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APOIKIA IN THE BLACK SEA:
THE HISTORY OF HERACLEA PONTICA, SINOPE, AND TIOS IN THE
ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in History
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at the University of Central Florida
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Thesis Chair: Edward Dandrow

ABSTRACT

This study examines the influence of local and dominant Network Systems on the socio-economic development of the southern Black Sea colonies: Heraclea Pontica, Sinope, and Tios during the Archaic and Classical Period. I argue that archeological and literary evidence indicate that local (populations such as the Mariandynoi, Syrians, Caucones, Paphlagonians, and Tibarenians) and dominant external (including: Miletus, Megara/Boeotia, Athens, and Persia) socio-economic Network systems developed and shaped these three colonies, and helped explain their role in the overarching Black Sea Network.

This study is divided into three chapters. Chapter one starts with the history and historiography of Greek colonization. This leads into an explanation of early Black Sea colonization and a brief history of Heraclea, Sinope, and Tios from their foundation in the Archaic period until their transition into the Roman provincial system. It then explains Network Theory and Middle Ground and how they will be utilized in chapters two and three. The second chapter uses a middle ground approach to analyze local networks and their influence on the socio-economic development of the three colonies. The second chapter primarily utilizes material evidence and literary sources such as Strabo and Xenophon to draw these conclusions. The third chapter examines the effect that the dominant network systems during these periods have on the colonies' socio-economic development. This chapter primarily focuses on the Black Sea, Athens, and Persia's networks and their interactions with the colonies. Ultimately, this project furthers the current understanding of Heraclea, Sinope, Tios and the Black Sea's economic development as a whole.

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my mother, father, brothers, and Dr. Edward Dandrow, who helped me through this process. I could not do this without you all.

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I would like to extend my appreciation to everyone who helped guide me through my undergraduate. First, I would like to thank Dr. Edward Dandrow for steering me on a path to success in the history program at University of Central Florida. Without your assistance, I would not be where I am today. To Dr. Douglas Evans, thank you for making me excited to be a part of the humanities program. I would not have the perspective on life that I do if it was not for your classes. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Scott Rubarth at Rollins College for guiding me through my language studies and always being an amazing resource.

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Introduction:

This paper looks at the development of apoikiai (colonies) through local and external socio-economic networks systems in the southern Pontus (Black Sea) region during the Archaic and Classical Period.¹ The Archaic period, giving birth to a Greek diaspora, saw the development of Classical network systems throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. These networks consisted of social, political, and economic institutions, such as assemblies, guest-friendships, proxenies, intermarriages, religious cults, and trade relationships, which changed as alliances and kingdoms transformed these apoikiai, incorporating them into larger state networks. Correspondingly, the fluid nature of their identity remained tied to their surrounding relationships. My research focuses primarily on development of prominent Milesian colonies and the later additions of Megarian and Boeotian origination. I examine the development and the relations of Heraclea Pontica, Tios, and Sinope because of their important contributions and participation in the Black Sea's economic growth. Thus, interpreting their interactions and relations with each other, surrounding apoikia, and local populations as these communities develop and change in relation to significant network systems such as the Milesians, Megarians, Athenians Persians and Black Sea. I argue that archeological and literary evidence indicate that local and dominant external socio-economic "Network"² systems developed and shaped

¹ Mogens Herman Hansen, "Emporion. A study of the use and meaning of the term in the Archaic and Classical periods" *CPCPapers*, vol. 4 (1997): 83-105.

The term "Apoikia" (Ἀποικία) defines a settlement away from home. These are generally thought of as permanent settlements established by a city-state on the Greek mainland. Apoikia are distinctly different from emporia, which are often temporary or makeshift trade towns. I use the terms "Apoikia" and "Colony" interchangeably in this paper when describing Heraclea, Sinope, and Tios.

² "Network", with a capital N, signifies an entire system of individual networks within the context of one individual topic system.

Heraclea, Sinope, and Tios within their individual context, and helped explain their role in the overarching Black Sea Network during the Archaic and Classical Periods.

CHAPTER ONE: COLONIZATION, COLONIES, AND THEIR HISTORIES

The phenomena of Greek colonization have recently become more widely studied. The most accurate estimates place the start of Greek colonization with the establishment of Euboian's colonies Pithekousai and Kyme in middle eight century BCE.³ Archeological evidences suggests the migration of Greeks from their mother cities to other areas of the Black Sea starts around the beginning of the seventh century BCE. Most scholars assume that the 7th century saw the re-foundation of the first southern Black Sea apoikia, Sinope, which became the social, economic, and even philosophical center of the Pontic region.⁴ However, a reference to Trapezus' foundation dating to 756 BCE suggests an earlier date for Sinope, which pushes the colonization date back to the early eighth century.⁵ Scholars require further excavation in these areas to determine a more accurate date.

Nevertheless, in the ensuing years Miletus, Megara, and other city-states from the Greek mainland and Ionia capitalized on the Black Sea's untapped resources and trade potential. The Greeks and Persians had a positive view of the Black Sea's aesthetics and resource potential admiring its size and beauty. Herodotus writes one of the few references to ancient peoples' perception of the Black Sea. He describes Darius's awe for Black Sea in the following passage,

3 Vanessa Gorman, *Miletos, the Ornament of Ionia: A History of the City to 400 B.C.E.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001)

Rhys Carpenter, "The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea." *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 52, no. 1 (1948): 1-10.

Benjamin W. Labaree, "How the Greeks Sailed into the Black Sea." *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (1957): 29-33.

4 Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, *The Greek Colonization of the Black Sea Area*, (Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1998): pp. 133

Miletus attempted to establish Sinope sometime between 725-700 BC, but was unsuccessful in maintaining it.

⁵ Graham, A. J. "The Date of the Greek Penetration of The Black Sea." *Bulletin Of The Institute Of Classical Studies* Vol. 25, No. 1 (1958): pp. 26

Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκητο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἕλληνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥίῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι.

But Darius, when he came to that place in his march from Susa where the Bosphorus was bridged in the territory of Calchedon, went aboard ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks¹ (as they are called), which the Greeks say formerly moved; there, he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous sight. For it is the most wonderful sea of all. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stades, and its breadth three thousand three hundred stades at the place where it is widest⁶

By the sixth century BCE, Hellenic apoikia and trading colonies line the Black Sea coasts expanding trade and socio-economic networks through the previously uncolonized region. The newly settled Greeks interacted with the indigenous populations forming ties with the locals and other Greeks through networks such as marriage, religious cults, trade, and their mother-city. They formed network systems among themselves and their neighbors. Each colony embraced an identity based on a collection of distinct components they used to differentiate themselves from the surrounding people. Malkin suggests that in many cases they even claim legitimacy through references to heroes and places in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.⁷

In many regards, recent academic trends call into question the phenomena of colonization. A new wave of scholars drowned out earlier archeologists and scholars who utilized traditional and limited approaches and methodologies.⁸ These early scholars saw the

⁶ Herodotus, 4.85.1

⁷ Irad Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus : Colonization and Ethnicity*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Here Malkin uses the term Nests to describe a Hero's journey home.

⁸ Lieve Donnellan, "Greek Colonisation and Mediterranean Networks: Patterns of Mobility and Interaction at Pithekoussai" *Journal of Greek Archaeology*, Vol. 1 (2016): pp. 111; Carla M. Antonaccio, "Colonization: Greece on the Move 900-480" *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, eds. H. Shapiro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 201-224; Irad Malkin, "Greek Colonisation: The Right to Return" *Conceptualising Early*

world in an imperialistic manner and used cultural superiority to explain nearly all instances of colonization. New scholarship revamps the establish narrative and offer more interdisciplinary interpretations. Historians and archeologists such as Antonaccio, Malkin, and Donnellan adapted their model with a post-colonial and interdisciplinary approaches.⁹ These scholars realized that the metrics and examples their predecessors utilized to define a colony doesn't sufficiently explain every instance of these migrations. The scholars adapted the mainstream Greek colonial model into something more complex than a simple display of cultural superiority. They describe a potential dynamic relationship between Greeks and the native peoples with whom they shared space, and interpret their interactions as more assimilative than hegemonic. Although there are several new suggested theories, there are two established interpretations of the archaic colonization period. Carla M. Antonaccio describes these in her article, "Colonization: Greece on the Move 900-480" as the proto-capitalist and proto-imperialist theories.¹⁰ The former denotes the movement of risk-taking entrepreneurs attempting to capitalize on an opportunity to expand trade into other regions, while the latter describes the calculated movement of a polis to establish Hellenism and economic influence in other territories. For most examples, applying a combination of both theories produces the most accurate account.

Lieve Donnellan challenges the narrative further by proposing a post-modern academic approach. She suggests a change in certain terminology and vernacular in colonial Greek

Colonisation, (Brussel and Roma: Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, 2016): 27-50; Irad Malkin, "Migration and Colonization" *New Horizons*, (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016): pp. 285-307; Malkin's other works are available in the bibliography.

⁹ Ariana Esposito and Airton Pollini, "Post colonialism from America to magna Graecia" *Conceptualising Early Colonisation* (Brussel and Roma: Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, 2016): 61-76

Carla M. Antonaccio, "Colonization: Greece on the Move 900-480" *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, eds. H. Shapiro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): pp. 201-224

research.¹¹ In her article titled, “Greek Colonization and Mediterranean Networks: Patterns of Mobility and Interaction at Pithekoussai” Donnellan argues that even understanding these situations in a dualistic (colonizers and colonized) dynamic is problematic.¹² By assuming the Greeks dominate the local populations, we remove agency from the equation. She argues that even modern scholars such as Network theorist and Greek colonial scholar Irad Malkin utilize a vocabulary that often insinuates that Greek-speaking peoples systematically conquer and imperialistically dominate native populations. Nevertheless, Donnellan’s assertions are not uncontested. Malkin disputes Donnellan’s challenge, and points out that the new terms she suggests replacing colony are already in use and are not mutually exclusive. He argues the term “colony” originally describes a farming community, and their use of the term does not imply inherent oppression or domination.¹³

A relatively unexamined region to continue the study of Greek colonization is the Black Sea. The southern Black Sea coast was the most ideal place for the Greeks to colonize in the Black Sea littoral due to its proximity to Asia Minor, the Ionian cities, and the maritime trade routes. The area has several noteworthy natural harbors and a hinterland full of natural resources that stretches nearly the entire coast. There is also little distance between the coast and hinterland mountains that provides natural protection from invaders coming by land.¹⁴ These factors influenced the Milesians and Megarians to colonize this region first. Heraclea Pontica, Tios, and

¹¹ Lieve Donnellan. “A Networked View on Euboean Colonisation” *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, (Brussel and Roma: Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, 2016): pp. 150-55

¹² Donnellan. “A Networked View on Euboean Colonisation”, pg. 150

¹³ Malkin, “Greek Colonization: The Right to Return”, pg. 27-35

¹⁴ Manolis Manoledakis, “Greek Colonisation in the Southern Black Sea from the Viewpoint of the Local Populations” *Greek Colonisation: New Data Current Approaches*, (Thessaloniki, 2015): 61

Sinope serve as case studies for studying this region due to their significant role in the Black Sea economy.

Studying Heraclea Pontica, Tios, and Sinope's development provides a more complete understanding of the region. Russian and Baltic scholars worked on northern Black Sea colonial history for many years. However, the development of apoikia in the southern Black Sea coast, the northern coast of modern-day Turkey, remain largely unexamined. Scholars tried to explain the Black Sea's role in the Greek world through textual interpretation and predictions based on findings of surrounding regions more thoroughly excavated. These apoikiai require more study of influencing networks to determine if they are significant contributors to the economy and social presence of Greeks in their respective regions. Heraclea Pontica, Sinope, and more recently, Tios received more attention than the other sites on the southern Black Sea coast, where comparably little is known. Tsetskhladze, Graham, Burnstein, and a few other older and contemporary scholars did extensive work mapping and understanding the Black Sea world from the colonization period until the Roman transition. Works such as Tsetskhladze's *The Greek Colonization of the Black Sea Area* serve as an underlying base from which our current understanding of Black Sea colonization stems.¹⁵ These scholars, however, are unable to take into account archeological evidence collected in recent decades. And, while these scholars' writings are invaluable for describing these three cities histories, a more complete understanding of their development requires including and interpreting new archeological evidence, reinterpreting classical sources, and analyzing the influence of various network systems.

¹⁵ Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, eds. *The Greek Colonization of the Black Sea Area*, (Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1998)

Heraclea Pontica is the western most apoikia of the three in this study. The coast sports a rich and extensive harbor that allowed for the cultivation of a fishing industry and abundant trade to the rest of the region. Xenophon claims that Heraclea received its name in reference to Heracles, who allegedly descended into Hades through a cave that exists near the city.¹⁶ Recent Turkish scholars Öztürk and Arslan¹⁷ began conceptualizing new interpretations of the classical sources and recent archeological findings, but currently the authoritative understanding of Heraclea Pontica stems from Stanley Mayer Burnstein's book, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*. Burnstein effectively utilizes the surviving fragments of Nymphis, Domitius Callistratus, Xenophon, Strabo, and Memnon, the Classical historians of Heraclea, providing the most complete history available. According to Burnstein, the Milesians were the first to colonized Heraclea.¹⁸ There is a lack of archeological evidence supporting Heraclea's Milesian foundation, but Strabo directly refers to the site as being from Milesian origination in the following passage:

“εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι πρῶτοι τὴν Ἡράκλειαν κτίσαντες Μιλήσιοι τοὺς Μαριανδυνοὺς εἰλωτεύειν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς προκατέχοντας τὸν τόπον, ὥστε καὶ πιπράσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μὴ εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν δέ...”¹⁹

“This, too, has been said, that the Milesians who were first to found Heracleia forced the Mariandyni, who held the place before them, to serve as Helots, so that they sold them, but not beyond the boundaries of their country...”²⁰

¹⁶ Xenophon. 6.2.2

Bulent Öztürk, “Herakleia Pontike (Karadeniz Ereğli) Antik Kentinde Dinsel İnanışlar”, A. Efiloğlu et alii (eds.), *İnsan - Kimlik - Mekan Bağlamında Zonguldak Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, (Zonguldak, 2016): pg. 81-2

¹⁷ Murat Arslan, “Memnon: Herakleia Pontike Tarihi (περὶ Ἡρακλείας)” (Odin Yayincılık, 2007)

¹⁸ Stanley Mayer Burnstein, “Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea.” *Classical Studies*, Vol. 14 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978): 13

¹⁹ Strabo. 12.3.4

²⁰ Ibid.

This account describes Strabo's claim of when and how the Milesians allegedly subjugated the Mariandynoi, the native peoples of the area, converting them into helots and enlisting them as a large labor base for Heraclea's economy. Burnstein contests Strabo's account finding that their actual subjugation occurs in the beginning of the Classical Period.²¹ Soon after its foundation, Megarians/Boeotians refounded Heraclea sometime between 560-558 BCE and would remain in control until the roman period.²²

According to Aristotle, Heraclea's government began as a democracy but was quickly dismantled when, "ἀδικοῦμενοι γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐξέπιπτον, ἔπειτα ἄθροισθέντες οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες καὶ κατελθόντες κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον". "for the notables being unjustly treated by them used to be driven out, but later on those who were driven out collecting together effected their return and put down the people"²³ Aristotle's expresses his anti-democratic views in *Politics*, which may challenge the authenticity of his account.²⁴ There is, however, little evidence to support the contrary. Democratic foundations or not, Heraclea Pontica spent most of its time under oligarchic then tyrannical rule.²⁵ The oligarchs, whom the masses drove out after assigning themselves unfairly large land allotments, returned swiftly and overthrew the democracy. The oligarchs ruled from the fall of the initial democracy until 424 BCE and operated similarly to other contemporary Greek aristocratic governments. They instituted a system granting political power and membership based on the wealth and landownership of each individual household.²⁶ The oligarchy was not a stable entity and internal struggles generated constant change. The

²¹ Stanley Mayer Burnstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea" pg. 28

²² Stanley Mayer Burnstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea", pg. 13

²³ Aristotle. *Politics* 5.1304b

²⁴ Aristotle, 7.1279b. 4-10

²⁵ Burnstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea", pg. 19

²⁶ Burnstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea", pg. 24

government did not collapse from the mass's revolts, but instead from the wider landowning class's distaste for the Oikos system, which gave political figures power consummate to their wealth. The area lacked sufficient land for upward economic mobility, despite the formation of daughter colonies: Cytorus, Callatis, and Chersonesus. The Oikos system caused stagnant land supply and created an exceptionally exclusive ruling class.²⁷ Memnon claims that Clearchus, a pupil of Plato, became the first tyrant of Heraclea.²⁸ Although the succeeding tyrants were not as ruthless as described by Memnon, “ὡμὸν δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ μαιφόνον, εἴπερ τινὰ ἄλλον, ἐπιδειχθῆναι”²⁹ -“But he turned out to be truly savage and bloodthirsty towards his subjects”. Its powerful tyrants allowed it to dominate areas of Bithynia and maintain political supremacy until its subjugation under Rome in 70 BCE.³⁰

Until recently, scholars focused far less on Tios because of the limited textual material available, but its historical obscurity makes the coastal city an integral part of this study. Only a few textual references exist, and Tios's narrative is almost entirely constructed by interpretations of archeological findings. Strabo describes Tios,

“τὸ δὲ Τίειόν ἐστι πολίχνιον οὐδὲν ἔχον μνήμης ἄξιον πλὴν ὅτι Φιλέταιρος ἐντεῦθεν ἦν, ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν βασιλέων γένους.”
”Tieium is a town that has nothing worthy of mention except that Philetaerus, the founder of the family of Attalic Kings, was from there”³¹

However, with the limited textual information available on Tios, Strabo's claim is equivocal at best; greatly understated at worst. Despite the lack of textual evidence and Strabo's seemingly

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, I.I

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Bülent Öztürk, “Epigraphical Researches of the Ancient City Heraclea Pontica and Historical Results” *Uluslararası Karadeniz Kültür Kongresi Bildirileri*, (Karabük: 2013): pp. 506

³¹ Strabo 12.3.8

dismissive attitude toward the apoikia, new archeological findings indicate a significance that was previously unaccounted. Our current understanding of Tios comes from archeologists and contemporary scholars Atasoy, Öztürk and Yıldırım. The site's team, currently directed by Yıldırım, produces annual reports filled with architectural, numismatic, epigraphic, and other finds depict Tios as an important player in the southern Black Sea's economy.

The Milesian originally founded Tios. Our first reference of Tios' Milesian foundation comes from Arrian, who when discussing the Black Sea's coastal cities, refers to the apoikia's mother city.³² The Milesians settle the area around 7th century BC, naming the land after the priest, Tios, who founded the site.³³ Three grave inscriptions from the classical period attributed to liberated slaves that reside in Athens from the fifth and fourth centuries cause scholars to assume that Tios was a slave market along with its neighboring apoikia.³⁴ During the Hellenistic period, Tios was reliant on various alliances to maintain prosperity. The synoikism of Amastris, Bithynian Kingdom, and Pontic Kingdom all maintained direct control over Tios until Pompey the Great defeated Mithridates in 64 BC and the region became the province of Bithynia-Pontus.³⁵ Tios' lacks mention from most of the Classical authors. Yearly excavations of Tios' and its harbor are still taking place and more evidence is available to interpret Tios' role in the overarching Black Sea network systems.

³² Şahin Yıldırım, "TİOS-TİEİON: SÖYLENECEK ÇOK ÖNEMLİ BİR ŞEYİ OLMAYAN KENT" *Trakya Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 7 no.13 (Ocak, 2017): pg. 206-207

³³ Steph, Byz. 624, 20

³⁴ Bülent Öztürk, M. Manoledakis (ed.) "The History of Tieion/Tios (Eastern Bithynia) in the light of Inscriptions" *British Archaeological Reports* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013): pp. 149

³⁵ Ibid.

Sinope is one of, if not the most, significant colonies in the southern Black Sea region. According to Doonan, fragmentary literary sources shape the traditional narrative, and a division exists between scholars who either put more weight in the textual or archeological evidence.³⁶ Both sides are likely valid depending on the claim, and therefore it is important to address both sources of evidence. The colony is in northern Anatolia at the center of the southern coast of the Black Sea.³⁷ A host of classical sources have differing traditions for Sinope's foundation.³⁸ Eusebius's *Chronographia* is currently the most supported and asserted by other ancient authors including: Pseudo- Scymnos 995-96, Diodorus Siculus's *Historical Library* 14.31.2, and Strabo 12.3.11, who claim the colony was at least re-founded in 632/1 BC by Miletus.³⁹ Some historians argue for a potential eighth century or earlier foundation date based on other readings of Eusebius, who claims the Greeks founded Sinope's daughter colony Trapezus in 756BC coinciding with the Greeks- Cimmerians conflicts in that area.⁴⁰ This would make Sinope's foundation sometime before that. An interesting point that will require further excavation to prove.

Despite the ambiguity of its early foundations, Sinope's history is well documented in comparison to other apoikiai in the region. Strabo discusses Sinope several times in his

³⁶ Owen Doonan, "Sinope, New Understandings of the Early Colony Based on Recent Research at Sinope Kale" *The Black Sea in the Light of New Archaeological Data and Theoretical Approaches* (Thessaloniki, 2016): pg. 220

³⁷ Owen Doonan, "Sinope," Grammenos and Petropoulos (Eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies of the Black Sea* (Thessalonica: Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece, 2003). pp. 1379

³⁸ David M Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*. (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1906): 146

³⁹ Irad Malkin, "Greek Colonisation: The Right to Return" *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, (Brussel and Roma: Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, 2016): pp. 27-35

Owen P. Doonan, *Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connection in a Black Sea Hinterland*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011): 70-72

Pseudo- Scymnos 995-96, Diodorus Siculus's *Historical Library* XIV.XXXI.II, Strabo XII.III.XI

⁴⁰ A. J Graham, "The Date of the Greek Penetration of The Black Sea." *Bulletin Of The Institute Of Classical Studies* 5, No. 1 Vol. 25 (1958): pp. 26

Geography, describing it as: "αὐτὴ δ' ἡ πόλις τετείχισται καλῶς, καὶ γυμνασίῳ δὲ καὶ ἀγορᾷ καὶ στοαῖς κεκόσμηται λαμπρῶς." - "The city itself is beautifully walled, and is also splendidly adorned with gymnasium and market places and colonnades."⁴¹ He explicitly notes the uncharacteristic wealth of the colony in comparison to other colonies in the Black Sea.

Archeological finds from the Archaic period seem to indicate a maritime-based economy with little investment in agriculture until the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁴² Archaic Sinope would operate exclusive from its extensive harbor signified by the lack of a city chora from that period.⁴³ Fish were a primary export for Sinope. The tuna travel from their breeding grounds eastwards, trailing the shore line. The hauls pulled in by fishermen of Sinope were considerably large than those of Trapezus and Pharnacia, and fetched a high price in the western markets.⁴⁴ In the Classical period, Sinope spread out their trade networks to the north and east coasts of the Black Sea.⁴⁵ Sinope and its daughter colonies became the economic engine of the southeast Pontus, resulting in the colony becoming a focal point of trade and an access point to the hinterland region. Sinope remained for the most part politically independent because of its strong economic power, and scholars considered it the most fertile and prosperous city in the region. Sinope's independence remained until the city's subjugation under Pharnaces and his successors,

⁴¹ Strabo, 12.3.11

⁴² Doonan, pp. 1382.

⁴³ Owen Doonan, "Sinope, New Understandings of the Early Colony Based on Recent Research at Sinope Kale" in M. Manoledakis Eds., *The Black Sea in the light of new archaeological data and theoretical approaches* (Thessaloniki 2016): pg. 220

⁴⁴ Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*, pg. 140

⁴⁵ Doonan, "Sinope, New Understandings of the Early Colony Based on Recent Research at Sinope Kale" pg. 220

who remained in power until Mithridates VI death and the Kingdom of Pontus's subjugation under Rome.⁴⁶

These colonies' civic identities and interactions with each other drastically change as they transitioned into the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. The Kingdom of Pontus' formation in 281 BCE, and clear political dominance following Mithridates I death in 266BC, engendered a hostile political shift.⁴⁷ The Mithridatic line was particularly aggressive in trying to capture colonies. According to Polybius, The Kingdom of Pontus targeted Sinope for its political and economic prominence, and was willing to sacrifice all favor it gained from Rhodes in 227/8 BCE for a chance to capture the city.⁴⁸ The kingdom failed to subjugate the city in 220 BCE, but succeeding finally in 182 BCE under the leadership of Pharnaces.⁴⁹ The colony provided a strong economic and political headquarters. Tios, under the domain of Bithynia during the Hellenistic period, sat at the edge of the Kingdoms of Pontus and Bithynia and became a disputed border colony.⁵⁰ Bithynia's aggressive expansionist policies under Prusias I resulted in the city's capture,⁵¹ and later became part of the Kingdom of Bithynia and placed in the domain of Heraclea Pontica.⁵² Around the same time as Sinope's initial assimilation into the Pontic Kingdom, Tios was the focal point of the region; it drew Prusias II of Bithynia into war against Pharnaces.⁵³ Tios' proximity to the Pontic border would continue to drive tensions prior to

⁴⁶ Strabo, 12.3.11

⁴⁷ B. C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*. (Netherlands: Brill, 1986): 19

⁴⁸ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*, pg. 23; Polybius, 4.56

⁴⁹ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*, pg. 26

⁵⁰ Bülent Öztürk, "The Ancient City of Tios from its Establishment till the End of the Byzantine Period" *Arkeoloji Sanat* Vol. 128 (2008): 63

⁵¹ Mehmet Fatih Yavuz, "Bithynia, Kingdom of." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. (Oxford University Press, 2010)

⁵² McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*, pg. 27

⁵³ Diod, 29.23

Roman conquest and annexation. Despite Heraclea being under the authority of Bithynia, the colony remained, for the most part, politically independent. According to Memnon, the well-regarded tyrant Dionysius, who ruled from roughly 338-306BCE, was first of the tyrants to capitalize on Alexander the Great's victory over Persia. He expanded into surrounding areas with little resistance from the weakened Persian forces. Dionysius dominated lands and solidified his preeminence coming into the Hellenistic period.⁵⁴ Heraclea's strong succession of tyrants expanded its domain and constantly claimed and changed tributaries. Heraclea's prominence continued until its brutal fall to the Roman generals Triarius and Cotta following Connacorex's betrayal of the city in 70 BCE marking the transition into the roman period.⁵⁵

The Roman period began with the the general Lucullus capturing Sinope's in 70 BCE marked the beginning of the end for the Pontic kingdom.⁵⁶ King Nicomedes left the Kingdom of Bithynia to the Romans after his death in 74 BC. Now that the Romans captured Heraclea and its tributary colonies, the Kingdom of Pontus was the only territory that the Romans did not control. Eventually the Romans returned, defeating Mithridates in 64/63BCE.⁵⁷ The Romans then consolidated Bithynia with Pontus creating a combined province that stretched from Heraclea to Colchis.⁵⁸ Strabo describes this consolidation in the following passage:

τοῦ δὲ Πόντου καθίστατο μὲν Μιθριδάτης ὁ Εὐπάτωρ βασιλεύς. εἶχε δὲ τὴν ἀφοριζομένην τῷ Ἄλυϊ μέχρι Τιβαρανῶν καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος τὰ μέχρι Ἀμάστρεως καὶ τινῶν τῆς Παφλαγονίας μερῶν. προσεκτήσατο δ' οὗτος καὶ τὴν μέχρι Ἡρακλείας παραλίαν ἐπὶ τὰ δυσμικὰ μέρη, τῆς Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ πατρίδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰναντία μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας, ἃ δὴ καὶ προσέθηκε τῷ Πόντῳ. καὶ δὴ καὶ Πομπήιος καταλύσας ἐκεῖνον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὅροις οὔσαν τὴν χώραν ταύτην

⁵⁴ Photius, Bibliotheca, 4.1

⁵⁵ Ibid. 35.1-4

⁵⁶ Ibid. 37.5

⁵⁷ Cassius Dio. Historia Romana, 13.1.4

⁵⁸ Strabo, 12.3.1

παρέλαβε: τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κολχίδα τοῖς συναγωνισαμένοις
δυνάσταις κατένειμε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ εἰς ἑνδεκα πολιτείας διεῖλε καὶ τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προσέθηκεν
ὥστ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐπαρχίαν γενέσθαι μίαν⁵⁹

“As for Pontus, Mithridates Eupator established himself as king of it; and he held the country bounded by the Halys River as far as the Tibarani and Armenia, and held also, of the country this side the Halys, the region extending to Amastris and to certain parts of Paphlagonia. And he acquired, not only the seacoast towards the west as far as Heracleia, the native land of Heracleides the Platonic philosopher, but also, in the opposite direction, the seacoast extending to Colchis and lesser Armenia; and this, as we know, he added to Pontus. And in fact this country was comprised within these boundaries when Pompey took it over, upon his overthrow of Mithridates. The parts towards Armenia and those round Colchis he distributed to the potentates who had fought on his side, but the remaining parts he divided into eleven states and added them to Bithynia, so that out of both there was formed a single province.”⁶⁰

Rome would act as a hegemonic entity influencing the eleven governments referenced by Strabo, and the three cities would lose more of their independence and identity indicative of earlier periods.

Understanding Heraclea, Tios, and Sinope peoples' development is not a task accomplished with facile methodologies, and thus requires a multifaceted approach. This is especially true because the classical authors sparsely mention them. A combination of Network Theory and a 'Middle Ground' analysis provides a multidimensional view of these people's development as they evolve through the Archaic and Classical periods. Malkin's *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* popularized Network Theory for Greek colonial research. The second and third chapters utilize an interpretative model of Network Theory to better understand the historical development of the colonies of Heraclea Pontica, Tios, and Sinope in relation to each other and their surrounding colonies through dominant and local

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Network Systems. Network Theory employs a wide variety of evidence to draw conclusions on relationships between people, places, things, or ideas. Recently, Network Theory has become commonly used. Albert Laslo Barabasi makes the argument that understanding network laws have only become recently viable with the introduction of the internet.⁶¹ For History, Network Theory serves as a didactic model for multiple kinds of evidence in historical analysis. When first defining a Network, historians have to define how a network exist, and in what context it exists, in a civilization. One way of understanding Network Theory is conceptualizing a civilization as a central hub with branches of influence stretching out from the central location like limbs of a tree establishing connections with lands and peoples farther out.⁶² Everything has relation to the central node and all points identify with the centralized node. a capital so to speak.

Some networks, however, have stronger concentrations and a higher number of variables in common. The various networks forms nodes outside of the central node. So, with the example of an ethnicity network, someone from Syracuse and Gela may both identify as Spartan since that is their respective colony's mother city. Using a traditional view of Network Theory, the centralize node of influence should be Sparta. But, Syracuse and Gela's citizens have far more common networks associated with their colonies, such as participation in their political system and military service. Therefore, their central node of influence would concentrate over Syracuse or Gela, not Sparta. A similar trend plays out all over the ancient Greek world.

Using Network Theory to study Greek colonization uses a different interpretation of networks. During the time of Archaic colonization, there was no centralized Hellenic Network,

⁶¹ Albert Laslo Barabasi, *Linked: How Everything Is Connected to Everything Else and What It Means for Business, Science, and Everyday Life*. (New York: Plume, 2003.): 228; Malkin, *A Small Greek World*, pg. 25-27

⁶² Malkin, *A Small Greek World*, pg. 5

nor was there really a cohesive Greek world to identify. Greek colonies existed as a group of independent city-states that warred and competed with each other for dominance and influence. They shared similar cultural features such as language and athletics, but even those varied from polis to polis. Watts suggests that the Greeks existed as a decentralized network that formed networks with each other despite their lack of centralization.⁶³ Greece did not initially have a holistic identity like the imperialistic states of colonialist empires, such as Persia during this time. The Greeks existed as individual cities spread out around the Mediterranean with only the sea connecting them. Greek colonies, as a result of having little to no centralized influence, defined themselves in opposition to indigenous populations and other peoples predominantly through language distinction. The specific networks that blatantly identified an individual as Greek such language, religion, sexuality, origin myths, and athletics separated the Greeks from local populations. The networks highlighted their additional commonalities with other Greek cities and began to form a Greek identity and what we understand as Greek civilization. These identities extrapolate to other Greeks, and by the sixth century the Greeks polis, apoikiai, and trade-colonies shared a common Hellenic Network.

The Athenian navy has a direct network to Athens since it is part of the Athenian whole. Other connections are much less obvious and thus require a more interpretive approach. For example, an inscription in Olbia giving praise to Sinope for their excellent ceramics may indicate a strong trade relationship between the two colonies. These less direct connections are where historians can develop a better understanding of interactions between colonies in the Black Sea.

⁶³ Jeremy Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators, and Coalitions*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1974): 87.; Malkin, *A Small Greek World*, pg. 34

Some networks are obvious outside of any interpretive conclusion. The intended purpose of Network Theory in this context is not to define how each colony is somehow connected to everything else around it, but to focus on how each network influences the develop of the three colonies.⁶⁴

Similar to Malkin's use of Network Theory, using available archeological finds and textual sources related to the southern coast of the Black Sea will create a socio-economic network map of the southern Black Sea area. These network maps facilitate an understanding of the socio-economic development of Heraclea, Tios, and Sinope as they transition under different Network systems. Despite Network theory's effectiveness in this type of historical study, some problems may arise with drawing network-based conclusions centered on archeological evidence. There is no definite interpretation of the material evidence, and the individual network's influence on the Black Sea Network assumed from this evidence is potentially overstated or understated. Luckily, any concerns over conclusions' validity drawn from the material evidence can be assessed individually and does not necessarily weaken the argument as a whole.

The function and operation of network theory is complex, and even more so when adapted to a historical study. As almost any historical scholar will attest, there are a myriad of factors potentially attributing to any historical result or event, and these factors are seemingly disconnected. That's why defining the scoop of this study is necessary for a successful analysis. The aim of this chapter is to define these colonies through a unique socio-economic lens and provide an improved interpretation of how they and their environment through space, time,

⁶⁴ Malkin, *A Small Greek World*, pg. 25

geography, and people evolved these apoikia, leading them to developed in the way they ultimately did. The consolidation and analysis of these materials and their role in the histography of the area can easily be adjusted with this model in light of new evidence.

Data collected using Network Theory paired with textual references from ancient authors paints a vivid picture of Greek colonies relations with each other. Iran Malkin and Lieve Donnellan⁶⁵ use this approach to explain the mainland of Greece, Italy, Sicily, and the Ionian coast's development. This is one example using material evidence can help identify networks: two colonies sharing a foundational hero story, or Nostoi, discovered through translating an inscription, potentially create a single network. A specific example is: Öztürk published a report describing two bilingual (Greek and Latin) milestones found between Tios and Amastris. The milestones indicate that

“Imperator Caesar L(ucius) S]eptimius [Severus Pius Pe]rtinax Aug(ustus), [Arab]icu[s Adiabe]nicus Par- 4 [thicus ma]x[imus, p]o[n]tif(ex) max- [imus, tribunicia] pot[estate VI, imperator] XI, co(n)s(ul) II, p(ater) p(atriciae), [pr]o. co(n)s(ul), e[t Imperator Caesar] [M(arcus) Au]relius Anto- 8 [ninus Augustus tribunicia potestate] II et [P(ublius) Septi]m. [i]u. s [G. e]t. a. Caesar[resti]tue[r]u[nt p.]er Q. (uintum) Tineium [Sace]r[dot]e[m] leg(atum) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)”

“Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus maximus, ponti-fex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the sixthtime, imperator for the eleventh time, consul for the secondtime, father of the fatherland, proconsul; and Imperator Caesar M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, holding the tribunician power for the second time; and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar, restored (the road) through the offices of Quintus Tineius Sacerdos, legatus Augusti (Augustorum) pro praetore. [22? miles]”⁶⁶

The inscription signifies that there was a road, and a necessity for its upkeep, leading directly from Tios to Amastris during the Roman Period. Based on Tios position on the road network

⁶⁵ Donnellen, “A Networked View on Euboean Colonisation” pg. 150-55

⁶⁶ Bülent Öztürk, “Two new Milestones from Tios -Tieion in the Karadeniz Ereğli Museum, Philia.” *International Journal of Ancient Mediterranean Studies* Vol. 2 (2016): 85

between the Pontic and Bithynian regions of the Province, there was likely a trade relationship between the two coastal colonies. More evidence supports this connection, such as their proximity to each other and coinage exchange.⁶⁷ Each factor strengthening the validity of the single network and thus their likelihood of other networks between them and a role in each other's development. The more single networks the apoikia share with others, the stronger the chance interactions occurred frequently between them. This allows for a better interpretation of socio-economic relations.

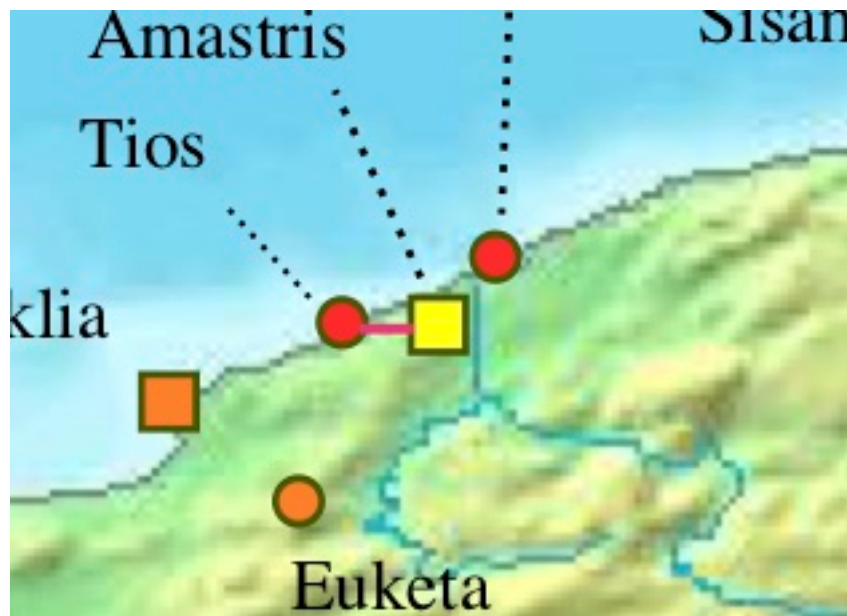


Figure 1: Example of a single network⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Bülent Öztürk, M. Manoledakis (ed.) "The History of Tieion/Tios (Eastern Bithynia) in the light of Inscriptions" *British Archaeological Reports* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013): pp. 149

⁶⁸ Map taken from: <http://classics.oxfordre.com/page/maps-greek-colonies>. Modified by Austin Wojkiewicz

In general, by understanding network interaction and how network systems contribute to each colony's individual development, scholars are more able to track the colony's economic development. One of the primary complication, however, is its lack of specificity when dealing with the influence of indigenous populations on the Greek colonies. Section two utilizes a Middle Ground approach for studying local networks. The Network history of these colonies provides a more comprehensive view of the socio-economic development than other traditional methodologies. This sort of analysis, however, while much more inclusive than most methods, is unable to account for the significance of some factors. Network Theory allows for a recognition of networks between indigenous populations and the Greeks, but it is not always sufficiently elaborate on the profound influence these populations have on each other or how their locality affects Greeks and locals interactions in contrast to the various examples of Greek/local interactions. Some interactions and networks are sufficiently explained with a brief analysis. The effects the interactions between these populations have on the apoikia forms its own matrix of significant networks and thus a different methodology is useful. For this, a 'Middle Ground' approach is effective. Middle Ground allows an in-depth view at how these populations interact and influence the socio-economic development of the Greek City-states within an area of mutual exchange.

Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* was one of the first works to explore using Middle Ground approach in a Historical Context.⁶⁹ His work suggests a mutual assimilation of cultural as a result of each

⁶⁹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, (Cambridge, 1991)

sides perception of each other. In his text, he discusses, among other things, the assimilation of the French and the Algonquians⁷⁰ through a various staged sequence of cultural negotiations. Starting with a stark distinction of the Natives as savages, the two groups began to assimilate to each other based on mutual necessity for certain outcomes. They trade characteristics and reached a sort of cultural “Middle Ground”. Historians often reference the transmission of culture from the dominate culture downward, rather than an exchange to adapt to challenges in their environment. The French needed to adapt to some of the ways of the Algonquians in order to survive and vice versa. That is where Malkin and Doonan picked up their work.

The French and Algonquians example, however, is vastly different from many instances in the Greek world. In many cases, the diaspora and establishment of Greek Colonies is different than the French and Natives Middle Ground. When Greek people moved in to establish a colony in an area, they would do so with the permission or acceptance from the indigenous populations. They moved into a previously established area and as a result the entire colony becomes a cultural Middle Ground. These populations are far more intimate with the apoikia than any of the relevant groups, and Network Theory’s systematic approach limits the analysis of these local exchanges. The exchanges often set up a synergistic community with mutually beneficial exchanges to each other. These exchanges benefited both parties and brought large amounts of wealth and resources into the area. They create a culture not uniquely foreign nor colonially imported. This paper relies on the concept of the Middle Ground to examine cross-cultural Greek/non-Greek interactions. This theory now has an established track record in Greek colonial

⁷⁰ White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, pg. 50

research. Malkin applies this method to his influential analysis of Philoktetes and Tyrrhennian, and Doonan uses the method to interpret cross-cultural burial finds at Sinope.⁷¹ For example, Malkin in his article titled “A Colonial Middle Ground: Greek Etruscan and Local Elites in the Bay of Naples” argues the Tyrrhennian colonies use variations of Greek myths such as Odysseus and similar Greek heroes in order to establish a cultural ‘Middle Ground’.⁷² By sharing these stories, the local populations share a sense of common lineage and ethnicity, and ultimately form a joint Greek and local identity. Inscriptions, coins, and any other material evidence that suggests cross-cultural contact show how these colonies interact and develop in unison with each other. For interpreting the role of indigenous populations in these three colonies’ socio-economic development, a Middle Ground approach is effective.

Heraclea, Tios, and Sinope come from a similar foundational background. They are from a mainland Greek origination, either Milesian or Megarian and Boeotian. They establish self-governance, commerce, and unique identities. This paper describes the histories of these colonies by studying the influence local and dominant networks have on their socio-economic development. The literary histories of this colonies serve as reference for what the following chapters build upon. The following chapters will apply the archeological evidence to the historical narrative and apply Network Theory and a Middle Ground approach to available forms of material evidence such as coins, pottery, and inscriptions. I look to answer the question: How did their interactions with each other shape their own and broader economic development in the

⁷¹ Irad Malkin, “The Middle Ground: Philoktetes in Italy” *Kernos*, Vol. 11 (1998): pp. 131-141
Owen Doonan, "Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial ‘Middle Ground’ in the Hinterland Landscape of Greek Sinope," in O. Henry and U. Kelp, *Tumulus as Sema: Proceedings of an International Conference on Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*. (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2015.): 657-65

⁷² Irad Malkin, “A Colonial Middle Ground: Greek Etruscan and Local Elites in the Bay of Naples”. *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, (Los Angeles, 2002): 151-181

region? A comprehensive understanding of these colonies and their socio-economic development is paramount to our understanding of the Black Sea Greek world.

CHAPTER TWO: A MIDDLE GROUND APPROACH TO LOCAL NETWORKS

The land surrounding the Black Sea was home to large populations of indigenous peoples, who utilized the coastal shores for food and resources that would later attract the Greeks.⁷³ These tribes and peoples existed long before the Greeks inhabited the areas: interacting, managing relationships, and warring with each other and neighboring kingdoms that were often changing during the early eras. The southern shore was host to several different tribes that had an established presence before the Milesians and Megarian/Boetians founded their colonies. The tribes occupying the southern shores during the early Archaic period include: Bithynians, Mariandynians, and Caucones.⁷⁴ The central area surrounded Amisus consisted of the Paphlagonians, Syrians, and Tibarenians.⁷⁵ The Mossynoecians and Drilae lived in the Land east of Chalybes.⁷⁶

In his article titled, “The Greek Colonisation in the Southern Black Sea from the Viewpoint of the Local populations” Manoledakis describes the issues with studying the influence of the local populations from the archaic and classical periods. He states that archeologically scholars have very little material from these native cultures. Due to the limited interest in the subject, there is not a high expectation of future excavations on sites these tribes inhabited.⁷⁷ So, most of our knowledge from these periods come from three ancient authors:

⁷³ Manoledakis, “Greek Colonisation in the Southern Black Sea from the Viewpoint of the Local Populations”, pg. 61

⁷⁴ Strabo, 5.7.3-4; Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Xenophon, 5.4; Ibid.

⁷⁷ Manoledakis, “Greek Colonisation in the Southern Black Sea from the Viewpoint of the Local Populations” *Greek Colonisation*: 62

Xenophon, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Strabo. These authors describe the tribes as terrible barbaric warring populations that inflicted cruelty on local Greeks during the Classical period.⁷⁸ This interpretation came after the Greek peoples dominated the area. They started challenging the local tribes position and population such as the Heracleotes, who dominate the Mariandynoi in the Classical period. However, some archeological findings among these three major populations suggest their early Archaic interactions were mutually beneficial.

The early interactions between the Greeks populations and the indigenous peoples of the Southern Black Sea coast is less documented than the Greek's history themselves. Few remains are found from these people and there is limited material to base a strong case. The interactions and relations between the Greeks and locals in the Archaic period mold their exchanges in later periods and serves to better understand their culture and relationship moving forward.

Heraclea Pontica

The Greeks founded Heraclea Pontica in Mariandynoi land. These peoples shared lands with the Bithynians and Caucones who lived off the land's abundance of barley, wheat, beans, millet, sesame, fruits, and excellent timber for building.⁷⁹ Despite the Mariandynoi's lack of interaction with the Greek world or other empires before the Heracleotes, several sources indicate a welcoming arrival for the Greeks. The Mariandynoi may have saw the Greeks as a powerful ally to assist against the rival Thynians or Bebrykes and an easy way to access luxury goods from the west.⁸⁰ The Mariandynoi allotted Gnesiochus, the founder of Heraclea, a plot of

⁷⁸ Xenophon, 6.4.2; Apollonius, *Argonautic*, 2.374-376; *Ibid*.

⁷⁹ Xenophon, 6.4.3-6; Apollonius 2.723

⁸⁰ Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, pg. 18

land to form a colony.⁸¹ After Heraclea's establishment, they begin worshipping the region's local hero, Agamestor.⁸² The Greeks worshiped him as the colonies' Divine protector. The early adoption of Agamestor, a non-Greek Figure, creates a sense of fictive kinship between the populations. The fictive ties expressed through mutual cultural adoption creates a cultural middle ground in the city. The assimilation of the local hero as protector gives the Greek legitimacy among the Mariandynoi and indicates an initial friendly interaction between the peoples where exchanges of cultural and goods take place. Justin references the Megarians/Boeotians interaction with the Mariandynoi after their arrival stating, "They founded a city, Heraclea, and since they had been conveyed to this site by the auspices of the Fates, they acquired a great power in a short time. Afterwards there were many wars of this city against its neighbors".⁸³ The relationship only went negative after Heraclea's power grew unmanageable in the late Archaic and early Classical period. Apollonius Rhodius text the *Argonautica* talks about the Mariandynians welcoming the Argonauts and bringing them gifts, further signifying a welcoming early relationship. Poseidonius states that the Mariandynoi willingly subjected themselves in return for the Greeks supplying them with basic necessities. His text is the only one that suggests an initial subjugation, but shows a willingness to cooperate and sets up for later discrepancies between the peoples.⁸⁴ Strabo implies an initial interaction in contrast to the other authors. He states that the Milesian colony subjugated the Mariandynians before the Megarians arrival to the shores.⁸⁵ This is unlikely and is reflective of Strabo's subsequent views of the

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Justin 16.3.7-8; Burnstein, pg. 18

⁸⁴ Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, 6.263c-e

⁸⁵ Strabo, 11.3.4

native populations in this area.⁸⁶ Overall the exchange between the Mariandynoi and the Greeks was mutually beneficial at Heraclea's foundation.

Struggles increased between the Greeks and locals by the end of the Archaic Period. The Heracleian economy was too strong and internal struggles drove their lust to expand through conquering the Mariandynoi and utilizing them for labor.⁸⁷ There is no record of the war's progress through the Archaic period, but it halted when Persia called upon Heraclea to fight for them in the invasion of Greece.

There was a significant shift in the interactions between the Mariandynoi and the Heracleotes in the Classical Period. The initial conflicts between the two continued as the Heracleotes returned from Persia's invasion of mainland Greece, and the violence between the two began to pick up.⁸⁸ There is no record taken of these conflicts, but overall the territory of Heraclea increases consistently until the end of the fifth century. The Heracleote land grab indicates their domination of the Mariandynoi until the Greeks decisively defeated the Mariandynoi in the last quarter of the fifth century.⁸⁹ By 424, Heraclea pushed the Mariandynoi out of their agricultural lands all the way back to the border of Bithynian territory⁹⁰, which potentially causes a serious issue for Heraclea, due to the apoikia's proximity to the much stronger and more vicious Bithynian tribes. Luckily, the Bithynians were currently expanding westward at the time and had no interest in invading the newly captured Greek territory.⁹¹ The

⁸⁶ Strabo was very critical of the local populations and often refers to them in a derogatory sense

⁸⁷ Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, pg. 28

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Xenophon 6.2.14

⁹¹ Thucydides 4.75.2

Greeks captured the Mariandynoi using them in a similar fashion to the helots in Lacedaemon, while also using them as rowers in Heraclea's naval force.

Capturing the Mariandynoi led Heraclea to great preeminence in the southern Black Sea. Combined with her relationship with Athens and Persia, this group brought Heraclea a significant population that it utilized for labor and defense. They maintained a reasonable relationship with the Mariandynoi letting them stay in their villages and speak their own language. This point is under contention due to Strabo's reference to their subjugation as more like a form of slavery. Strabo states,

“δέ (συμβῆναι γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις), καθάπερ Κρησίμην ἐθήτευσεν ἡ Μνώα καλουμένη σύνοδος, Θετταλοῖς δὲ οἱ Πενέσται.” “For they were sold on the same conditions as the class of persons called Mnoans, who were slaves to the Cretans, and the Penestæ, who were slaves of the Thessalians”⁹² Burnstein claims Strabo says that their language was preserved to the first century AD.⁹³ It is difficult to say whether Strabo was referring to the Mariandynoi language, since the language Strabo refers to is several centuries removed, and may be a relic of a different culture. However, preserving their language does attest to the fact that the Heracleotes left the native populations' cultures in that area intact and let them, for the most part, go about living their normal lives. The Heracleotes would probably see the benefit of incorporating the Mariandynoi into their culture and many likely lived in the city. The Mariandynoi paid a tribute to Heraclea in the same way a medieval serf did. Plato refers to the Mariandynoi in *Laws* saying that they reacted less violently

⁹² Strabo, 12.3.4

⁹³ Strabo 12.5.4

than the Helots despite their similar subjugation.⁹⁴ Several authors refer to them as dorophorous “δοροφορους” meaning Gift Bearers, not slaves, so they likely enjoyed more freedoms.⁹⁵ The Mariandynoi outnumber the Heracleotes, whose use of Mariandynoi rowers alone outnumbered the entire Heracleote population.⁹⁶ The population difference raised the Heracleotes’ chance of dealing with revolts and inciting other tribes to rebellion. Heraclea’s economy continued to explode through the 5th century, likely indicating a limited effect from these revolts. Heraclea’s ability to maintain power over these people lasted far after the Classical period until the 1st century BCE, incorporating them into Heraclea’s network and culture.

The benefits of this new socio-economic dynamic helped Heraclea reach economic fruition. The access to the hinterlands resources brought new materials to trade for Heraclea and saw the exportation of Heracleote traders throughout the Black Sea and Mediterranean. Demosthenes’, *Against Callippus* describes the case and death of Lycon the Heracleote in Athens, and indicates a regularity in which the Athenian merchants would have dealt with Heracleotes.⁹⁷ A colony as seemingly insignificant as Heraclea having direct trade relations Athens attests to the sheer economic power that the hinterland access brought. The apoikia’s ability to export ceramics and lumber on the large scale that it did, corresponds directly to this period of the Mariandynoi’s subjugation. The Mariandynoi’s role in Heraclea’s economic expansion is significant, and is possibly the most significant network in Heraclea’s entire Network system during the Classical Period.

⁹⁴ Plato, *Laws* 6.776c

⁹⁵ Burnstein lists several texts that reference the Mariandynoi with the term “Dorophorous”, supporting the idea that the relationship between the two peoples was likely serf-like. Euphorin, F78, Athenaeus, 6.263, Hesychius, D27

⁹⁶ Burnstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, pg. 30

⁹⁷ Demosthenes. *Against Callippus*, ed. W. Rennie. (Oxonii.e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1931)

Sinope

Pseudo-Scymnus describes the area of Sinope that the Greeks inhabited,

Ἐἶτεν Σινώπη πόλις ἐπώνυμος μίας Ἀμαζόνων, ὣν πλησίον τὸ ἄγριον, ἣν ποτε μὲν
χωρίον εὐγενεῖς ὄντες Σύριοι, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ, ὡς λεγούσιν, Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι ἐπ' Ἀμαζόνας
διεβήσαν, Αὐτολύχος τε καὶ συν Δηϊλεοντί Ψλόγιος, ὄντες Θετταλοὶ, εἰτα δ' Ἀβρωνδας
γενεὶ Μιλησιος ὑπὸ Κίμμεριους Κῶος, πάλιν δὲ Κρητινῆς, οἱ γενομένοι φυγαδὲς δρῶν
Μιλησιῶν. Οὗτοι συνοιχιζοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν, ἥνιχα ὁ Κίμμεριων χατεδράμε τὴν Ἀσίαν
στρατός.⁹⁸

“Then Sinope a polis after one of the Amazons, dwelling nearby, Once indigenous Syrian inhabited it. After that, as they say, the Greeks who Crossed against the Amazons- Autolycus and Phlogius with Deileon, being Thessalians. After the Cimmerians, Cousins and Moreover Cretines, fugitives from the Milesians. They joined in inhabiting it when the Cimmerians’ army overran Asia”

This passage calls into question Sinope’s foundational story, apparently naming the city after the Nymph Sinope who mates with Apollo thus giving the city prominence.⁹⁹ Morrit points out that a fragment from an ancient commentator on Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica* indicated that the word for a heavy drinking woman is “Sanape” in Thracian, and that an amazon married the king in the region of Sinope.¹⁰⁰ She drank far too much wine and given nickname “Sanape” which became the name of the town her husband named after her. The language bastardized and the town became Sinope. This explanation for Sinope’s name is not heavily supported, but remains one of the few theories with a philological and evidence based backing. For now, the true origin of Sinope’s name is lost to time, but this theory plays to a larger theme of Sinope’s development, where the Greeks living in the apoikia assimilated aspects of indigenous cultures and incorporate the other local peoples living on the coast and hinterland.

⁹⁸ Pseudo Scymnus, 941-52

⁹⁹ Robert D. Morrit, *Stones That Speak*, (Cambridge Scholars, 2010): 157

¹⁰⁰ David Braud, “Myth and Ritual at Sinope: From Diogenes the Cynic to Sanape the Amazon” *Ancient Civilization from Scythia to Siberia*. Vol. 16 (2010): 18

Despite the initial foundation story, according to the ancient authors and scholars, the ancient Syrians inhabited the area surrounding Sinope before the Greek's arrival. Archeologists found a significant amount of pottery from the Archaic period. According to Doonan, the director of the new excavation started in Sinope in 2015, much of the pottery found from the period surrounding the foundation of Sinope is not Greek.¹⁰¹ The Greek pottery from the graves cites is largely in the Black Sea style with a few Corinthian pieces.¹⁰² There is a large amount of pottery dating from after the seventh century to a little after 600 BCE from the interior. Morrit identifies the pottery as Phrygian, and the sheer amount attests to close relations with the peoples of the interior. The same can be said of Sinope's daughter colony, Amasus.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Owen Doonan, "Sinop Kalesi Archaeological Excavations, 2015-2016 Field Seasons," in S. Steadman and G. McMahon *The Archaeology of Anatolia: Recent Discoveries* Vol. 2, (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2017.): 90-94

¹⁰² Robert D. Morrit, *Stones That Speak*, 157

¹⁰³ Ibid.



Figure 2: Western Anatolia pottery from construction fill of city wall (seventh to sixth century BCE)¹⁰⁴

Many of these pieces, found mostly in the Kumkapi cemetery, are of local designs.¹⁰⁵ There were a few Archaic steles mixed with the hinterland pottery found in this area.¹⁰⁶ In conjunction with the literary references to the interactions between the Greeks and locals, the mixing of pottery styles present at the grave site indicates a high likelihood of a mixed population. Although Greeks living in Sinope created pottery in the local style, sharing styles would still indicate a

¹⁰⁴ Taken from: Owen Doonan, "Sinop Kalesi Archaeological Excavations, 2015-2016 Field Seasons," pg. 94

¹⁰⁵ Owen Doonan, "Sinope, New Understandings of the Early Colony Based on Recent Research at Sinope Kale" in M. Manoledakis (eds.) *The Black Sea in the Light of New Archaeological Data and Theoretical Approaches* (Thessaloniki, 2016): 220

¹⁰⁶ Owen Doonan, "Sacred Landscapes and the Colonization of the Sinop Promontory" *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions*, (Oxford, BAR International Series, 2010): 72

significant amount of cultural exchange with local people. Sinope focuses its Archaic efforts on the Harbor and expanding trade relations in the Black Sea. Little evidence suggests an investment in agriculture and any sort of chora, and would be one of the reasons why Sinope is able to keep civil with its early neighbors.¹⁰⁷ The Syrians, Paphlagonians, and Leukosyrians and Greeks both inhabited Sinope, or at least had intimate networks, possibly through cultic practices located on the outskirts of the city.¹⁰⁸ Several other cities in the area have shown a mixture of Phrygian and Greek pottery collections together that further indicates this close connection.

The Greeks and Syrians assimilated each other's cultures like other Greek-local populations on the southern coast. The material evidence suggests a high likelihood of a mutual worship of mythical figures and sharing of religious sites. Archeologists found a combination of Black Attic and Phrygian ceramics under a Hellenistic temple east of the city's walls. This signified a mixed cultic activity between the two populations and a possible shared worship site, since both peoples would reuse the holy site over multiple generations and different periods.¹⁰⁹ Sharing a religious cult with locals was a common occurrence during this period.

Sinope's interactions with the local populations in the region vary from those of Heraclea. Historical records lack references to any tribes warring with Sinope, and even the 10,000 would not dare impede Sinope's daughter colonies.¹¹⁰ Xenophon refers to the foundation

¹⁰⁷ Owen Doonan, "Sinope, New Understandings of the Early Colony Based on Recent Research at Sinope Kale" in M. Manoledakis (eds.) *The Black Sea in the Light of New Archaeological Data and Theoretical Approaches* (Thessaloniki, 2016): 220

¹⁰⁸ Doonan. Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Doonan, Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Xenophon *Anabasis*: 5.5.10

of Cotyora, as being as result of capturing the lands from the barbarians, which may imply struggling between the Greeks and locals, but not likely in direct contention with Sinope.¹¹¹

As a result of excavations in the hinterland of Sinope, it is reasonable to assume that Sinope had full access to the resources of the interior. Whereas Heraclea had to dominant and conquer the Mariandynoi to gain access to the rich resources of the mountainous coast, Sinope seems to have produced mutually beneficial relationships with the local peoples during the Classical Period. Archeologist found Sinopean goods manufactured from products of the hinterlands throughout the cities of the Black sea, as referenced in chapter two, and the lumber pulled from the area was likely used for ship building. According to Doonan, a significant number of Greek wares are found in the coastal settlements of Keciogly and Abdaloglu where towns of local tribes likely stood in the Classical Period.¹¹² French-Turkish excavations also found a Greek production zone on the south coast of Boztepe indicating a more permanent Greek presence in the Sinopean hinterland.¹¹³ Moreover, the highlands of the Sinopean coast contained mixed amphora pieces matching the style of fourth to third century Sinope.¹¹⁴ Clearly, the locals had little issue with the Greek's access to the hinterland's nature resource. Finally, Doonan and his team found tumuli in Sinope dated to the fourth century BCE. The tumuli mimicked the style of other tumuli found at local bronze age sites.¹¹⁵ Doonan utilizes a Middle Ground lens,

¹¹¹ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 5.5.12

¹¹² Owen Doonan,, "Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial 'Middle Ground' in the Hinterland Landscape of Greek Sinope," in O. Henry and U. Kelp, *Tumulus as Sema: Proceedings of an International Conference on Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*. (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2015.): 5

¹¹³ Y. Garlan and I Tatlican, "Fouilles d'ateliers amphoriques a Zeytinlik (Sinop) en 1994 et 1995" *Anatolia Antiqua*, Vol. 5 (1997): 307-16.

¹¹⁴ Doonan, *ibid*.

¹¹⁵ Doonan, "Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial 'Middle Ground' in the Hinterland Landscape of Greek Sinope", pg. 65

suggesting that the Greek inhabitants created the tumuli in the Bronze Age-style to enforce a joint ancestor and identity between the Greeks and local populations surrounding Sinope.¹¹⁶

All of the evidence implies a positive relationship between the Greeks and natives, which Sinope exemplifies with its economic prosperity during the Classical Period. The presence of Sinopean pottery and hybrid styled tumuli indicate an effort on the Greek and Native's behalf of turning to non-violent means of interaction. The evidences suggest that it was far more likely that Sinope made an active effort to incorporate the native populations into their culture and view them more as a partner in their pursuit of economic dominance in the region incorporating them into the local Sinopean network, instead of a purely utilizable resource.

Tios

The Greeks founded Tios in the area occupied by the a Paphlagonian tribe known as Caucones, who lived in the area between the Mariandynoi and the river Parthenius.¹¹⁷ According to Strabo these people, “are said by some writers to be Scythians, by others a tribe of Macedonians, and by others a tribe of Pelasgi.”¹¹⁸ The Caucones shared a similar culture to the Mariandyni who occupied the region around Heraclea. Based on the *Geography*, they were likely an agricultural society producing grains and natural resources for trade and exportation. Although Strabo claims that this city originally belonged to the Caucones, it is far more likely that the Milesians colonized this area with support and as a mutual occupation with the Caucones. There is currently minimal material evidence available for Tios that would distinguish

¹¹⁶ Doonan, "Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial 'Middle Ground' in the Hinterland Landscape of Greek Sinope," pg. 1

¹¹⁷ Sumer Atasoy, “New Explorations of the Turkish Black Sea Coast: Filyos/Tios” in Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, Sumer Atasoy, et al. eds. *The Bosphorus: Gateway Between the Ancient West and East (1st Millennium BC- 5th Century AD)* (Oxford, 2013): 374

¹¹⁸ Strabo, 12.3.5

the identity make up of its population. The excavations yielded some archaic pottery in the Attic black, red, Ionian cup style common among Milesian Colonies, and wild goat sherds dating from the seventh through fourth century.¹¹⁹ The mixture of these styles supports an argument for a mixed population, but historians are not able to draw specific conclusions.

The textual sources do not indicate a conflict between the Milesians and the Cauconians, and so the locals did not compete for dominance over the coastal city. The Milesians shared the site with the Cauconians. Since the Cauconians would not have access to a navy, the Milesian presence would provide a access to traders around the Black Sea. Thus, although little is known about the history and culture of Tios, it likely resembled that of Heraclea and its daughter colonies during this period. Scholars may attribute a large amount of Tios' culture to the intimate exchange between the two peoples.¹²⁰

Scholars know little about Tios during the Classical Period. The name does not appear in texts until the end of the 4th century in Memnon, and archeological sources lack distinguishable material from this period. With an analysis of the early Hellenistic events a few assumptions are viable about Classical Tios. The Greek citizens' interactions with the Caucones continued into this period. No sources indicate warring between the Caucones and Tios, and existing as part Heracleian territory probably made did not make independence a priority. Tios existed in unison with them as they developed. Together with Heraclea, Bithynia was able to establish an alliance and regain Tios, which according to Memnon, was lost to another local kingdom.¹²¹ The city

¹¹⁹ Sumer Atasoy, "Ceramics from the Early Settlement at Tios", in Sumer Atasoy and Sahin Yildirim eds. *Tios: An Ancient City in Zonguldak* (Zonguldak: Kulter Ve Turizm Bakangili, 2015): 202-4

¹²⁰ Manoledakis, Manolis, "Greek Colonisation in the Southern Black Sea from the Viewpoint of the Local Populations" *Greek Colonisation: New Data Current Approaches*, (Thessaloniki, 2015): 63

¹²¹ Memnon, *History of Heraclea*, 9.4

transitioned between Bithynians and Phrygian tribes and didn't subjugate or extract labor out of them unless provided by Heraclea. Thus, Tios probably operated purely as a trading medium without much controversy.

The local populations affected the socio-economic development of these three colonies to varying degrees during the Archaic and Classical periods. Heraclea's relationship with the Mariandynoi varied depending on the time period. As a result, their interactions considerably hindered or boosted the colonies' economy. Sinope and Tios relationships with the natives was less volatile and more mutually beneficial to the groups involved. Sinope and Tios' open access to hinterland resources exemplifies how local populations influenced their economic growth.

CHAPTER THREE: AN ANALYSIS OF DOMINANT NETWORKS

This chapter looks at the influence of dominant Network systems in the Archaic and Classical period and the economic development of Heraclea, Sinope, and Tios. During these periods, Miletus, Megara/Boeotia, Athens, Persia, and the Black Sea littoral's networks played a role in the development of most of the Greek world to greater or lesser extents. Sinope, Heraclea, and Tios' economy did not develop independently, but rather as a result of their interactions with these dominant systems.

Sinope

The southern shores of the Black Sea remained largely uninhabited by Greeks for most of the early Archaic period. As referenced before, A group of Milesians set out in the later part of the 7th century to found a colony in the area of modern day Sinope. Eusebius's speculates the foundation date in his *Chronographia* as roughly 632/1 BCE, and archeologists such as Akurgal, Doonan, and Tsetschladze, who have worked or viewed the evidence discovered on site, agree on this estimate.¹²² Sinope, potentially the first permanent Greek presence on the southern coast, developed itself on the promontory of the central-southern Black-Sea coast in solidarity from other Greek populations. Its location was optimal for taking advantage of existing trade networks between the Euphrates and Black Sea.¹²³ It functioned as a staging ground for the other colonies that popped up on the southern shore, and served as focal point for trade relations.¹²⁴ Sinope also

¹²² Akurgal 1956; Boardman 1991; Doonan; Tsetschladze 1994, 1999,

¹²³ Owen P. Doonan, *Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connection in a Black Sea Hinterland*. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004): 70-72

¹²⁴ Owen Doonan, "Sinop Landscapes: Towards an Archaeology of Community in the Hinter land of Black Sea Port" *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol.16 (2010): 175

had two large harbors, the southernmost being the most prosperous of all the southern coast.¹²⁵

The favorable harbor conditions allowed Sinope to support high volumes of trade, for which the apoikia quickly became known. Its connection with Miletus attached it to a broad Network of between 75 to 90 colonies, and eventually many around the Black Sea with which Sinope had consistent trade.¹²⁶ There is little material evidence to support claims about trade relations during the Archaic period, but being connected to Miletus' network of Black Sea colonies would certainly benefit Sinope in its centralized location. Most of the evidence comes from Robinson's epigraphical analysis.¹²⁷ He problematically ascribed certain evidence, however, to the entire Pontic economy for which Sinope was directly responsible, and scholars are still trying to understand the evidence. This connection allowed Sinope to export olives and olive oil to other colonies forming along the Black Sea, and access large amounts of money giving Sinope its initial prominence.¹²⁸ Following Miletus's establishment of Sinope in the Archaic period, several more Greek apoikia form in 6th century. The Milesian Network does not necessary create an alliance among these apoikia and emporia, but it provides a relational network and gives Sinope easy access to trade and sale of materials gathered from the hinterland.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Totko Stoyanov, "Sinope as a Trading and Cultural Agent in Thrace during the Classical and Early Hellenistic Periods" *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol.16 (2010): 410.

¹²⁶ The two numbers are from Seneca (75) and Pliny the Elder (90) Seneca. *Helv.* 7.2, Pliny. *NH.* 5.112

¹²⁷ David M. Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*. (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1906)

¹²⁸ M.A. Dunham, *The History of Miletus: Down to the Anabasis of Alexander*, (London: Univeristy of London Press, 1915): 25

¹²⁹ G.R Tsetskhladze, *Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, Stages, Models and Native Population*. (Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998): 35



Figure 3: Archaic Network map of Sinope based on Milesian Network¹³⁰

Sinope's transition into the Classical period is not defined by any singular event or groups of events. Sinope's economic and social networks develop steadily through the period with many of the major changes occurring towards the end of the 5th century. Most of our information from this era comes from the three main authors: Perikles, Lamachus, Xenophon. The significant archeological evidence found on sight dates to the fifth and fourth centuries. The Classical Period saw an increase in Sinope's role in the Black Sea's economic Network system. Sinope was a clear economic powerhouse in the region, and began utilizing resources from the

¹³⁰ Map taken from: <http://classics.oxfordre.com/page/maps-greek-colonies>. Modified by Austin Wojkiewicz

hinterland.¹³¹ Sinope moved away from a pure fishing based economy into the exportation of natural resources such as metals and timber. She also began stretching her trade network to colonies on the western, northern, and even eastern Pontus. The eastern shores of Cholchis received far less trade and travel compared to the western route, which started roughly at Heraclea following the shore to Olbia. However, even in the Cholchis region, Archeologists found several silver Sinopean drachma dating from roughly 490 BCE - 320 BCE. They display the Dolphin, nymph, and eagle typical of Sinopean coinage.¹³² During this period, we see a significant increase in Sinope's Ceramic products present in northern and western cities. Archeologist have found more than 20,000 pieces of amphora across most of the colonies.¹³³ Also, Tsetskhlade and Avram's report shows an exceptional number of ceramic stamps found in Histria and Callatis.¹³⁴ These are Heraclea's colonies, and signify a strong trade connection with Heraclea, its daughter colonies, and its trade Network.

Sinope's local Southern Black Sea Network grew in economically as surrounding colonies gained access to metals, timber, and materials to make ceramics.¹³⁵ The central regions production dominated, and many of these colonies became dependent on Sinope's exporting ability, trade, and even military protection. Xenophon records the Sinopean Hecatonymus, who says,

¹³¹ Owen Doonan, "Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial 'Middle Ground' in the Hinterland Landscape of Greek Sinope," in O. Henry and U. Kelp, *Tumulus as Sema: Proceedings of an International Conference on Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*. (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2015.): 660

¹³² Nino Inaishbili and Merab Khalvashi, "Sinopean Imports on the Black Sea Littoral of South-West Georgia" *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 16 No. 1 (2010): 488

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Hind A. Avram and Gocha Tsetskhlade, "The Coasts of the Mariandynoi, Paphlagones, and Kappadokes" in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis of the Genesis of Archaemenid Art* (London, 2004): 963

¹³⁵ Owen Doonan, "Tumuli and the Expression of a Colonial 'Middle Ground' in the Hinterland Landscape of Greek Sinope," in O. Henry and U. Kelp, *Tumulus as Sema: Proceedings of an International Conference on Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*. (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2015.): 660

“Κοτυωρίται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἄποικοι, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην παραδεδώκαμεν βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένον καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι· ὥστε ὃ τιὰν τούτους κακὸν ποιήσητε ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις νομίζει πᾶσχειν”

“These Cotyorites are our colonists, and it was we who gave over to them this land, after we had taken it away from barbarians; therefore they pay us a stated tribute, as do the people of Cerasus and Trapezus; hence whatever harm you may do to these Cotyorites, the city of the Sinopeans regards as done to itself.”¹³⁶

Cotyora, Amasus, Trapezus, and the other colonies under Sinope’s direct influence would likely share a similar relationship. These colonies would rely on Sinope for her access to trade, economic support, military, and her relationship with other dominant regional powers, such as Persia and Athens.

¹³⁶ Xenophon, 5.5.10



Fig. 1. Sinopean drachmas from Pichvnari cemeteries
(courtesy of A. Kakhidze & N. Vashakidze).

Figure 4: Sinopean drachmas from Pichvnari cemeteries¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Taken From: Nino Inaishbili and Merab Khalvashi, "Sinopean Imports on the Black Sea Littoral of South-West Georgia" *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 16 No. 1 (2010): 489

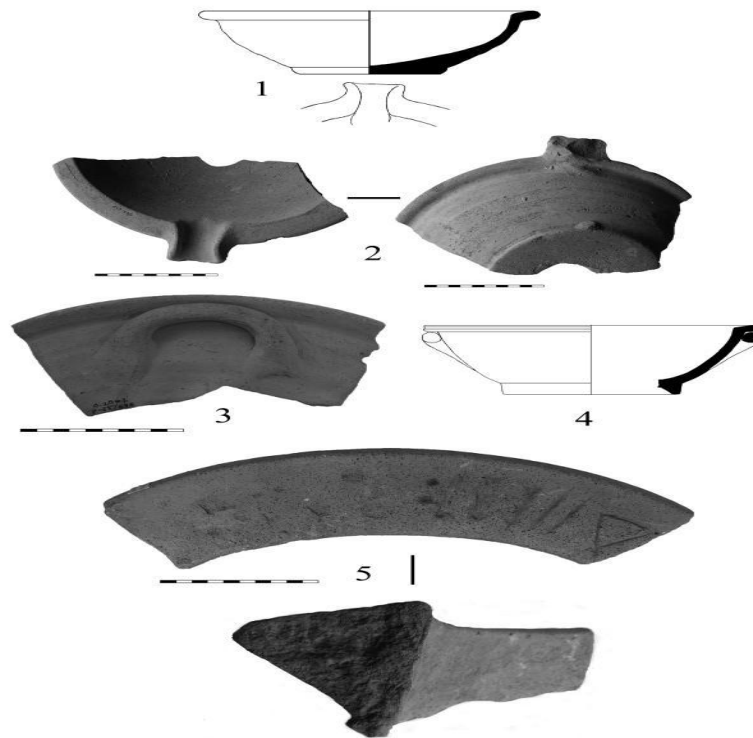


Figure 5: Examples of Sinopean Ceramics found in Olbia¹³⁸

Around 368 BCE, Sinope began to stamp their ceramic products and exported them all over the Black Sea.¹³⁹ In the early part of the Classical period, Heraclea was the leader in ceramic exports and was the first to stamp their signature on ceramics.¹⁴⁰ Sinope initially copied the style of Heraclea, who dominated the local ceramics market years earlier. Sinope's competition with Heraclea quickly dwindled as the apoikia's exportation overshadowed Heraclea quickly controlling most of the Black Sea Network.¹⁴¹ In the North, specifically in Olbia, several

¹³⁸ Valentyna Krapivina, "Ceramics From Sinope in Olbia Pontica" *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 16 (2010): 470

¹³⁹ Nikolaos Fedoseev, "History of Ancient Sinope and Ceramic stamps" in *International Symposium on Sinope and Black Sea Archaeology*, (Crimea, 2017): 12

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ligia Ruscu, "Sinopeans Abroad and Foreigners at Sinope" *Ancient West & East*. Vol. 7 (2008): 81

inscriptions honor Sinope's people. According to Saprykin in his article titled, "The Pontic Proxeny and the Sea Routes of the Ancient Greeks in the Euxine", the significant amount of decrees from Olbia to colonies of the southern and western Pontic region suggests that the major trading apoikiai (Sinope and Heraclea) favored the western trade route along the Thracian coastline.¹⁴² The eastern and southern trade routes were far less utilized during this period, and they only used open sea travel on very rare occasions due to primitive navigation techniques and the amount of skill required to do so.¹⁴³ Sinope likely maintained its connection with Heraclea via this trade route and built a stronger economic network with the Megarian Colonies. There are several accounts of sailors establishing the western trade route. Demosthenes speech *Against Lacrites*¹⁴⁴, discusses sailors favoring the western trade route because it was highly traveled and well established with ports. Another inscription found in Olbia dated to early 5th century indicates a decree in honor of Letrokles, a citizen of Sinope.¹⁴⁵ The proxeny between these two apoikia indicates a frequency of travel, which is trade related. A second inscription from the third quarter of the fifth century granting the exiled Sinopean Tyrant, Timesilcos, and his brothers, Polita and Atelia, asylum.¹⁴⁶ Trade became so frequent between Sinope and Olbia that by the third quarter of the fourth century there were more Sinopean Ceramic roof tiles in Olbia than Olbian ones.¹⁴⁷ Sinope's production rate saw some dips, but by the last quarter of the 4th century, the colony was the main provider for ceramic roof tiles for most of the northern Black Sea.

¹⁴² Sergey Saprykin, "The Pontic Proxeny and the Sea Routes of the Ancient Greeks in the Euxine", pg. 355

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Demosthenes, *Against Lacrites*. 10.20. 32-34

¹⁴⁵ Valentyna Krapivina, "Ceramics From Sinope in Olbia Pontica" *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Vol. 16 (2010): 467-477

¹⁴⁶ Yu.G. Vinogradov, *Political History of the Olbia Polis in the 7th -1st Centuries BC*, (Moscow, 1989),109-111; Valentyna, "Ceramics From Sinope in Olbia Pontica" pg. 472

¹⁴⁷ Krapivina, "Ceramics from Sinope in Olbia Pontica", pg. 468

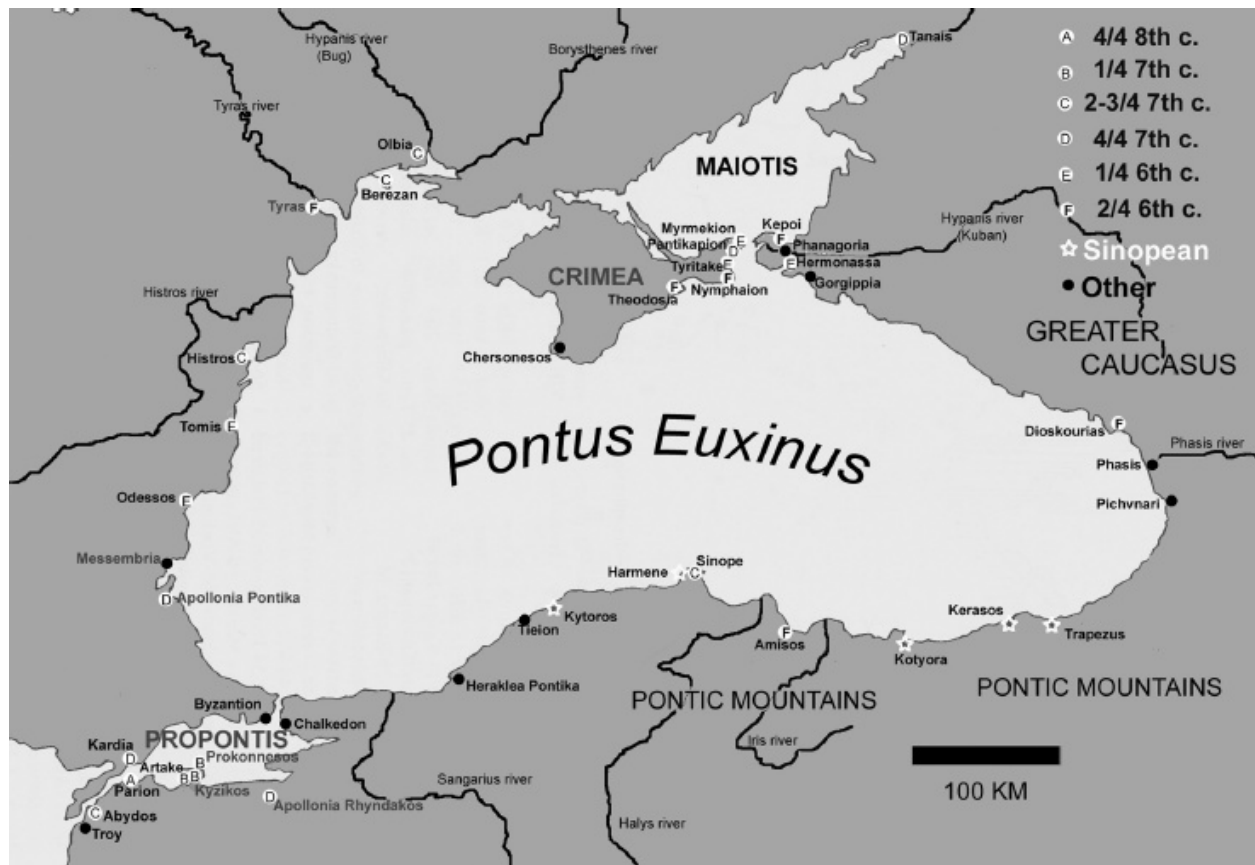


Figure 6: Map labeling Sinopean colonies¹⁴⁸

Sinope's social and economic ties with the Persian Empires Network were a significant driver of economic success for most of the earlier Classical period. Sinope, like all of the southern Pontic and Bithynian colonies, operated directly in the Persian sphere of influence. However, in the late Classical Period, Persia's influence began to dwindle. The threat of the Delian League caused complications in the apoikia's relationship with Persia as, in a similar manner to Heraclea, the Greeks had a split loyalty to the Athenians.¹⁴⁹ By 450 BC, the satrap of Dascyleum, who was the satrap elected to collect taxes and maintain order Sinope's region,

¹⁴⁸ Taken from: Owen P Doonan, "Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connection in a Black Sea Hinterland of a Black Sea Port" *Ancient Civilizations: Siberia to Scythia*, Vol. 16 No.1-2 (Philadelphia, 2004): 176

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

lost most of his income to the Delians. The Persians were able to maintain its relationship with Sinope initially, but soon the young Macedonian king Alexander was quickly capturing territory. As Alexander pushed his campaign farther, Sinope isolated itself from the results of Alexander's conquests. Sinope remained largely unaffected by surrounding wars and regime changes continuing to trade with the Black Sea and Persian networks. Arrian recounts a Sinopean embassy of arriving in Sardis, completely surprised to find out Alexander now sat on Darius's Throne.¹⁵⁰ At the meeting there was no violent altercation, but rather Alexander accepted their embassy and loyalty towards Darius.¹⁵¹ A connection to Persian gold and economy would connect Sinope with trade networks limitedly offered to Greek peoples outside of the Black Sea and further expand their economic Network. Sinope received better treatment under Alexander due to their respectable loyalty to the Persians.

Sinope's socio-economic growth during the Classical period is partially attributable to its relationship with Athens and the Athenian Networks. This includes the Delian League and Athenian Empire. In the mid fifth century, the Athenians sailed around the Black Sea doing favors to the Greek cities in an effort to build influence. Pericles attempted to establish a foothold in the Black Sea's trade Network, and make a reliable connection for grain.¹⁵² Sinope was under Timesilaus' tyrannical rule until roughly 440-30 BCE, when Pericles and Lamachus sailed to Sinope and overthrew Timesilaus forming an Athenian style governance.¹⁵³ The Athenians also freed Amisus from the current Cappadocian dynasty and changed its name to

¹⁵⁰ Arrian, *Mithridates* 8.83

¹⁵¹ Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*, pg. 247

¹⁵² Alfonso Moreno, *Feeding the democracy. [electronic resource] : the Athenian grain supply in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.*: (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2007): 165

¹⁵³ Burstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea.", pg. 30. Plutarch Pericles 20.1-2

Piraeus.¹⁵⁴ Pericles intended to win favor with Sinope in order to access its economic potential and the resources in the Sinopean Hinterland. He established a cleruchy at both colonies and added them to the tributary and the network of Athenian colonies.¹⁵⁵ Pericles started an effective social and economic relationship with the two cities sending more than six-hundred Athenian settlers to live in Sinope.¹⁵⁶ Akurgal and Budde's initial excavations of Sinope found Athenian grave stele indicating the presence of Athenian peoples.¹⁵⁷ The Athenian/Delian socio-economic Network was incredibly extensive, reaching all over the Aegean and Mediterranean.¹⁵⁸ By establishing a connection with the Athenians, either direct or hegemonic, Sinope now had direct access to the greater Greek world.

Most historians accept that Sinope was the most prominent colony in the Southern Black Sea during the Classical period. Its Network system grew drastically by utilizing the socio-economic networks of Athens, the northern Black Sea colonies, and the Persian Empire. Sinope had its hand in almost every significant Network in its vicinity and became a central node for trade expanding from a simple fishing based economy into a ceramic, olive, and timber exporter.¹⁵⁹ Without its access to these new socio-economic trade networks, Sinope would have likely never reached the height of economic prominence that it did during this period.

Heraclea Pontica

¹⁵⁴ Plutarch *Pericles* 20.1-2

¹⁵⁵ Alfonso Moreno, *Feeding the democracy. [electronic resource] : the Athenian grain supply in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.*, pg. 165

¹⁵⁶ Burstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea.", pg. 31

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ David M. Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*. (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1906): 247

¹⁵⁹ Owen P Doonan, 'Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connection in a Black Sea Hinterland of a Black Sea Port' *Ancient Civilizations: Siberia to Scythia*, Vol. 16 No.1-2 (Philadelphia, 2004): 181

The foundation of Heraclea Pontica is part of a slightly later colonization movement that took place in the mid 6th century BCE. No physical evidence exists for the possible Milesian colony that Strabo claims existed prior to its foundation. So, historians ascribe Heraclea's foundation to 560 BCE when the apoikia's history became textually traceable. The establishment of Heraclea coincides with Eusebius and Cyrus the Great's conquest of Media occurring in 560 BCE. There is no official consensus on whether the Megarians or Boeotians founded the colony. Justin and Euphorion claim that it was the Boeotian league, and Xenophon states that it was Megara.¹⁶⁰ Boeotia and Megara had close relations in the Archaic period, and the prominence of the Heracleote cult, the month of Herakleios added to the cities calendar, and the presences of a tribe referenced by Thebais attests to a Boeotian presence.¹⁶¹ These were all common to Boeotian establishments. The presence of the Heracleian cult was somewhat unique to the area with limit networks connecting it to other colonies. So, the foundation was an effort of both city-states. Establishing trade-networks with both these Poleis was a reason for Heraclea's initial quick development. After Sinope, Heraclea was known for having the nicest harbor in the southern Black Sea. Due to its location near the Propontus and thus the natural opening into the Mediterranean, Heraclea was in a prime location for trade with the rest of the Black Sea and the greater Greek world.¹⁶² Megara and its colonies controlled the entrance from the Propontus into the Black Sea and gave preferential agreements to Heraclea and her daughter colonies.¹⁶³ Megara also had a good relationship with Miletus. The combination of the two Networks opened trade

¹⁶⁰ Xenophon, 6.2.1

¹⁶¹ Burstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea.", pg. 17-18

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Krister Hanel, *Megarische Studien. Dissertation.* (Lund, 1934): 119-128; Burstein, "Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea.", pg.18

the hinterland. They engaged in constant conflict with the Mariandynoi in the late Archaic, early Classic period, with little gain or loss on either side. The bitter conflict ensued with no decisive victory until roughly 480 BCE.¹⁶⁶ The Mariandynoi edged in victory and prevented the Greeks from expanding, leading to several internal political and economic struggles within Heraclea due to the lack of land distribution among the Greek populations.¹⁶⁷ Eventually, sometime around the last quarter of the century, the Heracleotes defeat the Mariandynoi and subjugate them into a serf-style slavery.¹⁶⁸ As Heraclea reestablished itself economically, it took advantage of an underdeveloped wine and ceramics market in the Black Sea.¹⁶⁹ The apoikia became the first to export pottery, ceramic tiles, and wine on a large-scale. Heracleian wine and goods are found all over the Black Sea littoral, and even extended into northern Greece and the Athenian region. This is evident by the sheer amount of ceramics found in the western and northern apoikia with Heraclea's stamp/inscription.

Xenophon also references the volume of ships in the trade harbor in 400, stating, “πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἔστιν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ. For there are many ships in Heraclea.” exhibiting that Heraclea's economic network was thriving.¹⁷⁰ Sinope supersedes Heraclea ceramics exportation in the Black Sea, but many of Sinope's designs come from Heraclea's style.¹⁷¹ One inscription shows Heraclea extended trade as far north as Olbia.¹⁷² Olbia made several dedications to

¹⁶⁶ Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, pg. 23

¹⁶⁷ Sergey Saprykin, “The Pontic Proxeny and the Sea Routes of the Ancient Greeks in the Euxine” *The International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 26 No. 2 (2014): 62

¹⁶⁸ Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, pg. 31

¹⁶⁹ I.B. Brasinskij, “Ceramic Stamps of Heraclea Pontica” *Numismatika I Epigraphika* Vol. 5 (1965): 10-30; Burnstein, pg. 36

¹⁷⁰ Xenophon, 5.6.10

¹⁷¹ Nikolaos Fedoseev, “History of Ancient Sinope and Ceramic stamps” in *International Symposium on Sinope and Black Sea Archaeology*, (Crimea, 2017): 12

¹⁷² Sergey Saprykin, “The Pontic Proxeny and the Sea Routes of the Ancient Greeks in the Euxine”, pg. 326

proxenies on behalf of trade agreements. Olbia likely dedicated to the citizens of Heraclea as a show of good will for their long-standing trade agreements.¹⁷³ After 400, Heraclea was a strong economic power with evidence of its traders present in all of the Black Sea and European Greece.

The first century of Heraclea's history saw an increase in economic relations with Athens. Heraclea joined Athens' Network system around the same time as Sinope, showing a similar pattern of growth. Athens became a significant contributor to Heraclea's economy., During the Periclean period, however, Heraclea responded differently than Sinope to Pericles' attempts to win them over. The historical sources are silent on the period, but the scholarly consensus suggests that the Heracleotes met Pericles with a level of hostility.¹⁷⁴ Glotz suggests that the hostile response towards Pericles was evident of a plot by Heraclea to control the Black Sea's trade network, possibly overcoming Sinope's position.¹⁷⁵ According to Burnstein, this is pure speculation. He argues that this interpretation is far-fetched and unlikely because the two cities continued trade following this event.¹⁷⁶ Heraclea did not utilize the offer made by Pericles, and thus did not capitalize on any potential benefits that the general may have awarded to her. In the last quarter of the fifth century, the Athenian empire added Pontic cities as the tributaries. They listed Heraclea as a top contributor, but they refused to pay the tribute demanded of them. They wished to remain loyal to Persia.¹⁷⁷ The Athenians responded in force. A storm, however, subverted them as soon as they made it to the shores. They had to rely on Heracleotes' support to

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Burnstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, pg. 31

¹⁷⁵ G. Glotz, *The Greek City and its Institutions* (London: Kegan Paul, 1929): 210

¹⁷⁶ Burnstein,

¹⁷⁷ Justin 16.3.9

safely escort them to Chalcadon. Around the same time, Heraclea's government toppled and a democracy replaced it, which likely led to a better relationship with Athens. Heraclea accepted participation in the Athenian tributary, and started a joint establishment of Chersonnesus in roughly 422/1 BCE.¹⁷⁸ This continued until Heraclea left the Empire in roughly 411, and the apoikia became independent by the Empires collapse in 404.

Heraclea's relationship with Persia was similar to Sinope's. As the Greco-Persian war was coming to an end, Darius had demanded the southern colonies to build warships for Persia in order to invade European Greece.¹⁷⁹ Since Athens and the Delian league did not extend its offensive against Persia into the Black Sea initially, Heraclea remained loyal to Persia while continuing to grow its relationship with Athens and the Delian League.¹⁸⁰ In the early Classical period until roughly 450BCE, Heraclea's relationship with Persia and the satrap of Dascyleum was likely its most beneficial relationship. As the Athenians weakened Persia's control of the southern Black Sea, however, the satrap was losing his ability to keep local populations at bay and out of the business of the Greeks who were now beginning to defect to the Delians.

Tios

According to Strabo, Tios held far less significance in the Black Sea than the other two apoikia. He spoke of Tios as a simple trading village on the coast with its most significant feature being a decent natural harbor.¹⁸¹ The Milesians established Tios sometime during the mid 7th century, connecting Tios into the large Milesian Network matrix that much of the Black Sea

¹⁷⁸ Pseudo Scymnus, 826-831. Scymnus's source is in contention with Strabo who at 7.4.2 claims that Chersonnesus was founded by Heraclea alone; Burnstein, pg. 119

¹⁷⁹ Diodorus 11.2.1

¹⁸⁰ Burnstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, pg. 30

¹⁸¹ Strabo, 12.3.8

shared. According to a legend quoted by Strabo, the founder of the city was a Milesian priest named Tios, who held significant prominence and founded a few sites on the southern coast.¹⁸² Not much is known of Tios during the Archaic period, and current excavations have found little material from that period. The earlier excavations yielded shards of Milesian pottery that coincides with other Milesian colonies founded during the same period.¹⁸³ While trading was Tios' primary focus, the colony is not as well-known for its economic preeminence like Sinope and Heraclea. Our current evidence indicates Tios was a more minor contributor to the Black Sea and Milesian network system than Sinope, but excavations only recently started. A more conclusive analysis requires more material evidence

¹⁸² Strabo 12.3.5

¹⁸³ Sumer Atasoy, "Ceramics from the Early Settlement at Tios", in Sumer Atasoy and Sahin Yildirim eds. *Tios: An Ancient City in Zonguldak* (Zonguldak: Kulter Ve Turizm Bakangili, 2015): 202

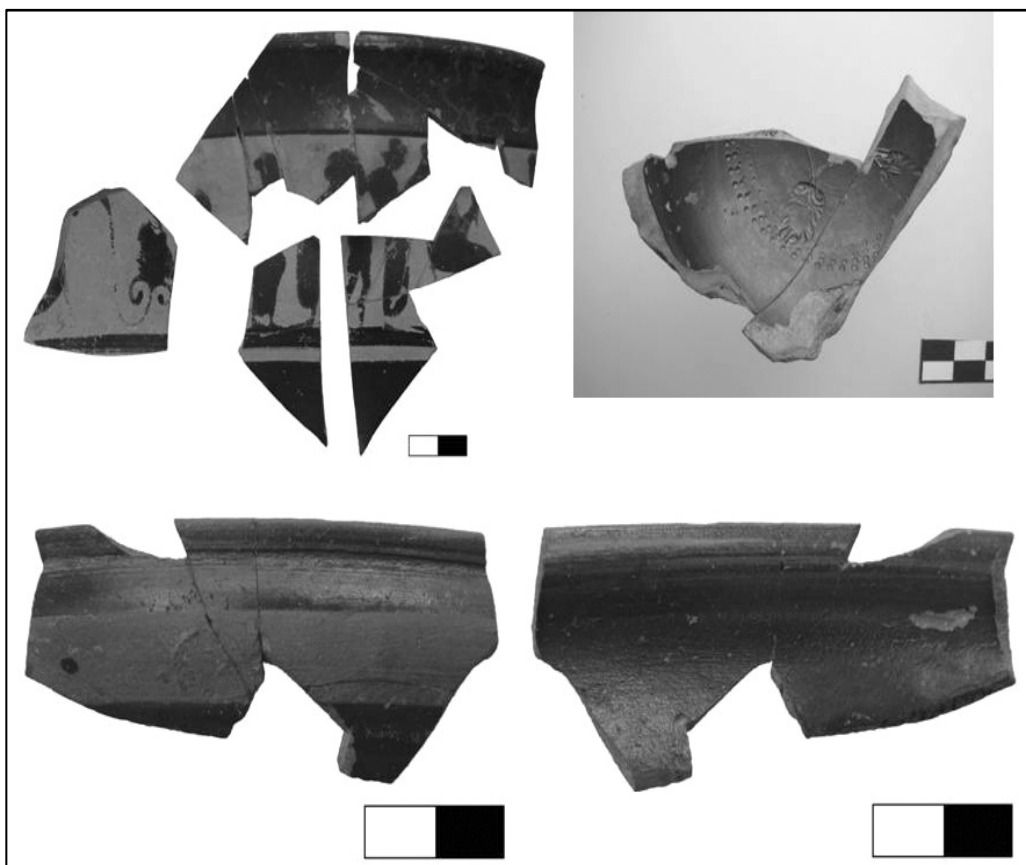


Fig. 8: Pottery sherds dating from the 6th-4th centuries BC

Figure 8: Archaic and Classical period pottery at Tios¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Taken From: Sumer Atasoy, "New Explorations of the Turkish Black Sea Coast: Filyos/Tios" in Gocha R. Tsetsckhladze, Sumer Atasoy, et al. eds. *The Bosphorus: Gateway Between the Ancient West and East (1st Millennium BC- 5th Century AD)* (Oxford, 2013): 376

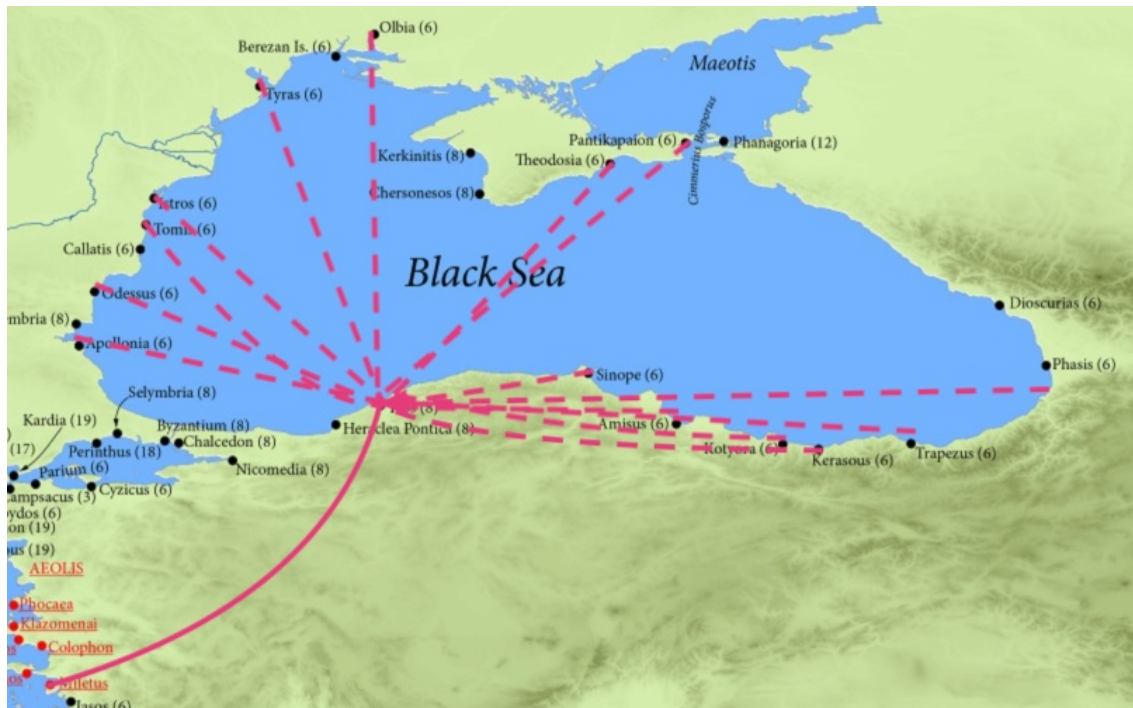


Figure 9: Archaic Network map of Tios based of Milesian Network system¹⁸⁵

There is not much known about Tios' network interactions during the Classical Period. Strabo discusses the foundations of Tios and its interactions with local populations, but unfortunately, there is no textual narrative or reference to the 5th-4th centuries. The apoikia's historical record resumes in the Hellenistic period as Tios transitioned between kingdoms subjugating itself to multiple rulers. The few Classical archeological finds we have indicate an active participation in the Black Sea economic Network, but historians cannot be sure. One specific case is a late Classical coin from Heraclea, displaying a picture of Dionysus.¹⁸⁶ Since Tios will come under the control of both Heraclea and Sinope in the Hellenistic period, these colonies would have continued to interact and trade throughout the Classical period. Excavations

¹⁸⁵ Map taken from: <http://classics.oxfordre.com/page/maps-greek-colonies>. Modified by Austin Wojkiewicz

¹⁸⁶ Sumer Atasoy, "Coins from the Tios Excavation" in Sumer Atasoy and Sahin Yildirim eds. *Tios: An Ancient City in Zonguldak* (Zonguldak: Kulter Ve Turizm Bakangili, 2015): 384

at Tios are still on going. As the archeologists continue to excavate the apoikia's acropolis and collect material from the site, Historians will formulate better conclusions.

The dominant Network systems of the Archaic and Classical period influence Heraclea, Sinope, and Tios to varying degrees. Although there is not as much available material and textual evidence for these periods compared to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, we can draw conclusions about these colonies' economic develop during the Archaic and Classical period. These colonies' economies do not develop independently, but rather in respect to the influence of network systems such as Miletus, Megara/Boeotia, Athens, Persia, and the Black Sea littoral.

CONCLUSION

Those who study the history of the Southern Black Sea coast will attest to the magnitude of unanswered questions and gaps in the historical knowledge. Classical scholars ignored the Black Sea, until recently, in favor of the Greek mainland and Italian coasts. The Turkish government reopened excavations on the northern coast and a new wave of historians and archeologists have begun trying to fill these gaps. As more information comes from these areas, a nuanced understanding of Black Sea history will be the result.

In the Case of Heraclea, Sinope, and Tios the quality and quantity of available textual and archeological evidence mirrors the other apoikia. Tios especially has very little material recovered so far. Reading their narrative histories is not enough to grasp the complexity and actuality of their development. These apoikia developed as a result of factors and influences that the literary sources do not capture. These three colonies, as well as many others in the Black Sea, develop as a result of their social and economic networks. They are part of broad Network systems that have a fluid nature, changing and influencing them to a greater or lesser degree. I have demonstrated how the dominant socio-economic Network systems including: Milesian, Megarian/Boeotian, Black Sea, Athenian, and Persian, and the local Networks between the apoikia and the local populations, induced and influenced the historical path of each one of colony. This analysis of the evidence available from each of these apoikia provides a more well-rounded understanding of their development.

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