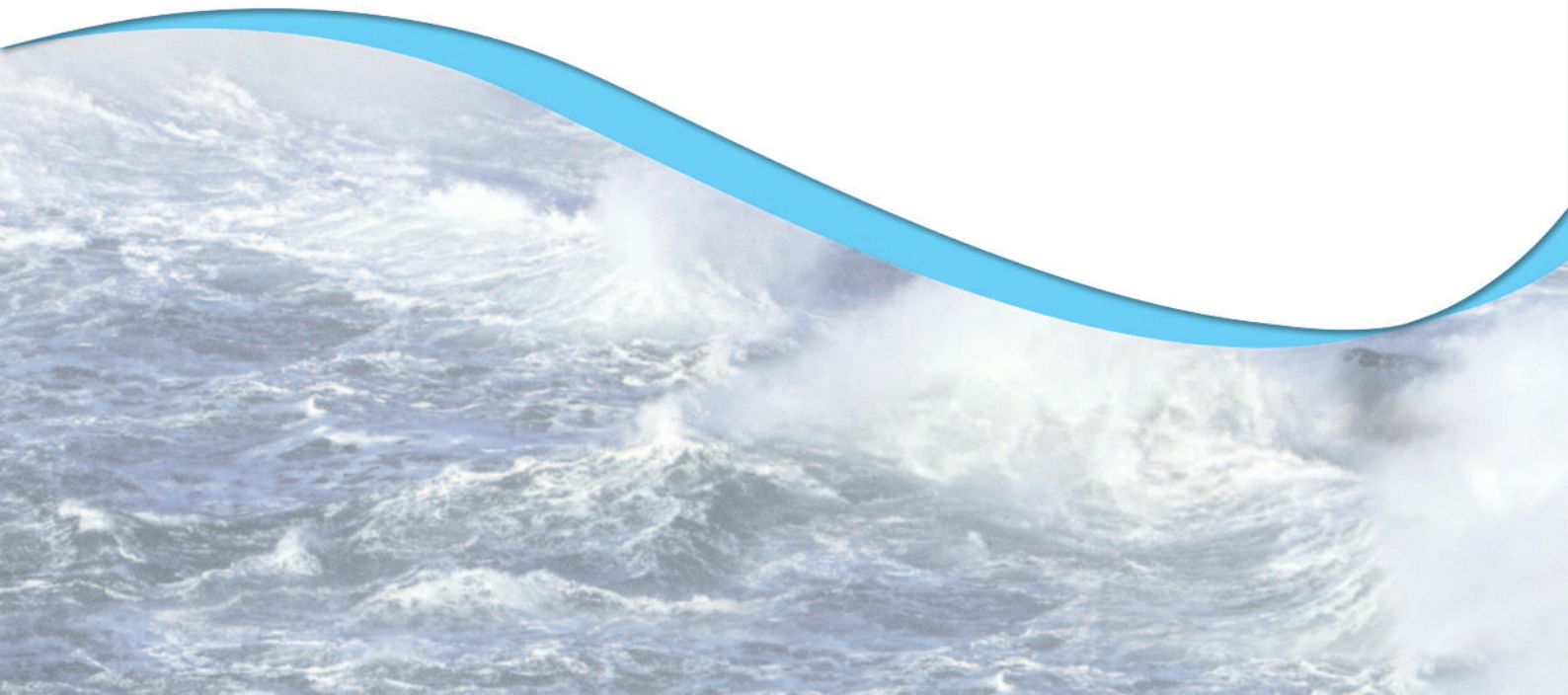
Fig. 5: Buckle.





Fig. 6: Byzantine Lead Seals.

SESSION VII:
MEDIEVAL SHIPS - SHIPWRECKS



Byzantium under the Greek seas

Dellaporta Katerina P.

Fr. van Doornick, Jr. states that around eighty shipwrecks dated to the Byzantine period are mentioned in the archaeological literature, but only thirty are described in detail¹. As regards to Greek waters, the Byzantine shipwrecks known from literature are very few compared to those from other periods, while unfortunately, none of them, at least up to the present, has yet been investigated and exhaustively studied or published in detail. References in the literature and publications² are mostly limited to the cargo they carried - mainly amphoras and glazed ceramics - with nothing about the construction of the ships. In contrast, the bibliography is much fuller of Byzantine wrecks that are located outside Greek territorial waters in the wider area of the former provinces of the Byzantine Empire.

This situation is due also to the circumstance that the majority of the shipwrecks identified at depths of approximately 45 metres or less are looted, unlike shipwrecks lying at depths exceeding 50m, a fact that makes conducting any kind of investigation significantly more difficult from a technical and financial standpoint.

This paper is mainly based on the data base of the Shipwrecks' Archive of the EEA³, established in electronic form since 2001, on the results of the deep-water archaeological research that was carried out by the author during the years 1998-2006⁴ and on various evidences according the press releases on the EEA's surveys from 2006 till today⁵.

Many shipwrecks were discovered by divers at relatively shallow depths during the 19th and 20th century. Growing trawling activity at depths up to 700m. has very frequently resulted in the recovery of ancient artifacts during the last decades.

In the course of the experimental pilot project between the EEA and the Norwegian Archaeological Institute in Athens and the Trondheim Polytechnic in the officially designated marine archaeological area of the Northern Sporades, sonar equipment successfully located new targets, which corresponded among others to a shipwreck site with several hundreds of amphoras of the early 12th century AD at a depth of 60 metres⁶ and to the known wreck in Aghios Petros bay from the middle Byzantine period, c. 1050 AD, partly excavated in 1970 by the Greek Ministry of Culture and the late Peter Throckmorton. In July 1968, Professor Spyridon Marinatos asked George Bass to come and see a shipwreck of the mid-twelfth century located in the bay of Agios Petros on Pelagonisi in the Northern Sporades. Partial excavation of this wreck was not done, however, until in 1979 Peter Throckmorton

1. van Doornick 2002, 899-905.

2. Δελλαπόρτα 2003, 42-9; ΑΔ 1999, 903-16; 1999, 118-21.

3. EEA = Eforate Enalion Archaiofiton (Department of Underwater Antiquities Culture).

4. From 2000 to 2006 a total of 21 research missions have been carried out in the waters of the Aegean and the Ionian Seas by the use of remote-sensing techniques, (Side Scan Sonar, Sub-bottom profiler, R.O.V.) and innovative experimental techniques of underwater research, such as the autonomous underwater vehicle (AUV) in joint collaborative projects with the Hellenic Center of Marine Research (HCMR) and other academic and research foundations, such as, the Norwegian Institute in Athens, NIA, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MIT and Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the Institute for Nautical Archaeology of Texas A&M University, the Athens Polytechnic and the Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology. Using sonar, extensive areas of Greek seas were investigated, in which approximately 30 new shipwrecks were identified and mapped.

5. Θεοδούλου 2011, 13-84.

6. Dellaporta, Jasinski, Søreide 2006, 79-87.

showed that the ship had pine planking, which was attached to the cross-beams with iron nails, but without mortises. The ship is reckoned to have measured at least 25m. by 8m. and to have a displacement of at least 100 tonnes⁷. The sonar, however, had difficulties detecting this wreck-site, due to the fact that only 35 scattered amphoras are visible on the sea-bed, which was characterised by a complex underwater topography. This made it extremely difficult to separate single amphoras from the terrain. Two other positions were located on Peristera island - this site consists of two large Byzantine shipwreck amphora mounds lying close to each other, and finally approximately 200m. from the large classical "Alonessos wreck"⁸, dated to the late 4th c. BC wreck-sites, the sonar detected a small Byzantine shipwreck⁹. Although the importance of numerous wrecks recorded by the EEA around the island shows that they have been part of the Athenian trade network, archaeological finds are more abundant from the early and middle Byzantine period (6th-12th c. AD). Apart from architectural remains of Byzantine basilicas and ceramics scattered everywhere on the islands, it should also be noted that the fortification walls of the main citadel on Alonessos island were constructed then and later repaired by the Venetians, while near the east coast of Kyra Panaghia lies a Byzantine monastery built in 900 AD; it is a *metochi* of the monastery of Megisti Lavra in Athos. The whole island was bought by Megisti Lavra and has since then belonged to the religious state of Athos. Traces of Late Roman and Byzantine period can be seen all over the island. Several Byzantine amphora wrecks recorded by the EEA dated to the 11th and 12th c. AD show an increase of commercial activity in the area during the last thriving period of the Byzantine Empire. During the Middle Ages the islands were dominated by the Venetians, who competed with the pirates and the Ottomans for the control and the safety of this very frequent sea-route.

The surface surveys, which have been conducted in recent years by the Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology, have added a new group of eight shipwrecks in the wider area of Sporades in the Pagasitic Gulf¹⁰ dated from the 4th c. AD to the early Byzantine period and mainly to the 12-13th c. AD, according to the evidence of their cargos, and four in the wider sea area in south Evoikos Gulf¹¹ with LR 2 (6th c. AD), and north African amphoras cargo as well.

From the shipwrecks that have been recorded, there are very few for which we have a complete idea of the extent to which the wooden craft has been preserved and whether or not the cargo was limited to finds visible on the surface.

This is because the evidence needs to be confirmed, something only fully systematic investigation of a site can ensure, given that groups of amphoras are frequently referred to as a cargo, when they may be chance discards, whose arrangement and number do not support the identification of a site as a shipwreck location.

Of the wrecks we know that some portion of the vessel's wooden framework is surviving, the first is the one located by Peter Throckmorton and John Bullitt in the course of their investigations east of the island of Sapienza near Methoni in 1962; the results were published in the University of Pennsylvania Museum's journal *Expedition*, 1963¹². The second according D. Kazianis' report¹³, may be the shipwreck located in the waters of Aegina, dated to the 9th-11th centuries, whose wooden framework is likely preserved buried beneath the sand. Finally, the partial

7. Kritzas, Throckmorton 1971, 176-85; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989; 1979, 157-71.

8. Hadjidaki 1996, 561-93; Mantzouka 2004.

9. The Greek - Norwegian Deepwater Archaeological Survey, Report 2000 [EEA, archives].

10. Σπονδύλης, Δεμέστιχα 2005-06, 11-27.

11. Κουτσουφλάκης, Αργύρη, υπό έκδοση.

12. Throckmorton, Bullitt 1963, 17-23.

13. Kazianis 1997.

excavation at the site of the mid-twelfth century shipwreck at a depth of 40m. in the bay of Agios Petros on Pelagonisi in the Northern Sporades showed that the ship had pine planking that was attached to the cross-timbers by iron nails without mortises. The ship is estimated to have measured at least 25m. by 8m. and to have had a displacement of at least 100 tons¹⁴.

According to the evidence and the descriptions that we have available, it emerges that practically all the shipwrecks that we have recorded have to do with merchant ships, since their cargos are predominantly transport amphoras or glazed plates being carried as merchandise¹⁵.

The transport of “*magarika*” or “*koufa*”¹⁶ on ships remained essentially the same as in antiquity with the two basic aims being the efficient use of space and the protection of amphoras from breakage.

According to the Yassi Ada shipwreck¹⁷ the rounded (globular) “*magarika*” were placed in wide and shallow holds, while the elongated vessels were placed in narrow and deeper holds. Their shapes are therefore related to the location they were carried on the ship and indicate two standardized types of body shape and handles: the rounded, stubby “*magarika*” with low handles and the elongated vessels with higher neck and longer handles.

The number of amphoras located on the ship and their placement “*κατ’ ορδίνωσ*” - meaning in lines running from prow to stern and filling the interior of the holds -, provides the only sure evidence for the capacity of sunken ships.

According to Ch. Bakirtzis’ typology¹⁸ in the first Byzantine period the basic amphora types remained unchanged as could be found in earlier periods, with the most representative examples coming from the Aegean. During the 9th to the 11th c. one can find three basic mass produced types of amphoras: stubby (survived until the 11th c.), elongated and spindle-shaped. From the 10th until the 13th c. appears a new type of “*magarikon*” vessel, which is characterized by its elongated spindle-shaped form and the gradual lengthening of the handles. The traditional shapes and influence of antiquity disappear and new shapes appear continuously. From the 12th until the 14th c. the amphoras become more spherical, with sharply pointed shoulders. In addition, there is a new type of “*magarikon*” vessel with elongated pipe-like shape.

The gradual decay of the byzantine navy¹⁹ indicated by the loss of large commercial centres of the Empire to the Genoans and to the Venetians had as a natural consequence a decline of production of *magarika* vessels, which almost disappeared in the 14th c.

The byzantine amphoras have no special artistic merit comparatively to the glazed pottery. They were items of mass production, rather like modern cans or barrels, for carrying wine, oil, dry or fresh nuts, honey, fish and even “*greek fire*” (*liquid fire*)²⁰ for warfare.

Nevertheless the engraved and often artless inscriptions on ceramic surface, which declare the contents of the amphoras, calculations or their owners, give the finds a human dimension, and transform these plain ceramics into important archaeological items. Sometimes the interpretation of stamps, monograms and other designs on the handles and shoulders of the vessels of the 9th to the 11th c. is problematic. The marking is related to the taxes and customs procedures regulating

14. Cf. supra, note 6.

15. Δελλαπόρτα 1999, 118-21.

16. For the terminology of byzantine tableware ceramics see also Μπακιρτζής 1984.

17. Bass, van Doornick 1982.

18. Bakirtzis, op.cit.

19. Ahrweiler 1966; Pryor 2006.

20. Haldon 2006, 290-325.

wine and oil and indicate the owners, like “Ανθέμιος” or “Γεώργιος”²¹, or the factories near the point of production or the ports from which the products were first shipped, but could also contain blessings or references to superstitions.

Maritime research and the locating of Byzantine shipwrecks in Greek waters is multiplying questions rather than supplying answers. To which sunken ships do the terms “*dromon*”, “*chelandion*”, and “*pamphilos*” correspond? What were their technical specifications and what how were they differentiated?

Greek sources for Byzantium’s mercantile fleet are very sparse, because contemporary writers were more concerned with the navy and so contain practically no references to the merchant marine. The information that can be gathered is found scattered among saints’ lives, chronicles, travel narratives, letters, monastic archives, and so on.

It has been pointed out by Ph. Koukoules²² that Byzantine writers did not have a great deal of familiarity with the sea and never provide precise information. Historians lived in the palace environment and had acquired a militarist, land-based outlook without perceiving that the strength of the state was a function of the strength of its navy.

However, the concern shown by emperors for maintaining and protecting the mercantile fleet is evident in special legislations, such as the “*Rhodian Law of the Sea*”²³. Dating problems, similar to the ones of the “*Farmer’s Law*”, presents a code of equal character, the “*Rhodian Sea Law*” (*Nomos Rhodion Nautikos*). Written probably between 600 and 800, it is a collection of maritime law regulations divided into three parts. The first part refers to the ratification of the “*Naval Law*” by the Roman emperors. The second specifies the participation of the crew in maritime profits and the regulations valid on the ship, while the third and largest refers to maritime law, as for example to the apportionment of responsibility in case of theft or damage to the cargo or the ship. The “*Naval Law*” was included in the *Basilika* of Leo VI the Wise as a complement to book 53 and in the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Armenopoulos²⁴, too. In the 14th c. the so called “*naval spirit*” did not exist; most of the emperors were generals and not one was an admiral save for Romanus Lecapenus, ruler and administrator of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; in 911 he was general of the naval theme of Samos and later served as admiral of the fleet (*droungarios tou ploimou*), but never became sole emperor²⁵. However, from the time of Romanus Lecapenus and Constantine Porphyrogenitus the navy of Byzantium shows developments in ship construction and tactics. During that period, more and larger ships were built and operations at sea became more independent from those on dry land. Furthermore, not only the common people, but also their rulers became more aware and appreciative of the role played by the navy, justifying Nicephorus Phocas’ proud speech to Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona²⁶ and ambassador of the German emperor Otto III, when he said “*the strength of our sailors belongs to me alone*” (*navigantium fortitudo mihi soli inest*)²⁷.

The narrative sources, as T. Kollias has observed, are never consistent with reality, not even in their terminology, taking into account the archaizing tendency of Byzantine writers using anachronistic terms, such as “*olkas*” or “*trireme*”, when the extent to which they were still in use is unknown. Thus, they are imprecise, because they do not possess specialized nautical knowledge. On the other hand, paintings

21. See parallels in van Doornick 1989, 248-56. Bass, Matthews, Steffy, van Doornick 2004.

22. Κουκουλές 1955, 126-13.

23. Mousourakis 2003.

24. Fögen 1991, 902.

25. Runciman 1990.

26. Mayr-Hartin 2001, 539-56.

27. Κόλιας 1995, 295-301.

of various scenes in manuscripts and icons²⁸ contain representations of misshapen craft and sometimes canoes practically of the same shape, rather ill-formed inscriptions, for the most part show ships no older than the fifteenth or sixteenth century; so visual representations of ships should likewise be approached with prudence, because the repeated motifs of graffiti do not match up with reality, but do indeed sometimes contain interesting evidence. Despite all this, Byzantine ships were not excluded from the attention even of earlier scholars, as is evident from the classical studies of Hélène Ahrweiler, in “*Byzance et la Mer*”²⁹, of Antonio Carile and Salvatore Cosentino, in “*Storia della marinaria bizantina*”³⁰, of Marco Bonino’s³¹ work concerning shipbuilding and byzantine ships, of Marco Tangheroni and very recently of John Pryor’s and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys on the Byzantine *dromon*³²; all of them tried to exploit exhaustively the sources for research on Byzantine ships drawn from texts, reproductions and archaeological finds.

Accordingly, Mark Redknap³³ states that the material culture from wrecks can be viewed as a *speculum orbis terrarum* reflecting the political ambition, economics, industry and social context of the day. Artifacts from wrecks convey information, how objects were manufactured, transported and their context of lifespan.

From the evidence we have for the cargos that ships were carrying, when they were wrecked, approximately eleven were transporting glazed ceramics. This group includes two wrecks of large ships, one at Pelagonisi and the other of Kastellorizo³⁴; the glazed ceramic from Pelagonisi with fine sgraffito and champs-leve technique decoration of animals³⁵, the other wreck of Kastellorizo transporting glazed ceramic representing plants and animals with incised sgraffito ware, slip painted, sgraffito - developed style, slip wares with green splashed decoration and of green and brown painted wares. Apart from these wrecks Parker³⁶ mentions Skopelos shipwreck, as well, which had been carrying sgraffito ware with geometric and animal motives. According to Parker, an assemblage of material at Oxford seems to have been pulled up from this wreck prior to 1960, which is later in date than the one at Pelagonisi and earlier than the Kastellorizo wreck.

According to the records of the Shipwreck’s Archive:

Only one wreck was carrying an artifact that could be a sifonas, in Laganas bay, in Zakynthos island.

Four wrecks seem to preserve part of their ballast; one at Chios of 9th-10th c. AD, one of Sapientza island at Methoni and in an early byzantine wreck in the Argolikos gulf, both mentioned by Parker, and finally one in Pylos in a wreck site located by Falco, Jacques-Yves Cousteau’s partner.

Oil lamps have been found in the cargo of two wrecks; one in Pelagonissi and in a shipwreck of Amorgos island as well.

One wreck of 9th-11th c. AD transported bricks of Aegina island.

Pithoi have been found in three shipwrecks; one of 13th-15th c. AD of Tolos in Argolid, known by Parker, one in Chios and in the Wreck 9 of Pagasitikos. Milestones from granite have been found in the known shipwreck of Pelagonissi and one in a shipwreck of 5th-7th c. AD of Hydra.

Marbles and parts of architectural constructions have been located in Wreck

28. Cf. the catalogs of the exhibitions: Greece and the Sea. Athens 1985, and Ο Περίπλους των εικόνων. Κέρκυρα 14ος-18ος αιώνας, 1994.

29. Ahrweiler 1966, op. cit.

30. Carile, Cosentino 2004.

31. Bonino 1978; 2005. Argomenti di architettura navale antica.

32. Pryor 2006, op.cit.

33. Redknap 1997.

34. Φιλοθέου, Μιχαηλίδου 1986, 271-330.

35. Kritzas 1999, 122-57.

36. Parker 2010.

II (B) found by H. Edgerton with sonar in Sami, in Cephallonia, dated in the Byzantine period, according Kalligas and Skoufopoulou, in a wreck of 6th-7th c. AD in Kos island and in a shipwreck in the area of Rodopi.

Apart ceramics, anchors are the most important finds for dating shipwrecks; from thirteen recorded shipwrecks, one shipwreck of 5th-7th c. AD in Hydra carried an anchor similar to Yassi Ada I, while eight carried anchors of Ypsilon type similar to Serce Liman and dated between 10th-12th c. AD; among them are the 10th-11th c. AD shipwreck of Peristera, mentioned by Parker, and the 11th-12th c. AD Theologos shipwreck in Fthiotida, published by Kazianis, Simossi and Haniotis in *IJNA*³⁷.

Nevertheless, most important of all till now seems to be the Porto Koufo II shipwreck, found and located with side scan sonar, that preserves in approximately 115 m. depth two assemblies of 16 in total iron anchors.

The systematic recording of the results in an electronic database, that offers the potential for further processing of the data it contains:

Of the evidence recorded in the Shipwreck Archive eleven shipwrecks are dated to the early Byzantine period and into the seventh century. They have been located in the seas of Methoni, Chios, Rhodes, Porto Heli, Oinoussai and the coasts of Thrace, in the harbor of Rhodes, of Symi and in the Pagasitic Gulf; of these, the shipwrecks at Porto Longo, of Chios in the locations A and Delphinion K (investigated by Garnett and Boardman³⁸), by Lindos, at Porto Heli, at location F in Garnett and Boardman's investigations at Prasonisia (Oinoussai), and of Thassos are included in Parker's survey of wrecks.

These ships carried mainly LR 5 amphoras and other clay artifacts; some, those from Rhodes, still had their stoppers, while the Rhodopi wreck had architectural elements of marble in its hold, likely destined for the construction of a basilica comparable to the Marzamemi shipwreck in Sicily³⁹, dated in early 6th century. Of the twenty-three shipwrecks recorded for the middle Byzantine period, six were already known to Parker. A greater concentration - twelve wrecks - has been noted in the waters of the Pagasitic Gulf and the Sporades.

Four shipwrecks of the late Byzantine period (twelfth to thirteenth centuries) have been discovered to contain stumpy globular amphoras with tall handles. Two of them in Rhode and Nafplion known from Parker's catalogue.

Finally, approximately twelve shipwrecks are recorded as "Byzantine shipwrecks" without specifying a date, while around four are dated vaguely to the Late Roman period.

From the standpoint of distribution, the greatest concentration of shipwrecks appears in the waters of the Aegean Sea and is dated to the Middle Byzantine period, especially during the 9th to 12th centuries, when, as Elisabeth Malamut⁴⁰ shows, the economy of the islands developed considerably.

Underwater archaeology is not only the archaeology of amphoras and shipwrecks, as it is widely believed. The discipline extends to investigating and uncovering submerged settlements from very often unknown or even forgotten harbours, that suffered from modern use.

Harbours in contrast to shipwrecks are not closed archaeological assemblages of definable date. This is because the preference over time for the same geographical locations in order to serve navigation is no coincidence.

37. Kazianis, Simossi, Haniotis 1990, 225-32.

38. Garnett, Boardman 1954, 102-13.

39. The site of the wreck of church marbles, second half of 6th c. AD, eventually from Constantinople was found in 1960, and studied by the German archaeologist, Gerhard Kapitän, between 1964 to 1967, on Marzamemi, a small port in south Sicily, sank in 3m of water. Kapitän 1969, 122-33; Castagnino, Berlinghieri, Paribeni 2011, 64-75. In Greek seas a monolithic column from cipollino marble has been found in Polygigos by fisherman.

40. Malamut 1989.

These sites kept diachronically the same geo-morphological features and advantages, which made them suitable in ancient times for serving mercantile and military purposes as well for establishing coastal settlements into recent times. This is the case for example of the continuous use of the closed harbour of Thassos from the archaic period into early Christian Byzantine times, attested by evidence and brought to light in excavations conducted by the École Française d' Athènes and the EEA⁴¹.

Very few archaeological research⁴² have been done in ancient and Byzantine harbours⁴³; it is no easy matter, as ipso facto a large part of them lies below modern constructions in the water. On the other hand geological factors, such as seismic activity in Greece, conduced to turn harbours from underwater to land antiquities, such as Lechaion in Corinth, excavated by the American School⁴⁴. The port contained an outer and inner harbor. The outer harbor works consisted of two large moles, while the inner was artificially excavated. Multiple periods of construction are suggested by the archaeological remains. The construction phases of the harbor may be related to the expansive economic activity in Corinth at the beginning of the sixth century BC, c. 45 AD and perhaps again c.355 AD.

It should thus be obvious, that collected evidence data gives only a fragmentary picture of the Byzantine shipwrecks and other antiquities, which have been located in Greek waters. The “*Shipwreck Archive*” offers a twofold potential for further processing of the data it contains: archaeological and management. Firstly, from the statistical analysis of the data we gather, we know that the majority of the shipwrecks in the waters of the Dodecanese are dated to the Roman period. Secondly, we know that most of the shipwrecks identified at depths of approximately 40 metres or less are looted, unlike shipwrecks lying at greater depths, which are preserved to a satisfactory degree.

The discovery of ships at the Eleutherios Harbour, λιμὴν Ἐλευθερίου, later known as “Harbour of Theodosius”, λιμὴν Θεοδοσίου, in Constantinople⁴⁵ is considered to be of great archaeological importance; if we take into account the fact that - and this sounds like an oxymoron - the Byzantine navy was a still-unexplored *terra incognita* and that archaeology is an subsidiary discipline of history, the ships of Constantinople are very significant, not only for the study of ship construction and of cargos, but also because they bring to light valuable evidence for the study of the economic history of Byzantium⁴⁶.

41. Archontidou, Simossi, Empereur 1989, 51-9.

42. Limenoskopion established in 2005 by the Metsoveion National Technological University of Athens in collaboration with the EEA is a useful open tool for ancient harbours data <http://www.limenoscope.ntua.gr/index.cgi?lan=en>

43. From EEA and the Finnish Institute of Athens survey the crusaders harbor of Kyllini, 13th-14th c. in western Peloponnese.

44. Rothaus 1995, 61-70; Minos-Minopoulos, Pavlopoulos, Apostolopoulos, Dominey-Howes, Lekkas 2013.

45. Kızıltan, Baran Çelik 2013.

46. Laiou 2002.

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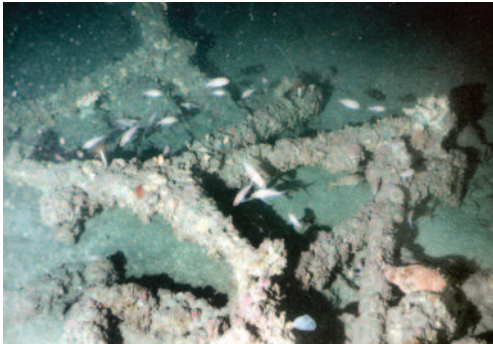


Fig. 1: Y type anchors from Porto Koufo II shipwreck (110m.) [EEA – HCMR survey].

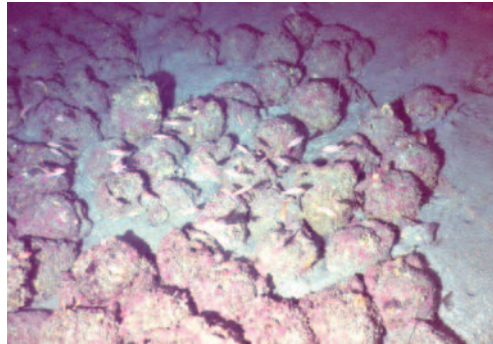


Fig. 2: The Porto Koufo II shipwreck [EEA – HCMR survey].



Fig. 3: Kastellorizo Wreck (early 13th c. AD).



Fig. 4: The Kastellorizo shipwreck (early 13th c. AD) [HCMR – EEA survey 2002].



Fig. 5: Glazed pottery from Pelagonisi (mid. 12th c. AD).



Fig. 6: Amphora, 11th c. AD from Rhodes harbor.

Theodosius Harbour and Yenikapı Byzantine Shipwrecks Excavation, İstanbul-Turkey

Kocabaş Ufuk

Theodosian Harbour: Discovery, Excavation and History

Considered one of the most important cities of the Mediterranean world since her re-foundation as the capital of the Roman Empire in the fourth century AD, İstanbul has been the capital city of three great world Empires, and the grandest city of the Republic of Turkey (fig 1). It has been the stage for the co-existence and clashes of the occidental and oriental civilisations and different cultures. In the long course of her history, İstanbul grew out of the Theodosian walls into a cosmopolitan and gigantic city of 15 million inhabitants (fig 2). As the old city transformed into a metropolis, one of the biggest problems became transportation. Before the start of constructions at Üsküdar, Sirkeci, Sultanahmet and Yenikapı for Metro and Marmaray projects designed to solve the transportation problems, the Directorate of İstanbul Archaeological Museums launched rescue excavations at these sites located within the historical urban texture. In the course of these excavations transforming to the most comprehensive archaeological excavations in the history of İstanbul, the largest harbour known from Antiquity has been uncovered at Yenikapı, where a central station will be built (fig. 3). Known as *Portus Theodosiacus*, i.e. the Theodosian Harbour in the written sources, the site has presented us with finds a capital city's harbour would deserve and beyond it with invaluable finds related with the seafaring, trade and ships of the Byzantine period.

The excavations confirmed that the harbour was established in this former cove, and then silted by the *Lykos* (Bayrampaşa) stream and thereby lying about 300m. from today's shoreline. About 50 archaeologists and 600 workers had been working for the archaeological salvage excavations at Yenikapı covering a construction area of 58,000m². The İstanbul Archaeology Museum has also been collaborating with several national and international Universities and Institutes, which provide scientific support in various disciplines, such as nautical archaeology, conservation, osteo-archaeology, archaeo-botany, geology, philology, dendrochronology, prehistory and anthropology. Particularly, the 37 Byzantine era shipwrecks uncovered at the Theodosian Harbor known to have been located at Yenikapı is one of the most important discoveries of the recent years.

The excavations at site revealed Ottoman remains at first as expected. The area between today's Mustafa Kemal and Namık Kemal Avenues has been known as *Langa Bostanı* (vegetable and fruit gardens) since Ottoman period (fig. 4). The *Langa* or *Vlanga* was a neighbourhood where the Non-Muslim Ottoman population, mostly Jewish, lived¹. As the excavations progressed, archaeologists uncovered profound Byzantine material beneath the Ottoman remains. Soon after, the site was understood to be the Theodosius Harbour previously known from the literary sources. Named after the Byzantine emperor Theodosius I, the harbour was established at the mouth of Lykos stream, that included the zone XII of the city (fig. 5). Although there are doubts regarding the harbour's precise location due to an earlier harbour

1. Kōmürçiyān 1988, 3; İnciyān 1976, 4-5.

at the same area, it is commonly accepted that earlier Eleutherios Harbour, which dates back to Konstantin I period, was the processor of the Theodosius harbour. Petrus Gyllius agrees that Theodosius Harbour established at the same location, where once Eleutherios Harbour was situated (Gyllius, IV). Excavations by Istanbul Archaeology Museum supports this idea on the basis of earlier remains and artefacts uncovered at the west end of the site². The most important remain here is a 51m. long and 4.20m. wide wall built with ashlar and khurasan mortar. Another one is a vaulted structure, whose 11 meters long section has been exposed. Furthermore, breakwater and quay stones and two parallel rows of wooden piles extending for 43m. in front of them belonged to a pier extending from the quay³.

According to the textual evidence; the presence of two granaries on the east of the harbour, *Horrea Alexandrina* and *Horrea Theodosiana*, indicates that it was a commercial harbour particularly receiving ships loaded with mass cargoes of grain from Alexandria. It is known that grain trade was active until the Arabic conquest of Egypt on 641AD. Grain loaded ships from Egypt were sailing directly to Constantinople until the reign of İustinianos. Due to strong seasonal wind and currents at Dardanelles strait, the ships had to wait for the safer weather conditions. In order to avoid such delays, granaries were built on Tenedos Island by the emperor İustinianos. Thus bigger ships unloaded their cargoes without waiting at Dardanelles Straits, while smaller ships were shuttling between Tenedos and the capital. In addition to the grain trade, construction materials, such as marble from Proconnesos, tiles, bricks, timbers and other food supplies were brought to Theodosius harbour to cover the growing demands of Constantinople⁴.

Shipwrecks Excavation and Studies at Yenikapı

The shipwrecks uncovered at the Theodosian Harbor, a well-protected commercial harbour, have survived in pretty good condition, as they were buried in the silt brought by the Lycus Stream. The Istanbul Archaeological Museums turned to Istanbul University's Department of Conservation of Marine Archaeological Objects to deal with most of the shipwrecks. Department President and project director Professor Ufuk Kocabaş and a hard-working team of Department assistants, full time specialists and Istanbul University graduate students have been working for over seven years in the active construction site, in tent-covered pits to document and carefully recover the shipwrecks (fig. 6). Excavations still going on have brought to light thousands of archaeological artefacts. Among these artefacts the 37 shipwrecks constitute the largest ancient shipwreck collection of the world and provide us with invaluable information regarding the Byzantine period's seafaring, sea trade and shipbuilding technology. The dimensions of the excavation site as well as the widest ancient ship repertory of the world uncovered are considered the most important project of the recent times and have found great reflection both in domestic and international media and public as well as academia (fig. 7).

The information on the origins of the shipwrecks is limited. By aiming to learn the geographical regions where the ships were built, around 2,500 micro samples taken from the ship timbers have been analysed at Istanbul University's Forestry Faculty⁵. According to the results most of the ship timbers are made of oak, pine,

2. Asal 2007.

3. Kızıltan 2010; Gökçay 2007.

4. Müller-Wiener 1998, 18.

5. Akkemik 2008, 201-12.

chestnut, ash tree, which are common in the western and northern Anatolian region. However, wide distribution of these species in the all Mediterranean region prevents from suggesting certain locations, which might be the home ports of the Yenikapı ships.

For the accurate dating of the ships C14 analyses were made at Oxford University's Radiocarbon Acceleration Unit (ORAU). In addition dendrochronology analyses have been planned for more reliable results.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork of a shipwreck at Yenikapı site begins with setting up a temporary tent over the wreckage in order to protect the waterlogged ship timbers from the direct sunlight. Another measure taken in order to avoid drying out of the waterlogged wood was to install a sprinkler system. After carefully removing the sediment with water and hand tools on fragile timbers a standard procedure consisting *insitu* documentation techniques, such as plan and section drawings, 3d modelling, 1:1 scale acetate drawings, photomosaic, video recording and cataloguing, is applied⁶ (fig. 8).

After detailed documentation labelled timbers forming the hull's structure, such as frames, planks, keel, stem or sternposts are gently disassembled. Specially designed mould-like carriers are used to dismantle plank strakes in order to keep the original angle of hull curvature as much as possible (fig. 9). Disassembled timbers are put separately in wooden boxes and transferred to fresh water tanks for the desalination process. Conservation and reconstruction procedures of the shipwrecks have been carried out at Istanbul University's Ship Conservation and Reconstruction Laboratory and "IU Yenikapı Shipwrecks Research Centre" at Yenikapı (fig. 10) founded with the support of "Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality" and "Istanbul University's Scientific Research Projects Unit"⁷.

The first stage of the reconstruction work aims at gaining a better understanding of the construction techniques of ships. It is unfortunate that neither detailed description regarding the medieval shipbuilding nor any sketch or plan of a medieval ship exists among the historical sources. The present information on nautical life of the period is limited with a small number of iconographic evidence and literary sources referring to some of the ship types. The lack of sufficient historical evidence leads to a need for more detailed examination of shipwreck remains. Therefore, digital reconstructions showing the possible original hull and rigging have been made on the basis of the careful examination of the surviving remains. This can be evaluated as a kind of reverse engineering technique. By digital reconstructions the original dimensions of a shipwreck and other technical information, such as the draught, length overall, length of waterline, moulded breadth, depth etc. are found. Detailed examinations of the surviving ship timbers are made through a 3D digitizer, called Faro Arm, which has been used in the field of archaeology for the first time in Turkey by Istanbul University's Project team (fig. 11). The details on timbers, such as fasteners, joints, angles, tool marks, corrosion stains etc., are all recorded by the digitizer. Also, a scanner which can be mounted on digitizer, allows creating 3D images of ship timbers⁸.

6. Özsait-Kocabaş 2010a; Özsait-Kocabaş 2008, 37-72.

7. Kocabaş, Özsait-Kocabaş, Kılıç 2012.

8. Özsait-Kocabaş 2011a.

Construction Features of Yenikapı Shipwrecks Cargo Ships

According to the preliminary evaluations Yenikapı shipwrecks can be basically divided in two groups. The first group is represented by cargo ships in various dimensions dating from the 5th to the 10th century. These ships have flat bottom sections and rounded hulls and were carrying one sails, probably a lateen sail, placed nearby bow. On the basis of their relatively small sizes most of the ships would have been used in short distances. Moreover, it is possible that some ships would have functioned as simply fishing vessels. At least four of the cargo ships were found with the cargoes still on board (fig. 12). However, the reason for the sinking of these 4 ships has not been clarified yet. The rest of the ships found without cargoes, anchors and rigging equipment were probably abandoned vessels in the harbour after a long period of service. The following section briefly indicates construction features of some cargo ships examined in detail to date⁹.

Galleys

6 galleys or oared vessels constitute the second group of Yenikapı shipwrecks. There were no original examples of this type prior to Yenikapı excavations and the information on this type of Medieval vessels were only limited with the scanty literary evidence. These first archaeological examples of galleys show quite different hull forms than the cargo ships. Their approximately 25 meters long and narrow hull designs must have provided more speed and manoeuvrability¹⁰. It is considered that Yenikapı galley type vessels can be associated with the “*galea*” mentioned in Byzantine texts and these would have served to Byzantine navy as the scout vessels escorting “*dromons*”, the main type of warship of the Empire¹¹. The following section gives preliminary information on the construction features of Yenikapı galleys (fig. 13).

Conservation of Yenikapı Shipwrecks

Due to a thick layer of muddy sediment, Yenikapı shipwrecks were found in a relatively better condition in comparison with the other wrecks found underwater in the Mediterranean. However, regardless of their fair condition, it is unlikely to store or display in the museum any waterlogged ship timber without conservation and restoration procedures. The biological activity inevitably has caused different levels of degradation on the cell structure of timbers during the course of centuries were even preserved by the heavy mud on them.

The conservation procedure begins immediately as the wrecks are brought to day light. In order to avoid cracks and shrinkage on waterlogged timbers due to drying out, a temporary tent with a sprinkler system is set over the wreck site to maintain high relative humidity at site during the fieldwork. The ship timbers removed from the site are kept in fresh water tanks and thereby desalination procedure is started. The levels of degradation, the cause of degradation and maximum water contents are identified via ESEM (Environmental Scanning Electron Micro-

9. Özsait-Kocabaş 2010b; Özsait-Kocabaş 2011b, 137-48; Kocabaş 2012, 1-5.

10. Özsait-Kocabaş, Kocabaş 2008, 97-186.

11. Sakelliades, 1997, 47-54; Pryor, Jeffreys, 2006; Pulak 2007, 128-41.

scope), XRF (X-ray Fluorescence), XRD (X-ray diffraction), ICP-MS (Inductive Kapling Plasma) analyses. After this stage the iron compounds on timbers are removed by the chemical and mechanical methods (fig. 14). The most crucial stage of conservation procedure is the impregnation of chemicals into the cell structure of the wood. By this technique a chemical material penetrates into the cells replaces water in the cell structure and provides mechanical strength. A synthetic resin, PEG (Polyethylene Glycol) and Kauramin solution are chosen as the impregnation chemical for Yenikapı wrecks in accordance with the international standards. Following this procedure, which takes a considerable time, drying techniques will be applied and reassembly of ship timbers for the future public exhibitions will be possible¹².

Conclusion

37 shipwrecks uncovered during the Yenikapı archaeological salvage excavations dating from the 5th to the 10th century constitute the largest medieval shipwreck collection ever found in a single site. Different dates of the shipwrecks provide a unique opportunity to understand the development of shipbuilding traditions and technologies in the Mediterranean (fig. 15). Although the results are preliminary, there are many construction details which do not exist in the present literature and are already gained after careful examinations. Widely discussed subjects in the field of nautical archaeology; transition from “shell based” to “skeleton based” shipbuilding techniques and possible reasons behind this transition are being reviewed based on the new evidence from Yenikapı excavations.

Our ultimate goal is to make Istanbul own the largest ancient shipwreck collection in the world. No doubt, this collection, when displayed in a museum to be founded in the future, will attract numerous Turkish and foreign visitors contributing to the national economy and add a new value to the cultural heritage of Turkey.

Acknowledgements

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12. Kocabaş 2010, 23-33.

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Theodosius Harbour
and Yenikapı Byzantine Shipwrecks Excavation,
İstanbul-Turkey

Kocabaş Ufuk

Abstract:

Thirty seven shipwrecks dated to the 5th-10th centuries AD, have been discovered in the Theodosian Harbour of Constantinople, in the district of Yenikapı, Istanbul. They were found by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums during a rescue excavation that started in 2004. Considered the largest medieval shipwreck collection in the world these wrecks have survived due to the sedimentation of the Theodosian Harbour caused by the Lykos Stream. The wrecks provide us with invaluable information on Byzantine period ship typology, shipbuilding technologies and their evolution.



Fig. 1: İstanbul: View of Karaköy dock and Galata Tower.

Fig. 2: Traffic jam in front of The Valens Aqueduct, Fatih.





Fig. 3: Yenikapi District and Marmaray-Metro Salvage Excavations.

Fig. 4: Urbis Constantinopolitanae Delineatio. The oldest view of Istanbul published in 1422 by Christophoro de Buondelmonte of Florence.



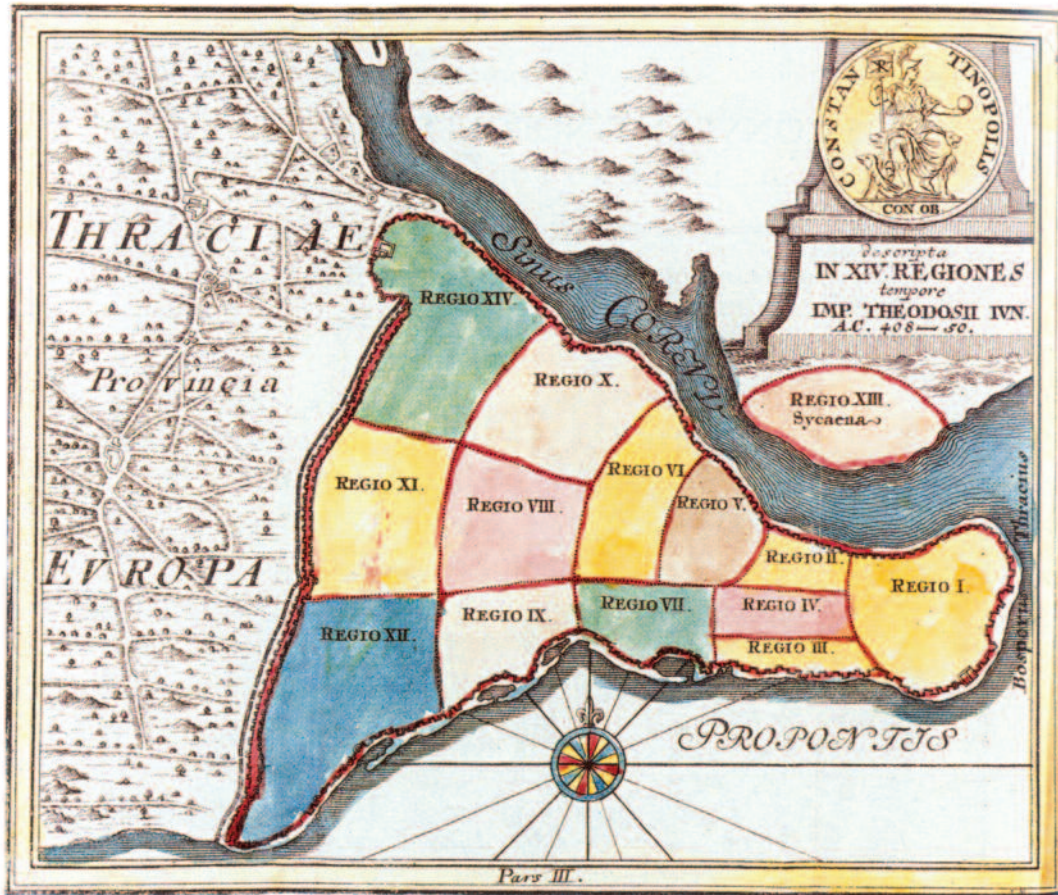


Fig. 5: Konstantinopolis and Region XIV in the reign of Theodosius.

Fig. 6: Fieldwork on the shipwrecks.



Fig. 7: Yenikapı 12 wreck with its cargo.





Fig. 8: Patched and retouched photo-mosaic of Yenikapı 12.



Fig. 9: Lifting the vessel members.



Fig. 10: Conservation tanks of the wrecks.



Fig. 11: 1:1 scale digital drawings.

Fig. 12: 5th century wreck, Yenikapı 35.



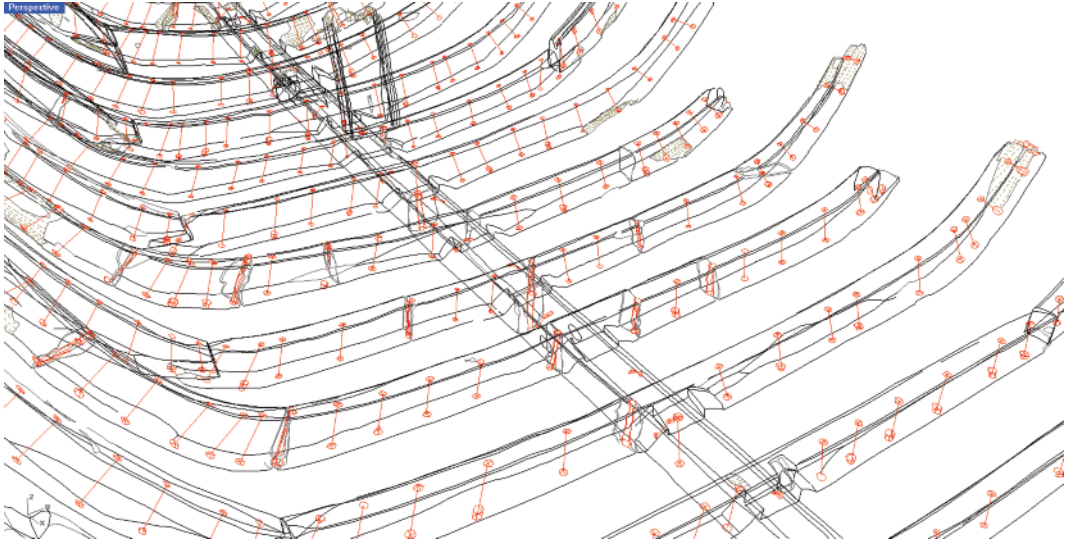


Fig. 13: Yenikapi 16: Galley.



Fig. 14: Mechanic and chemical cleaning of the waterlogged wood.

Fig. 15: Researches on ancient shipbuilding technology.



A Medieval Shipwreck discovered in the Theodosius Harbor: Yenikapı 27

Türkmenoğlu Evren

Introduction

An archaeological site was discovered during the construction of a railway hub project in Istanbul's Yenikapı district in 2004. Extensive salvage excavations over an 58,000m² area revealed that the site was once a medieval harbor named after the Byzantine emperor, Theodosius I¹. Based on Medieval Greek texts² it is known that the harbor, *Portum Theodosiacum*, was founded in the late 4th century along the Marmara coast in order to receive growing demands from the new imperial capital of the region. Archaeological excavations by Istanbul Archaeological Museum have yielded thousands of artifacts and 37 shipwrecks dated between the 5th-11th century. This collection of shipwrecks is the largest medieval repertoire ever found and undoubtedly has opened new perspectives for research into Medieval maritime traditions³. One of the 37 shipwrecks, Yenikapı (YK) 27, presents important construction details which may significantly contribute to the discussions on the transition of shipbuilding techniques in the Mediterranean (fig. 1).

Yenikapı (YK) 27

YK 27 was discovered during the ongoing salvage excavations at Yenikapı district by the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. A team from the Istanbul University's Department of Marine Archaeological Objects carried out the fieldwork and removal of the wreck from the site in 2009. The ship was found without its cargo, ballasts, anchors and rigging, thereby estimated to be an abandoned or retired ship. Its rounded hull shape, which has been usually evaluated as a distinctive design for greater cargo capacities⁴, suggests that the ship was most probably a merchantman (fig. 2).

Dating

The dating of YK 27 is based on a stratigraphical table made by a group of geologists and archaeologists working at Yenikapı site⁵. According to this table, YK 27 was discovered within the layer, which mostly yielded archaeological material belonging to the 8th-9th century. However, like the other shipwrecks uncovered at the site of the Byzantine Harbour of Theodosius in Yenikapı, a reliable dating of the YK 27 is problematic due to lack of cargoes on board and the complex nature of the archaeological harbour sites. Unstable condition of the seabed and probable

1. Kızıltan 2010, 2-3.
2. For the direct information, see Seeck 1876.
3. Kocabaş, Özsait-Kocabaş 2013, 37.
4. Steffy 1994, 91.
5. Perinçek 2010, 193.

dredging activities in order to keep harbours navigable could have prevented the proper formation of the archaeological layers. Therefore, connecting the surrounding artifacts, such as amphoras, coins etc., with shipwrecks uncovered at harbour sites would be misleading⁶. In order to provide a more secure dating, the analysis of wooden samples belonging ships' hull are needed. The radiocarbon analysis of two samples from YK 27 hull by ORAU (Oxford University Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit) suggested a date between 672 and 869 AD. By considering this wide range of possible ages, it was thought that the dendrochronology analysis would be more effective. However, wooden samples having necessary number of tree rings or annual rings for such analysis can not be found up to date.

Origin

The species identification of the ship timbers may allow us to estimate the ship's origin or the geographical region where the ships were built. However, basing the ship's origin on such an analysis, may not be accurate in every case. The necessary timbers for constructing vessels could have been imported elsewhere or could be reused material belonging to another vessel. In addition, as experts stated, the distribution of native tree species in antiquity or middle ages has not been completely identified. Therefore, the species' identification is limited to provide only a general opinion about the home port of the ships⁷.

The analysis from the species' identification of YK 27 was performed by Prof. Dr Ünal, Akkemik of Istanbul University's Faculty of Forestry. The results of the analysis indicate that the timbers, frames in particular, of YK 27 is not a homogeneous group. This may also suggest that the ship had been subjected to many repairs. The frames of the ship were made of two different species of oak, elm and oriental beech, while the planks were made of two different pine species, *pinus brutia* and *pinus pinea*. Unfortunately the wide distribution of identified species along the Mediterranean basin does not point to a specific region, where the ship could have been built (fig 3).

Construction Details

YK 27 was found in a good condition, which provides a better understanding of its construction details. The vessel was found as leaned on its starboard side and the bottom of the ship is survived up to the turn of the bilge. The preserved portion is about 13m. in length and 4.3m. in width. At least 49 frames, 3 stringers, 21 planking strakes, 7 ceiling planks and a keel were labeled. The surviving hull has a flat, box-like, bottom profile like most of the Yenikapı ships and the other known medieval vessels as well (fig. 4)⁸.

The ceiling planks were simply laid on floor timbers without any fastenings, which implies the ceiling planking does not contribute too much on structural integrity. Two supporting timbers for the mast step were bolted to frames and placed little forward of amid ships. The frames are sided 6cm and molded 7cm on average. Frames were not sawn meticulously as indicated by the remains of barkstill in place on some of them. The alternating long-armed floor timbers and futtocks constitute

6. Türkmenoğlu 2012, 121.

7. Liphshitz, Pulak 2007/08, 73.

8. Türkmenoğlu 2012, 122; Steffy 1994, 91.

the framing pattern, which is very similar to Serçelimanı 11th century⁹ and Yenikapı (YK 17) shipwrecks¹⁰. The floor timbers of these three shipwrecks differs from many other medieval shipwrecks by their extending ends turning the bilge of the ships. No traces of nail holes except for stringer attachments were found on the upper surfaces of frames. The floor timbers were bolted to and notched for fitting onto the keel. None of the frames were scarfed to each other, but rather placed side by side (fig. 5).

21 planking strakes survived having average thickness of 2,5cm and width ranging from 5cm to 25cm. The planks were butted end to end in two different methods. The three planed scarves were used for the bottom planking, while butt joints were preferred to the side strakes. It is important to note that no edge fasteners were used to attach or align the planking strakes. Planks were attached to the frames with only iron nails driven from the outside of the hull. Caulking remains were found between planking strakes. The rabbeted keel of the ship was made of two pieces and preserved its over 10 meters length (fig. 6).

Shipbuilding Traditions in Mediterranean

There are two basic ways of shipbuilding techniques that have been usually referred by the scholars of nautical archaeology. The research and excavations of the seagoing vessels in the Mediterranean dating from the Late Bronze Age to the end of Antiquity reveals that the shipwrights began constructing their boats and ships by building a shell of planking strakes fastened together with various forms of edge joinery and then reinforced the shell structure with several patterns of internal framing system¹¹. Thereby, the integrity of the hull structure was dependent primarily upon the shell planking. This technique of construction has been defined by scholars with several terms, such as shell construction, shell built, shell first, plank oriented, longitudinal oriented or shell-based¹². Studies indicate that the tradition of shell construction profoundly changed during the 1st millennium AD. In contrast to the shell construction, shipbuilders constructed their ship hulls by first erecting the internal framing structure and then attaching the shell planking. This time, instead of shell planking, the integrity was provided mostly by pre-erected frames determining the shape of the hull as well. This technique is usually referred as “skeletal construction”, “skeleton or frame first”, “frame oriented”, “transversally oriented” or “frame-based”¹³. The variety of terms suggested for both building techniques is often due to different approaches for explaining the construction philosophy. In addition to the diverse definition of techniques, another important issue, which has been the subject of much discussion, is the transition from shell to skeleton construction in Mediterranean shipbuilding. The question of the potential conditions, which triggered this shift, remains unsolved. Linking the transition in shipbuilding technology to the wider historical context is quite problematic without the aid of complementary data. Therefore, the economic, social and environmental conditions which may have affected the transition in shipbuilding technology, have not yet been clearly defined¹⁴. However, it should be noted that the skeleton con-

9. Steffy 2004, 157-8.

10. Türkmenoğlu 2012, 121.

11. Polzer 2011, 365.

12. Kahanov 2010, 78.

13. Kahanov 2010, 78.

14. Pomey, Kahanov, Rieth 2012, 236.

struction requiring less money, labour, time and providing greater design flexibility than shell construction offers certain advantages¹⁵.

Latest studies confirmed that the transition between two basic construction techniques in the 1st millennium AD was not a linear process¹⁶. This shift in technology was probably a gradual process occurred in different regions at different periods. It is also known that the combinations of these two techniques, usually referred as mixed construction or intermediary technique, were used¹⁷. Recent discovery of 37 shipwrecks dating from the 5th to 11th century uncovered at Theodosius Harbour presents a great opportunity to learn unknown details of the transition in shipbuilding technology in the Mediterranean.

Conclusion

The ongoing research indicates that YK 27 ship has a relatively strong skeletal structure, having closely spaced frames set at regular intervals and bolted to the keel. This structure was secured with longitudinal supports in the form of wales and stringers. Together with those construction features, the lack of edge fasteners on plank edges and the presence of nails driven from the outside of the hull, suggest that at least some of the frames may have been installed before the planks.

The construction features of YK 27 can be associated with the characteristics of frame based design or skeleton construction. However, further detailed examination of the hull remains, dendrochronological analysis for secure dating of the ship and study on comparative data are needed. The ongoing research will focus more on to reveal the construction sequence and the digital reconstruction of YK 27 in order to evaluate its design and link up the evolutionary chain of shipbuilding technology in Mediterranean.

Acknowledgments

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15. Steffy 1994, 91.

16. Kahanov 2010, 82.

17. Pomey, Kahanov, Rieth 2012, 235.

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A Medieval Shipwreck discovered in the Theodosius Harbor: Yenikapı 27

Türkmenođlu Evren

Abstract:

Recent salvage excavations at Istanbul's Yenikapı district have revealed Constantinople's Theodosius Harbour. One of 37 shipwrecks uncovered during the excavations, Yenikapı (YK) 27 deserves a special emphasis due to its construction characteristics diverging from the other vessels' in Yenikapı. The preliminary results of the ongoing research on YK 27, future direction of this study and a brief overview of the shipbuilding traditions in Mediterranean are presented in this paper.



Fig. 1: Yenikapı Excavations (Photo: Bekir Köşker-İstanbul Archaeology Museums' Archive).

Fig. 2: Yenikapı 27 Shipwreck.



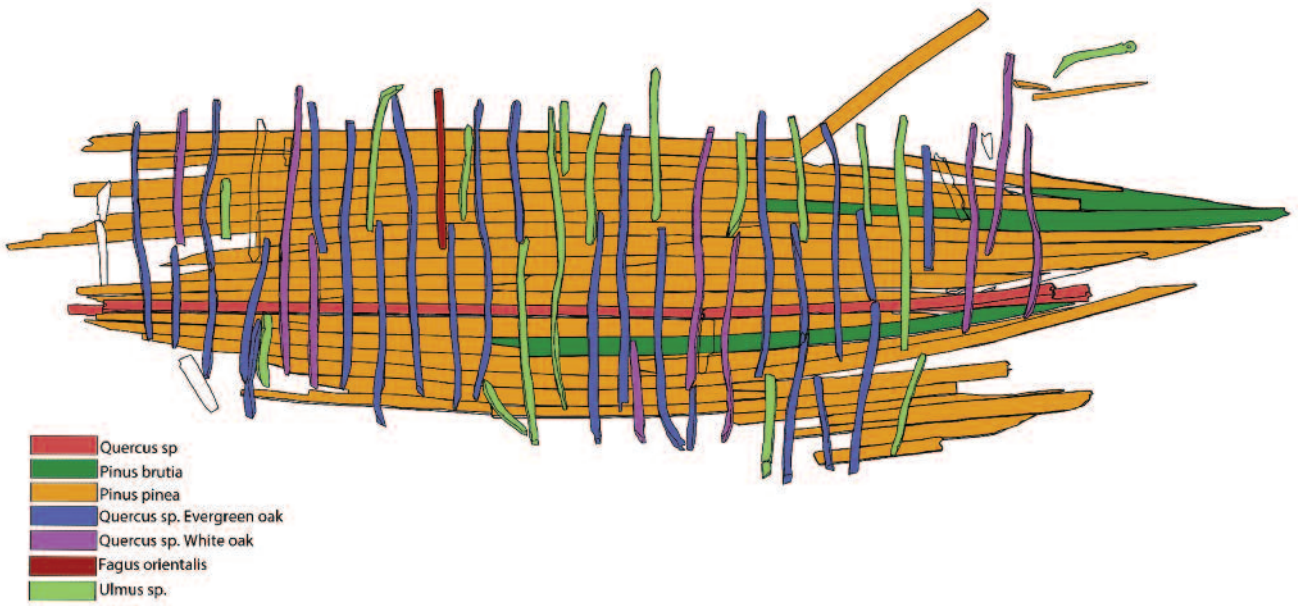


Fig. 3: Tree species used in construction.

Fig. 4: Plan drawing of YK 27.

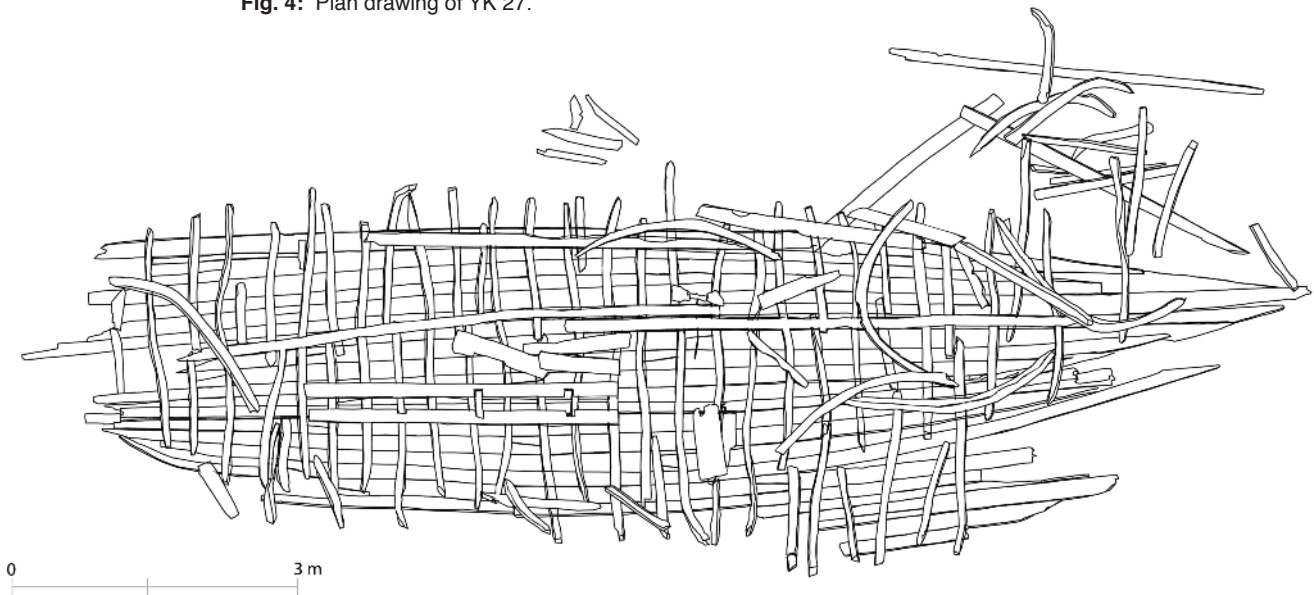




Fig. 5: YK 27 Frames.

Fig. 6: An example of a butt joint.



Construction technique of Yenikapı 20

Güler Taner

The excavations for “Marmaray-Metro” transfer station, which started in 2004, revealed the world’s largest medieval shipwreck collection. The shipwrecks have been found in the area that is historically called "*Portus Theodosiacus*" and it was named after Emperor Theodosius I. After it was made Capital City of the Roman Empire, population of Constantinopolis grew rapidly. Therefore, grain that was coming from Alexandria was very important for the city and it has been indicated that it was stored in granaries around the Harbour of Theodosius¹. In the beginning, grain transportation has been carried out by seagoing ships from Egypt directly to Constantinopolis. After then Emperor Justinian built massive granaries in the island of Tenedos for allowing the ships to unload their cargo there and avoid unfavorable weather conditions. Therefore, transportation of grain has been carried out by smaller ships². After the 7th century, following the Arabian invasion of Egypt, grain transportation between Constantinopolis and Alexandria ended and the Harbour of Theodosius was used for close-range transportation and fishery. Around the 11th century the west side of the Harbour started to silt up by the river, which is named Lykos, and the activity of the Harbour moved to the eastern section. Archaeological excavations showed that at the end of the 12th century almost all sections of the Harbour have been silted up and only a small area was left to fishing boats.

Yenikapı 20 shipwreck

The Harbour of Theodosius included 36 shipwrecks (it is the largest medieval shipwreck collection so far) and these shipwrecks are being studied by the experts of Istanbul University, Department of Conservation of Marine Archaeological Objects. These shipwrecks will give unique information about the typology of ships, the construction techniques and the evolution of these techniques. Therefore, “Yenikapı Byzantine Shipwrecks Project” is accepted as one of the most important projects by nautical archaeologists.

Yenikapı 20 (YK20) shipwreck has been found in the eastern section of the area, 0,70-1,00 m below sea level. The shipwreck has been dated in the 9th-10th century according to the C14 dating. Preserved length of the ship is 8,76 m, while its width is 2,30 m. There are 29 timber floors, a keel, a mast step, a wale and 21 planks left from the ship.

Field studies on Yenikapı 20 shipwreck started and completed in 2008. In the field, first a protective tent has been built, then the shipwreck has been cleaned, labelled and reports have been prepared for all parts (fig. 1).

Within insitu documentation, Total Station system was used for 3D drawings and photomosaic system was used for one piece aerial view of the shipwreck (figs. 2-3).

1. Müller-Wiener 1998, 8-9.
2. Müller-Wiener 1998, 18.

Samples have been taken from every piece for C14 analysis and based on the results YK20 shipwreck dated to the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century. Also, wood samples for identifying tree species have been sent to the Laboratories of Istanbul University, Faculty of Forestry (fig. 4).

No finding belonged to the mast of the ship, but the mast step has been found intact. The mast step fitted on floor timbers through notches on its bottom side. There are two slots; one for the mast and the other should be for its support.

A new technology for 1:1 scale drawing work is used. Thanks to this 3-D drawing unit called Digitizer, it was possible to transfer all ship elements and the details into to the computer environment.

Until the early stages of middle ages, ships were built according to a technique known as “shell-based”, which involved the construction of the shell and then fitting the frames in it. On the other hand, the modern technology, called “frame-based”, involves a pre-planning and designing for it involves the construction of the skeleton first and then fitting the planking on it. One of the most widely accepted theses on the spread of “frame-based” technique is that it requires less material, manpower and time. For example, drilling numerous mortises requiring much time and effort for the shell-based technique is not needed for frame-based technique. How the transition between these two technologies happened is a matter of debate. Like most of the Yenikapı ships that dated to the 9th-10th century, YK20 has its planking strakes below the waterline leveled off with their edge-joints in the form of small coaks. This coak system possibly represents the last ring in the transition to frame-based construction for it was used minimally. Since the Yenikapı shipwrecks are better preserved than those uncovered from under the sea, we will be able to understand clearly the edge-joint systematic and their building technology in our future studies³. Since YK 20 shows the similarities of both techniques, it goes without saying these features:

The Features Indicating Of Shell Based Construction

- Symmetry between port and starboard planking
- Fastening of the garboards to the keel using tree nails

The Features Indicating Of Frame Based Construction

- Homogeneity of frame dimensions
- Frames set at close intervals
- Most of the floor timbers bolted to the keel
- Lack of edge fasteners

Yenikapı 20 wreck is important, since it exactly reflects an example of the mixed construction used in the Marmara Region at Middle Byzantine Period.

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Construction technique of Yenikapı 20

Güler Taner

Abstract:

Yenikapı 20 shipwreck was found at level between -0.70/-1.00m. Wreck is dated between 9th-10th century based on radiocarbon analysis. The hull survived up to the turn of the bilge. Preserved length of the vessel is about 8.76m, while the width is 2.30m. Hull remains include 29 extant frames, keel, mast step, fragment of a stringer, and 21 planking strakes. Planks were secured to frames by both iron and tree nails and joined together by edge dowels up to the first wale level. Molded dimension of the frames was about 5-7cm, the sided was 7-8cm. There isn't any ceiling. Planks connected with treenails and mortise and tenon joints have not been used in this ship.



Fig. 1: Cleaning, labelling and preparing reports.



Fig. 2: Total Station work.



Fig. 3: Photomosaic of YK 20 shipwreck.

Plank	Chestnut, Black Pine, Oak
Timber Floor	Oak, Chestnut, Oriental Plane
Futtock	Oak, Chestnut, Oriental Plane
Mast Step	Oriental Spruce
Keel	Oriental Spruce

Fig. 4: Results of the wood species analysis.

The “Cilicia” - functioning replica of 13th c. merchant sailing ship of Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia

Historical Experiment - Medieval sailing ship reconstruction and expedition around Europe

Balayan Karen

The “AYAS” Nautical Research Club has built a replica of a 13th century merchant sailing ship of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, to sail via medieval maritime trade routes around Europe.

The ship was reconstructed according to medieval miniatures and manuscripts and was built using medieval technologies.

During the voyage, the methods of navigation, navigation devices, food, clothes, customs and the lifestyle of medieval sailors of the 13th century were strictly adhered to.

For as long as the voyage lasted “Cilicia” visited 63 ports in 25 countries of Europe and Asia.

Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia

The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (XII-XV centuries) was situated on the North-Eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia was a Christian state - an island of Christianity in the region. This situation was used by the Crusaders.

We must take into account, that if the first crusaders had maximal support from the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, then in the next crusades the relationship between the Armenians and the crusaders were not so easy any longer. It became clear, that the interest of theirs was different. Anyway, the relatively good relationship was kept during the whole period of the existence of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. Moreover, very often Armenian and European Royal families became relatives thanks to marriages. European influence brings to the appearance of the Armenian Catholics in Cilicia. But the Catholicism did not spread widely in Cilicia. The most Armenians had kept their traditional Armenian Apostolic Church belief. In the same time the Kingdom kept relatively good trade relations also with the neighboring Muslim states. A proof of that is the treaty signed by the Armenian Kingdom and Egypt Sultanate in 1285.

Venetian historian Marinus Sanutus noted in his book: “*The Secret Book of Crusaders*” 25 ports of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.

The Armenian ports were visited both by European ships and by Arabian (Muslim) ships from the Middle East, as well as from the African coast of the Mediterranean. In the same time Armenian ships visited both European ports (including North Europe) and ports of Islam countries.

Good state politics towards all merchants (low taxes and privileges) brought to the ascend of trade and attracted them. Factories of Venetians, Genoese and others prospered. Historians did even a sea battle between Venetians and Genoese in front of Ayas harbour for unknown reason.

Cilicia connected the land part of the Silk Road with the sea part of it.

Marko Polo, his father and his uncle visited Ayas, the main harbour of Cilicia, and received a present by the Armenian King Levon - a fully equipped galley for continuing their journey to Akka and then to the East.

Historian Kirakos Gandzaketsi testified about the sea battle between the pirates and King's Levon II escort on the way back from Cyprus to Cilicia. The pirates' flagship was sunk and the other enemy ships fled...

Ibn Al Vardi (Arabian historian) brings evidence about the presence of three Armenian battle ships in the harbour of Ayas during the siege of the port by the Egyptian Mamluks: "*Ayas*", "*Atlas*", "*Shama*".

The prosperity of the Kingdom could unfortunately not rise endlessly without having problems from the competitors. In this case it was the Egyptian Sultanate. The Sultanate did not wish Cilicia to flourish on. In 1375, the Sis, the capital of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, fell under the onslaught of the Egyptian Mamluks. The kingdom ceased existing as a state.

But even after the Kingdom's fall (1375) the Armenian merchants still used the Armenian flag and maritime trade continued, using Armenian colonies all around the World (from Amsterdam to Hong-Kong) as bases, up to the 19th century.

The main ideas and aims of the project

This Historical Experiment will let us know how our ancestors sailed in such ships, and experience the life of sailors on board of a medieval vessel.

It will attract attention to historical values irrespective of their origin.

The ship is the symbol of unification of people, cultures and civilizations separated by seas; travellers and merchants played a great role in cultural dialogues.

Sources

The ship reconstructed according to medieval miniatures and manuscripts, is a replica of merchant sailing ships of the 13th century Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. Distortions, which presented in miniatures, created difficulties in the process of restoration. For example, as a rule, distortion in the vertical direction were less than in the horizontal direction.

Exactness of restoration is important. Different illustrations of the same type of ships painted by different authors are being used to get a composite ship structure. It is possible to estimate the exactness of the restoration, if the ship is compared with a known ship pictured by the same painter.

We can make a conclusion about the size of the vessels by taking into account the quantity of sailors (or other people) on board and the presence of some details of the vessel. The accuracy of restoration will increase, if we compare miniatures of different authors.

It should be noted, that all vessels presented on miniatures are real ships and not simply a result of fantasy of an artist.

The Armenian miniatures' plot where vessels are presented, usually relate to the Bible: "*Jonah Sacrifice*", "*Paul's Journey*" "*Jesus calms the sea*", as well as fishing.

If we compare the same plots in the miniatures of other artists, we could note the differences between the ships. It means that the artists have painted the ships which they had seen and knew well, in a familiar way for them: Italians - Italian ships, Greeks - Greek ships, and Armenians - Armenian ships. As a proof we can bring the following: the presence of some details on the pictures shows us that the author had really seen the vessels. These details are understandable only by specialists and cannot appear in the picture accidentally.

So, the artists had seen the vessels and pictured the real ships!

As an example we are presenting two miniatures of Toros Roslin, an Armenian miniaturist of the 13th century. Pay attention to the following:

1. The mast is removed to the bow, which is typical for the Latin sail rigging vessels. In case of square sail rigged vessels, the mast is situated approximately in the middle of the hull, or the displacement is unnoticeable.
2. The sail is imaged in the correct working position.
3. All the ropes are in the correct working position.
4. The sail-seam is correct, according to the accepted traditions.

Very often during the sailing, after establishing the sail in the correct working position, the ropes turn out into the position which is not so correct, but if you know about the previous position of the sails, it becomes understandable that the position of the ropes does not change from the previous position! The same “mistakes” we could note in the miniatures: the artist’s image of what he saw, may be without understanding, but it is the real image of the real ship! It becomes clear only after detailed investigations of the photos of our ship after the sailing and detailed comparison between them and the miniatures.

As we can see the Starboard brace in the miniature and in the photo is in the right position, and the brace of the Port side on both images is in the “wrong” position, which is a result of staying there after changing the previous position of the sail or preparing to change position of the sail again.

Different types of vessels were built in Cilician Armenia.

Small ships almost exactly repeat the boats of Lake Van. In the 9th-10th century some 100,000 Armenians, inhabitants of the region of Lake Van moved to Cilician Armenia and brought with them their traditions in shipbuilding.

The lines and details of middle ships give us examples of mixed types of Mediterranean and Lake Van ships.

Large ships were typical Mediterranean. For example, in the case of battle ships, it was the well-known galley.

Armenian historian Alishan collected financial documents about purchases of details of the ships from Venice, which later were completed in the Kingdom.

The primary focus during the reconstruction of this ship was placed on the middle type ships as a representative of developed vessels of the times.

The replica of this vessel was built in the actual size.

Construction

As in old times wood for the ship was chosen from standing timber in the forest taking into account lines of curved details of the vessel.

The huge logs lie on the coast of the lake under the open sky, under the sun, rain and snow during one year for drying and remove inside strain.

During the construction of the ship medieval traditions, technologies and materials were used.

Traditionally in the Eastern Mediterranean region cedar, oak and Mediterranean pine were used for shipbuilding. Taking into consideration our abilities and trying to follow the traditions, we chose oak and pine for construction.

The frame of the ship is made of oak - it provides for a dense and solid frame prevents rotting. Deck and planking are made of pine.

All the works are made with maximum approximation to the reality of the 13th century, using the same tools and taking into account the structure of materials.

Inner surfaces of details of the construction were covered by wood resin with vegetable oil before establish on site.

All curved details were made in accordance with structure and curve of wood.

The frames, after established on the keel, tuned and connected with keelson, stringers, clamps, fender, which, with planking, were alongside elements of skeleton.

Before installation, the planks were kept in a specially constructed steam chest for about 4-5 hours and then were bent on site.

The pine planking and deck are fixed to the frame with copper rivet nails, some ten thousand of them.

The ready hull was covered outside with special tar based on wood resin – rosin. The whole ship was filled with vegetable oil for preventing from rotting and woodborers, as it was accepted in the Eastern Mediterranean. Again, all this is in accordance to medieval technologies.

The helm system consists of two side rudders from each side in the stern of the ship. They are tied with a log laid across and protruding from the plank. The rudders end with tillers.

The ship is 20 meters long and 5 meters wide, the draft is one and a half meters, the displacement weighs 50 tonnes and the sail area is 100 square meters.

The crew numbers 12-14.

The building of the ship took 11 years.

Sevan

The first testing was done on Lake Sevan.

The Lake Sevan in Armenia is situated approximately 2,000 meters above sea-level. The length of the lake is 75km, the width is 35. Strong and changeable winds made the lake as an ideal place for training, testing and tuning the sailing vessel.

The launching day is May 25, 2002, when she touched the waters of Lake Sevan for the first time. After being launched into the water and sliding out of its inertia the ship at last found itself in its native element.

The ship was named *CILICIA*.

What we need was to rig the ship and the work is in full swing again.

It was very interesting to feel and see when the vessel, which had an existence of 900 or 800 years before we were born, come into being again.

No central rudder was known in those times. Two side rudders in rear part of the vessel were used. We have emulated the same model which is in miniatures - two balanced rudders. At that time we could not have imagined what big problems these balanced construction of rudders would bring.

Tests

It must be noted, that just on the Lake Sevan during two seasons the conditions of sailing were maximal approximated to medieval ones. Nothing modern.

Later, on the sea, we were forced to take some contemporary things for the safety of the crew. But only the minimum necessary.

We also found out in Sevan that this sail's rigging has a windsurfing effect: by changing the angle of inclination of the yard it is possible to move the centre of windage of the sail to the stern or bow and thus lessen the load on the rudders or help with turning. There, in Sevan with good wind we determined the main characteristics of the vessel's movements: the speed, how close to the wind it can sail. The maximum speed was equal to 7 knots. The ship can sail towards the wind in 55 degrees, which is considerable for a vessel of the 13th century.

The Start

The first storm is the first serious test. Everything that could break or was weak, did in fact break down.

The helm system was copied from miniatures (both Armenian and non-Armenian) and it is the two balancing rudders on each side of the ship in the stern tied to the log protruding from the plank.

During rough waters, when the ship slides from waves, the pressure on such a rudder grows sharply and the helmsman is not able to keep the oar in the right position. Under strong water pressure the mighty rudder breaks like a toothpick.

Perhaps this is the reason for the wrong image steering oars on miniatures that is invisible to the artist: are the rudders in underwater position permanently?

Rudders of such construction were used also on Heyerdal's boats *Ra1* and *Ra2*, and on a replica of the Byzantine vessel "*Kirenia*". All of them encountered the same problem and broke rudders during storms on a number of occasions. After breaking the rudders the crew had to solve the very difficult problem of controlling and operating the vessel without them, since repairing the damage during a night storm was essentially impossible.

With incredible efforts we only managed to pick the debris of huge oars on board the ship. What could we do?

History came to help us. In ancient times in such cases simple buckets were used. Immediately we had two buckets on board and after fastening ropes to them at the command the sailors threw the buckets into the water either from starboard or port sides, depending on the direction we needed to turn. Two piles were taken by the sea - the metal handle did not bear the pressure of the waves. Luckily, there was one for reserve and we took a saucepan from the cook.

All night long we fought for survival. In the morning we started repairing the oars. In the relentless storm it was extremely hard: the huge log was rolling over on board and could hit somebody. Several people were trying hard to hold the oar and themselves, two men were trying to tie the broken spindle of the oar. After several hours, the first oar was fastened in its place. The second one was handled with a bit more ease. After two days in rough waters we reached Sochi, where we were able to completely repair the ships in a ten day span, change the rudders, and mend the sail. There in Sochi we purchased 10 buckets. Just in case...

From that time on we called them "helm buckets".

We had a good lesson from the first storm, which helped us, as a result, overcome many difficult situations in the future.

Sails

The sailing rig of the ship is a big Latin sail. Historically, that triangle sail is called Latin, though it was used still in ancient Greece and the *Eastern Mediterranean*. It is well distinguished in the bas-reliefs of the beginning of AD.

It is interesting to note that almost in all pictures of vessels with Latin rigs, the point of attachment of the yard to the mast is asymmetrical in relation to the yard itself, especially on galleys with short masts and huge sails on long yards, whose main part was laid higher than the point of attachment of the yard to the mast.

This applies certain restrictions on the technique of tack.

As a rule, on vessels with such rig there is a concept of primary tack, where the sail works with the whole surface. On the other tack the sail lies on the mast and is less effective. This inconvenience is compensated by the simplicity of performing the maneuver.

In Armenian miniatures, as in ancient Greek ones, the point of attaching the yard to the mast is symmetric. The yard is attached in the middle of its length.

Why? What kind of opportunities does this construction give?

This fact made us conclude, that the method of tack on that kind of boats was different.

Let us consider the change of the tack with this kind of rig, the maneuver of the vessel, when its diametrical flatness crosses the line of wind direction.

If the sail is flying outside shrouds absolutely free, its work is very effective. In that case the tack could be very simple, only changing the position of the ends of the yard - the low end of the yard goes up and up end goes down by braces.

This method is particularly convenient in wear, when the vessel is crossing the line of the wind direction with the sternpost. The sail does not lose the wind and the tacking passes quite contrary to modern yacht in strong wind time.

Tack ship crossing the line of the wind direction with the head is more difficult (as with all medieval vessels) or not successful at all. The velocity and inertia of the vessel in this case usually is not enough for turning. The sail in this case, even windless, works contrary to ship's moving direction, and this time usually is enough to stop the vessel. We used this tack very seldom in calm water and only with enough wind.

When the vessel is going downwind we establish the sail symmetrically with respect to diametric flatness of the vessel, which gives a possibility to unload the rudders and avoid a turning moment.

There are 5 different sails aboard the vessel, and are changing depending on the weather.

In strong winds and large waves, we replace the main sail with the storm sails.

The quantity of sails depends on the wind and may be three, two or one storm sail.

In very hard wind one storm sail is enough to keep enough velocity so as to have a possibility to operate the vessel and keep the course.

Without speed the ship becomes a toy of waves.

Navigation

Modern conditions of navigation are very different from medieval ones, not only judging by technical methods, but also by various rules, international agreements and of course by the existence of a huge quantity of various vessels (intense traffic).

It had a certain impact also on our "Historical Experiment". It is impossible to replicate the medieval conditions of sailing because of the existence of so many legal maritime restrictions, as well as navigation security requirements.

The ship cannot be observed by the monitors of some radar, which is dangerous, especially in areas with intensive traffic.

A couple of times we barely escaped collision.

However, we did our best to keep the purity of the experiment.

Having aboard a satellite navigator, we, however, from time to time calculated the location of the ship by luminaries with astrolabe - a replica of the medieval one.

We know about five Armenian astrolabes.

Two of them are bilingual, Arabian-Armenian.

Interesting to note, that the Armenian inscriptions were made later in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, if judged by graphics of letters.

The first is one of the most ancient of that type of instrument that reached us (author: Arabian scientist and craftsman Khafif). This is a well preserved astrolabe

from 9th century, which is very rare. The second one, from the 10th century, is preserved fragmentary - only a star map.

Both instruments show the Ecliptic with 12 zodiacal constellations, 17 brightest navigable stars of the North part of the sky, points of Spring and Autumn Equinoxes and Celestial Pole.

The presence of changeable plates with stereographic projection of plane-spheres makes it possible to use the first astrolabe practically in all Mediterranean region.

Both astrolabes are kept in the Oxford Museum of History Of Science.

The third astrolabe, from the 15th century, (author - Amirdovlat Amasiatsi) is in private collection in Near East.

The fourth one, from the 17th century (author Ghukas Vanandetsi) is in Armenia, in private collection.

The fifth one, from the 17th century, (the same author Ghukas Vanandetsi) is in the Museum of the History of Armenia in Yerevan.

The streams, permanently, the season and especially the tides were necessarily taken into consideration.

Far from the shore, not having any information about forecasting, like our ancestors we relied on flair and folk signs of weather forecasting and acted accordingly.

Seagulls seat on water - waiting for good weather.

Sun down into the cloud, - waiting for bad weather.

Etc.

During the calm, while waiting for wind, we were usually fishing.

The maximum speed of the vessel is 7 knots at fair wind. Medium speed is 3-4 knots, which corresponds to the historical data.

Minimum angle towards the wind is 55 degrees.

Some news in field of sea law belonged to the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.

The Code of Law by Mkhitar Gosh had been accepted as a State Law. The chapter 105 declared renunciation of coastal rights - the rights of appropriation shipwrecked vessels and goods.

Food

The ration consisted of three main parts:

Long lasting food - basturma, sujukh, dry fruits, honey, lavash (dry bread).

Perishable foods - in each harbour we bought fresh products and water.

Pasturage, particularly fishing, brought a kind of variety to our menu.

All this met the requirements of the experiment: the sailors in medieval times had with them non-spoiling, ready products, but they were not missing the chance of filling up their supplies with fresh food.

Psychological aspects

The main task for enlisting the crew is psychological compatibility of the team.

The rest can be taught.

In extreme situations, for example in storms, the behaviour of an individual is not always predictable.

That is why we approached the question of recruiting the crew very seriously. The selection was made very carefully and, in practice, it turned out successful.

We were not wrong.

Friendship, physical endurance, patience, tolerance *and, of course, sense of humour* were the pledge of success of the expedition.

Conclusion

So, we modelled a situation where we consciously put ourselves into the conditions of the medieval sailors, we confided in our feelings, tried to feel ourselves like them, our ancestors. We trusted them. We trusted their feelings. What would they do in this or that situation? Their logic was to become ours. We treated them with great respect. We were amazed at their patience, power, endurance, and purposefulness. It was not easy for us but they did not have what we had! Every time they went out to the sea they did not know if they would come back. They left for the unknown. That is why the old Greek proverb says: *people are dividing into alive, dead and that, who sail by (over) the seas.*

"Cilicia" sailed over the routes of our ancestors: sailors, travellers, merchants. Each harbour we visited was somehow connected to some historical event and entering that port was well founded.

It was either visited by Armenian monk-travellers (for example, many European cities were visited by monk Martiros Yerznkatsi), or it was a route of Armenian merchants (like Venice or Genoa), or there was an Armenian community having maritime activity, such as Amsterdam. All those cities were in the focus of our expedition and were included in the route schedule.

We have visited Cilicia - fatherland of our vessel. It was felt like coming back home after a long time absence. It seems as if that the vessel felt the same.

There were very emotional days.

After coming back to the Black Sea 'Cilicia' closed the ring around Europe by water.

No one had done it before that moment.

In ancient times the ship was the only mean of communication between nations, cultures, civilizations separated by seas and sailors, travellers and merchants played a great role in realizing that link in the intercultural dialogue.

The very existence of our ship is called to attract attention to the preservation of historical values, cultural heritage, respectful attention toward history and traditions, irrespective of national belonging.

The ship is a symbol. A symbol of UNITY!

The “Cilicia” - functioning replica of 13th c. merchant sailing ship of Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia

Historical Experiment - Medieval sailing ship reconstruction and expedition around Europe

Balayan Karen

Abstract:

The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (XII-XV c. c.) was situated on the northeastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

There were at least five different kinds of ships that were used in the Kingdom. In the lines and details of small boats we can see an influence from the boats used on Lake Van. Sometimes, the boats were the same ones used on the lake. An explanation for this is very simple. The big wave of migration of the population from historical Armenia in the 9th-10th century created Armenian principalities in Cilicia, which later united as the Armenian Kingdom. Approximately 100,000 habitants of the Lake Van region immigrated to Armenian Cilicia.

The Kingdom was a part of Mediterranean maritime culture and had active sea merchant connections with its close and distant neighbors. Therefore, other types of Mediterranean ships must have influenced the Kingdom's ships. The lines and details of middle type of ships give us examples of mixed types of Mediterranean and the Lake Van ships. The biggest type of ships was common for the Mediterranean. For example, in case of warship, it was the well-known galleys.

Armenian historian Alishan collected financial documents about purchases of details of the ships from Venice, which later were completed in the Kingdom.

The main attention during restoration was directed to middle-types ships as a representative of developed vessel.

The most important sources of information are medieval manuscripts and miniatures from the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. Distortions, which presented in miniatures, created difficulties in the process of restoration. Exactness of restoration is important. Different illustrations of the same type of ships painted by different authors are being used to get a composite ship structure. It is possible to estimate the exactness of the restoration, if the ship is compared with a known ship pictured by the same painter.

We can make a conclusion about the size of the vessels by taking into account the quantity of sailors (or other people) on board. The accuracy of restoration will increase, if we compare miniatures of different authors.

The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia had navy.

Armenian historian Kirakos Gandzaketsi described the battle between King's Levon II's fleet and pirates between the Island of Cyprus and Cilicia. The pirates' flagship was sank and the other enemy ships fled.

Marco Polo wrote that the King of Armenia Levon III had presented to him, his father and his uncle a galley, which was especially built for them.

Arab historian Ibn Al Vardi wrote about the siege of the Ayas - main port town of the Kingdom - by Mameluke invaders and noted that Armenians had three large battle ships named *Ayas*, *Atlas* and *Shama*.

The Kingdom also had merchant fleet.

Laws about coastal jurisdiction passed by the Kingdom as state law in 1184 become very important for the development of sea trade.

This law obliged ships and cargo to be returned to the owners in case of shipwreck near the Kingdom's coast. It made it illegal to seize shipwrecked vessels, since it was usual at those times.

In 1201 a treaty was signed between the Kingdom and Venice and the Kingdom and Genoa concerning the return of shipwrecked ships and cargo.

In 1285 the same treaty was signed with the Egyptian Sultanate.

Even after the Kingdom's fall (1375) maritime trade continued using as bases Armenian colonies all around the World.

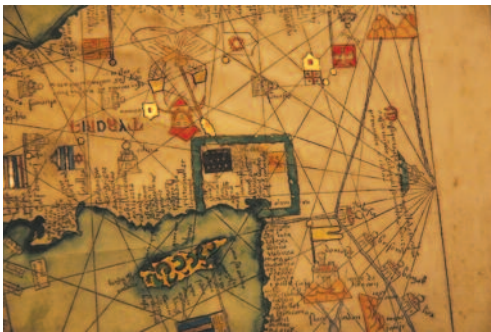


Fig. 1: Portolan With Cilicia Borders.



Fig. 2: "Cilicia" Expedition Route.



Fig. 3: "Cilicia" sailing ship.



Fig. 4: Armenian Miniature 1.

Fig. 5: Sail Rigging Comparison.





Fig. 6: Armenian Miniature 2.



Fig. 7: Latin Sail Engraving. 3rd century AD, Bulgaria.

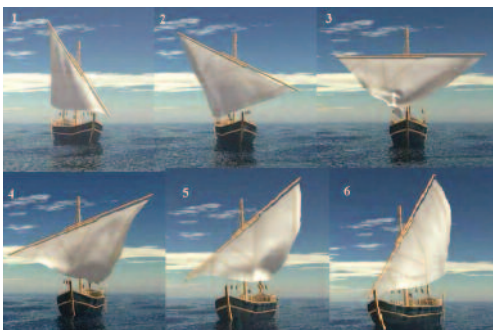


Fig. 8: Tacking With Symmetrical Latin Sail.



Fig. 9: Armenian Astrolabe from 1700. Ghukas Vanandeci.

ԱՅԱՍ ծովային հետազոտությունների ակումբ
AYAS Nautical Research Club

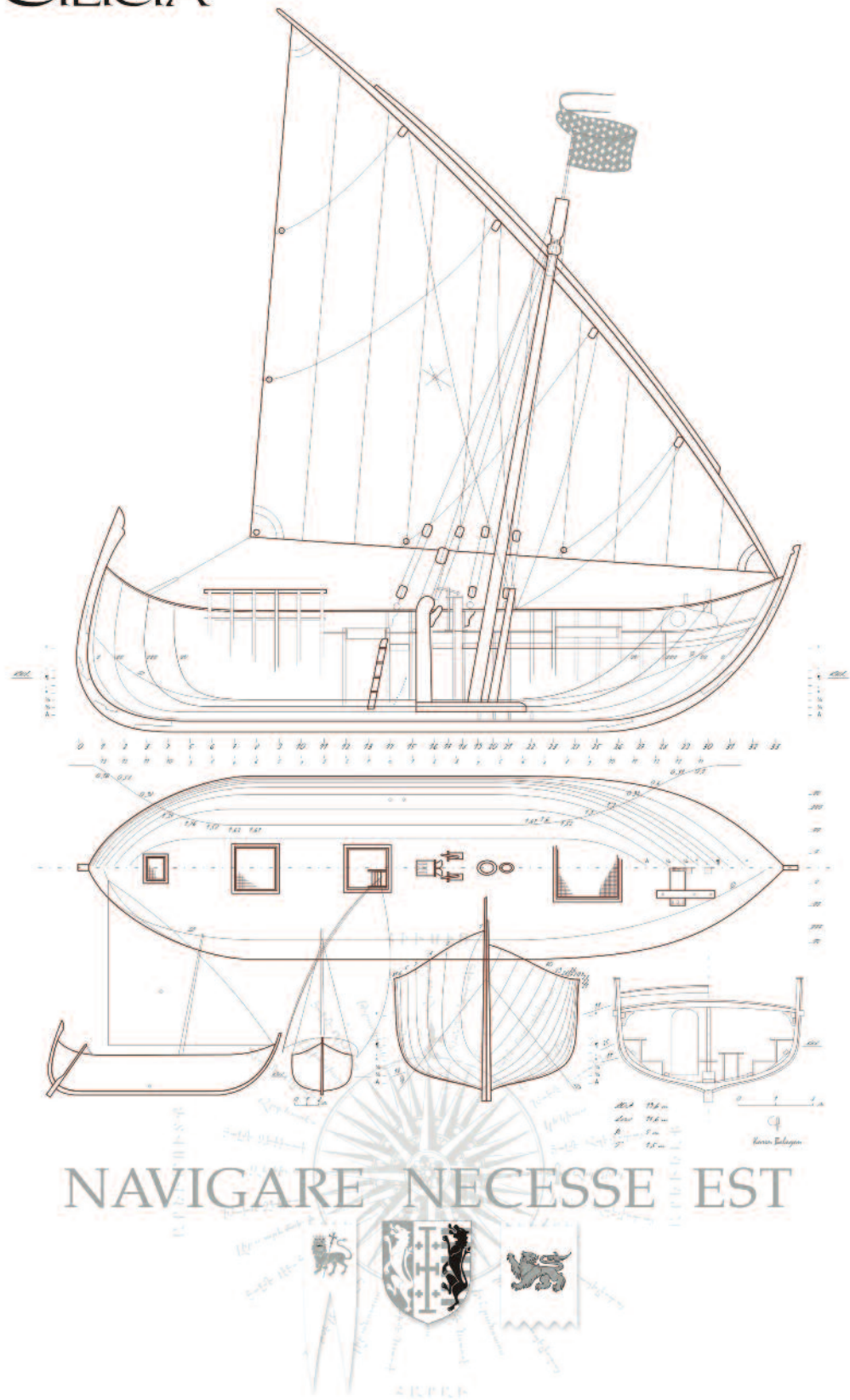
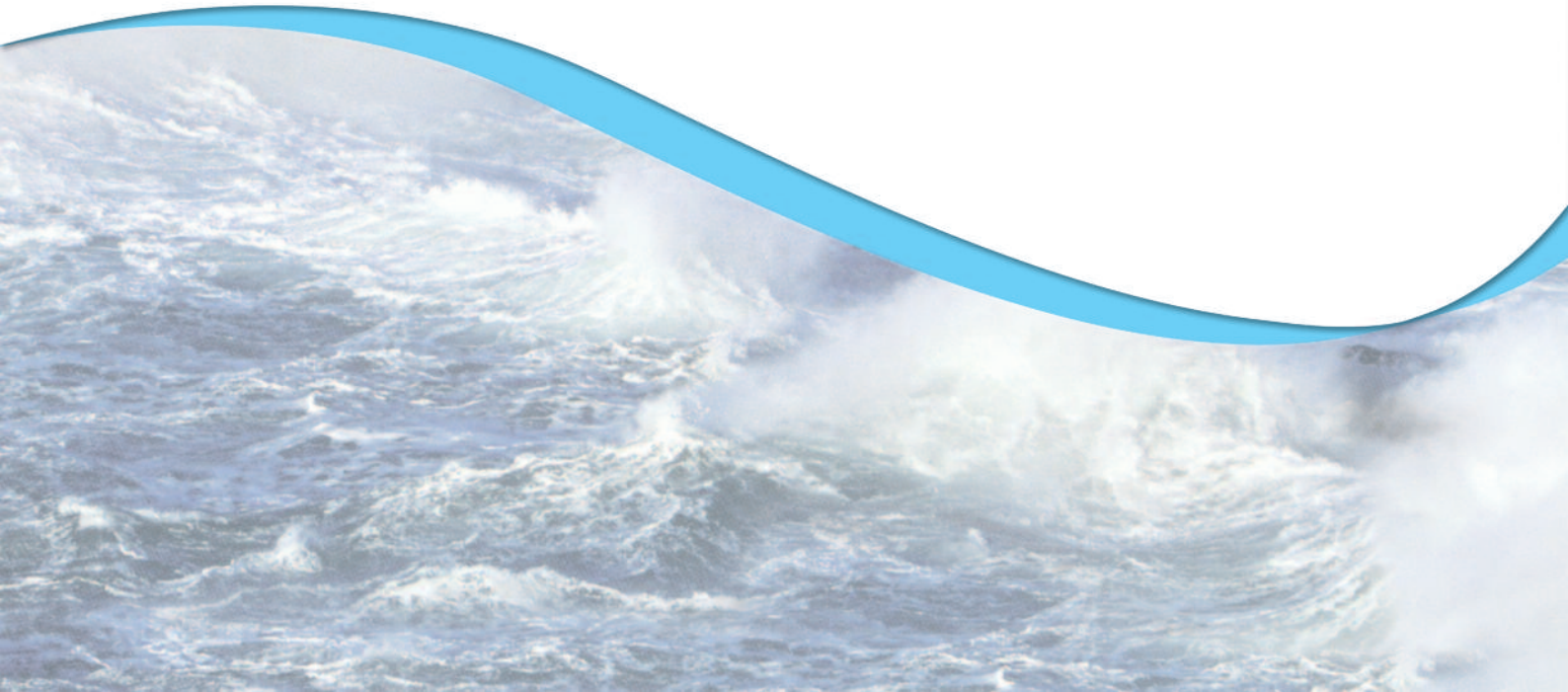


Fig. 10: "Cilicia" Plan.

SESSION VIII:
SURVEYS - PROJECTS





Hydrographic surveys in support of archaeological port investigations

Gkionis Panagiotis

Introduction

Hydrography is the branch of applied science that deals with the measurement and description of seabed and sub-seabed features and of features lying at the adjoining coastal areas. A hydrographic survey is the orderly process of determining and rendering spatial data relating to bodies of water, hence data relating, amongst others, to artificial features/objects on, above or beneath the seabed and at the adjoining coastal areas. Hydrographic surveys are primarily conducted in ports and waterways for the purpose of safety of navigation (bathymetric and wreck/object investigations). However, hydrographic techniques and instrumentation can also be used for archaeological investigations, when the objectives of a survey are feature/object detection (underwater or at the coastal zone) and positioning, as well as survey data presentation and management.

This paper will throw light on how hydrographic surveys can support archaeologists in their port investigations. In the next sections, an overview of the main hydrographic survey methodologies/techniques and instrumentation used for archaeological imaging and mapping is presented, together with recommendations on how archaeologists can take advantage of hydrographic survey deliverable outputs.

Investigation methodology and equipment

The detection of archaeological features provides information about the trends of human development in the vicinity of a site. The precise positioning of such findings provides further information about the human activity at specific historical periods in the vicinity of a site and the potential of archaeological reconstruction of the site. For this reconstruction, harbour works, shipwrecks, artefacts and coastal structures need to be positioned at a predetermined by the archaeologists, level of accuracy. That level determines the methodology and the system to be implemented for the measurements. Although traditional topographic methods can still be applied for coastal feature positioning, the satellite-based positioning methods implemented with the use of Global Navigation Satellite Systems (GNSS), such as the Global Positioning System (GPS), are far more productive and practicable for port investigations afloat, where there is no satellite signal interference from reflective surfaces around the measurement station. GNSS devices determine a position through the precise timing of signals sent by a number of satellite vessels flying at known orbits. The positional accuracy can be improved with the use of systems and techniques such as the *Post Process*, the *Satellite Based Augmentation System (SBAS)*, the *Differential GNSS*, the *Real Time Kinematic (RTK)* and the *Precise Point Positioning (PPP)*, each one of which provides final positional solution at a specific level of accuracy. Since GNSS signals are damped into the water, positioning of divers or underwater vessels is only possible by an acoustic communication link of the surface vessels fitted with GNSS receivers (fig. 1) and sub-surface assets or divers.

GNSS receivers answer the question ‘Where on Earth are we?’¹. However, there is not only one right answer to the question. The calculated position from the GNSS receivers (time stamped coordinates and height) is referred to a preset by the user or manufacturer terrestrial reference system or datum. The cooperation of cross-border partners in archaeological projects, especially the presentation and management of spatial data acquired throughout their project region, can be simplified by the use of a common terrestrial reference system/datum for recording positions in the GNSS receivers, ideally the ETRS89 or ITRF and the WGS84². The integration of GNSS receivers with the dynamic hydrographic instruments is a prerequisite for georeferenced hydrographic survey deliverables.

Geophysical instruments (fig. 2) compile data related with the physical properties of the seafloor, the substrata and the features related with them. After the data post-process, qualitative and quantitative representation of these properties and features can be available for archaeological analysis.

The Sidescan sonar (SSS) (fig. 2) consists of a transceiver unit, which is linked with dual transducers installed on an underwater towfish designed to be towed by a survey boat or to be attached to a sidemounted pole of the survey boat. The transceiver outputs and through the towfish transducers emits and thereafter receives the acoustic energy that is being spread widely in the across-track direction and narrowly in the along-track direction of the towfish navigation track, recording the variation of bottom return acoustic intensity. Since features, or objects lying on the seafloor, backscatter either more or less energy than the seafloor, these can be detected and often identified by determining their shape and dimensions with a Sidescan mapping system.

Due to its operation principles, the SSS cannot detect relatively small objects such as pottery fragments, especially in the context of a seabed texture similar to that of the object and at great depths. Bigger objects/artefacts, such as cannons or whole pottery, are detectable in shallow waters, yet they can hardly be identified solely by a SSS investigation, especially by an inexperienced user or in the context of a seabed texture similar to that of the objects. However, identification of large features such as shipwrecks or settlement/harbour ruins is possible. After the Sidescan survey and data post-process, the deliverable output is a georeferenced mosaicked imagery (geotiff) of the seabed, sonograph images of the detected features (fig. 3) and an estimation of their description followed by positional/measurement information related with them (precise position, dimensions, orientation).

The Multi-beam Echosounder (MBES) is an instrument (fig. 2) that when integrated onboard the survey boat with ancillary sensors and operated through dedicated software, maps the seabed in detail. By emitting a (wide across-track and narrow along-track) swath of acoustic energy underwater and by receiving and measuring the parameters of its bottom return, the MBES outputs an estimate of the survey area bathymetry, hence a point cloud of detected water depths over the survey area. This point cloud can be so dense, that in many cases reveals the shape of even small features, especially in a port’s shallow waters. Following the multibeam data post-process, images of the detected features can be generated (fig. 4). Additionally, a 3-dimensional (3D) point cloud and digital seafloor model can be generated, through which artefacts and underwater features can be identified and examined. Fig. 5 shows the 3D digital seabed (bathymetric) model created after a port investigation, highlighting the ruins of a shipwreck and the coastline delimitation, as it was before the development of local harbour works. Limitations on

1. English Heritage 2003, 5-9.
2. ETRS89, ITRF and WGS84 represent European Terrestrial Reference System 89, International Terrestrial Reference Frame and World Geodetic System 1984, respectively.

the detection performance of a MBES exist, but can be minimised with the choice for use of suitable sonar and data acquisition parameters by the hydrographic surveyor, given the expected findings/survey outcomes.

The marine Magnetometer (fig. 2) is an instrument designed to be towed by survey boats in order the Earth's magnetic field magnitude variations to be measured. Such variations/anomalies are caused by the magnetic properties of the seabed and sub-seabed natural material, as well as by man-made features lying on or under the seabed; thus artefact detection is possible when an effective fieldwork strategy is implemented by the hydrographic surveyor, followed by normalisation of geological/geophysical residual variations and those resulting from seabed contamination. Fig. 6 represents the magnetic profile of a harbour (the same as in fig. 3) through colour weighted survey lines. Potential artefacts are detected where discrete anomalies are observed (red dots/data points). Normally, sufficient interpretation of magnetometer data can be hardly possible without correlation of magnetometer data with MBES/SSS/Seismic Reflection Profiling data. After a magnetometer survey, archaeologists can be provided with the spatial reference of all the magnetic anomalies observed on-site, usually followed by an estimation of the physical properties of the feature causing each anomaly.

The Sub-Bottom Profiler (SBP) is an instrument (fig. 2) used for seismic reflection profiling surveys. It emits acoustic energy at low frequencies, so that part of the energy is reflected from the seabed and part of it penetrates the seabed and is reflected by the boundaries of the geological layers. Buried objects or features under the seabed also reflect part of the acoustic energy so the SBP can reveal both the pure geological structure of a port and the location of objects embedded in the substrata (fig. 7). However, object identification through seismic reflection profiling surveys is usually not possible, unless more information about the site exist. Besides, due to the instrument limitations, wealthy geological and at the same time successful object detection results are hardly the case. Following a SBP survey, the archaeologists are provided with the position of all potential buried objects/features, data related with their dimensions and their depth below the seafloor, as well as sonograph images of their sub-seabed profile. Additionally, archaeologists can be provided with full-length images/sections of substrata, hence evidence of a port's geological background and evolution through the years.

The Laser Scanners have growing application in archaeological preservation projects. They are typically used for 3D surface recording for historical/monument preservation and visualisation. They emit sweeping laser beams and by receiving and processing the returning energy from features that need to be recorded, Laser Scanners provide a high-resolution point cloud of the features' surface. Laser Scanners can be used either onshore or near-shore onboard survey boats. The Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) systems are instruments fitted on aerial platforms that can also provide the surface point cloud of features onshore or underwater under similar with Laser Scanners operating principles. However, the survey/flight cost is high, the resulting data resolution is normally medium and the data gaps over vertical surfaces are usual, hence LiDAR can be mainly used for plan view recording and modelling of large scale features.

Data management

A hydrographic port investigation doesn't stop at the stage of data compilation and post-process. A good fieldwork and a wealth of datasets acquired from SSS, SBP, MBES and magnetometer surveys will not highlight validated findings, if the survey (together with other geospatial) datasets are not effectively stored and or-

ganised in a way that they can be synthesised, visualised in thematic layers and finally evaluated through data correlation.

The Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are software suites that can facilitate the storage and management of archival and survey datasets, as well as the creation of findings database. GIS give the power to the archaeologists to maximise their knowledge of a site by allowing the recording, display, synthesis and analysis of archaeological and relevant data in a geographical space and in such a form that spatial and/or chronological trends of a site can be visualised³. This data organisation concept can be efficiently implemented by the archaeologists, only when the surveyors' deliverable outputs are in-line with data submission guidelines⁴ published by the archaeological project Directors and distributed to them before the start of a project.

Discussion

The cost of a hydrographic survey in support of an archaeological port investigation is high. However, where divers can hardly accomplish an underwater archaeological port investigation due to safety reasons, namely heavy in/outbound shipping traffic, restricted underwater visibility due to turbidity in the water column, high tidal stream rate and the presence of pollutants in the water column, remote sensing techniques can provide the survey methodology for the job accomplishment. Moreover, the results from a hydrographic survey can help researchers draw conclusions on the past topography of a coastline, in absence of confident archaeological data. Last but not least, the time spent on a site applying remote sensing survey techniques is short.

During the data acquisition phase, the hydrographic surveyor has to implement the optimum field strategy for the desired survey outcomes and utilise platforms and assets that fit for the survey purpose. Often, ground truthing methods, such as recordings from underwater video cameras fitted onboard Remotely Operated Vehicles (ROV) or Autonomous Underwater Vehicles (AUV), complement and support the remote sensing data records. The data post-process needs to be done under procedures of Good Practice; artefacts can easily be concealed in the context of a noisy or poorly processed dataset. After the data post-processing, the phase of digital data presentation and data interpretation follows; the surveyors evaluate the detected features, identify and render the artefacts or features of potential archaeological interest through specialised 2D and 3D GIS software. The task of artefact identification from the datasets has to be done by the hydrographic surveyors, since hydrographic data interpretation can only be done in the basis of Geophysics and the availability of hydrographic software suites. The contribution of archaeologists in this procedure though, can optimise its outcomes, since archaeologists know best what kind of results can come out of a survey.

The deliverable outcomes of a survey in support of an archaeological port investigation, have to be georeferenced, so that they can be recalled (in thematic groups) in the spatial and time-based⁵ context of a GIS by the archaeologists. The use of a GIS and 3D-viewer software by the archaeologists facilitates the post-evaluation of findings in four dimensions, since data can be useful as a reference for future investigations or desk-study/analysis. The geospatial/geophysical datasets can also be shared or viewed through the Web, so GIS can be a tool for the pro-

3. Nautical Archaeology Society 2009, 63.

4. English Heritage 2006, 1.

5. Johnson, Wilson 2003, 125-35.

motion of cultural tourism. A further use of software suites for transformation of the field-survey data into Computer-aided Design (CAD) 3D models by archaeologists or their project partners can provide them with the ability to digitally reconstruct a site and together with the use of GIS to streamline the cultural heritage management of a site or region.

Conclusions

Through the hydrographic port surveys, artefacts and features of potential archaeological interest can be detected underwater, on or under the seafloor in a fast and safe way. Following a combined MBES/SSS/Magnetometer/SBP survey, it is likely that these features can be identified and together with adjacent onshore features recorded by Laser Scanner and existing relevant spatial data can be reconstructed and digitally mapped in 3 dimensions. Moreover, evidence of a port's coastline past topography can be made available in absence of confident archaeological data.

The hydrographic surveys can further support archaeological port investigations, by introducing the archaeologists to the GIS; a dataset organisation and manipulation platform, through which the creation of a database for digital storage of findings' records, the post evaluation of findings and the display of geospatial data chronological trends (fourth dimension) is facilitated. All in all, GIS is a modern decision support tool for cultural heritage management.

Archaeological port investigations can make most of hydrographic surveys, only when archaeologists and hydrographic surveyors work closely for a common objective. The surveyors have not only to conduct a perfect port survey, but essentially to support an archaeological investigation, thus they must have knowledge of what they are searching for, in order to implement the best field strategy for the desired outcomes and the survey deliverables to fit for the survey purpose. Archaeologists are the data end-users and, as such, they have to predetermine the format of the survey deliverables and give the surveyors data provision guidance. Then, the quality of the survey deliverables depends on the hydrographic surveyor's level of professionalism and competence.

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Hydrographic surveys in support of archaeological port investigations

Gkionis Panagiotis

Abstract:

Hydrographic techniques and instrumentation can be used in support of archaeological port investigations when feature or object detection and positioning, as well as geospatial data presentation and management in the coastal zone, are among the objectives of the port investigation. The Multi-beam Echosounder, the Sidescan sonar, the marine Magnetometer, the Sub-Bottom Profiler and the Laser Scanner are instruments that, when integrated with positioning devices, are used for 3-dimensional mapping of archaeological and other features. They all have advantages and limitations that the hydrographic surveyor has to consider before implementing his fieldwork strategy according to the standards of Good Practice. The format of the hydrographic survey deliverable outputs has to be in-line with data submission guidelines determined and published before the start of any archaeological investigation by the project Director Archaeologist. Only then, can the post-processed survey datasets be accessible by the archaeologists, managed through a GIS, 3D-viewer and modelling software and support the decision making of cultural heritage management procedures.



Fig. 1: GNSS (receiver and dual antennas) for marine use.

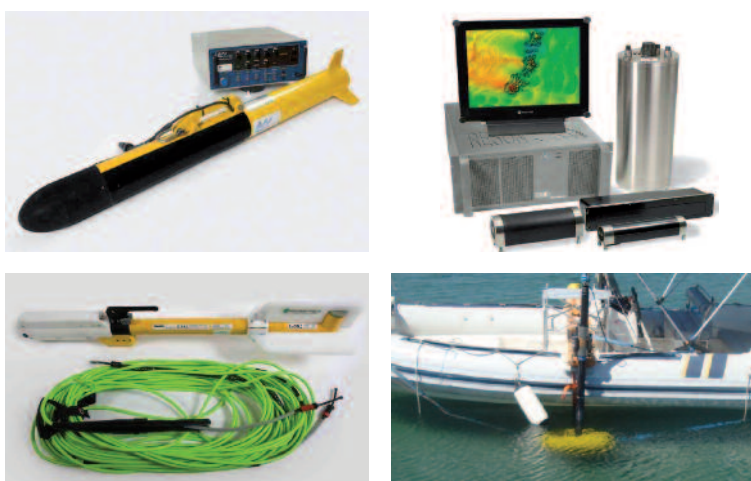
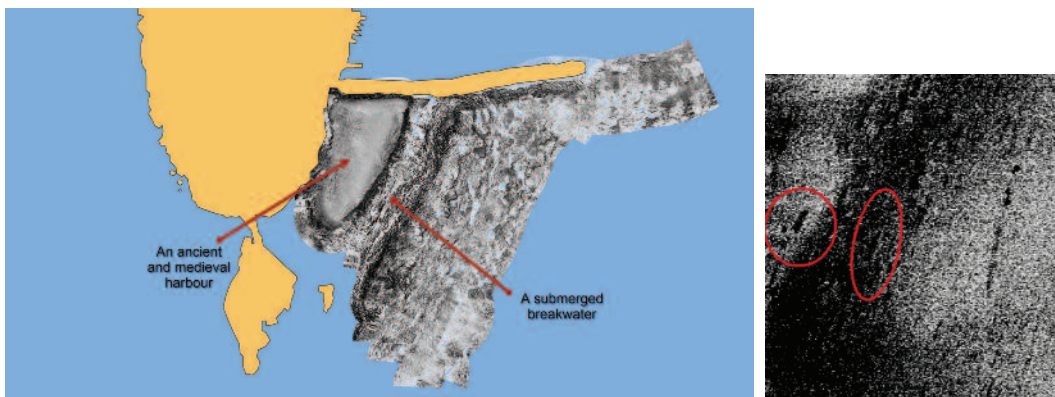


Fig. 2: Geophysical instruments mostly used for underwater geoarchaeological port investigations.
Top left: A Sidescan sonar system and basic components.
Top right: A MBES system and basic components.
Bottom left: A magnetometer towfish and cable.
Bottom right: A SBP transducer array, pole-mounted on the side of a RHIB.

Fig. 3: Sidescan sonar survey sample outcomes.
Left: Mosaicked imagery from an ancient and medieval port and its submerged breakwater (Greece). Dark tones represent high backscatter, light tones represent low backscatter, water body is blue and land mass is yellow/grey.
Right: Detailed image of two cannons (in the red circles) lying on the seabed in the same area.
Datasets: The GE.N.E.SIS Project. Coastline dataset: Courtesy HNHS.



HNHS Copyright and/or database rights. Material shall not be reproduced without prior permission of the Hellenic Navy Hydrographic Service.

Fig. 4: 3D data-point cloud depicting a shipwreck.
Dataset: Courtesy HNHS.

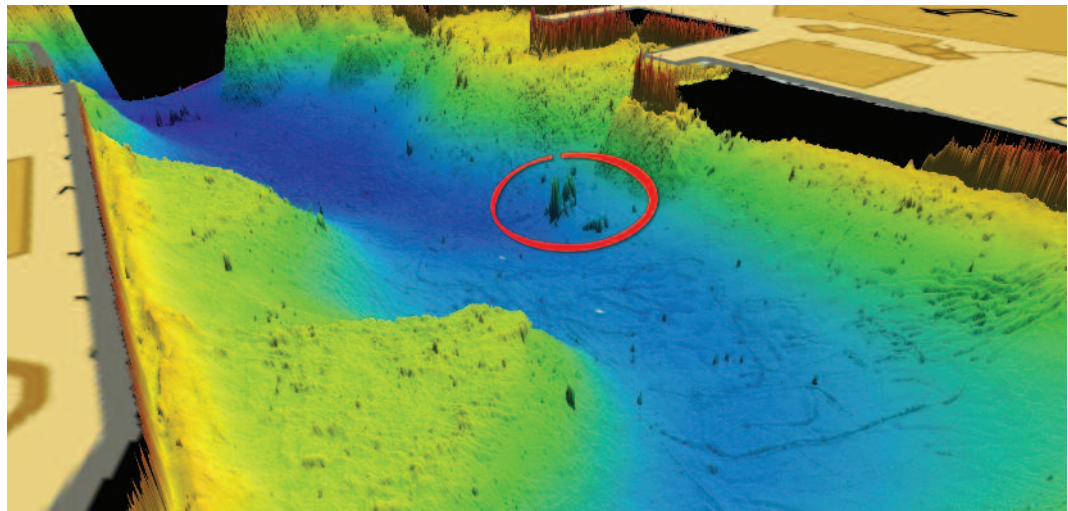
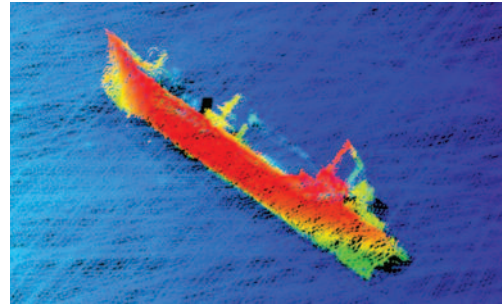
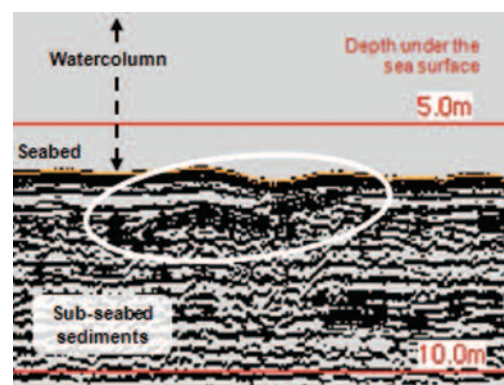


Fig. 5: 3D Digital seafloor model of a port, highlighting the ruins of a shipwreck (inside the red ellipsis) and the coastline delimitation (green patches) prior to the construction of harbour piers.
Datasets: Courtesy HNHS.

Fig. 6: Visualisation of the magnetic profile of a harbour through a Geographic Information System. Potential artefacts are indicated by the red dots (in the white circles) overlaid on geospatial (coastline) data and Google Earth imagery. *Datasets: The GE.N.ESIS Project and courtesy HNHS.*



Fig. 7: Sub-Bottom section of the ruins of a semi-buried wooden shipwreck (in the white ellipsis) having a 6.5m depth below sea surface, 2m maximum depth under the seafloor and alongtrack length of 2.5m.
Dataset: The GE.N.ESIS Project.



Limen. Cultural Ports from Aegean to the Black Sea

Kostić Elena

The European Centre of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Monuments is implementing project “Limen. Cultural Ports from Aegean to the Black Sea” funded by the Joint Operational Programme “BLACK SEA BASIN 2007-2013”.

The project is included in the Priority 1: Supporting cross border partnerships for economic social development based on combined resources.

Measure 1.2: Creation of tourism networks in order to promote joint tourism development initiatives and traditional products.

PARTNERSHIP

PARTNERS

Applicant:

European Centre for Byzantine and Post Byzantine Monuments - Greece

IPA Financial Lead Beneficiary:

Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Conservation of Marine Archaeology Objects, Turkey, Istanbul

ENPI Partner no 1:

Municipality of Kavala, Greece

ENPI Partner no 2:

Museum for National History and Archaeology from Constanta, Romania

ENPI Partner no 3:

Department of Culture and Tourism Odessa City Council, Ukraine

ENPI Partner no 4:

G. Chubinashvili National Research Centre for Georgian Art History and Heritage Preservation, Georgia

ENPI Partner no 5:

Municipality of Varna, Bulgaria

IPA Partner no 1:

Koc University, Turkey, Istanbul

ASSOCIATE PARTNERS

Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation

Business Council of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation

International Black Sea Club

International Black and Azov Seas Ports Association

TOTAL DURATION OF THE JOINT ACTION

24 months (July 2013-June 2015)

OBJECTIVES

OVERALL OBJECTIVE

The main objective of the submitted proposal is to help to address an important gap in the development of cultural tourism in the wider Black Sea area.

Establishment of an Institution for the promotion of the cities-ports of Black Sea and of their cultural resources.

This is an effort to develop a timeless institution, which will support cultural tourism developmental efforts around Black Sea region. The Institution will try to connect Black Sea countries in a cultural manner and support every effort of mobilization in the field of cultural tourism.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

Organization - promotion and pilot operation of an institution that with the “vehicle” of cultural tourism will be developed for:

- the institutionalized cooperation of cities - ports in permanent base
- the development of a cultural - tourism - economical - social network through innovative methodology
- the improvement of the administrative capacity at local level
- the establishment of a network which by starting from the promotion of cultural resources of the cities - ports will create the conditions for promotion and support of Small and Medium Enterprises that are active in tourism and traditional manufacturing

MAIN ACTIVITIES

The project “LIMEN” is suggested to be implemented within a comprehensive plan with two years implementation, structured in accordance with the requirements of the program “Black Sea” in five (5) Groups of Actions.

CAPACITY BUILDING ACTIVITIES

Activity 1 : Action Evaluation - Lessons learned

Activity 2 : Institutions’ promotion procedure

Activity 3 : Creation of local networks to increase the economic impact of cultural tourism in the areas

Activity 4 : Joint tourism development initiatives

DOCUMENTATION OF THE CITIES - PORTS

Activity 1 : Final catalogue of cultural ports

Activity 2 : Development of local networks

Activity 3 : Documentation of cultural resources of the cities - ports

Activity 4 : Cultural Guide of city - ports

THE NETWORK OF “CULTURAL PORTS”

Activity 1: Pilot Implementation of the Institution: Istanbul, the 1st Cultural Port

Activity 2 : Local activities per port

VISIBILITY OF THE ACTION

Activity 1 : Dissemination campaign

Activity 2 : Creation of cross board cultural tourism products

Activity 3 : Establishment of the Institution: “Cultural Port of Black Sea”

MANAGEMENT AND COORDINATION OF THE ACTION

Activity 1 : Management of activities

Activity 2 : Reporting

Activity 3 : Auditing

TARGET GROUPS

The target groups that will be affected by the project are the following:

- Tourism businesses and especially those engaged in cultural tourism
- Local Communities

- National agencies
- Employee's in tourism sector
- Employee's in culture sector
- Visitors

FINAL BENEFICIARIES

Projects' final beneficiaries will be

- The Tourism Industry
- Local Communities (especially to the pilot's application areas)
- Visitors
- Population groups with direct or indirect economic benefits
- National Economies
- The Black Sea cultural heritage itself
- Cultural dialogue in the area of Black Sea

ESTIMATED RESULTS

- Common troubleshooting problems related to joint tourism promotion and promotion of cultural tourism in the Black Sea
- Coordination and enhancement of management capacity of organizations in regional and local level
- Creating special tourist - cultural products of high standards and cross-border international recognition (cruises)
- Detailed knowledge of the main cultural resources of the ports in their economic territorial contexts acquired and promoted
- Common strategy aimed to the promotion of the common cultural heritage developed
- Good practices and models of excellence in the management and promotion of the cultural heritage shared (monuments, handicrafts, case studies etc.)
- Stable partnerships among Public Authorities, A, Universities, Organizations, N.G.O., Companies and tourist operators of the involved regions in the field cultural sustainable tourism established
- New opportunities for socio-economic growth and diversification of cultural tourist's offer, through the sustainable exploitation of Black Sea countries, developed
- Established integrated cross-sector connections and tourism service systems (including, information, cultural offer services) in Black Sea area
- Sustainable new archaeological pathways of tourism development

OUTPUTS

- Well documented ports (30) regarding their preserved cultural resources
- Promotion of the institution of "cultural ports" on a technical level in six (6) cities - ports by installing educational signs
- Implement of an integrated pilot project for the first cultural port in Istanbul
- "LIMEN" Web portal
- Documentation of cultural ports
- Integration of local tourism supply product and main tourism information for the ports
- Facilitation of the information dissemination and supporting of cultural sites management
- Hosting of cultural destinations
- Onboard Symposium focusing on the promotion on the cultural tourism and cruise tourism of the main ports around Black Sea

- Parallel events “ONBOARD”: Development of Pilot cruise from Istanbul, to Varna, Constanta, Odessa
- Integrated communication system of the project’s results in all participating regions towards the wider European, Asia, and International Tourist Markets
- Encouragement of the active involvement of all interested parties and civil society in the development of integrated sustainable tourism management.
- Display of an exhibition for the history of the ports, on the boat
- Establishment of the Institution: “Cultural Port of Black Sea”

The Institution will be annual. It will contribute to the emergence of actions regarding the promotion of cultural heritage of each port. It will be accompanied by multitask parallel activities like events, exhibitions, publications, knowledge exchange, training activities and other local dissemination activities. The development of the institution will leverage entrepreneurship in the tourism and economic development of local communities like cruises in the Black Sea region.

Μαύρη θάλασσα - Ενότητα και διαφορετικότητα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή Αρχαιότητα

Αδάμ-Βελένη Πολυξένη

Το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης συμμετέχει από τις 6 Ιουνίου 2013 στο Κοινό Ευρωπαϊκό Πρόγραμμα Δράσης «Η ΛΕΚΑΝΗ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΥΡΗΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΣ 2007-1013», Προτεραιότητα 3: Υποστήριξη της πολιτιστικής και εκπαιδευτικής πρωτοβουλίας για την αναγνώριση του κοινού πολιτιστικού περιβάλλοντος στη λεκάνη, Μέτρο 3.1 Προώθηση του πολιτιστικού δικτύου ανταλλαγών στις κοινότητες της λεκάνης της Μαύρης Θάλασσας.

Το πρόγραμμα έχει διετή διάρκεια, από τις 6 Ιουνίου 2013 μέχρι τις 6 Ιουνίου 2015. Συμμετέχοντα μέλη στο πρόγραμμα με τίτλο «Μαύρη Θάλασσα-Ενότητα και διαφορετικότητα κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Αρχαιότητα» είναι: 1) η Περιφέρεια της Τούλτσα στη Ρουμανία, ως επικεφαλής του προγράμματος, 2) το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης, ως μέλος με διακριτό ρόλο λόγω εμπειρίας σε ευρωπαϊκά προγράμματα, 3) το Περιφερειακό Ιστορικό Μουσείο της Βάρνας, 4) ο Τομέας Σπουδών της Κριμαίας του Ινστιτούτου Αρχαιολογίας της Συμφερόπολης, της Αυτόνομης Δημοκρατίας της Κριμαίας, 5) το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο στο Βατούμ (της Αυτόνομης Δημοκρατίας της Ατζαρίας) και 6) το Ελεύθερο Πανεπιστήμιο της Μολδαβίας (της Δημοκρατίας της Μολδαβίας). Επιπρόσθετο μέλος με ξεχωριστή χρηματοδότηση είναι: 7) η Ειδική Περιφερειακή Διοίκηση της Σινώπης στην Τουρκία. Η συνολική χρηματοδότηση για τα έξι μέλη (ENPI Budget) είναι 385.483,06 ευρώ. Η χρηματοδότηση της συμμετοχής της Τουρκίας (IPA Budget) είναι 86.563,00 ευρώ.

Συνεργάτες-μέλη του προγράμματος είναι 1) το Περιβαλλοντολογικό Ινστιτούτο Ερευνών στην Τούλτσα (Ρουμανία), το παράρτημα του Εθνικού Ιστορικού και Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου της Κωνσταντζα (Ρουμανία), 2) το «Al.I. Cuza» Πανεπιστήμιο στο Ιάσιο (Ρουμανία), 3) η Εταιρεία Ibida, στην Τούλτσα (Ρουμανία), 4) η Εταιρεία «Alpha Mentor» στη Θεσσαλονίκη (Ελλάδα), 5) το Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης (ΑΠΘ) (Ελλάδα), 6) το Πανεπιστήμιο Ανθρωπιστικών Σπουδών της Κριμαίας στη Γιάλτα, 7) το Εθνικό Πάρκο «Χερσόνησος της Ταυρικής» στη Σεβαστούπολη (Αυτόνομη Δημοκρατία της Κριμαίας), 8) το Μουσείο Fitzwilliam στη Μεγάλη Βρετανία, 9) το Πανεπιστήμιο της Μπολόνια (Ιταλία), 10) το Πανεπιστήμιο της Provence, Aix Marseille I (Γαλλία), 11) το Ιστορικό και Λογοτεχνικό Μουσείο της Γιάλτας (Αυτονομη Δημοκρατία της Κριμαίας), 12) το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Σινώπης (Τουρκία).

Τα μέλη της Επιστημονικής Επιτροπής για κάθε χώρα μέλος είναι τα ακόλουθα: 1) Μιχαέλα Γιάκομπ για την Περιφερειακή Διοίκηση της Τούλτσα, 2) Πολυξένη Αδάμ-Βελένη για το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης και το ΑΠΘ, 3) Ελίνα Μίρτσεβα για το Τοπικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο της Βάρνας, 4) Σεργκεί Λαντσόφ για τον Τομέα Σπουδών της Κριμαίας του Ινστιτούτου Αρχαιολογίας της Συμφερόπολης, της Αυτόνομης Δημοκρατίας της Κριμαίας, 5) Εμζάρ Κακίτζε για το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο στο Βατούμ της Αυτόνομης Δημοκρατίας της Ατζαρίας, 6) Γκεόργκιε Πόσσιτσα για το Ελεύθερο Πανεπιστήμιο της Μολδαβίας της Δημοκρατίας της Μολδαβίας και 7) Κλαιρ Μπαρά για την Ειδική Περιφερειακή Διοίκηση της Σινώπης στην Τουρκία.

Ο βασικός στόχος αυτού του προγράμματος είναι η δημιουργία ενός δικτύου έρευνας μακράς διάρκειας μεταξύ των πολιτιστικών και διοικητικών φο-

ρέων, καθώς και η προώθηση των επιστημονικών και πολιτιστικών ανταλλαγών στη λεκάνη της Μαύρης Θάλασσας. Δευτερευόντως, αυτό το πρόγραμμα στοχεύει στην ενσωμάτωση και την κοινή προώθηση της κινητής και ακίνητης πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς της Ρωμαϊκής Εποχής στις περιοχές της λεκάνης της Μαύρης Θάλασσας. Το πρόγραμμα έχει επίσης σκοπό την αφύπνιση και την ανάληψη πρωτοβουλιών από τις τοπικές κοινωνίες και στη θέσπιση αρχών αναφορικά με την προστασία, τη διατήρηση και την αξιοποίηση της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς/παράδοσης της Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας.

Με περισσότερο στοχευμένες ενέργειες το πρόγραμμα αποσκοπεί: 1) στην επίτευξη διαρκών ανταλλαγών μεταξύ των επιστημονικών, πολιτιστικών και διοικητικών φορέων με σκοπό τη γνώση, την προστασία και την προώθηση της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς μέσα από συνδυασμένες ενέργειες, 2) στη δημιουργία ενός διεθνικού φορέα, ενός Συνδέσμου με τίτλο «Κέντρο Σπουδών για τη Ρωμαϊκή Αρχαιολογική Κληρονομιά στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα», με μακροχρόνια διάρκεια και δράση, με αφετηρία την αναζήτηση της κοινής πολιτιστικής ταυτότητας, 3) στον εντοπισμό των πολιτιστικών διαφοροποιήσεων στις περιοχές της Μαύρης Θάλασσας κατά τη διάρκεια της Ρωμαϊκής Εποχής ως μοντέλο σταδιακής ενσωμάτωσης σε αντιδιαστολή με την παγκοσμιοποίηση, 4) τη δημιουργία θεματικών διαδρομών της Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιολογίας στη λεκάνη της Μαύρης Θάλασσας, 5) την ενίσχυση της τοπικής ταυτότητας, μέσω κοινών δράσεων με την εμπλοκή επιστημονικών και πολιτιστικών φορέων, πολιτιστικών τουριστικών πρακτόρων και τοπικών αρχών στη λεκάνη της Μαύρης Θάλασσας, 6) την καλλιέργεια στη νέα γενιά μιας πολιτιστικής συνείδησης, ότι ως μελλοντικοί φορείς θα κληθούν να αποφασίσουν για το πλαίσιο προστασίας και αξιοποίησης της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, 7) τη δημιουργία ενός πρότυπου καλών πρακτικών στην προστασία και προώθηση της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή και για τις παραπάνω περιοχές.

Τα εκτιμώμενα και αναμενόμενα να πραγματοποιηθούν επιστημονικά και πολιτιστικά αποτελέσματα είναι τα ακόλουθα.

- I) μια κοινή έκθεση από πίνακες (poster) με θέμα «Ρωμαϊκή Τέχνη και Πολιτισμός-Μια κοινή γλώσσα στην Αρχαιότητα»,
- II) ένας κοινός πολύγλωσσος κατάλογος της έκθεσης,
- III) την έναρξη μιας βάσης δεδομένων με θέμα «Μνημεία και αρχαιολογικοί χώροι στη λεκάνη της Μαύρης Θάλασσας». Η βάση δεδομένων θα περιλαμβάνει πληροφορίες αναφορικά με όλους τους τόπους καταγωγής των συμμετεχόντων μελών, με στόχο την επανασύσταση - στο μέτρο του δυνατού - των ιστορικών επαρχιών και των ενοτήτων κατά την Αρχαιότητα, σαν τρόπο παρουσίασης. Η βάση δεδομένων θα συγκροτηθεί από όλα τα μέλη που συμμετέχουν στο πρόγραμμα και θα είναι προσβάσιμα από όλους στους ιστότοπους των μελών, περιλαμβανομένων και των συνεργαζόμενων εταίρων. Εκτός από τις βασικές πληροφορίες για τους αρχαιολογικούς χώρους που θα επιλεγούν από τους συμμετέχοντες η βάση δεδομένων θα περιλαμβάνει: 1) Βιβλιογραφία του αρχαιολογικού χώρου, 2) Δικτυότοπους, 3) Επαφές, 4) Φωτογραφίες και σχέδια, 5) Το δελτίο του συγγραφέα του λήμματος, ημερομηνία και όνομα, 6) Επικαιροποίηση του λήμματος. Όλοι οι αρχαιολογικοί χώροι θα περιληφθούν σε έναν διαδραστικό χάρτη. Η βάση δεδομένων των αρχαιολογικών χώρων της ποντιακής λεκάνης θα περιλάβει αρχικά τους χώρους από την περιοχή αρμοδιότητας των μελών και θα επικαιροποιείται διαρκώς,
- IV) ένα CD για την προώθηση της ρωμαϊκής αρχαιολογικής κληρονομιάς με θέμα «Ρωμαϊκοί δρόμοι στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα»,
- V) έναν ιστοτόπο για την προώθηση του προγράμματος,
- VI) επτά δράσεις ανταλλαγής εμπειριών και πληροφοριών (εργαστήρια), θα

- έχουν τα ακόλουθα θέματα: 1) στην ΤΟΥΛΤΣΑ, όπου θα γίνουν και τα πρώτα εγκαίνια της έκθεσης, θα διεξαχθεί και εργαστήριο I με θέμα «Η πολιτική της Ρώμης στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα», 26-28 Μαρτίου 2014, 2) στο ΚΙΣΙΝΑΟΥ, εγκαίνια της έκθεσης και εργαστήριο II με θέμα «Πηγές της Ιστορίας του Εύξεινου Πόντου κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή, 20-22 Μαΐου 2014, 3) στη ΓΙΑΛΤΑ, εγκαίνια και εργαστήριο III με θέμα «Αυτόχθονες, Έλληνες, Ρωμαίοι και Βάρβαροι στον Εύξεινο Πόντο κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Περίοδο». 17-19 Ιουνίου 2014, 4) στο ΒΑΤΟΥΜ, εγκαίνια και εργαστήριο IV με θέμα: «Ρωμαϊκά νομίσματα και επαρχιακή νομισματοκοπία στον Εύξεινο Πόντο κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή», 15-17 Σεπτεμβρίου 2014, 5) στη ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ εγκαίνια της έκθεσης και εργαστήριο V με θέμα: «Η Αρχιτεκτονική στον Εύξεινο Πόντο κατά τη διάρκεια της Ρωμαϊκής Εποχής», 4-6 Νοεμβρίου 2014, 6) στη ΣΙΝΩΠΗ, εγκαίνια και εργαστήριο VI: «Κεραμική, παράμετρος οικονομικών συναλλαγών στη λεκάνη της Μαύρης Θάλασσας», 20-22 Ιανουαρίου 2015, 7) στη ΒΑΡΝΑ εγκαίνια και εργαστήριο VII: «Τέχνη και Θρησκεία στον Εύξεινο Πόντο», 10-12 Μαρτίου 2015,
- VII) ένα πρόγραμμα εκπαίδευσης και άσκησης για φοιτητές και νέους ειδικούς στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα «Το Αρχαιολογικό Σχολείο». Με αυστηρή επιλογή είκοσι πέντε φοιτητές και ερευνητές θα έχουν την ευκαιρία να σχετιστούν μεταξύ τους στο πλαίσιο του «Αρχαιολογικού Σχολείου» της Ίμπιντα (στην επαρχία Σλάβα Ρούσα, της περιφέρειας της Τούλτσα στη Ρουμανία). Στους συμμετέχοντες φοιτητές στο διαδραστικό «διδακτικό πείραμα» της Ίμπιντα, η εκπαίδευση και εκμάθηση θα διεξαχθεί από τους καθηγητές κατά θεματικές ενότητες. Οι φοιτητές θα έχουν την ευκαιρία να γνωρίσουν μέσα από τις ερευνητικές ομάδες της ποντιακής λεκάνης και της Ευρώπης τεχνικές έρευνας και στρατηγικές, σε μια προσπάθεια γνώσης, εκμάθησης και, γιατί όχι, συγχρωτισμού με ερευνητικές σχολές. Οι συμμετέχοντες σε αυτή τη δραστηριότητα θα έχουν την ευκαιρία για δέκα μέρες να κοινωνικοποιηθούν, να συζητήσουν, να αλληλοδιδασθούν, να αντιληφθούν την πολιτιστική διαφορετικότητα στο πλαίσιο της ανοχής και του σεβασμού του άλλου. Η δραστηριότητα θα διεξαχθεί σε αγροτική εγκατάσταση της περιοχής όπου διαβιώνει η εθνική μειονότητα. Αυτή η δραστηριότητα θα λάβει χώρα κατά την περίοδο 10-20 Ιουλίου 2014,
- VIII) ένα τελικό Συμπόσιο με θέμα: «Η ρωμαϊκή κληρονομιά στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα»,
- XI) η δημιουργία του Συνδέσμου «Κέντρο Σπουδών για την Ρωμαϊκή Αρχαιολογική Κληρονομιά».

Η Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή είναι μία περίοδος, η οποία επί δεκαετίες δεν βρισκόταν σε υψηλή εκτίμηση και προτίμηση από τους επιστήμονες της Αρχαιότητας και του αρχαιόφιλου κοινού. Υπήρξε, ωστόσο, μια χρονική περίοδος με ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά, τα οποία καθόρισαν εν πολλοίς τη φυσιογνωμία πολλών σύγχρονων ευρωπαϊκών και παραπόντιων κρατών.

Με αυτό το πρόγραμμα έρχονται για πρώτη φορά σε επαφή επτά γειτονικές χώρες της Βαλκανικής Χερσονήσου και του Εύξεινου Πόντου και περισσότερα από 11 συνεργαζόμενα μέλη κάτω από τον ίδιο κοινό στόχο: την ανταλλαγή των επιστημονικών και πολιτιστικών αξιών της Μαύρης Θάλασσας κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο αναμένεται να αναπτυχθούν καλύτερες διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις μεταξύ των εμπλεκόμενων χωρών με σκοπό τη γνώση, την προστασία και την προβολή της ρωμαϊκής αρχαιολογικής κληρονομιάς με συντονισμένες ενέργειες των χωρών στη λεκάνη της Μαύρης Θάλασσας και στις γειτονικές περιοχές, με σκοπό μια αρτιότερη κατανόηση των διαφορών, αλλά κυρίως τον εντοπισμό των κοινών στοιχείων και των ομοιοτήτων στην πολιτιστική τους κληρονομιά.

Black Sea - Unity and Diversity in the Roman Antiquity

Adam-Veleni Polyxeni

The Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki participates since the 6th of June 2013 to the Joint Operational Program “BLACK SEA BASIN 2007-2013”, Priority 3: Supporting cultural and educational initiatives for the establishment of a common cultural environment in the Basin Measure 3.1 Promoting cultural networking and educational exchange in the Black Sea Basin communities.

The program’s schedule is biannual from the 6th of June 2013 till the 6th of June 2015. The partners of the project Black Sea - Unity and Diversity in the Roman Antiquity are 1) the Tulcea County Council in Romania as leader, 2) the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki in Greece as prominent member due to its experience in European projects, 3) the Varna Regional History Museum in Bulgaria, 4) the Crimean Branch of the Institute of Archaeology, Simferopol Autonomous Republic of Crimea, 5) the Batumi Archaeological Museum (Autonomous Republic of Adjara) and 6) The Free International University of Moldova (Republic of Moldova). Joint member (IPA Budget) with separate budget: 7) Sinop Special Provincial Administration (Turkey). The total budget (ENPI Budget) of the project for the six partners is 385.483,06 euros. The budget (IPA Budget) for the Turkish partnership is 86.563,00 euros.

As associate partners to the project are: 1) The Eco-Museum Research Institute of Tulcea (Romania) and the Museum of National History and Archaeology in Constanța (Romania), 2) The “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași (Romania), 3) The Ibida Association, Tulcea (Romania), 4) The Alpha Mentor Association, Thessaloniki (Greece), 5) The Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH) (Greece), 6) Crimean University of the Humanities (Yalta), 7) National Reserve “Chersonese Tauric”, Sevastopol (Autonomous Republic of Crimea), 8) The Fitzwilliam Museum (Great Britain), 9) University of Bologna (Italy), 10) University of Provence, Aix-Marseille I (France), 11) Yalta Historical-Literary Museum (Autonomous Republic of Crimea, 12) Sinop Archaeology Museum (Turkey).

The members of the Scientific Committee are for each partnership: 1) Tulcea County Council (Romania): Mihaela Iacob, 2) Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki and AUTH (Greece): Polyxeni Veleni, 3) Varna Regional History Museum (Bulgaria): Elina Mircheva, 4) Crimean Branch of the Institute of Archaeology, Simferopol (Autonomous Republic of Crimea): Sergey Lantsov, 5) Batumi Archaeological Museum (Autonomous Republic of Adjara): Emzar Kakhidze, 6) Free International University of Moldova (Republic of Moldova): Gheorghe Postica, 7) Sinop Special Provincial Administration (Turkey): Claire Barat.

The overall aim of this program is the creation of a long term network of research by the cultural and administrative institutions and the promotion of the exchange of scientific and cultural values in the Black Sea Basin. Secondly, this project aims to the integration and joint promotion of the movable and immovable cultural heritage dated to the Roman period of the Black Sea Basin regions. The project intends to raise the awareness and responsibility of the local communities and authorities regarding the necessity of the protection, conservation and development of the cultural heritage/inheritance of the Roman Antiquity.

More specifically the project purposes to: 1) the achievement of a permanent exchange of experience between scientific, cultural, administrative institutions for the purpose of knowing, protecting and promoting the archaeological heritage by joint actions, 2) the creation of a transnational body - the Association “Center for Roman Archaeological Heritage Studies in the Black Sea” active in the long term, starting from the identification of the joint cultural heritage, 3) to point out the cultural diversity of the Black Sea Basin regions during the Roman period as a model of integration vs globalization, 4) the creation of thematic itineraries of Roman archeology in the Black Sea Basin, 5) the consolidation of the regional identity, through joint actions with the involvement of scientific, cultural institutions, cultural tourism operators and local authorities in the Black Sea Basin, 6) the creation within the young generation of a pro patrimonio attitude raising the awareness of the decision makers at the administrative level as for the necessity of protecting and valorizing the cultural heritage and 7) the creation of a model of good practices in the protection and promotion of the cultural heritage dated to the Roman period of the “circumpontic” area.

The estimated and expected to be realized scientific and cultural results are:

- I) a joint traveling (poster) exhibition on the topic of “Roman Art and Civilization - A Common Language in Antiquity”,
- II) a joint multilingual exhibition catalogue,
- III) the initiation of a database “Monuments and Archeological Sites in the Black Sea Basin”: The database shall include information regarding all partners’ zones of origin, with the aim of recreating - to the extent this is possible - the historical provinces and entities in Antiquity, as presentation manner. It shall be created/filled-in with all partners’ participation and shall be accessible to all people from each partner’s webpage, including those of the associate partners. This data base, except of basic information of the sites chosen by the participants, will include: 1) Bibliography on the site, 2) Links, 3) Contacts, 4) Photos, Plans, 5) Author of Sheet, date, name, 6) Updating of technical sheets. All the sites are will be placed on an interactive map. The database of the Roman sites in the Pontic basin shall initially include the sites in the partners’ area of competence and shall be continuously updated,
- IV) a CD for the promotion of the Roman archeological heritage on the topic “Roman Routes in the Black Sea”,
- V) a website for the project promotion,
- VI) Seven (7) activities of exchange of experience and information (workshops), which are as follows: 1) In TULCEA - opening the exhibition and workshop I: Topic of the workshop I: Politics of Rome in the Black Sea, 26th-28th March 2014, 2) In CHIȘINĂU - opening the exhibition and workshop II: Sources of History of Pontus Euxinus in the Roman Epoch, 20-22 May 2014, 3) YALTA - opening the exhibition and workshop III: Autochthonous, Greek, Roman and Barbarian Population in the Pontus Euxinus during the Roman Period, 17th-19th June 2014, 4) BATUMI - opening the exhibition and workshop IV: Roman Coin vs Provincial Coin in the Pontus Euxinus during the Roman Era, 15th-17th September 2014, 5) THESSALONIKI: opening the exhibition and workshop VI: Architecture in the Pontus Euxinus during the Roman Period, 4th-6th November 2014, 6) SINOP - opening the exhibition and workshop V: Pottery-Marker of Economic Relations in the Black Sea Basin”, 20th-22th January 2015, 7) VARNA opening the exhibition and workshop VII: Art and Religion in the Pontus Euxinus, 10th-12th March 2015,
- VII) an educational and training program for students and young specialists in the Black Sea Basin- “the Archaeology School”. On the basis of a rigorous selection, 25 students and researchers will have the chance to interrelate within the “Archaeology School” of Ibida (Slava Rusă, Tulcea county, Romania). The

professors' training and practical experience shall be thematically transmitted to the students participating in the interactive "didactic experiment" of Ibida. It shall be an opportunity of knowledge of the research schools in the Pontic basin, and also in Europe and of their research techniques and strategies, as well as an attempt to knowledge, learning, and why not, consorting with several research schools. Participants in this activity shall have the opportunity to socialize for 10 days, discuss, learn from each other, understand their cultural diversity and learn the tolerance and respect towards the other (the activity shall be carried out in a rural locality, where an ethnic minority lives). This activity will take place during the period 10-20 July 2014,

VIII) a final symposium on 'The Roman Heritage in the Black Sea',

IX) the creating of The Association "Center for Roman Archeological Heritage Studies".

The Roman Era is a period which for decades was not in high esteem and preference by scientists and followers of the Antiquity. There was, however, a period with many special characteristics which largely determined the physiognomy of many contemporary European and paraponion states.

This project contacts for the first time seven neighbor countries of the Balkan peninsula and the Pontic Sea, and more that 11 associated members, under a common scientific aim: the exchange of scientific and cultural values in the Black Sea Basin during Roman Era. In this frame better relations and interrelations are expected to be developed between the involved countries for the purpose of knowing, protecting and promoting the Roman archaeological heritage by joint actions in the Black Sea Basin and the adjacent areas in a better understanding of their diversities, but mostly their common routes and their similarities of their cultural heritage.

Εικ. 1: Ρουμανία, Τούλτσα, η πόλη στο Δέλτα του Δούναβη. Πρώτη συνάντηση προγράμματος.
Romania, Tulcea, the city in Danube's Delta. Kick off meeting.





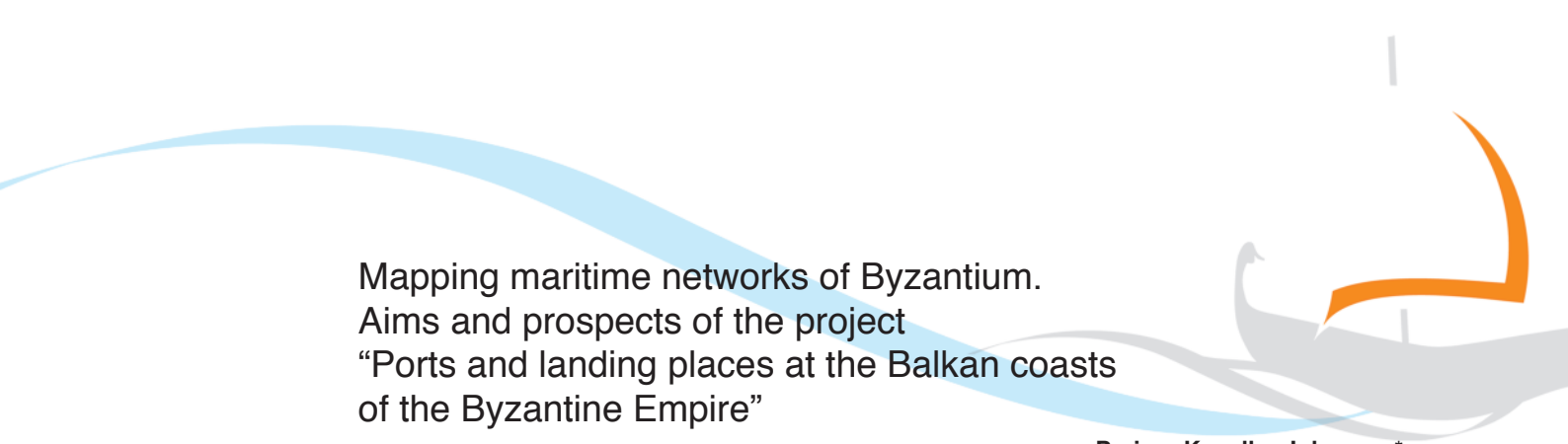
Εικ. 2: Ρουμανία, Τούλτσα, η πόλη στο Δέλτα του Δούναβη.
Romania, the city in Danube's Delta.

Εικ. 3: Τουρκία, Σινώπη, από την αρχαία ελληνική αποικία στη σύγχρονη πόλη. Δεύτερη συνάντηση.
Turkey, Sinop, from the ancient Greek colony to the modern city. Second meeting.



Εικ. 4: Τουρκία, Σινώπη, από την αρχαία ελληνική αποικία στη σύγχρονη πόλη.
Turkey, Sinop, from the ancient Greek colony to the modern city.





Mapping maritime networks of Byzantium. Aims and prospects of the project “Ports and landing places at the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire”

Preiser-Kapeller Johannes*

In 2012, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft granted funding to the major collaborative research focus “Harbours from the Roman Period to the Middle Ages” (SPP-1630), consisting of 15 individual projects (ranging from Greenland to the Mediterranean), which are carried out by approximately 60 scholars over two three-year periods with the aim of interdisciplinary research on the phenomenon of the “harbour”¹. One of these projects, “Ports and landing places at the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire (4th-12th century). Monuments and technology, economy and communication” was developed by Ewald Kislinger and Andreas Külzer (both from Vienna) and is based on a cooperation of researchers of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM) in Mainz², the University of Vienna³ and the Austrian Academy of Sciences; project supervisor is Falko Daim, Director General of the RGZM⁴. The project focuses on the coastline from Dalmatia via the Aegean Sea to the western Black Sea and the Danube delta. Based on an analysis of all available sources and archaeological evidence, the aim is a complete survey of the coastal towns, bays and estuaries documented in these regions for the period 300-1204 AD; this should make possible differentiations with regard to the respective local significance of harbours for regional communication as well as for long-distance trade. Due to the cooperation between Mainz and Vienna, also the material of the renowned long term-project “*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*” (TIB)⁵ can be used in order to document for the first time systematically the medieval port places of the Balkans and to analyse them within the wider European context of the SPP 1630⁶.

The project will use the well-established methodological toolkit of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* for the survey of the historical and monumental evidence in order to augment the data basis of the already existing volumes of the TIB. At the same time, we intend to combine this information with digital geo-data both from published material (in print and online) as well as from own exploring voyages in the region; on this basis, modern tools of *Geographical Information Systems* (GIS) can be used for the analysis of maritime sites and transport systems⁷. Within the TIB-project, Mihailo Popović has introduced these methods over the last years in a pioneering way; he is preparing the volume on “Macedonia, Northern Part” (TIB Vol. 16, today

* Email: Johannes.Preiser-Kapeller@oeaw.ac.at; Website: <http://oeaw.academia.edu/JohannesPreiserKapeller>.

1. Cf. <http://www.spp-haefen.de/en/home/>.
2. <http://web.rgzm.de/>.
3. <http://www.byzneo.univie.ac.at/>.
4. <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/die-abteilungen/byzanzforschung/>.
5. Cf. cf. <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/die-abteilungen/byzanzforschung/communities-landscapes/historische-geographie/>.
6. An extended outline of the project can be found here: <http://www.spp-haefen.de/en/projects/byzantine-harbours-on-the-balkan-coasts/>.
7. For an overview on GIS and GIS-tools cf. Kappas 2011; Conolly, Lake 2006; Chapman 2006; Gregory, Ell 2007. For an exemplary application of these tools for an archaeological-historical case study in the Aegean see now Bevan, Conolly 2013. These tools are therefore well established in archaeology and some fields of historical studies, less so in Byzantine studies; thus, we will describe also standard-instruments in greater detail on the following pages. On this issue cf. also Popovic 2012a, 255-69, and the project “GIS of Byzantium” in Mainz for an overview of such activities in the field: <http://web.rgzm.de/1699.html>.

FYROM and south-western Bulgaria), thus a region without access to the sea⁸. The aim of the present paper is a demonstration of the explanatory value of instruments of GIS as well as of network analysis on various levels for research on maritime sites, regions and networks with three short case studies, in order to illustrate the potential of our approach within Byzantine maritime studies. These three case studies have been selected from regions within the modern borders of Greece (respectively apart from the last one), which is the area of responsibility of the author of this paper in the above mentioned project.

Spatial analysis of harbour sites: the case of Bonditza

While archaeological evidence under water hints at an utilisation of settlement and harbour already in the early Byzantine period⁹, the name of Bonditza (38°55'23.04"N; 20°52'53.05"E) at the Ambrakian Gulf first appears in Byzantine sources under Emperor Leon VI (886-912), when it was registered as first ranking bishopric of the Metropolis of Naupaktos¹⁰. The increasing significance of the harbour made it a target of the Normans, who conquered and plundered Bonditza in 1081; in the winter of 1084/1085, a part of the Norman army took quarters in the region¹¹. Equally, in the Byzantine-Venetian treaties of 1082, 1147 and 1187, the site is mentioned as a single harbour of interest for the Venetians in the region besides Kerkyra¹². Also the Arab traveller al-Idrīsī registered *B-nd-sa* in the middle of the 12th century as fortified town¹³. During the Comnenian period, a fortress was constructed in the northwest of the modern settlement and to the south of the harbour; an exterior line of walls reached the coastline to the west as well as to the east of the harbour. Later construction phases of the fortress date from the Ottoman and Venetian period¹⁴. After 1204, Bonditza became part of the exile realm of Epirus and remained a significant settlement in the late medieval period¹⁵. Also, later portolans registered the harbour: the Greek Portolan II in the edition of Delatte (16th century) calls *Bonitza* a portokalo between Ambrakia (in a distance of 20 miles) and the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf (in a distance of 12 miles) respectively Prebeza¹⁶. Also, in the Portolan of Bernadino Rizo (1490) the *chastelo de la boldoniza* is registered as a harbour at the route along the Southern coast line of the Ambracian Gulf in the direction of Arta¹⁷. Equally modern sailing companions highlight the quality of the easily accessible harbour, the good supply of drinking water and further anchorage grounds to the west of the town¹⁸. Sources of the 14th-15th century mention Bonditza and its hinterland as source of salt and fish as well as hunting ground¹⁹. Routes on land led from Bonditza to the northwest in the direction of Pre-

8. Cf. for instance Popovic, Jubanski 2010, 55-87; Popovic 2012b, 165-80, and especially his professorial dissertation: Popovic (forthcoming). See also online: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/die-abteilungen/byzanzforschung/communities-landscapes/historische-geographie/past-landscapes-future-methods/> and <http://oeaw.academia.edu/MihailoPopovic>.

9. Spondyles 1993, 588; Veikou 2012, 103-4, 514-6. This evidence needs further surveys.

10. Darrouzes 1981, Notitiae 7, 576. 9, 447. 10, 532. 13, 582. 21, 1511; Soustal, Koder 1981, 54, 84-7; Lauffer 1989, 708. Kislinger 2009,

11. Annae Comnenae Alexias, VI, 6, 1 (179, l. 45); Mathieu 196, 214, 246; Soustal, Koder 1981, 56-7; Lauffer 1989, 708; Kislinger 2009, 129-30, 143.

12. Tafel, Thomas 1964, I 52 (Nr. 23), 118 (Nr. 51), 184 (Nr. 70); Pozza, Ravegnani 1993, 40 (Nr. 2, 8); Dölger 1924-1965, Reg. 1081, 1365, 1576, 1647; Soustal, Koder 1981, 56; Lilie 1984, 52-3, 55, 63, 182; Kislinger 2009, 515.

13. Nedkov 1960, 51; Veikou 2012, 515.

14. Soustal, Koder 1981, 128; Smyres 2001, 129; Veikou 2012, 514-5.

15. Nicol 1957, 19; Soustal, Koder 1981, 128; Asonites, Synkellou 2010, 70.

16. Delatte 1947, 12-4.

17. Kretschmer 1909, 505.

18. Mittelmeer-Handbuch 1954, 121-2; Heikel 1982, 42; Radspieler 2011, 70.

19. Asonites, Synkellou 2010, 72-3, 76.

beza, to the southwest in the direction of Leukas, to the south in the direction of Zaberda and to the east via Drymos in the region of the Lake of Ambrakia inland²⁰.

For a first spatial analysis of the site and hinterland of Bonditza, we created a *Digital Elevation Model* (DEM)²¹ with the help of the data from the ASTER-programme (*Advanced Spaceborne Thermal Emission and Reflection Radiometer*, 1999). This data is freely accessible online²² and has a resolution of 30 m, which allows for a detailed enough DEM for further analysis²³. GIS-software (we used the proprietary package ArcGIS 10.1* as well as the open source-product QuantumGIS 1.8.0*) enables us to calculate the slope (the maximum rate of change of the elevation at a given location) for the DEM as well as to add contour lines (in our case, at a distance of 30 m to each other) and the hill shade (a shaded relief from the surface raster under consideration of the illumination source angle and shadows)²⁴. The result provides a fairly good impression of the spatial situation of Bonditza, located in a plain rising to the south and confined by higher elevations to the west and especially to the east (fig. 1).

In order to estimate the actual spatial extent of the hinterland accessible from the harbour and possibly exploited by its inhabitants within a reasonable stretch of way ("site catchment"), a common tool is the creation of a *cost-of-passage map*, which indicates the cost of travelling across a terrain from a point of origin on the basis of the DEM²⁵. In our map, yellow colours indicate regions accessible from the harbour of Bonditza within one hour of footway (ca. 5km in flat area), orange colours within two hours (10km in flat area) and red colours within three hours and beyond (15km in flat area and more) (fig. 2). Clearly, the relatively easy accessibility of the plain to the south and the complexity of the elevated terrain to the west and to the east become visible and quantifiable. Within a distance of seven hours of footway, an area of approx. 4,900 hectares (including the plain as well as part of the elevated regions) was accessible according to our model, which seems to be a sufficient territorial basis for a central place of at least local and also regional significance, as envisaged in our sources²⁶.

For the purpose of actual control and of defence, the potential to overview an area from a site has been identified as central issue; the tool of *view shed-analysis* enables us to calculate what features are visible from a specific point of view at a specific height in a specific distance²⁷. On the basis of our DEM, we executed such a view shed-analysis from the harbour site of Bonditza, assuming an observer at 10 m height (standing on a tower or on the mast top of a larger ship) and calculated her or his range of vision at a distance of 5 km (at which the movements of a larger group of people, for instance, would still have been observable on land). As the result illustrates, the view would have been free within the bay of Bonditza towards the sea, but very limited to the inland with the exception of some higher elevations (fig. 3). As we have seen, a fortress was erected on a hill to the south of the harbour in the Comnenian period; so we executed a second view shed calculation from that fortress, again up to a distance of 5 km (fig. 4). The comparison with the results of the first view shed-analysis demonstrates that the fortress allowed for a much wider view on the hinterland and also possible approaches from the west (in this period,

20. Soustal, Koder 1981, 94, and map.

21. Cf. Kappas 2011, 131-8; Conolly, Lake 2006, 100-1.

22. Cf. for instance: <http://gdem.ersdac.jspacesystems.or.jp/index.jsp>.

23. On ASTER-data see Kappas 2011, 137.

24. Kappas 2011, 133-4; Conolly, Lake 2006, 193-7; Chapman 2006, 82-5.

25. Conolly, Lake 2006, 215-25.

26. For an overview on models for settlements and their hinterland in Byzantium cf. Mitsiou 2010, 223-40.

27. Conolly, Lake 2006, 225-33; Chapman 2006, 83-5.

the most probable direction of access of enemies such as the Normans, for instance) both via land and sea.

The well-established tools of Historical and Archaeological GIS thus allow us to set a harbour site into its wider spatial context, to estimate its actual range of usage of resources and of control within the hinterland and even to simulate the potential impact of structural alterations such as the building of the fortress as in our case study. Any in-depth analysis of the functionality of Byzantine port sites and their complex interplay with the hinterland (one of the central aims of our project) therefore has to take into account the potential of these methods.

A regional maritime network: the Ambrakian Gulf

A port site such as Bonditza of course cannot be analysed in isolation, but has to be embedded in a survey of the regional traffic systems it was a part of. The Ambrakian Gulf constitutes a special case of an “enclosed sea”, connected to the open (Ionian) sea and wider ranging maritime routes only via a narrow channel (today the channel of Prebeza). The Gulf now covers an area of ca. 500 km², but used to be significantly larger in earlier periods; the deposits of the rivers Arachthos and Louros contributed to a most significant process of aggradation at the northern coast of the Gulf, where the coastline used to be up to more than 10km to the north of the present one still in Late Antiquity. At the same time, the sea level rose at the southern coast, where structures from the early Byzantine period lay now under water in the case of Bonditza, as we have seen²⁸. This different character of the coastal areas of the Ambrakian Gulf becomes also clearly visible in our DEM (which we created for the entire region again on the basis of the 30m ASTER-data, see above), where we can identify the large alluvial deposits to the north and the more mountainous character of the eastern and southern coasts (fig. 5). This difference is of course also reflected in the cost-of-passage map, which we calculated for passages along the entire coast of the Gulf to the inland for a footway of up to 6-7 hours (which would be a distance of up to 30 km on completely flat ground): while the terrain made it possible to reach the important cities of Arta and Rogoi to the north (and from there to travel onwards to inland centres, such as Ioannina) in this time from the present coastline (not taking into account that the Arachthos was used for boat trips up to Arta until the late Byzantine period²⁹), quick movement inland was much more constricted to the south and the east (fig. 6). This provides also one possible background to the replacement of Bonditza by Arta as regional centre from the middle to the late medieval period³⁰.

Similarly, the view shed-analysis (using the same parameters as for the case of Bonditza) illustrates the wider range of view to the hinterland (as important aspect of control and defence) for the port sites at the northern coast (fig. 7). Interestingly, the view shed-analysis also allows us to identify a continuous line of view between port sites from Bonditza to the north across the entire Gulf due to an overlap of the 5km-zones of view used for the calculation, equally from the island of Kephalos also to the west towards the mouth of the Gulf and the site of Prebeza, thus including the most important zones of transit within the Gulf.

In order to evaluate the relevance of the sites around the Ambrakian Gulf for regional traffic, we created a network model of sites (serving as “nodes”) and routes on land and on sea (serving as “links”) for the regions of Epirus and Thessaly in

28. Veikou 2012, 28-37 and maps 2-6; Anastasakis, Piper, Tzianos 2007, 27-44.

29. Soustal, Koder 1981, 116 (s. v. Artaspotamos).

30. Soustal, Koder 1981, 113-5.

the Byzantine period³¹. We based our network model on the scheme for the systems of routes both on land and sea in the Byzantine period as developed in the respective volumes of the *TIB*³², regardless of the relative significance of the respective routes in various periods of Late Antiquity and Byzantine history. At the same time, the model neither takes into account the actual distance nor travel costs between localities. Therefore, it is only a first rough approximation towards a more accurate model of the Byzantine transport system in its dynamics through centuries; a further refinement on the basis of an integration of more sophisticated tools of GIS and of DEMs for these regions is intended³³. Still, the network model provides a first view on the topology and structure of this traffic system and allows us to determine the relative centrality of sites as nodal points within the network³⁴.

In total, the network consists of 152 nodes and 289 links (fig. 8). We calculated three common network centrality measures:

- Degree; degree simply measures the number of links of a node (in our case, the number of routes leading from one site directly to other sites) in absolute (or relative) numbers³⁵.
- Closeness; closeness centrality measures the length of all paths³⁶ between a node and all other nodes. The more central a node is, the lower is its total distance to all other nodes. Closeness can also be used as a measure of how long it would take to spread resources or information from a node to all other nodes³⁷.
- Betweenness; betweenness centrality measures the extent to which a node lies on paths between other nodes and indicates the relative significance of a node as “intermediary” within a network due to its position on many (or few) possible shortest routes between other nodes³⁸.

We visualised this network of sites and routes on a map and sized nodes (= sites) according to their respective centrality values in order to identify more and less central nodes. The result for degree shows the sites along the Ambrakian Gulf (together with other harbours) among the most central ones, reflecting their combination of terrestrial connectivity with the maritime ones in contrast to localities inland (fig. 9). The visualisation of the calculations of closeness centrality shows differences between nodes less clearly (fig. 10); but if we visualise only the 60 nodes with the highest closeness values and the links between them (fig. 11), we detect the sites around the Ambrakian Gulf as elements within a “backbone” of routes within the entire model from which all other nodes can be reached with the smallest number of steps; it connects the sea in the west to the inland regions in the north (up to Ioannina) and across the Pindos-Mountains to Thessaly in the east. Furthermore, also the results for betweenness centrality (fig. 12) highlight the central position of the Ambrakian Gulf region within the network model of routes in Epirus and Thessaly, especially of the site of Arta, which has the second highest betweenness

31. For transport networks see Rodrigue, Comptois, Slack 2013, 307-17. For network models in Archaeological GIS cf. Gorenflo, Bell 1991, 80-98; Conolly, Lake 2006, 234-52. For the application of network analysis in Byzantine studies in general and an overview on tools and concepts cf. Preiser (forthcoming). For case studies see: Preiser-Kapeller 2012b, 381-93; Preiser-Kapeller 2012a, 69-127; Preiser-Kapeller 2012c (all three papers online: <http://oeaw.academia.edu/JohannesPreiserKapeller/Papers>).

See also online: <http://oeaw.academia.edu/TopographiesofEntanglements> (with further samples and visualisations). On historical network analysis in general see: Lemerrier 2012, 16-41.

32. Soustal, Koder 1981; Koder, Hild 1978.

33. For a much more sophisticated model for the region of Lycia see for instance Graßhoff, Mittenhuber 2009; cf. also Conolly, Lake 2006, 252-262; Gaffney, Gaffney 2010, 79-91; Popovic, Jubanski 2010.

34. For a similar study, cf. Isaksen 2008, (<http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/204515/>) and Preiser-Kapeller 2012b.

35. Cf. also Conolly, Lake 2006, 241-2.

36. Path length counts the number of steps necessary to get from one node to another one within the network; if node A is connected to node B and node B to node C, the path length from A to C is two, for instance.

37. De Nooy, Mrvar, Batagelj 2005, 127-8.

38. Wasserman, Faust 1994, 188-92; De Nooy, Mrvar, Batagelj 2010, 131-3. Newman 2010, 185-93.

value of all 152 nodes in the network. The Ambrakian Gulf as distinct and at the same time central region within the network model becomes also visible, if we apply the Newman algorithm, a procedure which helps to identify clusters of nodes which are more densely connected with each other than with the rest of the network³⁹: we detect the Ambrakian cluster in the centre between five other regional clusters to the north, east and south (fig. 13).

Finally, with the help of statistical analysis, we can inspect the distribution of centrality measures among all nodes⁴⁰; such frequency distributions for degree values (fig. 14) or betweenness values (fig. 15) allow us to detect hierarchies and ranks of settlements (also comparable with the well-established concept of central place hierarchies developed by Walter Christaller, as I demonstrated in an earlier paper⁴¹) and thereby sites, which are central to a similar amount. Port sites which are structurally similar can thus be identified and compared across regions, again significantly contributing to the main analytical aims of our project⁴².

A complex maritime network: ancient port sites in the Aegean

An important purpose of a comprehensive survey as intended in our project is also the reconstruction of transport systems for an entire over-regional traffic zone at large. Such a maritime “macro-region” could be defined for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara, including ports at the European as well as Asian coasts and on the islands. In order to develop a model of maritime connectivity for these areas (which we will present in short in the following paragraph along with some first results), we used the *Geodatabase of Ancient Ports and Harbors* created by A. de Graauw and since 2013 integrated in the *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilization* of Harvard University⁴³. This database includes names (often hypothetical), localisations and geo-data for all ports and landing sites documented in ancient sources up to Late Antiquity. We extracted all sites located within the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara, a total of 791 localities. These sites we converted into a point layer, which we projected onto a map of the area (fig. 16). Then we used the Delaunay-triangulation tool of Quantum GIS, which connects all points within a layer with its nearest neighbours⁴⁴; from the emerging network, we deleted those connections leading across land or spanning distances beyond 100 km (as a maximum distance covered by a ship on one day at this time)⁴⁵. We extracted the data from Quantum GIS and transformed it into a network matrix, which could be further used for network analytical calculations with the software tools *ORA** and *Pajek**⁴⁶.

39. Newman 2010, 371-82.

40. Cf. also Albert, Barabasi 2002, 48-97.

41. Preiser- Kapeller, Mitsiou 2010, 245-308 (online:<http://www.byzsym.org/index.php/bz/article/view/993/937>). For port hierarchies cf. also Schörle 2011, 93-106.

42. The cities of Arta and of Demetrias at the Pagasetic Gulf are both under the top nodes with regard to their betweenness values, for instance, and while Arta is not directly at the sea, both sites have a similar structural position as intermediary between maritime and terrestrial connections in our model.

43. De Graauw et al., 2013-2, MA 2013, 02138. As Andreas Külzer (Vienna) has shown exemplary for the Aegean coast of Thrace, for instance, this database includes a certain amount of controversial or even wrong localisations, especially due to the (sometimes outdated) literature used for its creation; still, for our model as developed for this paper not the exact position of sites is essential (as would be the case for view-shed or cost-distance analyses), but their relative distribution and density, since we (as in the case above) use a topological network model. Our project group is also in contact with A. de Graauw (whose work by all means is admirable), who has shown strong interest in possible modifications of his data emerging from our research as well as earlier results of the *TIB*.

44. Cf. Kappas 2011, 82-7.

45. Cf. Kislinger 2010, 149-74 (with an average distance of 85 km for one day of journey); cf. also Pryor 1992, 25-101.

46. For *ORA**:<http://www.casos.cs.cmu.edu/projects/ora/software.php>. On *Pajek* see: De Nooy, Mrvar, Batagelj 2005. For maritime networks cf. also Ducruet, Zaidi 2012, 151-68.

Thereby, we created a next neighbourhood network for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara, consisting of 791 nodes (=sites) and 2,188 links (= routes from one site to another) (fig. 17)⁴⁷. In this model, all port sites are connected with all neighbouring sites within a certain distance, thereby simulating a mode of commerce and transport based on ships travelling from one port to the next one, following the model of *cabotage*⁴⁸. As in the case of Epirus and Thessaly (see above), the network is of course a very simplified model which only takes into account the relative position of nodes in space⁴⁹. Still, the network again allows for some interesting insights into the emergence of hierarchies of ports or preferred routes on the background of local and regional maritime connectivity.

In a similar way as for the Epirus and Thessaly-network, we calculated the three common centrality measures of degree, closeness and betweenness (see above). In particular, we were interested if the spatial distribution of centrality measures within the network model indicates a significant position of certain traffic zones or of specific routes connecting nodes of relatively high centrality and therefore of higher attraction (as places of destination for commerce, for instance). In order to make such zones clearly visible, we only visualised nodes above a certain threshold of each centrality measure. At the same time, we also inspected the statistical distribution of the frequency of centrality values in order to detect characteristic hierarchies within the entirety of ports.

For the degree values, some regions of a high density of local interconnections and therefore high overall degree values in the model emerge, but not within a larger coherent zone or along a certain route (fig. 18). Also the frequent distribution of degree values follows more the pattern of a “normal distribution”, where values are concentrated to the left and the right of a predominant average value, and not a skewed pattern of distribution, as we observed it in the case of the Epirus and Thessaly-network (fig. 19). The same is true for the distribution of closeness values (fig. 21); yet spatially, the highest closeness centrality values are very much concentrated in a transfer zone in the central Aegean ranging from Thasos to the Cyclades (fig. 20); such a concentration of closeness values could also be expected due to the topology of the next neighbour-network (fig. 24). The betweenness-values in contrast show again a highly skewed distribution pattern as characteristic for many settlement systems (fig. 23). At the same time, sites with high betweenness values are distributed along two main corridors of connection, one leading from the Dardanelles to the Western Aegean south to the Peloponnese and Crete, the other one to the Eastern Aegean south to Rhodes (fig. 22, fig. 25). Interesting enough, this corridors emerging from our model very much concur with the two major maritime traffic routes identified for the Aegean in Byzantine times by Ewald Kislinger, for instance, one leading from Constantinople to the Western Aegean and onwards to Italy (“Route A”) and one leading from Constantinople to the Eastern Aegean and onwards to Syria (“Route B”)⁵⁰. The emergence of such over-regional routes thus could be connected to the overall topological structure of maritime connectivity within the port sites of the Aegean, as reflected in our model. In the future, we intend to augment our network model with such routes in order to analyse their effect on the structural properties of the network⁵¹. In any case, our first results highlight the heuristic value of even such a simple model for the analysis of the complexity of past transport systems.

47. Cf. also Conolly, Lake 2006, 164-66.

48. Cf. Horden, Purcell 2000, 123-70, as well as Wilson 2011 and Arnaud 2011, 33-60 and 61-80 on these issues, as well as Kislinger 2010, for the validity of such a model for the middle Byzantine period.

49. For a more elaborate network model for the Aegean cf. for instance: Knappett, Evans, Rivers 2008, 1009-24.

50. Kislinger 2010, 149-74.

51. Cf. also Arnaud 2005.

Conclusion

The project “Ports and landing places at the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire (4th-12th century). Monuments and technology, economy and communication” aims at a systematic survey of all port sites and landing places documented in the early and high medieval period for these regions. On the basis of a combination of the traditional methodological toolkit of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* with tools of Historical Geographical Information Systems as well as of Network Analysis, a new comprehensive spatial analysis of maritime transport systems of the Byzantine Empire on various scales from the single port site up to over-regional traffic networks will be possible. By executing such analyses for distinct time periods, a survey of the temporal dynamics of harbours and maritime networks and their interdependence with political, economic and ecological changes could be also achieved. Therefore, results of the project will be of relevance both for historical and methodological aspects of the Byzantine maritime history.

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Mapping maritime networks of Byzantium.

Aims and prospects of the project

“Ports and landing places at the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire”

Preiser-Kapeller Johannes*

Abstract:

In 2012, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft granted funding to the major collaborative research focus “Harbours from the Roman Period to the Middle Ages” (SPP-1630) with the aim of interdisciplinary research on the phenomenon of the “harbour”. One of these projects, “Ports and landing places at the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire (4th-12th century). Monuments and technology, economy and communication”, focuses on the coastline from Dalmatia via the Aegean Sea to the western Black Sea and the Danube delta. Based on an analysis of all available sources and archaeological evidence, the aim is a complete survey of the coastal towns, bays and estuaries documented in these regions for the period 300-1204 AD; this should make possible differentiations with regard to the respective local significance of harbours for regional communication as well as for long-distance trade.

The project will use the well-established methodological toolkit of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* for the survey of the historical and monumental evidence in order to augment the data basis of the already existing volumes of the TIB. At the same time, we intend to combine this information with digital geo-data both from published material (in print and online) as well as from own exploring voyages in the region; on this basis, modern tools of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) can be used for the analysis of maritime sites and transport systems. The aim of the present paper is a demonstration of the explanatory value of instruments of GIS as well as of network analysis on various levels for research on maritime sites, regions and networks with three short case studies in order to illustrate the potential of our approach within Byzantine maritime studies. These three case studies have been selected from regions within the modern borders of Greece (respectively beyond for the last one), which is the area of responsibility of the author of this paper in the above mentioned project.

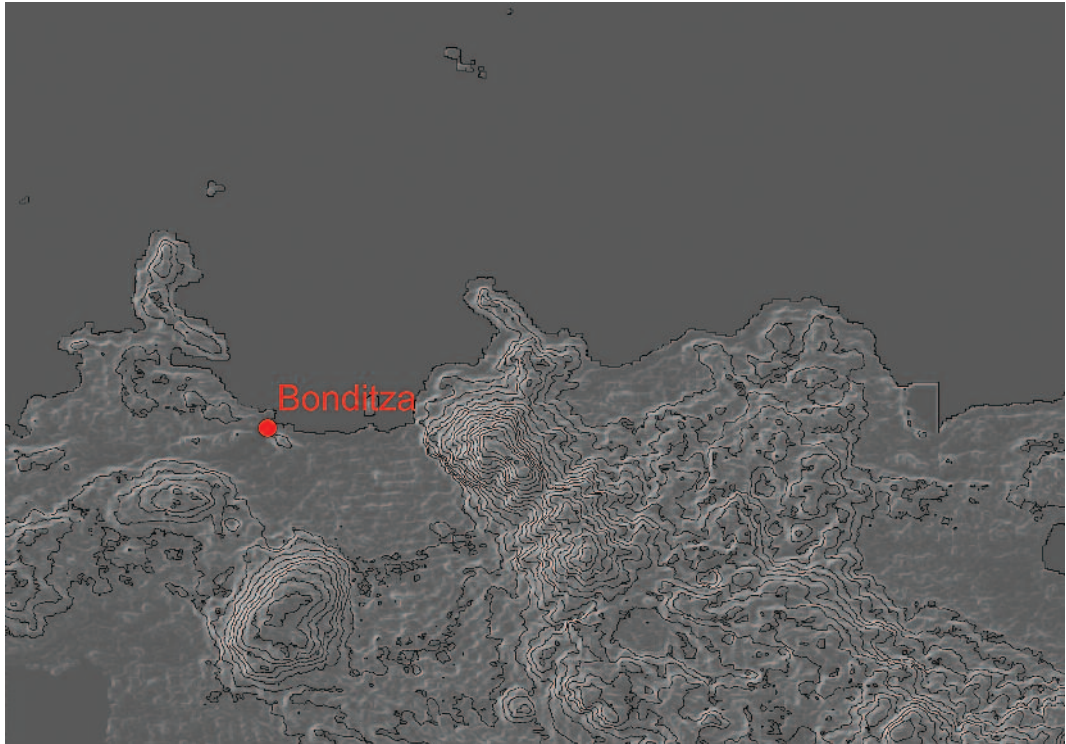


Fig. 1: Digital Elevation Model for the region of Bonditza at the Ambrakian Gulf, created on the basis of ASTER-data (resolution: 30 m) with the help of the software tools ArcGIS 10.1* and QuantumGIS 1.8.0* (scale: 1:100:000; © J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 2: Cost-of-passage map for the region of Bonditza, created on the basis of the Digital Elevation Model with the help of the software tool ArcGIS 10.1* (scale: 1:100:000; © J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013). Yellow colours indicate regions accessible from the harbour of Bonditza within one hour of footway, orange colours within two hours and red colours within three hours and beyond.

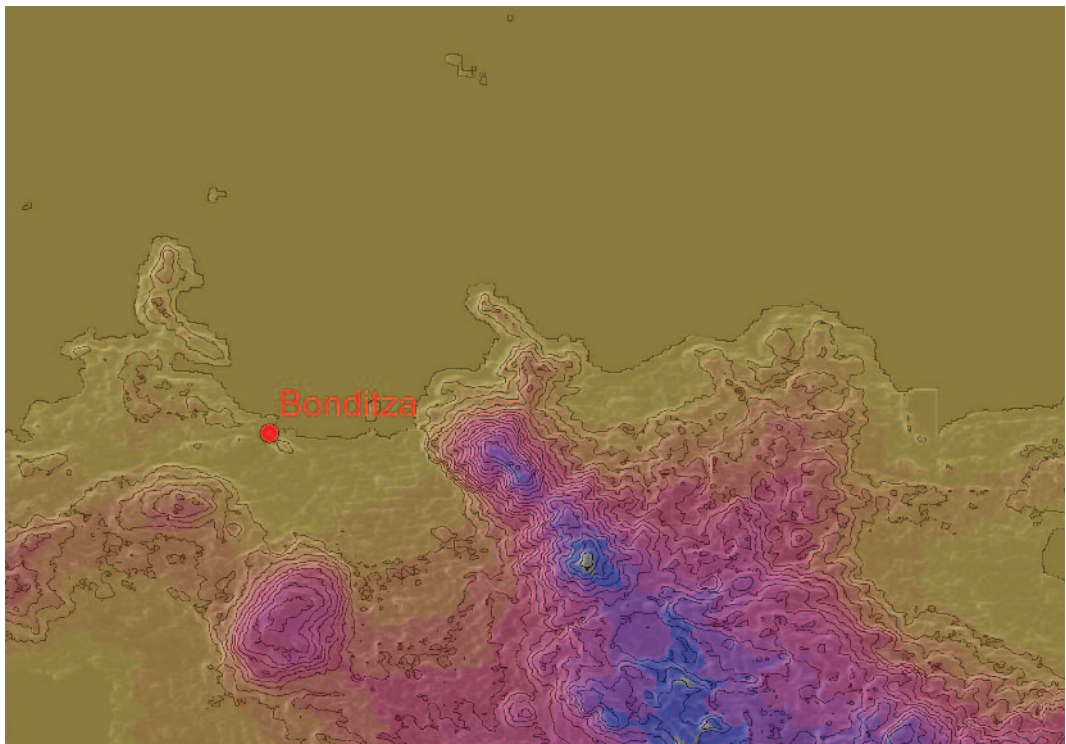




Fig. 3: View shed-analysis from the harbour site of Bonditza, assuming an observer at 10 m height and calculated for a range of vision of 5 km, created on the basis of the Digital Elevation Model with the help of the software tool ArcGIS 10.1* (scale: 1:100:000; © J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 4: View shed-analysis from the fortress of Bonditza, assuming an observer at 10 m height and calculated for a range of vision of 5 km, created on the basis of the Digital Elevation Model with the help of the software tool Arc GIS 10.1* (scale: 1:100:000; © J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

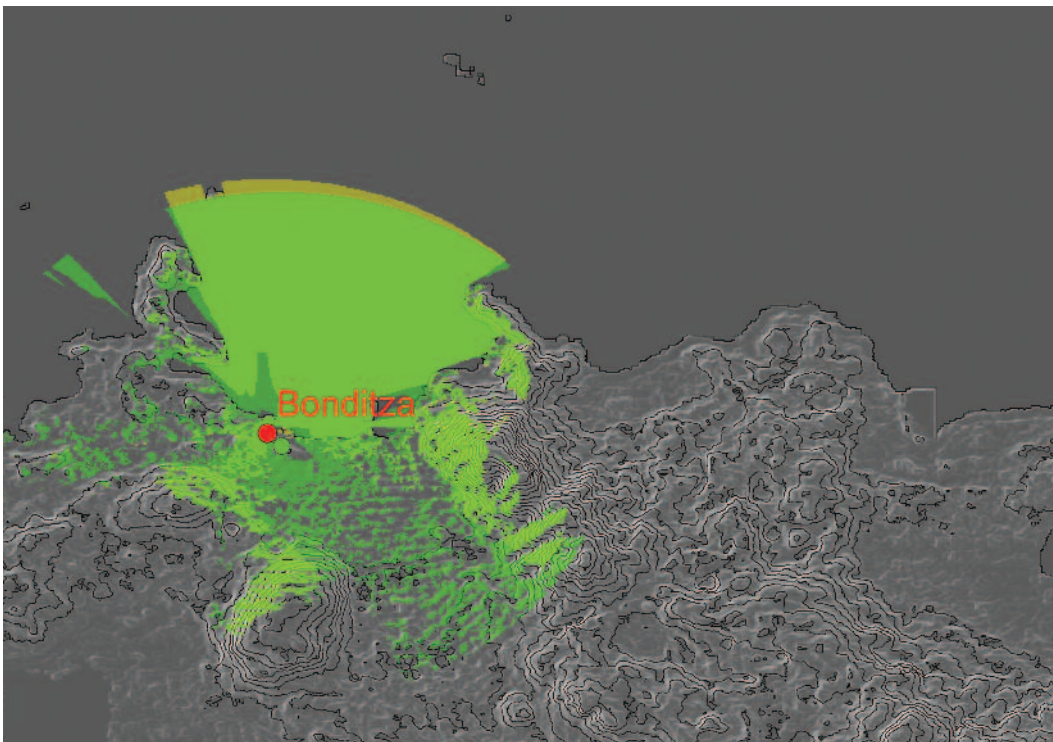




Fig. 5: Digital Elevation Model for the region of the Ambrakian Gulf, created on the basis of ASTER-data (resolution: 30 m) with the help of the software tools ArcGIS 10.1* and QuantumGIS 1.8.0* (scale: 1:400:000; © J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 6: Cost-of-passage map for the region of the Ambrakian Gulf for distances up to a footway of 6 to 7 hours, created on the basis of the Digital Elevation Model with the help of the software tool ArcGIS 10.1* (scale: 1:400:000; © J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

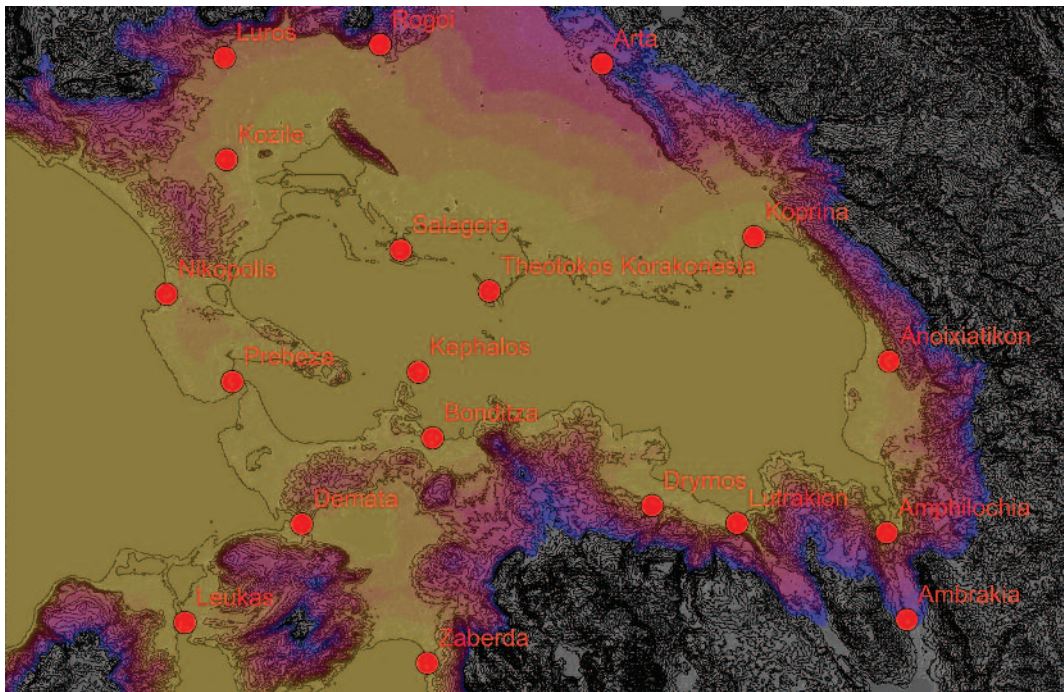
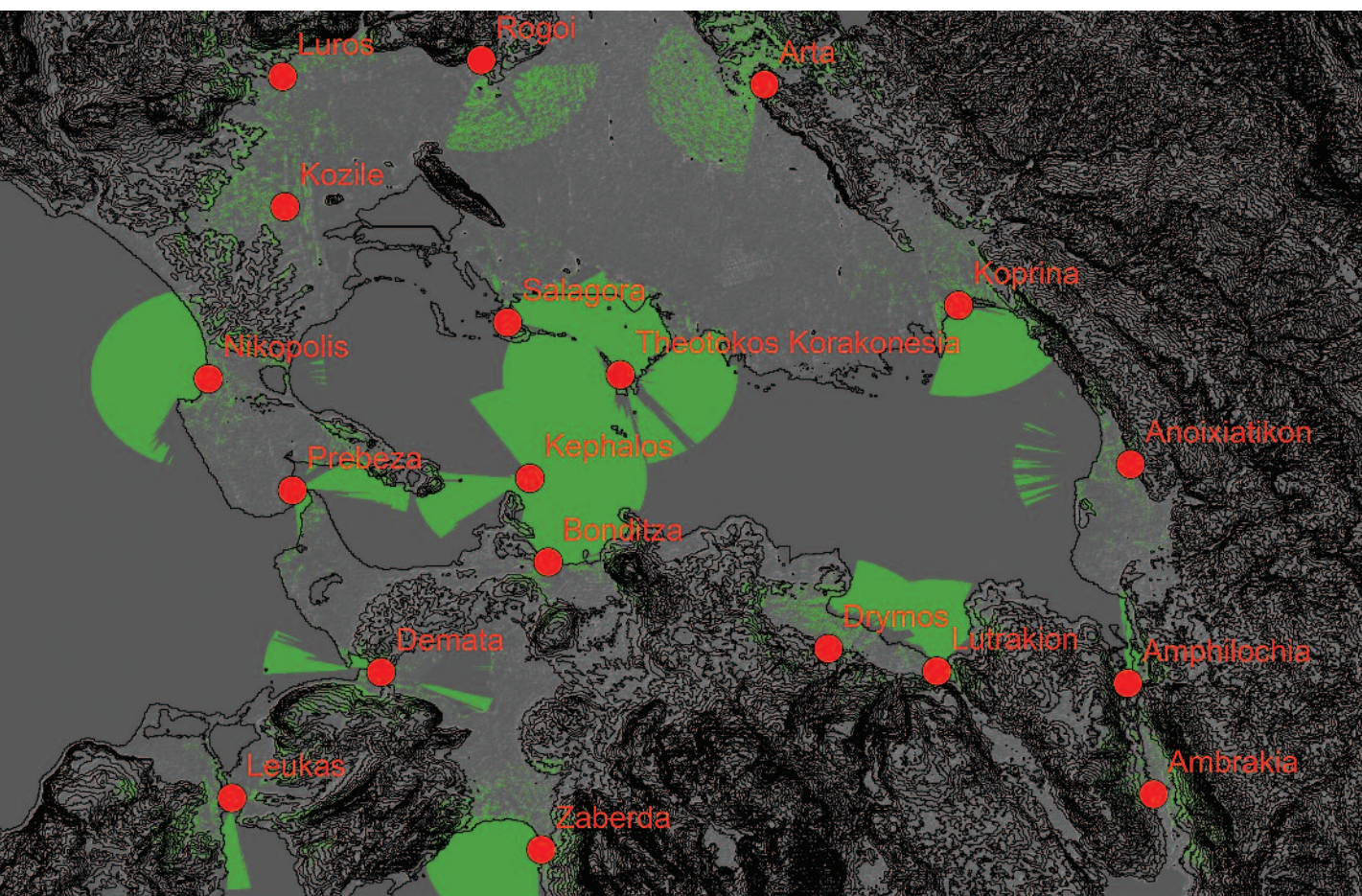


Fig. 7: View shed-analysis from the sites in the region of the Ambrakian Gulf, assuming an observer at 10m height and calculated for a range of vision of 5 km, created on the basis of the Digital Elevation Model with the help of the software tool ArcGIS 10.1* (scale: 1:400:000; © J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



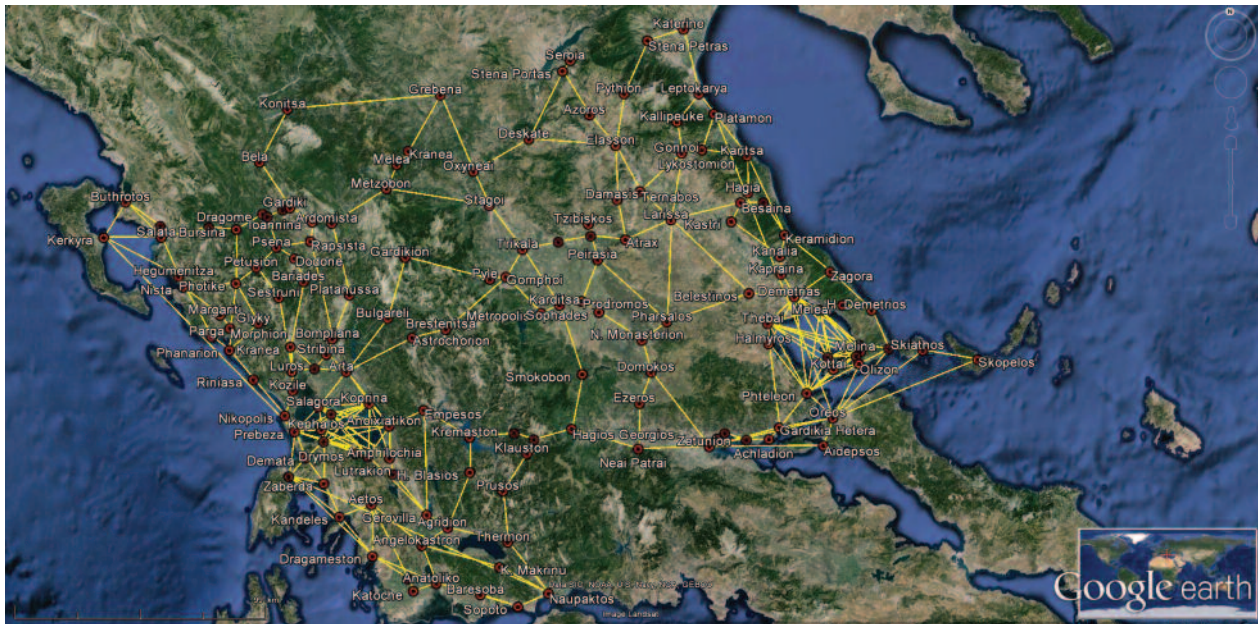
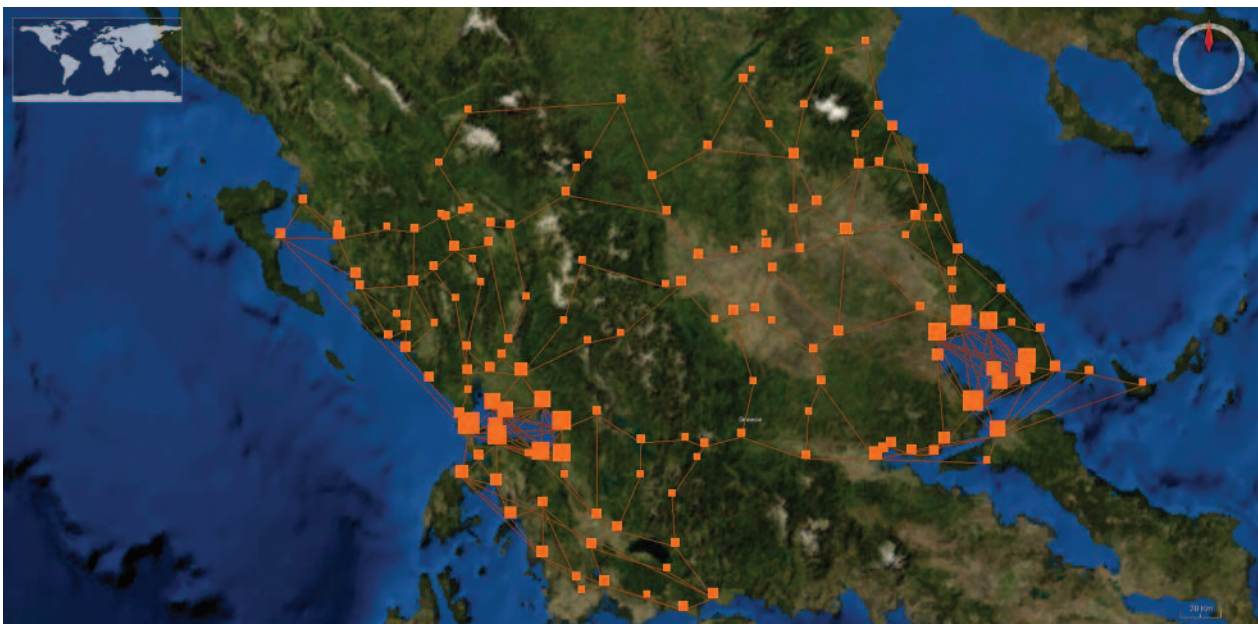


Fig. 8: Topological network model of sites (152) and routes (on land and on sea; 289) for the regions of Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; network created with ORA*; KML-Layers created with QuantumGIS 1.8.0* (map basis: Google Earth; graph by J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 9: Topological network model of sites (152) and routes (on land and on sea; 289) for the regions of Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; network created with ORA*; nodes are sized according to their degree centrality values (©J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



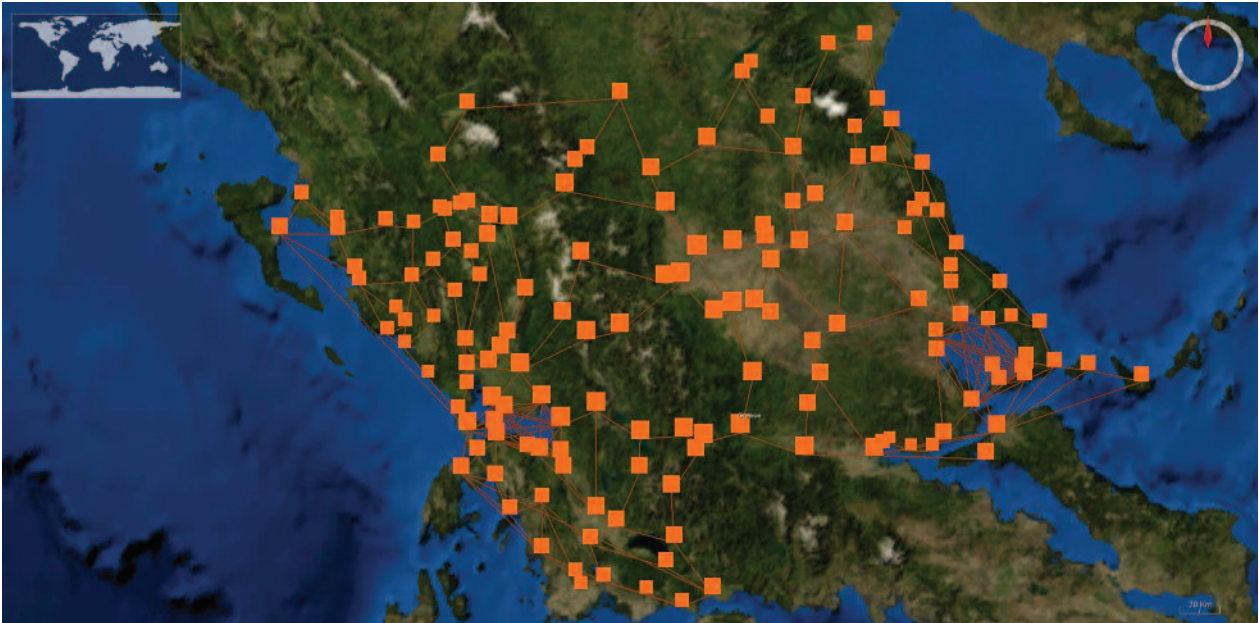


Fig. 10: Topological network model of sites (152) and routes (on land and on sea; 289) for the regions of Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; network created with ORA*: nodes are sized according to their closeness centrality values (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 11: Topological network model of sites (152) and routes (on land and on sea; 289) for the regions of Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; network created with ORA*: visualised are only the 60 nodes with the highest closeness centrality values and the links between them (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



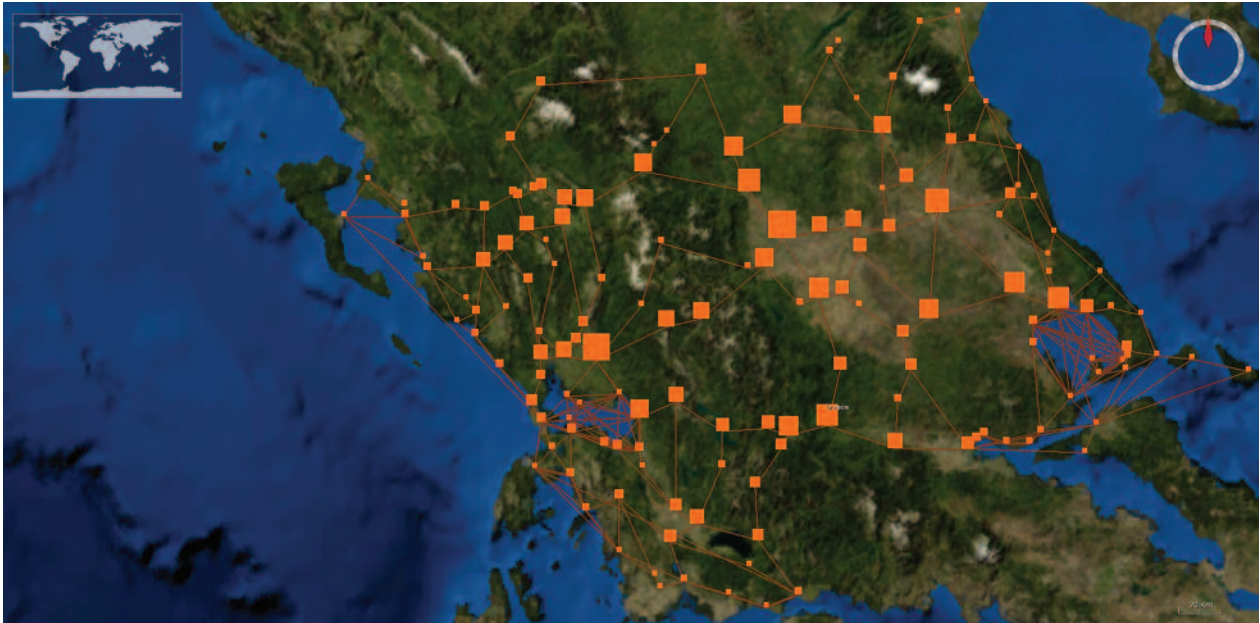


Fig. 12: Topological network model of sites (152) and routes (on land and on sea; 289) for the regions of Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; network created with ORA*: nodes are sized according to their betweenness centrality values (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 13: Topological network model of sites (152) and routes (on land and on sea; 289) for the regions of Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; network created with ORA*: grouping of nodes to regional clusters within the network according to the calculations of the Newman algorithm (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



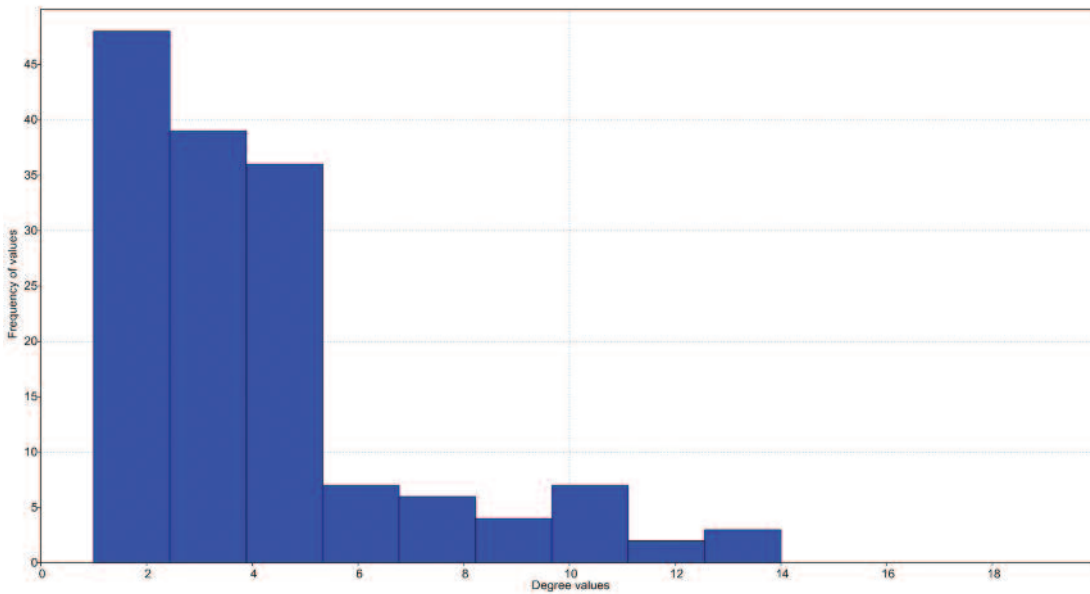


Fig. 14: Frequency distribution of degree centrality values of nodes in the topological model of sites and routes for Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; statistical analysis with the help of the software tool PAST* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 15: Frequency distribution of betweenness centrality values of nodes in the topological model of sites and routes for Epirus and Thessaly in the Byzantine period; statistical analysis with the help of the software tool PAST* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

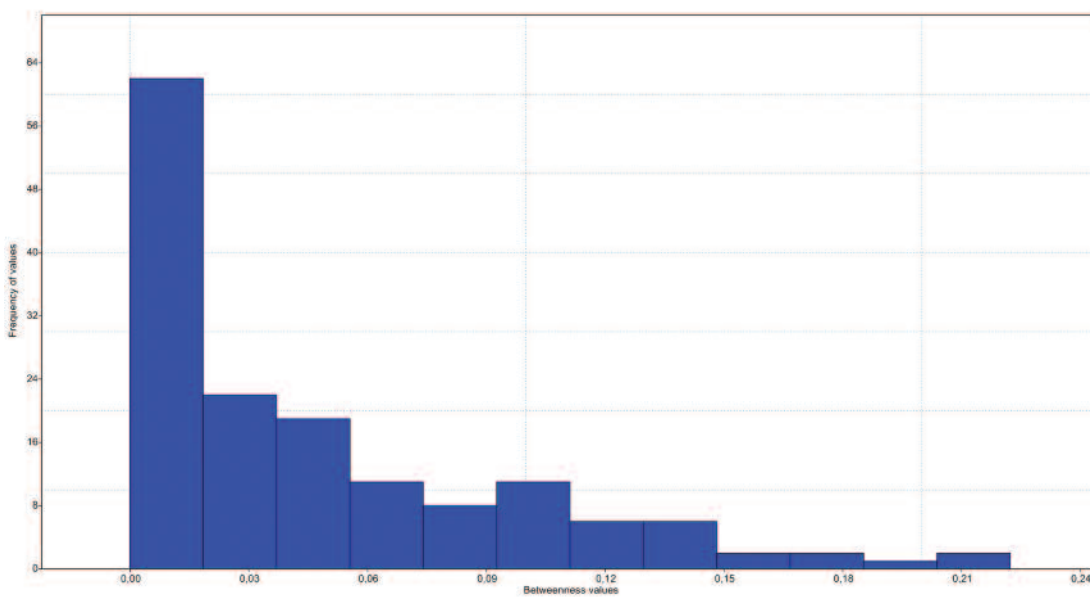




Fig. 16: Visualisation of 791 ports and landing sites documented for Antiquity in the Aegean and in the Sea of Marmara; data from: A. DE GRAAUW et al., Geodatabase of Ancient Ports and Harbors. DARMC Scholarly Data Series, Data Contribution Series # 2013-2. DARMC, Center for Geographic Analysis, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA 2013, 02138. KML-Layer created with Quantum GIS 1.8.0* (mapbasis: Google Earth; graph by J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

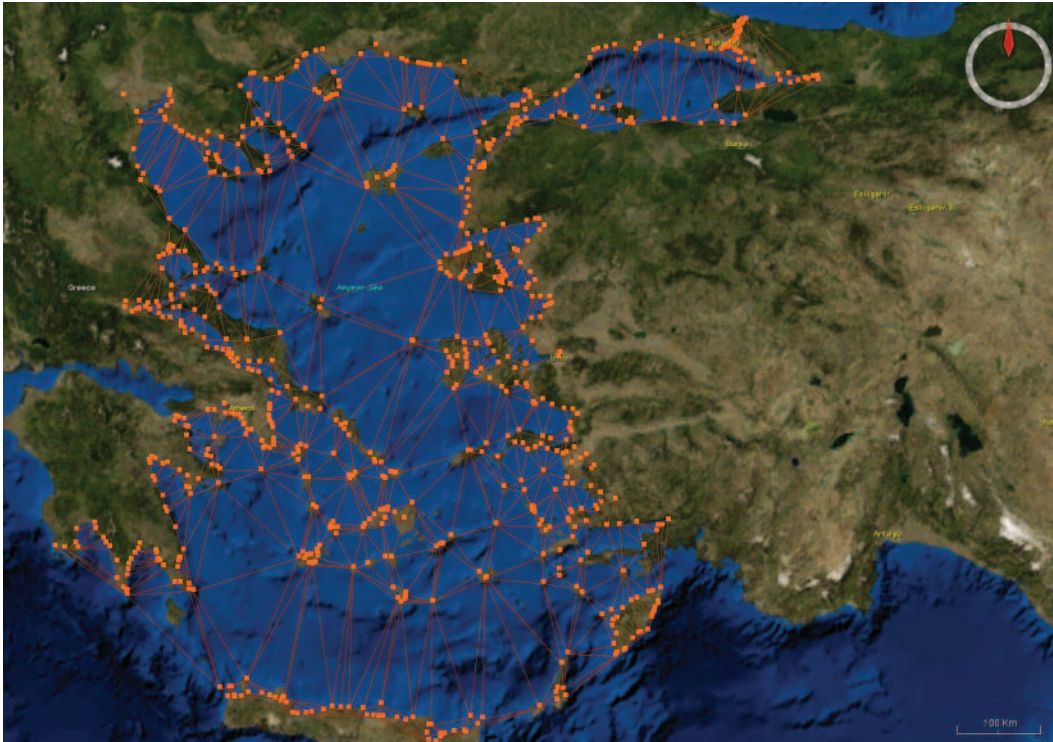
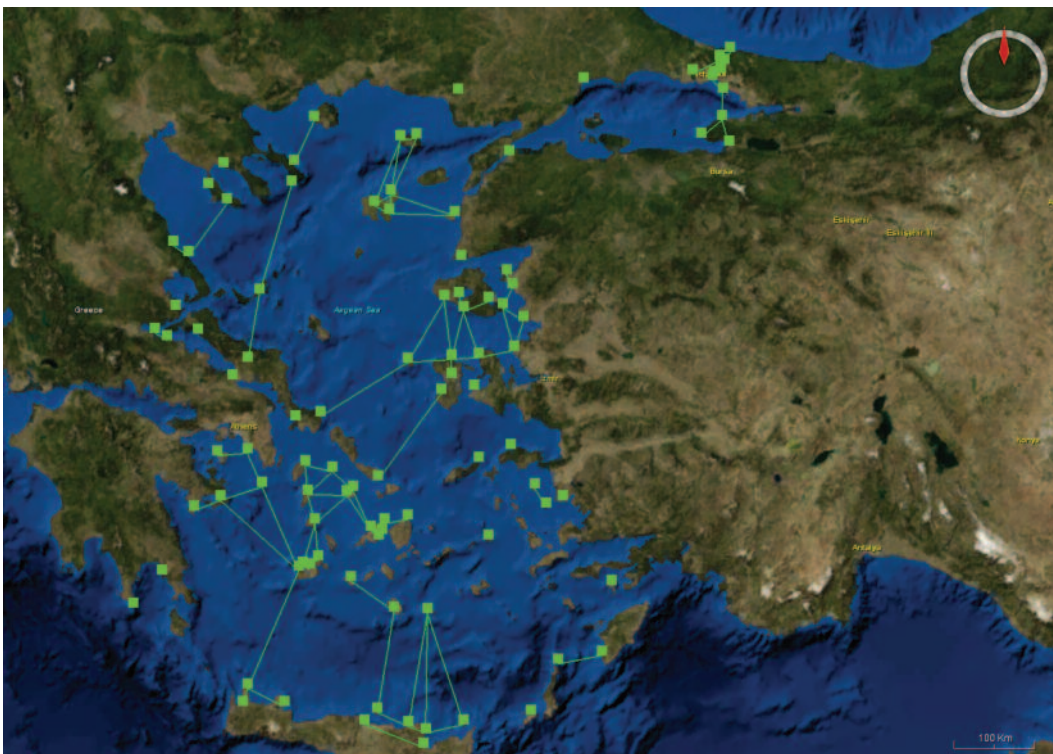


Fig. 17: Topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; network created with ORA* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 18: Topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; visualised are only the 98 nodes with the highest degree centrality values (above a degree value of 7) and the links between them. Network created with ORA* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



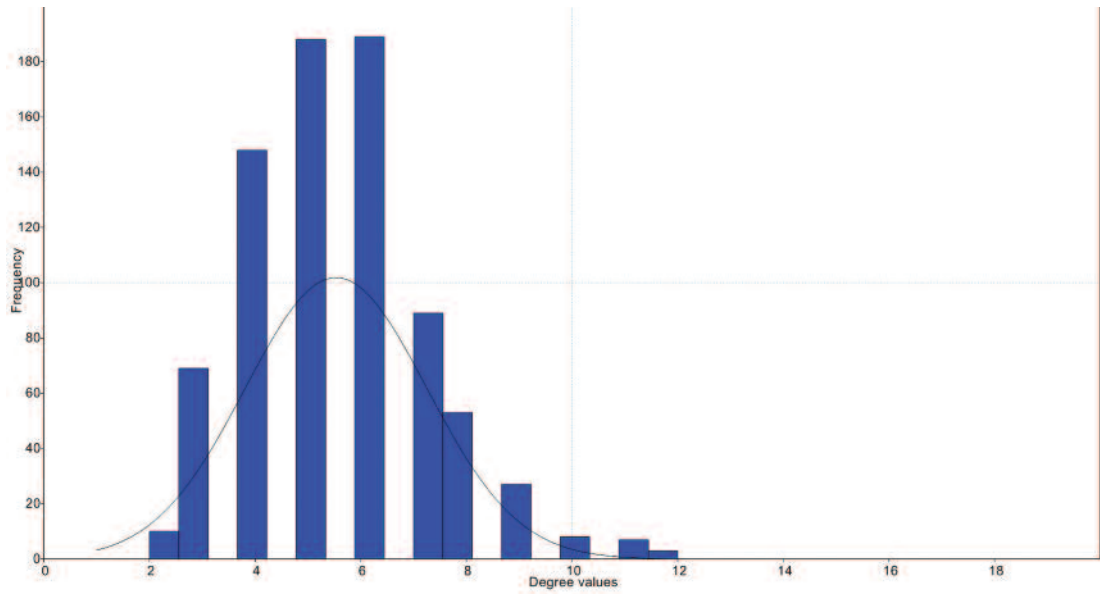
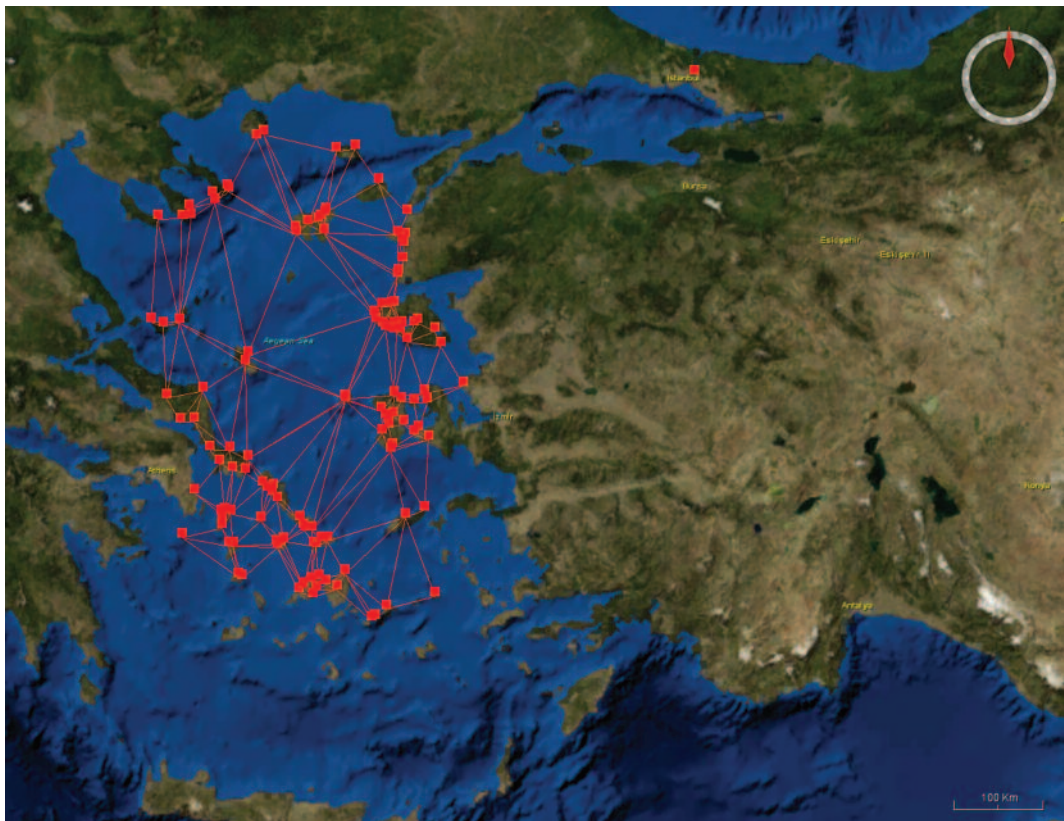


Fig. 19: Frequency distribution of degree centrality values of nodes in the topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; statistical analysis with the help of the software tool PAST* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 20: Topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; visualised are only the 122 nodes with the highest closeness centrality values (above a closeness value of 0.10) and the links between them. Network created with ORA* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



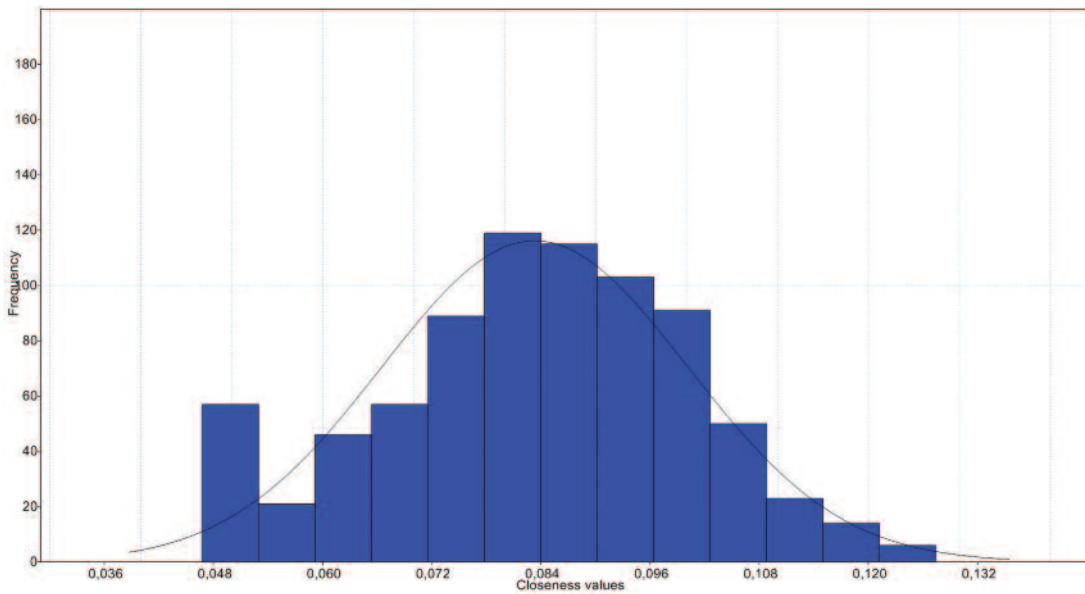
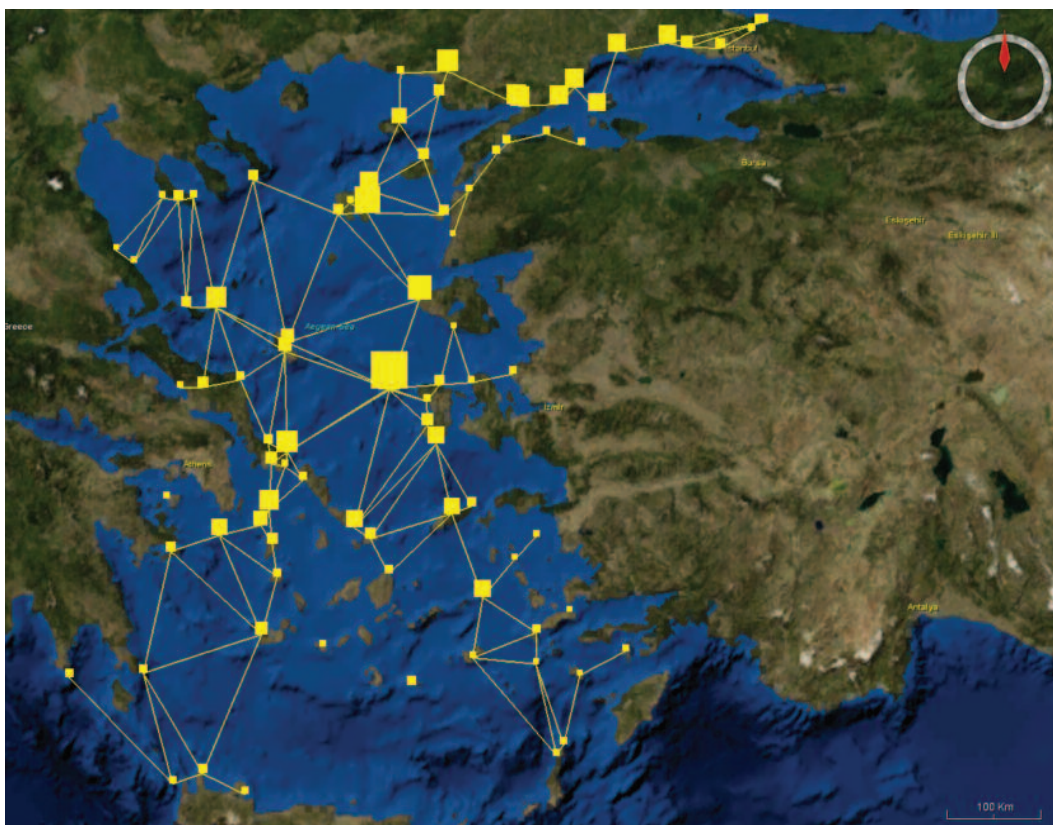


Fig. 21: Frequency distribution of closeness centrality values of nodes in the topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; statistical analysis with the help of the software tool PAST* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 22: Topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; visualised are only the 87 nodes with the highest betweenness centrality values (above a betweenness value of 10,000 [unscaled]; nodes are sized according to their betweenness centrality values) and the links between them. Network created with ORA* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



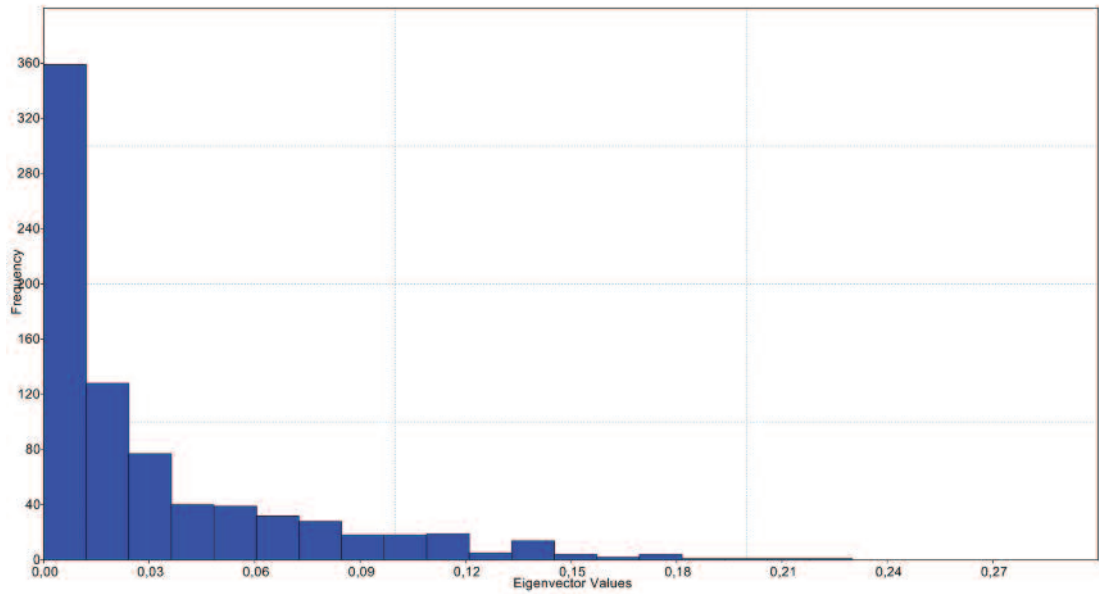
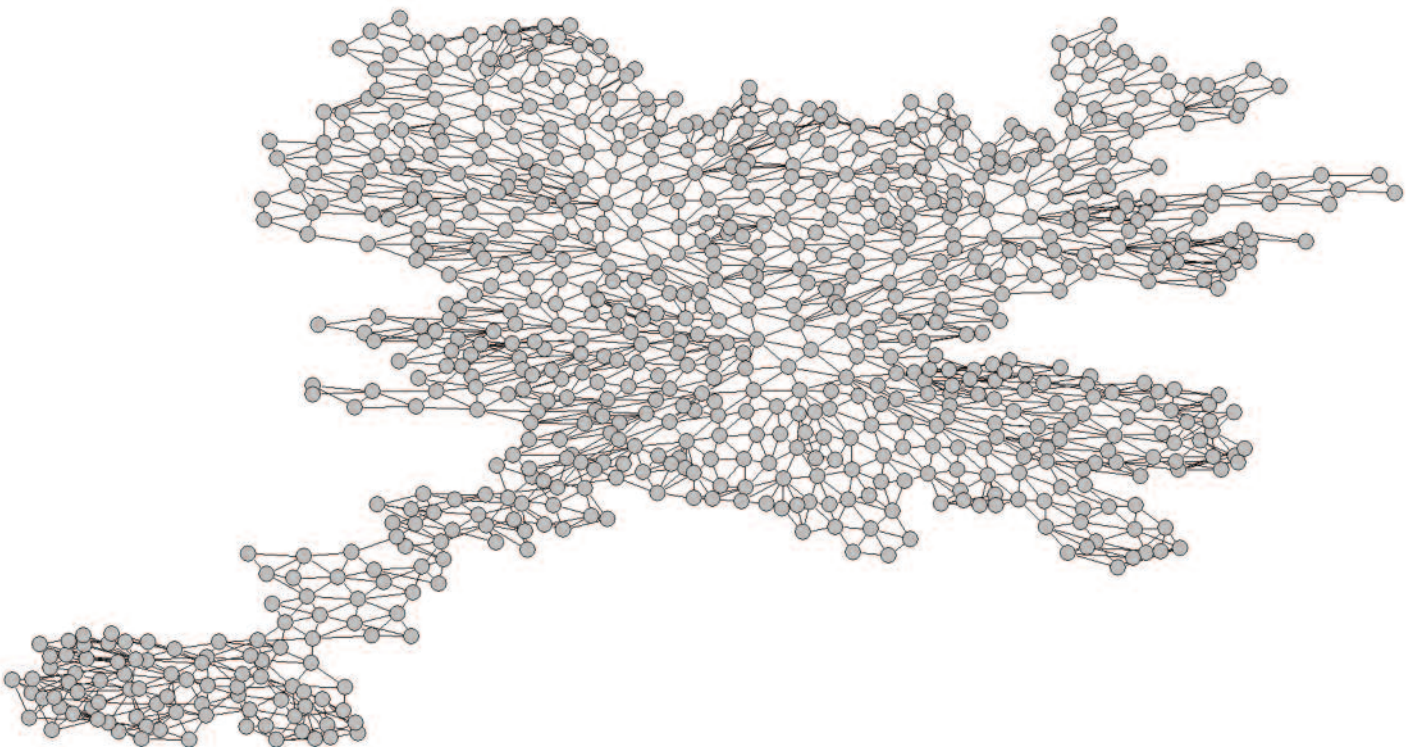


Fig. 23: Frequency distribution of betweenness centrality values of nodes in the topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; statistical analysis with the help of the software tool PAST* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

Fig. 24: Topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; visualisation as network graph with the help of the Kamada-Kawai/separate components-option, created with Pajek* (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).



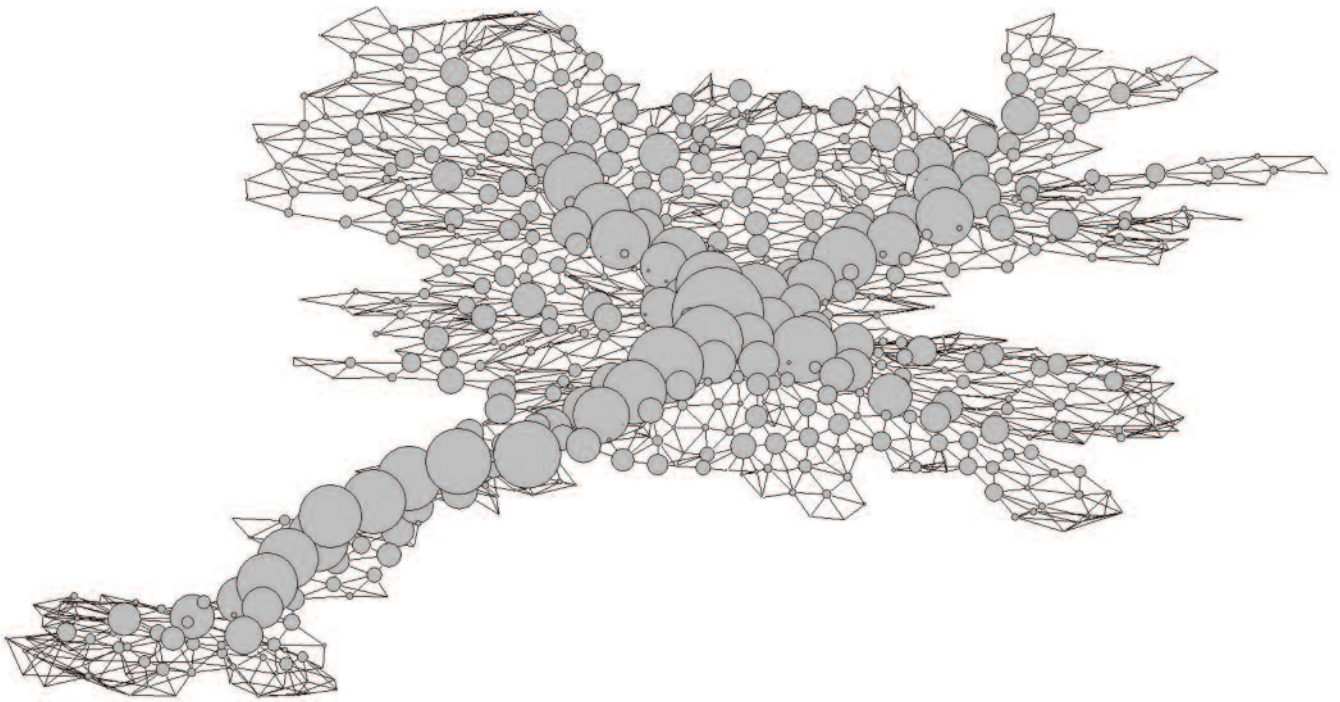


Fig. 25: Topological nearest neighbourhood network model of port sites (791) and routes (2188) for the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in Antiquity; visualisation as network graph with the help of the Kamada-Kawai/separate components-option, created with Pajek*. Nodes are sized according to their betweenness centrality values (© J. Preiser-Kapeller, RGZM/ÖAW, 2013).

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