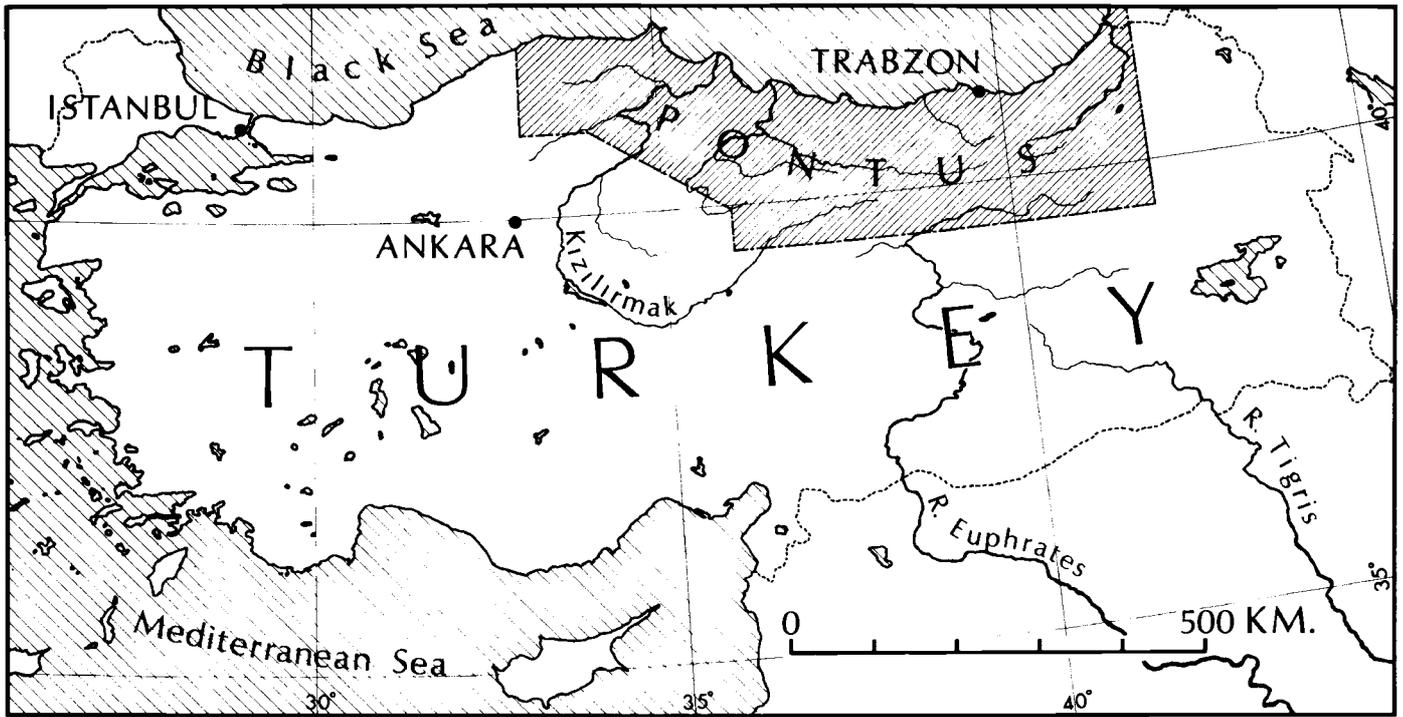


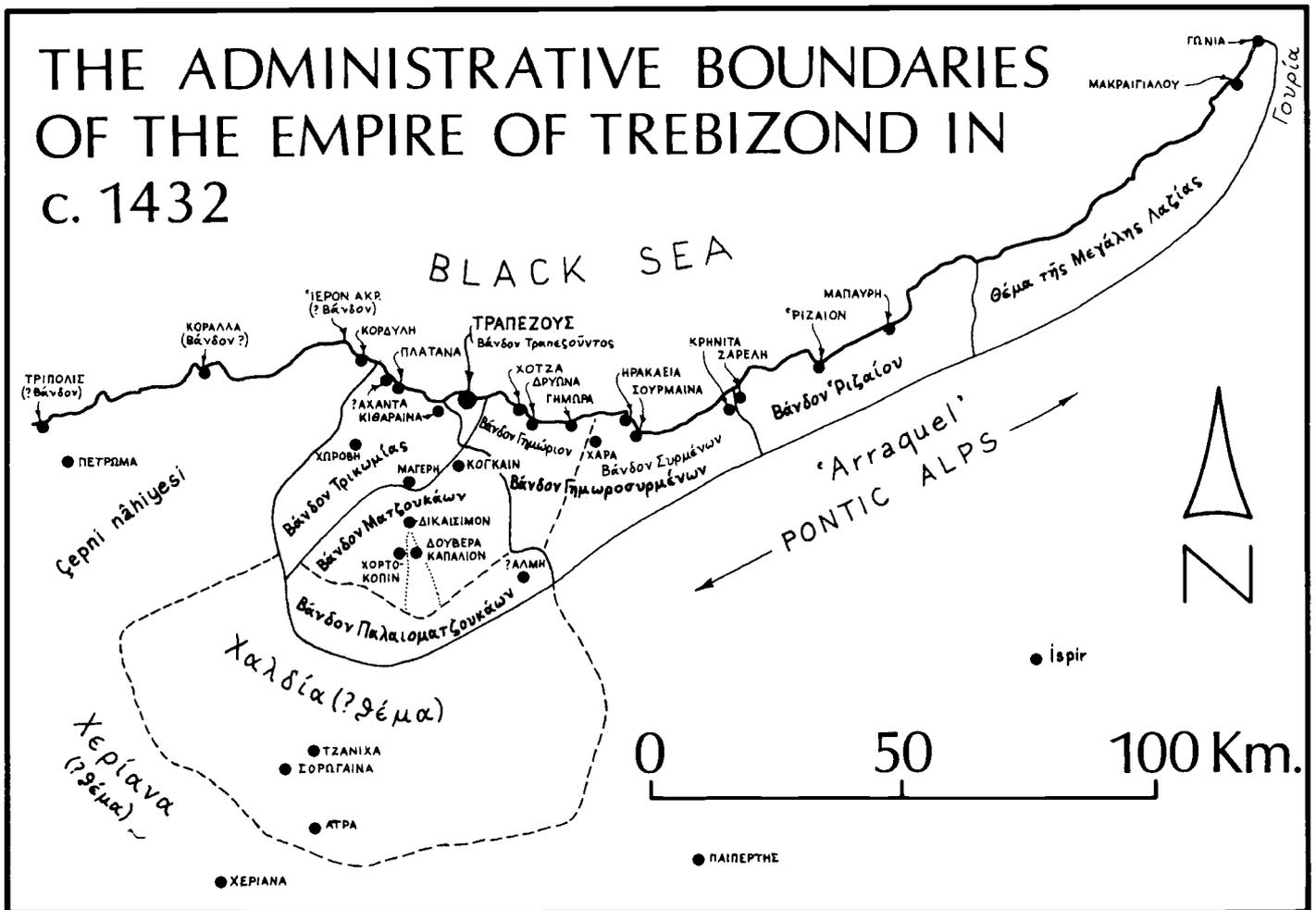
DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES

XX

THE BYZANTINE MONUMENTS  
AND TOPOGRAPHY OF THE  
PONTOS



1. Overall Map of Turkey, locating the Pontus



2.

THE BYZANTINE MONUMENTS  
AND TOPOGRAPHY OF THE  
PONTOS

ANTHONY BRYER and DAVID WINFIELD

With Maps and Plans by  
RICHARD ANDERSON  
and Drawings by  
JUNE WINFIELD

Volume One

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For  
ELIZABETH BRYER  
and  
JUNE WINFIELD



## Preface

The purpose of this Study is twofold. First, it is an essay in placing the material remains of the medieval peoples of a distinct region of Anatolia, the Pontos, in their historical and geographical setting. Second, it is a record—all too often of what can no longer be recorded. In the two decades since Anthony Bryer (A. A. M. B.) and David Winfield (D. C. W.) first met in the east porch of the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, on 19 August 1959, the Pontos has suffered a greater physical transformation than in its entire previous history. Its green mountains and limitless summer pastures are still unforgettable, but a new road system has been blasted through them and sites once secure in their remoteness, which the authors spent happy days walking or riding to, can now be reached for a *dolmuş* fare. Particularly devastating has been the destruction of monuments in the burgeoning coastal towns, not only of Byzantine churches and fortifications, but of Ottoman mosques and buildings too, for the bulldozers are indiscriminate. For example, of ninety-six or more churches in Trebizond (Trabzon) itself, up to sixty-eight were still standing in 1915. Today only ten medieval churches survive more or less intact—but then the Tabakhane Camisi, one of Trabzon's oldest mosques, was also swept away in 1979.

The destruction has not been limited to material remains. In an epigraphically barren land, living place-names become doubly precious. Yet the former toponymy of the Pontos, which preserved its most ancient record, has been wiped off the map by bureaucratic decree, against which Jeanne and Louis Robert have protested with eloquence: “Cette éradication, cette manie de changement abolit un passé national, tout comme un bull-dozer qui détruit une nécropole ou un édifice.”<sup>1</sup> The Pontic Turks have been deprived of their own past in a way even more radical than the departure of the Pontic Greeks in 1923.<sup>2</sup> Yukarıköy is no substitute for a toponym like Chortokopion (Hortokop), which had been a village name for millennia. So we have attempted—in vain, of course, but we made the attempt—to identify on the ground all known ancient and medieval place-names, before the final generation of Pontic Turks and Greeks that remembered them has gone. We believe that these decades are the last in which our work in the Pontos could have been possible.

Not before time, regional surveys of the Byzantine world are becoming more common, a revival of interest in Byzantine historical geography which was recognized at the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies at Oxford in 1966 (which eventually gave birth to a Commission presided over by Mme Héléne Ahrweiler), twenty-seven years after the death of Sir William Ramsay, the founder of our discipline.<sup>3</sup> But the practitioners of the discipline remain as happily individual as the regions they have made their own. Despite ground rules proposed by the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, of Vienna, under Professor Herbert Hunger, or by the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, authors' approaches will no doubt continue to be dictated by the special requirements of their areas, and what their eyes choose to see.<sup>4</sup> We have in mind such notable studies as Bean's and Mitford's Rough Cilicia, Harrison's Lycia, Russell's Anemurium, Haspels' Phrygia, Janin's *Grands Centres* (which include Trebizond), Asdracha's Rhodopes, Hild's and Koder's Hellas and Thessaly, Foss's Anatolian cities, and Müller-Wiener's

1. Jeanne and L. Robert, “La persistance de la toponymie antique dans l'Anatolie,” in *La toponymie antique*, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 12–14 juin 1975, Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiques, Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 4 (Leyden, n.d.), 62.

2. Chrysanthos Philippides, last Metropolitan of Trebizond, concluded his great history of the Church of Trebizond, in *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 782, with an echo of the threnody of Jeremiah: “Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens. The streets of Trebizond mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts: all her gates are desolate; her priests sigh and she is in bitterness. . . . Ye that

pass by, behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.” His words assume that their monuments would survive the Pontic Greeks who left Trebizond in 1923. In fact the reverse has happened.

3. *Bulletin d'information et de coordination of the Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines*, 8 (1975–76), *Annexe: Géographie historique*.

4. F. Kelnhofer, *Die topographische Bezugsgrundlage der Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (Vienna, 1976); D. H. French, “A study of Roman roads in Anatolia. Principles and methods,” *AnatSt*, 24 (1974), 143–49.

splendid survey of the capital itself.<sup>5</sup> We are no more uniform in approach with any of these scholars than they are with each other. What seems more important to us is that we have an exceptionally well-defined region, with a character that cannot be mistaken by anyone who has set foot in the Pontos.

The pocket Empire of Trebizond (1204–1461) was only the political surfacing of a singular Pontic regionalism which had a distinct social, economic, and geographical identity that long preceded the Grand Komnenoi, emperors of Trebizond, and survived them until this century. So this Study is also a contribution of material sources and commentary to a wider examination of the “total history” of the Pontos as a region, which A. A. M. B. and others have undertaken.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, it is the widest boundaries of the Empire of Trebizond and its encircling emirates and atabegates that we have taken as our geographical limits (rather than ancient Pontos), from Cape Karambis (Kerembe Burunu) in the west to Bathys (Batumi) in the east, and ranging south of the Pontic Alps to touch upon Neokaisareia (Niksar), Paipertes (Bayburt) and İspir. This is an area of over 80,000 square kilometers, which adjoins the Cappadocian investigations of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*: with an occasional change of gauge we are gratified to find that our road system links up with that of our Viennese colleagues.<sup>7</sup> In such a vast land, it may well be thought that we can only have seen a fraction of what we might have done. There are indeed many valleys we have not walked and precipitous castles we have not climbed—each author in the hope that the other would do so. But in fact we acquired a nose for what areas might be most fruitful and do not think that we have overlooked anything of the first importance—along the well-trodden coast at least. But because the Lykos (Kelkit) and Akampsis (Çoruh) valleys lay strictly outside the Empire of Trebizond, our descriptions of them are skimpier. We had intended to add Amaseia (Amasya) and its region, but when A. A. M. B. returned to the great castle to check D. C. W.’s preliminary sketch plan, we had to agree that we had been defeated, and so have omitted the section. There are times when an inaccurate plan is not better than none at all.

Within the horizontal bounds of the Empire of Trebizond and its immediate neighbors, we have plumbed deeper vertical limits of time. We record all Byzantine and Trapezuntine monuments known to us. Save in the title of this Study, we take the “Byzantine” period to end in 1204 and the “Trapezuntine” in 1461. Furthermore, where, as so often, classical or even earlier features and foundations are inescapable, we include them. If, for example, we encounter an otherwise unrecorded Latin inscription, it is here. The length and detail of a description is not necessarily a guide to the importance of a monument; if it has been adequately published elsewhere, we do not duplicate the work. Nor were we able to allot time to examining each site according to its significance. We also recorded the material remains of the Pontic Greeks and Armenians of after 1461, which we have published elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

D. C. W. began collecting material during his seven-monthly seasons in Trabzon as field director of the Russell Trust’s work on the paintings of the Hagia Sophia, from 1957–62. He returned for four more visits of a month or more. A. A. M. B. visited the Pontos nine times between 1959 and 1979 for periods of from two weeks to two months. Apart from monuments in Trebizond itself, the authors have visited only one site together (Hıdır Nebi in Trikomia, in 1962), but most places demanded more than one visit—sometimes many more over the years—and

5. G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963* (Vienna, 1965), the same’s *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968* (Vienna, 1970); R. M. Harrison, “Lycia in the late antiquity,” *Yayla*, 1 (1977), 10–15, and many other articles; J. Russell, “Anemurium. Eine römische Kleinstadt in Kleinasien,” *Antike Welt*, 7 (1976), 3–20, and many other articles; C. H. Emilie Haspels, *The highlands of Phrygia. Sites and monuments*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1971); Janin, *EMCGB*; Catherine Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Etude de géographie historique* (Athens, 1976); C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), and other works; F. Hild and J. Koder, *Hellas und Thessalia* (Vienna, 1976); and W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-Istanbul zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1977).

6. Cf. the Introduction to A. A. M. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*. Collected Studies (London, 1980), I–III. Students of the Pontos are indebted to the initiative of Dr. Odysseus Lampides, editor of the *Archeion Pontou*, in systematically publish-

ing literary texts. Among more promising developments is the work of Heath W. Lowry on the *defters* of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Trabzon: see Lowry, *Thesis*. He, John Haldon, Patricia Karlin-Hayter, Rowena Loverance, and A. A. M. B. are working on a University of Birmingham-Dumbarton Oaks project in late Byzantine and early Ottoman demography, which concentrates, among other areas, on Matzouka. Considerable Ottoman toponymical light will therefore be shed upon our Section XXI.

7. See F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna, 1977).

8. In the misleadingly titled “Nineteenth-century Monuments in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond: Architectural and Historical Notes” (the article in fact covers most of the geographical area of this book, and all Christian monuments after 1461), published with Selina Ballance and Jane Isaac in four parts: *AP*, 28 (1966–67), 233–307; *AP*, 29 (1968), 89–132; *AP*, 30 (1970), 228–385; and *AP*, 32 (1973–74), 126–130.

each author attempted to visit major monuments reported by the other, and to check plans on the spot. June Winfield, whose name is on the title page, contributed drawings of those wall paintings which would have been hardly legible in photographs. The maps and plans are by another Pontic traveler, Richard Anderson (R. C. A.), made from the authors' notes, measurements, and sketches. They are so integral to the book that R. C. A.'s name also appears on the title page, but despite the professional air of his work, they should not be regarded as more than measured sketch plans.

The Study opens with two chapters by D. C. W., the first on the "Topography of the Pontos," and the other on its "Routes." By way of commentary, A. A. M. B. contributes footnotes to the first chapter and an Excursus to the second. Then follow twenty-eight sections, working from west to east (see Key, p. xv). Each section has an historical and toponymical introduction and goes on to describe monuments within its area—in geographical order, save for the city of Trebizond, where monuments are listed alphabetically. Descriptions were made by amalgamating both authors' field notes on a total of 314 monuments and sites. We have exchanged drafts so often that we can no longer disentangle who is responsible for what. But it may be said that historical and toponymical introductions are basically the work of A. A. M. B., descriptions of wall paintings (including those of the bell tower of the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, which were omitted in the Russell Trust's publication of that church) are basically the work of D. C. W., while other monuments are about evenly divided between the two authors. A. A. M. B. wrote, or rewrote, the final version of the whole book. We note the (rare) occasions when we have agreed to disagree. Section XXII, on Chaldia, is limited geographically to the shrunken Trapezuntine duchy of that name, but treats historically with the much larger Byzantine theme of Chaldia too, and includes a prosopography of its officers. Two bibliographies, of the most frequently cited primary sources and secondary works, are conventional and arranged alphabetically by catch titles. A third bibliography, of travelers' reports on the Pontos (which are for us a primary source), is arranged unconventionally, by the year of travelers' visits to the Pontos.

We are keenly aware of at least some of our shortcomings. The observant reader will notice that there are only the most essential references to works, including new editions of texts, published after 1976, when this Study was in effect completed. For example, Michel Balard's important *La Romanie Génoise (XII<sup>e</sup>-début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1978)* is not cited at all. But we are more concerned about other matters. We have reluctantly resisted the temptation to offer much of analysis of material remains; for example of architectural typology (save for the churches of Trebizond), of wall paintings and their iconography (save for the churches of Matzouka), and of fortifications (save for the building sequences of the walls of Sinope and Trebizond). We have recorded only what the eye can see, and were very rarely helped by surface sherds or reports of coin finds. No medieval Pontic site has yet been excavated scientifically. Until this is done, analysis of masonry especially would be premature. Excavation of a small, relatively unspoiled and well-documented, site such as Koralla (Görece), might well provide the archeological clues to dating others. Analysis is also frustrated by the extraordinary continuity of Pontic building methods, and the scarcity of firmly dated paintings, churches, and castles to which we can relate others. It is to churches and castles that we are largely confined, for we are, alas, spared the domestic débris of the medieval Pontic peoples. In building, the Pontos breaks many Byzantine rules and has few of its own. So we are still unable to date a castle to the ninth or nineteenth century on the evidence of its masonry alone, nor do types and sizes of brick or tile (to which an Appendix is devoted) have any sequence that is recognizable to us. It is little comfort that colleagues working in other parts of Byzantine Anatolia have the same problems.

We can, however, be fairly certain about one generality. Even though the Pontos did not entirely share the history of the rest of Anatolia (for it largely escaped Persian, Arab, Seljuk, and even Ottoman attack, and most major Pontic settlements managed to glimmer throughout the Byzantine Dark Age), Pontic building activity closely reflects an Anatolian pattern that is becoming increasingly clear.<sup>9</sup> So, after a busy sixth century, the sequence of datable Pontic monuments virtually ceases in the early seventh century (after Heraclius' visits and his possible camp at Araklı). The sequence picks up again, at first hesitantly, with Basil I's visits, when St. Anne's (Trebizond's oldest surviving church) was rebuilt in 884/85. But the period of greatest activity comes after the death of the rest of

9. Most recently expressed in C. Mango, "The Disappearance and Revival of Cities," in his *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 60–87.

Byzantine Anatolia. About half our churches were built or rebuilt (and almost all the painted ones were decorated) under the Gand Komnenoi—up to fifty-six in Trebizond alone. As elsewhere, it is no surprise to find that building reflects local prosperity, patronage, and independence.

The foregoing was written in 1979, when publication of this Study seemed imminent. It takes no textual critic to notice that the work itself was written over a long period of time, the bulk of it in the late 1960s and early 1970s, while most of the fieldwork on which it is based was done even earlier, in the 1950s and 1960s. So to some extent it belongs to the pioneering age of Byzantine field archeology and historical geography, from which we planned this work as a step forward, an attempt at a new sort of study. Happily, however, it has since been overtaken by other approaches and new methods. Yet, we cannot go back now to re-examine our sites with new eyes, for all too often our monuments have been degraded or lost. As a record of them, this Study is necessarily immutable. Nor has the publication and analysis of documentary evidence stood still, but last-minute transference of textual references to editions which have since appeared would not materially alter historical arguments.

Nevertheless, some consequences of the prolonged gestation and postponed publication of the Study should be noted. Thus D. C. W. changed his less than enthusiastic view of the siting of Satala expressed in Chapter One, on topography (p. 14), when he collated the material for Chapter Two, on routes (p. 33), five years later: see also his “Northern routes across Anatolia,” *AnatSt*, 27 (1977), 151–66. He has incorporated his conclusions on Pontic fortifications in C. Foss and D. C. W., *Studies in Byzantine Fortifications* (Johannesburg, 1985).

To discussion of Pontic Group Passions and of the *Lives*, cult and monastery of St. Eugenios in Trebizond, on pp. 166 and 222 especially, should now be added the findings of Bernadette Martin-Hisard, “Trébizonde et le culte de Saint Eugène (6<sup>e</sup>–11<sup>e</sup> s.),” *REA*, 14 (1980), 307–43, while the *typikon* of the monastery and its founder Zeligoungios, in A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie litourgicheskikh rukopisej hranjashchihsja v bibliotekah pravoslavnago vostoka*, III, *Typika*, II (Petrograd, 1917), 435, is used by N. Oikonomides, “The chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: imperial tradition and political reality,” *AP*, 35 (1979), 311 and note 4.

A. A. M. B. discussed Ahanda (p. 163), possible site of the assassination of the Grand Komnenos Alexios IV on 26 April 1429, and his tomb outside the Chrysokephalos, Trebizond (p. 201), in “The faithless Kabazitai and Scholarioi,” *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. Ann Moffatt (Canberra, 1984), 309–28 and pls. 1–6.

In Trebizond itself, the Bedesten (p. 196) is not discussed by M. Cezar, *Typical commercial buildings of the Ottoman classical period and the Ottoman construction system* (Istanbul, 1983), 222–24. On our p. 233 D. C. W. disagrees with A. A. M. B. over the later date of the small church to the north of the present Hagia Sophia; its lower ground level suggests an earlier date, while churches were often built up against each other in monastic compounds. On the paintings of the main church, see now J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Remarques sur le programme décoratif de Sainte-Sophie à Trébizonde,” *Byzantinobulgarica*, 7 (1981), 379–92.

On the Chrysokephalos cathedral (p. 238), D. C. W. accepts the logic of A. A. M. B.’s dating sequence for the church, but sees a grave difficulty for it in the shape of the wide, low, drum and dome, which better fits the dates proposed by Selina Ballance. A. A. M. B. elaborates his argument in “Une église ‘à la demande du client’ à Trébizonde,” *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 32 (1982), 217–32. He should have noticed that the Metropolitan Basil of Inscription 2 in the church is the significantly commercial-minded cleric in Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, ed. and tran. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, *DOT*, II (CFHB, VI) (Washington, D. C., 1973), 322, 400, 422, 556–57, 571, 575.

Matzouka, described in Section XXI, was one of the areas investigated in the Birmingham-Dumbarton Oaks project on late Byzantine and early Ottoman demography, 1978–82, presented at the 1982 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, and to be published in contributions to *Continuity and change in late Byzantine and early Ottoman Society*, ed. A. A. M. B. and H. Lowry (Birmingham-Washington, D.C., 1985), where Dr. Lowry demonstrates that Gökbilgin’s figures for Matzoukan conversion to Islam by ca. 1520, cited on p. 251, are in fact too low.

In Chaldia, we reiterate that Golacha castle (p. 308), probably newly rebuilt in 1404, would repay a visit. At our behest Dr. Maurice Byrne (in 1982) and Mr Tim Davies (in 1983) made heroic efforts to reach the site, but it is a nut which remains to be cracked. Similarly, we both underestimated the importance of Sınır (Sinoria?) (p. 35) as a fourteenth-century Akkoyunlu center (which Mr Tom Sinclair confirms is a major site), and its relationship with

the Trapezuntine castle of Koukos (Koğ Kale), founded in 1360 (p. 310). Sınır, Koukos, and related matters are discussed in A. A. M. B.'s "The question of Byzantine mines in the Pontos: Chalybian iron, Chaldian silver, Koloneian alum and the mummy of Cheriana," *AnatSt*, 32 (1982), 144–45. If Koukos—perhaps the Küğ-i Trabzon in Zachariadou, *AP*, 35 (1975), 349 no. 2—can also be proposed as the elusive twelfth- and thirteenth-century see of Kokkos (p. 108), it would shed light on the Chaldian and Chertian Orthodox-Muslim borderlands and on such sites as Tarsos (p. 174): see now J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1982). D. C. W. clings to the idea of a Roman camp at Yağlı Dere (p. 304), which may be represented by remains of ditching on level ground below the castle, and because it lies on a good route through the mountains. Among officers of Chaldia who should be added to the list on p. 316, A. W. Dunn, *A handlist of Byzantine lead seals and tokens in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham* (Birmingham, 1983), supplies Dositheos, Spatharokandidatos, imperial Notarios of the Herds and Anagrapheus of Chaldia (10th. cent.), and Nikephoros, Protonotarios of Chaldia (?) and Genikos Kommerkiarios (9th. cent.). Further east, in Section XXVII, it is clear that the sixteenth-century Ottoman absorption of the Saatabago has yet to be worked out.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A host of institutions and friends have contributed to this Study, whether or not they realize it. They are not responsible for its faults. Among institutions, D. C. W. is grateful to Oxford University for the award of the Wardrop Studentship in Georgian Studies, and to the Wardens and Fellows of All Souls and Merton Colleges, Oxford, for fellowships to enable him to complete his work; and A. A. M. B. is grateful to his University, of Birmingham, and its Field Research Fund. We thank the Collection Chrétienne et Byzantine of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris, and the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute, London, for permission to reproduce photographs; and the librarians of the Archaeological Museum, Ankara; Biblioteca Marciana, Venice; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Bodleian Library, Oxford; British Library, London; Kentron Mikrasiatikon Spoudon, Athens; and Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, for permission to consult manuscripts. We are grateful to Gaye Bye of Birmingham, and Mary Lou Masey of Dumbarton Oaks, for much patient typing. Both authors are, however, primarily indebted to the Center for Byzantine Studies of Harvard University at Dumbarton Oaks, and to a succession of its staff, beginning with Cyril Mango (who first oversaw our collaboration) and ending with Glenn Ruby (who finally arranged its publication). It was Dumbarton Oaks which first commissioned the work in 1969 and assisted A. A. M. B. with fellowships and a field grant. Perhaps Dumbarton Oaks's most imaginative gesture came when William Loerke, then director of studies, lent us R. C. A. for a year in England as draftsman.

The Study could not have been published without the generous assistance of The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust, The Twenty Seven Foundation, and The University of Birmingham Publication Fund, to which we are most grateful.

In Trabzon we remember with pleasure the help and hospitality of many friends: the staff of the Ayasofya Museum (including Hasım Karpuz and Ayşe Sevim), which is now safeguarding Pontic monuments of all periods; Tarsicio Succi; the late Sükrü Köse, for many years the guardian of Soumela; Emin Tüksal, Aliye Asırbay, the late İhsan Nemlioğlu, and, especially, our *kardeş*, Cumhur Odabaşoğlu, whose unfailing smile has welcomed us over three decades now. We do not forget the numberless *muhtars*, *hocas*, boatmen, *hamsi*-fanciers, *yayla* shepherds, village pundits, truck drivers who went out of their way for us, or the scampering children of the Pontos, who materialise on even the most deserted site. But, for us, the place is most closely associated with the late David Talbot Rice. In 1929 it was his youthful conception to resume work begun by Feodor Uspenskij and the Russian archaeological mission in Trebizond in 1916—a Russian academic interest in the place which has only recently, and encouragingly, been taken up again by Sergei Karpov in Moscow. Although we have had inevitably to revise many of his findings, it is a pleasure to record our debt to David Talbot Rice for his encouragement to take his project a stage further.

We have received valuable advice and assistance from: Levon Avdoyan, Selina Ballance, Nicoară Beldiceanu, Barbara Brend, Sebastian Brock, Theodora Bryer, Claude Cahen, Evangelos Chrysos, Robin Cormack, Raoul Curiel, Jean Darrouzès, Charles Dowsett, Mary Eggleton, Wesam Farag, William Finlayson, Athena Kalliga, Michel Kuršanskis, Odysseus Lampsides, Bruce Lippard, Richard Lockett, Heath Lowry, Cyril Mango, Michael Martin, Victor Ménage, Tim Mitford, John Nesbitt, Nikolaos Panagiotakis, John Parker, Judith Rattenbury, Ihor

Ševčenko, John Simmons, Tom Sinclair, Tamara Talbot Rice, Michael Vickers, Speros Vryonis Jr., John Wilkes, and many others.

We have been particularly fortunate in our traveling companions in the Pontos, who, far from being mute tapeholders, are in fact responsible for setting up and measuring all the more complex plans in the book. D. C. W. thanks: Johanna Farrer, Matthew Farrer, Denis Hills, Michael Smith, the late Laurence Strangman, June Wainwright (now Winfield), and John Wilkinson. A. A. M. B. thanks: Timothy Boatswain, Elizabeth Lipscomb (now Bryer), Maurice Byrne, Joanna Clark (now Pelly), James Crow, Adrian Firth, John Haldon, Sally Harvey (now Fielding), Jane Isaac (now Hamparjūmian), Robert Keeney III, Margaret Mullett, Peter Nickol, Joe Pennybacker, Michael Trend, and Francis Witts. Grenville Astill, Ian Burrow, and Susan Wright reported on their own Pontic expedition. To all these friends we wish we could afford to present a copy of this book.

For their patience, high standards, and great good cheer, it is a lively pleasure to thank members, former and current, of the publications department of Dumbarton Oaks: Nancy Bowen, Frances Jones, and, especially, the indomitable and hospitable Julia Warner. In Fanny Bonajuto we were blessed with the sort of editor of whom other authors can only dream: her care, concern, and stern sympathy are beyond thanks. She can retire at last from the Pontos. But it is only right that we dedicate this Study to our long-suffering wives, for they have been married to it for as long as they have been married to us—and they are not retiring.

ANTHONY BRYER  
Birmingham

August 1984

DAVID WINFIELD  
Oxford

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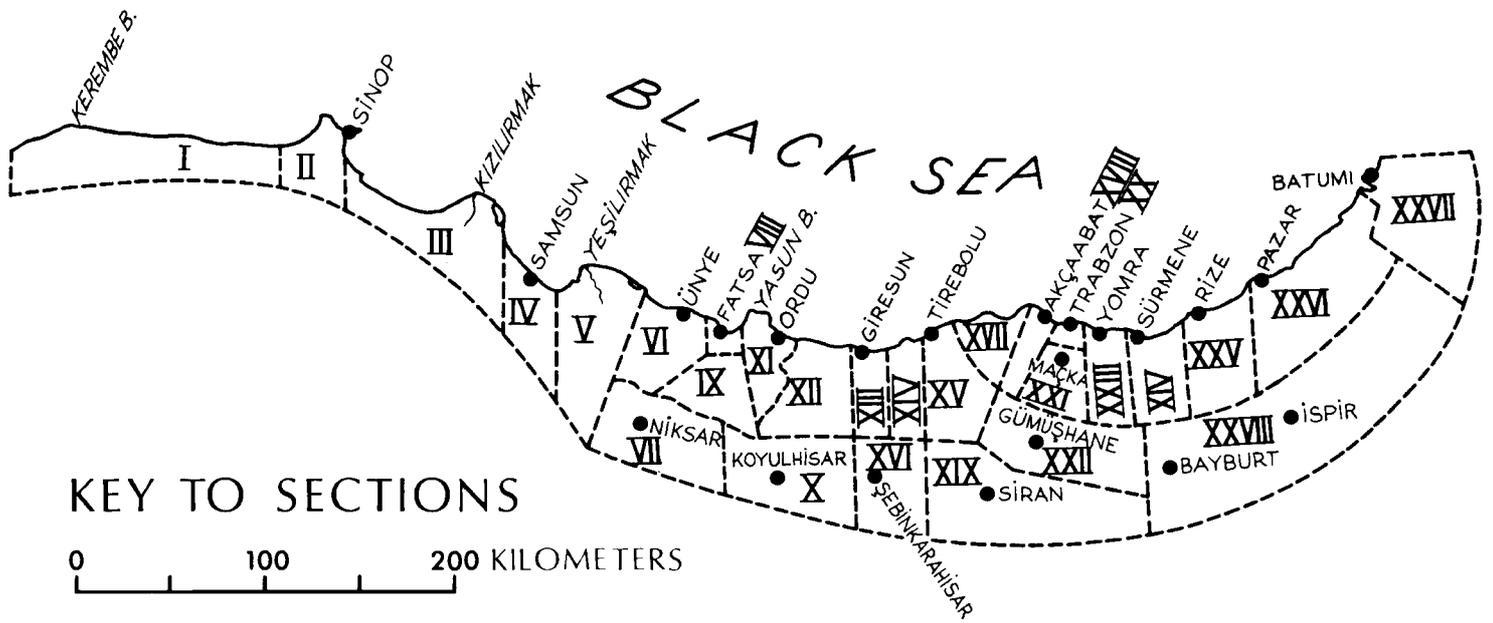
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## List of Abbreviations

Abh	Abhandlungen (followed by name of Academy, abbreviated, and Class)
<i>ActaSS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> (1643, in progress)
<i>AFrH</i>	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i>
<i>AIPHO</i> [S]	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales</i> [et Slaves], <i>Université Libre de Bruxelles</i>
<i>AJ</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
<i>AMSL</i>	<i>Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires</i>
<i>AnalBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>AnatSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> . Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
<i>AOC</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>AP</i>	Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου
<i>ASL</i>	<i>Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria</i>
<i>ATP</i>	Ἄσπὴρ τοῦ Πόντου
<i>BACBelg</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique</i>
<i>BAN</i>	Bŭlgarska Akademija na Naukite
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BHG</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3rd ed., ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957)
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bedi Kartlisa</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BNJbb</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
Bonn ed.	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> , ed. B. G. Niehbur et al.
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>BSHAcRoum</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Section Historique, Académie Roumaine</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BTTK</i>	<i>Belleten, Türk Tarih Kurumu</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>ChP</i>	Χρονικά τοῦ Πόντου
<i>CIC Nov</i>	<i>Corpus Iuris Civilis, Novellae</i> , ed. F. Schoell and G. Kroll (Berlin, 1928)
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CPSyll</i>	Ἔν Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CSHB</i>	See Bonn ed.
Δελτ. Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
<i>DENA</i>	Διεθνῆς Ἑφημερίς τῆς Νομισματικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>

DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
DVL	G. Martin and R. Predelli, <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum</i> , 2 vols. (New York, 1966).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EI</i> <sup>2</sup>	See Bibliography 3
<i>EO</i>	<i>Echos d'Orient. Revue d'Histoire, de Géographie et de Liturgie Orientales</i>
Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.	Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Κρητ. Σπ.	Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν
Ἐπ. Λαογρ. Ἀρχ.	Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου
<i>FHIT</i>	See Papadopoulos-Kerameus ed., <i>FHIT</i> , in Bibliography 1
<i>GBA</i>	<i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Islam Ansiklopedesi</i>
<i>IKORGO</i>	<i>Izvestija Kavkazskoge otdela Imp. russkago geografičeskogo obščestva</i> , 1–25 (Tbilisi, 1872–1917)
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892–1916)
<i>IRAIK</i>	<i>Izvěstija Russkago Arheologičeskago Instituta v' Konstantinopolě</i>
<i>IzvArhInst</i>	<i>Izvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut</i>
<i>IzvIstDr</i>	<i>Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto Istoričesko Družestvo</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JÖBG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i> (from 1969, <i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> )
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JRGSL</i>	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>JSav</i>	Journal des Savants
<i>JWarb</i>	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
<i>MAcBelg</i>	Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
<i>MASP</i>	Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, Sciences Politiques, Histoire et Philosophie
<i>MB</i>	See Sathas, <i>MB</i> , in Bibliography 1
<i>MCh</i>	Μικρασιατικὰ Χρονικά
<i>MélRome</i>	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome</i>
<i>MélUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth</i>
<i>MémAcInscr</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>M&amp;M, A&amp;D</i>	See Bibliography 1
<i>MittIÖG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
<i>NA</i>	Νέον Ἀθήναιον
<i>NC</i>	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle [and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society]</i>

<i>NE</i>	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
<i>NEBR</i>	<i>Notes et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Royale</i>
<i>OC</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana</i>
<i>OCA</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>OF</i>	J. P. Fallmerayer, <i>Original-Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt</i> , I, II, AbhMüncH, Phil.-hist.Kl., 3 (iii) (1843), 4 (i) (1844)
<i>OK</i>	Οἱ Κομνηνοί
<i>PE</i>	Ποντιακή Ἑστία
<i>PG</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne
<i>PO</i>	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris, 1903– )
<i>PPh</i>	Ποντιακά Φύλλα
<i>RBK</i>	<i>Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst</i> , ed. K. Wessel (Stuttgart, 1963– )
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , new rev. ed. by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (Stuttgart-Munich, 1893–1978)
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Anciennes</i>
<i>REArm</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Arméniennes</i>
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Byzantines</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Islamiques</i>
<i>RepKunstw</i>	<i>Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft</i>
<i>ROChr</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Latin</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes</i>
<i>SBN</i>	<i>Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
<i>SBWien</i>	Sitzungsberichte der philos.,-philol. und histor. Klasse der Akad. d. Wiss., Wien
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia Pontica</i>
<i>SubsHag</i>	Subsidia Hagiographica, Société des Bollandistes
<i>Synaxarium CP</i>	<i>Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad ActaSS Novembris</i> , ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
<i>TFByzNgPhil</i>	Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines</i>
<i>TürkArkDerg</i>	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
<i>VizVrem</i>	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZGEB</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin</i>
<i>ZVI</i>	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Srpska Akademija Nauka</i>

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## Bibliography 2

## TRAVELERS' REPORTS ON THE PONTOS, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

This class of material, lying midway between the Primary Sources and the Secondary Works, is instantly identifiable in references where a name is followed by a date in parentheses, rather than by a catch title. The name is of a traveler. In a handful of earlier cases—e.g., Al Umari (1330–49)—the “traveler” reported on the Pontos without actually visiting it. In some other cases, what might be construed as a traveler’s report (the definition is not precise) appears in Bibliography 1 (e.g., Idrisi, Mustawfi, Pegolotti, Wakhoucht) or in Bibliography 3 (e.g., Anderson, Le Strange, Peyssonnel). The date is of the traveler’s visit to the Pontos, *not* that of the subsequent writing or publication of his report; it has usually been established by internal evidence. We are keenly aware that in several instances the choice of date has been arbitrary. In some cases, where a traveler visited the Pontos more than once, or stayed more than a year—e.g., Clavijo (1404)—a median date has had to be chosen from as many as ten possibilities. In other cases, where a traveler described two visits in a single report, it is indicated thus: Lynch (1893/98). In cases where a traveler made separate reports on different visits (and in publishing them changed the spelling of his name), the reports are described thus: Tschichatschof (1858), and Tschihatscheff (1863). The most misleading of all is Evliya (1644)—itself an arbitrary date—where some of Evliya’s report is in fact derived from a local one of sixty years before. But, with that exception, most travelers’ dates should be correct to a year or two, and all to within a decade. Editions cited are those which we have used, and they are not necessarily first editions or original texts: for the Pontos there is reason to believe that the translation of Evliya (1644) is to be preferred to the standard text. The travelers themselves are almost entirely Westerners, mostly on missionary, mercantile, military, and (eventually) antiquarian and botanical business. Usually their chief distraction was the chore of traveling; few spoke a local language, fewer strayed from the highways, and some came to have their prejudices confirmed. Nevertheless, they offer a class of source which is indispensable, especially for the geography of the Pontos.

Bibliography 2 is expanded and corrected from Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 269–87, and Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 33 (1975–76), 25–27, where a total of 168 travelers are listed: in the list that follows there are 217 entries. Yet, even this is not exhaustive, for some travelers between 1673 and 1811, not noted by us, are mentioned by Langlès in Chardin (1673), and other travelers in Armenia, not used by us, are in Lynch (1893/98), II, 471–84; while the comprehensive list of Russian travelers in Turkey, published in the *Bibliografija Turčii (1713–1917)* (Moscow, 1961), kindly brought to our attention by Mr. John Simmons, Librarian of All Souls College, Oxford, has even more reports, which we have not seen.

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Al Umari never visited the Pontos, but obtained an account from “Belban,” a Genoese (Domenico Doria). Quatremère’s appears to be the only translation of the Trapezuntine section of the work, and is reprinted in Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 128 note 51. Cf. *Ibn Fadl Allah al’Umari, Masalik el Absar fi Mamalik el Amsar*, trans. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris, 1927)

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- Barbaro (1471), ed. Stanley  
*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, trans. W. Thomas and S. A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley (London, 1873; repr. New York, n.d.), 3–103
- Zeno (1471)  
 Caterino Zeno, in *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, ed. and trans. C. Grey (London, 1873; repr. New York, n.d.), 1–65
- Nikitin (1472)  
*Die Fahrt des Anthanasius Nikitin über die drei Meere: Reise eines russischen Kaufmannes nach Ostindien (1466–1472)*, trans. K. H. Meyer (Leipzig, n.d.)
- Angiolello (1473)  
 Giovan Maria Angiolello, in *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, ed. and trans. C. Grey (London, 1873; repr. New York, n.d.), 73–138
- Contarini (1473)  
*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, trans. W. Thomas and S. A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley (London, 1873; repr. New York, n.d.), 107–73
- Rieter (1479)  
 Sebalt Rieter, in R. Röhricht and H. Meisner, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* (Tübingen, 1884)
- Anonymous (1511)  
 “The Travels of a Merchant in Persia, 1511–1520,” in *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, ed. and trans. C. Grey (London, 1873; repr. New York, n.d.), 141–207
- Chesneau (1548)  
*Le voyage de Monsieur d’Aramon, ambassadeur pour le roy en Levant, escrit par noble homme Jean Chesneau*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1887)
- Alessandri (1571)  
 “Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d’Alessandri,” in *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, ed. and trans. C. Grey (London, 1873; repr. New York, n.d.), 211–29
- Newbery (1581)  
 John Newbery, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, VIII (Glasgow, 1905)
- Bordier (1609)  
 “Relation d’un voyage en Orient par Julien Bordier, écuyer de Jean Gontaut, Baron de Salignac, ambassadeur à Constantinople (1604–1612),” ed. Chrysanthos Philippides, *AP*, 6 (1935), 85–158; repr. from the *Archives Historiques de la Gascogne*, XVI (Paris–Auch, 1888)  
 Cf. O. Lampsides, Τοπογραφικὰ Τραπεζοῦντος, I. Αἱ παρὰ τῷ Julien Bordier πληροφορίες, *PPh*, 2 (1937), 145–47, 317–20
- Poser (1621)  
 Hoch Edelgeborener Herr Heinrich von Poser und Gross-Nedlitz, *Reyse von Constantinopel aus, durch die Bulgarie, Armenien, Persien und Indien* (Jena, 1675)  
 Not seen by us.
- Philippi (1640)  
 F. Philippi, *Itinerarium Orientale, etc.* (Lyons, 1649)  
 A Carmelite. Not seen by us.
- Evliya (1644)  
*Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. J. von Hammer (London, 1834–36; repr. New York, 1968)

Parts of this version are fuller than the Turkish text, *Evliya Çelebi seyahatnâmesi*, II (Istanbul, 1314/1896), which omits some references to Christians, but the Trebizond section, at least, appears to be drawn from Mehmet Aşik, a native of Trebizond, and should refer to the 1580s rather than to 1644. See Heath W. Lowry, “Trabzon’s Yeni Cuma Camii (New Friday Mosque): Why is it called what it is?”, *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, 3 (1975), 91–112

Gouz (1647)

*Le voyages et observations du Sieur de la Boullaye le Gouz, gentil-homme Angevin* (Paris, 1653)

Rhodes (1650)

Alexandre de Rhodes, *Voyages et Missions en Perse, etc.* (Lille, 1884)

A Jesuit missionary, 1618–53. Not seen by us.

Pouillet (1655)

—. Pouillet, *Nouvelles relations du Levant* (Paris, 1668). Not seen by us.

Makarios (1658)

*The Travels of Macarius [III Zaim] Patriarch of Antioch: written by his attendant archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo* (in Arabic), trans. F. O. Balfour (London, 1829)

Cf. *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d’Antioche*, ed. and trans. B. Radu, PO, 22 (Paris, 1930); and Laura Ridding, *The Travels of Macarius* (London, 1936)

Chinon (1660)

G. Chinon, *Relation nouvelle du Levant, etc.* (Lyons, 1671)

A Capuchin. Not seen by us.

Melton (1670)

Edward Meltons Engelsch Edelmans, *Zeldzaame en Gedenkwaardige Zee- en Land-Reizen; door Egypten, West-Indien, Perzien, Turkyen, Oost-Indien, 1660–1677* (Amsterdam, 1702), 254–74 and 362–64

Took northern route Constantinople-Erzurum and return. Vivien de Saint-Martin lists an edition of 1681 which we have been unable to trace

Chardin (1673)

*Voyages de Chevalier Chardin en Perse, etc.*, L. Langlès, I, II (Paris, 1811)

Cf. *Le Chevalier Chardin, Journal du Voiage en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide* (Amsterdam, 1686); Sir John Chardin, *Travels into Persia and ye East Indies through the Black Sea and the country of Colchis* (London, 1686); and *Voyages de Mr le Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient* (Amsterdam, 1711)

Tavernier (1681)

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes . . .* (Paris, 1692)

Anonymous (1685)

[Père Jacques Villotte], *Voyages d’un missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Turquie, en Perse, en Arménie, en Arabie et en Barbarie* (Paris, 1730)

Fleurian (1690)

T. C. Fleurian, *Estat present de l’Arménie* (Paris, 1694)

Not seen by us.

Careri (1693)

John Francis Gemelli Careri, “A voyage round the world,” in *Churchill’s Collection of Voyages and Travels*, IV (London, 1752), 95–100

Probably a fictitious traveler (see Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 33 [1976], 25), possibly using Anonymous (1685)

De Bèze (1698)

P. Gouye, *Histoire de l’Académie de Sciences* (Paris, 1699), 85–86

Astronomical observations taken by de Bèze, a Jesuit, at Trebizond and Erzurum. Not seen by us.

Schillinger (1700)

F. C. Schillinger, *Persianische und Ost-Indianische Reise* (Nuremberg, 1707)

Not seen by us.

Tournefort (1701)

J. Pitton de Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant*, II (London, 1718)

Cf. *Relation d'un voyage au Levant fait par l'ordre du Roy* (Paris, 1717)

Monier (1711)

"Journal du père Monier d'Erzeron à Trébizonde," in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, II (Lyon, 1819), 373–80

Otter (1739)

Jean Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* (Paris, 1748)

Pococke (1740)

Richard Pococke, *A description of the East and some other countries* (London, 1745)

Ellis (1780)

G. Ellis, *Memoir of a map of the countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian, etc.* (London, 1788)

Howel (1780)

T. Howel, *Journal of a passage from India by a route partly frequented through Armenia and Natolia or Asia Minor* (London, 1788–90)

Ferrières-Sauveboeuf (1785)

Comte Louis François de Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, *Mémoires historiques, politiques et géographiques de voyages ... en Turquie, en Perse, et en Arabie* (Paris, 1790)

Jenner (1785)

M. Jenner, *The route to India through France, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, etc.* (London, 1791)

Beauchamp (*Mémoire*, 1796)

"Mémoire géographique et historique du voyage de Constantinople à Trébizonde dressé par M. Beauchamp, adjoint au consulat de Mascate," in Jacques Morier, *Voyage en Perse, en Arménie, en Asie Mineure et à Constantinople* (Paris, 1813)

Beauchamp (*Relation*, 1796)

Le citoyen Beauchamp, "Relation historique et géographique d'un voyage de Constantinople à Trébizonde, par mer, l'an 5 de la République," in *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, II (Paris, An 10/1801)

Lechevalier (1799)

J.-B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin*, VI (Paris, An 8/1800), 377–84

Dupré (1803)

H. Cordier, "Voyage de Pierre Dupré de Constantinople à Trébizonde (1803)," offprint from the *Bulletin de la Section de Géographie*, 1917 (Paris, 1919), 255–65

Reuilly (1803)

Jean de Reuilly, *Voyage en Crimée et sur les bords de la Mer Noire pendant l'année 1803 ...* (Paris, 1806)

Anonymous (1805)

Anonymous, "Itinéraire d'un voyage fait par terre, depuis Constantinople jusqu'à Téhéran, dans l'année 1805," in S. Waring, trans. M., "Voyage de l'Inde à Chyras," in *Voyages en Perse*, III (Paris, 1813), 290–98

Jaubert (1805)

P.-Amadée Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse fait dans les années 1805 et 1806* (Paris, 1821)

Wilkinson (1806)

C. Wilkinson, *A tour through Asia Minor and the Greek Islands* (London, 1806), 64–78

Largely reproduces Tournefort (1701)

Anonymous (1807)

[Martin Dupré], *Voyage en Perse fait dans les années 1807, 1808 et 1809...* (Paris, 1819)

Gardane (1807)

A. de Gardane, *Journal d'un voyage dans la Turquie d'Asie et la Perse* (Paris, 1809)

Morier (1808)

James Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809* (London, 1812)

Ouseley (1812)

Sir William Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia, 1810, 1811, 1812*, III (London, 1823)

Kinneir (1813)

John Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814* (London, 1818)

Klaproth (1813)

Julius von Klaproth, *Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia* (London, 1814)

Porter (1818)

Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c., &c., in 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820* (London, 1821–22)

Bzhshkean (1819)

Menas Vadapet Bzhshkean (Bedjeskian), *History of the Pontos which is on the Black Sea* (in Armenian) (Venice, 1819)

We are grateful to Dr Sebastian Brock for translating passages for us. Bzhshkean was used extensively (and sometimes inaccurately) by Brosset in Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 492 ff., and by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 801 ff.

Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan

P. Minas Bijişkyan, *Karadeniz Kıyıları Tarih ve Coğrafyası (1817–1819)*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1969)

Rottiers (1820)

Bernard E. A. Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople* (Brussels, 1829) (Brussels, 1826), in Lampsides, *AP*, 27 (1966), 6

Gamba (1822)

Jacques François Gamba, *Voyage dans la Russie Méridionale . . .*, I (Paris, 1826)

Marigny (1823)

Le Chevalier E. Taitbout de Marigny, *Voyage en Circassie* (Odessa-Simferopol, 1836)

Anonymous (1826)

“Description de la ville d’Arz-roum, suivie de six itinéraires de cette ville à Constantinople, Tiflis, Diarbekir, Trébizonde, Bagdad et Smyrne; par le colonel\*\*\*,” *JA*, 1st Ser., 9(1826), 223–20

Schulz-Beuscher (1826)

“Notice sur la ville de Trébisonde,” *JA*, 3rd Ser. (1836)

Dated 26 November 1826, with note: “Cette notice s’est trouvée parmi les papiers de feu M. Schulz; elle paraît avoir été écrite par M. Beuscher, qui a fait un long séjour à Tr—J. M.” Repr. in Lampsides, *AP*, 27 (1966), 3–20

Fontanier (1827)

V. Fontanier, *Voyage en Orient, entrepris par ordre du gouvernement français de l’année 1821 à 1829* (Paris, 1829)

Uschakoff (1828)

Garde-Obrist Uschakoff, *Geschichte der Feldzüge in der Asiatischen Türkei während der Jahre 1828 und 1829* (Leipzig, 1838)

Alcock (1829)

T. Alcock, *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey, and Greece in 1828–29* (London, 1831)

Privately printed. Alcock traveled from Erzurum to Istanbul in 16 days.

Chesney (1829)

F. R. Chesney, *The Russo-Turkish campaigns of 1828 and 1829* (London, 1854)

Monteith (1829)

W. Monteith, *Kars and Erzeroum, with the campaigns of Prince Paskiewitch in 1828 and 1829* (London, 1856)

Besse (1830)

Jean–Charles de Besse, *Voyage en Crimée, au Caucase, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure et à Constantinople, en 1829 et 1830; pour servir à l’histoire de Hongrie* (Paris, 1838)

(Paris, 1833), in Lampsides, *AP*, 27 (1966), 5

Fontanier (1830)

V. Fontanier, *Voyage en Orient, entrepris par ordre du gouvernement français de 1830 à 1833. Deuxième voyage en Anatolie* (Paris, 1834)

Smith and Dwight (1830)

Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight, *Missionary researches in Armenia* (London, 1834)

Stocqueler (1832)

Joachim H. Stocqueler (*alias* Siddons), *Fifteen months' pilgrimage through untrodden tracts of Khuzistan Persia, in a journey from India to England, through parts of Turkish Arabia, Persia, Armenia, Russia and Germany, performed in the years 1831 and 1832* (London, 1832)

In a letter to J. Bidwell, dated Trebizond, 26 March 1833, in PRO FO 524/2, Consul James Brant writes: "I do not know whether a book lately published by Mr. Stocqueler who passed through Trebizond may have fallen your way—he has made some very hasty and incorrect remarks regarding Trebizond." (Stocqueler doubted the commercial viability of the Trebizond-Tabriz route, of which Brant was an exponent).

Montpéreux (1833)

Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase* (Paris, 1839)

Aucher-Eloy (1834)

Remi Aucher-Eloy, *Relations de voyages en Orient de 1830 à 1838*, ed. Comte de Jaubert (Paris, 1843)

Fraser (1834)

J. Baillie Fraser, *A winter's journey (Tatar) from Constantinople to Tehran, etc.* (London, 1838)

Boré (1835)

E. Boré, *Correspondance et mémoires d'un voyageur en Orient*, I (Paris, 1840)

Brant (1835)

James Brant, "Journey through a part of Armenia and Asia Minor in the year 1835," *JRGS*, 6 (1836), 187–223

The papers of this first British vice-consul in Trebizond are in the British Library, MSS Add. 42512, 42565–66. Cf. British Library MSS 38983, 39042, 39102, 41315

Chesney (1835)

F. R. Chesney, *The expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris carried out in the years 1835, 1836 and 1837* (London, 1850)

Cf. F. R. Chesney, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (London, 1868)

Fowler (1835)

G. Fowler, *Three years in Persia* (London, 1841)

Fraser (1835)

J. Baillie Fraser, *Travels in Kooristan, Mesopotamia &c.* (London, 1840)

Stuart (1835)

Charles Stuart, *Journal of a Residence in Northern Persia* (London, 1854)

Hamilton (*Extracts*, 1836)

W. J. Hamilton, "Extracts from Notes made on a Journey in Asia Minor in 1836," *JRGS*, 7 (1837), 34–61

Hamilton (*Researches*, 1836)

W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* (London, 1842)

Spencer (1836)

Edmund Spencer, *Travels in Circassia, Krim, Tartary, &c...* (London, 1837)

Southgate (1837)

Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia*, I (London, 1840), 152 ff.

Spencer (1837)

Edmund Spencer, *Travels in the Western Caucasus*, II (London, 1838), 111–20

Hell (1838)

Xavier Hommaire de Hell, *Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea, the Crimea, the Caucasus, &c.* (trans. from the French) (London, 1847)

Moltke (1838)

Helmuth von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839* (Berlin, 1917)

(Original edition, Berlin, 1876)

Suter (1838)

“Notes on a Journey from Erz-Rúm to Trebizond, by way of Shebb-Kháneh, Kará-Hisar, Sivás, Tókát, and Sámsún, in October 1838,” *JRGSL*, 10 (1840), 434

Suter took over British vice-consular duties in Trebizond after Brant left for the new consulate at Erzurum.

Zachariä (1838)

E. Zachariä, *Reise in den Orient in den Jahren 1837 und 1838* (Heidelberg, 1840)

Texier (*Asie Mineure*, 1839)

Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1862)

Texier (*Description*, 1839)

Charles Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* (Paris, 1842)

Texier and Pullan (1839)

Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan, *Byzantine architecture, illustrated by a series of the earliest Christian edifices in the East* (London, 1864)

It is important to remember that, although some of his drawings were not prepared for publication until a quarter of a century later, Texier visited Trebizond only once.

Ainsworth (1840)

William Francis Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia* (London, 1842)

Cf. the same, *Travels in the track of the Ten Thousand Greeks* (London, 1844)

Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840)

J. P. Fallmerayer, *Fragmente aus dem Orient* (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1845; repr. Munich, 1963)

Fallmerayer (*Schriften*, 1840)

J. P. Fallmerayer, “Anatolische Reisebilder,” in *Schriften und Tagebücher*, V (Munich-Leipzig, n.d.), 150–63

Flandin and Coste (1840)

Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, I (Paris, 1851)

Jouannin and Gaver (1840)

J.-M. Jouannin and Jules van Gaver, *Turquie* (Paris, 1840)

Guarracino (*MS*, 1841)

Frederick Guarracino, “Notes made on a Journey from Batoom by Adjarah, Shavshet, Ardanuch, Ardahan, Givleh, Penek and Olti to Erzeroum,” Unpublished MS dated 31 August 1841 in PRO FO 526/2, fol. 47 ff.

Guarracino (*Notes*, 1841)

Frederick Guarracino, “Notes of an excursion from Batúm to Artvin,” *JRGSL*, 15 (1845), 296–305

Guarracino was acting British vice-consul in Trebizond.

Curzon (1842)

Robert Curzon, *Armenia; a year at Erzeroum and on the frontiers of Russia, Turkey and Persia* (London, 1854)

Curzon's drawings, from which the engravings in this book were made, are now in the hands of Mr. Francis Witts, of Upper Slaughter Manor; plate 105b illustrates one.

Badger (1842)

George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals: with the narrative of a mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842–44* (London, 1852)

Teule (1842)

Jules-Charles Teule, *Pensées et Notes critiques extraites du Journal de mes Voyages dans l'Empire du Sultan de Constantinople dans les Provinces Russes, Géorgiennes et Tartares du Caucase et dans le Royaume de Perse* (Paris, 1842)

Wolff (1843)

Joseph Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara in the years 1843–1845, to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly* (London, 1846), 109–27

## Koch (1844)

Carl Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente*, I. *Reise längs der Donau nach Konstantinopel und nach Trebisond*; II. *Reise im Pontischen Gebirge* (Weimar, 1846)

Cf. K. Koch, *Der Zug des Zehntausend nach Xenophon's Anabasis* (Leipzig, 1850); the same, "Reise von Redut-Kaleh nach Trebisond," in *Die Kaukasischen Länder und Armenien*, ed. K. Koch (Leipzig, 1855), 65–114; and J. R. Edmondson and H. W. Lack, "The Turkish and Caucasian collections of C. Koch, I, Turkey," *Notes from the Royal Botanic Garden*, 35 (3) (Edinburgh, 1977), 321–43, with maps and identifications of place-names. Koch, who made two journeys, in 1836–38 and 1843–44 respectively, apparently established the first reliable maps of the Pontos and eastern Turkey, at a scale of 1 : 1000,000. But only five sets are known (they may have been restricted for military reasons) and we have not seen one.

## Mynas (MS, 1844)

"Fragments de manuscrits, inventaires et copies, recueillis ou dressés par Minoïde Mynas au cours de sa seconde mission en Orient (1844–45), pendant son séjour à Trébizonde et dans les monastères de la région." Unpublished MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. gr. 733 and 1248

Cf. Henri Omont, "Minoïde Mynas et ses missions en Orient," *MémAcInscr*, 40 (1916), 337–419

## Wagner (1844)

Moritz Wagner, *Travels in Persia, Georgia and Koordistan* (London, 1856).

Cf. the same, *Reise nach Persien und dem Lande der Kurden* (Leipzig, 1852)

## Hell (1846)

Xavier Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, exécuté par ordre du Gouvernement Français pendant les années 1846, 1847 et 1848, . . .* (Paris, 1854–60)

Cf. Semavi Eyice, "X. Hommaire de Hell ve Ressay Jules Laurens," *BTTK*, 27 (1966), 59–104

## Joanne (1846)

Adolphe Joanne, *Voyage illustré dans les cinq parties du monde en 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849* (Paris, n.d.)

## Feruhan (1847)

Peruhak Feruhan, in Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 71–76

## Layard (1848)

Austen Henry Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert: being the result of a second expedition . . .* (London, 1853)

Cf. Gordon Waterfield, *Layard of Nineveh* (London, 1963)

## Finlay (MS, 1850)

George Finlay, "Journal: Memoranda during a tour to . . . Sinope, Trebizond, and Samsoun (Amisos) in 1850." Unpublished MS R. 8. 9. of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.

Cf. J. M. Hussey, *The Finlay Papers. A catalogue* (London, 1973)

## Méry (1850)

Joseph Méry, *Constantinople et la Mer Noire* (Paris, 1855)

## Smyth (1850)

Warrington W. Smyth, *A Year with the Turks, or Sketches of Travel in the European and Asiatic Dominions of the Sultan* (New York, 1854)

## Stuart (1850)

C. Stuart, *Journal of a residence in northern Persia and the adjacent provinces of Turkey* (London, 1854)

Traveled from Trebizond to Erzurum and back.

## Walpole (1850)

F. Walpole, *The Ansayrii and the Assassins, with Travels in the Further East, in 1850–51* (London, 1851)

## Sandwith (1854)

Humphrey Sandwith, *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars and of six months' resistance by the Turkish garrison under General Williams to the Russian Army: together with a Narrative of Travels and Adventures in Armenia and Lazistan: with Remarks on the present state of Turkey* (London, 1856)

## Macdonald (1855)

R. Macdonald, *Personal narrative of military travel and adventure in Turkey and Persia* (London, 1859)

- Former sergeant, Rifle Brigade; traveled from Trebizond to Erzurum with an artist called Lewis.
- Strecker (1855)  
 W. Strecker, "Topographische Mitteilungen über Hocharmenien," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, 11 (1861), 258–79, 341–68  
 Strecker was stationed in Erzurum for some years. We have not seen his *Über Rückzug der Zehntausend* (Berlin, 1886).
- Decourdemanche (1856)  
 Osman Bey (*alias* J. Decourdemanche), "Lazistan," *Izvestija Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obščestva*, 10 (1874), 356–64
- Barth (1858)  
 Heinrich Barth, "Reise von Trapezunt durch die nördliche Hälfte Klein-Asiens nach Scutari im Herbst 1858," *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsband 1 (iii) (Gotha, 1860), 1–105 and map  
 For "... Herbst 1858," Lampsides, *AP*, 27 (1966), 5, has "... Herbst 1853"
- Tschichatschof (1858)  
 C. Ritter and H. Kiepert, "Itinerar der kleinasiatischen Reise P. von Tschichatschofs im Jahre 1858," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, 6 (1859), 275–343
- Mordtmann (1859)  
 A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien. Schizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien*, ed. F. Babinger (Hanover, 1925).  
 In fact, Mordtmann's Anatolian travels covered 1850–59.
- Blau (1860)  
 O. Blau, "Reise im Orient, I: Querrouten durch die pontischen Alpen," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, 10 (1861), 371–83  
 Cf. the same, "Brief von Erzeroum, 1857," *ZDMG*, 11 (1857), 733; "Aphorismen und neuer Ortskunde Klein-Asiens," *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie. Von Dr. A. Petermann* (Gotha, 1865), 249–53; and "Miscellen zur alten Geographie," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, New Ser., 12 (1862), 296–99
- Eastwick (1860)  
 E. B. Eastwick, *Journal of a diplomat's three years' residence in Persia* (London, 1864)  
 Traveled from Trebizond to Erzurum.
- Ussher (1860)  
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## Chapter One

# THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE PONTOS

(FIGURE 1)

Trapezuntines refer to the men across the mountains as "Halt," a contemptuous term which probably derives from Haldi, the Sun God of the Urartians who lived beyond the mountains. The Chaldaioi in turn gave their name to the ninth-century Byzantine theme and fourteenth-century bishopric of Chaldia.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the urban centers, where the mixing of people is becoming more a matter of course, this ancient mutual mistrust still persists between the inhabitants of each side of the mountains. The coastal peoples have always included traders, whereas on the other side of the mountains subsistence farming dominated the normal pattern of life, and in addition to this economic difference there existed until 1922 religious and ethnic differences large enough to foster a division of peoples for which nature had already provided so apt and rugged a barrier.

Climate is responsible for the contrast in landscape. The typical plateau landscape is an arid plain bounded by ochreous hills, with a watercourse running through it where poplars and willows provide a relieving touch of green, the whole being encompassed by a clear blue sky. The consciousness of change comes along the Pontic mountain ridges where the divide is marked by dense masses of billowing cumuli trying in vain to spill southward over the plateau country, and breaking up into a few thin cloudlets, thence to become mere wisps which dissolve into the clear plateau air. Northward of the watershed the heavy rainfall sustains a lush green landscape of crops or forest-lined narrow valleys which for the most part extend northward from the watershed down to the sea.

On the seaward side of the mountains, the traditional houses are either constructed of wood with a masonry fireplace and chimney, or else of a timber frame with an infilling

1. The importance of the region's singular geography to Pontic history was first, and most attractively, demonstrated by Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 286–312. Among modern commentators, de Planhol's work is the most challenging (and, sometimes, misleading): "Chaînes pontiques," 2–12; and *Fondements, passim*. A. A. M. B. has made three attempts to relate Pontic geography to history: *Thesis* (1967), I, 31–84; II, 7–27; *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 33–36; and *DOP*, 29 (1975), 93–96. The text of this chapter represents D. C. W.'s turn to present the subject, to which A. A. M. B. has largely contributed the footnotes as commentary.

We owe the suggestion for the derivation of "Halt" to Professor O. R. Gurney. On the ancient Chaldaioi (later confused with Chalybians—see note 6), see Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, III, 4; V, v, 17; and Strabo, *Geography*, XII, III, 18–19. Cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 73.

of brick or stone, whereas on the plateau houses are either of mud brick or stone, with wooden beams used only to support a flat mud roof. Timber is the fuel of the coastal peoples, whereas on the southern side of the mountains they burn *zarzaka* (*tezek*), a fuel compounded of cattle dung and mud.<sup>2</sup> The typical Pontic village is composed of houses scattered widely over a valley with only a church or mosque to mark its centre,<sup>3</sup> whereas the plateau village is a small nucleated huddle of houses not much different, until very recently, from the settlements of six thousand years earlier.

On the seaward side goods were transported by horse, mule, donkey, or woman, since the steep valleys were only traversed by narrow tracks unsuited to carts, whereas on the plateau transport was for the most part by the solid-wheeled ox cart, admirably suited to the conditions in which it operated, and little changed in design since the Bronze Age. On the coastal side carts or waggons are only to be seen at the western end of Pontos where gentler hill slopes and delta plains make the use of them practicable.

Sea fish are not eaten by the inland peoples, and the area within which villagers partake in the annual autumn feast of *hamsi*<sup>4</sup> is still a good rough guide as to the boundaries of the coastal region. Water buffalo are the commonest cattle of the plateau, whereas they are hardly to be seen on the Pontic coast except on the deltas. The Pontic village has always farmed hazelnuts and walnuts as cash crops, and grown little in the way of cereals, whereas the plateau village grew cereal

2. The most notable accounts of *zarzaka* (*tezek*) are by Leo of Synnada, in J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 198–99; Curzon (1842), 119–14; E. R. Huc, trans. W. Hazlitt, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China during the years 1844–5–6* (London, n.d. [1851]), II, 89–90 (on the four Tibetan varieties of *argol*); and L. Robert, "Les Kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnade et les poissons-scies. Sur les lettres d'un métropolitain de Phrygie au Xe siècle. Philologie et réalités, I," *JSav*, (1961), 115–66.

3. The churches no longer mark village centers since the Christian population has left. The modern village center is usually on a new road and consists of a tea house and a shop or two, with a new mosque. The older mosques are few in number and seldom coincide with the modern centers.

In East Pontos the settlement pattern might have a Caucasian origin and is in contrast to the high nucleated villages (e.g., Santa) established later: see Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 120.

4. The *hamsi*, which are anchovy, appear in shoals in the autumn and become the occasion of feasting after the manner of those marked by the arrival of sprats on the east coast of England or grunion on the coast of California.

extensively. Common to both sides of the mountains are sheep and goats, but different again are the dogs which guard them. On the plateau it is the aristocratic *karabaş*, a large animal of the mastiff breed which fights off the wolves, whereas on the coast the dogs are smaller; typical of them is the *zerdava*, a thoroughbred animal somewhat resembling a collie, which is bred in the Tonya valley.<sup>5</sup>

These few impressions may serve by way of introduction to a more detailed survey of the land and its people, revealing that while contrasting impressions are first and strongest in the mind of the traveler, there is a blurring of distinctions when the land is studied in more detail, and no clear line can be drawn between the Pontic coast and the Anatolian plateau.

### GEOGRAPHY

In defining the limits of our survey we have tried to make a reasonable compromise between the claims of geography and history. Historically, we have taken the Empire of Trebizond at its greatest extent, and its peripheries, as our boundary. Ethnically, it represents, very roughly, the area of ancient, medieval, and modern Greek settlement or influence. So, geographically we have set our westward limit at Cape Karambis, most northerly geographical point of Anatolia and most westerly of Trebizond's medieval outposts, and our eastward limit falls at Bathys (Batumi), the historic border where the coastline turns northward and the river Akampsis (Çoruh) breaks through the mountain barrier to force its way to the sea. We have landed at both Cape Karambis and Bathys, but the Soviet border limits investigation of the final, eastern, stretch of the Pontos. Southward our boundaries are not marked by the watershed of the first mountain chain, as would appear to be good geographical sense, but by the east-west valleys of the rivers Lykos (Kelkit), Iris (Yeşil), and Akampsis, all of which turn north to flow into the Black Sea and are vital to the history of our region. But we cannot always keep strictly to these river valleys, and our southern limits are in fact as untidy as is the history of these regions. A fourth river, the Halys (Kızıl) flows into the Black Sea within our area at Paurae (Bafra), but it is the greatest of the Turkish streams and pursues a course through central Anatolia which takes it through a historical picture of wider dimensions than ours. It plays little part in the history of the Pontos, but a major one in Anatolian history, where its course is inextricably threaded into the major epochs of the past. Its headwaters are east of Sebasteia (Sivas) and not far south of the boundaries of central Pontos; from there it winds its way south westward into Cappadocia and central Anatolia and thence makes a great bend northward to the sea near Paurae.

Within the geographical limits defined above we take in most of the old provinces of Hellenopontos and Pontos Polemoniakos, parts of Armenia, and an undefined extra

area in the east which in the middle Byzantine period coincided roughly with the Georgian principality of Tao. Our area is thus a very large tract of country and we have certainly not explored all of it thoroughly. We make this clear in our more detailed coverage of the regions.

The main geographical feature of the Pontos is a range of mountains running from the hinterland of Themiskyra (Terme) in the west to Apsaros in the east. This east-west chain of mountains forms the spine of the Pontic Alps and from it lateral ranges branch out to north and south forming an intricate pattern of ribs. This elevated mountain backbone with its diverging ribs is the determining factor in the character of the major and minor features of the region. The line of the central spine is irregular, with the watershed now nearer and now farther from the coast; south of Trebizond-Trapezous (Trabzon), where the river Philabonites (Harşit) cuts its way deeply into it, this central chain doubles back on itself. West of Themiskyra the Iris runs southwards through a gap which cuts off the mountain spine, while the Akampsis at the eastern end divides the Pontic Alps from the Caucasus. The remaining coastal strip at the west end between Themiskyra and Sinope resembles the coastline of Bithynia more than the Pontos proper. The land rises steeply southward from the sea to 1,000 m or more, reaching the mean height of the Anatolian plateau, so that while a watershed exists to divide the coastal valleys from the inland valleys, it is not the spectacular feature that it becomes in the Pontic Alps.

The geological skeleton of the Pontic region took on its present form in the last era of great earth movements which threw up the Alps, the Himalayas, and the Andes, and determined the general shape of sea and land as we know them today. The major part of the chain consists of Upper Cretaceous volcanic rocks, while at the eastern end the mountains rise to a height of nearly 4,000 m, south of Rhizaion (Rize) at Kaçkar, and this massif of the Tatos mountains consists of intruded granites and diorites. Lesser formations of the same intruded rocks are to be found at high points westward along the mountain chain. The great east-west valleys south of the Pontic Alps mark faults which developed when the mountains were thrown up, and they are still subject to earthquake; majestic in scale, they are far too vast to have been formed by mere erosion, even on a geological time scale. The most important of these rifts now form the river valleys of the Akampsis flowing eastward and the Lykos flowing westward. On a secondary scale are the rift valleys of the upper reaches of the Philabonites south of Trebizond; the upper reaches of the Melanthios, south of Kotyora (Ordu); the valley of the thrice-named river which is a tributary of the Iris and starts as the Bağ, continues south of Oinaion (Ünye) as the Karakuş, and becomes in its upper reaches the Bakırcık; and the valley of the river Amnis (Gök) south of Sinope and Paurae. The aspect of these river valleys varies from that of a wide and fertile valley bottom, with sloping hills on either side of a meandering river, to gorges of cliffs, containing raging torrents. The Akampsis and the Philabonites have far to fall in their short courses and gorges are frequent, while the Lykos and the Iris are larger rivers and tend to run through stretches of gorge which widen out into valleys and even into large hospitable basins of

5. De Planhol, *Fondements, passim*, groups the Pontos with the south Caspian region and the Lebanon. He points out that these areas of "forêts refuges littorales" have a certain geographical isolation and cultural tradition which made them long resistant to the influence of Islam.

fertile land. This pattern is important in determining the location of towns.

Much of the basic geological structure is still bare to the eye but the valley bottoms, coastal deltas, and some coastal terraces have been modified by deposits of more recent sedimentary rocks, clays, and gravels.

The volcanic period of Pontic geological history produced quantities of mineral-bearing ores of different kinds, and some of these have been worked since the earliest ages of metalworking. Indeed the Chalybians are credited with the invention of ironworking,<sup>6</sup> and gave their name to steel in medieval Greek; from then it passed into medieval Latin as "Calibs"<sup>7</sup> and the name of the mineral chalybite is derived from them. The work of smelting iron continued down into the nineteenth century when Hamilton was excited to find the people of the Oinaion region practicing their craft in much the same manner as they had done when Xenophon observed them.<sup>8</sup>

Skilled metalwork is still a living tradition along this coast, where fine knives and daggers, and good copies of factory-made revolvers are produced in illicit village workshops, with only the simplest of tools.

The number of mines listed by Cuiet in 1890 is large. In the *sancak* of Trebizond, which comprises the modern Trebizond, Giresun, and Ordu districts, there were twenty-one mines of argentiferous lead, thirty-four copper mines, three of copper and lead, two of manganese, ten of iron, and two of coal. In the *sancak* of Gümüşhane there were thirty-seven mines of argentiferous lead and six copper mines.<sup>9</sup> The rich mineral deposits evidenced by these mines are almost absent at the western end of our region, where the *sancak* of Samsun had only one mine of argentiferous lead. But there is no direct evidence that any of these mines were worked in Byzantine times.

6. On the effects of silting in Byzantine times, see C. Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys. Geological changes in historical times* (Cambridge, 1969), 77–88, 116–20. On the Chalybians, add to the otherwise exhaustive references in Magie, *Roman Rule*, II, 1068–70; Clavijo (1404), ed. Estrada, 73; trans. Lestrangle, 108; Lazaropoulos in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 61; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63, 73, 80; and X. de Planhol, "Geographica Pontica: Les noix des Mossynèques: II: Les Khalybes. Nom de peuple ou qualificatif professionnel?", *JA*, 251 (1963), 293–309. De Planhol maintains the non-geographical nature of Chalybia, but ignores the medieval evidence. Curiously (apart from Stephanus Byzantinus, who draws upon antique sources) the district of Chalybia is not mentioned in Byzantine sources (i.e., before the 13th century), but there is no doubt of its survival in Trapezuntine times thereafter. Is it possible that Chalybia and the Halys share the same root?

7. Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, ed. and trans. C. R. Dodwell (London, 1961), 162, giving the derivation of the word according to Latin tradition.

8. Hamilton (*Researches*, 1836), I, 273–78. Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, v, 1; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, book I, line 1323; bk. II, lines 375, 1475. Clavijo's description of ironworking in the same region (see note 6) provides the only direct evidence for mining of any sort except alum in the Empire of Trebizond. On copper, see Hamilton, (*Researches*, 1836), I, 259; Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 56–58, 68; V. J. Parry, "Materials of War in the Ottoman Empire," in *Studies in the Economic history of the Middle East from the rise of Islam to the present day*, ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 225.

9. Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 17–18.

There were probably silver deposits at classical Argyria, near the mouth of the Philabonites<sup>10</sup> where Hamilton saw traces of mines,<sup>11</sup> and silver was probably mined somewhere in the mountains to the south of the upper Philabonites valley in the medieval period. If so, it was possibly between Tzanicha (Canca) and Paipertes (Bayburt) and probably out of the hands of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond; at all events these mines should not be confused with the later ones of Gümüşhane.<sup>12</sup>

Among other minerals the red earth of Sinope was famous for its quality in antiquity, and in the medieval period "sinoper" became a synonym for red earth. Probably other earth colors were also produced in the region in medieval times, since they are not difficult to find even today.

According to Pliny, alum was mined in Pontos in antiquity; in the Byzantine period it was mined near Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar) and this was probably the source of alum known to Pliny.<sup>13</sup> It was an important export of the region.

The climate of the Pontic region is dictated by the land forms outlined above, and falls into two distinct categories. Along the coastal strip and inland as far as the watershed of the Pontic chain it falls between the mild temperate and the warm temperate type of climate with considerable variations in temperature and rainfall. The high rainfall along the whole coast is caused by the prevailing northwesterly winds sweeping across the Black Sea and precipitating their moisture as they hit the Pontic land barrier and rise with the mountains.<sup>14</sup> There is no great seasonal variation in the rains and

10. Arrian, 24; see p. 139.

11. Hamilton (*Researches*, 1836), I, 259.

12. The question has been bedeviled by misidentifications. The facts seem to be these. In 1294 Marco Polo noted silver mines near Bayburt and Erzincan. These seem to be identical with the mines noted by Al Umari as active in 1332/33 at Bayburt and Kumish (Gümüş ?), for Ibn Battutah found the Kumish mines west of Erzincan in the same year. In the 16th century Tzanicha (Canca) was a silver mint, closing down in the period 1574–1644. It is possible that its silver came from mines to the south, toward Bayburt, and that these were the ones recorded by Marco Polo and Al Umari, but they were flooded and abandoned before 1661. However, new mines were opened close to Tzanicha before 1644, when Evliya Çelebi records for the first time an alternative name for the settlement below Tzanicha: Gümüşhane. The Greek name of this place, Argyropolis (a simple translation of Gümüşhane) was only adopted in the 19th century. Thus Yule and Gibb are mistaken in identifying Kumish with Gümüşhane (a place which did not then exist); on p. 26 we argue that Kumish is at Maden Dere or Gümüşakar, 70 km west of Erzincan. Vryonis was still more mistaken in stating that "it is interesting that Marco Polo still refers to Gümüşhane by its earlier Byzantine name, Argiron" (i.e., Argyropolis [*sic*]): an alternative reading of Arçingan demonstrates that Argiron was Erzincan. See Polo (1294), I, 46 and 49 note 3; Marco Polo, *The description of the world*, ed. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot (London, 1938), I, 21–22, II, p. vi; Ibn Battutah (1332), II, 436–37; C. Défrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (Paris, 1949), II, 293; Al Umari (1342–49), 337; S. Vryonis, Jr., "The question of the Byzantine Mines," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 8–9 and notes. On Gümüşhane, see p. 303.

13. On sinoper, see Pegolotti, ed. Evans, 296, 431; on alum, see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV, 52, and p. 148 below.

14. *Monthly Bulletin for Statistics*, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü I-IV (Ankara, 1971), 6 ff. The monthly rainfall figures for Trabzon include: January, 90 mm; April, 56 mm; July, 37 mm; October, 109 mm. In these statistics, the yearly average is about 875 mm, but see following note.

certainly no dry season, and overcast grey days seem to the resident there to be almost as frequent in the summer as in the winter. While the seasonal variation in rainfall is not so very great, there are considerable differences in the amount of precipitation along the coast; and it is to be noted that, while rainfall is heavy over the whole region, there is less of it at the western end and in the Trebizond area; more of it in the Kerasous (Giresun), Tripolis (Tirebolu), and Kotyora (Ordu) areas; and most of it at the eastern end from Rhizaion onward to Bathys, which French sailors describe as 'le pissoir de la Mer Noire.' These variations are due to the lie of the land. Stretches of coast which face the prevailing winds have the highest rainfall while those at an oblique angle to the winds and to some extent protected from them are subject to a lesser precipitation.<sup>15</sup>

Temperature variations are of course primarily dependent on the height of the land and there is no simple way of reducing them to sea level equivalents. In general the coastal climate is humid with moderate temperatures,<sup>16</sup> while the northern slopes of the mountains remain humid right up to the summit ridges, but the range of temperature becomes greater with the rise in altitude.

The second type of climate is to be found on the southern slopes of the Pontic chain; this is the cool, temperate continental climate which is typical of the Anatolian plateau as a whole. The rainfall is low and confined to the winter months, leaving long dry summers with frequent years of drought.<sup>17</sup> The seasonal temperature variations are extreme, with frost and snow in winter and relentless summer sun; the temperature variations between night and day are also marked.

Climate makes the coastal side of the watershed very fertile and the vegetation becomes more lush as the traveler moves eastward along the coast, so much so as to suggest a subtropical climate rather than a temperate one. In eastern Pontos the primordial landscape of mountain, forest, and sea is but little marred by the encroachment of humanity and provides not only a clear notion of its ancient aspect, but also a vision of the land before men ever attempted to change it. It is only in the years following the Second World War that the propagation of tea and the availability of modern road-making machinery have set in motion a process of physical change more momentous and rapid than anything achieved

15. The yearly rainfall averages are: Zonguldak, 1,245 mm; Samsun, 720 mm or 713 mm; Trabzon, 830 mm or 875 mm; Rize, 2,415 mm; Batum, 2,423 mm. See n. 14 above; J. C. Dewdney, *Turkey* (London, 1971), 40–43 (rainfall and climate maps for Zonguldak); *Black Sea Pilot*, 81–82.

16. The average centigrade temperatures are:

Town	January	August
Zonguldak	6.8°	23.3°
Sinop	7.1°	21.2°
Samsun	6.8°	23.3°
Trabzon	7.2°	23.2°
Rize	6.8°	22°
Batumi	7°	25.5°

17. By contrast with the figures in note 15, those for inland towns include: Kastamonu, 644 mm; Sivas, 411 mm; Erzincan, 311 mm; Erzurum, 478 mm.

in the previous two millennia. Up to a height of about 1,200 meters there are broad leaf forests, with beech, oak, chestnut, maple, alder, elm, hornbeam, lime, and plane trees—all native to these mountains. In the hinterland between Themiskyra and Kotyora, beech and hornbeam predominate in the remaining forests, but centuries of felling in the hinterland of Kotyora and Oinaion have reduced the forest to a few stands in the remoter valleys. These were the regions inhabited by the Chalybians and the need for charcoal for smelting must be one of the prime reasons for deforestation. In the hinterland of Trebizond the forests are again thin, perhaps because of the relatively dense population of the mountain valleys, but eastward of [Sou]sourmaina (Sürmene) the forest grows denser again. The principal trees of the broad leaf belt at the western end are beech, oak, maple, hornbeam, and alder. Above the 1,000- to 1,200-m contour line the forest becomes primarily coniferous, with spruce, firs, and Scots pine predominating. Towards 2,000 m the forest thins out to give way to patches of ground scrub and the rich summer pastures which play an important part in the economy of the region.

The main undergrowth of the forest is *Rhododendron Ponticum* and *Azalea Pontica* which have impressed many a traveler in the spring with the brilliance of their purple and yellow flowers. The flower of the azalea may be responsible for the intoxicating "mad honey" which caused such havoc among the Ten Thousand.<sup>18</sup> Paphlagonia was famous for its masts, while eastward of Trebizond the denser forest has an undergrowth of box, the wood of which is used for making spoons. Thus a variety of timber was available along the whole length of the Pontic coast for building, ship building, and furniture making, or for export, and as a fuel supply.

Until recently, game was abundant in the mountains, where wild boar and bear inhabit the forests, ibex live close above the line of the summer pastures, and hare dart along the slopes of the valleys south of the watershed. Partridge and pigeon are to be found everywhere, while the pheasant (*Phasianus Colchicus*) is native as far west as the delta of the river Iris and may have had a wider habitat in Byzantine times. The rivers and mountain streams on both sides of the watershed are inhabited by trout, and there are coarse fish in the large rivers. The edible snail flourishes in the lush coastal undergrowth. Among migratory birds, the quail provides a significant item of contemporary diet and seems to have been eaten in Byzantine times; in lesser quantity there are woodcock, snipe, and varieties of duck, and, no doubt, the smaller

18. See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, viii, 20–22. Still available to the unwary as *deli bal*; Thasos is also notorious for "mad honey." For more conventional kinds of honey, neighboring Mingrelia was better known than Trebizond in the Middle Ages. Wax, on the other hand, was exported from the Pontos as a Venetian cargo in 1406 and 1434. The extensive literature on "mad honey" is summarized in Th. Pasiades, *Τὸ μαινόμενον μέλι*, *AP*, 9 (1939), 43–62; for later Pontic apiculture, see N. Topalides, *Ἡ μελισσοκομία στὴ Σαντά*, *AP*, 29 (1968), 332–40. Hills (1961), 108, is the latest published account of the stuff, which A. A. M. B. finds sickens rather than elevates. On Imerethian honey, see Klaproth (1813), 405; and on wax, see Thieret, *Régestes*, nos. 1237, 2349.

birds suffered the twice-yearly massacre that is their fate as they migrate across the Mediterranean world.<sup>19</sup>

Since antiquity, walnut, hazelnut, and chestnut trees have all been grown along the coast, and among the fruits the fig is plentiful and the cherry a native of the Kerasous region, from whence it is said to have been brought to Europe by Lucullus. The flora of the coastal region is much too rich and varied to be described here in detail.<sup>20</sup> Among the flowers, *Colchicum*

19. Much of the Chalybian and (especially) Chaldian forests have been lost to charcoal-burners for smelting, but some of the east Pontic rain forests remain primeval. In the discussion which followed Rickmer Rickmers' address to the Royal Geographical Society, Dr. T. G. Longstaff, who had also visited Lazistan, said: "I would call your attention to the very remarkable and little-known fact that in Lazistan and also in Adjaristan, but in Lazistan particularly, there is the nearest virgin "Himalayan" forest that is left in existence." See Rickmers (1934), 480. In classical times the Pontic forests provided exports, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Trapezuntine timber was sent to Egypt; the trade is flourishing again today. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 179; II, 1068. Timber is comparatively rare on such a scale in Anatolia and it must have been an asset to the Grand Komnenoi. They were modest shipbuilders and their coastal towns must have been largely timber-built, and such they remained until the widespread use of concrete. There is, however, only the most meager hint that they exported wood: a wooden bow which Manuel I gave St. Louis. See Sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. De Wailly (Paris, 1874), 324.

The English embassy of 1294 had falcons at Trebizond and ate partridges on five occasions. See Langley (1292), 590–608, to be cited *passim*. John Eugenikos devoted stanza 12 of his *Ekphrasis* to the abundance and excellence of Trapezuntine game, equaled only by the skill of Pontic huntsmen—an imperial court official was a *Protokynegos*: see ed. Lampsides, *AP*, 20 (1955), 3–39; Iorga, *N&E*, I, 273. The spectacle of the annual flight of quail up the Pyxites, one of the great migrant funnels, excited nineteenth-century and modern observers: see Spencer (1836), 195–96; and M. Q. Smith, "Notes on the birds of the Trebizond area of Turkey," *The Ibis*, 102 (1960), 576–83. From 9 to 12 September 1967, A. A. M. B. witnessed great clouds of quail arrive from the sea, a scattering as far west as Tirebolu, some going up the Harşit, and numbers flocking to Boz Tepe above Trebizond. Their apparent tameness is in fact exhaustion, which makes them easy prey. Odoric (1318), 98–99, has a tale which may be derived from the phenomenon and is interpolated in some versions of Marco Polo: "In this land I beheld with great delight a very strange spectacle, namely a certain man leading about with him more than 4,000 partridges. The man himself walked along the ground and the partridges flew in the air. These he led to a certain castle called Zauena (Zigana ?), being three days' distant from Trebizond. The partridges were so tame, that when the man desired to lie down and rest, they would all come flocking about him like chickens. And so he led them to Trebizond and to the palace of the emperor, who took as many as he pleased, and the rest the man carried to the place whence he came." Similar tales were later reported from Chios and Grasse: Tournefort (1701), I, 172–77; *Busbecquii epistolae* (Amsterdam, 1660), 164; *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecg*, trans. E. S. Forster (Oxford, 1968), 103.

20. See P. H. Davis, *Flora of Turkey* (Edinburgh, 1965-); and K. M. Guichard, "Flowers of the Black Sea Coast," *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 147 (1960), 184–85. The quality of Pontic orchards only became widely known from the late nineteenth century, when apples, plums, medlars, filberts, grapes, and apricots could be exported any distance. In stanzas 13 and 15 Eugenikos (*loc. cit.* in note 19 above), claimed to have known a thousand different and delectable Pontic fruits, although, when he came to it, he could name only grapes, walnuts, perfumed lemons, and olives. Orchards are named in Vazelon Acts 10, 23, 75, 100, 104, 105, 108, 115, 134, 135, 143, 161, and 172. One curious modern Pontic fruit is the *karayemiş*, half-

and the autumn crocuses remain in the mind of the traveler. One species of the latter is locally known as "vargit," freely translated "There is a going away" because its appearance in the snow pastures is the signal for the summer villages to close down and the herdsman families to start the long trek down to their winter villages. In late spring, the native aristocrat, *Lilium Ponticum* rears its single- and many-headed varieties in golden glory above the surrounding flora. Vegetables must have been cultivated in abundance, with the bean and pea families among the dietary staples in Byzantine times, as indeed they still are today.<sup>21</sup> Cereal crops can never have been easy to produce because of the high rainfall and humidity, although no doubt some were grown, while Procopius mentions that the Laz grew millet.<sup>22</sup> It is however

cherry, half-grape, black with the stone of a cherry. The English expedition of 1292 (see note 19 above), spent an average of three aspers a day on "fructes divers." But one of the few major and continuously recorded Pontic exports, from classical times to the present, is hazelnuts, for which references are provided in Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 122 note 26. Here Dr. V. Ménage kindly points out that the proposition that *findik* (the Turkish word for nut) is derived from the Pontos is probably mistaken; see A. Tietze, "Griechische Lehnwörter im anatolischen Türkisch," *Oriens*, 8 (1955), 204–57 (No. 220).

21. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, VIII, 23: "And the Trapezuntines supplied a market for the army, received the Greeks kindly, and gave them oxen, barley meal, and wine, as gifts of hospitality." In *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1964), 69–76, Lynn White, Jr., makes much play of the importance of the widespread introduction of pulses from the 10th century as an explanation for demographic and economic growth in the West. The Pontos, by contrast, had probably always had a wide and, by medieval standards, remarkably well-balanced diet, for which there are hints in the Acts of Vazelon: see Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 120; Vazelon Act 134.

22. Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, XIII, 18. On Laz millet, see Bryer, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 176, 186. Since the eighteenth century, American maize (sweetcorn), has commonly provided a flour in Lazistan and (after the Greeks left) in Matzouka: see J. Humlum, *Zur Geographie des Maisbaus* (Copenhagen, 1942), 29, 90; Vazelon Acts 3, 64, and 108. Here, A. A. M. B. is in some disagreement with D. C. W.'s text. Basically speaking, the Grand Komnenoi faced the same problems as the Palaiologoi and early Ottomans of Constantinople in feeding their capital, although on a much smaller scale, for theirs was not really an urban economy. They exported hazelnuts and wine, but had to import cereals and salt fish which (as in Constantinople) was a principal source of cheap protein. In both cases they relied, like the Palaiologoi, on Italian entrepreneurs from the Crimea and the Sea of Azov. So far as cereals went, this is a curious reversal of the last words of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 286: "If grain does not pass across from Aminsos and from Paphlagonia and the Boukellarior and the flanks of the Armeniakoi, the Chersonites cannot live." Nevertheless, substantial cargoes of wheat, barley, oats, and millet passed from the Crimean ports to Trebizond in 1289 and 1290 (mostly in March and April). As for fish, the Pontos enjoys the gyration of the tunny and the shoals of *hamsi* in early September, when the quails come. But much of the catch is wasted, for, as Procopius pointed out (*loc. cit.*), the Pontos has little sea salt, and matters are not helped by the fact that the salinity of the Black Sea is about half that of the Mediterranean. The salt pans lay around the Crimea and in the sea of Azov, which in April, May and July 1290 exported quantities of salt fish to Trebizond; in June and July of that year there were at least seven shipments of salt. Significantly, John II himself bought cargoes of Genoese Crimean corn and salt in June 1290: a final delicacy came in August, with 50 to 65,000 lbs. of Azov

significant that, according to Xenophon, the Mossynoikoi used a flour ground from nuts for their bread-making.<sup>23</sup> This would almost certainly have been chestnut flour which provided the staple bread of Corsica and certain parts of Italy until recently, and no doubt in the Pontos in Byzantine times it was a staple substitute for cereal flours. The cereal crop of maize, and the potato, tomato, tobacco, and tea plants have all been introduced since the medieval period; their cultivation has transformed the eating habits and the economy of large sections of the coast, and caused a considerable change in the appearance of the landscape. The vine has been known since antiquity, when wine was among one of the gifts given to Xenophon's men, and the Venetians exported it from Trebizond in the Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup> It is now only made in any significant quantity in the plain of Tokat. Olives still grow in the region between Koralla (Görele) and Trebizond and both the olive and the grape were among the more important products of this part of the Black Sea coast. Flax and cotton are grown in small quantities, and the mulberry flourished, so that linen, cotton, and silk could have been home products, while hemp is grown in the mountain villages for rope-making.<sup>25</sup>

sturgeon, sold at 5½ hyperpers a hundredweight. Cheese, salt pork, and hog's lard were also imported from the north. See: Magie, *Roman rule*, I, 182; Bratianu, *Actes génois*, Nos. 152, 203; Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 7, 107, 119, 184, 404, 409, 410, 411, 412, 419, 423, 430, 438, 480, 501, 502, 505, 586, 615, 616, 618, 625, 626, 639, 703, 740, 788, 797, 903.

23. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, IV, 27–30.

24. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, VIII, 23. With hazelnuts, Trapezuntine wine was an important medieval export. *Zamora* was exported to the north-west: Pegolotti, ed. Evans, 24, 434; Bratianu, *Actes génois*, 127. Many travelers report on the enormous Pontic grapes, on untrellised vines which grew on olive trees, in the Byzantine fashion. Trapezuntine wine was not cheap, but highly appreciated: in 1292 the English expedition's expenditure on wine rose daily from 15 aspers to 23, 24, 41½, 42, and 48 aspers (by far the largest item of its budget, dropping back to an average of 15 aspers when it reached the interior); in 1438 Tafur found that in Caffa the going rate was two virgins for a measure of wine (presumably Trapezuntine)—two years later Venice decided that Trapezuntine wine merchants had an unfair advantage at Tana by paying no dues and declared all wines exempt; Genoa had been enjoying a vast indemnity paid by Alexios IV in wine and hazelnuts since 1418. In 1471 Barbaro found that, by contrast, a cask of Italian wine was worth less than a ducat in Trebizond. As late as 1609 Bordier reported that the trade was still flourishing in "all corners of the Black Sea, and they drink no other wine in Caffa and in other places in the Cimmerian Bosphoros." He did not find it agreeable, however, and 19th-century travelers were divided about its quality. Today it is the Crimea that exports wine, while D. C. W. claims to have drunk the last bottle of Trapezuntine wine in 1958. See Schiltberger (1402), 41; Iorga, *N&E*, I, 274; III, 246–47; Thiriet, *Régestes*, No. 2532; Clavijo (1404), ed. Estrada, 245; Tafur (1438), 134; Barbaro (1471), p. 48v; Bordier (1609), 134; Langley (1292), *loc. cit.* in note 19.

25. Bordier (1609), 129, 134, was especially impressed by the gigantic olives of Trebizond. There is slight evidence for silk negotiation in Trebizond, before and after 1461, but the chief markets lay to the west, especially in Bursa—see A. Bryer, "The Latins in the Euxine," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, Athens, 1976, *Rapports et Co-Rapports* (Athens, 1977), I, forthcoming. The Book of the Prefect mentions linen from the Pontos and Kerasous: *The Book of the Eparch*, ed. I. Dujčev (London, 1970), 39, 166, 247, 273, 289. There is ample evidence for trade in local cloths thereafter. The "panni aurei de sirico, veludi, camocha, sendadi, bocrani," and

From Amisos (Samsun) to Sinope the coastal region is differentiated from the inland valleys in the same way as described above, but the contrast is less striking. The coast is fertile and there is a greater extent of arable land than further eastward where the mountains come right down to the sea. The land between Amisos and Alacam is now devoted to tobacco and fruit farming but would have provided ample space for the growing of cereal crops, vegetables, and fruit in the medieval period. From Alacam to Gerze the land rises steeply from the coast, with broad leaf woods and villages in the clearings, and then again the mountains fall back in the hinterland of Sinope to leave a wide area of easily cultivable rolling lands.

For the whole coastline, the sea provided salt and fish in surplus quantities sufficient for trade. There are a great number of varieties of fish which are caught in large quantities, among the most popular are: horse mackerel, grey mullet, red mullet, gurnard, tunny, whiting, and anchovy.<sup>26</sup>

the "blattia" and "kylichartia" of the Italo-Trapezuntine treaties probably came from Persia, while in 1289 Trebizond was certainly importing Châlons cloth. But the linen which practically every member of the English expedition bought there in 1292, and probably the camelot, should have been locally produced: Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 87, 191; *DVL*, II, 128; Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 94; Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 67–72; Langley (1292), *loc. cit.* Bordier (1609), 121, noted that the chief commodities in the Trabzon bazaar were "cloths which are sent all over the country and to other lands, which are called Trabzon cloth, being very tenuous, light and strong—more so than any other—and the trade in these cloths is wonderful in this town." Cotton, linen, and raw silk were all spun or woven until recently at Rhizaion (Rize) and exported throughout Turkey, an industry which has now succumbed to synthetic fibres. As for the appearance of Pontic stuffs, the fine purple, black, and gold striped cloths which first appear in 19th-century engravings are probably much older in design. Until 1923 each Greek valley was distinguished by a slightly different striped tartan. Town and market clothes were, and are, black. They probably were in the Middle Ages, too, for the Trapezuntine imperial color of mourning was white: Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73; Koukoules, *Bios*, IV, 243–44. Hemp (*cannabis*) was presumably grown at Kanaborge: Vazelon Act 4 of the 15th century (cf. Zerzelides, *AP*, 24 [1961], 262). But, although Ibn Battutah (1332), II, 467, noted the excessive consumption of hashish at Sinope, Trebizond hemp was probably for rope-making. See H. Godwin, "The Ancient Cultivation of Hemp," *Antiquity*, 41 (1967), 42–49.

26. Whereas the Pontos had exported grain in the 10th century and fish in the 11th century to the north, the position was reversed by the 13th century, perhaps through more aggressive Genoese marketing, possibly because a population growth outstripped local resources; in the case of fish, certainly because the Pontos lacked quantities of salt: in a glut, *hamsi* had to be used for manure. In 1292 the English bought an average of 10 aspers of fish (including sturgeon) a day in Trebizond. They were even able to buy 4½ aspers of fish in Bayburt—possibly trout from the Akampsis. Trapezuntine fishing was conducted from a peculiar kind of boat and there seems to have been an imperial tax, or license, for professional fishermen. The local fish market was lively in Evliya's day, when the *hamsi*'s burnt head was used to scare snakes, and its flesh reckoned to be an "aphrodisiac of extraordinary potency." See Evliya (1644), II, 48–49; Mynas (*MS* 1248, 1844), fol. 119a; *Polish Janissary*, 261; Jaubert (1805), 139; Deyrolle (1869), 23; J. Ray, *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages* (London, 1705), II, 17–18; Koukoules, *Bios*, V, 331–43; Lamberti (1650), 48; Bratianu, *Actes génois*, 190–91, 196; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 266 and note for line 121; Bryer, *Mariner's Mirror*, 52 (1966), 11; the same, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 185 and note 74; Langley (1292), *loc. cit.* in note 19; K. Devedjan, *Pêche et pêcheries*

The latter, called *hamsi*, have given their name as a nickname to the people of the eastern half of the southern shores of the Black Sea. Fish, to which may be added molluscs and crustaceans, must have always been a staple in the diet of the coastal peoples, and salt fish provided an important item for export.

The inland valleys south of the coastline between Sinope and Themiskyra partake of a similar climate and character to the coastline because these valleys and basins are formed by the rivers Iris, Halys, and their tributaries. The rivers form gaps in the mountain barrier through which a certain amount of moisture-laden air can pass, thereby increasing the amount of rainfall in these valleys. The basins and valleys of the Domanites (Kastamonu, Boyabat), the Phazimonites (Merzifon, Havza, Ladik), the Phaneroia (Taşova), Amaseia (Amasya, Suluova), and the Dazimonites (Tokat), are mostly under 600 m in height and relatively well watered. They are eminently suited to agriculture in all its forms: cereal crops, fruit, and vines grow there in abundance, and no doubt always have done since the important towns can trace a continuous pedigree back to the classical world, while prehistoric habitation mounds suggest an even earlier occupation and cultivation.

Further eastward, to the south of Kerasous, Trebizond, and Rhizaion, are basins and valleys formed by the upper reaches of the Lykos and its tributary streams, and the eastward flowing river Akampsis and its tributaries. These valleys, at heights of up to about 1,200 m, are good for cereal growing and fruit, but the slopes that overlook them are for the most part barren and rocky. Here the forest has been cut down or never existed and the only trees, apart from apple, pear, and mulberry, are lines of poplars and willows along the water courses, after the manner of the Anatolian plateau. The landscape is softer and better watered than that of the Anatolian plateau proper, but it is nearer to the plateau in climate and vegetation than to the valleys north of the watershed. At the eastern end are the high lava plateaux of Theodosiopolis (Erzurum), Kars, and Ardahan, at heights of about 2,000 m, where a cereal crop will grow, and there is good pasturage for herds of cattle and horses.

Common to the whole region, as indeed to the whole of

Anatolia, is the raising of sheep, goats, and cattle. In the Pontos this is rarely the main farming activity and is usually organized on the basis of transhumance. Shepherds of the lower valleys of either side of the Pontic mountains take their flocks in the spring and drive them up to the summer pastures above the tree line where they have *yaylas*, which are a simple form of summer village. The chronicle of Panaretos provides evidence that pastoral life was organized in this way during the Empire of Trebizond,<sup>27</sup> and the tradition of transhumance may well be much older in origin since it is a logical means of making the maximum use of natural resources.<sup>28</sup>

#### COASTAL TOWNS

The Pontic coastline provides very few natural harbors, with the notable exception of that of the city of Sinope, where the peninsula provides ideal protection against weather; it is a tribute to the wisdom of the Milesians that they founded there their first Black Sea colony. Along this coast a good harbor must provide deep enough water free from rocky hazards, and protection from the prevailing northwesterlies which often develop quickly into gale force winds sufficient to endanger shipping of small tonnage. The harbor also needed to be defensible and situated near to, or at the terminus of, a route across the mountains so that it might function as a center of commerce or as a military supply base and not just as a refuge for shipping in bad weather. A further consideration was the need for a fertile and accessible hinterland of sufficient size to provide for a harbor city. The siting of the Pontic coastal settlements is an interesting study in the interplay of these factors, which have influenced their destiny up to the twentieth century, when a more developed control over the environment has to a large extent rendered them irrelevant.<sup>29</sup>

Sinope fulfilled the requirements of a natural harbor, and its rocky peninsula provided a naturally strong defensive site with a softly rolling hinterland stretching some 30 km to the south of it to provide ample arable and pastoral land for the support of a city. A southern trade route crosses the mountains by a pass at 1,300 m, giving access to the valley of the Amnias where, in the Roman period, there flourished the city of Pompeiopolis (Taşköprü), and in the Byzantine period Kastamon (Kastamonu) with the castle and, perhaps, family estates of the Komnenoi.

Reviewing the coast eastward of Sinope the next town of importance was Paurae, the exact location of which is uncertain. Its modern equivalent is Bafra, some two or three kilometers east of the delta of the Halys, but it seems likely that Paurae may have been on the banks of the river. The

*de Turquie* (Istanbul, 1926); S. Çakıroğlu, *Karadeniz'de Bahkçılığımız* (Istanbul, 1969); The names of local fish according to the F.A.O. *Catalogue of the Names of Mediterranean Fish, Molluscs and Crustaceans*, ed. G. Bini (Rome, 1965); and A. Davidson, *Mediterranean Seafood* (Harmondsworth, 1972), are:

English	Latin	Greek	Turkish
Horse	Trachurus	Stavridi	İstavrit
Mackerel	Trachurus		
Red Mullet	Mullus	Barbouni	Tekir/ Barbunya
	Surmuletus		
Red Gurnard	Aspitrigla	Kaponi	Kırlangıç
	Cuculus		
Atlantic Bonito	Sarda Sarda	Palamida	Palamut/ Torik
Whiting	Gadus Merlangus	Bakaliaros	Bakalyaro/ Mezci
Anchovy	Engraulis	Gavros	Hamsi
	Encrasicolus		
Grey Mullet	Mugil Cephalus	Kephalos	(Has) Kefal

27. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65, 72, 76, 77. Medieval Pontic transhumance is discussed at length in Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 118–19, 127, 129–30, 139–40, 142–43.

28. Cf. de Planhol, "Chaînes pontiques," 2–12.

29. Dynamite (which has enabled roads to take unnatural courses), mechanized travel and machine power, and air communications have modified these factors in this century. For a summary of the placing of Greek cities, see F. E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (London, 1971), 3–46; E. Kirsten, *Die griechische Polis als historisch-geographisches Problem des Mittelmeerraumes* (Bonn, 1956), is not available to us.

amount of silt brought down by this river makes it difficult to locate the position of the ancient and medieval town, but that it was a place and a harbor of some importance is suggested by the fact that after the battle of Phazimon (Merzifon) the Franks fled there to escape from the Turks.<sup>30</sup> There is a sizeable prehistoric habitation mound not far from the west bank and just south of the road, where fragmentary ridge tiles indicate a continuity of occupation into the Roman or Byzantine periods, and there is another and larger mound to the east of the town of Bafra and north of the road, but this has not been explored by us. These mounds would suggest that the delta has always been a fertile and profitable place for settlement.

The city of Amisos, coming next to the east, is on a headland which provided an acropolis site for defense, and some protection for shipping, though the nature of the original harbor is now obscured by modern harbor installations on the eastern side of the acropolis hill. In addition, the city constituted an emporium for the produce of the plateau. The low barrier of hills to the south of it rises only to a thousand meters. The trade route over these hills connected the port with the rich plains of the Suluova and the Phaneroia, and with the cities of Amaseia and Laodikeia (Ladik). Euchaita (Avkat) lay more or less due south in a tributary valley of the Halys. Zela (Zile), Komana τὰ Ποντικά (Comana Pontica, Gömenek), and Dazimon, also stood to the south in the Dazimonites plain (Kaz Ovası).

The hills come down to the sea for a short distance on either side of Amisos and then, on the eastern side, the coast opens up into a wide plain formed by the deltas of the Iris and the smaller river Thermodon (Terme). Here in classical times stood the city of Themiskyra, now perpetuated in the name of the township of Terme, but by no means certainly on the same site. Here also was the port of Limnia, for a century or more the westerly bastion of the Empire of Trebizond. The progressive silting of the two rivers which have formed this great land mass, and the frequent inundations of flood years, make it difficult to identify the exact site, but it seems fairly certain that Limnia (and possibly Themiskyra also) were delta ports on the banks of one of the two rivers which here reach the sea. Unsuitable for modern shipping because of their shallow waters, these deltas clearly provided satisfactory harbors for the ships of ancient and medieval times, with good protection from the weather. The flat and marshy hinterland secured the towns from easy attack by land, and provided an ample area for cultivation and pastoral use in good years; but that these two towns were ill-suited for trading with the interior is suggested by their relatively small importance. The fate of neither Themiskyra nor Limnia is known, and it may well be that the inexorable flow of silt overcame them, leaving little but malarial swamp in these parts until modern methods of agriculture changed the deltas into the increasingly prosperous plain of the present day.<sup>31</sup>

The next port is Oinaion (Ünye) which is provided with a sheltered anchorage and a defensible headland, though the latter is less striking than the headland of Amisos. The

anchorage is shallow, though it may have been sufficiently deep for the boats of ancient and medieval times to anchor alongside a mole. Of the classical city no remains are apparent but there are the ruins of the walls of a medieval castle, perhaps built by the Emperor Andronikos I of Byzantium, near the shore in the most sheltered part of the bay. From Oinaion a road runs south across the mountains to Neokaisareia (Niksar) giving the port access to the plain of the Phaneroia and the Lykos valley, and southwest of the latter to Komana Pontika and the plain of the Dazimonites. About eight kilometers inland from Oinaion along this route is the castle of the Çaleoğlu family; it is fairly clear that the castle and the road are connected, with the castle serving to guard Oinaion from attacks from inland and as a point of control for the inspection of caravans along this road. The ruins of the castle bear witness to its use from the Hellenistic age down into Byzantine and Ottoman times.

Eastward of Oinaion is the city of Polemonion (Fatsa). Here there is no natural anchorage, and other factors must have led King Polemo to place his capital at this point. The site is not naturally defended, but the town was built on a gravel terrace a few meters above sea level on the west bank of the delta of the river Boloman and it is possible that reasons of health may have partly dictated the choice of this site. The ancient city of Side is said to have preceded Polemonion, but there is no evidence to show that there was an earlier city on the site. From Polemonion a Roman road ran southward across the mountains to the Lykos valley to join the great Roman highway across Anatolia from Nikomedeia (Izmit) to Satala (Sadak), and there is also a route to Neokaisareia. In the period of the Empire of Trebizond a Genoese notary was using one of them to travel to Sebasteia.<sup>32</sup> It may in fact be these routes across the mountains which primarily account for the importance of Polemonion; further advantages to the site are the presence of ample fertile land in the immediate neighborhood and a good source of local limestone for building. The ancient name is perpetuated in the coastal village of Boloman, a few kilometers eastward of Polemonion, and the medieval castle there as well as the ruin of an octagonal church, now gone, suggest that in the Byzantine period the town may have moved to a position with natural defenses, but still unprovided with a natural anchorage of any significance.

Boloman is already on the flanks of Cape Jason (Yasun Burunu), largest of the headlands east of Sinope. The headland itself is scattered with remains of the Byzantine period, largely unexplored, but it is on the eastern shore that the important anchorages were situated. The modern town of Ordu is generally held to mark the site of ancient Kotyora, though no certain identification has been made. The position is well sheltered from the northwesterlies, and there is a headland above the town which may well have served as an acropolis. The exploration of this acropolis, together with those of Sinope and Amisos, is rendered impossible by the presence of military installations. The gently rising country of the hinterland to the east of the town of Kotyora provides plenty of rich arable and pastoral land for the support of a

30. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Leib, III, 38.

31. Malaria was endemic to the coast until recently.

32. Bratianu, *Actes génois*, 159.

city. There is a large castle with a cistern tunnel reported in this hinterland, and there are almost certainly other antiquities the exploration of which will throw further light on the history of the district.

From Kotyora a route runs inland across the mountains to Anniaca (Koyulhisar). It does not run across very high ground but has to traverse a notable ascent and descent through the valley of the Melanthios west of Matuasco (Mesudiye). This route to some extent duplicates the road inland from Polemonion; both connect with the Lykos valley and from thence to Sebasteia but, whereas Polemonion seems to have had a more natural line of communication westward to Neokaisareia and the cities of the western plains of the Dazimonites, the Phaneroia, and Amaseia, Kotyora seems to have communicated more naturally southeastward with Koloneia and the plain of Nikopolis (Suşehri). The disappearance of Kotyora in the Byzantine period is less strange when we find that westward of it, on the cape, is the possibly even better anchorage of Boon (Perşembe). The portulan maps of the period of the Empire of Trebizond all mark it and perhaps Türkmen's overrunning of the coast forced a move westward to a more defensible site which was less accessible from the interior.

Next in our eastward survey comes the city of Kerasous. Between Sinope and Trebizond the ruins of this city are the most significant along the coast and its now deserted acropolis rock bears witness to its importance in former times. The salient feature of the site is the great rocky peninsula which juts out into the sea and provides, with Sinope, the best defensive site along the coast. As a harbor and anchorage it appears to have little to recommend it. There is deep water on the western side, where the modern harbor has been constructed. But extensive moles would have been necessary to protect shipping, while on the sheltered eastern side the shallows are littered with rocks, both submerged and above water, which would constitute a hazard even to ships of small tonnage and arrest the approach of any large vessel. The hinterland of Kerasous does not offer the rich resources of extensive arable and pastoral lands such as extend around the towns further westward. Southward across the mountains, the city is connected by a difficult route over two high passes to the town of Koloneia, a Mithridatic fortress which became the capital of a theme in Byzantine times, and which was a center for the mining of alum. It would seem likely therefore that defense was the prime consideration for the choice of Kerasous as a site, and it may be that the historical importance of the town was largely due to the fact that it served as the outlet for the alum exports from Koloneia. A historical link between these two towns seems to be indicated by the present administrative position of Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar), which has no natural geographic link with the coast, and is cut off from it by snow for five months of the year, but is nevertheless within the jurisdiction of the *vilayet* of Giresun.

The eastern side of Cape Zephyrios (Çam-Zefir Burunu), on which stood Kenchrina, provides an obvious anchorage near the mouth of the river Yağlı; overlooking it is a high rock with fortifications which are probably to be identified with the castle of Holy Anthony (Andoz Kalesi). The ter-

aces to the east of the river and the comparatively gentle slopes of the lower part of the river valley provide a food producing hinterland, and it is strange that there should be no sign of any significant occupation previous to the period of the Empire of Trebizond. The route inland from here, which leads by indirect ways to Koloneia, was not explored by us.

Tripolis is the next site of importance, situated to the west of the delta of the river Philabonites and named perhaps after the three promontories which here lie close to each other. The western promontory is called Kilise Burunu and on it are the ruins of a church and the foundations of an olive press cut into the rock, but no sign that it was ever part of the town. The eastern promontories were each fortified in the Byzantine period; the sheltered anchorages on the eastern side of these spits are to some extent spoiled by rocks, but that of the easternmost promontory could have been useful for smaller shipping. The ground behind the town rises more steeply than is the case with any other coastal town, although there are flat terraces a few kilometers to the west, around the modern town of Esbiye. The silver mines of Argyria were mentioned by Arrian as lying about twenty stadia east of Tripolis and they were still worked at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are also modern copper and iron mines to the west of Tripolis in the hinterland of Esbiye and along the eastern slopes of the valley of the Yağlı. These are perhaps of older origin, since Hamilton must be referring to them when he reports iron mines twenty kilometers to the west of Tripolis.<sup>33</sup> It has been claimed that there is an obvious and short natural route inland from Tripolis by way of the Philabonites valley to Theodosiupolis.<sup>34</sup> But to assume this is to confuse the factors which dictate the choice of routes for ancient and modern road systems. The gorges of the Philabonites river valley are so frequently narrow and precipitous that even with modern equipment it took some four years in the late 1950s to cut a road up the valley. Until that time none existed, and any route along the heights above it would have necessitated continual descent and ascent in order to get across the many lateral indentations of tributary valleys. It would seem most likely that the site of Tripolis owes its importance to its advantageous defensive position combined with a moderate anchorage and to the silver mines the product of which would have needed secure storage while awaiting shipment to its destination.

Görele is now the site of a flourishing township and takes its name from the ancient Koralla. It has no natural harbor but lies on the east banks of the delta of the river Görele and the mouth of the river may have provided shelter enough for ancient and medieval shipping. Quaternary terraces provide conveniently situated arable land for the town, but there seems to be no obvious site with defensive advantages. Neither author however has explored the Koralla area thoroughly and it may be that there are ruins of the ancient site yet to be found. The reasons for the choice of this site are hard to supply, for it offers no apparent good anchorage,

33. Arrian, 24; Hamilton (*Researches*, 1836), I, 259.

34. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 20-21; J. C. Dewdney, *Turkey* (London, 1971), 197.

lacks natural defenses, nor does any major track run southward to connect it with the inland valleys beyond the watershed. It may be that the coastal terraces and the Görele river valley provided enough good land for the support of a coastal market town from which to export their produce; the large number of villages up the valley, two of them with castle prefixes in their names, is certainly suggestive of fertile country. In the Byzantine period, or perhaps during the Empire of Trebizond, it is clear that defense had become the paramount consideration in the existence of the town, and it was moved to Cape Koralla (Görele Burunu) where the important castle site is well protected by the sea on three sides, but there is little else to recommend its windswept situation.

On the sheltered eastern side of Cape Koralla, and on the northeast side of the estuary of the river Beşikdüzü is the ruin of a fort which we identify tentatively as the classical Libiopolis and the Uiopolli of the portulan maps, close to the modern Turkish village of Yuvabolu. Nothing is known of the history of this place, but its continued existence suggests some useful purpose; our placing of it gives it a clear purpose as the safest anchorage in the long bay between Cape Koralla and the Holy Cape (Yoros-Fener Burunu).

On the eastern shore of the Holy Cape is the monastery of St. Phokas (Akçakale) on the classical site of Kordyle. The fortified monastery site is on a headland with a naturally sheltered harbor to the south of it. It is well protected from the weather by the great bulk of the Karadağ mountains which rise behind it. Since there is no obvious route inland from this site and no known agricultural or mineral product, the main reason for its existence may have been to serve as a harbor in stormy weather for shipping bound for Trebizond. The same is true of the next site at Platana (Akçaabat). There is no deep-water harbor and no sign that moles were ever built here, but there are gently sloping beaches which are reasonably well protected from storms. It is possible to round the Holy Cape by road from the west in gale force winds with high seas smashing against the rocks, and to follow the shore down to Platana a few minutes later to find the waters there scarcely disturbed. Like Kordyle, Platana lies under the shadow of the Karadağ which forms the spine of the cape. Its great height gives excellent protection from the weather to which many travelers by sea have testified. Defensive reasons do not seem to have entered into the choice for this site and there is no sign of defensive walling of any period. However, Platana controls fertile land along the shore to the east where there are gently sloping hills and the fertile valley of the river Kalenima, which is to be identified with the *bandon* of Trikomia. The major reason for the existence of Platana seems to be that it was a useful dependency of Trebizond, providing the safe anchorage that the town itself lacked, and a source of food for the population of the city.

The classical city of Trebizond was protected on its eastern and western sides by ravines, and on the north side by a cliff overlooking a low foreshore. The site is trapezoid in form with the narrow side at the southern end; here there are no natural defenses and a strong wall was built to close off the town from the rest of the neck of land.

In the fourteenth century the town walls were extended northward to the sea, where there are remains of two moles said to have been built by Hadrian, who used the town as his supply port for campaigns against the Persians.<sup>35</sup> The ancient and medieval Trebizond, like many other Greek coastal towns, possessed no natural harbor lying within the shelter of its defenses; but there was good natural protection for boats about a mile to the east where a headland protects a little bay, called Daphnous, with fairly deep water; in times of peace this would no doubt have been in regular use. Eastward of Sinope this is the best of all anchorages along the coast, and it is typical of the acumen of the seafaring Genoese that they should have insisted on building their castle of Leontokastron on the promontory which dominates the harbor. It remains in use today as the modern harbor of the town.

There is no level hinterland to the city but the hills rise gently behind it for some way inland. This hilly territory would have provided the necessary food-producing area for much of the needs of the city and it is likely that all of the land westward as far as Kordyle and the Karadağ ridge would have supplied it. Trebizond seems to have been well enough off in this respect at an early period, since it was able to supply the extra food for Xenophon and his Ten Thousand.

The routes inland from Trebizond have been of continuous importance since antiquity, and the fact that Xenophon and his men chose to come to this city is surely evidence that even at that early date it was on an established route. The preeminence of Trebizond among the cities on the southern shores of the Black Sea must in the first place be attributed to this route inland, which allowed the town to function as an emporium for the reception of goods from Anatolia and Central Asia on their way to Europe, and for goods from Europe on their way eastward into Asia. The good defensive site, adequate food and water supplies, and equable and healthy climate provided the necessary basis for it to expand as a commercial city rather than vegetate as a small coastal market town.

The next town of importance was [Sou] sourmaina (Sürmene) near the mouth of the river Hyssos (Karadere) which flows into the sea on the sheltered eastern side of Cape Araklı. There are several interconnected sites here, most notably the Roman camp of Hyssos which became Herakleia (Araklı), where we suggest that Heraclius was stationed in 625.<sup>36</sup>

The route inland up the Hyssos valley is a natural and direct summer road from the coast to Paipertes (Bayburt) and Satala (Sadak). The route inland up the river Manahos at [Sou]sourmaina would serve the same purpose.<sup>37</sup>

East of [Sou]sourmaina on a piece of coast directly facing the harsh northwesterlies was the settlement of Ophis (Of). The present village is on the west bank of the delta of the river Stylos (İstala); it has no trace of early remains and no anchorage except for a sandy beach on which to run up small boats. There is however a fort on a cliff spur to the west of

35. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 45.

36. See T. S. Brown, A. Bryer, and D. Winfield, "Cities of Heraclius," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 4 (1978), 22-300.

37. See p. 323.

Ophis which might represent medieval Stylos (Röşi Kalesi). A road runs south from Ophis up the river Stylos and crosses the mountains to Paipertes, but this is a modern road, the upper stretches of which were blasted out of the mountain face by the Russians in 1916.<sup>38</sup> It does not follow a natural route across the mountains, and it seems likely that Ophis was never more than a coastal market town from which surplus agricultural produce from the surrounding areas was shipped to larger towns. It is noteworthy that, on his return from Samarkand, the Spanish Ambassador Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, who came down to the coast somewhere west of Rhizaion and then traveled along it to Trebizond, mentions only [Sou]sourmaina along this part of the coast.<sup>39</sup>

At the mouth of the next large river valley to the east is the hamlet of Eski Pazar, which means 'Old Market.' The name is suggestive of former importance and on the east bank of the delta are the remains of a medieval fort, near Fici Burunu, the *Cauo d'Croxe* of the portulans. It could have been simply a market town on the estuary of the river Maki, but it seems more likely to have served as the coastal terminus for the route to İspir and Theodosiupolis. There is no particular defensive value to the site and it was directly exposed to the northeasterly gales; however, the mountain crossing to İspir is only practicable for a few summer months, so that a terminal depot here would only have needed servicing by ships in the calm season. The delta of the river Kalopotamos east of Eski Pazar might seem a more direct natural terminus for this mountain crossing, but there are no signs that it was the site of a settlement.

The last town of importance before Bathys was Rhizaion. It is on the eastern side of a cape and the site of the ancient town and harbor is right in the most sheltered part of the bay, whereas the modern town has spread to the more exposed coast to the east of it. Rhizaion takes advantage of a good defensive position and a sheltered harbor. It conforms to a type of many Greek coastal colonies in forming a triangle with the base on the sea coast, and the point on a hill a little way inland. Curtain walls connected the sea with the hilltop, which thus forms a natural acropolis, with the township between it and the sea. The ruins of the walls bear witness to the rebuilding activity of which Procopius writes.<sup>40</sup>

The harbor does not offer a deep water anchorage but it does offer the necessary shelter for boats pulled up on the shore. The size of the fortifications seems unlikely to have been justified by the volume of trade passing through Rhizaion and it seems probable that the place was rebuilt as a forward garrison city. The foundation of Satala made Trebizond into a military supply port of importance; it may be that in a like manner the foundation of Theodosiupolis gave rise to the walled city of Rhizaion. The most likely terminus for this route to Theodosiupolis was at Eski Pazar or at the mouth of the Kalopotamos but as we have seen above these sites were on a very exposed stretch of coast and offered no defensive advantages. The hinterland of

Rhizaion rises gently for some miles inland, and could have provided ample soil for the cultivation of the necessary food supplies for the town and for surplus cash crops such as nuts.

The township of Athenai (Pazar) lies near the delta of the river Pazar. The only sign of antiquity is a well-constructed tower of medieval date on an offshore rock. It is probable that this marks the site of the Byzantine and classical settlement since it is in a sheltered location with a minor promontory to ward off the worst of the weather. The modern township, like Rhizaion, has moved eastward of the ancient site. Athenai is noteworthy neither as a defensive site, nor as a harbor. It was the coastal terminal for a minor route across the mountains, and a market town. Inland lay the staggering castles of the Land of Arhakil, probably indirectly referred to by Contarini, who said that he learned in the Crimea in 1474 that the frontier of Uzun Hasan was four hours inland from Athenai.<sup>41</sup>

The coast between Athenai and Ardeşen is marked by flat quaternary terraces which end in the enigmatically-named area of Eski Trabzon on the west bank of the delta of the river Furtuna or Büyük. It is curious that there is no evidence of a substantial older settlement at modern Ardeşen here. The delta has no visible historic remains, except for a church close by, and no obvious harbor, but is large, giving ample room for the beaching of boats. Modern Ardeşen serves the valley of the "Big River." The Furtuna is in fact the largest of all the rivers east of Rhizaion and west of the Akampsis, providing a rough route across the mountains to İspir.

Beyond this point we reach the modern Russo-Turkish border, which is one of the oldest and most stable in the world. It is marked by the great classical and medieval fortress of Apsaros-Gonia (Goniya) and the Akampsis River. Beyond lay Bathys, visited, but probably not controlled, by the Grand Komnenoi, and the Georgian statelets of the Gurieli and Saatabago.

This pattern of coastal settlement comes from the antique world and survived better into medieval times than in most other parts of Anatolia. But it must be remembered that it is a palimpsest upon the life of the earlier inhabitants of Pontos, about whom we know little. We have noted prehistoric mounds in the delta of the Halys, and some excavations revealing early occupation of these city sites have taken place at Sinope and Amisos. But east of Amisos we know nothing about the earlier inhabitants, except for the Chalybians and their legendary fame as ironworkers, and for a puzzling hole in the side of a hill, Gedik Kaya, near Kerasous, which may represent a Bronze Age shaft burial. The reasons for this ignorance are the allied factors of climate and vegetation. The heavy rains cause frequent landslides and changes in land levels, while the thick vegetation conceals such remaining humps as may represent habitation sites; moreover, early buildings on the Pontic coast would almost certainly have been constructed of perishable timber, leaving only the clue of potsherds if we could but find them.

Coastal settlements of Pontos fall into two categories. The seven important towns of Sinope, Amisos, Polemonion, Kerasous, Trebizond, Rhizaion, and Bathys all served as

38. See, however, Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 20.

39. Clavijo (1404), ed. Estrada, 244–45; trans. Lestrangle, 336; see map XXX.

40. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vi, 7.

41. Contarini (1474), 116.

coastal termini for routes inland across the mountains and only the easterly towns of Rhizaion and Bathys are not on the Hieroclean lists.<sup>42</sup> Six of them are on sites of good defensive value and bear the common imprint of acropolis and town which stamps them as Hellenistic and links them with so many other coastal sites in the Mediterranean world. The same six are all on the sides of headlands which protect them from the worst of the weather, although the harbor facilities which they offered were of varying quality; all have survived as towns of some note. The odd city out is Polemonion, and the flat gravel terraces on which it is built are indicative of its period. It was founded by Polemo II about the middle of the first century at a time when a city might without fear be sited on a flat site, with the advantage in this case of a source of good building stone close at hand.<sup>43</sup> The portulan maps are evidence that it survived into the Late Byzantine period.<sup>44</sup> All of these seven important towns must have functioned when necessary as military supply depots as well as commercial emporia. Some of the remaining towns and settlements were termini for less important routes across the mountains, but most of them seem to have been in the nature of fortified trading stations and markets serving for the import and export of produce into the particular groups of valleys which they served. A few were probably forts designed to curb the activity of pirates; some may mark the sites of the forts established by Nero along this coast.

#### TOWNS IN THE COASTAL VALLEYS

A second and much smaller group of townships in the coastal region are those which are to be found some distance up the valleys leading from the coast to the watershed ridge. Some of these were along the routes across the mountains, and in this case their prime function was obviously that of staging posts. The Peutinger Tables give us the names of three such places on the routes inland from Polemonion: Bartae, which we identify as Aybastı;<sup>45</sup> Sauronisenā, which we identify as Gök köy; and Matuasco, which we identify as Mesudiye. Two others are on the route inland from Trebizond: Magnana (Maçka) and Gizenenica (Chasdenika, upper Hortokop). No other major places are attested in literary sources for the ancient period and there is no known archaeological evidence for them, but one more place appears in the Byzantine period. This is Ardasa or Torul in the middle reaches of the Philabonites. Not far below Ardasa is the village of Kürtün, an Ottoman center which may replace Trapezuntine Kotzautā (Suma Kale?). Some of the modern townships of this middle mountain area may well mark ancient or medieval sites; further exploration of the valleys should provide more evidence. Examples of townships where antiquities have been reported are Tonya in the valley inland from Vakfikebir, Çaykara inland from Of, and Hayrat inland from Eski Pazar. An example of a medieval castle

42. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1971), 538.

43. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 170.

44. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 100.

45. In the Peutinger Tables, the distance between Polemonion and Bartae is, however, only 11 *m.p.* This would make Gülekci, at the confluence of the Şahsene and Boloman Rivers, a more likely site.

which may have had a *vicus* around it is the castle of Zil in the valley of the Furtuna, inland from Athenai in the lordship of Arhakil. These intermediate mountain townships of the coastal range are often situated at the confluence of a river and its tributary where two valleys merge and widen out providing some flat land and gentle slopes suitable for habitation and cultivation. Today they are often the seat of local administration in the form of a *kaymakamlık* or a *nâhiye*.

#### INLAND CITIES

The siting of inland cities and towns depended primarily upon the availability of a surplus food supply and a good water source; but these alone did not make a town important. The secondary factors were the existence of routes of military, administrative, or commercial significance, and a good defensive position. It is the interplay of these secondary factors which account for the rise and decline of the inland cities.

Most of the cities and towns are in the southwestern part of our region, and we do not attempt to cover them fully.<sup>46</sup> They are situated in the broad basins formed by the river valleys. The most westerly, Pompeiopolis, was in the district of the Domanites, watered by the Amnias. Situated on a plain which ensured an abundant supply of food and water, the position of Pompeiopolis on a branch of the main highway from Nikomedeia to Satala ensured its importance, while lesser routes communicated with the coastal towns to the north. In the early Byzantine period Pompeiopolis appears to have moved from Taşköprü to the nearby fortified hill of Kız Kale, judging by the substantial remains there, which would bear investigation. But the Pompeiopolis which Manuel II Palaiologos visited and bewailed in 1391<sup>47</sup> was evidently back at Taşköprü. The function of Middle Byzantine Pompeiopolis was taken over by Kastamon.

Traveling eastward along the Satala road, the next cities of significance were Neoklaudioupolis (Vezirköprü) in the region of the Phazimonites, and Laodikeia and Eupatoria-Magnopolis (Taşova) in the plain of the Phaneroia. All of these cities were in fertile well-watered country; Laodikeia possessed additional distinction in that it lay on the north-south road from Amisos to Amaseia and Zela. The city of Amaseia has been of continuous importance since the Hellenistic period, when it was the capital of the Mithridatic kingdom. The Danişmends made it their capital in the twelfth century when it passed out of Byzantine hands, and thereafter it was a notable Ottoman town, to which the Imperial ambassador Busbecq had to find his way in the sixteenth century in order to see the Sultan.<sup>48</sup> The city was never in a plain though it is served by small plains to the east and to the south, and the great plain of Suluova to the northwest. It

46. For further treatment of these cities, see *SP*, I, II; Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*; and Magie, *Roman Rule*. For descriptions of the sites, see D. R. Wilson, *Historical Geography of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus* (Oxford, 1960) (unpublished B. Litt. thesis, also available in the Library of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara).

47. J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1961), 91.

48. *Busbecq*, trans. Forster (see note 19 above), 56-58.

is built against a massive rock where the valley of the Iris narrows into a defile. The citadel rock is a defensive site of great natural strength and the city at the foot of it enjoyed the natural protection of the river on the side opposite to the citadel. To the west of Amaseia lay Euchaita, on the road from Amaseia to Gangra (Çankırı) and Ankyra (Ankara). It also seems to have lain on an alternative north-south route from Amisos to Ankyra via Phazimon but missing Amaseia, and it was on a road south to Tavium. The prominence of Euchaita in the Middle Byzantine period is partly the result of its religious significance as the cult centre of St. Theodore Stratilates; John Tzimiskes built a new church there in honor of the Saint in thanksgiving for his victory over the Russians in 971.<sup>49</sup> To the southeast of Amaseia and higher up the Iris valley lay Gaziora (Turhal) and Komana Pontika, while to the south lay Zela on a tributary stream of the Iris. These three cities lay off any of the great highways and were never of the first rank, but all three must have prospered on the fertility of the great plain of the Dazimonites (Kaz Ovası). Zela and Gaziora continued as townships on the same sites, each clustered under an acropolis rock, while Komana (which was at the upper end of the plain) died out to be replaced by another acropolis site: Dazimon. The Hellenistic tombs at Dazimon suggest that this had in fact been the early fortress site at the top end of the Dazimonites plain, which was replaced by Komana when Roman rule made defense a less stringent consideration. But, as insecurity returned, Komana declined and the center of life in these parts reverted to the defenses of Dazimon.

Returning to the main highway from Nikomedeia to Satala, and moving eastward from Laodikeia, the road comes down into the valleys of the rivers Iris and Lykos. These form the broad plain or basin of the Phanaroia, which stretches up the Lykos valley as far as Neokaisareia. Eupatoria, near the confluence of the two rivers, had no known significance in Byzantine times, but Neokaisareia was a city of some standing as the home of St. Gregory the Wonderworker. The site is on the north bank of the Lykos, a mile or two from the river at the foot of the mountains. The Byzantine (and modern) town straggles around a long, low spur, which serves for an acropolis. But ruins further down toward the plain, immediately south of the present town, suggest that in the Roman period the city was in the plain. Apart from the fertility of the country around it, the city lies on a route northward across the mountains to Oinaion, while southward it is connected by a direct road to the Dazimonites. East of Neokaisareia, the Lykos flows in a deep narrow valley and through gorges which only widen out into small basins at Reşadiye and Anniaca. At Anniaca there is no sign of a Roman or medieval township but a large castle rises on a hill spur above the valley at Yukarı Kale Köyü; the village below might represent the site of the township. The valley bottom and nearby slopes provide enough arable land for the support of a small town or lordship, and the position gained further standing as a station on the road across the mountains from Nikopolis and Sebasteia to Kotyora. This is the most easterly route over the mountains which does not

require a climb over very high passes, and its continuing significance is attested by the fact that it was re-engineered as a military road from Ordu to Sivas in the nineteenth century. The crossings eastward of this all traverse higher and more difficult country.

Nikopolis lies on the southern slopes of the wide basin of Suşehri. It was founded by Pompey to commemorate his victory over Mithridates, but it is unlikely to have been a new creation in uninhabited land, for the plain is well watered and more than one prehistoric habitation mound is situated in it. It flourished as a city of some import since it was situated on the Nikomedeia-Satala road, near the junction of branch roads running southwest to Sebasteia, and southeastward to Melitene (Malatya) and north to Koloneia. Another road ran almost due south to Tephrike (Divriği), which, however, is not attested until the Middle Byzantine period.

Koloneia appears in Hierokles' *Synekdemos*, but nothing is known of its beginnings. The name suggests that it may have been founded as a colony for veteran legionaries, but the great fortress rock was almost certainly a Mithridatic stronghold before the Romans occupied the site. Its situation is explained by nearby alum mines, and by a broad stretch of well-watered arable land around it. But, above all, it is a magnificent defensive site, which accounts for its choice (rather than Nikopolis) as a Byzantine theme capital. It enjoys the communications system of Nikopolis without the drawbacks of the Roman site's artificial defenses. In addition, it is linked to Kerasous, on the sea, by a summer route north over the mountains, and reaches the fertile valleys of Alucra, Cheriana, and modern Kelkit by a route east that ends at Satala.

Alucra lies in the region of Kovata.<sup>50</sup> We have not explored it, but the fertility of the basin in which it lies suggests that some modest predecessor to the present township must have existed. The same can be surmised for the fertile and broad stretch of the Lykos valley around Çamoluk, where we have tentatively located the junction station of Carsagis Dracontes. The road from Nikopolis to Satala evidently met a branch track at this point which led southward to Melitene.

The Lykos narrows east of Çamoluk, and then widens again into a small basin between Kâlor and Hayduruk, where stood a large Early Byzantine basilica, which might conceivably be the cathedral of St. Eustathios of Arauraka (if this church is not at Avarak to the west)—after Euchaita and Neokaisareia the third great pilgrim town of the Pontos.

North of the Lykos at this point is the plain of Cheriana. This town is not attested before the Byzantine period, but prehistoric mounds show that the plain was inhabited, and the mound of Ulu Şiran has potsherds strewn all over it which are evidence of a continuous occupation from prehistoric times to the present day. The Lykos runs in a narrow valley east of Hayduruk and then once again opens out into a plain west of modern Kelkit. From this point it flows in gentle upland country which forms the catchment area for its sources. The road from Trebizond to Satala probably

50. Raided by Yezid, governor of Armenia, in the 770's. Ghevond, *Histoire des guerres et conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, trans. G. V. Chahnazarian (Paris, 1856).

49. Vryonis, *Decline*, 38.

crossed the river east of Kelkit and south of Domana (Köşe). At their eastern end these uplands are barely separated by a low watershed from the great plain or basin of Paipertes where the tributary streams of the Akampsis have their source. The plains and hills are at a height of 1,500 m and more, and they are ideal for cereal growing and grazing. South of Kelkit up the valley of the Dayası River, a tributary stream of the Lykos, is the legionary town of Satala. The site is on the western slopes of a minor basin and a copious spring is still gushing out of the hillside above it. There does not seem to be quite the inevitability about the precise placing of Satala that there is about so many other city sites. It was well placed for food and water supplies from the surrounding countryside, but it seems a poor defensive site since its west wall backs up against the hillside and the water source is outside the circuit of the walls. Perhaps these are signs of its origins in the days of comparative peace. It does not appear to have been built with the possibility of attack or siege in mind, but rather as a legionary camp from which counterattacks could be launched, and which served to keep the surrounding tribes in order. From the strategic point of view however, it was, well placed since the Persian armies from the East, invading Anatolia by a northern route, would have to come either by the Euphrates and the Eriza (Erzincan) route or by the Lykos route. Satala lies halfway between both and could thus threaten any invading army with counterattacks.

In the upper reaches of the valley of the Philabonites there are no recorded townships until the Byzantine period but it may be that Tzanicha and Kovans are in fact earlier sites. In the tributary valley of the river Seyran, Lerion was a bishopric. Its situation among hills with gentle slopes may be compared to that of the intermediate towns inland from the coast on the other side of the watershed. But the Philabonites and its tributaries run for the most part in deep valleys. When these open, as at Ardasa, it is only into a very modest basin which could never have provisioned a large town.

East of the Philabonites and northeast of Satala lies the upland plain of Paipertes (Bayburt) with the town of this name at its center. The plain and the river Akampsis assured to Paipertes food and water supplies while the acropolis rock provided a fine defensive site. The town also lies on the great trade route from the east, via Theodosiopolis to Trebizond, at a point where a branch route crosses the mountains to the coast at [Sou] sourmaina or Ophis. Paipertes must also have served as a market town for the villages of the extensive plain. In the twelfth century its acropolis rock was made the site of a major castle of the Saltukid emirate of Erzurum. At the northern end of the plain lies the village of Charton (Hart) whose existence is attested by Procopius,<sup>51</sup> but nothing is known of it and there are no remains above ground to tell its story. Its position suggests that it was a staging point on the transit road.

Southeast of Paipertes the transit road crosses the high range of the Kop Dağları to come into the plain of Erzurum at a height of about 2,000 m. This plain, together with those of Kars and Ardahan, are the modest forerunners of the great upland plateaux of the continent of Asia and they may

be said to mark the geographical boundaries of Asia Minor. Life there is bleak and windswept for six months of the year, but they grow a cereal crop and support famous herds of cattle. At Eregia (Aşkale) at the western end of the plain of Erzurum, the transit road from Trebizond eastward meets the road coming up the Euphrates valley from Melitene, Eriza (Erzincan), and Bizana (Deroxene, region of Tercan). Moving downstream and southwestward along this Euphrates road, we have not explored the various locations for Bizana. Procopius records the removal of this town from the plains to a new defensive site on a hill; this must be in the region of Deroxene. At the northern end of the Deroxene basin is the castle of Pkeriç, which may be identified with Bagariton. Here Basil II may have wintered on his eastern campaign of the years 1000–1001; and here the princes of Georgia and Armenia came to pay him homage.<sup>52</sup> By the twelfth century, life was apparently secure enough for the Saltuks to move into the valley bottom once again to the site now occupied by Tercan.

At Eriza the Euphrates valley opens out into a wide basin, the richness of which at an early date is attested by the Urartian site of Altın Tepe, the “golden hill.” Apart from the fertility of the land, which grows fruit and cereals, Eriza was at the junction of a route north to Satala.

The plain of Erzurum contains several prehistoric habitation mounds and was settled by Urartians and Hittites, but Theodosios seems to have chosen a new site for his city of Theodosiopolis, on the southern edge of the plain itself, at the foot of the Palandöken mountains, so that it had the advantage of rising ground providing some natural defense. But the site may well have been a market town for the plain and a caravan staging post before Theodosios made it into the forward city of his northeastern frontier region. From Theodosiopolis the trade route runs eastward to Tabriz; not far east of the town there is a route branching southeastward to the region of Lake Van. As a garrison town, Theodosiopolis needed a route to the coast with a supply port, and this ran via İspir across the mountains to Rhizaion. The present road to İspir runs northwest of Theodosiopolis across high hills and valleys which form the catchment area of the Akampsis. It is a fairly direct route with a castle or two along it, and may have been a Byzantine or Roman one, but is different from that taken by Clavijo in 1405.<sup>53</sup> This runs due north of Theodosiopolis across the plain and up the valley of the river Dumlu, which is one of the sources of the Euphrates. The pass is appropriately named the “Georgian Throat” (Gürcüboğaz) since it marks the southern limits of Georgian settlement. It is a watershed whose southern stream ultimately flows into the Indian Ocean, while only a kilometer or so to the north the tributary stream of the river Tortum flows into the Akampsis and thence into the Black Sea. The road to the modern township of Tortum continues to wind down this valley, whereas the ancient road must have branched off over a minor ridge into a larger valley to descend in a northeasterly direction to Tortomi (Tortum Kale).

52. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian*, trans. Nina Garsoian (Lisbon, 1970), 40, 19, 393 note 1; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 157, 195.

53. See fig. 3.

51. *Buildings*, III, vi, 18–19.

The castle and township were important since they lay at a junction where the road from İspir to Theodosiopolis is met by a route into the Narman and Oltu (Oltu) valleys to the east; a third route led northward into the Akampsis valley. The castle barred the way to any invader marching northward into Georgian lands; Basil II took it on his way to Oltu. The routes which it commanded were of some commercial usefulness and the township, which was situated in a wide stretch of valley, must have served as a halting place and a market town for the surrounding area. From Tortomi the route may have crossed over into the valley of the monastery of Haho; from there it ran northwestward over the mountains to İspir.

The township and castle of Pharangion, Syspiritis (İspir) are on a rocky outcrop at the eastern end of a basin where the Akampsis widens out a little to form a valley suitable for crop growing. Its significance derives partly from its gold and silver mines, and partly from its position halfway along the Rhizaion-Theodosiopolis road, together with its position as a market town and administrative center for the surrounding mountain villages.<sup>54</sup>

Paipertes and İspir are the only known ancient towns along the whole length of the Akampsis River. There are castles near Hunut and at Dörtkilise, and a medieval Georgian chapel at Yusufeli in one of the rare wide stretches of the river valley may indicate the site of a township. It is at the confluence of the Parhal Çayı with the Akampsis and there is a river crossing here. A castle and the great monastery church of Parhal attest a medieval route up the Parhal valley, and a high crossing of the Pontic Alps at the Altı Parmak Dağları could have been used in summer to reach the coast. Returning to the Akampsis valley, below Artvin, are the ruins of a medieval Georgian church and a castle, perhaps an indication of the existence of another ancient township at this point; lower down is the town of Borçka, which should have historical remains. But for the most part the nature of the Akampsis is that of a wild river running through deep and rugged gorges and the valley can never have served as a natural route of communication.

It is for this reason that the capital town of the Georgian princes is to be found at Ardanoutzion (Ardanuç), in the valley of a tributary of the Akampsis called the river Bulanik. The site is of the Hellenistic type with an acropolis rock and the town below it, but in this case the town also had considerable natural protection with cliffs on either side. It stands near the confluence of a number of streams at a point where the Bulanik enters a gorge, but upstream of it there are a series of gentle valleys and plateaux which provide plenty of arable land for the support of a city. Its importance was assured by its position at a crossroads on the road system of the region. There were roads northeastward, to the coast at Bathys or across the Akampsis to Hopa. East and northeastward lay routes to the high Ardahan plateau and up the valley of the river Imerhevi (Berta Suyu) into central Georgia; both attested by the presence of castles and churches along them. And southward there was a route over

the mountains to the fertile provinces of the river Glaukos (Oltu Çayı) and the towns of Panazkert (Panaskirt), Kalmakhi (Soğmon-Kahmiş), and Oltu.

The town of Oltu is situated on the river of the same name where the valley is wide and fertile for a long stretch. It is a natural site for a town, with a great rock above it on which stands the castle; it must always have served as an administrative center and a market town. It lies on the route from Theodosiopolis to Ardanoutzion, and on a route to the high plateau of Kars and Ardahan which passes by the monastery of Bana (Penek). Panaskert and Kalmakhi were both townships with strong castles situated on the route from Oltu to Ardanoutzion.

This short survey of the coastal and inland towns and settlements suggests two points of general interest. One is that the regions with which we deal were relatively rich at the western end, with cities of some distinction, and that the land becomes poorer and more rugged toward the east, so that the size of cities and settlements gets progressively smaller. The traveler will find that this pattern still pertains today and the relative percentages of cultivated land and population figures are evidence of it. The exceptions occur when political circumstances have added importance to certain areas. Thus Trebizond gains in wealth and consequence during the period of the Grand Komnenoi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Ardanoutzion and the province of Tao had similarly become prominent under the princes of Tao between the ninth and twelfth centuries. A short-lived increase of wealth and prosperity must have occurred in the towns of Erzurum, Bayburt, and İspir and the surrounding regions under the dominion of the Saltukid Turks.

A second point of interest is the movement of town sites in accord with the significance attached to defensive considerations. The prehistoric pattern of settlement along the coast is barely known to us, with the exception of a few mounds at the western end, but the inland pattern seems to indicate settlement in the flat valley bottoms near to water and arable land rather than on defensible hill sites, at least until the Bronze Age. When we come down to historical times, with larger groupings of peoples like the Hittites in the west at Boğazköy and the Urartians in the east with their fortress towns of the region of Van, defense clearly became a matter of paramount importance and the centers of settlement are the easily fortified hill sites. This clearly was still the pattern when the Mithridatic kingdom was built around acropolis strongholds such as Amaseia, Koloneia, the Çaleoğlu castle near Oinaion, Kerasous, and Amisos. There were, however, exceptional sites, like Komana Pontika and perhaps Eriza, surviving in the plains; that these places were the sites of famous temples may have some bearing on their situation.

Greek colonization of the coast seems to follow a compromise plan whereby the need for defense comes to the fore, together with that for a safe harbor, food supplies, and roads. The difference is partly a political one in that the Greek towns were colonies of peoples all of whom wanted protection, whereas the Mithridatic strongholds were in the nature of government castles.

It is only with the coming of Roman rule that town sites

54. Adontz, *Armenia* (see note 50 above), 22–23; Procopius, *Wars* I, xv, 18, 29; II, xxix, 14; and Strabo, *Geography*, XI, xiv, 9, for gold mines.

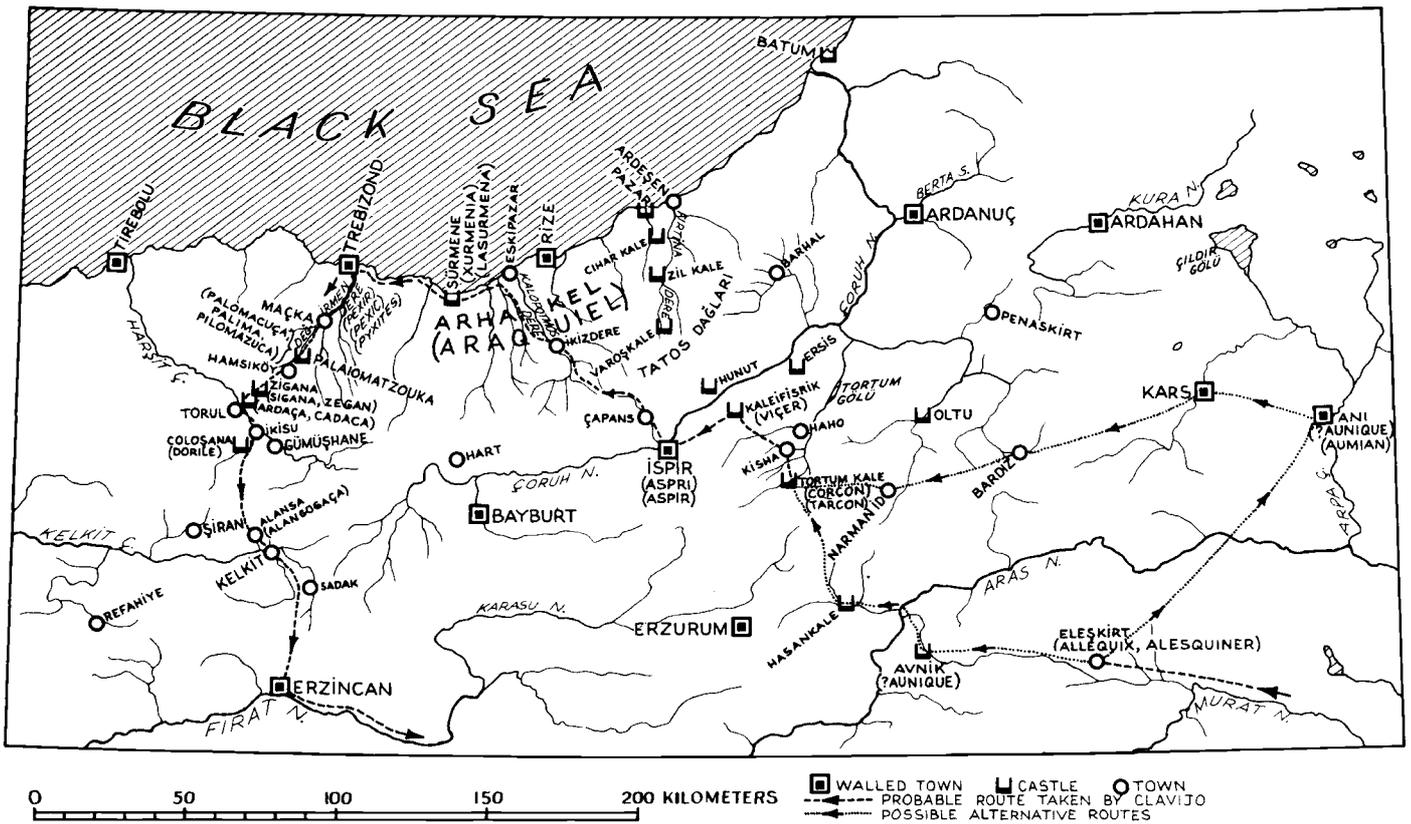
are once again to be found in the plains, no doubt often occupying much earlier settlements. In our region, Pomonion and Pompeiopolis are examples of Roman cities on open, level ground, but it is clear that even Roman writ never ran with great security throughout the region, since the Roman sites are often a compromise between hill and valley. Places such as Neokaisareia, Nikopolis, Satala, and Theodosiopolis are all on the edges of valleys or plains and seem to cling to their former protective hill sites. Others, like Amaseia, Zela, and the coastal towns founded by the Greeks, never moved their sites.

In the Byzantine period, defense once again becomes a paramount concern and a move back to the occupation of hill sites takes place, while such cities of the plain as existed in Pontos slip out of recorded history. This was the case with Pompeiopolis, Laodikeia, Komana Pontika, and Nikopolis. In their place come significant acropolis towns such as Kastamon, Amaseia, Dazimon, Koloneia, and Paipertes.

Thus, over a great span of historical time the principal centers of habitation move first from the plains up to the hills, then down again, to some extent, to the plains in the Roman period, and finally back to the hills in the Byzantine

period.<sup>55</sup> In general the Pontos is rural in character and except in the west it was a province not of towns but rather of military posts and villages. These were set among a tribal society to facilitate the imposition and administration of a central government; but this framework could easily fragment into petty lordships in periods when the central authorities were weak. In the classical period it was never as rich or developed as the regions along the western and southern shores of Asia Minor. Not even Sinope, Amisos, or Trebizond can compare in size or monuments with the cities of the southern shore, and these Pontic centers are but provincial townships in comparison to the great classical cities of the west. In the Byzantine period the balance is redressed in favor of the Pontos, which was never wholly conquered by the Turks until the fall of the Empire of Trebizond. To judge by the traces of their walls and by travelers' accounts of them, cities such as Trebizond or Kerasous were comparable in wealth with the coastal cities of the Fertile Crescent; and perhaps in size also, for the positions of the medieval churches of Trebizond also clearly indicate that its suburbs covered a much larger area than the walled city itself.

55. Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, 82-88.



3. Pontic Sections of Clavijo's Outward and Return Routes

## Chapter Two

# ROUTES

(FIGURES 1, II, and 3)

### INTRODUCTION

Neither author has traveled all the routes described in this chapter. We have therefore supplemented our own experience by the accounts of travelers. Few of these accounts are of medieval date, but we have thought it fair to use later ones since the physical and geographical conditions of travel remained largely unchanged in Asia Minor until the nineteenth century when the advent of the steamer along the coasts, and the railway and road blasting activity on land drastically changed an immemorial pattern of movement.

Where several place-names appear in succession, the first name or names will be those from the classical Itineraries if a name is suggested for a site. The second name or names will be those given by a traveler or other authority who is quoted; or a traveler's name will come first when there is no classical name. The last name or names will be the current Turkish ones in so far as we have been able to ascertain them. It has proved impossible to be any more consistent with place-names. The reader will be well advised to use the maps for a clarification of place-names which may cause difficulty in the text. Before 1928 the spelling of Anatolian place-names presented foreigners with problems. Two particular difficulties should be borne in mind. First, most early travelers, few of whom knew Arabic script, transliterated place-names from oral information, usually obtained from illiterates. Second, informants were of a variety of tongues. Up to the early nineteenth century, travelers seem mostly to have used Moslem dragomans or guides and stayed in regular caravansaries or at Turkish houses. Consequently, these earlier travelers usually adopted Turkish names for places. Later, as a result of the nineteenth-century concern for Christian minorities, European travelers switched to Armenian or Greek dragomans and often stayed among Christian minority communities, thus learning the Armenian or Greek version for place-names. An example of a complete switch of name is that of the river Lykos. With the exception of Evliya Çelebi, travelers up until the nineteenth century commonly referred to this river as the Carmili, Guerмили, Germeili, or Germeli, naming it after the old posting station of Germürü which has now declined into an insignificant village. Beginning with the early nineteenth century, the river has usually been referred to by its Armenian name of Kelkit (= Wolf River, a translation of the Greek), which in its turn has been adopted as the modern Turkish name. And at about the

same time the town of Kelkit began to supersede Germürü as the posting station. The town of Kelkit appears to be an Ottoman foundation and to have succeeded Satala, Sadak, as administrative center for the upper Lykos, Kelkit, region.<sup>1</sup>

We describe the old routes through the Pontos in detail since it is becoming more and more difficult to visualize the pattern of ancient and Byzantine roads. The slowness of premechanized travel must constantly be remembered. It is too easy to overlook the fact that modern blasting and earth moving has enabled recent road builders to ignore, for the first time, the features which dictated the old patterns. The modern pattern of roads overlays the earlier system and causes confusion since the student always prefers to think that he is traveling along some old and hallowed path. We have rarely used the simple tabular form for indicating the stations along a route. The tabular method imposes a misleading certainty, whereas the message of this chapter is to point out how little we are certain of at the moment and to indicate the fact that there were different roads for use in winter and summer. This has often been ignored in the endeavor to fit old itineraries into a neat and unified pattern. So also has the means of travel been ignored. North of the Pontic Alps, wheeled traffic may be discounted until recent years: bulky goods went by sea. South of the Pontic Alps the Lykos valley allowed solid-wheel ox-carts, but their range was not wide. On both sides even pack animals (of which there were 15,000 on the Trebizond-Tabriz route by the mid-nineteenth century) would always be less often encountered than human portage. One of the first to choose a horse *araba* (waggon) to cross the Pontic Alps seems to have been Weeks (1892), and probably the first to take a motor car was Rawlinson (1919): both regretted their decision.

Unless otherwise stated, the map references are to the Turkish 1:200,000 sheets, which date from the turn of the century but have been frequently revised. Where the Kiepert maps are mentioned without specific reference, they are the 1:400,000 sheets for Asia Minor. Another map, frequently referred to as Tarhan, *Map*, is that of Nazim Tarhan, *Tarihçe Türkiye* (Ankara, 1962).

The short introduction by Munro is still the most ad-

1. For Kelkit, see p. 171. An early example of controversy over transliteration is that between Blau and Mordtmann; see Mordtmann (1859), 427 ff.

mirable general summary of Pontic routes, and the relevant itineraries in Taeschner are very useful.<sup>2</sup>

#### SEA ROUTES

The main means of communication along the coast of Pontos has always been the sea, since the valley system with its numerous valley torrents makes a landward journey along the coast extremely difficult.

The military use of the coastal sea route is exemplified in the Roman period by Arrian's *Periplus* which is essentially the report of a tour of inspection of coastal depots and garrisons carried out by a senior officer.<sup>3</sup> Of the thirty expeditions recorded by Panaretos of the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90), twenty-four were made by sea and his six land journeys were performed in the immediate hinterland of Trebizond.<sup>4</sup> The coastal sea route was also invaluable as a safer and shorter means of communication and supply for the inland towns of eastern Asia Minor. A direct overland journey from Constantinople, Istanbul, to Theodosiopolis, Erzurum, took about twenty-five days, whereas a journey by sea with a favorable wind to Trebizond and Sousourmaina, Sürmene, or Rhizaion, Rize, and then over the mountains on horseback, might take a third of that time. International trade by sea was conducted from the larger coastal towns which acted as emporia in the carrying trade to and from Europe and Asia, but portulan maps show that western captains also had a considerable knowledge of local anchorages.<sup>5</sup> Genoese merchants knew the Black Sea coast well, both by sea and land, and they have left their mark both in the name "Ciniviz," occurring on the Turkish maps of Pontos, and in the invariable reply of villagers when they are asked about the builders of an ancient church or castle, "Cinivizlerin Zamanından kalma."<sup>6</sup> Among later accounts of the sea journey along the coast are the careful itinerary given by Pitton de Tournafort, and the journeys by Evliya Çelebi and Rottiers.<sup>7</sup>

Local trade involved the shipping out of whatever cash crops, manufactured goods, or minerals that were produced in the mountain valleys, and the supply, in return, of the few necessary imported goods. This kind of small-scale trade was

carried on through anchorages at the village or small town to be found at the delta of nearly every river valley. With the building of the new coast road in the 1960's it was superseded by lorry traffic, but until the 1950's rusting steamers of indeterminate age and *kayıks* of up to 200 tons were still to be seen anchored off river deltas, selling cheap hardware and stuffs from Istanbul and taking on local products in return, while *kayıks* of a moderate size conducted the same type of trade over the shorter distances between the villages and the emporia. Heavy products carried by sea could or did include copper from the mines at Mourgouli, Murgul, which might have gone downstream to the mouth of the Akampsis, Çoruh; the silver of Argyria going out through Tripolis, Tirebolu; the alum of Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, going out through Kerasous, Giresun; the building stone of the Oinaion, Ünye, region carried away from anchorages near the quarries; and the red earth pigment exported through Sinope, Sinop.

Together with the coastal trade, both local and international trading was carried out across the Black Sea with the Crimea, part of which was briefly included among the titular territories of the Grand Komnenoi.

#### RIVER ROUTES

All except three of the Pontic rivers are steep and torrential in their descent to the sea, and totally unsuited to navigation, but many still serve to float logs down to the sea where the timber is used for shipbuilding, houses, and furniture. Timber may also have been used and exported by this means in the Byzantine period.<sup>8</sup>

At the western end of the Pontos the Halys, Kızıl, is navigable inland as far as Çeltik which is situated well into the mountain chain, and tiles are made and brought downstream from the village of Kuruçay. It is possible that this industry was already in being in Byzantine times and that it used the river route, since the means of getting the boats upstream is simple. The empty boats are sailed or towed upstream. Four or five tons of tiles are brought down by each boat in the summer, and double that amount in the winter when the river is deeper.<sup>9</sup> It may have been along this Halys route that the survivors of the battle of Phazemon, Merzifon, escaped to the sea in 1101;<sup>10</sup> it forms a natural alternative to the overland route from Amisos, Samsun, for communication with the inland cities to the south and for the export of produce from the regions of the Dazimonites, Kazovası, and Amaseia, Amasya. The existence of the classical Themiskyra, Terme, and the medieval Limnia, Taşlık (?), on the delta of the Iris, Yeşil suggests that this river also may have been navigable for a considerable distance inland, and if our conjecture about the identity of the medieval Kinte is

2. Munro, *JHS*, 20 (1901), 52–55. Tarhan, *Map*, is not good for roads, but draws upon regional reports to the Department of Antiquities, Ankara, and is very useful for unpublished sites. Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, should be treated with reserve in identifying stations. An example is his confused identification of Pontic Akşehir, restated s.v. "Ak Shehr" in *EI<sup>2</sup>*; *IA* wisely confines itself to the more important towns of the same name in central Turkey. For Akşehir, see p. 25. Semseddin Talip, *Le strade romane in Anatolia* (Rome, 1938), has nothing to contribute in the Pontos.

3. Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 80–107.

4. Bryer, "Shipping," 4.

5. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, is not used in Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 97–127, which therefore needs modification. See also the Vicomte de Santarem, *Atlas composé de mappemondes, de portulans et de cartes hydrographiques et historiques ...* (Paris, 1849), for the Feduci d'Ancona map of 1497 (unnumbered).

6. Evliya (1644), II, 36, 40, already has references to castles supposedly built by the Genoese.

7. Tournafort (1701), II, 40–85; Evliya (1644), II, 36–52; Rottiers (1820), 175–305. Peyssonnel, *Traité*, II 13–130, describes contemporary port facilities and trade.

8. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 12, on Bithynian and Paphlagonian timber; and XI, ii, 17, on floating timber down rivers to Colchian shipyards.

9. E. Akkan, "Kızılırmak'ın aşağı Kesiminde Kayıkla nakliyat," *Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 20 (1962), 263–70; Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, II, 393; ed. Nedkov, 96–7 and note 297, mentions that the river was navigable.

10. Albert of Aix, *Historiae*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, IV (Paris, 1879), 570.

correct, it is by this route that John Komnenos' ill-fated expedition pushed inland to Neokaisareia, Niksar.<sup>11</sup> We have not however explored this river, and a route southward would need further verification.

At the eastern end of Pontos the Akampsis is navigable about as far as the reaches above Artvin, and goods could have been shipped from the city of Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, to the mouth of the river near Bathys, Batumi, for transit westward by sea and imported merchandise shipped upstream. The Akampsis may also have served for the export of surplus fruit, wine, honey, and timber from the province of Tao and for the transport of the copper ore of Mourgouli before the opening of the road via Borçka and across the mountains to the sea at Hopa. Guarracino writes that the journey upstream took about two days and the journey downstream about nine hours. The region of Borçka made bricks and earthenware jars which were exported by river and sold along the coast between Rize and Batumi. This industry, like the similar one at Çeltik on the Kızıl, may date back to the Byzantine period. The boats recorded by Guarracino were about 15 m long by 1.25 m wide and carried a cargo of 6 to 8 tons. Guarracino notes, however, that traders from Trebizond or Constantinople with goods for Artvin preferred to land them at Hopa for transport overland. This took eighteen hours and was clearly safer and easier than the river route upstream.<sup>12</sup>

Brant's figures are rather different for the river and land routes. He gives the journey from the mouth of the river to Artvin as eight to ten days, and the downstream journey as three days, but Guarracino seems to have been the better informed, and himself to have made the downstream journey.<sup>13</sup>

#### LAND ROUTES, EAST-WEST

##### Coastal Routes

Travelers, from Xenophon to the Russian invaders of 1915, found progress along the coast difficult by land.<sup>14</sup> This is because of the numerous indentations caused by the successive river valleys which until recently made the coastal road into a series of zigzags up, down, and across the spines of mountains, reaching inland to the first available ford over the river torrent. The existence of a coast route is however attested by the Peutinger Tables<sup>15</sup> which mark stations between Cape Karambis in the west and Bathys in the east. The route appears to run for the most part along the sea coast and it is quite possible that it represents a sea route for much of

the way, but there was certainly a track of some sort along most of the coast. Idrisi, writing in the twelfth century, seems to describe a land route along the coast from Trebizond to Constantinople taking twenty-eight days, but the places mentioned all appear to be on the coast and it is possible that this is a sea route.<sup>16</sup> There is still no coastal road in the west between Cide and Inebolu, but, among nineteenth-century travelers, Preusser skirted the coast eastward from Amasra to Inebolu, and Hirschfeld traveled a shorter stretch of it between Aeginetes, Hacivelioglu Iskelesi, and Tshatal Zeitun, Çatalzeytin.<sup>17</sup> From Paurai, Bafra, eastward as far as Polemonion, Fatsa, there are no great obstacles to a coastal track, providing that we can assume ferry services across the rivers. From Polemonion eastward the mountain ribs become increasingly high and the rivers more torrential making the landward journey difficult, and the track seems to have cut across the larger capes such as Yasun Burunu and Çam Burunu. The stretches between Ordu and Giresun, and between Platana and Sürmene present no great obstacles to a coastal track and there would always have been short easy paths around many of the bays, but in general it may be remarked that the mountains close in to the sea at Trebizond, making a landward journey very arduous. Evliya Çelebi traveled the whole length of the coast to Batumi by sea, although he records that a detachment of one hundred men went from Giresun to Trebizond by land.<sup>18</sup> Kinneir, who was a determined traveler, got from Samsun as far as Giresun by land, but his account makes it clear that this was unusual. At Ünye "the Mutsellem wished us to perform the remainder of our journey to Trebizond by sea, adding that it was not customary for travelers to go by land," and at Ordu, "in an interview we this morning had with the Ağa of the place, he stated that, 'as it was madness to think of us traveling by land, he had ordered a felucca to carry us to Kerasoun.'" <sup>19</sup>

Consul Brant, writing in 1835, is quite categorical about the eastern end: "From Trebizond to Batum the distance is 60 hours, or as many leagues. It can only be performed in boats; there are no practicable roads."<sup>20</sup> However, the sea could always prove dangerous, and merchants seem to have avoided it when they could. Tavernier refers to the sea route from Istanbul into Persia and remarks that, although it is shorter, it is unpopular with merchants because of the bad weather, and he later gives the best ports along the Black Sea as Quitros, Sinabe, Onuye, Samson, Trebisonde, and Gomme. He reckons the distance from Istanbul to Trebizond as 970 miles and from Trebizond to Goniya as 200

11. See p. 99.

12. Guarracino (1841), 296–305. Koch (1855), 96, gives the distance from Batumi to Artvin as 16 hours.

13. Brant (1835), 187–223. Burnaby also traveled downstream from Artvin and gives a lively account of the journey which took 9 hours, a time which agrees with Guarracino, but not with Brant. Burnaby (1877), II, 301–9.

14. See p. 61.

15. Miller, *JR*, cols. 631–51. For the Pontic roads in general, see pp. 629–83, figs. 210–13, and table at the end of the chapter. The Ravenna Cosmography and the *Guidonis Geographica* also give confused lists of coastal towns and there is no indication of whether these are sea or land itineraries; J. Schnetz, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (Leipzig, 1940), 134.

16. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert II, 394; ed. Nedkov, 94–99. Idrisi's stations are: Trebizond to Bersenda, 2 days; to Kendia, 5 days; to Ania, 3 days; to Astinoboli, 2 days; to Amastra (on the sea), 5 days; to Herakla, 3 days; to Constantinople: 8 days. These stations present considerable difficulties, and the time taken can only be explained as an estimate for sailing in very bad weather, whereas it could represent a fast overland journey.

17. Preusser's route is marked on Kiepert's 1:400,000 maps but we have found no account of it. G. Hirschfeld (1890), 76–208.

18. Evliya (1644), II, 41.

19. Kinneir (1813), 319, 324.

20. Brant (1835), 222; and Koch (1855), 104, on the coast west of Hopa.

miles.<sup>21</sup> Pococke remarks: "No caravans go to those parts [Sinope], the Euxine sea being dangerous and the ports of it are bad, which is the reason why there is little trade that way; and if the Black Sea was much navigated it would hurt Constantinople and Smyrna, though the danger of it must be the principal reason why goods are carried such a long journey by land from Constantinople to Tocat, which cannot be above four or five days journey from the sea."<sup>22</sup>

### Inland Routes

#### General Remarks

Asia Minor is a bridgehead between Europe and Asia, and the means of crossing it were by three main trunk roads, each with variants. One ran diagonally from the northwest across to the lower or more southerly parts of the Anatolian plateau, a second across the center, and a third across the upper or northerly part of the country.<sup>23</sup> Anna Komnene refers to the southern route, taken by the Crusaders, as the "quick route" and she mentions the middle route "straight to Horosan," which the Franks wanted to take in 1101.<sup>24</sup>

21. Tavernier (1681), 18, 273–76. Villotte (1685), 20–21, refers to the land route as less dangerous but longer and passing through very agreeable country; and to the sea route as more dangerous but shorter. He gives the sea route as about 300 leagues or 10 days travel from Istanbul to Trebizond.

22. Pocock (1740), II, 91. By contrast emphasizing the trade of Tokat with the sea: Peyssonnel, *Traité*, II, 91–92.

23. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 197–221. Ramsay's description of the road systems of Anatolia remains the most comprehensive study of the subject, but is seriously misleading in some respects. His view of the Royal Road is not now generally accepted and his account of the Byzantine military road suggests that there was only one road whereas there must have been several routes from Constantinople to the East. The *aplektá* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus need not necessarily lie on one route; see note 28 below. There is a short general survey in Vryonis, *Decline*, 30–33, but it suffers from some inaccuracies, and in general follows Ramsay's view of roads. A general view of the classical roads of Asia Minor is given by W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, *Revision of Anderson's Classical Map of Asia Minor* (London, 1960). This is at present under revision for an edition on a larger 1:1,000,000 scale. The routes of the Classical Map may be usefully compared with the routes given in 19th-century editions of Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia*, and with the annual editions of the *Turkish Highways Map*. Early maps which are useful for routes are to be found in Murray's *Handbook* and in Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*. A rather confused impression of ancient and medieval roads is found in Tarhan, *Map*. Where Tchihatcheff is referred to without qualification the reference is to the map of his itineraries: P. de Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure. Description physique, statistique et archéologique de cette contrée* (Paris, 1853–59), *Atlas* (Paris, 1860). His itineraries are important for travel by horse and are summarized in Tchihatcheff (1863). Where Tschichatschhof (1858) is cited, the reference is to C. Ritter and H. Kiepert, "Itinerar der kleinasiatischen Reise P. von Tschichatschhof's im Jahre 1858," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 6 (1859), 275–343.

24. Anna Comnena (Komnene), ed. Leib, III, 19. In the 9th century this δρυς δρόμος was important enough to have its own *Chartularioi*, who are listed by Philotheos and in the Escorial *Taktikon*; N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1972), 233, 273. Neither Oikonomides, 311–12, nor Bury, *Imperial Administration*, 91–92, recognize that the reference here appears to be to a particular road. For a different interpretation as a reference to the first postal service, see D. A. Miller, "The Logothete of the Drome," *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 443. For some account of sections of the central routes, see J. G. C. Anderson, "Exploration in Galatia cis Halym, II," *JHS*, 19 (1899), 52–134, 280–318, and pl. iv.

The upper route is the one that concerns us since the eastern half of it ran through southern Pontos. The way ran from Constantinople in the west to Theodosiopolis in the east, and from thence onward into the Caucasus or central Asia.<sup>25</sup> Along much of the distance there were variant routes which we shall discuss below. The mountain ranges of Bithynia and Pontos run in a west to east direction and between them are the great fractures which form the rift valleys of the rivers. There is thus a natural framework for lateral routes such as does not exist for communication from north to south, except in the case of the Euphrates valley. It must be remembered that there would have been seasonal variations in the course of the road since protection from the weather and snow blockages governed winter travel, whilst speed, safety, or the finding of fodder for armies governed summer travel. The evidence for the course of the roads may be divided into five categories. First, the literary evidence of the ancient geographers, and the Antonine, Peutinger, and medieval lists. We have regarded this literary evidence provisionally as of equal value; it is however apparent from the greater number of stations listed in the Peutinger Tables that they are often describing roads different from those of the Antonine Itinerary. A good example of this is offered by the two lists of stations between Satala, Sadak, and Trebizond which almost certainly represent the summer and winter roads respectively.<sup>26</sup> The Byzantine chronicles seldom if ever give account of roads as such, but the place-names which they mention in the course of describing a campaign are at least a help in establishing the fact that roads existed between the towns which they mention. The second class of evidence is provided by the milestones. Third, the existence of ancient ruins. Fourth, the accounts of travelers whose routes, so long as they traveled on horseback, are likely to have differed little from the routes used by the Byzantines or the Romans. And fifth, our geographical observations.

The western part of the upper or northern route across Anatolia seems to have followed the course of the modern motor road from Constantinople to Ankyra, Ankara, as far as the town of Kratia Flaviopolis, Gerede. A northern road ran from Kratia Flaviopolis into the Amnias, Gök, valley and then across the Halys River, through Andrappa, Vezirköprü, and the regions of the Phazemonites, Merzifon, the Havza, Ladik, and the Phanaroia, Taşova, and along the general line of the Lykos valley to Koloneia and Theodosiopolis. This road was almost certainly in existence when Pompey established new towns along it; Munro remarks: "It is tempting to see in Pompey's colonies, Pompeiopolis,

25. In the Byzantine period one of these upper routes is fully attested in the Armenian itinerary of the 10th century, commented on by Manandian, *Trade and Cities*. The western parts of another route, starting from Mous, Muş, but going north to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, and then westward through Neokaisareia, Niksar, and Pimolisa, Osmancık, are listed by Al Muqaddasi, in E. Honigmann, *AIPHO*, 4 (1936), 263–71. The upper route between Osmancık and Erzurum is listed by Hadji Khalfa (Kiatib Çelebi) in the *Djihan Numa* of about 1640; translated by Armain in Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 687. Pococke (1740), 91, refers to "the great road from Persia which is by the way of Tokat, Amasia, and Tocia to Constantinople." It is still to be found as route 79, "Constantinople to Erzeroum," in Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor*, 4th edition (London, 1872), 426–31.

26. See p. 51.

Neapolis, Magnopolis, Diospolis, and Nicopolis, a series of stations on a great trunk road through Bithynia and Pontos."<sup>27</sup>

A more southerly and direct route ran along from Gereide via Tosya, then Pimolisa, Osmancık, and Amaseia, through the Dazemonites (military assembly point at Kazovasi)<sup>28</sup> and Komana Pontika, Gömenek. From there it followed up the Iris valley and might either join up with the northern route or continue directly eastward to the plain of Nikopolis, Pürk. An alternative road eastward branched south at Dokeia, Tokat, to go to Sebasteia, Sivas. From there, routes radiated northward through Nikopolis and Koloneia to the Black Sea coast, or eastward through these same towns and through Satala to Theodosiopolis, or eastward through Tephrike, Divriği, and along the line of the Euphrates to Eriza in Acilisene, Erzincan, and Theodosiopolis, Karin, (Erzurum).<sup>29</sup> Another route which falls outside the bounds of the Pontos, went southeastward to Melitene, Malatya, and from thence across the Euphrates and on to the northern shores of Lake Thospitis, Van, at Chliat, Ahlat. These were still the normal trade routes from Istanbul to Tabriz and the Caucasus until the introduction of the steamship and the building of a carriage road in the nineteenth century diverted the greater part of the trade to the ports of Samsun and Trebizond. Perhaps the last completely recorded journey along the northern route for business purposes was made by the American missionaries Dwight and Smith in 1833.<sup>30</sup> Their account is invaluable. Many of the regular staging posts which they used go back to the Roman or Byzantine periods, and they give a time of twenty-five days (262 hours' riding) and an estimated 786 miles for the distance from Istanbul to Erzurum. A tenth-century Armenian itinerary seems to follow the same route, but only gives the more important intermediate stops, computing the distance as 675

miles.<sup>31</sup> The journey with a fully-laden merchant caravan seems to have taken about two months, whereas a fast messenger might cover the whole distance in about nine days. Morier mentions that near Cheriana, Sheyran, Ulu Şiran, he met three Tatar postmen for Erzurum. They had left Istanbul seven days previously, and would need about two more days to complete the journey.<sup>32</sup> There is no reason to suppose that these times would have been appreciably different in the Roman or Byzantine periods. Other early travelers using the route, or part of it, were Ibn Battutah, d'Aramon, Newbery, Evliya Çelebi, the Sieur de la Boullaye la Gouz, Melton, Tavernier, Tournefort, Ouseley, Morier, Fontanier, Kinneir, Ker Porter, and Fraser. It was in the course of his return journey from India that the Reverend Henry Martyn died on the same road at Tokat in 1813.<sup>33</sup>

We have not attempted to trace the exact course of branches of the trunk road eastward from Bithynia into the Pontos, but they are well known and marked on our general map.<sup>34</sup>

The Roads Eastward from Dokeia, Dazimon, Tokat; Komana Pontika, Gümenek; and Neokaisareia, Niksar; to Nikopolis, Pürk; and to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar

The course of the road north of Dazimon via Komana Pontika and Neokaisareia is clear.<sup>35</sup> From Komana Pontika and from Neokaisareia eastward, the question remains open as to how far the roads lay in the Lykos or Iris valleys, or ran along the flanking mountains—all of which have been recorded as routes by travelers along this way. The existence of a Byzantine route to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, is indicated by Arabic sources. One of these states that Koloneia was the sixtieth post station on the road from Constantinople, but gives no information as to the actual course of the road.<sup>36</sup>

31. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 168–69.

32. Morier (1808), 333; Fraser (1835), II, 386. In April 1835 Fraser made the journey from Erzurum to Constantinople in 11 days, of which 2 days were enforced rest because no horses could be found. He seems to have averaged 2 to 3 hours' sleep per day, and laments of his journey: "I know that it has been done even quicker by European gentlemen as well as Tatars, and it was not my fault on this occasion that it was not performed in 7 days; but mud, and water, and want of horses are things which cannot be contended with." Caravan times are given by the Anonymous (1807), I, 43; II, 485; from Constantinople to Tokat 20 days, and from there to Erzurum 15 days.

33. Ibn Battutah (1332), II, 434–38; Chesneau (1548), 68–78, for the stretch from Laodikeia to Theodosiopolis (Erzurum), where the geographical footnotes of Chesneau's editor, Schefer, are somewhat misleading; Newbery (1581), VIII, 470–76; Evliya (1644); Gouz (1647); Melton (1670); Tavernier (1681); Tournefort (1701); Ouseley (1810–12); Kinneir (1813); Ker Porter (1817–20); and Fontanier (1827). For page references see below, where relevant. For Henry Martyn, see Smith and Dwight (1830), 44.

34. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 23–88; Munro, *JHS*, 21 (1901), 52–56 and pl. iv. Munro points out that the importance of the trunk road is indicated by the milestones along it. These show that it was repaired on at least twelve occasions between the last quarter of the 1st century and the mid-4th century A.D. Anderson, *JHS*, 17 (1897), 22–44; Anderson, *SP*, I, 73–104, Maps vii–ix; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 121–48, maps xi, xii; Wilson, *Thesis*, 365–69.

35. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 732–735; Anderson, *SP*, I, 60–67, map v; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 254–58.

36. G. W. Freytag, "Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden in Mosul und Aleppo," *ZDMG*, 10 (1856), 467.

27. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 739. The position of the Hittite capital at Boğazköy, well to the south of Amasya, suggests that at a much earlier period the main route ran to the south of the Byzantine route. This earlier road is Ramsay's "Royal Road," Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, 27–35.

28. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed., I, 444–45. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 202–3, reinterprets this important passage. His view was severely criticized by J. B. Bury, "The Aplekta of Asia Minor," *Byzantis*, 2 (1911–1912), 216–24; the whole passage has more recently been clarified by G. Huxley, "A List of Aplekta," *GRBS*, 16 (1975), 87–93. Bury concludes by observing that marches along the northern road are omitted; this list of *aplekta* is certainly incomplete, and to take it as the only basis for considering the regular gathering points for Byzantine armies would give a very false impression of Byzantine campaigns in Asia Minor. See note 23 above.

29. If Baynes's interpretation of the first campaign of Heraclius against the Persians is correct, then we may add that the site of the great battle was almost certainly in the region of Sebasteia, Sivas: N. H. Baynes, "The First Campaign of Heraclius against the Persians," *EHR*, 19 (1904), 701. It must have been through Sebasteia that Basil I conducted his campaign against the Paulicians, although the town is strangely not mentioned. For an interpretation of this campaign, see J. G. Anderson, "The campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.," *CR*, 10 (1896), 136–40. Romanos IV marched through Sebasteia on his way to Theodosiopolis in 1069: Michael Attaliates, Bonn ed., 147. Burnaby (1876), I, 319, noted a body of troops marching from Sivas to Erzurum via Şebinkarahisar, taking one month.

30. Smith and Dwight (1830).

And another, Al Muqaddasi, gives it as a part of a route from Mous, Muş, to Constantinople, with the section Koloneia to Neokaisareia taking four days.<sup>37</sup> Romanos IV returned along this road in 1069, when the stations mentioned from Theodosiopolis westward are Koloneia, Melissopetron, and Dokeia, Tokat.<sup>38</sup> It is attested in the Ottoman period by Hadji Khalfa who gives a road from Osmançik to Erzurum. This is obviously part of this main road from Constantinople eastward; the stations are discussed below.<sup>39</sup>

From *Neokaisareia, Niksar, to Nikopolis, Pürk, and to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar*. We can reasonably assume that there was a Roman and Byzantine road up the Lykos valley eastward from Neokaisareia to Nikopolis even though there is no literary evidence for it. The archaeological evidence consists in Munro's record of sections of paved road which he thought were of Roman date, and the remains of an early bridge or bridges recorded by him,<sup>40</sup> and by Grégoire,<sup>41</sup> about halfway between Neokaisareia and Nikopolis.<sup>42</sup> Among archaeologists, only Munro and the Cumonts traveled along the mountain ridges on the north side of the Lykos.<sup>43</sup> The Cumonts only came down into the valley itself at Reşadiye, about halfway between Neokaisareia and Anniaca. From Anniaca, Koyulhisar, they followed the river valley, which is wide and has gentle slopes up to the point at which they left it and turned north to Koloneia. At more or less the same point as the northern turning, a side valley to the south leads up to the plain of Nikopolis. Eastward of this junction the Lykos enters gorges from which it does not free itself until Zağpa. This stretch of valley is not suitable for a road; hence the two major stations of Koloneia and Nikopolis stand well apart from the Lykos valley, to the north and south respectively. Hadji Khalfa gives a northern route between Osmançik, Pimolisa, and Erzurum, part of which is now relevant. He lists Nighsar, Niksar, followed by Telmesseh, Hadji Murad, and the plain of Achkar. If Telmesseh is Tilemse, then it seems likely that Hadji Khalfa's route may lie directly along the banks of the Lykos, since Tilemse is just short of Reşadiye, and Hadji Murad must be the ruined *han* at Aşağı Kale Köyü, equivalent to Anniaca, Koyulhisar. The plain of Achkar is probably the plain of Nikopolis, Suşehri Ovası.<sup>44</sup>

The Kiepert route eastward from Neokaisareia to Nikopolis, collated from travelers' accounts, runs on the mountain ridges to the north of the Lykos.<sup>45</sup> In his map

Murray also traces this stretch of road across the mountains north of the Lykos.<sup>46</sup> He gives the stations as Alma; Ermenu (both unidentifiable); Kotanis, Kotani; and Iskersu, Bereketli, or a village on the river Delice. Here his tracks divide: the main one proceeds eastward through Kaledibi, and Kiziljeuren, Kızılçaviran, to Yaghshan, Yağşıyan; a second loop runs south to Kassoba, Kuzbağı (?). This route may represent the track down to rejoin the Lykos near Reşadiye. Murray's placing of the central stations is inaccurate, but his last two stations of Afan, Afan, and Chardak, Çavdar, make a recognizable route into Koilhisar, Koyulhisar.

Evliya Çelebi traveled from Niksar to Şebinkarahisar. Between Niksar and Koyulhisar, he lists: Kariebash, Çiftlik, Iskefser, Shakhna, Tekine, and Chadar. The first and last of these stations may be identified with the villages of Başçiftlik and Çavdar respectively, but we have been unable to locate the intervening names. If our two identifications are correct, Evliya's route ran over the mountains to the north of the Lykos, but much farther to the north than the Cumonts route, and he may have traveled indirectly making excursions to the north and south.<sup>47</sup>

Ouseley traveled westward across the mountains. He mentions leaving the Lykos valley at Kuilhisar, Koyulhisar, and sleeping in the forest of Eider Urmani, Iğdir Ormanları, on the first night. On the second day he passed the Isker Su and its castle, which unfortunately does not now appear on the map. His resting place on the second night was Kutani, Kotani. If he was traveling on a direct road, the castle should perhaps be on the upper reaches of the river Delice around Hasanşeyh or Uluköy. On the third day he passed through Ermenli (not now identifiable unless it be Elmacık), and Boschiftlic (Başçiftlik) to reach Niksar. He makes the useful observation that "besides the summer or forest road, we learned that there was another, but very bad, along the river side."<sup>48</sup>

Ker Porter's description of this section of the road is perfunctory, but he appears to have followed Ouseley's route. He mentions Issa-Cossar, Isker su (?), Armari and Alma, one of which should be Elmacık; and Bachi Chifflick, Başçiftlik.<sup>49</sup>

Morier, traveling westward from Carahissar, Şebinkarahisar mentions Kuley Hissar, Koyulhisar; Isker Su, Bereketli

37. Honigmann, *AIPHO*, 4 (1936), 261–71.

38. Skylitzes, Bonn ed. 701–2.

39. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 687.

40. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 730.

41. Grégoire (1907), 28–33.

42. For our own observations on the valley, see p. 118 for the north to south route which crosses this stretch of trunk road. The position of the Mithridatic stronghold Taularon is also discussed on p. 42. Mithridatic castle sites were often reused by the Byzantines; therefore, its position is relevant to the problem of routes in this area. For the possible Byzantine sites along the hill route, see p. 22.

43. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 273–95.

44. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 687, and map. For a discussion of Achkar, see p. 27.

45. The Kiepert's great series of maps of Asia Minor were developed over the latter half of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. We use three editions: those in *Formae Orbis*

*Antiqui* (Berlin, 1903); the 1:800,000 wall map; and the final 1:400,000 sheets published during the First World War.

46. Murray, *Handbook*, 428–29 and map.

47. Evliya, II, 104, Evliya's Iskefser could be the Isker Su of Ouseley and Morier. It seems highly unlikely to be the Iskefer Fındıcak placed on the Turkish 1:500,000 survey in the Yeşil or Tozanlı Irmak valley south of Reşadiye. It could however be the Fındıcak, north of the Kelkit on the Niksar to Koyulhisar route.

48. Ouseley (1812), III, 482–83, whose observation about the river route is partially confirmed by Fraser. On his outward journey, Fraser ([1835], I, 210–14) slept at Eski soor (Isker su of Ouseley), came down to the river valley and continued along its banks to the branch north for Şebinkarahisar. On his return journey (II, 352–58), he followed the same route, but this time his stopping place between Koyulhisar and Niksar is called Iskee Soor. The point at which he left the river is not specified except that it was eight hours from Koyulhisar. It was perhaps by the bridge at Kundur.

49. Porter (1818), II, 697–98.

(?), Hasanşey (?), Uluköy (?); and Kizil Taveran, Kızıl-caviran. It is clear that he also kept to the mountains north of the Lykos. He notes: "About five miles from Isker Su on the left of the road is a rock completely isolated among green fields. The substance is a hard grey granite in which is excavated, certainly with great labor, a chamber nine feet square, with a seat and two recesses. On the left of the inside on entering is a figure which, from its resemblance to a cross, induced me to suppose that the spot in which it appeared had been the retreat of some of the primitive Christians."<sup>50</sup> This, with Ouseley's castle of Isker Su and a stone with crosses at Mesudiye, noted by Hogarth and Munro,<sup>51</sup> appear to be the only mentions of possible Byzantine antiquities along the mountain route.

Smith and Dwight kept to the northern mountain route, stopping at Kotely, Körtelos (?), and Köylisar, Koyulhisar.<sup>52</sup> Consul Brant traveled on the same route as far as Kulehisar, Koyulhisar, after which he kept to the Lykos valley.<sup>53</sup>

Tchihatcheff also traveled along these northern mountains, and gives a geological section of them. From Niksar he names Basch Tchiflik, Başçiftlik; Elmenek, Elmacık (?); Kotanı, Kotanı; Kossaba, Kuzbağı; in the valley of the Diledji Sou, Delice Su, Yaghisian, Yağsıyan; Afan, Afan; Tchardak, Çavdar (?); and Koili Hissar, Koyulhisar.<sup>54</sup>

Taeschner's account is somewhat confused, but adds Asardjyk, Asarcık which he wrongly wished to change to Hisardjik, Tshaqras, Çakraz, Ermaniq (?), and Qzylydjören, Kızıl-caviran. He makes the point that the early equivalent of Koyulhisar was the now ruined *han* of Hacı Murad at Aşağı Kale, and that this may well have been the Roman and Early Byzantine station of Anniaca.<sup>55</sup> A consensus of travelers suggests that the road from Neokaisareia, Niksar, to Anniaca, Koyulhisar, took two to four days. The castle and the cross carved in, or at, a cave near Isker Su, reported by Ouseley and by Morier, are perhaps indicative of a Byzantine site. We suggest that Isker Su may be either the river Delice in the region between Uluköy and Hasanşeyh, or the modern Bereketli.<sup>56</sup> A route across this stretch of country is therefore likely to have followed a line through Başçiftlik, Elmacık, Kotanı or Keteniği, Uluköy or Hasanşeyh, Fındıcak or Kızıl-caviran, Afan, and Çavdar, to reach Koyulhisar.

The castle at Sisorta may indicate that a direct route from Neokaisareia, Niksar, to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, bran-

ched north-eastward from Afan to Matuasco, Mesudiye, and thence east through Sisorta to Koloneia.

A southerly version of the mountain route left Neokaisareia and kept closer to the heights above the Lykos valley in the region of Reşadiye. It may then have continued on through the Mithridatic site of Taularon, Tavara (?)<sup>57</sup> and from thence through Eski Köy and İğdirormanı to Anniaca.

A direct alternative route is to keep along the line of the modern motor road in the Lykos valley, for the whole distance between Neokaisareia and Anniaca. This appears to be the Hadji Khalfa route, but the gorges and Ouseley's statement suggest that it was not a much used track.

*From Komana Pontika, Gömenek, to Nikopolis, Pürk, or to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar.* The Peutinger route runs eastward from Komana Pontika and not from Neokaisareia. The first station on this road at 16 *m.p.* from Komana Pontika is Gagonda, which Miller gives as between Georek, Gevrek, and Kavaklyk, Kevaklık; the second is Megabula, given by Miller as Almus; the third at 25 *m.p.* is Danae, given as Samail, Semail; the fourth at 25 *m.p.* is Speluncis, given as Kostenjazy (?); and the fifth at 12 *m.p.* is Mesorome, given as Ortock or Tschiftlik. This station according to Miller marks the junction with the Sebasteia, Sivas, to Nikopolis route.<sup>58</sup> Grégoire followed this route and identified Megabula with the village of Meghelle, Meğelli. He then went to Samail, Semail, and from there crossed the mountains to the north to come down into the Lykos valley at Tchermik, Çermik River at Reşadiye. Between Tchermik and Madasoun, Mudsun, Muday, he found the remains of what he considered to be an early bridge over the Lykos.<sup>59</sup>

Edward Melton appears to have traveled along the direct route from Tokat to the plain of Nikopolis, Suşehri Ovası. His first station, Charkliquen, is not recognizable, but the second is Almous, Almus; the third station, Karabehir, sounds correct as a Turkish name but does not appear on our maps; the fourth at Adras is Endiryas, Suşehri; and the fifth at the eastern end of the plain of Nikopolis is Aspıdar, Ezbider.<sup>60</sup>

The way ran north from Tokat, and then eastward up the Iris, Yeşil, valley to its headwaters. Thence it crossed the watershed formed by the Kızıl and Karacam mountains, to come down by a winding road into the plain of Nikopolis.

Tavernier also went along the direct way from Tokat to the plain of Nikopolis.<sup>61</sup> His first stop was at Almus. His second place-name, Chesmebeler, is no longer clearly recognizable, but Bel indicates a mountain pass, so the station may be at the headwaters of the Iris, near the watershed. His third station is Adras, Endiryas, Suşehri, and his fourth is Izbeder, Ezbider.

A Tchihatcheff itinerary<sup>62</sup> gives this route in more detail.

57. For a discussion of Taularon, see p. 42.

58. Miller, *IR*, col. 675. Tarhan, *Map*, marks ruins between Fındıcık and Fıcak and identifies them as Danae. This accords roughly with the Miller identification, although Semail is a little to the west of Fındıcık.

59. Grégoire (1907), 28–33.

60. Melton (1670), 254–57.

61. Tavernier (1681), 9–15.

62. Tchihatcheff (1858), 324–29 and map.

50. Morier (1808), 304, who appears to have reversed the order of the stations Iskersu and Kiziltaveran.

51. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 729.

52. Smith and Dwight (1830), 44–51.

53. Brant (1835), 187–223.

54. Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure* (see note 23), IV, 121–28; Tschichatschhof (1858), 277–80. Other itineraries for this route, not seen by us, are in Nepveu, *Voyages en Perse* (Paris, 1813), III.

55. Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, II, 13–17, pl. 41. Chesneau (1548), 70, 71, gives no details of his route, but refers to Assarguic, presumably Aşağı Kale, and to the castle of Coyoouassar. He crossed the Lykos about two miles below the castle and traveled on to Asebids, Ezbider.

56. Both identifications present difficulties and must await verification on the spot. We suggest Bereketli, since the Turkish "İska etmek" means "to irrigate", and the Turkish map marks water wheels on the unnamed river which runs by Bereketli.

Traveling east from Tokat, it crosses the hills to Almus, Almus. This is a shorter traverse than that of the road which follows the Iris and turns eastward at Komana Pontika. From Almus he traveled on the north side of the river through Terzi, Tiyeri, close to Grégoire's Meğelli. At Samail, Semail, he crossed the river to the south bank and went via Yumbelet, Tepumpelit, over the hills to Hipsala, Ipsile.<sup>63</sup> From there he went up the headwaters of the Iris through Khamarly (?); Mourassy, Morvasit (?); Geusten (?); and Kourdkeui, Kürdköy (not marked on any map) to Enderes, Suşehri.

The Tavernier and Tchihatcheff itineraries are sufficient to establish the existence of this direct route eastward from Tokat or Komana Pontika.

Pitton de Tournefort appears to have returned from Koloneia along the Lykos valley and followed Grégoire's route in reverse. He writes that he crossed the river Lykos and went on to the camp at Almus. From there it was another nine-hour stage to Tokat.<sup>64</sup>

John Newbery, returning from the east in 1581, traveled from Andre, Suşehri, to Yeoltedder, Koyulhisar (?): "This day we passed by a very great castle to the north of the water." This makes it fairly clear that his first stop was Koyulhisar. From there "we passed over a very high Mountaine . . . and at the foot of this Mountaine we met with another river," and stopped at Longo. We are unable to identify Longo, but it looks as if he crossed the mountains to the south and came down into the Iris valley, so that Longo should be one of the villages on the upper reaches of this river. His next station of Prassa should be well down the valley and it might be Grégoire's Magabula, Meğelli. Newbery then passed by Nannous, Almus, and Manec, Mamo (?), to arrive at Tocat, Tokat.<sup>65</sup> This was also roughly the route followed by Barth, traveling westward. He went from Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, to Enderes, Suşehri, and thence to Koyulhisar, Koyulhisar. From Koyulhisar he continued down the valley as far as Modassu, Mudsun; between the two he records a castle ruin which may be Aşağıkale. He then crossed the mountains to the south of him to drop into the Iris valley at Samail, Semail, and continued down the valley to Almusch, Almus, and thence via Komana to Tokat.<sup>66</sup>

The sum of this evidence suggests that the route from Tokat and Komana Pontika ran up the Iris valley about as far as the reaches below Ipsile. The Peutinger route to Nikopolis probably then continued up to the Iris headwaters

63. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian*, trans. N. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1970), 62, 68 and note 26, 202, 404, gives this Ipsile as the Byzantine Ἰψιλή of Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., 354; Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II, 250; and *Notitiae*, III, X, XIII. In this he follows W. Tomaschek, "Historisch-Topographisches vom oberen Euphrat und aus Ost-Kappadokien," in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert* (Berlin, 1898), 148–49. The identification is important if correct, since Kedrenos connects Hypsele with Charsianon, thereby giving some clue as to the position of this important stronghold.

64. Tournefort, II, 294–98.

65. Newbery (1581), 470–76.

66. Barth (1858), 1–105. Account also in Mordtmann (1859), 453–59.

and met the Sebasteia to Nikopolis road in the region of Şerefiye, whence the two roads continue together, probably along the line of the modern one, as far as the plain of Nikopolis. The location of the Peutinger stations remains uncertain. We prefer, with Grégoire, to place Gagonda at Almus, which is frequently mentioned by travelers; and Magabulla at Meğelli, where both the distance from Gagonda, Almus, and the form of the present name favor the identification. The last three stations before Nikopolis are Danae, Speluncis, and Mesorome.<sup>67</sup> If the latter marks the junction with the Sebasteia road, we suggest that it should fall in the region of Şerefiye.

The route from Tokat to Koloneia follows the track that has just been described, up the Iris valley, but probably crossed over into the Lykos valley somewhere below Anniaca. This move from one river to the other is suggested by the routes followed by Newbury, Tournefort, and Barth. Strecker<sup>68</sup> and Taeschner list this itinerary, which was taken by Grégoire. It could even be that followed by Newbery and Barth.<sup>69</sup>

Perhaps there was a road directly along the valley for fast travel and winter use, and summer roads along the mountain ridges, where fodder for man and beast were more easily obtainable in season.

From Nikopolis, Pürk, or Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, to Satala, Sadak

The choice for the course of these routes eastward to Satala and the point where there is a junction between them and the frontier road running north from Melitene, Malatya, and with roads eastward from Sebasteia, Sivas, is less certain. Kiepert saw that there were two roads from Nikopolis to Satala; and Ramsay marks the Byzantine route to the north of the river Lykos on his road map, presumably on the basis of travelers' reports.<sup>70</sup> Yorke contributed the first analysis of the stations and comment on them, pointing out that "the stations on these roads are evidently much confused."<sup>71</sup> The Cumonts traveled over what they assumed was one of the roads, and commented extensively on the Antonine stations;<sup>72</sup> and in an unpublished thesis T. B. Mitford has made further suggestions.<sup>73</sup> Our own contribution is to add further

67. Grégoire (1907), *loc. cit.* in note 59. Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, 874. Miller, *IR*, cols. 675, 731, whose account of the Sebasteia to Nikopolis route is very misleading. Adontz, *Armenia*, 62–64, discusses Mesorome in connection with this road.

68. W. Strecker, "Topographische Mittheilungen über Hocharmenien," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 10–11 (1864), 355. The Strecker articles are fundamental for a study of eastern Pontic routes. Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, 19–24, pl. 44.

69. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 292–93, make this suggestion. For Barth and Newbery, see above, notes 65 and 66. There is a general account in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 216–24.

70. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, map opposite p. 23.

71. V. W. Yorke, "A Journey in the valley of the Upper Euphrates," *The Geographical Journal*, 8 (1896), 465–68. Mordtmann (1850), comments, "Diese ganze Strecke bedarf noch einer recht gründlichen Untersuchung."

72. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 318–42, and maps xxii–xxvi. Cumont notes (p. 321), that he does not use the Peutinger Tables which he regards as too confused. See also Ramsay's view of Peutinger, in *Asia Minor*, 96.

73. T. B. Mitford, *The Roman Frontier in the upper Euphrates*

geographical information and records of sites, but the final location of the stations and of the road remains to be verified. However, the evidence for these sections of road is quite extensive. We do not attempt to trace the road *per ripam* southward from Zimara, Zinegar, to Melitene, Malatya, since this area is already well south of the limits of the Pontos.

*Lists of Stations.* The Antonine and Peutinger lists of stations may best be set out as they are given in Yorke<sup>74</sup> (where the Roman figures represent *milia passuum*). The whole of the road Melitene-Satala is given in the Antonine Itinerary. It is described as having led *per ripam*:

Ia. Satala XVII; Suissa XVIII; Arauracos XXIV; Carsagis XXVIII; Sineruas XXVIII; Analiba XVI; Zimara XVI; Teucila XXVIII; Sabus XVI; Dascusa XXXII; Ciaca XVIII; Melitena.

A considerable portion of the same road is given in the Peutinger Tables, but it starts from Draconis, the second station from Satala on the direct road Nikopolis-Satala (see below IIa. IIb.)

Ib. Draconis XVI; Haris XVII; Eregarsina VIII; Bubalia XXVII; Zimara XVIII; Zenocopi XVIII; Vereuso XIII; Saba XVIII; Dascusa XVIII; Hispa XVIII; Arangos VIII; Ciaca XXVII; Melitena.

A direct road Nikopolis-Satala is given both in the Itinerary and the Tables.

IIa. In the Antonine Itinerary: Nicopolis XXIV; Olotodariza XXVI; Dracontes XXIV; Haza XXVI; Satala.

IIb. In the Peutinger Tables: Nicopoli XIV; Caltiorissa (no figure); Draconis XIII; Cunissa X; Hassis XIII; Ziziola XII; Satala.

Another road Nikopolis-Satala which, if Carsagis is taken to be the same as Carsat, joins road Ia at that point, is given in the Itinerary.

IIc. Nikopolis XXIV; Olotodariza XXIV; Carsat XXIV; Arauracos XXIV; Suissa XXVI; Satala.

A road from Nikopolis which cuts into road Ia at Analiba and Ib at Zimara, is given in the Peutinger Table.

IId. Nicopoli XXX; Ole Oberda XV; Calcorsissa XXIII; Analiba XV; Zimara.

There are several medieval lists which are relevant to this stretch of road. An Armenian itinerary of ca. A.D. 971-81 gives the road from Dvin, the Armenian capital, to Rome, via Karin, Erzurum; Ankyra; and Constantinople. The part which concerns us gives from Karin to the Frontier Ditch as 100 miles, and from the Frontier Ditch to Koloneia as 90 miles.<sup>75</sup>

The Arab itineraries of Al Muqaddasi and Mustawfi only partly concern us, since they are largely outside the Pontos. Coming from the east, Al Muqaddasi names Mous, Mus; then one day to a place unrecognizable; one day from there

to Sinn Nuhas; one day from Sinn Nuhas to Samuqmuş; and two days from Samuqmuş to Koloneia, Qulunyat-al-Aufi.<sup>76</sup> Mustawfi, writing in 1340, describes a route from Sivas via Acilisene, Erzincan, to Erzurum. His stations, with distances in leagues, are: Sivas, 4; Rubat Khwajah Ahmad, 10; Zarah, 8; Akarsuk, 5; Aq Shahr, 8; Arzancak, 7; Khwajah Ahmad, 5; Arzanjan.<sup>77</sup>

The seventeenth-century geographer Hadji Khalifa lists two routes between Erzurum and Sivas, one from Erzincan to Sivas, and one from Osmancık to Erzurum. The route Sivas to Erzurum is given in march times as follows:<sup>78</sup>

<i>Distance</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Sivas to source of the Adji-Sou' . . . . .	5
Adji Sou to Kodj-Hissar . . . . .	5
Kodj Hissar to Six Villages . . . . .	4
Six Villages to Arganout Euzi . . . . .	7½
Arganout Euzi to Iailak d'Aiach . . . . .	6
Ialak d'Aiach to Chahneh Tchemen . . . . .	4
Chahneh Tchemen to Akchar . . . . .	4½
Akchar to? . . . . .	7½
? to Iargazi Binari . . . . .	7½
Iargazi Binari to Iailak Tschemen . . . . .	4
Iailak Tchemen to Iassi Tchemen . . . . .	4½
Iassi Tchemen to Kara Boulour . . . . .	5
Kara Boulour to Signir Sahrassi . . . . .	3
Signir Sahrassi to Djanik . . . . .	5
Djanik to Toloslar . . . . .	5½
Toloslar to Ak Deghirmen (crossing Euphrates) . . . . .	4½
Ak Deghirmen to Mama Khatoun . . . . .	5½
Mama Khatoun to Penek . . . . .	4½
Penek to Khanes . . . . .	5
Khanes to Iidjeh . . . . .	4
Iidjeh to Erzroum . . . . .	4

His second route is given from east to west in much less detail. It names Erzroum, Ech Kalah, Terdgian, Ghelghis, plain of Chir, and Kara-Hissar.<sup>79</sup>

His third route from Erzincan to Sivas runs: Erzendgian; "Erzendjik de Khavadgiah Ahmed," 3 hours; Sourzadeh; "Ribatk de Khavadgiah Ahmed"; Sivas.<sup>80</sup>

His fourth route from Pemolisa, Osmandjik, Osmancık, to Theodosiopolis, Erzurum, lists the following names on the section starting from Hadji Murad, Koyulhisar: Hadji Murad to the plain of Achkar: thence to Gherdgiamis; on to Kemakh; and thence to Erzroum.<sup>81</sup>

Finally there is the Pegolotti route which runs from Ayas on the Cilician coast to Tabriz, via Caesareia, Kayseri; Sebasteia; Eriza, Erzincan; and Theodosiopolis. Pegolotti gives the stations between Sebasteia and Eriza as follows: "Allentrare in Salvastro di verso Laiazo; Dudriaga, Greboco, Mughisar, Arzinga."<sup>82</sup>

from the Black Sea to Samosata (Oxford, 1972) (unpublished D. Phil. thesis). We are most grateful to Dr. Mitford for allowing us to make use of his thesis, which he will be publishing as a continuation of *SP* and as a study of the Euphrates frontier in the Roman period.

74. Yorke (1894), 465. We follow Yorke's schema, with the exception that we assume Analiba to be identical with Bubafia.

75. Given in Manadian, *Trade and Cities*, 169.

76. Given in Honigmann, *AIPHO*, 4 (1936), 263-65.

77. Mustawfi, trans. G. le Strange, chapter XV.

78. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 685.

79. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 655.

80. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 655.

81. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 687.

82. Pegolotti, *Pratica*, 28-29.

*The Milestones.* Five Roman milestones lie more or less on the Cumont's route from Nikopolis to Melikşerif, via Ezbidir and Refahiye (see below).<sup>83</sup>

*The Sites.* The number of ancient and medieval sites which the Cumonts were able to report in this area can now be improved a little. Yaşar Paksöy mentions ruins at Akşehir, about 20 km north-east of Refahiye, between the villages of Kürtbaloğlu and Hacirke. He also speaks of ruins of a church and castle in the area between the Melikşerif valley and the village of Horun.<sup>84</sup> The Sipdiğin milestone of the Cumonts and Boré must be associated with one of these two sites. Boré was the first to report these ruins, which he believed to be a part of a temple. He was told that the former name of Melikşerif was "Erzez" or "Anourgia," which might possibly be connected with the Eregarsina of Peutinger route Ib. To the south of Refahiye, Paksöy has a rather confused report of two city sites one of which appears to be on the Maden Dere, perhaps near modern Akarsu, and the other in the region of Diştaş Köyü, perhaps near the modern Gümüşakar, but the reported situation does not appear to tally with the villages marked on the map. He identifies the two sites as Sinoria and Subalis respectively, and Maden Dere Köyü, Akarsu (?), as Elegarsina. He also notes that they are at the fourteenth post on the old caravan route from Melitene, Malatya, to Paipertes, Bayburt.<sup>85</sup> In the area north of Kamacha, Kemah, he notes three old churches; Isa Voriç near Gökkaya, Taşdibi Kilise, and Meryemana Kilise

83. Mitford, *Thesis*, I, 166–70; III, nos. 200, 202–5.

1) At Küçük Güzel, 5 mi northeast of Nikopolis, Pürk, noted by Grégoire (1907), 37, unpublished but recorded in Mitford. 2) At Sevindik, noted by the Cumonts, *SP*, II, 319, and Grégoire (1907), 33; unpublished but recorded in Mitford. 3) At Ağvanis, noted by Cumonts, *SP*, II, 320; unpublished but recorded in Mitford. 4) At Sipdiğin, noted by Cumonts, *SP*, II, 324; unpublished but recorded in Mitford. 5) At Melikşerif, first inaccurately noted by Boré (1835), 369, in *CIL*, III, 306, then noted by the Cumonts, *SP*, II, 327–28, and published by F. Cumont in "Le gouvernement de Cappadoce sous les Flaviens," *Bulletin de l'Académie de Belgique* (1905), 218 ff. The unpublished Cumonts and Grégoire inscriptions will be published by Mitford together with new inscriptions found by him.

84. Yaşar Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler," *Türkiye Turizm* (Ankara, September, 1964); Cumonts, *SP*, II, 326–30; see pp. 318–36 for their finding and comments on this whole section of the route. Boré (1835), 369.

85. Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler." The celebrated mines of the town of Madden, Maden, are referred to by J. von Hammer, trans. J. J. Hellert, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1836), IV, 211, 435. Hellert marks this site in the atlas which he added to the French edition, together with a number of other ancient sites, but the identifications are of little value since both the place-names and the routes are very inaccurately placed: J. J. Hellert, *Nouvel atlas de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1844), pls. xi, xx. (The volume has a handsome title page worthy of better contents.) The site at Maden is almost certainly to be identified with Ibn Battutah's Kumish: see Ibn Battutah (1332), II, 436–37. The recent renaming of the town as Gümüşakar or "Silver flows" is indicative of its productivity. This may also be the upper mine referred to by Al Muqaddasi as Ma-adin an-nuhas and identified by Honigmann with the station Sinn Nuhas on the Mous, Muş, to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, route. See Honigmann, *AIPHO*, 4 (1936), 263, 266. Van Lennep (1864), 216–17 has a few words on mines east of Tokat. The basis of further research on this subject is being provided by twenty-one geological maps, scale 1:500,000, with explanatory booklets, which will cover the whole of Turkey. The booklets contain brief historical notes and are published by Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü Yayınlarından, Ankara.

at Koruyolu Köyü, now Tavginler.<sup>86</sup> Tarhan marks important ruins at Zağpa<sup>87</sup> on the river Lykos which he identifies as Olotoedariza, and other ruins at Refahiye, to which he attributes no ancient name. He also marks ruins at Buldur Harabeleri, southeast of Nikopolis, which he identifies as Mesorome; at Yeniköy Harabeleri, which he identifies as Caltiorissa, Caleorsissa; and at Diştaş, which he identifies as Subalis.<sup>88</sup>

Our own researches have yielded sites along the Lykos river at Aşağı Haydürük, where there are the foundations of a large church and a considerable area strewn with potsherds. Below Kâlur are twin castle sites in a defile, one on either side of the river. There is a stretch of paved road, and further downstream is another castle site at Avarak, ancient Arauraka.<sup>89</sup> There is a reported castle site at Balikhisar, above Aşağı Haydürük. Churches were also reported by a villager of Kâlur to exist south of the river at Beşkilise, which means "Five Churches."

North of the Lykos are Alansa, where Clavijo stopped for a night on his way between Trebizond and Erzincan, which might be an old station.<sup>90</sup> Going westward, there are the sites of Tarsos, Aşağı Tersun; Cheriana, Ulu Şiran; Mumya; Çirmiş; Govatha, Kovata; and Koloneia.<sup>91</sup>

*The Medieval Lists and Those of Hadji Khalifa.* The tenth-century Armenian route given by Manandian is un-specific as to stations and we are not even sure of the identity of the "Frontier Ditch," but the mention of Koloneia indicates that this route went down the upper valley of the river Lykos, and then probably via Cheriana and Kovata, north of Alucra.<sup>92</sup>

The other medieval routes present considerable difficulties. The Mustawfi route, taken from Sebasteia, Sivas, eastward, gives the second station as Zarah, Zara, and so the road must have followed the river Halys along an easy stretch of valley between these two towns. The first station, Rubat Khwajah Ahmad, is therefore probably the equivalent of Camisa of the Antonine Itinerary and Comassa of the Peutinger Tables, preserved as Kemiş, next to Hafik or

86. Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler." One of these may be the site of Tortan, where Gregory the Illuminator spent his last days, according to the Geography of Vatabied Vartan; see M. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, II (Paris, 1819), 431–33.

87. Tarhan, *Map*. Evliya (1644), II, 105, speaks of a cave full of treasure at Tilismat Za'aba. Ruins were noted by Boré (1835) and by Strecker (1855), 356–57. They were also reported to D. C. W.

88. Tarhan, *Map*.

89. See Aşağı Haydürük, p. 175; twin castles, p. 169; Avarak, p. 177.

90. Clavijo (1404), ed. Estrada, 83 (where the name is Alangoğaça), and ed. Le Strange, 120.

91. See Aşağı Tersun, p. 174; Ulu Şiran, p. 173; Çirmiş, p. 176; Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, p. 145. Govatha, Kovata, is mentioned only by Ghevond as one of the regions raided by Yezid, Governor of Armenia, in the 770's. The name survives on the Turkish map for the region northwest of Alucra and D. C. W. was given a report of ruins there. Ghevond also mentions Castillon and the province of Marithinense which we have been unable to identify. Ghevond, trans. G. V. Chahnazarian, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie* (Paris, 1856), 152. Also see p. 46, on the route from Esbiye southward.

92. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 168–69; see p. 35 for the *Frontier Ditch*.

Koçhisar. From Zara eastward, there are three possibilities for Mustawfi's route, depending upon our identification of the stations.

The first possibility takes the line of the modern road around the western and northern slopes of the Köseadağı mountains to the plain of Nikopolis. This would put the third station, Akarsuk, in the region of Şerefiye, and the fourth station, Aq Shahr, in the area of the plain of Nikopolis, formerly known as the plain of Aşkar.<sup>93</sup> A site for this station may plausibly be put at the village of Eskişar, called by the Cumonts Eski-Sheir, Eskişehir, where they found ruins. They may represent a middle Byzantine and Turkish local successor site to the Roman and Justinianic Nikopolis, which, for practical administrative purposes, had retreated to Koloneia.<sup>94</sup> The fifth station of Arzacak cannot now be found on the map, but may tentatively be placed at the Melikşerif site, which according to Boré was formerly known as "Erzez" or "Anourgia."<sup>95</sup> The sixth and last station, Kwajah Ahmad, is also unknown but may be the village of Ahmediye on the road which runs from the Acilisene, Erzincan, valley across the Çimen Dağları mountains.

The second possibility for this itinerary would be to identify it with a summer route running along the river Halys to the second station, Zara, and then northeastward, more or less directly across the Köseadağı mountains to the plain of Nikopolis. This route corresponds to one taken in 1838 by Consul Suter, who was traveling from Suşehri to Sivas.<sup>96</sup> On

93. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 303, has Ashkar-Ova. In a Hadji Khalfa itinerary it appears as the plain of Achkar: Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 687.

94. The reporting of this site is confused. The Turkish map marks Eskişar just east of Pürk, on the banks of the river Pulat, at the point where it flows out of its valley and into the plain of Nikopolis, Suşehri Ovası. Akşar is about 15 km upstream to the south in the Pulat valley. Tarhan, *Map*, marks a castle at Eskişar which may be his equivalent for the ruins of Nikopolis, Pürks, which he does not mark at all. The village next to Pürk is Eskişar, but the Turkish map marks no Eskişar at all in the area. Taylor (1866), 301–8, noted the remains of a castle with a tunnel cistern at Aksehr, Akşar, but his use of the names of the two places, on pp. 301–2, suggests that he had confused them (in striking contrast to his usual accurate reporting). On p. 301 Taylor refers to a milestone at Aksehr and to Akshehrabad as laying three hours to the south, which would equate it with Akşar. However, the caption to his illustration of the milestone on p. 302 states that it was found at Akshehrabad. It seems most likely that Taylor's castle and milestone were at Akşar, and Cumont was able to find it again at Ashkar, Akşar. He gives an illustration of it in *SP*, II, 314. On p. 313, Cumont describes a Byzantine chapel at Eski-Sheir, Eskişar, together with other remains. Akşehir was a city of some importance in the Seljuk period. G. Le Strange places it at Akşar in the valley of the river Pulat: *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), 147. The placing of Akşehir is further confused by Taeschner, s.v. "Akshehr" in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, where he describes it as being on the river Kelkit between Koyulhisar, Koyulhisar, and Suşehri. This would place it somewhere west of Suşehri, but he then suggests it to be Güzeller or Ezbider, which would place it east of Suşehri.

95. Boré (1835), 36. The Turkish map marks a nearby village called Hanzar, which may possibly be connected with the site. Evliya (1644), II, 205, records an Armenian village (Erzensi), and Newbery (1581), 472, records Ardansogh. These places could all represent the same station and be read as versions of the Peutinger station Eregarsina on route Ib.

96. Suter (1838), 437–38, and see below, pp. 46–47. Chesney (1831), 121–41, may also have passed this way on his journey from Trebizond via Şebinkarahisar and Sivas but his customary attention

to detail deserted him after the Harşit valley and he remarks "it is useless to delay the reader by a journal of my daily progress." The travelling conditions in early January must have been appalling, whichever route he took, and it may well be that he was unable to keep any journal. Grégoire traveled up the Pulat valley and across the mountains to Zara (Grégoire [1907], 38) but describes it as a most unlikely route, taking twelve hours, whereas the route along the modern Suşehri to Zara road takes only nine hours.

97. The problem of siting Aq Shahr in the area of Nikopolis has been discussed above. We have only Paksöy's note for the existence of these ruins.

98. See p. 25.

99. See p. 28.

100. H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London, 1866), II, 299–301. This may represent a Byzantine road: Anderson, *JHS*, 17 (1897), 32, states that "this road leading to Tephrike and thence to Zimara on the Euphrates was of great importance during the Paulician revolt in the ninth century." The existence of a road to Tephrike from Bathys Rhyax is attested by the list of *aplekta* in Constantine Porphyrogenitus. But the fact that the road branches

this assumption, the third station, Akarsuk, would fall at the village of Aksu on the north slopes of the Köseadağı mountains, and Aq Shahr would fall at Eskişar, with the rest of the road following the course described above.

The third possibility depends upon a radical change in the siting of Akarsuk and Aq Shahr. Modern Akarsu exists as a township to the west of Refahiye, near Başgerçenis, on the line of the most direct route from Sivas to Erzurum or Sadak. And Akşehir is the name of some ruins on a site between Hacırke and Kurtbaloğlu on the same direct route.<sup>97</sup> If we move these two stations to their new sites, then we have a route running directly eastward from Zara up to the headwaters of the river Halys, and then across the Kızıldağı to come down the river Binasor Dere to the third station of Akarsuk, Akarsu. The fourth station then falls at the Akşehir ruins. This leaves two stations, Arzacak and Kwajah Ahmad, to be found along the Çimen and Sipikor mountains. The distance is short for two further stations, but the problem may be resolved by the reference to the third of Hadji Khalfa's itineraries,<sup>98</sup> which clearly describes the same road, but unites these two stations into one, as "Erzendjik de Khavadgiah Ahmed." This station should fall at the modern Ahmediye, described above.

On the basis of the first and second possibilities, the Mustawfi route would correspond to the direct Nikopolis to Satala road, along a stretch from the plain of Nikopolis, Suşehri, Pürk, Aşkar Ovası to Arzacak, Melikşerif, as we shall see below.<sup>99</sup>

On the basis of the third possibility, the Mustawfi route would be a separate and direct road from Sebasteia to Acilisene. This direct road only makes a brief junction with the Nikopolis to Satala road at or near the site of Akşehir, Hacırke, Kurtbaloğlu, in the valley of the river Orçil.

All three of these hypotheses present problems which will only be resolved by further exploration.

The Pegolotti route takes four days from Sebasteia, Sivas, to Eriza, Erzincan, which is fast traveling. Yule suggests that this route went via Tephrike, Divriği, and thence up the Euphrates valley to Eriza. He bases this on the assumption that the station Dudriaga should read Duvriaka, Divriği, Tephrike,<sup>100</sup> which would be reasonable if the distance be-

to detail deserted him after the Harşit valley and he remarks "it is useless to delay the reader by a journal of my daily progress." The travelling conditions in early January must have been appalling, whichever route he took, and it may well be that he was unable to keep any journal. Grégoire traveled up the Pulat valley and across the mountains to Zara (Grégoire [1907], 38) but describes it as a most unlikely route, taking twelve hours, whereas the route along the modern Suşehri to Zara road takes only nine hours.

97. The problem of siting Aq Shahr in the area of Nikopolis has been discussed above. We have only Paksöy's note for the existence of these ruins.

98. See p. 25.

99. See p. 28.

100. H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London, 1866), II, 299–301. This may represent a Byzantine road: Anderson, *JHS*, 17 (1897), 32, states that "this road leading to Tephrike and thence to Zimara on the Euphrates was of great importance during the Paulician revolt in the ninth century." The existence of a road to Tephrike from Bathys Rhyax is attested by the list of *aplekta* in Constantine Porphyrogenitus. But the fact that the road branches

tween Sebasteia and Tephrike were not too long a stage for one day. Yule does not identify the other places, but Greboco would have to fall at Iliç, and Muğhisar at Kamacha, Kemah. Manandian and Kiepert follow Heyd<sup>101</sup> in finding a more direct road. Their stations are: Dudriaga, Tödürge, by the lake between Hafik and Zara; and Greboco (Agreboce of the Pizigano map of 1367,<sup>102</sup> to be identified with Mihar, a village north of the track about halfway between Refahiye and Erzincan on the route mentioned by Strecker and followed by Tchihatcheff and by the Cumonts). This itinerary has the disadvantage that its first and last stages are too short and its middle stages far too long. A more sensible way would be to follow the third possibility for the Mustawfi itinerary, and to place Dudriaga at Yeniköy on the upper reaches of the Halys beyond Imranlı. Greboco would then fall in the region of Akarsu; Muğhisar would be at the Akşehir ruins between Kurtbaloğlu and Hacirke, and the road would continue from there parallel with the Strecker, Tchihatcheff, and Cumonts routes. But the Tephrike to the Euphrates route favored by Yule could well be the right road for Pegolotti's itinerary. The answer must remain uncertain until the possible sites for Dudriaga, Greboco, and Muğhisar have been examined.

The Al Muqaddasi itinerary is no clearer to us than it was to Honigmann and needs further elucidation.<sup>103</sup> It is mentioned here because one of the stations is Koloneia, Qulunyat al-Aufi, Şebinkarahisar, and a route from there to Mous, Muş, must have followed for some way, and certainly crossed, those under discussion. The Ibn Hauqal route given by Idrisi runs from Kamacha, Kemah, to Constantinople via Amorion. We assume this route to run south of the Pontos and do not include a discussion of it. It passes by the still enigmatic site of Charsianon.

We have already seen that three of the Hadji Khalifa routes, which run east-west, pass through Sivas. It is likely that the pattern of roads which he gives is essentially that of the Byzantine period when troops met at the Bathys Rhyax

*aplektion* (military assembly field), before moving eastward.<sup>104</sup>

The first Hadji Khalifa route<sup>105</sup> includes the enigmatic Akchar as its seventh station, but it is still impossible to identify it or decide where the route went. The second station, Kodj Hissar, Koçhisar, or Hafik, corresponds to Camisa of the Antonine Itinerary and Comassa of the Peutinger Tables. The route then continues through four unknown stations before reaching Akchar. The station immediately previous to Akchar is Chahneh Tchemen. If this is to be identified with Şahnaçimen, a village which lies about four-hours march west of the plain of Nikopolis, therefore agreeing with the distance stated by Hadji Khalifa, Akchar should be the Seljuk and Ottoman equivalent of Nikopolis. Hence the Hadji Khalifa route would have run roughly along the line of the motor road from Zara to Nikopolis. However, station ten along this road is Iailak Tchemen, Çimen Yayla, so it is still possible that Akchar is to be identified with the Akşehir ruins, between Hacirke and Kurtbaloğlu. In this case, Hadji Khalifa's route continued east from Zara, up the Halys valley, past Imranlı, to the headwaters, and crossed the mountains somewhere along the line of Alakilise, Akarsu, and Refahiye. The tenth and eleventh stations are Iailak Tchemen, Çimen Yayla, and Iassi Tchemen, Yassi Çimen, the famous Turkish *aplektion* north of Erzincan—which Hadji Khalifa places near Ghelgit, Kelkit.<sup>106</sup> It may be that Iassi Tchemen, which means "flat, or wide, meadow," refers to the fertile country around Kelkit itself, or it could be that this is the area south and west of Satala where the river Lykos, Kelkit, Balahu, has its headwaters, and place-names such as Ovacık, "little plain," and Otluk Kaya, "grassy rocks," are suggestive of good pasture. In either case, the twelfth station of Kara Boulour is probably Pular at the eastern end of the mountains of that name.

The second Hadji Khalifa route is not given in detail,<sup>107</sup> but it is important in that it establishes a route from Erzurum to Sivas via Şebinkarahisar. This was still used as a military route in the 1870's, when Captain Burnaby was told that a brigade of recruits would take a month to march from Erzurum to Sivas.<sup>108</sup> The stations mentioned are: Ech Kalah, Aşkale; Terdgian, Tercan; Ghelgis, Kelkit; Plain of Chir (?); and Karahisar, Şebinkarahisar. The section which now concerns us is from Kelkit, which must be regarded as the Ottoman equivalent of Satala, Sadak. It seems likely that the intermediate station Plain of Chir is Cheriana, Şiran, so that this route went across the Camlibel pass and through the plain of Alucra, Kovatha.

The third route,<sup>109</sup> from Erzincan to Sivas, is clearly the same as the Mustawfi one discussed above, but is given in less detail. The first station is "Erzendjik de Khavadgiah Ahmed." The second station of Sourzadeh may be Akarsu or

south a few kilometers before Sebasteia may account for the fact that Sebasteia itself is not mentioned in connection with it. Basil I must have marched it on his personal campaign against the Paulicians, probably in 871. From Tephrike he turned south toward Melitene. See Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *TM*, 5 (1973), 98–103; T. S. Brown, A. A. M. Bryer, and D. C. Winfield, "Cities of Heraclius," *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 21–22, and Anderson, *CR*, 10 (1896), 136–40. The route receives confirmation from Burnaby, who traveled from Sivas to Divriği in mid-winter, and thence south to Arapkır, possibly following Basil I's route. From Arapkır he turned north to Erzincan via Kemah. Burnaby (1876), I, 319–52; II, 1–58. The railway follows a direct route: Sivas, Divriği, Kemah, Erzincan.

101. Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 113–19. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 192.

102. The original portulan by Francesco Pizigano of Venice is in the National Library at Parma; there is a copy in the British Library Map Room. Few inland towns are shown in Asia Minor, and the position and identity of Pizigano's Agreboce must remain entirely speculative. It is however reasonable to assume that he put it in because it was on some important trade route known to Venetian merchants and that it is likely to be identical with Pegolotti's Greboco.

103. Given in Honigmann, *AIPHO*, 4 (1936), 263–65.

104. On Bathys Rhyax, see T. S. Brown, A. A. M. Bryer, and D. C. Winfield, "Cities of Heraclius," *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 19–22.

105. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 685.

106. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 652; Brown, Bryer, Winfield, *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 19; and the Excursus on p. 62.

107. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 655.

108. Burnaby (1876), I, 319.

109. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 655.

Suşehri, depending upon which course we favor for this road; and the third station is "Ribatk de Khavadgiah Ahmed," Koçhisar.

The fourth route<sup>110</sup> is a trunk road from Istanbul to Erzurum, which Hadji Khalfa only gives from Osmançik eastward. The section which concerns us runs from Hadji Murad, Koyulhisar, to the plain of Achkar. This mention of Achkar makes an identification with Suşehri Ovası or the Cumonts Ashkar Ova highly likely, since the next station of Gherdgiamis must be Başgercenis, close by Refahiye. The following station is Kemakh, Kemah, on the Euphrates. The road then turned south on the line of the Roman volute to Meletine.<sup>111</sup> If we assume the identity of the plain of Achkar, Suşehri, this fourth Hadji Khalfa route is the same, or runs parallel with, the Nikopolis, Suşehri, Pürk, to Satala route between the plain of Nikopolis, Akchar, Suşehri Ovası, and Gherdgiamis, Başgercenis. We might also assume that Dracones-Draconis and Carsat-Carsagis are in the region of Başgercenis, where the Roman road north from Melitene joined the Nikopolis to Satala road.

The Arab and Pegolotti itineraries almost certainly represent routes which had changed little from those established in the Roman and Byzantine periods. They are likely to be among the routes used by the Ottoman and Akkoyunlu armies which contended for this region in the fifteenth century,<sup>112</sup> when the military situation reflected that of the time of Vespasian, which was repeated under Theodosius, Justinian, Heraclius, and Theophilus.

*The Evidence of Travelers* who went over this section of the upper trunk roads shows that there were two main variants, depending upon whether the start was from Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, or Nikopolis, Pürk. Among the travelers via Koloneia were Pitton de Tournafort, who on his return journey westward passed by Satala to the post station of Kermeri, Germürü, on the Lykos, Kelkit, and then past Sarvoular and by the river Carmili to Chonac, Koloneia.<sup>113</sup> We are unable to identify Sarvoular, but Carmili is the earlier name for the river Lykos, down which he was traveling; it was known as the Guermili-tchai by as late a traveler as Tchihatcheff.

Tournafort, therefore, seems to have followed the modern road from Kelkit via Ulu Şiran and Alucra to Şebinkarahisar, as did Fontanier and Consuls Suter and Taylor.<sup>114</sup> Morier, traveling westward, mentions Caraja, Şiran, and camped out in intermediate stations between Chiftlik, Kelkit, and Carahissar, Şebinkarahisar.<sup>115</sup> Smith and Dwight, traveling eastward, camped on the west side of Fundukly-bel, Fındıklı Bel, and then stopped at the station of Sheheran, Ulu Şiran, on their way to Germery, Germürü.<sup>116</sup> The route is given by

Strecker as a part of the normal course of the road from Erzinçan to Şebinkarahisar. On the way he mentions Sadagh; Kelkit, Karadscha, Şiran; Ulu Scheiran, Ulu Şiran; Kirinte Çirmiş (?); the pass of Fyndykly Bel, Fındıklı Bel; and the Kovata Alydschora, Alucra district.<sup>117</sup> Barth, traveling westward from Ulu Scheran, Ulu Şiran, has Korssyk, Kersut; Sycheri Tekkesi, Zihar Köyü (?); and Kara Bök, Karabürk. Between Karabürk and Şebinkarahisar, we are unable to recognize the place-names of Sil and Fardere, but Alascha, Alişar, and the general lines of his route are clear.<sup>118</sup> Barth marks a summer version of this road, which cuts off a considerable distance for the traveler from Trebizond by keeping along the high mountain ridges to the north of Şiran and then coming down at Karabürk to join the main route.

Ritter has a summary for this section of the route.<sup>119</sup> A consensus of the travelers suggests twenty-four hours, or three days' travel, for a group over this part of the journey. Strecker suggests two days for it.

On what might be called the Lykos road, Tavernier's route eastward brought him to the plain of Nikopolis and Ezbider. Leaving the plain, he turned northeastward to Zacepe, Zağpa. From there his intermediate stations to Garmeru, Germürü, which is his nearest point to Satala, are Dikmebel and Kourdag. Tavernier is unfortunately not at all clear in his itineraries, but he describes his camp as being in a small plain under the mountain Dikmebel, which would correspond well with Bağlar, Mindeval. The nearby village of Kourdag may well be Huseyinağa, and from here Tavernier's track goes up the Lykos, crossing three sizeable tributaries, to reach Germürü.<sup>120</sup> Strecker also gives itineraries for routes from Ulu Scheiran, Ulu Şiran, to Pürk and Şebinkarahisar. These run together as far as Zaghapa, Zağpa, via Jenidsche, Yenice; Pajnik, Panık; or Mutta, Mutaisekü; Taschdemir, Taşdemir; and Teschdik, Teştik, Mindeval.<sup>121</sup> From Zağpa the road to Nikopolis crosses the river and a ridge of hills into the Nikopolis plain, while the road to Şebinkarahisar turns north through the mountains.

A third traveler's route eastward from Pürk went to Erzinçan. This is the road traveled by Newbery in reverse; over the first part he may have been following our preferred Mustawfi and Hadji Khalfa routes. He went from Arsingam, Erzinçan, via Serperron (?) and Ardansegh (Mustawfi's Arzancak) over the mountains of Chardalor, which must be either the pass of Çardaklıboğazı or the parallel route north of this across the Çimen Dağı. Newbery is normally an uninformative traveler, but the weather of January 14 clearly

110. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 687.

111. Not discussed by us.

112. Zeno (1471), 22 ff.; Angiolello (1473), 84 ff., 119, 121; Anonymous (1511), 181–82. D. E. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden, 1972), 79–82, 136–37. Maps xx, xxv, have some information but are in general disappointing.

113. Tournafort (1701), II, 317–21.

114. Fontanier (1827), II, 136; Suter (1838), 432–44; Taylor (1866), 281–361.

115. Morier (1808), 331–35.

116. Smith and Dwight (1830), 51–55.

117. Strecker (1855), 350–59.

118. Barth (1858), 1 ff.

119. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 190–210.

120. Tavernier (1681), I, 14–15. Melton (1670), 258, gives the same stations as Tavernier, with almost exactly the same spelling. It seems clear that this was a standard route at least in the 17th century. Gouz (1647), 68–69, gives a very brief summary of this section of the road and mentions a small *han* Sahabha about three days or thirty hours before Erzurum. This Sahabha must be in the region of Germürü. It could even be a version of Satala, and if so, would provide valuable evidence that the trunk road was still passing the ancient site in the 17th century.

121. Strecker (1855), 356.

worried him and he ventured to complain: "And this day we passed over the Mountains of Chardalor with the greatest snow, frost, and wind, that ever I was in and were in danger to have remained in the Mountains all night." From these mountains he went on to "Shewbaning," where he reports a small church standing on a round rock. We are unable to identify this place. It might well be Refahiye, where there is a small *türbe* standing on a rock. Or "Shewbaning" may represent Çobanlı. Newbery stopped at the village of Çobanlı further along the road to Andre, Endiryas, Suşehri, to Nikopolis. He was presumably traveling slowly in caravan and he appears to have taken five days along this section of the road.<sup>122</sup>

Evliya Çelebi traveled eastward from Anderes, Suşehri, to Ezbeder; Tilismat Zaaba, Zağpa, and thence by four unidentified villages to the castle of Shiran, Ulu Şiran, on the frontier of "Shuban Kara."<sup>123</sup> He mentions the pass of Tekman on the way. It seems likely that he went along the river eastward to Fol Mindeval, and then north into the Alucra valley and over the Fındıklı Bel pass to Şiran. After the castle of Shiran he is a little wrong in giving four hours to Karajalar, Karaca, Şiran; it is at the most an hour's ride. Between Karajalar and Tercan, his exact route is uncertain, but he writes of crossing the great plain of "Kerkuk" in five hours; this is clearly the plain of Kelkit.<sup>124</sup> He also writes that he crossed a difficult path before arriving at it. The place-name "Sarichalar" may be Sarıca, although this is only about one hour from Şiran, and not five as he states. If this is correct then it seems likely that the difficult pass was over the Çimen Dağı in a southeasterly direction, to come into the valley of the river Balahu, and so descend eastwards to pass near by Satala, Sadak. His other place-names are "Salut," associated with the pass, the villages of "Genj Mohammed Agha" and "Keremli," and the small castle of "Dermeri."

Evliya Çelebi also traveled westward along a route from Erzincan, but in the von Hammer version which we use a section of the journey east of Erzincan and Erzurum seems to have been interpolated, making the itinerary more or less useless.<sup>125</sup> From "Erzenjan," Evliya records seven hours to "Bashkan" and then five hours to "Erzensi," an Armenian village; thence it is six hours to "Sheikh Sinan," near which is "Baragunde." At this point, he says that it is three hours to the "Bridge of Shepherds" near "Hassan Kala'assi"; these are clearly Çoban Köprü and Hasankale, east of Erzurum. He mentions the important Çoban family; the confusion is annoying, since it would otherwise be tempting to equate Çelebi's "Çoban" with Newbery's "Shewbaning" (Çobanlı, means "of the Shepherd"). From Baragunde, Baragunide, it is eight hours to Ezendeler in the district of Tercan; here again there is confusion since Tercan is east of Erzincan.

122. Newbery (1581), 471–72. Chesneau (1548), 71, traveled east from near Nikopolis (Asebidis = Ezbider (?)). He gives the place-names Girbanambea, Ardingiely, and Agiardacaly. The last may be Newbery's Chardalor, Çardaklıboğazı (?), but the other names are difficult to identify. It is interesting to note that both 16th-century travelers went to and from Erzurum via Erzincan, and not by the direct Lykos route taken by the 17th-century travelers.

123. Evliya (1644), II, 105–6.

124. See footnotes 106 above and 129 below.

125. Evliya (1644), II, 205.

Four hours north of here is the station of "Tapan Ahmed Agha," "where a feast of ten days was ordained." Evliya left the Ottoman army here to travel to "Shin Kara Hissar" without giving further details of the route. This is a disappointing itinerary and the most that can be said is that it was along a route from Erzincan to Şebinkarahisar.

Tchihatcheff traveled the northern version of the same route by a clear itinerary. His intermediate stations are: Mikar Yaila, Mihar; Melikscherif, Melikşerif; Aghvanis, Ağvanis; Ezbider; and Endiryas, Enderes, Suşehri.<sup>126</sup>

Strecker's route appears to be the same as far as Melikşerif, but then takes a more northerly direction into the Tschumen-Su, Çimen Su, Orçil, or the Zevker Dere before turning westward to Tschatt, Çat, and on to Ağvanis.<sup>127</sup>

The evidence of the milestones shows that the travelers quoted above were following a Roman road eastward from Nikopolis, Pürk, via Ezbider or Ağvanis, as far as the region of Melikşerif. Thence two parallel routes lead across the mountains to Eriza, Erzincan. Their regular use is attested both by travelers and by a series of names of ruined *hans* along the southern road, which is now the motor road, but so far we have no evidence for a Roman or Byzantine route. Both are slow roads, winding over high mountains, but it seems likely that the southern one, across the Çardaklı Boğazı pass, was the winter route, while the northern one, across high snow pasture land, can only have been practicable for armies in the summer months.

The statement of Yaşar Paksöy that the Madendere Köyü ruins lie on the old Malatya to Bayburt caravan route is useful in suggesting that this site is to be identified with one of the stations between Melitene, Malatya, and Satala, Sadak, since the latter lies on the Bayburt road.<sup>128</sup>

*Geographical Observation* shows that there are four possible ways of traveling eastward to Satala. The northern route runs from Nikopolis northward to Koloneia and then eastward via Alucra, Kovata, and Cheriana. This route descends into the Lykos valley from Nikopolis. The river must be forded before climbing once again over gentle slopes to Koloneia at about 1500 m. From there, it is another long descent to the Ilim Su and a gentle climb over hills to the wide valley of Kovata which collects the headwaters of the Ilim. Kovata is once again at about 1,500 m, and the pass to the east at Fındıklı Bel is only about 200 m higher. The high ground is stony moorland, with short grass; the slopes are gentle, but travelers complained frequently at this point, perhaps because there was no *han* and they had to camp out. We have found no ruins on the pass. There should, however, have been a Roman and Byzantine station at this point, and a castle was reported a mile or two south of the modern road, but neither of us has explored it. The road from Cheriana to Kelkit runs over a fertile region of gentle slopes, averaging

126. Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, map.

127. Strecker (1855), 357–59.

128. Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler" (see note 84 above), but we have been unable to trace the source of this statement. Barbaro (1471), ed. Stanley, 93, gives the towns between Erzincan to Malatya as Cymis, Casseg, and Arapchir. The Cymis is perhaps Madenköy (Sinervas ? = Sinoria ?) and also the Kumis of Ibn Battutak. Casseg should fall at Egin, Kemaliye, or at Divrik, and Arapchir, Arapkir, remains unchanged.

about 1,500 m, again followed by a rise to about 1750 m at Satala.

A central and direct route leads from the eastern end of the plain of Nikopolis, Endiryas, Suşehri, over a low ridge into the Lykos, Kelkit, valley to cross the river at Zağpa, and thence along the river perhaps as far as Kâlur, where it would have been easy to ford the river and continue east-southeast to Satala. This route starts in the plain of Nikopolis at about 900 m and, after crossing the low ridge into the Lykos valley, continues a gentle ascent to reach about 1,500 m at Aşağı Haydürük. From here the easier way was to continue up the valley to join the northern route at Germürü. The short and direct way, which could only have been used in summer, was to climb to the south out of the Lykos valley to about 2,000 m over the northern flanks of the Çimen Dağı, and thence down the Balahu valley; this may have been Evliya Çelebi's route.

A more southerly direct road is the Cumonts route via Ezbider and Ağvanis, as far as Karayakup. It then continues eastward, instead of southward to Refahiye via Koymat Köprü and Çat Köyü up the rivers Zevker and Orçil, to the site of the Akşehir ruins near Hacirke and Kurtbaloğlu. Thence a track continues up to the sources of the river Orçil and over the Çimen Dağı, by a pass which leads down the Balahu Dere on the eastern side. This road presents no difficulty to the traveler between Nikopolis and the Akşehir ruins, with a gentle rise from 900 to 1,500 m. But between here and Satala the track has to cross the Çimen Dağı by a pass at about 2,250 m. This was almost certainly the route used by Mehmet II on his expedition in 1461, since he camped in the Yassı Çimen.<sup>129</sup> It is also Hadji Khalfa's road between Osmançık and Erzurum. Neither we nor any traveler that we can find, have used this route, of which Kiepert was ignorant. Adontz makes no attempt at an exact route, but he suggests that the direct route "followed the slopes of the Mountains now called the Çimen Dağı."<sup>130</sup> The Turkish survey marks a track across the pass, and it is for this reason, and because it forms much the shortest way eastward to Satala, that we advance the suggestion that it was a Roman and Byzantine route. The height of the pass, however, makes it likely that this could only have been in use as a summer route. At a point where the Balahu turns north to flow into the Lykos, the village of Sipanazat lies only about 5 km away to the west across the hills from Satala.

A fourth route follows the third eastward to Karayakup and then branches south to Refahiye and eastward to Melikşerif. From there it either went across the mountains northeastward via Ekecik, Kaçakköy, and Rişkan into the Orçil valley to join route three once again; or it could have followed one of the two routes to Erzincan along tortuous mountain tracks, rising to 2,000 m and then dropping to the great plain of Erzincan at 1,200 m. The road then turned north once again by a pass at about 2,000 m and thenceforward across high but pleasant country to Satala.

These four routes from west to east were all interconnected

129. See the excursus on p. 61 below. T. B. Mitford, "Some inscriptions from the Cappadocian Limes," *JRS*, 64 (1974), 165–66, agrees in suggesting the road over the Çimen Dağı. He was told that the Russians used it in 1917.

130. Adontz, *Armenia*, 65.

at about halfway along their course by a route from north to south which will be discussed more fully below.<sup>131</sup> This north-south route starts from the Black Sea coast at Trebizond and runs as directly as the mountain ranges will allow to the Euphrates valley and Melitene, Malatya. In the part which concerns us here, it runs from Cheriana in the north, in a south-westerly direction to the Lykos valley, and then from Mindeval southward up the Zevker valley, to join route three at Koymat Köprü and southward again to join the southerly route in the region of Refahiye, Başgercenis.

So much for the evidence; but evidence and stations still do not fall into an easy pattern. We suggest that the Antonine route Ia running from Satala to Melitene could have run first to Suissa, Germürü (?), to the west of the Lykos. Germürü was the posting station equivalent for Kelkit Çiftlik; Biliotti was told of Byzantine ruins there.

From Germürü the road ran to Arauracos, either Avarak or Aşağı Haydürük, site of the martyrdom of St. Eustratios.<sup>132</sup> Carsagis would then fall at the Horon, Melikşerif, or Akşehir ruins, Sinervas at Madendere Köyü, Analiba in the region of Kuruçay, and Zimara at Zinegar.<sup>133</sup>

The Peutinger route Ib starts from a junction between Nikopolis and Satala and runs south to Melitene.<sup>134</sup> We assume that Draconis, from which it starts (see also routes IIa and IIb), is in the region of Çamoluk or Mindeval in a wide and fertile stretch of the Lykos valley. From here there is a natural route southward up the tributary river Zevker.<sup>135</sup>

131. p. 53.

132. For Germürü, see Biliotti (1874), 226. The Tarhan map, probably following Kiepert, places Arauracos at Kâlur near Aşağı Haydürük. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), map, puts it roughly in the same place, but it is impossible to use his map as an accurate guide. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 328–29, give a brief summary of its history but do not attempt to place it exactly, except that it lay at two days' journey or some 40 or 50 mi west of Satala according to the itineraries. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 70, is amused by other scholars' wrong-headed attempts to place the site, but omits to place it better. Another tempting site for Arauracos, favored by A. A. M. B., is Avarak, much farther downstream to the west where there is a castle; see p. 177 below. D. C. W. even thought that the villager who named the site to him called it Ararak, but the situation is so far west of Satala as to upset the placing of too many of the other stations between Nikopolis and Satala.

133. Adontz, *Armenia*, 62, refers to "Zimara," which still stands on the banks of the Euphrates south of Erzincan between Kemah and Divriği. This is presumably the site at Pingan discussed in Yorke, (1894), 334–35, 465–67, and chosen by Mitford, *Thesis*, I, 202–12. The Zinegar ruins are suggested by Yorke for Zimara and we follow him.

134. The route from north to south is discussed on p. 46.

135. We leave open the question of whether Draconis of routes Ib, and IIb, is, or are, identical with Dracontes of IIa. Miller, *IR*, Route 95, cols. 671–77, identifies Draconis with Ad Dracones and Dracontes, and places it near Shamik, following Kiepert. This must be either Şamukbala or Aşağı Şemuk, which are situated to the west of the valley of the river Şiran, about halfway between its confluence with the Lykos, and the town of Şiran. Aşağı Şemuk is not far from the site that we report at Çirmiş, on p. 176 below. Tarhan also places Ad Dracones at Şamik, which he only marks as a modern village without ruins. Miller's account is confused: in Route 98, cols. 680–82, Draconis is placed at Melikşerif, and in the facsimile of the tables at Uluşiran. Miller's other identifications are Haris as Çat Köyü and Elegarsina as Kuruçay. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 321, suggest the region of the confluence of the rivers Şiran and Kelkit for Dracones, and the district of Tersun for Haza. The former is quite probable, but

Haris might then fall at Horon, Melikşerif, or Refahiye; Eregarsina at the Diştaş-Madendere sites; Bubalia in the region of Kuruçay and be identical with Analiba of route Ia; and Zimara at Zinegar.

The direct Antonine route IIa from Nikopolis to Satala would run to Olotoedariza in the region of Ağvanis<sup>136</sup> and thence Dracontes could fall around Horon, Melikşerif, or Kurtbaloğlu; and Haza on one side or other of the Çimen Dağı pass. However, it is quite possible that Dracontes is identical with the Draconis of routes Ib and IIB; in this case route IIa would run to Olotoedariza, Ağvanis, and could then either cross over the ridge into the Lykos valley and proceed upstream to Dracontes, Çamoluk (?), Mindeval (?); or it may have kept along the ridges to the south of the river until reaching Dracontes. The other station, Haza, would then fall in the Lykos valley around the twin castles below Kâlur. Or the route crossed south to the Orçil valley, and Haza must fall on the east or west slopes of the Çimen Dağı.

The direct Peutinger route IIB might run from Nikopolis via Sevindik, where we have the milestone, and from there along a well-used route through Elibüyük and across the northeastern boundary ridges of the plain of Suşehri to come down and cross the Lykos at Zağpa, which could be Caltiorissa.<sup>137</sup> The road then followed the river on the north bank past the fort at Avarak to Çamoluk, the region which we have suggested for Draconis. We then have a choice of routes either up the Lykos valley or the Cheriana valley to the north of it, with known sites at Cirmiş, Mumya, Cheriana, Tarsos, Kâlur, and Haydürük to offer for the stations of Cunissa, Hassis, and Ziziola.<sup>138</sup> Or we can assume that Cunissa falls at Melikşerif, or Akşehir, Kurtbaloğlu, and trace the road from there on up the river Orçil and over the Çimen Dağı to the valleys of the rivers Balahu and Satala.

The Antonine road IIc would now run on lines already indicated if we assume that Carsat is the same place as Carsagis, but from Carsagis it would turn north over the mountains to the Lykos valley at Arauracus, Haydürük or Avarak, and then up the river to Suissa, Germürü, and Satala, Sadak. On the general question of the placing of Draconis, Dracontes, and Carsat, Carsagis, a logical and neat solution is to assume the identity of the former pair

the latter, is situated much too far north to serve a direct route, although there is a site at Aşağı Tersun—on which, see p. 174 below. Adontz, *Armenia*, 66, also suggests the confluences; he gives the name Hapul-Köprü, which can no longer be found, but it is clear that both he and the Cumonts suggest the vicinity of Fol-Mindeval.

136. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 322, equate Olotoedariza with the Byzantine Lytarariza of Procopius, *Buildings*, III, iv, 10. And with Ala Rizona of the *Notitia dignitatum*, Or. XXXVIII, where a cavalry wing was stationed. Adontz, *Armenia*, 65, equates Olotoedariza of the Itinerary with Caltiorissa of the Peutinger Tables, and assumes that routes IIa (of the itinerary) and IIB (of the Tables) are the same road. Yorke (1894), 465, 467, also seems to have assumed this.

137. The Tarhan map places Olotoedariza at Zağpa. He places Caltiorissa, which he equates with Caleorsissa, at Yeniköy on the direct route from Nikopolis to Melitene.

138. Miller, *IR*, has Cunissa as Telme, Hassis as Aschuz (perhaps Aşut), and Ziziola as Melişan. This itinerary resembles the route of an explorer of the Lykos valley, crossing and recrossing the river over difficult country, rather than the route of a road intended to travel from A to B.

and place the site in the region of Çamoluk, Testik, Fol, Mindeval, on the Lykos; and the identity of the latter pair and place the site in the region of the Akşehir, Melikşerif, and Horon ruins, or Başgerçenis, Refahiye. This allows for two junction points, one of which may have succeeded the other as it declined in importance.

The direct Peutinger road III from Nikopolis down to Melitene seems likely to have run south, up or along the line of the river Pulat and over a pass into the valley of the Kızıl Irmak east of Imranlı. The station Oleoberda ought then to lie somewhere on this route, and Caleorsissa in the area between the headwaters of the Halys, Kızılırmak, and Kuruçay, where we have placed Analiba, Bubalia.<sup>139</sup> The three sites reported by Tarhan along this route are the ruins of Buldur, the castle at Akşar, and ruins at Yeniköy. We have not traveled this route. It will be mentioned below<sup>140</sup> but meanwhile we can only suggest that the Kiliñlar or Buldur sites represent Oleoberda, and that Caleorsissa falls at Yeniköy. The main road from Zimara, Zinegar, led southward *per ripam* to Melitene.

The average time for the journeys between Nikopolis or Koloneia and Satala, or between the first two places and Eriza, Erzincan, seems to have been about five days when traveling in caravan, which amounts to about 40 hours. Smaller parties did these journeys in three days or about twenty-four hours' riding, but the time could be reduced to two days or even less if the traveler were hurrying.

It will readily be seen that our reconstruction is tentative and hypothetical since it is based on the location of ancient sites, the evidence of travelers, and the dictates of geography. Certainty must await the recovery of further milestones or inscriptions. But in the meanwhile, if we use this reconstruction as an hypothesis, some points of interest may be noted.

First, the Roman road system seems to leave out the great plain and the city of Eriza, Erzincan. This is hard to explain since the city was an important holy place with a temple dedicated to the goddess Anaitis, and its fertile valley should have constituted an important source of supply for the garrison at Satala.<sup>141</sup> The explanation may be that the Euphrates valley from the bend at Pingân eastward was Armenian heartland territory, rather than a frontier district, and therefore unsuitable and unsafe for a Roman frontier road. The city of Kamacha-Ani, Kemah, was the burial place of the Arsacid kings of Armenia, and Gregory the Illuminator spent his later years near Tortan in the hills north of the Euphrates between Kamacha and Eriza, where he destroyed a pagan temple and where Armenian churches are reported.<sup>142</sup>

139. Grégoire (1907), 37–38, also favored this route. Miller, *IR*, placed Oleoberda at Kiliñlar, on the slopes of a high mountain and Caleorsissa near Bapsi—perhaps Babsu Köyü, roughly on the line of march in Taylor (1866), 298 ff.

140. P. 46.

141. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 334–39, for Erzincan. The Cumonts traveled up from Erzincan to Satala, and Lehmann crossed from Erzincan to Bayburt but gives no details except that he crossed the Sipikör mountains: Belck and Lehmann (1899), 64. He must have crossed the caravan road from Satala to Erzurum not far east of Satala.

142. Lynch, (1893–98), I, 294, 348; and Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler."

Toumanoff states that, in the Christianization of Armenia at the turn of the fourth century, the Gregorid family acquired the temple-state of Anaitis at Erez in Acilisene, Erzincan,<sup>143</sup> and Procopius quotes the view that Kelesene, Acilisene, was Armenian.<sup>144</sup> In the Ottoman period it certainly came back into prominence, and seems to have performed the military function of Satala, which had by this time declined in importance. Erzincan was a garrison town in the Turco-Russian wars of the nineteenth century, and continues to be so today. The fact that the valley lies over a serious earthquake fault and is frequently devastated by tremors may be among the reasons for its lack of prominence in the Roman and Byzantine periods.<sup>145</sup>

Second, it may be noted that the good northern route via Koloneia, Kovata, and Cheriana has ancient sites along it, but cannot be easily equated with the routes given in the Antonine Itinerary and Peutinger Tables. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the history of the cities of Nikopolis and Koloneia; Nikopolis is a Pompeian foundation and a great city of the plains which lost much of its importance in the Arab wars.<sup>146</sup> In the reorganization of the themes the more inaccessible site at Koloneia took the place of Nikopolis and became the military capital of the region; so the main Byzantine route east-ward ran through safer country to the north of the Roman road. It was this Byzantine route which survived into the nineteenth century as the highway to the East.<sup>147</sup> This more northerly route also had the advantage of closer communication with the sea coast, which was always safely in Byzantine hands. In the Turco-Persian wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was a much contested route, with Amasya, Sivas, or Tokat, serving as the mustering point for the Ottoman armies, like the Byzantine ones before them, whenever they marched northeastward.

Third, the town of Kelkit, Çiftlik, is an Ottoman administrative center and must be regarded as the Turkish successor to Roman Satala and the Byzantine bishopric of Chachaiou.<sup>148</sup> It is clear from travelers' accounts that the posting station for this area was Germürü, west of Kelkit, and the earlier site of Chachaiou must be looked for elsewhere.

Fourth, the siting of the legionary fortress of Satala is outstanding evidence of the military genius of the Romans,

in that it is placed so as to control the three northern routes by which invaders might come from the east into Asia Minor; through Paipertes, Bayburt, and the Lykos valley in the north; or directly through Satala and Refahiye along a central line; or through Erzincan and along the Euphrates valley to the south. The city itself was able to serve as a military headquarters for half a millennium, and the same legion was stationed there for nearly three hundred years.<sup>149</sup> The general continuity of military policy and knowledge is borne out by Procopius' account of the military expedition which showed the flag in the country of the Tzans. In mentioning two of the places at which the expedition made camp, he remarks that Bourgousnoes (*sc.*, Burgus Novus), was formerly Longini Fossatum; and the second was called Germani Fossatum.<sup>150</sup> These little passages surely indicate a continuity of information. Procopius' informant, presumably a serving officer in the sixth century, knew where his predecessors had made their camps for four centuries. This is also a valuable indication of the nature of the eastern frontier. There is no hint in the sources that there could have been a static walled frontier, and the geography of the region makes a continuous wall impracticable if not impossible. This was essentially a frontier as detailed in the *Notitia dignitatum*, with strong garrisons at strategic points, and smaller detachments covering supply routes and outlying areas. It was a frontier in depth rather than a linear border, and Procopius' reference to Fossatum suggests only the difference that, while the Romans stuck to their rectangular ditched camps as strong points in whatever flattish ground they could find, the Byzantines moved upward to make castles on the hilltops.

From Satala, Sadak, or from Eriza in Acilisene, Erzincan, to Theodosiupolis, Erzurum

From Satala, the road continued on to the plain of Theodosiupolis past the following Peutinger stations: Salmalasso, Darucinte, Aegea or Elegia, Lucus Basaro, Sinara, Calcidava, and Autisparata.<sup>151</sup> Theodosiupolis itself does not occur in the Peutinger list since it is a late foundation: it is a matter of speculation as to which Peutinger station is the equivalent for it.

When Romanos IV returned from his campaign of 1069,

143. C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), 218.

144. Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, v.

145. Grumel, *Chronologie*, 408–81, lists ten earthquakes for Erzincan between 1043 and 1457. Skylitzes, Bonn ed., 682, mentions Keltzene (Erzincan) in connection with Romanos IV's campaign of 1069. Mustawfi, trans. Le Strange, 175, places Erzincan 24 leagues from Erzurum, via Asjah and the pass above Khūmān Qubūh.

146. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 212, 238; II, 177, 190, has a Boilas as *Katepanos* and then an Armenian as *strategos*, of Nikopolis, apparently the strong point of Koloneia rather than the Epirote theme of Nikopolis.

147. It is perhaps significant of the link between the two towns that in the 19th century the bishopric of Nikopolis was at Şebinkarahisar and not at Pürk. See Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 129 and fig. 28. See Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 74–82, on the changes in the Roman road systems of Asia Minor.

148. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 652, gives Kelkit as a town with a *Kadılık*.

149. Legio XV Apollinaris up to the composition of the eastern section of the *Notitia dignitatum* in ca. 406–8. The best account of the military organization of the frontier is in Mitford, *Thesis*, which will shortly be published. We do not know for certain of battles in this area in the Byzantine period, but that it continued to be an important strategic region is shown by the battles of Yassı Çimen in 1230, Köse Dağı in 1243, and Otlukbeli in 1473, all of which are within a day's march of Satala. See the excursus, p. 62 below.

150. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, iv, 6.

151. Miller, *IR*, cols. 671–77. This is the continuation of Route 95 which must have run across the plain of Theodosiupolis since this is the only feasible way east to the crossing of the Araxes, Aras, at Ad confluentes, Çoban Köprü (?). The geography of the region rules out any other possibilities. From Ad confluentes the road continued on to Doubios Dvin, Artaşara, and Artaxata. This was probably the route of Heraclius in his campaign of 632 against the Persians: see N. H. Baynes, "The Military Operations of the Emperor Heraclius," *United Services Magazine*, 47, (1913), 405; and Ja. A. Manandjan, "Maršruty persidskih pohodov imperatora Iraklija," *VizVrem*, 3 (1950), 133–53.

he marched from Theodosiopolis to Koloneia and from there to Melissopetrium and Dokeia, Tosya, Tokat (?).<sup>152</sup> He was clearly using the northern trunk road and must have crossed from the plain of Theodosiopolis into the upper Lykos valley in the region of Satala and Kelkit. The earliest detailed account of this route comes, however, much later. It is part of Hadji Khalfa's route 1.<sup>153</sup>

<i>Distance</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Iailak Tchemen to Iassi Tchemen . . . . .	4½
Iassi Tchemen to Kara Boulour . . . . .	5
Kara Boulour to Signir Sahrassi . . . . .	3
Signir Sahrassi to Djanik . . . . .	5
Djanik to Toloslar . . . . .	5½
Toloslar to Ak Deghirmen, crossing the Euphrates	4½
Ak Deghirmen to Mama Khatoun . . . . .	5½
Mama Khatoun to Penek . . . . .	4½
Penek to Khanes . . . . .	5
Khanes to Ilidjeh . . . . .	4
Ilidjeh to Erzurum . . . . .	4

The plain and mountains of Çimen Dağı lie near Kelkit, according to Hadji Khalfa.<sup>154</sup> Four hours beyond is Kara Boulour, Pular (?), at the eastern end of the Pular Dağları, east of Kelkit. From there it is three hours to Signir Sahrassi. Sahara is rather ambiguously translatable as an open plain, wilderness or field, and it seems likely that this place must be in the region of Lori and Otlukbeli. The next station, Djanik, does not now appear on the map, but Toloslar is Aşağı and Yukarı Tulus, and thence the route is clear.<sup>155</sup> It must have run down the river Dorum Dere to cross the Euphrates at Ak Deghirmen. This site is not marked on the modern maps, so that the exact place of crossing is not known, but the next station is Mama Khatoun (Dexene, Tercan). After Tercan the station Penek cannot be found, but Khanes is Cinis and the route must have approximated to the line of the motor road north eastward from Dexene across the mountains into the plain of Theodosiopolis, Erzurum. From Cinis the final station is at the baths of Ilidjeh, Ilica.

Hadji Khalfa's second route follows a more northerly road from Erzurum to Ech Kalah, Aşkale, and thence to Terdjian, Tercan, probably along the Euphrates valley. The next station westward is Ghelghis, Kelkit, our nearest equivalent for Satala, but no intervening stations are given.<sup>156</sup>

152. Skylitzes, Bonn ed., 701–2. The identification of Melissopetrium with Pemolissa at Osmançık has not been previously made, to the best of our knowledge, but it appears to make good sense.

153. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 685.

154. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 652, and for a discussion, p. 62.

155. This appears to be the route marked by Strecker on his map in *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, XI, (1864), pl. III. West of Tolos he marks a place Djanur, which is situated roughly at Çamur of the modern Turkish map. This falls on the direct route eastward and so Hadji Khalfa's Djanik could easily represent the modern Çamur Köyü.

156. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 655. We have suggested above that Kelkit be considered as the Ottoman successor town to Roman and Byzantine Satala as the *administrative* center of this region. Burnaby (1876), I, 319, notes that troops marching from

Route 4 of Hadji Khalfa<sup>157</sup> does no more than establish the existence of a route from Erzincaan to Erzurum.

The tenth-century Armenian itinerary gives a shortened account, in which we have a distance from Theodosiopolis "to the ditch separating the country of the Armenians from the country of the Greeks" as one hundred miles.<sup>158</sup> This tells us nothing except that there was a tenth-century route westward from Theodosiopolis. Routes from Acilisene, Erzincaan, and Trebizond joined the trunk road in this section. The Erzincaan route 4 of Hadji Khalfa may partly equate with the Pegolotti route from Ayas in Cilicia, via Kaisareia, Kayseri; Sebasteia; Eriza; and Tercan to Theodosiopolis. This would have struck into the Peutinger route either at Derxene or at Aşkale. The stations from Eriza, Arzinga, Erzincaan, are as follows: Gavezera sulla montagna, Ligurti, "ponte a Cantieri," Gavazera fuori d'Arzerone, Bagni d'Arzerone, Arzerone.<sup>159</sup>

The route from Trebizond southeastward across the mountains to Bayburt and Erzurum would have cut into the Satala to Erzurum route in the region of Bayburt or Aşkale.

There are no milestones and it is quite possible that they were never set up beyond Satala in the wild mountain country over which the trunk road passed, since the country was under Armenian control until ca. 389/90 when a Comes Armeniae was appointed to Theodosiopolis.<sup>160</sup> In a graveyard near Çamur, southeast of Satala, Taylor found a fragment of a Latin inscription, DELIV.<sup>161</sup> It could perhaps have been part of a milestone but it might just as well have been a stone brought from Satala. Tournafort reports that could also have been milestones at Sökmen.<sup>162</sup> Biliotti<sup>163</sup> found a Byzantine epitaph at Djourouzma, Çorozma, northeast of Satala, but he was told that it had been carried there from Satala; and some stelae which he thought to be Byzantine at Haoudjouz, Havcıs. This village lies three and a half hours north of Satala on a route to Trebizond, along which the Cumonts also recorded Roman or Byzantine remains.<sup>164</sup>

Among sites dating back to antiquity, Paksöy reports Gelengeç, which he identifies with Salmalasso. He claims that these are the ruins of a substantial town with Byzantine churches and palaces, and mosques and *türbes* of the Akkoyunlu period.<sup>165</sup> This site, which is also marked on the

Erzurum used the northern route through Şebinkarahisar; this is probably the same as route 2 of Hadji Khalfa, representing an earlier Byzantine and even Roman route.

157. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, II, 687.

158. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 168–69, quoting MS 2679 of the Hermitage collection; 98–100, for his conclusions about Peutinger Table stations.

159. Pegolotti, ed. Evans, 28–29.

160. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 152.

161. Taylor (1866), 286.

162. Tournafort (1701), II, 317.

163. T. B. Mitford, "Biliotti's Excavations at Satala," *AnatSt*, 24 (1974), 235–39.

164. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 352–54, with photographs.

165. Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler" (see above, note 84); Paksöy is not specific as to where the Gelengeç ruins are situated. If they are at one or other of the two villages this would be a certain identification of the line of the route. The lack of knowledge as to their exact whereabouts prevents us from establishing the line of a road. The name

Tarhan map, is in the region of the Lori villages and of Otluk Beli, where the great battle took place between Mehmed II and Uzun Hasan in 1473. It forms the modern boundary between the *vilayets* of Erzurum, Gümüşhane, and Erzincan, which is suggestive of a Byzantine identity for the site since Procopius states that Horonon was at the meeting place of three roads on the borders of Romania, Persarmenia, and Tzanika; we therefore propose that Horonon was the successor to Salmalasso.<sup>166</sup> Its position on the border of different regions also suggests that it may be the "Frontier Ditch" referred to in the Armenian itinerary,<sup>167</sup> and possibly the elusive Ikrita.<sup>168</sup> Further to the north is the village of Sünürü, which is at the north-eastern end of the plain of Mormuşdüzü. Kiepert, probably following Blau, suggests this site as Sinoria, and Tarhan gives it as Xenophon's Gymnias. On the eastern side of the watershed between the Lykos and the Akampsis is the village of Varzahan.<sup>169</sup> Here stood a group of Armenian churches, perhaps on the site of a halting place. It may be that this was another meeting point between the west-east road and the route south from Trebizond.

Other sites within the area that may help to indicate the course of the roads are at Pekerîç, on the eastern edge of the plain of Derxene, Tercan, where there is a medieval castle with rock-cut tombs and a tunnel cistern, marks of high antiquity in the Pontos. It may possibly be a Mithridatic castle, and was the site of a pagan temple.<sup>170</sup>

The Justinianic township and ninth-century bishopric of Bizana is placed by Honigmann<sup>171</sup> near Vican at the southern end of the plain of Derxene where the Euphrates valley narrows again into gorges.

Paksöy reports ruins of a town with Byzantine and Armenian remains at Kiroğharabeleri, which he places near the confluence of the Euphrates and the river Tuzla on the

southern edge of the plain.<sup>172</sup> This appears to be the same site as that reported by Strecker at Kottur, Kötür Köprü, which he thought to be a fort or a monastery,<sup>173</sup> but it could also be Koroğlu Kalesi, a little further upstream toward Tercan.

Paksöy also reports important ruins at Şirinli, Sihköy, Konarlı about 30 km southeast of Tercan. Here there is a castle of which he gives a photograph<sup>174</sup> and ruins of a town with ancient and medieval remains. The same site is reported by Tarhan, who, however, places it west-southwest of Tercan.

The town of Mamahatun, Tercan, which now gives its name to the plain of Derxene is situated a little way off to the east, at a point where one of the routes to Erzurum branches, with a direct eastern route leading up the Tuzla valley and across the flanks of the Bingöl mountains to the northern shores of Lake Van at Ahlat. Tercan is therefore well placed as a candidate for a Roman or Byzantine site, and it is no surprise that it was erected into a pocket theme by 951/52, as part of the new tenth-century frontier, more to pacify the local Paulicians of Mananalis than fend off the Arabs. The naphtha for which the area was noted still congeals there.<sup>175</sup>

Tarhan marks ruins at Aşkale and Karabyık on the plain of Erzurum but there is no indication of what they are. We know of no reports of Byzantine antiquities, except at Theodosiopolis itself.

Traveler's reports show that there were various ways of traveling directly between the Lykos valley and Erzurum. There were two indirect routes as well, if we include the possibilities of turning south from Satala to Erzincan and thence to Erzurum, or northeast to Bayburt and on to Erzurum. The direct route, taken by Smith and Dwight,<sup>176</sup> continued eastward from their overnight stop at Germürü near Çiftlik, to the point near Sökmen where the Lykos turns south. They did not follow the river south to Satala but crossed what they call the Çimen Dağı to Lori, and they rightly point out that this ridge separates the waters of the Akampsis, Çoruh, from those of the Lykos, Kelkit, but give it the wrong name. The ridge which they in fact crossed was the Pulur Dağları. They then proceeded across the Otlukbeli Dağları to their first stage at Karakulak. The second stage brought them, by a route not easy to pinpoint on a map, as far as an irregular stopping point on the Şeytan Dere, four hours short of Aşkale which they should have reached. From Aşkale to Erzurum was a nine-hour stage. The Smith and Dwight route seems to have been the standard northern one followed by travelers. Evliya Çelebi's pasha made a diversion to the tomb of Çağır Kanlı Sultan,<sup>177</sup> which may be the *türbe* mentioned by Consul Taylor at Çamur.<sup>178</sup> Pitton de Tournefort's itinerary for this section does not have his usual clarity, but is valuable for the reference to the sighting of an

"Gelengeç" translates roughly as "let those who come pass by," which is an encouraging name for a town on a mountain route. Abraham Hartwell, *The History of the Warres between the Turkes and the Persians . . . written in Italian by John Thomas Minadoi and translated into English by Abraham Hartwell* (London, 1595), 262, records that Ferad Bassa, the general of "Erzurum," built fortresses at Lory, Lori and Tomanis in perhaps 1584. Chesney (1831) I, 288–89, mentions the "plain of Lori to the town of Gemeri, probably the Gymnias of Xenophon."

166. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vi. Adontz, *Armenia*, 51 discusses Horonon and puts it at Halane Han (apparently just east of the Vavuk pass). This position would make a reasonable frontier but is certainly not, as he suggests, on a direct road from Satala to Trebizond, while 40 km from Hart on the Trebizond road would bring his site to an area around Kovans which is at a junction. But unfortunately, as his editor points out on p. 398, no such name as Halane can now be found on the maps.

167. Manadian, *Trade and Cities*, 169, and 219, note 143.

168. See p. 301.

169. For Sinoria, see O. Blau, "Aphorismen alter und neuer Ortskunde Klein-Asiens," in Petermann, *Mittheilungen* (Gotha, 1865), 252. For Varzahan, see Blau (1860), 375, and Monier (1711), 374. Monier describes two large churches with mosaic and a mausoleum, and remarks that the ruins suggest that the place was formerly a town rather than a village. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 137–38.

170. Lynch (1893–98), I, 294, quoting Agathangelus.

171. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 53–54, following Markwart.

172. Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler."

173. Strecker (1855), 265.

174. Paksöy, "Tarihi Kaleler."

175. On Derxene and this area, see A. Bryer, "Excursus on Mananalis, Samosata of Armenia, and Paulician geography," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 83–84.

176. Smith and Dwight (1830), 53–61.

177. Evliya (1644), II, 106.

178. Taylor (1866), 286.

aqueduct, which seems to be the first traveler's mention of the Satala ruins. At Sukme, Sökmen, a little further north, he records two columns, one of which had much old Greek writing on it. These "columns" might perhaps have been milestones.<sup>179</sup>

Tavernier passed through Seukmen, Sökmen; Louri, Lori; and Chaouqueu, Karakulak (?). He then crossed (but his itinerary seems to be in the wrong order) the delightfully named Aagi Dogii, Ağgı Dağı, Pulur Dağları, mountains to come down to the Giobanderesi, Euphrates (?) and then on to Achekala, Aşkale.<sup>180</sup>

The itinerary by an anonymous colonel passes from Bacheftligh, Kelkit, or Germürü to Karakulak, Tchalok—a caravansary on the Choghenderesi, Ak Khala and Iligia, Ilica.<sup>181</sup> Morier's journey (in reverse) took him from Chiftlik, Kelkit, to pass by Satala and thence to Karacolagh, Karakulak, Mamakhatoun, Tercan; Purtun, Pirtin; and Ilija, Ilica. He therefore seems to have taken the southern alternative after leaving Karakulak.<sup>182</sup>

A third, and more direct route suggested by a reading of the map would follow the track through Sadak Hanları, then go up the Karlankaş river to cross the Pulur Dağları ridge and come down to the Lori or Zelkeler river at Yukarıhayık. From there a northerly branch would go through Gelengeç to join the Smith and Dwight route at Karakulak; southerly possibilities would go through Yukarı, Gelengeç, and Tolos, as described in Hadji Khalfa's route 1; or across the mountains to the villages of Semek or Sosunga Pülk and thence down into the valley of the river Pülk, which flows into the Euphrates at the western point of the great bend around the plain of Derxene.

The route taken by Taylor<sup>183</sup> (who was in fact traveling westward, but we reverse his itinerary) was from Kelkit, through Sadak Hanları and then up the Karlankaş River. But instead of proceeding over the watershed to Lori or Gelengeç, he followed a route turning south at Çamurköy and up a steep pass. High up on this route, either at Çamurmezraaları, or at Çamurmezraası (it is not clear which, from the text), he found the tomb of a Kızılbaş ruler of the district and a fragment of a Latin inscription, mentioned above. From there he crossed the watershed between the tributaries of the Lykos and of the Euphrates and continued down the river Pülk, via Başköy and Gülebağdı, to the river Mans and

179. Tournefort (1701), II, 317.

180. Tavernier (1681), I, 15. Melton (1670), 258, lists the same places as Tavernier once again, and if our interpretation is correct, in the same confused order.

181. Anonymous (1826), 225, 230.

182. Morier (1808), 325–32. He notes that about six hours north of Karacolagh, Karakulak, there is a branch route going north to Bayburt. Suter (1838), 434–44, also traveled over this route; he gives details of the new town of Kelkit, Chiftlik, on p. 435. Porter (1818), II, 672–84, traveled westward and seems to have kept to the standard route. He mentions Ashkala, Aşkale; Karakoulak, Karakulak; and Lori. From Lori he followed the Tournefort route through Orgi, Ağgı (?), and across the southern shoulders of the Alma-lee Dagler (through Elmalı and the Pulur Dağları ?) to pass by Saddock, Sadak.

183. Taylor (166), 281–87. Evliya (1644), II, 199, traveled westwards on the same route and names Ilija, Khinnis, Mamakhatoun, and Ketur. At the last named place there was a bridge: it must be Kötür Köprü, which has long been the site of a bridge over the river.

the Euphrates. He forded the river opposite Bagaritson, Pakeriç, and his route probably coincides with route 1 of Hadji Khalfa. It runs via Mamahatoun, Yeniköy, and Cinis<sup>184</sup> to Erzurum.

Other routes from the Euphrates ford might follow the modern road up the Göğdere and across the Kükürtlu pass to Aşkale<sup>185</sup> and thence to Erzurum, via Aşağı Kağdariç,<sup>186</sup> Cinis, and Ilica. Or the traveler might continue along the Euphrates valley, here called the river Sahun, now following the line of the railway as far as Aşkale, and thence to Erzurum.<sup>187</sup>

Finally, there were the routes from Erzincan to Erzurum. Newbery traveled through Bettareg, Backerreg, "where is great plentie of wine," Gebesse, Gotter, Shennar, and Pretton, taking four or five days.<sup>188</sup> It is not easy to identify this route but it is possible that Bettareg is Peteric in the foothills at the northeastern end of the Erzincan valley, above Altın Tepe. Gebesse, which he mentions as two different places bearing the same name, may be Gelmize, Gelmizekomu, or Gelmize komu harabeleri, which are on the upper reaches of the river Mans. Or it might be Cibice, which gives its name to a river and to a range of mountains. In the former case Newbery went north-northeast from Altın Tepe over a pass between the Keşiş and the Mirpet, Mürüt, mountains. Or, if Cibice is right, he went south of the Mirpet range. Gotter may be Kötür Köprü, and Shennar may be Cinis. But it is odd that there is no mention of Tercan. If this interpretation is right, the caravan route, or one of them, cut off the southern bend of the Euphrates and avoided a long gorge by turning northeastward out of the plain of Erzincan at the northeastern end near Altın Tepe. Altın Tepe seems to have been the capital of the plain of Erzincan until it was deserted in ca. 600 B.C., and there are therefore some archaeological grounds for assuming that a traditional route left the valley at this point.<sup>189</sup>

A route across the mountain is confirmed by the Tchihatcheff itinerary and by Strecker.<sup>190</sup> Tchihatcheff only

184. Probably the Trapezuntine bishopric of Σακάβου, Τζιβίση, Τζινηήπη, which Bees, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 123, mistakenly places in Canik: see the MS Soumela 27, fol. 1; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 194; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 160; Bryer, *BK*, 33–34 (1967), 166 note 160.

185. Aşkale may be Eregia but no documentary or archaeological evidence exists for the support of the identification. It does however fit in to the probably geographical scheme.

186. Probably Haltoyariç; see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 54, 226.

187. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 100, 192, favored the route along the Euphrates for both the Peutinger and Pegolotti routes. He used a Russian translation of Strecker in an Addendum to the *Izvestiya* of the Caucasian Branch of the Russian Geographical Society, III (Tiflis, 1874). For the original, see Strecker, (1855), 267.

188. Newbery (1581), 471. Chesneau (1548), 73, gives Bettaric, Newbery's Bettareg (perhaps Peteriç) but his stations are no easier than Newbery's. They are Dibligy, on a barren mountain; then across the Euphrates; Chiobane (perhaps Tercan ?); Pertary; and the baths outside Esdron, Ilica.

189. Ten years of excavation by Professor Tahsin Özgüç have revealed architectural plans of great interest and a rich treasury of objects.

190. Strecker (1855), 263–68. Abul Fida remarks rather injudiciously of this route (Erzincan to Erzurum) that it "runs entirely through plains and cultivated fields." See M. Reinaud and S. Guyard, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1848, 1883), II, 146.

gives Kargya, but the placing of it on his map suggests that he traveled the same road as Strecker, who gives Karghyn. Strecker gives Mertekli, Mertekli, south of Altın Tepe, then Chan, which must be one of the two nameless *han* ruins. One is on the northern route, between the Keşiş and Mirpet ranges, and the other on the road south of the Mirpet range running through Cibice. The next station is Karghyn, Kargin, and from there Strecker followed the route to Erzincan described above, through Mamachatun, Tercan; Jeniköi, Yeniköy; and Ilidsche, Ilica. If a northerly route via Mans and thence along the Euphrates valley to Aşkale was to be followed, it seems likely that the track left the Erzincan valley just east of Altın Tepe, to cross the Keşiş and Mirpet mountains by a pass leading northeastward over to the tributaries of the river Mans. This was a fairly direct route continuing from Mans to follow the Euphrates, as outlined above. It may have been the summer route since it requires the crossing of a high pass and the fording of rivers. If a more southerly route was sought, there were two alternatives: it could either have followed the modern road and railway along the Euphrates valley to the point where it opens out into the plain of Tercan,<sup>191</sup> and then branched east to Tercan itself and along Taylor's route to Cinis; or the route could have cut off the lower loop of the Euphrates and the rather difficult river gorges, and passed into the mountains near Altın Tepe. The lower mountain route went via Hinzori, Şirihlimanastir Harabeleri, and Han,<sup>192</sup> to regain the river, perhaps around Kargin, where it begins to leave its gorges for the plain of Tercan. The upper mountain route went northeastward to cross the pass between the Keşiş and Mirpet mountains and came down past Gelmize and the river Mans to the Euphrates. From the confluence, it went along the Euphrates to Aşkale.

The time taken between Erzurum and Erzincan or Satala appears to have averaged about four days,<sup>193</sup> which agree with the Pegolotti itinerary. Theodosiopolis does not, of course, appear in the Peutinger Tables, but if its site was then marked by Lucus Basaro, four days were also allowed for the journey. Pegolotti appears to allow six days, but this is because of the Turkish custom of making caravans stop at *hans* outside the big cities in order to have better control over them.<sup>194</sup>

191. This would be roughly at Bizana, Vican.

192. The Turkish map shows two *han* ruins, two castle names, and the Şirihlimanastir ruins on or near the likely course of this route; the ruins strengthen the likelihood that it may go back to the Byzantine period if not earlier. The Tarhan map marks an ancient castle and town site at Şirinli. Tarhan's siting suggests the modern Şirihli of the Turkish maps, but Paksöy reports the Şirinli site to be 30 km southeast of Tercan. This would put it on a route partly traveled by Tchihatcheff. From Tercan it went up the river Tuzla to cross the Bingöl mountains and came down to Lake Van. The problem of these sites awaits solution by a future explorer. The Tschichatschhof, Ritter, and Kiepert map (1858), marks Şirinli southeast of Tercan; this suggests that it is rightly placed by Paksöy and that it lay on the route from Tercan to Lake Van.

193. Smith and Dwight (1830), did the Sadak to Erzurum route in three days. Strecker says that from Erzincan to Erzurum normally took three days but that he had managed it in two. Caravans on both routes would certainly have taken four days.

194. Tavernier (1681), 16, 19, gives evidence of this custom at Erzurum, where he had to stop at both sides of the city for customs

It seems likely that the Peutinger route from Satala went over the mountains to Geleğaç, or Lori. At the former, there are ruins which provide a suitable site for the first station, Salmalasso, and also for Procopius' Horonon, the "Frontier Ditch," and Ikrita.<sup>195</sup> From there we are limited to speculation; the second station of Darucinte might lie either at Karakulak (or beyond) on the northern branch of this route, or in the Pülk valley on the southern branch.<sup>196</sup> Aegea would then fall in the area of Aşkale, and Lucus Basaro in the region of Theodosiopolis.

The Pegolotti route from Arzinga, Erzincan, to Erzurum is more likely to have passed Altın Tepe and then run across the mountains, cutting off the stretch of gorges from Altın Tepe to Vican or Kargin. It probably also ran through Tercan, since the Seljuk *hans* and *türbes* there indicate the importance of the town as a market. There is not much evidence for placing the stations, but the geography of the route would suggest one of the *han* ruins around Altın Tepe for Gavezera sulla montagna; Tercan for Ligurti; Cinis Köprü or Aşkale for "ponte a Cantieri"; Yenihan or Evrenihane for Gavazera fuori d'Arzerone; and Ilica for Bagni d'Arzerone.<sup>197</sup>

The stretch of road from Satala or from Erzincan to Erzurum once again prompts the general observation that there were probably summer and winter routes, although the height of the mountains east of Satala must have made winter crossings arduous, if not impossible for much of the time.<sup>198</sup>

The roads from Erzurum eastward are described briefly below.<sup>199</sup> They follow the same track as far as "Ad confluentes"<sup>200</sup> beyond which they normally ran outside Byzantine territory.<sup>201</sup>

inspection, on entering and on leaving. The system seems to go back at least to Ummayyad times when caravansaries were built outside large cities such as Raqqa or Kasr el Heir, presumably for foreign merchants. The Syrian merchant colony outside Kanesh, Kayseri, is an even older example of the method of dealing with foreign trade.

195. See footnote 166 above for Procopius. Miller, *IR*, follows Kiepert in giving Karatuluk, Lorilar, for Salmalasso. See Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 91–100, 169, for a reconstruction of these roads.

196. Miller, *IR*, following Kiepert, gives Darucinte as Pekerç. This castle site is a likely identification though rather too far from Lori, if that is the first station. The Hadji Khalfa route I must have followed down the river Dorum running from the west into the Euphrates just north of the river Mans; it is just possible that this name preserves a memory of Darucinte. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 100, gives its name as derived from that of the province of Derxene. Tercan.

197. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 192–93, interprets the Pegolotti itinerary as following the Euphrates westward after Aşkale, rather than cutting across the hills to Mamachatun. Tercan. Lynch (1893/98), II, 227, mentions, without describing, a summer road to Erzincan. It is unclear which road R. Hannay took to Erzurum.

198. Fraser (1835), I, 231–50, made the crossing at the end of January in conditions which few would now tolerate. Burnaby (1876), was also a winter traveler in seemingly impossible conditions. Others were Newbery, the Jesuit Fathers Monier and Villotte, and Chesney, Flandin, and Curzon.

199. See p. 38.

200. Ad confluentes, Peutinger Tables, xcv, is generally agreed to be at Çobandede Köprü, by the confluence of the river Araxes, Erax, Aras, with the river Kaplica.

201. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 212–15.

From the Lykos, Kelkit, Valley to Paipertes, Bayburt; to Syspirtis, Pharangion, İspir; and Eastward into Tao

The northern branch of the river Lykos follows an east-west course and to the east of the town of Kelkit goes under the name of Kuşmaşal; the upland plateau of Mormuşdüzü rises to a watershed between the headwaters of the Lykos and tributaries of the Akampsis. Tracks run across this plateau to join the main caravan road from Trebizond to Erzurum at Varzahan. Varzahan is on the edge of the plain of Paipertes and Charton, Hart, which presents no obstacle to travel, and tracks across it may have run in many directions. Paipertes stands at the southern end of the great western bend of the river Akampsis. To the north of the town the river runs between low ranges of hills and then comes out at the northern end of the bend into the northeast corner of the plain of Paipertes and Charton, Hart Ovası. It is possible to continue along the river valley eastward to Pharangion, İspir, but the valley track appears to be difficult and Stratil Sauer left it between the villages of Kan and Norgâh.<sup>202</sup> Hamilton's route along this way, taken in a reverse direction, started and ended along the river valley, but in the middle stretches between Bayburt and İspir, he traveled in the hills to the south of the river Akampsis. His journey between the two towns took eighteen hours, or two days, and he stopped for the night at the village of Kara Agatch, Kara Ağaç, which is not now marked on the Turkish map, unless it be Karakoç.<sup>203</sup> Hamilton's route may well be identical with the main track between the two towns which is marked on the Turkish maps. This may also be the route of Deyrolle, in reverse, but he is less informative on this part of his travels than elsewhere because he had been much disturbed by news of the Franco-Prussian war. He mentions stopping the night at Perghitisi, which we have been unable to identify, and Neurkak, Norgâh. Between Norgâh and Kosaba, İspir, he visited the monastery of Surp-Ovannes, St. John Vannas (?) which preserved the little finger of the Baptist.<sup>204</sup> He gives a drawing of İspir castle under the name of "Kossaba." Kasaba simply means "small town." One may only speculate on the confusion.

From İspir eastward the Akampsis runs in gorges for nearly all of its course as far as the great bend above Artvin. Tracks to the east do not, therefore, follow the river but run well south of it. One route, traversed in part by Clavijo<sup>205</sup> ran through Vicer, Kaleifisrik, and Ersis, and thence across the Karadağı to join the river Glaukos, Oltu Çayı, at its confluence with the river Tortum. From here, there were routes to Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, capital of Tao, or south-eastward into upper Tao.

A second route ran from İspir by several variant tracks eastward into the upper valley of the Tortum. Clavijo prob-

202. Stratil-Sauer (1934), 403–6.

203. Hamilton (1836), I, 226–31. The Kiepert map marks a journey by Everett along this route, but we have not traced the account of it.

204. Deyrolle (1869), XXXI, 414–16. The monastery is also briefly described by Hakovb Karnetsi, trans. F. Macler, "Erzeroum, ou Topographie de la haute Arménie," *JA*, XI Ser., 13 (1919), 174–75.

205. See p. 55; also note 395. Koch (1843), 41–83.

ably took the most northerly, which runs from Vicer, Kaleifisrik, south across the lowest of the passes over the Ferikdağı, and then south again across the shoulders of the mountains to Norşen, and then eastward down to the river Tortum. Deyrolle was probably on the same track, mentioning Ischen, Hişen; Zagos, Zakos; Fisrik castle, Kaleifisrik, of which he gives the only known sketch; Norschen, Norşen; and Tortum. The journey from Tortum to Hişen, which was three hours short of İspir, took him two days.<sup>206</sup>

Clavijo, Hamilton, and Deyrolle make no mention of the monastery of Hahouli, Haho, Bağlar Başı but Clavijo and Deyrolle mention the castle at Tortum and probably they all followed the same route continuing south from Ödük across the high shoulders of the mountains to the river Norşen. The Norşen valley led down to Kişa and the river Tortum. Hamilton mentions Compör, Kompör; Yenikeui, Yeniköy (not on the map); Euduk, Ödük; and Khizrah, Kişa Yayla or Ödük Yayla; and he crossed the Tortum valley by the fort at Kaledibi.<sup>207</sup> A more southerly and direct route could have crossed the high summer pastures dominated by Mescit Dağı and come down into the valley of the river Tortum, past the monastery of Ekek or the castle of Tortum. The Greek inscription of Gregory at Ekeki,<sup>208</sup> the site of the city of Ketzeon which must be somewhere in the upper Tortum valley,<sup>209</sup> and the castle of Tortum, which has the ruins of a chapel of Byzantine appearance, may each be evidence for the identification of a Byzantine station along this route eastward from İspir into Tao; they are tangible evidence of a Byzantine annexation of this region.

From Paipertes, Bayburt, to Theodosiupolis, Erzurum

This comparatively short journey is a difficult one since the traveler must cross a massive mountain barrier, the northern slopes of which shed their waters into the river Akampsis, Çoruh, while the southern slopes feed the Euphrates. The motor road follows the valley of the river Akampsis eastward from Paipertes as far as the village of Maden. Thus far the valley is a gentle one, rising to about 1600 m at Maden. The road then turns south up the river Kop Dere, climbing steeply to the pass of Kopdağı Geçidi at 2390 m, and descending to the Euphrates valley below Aşkale at about 1,600 m. These mountains are barren of forest and the winter crossing has always been difficult. In summer, blizzards can still make the passage hazardous, but when not covered in snow the high slopes provide plentiful pasturage and they

206. Deyrolle (1869), XXXI, 412–14. O. Blau, "Miscellen zur alten Geographie," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.S., 12 (1862), 296–99. Blau very plausibly suggests that Xenophon and the Ten Thousand came down the Tortum valley and across the mountains to İspir. He identifies Gymnias as Gimil, Cimil, in the district of Hemşin and gives Mount Theches as Makur Dagh, Makur Dağı.

207. Hamilton (1836), I, 214–19; the itinerary took two days: II, 390.

208. E. Takaishvili, *Arkheologicheskaiia* (Tiflis, 1952), 9, 77, and fig. 40, has a facsimile and comment on the inscription; also an account of the church: 76–78, pls. 109–13. It has been pulled down now: see D. C. Hills, "Turkey's richness in old churches," *The Times* (London, 20 April, 1963).

209. For a brief discussion of possible sites for Ketzeon, see notes 418, 425.

can be crossed by the traveler more or less where he wills. A less arduous and shorter route is to continue eastward up the river Akampsis, here called the Masat Dere beyond Maden, instead of turning south over the Kop pass. The valley leads up past the hamlets of Masat, Masat Han, and Masat Mahalle, which give their name to this stretch of the river. It may be that one of them represents the important strong place of Mastaton mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.<sup>210</sup> It is possible to turn south at Masat and cross the mountains to Elegia (?) Aşkale, or continue eastward up the rivers Masat or Kurt, and then south into the plain of Erzurum over any of a number of passes which are about as high as the Kop, but less steep.<sup>211</sup>

The Jesuit Father Monier, starting from Erzurum in 1711, records Chaouf, which we cannot find; then Chimaghil (one of the four Çimağıl villages); Aviraq, Everek; and Varzouhan, Varzahan. The situation of Cimağıl and Everek suggests that he chose to travel along the high pastures of the Kop range rather than make a straight crossing.<sup>212</sup> He was traveling in October, and presumably the snows must have been late that year. By the nineteenth century there seems to have been some standardization, and the route ran from Bayburt through Maden to Masat. From there it ran southeastward across the mountains to Koşapınar in the valley of the river Kağdariç Su, and across a low ridge to drop into the plain of Theodosiopolis, Erzurum Ovası, at Meymansur. This was the route taken by Ainsworth<sup>213</sup> and by General Chesney,<sup>214</sup> it is the only one marked on Saint-Martin's map.<sup>215</sup> However, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the track over the Kop Dağı pass seems to have been accepted as a route. Strecker's map gives it as secondary to the Masat route,<sup>216</sup> and Murray

210. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 212–13. Mastaton is coupled with Avnikon, Avnik, which would lead us to look for it east of Theodosiopolis, but on the other hand Constantine distinguishes it from Avnikon by saying that it belonged to the Theodosiopolitans. Adontz does not mention it, and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 80, 164, makes no identification. A site at Masat along this important route near the Maden mines might also be considered for Procopius' Bolon, "which lies very near the limits of Theodosiopolis": *Wars*, I xv, 32–33.

211. The region around the headwaters of the Akampsis, here Masat and Kurt, through which these routes pass, was the district of Tsourmeri. It was among the lands given by Basil II to David the *Kouropalates* in 979 in return for military support against Bardas Skleros: Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 151, 226. One or more of these routes from Paipertes would have joined the route from Rhizaion to Theodosiopolis (p. 55 below) on the later stages of the journey.

212. Monier (1711), II, 373–74.

213. Ainsworth (1840), II, 394–95. On p. 396 he identifies Tekiyah Tagh, Kostan Dağ (?), on the Pontic watershed with Xenophon's Theches. But, in a later work, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks* (London, 1844), 247, he shifted Mt. Theches to the Kop Dağı, and in a still later work, *Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books*, No. 78, Xenophon (London, 1894), 326–27, Ainsworth transposed the names and gave Mt. Theches as the Tekiyah Tagh between Bayburt and Erzurum.

214. Chesney (1831), 122. It was also taken by Gamba (1822), I, 416–19, who gives Massata, Masat; Kiochapoun Gar, Koşapınar; and Hermanu-Kei, Ereğmansur (?). He rightly observes the watershed between the rivers draining to the Persian Gulf and those to the Black Sea.

215. Saint-Martin, *Asie Mineure*, map.

216. Strecker (1855), pl. III, map.

appears to think that the two were of equal value, although the Guide is unclear. Its Route 75 goes from Baibut, Bayburt, up the river Marsat Dereh, Masat Dere, and then, passing over Coph Dagh, Kop Dağı, comes to Mihmansur, Meymansur.<sup>217</sup> This suggests a long traverse of the high country such as was made by Father Monier. Route 82 mentions Mussat, Masat, and Khooshjah Beenar, Koşapınar, which suggests the standard route.<sup>218</sup>

Once again, more exploration is needed, but it seems likely that the old route through Meymansur, Koşapınar and Masat is more likely to represent the Byzantine road, and that the motor road over the Kop Dağı Geçidi follows the course of a newer route which appears to have come into more general use in the nineteenth century,<sup>219</sup> perhaps because it calls for one quick crossing of the dangerous high ground rather than the longer traverse of highland country on the Masat route.

#### LAND ROUTES, NORTH-SOUTH

North-south communications in the Pontos necessarily encounter mountains. Modern roads tend to follow the valley bottoms as far as possible in their courses through the mountains, but ancient and medieval routes did not necessarily do this, and a mountain crossing was often best made by keeping along a winding route on gradually ascending ridges. This avoided the danger of being overlooked by robbers, and the necessity for steep ascents and descents from one valley to another. The present roads inland from Oinaion, Ünye, and Kerasous, Giresun, are examples of ridge roads which may follow the more ancient routes. The problems are lesser at the western end of the Pontos where the mountain barrier is not so high, and greater at the eastern end where there are the added difficulties of heavy rainfall and thick forest. The eastern routes are essentially seasonal, giving a pleasant crossing and plenty of pasturage for horse in the summer months, but a bleak and dangerous journey in winter. This is well enough illustrated by the disasters which struck Alexios III when he carried out a winter expedition against Cheriana, Ulu Şiran<sup>220</sup>, or by nineteenth-century accounts of winter crossings from Trebizond to Erzurum.<sup>221</sup> Up to the 1960's Şebinkarahisar in the *vilayet* of Giresun was cut off from its administrative capital for five months of the year. We list the routes in a west to east sequence, starting from Sinope.<sup>222</sup>

Sinope, Sinop, to the Trunk Road in the Valley of the Amnias, Gök

No evidence as to the precise route has been found and we

217. Murray's *Handbook*, 415, Route 75.

218. Murray's *Handbook*, 435–36, Route 82.

219. Deyrolle (1869), XXIX, 270, writes of two roads, one over the Kop Dağı, and a shorter one over Khochapounhar, Koşapınar, as the summer route.

220. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 77.

221. For winter travel see note 198 above and p. 37.

222. For routes to the west of Sinope which run south from the coast, see R. Leonhard, *Paphlagonien* (Berlin, 1915), pp. 82–88 for Ionopolis, Inebolu, to Pompeiopolis, Taşköprü, and pp. 92–96 for Ionopolis to Anadynata Boyalı (?).

have not searched carefully for it. It may have followed the line of the modern road south from Sinope, but a road mender on the pass knew of no ancient ruins along it. This road crosses some thirty-five kilometers of flattish fertile land south of Sinope and then gradually mounts along the slopes of a steep rift to a height of 1200 m. The high country makes comfortable traveling over rolling ridges and the road descends gradually through a conifer forest and finally more steeply into the valley of the Amnias, just to the west of Boyabat. However, the Kiepert map marks a route by Maercker, which branches off the modern road in a south-westerly direction at the watershed. Maercker pursued a more direct course for Pompeiopolis, Taşköprü, and came into the Amnias valley just to the east of the town. We have been unable to trace the publication of this route but it might correspond to the Peutinger route. This is given as Gangra–Pompeiopolis–Sinope, which gives us little but the notification of its existence. But a group of stations coming after Sinope must have belonged to it.<sup>223</sup>

Wilson tentatively identifies names which could be on the route from Gangra to Sinope. There are Vicui, Kastamonu; Tyae, in the region of Burnüh; Cereas, Fındıçak; and Milete, Kabal. This arrangement follows the line of the modern road.<sup>224</sup> Hamilton describes the route and remarks that it is not much used because of the difficulty of crossing the passes; but in reality it is not too difficult and the prosperity and trade of Sinope in the ancient world must have enhanced it.<sup>225</sup>

From Paurae, Bafra, up the River Halys, Kızılırmak,  
as Far as the Region of Çeltik, to Join the Trunk  
Road at the River Crossing West of Andrapa,  
Vezirköprü

There is no documentation for the use of this route in Roman times. The Roman station of Helega probably lay on or near the mouth of the Halys, to be succeeded by Paurae. The river is navigable as far as Çeltik,<sup>226</sup> where the first ford is reported,<sup>227</sup> and there are ruins of a bridge about one hour higher up. The description of the bridge leaves it uncertain as to whether it was Roman or not<sup>228</sup> but it is safe to assume that the trunk road crossed the Halys somewhere at or between the Çeltik ford and the ruined bridge. The evidence for a Byzantine route down the Halys, either by land or by river, is provided by the retreat of the Crusaders from around Merzifon to Paurae after their defeat in 1101. The natural

223. Robinson, *AJA*, 9 (1905), 327–29; milestones nos. 75, 76, 77 may be relevant. Miller, *IR*, fig. 210, col. 642; Routes 93, 94a, 94b, cols. 670–71. But Miller's account is unsatisfactory.

224. Wilson, *Thesis*, 355–58. He points out that Boyabat is not known to have been an ancient site. Nor have we seen any sign of pre-Turkish settlement there: see B. Başoğlu, *Boyabat ve çevresi Tarihi* (Ankara, 1972).

225. Hamilton (1836), I, 317–20. Leaf, *JHS*, 37 (1916), 1–16, argues forcefully, though from the armchair, that Sinope could not have had any significant trade with the interior because of the difficulty of crossing the mountains. This ignores the fact that cities further east traded across much more formidable mountain barriers, but he is probably right in his thesis that Sinopitan wealth was based primarily on the function of the city as an emporium. See p. 69.

226. See p. 90.

227. Hamilton (1836), I, 327.

228. Cumonts, *SP*, I, 84–85.

route for this retreat would have been down the Halys valley, in which two castles are reported.<sup>229</sup> Evliya Çelebi remarks of “Kopri,” Andrapa, Vezirköprü, that “the harbours of this town on the shores of the Black Sea are Bafra and Sinope, which are but a journey distant.” This is fair evidence for the Halys valley route to Paurae but it is unclear as to how merchandise would have been taken to Sinope or as to whether the routes to which he refers are by land or sea.<sup>230</sup>

The large Kiepert map marks land journeys by several German travelers through this region, but we have been unable to trace their accounts.<sup>231</sup>

From Amisos, Samsun, South to the Junction with  
the East-West Trunk Road

This is the easiest route from the Pontic coast to the interior of Asia Minor and it must have been an important factor in the growth of Amisos, from at least as long ago as the foundation of the Hittite capital at Boğazköy, for which it was the natural port. South of Amisos, the road crosses the three gentle passes of Mahmur Dağı at 840 m. Hacılardağı at 820 m and the Karadağı at 900 m. The township of Kavak, which is on the modern road, was almost certainly on the ancient road too. Both ancient and Byzantine antiquities have been reported from it, but it remains without an ancient name. Grégoire suggested that a Roman road might have branched off here to go directly to Andrapa, but pointed out that it was not an easy route.<sup>232</sup> In the region of the Phazemonites (Merzifon, Havza, and Ladik), the road must have divided, with one branch continuing south to Thermae Phazemonites, Havza, and across the plain of Chiliokomon, Suluova, while the other turned eastward to pass through Laodikeia, Ladik.<sup>233</sup>

The Route South up the Iris, Yeşil, Valley to Join the  
Trunk Road at Eupatoria-Magnopolis (Confluence of  
Iris and Lykos, Kelkit)

This road is listed by Ptolemy, and Munro must be right in suggesting that the site of Eupatoria-Magnopolis is in part dictated by the need to guard this road.<sup>234</sup> But the fact that Magnopolis seems to disappear in Byzantine times may

229. See p. 91.

230. Evliya (1644), II, 218.

231. Maercker traveled from Karousa, Gerze, inland to the northern loop of the Halys just west of Andrapa. He also went from the mouth of the Halys south to Boyabat, traveling along the west bank through Çeltik. This may represent the direct land route up the valley. Von Prittwitz and Gaffron, and von Frottwell traveled from Zalekon, Alacam, to Çeltik on the Halys. Kannenberg and von Prittwitz traveled up the Halys about as far south as Aşar and then turned eastward to come down to the coast region at Eusene Dagale, Karaköy Irmak.

232. Grégoire (1907), 7–11. Tchihatcheff had taken the same route as Grégoire, and Kinneir (1813), 307–8, seems to have traveled this way.

233. For descriptions of the roads and milestones, see Munro, *JHS*, 20 (1901), 53–55; 1899. Anderson, *SP*, I, 48–50; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 121–23; M. E. Fountaine, “A Butterfly Summer in Asia Minor,” *The Entomologist*, 37 (London, 1904), 79–84, 105–8, 135–37, 157–59, 184–86; and Wilson, *Thesis*, 369–75. Miller, *IR*, col. 671, mentions the road and milestones but does not give it a route number.

234. Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, V, vi, 3; Munro, *JHS*, 20 (1901), 54–55; summary in Ritter, *Erkunde*, XVIII, 232–36.

suggest that the route was then little used. However, Anderson noted a stone with a cross on it from one period of reconstruction of the bridge over the river at this point,<sup>235</sup> and Hamilton noted the medieval castle at Boghaz Hissan Kaley, Kaleköy,<sup>236</sup> a little further down the valley. The bridge may be connected with the trunk route east to west, but the position of the castle suggests that it may have guarded the route north along the Iris valley. The fact that coastal Limnia assumed the metropolitical rights of Amaseia in the fourteenth century perhaps indicates a connection between the two towns.<sup>237</sup> And if we are correct in identifying Kinte as Limnia, John II Komnenos probably took this route on his way to Neokaisareia, Niksar, in 1140,<sup>238</sup> following in the wake of Lucullus, who had marched this way into the Phaneroia more than a thousand years earlier.

The only traveler's account unfortunately lacks any detail, but the fact that this route was used as a means of traveling from Amisos to Amaseia suggests that it was without any difficult obstacles. Colonel Rottiers stated, "We went down first to a point near the ruins of Ancona, on the river Ekil [Yeşil]. We followed this to the point where the Tokat Irmak, which formerly borrowed from the Ekil its antique name Iris, runs into the last-named river. We then followed the valley in which this river runs as far as the town of this name."<sup>239</sup>

#### The Route South from Themiskyra (Region of Terme) up the Thermodon, Terme Suyu

We have no evidence for this route, but the existence of classical Themiskyra makes it probable that it had access to the Phaneroia. Ritter deals with the area<sup>240</sup> and the Kiepert map marks a journey by Hirschfeld. He traveled from Çarşamba across into the valley of the Thermodon and thence to Neokaisareia, Niksar, on a route which may have taken him past Kainochorion, Mahalek, now Kekirkale (?).

#### The Route South from Oinaion, Ünye, to the Trunk Road at Neokaisareia, Niksar

There appears to be no textual or archaeological evidence for the existence of this route in the classical period, but the Hellenistic sites of Çaleoğlu castle near Oinaion, of Kainochorion castle, and of Kabeira, Niksar, which was a Mithridatic capital, suggests that a route connected these places.<sup>241</sup> The Tarhan map marks important ruins at Kızılelma, east of the path of the modern road, which may indicate a different course for it. Gregory of Nyssa offers

235. Anderson, *SP*, I, 77.

236. Hamilton (1836), I, 342. The castle is marked on the Tarhan map.

237. See p. 98.

238. See p. 99.

239. Rottiers (1820), 252. "The town of this name" presumably refers to Tokat.

240. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 95–104. D. M. Girard, "Un coin de l'Asie Mineure, le Djanik," *Le Muséeon*, N.S., 8 (1907), 152, may be speaking of this route in connection with the transport of flour from Tokat to Çarşamba via Erbaa in the Kelkit valley below Neokaisareia, Niksar.

241. See p. 101. It is interesting to note that although the place receives no mention in Strabo, it is certainly among the coastal Peutinger stations. The town has excellent natural shelter for an anchorage, but perhaps it slipped out of importance in the Roman period as a result of the rise of Polemonion.

some evidence for the existence of the route in Byzantine times.<sup>242</sup>

Geographically the route is not one of great difficulty. There is a flattish coastal strip running a few kilometers inland from Oinaion, followed by a river valley, guarded by Çaleoğlu castle, which leads up gently sloping ridges and then over rolling hilltops to a maximum height of 1,500 m beyond Karakkuş, now Akkuş. If the old route passed by the Kızılelma ruins marked by Tarhan, it followed the valley of the river Ceviz as far as the village of Karakkuş, from which it would have been a short and steep ascent to cross the heights to the south. South of Karakkuş the road drops down about 700 m to cross the river Bağ. The castles of Kevgürk and Kainochorion, Mahalek or Kekir (?).<sup>243</sup> and other ruins at Ahret are marked by Tarhan along this river valley, which descends in a westerly direction to join the Iris, and so must be considered as a possible alternative route from Neokaisareia to the sea in the region of Limnia; it would of course be longer than the direct route to Oinaion.

The last stage in the journey south is to ascend the second range along the slopes of Tinik Tepe to a height of about 1200 m and cross a wooded plateau to drop down into the Lykos valley at Neokaisareia. The road is typical of those reaching south in that it must cross two ranges of mountains, with a deep valley in between. But it is easier going than those further east, and the main characteristic of it would have been an interminable ride through thick forests. The vestiges of the forest still remain on the high ground, with broad-leaved trees in the mountains as far as the river Bağ, and a conifer forest on the Tinik range. In these upland areas the houses are single-roomed log cabins with pitched roofs made of large wooden shingles. They are built on steep slopes with stilts supporting the floor where the ground drops away; the animals winter in the space underneath. One section of one wall only is built of masonry with a half timber frame to accommodate the fireplace; fodder for men and beasts is stored in separate little barns on stilts, built close by the house. This type of farmstead dwelling must look much the same as its predecessor in the Byzantine period.

The travels of the Patriarch Makarios of Antioch, of 1658, give evidence that trade from Tokat to the Black Sea was conducted along this route. He states that "from this town of Sinope to Tocat, it is a distance of fifteen stations. Those, therefore, who wish to pass Tocat with heavy loads go by sea to a town called Oenos, in Turkish Onia, distant from it two

242. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 260 note 2., quoting Gregory of Nyssa's Life of St. Gregory the Wonderworker in PG, 46, col. 897: "The countryside teems with fruits, the town is a maker of the Faithful, and the neighboring sea brings in from all parts its gifts and its power."

243. Jerphanion, *MéUSJ*, 5 (1912), 138, identifies Mahalek with the Mithridatic fortress of Kainochorion in Strabo, *Geography*, XII, III, 31. Jerphanion is mistaken in correcting Kiepert and making the Devchur Irmağ flow into the Thermodon, Terme. Kiepert was quite correct in making this river flow into the Iris below the Lykos confluence. For a different identification of Kainochorion, see Van Lennep (1864), II, 61–77, with a description, plan, and drawings of a fort on the summit of the Yıldız Dağı north of Sivas. However, Brown, Bryer, and Winfield, *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 19, identify this with the region of Herakleioupolis, and we prefer Jerphanion's identification of Kainochorion on p. 102.

hundred miles, and a *skala* or port to the city of Cafa.” Makarios did not take the direct route from Oinaion to Neokaisareia for fear of brigands, and his track over the mountains appears to have taken him four days, although in an earlier passage he noted that it is only four days journey between Oinaion and Tokat.<sup>244</sup>

The modern route is about 100 km long and takes four hours by motor car. The journey took two days’ riding in earlier times, according to Evliya Çelebi and to an informant of Cumont.<sup>245</sup>

#### The Route from Polemonion, Fatsa, to Neokaisareia, Niksar

The existence of a Roman road between the two towns is attested by the Peutinger Tables, which give a total distance of 49 *m.p.*, and one intermediate station, Bartae.<sup>246</sup> Miller follows Kiepert in suggesting Sarkis for Bartae. If this is the modern Serkeş, the route would have followed the modern ridge track as far as the Eğrikirik mountains and thence in the same southwesterly direction to Niksar. An alternative route would follow the modern dirt road up the river Boloman to the watershed beyond Aybastı and thence eastward along the ridges traveled by the Cumonts and others in the nineteenth century, between Niksar and Koyulhisar.<sup>247</sup> At Aybastı the Boloman valley opens out into a broad bowl with well cultivated land. This is a suitable place for the intermediate station since it would be about halfway along on a two-day journey. The multiplicity of tracks and villages marked on the Turkish map suggest that this was well-inhabited country, easy to cross by numbers of routes. Such a relative ease of communication southward over the mountains may have been a factor in the siting of the city of Polemonion, since it is without a natural harbor.

#### The Route from Polemonion, Fatsa, to Sebasteia, Sivas

The evidence for such a route in the ancient world depends partly upon the whereabouts of the Mithridatic stronghold of Taularon and whether or not it lay upon it. After his defeat by Lucullus, Mithridates fled through Komana Pontika, Gümenek, and Taularon on his way to the Euphrates. Reinach<sup>248</sup> placed Taularon at the suggestively named “Taourla” noted, but not commented upon, by Munro.<sup>249</sup> Cumont tentatively accepted this identification.<sup>250</sup> At a later date Munro himself plausibly suggested Sebasteia for

Taularon on the grounds that it had no ancient name.<sup>251</sup> In general geographical terms this makes excellent sense, but Sebasteia lies in a great plain, whereas Mithridates’ strongholds were as a rule on mountain tops. Grégoire rejected the identification of Taularon with “Taourla.” The situation is further complicated by the Turkish maps which show no exact equivalent of the “Taourla” mentioned by Munro. There is a village above the bridge on the north slopes of the Lykos called Tavara, but Cumont clearly assumes that Munro meant to refer to a village on the south slopes, and from the map it seems clear that the route which the Cumonts took on leaving Reşadiye must have passed through Tavara. However they do not report on it.<sup>252</sup> This Tavara must be the village of “Tavoura” which the indefatigable Grégoire decided to investigate; he found nothing there.<sup>253</sup> The Tarhan map marks ruins at Mezre, which he identifies as Taularon. There are five places called Mezra on the map, all of which are in the general area of his site, and one of which is near Tavara. The village above the bridge on the south slopes is named Kundur, but there are two possible names on the southern slopes of the Kabasakal mountains in the valley of the Iris, Yeşil. These are Doğla and Tozanlı. Doğla sounds more like “Taourla” than Tozanlı, but the latter is awarded ruins by Tarhan.<sup>254</sup>

If the reported movements of Mithridates from Kabeira-Neokaisareia to Komana Pontika and thence to Taularon and the Euphrates are correct, then the likely site for this town is in the upper Iris valley, perhaps at the Tozanlı-Fındıcak ruins. To place Taularon on the north bank of the Lykos is to make Mithridates double back on his tracks from Komana Pontika and take a very indirect route, involving an unnecessary crossing of a major river and mountains.

Geographical considerations suggest that the original direction of this route could have lain due south of Polemonion, through Aybastı, and thence past the castles of Meğdun<sup>255</sup> and Isker Su<sup>256</sup> and down into the fertile Reşadiye area in the Lykos valley, where the tributary rivers Delice and Çermik flow in from the north and break up the steep slopes. Here the route forms a junction with the road up the Lykos valley and probably crossed it at Kundur Köprü<sup>257</sup> about 15 km to the east. A junction of routes at this point would explain the lively fair which the Cumonts<sup>258</sup> saw in progress with merchants from Merzifon and Sivas. The Merzifon merchants perhaps still used a Roman trunk road; the Sivas merchants would use our suggested route

244. Makarios (1658), 429–30, 437–38. On p. 440, the old Greek name for Tokat is given as Κωχώσω. Peyssonnel, *Traité*, II, 91–92, also stresses the importance of Ounia, Ünye, as a port for Tokat and its merchandise.

245. Evliya (1644), II, 104; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 260.

246. Miller, *IR*, cols. 667–69, Route 93. Miller and Kiepert are both following Tchihatcheff, who went through Serkeş. The stations are: Polemonion; II *m.p.*, Bartae; 38 *m.p.*, Neokaisareia.

247. See p. 23.

248. T. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*: I, i, *Pont et Paphlagonia* (Paris, 1904), 106. Reinach rather injudiciously refers to Taourla as a “gros bourg.”

249. J. Munro, in Hogarth and Munro (1891), 730.

250. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 284, with the reservation that someone had better look at Taourla.

251. Munro (1899), 58–59.

252. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 284–86. The reader may be reminded of the difficulty in identifying place-names by trying to trace on the Turkish maps the itineraries of even so recent and careful travelers as the Cumonts. Bearing this example in mind, it is no wonder that Roman and Byzantine place-names present problems.

253. Grégoire (1907), 33.

254. Tarhan marks other ruins which might be relevant to this problem at Mezre. This common place-name simply indicates “fields.”

255. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 280–82, with photograph; Hogarth and Munro (1891), 731.

256. Ouseley (1812), III, 482–83.

257. See p. 99.

258. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 282–83.

southwards. There was apparently no township in the Cumonts' time, but the earlier use of this road junction is suggested by the nearby castle of Meğdun and the reports of tombs and pottery.<sup>259</sup> The development from a fair on open or common ground to the present township of Reşadiye is a late example of the kind of development from fair to town which is typical of medieval Europe.

From Kunder Köprü the route then crossed the Kabasakal mountains to the south by a track passing the village of Kunder and descended into the valley of the Iris, here called the Tozanlı, and the Tekeliçi. A modern track, which appears to be a very direct route, leads up the valley past Hipsele (?), Ipsele, and across the Keşiş mountains to come down into the Halys valley at Comassa, Camisa, Hafik, whence it is an easy ride down the valley to Sebasteia.<sup>260</sup> A second and less direct alternative would be to continue up the valley of the Iris to the village of Şerefiye, which is at the junction of the road from Sebasteia to Nikopolis. At Şerefiye there were Byzantine antiquities, and Grégoire tentatively proposed an identification with the Dagalassos of the Antonine Itineraries.<sup>261</sup>

We know that a road from Polemonion to Sebasteia existed in the Trapezuntine period, since we have the record of the fast four-day journey of the Genoese notary Federico di Piazzalungo along this route; unfortunately we have no details of it.<sup>262</sup> The only other traveler who appears to have traveled directly between the two places was Tchihatcheff, who went via Niksar. His is therefore another possible ancient route, but more travel and exploration of this crossing is still required in order to verify it. What does seem clear is that the Reşadiye region must yield further evidence of settlement in the Byzantine period. Its geographical situation halfway between Neokaisareia and Anniaca, Koyulhisar, and between the coast of the Black Sea and Sebasteia suggest a stopping place; the area is a fertile one capable of supporting some population; the castles of Meğdun and Isker Su, and the possibility that Taularon lies in this area—all are indicative that there may be more to be found.

#### The Route from Polemonion, Fatsa, to Nikopolis, Pürk

Peutinger gives the intermediate stations of this route: 33 *m.p.* to Sauronisenā; 16 *m.p.* to Matuasco; 11 *m.p.* to Anniaca; and 18 *m.p.* to Nikopolis.<sup>263</sup> No milestones have

been found along this road, which has not, to our knowledge, been explored. The sites which may be relevant to it are: Evkaf Köy Kale,<sup>264</sup> Gölköy Kale,<sup>265</sup> Koyulhisar<sup>266</sup> and Şebinkarahisar.<sup>267</sup> There are also several village names suggestive of castles, and a firmly reported castle at Sisorta.<sup>268</sup>

The likely course of the road from Polemonion would seem to be southward up the valley of the river Bolaman. At some point unknown, but possibly at Çatak or farther south at the confluence of the Gölköy stream with the river Bolaman, the route must leave this valley to cross the mountains and descend into the valley of the river Melanthios, Melet. It was necessary to cross this great rift and then climb over the second range of mountains and descend once again into the Lykos valley. From there an easy route climbs gently southward into the plain of Nikopolis.

The previous guesses for the stations along this road have been limited. Kiepert, followed by Miller, proposed Melet Hamidiye, now Mesudiye, for Sauronisenā; a point of confluence along the upper reaches of the Melanthios for Matuasco; and Koyulhisar for Anniaca.<sup>269</sup> Grégoire suggests Madasoun, Mudsun, for Matuasco.<sup>270</sup>

The Kiepert-Miller location of Sauronisenā is too far south for a first station, and we prefer to place it at Gölköy Kale.<sup>271</sup> The reasons are that it is situated on the direct line for our road, it has an ancient site (albeit of uncertain date), and the valley slopes open up gently at this point to form an obvious place for habitation and cultivation in an otherwise precipitous region.

From Gölköy we propose that the old route followed the course of the modern road as far as Mesudiye, which we suggest for Matuasco, and that it continued along the same road over the İğdir mountains to Anniaca in the Lykos valley. Between Sauronisenā, Gölköy, and Anniaca, this road would precede that built by the Turkish army from Ordu to Sivas in the mid-nineteenth century. This is understandable since there is no reason to suppose that the geographical or strategic considerations governing the building of a Roman road in the first, or a Turkish road in the nineteenth, century, through this region would have changed. From Anniaca, Koyulhisar, the ancient and modern roads diverge since their destinations were different; the Roman road probably followed up the Lykos valley to cross it at the bridge carrying the road between Koloneia and Nikopolis. However, the Chrysanthos map, which marks this

259. Cumonts, *SP*, 11, 281–82. He suggests that the present ruins are not older than the Middle Ages and quotes the normal locally held view that they are those of a Genoese castle.

260. For Hipsele, Ipsile, see note 63; citing Tomaschek, *Kiepert Festschrift*, 148–49. Tomaschek notes this as a possible alternate route from Sebasteia northward and suggests that Charsianon should be on it somewhere between Koçhisar and Ipsile. Adontz puts Charsianon east of Sebasteia on the main highway to Nikopolis at Horsana, but this was rejected by Honigmann who puts the place west of Sebasteia: Adontz, *Armenia*, 68; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 49–50, returns Charsianon to the site at Mushalem Kale, which Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 249–65, rather confusingly suggests as both Charsianon and Hipsele.

261. Grégoire (1907), 39.

262. See p. 112.

263. Miller, *IR*, cols. 643, 675, 697, Route 97.

264. The authors of the present study have, however, made different crossings of it. See p. 112.

265. See p. 116.

266. See p. 118.

267. See p. 145.

268. The name is a pleasing one: "The castle in the middle of the mists." These may be the ruins reported by Kiepert, *ZGEB*, 25(4) (1890), 322.

269. Miller, *IR*, col. 679. The identification of Koyulhisar with Anniaca seems to have originated with Boré.

270. Grégoire (1907), 32. Grégoire's suggestion would take the road into the Lykos valley at Modasoun and from thence up the valley to Anniaca; alternatively it could have crossed the mountains to Dagalassos, Şerefiye (?), and Nikopolis.

271. See p. 116.

whole route with great prominence,<sup>272</sup> takes it across the Lykos at Anniaca to follow the modern road up the southern slopes of the Lykos valley to a point where it joins the modern road from Sivas near Grégoire's Dagalassos in the region of Şerefiye.<sup>273</sup>

The road that we propose runs southward through limestone country for some miles before hitting the harder rock massif of the mountain spine. It is unlikely to have kept to the valley bottom of the river Bolaman, which runs in deep gorges for much of its length, while the road probably ran up the eastern ridges overlooking the Bolaman. There were said to have been numerous Greek and a few Armenian families in these valleys, but no churches were reported from the area. People from as far away as Ünye and Terme use the Bolaman route to travel up to their *yaylas* south of Aybastı, which are named the Perşembe Yaylaları. Such seasonal use of the valley may be some further indication of the line of an established route.<sup>274</sup> The confluence at Çatak, mentioned above as a possible point of departure for Sauronisenä, is marked by an opening out of the gorges, giving gently sloping fertile land for tilling. There is an admirable site for a castle on the hillock at the confluence, but it has not been investigated by us. It is in fact a typical site for one of the secondary townships which lie half way up many of the Pontic valleys.<sup>275</sup> The deciduous woods of the region are still used by the charcoal burners who may be observed at their traditional craft, but no sign could be seen of the iron-smelting Chalybians who were still at work in Hamilton's day.

The great bowl in the hills at Sauronisenä marks the change from coastal agriculture to the upland farms among the remnants of forest. The bowl is similar to that which surrounds Şebinkarahisar; both were formed perhaps by vast land slips which have filled up and partially evened out the precipitous valleys in these mountains.

At a height of about 1,000 m extensive cultivation begins to give way to forest and pasture, marking the limit of the use of a particular variety of small-wheeled ox cart peculiar to western Pontos.<sup>276</sup> Other signs of change are the superseding of fat-tailed by thin-tailed sheep, and of water buffalo by oxen. Women wear different costumes, while half-timbered houses are succeeded by all-wooden ones.

Above Sauronisenä, the road climbs slowly through broad-leafed forest to a height of about 1,500 m at the pass of Haçbeli, and then drops steeply into the valley of the Melanthios at a height of about 1,000 m. For about 20 km it follows the valley southeastwards to Matuasco, Mesudiye; the fields along the valley bottom are irrigated by *norias*—monstrous wooden water wheels turning ponderously with the motion of the stream. We have not explored the lower reaches of the Melanthios, but it seems unlikely that there ever was a road along it since it runs into gorges north of

Kırkharman where the modern road crosses the mountains to Sauronisenä.

From Matuasco there is a long climb up to the pasture land and conifers of the Iğdir ridges at a height of about 1,800 m before dropping down to Anniaca and the valley of the Lykos, at about 600 m. The site of Anniaca might be the great ruined castle of Yukarıkale at the top or eastern end of this open stretch of river, on a precipitate slope about 200 m above the river and covering the bend in it. Or it might be Aşağıkale at the bottom or western end, on an easily defensible rock overlooking the river, where Munro observed a fortress.<sup>277</sup>

From Anniaca, the road either crossed the river to the south and climbed over the mountains to join the Sebasteia–Nikopolis road, or followed a bank of the Lykos eastward to a point where a tributary runs into it from the plain of Nikopolis. The valley along this stretch is moderately wide, with barren ochreous rocks on the north bank, contrasting with the fertile green slopes on the south side. The modern road runs up the north bank, but there is also a track up the more fertile southern bank.<sup>278</sup> The ascent up to the plain of Nikopolis, which lies at about 950 m, is an easy one of some two hours by horse.<sup>279</sup>

#### The Route from Kotyora, Ordu, to Sebasteia, Sivas

Kotyora was already decaying in the time of Arrian, but it is an obvious harbor town, and Byzantine remains are reported from its acropolis.<sup>280</sup> A castle is reported south of Ordu, but there is not much more to indicate a route south from the coast except the geographical fact that this is a very easy crossing of the mountains, which is why the nineteenth-century road was built. It may be to the road from Kotyora, Ordu, to Anniaca, Koyulhisar, that Evliya refers when he writes: "Two stations north of this village [Koyulhisar], on the shore of the Black sea, is Baihssa–Bazari" The identity of Baihssa–Bazari is uncertain, but it must be Ordu, Piraziz, or Bulancak and the distance suggests the ancient Kotyora and future Ordu.<sup>281</sup> Morier writes: "To the port of Janik on the Black sea, the distance from Kuley Hissar is not more than twelve hours,"<sup>282</sup> and again we have the choice among the three place-names mentioned above for the port of Canık, which is the district name for this coast. Munro reports the distance from Koyulhisar to Ordu more realistically as twenty-four hours.<sup>283</sup>

From Kotyora the road rises along gentle valleys and the ridges of the hills through easy country as far as Sauronisenä. The stretch from there to the Lykos at Koyulhisar is de-

277. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 729. There is no sign of ancient remains at the modern town of Koyulhisar which is on the north slopes of the valley, and here as elsewhere we have a well-defined geographical area in which the focal point of human activity is moved around to suit varying needs at different periods of history.

278. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 728; Munro refers to this stretch as "a narrow defile," which is perhaps a little misleading.

279. Morier, (1808), 337, may be referring to this junction when he says, "about three miles from our last station we saw the road to Diarbekir and Bagdad."

280. See p. 120.

281. Evliya (1644), II, 105.

282. Morier (1808), 338.

283. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 729.

272. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), map.

273. See p. 23, for the east and west roads at this point.

274. De Planhol. "Chaînes pontiques," 1–12, for a description of transhumance in these parts.

275. See p. 12.

276. Cf. G. K. Chatzopoulos, Ἡ ἡμαξία εἰς τὸν Πόντον, *AP*, 33 (1975–76), 36–50.

scribed above. There are the remains of earlier bridges in the bend of the Lykos below Yukarı Kale; it is probably at this point that the road continued south to Sebasteia, like the modern one. The ascent out of the valley is a long but gradual climb of over 1,000 m. into upland pastures at around 1,800 m, where lies the watershed between the Lykos and the Iris. The road then descends round the heads of the Iris catchment valleys in a southerly direction past Şerefiye. Munro mentions Kechuit (probably Keceyurt), which is over against Şerefiye, a little to the north.<sup>284</sup> Here he found an inscription of Justinianic date said to have come from Sivri Tepe, three hours to the east. He suggests that Dagalassos may lie here. If this is the Ikissivritepeleri of the Turkish maps, there was a short and direct road over very high country between Zara and Nikopolis. However, there is a place nearer to the modern road and lying to the east of Şerefiye, called Alışır Meryemana, which is more suggestive of a church foundation, and farther along the same track is a castle name, Çamlıkale Köyü. The course of the old road to Sivas from Koyulhisar, and the point at which it joined the Sivas–Nikopolis road have therefore to be further explored before we can be certain of the exact course of either route, of the placing of the Peutinger Tables' junction station of Mesorome, and whether this is identical with Dagalassos.<sup>285</sup> The information of Munro suggests that the course of the modern road is not the same as that of the old road between Zara and Nikopolis, or it may be that there were different summer and winter routes between Sebasteia and Nikopolis. Such a suggestion is made the more probable by the different number of stations in the Antonine and Peutinger lists. The Antonine list has three intermediate stations while Peutinger has four; the names are not easy to reconcile except for the first after Sebasteia, which is Camisa in the Itinerary and Comassa in the tables. From Zara to Sebasteia the course of the ancient road cannot have deviated much from the modern route which runs along a natural highway formed by the upland reaches of the Halys. The intermediate station of Camisa or Comassa is agreed by all our authorities to lie at the modern Kemis or Hafik. From Hafik, the Turkish map marks a track directly northward over the Keşiş mountains to Ipsele and the upper Iris valley. This could have continued north across the ridge into the Lykos valley at Mudsun and thence across yet another range to Mesudiye and on to the coast at either Polemonion or Kotyora. All these possibilities await further exploration.<sup>286</sup>

The Route from Kerasous, Giresun, to Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar; Nikopolis, Pürk; and the Euphrates; or to Sebasteia, Sivas

For the route between Kerasous and Koloneia we have literary but not archaeological evidence. Koloneia needed a

link with the sea, particularly when it became a theme capital, to export its alum, which may be that mentioned by Pliny<sup>287</sup> and is certainly the "allume di rocca di Colonna"<sup>288</sup> about 684 tons of which were exported annually on a seven-day portorage to Kerasous in the fourteenth century.<sup>289</sup>

The bond uniting the two towns is confirmed by Evliya Çelebi who wrote: "The inhabitants of the villages along the shores of the Black Sea send all their best goods into the castle [Şebinkarahisar] to protect them from the inroads of the Cossacks."<sup>290</sup> The route finally seems to have declined in importance with the introduction of the steamship, when Consul Suter wrote of Şebinkarahisar: "The traders procure their supplies from Constantinople. Formerly they embarked at Kerehsin [Giresun] for the capital; but since the establishment of the steamers they generally proceed for that purpose to Trebizond."<sup>291</sup>

The first motor road used to run out of Giresun just to the east of the town and climb up past Gedik Kaya along a seemingly endless series of gently mounting ridges, with one considerable descent, to reach YavuzkemaI at a height of about 1,750 m. Nuts and maize are now the main crops of these well-cultivated slopes south of Giresun, with well-populated villages in the valleys. YavuzkemaI is a modern township mainly existing on forestry; south of it the mountains are much more sparsely populated with stretches of forest in the high valleys and snow pastures above them with peaks rising to just over 3000 m. The road from YavuzkemaI descends sharply into the valley of the river Kürtün, which it follows to its confluence with the river Aksu. From here it follows the river valley southward for a few miles up through cultivated clearings into a rocky and narrow valley forested with beech hornbeam, alder, maple, and wild cherry. This gradually gives way to the conifer belt which in its turn peters out in the rolling snow pastures of the pass of Eğribel at well over 2,000 m. This is the watershed between the rivers running north into the Black Sea, and those running south into the Lykos. The road descends steeply southward into the valley of the river Arslanyurdu. At Katochorion, Gedahor, it passes through one of the nineteenth-century centers of alum mining.<sup>292</sup> A few kilometers further south the valley opens out into the wide Koloneia bowl, at a height of between 1,400 and 1,500 m.

The route taken by Tchihatcheff appears more likely to approximate the old one of the alum traders.<sup>293</sup> It runs up the valley of the river Aksu, which flows into the sea about 5 km. east of Giresun. The track, still essayed by postal jeep, runs for the most part along the eastern shoulders of the Aksu valley. Tchihatcheff mentions three names between Giresun and Geudul, Güdül, which cannot now be traced, but one is probably the place simply marked *Han*. At Güdül, Tchihatcheff left the Aksu valley and continued due south up

284. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 729.

285. See p. 24, and Adontz, *Armenia*, 62–64; the stations are conveniently summarized on p. 62.

286. According to the Kiepert map, a traveler named Austin took the road inland from Ordu, partly along the Melanthios, Melet Irmak, but we have been unable to trace an account of this journey. Krause went inland from Abdal, Piraziz, up the Pazar Suyu and then crossed eastward to follow the Aksu down to Çatak, where he joined the Giresun to Şebinkarahisar road.

287. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV, LI, 184.

288. Pegolotti, ed. Evans, 369.

289. Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 566.

290. Evliya (1644), II, 206. He maintains later that they once penetrated as far as Şebinkarahisar.

291. Suter (1838), 436. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), maps, shows the route as of major importance.

292. Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 238–52.

293. See Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, Mineure, *Atlas*.

a tributary valley through Gumbetkhan, Kumbet. From here he may have joined the road described above and crossed the pass at Eğribel; or he may have kept on a direct route farther to the east and come down to join the motor road below Lidjese, Licese, which he mentions, near Katochorion.

Both of these tracks have *Han* names along them, but it seems more likely that the Tchihatcheff route along the Aksu is the old one, for it avoids an extra mountain crossing. A further point in its favor is that Tchihatcheff mentions six places along the road, which would agree with Pegolotti's statement that it took seven days for the alum to reach the sea. Consul Taylor gives the distance as eighteen hours which would have been a two- or three-day journey, but this is a calculation for a swift party on horseback rather than for portage.<sup>294</sup>

From Şebinkarahisar to Nikopolis, the modern road crosses a low saddle of land south west of the town and then descends gently into the Lykos valley near the great rock of Dumankaya, where Taylor noted a Byzantine cave chapel.<sup>295</sup> The Lykos widens out at this point from its course through the Zağpa gorges to the east. It would have been possible to ford the river except when it was running very high. To the south the road continued for a short ride of two hours or so up a tributary of the Lykos, to come out in the plain of Nikopolis.

The Roman city of Nikopolis and the Byzantine castle of Koloneia derived their strategic importance largely from their positions at major road junctions. In the case of Nikopolis the roads running east, west, and southwest have been described above.<sup>296</sup> Another route of some importance, which is not of proven antiquity but whose course suggests an ancient road, lay more or less due south. This route turns out of the plain of Nikopolis up the valley of the river Pulat and crosses one of the minor ridges of the Kızıl Dağı to come down into the upper reaches of the Halys valley. From here the choices were to follow the valley westward down to Zara and Sebasteia, or to follow it upstream east to Refahiye, Başgercenis, and from there on to Satala or to Erzincan. Or the traveler could continue in a southerly direction to Zimara, Zinegar, and join the frontier road going down the Euphrates to Melitene.

The section of country through which these roads pass has been little explored, but the Tarhan Map marks antiquities at Buldur Harabeleri and Yeniköy, and a castle at Akşar.<sup>297</sup> He identifies these sites as Mesorome, Buldur Harabeleri; Caltiorissa, Yeniköy; and the castle as being at Oleoberda, Akşar or Kiliçlar. He marks a fourth site at Kumoğlu, without any ruins, as Dagalassos or Megalassos. The identification of the Buldur Harabeleri with Mesorome may be

294. Taylor (1866), 295.

295. Taylor (1866), 297–98.

296. See p. 21.

297. The castle marked by Tarhan at Eskihsar may be his equivalent for the actual ruins of Nikopolis, Pürk, which he does not mark at all. The Turkish map correctly marks the village next to Pürk as Eskişar, but gives no Eskihsar in the area. There is no Kiliçlar in the area on the Turkish map, but there is a village Kiliçlar south of Akşar. Tarhan is unclear as to whether his Oleoberda is placed at Akşar or Kiliçlar.

dismissed since all the indications are that Mesorome lies west of Nikopolis whereas Buldur lies in the mountains to the southeast. The identification of Akşar, or Kiliçlar, castle with Oleoberda makes good sense if we assume with Yorke that this is the first station of the direct Peutinger route from Nikopolis to Melitene.

The identification of Caltiorissa with the Yeniköy ruins is possible but unlikely; Caltiorissa is the first station east of Nikopolis on the Peutinger road to Satala, and Yeniköy, which lies south of the Halys valley, seems too far to the south of any reasonable line of march to Satala. We prefer not to assume the identity of Caltiorissa and Caleorsissa, but accept the identification of Caleorsissa, Yeniköy, as the second station on the direct Melitene road. The third station of Analiba would then lie at Kuruçay.

The route from Nikopolis to Sebasteia via the river Pulat was followed by Grégoire, but he considered it unlikely that this was the normal ancient route between the two towns. He pointed out that the route westward from Nikopolis and then south via Zara was shorter and easier. He followed Yorke in regarding the Pulat valley route as representing the trace of the direct route from Nikopolis to Melitene via Zimara, Zinegar,<sup>298</sup> we, too, follow this opinion.

A more direct route across the mountains to Sivas was followed by Consul Suter.<sup>299</sup> He went up the Gemidereh, Gemindere, and around the flanks of the Köşe Dağı on a track which would have taken him through Kumoğlu. The Tarhan identification of Kumoğlu with Megalassos, or Dagalassos, may not be accepted, but it seems quite possible that the Suter route represents an ancient summer road between Sebasteia and Nikopolis, and that Kumoğlu is a Roman or Byzantine station along this route.

Consul Taylor traveled the whole journey between Nikopolis and Zimara and we regard his route as a likely approximation to the direct Peutinger route III between these two places. He mentions the finding of a milestone which he illustrates, and refers to remains of paving as "the massive even blocks characterizing Roman work."<sup>300</sup>

Well south of this, near "El Khan," which is a little south of Kuruçay, he noted some cave dwellings in which a Byzantine coin was found.

#### From Esbiye Southward

We have no warrant for the existence of such a route in the ancient or medieval period. However, geographical considerations suggest that there was a perfectly feasible crossing to the Kovata, Alucra, valley, and there are plenty of tracks across the mountains.<sup>301</sup> A number of place-names ending in

298. Grégoire (1907), 37–41, esp. 38.

299. Suter (1838), 437–38. Cumonts, *SP*, II, assumed that the route up the river Pulat was the route to Zara and Sivas.

300. Taylor (1866), 301–8, and notes 94, 95, 97 above, for confusion about this identification.

301. Peyssonnel, *Traité*, II, 53, 83, writes that Haspié, Esbiye, is the summer port for the great mines of Kure which supplied the Ottoman empire with copper. He says that Kure was two days journey from Esbiye and four days journey from Trebizond, where the copper was shipped out in winter because Esbiye provided no shelter for ships. Kure, as described by Peyssonnel, should therefore be south of Esbiye, and probably in the region of Alucra. However,

“Kilise” (= church), or “Kale” (= castle) suggest that this region would be worth exploring;<sup>302</sup> but Rivet, the only traveler who made the crossing, seems to have left no account of it save the trace of his journey on Kiepert’s map.

Tchihatcheff made the journey between Esbiye and Ardasa, Torul, traveling across country which does not suggest a natural route, but we have not explored the greater part of it. It is possible that the route inland from Esbiye served as a means of connecting Tripolis, Tirebolu, with the interior. It is only a short journey westward along the coast from Tripolis to Esbiye and, as will be seen below, there is no natural route southward from Tripolis. The villages noted by Tchihatcheff are: Adabau (?); Aurakevi (one of the Avluca villages?); Agatsch Bashi (one of the Ağbaşı *yaylas*?); Sarybaba, Sarıbaba; Eryklu, Erikli; and Emberek, Emrek.<sup>303</sup>

#### From Tripolis, Tirebolu, Southward

We have no evidence of a classical route southward from Tripolis and only a few indications that such a route may have existed at a later date. The existence of the classical town and of its fortified Byzantine successor is suggestive of a route inland, since there would normally be little point in a coastal town isolated from its hinterland. In the case of Tripolis it has, however, been suggested that the reason for a town lay in the need of a port for the Argyria silver mines.<sup>304</sup> It has already been pointed out that the Philabonites, Harşit, River valley, which might appear to provide a natural route inland from its mouth a few kilometers to the east of Tripolis, runs through an exceedingly deep gorge over much of its length between Ardasa and the sea. And any route southward from Tripolis has to cross awkward mountain country. However, the evidence of Panaretos as to the expeditions of Alexios III in 1380 shows that an expedition could cross such mountains,<sup>305</sup> and if the identification of Simulika as Sümüklü is correct it seems likely that he may have been following a route down into the Kovata valley. In the nineteenth century, Kiepert’s map shows Krause making journeys along the line of the Harşit on both flanks of the valley.<sup>306</sup>

#### From Sthlabopiastes, Vakfikebir (?), Southward

There are two small classical sites in the bay of Vakfikebir: at Livipolis, Yuvabolu, on the west side of the bay and

possibly at Kerasous, Kireşon, on the east side,<sup>307</sup> but nothing is known of the history of either place. We tentatively identify Vakfikebir as the Sthlabopiastes of Panaretos<sup>308</sup> and there is some evidence for a Byzantine route southward from here. The literary evidence lies in the campaign described by Panaretos.<sup>309</sup> Archeological evidence is provided by the church at Fol, south of Tonya and the castle at Suma in a tributary valley of the Philabonites, Harşit, above Kürtün.<sup>310</sup> The geography of the area encourages such a road, for at Erikbeli there is a lower pass than any of the others over the eastern Pontic mountains; it is also a lower pass than any other for a considerable distance to the west. The route itself runs inland up the line of the river Fol, but is unlikely to have kept to it since there are two sections with deep gorges before the Fol emerges onto the wide irregular bowl in the hills where the township of Tonya is situated, at about 750 m above sea level. At the southern end the valleys once again close in to form a gorge for about 4 km, where the track must have lain along the shoulders of the valley, and for the last 8 km up to Fol Maden it widens out to gentle cultivated slopes with even some flat land in the valley bottom. Tonya occupies the typical situation of one of the secondary townships of the Pontic valleys,<sup>311</sup> but has no antiquities save for a reported castle whose existence we were unable to verify.

At Fol Maden, not far from the church, there are the ruins of a small bath and *han*, providing further evidence of a through route along this valley. There was also a mine there, as the name of the place implies.

From Fol the track climbs up past the headwaters of the river to the Erikbeli pass at about 1,500 m. A ridge track runs east and west from here up through the summer pasture lands, or the traveler can take the easy descent southward past the castle of Suma into the Philabonites valley at Kürtün, Deyrolle followed (in reverse) a track from Karatchoukour, Karaçukur, which goes over the shoulders of the mountains eastward to Ardasa and Mesochaldia.<sup>312</sup> Or the traveler could continue southward across the mountains to Cheriana and the Lykos valley or to Kovata and Koloneia. The Cheriana track followed the eastern branch of the river Kürtün through villages well populated by Greeks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>313</sup> At Emrek it would have crossed the Tchihatcheff route from Esbiye to Ardasa.<sup>314</sup> From there it climbed to the watershed of the Yildiz mountains and joined one of the direct routes from Trebizond to Cheriana.

The Kovata track followed up the line of the western branch of the river Kürtün and would have crossed the Tchihatcheff route at Sarıbaba.<sup>315</sup> At Simulika, Süm-

there is probably a confusion here. There *are* mines in the hinterland south of Esbiye and it is to these that Peyssonnel must refer. But he is mistaken in identifying them as Kure, which is the well-known arsenic mine south of Ionopolis, Inebolu.

302. See p. 26 and note 91. Esbiye would have been the port for Gouatha, Kovata; and Ghevond’s unidentified Castillon and the district of Marithinense may be in the area south of Esbiye.

303. Tschichatschhof (1858), 288–93 and map. For the country around Erikli and Emrek, see Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 221–35.

304. See pp. 138–44.

305. See p. 140.

306. There is also a Krause journey inland from Karaburun, which lies between Tirebolu and Görele. This journey took him eastward along the high summer pasture ridges to the Zigana pass, where he joined the main Trebizond to Tabriz road.

307. The Kiepert map appears to mark Kerasous at Vakfikebir. For a table of identifications of places on this stretch of coast, see p. 154.

308. See p. 141.

309. See p. 140.

310. For the church at Fol, see p. 159; and for Suma Kale, p. 144.

311. See p. 12.

312. Deyrolle (1869), XXIX, 15.

313. Bryer, Isaac and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 176 ff.

314. See above.

315. See p. 140.

üklü,<sup>316</sup> it turns southwest across the Sarıyar mountains, and then south. Kaledibi, “the village at the foot of the castle,” lies on a track leading from the Sarıyar mountains down into the Kovata valley. Thence it was possible to continue south across the Berdiga Dağları mountains into the valley of the Lykos at Çamoluk, Mindeval, or westward to Koloneia.

#### From Platana, Akçaabat, Southward

The geography of the hinterland allows for relatively easy routes southward through the *bandon* of Trikomia,<sup>317</sup> the Haşka Yaylas, and Katırkaya to the Zigana ridges.<sup>318</sup> Good tracks lead southward up both the Kalenima and Sera valleys; from their headwaters it is easy to strike into the main route southward from Trebizond at Dikaisimon, Maçka, or via Phianoe, Fikanöy Yayla, and Spelia, Ispela. Panaretos’ account of an expedition into these mountain pastures and then northward to the sea is evidence of the use of tracks through this part of the country in the fourteenth century.<sup>319</sup> Deyrolle followed a route northward from the Philabonites, Harşit, valley at Karatchoukour, Karaçukur, near Kürtün. He seems to have gone up to the watershed at Erikbeli and then climbed the ridges to the east as far as Katırkaya and thence northward to Beypinar Yayla and down the Kalenima River to Platana.<sup>320</sup> The whole journey took eighteen hours. He also traveled from the Zigana pass westward along the watershed and then down into the Philabonites valley.

#### From Trebizond, Trabzon, Southward

The hinterland of Trebizond is described in some detail below; we give here only a brief geographical outline of routes from Trebizond into the Philabonites valley.<sup>321</sup>

The main road out of town climbed past the Theoskepastos monastery and across Boz Tepe and the hilly country to the south for about 15 km, when it descended eastward into the valley of the Pyxites, Değirmen Dere, at Esiroğlu. Here a summer route to Bayburt crossed the river, but the main winter highway seems to have followed up the river valley as far as Dikaisimon Cevizlik, Maçka. An alternative route southward out of Trebizond<sup>322</sup> crossed the Pyxites directly east of Trebizond and climbed the hills from there southward through Zafanos and Çambur.

From Maçka the main winter highway climbs up the eastern slopes overlooking the Pyxites, passing through Chortokopion, Hortokop, and Yanandon to come down to the river once again near Palaiokastro (below Hamsiköy). Here alternative routes present themselves, but the winter road continues in a southeasterly direction with the stream which forms the principal source of the Pyxites and climbs up

to the Zigana pass. The pass, at 2,025 m, lies in the snow pastures a little above the tree line, but is relatively well sheltered. On the south side, the road descends a valley of a tributary of the Philabonites through forested slopes as far as the village of Zigana, with its small castle. From here it continues downward through cultivated land to the valley of the Philabonites at a height of about 850 m. A short stretch of the valley eastward from this junction as far as the castle of Ardas, Torul, has gentle slopes now devoted to orchards, but westward the river enters fearsome gorges as it cuts its way through the mountains to the sea.<sup>323</sup>

This winter route across the Zigana pass represented a lengthy detour for the traveler on the road to Satala or Theodosiopolis, Erzurum.<sup>324</sup> The summer routes were shorter and there were numerous choices, for the snow pastures provided open country with few obstacles; the traveler might choose his course across the watershed according to where he wished to descend into the Philabonites valley, but a common meeting point for the westerly summer routes, was the pass of the Pontic Gates, Pylae, Kolat Boğazi, at about 2,400 m. The direct route to this point is frequently mentioned by travelers in the nineteenth century. It ran south from Dikaisimon, Maçka, with the winter route as far as Chortokopion but then climbed due south along the summit ridges through Karakaban to the Pontic Gates. A variant of this was to follow the winter route as far south as Hamsiköy and then eastward through Ferganli to the Gates. From the pass southward, one route descends the valley of the river Istavri and Kurum to the confluence with the Philabonites at Harava Hanları, about halfway between Ardas and Gümüştane. From here it was possible to cross the river and continue by a more or less direct route south to Cheriana.<sup>325</sup> A second route from the Pontic Gates continued down the river Istavri to its confluence with the river Kurum at Istilas, and from there turned east<sup>326</sup> and south again across the Bazbent Dağı mountains to come down to the Philabonites valley at Beşkilise, below the heights crowned by the castle of Tzanicha, Canca.

The third route from the Pontic Gates was to continue along the summer pastures of the watershed ridges toward Bayburt; at Anzarya Hanları, there was another junction with a north to south crossing.

Two more routes starting south from Dikaisimon followed up the Panagia River, Meryemana Dere, along a well cultivated valley as far as Kınalıköprühan. From there one route turned more or less due south to follow up a valley

323. Deyrolle (1869), XXIX, 15. Deyrolle traveled the short stretch between Torul and Kürtün keeping high on the northern slopes above the river, but we find no traveler going straight through to the sea by this river route.

324. This, as will be seen, is the suggested route of the Antonine Itinerary. The relative distances of the different routes to Theodosiopolis are given and discussed by Lynch (1893–98), II, 225, 240. He follows Murray’s *Handbook*, in giving 199 mi for the winter route, as opposed to his own calculation of 145 mi for the shorter route.

325. See p. 165; Chesney (1831), Texier (1839), Hell (1846), and Barth (1858), were among the travelers along this route.

326. The river Kurum is also called the Yağlı Dere, and the camp Mochora, Mollaali, may lie along it; see p. 304.

316. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 44, 79. Cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 147 and note 138. In this identification we follow S. Papadopoulos, *Διορθώσεις*, BNJbb, 6 (1928), 399–400.

317. See p. 160.

318. Janssens, *Trébizonde*, 9, 20.

319. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 76.

320. Deyrolle (1869), XXX, 258.

321. See p. 140.

322. Teule (1842), II, 551–58, on a journey from Erzurum to Trebizond, but he is not very informative as a traveler. Blau (1860), 380–81 and map iv.

passing the villages of Larhan and Agursa, and a mineral water source, to arrive on the watershed and join the ridge road at Anzarya Hanları. From here one track led south westward along the river Kurum Dere and past the castles of Kurum and Mochora, Yağlı Dere, to Gümüşhane. A second crossed the hills to the south through İmera and Tefil to come out at Gümüşhane or at Tekke, higher up the Philabonites valley.<sup>327</sup>

Or the Bayburt track continued along the ridges eastward, passing some unnamed junctions between the Deveboynu and Kostan, or Komacan, mountains. A route which continued up the river Meryemana past the monastery of Soumela might either join the ridge road at Anzarya Hanları, or pass around the Karakaban mountain to Taşköprü and wind its way down south to the Bayburt ridge road below Mount Kostan.<sup>328</sup>

The route which left the Pyxites valley at Esiroğlu followed up the river Galiana, Kuştul, past the monastery of Peristeriota and joined the tracks mentioned above at Taşköprühamı from where it is an easy ascent over the gentle ridges to the Bayburt track. And the route which followed up the eastern slopes of the Pyxites through Zafanos would also have come through Taşköprühamı to join the Bayburt ridge track. The traveler heading for Kelkit and Satala might leave the Bayburt track at a junction south of the Deveboynu mountains and follow a track southward through Kermut to Tekke in the Philabonites valley. Or a little further to the east a track went south past Kabakilise, with its early Byzantine church and the Leri villages, once the seat of a bishopric, to join the Philabonites at Zindanlar Arazı.<sup>329</sup> The ridge track to Bayburt continued eastward but split into two major branches between the Deveboynu and Kostan mountains. The southerly branch went through Veysernik and Iskilas, to come down into the western end of the plain of Paipertes/Charton, Bayburt/Hart, at the village of Hadrak. The northerly branch continues along the high ridges, avoiding villages, and it comes down into the plain of Charton, Hart Ovası, at Niv or at Ostuk. From here it crosses the gently rolling plain to Varzahan, where there is a junction with the road coming over from the Lykos valley, and thence to Bayburt.<sup>330</sup>

We must also consider the mountain barrier between the Philabonites, Kanis, Harşit, and the Lykos, Kuşmaşal Kelkit, valleys at this point, since it is crossed by a number of routes which must have been used in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Roman or Byzantine sites which may be relevant to the routes are mentioned in the course of the description.

The mountain barrier forms a southern flank of the main Pontic chain which is cut off from its northern neighbors by the deep rift of the Philabonites and Lykos which gradually taper in toward each other at their headwaters, where they

327. It was at Tekke, or eastward of it, that one of the Roman roads to Satala must have crossed the Kanis.

328. Lynch (1893–98), II, 239–40, describes the route, and gives a time of 2 days between Soumela and Bayburt.

329. See p. 311.

330. See p. 352, for Paipertes, Bayburt, to Theodosiopolis, Erzurum.

are separated by the narrow band of the Vavuk Dağları. Between the western end, Balaban, Yıldız, and Sarıyar Dağları, and the Vavuk Dağları, are the Yastar Dağları separating the towns of Kelkit and Gümüşhane. The Köse Dağları separating the town of Köse and the upper Lykos, Kuşmaşal, valley from the upper Philabonites, or Kanis, valley.<sup>331</sup>

Two motor roads now cross these mountains. The western route starts south, a few kilometers east of Ardası, Torul, and at present it represents the shortest direct route southward from Trebizond into the Lykos valley. There is at least some evidence that this same route always was the shortest way to travel southward, as we shall see below. It runs up along the river Dipotamos, İkisü, which is a tributary of the Kanis; there is a small Byzantine watchtower and chapel guarding the mouth of the valley. The Dipotamos is one of the largest tributaries of the Kanis. From the confluence southward, its course is along a narrow gorge for a short distance, but this gradually widens out into a valley with some gentle slopes which are much eroded and almost bare of vegetation. Up a side valley to the east is the castle of Godaina, Kodil,<sup>332</sup> and on the western heights above the valley, a little further south are the castles of Byana and Coloşana,<sup>333</sup> which effectively controlled the crossroads and the confluence of the two rivers Soruyana and Ertabel with the river Dipotamos. Continuing along the course of the Dipotamos there is no great ascent for a further 15 km to Hasköy where the river divides into two branches among much cultivation. The western branch splits into the rivers Soruyana and Ertabil, which rise in the mountains directly north of Cheriana. Direct tracks used by earlier travelers lead across the mountains and down past Mumya Kale<sup>334</sup> on the way to Cheriana. In the eastern branch of the Dipotamos, which is the valley of the river Karamustafa, runs the motor road; shortly after leaving Hasköy it climbs steeply through broad and narrow leaf forest to the pass below Elmalı Dağı at about 2,100 m. The forest here stretches up even above the pass, although at this height it is thinning out into patches of pasture land. The descent on the southern side is a long and gentle one through forest, which gives way lower down to the scrub-covered hills left throughout Turkey wherever man, goat or charcoal-burners have destroyed the woodland. At Yukarı Tersun, above Tarsos, Aşağı Tersun, the road turns west to Şiran, the Karaca of nineteenth-century travelers, but the old route may have continued south past the Byzantine site at Tarsos before forking to the west and east.

The eastern motor road starts south at the *han* at Pirahmet, about 17 km east of Gümüşhane. It runs up a tributary valley of the Kanis. At Kırıklı it joins a valley and route running westward past Ulu Kale to Kelkit. The motor

331. The names of the mountain ranges are not standardized. We follow the Turkish Highways Map, and the 1:800,000 map in referring to the western end of the triangle as the Balaban Dağları, and the 1:200,000 sheets of this area for the other names. The Vavuk Dağları at the eastern point only appear on the 1:200,000 maps, but early travelers all refer to these mountains by this name.

332. See p. 308, for Kodil castle.

333. See p. 308, for Coloşana castle. Byana castle is reported only by Chesney (1831), 127.

334. See p. 173, for Mumya castle.

road continues more or less due south, up gentle slopes through the forest to the pass at about 1,800 m. The southern slopes of Köse Dağı again constitute a gentle descent to the northern headwater stream of the Lykos, Kuşmaşal. The river is below the modern township of Köse. The valley at this point is about 1,550 m above sea level, and some three kilometers wide. The vegetation of the mountain slopes around Köse, on the southern side, consists largely of scrub. This route may have been used in the Roman or Byzantine periods but with a different starting point, about three kilometers west of Tekke. This alternative is suggested by the site of Koğ Kale, where potsherds on the level ground below the castle indicate a settlement of early date,<sup>335</sup> whereas at Pirahmet nothing has been found. A route passing by Koğ Kale would probably have joined what is now the motor road at the Kirikli junction.

In addition to the motor roads, there are other possible routes across these mountains. The Tarhan map marks a castle at Ulukale to the west of the modern Köse road. This is in fact no castle but a high and peculiarly impressive rock formation. A direct track between Gümüşhane and Kelkit runs below Ulukale and is in use throughout the winter for carrying fuel. The route runs through Gümüşhane, Sorda, Mavrengil, Zaganlı, Venk, Kom, and Pekün before reaching Kelkit. We were told that the summer version of this road runs more directly across the slopes of Ulukale. This route is described by Strecker, who mentions, north of Kelkit: Böjün, Pekün (?); Bolodor, which he identifies as the Porodor of Smith and Dwight; Kangelı Dağı, Avliya Dağı (?); and Mavrangelion, Mavrengil. Strecker writes that this whole route from Erzincan to Gümüşhane can be covered in two hard days' traveling, so that from Kelkit to Gümüşhane would be one day. This was also the route of Consul Biliotti,<sup>336</sup> and it may have been the return route of Smith and Dwight. The latter mention Germery, Germürü, which is their equivalent of Kelkit; an unnamed village two hours to the north, which could be Pekün or Kom; and Prodor, Bolodor. It took them seventeen hours to cross from Germürü to Gümüşhane and a further twenty-four hours to cross the watershed and reach Trebizond.<sup>337</sup>

Strecker gives further valuable indications of routes across these mountains.<sup>338</sup> He once crossed from Köse to Gümüşhane in winter in eight hours by an unspecified route. He gives the summer road from Erzincan to Trebizond as running through Schürüt, Şurut, and across to Murad-Chan-Oğlu, Murathanoğulları, in the Kanis, Harşit, valley. Borit (a mistake for actual name Briot), also mentions this place. He thought that Xenophon's Ten Thousand might

have turned north from here.<sup>339</sup> He writes further: "At the meeting of these two rivers [which of them is the Korshat?] exactly where the Greeks passed, one sees a square enclosure which was an Odjiak of the Sultan Murad's, according to Hadji Khalfeh Orlah, or Ourlah Gumish Khanah." This site at the confluence of the northern tributary river Soyran with the Kanis, Harşit, has the ruins of a fort and ditches as well as those of the *han* described by Borit-Briot. Strecker traveled north from here; like Briot he regarded this as one of the main summer routes from the Kanis northward across the watershed to Trebizond. We have tentatively identified the ruins of Zindanlar Arazı at the confluence of the Soyran and the Harşit as Procopius' Longini Fossatum and Bourgousnoes.<sup>340</sup> The place is described by Strecker as being the seat of the *müdür* of the *kaza* of Koñas, Kovans. This statement seems to have led Kiepert to confuse Murathanoğulları with the village of Kovans, about 5 km further east up the Kanis valley. Here are the ruins of a Byzantine church and the impressive Goat Castle, Keci Kale. Kiepert confuses the two sites on his map, and even the Turkish map seems to be in the same confusion over its nomenclature at this point.<sup>341</sup>

The shortest crossing that Kiepert notes is via Schinnik, Şinik, and across high mountains. The Turkish map marks no short crossing of the mountains directly north of Şinik, but the village is very close indeed to a junction with the motor road at Yukarı Tersun and it looks as if it followed the line of the motor road from Tersun northward.<sup>342</sup> His map is misleading in its proportional distances and the placing of villages in this area, errors which were followed by Kiepert and Blau, but the place-names allow of a correct interpretation of the routes.

Most of the travelers using the short crossing were however starting from Cheriana, Şiran, and not from Kelkit. Morier notes the road north to Gumusk Khoneh, Gümüşhane, and gives the time for it as twelve hours, with a further ten to Trebizond.<sup>343</sup>

Brant traveled north across this way in 1835; he gives the distance as sixteen hours, but no details except that it was a rough road.<sup>344</sup>

Hommaire de Hell made a direct crossing southward from Trebizond. He mentions Gümüşhane; Adile, Edirebaşı (?); Edret, Edre; Halazou, Halazara; and Dorena, Turuna (?).<sup>345</sup> This was a short route which would have cut across the Dipotamos, İkisü, Karamustafa, valley motor road south of Hasköy and crossed into, or followed along the ridges over the rivers Livene and Turuna. After crossing the eastern flanks of the Karagöl Dağları, he probably came down through Norşun and passed by Mumya Kale and Kersut. The villages of Yukarı and Asağı Kersut are given by Barth

335. See p. 310, for Koğ castle; and Tschichatschof (1858), 293–95 and map. At a place called Aadja along this route Tschichatschof sighted a castle on top of a hill. This could have been Koğ castle, but is more likely to have been the village of Akçakale, judging by the distance of 1½ hours which he gives for the ride between Aadja and Gümüşhane.

336. Biliotti (1874), 225–26. Biliotti started from Gümüşhane and rode on the first day over Gumush dag, Gümüş Dağı, and along a bad track to spend the night at Pollodor, Bolodor. On the second day he went through Pekeun, Pekün, to Kelkit.

337. Smith and Dwight (1830), 444–45.

338. Strecker (1855), 346–48.

339. Briot (1867), 464; Strecker (1855), 348–49.

340. See p. 311.

341. Kiepert's footnote to Strecker (1855), 348. The Turkish 1:200,000 map marks Keci Kale (i.e., Kovans Kale), but also a second Kale at Kovans, a second Kovans at Murathanoğulları, and a ruined Harap Kale (which we have not located) further to the west.

342. Strecker (1855), 350 and map III.

343. Morier (1808), 332–33.

344. Brant (1835), 222–23.

345. Hell (1846), I, 390–95.

as "Körssyk" or "Gössuk" and by Strecker as "Gersut." Kiepert relates the name to the Antonine station Carsais.<sup>346</sup>

A variant of the Hommaire de Hell route was taken by Barth. He traveled over the Zigana pass to Ardasas and then along the Kanis to turn south where the motor road now forks up the İkisü valley, where he marks the ruined chapel<sup>347</sup> near the confluence of the rivers. His next name is Kodil, suggesting that he rode along the eastern ridges above the İkisü valley; and then Bülbüloğlü, Bulbulöglü. To reach the latter he probably came down to cross the motor road at the confluence at Hasköy, and then followed the valleys of the rivers Ertubel and Livene, so that he must have joined or cut into the Hommaire de Hell route somewhere along this stretch. He marks a castle before reaching the watershed between the Kanis, Harşit, and the Lykos; and notes the names "Chan Daghdibi" and "Yaila" before reaching Ulu Schehran, Ulu Şiran, but neither are identifiable.

Texier, traveling north from Cahiran, Şiran, seems to be the only earlier traveler who followed almost the entire course of the present motor road.<sup>348</sup> He went through Terma, Telme, which is suggested by Miller as the location of the Peutinger station "Cunissa."<sup>349</sup> He next mentions Zimo, Zimon, on the south side of the pass above Tarsos, Tersun, and then a Caravansary, which is probably the anonymous *han* or Karamustafahanları, well down on the north side of the pass. He then turned off from the valley road which runs north to İkisü and crossed the mountains in a northeastward direction to Gümüşhane via Edima, Edra, Edirebaşı (?). He rode for nineteen hours and twenty minutes over two days, and then a further eighteen hours to Trebizond. His route from Zimon southward is the one described above by Strecker; it probably represents the mountain crossing made by Clavijo.

We thus have a choice of a number of routes between the Philabonites, Kanis, Harşit, and the Lykos, Kelkit, valleys which may perhaps be summarized as follows. The easterly routes start well east of Gümüşhane from the stretch of valley between Tekke and Kovans and lead south to the Kelkit region; routes from the region of Gümüşhane itself run both southeast to Kelkit and southwest to Cheriana. Routes from the stretch of valley between Ardasas and İkisü run south to

346. Strecker (1855), 354, and p. 25.

347. Barth (1858), map. Mordtmann (1850), 423–30. It seems probable that General Chesney used this route in January 1832 when he traveled from Trebizond to Şebinkarahisar, Sivas, and Aleppo: Chesney (1831), 127–29. He crossed the Zigana pass to reach Gümüşhane and then mentions the castle of Godol, Kodil, built on two pinnacles. From there he went on to Darnade, Dorenci (?), and Byane-Kaleh, Bayana. He presumes these and other castles to be Genoese work. His detailed itinerary stops at this point with the frustrating remark, "It is useless to delay the reader by a journal of my daily progress." If the journal survives it would be very useful, but perhaps the January weather was too severe for him to have been able to keep it. Chesney favours Giaur Tagh near Bayana as Xenophon's Mt. Theches but gives Mt. Zingani, Zigana, or Karagöl, Karagöl, as other possibilities. Γκιουόρ Ντάγ appears in Chrysanthos, *AP* 4–5 (1933), map, but not on the Turkish maps. It seems to correspond with Kelahmet Muvakkati Göl. A Byzantine equivalent to these modern itineraries may be found in Lazaropoulos, in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 86.

348. Texier, *Asie Mineure* (1839), 591.

349. Miller, *IR*, cols. 671–77.

Cheriana, with only one exception that crosses southeast to Kelkit.<sup>350</sup>

The following subsections are concerned with the ancient routes from Trebizond via Cheriana and the Kelkit valley down to the Euphrates.

*The Ancient Routes from Trebizond to Satala, Sadak.* Apart from the evidence of Roman occupation at Hortokop Kale, we have no certain archaeological evidence for the ancient routes, and must largely rely upon Antonine, Peutinger, and Ravenna lists.<sup>351</sup> These may be conveniently tabulated as follows:

Peutinger	m.p.	Ravenna	Antonine	m.p.
Trebizond	20		Trebizond	20
Magnana	10		Ad Vincesium	22
Gizenenica	18		Zigana	24/32
Bylac	6	Bile	Thia	17
Frigdarium	8		Sedisca Fl Pont	24
Patara	14	Patra		
Medocia	12	Medocina		
Solonenica	18	Solodicina		
Domana	18	Domana	Domana	18
Satala		Satala	Satala	
124				

It has long been clear that the Antonine and Peutinger routes are not the same since the only station they have in common is Domana, although Magnana and Ad Vincesium are evidently identical. The Ravenna route would appear to be identical with the Peutinger. According to its paragraph 12, the stations are Satala, Domana, Saloni Mecia, Medoia, Patra, Bile, and an unidentified further series. Two stations, Medocina and Solodicina, appear in the list of coastal towns in paragraph 17 next to Ysilime-Susurmaina and Ofeunte-Ophis, which may indicate routes from the coast inland to these stations.

Geographical considerations suggest two likely paths for these roads, corresponding with the summer and winter routes of travelers across the coastal watershed.<sup>352</sup> The Kiepert map, which in this matter summarizes scholarly opinion up to the First World War, assumes that the Antonine Itinerary followed the winter route across the mountains, since it included the known station of Zigana. It takes the Peutinger and Ravenna routes across the more direct, higher mountain country through the snow pastures.

350. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), map, marks a direct route south from Tzanicha to Kelkit via Alantza, Alanza, but this seems to be an arbitrary line. For routes south of Cheriana, Ulu Şiran, and Satala, Sadak, see p. 165.

351. Cuntz, *IR*, 216.4; Miller, *IR*, cols. 680–81, Route 98; J. Schnetz, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (see note 15 above), 23, 29; sections 12 and 17.

352. Anonymous (1685), 45 records little about his journeys to and from Trebizond across the mountains. He does however state that there are two routes to Bayburt, one of which he took, via Agatch Bachi (Ağaç Başı). He writes that the other route is via Ghumich Kana, Gümüşhane. He was traveling in December and took the shorter mountain route whereas most winter travelers took the longer Gümüşhane–Zigana route.

Both routes must have followed the same course across the hills southward from Trebizond for some distance before separating, and they probably rejoined each other and followed the same trace for the southern section of the journey across the Köse Dağları if we accept the identity of the Antonine "Sedisca" with Peutinger "Solonenica" and Ravenna "Solodicina" or "Saloni Mecia."<sup>353</sup> Either Koğ Kale or Zindanlar Arazı could represent the site. If Koğ Kale were accepted, then the ancient route may well have followed more or less the same course as the modern motor road across the Köse Dağları. If Zindanlar Arazı be accepted, the ancient route may have followed the Strecker route over a somewhat higher track through the villages of Perek or Zimon and Şurut. Or these classical stations may each represent a different place.

At Gümüşhane tracks west of Gümüşhane itself run south up and across the Dipotamos valley.<sup>354</sup> One of these may represent the southern half of the Roman route. There are numbers of ways of crossing the mountains between the Kanis and the Lykos. The Cumonts' choice of the ancient route appears to be based on nothing more substantial than the fact that they took it. The presence of one worked block of stone, probably Roman, in the cemetery of Köse is their only reason for identifying the site as Domana.<sup>355</sup> More exploration is required.

An identification of the Antonine stations, according to Kiepert, is as follows: Ad Vinesimum, at 20 *m.p.* from Trebizond, falls near Maçka; Zigana is at the village of that name on the south side of the Zigana pass; Thia is in the region of Beşkilise; Sedisca in the region of Tekke; and Domana in the region of Köse. With the exception of Zigana, the placing of these stations is hypothetical.

An identification of the Peutinger stations, according to Kiepert and Miller, is as follows: Magnana in the region of Maçka; Gizenenica in the region of Karakaban; Bylae in the region of Kolathanları; Frigidarium in the region of Phrangkanton (a Kromniote village); Patara at Linotron, which, like Phrangkanton, cannot now be identified on the Turkish maps; and Medocia at Tanera; Solenenica then falls at Kovans; and Domana at Köse. These identifications, like those for the Antonine Itinerary are largely hypothetical, although Bylae is evidently Pylai, the Pontic Gates, Kolat Boğazi.

Thus the first and last stages of these routes are identical, but the middle stages take quite different paths. Our own contribution provides no certain new alternative for the accepted Antonine and Peutinger routes. We only point out a number of new sites relevant to the problem and a number of travelers' routes which deserve further consideration. The site of Lower Chortokopion, Hortokop, Castle<sup>356</sup> may be noted here as an alternative candidate for Ad Vinesimum and Magnana. The modern town of Maçka is right in the

valley at the confluence of the river Panagia, Meryemana, with the Pyxites, Değirmen Dere; it has no known ancient or medieval remains. Hortokop Castle is not more than two or three miles from it, on the nineteenth-century caravan road at a point where it commands views of an extensive stretch of the Pyxites valley. A sequence of coins from the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman periods provided suggestive evidence that this is a station on the caravan road.

*The Clavijo Route from Trebizond, Trabzon, to Acilisene, Erzincan* (see fig. 3). Clavijo took one week to travel from Trebizond to Arzinga, Erzincan, including some delay in negotiating with Kabazites of Chaldia.<sup>357</sup> On the first day his route was over hilly country and took him down to camp in the Pyxites, Pexic, Değirmen Dere, valley at a place now unidentifiable where there was a ruined church. On the second day he passed the castle of Palaiomatrouka, Palomacuça, which he describes correctly, and went on to camp in the open, probably in the region of Karakaban. On the third day he stopped by the castle of Sigana, Zigana, which must be the small ruin below the present village on the spur of a hill, which he noted belonged to Kabazites. On the fourth day he passed Ardası, modern Torul, at 9 a.m., correctly describing its commanding situation. Three leagues farther on he passed a tower on a high rock and a narrow passage, which is probably the fort at the entrance to the Dipotamos, İkisü, valley; and on the evening of the fourth day his party was stopped in the valley under the castle of Dorile, where Kabazites was in residence. This medieval Torul (an area name) would correspond to a castle which can be seen above the road up the Dipotamos valley near Coloşana.<sup>358</sup> The fifth day was spent in haggling with Kabazites about what dues the party should pay for a safe passage through the mountains and protection from the Çepni Türkmens.<sup>359</sup> On the sixth day Clavijo crossed over mountainous country, passing a valley with a castle held by Çepni, and came in the evening to Alango gaça in the district of Arzinga. His precise route across the mountains is not clear, but it seems probable that he followed the line of the motor road southward over the mountains and down the southern slopes as far as Zimon or Yukarı Tersun. From here Clavijo branched south-eastward on the route described by Strecker which runs through Şinik and would pass by Alansa which, following Le Strange, we identify as Alangogaça. Here the Kabazites escort left the Spanish party; from this point onward they were in Mongol territory where they traveled easily. Alansa was also proposed by Kiepert for the station, or stations, Hassis and Haza of the Peutinger and Antonine routes from Nikopolis to Satala, but the village seems to lie rather too far to the north for a station on a direct road, since it is already well into the foothills of the Gürüz

357. Clavijo (1404), trans. Le Strange, 116–22; ed. Estrada, 79–84. Both the spelling of the place-names and their identification are at times misleading in Le Strange's version. The original Spanish shows how carefully Clavijo transliterated his place-names.

358. See however Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 81–82, who regards Dorile as a corruption of Torul. This is a reasonable suggestion but makes nonsense of Clavijo's itinerary. But see p. 302.

359. Cf. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 68. 79.

353. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 12–14, 31–32.

354. See p. 310.

355. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 354.

356. However, Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 80, following Miller, *IR*, col. 681, puts Gizenenica at Karakaban on the southern boundaries of the Hortokop region and identifies it with the Chasdenicha of Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73.

mountains to the north of the Lykos valley.<sup>360</sup> From Alansa to Erzincan was a further two days. Clavijo gives no details, but probably followed the route through Kelkit to a point just north of Satala, where he would have joined a track which was to become the nineteenth-century military highway between Erzincan and Trebizond. This seems to have been the normal direct route until the first motor road was constructed.<sup>361</sup>

*Panaretos' Accounts of Expeditions to Cheriana, Ulu Şiran.*<sup>362</sup> Panaretos gives no details of routes, but mentions Sorogaina, Soruyana, three days' fast riding from Trebizond, and Golacha, Coloşana.<sup>363</sup> The route between Trebizond and Cheriana is also attested by Lazaropoulos. In the twelfth century, the monastery of St. Eugenios used to obtain butter and cheese from the monastery of St. George of Chainos in Cheriana.<sup>364</sup>

*From the Lykos, Kelkit, Valley South to Eriza, Erzincan, in Acilisene.* The bishopric of Chachaion has usually been identified with the modern town of Kelkit, but we place it, tentatively, in the region of Kâlur<sup>365</sup> and Aşağı Hayduruk. If our identification is accepted, there was probably a medieval route southward from Kâlur and the Lykos valley, crossing the northern flanks of the Çimen Dağları and coming down the river Balahu near Iskilor at the point where the motor road crosses the river. From here southward such a medieval road may well have followed the course of the motor road across the southern flank of the Çimen Dağları and down into the western end of the plain of Erzincan at Yalnızbağ. An alternative northern half of this route is to leave the Lykos valley at Kelkit and follow the motor road up the Balahu valley to Iskilor, where it crosses the river.

There is no evidence for a Roman or medieval road connecting Satala with Acilisene, but the importance of both places suggests that such a road should have existed. The likely course for it would seem to be along the line of the nineteenth-century military road, along which the Cumonts traveled.<sup>366</sup> This ran south up the river valley and crossed the Sipikor Dağları at about 2,250 m and dropped into the plain directly north of Eriza in Acilisene.

*From Cheriana, Ulu Şiran, to Eriza, Erzincan in Acilisene or the Euphrates valley.* No certain classical or Byzantine evidence is known for such routes, but a section of the fourth Hadji Khalfa route must travel through this part of the country, for it includes Cherdgiamis, Başgerçenis, and Kemah as stations. These roads are mentioned because a part appears to coincide with the Antonine and Peutinger

routes Ia and Ib, and because geography and later travelers support their existence.

A low range of hills separates Cheriana from the Lykos valley, where the river flows in a wide valley beside the site at Aşağı Haydürük.<sup>367</sup> The river can be easily forded in these reaches. A track leads south up the Sifon valley to join our suggested course for the direct route from Nikopolis to Satala where it crosses the Çimen Dağları.<sup>368</sup> Alternatively Strecker gives a route from Aşağı Haydürük east up the valley, which ran as far as Ilaç. Here a direct route from Cheriana comes down to the Lykos and crosses it to run around the northeastern slopes of the Çimen Dağları through Chyzyr, Hınziri, and into the valley of the river Balahu below Balahor. In the valley of the Balahu the route to Erzincan would have joined the road from Nikopolis to Satala in an eastern direction as far as Iskilor, where it would have branched south along the line of the modern motor road to Erzincan.

An alternative route from Cheriana to Erzincan would be to travel eastward along the line of the modern motor road from Şiran to Kelkit and then south via Satala.

A road from Cheriana south to the bend of the Euphrates at Zimara and Pingan is attested in journeys made by Hommaire de Hell and Texier. Hommaire de Hell traveled from Trebizond across the watershed, via Horducop, Hortokop; Karakaban; and Stavri to Gumouch Hane, Gümüşhane. From this place his route to Scheilan, Şiran, has been described above.<sup>369</sup>

From Şiran south he passed Zadik Keu, Sadık(?), north of the confluence of the rivers Şiran and Lykos and crossed the river, passing through Jenitche, Yenice, to camp out for the night after the first day. On the second day he crossed the Tchak-sou, river Zevker, at Çat and went due south to Kard Keu, Kerdağıköyü. On the third day he crossed unspecified desolate country and came down to the Euphrates at Pignan, Pingan, below Zimara, Zinegar.<sup>370</sup>

Texier appears to have followed the same route in the reverse direction from Eruin, Eğin, via Kourou tchai, Kuruçay, and Gerdjanis, Başgerçenis, to Chairam, Şiran; but gives no details of his path.<sup>371</sup>

This route from the crossing of the Lykos south to Zimara and the Euphrates, seems very likely to correspond with either or both the Antonine routes, and the Peutinger route, from their respective stations of Carsagis or Draconis.<sup>372</sup>

From [Sou]sourmaina South to Paipertes, Bayburt

We place the site of Sourmaina on the headland to the west of the mouth of the river Hyssos, Karadere, not at the modern Sürmene.<sup>373</sup> The shelter afforded by the headland of Araklı Burunu makes the mouth of the river an excellent

360. See p. 303. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 321, suggested the region of Tersun for Haza. Miller suggested Aschuz for Hassis, which might be Hasut on the Lykos, Kelkit, or Aşut south of Kelkit: *IR*, cols. 671–77, Route 95.

361. The Cumonts used it: *SP*, II, 340–42. They speak of it as the new military road to Trebizond.

362. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71, 72, 74, 77, 78, 82 and map, *AP*, 4–5 (1933).

363. See p. 308. Chrysanthos, places Solochaina approximately at Kodil.

364. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 86–87, and this chapter, p. 50.

365. See p. 170.

366. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 340–42, 351–63. This road is marked on Lynch (1893–98), II, map.

367. See p. 175.

368. See p. 61.

369. Hell (1846), 386–96; see this chapter, p. 50.

370. Hell (1846), 396–99.

371. Texier, *Asie Mineure* (1839), 591. In Tschichatschhof (1858), 339, Kiepert refers to particulars of this journey in the hands of C. Ritter.

372. See p. 32.

373. This is agreed by Kiepert and by Chrysanthos although neither mentions the ancient site. See p. 323.

anchorage, the delta is a wide area of flat land suitable for cultivation. The cohort stationed there in the *Notitia dignitatum*, and hagiographical evidence link the place with Satala.<sup>374</sup> The Ravenna Geographer has Medocina and Solodicina connected with Ysilime, Sourmaina, and Ofeunte, Ophis, in a list of coastal cities. From Peutinger we know that Medocia and Solenenica are stations on the road from Satala to Trebizond, and geographical considerations suggest that routes from Sourmaina or Ophis would join the Satala to Trebizond road in the mountains, where these two stations ought to be found. Geographically, this route makes good sense since it constitutes a direct link between the Black Sea and Bayburt, and with the routes south from Pirahmet or Zindanlar Arazi in the Kanis, Harşit, valley, to the Lykos valley and Satala.<sup>375</sup> The Turkish map marks numbers of tracks southward over the mountains from the Hyssos, Karadere, valley, and there is no obstacle to travel except the height of the watershed at over 2,500 m. This would have made the winter use of this route hazardous. The existence of such a route in the Byzantine period is suggested by Lazaropoulos' account of the work of the Abbot Ephraim,<sup>376</sup> where he mentions the river Surmena, Karadere. Chrysanthos says that the crossing from Sourmaina to Paipertes took two days.<sup>377</sup> Evidence for the use of the route is provided by Fontanier, who observed that a caravan had just arrived at Sürmene from Baibout, Bayburt, and by Blau.<sup>378</sup> The route as far south as the watershed is marked by Kiepert as having been traveled by Krause. Deyrolle had intended to use this route, but was prevented from doing so by the *kaymakam* of Bayburt, because the French consul had been robbed on it a few months previously.<sup>379</sup>

#### From Ophis, Of, to Paipertes, Bayburt

There are no historical remains at present-day Of, or evidence for the use of this route. It is however given a place by Janssens<sup>380</sup> and the Kiepert map marks a journey by Deffner from Of to Bayburt.

The modern road runs along the river valley, which is steep and narrow, but only rises gently inland as far as the administrative center of Çaykara at a height of about 500 m. From there the valley rises more steeply through forest with some patches of cultivable land to the last village of Yukarı Ögene and the tea house at Derebaşı at about 2,000 m. The final climb is up a steep face with over twenty hairpin bends

374. *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Seeck, 85; Brown, Bryer, and Winfield, *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 26.

375. See note 15 above. These stations also appear in a confused land route in Schnetz, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, 23, section 12. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 20, notes the route but regards it as unimportant.

376. *FHIT*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 113: the river τῶν Συρμένων.

377. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 90, following Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 916–17, who also mentions a route from Yomra to Gümüshane.

378. Fontanier (1827), II, 10. Blau (1860), 375 note 1, remarks a caravan from Bayburt via Sürmene. More modern evidence is provided by Stratil-Sauer (1934), 403. He observes that this route is 80 km shorter than the Trebizond route. Cf. Stratil-Sauer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 318.

379. Deyrolle (1869), XXXI, 416.

380. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 20.

to the pass across the Soğanlı Dağları at over 2,600 m. No natural route exists here and the motor road was blasted out of the mountain side by the Russians during their occupation of this territory in the First World War.

The southern slopes of the pass are more gentle, and typical of this side of the Pontic chain in being barren of vegetation except along the watercourses. At Cuma Venk there was a Georgian monastery which may tentatively be identified as the Rkinis-Palo of Wakhoucht, marking the frontier between the lands of the Georgian province of Dchaneth and Byzantine Greek territories.<sup>381</sup>

#### From Eski Pazar to Syspiritis, Pharangion, İspir

This route across the mountains from Eski Pazar is suggested by the ruins of a fort and bridge at the mouth of the Makı Dere, which are possibly of Byzantine date, the situation of the Byzantine monastery of Fetoka, and some remains at Hayrat which may be of medieval date.<sup>382</sup> Although it will be seen that much of this route uses the larger and more important Kalopotamos valley rather than the Makı, we nevertheless place its start in the latter. It contains early ruins, whereas we have found no trace of any at the mouth of the river Kalopotamos, nor was there any modern habitation until very recently. It may be that the complete lack of shelter at the mouth of the river, which faces directly into the worst weather, and its liability to disastrous flooding, prevented it from being useful as a place of habitation and starting point for a route across the mountains. Above Eski Pazar is Halt Tepe and the first village in the river valley is called Halt. "Halt" is the name given by the coastal people of the eastern Black Sea region to the people from across the mountains,<sup>383</sup> and the name occurring on the coast here might suggest settlements of people from across the mountains in connection with the transit route.

The valley of the river Makı is fertile, with gentle slopes; the river runs through hilly country as far as Hayrat, and only low hills separate it from the next valley to the east formed by the river Kalopotamos. A visible sign of the prosperous countryside is the great three-story *konak* of the Çakıroğlu family who ruled these parts. At Hayrat the character of the country changes and the mountains close in on the valley. There are signs that this modern administrative center for the Makı valley is an old site, since storage spaces cut into the natural rock in the shape of jars were discovered when a track above the village to the south was being widened. From the region of Hayrat there are three ways of crossing the watershed and joining the valley of the Akampsis, Çoruh, to reach Pharangion, İspir. The first is to take the valley of the river Baltacı from its confluence with the Makı north of Hayrat, or to join this valley near its headwaters at Yente, well south of Hayrat, and then cross the pass between the Haldizen and Kemer Dağları at over 3,000 m. The track forks at the pass and one branch leads south westward to join the motor road from Of to Bayburt, while the other leads more or less due south into the Akampsis valley.

The second way is to make the easy crossing of the hills to

381. Wakhoucht, *Géographie*, 129.

382. See p. 330.

383. See p. 1.

the east of the river Makı at any point up to, or including, Hayrat and join the tracks up the Kalopotamos valley.

The third way is to continue south from Hayrat through Makitoromanlı and then climb steeply up past the monastery at Fetoka. The track above the monastery leads south-east at about 2,000 m to join to headwaters of the river Kalopotamos, (Kalopotmos), and eventually the line of the motor road from Rize to İspir. The pass at Dağbaşı is at about 2,750 m, well above the tree line, and leads across into the valley of the river Çapans, which is a tributary of the Akampsis. The confluence is about 5 km above İspir, to the west. Earlier Turkish maps show *hans* along the track which preceded the present motor road and it seems likely that in this case the motor road more or less follows the course of the earlier track. This route across the mountains is the hardest and highest of any so far described, but represents the easiest crossing from the Black Sea coast to İspir.

*Clavijo's Return Route from Allequix or Allexque, Aleskirt, in the Autumn of 1405*<sup>384</sup> (see fig. 3). Clavijo's route from Aleskirt is given here, since we believe that in part it followed paths described above. Clavijo was prevented from returning through Erzurum on the direct route to Trebizond because of a Türkmen rebellion. The route is interesting, but there is an immediate difficulty where we take up his journey, since the indications which he gives for his next stopping place at "Aunique" are contradictory. He is specific in saying that he journeyed for four days north from "Allequix," Aleskirt, through barren country to reach Aunique. This would theoretically rule out Avnik, which is the identification for "Aunique" made by Zdanevitch,<sup>385</sup> since it is only a day's journey at the most from Aleskirt. It would, however, make good sense for the old Armenian capital of Ani, which corresponds with the concentric walls and the importance of the Aunique described by Clavijo, and with the four day journey. However, on the next stage of his trip, Clavijo states that he passed by the castle of "Corcon," Tortum, two days from Aunique.<sup>386</sup> Avnik and Tortum are indeed two days apart, but it would be well nigh impossible to get from Ani to Tortum in two days. The direct road runs through Kars, Bardis, and Oltu or Narman, and crosses more than 200 km of rough mountainous country. It was only on the third day out from Kars (and, therefore, the fourth day from Ani) that another traveler by horse, Hamilton, came into the valley of the river Tortum.<sup>387</sup> For the most part we follow the Zdanevitch interpretation of Clavijo's route, arrived at independently of his work, but D. C. W. suggests Ani, rather than Avnik as a plausible alternative for "Aunique." A. A. M. B. would like to retain Avnik on philological and geographical grounds (see fig. 3).

Two days beyond Corcon, Clavijo reached the castle of "Viçer" which Zdanevitch identifies as Kalefisirik, noted by Deyrolle.<sup>388</sup> On the next day he left his direct road because

384. Clavijo (1404), trans. Le Strange, 332–36; ed. Estrada, 242–46.

385. Iliia Zdanévitch, *L'itinéraire géorgien de Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo et les églises aux confins de l'atabégat* (Paris, 1966), 7, 8, and map.

386. Clavijo (1404), ed. Estrada, 243.

387. Hamilton (1836), I, 214–16.

388. T. Deyrolle, "Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Asie Mineure," *AMSL*, Ser. III, (1875), 375.

his guide had to deliver letters to the Lord of "Aspri," İspir; this journey took them one day.<sup>389</sup> Their direct road would presumably have taken them across the Akampsis river and over the Tatos and Varoş Dağları.<sup>390</sup>

From İspir, Clavijo's party took four days to cross the mountains and come down to the sea a little way east of "Xurmenia," Sürmene. He says that the Lord of İspir gave them a guide to cross from his frontier into the territory of the Empire of Trebizond, and that when he had crossed the mountains he came into the country of "Araquiel," Arhakil, inhabited by Armenians but governed from İspir. We assume with Zdanevitch that Clavijo's route followed more or less along the lines of the modern motor road up the river Çapans, across the pass at Dağbaşı, and down into the valley of the Kalopotamos. We follow the Zdanevitch map, but not his text, in assuming that Clavijo left the Kalopotamos valley in the region of Güneyce and crossed the hills to the west to come down to the sea in the valley of Makı. Four days is a reasonable period for the journey from İspir to Eski Pazar, and agrees with the estimate of forty hours which was given to Hamilton more than four centuries later.<sup>391</sup> There is, furthermore, the anomaly that he says that he came down to the sea at a place on the coast six days journeying to the east of Trebizond. This would place his arrival on the coast somewhere in the region of Hopa, which is manifestly impossible, and we prefer to follow the other indications that he gives; namely that he was a little way east of "Xurmenia," Sürmene, and that he arrived in Trebizond on 17 September, 1405. Working backward, this indicates that Clavijo took one day, or perhaps a little more, for the journey along the coast, and the six days may be a misreading for six hours' sailing which would make better sense. A further point in favor of placing Clavijo's coastal destination in the region of Eski Pazar is that he makes no mention of Rhizaion.

From Rhizaion, Rize, to Theodosiopolis, Erzurum, via Syspiritis, Pharangion, İspir

The evidence for this route lies in the position of the three towns and the need for a means of communication between them. The circuit of the walls of Rhizaion, Rize, is large and Procopius specifies the importance of the town.<sup>392</sup> There is

389. R. Fedden, "Four travellers in search of Turkey's mountain flora," *The Times*, 18 January, 1969, describes the high pasture country of the mountains between İspir and Tortum.

390. O. Blau, "Miscellen zur alten Geographie," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, N.S., 12 (1862), 296–99. Blau plausibly suggests that Xenophon's route was down the Tortum valley and then across to İspir, and across the mountains north of İspir, to Hemşin and to the sea. He suggests that Mt. Theches should be Makur Dağı. Thus Clavijo would have been following in Xenophon's footsteps if he had been able to take the direct crossing rather than go via the Çapans and Kalopotmos valleys. See p. 54.

391. Hamilton (1836), I, 220.

392. See p. 331. K. Koch traveled from Rize to İspir in 1843, and recrossed the mountains further east from Peterek to Athenai, Pazar: Koch (1844), II, 11–40, 84–118. Itineraries summarized in J. Edmondson and H. W. Lack, "The Turkish and Caucasian collections of C. Koch," *Notes from the Royal Botanic Gardens*, 35(3) (Edinburgh, 1977), 321–335. This article lists all of Koch's travels, together with a map, and gives a bibliography of his writings, which seem to be rare. We have been unable to find copies of his maps or books in British libraries. We are grateful to W. Finlayson for this reference.

nothing in the hinterland to justify this importance, but a route to the interior would do so.

We follow Adontz in identifying Strabo's Syspiritis, İspir, as the later Pharangion, a Persian possession which the Romans took over in the time of Justinian.<sup>393</sup> The produce of its mines would need to be exported, and Rhizaion was its natural port.

Theodosiupolis, Erzurum, was an important forward Byzantine military base which commanded the northern access routes from Persia and the Caucasus into Asia Minor. The supply and communications problem along the length of Asia Minor to Constantinople was formidable, while the route to Rhizaion and thence by sea was much shorter. A direct route from Rhizaion ran across the mountains from Gündoğdu, a few kilometers to the east of the town. This followed up the eastern slopes of the river Salor. We have not explored this route, but it is attested by the *han* names on the Turkish map; Rickmers traveled up it.<sup>394</sup> The track joins with one running up the Kalopotamos valley, on the 3,000 m ridges between Şeytan Dağı and Cimil Dağı. A route inland from Bozuk Kale, farther to the east of Rhizaion, would also have started from the coast at Gündoğdu.

However, it seems likely that the main former route to İspir followed the course of the motor road southward over the hills via Karadere and down into the valley of the river Kalopotamos, below Güneyce.<sup>395</sup> There are no physical obstacles to such a route, which crosses hilly country, rising to a height of about 700 m. From Güneyce to İkizdere, where there is a confluence with a tributary river, the valley only rises a little, but from İkizdere the ascent is through forested gorges to the snow pastures and the pass at Dağbaşı Bel at about 2,800 m.

The descent on the south side is through the barren brown landscape of the valley of the river Çapans to its confluence with the Akampsis at a height of about 1,200 m, and İspir lies about 5 km downstream to the east where the valley opens out for a short stretch. From the river crossing above İspir is another long ascent up the barren slopes to the pass at about 2,500 m between Cilak and Sulak Tepeleri.

South of the pass the land opens up into rolling hilly country which is composed largely of pasture in the valleys and barren or scrub-covered hill slopes. At an average height of over 2,000 m it differs only from other Anatolian plateau country in being better watered by the many streams which are the tributary headwaters of the Akampsis. The motor road crosses another low pass to the north of Ovacık, which strangely understates itself in this land of prominent features, for it forms the watershed between streams flowing into the Akampsis and the Black Sea, and those southward flowing streams which feed the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. There are many possible ways across this high country between İspir and Erzurum, but the motor road runs fairly

direct. Not far off it are six villages with castle names, so that the modern road may well mark the general line of the earlier route.<sup>396</sup> It comes down into the plain of Erzurum along the river Serçeme and joins the main road from Bayburt, just to the west of İlica.

From Athenai, Pazar; the Mouth of the River Prytanis, Furtuna Dere; Ardeşen; or Marthoula, Fındıklı; to Pharangion, İspir; or to Parhal

Routes inland from the mouths of the rivers Adienos, Pazar, or Prytanis, Furtuna, are suggested by castles at these places or along the routes.

*From Athenai, Pazar, Southward to Syspiritis, Pharangion, İspir.* A few kilometers inland from Athenai, Pazar, the castle of Kise or Cihar dominates a bend in the valley of the river Adienos, Pazar. Routes inland from Athenai, or from the settlement of Kalecik to the west, or Sapo to the east, would have run in or along the shoulders of the Adienos valley south as far as the meeting of tracks at a height of 2,000 m at Aşağı Hemşin. Here it joined the route up the Prytanis valley. Or the traveler may cross at a much earlier stage into the Prytanis valley, perhaps passing Kise Kale.<sup>397</sup>

*From the Mouth of the River Prytanis, Furtuna, to Pharangion, İspir.* The river Prytanis, Furtuna, divides into two major branches about 5 km inland from the coast. The western branch is the Büyük Dere, and a motor road, formerly a track, runs along the western shoulders of the river valley and comes down to the river at a second major confluence where the modern administrative center for the district, Camlı Hemşin is now situated. There is a fine hump-backed bridge across the confluence, carrying tracks up the eastern river, variously known as the river Hala or Kaçkar. The track to İspir continues up the Büyük River and recrosses it at Mollaveysi. Up to this point, at a height of about 500 m, the route is an easy one, with well cultivated valley slopes, but southward the valley becomes much steeper and the track climbs past Zil Kale and up to Varoş, the highest of the Pontic castles.<sup>398</sup> There is now a motor road as far as Mollaveysi. Beyond Mollaveysi the paved track to Varoş is now in great disrepair; Rickmers recorded a paved track all the way down the valley. From Varoş the path climbs south through snow pastures to meet the track from Rize at Aşağı Hemşin and from thence crosses the Tatos Boğazı at about 3,300 m under the eastern flanks of mount Varşambek, now Verçenin, and descends into the valley of the river Salaçor. This flows into the Akampsis east of İspir. The difficult southern descent is described by Stratil-Sauer.<sup>399</sup>

396. This whole region around the headwaters of the Akampsis (Çoruh) is the area of Tsourmeri or Tchormar given by Basil II to David the *Kouropalates*. See note 211 above. The Turkish maps mark one actual castle as Harap kale, near Kavaktepe Köyü. This may be the same as the Karakale marked on the Tarhan Map, with two groups of ruins. We have traveled over this road but have not explored for ruins.

397. Koch (1844), 84–118. Rickmers (1934), 476–78, made this crossing but does not specify where he crossed.

398. For these castles, see p. 341 below. Rickmers (1934), 476–78, noted Zil, but not Varoş.

399. Stratil-Sauer (1934), 406–9.

393. Adontz, *Armenia*, 22–23. The identification was made independently of Adontz which perhaps gives it more value.

394. Rickmers (1934), 476–78.

395. It has been pointed out above that the terminus for this route was not at the mouth of the Kalopotamos because of its exposure to bad weather, whereas Rize has a fairly sheltered harbor. On Güneyce and the Kalopotamos, see Pereira (1969), 34–52.

*From the Mouth of the River Prytanis, Furtuna, to Parhal and Yusufeli, or to Hunut, or to Dörtkilise.* The track up the Prytanis as far as the fork at Çamlı Hemşin is the same as for the route described above. Here a track, now a motor road, runs up the steep eastern gorge of the Kaçkar River to Ilica, formerly Hala, where there are hot springs. A few kilometers above is a second confluence. The track up the western arm of the river (Hala Dere, subsequently Kavran Dere), leads up into the summer pastures below mount Kaçkar, the highest of the Pontic peaks. The last habitation is the large *yayla* of Kavrun. Thence a rough pass at about 3,400 m leads round the southern shoulders of Kaçkar and down the steep valley of the river Hodiçor to its confluence with the Akampsis a little below Hunut. A castle is reported at Hunut, whence an easy ascent to Viçer, Kaleifisrik, on Clavijo's route, and a junction with routes followed by Hamilton and Deyrolle.<sup>400</sup>

An alternative track from Kavrun Yayla leads round the northern shoulders of Kaçkar and over an equally rough pass at about 3,250 m to drop into one of the headwater streams feeding the river Parhal, which is the largest of the northern tributaries of the Akampsis. From the upper reaches, a track crosses a second mountain ridge to the east to come down the river Dörtkilise, passing its famous monastery church and chapels, to join the Akampsis at the hamlet of Dörtkilise, near which a castle stands on a rock so steep that we were unable to climb up to it.<sup>401</sup>

The main track descends the long and comparatively gentle valley of the river Parhal, with forest on the upper slopes, alternating with cleared and cultivated land. The tenth-century Georgian church of Parhal, Altı Parmak Köyü, lies on the northern slopes of the valley at about 1,500 m. Castles further down this fertile valley may be indications of its use in the Byzantine period. A small medieval chapel marks the confluence with the Akampsis at Yusufeli. Here the Akampsis, Çoruh, valley is wide and hospitable for the last time before the river flows into precipitous gorges, from which it only emerges above Artvin. The eastern arm of the river above Ilica is the Kaçkar. A track up it leads past the poverty-stricken Kaçkar Yayla to the Six Finger Mountains, Altı Parmak Dağları. A pass at over 3,000 m between these peaks leads down into the river Parhal and onward to Yusufeli as described above.<sup>402</sup>

*From Marthoula, Fındıklı, or from Archabis, Arhave, to Parhal and Yusufeli.* Neither author has looked at these routes but the Turkish map shows a paved track across the mountains from Fındıklı and a reported castle near the town may indicate a Byzantine or Georgian settlement. The mountains recede from the coast a little around the Fındıklı and Arhave deltas, giving more favorable areas for settlement, but there is little flat land. A direct track is marked inland from Archabis into the valley of the river Parhal, and it may be remarked that these crossings provide the most

400. See p. 38 above; Deyrolle, "Rapport" (see above, note 375); Hamilton (1936), I, 214–20.

401. See Takaishvili, *Arkheologicheskaiia*, 82–87 and pls. 115–30 for the church, formerly known as Othta Eklisia; and 87–88 and pl. 131 for the castle.

402. For the church at Parhal, see Takaishvili, *Arkheologicheskaiia*, 93–101, pls. 132–48; D. Hills, "Turkey's richness in old churches," *The Times*, 20 April 1963.

direct means of reaching the Black Sea coast from the well settled valleys of the rivers Oltu and Tortum.<sup>403</sup> Fındıklı, Arhave, and their hinterland as far as the watershed, are now the heartland of the surviving Laz.

From Hopa Inland to the Akampsis, Çoruh, at Borçka

The lie of the land at Hopa makes it an obvious place for settlement, but no evidence of classical or Byzantine occupation has been found. A route across the low mountains eastward from Hopa cuts out a section of the Akampsis dangerous for navigation, and provided the river could be crossed at Borçka, this was a useful means of communication with the Georgian hinterland. From Hopa the road climbs easily through cultivated land and patches of forest to the Cankurtaran pass at about 1,000 m. The descent to Borçka is an easy one, and the river valley at this point is less precipitous than above or below the town.<sup>404</sup>

#### GEORGIAN ROUTES

Eastern Pontos marches with Georgian and Armenian territories. The lines of division fluctuate at different periods and are at the best uncertain.<sup>405</sup>

Routes from Ad confluentes, Çobandede

These routes are the continuation of the road eastward from the plain of Theodosiupolis through the region which the Byzantines knew as the Phasianes; the crossing of the Erax, Aras, is near the point where the river turns southward. One route, probably taken by Romanos IV on his march to Mantzikert, Malasgirt, led southeastward to Chleat, Ahlat, and the region around Lake Thospitis, Van.

A route more or less due eastward passed under the slopes of Mount Ararat; stations along it are listed in the Peutinger Tables, and also by Mustawfi and Pegolotti.<sup>406</sup>

Another Peutinger route continued northeastward to Artaxata, and no doubt the tenth-century route given in the Armenian source followed much the same course to the later capital of Doubios/Dvin, Artaşara.<sup>407</sup> These were invasion routes.

The Main Highway into the Caucasus and through to the North

The natural route runs from Ad confluentes, Çobandede Köprü, probably along the line of the modern railway through Aşağı Pasinler, Horasan, and across the Yağmurludağı mountains to Sarıkamış and the plain of Kars. From Kars there is a choice of routes to Tiflis. One route would follow the line of the railway eastward through

403. For the Georgian routes, see p. 59.

404. Koch (1844), II, 144–53. For the Akampsis, Çoruh, River route, see p. 19.

405. Time did not allow us to include a section in the gazetteer devoted to the history and monuments of the region of Tao-Klardjeti, but D. C. W. hopes to publish a separate account of this area at a later date.

406. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 190–96. His sketch map on p. 93 misplaces Mount Ararat, Ağrı Dağı.

407. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 90–100. For the tenth-century route, see p. 169. For the Peutinger route, see Miller, *IR*, cols. 676–77; J. Schnetz, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (see above, note 15), 4–17, section 2.

Leninakan and across the mountains to Karakilise and then northward to Tiflis. The second would go northward through Ardahan and follow the line of the river Kyros, Kur, to Akhaltzike, and then eastward to Tiflis. From Tiflis north there is only one, difficult, route across the Daryal pass. These central routes up the Caucasian peninsula as far as Tiflis were used in turn by Pompey, Corbulo, Vespasian,<sup>408</sup> Heraclius, and Basil II.<sup>409</sup>

The Route from the Black Sea at Phasis, Poti, Inland to Tiflis, and the Peutinger Route from Sebastopolis to Artaxata

Versions of the Peutinger route are given on Kiepert's map, and also by Miller<sup>410</sup> and Manandian.<sup>411</sup> The routes to Tiflis, or Artaxata, or Doubios, Dvin, probably ran along the same path up the valley of the river Phasis, Rion. The mountain crossing at about 2,200 m is well described by Lynch.<sup>412</sup> The roads then separated at Akhaltzike, with the Peutinger route continuing to the southeast, while the route to Tiflis followed down the valley of the river Kyros, Kur Çayı. This route inland from the coast is an important one since it represents the only relatively easy way to cross the coastal chain of mountains and come into the fertile highland basins which alternate with mountain barriers to form the Caucasian Isthmus. There is a route from Bathys, Batumi, via Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, but it seems most likely that travelers from both Bathys to the south and Dioskourias to the north came along the coast to the mouth of the Phasis in order to travel inland.

Routes from Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, to the Black Sea

There is no natural direct means of communication between Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, and the Black Sea, except by river.<sup>413</sup> However, there was a fairly direct route (above, p. 57) provided that the crossing of the Akampsis was possible. An alternative landward route to the sea at Bathys was rather longer. It led downstream from Ardanoutzion for a few kilometers to the confluence with the river Imerhevi, Berta Suyu, and then up that river past the town of the same name (now Heydancık) to the headwaters of the river. The pass over the Karadağı at about 2,300 m marks the present

408. For some account of Pompey's and Corbulo's campaigns, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, 356–59, 554–61, 1225–28, 1413–14.

409. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 160 ff. For a 9th century itinerary of the Caucasus routes by Ibn Khordadbeh, see A. Sprenger, "Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients," pt. 1, *Abh. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, III, 3 (1864), section VIII, 57–62, and map no. 8. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, II, 312–13, gives the distance between Maldeni, or Melitene, Malatya, and Tiflis as 17 days, but his post stations appear to be confused. On p. 325, he gives a route from Tiflis via Qaliqala, Erzurum, to Trebizond but the number of days has been transposed; clearly it should read: Tiflis to Trebizond, 12 days; Tiflis to Erzurum, 4 days; Erzurum to Trebizond, 8 days. See J. Markwart, *Skizzen zur historischen Topographie und Geschichte von Kaukasien* (Vienna, 1928). There is a general description of the central Caucasus region before it had much changed in Klaproth (1813), and an account of military campaigns in Allen and Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*.

410. Miller, *IR*, cols. 649–50, 653–54.

411. Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, 106–10.

412. Lynch (1893–98), I, 37 ff.

413. See p. 19, for the Akampsis, Çoruh, River route.

Russo-Turkish frontier. From there, a track leads down the valley of the river of Acaristan to its confluence with the Akampsis near the point where it opens out from its gorges into the flat delta country. From this point, it is an easy ride to Batumi.

A more difficult route to the sea is to descend into the Akampsis valley and cross it by boat at one of the wider reaches of the river in the bend between Artvin and Sirya. Thence the track leads south over the mountains to the west of the Akampsis, down to the river Parhal. The route is unlikely to have been much used as a means of reaching the sea, but could have served as a means of communication between Ardanoutzion and the important Parhal valley.

From Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, to Ardahan and Tiflis or to Kars and Ani

Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, lies at a height of about 700 m. From the fertile valleys around the capital it is a long but easy climb eastward to the inhospitable upland plateaus of Ardahan and Kars.<sup>414</sup> The motor road winds around the hills to find an easy gradient and serve a number of villages, but it is possible that the medieval route followed the more direct track up the river Bulanık and passed by the monastery of Rabat. The pass over the Yalnız Cam Silsilesi mountains at about 2,500 m was guarded by the now ruined castle of Urumdere, and the traveler then drops easily down to the great plain formed by the upper reaches of the river Kyros, Kur, at a mean height of about 2,000 m. From here one route runs northward with the river to Akhaltzike, and thence to Tiflis, while another route runs southeast through Ardahan and Kars to Ani, keeping always to the easy high plateau country. In the vicinity of Kars it would have crossed the Peutinger route coming up from the plain of Erzurum.

From Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç Southward, into Upper Tao and the Upper Araxes, Erax, Aras, or the Kyros, Kur, Valleys

*From Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, to Oltu.* The mountains to the south of Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç, are high and there are no easy tracks through them into upper Tao. One medieval route probably followed the western slopes of the valley of the river Üçsu up on to a summer ridge road. This stays at around a 2,000-m contour southward until the point where it could have dropped southeast to the valley in which the monastery and fortress of Niyakom are situated. From Niyakom a track leads westward past the churches of Taos Kari, Tavusker, to the episcopal church at Işhan, or south from Taos Kari along the valley of the river Çalagutsuyu to its confluence with the river Glaukos, Oltu. From here, routes lead either south across the mountains to the town of Oltu, or east and then south to the same town up the valley of the Glaukos.

A second route probably went up the river Bulanık and crossed the pass between the Çapayur and Horosan mountains at a height of about 2,700 m. Tracks from the pass follow the valley of the river Panazkert down to the important fortress and former town of Panaskert, Panazkert. This stands in fertile country at a little over 1,500 m, with prosper-

414. Koch (1844), II, 200–8.

ous villages around it. Tracks lead southwest downstream to the confluence with the river Glaukos, guarded by a castle, and thence upstream past other castles and the fortified monastery of Pernak to the town of Oltu. Or, it is possible to cross a range of hills to the south of Panaskert at about 2,300 m and come down into the valley of the K m r  ayı. This valley contains important churches, among them the round church of Bana, Penek, and the fortress of KahmiŐ, which we identify as Kalmakhi, frequently mentioned in the Georgian annals.<sup>415</sup> The river K m r flows into the Penek, thence down a wide valley to join the river Glaukos below the town of Oltu. A track also leads from the Kalmakhi, KahmiŐ, valley and from Panaskert up through D rtkilise and T rkeŐen to Ardahan.

These valleys average about 1,500 m in height and are wide, but with sadly eroded hills to flank them. This was the heartland of upper Tao, and the number of churches and castles situated in it are evidence that it was once a fertile and rich land. The town of Oltu and its fortress were the center from which Basil II directed his reorganization of Tao, since it stands at a crossroads.<sup>416</sup>

*From the Town of Oltu, Eastward and Westward.* From the west comes the continuation of the Lykos, Kelkit–Bayburt–İspir route.<sup>417</sup> It could have come into the Tortum valley by one of several tributary streams. The northern route came down the river  d k or Vihik, past the monastery of Haho. A central route came over the high passes and down the river G kdere, past Kisha,<sup>418</sup> or down the river  orman, passing the monastery of Ekeki, Ekik, and Kisha. A southern route came down the unnamed river valley, the lower reaches of which are dominated by Tortum castle. From the Tortum valley, two routes continued eastward to Oltu. The modern motor road is the northern route, leaving the valley opposite

415. The whereabouts of Kalmakhi was considered unclear by Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 220–21 and by Toumanoff, *Studies*, 437 ff., 491. We place it at Soĝmon Kale at KahmiŐ, on account of the size of the fortress and the fact that its position seems to fit in with what little is known of it. Zdan vitch, *L'itin raire g orgien* (see note 385 above), 12, 14, appears to come to the same conclusion without giving reasons. But while his map suggests KahmiŐ, his spelling is Kamhis, which is a village east of Mamrovani, Narman. When Taiq, the future Samtskhe, became the short-lived early eleventh-century Byzantine theme of Iberia, Kalmakhi, KahmiŐ, has been identified as the Kalmouche of the will of Eustathios Boilas of the 1050's. But we cannot otherwise identify any of the names in the will and agree with Lemerle that the location of Boilas' estates should be sought elsewhere. See S. Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathios Boilas (1059)," *DOP*, 11 (1957), 266, 165–76; P. Lemerle, *Cinq  tudes sur le XI  si cle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 44–47. Sandwith (1856), 306–28, went past Kalmakhi on his journey from Kars to Ardanoutzion.

416. Stephen of Taron, *Histoire universelle*, ed. and trans. F. Macler (Paris, 1917), 165.

417. See p. 54.

418. Identified as Ketzeon by Zdan vitch, but we know of no ruins there except for a small Georgian chapel, and certainly there are no signs of a walled city. The whereabouts of this town is of some interest since Constantine Porphyrogenitus notes that the Byzantines wanted it and that it was a source of supply for Theodosiopolis: *DAI*, I, 67 ff. We suggest Tortum Kale or Hinzorik as other candidates for Ketzeon, on p. 60. We are sure that Ketzeon must be looked for in these Tortum or Glaukos river valleys since they are fertile and low-lying in comparison to the high plateau of Theodosiopolis, and therefore an obvious source of supply.

to the Tortum castle valley and climbing up barren ravines to the pass at about 2,500 m on the western shoulder of the Kızıl Daĝı. From the top of the pass, which is snow pasture country, it is a gentle descent through an eroded and treeless landscape to the town of Oltu. If the Haho or the Kisha valleys were used, more direct tracks probably led to the Kızıl Daĝı pass. The southern route may have cut across the hills due west of the castle of Tortum at Osk y, and left it by Kaledibi castle to cross the pass north of Ziyaret Tepe at about 2,500 m. This is the route used by Hamilton, who mentions Id, Narman, and Liesgaff, Liskav, and is now the motor road from the Tortum valley to Mamrovani, Narman.<sup>419</sup> Mamrovani stands in a wide valley at about 1,700 m. It is an easy road as far as Narman Pitkir; here the track leaves the valley to avoid gorges and a long bend in the river and crosses low hills to rejoin it once again as far as the confluence of rivers southwest of Oltu.

The route continues east of the town of Oltu up to the high plateau of Kars and Ardahan.<sup>420</sup> The track is easy down the wide and fertile valley of the river Glaukos, Oltu, as far as the confluence at D lĝah K y ; it continues gently up the unnamed eastern source of the same river as far as Bana, Penek. A track for Kars leads from here south up the river Bardiz  ayı to the town of that name, and thence east over the pass between the Ziyaret and Ortodoruk mountains on to the plateau and town of Kars. This was the route traveled westward by Hamilton from Kars to Bardiz. But from there he went down the river Bardiz  ayı for four hours, and across the mountains to Narman Pitkir via Tabranek, Te erek (?).

East of Penek the Glaukos enters a short gorge, but it seems likely that any medieval route stayed in the river valley, which is in general not too steep. The watershed at about 2,400 m separates the headwaters of the Glaukos, Oltu, flowing into the Black Sea, from the headwaters of the Kyros, Kur, flowing into the Caspian. Beyond the watershed it is an easy run down a short valley onto the plateau at G k, and numbers of tracks cross the hills to reach the route going south and north through Kars and Ardahan. If Clavijo's "Aunique" is Ani and not Avnik, it would have been by one of these routes through Kars, G le, and Oltu, or Bardiz and Mamrovani, Narman, that he traveled to Ispir.<sup>421</sup> And it was by one of these same routes, or by Panaskert, Panazkert, and Kalmakhi, KahmiŐ, that Basil II came to Oltu.

*From Oltu Southward.* A direct route south into the Araxes, Erax, Aras, valley at Hasankale, or Ad Confluentes,  obandede, went up the river Id as far as its confluence with the Eĝrek. Here one route turned west to cross into the Tortum valley, while the southern road went on up the river Eĝrek and crossed the eastern shoulders of the KoŐe Daĝı mountains to come down to Hasankale. Here the traveler was on the main route westward into Anatolia via Theodosiopolis, Erzurum; he could go east to Tabriz, northeast into the Caucasus, or southeast to Lake Van.

419. Hamilton (1836), I, 211–16.

420. Koch (1843), 220–48, see note 385 above.

421. In comparing the Clavijo and Hamilton journeys it is interesting to note that Hamilton took five days to ride from Kars to İspir. Ani would have been a further day's ride from Kars.

From Theodosiopolis, Erzurum, Northward into Tao

Such a route would almost certainly have followed the line of the modern motor road across the plain to the north of the city and up the headwaters of the Euphrates, Kara Suyu, to the watershed at the "Georgian Throat," Gürcü Boğazi.<sup>422</sup> This divides the waters running into the Black Sea from those of the Red Sea. North of the watershed, a direct route leads down past Tortum castle and thence down the valley of the river Tortum as far as Ungüzek castle. Thus far the valley affords a natural means of communication. But from Ungüzek northward, the great landslip which formed the Lake Tortum in the post-medieval period has concealed the original nature of the valley. North of the lake the river descends steeply, for the most part in gorges. These widen only at the confluence with the river Glaukos, Oltu, where there is a natural ford and a route from southwest to northeast running past the cathedral of İřhan. It therefore seems probable that a route from Erzurum northwards left the Tortum valley below Üngüzek and continued northeast past the monastery of Ochki, Öřk Vank, and across the Harkever Dađı mountains to Ersis, which is a possible candidate for

422. Koch (1844), II, 265–74 for Oltu to Erzurum.

the district of Asisp'eri.<sup>423</sup> From here routes go north to the Black Sea, crossing the Akampsis and passing Dörtkilise, up the river Parhal,<sup>424</sup> or northeast back into the Tortum valley, and via İřhan and Taos Kari, Tavusker, to Ardanoutzion, Ardanuç.

A second route from the "Georgian Throat" runs north, keeping high on the eastern shoulders of the Tortum valley, to Hinzorik, which should be noted as another possible site for Ketzeon.<sup>425</sup> From here it was possible to drop into either the Tortum valley or the Glaukos valley routes.<sup>426</sup>

423. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 466–67.

424. See p. 57.

425. Wakhoucht, *Géographie*, 125, speaks of the great town of Khendzoreth. M. F. Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1851), 106–7, suggests Ardahan for Ketzeon, but this seems most unlikely since it is very distant from Erzurum and could only grow the same type of crops as that raised on the plain of Erzurum. F. M. Corpi, "The catastrophe of Kantzorik, Armenia," *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, 46 (1890), 32–35, describes a flow of mud about 7 to 8 km long and 100 to 300 m wide which buried the whole village.

426. It is regretted that the most important work of F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna, 1977), was published too late for us to make comparative use of it in this chapter.

## EXCURSUS ON THE ROUTES TAKEN BY MEHMED II IN 1461

As a demonstration of one of the many ways in which D. C. W.'s Chapter II on Routes may be used, A. A. M. B. offers the case of Mehmed II's movements in 1461. This excursus is not intended to provide a history of the fall of Trebizond in that year, which has still to be written, for at least seventy-eight fifteenth-century accounts and contributory scraps of evidence have yet to be correlated before the equally substantial, but generally unhelpful, secondary literature is considered. The most important source for Mehmed's routes is an eyewitness account by Tursun Beg, private secretary to Mahmud Pasha, Grand Vizier in 1456–68 and 1472–73. This has not been employed by historians of Trebizond, or even (as Inalcik pointed out) by biographers of Mehmed II.<sup>1</sup> Nor has the evidence of the dating of Ottoman documents been applied to establish the Sultan's movements in 1461, and at least one Greek source remains to be used. So A. A. M. B. claims the luxury of ignoring the secondary literature and reexamines the subject largely in the light of Tursun Beg and D. C. W.'s chapter. He is indebted to Dr V. L. Ménage for making Tursun's account available to him, and for guidance and correspondence on

1. H. Inalcik, "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432–1481) and his time," *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 408–9.

the subject since 1964, but conclusions and errors are his own.

There were three elements: an Ottoman fleet under Kasım and Ottoman armies under Mehmed and Mahmud. The Sultan did not do things by halves: the fleet was of 100 to 300 ships and carried cannon, and even if the armies did not include the 140,000 cavalry and infantry claimed for them, they must have been one of the largest forces yet seen in Anatolia, posing peculiar logistical problems. As the force may have exceeded the entire population then ruled by either of the Sultan's principal victims of 1461, Ismail Isfendi-yarođlu of Sinope and David Komnenos of Trebizond, it is not surprising that there were few casualties and that no cannon was fired. But, for different reasons, Ismail and David were surprised to find their respective capitals attacked.

The Sultan left Edirne (Adrianople) after 23 March 1461, crossing from Gallipoli to Mudanya to enter Anatolia.<sup>2</sup> He

2. H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-Bega Ishakovića: zbirni katestarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Monumenta Turcica historiam Slavorum meridionalium illustrantia, Ser. II, vol. 1 (Sarajevo, 1964), fol. 155r; Ařikpařazade, trans. Kreutel, 219, with additions by Neřri (an inhabitant of Bursa), *Gihännüma, Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlânâ Mehmed Neschri*, ed. F. Taeschner, I (Leipzig, 1951),

reached Bursa after Mahmud, who was there on 21 April.<sup>3</sup> The Ottoman *aplektion* of Bursa seems to have been on the plain of Bitinos (Madenos, now Bilâdiyünus airport), 8 km north-northwest of the town. Mehmed and Mahmud moved on to Ankara, where the Sultan held court and documents were issued on 12 to 21 May.<sup>4</sup> Thence they climbed to Kastamonu and marched on Sinope, where they arrived after Kasım's fleet from Constantinople had invested the place, and before about 10 July. Ismail of Sinope was ally of David of Trebizond, but he was also brother-in-law of the Sultan and had reason not to expect Mehmed's attack. He surrendered Sinope. Kasım sailed on to Trebizond. Sultan Mehmed and Mahmud Pasha marched south to Tokat and Sivas, and east to Koyulhisar, the Akkoyunlu frontier castle, which they took from Uzun Hasan, brother-in-law of David of Trebizond. They then moved east to camp on the Yassı Çimen and north to (or toward) Bayburt. Either on the Yassı Çimen, or on the Barkar, Bulgar, Dağı, Sara *hatun*, Uzun Hasan's mother, came to plead with Mehmed and was taken on to Trebizond. On about 28 July, either near Bayburt or on the Barkar Dağı, the armies divided. Mahmud Pasha went first, taking an unusual westerly route, encountering (according to Tursun, who was with him) terrible mountains. Sultan Mehmed took an unusual easterly route, encountering (according to Mihailović, who was with him) terrible mountains. It poured with rain. There was little to choose between being stuck in the mountains (with the baggage camels), or stuck on the coast (where the mud was as sticky as porridge). But the mountains encountered by Mehmed may have been less terrible than the mountains encountered by Mahmud. Kasım's fleet had invested Trebizond from after about 13 July. Mahmud arrived there on about 13 August. Mehmed arrived there on about 14 August. David surrendered his city on 15 August,<sup>5</sup> two centuries to the day after Michael VIII

Palaiologos had ridden in triumph through Constantinople. After settling things, Mehmed marched back along the coast. This was perhaps the most trying part of the campaign. The coast road proved very difficult and there was no fodder. Kasım had to supply the Ottomans by sea and they lost many beasts.<sup>6</sup> From Canik, Mehmed turned inland to Niksar (where he camped between 28 August and 6 September), Tokat, and Gerede (formen Kratea Flaviopolis, where he was between 17 and 26 September), reaching Edirne, via Istanbul before 4 December.<sup>7</sup> Niccolò Segundino's report of the fall of Trebizond was posted from Anatolia on 21 September and reached Venice before 20 October. The news arrived in Rome before 26 October (when it was passed on to Mantua and Hungary), Volterra before 27 October, and Bologna before 23 March 1462. By the time Amoiroutzes sent his eyewitness account from Edirne to Bessarion on 11 December 1461, the news was already stale.<sup>8</sup>

Mehmed's route is easily followed as far as Koyulhisar. Yassı Çimen presents the first problem, which is curious, for this "broad pasture" was used either as an *aplektion*, or as a battlefield, by a Turkish army on at least four occasions. Yet, as Taeschner pointed out, it appears on no map—even ours.<sup>9</sup> Yassı Çimen was the scene of the great three-day battle of Ramadan 1230 between Kaykubadh and Celal al-Din, which saved the Seljuk state from Khwarazmian domination.<sup>10</sup> It may have been used again before the battle of Köse Dağı, to the north, when the Seljuk state went down to the Mongols in 1243. Mehmed II used it in 1461. According to Tursun, "The Sultan . . . marched against the land of

siege was 32–40 days, and the mountain crossing 18 days): see Kritoboulos, *Historia*, 117–43; Amoiroutzes, PG, 161, cols. 723–78; Mihailović, *Memoirs*, 119, 224–25 (where the commentator, Svät Soucek, unaccountably makes David surrender Trebizond to Mahmud on 26 October).

6. Tursun, *Chronicle*, 102.

7. Sabanović, *op. cit.*, fols. 152<sup>v</sup>, 154<sup>v</sup>, 157<sup>v</sup>, 123<sup>r</sup>; Mihailović, *Memoirs*, 121. Mehmed returned to Adrianople by 4 December 1461. Giovanni Antonio de' Colli, copyist of MS Harvard Typ 17, written at Chios and finished on 13 June 1461 (surely he means 1462), was an eyewitness of the fleet's return to Constantinople and Pera from Trebizond. It then consisted of about 150 ships, with artillery freighters and 4,000 *cantara* (almost 200 tons) of gunpowder which the Sultan had kept dry. The copyist reckoned the army, which he did not see, at 200,000 men. See E. H. Wilkins, "The Harvard Manuscript of Petrarch's *Africa*," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 12 (1958), 320–35.

8. Lambros, *NE*, 2 (1905), 331–33; P. D. Mastrodemetres, Νικόλαος Σκουρνδιός (1402–1464) βίος και ἔργον (Athens, 1970), 89; Pastor, *op. cit.*, III, note at p. 255; Lambros, *NE*, 2 (1905), 325–26, cites 26 October 1461, and Babinger, *REB*, 7 (1949), 205–7, 27 October 1461, respectively, as being the first mentions of the fall of Trebizond in Italy. See note 5 above.

9. Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, 5.

10. Ibn Bibi, trans. Duda, 166–71, 328; Juvaini, *The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle, II (Manchester, 1958), 451; *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first part of his political history of the world*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge, I (Oxford, 1932), 395: "And very many of them fled to Trapizun and to the country of the Iberians, and about fifteen hundred horsemen fell from a high rock during the night and died."; Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, 74; H. L. Gottschalk, "Der Bericht des Ibn Nazif al-Hamawī über die Schlacht von Jasyçimen," *WZKM*, 56 (1960), 55–67.

191; II (Leipzig, 1955), 274; *Kitab-i Cihan-nümâ Neşri Tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, II (Ankara, 1957), 742. The dating of the letter supposedly written by Mehmed to Skanderbeg from Constantinople on 22 June 1461, hitherto used as a terminus post quem for the start of the Anatolian campaign, must therefore be rejected: see Barletius, *De vita . . . Georgii Castrioti* (Strasburg, 1537), 311–13; Miller, *Trebizond*, 100. Notes in Sabanović, *op. cit.*, fols. 93<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>, reveal that the Sultan left Constantinople for Adrianople after 3 January 1461 and before 14 March.

3. *Külliyât-i Divân-i Mevlânâ Hâmidî*, ed. I. H. Ertaylan (Istanbul, 1949), 283–86, has a panegyric (*kasida*) by Hâmidî presented to Mahmud Pasha at Bursa which ends with the date 10 Rajab and chronogram for 865 (21 April 1461). Hâmidî, hitherto at Ismail's court at Sinope, was perhaps hastily changing masters; Mahmud, as *beylerbey* of Rumeli, had been mustering the troops of Rumeli.

4. Sabanović, *op. cit.*, fol. 116<sup>r</sup>. On the plain of Bitinos, where Mahmud Pasha was injured, see the unpublished anonymous chronicle in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 313, fol. 139<sup>v</sup> (and on the manuscript, see the *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish . . . manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, begun by E. Sachau, completed by H. Ethé (Oxford, 1899–1954), II, 1163–64, no. 2051.

5. On the date of the fall of Trebizond, see F. Babinger, "La date de la prise de Trébizonde par les Turcs," *REB*, 7 (1949), 205–7; which ignores the evidence of S. P. Lambros, 'Η ἄλωσις τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ ἡ Βερυτία, *NE*, 2 (1905), 324–33; which ignores the evidence of L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages*, III (London, 1894), note at p. 255. Other dates are extracted from Kritoboulos and Amoiroutzes (that the maritime

Erzincan. . . The army encamped in the *yaylak* of Yassı Çimen overlooking the plain of Erzincan and one day's march from it. . . ."<sup>11</sup> Following the same Kelkit route in 1473 as he had in 1461, Mehmed may have again used the Yassı Çimen when he finally came to grips with Uzun Hasan on the Otlukbeli, Başkent campaign.<sup>12</sup> But this time he preferred Tercan, Byzantine Derxene, then Mamahatun, as his principal *aplektion*. Mehmed's routes were traversed by Selim I, who camped on the Yassı Çimen for a few days from 18 July 1514, on his way to his great victory over the Safavids at Çaldıran on 23 August.<sup>13</sup> It may have been used on the Georgian campaign of 1578 and was a stage in Murad IV's march against Baghdad in 1638.<sup>14</sup>

Uzunçarşılı places the Yassı Çimen in the neighborhood of the Kurutepe *yayla*, east of Suşehri (a vast area);<sup>15</sup> Cahen is more precise with "the grassy valley of Yassı-Chimen, to the west of Erzincan," but even that does not help.<sup>16</sup> Evliya stayed at "Jemen, an Armenian village on the plain of Erzenjan,"<sup>17</sup> but, while the name may be the same, he was coming southwest from Kemah, Kamacha, rather than from the northwest like Mehmed. So commentators have, reasonably enough, seized upon the Çimen Dağı, north-northwest of Erzincan. But the Çimen Dağı and the Yassı Çimen are different, if related, things. One of the features of the Yassı Çimen was a peculiarly unpleasant spring. In *ca.* 1340 Hamd-Allah Mustawfî cited Qazvini for the report "that in Armenia in the meadow called Yâsi Chaman there is a spring where the water gushes forth with such violence that the sound made by it can be heard at a great distance away: any animal that falls into it forthwith perishes; and its waters when drunk are violently purgative."<sup>18</sup> This is evidently the phenomenon noted by Hadji Khalfa at Erzincan, "une ville riche en pâturages . . . On y voit, dans une montagne, une grotte remarquable par ses stalactites: il tombe du plafond de cette grotte de l'eau qui se pétrifie."<sup>19</sup> By contrast, Hadji Khalfa's Çimen Dağı lay near Kelkit, "une montagne qui sert de campement d'été . . . elle est appelée . . . *Tchémèn dâg'y* (montagne de la pelouse). Un *Uloûs* turkoman . . . vient y camper pendant la belle saison. . . . On y trouve encore d'autres montagnes habitées."<sup>20</sup> But the two real clues to the whereabouts of the Yassı Çimen are in the Sivas-Erzurum itineraries of Hadji Khalfa (cited in p. 34) and Murad IV. Both place it firmly on the north side of the Çimen Dağı. In Hadji Khalfa, the Yassı Çimen lies four and a half hours

east of the Çimen *yaylak* and five hours west of the Pular Dağı. Two stages and eight hours on is Çamur (Djanik; Taeschner's Tschamur).<sup>21</sup> Then comes Tulus (Toloslar; Taeschner's Tolos),<sup>22</sup> five and a half hours beyond, and Tercan, Derxene, Mamahatun, two stages and ten hours further east. Murad IV's route ran from Yar Pınarı to Yassı Çimen, then to a Büyük Yassı Çimen, and on to Palahor (now Balahor), each five hours apart. This route does not drop down to Erzincan and is therefore not the one used by travelers, such as Burnaby,<sup>23</sup> from Erzincan to Tercan. It provides a Yassı Çimen which lies, as Tursun stated, one day from Erzincan but which does not actually overlook the plain of Erzincan.

The itineraries lead one to a Yassı Çimen on the north side of the Çimen Dağı, along the Balahu Dere and just west of Balahor and Sipanazat on our Map II. As well as offering a "broad pasture," this *aplektion* is also something of a "Bathys Rhyax": the river turns water mills and the valley is enclosed by steep escarpments (not found on the southern side of the mountain), which, geologically, could (and may still) harbor the notorious grotto of petrification.

If our placing of the Yassı Çimen is correct, three observations, economic, social, and strategic, may be made.

First, the Yassı Çimen and the inhabited mountain of Çimen Dağı formed part of the Türkmen summer pasture system. Broadly speaking, the related winter pastures lay around Diyarbekir to the south. But each area could also provide unseasonable grazing. The Barriye summer pastures are an island within the Diyarbekir winter pastures and, we suggest, Yassı Çimen and the plain of Erzincan offered winter grazing to complement the Çimen Dağı's summer pasture for those who did not make the long trek south and for local transhumants.<sup>24</sup> At all events, there is strong evidence that the largely Armenian and largely urban economy of Erzincan was being severely eroded by the largely Türkmen and largely pastoral economy which engulfed it in the later Middle Ages.<sup>25</sup>

Second, the local economic distinctions of the region are strikingly reflected in the social boundaries of the earliest local *defters* in 1530. These reveal a swathe of upland settlements which were exclusively Muslim on the Çimen Dağı, Balahu Dere, and mountains north of Erzincan as far as Tulus, along Hadji Khalfa's route, while villages on either side of the mountains and in Tercan were almost exclusively Christian.<sup>26</sup>

Third, there was historic precedent for camping an *aplektion* on the north, rather than the south, side of the Çimen Dağı, for our Yassı Çimen lies beside Satala, still a military base in the seventh century and a bishopric in the thirteenth.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Yassı Çimen was in effect the Turkish

11. Tursun, *Chronicle*, 101; abridged trans. V. Ménage.

12. Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 131–32; Pitcher, *Historical Geography*, 80, 98, maps xv, xxv, xxxi.

13. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, II (Pest, 1828; reprinted Graz, 1963), 409.

14. Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, 10.

15. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II (Ankara, 1949), 251 note 2.

16. Cahen, *P-OT*, 129–31.

17. Evliya (1644), II, 202.

18. *The geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulûb composed by Hamd-Allah Mustawfî of Qazîn in 740 (1340)*, trans. G. Le Strange (Leyden and London, 1919), 276.

19. *Chêref-Nâme ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde par Chêref-ou' ddine, Prince de Bidlis, dans l'Îlâlet d'Ârzeroume*, trans. F. B. Charmoy, I, i (St. Petersburg, 1868; reprinted Farnborough, 1969), 187.

20. *Chêref-Nâme*, 186.

21. Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, 10.

22. Taeschner, *loc. cit.*

23. Burnaby (1876), II, 50–76.

24. Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 42, map. 2.

25. Sanjian, *Colophons*, 179, 206–8; Vryonis, *Decline*, 259, 271 note 761, 281 note 79, 374; Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 334 note 9.

26. I. Miroğlu, *XVI. yüzyılda Bayburt Sancağı* (Istanbul, 1975), 35–86, esp. map opp. p. 112.

27. C. Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the end of Antiquity," *EHR*, 357 (1975), 722; Vazelon Act of 1256; Bryer and Winfield, *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 26.

Satala, enjoying the same supply lines to the coast and advance post at Theodosiopolis as the Roman strategic base had done. Only in the last century have the exigencies of modern warfare made Erzincan the Turkish successor of both Satala and Yassı Çimen.

The next problem is the Barkar Dağ, which Tursun makes the *Fatih* climb north of Yassı Çimen, after Sara *hatun* had joined him; it is evidently the Bulgar Dağı on which Aşikpaşazade makes Sara *hatun* plead with the Sultan (the two versions may not be in conflict).<sup>28</sup> Kreutel, Aşikpaşazade's German translator, identifies the Bulgar with the Balabandağı;<sup>29</sup> Papazoglou, his Greek translator, with a Medilis Dağı<sup>30</sup> (which we cannot locate); and Minorsky with a mountain east of Refahiye and between the Euphrates and Kelkit.<sup>31</sup> None offers an argument for his identification and Minorsky has least reason to do so. We suggest, however, that Barkar/Bulgar is, philologically, more likely to refer to the whole range of the Pontic Alps, the Parachoathras or Paryadres, rather than to a single summit, although in the Bulgar Dağı near Niksar of the Melikdanişmendnâme to the west and in Georgia Parhal to the east, it may have given its name to individual peaks and places.<sup>32</sup> We cannot propose any particular mountain for the Barkar, Bulgar, Dağı, which is unfortunate for it would have provided a key to how Mehmed and Mahmud reached Trebizond.

From Yassı Çimen, according to Tursun, Mehmed, Mahmud, Sara, and "the army moved off towards Tarabzun . . . . When the army, traveling by the Bayburt road, had crossed over the mighty and snowy mountain of Barkar and come near to the borders of Tarabzun, Mahmud Pasha was sent on ahead by the left-hand way, to prevent the emperor [*tekvur*] from fleeing and blockade him in his fortress [*hisar*]. The Sultan with his household troops [*kapu*] and the Anatolian troops marched by the right-hand way. The Sultan's plan succeeded: his 'genius' [*himmel*] so favored Mahmud Pasha that the pickaxemen [*kazmacılar*] and pioneers [*baltacılar*] hacked a way by that impassable road and the *voynuks*<sup>33</sup> were able to descend, between dawn and afternoon, from the crest of the mountain to its foot. Meanwhile the ships had come and invested the town, but the infidels, thinking it impossible that the Sultan could approach by that [mountain] route, fought daily with the marines and resisted insouciantly in the fortress [*kale*]. But when the sound of horses' hooves came to their ears and the scouts appeared, they were unable to flee but barred their gates. But when the *kale* was invested by sea and land and later the Sultan himself came up, the infidels realized that there was no escape. When the guns were set up, the infidels were so terrified that there was no need for bombardment or assault.

28. Tursun, *Chronicle*, 101; Aşikpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 225.

29. Aşikpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 308.

30. A. N. Papazoglou, Μοῦμεθ Β' ὁ πορθητῆς κατὰ τον Τοῦρκον ἱστορικὸν Ἀσικ Πασᾶ Ζαντέ, Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 16 (1940), note 4.

31. V. Minorsky, *EI*, s.v. "Uzun Hasan."

32. Strabo, *Geography*, XI, xii, 4; xiv, 1; *Melikdanişmendnâme*, ed. Mélikoff, I, 159; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 181 and note 5; Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 139 note 100; Minorsky, s.v. "Laz," *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

33. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West, I: Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century*, I (London, 1950), 54.

The *tekvur* begged for quarter for himself and his household and surrendered his *kale* and realm. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

Tursun was with Mahmud on the western route and provides our only, but certain, evidence that the divided armies took different routes. Aşikpaşazade speaks for the Sultan's party on the eastern route, which seems to have been marginally easier. But all are agreed that it was an exceptionally difficult crossing. Kritoboulos was handicapped by having to present his account in terms of classical geography. This convention allowed no means of describing an *aplektion* such as Yassı Çimen, which therefore had to be named after its nearest town, Erzincan, which in turn had to be called Tigranokerta (an all-purpose name for an Armenian city rather than any actual Tigranokerta).<sup>35</sup> Similarly, an omnibus name for an Anatolian mountain range is the Tauros, which for Kritoboulos ran from Mount Mykale to Media, touching most parts of Anatolia except the actual Tauros. But for Kritoboulos this identification at least allowed Mehmed to climb in the footsteps of Herakles, Dionysos, Alexander, Pompey, and Timur. Behind the conventions of Kritoboulos's account, the horrors of the Ottoman crossing of the Paryadres are vivid enough.<sup>36</sup>

Two factors are clear: that, if they used any recognized routes at all, both Mehmed and Mahmud took unconventional tracks which may not even appear on our Map II; and that they cannot have gone on the main highways through Mesochaldia and the defile of Torul Ardası. David Komnenos, *tekvur* of Trebizond, was surprised by the Ottoman armies because he assumed that the central routes over the Pontic Alps, described in Chapter II above and Section XXI below, were blocked. They were. They had been in 1456 too, when Haydar Pasha of Amasya could only attack Trebizond by sea, demonstrating that a marine siege was not enough to take it. But David might have reflected on Cüneyd's land invasion of a few years before that, when the main passes were also blocked. Cüneyd of Erdebil reached Kordyle by the simple process of outflanking the central routes to the west, passing through Türkmen territory. Doukas observes that it was also Mehmed's policy to bypass resistance in 1461.<sup>37</sup>

34. Tursun, *Chronicle*, 102, abridged translation kindly supplied by Dr. V. L. Ménage.

35. Aşikpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 225–26; Kritoboulos, *Historia*, 139–40; ed. Grecu, 277–83. The exact location of Tigranokerta is disputed (it could not be far west of Nisibis or at Martyropolis [now Silvan and formerly Mayafarikin] between Diyarbakir and Bitlis), but is hardly important because Kritoboulos certainly had little idea of its whereabouts. Cf. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, s.v. "Tigranokerta," *RE*; Magie, *Roman Rule*, II, 1214 note 36; and H. Hübschmann, "Die altarmenische Ortsnamen," *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 16 (1904), 473–75.

36. Kritoboulos, *Historia*, 139–40; ed. Grecu, 277–83. His description of the Tauros has the strong appearance of being conventional, but I cannot trace its source. Perhaps it is from a now lost description in the ps.-Plutarch. Strabo, *Geography*, XI, i, 2–4; ii, 15; xi, 7, xii, 1, uses the term in a very general sense. On possible references to other crossings of the Tauros, see Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, xxii, xxxix; Plutarch, *Pompey*, xxviii. Neither Tigranokerta nor the Tauros figure in A. Diller, "Byzantine lists of old and new geographical names," *BZ*, 63 (1970), 27–42.

37. Doukas, Bonn ed., 342; ed. Grecu, 428. Not the most reliable of witnesses, Doukas takes Mehmed to Trebizond via the Phasis, the Caucasus, and Colchis.

There is evidence that some of David's subjects abandoned their emperor; nine out of twelve *pronoiaroi* changed sides and kept their lands—but then David himself abandoned his city and realm and negotiated terms only for his family and household.<sup>38</sup> Whether Kabazites, David's erstwhile supporter and *pansebastos* (military leader), abandoned his emperor by failing to defend Trebizond is unclear, but he did not abandon his own ancestral strongholds. Chalkokondyles states that after the fall of Trebizond, the Sultan sent Haydar Pasha of Amasya to winkle the *pansebastos* Kabazites and his son out of their lands of Mesochaldia, and Clavijo makes it clear that Torul, Ardas, was one of the strongholds of the Kabazitai.<sup>39</sup> This confirms that Mesochaldia and the Torul defile were still in Trapezuntine hands when Mehmed and Mahmud reached Trebizond. Nor were the results of Haydar Pasha's expedition long lasting, for the mountain fief quickly regained its autonomy astride the main routes south. It was not until Uzun Hasan's death in January 1478 that Mehmed was able to send his son Prince Bayezid to suppress the principality of Torul, the last vestige of the Empire of Trebizond, in 1479–80, and to reopen the main routes which had been denied him in 1461.<sup>40</sup> The last ruler of Torul was called Merne; whether he was a Kabazite or not is unclear, for Kabazitai, father and son, had been deported in 1461.<sup>41</sup>

The Pontic ballad which describes how the treacherous Marthas surrendered the Palaiokastron (presumably that at Hamsiköy) to the *Fatih* in 1461 must therefore be part of local romance, for Mehmed cannot have gone that way.<sup>42</sup> Instead, we must seek unconventional tracks to the west and

38. Ö. L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler," *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15 (1953–54), 220. Tursun, *Chronicle*, 102, makes it clear that David Komnenos was interested only in protection for himself and his family and did not request quarter for his subjects: see Lowry, *Thesis*, 8–30.

39. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 496; Clavijo (1404), 157. In *DOP*, 29 (1976), 130 note 60, A. A. M. B. noted that "there is confusion over the identity of the last one, or two, Grand *Mesazontes* [of Trebizond]. N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucharest, 1971), 57, names a Kabazite as final Grand *Mesazon* of Trebizond, citing an enigmatic "Seconde chronique grecque," which," he adds, "I cannot trace." A. A. M. B. thinks he can now trace it as the *Ecthesis Chronica*, ed. Lambros, 26, which Iorga appears to have misread: "Altamouros" was last Grand *mesazon*, Amoiroitzes was last *proto-vestiarios* and, as Chalkokondyles makes clear, Kabazites was last *pansebastos*.

40. See p. 302 below, and Inalcik, *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 425; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 174–75. Tzanicha and "Mathakhel" (Borçka or perhaps Soterioupolis) fell at the same time.

41. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda," 219 note 88. "Aleksi Istranik" was another defender of Torul. A. E. Vacalopoulos incorporated some of Barkan's findings in *Origins of the Greek Nation. The Byzantine Period, 1204–1461* (New Brunswick, 1970), 229: they are not in his original version, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, I (Thessaloniki, 1961), 304. This is the fullest modern account of the fall of Trebizond, but is so riddled with misunderstandings and inaccuracies that it would be fruitless to attempt to unravel them. Vacalopoulos identified the Merne of Torul both with Kabazites and the Marthas of Palaiokastro. It is, however, worth pointing out that Barkan's evidence is derived from the earliest Trabzon *defter*, of 1487, and that the fall of Torul which it reveals occurred in 1479–80, rather than 1461, which Vacalopoulos assumes. See Inalcik, *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 425; and Lowry, *Thesis*, 33.

42. See note 41 and Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 47; and A. Vacalopoulos, "Zur Datierung zweier griechischer Volkslieder," *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 3 (1965), 4–11.

east of the nexus of routes controlled by Torul and Mesochaldia by which Mahmud and Mehmed respectively bypassed the Kabazitai.

The Vizier went "by the left-hand way," west of Torul and hence started through Cheriana (see Section XIX). Here a local report may in fact give the clue to where Mahmud climbed. In 1901 the village of Matsera, Macera, now Alınyayla boasted the tomb of, and a chapel dedicated to, a martyred bishop Basil of Cheriana. The parish priest of Matsera then had a manuscript Life of the bishop by the hieromonk Kallinikos Phytianos, which we cannot now trace, but which stated that bishop Basil had been killed resisting the invasion of the *Fatih* in 1461.<sup>43</sup> This makes sense. Mahmud (rather than the *Fatih*) may have marched northwest from Yassı Çimen through Kelkit and Cheriana to Mumya Kale, driving bishop Basil from his see. Thence he could not take the obvious route northeast, for it was blocked at Torul. Instead, we propose that he climbed over the routeless Çepni pastures out of Cheriana, 3,000 m over the Balaban Dağı (which Kreutel providentially identifies with the Bulgar Dağı) and down to Erikli, Emrek, and nearby Matsera, where he drove bishop Basil to his death. From Matsera Mahmud again could not take the obvious route northeast, for it was still blocked at Torul, now only 25 km away. So he would have skirted the defile by continuing along Çepni pastures to Kürtün and Suma Kale, before finally entering Matzouka and Greek territory down the Malaka Dere at Dikaisimon, Maçka. For much of this way he would have been on the lines of Cüneyd's invasion of a decade or more before, which then veered off further west. Mahmud seems to have kept to Türkmen uplands for as long as possible before descending to the Trapezuntine valleys. He may well have had Çepni guides, picked up in Cheriana.<sup>44</sup>

In skirting east of Torul and Mesochaldia, "by the righthand way," Mehmed had fewer problems than Mahmud, for there are a number of tracks (see Map II). The question is, how far east he went. Evidently he did not take the favorite Türkmen route over the Larhan *yayla*.<sup>45</sup> He probably did not take the next route east, down the Panagia valley either, for it runs beneath the great monastery of Soumela. There is no archaeological or literary evidence of Soumela being surprised by a vast Ottoman force, which surely would have found its riches difficult to leave alone. The Short Chronicle of Soumela has twenty-four entries between 1253 and 1481, but does not mention what would have been the most awesome secular sight of any of its monks' lives. The entry for 1461 indeed notes the fall of Trebizond, but the compiler was under the impression that it was to Uzun Hasan that the capital fell. Even allowing for monastic otherworldliness, it is hardly conceivable that he would have made this error if he had actually witnessed the passage of the Sultan beneath his monastery.<sup>46</sup>

43. Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 2 (21–22) (1946), 505; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 227–32.

44. Clavijo (1404), 120.

45. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73, 76.

46. This is, of course, an argument against a Soumelan origin for its lame chronicle. The chronicle was transcribed by Minoïdes Mynas in MS Paris. Suppl. gr. 1248, fols. 35–36; cf. Lambros, *Short Chronicles*, 84–86.

Moving further east, there are two routes which bypass Torul and Mesochaldia, as well as much Greek habitation: the Taşköprü route which would have brought Mehmed to the mouth of the Pyxites, just east of Trebizond; and the Hyssos, Kara Dere, route, which would have brought him to the sea at Herakleia in the Sourmaina *bandon*, 30 km east of Trebizond. Both routes offer formidable mountains, of up to 2,500 m. The former is more direct, but that is perhaps against it, for although Mehmed started his eighteen-day crossing a day or so after Mahmud, he arrived a day late, despite the fact that his march seems to have been less difficult. This delay might be accounted for by the march from Herakleia to Trebizond. Furthermore, the Hyssos route has a certain historic appropriateness, for it would have revived old military links between Herakleia and Satala, perhaps last used by Heraclius.<sup>47</sup> We propose, therefore, that Mehmed may have also followed the eleventh-century supply routes of the monastery of St. Eugenios in Trebizond, to its lands round Bayburt through Sourmaina;

47. Cf. Brown, Bryer, and Winfield, *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 22–30.

and that Mahmud may have traveled some of his way over the twelfth-century supply routes of the same monastery to its lands in Cheriana.<sup>48</sup>

David was perfectly justified in assuming in 1461 that if Uzun Hasan did not stop Mehmed, the strongholds of Mesochaldia and defile of Torul would, for they were not brought into Ottoman control until 1479–80. He just overlooked the possibility that Mehmed and Mahmud might simply outflank Torul and Mesochaldia. Kritoboulos was perfectly justified in comparing the Ottoman feat in crossing his notional “Tauros” mountains with those of heroes of the past, for the Sultan’s pincer movement on Trebizond exhibits great daring and sound strategy. But Tursun reveals that it was probably Mahmud, rather than Mehmed, who had the more formidable task in implementing the plan until the Sultan rejoined his vizier at Skylolimne (the Gül Çayır) on the eve of the fall of Trebizond.<sup>49</sup>

48. Janin, *EMGCB*, 266–68.

49. See p. 200.



## Section I

# FROM CAPE KARAMBIS TO SINOPE

Although David, brother, “herald and forerunner”<sup>1</sup> of Alexios first Grand Komnenos, reached and held Ἀμάστρις (Amasra) and Ἡράκλεια τοῦ Πόντου (Ereğli) briefly in his expedition against the Laskarids in 1204–14, the most westerly outpost of the Empire of Trebizond proper was, until 1214, Cape Κάραμβις (Kerembe Burunu).<sup>2</sup> Geographically, the unassuming headland, on which tunny-fishermen cluster with long rods today, is an even more significant limit. Commentators from Strabo to the British Admiralty emphasize that Cape Karambis is the closest Anatolian point to Cape Sarych, the southernmost tip of the Crimea, the Trapezuntine *Perateia*.<sup>3</sup> The Black Sea is narrowed here to only about 225 km by these two capes, “by which [it] is divided into two seas,”<sup>4</sup> “which, owing to different winds blowing at the same time in each of them, are often very distinct.”<sup>5</sup> Cape Karambis is the westernmost extremity of part of the Paphlagonian coast which, stretching almost due east-west, projects into the the Euxine. The easternmost extremity, 140 km away, is the Syrias-Sinope peninsula, which lies even further north but is slightly more distant from the Crimea. Persistent tales that mariners are never out of sight of lands when sailing from Karambis to the Crimea, are, however, hard to credit.<sup>6</sup>

1. Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 828, 842.

2. George Acropolites, ed. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903), 11–12; Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates) in Sathas, *MB*, I, 115–26; Ephraemius, Bonn ed., 305; Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 78; Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), 89–90, 99, 105, 147; G. P. Begleres, “Sceau de David, empereur de Trébizonde,” *IRAIK*, 8 (1903), 247–48, pl. xxiv; the same’s Τὸ μολυβδόβουλλον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τραπεζοῦντος Δαυῖδ, in *DENA*, 8 (1905), 237–48, and 10 (1907), 113–56; K. M. Konstantopoulos, Τὸ λεγόμενον μολυβδόβουλλον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Δαβίδ, in *DENA*, 8 (1905), 121–30; the same’s Τὸ μολυβδόβουλλον Δαβίδ Κομνηνοῦ. Ἀπάντησις πρὸς τὸν κ. Γ. Π. Βεγλερῆν, in *DENA*, 8 (1905), 293–322; Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 424–25; V. Laurent, “Sceau inédit de David Comnène, libérateur du Pont et cofondateur de l’empire de Trébizonde,” *AP*, 19 (1954), 151–60; Miller, *Trebizond*, 18; Vasiliev, *Speculum*, 11 (1936), 25; Perrot and Guillaume (1861), 18 (for the inscription of David at Pontic Herakleia).

3. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ed., *FHIT*, 117; Vasiliev, *Goths*, 187–88.

4. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 10; cf. II, v, 22; XI, ii, 12.

5. *Black Sea Pilot*, 396.

6. Strabo, *Geography*, VII, iv, 3; Robinson, *AJPh*, 27 (1906), 136 and note 7; Leaf, *JHS*, 26 (1916), 4. But reference to the tables in *Reed’s Nautical Almanach* (London, 1971), 320–21, suggests that simultaneous sightings of the mountains behind Capes Karambis and Sarych in mid-Euxine are unlikely. Jonathan Shepard, “Another New England?—Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Black

From Cape Karambis to Sinope the Paphlagonian Alps largely dispense with foothills and fall almost directly into the sea. Despite what appears to have been a route along the coast, in use in the twelfth century,<sup>7</sup> land communications between the small settlements were still impracticable west of Ἰωνόπολις (Ἰωνόπολις, Ginopoli, now Inebolu)<sup>8</sup> in 1972. The coastal villagers watch international shipping hug the shore but are isolated from the outside world and from each other by the vagaries of the weather on the cape.

There are three indications that Karambis was more than a simple cape. In 1091 (St.) Theodore Gabras, independent duke of Chaldia, kidnapped his son Gregory, then a hostage of Alexios I Komnenos, from Constantinople. The Emperor’s agents caught up with the Gabrades near what Anna Komnene describes as a “polis locally called Karambis.”<sup>9</sup> Here Theodore surrendered his son. Anna’s reference appears to be the sole literary Byzantine one to a settlement on, or close to, the cape. But in 1608 Bordier sailed past “Carambis, sur la pointe duquel se voient encore les vestiges de quelque ancienne ville, maintenant . . . déserte.”<sup>10</sup> Finally Evliya observed enigmatically of the cape that “on the rocks are some remarkable inscriptions.”<sup>11</sup> However no traveler seems to have landed on, or near the cape.<sup>12</sup>

## MONUMENTS

Nothing appears to survive today on the cape itself. However, about 2 km east of Cape Karambis lies the village and *skala* of Fakas; it was in 1972 effectively reached only by

Sea,” *Byzantine Studies — Etudes Byzantines*, 1 (1974), 20–21, gives useful sailing times for the crossing; Eustathios of Thessaloniki reckoned three days. See also A. Bryer, “The Latins in the Euxine,” *XVe Congrès International d’Etudes Byzantines (Athens, 1976)*, *Rapports et Co-Rapports*, I, Histoire, 3, p. 4.

7. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, 394; see p. 100 note 55. The coastal route in Miller, *IR*, col. 634, makes no sense. For a general account, see G. Jacopi, *Dalla Paflagonia alla Commagene* (Rome, 1937).

8. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 10; Arrian, 20; *Anonymous periplus*, 19; Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 78. It appears as Ἰωνόπολις in Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, 696.2, the only place listed between Amastris and Sinope. No ancient or medieval site, let alone a “Wall of Abonos,” is evident there today. Its 19th-century Greek church is, like that at Ordu, now a prison.

9. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, VIII, ix, 4; ed. Leib, II, 153. It was near Αἴγινα, which we cannot trace. Cf. Bryer, “Gabrades,” 176.

10. Bordier (1608), 97.

11. Evliya (1644), II, 36.

12. Clavijo (1404), 106; Tournefort (1701), II, 150; Hell (1846), II, 339 (“Fakas Skelessi”).

sea. About 500 m inland, bearing 100° on Fakas village, is a rocky hill. A feature projects from an outcrop on its southwest slope. This consists of a brief stretch of banded brick and stone masonry. The latter consists of three sections of regularly-coursed roughly-faced blocks above a footing, divided by two bands of brick, the upper of four and the lower of three courses of brick (see Appendix). The bricks are divided by 7 cm of lime and pulverized earthenware mortar

with a few small pebbles. There are broken ridged tiles in the area, but no other masonry could be found in the undergrowth. The purpose of this feature is obscure. Locally known as “the Genoese *hamam*,” it stands near a spring and may have formed part of a fountainhead. It provides, however, evidence of medieval settlement, and perhaps even of Anna Komnene’s town of Karambis.

## Section II

# SINOPE

### DESCRIPTION

Σινώπη (Sinopolli, Sinub, now Sinop)<sup>1</sup> stands on the north-east corner of an extensive peninsula, roughly square in shape with sides of about 30 km. The northwest corner is marked by the cape of Συριάς, Λεπτή ἄκρα, “the fine cape” (now Ince Burunu). Midway between the twin headlands Xenophon’s Ten Thousand were directed, to the anchorage of Ἀρμῆνη (Arnone, Erminio, Πόρτο Ἀρμυρό, Eren, now Ak Liman). Armene itself was of slight account and it was said that “whoever had no work to do walled Armene.” The bay of Armene is watered by the Ὀχθομάνης (now Karasu).<sup>2</sup> The whole peninsula is made up of low, gently rolling hills. It is fertile and heavily cultivated, supplying the immediate agricultural demands of the city. The mountains begin to rise to ca. 1,300 m about 35 km inland; they close in on the sea short of Ayancık to the southwest and at Karousa (Gerze) to the south-east.

Like Amastris, Sinope straddles a narrow causeway which links what is all-but an island to the mainland. The island, now Boz Tepe (Πόρδαπας, Πόζδαπας—its ancient name is not known but later Greeks called it “Karapi” or simply ἡ νῆσος) is roughly triangular, lying west-east, about 4.5 km long and 3 km across at its broadest.<sup>3</sup> Off its eastern extremity (now Boz Tepe Burunu) is an islet called Sts. Peter and Paul or Skopelos (now Gazibey Kayası); only fishing boats can negotiate the channel between it and Boz Tepe. The isthmus between Boz Tepe and the mainland narrows to a width of less than 400 m. The main harbor of Sinope, the finest on the Pontic coast, is sheltered on its southern side and boasts one of the few evident ancient moles on the Euxine. A lesser cove beaches boats below the walls at their northeast corner. By land the two ports are divided only by the walled town, but they are separated by over 7 km of sea.<sup>4</sup>

Strabo’s remains the best description of the city: “Sinope is beautifully equipped both by nature and by human foresight,

for it is situated on the neck of a peninsula, and has on either side of the isthmus harbors and roadsteads and wonderful tunny-fisheries. . . . Furthermore, the peninsula is protected all round by ridgy shores, which have hollowed-out places in them. . . . Higher up, however, and above the city (i.e., on Boz Tepe), the ground is fertile and adorned with diversified market gardens. . . . The city itself is beautifully walled, and is also splendidly adorned with gymnasium and marketplace and stoas.”<sup>5</sup> In the fourteenth century Al Umari described Turkish Sinub and Christian Boz Tepe more quaintly. It was “commonly called the island of lovers” . . . “it has a mountain more beautiful than the buttocks of the houris of paradise, and adjoining it is an isthmus more graceful than the slenderest of loins.”<sup>6</sup> A few years earlier Ibn Battutah found that Boz Tepe then sustained eleven Christian villages and a hermitage of St. Elias.<sup>7</sup> A lake in the center of the island irrigates it; enquiry suggests that no upstanding remains survive in the area of the military base which now crowns Boz Tepe.

Classical roads ran from Sinope west and east along the Paphlagonian and Pontic shores, and south over the Paphlagonian Alps to a junction at Thomia (Germanicopolis?)—perhaps modern Boyabat.<sup>8</sup> Robinson noted a number of milestones in the area, but these discoveries can only tantalize the historical geographer, for he failed to state where he made them; Leaf, however, argued strongly that these routes were not commercially important.<sup>9</sup> Modern experience of the still abominable roads may support Leaf’s thesis, which was first implied by Hamilton and Munro.<sup>10</sup>

5. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 11; trans. (adapted) H. L. Jones, Loeb (London, 1928), vol. p. V, 389.

6. Al Umari (1342–49), 190 (apparently the only translation of the Pontic section of this Moroccan geographer’s work, which is here derived from hearsay). Among more useful genuine travelers’ accounts not otherwise cited below, see Clavijo (1404), 107; Tafur (1438), 130; Tournefort (1701), II, 153–60 and the engraving (view from the east) opposite p. 153; Evliya (1644), II, 38; Beauchamp (1796), 145–54; Lechevalier (1800), 377–81; Teule (1842), I, 433–36; and Hell (1846), II, 345–52; IV, 238–40.

7. Ibn Battutah (1332), II, 465–68.

8. Miller, *IR*, cols. 643–44, 670–71; Bekir Başoğlu, *Boyabat ve Çevresi Tarihi* (Ankara, 1972), 21. The present Boyabat-Sinop road is a recent construction and cannot follow the lines of the ancient one.

9. Robinson, *AJPh*, 27 (1906), 139; Leaf, *JHS*, 37 (1916), 1–10.

10. Hamilton (1836), I, 313; J. A. Munro, “Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman,” *JHS*, 21 (1901), 53–55.

1. Skylax, 89, 102; *Anonymous periplus*, 21–23; Arrian, 21; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238–39; II, 30.

2. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, VI, i, 15; Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 10; Skylax, 89; Arrian, 20–21; *Anon. periplus*, 40; Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 78; Miller, *IR*, col. 643; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 239.

3. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 78; Bzhshkean (1819), 41–45, trans. Andreasyan, 30; British Admiralty Chart 2237, inset plan. See also fig. III.

4. *Black Sea Pilot*, 398; *Itinéraire de l’Orient* (1861), 519.

Sinope, then, lies at the head of no major route. Yet it was a major port—sometimes *the* major Euxine port—throughout the classical and much of the medieval period. Why? The explanation is surely that while the Sinop-Ince Burunu peninsula satisfied the immediate and mundane needs of the city, the real hinterland of Sinope was not the inhospitable Paphlagonian interior, but the other Greek colonies of the Black Sea, especially in the Crimea. In this respect, Sinope was the Venice of the Euxine.

In emphasizing this aspect of Sinope, one should not, however, ignore the political significance of its own Pontic holdings or the economic significance of their produce. On the map, the three strips of coastland which obeyed Sinope from the seventh century B.C. to the early fourth century A.D. are insignificant enough.<sup>11</sup> But they presage the later separatism of the littoral and, for over a millennium, constituted what amounted to the earliest Pontic empire—punctuated politically by invaders from the south and east and geographically by the holdings of the upstart cities of Amisos and Polemonion. But in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries Andronikos Komnenos and his grandsons David and Alexios were doing no more than unite a former Sinopitan empire which had long set the distinction of these coastlands. The Sinopitan empire consisted first of the Sinop-Ince Burunu peninsula and the coastland stretching to the Halys in the east, where it met the lands of Amisos. The second section was a strip from Cape Jason (just east of the lands of Polemonion) to the Sinopitan colonies of Kotyora (now Ordu) and Kerasous (now Giresun). The third enclave stretched from Koralla (now Görele Burunu) to the east of the final Sinopitan colony of Trebizond. The exclusiveness of these Greek settlements, “hems of a barbarian cloth,” which, as Xenophon found, turned their backs upon their immediate hinterland and looked to a wider world, set the pattern for all subsequent Pontic development.

Sinope lies midway between Constantinople and the Phasis, yet is substantially closer to the Crimea and its colonies than to either. It is at the hub of the ancient Greek and medieval Italian trading stations of the Euxine, none of which (save ancient Tanais, Venetian Tana on the Don) lies at a distance of more than 600 km.

Sinope had, it is true, its own not inconsiderable exports: oil from the olives which resume their growth eastward from this point; the famous “Sinoper” or *miltos* earth from the southwest; timber (boxwood and wood for the masts of Paphlagonia); salted mullet and tunny (which grow large enough to be caught profitably here on their gyration round the Euxine); and lesser items. But such products are hardly sufficient explanation for the abundant evidence of Sinope’s ancient and (to a lesser extent) medieval prosperity, or for the ship-building industry which, from the fifteenth century (and certainly earlier), was associated with this city.<sup>12</sup> Sinope

11. The map attached to Magie, *Roman Rule*, II, best displays the Sinopitan empire.

12. Robinson, *AJPh*, 27 (1906), 140–44 (excluding listings of iron and livestock for which there is insufficient evidence that Sinope was the actual exporter); Leaf, *JHS*, 26 (1916), 1–15 (especially on *miltos*; cf. Mary P. Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting* [London, 1849, reprinted New York, 1967], I, 246); Strabo, *Geography*, loc. cit.; Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 183–35; Cuinet, *Turquie*

flourished not as a producer or exporter, but as an entrepôt—and, sometimes, as a pirate center. The most striking evidence of the poverty of the city’s own resources was revealed when, in the mid-nineteenth century, direct steamship services were introduced from Constantinople to the Crimean ports and to the caravan heads at Amisos and Trebizond. They naturally bypassed Sinope which, deprived of trade, swiftly entered a decline from which it has not recovered. Modern hopes for the revival of Sinopitan commerce, after an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the timber of Paphlagonia in a now abandoned match factory, have turned to an emulation of Strabo’s tunny fishers, but the pattern of modern shipping is unlikely to restore Sinope to its ancient wealth.

## HISTORY

Robinson’s exhaustive but unreflective monograph on ancient Sinope makes it unnecessary to do more than outline its early history.<sup>13</sup> Modern opinion ascribes the foundation of a Greek colony in the place to about 700 B.C.; in fact the earliest material evidence (from a cemetery on the mainland) dates to around 600 B.C.<sup>14</sup> The subsidiary colonies of Kotyora, Kerasous, and Trebizond followed. Pericles inspected the colony and Diogenes housed himself there. By then it held a near-monopoly of the Euxine carrying trade and was its principal emporium. In 183 B.C. Sinope fell to the Pontic kings; already their window on the west, they soon made it their capital. Mithridates VII, who was born there in 135 B.C., was responsible for its first major defense, embellishment, and port facilities—much of the material in the walls of Sinope described below probably belongs to this period. Lucullus took it in 69 B.C., but it entered the Roman Empire as a free and autonomous city in 63 B.C., a position it retained (partly under the guise of the Colonia Iulia Felix Sinope) for another three and a half centuries.<sup>15</sup>

Pliny obtained Trajan’s permission to investigate the possibilities of building a 16-mile aqueduct to bring water to the city; it was to be financed by the Sinopitan citizens but, if

*d’Asie*, IV, 568; *Sinop II Yilligi 1967* (Sinop, 1967), 151–61. The classical coins of Sinope depict a ship’s prow. In 1461 Ismail Isfendiyaroglu of Sinope had in his yards a ship of 900 *pithoi*, probably the largest then in the Black Sea: Chalkokondyles Bonn ed., 489; cf. Bryer, “Shipping,” 7. Probably mistakenly, Nusret Kuruoglu (in Nazmi Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri* [Ankara, 1959], “Sinop,” 280–91), ascribes the building of part of the walls of Sinope not to “Sebastos” (see below) but to the architect Abu Ali Ibn Abir-Rakka el Kettani of Aleppo, who was in 1227 responsible for Alaeddin Kaykubad’s great naval arsenal at Alanya, which still stands by the sea. Alaeddin (1219–36), however, entitled himself “Sultan of the Two Seas” on the grounds that he held both Sinope and Alanya, and a Seljuk shipyard, on the lines of the Alalyan, might be expected. Perhaps it is represented by the great blocked sea gate in the south walls, but there is no other physical evidence for it. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the shipbuilding yards were on the foreshore to the southeast of the city: Bordier (1608), 101–5; National Bank of Greece, *The Greek Merchant Marine (1453–1850)* (Athens, 1972), pl. 36.

13. Robinson, *AJPh*, 27 (1906), 125–53, 245–79.

14. Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 250, 266; J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (London, 1965), 52–53.

15. Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 183–85; Strabo, *Geography*, loc. cit.

it was in fact begun, it has left no evident remains.<sup>16</sup> Pliny did not mention that evidence for Christian life in the city begins traditionally also under Trajan, with the martyrdom of St. Phokas of Sinope.

The evangelization of Sinope by St. Andrew, and his meeting of the gruesome *anthropophagoi* there, belongs to later legend—although there may have been a marble effigy of the Apostle near the city which iconoclasts attempted to destroy in the years 741–75.<sup>17</sup> But the real patron of the mariners and merchants of the city was Phokas, the gardener and first bishop of Sinop (the two figures are seemingly identical).<sup>18</sup> Whatever the actual origins of Christianity at Sinope (and Trajan's period is a reasonable supposition), the cult of St. Phokas soon became one of the most popular in the Euxine; Sinopitans dedicated a share of wheat to it and there was an annual *panegyris* in the patron's honor.<sup>19</sup> St. Phokas' see was a suffragan of Amaseia. It appears in lists until the thirteenth century; the last bishop of Sinope is mentioned in 1315. Counting St. Phokas himself, literary or sigillographic evidence exists of at least seventeen medieval bishops.<sup>20</sup>

Byzantine Sinope received a few attentions of Justinian, to whose reign boundary stones are attributed, and in 580 Tiberios II sent an expedition into southern Russia from the port;<sup>21</sup> further evidence for the port's continuing association with the northern Euxine is demonstrated by Inscription 5, published below. Sinope became a stronghold of the Armeniak theme, the revolt of which in 793 ended with the execution of its bishop Gregory.<sup>22</sup> The port lay on the outer edge of Arab raids, but in 834 Nasir, called Theophobos by the Byzantines, a rebellious Kurdish chieftain of Caliph al-Ma'mun, was proclaimed king by a "Persian" garrison at Sinope, variously estimated at between 7,000 and 30,000 men. Nasir-Theophobos hastened to ally himself with Theophilos (829–42) and, himself betrayed, took refuge with the Emperor in Constantinople in 838. Twenty years later the Arabs again reached Sinope.<sup>23</sup>

The city enjoyed over two centuries of peace thereafter, but the second Muslim conquest of Sinope came in 1081 when Karatekin, one of Melikšah's emirs, set up a tiny and ephemeral Turkish state there. But Çavuş, like Nasir-Theophobos before him, a Christian convert and renegade,

betrayed Karatekin to Alexios I Komnenos and handed the port over to Constantine Dalassenos. Karatekin's lure seems to have been a large quantity of gold and coin of the imperial treasury which lay in Sinope.<sup>24</sup> The place was never a Byzantine mint or theme capital, but maintained a flourishing customs station, which may account for the treasure—which was left untouched when Sinope was restored to the Byzantines. Karatekin desecrated, however, the church of the Panagia.<sup>25</sup> A century later Sinope became one of the chief strongholds of the future Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos during his Pontic career.<sup>26</sup>

The history of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Sinope is important, complex, and partly unresolved. But the basic feature that emerges is that the port managed to evade control by any major Anatolian or Italian power for much, if not most, of the period and that its heterogeneous population made a modest revival of Sinope's ancient role as the emporium of the Euxine. In 1204/5 the city passed into the hands of Alexios and David Komnenos of Trebizond who, like their grandfather Andronikos, reunited the old Sinopitan empire as a Pontic entity. But in 1214 the Seljuk Sultan Izzeddin Kaykavus (1210–19), frustrated of an outlet on the Black Sea at Aminsos to match the Seljuk port of Antalya, ensnared Alexios, first Grand Komnenos, on an incautious hunting trip outside Sinope. There was a siege and the Sultan and his hostage negotiated. David Komnenos—if he had not already died as a monk on Mt. Athos—may have been killed at this stage. Eventually, the Sultan recognized Alexios as vassal of the Pontic territory east of Sinope which was called "*Camık*," like "*Rûm*," after its real or supposed inhabitants—the Laz (Tzannoi). The treaty, drawn up by a Seljuk *notaran*, fixed the annual tribute of the *tekfur* (subking) of Trebizond at 12,000 gold pieces, 500 horses, 2,000 cattle, 10,000 sheep, and 50 bales of precious goods; it was not as yet a military vassalage and one must suspect exaggeration in the great scale of this tribute. Alexios and the Sultan rode together into Sinope on Sunday 1 November 1214, a date given precisely by both an inscription on its walls and Ibn Bibi. Izzeddin showered honors on the Grand Komnenos and forthwith invited him to remove himself and the Sinopitan archontes by ship to Trebizond.<sup>27</sup>

The walls of Sinope were rebuilt then, they themselves provide out first evidence for them, other than structural, since the works of Mithridates VII. A splendid bilingual Arabic and Greek inscription on tower 38 (see fig. 4) of the citadel records the fact that Bedreddin, son of Abu Bakır, completed the works as Izzeddin's vassal in April to

16. Pliny, *Epistularum ad Traianum liber*, ed. M. Schuster and R. Hanslik (Leipzig, Teubner, 1958), 352–53; cf. Robinson, *AJPh*, 27 (1906), 125, 245; Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 590, 597.

17. Ps.-Epiphanius, PG, CXX, col. 220B; Gedeon, *PP*, 87; F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, DOS, IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 225. See p. 218.

18. Ch. van de Vorst, "Saint Phocas," *AnalBoll*, 30 (1911), 252–95.

19. N. A. Oikonomides, "Ἅγιος Φωκᾶς ὁ Σινοπεύς," *AP*, 17 (1952), 184–219.

20. S. Vailhé, "Les évêques de Sinope," *EO*, 11 (1908), 210–12; Le Quien, *OC*, I, cols. 535–40; M&M, *A&D*, I, 34; Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, 702.2; Gelzer, *Texte*, p. 538, no. 214; Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 291; Laurent, *CS*, V, I, pp. 307–9, nos. 423–27; Schultze, *Kleinasiensien*, I, 143–55.

21. Robinson, *AJPh*, 27 (1906), 325–26; Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, II, 2; Vasiliev, *Goths*, 74.

22. Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 469; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Them.*, ed. Pertusi, 65.

23. Theophanes Cont., Bonn ed., 112, 124–25, 626, 803, 824. The background to the incident is the fall of Amorion.

24. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, VI, ix, 3–4; ed. Leib, II, 64, 66; Cahen, *P-OT*, 80; Vryonis, *Decline*, 114–15.

25. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 12 note 4, 57, 161 note 2, 165, 183. But, unlike Cherson, it does not seem to have had an important *kommerkiarios*: see Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, esp. plans opp. pp. 200, 208.

26. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 274, 280.

27. Ibn Bibi, trans. Duda, 64–67 (the fullest account); Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 131; Vasiliev, *Speculum*, 11 (1936), 26–30; Cahen, *P-OT*, 122–23; the same's *Mélanges Halphen*, 91–101; Bryer, *BK*, 23–24 (1967), 163–68. David Komnenos may have died as the monk Daniel of Vatopedi on 13 December 1213: Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 355. On the inscription on tower 38, see the following note.

September 1215. It appears that Sebastos (presumably a Greek) was architect and that fifteen emirs contributed to the cost. A Turkish wedge now separated Trebizond from the Byzantines of the west; never again could the Grand Komnenoi pose a military threat to Nicaea or Constantinople. The transfer of the port seems to have been intelligently handled. Churches were turned into mosques, but the bilingual inscription hints at tolerance, and the later choice of an Armenian governor, the Rais Hetum, for the now Greco-Turkish population may be regarded as a stroke of genius. But in 1222 Alexios Paktiarēs, Trapezuntine archon of the Crimean *Perateia*, was driven by ill winds into Sinope with his tribute ship, the “Serion.” Hetum seized the “Serion,” its cargo, and personnel, and, emboldened, raided the Crimea. Andronikos, second Grand Komnenos, reacted by sending a fleet to Karousa, where it disembarked an expedition which plundered up to the Sinopitan ἐμπόριον damaging shipping in the harbor. Local shipmasters prevailed on Hetum to sue for peace in Trebizond; the forces of the Grand Komnenos returned well pleased but left Sinope in Turkish hands.<sup>28</sup>

Sinope was also the port of Alaeddin Keykubad’s (1219–36) short-lived attacks on the Crimea in 1219 and 1225. He was responsible for the fine naval arsenal at Alanya; another might be supposed to have been set up at Sinope. But the Mongol invasions of both Anatolia and the Crimea froze the old Seljuk (and Trapezuntine) ambitions in the Euxine. In the 1250s Sinope was in the hands of Rukn al-Din and became a mint. Soon after, Muin al-Din Süleyman, the famous *pervâne* (chancellor) of the Seljuk state under the Mongols, took Sinope from Rukn al-Din as part of his fief and founded a local dynasty which held the port for several generations—with one, immediate, interruption. In 1254 (or 1258, or 1259) the powerful Grand Komnenos Manuel I recaptured Sinope for Trebizond for the last time. Where the Seljuks had judiciously appointed an Armenian governor, Manuel, equally diplomatically, chose an archon of the Gabras family, which had close connections with the Turkish and Byzantine courts. Gabras was killed on the *pervâne*’s recapture of the place in summer 1265 (or 1267 or 1268). He had reconverted mosques into churches; the *pervâne* reversed the process for the last time. A problem has arisen from the publication of the date of the *pervâne*’s *medrese* (theological school) in Sinope (inscribed over its door) as A.H. 661/A.D. 1262–63, within the period of the undoubted Trapezuntine reconquest of the port. But the date reads A.H. 666/A.D. 1267–68 clearly enough; it was the year in which the *pervâne* also completed his nearby Alaeddin Camii. Both *medrese* and mosque must have been founded almost immediately

28. Ibn Bibi, trans. Duda, 68; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 117–18; Cahen, *P-OT*, 122–23; Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 306–7; Vryonis, *Decline*, 197, 236; Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 94. For the inscription on tower 38, see E. Blochet, “Note sur quatre inscriptions arabes de l’Asie Mineure et sur quatre inscriptions du sultan mamlouk Kaitbay,” *Revue sémitique d’épigraphie et d’histoire ancienne*, 6 (1898), 75 ff.; and the best version of the Greek text in Nikos A. Bees, *Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Kodex Sinaiticus Graecus 508 (976) und die Maria-Spiläotisse-Kloster-kirche bei Sille (Lykaonien)*, *TFByzNgPhil*, 1 (Berlin, 1922), 53–4. But see Kuruoğlu’s claim in note 12 above.

after the end of the Trapezuntine occupation, perhaps as a demonstration of conquest. There was a final, unsuccessful, attempt on Sinope in about 1280.<sup>29</sup>

Sinope had been used by Seljuk and other merchants from the Anatolian interior for trading with the Crimea since 1214; Rubriquis refers to the commerce in 1254. The Italian cities showed an early interest, but never set up major colonies there. There is no evidence for fortified comptoirs, as at Trebizond, and the towers of Sinope (particularly no. 16) which are today popularly ascribed to the Genoese are most unlikely to have anything to do with them. The earliest Pisan connection with the port is dated 1277; the earliest Genoese to 1280. A Genoese consul was probably stationed there before 1351 (although his existence is only confirmed in 1449); the Venetians had a baili and a Council of Twelve, which deliberated in the church of St. Mary of Sinope.<sup>30</sup>

From the *pervâne*’s recapture until its Ottoman conquest in 1461 Sinope seems to have enjoyed a largely independent existence. But life became more difficult for Christians. The great annual festival of St. Phokas, suspended in the 1080s and revived by Alexios I Komnenos, seems to have died out. In 1302 the Orthodox still had a resident bishop, Meletios, but with the collapse of the see’s metropolis at Amaseia and (later) Limnia, Sinope became increasingly isolated. The bishop was unable to minister even to nearby Zalekon-Leontopolis and, in 1315, the last recorded medieval bishop of Sinope was forced to retire to Side. The Latins did better: a Franciscan house is mentioned in 1314 and again in 1440. But the decline of local Christian life may be ascribed to the fact that in the early fourteenth century the port became a nest of Türkmen corsairs; a century and a half later Bessarion made bitter allusion to their baleful government.<sup>31</sup>

What is clear is that until about 1324, if not later, when Sinope passed into the (at any rate nominal) hands of the İsfendiyağulları of Kastamonu, its emirs, probably descendants of the *pervâne*, conducted a pirate war against the Genoese, first with the alliance, and then with the opposition, of Trebizond. In 1298/99 the Genoese were able to kidnap the ruler of Sinope and take him to Europe. In 1311–14 he, or his successor the *Ghazi* Çelebi, conducted a running warfare

29. Nystazopoulou, *Sougdaia*, 120, no. 17; the same’s “La dernière reconquête de Sinope par les Grecs de Trébizonde,” *REB*, 22 (1964), 241–49; Cahen, *P-OT*, 125–26, 278, 283–84; the same’s “Quelques textes négligés concernant les Turcomans de Rûm au moment de l’invasion mongole,” *Byzantion*, 14 (1939), 138; Bryer, “Gabrades,” 181. On the *medrese* inscription (ignored by Cahen and Nystazopoulou), see the *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe*, XII, no. 4505; and Hüseyin Hilmi, *Sinop Kitabeleri* (Sinop, A.H. 1339–41), 30; for the Alanyan arsenal, see E. Bean, *Turkey’s Southern Shore* (London, 1968), 103; S. Lloyd and D. S. Rice, *Alanya (‘Ala’iyya)* (London, 1958), 52.

30. Bratianu, *Recherches*, 164, 212, 228, 251, 312–13; Heyd, *Commerce*, I, 552; II, 168, 359; Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 60, 307, 477, 594, 629, 652, 875.

31. Van de Vorst, *Anal Boll*, 30 (1911), 289; M&M, *A&D*, I, 34–35; Nystazopoulou, *Sougdaia*, p. 128, no. 115; Vryonis, *Decline*, 326–27; Miller, *Trebizond*, 89; Bessarion, *Encomium*, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 194. N. Iorga (*Histoire de la vie Byzantine*, III [Bucarest, 1934], 209) inexplicably states that the letter-writer and savant Joseph “the Philosopher” came from Sinope; in fact, he was an Ithakan—see R. Guillard, *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris, 1927), 338.

with the Genoese, raiding the Crimea, in concert with the Grand Komnenos Alexios II. In 1314 and again in 1316 the Genoese forced Alexios II to terms, which included the establishment of their own base in Trebizond and a massive indemnity. This brought the wrath of their former Sinopitan ally, who attacked and burnt down part of the city of Trebizond in 1319. The *Ghazi Çelebi*'s most famous exploit came, however, in 1324 or thereabouts, when he took a number of Italian ships in the harbor by a ruse which was recounted to Ibn Battutah twenty years later: "This Ghazi Çelebi was a brave and audacious man, endowed by God with a special gift of endurance under water and power of swimming. He used to make expeditions in war galleys to fight the Greeks, and when the fleets met and everybody was occupied with fighting, he would dive under the water, carrying in his hand an iron tool with which to hole the enemy's galleys, and they would know nothing of what had befallen them until the foundering of their ships took them unawares. On one occasion a fleet of galleys belonging to the enemy made a surprise attack on the harbor and he holed them and captured all the men who were on board. He possessed indeed a talent that was unmatched, but they relate that he used to consume an excessive quantity of hashish. . . ."—a habit (together with certain Alevi customs which suggest a, possibly Çepni, Türkmen background to the Turks of Sinope), which persisted in Ibn Battutah's day.<sup>32</sup>

The *Ghazi Çelebi*, feared even by the Italians of the northern shores of the Euxine, has some claim to be the first modern frogman. But, as Cahen observes, he "presents us with the paradoxical situation that, although he was celebrated, we do not know who he was."<sup>33</sup> His tomb in the *pervâne*'s *medrese* in Sinope (pl. 1a) has an uninformative inscription: "The tomb [is that of] the Ghazi Çelebi, son of Masud. May Allah sweeten his grave."<sup>34</sup> Cahen proposes that this Masud was a grandson of the *pervâne* and himself a freebooter—perhaps that kidnapped by the Genoese. It seems only clear that Sinope was absorbed by Süleyman Isfendiyaroğlu of Kastamonu (1300–39) after 1324.<sup>35</sup>

If we do not know who the *Ghazi Çelebi* was, we know even less of what to make of the following passage in Panaretos, which has so far eluded commentators: "On Saturday 11 November [1357] lady Eudokia arrived [in Trebizond]; she was *despoina* of Sinope and daughter of the lord Alexios the Grand Komnenos."<sup>36</sup> That Eudokia was daughter of the Grand Komnenos Alexios II (1297–1330), first an ally and then an enemy of the *Ghazi Çelebi*, is very possible, but, misled by Zambaur's statement that the *Ghazi Çelebi* died as late as 1356, Lampsides and A. A. M. B. found that a marriage to the Ghazi gave convenient reasons for her return home as a widow in the following year.<sup>37</sup> Cahen's infor-

mation now makes this notion untenable, but again raises the problem of who Eudokia's husband was. Perhaps Süleyman's governor in Sinope is the answer. At all events, the alliance shows that Sinope and Trebizond were on good terms again in the mid-fourteenth century, as they were to remain until 1461—with one possible interruption when, in 1362, Sinope gave shelter to the exiled Grand Komnenos John II (1342–44) who was moving from Adrianople in an effort to regain the Trapezuntine throne. But he died there—perhaps of that year's plague.<sup>38</sup>

Sinope and Trebizond were drawn even closer together after the Isfendiyaroğulları were driven from Kastamonu by Sultan Bayezid I in 1391/92. They made Sinope the capital of what was left of their state (save for a brief period of restoration to Kastamonu by Timur after 1402) until 1461. The hapless Manuel II Palaiologos explained Beyazit's strategy when he was enlisted in the Ottoman campaign of 1391/92: "He supposes that he would either enslave or win as an ally a certain satrap, by name Peitzas, who is master of land bordering on both Sinope and Aminsos. . . . And further, once he has taken Sinope . . . or else, after he has bound Spentares—this is the ruler of Sinope—by such oaths as the latter would see fit to approve and abide by, he will then by means of such trophies frighten the man who rules Sivas."<sup>39</sup> But Bayezid never reached Sinope.

Ismail, last Isfendiyaroğlu emir of Sinope, was a member of the great anti-Ottoman alliance which preceded the fall of first Sinope and then Trebizond in 1461.<sup>40</sup> The Christians of the city sent a *devşirme* levy thereafter. The two major experiences of Sinope in the Ottoman period were ferocious attacks from the north. In 1614 Cossacks burnt the place; we conjecture that they attacked the northeast harbor, for the probably classical grid plan of the streets in that sector is lost and the walls there belong to what appears to be the final masonry type M. On 30 November 1853 the Russians bom-

*l'histoire de l'Islam* (Paris, 1927, 148, no. 135; O. Lampsides, Σύμμεκτα εἰς τὸ Χρονικὸν Μιχαήλ Παναρέτου, *AP*, 23 (1959), 49; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 92 note 2; Cahen, *P-OT*, 311–12; M. Kuršanskis, "Une alliance problématique au XVe siècle: le mariage de Valenza Comnena, fille d'un empereur de Trébizonde, à Niccolò Crispo, seigneur de Santorin," *AP*, 30 (1970), 95; A. Bryer, "Who was Eudokia/Euphemia?" *AP*, 33 (1975–76), 17–23; M. Kuršanskis, "Note sur Eudocie/Euphémie," *AP*, 34 (1977–78), 155–58.

38. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 74.

39. E. Legrand, *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue* (Paris, 1893, reprinted Amsterdam, 1962), 23–24; J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), 92; Aşıkpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 106. Spentares = Isfendiyar; the ruler of Sivas-Amasya was Kadi Burhan; we cannot trace "Peitzas" (Bey . . . ?) who may have been a local Türkmen ruler. Beyazit in fact seems to have got little further than Pompeiopolis (now Taşköprü), whose condition Manuel II bewailed in a celebrated letter. It is possible, however, that the Pompeiopolis Manuel saw was not the classical site (at Zimbilli), but the hitherto unrecorded early Byzantine site at Kızlar Kale, 8 km east-northeast of Taşköprü, a substantial fortress of banded brick and stone masonry to which the town on the plain seems to have moved, on the familiar pattern. For this area, see Schultze, *Kleinasiens*, 209–11.

40. Chalkokondyles, *CSHB*, 185; Ducas, ed. Grecu, 123, 287, 307, 427, 429, 431; Aşıkpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 218–27; Babinger, *Mahomet le Conquérant et son temps* (Paris, 1954), 222, 231; Bryer, *BK*, 19–20 (1965), 188.

32. Ibn Battutah (1332), II, 466–67; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63; *ASL*, XIII, 519; Cahen, *P-OT*, 311–12; Miller, *Trebizond*, 39; Vryonis, *Decline*, 138; Bratianu, *Recherches*, 176, 283–84; Heyed, *Commerce*, I, 511–52; II, 98–99, 203–4.

33. Cahen, *P-OT*, 311–12.

34. We are grateful to M. Raoul Curiel of the Bibliothèque Nationale for a translation of the inscription in pl. 1a.

35. Cahen, *P-OT*, 311–12.

36. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72.

37. E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour*

barded the southwest harbor and walls. The loss or dilapidation of the walls between towers 7 and 11, the blocking up of the sea gate between towers 33 and 34, and the irregular street plan behind towers 7 and 11 might, perhaps, be attributed to this event, which precipitated the Crimean war.<sup>41</sup>

#### INSCRIPTIONS

A substantial number of Greek and Latin classical inscriptions and several Early Christian epitaphs and Arab inscriptions have been published.<sup>42</sup> To these we add one classical (no. 2) and four Byzantine (nos. 1, 3–5) inscriptions in the city.

1. On a squared-off column, now employed as the lintel of a modern postern between towers 12 and 13, a monogram:



Letters include: K, N, P, A, I, O, and Y (the last two perhaps employed as the genitive of a masculine proper name), but we are unable to offer a satisfactory reading.

2. On a reused classical block on the north (exterior) side of tower 14; since this is found in masonry type G, it was perhaps incorporated in the reconstruction of 1215:



We can make nothing of this.

3. On a reversed square classical plinth (in the shape of a simple altar), about 100 m south-southwest of tower 23. The plinth is 1.02 m high; the main section 0.58 m wide, with

41. Vryonis, *Decline*, 242; *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P. M. Holt *et al.* (Cambridge, 1970), I, 350; there is a very full description of the 1853 incident in Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, IV, 578–81.

42. *CIL*, III, nos. 6977–81, 12219–22; cf. nos. 783, 2068; *CIG*, III, nos. 4157–64; IV, no. 9261; cf. Schultze, *Kleinasien*, 147–48 and our Inscription V; D. M. Robinson, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Sinope and Environs," *AJA*, 9 (1905), 294–333 (79 inscription); Albert W. Van Buren, "Notes on Dr. D. M. Robinson's *Inscriptions from Sinope*," *AJA*, 10 (1906), 429–33; Mordtmann, *CPSyll.* 15 (1884), *Parartema*, p. 47, no. 8a; Rottiers (1820), 238; Hell (1846), IV, 345–46, 350 and pl. xi (2); A. Salac, "Note sur trois inscriptions de Sinope," *BCH*, 44 (1920), 354–61; D. R. Wilson, *Exploration in Pontus, 1958* (typescript in the British Institute of Archaeology, Ankara), 177–86, mentions inscriptions but is not at present available to us. On Arabic inscriptions, see notes 28–29 above; they are found on and between the eastern walls of towers 38–40 and on the western wall of tower 38; Kuruoğlu, in Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri*, I, *loc. cit.* (note 12 above), refers to inscriptions of 1215 (tower 38), 1218, 1434 and 1451. A number of classical and Ottoman, and three nineteenth-century Greek inscriptions have been moved to the new museum compound.

moldings at top and bottom 0.72 m wide and 0.22 m high. At the top of one face of the central section is a two-line cursive inscription; the face of the stone is now very friable. The P is 17 cm high, the M 7 cm, the α 8 cm, and the ν 9 cm (see pl. 1b).

+ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ

+ Ρωμανός | βασιλεύς. " + Emperor Romanos."

The inscription must be assumed to be genuine, but its abruptness, date, and function and the identity of this emperor Romanos are puzzling. The lettering suggests a Late Byzantine date, but perhaps the variations in sigma forms simply denote popular work. The purpose of the inscription and reused plinth—a statue base seems most unlikely, but is all that we can suggest—is enigmatic. Perhaps Romanos is a hitherto unrecognized local usurper; more likely, he is a known emperor. The only known emperor with which the inscription would not be inconsistent is the last ruler bearing that name in the Byzantine world, Romanos IV (1068–71), who marched south of Sinope, through Sebasteia, to his defeat at Mantzikert. He is the only candidate whom we can propose for "Emperor Romanos."

4. Epitaph on a narrow marble slab, 0.47 m high and 0.12 m wide, incorporated into a Turkish fountain about 150 m southwest of tower 23. The letters are 3 cm high; the inscription is evidently complete (pl. 1c):

+ ΘΕ  
CICΔI  
ΑΦΕΡ  
ΟΥC Α  
5 ΘΕΟΔ  
ΩΡΩΑ  
ΠΟΚΑ  
ΘΟΛI  
ΚΩΝ

? + Θε|σις δι|αφέρ|ουσα Θεοδ| |ώρω ά|πό κα|θολι|κων.  
? " + Special place of deposition of Theodore the ex-Katholikos."

The inscription raises obvious problems. An *apochartophylax* and an *apoepiskopōn* are recorded,<sup>43</sup> but it is a fairly rare formula among ecclesiastical offices and would be unnaturally abrupt for a former Katholikos in the ecclesiastical sense. More probably it refers to a simple former official or logothete. Father Jean Darrouzès kindly comments: "Je pense plutôt à un fonctionnaire civil, et ancien."

5. Epitaph incorporated into the east face of tower 29, about 10 m above ground at the point where masonry types E and L meet (pl. 2a, b):

43. P. Gautier, "Le chartophylax Nicéphore," *REB*, 27 (1969), 163; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 420 (where a *kourator* is simply described as a former bishop, not, perhaps, a title in itself).



The suggested grid is marked by dotted lines on figure 4. The “cardo” is the Sakarya Caddesi; to the north a parallel street runs from a gate at towers 29–30 and there is perhaps a further parallel north of that; to the south there are one or two further parallels. Between six and eight streets cross the main axis at right angles. The modules created are not as regular as those found elsewhere, but we propose that there is enough, if only enough, evidence to suggest that Sinope is the only Pontic city besides Trebizond which today bears traces of having been laid out on classical lines. The settlements of the Pontic kings in the interior belong to a different and haphazard tradition of town planning, so we must look to the colonists of Sinope themselves for the inspiration for the plan. Sinope was one of the many colonies of Miletos, birthplace of Hippodamos, whom the ancient world credited as the inventor of grid planning. Miletos itself was rebuilt on his lines from 479 B.C., after the Persian defeat; it displays a spectacularly rigid grid which, like that of Sinope, hardly takes into account the awkwardly shaped peninsula on which it stands. Olbia, another Milesian colony on the Euxine, was rebuilt on a grid system after a fire at the end of the sixth century B.C.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the Sinopitan grid was introduced, like that of Miletos, after the Persian occupation and withdrawal from the place in the fifth century B.C.

By locating groups of blocks, it has been possible to suggest sites of major public buildings in other cities. One might speculate that what may be a group of four blocks between towers 1 to 4 and the “cardo” of Sinope, conveniently wedged between the “citadel” and the classical harbor (see fig. 4), may indicate the site of the agora. What is clear is that the first acropolis of Sinope (masonry type A) was the northern part of the citadel—towers 30 and 37 to 43—and that the citadel itself followed (towers 30 to 43). It may be that Roman practice was to wall towns but abandon such acropoleis. The position of what appears to be the Roman religious center of the city—the Serapeum (in the museum grounds behind the Belediye Sarayı and north of tower 17) and the “palace” even further east—suggests that in the Roman period the center of the city moved east. It seems highly likely that the east wall (towers 12 to 20) was not on its present site. In Amastris (Amasra) the main classical suburb with the larger public buildings lay on the mainland; at Sinope, Boz Tepe seems to have been used for this purpose. In Early Byzantine times the notion of an acropolis may have returned, if only as the microcosm of the familiar larger scale market town on a plain which had moved to a nearby garrison fortress.<sup>54</sup> At any rate, the old acropolis and citadel of Sinope returned to these functions in the Byzantine and Seljuk periods.

## 2. The Walls (fig. 4, 2a–11b)

The walls form an irregular rectangle in plan, the longer

53. R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks built cities* (London, 1949), 15–35.

54. This thesis is difficult to characterize: despite the fact that Procopius states that Justinian surrounded the entire *polichnion* of Sura (now Suriya) on the Euphrates (*Buildings*, II, ix, 1), he in fact seems to have walled the acropolis only. This feature of sixth-century town building is not noted in D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1969).

north and south sides facing the sea and the west and east walls facing the land.

The west wall (towers 29 to 31) was the most formidable, for no natural features protect it from the mainland. There are indications of a double ditch between towers 30 to 31 and 36 to 39 on the inner side. There were two Roman or Early Byzantine gates in the west wall, to the north and south of the present Sakarya Caddesi entrance, associated with the gates.

The account which follows is a conflation of the field observations of D. C. W. and A. A. M. B. over several independent visits. Observation is hindered by the fact that the acropolis area (towers 30, and 37 to 43) north of the Sakarya Caddesi is now a barracks, and that the citadel area (towers 30 to 36) south of the Sakarya Caddesi is now a maximum security prison. Basically we have noted twelve masonry types in the walls and, by their position, if nothing else, have attempted to put them in chronological order and suggested periods for them. We have virtually no comparative material (the walls of Amastris are more useful as a control than those of Trebizond, Kerasous, or Rhizaion) and our eyes and judgment may be fallible. But the following sequence of building seems to have occurred in Sinope

Type A, the earliest visible period of construction, consists of rectangular blocks of embossed stone fitted together without mortar (isodomic *emplekton* masonry); some of the blocks are bonded into the wall as headers at irregular intervals.<sup>55</sup> The blocks are distinctly long for their width. Embossed masonry is found reused at Amastris and in an arch of the causeway to the west gate in Trebizond. In Sinope it appears in the lower courses at least of towers 29 and 30, and 37 to 43—a rectangular block on the only eminence in the city which we therefore propose as the original acropolis (pls. 2a, 7a, 8b, 11a).

Type B consists of ashlar masonry with facing stones arranged in alternate courses of headers and stretchers. The headers are set regularly, in contrast to the more irregular header and stretcher work at Amasra and the different system at Amasya, where headers and stretchers alternate in the same course. Type B is found chiefly in the citadel area and along the main harbor front, from towers 29 to 36 (?), to towers 1 to 6. It could perhaps be associated with the mole of great blocks which extends from between towers 6 and 7 at about 260°, to meet tower 31 and can be seen today below water, its blocks reused on the modern mole which extends from towers 7 and 12 (pls. 3a, 8b).

Type C consists of banded walling of brick and stone courses, lying particularly out of place in the sea around towers 28 and 29 and associated with a stretch of walls between towers 1 to 6. It appears to have five or more brick courses alternating with eight or more stone courses; the lime mortar included pulverized earthenware. A subsection, type \*C, designated by form rather than masonry and consisting of the V-shaped towers 41 to 43, is discussed by James Crow in a note on p. 78 below.

Type D, represented only in the northeast corner from towers 18 to 21, (see pl. 3b), is now only a rubble core of abundant pulverized earthenware and brick flecks in the lime

55. Cf. F. G. Winter, *Greek fortifications* (London, 1971), 80–81.

CONCORDANCE OF MASONRY TYPES AND  
TOWERS IN SINOPE

Type Letter:	?	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M
Tower No. 1			B	C				G					
2			B	C				G					
3			B	C				G					
4			B	C				G			K		
5			B	C				G					
6			B	C				G		J			
7									H	J			
8							F		H				
9							F		H				
10	?												
11	?												
12										J		L	
13							F					L	
14							F	G				L	
15								G				L	
16								G				L	
17	?												
18					D								
19					D								
20					D								M
21					D								M
22													M
23													M
24													M
25													M
26													M
27							F						M
28	?												M
29		A	B	C		E		G				L	M
30		A	B	C		E		G					
31			B	C				G					
33			B					G					
34			B					G					
35			B					G					
36			B?	C?				G					
37		A						G					
38		A						G					
39		A											
40		A						G					
41		A		*C									
42		A		*C									
43		A		*C		E							

## SUGGESTED PERIODS OF TYPES

A Pre-Mithridatic or Mithridatic

B Mithridatic or early Roman

C Roman: \*C fifth century?—see p. 76.

D, E, F Early Byzantine to thirteenth century?

G Reconstruction of 1215; Seljuk

H, J, K Isfendiyaroğlu to 1461

L, M Ottoman after 1461

NOTE: A tower number includes the walling to the right of the tower proper, which may be of a different build from it. Not all masonry types are included, and all assessments should be regarded as approximate.

mortar, which is well packed with few air holes and without beams. There are a few heads of reused columns.

Types E, F, and G employ material from types A and B. They are distinctive, but difficult to place in order of building.

Type E consists of a facing of reused blocks from A to B, with a mortared rubble core to the wall. The header and stretcher system is still employed, with use of columns as headers. There are irregular brick courses and the mortar incorporates pulverized earthenware. The type is found chiefly in the middle-lower courses of towers 29 to 30 and 43. It is associated with Inscription 5 (pls. 8b, 46).

Type F, found chiefly in towers 8 and 9, 13 and 14, and 27 includes elements from A and B, with some brick and specially cut conglomerate stone in sections where the reused material does not fit.

Type G, a common one, is a variant of F, using no headers or stretchers, but some brick and very large blocks from A and B. It is found chiefly in towers 1 to 6 (see pl. 3a), 14 to 16, 30 to 38, and 40, often in conjunction with standing A or B and in association with the group of inscriptions (including that of 1215) in towers 37 and 38 (pls. 8b, 9a, 11b).

Type H, found only in towers 7 to 9, employs rough blocks with a soft white lime-and-pebble mortar and a little brick or tile infill.

Type J consists of regular courses of square stones with little mortar—something on the lines of the fourteenth-century masonry at Kordyle (q.v.). It lies below type L in tower 12, and above types G and H in towers 6 and 7.

Type K consists of strikingly black basalt blocks; it is found only on the added prow-tower 4.

Type L is faced with courses of fairly small irregular blocks, with only a small proportion of reused ashlar; there is a substantial mortar facing, beam holes, and brick flecks in the mortar. It is found in the original northwest gate in tower 29, with its high rounded arch, in upper stories of gate towers, and in arched windows, especially over type G, in towers 12 to 15.

Type M is chiefly represented along the north sea wall by a facing of small rough-cut dark grey stones in regular courses, with interstices filled with smaller stones; the mortar contains much pebble and a trace of brick. The core is strengthened with stringers and tie-beams in the form of crib-work. A date contemporaneous with type L is suggested by plates 4a and 11a, where the lower courses of the wall have a facing of reused ashlar blocks, while the upper section is faced with small rough-cut stones—but the core of the two sections appears to be of one build. The towers in this north wall (20 to 27, 29) protrude only slightly on the interior and a gate gives access to their second storey from a catwalk (pl. 6a). The only decorative feature here is a blind arch with stone vousoirs (pls 5b).

This typological program is very tentative, but we can at least suggest that the earliest acropolis (type A) is represented by towers, 30, 37 to 43 (although the V-shaped towers 41 to 43 as they stand may be fifth-century work—see the note below); that the classical citadel attached to it is represented towers 30 to 36; that the east wall is, as it stands, comparatively late; that the northern defenses, as they stand, are even later; and that type G probably accords with the rebuilding

of 1215. It is probable that type B represents Mithridatic work. It is difficult to pick out much damage by the bombardment of 1853, but the sea-gate between towers 33 and 34 (one, at least, was built after the gate was made) appears to have been blocked after the Russian bombardment.

Mr. James Crow kindly contributes the following note on the V-shaped towers 41 to 43:

On a section of the north wall of the citadel and immediately east of the massive northwest corner tower 30 are four small, closely spaced, V-shaped towers (41 to 43—one is unnumbered on the plan; pls. 7a, 9a). This form of tower is unusual anywhere before the invention of gunpowder and the Sinope group is probably unique on the Pontic coast. The towers and curtain are similar in construction to the work of the north face of tower 30, with coursed tooled ashlar, incorporating a number of reused architectural fragments. About 2 m east of tower 30 is a clear straight joint, but this represents a distinction of structure rather than phase. On the west face of tower 30 can be seen, despite modern restoration, evidence for the earlier, probably Mithridatic, construction of the tower (types A and B). This is defined by the use of isodomic, quarry-faced, ashlar, taken in conjunction with the chamfering of the corners of the tower, strongly suggest a Hellenistic date.<sup>56</sup> The masonry of the curtain with V-shaped towers is clearly later than this and may be assigned to a late Roman or post-Roman date.

Both the form and construction of the towers provide *termini post quos* for the curtain with V-shaped towers, and this chronology can be narrowed further by reference to parallels from northern Greece and Bulgaria. In form, the V-shaped tower is closely linked to the more common pentagonal prow-shaped tower, and both seem to have been introduced in the mid-fifth century A.D. in the Balkans and on the eastern frontier of the Empire.<sup>57</sup> The closest parallel to Sinope is found in the west walls of Thessalonike, dated by Vickers to ca. 450, amongst the earliest examples known.<sup>58</sup> These match the close spacing and small dimensions seen at Sinope; and the towers at both are closer in form to buttresses than to the large flanking towers commonly found in late Roman fortifications. Other examples of V-shaped towers are considerably larger and are restricted in distribution to the eastern Balkans: at Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, and Kjustendil.<sup>59</sup> None of these four can be more firmly dated by archaeological evidence than the fifth-sixth centuries, and have consequently been assigned to Justinian. Apart from Varna, the only other example known from the Black Sea is a Kaliakra, where, although the apex of the V has been squared off, the scale of the towers is closer to that at Sinope.<sup>60</sup> A date similar to that of the other Bulgarian examples has been suggested. On the basis of this comparative evidence, the examples from Sinope would seem to fit into the same context.

56. Winter, *Greek fortifications*, 196.

57. S. Bobchev, "Krepostnite kuli s izdaden oster reb i znachenieto im za ukrepjavaneto na antichnite gradove," *IzvArhInst*, BAN 24 (1961), 103–45.

58. M. Vickers, "The late Roman walls of Thessalonica," *Roman Frontier Studies 1969. Eighth International Congress of Limesforschung*, ed. E. Birley, B. Dobson, and M. Jarrett (Cardiff, 1974), 251; O. Tafrafi, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris, 1913), plan.

59. D. Ovcharov, "La très ancienne édification des forteresses Byzantines dans nos terres (Ve-VIIe s.)," *IzvIstDr*, 24 (1974), 236–38.

60. I. Zachariev and Vl. Vladimirov, "Pärva ukrepitelna linija na nos Kaliakra," *Izvestija na Nazionalna Voennistoricheski muzei*, 1 (1973), 180.

The absence of a number of Black Sea towns, including Sinope and Mesembria, from Procopius' *Buildings* may be significant in providing a more secure date for the examples from Sinope. At Mesembria, Venedikov has shown, on the basis of archaeological evidence, that the construction of the main gate was in the later fifth century, rather than during Justinian's reign.<sup>61</sup> Epigraphic and other evidence from the Dobrudja and Cherson<sup>62</sup> indicate that Mesembria was not alone in receiving imperial attention in this period. The close parallel between Sinope and Saloniki makes it quite possible that this building activity was not restricted to the north and west coasts of the Black Sea, and that V-shaped towers 41 to 43 at Sinope belong, as they stand, to the late fifth century rather than to a later period. Without more specific archaeological or epigraphic evidence, this dating remains a hypothetical part of the Black Sea policy of Zeno and Anastasios.

### 3. The "Palace"

About 300 m southeast of the city walls are a series of ruins locally known as Balat, or Mithridates' Palace.<sup>63</sup> They stand on the final stretch of level land before the ground rises to form Boz Tepe. The area which they occupy is now used for gardens and the present ground level is more than 1.5 m above the level of the original floor—as can be seen in the church in the center of the ruins. The ruins extend over an area of about 10,000 sq. m.<sup>64</sup>

The true extent and original purpose of this remarkable ruin can only be determined by excavation; it is not now clear how far the surviving walls represent the original scope of the building complex. See figure 5 and plates 12–17.

There were three rectangular areas, X, XII, XIII, 40 m or more in length and of varying widths. Areas X and XII are each about 18 m wide (pls. 13, 14a). Area XIII is about 10 m wide and terminated in an eastern apse or exedra, probably with a masonry semidome. It seems unlikely that areas X and XII were ever entirely roofed over, but pilaster strips in the north wall of area X (pl. 14a) suggest that it may have been a courtyard with a peristyle. Area XIV has part of a semi-circular wall with niches and could have formed an exedra with semidome for area XII. Area XIII may have been roofed over, since it was only 10 m wide, probably with a timber roof, for the wall is too thin to carry a masonry vault.

Area VIII (pl. 12b) has a cross-shaped plan with the south arm elongated to form a squat cruciform space. Adjacent chambers act as buttresses for its walls, and it is clear that this great hall was vaulted. Apart from their structural purpose as buttresses for area VIII, the functional purpose of the complex of smaller chambers is not clear. The only area where the roofing survives in its entirety is area I, later used as a church and described below (p. 81 ff.).

61. I. Venedikov, *Nessebre*, I, BAN Arkheologicheski Institut (Sofia, 1969), 155–56.

62. I. Barnea, "Contributions to Dobrudja history under Anastasius I," *Dacia*, 4 (1960), 363–74; *CIG*, IV, no. 8621.

63. W. E. Curtis, *Around the Black Sea* (London, 1911), was told that Mithridates here killed his wives and sisters to prevent them falling into the hands of Lucullus. Cf. Hell (1846), II, 348.

64. E. Akurgal and L. Budde, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Sinope* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, V. [14], 1956), 39 and pls. xx, xxi; and the same's "Sinope," *TürkArkDerg.*, 6 [1] (1956), 47–61; 6 [2], 5–10, esp. 8.

Area XV is a further rectangular space, of which nothing can be determined without excavation. Areas II and III correspond to areas IV and VII on the north-south axis. It may be, therefore, that areas IV and V were continued to the west, forming a second cruciform hall in this area, with the crossing in area IV. It can be seen from figure 5 that the masonry piers at the corners of area IV were thick enough to have supported a groin vault.

The ruins are of one build of banded brick and stone courses, with a mortared rubble core. Four courses of brick alternate with four courses of stone; the walls average about 1.58 m in thickness. The facing stones are limestone blocks averaging 10–15 cm in width and height and 23 to 41 cm in length. The bricks are 40 to 44 cm square and 3 to 4 cm thick; they are well made of a light red clay. The brick courses run right through the thickness of the wall (pl. 16b); the mortar between bricks is of about the thickness of a brick—3.5 cm. A set of brick courses measures 30 to 35 cm in height and a set of stone courses 60 to 65 cm, including the top layer of mortar in each case. The mortar is of lime and sand; bricks and stones are well bedded with few air spaces in the core.

A change in the rhythm of the brick and stone courses is evident in the higher register above the blind arches in the walls of areas VIII and X, where a brick band is omitted, so that there is a set of eight stone courses in area VIII before the next brick courses, which mark the springing of the vault (pl. 12b), and a set of nine stone courses in the wall of area X (pl. 13). A similar increase in the number of stone courses appears wherever the walls stand to a sufficient height; this may therefore have been part of the regular system of building. There are only two exceptions to the rhythmic alternation of brick and stone throughout the ruins. At point Q (pl. 16a), a set of brick courses ceases for no apparent reason; stone courses replace them, amounting to a set of ten; and at the wall I to J large rectangular blocks are used, averaging 80 × 30 cm. This wall now acts as a terrace wall and marks a rise in the ground level of about 4 m. Wall K is also a terrace wall, with a ground level about 2 m higher to the east of it.

There is no trace of any regular lacing of the structure with beams. The only signs of the original woodwork are four large beam holes at the springing of the vault of area VIII (pl. 12b). These may have held tie beams to help maintain the equilibrium of the walls and vaulting, or (more likely) they belong to the constructional stage and were used only to erect the centering of the vaults.

In the south wall of area X there are a number of beam holes, but their positions are irregular and may date from a later period, when secondary structures were built against the original walls.

The walls are characterized by a marked and pleasing surface articulation of blind arches. Where there was a high wall surface, as in areas VIII and probably X, there is a second storey of blind arches. At point A on the plan there is a single blind arch, and at AB there is a second blind arch above the first. At points D and G there are blind arches at second floor level and there was probably a similar series below, but the wall surfaces are so damaged or covered by ivy that it is difficult to determine their aspect. The reveals of the blind arches are straight and not broken by any receding arch

to frame the opening. The blind arches in the north wall of area X were about 2.20 m wide and they have nine or ten stone, and no brick, courses in the recessed wall. The function of the blind arcading is difficult to determine. Forming a very pleasant visual pattern in themselves, they could conceivably have held statues. The voussoirs are all of brick.

The interior surfaces of the arcading retain fragments of two layers of plaster; the lower of lime and pulverized earthenware, the upper of very white lime with a small quantity of chaff as a binder. The walls of area I (the church) have an original plaster base of lime and pulverized earthenware covering the whole surface where visible. It seems likely that all the wall surfaces of the "palace" were plastered in this way, for the banded brick and stone has a very rough finish. The lower parts of the walling may have been enriched with marble revetment panels since fragments of thin slabs of verde antico with a high polish on one side are found in large numbers in the area.

The only sign of an upper-storey window is in the west wall of area II (pl. 14b). This would have stood about 6 m above floor level. The opening is large enough to be a doorway but it is better regarded as a window as there are no signs of an associated stair or floor.

At point H there are three round-arched niches with brick voussoirs. They are semicircular in plan and are part of an apse-shaped wall which could have been a raised exedra to the east of area XII.

Round-arched openings with brick voussoirs are found at points E and F (fig. 5, under the springing of the vault). These are archways between the chambers: points E are high arches and points F are lower arches which probably formed the frames for doorways.

Both open archways and blind arches are semicircular with a single row of brick voussoirs and no recessed molding. Exceptionally, at points E, S, and P, a double row of brick voussoirs form the arch.

Arch IV F was provided with shuttering and the marks of the wooden frame can be seen in its mortar joints.

The south arm of area VIII retains the springing of a vault in stone and it may be conjectured that the four arms of the cruciform space were roofed with concrete and masonry barrel vaults which formed a groin vault over the crossing (pl. 12b).

At the same high level, area V M (pl. 17a, b) was roofed with a concrete and stone barrel vault; the broken edge of a piece of cross-vaulting can be clearly seen jutting out into area IV. Perhaps area IV was, therefore, also roofed with a groined vault formed of intersecting barrel vaults. However, the springing of the vaulting over areas II, III, and VII is of brick; these areas may have been entirely vaulted in brick. The only vault which survives intact is the brick one over area I (see below); the vaults over areas III and VII were probably at the same height. Parts of brick barrel vault survive at a lower level at points L; they may have acted as relieving arches for the higher vaults (pl. 15a). They carry traces of the same two layers of plastering in the blind arches of area VIII which have been mentioned above.

The smaller area VI is also roofed with a low-level barrel vault of brick.

Among secondary constructions, modifications in area I are discussed below. There are three large semicircular arched cuttings in the long north wall of area X (pls. 13, 14a). The regularity of the cuttings and the fact that the easternmost corresponds to a similar one in the south wall (making an arch into area XI) and the extraordinary labor which they would have required suggest an adaptation of the complex to a new use at a fairly early date. One semicircular cutting was lined with a plaster of lime and pulverized earthenware. The other hatched openings on the plan do not appear so regular, but they may all belong to the same period of reuse. The only functional feature of these archways is that they open up a number of new means of communication between the areas.

On the west wall of area II are traces of two later roof levels of gables.

At point N is a careful cutting of a semicircular niche with semidome roof. This has been partly walled in front with a sheet of fine black and white marble; the local explanation that it was a water stoup is reasonable.

Plate 15b shows a repair high in the wall where a fragment, probably from a templon screen, has been employed as a sort of quoin. The position of the fragment suggests that it was intended to be decorative and it may therefore have been placed there after the collapse of the original vaulting. Perhaps this, and the water stoup, are connected with the use of area I as a church.

The "cisterns" lie about 100 m south of wall K. They are four rectangular stone-built structures which were originally covered with stone barrel vaults. Their walls contain stone of all shapes and sizes, including reused blocks; the voussoirs of the semicircular arches are thin slabs of stone employed as if they were bricks. The vaulting appears to have been made in the same way, with stones used like brick. The walls bear a very hard plaster to about 4 m above the present ground level—which may be about 2 m above the original floor. The wall is recessed about 20 cm at the level where the plaster stops, and here are traces of openings which could have been doors or windows. Point T marks the archways connecting the rectangular chambers; points U mark late openings cut into the outer walls to give access to the interior, which are now used as cowsheds and as a garden. A house has been built against the wall of the southern rectangle.

The heavy plastering, the lack of access into these chambers and the thickness of their walls suggest that they were built as cisterns. Like the "palace," they lie well outside the present town walls, suggesting a period of security for their building. There is a lake, but no springs, on Boz Tepe, which could have fed them; rainwater could easily have been channeled into them.<sup>65</sup> They stand well above the town and could have conveyed water to it by simple gravity, without complication of pumps.

The complete absence of brickwork suggests that the "cisterns" may be of different date from the "palace" complex, with which they appear, however, to be aligned. But there are

65. cf. T. S. R. Broughton, *An economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (4) (Baltimore, 1938), 778. This is not, of course, Pliny's proposed scheme of waterworks, and may well confirm that they were never built.

no reliable features to indicate a date for their construction.

The church in area I of the "palace" lies in what was originally a rectangle with arched entrances in the north, south, and west walls. The arches are semicircular and have double rows of brick voussoirs. The church is roofed by a brick barrel vault about 6.90 m high at the crown. It had a floor of limestone blocks about 1.07 m square and 18 cm thick. Three of these were still in place. The walls of this original rectangular chamber were plastered with lime containing pulverized earthenware.

The conversion into a church is marked by the cutting of the shallow apse S, and it may be that the low central niches of this apse were cut out at the same time, together with the prothesis niche in the north wall (fig. 10). It is possible that the arch in the west wall was also modified at the same time (fig. 7) by hacking out the lower 3 m of walling and shaping the upper part of the cutting as if to form part of a low wagon or barrel vault. A cutting (at a level and of a shape which would correspond to the modifications of the west arch) has been made in part of the north wall. It is about 30 cm deep and runs for 3.30 m to the east of the archway. It looks as if a second and lower internal roof, with a barrel vault of masonry, projected here, but the absence of any equivalent cutting on the south wall suggests that the project was never completed.

A second modification to the north wall was the blocking of the archway P R with a thin filling, leaving only a small rectangular window in the wall. A rectangular window is also cut in the west wall, just below the vault. It may be that these window modifications are contemporaneous. The rectangular window of the apse belongs to a second modification; the apse was reshaped when part of the original cutting was blocked up and further cuttings were made in the semidome around it.

The untidy fill in the second modification of the apse looks very similar to that in the north and south archways. If this is so, we have at least one point of reference for modifications. The original south archway was filled in to leave only a small rectangular doorway and a small rectangular window. The painting over this filling fits in with its shape (fig. 12)—notably the figure of St. Marina and the inscription. It seems likely, therefore, that the modification of the arch and paintings are of the same date; the inscription states that the church was repainted in 1640.

In the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the church seen by Hamilton must have been an enlargement of the original one in area I. The extension probably covered areas II and III and the traces of two different gabled roofs described above on the west wall or area II may be connected with this extension. So also may be the insertion of the fragment of templon screen (pl. 15b) into the external masonry and the cutting of the holy water stoup 9 (?) at point N.

Dating is difficult. The type of banded brick and stone masonry (something akin to type C of the city walls), of which the bulk of the "palace" complex is constructed, cannot be of Mithridatic date, so the popular association of the ruins with the Pontic kings may be ruled out. However, they have been described as a "palace"—Balat—at least since Makarios' day in the seventeenth century. If this were a

palace it is difficult to ascribe a governor or official to Sinope in Roman or Early Byzantine times who would warrant such a building, although it must be remembered that there appears to have been a branch of the imperial treasury in Sinope in the late eleventh century. The analogy of Miletos, called Palatia by Byzantines and Balat by Turks, is not encouraging, for it seems to have derived its name from the massive classical theater (later transformed into a Byzantine castle) which dominates the city, and not from a palace proper.

A second explanation is that the complex represents a gymnasium and baths complex.<sup>66</sup> The cruciform hall appears in the baths of Titus (if Palladio's plan is correct), roofed on three sides by barrel vaults which meet in a groined vault at the crossing.<sup>67</sup> This was the frigidarium; the tepidarium, a T-shaped building, lay to the south of it. The great Hadrianic baths at Lepcis Magna have the same features. In the Sinope "palace" area VIII is a cruciform hall which was probably roofed with intersecting barrel vaults; the smaller area II to V, and VII, to the west of it, is also cruciform. These areas could have corresponded to the frigidarium and tepidarium, while the adjoining large rectangular areas X, XII, and XIII would have been either a *xystus* or gymnasium rooms. The date of the banded masonry might be of the third or fourth century A.D. The Byzantine baths of the sixth century at Ephesos, with their numerous apses, have something of the same layout but are more modest in scale and do not employ so much stone.<sup>68</sup>

If the ruins are those of the baths and gymnasium of Sinope, placed, like the enormous "Bedesten" or gymnasium of Amastris,<sup>69</sup> outside the walled city, it seems likely that the "cisterns" are associated with them, for they are ideally placed as reservoirs for baths. The banded brick-and-stone masonry is hardly likely to belong to the gymnasium mentioned by Strabo, and it may be that the "cisterns" survive from a both complex earlier than that now standing. However, the masonry of the "cisterns" points to a much later, rather than earlier, date.

The secondary use of the ruins can only be determined by excavation, but the massive scale and regularity of the cuttings suggest an early date, Justinianic or Middle Byzantine. There is one possible explanation for the modifications. Until the early seventh century the supply of grain to the populace of Constantinople was an imperial obligation—and an imperial concern thereafter. With the loss of Egypt, the Empire had to look elsewhere for the bulk of its grain, in particular to the Euxine. Unlike the situation in antiquity and later in the fourteenth century, when the Crimean ports became the granary of Genoa (as Crete was to become the granary of Venice), in the Middle Byzantine period they imported corn from the southern Black Sea ports (such as

66. Cf. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 11.

67. A. Boethius and J. B. Ward Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman architecture* (London, 1970), 225 and fig. 94.

68. Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient civilizations and ruins of Turkey* (Istanbul, 1970), 156.

69. S. Eyice, *Küçük Amasra Tarihi ve eski eserleri kılavuzu* (Ankara, 1965), 64–68, pl. 9; Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Çeşmi Cihan Amasra* (Istanbul, 1966), 226–32, 276 (where it is identified as a basilica).

Aminosos), rather than export it. There was a grain surplus at the eastern end of the Euxine and along the Balkan coast. Sinope was ideally placed for the trade of Pontic and Laz grain to the Crimean ports and to Constantinople during this period. If the "palace" complex was adapted as a granary for Constantinople as part of an imperial policy in the early seventh century, safe from the thieving fingers of the mob in the capital, it could have continued as a more commercial granary for the Black Sea area after its more limited function would have ceased in 618 and 626.<sup>70</sup> The suggestion is more conjectural than our proposition that the complex was originally built as a gymnasium-bath structure, but should be considered.

#### 4. "Balat Kilise" (fig. 5)

This church lies in area I of the "palace." An inscription of 1640 dedicates it to the Theotokos, and a painting of the Koimesis on the exterior of the lunette above the south door would suggest that it was more particularly dedicated to the Dormition. However, in 1658 Makarios stated that the church was dedicated to "The Divine Ascension."<sup>71</sup> Most of the interior and part of the exterior of the church are painted.

The original mortar of the walls was of lime and sand, devoid of pebbles, well bedded down as elsewhere in the "palace." A rough-cast plaster layer of lime and pulverized earthenware over the masonry face covers the walls and vaults of the church; a similar layer is found over some of the later cuttings in the walls. The surface layer of plaster on which the paintings were made is of lime without any apparent binding material. The plaster joins follow the red borders. The seventeenth-century plastering for the south doorway paintings is composed of two layers of lime plaster, each with a tow binding.

Two compass incisions describe the halo and medallion outlines. Red border lines and some fold lines are incised. The figures in the Annunciation and Visitation are marked with incised lines, but no such lines are found in the Sacrifice of Isaac. The incisions were made with a rather blunt instrument. The later paintings in the south doorway and that of the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria were not marked out with incisions.

Preliminary drawing was executed in red ochre which, in many of the earlier paintings, is all that survives; it may be that, originally, there was very little more to them.

Only partial descriptions of the paintings can be made for much has gone and much of what remains is covered by white-wash or (in the vaults) by green mold.

#### The Vault (fig. 6 and pl. 18)

At the east end in the center is a circle about 1.5 m in diameter. It has a wide red border in which there are traces of white lettering. The subject of the painting within is obscured by whitewash and mold but may be assumed to represent a full-length Christ in Majesty or a bust of the Pantokrator. To the south of the circle is a yellow triangle which may represent a ray emanating from the Glory. The circle is flanked

by the Evangelist symbols of the Lion and the Man. The Lion is red; in effect only its paws and head are shown. The Man is outlined in red on a yellow ground color, and, as usual, is represented by a head and wings. The Lion and the Man seem to belong to a late repaint and are out of proportion with the remains of four small winged creatures, two on the south side and two on the north side of the circle. One of the creatures on the south side shows vestiges of a yellow Gospel Book with white pearl decoration.

Next to this composition were two narrow panels framed by red borders. In the southern panel was a standing figure, about 2.50 m high, wearing a blue tunic and a red cloak. Traces of jewels at the collar and a crown on the head suggest that the two figures represent David and Solomon. Nothing is visible in the western part of the vault; an Ascension or Pentecost would be appropriate.

#### The East Wall (fig. 8)

On each of the two faces of the eastern reducing arch which links the naos and apse were four standing figures, the shape of three of which can just be distinguished where whitewash has flaked off. The backgrounds were grey and the inscriptions in neat white lettering. One of the lower figures on the south side of the west face was a bishop wearing a red and white *polystavrion*.

Of four roundels in the arch soffit the upper figure on the south side was bearded. The background of the roundel was yellow; the figure had a yellow halo outlined in red, and wears a red robe and holds a book.

In the lunette of the east arch is a seated Christ, but little can be discerned beyond the red outlines of both the throne and the figure. The flowing curly hair of the figure on the south side of Christ almost certainly identifies it as an archangel.

#### The South Wall (fig. 9)

The lower 1.50 m of the wall was probably occupied by a patterned dado; the lower horizontal border of the lower register of painting is scored with an incised line.

The fragments of figures to the east of the south doorway appear to represent; in the east spandrel, an angel with hand held up toward another figure; only a few red outlines remain, together with a yellow ground color for the flesh of the outstretched arm. The figures at the east end of the wall had yellow haloes with red outlines and the westernmost figure had a bejeweled collar to his tunic.

The middle register consisted of five or six panels separated by wide red borders. The Sacrifice of Isaac (pls. 19, 20b), has a yellow foreground and a grey black upper background. Abraham's cloak is green, with dark green fold lines and highlights in a lighter shade of the same color. The faces of both Abraham and Isaac are yellow with red feature lines and outlines; Abraham has white hair and a yellow halo outlined with white. The rock background is red, with dark red shadow lines and white highlights. The ram caught in the thicket is white. At the top west corner of the panel is a yellow triangle outlined with red. The divine figure appearing in it is beardless and has a yellow halo.

The Annunciation (pl. 20b) has a plain green foreground and a grey black upper background. The architecture is light

70. See J. L. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330-1025," *DOP*, 13 (1959), esp. 117-32 and 136.

71. Makarios (1658), 429.

grey, with red outlines and is topped on the left by a red canopy supported by four columns. In the top center is a segment of Heaven in yellow; three white rays descend from it toward the Virgin. The haloes of the two figures are yellow with a red inner and white outer outline. The angel wears a white robe and red cloak with an agitated tail of drapery, but all the clothing has been overpainted. The wings now exhibit a yellow ground color with red outlines, but upper layers of paint may have fallen away from them.

The Nativity survives only in a fragment at the bottom left-hand corner, where there is a seated figure resting his head on his left arm. He wears a red garment and has a yellow halo with red inner and white outer outlines.

The Visitation (pl. 22a) has a yellow ground and grey black upper background. The architecture is grey, with red windows and a red roof; yellow drapery is suspended across the back of it. On the left is Elizabeth wearing a white robe and a pink cloak with red outlines. Mary wears a grey robe with blackish fold lines (there may have been light blue highlights); her cloak is red with dark red fold lines. Both figures had yellow haloes with red inner and white outer outlines.

The roundels in the upper register (pl. 20a, b) are set in a narrow decorative strip and each encloses a bust. Parts of eight roundels remain; there may have been a total of eleven. The seven busts whose heads have survived all represent beardless young men whose faces have a yellow ground color and red feature lines; the haloes are yellow with a thick white outline; the background color is light grey with inscriptions in white. The roundels have white inner outlines and a wide red outer border. The decorative motif framing the roundels is yellow and grey with red outlines. The outlines of the haloes and roundels, the shape of the decorative motifs, and the upper and lower horizontal borders were all marked out with incised lines. There is also a horizontal incised line running through the center of the heads which may either be a guide line for the centering of the roundels or mark a border which was later abandoned.

The small white lettering is of a type found elsewhere, which will be discussed below. The characteristics which appear here are the  $\mathfrak{B}$  with well separated curving members, an almost cursive  $\mathfrak{C}$  and the flat based *ou* ligature,  $\mathfrak{X}$ , which recurs in the donor inscription.

The first two busts represent two of the seven Maccabees, Abelbous and Ourias. They are listed in the Painter's Guide of Dionysios of Fournas as Abeib and Gourias.<sup>72</sup> In Supplementary MS 3 they are named Abid and Gourias,<sup>73</sup> and in Supplementary MS 5 their names are spelt as at Sinope.<sup>74</sup> The third figure, of whose name only an N survives, could be Antonios, who is placed third in the lists. The seven Maccabees are always listed in Dionysios with the Seven Children of Ephesos. If we assume them to have been all represented at Sinope, they would account for fourteen out of the twenty-two roundels (on both sides of the church), leaving eight roundels filled, perhaps, with the Anargyroi.

72. Dionysios of Fournas, *Ἑρμηνεία*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Petrograd, 1909), 161.

73. Dionysios of Fournas, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 272.

74. Dioysios of Fournas, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 297.

#### The South Archway

The soffit (fig. 11) contains St. Kosmas in its west half and St. Damianos in its east. Both were full-length figures but St. Kosmas has been destroyed from the thighs down, where the arch was at some later point cut away. The lower background color for the figures was yellow and the upper background grey. The flesh color is yellow with red feature lines and the hair is red. The haloes are yellow with a red inner and a white outer outline, but traces of an earlier thick white outline for the haloes and of a larger outline for the heads, also earlier, can be detected.

St. Kosmas wears a grey robe and red cloak, which have been blurred by overpainting. St. Damianos wears a white robe and a red cloak with a jeweled hem. The inscriptions are in the same large white letters as those of the donor inscription of 1640; St. Kosmas, however, has traces of smaller and earlier lettering in red, which has now turned black.<sup>75</sup> Figure 11 shows that the form of these letters is regular and traced with less of a flourish than the work of the later painter.

#### The North Wall (fig. 10)

Less of the painting remains than on the south wall, but enough to make clear that the arrangement was the same. In the upper register there are traces of three roundels and in the middle register of three Feast scenes (which can be partly made out from incision marks where the paint has all flaked off). The surviving scene is certainly the Entry into Jerusalem, and the panel adjacent to it to the west might be the Raising of Lazarus (which would put the scenes in the wrong order). The easternmost scene contains the remains of three haloes, indicating either a Deesis, or an enthroned Mother of God between archangels, or a Transfiguration.

In the lower register at the east end, above the prothesis niche, is the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria. It is largely whitewashed, what is still visible is now blackened by smoke, and only a few outlines can be distinguished. The flesh coloring of both St. Peter and the Christ Child is yellow with red outlines and feature lines. St. Peter wears a white *omophorion* with red crosses. Christ stands on the altar table clothed in a chiton, which he holds in his left hand where it was torn. All other details are obscured save for the sigla IC XC and three lines of slanting lettering of medium size and neatness, of which the word  $\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\nu(\alpha)$  can be made out, identifying it as part of the standard text:  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \sigma\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\nu \chi\iota\tau\omicron\nu\alpha, \Sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho, \delta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon$ .<sup>76</sup>

In the register below is part of the halo of a figure which was otherwise destroyed when the prothesis niche was cut; the letters  $\theta\eta\lambda\omicron\sigma\iota$  can be distinguished. It seems likely that the Vision of St. Peter also antedates the cutting of the niche, which would have truncated the main figure. But the absence of incised guidelines suggests that the scene may not have formed part of the original decoration.

75. Perhaps vermilion, which changes easily to black sulphide of mercury.

76. Dionysios of Fournas, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 154, 155, 219, 268; MS 4 (p. 279) places the scene in the prothesis, as at Sinope; at Manasija it is on the southeast column of the naos. See also G. Millet, "La vision de Saint Pierre d'Alexandrie," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), II, 99–117.

### The West Wall (fig. 7)

Little remains on the north side. On the south side there are two registers, each with a full-length standing figure. The lower figure wears a white two-part tunic, with fold lines and outlines marked out in red and yellow. The tunic has a jeweled yellow hem. The trace of a foot belonging to an earlier figure underneath is visible.

In the upper register is the figure of a bishop in a white cloak with yellow fold lines and thick red outlines. The tips of grey shoes appear from under the robe: the *omophorion* has red crosses. The flesh was yellow with red feature lines; the face was bearded and had large staring eyes. The halo is yellow with a wide white outline marked by two incised circles; the lettering of the inscription is white and of medium size. The robes have incised main outlines; despite damage, they give the impression of falling in graceful folds of drapery; thus, this figure is in strong contrast to the squat and dumpy figures in the Visitation scene which adjoins it on the south wall.

The backgrounds of both figures are in three sections. The lower is red, followed by a thin yellow middle section and a grey black upper section.

The lunette figures were too remote and indistinct to allow of a detailed description. In the spandrels the symbols of the sun and moon are white with outlines in red; they make little sense on their own and are divided from the figure above by a red border line. It seems likely that there was originally a solid west wall, or that there was a filling to the arch bearing a Crucifixion scene, of which the sun and moon symbols are all that survives. The rectangle at the top center has a grey ground and a wide red outline; the diamond has a yellow ground with a red outline which seems to have been overpainted in grey. The star within the rectangle is yellow. The winged creature has yellow wings with red outlines. The figure within the diamond could represent the Ancient of Days, or, possibly, the Majesty of the Last Judgment: it has red outlines but whitewash obscures most of it and the cutting of the rectangular window above has destroyed most of its head and shoulders.

### The West Arches (fig. 13 and pl. 21a, b)

On the reveals of the wider arch are the remains of five standing figures—originally there were probably six. The lowest figure on the south side is clearly identified as St. Barbara by an inscription in white lettering to the left of it (pl. 21b). The lower background is red, the middle section yellow, and the upper grey. St. Barbara wears a white robe with grey fold lines, and a red cloak and cowl with dark red fold lines which has been much overpainted. The flesh is yellow with red feature lines; the halo is also yellow with a red inner and a white outer outline. The Saint holds a martyr's crosslet in her right hand. On her robe is a red K, for which we have no explanation, unless it be a memory of the enigmatic *gammadia*.<sup>77</sup>

Above St. Barbara, St. Panteleimon is identified by white lettering (pl. 21a). He wears a white tunic, the lower part of which has red fold lines and the upper part yellow fold lines.

The division of the tunic by a horizontal line belongs to a later repaint. The hem of the tunic is yellow with red outlines. The boots and buskins are similar but have been overpainted with further red lines. The flesh is yellow with red feature lines and outlines; the hair is red. The halo is yellow with red inner and white outer outlines. Some of the fold lines of the cloak fall in a broad and graceful pattern; however, they belong to a repaint. Above St. Panteleimon is the fragment of a third figure.

The figure in the lowest register of the north reveal has been destroyed; that in the middle register, balancing St. Panteleimon, wears a white tunic with red fold lines, and a light red cloak with dark red fold lines. This figure is beardless and its flesh is yellow with red feature lines and outlines; the hair is red. The halo is yellow with a red inner and a white outer outline. The lower background is red, the middle section yellow, and the upper grey. Much of this figure, including its identificatory inscription, is obscured by whitewash. The figure in the upper register is also largely covered by whitewash and mold.

On the reveals and soffits of the narrower west arch there were two standing figures and seven or eight roundels containing busts, of which six survive.

The roundels are set on a grey background, with the exception of that at the top center, which has been overpainted in blue with a wide red frame, a thin white outline, and, finally, a thin black outline (most of which has now flaked off). They are linked together by smaller circles containing equal-armed crosses and the sigla IC XC NK in red. The spaces between the circles are filled with a stylized leaf design in yellow. There are no signs of incised guidelines and the roundels and circles are very crudely executed.

From south to north, the roundels contain figure busts as follows:

1. Robe white with yellow fold lines; cloak, repaint, green (pl. 25a). Flesh, yellow with red feature lines. Hair, red. Halo, yellow. Untidy red inscription reads "Ismail."
2. Robe, repaint, blue. Book white. Flesh, same as 1. Halo, yellow with a red inner and a white outer outline. Inscription obscured by whitewash
3. Robe, white with red fold lines; cloak, repaint, green
4. Same as 3
5. Robe and cloak, same as 3. Flesh, as 1. It is the only surviving bust to have a beard, red. Inscription, originally red, now black; only M is clear
6. Outline of roundel only remains.

Of the lower standing figures only the head of St. Eirene has survived (pl. 22b). The large white letters identifying the Saint have mostly gone. The two forms of A are noteworthy: one has a stepped, and the other a slanting cross stroke. The face is yellow with red feature lines; the hair is red, falling in curls around the neck. The face was later built up with thick flesh colors, of which only a few fragments survive. The yellow halo has a white outline bordered on each side by a thin red line. The top of the Saint's costume was yellow with red outlines; it was doubtless an imperial garment. The background is yellow. The crown is outlined in red, with white pearls. Beneath it, and under the yellow background color, are traces of red outlines of an earlier crown of a

77. See the *RBK*, II, 617–19; and W. Oakeshott, *The mosaics of Rome* (London, 1967), 378–79.

simpler Byzantine design. There are also traces of an earlier and larger head. The more noticeable features of St. Eirene are the long elegant nose and nostril lines, and the large eyes with upward gazing pupils. The roundel busts, both on this arch and on the south wall, as well as the figure of Isaac on the south wall, share this characteristic upwards gaze.

South Doorway, Interior Paintings (figs. 12, 14, and pl. 23)

On the lunette above the south doorway a donor's inscription is associated with a pattern and a painting representing St. Marina and the Demon. St. Marina is a badly damaged half-length figure with red outlines, holding the demon by the hairs of his chin<sup>78</sup> while she raises her other arm to belabor him.

The inscription is composed of five lines of Greek and a sixth of Arabic in red letters on plain white plaster, and is framed with a red outline and a wide red border (fig. 14, pl. 23). By 1973 much of the last two lines had become illegible. It reads:

ἀνιστορίσθη ὁ παγεπτος καὶ  
θιος ναος της θε(εο)κου δια σνγδρόμης και εξόδου  
τοῦ εντιμοτάτου ἀρχοντος κύρον κη-  
ριακ[ος] ὁ ρεῆζι[ς] ἀρχιερατευοντος κύρ |εκζε-  
5 κηῆλ κ(αι) ιερουργούντος κύρ σταβριανος ετου Α̅Χ̅ Μ̅

al-haqir Grigorios min beled al-Toqat fi al-musavur fi sene 1(0)50.<sup>79</sup>

"The most sacred and holy church of the Theotokos was repainted by the aid and contribution of the most honorable archon kyr Kyriak(os) the Reis, in the episcopacy of kyr (I)E(k)zekiel and in the priesthood of kyr Stavrianos in the year 1640. The humble Grigorios of the land of Tokat in the enkleistra? in the year 1(0)50." (A.D. 23 April 1640—A.D. 11 April 1641)

The church was therefore redecorated in the period 23 April–31 December 1640.

There are peculiarities of letter forms in the Greek: the stepped N and the three forms of A employing stepped, slanting, and horizontal cross-members. Typical of Late Byzantine forms are the high horizontal stroke of the Δ and low central member of the M. The middle member of the E has a high upward turn and the ligature OY has a flat bottom member.

In the Arabic the epithet *haqir* may suggest *tapeinos*; it is also reminiscent of *faqir* and is here a synonym. *Faqir* can indicate connections with a dervish order; *haqir* may here indicate a priest or monk. There is some uncertainty about the reading "*al-masavur*," but, if correct, it may indicate an *enkleistra*. One may envisage a monastic cell at Balat Kilise to which Gregory of Tokat (perhaps the painter) retired.

78. Dionysios of Fournā, Ἐρμηνεία, MS 3 (p. 273), gives instructions to paint St. Marina thus.

79. We are most grateful to what amounts to a committee which has assisted in the discussion and interpretation of this inscription. They include Professors Cyril Mango, Rudi Lindner, Heath Lowry, and Speros Vryonis.

Tokat had a substantial Christian population.<sup>80</sup> The bishop Ezekiel is probably the metropolitan of Amaseia who in the seventeenth century resided at Sinope.<sup>81</sup> The archon Kyriakos is perhaps the local Greek primate. His title brings to mind the other great bilingual inscription of Sinope, of 1214–15, and the Armenian Reis.<sup>82</sup>

#### Exterior

The exterior of "Balat Kilise" is also decorated with paintings. On the lunette over the south door is a representation of the Koimesis (fig. 15 and pl. 24a). Formerly there were paintings accompanying it on the soffits of the south arch but of these only a few tiny fragments remain, and are now covered with whitewash.

Apart from the architectures, which are rational in their arrangement, the scene reproduced in figure 15 corresponds to a standard Late Byzantine Koimesis. There do not appear to be any mourning women (although they could be included among the background figures) and the episode of the Jewish Prince of Priests, Jephonias, is not depicted. The composition fits fairly well around the rectangular window and was probably painted after the window was opened.

The only haloed figures are the two bishops, who hold Gospels. Their haloes are yellow with a red inner outline and a thick white outer outline. The background is green; the upper portion of it—the sky—is reddish black. The lettering now shows black, probably as trace marking of white paint. The architectures are rendered in grey and light red. Garments are in red, green, two shades of black (one of which would originally have had a blue overpaint and the other a red overpaint to represent purple), yellow, and white. Christ and the attendant angels wear white robes with red fold lines. The painting is so severely damaged that any judgment on its style is made impossible. The faces are of the Late Byzantine type, with small features and curly hair and beards—quite unlike those of the interior of the church. Some of them have been repainted and the face of one of the bishops on the west side has crude white white paint similar to that used on St. Eirene in the interior (pl. 22b). The robe of St. Peter, near the head of the Mother of God, has a red ground color, dark red shadow areas, light red highlight areas, and may have had white highlights—but the glues used by the painter were poor and the colors have run. It is the most elaborate surviving system of coloring of a garment in the entire decoration of the church and is a good example of the conventional Byzantine system. But the workmanship is poor and a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century date is possible; it may even be a consciously revivalist painting of the second half of the nineteenth century. The similarity between some of the colors of this painting and those appearing in the retouching of some of the paintings of the interior suggest the work of the same artist. The original Koimesis painting was painted with yellow, red, green, white, and black (and possibly blue) colors; it was later touched up with a garish blue and violet red.

80. M. A. Cook, *Population pressure in rural Anatolia, 1450–1600* (London, 1972), 63.

81. Makarios (1658), 429.

82. See p. 72.

On the west face of the niche to the south of the west arch is the figure of an archangel (pl. 25c). Of the background, the lower portion is yellow, the upper is blue painted directly upon the white plaster surface. The archangel wears imperial garments of a debased form and holds an orb and staff. The robe is decorated with flower patterns in red and green, also painted on the white plaster ground. The loros has a yellow ground with red and green motifs and a white pearl border. The flesh color is yellow, the hair red with curls in light red lines. The halo is yellow, outlined in red.

The figure is too damaged to allow comment on its style, but seems to be eighteenth- or nineteenth-century in date. It was made by a painter unfamiliar with Byzantine technique, as may be seen from the lack of overall ground colors. The alarming blue of the background appears again in the over-painting of the Visitation in the interior.

A few graffiti are visible on the lower parts of the walls, including two of simple sailing ships—one on the figure of St. Barbara and the other on a figure in the lower register of the south wall.<sup>83</sup>

The technique, style, and dates of "Balat Kilise" are a matter of discussion. The surface plaster of the paintings of the interior is of a single period, save for that of the tympanum over the south doorway. The latter is dated by the inscription to the year 1640 and this date concords with the Late Byzantine use of tow as a binder. The remainder of the plaster surfaces apparently lack any organic binder and conform to a system of plastering which was employed from late Roman times up to about the tenth century and was not common thereafter.<sup>84</sup> Parallel examples are found in Georgia and Cappadocia.

The use of incised guidelines is irregular: the Annunciation scene has fairly extensive incisions and the Sacrifice of Isaac next to it has not. The roundels on the south wall are marked out with incisions; those on the west arch are not. If our hypothesis that there was originally a Crucifixion scene on the west wall is correct, the roundels on the west arch would be later than the other paintings in the church interior.

The bulk of the painting now visible is of the simple type, aptly described by Vasari as being just "outlines in a colored field." The system for clothing consisted of an overall ground color, fold lines and, sometimes, highlights. This simple technique is found in the archaic decorations of Cappadocia, in Cyprus at St. Salamoni (Rizokarpaso) and St. Mavra (Kyrenia), and in Greece in the earliest work in St. Stephen and the Sts. Anargyroi (Kastoria). None of these paintings is securely dated, but a consensus of opinion puts the early Cappadocian and Cypriote work, as well as the early painting at Kastoria, in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>85</sup>

83. Not in O. F. A. Meinardus, "Medieval Navigation According to the *Akidographemata* in Byzantine Churches and Monasteries," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.*, 6 (1972), 29–52.

84. See Restle, *Wall painting*, I, 224–34, 236–37; and D. Winfield, "Middle and Later Byzantine Wall Painting Methods," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 64–79 and tables I–VI. It must be emphasized that too little attention has been paid to plastering practices and that too few Byzantine examples have yet been described to provide sufficient evidence for dating by composition of plaster alone.

85. Cf. R. Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia: the archaic

The rendering of the flesh is all done with a yellow ground color and red feature lines—the simplest Byzantine system—and there is no evidence of the more sophisticated build up of color from a green ground. The basic colors seem to be white, black, yellow, green, and red; the adherence of the yellows and reds at least suggests that they were painted on the fresh plaster. Evidently, the painters of Sinope did not use the famous "sinoper" much. Blue and certain other varieties of red belong to later repaints.

From a stylistic point of view the most striking features are the squat, heavy figures, their limited number in the scenes, and the lack of complicated architecture or iconography. Such characteristics point, again, to an early date, parallel with the Cappadocian, Cypriot, and Kastorian examples. It could be argued that the crude quality of the paintings is consonant with the work of a provincial painter in the post-Byzantine period; but this is unlikely, for there is virtually no post-Byzantine painting in the Pontos before the nineteenth century. Post-Byzantine painting normally exhibits some of the complexity of Late Byzantine iconography, whereas at Balat Kilise we have a very formal example of Middle Byzantine iconography.

A second stylistic characteristic, which is paralleled in early Cappadocian painting, is the division of the background into three bands of color: yellow, green, and grey black (instead of the formal green for the lower and blue for the upper foreground, both painted over an initial grey or black in wall paintings from the eleventh century onward). However, the three-colored backgrounds appear as late as the fifteenth century in the tower of the Hagia Sophia at Trebizond.

A third characteristic which is unconventional is the single wide white outline for some of the haloes. This is more likely to be early rather than late in date, since a double outline for haloes becomes normal from about the eleventh century onward; at "Balat Kilise" the wide white outlines have in some places been overpainted with the conventional red inner and white outer outlines.

The faces of Isaac (pl. 20b) and Abelbous (pl. 20a) bear a strong resemblance and suggest the same painter. They share the upward gazing eyes, whose pupils are joined to the upper eyelids, with the figures of St. Eirene (pl. 22b) and Ismail (pl. 25a). In other respects Ismail and Eirene look rather different; moreover, the system of roundels on the west arch is unlike that on the south wall for there are no incised guidelines and the pattern in the spaces between the roundels is not the same.

A different and more sophisticated drawing can be seen in

group of wall-paintings," *JBAA*, 30 (1967), 19–36; S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria*, I (Thessaloniki, 1953), pls. 38, 41, 87, 88, 97, 100. The long-awaited text to this volume is still lacking and it is regrettable that, in the quarter century that has elapsed since publication of vol. I, Byzantinists have been actively impeded from study of these important paintings and that no cleaning or conservation work has been undertaken. The Cypriote examples are unpublished, but a ninth- or tenth-century date would be stylistically acceptable (although a date after the reconquest of Cyprus in 965 is more probable).

the face of St. Barbara (pl. 21b), and in the proportions of her figure and that of St. Panteleimon above her (pl. 21a) which are much more elongated than those of the figures of the scenes.

On the exterior, the Koimesis provides the only example in the church of a fairly conventional Late Byzantine iconography (pl. 24a), but it might have been painted at any time between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The only characteristic of a very late painting is usually a westernizing influence, and this is entirely lacking here, unless it be found in the relatively correct perspectives of the architecture. By contrast, the flower patterns on the robes of the archangel in the niche in the west wall are certainly very late and show a western influence; for this figure an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date is likely.

The dilapidated condition of the paintings makes it impossible to offer a more detailed stylistic appraisal of them without a serious cleaning and conservation program—and this is no more than a hope, for they have greatly deteriorated in the last fifteen years. But what could be seen on the surface, together with our observations on differences of style and technique, makes it clear that there was more than one period of painting before the final repainting.

The styles of lettering confirm this conclusion. There are three types of white lettering which are distinguished by size and form. The large white lettering 10 to 12 cm high identifies Sts. Kosmas, Damianos, and Eirene; the forms of K, M, and A concur with those of the red letter inscription of 1640. The medium-size white lettering, averaging 5 cm in height, identifies Sts. Barbara and Panteleimon and is also found in the St. Peter of Alexandria inscription. The form of the M in this medium-size white lettering is similar to that of the inscription of 1640 which is in red letters. The small white lettering averages about 3 cm in height and appears in the medallions of the south wall. The *oy* ligature is close to that of the 1640 inscription. The B with separated lobes is similar to that of the medium-size lettering accompanying St. Barbara. The almost cursive form of A is peculiar to the small white lettering.

The red lettering is of two types. The larger is that of the 1640 inscription (fig. 14 and pl. 23). The smaller is clear on the labels for St. Marina and St. Kosmas. A characteristic of it is the M, the central member of which depends from the tops of the uprights rather than starting from halfway down them.

Thus, there are five types of lettering. Once again the evidence is incomplete through damage and the whitewash which covers the paintings; these types probably indicate the work of different scribes, yet they need not be far separated in date for they often have one or more characteristics in common.

We have evidence of different sorts of plastering and of several different periods of painting. The only secure date is 1640 for the lettering of the donor inscription, the painting of St. Marina, and the tow-bound plaster below them. Not enough, however, survives of the painting of St. Marina to enable us to relate its date to that of any other painting in the church. The similarity of the K, M, and A forms of the large

white lettering and of the red lettering of the 1640 inscription suggests that a redecoration of the rest of the church was carried out in 1640, as the inscription states.<sup>86</sup>

All else is speculation. We may tentatively conclude that the decorative program, the simple technique of painting, and the division of the backgrounds into three differently colored sections point to an early date for the original decoration, perhaps somewhere in the period between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.

The paintings were retouched more than once; the church was altered by the cutting of niches and windows, and the filling and remodeling of the south door and apse. One period of redecoration is attested by the inscription of 1640. Travelers' accounts make it clear that the building was in use as late as Hamilton's visit in 1836.

##### 5. Inscription on Column

Foundations of what appeared to be a church were revealed in 1963 in the course of excavations for a gas pump not far west of the walls. They also brought to light an altar made of a stumpy fluted Doric column (pl. 25b). A clean-cut inscription carved on two successive flutings reads:

ΔΕΛΦΙΝΙΟΣ  
ΟΡΓΙΑΛΕΟΣ

The splayed "sigmas" suggest a late classical date. The inscription is not otherwise published and the whereabouts of the altar is now unknown.

##### 6. Relief of Christ with Angels (pl. 24b)

In the Sinope Museum there is a block of stone about 50 cm high with a representation of Christ with angels carved in low relief. It is reported to have come from a village in the neighborhood.

The carving represents a full-length seated figure of Christ within a mandorla held by four angels. He carries the Book in His left hand and blesses with His right. The peculiar features of the figure are the discrepant sizes of the two hands, and the raised rectangles inscribed with the sigla IC XC on each side of the halo.

The mandorla outline is a flattened oval and is treated as a tangible raised shape grasped by the fingers of the angels. The angels themselves are arranged in pairs and appear to be standing rather than flying. Their bodies are somewhat awkwardly arranged and only one wing apiece is shown, with some attempt to balance its shape with a hanging end of drapery falling from the shoulder on the side opposite to that of the wing.

The narrow face of the stone is decorated with an interlaced rope pattern which is neatly executed with compass-drawn circles. It seems fairly clear from the manner in which the interlace continues to the left, beyond the figural panel,

86. For unrecognized examples of the use of the word ἁντιστοπίσθη for "repainted," see W. H. and G. Buckler, "Dated wall paintings in Cyprus," *AIPHOS*, 7 (1939-44), 48-9 (in the Panagia Arakiotissa, Cyprus, dated 1192); and A. and J. Stylianou, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions of Cyprus," *JÖBG*, 9(1960), 101.

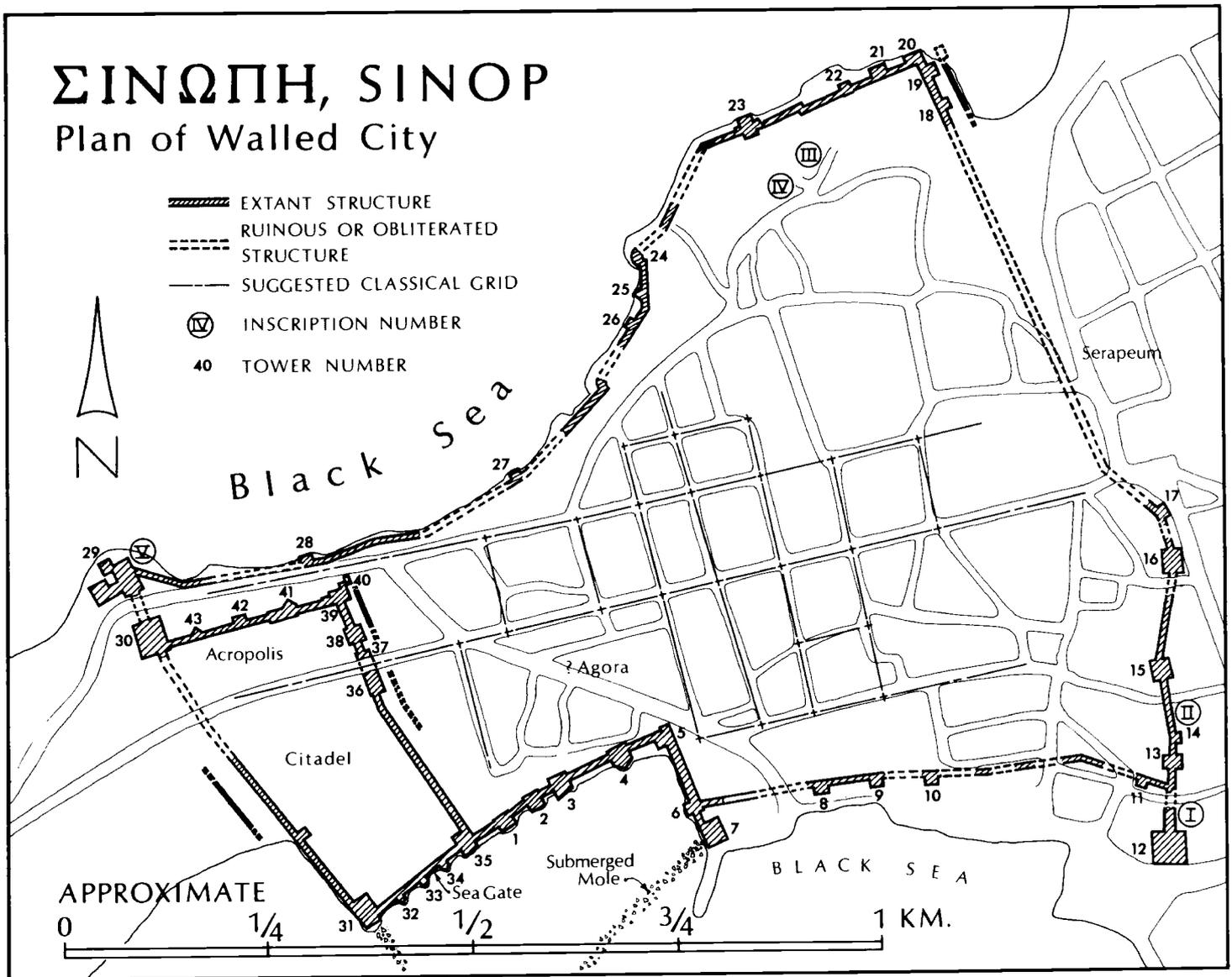
that this block was a lintel of either a doorway to a church or an iconostasis screen. The carving of Christ would thus have decorated the flat underside of a doorway, or perhaps the central entrance of the iconostasis.

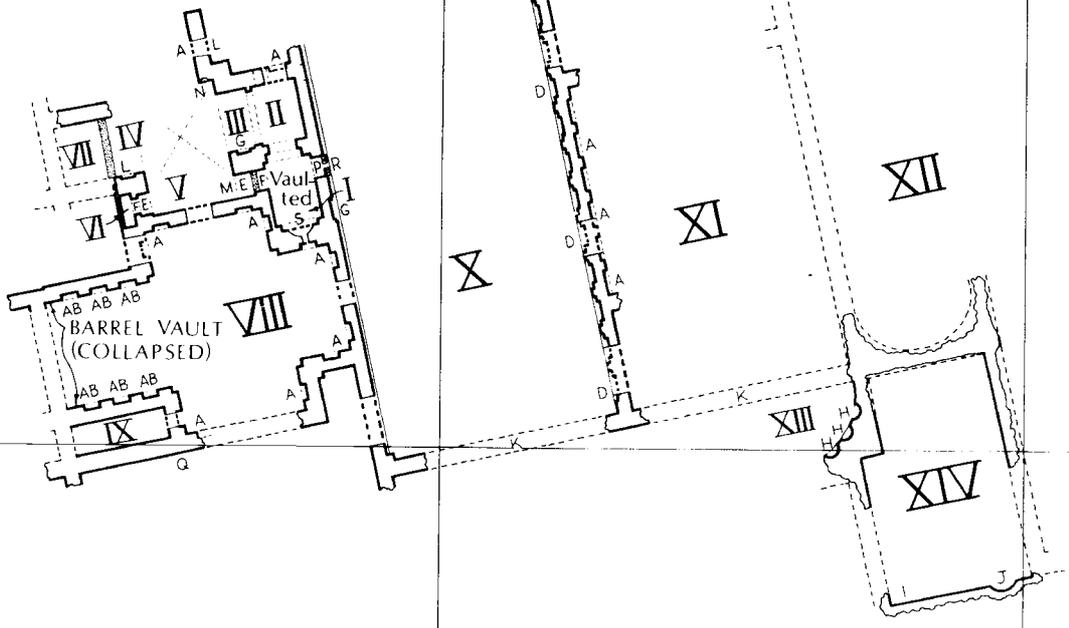
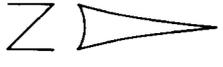
The subject matter of this carving seems to be that of a Christ in Majesty, although it lacks the attendant evangelist symbols that might be expected in such a scene. Or it may be regarded as the central section of a representation of the Ascension. Both interpretations are possible.

Its date is difficult to judge. The rope interlace is found in reused medieval blocks of stone in the church on Cape Jason and there are various fragments of interlace pattern in the

churches of the city of Trebizond. The figural carving is so worn that no stylistic evaluation of it can be made beyond observing that it is a piece of provincial workmanship. The only objection to a Byzantine date for it is the unusual raised rectangles with the lettering. Therefore, it could be a carving of the Byzantine period and its worn appearance could indicate an early date; or it may be a piece of Byzantine revival carving of the nineteenth century, several examples of which are in the Sinope Museum and one, perhaps the best, is near Şebinkarahisar.<sup>87</sup>

87. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1974), 247-50.

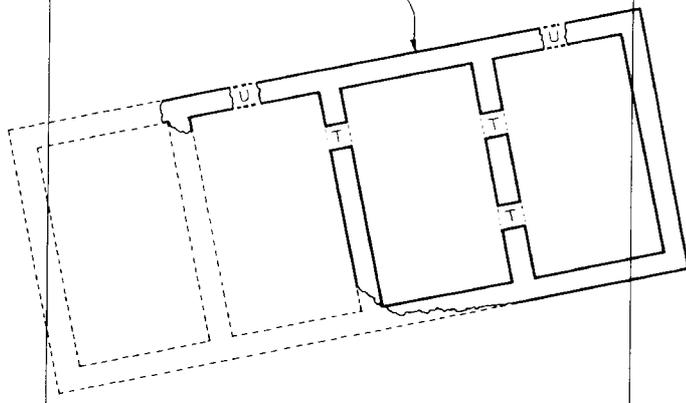




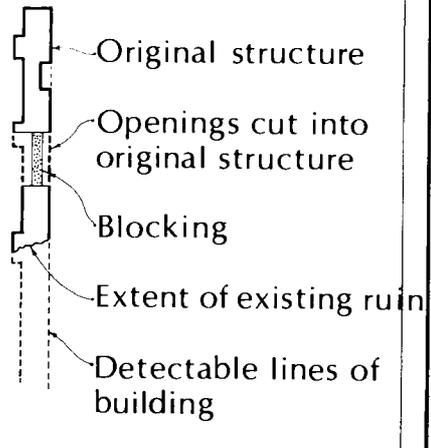
# ΣΙΝΩΠΗ, ΣΙΝΟΡ

## ΒΑΛΑΤ ΚΙΛΙΣΕ

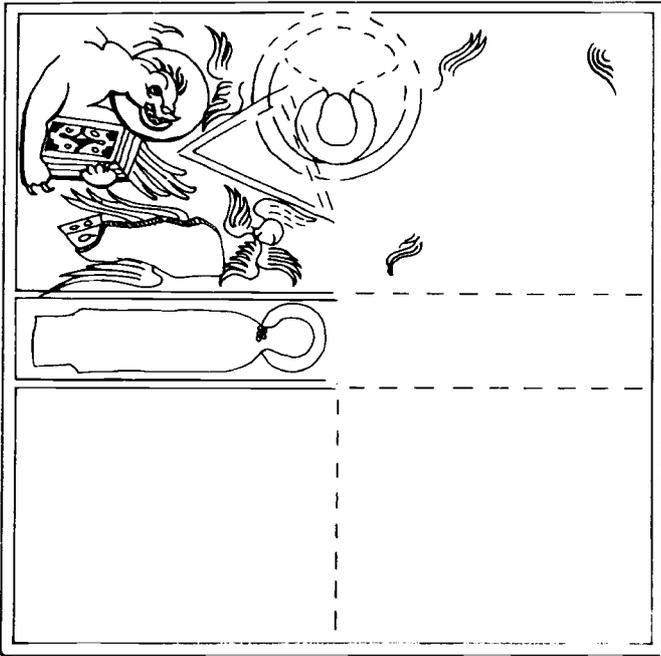
CISTERN



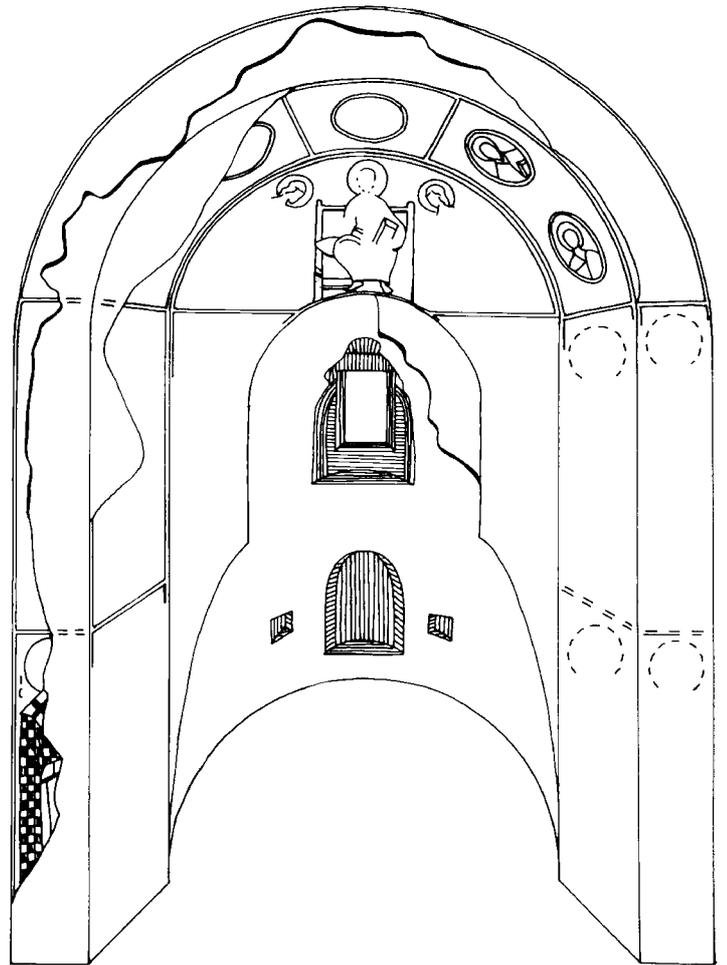
### KEY



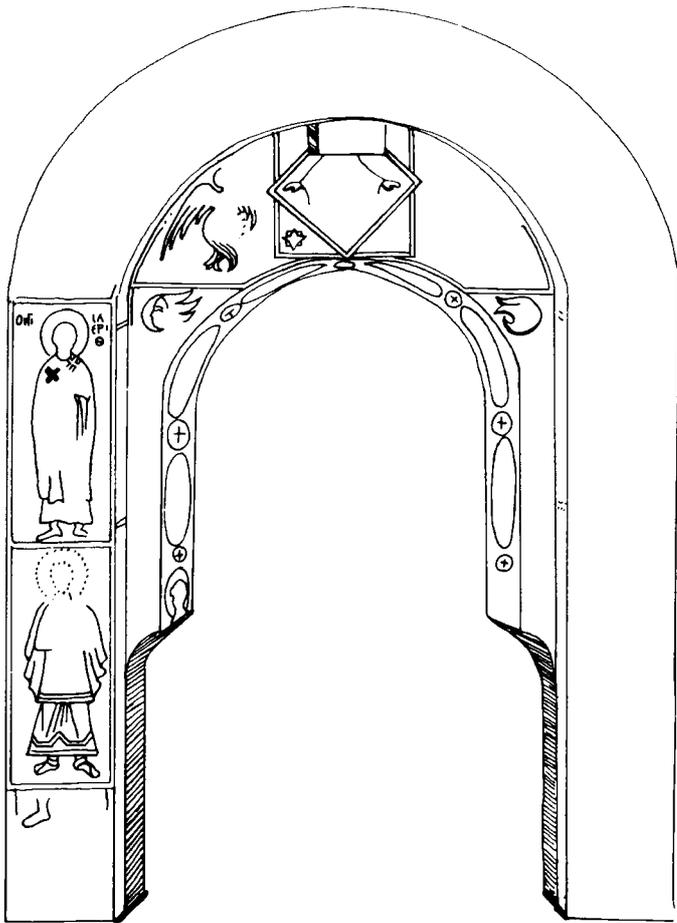
0 10 20 30 40 50 METERS 100



6. Vault

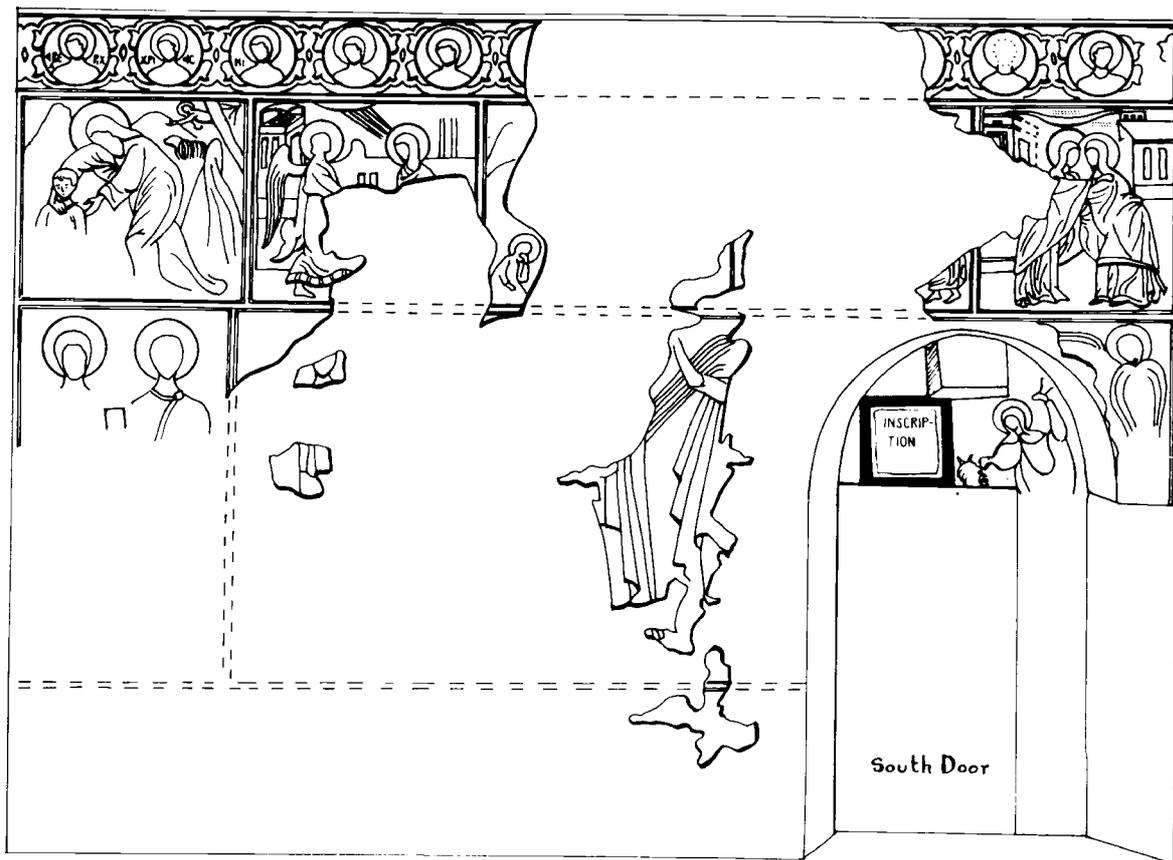


8. East Wall Arch

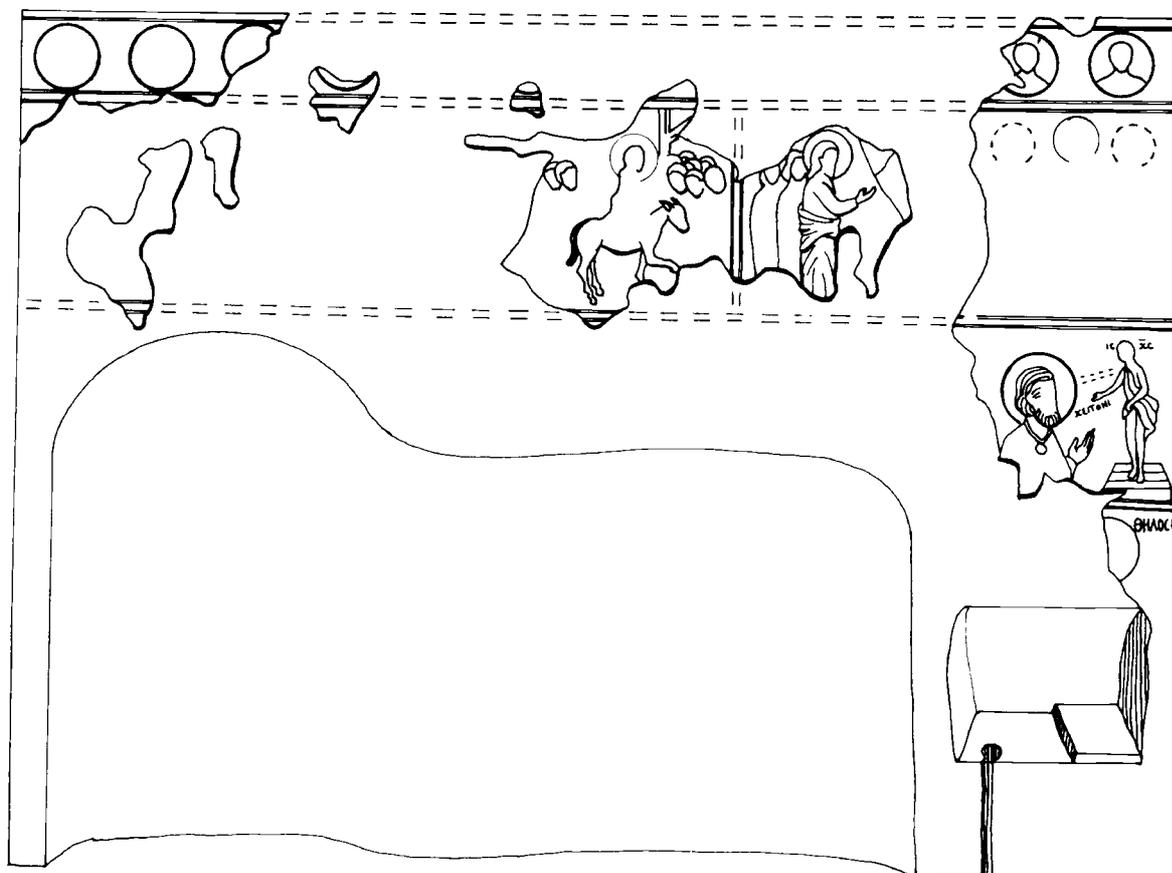


7. West Wall Arch

Sinope, Balat Kilise

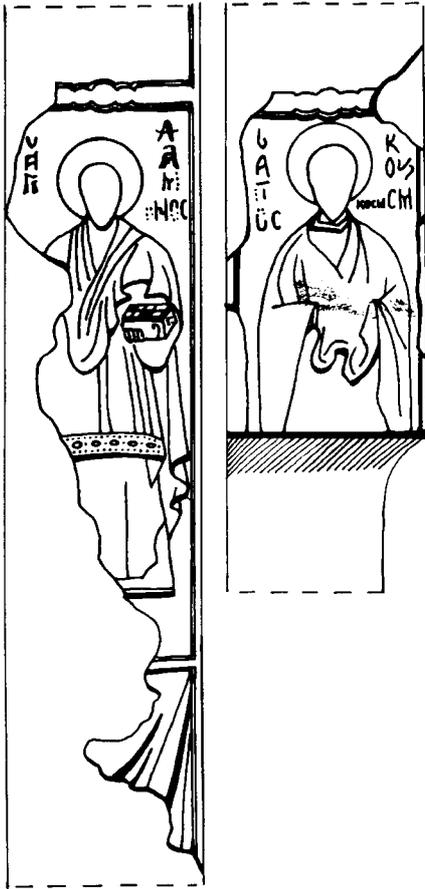


9. South Wall and Door



10. North Wall

Sinope. Balat Kilise



11. Soffit of Arch of South Door.  
Sts. Damian and Kosmas



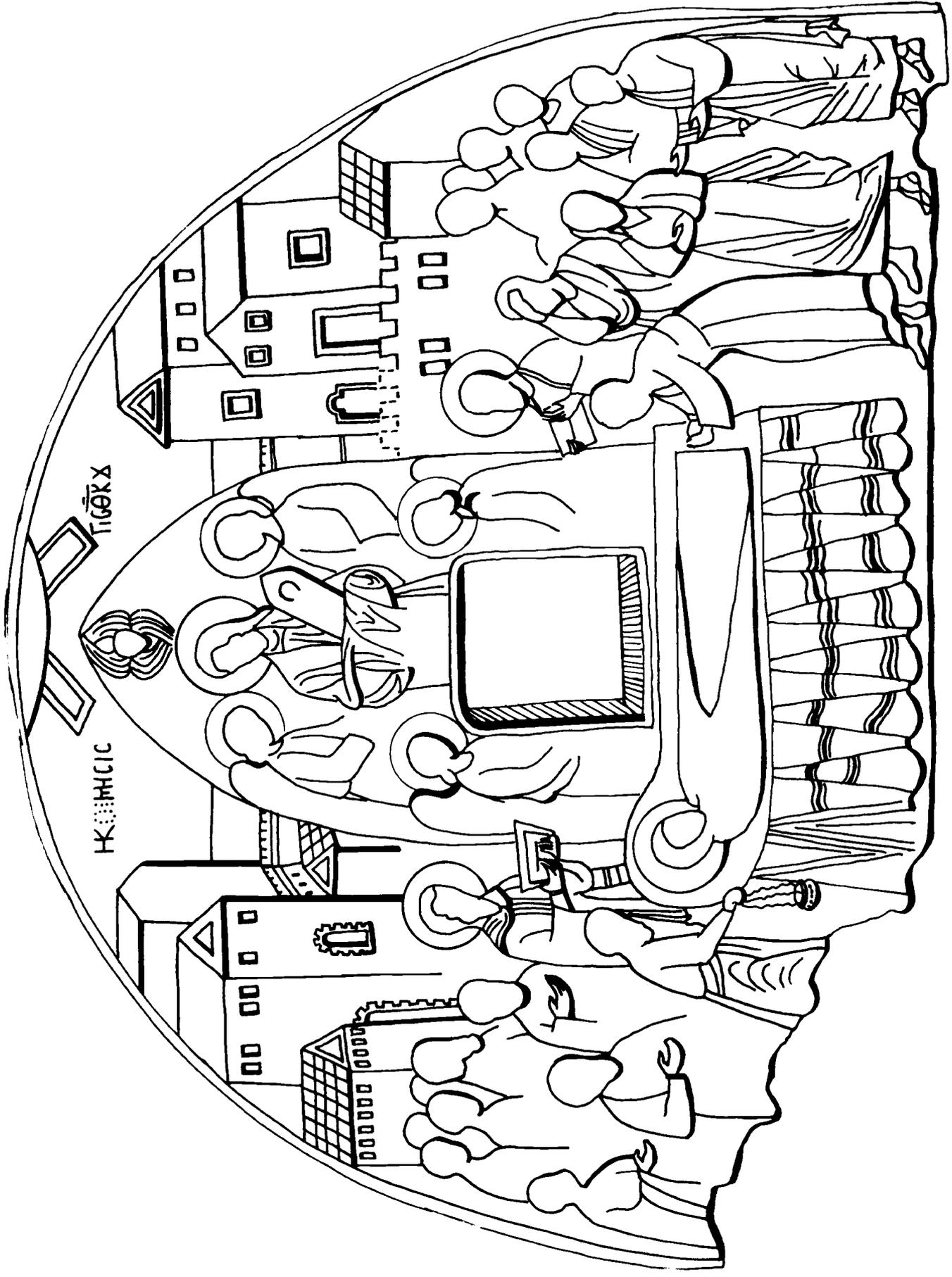
14. Inscription over South Door



12. Lunette over South Door



13. Sinope. Balat Kilise, Reveals and Soffits of West Arches



15. Sinope. Balat Kilise, Exterior, Lunette above South Door. The Koimesis

## Section III

# FROM SINOPE TO THE HALYS

The 142 km of coastland between Sinope and the Halys delta are curiously remote. Although the foothills are generally set back from the sea before meeting the Paphlagonian mountains to the southwest, the coastal plain is poor, still sparsely inhabited, and with unexpectedly difficult land communications. There are no main routes inland, and until recently it was easier to take ship along the coast than the road.

The history of this stretch of coast seems to have followed that of Sinope. Despite Danişmendid and, later, Seljuk harassment in the twelfth century, it probably remained in Greek hands until about 1214. There were periods of Trapezuntine reconquest in about 1222 and again in about 1254–65, but by the late thirteenth century Turkish Aminosos isolated the coast politically from the rest of the Greek Pontos, and its ecclesiastical metropolis at Amaseia was virtually extinct. Unlike the rest of the Pontos, the life of the Greek communities seems to have expired in the fourteenth century and, except for Paurae, was not revived in the nineteenth. There are few monuments in the area: they are confined to Karousa, Zalekon-Leontopolis, and Paurae.

### A. KAROUSA

#### SITUATION AND IDENTIFICATION

Κάρουσ[σ]α, Carusa, Carossa, Caroxa, Canosa, Charosa, Καρουσία, τὸ Καρόξε, or ἡ Καρούσα,<sup>1</sup> is modern Gerze, the only fair port between Sinope (49 km west) and Aminosos (140 km east). The harbor is sheltered from the north by a short promontory and is backed by foothills; there is now no sign of its churches in the town.<sup>2</sup>

#### HISTORY

Apart from references in the *peripli*, Karousa appears to be mentioned only in or about 1222, when a Trapezuntine expeditionary force landed there before marching on Sinope.<sup>3</sup>

1. Arrian, 21; *Anonymous periplus*, 24; Skylax, 89; Miller, *IR*, col. 644; Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 79; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 649; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 30; Makarios (1658), 434 (an "ancient" church of St. Michael, and a more recent seaside church of St. Paraskeve).

2. Hell (1838), II, 353.

3. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 117.

### B. ZALEKON-LEONTOPOLIS

#### SITUATION AND IDENTIFICATION

Ζάληκον stood close to the sea at the western edge of the alluvial delta of the Halys, on the mouth of the Zalekos and 210 stadia west of the Halys; it corresponds to modern Alaçam, 31 km west of modern Bafra.<sup>4</sup> Discoveries made close to Alaçam by Hamilton in 1836 and by Byrne and Harvey in 1972 confirm this identification.<sup>5</sup>

#### HISTORY

There is literary evidence for the existence of the town from late classical times until the fourteenth century. It appears to have had imperial connections: Hierokles calls it the Σάλτων Ζαλίχιον in the Helenopontos; it assumed an alternative name of Λεοντόπολις (presumably after 474, in recognition of Leo I), but Justinian refers to it as a town a trifle slightly.<sup>6</sup> The earliest mention of a bishop of Zaliche comes with his sponsoring of St. Eutychios, future patriarch of Constantinople (552–65); the see itself, usually called Leontopolis and not to be confused with its Isaurian namesake, was a suffragan of Amaseia and is mentioned in lists up to the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> There is literary and sigillographic witness to seven bishops, but by the late thirteenth century the Christian community there had fallen on hard times with isolation from the Empire of Trebizond and with the passing of both Sinope and its metropolis at Amaseia into infidel hands. The last hierarch of Leontopolis appears in a synod of refugee prelates in ca. 1315, where he is given the title of archbishop. Leontopolis was then inhabited by "very

4. *Anonymous periplus*, 24; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 321.

5. Hamilton (1836), I, 209. We have not visited this site, but are most grateful to Dr. Maurice Byrne and Dr. Sally Harvey for doing so on our behalf, and for their report on it.

6. Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, 37, no. 701 (6); Justinian, Novel 27 of 535, *CIC*, Nov. 212; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 319, 325. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 120 note 1, observes that the name "tendrait à faire croire que ce fut d'abord le centre d'un *saltus* impérial."

7. *Vita Eutychii*, in PG, 86, col. 2238. The indexes of Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, and of Vryonis, *Decline*, combine the two Leontopoleis indifferently; this Leontopolis does not appear to be that whose hierarch left for Arkadiopolis in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos; Vryonis, *Decline*, 201 note 368.

few Christian folk"; the bishop of Sinope was put in charge of the affairs of its church, but was unable to reach the place through "foreign vexations."<sup>8</sup> During the fourteenth century Christian (and possibly all) life in Leontopolis seems to have expired. It is one of the very few towns on the Pontic coast whose classical and Byzantine name has not survived.

#### MONUMENTS

An inscription referring to a church of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos during the reign of an emperor Justin is reported from Gümenüz, 5 km west of Alaçam.<sup>9</sup> A fifth-century sarcophagus with a relief of St. Peter, now in the Berlin Museum, came from Kara Ağaç, to the south of Alaçam.<sup>10</sup> In the same area (perhaps Schultze's "Eljas Dagh") Hamilton noted a castle on a hill and, lower down and very overgrown, the remains of a "considerable building." "The solid walls, which are built of alternative layers of stone and bricks, like those of Constantinople, appeared to belong to a Byzantine period, but I saw neither doors nor windows."<sup>11</sup>

Hamilton's two sites are almost certainly identical with those examined by Byrne and Harvey. A hill, now called Sivri Tepe, stands about one km from Alaçam at 229°. Its summit is irregularly walled in a roughly rectangular enclosure, the sides of which measure about 32 m, 36 m, 25 m, and 34 m, respectively. On the northern side an apsidal structure, 5.22 m wide and 6.65 m deep, projects at 20°. The walls are of different periods: the straight eastern wall, which appears to be older than the rest, stands one to two meters above ground and is built of regular courses of fairly small rough-cut blocks, bonded with hard white lime without brick flecks; there are no beam holes. Late classical and Ottoman sherds were noted, but no Byzantine glazed ware. This, evidently Hamilton's "castle," seems to be a largely post-Byzantine site.

Below, and to the southwest of, Sivri Tepe are numbers of walls built of stone and brick coursing. One, standing 3 m high and 0.73 m thick, has a footing of brick and stone, followed by bands of stone 0.40 m high and four courses of bricks 0.40 m high. The bricks (see Appendix) correspond in size with those from Early or Middle Byzantine sites further west and, as Hamilton observed, in Constantinople. The mortar is of lime devoid of crushed earthenware fragments; the use of pulverized brick and tile is a common metropolitan Roman and Byzantine practice but we have found it very rarely east of Oinaion. Ridged tiles, so common to the west and comparatively rarely found to the east, were noted. One brick or tile had the stamp Θ. This is evidently Hamilton's

8. Gelzer, *Texte*, 538, no. 217; Le Quien, *OC*, I, cols. 539–42; Laurent, *CS*, V (1), 312–14, nos. 431–33; M&M, *A&D*, I, 34, 39–40; Wächter, *Verfall*, 18–20; Vryonis, *Decline*, 326, 339. The name Zalekon-Leontopolis seems to have disappeared by the sixteenth century; it is called Kallipos, or Boz Tepe (Ποσδαπάς) in Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 30.

9. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 120 note 2.

10. Schultze, *Kleinasien*, 155–57, Bild 7.

11. Hamilton (1836), I, 209. Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asia*, I, 116, described it as "un vieux château byzantin en ruines, entouré d'épais massifs d'arbres et de broussailles." He was perhaps following Hamilton.

"considerable building." It seems to be on the site of Byzantine Zalekon-Leontopolis.

### C. PAURAE AND THE HALYS DELTA

#### DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATION

The Άλυς (Kızıl Irmak) empties into the Euxine from a broad plain of alluvium brought down through the gorges of Phazemon (Çeltik); the yellowish-red waters of the river can be seen for up to 10 km out to sea.<sup>12</sup> The *Itineraria* alone mention a station in the center of the plain, Helega,<sup>13</sup> which, like the medieval Παυράη, must be sought in the region of modern Bafra, which stands at the first ford of the Halys, 20 km inland and 48 km northwest of modern Samsun. This might correspond with a large habitation mound east of Bafra. Strabo comments on the fertility of the plain;<sup>14</sup> but it is flat and marshy, enclosing lagoons. Despite the eradication of malaria in recent times, it is still scantily inhabited. This, however, was not always so. Nine ancient habitation sites in the region have been listed recently.<sup>15</sup> The periplus name two stations and lakes to the east of the river, Ναύσταθμος (Nautagino in the *Itineraria*)<sup>16</sup> in the north and Κωνωπειόν to the south.<sup>17</sup> Either could correspond with a site in the area which exhibits quantities of Roman or Byzantine brick and ridged tile fragments. Today these lakes have merged to form a single great lagoon, called the Balık Gölü (formerly Ak Göl). Equivalent settlements survive in the medieval portulans: Laguxi in the north and Plategona to the south, corresponding to the Platonía and Lagousta of a sixteenth-century Greek portulan;<sup>18</sup> but it is probably fruitless to seek traces of them in the swamps.

Between Konopeion and Amí(n)sos the periplus mention Εὐσῆνη or Δαγάλη (Ezene in the *Itineraria*),<sup>19</sup> which must have stood near the intriguingly named modern Kurupe-lithani. Adriania, by the sea, and the Mount Maionos of the *Life* of St. Hesychios Thaumaturgos of Adrapenos may have been located in, or south of, the area.<sup>20</sup>

The only classical or medieval site whose name survives is Paurae, in the region of modern Bafra.

#### HISTORY

Paurae is not mentioned until the twelfth century, when it sprung into brief importance as what appears to have been a Byzantine supply port to counter the Türkmen attempt to reach an outlet on the sea at the point where the dependencies of Byzantium and Trebizond met. Idrisi states that the Halys

12. Van Flotwell (1895), 27; Hamilton (1836), I, 159. Beauchamp (1796), 143, observed that the Iris also discolored the sea, which was a dirty white three kilometers out. The phenomenon is today particularly striking when seen by air at the mouths of the Iris and Halys.

13. Miller, *IR*, col. 645.

14. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, III, 12–13.

15. Report in *AnatSt*, 23 (1973), 63–64.

16. Miller, *IR*, col. 645.

17. Arrian, 22; *Anonymous periplus*, 26.

18. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 649; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238.

19. Arrian, 22; *Anonymous periplus*, 26; Miller, *IR*, col. 645.

20. *ActaSS Martii*, I, 886 (6 March).

was then navigable,<sup>21</sup> and presumably up to the ford at modern Çeltik, to which boats still ply, an inland situation which would have made Paurae a safer haven than the open roadsteads of Aminosos or Karousa. Albert of Aix makes it clear that there was a Byzantine imperial castle there.<sup>22</sup>

Paurae is first mentioned by Anna Komnene, when Raymond of St. Gilles and the leaders of the hapless crusade of 1101 escaped to the sea there.<sup>23</sup> It was perhaps used by John Komnenos in his campaign against Neokaisareia and the Danişmendids in 1139. By 1155 the Danişmendid Yağı Basan was raiding Paurae and Oinaion.<sup>24</sup> But the Türkmens had been superseded by the Seljuks when Turks eventually reached the sea at Aminosos in about 1194. Paurae seems to have been left in Byzantine hands and so assumed a new strategic position, for in 1204 it was important enough to be named with Oinaion and Sinope (but, significantly, not Aminosos) as part of the Latin imperial share of the *Partitio Romaniae*.<sup>25</sup>

Alexios and David Komnenos took the district in 1204/5, but it must have fallen to Izz al-Din Kay-kavus II, with Sinope, in 1214 and was not recovered by the Trapezuntines

21. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, 393; ed. Nedkov, 96–97 and note 297 on p. 146. The 12th-century geographer still referred to the “Aly” or “Ali.”

22. Albert of Aix, *Historiae*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, IV (Paris, 1879), 570: *ad castellum Imperatoris Pulveral*. Anna Komnene’s account makes it clear that “Pulveral” is Paurae.

23. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Leib, III, 38: τῆς Παυράης (or Παυράκης).

24. John Cinnamus, Bonn ed., 176: Παυράην.

25. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna, 1856), 476 and note: “Pabrei,” Pabrii,” “Babriti,” or “Pauriti.”

in 1222 or 1254. In *ca.* 1277 it formed part of a Mongol Seljuk fief and may later have passed into the hands of Masud Beg, grandson of the great *pervâne*.<sup>26</sup> But, by then, Paurae had been eclipsed by Aminosos. The area was settled by Türkmens and, much later, by Cossacks. At some stage the river silted, requiring a skala at its mouth. The modern town of Bafra is largely a nineteenth-century Greek and Armenian creation which grew with the local tobacco industry. As late as 1836 there were only 100 to 110 Greek hearths there; the port exported a little silk from Amaseia and leeches, a local specialty. But ten years later it was exporting four million lbs. of tobacco and, by the beginning of this century the *kaza* had a Greek population of 37,495, almost half the total.<sup>27</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

The shifting course of the Halys and its creeping alluvium appear to have obliterated all classical and medieval traces in the delta itself. With the exception of the two habitation mounds, we cannot locate, and have no reports of, even the castle of Paurae. There are, however, reports of castles on the Bahk Gölü, at Akalan, 21 km west of Aminosos, and of two castles on either side of the Halys, about 24 km south of Paurae. The latter are Asar Kale, an apparently substantial fortification, on the west bank, and the significantly named Kostantinusagi nearby, on the east bank.<sup>28</sup> We have not visited them.

26. Ibn Bibi, trans. Duda, 318, 346, and note 457; Al Umari (1342–49), 341.

27. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 440; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 117–21; Oikonomides, *Pontos*, 49–51; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 251–53.

28. Tarhan, *Map*. We understand that the late Mr. Robin Fedden canoed down the Halys in 1970, passing Asar Kale.

## Section IV

# AMISOS, AMINSOS, SIMISSO, AND SAMSUN

### DESCRIPTION

From earliest times a settlement at the mouth of the Lykastos (Merdimak) in the bay between the Halys and Iris deltas has provided central Anatolia with a major outlet to the Euxine. Its two great rivals have had different functions. Sinope, to the west, has more difficult access to a hinterland and is in fact a Crimean entrepôt. Trebizond, to the east, is essentially the gateway to Persia. Amisos has both a fertile hinterland (the Phazimonites, Chiliokomon, and the Lykos valley) and a major caravan route. During several periods it has been the port for Constantinople of the most direct route to Sebasteia, Aleppo, and Baghdad. The three gentle passes south of Amisos (the Mahmurdağı at 840 m, the Hacılaradağı at 820 m, and the Karadağı at 900 m) offer the easiest route over the whole stretch of the Pontic Alps. A late fifteenth-century traveler found that Tokat lay six to seven days south and Aleppo a further fifteen days.<sup>1</sup> For eastern Anatolia, late medieval merchants, when considering Amisos as a port, had to balance the cheapness of the sea route to Trebizond with the comparatively high *kommerkion* charged by the Grand Komnenoi there. However, despite the difficulties of landing, Amisos has always been the natural port of central Anatolia.

The port certainly presents problems. At Amisos a large flat-topped natural acropolis, called Kara or Eski Samsun, overlooks the sea. It is about 2.7 km long north to south and 1.5 km wide, rising to 159 m. The site is easily defensible but, like most Pontic coastal settlements, can hardly be called a port. The acropolis reaches the sea at a steep promontory (called Hagia Anna in sixteenth-century Greek portulans<sup>2</sup>) and there is some shelter on the east side, where there were clear remains of a massive classical mole.<sup>3</sup> But although Abul Fida describes the place as a "famous harbor,"<sup>4</sup> there is no evidence that it was still serviceable in the Middle Ages. In the tideless Euxine, caiques of up to 40 tons are still winched up the beach and chocked up; they can be launched on rollers with the manual aid of up to seventy assistants. Anything larger (and most Italian shipping in the Euxine in the late Middle Ages was larger) would have to anchor. Until very recently ships had to stand in the open roads of Samsun,

to the east of classical Amisos, and discharge cargoes and passengers by lighters. A tonnage of between five hundred thousand and one million annually was thus serviced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

### HISTORY

Evidence for the early prosperity of Amisos, as a Greek colony and as one of the major cities of Mithridates' kingdom, is abundant.<sup>6</sup> Significantly, Strabo speaks of the cultivation of the olive in the region.<sup>7</sup> The fact that the olive is not grown further west, along the Paphlagonian shore, may account for the comparative scarcity of early Greek settlements on that coast. The acropolis of Amisos was severely sacked by the army of Lucullus, but Roman Missos recovered and appears to have extended its *vici* to the site of modern Samsun and, perhaps, to the south.<sup>8</sup> There was a considerable Jewish colony.<sup>9</sup> Large-scale Armenian settlement appears to have come later—perhaps after the fall of Bagratid Amaseia in the mid-1070s, or after Timur's sack of Sebasteia in 1400. At all events the Armenians of Amisos spoke the dialect of Tokat.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest reference to a bishop of Amisos, suffragan of Amaseia, is first made at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Nine bishops are known, the last in the mid-twelfth century. The see is not mentioned in lists after the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup> But Amisos certainly had Christians from an early period. It was one of the places supposedly evangelized by St. Andrew; St. Phokas of Sinope was brought up there under

5. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 253–55; personal experience on the Pontic and Paphlagonian littoral.

6. Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 185–86, 337; Schultze, *Kleinasiens*, 157–65; John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London, 1964), 266–67. The coins of classical Amisos are encountered more abundantly than any other in the Pontos.

7. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 12–13.

8. Miller, *IR*, cols. 645–46; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 101–2.

9. Anderson, Cumont, and Grégoire, *SP*, III, 26–27 (inscription from Çarşamba). However, Sharf and Starr do not record Jews in Amisos thereafter.

10. Macler (1909), 105. An average 19th-century proportion of Armenians at Samsun was 10.8 percent: see Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 252.

11. Parthey, *Notitiae*, 64 no. 236, 108 no. 173, 179 no. 288, 187 no. 196, 207 no. 292, 249 no. 151; Le Quien, *OC*, I, 533–36; Laurent, *CS*, V (1), 305–7 nos. 420–22; *DHGE*, II (1914), cols. 1289–90; Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, p. 37, no. 702 (1).

1. Rieter (1479), 61–62: "Zschomschon;" Oikonomides, *Pontos*, 39.

2. Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 31–32.

3. Hamilton (1836), 290; Admiralty, *Black Sea Pilot*, 400.

4. Abul Fida, ed. Reinard, II, 39; Le Strange, *Lands*, 147.

Trajan: a little army of virgins—Alexandria, Claudia, Euphrasia, Matrona, Juliana, Euphemia, and Theodosia—were martyred under Galerius, and St. Charitina under Diocletian.<sup>12</sup>

Amisos retained its importance under Justinian<sup>13</sup> and throughout the Byzantine period. It was a stronghold of the theme of Armeniakon. But its second sack came at the hands of an emir of Melitene in 860 or 863—probably the latter date.<sup>14</sup> He despoiled the town and complained that the sea should be whipped, as it prevented him invading further; but Amisos recovered. Seals of *kommerkiarioi* confirm the commercial importance of the place and, in the final words of the *De administrando imperio*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus noted that, “if grain does not pass from Amisos . . . the Chersonites cannot live.”<sup>15</sup>

This statement is interesting because, by the fourteenth century, the position was nearly reversed and it was the Crimea that exported corn, and also because this is one of the earliest spellings of Ami(n)sos with an intrusive “n.” Various theories have been brought forward to account for the new, and increasingly popular, form of the name, but it seems to be no more than the common “rational ‘n’” before a sibilant of speech, which began to penetrate written forms.<sup>16</sup>

Like the Arabs, the Türkmens and Seljuks sought to reach the sea through Amisos. It passed into Turkish hands in about 1194, becoming part of the lands of Rukn al-Din, ally of Alexios III who, however, put pressure on the Turkish merchants of the place in 1200.<sup>17</sup> Four years later the city passed to Alexios and David Komnenos.

What was the situation during the first Turkish occupation of ca. 1194–1204? To begin with, Sabbas, Greek dynast of “Sampson” of this period, has long been relegated to his rightful fief of Priene.<sup>18</sup> But Amisos seems to have passed to the Turks without a fight and to have been recaptured equally casually—despite the fact that the recapture caused considerable disruption to Seljuk commercial and political aspirations. Ibn al-Athir states that the Komnenoi “closed the sea” to the Turks and that the loss of Amisos caused a crisis in the great Seljuk emporium of Sivas (Sebasteia).<sup>19</sup> Thwarted on the Euxine, Kaykhusraw sought an outlet at Antalya (taken in 1207) on the Mediterranean coast, with widespread consequences to the future of the Seljuk state. What seems to have happened at Amisos was Türkmen infiltration and settlement in the decades before 1194 and the

establishment of a rival port of Samsun, side by side with Amisos. Samsun was under Seljuk rule during the decade ca. 1194–1204, but it is quite likely that Amisos remained Greek and that there was no fight but a local accommodation of interests.

By the fourteenth century, Turkish Samsun and Genoese Simisso were distinct settlements which had superseded Byzantine Amisos and coexisted beside the ruins of classical Amisos and Roman Misso. Despite popular Turkish explanations for the distinctions of name, they are all, of course, variants of the same name. The fourteenth-century situation can be compared with that in Smyrna, where the castles of the emirs of Aydin and of Genoa faced each other, and with that in Pontic Oinaion, where Greek and Türkmen villages existed side by side.

All sources emphasize the proximity of Simisso and Samsun. Three derive from the period 1400–4. Arabshah states that Samsun, “a fort on the shore of the sea of the Mussulmans, [was] set opposite a like fort of the wicked Christians, which two are less than a stone’s throw apart and each fears the other.”<sup>20</sup> Schiltberger explains that “Samson consists of two cities opposite each other, and their walls are distant, one from the other, an arrow’s flight. In one of these cities there are Christians, and at that time the Italians of Genoa possessed it. In the other are Infidels, to whom the country belongs.”<sup>21</sup> Clavijo found, two years later, that “this city possesses two castles: one of these belongs to the Genoese, while the other with the adjacent harbor and township is in the hands of [the Turks], for which reason we dared not go into port here but kept well out at sea.”<sup>22</sup>

The problem is to separate the sites, for neither castle now survives. It will be demonstrated that classical Amisos was probably abandoned by the twelfth century; it is rather more distant that “a stone’s throw” or “an arrow’s flight” from Samsun proper and it is hardly likely that the Turks would have countenanced a Genoese castle on the acropolis where it would have overawed their own fortress on the shore. Both castles, therefore, were probably on the beach. If the acropolis was abandoned by the twelfth century, the site taken by the Turks in 1214 probably also represents Late Byzantine Amisos; the Genoese castle followed later.

The modern town of Samsun stretches about 3 km along the coast southeast of the acropolis of Amisos. It has four distinct quarters. Two (Kadıköy, slightly inland on the acropolis slopes to the south, and the Çiftlik Caddesi quarter inland to the west) are Greek and Armenian creations of the nineteenth century. Closer to the sea are two Turkish quarters, divided by the massive wall of the old bazaar: one to the northwest and the other to the southeast. The northwest quarter is clearly the older one and incorporates the old bazaar and the oldest Turkish building in the town, the

12. Charles van de Vorst, “Saint Phokas,” *AnalBoll*, 30 (1911), 252–95; *ActaSS Maii*, IV, 149–65 (18 May); PG, 115, cols. 997–1005; Anderson, Cumont, and Grégoire, *SP*, III, 4.

13. Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, ii, 2.

14. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematis*, ed. Pertusi, 21; Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., 179; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I (H. Grégoire and M. Canard, *La dynastie d’Amorium [820–867]* [Brussels, 1959], 250–51).

15. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 286; Anderson, Cumont, and Grégoire, *SP*, III, 4.

16. Stamatios B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), 81; Tomaschek, *Kleinasiens*, 79.

17. Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 689, 699; Cahen, *P-OT*, 117; Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*, 138–39.

18. Jerphanion, *OCP*, I (1935), 257f.; Orgels, *Byzantion*, 10 (1935), 67 f.

19. Cahen, *P-OT*, 119, 164.

20. Arabshah, trans. Sanders, 190.

21. Schiltberger (1402), 12. It is at Samsun that Schiltberger placed his tale of the battle between the sea serpents and land vipers, which the vipers won. The sultan is said to have taken it as a heartening omen, but the story could conceivably be an allegory of the situation there—the sea serpents representing the Genoese, and the land vipers the Turks.

22. Clavijo (1404), 108.

thirteenth-century Pazar Camii, built under the Ilkhanate close to the beach and about 1.2 km east of the acropolis. We propose this as the site of Late Byzantine Aminosos and of early Turkish Samsun. Hence, the neighboring southeast quarter is likely to have been the site of Genoese Simisso. The two towns will be discussed separately.

The town and castle of Samsun (the northwest quarter) was probably established as a Turkish settlement after the Seljuk "recapture" of the place in 1214. It is likely that it passed into the hands of the *pervâne*, and by the end of the century it was a possession of his grandson Masud Beg. After the Mongol withdrawal, it was ceded to the Isfendiyaroğlu dynasty of Sinope. Bayezid I captured it from Cüneyd in 1392 or 1394 but the Mongols blocked all trade through the place in 1401.<sup>23</sup> By 1404 it was in the hands of Bayezid's son, Mir Süleyman Çelebi.<sup>24</sup> The Isfendiyaroğulları retook it in 1419, but it returned to the Ottomans and Mehmet I shortly afterwards. Except for a Seljuk and Mongol mint in the period 1233–48, Samsun does not seem to have been notably important although it offered the Ottomans, as it had the Seljuks, access to the Euxine at a commercially important place. After the Pazar Camii, the earliest Muslim monuments in Samsun are an inscription of 1323 and a mosque of 1503.<sup>25</sup>

Simisso (the southeast quarter) was relatively important, however, and was not greatly troubled by events in neighboring Samsun, only a "stone's throw" or "arrow's flight" away, until the early fifteenth century. Until then, the two places were an effective partnership of Italian capital and naval expertise with Turkish merchandise and supply routes.<sup>26</sup> The earliest Italian—a Venetian—known to have visited the place came in 1212, when it was still Trapezuntine Aminosos. The Genoese station of Simisso was certainly established by 1285. Here the Genoese maintained a consul and a fortified comptoir. A Franciscan house is reported in 1320, 1334, and 1390. It may not be an accident that the nineteenth-century Frankish quarter and Latin church were situated in the site we have proposed for Simisso. Simisso (or variants of the name), as it was now called in Italian documents and on portulans, offered a rival outlet to Trebizond, exempt from the high tariffs of the Grand Komnenoi.<sup>27</sup> To the local Greeks and Armenians, still probably the majority of the population, Simisso provided protection. George Scholaris, Grand Logothete of Trebizond, who had Genoese connections, took refuge there in 1363.<sup>28</sup>

23. Schiltberger (1402), 12; M&M, *A&D*, II, 547; Wächter, *Verfall*, 20; Evliya (1644), II, 39; Mordtmann, *s.v.* "Samsun," *El!*; *Darkot*, *s.v.* "Samsun," 1A; Vryonis, *Decline*, 139.

24. Clavijo (1404), 108.

25. Mordtmann, *s.v.* "Samsun," *El!*; Aşikpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 127 f.; Wittek, *Byzantion*, 10 (1935), 41; Vadala, *Samsoun*, 13–18; Le Strange, *JRAS*, 12 (1902), 260.

26. Finlay, *History*, IV, 323, who describes the situation somewhat imaginatively.

27. Iorga, *N&E*, I, 359; Golubovich, *BBB*, II, 265; Bratianu, *Génois*, 156–59; Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 92–107; Pegolotti, ed. Evans, 28, 63, 65, 91, 229 (Sivas); Cahen, *Mélanges Halphen*, 92; Bryer, *AP*, 26 (1964), 296, 301; Cahen, *P-OT*, 166; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 649; Bratianu, *Actes*, 80, 215–16, 226; Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 107, 171, 174, 213, 236, 480, 676, 740, 769, 903.

28. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsidés*, 75.

During Timur's incursion and after the Ottoman reoccupation of 1419, trading conditions became less profitable, although it is not clear whether Simisso did not simply join the general decline of Italian Euxine trade. The Venetians sent their three ships for a two-day trading period in 1421, but in the same year an Armenian colophon records a devastating fire in the town. At the *incanti* of 1426 one of the three (now prudently armed) ships auctioned on the Trebizond and Simisso route went for a derisory 1d.—the normal figure had been about £100. The Genoese colony is last mentioned in Italian sources in 1424 and largely left shortly after—perhaps before the Venetian *incanti* of 1426. The Genoese set fire to their base before leaving. Nevertheless Ottoman *defters* of 1481–1512 show that six Frankish households still survived in Samsun then.<sup>29</sup>

Sphrantzes was wrecked at Samsun in 1449. It was one of the ports denied access to Constantinople during the siege of 1452.<sup>30</sup> Thereafter the, now presumably single, town fell into a decline until its astonishing resurgence as the port of the great Constantinople-Baghdad highway in the nineteenth century. As late as the 1860s there was only a small Turkish village on the shore and a smaller Greek suburb inland at Kadıköy; their combined populations did not reach 5,000. By 1910 Samsun numbered over 40,000 souls, and Greeks, Armenians, or Franks controlled no fewer than 142 of its 156 businesses and 85 percent of the shares of the Bafran tobacco market; there was a slight Christian majority in the population.<sup>31</sup>

#### MONUMENTS<sup>32</sup>

##### 1. Amisos and Missos

The main classical and early Byzantine site on the acropolis now lies within a military zone and is generally inaccessible. The long enceinte of Hellenistic walls survived substantially until the late nineteenth century; there were notable remains in 1935 but few traces of them can be made out now.<sup>33</sup> There were, or are, a number of rock-cut tombs, of which two of the largest were later converted into churches. The "Tomb of St. Peter" to the south of the acropolis was still a cult center in 1905, as was the larger "Manastiri" on the west side, which Cumont identified, on the strength of an

29. Sanjian, *Colophons*, 150; Thiriet, *Régestes*, nos. 1811, 2021; Mordtmann, *s.v.* "Samsun," *El!*; N. Beldiceanu, "En marge d'un livre sur la Mer Noire," *REI*, 39 (1971), 392 and note 7.

30. Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, 74; Ducas, ed. Grecu, 209, 307.

31. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 252, 254.

32. Beside travelers' reports cited elsewhere in this section, the following have been consulted: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 796–806; Beauchamp (1796), 144; Kinneir (1813), 308; Rottiers (1829), 247; Aucher-Eloy (1834), I, 759; Stuart (1835), 346; Boré (1836), I, 292–95; Moltke (1838), 207, 212; Zacharia (1838), 310; Suter (1838), 434; Teule (1842), I, 437–38; Badger (1842), 14–16; Wagner (1844), 247; Hell (1846), II, 355–62 and plan in IV, 392–93, pl. xx; Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 52<sup>R</sup>; Van Lennep (1864), I, 40–51; Cunyngname (1871), 346–47; Tozer (1879), 5–10; Lynch (1890), I, 6; Warkworth (1898), 54–55; Papamichalopoulos (1902), 311–29; Hawley (1910), 303–5; and Childs (1910), 10–17. The *MS* in PRO/FO 526/14, encouragingly entitled *History of Trebizond, Samsun, etc.*, is in fact an account of the commerce of Samsun from ca. 1866 to 1904, by the French consul there, H. Cartanze.

33. Vadala, *Samsoun*, 13–18.

epitaph, with a church of St. John Prodromos.<sup>34</sup> Traces of wall painting were still visible in the larger cave. On the acropolis were a number of cisterns, one 12 m wide with four marble columns and tile and mortar vaults, which reminded Cumont of those in Constantinople. In 1959 D. C. W. saw this cistern when bulldozing operations uncovered it and confirms that it appears to have been Early Byzantine work; in 1970 A. A. M. B. observed the uncovering and destruction of substantial brick and mortar walling (apparently Early Byzantine), and also a large vaulted building of well-faced stone (probably classical) set into the northeastern slopes of the acropolis. In this area Hamilton noted a cave called ἡ πηγή and a stuccoed cistern and, a little to the south, "remains of a square building with a round tower at one corner, apparently of Byzantine construction, with Roman tiles mixed up with it."<sup>35</sup> At the southern end of the acropolis Hamilton noted a ruined church of St. Theodore, which had been converted into a mosque, and Schmidt saw semicircular towers, marble slabs, and the remains of a temple with columns and bas-reliefs.<sup>36</sup>

A number of classical floor mosaics have been found; none have been published and several are said to have been destroyed when a large part of the northern acropolis was leveled for a military installation and in street repairs in the northwest quarter of Samsun proper. In 1959 D. C. W. saw a mosaic with a geometric border near Hamilton's cistern; in 1967 similar mosaics and simple granite columns were cleared away when bunkers were excavated for an American golf course on the acropolis. A surviving mosaic in a bunker, seen by A. A. M. B. in 1969, showed figures of the Four Seasons within a geometric border (pl. 26a). A Greco-Roman mosaic, part of which depicts Thetis and Achilles, was found before 1961 and is preserved in the Erkek Sanat Enstitüsü (pl. 26b). Photographs of other classical mosaics, but no indication of their original or present whereabouts, are available in the Samsun Museum.

All our, and previous, observations suggest that there was no significant occupation of the acropolis site after the Early Byzantine period. This is contrary to the usual Middle Byzantine experience, when lower market towns tended to be superseded by upper garrison fortresses, but the absence of later Byzantine building, of inscriptions, and of sherds we have noted on the acropolis confirm that the convenience of a settlement on the beach near the broken classical mole overrode the defensive advantages of the acropolis.

## 2. Samsun

The evidence we have, therefore, suggests that the later Byzantine city moved down from the acropolis to the shore at Aminosos before 1194, that there was a period of Greek-Türkmen coexistence, but that this site became Turkish Samsun after 1214 and that Genoese Simisso was established beside it later in the century. Hamilton, Smyth, Van Lennep, and Bryce noted a castle in Samsun. Hamilton's and Smyth's accounts, in 1836 and *ca.* 1850 respectively, are complemen-

tary. Hamilton observed that the castle stood by the sea, which came up to its northeastern corner; built at different periods, the lower part was "composed of large square blocks, while the upper part has been repaired with small stones. I do not believe that the former is Hellenic, but rather Byzantine, though constructed with materials derived from the ruins of Amisus; the upper part is merely a Turkish restoration or addition."<sup>37</sup> Smyth had the same impression: "The Turkish castle of Samsun has been built at two very different epochs; for the lower part is constructed of large well-hewn stones, while the upper has more recently been added, in a very inferior style of workmanship. But this building . . . would have formed a very insufficient protection to the town in case of attack."<sup>38</sup> One must therefore speculate that the lower courses of the castle represented the late Byzantine fortress of before 1194 and the remainder the Turkish additions of after 1214.

But what of the Genoese castle of Simisso? Van Lennep and Bryce thought they had seen it. In 1864 Van Lennep observed that a lighthouse had been built upon Samsun castle which was "as usual" attributed to the Genoese, that the surviving walls and towers of the structure were decaying and that the interior contained houses and shops.<sup>39</sup> In 1869 the old Turkish quarter in the northwest of the town was razed in an attempt to eradicate malaria and other infections.<sup>40</sup> But in 1876 Bryce could find "no sight whatever except the remains of a fine old Genoese castle with mouldering yellow walls, dating from the fourteenth century," with a galleried courtyard.<sup>41</sup> Little reliance can be placed on the last two reports. Pontic Turks habitually inform visitors that all old castles are Genoese; Van Lennep and Bryce do not appear to have seen any more than Hamilton's and Smyth's part-Byzantine and part-Turkish castle. The fortress of Genoese Simisso was probably destroyed with the Italian departure from the place after 1424.

## 3. Other Sites

The coastal settlement, rather than the acropolis, seems to be the more appropriate place for a κάμπος, of which there is mention in the Life of St. Clement of Ankyra.<sup>42</sup> A monastery της Γέννας, to which John Mauropous refers in his Life of Dorotheos, cannot be located.<sup>43</sup> The Life of St. Nikon the Penitent names ἡ χρυσῆ πέτρα and its monastery in the hinterland.<sup>44</sup> As good a site as any for this would be Çakallı, 25 km southwest of Samsun on the old road to Kavak. Here in 1836 Boré found a "vieille église de style byzantin,"<sup>45</sup> of which we can trace nothing today.

37. Hamilton (1836), 289; Evliya (1644), II, 39, indicates a much larger castle.

38. Smyth (1850), 150; Rottiers (1820), 250.

39. Van Lennep (1864), I, 49.

40. Mordtmann, *s.v.* "Samsun," *El'*.

41. Bryce (1876), 370.

42. PG, 114, col. 863.

43. J. Bollig and P. de Lagarde, *Iohannes Euchaitarum Metropolitanæ quae in codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt*, Gesell. der Wiss. Göttingen, Abh. XXXII (n.d.), 210.

44. Lambros, *NE*, 3 (1906), 135. The place stood on the borders of Paphlagonia and Pontos.

45. Boré (1836), I, 298.

34. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 111–17; Grégoire, *BCH* (1909), 4–6; Schultze, *Kleinasien*, 157–65.

35. Hamilton (1836), 290–91.

36. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 805.

## Section V

# THE IRIS DELTA, LIMNIA, AND THE PROBLEM OF KINTE

The bay of Amisos is flanked by the deltas of the Halys and the Iris. The Iris delta is the more substantial of the two, for the river has wandered over a wide alluvium before reaching the sea. Until the 1950s it was malarial but, unlike the Halys delta is now quite heavily populated. The alluvium is rich but sandy; there is no eminence from which to view any part of the delta. The fenced holdings of fifteen villages are interspersed with grazing lands for sheep, cattle, and water buffalo. The villages are divided by stagnant watercourses and modern cuttings which have drained the four main lagoons, where maize and sunflower are now grown. For 34 km the beach is lined by high dunes where tortoises lurk.

We propose that the great Trapezuntine stronghold and administrative district of Limnia lay in the delta and, less conclusively, that its known career had begun as Late Byzantine Kinte.

### A. THE STRONGHOLD AND DISTRICT OF LIMNIA

#### SITUATION AND IDENTIFICATION

During the fourteenth century τὰ Λίμνια was a. an imperial stronghold of the Grand Komnenoi, and trading port controlling b. a district of the same name with, according to Lazaropoulos, thirteen forts or fortified places,<sup>1</sup> and c. a suffragan bishopric of Amaseia.

The whereabouts of such an important place has vexed historians of Trebizond since Fallmerayer; Uspenskij devoted a whole chapter to the problem.<sup>2</sup> Miller, but not Finlay, accepted Gregoras' statement that Limnia lay 200 stadia from Trebizond.<sup>3</sup> This distance of about 38.4 km east indeed brings one to the conveniently named Büyük Liman of Vakfikebir at the mouth of the Fol Dere. But Panaretos' many references to Limnia make it clear that it lay much further west, beyond Oinaion,<sup>4</sup> and that it could accom-

modate a "fine fleet."<sup>5</sup> Lazaropoulos also suggests that it lay east of Chalybia and Oinaion.<sup>6</sup> So, on the basis of the ruins of a large monastery of St. Barbara, complete with mosaics, near Phadisane (Fatsa), Ioannides places Limnia there,<sup>7</sup> while Chrysanthos boldly indicates on his historical map an area marked "Fortresses of Limnia" between Phadisane and Oinaion, where he scattered for good measure no fewer than fifty-two castles, all of which seem to be notional.<sup>8</sup>

The only answer to the problem has, in fact, always been available. Limnia appears under various guises (Laliminia, Liminia, Limonia, Lomona, Limonia) on most Italian and Greek portulan maps from 1318 until the sixteenth century, and on early printed maps (such as Ortelius' map of 1580) and nineteenth-century historical atlases which followed the portulans.<sup>9</sup> They agree in placing Limnia at some point on the coast of the Ἰρις (Yeşil Irmak) delta.

The most detailed portulan, a sixteenth-century Greek description which apparently follows an Italian prototype, places Limnia the most precisely.<sup>10</sup> It states that, working east from Amisos, the mouth of the Iris was 18 miles; 12 miles further on was a cape called Gorgotzas or Simonites, and Limnia lay another 15 miles on. Moreover, Limnia could be identified by a mountain called Kessarion, which stood inland from it and afforded good pasture. Limnia itself lay on flat, even, wooded land (still a precise description of the modern delta). Then, moving southeast round the Iris alluvium, Lamperon or Thermodon lay 20 miles from Limnia. Near Lamperon was a castle, and inland a mountain called Mazos, which was "cut" on the northern side.

The measurements in this portulan are usually no more than approximate, but the relative distances are usually accurate. In fact, from Amisos to Thermodon, it is closer to 65 km than the 65 mi of the portulan. But the relative spacing

5. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 77.

6. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 61.

7. Ioannides, *Historia*, 207; cf. G. Th. Kandilaptes, *Τὰ Λίμνια*, *PPh*, 2 (1937), 60–61; and see the strictures of S. Kokkinides, *Τὰ Λίμνια*, *PE*, 3 (1952), 1581; and Sec. VIII, p. 113, on the monastery of St. Barbara.

8. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), map. Cf. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 38.

9. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 649; Thomas, *Periplus*, 271; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 289; II, 31–32; Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Gotha, 1880), maps 85, 88, 89; Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 101–2.

10. Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 31–32.

1. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 61; but one reading could, however, attribute the thirteen strong places to Oinaion. Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 767, 768; in 1290 Limnia exported muslin and wines to Caffa, and a certain Kale of Limnia bought a Cuman slave.

2. Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 303; Uspenskij, *Ocherki*, 90–99.

3. Gregoras, Bonn ed., II, 680; Finlay, *History*, IV, 379 note 2; Miller, *Trebizond*, 48 (who presumably follows Gregoras in stating that Limnia was "some twenty miles west of the capital.")

4. E.g., Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 66.

can be interpreted clearly enough. The portulan's measurements and early printed maps strongly suggest that one of the mouths of the Iris was then at the *skala* of Karabahçe, where swamps and streams today still indicate its former course. The cape of Γοργοτζᾶ-Σιμωνίου is almost certainly the Çaltı Burun, which stands by the present main mouth of the Iris.

The Λαμυρόν of the portulan is what a classical geographer described as "a great port called Λαμυρόν, giving shelter for ships and supplied with water."<sup>11</sup> It is associated by other authors of periplus with the sanctuary and cape of Ἡράκλειον, the Heracleon of the *Itineraria*, plausibly identified by Miller with a Heracleum Burun.<sup>12</sup> Although Greek names have lingered long on the coast (local Turks still called the Iris "Lirios" in the seventeenth century),<sup>13</sup> the name of this cape now seems to have been forgotten, although its whereabouts, projecting from the Semenik Göl into the sea, is clear enough. Lamyron survived as Lamiro on the Italian portulans,<sup>14</sup> but it is not mentioned in Byzantine sources. It is the anchorage at the mouth of the Θερμόδων, which has given its name to the dreary township of modern Terme. The ancient Θερμίσκυρα lay, according to Strabo, further inland—it has been suggested at Çerkezköy, which we have not visited.<sup>15</sup> But the fabulous Amazon capital was destroyed by Lucullus; it was still regarded as a town in Justinian's time but is not mentioned thereafter.<sup>16</sup> Mount Mazos survives, however, as the Mason Dağ; Hamilton had the temerity to suggest that the name reflects the Amazonia mountains of the *Argonautica*.<sup>17</sup>

Between the Çaltı Burun and the anchorage of Thermodon-Lamyron, where, according to our portulan, Limnia must lie (slightly closer to the former than the latter), there is a single *skala*, Kuraba. It satisfies portulan measurements. The coast is low, flat and wooded and the only feature is four small lagoons, close to the beach. Kuraba stands between two of the former lakes, the Dumanlı and Kargalı. The Dumanlı is the larger, about 5 km long and, before it was recently dammed, had access to the sea through a narrow channel. At one time it could have been an excellent natural harbor. The Turkish 1:200,000 map is misleading at this point. The *skala* of Kuraba lies 2.5 km north of Kuraba proper; it consists of one tea-house and a lighthouse on an empty shore; the place marked Kuraba İskelesi on the map is in fact the western end of the straggling village of Taşlıkköy. The map marks Taşlıkköy, "Village of Stone," as being a ruined site. Using the map alone, it is the obvious site for the imperial stronghold of Limnia, which would have taken its name from the small lakes which surround it. Kiepert placed the classical Ἀγκῶνος λιμῆν of the White Syrians further to the west on the Çaltı Burun, but it might also be identified

with our site.<sup>18</sup> Theoretically, the only objection is that the mountains to the south do not rise from the plain for 30 km inland and none of their present names can be related to the unique mention of Mount Kessarion in the portulan.

Practically, there are more serious objections. A. A. M. B., who first sought Limnia in the Iris delta in 1962, visited Taşlıkköy and the other fourteen villages of the area in August 1971 and took aerial photographs of the delta a month later. Enquiry and observation revealed nothing which could be construed to represent Limnia. However, he was unable to examine the now heavily cultivated lake beds in the wet summer. It is reliably reported that a number of antiquities had been found in the Taşlıkköy area and that, before the Dumanlı Göl was blocked and turned over to maize and sunflower, foundations of well-dressed masonry were revealed above the surface of the swamp during dry summers when the level of the lake was low.<sup>19</sup> One of our reports arouses the strong suspicion that the masonry was, in part, classical or Early Byzantine.

It is unfortunate that recent physical changes in the delta since the eradication of malaria (most of the villages are newly built) has probably now made it impossible to locate Limnia precisely; but reports and the portulans place it firmly in the Taşlıkköy region.

The administrative district of Limnia in the Empire of Trebizond can probably therefore be identified with a geographically very distinct area: the extraordinarily fertile Iris-Thermodon delta, about 50 km long and 30 km wide at its greatest extent. Famous for its agriculture since classical time, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was the prosperous fief of the great Hazinedaroğlu family, whose mausoleum is at Çarşamba, the delta's modern capital. The attention which the Grand Komnenoi devoted to it in the fourteenth century suggests that it was then an equally desirable province. Strabo speaks of the fine grazing on the plain,<sup>20</sup> which made it a natural attraction to the Türkmen enemies of the Trapezuntines. Among its thirteen fortresses mentioned by Lazaropoulos (unless they be simply thirteen towers encircling Limnia itself) may have been counted the castles at Lamyron and on Mount Mazos, but, apart from local reports of sites south of Çarşamba, which we have not visited, none can be made out today. Strabo pointed out that the whole delta has been created by the alluvium of its broad rivers,<sup>21</sup> and the meanders and abandoned mouths of the Iris and the oxbow lakes of the Thermodon suggest that these rivers have long obliterated any fortresses that stood by their fords.

#### HISTORY

The earliest mention of Limnia as such comes with Panaretos' record of the death of the Grand Komnenos John

18. Arrian, 22; Anonymous periplus, 28; Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, 866; Miller, *IR*, col. 646; Kiepert, 1:400,000 map; Rottiers (1820), 252: "We went down first to the ruins of Ancona on the river Ekil" (Yeşil).

19. Reports from Bay Emin Tuksal of Samsun, and Bay Ihsan Nemlioğlu of Trabzon (who used to shoot in the delta).

20. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 15.

21. Strabo, *Geography*, I, iii, 7.

11. *Anonymous periplus*, 29.

12. Miller, *IR*, col. 646; Arrian, 22.

13. Bordier (1609), 112.

14. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 649.

15. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 15; Tarhan, *Map*. There are reports of a castle called Karpi Kale, near Terme. We have not visited it.

16. Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, ii, 2.

17. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, Book II, line 977; Hamilton (1836), I, 283.

II there, on 17 August 1297.<sup>22</sup> It was then evidently of some strategic importance for, during John's reign since 1280, Chalybia, to the east, had been lost. Limnia therefore became a Greek enclave between Turkish Samsun and Türkmen Chalybia, a place of refuge for Greeks fleeing from the south, where the Church of Amaseia was, by 1315, in disorder. The bishop of Zalekon-Leontopolis had fled and the Christians there transferred their allegiance to Sinope. Amaseia itself was without a metropolitan, and in the same year its Christians asked for the bishop of Zela (apparently the only one of its traditional suffragan sees to have survived) to fill the office.<sup>23</sup> But instead, Kallistos, bishop of Limnia, was elected metropolitan of Amaseia in 1317. Prudently, however, he stayed in Limnia and its surrounding villages, lands of the Grand Komnenos.<sup>24</sup> This is the first mention of Limnia as a see, when the most junior suffragan of Amaseia became the effective metropolis. Limnia lay within the Empire, but not the Church of Trebizond; it was therefore comparatively safe. A parallel case is found when the metropolitan of Adrianople moved to the suffragan see of Agathopolis, which was in Byzantine territory, until such time as the Turks would yield the metropolis.<sup>25</sup>

The isolation of Limnia, which could now only be reached by sea, made it an obvious place of exile. Tzanichites and a group of nobles were banished there in 1340 and executed the following year; the Grand Komnenos Michael was imprisoned there from 1341 to 1344.<sup>26</sup> But its isolation meant that it could also be detached by a rebel leader or local governor. Constantine Doranites was certainly *kephale* of Limnia in 1351, when Alexios III mounted an expedition against him,<sup>27</sup> and other probable rebel governors were Grand Duke John the Eunuch, gaoler of Michael Komnenos, who raised a "large army" there in 1340,<sup>28</sup> and Basil Choupakas, who brought "followers" from Limnia in 1355.<sup>29</sup> Panaretos describes Doranites as "exercising the headship" (*κεφαλατικέων*), the same office (*κεφαλατίκιον*) which he ascribes to Kabazites in Chaldia,<sup>30</sup> which suggests that Limnia was not a simple *bandon* but may have been regarded as one of the diminutive Trapezuntine themes.

From the 1350s, the Grand Komnenos Alexios III seems to have determined to keep Limnia under direct imperial control. He made six recorded visits there, the timing and length of which are consistent and significant. The visits were on:

- 22 September 1351 to late January 1352<sup>31</sup>
- 19 December to soon after 25 December 1356<sup>32</sup>
- soon after 6 January to mid-March 1357<sup>33</sup>
- 6 December 1360 to about 20 March 1361<sup>34</sup>

- 22. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63.
- 23. M&M, *A&D*, I, 34–37; Wächter, *Verfall*, 17–20.
- 24. M&M, *A&D*, I, 69–71; Vryonis, *Decline*, 291, 318.
- 25. Vryonis, *Decline*, 325.
- 26. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65–67.
- 27. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70.
- 28. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65.
- 29. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71.
- 30. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70, 73.
- 31. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70.
- 32. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72.
- 33. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72.
- 34. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73.

end of January to end of May 1369<sup>35</sup>  
October 1379, when he "took control" of Limnia.<sup>36</sup>

The timing and length of Alexios III's visits strongly suggest that the Türkmens were seeking winter quarters on the fertile coast, as shepherds today come down from the mountain pastures to the Semenlik Gölü in the delta, and that the Grand Komnenos was opposing them. Further west his strategy was to attack the Türkmens when they first reached their summer pastures in May.

But Alexios III could not shadow Türkmen transhumance everywhere and by October 1379 seems to have been forced to bargain for security in Limnia by marrying his daughter, Eudokia, to the local emir, Taceddin; the final admission of defeat came by 1386, when Panaretos describes Taceddin as "emir of Limnia."<sup>37</sup> Between those two dates, in 1384 there is a second and final reference to a bishop of Limnia. He was called Joseph and had been consecrated by the "irreverend" "pseudo-monk" Paul Tagaris, successive charlatan Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem and more-or-less genuine Latin patriarch of Constantinople. In 1375, when Tagaris was passing through the Pontos and probably consecrated Joseph, this presumptuous prelate styled himself bishop of Tabriz (to which he had been appointed by the patriarch of Antioch).<sup>38</sup> But Tabriz lay within the patriarchate of Antioch and Limnia in that of Constantinople, so it appears that Tagaris was characteristically exceeding his canonical rights. However, Joseph of Limnia's position was officially confirmed in October 1384, when he was also given, like his predecessor, the administration of his near-defunct metropolis of Amaseia.<sup>39</sup>

When did Limnia pass into Türkmen hands? The existence of an important bishop of Limnia in 1384 cannot be used as evidence because the emir of Limnia was a client and ally of Trebizond; his wife would be expected to protect local Christians. Nor is there any evidence that Joseph was actually resident in Limnia; it is within the bounds of possibility that, in its final throes, the once great metropolis of Amaseia had been moved from the swamps of the Iris to Trebizond itself. Perhaps Limnia had been in Türkmen hands before Alexios III was obliged to "take control" in 1379; possibly the district was Eudokia's dowry for Taceddin.<sup>40</sup> Taceddin Çelebi died in 1386 and was succeeded by his son Artamir (I ?).<sup>41</sup> Clavijo noted an emir of the same name in 1404.<sup>42</sup> An Artamir (II ?) held one of the most important Trapezuntine

35. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 77.

36. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 79; Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 129.

37. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 80.

38. M&M, *A&D*, II, 228; cf. Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 336–37 and note 20. The Limnian adventure is not recorded in D. M. Nicol, "The confessions of a bogus patriarch: Paul Tagaris Palaiologos, Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem and Catholic patriarch of Constantinople in the fourteenth century," *JEH*, 21 (1970), 289–99.

39. M&M, *A&D*, II, 64–66; Vryonis, *Decline*, 291, 335.

40. Perhaps indicated in Panaretos's sour comment on the original marriage negotiations between the Grand Komnenos and the Çelebi in 1362: "But nothing came of this for the emperor": Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 74.

41. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 80.

42. Clavijo (1404), 109. But see now Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402)," *AP*, 35 (1978), 344 and note 4.

offices, that of Grand Mesazon, at the surrender of the city in 1461.<sup>43</sup> The victorious Ottoman army took the coast road west from Trebizond thereafter, and the minuscule emirate of Limnia was perhaps swept away then. Limnia itself lingered on the portulan maps, but its port, cathedral, thirteen fortresses and stronghold may be presumed to have been lost in the malarial swamps of the wandering Iris.

### B. THE PROBLEM OF KINTE

That Limnia should have sprung fully armed into prominence, ex nihilo, in the late thirteenth century is improbable, especially as we have reports that the remains near Taşlıkköy included walls of well-dressed masonry, suggesting a much earlier site. Similarly Kinte appears as an important place in the twelfth century, and, inexplicably, is not heard of as such again. What we know of twelfth-century Kinte fits in with the known site and purpose of fourteenth-century Limnia. Very tentatively and, if only for want of a better site, we propose that Limnia began its career as Kinte.

#### SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATION

The expedition of John Komnenos from Constantinople against the Danişmendids of Neocaesarea (Niksar) in 1139–40 is described by Niketas Choniates, by Michael the Syrian, and in ProdrOMIC verse. Choniates states that the Byzantine army followed the Pontic coast to take advantage of local supplies and to avoid encounters with the enemy.<sup>44</sup> He does not state how far John followed the coast or where the expedition turned south over the mountains to Neocaesarea. On the winter solstice (21 December 1139), the army went into winter quarters in the πόλει Ποντικῆ τῆ Κιντῆ (described in another text as πόλει τοῦ πόντου τινὶ κιντικῆ λεγομένῃ).<sup>45</sup> The ProdrOMIC verse describes the rigors of February 1140, when the army, having evidently left Kinte, reached the Lykos and then began its abortive siege of Neocaesarea.<sup>46</sup> Michael the Syrian states that the Byzantines and Danişmendids faced each other for six months,<sup>47</sup> presumably the spring and summer of 1140. But the Greek sources reveal that the Byzantine troops at Neocaesarea were ill supplied, lacking equipment and sumpter beasts. John's nephew and namesake, son of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, defected to the Turks. The Byzantine army disintegrated and straggled into Constantinople on 15 January 1141.<sup>48</sup>

Chalandon argued that John must have turned south from the coast near modern Ordu (Kotyora) and taken the Melanthios (Melet Irmak) River to the Lykos, for at the point where the Melanthios and Lykos almost meet Grégoire noted a place called Kundu. Here there was a Late Byzantine bridge, on the piers of a Roman predecessor; the site was deserted in Grégoire's day but was believed by him to have been of some importance in the past.<sup>49</sup> For Chalandon, a

convenient confirmation of the existence of the place in the twelfth century was Idrisi's mention of a "small town" called (in Jaubert's translation) "Kendia," seven days west of Trebizond.<sup>50</sup>

Grégoire's Kundu was noticed by Hogarth and Munro<sup>51</sup> and is evidently the modern Kündür Köprü, a bridge over the Lykos (Kelkit), 25 km southwest of Mesudiye (formerly Hamidiye), which takes (or gives) its name to a village 3.5 km south of the river. By road it is 63 km east of Niksar and 29 km west of Koyulhisar. This identification, upon which Chalandon built his account of John's movements in otherwise unjustifiable detail, is so attractive that we are loth to disturb it. However, it presents insuperable problems.

Kinte was evidently a place of some importance, a Pontic *polis*. Yet, apart from Idrisi, it seems to have escaped mention in any other source. Late Medieval Pontic *poleis* (or even "small towns") do not go unnoticed. The possibility that Kinte (and its district of Kintike) is another name for a known town is therefore a very real one.

Kündür and its bridge (which, strictly speaking do not lie in the Pontos) stand on a major classical and medieval road. Nevertheless, the place does not correspond with any station in the *Itineraria*. If Kündür is derived from a Greek name, it would have been something like Κουνδοῦρος, rather than Κιντῆ or its district of Κιντικῆ. More important, if John Komnenos was worried by lack of provisions and Türkmen attack, he would have wintered in Byzantine coastal territory rather than in the heart of the Danişmendid lands on the highway between the Türkmen strongholds of Niksar and Koyulhisar, an indefensible position in a gorge overlooked by mountains rising to 1,500 m and with precarious supply lines (as he later found when investing Niksar) to the north.

The ProdrOMIC verse indicates that the Byzantines faced the rigors of winter in the mountains during February 1140, evidently *after* the Byzantine army had wintered at Kinte, and on their march to the Lykos. Combining the verse and Choniates' description, it seems most probable that the wintry mountains lay between Kinte and Niksar. The route from Kündür to Niksar follows the Lykos valley and presents no problems; the route from Niksar to the coast (either to Fatsa, via Bartae, or to Ünye, both a little east of the Iris delta) is very mountainous and is usually under snow in February. Niketas Choniates indeed makes no suggestion that Kinte was located elsewhere than on the Pontic coast, along which John had been marching to afford security and provisions. The most convenient place for him to winter would have been the nearest stronghold to the Niksar (Neocaesarea) route in Byzantine lowland territory which could provide a port to Constantinople and winter grazing for the horses, which he was later to lose in the mountains. The lake-harbor of Limnia was a port, while Ünye (Oinaion) and Fatsa (Phadisane), the outlets to the Niksar route, a little to the east, were not. The Iris delta, as Strabo observed, was famous for its horse grazing, while the Pontic Alps come too close to Ünye and Fatsa to provide equivalent pasture.

It is here that Idrisi's reference to what appears to be Kinte is revealing. Written just before 1154, the Sicilian Arab

43. *Ecthesis Chron.*, ed. Lambros, 26; *Hist. Pol.*, Bonn ed., 37; *Hist. Pat.*, Bonn ed., 96; *Synopsis Chron.*, 579.

44. Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 45.

45. Nicetas Acominatus (Cheniates), Bonn ed., 40 and note 8.

46. Theodore ProdrOMOS, PG, 133, cols. 1340–41.

47. Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, III, 249.

48. Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 47–49.

49. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 177, 178 note 1.

50. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, 394.

51. Hogarth and Munro (1891), 730.

geographer's land itinerary from Trebizond to Constantinople may be summarized thus:<sup>52</sup>

- Trebizond—Hirsunda (Κερασούντα, Giresun), two days  
 Hirsunda—Kandia (in Nedkov) or Kendia (in Jaubert),  
 "a small town," five days  
 Kandia (Kendia)—Ania (Ἀμινσός, Samsun),<sup>53</sup> "a very  
 small town," three days  
 Ania—Sinybyli (Σινώπη, Sinope), two days  
 Sinybyli—Samastry (Ἀμαστρίς, Amasra), five days  
 Samastry—Araklays or Haraklia (Ἡράκλεια, Ere-  
 gli), three days  
 Araklays (Haraklia)—Constantinople, eight days.

For Kandia, Nedkov proposes Neokaisareia, arguing that it could be a misreading in the Arabic for Kasra or Kaisareia.<sup>54</sup> As Niksar, however, Neokaisareia retained its prefix in the twelfth century. In any case, the identification is highly unlikely, for the most striking aspect of Idrisi's route is that it otherwise follows the coast the whole way. To make a difficult detour to Neokaisareia and back would be quite unjustified. Kandia or Kendia must surely be sought on or near the coast, with all the other places listed. The itinerary is rather erratically spaced,<sup>55</sup> but all the place names are in order.

52. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, 394; but the transliterations in Idrisi, ed. Nedkov, 98–99, have been preferred here.

53. Idrisi, ed. Nedkov, 99, and note 309 on p. 148; ed. Jaubert, 394, has the same transliteration. Nedkov argues convincingly for Aminsos; it cannot be the Halys mouth, for Idrisi refers to that more correctly elsewhere and here calls Ania a town—albeit "very small."

54. Idrisi, ed. Nedkov, 99, and note 308 on pp. 147–48.

55. The day's journey ranges from 28 km between Kerasous and Aminsos, and 94 km between Aminsos and Sinope, which would suggest that Ania is too far to the east, were it not for the fact that Idrisi's distances can never be relied upon precisely, and have not been here. But the total journey of 28 days over 1,154 km may be compared with the 32 days taken by normally slower caravans over the 954 km between Trebizond and Tabriz. It might be suggested that Kandia or Kendia is Kotyora (Ordu) and that Ania is the Anniaca (Koyulhisar) of the *Itineraria*, were it not for the fact that both Kotyora and Anniaca lost their names before the Middle Ages, and that this excursus inland would make nonsense of the next section to Sinope, which would be at least five days by land from Koyulhisar. More puzzling is that, while the whole coast was still in Byzantine hands in ca. 1154, coastal communications by land west of Sinope are difficult. In 1972 A. A. M. B. found that they were impossible for modern transport and had to take caiques from Inebolu to Cide. On foot and on horse it is possible, though laborious, for the traveler would be obliged to double up and down valleys. The slowness of advance of John Komnenos' force from

Following Idrisi, Kendia or Kandia should be found in, or near, the coast, five-eighths of the way between Kerasous and Aminsos—or, at any rate, nearer to Aminsos than Kerasous. This brings us to the east side of the Iris delta and to the only major settlement in the 92 km between Aminsos and Oinaion: Limnia. This long and otherwise featureless stretch happily makes it unnecessary to place too much reliance on Idrisi's spacing. Further east, Oinaion, Boon, and Phadisane were known to Idrisi, and it is unlikely that he would have confused any of them with Kendia or Kandia.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Aminsos and Oinaion were known (rather better) to Choniates and it is highly improbable that he could have confused either with Kinte.<sup>57</sup>

The great Trapezuntine stronghold of Limnia sprang into prominence so suddenly, with its first mention by that name in 1297, that it is hard to believe that the place had not existed before. A personal possession of the Grand Komnenoi, they doubtless cherished and refortified the site; did they rename it also?

We tentatively suggest, therefore, that Idrisi's "small town" of Kandia or Kendia became Trapezuntine Limnia and is also identical with Choniates' Kinte and its district of Kintike, where John Komnenos wintered between 21 December 1139 and February 1140. Our argument rests on too many suppositions to be accepted without reserve, but the identification with Limnia is at least more plausible than that with Kündür Köprü.

Constantinople in 1139 may be accounted for by the fact that it took a land route. There is a major gap in the *Itineraria* along the Paphlagonian shore, suggesting that they took to sea. Is Idrisi's route west of Sinope a maritime one too? There are two arguments against the notion. First, he also states that the journey from Trebizond to Constantinople was 9½ days by sea. (This is a fair estimate; medieval ships normally took 10 to 14 days. The slowest recorded journey was 25 days and the medieval record was 4½ days; northwesterlies sent shipping faster out to Trebizond than the return. Second, comparison of Idrisi's times west of Sinope with actual sailing times show that his route was twice as slow. In June 1389 and in March 1404, Ignatius of Smolensk and Clavijo, respectively, each took 9 sailing days between Sinope and Constantinople, while Idrisi records 18 days for the stretch. Sea travel was not, however, necessarily twice as fast as the land route, for it must be remembered that Clavijo had spent 5 days in abortively sailing to Trebizond in November 1403, before being driven back until navigation from Constantinople resumed the following spring, while Ignatius was held up by contrary weather at Herakleia for 9 days. See Miller, *IR*, col. 643; Clavije (1404), 101–10, 338; Ignatius of Smolensk (1389), 82–87.

56. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, 395; ed. Nedkov, 96–97.

57. Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 296, 463, 689, 699, 842.

## Section VI

# OINAION AND THE DISTRICT OF CHALYBIA

### DESCRIPTION

The site of the classical and medieval Oinaion is modern Ünye, a coastal town lying midway on the broad bay between the Iris delta and Cape Jason, 27 km east of the mouth of the Thermodon and 26 km west of Polemonion. To the immediate west, Oinaion is sheltered by cape ἄγιος Νικόλαος (Ainikola), and, 9 km to the east, by the ἄκρα Μητρόπολις (Metropol Burunu)—perhaps a reminder that Oinaion (never itself a see) was the seat of the metropolitan of Neokaisareia from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, when he removed to Ordu.<sup>1</sup> Cape Metropolis appears to correspond with the Ἀμηλητός of the peripli and with the Camila of the *Itineraria*.<sup>2</sup> It is now bare of any upstanding monuments.

The classical name of the place (shared with that of two Attic demes, a Corinthian stronghold, an Ikarian town, and a place in Elis)<sup>3</sup> was Οἶονη. In Byzantine times it was more commonly called Οἶναιον (Υνεον by 1605);<sup>4</sup> it appears on the portulans as Omnio, Honio, Onio, Homo, Homorio, and τὸ Οἶνεον.<sup>5</sup> Choniates notes the (probably spurious) vinous connections of the name.<sup>6</sup>

Oinaion owes its importance to its shipbuilding industry (first mentioned in the twelfth century),<sup>7</sup> to its route to Neokaisareia about 70 km over the mountain to the south, and to its hinterland of ἡ Χαλυβία, famous from classical times until the nineteenth century for its ironworkers, who probably gave the area its name.<sup>8</sup> Chalybia may broadly be described as the northern slopes of the Pontic Alps between the river Thermodon and Cape Jason—an area about 70 km

wide and 30 km deep. The lower slopes are heavily wooded and more densely populated to the east. To the south, forests and permanent villages give way, as the Pontic Alps rise from west to east, to upland summer pastures.

### HISTORY

Medieval Oinaion became prominent in the twelfth century with the Seljuk and Türkmen aim to reach the Euxine there and at Aminsos; it may indeed have been in Turkish hands in the period 1157–75.<sup>9</sup> But it was recaptured, supplied troops to Manuel's expedition of 1175 against the Danişmendids, and was regarded as the Pontic capital when Andronikos Komnenos, future emperor, held it as a sort of sovereign fief (having earlier maintained a fortress for a Saltukid emir near Koloneia), for a brief period before 1182.<sup>10</sup> It was the most easterly possession named in the *Partitio Romaniae* of 1204 as part of the Latin Empire,<sup>11</sup> but was taken, almost simultaneously, by Alexios and David Komnenos.<sup>12</sup> But the Türkmens were already in the district and had controlled Neokaisareia, to the south, for almost a century. Panaretos reports that they seized Chalybia, "so that all those places became uninhabited"<sup>13</sup> during the reign of John II (1280–97). This probably explains the almost complete absence of medieval Christian monuments in the area. A dynasty of Chalybian emirs emerges by the early fourteenth century. Bayram Beg (fl. 1313–32) harrassed Trebizond.<sup>14</sup> In 1341 the Grand Komnenos was exiled to Oinaion.<sup>15</sup> The nadir of Trapezuntine fortunes in the area came in 1347, when Oinaion itself and St. Andreas (presumably Cape Jason) were lost.<sup>16</sup> In November 1357 Hacı Omar, son of Bayram, invaded Matzouka,<sup>17</sup> but the turning

1. Vryonis, *Decline*, 204; Kinner (1813), 318.

2. Arrian, 23; *Anonymous periplus*, 30; Miller, *IR*, col. 646. Ioannides, *Historia*, 207, notes old tombs and a number of churches on the cape, where the Karaklar Dere debouches, but A. A. M. B. could find nothing of them. About 1.5 to 2 km south of the cape is a tall *tepe*, behind which there are said to be two chapels and, at a village called Asarma, about 3 km inland, a large, and therefore probably nineteenth-century, church.

3. Strabo, *Geography*, VIII, iii, 5; vi, 16; vi, 22; vii, 1; IX, ii, 25.

4. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80.

5. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 649; Thomas, *Periplus*, 251–52, 271; Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 32.

6. Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 463.

7. Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, 393; ed. Nedkov, 96–97, and note 298 on p. 146. Cf. Makarios (1658), II, 435.

8. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, Book II, lines 1001–8; and Theophilus, ed. Dodwell, pp. xiii and 162, s.v. "Calibs." For a discussion of the name, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 179; II, 1068–69.

9. Cahen, *P-OT*, 100, 117.

10. Cinnamus, Bonn ed., 176; Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 295–99, 462–63, 842. Choniates quotes an oracle, supposedly referring to Andronikos I, for the subject arose "from a place full of wine"—i. e., Oinaion: see C. Mango, "The legend of Leo the Wise," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 63–64.

11. Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden*, 476.

12. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 61, 118; Vasiliev, *Speculum*, 11 (1936), 6.

13. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63: ὥστε ἀοίκους γενέσθαι τὰς χῶρας ὅλας.

14. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63–4.

15. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 66.

16. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 68.

17. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72.

point in Greek fortunes came only a few months later, in August 1358, with the diplomatic marriage of Theodora Komnene, daughter of Basil Komnenos, to the Türkmen emir.<sup>18</sup> Oinaion was restored then, if not earlier. By December 1361 the Türkmens were well in hand, for Panaretos reports that “we went to τὸ ὀσπιτόκαστρον of Hacı Omar, son of Bayram—or rather he joined us at Kerasous. We went to Kerasous from Chalybia by land, and the emir Hacı Omar and the Turks followed us in an almost servile manner.”<sup>19</sup> It is difficult to know what Hacı Omar’s ὀσπιτόκαστρον was—possibly a fortified house in the later Derebey style of the coast, or merely the castle he lived in. Çaleoğlu Kale, just south of Oinaion, is a possibility, for Greek and Türkmen communities existed side by side there. Another possibility is Kekirkalesi (or Mahalle Kalesi), about 13 km west of the small mountain and communications center of Akkuş (formerly Karakuş). This formidable castle, whose foundations are classical, would have dominated the medieval (but not the modern) route from Neokaisareia to Oinaion and the mountain grazing lands above the rhododendron scrub which are particularly fine at this point. Jerphanion has proposed the castle as the site of Mithridates’ great Kainochorion (τὸ κατὸ χωρίον) and describes it in some detail (pl. 28). He comments: “Le site est un des plus sauvages que nous avons rencontrés en Asie Mineure.”<sup>20</sup> The present authors have glimpsed it only from afar. There are also said to be ruins at Ahretköy, 3 km to the south of Kekirkalesi.<sup>21</sup> About 9 km northeast of Kekirkalesi is a village called Bayramlı, whose name may reflect that of Hacı Omar’s father. Alternatively the word ὀσπιτόκαστρον may suggest a more domestic fortress, of which the obvious example is that at Boloman Kale (p. 114).

On 8 October 1379 Alexios III betrothed his daughter Eudokia to Taceddin Çelebi, emir of Limnia, in Oinaion.<sup>22</sup> With the loss of Limnia in 1380–87, Oinaion became the most westerly outpost of the Empire; Chalkokondyles confirms the fact in the 1390s.<sup>23</sup> But Oinaion could only have been a Greek enclave in Türkmen territory and the emirs of Limnia and Chalybia commanded much greater forces than the Trapezuntines ever aspired to. In October 1386 Alexios III’s two sons-in-law, Taceddin of Limnia and the new Süleyman Beg of Chalybia, fell out. Taceddin invaded Chalybia with (according to Panaretos) as many as 12,000 men. The Limnian Türkmens failed, losing their emir, 3,000 men, 7,000 horses and many arms.<sup>24</sup>

In 1404 Clavijo noted that, apart from a suburban settlement of about 300 Turks (probably Çepni; nineteenth-century travelers also mention the village), the population of Oinaion “for the most part were Greeks.” It was then ruled by an archon of the famous Melissenos family who held both

a castle by the port and an inland fortress (presumably Çaleoğlu Kale) “on a neighboring hill summit.”<sup>25</sup>

In 1445 a Burgundian crusade ran amok in the Euxine, and Geoffroi de Thoisy and a small fleet “coururent toute la Mer Maior et prirent sur lesdits Turs plusieurs navires et ung chateau nommé Onyo, lequel ilz brulèrent. Et de là alèrent veoir l’empereur de Trapezonde . . . .”<sup>26</sup> The Burgundian sack of the castle in Oinaion (apparently without Trapezuntine protest) and subsequent visit to the court of the Grand Komnenos John IV suggests that the town had passed finally out of Greek and into Turkish hands between 1404 and 1445, although the Burgundians were remarkably casual in identifying which of their targets was Greek, Italian, or Turkish, as subsequent complaints revealed.<sup>27</sup>

Evliya described Oinaion castle in the 1640s as “a square stone building in the seashore” and recorded a tradition that it had been built by the Grand Komnenoi.<sup>28</sup> In about 1806 the castle passed into the hands of Süleyman Zade Hazinedaroğlu, pasha of Trebizond and Canik who transformed it into a splendid palace that remained one of the chief architectural curiosities of the Pontic coast until it was burnt down in about 1900.<sup>29</sup> Oinaion itself flourished as the port of Neokaisareia, particularly in the early nineteenth century. But a disastrous fire in 1839 gave Samsun preeminence and Ünye relapsed into a backwater thereafter.<sup>30</sup>

## MONUMENTS

### 1. Oinaion Castle

The foundations of Süleyman Zade’s palace were described by Hamilton as being “apparently of great antiquity.”<sup>31</sup> We propose that they represent the remains of the castle described by Evliya, mentioned in the episode of 1445, and by Clavijo, and that they survive in the wall, still pointed out as belonging to Süleyman Zade’s palace, on the northwest side of the old square of the town (where an old plane tree is traditionally that beneath which the Hazinedaroğulları dispensed justice), and near the sea (fig. 16). The site overlooks the elbow of the bay, where the foreshore is best protected from stormy weather. The surviving northern sea wall runs about 105 m, with five buttresses, and is thirty courses, or 11 m high at its highest point. It is made of regularly shaped basalt stones, about 0.27 m square, with very thin wedges of stone, 0.05 m thick, in the lime and sand mortar between the courses. There are no tiles, bricks, or pounded brick.

Between the two most southerly surviving buttresses there is a blocked door, topped by a semicircular arch with neat voussoirs. Only the upper 0.50 m is now standing above ground level; the present ground level outside the castle wall must be at least 1.50 m above the medieval level (pl. 27 a).

18. Panaretos, ed. *Lampside*, 72.

19. Panaretos, ed. *Lampside*, 73.

20. Jerphanion, *MélUSJ*, 5 (1912), 135\*–141\*; 13 (1928), 39–40. Cf. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 31. See now Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, “Trebizond and the Turks. (1352–1402),” *AP*, 35 (1978), 344.

21. Tarhan, *Map*; local information at Akkuş.

22. Panaretos, ed. *Lampside*, 79.

23. Chalkokondyles, *Bonn ed.*, 64–65.

24. Panaretos, ed. *Lampside*, 80.

25. Clavijo (1404), 108.

26. Iorga, *Sarrazines*, 33.

27. Bryer, *BK*, 19–20 (1965), 183 and note 32, 191 and note 61.

28. Evliya (1644), II, 40.

29. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 243–48; O. Bora, *Yeşil Ünye Rehberi* (Ankara, 1969), 69; S. Eyice, “X. Hommage de Hell ve Jules Laurens,” *BTTK*, 27 (1963), 98, 104, pls. 17, 30.

30. PRO FO 195/101; despatch of 9 October 1839.

31. Hamilton (1836), I, 270–78.

The impressive medieval walling is the facing to a platform upon which Süleyman Zade's palace stood—now occupied by houses and gardens. Despite Evliya's statement that the castle was square, Lauren's engraving of 1846 shows that it was not and the modern street plan and the shape of the mound behind the medieval walling suggest that the castle was originally triangular (fig. 16).

The masonry of the medieval walling is comparable to that employed in fourteenth-century Trapezuntine imperial fortifications at Kordyle and Rhizaion (qq.v.), but could be earlier. If Oinaion became an important Byzantine strong point against the Türkmens in the twelfth century, there is a distinct possibility that the origins of the castle must be sought then, and that it was here that the wayward Andronikos Komnenos dallied with his most famous mistress, Theodora Komnene, ex-queen of Jerusalem.

## 2. The Church of the Theotokos

Patriarch Makarios III Zaim of Antioch, who visited Oinaion in 1658, was the first to note this church, which was then surrounded by stone walls and had a garden.<sup>32</sup> The more modern church of the Panagia, mentioned by Ritter, seems to be another monument (Kinneir mentioned two Greek churches and one Armenian).<sup>33</sup> There is no trace of any church in the town today.

## 3. The Church of St. Nicholas

The islet of St. Nicholas, still called Ainikola, lies opposite Ainikola lighthouse, about 1 km west of Oinaion. The islet is connected with the mainland by the vestiges of a causeway of rough stone and mortar, 47 paces long. Near the mainland end of the causeway there are the remains of a structure about 1 m square. Its walls are of uncoursed stonework and its interior surfaces are rendered with two layers of plaster. The lower layer has pulverized earthenware in it. Possibly this was a small cistern. The flat plateau above the cliff has the foundations of a rectangular building, about 12 × 26 paces in size. Under the cliff and facing northwest is an artificial cave. The floor has been leveled with pebble and mortar and is carried over the seashore for about 1 m beyond the cave entrance. The present beach level is more or less the same as that of the cave floor. At the back of the cave is a small rock-cut step, about 0.20 m high and 0.20 m deep. Both the step and the roof of the cave are rendered with a plaster made of lime and pulverized earthenware.

The islet itself is no more than 32 × 37 paces in size and its perimeter was entirely walled. The walls were about 1 m thick and liberally pointed on the exterior to offer a smooth surface against stormy seas. In the center of the islet and at its highest point (about 8 m above sea level) are the foundations of the church of St. Nicholas (pl. 27 b).

This church, described by Bzhshkean as circular and said by Ritter to be Byzantine and restored in 1629,<sup>34</sup> was also visited by Makarios III in 1658; he describes it as being

“magnificently built in stone.”<sup>35</sup> In 1836 Hamilton found it in ruins,<sup>36</sup> but it seems to have been repaired shortly afterward, for Hell remarked that it was much frequented on feast days.<sup>37</sup> During the nineteenth century it received pilgrim gifts from Greece and Russia. It is last mentioned by Cartanze in 1904 and still figures on British Admiralty instructions to mariners.<sup>38</sup>

The structures on the mainland perhaps confirm that the islet was a pilgrim center of some importance, but the church itself must have been exceedingly modest in size. By 1969 enough of the topsoil had eroded to make it clear that it was basically a single-apsed chapel about 2.50 m long (3.40 m, including the apse), and was evidently entered from the west. Only the first course of part of the apse was then visible (for treasure seekers had all but destroyed the remains by 1970), but there was enough to show that it was a regular semicircle with an inner radius of 0.74–0.76 m and that the walls at the base were 0.16 m thick. The rough foundation stones were bonded with a mortar of lime, pebble, sand, and pulverized brick. There is every indication that the chapel (and probably the causeway and its adjoining cave) is medieval and that it was not circular but of conventional plan.

In 1963 the islet was strewn with coarse red earthenware sherds. One sherd with lead green glaze could have been either Byzantine or Ottoman.

4. There is a local report of a castle in the hills to the west of Çaleoğlu Kale, probably above the Zindan Dere. We have not visited it.

5. A castle called Ginca Kale or Gençağa Kale is said to stand about 6 km west of Ainikola Burun.<sup>39</sup> We have not visited it.

## 6. Çaleoğlu Kale

This castle (named after an eighteenth-century Derebey) stands at Kaleköy, 5 km southwest of Ünye and overlooking the caravan route south and the Φιγαμοῦς River (Ünye Dere).<sup>40</sup> It may perhaps be identified with classical Caena.<sup>41</sup> The castle is on a great rock, of striking aspect. The south and east sides of the rock are steep and sustain such structures as remain; the north and west sides fall sheer for over 50 m before sloping down to the river. The whole rock is densely covered with an undergrowth of bramble, daphne, and thorn. It seems to have been barer in the early nineteenth century, when the features of the castle could be picked out more clearly, for a plan of the ruins today would require a major clearing operation.

Near the base of the southeast side of the rock, and apparently outside any of the defensive walling, is a large classical rock-cut tomb in the form of a tetrastyle temple having a square door and reliefs of eagles above the pediment

35. Makarios (1658), II, 435.

36. Hamilton (1836), 279.

37. Hell (1838), II, 369.

38. PRO FO 526/14; *Black Sea Pilot*, 401.

39. Tarhan, *Map*; unsigned article “Ordu,” *Türkiye Turizm*, 5 (27) (August 1965), 52.

40. Hell (1838), II, 368; Arrian, 23; Boré, *Ünye* (see note 29), 71–72.

41. Miller, *IR*, col. 646.

32. Makarios (1658), II, 435. Cf. Laura Ridding, *The Travels of Macarius* (London, 1936), 110.

33. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 847; Kinneir (1813), 318.

34. Bzhshkean (1819), 55; Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 486 note 3; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 847; Boré, *Ünye* (see note 29), 73.

(pl. 29); the type, so familiar in Paphlagonia, is here the farthest east example on the Pontic coast. The tomb is cut in a rough cliff, about 14 m above its present footing, a maize garden. Below and to the right of it are two, or perhaps three, rock-cut recesses, one or more of which may have formed subsidiary tombs whose facing has now fallen. Hamilton was told that within the main tomb there were paintings on either side of the interior, "apparently of Greek saints."<sup>42</sup> To reach the tomb, would require a ladder longer than that at present possessed by the Ünye Fire Brigade, and D. C. W. and A. A. M. B. have been frustrated on their several visits to it. However, a certain amount can be made out from below.

There appears to be only one layer of painting over a white plaster, now very battered. The outer bay of the tomb is narrowed into a central one by two angled jambs, of which the right one appears to have a painting of a standing saint (or, possibly, the Panagia). The central bay, in turn, leads into a smaller inner bay which has a semicircular vault and is made narrower by two straight jambs. On the right hand jamb is a scene which appears to depict the Koimesis. On the ceiling of the central bay are paintings divided into four sections by white lines; but the vault is so blackened with soot that it is impossible to make out the subjects. In general the paintings have a blue background, red outlines, and figures distinguishable by their lighter haloes. The tomb was evidently used as a chapel or hermitage; there is no reason to doubt that the paintings are not Late Byzantine.

Bzhshkean claims that the castle proper had four enceintes; each of the outer three had one gate, the innermost two gates.<sup>43</sup> Today only three enceintes can be made out, the gate to the outer lying a few meters east of the rock-cut tomb. If Bzhshkean's statement can be relied upon, an outer ward (no trace of which can now be found among the hazelnut groves) may have existed on the comparatively level ground to the southeast of the castle. Practically, this would make sense, for there is little room on the rock proper for housing a garrison or beasts.

The present gateway is framed in the lower courses with well-cut blocks of the local yellow limestone laid in heavily sanded lime mortar. The blocks are rectangular and there is no sign of long-and-short work such as can be seen in the Hellenistic work in Amaseia. At some later period the whole gateway was reinforced with extra masonry and buttressed on the east side with a rounded bastion. The reinforcing masonry is of smaller blocks of waterworn stone laid in regular courses with a lime-and-pebble mortar. Its core is of mortared rubble and has stringer beams across the wall, but there are no signs of cross tie beams.

About 15 m higher is a second gateway framed by well-cut yellow limestone blocks, most of which have now gone. Within this enceinte, and about 15 m higher than the second gateway, there is a platform cut in the rock, forming the entrance to a tunnel cistern; to the right of the entrance are

rock-cut entablatures, and a rock-scooped water pan, which is plastered. The entrance and first few meters of the tunnel cistern are also plastered. The tunnel cistern enters the rock at an angle of 45°; it is about 3 m high and 2.75 m wide. Today only forty-five steps are visible, each about 0.25 m deep, the total depth being 11.25 m; D. C. W. estimated that the total distance from the entrance to the level of the accumulated debris at the bottom would be at least 30 m. About halfway down there are remains of an artificial blocking of the tunnel, creating an upper plastered section which may have been used as a storeroom, for space on the castle rock must have been limited and the upper section of the cistern can never have been filled with water.

To the south of the platform, before the cistern and below it, are some walls, which recent excavation by the local authorities have revealed to have belonged to a chapel. (The area is now completely overgrown again). The plan was a simple rectangle with rounded apse, most of which had fallen away, and a transverse narthex running from north to south the west wall of which is formed by the solid rock. The masonry is of ashlar blocks of the local yellow limestone, fitted without mortar at the external face, and, as in the Hagia Sophia at Trebizond, there is an occasional decorative course of red limestone. In the west wall of the narthex there is a rock-cut niche, from which bones and other objects are said to have been retrieved. A round-arched doorway led from the narthex into the naos, and on the north side of the naos at the west end there was a small chamber which might have served as a tomb or possibly a baptistery; it is now so filled with debris that only the rough shape of it is clear. Both the naos and narthex were barrel vaulted with ribs at intervals; it would appear that the external roof level corresponded with that of the cistern platform.

Above the cistern to the south are rock-cut steps leading through what must have been a third gateway into the citadel at the top of the rock, but no masonry now survives at this point. Above and to the south of this conjectured gate is a second cistern tunnel of even more impressive dimensions than the first one. This is cut into the rock at an angle of 65° to 70° and is 3.05 m wide at the entrance. It is entirely stepped, like that of the lower cistern. The bottom cannot be distinguished. In 1963 it took over fifty seconds before a stone falling down apparently reached the debris below, and in 1971 forty-four seconds.

The heavily overgrown peak of the rock has stone-cut steps here and there and presents abundant evidence of an upper citadel, now almost entirely collapsed. There is a vertical excavation into the rock which may have served as a third cistern. The masonry on the south side of the upper citadel is of roughly-shaped stones in regular courses, comparable to that of the reinforcing in the lower gateway.

Classical Pontic masonry so far east does not exhibit the same finesse as that found so obviously in sites such as Amaseia. The agglomeration of defenses on Çaleoğlu Kale clearly belong to many different periods; the place, after all, has a history of two millennia. There is no masonry that looks specifically classical Pontic (perhaps this was one of the strongpoints razed by Pompey), but the masonry of the chapel and that of the lower gate are similar and are

42. Hamilton (1836), 274, 277-78; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 134; information from local children who have climbed into the tomb.

43. Bzhshkean (1819), 55; Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 486 note 3; Jerphanion, *MélUSJ*, 13 (1928), 16, 22-23, 40; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 619-20.

medieval. What is clear, however, is that the rock-cut tomb and cisterns are classical Pontic, that the castle was used in the Late Byzantine period, and that the chapel in the tomb can be expected to be of that time also.

Çaleoğlu Kale, its impressive rock cloaked in undergrowth and saplings, is one of many Pontic sites which will excite speculation. Perhaps its importance is not in the little it can tell the field worker, but rather in its function in myth.

*Çaleoğlu Kale in Myth.* Like a number of Pontic castles, Çaleoğlu Kale has been popularly identified with τὸ κάστρο τῆς Ὠριῆς, the fortress of a beautiful princess. But it is unique in having probably also been identified in European romance with the legendary “Castle of the Sparrowhawk.” Significantly, the tales have points of similarity, and at Çaleoğlu Kale, even actual contact, which deserve examination.

Although the most famous example of Pontic akritic poetry, the so-called *Ballad of Gabras*, has been shown to be largely the composition of a nineteenth-century Gabras,<sup>44</sup> the wealth of modern Pontic Greek and Turkish popular epic and folk-tales clearly goes back to ancient tradition. Spyridakes has drawn attention to several references to ballad-makers in the Trapezuntine horoscope of 1336.<sup>45</sup> to them may be added a reference occurring in the earliest *Life* of St. Athanasios the Athonite (born ca. 920) that the family of his “Colchian” mother was celebrated in songs—presumably popular songs, for the author states that he does not wish to discuss the matter further.<sup>46</sup>

Among the oldest and most widespread themes of Greek popular poetry is that of a castle defended by a beautiful princess against the Infidel for a long period (usually twelve years). It would eventually be captured by treachery (by a disguised renegade who makes an entry into the castle, as in the story of the apostate Amazon Efromiya who plays this role in the capture of the monastery of St. Gregory Thaumaturgos in the *Melikdanişmendnâme*,<sup>47</sup> or by the diversion of a river, as in the ballad of Palaïomatroukan Palaïokastro, q.v.<sup>48</sup>). The princess, to save herself from the Infidel, leaps from the topmost tower castle to her death (as in the popular tradition of the fall of Trebizond itself<sup>49</sup>). Spyridakes finds origins for the theme in the Arab tradition

44. O. Lampsides, Ἡ Χρονικὴ Σύνοψις τοῦ Μανασσῆ καὶ ἐν ἄσµα τοῦ Γαβρᾶ,” *AP*, 22 (1958), 199–219; the same, Τὸ ἀκριτικὸν ἔπος καὶ τὸ ἄσµα τοῦ Γαβρᾶ,” *AP*, 23 (1959), 33–38; Bryer, *Gabrades*, 168 and note 22; and the same in *AP*, 30 (1970), 248 note 1.

45. G. K. Spyridakes, Ποηταὶ δημοδῶν ασμάτων εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ΄ αἰῶνα, *AP*, 16 (1951), 263–66.

46. *Zitie prepodobnago Afanasija Afonskage*, ed. I. Pomialovskij (St. Petersburg, 1895), 3; not in L. Petit, “Vie de Saint Athanase l’Athonite,” *AnalBoll*, 25 (1906), 13.

47. *Melikdanişmendnâme*, ed. Melikoff, I, 434–35.

48. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 18–22, 29–35, 47; Legrand, *Chansons*, 76–78; Marcellus, *Chants*, I, 94–97; A. Papadopoulos, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 391–92; the anonymous Τ’Ὠριῆς τὸ κάστρον, *PPh*, 1 (March 1936), 26–27; and the modern Pontic play, Τὸ Κάστρο τῆς Ὠριῆς, by K. Kallides, serialized in *PPh*, 1 (1936). There are similar tales about the castles of Tarsos, Kordyle, Zara, and of Anna, daughter of the last Grand Komnenos. In Turkish, such castles are often called “Kız Kale.”

49. The palace of the Grand Komnenoi in Trebizond is called “Kara Kızın Kale” (“Black Girl Castle”); Miller, *Trebizond*, 106–7.

of the fall of Amorion in 838,<sup>50</sup> celebrated in hagiography; but it is probably unnecessary to seek a specific event. Triantaphyllides and Ioannides identify the Κάστρο τῆς Ὠριῆς of Pontic ballads with Çaleoğlu Kale.<sup>51</sup> The imposing and inaccessible forest castle with its rock-cut tomb and stairways and apparently fathomless cistern-tunnels would naturally arouse popular imagination. As such, Çaleoğlu Kale is no more remarkable than any other castle around which local tales gathered (like, for example, Zil Kale, q.v.). But in this case its fame spread further.

In the West the tale of the “Castle of the Sparrowhawk” is apparently first found in literature in Jean d’Arras’ romance of Melusine (1382–94),<sup>52</sup> but part of the theme must have been known in 1366, if not as early as 1312. Melusine (Melisande), supposed wife of Raymond count of Lusignan and ancestress of the Houses of Rohan and of Luxembourg, is one of the most celebrated *fées* of French medieval romance. It must be remembered that the Lusignan family ruled Cyprus from 1192 and were titular rulers of Cilician Armenia from 1396; Merlier, sister of Melusine, was condemned to imprisonment in the Castle of the Sparrowhawk in Cilicia until the Day of Judgement. She was guarded by a sparrowhawk, but noble knights were enjoined to keep the vigil of St. John the Baptist outside the castle. As a reward they were entitled to the grant of any wish by the imprisoned princess, so long as their wish was “of earthly things.”<sup>53</sup> They could not “demand [her] body nor [her] love by marriage nor other wise.”<sup>54</sup> Knights who persisted in unsuitable requests suffered ill luck to their ninth generation. In ca. 1366 Mandeville embellished the tale and placed the castle not in Cilicia but between Trebizond and Erzurum. But he admitted (with curious honesty, for this armchair traveler) that “this is not the right way to go to the parts I have named before, but to see the marvel I have spoken of.”<sup>55</sup> According to a more common tradition, the castle lay beyond Layays (Lajazzo, now Ceyhan), near Pharsipee (now Perşembe ?) and in Cruk (Korigos, now Gâvurköy).<sup>56</sup> Here knights were required to wake the sparrowhawk and to remain outside the castle for three (sometimes seven) days and nights without sleep, sustenance, or company before asking the princess for any worldly wish. After one such vigil, a king of Armenia asked for the princess herself, but he and his descendants were given eternal war. A poor man wished for wealth, which he was granted in plenty, but a Templar who asked for a neverfailing purse of gold was destroyed with his Order.<sup>57</sup> (The Templars were indeed suppressed, partly for tales of their wealth, in 1312).

In 1402 Johannes Schiltberger, a credulous Bavarian mercenary in Bayezid’s army, was captured by Timur at the battle of Ankara. When he finally retired home in 1427 he

50. G. K. Spyridakes, Τὸ δημῶδες ἄσµα τοῦ Κάστρου τῆς Ὠριῆς, Ἐπ. Λαογρ. Ἀρχ., 13–14 (1960–61), 3–34.

51. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 32; Ioannides, *Historia*, 206–7.

52. Jean d’Arras, ed. A. K. Donald, *Conte de Melusine* (London, 1895), I, 15–16.

53. Jean d’Arras, ed. Donald, I, 15–16.

54. Jean d’Arras, ed. Donald, I, 15–16.

55. Mandeville, ed. Hamelius, I, 97–98; II, 89.

56. Mandeville, ed. Hamelius, I, 97–99; II, 89.

57. Jean d’Arras, ed. Donald, 15–16.

described his captivity and subsequent Pontic travels. The sources of Schiltberger's stories have yet to be analyzed but it appears that, like many western travelers who brought tales back from the East, he was not an inventive man but simply put together first-hand experiences, garbled versions of local stories, and tales taken from earlier travelers—or, as seems to be the case here, all three elements. Schiltberger certainly enlivened his account with lavish, but unacknowledged, extracts from Mandeville, the bogus "traveler" who had himself transferred the Castle of the Sparrowhawk from Cilicia to near Trebizond. Schiltberger moved the castle still further, to between Aminsos and Kerasous, and suggested that it was in Greek hands. When he was in the area,<sup>58</sup> Oinaion was the most westerly town in Greek hands between Aminsos and Kerasous, and Çaleoğlu Kale is the most striking and appropriate candidate for the famous castle, which Schiltberger actually seems to have visited. After repeating the story of the Armenian king, the poor man, and the Templar knight, he

58. Clavijo (1404), 108.

relates how "we asked a man to take us to the castle and gave him money; and when we got to the place, one of my companions wanted to remain and keep watch. He who brought us advised against it; and said that if he did not carry out the watch, he would be lost; and nobody would know where he went; the castle is also hidden by trees, so that nobody knows the way to it. It is also forbidden by Greek priests, and they say that the devil has to do with it and not God. So we went on to a city called Kerason."<sup>59</sup> There are hints of an element of truth in this account. The priests of Oinaion would have been naturally suspicious of the castle concealed by trees, with its rock-cut tomb (albeit, possibly a chapel or hermitage), which the Melissenoi held against Türkmens from the south. Could it not be possible that Schiltberger was also told of Çaleoğlu Kale as being the Κάστρο τῆς Ὠργιδῆς, and subsequently, after reading Mandeville, "identified" it with the "Castle of the Sparrowhawk" of Western romance?

59. Schiltberger (1402), 41–41.

## Section VII

# NEOKAISAREIA (NEOCAESAREA)

### SITUATION

Neokaisareia, now Niksar, was successively Mithridates' Κάβειρα, Pompey's Διόσπολις, Augustus' Σεβαστή, Hadrian's Ἀδριανή, and the Byzantine Νεοκαισάρεια. It lies at the eastern end of the broad valleys and alluvial plains which the Lykos creates in its search westward to join the Iris at Μαγνόπολις (Εὐπατορία, now Ταşova). This region is Φανάροια, the heart of Inner Pontos and of Mithridates' state, comprising more properly two valleys which are joined by a narrow neck east of Erbaa. The eastern section is about 15 km long from east to west and up to 5 km wide; the western section is rather larger.

The great wealth of the Phanaroia gave rise to the towns and cities of Neokaisareia, Erbaa, and Magnopolis. It is a green island between the Pontic Alps and the Anatolian uplands which has always produced a surplus of foodstuffs. Strabo notes that the foreland of Neokaisareia is the richest in the Pontos, yielding abundant grain, oil, and wine; here were Mithridates' mines, palace, watermills, zoological gardens, and hunting preserves.<sup>1</sup> Neokaisareia itself is placed on a spur of the Paryadres<sup>2</sup> at the point where the steep northern slopes of the valley break up into gently rising hills, making it the obvious point of departure for the road northward over the mountains to the sea. A fair road runs south to Comana Pontica and the Dazimonitis plain; at Neokaisareia this north-south route meets the military highway which runs eastward up the river valley to Satala.<sup>3</sup> An Arab itinerary finds Neokaisareia four days from Koloneia; in 1658 Makarios reached it from coastal Oinaion in about the same time.<sup>4</sup>

### HISTORY

The economic and geographical factors which placed Neokaisareia where it stands are plain enough, but in an Anatolian context the Phanaroia is no more than an enviably

quiet and prosperous backwater and Neokaisareia itself lies awkwardly distant from both the Pontic coastal communications and the main Anatolian trunk roads to the south. Hence it has been forced into strategic prominence only twice: when first the Romans and then the Turks found it a temporary key to Inner Pontos. But expeditions against Neokaisareia have always been hampered by troublesome supply lines and so have usually come to grief. Lucullus found it difficult enough in 71 B.C. and only took the place because Mithridates panicked.<sup>5</sup>

Neokaisareia finally passed to Rome in A.D. 64, becoming a civil metropolis in the late second century. The fame of St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos, evangelist of the Phanaroia, patron and (from ca. 240) first bishop of Neokaisareia ensured that the city also became the ecclesiastical metropolis of Pontic Polemonion. St. Gregory is the only Pontic saint whose stature approached that of the contemporary Cappadocian Fathers, and New Caesarea, the Byzantine name for the city, is appropriate. His cult assumed the local importance of that of the old Pontic deity Mên. From St. Gregory to the 1440s at least twenty-two bishops and metropolitans of Neokaisareia are known. In ca. 640 the metropolis claimed four suffragans, reduced to three after Trebizond became a metropolis. But in the late eleventh century a final military effort against the Turks is marked by an ephemeral expansion to ten suffragans. Like other inland sees, such as Amaseia, the Church of Neokaisareia had its share of troubles: the metropolis was moved to Oinaion in the mid-twelfth century and had a series of difficulties from 1318. Thereafter, Neokaisareia itself lay on the outer fringe of Pontic Hellenism. By 1658 Makarios found Greekless priests mindlessly mouthing the liturgy in the church of St. Nicholas in nearby "Argosti" (Akkuş?), but in Neokaisareia "we durst not appear . . . in our character of Christians."<sup>6</sup>

5. Magie, *Rome Rule*, I, 333–37, has a good description of the campaign.

6. Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Gregory the Thaumaturgos*, in PG, 46, cols. 897 and 905 ff.; Schultze, *Kleinasien*, I, 165–71; Laurent, *CS*, V (1), 356–63; Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, 182–83, 229; Pachymeres, *C.S.H.B.*, I, 286; Dölger, *Kaiserregesten*, nos. 1590, 1610; Chalandon, *Les Commènes*, I, 111; II, 638 note 7, 641 note 3, 650, 651 note 6; Gelzer, *Texte*, 539, nos. 241–44; 554, nos. 299–301; Parthey, *Notitiae*, 110, nos. 218–27; S. Pétridès, "Documents sur la rupture de l'Union de Florence," *EO*, 14 (1911), 206; *Mélanges Mercati*, III, 215; Le Quien, *OC*, I, cols. 499–508; *REB*, 14 (1956), 103, no. 22; Grumel, *Régestes*, nos. 1041–43; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 259–73;

1. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, III, 30.

2. Called "Bulğar Dağ" in the *Melikdanışmendnâme*, ed. Mélik-off, I, 157–59, probably the Balahandağ, part of the Greek Paryadres. Cf. Aşıkpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 225; Bryer, *Gabrades*, 179 note 52.

3. Miller, *IR*, cols. 669, 679. The roads run southwest to Seramis, west to Pidis, and north to Bartae, Polemonium, Camilla, and Caena.

4. Honigmann, *AIPHO*, 4 (1936), 263, 266; Makarios (1658), 437–38.

Despite severe earthquakes in 344 and 499, the city and its Roman bridge survived the Early Byzantine period well. Mustawfi described it as medium-sized with many fruit gardens. It appears in Hierokles, Justinian, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus; it was represented at the Council of Ephesos and stood fairly high (eighteenth in Leo VI's *Notitia*) in the metropolitan lists. It lay off the main routes of Persian and Arab invasion and raiding. Comana moved to the safety of Tokat but there was no need for Neokaisareia to move, for it was already a fortress town. But the area was far from being safely Orthodox and Hellenized: there were local Jews, Paulicians, and Armenians—the latter had their own bishop in the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

In the late eleventh century Neokaisareia found itself in the front line of Pontic resistance to outside invasion for the second time. For over a century the place was a bone of contention between the Seljuks and Danişmendids on the one hand and the Gabrades (local Pontic leaders) and the Komnenoi on the other: the struggle passed into epic in the *Melikdanişmendnâme*, where the Christian hero, Şah-i Şattat represents, among others, St. Theodore Gabras. In the epic, the Christian hero's Amazon daughter turns Türkmen and, attractively disguised as a monk, lures "Gavras" and manages to seize the key monastery of St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos at Neokaisareia, with which the place falls.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, Neokaisareia seems first to have been sacked by Afşin in about 1068; Roussel de Bailleul and Romanos IV fought the Seljuks for the castle, but it was not back in Greek hands again until St. Theodore Gabras defended it in the 1080s. The Pontic martyr died in 1098, by which time Neokaisareia had probably fallen to his great rival, the emir Danişmend, who made it his capital. Here Bohemund of Antioch was imprisoned from 1100 to 1103—in 1101 a Lombard crusade failed to reach the place. But control of Neokaisareia was shadowy: Gregory and Constantine Gabras at least claimed it before it firmly returned to Danişmendid hands in the 1120s. In 1139/40 John II Komnenos made it his objective in his abortive expedition against the Danişmendids; he transferred a number of Greek refugees from the area into Byzantine territory—a Neokaisareites family appears in the thirteenth century—and probably moved the see to the coast at the same time. John's expedition would have had better luck after 1142, when *Melik* Mohammed Danişmend's death led to the

break-up of the Danişmendid state, but it was the Seljuks who took the pickings. Neokaisareia fell into Seljuk hands in 1175. Manuel promptly sent Andronikos Vatatzes and Dul Nun to capture it—which they failed to do. Once again the Byzantine expedition was ill-timed and ill-supplied and this time the disaster at Myriokephalon, in 1176, supervened. The Seljuks went from strength to strength in the area, exterminating the last Danişmendids in 1178. Kiliç Arslan left Neokaisareia to one of his ten sons; Rukn al-Din took it in 1197. There was no hope of its falling to the Grand Komnenoi thereafter, for it had almost completely ceased to be a Greek city. The earliest dated mosque is of 1180, but there is an earlier Danişmendid *medrese*. The Göreği Büyük Tekkesi is thirteenth-century. Neokaisareia finally joined the Ottoman Empire in 1397 and has subsided into a quiet backwater since.<sup>9</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

It is probable that the whole Phanaroia would repay more intensive investigation than we have given it. There are, for example, suffragan sees such as Eunikos<sup>10</sup> and Kokkos<sup>11</sup> which we have not been able to locate; and the great pilgrim church and monastery of St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos, which was doubtless the most considerable monument of the area, has also eluded identification. It was still standing in 1658 when Makarios "sighed to visit the ruined churches, which we saw at a distance, of the grandest architecture, and with the cupolas still existing . . . The belief is spread among the people, that a hot spring here, called Eboas, now at a distance of several miles from the town, was formerly in the very center of the city. This place contains a stupendously large church, of the most magnificent architecture, called Θαυματουργός, with many monuments still remaining."<sup>12</sup> This had gone by the time of the Cumonts: they noted only the rude churches of St. Nicholas and of the Transfiguration at Niksar<sup>13</sup> which seem in turn to have gone.

If Makarios is right in placing the church of the Thaumaturgos outside modern Niksar, a possible candidate for the site is the substantial and certainly medieval masonry which lies by the Erbaa road about one kilometer

Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., 72; M&M, *A&D*, II, 83; Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 291 (rejected by Laurent, *q.v.*); Polemis, *Doukai*, 149 note 8; C. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, P. Papachryssanthou, and J. Paramelle, "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineur," *TM*, 4 (1970), 65, 167; *BZ*, I (1894), 253–54; Vryonis, *Decline*, 204–5, 304, 307 note, 318, 320; Makarios (1658), 437–38; Gedeon, *PP*, 415–16, 434, 449, 636.

7. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 735; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 261; W. Ruge, *s.v.* "Neokaisareia," *RE; CIG*, no. 4186; Theophanes, Bonn ed., I, 37; Justinian, *CIC*, Nov 28, preface; Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, 37, no. 702; *Vita Eutychiei* in PG, 86, col. 2344; Vryonis, *Decline*, 49, 52, 304; Lestrangle, *Lands*, 147; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematis*, ed. Pertusi, 64; Anderson, *SP*, I, 56–59; Cahen, *P-OT*, 212.

8. *Melikdanişmendnâme*, ed. Mélikoff; Bryer, *Gabrades*, 178–89.

9. Cahen, *P-OT*, 27, 111, 115, 221, 240, 263; Polemis, *Doukai*, 149; Chalandon, *Les Commènes*, I, 11–12; II, 176–80, 506–7; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 735; Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 47, 61; Vryonis, *Decline*, 95, 107, 115, 119, 122–23, 162, 221, 405, 441; Michael Attaliates, Bonn ed., 105, M&M, *A&D*, I, 551.

10. Eūnikos appears as a suffragan bishopric from the late eleventh until the thirteenth century, in Parthey, *Notitiae*, 110, no. 224; 209, no. 345; 251, no. 205. The name of its only known bishop, Anthimos, is found on an eleventh-century seal, in Laurent, *CS*, V (1), 265–66, no. 498. It is not in *DHGE*, or in Le Quien, *OC*.

11. Kόκκος appears as a suffragan bishopric from the late eleventh until the thirteenth century, variously as ό Kόκκου and ό Kήκκου, in Parthey, *Notitiae*, 110, no. 223; 209, no. 344; 251, no. 204. The name of its only known bishop, Nikephoros, is found on an eleventh-century seal, in Laurent, *CS*, V (1), 264–65, no. 497. See also R. Janin, *s.v.* "Coccos" in *DHGE*; not in Le Quien, *OC*. It cannot be a misapprehension for Κοκκουσός (Göksün), suffragan bishopric of Cappadocian Kaisareia, for the two appear on the same lists: see Parthey, *Notitiae*, 108, no. 182; 110, no. 233. But see p. 310.

12. Makarios (1658), 439.

13. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 262.

southwest of the town, but excavation would be needed to determine the identity of the building (pl. 30a).

Some scant remains of walling indicate that the Roman town lay south of the present site, which is in foothills (pl. 30b). A Roman town on the flatter terraces of the river valley itself agrees with the usual Roman practice. The fortified site lies on a spur above it; the flat top of the spur, which forms the citadel area, is protected on three sides by the natural fall of the land. Its only vulnerable side is the north-northeast, where the spur joins the main shoulder of hills. The western side is the steepest; the medieval town seems to have stood largely on the east and south sides.

#### The Fortifications

Neither author has found any masonry on the citadel spur which can be ascribed to a Mithridatic or Roman date. Cumont is not specific as to early remains, but there are reports of polygonal masonry<sup>14</sup> and of a cistern tunnel, which were not located. Our own account of the fortifications is by no means exhaustive and any proper study of it in the future should be made in the context of the fortifications of Tokat and Amaseia.

The main citadel enclosure on the flat top of the spur comprises an area of more than 1 km from north to south by less than 100 m at its broadest section from east to west (pl. 31a, b). At the south end is the south bailey with remains of walling round it. An enigmatic building stands in the southwest corner (pls. 32a–34a).

Beyond the ruins of a nineteenth-century police station, and toward the south end of the castle hill, is the ruin of a domed cruciform building, the arms of which are divided into rectangular barrel-vaulted chambers (fig. 17). The masonry is of small stones, roughly squared and laid in regular courses. The core is of mortared rubble, the stones of which are well tamped in, with few gaps. The flanking chambers were entered by doors from the central area, but their form is not now clear since they have been robbed of all their facing stones. The chambers were lit by windows over the doors, looking into the central area. Two windows on the south side were round arched, with stone voussoirs. One, on the northeast corner, has brick voussoirs. The only carefully worked stone features that survive are corbels high up in the northeast and northwest walls of the central area. These corbels have the form of a cornice with a simple receding profile, and may have carried supporting beams across the corners of the central area (pl. 33b). Above the corbels, in the center, is a triangular projecting block. If the central area was originally covered by a masonry dome (which should have incorporated some windows, or the flanking chambers would have lain in forbidding darkness), these triangular stones may represent the base of pendentives or squinches. To the south side of the northeast corbel, an earthenware jar is embedded in the masonry (pl. 34a), presumably as a means of lightening the mass of the corner masonry.

What was this singular building? There are two certainties. The first is that, at some stage of its career, it served as a church. D. C. W. was informed that it was the church of St.

14. H. H. van der Osten, "Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor," *AJSL*, 43 (1927), 135.

Basil (Ayvasil). Confirmation is provided by a small fragment of wall painting in one of the western chambers. This consists of a plaster ground of lime, with a straw or chaff binding, and the shape of a halo of a standing figure painted upon it. Consequently, the plan in figure 17 is labelled "Church" and the side chambers "Chapels."

The second certainty is that this building was not designed as a church, as a glance at its plan must show. Cumont suggested a bath. But there are no signs of piping or of the tenacious hydraulic plaster normally used for bath houses. However, there is a third possibility. The plan of this building closely resembles that of the tenth-century Georgian palace and domed audience chamber at Geguti.<sup>15</sup> The type of the masonry (small stone courses, good core, simple molding, sparse brickwork) would be compatible with our proposition that the building represents the audience hall of the twelfth-century Danişmendid emirs of Niksar. The site is certainly appropriate for such a structure. If so, this is where Bohemund of Antioch and the heroes of the *Melikdanişmendnâme* met in legend as well as in fact; its brief career would have ended with the Seljuk conquest. This would also explain why a Turkish building in Anatolia subsequently became, perhaps uniquely, a church.

The other building in the south bailey is represented by the ruin of a nineteenth-century police station, which once boasted a pond and fountain (pl. 35b). One standing section of the south bailey wall on the west side (pl. 35a) has a facing of roughly squared stones laid in regular courses.

The cross wall, forming the barrier between the south bailey and the inner citadel, is now, like all structures within the inner citadel, a confused mass of fallen masonry (pl. 36). A wide arch at the east side of the cross wall may represent the gateway to the inner citadel. The arch is rounded and the masonry is of solid mortared rubble on the inside of the arch; the exterior facing is of small rectangular stones laid in regular courses. The quoins are of larger ashlar blocks. On the western side the cross wall juts out to the northwest and has a similar exterior facing, but this appears to be a repair. For a different masonry of rough-cut stones in random courses can be observed below the later work (pl. 34b).

In the inner citadel there is a rock-cut cistern with masonry vault which has a hole in the top center for drawing water. Close by, on the eastern side, is the ruin of a small domed brick building which formed part of a baths complex. The inner facing of the pendentives and dome are made with fragments of broken brick or tile laid in thick mortar. The wall on the southeast side (pl. 37a) is of rough stonework laid in fairly regular courses, with series of tie-beams and stringers at regular intervals. Some courses are laid in the heringbone pattern which we have noted elsewhere<sup>16</sup> and which recurs in the east wall of the town.

The north wall between the inner citadel and the inner citadel bailey stands to a considerable height; its construc-

15. R. Mepiaschwili and W. Zinzadze, *Die Kunst des alten Georgien* (Leipzig, 1977), 49–50.

16. E.g., in the castles of Zil, Varoş, and Koloneia (*qq.vv.*). Outside Anatolia, it appears in the Byzantine walling at Saone, in a thirteenth-century Muslim tomb in Syria, and in the palace platform wall of Tblisi, Georgia.

tion is of four types (pl. 38a, b). First, the masonry in the northwest corner (pl. 37c) is mostly of small stones roughly squared and laid in regular courses, without any sign of reinforcing beams. A peculiarity is the occasional use of much larger rectangular ashlar blocks. The second type of masonry (pl. 38a, right) consists of roughly-squared stone blocks laid in courses less regular than those in the first type and brought up to an even surface with small flat stones. Four square holes in the base of the wall probably indicate drains rather than tie-beams. The quoins are of ashlar blocks; nearly all have been robbed. The third type of masonry (pl. 38b) employs regular horizontal courses of tie-beams which penetrate to the external face of the masonry. The stonework is much the same as that of the second type except that it lacks ashlar quoins; much of the heavy lime mortar pointing remains in good condition. The fourth type of masonry is similar to the third but has quoins like the second type. One column is used as a header. The wooden stringers and tie-beams were used so that stringers, concealed by lime-mortar pointing, line the outer face of the wall. The mortar has mostly fallen away to expose the beam ends (pl. 38b). This was an inefficient method of wall construction: lime mortar does not adhere well to wood, and once it has fallen the exposed beam soon rots or can easily be hacked or fired by besiegers. This crib-work of stringers and tie-beams is repeated, without the herringbone pattern in the masonry, in the wall along the southeast side of the inner citadel.

The most impressive surviving stretch of wall, and probably the greatest work in the fortress, is the cross wall between the inner citadel bailey and the north bailey (pls. 37b and 39b). This wall is up to 5 m thick; its core is of mortared rubble well laid in and tamped down without gaps. A few of the facing stones have not been robbed. The setting bed retains the shapes of large ashlar blocks of the local grey stone, laid without mortar at the joints on the external surface. The stones were of regular size but laid in the long and short pattern, so that one course is a facing and the next is bonded flat into the wall, narrow side outward, as a line of headers. The bastions are rectangular. The gate is at the east end, lying some meters back along the east wall in the recommended manner, so that an attacker had to approach it with his right side exposed to fire from the battlements.<sup>17</sup> In front of this cross wall is a massive ditch faced with masonry. It is now largely filled in. At a later period the upper sections of the cross wall were repaired with small rough-cut stones laid in random courses (pl. 40a).

The west wall of the north bailey projects as far as the modern town cemetery. It is made of a mortared rubble core faced with small rectangular blocks in regular courses. It is about 1.75 m thick.

The general circuit of the walls of the north bailey and of the town is still fairly clear. Within it internal walls running up the slopes of the eastern side of the citadel may have divided the wards of the town. There are rectangular, polygonal, and prow-shaped towers (pl. 39a). The last are faced with roughly-shaped stones laid in irregular courses. Ashlar blocks (almost certainly reused) serve as quoins.

17. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, I, v, 2.

### The Town

Little survives of Byzantine Neokaisareia. In the upper town at the northeast side on the edge of the cemetery are the ruins of three barrel-vaulted buildings faced with small stones laid in regular courses. Local tradition ascribes these buildings to the Christians, but there is little to distinguish their functions: they could even be nineteenth-century warehouses. In the gardens to the south of the town there was in 1962 a short stretch of bonded brick and stone walling which may be ascribed to a Roman or Early Byzantine period. Nearby, on the west side of the main road, a marble Hellenistic sarcophagus in 1968 was serving as a fountain. Its ridged lid imitates round-ended roof tiles; the akroteria bear rustic scenes. There is no inscription.

In the little garden cemetery surrounding the tomb of the *Melik Ghazi*, there is a fifth- or sixth-century Byzantine impost capital (pl. 40b). This is the only piece of Byzantine ornament which we have found in Niksar. Its date probably coincides with that of the pilgrim church of the Thaumaturgos; one may only speculate that it came from it.

The richly decorated *türbes* of the Danişmendid and Seljuk periods and the size of the Ulu Camii indicate that Niksar enjoyed considerable prosperity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The *türbe* in the north bailey is a good example of this kind of monument. The *türbe* of the great *Melik Ghazi* Danişmend, captor of Bohemund, has been largely rebuilt. In the garden around it is a fine collection of early Turkish headstones.

Dates: The citadel would need excavation to determine with any certainty the sequence of building. The polygonal masonry reported there should be Hellenistic, and Cumont's brick vaulting may be Roman—or perhaps he may be referring to the ruins of the small baths described above.<sup>18</sup> Mr. David Wilson kindly reported banded masonry of brick and stone (with five brick courses grouped between the stone) which must be late Roman or Byzantine work. The cross wall and ditch which separating the north from the inner citadel bailey are similar to some sections of the walls of Antioch—also undated. This could be Justinianic work; the masonry technique of facing and header stones is paralleled in Justinianic walls in Africa.<sup>19</sup> But it could also be Middle Byzantine or Danişmendid walling and the latter possibility has the supporting evidence of ashlar facing of a similar type found in the *türbes* of the town. The smaller stone work (with or without reinforcing beams) may represent the theme castle of the Middle Byzantine period and has parallels in Amaseia. The prow-shaped towers of the town wall may also be Middle Byzantine, since this type of fortification (first recommended by Philo)<sup>20</sup> recurs in other Byzantine fortifications.

18. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 259.

19. C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), 149, fig. 1 and note 4.

20. A. de Rochas and C. Graux, "Philon de Byzance, *Fortifications*," *RPh*, 3 (1872), 156 (for the Anonymous of Byzantium).

## Section VIII

# PHADISANE-POLEMONION AND THE DISTRICT OF SIDENE

### DESCRIPTION

Between Chalybia and the substantial promontory of Cape Jason lies ἡ Σιδηνή, whose classical name did not survive in the Middle Ages. The Sidenos or Polemonion River (Boloman Irmak) flows through the district, correctly described by Strabo as fertile and largely low-lying,<sup>1</sup> to the sea where it emerges in the center of a shallow bay flanked by modern Fatsa, 2 km to the west of its mouth, and Boloman Kale, 5 km to the east. Ancient Sidene had three coastal strongholds: ἡ Σίδη, Χάβακα, and Φάβδα.<sup>2</sup> Side was named Πολεμώνιον (or Πολεμώνη), either by Polemo I or, more probably, Polemo II, who relinquished his lands to Rome in A.D. 64.<sup>3</sup> The name of Phabda is perhaps remembered in modern Fatsa. Chabaka cannot be identified.

Polemonion is one of the handful of eastern Pontic classical cities which would have boasted the appurtenances and public buildings of the substantial sites of western Anatolia. As has often been observed, it is represented today by a series of mounds which run for 2 km along the coast from Fatsa to Boloman Irmak. Although it is probably the most important classical site of the coast, it has never been investigated. No inscriptions and, apart from a rockcut tomb noted by Hamilton,<sup>4</sup> no finds have been reported. We record below only one inscription and two churches (the latter of some significance) from in or near the site which will be lost in the creeping suburbs of modern Fatsa in the next few decades.

Classical geographers place the "fortress" of Φαδισάνη, Φάδισσα,<sup>5</sup> Pytane, or Fitane,<sup>6</sup> and the "city" of Polemonion so close together to the west of the mouth of the Sidenos River (corresponding to modern Fatsa and the ruins in the eastern suburb) that it seems likely that one was the scala of the other. Nevertheless the twin sites retained distinct names on the portulans, where they are called Uatiza, Vathiza, Vatiza, Vatisa, Uatiça, Fatiza, Fadida, Fadnica, Fadissa, ὁ Φατισιάς, ἡ Φαδίσα, or ἡ Βαδίσα (the last specified as a port); and Pornom, Pormom, Pormoni, Porman, and ὁ Περμὸρ

(the last specified as a river).<sup>7</sup> Although the name of Polemonion is remembered today in Boloman Irmak and Boloman Kale, the Kale received its name very recently and does not represent the ancient site. Phadisane is, however, more or less represented by modern Fatsa, an unlovely straggling town with a comparatively good anchorage; there is slight shelter also at Boloman Kale.

The district of the Sidene is heavily wooded, with conical hills and hillocks typical of this part of the coast, but the foothills of the Pontic Alps do not rise for more than 20 km inland.

### HISTORY

Polemonion, capital of the classical Pontic Polemonion, was clearly a major settlement in antiquity—at any rate by Pontic standards—but its long decline may already have begun when in the third century it was Neokaisareia that became the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province to which Polemonion had given its name, and Polemonion itself a suffragan; the final indignity came when the metropolitans of Neokaisareia removed to the comparatively secure Greek coast not to Polemonion, but to Oinaion, which had no suffragan even, in the twelfth century. The see of Polemonion is found in lists until the thirteenth century. Seven bishops are known by name, the last, Andrew, in the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>8</sup> The see probably did not survive in fact much longer, not so much through Turkish pressure on the coast or the collapse of the metropolis of Neokaisareia and its assumption by Oinaion, as because of the probable desertion of the site of Polemonion itself. The place and its bishops do not figure in Trapezuntine sources.

By the twelfth century Phadisane had certainly eclipsed its twin settlement of Polemonion.<sup>9</sup> The inland route, which led eventually to the great Seljuk emporium of Sivas, gave Phadisane a brief prosperity upon which the activities of a Genoese notary, Federico di Piazzalungo, shed unexpected light in 1274. In the early decades of Genoese trading in central and eastern Anatolia there was evidently work for

1. Strabo, *Geography*, I, iii, 7; II, v, 25; XII, iii, 14–16.

2. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 14–16.

3. Magie, *Roman Rule*, 486, 561–62.

4. Hamilton (1836), I, 270. Cf. Schultze, *Kleinasien*, II, 183; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 843–44; Kinneir (1813), 321.

5. Arrian, 25; *Anonymous periplus*, 30.

6. Miller, *IR*, cols. 646–47.

7. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 649; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 32; Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80.

8. Ptolemy, ed. Müller, 873; *CIL*, III, no. 6818; Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, 37, no. 702; Gelzer, *Texte*, 539, no. 243; Le Quien, *OC*, I, 515; Laurent, *CS*, V (1), 366, no. 499.

9. Idrisi, ed. Nedkov, note 301 on p. 147, mentions "Fatisa," but not Polemonion.

itinerant notaries traveling between isolated groups of Italian merchants, before resident professional notaries became available. Federico di Piazzalungo is first found in Lajazzo in early 1274 and at Sivas on 19 July of the same year. Less than a week later—and this suggests that he must have traveled very fast on a direct summer route (perhaps Sivas-Hafik-Ipsile-Reşadiye-Aybasti-Fatsa), he reached Phadisane, setting up some sort of record. But the fact is that he drew up four documents for the Genoese of Phadisane on 24 and 25 July. By 21 August he had reached Sougdaia (Sudak) in the Crimea, presumably by ship from Phadisane.<sup>10</sup> The documents he drew up in Phadisane largely concern loans, but also indicate a fairly substantial trade (in unnamed commodities) carried by Genoese ships from there to Amastris (Amasra), Constantinople, and the Crimea. A total of twelve different Genoese are named as parties or witnesses to contracts, indicating a comparatively large colony for this date, but the merchants had not reached the stage of local organization of having a factory or loggia of their own and were doing business in the house of one of their number in Phadisane, Guglielmo Mastraccio. In Sougdaia Federico di Piazzalungo drew up a document for another Genoese resident of Phadisane, Nicoleta d'Albenga.<sup>11</sup>

The chance survival of Federico di Piazzalungo's documents reveals that Genoese merchants were active in 1274 both in Phadisane and in the emporium of Sivas. At Phadisane one Genoese had a ship, the *San Giovanni*. In 1267 a Genoese ship, described as "de Savasto" (i.e., of Sivas), was pillaged, and it was probably from Sivas that a cargo of ginger was exported to the Champagne a little later. There is further mention of Genoese activity in Sivas in 1280.<sup>12</sup> Through which Euxine port was the merchandise of Sivas carried? The earliest definite mention of a Genoese station in Trebizond does not come until 1285, and in Aminos until 1289. It seems likely, therefore, that for a brief period in the 1270s and 1280s Phadisane was used by the Genoese as their principal Euxine outlet for the commerce of Sivas. Phadisane was then part of the Trapezuntine Empire and Genoese activities there do not appear to have been authorized by the Grand Komnenoi, but the Genoese may have chosen the place because imperial control was slight in the area for the Türkmens were overrunning the Chalybian interior in the 1270s and 1280s.<sup>13</sup> Possibly Phadisane and the Sidene was a no-man's-land; certainly Genoese documents of 1284 and 1290 indicate that its population was mixed. The documents mention, respectively, "Echisene," daughter of "Corcha," and "Yerena," daughter of "Murit," as inhabitants of Phadisane.<sup>14</sup> It is impossible to say whether these names are Greek ("Yerena" could be Eirene or kyr' Anna), Armenian ("Corcha" could be Krikor), or Turkish (as "Echisene" sounds). After 1290 there is no further mention of Phadisane (Vatiza) in Genoese sources, but by then Italian

merchants were looking further east, to Tabriz, for their commerce and to Trebizond for their port. By then, too, the Türkmens may have made the Sivas-Phadisane route too dangerous.

What appears to be a loose enceinte of fortresses round Phadisane and Boloman Kale, with its apparently thirteenth-century church, may have been established at this period by Trapezuntines against Türkmens from the mountains.

Phadisane retained some importance as an anchorage beside the overgrown wreckage of Polemonion. A sixteenth-century portulan mentions two churches there, dedicated to the Theotokos and to the Prodomos respectively,<sup>15</sup> which were replaced in the nineteenth century by the church of St. George, which still stands.<sup>16</sup> Evliya found three hundred houses at "Fatsha," mostly Greek,<sup>17</sup> and Hell a small ruined fort, of which there is now no trace.<sup>18</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Bucera Kale (fig. 18)

This building lies 7 km east of Fatsa, 500 m south of Başköy. It is reached from the coast at Kızılcerkes (Kızılot). The Kale is a more or less rectangular construction, about 59 × 38 m, in a maize field and on no particular eminence. The walls average a thickness of 1.10 m and stand up to a height of 7 m; there are few remains of them on the south side and only traces on the north. They are built of rough stone with lavish use of mortar. The exterior is whitewashed in parts. In an angle of the east side are a series of windows which, although they are of faced stone, opening inward in the style of nineteenth-century Pontic churches, appear to be more domestic than defensive. There are beam holes and the traces of a door on the west side. Despite local opinion that Bucera Kale is a very old castle, it appears to be no more than a substantial fortified farmstead and yard, perhaps built by an eighteenth-century *ağa*. However the site of a *kule* (fortified tower) was pointed out on a steep eminence about 750 m to the south-southeast of Bucera Kale, and another supposed castle, called Çingutkaya or Çingirtepe, on a lower hilltop about 1 km to the north-northwest.<sup>19</sup> Both sites were heavily wooded, difficult of access and were not visited.

##### 2. Evkaf Köyü Kale<sup>20</sup> (pl. 41a, b)

The castle overlooks the route south and the Fatsa Dere, 5 km south of Fatsa. On the east side of the river, about 500 m

15. Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 32.

16. Papamichalopoulos (1903), 307; the unsigned article 'Η Φάτσα, *PE*, I (1950), 207; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 242–43.

17. Evliya (1644), II, 40.

18. Hell (1846), II, 369–70; also in Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 619. The fort may be represented by a section of the east wall of Polemonion, which was visible up to about 1960.

19. The unsigned article, "Ordu," *Türkiye Turizm*, 5 (27) (August 1965), 61; Tarhan, *Map*.

20. This is the site apparently described as Göreği Manastiri in *Türkiye Turizm* (see note 19), but there is no monastery there, and extensive enquiries in Fatsa and on the site do not evince any recognition of the name, or of those of other sites listed: Kız Kulesi (supposedly 15 km from Fatsa, near Yalıköy), and Akkaya Kalesi (supposedly 20 km south of Fatsa, and illustrated as a fortress upon a steep rock, with curtain wall and bastions).

10. Bratianu, *Recherches*, 158–59, 172–73, 302–8.

11. Bratianu, *Recherches*, 205, 308.

12. Bratianu, *Recherches*, 166–67.

13. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 63.

14. Bratianu, *Actes*, 172; the same, *Recherches*, 172–73; Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 416, 424, 434, 555.

south of Evkaf Köyü, a track branches right; the castle is about 350 m further on. It stands on a heavily wooded hill and is approached from the east. The western and southern sides rise steeply from the river and the castle commands the surrounding countryside as far as the sea and for about 5 km to the west and south. Traces of up to four enceintes of walls survive, which are built of rough stone with much lime mortar and, unusually, little pebble. The two outer enceintes have small semicircular bastions and enclose a roughly oblong area of about 200 × 50 m. The single, well-preserved, gate is in the second enceinte on the east side; it is flanked by bastions of which the northern (a later addition) has a straight join with the wall. There are door-bar holes in the jambs of the gate and remains of a parapet running over it. A substantial cave runs into the hillside from the south, reputedly for 150 m. The supposed site of a church (accompanied by the usual tale of the discovery of gold) was pointed out on the west side, opposite the outer gate, but the scattered stones among the trees gave little idea of its form, if indeed it had been a church. The summit, to the north, is reached through another buttressed gate, less well preserved, in the third enceinte. There are remains of a small keep, or fourth enceinte, at the top. Here was some loose tile (not found in the walls) and three loose well-cut limestone blocks, about 1.00 × 0.30 × 0.80 m in size, two of which were simply molded on the edge (including guttae), as for a cornice. It is possible that they came from the site of Polemonion. Byzantine sherds included a good example of white glaze sgraffito ware.

Evkaf Köyü Kale is a typical example of the local fortresses of the Empire of Trebizond which become increasingly numerous as one proceeds eastward.

The site, or area, of Polemonion itself yields two churches, St. Barbara and St. Constantine, a Roman funerary relief with inscription, and a classical epitaph.

### 3. Monastery (?) of St. Barbara

A large stone-vaulted construction 32 m long, with a main apse, pentagonal on the exterior in the thirteenth-century Trapezuntine style, was described by D. C. W. in 1962.<sup>21</sup> There are traces of associated buildings. It probably corresponds to Ioannides' monastery of St. Barbara, said to have had mosaics,<sup>22</sup> although only traces of wall paintings survive today.

### 4. Church of St. Constantine

This remarkable building was first noted by Hamilton: "The ruins of an octagon church, dedicated to St. Constantine, and the remains of a massive wall to the south of it, are probably the only evidence of . . . the former site [of Polemonion] . . . about a mile and a half to the east of Fatsáh."<sup>23</sup> Hommaire de Hell reported of Fatsa: "Tout près, à l'est, est une église assez remarquable, non loin d'une vallée et d'une rivière, qui portent, comme elle, le nom de *Polemona* . . ." Laurens' lithograph for Hell, reproduced in plate 44, and Hell's commentary provide the best evidence

we have.<sup>24</sup> Hell writes:

... une église qui présente une construction tout à fait étrange pour moi: elle est de forme octogonale; chaque face se compose d'un arceau à voûte cylindrique; les archivoltés de ces arceaux reposent sur des piliers ornés d'une petite corniche ayant la forme de la figure 6, et percés en A d'une ouverture formant passage et faisant communiquer sans doute à une petite galerie régnant autour d'une partie de l'édifice. Au-dessus des arceaux, les murs, tout en conservant la figure octogone, s'élèvent verticalement. Ils sont en ruines et ne permettent pas d'apprécier la naissance de la coupole qui recouvrait évidemment l'édifice. Cette construction, comme celles du Bas-Empire, est irrégulière. L'arceau qui donne entrée dans l'abside, et celui qui est immédiatement à gauche, sont plus grands que les autres. L'abside est de forme elliptique et percée de trois fenêtres ornées d'un chapiteau sculpté. Point de briques dans la construction: moellons grossiers. Les arceaux paraissent donner passage à des chapelles latérales, tellement détruites qu'on ne saurait s'en faire une idée. Restes de peintures byzantines: figures. Le dessous des archivoltés orné de dessins. Diamètre de l'église, 18 pas. Profondeur de l'abside, 14 pas.<sup>25</sup>

An approximate date for the building would be in the seventh to tenth centuries; comparisons for the masonry may be made with Dere Ağzı, the city walls of Ankara, Mesembria, and Bodrum Camii; for the cornice profiles with Dere Ağzı; and for the recessed apse with St. Nicholas at Myra, Dere Ağzı; and for the recessed apse with St. Nicholas at Myra, Dere Ağzı, and the Fenari Isa Camii.<sup>26</sup>

### 5. Funerary Relief (pl. 42, from photograph by D. C. W.)

Professor J. J. Wilkes kindly comments that it is a tombstone with relief of the deceased and Latin epitaph on a raised panel, measuring approximately 1.80 × 0.60 m. The top is gabled with a plain roundel in relief in the center. The relief figure shows the deceased on horseback, facing right. He is wearing a short tunic, loose leggings, and short cloak fastened at the shoulders; on his right side is a short sword or dagger. The horse has full trappings. The text beneath reads:

C·NVMERIO·  
MAIORI·DEC·  
VETERANO·  
TOSSIDENE PRO  
CLA·VIRO·SVO·ET·  
C·NVMERIVS MAIOR  
FILIVS PATRI H C

*C(aio) Numerio Maiori dec(urioni) veterano Tossidene Procla viro suo et C(aius) Numerius Maior filius patri h(eredes) c(uraverunt).*

"To Gaius Numerius Maior, decurion and veteran,

24. Hell (1846), II, 369, and the unclear sketch in pl. xx, fig. 6, which is lettered, referred to in the passage here quoted.

25. Hell (1846), IV, 393 and pl. xxxi (6).

26. Cf. Krautheimer, *Architecture*, pls. 111B, 112A, 112B, 113A, 113B, 129B, 137A, 141A. We are most grateful to Dr. Beat Brenk for discussion of the building and for views on its date, based on the lithograph reproduced in plate 44, but not on the commentary by Hommaire de Hell.

21. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 155–57.

22. Ioannides, *Historia*, 207.

23. Hamilton (1836), I, 270; cf. *PE*, I (1950) (see note 16), 207.

Tossidene Procla, for her husband, and the son Gaius Numerius Maior, for his father, saw to this being set up as heirs.”

The deceased had served in, and been properly discharged from, a Roman cavalry unit in which he had held the rank of troop commander. It is most unusual to find a military tombstone that omits any reference to the unit (presumably a cavalry ala) in which the deceased served, but this may be due to its being erected by his widow and son, instead of by fellow soldiers from his unit. Also noteworthy is the omission of any details of the age of the deceased.

The name Numerius is of Latin origin, as is also the cognomen Maior. The wife's gentilicium, Tossidene, is unusual and probably of local origin, although one hesitates to suggest any connection with Ptolemy's Sidene.<sup>27</sup>

Judging by the lack of abbreviations in the inscription, the tombstone appears to be early, and is unlikely to have been set up after the middle of the second century A.D. Since the deceased was a veteran, it is not evidence of a Roman cavalry station in the area, of which there is no record.

The tombstone is now in the Samsun Museum.

#### 6. Boloman Kale

This fortified structure stands on what was originally an islet, about 7 km east of the mouth of the Boloman Dere. Its picturesque site and appearance has always been noted by nineteenth-century and modern travelers, none of whom appear to have penetrated the castle to observe that the Ottoman house perched above it partly encloses a cruciform domed church (pl. 43a).

The castle is built on a roughly triangular wedge of rock about 65 m long, projecting into the sea, which has traces of a complete defensive walling on its perimeter. On the east side is a tiny but sheltered harbor. The walls, made of large roughly-shaped stones laid in regular courses in which the mortar has now been largely eroded by wind and sea, stand up to a height of 6 m on the landward side to the south. There is some evidence that the ground level within this enceinte was originally up to 4 m above the external level, for it is from this point that the church (fig. 19) enclosed in the castle structure rises.

The only parts of the exterior of the church that are now exposed are a section of a well-faced polygonal apse which emerges through the east wall of the castle, and the northern wall and door of the structure which opens on to a small courtyard (pls. 43b, 45b). This wall and the apse are made of large well-faced blocks of the local yellow limestone of the Chalybia-Sidene region which is also found in the church of the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond. In places in the footing of the north door the stone is inter-leaved with long tiles (including some roof tiles), but judging by the areas from which a modern facing of plaster and cement has fallen away, it seems that tile is rarely employed and that the blocks were laid with little or no mortar. A west door is blocked and the north door, the threshold of which is two steps above the ground and floor, is now the sole means of access. The present door is 2.10 m high but the original had an arch 2.76 m above

ground. Let into the exterior, 0.81 m above this, is a relieving arch of five voussoirs and two more blocks flanking it on either side. These stones have moldings of four rows of beading, recalling the decoration of the exterior of the apses of the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond. The ironstone step has a neat molding (pls. 43b, c).

The stonework of the interior is less well cut and is set in pebble mortar, except for the four cut stone arches which carry the dome rising from simple cornices and the two receding arches in the eastern bay. The interior has been plastered (for its conversion into a mosque, according to its owners, although no sign of this use could be seen), but beneath the plaster no evidence of wall painting was found. The floor was once paved but is now of concrete. In the eastern, and only, apse there are two small windows, each about 1.77 m from the raised bema and about 1.40 m high, one roughly central and the other facing northwest. High above the west and north doors are small windows (the western of which is now blocked). The four pendentives are geometrically near-perfect, but the dome (which rests entirely upon them) is very shallow (pl. 43c). The exterior of the dome can be seen in the attic of the house now adjoining and surrounding the church. It is a rough mass of mortar and has been entirely stripped of any facing it may once have had.

The castle is surmounted, between the church and southern walls upon which it perches, by the finest early nineteenth-century Ottoman house in the region (pls. 43a, 45a). This house is built entirely of wood and its saloon and miniature kiosk are decorated with charming paintings of seascapes and with good wood carvings. In 1836 Hamilton reported that the castle was called Hayar (i.e., Kaya) Kale and belonged to an Ali Bey;<sup>28</sup> ten years later Hell noted that it and the little palace belonged to Ahmed Bey, a relative of the pasha of Çarşamba.<sup>29</sup> This pasha was the famous Osman Hazedaroğlu, who was also pasha of Trebizond (1829–42).<sup>30</sup> Today the castle belongs to the family of Arğun Kademoğlu Bey, great-great-grandson of Osman Pasha, to whom we are indebted for permission to survey the church and for other kindnesses. According to family tradition, the *selamlık* above the castle was built by Osman Pasha's father, Süleyman Zade Hazedaroğlu of Çarşamba, pasha of Trebizond from 1811, as a guest house. His main residence was the palace he built above the castle in Ünye.<sup>31</sup> The house of Boloman Kale consists basically of only one floor, standing 5 to 6 m above the present exterior ground level on what must be about 4 m of solid fill above the rock. The owners speak of certain finds in this fill beneath the floor, but it would be unwise to place much reliance upon this hearsay evidence.<sup>32</sup>

28. Hamilton (1836), I, 270.

29. Hell (1846), II, 369–70.

30. Cf. Bryer, *BK*, 26 (1969), 191–210.

31. See page 102.

32. Reported finds included two coins which, from their description, sounded as if they could be eleventh-century anonymous bronze; a Christian “token”; and skeletons lying beneath simple, apparently gabled, brick canopies, which were inscribed in “European,” not “Roman” (i.e., Latin, not Greek) characters. Further questioning revealed, however, that they were not in the “Lombardic” epigraphy employed by the Genoese, and that the only letter recalled was a “reversed L” or Greek Γ.

27. Ptolemy, ed. Müller, 873.

The chronology of the buildings on Boloman Kale is difficult to determine. The *selamlık* belongs to the first decades of the nineteenth century and the church, with its pentagonal apse, local limestone, and molded beading, may be placed more or less securely among a group of largely thirteenth- and fourteenth-century and largely imperial foundations in Trebizond, although its cruciform plan is unique in this context and area. But does the church antedate the castle walls? This must be the case in the section where the apse emerges through the walls and faced stone runs into the joint. However, the form of the church may have been dictated by that of buildings already existing in the south side, the foundations of which may lie in the fill beneath the floor of the Ottoman house which in turn stands 1.50 to 2.00 m above that of the adjoining and encompassed church. Except for the dome (which may have been stripped of its facing when the house was built, or, more probably, considering its shallow shape and absence of drum, entirely reconstructed in Turkish times), it is impossible to reach any wall of the church which is not exposed on the exterior without excavating beneath the house. A blocked west door and window show that it was once exposed, but there is no sign that there was a corresponding south door or window in what is now a decidedly dark building. It seems possible, therefore, that there already existed a structure and, perhaps, defensive walls on that side. Further conclusions than that would be unjustified.

The church and castle are not mentioned in any medieval source.

There are caves to the east and west of the castle.

7. About 1 km west of Boloman Kale, just inland of the delta of the Çalışlar Çayı, where a bluff rises on the west bank, is a cave noted by Hamilton.<sup>33</sup> In its walls there are artificial niches; it may conceivably have been a Hellenistic rock-cut tomb.

#### 8. Caves

Two caves, locally described as having been "Christian churches," lie about 1.5 km east of Boloman Kale in the cliff face beneath the present coastal road and just above the sea. The larger cave, to the west, is a natural cleft very carefully worked and chiseled, about 18 m deep. It is decorated with a single band of painting, about 1.25 m high, which runs right round the cave. The subjects have been damaged by fire or erased beyond recognition, although it was reported that pictures of "a woman and a fish" were visible until about 1965. There is a single layer of painting on prepared ground and the treatment of the surviving purple red and blue borders suggest that it could be medieval work subsequently varnished with an oil wash. A second smaller cave to the east and below the first is perilous of access and devoid of interest.

9. There are reports of a castle south of the gendarmerie station at Boloman. We have not investigated it.

33. Hamilton (1836), I, 271.

## Section IX

# SAURONISENA AND THE HINTERLAND OF POLEMONION

### DESCRIPTION

Two classical roads ran south from Polemonion into the Lykos valley. One went southwest to Neocaesarea. Its only staging post was Bartae, 30 *milia passuum* from Neocaesarea and 14 *m.p.* from Polemonion. For Bartae, Kiepert suggested Serkis, now Nefsiserkeş, near Kumru, 21.5 km southwest of Polemonion and 44 km northeast of Neocaesarea.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the fact that no modern track takes this route (which can never have been important), Nefsiserkeş is in the right area. Tarhan, however, reports a site at Kızılma Harap, just south of Kumru, which may in fact represent Bartae,<sup>2</sup> while D. C. W. notes the claims of Aybastı, which lies on a known route to Neocaesarea.<sup>3</sup>

The second road ran southeast to Nikopolis. Its staging posts from Polemonion were: Sauronisenā (ca. 33 *m.p.*, in dispute); Matuasco (16 *m.p.*); Anniaca (18 *m.p.*); and Nikopolis (18 *m.p.*).<sup>4</sup> The equivalent road today begins not at Polemonion but at Ordu, but was diverted only with the rise of nineteenth-century Ordu and the building of this new, military road which seems to have given Ordu its name. The old road would have run up the Boloman Dere, past Evkaf Köyü Kale (q.v.), and then crossed over to the present Ordu-Koyulhisar road at the most convenient point. A track still leads up a tributary of the Boloman Dere, past Hisarkaya (which suggests a local rock castle) and Akmescit (significantly the former Ak Kilise),<sup>5</sup> below the massive Gölköy Kilise Kale, and reaches the road at Gölköy itself. This is the only practical method of crossing over to the Nikopolis road.

Kiepert and Miller proposed Melet Hamidiye (now Mesudiye) for Sauronisenā (although it entailed greatly increasing the Roman mileage); a junction of the Melet Irmak for Matuasco; and Koyulhisar for Anniaca.<sup>6</sup> But these identifications must be modified with the comparison of relative Roman distances on the map.<sup>7</sup> Anniaca (in this

context, at least) must indeed be Koyulhisar but it is Mesudiye that is Matuasco and Sauronisenā falls at Gölköy. The Roman mileage is in fact very reasonable.

The later Greek name for Mesudiye (or Hamidiye) was Μελέτιος, Μελέτ, or Μήλας,<sup>8</sup> probably derived from the Μελάνθος (Melet Irmak)<sup>9</sup> which runs through it and down to Ordu. Perhaps Matuasco is also a garbled form of the same name.

The later Greek name for Gölköy was Χαράματα.<sup>10</sup> It is a communications center and market for summer grazers of some importance, 37 km from Mesudiye, about 100 km from Ordu and standing at about 1,000 m above sea level.

Sauronisenā is Ptolemy's Σαυρανία.<sup>11</sup> Ramsay pointed out that it probably corresponds with Strabo's Σινωρία.<sup>12</sup> A. A. M. B. is prepared to accept this identification; D. C. W., however, prefers Şebinkarahisar for Sinoria.<sup>13</sup>

Gölköy lies on the northern side of a wooded pass which divides the valley of the Melet Irmak from the tributary valleys of the Boloman Irmak and, eventually, the Pontic coastlands from the Lykos. The town itself is surrounded by gentle slopes where the Biçincik Dere valley widens to offer cultivable land. Above the town is a *tepe* (hill) on which, until 1957, stood a great *konak* (government house). The castle stands on the Aybastı track about 2.4 km beyond the remains of the *konak*, west-northwest at Kale Köy Pinar Mahalle, overlooking a tributary of the Boloman to the south. In terms of the modern road system, Gölköy and its castle are of no importance, but they would have effectively controlled the ancient road from Polemonion to Nikopolis at this point. We propose them as the site of Sauronisenā.

### MONUMENT

Gölköy Kale stands on a massive granite outcrop which projects east and at right angles to the valley for about 550 m.

1. Miller, *IR*, col. 669.

2. Tarhan, *Map*.

3. Tarhan, *Map*; local reports.

4. Miller, *IR*, col. 679.

5. Saltzes, *Kotyora*, map.

6. Miller, *IR*, col. 679.

7. From Polemonion to Mesudiye is about 84 km; Mesudiye to the crossing of the Melet Irmak about 13 km; the Melet Irmak to Koyulhisar about 12 km; Koyulhisar to Pürk (Nikopolis) about 35 km. But from Polemonion to Gölköy is about 47 km; Gölköy to Mesudiye about 37 km; and Mesudiye to Koyulhisar about 25 km.

8. The unsigned *Türkiye Turizm*, 5 (27) (August 1965), 54 (with illustrations).

9. Arrian, 23; Miller, *IR*, col. 647.

10. Saltzes, *Kotyora*, 32; *Türkiye Turizm*, 5 (27) August 1965), 55.

11. Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, 874.

12. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 56; Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 28.

13. See page 35. Sinoria was one of the most notable of Mithridates' supposed seventy-five strongholds, "close to the borders of Greater Armenia, and this is why Theophanes changed its spelling to Σινωρία" (i.e., "border land"): Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 28.

At its widest it is about 180 m across. The interior is roughly rectangular, divided by levels (the only determinants) into what may have been inner, middle, and outer baileys. The only entrance (to the outer bailey) is at the narrow isthmus at the west end where the castle meets the valley side. Most of the rock sides, particularly on the south and southwest, stand sheer for up to 150 m, requiring no more than curtain walls. The rock itself is roughly flat-topped, with a stone outcrop running along its spine; the castle encompassed the entire bluff of about five acres. The principal surviving walls are at the three most vulnerable areas where the rock is not sheer: the isthmus about 80 m wide to the west; an area to the southwest of the isthmus; and the eastern end where, although steep, the lower projection of about 100 m is walled off, enclosing the inner bailey.

The gate at the west-northwest corner is reached by rock-cut steps rising at right angles to it and below a semicircular bastion. The gate is about 3.5 × 5.5 m on the exterior and opens into a short tunnel with a roughly vaulted archway and a large arched niche on the west side. The voussoirs of arch and vault have disappeared; they seem to have formed a semicircle. The arch of the niche is formed of flat stones employed in the manner of bricks, a hole in the reveal on either side of the gateway must have carried a stone lintel or massive beam. There are holes for smaller beam emplacements across the inside of the door space. On the interior and exterior of the wall, at the point of the gateway, are traces of up to five rows of beam holes, for headers, which do not run right through the structure. The headers are at intervals of about 1.50 m vertically, and of about 0.50 m horizontally. There were no signs of stretchers within the thickness of the wall (2 to 3 m), but they may have been present. At their highest point, near the gate, the walls stand up to a height of 10 m.

In all parts of the castle the walls are of regular courses of roughly-faced, nearly square blocks, alternating with smaller wedges of stone with substantial pebble-and-lime (but no tile) mortar and a core of mortared rubble well laid in and tamped down with few air spaces, now as hard as rock.

Bastions of roughly semicircular shape are at the east-southeast and west-northwest corners, and others punctuate the curtain walls. They are hollow and their internal structure seems to have been entirely of wood. The bastions in the southwest section enclose what was (probably correctly) pointed out as a *hamam*.

In the middle bailey, near the southern side, is a large rock-

cut cistern with masonry vault, through which there is an opening. Despite the name Gököy Kilise Kale, sometimes attributed to the site, there is no trace of a church, nor is any to be found in the vicinity, although the area was inhabited by Greeks until recently.<sup>14</sup>

The eastern curtain wall runs almost straight across the rock promontory and is punctuated by three solid semicircular bastions and a larger hollow one. The stonework is very similar to that found elsewhere, but the two or three courses of header holes, set here 1 to 1.5 m apart, run right through the walls, some containing clay pipes. It is possible that they were built for musket or rifle fire—the wall, which has no surviving gate, overlooks the valley road—and that this structure is later in date than the rest. The walls here stand to a height of 6 m.

It is very difficult to hazard a date for the rest of the surviving walls. On independent visits, neither A. A. M. B. nor D. C. W. noticed Ottoman or Byzantine sherds, but fragments of ridge tiles and the high quality of the mortared rubble core of the walls suggest to D. C. W. an Early Byzantine or earlier date. He ventures that the hill at Gököy proper, where the *konak* stood, might represent Roman Sauronisena; that the occupation, like in many other cases, removed thereafter to a fortified site on Gököy Kale, which represents Byzantine Sauronisena; and that the town returned to its original site in Ottoman times.

While not disagreeing with the general lines of this hypothesis, A. A. M. B. formed the impression that some of the defenses, particularly on the eastern and southern sides, could be quite late. It is possible that the castle was used until the early nineteenth century by local *derebeys*<sup>15</sup> to command the road to the sea and that it was abandoned only with the last feudal risings of the 1830s–40s and the building of the new road to Ordu which bypasses it. This does not contradict the fact that some of the defenses of the castle, particularly around the gate, are probably Byzantine or earlier.

The site is an object lesson in the difficulties of assigning a date without the more usual constructional indications and in the absence of literary sources.

14. Saltzes, *Kotyora*, 32, lists twelve local Greek villages with a total population of 955 Christian families.

15. Papamichalopoulos (1902), 284. See now Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402)," *AP*, 35 (1978), 344 and note 2, who proposes Gököy as the *ospitokastron* of the Hacı emir in Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73.

## Section X

# THE CENTRAL LYKOS

The lower Lykos (Kelkit), before it joins the Iris (Yeşil Irmak), is touched on in the section on Neokaisareia. The upper Lykos is described in the section on Cheriana and the problem of Arauraka. The central Lykos never lay within the lands of the Empire of Trebizond, but its great and enigmatic castle at Koyulhisar, and its surrounds, cannot escape notice here.

### SITUATION

The Lykos valley narrows eastward and above Neokaisareia into impressive gorges, which never allow it to open out again to the extent of the wide plains of Phaneroia. The next sizeable broadening of the rift is at Reşadiye. Further east, the valley breaks up again into the gentle slopes and alluvial stretches of the Koyulhisar region. The west end of the Koyulhisar valley is marked by a large rock, called Aşağı Kale. Despite its name, there is no trace of walling on it, although it is strewn with sherds. There is a bridge and a ruined *han* below Aşağı Kale.

At the east end of the valley the river makes a bend to the south to flow round a spur of the mountain chain. The spur is crowned by a castle called Yukarı Kale. The modern bridge over the Lykos lies below it. There are ruins of piers of two earlier bridges, of which too little masonry survives to hazard dates. The modern town of Koyulhisar lies to the west of the castle, but appears to have no antiquities. Nevertheless the reasons for a settlement in the area are long-standing and obvious. Like Neokaisareia, its surroundings are fertile, and it stands on an important road junction. In this case the Polemonion and Kotyora routes meet the Lykos road from Sebasteia to Nikopolis here.

There was in the district a Roman station, Anniaca, which ought to be sought somewhere on the edge of the alluvial plain. But there is no doubt that the important medieval site was the castle above Yukarı Kale Köyü.<sup>1</sup>

### MONUMENT (pls. 46–48a–c)

The spur upon which Yukarı Kale is built starts as a thin neck which rises from the river valley and broadens into a wide shoulder, topped by a plateau. This shoulder narrows into a neck once again, and then widens out into a second shoulder, with gentle slopes, about 50 m higher than the first. The second shoulder has the remains of a curtain wall around it and must have formed the southern, outer, bailey of the castle. On the south side of this shoulder, the ground again rises steeply to a citadel. Little of the citadel is left standing, save for the lower part of a tower which enclosed a barrel-vaulted chamber. The masonry of the tower consists of rough stone, laid in random courses with the flat face outwards. The outer surface is heavily pointed with lime mortar. On the east side was a rectangular room, with a doorway which may have served as a postern.

North of the citadel the ground drops to a northern bailey. It was roughly triangular in plan, with the apex to the north, where the ridge of the spur was closed off by a main gate. This was the most substantial remaining part of the fortifications, and was no doubt always the strongest defense work, for it is the only part which is easily open to attack. The masonry is strengthened throughout with stringers and tie-beams, laid at close intervals through the walls.

There are ruins of two barrel-vaulted rooms, built up against the west wall of the north bailey. A semicircular projection from the west wall must have been a kind of bastion or buttress.

There is no sign of Roman, or earlier, occupation of the site. The castle may have received attention in the sixth century, or have been one of the unnamed strong points of Armeniakon or Koloneia. The present ruins would not contradict a Byzantine date. But they were no doubt added to in later times: by the Akkoyunlular from whom Mehmed II took Koyulhisar on his way to Trebizond in 1461, and by the Ottomans themselves before the castle was destroyed in the late eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

1. Miller, *IR*, col. 679; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 290–95.

2. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 290–95.

## Section XI

# CAPE JASON

### DESCRIPTION

Cape Jason is the most substantial promontory east of Sinope, projecting 14 km into the Euxine and culminating in three points: Jason itself in the west, Genetes in the east and the headland now called Çapraz Burunu in between. The promontory is mountainous and offers excellent shelter on its east coast. The old road, probably the road of the *Itineraria*<sup>1</sup> and followed, for example, by Kinneir,<sup>2</sup> runs more or less direct from Polemonion to Kotyora across the neck of the promontory; in the Middle Ages and, as Hamilton discovered,<sup>3</sup> until recently, the sites of the coast were best reached by sea. Today a coastal road has replaced the inland route, but the interior of the promontory, hidden from both, has never been properly investigated. Almost in the center is the village of Fernek. Pasiades,<sup>4</sup> followed by Saltzes,<sup>5</sup> suggested this as the site of Φαρνάκεα or Φαρνακία. According to Arrian (who is here followed by the *Anonymous periplus*), Kerasous was renamed Pharnakeia.<sup>6</sup> Other classical geographers regard the two places as distinct and Strabo states that Pharnakeia was settled from Kotyora.<sup>7</sup> Apart from

1. Miller, *IR*, fig. 211.

2. Kinneir (1813), 321–24.

3. Hamilton (1836), I, 263–65. Other visitors have been: Beauchamp (*Relation*, 1796), II, 133; Rottiers (1820), 241; Stuart (1850), 520. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 619. Joanne and Isambert (1861), 520, probably follow earlier reports, rather than constitute independent notices. The most puzzling report is the most recent: Williams (1966), 297: “Round the point [i.e., Çam Burunu], just before Perşembe, with a background of tremendous mountains, I made out a big church on a low promontory with trees and a house behind it and three columns on a little plateau higher up. There is no mention of this in the guide books, perhaps because it is unapproachable by road.” The author saw the site from the sea and appears to be describing Cape Jason, but he has misplaced it; it is approachable by road.

4. Th. N. Pasiades, Περιφέρεια Κοτυώρων, *PPh*, 1 (9–10) (November–December 1936), 2–4.

5. Saltzes, *Kotyora*, 11–12.

6. Arrian, 24; *Anonymous periplus*, 34.

7. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, III, 17–19. Cf. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (American Philological Association, Monograph 14) (place? 1952), 160. Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, I, 867, places Pharnakia between Kerasous and Trebizond, but, as Müller points out, Ptolemy’s account is defective here. Strabo also states that the town was walled, that it was near Sidene (i.e., Polemonion) and Chalybia, that iron was mined there in his day and silver in the past, and that the *pelamydes* fish are caught off it first (that is to say, they are large enough to catch at this point in their Euxine gyration).

Arrian’s possible error, there is nothing against Pasiades’ identification and Fernek may well repay field investigation, which we have not made.

The western point of the promontory is a low-lying spit between the modern road and the sea, called τὸ Ἰασόνιον Ἄκρον or Ἀκρωτήριο, or Ἰασόνιος Ἄκτῆ; τὸ Ἰασόνιον (in Panaretos); Diassoni, τὸ Διασόδι, or Νάσι in the portulans and, inexplicably, the “cape of Stephan” in Evliya.<sup>8</sup> It retains the name of Yasun Burunu today. It has always, and naturally, been assumed that the name is a memory of local Argonautical exploits, but it is curiously ignored (let alone listed among the several sites to which Jason gave his name) by Apollonius of Rhodes.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the only link between Jason and the cape that was made in classical times was by a later interpolator of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* who remarks (without foundation in Argonautical tradition) that Jason anchored there.<sup>10</sup> Is it perhaps possible that Cape Jason is no more than a classical rationalization of an earlier and unconnected name?

Jason was more than a cape. Skylax mentions an acropolis of Ἰασονία;<sup>11</sup> Kinneir was told that “there are still to be seen the remains of an ancient city”<sup>12</sup> there, and Hamilton landed on the cape in the hope of finding further than the evidence for one or more medieval churches which in fact stood there;<sup>13</sup> and Bzhshkean named it “Khoriatk Kale” (“Horyat Kalesi”)<sup>14</sup>—almost certainly a confusion with Hoynat Kale, for the name is not now found there. Persistent reports that there is a site inland from Yasun Burunu are probably justified by the ruins at Bayadı and Kiliseyanı and others which can be seen from the cape but which have yet to be investigated.

The cape itself was a religious center of some significance. A conspicuous church on it has long been a landfall for

8. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 87; Panaretos, ed. Lampides, 72; Strabo, *Geography*, XII, III, 17; Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 33; Ptolemy, ed. Müller, I, 867; Evliya (1644), II, 40.

9. The temple of Jasonian Athena, the Jasonian road, and the Jasonian spring: Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, Book I, lines 960, 988, 1148.

10. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, VI, II, 1; and comment by C. L. Brownson in the Loeb edition (London, 1932), 196–97.

11. Skylax, 88.

12. Kinneir (1813), 323.

13. Hamilton (1836), I, 269; Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 32.

14. Bzhshkean (1819), 58; trans. Andreaşyan, 36.

coastal and Crimean shipping.<sup>15</sup> The Grand Komnenos Alexios III celebrated Epiphany there in 1357.<sup>16</sup> Clearly there were a number of churches in the area, of which the Theotokos or Panagia (probably a monastery) and St. Andrew are most often mentioned.<sup>17</sup> The latter may, however, be the present church on the headland, built in 1868 and published elsewhere.<sup>18</sup>

Between Cape Jason and Boon, Arrian names an Island of the Cilicians (Κιλίκων νῆσος),<sup>19</sup> corresponding exactly with the island of Hoynat Kale, 4.5 km east of Cape Jason, lying off the point where the modern road enters a tunnel (pl. 50b).

The eastern cape of the promontory was called Γενήτης, after a local people, and, according to Apollonius of Rhodes, a temple to Zeus stood there.<sup>20</sup> There was also a river Γένητος,<sup>21</sup> which may correspond to the modern Çaka Dere. The classical name did not survive; in one portulan the cape is called κάβο Τένες, but more often it has been called Cape Boon (τὸ ἀκρωτήρι τοῦ Βουνά).<sup>22</sup> Today it is named Çam Burunu, perhaps after a tree which once marked it.

The southern section of the east side of the promontory affords, as many classical and modern commentators have pointed out, what is probably the best anchorage on the entire Pontic coast. Hamilton observed that “it is considered the best winter harbor on this side of Constantinople, preferable even to that of Sinope, on account of the greater depth of water.”<sup>23</sup> The cliff falls nearly sheer into the sea, which is 10 fathoms deep within 300 m of the exiguous beach. There is no real scala but a small settlement has always provided and watered sheltering shipping. In the twelfth century the place had some importance, both commercially and as an embarkation point against the Türkmens.<sup>24</sup> The paternal family of St. John, iconophile bishop of Gotthia (ca. 755–ca. 791) came ἐκ τοῦ Βωνός (or Βονοστοῦ) τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Πολεμόνιον κειμένου λιμένος ἐκ τῶ θέματι τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν.<sup>25</sup> In the peripli it is called Βοών, latinized as

15. Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 494 note; *Black Sea Pilot*, 402.

16. “The Feast of Lights”: Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72.

17. Bzhshkean (1819), 58; trans. Andreasyan, 36; Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 45; Ioannides, *Historia*, 207; Hamilton (1836), I, 269: “one large building was pointed out, which the sailors called a monastir, but it was evidently the ruin of a Greek church, to which some adjoining buildings had once been attached.”

18. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1971), 237–42, with plan. The date was inscribed on a stone, which had gone by 1970. We understand that Turkish newspapers reported vandalism on the site in June 1977.

19. Arrian, 23.

20. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, Book II, lines 378, 1009.

21. *Anonymous periplus*, 32.

22. Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 33.

23. Hamilton (1836), I, 269; *Black Sea Pilot*, 403: “Vona limani affords the best anchorage on this coast; though exposed to winds from between north and east-southeast, it is stated that such winds rarely blow home. Violent squalls, however, may be experienced during offshore winds, and these should be guarded against. Numerous sailing craft, which cannot be hauled up on the various beaches, winter in this bay.”

24. Vryonis, *Decline*, 161 note 169.

25. The version in the 1st edition of the *ActaSS Iunii*, V, 190 (26 June), cited in Tomaschek, *Kleinasiensien*, 80. However, the 3rd edition gives a different wording and the alternative version (Bonostos) of the name: *ActaSS Iunii*, VII, 168; cf. 163: *urbs . . . ignota geographis*. See also Vasiliev, *Goths*, 89–96; and, for another Pontic connection with the Church of Gotthia, the Sinopitan inscription on p. 75.

Bona Portus.<sup>26</sup> In Idrisi it is “Byna”; in Clavijo “Leona” (as with Βαθῦς—“Lovati,” the Italians gave it a definite article); on the portolans “Lauona” and Λεόνα;<sup>27</sup> and Evliya calls it “Wúna,” “where the largest ships can anchor at any time.”<sup>28</sup> Today it is called Perşembe, but the local names of Vona and Vonalimani are still commonly used.

Κοτῶρα is the next great classical site on the coast. There is no doubt that modern Ordu stands on, or close to, the ancient site, but it is equally certain that there is little or no continuity of settlement with it. Kotyora probably did not survive the classical period. Originally founded by Sinopitans, it had already greatly declined by Arrian’s day, is misspelt by Strabo, and is unknown to the compilers of the *Itineraria*—although it lies on an important classical road.<sup>29</sup>

Kotyora follows the pattern of other Greek colonial settlements. It stands at the head of a route inland; two wide deltas to the east provide ample food supplies; and its sheltered beaches are overlooked by an acropolis, Boz Tepe. That the route inland is an ancient one is suggested by the fact that not far south of Ordu are the ruins of a castle with a cistern tunnel which, like so many other examples, is probably Pontic work. Neither author has visited it, but a party of British engineers at Ordu reported that the tunnel is several hundred feet deep and has a T-junction at the bottom with horizontal cuttings.

Nor have the authors investigated the Boz Tepe of Ordu, for it is now a military base. But nineteenth-century commentators are no doubt right in locating an acropolis there; in Bzhshkean’s day it was crowned by a church of St. George. As for the harbor below, Hamilton observed that “some remains of an ancient port, cut out of the solid rock, are still visible.”<sup>30</sup> They are not visible today.

With less justification, other commentators have located ancient Kotyora at Bozuk Kale (“Ruined Castle”) on a small headland 4 km north of Ordu, but the remains on this minuscule site are entirely medieval.<sup>31</sup>

It seems clear that the histories of Kotyora and Vona are linked and that the focus of settlement in the area moved, when or after the colony failed so early, to Vona and then back to Ordu. In the late Middle Ages, when settlement in the Kotyoran area was represented only by a small castle on the sea, Vona would have been much more secure from Türkmen raids. With the return of security in the nineteenth century, the Kotyoran area was resettled as Ordu, which rivaled Vona for over a century before becoming the major town.

But the origins of Ordu are an enigma. It appears in no

26. Arrian, 23; *Anonymous periplus*, 32; Miller, *IR*, col. 647; Rottiers (1820), 241.

27. Idrisi, ed. Nedkov, 96–97, and note 302 on p. 147; Clavijo (1404), 109; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648–49; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 33. Mistakenly following Le Strange, in Clavijo (1404), 350 (note 5 p. 109), Bryer identified Leona with Polemonion in *AP*, 24 (1961), 104.

28. Evliya (1644), II, 40.

29. As Κύτωρος; Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 17. Cuinet, *Turquie d’Asie*, I, 84, mentions an inscribed brick and a sizeable “Byzantine” fort on the hill behind Ordu, but it is impossible to verify medieval continuity of settlement because the site is now in military hands.

30. Saltzes, *Kotyora*, 8; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 37; Hamilton (1836), I, 267.

31. E.g., Pasiades, *PPh*, I (7–8) (September–October 1936), 7; and in the modern Turkish tradition.

medieval, or even portulan, source; the earliest reference to the name, which means "army," which we can find is in 1813, when it was already a large village. Hence, suggestions that it is named either after the *Fatih's* army or after the road which the Turkish army built south to Sivas after 1861, must be ruled out.<sup>32</sup> The road, coupled with the current "re-Hellenization" of the commercial towns of the coast, is responsible, however, for the remarkable late-nineteenth-century expansion of Ordu, if it does not account for its name. Ordu became the final residence of the wandering metropolitans of Neokaisareia and local antiquarians (who founded such schools as the famous Psomiadeion of Ordu) revived the name of Kotyora, almost two millennia after the site and name of the old Greek colony had been forgotten. But it was an artificial name, and ordinary Greeks still called the place Ordu.<sup>33</sup>

A modest element of continuity between ancient Kotyora and modern Ordu is provided by Bozuk Kale, i.e., "Ruined Castle." It may well be the "small castle built on a height beside the sea, and the name of this is Santo Nicio,"<sup>34</sup> noted by Clavijo soon after he saw the (now lost) castle of Boon. But later portulans add two more dedications: S. Tomao, Santhomas, Ἅγιος Θωμᾶς, and Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος.<sup>35</sup> Whatever the name of the place, it seems to have been no more than a late medieval Trapezuntine stronghold.

#### HISTORY

The Jasonian promontory must have passed to the Türkmens of Limnia between 1357 and 1404—when Clavijo found it under the control of an emir Artamir (II ?).<sup>36</sup> But Boon remained an important anchorage, which probably explains why Clavijo was told that the Genoese had raided its castle in 1400, and the area remained essentially Greek. Evliya remarks that "the mountains are interspersed with well-cultivated Greek villages. . . . The inhabitants are known by the name of Wuna Greeks and Turks."<sup>37</sup> There were a number of villages, such as Φερνέκ, Πολατλή, Τέκκια, and Boon itself on the promontory, which remained Greek until modern times.<sup>38</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Cape Jason

Close to the modern road, on the seaward side, are extensive remains of domestic buildings, perhaps associated with

32. Kinneir (1813), 323–24; Saltzes, *Kotyora*, 14; Joanne and Isambert (1861), 520; local tradition reported to D. C. W.

33. Oikonomides, *Pontos*, 36–37; Papamichalopoulos (1902), 283–92; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 236–37. The Psomiadeion has now been destroyed, but its adjoining church of the Hypapante survives as a prison.

34. Clavijo (1404), 109. Cf. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 619.

35. Tomaschek, *Kleinasiens*, 80; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 33; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 105.

36. Clavijo (1404), 109; Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 72. There were already hostile Turks in the region in 1357, for fourteen of them were killed by the then Grand Komnenos: cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 130.

37. Evliya (1644), II, 40.

38. Named as Greek villages in Salses, *Kotyora*, 31–32 and map; there were 320 Greek families on the Cape itself. But the villager who took D. C. W. to Kiliseyanı stated that the only Greeks in the region in recent times had been the monks of Cape Jason. That there had been a monastery on Cape Jason is certain, but it was already in ruins in 1836, and the church of 1868 is not a monastic one.

the monastery of the Theotokos. The walls of one almost square building stands in parts up to the beam-holes and windows of a third story. There is abundant tile in the masonry, but the tiles are too small and the walls too thin to justify a Byzantine date. Local sherds are post-Byzantine.

On the east side of the peninsula is a well-preserved brick-and-tile kiln. It is a domed circular structure, with an internal diameter of 3.34 m. The interior is faced with thirteen courses of exceptionally well-cut stone; the exterior has a rougher facing.

Until the 1860s the most conspicuous monument was a Byzantine church,<sup>39</sup> later replaced by an equally conspicuous church, dated 1868, which stands almost in the center of the peninsula. Inserted in its walls are two blocks of yellow limestone carved with differing guilloche patterns on a diamond net (pl. 49a, b). These blocks obviously came from an earlier building and their pattern is comparable to those depicted by Hell in the castle of Tripolis<sup>40</sup> and to other examples in Trebizond. The ground around is rich in sherds of Byzantine graffiti and plain earthenware.

North of the church of 1868 is an isthmus which is 35 paces wide from east to west; it is scarred by considerable rock cutting. One cutting is roughly in the shape of a rectangle and might be a salt pan.<sup>41</sup> A depression in the soil across the isthmus suggests that the rock might have been cut right across it to separate the northern end of the peninsula into a more easily defensible islet.

To the north of the isthmus the cape is about 170 paces north-south by 80 paces at its widest point east-west. The ground is more or less a level plateau from 4 to 5 m above sea level and is enclosed by a boundary wall, the foundations of which can be seen in the turf. On the east, and sheltered, side (the prevailing winds are from the northwest) is a small bay where skiffs might have moored, but no larger boat could have approached the peninsula since there is a flat rock shelf extending for about 50 meters into the sea on all sides and only about 50 cm below the water.

It is impossible to date the arrangements on the isthmus; there is no reason why they should not be classical.

About 70 paces south of the tips of the peninsula are the foundations of a church. Three apses can be distinguished. The scale is about 12 × 8 paces. Hell, who visited the site twenty-two years before the nineteenth-century church was built, describes "les débris d'une église grecque, dont la forme est rectangulaire avec trois absides, vers la pointe extrême du cap";<sup>42</sup> this is probably the same building, its ruins demolished to incorporate the stonework in the new church.

The soil of the peninsula is liberally strewn with fragments of brick and ridge tiles and with earthenware sherds. Among sherds found near the church were those of a fine dish with blue glaze and gold patterning, akin to Syrian thirteenth-

39. Joanne and Isambert (1861), 520.

40. See plate 73.

41. There are rock-cut oil and wine presses below Koralla (see plate 87a), and on Kilise Burunu, near Tripolis (illustrated in Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 [1966], 255 and plate 12). Pontic oil presses are discussed, and seven weight stones illustrated, in Anderson, *SP*, I, 14–16.

42. Hell (1846), I, 370.

century work. But the salt air and spray has disintegrated most glazes.

This site is no doubt medieval, although it may not necessarily be the conventual church of the Theotokos. Clearly there were several churches on the cape. It was variously reported to us on different visits that there were four, twelve, and even thousands more churches. We can vouch for two more Byzantine sites (described below); an exact description of the whereabouts of a third was given us, and a fourth, on a hill several kilometers to the south, may be seen through binoculars.

## 2. Bayadı Köyü

The scattered village of Bayadı lies over an area of a few kilometers along the western peninsula of the cape. The road runs by a small bay west of the first group of houses and Koca Burunu, a small peninsula. About 15 m above the road to the south, where the road skirts the bay, are three sections of brick and stone masonry.

Most of the facing stones have been robbed, but the thickness of the wall can be judged to have been about 1.20 m. The masonry is banded with three courses of ridged tile alternating with four or five of stone.<sup>43</sup> The remaining facing stones are roughly-squared rectangular blocks and narrow headers which band into the core. The ridged tiles run right through the thickness of the wall, but broken fragments are used in the mortared core and they are not so evenly placed as on the exterior. The proportion of mortar to tile varies from parity to about two of mortar to one of tile. The mortar is made of lime, sand, and small pebbles; the rubble core is well laid in with few gaps.

Not enough of the three pieces of walling is left to determine the nature of the structure. By local tradition it had been a church (pl. 49c).

The banded brick and stone courses are uncommon in the Pontos and are unknown to us in any building dating from the time of the Empire of Trebizond. The good quality of the masonry suggests a Byzantine date.

## 3. Kiliseyanı

A part of Bayadı village called Kavrayalısi lies about 2 km west of the western peninsula of Cape Jason along the coast road. Twenty minutes' walk uphill south of the road are the ruins of a church in the middle of a hazelnut grove. The nut groves here have dense undergrowth and the site would be difficult to find without a guide.

Only the west and north walls stand, to a height of about 4 m. It is difficult to judge the original thickness of the walls since all the facing stone has gone, but they were more than a meter thick. The setting bed indicates that the facing was made up of large neat rectangular blocks laid in regular courses. The core of the walls is mortared rubble, with a mortar of lime and a great quantity of pebbles. It is well laid in but there are a few gaps between the stones. There are some brick and tile fragments among the mortared rubble. The tiles are 2–2.5 cm thick and the bricks 3–4 cm thick.

At one point in the north wall there are a number of

broken ridge tiles and bricks, arranged in such a way as to suggest that there may have been a brick arch for a door or window. The mortar beds are roughly of the same thickness as the bricks and tiles.

The church probably had three apses, but dense undergrowth make it impossible to tell, or to photograph the structure. The dimensions are roughly 10 × 20–25 m. A large oak growing inside the ruins cannot be less than a hundred years old. The church is probably Byzantine or Trapezuntine.

Although the name of the site is locally explained as having the Armenian suffix “-ian,” it almost certainly indicates that the church is Greek and dedicated to Ἁγίου, the Pontic St. John.<sup>44</sup>

About 100 m below and to the southeast of the church is a water source, surrounded by paving and still in use. Probably the facing of the church consisted of ashlar blocks similar to those of the paving. The rounded arch over the pool is faced with thin blocks of stone, set in a manner which recurs in the Nakıp Camii, in the Hagia Sophia, and in a building in the citadel in Trebizond. The last vestiges of a well-paved track and steps between the water source and church are rapidly disappearing. The masonry of the church and water sources may well be contemporary.

## 4. The Island of the Cilicians

About 5 km west of Çam Burunu lighthouse by the modern road lies a rocky island, Hoynat Kale, separated by about 20 m of water from a steep promontory, through which the modern road tunnel runs (pl. 50b). The island has sheer sides, apart from the southern, or landward, side. Except for this side there is little need of walls and little trace of them. Such walling that survives consists of rough stones set in random courses with a smooth outward surface. Near the southern end of the island is a small barrel-vaulted building with masonry in regular courses and a stone or rubble vault—except that, viewed through binoculars, the half-dozen courses at the crown of the vault appear to be brick. In the west wall are three recesses which might be beam holes. No other structures are visible on the island.

The purpose of these walls is problematical. It is unlikely to be an island fort because the habitable slope of the land is tilted toward, and entirely exposed to, the higher mainland promontory, from which it would not be safe. The island—rocky and exposed to the prevailing northeast winds—is a highly unsatisfactory anchorage. It is too distant from Çaka bay to the west to serve as a guardian fort. Its use as a signal station is strictly limited by Yasun Burunu to the east and Çapraz Burunu (which has no trace of ruins) to the west. Its small size, difficulty of access, and lack of command over the surrounding area make it an unlikely candidate for an archontic castle.

Perhaps the most reasonable explanation of the ruins on the Island of the Cilicians is that they represent one of the monastic foundations which, by tradition, are supposed to

43. For other examples of banded masonry, see pp. 73 note 39, 79, 110.

44. Another site on the coast east of Tirebolu is called Kiseyanı, which may also be a Kiliseyanı: Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt.* 12 (1962), 153, suggest that it might represent a monastery of “St. Anne or of the Virgin.” But St. John is more likely—cf. the “Ayana” of St. John, Vazelon. Pasiades and Saltzes do not identify the Jasonian site.

have existed on Cape Jason. The site is eminently suitable for an eremitic life of fishing and mortification, but for little else.

#### 5. Boon castle

The castle, which we have not examined, is noted by Clavijo: "Here was a castle that stood by the seashore, crowning a rocky promontory, but now abandoned with no one inhabiting it."<sup>45</sup> Evliya observes that "the castle is of a round shape and stands on a hill by the seashore, but it is not strongly garrisoned; the gate looks to the east"<sup>46</sup> (i.e., toward the sea).

The castle cannot be seen from the modern road, which climbs above Boon. It was perhaps a small Trapezuntine fortress or watchtower, erected on classical foundations, and possibly the residence of a *kommerkiarios* or similar officer who would regulate merchant shipping sheltering in Boon bay.

#### 6. Bozuk Kale

The castle of St. Nikias (?), St. Thomas (?), or St. Theodore (?), is in the shape of a three-fingered hand stretching into the

sea (fig. 20, pl. 50a). The columnar basalt rock<sup>47</sup> upon which it is built is no more than 50 paces wide and is connected to the mainland by an isthmus no more than 12 paces wide, which affords a little shelter for skiffs on either side. The entire rock was originally encircled by walls. The outer walls can now only be traced on the west, southwest, and northwest, but stand up to 3.5 m in the northwest. Here masonry is a rough fill with abundant lime, sand, and pebble mortar. The walls, which are up to 1.5 m thick, stand on the bare rock. At the point where they reach the isthmus, to the southwest, there is evidence (in the form of footings and depressions in the ground) of an entrance to the west and of a circular tower or bastion to the east. Immediately above the entrance is a grassy knoll, the highest point of the castle, with the footings of an almost square keep. The masonry here is not so rough, but the facing either never existed or has been robbed. There are traces of tiles in the mortar. The walls are about 0.94 m thick.

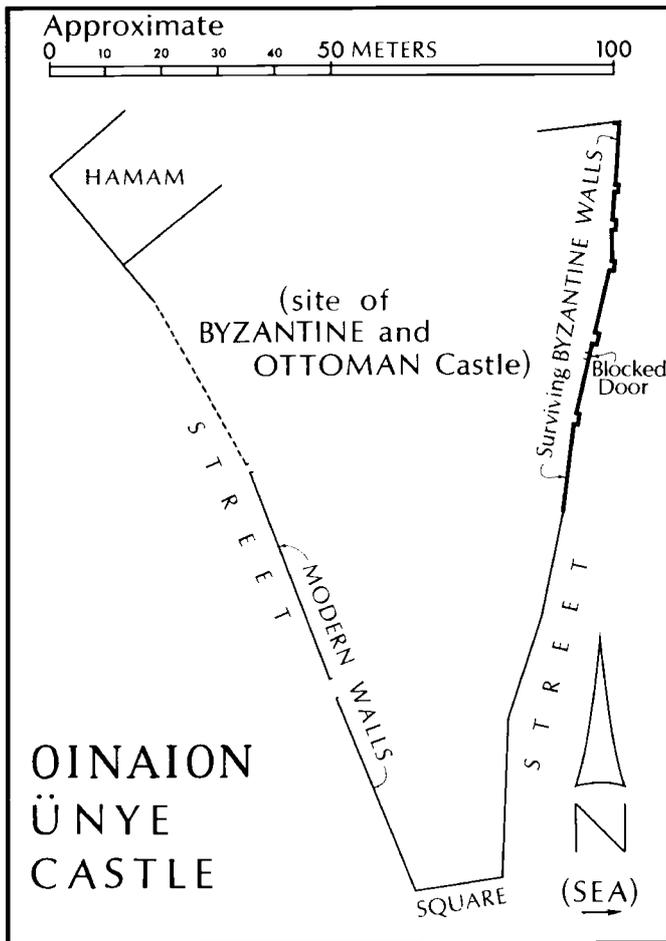
The castle and keep are probably Trapezuntine. Papamichalopoulos states that in his day there were also ruins of a church on the adjoining Kilise Burunu.<sup>48</sup>

45. Clavijo (1404), 109. It no doubt stood on the site of the castle mentioned at Boon in the *Anonymous periplus*, 32.

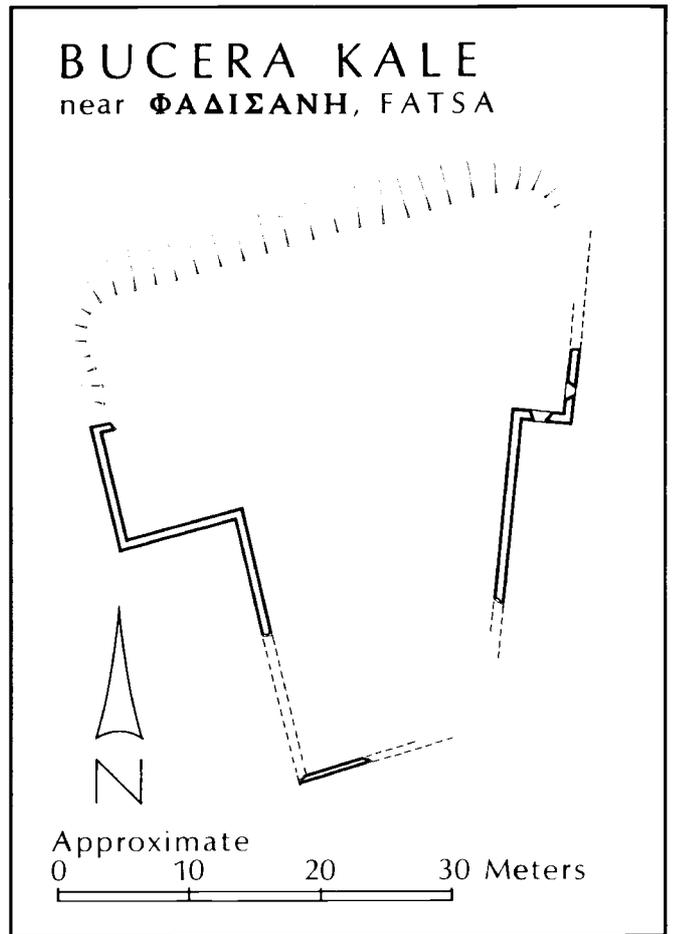
46. Evliya (1644), II, 40. Cf. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 139.

47. Cf. Hamilton (1836), I, 267.

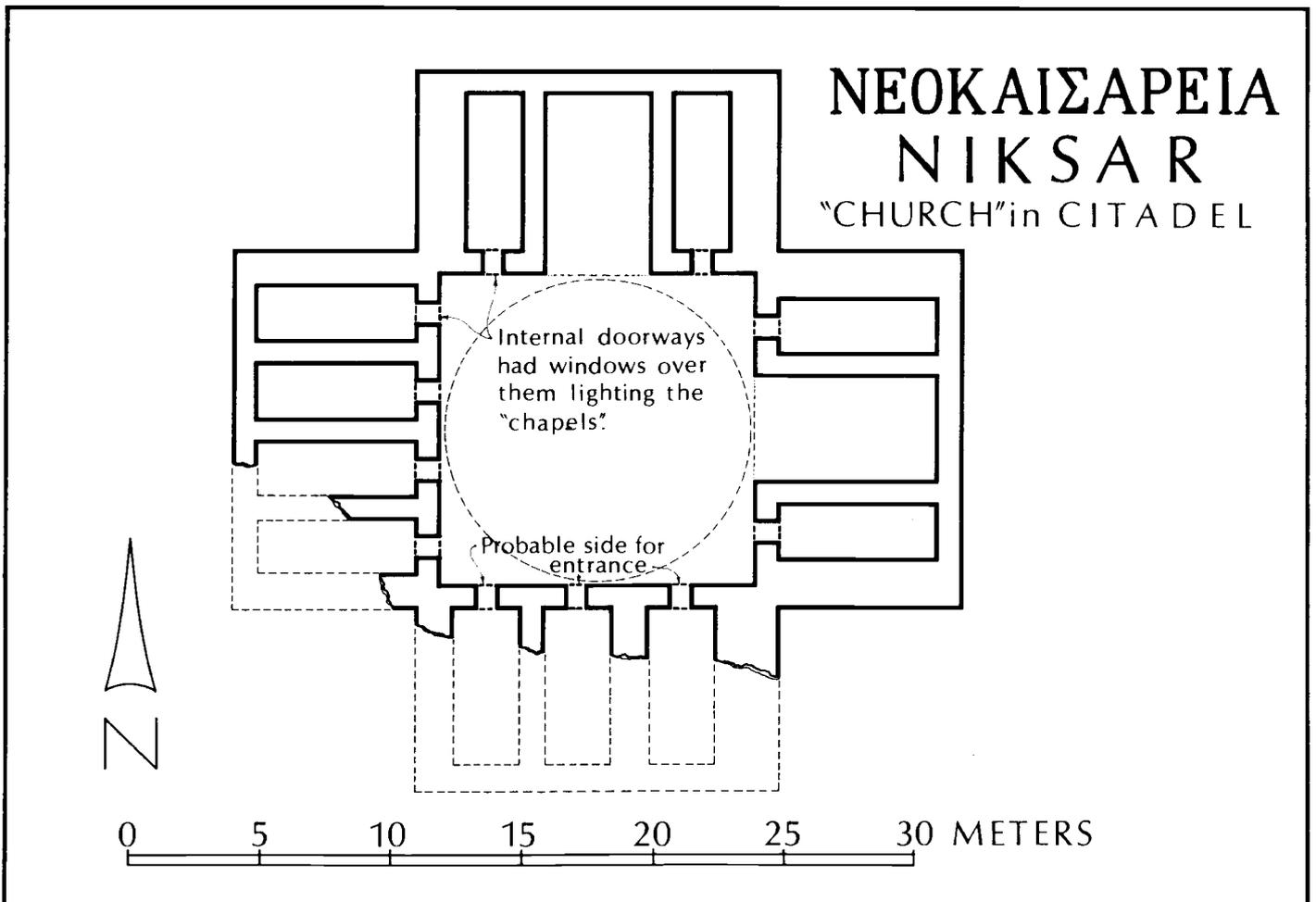
48. Papamichalopoulos (1902), 285.



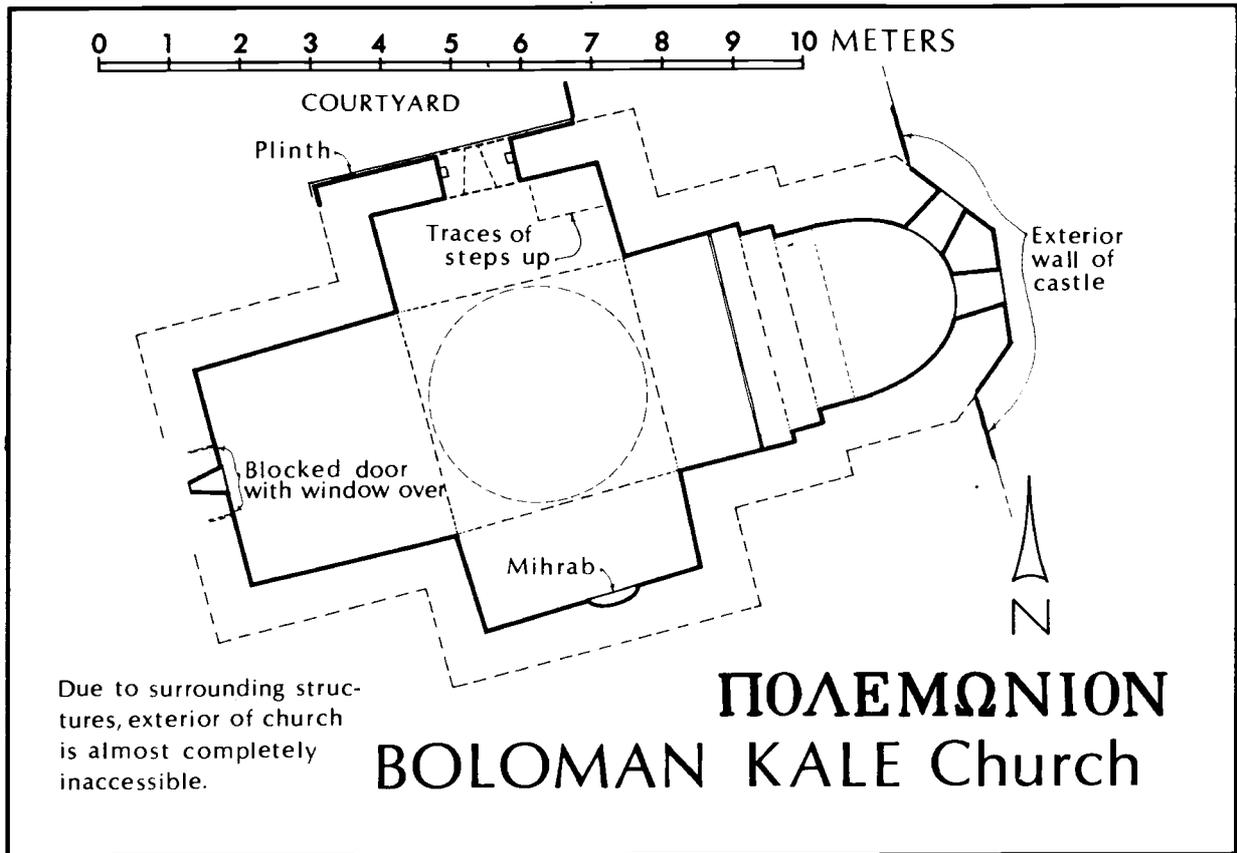
16. Plan of Site



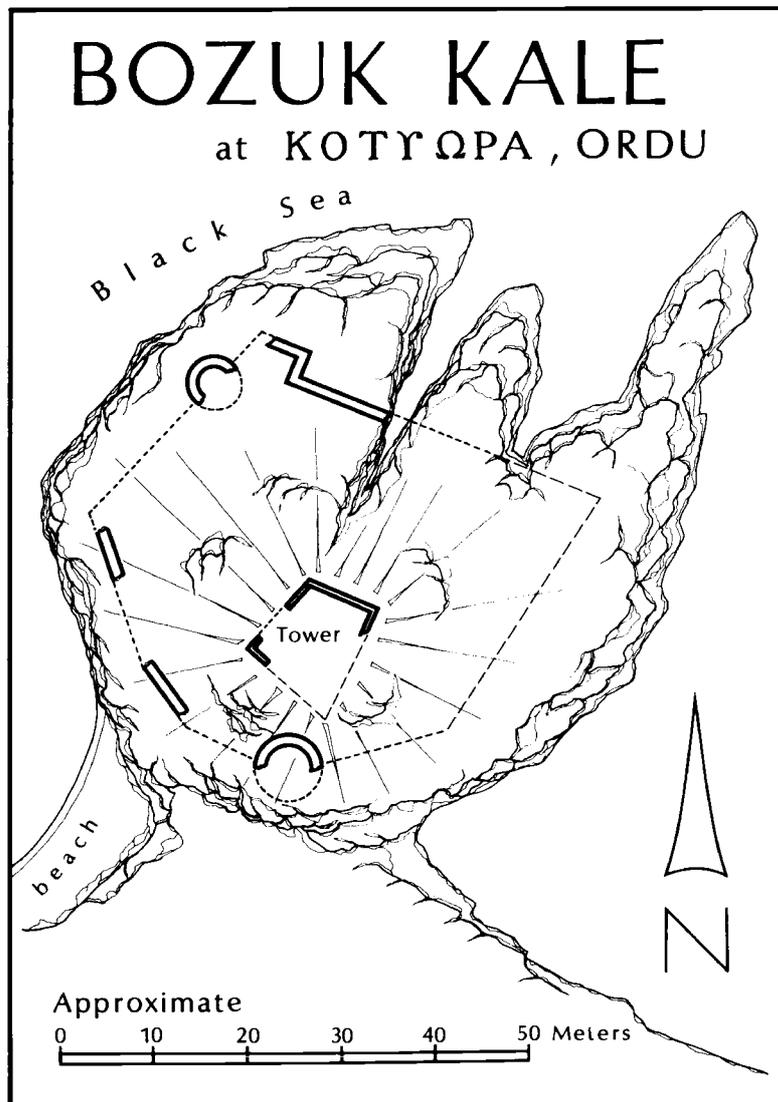
18. Plan



17. Plan



19. Plan



20. Plan of Site

## Section XII

# FROM THE MELANTHIOS TO THE PHARMATENOS

### DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATIONS

The 45 km of coastland between Kotyora and Kerasous is curiously featureless and even today is a sort of no-man's-land between the much more densely populated areas of Ordu and Giresun. The wooded interior, where the monstrous Mosynoikoi once lurked, is devoid of evidence for classical or medieval places. The stretch is bounded by two wide rivers which come down from the mountains to break the monotony: the Μελάνθιος (Melet Irmak)<sup>1</sup> to the west and the Φαρματηνός (almost certainly the Bazar or Pazar suyu)<sup>2</sup> to the east. Until very recently they had to be forded and ancient settlement might therefore be expected near their mouths, where they cut through the classical coastal route. But one searches in vain for a continuity of settlement comparable to that west of the Melanthios or east of the Pharmatenos. True, there is Ἰσχόπολις, which may perhaps be represented by the rock-cut tomb, described below, just east of the Pharmatenos ford. But Ischopolis was in ruins even in Strabo's day,<sup>3</sup> which makes Tomaschek's suggestion that it gave its name to Schifi (and variants of that name) on the portulans unconvincing.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the Melanthios (Melet) itself, a river name, no classical name has survived.

Whatever the classical and Byzantine settlement pattern had been, and one suspects it to have been sparse, a completely fresh situation is revealed by portulans from the early fourteenth century. They record four completely new names along the coast, at least one of which (Bazar, Pazar) must date from recent Türkmen infiltration down to the coast and only two of which (Bazar and St. Basil) survive today.

From west to east, the four new settlements were Schifi, Bazar, Omidie, and St. Basil. Schifi, Sciffi, Scifi, Schiffi, and Squify, has a definite variant in Sechin, Σοκή, and Σεκίστι; it is called ἡ Στίβη in a late and unreliable portulan.<sup>5</sup> It evidently stood at the Melanthios ford, perhaps on the western side of the river mouth. Its name does not survive. Originally the name may have been something like Σκυφί, suggesting a place in a small bay or bowl of hills—the fact that even in its last, seventeenth-century recording it is not prefixed with an

I—argues that it is a Greek, not a Turkish name.<sup>6</sup>

Bazar, Baçar, Baççar, Μπαζάρ, or τὸ Πουτζάλι,<sup>7</sup> by contrast almost certainly a Turkish name, doubtless stood at the Pharmatenos ford at the mouth of the Bazar suyu, probably on the site of Piraziz (formerly Bazar, Pazar).

Omidie, Omidio, Omidoe, Oemide, Honudia, Doe nudie, Ova diä, Homidia and variants, is the most puzzling. Despite the fact that it appears as ἡ Μήδεια in a late portulan (and even as Νικομήδεια in another), Tomaschek's suggestion that it is in fact ὁ Μηδείας [λιμήν] must be no more than a happy notion, for the Greek definite article cannot be expected to be so firmly attached to a name (especially in a confusing gender). Kretschmer's opinion that the place was in fact the Boz Tepe of Ordu is equally impossible.<sup>8</sup> The portulans narrow the site down to the 14 km between Bazar and St. Basil; hence, modern Bulancak (formerly Akköy, which gave its name to the whole district) is the only and obvious site for it. Balabanes argues, improbably, that Bulancak was originally Περαντζάκιν, a diminutive of Pera,<sup>9</sup> although Perantzakin would be better a diminutive of a name like Περάντζα. It is possible, we suggest instead, that Omidie could be the otherwise unidentified settlement of Ἀμμώδιον in the district of τοῦ Πουτζέα (which, more curiously, has not been identified either and is not heard of again, suggesting an area lost to the Trapezuntines at a very early stage), mentioned by Lazaropoulos in connection with the events of 1222.<sup>10</sup> If so, Ammodion perhaps took its name from the sandy beaches of this shore, like Cypriot Ammochostos-Famagusta. But A. A. M. Bryer now withdraws his proposal that Omidie, if not Ammodion, may have given its name to the earliest Akkoyunlu Türkmen, called Ἀμιτιώται Τοῦρκοι in Panaretos.<sup>11</sup>

6. For geographical reasons, it cannot be Σκαφία (now İskefiye), near the Holy Cape, with its monastery of the Taxiarchai, ruined in Triantaphyllides's day (*Phygades*, 45). An example of the prefixed I- in a word like this is σκουφί ("skullcap"; Pontic σκούφα), which becomes Turkish "İskefe."

7. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 33; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 105–6.

8. See previous note.

9. G. Balabanes, Πόθεν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Πουλαντζάκης τοῦ Πόντου, *PPh*, 3 (27) (1938), 108–11. Cf. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 136–37.

10. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 122.

11. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 133–34. Cf. Cahen, *P-OT*, 363–64. For a contrary view, see now Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402)," *AP*, 35 (1978), 340–41.

1. Arrian, 23; *Anonymous periplus*, 34. Cf. Kinneir (1813), 326; Hamilton (1836), 266.

2. Arrian, 24.

3. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, III, 17.

4. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80.

5. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 33; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 105.

The fourth and most easterly new name to emerge in the portulans is the headland, settlement, and nearby mountain of St. Basil (S. Vasili, Scē Uassilli, San Uaxilli, Vaxilli, Uassilli, San Vasilli, San Vasilli, Uasili, Ἅγιος Βασίλη or Ἅγιος Βασίλειος)<sup>12</sup> clearly modern Ayvasil Burunu and equally clearly a Greek name.

These names were known to Bordier in 1609, but his account is confused and does not help much. He places the mouth of the “Melante” near Kerasous, names the promontory of Kerasous “Squify” and explains that the headland of Tripolis was called “Pharnacia” and the place itself “Homidia”—although, to add to his problems he claims that local Turks still called Tripoly Trapelous in his day.<sup>13</sup> His is our last reference to Schifi (Squify) and Omidie (Homidia); the fact that he misplaces the names might hint that they were already passing out of his informants’ use. Tournefort (1701) noted no place or name between the Melanthios and Pharmatenos, and Evliya (1644) only “Baihssa Bazari.”

#### MONUMENTS

1. In 1958 D. C. W. was shown a rock-cut and evidently classical tomb just east of the Pazar Suyu delta and about 100 m south of the coastal road (pl. 51a). He was told that metal objects found inside had been sold in Istanbul.

2. We have not explored the hinterland. The summer station of Ordu is Cambaşı, 40 km up the Turna suyu. It had a number of churches, probably of the nineteenth century when the place was a thriving Greek center,<sup>14</sup> but we were told that none survive today. Near Erikçuru, close to Gerçe, on the east bank of the Turna suyu and about 20 km from the coast, Saltzes notes an “archaeological site” on his map, and the British 1:250,000 map of 1901 marks a “Khaled Oghlou Kalessi” in about the same position.

3. Dikmen Tepe is a striking conical mountain, about 519 m high and 3 km inland, which overlooks Kerasous (bearing

12. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 238; II, 33; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 106.

13. Bordier (1609), 115–16.

14. Saltzes, *Kotyora*, 104; Ioannides, *Historia*, 216; Triantaphyllides, *Pintika*, 138.

88° from its eastern summit) about 10 km away. It has naturally excited comment. The identification of Kenchrina with Dikmen Tepe, proposed by Paulides and Kiepert, is discussed elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> Paulides suggests that there was a monastery of St. Basil on it, during the later Tourkokratia at least.<sup>16</sup> D. C. W. was reliably told by a local inhabitant that there was a castle there, so A. A. M. B. climbed it in 1971, finding very little beneath its thick undergrowth. The eastern of the two summits is higher. Here there are possible traces of a dry-stone watchtower—certainly not a castle—a well of indeterminate age, now degenerated into a pool, remains of comparatively modern plastered buildings, and a double-vaulted springhead or small cistern (pl. 51b). The masonry of the latter is of mortar and irregular stones, except in the vaults where they are arranged like brickwork. It is difficult to hazard a date for this: it is possibly medieval but is more likely to have been associated with the supposedly later monastery of St. Basil.

4. Below Dikmen Tepe are Ayvasil Burunu and Batlama (Çitlakkale). At the beginning of this century there were ruins of a chapel of St. Basil on Ayvasil,<sup>17</sup> of which no trace survives. In Batlama there was a church of St. George and (a little to the west of it) a chapel of St. Constantine.<sup>18</sup> The ruins of one of these, or of a small fort, were noted by D. C. W. before they were destroyed with the building of the new coast road. They stood on an isolated rock, about 10 m above sea level and a few meters inland.

5. In 1957 a castle was reported to D. C. W. at Şihli Köyü, Bulancak kaza, Piraziz nâhiye, from which “sculptures” were said to have been taken to Istanbul. We have not visited the site.

15. See p. 135 below, and *Black Sea Pilot*, 404. Kiepert, *ZGEB*, 25 (1890), 321, citing Ioannides, *Historia*, 216, refers to a supposed walled town with churches, half an hour southeast of Bulancak. It appears to be no more than Dikmen Tepe.

16. P. Paulides, Πάτλαμα καὶ Πουλαντζάκιον, *ATP*, 2 (1866), 181; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 75: “les ruines d'un monastère ou saint Basile et saint Grégoire ont pratiqué la vie ascétique.”

17. Papamichalopoulos (1902), 283; Paulides, *ATP*, 2 (1866), 180–83, 195–98.

18. Oikonomides, *Pontos*, 36.

## Section XIII

# THE CITY AND DISTRICT OF KERASOUS

### DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATIONS

Κερασούς, Κέρασος, Κερασσοῦς; the Quirissonda, Cirisonda, Guirisonda, Chirizonda, Chirisonda, Chressona, Crixonda, and ἡ Κερασούντα of the portulans, can be no other than the great basalt promontory now called Giresun.<sup>1</sup> Confusion among early geographers has, however, led the more fastidious of nineteenth-century commentators to find up to three places called Kerasous: one (most dubious and based on Skylax) west of Sinope; one (less dubious, for, although based on the admittedly unreliable distances given in Xenophon, is backed by the anonymous periplus and has what may be a modern survival in the name Kireşon) just east of Vakfikebir; and a third, somewhat improbably, “in a valley a short distance from the modern city”<sup>2</sup> of Giresun. Kerasous-Kireşon is a fair possibility, but for Kerasous proper there is no need to look any further than Giresun.<sup>3</sup>

There is a stronger argument (based on Strabo, Arrian, and the *Anonymous periplus*) that the place was for a while named Φαρνάκεια by Pharnakes I or II, and that it reverted to its old name later.<sup>4</sup> The curious versions given in the *Itineraria* (Carnasso, Parnasum, Parnason, and Eisnoson)<sup>5</sup> certainly suggest a confusion, if not an amalgam of the two names, but we have suggested elsewhere that Pharnakeia may have been a separate foundation in the interior of Cape Jason.<sup>6</sup>

The promontory projects almost 1,000 m into the sea, rising to 129 m at its highest point at the northeast corner (pls. 52–54a, b). The ancient and medieval walled city lay on the west side on a steep slope crowned by a keep. The main

harbor (with signs of an ancient mole, now a hazard to shipping, to the northwest) still lies on this side, but there is a smaller *skala* on the east. About 500 m northeast of the promontory is a shoal and rock given the name of τῆς Παλαμιδᾶς in a portulan and now called Palamut (Palamida) kayaları.<sup>7</sup> Appropriately, it was at Kerasous that Strabo states that the tunny (*palamud*) running from the sea of Azov, became large enough to catch.<sup>8</sup>

The fortified island of Ares (ἡ Ἀρητιάς νῆσος or Ἀρεώνησος, which retained its ancient name in the Middle Ages),<sup>9</sup> lies 4.2 km east-northeast of Giresun. It is now known as Giresun (or Puga) Adası. It was here that, according to Apollonius of Rhodes, the Argonauts encountered both the Amazons and flocks of vicious birds; they sacrificed at a roofless temple of Ares of which, if in fact it existed, there is today no trace.<sup>10</sup> A monastery dedicated to either the Ἐλεούσα or St. Phokas of Sinope, stood on the island.<sup>11</sup>

The Girapno, Giraprino, or Zeraprino of the portulans<sup>12</sup> presents more problems. The only portulan to describe its precise position states that the κάβο τοῦ Γεπάριμμο stood 10 miles from Kerasous and 20 from Tripolis.<sup>13</sup> This brings us to Κασσιόπη (now Keşap), which is not, however, a cape but a settlement with a now abandoned argentiferous lead mine.<sup>14</sup> The portulan does not mention Cape Zephyrios to the east and there is perhaps a confusion with it; other portulans name both Girapno and Cape Zephyrios. No portulan appears to mention the island of Ares by that name, and Bryer therefore once proposed that Girapno might be a rendering of the Ἀρητιάς νῆσος.<sup>15</sup> On reflection, however, we believe that Tomaschek's proposal that the name in-

1. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 234, 238; II, 33–34; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 100, 106; A. H. Mordtmann, *Anatolien* (Hanover, 1923), 405; and, for modern Giresun, the *Giresun II Yilligi 1967* (Ankara, 1968).

2. Vailhé, s.v. “Cerasus” in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, following, e.g., Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 618. Ruge, s.v. “Kerasous,” *RE*, insisted on all three. See Skylax, 89; Arrian, 24; *Anonymous periplus*, 34; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, iii, 2; iv, 1; vii, 16–30; Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 17; Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, 867; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 833–38; and here, p. 152.

3. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 174, was among the first to dismiss the notion of a wandering Kerasous. Cf. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 35. We have not seen B. A. Mystakides, *Μία Κερασούς ἢ δύο; Καὶ τούτων ἡ πρός Α. ἢ πρός Δ. ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξενοφάντος μνημονευομένη*, *Εὔξεινος Πόντος*, 2 (Trebizond, 1893), 290–92.

4. See note 2, and Diller, *Minor Greek Geographers*, 160.

5. Miller, *IR*, col. 647.

6. See p. 119.

7. Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 33–34; *Black Sea Pilot*, 404.

8. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 19.

9. *Anonymous periplus*, 36; Arrian, 24; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76. The island eventually gave its name to Ἀρητιάς, a weekly Greek periodical of Kerasous (1910–15).

10. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, Book II, lines 1080–1230.

11. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 82–83; Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), 138–39; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 75; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 834.

12. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 80; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648.

13. Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 237–38.

14. Ioannides, *Historia*, 218; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 67–68. The Greek for Keçi (Geçi) Burunu was Ἄκρον Αἰγός, but both this and Kassiope (for Keşap) seem to be 19th Hellenizations of Turkish names, rather than survivals of older ones.

15. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 106.

dicates a ἱερὰ πρῖνος (i.e., "Holy Oak")<sup>16</sup> is more, but not entirely, satisfactory—it is surely more likely to be a γέρο πρῖνος (i.e., "Old Oak"). The question is complicated by the fact that Constantine Porphyrogenitus states that 500 Armeniak soldiers, respectively from Πλατάνιον and ἡ Πρίνῃ, took part in the Cretan expedition of 911.<sup>17</sup> If Platanion is Platana (now Akçaabat), the port just west of Trebizond, the possibility that ἡ Πρίνῃ (albeit in the feminine) is another coastal station in the Pontos, our Girapno or Girapino, is therefore strong.

Ὁ πρῖνος is not an ordinary oak, but the small bushy Pontic oak associated with an important export of the region, cochineal. In fact we now know that the Pontic substance was neither cochineal proper nor a herb. It was kermes, a brilliant red dye for silk, which was an expensive and much sought-after alternative to "grana" (another cochineal substitute). Kermes is made from the dried bodies of the female *Coccus ilicis* which clings to the twigs of the oak. The substance was well known to Pegolotti in the 1340s, and in 1434 there were specific instructions to Venetian shipowners to buy it in Trebizond.<sup>18</sup>

We suggest that Gerapino (and variants) may be associated with a local export of kermes dye, which may also have been used in preparing the stuffs which the *Book of the Eparch* names as a product of Kerasous.<sup>19</sup> If it is also identical with the Prine of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, it is unlikely to have been the island of Ares. There is indeed fresh water on the island but it is not a particularly convenient place to station five hundred Armeniak troops. One must therefore look for a, probably fortified, site near and to the east of Kerasous. The only site between Kerasous and Cape Zephyrios which is appropriate is Gedik Kaya Kalesi. Although this identification is not entirely satisfactory, Gedik Kaya Kalesi has a sheltered bay and anchorage below it and is, rather than Kerasous, the coastal terminus of the route to Koloneia. We tentatively propose it as the site of a place that seems to have been known as "The Old Pontic Oak."

There were at least two other monasteries in Kerasous or its district. The monastery of St. George, in ruins by the nineteenth century, lay beneath the Gedik Kaya summits.<sup>20</sup>

16. Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 81.

17. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*, Bonn ed., I, 656 (not in ed. Vogt); cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II (1) (M. Canard, *La dynastie macédonienne*) (Brussels, 1968), 201, 204; and Ahrweiler, *Byzance et Mer*, 107 ff. The comparatively low pay of these troops suggests that, despite Constantine Porphyrogenitus' heading, they were unlikely to have been cavalry.

18. See Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, iv, 11; Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 182–83; II, 1074; *The Book of the Eparch*, ed. I. Dujčev (London, 1970), 39, 166, 247, 273, 289; A. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500–1100* (Princeton, 1951), 93; Pegolotti, ed. Evans, 119, 123, 144 f., 416, 420; W. Gell, *Narrative of a journey in the Morea* (London, 1823), 183; Thiriet, *Régestes*, no. 2349. Significantly, it was prepared with alum. On the confusion between kermes and "grana," see D. V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (London, 1956), 111–14; and R. J. Gettens and G. L. Stout, *Painting Materials* (New York, 1966), 123.

19. *Book of the Eparch*, ed. Dujčev, 39, 166, 247, 273, 289.

20. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 45; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 74. It is identified on R. Kiepert, *Karte*, AV.

The remains of the chapel at Gedik Kaya Kalesi probably correspond to it. The second monastery was in Kerasous itself and was dedicated to St. Epiphanius. In 998 Patriarch Sisinius II (996–98) granted Nicholas, metropolitan of Alania, a typikon for the monastery of St. Epiphanius, to which a memorandum was added in May 1024.<sup>21</sup> The Alan mission had begun in the early years of the tenth century but had not been initially successful. The typikon and its memorandum is our only evidence for the existence of Metropolitan Nicholas and the monastery, but the Church of Alania became inextricably entwined with those of Trebizond and Soterioupolis, long after the Alans had gone.<sup>21a</sup>

Before examining what archaeological evidence there is for the whereabouts of the monastery of St. Epiphanius, it would be as well to record the literary evidence for another religious site in Kerasous, a fourteenth-century hermitage on its "Heights." Andreas Libadenos (who incorporated in another work two brief *ekphraseis* of Kerasous, neither of which are very informative)<sup>22</sup> addressed two letters to the anchorite and hieromonk Gerasimos, ἐν Ὑψηλῷ τῆς Κερασσοῦντος, probably before and after 1341.<sup>23</sup> The temptation to identify this hermit with the monk Gerasimos of the supposed Trapezuntine monastery of St. Euthymios the Great in Jerusalem, who may (if it is dated correctly and is not a forgery) have drawn up his will on 18 November 1344, must be resisted.<sup>24</sup> All that can be gleaned from Libadenos is

21. G. Ficker, "Das Epiphanius-Kloster in Kerasus und der Metropolit Alaniens." *BNJhb*, 3 (1922), 92–101; N. A. Bees, "Ἡ ἐν Κερασσοῦντι μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης Ἀλανίας Νικόλαος," *AP*, 16 (1951), 255–62. On the subsequent fate of the metropolis, see p. 244.

21a. See pp. 348–50.

22. Libadenos, *Periegesis*, ed. Parankas, 36, 42; ed. Lampsides, 71–75, 101–4; O. Lampsides, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς βίον καὶ τὰ ἔργα Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ*, *AP*, 29 (1968), 213.

23. N. Banescu, "Quelques morceaux inédits d'Andreas Libadenos." *Βυζαντις*, 2 (1912), 362–63, 380–84; Lampsides, *AP*, 29 (1968), 187–88, 242 and note 2. τὸ Ὑψηλόν, or ὁ Ὑψηλός, is one of the places which have been associated with the famous Pontic, and later Phanariot, family of Hypsilantes (Xiphilinos?), but see S. Skoroteas, *Οἱ Ὑψηλάνται. Ἡ Τραπεζουντιακὴ καταγωγὴ τους*, *AP*, 20 (1955), 154.

24. The will looks genuine enough and there is indeed another indication of a Trapezuntine monk in Jerusalem in 1391, but it raises too many problems to be accepted without doubt for what it purports to be: 1. It has been variously dated to 1144, 1344 and 1444. 2. The refounder of the monastery is described as τῆς δεσποίνης ἐκεῖνης τραπεζοῦντος κυρίας Ἄννης τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου, assuming a porphyroγενete epithet never otherwise claimed by a Grand Komnene or Komnenos, and not described with the usual Trapezuntine titles. 3. If the document is dated to 1144 or 1444 (which is, in any case, improbable), no empress Anna corresponds with this patron. If it dates to 1344, the patron could be Anna Anachoutlou, who had been a nun before she briefly occupied the Trapezuntine throne in 1341–42. She was, however, strangled in 1342 on the orders of one of her successors, John III, whose father (Michael) was reigning in 1344. The will is testified by John Doukas Trichas, imperial *apokrisarios* and logothete of the household—presumably of the Emperor Michael. Anna's deeds are unlikely to have been approved by a member of Michael's government (who is, in any case, otherwise unknown to Trapezuntine sources). 4. The will is also testified by an otherwise unknown Arsenios, patriarch of Jerusalem, and by three other bishops whose names and titles present similar problems—for example, there is a bishop of Bethlehem

that he held the old hermit in high esteem, regarding him as a suitable confidant for his grouses about the Trapezuntine political situation, and that Gerasimos also wrote letters to Libadenos.

John Eugenikos eulogized the conveniences which the Pontos offers hermits<sup>25</sup> and it would normally be futile to identify a particular hermitage. But the chapel and excavations, described below, on the striking twin rock of Gedik Kaya point to a hermitage and even "The Heights." In the nineteenth century the chapel was regarded as Byzantine and retained a little sculpture and wall painting.<sup>26</sup> Alternatively "The Heights" may indicate the summit of the acropolis of Kerasous itself. Bees stated that "it is said that the ruins of the monastery of St. Epiphanius are on the acropolis of Kerasous"<sup>27</sup>—apparently without authority, although there are reports of more than one religious site on the acropolis.

One chapel, on the north slope, is post-medieval and has been published elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> But Bees may be referring to a cave chapel, reportedly with wall paintings, below the summit with its rock-cut wells and "amphitheater" and above another deep well, noted by Schultze and Cuiet.<sup>29</sup> We were at first unable to find it,<sup>30</sup> but in 1964 D. C. W. located the site, which is described below (p. 132). It could mark either the monastery of St. Epiphanius or the hermitage of Gerasimos, or both; there is no evidence to make the proposal more than tentative.

Finally, soon after leaving the island of Ares, the Argonauts passed the Φιλυρηίδα νῆσον. There is indeed an unnamed rock lying about 3 km offshore between the island of Ares and Cape Zephyrios, but Hamilton surely credits Apollonius Rhodius with an improbably detailed knowledge of local geography by identifying this rock with the Argonauts' island.<sup>31</sup>

nearly half a century before that Orthodox see is otherwise known to have existed. 5. No monastery of St. Euthymios seems to be otherwise attested in Jerusalem. The famous monastery of St. Euthymios at Khan el Ahmar, 13 km west of Jerusalem, was devastated in the 12th century and is last mentioned in 1177. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *AIS*, I, 245; II, 254–57; the same in *IB*, II, 368; V. Grumel, "Titulature des métropolitains byzantins. II. Métropolitains hypertimes," *AOC*, I (*Mémorial Louis Petit*) (Bucharest, 1948), 174; Polemis, *Doukai*, 185; Grumel, *Chronologie*, 452; P. E. D. Riant, *Études sur l'histoire de l'Église de Bethléem*, II (Paris, 1896), 80 and note 3; S. Vailhé, "Saint Euthyme le Grand," *ROChr*, 12 (1908), 183–88; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 514–45.

25. Lampsides, Ἰωάννου Εὐγενικοῦ Ἐκφρασις Τραπεζοῦντος. Χρονολόγησις καὶ ἔκδοσις, *AP*, 20 (1955), 30–31 (stanzas 9–10), written probably between 1444 and 1449. Cf. Bordier (1609), 127.

26. Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 74; Schultze, *Kleinasien*, II, 184.

27. Bees, *AP*, 16 (1951), 262.

28. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 233–35. The 19th-century church of the Metamorphosis stood on the west of the peninsula. The Armenian church was dedicated to Surb Sarkis (St. Sergios). A chapel stood on the coastal road, probably near the eastern harbor; it is illustrated in M. Blanche, "The lame mayor of Kerasund," *Asia*, 22 (1922), 285–90, 328.

29. Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 74; Schultze, *Kleinasien*, II, 185.

30. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 133.

31. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, Book II, line 1232; Hamilton (1836), I, 261.

## HISTORY

Like all Greek colonies on the Pontic coast (except for Amisos, which claimed Ionian, probably Miletan, settlement) Kerasous was established by Sinope and was part of its empire. Pharnakes took Kerasous after capturing Sinope in 183 B.C. It fell to Pompey in ca. 64 B.C. but was not incorporated into the Roman Empire proper for another century. Between ca. 64 B.C. and ca. A.D. 64 it was successively part of the fiefs of Deiotarus of the Tolistobogii, of Darius son of Pharnakes, and of Pythodoris widow of Polemo.<sup>32</sup> The massive lower courses of the acropolis may perhaps be dated to this, or the immediately preceding, period.

Roman imperial Kerasous still struck its own coins. One type of Commodus bears the image of a galley, from which Kienast has suggested that it was a station of the *classis Pontica*, but it is not mentioned as a base of any Byzantine fleet.<sup>33</sup>

The oft-told story that Kerasous gave its name to the cherry, which Lucullus supposedly introduced from the city, has the appearance of an etiological myth.<sup>34</sup> Kerasous was and is the major Pontic center of a highly important hazelnut trade.<sup>35</sup> Otherwise, its hinterland is agriculturally less productive than other parts of the coast: the mountains come exceptionally close to the sea at this point and grain has had to be imported both from Koloneia and the Crimea.<sup>36</sup> In the Middle Ages Kerasous also exported cloths and, possibly, Koloneian alum. At the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries there was an imperial office of commerce in Kerasous which was associated, on one seal at least, with Trebizond and Lazia.<sup>37</sup>

Kerasous was a suffragan bishopric of Neokaisareia from the fourth century; at the end of the eleventh it became an independent metropolis. Toward the end of the seventeenth century pressure on local Greeks, widespread at the time, led to the extinction of the see, and in 1698 the exarchy of Kerasous was transferred to the eparchy of Trebizond. In 1920 the metropolitan of Chaldia, in a fit of untimely expansionism, claimed Kerasous briefly, seeking a corridor to

32. Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 374, 433, 386, 561; II, 1237–38.

33. D. Kienast, *Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn, 1966), 117 and note 142.

34. Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, XXII, III, 16. There are indeed wild cherries in the Pontic forests, but Don and Patricia Brothwell, *Food in Antiquity* (London, 1969), suggest that the cherry was already known in Italy when Lucullus may have introduced the Pontic variety.

35. Φουντοῦκι, findik, κάρνα Ποντικά, appear in inventories of consignments of merchandise shipped to Alexandria as early as 259 B.C., belying de Planhol's opinion that it is a comparatively modern trade. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, II, 1073–74; de Planhol, s.v. "Giresun," *EJ*<sup>2</sup>.

36. Kinneir (1813), 328. E. C. Colwell, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, I (Chicago, 1936), 12.

37. On the Koloneia-Kerasous alum road, see p. 149. To the commercial seal of Kerasous cited in Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, may be added two in the Dumbarton Oaks Collections: of the *patrikios* George Theophylaktos, *kommerkiarios* of Lazia, Trebizond, and Kerasous, in the period 685–95 (no. 55.1.4373); and of the imperial office of commerce of Kerasous, in the period 705–11 (no. 55.1.4397).

the sea. The names of sixteen bishops, from *ca.* 431 to 1673, are known; no episcopal seals have been noted.<sup>38</sup>

The Kerasous Gospels (obtained from a church in the town in 1906) have been dated to the mid-eleventh century; Sirarpie Der Nersessian notes some Armenian characteristics in their somewhat "provincial" illuminations.<sup>39</sup> The place of origin of the Gospels is a matter of discussion, but eleventh-century Kerasous, with its bishopric, monastery of St. Epiphanius, trading port, and Armenians, seems a possible and appropriate milieu for them. Byzantine Kerasous was evidently a modest place—it may not be an accident that it does not figure in any work ascribed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus—but was perhaps just large and cultivated enough to support a scriptorium. It came into its own in the thirteenth century, when it became the second city of the Empire of Trebizond; always on the edge of a Türkmen "border" to the west, it was the most westerly of all the possessions under the direct control of the Grand Komnenoi by the fifteenth century.<sup>40</sup> It is possible that, like Trebizond itself, it had a demarch and some form of municipal status, for it was able to pay formal homage as a city to the Grand Komnenos during the civil war of 1355.<sup>41</sup> There is no evidence for an imperial *kephale*, as was true of Limnia, Trebizond, and Rhizaion; on the other hand, such an official seems likely—in other words, Kerasous probably was the capital of a *bandon*.

It was at Kerasous that the Grand Komnenoi were able to hold, for the first time, the Türkmen advance from the west and retain not only the city but its surrounding villages. The victory of Alexios II over the Türkmen "Koustouganes" at Kerasous in September 1301 was eulogized by Sgouropoulos, described by Panaretos, referred to by Chioniades, Loukites, and Lazaropoulos, and remembered later by Bessarion.<sup>42</sup> It was correctly regarded as an important vic-

tory, for its effects were permanent. If Kerasous had fallen in 1301, the Türkmen would have obtained a major access to the sea and the days of the Trapezuntine Empire would have been numbered. As it was, the place remained a Greek stronghold, frequently visited by the Grand Komnenoi—particularly on their way to state visits to the Türkmen or to Oinaion.<sup>43</sup>

Sgouropoulos describes the building of the fortress of Kerasous by Alexios II after 1301 in terms so poetic that no factual information (apart from the obvious indication that it overlooked the sea) can be gleaned. But the keep on the summit of the acropolis is almost certainly the fortress which Alexios built, or rebuilt. In January 1348 Panaretos states that the Genoese made a reprisal raid on Kerasous, ransacking and burning the town—there is no question of there ever being an Italian station in the place.<sup>44</sup> The fortress was perhaps unscathed in the 1348 incident, for Libadenos referred to its "bronze walls" in about 1355.<sup>45</sup>

The first medieval reference to the island of Ares (Ἀραιῶται in Panaretos) comes when it was raided by Ottoman pirates in July 1368—the first appearance of the Ottomans in Trapezuntine history.<sup>46</sup> This precipitated an embassy by Panaretos, it seems, to Constantinople, perhaps to obtain help. The pirates are not mentioned again. Immediately before his entry on the island of Ares, Panaretos states that Metropolitan Joseph (John) Lazaropoulos resigned the see of Trebizond on 12 November 1367 and retired to the monastery of the Panagia Ἐλεοῦσα.<sup>47</sup> Fallmerayer was

38. Parthey, *Notitiae*, 37, no. 702.7; 65, no. 269; 98, no. 67; 110, no. 218; 136, no. 59; 173, no. 321; 189, no. 230; 208, no. 339; 231, no. 77; 241, no. 78; 250, no. 199; Gelzer, *Texte*, 599, no. 77; 608, no. 87; 629, no. 46; Le Quien, *OC*, I, cols. 513–16; Janin, *s.v.* "Cerasus," *DHGE*; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 579–83; the unsigned article, "L'affaire de Kérassonde," *EO*, 14 (1920), 459–60; later diocesan maps in G. K. Skalieres, Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζούντος, (Athens, n.d. [1921]) (appended, showing Kerasous in Chaldia); and Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1973), 129 (showing Bulancak in Chaldia). The first known bishop of Kerasous attended the Council of Chalcedon (E. Honigmann, "The original list of Chalcedon," *Byzantion*, 16 [1942–3], 54). Kallistos, metropolitan of Kerasous, was a signatory to the Council of Florence in 1438.

39. MS Morgan 748, and one sheet in Princeton. See Sirarpie Der Nersessian in Belle da Costa Greene and Meta P. Harrsen, "Catalogue of Manuscripts in The Pierpont Morgan Library," *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts Held at the New York Public Library* (New York, 1933), 15, no. 26; and C. Nordenfalk, "The apostolic canon tables," *GBA*, 62 (1963), 17–34. We are grateful to Professor Bob Bergman for drawing our attention to this manuscript.

40. Clavijo (1404), 109; Sphrantzes, ed. Greco, 128. Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 409, 768, 843, shows that in 1290 Kerasous was importing salt from the Crimean region (probably to salt fish), and was perhaps exporting wine.

41. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70.

42. Sgouropoulos in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *AIS*, I, 431–37; cf. T. Papatheodorides, Ἀνέκδοτοι στίχοι Στεφάνου τοῦ

Σγουροπούλου, *AP*, 19 (1954), 262–82. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63, giving the date as September A.M. 6810 = A.D. 1301, not 1302, as in Miller, *Trebizond*, 33, followed by Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 93. Letter 8 of Chioniades, in I. B. Papadopoulos, Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου τοῦ ἀστρονόμου ἐπιστολαί (Salonike, 1929), dated, for this reason, to 1301 by N. A. Oikonomides, Σημείωμα περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Χιονιάδου, *AP*, 20 (1955), 40–44; Constantine Loukites, in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *AIS*, I, 421–30; Lazaropoulos, *FHIT*, 61; and U. Lampsides, "Zu Bessarions Lobrede auf Trapezunt," *BZ*, 35 (1935), 16–17. See now Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402)," *AP*, 35 (1978), 342–43.

43. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73, 79.

44. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 68.

45. Libadenos, *Periegesis*, ed. Paranikas, 36, 42.

46. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76. Grégoire's earlier reference must, sadly, be discounted. By conflating information in Panaretos with the famous epitaph of a Komnenos Mavrozomes in Konya, he built a brilliant analysis: that the Michael of the epitaph was son of Ioannikios, son of John Axouchos, who later became a monk and was hence also the Papadopoulos who rebelled in 1281 (Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 62). This Michael, alias Papadopoulos, happened also to be emir of Arane, and Arane was none other than the island of Ares—surely the most picayune emirate ever proposed, even in an age of fragmentary Anatolian states. Michael—or a Michael—died in Konya in 1297. But Grégoire's analysis was partly based on a misreading of the epitaph, and partly on the misconception that it has anything to do with the Grand Komnenoi. The notion and argument remain one of Grégoire's most ingenious flights of scholarly fancy. See H. Grégoire, "Notes épigraphiques; X.—Michel Comnène, émir d'Arane," *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, 52 (1909), 12–17; F. Cumont, "Note sur une inscription d'Iconium," *Byzantion*, 10 (1935), 505–15; and 12 (1937), 206–11; Cahen, *P-OT*, 210.

47. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76.

told that the monastery on the island was dedicated to the Eleousa,<sup>48</sup> and it has therefore sometimes been understood that it was Lazaropoulos, rather than Panaretos, who went on embassy to Constantinople after the Ottoman raid.<sup>49</sup> There is, however, no doubt about the interpretation of the text and it also seems most likely that Lazaropoulos retired not to the island of Ares (which he mentions nowhere in his writings), but to another monastery of the Eleousa—the Virgin of Compassion—which stood near the Genoese arsenal on the Daphnous beach, east of St. Sabbas in Trebizond.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, against Fallmerayer's identification of the Eleousa with the island of Ares can be cited the more substantial belief of two local Greek scholars and Cuinet, that the island monastery was in fact dedicated to St. Phokas. To complicate matters, it was perhaps one of these scholars, Triantaphyllides (then a schoolmaster of Kerasous), who was Fallmerayer's informant, or misinformant, of the dedication; and to further confound the issue, modern Turks report a *panayır* (fair) on the island on 20 May—principally the feast of the singularly obscure martyr St. Thalelaios, who has nothing to do with the Pontos.<sup>51</sup> We are inclined, however, to follow Ioannides and Triantaphyllides in ascribing the dedication of the monastery to St. Phokas, a local martyr, widely cultivated in the Pontos, whose maritime connections are most suited to the island.

By the time that Fallmerayer, Ioannides, and Triantaphyllides knew the island, the monastery had been long destroyed. In fact, our only clear evidence that it existed otherwise comes in 1609, when Bordier noted it.<sup>52</sup> It might be argued that the monastery was founded after 1468 and was abandoned before 1644. Bordier states that he was told that the islanders of Ares held out against the Ottomans for seven years after 1461. This would have been perfectly feasible: the island has its own water supply and is well defended. That there was some local resistance is suggested by a nineteenth-century Greek tradition that Kerasous itself held out for many months against the Turks and only surrendered on condition that the Christians remain (which independent evidence shows that they did) and bear arms in return for providing ferry service over a local river.<sup>53</sup> But Bordier was not specifically told that the inhabitants of the island included monks in 1461–68, where one might expect

the information. Later, when Evliya reported on the island in 1644, he noted only that Cossacks had used it as a base for attacking Kerasous.<sup>54</sup> It seems unlikely that the monastery would have survived such an experience.

Today, none of the remains on the island can be definitely identified as monastic. Probably, apart from the tradition of the 20 May *panayır*, the only memory that it had been a holy place is a long-standing custom of placing the rags of the sick on a rock below a tower at the southeast corner of the island.

Clavijo describes Kerasous in 1404: "It stands on the shore, with its houses built all up a height that overlooks the sea. A strong city wall encircled the whole of this height, enclosing within its limit many orchards and fine fruit trees."<sup>55</sup>

The castle was garrisoned with Çepni troops after the Ottoman conquest. In 1525 the place included 31 Muslim and 221 Christian households,<sup>56</sup> probably a fair indication of its size—perhaps about 1,250 souls—in the later Middle Ages. Bordier noted that the houses were scattered along tortuous streets, but that the walls were still impressive.<sup>57</sup> Evliya saw it after the Cossack raids and commented that the castle did not in fact defend the town (suggesting that most inhabitants were then living on the unwalled eastern side of the peninsula), and although it had evidently been a large place, it had shrunk. The town gardens still yielded plentiful fruit and the anchorage, although good, offered no protection against contrary winds.<sup>58</sup>

A final blow came in 1764, during the Derebey wars. The fortress had been refurbished by Tistaroglu, the Giresun bey,<sup>59</sup> who lost it to a rival after a long siege which ended with the devastation of the town and the destruction of its then surviving Greek church.<sup>60</sup> Its bishopric had already gone, and it was only in the later nineteenth century that Giresun saw a quiet revival.

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Giresun Kale (fig. 21, pls. 55a, b–60a, b)

The site, a volcanic spur projecting about 1,000 m into the sea, is joined to the mainland by a low shoulder or isthmus to the south. The northeastern and eastern sides of the spur were steep and protected by cliffs and a rocky foreshore, but the original form of these has been obscured by the construction of the shore road at the base of the cliff. The southern and western sides slope steeply, but not precipitously, down to the isthmus and the port respectively. The original circuit of walls ran along the seashore and cliffs on the western, northern and northeastern sides. On the eastern side the wall turns roughly westward to leave the sea and climb to the

48. Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), 138–39.

49. E.g., Miller, *Trebizond*, 66: Lazaropoulos "fled in 1368 to Constantinople from the island monastery of Kerasunt." Cf. Lampsides, *AP*, 21 (1956), 18.

50. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 43r; p. 350.

51. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 82–83; Ioannides, *Historia*, 218; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie I*, 75. Fallmerayer states that he was told of the dedication by "einem kerasuntische Didascalos (*loc. cit.* in note 48), in 1844. Perikles Triantaphyllides became a schoolmaster in Kerasous in 1842: see D. N. Oikonomides, *Συνοπτική ιστορία του περιωνόμου Ἑλληνικοῦ Φροντιστηρίου Τραπεζούντος*, *PPh*, 1 (6) (August 1936), 4. On the memory of a festival on 20 May, see the *Giresun II Yilligi* 1967, 198. It is, however, quite possible that the Turks have inherited the Old Calendar with the memory of the 20 May feast, in which case it is more likely that St. John the Theologian (8 May) is being celebrated: see *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 663, 697.

52. Bordier (1609), 115.

53. Miller, *Trebizond*, 107, presumably following Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 32.

54. Evliya (1644), II, 41.

55. Clavijo (1404), 109.

56. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 330–33.

57. Bordier (1609), 115.

58. Evliya (1644), II, 40–41.

59. The keep, called the Uç Kale in Hamilton's day (1836), I, 263, then had "on one of the angles of the wall . . . a small wooden fort with loopholes for musketry, said to have been erected by a powerful Dere Bey, who held possession of the place."

60. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 94; Bryer, *BK*, 26 (1969), 196–97.

summit, then follows the ridge westward and descends to the sea again on the west side. The wall along the ridge is pierced by an upper gateway and a short stretch forms the outer wall of the keep (fig. 21, pl. 55a, b). Although there is now no trace of it, it would seem logical that the wall of the outer ward, or town wall, should have continued up onto the isthmus and possibly down to the sea on the other side—thus providing the normal first line of defense before an enemy could reach the gateway to the inner fortress. The spur has two summits. The slightly higher western summit of 129 m is crowned by the tomb of Topalı Osman Ağa, who played a notable, if idiosyncratic, part in the early years of Mustafa Kemal's rule as commander of the Atatürk's "Laz" bodyguard.<sup>61</sup> The eastern summit, about 100 m away, is occupied by the medieval keep. There is now no trace of the amphitheater—if such it was—referred to by early travelers, nor any sign of the great classical temple or palace whose ruins Bordier saw in 1609.<sup>62</sup> This might have stood on the massive rock platform near the southwest corner of the town area within the fortress. Elsewhere within the site the natural rock has been leveled in various places to provide wall seatings, but excavation would be necessary to determine their form.

The original town evidently lay along the west and northwest sides of the peninsula on comparatively gentle slopes enclosed by walls, but, as we have suggested, could have extended across the isthmus and down to the eastern shore; between it and the clearly delineated upper quarter are traces of a curtain wall running north-south, without evident classical foundations and apparently of medieval or Ottoman build. At no point is the wall more than a few distinct stones in the walls of houses or gardens, but its course can be traced fairly clearly by a drop of about 3 m in the profile of the quarter.

There are two surviving gateways to the fortress, of which the lower one by the sea to the southwest must have led to the walled town (pl. 57). The upper gate on the southeast side must have led into the inner fortress—the modern road leading to the park on the summit runs through what is left of this gateway (pl. 58a).

The lower gateway, now heavily overgrown, provides a good example of the rectangular masonry of the classical, or "Pontic," period. The gate itself has now gone, but the finely beveled square bastions, stepped to receive it, are particularly impressive. It is probably this gate which is referred to by Bordier: "Les portails de la ville, qui sont du côté de la marine, sont de tres bel aspec et admirable architecture, les cintres desquels sont enjolivez, ou ornez de cordons et entrelacs de tres gentille artifice."<sup>63</sup> There is no sign of this decoration today. To the north of the gate is a much later circular tower.

The walls exhibit a variety of masonry. The classical work is of rectangular blocks of green breccia of different sizes. They are well squared off and laid in regular courses, but the size of the blocks varies within the same stretches of wall and there may be two periods of work (pls. 57b, 58a,b). Both types of classical masonry have stone headers set at intervals,

giving some relief to the external pattern of the masonry. The only surviving decorative features are a string course running about five courses below the top of the wall and consisting of a single projecting band of blocks, and a cornice of projecting blocks (pl. 57a). One rectangular tower survives in the ridge wall, southeast from the upper gate. The tower projects outward and does not break the internal line of the wall. Its ground (or first) floor entrance is rectangular and there must have been side entrances at the second floor level to allow a catwalk to pass through the tower walls. The form of the classical tower was followed in the medieval reconstruction of the walls. Leveled seatings for them were cut into the rock, the outer face of which has frequently been cut away to give a vertical face flush with the masonry above, adding height to the wall. There are also rock-cut steps on the side of the western summit and two large excavations which may represent cisterns. One is in the keep (see below) and the other is on a side of the western summit. Both are roofed and water was extracted through a hole in the side.

The medieval walls appear to be of two periods. The earlier and major part consists of roughly-squared blocks of stone laid in regular courses, with gaps evened up by fragments of brick and small stones. The mortar is of white lime with a pebble filler. The facing stones average about 20 × 30 cm. The ridge wall is between 0.50 and 2.00 m thick and is built over the classical wall, leaving the remaining thickness of the earlier structure to form a parapet which served as a catwalk. The tower quoins are of larger ashlar blocks (pl. 56b). The towers are rectangular, round, and pentagonal—the latter at the western end of the ridge wall. This regularly-coursed masonry of small blocks probably represents the work of Alexios II after 1301—although it could be thirteenth-century or even Byzantine. It is very similar to the lower city walls of Trebizond and to those of the castle at Oinaion.

A later period of masonry is of rough stones laid in random courses and heavily pointed up with lime mortar at the exterior to give a flat, weather-resistant, surface (pl. 58b). This could be later Trapezuntine work, Ottoman, or even the final defenses of the Tistaroglu Derebeys of Giresun.

The walled area, which we have called the keep, is an irregular enclosure with its longest straight side flush with the ridge wall. The other seven sides vary in length, the whole enclosing the eastern summit of the acropolis—a maximum extent of 25 × 35 paces. This is a large area to have been completely roofed over and it seems more likely that it comprised a courtyard with wooden buildings against its walls. One indication of this is a small rectangular structure, about 5 × 4 m, roofed with a barrel vault and built up against the southwest wall of the keep. The fact that this structure has a masonry barrel vault suggests that it stood in the open air. Its interior walls are faced with ashlar blocks of Oinaion limestone, alternately placed as stretchers and headers in the manner of other Pontic buildings which can be dated to the thirteenth century. It has a rectangular window or gun port facing southwest toward the upper gateway.

In the center of the keep is a rock-cut excavation which must represent a well or cistern. It has been left with a natural rock ceiling and the opening to it is from the southwest; rock-cut steps lead to the opening (pl. 59a). The vertical cavity is

61. *Giresun İl Yıllığı* 1961, 59–61.

62. Bordier (1609), 115.

63. Bordier (1609), 115.

now about three meters deep, where it is blocked with debris, but was probably much deeper.

The surviving entrance to the keep is through a narrow passage next to the outer wall on the south side. The facing stones of the doorway have gone, but a pointed relieving arch of stone voussoirs flush with the masonry face of the wall survives (pl. 60b).

Beam-holes for the joists of a second-floor structure are seen on the interior face of the wall on the north side; a niche or fireplace lined with Oinaion limestone is set into it (pl. 60a). To the west of the niche the wall has broken away, leaving part of a second-floor opening (pl. 59b). This has a gabled top and may have led to a garderobe—in which case it would be the only such Trapezuntine convenience known to us. The original keep wall was about 1.20 m thick on the northwest side, but appears to have been strengthened twice by additions which are respectively 0.60 and 0.90 m thick. The masonry of these additions is similar to that of the main structure of the keep and it is difficult to suggest a date for them.

The features of Giresun Kale which are now destroyed or severely ruined are best described by Hamilton. From the keep (pl. 56a),

the ancient walls may be traced almost the whole way . . . to the sea, where I observed an arched Hellenic gateway blocked up with masonry of the same style . . . beyond which was a high tower overgrown with ivy. Having reached the shore, I returned by the beach, where the walls were entirely Byzantine and where are the ruins of a small Byzantine church, built of well-hewn square stones, cemented together with mortar, with considerable remains of painting on the inside. These walls were very perfect on the west side, and passing through them by a postern gate I descended to the ruins of another church near the beach, where is a small harbour, fit only for very small vessels. Here was a double line of walls, the defences having been made stronger on this side, partly because, from the depth of water, it was the only spot where an enemy's vessel could approach the shore in safety. Between these walls we entered a large and dark apartment; from whence, after procuring a light, we descended by secret steps to the beach. Here the rock had been cut away, presenting a perpendicular face, up which another flight of steps led to the Agha's konak. In walking round the town I had observed many large square troughs cut in the solid rock upon the sea shore: they appeared to be the spots from whence the stones used in the old walls had been quarried. . . . At present they are only used by the women as washing troughs.<sup>64</sup>

Hamilton seems to have missed the cave church noted by Schultze and Cuinet, of which D. C. W. reported no sign in 1962. In 1964, however, D. C. W. located it, well concealed by surrounding scrub, on the eastern slopes of the promontory and below the keep. Of modest dimensions, it may originally have been a classical rock-cut tomb; very little now remains of the wall paintings. Hamilton's first church may have been replaced by the curiously formed nineteenth-century one, which is published elsewhere.<sup>65</sup> The "well-hewn

square stones" hint at a Byzantine date. Hamilton's second church has left no trace either and may have been replaced by the large nineteenth-century church of the Metamorphosis (now destroyed).<sup>66</sup> Nor can the rock-cut steps be found, but they may be associated with the massive rock-cut platforms at the southwest corner of the walled town. Rock-cut "troughs" survive along the northeast shore; they were perhaps also used as salt pans.

## 2. Mosaic Floor

In 1958 a mosaic floor was uncovered during excavations for the foundations of a new building in the lower town, near the port. The mosaic then lay rather more than two meters below ground level in a garden; the owner reported that it stretched beyond the further end of the garden, some ten meters away, because his father had dug there a few years before and found that it continued under the garden wall.

The corner of the mosaic floor which was exposed (pl. 61) consists of a chevron framed by a conventional wave pattern. The outer border contains white lettering, each letter (about 16 cm high) framed in a dark border, reading: ΓΑΑΝΑΝΕΩ—perhaps [+ ἡ ἀ]γία ἀναναεῶ[θη]. . . .

The letter forms are compatible with a fifth- or sixth-century date; the inscription suggests that the church, of which it must form the floor, was restored then.

3. About 1,000 meters west of the old town a rock, removed from the path of the new coast road, crowned with medieval masonry, stood a few meters from the sea shore. The form of the masonry was not clear. It could have been a watch tower or small chapel.

## 4. Gedik Kaya Kilise

About 2 km due southeast of Giresun Kale is a steep hill topped by two rocky teeth (hence Gedik Kaya, "split rock")—the place is distinctive enough in the engravings of Tournefort and Hommaire de Hell (pls. 62a–c, 63). The height of the summit is about 250 m. In the cleft between the rock, which can be reached from the coast road or, more easily, from the hospital on the Şebinkarahisar road to the south, are the foundations of a church (pl. 62b).

The foundations reveal that the church had been a long rectangle with a rounded apse, oriented at 80°. Possibly part of the length was occupied by a narthex, as in one of the chapels at Bibat.<sup>67</sup>

The mortar is of lime and pebbles. None of the walling remains above foundation level. The foundations are of rough uncoursed stones with brick and tile fragments. A small section of the northeast side of the apse is exposed (pl. 62c). The walls are about 65 cm thick and the external dimensions of the building are 14 × 6½ paces. Lying around the site are quantities of fragments of brick and ridged-edged tiles. The bricks average 4 cm in thickness and the flat base of the tiles 2 cm.

There is a rock-cut tomb (pl. 63) on an outcrop immediately northeast of the apse and about 3 m above it. It was cut in such a way as to narrow at the neck and widen at the head and it is oriented at 80°, with feet to the east. The

64. Hamilton (1836), I, 264–65.

65. Schultze, *Kleinasien*, II, 185; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 74; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 133; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 233–35.

66. Papamichalopoulos (1902), 265.

67. See p. 270.

dimensions are 1.90 m in length by 0.25 m in width at the feet and 0.45 m at the shoulders.

The western summit has two holes, presumably to hold water, excavated in the rock. Other depressions may represent excavations for water or for tombs. One measures 2 m in length by 0.35 m in width at the feet, and, perhaps, 0.50 at the shoulders, where the rock has been broken away. A groove has been cut round the top of it, presumably as a seating for a wood or stone lid.

The eastern summit has a tomb oriented at 100°. It is larger than the one near the church and the rock around it has been leveled, with steps cut into it. Below the summit, on the southeast side, is a smaller cutting about 1 m long and oriented on a northeast-southwest axis. It is now about 1 m deep but its earth fill may conceal greater depth. It could represent a child's tomb or a water stoup.

A substantial excavation is found about 70 m below the eastern summit on the northeast side. The entrance is an oval opening about 50 cm wide, which is the mouth of a tunnel leading down into the rock for about 8 m at an angle of about 40°. The mouth faces roughly north and the cutting runs southward. There is a small hole above the mouth, which may have been used for fastening a lid, and a larger hole below. D. C. W. was unable to explore the tunnel, but was told that it opened out to a width of about 2 m at a depth of about 8 m. The tunnel then changed direction, continuing for a further 8 m, where a blocked passage led off from it. The secondary hole below the main entrance reaches the first chamber where the tunnel changes direction. The tunnel leveled out at this point for a further few meters, where a second blocked passage led off.

The surface of the rock at the entrance suggests that it has been broken away since the excavation was made and that the tunnel was originally about 2 m longer. The sides of the tunnel have been made uneven at intervals, as if to allow the user to get a grip on them. The entrance is now obscured by vegetation.

It is impossible to date the remains of the church, but Cuinet's opinion that it is Byzantine<sup>68</sup> is plausible. The rock-cut tombs and tunnel may well have no connection with the church.

The tunnel could perhaps represent a Bronze Age shaft burial, or even a trial search for water in preparation for one of the great subterranean borings which are a feature of many hill summit fortresses in Anatolia. The alterations of direction in it could be explained by a system of following the natural rock fissures. These tunnels are generally regarded as being "Pontic" in origin, but Middle Byzantine brickwork around the entrances to tunnels in the castles of Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar), Eudokia (Tokat), and Amaseia (Amasya) shows that they were still used as water sources in Byzantine times. The summit of Gedik Kaya evidently held religious significance and we have suggested above that it might represent Gerasimos' hermitage.

##### 5. Gedik Kaya Kalesi

The hill ends in a lower spur east of the Gedik Kaya summits and about 150 m above sea level. The spur has a

68. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 74.

chapel within a fortified enclosure (figs. 22, 23; pl. 64 a, b).

Only the foundations of the chapel survive in what is now a hazelnut grove. The mortar was of lime and sand devoid of pebbles. The ground plan (fig. 23) suggests that it may have been roofed with a dome.

The steep sides of the spur provide a natural defense on the east, south, and north sides, which has been improved by walling. On the western side, where the spur joins the main body of the hill, there is no natural defense. Here fortifications consist of an outer wall with two round towers which must have defended a gate.

The mortar of the walls and towers is of lime and small pebbles. The surface masonry is made up of roughly squared blocks of stone laid in regular courses. The upper part of the walling on the north and east side looks like a later repair.

The masonry, while not dissimilar to Alexios II's work on Giresun Kale, could be middle Byzantine—in other words, the identification with Constantine Porphyrogenitus' station of Prine is not, archaeologically, impossible. The chapel probably represents that of the later monastery of St. George,<sup>69</sup> but whether it was also a fortified medieval monastery is problematical. The fortifications, rather than the chapel, are the predominant part of the buildings, suggesting that this site was originally a government fortification with a chapel within its walls. Its purpose was probably to act as a strong-point from which to harry and divert any force threatening to besiege Kerasous and to cut off its supply lines to the south. It could also act as a signal fort. The salient feature of the site, from whatever direction it is viewed, is the large round tower which gives the impression of fortifications much larger than in fact they are (pl. 64b).

##### 6. Giresun, or Puga, Adası

The maximum extent of the island of Ares, which is roughly circular, is about 250 paces (fig. 24). It is about 30 m above sea level at its highest point. There is no beach and the rock appears to fall sheer into deep water on all sides except, perhaps, the north. The present landing place, to the south-southeast, where there is a small inlet in the rocks, is described in a sixteenth-century Greek portulan as the place where sailors could anchor their boats ashore.<sup>70</sup> Two rings have been cut into the solid rock further west. This area, which is protected from the northwestern winds, was probably always the landing place of the island, which can only be besieged by small boats or skiffs, such as the Ottoman *παρ-ασκάλμια* which attacked it in 1368.<sup>71</sup>

The rocky shore is fairly low and clean swept for a varying distance inland to where the contour rises. At this point the island is completely encircled by a boundary wall. The masonry is of roughly squared blocks laid in fairly regular courses, with the irregularities evened up with smaller stones and brick fragments. The average size of the stones is 20 to 30 × 10 to 15 cm; most are of the local greyish black conglomerate, but there are some good ashlar blocks of

69. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 45.

70. Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 31.

71. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76. On these skiffs, see A. Bryer, "Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond," *The Mariner's Mirror*, 52 (1966), 3–12.

imported sandstone. The mortar is of lime and pebbles and the core of the walls is made of well-bedded mortared rubble. The width of the wall varies along its length but averages one meter. As is shown in plate 65a, there are two openings with semicircular arches, which are formed with neater stone blocks (pl. 65b), and there are two semicircular towers on the western walls (pls. 65c, 66).

The only visible sign of masonry which may be of an earlier date than the rest of the walls occurs to the south of the southernmost of the two western towers, where the wall is plastered with lime and powdered earthenware and there is the beginning of a barrel vault of ashlar blocks.

A rectangular tower or keep (pl. 67a, b) has four stories and now stands to a height of about 12 m. It has window openings which are slits on the exterior, about 1 m high and 0.07 m wide but opening out on the interior to a width of 1.36 m. The walls are typically 1.22 m thick. There are no signs that wooden beams were used to reinforce them, but the beam holes for floor joists are visible, both in this rectangular tower and in the semicircular ones of the west wall.

The only other remains above ground of walls within the boundary enclosure are two fragments on the highest part of the island, to the north of the tower. One is so small that no information can be gleaned from it. An angle halfway along

the second fragment could hint at the beginnings of the south side of an apse and is a reminder, at least, that the island once housed a monastery. Further details within the walls could only be gained by excavation.

There are two water sources. The larger is within the walls to the west of the rectangular tower and provides fresh water at ground level, currently used. The second is a small trickle outside the walls on the north side.

The soil is rich and is at present cultivated by a single family who also keep sheep and cows. It is clear that a small, if determined, colony of besieged people could subsist on it for some years. The surrounding rocks are a major breeding ground for both seagulls and migrants, whose great numbers provide an echo of the fearsome birds of the island of Ares who beset the Argonauts.

The walling of small but regularly coursed stones is similar to that of Gedik Kaya Kalesi and of the presumed work of Alexios II in Giresun Kale. The more elaborate masonry and windows of the rectangular tower are reminiscent of that in the square tower at Kordyle, probably built, or rebuilt, by Alexios III after 1362. It seems very probable that the fortifications on the island of Ares are fourteenth-century Trapezuntine.

## Section XIV

# CAPE ZEPHYRION AND KENCHRINA (?)

### DESCRIPTION

Geographical sources mention the cape and classical settlement of Ζεφύριος, Zefalo, Zeffanol, Zeffallo, Zeffara, Zefano, Cefalo, and Zephyros until the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that the cape is either or both the twin promontories now called Ulu Burunu and Çam Burunu and there is no reason why the tiny natural harbor still called Zefre Liman should not represent Zephyrion itself.

The cape is a heavily wooded mountainous area; its highest peak in the center rises to 546 m. There are a number of small villages along the rocky coast, linked only by well-preserved paved pack-animal ways in the Pontic style. In modern, and probably medieval, times the coastal road from Kerasous bypassed the cape by turning inland southeast at the “road’s mouth,” Δρομοστομίου (Yolağzı—the Greek name is perhaps a nineteenth-century translation of the Turkish, rather than vice versa), encircling the Kel Dağı and Armelit Kale (described below), and rejoining the coast in the gorge of the Yağlı (or Esbiye) Dere. At this point the road is overlooked from the west by a medieval castle, now called Andozkalesi, which is slightly misplaced on the Turkish 1 : 200,000 map. Andozkalesi is mentioned in no medieval source, but Triantaphyllides identifies it with the castle of Ὅσιος Ἀντώνιος,<sup>2</sup> which suggests a medieval name. The position of this castle at one end of the road, Dromostomion at the other, and Armelit Kale in the middle show that the road may always have turned inland—no traveler reports following the coast round the cape, a difficult operation which cannot be negotiated by wheeled traffic even today and which more than doubles the distance between Andozkalesi and Dromostomion. In fact most travelers, until this century, went from Tripolis to Kerasous by sea, but the course entails standing out so far that they could see little on either side of the cape. There are only two records of any detail. A sixteenth-century Greek portulan, working from the west, mentions first a long beach (evidently that below Düzköy), and then two unnamed places on the east side of the cape.<sup>3</sup>

Evliya mentions Purpolúm on the west side, “which is a small square castle, situated on a hill by the seashore, with a commander and a garrison; the inhabitants are Greeks. We weathered the cape of Zemreh, where villages are to be seen in the mountains.”<sup>4</sup>

The Turkish 1 : 200,000 map marks two villages on the west coast, Kalecik and Hisarüstü. They are in fact names for the same place, which consists of a narrow natural harbor and small coastal castle, and a village hidden in the steep woodlands above. Local enquiry and two examinations of the coast from Esbiye to Keşap (which entailed walking right round the cape and a close circumnavigation by boat) suggest that, apart from Hosios Antonios, this is probably the only castle on the cape. Kalecik-Hisarüstü castle is almost certainly Evliya’s Purpolúm, a word which appears to mask a now lost Greek name—perhaps ending in “-polis.” We tentatively propose it also for the site of Kenchrina.

The name of Kenchrina (Κεγχρινᾶ, Κεγχρινᾶ, Κεγχρεών) suggests sorghum millet (κέγχρος) and the places called Kenchreai in the Argolid, Corinth, and elsewhere. This Kenchrina was an imperial castle with a small town (πολίχτιον)<sup>5</sup>; it is mentioned only by Panaretos and Libadenos in connection with the Trapezuntine civil wars of 1349–55. Panaretos makes it clear that the place could be invested by land and sea and that Kenchrina was close to both Kerasous and Tripolis.<sup>6</sup> In 1886 a Greek of Kerasous proposed that Bulancak represented Kenchrina.<sup>7</sup> Probably following this suggestion, Kiepert placed it on his map (with a query) on the Dikmen Tepe, 3 km south of Aivasil and 5 km southeast of Bulancak—the site is described above.<sup>8</sup> But nothing on Dikmen Tepe suggests a small town and imperial castle; furthermore a passage in Panaretos indicates (although not conclusively) that Kenchrina lay to the west of Tripolis, rather than of Kerasous. In 1355 two generals went to Tripolis and then on to Kenchrina (εἰς τὰς Τριπόλεις καὶ ἔως τοῦ Κεγχρινᾶ),<sup>9</sup> where in the context of the campaign described in a preceding paragraph, Kerasous would prob-

1. Arrian, 24; *Anonymous periplus*, 36; Skylax, 86; Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, 875; Miller, *IR*, col. 648; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Thomas, *Periplus*, 249–50, 270; Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 34; *Black Sea Pilot*, s.v. “Zefre Burnu,” 405; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 833; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 38, “Keçiburnu”; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 86.

2. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 34; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 108.

3. Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 34.

4. Evliya (1644), II, 41.

5. Libadenos, *Periegesis*, ed. Paranikas, 44; ed. Lampsides, 75, 81–84.

6. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71.

7. Paulides, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 196.

8. Kiepert, *ZGEB*, 25 (1890), 321, map; for Dikmen Tepe, see p. 125 above.

9. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71.

ably have been mentioned if Kenchrina had lain further west. The balance is against an identification west of Kerasous.

Chrysanthos, apparently on the strength of a mention of Kenchrina by Libadenos (who was also there in 1355), placed it without argument on Cape Zephyrion, where he stated that a castle stood in his day.<sup>10</sup> Libadenos' reference in fact gives no indication of the whereabouts of Kenchrina, but Chrysanthos' assumption is a good one because the only area between Tripolis and Kerasous which is unaccounted for is that of the mountains and coast of Cape Zephyrion, and because it explains the absence of Kenchrina on the portulans, where the cape is naturally marked instead. The remains at Kalecik-Hisarüstü appear to be the only traces of a medieval castle on the cape and, we propose, may not only represent Evliya's Purpolüm, but also fourteenth-century Kenchrina.

#### HISTORY

Cape Zephyrion has no ancient or medieval recorded history. Kenchrina is probably the fortress in which the Trapezuntine warlord Niketas Scholaris was imprisoned in 1345;<sup>11</sup> it was from there that he came to be installed as Grand Duke in 1349.<sup>12</sup> Alexios III exiled members of the Doranites and Xenites families to Kenchrina in 1351 and two Doranitai were strangled in Kenchrina castle the next year.<sup>13</sup> In the general rising of 1355 Alexios sent warships against the Scholaris in Kerasous—but he was in fact in Kenchrina with his faction. Scholaris' son was in Kerasous but managed to escape to Kenchrina. Alexios, leaving his army in Tripolis, sent for cavalry from Trebizond and invested Kenchrina by land and sea. The Scholaris faction paid homage to him but remained in the stronghold, but later that year two generals captured Scholaris and his followers.<sup>14</sup> The history of Kenchrina during these years suggests that it was a relatively obscure and inaccessible place, which received unexpected prominence as the Scholaris faction's hideaway.

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Armelit Kale

The road across Cape Zephyrion climbs to a height of about 500 m at the pass above Kazanlı. To the south a conical hill rises to about 750 m. On its summit is the site of what appears to have been a small fort.

About 10 m below the summit, on the northeast, are random-coursed masonry foundations. A villager reported that there had been walling, but that it had been destroyed by treasure seekers, who had also dug here and there on the site—as was demonstrated by signs of recent random excavation. There was a fair quantity of unglazed earthenware sherds and fragments of ridged tiles (for measurements of which, see Appendix) on the southeast of the site. The hill has an abrupt flat summit of about six paces across; the walled

area may have been about 40 paces wide at its greatest extent from northeast to southwest. A rock-cut cistern was reported on the north side, but D. C. W. was unable to find it in the dense undergrowth.

The fort was evidently intended to oversee the road across the cape and may have been used as a signal station. It was misty when D. C. W. visited it, but Dikmen Tepe, west of Kerasous, and Haç Tepe, east of Tripolis, should normally be visible from it.

##### 2. The Castle of Andoz, Holy Antony

This castle is best approached by fording the Yağlı Dere below it (pl. 68a)—which is usually less hazardous than attempting the single-plank bridge which runs across the river mouth 500 m below—and climbing steeply through overgrown hazelnut groves to a ridge about 250 m high. Here two semicircular bastions of dry stone mark what is evidently the western, and probably only, entrance. The castle lies almost due east-west, and is about ninety paces long and no more than twenty paces wide at its broadest extent, reaching east over the river (fig. 25). It is in three sections. The first, western, enceinte is the largest, about 58 paces from the bastions at the southwest corner to the northeast corner. It is very heavily overgrown and the north walls are difficult to distinguish. Those on the south side are almost straight and stand above steep rock. At the northeast corner is a rectangular vaulted structure of irregularly-coursed stones and mortar. Its external measurements are 4.84 × 3.72 m. It stands about 3.10 m high from floor to vault and the internally plastered walls are about 0.65 m thick. There is a door on the southern side, a window on the western, and a niche 1.75 m wide on the eastern. Most of the roughstone vaulting is intact, but the windows and door are caving in. It could be Trapezuntine work but the structure is neither a chapel nor a cistern. The niche suggests that it is probably a Turkish tomb rather than the tomb of a "Holy Antony."

The second section of the castle, beyond and below a rough curtain wall, is a finger about 25 paces long, which projects east along a rocky spur. This culminates in a third section, an outpost 8 paces long and 3 paces wide with, at its eastern extremity, a comparatively well-built semicircular bastion. Below it the spur falls giddily down into the Yağlı Dere. The second and third sections command views of the river and road for about 5 km to the south and on to where they reach the sea, about 1 km to the north.

The function of the castle of Holy Antony as a watchtower over the road is clear enough. The site is unsuitable for a settlement in the crags below it, but one might speculate that it may also have served as the acropolis of a local settlement, perhaps on the site of the nearby modern Esbiye. The route southward leads eventually to Alucra and Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar); there is said to be a mine nearby and the Yağlı Dere delta, although not wide, is fertile.

3. A sixteenth-century Greek portulan indicates a church of the Theotokos on Cape Zephyrion.<sup>15</sup> We saw no traces of it on Ulu Burunu or Çam Burunu.

10. Libadenos, *Periegesis*, ed. Paraniakas, 44; ed. Lampsides, 75; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 86–87.

11. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 68.

12. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 69.

13. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70.

14. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71.

15. Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 34.

#### 4. Kalecik-Hisarüstü Castle

This fort stands on the largest of a series of small rocky promontories projecting into the sea. To the north there is a sheltered modern quay and beach where boats are winched up. To the south there is a rock, about 30 paces long, on which stand traces of stone and mortar walling. The principal feature is a promontory, cut off at its neck by a wall about 20 paces long, which stands up to a height of 2 m in places (fig. 26; pl. 68b). This forms the east side of a rectangular fort, the north wall of which runs about 58 paces at 305°. Part of the west wall stands, but almost all evidence of the south wall, along the edge of the rock, has gone. The fort

is modest in size, but the configuration of the ground immediately to the east hints at further structures and the roughly shaped stone, lime, and small pebble mortar with pounded earthenware (the latter feature a Byzantine, or even Roman, commonplace, rather than Trapezuntine) brings it into the category of older Pontic coastal stations. It is clearly intended to guard and service the little harbor. If this place can be identified with Kenchrina, it is hardly worthy of the description of "polichnion." The settlement attached to this fortified *skala* stands today, as it must always have done, about 100 m above and behind the fort.

## Section XV

# TRIPOLIS AND THE PHILABONITES RIVER

### SITUATION, IDENTIFICATION, AND HISTORY

Τρίπολις, Τριπόλεις, Driboli, Tripolli, or Tripoli,<sup>1</sup> is the modern Tirebolu. Papamichalopoulos' notion that the name is derived from the three cities of Ischopolis, Argyria, and Philokaleia<sup>2</sup> is hardly likely; the small unwall'd town is clustered on and behind three rocky promontories which more probably gave rise to the name, which first appears in the classical geographers for what seems to have been a minor Greek colony. The name and natural features must also suggest that ancient Tripolis, with its *castellum* mentioned by Pliny,<sup>3</sup> must have stood on or very near the present site of Tirebolu. Kilise (Monastir)<sup>4</sup> Burunu, the headland one kilometer west of Tirebolu, is another possibility. Here Cuinet noted "une caserne nommée *Pikila*,<sup>5</sup> située en mer, et au fond de laquelle on remarque un mur bâti dans l'eau. On a vainement cherché à comprendre quelle pouvait être, dans l'antiquité, la destination de ce mur."<sup>6</sup> Selina Ballance thinks that the rock-cut oil or wine press on Kilise Burunu and several large blocks of stone used in the walls of a local farm and in the church which stood there "seem to indicate the classical site of Tripolis."<sup>7</sup>

The eastern and western promontories of Tripolis were fortified. The westerly castle is, with reason, called Çürük Kale ("Ruined Castle") (pl. 69a, b). The regular walls of this enclosure stand an average of 2 meters or eight courses high and are faced with dark granite blocks. There is a southern gateway. There seems no reason to dispute Cuinet's opinion that the work is Ottoman.<sup>8</sup> The easterly "Kastro" was called Kuruca Kale ("Dry Castle"), and in Cuinet's day Greeks called the ruins facing it on the mainland "Anghelia."<sup>9</sup>

1. Arrian, 24; *Anonymous periplus*, 36; Libadenos, *Periegesis*, ed. Paranikas, 34, 36, 79; ed. Lampsides, 71, 84; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 237; II, 34; Miller, *IR*, col. 647; Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 33–34. In general, see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 823.

2. Papamichalopoulos (1901), 257. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 52, ascribes the same notion to Strabo, who does not, however, appear to refer to Tripolis.

3. Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, iv, 11: *Tripolis castellum et fluvius*.

4. So in the first *feuille* of the engraved route of Hell (1846), attached in the album to his work. But there is evidence for a monastery there: it was perhaps a mistake for Kilise Burunu.

5. Πεκίλλα, in Sakkas, *Tripolis*, 20.

6. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 55.

7. Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 256.

8. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie* I, 53.

9. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 53. The files of the Center for

Kuruca Kale is one of the most impressive on the Pontic coast (pls. 70a, b and 71a, b).

In 1890 Cuinet stated that at Kuruca Kale "on voyait, il y a quelques années, deux statues représentant Jean Comnène II et sa femme Eudoxie, ainsi que des inscriptions qui ont été transportées à l'entrée du couvent de Notre-Dame-de-Blacheraïne (Βλαχεραίων)."<sup>10</sup> He cites no source for this intriguing information and it is disturbing to find that no traveler (including Fallmerayer,<sup>11</sup> who was an eager epigraphist) mentions the statues or inscriptions (although Hamilton did note "some rudely carved stone over the gateway"),<sup>12</sup> and that there appears to be no other reference to what seems to have been a local monastery of the Blachernai. Cuinet, who seems to have had first-hand knowledge of Tirebolu, cannot simply have invented the information, and it is worth assuming, for the moment, that it is correct. The Grand Komnenos John II (1280–97) married Eudokia, daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos, in 1282; she died in 1301. The alliance was of considerable importance, for it was the first between Trebizond and Constantinople and John II was obliged to abandon certain imperial pretensions to obtain it.<sup>13</sup> He and Eudokia were probably depicted in wall paintings in the now destroyed church of St. Gregory of Nyssa, Trebizond,<sup>14</sup> presumably in a style already established for Trapezuntine imperial portraiture by Manuel I.<sup>15</sup> Imperial statues are, however, another matter. The only thirteenth-century (and last) Byzantine emperor known to have been portrayed in a statue was Michael VIII Palaiologos himself, who was shown at the feet of the Archangel Michael, presenting the City of Constantinople. But, according to Pachymeres, this statue was of bronze;<sup>16</sup>

Mikrasiatic Studies in Athens contain information on all place-names in Tripolis, obtained from refugees; they have not been available to us.

10. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 52–53.

11. Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), 154–56.

12. Hamilton (1836), I, 257.

13. Cf. Miller, *Trebizond*, 28–29, 32–33, 45.

14. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 41–42; Ioannides, *Historia*, 236; and p. 226.

15. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 38–39; cf. Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, 1.

16. Pachymeres, Bonn ed., II, 234 (referring to its damage in the earthquake of 1296). It was again noted in 1420: G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *SBN*, 3 (1931), 275 f.

while that in Tripolis was presumably stone. In the Monastery of the Blachernai at Arta are two tombs of members of the family of Michael II Angelos, one of whom, John, was held as a hostage by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1263.<sup>17</sup> These tombs are decorated with figures in imperial costume which are in low relief, not statues. If the statues of John and Eudokia existed in Tirebolu, they were therefore very remarkable, although this sort of sculptural representation was not without contemporary precedent in Constantinople and Arta and all three examples are curiously linked by the person of Michael VIII. One wonders, however, if the Tripolitan ones were true statues and not simply Hamilton's "rudely carved stones." That carving in low relief was known in thirteenth-century Trebizond is shown by the citadel reliefs and the decoration of Hagia Sophia, behind which lies both a Seljuk and Caucasian tradition in northeastern Anatolia. But equally the example of her father's statue might have been in Eudokia's mind. Here may also lie the clue to the Monastery of the Blachernai. Another Byzantine bride of a Grand Komnenos, Theodora Kantakouzene, wife of Alexios IV, had in mind, it has been suggested, the name of the famous Constantinopolitan monastery of the Pantokrator when she rededicated its namesake in Trebizond.<sup>18</sup> The cult of the Panagia Blachernitissa was even more widespread and, with the very special imperial connections with the Blachernai in Constantinople where Eudokia had lived, what more appropriate dedication for a Pontic monastery founded by her?<sup>19</sup>

Where were the Pontic Blachernai? The supposition that the "statues" and associated inscriptions in the castle of Tirebolu indicate that John II and Eudokia built, or rebuilt, the castle is a natural one. Within it stood a now destroyed church which later Greek sources name as the Theotokos or Panagia.<sup>20</sup> Its portico, elaborate rope-work reliefs, window moldings, distinguished masonry and high-drummed dome, as shown in Laurens' lithograph (pl. 73), together with the fact that it was embellished with wall paintings, are all features of late thirteenth-century Trapezuntine imperial foundations. The substantial ruins around the church, in Laurens' drawing, further suggest monastic buildings. Was this the church of the Panagia Blacher[n](ai)on? There may have been a precedent for another monastery within an imperial castle in the case of St. Phokas at Kordyle; there was certainly a precedent in the Chrysokephalos at Trebizond. The church itself was apparently still in use as an object of special pilgrimage by local Greeks in the seventeenth century; they abandoned it only in the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> It is frankly difficult to reconcile this information with the fact that by the early sixteenth century "Driboli" castle was an

important Ottoman stronghold, complete with a "kale cammi imami,"<sup>22</sup> but, unless the western Çuruk Kale is intended, it is curious that it was the church rather than the mosque which survived longest. A possible solution would be that the church was turned into a mosque, but how would Greeks still be allowed access to the Ottoman castle? The problem does not affect, however, our tentative identification, but that depends solely upon the slender thread of Cuinet's unsubstantiated statement and cannot be regarded as any more than hypothesis.

Tripolis was certainly a personal possession of the Grand Komnenoi, who regarded its castle as a safe refuge. One may speculate that John II retired there during the brief usurpation of Theodora in 1285. During the civil wars the Grand Komnenos Alexios III retired there from his more insecure capital in 1351 and four years later left his empress there for safety.<sup>23</sup> In 1404 Clavijo described it as "a large town" and the first (westerly) one in the jurisdiction of the Grand Komnenoi.<sup>24</sup> Clavijo did not land and is probably mistaken in both respects: Tripolis was never very large and the most westerly possession of the Grand Komnenoi would then have been Kerasous.

Of the medieval churches of Tripolis the Panagia on Kilise Burunu was destroyed before 1967; that in the eastern castle was only a memory before 1962;<sup>25</sup> and a third, St. John, has left no trace. It stood above the town and is said to have been turned into a mosque in 1875.<sup>26</sup> In the neighborhood was the dervish *tekke* of Şarı Halifa,<sup>27</sup> apparently the only temple of its kind in the Pontos outside Trebizond.

Tirebolu stands 7 km west of the mouth of the Harşit Dere, which runs 76 km southeast to Torul. Pliny names it the "Tripolis,"<sup>28</sup> and in the nineteenth century it was known as the Tirebolu Su;<sup>29</sup> it is in fact the lower reaches of the Kanis, which bisects Chaldia. As will be seen, however, it was almost certainly known as the Philabonites in the later Middle Ages.

Twenty stadia east of Tripolis, according to Arrian, stood τὰ Ἀργύρια,<sup>30</sup> apparently corresponding to modern Halkavala<sup>31</sup> just east of the Harşit mouth, a silver mine which continued to be worked until about 1800.<sup>32</sup> It may even correspond with the evidently Pontic Argyria of the Iliad.<sup>33</sup> After Tzanicha,<sup>34</sup> the deposits of Argyria would have been the only major local source of silver available to the Grand Komnenoi. That they may have used the mines

22. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 334.

23. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 63, 71.

24. Clavijo (1404), 109.

25. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 132–33.

26. Sakkas, *Tripolis*, 17; Schulze, *Kleinasien*, II, 184–85.

27. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 55; F. Babinger, s.v. "Tirebolu," *EI*.

28. Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, iv, 11.

29. Hamilton (1836), I, 255; Hell (1846), calls it the "Harkavala Dere" in the route map attached to the album to his work.

30. Arrian, 24.

31. Cf. Ioannides, *Historia*, 220.

32. Hamilton (1836), I, 258–60, inspected the site.

33. Homer, *Iliad*, Book II, line 857: Τηλόθεν ἔξ Ἀλύβης, ὄθεν Ἀργύρου ἔστι γενέθλη. The identification, for what it is worth, depends upon the relation of Ἀλύβης to Chalybes, the Pontic Chalybians.

34. See p. 309.

17. D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), 198.

18. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 246–47.

19. See J. B. Papadopoulos, *Les palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Salonike, 1928), 107–21; and F. Diremtekin, "Mintika (Blacherna) Surlar, Saraylar ve Kiliseler," *Fatih ve Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1953), 193–222.

20. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 506; Ioannides, *Historia*, 219.

21. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 506, 511; Sakkas, *Tripolis*, 19. Local Greeks resorted there on the feast of the *Zoodochos Pege* (which is likely to have been introduced after 1461; after 1870 the fair was moved to Kilise Burunu).

there is suggested by their concern for the defense of the Philabonites-Harşit valley.

Argyria is dominated and protected by the great fortress of Petra Kale or Bedrama, 5 km to the south and on the east side of the Philabonites.<sup>35</sup> This is evidently the Πέτρομα of Panaretos<sup>36</sup> and of the Acts of Vazelon. It is first mentioned in 1268 in a deed witnessed by John the Good, Imperial Master of the Tent, who came from the villages of Petroma.<sup>37</sup> Of the three churches mentioned there by Bzhshkean there is today no trace,<sup>38</sup> but spasmodic silver mining at nearby Israil Maden was still reported in 1967. After 1461 the Tripolitians are said to have escaped to Petroma, where they were eventually starved out.<sup>39</sup> The story cannot be substantiated, but Bzhshkean and Kinneir have independent reports that a local amazon Derebey held out against the pasha of Trebizond in Petroma for six months before she surrendered in the first years of the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

The whole of the Philabonites valley to the southeast of Petroma might, on geographical grounds, be expected to have been a dependency of Tripolis, perhaps as a *bandon* of which we have no record. But the valley was in fact impassable to wheeled traffic until very recently, when it has taken four years to dynamite a road into existence; until 1961 there was no connection between Kürtün and the coast apart from a precipitous pack-animal track which fords and re-fords the river. This makes a nonsense of Janssens' observation that the Harşit is "sans aucun doute le moyen le plus facile pour rejoindre la route de Perse à partir d'un port de la Mer Noire orientale,"<sup>41</sup> and of his enquiry why Tripolis did not therefore become more important, "et l'on n'en est que plus perplexe quand on considère les avantages de la route de Harşit."<sup>42</sup> His conclusion is that Tripolis is not a satisfactory port. The anchorage is indeed chancy; there are rocks, and a late Greek portulan warns of two shoals, although there is shelter for small boats between the promontories of the town.<sup>43</sup>

35. It was called Bedrama in 1969, the name by which it was known to Kinneir (1813), 332. To Sakkas (*Tripolis*, 2), and to Hamilton ([1836], I, 258), it was known as Petra Kale. Bzhshkean (1819) (cited in Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 492 note 2, but not apparently in trans. Andreasyan, 38–39), proposed the somewhat unlikely etymology (followed by Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, p. cxlvi), of "Beth-Roum," or "House of the Greeks," for Petroma-Bedrama. Misled by Bzhshkean in this passage, A. A. M. B. identified the eastern castle of Tripolis with Petroma in *AP*, 24 (1961), 108. It is no comfort that Janssens, *Trébizonde*, 120, fell into the same trap.

36. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 79; Πέτρομα.

37. Vazelon Act 50 of 1268: τοῦ ἀθηντικοῦ κουρτουναρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ καλοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ χώρας Πέτρομας. On the *kourtianos*, see the Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 180–81.

38. Uspenskij, *Ocherki*, 89.

39. F. Babinger, s.v. "Tirebolu," *EI*. There were, of course, ballads about its heroic defense against the Infidel: see Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 86. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 335, states that Bedirme Kalesi became a castle-holding after 1461, with a population of thirteen. It was known as Kale-i Bedirme.

40. Bzhshkean (1819), cited in Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 492 note 2; Kinneir (1813), 332.

41. Janssens, *Trébizonde*, 21.

42. Janssens, *Trébizonde*, 21.

43. Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 237; cf. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 54.

But the facts are that the Philabonites was not used as a route by medieval travelers and traders and that, far from being a *bandon*, Tripolis was virtually isolated from its supposedly natural hinterland. Indeed, imperial control and Greek settlement probably did not penetrate much further inland than Petroma. Modern place names and Kiepert's map of Greek-speaking villages in 1890 are a very fair pointer to the extent of medieval Greek settlement. It was virtually absent in 1890 and, apart from one slight indication,<sup>44</sup> there are no reports of medieval or modern Greek churches in the valley today. South of Petroma no modern place names exist with an obviously Greek background, with the interesting exception of Kavraz, five kilometers south-southeast of Tirebolu, and the Kavraz, a western tributary of the Harşit. Both are perhaps related to the famous Pontic family of Gabras, which emerges in the late tenth century; its heyday, however, came before 1204 and Türkmen settlement.<sup>45</sup>

After 1461 Tripolis was administered as a Kale dependent upon Kürtün *nâhiyesi*, which administered the whole coast between Görele (Koralla) and Giresun (Kerasous) and even, according to Gökbilgin, as far as Ordu—although he gives no evidence for the last statement.<sup>46</sup> This arrangement may well have arisen from Çepni settlement earlier, which made Kürtün capital of a Çepni *nâhiyesi* and devoid of Greek place names. It is clear that the Philabonites and flanking districts of the valley had fallen into the hands of the Çepni by the fourteenth century, leaving the Greeks only the coast and the castles of Petroma and Torul at either end of the valley, with a pocket of settlement and pasture at Simyika (Sümüklü), which could perhaps best be protected from Torul, although Alexios tried to do it from Petroma. But because the valley was blocked at either end, the Türkmens were in turn inhibited from further expansion until they could spill into Cheriana. But it was they, rather than the inadequacies of the harbor at Tripolis, who probably stifled all commerce along the valley and ruled out the establishment of any *bandon* there. Such circumstances might also explain the otherwise exceptional fact that a small inland settlement was given control of a large and important stretch of coast by the Ottomans: the Fatih would naturally have made good use of existing Muslims in Kürtün. But the victory of the Çepni *nâhiyesi* was the culmination of a long process, which is made a little clearer in a passage in Panaretos:<sup>47</sup>

In February the Emperor [Alexios III] set out against the [Çepni] by land and by sea. And about [4 March 1380] he divided his army into two sections. He sent some 600 foot-soldiers away from Petroma and the Emperor himself took

44. H. Kiepert, *Map*; cf. the settlement maps in Bryer, *Neo-Hellenika*, I (1970), 53–54; and in Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972), 254–55. P. I. Melanophrydes, *Tò Κιουρτούν*, *PPH*, 2 (12) (1937), 6–7. In 1967 A. A. M. B. walked from Tirebolu to Torul in three days, finding no sign of Greek settlement along the entire Harşit. There is apparently no church at the significantly named Köseliakçakılıse.

45. There is a Gavra just south of Viçe, between Ardeşen and Arhavi in Lazia, and a Gavraz (now Kızılkavraz), 15 km east of Sivas: see Bryer, *Gabrades*, 187.

46. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 329–30, 334.

47. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 79.

command of the cavalry and another very large party of foot, crossed the country of those who live along the upper course of the Φιλαβωνίτης River up to their winter camps,<sup>48</sup> and he destroyed their tents and he slaughtered and he burnt and he set free many captives of ours, liberating Σιμόλικα<sup>49</sup> and he turned back and halted for a short while at Σθλαβοπιάστης. The 600 who had set out from Petroma made a raid into Κοτζαυτᾶ and massacred and ravaged and burned; whenever they came to grips with the Turks who were pursuing them, as they fought their way down to the coast, many of the Turks fell. The Romaioi expected to meet the Emperor, but reached the shore first, fighting hard and slaying as they went. When they got to the shore of Sthlabopiastes and did not find the Emperor there, as they had arranged, they were a little inclined to let themselves be pushed back and some 42 Romaioi fell. The Turks and Turkish women who died numbered over 100.

It is the reference to local Çepni and to Petroma which locates the campaign: hence, as has been pointed out more than once,<sup>50</sup> the Philabonites must be the Harşit. Alexios III seems to have marched first along the upper reaches of the Philabonites (though not south of Torul), where the Çepni had their winter encampments, but they have obliterated other names mentioned in the passage. Kotzauta, perhaps a Türkmen name, appears to have been in the Philabonites area, south of Petroma. Çoban Kale, marked on the British Army map of 1901 on the west side of the Harşit, about 12 km from the sea, looks superficially like a castle, but closer inspection reveals that it is no more than a rocky eminence, devoid of artificial defenses. The nearby Koz Köy may conceivably mask the name Kotzauta, but apart from Petroma itself, Suma Kale, which lies on the Erikbeli Dere, a tributary of the Harşit, 4 km northeast of Kürtün, is the sole castle that we have found in the Philabonites area. For want of any other candidate, we tentatively propose the relatively wide stretch of cultivable valleys around Kürtün and Suma Kale as Kotzauta.

The pastures and now ruined village of Sümüklü, attested as Christian in 1717, 1733, and 1779, 9 km southwest of Kürtün and 44 km northeast of Şebinkarahisar, mark the extreme limits and goal of the expedition and of Trapezuntine settlement surviving in the Türkmen interior. Equally important is the whereabouts of Sthlabopiastes, the start and finish of the Emperor's party and where the Petroma troop was to meet him. The name suggests that escaping slaves were caught there; clearly it was on the sea, certainly east of Petroma, and (from the abundant place names further east) somewhere west of, say, the Holy Cape. Given this long stretch of coast, one must look for a route inland, other than from Petroma, which would have been practicable for foot and cavalry and gives access to the upper reaches of the Philabonites. There is only one obvious one. It leads from the mouth of the Fol Dere at the Büyük Liman of modern Vakfikebir (whose medieval name is otherwise unknown) up to Tonya, thence to Erikbeli and down to Kürtün in the heart of the Çepni lands of the Harşit—our Kotzauta.

48. Χειμαδίαις: the sheltered lower settlements of pastoralists; cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 139.

49. The identification of this place name, and its history, is discussed in Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 197 and note 138.

50. E.g., Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 32; Sakkas, *Tripolis*, 2.

We therefore propose that Sthlabopiastes lay on or close to the site of Vakfikebir. Further, we propose below that a somewhat similar campaign conducted by the Grand Komnenos John IV against the sheikh of Erdebil some eighty years later, also came to grief at the same spot at the mouth of the Fol.<sup>51</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. The Church of the Panagia on Kilise Burunu

The medieval church of the Panagia on Kilise Burunu was remodeled in the nineteenth century and has been published elsewhere.<sup>52</sup>

##### 2. The Eastern Castle of Tripolis (pls 70a, b, 71a, 72a, b).

The eastern promontory on which the castle is built forms a rocky outcrop joined to the mainland by a low isthmus—now overrun by the new coastal road. The promontory has a maximum height of 25 m. On the landward side of the isthmus, outer walls seem to have extended over a considerable area. But by the late 1950s the remnants of walling here and there between the houses were too sparse to allow of a coordinated plan. The promontory provided a naturally defensible site, and with the building of the inner walls around it the castle must have become one of the most secure of imperial fortresses.

The entrance into the inner castle is on the south side (fig. 27, pl. 72b) and is now reached by a modern stairway which may be partly built over the site of the original approach—to the east of the stairway are signs of rock-cut steps. The voussoirs of the outer face of the entry arch are perhaps nineteenth century and may replace the original ones which bore the imperial effigies discussed above. The voussoirs on the inner side of the arch appear to be medieval, and, as is common in Late Byzantine and Trapezuntine arching, have no central keystone. The doorway is about 1.75 m high. It would be well protected by flanking fire from the projections on either side; there was also an outwork the form of which is not now clear.

At intervals along the walls are rounded and pointed projections which are now solid and would appear to have always been so. There are no signs of loopholes. It appears that defenders fired from the catwalk, using the projections as platforms for flanking fire. The projection west of the door is exceptional because the upper masonry courses appear to have been rebuilt and there is a trace of a round-arched window (pl. 71a).

At the west end is an additional fortification at a lower level (pl. 72a). The walls here are 1.25 to 1.50 m thick and there are the remains of four embrasures with narrow internal and wide external openings. The shape of these embrasures indicates that they are cannon ports. A Russian wheeled cannon of 1894 is still in place. There are similar additions at Kordyle (Akçakale).

At the eastern end of the promontory the rock has the appearance of having been cut to a level seating for walls, but the shaping may be fortuitous and natural. Certainly there is

51. See p. 153.

52. Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 254–56.

no trace of Hellenistic or Roman masonry and of Pliny's castle.

The wall surfaces are constructed of roughly-shaped blocks set in regular courses and of simple random-coursed masonry. Small stones were used to fill the gaps between the blocks and the whole exterior surface has been brought up to a smooth surface with heavy lime pointing. The thickness of the walls varies from *ca.* 0.75 m to 1.25 m; they now stand 8 m at the highest. The stonework is a mixture of local basalt and waterworn stones, presumably from the bed of the Philabonites, and of yellow and red blocks of Oinaion limestone.

The interior of the castle exhibits no remains now above ground level. The site of the chapel was pointed out to D. C. W. by the keeper of the lighthouse which now stands within the castle.

### 3. The Church of the Panagia in the Eastern Castle of Tripolis

Our knowledge of the appearance of this church is derived almost entirely from the notes, drawings, and measurements of Hommaire de Hell, made in 1846 (from which fig. 28 is a symmetrical and geometrical reconstruction by Mr. Richard Anderson), and from a lithograph by Hell's traveling companion, Jules Laurens, reproduced in plate. 73. They may be regarded as independent sources.<sup>53</sup> Hell's notes should be read in conjunction with figure. 28. (His original system of lettering has been altered for greater clarity.)

A, B, C, trois fenêtres en plein ceintre, ayant 1.52 m. de hauteur et 0.45 m de largeur; à l'entrée de l'abside à gauche . . . se trouve un mur vertical D, qui s'élève à 1.65 m. de hauteur; il est couvert intérieurement de restes de peintures. Cependant il est postérieur à la construction de l'édifice, car là où il est en contact avec la muraille de l'abside, il recouvre des peintures: peut-être le prêtre s'habillait-il derrière ce mur: on remarque encore deux tables E et F; je ne sais si elles sont anciennes ou

modernes. G. et H., petites niches garnies d'un rebord sculpté; I, coupole portée sur quatre pendentifs qui s'appuient sur quatre voutes, J, K, L, M, garnie intérieurement d'une espèce de triple archivolt N. . . . O, porte laterale, sans doute celle par laquelle arrivaient les seigneurs du lieu; P, porte ou fenêtre ruinée; Q, grande porte d'entrée, au dessus de laquelle se trouvent trois fenêtres pareille à celles de l'abside et disposées [like the three windows shown on the south wall in pl. 73]. R, petit portique supporté par quatre colonnes à chapiteau byzantin orné. Voûte à arête. Tout l'édifice est construit en petites pierres de taille. Extérieurement une ornementation à l'aide de plusieurs petites arceaux.<sup>54</sup>

The plan and description tally well enough with Laurens' lithograph in plate 73, with the serious exception that Hell specifically indicates only three windows (the central one above the other two), of the same shape and arranged in the same way as Hell indicates in a sketch (not shown here)<sup>55</sup> of three windows above the portico. It is probable that Hell's account is to be preferred to Laurens' artistic licence.

In plan, dimensions, and proportions the church of the Panagia at Tripolis, is strikingly similar to those of St. Philip at Trebizond, and of St. Michael at Platana.<sup>56</sup> All three are basically rectangular in plan, with an abrupt narthex, high-drummed dome over an almost square naos with vestigial crossing, and a single apse lit by three windows. But in St. Philip and St. Michael the western part of the structure has been remodeled. The portico of the Panagia may be a clue to what originally stood at the west end of the other two churches. For its period it is unique in the Pontos, but in plan is very like the belfries which were built outside so many nineteenth-century churches,<sup>57</sup> although it stood no higher than the door. It was, perhaps, a simpler example of the great porticos which stand outside St. Eugenios, the Chrysokephalos, and the Hagia Sophia at Trebizond, and which are such a feature of the architecture of the city. The semicircular niches, G and H, are unique in their positions in the Pontos, but liturgical

53. Hell (1846), IV, 394 and pl. xx, figs. 9–11; and plate in the album attached.

54. Hell (1846), IV, 394.

55. Hell (1846), IV, pl. xx, fig. 11.

56. See Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 159–61, 164–67, figs. 13, 14, 17, 18.

57. For examples, see Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 238–41, 282, pl. 4, figs. 2, 9; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 122, pls. 53, 56, 58, figs. 12, 13; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1973), 146, 261–62, fig. 34. So close in plan is the portico of the Panagia, Tripolis, to nineteenth-century belfries, that it must be asked whether it is not in fact a nineteenth-century addition. Greek churches were

#### THE COMPARISON OF MEASUREMENTS AND DIMENSIONS IN METERS IS:

	Apse Internal Length	Apse Internal Width	Pendentive to Pendentive	Central Bay Internal Width	Narthex Internal Length	Narthex Internal Width	Floor to Dome Cap	Drum Windows (number)
St. Philip, Trebizond	2.95	2.80	3.80	4.57	2.05	4.15	12.20	12
St. Michael, Platana	2.55	3.05	4.12	4.85	–	4.85	11.60	8
Panagia, Tripolis	2.39	2.63	2.63	4.10	1.80	4.10	much over 8	12

cupboards are common enough in other Pontic churches. Wall D, which so puzzled Hell, may have been no more than a later solid iconostasis, or part of it. The ropework decoration, shown by Laurens in the foreground in plate 73 is comparable to similar work in St. Philip, the Chrysokephalos, St. Eugenios (all in Trebizond), St. Michael, Platana, and on Cape Jason. But it is nowhere so elaborate; perhaps Laurens has depicted it with too considerable enthusiasm. Exceptionally adventurous low and high relief sculpture is a feature of St. Philip, Trebizond, St. Michael, Platana, and the Panagia, Tripolis. St. Philip has a dog-tooth arch and what is apparently a single-headed eagle. St. Michael's exterior is decorated with receding blind arcades. Hell mentions something similar in the Panagia, "extérieurement une ornementation à l'aide de plusieurs petits arceaux" (which are difficult to make out in Laurens' lithograph), and further relief work within. With this background, the "statues" of John II and Eudokia reported by Cuinet in this castle become more plausible.

St. Philip, Trebizond, St. Michael, Platana, and the Panagia, Tripolis, must be regarded as a group. Millet dates St. Philip to the thirteenth century and Talbot Rice St. Michael to the thirteenth-fourteenth century.<sup>58</sup> These dates

allowed bells (and hence belfries) with the reforms of 1839 and 1856. But when Laurens drew the Panagia in 1846, the portico was very ruinous and for some years after 1839 local Muslim authorities were bitterly opposed to the building of belfries and porticos, especially in conspicuous positions, such as that enjoyed by the Panagia. In a dispatch dated 16 April 1841, H. Suter, British Vice-Consul at Trebizond, describes the fate of a portico or belfry of a newly rebuilt church in the city of Trebizond on Easter Day of that year: "Attached to the main building was an external portico, supported by two small stone columns. As the Firman did not specify this, a resolution was passed that it should not be allowed to exist. Its demolition was therefore summarily decreed, and forthwith accomplished by the assembled parties amid loud and rejoicing cries." (PRO FO 195/173). There seems little doubt that the portico of the Panagia, Tripolis, is not therefore nineteenth-century work.

58. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 454; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1929–30), 66–68. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 440, followed by Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 161, names, however, Anna, daughter of Alexios III (1349–90) and wife of the Treasurer John Mourouzes, as foundress of St. Philip (see p. 230). Chrysanthos cites Ioannides, *Historia*, 238, and Miller, *Trebizond*, 114–15, neither of whom give a further reference. It is difficult to pin down the origins of this story, which, unlike a suspiciously parallel explanation for the origins of another famous Pontic family and Phanariot dynasty, the Hypsilantai (supposedly descended from an alliance between Eudokia, daughter of the Grand Komnenos Manuel, and a Grand Domestic Constantine Xiphilinos-Hypsilantes), does not appear to derive from where one would expect it: the fertile imagination of Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantes, *Tà μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωσιν*, (Constantinople, 1870), 10. It might even have a more respectable ancestry than the Hypsilantes story, for a lament on the loss of St. Philip in about 1665 mentions a daughter of a Grand Komnenos Alexios as its foundress: *FHIT*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 150. However, the fact that the Lament does not mention a Mourouzes is significant, for the family only became prominent after ca. 1671 (Hypsilantes, *op. cit.*, 165; cf. Bryer, *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 [1970], 46). No Mourouzes occurs in medieval Trapezuntine sources, let alone a "Treasurer," and Anna, daughter of Alexios III, in fact married Bagrat V (VI) of Georgia. The story must be dismissed as fictitious, and has been by S. Ch. Skopoteas, *Οἱ Ὑψιλάνται. Ἡ Τραπεζουντιακὴ καταγωγὴ τους*, *AP*, 20 (1955), 194–99, on different grounds.

might be narrowed down if our suggestion that the castle and chapel of Tripolis are associated with John II (1280–97) and his wife Eudokia (1280–1301) is correct.

#### 4. Petroma (pls. 74a, b, 75)

This castle stands on a summit about 400 m above sea level the east side of which falls almost sheer into the Philabonites. It can be seen from the mouth of the river and glimpsed between the mountains from Halkavala. On a misty day the valley can be overlooked from the castle from the sea to about 4 km south of Petroma; it commands both the coastal and the valley routes and would effectively oversee any threat to the mines at Argyria, which we have suggested may have been exploited in the later Middle Ages.<sup>59</sup>

The rock on which the castle stands rises strikingly above steep woods. The only approach is from the southeast, leading to steps at the only entrance (fig. 29; pls. 74a, b and 75). The steps are largely built of squared stones, showing signs of wear, but in places are also cut out of the rock. At the top the entrance is covered by a projecting bastion on the north. This and the adjoining wall have traces of a complete mortar facing over the masonry. To the left (west) of the entrance runs a vaulted tunnel, now about 1.75 m high, 2.25 m long, and 0.75 m wide. This has a substantial mortar fill in the comparatively well-faced and well-laid masonry. From the wall running beside the tunnel, which has an internal drain, a shaft overlooks the entrance (pl. 74a).

To the right of the entrance a recess in the bastion apparently marks the opening to another tunnel. There is a blocked shaft or window on the north side of the bastion.

The interior of the castle is no more than 25 m long, with rocky outcrops and a slope down to the northern end. The sides are largely sheer and do not generally call for more than a low retaining wall, but there is a square bastion to the west and a semicircular one to the southeast. The average width of the walls is 0.90 to 1.00 m. They are faced with comparatively well-coursed granite blocks, whose average size is 0.30 × 0.20 × 0.20 m. The core consists of a lime-and-pebble mortar with a large number of closely packed flat stones and some tile or brick fragments.

There are drainage holes in the northern wall and two wells, or cisterns, both now filled in. The well at the highest point of the castle, in a rocky outcrop facing the entrance, appears to be unlined and is simply rock cut. The well just to the northeast of the entrance is lined with well-faced square stones. About two meters north of it is a large clay vessel, sunk into mortar and embedded into the rock.

The castle was thus equipped to withstand sieges. The basic masonry is medieval, although some features may date

59. Hamilton (1836), I, 258: from near Argyria, "the view up the river [was] very striking. About ten miles off [*sic*] I saw on the summit of a lofty hill a remarkable-looking rock, which my guide called, in a strange mixture of languages, Petra Kaléh, or rock-castle, the rooms and apartments of which were all said to be cut out of the solid rock." A. A. M. B. failed to reach the summit of the castle on 10 September 1967, and again on 8 September 1969, but on the latter occasion Dr. John Haldon and Miss Jane Isaac of the University of Birmingham were able to complete the ascent, and we are grateful to them for the photographs and notes for the plan and description used here.

from the era of the Derebeys or, even, its last Amazon defender. Considering the great technical difficulties of building on the sheer rock, it is of remarkably fine quality.

5. Suma Kale (Kotzauta ?) (pls. 76, 77a, b)

Between Torul and the sea, the Philabonites (Harşit) River runs for the most part through steep gorges which mark its descent of some 950 m. But here and there the valley opens out and is flanked by gentler fertile slopes where some tributary stream flows into the Philabonites. One of the widest of these reaches is at modern Kürtün, where the Erikbeli flows in from the north and (a little to the east) the Cizre comes in from the south. Both the Erikbeli and Cizre Rivers are shadowed by tracks running north-south which cross the Philabonites near the confluence of the Philabonites and Cizre by one of the few old bridges. The track south leads through relatively fertile and (in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) well-populated country, past a reported castle at Hıdırilyas, midway between Emrek and the Müskene Dağı.<sup>60</sup> The track northward divides below Suma Kale: one route crosses the watershed over the ridge of the Alacadağı to come down the valley of the Akhisar River to the sea at a point between Koralla (Görelle Burunu) and Beşikdüzü (a modern town) which will be proposed as the medieval Libiopolis.<sup>61</sup> The other route traverses a low pass at Erikbeli and follows the Fol Dere past the church at Fol Maden<sup>62</sup> to the sea at Vakfikebir, which we have proposed as Sthlabopiastes. Suma castle thus guards a point at which two tracks southward from the coast converge before crossing the Philabonites to continue southward. The valleys around the castle are fertile; it could have been the residence of some feudal lord of the area. But its position and relatively inhospitable site suggest that it was more likely a government fort controlling and protecting a north-south route, and eventually failing, in the fourteenth century, to prevent incursions by Çepni into the coastal valley.

60. Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield. *AP*, 32 (1972–73). 234.

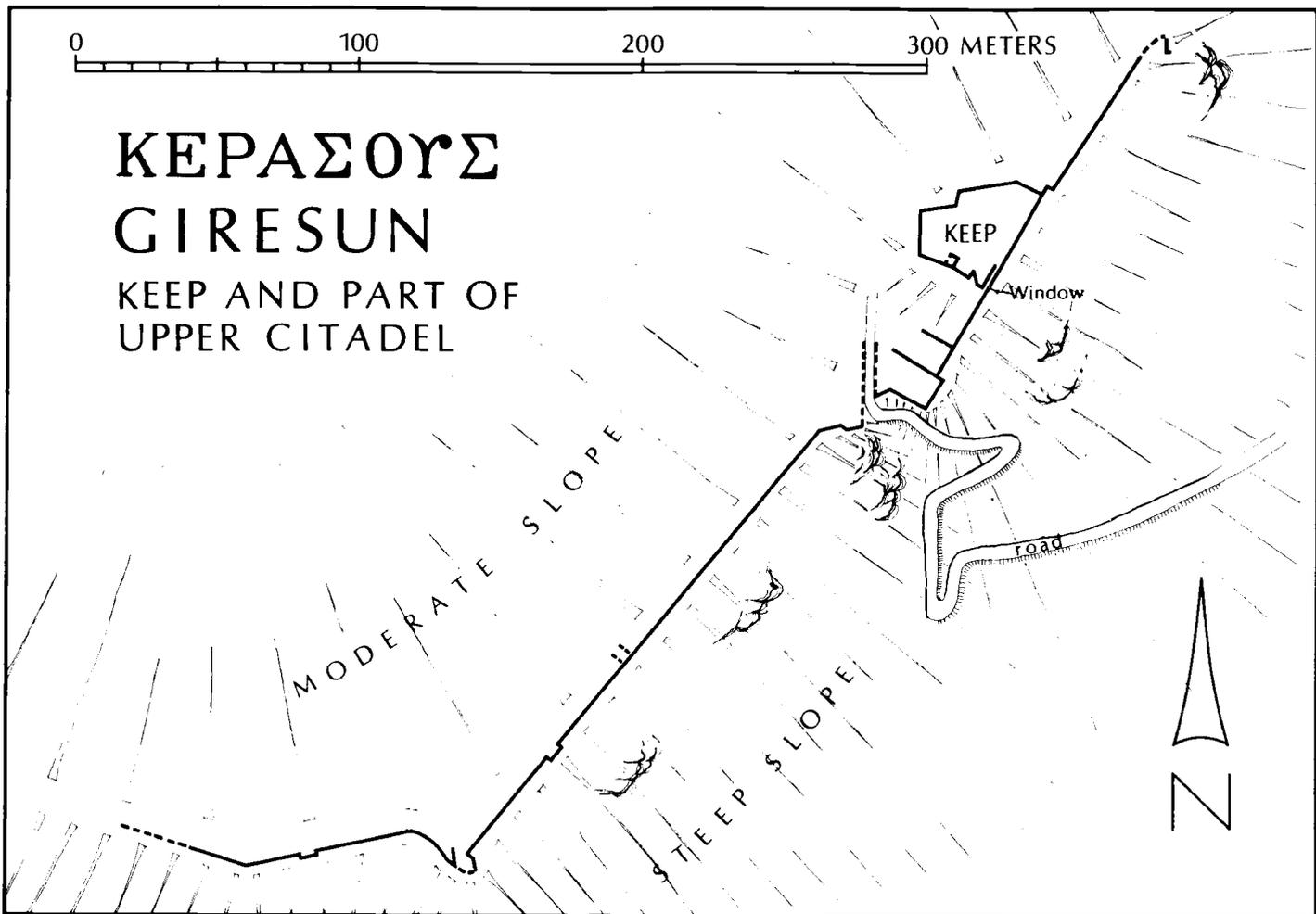
61. See p. 157.

62. See p. 157.

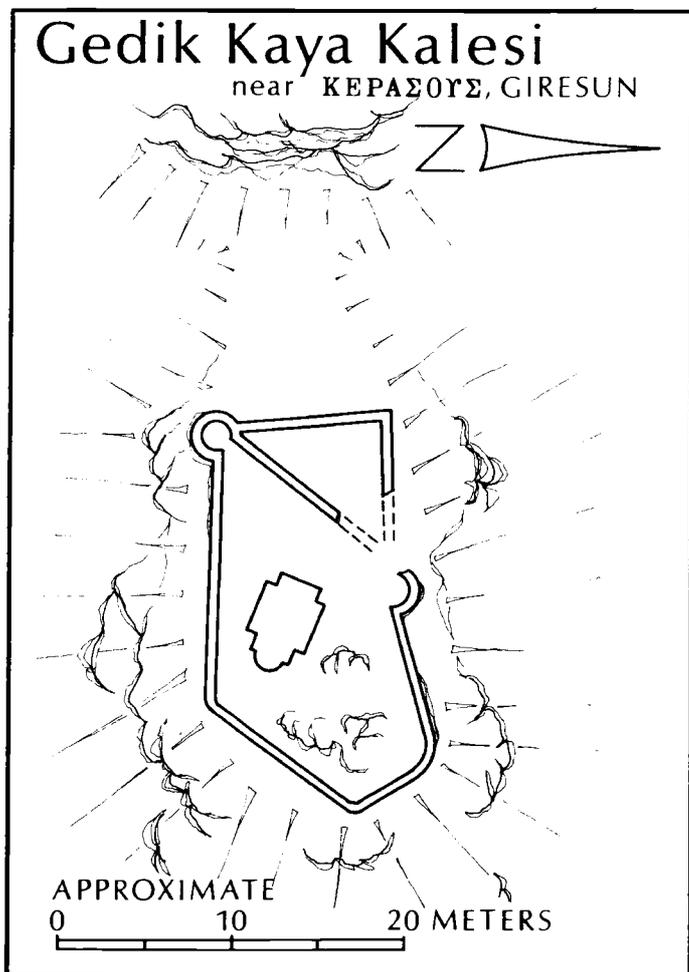
Suma Kale is about one and a half hours' walk and perhaps 400 m above Kürtün to the north-northeast. It stands on a pinnacle high on the west slope of the Erikbeli valley and is about two hours' walk south of the watershed pass at Erikbeli.

The high pinnacle (fig. 30; pl. 76) forms a natural inner fortress, which must have been impregnable so long as it had food and water supplies. The irregular nature of the edge of the pinnacle has been improved by laying beams to form straight edges for the base of the walls (pl. 77a). The construction is of rough stones laid in random courses and there is little to differentiate the rubble core of the walls from their outer surface. This surface was brought up to a smooth finish with small stones and a heavy pointing of lime mortar. Wooden tie-beams were used at intervals to strengthen the walls, but there is no trace of stringers. The walls are 1 m or more thick at the base and taper upward to about 0.30 m at the top. There are no embrasures for firing from; for this a catwalk near the top of the wall must have been used. The catwalk must have been a wooden structure set up against the walls, which are not sufficiently thick to have allowed of a masonry one. There was presumably a curtain wall right across the spur, but it now remains only on the northwest side, standing to a maximum height of 7 m.

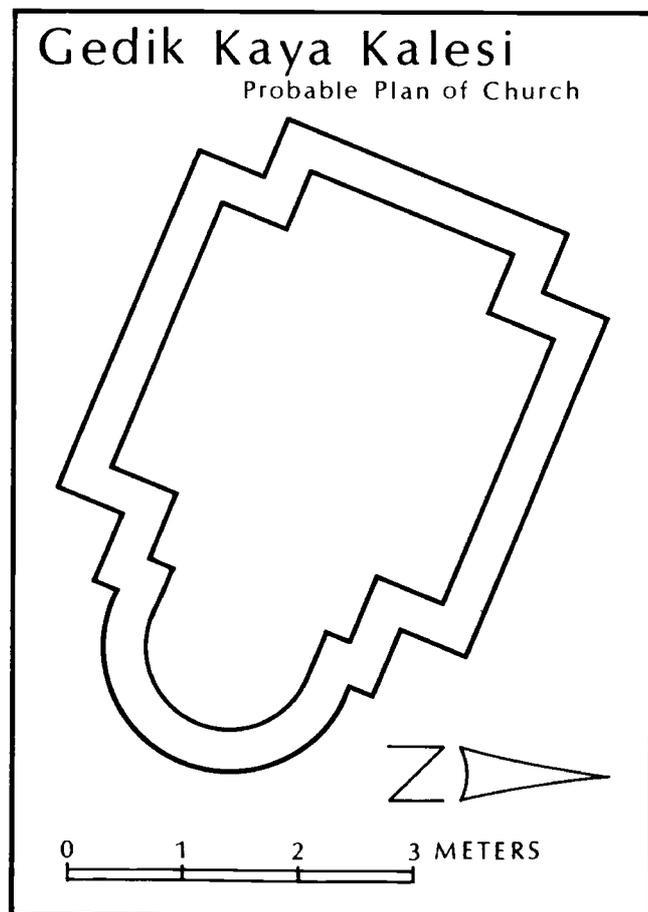
The pinnacle must have been reached from the lower bailey by wooden ladders. It is separated from the main spur by a gap of about seven meters which would have been too wide for a drawbridge. If there was any connection it must have been in the nature of a wooden drawbridge, supported by diagonal struts from below. Such a bridge could have had some part of it arranged as a drawbridge to be removed in time of attack. However there is now no trace of any bridge, nor of any barbican structure on the main spur, so it is possible that there never was any connection to the pinnacle. It must be said, however, that climbing the pinnacle is today exceptionally tricky, and the construction and use of the castle would have required something more convenient than the present mode of access. On the flat-topped adjoining rock spur are remains of the robbed walls of what was probably an outer bailey. The remains do not add up to a coherent plan.



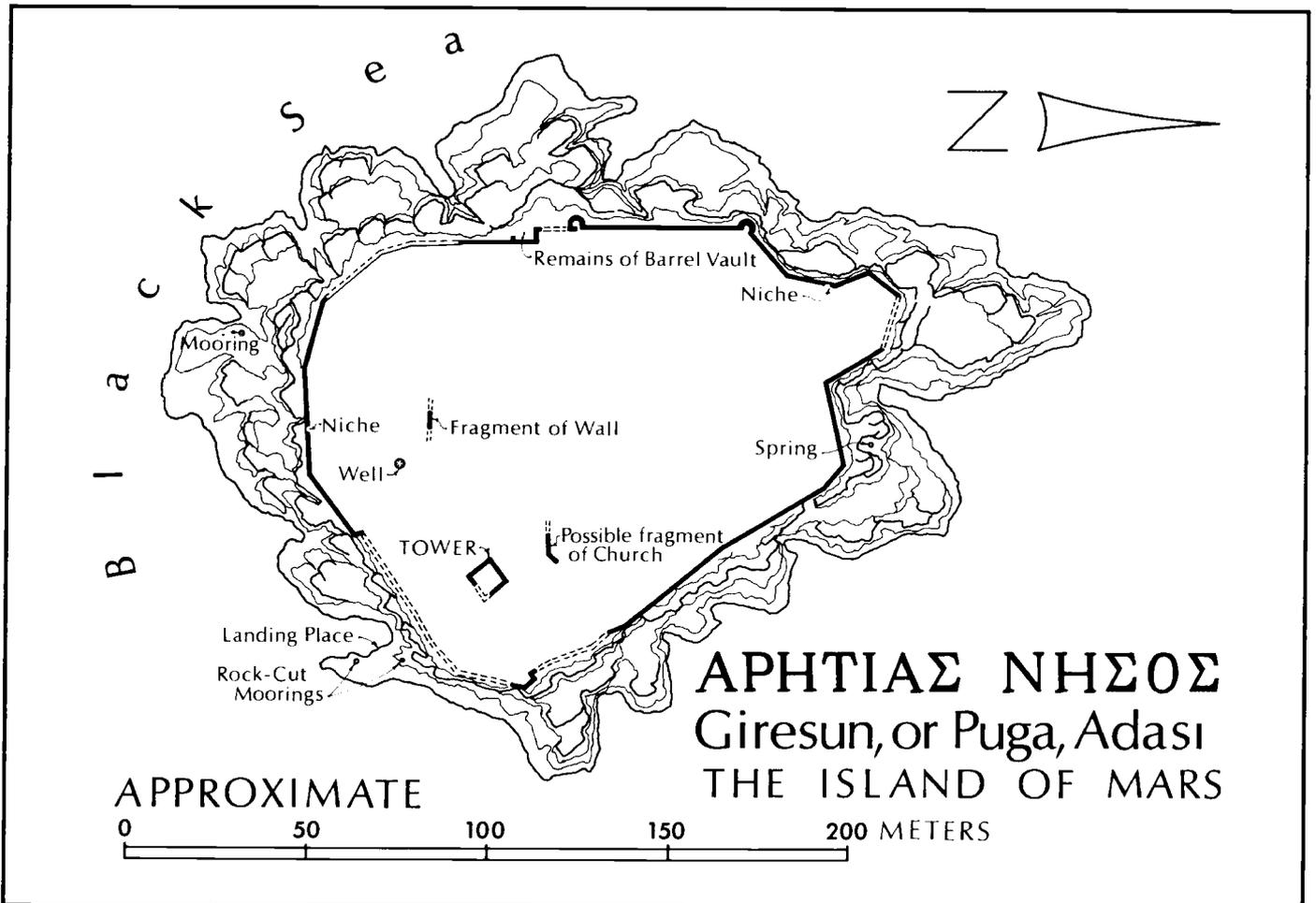
21. Plan



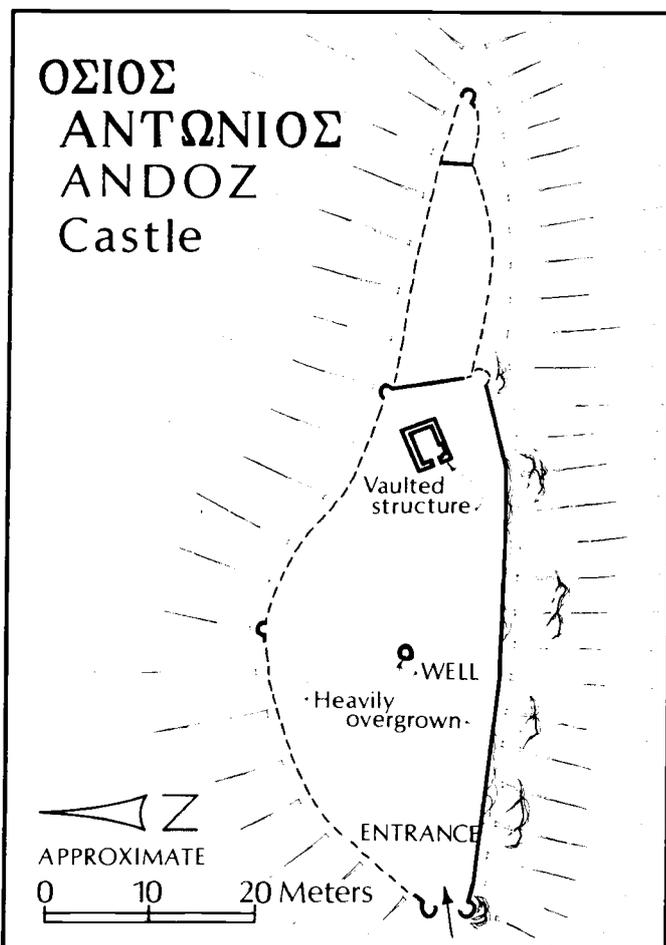
22. Plan of Site



23.



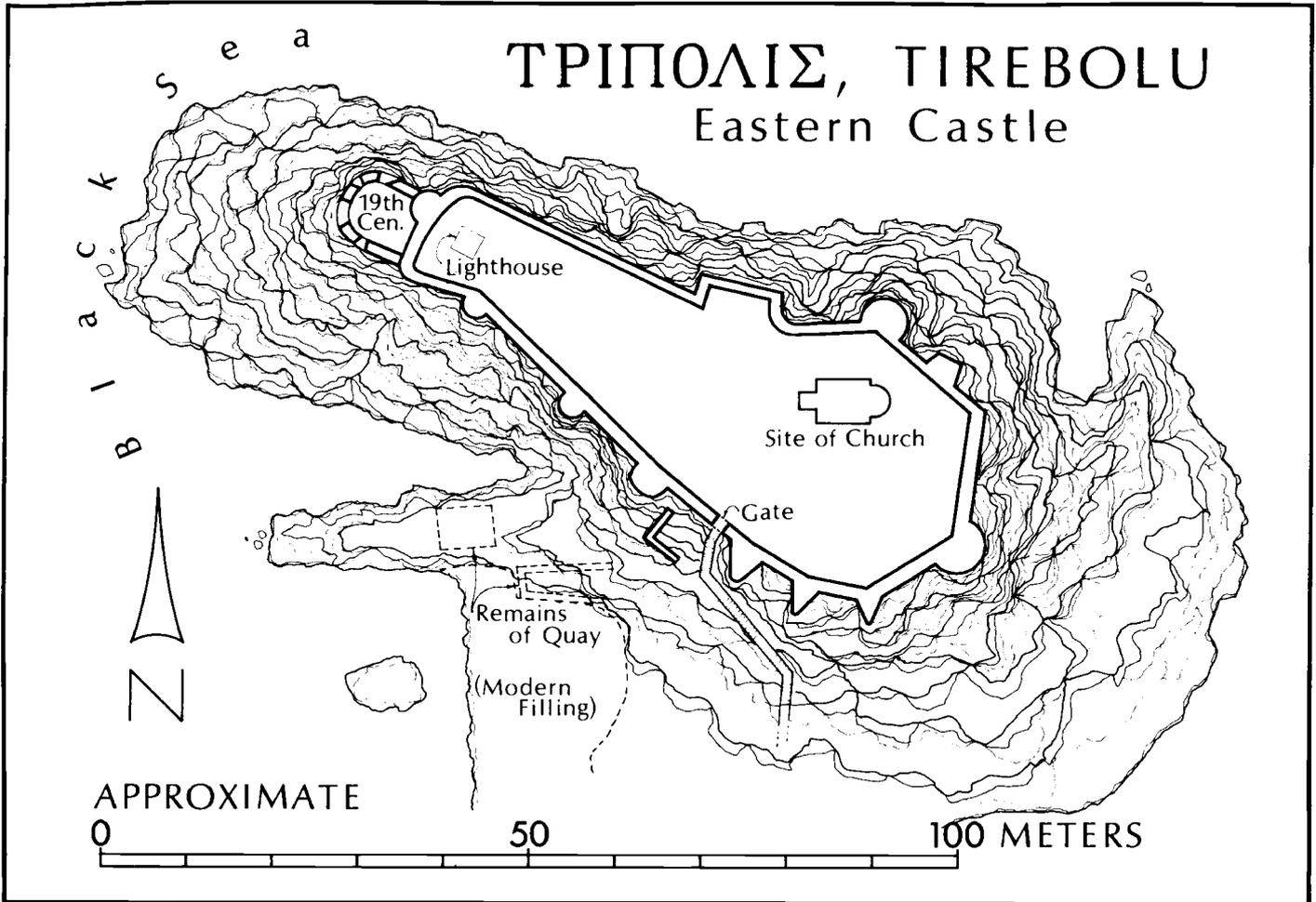
24. Giresun, Map



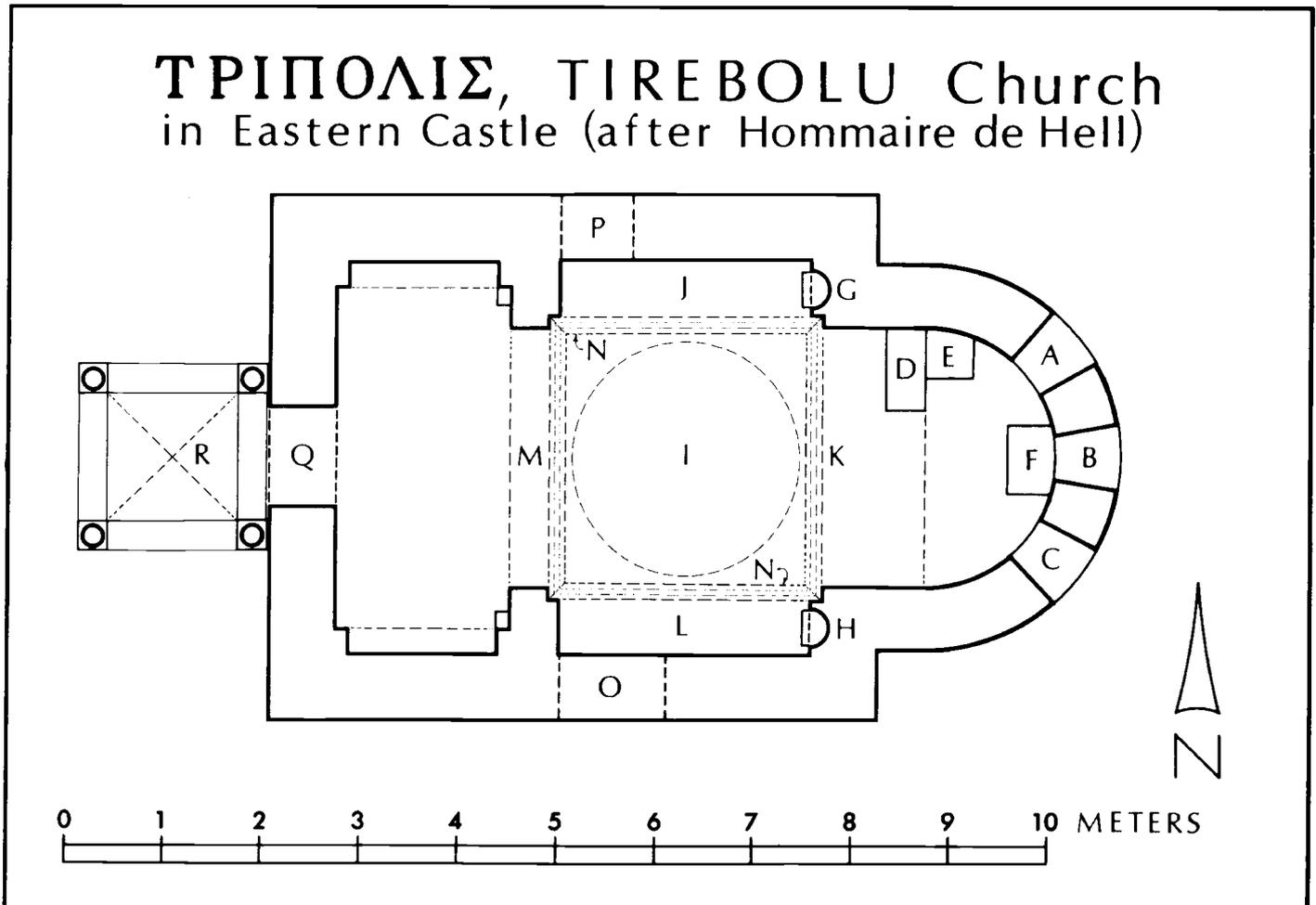
25. Plan



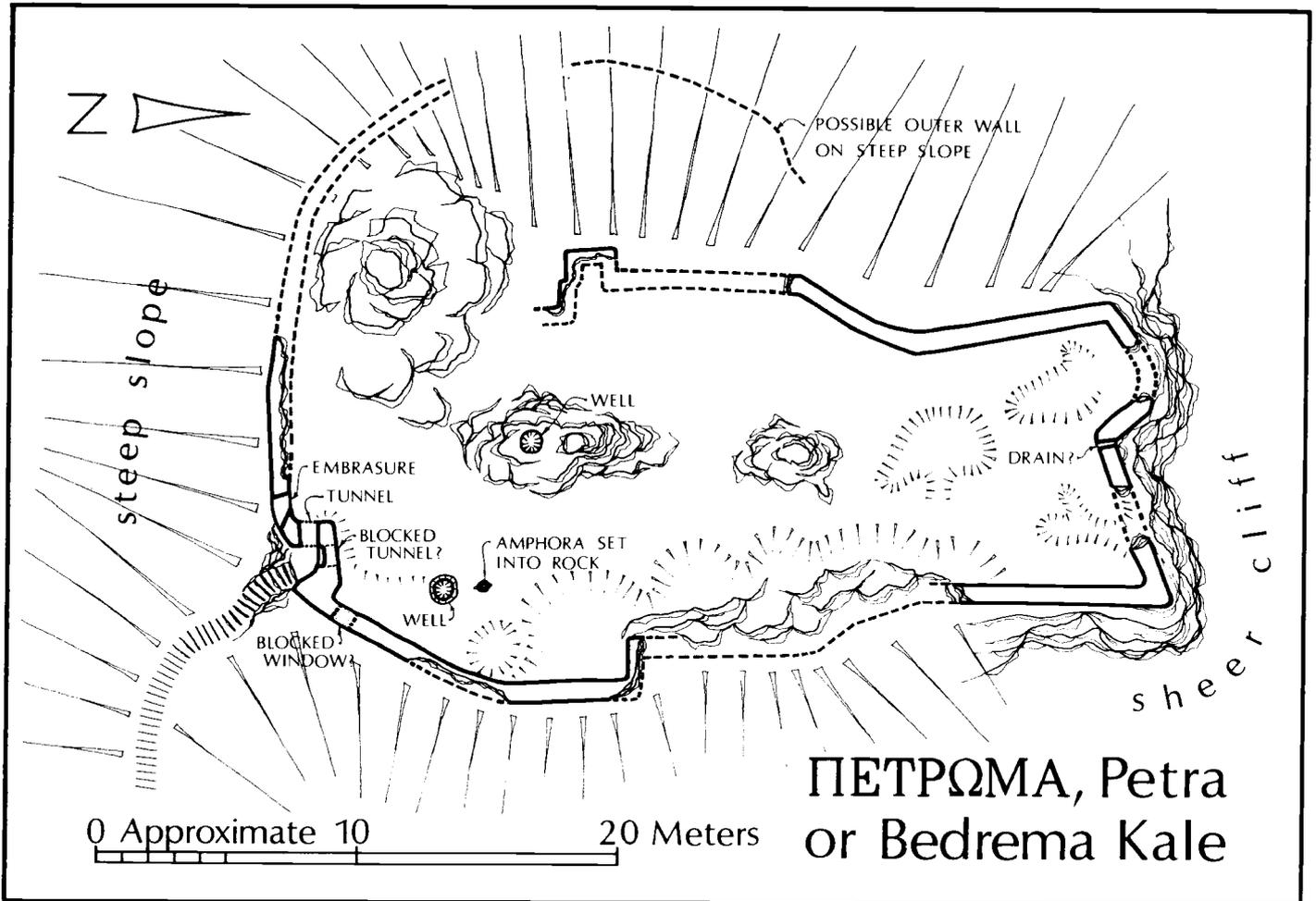
26. Kalcik-Hisarüstü. Plan of Site with Fortifications



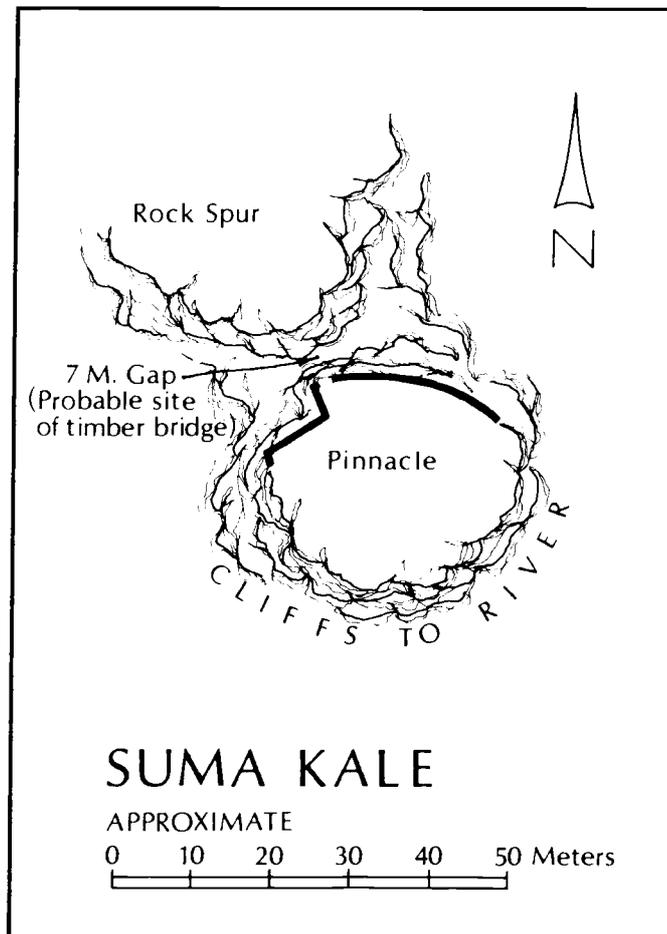
27. Plan of Site



28. Plan



29. Plan of Site



30. Plan of Site

## Section XVI

# KOLONEIA

It is almost certain that Koloneia never lay in Trapezuntine hands. But it lay within the economic, rather than political, sphere of the Grand Komnenoi, for the area produced alum. As in the nineteenth century, the alum was probably mined by Greeks. A proportion of it was exported to Europe through Trapezuntine territory, initially via Trebizond itself, and then (after the Chaldian routes became dangerous), via Kerasous. Hence the inclusion of Koloneia in this Study.

### IDENTIFICATION

An inscription originally found in a church in the castle of Şebinkarahisar must identify the site with Κολώνεια beyond reasonable doubt. It refers to a John, imperial *strator* and *droungarios* of Koloneia. The letter forms as we know them from published facsimiles suggest a ninth- or tenth-century date.<sup>1</sup> An unpublished seal of John, imperial *strator* and *paraphylax* of Koloneia can be assigned to the same period and could well refer to the same person.<sup>2</sup>

Μαυρόκαστρον emerges as an alternative name for Koloneia from the eleventh century. Attaliates calls the theme and town Koloneia, but the castle perched above the town Mavrokastron.<sup>3</sup> By the twelfth century the Continuator of Skylitzes refers, apparently, to both castle and town as Mavrokastron,<sup>4</sup> although Anna Komnene characteristically

1. The inscription, which was removed to a now lost Greek church of the town after 1868, has been independently reported four times: O. Blau, "Aphorismen alter und neuer Ortskunde Klein-Asiens," *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt ... von Dr. A. Petermann*, 11 (1865), 252; Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 114; Taylor (1866), 294 (with facsimile); X. A. Sideropoulos, Περὶ τῆς ἐν Μικρᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ Νικοπόλεως, *CPSyll (Parartema)*, 17 (1886), 135 (with facsimile); S. Bénay, "Quelques inscriptions chrétiennes," *EO*, 4 (1900–1), 93–94; P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Inscriptions*, III (reprinted, Hildesheim, New York, 1972), 431, no. 1814g; Cumonts, *SP*, II (1906), 296, 302; the same, "Les inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure," *MélRome*, 15 (1895), 286, 294. P. Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *TM*, 5 (1973), 60 note 24, gives a corrected version (save for the last word). An uncorrected version, based on Bénay, Cumonts, and the facsimile of Sideropoulos, would read: + Τῆς [Πατρη]κῆς οὐσί[ας] ἀναρχ[ε] Λόγε, | φύλλατε ἀή το σο δούλο | Ἰωάνη βασ[ιλικῶ] στρ[άτορ]ι [καὶ] δρω[ν]γαρηό Κωλονήας.

2. Dumbarton Oaks, Shaw Coll., no. 73.

3. Attaliates, Bonn ed., 125: ... τοῦ Μαυροκάστρου φρουρίου, εἰς τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν τόπων ἐπὶ λόφου κειμένου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ δυσκατεργάστου.

4. Skylitzes, Bonn ed., 679.

retains the old name of Koloneia,<sup>5</sup> which naturally still designated the area. More curiously, Ibn Bibi and inscriptions on the later coins of Eretna retain the Armenian version it: Koğoniya.<sup>6</sup> By the eighteenth century local Greeks were still calling it Koloneia but had also picked up a Turkish name, Karahisar.<sup>7</sup> A further complication came in the nineteenth century, when the place became, so far as churchmen and some antiquarians were concerned, Nikopolis.<sup>8</sup> Nikopolis itself lies at Pürk, 25 km to the southwest.<sup>9</sup>

It seems clear, therefore, that Turkish Karahisar, found after the fourteenth century, is a translation of the popular Byzantine Mavrokastron, a designation which may have originally applied only to the black castle above the Greek, Armenian, and Turkish town of Koloneia-Koğoniya. Ottoman variants were Şapkarahisar ("alum black castle") and Şarkikarahisar ("oriental black castle")—to distinguish it from the "opium black castle" of Afyonkarahisar which lies to the west.<sup>10</sup> For the last century or so, town and castle have been called Şebinkarahisar.

### DESCRIPTION

The great black basalt rock of Koloneia rises abruptly out of a rich plain, the floor of which is at about 1450 m above sea level, and is surrounded on three sides by arid, alum-streaked mountains and by an exit to the Lykos valley to the south.<sup>11</sup> The rock is about 1,000 m long, 500 m wide, and 160 m high. It stands nearly sheer, "like an island alone in the midst of a waving sea of flowers,"<sup>12</sup> except for a very steep slope to the

5. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Leib, III, 76.

6. Ibn Bibi, trans. Duda, 151–52, 306, 344; J. H. Mordtmann, s.v. "Karahisar," *EI*.

7. E. C. Colwell, *The Four Gospels of Karahisar*, I (Chicago, 1936), 33–94, gives the most vivid picture of life in 18th-century Şebinkarahisar, through colophons of venerated of the Karahisar Gospels; see also Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 238–43.

8. Oikonomides, *Pontos*, 87–90; Ioannides, *Historia*, 199; Sideropoulos, *loc. cit.* (note 1); R. Janin, s.v. "Colonia," *DHGE*.

9. Cumonts, *SP*, II (1906), 302–17.

10. B. Darkot, s.v. "Karahisar," *IA*; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien: Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850–1859)*, ed. F. Babinger (Hanover, 1925), 437–42. This Koloneia must be distinguished from Cappadocian Koloneia, which by the time of Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates) had become Ak Saray: ἡ νῦν Τάξαρα λέγεται (Bonn ed., 689; cf. 72, 541).

11. See the *Türkiye Jeoloji Haritası*, Samsun sheet (Ankara, 1962).

12. Taylor (1866), 293.

southwest. This gives access from the town, or *vicus*, up to the principal, and what appears to have been the only, entrance to the castle.<sup>13</sup>

Koloneia is the most formidable of Pontic natural strongholds, but the areas which it controls are hardly worthy of its scale. The vulnerable and low-lying Nikopolis was in fact a more important communications center and commanded more extensive lands. Koloneia is more of a *kleisoura*. Hidden in its cul-de-sac, away from the Taulara-Satala highway, Koloneia figures in none of the *Itineraria*. It would have been near impregnable in summer and simply unapproachable in the winter months, when it is snowbound. It is frankly a place of refuge rather than of strategic importance. It was no doubt this that attracted the separatist Paulicians to the area in the seventh to the ninth centuries. Koloneia could not command the relatively distant Lykos valley, but it could protect the local alum mines and the precarious alum route north to Kerasous. But this function can hardly have been important in Byzantine times, when there is no evidence that the alum mines were in fact exploited, and was hardly successful in Trapezuntine times when the route, but not the mines, was controlled by the Grand Komnenoi.

The present road runs north past the former Armenian village of Tamzara to a gorge about 10 km from Şebinkarahisar. Here, in the nineteenth century alum was worked by Greek villagers from Κατοχώριον (Gedahor) and Κοϊνούκ (Göynük), principally in the pinkish-colored cliffs on the west side of the road where there are traces of the largely open-cast mining. The alum was washed at various points further along the gorge.<sup>14</sup> This is the only area known to have been worked recently and we see no reason why it should not also represent the classical and Trapezuntine mines.

#### HISTORY

So prominent is the stronghold of Koloneia that it could hardly have escaped the attention of the Pontic kings or failed to have been one of Mithridates' seventy-five treasure-fortresses whose water holes were blocked and walls razed by Pompey. It is a candidate for Sinoria.<sup>15</sup> Procopius notes that it was built "by men of ancient time,"<sup>16</sup> and its five massive rock-cut tunnels and cisterns (together with rock-cut water runnels, collecting pans, and steps) are typical of other Pontic examples examined by Jerphanion.<sup>17</sup> The present walls stand in what is evidently ancient rock-cut prepared seating, but there is no certain trace of pre-Roman masonry. This might confirm that Pompey indeed destroyed the ancient fortress, were it not for the fact that Procopius maintains an opposite story: that Pompey actually strengthened the place. This is difficult to substantiate, for no certain trace of Roman masonry survives either, but before the notion is

dismissed two Latin inscriptions, reported by Taylor, should be noted.<sup>18</sup> The first was a fragment in the citadel, which read:

ΙΣΤΙΙ  
ΙΠΕΡΟΙ

The second, "a Latin inscription of Pompey" on a granite slab, had disappeared from the side of the outer gateway a year or two before Taylor's visit of 1866, and does not seem to be otherwise noted. The name certainly indicates the settlement of a Roman colony—Procopius states that it was Pompey who entitled it Koloneia. One might speculate that the local alum mines were important enough for the Roman government to declare it a colony and hence rule it directly.

The first literary references to Koloneia do not come until two letters of St. Basil, which also contain the first mentions of a bishop there.<sup>19</sup> Koloneia was at first a suffragan of Nikopolis, became an independent archbishopric at about the same time as its erection into a theme in the ninth century, and finally a metropolis without (except in one list) suffragans from the late tenth century. Its position in the lists declined from 31st to 68th, but it is mentioned until the fifteenth century. Nine bishops are known from the late fourth century until ca. 1030. In 1390, it was brought, with other neighboring sees which had been more or less abandoned, under the jurisdiction of Trebizond. By the seventeenth century it was simply a curacy of the Trapezuntine monastery of Soumela, but became the metropolitan see of Nikopolis itself (of which Koloneia had begun life as a suffragan bishopric) in the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

The region was, however, identified with heresy from the seventh century, when the Georgian Katholikos Kyrion learned of Nestorianism from a priest of Koloneia.<sup>21</sup> Constantine-Sylvanos, the earliest Armenian Paulician heresiarch, founded a Church of "Macedonia" at the castle of Kibossa, near Koloneia (εἰς Κίβουσαν τὸ κάστρον, πλησίον Κολωνείας)<sup>22</sup> in the 670s; soon after a Church of "Laodicea" was established at Κυνὸς χώραν (Koinochoritai).<sup>23</sup> Grégoire's identification of the latter with the famous Pontic castle of Kainochorion<sup>24</sup> is a happy one,

18. Taylor (1866), 295.

19. St. Basil, Letters 195 and 227, in PG, 32, cols. 708 and 852–57.

20. Gelzer, *Texte*, pp. 551 no. 86, 571 no. 101, 585 no. 27, 599 no. 69, 608 no. 78, and (where there is mention of a suffragan) 641 no. 68; George of Cyprus, ed. Gelzer, p. 60 no. 1199; Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, p. 37 no. 703.3; Le Quien, *OC*, I, cols. 429–32; Laurent, *CS*, V (1), p. 630 no. 814, and an eighth, unnamed, bishop in Petrus Siculus, *Historia Manichaeorum*, PG, 140, col. 1281; C. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, and J. Paramelle, "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure," *TM*, 4 (1970), 47; M&M, *A&D*, I, 199–201; II, 154; Bryer, Isaac, Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 240–42; Lemerle, *TM*, 5 (1973), 59–60.

21. N. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague, Paris, 1967), 145, citing Orbelian.

22. Petrus Siculus, PG, 140, col. 1280; Astruc and others, *TM*, 4 (1970), 43.

23. Petrus Siculus, PG, 140, col. 1297; Astruc and others, *TM*, 4 (1970), 61.

24. See p. 147.

13. Evliya (1644), II, 206, mentions, however, "three strong gates."

14. Cumonts, *SP*, II (1906), 299; Bryer, Isaac, Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 244–52; information from members of the Faculty of Geology, Ankara University, visiting the site in 1969; the mines are marked on the Turkish 1:200,000 map.

15. Magie, *Roman Rule*, II, 1224.

16. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, iv, 6–9.

17. Jerphanion, *MéUSJ*, 13 (1928), *passim*.

but he suggested Koyulhisar or “Geusuk” for Kibossa.<sup>25</sup> We know no place corresponding to “Geusuk” (Gözüük ?), and Koyulhisar is already overendowed with possible classical and Byzantine names.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Peter of Sicily, our early tenth-century source, specifically located Kibossa near Koloneia, while Koyulhisar is nearer Nikopolis. The fact that Constantine-Sylvanos was taken for his execution south of Koloneia may perhaps be interpreted as meaning that Kibossa did not lie in that direction. At all events Kibossa must be sought in the mountains round Koloneia. No modern place-name seems to correspond with it, so one must look for a castle. The most appropriate (and only major) candidate is Sisorta Kale, the “Castle in the Mists,” 33 km west-northwest of Şebinkarahisar.<sup>27</sup> The Paulicians evidently favored remote and inaccessible strongholds such as Sisorta, but there are no grounds, other than those of geographical likelihood, for identifying Sisorta Kale with Kibossa.

Constantine-Sylvanos of Macedonia-Kibossa was condemned to death by stoning by the imperial official Symeon in ca. 683 and was in fact killed by one of his disciples, Justus, south of Koloneia. Symeon apostatized to the Paulicians and, as Symeon-Titos, reestablished the Church of Macedonia-Kibossa; he was killed in turn before 687. Koloneia remained a Paulician center until as late as the ninth century and was clearly very diverse ethnically. In ca. 853 another Paulician leader, Sergios-Tychikos, was killed by ὁ . . . Τζανίων ὃ ἀπὸ καστέλλου τῆς Νικοπόλεως.<sup>28</sup> The name Tzanion is a reminder of the Caucasian Tzannoï and of the later Chaldian Trapezuntine family of Tzanichites of Tzanicha,<sup>29</sup> and the passage indicates that Nikopolis was still a fortified castle. But its surviving artificial defenses, which appear to be almost entirely Justinian’s work, made no more than a simple castle. The exposed position of Nikopolis naturally led to its superseding, administratively and ecclesiastically, by Koloneia during the Arab invasions, from which it never recovered.

According to Procopius, Justinian made considerable efforts to strengthen Koloneia and to give the region prosperity in the process.<sup>30</sup> The earlier, blocked, gateway to the castle can perhaps be attributed to this period. Justinian and Hierokles refer to Koloneia as an urban center.<sup>31</sup> Its relative remoteness probably preserved it from the worst of the Arab raids, but it was briefly captured by Yazid ben Usaid al-Sulami in 778<sup>32</sup> and its surrounding villages were destroyed by Sayf ad-Dawla in 939–40.<sup>33</sup> Koloneia became a

*kleisoura*.<sup>34</sup> There is some doubt as to when precisely the themes of Koloneia and Chaldia were created out of Armeniakon, following the pattern of smaller tenth-century units, but the reign of what may well have been Koloneia’s first *doux* (or, possibly, tourmarch), the *spatharios* Kallistos, can be dated exactly. According to a version of the Life of the Forty Martyrs of Amorion, composed in ca. 845–46, Theophilos appointed the iconophile Kallistos *doux* of Koloneia in his will, in an attempt to rid the capital of him.<sup>35</sup> Theophilos died in 842. Kallistos was betrayed by his Paulician soldiers to the Muslims and died with (but is not numbered among) the Forty Martyrs on 6 March 845. A *strategos* of Koloneia is mentioned in 863,<sup>36</sup> which is often taken to be the first indication of the existence of the theme. That Koloneia had a *doux* in ca. 842–45 is, however, beyond doubt; that it was therefore a theme then seems a very reasonable assumption.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus describes the comparatively small theme as running from east of Neokaisareia and including ἡ πόλις Ἀβραβρακηνῶν,<sup>37</sup> Mount Φαλακρός (either Fraktin, 70 km south-southwest of Aziziye or, more probably, the Karaçam Dağı), Νικόπολις (Pürk), and Τεφρικὴ (Divriği).<sup>38</sup> The theme had sixteen unnamed strongholds (of which Sisorta Kale was surely one), began as the tenth in the listings and figures in them until its demise in the eleventh century.<sup>39</sup>

The castle was perhaps repaired against the Arabs in the early tenth century; Ioannides noted the date 902/3 above a gate,<sup>40</sup> and perhaps the founding of the castle church by John, imperial *strator* and *droungarios* of Koloneia, can be ascribed to the same period.

In 1057 Koloneia was in the hands of the famous Nikephoros Katakalon Kekaumenos, who raised its theme levies in support of Isaac Komnenos’ successful rebellion.<sup>41</sup> Romanos Diogenes passed it in 1068, and in the following year it was in the hands of the Norman-Italian mercenary captain Crispin.<sup>42</sup> The area was then probably denuded of

34. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 349 note 345.

35. V. Vasilievski and P. Nikitin, “Skazaniia o 42 Amoriški’kh muchenikakh i tserkovnaia sluzhba im,” *Mémoires de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 8th Ser., 7 (2) (1906), 22–30; cf. Garsoian, *Paulician Heresy*, 126–27, where Theophilos’ appointment is mistakenly said to have been before 842.

36. Theophanes Cont., Bonn ed., 181, 201, 283.

37. On which see p. 169.

38. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematis*, ed. Pertusi, 64, 73–74, 141–42; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 52, 56–59, 62, 184; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 349. Among seals not cited by Pertusi are a number in the Dumbarton Oaks Collections: nos. 58.106.684 and 58.106.688 (*kommerkiarioi* of Koloneia and Armenia); 55.1.3788 (the *hypatos* Leo, *krites* of Koloneia); 55.1.1558 (Michael, imperial *spatharios*, *strategos* of Koloneia); 55.1.1577 (Niketas, *sekretes*, *krites* of Koloneia); Shaw Coll., no. 71 (Christopher, imperial *protospatharios*, *strategos* of Koloneia); Shaw, 72 (Andreas?, *krites* of the hippodrome and of Koloneia); and Shaw, 73 (John, imperial *strator*, *paraphylax* of Koloneia, noted on p. 145).

39. Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, 102.

40. Ioannides, *Historia*, 199: A.M. 6410.

41. Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II, 625; cf. P. Lemerle, “Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des ‘Conseils et Récits’ de Kékauménos,” *MAcBelg*, 54 (1) (1960), 37–38.

42. Attaliates, Bonn ed., 105; Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs*, 65.

25. H. Grégoire, “Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens,” *BACBelg*, 33 (1947), 297 and note 1, 298.

26. Miller, *IR*, col. 675; Cumonts, *SP*, II (1906), 290–94; Anniaca, Danae, or Talaura.

27. See Tarhan, *Map*; and the anonymous article in *Türkiye Turizm*, 5 (27) (August 1965), 54–55 (our pagination).

28. Petrus Siculus, PG, 140, col. 1301; Astruc and others, *TM*, 4 (1970), 65.

29. Cf. Bryer, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 174–95; 23–24 (1967), 129–36.

30. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, iv, 6–9.

31. Justinian, Novel 31 (1); Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Honigmann, p. 37 no. 703.3.

32. Mordtmann, s.v. “Karahisar,” *EI*.

33. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II (1), 46, 90, 117, 289–90.

Byzantine troops and may well have been disaffected; the existing Armenian element was strengthened by refugees from the east during the century. Koloneia presumably passed to the Turks in, or very soon after, 1071. In 1106 it was briefly in the hands of Gregory Taronites (*alias* Gabras ?), *doux* of Chaldia.<sup>43</sup> Gregory was allied to the emir Danişmend and it is possible that the area was already Danişmendid territory. After, or even before, their fall in the 1170s, Koloneia seems to have passed not to the Seljuk conquerors of the Danişmendids, or to the Mengüçekids of nearby Erzincan, but to the Saltukids of Erzurum; at any rate Mehmet ibn Saltuk was able to grant Andronikos Komnenos, the future emperor, a castle near Koloneia in the years 1173 to 76/77.<sup>44</sup> Was this castle either (and both) Kibossa or Sisorta Kale? The freebooting Andronikos would have favored a stronghold on the very borders of Saltukid and Byzantine lands, which ran along the Paryadres, such as Sisorta. In 1201/2 the Mengüçekids succeeded the Saltukids in Koloneia.<sup>45</sup> What arguments that have been put forward to show that the Grand Komnenoi held it for a while thereafter are highly dubious and may be discounted.<sup>46</sup>

The Mengüçekids were vassals of Konya, but after the collapse of the Seljuk state, Koloneia passed to the descendants of Eretna and then to the Türkmen confederations. In 1408, after Timur's invasion, it was in the hands of Gözeroğlu; ten years later it went to the Karakoyunlu Türkmens, and in 1459 to Uzun Hasan of the Akkoyunlu confederation. Perhaps Uzun Hasan regarded it as part of the "Cappadocian" dowry of his Trapezuntine wife Theodora; it has also been suggested that the Karahisar Gospels reached Koloneia as a result of the alliance.<sup>47</sup> Mehmed II took Koyulhisar in 1461, but prudently skirted Koloneia on his way to Trebizond; he only took the fortress in 1478 after the battle of Tercan (Derxene), assigning its alum mines to his treasury.<sup>48</sup>

"*Allume di rocca di Colonna.*" Pontic alum mines, almost certainly those of Koloneia, are first mentioned by Pliny.<sup>49</sup> Fine alum was at first used for medicinal purposes (as a styptic or for surgeon's plaster), for silver and gold

43. Cf. Bryer, "Gabrades," 176.

44. O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam, 1970), 79.

45. B. Darkot, s.v. "Karahisar," *IA*.

46. The "evidence" consists of: 1. the misreading of the inscription cited on p. 145 note 1, by Blau, *loc. cit.* (note 1 above), as concluding ... ὁ δοῦλο[ς] Ἰωάνν[ου] βασι[λέως] Τραπεζου[ντος] κα[ὶ] Πω[μαίων]—i.e., the Grand Komnenos John I (1235–38), or John II (1282–97); 2. the statement of the unreliable Evliya (1644), II, 205, that Şebinkarahisar "fell into the power of the Greek Princes of Trebisonde"; and 3. the statement of Dupré (1807), 11, that the gate of the castle had a double-headed eagle above it, and appeared to have been built by the Genoese. The Genoese are locally and erroneously credited with building many Pontic castles. The double-headed eagle, far from being a symbol of Trebizond in the 13th century (when a monocephalous eagle is twice displayed in the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond), was a common Seljuk and Türkmen symbol. It is found, for example, on the Çifte Minare of 1253 in Erzurum. The eagle may have stood above the present (13th-century ?) gate of Şebinkarahisar castle; there is no trace of it today.

47. Colwell, *Four Gospels*, I, 11.

48. Hasan Tahsin Okutan, *Şebinkarahisar ve civarı* ([Şebinkarahisar], 1949), 42–109; Mordtmann, s.v. "Karahisar," *ET*.

49. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV, vii, 184.

polishing, and for pigments in painting. It is locally used today for tanning leather. These purposes do not require great quantities of alum. There do not appear to be any specific references to a Byzantine alum mining industry, perhaps because the demand was so small. This does not mean that Pontic alum was not still produced, but it was hardly important.

The situation was changed from the twelfth century, when the European textile industry began to require alum on a very large scale, mostly for fulling.<sup>50</sup> It came at first almost entirely from, or through, Egypt.<sup>51</sup> A charter of 1236 is the first definite indication of the mining and export of Anatolian alum—in this case to Cyprus.<sup>52</sup> Rubriquis found the trade in Genoese hands in Konya, and Vincent of Beauvais noted that it was found near Sivas (Sebasteia)—perhaps meaning Koloneia. The Zaccaria company obtained its famous alum concession at Phokaia in 1275. Most surprisingly, there is no evidence that alum had been mined there before.<sup>53</sup> The question to bear in mind is how much "Phokaian" alum was in fact exported through there from Koloneia. The first hint of a Euxine rival to Phokaia comes in ca. 1275, when a *prostagma* was issued in favour of the Zaccaria company restraining Genoese from importing alum from the Black Sea. A Greek alum ship was seized soon after. The embargo was lifted in 1304.<sup>54</sup> During the period of the embargo, however, there is evidence that the Genoese were shipping alum within the Euxine, that it was handled through Trebizond, and that it originated in Koloneia. In 1289 comes the first mention of the Genoese shipment of "allume di rocca di Colonna"—a load of 500 *cantara*. In 1290 the export of alum through Trebizond to Caffa is twice recorded—one a consignment of 50 *cantara*.<sup>55</sup>

50. Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 565–71.

51. C. Cahen, "L'alun avant Phocée. Un chapitre d'histoire économique islamochrétienne au temps des Croisades," *Revue d'Histoire Economique et Sociale*, 41 (1963), 433–47.

52. The Marseilles-Cyprus treaty of March 1236, in *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck [Oeniponti], 1893), 280 no. 1071; and H. E. Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1971), appendix 10.

53. Rubriquis (ca. 1240), ed. Dawson, 218: "At Iconium I came across several Frenchmen and a Genoese merchant from Acre, by name of Nicholas of Santo Siro, who, together with his partner, a Venetian called Boniface of Molendino, has the monopoly of alum from Turkey, so that the Sultan cannot sell to anyone except these two, and they have rendered it so dear that what used to be sold for fifteen besants is now sold for fifty." Vincent of Beauvais is cited by Mordtmann, s.v. "Karahisar," *ET*: ... *aluminis minera iuxta Sabastiam quae valet unam argentariam*. We are unable to trace the reference. Schiltberger (1402), 43, speaks only of the fertile vineyards of Koloneia. Cahen, *art. cit.*, 440–1, writes: "A vrai dire, j'ignore s'il peut se trouver aucune attestation de l'exploitation byzantine [of alum] à l'époque macédonienne, ou antérieurement. ... il est peu vraisemblable que ce soient les Gênois des Zaccharia qui l'aient découvert [alum at Phokaia], bien qu'on ne semble pas avoir de preuve d'une exploitation antérieure." This makes one wonder whether, like those supposed products of modern Hong Kong, which in fact come from mainland China, Phokaian alum was in fact produced entirely in Phokaia, and whether some Anatolian alum, like "Colonna" was not renamed after its Phokaian port of export.

54. Dölger, *Regesten*, III, 65 no. 2016, 66 no. 2020; Heyd, *Commerce*, I, 438–39.

55. Balard, *Sambuceto*, nos. 574, 813.

The alum came from three Anatolian regions, of which “Colonna” produced “allume di rocca,” the finest quality. “Colonna” is, as has long been recognized, Koloneia, a name still in use in the fourteenth century. But Heyd’s identification of Koloneia simply with “Karahisar” has led modern commentators to confuse it with Afyonkarahisar (Akroenos, Nikopolis), southwest of Ankara and many miles from the sea.<sup>56</sup>

In the 1290s Koloneian alum was evidently taken east through Cheria and Chaldia and then north down to Trebizond. By the 1340s, after the Euxine embargo had been lifted and Türkmens had made this route dangerous, it was sent direct to the sea at “Chisende,” as Pegolotti’s handbook makes clear: “Allume di rocca di Colonna ene il migliore allume che si lavori, e lavorasi in Turchia dentro al mare, e fae scala a Chisende di Turchia dentro al mare alla marina presso di Trabisonda, e viene 7 giornate infra terra; e fanne il detto luogo per anno in somma secondo dicesi da 14 mila cantara di genovesi.”<sup>57</sup>

“Chisende,” the “scala” near Trebizond, must be Kerasous (“Chirisonda” and variants on the portulans),<sup>58</sup> through which alum was also exported in the nineteenth century.<sup>59</sup> There are remnants of at least five *hans* on the old Koloneia-Kerasous road,<sup>60</sup> corresponding to Pegolotti’s seven days of portage—a laborious business but evidently easier than taking it on the Trebizond highroad.

The Phokaian alum concession ended in 1458. Four years later Pius II, by discovering even better alum at Tolfa, in the Papal States, entirely altered the commercial situation and was able to finance his ill-fated crusade from it.<sup>61</sup> But from the mid-thirteenth until the mid-fifteenth century the burgeoning European textile industries were heavily dependent upon massive imports of Anatolian alum. Theoretically, Koloneia should have made the Grand Komnenoi a fortune, even though it was not actually in their hands.

The reason for this is that Pegolotti states more than once that Koloneian alum was the best in the world, better even

than the Phokaian, just as Evliya was later to eulogize it.<sup>62</sup> Pegolotti also states that its yield was the same as that of Phokaia: Koloneia produced 14,000 Genoese *cantara* a year—about 700,000 kg or 684 English tons.

This quantity is substantially more than the total Italian tonnage out of Trebizond in a year—which can rarely have exceeded 200 tons. The contracts of 1289/90, admittedly when there was an embargo on exporting alum out of the Black Sea, amount to 26.9 tons at the most. That the Italians were interested in Kerasous is evidenced by their reprisal raid on the alum *skala* in 1348.<sup>63</sup> But neither Venice nor Genoa had an officer there and alum is not mentioned in any of the Trapezuntine-Italian trading treaties. Yet, if Koloneian alum was so fine and was exported through Kerasous in such quantities, it may be expected to be one of the economic mainstays of the Grand Komnenoi, rivaled only by the Zaccaria brothers. Clearly it was not.

The explanation must be that, while Pegolotti is probably correct in detailing the quantity and quality of Koloneian alum mined in the 1340s and in stating that there was an alum route to Kerasous, that road must have been only a minor outlet for it, depending upon Genoese embargoes and upon Trapezuntine-Türkmen relations in the intervening mountains—although one may imagine Türkmens being somewhat puzzled by their loot if they raided an alum caravan. But other indications suggest that the bulk of Anatolian (and Koloneian) alum was handled through the emporia of Sivas and Konya before it reached Cyprus and the European routes. Here one wonders how much alum exported from Phokaia in fact came from Koloneia. Finally, it seems likely that, although the mining of alum round Koloneia had existed on a small scale since classical times, large-scale exploiting of it was developed not by Byzantines or Trapezuntines, but by the Turks, and was probably stimulated by European as well as local demand.

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Mavrokastron-Karahisar of Koloneia (pls. 78a, b–83a)

We distinguish here: the *castle*, or the main enceinte of walls; the *citadel*, or the inner structure near the northwest corner; and the *keep*, or the tower which stands above the citadel and castle walls.

The single enceinte of castle walls surrounds most of the summit of the rock of Koloneia and is close to Evliya’s estimate of 3,600 paces in circumference.<sup>64</sup> The walls follow natural features, particularly along two spurs which run south and south-southeast. There are occasional bastions at weaker points and the rock is often scarped. The walls have been repaired and rebuilt many times and there are numerous changes of construction—walling with header and stretcher beams, herringbone masonry and random-coursed

56. Heyd, *Commerce*, I, 438; followed by, e.g., P. Laven, *Renaissance Italy, 1464–1534* (London, 1966), 63 and map.

57. Pegolotti, *Pratica*, ed. Evans, 349 (in one incredible version, the sum of “14 mila mila cantara” is indicated); cf. also 43, 293, 306; and Agathangelos Xerouchakes, *Tò ἐμπόριον τῆς Βενετίας μετὰ τῆς Ανατολῆς*, ΕΠ.Ετ.Κρητ.Σπ., I (1938), 60.

58. Heyd, *Commerce*, I, 438.

59. Suter (1838), 435–36; Brant (1835), 220.

60. The old road runs parallel and to the west of the new road and is still used weekly by the postal jeep; it started perhaps originally at Armutlu, 5 km west of Şebinkarahisar (Barth, *loc. cit.*). On this road there are two *hans* at Asarcık, one at Kanlıhan, one between Gücece and Kürtün, and another at Taşhan, near Mesudiye. In 1866 it took 18 hours; only horses and mules could negotiate the 2,100m Eğribel Pass, and the carriage of alum in bulk can never have been easy. The new road was built in 1873, and, although it is often blocked, is more commonly used today: Cuinet, *Turquie d’Asie*, I, 24; G. Stratil-Sauer, “Verkehrsgeographische Bemerkungen zur Stadt Trapezunt im Ostpontische Gebiet,” *AP*, 29 (1968), 318–19. Both roads traverse exceptionally fine *yayla* landscape, but remain an ordeal for the jeeps which attempt the old road and the buses which maintain a precarious service along the new one.

61. J. Delumeau, *L’alum de Rome, XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1962), 16–17.

62. Evliya (1644), II, 206.

63. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 68. On the Genoese *cantara*, see E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), 188.

64. Evliya (1644), II, 206. Other, briefer, accounts are in the Anonymous (1805), III, 296; Morier (1809), 334–36; Anonymous (1826), 223–30; Fraser (1835), II, 352–53; Aucher-Éloy (1836), II, 388; and Taylor (1866), 293.

place name. Bzhshkean, followed by Ritter, suggested that “Klida Kalesi” held the metaphorical keys (κλειδεις) to something.<sup>7</sup> We do not like the notion but can think of no better explanation.

Moving further east, İskefiye (Σκαφία) appears to be a recent place and name, although it had, in the nineteenth century, a ruined monastery of the Holy Taxiarchai (the Archangels), of which we can find no trace but which may indicate a medieval occupation of the site.<sup>8</sup> Finally there is the great Holy Cape, the castle of which is not on the cape proper but near Küçük Mersin, perhaps Bordier’s Marcin.<sup>9</sup>

With Kordyle, the final and most easterly site on this stretch of coast, we enter substantial recorded history. Its name Κορδύλη is also that of a kind of tunny fish, yet another reminder of the ancient importance of the annual gyration of the tunny round the Euxine.<sup>10</sup> Kordyle kept its classical name into the Middle Ages, when it was sometimes also called after the monastery of St. Phokas which it housed; it is the modern Akçakale (Akçekale).<sup>11</sup>

The numerous castles and forts along this stretch of coast raise the possibility that there may have been a signaling system—from Kara Burunu to Koralla to Kalita Kale (Gelida Kale) to the Holy Cape. But the fort on the Holy Cape cannot be seen from Kordyle or Trebizond. Signals are therefore more likely to have been sent inland at this point, *via* the fort on Hıdır Nebi, which is visible from both Trebizond and Koralla.<sup>12</sup>

Koralla has precipitous slopes in its eastern flanks, making (until the building of the modern highway) the passage of the coastal road difficult and tortuous. On its western side the hills rise gently from the sea to form the bounds of the bay of Koralla, giving considerable stretches of cultivable land in the hinterland of modern Eynesil and Görele. There is no easy route inland from the bay as a steep range of mountains to the south isolates it from the gorges of the Philabonites. This is perhaps the reason why Koralla—although larger than most coastal settlements—never attained any great importance in the history of the Pontos. A castle was reported to D. C. W. some 10 to 15 km south of modern Görele in an area which has place names such as Kaleboynu and Kaledibi, and there is a Kilisebeli inland on the Görele Dere. Such names suggest that there may be monuments in the hinterland of Koralla bay which neither author has explored.

The next, eastern, bay of Vakfikebir contains only one sheltered harbor, near the village of Yuvabolu on the eastern

side of Bostan Burunu. Büyükliman (“Great Harbor”), the old name for Vakfikebir, is a puzzling one, for there is no sign that there has ever been a harbor there. The two modern towns of Beşikdüzü and Vakfikebir are prosperous marketing centers for the rich hinterland of flat quaternary terraces. The inland reaches of the Fol Dere run through fertile agricultural country which supports a third township at Θoavía (Tonya). Higher up the valley to the south there were iron mines and a Byzantine church near Fol. By the modern track up to Tonya it is 23 km, and there are two gorges to traverse, but it seems that the medieval route would have run along the heights above the gorges. Tonya itself lies at about 750 m above sea level in an irregular bowl where the valley widens out, forming a broad stretch of gently sloping agricultural land. A castle is reported near Tonya, but neither author has tried to verify its existence. At the south end of the bowl, about 4 km above Tonya, the track again runs into a gorge for 3 to 4 km and then opens out through fine canyon scenery for a further 8 km up to Maden. Here the valley slopes are gentle and there is even a small, flat, sedimentary valley bottom with rich soil. Near the church at Fol Maden there is a *han* and a small *hamam*, built of random-coursed masonry set in lime-and-pebble mortar. The presence of the *han* strongly suggests the use of this valley as a route across the mountains. A kilometer or two above Fol Maden the track climbs up through forests to a low pass at about 1,200 m at Erikbeli, and from thence it is an easy route down past Suma Kale<sup>13</sup> to the Philabonites at modern Kürtün and on south to the Lykos valley in Cheriana. Or there is a good track mounting upward from the Erikbeli pass and over the ridges in a southeastern direction to the Zigana pass. From Tonya there are also easy routes across the Karadağ ridges east of Visera and to the Trikomia valley.

This configuration must be borne in mind when considering Chalkokondyles’ account of the invasion of Cüneyd in the years 1456–58. The ζύχης . . . Ἀρταβίλης—sheikh of Erdebil—collected forces against Trebizond from the east and south and from Samsun (?) (ἀπό τε Σαμίου). John IV moved out to meet him, however, not by taking the highway south from Trebizond but by going west to Kordyle. Here he learned that the sheikh was established in a natural stronghold (evidently still further west), the defile of Meliars, called Kapanion (τὴν κλεισοῦραν . . . τοῦ Μελιάρη, τὸ Καπάνιον λεγόμενον). John’s troops moved forward (i. e., west or south), presumably in the direction of Kapanion. This would mean that they traveled across or round the Holy Cape. John’s *pansebastos* attempted to rendezvous with John’s troops by sea, but a high wind prevented him landing marines. The sheikh took the chance of killing the *pansebastos*, his son, and about thirty of the now isolated troops. The remainder fled back to John (our evidence that the Emperor had not been on the expedition), who abandoned Kordyle and returned to Trebizond by ship. The sheikh then set up camp in the monastery of St. Phokas, Kordyle, while John’s troops made their way back to the safety of the capital, which the sheikh finally invested.

It is clear from this account that the sheikh had taken a

7. Evliya (1644), 41; Hamilton (1836), 249; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 815; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 39; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 109 and fig. 7.

8. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 45; cf. p. 163.

9. Arrian, 24; *Anonymous periplus*, 36; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 35; II, 237; Evliya (1644), II, 41; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 814–15; Hamilton (1836), 249; *Black Sea Pilot*, 406; Bordier (1609), 117.

10. Cf. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 19.

11. *Anonymous periplus*, 36; Miller, *IR*, col. 647; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 81; Clavijo (1404), 110; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 315; Kinneir (1813), 334; Hamilton (1836), 248; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 35; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 40; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 814; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 463–64; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 291; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 109.

12. See p. 164.

13. See p. 144.

## CONCORDANCE OF PROPOSED IDENTIFICATIONS; COASTAL SITES BETWEEN THE PHILABONITES AND TRIKOMIA, FROM WEST TO EAST

CLASSICAL		MEDIÆVAL (1318-1644)				MODERN				
Arrian, 24	<i>Anon. periplus</i> , 36; Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> , V, III, 2	Pliny, <i>NH</i> , VI, 4; Miller, <i>IR</i> , col. 647	Italian Portulans from 1318	Panaretos; Clavijo (1404)	Ottoman Cadasters 15th-16th c.	Greek Portulans, 16th cent.	Evliva (1644)	<i>Kinnir</i> (1814) Hamilton (1836)	Modern Names	Modern Sites
Φιλοκάλεια	Φιλοκάλεια	Philocalia	Laitos			Ἄετός		Goolak Kaleh or Kilissch	Kalak Kilise, Bada Dere	Kiseyani
Κόραλλα	Κόραλλα		Sconigeni	Corila	Görece Kalesi			Kara Burunu Bouroun	Kara Burunu	Kara B. Kale
				Viopoli		Αιβιόπολις	Kureli	<i>Gorilla</i> ; Kereli Kale	Eleve	Görece
			Ujopolli	Viopoli			Popoli	<i>Yarholi</i> ; Kalehjik	Eynesil	Çavuşlu Dere Kale
				Σθαβο-πίστειης						Görece B. Kale
	Κερασσός							<i>Buyuk Leman</i>	Beşikdüzü	Çeşme Önü Kale
								Kerasoun Dere Su	Fol Bazar, Büyük Liman	Şarlı Bazar
									Kireşon (Kirazlık) Dere	Vakfkebir, Fol Dere
										Kerason
									Yalıköy, Gilida Dere	Gelida Kale
									İskefiye, Σκαφία	Çarşıbaşı
Ἰερὸν ὄρος	Ἰερὸν ὄρος		Giro			Τὸ Ἰερὸν; Κάβο τοῦ Γύρο	Bizur-Burni	Kutchuk Mersin, Yoros	Fener Burunu	Yoros Burunu Kale
	Κορδύλη	Cordile	Sgordilli	Κορδύλη		Κορδύλη		<i>Aga Kela</i> ; Akjah Kaleh	Akçakale	Akçakale
				Ἄγιος Φωκάς, μονή; Sanfoca	Ayas Fokas Manastirina				Akçakale	Akçakale

“back door” route to the Pontic coast—hence Kapanion cannot be Kampana, the Karakabandağ, which lies on the main route south which the sheikh took on his return—and that the defile of Meliades lay west of Kordyle with access to the sea. Fallmerayer and Chrysanthos place the defile at Derbent, which afterwards became a stronghold of the Uzunoglu Derebeys of Chaldia—apart from its name, it is difficult to see on what grounds and we can find no defile now called Derbent. But they are surely correct in placing the defile between Tonya and the sea, in the Fol Dere. This is all the more remarkable, for neither author knew the Tonya hinterland at first hand, but their identification is probably confirmed by the facts: first, that Tonya and the Fol Dere constitute the first district west of Trikomia with reasonable access to the south and the sea, as described above; and, second, that there are indeed formidable gorges below Tonya one of which (perhaps that below Sivri Dağ, the deepest) we propose as the defile of Meliades, called Kapanion. This identification would make the spot where John’s land and sea forces failed to combine the mouth of the Fol Dere, just west of Kerason and by the “Büyük Liman” of Vakfikebir.<sup>14</sup>

The incident is a striking confirmation of the medieval lack of any foul-weather harbor between (probably) Libiopolis and Kordyle. It is compounded by the fact that it may have been a recurrence of another incident of eighty years before, for this place has already been discussed in connection with Alexios III’s Çepni campaign of 1380, which bears a curious resemblance to that of John IV in the 1450s.<sup>15</sup> Alexios’ troops seem to have taken the same route to the sea, from the Philabonites valley up through Tonya and down the Fol Dere, as did the sheikh of Erdebil and, once again, there was a failure between the land and sea forces to rendezvous at Sthlabopiastes, probably the mouth of the Fol Dere where we suggest that Trapezuntine troops also came to grief in the 1450s. In 1380, forty-two Trapezuntines were killed there by the sea; seventy years later the sheikh killed about thirty. Sthlabopiastes, with its slaving overtones, has an ominous place in Trapezuntine history.

There is a scattering of inland castles, reported castles, or suspected castles, which we have not visited. The Akhisar valley is fertile and well populated; the Akhisar Dere reaches the sea west of Beşikdüzü and the place names of Kalegüney and Kalecik a few kilometers inland from the mouth may indicate castles. A local inhabitant, who had been up to it, reported a castle on the hill which dominates Beşikdüzü from the south. Other inland sites which might repay investigation are, working from west to east: Kaledibi, 10 to 15 km south of Görele, Haç Dağı, inland from Kara Burunu (where castles are reported); what appear to be defensive walls on a low hill about one kilometer up the Çavuşlu Dere; and Karziya Köyü, about two hours’ inland from Akçakale, where it was reported that a painted church was destroyed before 1960.

14. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 464; Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), 238; the same, *Trapezunt*, 252–53; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 85; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 818–19; Miller, *Trebizond*, 83; Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 132–33; W. Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd* (Ankara, 1948), 20.

15. See p. 140.

## HISTORY

The history of three sites or areas, of Koralla, of the Tonya district, and of Kordyle, can be isolated.

Koralla probably had continual Greek settlement from classical times to 1811; the abundance of sherds of all periods on the now abandoned site suggests that it would probably prove the most rewarding small site to excavate in this part of the Pontos. Its castle and walls were probably built by the Grand Komnenoi and it remained a sizeable Greek settlement after 1461. In the early sixteenth century it had 134 Christian and only seven Muslim families, but became the coastal stronghold of the Üçüncüoğlu family, which held the Harşit valley up to its inland fief of Torul. In his campaign to crush the Üçüncüoğulları in 1811, Süleyman Zade Hazinedaroğlu, pasha of Trebizond, invested the castle of Görele with a small fleet from Poti and an Adjarian force. He utterly devastated the settlement, which was never revived, and the new coastal road has come near to doing the same thing of its surviving ruins.<sup>16</sup>

The history of Tonya is, like that of Ophis, one of the puzzles of the Pontos. In the absence of any direct classical or medieval reference to it—unless it is Panaretos’ district of Μάρμαρα<sup>17</sup>—one must begin with its nineteenth-century and modern history and attempt to work back. The features of the Tonyalis are that they are Muslim, Greek-speaking, and ferocious. It is wild, isolated country where traditional blood feuds are ruthlessly maintained even today and Tonyalis still have an awesome reputation for vendetta and assassination in the quieter coastal towns, whose inhabitants like to keep clear of Tonyalı affaris. The Tonyalis are also known for the breeding of a fierce little thoroughbred dog of the collie type, called the Zerdava. The Tonyalı reputation has no doubt been exaggerated to travelers, Victorian and modern, who seek romantic tales of banditry, but it does betoken a close-knit, highly distinctive, and isolated mountain community which should therefore be of some antiquity. It would be useful to know how distinctive are their marriage customs. One obvious sign of distinction is that the Tonyalı are Greek-speaking Muslims. The language is dying out slowly, but there are today Greek speakers in the Tonyalı villages of Keşli, Tumaslı, Pahartirli, Beşkelî, Mamalı, Tsuluk, Melikse, and Ağırköy. Are these Turks, or Çepni Türkmens who have adopted Greek as the prestige language of the coast (which occasionally seems to have happened), or Pontic Greek-speaking Christians who apostatised? Probably the latter, for a church at Fol Maden will be described below and some Tonyalı villages reveal Greek names. In those already listed, Melikse sounds Greek. Other Tonyalı village names which appear to have a Greek origin are Anabedama, Aspuryanlık, Mesakurfa, Lefkiye, and, perhaps, Mankanabo, while Triantaphyllides pointed out the Greek origins of Kadahor (Κατωχώριον—a common Pontic

16. See the table on p. 155; Bordier (1609), 116; Hell (1846), IV, 376; Gedeon, *PP*, 618–639; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 713; Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 11 (January 1937), 12–13; Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), 158; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 818; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 132; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961); the same, in *BK*, 26 (1969), 197.

17. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 76, 77.

place name), Mesopliya (Μεσοπλάγιον), and of a Tonyali village name derived from Μεσοπέδιον which we cannot trace today. Greek historians maintain that, like Ophis and the Greek-speaking Muslim Oflus, the Greeks of Tonya apostatised in the late seventeenth-century—although in the case of Tonya there is no popular explanatory story of why this happened. The notion is plausible enough, for the late seventeenth century saw the nadir of Greek fortunes in the Pontos and Christians experienced considerable pressure on their faith during the period. In the case of Ophis, we now know that there was probably no mass conversion, and that the Muslim population may simply have overtaken the Christian by natural increase. By the late seventeenth century, if the sixteenth-century Oflu *defter* figures are projected, Muslims would have become the majority, after which the Christian element would have declined even more swiftly. But Tonya is distinct from Ophis in two respects. First, judging by the evidence of Alexios' campaign against the Çepni of the region in 1380, and by the rather strange part-Turkish names which appear in the bull for the monastery of Christ Pantokrator's holdings in nearby Trikomia in 1432, and also by the fact that the Philabonites to the west had become completely Çepni by the late fifteenth century, the process of islamicization began very early in Tonya. Secondly, in Tonya it was complete. By the early twentieth century there were still eight Orthodox parishes in Ophis, ten in Trikomia, but apparently no Christian soul, let alone a parish, in Tonya. Perhaps the remoteness and aloofness of the Tonyalis accounts for the fact that they do not appear to figure in Ottoman *defters*—although the parallel Philabonites and Trikomian valleys are accounted for. In the absence of such records, a field study of their distinctive society, before it is too late, may yield clues to Tonyali history.<sup>18</sup>

Kordyle, on the other hand, belongs to the mainstream of Pontic Greek history. Although it stands west of the bounds of Trikomia, its great castle is visible from Trebizond. The site, overlooking a fairly sheltered anchorage, the first after rounding the Holy Cape, and a small, but useful slip, is a station in the peripli, *Itineraria*, and portulans. There does not seem to have been a large settlement there, but its castle was almost certainly the imperial concern of the Grand Komnenoi. In 1362 Alexios III "refounded the church of St. Phokas at Kordyle and built a monastery there."<sup>19</sup> St. Phokas, eulogized by Libadenos and Bessarion, was almost a second patron of Trebizond and its sailors, but there is no

trace of the church or monastery today; one might speculate, however, that Alexios III, and perhaps Alexios II, were also concerned with the castle. In less settled conditions in the fifteenth century, Kordyle became what amounted to the second port of Trebizond, perhaps preferred by the Grand Komnenoi for it was safe from the populace of the capital. On 4 September 1395 Theodora Kantakouzene arrived there from Constantinople, before proceeding to Trebizond by land. Late in 1427 her son John IV landed there from Caffa, before proceeding toward Trebizond to attack, murder, and succeed his father and Theodora's husband, Alexios IV. Then in the 1450s it was, as we have seen, successively the headquarters of John IV and of the sheikh of Erdebil—who camped in the monastery of St. Phokas (in Clavijo, Panaretos, and Chalkokondyles the names of Kordyle and St. Phokas became interchangeable). Finally the castle is celebrated in one of many similar Pontic ballads for its defense by a princess against Mehmet II in 1461. Thereafter it is unlikely that the Ottoman government and Derebeys would have allowed such an important stronghold to remain inhabited by Greeks. The fact that St. Phokas itself has left no trace rather suggests that the monastery lay within the castle walls. Hamilton reports an unsuccessful Russian attack on the castle some years before 1836, which no doubt accounts for the seven gun emplacements on its seaward side.<sup>20</sup>

#### MONUMENTS (from west to east)

1. Hamilton's Goolak Kaleh or Goolak Kilisseh, the Kalak Kilise of the British army map, appears to be identical with Winfield's Kiseyanı, published elsewhere, a church with pentagonal apse within a walled enceinte, near the mouth of the Bada Dere, 3 km west of Kara Burunu.<sup>21</sup> The structure is certainly medieval and may have been a fortified monastery.

2. Kara Burunu itself is widely regarded as having a castle upon it; indeed, it is locally known as Kara Burunu Kale. But it is so heavily wooded that it is impossible to make much out of its form. The shape of the cape is very like that at Koralla and about the same size, except that what may represent the keep, a rocky outcrop with slight traces of walls, lies on the inland side of what may have been a walled enceinte projecting into the sea. No sherds were found. There is just sufficient evidence of degraded masonry to confirm that there had been a fort or castle on Kara Burunu.

3. Koralla (pls. 84a, b–87a, b)

The castle rises on the level top of the precipitous cliffs which form the Görele Burunu (fig. 31; pl. 84a). The inner bailey stands on the tip of the cape, separated from an outer bailey by rock faults which may well have been widened by artificial means to form a small double isthmus. The outer

18. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 66; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 86, 708, 710, 794–95; A. A. Papadopoulos, 'Ο Πόντος διὰ τῶν αἰώνων, *AP*, 1 (1928), 33; an early reference to local ferocity in Hamilton (1836), 248; on which see also Bryer, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 182. On possible late seventeenth-century Tonyali and Oflu apostasy, see Bryer, *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 45. Information on Greek-speaking villages from a Tonyali now not resident in the valley. The fact that a Greek origin of some Tonyali names is suspected by the Turkish authorities is demonstrated by the recent official renaming of fourteen of the twenty-two settlements of Tonya. Of those mentioned above, Anabedama is now Çayırıçi; Aspuryanlı is Karağaçlı; Mankanabo is Kalemlı (and Mankanaboz is Sağrı); Kadahor is Çayırbağı; Lefkiye is Köşecik; Mesopliya is Dağlıca; and Melikse, ingeniously, becomes Melikşah.

19. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 74.

20. See the table on p. 154; Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 81; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 463–66; Clavijo (1404), 110; Legrand, *Chansons*, 79; Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 29; Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), 234; Hamilton (1836), 248; Bzhshkian (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 40; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 814; *Lampsides*, *AP*, 29 (1968), 249; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 84, 503, 506, 539.

21. Hamilton (1836), 254–55; Winfield, and Wainwright, *AnatSt.*, 12 (1962), 153–55, with plan.

bailey is on the landward side of the faults; its full extent is not now clear and much has been obliterated by road building; it is not included in the figure but there was an outer defence enclosing the small plateau beyond the isthmus. The isthmus itself seems to have formed a middle bailey. The inner bailey on the headland stands about 20 m above sea level and is protected to the east and north by cliffs which fall sheer into the sea. On the west side (pl. 84b) it is protected by cliffs which are less precipitous. The walls follow the irregular shape of the headland. The main gate must have been on the south side toward the isthmus, but is probably now marked only by some worn rock-cut steps. The two creeks on either side of the isthmus on the eastward, or sheltered, side of the castle have deep water, but their sides are precipitous and they are not suitable as landing places. On the west side is a walled-in cave and the rock by the shore appears to have been a landing place—albeit an exposed and inadequate one—for the inner bailey.

There are a number of rock workings on the western side, including a wine or oil press (pl. 87a), which should be compared with the one near Tripolis.<sup>22</sup> This press consists of a rectangular receptacle, 1.50 × 1.90 m in size, for the fruit to be crushed, from which a chute leads down to a trough, measuring 1.20 × 0.62 m, which collected the liquid. A little to the south is a cistern. To the north are excavations in the rock which may be cisterns or rock-cut tombs. Toward the tip of the headland is a round hole about 1.20 m across, cut into the natural rock. Below, it widens into a larger cavity, of unknown extent for it is full of rubble. There is a second hole, also filled with debris, where the rock narrows into the first isthmus. Both these features are probably cisterns. The absence of a well on the headland no doubt accounts for this number of cisterns and rain-water catchers.

Near the northwest corner of the headland is a small rectangular room which may be of much later build than the rest of the castle, perhaps a look-out of the time of the Russo-Turkish wars of the nineteenth century. Another wall in the northwest corner has two layers of plaster, and there are traces of red lines on the upper layer. The plaster is of lime, without straw or chaff.

Foundation marks of a number of walls can be traced within the inner bailey, but their regularity suggests that they do not date much before the fall of the castle in 1811.

The castle walls are of two types; both use the same system of masonry, and are differentiated only by quality. The facings are of roughly-shaped rectangular blocks laid in regular courses with the gaps between the stones evened up with smaller stones. The mortar is composed of a very white lime and a large admixture of pebbles, and in the core of the lower walls there is a considerable quantity of broken-up bricks or tiles. Clear traces of tie-beams are visible in the walls, but none of stringers. Most of the walls are now leveled to the ground, but a few sections stand to a height of about 5 m. The internal walls on the sheer eastern and northern sides were about 1.70 m thick, while the southern and western walls, which had to be capable of withstanding attack from the

land, were about 1.50 m thick. There are two loopholes in the wall between the inner and middle baileys, one with a roughly corbeled arch (pl. 87b). The masonry courses follow the contour of the ground instead of being stepped downward in horizontal rows where the walls run down a slope.

The foundations of a small double-apsed chapel overlook the cliff on the east side of the middle bailey (fig. 31). Its outside measurements are about 6 × 7 m. The wall foundations are of small, irregular blocks with substantial mortar infillings, but they are exposed to only 10 to 30 cm. The southern apse is slightly smaller than the northern one; both were semicircular in their foundation courses. No interior detail can be detected on the surface. The configuration of the ground suggests a probable southern door.

Abundant sherds were found on several occasions, particularly in the landslip in the west wall. The earliest are examples of unglazed "Pontic" ware, painted in a broad red criss-cross. The Kastamonu Museum, which has attempted to classify local pottery, dates this type to the fourth to second century B.C. Some "provincial" Roman ware and substantial quantities of Byzantine glazed graffito ware and sherds with green, yellow, and brown splash glaze were also found. Finally, there were rather less substantial quantities of glazed Ottoman ware. They confirm Middle and Late Byzantine occupation and probably a continuous settlement as is indicated in the literary sources.

The masonry of the walls is a rougher version of that at Oinaion and Kordyle. Koralla could be a Middle Byzantine fort, or as late as the fourteenth century. In a conservative area such as the Pontos, any date from the thirteenth century to 1811 would be possible for the double-apsed chapel. However, as Koralla became an Ottoman and then Derebey stronghold after 1461, a Trapezuntine date for the chapel is most likely.

#### 4. Çeşme Önü Kale (Libiopolis ?)

The site is about one kilometer west of the Akhisar Dere delta, on a low promontory which stands about 5 m above sea level (pl. 88a).

The irregularly shaped promontory was enclosed by walls with maximum dimensions of 35 paces north-south by 20 paces east-west. The walls are now all down to ground level but can be clearly traced. They were about 1 m thick and had a facing of stones laid in regular courses and a mortared rubble core, with the mortar of lime and pebbles. The gaps in the facing were filled with small stones and tile fragments.

The most impressive part of the defenses is on the landward side of the promontory, where there were two large rectangular towers, presumably on either side of a gate.

At the north end of the promontory are two storage cavities cut into the rock in the shape of pithoi. They are half filled with rubble, but may have been about 2 m deep by 1.50 to 2 m in diameter at the widest point. They were probably used as cisterns but might have served for grain.

Without excavation there are no sure grounds for dating the fort. D. C. W. was told that the older, classical columns formerly in St. Basil, Trebizond, came from Yuvalolu, which, if it represents Libiopolis, as we have suggested, would give the site a history parallel to that of Koralla, with a

22. Cf. Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 255 and pl. 12.

classical and a medieval occupation. The regular stonework of the castle may link it with that of Oinaion, Koralla, and Kordyle, indicating a Middle Byzantine or Trapezuntine date. The two rectangular towers flanking the gate relate the design to the fortifications at Aşağı Tersun and, possibly, Livera.<sup>23</sup> A local inhabitant pronounced, as usual, that it was “Ciniviz”—Genoese. More valuable was his statement that the center of the *kaza* used to be here before it moved to Beşikdüzü and Vakfikebir.

#### 5. Gelida Kale (pl. 89a, b)

The fort is on a cliff overlooking the delta of the Gelida (Gilida, Kalita) Dere, near Yahköy (fig. 32). The site has the natural defenses of the cliffs on the seaward side and the river mouth is close to the western side, but otherwise its position is hard to explain, since there is no natural anchorage and the beach here is exposed to the full force of the prevailing stormy winds. There is no sign of any substantial settlement nearby and the site has no easy natural communication with the interior. Perhaps it is best explained as a small watchtower or garrison fort for policing the bay.

The walls are of rough-cut or waterworn stones laid in regular courses, with the interstices evened up with smaller stones and fragments of brick and tile (pl. 89a, b). The core is of mortared rubble. The cliff walls are about 0.80 to 0.90 m thick while the unprotected land walls are about 1.50 m thick. The quoins are ashlar blocks. On the landward side the foundations of a square tower survive and the gate may have adjoined it. There are both stringer and tie-beam holes, but their position in the walls is irregular and they may have been connected with wooden flooring or other internal structures, rather than with a crib-work masonry reinforcement. About 6 m up the southwest wall is a rather shapeless aperture, about 50 cm high by 15 cm wide.

No evidence of date can be adduced without excavation. The type of masonry may link this fort with Oinaion, Koralla, and Kordyle.

#### 6. Holy Cape Castle

The castle lies above the sea on the Holy Cape, Yoros Burunu, about 500 m west of İnci Liman and just east of the lighthouse. It is a roughly rectangular structure of which only the west wall with a square turret now survives to any extent. The southern side has been damaged considerably by the cutting of the modern road (fig. 33; pl. 88b). The wall is of regularly coursed and fairly well-shaped blocks of strikingly dark basalt; the mortar contains lime, gravel, and some tile chips. The west wall is about 1.08 m wide. The masonry is not undistinguished in quality, but probably falls into the Oinaion, Koralla, and Kordyle group.

#### 7. Kordyle (pls. 90a, b–92a, b)

The castle is on a rocky promontory on the eastern side of the Holy Cape, about midway between the tip of the cape and Platana. This is the sheltered side of the cape, and the promontory of Akçakale offers further shelter in the little bay to the south of it (pl. 90a, b). At its highest point the promontory is about 20 meters above sea level. The sea wall has

the natural protection of a cliff, but the land walls have no equivalent protection.

Kordyle, one of the largest and best built of imperial castles, is a very irregular rectangle in shape (fig. 34). The southwest wall, running up from the sea to the keep (marked TOWER in fig. 34), stands 9 to 10 m high and part of the northwest wall stands 4 to 5 m high, but the remainder is preserved to a height of only 3 m at the most.

The wall facing consists of small rectangular blocks laid in regular courses, with a filling of broken brick and small stones to even up the surface. The core is of mortared rubble, with lime-and-pebble mortar. The thickness averages about 1.08 m in part of the northwest wall and about 1.25 m elsewhere. About halfway between the sea and keep there is a short section of the lower courses where the facing stones follow the contour of the slope; everywhere else the masonry runs in horizontal courses regardless of the lie of the land. Toward the seaward end of the southwest wall the outer face shows signs of a rebuild. The northwest wall has a large rectangular tower (pl. 91a, b). It is of typical Late Byzantine type, with no stone inner side, which would probably have been closed with timber or hides.

The gate was probably in the southwest corner, where there is a ramp and signs of a relatively complicated defense system, now obscured by a modern hut or destroyed. The quoins throughout are well-dressed blocks placed in long and short order.

One section of the eastern, seaward wall has been built to take seven cannon emplacements. It is now about 3 m thick and may be nineteenth-century work—the wooden reinforcing beams in the masonry have not yet rotted.

The keep projects from the southwest wall, a rectangular tower flush with the main wall and standing to a height of more than 10 m (pl. 92a, b). There appear to have been four floors, marked by clearly visible beam holes for the joists. The only door, from the enclosure, is round arched; at ground, or first floor, level it is 1.70 m wide. On the interior the window recesses are about 2 m wide and are round arched. On the exterior those at ground floor level on the northwest and southeast sides are in the form of firing slits, about 0.90 m high and 0.10 m wide. On the upper stories the exterior of the windows has a narrow rectangular form. There are two such in the middle floor of the southwest wall and one each on the northwest and southeast walls. Single windows are also in the top floor on the three outer sides.

A niche, similar to that in the keep at Kerasous, is let into the wall of the top floor of the southeast side. The interior walls look as if they have been repointed with cement, but this may in fact be lime mortar made with much dark Black Sea sand.

Kordyle falls into the general masonry group found in most sites in this Section as well as in the Oinaion castle. But here the stonework has a particular affinity with that of the Lower City walls of Trebizond, built by Alexios II (1297–1330).<sup>24</sup>

#### 8. Fol Maden (now Kalıncam) (pl. 93a–d)

This is our only inland site on this stretch. It is best reached

23. See pp. 174 and 281.

24. See p. 187.

from Vakfikebir, where the Fol Dere road leads through Tonya to Erikbeli, which is the lowest pass across the Pontic Alps east of the Philabonites (Harşit). The road is a very poor dirt track. About 40 km south of Vakfikebir and 5 km north of Erikbeli is the hamlet of Fol Maden (Kalıncam), named after an old mine there. A few meters to the west of the road and a little above it are the ruins of a church. The site is about 1070 m above sea level.

The plan is of a church with two identical apses (fig. 35). The masonry is of fairly regular courses of stone (pl. 93a, b). Some of the blocks are well cut and some simply laid with a flat surface outward, smaller stones filling up the gaps. The mortar is of lime, grit, and small waterworn pebbles from the Fol Dere. The mortared rubble core of the walls is well bedded in, with few gaps.

The springing of a stone vault survives in a few places, but it is impossible to determine the whole form of the roof. It could have been barrel vaulted with twin vaults, or it may have had a single central dome—or even small twin domes. The yellow stone for the vaulting is of the same type as that used at Bibat and at İspir.<sup>25</sup>

There are three large gaps in the walls, but much stone has

25. See pp. 269 and 355. A twin-apsed church at Aphendrika on the Karpasos peninsula in Cyprus has a single dome. A twin-apsed church at Üç Ayak, near Kırşehir in central Anatolia, has twin domes.

been robbed from the site and it is impossible to tell whether they represent doors or windows. The north apse has a rectangular window which narrows toward the exterior. The south apse has a window which is a rectangular slit in the interior but is round arched on the exterior. The lintel is cut out of a single block of stone (pl. 93c).

Lying near the church are a number of fragments of flat tiles with ridged edges. The thickness of the flat bases averages 1.5 to 2 cm and the height of the ridges, inclusive of the bases, averages 2.5 to 3.5 cm; they are listed in the Appendix.

In the south side of the interior of the north conch remains of painted plaster are visible (93d). The plaster is in two layers: the lower has some sort of vegetable binding matter which has now rotted away causing the plaster to become brown; the upper, or surface layer on which the paintings were made is of pure lime. The only recognizable fragment which remains shows a portion of a red garment in three tones of red.

There is no evidence for accurately dating this church. The fairly careful construction of the walls may indicate a Middle Byzantine date, but the two layers of plaster for the wall paintings suggest a thirteenth-century or later date for, up to the twelfth century, Byzantine wall painting was usually executed on a single layer of plaster. In this case, the church might be evidence of Greek settlement on the very borders of the Çepni lands.

## Section XVIII

# PLATANA AND THE *BANDON* OF TRIKOMIA

### DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATION

Although other classical geographers are less exact, Arrian's anchorage of Ἐρμώνασσα (Ἐρμούση) appears to correspond with modern Akçaabat (formerly Polathane). The first indication of the medieval name of the place may come in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Πλατάνιον, the station of 500 Armenian troops who took part in the Cretan expedition of 911, for it is named on portulans from the early fourteenth century as Platana, Platana, τὸ Πλατάνιον, Πλατάνα, Πλατανέα, and Πλατάνη. Andreas Libadenos gives the port a skimpy *ekthesis*.<sup>1</sup>

Platana is no more than a shallow strand 14 km west of Trebizond, but is so well protected from the northwest that it was regularly used, until recently, as an alternative port to Daphnous (Trebizond) in bad weather. On 10 to 11 April 1404 Clavijo's ship had to shelter there because of high winds and seas, and again on 17 September 1405 a Genoese ship carrying a cargo of hazelnuts from Trebizond had to put in there because of contrary winds.<sup>2</sup> The ship which Athanasios Nikitin took from Trebizond to Caffa (on his great journey from Hyderabad to Smolensk) in October 1472 was forced to turn back and take shelter in the bay of Platana for fifteen days.<sup>3</sup>

Platana had at least three churches, of which at least two were medieval, and is the site of the "Platana Hoard" of 274 aspers buried in 1285–97,<sup>4</sup> but it was not an important town in the Middle Ages. In the bull of 1432 it appears as no more

than a *chorion* of the *bandon* of Trikomia,<sup>5</sup> and Trikomia is unique among the coastal *banda* in not being named after a petty capital on the sea. Trikomia suggests three places, of which Platana could have been one.

The *bandon* of Trikomia stretched west, nearly encircling Trebizond itself, and south from Platana along the Kalenima Dere. The valley is about 25 km long, rising to about 1,250 m before the settlements which line it end. It was the most westerly known *bandon* and the valley was, in the Middle Ages, the most westerly part of the Empire where Greek settlement penetrated inland.

The Kalenima Dere is well sheltered from Türkmen attack, although the areas to the immediate south and west were in Türkmen hands by the fourteenth century. Unlike the Philabonites and Pyxites, it is not accessible to invaders from the south except through high, rough, tracks which reach from the Fol and Malaka valleys. The natural defenses, isolation, and comparative prosperity of the *bandon* made it an important and obvious economic stronghold of the "court" nobility of Trebizond. Unlike the Chaldian warlords, they had no great family ranches and castles in the less heavily watered south. There are indeed few other areas where secure and populous lay estates could be located. On the west Trikomia is protected by the Kara Dağ escarpment, which runs for almost 15 km and is crowned by superb summer pastures. The Trikomian *gonikeia*, even in Platana, usually included grazing rights and it is possible that the Kara Dağ proper was the pasture called Σαχμελίας.<sup>6</sup> At a height of 1,540 m on the northern edge of the Kara Dağı is a fortress called Metin Kale (Hıdır Nebi, Metinkaya, now Sertkaya). In 1434 this castle seems to have been held by a *kastrophylox* called Καπετιανός who was based on the *chorion* of Σαλάριδος<sup>7</sup> (Saları, Kiransalayera, now Şarıtaş). The *chorion* lies beneath the escarpment, between Metin Kale and the Kalenima Dere, and is the normal means of access to the castle. In 1440 Maria and John Tzakaropoulos gave their unnamed *gonikeion* in Trikomian Saları to Vazelon<sup>8</sup>—it was apparently the only holding of a

1. Arrian, 24; Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 17; *Anonymous periplus*, 34 (which places it near Kotyora); Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, Bonn ed., I, 656 (cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II [1], 201, 204, and p. 127 above); Tomaschek, *Kleinasien*, 81; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 237; II, 35; Libadenos, *Periegesis*, ed. Pararikas, 22–23; ed. Lampsides, 60; cf. Lampsides, *AP*, 29 (1969), 213.

2. Clavijo (1404), 110, 336.

3. Nikitin (1472), 43.

4. H. Mattingly, "The Platana hoard of aspers of Trebizond," *NC*, 19 (1939), 121–27. The aspers are attributed as follows: 36 to John I (1235–38); 109 to Manuel I (1238–63); 104 to John II (1280–85, 1285–97); and 25 to Theodora (1285). A high proportion of the known coins of Theodora come from this hoard, which was probably buried nearer 1285 than 1297. A substantial part of the hoard passed into the Goodacre collection, now in the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; and into the Whitting collection, now in the Barber Institute, University of Birmingham.

5. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262–63: ἐν τῷ Χωρίῳ Πλατάνων. A *paroikos* Paraskevas Platanites is also mentioned (p. 266).

6. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 265; Muzaffer Lermioğlu, *Akçaabat-Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1949), 10–13.

7. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262.

8. Vazelon Act 152 of 1440; a hitherto overlooked reference. The

Matzoukan monastery in Trikomia. On a spur to the east of the river, and to the southeast of Salari, is a less impressive castle, now called Sivri Kale, at Mimera (now Erikli), between Samara and Ortahisar. This corresponds with the *chorion* of Μιμερῶς in the bull of 1432 and was at one time associated with the *amyrtantarios* Theodore Sampson.<sup>9</sup> A medieval church stood at Visera, nearer the head of the valley on the east side of the river. On the west side, opposite it, is Μουτζουρά (now Mucura),<sup>10</sup> while its attendant *stasis* or *chorion* of Χοροβή<sup>11</sup> may be identified with modern Horovi, which, as will be seen, is probably the most important consequential identification of our placing of the hitherto unlocated *bandon* of Trikomia in the Kalenima Dere.

Other *choria* and lesser places which can be identified in the bull of 1432 as part of Trikomia lie to the east in the Sera and Hacı Beşir Dere, for the *bandon* met the borders of those of Trebizond and Matzouka close to the outskirts of the capital and north of the Malaka Dere. The *chorion* of Ἰλινα<sup>12</sup> may be identified with Ilanoz or Ilána, and its nearby *stasis* of Ἀγρίδι<sup>13</sup> with Ağrit (now Ağılı). To the north ἡ Ὀξις<sup>14</sup> is apparently Oksu (now Gürbulak) and only five km southwest of the walls of Trebizond was the *chorion* of Κιθαραίνας and its *stasis* of Σεληνοῦ.<sup>15</sup> Kitharaina is marked on the maps of the two Kiepert and corresponds with the modern Kisarna. It was once held by the Grand Duke John the Eunuch (d. 1343), who endowed the monasteries of the Theoskepastos and the Pharos; it was confirmed as part of the endowment of the Pharos but in October 1460 was assigned to both monasteries in what was perhaps the last bull issued by a Grand Komnenos.<sup>16</sup> So close to Trebizond is Kitharaina, however, that we have included it under that section.<sup>17</sup>

In the southeastern corner of the *bandon* was ἡ Μαγέρη,<sup>18</sup> almost certainly the modern Mayer, which in 1432 seems to have been settled with refugees from Limnia,<sup>19</sup> the latter having passed to the Türkmens half a century earlier.

In his only listing of the *banda* of the Empire, Panaretos states that Trikomia was ravaged by the bubonic plague in 1382.<sup>20</sup> One may speculate that he may also have the medieval name of the Kalenima Dere itself as the river τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου.<sup>21</sup> On 26 October 1363 Alexios III, who

was encamped on the St. Gregorios River, near Καταβῶν,<sup>22</sup> when the Grand Logothete George Scholaris and others attacked him, chasing Alexios thence up to his citadel. Katabaton cannot be identified. For the St. Gregorios River one must seek a stream, the name of which is otherwise unknown in the Middle Ages, quite near Trebizond and, perhaps, with which both Alexios III and his Grand Logothete had connections. Both in fact had estates on the Kalenima Dere and, largely for want of a more suitable identification, we tentatively suggest that it represents the St. Gregorios.

Most modern place-names of the *bandon* are clearly Greek in origin—in striking contrast to those further west beyond the coast. To the west of Platana are Phragkoulanton (Frangulanda, Eski Franguli), Myrsin (Mersin), and Kaligera (Kalara, Kalliera, Kalegra, Kalyera, now Meşeli), suggesting a local monastery. In the valley, going south, are Lefka (now Çınarlık), Lahana, Potamia, Vazüldimena (now Yeşiltepe), Botanoz (Botanos, now Bozdoğan), Ipsil (now Ortaalan),<sup>23</sup> Polita (now Pazarçık), Koryana (now Acısu), İstera, İhtemena, Gulaliyos (now Karaçam), Sidiksa, Kadhahor, and Hortokop.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from the monastery of the Pharos and single holdings by the monasteries of the Theoskepastos and of Vazelon, there were no great monastic landowners in the valley (although it is the scattered possessions of the Pharos in the bull of 1432 which provide most of our topographical information on it). Instead, the lands of the *bandon* are associated with the Grand Komnenoi and with great officials such as Grand Duke John the Eunuch and with major “court” dynasties such as the Scholaris, Doranites, and Sampson—there is even a village called Samsun in the area.<sup>25</sup> Like all the *banda* of the Empire, Trikomia became a *nâhiye* dependent on Trebizond soon after the Ottoman conquest; its *defiers* give some clue to its earlier situation. In the years 1521 to 1528 its 106 settlements had a total Christian population of 4479 households and a Muslim of 413 households. Of these, nine settlements were *timar* holdings, twenty-one were assigned to the *imaret* of the Yavuz Sultan Selim’s Pontic Greek mother, “Gülbahar,” in Trebizond, and seventy-four to the reservists of the military establishment in the citadel of Trebizond.<sup>26</sup> It is tempting to see in these proportions a reflection of the relative local military, ecclesiastical, and imperial holdings in the *bandon* before 1461; at least they give some idea of the population scale of a Trapezuntine *bandon*.

In microcosm, the history of Trikomia may be epitomized

Uspenskij-Beneshevich text reads: ... τὸν γωνικὸν (ἡμῶν) ἐν (δωβάδω το τηρκω ...) ἐν τῷ χερσίῳ Σάλαι το γωνικόν μου ...; but the microfilm of the Leningrad MS, fol 106<sup>v</sup>, in fact reads: ... τὴν γωνικέαν ημ(ῶν) ἐν δω βάδω το τηρκωμήσιον ἐν το χορίο σάλαι το γωνικόν μου ... (i.e., “in the *bandon* of Trikomia.”)

9. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 261; cf. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 69, 71.

10. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262, 269.

11. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262, 267, 269.

12. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262.

13. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262.

14. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 266, 269.

15. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262, 266, 269.

16. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 271–72.

17. See p. 197.

18. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 267.

19. αἰθις ἐν τῇ Μαγέρῃ τὸς Λιμνιώτας τὸν Καζηιώτην, τὸν Τζανκάρην, τὸν Γοζάλπην καὶ τὸν Κατακαλὸν.

20. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 80.

21. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 75.

22. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 44.

23. Another candidate for the place of origin of the Hypsilantes (Xiphilinos ?) family. There are similar places near Kerasous and Ophis—see Oikonomides, *Pontos*, 32.

24. “Khordogop,” which appears only on the British 1:250,000 map of 1901, and on that of Lynch (1901). It may, however, have strayed from the more famous Chortokopion (Hortokop) in Matzouka, to the west bank of the Kalenima Dere in these maps. See also Lermioğlu, *Akçaabat* (see note 6), 7–8.

25. Due south of Yoros Burunu and due west of Akçaabat.

26. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 310; Vryonis, *Decline*, 355.

by that of a single village, Chorobe. Laurent, who published the bull of 1432, did not raise the question of the identity of the τὴν ἡμίσειαν στάσιν τῆς Χωροβῆς (elsewhere in the same bull, Χωροβῆ) in it with the ὅλον Χωρίον τὴν Χωροβῆν of the bull of 1371, published by Lambros, while Ditten, who discussed the Χωρόβιον of the interpolator of Chalkokondyles, was unaware of Laurent's work, and none of the three scholars discussed the whereabouts of the place.<sup>27</sup> Admittedly one bull refers to a half-*stasis* and the other to a *chorion*, but Horovī, near Mucera, is the only appropriate candidate for both in Trikomia. Possibly the *stasis*, like that of Moutzoura, was a dependent of the *chorion* of the same name—even so it cannot have been far away. We propose, however, that the *stasis* and *chorion* may be treated as the same place and that, as in similar cases in the Acts of Vazelon, the terms are not used very strictly. A hint that this is so is provided by the fact that the whole *chorion* had only three dependent peasants in 1371, while the half-*stasis* had four or more in 1432—a reversal of the expected relative position if the terms are taken strictly. Both bulls refer to an earlier situation and, by conflating their information, a tentative history of the village and its dependent crofts can be proposed for the century 1332–1432.

Before about 1332 the *chorion* of Chorobe was evidently part of the crown lands. In about 1332 the Grand Komnenos Basil granted it to a member of the Doranites family. It was subsequently confiscated, presumably returning to imperial hands, perhaps when leading members of the Doranites family were executed in 1352.<sup>28</sup> At some subsequent date the half-*stasis* passed into the hands of the Grand Logothete George Scholaris (fl. 1363–64)<sup>29</sup> and through him, perhaps, to the monastery of the Pharos. But the monastery fell on hard days and closed. Chorobe must have returned to imperial hands; at any rate, in September 1371 Alexios III restored the *chorion* to the *amyrtzantarios kyr* George Doranites, elsewhere styled Judge of the Imperial Court and of All Trebizond and Oikonomos of the Great Church,<sup>30</sup> from whose father it had been confiscated forty years before. Doranites was invested with “all the *chorion* of Chorobe of forty-two nomismata, that is to say, the possession and entire use of all different rights and privileges over the establishments, farmyards, *esochoraphia*, *exochoraphia*, mountainous places and watered lowlands, rivers and fields, together with all grazing and pastoral lands, to have and to hold . . .” as an immunity—the nearest Trapezuntine equivalent of a lay *pronoia* grant. Doranites' children could inherit “all the *chorion* of Chorobe with its people.” “The people” (not termed *paroikoi*) included Tzakas, Xanthos, and Mougoules.<sup>31</sup> The Doranites family (which may have come

from Dryona, further east) were still in favor in February 1418, when a *kyr* Theodore Doranites was Alexios IV's *protokynegos* and special envoy,<sup>32</sup> but may have fallen with that Grand Komnenos. At all events, the *chorion* of Chorobe may have reverted to the crown, for by 1432 John IV (and in the name of his murdered father Alexios IV) confirmed the half-*stasis* of Chorobe in the possession of the newly re-founded monastery of the Pharos as a former estate. The *paroikoi* who now went with the half-*stasis* of the monastery included Sebastos the Laz, Galitanes, Matriskiotas, and the sons of Koukouloukas.<sup>33</sup> The probability is that the half-*stasis* remained in the hands of the Pharos until the end of the Empire, for the bull of 1432 remained valid as late as 1460. There is a good possibility that Chorobe passed thereafter, with other confiscated monastic lands of suppressed houses, to the *vakif* of the Yavuz Sultan Selim's mother, which still exists.

In the history of Chorobe one might glimpse the use to which crown lands were put—to reward great servants of state or endow monasteries. Although lands granted to a great servant of state could be hereditary, the political vicissitudes of the fourteenth century made it highly likely that estates granted out would soon return to the crown—for example, Panaretos mentions that after one rising, in 1342, “a strict investigation followed and there were many confiscations”<sup>34</sup> of the property of the nobility. The estates of Grand Duke John the Eunuch, who endowed both Soumela and the Pharos, probably reverted to the crown in 1344.<sup>35</sup> Property endowed to the church was less likely to revert, but here the abandonment of the monastery of the Pharos later in the fourteenth century proved an exception. The result was that Chorobe, or parts of the village, changed hands nine or ten times within the century 1332–1432.

Modern Horovī sustains perhaps twenty families and the lands of the village and its dependent crofts and grazing could hardly support more. The rewards of office of the major ministers of the Empire were evidently modest. But the modest settlement of Chorobe has had further and singular fame thrust upon it, for, as Ditten has pointed out, the evidently Trapezuntine interpolator of Chalkokondyles confused its spelling with that of the rather more substantial city of Rostov.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps he was a Trikomian, for the same interpolator gives us evidence for a final medieval place-name in the *bandon*. In 1429 John IV chartered a Genoese ship from Caffa to attack his father, Alexios IV. He landed at St. Phokas, Kordyle. Alexios IV moved out to Ἀχάντος.<sup>37</sup> Because the interpolator of Chalkokondyles describes this,

27. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262 (cf. 269); Lambros, *NE*, 2 (1905), 197; H. Ditten, “Die Korruptel Χωρόβιον und die Unechtheit der Trapezunt und Georgien betreffenden Partien in Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Geschichtswerk,” *Studia Byzantina*, ed. J. Irmscher (Halle, 1966), 57–70; and Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó, I, 122.

28. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70.

29. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 74–75.

30. Vazelon Act 121 of the 14th century.

31. Lambros, *NE*, 2 (1905), 197–98. The bull, with two-page autograph of Alexios III, is pasted into the cover of Bodleian MS

Arch. Seld. B.56, and was published independently in E. L[obel], “A chrysobull of Alexios III Grand Komnenos,” *The Bodleian Quarterly*, 3 (1921), 140–43; cf. Lambros, *NE*, 3 (1906), 486; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 144–47.

32. Iorga, *N&E*, I, 273; *Domenico Ithirtheodoro Doraniti, dicto Prothoconigeo, ambasciatore dicti domini imperatoris*.

33. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 267, 269.

34. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 67: καὶ γέγονε διωγμὸς βαρῦς καὶ ἀπραγὴ πολλή.

35. M&M, *A&D*, V, 278; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 246.

36. Ditten, *loc. cit.* in note 27.

37. Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó, II, 219–20; Bonn ed., 462–64.

perhaps fortified, palisade as a *proasteion*, commentators have assumed that it was a suburb of Trebizond. In the Acts of Vazelon the term is used in its common Byzantine sense of an estate, however. Midway between Kordyle and Trebizond, and just west of Akçaabat, by the coast road which Alexios IV and John IV would have taken, is Ahanda, which we propose as Achantos, where John IV had his father assassinated in his tent by night.

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Platana Fortress.

The British 1:250,000 map of 1901 alone marks a fort in the northern quarter of Platana by the sea. There is no evidence of it today.

2. The medieval church of St. Michael, Platana, has been published elsewhere<sup>38</sup> (pl. 96b).

3. A later church, to the west of St. Michael, referred to by Talbot Rice, has been destroyed.<sup>39</sup>

4. The medieval church in Orta Mahalle, to the north of St. Michael, has been published by Selina Ballance.<sup>40</sup>

5. The medieval church at Visera, described by Talbot Rice and Winfield and perhaps referred to by Janssens, has been all but destroyed<sup>41</sup> (pl. 95a, b).

38. Hamilton (who states that it had wall paintings) (1836), I, 246–47; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 813; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 66–68 and pl. 21; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 164–66, pl. xxib, figs. 17, 18; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 131; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 258–60, pls. 14, 15 (of the evidently medieval mosaic floor, on which see also Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, 87); Janssens, *Trebizonde*, pl. xxv, fig. 49. The church was restored in May 1846, and may have been that raided in 1877; see Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 279. Hamilton and Ritter give its dedication as St. Michael; Papamichalopoulos (1901), 256–57 as the Taxiarchai; and Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 503 and pl. 83, as the Archistrategoi. Its own inscription of 1846 gives a single Archistrategos as patron. These are all variants on a dedicatory theme. In *AP*, 24 (1961), 111, Bryer, following Panaretos, ed. *Lampside*, 64, 118, identified it with the Incorporal One (Ἀσώματος), where, on 30 August 1332, the army of the eight-year-old Grand Komnenos Manuel II defeated Bayram Bey, taking many horses. On reflection, however, it seems unlikely that Bayram Bey could have penetrated quite so far into this area then, and more likely that the place should be identified with the Ἀσώματος at the head of the Matzouka valley, whose crown lands were given to Vazelon: see Vazelon Act 104 of the 13th century, Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 144 note 131.

39. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 66–68; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 131. Talbot Rice described it as a domed structure, of the 18th century. Although the 18th-century cathedral of Chaldia at Argyropolis (Gümüshane) was domed, post-Byzantine churches are exceedingly rare in the Pontos before the 19th century, and domed churches even rarer. Talbot Rice tended to err (as in the cases of Kaymaklı, Sachnoe, and Vazelon) by placing late medieval monuments in the period after 1461. Is it possible that this church was therefore in fact medieval? More likely, as the church was described as “of little interest,” and as late as 1901 Papamichalopoulos noted only two churches in the town (see note 38), it belonged to the very modern period. It is impossible to be sure.

40. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 167, fig. 19, pl. xxix; Janssens, *Trebizonde*, pl. xxvi, fig. 50.

41. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 68, pl. 22; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 503, pl. 82; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962),

6. A nineteenth-century church at Demirci Köyü (Büyük Fiz) has been published elsewhere.<sup>42</sup>

7. Ahanda.<sup>43</sup> We have proposed above its identification with Chalkokondyles' Achantos. Ahanda is in fact the name of a number of settlements along the stream northwest of Platana. Mr. James Crow, of the University of Birmingham, visited the site in 1971 and reported the tradition of a church below the modern mosque and above the road at Lower Ahanda: here was a piece of plaster with painting and a yellow glaze sherd in the embankment of the road, together with tile and bone fragments. The fragment of painted plaster was 0.11 × 0.07 × 0.04 m in size. The plaster was lime with black flecks (perhaps burnt chaff). The colors included black, a haematite band, and a green blue band. In Upper Ahanda, 65 minutes inland, were the remains of a chapel, oriented at 272°, 9.7 × 5.6 m in size, with walls of 0.75 m. Its single apse was very shallow. The masonry was of the local granite, partly shaped. On the south side pulverized earthenware was used in the mortar.

8. Five further churches were locally reported in the hinterland of Platana, none of which have we investigated. The reports concern: the ruins of a church at Mersin; a church at Limlo, near Mersin, by a lake about one hour's walk inland; a ruined church at İstürkiye, west of Akçaabat; and a church at Aynadoğaz, about half an hour inland from Kordyle.

9. Mimeras (Mimera, or Sivri Kale) lies about two hours' walk northeast of Özyisa-Akpınar and three hours from Akpınar, between Ortahisar and Samara. Sivri Kale (which means “sharply pointed castle”) dominates the end of a series of hills called the Mehmet Ağa Dağları which rise up south of the point where the Kalenima Dere divides into two streams, both of which have their source in the high ridge of the Haşka yaylas. Thus the castle could control two valleys (fig. 36; pls. 95c, 96a).

The shape of the walled enclosure is dictated by the summit on which the castle stands, forming a rough rectangle of which a corner is missing on the southwest side, where the walls skirt the edge of steeply falling rock. This indent measures about 21 × 10 paces. The largest extent of the enclosed area is only some 36 paces in length and (at the eastern end) 26 paces in width. In 1958 the southwest and southeast walls stood to a height of about 5 m, but by 1967 most of these had gone and only a small section of the southwest wall remained to a height of 1 m. The thickness of the walls varies from 1 to 1.5 m. They are constructed of roughly-cut blocks laid in random courses with a mortar of lime, sand, and pebbles. Within the thickness of the walls wooden stretchers were used as a reinforcement, but there is no sign of wooden headers. The exterior sides were heavily pointed up with lime mortar to form a smooth weather-resistant surface. There may have been an outer ward on the south side of the fort where the summit slopes gently down to the ridge, but no trace of walling was found.

132. It is apparently the church referred to in Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 18 (cf. also p. 232).

42. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 230–33, pls. 63–65.

43. Lermioğlu, *Akçaabat*, 8.

The lack of worked stones or of any sign of smoothing or cutting of the natural rock suggests that the site is not earlier than the Middle Ages. The modest size of the fortified area is paralleled in numbers of Pontic forts. A date within the later Byzantine and Trapezuntine periods seems likely; it was once associated with the fourteenth-century *amyrtzantarios* Theodore Sampson. The heavily pointed external wall surfaces recur at Suma Kale, Kurum Kale, Kovans, and Koğ (qq.vv.), among others, and the heavy pointing together with the wooden stretchers may be noted as possibly early features.

10. Akpınar, or Özyisa Kalesi lies on the eastern slopes of the Kalenima Dere valley, about an hour's comfortable walk from Polita along a track running up the slopes to the east of the village. It is on a rock which is less steep than the surrounding slopes and commands a view southward up the Kalenima to the long ridge of the Karadağı. The path of a medieval route up the valley may be marked by a good wide track which runs by the site.

There are only a few scattered foundations of rough-cut uncoursed stones set in a strong lime mortar. The enclosed area is roughly oval, about 15 m across. A villager reported entrances on the east and west sides.

The lack of any level seatings for the walls or of well-dressed blocks militates against a very early date, but it could be later Byzantine or Trapezuntine. As with so many Pontic castles, its last defender is said, in local romance, to have been a lady. The castle, though modest, was reputed to have withstood many sieges, until artillery was brought up to the higher land, called Ayana, to the east of the site. Here there were said to be ruins, which were not inspected by us.

11. Hıdır Nebi (Metinkaya Kale) stands on the northern summit ridge of the Karadağı at about 1,540 m, the site is reached from the eastern side by climbing a steep wooded escarpment from Saları. The summit is a flat ridge about 20 × 40 m in size (pl. 94).

There is now no trace of an outer wall around the ridge, but random digging by local treasure seekers shows considerable quantities of lime-and-pebble and lime-and-pulverized brick or earthenware mortar. Roman or Byzantine ridge tile fragments were common, and local tradition had it that there was once a church there—which may perhaps be confirmed by the appearance of a fragment of lime plaster bearing red, yellow, and white painting. Among sherds on the surface were glazed fragments of yellow and light green Byzantine ware.

Villagers have reexcavated a rock-cut tomb. It lies on an eastwest axis and measures 1.75 × 0.35 × 0.40 m. Around the tomb the rock surface has been levelled; some of the work could represent seatings for a wall.

At the south end of the ridge is a cutting which may have been made to serve as a water pan, and to the north of the tomb is a deeper cutting which may also have been a cistern, but contained human bones in 1962.

Rock-cut tombs are not uncommon in the Pontos. Those of St. Sabbas in Trebizond have a claim to be Mithraic; they are usually taken to be pre-Byzantine. Like the Gedik Kaya tombs, near Giresun, those of Hıdır Nebi are cut in the open and there are no adjacent structures to assist their dating. The other cuttings might suggest, if they represent wall seatings, the site of a Mithridatic castle. But the mortar, tiles, and sherds indicate a Byzantine occupation; as we have seen, there was a *kastrophylox* in 1432.

The site is of some importance in local folklore. At the south end of the ridge the footprint of Ali is pointed out; he stepped to the next summit, a few kilometers to the south. The bushes of the site are hung about with the rags of the sick; we saw also offerings of food and a slaughtered cockerel. As elsewhere in the Pontos, the villagers congregate annually on 6 May to picnic and play games. The festival here takes place on a piece of nearby high ground called Hızır İlyas.

Hıdır Nebi is the only site in the Pontos which the authors visited together.

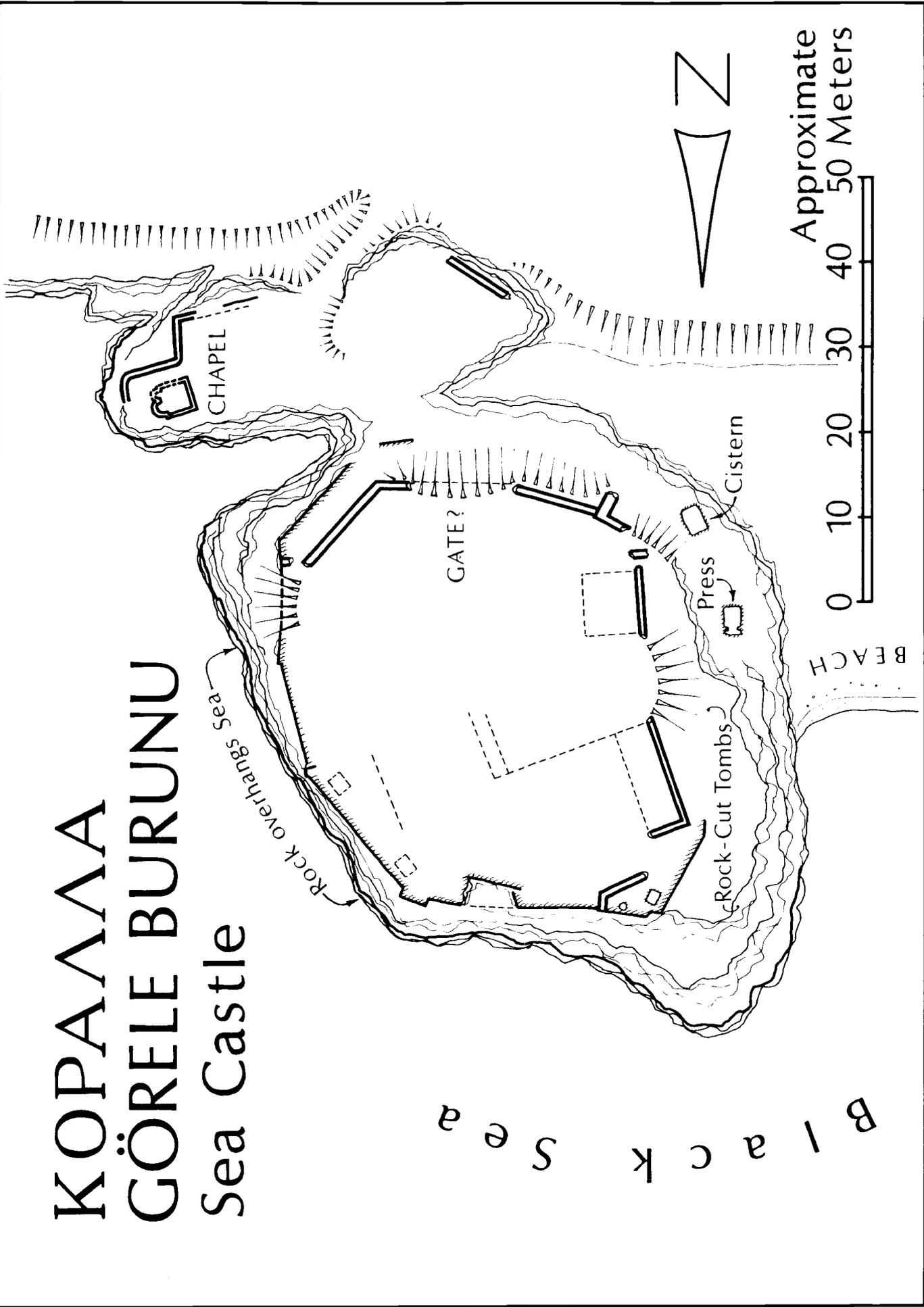
12. The Sera valley runs parallel to the Kalenima Dere and to its east; its form was changed considerably in recent times by a vast landslide which has formed a fine lake. Until 1959 there was a church to the west of the lake immediately to the right of the road where it tops a rise. The church looked medieval but unfortunately investigation of it was postponed until too late. About 100 m below the site is the ruin of a rectangular church with rounded apse, about 7 × 4 m in size. There is no trace of painting and the building could be early nineteenth century.

To the west and about twenty minutes' walk above Derecik is a cave chapel into the wall of which water stoups are carved out. It had a now destroyed masonry apse, but the place is still locally revered and the rags of the sick are brought to it.

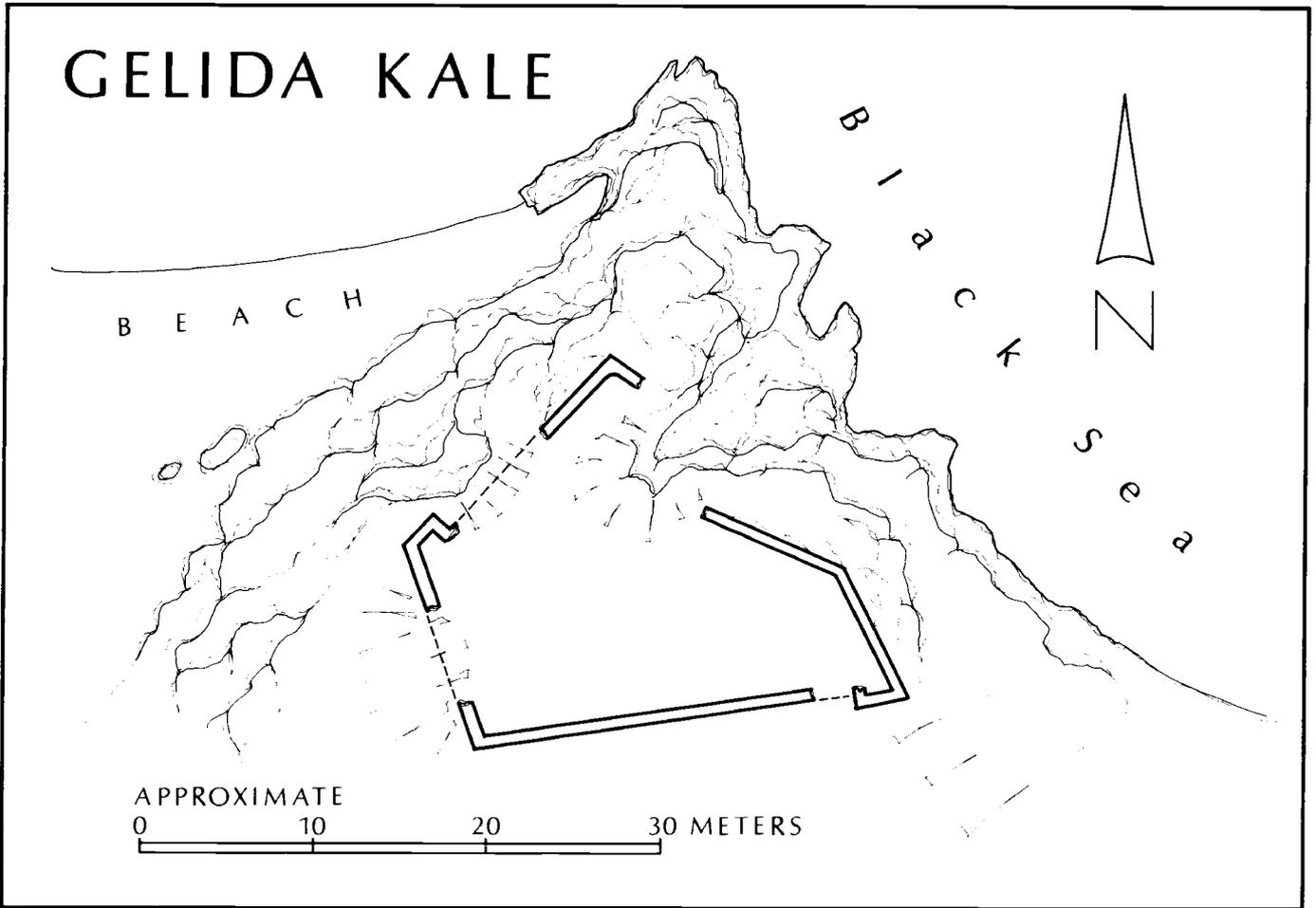
A second church was reported to the west of the cave church, but was not visited. A castle is reported at Kalecik, a long way inland up the Sera valley.

# KÖPAΛΛA GÖRELE BURUNU Sea Castle

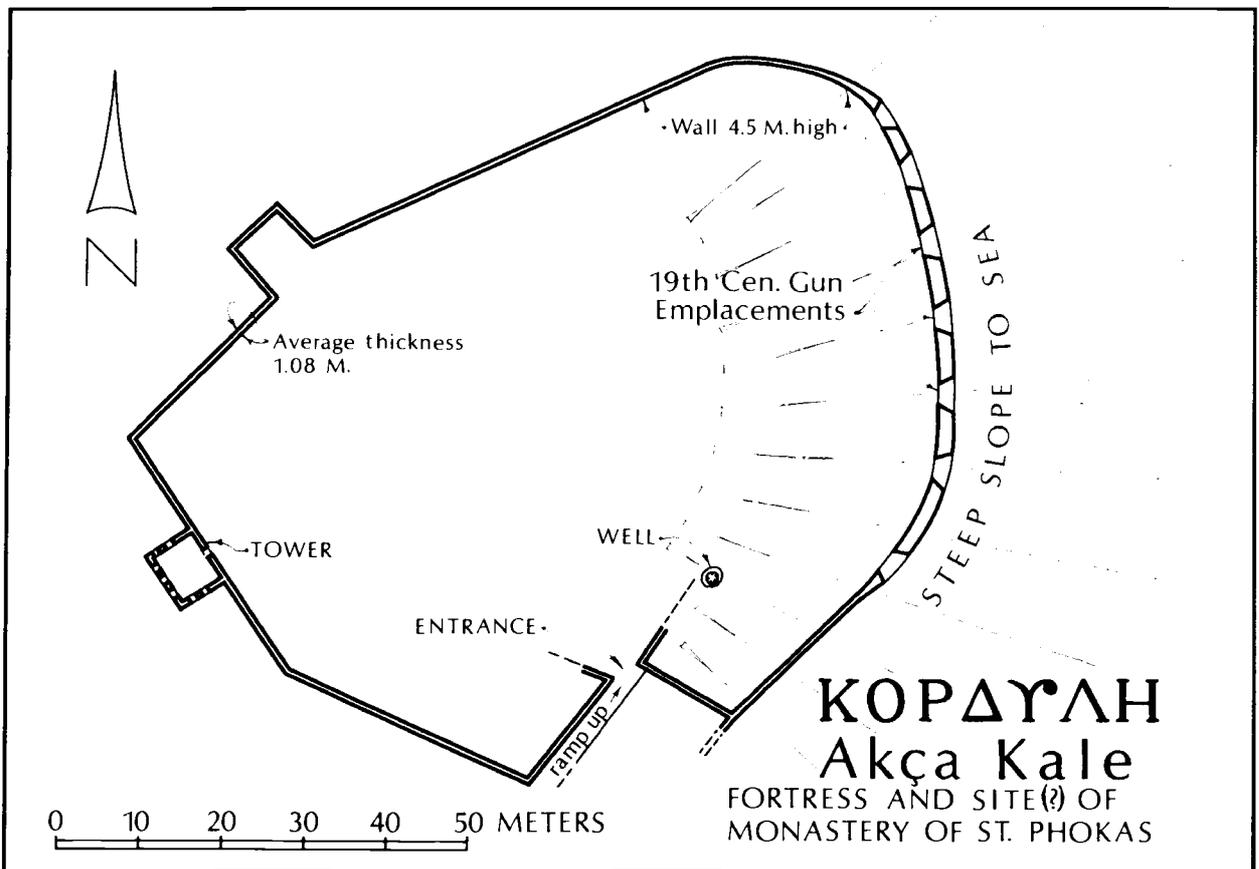
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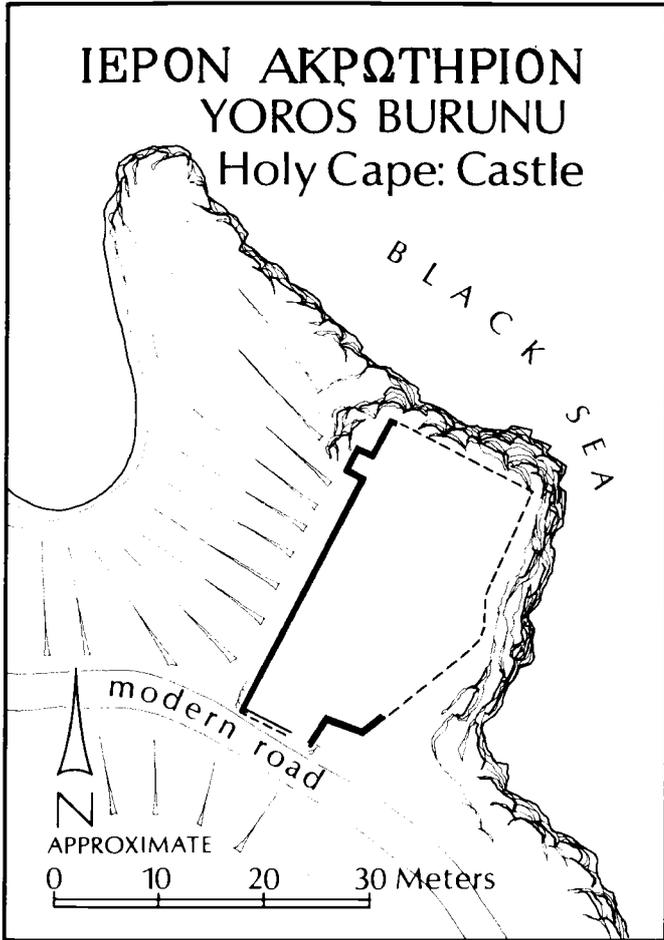
31. Plan of Site



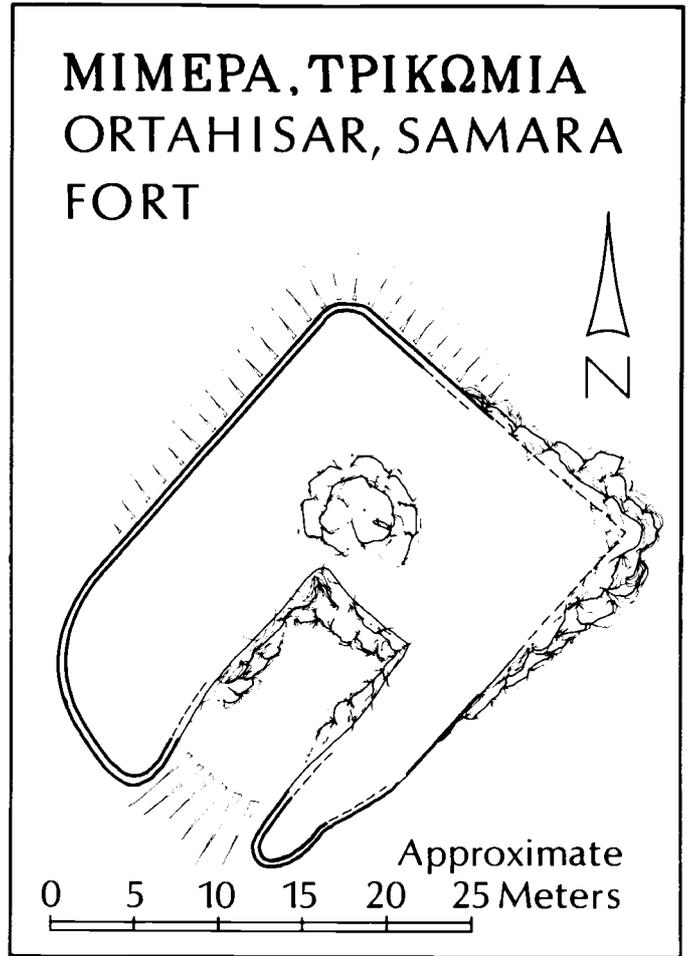
32. Plan



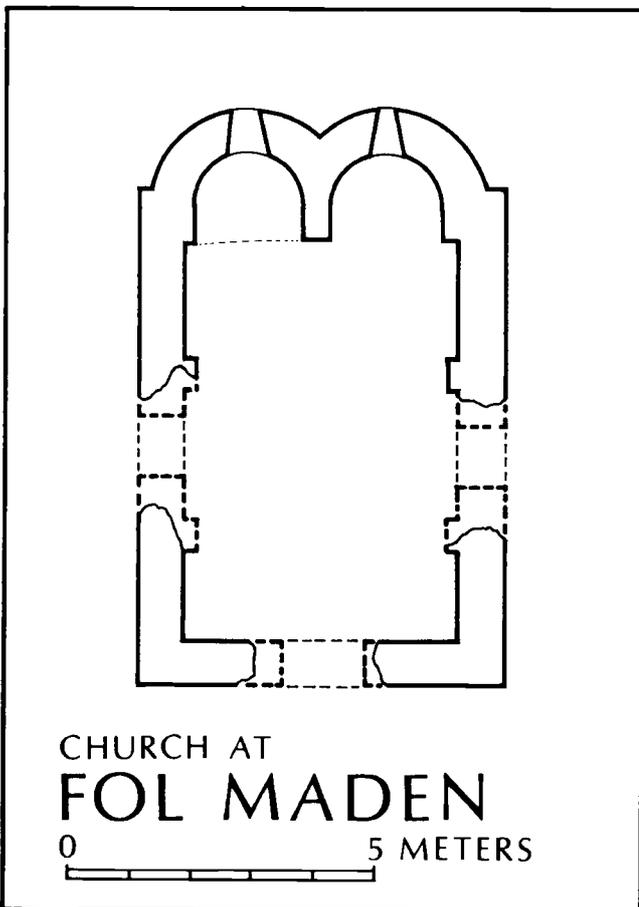
34. Plan



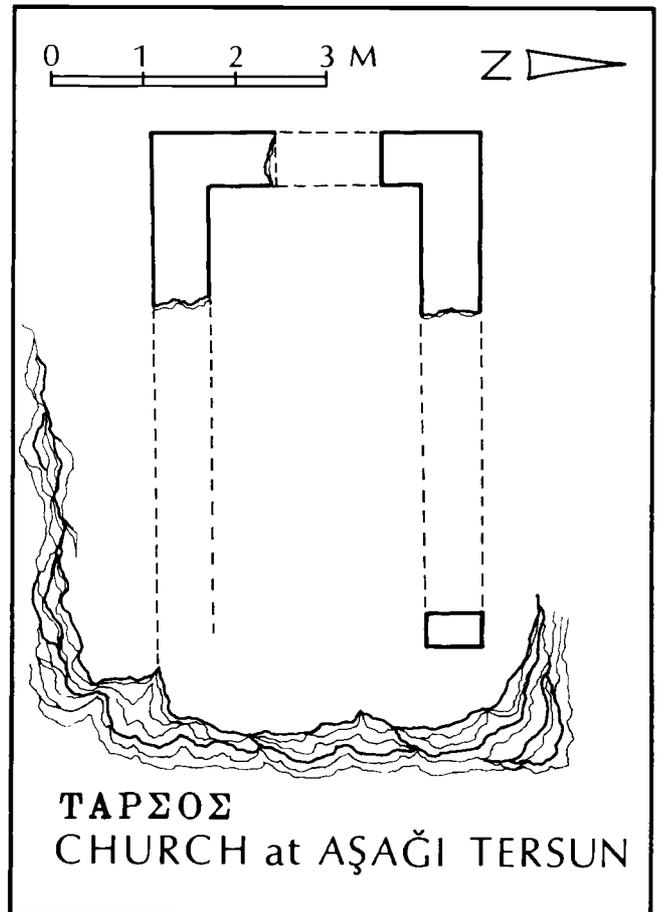
33. Plan of Site



36. Plan



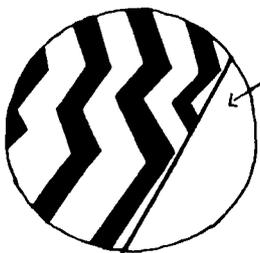
35. Plan



37. Plan



38. South Wall. Fragment of Tree of Jesse



yellow with traces of further decoration in thick white paint.

39. North Wall. Shield



40. West Wall. Sts. Constantine and Helena(?)

## Section XIX

# THE DISTRICT OF CHERIANA AND THE PROBLEM OF ARAURAKA

### IDENTIFICATION, DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

Χερίανα, Χερροίανα, or Χερρείνα, whose name survives as modern Şiran, lies (as Lazaropoulos pointed out) between Chaldia and Koloneia.<sup>1</sup> It is a comparatively fertile and geographically well-defined area comprising rolling hills and a plain watered by the upper reaches of the Lykos (Kelkit) and its tributary, the Cheriana (Şiran). Nineteenth-century and modern Greek accounts define it roughly in terms of the modern Şiran İlçesi, and it is possible that its boundaries are much older. There are prehistoric habitation mounds southeast of Çirmiş village (which lies near the upper limits of cultivatable land, below Fındıklıbel pass), and at Uluşiran itself; both were perhaps also inhabited in Byzantine times. Cheriana was then a bishopric and it is the kind of area in which one would also expect to find a Late Byzantine *doux*, but about its medieval civil administration we have no information.

To the north, few tracks penetrate a series of mountains which rise to over 3,000 m. The main exceptions are those leading over the Paryadres and down to the Dipotamos-Kanis (İkisu) valleys to join the Philabonites (Harşit)—a route taken by Clavijo on his outward travels, Cheriana's precarious link with Trebizond through Chaldia, and presumably the Koloneian alum road to the coast in the 1290s.<sup>2</sup>

To the east, there are less distinct boundaries, but a series of hills and the gorge of the Kelkit above modern Aşağı Akçalı (Haydürük) separate Cheriana from the plain of Kelkit.

The western boundaries are marked by the pass of Fındıklıbel at 1,700 m, which leads westward into the valley and plain of Alucra (included in this section), and by the junction of the Lykos and Cheriana (Şiran) rivers.

The southern boundary runs roughly along the mountains immediately to the south of the Lykos (Kelkit Çayı). It is probable that the Roman road, or roads, from Nikopolis

(Pürk) to Satala (Sadak) ran along part of the Lykos valley and hence through Cheriana.<sup>3</sup>

From the early tenth century, Χερτιάων (Serianon in an Armenian version) appears as the first suffragan of Trebizond; in a later list it dropped to second place but subsequently regained its position, a fact confirmed by Lazaropoulos in the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Medieval sources provide no name of a bishop of Cheriana. But in 1901 the tomb of the martyred bishop Basil of Cheriana and a manuscript Life of him by Kallinikos Phytianos, abbot of Soumela, were to be found, according to Kandilaptes, in the village of Μυτσερῶ (Macera, now Ahnyayla), north of Cheriana. The local tradition, related by Kandilaptes fifty years later, was that Bishop Basil and three hundred men had opposed Mehmed II in his invasion of 1461.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to know what credence to give the story. We can trace no Kallinikos Phytianos as abbot of Soumela, although the family was well known in Soumela and in Chaldian clerical and mining circles from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, probably taking its name from the village of Φυτίανα (Beşkilise, now Güzelomuk) near Matsera. The church of the Prodromos at Phytiana still has a splendid inscription celebrating the deeds of the Phytianos family from ca. 1710 to 1872, one of whom is a *protosynkellos* Kallinikos Phytianos, while a hieromonk Kallinikos Phytianos was copyist of a manuscript of Theophilos Korydalleus in ca. 1760.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, at least one Kallinikos Phytianos existed. Whether Bishop Basil did too is another matter, but the *Fatih* very probably approached Trebizond from Erzincan through Cheriana in 1461, and there could be a kernel of truth in the memory. After 1461 the see seems to have lapsed; from the early seventeenth century the bishops and archbishops of Chaldia incorporated the name of Cheriana in their titles.<sup>7</sup>

Four Roman Catholic bishops of Caraciensis (supposedly

3. See p. 30.

4. Gelzer, *Texte*, 576–77; Parthey, *Notitiae*, 120 no. 477, 217 no. 583, 259 no. 434; F. C. Conybeare, "On some Armenian Notitiae," *BZ*, 5 (1896), 132; *FHIT*, 86.

5. Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 3 (21–22) (May–June 1946), 505; and *PE*, 3 (1952), 1372.

6. Kandilaptes, *PE*, 2 (1951), 944–45; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1973), 225–28; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *IB*, IV, 258; not in Kyriakides, *Soumela*.

7. Bees, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 130–33.

1. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 71, 77; *FHIT*, 86; Kandilaptes, *PE*, 3 (1952), 1325–26, 1372–73; Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 105–10; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 54; W. Strecker, "Topographische Mitteilungen über Hocharmenien," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, 11 (1861), 354; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 121–28; *Gümüşhane İl Yıllığı* (Ankara, 1967), 131–35. Modern Şiran town is the Karaca of the travelers.

2. See p. 52.

Cheriana) are known, the first appointed in 1363 and the last in 1437. They cannot have been resident and one was a suffragan of Cologne.<sup>8</sup> If Caraciensis was indeed Cheriana (and we see little reason why it should be), the erection of the titular see is probably accounted for by its position on the Orthodox lists rather than by fourteenth-century missionary work there. But, as we shall see, Cheriana has an embarrassment of bishoprics.

The faith, however, came much earlier to Cheriana, characteristically along the old Roman defense network. One of the great pilgrim centers of Anatolia was at Arauraka, in the surrounds of Cheriana. The problem is that we do not know where Arauraka was situated. The topographical facts are relatively simple; the hagiographical evidence is not.

The topographical facts are these. The second-century Antonine Itinerary places "Arauracos" 45 or 50 Roman miles west of Satala on the Nikopolis road, as a second station after an otherwise unknown Suisa or Soissa.<sup>9</sup> But the plethora of "XXVIII," "XXIII," "XXVI" miles, and their permutations, at this point do not inspire confidence in the Itinerary, and the Peutinger routes bypass both places. More important is that in the early fifth century the *Notitia dignitatum* stations the *Cohors miliaria Bosporiana* at Arauraka.<sup>10</sup> During the tenth century it appears as a

bishopric,<sup>11</sup> a strong point of the theme of Chaldia,<sup>12</sup> and, in Symeon Metaphrastes, as three distinct units: the *vicus*, Ἀραυρακηνῶν πολίχνη, in which there was a place called Ἀναλιβόζορα, and a separate Κάστρον of Arauraka.<sup>13</sup>

Arauraka survived, not only because it evidently remained useful as a military post, but because it had to be recognized as a major cult center. One of the most popular of Byzantine Passion tales is that of the Five Saints of Arauraka. It was so popular that we propose that it served in some way as a model for two further Pontic legends of group Passions, and itself owed something to the much more solid story of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia. They share the same format: during the persecutions a Roman governor in the Lykos valley encounters a group of steadfast Christians. There is a trial, but they have the better of the argument. They undergo unspeakable tortures, which only serve to encourage other Christians to join them. They are finally killed, in one ingenious way or another, and their relics treasured. But, if the format is the same, the four stories come down to us through very different genres of hagiography. They are clearly linked, but in the table following we can only make a start at disentangling what is evidently a very complex series of layers of tradition and make a very tentative suggestion of sequence—who is copying whom.

#### CONCORDANCE OF FOUR PONTIC (ARMENIAN) GROUP PASSIONS.

Underlined entries indicate links.<sup>14</sup>

Earliest cult; and Vita (all <i>Synaxarium CP</i> )	Feast Day	Ruling Emperor(s)	Governor(s) and Judge(s)	Testament	Name, place of origin, and if exiled to Pityous (Pitsunda)
FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA: Cult, 4th c.	10 Mar.	Licinius <i>ca.</i> 310	<u>Agricolaus of Sebasteia</u>	<u>YES</u>	Valerios and thirty-nine others, of various origins
FIVE SAINTS OF ARAURAKA: Cult, 9th c.; Metaphrastes, 10th c.	13 Dec.	<u>Diocletian and Maximian</u> 286–310	<u>Agricolaus of Sebasteia and Lysias of Satala and Nikopolis</u>	<u>YES</u>	Eustratios Kyriskos of Analibozora, Arauraka; Auxentios, priest of Arauraka; <u>Eugenios of Satala</u> , young man; Mardarios whose wife spoke Armenian; Orestes, a soldier
FOUR SAINTS OF TREBIZOND: Cult of St. Eug. 6th c. Xiphilinos, 11th c.	21 Jan., moved to 24 June in 9th c.	<u>Diocletian and Maximian</u> 286–310	[ <u>Agricolaus of Sebasteia</u> ] and <u>Lysias of Satala</u>	...	<u>Eugenios of Satala</u> , older man, exiled to Pityous; Valerian of Ediske (Adisa, now Torul); Kanidios of Solochaina (Sorogaina, now Soruyana) Aquila of Pontos (cf. Acts, 18:2)
SEVEN BROTHERS OF LAZIA: Cult, Basil II Men., 11th c.	<u>24 June</u>	<u>Diocletian and Maximian</u> 286–310	Unnamed governor of <u>Satala</u>	...	Orentios, principal martyr; Longinos, final martyr; exiled to <u>Pityous</u> ; and five others, all condemned at <u>Satala</u>

8. Janin, s.v. "Chérieane," *DHGE*, XII, cols. 632–33.

9. Otto Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana* (Leipzig, 1929), I, 29, 31; Miller, *IR*, cols. 675–76.

10. *Notitia dignitatum* (reprinted Frankfurt am Main, 1962), 83–85.

11. Gelzer, *Texte*, 559, 580; Parthey, *Notitiae*, 126 no. 641, 221 no. 719; Ἀραβράκων

12. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematis*, ed. Pertusi, 74, 142: Πλατυνομένη δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀραβρακηνῶν πόλιν τὴν τοῦ περιφανεστάτου καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρος Εὐστρατίου πατρίδα καὶ διήκουσα μέχρι Νικοπόλεως ...

13. PG, 116, col. 501.

14. *Synaxarium CP*, 305–6, 406–7, 409, 521, 767–68. On the *Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia*, see: O. von Gebhardt, *Acta Martyrum*

We are on relatively firm ground with the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia—firmer than the ground on which they found themselves. Their relics were in demand in fourth-century Cappadocia, and their remarkable testament has some claim to be regarded as a genuine persecution document. The legend of the Five Saints of Arauraka is characterized, and linked to it, by a somewhat similar testament, in which their leader, St. Eustratios, arranged, among other things, for him and his companions to be buried in Analibozora, in the *vicus* of Arauraka, his birthplace. His youngest companion was St. Eugenios. The temptation to confuse this St. Eugenios with the St. Eugenios of Trebizond, chief hero of the next group of martyrs in this sequence, should not be resisted.

The Araurakan story figures in Greek, Armenian, Georgian, and Latin hagiography, but is best read in the Metaphrast's version. Symeon includes a classic courtroom scene, presided over by governor Lysias. He is a stock character, specializing in group martyrdoms and is infamous elsewhere as persecutor of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, Sts. Zenobios and Zenobia, etc. In this scene Lysias cross-examines Eustratios on "Hellenic" grounds—the Platonic view of God, with references to Aristotle and Homer—before consigning him to the inevitable furnace. But in 875–98 the Araurakan hagiographies were already being rewritten in Naples and the Five Saints figure on a contemporary Neapolitan calendar. In the tenth century their relics were supposedly translated to the church of Sant'Apollinare in Rome. This evidently did not prevent the continued veneration of their relics at Arauraka too, for at the same time Arauraka was erected into a suffragan bishopric of Kamacha (hitherto part of Koloneia). This was late: Arauraka's great rival as a pilgrim center, Euchaita, St. Theodore the Tyro's city, was awarded its bishopric under Anastasios.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, the new metropolis of Kamacha was awarded sees as far south as Romanoupolis, on the headwaters of the Tigris. But the metropolis of Trebizond was simultaneously given a string of new bishoprics, partly to serve the little duchies of the new frontier of the *Taktikon Oikonomides* in still lively Paulician territory.<sup>16</sup> These sees stretched as far

south as Chantiarte (Chantierz), by the Arsanias (Murad Su) and north of Kamacha's Romanoupolis. But they included for the first time the new sees of Chalaïou (and, as we shall see, there is no reason to question the seventeenth-century tradition that the bishopric lay near modern Kelkit), and Cheriana itself. These two chains of tenth-century bishoprics, running north-south, do not quite overlap, but run parallel for several hundred kilometers, Trebizond's sees beginning further north (with Trebizond itself) and lying further east, and Kamacha's sees beginning further south (probably with Arauraka) and lying further west. Diocesan geography dictates that the bishopric of Arauraka should not be placed too close for episcopal comfort to the sees of Cheriana or Chalaïou. Logically (and Byzantine diocesan geography is not always logical), Arauraka should be placed south and west of Cheriana, and at a discreet distance from it. But the coexistence of three bishoprics in the upper Lykos cannot have lasted long. Arauraka seems to have suffered the same fate as Euchaita in the second half of the eleventh century and is not heard of after the Seljuks (although it lingered on episcopal lists). This is in striking contrast to Cheriana, which recovered and survived, retaining a Greek Christian population until this century.

There are probably several reasons for this discrepancy. First the *vicus* (if not castle) of Arauraka was militarily vulnerable. It lay on the Lykos valley raiding route of the Arabs and Seljuks. The Arabs would have passed it on their way to Koloneia in 778 and 939/40. St. Theodore the Tyro miraculously defended Euchaita on horseback against the Arabs in 934, but the fact that John Tzimiskes had to rebuild the church there suggests that the patron Saint could not save it.<sup>17</sup> Was St. Eustratios more successful at protecting Arauraka? But, if the place survived the tenth century, it would have lasted until the Seljuks. Maybe its end came with the attacks on Chaldia in 1049, on Sebasteia of the Forty Martyrs in 1059, or on Neokaisareia of St. Gregory the Wonderworker in 1068.<sup>18</sup> In any event, it would not have outlasted 1071.

Second, Arauraka was culturally vulnerable. The borders of the Empire of Trebizond were not so much those between Greeks and Turks (although Türkmens complicated the issue), but between Greeks and Armenians. Cheriana seems to have lain in a largely Greek area, but the Lykos valley and Koloneia, pestered by Paulicians since the seventh century, was probably more Armenian.

Finally, Arauraka was economically vulnerable, as was any small place which, like Euchaita too, depended upon a shrine as its major industry. The sacking of the shrine would be a total disaster, for it was upon such cults as that of St. Eustratios that local Byzantine society drew its peculiar strength. A patron saint gave the sick therapy, the poor alms, the educated employment, the merchants an annual fair, the city salvation in times of war or famine, and all citizens their very notion of identity and local patriotism. It would also require an economic base of land and *paroikoi*. St. Eugenios

*Selecta. Ausgewählte Märtyreracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der christlichen Kirche* (Berlin, 1902), 166–81. On the *Five Saints of Arauraka*, see: PG, 116, cols. 467–505; references to St. Eustratios in Theophanes, Bonn ed., I, 19 (gloss), and (in the 14th century), PG, 145, col. 1233C; H. Delehayé, *Les Passions des Martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1921), 266–68; D. Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo di Napoli* (Rome, 1947), 25, 162, 167, 186; J. G. C. Anderson, "The Road-System of Eastern Asia Minor with the Evidence of Byzantine Campaigns," *JHS*, 17 (1897), 44, map; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 275, 286, map opp. p. 266; Ph. Jaquet, s.v. "I. Eustrate," *DHGE*, XVI, col. 48; P. Delvos, "L'œuvre de Guarimpotus, hagiographe napolitain," *AnalBoll*, 76 (1958), 151–87; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 328–30. On the *Four Saints of Trebizond*, see: O. Lampsides, "Ἅγιος Εὐγένιος ὁ Τραπεζοῦντιος. Ἀνεκδότα κείμενα," *AP*, 18 (1953), 97–128; and *FHIT*, *passim*. On the *Seven Brothers of Lazia*, see p. 83–84.

15. C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Three Inscriptions of the Reigns of Anastasios I and Constantine V.," *BZ*, 65 (1972), 382.

16. See note 2; *Oikonomides*, *Listes*, 359, 363; and A. Bryer, "An Excursus on Mananalis, Samosata of Armenia and Paulician Geography," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 83.

17. Vryonis, *Decline*, 37–38.

18. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Nancy, 1913), 24–26, 75.

offered all these services to Trebizond. But a small place like Arauraka would have been totally lost without St. Eustratios. Once a shrine was destroyed, it was almost impossible to reconstruct its economic and social base—the revival of the cult and annual fair of St. Phokas at Sinope after the Seljuks is a rare exception.

This explains sufficiently why the Gabrades made no attempt to revive the cult of St. Eustratios in the twelfth century, although (according to Lazaropoulos) the area of Cheriana then became a *therapeia* for monks, especially devoted to St. George (for whom a monastery was built) and St. Eugenios (whose cult now drew some economic support from Cheriana). But Lazaropoulos does not even mention St. Eustratios, and by St. Eugenios he meant St. Eugenios of Trebizond, not St. Eugenios of Arauraka, the companion of St. Eustratios. We have a suspicion, therefore, that Arauraka suffered from another disability: the rivalry of a more aggressive Pontic cult. By the twelfth century, St. Eustratios could not be revived in Arauraka because he had already been supplanted by St. Eugenios of Trebizond.

This did not prevent the veneration of the Five Saints of Arauraka from the tenth century almost everywhere except in their Pontic homeland, which was becoming the domain of St. Eugenios. They are widely depicted in Cappadocian paintings; in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni on Chios, and Daphni in the eleventh century; in the Pala d'Oro and enamels now in Venice; in the mosaics of Palermo and paintings of Asinou in the twelfth century; and in the repertoire of fourteenth-century Serbian artists. We know of no occasion in which St. Eugenios of Trebizond (who is usually labelled as such) and St. Eustratios and St. Eugenios of Arauraka appear in the decoration of the same church. The *Hermeneia* has the Araurakan saints, but ignores the Trapezuntine.

The Araurakan martyrs were, however, evidently popular among the Armenians of Trebizond. They appear in the paintings of Kaymaklı (No. 48), and the Armenian church of St. Auxentios (No. 62) was dedicated to one of them. Among Greek churches, St. Eustratios (No. 79) is mentioned in connection with the events of 1223 and is not heard of again—this before the upsurge of the cult of St. Eugenios from the 1340s, associated with Alexios III, the works of Loukites and Lazaropoulos, and the rebuilding of St. Eugenios of Trebizond itself (No. 76). However, the Araurakan martyrs (but not St. Eugenios of Trebizond) appear in the decoration of the Theoskepastos (No. 124)—a fact which may argue for assigning the paintings of that church a date before the 1340s.<sup>19</sup>

There are three possible explanations for the presence of both St. Eugenios of Trebizond and St. Eugenios of Arauraka in the Pontos: first, that they are really distinct; second, that (by a process of what might be termed hagiological kidnapping), St. Eugenios of Trebizond was coopted into the little army of Araurakan martyrs; and third, that the reverse happened.

Let us consider the first explanation. St. Eugenios of Arauraka and St. Eugenios of Trebizond both come from

Satala; both were condemned to immolation in a furnace; both by Agricolaus of Sebasteia and Lysias of Satala; both during the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian. Even allowing for traditional hagiographical coincidence, we cannot conceive that they are not one and the same St. Eugenios.

As for the second possible explanation, an argument can be made out that it was St. Eugenios of Trebizond who was incorporated into the Araurakan story. Procopius attests a cult of St. Eugenios in Trebizond<sup>20</sup> before we have evidence of a cult of St. Eugenios (and the others) of Arauraka—paradoxically, not in Arauraka itself, but in Naples. However, it seems to us that if the guardians of the cult of the Araurakan martyrs wished to enhance it by adding an already well-established recruit, they would not have demoted him to the very junior role which St. Eugenios plays in the story of St. Eustratios.

We think that the third possibility is the more likely, namely that it was St. Eugenios of Arauraka who became St. Eugenios of Trebizond, rather than vice versa—perhaps at first alone, for Procopius and (in the early seventh century) Ananias of Shirak mention him in Trebizond<sup>21</sup> but not his rather shadowy companions. If so, Procopius gives a terminus post quem for the cult of the Five Saints of Arauraka, too, a date which can be perhaps further refined by bringing another element into the argument: the Seven Brothers of Lazia.

All our characters meet at last in the eleventh-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, which figures the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, the Five Saints of Arauraka, the Four Saints of Trebizond and the Seven Brothers of Lazia. The Seven Brothers did not have the benefit of Symeon Metaphrastes or John Xiphilinos to enhance their tale, which is bald, but clearly connected with that of St. Eugenios of Satala, Arauraka, and Trebizond. The table above shows that, like St. Eugenios, they set out from Satala; that they were condemned at the same time, perhaps by the same duke; that their leader had the same feast day as St. Eugenios' birthday (which became the feast of all Seven Brothers); and that the last of the Seven Brothers found himself, like St. Eugenios of Trebizond (but not of Arauraka) at Pityous (Pitsunda). The matter is dealt with in more detail on p. 326, but the geographical scope of the legend points to memories of the fifth, rather than sixth, century, when Pityous (as well as other stations mentioned in the story of the Seven Brothers) appears still in the *Notitia dignitatum* of ca. 406–8.<sup>22</sup> In 407 Pityous shot into unwonted fame when it was chosen as the place of exile of St. John Chrysostom, who died on the way there.<sup>23</sup> So the year 407 may become a terminus ante quem for the story of St. Eugenios of

20. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vii, 1: "the emperor Justinian built an aqueduct which they called the Aqueduct of the martyr Eugenios." On aqueducts named after martyrs, see H. D(elehay), "L'aqueduc de S. Socrate à Zénonopolis," *AnalBoll*, 30 (1911), 316–20.

21. F. Conybeare, "Ananias of Shirak (A.D. 600–650 ca.)," *BZ*, 6 (1898), 572–74, where, for "Eugenia," one should presumably read Eugenios.

22. See note 10.

23. PG, 114, col. 1208.

19. Millet and Rice, *Painting*, 44.

Trebizond and the tale of the Seven Brothers, when Pityous became something of a fashionable place of exile for saints. This should perhaps place the hagiological kidnapping of St. Eugenios in the period 407 to ca. 550, giving, in turn, a reduced terminus post quem for the Five Saints of Arauraka (whose St. Eugenios is *not* posted to Pityous), very much nearer the period 286–310, to which it theoretically belongs.

Given these suppositions, we can propose a possible scenario for the rivalry between the cults of the two Saints Eugenios. After 407, St. Eugenios, the junior Araurakan martyr, was “borrowed” by Trebizond. From his, or the original Araurakan story, burgeoned that of the Seven Brothers of Lazia as well. By the sixth century he was well enough entrenched in Trebizond to have an aqueduct named after him. St. Eustratios came too, at some time before 1223, but his relations with St. Eugenios in Trebizond are not known.

Lazaropoulos has a tradition of a curious development during the reign of Basil I (867–86). The birthday of St. Eugenios (now firmly of Trebizond, rather than of Arauraka) was then revealed in a dream as being 24 June. As Janin points out, 24 June is a good deal more convenient a day for a feast and fair than that hitherto observed, the day of his martyrdom on 21 January. He suggests that the real reason for the change may have to do with the annual caravans which fetched supplies for St. Eugenios’ monastery from Paipertes (Bayburt), which would be unable to make the journey for a midwinter feast and fair. Janin also pointed out that 24 June was also a rather more important feast in the Byzantine world, that of St. John the Baptist.<sup>24</sup> But he did not notice that it was also the feast of St. Eugenios’ local rival, St. Orentios of Rhizaion, leader of the Seven Brothers of Lazia. One can only speculate what all this might mean: that St. Orentios took advantage of St. John’s day, and became such a summer rival of St. Eugenios that St. Eugenios had in turn to appropriate St. Orentios’ fair? But the feast became something of a Pontic national day. One eve of the feasts of St. John, St. Orentios, and St. Eugenios, long after the Greeks had gone, D. C. W. noticed Turkish women bathing below the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond—a singular event. He was told that it was a custom of the city.

The turning point in favor of St. Eugenios of Trebizond may, however, have come with Basil II’s rebuilding of the monastery of St. Eugenios there in 1021–22.<sup>25</sup> Arauraka never had such imperial patronage. This was followed by the rewriting of the Lives of the Four Saints of Trebizond by Patriarch John Xiphilinos of Constantinople (1064–75), who did for the legend what Symeon Metaphrastes had done in localizing the Araurakan story a century before. Xiphilinos was a native of Trebizond.<sup>26</sup> He created for Trebizond what St. Tryphon was for Nicaea and St. Demetrios for Thessaloniki. This would have raised acute problems, if only of identity, if the Seljuks were not simultaneously putting an end to the Araurakan shrine from

which Trebizond had salvaged one saint. Thereafter it was in the interests of the Gabrades and Grand Komnenoi not to revive the Araurakan cult. Economically St. Eugenios may even have appropriated St. Eustratios’ estates in Cheriana, where it now obtained supplies. But the Araurakan revenge is that, despite all the fourteenth-century propaganda of Loukites and Lazaropoulos, it was St. Eugenios of Arauraka and not St. Eugenios of Trebizond, who was depicted and venerated all over the rest of the Byzantine world, in Serbia, and in Italy.

We must return from this necessarily complicated excursion to the question of where Arauraka actually was. Cumont’s observation still holds good: “La conquête seldjucide dut provoquer sa ruine, mais il serait étonnant que rien n’indiquât plus aujourd’hui l’emplacement du camp romain ni celle de l’église byzantine.”<sup>27</sup> Originally the present authors agreed that Kelora, described below, may have been St. Eustratios’ Arauraka,<sup>28</sup> but now they agree to differ on Arauraka’s possible location, except that it is not Kelora itself. They take heart that the much more important pilgrim site of Euchaita was only proposed as being modern Avhat in 1910, and confirmed as such by 1972.<sup>29</sup> The nature of the sites we are looking for is clear enough: Roman camp, *vicus*, and church; and so is the area, namely, two days, or 45 to 50 Roman miles, west of Satala on the Nikopolis road, and not too near Cheria. The possible sites described below are: 1. a large, Early Byzantine, basilica with mosaic and evidence of settlement at Aşağı Akçalı (commonly called by the older name of Haydürük), 42 km west of Satala and 4 km east of Kelora; 2. a large and a small Roman and Early Byzantine camp, Kâlur Kale, 50 km west of Satala and 4 km west of Kâlur; and 3. a Roman and Early Byzantine castle and *vicus*, with no trace of a church, at Avarak (Hacıahmetoğlu), 81 km west of Satala and 35 km downstream from Kelora. Measurements are as the crow flies, but the Lykos valley is relatively easy going.

D. C. W. favors Kâlur Kale as the camp and staging post of Arauraka and nearby Aşağı Akçalı as the *vicus* and site of the pilgrim church of St. Eustratios. This fits well with the Antonine Itinerary and Symeon Metaphrastes’ directions, and accounts for the remains of what was obviously an Early Byzantine basilica of some quality, which is unique in the Pontos.

A. A. M. B.’s argument is that a site called Avarak in the area cannot be ignored and that its presence must take precedence over the not necessarily reliable information of the Antonine Itinerary and the tenth-century Metaphrast, which must simply be made to fit it. In fact it does not do so badly, and if Avarak is Arauraka, Kâlur Kale becomes Suisa. Locally established names, such as Satala (Sadak) and Cheria (Şiran), did survive in this area, and it was only by ignoring a village called Avhat that Euchaita was missed for so long. Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ spelling of the place

24. *FHIT*, 53–58; Janin, *EMGCB*, 266 and note 9.

25. See p. 223.

26. Xiphilinos actually refers to the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, and to “the Great Eustratios” (but, understandably, not to his companions). Lampsides, *AP*, 18 (1953), 140, 144. Cf. *FHIT*, 12–14.

27. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 330.

28. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 354; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 236.

29. H. Grégoire, “Géographie Byzantine,” *BZ*, 19 (1910), 59–61; Ševčenko and Mango, *BZ*, 65 (1972), 379–84.

as Ἀραβρακηνῶν πόλις<sup>30</sup> confirms its Byzantine pronunciation as "Aravraka," to which Avarak corresponds rather more closely than the other survivals we have mentioned. A further factor is that if the Kamachan see of Arauraka lies near Kelora, it would be only 13 km from the Trapezuntine bishopric of Cheriana (say, at Uluşiran), and the suffragan of Chalaïou would be only 28 km away if he was established in, or near, modern Kelkit. The Avarak site has the advantage of taking the Kamachan bishopric of Arauraka out of the fringes of the metropolitan dioceses of Trebizond and giving it space nearer Koloncia, of which the place was a strong point.

The glaring disadvantage of the Avarak site is that there is no sign of a church there—but nor is there of what must have been a very splendid basilica of St. Theodore the Tyro of Euchaita at Avhat.<sup>31</sup> The shining advantage of the Kâlur sites is that there is what must have been a very handsome basilica there, and if it is not that of St. Eustratios, what is it? The reader must make up his own mind, but only further exploration or the discovery of an inscription can really decide the matter.

It says much for the counteroffensive of St. Theodore Gabras and his family, dukes of Chaldia, that monastic life was revived in Cheriana after the Seljuks presumably sacked St. Eustratios. But any conspicuous monastery cannot have lasted more than a century before it became in turn a target of the Danişmendids, and twelfth-century life in the Cheriana borderlands cannot have been secure. It is perhaps to this period that the painted and fortified chapel at Tarsos, described below, should be assigned. At any rate, Lazaropoulos describes the monastery of St. George τοῦ Χαίρου in Cheriana, founded by "the most noble of the Gabrades," as if it were defunct by the fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup> This mention of the Gabrades must refer to the three Gabras dukes of Chaldia (ca. 1067–ca. 1140), rather than to the insignificant members of the family who appear in the Empire of Trebizond, and probably "the most noble" is St. Theodore Gabras himself (d. at Theodosioupolis [Erzurum] in 1098).<sup>33</sup> In the twelfth-century pause between the Seljuk and Danişmendid invasions of the area, St. George enjoyed an endowment of many Cherianan villages, which were prosperous, and much fertile arable land. The Seljuks having evidently cut the routes to Paipertes (Bayburt), where the monastery of St. Eugenios in Trebizond had hitherto obtained its provisions, it now switched its supply route to Cheriana, and an annual spring caravan from St. Eugenios, led by its abbot and a principal monk, traveled from Trebizond to Cheriana to obtain butter and cheese from the monastery of St. George of Chainos. One year the abbots of St. Eugenios and St. George—Meletios and Ioannikios—happened to be brothers.<sup>34</sup>

St. George (and St. Eugenios of Trebizond) may have

triumphed over the memory of St. Eustratios in the twelfth century. Kandilaptes places the monastery of St. George, without argument, in the castle of Λευκόπετρα, which supposedly had ancient walls and lay above the rock-cut monastery of Kelora.<sup>35</sup> Leukopetra ("White Stone") thus probably becomes the later Greek name for Kâlur Kale (D. C. W.'s Arauraka camp; A. A. M. B.'s Suisa). If Aşağı Akçalı is St. Eustratios of Arauraka, the shifting of a vulnerable monastic site from the plain to a fort at this juncture would have been logical. But Kelora also boasts an impressive rock-cut monastery. It is the most southerly example of the familiar Pontic tradition of a sacred cave-church (in this case, two of them) cut in a cliff face, which was later shielded by a range of monastic buildings. The Kelora monastery, as it stands, was established by bishop Jeremias Georgiades of Nikopolis in 1848, supposedly as a refoundation of a medieval monastery. The surviving monastic buildings certainly date from then, and the major cave-church (which we have published elsewhere), appears to have been cut then, despite archaisms of design and a distinct "Cappadocian" air about it. But its excavation would inevitably have removed a smaller medieval chapel. Thus the monastery of St. George could have been either on the Kelora site, or at Kâlur Kale (Leukopetra?) nearby. Such identifications depend upon the accuracy of the oral tradition which Kandilaptes recorded in the area in the first years of this century.<sup>36</sup>

To sum up our, very tentative, proposed sequence of monastic history in the upper Lykos. To the second-century Roman camp of Arauraka was added a pilgrim center of St. Eustratios, perhaps in the fourth century. Arauraka may have stood either in the Kelora area, or downstream at Avarak. But the Seljuk invasions devastated the shrine of St. Eustratios, and Trebizond perhaps "borrowed" one of his companions, St. Eugenios, so that the cult could not be revived in his home. Instead, the Gabras counterinvasion put a new monastery in the area, St. George, in or near Kelora, while at Tarsos another may have been built in the twelfth century too. But St. George, at least, did not outlast the Danişmendids, and it was not until 1848 that the upper Lykos became quiet enough for a revival of monasticism, at Kelora.

Ecclesiastically, there is one more bishopric to discuss. We have already noted the tenth-century sees of Cheriana and Arauraka, suffragans of the rival metropolitans of Trebizond and Kamacha, to say nothing of the possible later Roman Catholic titular see. But from the tenth century Trebizond also boasted a suffragan bishop of what is variously spelled as Χαλαίου, Χαχάίου, Χαλροῦ, Χαλίου, Χαχθαίου, or Χαχάίου. In 1670 this see was identified as τὸ λεγόμενον

35. Kandilaptes, *PE*, 2 (1951), 1209. He and Ioannides (*Historia*, 253), make Leukopetra an "akritic" castle—Kandilaptes going so far as to claim it as a "summer palace" of Digenis himself.

36. Ioannides, *Historia*, 252–53; Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 107; Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 2 (14) (October 1945), 332; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 354–68; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1973), 236. Modern place names are taken from the *Gümüshane İl Yıllığı*, but they are not yet in popular use, and are often unknown to villagers, who retain former Turkish names and often know the original Greek ones.

30. See note 12.

31. Personal observation by A. A. M. B.

32. *FHIT*, 86; Janin, *EMGCB*, 262–63, 267.

33. Bryer, "Gabrades," 181–82; Bryer, Fassoulakis, and Nicol, *Byzantinoslavica*, 36 (1975), 39–41.

34. *FHIT*, 87.

Καλκέτι, and in 1737 as τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Κελκέτ.<sup>37</sup> This has caused some confusion, for it is natural to identify Chalaïou with the town of Kelkit, midway between Satala and modern Şiran. But, like Şiran, modern Kelkit is something of an Ottoman administrative creation—the *kazas* of Şiran and Kelkit were moved from the administration of Erzincan to that of Gümüşhane only in 1888. Kelkit is the administrative name of Çiftlik (itself hardly an old name) and it is difficult to know what was meant by “Kelkit” in 1670 and 1737. Bees wanted to place the episcopal see of Chalaïou at the village of Piski (Bizgili), near Kelkit, but there is no church there.<sup>38</sup> But if Chalaïou is in fact “Kelkit,” it must be, like the modern town, named after the Kelkit Çayı, or river Λύκος (“Wolf”). What is interesting is that so great was the nature of Armenian emigration west from the tenth century, that the Turks inherited the Armenian, rather than the Greek, version of the name: Gayl Get (Kayl Ket in Western Armenian), or “Wolf River.”<sup>39</sup> Chalaïou should therefore be sought anywhere along the Lykos (Kelkit), but not too far west, for it would trespass on the dioceses of Koloneia and Arauraka, or too far south, for it would stray into the territories of the metropolis of Kamachos, or too far east, for the Lykos becomes insignificant beyond Kelkit itself. Nor can it be placed at Cheriana. In fact, by elimination, a site on the river at, or near, modern Kelkit would be a logical one for Chalaïou.

Cheriana itself is elusive. Lazaropoulos entitles it a *chora* and Panaretos indicates that it was the sort of place that could be besieged.<sup>40</sup> Like Kelkit, Şiran, the modern capital of the region, is a comparatively recent foundation and does not appear on maps before the nineteenth century. Uluşiran, about 6 km north-northeast of modern Şiran, is the obvious candidate. The fortified hill there clearly represents a prehistoric site which had a Roman history (perhaps as Cunissa—see p. 25) and was walled in Byzantine times; it is discussed below. But it is a small place.

Visible from Uluşiran and about 8 km away at 340°, is a much larger castle, Mumya Kale, whose walls enclose about 2½ acres. The sherds, tiles, and part of the walls suggest an early medieval settlement, and the remainder of the walls appear to be late medieval. There are further fortifications in the surrounding hills which were reported by villagers: Kozankale, about 3 km west of Mumya Kale, is said to be ruined and without trace of a church; Çulcura Kale is said to be a small watchtower on a rock, about 2 km northeast of Mumya Kale; and remains of churches (probably nineteenth-century but possibly medieval) nearby at Pardı—where there are said to be two in ruins—and at Kepeçeli, which lies between Uluşiran and Mumya Kale on the west

side of the valley. East of the valley there are said to be no traces today of the church at Μαρπολίθι (now Karakaya).<sup>41</sup>

Mumya Kale is the most formidable in this broad and fertile valley and would have to be taken by any force, Trapezuntine or Türkmen, which wanted to control Cheriana and the headwaters of the Lykos. The very name Uluşiran and the evident high antiquity of the site, gives it, however, an equally strong claim to identification with Cheriana. Perhaps Panaretos and Lazaropoulos intend, by “Cheriana,” the whole fortified Uluşiran-Mumya Kale valley. There is no definite conclusion.

The name Mumya Kale is singular. It means mummy (Greek μούμια, Turkish *mumya*). The curative properties of mummy were highly prized in the Arab world and, later, in the medieval West; mummy was included in at least one Arab diplomatic present to a Byzantine emperor, Romanos II. The mineral mummy is a bituminous pitch, resembling the resinous substance which was used as a substitute. The substitute was obtained from pounding down Egyptian mummies whose medicinally recycled embalming fluids gave them their name. True mummy has, however, nothing to do with Egyptian mummies, although early Turks seem to have mummified their distinguished dead in this area—perhaps a princess at Mamahatun (Dexene), and a “Mumya Dede,” whom the curious visitor may still encounter at Harput. True mummy was, and is, chiefly obtained from seepage in a cave near Shiraz in Persia, but a fourteenth-century medical treatise states that it was also obtained from Byzantine places—where it was lighter in colour and employed less.<sup>42</sup> The name Mumya Kale is so specific that the site must be proposed as one of the Byzantine sources of mummy. The area is very rich in mineral resources and copper has been mined nearby, but it must be confessed that we have had no reports of mummy itself, whose properties may not be known to modern inhabitants of Cheriana.

Cheriana was clearly a Greek enclave with its own bishop, until this century the most southerly outpost of Pontic Greek settlement. It was fringed along the Lykos valley with Armenian settlement from the tenth century. The status of Cheriana during the period of the Empire of Trebizond is, however, problematical. Geographically it lay at one remove from imperial authority, south of the semi-independent theme of Chaldia and separated from it by a mountain range which was policed from the castles of Golacha and Solochaina. It is not known as an administrative unit of the Empire and,

41. Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 3 (21–22) (May–June 1946). Villagers reported memories of an annual fair at Kepeçeli on the feast of the *Koimesis*. We are grateful to Ali Kurt Bey of Norşun for information.

42. Cf. C. Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*, II (Lyons, 1688), Appendix, col. 138, s.v. Μώμιον, citing the then unpublished Cod. Reg. 2686, fol. 436 (on Byzantine mummy); W. R. Dawson, “Mummy as a drug,” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine (Section on History of Medicine)*, 21 (November 1927), 34–39; Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 635–36; Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la Terre (Kitab Surat al-Ard)*, ed. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, II (Paris, 1964), 294 (“mumiyay”); Pegolotti, *Pratica*, ed. Evans, 422–23. We are grateful to Professor N. Panayotakis (who is to publish a letter of a Fatimid prince to Romanos II) for information.

37. Gelzer, *Texte*, 557, 576; Parthey, *Notitiae*, 120 no. 479, 217 no. 585, 259 no. 436; Bees, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 120–21; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 154–55; Archaeological Museum, Ankara, Soumela MS 27, fol. 1, dated 6 March 1737.

38. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 314 note 2; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 126 note \*.

39. J. Markwart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen* (Vienna, 1930), 429 note 1; cf. Gelzer, *Texte*, 582, for another example. We are grateful to Mr. Levon Avdoyan for discussion.

40. *FHIT*, 85–86; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71.

indeed, its exposed position, near Turkish or Türkmen Kolo-neia and facing Keltzene (Erzincan) to the south, probably ensured that it could never have become a regular part of the Empire. We propose that it was a sort of Christian no-man's-land, with a Trapezuntine protectorate the effectiveness of which depended upon two factors: the movement of Çepni Türkmens in the mountains between Chaldia and Cheriana, who could insulate it from the Empire proper; and Trapezuntine relations with rulers to the south, particularly of Erzincan.

As for thirteenth-century Cheriana, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion save that, after the fall of the Saltukids (and Danişmendids), it may have passed into the sphere of Trebizond for a period after 1223.<sup>43</sup> But, by the time of the battle of Köse Dağ, fought in 1243 between Cheriana and Erzincan, both places had probably fallen into the Seljuk sphere and would thereafter have gone to that of the Ilkhan's governors in Erzincan.

Erzincan itself was something of a cultural no-man's-land. Its Muslim rulers had overwhelmingly Armenian subjects (whose bishop was of some political consequence). Greek Christians of the place fared less well, and in Erzincan they tended to execute Roman Catholic missionaries in public.<sup>44</sup> In the middle years of the fourteenth century, the Muslim rulers (and probably Armenian subjects) of Erzincan were generally hostile to Greek Trebizond. For example, in 1348, the *ahı* Ayna *beg* of Erzincan invaded Trebizond, having made an alliance with the rulers of Bayburt, the Akkoyunlular, and the Çepni Türkmens. In 1362 the *ahı* was equally unsuccessful in besieging Golacha castle which guards the road from Cheriana into Chaldia. There were Çepni in the Philabonites valley whose winter camp Alexios III sacked in the early March of 1380, but the Çepni allies of the *ahı* in 1348 probably came from elsewhere—in fact round Golacha. Clavijo gives the answer, which is also hidden in Panaretos. In 1404 Clavijo found that the link between Cheriana and Trapezuntine Chaldia, between Dipotamos (İkisu) and Alangogaça (i.e., the modern Alansa, 7 km northwest of Kelkit), was terrorized, but not effectively held, by "chapenis" (i.e., Çepni Türkmens).<sup>45</sup> Cheriana's products were, as Lazaropoulos reveals, pastoral: butter and cheese. At Akbulak, near Mumya Kale, villagers speak today of Çepni in the summer pastures between there and Solochaina (Soruyana, another castle which guarded the Chaldian-Cheriana route)—where they are also reported today—and cite local Çepni place names. There are also said to be boundary stones in the Akbulak-Soruyana *yayla* marked, or carved, with white sheep's heads—said to be the Akkoyunlu ("White Sheep") mark.<sup>46</sup> These Çepni were disorganized; Panaretos never gives names of leaders with whom the Grand Komnenoi could have negotiated. They would be chiefly dangerous in the winter, when they would seek grazing in the settled areas. The dilemma facing the

Grand Komnenoi would have been that, by stopping them coming down toward the coast in directly-held Trapezuntine territory, they would force them over to the south side of the mountains to menace the Christian agriculturalists of the headwaters of the Lykos and Cheriana plain. The first concern of the Grand Komnenoi would have been to protect their own subjects, but there is evidence that they were also worried about "protectorate" in Cheriana. Here the Greek church and settlement seems to have survived being cut off from the Grand Komnenoi by intervening Çepni in the pastures. The Greeks in Cheriana would have been comparatively secure unless the Çepni allied themselves with more formidable Turkish powers, or were forced down the plain by the Grand Komnenos or during particularly bad winters. The former occurred in 1348, when Erzincan used the Çepni. The experience certainly hastened the Trapezuntine-Akkoyunlu alliance of four years later, which isolated the Çepni from their fellow-Türkmens who had been part of the invasion plan of 1348.

In August 1355 Trebizond was able to go on the offensive, but it was no good simply driving the Çepni into Cheriana; both sides of the range had to be secured. So "John Kabazites, *doux* of Chaldia, marched out with his army and conquered Cheriana and took it."<sup>47</sup> Solochaina, on the northern side of the mountains, was "liberated" at the same time. But on 27 November of the same year, Panaretos continues, "we set out—with diabolic collusion—with the Emperor [Alexios III] against Cheriana. And at first we ravaged, we laid siege, and we took prisoners, but at about the sixth hour we abandoned in a disorderly flight when a few Turks pursued us. Indeed some fifty Christians were slaughtered and destroyed then, and John Kabazites, *doux* of Chaldia, was captured, and if the Lord had not been with us, I myself [i.e., Michael Panaretos] should have been lost; but by the favor of God my horse was strong, and following close behind the Emperor we were free and reached Trebizond after three days."<sup>48</sup> Three days, it might be noted, is something of a medieval record for the route; Clavijo took six days on it. The second disaster came on 13 January 1373, when Alexios III again "set out against Cheriana, and our forces were routed when a great deal of snow had fallen and a violent storm had come upon them; one hundred and forty Christians were killed, some as sword fodder and some—rather more than half—died of cold."<sup>49</sup>

Panaretos' first entry suggests that Cheriana had not been in the Trapezuntine sphere for some time, if at all: unlike Solochaina it was "conquered," not "liberated." It is possible that *ahı* Ayna *beg* controlled Cheriana in 1355, but not probable because Panaretos habitually names enemy leaders, if they had one, and the *ahı* is named when he otherwise impinged on Trapezuntine affairs. The clue to the identity of the enemy lies in the dating of the two campaigns. They each began in winter, on 27 November and 13 January respectively. This is no time to take an army over a mountain range of up to 3,000 m, and when Mehmed II attempted the

43. Cf. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 61; *FHIT*, 30–31, 76, 116–32; Bessarion, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 192; Cahen, *P-OT*, 125.

44. Cf. Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 334 note 9.

45. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 68, 74, 79 Clavijo (1404), 120; ed. Estrada, 83. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 125, 132–33, 144–45.

46. Cf. the examples in Erzincan, in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Erzindjan."

47. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 71.

48. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 71.

49. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 77.

same mountains in August his feat was compared with those of Hercules, Dionysos, Alexander, Pompey, and Timur.<sup>50</sup> Alexios III was not, perhaps, in this class, but was either very foolhardy or had some very pressing reason to run the risk of losing his men through cold, which he did on his second Cherianan campaign. The timing of both expeditions makes it almost certain that pastoralists were the enemy. As Alexios III demonstrated on his Limnian campaigns, and on the February expedition against the Çepni of the Philabonites valley in 1380, the time to strike Türkmens is when they have moved into winter camps in the Greek lowlands.<sup>51</sup> The colder the winter, the more likely are they to be menacing Greeks, but also the more difficult is it likely to be to reach them. These Cherianan Türkmens cannot have been Alexios' Akkoyunlu allies, and Clavijo provides the only other possible answer to their identification: they were Çepni. Clavijo also indicates that the Çepni took castles as well as pastures from the Greeks of the area. Perhaps the Cherianan Greeks had appealed for help against them in the winters of 1355 and 1373. Significantly, nineteenth-century Greeks of Cheria complained of Türkmens and other marauders in their villages.<sup>52</sup>

Although the Çepni remained between Cheria and Chaldia, and despite the Trapezuntine failures in 1355 and 1373, it would seem that Trapezuntine influence in Cheria was never stronger than in the last seventy or eighty years of the Empire. This may be detected in a change of climate in the relations between the rulers of Erzincan and Trebizond, after the *ahı* Ayna *beg*'s death. Alexios III, perhaps to help protect Cheria where open attack had failed, allied himself with Mutahharten, the new emir of Erzincan (fl. 1381–1401), by giving a daughter in marriage to him before 1390. The fact that the administration of the now near-defunct Greek diocese of Erzincan was given to Trebizond in 1391 may have something to do with the alliance; at any rate Mutahharten was known to favor Christians, especially, Greeks. Although Mutahharten and his wife had died by the time of Clavijo's visit in 1404, the practical effects of the alliance seem to have survived. In one day, Clavijo passed from the lands of Kabazites, evaded the Çepni in Cheria, and reached the outpost of the new ruler of Erzincan at Alansa. Kabazites had given Clavijo an escort of ten men, *who did not turn back until they reached Alansa*.<sup>53</sup> Clavijo's experience is therefore enlightening: Kabazites evidently regarded Cheria as being nominally his (and therefore at one remove Trapezuntine) territory—albeit impossible to traverse except under escort. The situation cannot have changed much when Erzincan fell to the Kara and Akkoyunlular, allies of Trebizond, thereafter. Both confederacies may be expected to have left Cheria to its own devices.

It is difficult to know what these devices were. One should

50. Kritoboulos, ed. Müller, *Fragmenta*, V, 139–40; ed. Grecu, 277–83.

51. Cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 129.

52. Ioannides, *Historia*, 252–53; Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 107; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 314–20.

53. Clavijo (1404), 125–26, 130; ed. Estrada, 86–90, 92 (“Trata”); M&M, *A&D*, II, 154; Wächter, *Verfall*, 9; Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 209–10; Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 149 note 143.

perhaps envisage more or less autonomous village communities who would take to towers like Tarsos and fortresses like Mumya Kale and Uluşiran when the Çepni came down, for whom their local bishop provided some sort of leadership and substitute government, and the Grand Komnenoi and dukes of Chaldia a protectorate which could be appealed to in times of real trouble. This protectorate was probably more of a reality in the period from the 1380s until 1461 (at a time when the Empire's influence is conventionally regarded as shrinking to eventual extinction) than it had been in the thirteenth century, when there were formidable Seljuk and Mongol foes to the south (and the Empire is conventionally regarded as being at its most powerful).

As well as the sites of Cheria proper, we include in the accounts which follow the sites of its western surrounds: Çirmiş, the fortress at Avarak, and the region of Alucra.

#### MONUMENTS

1. Uluşiran lies about 6 km north-northeast of modern Şiran (formerly Karaca), which itself has no evident antiquities. The village of Uluşiran lies today on the southern slopes of some low hills. Immediately to the south of it is a hill protected by an outcrop of rock, the west side of which falls precipitously to the river. A spring issues from the rock. The mound at the top of this hill is roughly semicircular in shape at the summit, with a diameter of 50–60 m. It has the appearance of a prehistoric *tepe*. On the north and west sides are the remains of medieval walling of uncut stones set in irregular courses and evened up with smaller stones. The mortar is of lime, sand, and grit, and the core of mortared rubble has stones well laid, so that there are few gaps in the mortar.

Prehistoric, possibly Roman, Byzantine, and early glazed Turkish potsherds show a long occupation of the mound. Before 1922 the village had a mixed Turkish, Greek, and Armenian population, and may have had from the eleventh century. We have assumed above that the Greek population predominated in the Trapezuntine period, but if evidence of their churches is any guide, it was the Armenian which was most important later, only to be replaced by Greek again in the nineteenth century. At any rate, it was two ruined Armenian churches which Ouseley found in 1812. The first lay in the southern outskirts: “I visited the ruins and found several sculptured stones, both without the walls and inside, exhibiting crosses of different forms. On the small doorway of this church a large stone was so laid, that a man even of moderate stature could not go through, unless stooping almost double . . . [he gives a drawing of it]. The cemetery here, as in other parts of Asia [e.g., originally at Varzahan and today outside the Holy Apostles, Kars], contained many figures of rams, very large and rudely cut in stone; some being represented with collars. It was here that an Armenian . . . said that they were erected in allusion to the . . . ‘Lamb of God’.”<sup>54</sup>

The second church stood on the mound itself, and was “in a more perfect state, although its roof had been taken away.

54. Ouseley (1812), III, 477.

Some of the altar remained, and several portraits of saints, nearly of the natural human size, were still visible on the walls, painted, but by no skilful artist, in very gaudy colours. This chapel was barely thirteen feet long, and in breadth did not exceed eight and a half; but the walls were seventeen or eighteen feet high.”<sup>55</sup> These proportions suggest that it was in fact an Armenian, rather than Greek, church that Ouseley saw, which makes the fact that it was painted more interesting, for surviving Armenian wall-painting of all periods is rare. If it was post-medieval it could, perhaps, have been comparable to the work in Yedikilise, near Van. But there is no trace of it today.

The Greeks evidently supplanted the Armenians as the dominant people in the village when the nineteenth-century Greek church of St. Theodore the Tyro and its adjoining school were built. We have published them elsewhere.<sup>56</sup>

Measurements of Byzantine brick and tile from the site are listed in Appendix I. Over the next hill, northeast of the mound, quantities of pottery were reported in the fields (perhaps Ouseley’s cemetery). A large church has now gone, but the area is called *Kilise Arazi* (“Church Fields”). Perhaps these fields are the site of the *vicus* of the fortified mound of Cheriana.

2. *Mumya Kale* (perhaps also called *Kersut*) (pls. 97–99a), stands on a rounded spur 2 km northwest of Akbulak (formerly *Norşun*). The single enceinte of walls is roughly kidney-shaped, sloping gently to the west and enclosing about 2½ acres. There are traces of a gate to the northeast, looking toward Akbulak. The walls are faced with comparatively regular courses of granite blocks, averaging 22 × 30 cm in size. They are laid in a lime-and-gravel core. There are no bastions, but a stretch of walling to the northeast, at a series of angles, differs from the rest. The masonry here employs reused blocks, larger than the average, and the foundations are of even more substantial cut stones.

The interior of the site contains numerous foundation walls, which increase in density at the highest point, at the east-northeast. Here villagers maintained that a church had stood, but none of the foundations seemed likely to belong to a church plan. Unlike *Uluşiran*, no glazed pottery was noticed, but there were quantities of Byzantine ridge tiles.<sup>57</sup>

3. *Tarsos* (Ταρσός, *Gülçeker*, formerly *Aşağı Tersun*) (pls. 99b–100)

About 8 km west of *Şiran* on the *Kelkit* road and on its southern side are the remains of an Ottoman *türbe*. A little further on a track branches northward and is negotiable as far as *Κάτω Ταρσός* (*Gülçeker*), formerly a large Greek village, where the valley narrows into a gorge. From there a mule track runs to *Ἄνω Ταρσός* (*Dilekyolu*, formerly *Yukarı Tersun*), once a small Greek village, where it joins the

55. Ouseley (1812), III, 477.

56. Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 236–38; Kandilaptes, *PE*, 1 (1950), 142.

57. Taylor (1866), 290, reports: “From these [sc. *Uluşiran*] ruins as also from those of *Mumea*, on a hill 2 miles NNW of this, the peasants procure many ancient coins, Roman, Byzantine and *Selookide*. Some few were offered me for sale but none of any interest.”

modern road running from *Şiran* northward over the mountains to *Torul*.

In 1866 Taylor reported:

The village of *Teyrsoom* is solely inhabited by Greeks. There are three others of the same name in the neighborhood also tenanted by the same people, although many of them have emigrated to the Caucasus. The village is situated on the banks of a small stream running towards the *Kalkyt Su*, and at the back of the *Teyrsoom Dagh*, an offshoot of the *Giaour*. The *Teyrsoom Dagh* contains a rich lead mine, but [the] Government does not take the trouble to work it, or allow others to benefit from the natural wealth it contains. The hamlet boasts of a fine church, where the services are got over twice a day with the same rapidity—without decency—that an Arab dispatches a *pillau*, the priest leading off by a series of expectorations right and left of his position before the altar. At the back of the village, on one of the lower peaks, are the remains of an ancient monastery, with fragments of gaudy Byzantine frescoes of the *Virgin* still existing on the remnants of the old structure.<sup>58</sup>

On a rocky spur about 50 m above *Gülçeker* there are indeed the remains of a fortification and a small chapel. To Pontic Greeks this was known as the *Πύργος τῆς Κόρης* and it is one of many places the defense of which by a princess is celebrated in popular ballads.<sup>59</sup> The position commands a bend in the valley and a view of the open country to the south. Invaders moving northward would have had their road blocked in the narrow valley, but it can be bypassed. It was impossible to determine whether the ruins represented a fort guarding the valley and containing a small chapel within it, or a fortified monastery. A number of Pontic and Georgian fortifications contain small chapels within their walls (e.g., the *Lavra-Gantopedin*, and *Zavzaga Kale*). The small size of this example may indicate no more than a castle chapel rather than the monastery Taylor believed it to be (fig. 37; pl. 99b).

There appear to have been two towers on the west end of the spur, where it joins the main slopes and has no natural defence. The main gate was presumably between them. The interior space measures roughly 80 m from east to west and 25 m from north to south, but narrows to a point at the east where the chapel stands. Nothing remains of the side walls, except a few foundations. They were probably of modest size and thickness, since the clifflike sides of the spur offer natural protection.

The west face of the southwest tower remains standing to a height of about 9 m. It is made up of small, roughly squared blocks of a local yellow stone laid in regular courses. There are fairly thick mortar layers (unlike the masonry at *Mumya Kale*) between each course of stone. The quoins are large ashlar blocks of the same stone. The walling was further reinforced by wooden headers laid horizontally in regular rows about 2 m apart from each other, with about 1.5 m vertically between the rows. The beam ends now appear on the external face of the walls, but originally may have been masked by mortar. The mortared rubble core of the walls is

58. Taylor (1866), 289.

59. Kandilaptes, *PE*, 2 (1951), 797.

of lime, sand, and pebbles; the stones are well laid in the mortar so that there are few gaps. The site on the hill spur is typical of other fortifications in the Pontic mountains.

The masonry of the chapel is not unlike that of the tower. The walls are of roughly-squared blocks in more or less regular courses, evened up with smaller stones. The mortar has a good proportion of lime mixed with sand and grit. The form of the apse is not clear, since the original masonry has gone. It was replaced by a rough masonry of mortar of mud, with a flat external east end. It seems likely that the original east end of the chapel formed part of the curtain walling, in which case it was doubtless flat.

The chapel, as Taylor noted, is painted. The plaster is in two layers: a rough cast one to even up the surface of the masonry, and a fairly thick surface layer of lime with straw or chaff binding to receive the paintings.

Traces of painting survive on the exterior of the west and south walls; the exterior of the north wall may also have been painted, but weathering has removed all trace of it.

In the interior, on the south wall there are remains of a painted dado with zigzag lines in red and black. The center of the wall seems to have been occupied by a Tree of Jesse (fig. 38). At the base are fragments of a reclining male figure, his head resting on his left hand; he is bearded and wears a grey chiton and red himation. The red outlines of the Tree can be distinguished, and a yellow wash ground color fills in the trunk. To the left of the trunk, just under the lowest branch, is a figure wearing a haematite purple chiton and yellow himation; and to the right, at the same level, are two figures both wearing white chitons—one with a red, and the other with a yellow himation.

A narrow strip of yellow along the bottom of the scene indicates the ground, while the upper background is now grey black, but may originally have had a blue wash over it.

To the left of the Tree are fragments of two figures. One of them appears to have a bar on his halo, which would indicate Christ: the line, however, is only faint and may be connected with something else, belonging to the preliminary drawing. He wears a grey-black chiton and a haematite purple himation, and gestures towards the Tree.

To the right of the Tree of Jesse are two other standing figures. The one closer to the Tree has a red halo and was bearded. He wears a grey black chiton and red himation and holds a white scroll in both hands. The figure next to him is similar, except that the halo is yellow and the himation a haematite purple. Nothing further can be distinguished on this wall.

On the north wall the dado is buried in earth. In the lower register the remains of three standing figures are still visible. The western one wears a red tunic with a jeweled yellow hem and cuffs. His cloak, fastened over his right shoulder, has an overall decoration of pearls in groups of three arranged in the form of points of a triangle. He has a red beard and may have had a hat.

The second figure from the west is a military saint, with haematite purple stockings or boots. He wears a red tunic with a wide yellow waistband decorated with pearls, and a green cloak. His hair is red and he has no beard. Of the face it is possible to distinguish only some green shadow color

around the eyes, red feature lines on a yellow ground, and a few white highlights. The saint holds a sword in his right hand and a round shield in his left (fig. 39; pl. 100).

Of the eastern figure only a fragment survives, at its waist level, showing some yellow lines and red and green coloring.

Above the figures is a red horizontal border. Of the upper register only a few fragments of a rocky ground, in red, yellow, and white, remain.

On the west wall, to the north of the door, is a small fragment of a figure wearing a red robe. To the south of the door are parts of the figures of Constantine and Helena (fig. 40). Constantine is portrayed in imperial costume, with a red tunic and haematite purple cloak; Helena also wears a red tunic. The cross which they hold between them is red. A red horizontal border runs above the figures and in the upper register is a fragment of a scene, with a haloed figure seated and resting his head on one hand. This could be Joseph, in a Nativity.

The paintings are so badly damaged that few details of their technique could be observed. Halos were made with some form of compass. Their incised outlines are clear, but no trace of any incision has been found elsewhere. The basic colors remaining are black, white, yellow, red, green, and haematite purple—although the latter may be a composite color. A red garment is made up of plain red and a lighter tone of red with white added to it, accompanied by white highlights. A haematite purple garment is made up of straight purple, straight red, and white highlights. The painting is thus of a very simple nature—what Taylor called "gaudy"—and not far removed from plain drawing.

Cumont, who did not visit Tarsos, credibly suggested that the Roman station of Haza should be situated in the area.<sup>60</sup> No literary evidence exists which might shed light on the date or purpose of the structure described above, and the condition of the paintings decorating it make them extremely difficult to date stylistically. Two painted letters were noticed: the letter Δ is in the early form, with a bar at its base, and the letter M is usually in the form generally considered to be early; but much work remains to be done on Byzantine painted letter forms and their regional variations before they can be employed for accurate dating. The masonry of the tower has a well-laid core and a neat facing, which, by medieval Pontic standards, is of good quality. The only imperial Trapezuntine work to equal it is Feature 23 in the Citadel of Trebizond—the palace chamber itself; one can only hazard that "The Girl's Fort" at Tarsos is not later than that. Historically, the twelfth-century interlude between Seljuks and Danişmendids would be an appropriate period for it.

4. Aşağı Akçalı (formerly Aşağı Haydürük), Saraycık; D. C. W.'s candidate for the *vicus* and pilgrim church of St. Eustratios of Arauraka<sup>61</sup> (pls. 101a, b).

The upper reaches of the Lykos are less precipitous above modern Kelkit than in the lower stretches, where the river

60. Miller, *IR*, col. 676; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 321. For the 19th-century church of St. Gregory in the village, see Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 350–53.

61. See p. 169.

has to carve its way down through the rocky mass of the plateau. West of modern Kelkit and south of Şiran the valley opens out into one of the plains which intersperse the gorges in the river's downward course. The plain stretches for about 8 km along the north bank of the river and varies from 1 to 1.5 km in width. To the north a low range of hills divides the Kelkit valley from that of the Lykos tributary, the river Cheriana (Şiran). At the east end the plain is protected by a fort at Balıkhisar, and the west end has two forts west of Kelora. To the south the river is flanked by slopes which rise steeply to a higher range of mountains; on its northern banks is the village of Aşağı Akçalı, to the west of which, on a plateau about 10 to 15 m above river level, are two small sections of walling. A villager reported that the old name for the area around the ruined walls was Saraycık ("Little Palace").

The two sections of walling appear to belong to the south wall of a basilica whose shape is clear enough although no foundations are visible and the site is now under plough. On different visits, D. C. W. measured it as 23 × 56 paces, and A. A. M. B. as 26 × 64 paces. The discrepancy probably arises not only from the fact that D. C. W. is taller than A. A. M. B., but because the longer, east-west, measurement can only be approximate for lack of definition. But the plateau breaks off to a lower ground level at either end, so the church is unlikely to have been much longer.

The two sections stand, respectively, to heights of 1 and 1.8 m above present ground level. The facing stones have been entirely robbed and the setting bed for them has largely gone, too. What remains begins at present ground level with five courses of brick each 4 cm thick and divided from the next by a mortar layer of the same thickness. The brick courses run right through the wall, thereby isolating the mortared rubble core above, which bears signs of having once carried banded masonry, although there is no indication of the size of the cut stones and of how many courses of them lay between the brick bands. The core is of mortared rubble containing uncut stones and a few brick fragments. The mortar itself is composed of lime, sand, and small pebbles and grit from the river. The stones are well laid in with a good proportion of mortar to stones and no gaps in the mortaring. For the size of bricks and tiles (for there are signs that the basilica was tile-roofed) used, see Appendix.

Villagers have dug on the site. It was reported that there is a floor of large stone slabs, about 1.5 m below the present ground level. At the eastern end, mosaic cubes were plentiful in the soil and were also noticed in the hands of village children at the time of D. C. W.'s visit. A. A. M. B. was shown a number of small marble and glass wall-mosaic cubes, supposedly from here, in Şiran. It is reasonable to conjecture that the apse, at least, was decorated with wall mosaics.

On the site of the church, and for many meters around it to the south and west, the soil is full of fragments of ridge tiles and pottery. Most sherds were unglazed, but one fragment of fine quality polished ware was noticed. The range of sherds and ridge tiles is very similar to that found at Uluşiran. They, as well as the surviving masonry, point to an early, perhaps sixth-century, date for the church, whose apse, shape, and

decoration (although common enough elsewhere), is unique among the Pontic monuments described in this study.

5. Kelora (Kâlur, now Çakırkaya) (pl. 102a, b) has the impressive rock-cut monastery of 1848 (and perhaps earlier), noted already. Downstream from Kelora, the Lykos flows through a minor gorge and then makes a U-turn round a rocky spur. This spur, which is on the south side of the river, about half-an-hour's walk from Kâlur, was fortified with walls which are now razed to the ground, although their line can be traced. The top of the spur is a plateau which is strewn with quantities of Byzantine ridge tiles and earthenware sherds (see Appendix) (pl. 102a).

The river meanders south from the castle. Its gently sloping banks are arable. Northward, the fort overlooks the gorge. On a low rock opposite it on the north bank are the ruins of a small fortification, Kâlur Kale (pl. 102b). Its walls are of untrimmed blocks laid in random coursing, with a mortared rubble core. The mortar is of lime, sand, and grit. There was no evident attempt to smooth the surface of the natural rock on which the structure is built, and no sign of rock-cut steps or seatings for walls. These two forts would have effectively blocked the passage of a hostile force along the river road. They are D. C. W.'s candidates for Arauraka camp, and A. A. M. B.'s Suisa of the Antonine Itinerary.<sup>62</sup> In any event, Kâlur Kale may have been the later medieval Leukopetra.

#### 6. Çirmiş

At the western end of the Cheriana district, the Cheriana (Şiran) River turns south to flow into the Lykos (Kelkit). At this juncture, the modern road to Alucra and Şebinkarahisar turns northwest to mount the pass of Fındıklıbel. Çirmiş village lies near the upper limits of arable land, which peters out along the stream a little way above it. Then the slopes become steeper and cultivation surrenders to the scrub and moorland of the pass.

The road to Çirmiş crosses a stream by a modern bridge south of the village. Immediately above and east of it were foundations of unintelligible plan, with masonry of rough-cut stones and lime-and-pebble mortar. The building was ruined in the 1960s. Red and brown earthenware sherds were scattered over an area of about 80 sq. m. Until the 1950s a church stood east of the village in fields known as Kilise Boynuzu. Villagers reported that this was an ancient ruin which had nothing to do with the nineteenth-century Greek population.

There is a prehistoric habitation mound southeast of Çirmiş.

#### 7. The Region of Alucra

The town of Alucra lies on the upper reaches of the river İlim, in a broad valley flanked by gently rising hills. The area is bounded to the north by the Kovata Dağ mountains, which form the watershed between those streams which run down to the coast and those which drain into the Lykos. To the south the Berdiga mountains divide the Alucra region from the Lykos valley, while to the east the İlim valley

62. See p. 169.

funnels as it reaches the river's headwaters in the uplands of the Fındıklıbel pass, which separates the region of Alucra from Cheriāna proper. To the west there is high ground through which the modern road wriggles to rejoin the river İlim above Şebinkarahisar, while the river itself takes a northward bend to find its own way down through gorges.

We have not explored this valley but include it here because several antiquities have been reported within it. There are "Kilise" and "Kale" names on the 1:200,000 survey and an "Ulu Manastir" may well repay investigation. Several villages also boasted mosques, which was unusual in this area before the 1950s. The *imam* of Feykaz, a village east of Alucra, told D. C. W. that they had recently pulled down their eight-hundred-year old mosque, which was unsafe, to build a larger one. His date may not be entirely incredible, for there is an area named Mengüçek Mevki west of Alucra on the İlim. Kiepert's map of Greek settlement in the nineteenth century marks only one village, Feğlere, on the western borders of Alucra and Şebinkarahisar, where the population was half Greek. But the Alucra (Ἀλοῦτζα) district then claimed twenty-nine churches, one of which still stands east of the town.

It may be significant that a track from Şebinkarahisar ran through the Alucra district and turned northward to cross the watershed and reach the coast at Tirebolu. A modern road, which may represent an earlier route, runs south from Feykaz across a pass in the Berdiga mountains and down to the Lykos valley at Mindeval (now Çamoluk). Mindeval was almost certainly a station on the Roman road from Nikopolis to Satala.<sup>63</sup> There may have been a subsidiary road northward, through the Alucra valley, to join Kiepert's track down to the coast.

#### 8. Avarak

The site of Avarak lies about 22 km south-southwest of Alucra (Mesudiye), and about 5 km west of Çamoluk (Bük Mahalle, sometimes Bağlar). Avarak village is called

Hacıahmetoğlu. Here, on a rock about 100 m above the river Lykos, is a small fort. It stands at a point where the wide stretch of gently sloping hills begins to narrow in to the west on either side of the Lykos valley. The fort is therefore in a position to defend the western end of the fertile Çamoluk stretch of the valley.

Below, and to the west of the fort, quantities of brick, ridge tile, and earthenware fragments are to be found, suggesting some sort of *vicus* (pl. 103a). No glazed sherds were evident.

The fort (pls. 103b, 104a, b) is a rough rectangle in shape. Irregularities are caused by the form of the natural rock on which it stands. The dimensions are roughly 30 m from east to west and 15 m from north to south.

On the north side, toward the east end of the perimeter wall, stands the ruin of a rectangular tower. There could have been a gate at this point. This rectangular area at the top of the rock may represent a citadel with keep of which the castle, or bailey, walls would have encircled the rock at a lower level and have now gone.

The perimeter wall is *ca.* 1.75 m thick. It consists of a rubble core with the mortar well laid in, and a facing of small, roughly squared stones in regular courses with mortar at the joins. There is no reinforcement with wooden beams.

One or two pieces of broken tile used in the rubble core of the wall may indicate that this was not the first building on the site. As has already been mentioned, this is A. A. M. B.'s candidate for the camp and *vicus* of Arauraka. If he is correct, this rebuild might have taken place on one of many occasions—the eighth or tenth-century Arab invasions, or when Arauraka became a strong point of Koloneia. The site certainly fulfills the requirements of an Antonine staging post, for both the castle and the Lykos valley road lie on the north bank of the river at this point—as at Neokaisareia and Koyulhisar downstream, and at Kelora upstream.

But there are no signs here of the pilgrim church of St. Eustratios which, if Avarak is Arauraka, should lie in the brick-strewn fields to the west of the castle, the foreground of plate 103a, which would hence be Analibozora.

63. See p. 25.

## Section XX

# THE CITY OF TREBIZOND

FIGURES II and III

### SITUATION, DESCRIPTION, AND HISTORY

Τραπεζοῦς, Trabzon, Trebizond, founded as a colony of Sinope in the seventh century B.C., annexed to the Roman Empire as a free city formally in 64/63 B.C., and actually in A.D. 64, seat of an Orthodox bishop and (from the ninth century) metropolitan and archbishop, seat of Catholic and Gregorian Armenian bishops from the fourteenth century, capital of the theme of Chaldia from the ninth century, of the Empire of "All Anatolia, of the Iberians and of the Lands Beyond" from 1204, of a three-tailed *pashalik* and later *vilayet* from 1461, and of "the Greek Republic of the Black Sea" in 1918, lies over three hills midway between the Holy Cape and Sourmaina (41°01' N, 39°46' E).<sup>1</sup>

A history of Trebizond would amount to a history of the Pontos and cannot be attempted here, except in so far as it affects its monuments. There are few Late Antique or Byzantine cities outside Constantinople itself of whose appearance a tolerably fair picture can be assembled from literary sources alone. Libanius' Antioch is an obvious exception; the aspect of Choniates' Athens or of Laskarid Nicaea or Magnesia emerges less clearly. But the supreme exception is the "Fortunate" and "God-preserved"<sup>2</sup> city of the megalomartyr Eugenios: Trebizond under the Grand Komnenoi. Eugenikos and Bessarion devoted encomia to it;<sup>3</sup> Clavijo described it with the realistic eye of the Western traveler: Bordier and Tournefort made detailed sketches of it after the Fall; Lazaropoulos' description of the *Melik's* siege, the bulls for the Pharos monastery, the Veneto-Trapezuntine treaties and other Italian sources, early Ottoman registers, and incidental references in a host of other sources give an extraordinarily vivid picture of Trebizond in the late Middle Ages before the archaeological evidence need be considered. By conflating the abundant literary and archeological evidence, one is tempted to compile an *ekphrasis* of Trebizond on the eve of the Fall, in about 1460. We have not resisted this temptation.

After rounding the Holy Cape and passing Cape Sargana

1. *Black Sea Pilot*, 407.

2. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76; Loukites, in *FHIT*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 2, has the epithet "Wonderful" and a pun on Eugenios ("noble") is a common conceit. In Zakythinios, *Chrysobulle*, it is τῆ εὐδαιμόνι καὶ θεοφυλάκτῳ πόλει Τραπεζοῦντος.

3. Eugenikos, ed. Lampsides, *AP*, 20 (1955), 3–39; Bessarion, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 145–204.

and the roadstead at Platana, the voyager who approached Trebizond by sea from the West would reach what may be regarded as the western confines of the *bandon* and city at the small monastery of St. Barbara, which stands on a bluff above the sea.<sup>4</sup> A little later he could glimpse the cave monastery of Manglavita up the Kalarma Dere, below the prosperous medieval and modern hill resort of Kitharaina (Kisarna) in Trikomia, famous for its mineral waters.<sup>5</sup>

At this point the tower of the monastery of the Hagia Sophia, standing above the sea at the point where Panaretos' son was drowned and where Turkish women still bathe on the eve of St. Eugenios' day, would mark the outskirts of the western suburb of Trebizond itself.<sup>6</sup> Looking ahead the traveler could make out, a little further on, a long dull rock crowned by the walls of the city and stretching down to the sea, and behind that the lighter flanks of Mount Minthrion (Boz Tepe). The summit of Mount Minthrion is about 243 m above sea level; the hills behind the western suburb are lower. But very few signs of habitation could probably be seen among the greenery. All encomiasts remark upon the verdant quality of the city, its innumerable gardens and orchards heavy with the thousand delectable fruits which Eugenikos claimed for Trebizond (although it must be confessed that when he came to it, he could name only grapes, walnuts, perfumed lemons, and olives).<sup>7</sup> Bordier was suitably impressed by the monstrous olives of the place:<sup>8</sup> the English expedition of 1292 bought "fructes divers" on most days of their sojourn in Trebizond, but spent rather more on olive oil and awesome sums on wine.<sup>9</sup> The gigantic, untrellised grapes of Trebizond, each as gross as Damascene plum, produced the famous sticky black wine of the Empire, so dear to the Levantine taste.<sup>10</sup> Amid the orchards of the western suburb lay a local market and, probably, the *tzykanisterion*, or imperial polo pitch.<sup>11</sup>

4. See p. 219.

5. See Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262, 266, 271–72.

6. See p. 169 and A. Bryer, "Trebizond: the last Byzantine Empire," *History Today*, 10 (1960), 135 (a custom witnessed by D. C. W. on 23 June 1960).

7. Eugenikos, ed. Lampsides, *AP*, 20 (1955), 34.

8. Bordier (1609), 129, 134.

9. Langley (1292), 590–608.

10. Pegolotti, *Pratica*, ed. Evans, 24, 434; Bratianu, *Actes*, 127; Barbaro (1471), 48v.

11. See p. 201.

The western and eastern suburbs are divided by the city proper, a long narrow spur of rock defined by two steep ravines which open out below Mount Minthrion to run north to the sea, where they emerge on either side of a small imperial harbor, perhaps originally built by Hadrian. Briefly the traveler could glimpse up the western ravine (later called the İskele or Boz Boğazi) and then up the eastern ravine of St. George (later called the "Crow's river" or Küzgün Dere), both spanned by bridges which Bessarion states were built of wood.<sup>12</sup> In the city hemmed between the ravines the traveler would probably see huddled houses first, also built mostly of wood and often ravaged by fire. The houses climbed from the Lower City, which spread over the western ravine, to the attenuated Middle City, marked by the dome of the monastery and crowning church of the Chrysokephalos, and up to the Citadel where the walls overlooking the ravines finally meet at the great tower of John IV, newly repaired in 1460. Here stood the golden palace of the Grand Komnenoi, a jumble of halls, barracks, offices, apartments, and chapels around a central square called the Epiphaneia.<sup>13</sup>

Our traveler from the West would not land in the imperial harbor beneath the walled city, but would sail on to the commercial and Frankish harbor of Daphnous, beyond the eastern suburb. This was much more heavily built up than the western suburb and was the main commercial and industrial quarter of Trebizond. The suburb, running from the eastern gates of the walled city to Daphnous, was divided into two parts: the strip north of the "imperial way,"<sup>14</sup> which led to the Meydan where caravans assembled, was given over to Italian colonies, with the massive and forbidding Genoese castle of Leontokastron at the corner of Daphnous (Güzel Hisar or Kalmek Burunu) and the more modest Venetian establishment midway between the Molos below the walled city and Leontokastron. The bazaar, where Bessarion described the cross-legged workmen in their shops,<sup>15</sup> also lay between the "imperial way" and the sea. Here also were loggias (lontzas), workshops, warehouses, caravansarays, Armenian shrines, and Latin friaries. To the south of the "Imperial way" lay a number of Greek religious houses and, perhaps, also the archontic quarter. Here, beneath Mount Minthrion, the traveler could make out the domes and enclosures of St. Eugenios (where Alexios III was crowned),<sup>16</sup> the Theoskepastos (where his heir was buried),<sup>17</sup> and, built precipitously into the Mithraic tombs of Mount Minthrion, St. Sabbas' chapels,<sup>18</sup> where several ex-emperors were forcibly tonsured. Behind Mount Minthrion, where the caravan road climbed south, stood the Armenian monastery of the All Savior<sup>19</sup> and the holy Dragon's Well, where in single combat Alexios II saved the city from the ravages of a terrible dragon—privileged visitors

would be shown its head, piously preserved in the palace compound.<sup>20</sup>

The traveler would finally round Leontokastron and sail into Daphnous harbor. To his left was the delta of the Pyxites, whose torrent was stemmed by the Blessed Katholikos Peter I of the Armenians with the aid of a relic of the True Cross before a deeply impressed Basil II in 1023, and to the right lay the *skala*. Between, below the grey cliffs of Mount Minthrion, the shore was lined with warehouses, arsenals, sheds for storing rigging,<sup>21</sup> winches for hauling vessels out of the tideless sea,<sup>22</sup> small Latin chapels, stables, and booths to entice the jingling caravans. High-prowed *paraskalmia*, the peculiar skiffs of Trebizond, would come out to meet him. He would land below the Meydan, scene of solemn Easter acclamations of the Grand Komnenos by his people.<sup>23</sup> In the Italian stations he would find baths, furnaces, chapels, Greek customs officials arguing with Italian weighing men, even musical bands.<sup>24</sup> In the "imperial way" between the Meydan and the east gate of the walled city he would pass Ragusans,<sup>25</sup> Mingrelians, Circassians, Turks, Gurians, Venetians, Laz, Greek, Tatars, Armenians, and in 1460 even a Florentine who claimed to be descended from Dante.<sup>26</sup> If he penetrated the palace compound on St. Eugenios' day, he might find famous acrobats.<sup>27</sup> Anchorites surveyed the little city from the surrounding hills. Even the sober Panaretos was moved to call the place "fortunate."<sup>28</sup>

Clavijo has a more direct description of Trebizond in 1404:<sup>29</sup>

The city of Trebizond lies beside the sea, and its encircling wall climbs over the hill slopes at the back of the town. Here there is built a strong castle on a height that is surrounded by its own wall. On the one side of the city flows a small river whose waters pass down through a deep gorge, and this makes Trebizond to be very strongly protected in that quarter. On the other quarter there is a level plain, but the city wall here is strong. All round lie the suburbs, with many fine orchards. Here a fine street runs along beside the sea beach, traversing one of the suburbs and this is a sight to see, for in its shops all the goods brought to the city are on sale. Close to the sea stand two castles, girt by strong walls and towers, one belongs to the Venetians the other to the Genoese, by each of whom respectively their castle was built with the consent of the Emperor. Outside the city are to be seen many churches and monasteries.

Yet, despite the variety of its life and up to nineteen religious houses, Trebizond did not number much more than 4,000

12. Bessarion, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 186 line 19.

13. See p. 184.

14. See p. 201.

15. Bessarion, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 187. They worked in wicker booths.

16. See p. 222.

17. See p. 244.

18. See p. 231.

19. See p. 208.

20. See p. 207.

21. "Ἡ ἐξάρτησις": Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63.

22. See, for the winches and *paraskalmia*, G. S. Laird Clowes, "Boats at Trebizond," *Antiquity*, 7 (1933), 345-47; and Bryer, "Shipping," 3-12.

23. See p. 198.

24. See p. 197.

25. See B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1961), references to Trebizond.

26. Michael Alighieri was negotiating on behalf of Trebizond in Florence in 1460, when the Republic sent its first (and last) known ship to Trebizond: see Bryer, *BK*, 19-20 (1965), 186.

27. Gregoras, Bonn ed., 1, 348.

28. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76.

29. Clavijo (1404), 112-13.

souls on the eve of its Fall.<sup>30</sup> The population would be greatly swelled on market days and high festivals such as that of St. Eugenios,<sup>31</sup> and when the spring caravans assembled or the autumn ones struggled in from Tabriz. But in times of panic—during the recurrent plagues of the “Sudden Death” in the late fourteenth century, or during Türkmen attack—Trapezuntines would make for the hills. When Sheikh Cüneyd laid siege in the 1450s, John IV was dismayed to find that the population within the walls had evaporated to no more than fifty souls.<sup>32</sup>

The known historical factors which first influenced the building and defense of Trebizond are few. As one of the most remote of ancient Greek Euxine colonies it was comparatively insignificant. Polemonion probably outshone it in the conveniences appropriate to a Hellenistic city, and urban life is not a feature of the east Pontic coast, where towns have always tended to be modest administrative centers for a comparatively densely populated rural interior, on the Caucasian model. But there are signs that there was a regular *vicus* in the eastern suburb where all but one of the classical inscriptions were found and where Finlay examined “a curious mass of masonry of Roman times with some sculpture.”<sup>32A</sup> There is slight evidence that, like Sinope, the eastern suburb of Trebizond had a classical grid system, with the Meraş Caddesi as its “cardo” and the Meydan, perhaps, its agora (Nos. 17 and 24 below). Otherwise, there is no need to seek in Trebizond, as many have done, physical traces of such urban appurtenances as a theatre, hippodrome, or gymnasium, for there is simply no literary evidence for them. It may even be questioned whether Trabzon is the ancient Trapezous. It is tempting to transfer the site to Palaia Trapezous (Eski Trabzon) on the Lazic shore, which would not violate the account of Xenophon’s arrival there.<sup>33</sup> But Palaia Trapezous is not, in fact, a notably ancient site and the combination of the harbor of Daphnous, the outlet of the highway to Armenia, and the natural defenses of the great rock of Trebizond itself must point to a strict continuity of settlement at Trabzon. The rock is an obvious acropolis and it is probably safe to assume that it served that function from earliest times and that it was defended long before the first literary reference to its walls in A.D. 257.

Trebizond escaped destruction by Lucullus in 63 B.C. because it was neutral. After the final expulsion of the aged Mithridates VI, the city was given to Deiotaros, the Galatian king; after his death Antony transferred it to a grandson of Mithridates and shortly after that, in 36 B.C., it became part of the reconstituted Pontic kingdom under Polemo I. When Polemo II abdicated in A.D. 64, it was finally incorporated as a free city into the expanded Roman province of Galatia.<sup>34</sup> How far it was defended at this time is questionable, but free cities do not generally go undefended and one may reason-

ably guess that the present plan of walls in the Middle City and Citadel was already established, for topography dictates that they can substantially follow only one course, save at the southern tip of the Citadel, where the ravines allow an opening which the Grand Komnenoi later found needed exceptional defenses.

In A.D. 58, Cn. Domitius Corbulo made Trebizond his supply base in the Roman campaign against Tiridates, and after 64 the place became a station of the Roman fleet in the Euxine, for it made Trebizond the port of Satala (Sadak), the legionary and communications center south of the Pontic Alps and of the Dux Armeniae. One may suspect that the regular staging posts to Satala, 124 *m.p.* away, recorded in the *Itineraria*, were established at this time.<sup>35</sup> This period, culminating in Hadrian’s visit, may be expected to be reflected in the masonry of the city walls.

Hadrian and Arrian probably visited Trebizond from Satala in 129. The harbor was built or improved; until then there seems only to have been an open roadstead. Part of a Greek inscription naming Hadrian, incorporated into the lintel of the door of the Chrysokephalos, may refer to his works. Traditionally, Hadrian’s harbor is associated with the now largely submerged Molos below the Lower City. There is no firm evidence to connect the two, but the assumption is a fair one. Arrian was a trifle scornful of the amenities of Trebizond: its altar inscriptions, where legible, were illiterate and had to be recut; the statue of Hadrian pointing to the sea was a bad likeness, though well sited—he asked for a replacement; the squared-stone temple of Hermes passed muster, but its cult statue was poorly executed—he asked for another five feet high, together with a smaller one of Philesios (perhaps regarded as the founder of the city) to make the building a double temple. Clearly the art of sculpture was not then a local speciality. The only example to survive from this period (a not undistinguished white marble torso of a rather louche-looking Dionysos) is surely an import. There have been endless attempts to locate Hadrian’s statue and double temple, but in the absence of any real archaeological evidence for the whereabouts of either (or of the known local cults of Tyche, Dionysos, Serapis, Asklepios, Hygieia, Abundantia, and Nemesis) it seems fruitless to pursue the matter.<sup>36</sup> That there was more than one temple is confirmed

35. Miller, *IR*, cols. 681–82.

36. Arrian, 1–2; Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 243; S. Ruge, s.v. “Trapezus,” in *RE*; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1, 621–22 (129 is preferable to 124 for the date of Hadrian’s visit). The still visible fragment of a Hadrianic inscription in the Chrysokephalos has apparently been published (correctly) only in Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 300–1. The torso of Dionysos is illustrated in Succi, *Trebisonda*, 24; preserved in the courtyard of Santa Maria, Trebizond, it was the subject of imaginative speculation in the Turkish national press in June 1973. Succi (plan on p. 9) places the temple of Apollo on the site of St. Basil and a temple of Zeus on that of St. Eugenios; Lynch (1893–98), 1, 28, 34, places the temple of Apollo at the Mevlahane, south of the Hagia Sophia, and the statue of Hadrian inland on Karlık Tepe; Joanne and Isambert (1861), 521, place the temple of Apollo in a painted octagon church east of the city; it is difficult to identify this church, but the tradition may survive in the placing of the temple in the Theoskepastos by Robert Boulanger, *Turkey*, Hachette World Guides (Paris, 1970), 739. There is no justification for any of these identifications.

30. Tafur (1438), 131, makes an estimate of 4,000; see also Bryer, *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 36–37.

31. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 59–67.

32. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 462–66.

32a. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 44r.

33. See p. 340.

34. See Magie, *Roman Rule*, *passim*; S. Ruge, s.v. “Trapezus,” in *RE*; and M. N. Maksimova, *Ancient Cities of the Southeast of the Black Sea* (in Russian) (Moscow, 1956).

by the number and variety of reused classical columns in the churches of the city.

Two legionary inscriptions from Trebizond, of the Satalan Legio XII Fulminata and of its probable successor, the famous Legio XV Apollinaris, respectively, have been published; both now appear to have been lost.<sup>36a</sup> But from the second century comes a further epitaph associated with Legio XV Apollinaris of Satala and a group of inscriptions, one of which could be dated to A.D. 175/76, all hitherto unpublished. We are most grateful to Professor J. J. Wilkes for commenting on these. The epitaph is preserved in the courtyard of the Capuchin church of Santa Maria in Trebizond. It is on a rectangular tombstone measuring 0.58 × 0.22 m with gable and floreated akroteria above and central quatrefoil raised in relief. The text is incised within a roughly cut ansate panel, within a simple chiseled groove and simple angular molding. The text reads (pl. 109a):

D· M·  
T· AVRELIO   
APOLINARIO  
MILITI   
5 LEG·XV·APOL  
DOMO CAESAR  
STIP·VI·VEXILL·  
LEG·EIVSDEM  
B  M

*D(is) m(anibus) | T(ito) Aurelio | Apolinario | militi | leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) | domo Caesar(ea) | stip(endia) VI vexill(arius) | leg(ionis) eiusdem | b(ene) m(erenti).*

“To the departed spirits of Titus Aurelius Apolinaris, soldier of the fifteenth legion Apollinaris, whose home was Casearea. He served for six years and was flag bearer of the same legion. To one most worthy (of this monument).”

Professor Wilkes observes that the praenomen Titus and the gentilicium Aurelius reveal a non-citizen enfranchised under Marcus Aurelius (161–80) or one of his successors up to Caracalla (211–18), while the cognomen Apolinaris is very probably modeled on the title of his legion, indicating that his enfranchisement took place at the time of his recruitment. He was serving at the time of his death in the Legio XV Apollinaris, which had been stationed at Satala (Sadak) from ca. 117, although virtually no records of the legion survive from there. In line 6, it is less common to find the *origo* recorded after the middle of the second century. Caesarea is probably the city in Cappadocia (Mazaca), rather than the colony in Palaestina; the Adamclisi funerary monument provides another example of a recruit from Cappadocian Caesarea, in the first century. After six years of service, he was holding the grade of *vexillarius*. This officer carried the banner (*vexillum*), which is normally associated with cavalry. But, if he had belonged to the small force of cavalry which was included in every legion, he would have been styled *vexillarius equitum*. On the other hand, in the later Principate, this title appears to have been introduced among

the legionary infantry, although the older title of *signifer* remained in general use. No heirs (*heredes*), often fellow-soldiers, or other family are mentioned. From the general character of the monument, it seems probable that it came from a military workshop.<sup>36b</sup>

What appear to be three other separate inscriptions of the Roman period are recorded by George Finlay in his journal of 1850, copied “From a MS in the possession of Mrs. Leeves at Athens.”<sup>36c</sup> First. “On the capital of a column now used for pounding corn”:

DIVI HADRIANO  
DIVI HADRIANO  
DIVI ANTONINO PII

No reconstruction is suggested either by the content, or by the irregular syntax. But Professor Wilkes notes that the column might be a milestone, perhaps of Caracalla (211–18), which would have carried the spurious genealogy of the Severi, reaching back to the Antonines and earlier.<sup>36d</sup>

Second, “On a frieze with Capi di Bovi in the wall”:

SARMAT·ICI HADRIANO· M·P·XXX·P·VIII·C

Professor Wilkes notes that this is certainly part of a Roman imperial titlature of the late second or early third century. Both Marcus Aurelius (161–80) and his son Commodus (180–92) bore the title Sarmaticus. The numeral XXX probably refers to the thirtieth *tribunicia potestas*, for which the numeral VIII would fit as the appropriate imperial salutation, and one may restore Sarmat[ici German]ici (although probably the order should be reversed). Before *Sarmaticus*, etc., should appear *divi] Hadrian[us nep(os)]*.<sup>36e</sup> Finally, *pontif. maxi]m. [tr.]p. XXX [im]p. VIII c[os. III] p. p. . . .*, would give a date between 10 December 175 and 9 December 176.

Third, “On a similar frieze of sand stone”:

HIERON VENERÆ

*Hieron Veneri*: “Hiero [dedicates this] to Venus.”

The first major blow came to Trebizond in 257, when it was sacked by the Goths. Zosimus reveals that it then had two walls—perhaps referring to walls between the Middle City and the Citadel, rather than to an outer enceinte of which there is now no trace. The Goths destroyed houses and temples. Although an inscription (once incorporated into the

36b. For Satala, see E. Ritterling, in *RE*, XII, col. 1754; A. A. M. B. noted an unpublished inscription of the legio at Satala in 1970. On Caesarea, see *CIL*, III, no. 14214, II, a, 14, or *ILS*, No. 9107, *ibid.* On the *signifer*, see A. Neumann, in *RE*, VIII, col. 2441 f.

36c. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 26<sup>b</sup>. From other references to Mrs. Leeves' MS, in Finlay's journal, it is clear that it referred to Trebizond.

36d. Cf. *ILS*, No. 454.

36e. Cf. *ILS*, Nos. 373, 374.

36a. Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 296–97; *CIL*, III, Suppl., Nos. 6745 and 6747, p. 12333.

church of St. Gregory of Nyssa before it was rebuilt in 1863–66, and now lost) suggests that there were repairs under Diocletian (284–304), the city was slow to recover. It stopped minting its own coins and lost its status as a free city. A Roman proconsul and the Pontic Legio II were stationed there. Ammianus Marcellinus could find little to say for the place, but it appears as a Castellum in the *Notitia dignitatum*.<sup>37</sup>

St. Eugenios and his little army of martyrs were supposedly put to death under Diocletian. In fact, when and how his tale and cult came to Trebizond is in doubt. But the later *Miracula* retain a memory of a cult of Mithras on Mount Minthrion, which there is no reason to doubt. The martyr overthrew the great statue of Mithras; there are probably Mithraic tombs in Boz Tepe, and the cult was locally remembered as late as 1438. The earliest indisputable evidence of a church in the city does not come until 884/85—Belisarios' supposed local foundations cannot be justified. The earliest evidence for a bishop, or at least a prelate, of Trebizond comes in 253/54—the story of St. Andrew's visit is a medieval notion. No doubt there were Christians before the third century in Trebizond, but the fact that the faith took hold comparatively late (by contrast, Sinope's St. Phokas was supposedly martyred under Trajan), is demonstrated by Trebizond's initially being listed under the mother of Pontic sees, namely, St. Gregory Thaumaturgos' metropolis of Neokaisareia.<sup>38</sup>

The city had to wait until the sixth century for an identifiable revival of prosperity when, under Justinian, it again became a supply base for Armenian campaigns. Procopius states that Justinian built an aqueduct, called the aqueduct of the martyr Eugenios (the earliest historical reference to the cult of the patron) and that he restored most of the churches, which had become decayed. A famous inscription over the eastern (Tabakhane) gate of the city, repeated in a probably later copy in St. Basil (pl. 168b), stated that the Emperor Justinian completed the restoration of the buildings of Trebizond through the agency of Bishop Eirenaios in indiction 5, year 480 (the Trapezuntine series of years began in 63/64); the date is therefore indiction 5, A.D. 542.<sup>39</sup>

37. Zosimus, I, 33; Bonn ed., 32: ... τῆς πόλεως δύο τείχεσσι περιελημμένης. Cf. Gregory Thaumaturgos, PG, 10, col. 1037f. The inscription of Diocletian, now lost, is in Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 41a; Paraniak, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 269; and *CIL*, III, Suppl., No. 6746. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, viii, 16. *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Seeck, 83. Cf. Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 14.

38. Loukites and Xiphilinos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 1–32; W. Blawatsky and G. Kochelenko, "Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire," in *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, ed. M. J. Vermaseren, VIII (Leiden, 1966), 20–21; Tafur (1438), 130 (referring to Trebizond as "Samothece," on which see A. A. Vasiliev, "A note on Pero Tafur," *Byzantion*, 10 [1935], 65–66); Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 128–31. On the legend of St. Andrew, see p. 218.

39. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vii, 1. The Tabakhane inscription (*CIG*, No. 8636), was first recorded by Tournefort (1701), II, 175–76. Other readings are in Texier and Pullan (1839), 190; Hamilton (1836), II, 409; Ioannides, *Historia*, 230. The St. Basil and Tabakhane versions are recorded in Paraniak, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 297; Bzhshkean (1819), 69, 77; trans. Andreasyan, 48, 52; Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 51; and Zacharia (1838), 312. The Tabakhane inscription no longer survives. Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, "Zur

The next period which might be reflected in the monuments and defenses of the city begins in the ninth century. Trebizond became capital of the Chaldian theme in ca. 824 and the citadel was presumably the seat of its *strategos*. In 884/85 St. Anne's church was rebuilt under Basil I—the earliest church dated by inscription in the city. In 914 comes a dated inscription in the metropolitan church of the Chrysokephalos. Trebizond fell briefly to the Seljuks after 1071. Popular guidebooks to the city make the Sekiz Direk hamami, near the sea gate of the Lower City, a "Seljuk bath." The structure is certainly venerable but cannot, by any stretch of historical imagination, be ascribed to the transitory Seljuk occupation of the city; it is much more reasonable to seek the contribution of the Gabrades, semi-independent dukes of Chaldia in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, to the defense of Trebizond against the Seljuks.<sup>40</sup>

The period of the Empire of Trebizond is marked by great building activity, often well documented. When its final and present defenses were completed by 1324, the city consisted of three connected but distinct walled enclosures, which we have called the Lower City, the Middle City, and the Citadel (see figs. 41 and 42). Each section, climbing from the sea below, was smaller and higher than the last. The Lower City at near sea level is about 134,500 sq. m in size. Eating into its southeast corner and 20 m above it is the smaller Middle City, of about 67,200 sq. m. Finally, 950 m inland, 50 m above sea level and 40 m above the ravine beds below, lies the tiny Citadel, of only about 19,200 sq. m.

In 1223 the *Melik* (probably Muğith al-Din Tuğrişah of Erzurum) made three unsuccessful attacks on Trebizond. Lazaropoulos' account of the attacks gives invaluable incidental evidence of its appearance then, which is summarized in fig. 41. First and most important, he makes it quite clear that, although the Lower City was walled in his day (the 1360s), it had not been in 1223. Hence, classical and Byzantine Trebizond consisted of the Middle City and Citadel only, lying inconveniently 400 m from the sea and harbor. The *Melik*'s first attack was from the "Upper Road" (i.e., that leading south from the citadel over Mount Minthrion) and St. Longinos; and the third began along the whole undefended shore between St. Barbara to the west and St. Constantine and the "Old Arsenal." Certain places mentioned are known, some are unknown, and the remainder can be located, more or less securely, from the account. Known sites include the "Upper Road," the southern gate of the *Korte* or Citadel, the Chrysokephalos, the "Western River," St. Eugenios, St. Barbara, and, probably, the Arsenal of Daphnous. Unknown monuments include St. Eustratios, St. Longinos, and St. Constantine. Place names that can be located from the account include the Epiphaneia or Citadel square, the Gate of St. George of the Limnians in the northeast corner of the Citadel (indicating that the Citadel was

Geschichte von Trapezunt unter Justinian dem Grossen," *BZ*, 30 (1930), 385–86.

40. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 73, 137–39. On the "Seljuk Baths," see Succi, *Trebisonda*, 235–37; and here, p. 196.

already curtailed off from the Middle City), and the Gate of St. Dynamis leading north from the Middle City.<sup>41</sup>

It is clear that the classical, Early, and Middle Byzantine city, perched on its rock, was very small—no more than 86,400 sq. m. Hence, as in 1223, the Chrysokephalos and the Middle City were a place of refuge rather than a primarily residential area. The suburbs were unprotected. It is also clear that St. Eugenios was fortified: the *Melik* made it his camp in 1223 and it required siege engines to reduce in 1340.<sup>42</sup> The monasteries of the Hagia Sophia and the Pharos were similarly to be defended with towers and walls. Also outside the walls was the market place, burnt down by the invaders in 1223 and 1456.<sup>43</sup> In 1609 Bordier placed it in the western suburb, but, as Clavijo and others indicate, the shops lining the “imperial way” between the walled city and the Meydan formed the real commercial quarter of Trebizond. An archontic quarter for the town palaces of the nobility—where they could be kept under house arrest—is mentioned in 1350;<sup>44</sup> it could perhaps have stood between Mount Minthrion and the “imperial way” in the eastern suburb, where wealthier nineteenth-century Trapezuntines and European consuls had their houses. There were natural disasters, such as a possible earthquake in 1347, and the wooden houses within and without the walls were ravaged by fire in 1243, 1303, 1319, 1341, and 1456.<sup>45</sup> The suburbs were always vulnerable, but it was the formidable walled city which saved the pocket Empire on at least five occasions, when in 1223, 1297, 1336, 1341, and 1456 Turkish invaders were unable to take it.<sup>46</sup>

The events of 1223 and 1297 showed that the old classical and Byzantine walled city was too small. The enclosure of the Lower City, including part of the western ravine, was the achievement of Alexios II (1297–1330), who also strengthened Kerasous.<sup>47</sup> This great work increased the walled area from 86,400 sq. m to a respectable 220,900 sq. m. It is not clear when the work began. Two inscriptions, one a malediction of 1302 and the other a regulation for the corps of night watchmen in Trebizond, dated 1314, are recorded from a section of the wall which appears to have served as a sort of public notice board (fig. 42, pl. 109b).<sup>48</sup> The exact whereabouts of this section, by an Armenian dyer’s house, is unclear, but it was certainly part of the eastern wall of the Lower City.<sup>49</sup> The date 1302 might therefore be taken as a

terminus post quem for Alexios’ building of the eastern wall of the Lower City. The wall follows a logical course down to the sea; Lynch noted an outer ditch at its northern end which was to be paralleled outside the western wall.

The stimulus to build a more ambitious enclosure on the western side was perhaps given Alexios by the sight of the Venetians and Genoese fortifying their own bases in the eastern suburb in the 1310s. The work became imperative by 1319 when “the Sinopitans started a great fire which entirely devastated the beauties of the city, both inside and out.”<sup>50</sup> Lazaropoulos ascribes the building to Alexios and indeed two inscriptions on the western wall name the Emperor; one mentions his Master of Works, Constantine, and the other is dated 1324.<sup>51</sup> By 1324, then, Alexios II had completed the enclosure of the Lower City and could face Italians, Turks, and Sinopitans more securely.

Excluded from the new enceinte was the Church of St. John τῆς Πέτρας, endowed, according to a now lost inscription, in 1306.<sup>52</sup> Its parish was to be known as the Ἐξώτειχα and the church as St. John “Without the Walls.”<sup>53</sup> One of the inscriptions of Alexios II on the west wall refers to the enclosure as a πουργίσιος, or *burg*—an Arabic word found also in the *bourtzai* of Nauplia and Modon in Greece; the inscriptions of 1302, 1306, 1314, and 1324 are remarkable for their demoticisms and arabicisms. By 1430 the Lower City was designated as the Ἐξώκαστρον; its normal Turkish name became the Aşağı Hisar. In 1644 Evliya named its gates (later confirmed by Lynch), working from the southwest; the Zağnos or İmaret Kapısı (referring to Zaganos Pasha, the *Faith*’s renegade Christian Beylerbey, and to the İmaret of Gülbahar, respectively), which leads over the Zağnos Köprü into the Middle City; one or two gates called the Süt Kapısı (Lynch’s “Sotke”); a Molos Kapısı (Evliya’s “Mevluz,” a word which rightly puzzled him) by the harbor; and in the northeast corner Mumhane Kapısı, to which Lynch adds the Pazar Kapısı. Today’s main western “gate” was cut through the wall by the Russians in 1916–18; Succi ascribes this endeavor to the Emperor Justinian in *ca.* 540.<sup>54</sup>

The Middle City is called the κάστρον by Panaretos in 1303, 1362, and 1378; in the bull of 26 October 1314 there is reference to the *ecclesia beate Marie Crisocolofe sita in Castro Trapesonde*. In 1430 Chalkokondyles describes it as the μέγα κάστρον and in 1432 the bull for the Pharos monastery refers to the whereabouts of the metropolitan church (i.e., the Chrysokephalos) as in the παλαιόν κάστρον—even a century after Alexios II had built the lower walls a distinction was being made between the “old” and “new” *kastra*.

the city wall of which it formed a part had been destroyed. This suggests a site near Mumhane Kapısı.

50. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63.

51. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120–22; Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 132–33; Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 36<sup>v</sup>; Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 297; Mordtmann, *CPSyll*, 15 (1884), *Parartema*, 75.

52. Millet, *BCH*, 20 (1896), 496–97.

53. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 460–63, 622, 747, 792.

54. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 466–67; Evliya (1644), II, 45; Lynch (1893–98), I, map opp. p. 13 (followed by Chrysanthos); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 883; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 221–22; local information.

41. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120–22; Cahen, *P-OT*, 125. We are grateful to Fr. Jean Darrouzès, A.A., for correspondence on the interpretation of the passage in *FHIT*, taking the *Korte* (literally “tent”) as the Citadel proper.

42. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65.

43. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120–22; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 466–67.

44. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 69: τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄσπιτια.

45. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, *passim*; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 466–67.

46. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120–22; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 466–67; Panaretos, *passim*.

47. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120.

48. H. Grégoire’s version in *BZ*, 18 (1909), 490–99, is to be preferred to those in Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 79; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *CPSyll*, 17 (1886), 116; and Paranikas, 29 (1907), 300–1.

49. The inscription of 1314 was removed to the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (where it is still), in or just before 1908, because

But by the early sixteenth century the Middle City had become simply the “Miso-kastori,” and its normal Turkish name is the Orta Hisar, Panaretos states that Alexios III strengthened the *Kastro* in 1378, but Miller’s contention that this is borne out by an inscription seems to be based on a confusion with one of the inscriptions of Alexios II on the western wall. The only known inscription from the Middle City appears to be that of Justinian over the Tabakhane Gate. The site is suspended between two bridges with their attendant gates: the Zindan (or “Dungeon”) Kapısı leads to the Zağnos Köprü on the west and the Tabakhane Kapısı leads to the Tabakhane Köprü and “imperial way” on the east. To the north the Gate of St. Dynamis leads past the Çifte or Gavur Hamamı to the Lower City and in the southeast corner the Yeni Cuma Kapısı (originally perhaps the St. Eugenios Gate) and the Gate of St. George of the Limnians lead into the eastern ravine and the Citadel respectively.<sup>55</sup>

Panaretos distinguishes between the *Kastro*, or Middle City, and the Citadel by referring to the latter as the Κουλάς (i.e., the Turkish *Kule*), in 1337 and 1351—Lazaropoulos had described it as ἡ κόρτη in 1223 and reveals that there was a court called the Ἐπιφάνεια. This could be the “castle square” referred to by Fr. Odoric in 1318 and part of the palace—we suggest at its southern end (fig. 44). The entire Citadel seems to have been a governmental enclosure of which the palace formed part. There are a few literary and epigraphic indications of the late medieval development of the area, which from earliest times until the eighteenth century was associated with successive rulers of Trebizond and must be built upon the accumulated debris of countless administrations. Panaretos indicates that in 1376 the παλάτιν was called the “palace of the emperor lord Andronikos the Grand Komnenos” and that it was possible to fall to one’s death from it. The western halls stand over forty meters above the ravine and are indeed perilous. The Andronikos is more likely to be Andronikos I Gidon (1222–35), second Grand Komnenos, who defended the Citadel against the *Melik* in 1223 and was buried in the Chrysokephalos, than the later and more transitory Emperors Andronikos II (1263–66) or Andronikos III (1330–32). The next four scraps of evidence are epigraphic; all present problems and no inscription now survives. In 1916 Uspenskij noted in a chapel, probably in the Kule boyu at the southern end (pl. 132), a painted inscription beside traces of imperial portraits:

... ΟΤΟΒΑΟΙΔΙΜΟ ... ΒΑCΤΟΚΡ  
 ... ΜΗ ΘΗ... Α  
                   ΔΟV  
           ΗΜΟΝΚVΡ  
 5 ... ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΥ  
       ΗΟ | Υ | CΕΒΑCΤ  
       ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟC...  
       ΜΑΝΟVΗΛ

55. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63, 74, 79; *ASL*, 13 (1884), 517; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed. 466–67; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 268; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 297 (the “Miso-kastori” was an exceptionally small *mahalle* with only 41 households in ca. 1520); Evliya (1644), II, 44; Lynch (1893–98), I, map opp. p. 13; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 883; Miller, *Trebizond*, 69.

Uspenskij’s interpretation of this and of the portraits is that the inscription refers to Alexios I (1204–22), first Grand Komnenos, son of the Sebastokrator Manuel, son of the Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–85)—a sort of genealogical claim to Empire—and that Alexios was buried in the chapel. It is now impossible to comment on this interpretation; certainly a southern gate was in existence in 1223, a year after Alexios’ death and certainly the permutation of names and titles can point only to Alexios I. One could only wish for a corroborative transcript of the inscription. The second, uncorroborated, inscription is recorded by the normally unreliable Paranikas; it consists of the name and titles of the Grand Komnenos Basil (1332–40) and came “from the palace.” The third is equally tantalizing. Miller, citing a Trapezuntine parish magazine of 1916, not now available to us, states that “an inscription on ‘the tower of Michael Comnenos’ to the west of the palace preserved the late Emperor’s name”—i.e., that of the Grand Komnenos Michael (1341–49). Finally Fallmerayer noted on the now destroyed Kule boyu an inscription of the Grand Komnenos John IV, dated 1460. This has troubled historians of Trebizond because John IV is usually taken to have died in 1458. Lampsides’ solution is that he died in 1460. An even simpler one is suggested by the fact that Fallmerayer alone was able to read the date A.M. 6898 = A.D. 1460 and it appears to have been very high up the tower and damaged; perhaps he was mistaken. From this evidence put together one can suggest, at the most, that the Citadel and palace were repaired or built in the periods 1204–22, 1223–35, 1332–40, 1341–49, and before 1460. There is nothing inherently unlikely about any of this evidence, but as none of it can now be checked (and the provenance of much is not good), it is a question of taking or leaving it. At the least, there is some justification in rejecting the evidence of all four Citadel inscriptions.<sup>56</sup>

It is with relief that one can turn from the dubious value of the Citadel inscriptions to a final astonishing source for the appearance of the Citadel in the early fifteenth century, for Bessarion’s account of the fortress of the Grand Komnenoi is the most detailed description of any Late Byzantine palace. Bessarion’s *Encomium* on Trebizond suffers from an almost total avoidance of proper names, but, as the Trapezuntine diplomat Basil, he must have known the palace and, stripped of not very much hyperbole, his account is factual enough.<sup>57</sup>

56. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65, 69, 78, 124 note 4; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 121; Odoric (1318), II, 245; Uspenskii, *Ocherki*, 34–42; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 459–60; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 114–45; Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 297; Miller, *Trebizond*, 56, 96 (citing *OK*, 13 November 1916); Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 68, 193; II, 103; Ioannides, *Historia*, 232. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 35<sup>a</sup>, noted in his diary: “I give the inscription as given by Fallmerayer for I could not pretend to be sure that he was right & saw no reason for his copy in correct [*sic*]. I had no telescope & my sight is bad.”

57. Bessarion, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 188–89; trans. (here used by kind permission) Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972), 252–53. See also O. Lampsides, “Zu Bessarions Lobrede auf Trapezunt,” *BZ*, 35 (1935), 15–17; the same, “Die Datierung des Ἐγκώμιου Τραπεζούντος von Bessarion,” *BZ*, 48 (1955), 291–92.

The dwelling of the emperors is set up in the present acropolis and is itself no less than an acropolis, surpassing as it does all other buildings by the strength of its walls and the variety, size and beauty of its construction. Its west wall is common to the acropolis and the palace, and serves the same purpose to both up to a height of two storeys; from there upwards, it extends for the sake of the palace alone and towers above the wall of the acropolis by almost the same measure that the latter rises above the ground.<sup>58</sup> The walls facing in other directions, being adequate in point of height, thickness and other respects, extend all the way down and, while they take away more than half the acropolis, they add this area to the palace, and are by themselves sufficient to resist the oncoming enemy and to guard safely those that may be inside. They afford entrance by means of two gates and one postern,<sup>59</sup> and for the rest are securely constructed so as to exclude and ward off attackers. On either side is left an open space for rooms and the quartering of the emperor's servants, while the palace rises in the middle and has one entrance provided with a staircase of steps, so that the entrance is also a way up.<sup>60</sup> As one enters, one straightway encounters on one side splendid vestibules and halls of sufficient beauty and size, capable of containing a great number of people, the halls being surrounded with balconies facing in all directions and exposed to all the breezes. On the other side is stretched out a very long and beautiful building, its floor entirely paved with white marble, while its ceiling shines with the blooms of painting, with gold and various colours. The entire hollow [of the ceiling] gleams with shining stars in imitation of the heavens and exhibits excellence and delicacy of painting. All round, on the walls, is painted the choir of the emperors, both those who have ruled our land and their ancestors: also painted there are the dangers our city has undergone and those

58. The description begins from outside the palace. From the west ravine the break in masonry, over half way up the west walls, between the Citadel ("acropolis") wall proper and the palace wall and halls above is clear enough (see pl. 145a) and seems to be referred to here.

59. The two gates are the Gate of St. George of the Limnians in the northwest corner and the more formidable Kule Kapısı—Lazaropoulos' τῶν τῆς κόρτης πλεῶνων (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120) in the south. The present northern entrance is a modern cutting. There are two candidates for the postern: blocked doorways on the west side of the north curtain wall and below the southern hall leading out into the west ravine—the latter blocking seems to be ancient.

60. The Citadel is now entered and the rest of the description depends on whether Bessarion is viewing it from the south or north. That he is entering from the north is suggested by the following: the Gate of St. George would be the normal entrance from the city (the southern gate is a military one and would require crossing a ravine other than by a bridge); the palace stands higher than the first (service) court described and the area of the southern defenses of the Citadel overlooking the ravines (where one would expect the most important part of the palace to be situated, rather than servants' quarters) is at least 5 m higher than the northern gate; and finally the chapel stood at the end, coinciding with Uspenskij's equally modest chapel in the southern tower. The approach established, it is possible to identify tentatively some of the existing buildings. On the right (i.e., west) side, Bessarion encountered first a vaulted throne room and hall and next a higher, arcaded, banqueting hall. These could represent the two surviving halls, first a vaulted building (pls. 137b–139b) and to the south a higher structure with graceful windows (pls. 135a–136a). Within its restricted space, therefore, the palace of the Grand Komnenoi follows the pattern of other Late Byzantine palaces at Tekfur Sarayı, Mistra, and Nymphaion: first stabling and servants' quarters round a courtyard, then an upper audience chamber and the imperial apartments furthest from the entrance.

who in attacking it have done so to their own detriment.<sup>61</sup> High up, at the end of the building, there appears a covered imperial dais<sup>62</sup> having a pyramidal roof supported on four columns. This too, is screened all round with white marble, roof and all, and it separates the emperors from their subjects as with a barrier. It is there in particular that the emperor makes his appearance, that he conducts business with his ministers, converses with ambassadors, speaks and is spoken to.<sup>63</sup> Farther on is another imperial hall<sup>64</sup> of outstanding height and width, covered with a roof and having columns all round. In this building, which is decorated with paintings, is a flight of steps so as to raise the emperor aloft, and it is here that he is wont to give splendid banquets for his ministers and other subjects.<sup>65</sup> On the left side one encounters a suite of many rooms, including one that differs from the rest: this is fenced by four equal sides, like a frame, and contains memorials of the Creation of the world and of the origin and history of man.<sup>66</sup> On the right-hand side are many halls, vestibules, terraces, chambers and rooms separated by colonnades, running athwart one another, all of a measure that cannot be surpassed, each bigger than the next and all constructed with unutterable beauty and due har-

61. Such secular decoration was common enough in places associated with Orthodox courts—e.g., the scenes of Justinian's exploits in the Chalke and Manuel's in the Great Palace, the paintings in the Hagia Sophia at Kiev, the legendary decoration of the palace of Digenis, and the actual decoration of Gagik's palace on Aght'amar, and the despotal portraits in Mistra. See Procopius, *Buildings*, I, x, 5; V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), 52–59; A. A. M. Bryer, "Achtamar and Digenis Akrites," *Antiquity*, 34 (1960), 295–97; S. Miranda, *Les palais des empereurs byzantins* (Mexico City, 1965), 144–45; John Kinnamos, Bonn ed., 171–72; cf. P. Magdalino, "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace," *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 101–14. In Trebizond the head of the dragon slain by Alexios II and exhibited as a trophy in the palace might have been kept in this hall—see Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *FHIT*, 64. The laconic nature of the early entries in Panaretos' chronicle rather suggests that these wall paintings and, presumably, inscriptions were a source for it—see Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 332 note 3.

62. Βῆμα.

63. The arrangements give the impression of quasi-ecclesiastical furniture: the throne beneath a ciborium fenced off by chancel screens. It was presumably here that Clavijo (p. 111) met Manuel III in 1404: "... the Emperor called for us ambassadors, sending horses to bring us to his palace. On arrival we found him in a chamber that was off a gallery, where he received us very graciously: and after talking with him for a space we returned to our lodging.... The Emperor is a man well-built, tall and of a stately presence; he and his son were dressed in imperial robes, wearing hats of a very high shape, which had cordings of gold running up the sides with a great plume on the top made of crane feathers; further these hats were trimmed with marten fur."

64. Βῆμα again. We suggest that this second hall is the southwest one—see p. 195 and pl. 135a.

65. On banquets in the palace on the *panegyris* of St. Eugenios, see Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 65–67.

66. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ μὲν ἀριστερὰ ἄλλοις τε δωματίοις παμπόλλοις ἐστὶν ἐντυχεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνὶ διαφέροντι, τέτρασι μὲν ἴσαις διηρημένῳ πλευραῖς καὶ σχῆμα πλαισίον σώζοντι ὑπομήματά τε τῆς τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως φέροντι καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνθρωπος γέγονε γενόμενός τε ὡς τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπιτίτευσεν. An awkward passage. Mango (*loc. cit.* in note 57), whose translation we use, notes "i.e., paintings illustrating the book of Genesis." There is no indication that they are in fact paintings; the only surviving Genesis cycle in Trebizond is the relief on the south porch of the Hagia Sophia; there are fragments of relief in the east wall of the Citadel (pl. 130a, b). But is it necessary for the "memorials" to be depicted at all? The passage surely makes better sense if this "fenced" room is regarded as a library, "containing" (in Miller's free summary, *Trebizond*, 122) "memoirs on anthropology and political history."

mony. There too, is set up a church decorated with beautiful paintings and adorned with sacred offerings which, if not very numerous, are of outstanding beauty. What the church lacks in size it makes up in comeliness.<sup>67</sup>

After 1461 the Citadel became the seat of the new Pasha of Trebizond. It was garrisoned first by local levies and later by a Janissary corps. In 1758–59 the Citadel, St. Eugenios, and the Theoskepastos were strongholds in a local battle between the Pasha with his Janissary garrison, and the local Derebeys—virtually repeating the events of the 1340s.<sup>68</sup> A recently published Portuguese report of 1766 states that the Georgian king Erekle (Heraclius) II invested the Citadel on three sides with cannon and took it; the editor of the document seems unaware that Erekle did nothing of the sort, but a possible threat from him and a probable one later from Russia may have led to the final strengthening of the defenses of Trebizond.<sup>69</sup>

Before the archaeological evidence need be considered, therefore, the following firm statements can be made about the defenses, gathered from literary and epigraphic sources: the city was walled before A.D. 257; it was restored probably in the sixth century and possibly in the ninth and late eleventh; the Lower City was enclosed in about 1302–25; the Middle City was strengthened in 1378; the Citadel was embellished with a palace, and underwent additions and repairs throughout the period 1204–1460; finally, further improvements should be expected in all the walls in Ottoman times. The archaeological evidence for the walls will be considered next, which will be followed by the combined historical and archaeological evidence provided by the twenty-five other secular monuments and ninety-six known churches and monasteries of Trebizond.

#### MONUMENTS

##### The Defenses

###### 1. The Classical Walls (fig. 41)

Mrs. Selina Ballance has contributed the account which follows.

The masonry of the Middle City and Citadel is of many types, which are described in the next sections. One distinctive type, visible in the Zaġanos Köprüsü and a dozen places in the walls (see fig. 41) can almost certainly be considered as being of the Roman period—i.e., first to third century A.D.

This masonry consists, typically, of large blocks of a dull grey conglomerate up to 1.30 × 0.55 × 0.45 m in size, laid very true and close-jointed, without mortar. There is no particular bond, but the blocks are used as both headers and stretchers. In general they are dressed fairly flat on the surface, but in some instances have slight bossing. Presumably the blocks are normally the facing for a mortared rubble core, but this is not visible save in one case, which may be

67. On a chapel in the palace, see p. 215.

68. Bryer, *BK*, 26 (1969), 196. The pasha was more or less besieged in the Citadel in 1827, 1830, 1833.

69. L. Tardy, "Héraclius, roi de Géorgie, d'après les documents portugais de 1766," *BK*, 27 (1970), 101–7. But no credence can be given this propaganda report. See D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658–1832* (New York, 1957), 136–225.

later than most. The blocks are also found extensively reused, relaid in mortar as wall facing or serving for door-jamb and lintels, in many places in the fortifications, churches, and other monuments of the city. There seems to be a later version of this type of masonry where the blocks are still much the same size but are less accurately cut and therefore give a rougher general impression.

In the following list the numbers refer to positions marked on figure 41 of extant sections of classical masonry.

1. A length of masonry several meters long, to the left of the Gate of St. Dynamis.
2. The east jamb of the Gate of St. Dynamis surviving to a height of about three meters; the T-shaped recess for a locking device is sharply cut. On the adjoining "apse," see p. 206 below.
3. and 4. Two short stretches of masonry, too inaccessible to study.
5. The curved bastion by the Yeni Cuma Kapısı which has been much patched but appears to be Roman in origin.
6. A short stretch which has been pointed with mortar to some extent but appears to be originally of Roman date.
7. and 8. A short and a long section now carrying an inner Byzantine wall, but originally representing the outer wall; see p. 189 below.
9. One of the longest stretches, although only four courses high. It is almost continuous with the base of the projecting semicircular bastion, also with Roman masonry at its foot, which marks where the curtain wall between the Middle City and the Citadel joins the western rampart. The internal angle here, with a blocked arched doorway in each wall, is of the somewhat rougher masonry mentioned above and is almost certainly later than most, possibly third to fifth century<sup>69a</sup> or even Middle Byzantine,<sup>69b</sup> while the long stretch on the north-south wall is of the "regular" type, as is the lowest part of the curved bastion wall. The relationship between the two periods is a difficult point, as the "early" curved bastion base projects further than the "later" wall with doorways (see fig. 41). Possibly there was a considerable change in the plan at a later date.
10. The "exedra" (pl. 111a). This unusual polygonal structure forms the inner face of the curved bastion mentioned under no. 9. Its walls comprise seven sides of a regular dodecahedron, five of them having round-headed niches, the backs of which appear to be later blocking; to the north there is a return wall with a further niche, and in the south wall there is a short passage with a blocked doorway in its west wall. It seems certain that from this point a passage or stair descended the short distance to one of the blocked doorways in no. 9. The inner structure had a semidome, now largely fallen, of large blocks in regular courses forming a facing for mortared rubble. A curious feature is an opening, like a small doorway and apparently original, in the lower part of the semidome and directly over a niche; it is now blocked but might possibly have originally given access to a rampart wall, with a timber stair for access. In about 1944 an earth tremor brought down a floor which

69a. Notes of Selina Ballance.

69b. Notes of D. C. W.

had spanned the building below the semidome, but this must have been a late addition—possibly even Ottoman.

The purpose of the “exedra” is enigmatic. Among the ideas that come to mind are a nymphaeum (since, by the third century, the water supply could well have been introduced by pressurized aqueduct, so that water would have been available even at this height), or, perhaps, an early church with west apse, which, though unique in these parts, is not totally impossible. D. C. W. notes that a function as a praetorium and a Justinianic date should also not be excluded. Excavation would probably yield a great deal more information.

11. A short, inaccessible piece of walling above a nearly vertical rock face.
12. The Zağnos Köprüsü. This bridge is more fully described on p. 190 below. Its principal Roman feature is one pier, clearly visible though encased in later masonry (pl. 111b). It is of typical Roman masonry with, in this case, some bossing. It is complete up to, and including, a cornice at the level of the springing of the arch and has two voussiors still in position of its western arch and three of its eastern. Most of the lower part of this high bridge (which is now virtually a causeway with one relatively narrow arched opening for the small stream) is built of Roman blocks. The eastern part, running up to the Middle City rock, may well be contemporary with the pier mentioned above, as there may originally have been five or six open arches with a solid causeway at one or both ends. The blocking next to the pier is probably very late classical but much of the rest is considerably later since the blocks (doubtless reused) are laid in mortar. The pier blocks appear to have somewhat stronger bossing than the rest, but the structure varies throughout from block to block.
13. Immediately to the north of the bridge there is a long stretch of masonry, running first north and then turning west with the natural cliff, which includes several blocked or blind arches. It seems an extraordinary place to have any sort of opening. At the external angle it is at least twelve courses high (pl. 110a).

Finally, D. C. W. notes a few large and apparently Roman blocks on the outer part of the east ravine, on the south side of the Tabakhane Köprü at foundation level. They might have formed the foundations of a barbican.

From the evidence of this surviving masonry it is clear that the main rock on which the city stands—that is, the Middle City and the Citadel, but not the curtain wall between them—was fortified with walls round its entire perimeter in Roman times. The similarity of the stretches which survive indicates one particular period of building. In only one place (the western side of the Citadel at nos. 7 and 8) was the line of Roman wall different from that of the main Byzantine period, and even here a Byzantine wall was built on a Roman base.

The only attempt which we can make to date this masonry is to surmise that Corbulo may well have fortified his base and that the earliest stretches may therefore date to about A.D. 48. Half a century later Hadrian may have attended to the walls as well as the harbor. This presupposes that, if the city had been fortified before A.D. 48, no evidence of these

walls survives or is identifiable. Work in the mid- and late-third century, either against the Goths or at the time of Diocletian may be expected, but the only part which looks noticeably later—the “exedra”—may not belong to the fortifications. Nor are we assisted by any other still extant Roman buildings in the city, and no Roman inscriptions survive in situ. A survey of classical materials reused in churches and elsewhere (which we have not made) might prove useful. The only certain point is that the masonry described above is typically Roman.

The three sections of Trebizond, Lower City, Middle City and Citadel, are examined next, in topographical rather than in chronological order.

## 2. The Lower City

The Lower City walls, completed by Alexios II in 1324, are described here beginning from the southwest tower up to the Zağnos Köprüsü. See figure 42.

*The Southwest Tower* is about 15 × 12 m in plan east-west and north-south. Like the rest of the walls it is built of roughly squared stones laid in regular courses. The external aspect has been altered by the substitution of rectangular openings for round arches in the windows (pl. 110b). The interior has three storeys and a flat roof.

The walls of the first, or ground floor are at least 3 m thick. There was a barrel-vaulted chamber with an east-west crown and round-arched windows in the center of the walls at east and west. The barrel vault has now collapsed or has been demolished except for the springing at the sides. It was of mortared rubble and constructed with shuttering, of which the marks are visible. The door was in the north wall at the east corner. There appears to have been no internal communication between the first and second floors.

The second floor is roofed with a quadripartite vault, the walls and supporting pilasters being faced with neatly-cut rectangular stones alternately flat and bonded in. The supporting arches are slightly pointed. All four walls had round-arched windows; that in the south wall has been blocked and all have been changed to a rectangular form, on the lines of those in “Theodora’s Bedchamber” in the Citadel (see p. 195 below). The door is above the first floor; since no trace of another door is to be found, it must have led out onto both walls; it is round-arched. Above the pilaster capitals (which are undecorated projections) there are square beam holes, presumably used for scaffolding when the vault was constructed. On the north side a stone staircase (possibly the original one) runs upward from west to east and then turns south in the thickness of the wall to emerge onto the roof. The second-floor chamber must have been an elegant room, perhaps assigned to the captain of the guard since the tower adjoins the old gate. The flat roof is now much overgrown with daphne and wild snapdragon; there were battlements. The tower is about 15 m high.

The exterior is of regular courses of rough stone placed with a flat surface outward, with smaller stones filling irregularities. The interior core (probably of mortared rubble) could not be seen. The surface appears to have been well pointed over with mortar to produce a flat finish. The quoins are of well-squared large blocks in the usual long and short

alternation. There are thirty-one courses up to the base of the second-floor window on the north side, ten more up to the base of the third-floor window, and twelve more up to the present top—perhaps sixteen originally, totalling fifty-seven courses. At about twenty-eight courses up the northwest corner quoins and twenty-seven on the southeast quoins are projecting blocks which must have been sculpted. The form is not now clear but there may have been a lion, facing frontally, with very long front paws. On the north face of the tower, above where the wall meets it, there appears to be a join in the wall.

*Wall from the Southwest Tower to Zağnos Köprüsü.* The wall started from the northeast corner of the tower, where its broken beginning survives. It must have stretched about 100 m, but all trace of it has disappeared.

*Zağnos Kapısı* (pl. 110b), about 8 m north of the tower, must have been one of the principal gates. The opening is rectangular and about 3 m high and 2 m wide. The ground level outside appears to have fallen about half a meter.

Each of the jambs of the blocked door consist of two massive blocks and two smaller blocks of the local conglomerate. The lintel is a single block of Proconnesian marble, about 2.50 m long and 0.50 m high; its thickness is not visible. Above this is a high tympanum with a pointed arch. Fragments of corroded stone of the old cornice may be seen at the base on either side. It is possible, however, that the tympanum cornice above the lintel and its cornice are original and that the stones now at the base once bore carvings which have since been defaced. The keystone is represented by two separate blocks. Within the tympanum is a recess for a stone, probably that reported to have a device of a single-headed eagle on it, possibly that shown in the photograph of 1893 in plate 113—in which case it had been taken further down the wall.<sup>70</sup> About 1 m above the top of the arch are two horizontal courses of stone within a brick frame; within the frame was the longer of the two inscriptions of Alexios II in brick, or coarse red pottery where the lettering had curves; only fragments of some half dozen letters now remain. This inscription was originally about 3 m long.<sup>71</sup>

About 5 m north of the gate and 4 m above ground there is a slit window and another at the same height 5 m farther north. On the interior side of the wall, at the gateway, was a blind arcade of stone arches supporting the catwalk.<sup>71a</sup> The stonework projects about 0.20 m from the exterior base of the south jamb. Support for a drawbridge is unlikely; there may have been a wall of some kind starting at this point.

*The West Wall.* North of Zağnos Kapısı there are more slit windows (apparently seven) at about the same height and intervals, save that the intervals between the northern two extend to about 6 m. The slit windows run to a point where the wall recedes about 3 m inward. The distance to the first rectangular projection is about 15 m and from the southwest tower to the projection about 100. At the first projection the wall stands 8 to 10 m. Its masonry is similar to that of the southwest tower, with lavish pointing, fillings of small stones

or brick fragments, and well-cut quoins of large blocks. The difference is that in this wall are beam holes for tie beams, in which unrotted wood remains. The lowest row is about 3 m above ground and the headers are at about 3-m intervals. The second row (where only two holes are visible) is 1.50 m higher up. Above that there are odd holes.

The rectangular projections, or towers, protrude about 3.50 m at intervals of about 16 m and are about 8 m broad at the exterior (pl. 112a,b). Beam holes appear as in the wall described above, but the towers and intermediate walls are devoid of slit windows. The wall mortar is of lime and sand and the mortared rubble core includes a large quantity of beach pebbles.

On the inner side of the wall the arcade of blind arches runs from the Zağnos Kapısı to the first tower to the north. The arches are pointed and about 8 m wide.

Houses have been built against most of the wall, and the interior of only two towers could be examined. One still contained a house, the other had contained one; both had disturbed the masonry. However, there was no trace of stone or brick vaults and no internal wall to enclose the space and make it a regular tower. These "towers" were, like that at Kordyle<sup>71b</sup> and those in fourteenth-century fortifications in the Balkans, almost certainly no more than hollow projections from the wall and contained perhaps wooden floors and ladders. The thickness of the wall, where it could be ascertained, averaged 2 m.

Tower 4 (counting the first tower north of the Zağnos Kapısı as tower 1) once boasted the shorter of the two inscriptions of Alexios II, in two lines of letters incised in brick or pottery.<sup>72</sup> This inscription having now apparently gone, the best evidence of its appearance is provided by a hitherto unpublished photograph taken by Millet in 1893 (pl. 113). The plate is broken (one break runs through the inscription); it also seems to be a double exposure, for the two carved blocks in its lower part reappear in another of Millet's unpublished photographs (pl. 114), where they are mounted against a black background, with a tape measure hanging between them—the two views are not identical for the left-hand block has been moved 90°. In plate 113, the out-of-focus masonry to the right does not appear to belong to the photograph of the wall and inscription either. The two stone blocks must not, therefore, be regarded as having the relationship with the wall and inscription which plate 113 appears to show. That they are perhaps associated with the wall is suggested by a number of points: obviously Millet took the exposures one after the other and would therefore have been working in this area. Lynch records a carving of a single-headed eagle above the Zağnos Kapısı and below the longer of the two inscriptions of Alexios II, where there is now a recess,<sup>72a</sup> and also a now apparently lost double-headed eagle on tower 4. A carved animal projects from the southwest tower. Thus, we have tentatively assumed that the sculptures recorded by Millet come from the west wall.

The blocks (pls. 113, 114) are of considerable interest.

70. Lynch (1893–98), I, plan opp. p. 13.

71. See p. 183.

71a. See p. 183.

71b. See p. 158.

72. See p. 183 above.

72a. See p. 183.

They are a pair, about 0.33 m high and 0.26 m wide, apparently square in section. The base of each of them shows a double ropework decoration and the top is indented as if to receive a further block. The left-hand block is carved on at least three (and probably four) sides, the right-hand one on at least two sides. They could therefore have formed part of two freestanding piers or, perhaps, square pilasters; but their function is obscure.

The blocks are carved in comparatively high relief (perhaps up to 4 cm). The left-hand block of plate 113, shown again twice in plate 114 at the top and at the bottom left, depicts familiar Byzantine motifs. One side (shown only in pl. 113) displays an eagle and a hare. The eagle turns its head to the right; its wings are outstretched and its body is marked with a crisscross pattern, each resulting diamond having a small hole in the center. Its tail is splayed out behind and beneath the body of the hare, which it clutches in its talons. The hind legs of the hare hang to the left; its head to the right is difficult to make out.

The other two sides of the block, visible in plates 113 and 114, and probably the fourth side, too, represent Daniel in the Lions' Den. On the side opposite that with the eagle and hare Daniel is shown in the conventional manner, standing in the orans position. He is dressed in trousers, with an overskirt reaching down to the knees, a fur mantle crossing over his chest. He is nimbed, but it is not clear if he is also wearing a Phrygian cap. Except for the fact that the overskirt reaches to the knees rather than to the thigh, his costume and stance are identical with those of the Daniel in the early tenth-century relief on the church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar.<sup>73</sup> Fifth-century sarcophagi in Ravenna and the Lateran Museum show a lion in a sitting position on either side of Daniel.<sup>74</sup> At Aght'amar and in other versions of the same scene—a probably fifth-century mosaic in the Beirut Archaeological Museum and a relief from Ani, probably of the tenth century, now in the church of the Holy Apostles, Kars—the artist has solved the problem of showing a basically two-dimensional lions' den by representing the two lions which flank the praying Daniel, hanging, as it were, by their hind legs, their backs along Daniel's sides and their heads and forepaws to the ground as they lick Daniel's feet (in the Trapezuntine example the tongues are emphasized). This is an awkward angle and usually entails making the lions rather smaller than Daniel. Instead, by moving the bodies of his lions back onto the sides of the block, our sculptor has produced a neater design. Only the full-face heads and manes of the lions appear beside Daniel; the smoothly molded bodies are carried round onto the sides. Above Daniel is an inscription: only UIOU . . . CO can be made out. Beneath the head of the left-hand lion one can read: ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟΣ apparently the proper name.

73. Lynch (1893–98), II, fig. 142; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar. Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pl. 49.

74. E. Bock, R. Goebel, and A. Heidenreich, *The Catacombs* (London, 1962), pls. 49, 50. See also K. Weitzmann, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III (Washington, D.C., 1972), 33. A Daniel is shown in mosaic on the south side of the sanctuary in Hosios Loukas, Greece.

The right-hand block in plate 113, visible again at the bottom right of plate 114, is more enigmatic. One face shows a thickly maned lion, his long tail between his legs, his forepaws raised. Behind his neck, and broken off, is the head of another beast. Possibly the lion is attacking an antelope, but behind him, coming from the left side, moves a beast which has something of the body of a horse and the head of a sheep—the body being on the left-hand side of the block and the head on the same side as the lion, above his rump.

The eagle and hare and the lion and antelope (if that is what is depicted on the right-hand block) are common Byzantine motifs. Daniel in the Lions' Den is one of the Old Testament scenes which (like that of Jonah and the Whale) are common enough in Early Christian iconography but become increasingly rare thereafter—their appearance at Aght'amar in the tenth century has sometimes been taken as an archaism. Yet, the style of the Trapezuntine sculptures places them in the later, rather than earlier, period and may perhaps be associated with not only the work at Aght'amar and Ani but also certain tenth-century Georgian reliefs in Tao.<sup>75</sup> Byzantine sculpture is far from being uncommon, but much of it has an undeniably freakish air; this is true of the Genesis cycle on the Hagia Sophia and certainly true of the two little reliefs described here for which plates 113 and 114 provide our only evidence, since no trace of them now remains.

To return to the west wall, there is a stretch of about sixty meters between towers 5 and 6, through the middle of which passes a road (the Maraş Caddesi) made by the Russians in 1916. This long stretch without a tower is curious. Lynch's plan shows that there had been a gate (one of the two Sütkaşısı or Sotke Kaşısı Gates) where the Russians widened the entrance, and one or two large blocks of stone in the wall by the gap further confirm the fact. It is true that the Zağnos Kaşısı is guarded by only one tower, but this gate would have had no flanking towers at all.

North of tower 6 the wall disappears; the base of the north face of this tower has apparently reused Roman blocks, but the possibility that there was some sort of classical wall here should not be excluded.

Between towers 9 and 10 are about fifteen meters of uninterrupted wall. Taking this as a standard pattern, we have therefore conjectured the existence of towers 7 and 8. Midway between towers 9 and 10 and about four meters above ground are the jambs of a blocked door or window. The jambs rise to about 1.25 m; their upper parts have been destroyed by the robbing of facing stones. To the west lay an open space with Moslem marble stellae gravestones within which, about fifty meters from the wall, are traces of medieval foundations. If they are connected with the blocked archway in the wall an outer fortified court could be surmised.

The second Sütkaşısı or Sotke Kaşısı, noted by both Evliya and Lynch, lay below tower 10. Today there is a gap in the wall through which runs the Kale Kaşısı Caddesi, leading to the Sotke Caddesi or Sotke Kaşısı Caddesi. No trace

75. See D. Winfield, "Some early medieval figure sculpture from north-east Turkey," *JWarb*, 31 (1968), 33–72.

of the gate remains. Only the south wall of tower 10 survives; the remainder is part of a modern house built against it.

Below tower 10 runs a stretch of about forty meters of wall which curves more or less due north. There may have been a tower 11 as a corner tower, but this section of wall is too badly damaged to make us certain of its existence.

The wall then turns east. About twelve meters east of the corner is a blocked door. It has a shallow round arch made of two large stones and the jambs are of large well-cut blocks of local stone. The door is about  $0.80 \times 1.70$  m in size. Unless there were steps leading up to it, the ground level has fallen here by half a meter. This and a second small door high in the wall, are difficult to explain. They would only have weakened the defenses. The thickness of the wall at this northwest corner is about 1.60 m.

The wall then runs east 60 m and north 10, then east 10 and north 8, and finally east 8. The stretch contains a tall, thin, round-arched window, about  $1$  to  $1.50 \times 0.20$  m, with the remains of an arch of a second window about 2 m to the west. Both windows are about 7 m above the original ground level. The arches and facing are formed of neat stones. A modern window to the west of the second probably replaced a third original one, making the series a piece of regular fenestration.

The gate called Molos Kapısı is in the last stretch of 8 m (pl. 115a). It is round-arched and above it is a pediment in which a plain oval cartouche was probably intended to take an Ottoman monogram (rather than the golden head of Constantine of local oral tradition), for the masonry of the gateway is much later than the wall. The outer ground level here rises about 1.50 m above the threshold of the gate. Within the later arch is another brick arch made of one course of bricks; they vary in thickness from 2.25 to 4 cm. Within this, and about 0.20 m higher, the thickness is again arched in stone.

The Molos Kapısı tower and the windows west of it are probably Byzantine but may be later than Alexios II's work, for the wall here is of smaller stones and looks as if it might be a later repair—although not necessarily Ottoman.

A complete tower juts north and west of the Molos Kapısı. It is reached by an external staircase beginning east of the door to the second floor. The lower walling of the exterior is heavily buttressed to a height of about 5 m on the north and west faces. A recessed stone on the west face looks as if it had had an inscription. The upper courses of the north face still stand to within a few centimeters of the original height and carry machicolation. The west face has two narrow openings with more or less rounded arches; the north face has three, though the arch shapes are not clear. The east face has an opening with a pointed uncurved arch. Internally, these openings widen out to allow space for a bow and arrow or even a small cannon. The large internal arches are all curved (pl. 115b).

There are beam holes for tie beams in the walls of the tower and in the repair wall (if such it is). The thickness of the wall on the second floor of the tower is 1.30 m; the internal width of the tower from east to west is 6 m. The windows measure  $1.80 \times 1.20$  m on the interior and  $0.90 \times 0.40$  on the exterior; those on the west face are rather smaller,  $0.65 \times 0.20$

m. The machicolations stand  $1.20 \times 0.60$  m and are 0.60 m apart. There is presumably a stone or brick vault below the present floor level but excavation would be necessary to establish its form. The distance between the present second floor and the top of the machicolations is about 3.70 m. The mortar of this upper part is of lime and small pebbles, whereas the mortar of the west wall contains larger pebbles. This upper storey has smaller stones for facing and less regular courses than the west wall; it is perhaps contemporary with the repair and the gate.

From this point east, the line of the walls is now lost; they turned south near the Mumhane Kapısı (which lay within bastions) and resume again south of the Pazar Kapısı. A sea tower stood on a projection of the north-south wall at the northeast corner, near the beginning of the eastern arm of the Molos (pl. 116a, b). Rising from a battering of comparatively large mortared stones, this tower appears to have had three faces to the north; the upper stonework is akin to that of the west wall. It had a series of comparatively large windows.<sup>75a</sup>

*The Outer Walls.* Lynch noted outer walls and moats running north-south from a point south of the junction of the east wall of the Lower City with that of the Middle City to a point just south of the Pazar Kapısı; and from the Zağnos Kapısı to a point just south of tower 6 outside the west wall. The eastern outer wall cannot now be traced, but the western outer wall runs at about ten to thirteen meters from the inner wall and is about 0.80 m thick. It does not appear to have had any towers, and in 1963 only its foundations were visible in places. Between the intersecting Maraş Caddesi and the sea-shore the line of the outer wall is lost and was not noted by Lynch. But it may well have continued on the west side of the present Reşadiye Caddesi, for the width of this paved road corresponds to the distance between the two walls in the upper stretches.

### 3. The Middle City

*The Zağnos Köprüsü.* The bridge over the western ravine from the now blocked Zağnos Kapısı to the Zindan Kapısı in the Middle City is of four or five periods (see pls. 117a, b, and 118a, b).

1. There was a bridge of large embossed blocks, having perhaps eight arches altogether at the lower level.<sup>75a</sup> The arches were round and all the stonework, including the voussoirs, were fitted without exterior mortar. At present the remains of two arches can be clearly distinguished on the south side, to the west of the stream. Above the first row of arches was a simple jutting cornice or string course, and higher up in the masonry, about five meters below the present bridge level, a second jutting section of stonework may have marked the top of the bridge—but since all the surrounding masonry is late medieval one cannot be certain. The original bridge (or possibly aqueduct) probably consisted of a double row of arches in heavy embossed masonry. There seem to have been some headers and stretchers, but, perhaps as a result of later repairs, they appear to have been rather irregularly distributed.

2. The structure was repaired at a later period. The earlier arches were blocked with good masonry, again without

<sup>75a</sup> See p. 228.

exterior mortar and with irregularly placed headers and stretchers. These fillings can be seen on the south side, to the west of the stream and have less pronounced bosses. To this period may also belong the remains of an arch over the stream, at a high level. There is trace of only one brick arch; it is constructed of a double row of bricks employed as voussoirs framed by a flat row around the outside. This looks like a Justinianic or Middle Byzantine repair. Apart from this, there is no sign of brick in the bridge.

3. On the north side, to the east of the stream, is a facing of medium-sized rectangular blocks of stone—neat work which could be Middle Byzantine.
4. An amorphous mass of coursed, roughly squared masonry constitutes the greater part of the structure of the bridge. This is certainly Trapezuntine and Ottoman.
5. Present work includes the widening of the road and steel cantilevers.

Bessarion states explicitly that both bridges over the ravine were made of wood.<sup>76</sup> If his statement is accepted, he must refer only to a wooden bridge proper supported by masonry of stages 1 to 4. Otherwise, the stages correspond fairly well to those periods in which it has been postulated, from non-archaeological evidence, that Trebizond experienced reconstruction<sup>76a</sup> (p. 186 above). The first stage would be first- or second-century work. The repairs of the second stage could be Justinianic and may have been necessitated by the sack of 257. The third stage could be ninth century. The fourth is Trapezuntine and Ottoman. It must be emphasized that this can only be a tentative periodization in this most extensively repaired and reconstructed part of the defenses of Trebizond.

Below Zağnos Köprüsü the west wall of the Middle City has classical or Early Byzantine foundations (pl. 119a,b). Above them is masonry of well-cut medium-sized blocks, probably of the Middle Byzantine period. There are stone relieving arches with a fill of small stones. It is conceivable that there was a series of four or five arches here.

In the west corner of the north wall of the Middle City are the remains of an arch composed of comparatively large bricks which could be Justinianic or later. It probably covered a staircase to the Lower City—at the modern road level below is a rock cave which may have been associated with it. If the arch was part of a doorway at the original ground level of the Middle City, then the Middle City stood, at this point, at least 5 m below the present ground level. The floor of the Chrysokephalos in the center of the Middle City is about 1.50 m meters below the present street level.

North of the Chrysokephalos lies a small square incorporating a garden wall which is of Byzantine build (pl. 121a). This wall has a single window which is faced on the east side with Oinaion stone in the flat manner and on the west side with brick. It might be part of the monastic buildings of the Chrysokephalos, the enceinte of which may well have choked the entire width of the Middle City at this point.

#### 4. The Citadel (fig. 44, pls. 120–148b).

Finlay's sketch of 1850 is published in figure 43, but

Lynch's plan and description of the citadel of 1893 remain the most useful; Talbot Rice's plan and description of 1932 are sadly inaccurate; figure 44 shows a plan made in 1969 which, though not perfect, is probably the most accurate yet published.<sup>77</sup>

By combining the archaeological and literary evidence, a tentative periodization of the growth of the citadel can be proposed. It must be emphasized that the table following is no more than a hypothesis and that we have examined only what masonry is visible, that is, above ground.

Type A, classical masonry, has already been discussed.<sup>78</sup> Its presence in the Citadel shows that the outer wall of the original acropolis probably ran along the present northeast walls and may have reached as far south as the tower of John IV; certainly the classical outer wall was the present inner wall in the southwest corner, below feature 22, commonly called (for no evident reason) "Theodora's Bedchamber" or Kızlar Sarayı (pl. 133a, b).

Type B is also classical but somewhat later (we suggest that the dividing line might be the Gothic destruction of 257) and is represented only by the "exedra" in the southwest corner of the Middle City which has already been discussed.<sup>79</sup> Lynch notes at this point a blocked door between the exedra and the Citadel which on his plan becomes a sort of gate and is considerably enlarged in Talbot Rice's version. There is no gate, but there is indeed a blocked door in the south corner of the "exedra"—or, rather, at least two entrances opening onto a low external platform. They give perilous access to the ravine below, but it is difficult to see how the Citadel proper (which at this point appears to belong to one of the fourteenth-century types E) could have been reached. There may have been arrangements such as a wooden catwalk which are now lost.

Type C. We have taken as our model of this type certain features which were already existing at the time of the *Melik's* attack of 1223, and were described by Lazaropoulos (fig. 41), especially the northwest hall (feature 28), which is apparently the oldest structure within the Citadel and which we have already tentatively identified with the first hall, that of the throne in Bessarion's encomium (pls. 137b–139b).

The northwest hall is a slightly waisted rectangular building, substantially constructed; the walls average 0.75 m in

77. Lynch (1893–98), I, map opp. p. 13; followed by Chrysanthos. Talbot Rice. *JHS*, 52 (1932), 47–54, suffers from a number of defects because it relies on Uspenskij rather than on any original source. Thus garbled elements of Bessarion's encomium (some attributed to Panaretos and none to Bessarion) appear, and Lynch is quite unjustifiably berated for errors—which an actual reading of Lynch, rather than Uspenskij on Lynch, would have shown. The tower of John IV is referred to as the tower of St. John and attributed to John II (1280–85). The article is reprinted in D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Art and its Influences. Collected Studies* (London, 1973), item X. Fig. 44 was drawn up by Mr. T. J. Boatswain, A. A. M. B., Mr. John Haldon, Mr. Robert Keeney III, and Miss Jane Isaac. It was checked on the spot by Mr. James Crow, who reported minor distortions in the northeast corner (where the northwest corner of the gate, feature 5, should be shown as a right-angle). A. A. M. B. has conflated his notes on the masonry with those of D. C. W. and of Mr. Haldon, to whom we are most grateful.

78. See p. 186.

79. See p. 187.

76. Bessarion, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 186; see p. 185 above.

76a. See p. 186.

CONCORDANCE OF MASONRY TYPES AND FEATURES  
IN TREBIZOND CITADEL

Type Letter:	?	A	B	C	D1	D2	D3	E1	E2	E3	F	G	H
Feature No: 1	?								E2				
2	?								E2				
3	?								E2				
4	?								E2				H
5												G	
6	?	A		C?									H
7	?									E3?			
8		A					D3			E3			H
9							D3			E3			
10							D3			E3			
11					D1								
12					D1								
13					D1							G	
14					D1								
15	?						D3			E3			
16		A					D3			E3	F		
17							D3			E3			H
18							D3			E3			H
19							D3			E3			H
20							D3			E3			H
21	?											G?	
22		A		C			D3			E3		G	
23	?	A?					D3			E3			H
24						D2							H
25							D3?	E1	E1				H
26	?									E3?			
27	?					D2?							H
28				C	D1								
29								E1?	E1?	E3?			H
30	?	A?						E1?	E1?	E3?			H
31	?									E3?			
32			B					E1?	E1?	E3?			H

SUGGESTED PERIODS OF TYPES

?	Unknown	
A	Before 257	} The Korte
B	After 257	
C	Before 1222	} The Palace and Citadel described by Bessarion
D1-3	13th cent., esp. 1223-35: <i>The Palace of Andronikos I</i>	
E1-3	14th cent., esp. 1302-24, 1332-49	
F	1458/60: <i>The Tower of John IV</i>	
G	Ottoman, before Evliya's account	
H	Modern, after Millet's photographs of 1893 and refacing of the 1960s	

thickness. In its final form, at any rate, it had two storeys. On the lower floor there were six round-arched windows (one was possibly a door, hence requiring a flight of external steps) on the principal, east, façade. The south façade has a round-arched door and window and the north façade two round-arched windows. The west façade, later clad, seems to have originally constituted part of the west wall of the Citadel. Here in the upper storey, there are round-arched windows of two different periods of construction. One build consists of ashlar blocks, laid partly as headers and stretchers, perhaps the vestiges of a projecting tower. The other is of smaller blocks of local stone and has a single horizontal course of

Oinaion stone at sill level. Two windows are now visible; if there were any others, they have been obscured by features 27 and 29. From the northeast corner of feature 27 a round-arched doorway leads to the upper floor of the hall.

In its present form the interior of the hall is divided into two bays by a heavy groined vault, but it is clear that this is a later remodeling as it cuts partially across the lower windows. Originally, there may have been a wooden floor.

The neat ashlar blocks, header and stretcher facing (as in the Hagia Sophia, No. 112), and curious voussoirs (as on the door of St. Akindynos and in the porch of the Nakıp Camii, Nos. 57, 53 respectively), all point to an early date for the first

period of the building. The second period, characterized by the Oinaion limestone course and by almost as good masonry, cannot be dated much later. Tentatively, therefore, we suggest an early thirteenth-century date for the first structure and a later thirteenth-century date for its partial remodeling (type D1).<sup>80</sup>

The clean masonry of the remodeling of the northeast hall and its Oinaion stone course leads one to similar work in the main walls of the east side of the Citadel, from features 12 to 14 (pl. 128a, b). The wall here, which in bastion 13–14 achieves a height of almost 30 m, is of one build, without sign of classical foundations, characterized by very neatly cut rectangular blocks and the use of little mortar and distinguished by a single horizontal course of Oinaion stone running for about 30 m along the stretch of feature 12 and about halfway up the wall. Toward its southern end is inserted a block with relief decoration. This shows the upper half of a circular rope-work design with what would originally have been five rope-work roundels on each side. People who live beneath the walls at the point maintain that the now eroded stone once bore an inscription. No sign of it is visible and no traveler remarked it, but the notion is plausible enough. A stone waterpipe projects from buttress 11 and there are other water outlets along feature 12 (pl. 128a).

The angled tower, of the same masonry type D1, is in fact a hollow bastion (features 13–14) about 2 m thick at the top (pls. 128b, 131b). There are signs of internal wooden structures. Three blocks are inserted high up on its faces: on the northeast face there is a block with an inscription commemorating the *Fatih's* conquest of 1461;<sup>81</sup> on the southeast face there are two Christian reliefs. The photographs reproduced in plate 130a and b were taken through telephoto lenses, which necessarily distort the scenes, but the subjects are clear enough. The right-hand plaque shows a raven perched on top of a sinuous ten-branched tree, offering in his beak a roundel of bread to Elijah who is squatting, enveloped in a fur cloak, his right hand to his cheek, his left emerging beneath the garment (1 Kings 12: 4–7). The left-hand plaque shows a nimbed angel clothed in a flurry of drapery driving Adam and Eve out of the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3: 24). The Protoplasts are covered with skins to the buttocks and Adam looks back at the angel who pushes him. The entire field of the background is decorated with a vine scroll in very low relief.

The work is more distinguished than that of the capitals discussed above<sup>82</sup> and of the Genesis cycle on the south

80. Although the masonry is not comparable and although it is, strictly speaking, outside the Citadel, feature 6 can probably be assigned to a period before 1223 also. This is the Gate of St. Eugenios, Evliya's Yeni Cuma Camii Kapısı, leading from the southeast corner of the Middle City into the east ravine. As will be seen from pl. 123a, the present entrance is no gate but simply a square hole in the wall, which at this point is a good 13 m high. But perched above it is a curious and now much altered vaulted structure, part of which employs long bricks with abundant mortar. It is clearly Byzantine, probably antedating the Empire of Trebizond. It would be tempting to identify it as a chapel, but there is no eastern apse or surviving appropriate decoration. Its purpose is therefore enigmatic.

81. Lynch (1893–98), I, 21.

82. See p. 189.

porch of the Hagia Sophia;<sup>83</sup> the drapery is more convincingly rendered and there is a certain distinctive rhythm in the two pieces, which are probably associated. The Old Testament subjects perhaps hint at an earlier rather than later date—neither scene is represented elsewhere in the Pontos, or at Aght'amar, but both are common enough (for example, in the mosaics of Sicily<sup>84</sup>). Their dating, however, would not serve to date the angled tower (13–14) any more than would the *Fatih* inscription on the other side of it.

Types D2 and D3 appear in two similar, but distinct, stretches of masonry associated with D1, but there is no evidence for determining in which order the types D should be placed chronologically. D2 (pls. 136a, 140a, b) is a homogeneous block, represented by feature 24 (and perhaps 27), similar to that found in the equivalent position on the west side, but of less well-laid, rectangular stones and mortaring. It is surmounted by a series of very large windows (averaging 1.46 × 3 m in size and about 1.6 to 1.8 m apart), directly overlooking the ravine. Beneath the fenestration is a blocked door leading out on to the ravine, about 0.6 m above ground level and 1.38 × 2.42 m in size; it has a blocked tympanum (pl. 147a). The lintel is at present about 4.5 m below the inner ground level and there is no sign of interior access to the door, which appears to be part of the original construction.

By 1376 these windows shown in plate 140a, b, would have been, as they are today, the only windows of the palace which directly overlooked the ravine (features 22 and 28, which were also fenestrated, were encased by further exterior walls). We suggest that it was from one of these palace windows that the Despot Andronikos fell to his death in 1376; if we are right, this part of the wall was almost certainly built by Andronikos I (1222–35), who is, therefore, also probably responsible for equivalent building (D1) on the east side.<sup>85</sup>

D3 is a third type of masonry which is associated with the other thirteenth-century ones (pls. 125a, 126, 127, 132, 134b, 140b, 145b, 146a, b). It is almost invariably found connected with another kind of masonry above it, of the type which we have called E3. D3 and E3 are, in association, the most important masonry types in the Citadel. They have much in common: rather roughly-faced rectangular blocks (less cleanly cut than in D1), laid in regular courses and sporting comparatively high crenellations, which, in the case of D3, are entirely blocked by E3 work. But D3 work is distinguished by a darker stone and slightly less mortar; E3 by a lighter stone and abundant pointing or mortar laid to achieve a smooth finish (pls. 125a, 126, 132, 133b, 134b, 140b, 146a, b, 147b, 148b). E3 is akin to the masonry of Kordyle and of the watchtowers and small castles of the fourteenth century which stretch west; D3 is closer to D1 and D2, for which we have suggested a thirteenth-century date.

We propose, then, that the main waist of the Citadel (i.e., features 12 to 14 to the east and features 24 to 28 to the west) was probably built by Andronikos I, after the *Melik's* siege of 1223. If so, the evidence of D3 shows that the remainder of

83. M. Alpatov, "Les reliefs de la Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde," *Byzantion*, 4 (1927–28), 407–18.

84. See O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949).

85. See p. 192.

the Citadel (perhaps not then belonging to the palace proper) was surrounded by a less formidable wall.

A photograph of the east wall (features 8 to 10), taken before 1893 (pl. 126), shows clearly the different stages of masonry. The northeast section (feature 8) has deteriorated severely since, while the section south of feature 8 and north of feature 9 has survived more or less intact, and the southeast section from feature 10 has now almost gone. Since 1893 damage seems to consist in the disappearance of a polygonal tower, the removal of a long stretch of upper wall, and the unblocking of upper crenellations around feature 8 (pl. 125a, b); an addition seems to have been a rounding off of feature 8 at the northeast corner. Plate 126 shows the two types of masonry more distinctly than they appear today. Halfway up the wall 8 to 9 and below the later crenellations is a lower wall of darker stone, surmounted by the "ghosts" of six or seven crenellations. This lower wall would not have stood much higher than the inner ground level of the Citadel.

Taking the upper and lower walls as D3 and E3, the same pattern may be identified elsewhere in the Citadel.

Lynch's plan shows that the southern tip of the Citadel was defended in a highly complicated manner, with a double entrance through a narrow passage. There is not enough evidence to hazard a date for most of this work, but Uspenskij's photograph of the tower of John IV and its surrounds, taken in 1916, brings us back to familiar territory (pl. 139a, b). Here there were at least four masonry types: a classical base followed by the dark D3 carrying crenellations, and surmounted in turn by the lighter E3 blocking the crenellations. But instead of continuing to its own crenellations, E3 is abruptly cut off from the masonry of the tower proper by more than twenty-four well-laid courses of squarish blocks with abundant mortar, rising to a windowed chamber (perhaps the chapel)—noted by Uspenskij and seen also on the left of plate 126—before the topmost crenellations. This we assign to our next type, F, the work of John IV or his successor in 1458–60. The whole tower stood about 21 meters above ground level at this point and maybe 50 meters above the bed of the eastern ravine.

E3 surmounts D3 more or less continuously from this point on, as far as feature 20. As we turn the corner at feature 18, Uspenskij's photograph of 1916 (pl. 134b) shows the distinction better than the modern view (pl. 134a). Between features 18 and 19, masonry type D3 climbed at an angle of about 10°; its eight successive crenellations are clear enough, but the coursing, as in E3, remains horizontal. What is more interesting is that the now familiar distinction between D3 and E3 can be seen in the inner (originally classical) wall at features 22 and 23 (pl. 133a, b). Thus the outer wall was at this point a thirteenth-century addition, defended in turn by a heightened inner wall; both were crenellated. At the circular bastion 19, E3 simply added to D3 (pl. 146b), but at the larger bastions 20 and 25 (pl. 145b) E3 encased, and enlarged on what was probably D3—for obvious reasons it is difficult to be sure of the inner masonry, and the whole area is further confused by a mindless facing built in many parts in the 1960s (pl. 137a). E3 continues probably north of hall 28, but here it supplants not D3 but a more recent type of build which we have taken to be E1 (pl. 148b).

E2 is the masonry found in the north curtain wall, which presents special problems (pl. 124a). It is basically of one build, of a rougher E, or fourteenth-century, type. If it was built in the fourteenth century as an entirely new feature it would be pointless to identify gate 5 as the Gate of St. George of the Limnians mentioned in Lazaropoulos' account of the *Melik's* attack—besides, the gate itself is largely Ottoman (pl. 123a). However, there are a few, but enough, larger blocks standing on the naked rock at its foot to suggest an earlier foundation, although one cannot hazard a guess as to its date. The western half of the wall is backed by houses and it is impossible to estimate its main thickness—which is about 0.8 to 0.9 m at the top. There are two blocked doorways, features 2 and 3. Feature 2 is unremarkable. Between it and feature 3 is a rock-cut drain which slopes down from the wall and apparently turns in at its foot. The blocked door 3 has a semicircular tympanum edged with carefully cut blocks of Oinaion stone; the entire door is 1.37 × 1.70 m in size and its quality is comparable to the D1 work in the northwest wall (pl. 121b). It may represent Evliya's blocked entrance. The modern entrance to the Citadel, at feature 4, was cut after 1896. To the east of it the curtain wall is accessible on both sides. It ranges in width from 1.2 to 1.7 m and is topped by a north battlement (against attack from the Middle City) about 0.5 m wide, with a south catwalk 0.7–1 m wide.

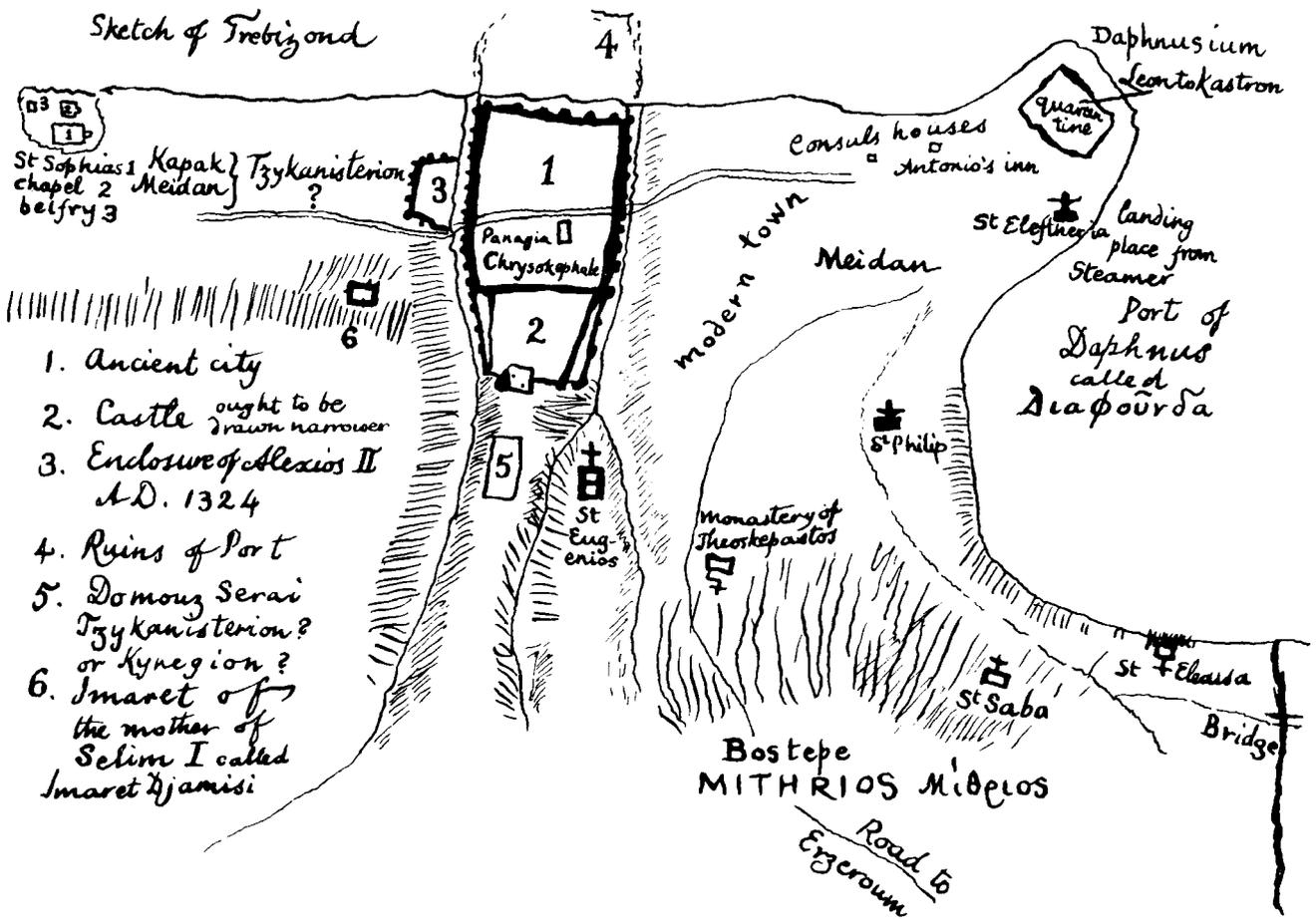
The northeast and only gate, which we have tentatively identified with that of St. George of the Limnians,<sup>86</sup> consists of a hollow tower, with an outer, westward facing arch and an inner, northward facing entrance (pl. 123a, b). It is clear that the bulk of this structure is later than the wall proper of E2, for the joints with it are square. The slightly different size of blocks used for the main masonry, the well-cut quoins, which are not found elsewhere in the Citadel, and the joggled arch of the outer entrance point to Ottoman work. (The roughly blocked arch above the outer entrance arch is apparently not the "ghost" of an earlier gate but part of the original build and intended to strengthen the lower arch). The rusting iron door, noted by Lynch,<sup>87</sup> is still on its hinges and is of no great antiquity; the inner, wooden, lintel cannot be very old either. But in its present form, the gate appears to be that noted by Evliya in 1644; indeed, it can be no other.<sup>88</sup> This does not mean that there was not a gate in this place before. The entrance through the E2 wall, although now very badly damaged, has surviving facing on the east side and the beginnings of what appears to be a stone arch; both are consistent with the period of the curtain wall itself. As we have said, the Gate of St. George of the Limnians which the *Melik* attacked in 1223 cannot be the present inner entrance through E2 masonry, still less the outer entrance through Ottoman masonry. We are faced with three possibilities: the first is that the Gate of St. George of the Limnians is, in fact, the Gate of St. Eugenios to the northeast (which was certainly standing in 1223); the second, that the Citadel was much smaller in 1223, with a curtain wall running approxi-

86. Called a "small gate" in Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120; the identification of it with feature 5 is made by Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 69; see p. 225.

87. Lynch (1893–98), I, 20.

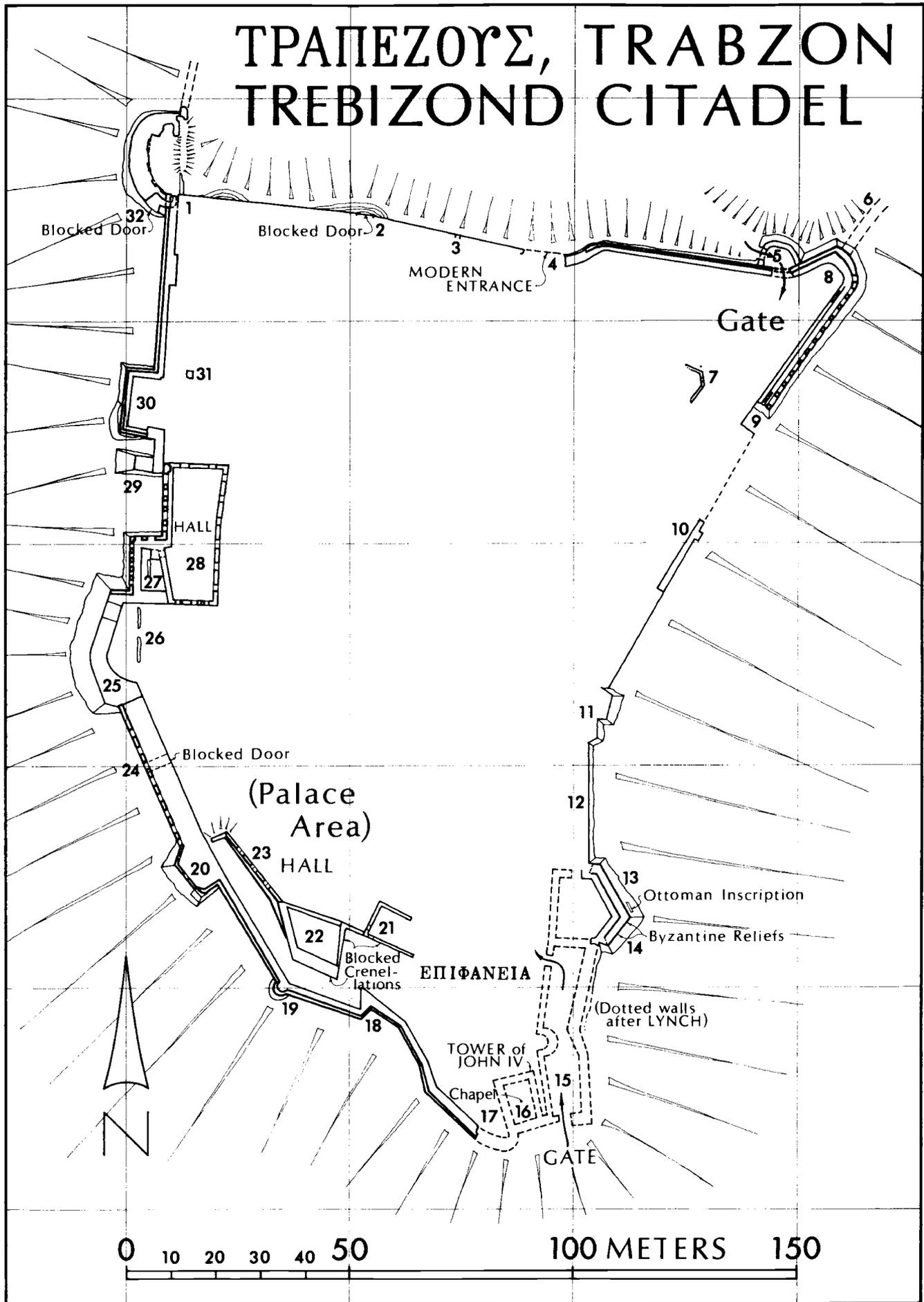
88. Evliya (1644), II, 44.



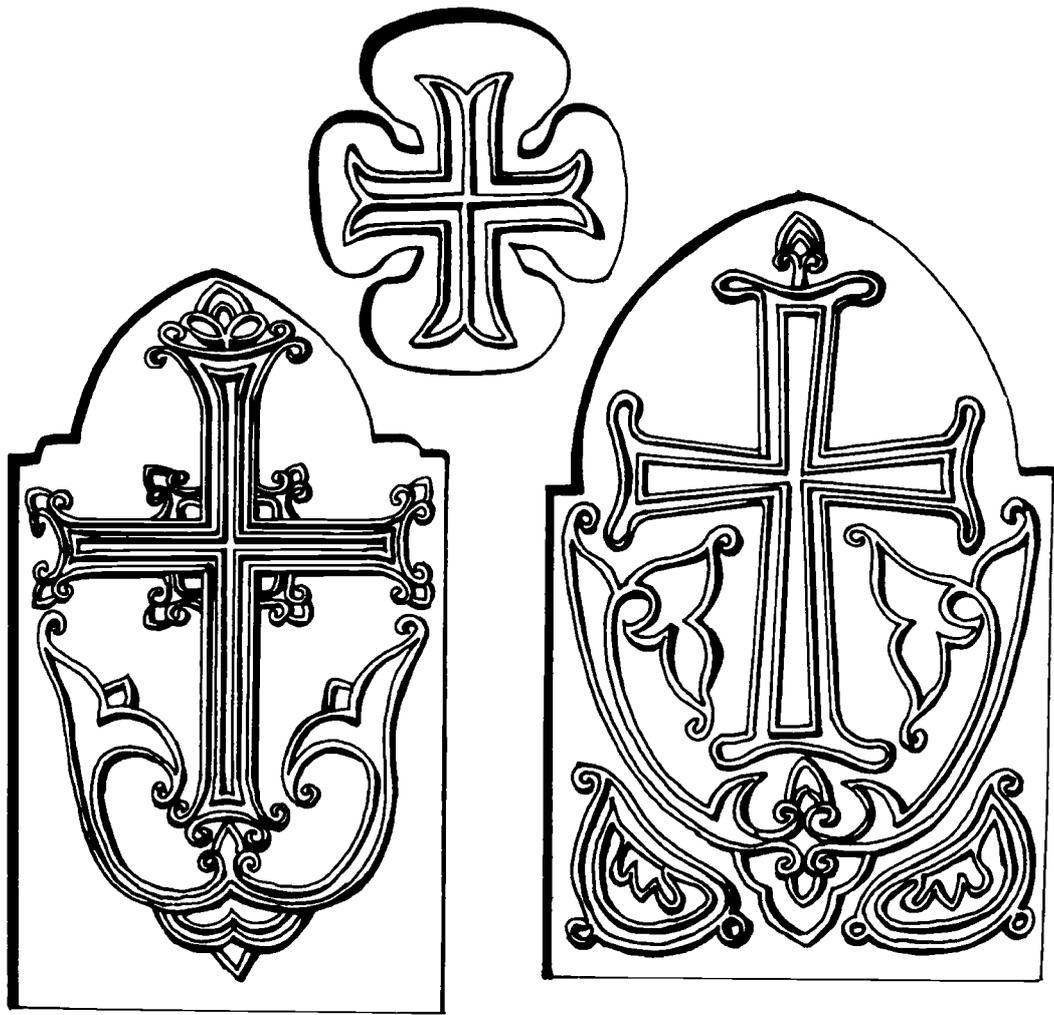


43. Map of Trebizond, 1850 (from Finlay's MS, 1850)

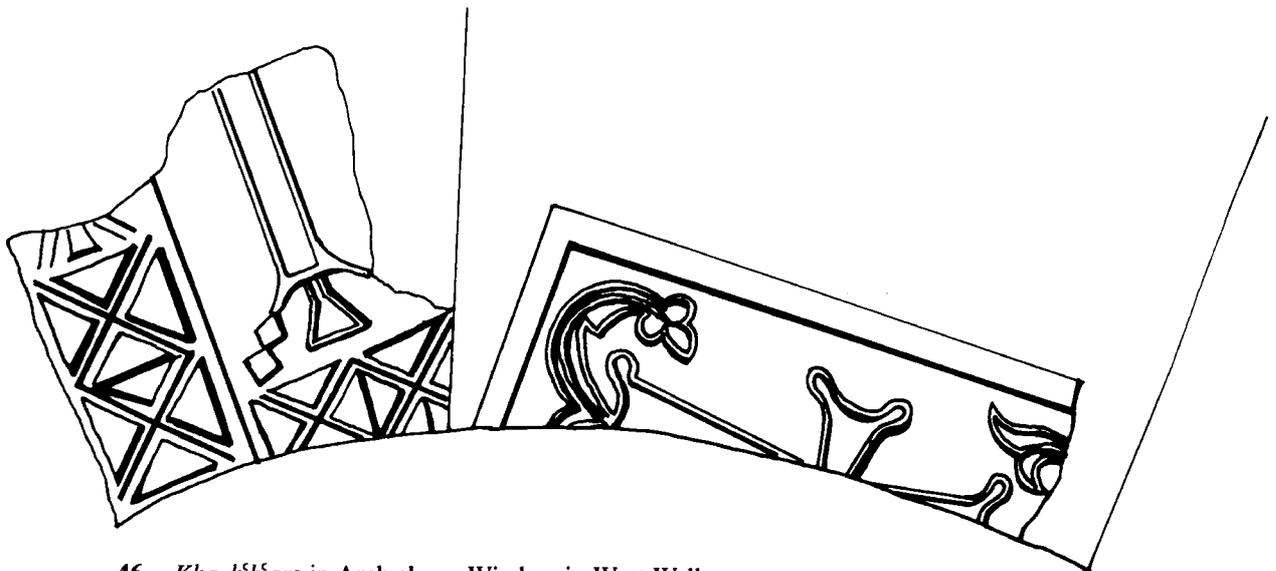
# ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΣ, TRABZON TREBIZOND CITADEL



44. Plan



45. *Khach'kars* in West Wall



46. *Khach'kars* in Arch above Window in West Wall

Kaymaklı Monastery, Church

mately from, the north wall of the northwest hall (feature 28) to meet the east wall somewhere near feature 10 (a notion which would not be inconsistent with the presence of older masonry to the south of this line), and that the Gate of St. George of the Limnians cut through this now lost wall; the third possibility is that the present north curtain wall stands on the site of an earlier one, and that the present gate stands on the site of the original Gate of St. George. There is perhaps just enough evidence to recommend the third possibility over the other two: Lazaropoulos emphasizes that the gate was a small one into the “*Korte*” proper—thus ruling out its identity with the Gate of St. Eugenios; there are signs, especially along the western section, of an earlier foundation of the present curtain wall, whereas there are no signs of the junction of an inner curtain wall with either outer wall in the interior of the Citadel; and the ravine of St. George (the thirteenth-century name for the eastern ravine) may, if it refers to this gate, confirm that the original gate stood indeed at this corner (pl. 127a, b).

There remain the inner southwestern buildings of the Citadel, namely, features 21 to 23 (pls. 132–136a, b). Feature 21 consists of scant remains of what is traditionally identified as a bath. The structure appears to be Ottoman, although it may incorporate reused earlier material. The adjoining feature 22, however (known for no good reason as “Theodora’s Bedchamber” or *Kızlar Sarayı*), is one of the most complex in the Citadel. We have already seen that, like the tower of John IV (feature 16) it rises from classical through, perhaps, later Byzantine masonry and the familiar types D3 and E3, and that it once formed the outer wall of the acropolis proper. Its trapezoid lower chamber is, however, topped by a perfectly rectangular building, built so that the corners project on stepped stone corbels, making irregular angles. The masonry of the upper chamber is hard to characterize: small blocks of roughly-squared stone are laid in regular courses with heavy pointing in grey (rather than lime-white) mortar—perhaps discolored by the iron-black sand of the Pontic beaches. It was later whitewashed. Feature 23, to the northwest, has the same masonry history at its foot (now obscured by refacing) and is topped by three singularly delicate round-arched double windows lighting the western (rather than the eastern) side of a hall which, judging from beam holes on the northeast side, had two floors beneath it. There is now no sign of the other three sides of this building, which we have tentatively identified with Bessarion’s second hall.<sup>89</sup>

The three windows of feature 23 are in unbroken contact with the upper masonry type E3 of the wall beneath; provisionally, they can therefore be assigned to the fourteenth century (pls. 135a, b, 136a). The question is whether the upper chamber of feature 22 is also Trapezuntine work. In its north face are a round-arched door and two windows, one of which looks as if it might have had a lobed frame, similar to those of feature 23. In the southwest face is one window and in the southeast three. Originally the chamber may have had a certain elegance, but the insertion of badly proportioned rectangular window frames, as well as the blocking of win-

dows, has damaged its appearance. The windows would not be inconsistent with a Trapezuntine date. But the greyish mortar (also a trait of the Ottoman gate, feature 5) and, above all, the stepped cornices, suggest an Ottoman date for the upper chamber. It is more likely to have been the “bed-chamber” of Prince Selim, governor of Trabzon until he became Ottoman Sultan in 1512, rather than of an empress Theodora.

To conclude: the Citadel is a complex site, about which we can offer proposals rather than answers. But the masonry types bear out the historical evidence tolerably well. There had been strong classical defenses of the acropolis, particularly at the southern tip (always the most vulnerable point) which had been perhaps partly destroyed by the Goths in 257. By 1223 there was a “*korte*” which, though it could withstand the *Melik* at the southern and northern ends (along the line of the present curtain wall), clearly needed further defenses. Later in the century Andronikos strengthened in particular the central waist of the Citadel and built a palace above feature 24. In the fourteenth century there was a rebuilding and heightening of all earlier work with a further crenellated wall, except at the central waist; the southwest hall came then into being. Perhaps the complicated southern gateway arrangements were built at this time. But this point still remained the weakest, and, in the face of Ottoman threats, John IV completed the defenses by building the upper storeys of the great southern tower—despite the confusion over the date, which Fallmerayer may or may not have seen on the tower, there is no reason to believe that this work should not be ascribed to John IV, for it stands above fourteenth-century masonry.

The Citadel of Trebizond was a classical, Byzantine, Trapezuntine, and Ottoman administrative center and palace for over two thousand years. In Ottoman times the fact that, until the mid-nineteenth century, it was the seat of the pasha, ensured its preservation—particularly because private houses were built in its interior. By the late nineteenth century, a few people had moved into the then deserted Citadel and with the destruction of much of the southern defenses after the First World War the area has been increasingly built up. It cries out for excavation—but the opportunity has been lost.

#### Secular Monuments

##### 5. Arsenals

There were no doubt several arsenals for the storing of rigging and the safe beaching of ships and their gear in Trebizond. Most references point to sites along the northeast shore of Daphnous, as would be expected. In 1223 the “old arsenal” certainly lay east of the walled city and in 1305 the Genoese burned down an arsenal; both references appear to be to an imperial arsenal. In 1314 the Genoese arsenal (*dalsane*, *darsena*, *darsene* in the treaties) was east of the Meydan and in 1316–49 was probably situated below the Panagia Eleousa in Daphnous.<sup>90</sup>

90. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 111; Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 133; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63, 91; *ASL*, 13 (1884), 517, 530, 531; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 70.

89. See p. 185.

## 6. Baths

Leaving aside the highly dubious “Seljuk” baths, there seem to have been “old” public baths, probably near St. Philip’s (*bagnum vetus, ueteri bagno*) in 1319.<sup>91</sup>

## 7. The Bedesten

The Bedesten, a prominent square building in the bazaar quarter in Tournefort’s view of 1701 (pl. 105a), has excited considerable curiosity. Selina Ballance has published a description, plans, and photographs of it<sup>92</sup> to which D. C. W. adds the following observations (pl. 150a, b).

The masonry is of regular courses of small stones. The sides are slightly battered to the exterior; no obvious signs of more than one period of construction appear unless they be the addition of an extra stone course halfway up. There is a doorway on each of the three sides (the fourth is not visible). The doors have brick arches of a single course of brick voussoirs, with a flat course of bricks to frame them, and are shaped with a slight point. Within these arches, at a lower level, are flattened arches of ashlar masonry. The doorways open in the center of each side of the building. The east door has a stone lintel carved with a continuous design of looped roundels. Other stones in the tympana look as if they might have borne inscriptions. In the interior, on either side of the doors there are niches surmounted by round arches made of brick with flat-backed recesses about 0.2 m deep. In the upper section of each side there are pairs of brick pointed blind arches. At the corners of the second section are vast brick squinches which turn the upper part of the building into an octagon. The bricks employed average 4.2 × 28 × 28 cm in size (see Appendix) and thus fall into a Byzantine pattern. The squinch arches are round and made of brick. We have been unable to determine the form of the roof; only a few brick courses remain (pl. 150b) which suggest some form of vaulting.

Most commentators have followed Lynch in regarding this building as an “old Italian magazine.” Succi calls it, specifically, the Genoese treasury and dates it to around 1000, although both geography and history militate against either notion; A. A. M. B. once stated that “the Venetian base was very probably the *Bejestan*,” for indeed the Venetian quarter was in this area; D. C. W., seeking an explanation for what is perhaps a Moslem building constructed before 1461, suggests that it might have been the central building for the Bedesten of the Persian merchants in the Empire of Trebizond; Selina Ballance, faced with the same problem, sagely declined to assign a date to it.<sup>93</sup>

Perhaps the problem can be solved historically. The earliest reference to the Bedesten, a warehouse-cum-workshop-cum-shopping center, as such, comes in about 1512, when it appears at the head of a list of properties of the *vakif* of the Gülbahar Hatuniye İmaret—the charitable trust associated with the mosque and tomb of the Soumelan mother of the Yavuz Sultan Selim I, Maria of Doubera. It then brought in

91. See p. 182 above and *DVL*, I, 124.

92. Ballance, *BTTK*, 29 (1965), 74–75, figs. 6–10.

93. Lynch (1893–98), I, 29; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 230; Bryer, *AP*, 26 (1964), 299 note I (on the grounds that it might represent the “magazeno” of St. Eugenios); Ballance, *BTTK*, 29 (1965), 75. See also Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 74.

the substantial sum of 6,322 *akçes*. The next reference comes in ca. 1550–70, when Mehmed Aşik noted that it was the headquarters of rich Arabian and Persian merchants. One might argue that such a distinctive building would not have escaped the notice of Clavijo and Bessarion and that, therefore, it was built between 1461 and 1512, employing a mixture of Ottoman and surviving Byzantine styles. But this answer is far from decisive, for the İmaret of Gülbahar inherited a number of properties of the monastery of the Pharos, which, in 1438, included workshops in the *Lontza* and elsewhere in this quarter, and we must also consider what structures like the Venetian *magazeno* of St. Eugenios looked like.<sup>94</sup>

However, the answer may lie in the comparison with the Genoese buildings and Bedesten of Galata. It is quite true that the Palazzo del Comune in Galata owes, in its masonry, something to a hybrid Byzantino-Ottoman technique, but it owes more to the Palazzo di San Giorgio in Genoa. The nine-domed Bedesten of Galata, built by Mehmet II, is a much surer clue to the Bedesten of Trebizond. The possession of a *bedesten* was a commercial prestige symbol in Ottoman cities—Evliya categorizes them according to whether they boasted one or not. From 1340, when Sultan Orhan established a *bedesten* at Bursa, still flourishing to this day, the Ottoman Sultans paid particular attention to establishing bedestens in newly-conquered cities to encourage trade, a policy which would have been less characteristic of the Grand Komnenoi or even of the Italian merchants in Trebizond, who favored fortified strongholds. The Bedesten of Trebizond, apart from its later interior piers, is apparently of one period of construction and would not have been the adaptation of an existing building. If it was not established by the *Fatih*, we suggest that its most appropriate founder would have been Prince Selim, governor of Trebizond in the years 1489–1512, who would naturally have devoted its income to the upkeep of the mosque and tomb of his mother, the Gülbahar Hatun.<sup>95</sup>

## 8. Bridges

After those over the ravines of the walled city, already noted, the only other indispensable bridge or bridges in the *bandon* would have been over the Pyxites. The words of the Genoese bull of 26 October 1314 (*a Ponte qui dicitur Pons Garini usque ad quendam locum qui dicitur Cabanum*) probably refer to a bridge over the Pyxites, for Cabanum is Kampana (Karakaban), and the bridge may perhaps be the Erzurum (Karin) one, for it lay on the Karin road, but there is no evidence of where it stood. There are, however, clear references to a Değirmenderesi (i.e., Pyxites) Köprü in the

94. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 308; Mehmed Aşik, used by Evliya (1644), II, 47; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 265; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 117.

95. S. Eyice, *Galata ve kulesi—Galata and its Tower* (Istanbul, 1969), 16, 52–53; the same, *Istanbul: petit guide à travers les monuments Byzantins et Turcs* (Istanbul, 1955), 103; A. Bryer, “Cultural Relations between East and West in the Twelfth Century,” in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), 86; A. M. Schneider and M. I. Nomidis, *Galata: Topographisch-archäologisch Plan* (Istanbul, 1944), 37; H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire* (London, 1973), 173.

early sixteenth century.<sup>96</sup> The first bridge could be that below Maçka; the second, that at the mouth of the river.

#### 9. Daphnous or Daphnai

Since classical times, Daphnous has been the name of the eastern commercial harbor and quarter of Trebizond. To the Italians it was “Dia Funda”—“de portu sive plazia Trape-sonde.”<sup>97</sup> The name is still used occasionally (pl. 105b).

#### 10. Fountains

The dragon-headed fountain outside the Chrysokephalos is noted below under the Dragon’s Fountain on Mount Minthrion (No. 45). No other fountains can be ascribed to before 1461, but there were three fountains with Greek inscriptions, dated 1509, 1506, and 1713 respectively, in the eastern suburbs.<sup>98</sup>

#### 11. Hatuniye Camii

The mosque and *türbe* of Gülbahar Hatun, probably the oldest surviving Turkish building in Trabzon, has been published by Selina Ballance<sup>99</sup> (pl. 122).

#### 12. Kanitou (Canitu)

The surviving Latin version of the treaty between the Grand Komnenos Alexios II and the Venetians in 1319 gives as the Republic’s quarter in Trebizond an area *quod a loco vocato Canitu per medium Londo Castro* [Leontokastron, No. 14] *et a magazeno Sancti Eugenii* [No. 16] *versus occidentis*.<sup>100</sup> “Canitu” can be located precisely, for it remained a *mahalle* (quarter) name (Kanita) as late as 1819; a document of 1618 states that the cathedral of St. Gregory of Nyssa stood ἐν μαχαλῇ κανίται.<sup>101</sup> The Venetian quarter (No. 28) of 1319, therefore, lay between St. Gregory and Leontokastron (pl. 152a).

Lampsides has pointed out that Kanitou is probably connected with the Kanites family, who questioned the propriety of the private life of Metropolitan Basil of Trebizond (913–14).<sup>102</sup> A further reference may be added, for the orphaned St. Athanasios the Athonite (born ca. 920) was brought up in Trebizond by “a leading family” named Kanites.<sup>103</sup>

Kanis (Kan) is attested in the seventeenth century as the name of the see of the bishops of Chaldia (Argyropolis in the eighteenth century) and of the southern reaches of the

Philabonites.<sup>104</sup> It does not seem to be mentioned earlier, but the possibility that the family name of Kanites is derived from it is very strong.

Assuming that the Kanites family had connections with Chaldian Kanis, why should a quarter of Trebizond be called Canitu? Panaretos may supply the answer, for he relates how in 1350 the Grand Komnenos Alexios III dealt with some rebels in Trebizond by locking them up εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὀσπίτια.<sup>105</sup> It should be expected that the Chaldian nobility (such as the Kabazitai) had town houses in Trebizond. Perhaps that of the Kanites family stood in Kanitou.

#### 13. Kitharaina

Although it lies, strictly speaking, in the *bandon* of Trikomia, Kitharaina and its environs above Trebizond have been included in this section. It is the watering place and summer suburb of the city, immediately to its south, now called Kisarna. Grand Duke John the Eunuch held lands there which by 1432 were a substantial estate with four *paroikoi* in the hands of the monastery of the Pharos. These it disputed with the Theoskepastos in 1460; the Grand Komnenos David (II) divided the lands between the two houses.<sup>106</sup>

#### 14. Leontokastron

Leontokastron, called Frenk or Güzel Hisar by the Ottomans, and by the Italians Leo Castro, Londo Castro, and (in one interesting slip of the pen) Bondocastri—i.e., Pontikokastron, or Mouse’s Castle as opposed to Lion’s Castle—is the great fortification on the most easterly promontory of Trebizond before Daphnous.<sup>107</sup>

It is unclear whether the promontory was fortified before it first became the Genoese sovereign base in the first years of the fourteenth century, but such a prominent place is unlikely to have escaped the attentions of the Grand Komnenoi. At any rate, the Genoese had set up a miniature Galata on the point when in 1316 they were evicted to the Arsenal of Daphnous, probably near the Panagia Eleousa. They returned in 1349 and remained there until the end of the Empire. Here were established the Genoese consul, his staff, caravansaray, warehouses, and ovens.<sup>108</sup>

We were unfortunately unable to make a close study of Leontokastron which is now in military hands, and the walls indicated in figure III are taken only from aerial photographs (pl. 108). In size and strength the Genoese castle rivaled the imperial Citadel itself. It is a polygonal enceinte. The main buildings seem to have stood on the northwest and southwest corners. Before 1893 a formidable L-shaped block towered over the northwest. In the 1740s this became the palace of the Üçüncüoğlu dynasty and its eastward-facing interior was

104. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 32, 77, 81, 162, 530, 638, 710; Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 2 (19) (September 1937), 287, s.v. τὸ Καν.

105. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 69.

106. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262, 266, 271–72.

107. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 11; *DVL*, I, 123; *ASL*, 13 (1884), 530; Bordier (1609), 122–23; Lynch (1893–98), I, 31; O. Lampsides, *Ποντικὸκαστρον—Λεοντόκαστρον*, Ἑλληνικά, 8 (1936), 353.

108. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 111–12, 115–17; Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 94–99, 101, 105–6; Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), I, 48; and here, p. 243.

96. *ASL*, 13 (1884), 517; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 299, 308–9.

97. *Anonymous periplus*, 36; Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 35; *ASL*, 13 (1884), 518; Lynch (1893–98), I, 31; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 33, 37, 71–72, 74, 723, 747, 792; Libadenos, *Periegesis*, ed. Pararikas, 23. The Pyxites was sometimes called the Daphnopotamos.

98. Millet, *BCH*, 20 (1896), 500–1. The elegant twelve-sided Kulaklı Çeşme, which once stood to the northeast of the Chrysokephalos, was dated by Turkish inscription to 1477: Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 424 note 2.

99. *BTTK*, 29 (1965), 73–4, figs. 1–5.

100. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 11; *DVL*, I, 124.

101. Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 73; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 553; see also No. 22, pp. 199–200.

102. O. Lampsides, “Κανίτου”, *PPh*, 2 (14) (April 1937), 58; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 143: οἱ δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα παλαμάμενοι καννίται τῇ προσηγορίᾳ.

103. Ed. I. Pomialovskij, *Zhitie prepodobnago Afanasiia Afonskago* (St. Petersburg, 1895); 3: ὁ Κανίτης τὸ ἐπόνυμον.

remodeled with wooden balconies.<sup>109</sup> But the westward-facing exterior was apparently untouched and appears in a number of nineteenth-century photographs (pl. 149). This structure, together with a large part of the outer wall of Leontokastron, has now been destroyed, but its shape can be made out in the surviving footings of the walls, now a café. Between the northwest structure and that to the southwest, substantial sections of the walls survive, although they have been lowered about 5 m. The southwest structure, once flush with the top of the wall, now stands above it. It consists of four stages, stepped out to the west, all topped with pitched roofs (pl. 151a). On the north side of each stage, beneath the eaves, are square windows with round-arched tympana. On the west face of the two northerly stages are two square windows. The third stage has a great vaulted gateway, into the southern side of which is let another round-arched door. Less formidable than the northwest structure, this series of buildings could (and does) accommodate a number of people.

In general the masonry is similar to one of the fourteenth-century E types of the Citadel: not very well-laid squarish blocks in abundant mortar. But the foundations of the northwest structure reveal repairs in brick, and the southwest buildings have well-cut quoins, which are lacking in the Citadel. A clear divide in the construction can be seen about halfway up the entire west wall—it passes just above the main gate arch. The lower section is lighter in color but there is not in fact any appreciable difference of masonry style. Perhaps the lower part can be ascribed to before 1316 and the upper to after 1349, when the Genoese returned and completed the work.

#### 15. Loggia

The Italian term “loggia” passed into Greek usage. It indicates anything from a house used by Italian merchants, to a Frankish *bedesten*, or a baili’s palace. There are hints, however, that in Trebizond it referred specifically to the Venetian depot. The bull of 1319 referred to the Venetian “lobiam” and that of 1364 to the Venetian *λόντζαν*. The bull for the monastery of the Pharos of 1432 mentions workshops near the *λόντζαν*, which belonged to the monastery and would therefore be close to the Venetian castle marked on figure III.<sup>110</sup>

#### 16. “Magazeno Sancti Eugenii”

In 1319 the warehouse of St. Eugenios lay on the borders of the Venetian concession. Our analysis of this site under No. 28 shows that the warehouse probably lay on or close to the Meydan, perhaps on its northern side, which makes us wonder if the warehouse of St. Eugenios and the warehouse of the Meydan were not identical. A. A. M. B.’s original suggestion that the warehouse of St. Eugenios might correspond to the headland of Santa Croce is certainly mistaken.<sup>111</sup> See also No. 29.

109. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 889; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreyasyan, 74. Later the quarantine.

110. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 11, 35, 81–83; Laurent, *AP* 18 (1953), 165, 269.

111. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 11; *DVL*, I, 123; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 117 note 4.

#### 17. The Meydan

What is now called Taksim, or Gâvur, Meydanı appears under various guises, sometimes referring to the adjacent castle and cape of Leontokastron also, from 1314. The great square in the eastern suburb, where once caravans assembled and off which the nineteenth-century caravan stables were located (appropriately replaced by a bus station), was the scene of the solemn Easter acclamations of the Grand Komnenoi by their subjects. It is prominent in the foreground of Tournefort’s engraving of 1701 (pl. 105a) and gave its name to the local Christian *mahalle*. The square is still the principal one of the city (fig. III and pl. 108).<sup>112</sup>

All medieval sources, Greek as well as Western, refer to the square only by its Turkish name of *Meydan*, and the references of 1314 and 1319 suggest that it was then established without an alternative Greek name, although in another document of 1314 the Guardian of the Franciscan house in Trebizond, speaking of the *meydan* of Erzincan, felt obliged to explain that it was a *campum quem appellant “meydanum”*.<sup>113</sup> Yet the name is not used in any other city under Byzantine rule and one may guess that it was given by eastern merchants after the Trebizond-Tabriz route was reopened in the 1250s and 1260s. It is hard to believe that this ceremonial, commercial, and essentially cosmopolitan square had not existed before. Figure III shows that the three streets to its west, with which it is associated as a double block, are the only ones which bear any signs of regular town planning in the city, and one might therefore propose the Meydan as the site of the classical and medieval agora, in which case it would have been the extramural agora which was sacked in 1223.<sup>114</sup>

#### 18. Mount Minthrion

The Μινθρίον or Μίνθρον βουνόν of Panaretos, is referred to by Lazaropoulos in connection with Alexios II’s legendary exploit with a dragon there: βουνός μέγας πρὸς ἔω τοῦ ἄστεος Τραπεζοῦντος ὑπερκαθέζεται, Μίθρας πάλαι παρ’ Ἑλλησι καλούμενος, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Μίθρου παρ’ αὐτοῖς, οἶμαι, τιμωμένην ἐκεῖ τελετήν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ μέχρι σήμερον Μινθρίον ἐγχοῦρος οὕτω παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁ χώρος καλεῖται. This is the great “Grey Hill” of Boz Tepe which protects and overlooks the city from the south and southeast. It can only owe its name to the cult of Mithras, and it is on this mountain that St. Eugenios is supposed to have overthrown the statue of the god. As late as 1438 Tafur referred to Trebizond as “Salmotraxis,” which Vasiliev interpreted as a derivation of “Sol-Mithras.” In historical fact it was on Mount Minthrion that in 1336 the Türkmens were turned back by a providential deluge of rain, and in June 1362 the imperial family took refuge from the Black Death at St. John the Sanctifier (εἰς

112. “Castro Maydani”; “Cavum de Maidano”; “Caput vie Maitamu”; “Cavi de Majdano”; “Cavo predicto Majdani”; Τὸ Μαῖτάνιν: *ASL*, 13 (1884), 515, 530–31; Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 11; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 96–97.

113. Golubovich, *BBB*, 11, 64–68; III, 183–84; M. Bihl, “*De duabus epistolis fratrum minorum Tartariae Aquilonaris An. 1323*,” *AFrH*, 16 (1923), 90; Bryer, *AP*, 26 (1964), 296.

114. τὸ ἐμπόριον; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120.

τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἁγιαστήν) on Mount Minthrion (No. 89).<sup>115</sup>

#### 19. *Petra Nigra*

*Petra nigra*, which appears only in the Latin text of the chrysobull for the Venetians of 1319, lay on the boundary of the Italian concession; it seems to have been inland from Daphnous and on the lower slopes of the eastern suburb. Whether it was a distinctive rock or a more substantial feature is impossible to determine.<sup>116</sup>

#### 20. Photoplou

τὴν γωνίαν τοῦ Φωτόπλου lay on the southern boundary of the Venetian concession of 1364. Zakythinios proposes the emendation τοῦ Φωτοπούλλου, suggesting that it was a family name, in which case it may have been, like Kanitou, the site of the house of a well-known family.<sup>117</sup>

#### 21. Punta Clamada Senta Croxe

The Venetian bull of 1367 reveals that the church of the Holy Cross stood on a headland. We propose an identification for Santa Croce in No. 117 below, in which case the "punta clamada senta Croxe" is probably to be identified with the headland marked "Venetian Castle" in figure III.<sup>118</sup>

#### 22. Quarters, *Mahalles*, and Parishes

Like their Turkish successors, Byzantine cities had clearly defined quarters which reflected the social, ethnic, or occupational distinctions of their inhabitants; thus Ibn Battutah described fourteenth-century Constantinople as a citadel and "about thirteen inhabited villages"<sup>119</sup> within the city wall. The configuration of Trebizond with its two ravines, two harbors, Citadel, Mount Minthrion, and Italian concessions lends itself especially to this sort of particularism, although only the quarters of "sen Zorzi" (St. George) and of "Cotori" or "Cocori" (Κουρτζῆς?) in the Venetian bull of 1367 are named as such.<sup>120</sup> But certain distinct medieval quarters are obvious. Working from the west one would expect settlements round St. Barbara (No. 65), Manglavita (No. 49), Kitharaina (No. 13), the Hagia Sophia (No. 112), the Pharos (No. 56), and the Exoteichos (No. 92). In the more densely settled walled city and eastern suburb the Lower City (No. 2), the Middle City (No. 3), and the Citadel (No. 4) are clear distinctions while over the eastern ravine one would expect quarters associated with St. Eugenios (No. 78), the Theoskepastos (No. 124), below St. Sabbas (Nos. 18, 111), round the unidentified church called Zeytinlik Camii (No. 125), and the Meydan (No. 17). To the north of the "via imperiale" (No. 24) were the shifting Genoese and Venetian sovereign bases (Nos. 14, 28), and to the east would be quarters round Daphnous (No. 9), St. Philip's, and the Genoese

arsenal (Nos. 5, 108), and at the mouth of the Pyxites. Most of these areas were indeed recognized as quarters after 1461. But the evidence for medieval quarters listed in the concordance following is of necessity retrospective, for regular quarters are not actually listed until Ottoman registration; the Greek parish system appears to be an even later development.

We are most grateful to Professor Heath Lowry for making available to us a list of *mahalles* in a register of 1487.<sup>121</sup> In the concordance, this is followed by the evidence of early sixteenth-century registers,<sup>122</sup> by a list of Christian quarters which contributed to the upkeep of the Holy Sepulchre in the early eighteenth century,<sup>123</sup> by Bzhshkean's list of 1819 (which appears to reflect an earlier situation),<sup>124</sup> and by Chrysanthos' list of city parishes in 1913.<sup>125</sup>

It would be unwise to extrapolate too much from this evidence, but the 1487 list probably gives a fair idea of the recognized quarters before 1461 and indeed most of the *mahalle* names in it can be related to known medieval ones. Some names are obvious (e.g., Miso Kastro, later called Orta Hisar); others less so (e.g., the St. Eugenios which lurks under the Ayo Obyan of a later *defter*). The first problematical Ottoman *mahalle* is that of the Armenians. Their churches stood on Mount Minthrion and in the eastern suburb, and we have suggested that Aya Askun may represent one of them (St. Auxentios or Surb Oxend), but there is no specific geographical quarter to which they can be assigned. The Ottoman registers refer to a *mahalle* of Zoğraf, surely a Greek name of which there is no medieval record, while the eighteenth-century Greek lists mention a Βασμάλινα, which is surely a Turkish name (Başmalik?) of which we know no Turkish record. The 1487 list includes an Ayo Yani. Of the seven churches or places associated with St. John in and about the city (Nos. 89–95), we have chosen that of St. John Exoteichos (No. 92), a medieval church and later parish, on the grounds of elimination. Our identification of the Aya Ayos of 1487 with the Theoskepastos, also on the grounds of elimination, is more questionable—the nunnery appears as Şoşkâyastos in a later *defter*.<sup>126</sup> The *tabakhane* on the eastern ravine (and Zağanos on the western bridge) does not appear until the sixteenth century, but it is a fair guess that the tanners' quarter also lay outside the city walls in Byzantine times, just as certain obnoxious trades and occupations banished to beyond the city walls of Constantinople are still to be found there.<sup>127</sup> The Şehre-Küstü of the early sixteenth-century registers appear to refer to the Citadel, but

121. In *Defter* No. 828 (1487), pp. 11–25. See now H. W. Lowry, *The Ottoman Tahrir Defters as a Source for Urban Demographic History: The Case Study of Trabzon (ca. 1486–1583)* (University of California, 1977) (unpublished Ph.D. thesis). The *mahalle* identifications in Lowry's study and on p. 200 were reached independently. They do not always agree and no attempt has been made to reconcile them.

122. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 25 (1962), 296–98.

123. N. Bees, Ἀφιέρωματα καὶ λειτουργικαὶ συνδρομαὶ Ποντίων ὑπερ τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, *AP*, 14 (1949), 141–56.

124. Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 72–73.

125. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 791–92.

126. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 316.

127. *The Book of the Eparch*, ed. Ivan Dujčev (London, 1970), 211.

115. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 64, 74; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 10, 63, 92; A. A. Vasiliev, "A note on Pero Tafur," *Byzantion*, 19 (1935), 65–66; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 887.

116. *DVL*, I, 124.

117. *DVL*, II, 103; Zakythinios, *Chrysobulle*, 35, 81.

118. *DVL*, II, 128; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 116.

119. Ibn Battutah (1332), II, 508. For the quarters of Constantinople, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), *passim*.

120. *DVL*, II, 128; cf. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 116.

CONCORDANCE OF NAMES OF QUARTERS *MAHALLES*, AND PARISHES IN TREBIZOND

(Possible) Medieval Name	<i>Mahalles</i> in 1487	<i>Mahalles</i> in Early C16	Christian <i>Mahalles</i> , 1707–31	<i>Mahalles</i> in 1819	Greek Parishes in 1913
Πυξίτης, ποταμός Δαφνοῦς, λιμὴν Μαϊτάνιν, πλατεῖα (Λεοντόκαστρον & S. Croce)	Pekşim/Bekşid Zaftunda Meydan Efrenciyân-ı (Genovez & Venedik)	Bekşid/Değirmendere Zaftunda Meydan Efrenciyân	Δαυνοῦδα Φράγγυκα	Meydan Frenk	Δαφνοῦντος (Ἁγ. Ἰωάννης)
(Ζωγράφος ?) (Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης) (Θεοσκεπάστος ?) Μονὴ τοῦ Φάρου (Ἅγιος Αὐξέντιος ?) (Μεσόκαστρο)	Zoğraf Ayo Yani Aya Ayos Farozlu Aya Askun	“Ermeniyân” Zoğraf  Miso Kastori Ayasofya	Ἐξώτειχα	Boztepe Faros	Τῶν ἑξωτείχων (Ἁγ. Ἰωάννης) Θεοσκεπάστου
Ἅγία Σοφία, μονὴ	Aya Sofya Tokarı/Turkarı Manourun (?)	Aya Sofya			
Ἅγιος Εὐγένιος		Aya Obyan Çölmekçi Tabakhane Sarmaşık mescidi Hoca Ali/Kavak meydanı Şehre-Küstü Halil-ağa mescidi Hatûniye-imareti Ahmed Çelebi mescidi Bayramzade mescidi Zağnos Tekur çayı İskender Paşa Hacı Hasan Hoca Kasım		Yenicuma Çölmekçi Dabahane  Kule boyu  İskenderpaşa	
(ἡ Κόρτη)					
Ἅγιος Βασίλειος			Ἅγίου Βασιλείου Βασμάλικα	Hacı Kasım Ayvasil	Ἅγίου Βασιλείου
Canitu				Kanita Tuzluçeşme Taşlık Kemer kaya Ay Filipo Zeytinlik Cedidiye	
Ἅγιος Φίλιππος					
Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος			Ἅγίου Γρηγορίου		Ἅγίου Γρηγορίου, μητρόπολις Ἁγίας Μαρინῆς Ἐπαπαντῆς Ἅγίου Γεωργίου Τσαρτακλή Χριστοῦ

we cannot determine which *mahalle* names apply to the Lower City. Finally, in 1819 Bzhshkean preserved the name Kanita which we propose is the “Canitu” of the bull of 1319 (No. 12) and may reflect the name of the tenth-century family of Kanites.

## 23. Skylolimne

The Skylolimne by which Mahmud Pasha camped on the eve of the fall of Trebizond in August 1461 is traditionally and reasonably identified with the Gülçayır on Mount Minthrion, a now largely dry lake on the old route south with a holy fountain, near the Drakontopagadon (No. 45) and

about 8 km from the city. Finlay observed: “it is certainly more like a dogmarsh [i.e., Σκυλολίμνη] than a rose meadow [i.e., Gülçayır].”<sup>128</sup>

128. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 494; Fallmerayer (*Fragmente*, 1840), I, 138; the same, *Trapezunt*, 276; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 79, 319; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 276. In *Trebizonde*, 157 and 241, Janssens places Skylolimne “à l’endroit exact” of the Cephane Kalesi (fig. III), a circular arsenal, on the grounds of a tradition that the *Fatih* surveyed Trebizond from it in 1461, and on the still less convincing evidence of great humidity there. Succi, *Trebisonda*, 275–76, even describes the Cephane as the Tower of Eirene, supposed wife of John IV, and therefore dates it to

## 24. Streets

The modern street plan of Sinope betrays what appears to be a classical grid of blocks of about 100 × 60 m, but town planning on such a Milesian model is not found much further east.<sup>129</sup> There is no way of ascertaining whether or not it reached Trebizond. What indications there are lie in the group of more or less rectangular blocks (of rather less than 100 × 60 m and perhaps smaller than the usual classical module) west of the Meydan (No. 17), which could itself represent an agora of four blocks and stands in the southeast corner of a major crossroad (fig. III). If these streets in fact preserve a classical system they show that, as would be expected, a *vicus* lay outside the walls. The most important feature is three parallel streets. Meraş Caddesi (in the center) and Uzun Sokak (to the south) run due east from the walled city into the Meydan. The northern street still runs on to the *skala* of Daphnous where all three probably ended before modern building. Meraş Caddesi is the “*cardo*” of Trebizond. In the perambulations of the Venetian concessions of 1319 and 1367 it is evidently the “*vie Maitamu*” and the “*viem imperial*” respectively.<sup>130</sup> Speaking of the area in 1404, Clavijo observed: “Here a fine street runs along beside the sea beach, traversing one of the suburbs and this is a sight to see, for in its shops all the goods brought to the city are on sale.”<sup>131</sup> Despite its uncertain beginnings on what appears to be the Daphnous shore, Clavijo’s street is probably also the Meraş Caddesi, which once divided the Greek and Italian commercial quarters.

Only one other medieval street is known by name: the ὁδὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Χριστοφόρου of the bull of 1364.<sup>132</sup> The church of St. Christopher (No. 69) may have stood near the Semerciler Camii, but it would be fruitless today to seek St. Christopher Street in the haphazard alleys of the bazaar.

## 25. Tombs

The funerary architecture of Trebizond took some unusual forms. The church of the Hagia Sophia stood on a podium into which were inserted eighteen round-arched tombs, one of which is still painted.<sup>133</sup> But although the Despot Andronikos was given what appears to be a conventional tomb in the Theoskepastos in 1376<sup>134</sup> and Manuel I may perhaps have been buried in the Hagia Sophia in 1263, the Chrysokephalos (No. 120) seems to have been the imperial burial place. Of its tombs, the only one which survived in modern times stood about 10 m east of the northeast apse of the church (pl. 151b). It consisted of a canopy carried by four columns in a 4 to 5 m square, with plain capitals supporting open round arches each decorated with five relief crosses or, possibly, monograms (later defaced) within circles of three sizes. In the nineteenth century it had a leaded

pyramidal roof and, by 1917, a tiled roof, but one may speculate that originally it had been domed.<sup>135</sup> Uspenskij excavated the tomb in 1917 and found a decapitated skeleton in a violated and broken sarcophagus and a second skeleton of a youth. The structure was destroyed after 1918 but the first skeleton is now in the hands of the Pontic community in Greece, complete with a certificate signed by Metropolitan Chrysanthos declaring that it is the mortal remains of the Emperor Alexios III (1349–90), as Meliopoulos believed—although he confused Alexios III with Alexios II (1297–1330). Panaretos does not state where either Alexios was buried, nor is any Greek inscription recorded on the tomb. Clearly it is not the tomb of Andronikos I (d. 1235) and Theodora Kantakouzene (d. 1426), for that lay behind the iconostasis of the church. Chalkokondyles states that after John IV had his father Alexios IV murdered in 1429, he buried him first in the Theoskepastos and then in the metropolitan church—i.e., the Chrysokephalos. One would expect John IV to have placed Alexios IV in the tomb of Andronikos I, with Theodora, his own mother and Alexios’ wife, were it not for the fact that John was evidently anxious to make a public show of remorse for the death of his father; thus, Uspenskij’s proposal that the decapitated skeleton found within the canopied tomb is that of Alexios IV is a reasonable one, for we are looking for a man who died violently and was subsequently given a splendid memorial. The second skeleton has also been accounted for. Later Turkish tradition claimed that the tomb was reused by the *Fatih* for the semilegendary Hoşoğlan, the youth who was supposed either to have been the first to get into the city in 1461, or to have shot away the chain of the Tabakhane draw-bridge which made the entry possible, and was then said to have been killed, either in the assault or by the *Fatih* himself, who disbelieved Hoşoğlan’s story. Before 1914 the cannon ball and chain of the tale were hung within the tomb.<sup>136</sup> (See No. 45).

The dating of the tomb shown in plate 151b to a time soon after 1429 is, in the absence of any precise contemporary Byzantine parallels, probably fair. But there are later Trapezuntine parallels, for the tomb seems to have been taken as the model of that of King Solomon II Bagration, who died in Trebizond in 1815 and was buried outside St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88—the top of the now destroyed tomb can be seen in pl. 171); and of that of the egregious Metropolitan Constantios of Trebizond (1830–79) which still stands above the Theoskepastos.<sup>137</sup>

## 26. Tzykanisterion

*Tzykanion* (*çougan*), a sort of mounted mass shinty, resembling polo, widely played in the late Byzantine world, led to the death of the Grand Komnenos John I Axouchos, who

ca. 1445. But John IV’s wife was not called Eirene and there seems no good reason for ascribing the Cephane to any other than Sultan Abdülhamit II (1876–1909), whose name it bears.

129. See p. 75.

130. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 11; *DVL*, I, 123; II, 128.

131. Clavijo (1404), 112–13.

132. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 35.

133. Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, 18, and p. 233.

134. Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 94, 97–102 and p. 244.

135. N. Baklanov, “Deux monuments byzantins de Trébizonde,” *Byzantion*, 4 (1928); Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), pl. 11; Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 81.

136. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 463–64; I. P. Meliopoulos, Περὶ τοῦ μνημείου Ἀλεξίου Γ’, *OK*, 1 (1916), 205, 234–35; F. Uspenskij, “Usbypal’nitsa tsarya Aleksiya IV v Trapezuntini,” *VizVrem*, 23 (1922), 1–14; Lynch (1893–98), I, 22; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 388.

137. Bryer, *AP*, 28 (1966), 246–51, and *AP*, 29 (1968), 103–8.

was crushed in a *tzykanion* mêlée in 1238.<sup>138</sup> *Tzkykanisteria* (*tzykanion* pitches) are recorded in several Byzantine cities but, except possibly for that in the Great Palace of Constantinople,<sup>139</sup> cannot be located today because all that was required was a reasonably flat field. But in the Caucasus and Persia, *tzykanion* pitches were established places with permanent goals; thus, all historians of Trebizond have felt obliged to identify the *tzykanisterion* of the city and we will not shrink from the task.

There are two possibilities: either the alleged site of a classical theater less than 1 km south-southwest of the Citadel (which we have not felt obliged to locate because there is no literary evidence that Trebizond ever had a theater), or the Kabak (Kavak) Meydan about 1 km west of the city. Fallmerayer, Chrysanthos, Janssens, and others favor the southern site,<sup>140</sup> which Finlay inspected on the spot in 1850, finding an irregular enclosure which a local inhabitant informed him had been “a place of the pigs for a Frank prince.” He decided that this was in fact a *kynegion*, although there is no evidence that the Grand Komnenoi ever maintained a zoo, and then walked west to the Kabak Meydan, site of a plague cemetery. He was at first unsure of whether the field could have been a *tzykanisterion*, but later noted: “I begin to think that the Kapak meidan or open space on the way to and near St. Sophia’s must be the site...” Finally in 1852, after a discussion with a Trapezuntine savant living in Athens, Mr. Constantine Xanthopoulos, who was of the opinion that the *tzykanisterion* lay on the Kabak Meydan, Finlay opted for it.<sup>141</sup> The objection to the southern site is that it is rocky and on an irregular slope; the argument for the Kabak Meydan is that it would have been the most convenient open, flat field close to the city; for which reason it is now the city football stadium. If the *tzykanisterion* must be placed anywhere, we therefore follow Finlay in placing it on the Kabak Meydan.

#### 27. Vakıf Han

The Vakıf Han, standing near the sea in the bazaar quarter, a handsome open rectangular courtyard with an attached mosque, has been described by Selina Ballance elsewhere. Tarcisio Succi proposes it as a Genoese “fondaco,” built about 1200; Selina Ballance’s date to the seventeenth or eighteenth century is to be preferred.<sup>142</sup>

#### 28. Venetian Castle

The history of the Venetian presence in medieval Trebizond and the protracted negotiations which accompanied their grant of shifting bases in the eastern suburb in 1319, 1364, and 1367, is complex. The Venetians were always less important than their Genoese rivals in the city and

regularly complained of harassment; their base seems always to have been correspondingly modest in scale. All three bulls describe in great detail the boundaries of the concessions which Meliopoulos and A. A. M. B. have attempted to trace on the ground.<sup>143</sup>

The grant of 1319 ran from “Canitu” (No. 12), which we have identified with the headland upon which St. Gregory of Nyssa stands, or its area, to Leontokastron (No. 14) and the warehouse of St. Eugenios (No. 16). In detail: *Incipit ab ecclesia sancte Margarite et tendit usque caput vie Maitamu et per viam orientis firmat in quodam riacello et inde girat totum predictum riacellum usque ad marinam et postea redit versus occidentem et girat et ascendit versus montem et firmat in Petra nigra et inde redit versus oriens, firmans apud domos superiores et firmat in veteri bagno et vadit usque ad ecclesiam, a qua incepimus; qui locus summat passus ducentos viginti septem de X palmis pro quolibet passu.*<sup>144</sup> It is clear that this concession lay immediately to the west of Leontokastron, east of St. Gregory of Nyssa and north of the Meydan, probably abutting the sea. And, as Heyd first observed, it is a fair guess that it included part, at least, of the former Genoese base around Leontokastron which had been confiscated three years before.<sup>145</sup>

Although the Venetians were authorized to build a church, houses, loggia, and *bailiwick* within the quarter, the concession was very small—227 paces. Succeeding grants were to be even smaller. In 1320 the baili’s establishment included a priest-notary, five domestics and grooms, four horses, and a salary of 400 ducats *p.a.*; later there is mention of a herald—a sort of *kavas*.<sup>146</sup> The concession evidently did not include Leontokastron itself or a castle, but did incorporate what appears to have been the former Genoese caravansary; at any rate the Genoese were claiming it in 1344.<sup>147</sup> But the caravansary had been gutted by fire by the Turks (possibly during the Türkmen raid of 1341) and in 1345 the new Venetian baili was instructed to rebuild its walls against the Turks and arm it with 25 “ballistas” and 50 lances.<sup>148</sup>

From 1345 to 1363 there was no official Venetian trade with Trebizond or representation there; in 1349 the Genoese returned to Leontokastron. In 1363 Alexios III initiated the reestablishment of the Venetians, who now asked for a new site for their caravansary, as the old one (presumably that of 1319) was in ruins.<sup>149</sup> The Genoese were probably now firmly entrenched between Leontokastron and Kanitou, which was the site of the Komnenos church of St. Gregory of Nyssa and so could not be ceded. So Alexios III had to look further west. He gave them a concession beside the monas-

143. *DVL*, I, 123–24; II, 101–4, 126–29; Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle, passim*; I. Meliopoulos, *Τραπεζουντιακά Ἀρχαιολογῆματα*, Ἔπ. Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ., 7 (1930), 170–2; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 111–7.

144. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 10–11.

145. Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 101–2.

146. Thiriet, *Deliberations*, I, No. 427 of 11 May 1320.

147. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, No. 173 of 20 November 1344.

148. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 66: “all Trebizond was burnt down” in 1341; and “*In nostro cavassera quod captum et dirruptum et combustum fuit per Turchos*,” Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 103 and note 3; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, No. 179 of 2 July 1345.

149. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, No. 413 of 20 July 1363.

138. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 61; that there was a hippodrome or *tzykanisterion* at Trebizond is confirmed by Eugenikos, ed. *Lampsides*, *AP*, 20 (1955), 13–39.

139. S. Miranda, *Les palais des empereurs byzantins* (Mexico City, 1965), 118. For the game itself, see A. Bryer, “Byzantine games,” *History Today*, 17 (1967), 453 ff.

140. Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 73–75; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 66–68; Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 80.

141. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 34<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>v</sup>.

142. Ballance, *BTTK*, 29 (1965), 75–76; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 226–28.

tery of St. Theodore Gabras, running by St. Christopher Street and St. Niketas, then down to the sea and a Latin church, and up again to St. Christopher. It was small (only ten imperial fathoms long) and obviously inconvenient; but it did arouse Genoese resentment, for on Easter Sunday 1365 the baili and the consul started a violent quarrel in the middle of the imperial ceremonies in the Meydan.<sup>150</sup> Our two major clues as to the whereabouts of the quarter are Meliopoulos' identification of the site of the monastery of St. Theodore Gabras, shown in figure III,<sup>151</sup> and our proposed identification of the nearby "Church K" (No. 38) with the Latin church, near the Bedesten. The Venetian quarter would therefore have run from St. Theodore to the sea, with access to the first bay east of the imperial harbor. In 1367 the Republic was still, however, negotiating for the return of the caravansaray (presumably the ruined one of 1319) and little work may be expected at the time of the Venetians' second concession of 1364–67.

In 1367, however, Alexios III solved the problem by granting the Republic a third concession. His options were now limited. This time, the Grand Komnenos gave the Venetians the "punta clamada senta Croxe" after a church on or near it, and a quarter that ran inland toward the imperial way (i.e., Meraş Caddesi, No. 24) and the "monestier de San Todoro Gaura," past "la glexia de sen zorzi" and the "canton de la cha de Cotori [Cocori?]," then back, via private houses ("la caxa de Mauro," "la caxa de lo Remer," "la caxa de Cadi") to Santa Croce. It was still not large—116 paces—but longer than the second concession.<sup>152</sup>

The great distinction between this concession and the first two is that the Venetians were now authorized to build a castle and we hear no more talk of a simple caravansary. Alexios promised to build a retaining wall and tower himself, surrounded by a ditch and connected to the mainland by bridges, all at his own expense. The Venetians kept what they now called their "Castro" until the end. In 1368 they spent about 57,000 aspers on it; in 1375 they described it as a permanently guarded "Castro" (during a period of intense dispute with Alexios III, when the Senate discussed replacing him with a Palaeologos, or even a Venetian Rector, by a coup). In 1396 authorization was asked to finish the enceinte of the castle, which by 1407 was described as badly dilapidated—at a time when Genoese were infiltrating into the quarter. In 1429 the sum of 31 ducats was assigned the fortifications of the castle and we last hear of it in 1447, when a credit of 100 ducats was made to repair its roof.<sup>153</sup>

The problem of the whereabouts of the Venetian castle can be approached partly by elimination and partly by the sur-

vival of physical evidence before 1961, when work began on the seafront which has swept away almost all former features of the eastern shore. By elimination, the Venetian quarter cannot lie south of the first bay east of the Molos and below St. Theodore Gabras (the second concession), nor between the Meydan and the sea and Leontokastron (the first concession), which basically leaves two headlands: that of St. Gregory of Nyssa to the east (unlikely, for it contained a Komnenos church) and an unnamed headland to the west. In 1961 A. A. M. B. proposed the headland of St. Gregory of Nyssa for the castle and "Church B" (No. 31) for "senta Croxe," although there is no reference in the bull to St. Gregory of Nyssa or its cave church (Nos. 88, 60), observing that "the matter must rest until further evidence, such as the discovery of some Venetian fortification, becomes available."<sup>154</sup> Further evidence of what was certainly a castle (destroyed in about 1961) and of what may be Santa Croce (No. 117), both on, or close to, the western of the headlands, has been provided by D. C. W., and we propose the headland marked Venetian Castle in figure III as the "punta clamada senta Croxe" (see pl. 152a).

The site was a small promontory projecting about 70 m into the sea; plate 152b suggests that it had originally been a rock, which could indeed have been connected with the mainland by bridges as the bull of 1367 states. It was later surmounted by the large *konak* of the aristocratic Kahyaoğlu family, rivals of the Üçüncüoğulları, whose *konak* stood on Leontokastron, and there is a family tradition in the related Nemlizade family that the Kahyaoğlu *konak* indeed stood on the Venetian castle.<sup>155</sup>

The lowest courses of foundation masonry on the east side of the promontory had a lime-and-sand mortar with pulverized brick and earthenware in it; the two or more courses on the north-northwest side were similar. The blocks were fairly well cut, of medium size, and laid in regular courses. The north-northeast side appeared to have been about 30 to 40 m long, but it was impossible to determine how far the walls had extended on the sea or inland sides, although the inland side probably did not stretch more than 60 m. The eastern side of the fortress (seen from the Frontisterion called "School" in fig. III) would have constituted a harbor, but it would have been a poor one, with little natural protection. The castle itself would have needed a high wall on the southern side as the ground rises fairly steeply from the coast inland.

A house stood on a small projecting rock about 50 m west of the castle promontory. Three or four courses of masonry similar to that in the castle, whose foundations must probably be assigned to the years 1367–68, suggest that it had originally stretched to this point. Similar mortar and stonework is found in the church which we have proposed as Santa Croce (No. 117).

#### 29. Warehouses and *Hans*

Part of the tribulations of trading through Trebizond arose because even after goods had been sailed under armed escort to or from the West, they would have to be stored

150. Zakythinos, *Chrysobulle*, 34–35; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75.

151. Meliopoulos, *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.*, 7 (1930), 77–78; Mystakides, *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.*, 7 (1930), 91.

152. *DVL*, II, 128.

153. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, No. 450 of 2 March 1368, No. 458 of 14 April 1368, No. 465 of 3 July 1368 (taking 1 *summo* = 190 aspers), No. 565 of 24 July 1375, No. 899 of 22 February 1396; II, No. 1272 of 24 July 1407, No. 2166 of 28 October 1429; III, No. 2752 of 1 August 1447. Clavijo (1404), 133, stated that both seaboard Italian castles had strong walls and towers. See also S. Karpov, *The Empire of Trebizond and Venice in 1374–76* (Birmingham, 1978).

154. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 117.

155. Information from İhsan Bey Nemlioğlu of Trabzon.

safely in the city, sometimes for months, until a caravan under armed escort could be assembled to take them inland. In the city they had to be secured against the pilfering of imperial customs officers, local Greeks, and rival Italians, or even against Türkmen raids. The difficulties were loudly voiced by the Venetian baili in 1407.<sup>156</sup> Warehouses and *hans* of some strength might therefore be expected, like those which were built along the foreshore in the nineteenth century, but we know little of them save that there was one at the Meydan (perhaps identical with that of St. Eugenios, No. 16), and that in 1432 the monastery of the Pharos held the *han* of Scholarios, also perhaps on the Meydan: . . . τὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ φόρῳ Χανακῶν τοῦ Σχολαρίου.<sup>157</sup>

#### MONASTERIES, CHURCHES, CHAPELS,

##### SHRINES, AND SACRED FOUNTAINS

#### 30. Church A

*Situation.* Between St. Basil and the Bedesten in the eastern suburb.

*Architecture.* Described by Talbot Rice as a modest version of the Evangelistria (No. 122) and of medieval date.

*Identification.* Church A, which was destroyed after 1929, lay in the nineteenth-century parish of St. Basil, four of the five churches of which can be identified. Chrysanthos states that the fifth, St. Constantine, was a Byzantine church which passed into Turkish hands in 1880; Talbot Rice notes that Church A "was used until the departure of the Greeks." If Talbot Rice, who saw Church A seven years after the departure of the Greeks, was mistaken on this point, it can almost certainly be identified with St. Constantine (No. 70); otherwise, it is just possible that Church A is the St. Christopher (No. 69) or St. Niketas (No. 105) of the bull of 1364.<sup>158</sup>

#### 31. Church B

*Situation.* On a rock near the shore, about 175 m east of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

*Architecture.* A single-apsed barrel-vaulted church with south door and porch, perhaps a southern arcade, and west door.

*Date.* Talbot Rice suggested a twelfth-century, or earlier, date. The church was destroyed before 1958.

*Identification.* Although it was one of the most prominent in the city and appears in several published photographs of the waterfront (e.g., in the right foreground of pl. 152a), it is now impossible to identify Church B with certainty. It lay in the nineteenth-century parish of St. Gregory and, by elimination, is probably St. Kyriake (No. 97), the Taxiarchai (No. 119), or St. Paraskeve (No. 106).<sup>159</sup>

156. Thiriet, *Régestes*, II, No. 272 of 24 July 1407.

157. See Nos. 16 and 17.; and Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 265.

158. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 57 and pl. 10; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 792; here, Nos. 71 and 106.

159. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 60 and pl. 15; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 791 and pl. 111; photograph in E. Benezes, *Ἀκρόπολις* newspaper (Athens, Sunday, 28 January 1962).

#### 32. Church C

*Situation.* About 380 m west-southwest of St. Gregory of Nyssa and 190 m south of the old waterfront in the eastern suburb of the city.

*Architecture.* It is a domed, triple-apsed church with adjoining chamber on the south side. On the exterior the central apse was pentagonal and the pastophories were semi-circular. Four columns carried the dome vaulting. There was no narthex. The church was first reported, with plan and elevation, by Selina Ballance in 1960.<sup>160</sup>

*Decoration.* In 1958 or 1959 D. C. W. found two layers of painted plaster on the west face of the arch dividing the north apse from the main one. The upper layer was partly obscured by whitewash, but enough remained visible to determine that the painting was good quality late medieval work. The destruction of the church shortly afterward frustrated D. C. W.'s intention of cleaning and photographing the fragment.

*Date.* On architectural grounds, Selina Ballance stated that although Church C "may be as late as the 18th century, there is just a possibility that it is Byzantine";<sup>161</sup> D. C. W. dates the fragment of painting to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. A. A. M. B. suggests (below) that Church C may be identical not only with No. 80, and therefore have been built before 1367, but also with Talbot Rice's "St. Gregory" (No. 87), which the latter regarded as being "only slightly earlier in date than Nakip Djami." The building may therefore be considered medieval, but it clearly underwent later reconstruction, perhaps at the hands of Anna Tzilipougkes (see No. 80), when the clumsy plastered capitals would have been added.

*Identification.* In 1961 A. A. M. B. argued from Meliopoulos' topography that Church C was identical with St. George Tsartakle (No. 84), which seems to have taken its epithet in the eighteenth century. Meliopoulos in turn identified St. George Tsartakle with Santa Croce (No. 117); this A. A. M. B. has demonstrated elsewhere is improbable, and we propose here that Santa Croce is close to the site of the Venetian Castle of 1367 (No. 28).<sup>162</sup> But now that a medieval date for Church C is established by its paintings, and if its identity with St. George Tsartakle is accepted, there is no reason why it should not also be the St. George of the bull of 1367 (No. 80) which lay close to the boundary of the Venetian concession. Finally, Selina Ballance's description and photograph of Church C tallies very closely with the description made by Talbot Rice of an otherwise unknown "St. Gregory" (No. 87) in the same area, strongly suggesting that they are identical. We propose, therefore, that Church C (No. 32), St. George (No. 80), St. George Tsartakle (No. 84), and Talbot Rice's "St. Gregory" (No. 87) are one and the

160. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 144-46, figs. 2-3, pl. 16a.

161. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 145.

162. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 114 note 3, 117; Meliopoulos, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.*, 7 (1930), 78; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 792; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 59-60.

161. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 145.

162. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 114 note 3, 117; Meliopoulos, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.*, 7 (1930), 78; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 792; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 59-60.

same church.<sup>163</sup> But since the church has now been destroyed and the multiple identity cannot be proved conclusively, in this study we must treat these churches as separate entries.

### 33. Chapel D

*Situation.* About 310 m west of St. Gregory of Nyssa and 120 m south of the old waterfront in the eastern suburb of the city.

*Architecture.* A small single-apsed chapel, originally timber-roofed, published by Selina Ballance in 1960.<sup>164</sup>

*Date.* Selina Ballance regarded the chapel as Comnenian, with later alterations; it is believed to be now demolished.

*Identification.* If the identification of Church C with St. George Tsartakle is accepted, a site for the chapel of the Holy Trinity (Ἁγία Τριάς) (No. 116), the only other religious building in the nineteenth-century parish of St. George Tsartakle, must be sought. Chapel D stands closer to Church C than any other other known religious building and could, therefore, be the Holy Trinity.<sup>165</sup>

### 34. Church E

*Situation.* On the north side of Meraş Caddesi, midway between the Lower City and the Meydan, not marked on figure III.

*Architecture.* A triple-aisled barrel-vaulted basilica.

*Date.* Selina Ballance stated that "the three rounded apses appear to be a good deal older than the rest of the church, as they are not so high and are of much rougher masonry; this church may well be an old foundation largely rebuilt in the nineteenth century."<sup>166</sup> It is now destroyed.

### 35. Church F

*Situation.* About 160 m south-southwest of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

*Architecture.* A triple-aisled, barrel-vaulted basilica.

*Date.* 1838. It is believed to be now demolished.

*Identification.* St. Paraskeve (No. 106), the Taxiarchai (No. 119), or St. Kyriake (No. 97) in the parish of St. Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>167</sup>

### 36. Church G

*Situation.* About 250 m west-southwest of St. Gregory of Nyssa and 170 m south of the old waterfront, in the eastern suburb of the city.

*Architecture.* A domed cross-in-square church with narthex and open belfry before the north door.

*Date.* Nineteenth-century. It is believed to be now demolished.

163. *DVL*, II, 128; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), pl. 14; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), fig. 2, pl. xvi(a).

164. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 151–52, fig. 5.

165. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792.

166. Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 234–37, pls. 1, 2, figs. 1, 2; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 108 note 1, 120 note 2.

167. Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 237–38, pl. 3, figs. 1, 2; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 120 = Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 791.

*Identification.* One of the churches listed under No. 35.<sup>168</sup>

Church H. See St. John Exoteichos (Nos. 91, 92)

### 37. Church J

*Situation.* Between the Pyxites and the eastern suburb.

*History.* A Greek church seen by Bordier in 1609, when it was already abandoned; he was unable to ascertain its dedication but regarded it as being old. We can find no trace of it.

*Decoration.* It had wall-paintings of the Passion cycle, but was otherwise devoid of decoration.<sup>169</sup>

### 38. Church K

*Situation.* On Surb Ohan (Armenian St. John) Square, placed by Meliopoulos near the Bedesten.

*History.* A medieval Roman Catholic church, obviously distinct from that of St. Eleutherios (No. 76), and also from that granted the Venetians in their first, more easterly, concession of 8 July 1319. Among Roman Catholic churches with which it could be identified are that established by the Dominican *Ordo Peregrinatorum pro Christo*, the Franciscan church in the city (which may have served as the Roman Catholic cathedral of Trebizond for the fourteen, mostly Franciscan, bishops appointed between 1345 and 1427), or the former Roman Catholic church visited by Bordier in 1609, when it had passed into Greek hands. The Roman Catholic church with which it is probably identical is that mentioned in the bull of 1364, which granted the Venetians the surrounding quarter (No. 28). If this is correct, Church K must date to before 1364 and was still standing in the early years of this century. There is no trace of it today.<sup>170</sup>

### 39. Church L

*Situation.* In Κρονόρι (Soğuksu), the traditional suburban summer resort of wealthy Trapezuntines in the hills about 5 km southwest of the city. Near the summit of the main hill stands what is perhaps the most astonishing expression of Pontic Greek architectural exuberance before 1922, the ornate villa of the Kapagiannides, the great banking family, built in the early years of this century and now preserved as the Atatürk Köşk through the happy accident that the Atatürk stayed there.<sup>171</sup> Church L is a small structure on top of the next hill, about 500 m south-southwest of the Kapagiannides villa and about 400 m above sea level. The valley, which begins below the hill, eventually becomes the western ravine of the city.

168. Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 238–41, pls. 4–5, figs. 1, 2; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 791.

169. Bordier (1609), 122.

170. *DVL*, I, 124; Zakythinis, *Chrysobulle*, 11, 35; Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 104–6; O. Lampsides, "Alexios II Empereur de Trébizonde (1297–1330) et l'Église de Rome," *BZ*, 36 (1936), 327–29; Bryer, "Trebizond and Rome," *AP*, 26 (1964), 297, 302; Meliopoulos, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.*, 7 (1930), 77; Janin, *EMGCB*, 258.

171. On the Kapagiannides family, see G. N. Tasoudes, *Βιογραφικαὶ Ἀναμνήσεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν Χρυσάνθου τοῦ ἀπὸ Τραπεζούντος* (Athens, 1970), 86–87, 93, 96, 227, 230. The house of the second great Trapezuntine banking family, the Theophylaktos (sometimes called Kostakis), is now a girls' school in Trabzon, and that of the third, the Phosteropoulos of İmera, dated 1904, is the old *Postahane* of the city.

*Architecture.* The plan is of the simple rectangular type with rounded apse and barrel-vaulted roof. The external dimensions are 6.10 × 3.50 m; the walls are about 0.65 m thick. See plate 153a, b, and figure 76 following p. 270.

The walls are of roughly squared stones laid in regular courses, with smaller stones and fragments of ridged tiles filling the spaces between the larger stones. The core is of mortared rubble, but is scanty since the facing stones take up most of the width of the wall. The mortar is made up of lime, pulverized brick or tile, small pebbles, and fragments of brick and tile. Only the stone springing of the vault survives. A console forms the base of a rib for the vault halfway along the north wall.

There is a window in the center of the apse and there was probably another in the center of the south wall, but the shape and dimensions of neither are clear since the facing stones have been robbed. The door was in the west wall. In the north side of the apse is a liturgical niche.

*Decoration.* Above the liturgical niche is a small piece of painted plaster. It is of very hard lime. A few traces of green, red, and yellow pigments survive, but not enough of the painting remains to permit identification of the subject.

*Date.* The weathered state of the interior of the chapel suggests that it has been in ruins for a long time and the pulverized brick or tile in the mortar is fairly certain proof of a Byzantine date.<sup>172</sup>

*Identification.* The kind of mortar found in this chapel is rare in the Pontos (although, pulverized, tile is present also in the Venetian Castle, probably of 1367–68; No. 28); its making entailed some trouble. It is therefore not unreasonable to deduce that the chapel was built for a client of some importance and the presence of further foundations which may be medieval, about 100 m southeast of Church L, on the same summit, arouses the suspicion that the site may be an imperial hill station.

The summer quarters of the Grand Komnenoi closest to Trebizond were at St. John the Sanctifier (No. 89) on Mount Minthrion, but the site of Kryoneri and Chapel L could tentatively be associated with the palisade of St. Kerykos (No. 96) which the Türkmens attacked in 1336.<sup>173</sup>

#### 40. Chapel M

*Situation.* On the south side, and partly in the thickness, of the east wall of the gate between the Middle and Lower Cities, divided from the Çifte Hamamı (No. 42) by the wall itself.

*Architecture.* The only features which survive are an indented area of about 2.50 × 2 m in the outer face of the

gate and a small rounded apse built into the thickness of the wall at the east end. It is possible that these features are no more than part of the defenses of what was once the northern gate of the city, but the apse suggests a small gate chapel or shrine as a more probable explanation.

*Identification.* If the gate can be associated with that of St. Dynamis (No. 75), Chapel M would, like the Çifte Hamamı, have a claim to dedication to the Archangel.<sup>174</sup>

#### 41. Christ (Χριστός)

*Situation.* Either within the Citadel or above a city gate, or both. See plate 124b.

*History.* The chapel of Christ housed the relics of St. Athanasios the Exorcist, removed there after a Turkish raid between 1263 (the death of Manuel I, in whose reign a miracle took place at the reliquary when it was still at St. Phokas, *q.v.*) and 1318 (when Odoric da Pordenone reported it in the city).<sup>175</sup>

#### 42. Çifte Hamamı

*Situation.* Adjoining, and to the eastern side of, the gate between the Middle and Lower Cities, the northern side of the structure following the inner side of the curtain wall.

*Architecture.* Today it is a small Turkish bath, divided into two parts and surmounted by a tiled "dome" on an octagonal drum (see pl. 155a). In plan it was probably a triple-apsed domed basilica (although the present "dome" is hardly medieval). Both the men's bath (comprising what would have been the narthex and naos of the church and including the "dome") and the women's bath (comprising what would have been the bema and apses) have been extensively restructured and heavily plastered. Externally, only the west façade and part of the southeast wall are visible. Internally, there have been many rearrangements but the plans of both sections of the bath are not inconsistent with that of a triple-aisled basilica.<sup>176</sup>

*Date.* What is visible of the external lower courses shows masonry akin to that of the curtain wall between the two Cities; a medieval date is therefore proposed.

*History.* A "Çifte Hamamı," or double bath, is first mentioned in 1520–23.<sup>177</sup> In *ca.* 1550–70, Mehmed Aşik noted: "There is a pleasant [Çifte Hamamı] for the use of both sexes in the middle castle near the gate which leads to the lower castle."<sup>178</sup> Ritter recorded a Christian bath called the Çifte or Gavur Hamamı, which had once been a church.<sup>179</sup> Surlmelian noted that the Gâvur Hamamı was "originally a Byzantine church."<sup>180</sup> This tradition and the admittedly obscured structure of the building indicates that the Çifte Hamamı was very probably a medieval church in origin and became a bath between 1461 and 1523.

174. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 121.

175. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 12 (1905), 141; Odoric (1318), 213–14 (followed by Mandeville); Janin, *EMGCB*, 294.

176. We are grateful to Dr. Sally Harvey for penetrating the women's section.

177. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 296.

178. Mehmed Aşik, used by Evliya (1644), II, 46; cf. Lowry, *Thesis*, 86.

179. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 883.

180. L. Surlmelian, *I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen* (New York, 1945), 23.

172. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt.*, 12 (1962), 139, incautiously stated that mortar with pulverized brick "does not seem to appear at all in the buildings of the period of the Empire of Trebizond."

173. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 64: ... καὶ γέγονε πολέμιος εἰς τὸν Ἀχάντακον τοῦ ἁγίου Κηρύκου καὶ εἰς τὸν Μινθρίον. ... Perhaps better the Holy Herald ("Ἅγιος Κήρυξ"), *op. cit.*, 87 note 2. It is not to be confused with St. Kyriake in Trebizond (as, apparently, Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 483 note 5, after Bzhshkean's supposed St. Kyriakos, not in any edition), not with the Achantos (Ahanda, now Kavakli) near Platana in the *bandon* of Trikomia (believed by Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 351, to be a suburb of the capital).

*Identification.* If the adjoining gate can be associated with St. Dynamis (No. 75), the Çifte Hamamı might, like Chapel M (No. 40), be a church dedicated to the Archangel.

43. Dormition (Κοίμησις)

*Situation.* In Daphnous, east of the Meydan.

*History.* A church in the nineteenth-century parish of Daphnous.<sup>181</sup> We can find no trace of it.

44. Dormition (Κοίμησις)

*Situation.* Probably near, and to the southwest of, the Meydan.

*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth-century parish of the Presentation.<sup>182</sup> We can find no trace of it.

45. The Dragon's Fountain (Δρακοντοπήγαδον)

Mount Minthrion and its environs abound in holy fountains. On the way up to Karlık Tepe, and near a nineteenth-century church, D. C. W. reports a spring and cave with rock-cut apse, which is still used by Muslims as a place of supplication for the sick. There were, and are, at least four sacred fountains on Mount Minthrion itself: of St. John (No. 89), of Kaymaklı monastery (No. 48), of Skylolimne (No. 23), and of the Dragon. We are grateful to Mr. James Crow for investigating some of the fountains on the spot in 1972.<sup>183</sup> Whatever the actual antiquity of the cults surrounding the other fountains, only the Dragon's Fountain is mentioned in medieval sources and concerns us here.

*Situation.* About 9.5 km due south of Leontokastron the staging post of Hoşoğlan is a link between the medieval and modern routes over and round Mount Minthrion through a side valley of the Pyxites which runs up to Anifa (now Akoluk) and on to the appropriately named Κοιλιάδιν (Kilat, now Yeşilbük). The name of Hoşoğlan supposedly commemorates that of the legendary Turkish hero who first entered Trebizond in 1461 and is said to have been buried in the tomb of Alexios IV (No. 25), near a dragon-headed fountain outside the Chrysokephalos (Nos. 10, 120). The association is suspect, for in fact the place is the most westerly of a group which have as a prefix to their name "Hoş-" (a sort of εψ-), because, like χότζι it antedates the Turkish conquest,<sup>184</sup> while the Turkish explanation of "Hoşoğlan" "Well done, Oğlan!") as the cry of the *Fatih* when he heard of the exploit in 1461, is more forced than most. Nevertheless, the name must be borne in mind, for it added a curious factor to the story of the Dragon's Fountain.

Mr. Crow reports that a fountain locally known as the "Ayiasana" lies about 300 m up the route to Anifa from Hoşoğlankahvesi. This *ἁγίασηα* is remembered to have been used by Greeks also and is the scene of an annual *panayir* on 21 May (the feast day of Saints Constantine and Helena); its black mud is especially esteemed (perhaps for curative properties) and a small church is recalled at Ano

Anifa. This fits in with the site and cult reported by Greek scholars and western travelers before 1923.<sup>185</sup>

*History.* The Drakontopegadon is first mentioned by Lazaropoulos (fl. 1364–68 as metropolitan of Trebizond) in his account of the miracles of St. Eugenios. Aided by his patron saint and by the Panagia, the Grand Komnenos Alexios II (1297–1330) slew a dragon which had become a local menace at the Dragon's Fountain on Mount Minthrion. Lest there should be any doubt about the matter, Lazaropoulos added that after giving thanks at the monastery of St. Eugenios, Alexios deposited the head of the dragon in the palace, where it was still exhibited in Lazaropoulos' day a few decades later.<sup>186</sup> The story of Alexios' exploit (which may belong to the realms of *Digenis* but is not unique among Byzantine emperors, for Romanos Lekapenos was said to have fought a lion in single combat)<sup>187</sup> is not attested again until 1820, when Rottiers was told it; this was twenty-three years before the first printed publication of Lazaropoulos' account and must, therefore, indicate an oral tradition.<sup>188</sup> Cumont was naturally attracted to this site among the other holy fountains of Mount Minthrion, and seized upon the probable antiquity of a cult concerning a dragon-guarded well on a mountain named after Mithras; one may at least suspect that Lazaropoulos drew upon an independent folk story applicable to any local hero of Mithraic standing which therefore antedated the reign of Alexios II.<sup>189</sup>

The unexpected twist is that Rottiers was told the story of Alexios II and the dragon *not* in connection with the Dragon's Fountain near Hoşoğlan village but with a now destroyed bronze dragon-headed fountain, which stood south of the Chrysokephalos near the supposed tomb of Hoşoğlan.<sup>190</sup> The proximity of the two fountains associated with Alexios II and the dragon to the two spots associated with Hoşoğlan may be no more than a coincidence which confused folk memory. If it is more than a coincidence, we cannot explain the mystery. But it is evidently a later accretion to a cult certainly reaching back to the fourteenth century which may have much more remote roots and which survives today.

46. Mother of God (Astuatsatsin) (Armenian church)

*Situation.* Probably in the eastern suburb of the city.

185. Meliopoulos, *OK*, I (1916), 205 note 2; Zacharia (1838), 135; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 903; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 79, 331, 793.

186. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 63–64; Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 35–39.

187. S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign* (Cambridge, 1929), 63.

188. Rottiers (1820), 206.

189. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 369 note 3.

190. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 389. It is reminiscent of the fountain head of bronze beasts of the *phiale* of the Greek Lavra, Mount Athos, illustrated in R. Byron, *The Station* (London, 1949), after p. 64; on which see now Laskarina Bouras, "Some observations on the Grand Lavra phiale at Mount Athos and its bronze stovilon." *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.*, 8 (1975–76), 85–96. An explanation for the confusion between the two dragon fountains may be that the Chrysokephalos fountain was evidently equipped with a conventional Byzantine dragon spout, which confirmed (if not inspired) the tale. See now Laskarina Bouras, "Dragon Representations on Byzantine Phialae and Their Conduits," *Gesta*, XVI/2 (1977), 65–68.

181. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792.

182. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 791.

183. Mr. Crow reported fountains at Akoluk (called Kilibiç), at Yangaz, Gülçayır, and at Koiladin (Yeşilbük)—on which see Blau (1860), 381, who reports a "Comnene" chapel.

184. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264, 267; and p. 197.

*Architecture.* A domed church with five altars (and therefore perhaps five apses), forecourt and belfry—the latter probably added after 1856.

*Inscriptions.* There appear to have been two Armenian inscriptions: 1. a dedication inscription by the altar of St. James (Surb Hakob), dated 1414 and later removed to the forecourt; 2. an inscription stating that *Melik* John (Hovhannes) and others of the family of Hodja Stepan (Stepanos, probably Shemsedli) presented the dome to the church in 1429.<sup>191</sup>

*History.* The inscriptions speak for themselves; the church seems to have been regarded as the first Armenian one in the city but in the nineteenth century was not the cathedral, which was St. Auxentios (No. 62). The Mother of God (Astuatsasin) survived until 1915, but we can find no trace of it today.

47. Hypapante (Ἑπαπαντή) (Presentation)

*Situation.* Probably near and to the southwest of the Meydan.

*History.* Large parish church in the nineteenth century, perhaps with earlier origins for it was built before 1819.<sup>192</sup> We can find no trace of it.

48. Kaymaklı (Armenian monastery of the All Savior) (pls. 154–159a, b)

*Situation.* The monastery, consisting of a more or less rectangular walled terrace of about 30 × 45 m in which stand a main church with *zhamatun* (a sort of narthex), fountain, and tower, a small chapel, and an arcaded monastic building, is situated on the eastern slopes of Mount

Minthrion, overlooking the modern route south and about 2 km south of Daphnous.

*Inscriptions.* Some obscurity surrounds Kaymaklı monastery, for the Christian minorities of Trebizond were mutually insulated to the extent that this monastery is largely ignored by Greek sources and scholars: Chrysanthos does not even mention it and modern scholars are unaware of its Armenian name of All Savior (Amenap'rkich'). For this reason, to avoid confusion, we use its more common Turkish name of Kaymaklı. For its history we must rely heavily on the inscriptions published by Bzhshkean.<sup>193</sup> The main monastic building to the southeast of the enclosure had an inscription stating that it was built by a number of donors, including Surat Hatun, Hodjikin, and Masya Hatun, in Armenian Great Era 1138 (= A.D. 1688). There were undated inscriptions on the pilgrimage "Milk Fountain" (built by Voskeuch Garabed) before the main church (now destroyed but seen in pl. 154), and elsewhere (recording donations by Garabed Çelebi, Esbek Çelebi, and others).

The two major inscriptions are related but clearly distinct. They both refer to Hodja Stepanos Shemsedli, whom Bzhshkean maintains is described in a colophon in a manuscript from the monastery as founder of the churches there, together with Hodja Baghdasar their builder.

The first inscription comes from the main church, to which it refers, but Bzhshkean is not specific as to where it was placed. It read as follows: "Dedication to the Amenap'rkich' [All Savior] in the Katholikosate of the Armenians of the great Lord Poghos [Paul] The Orthodox in the time of the virtuous 'kyr' Alexi the 'tagawor', the honorable Hodja Stepanos built this marvellous church to his everlasting memory and for [the salvation of] his offspring and of his wife Melik Hatun and his faithful entourage, great and small, in 873" (= 6 December 1423–5 December 1424).<sup>194</sup> The combination of persons confirm the dating: they can only be the Grand Komnenos Alexios IV (1417–29) and the Katholikos Poghos II of Garni (at Sis) (1418–30), while it is tempting to identify this Stepanos with the Hodja Stepanos who donated the dome of the High Mother of God (No.46) in 1429.

The second, surviving, inscription is above the lintel of a tiny chapel near the monastic buildings and was first recorded and published by Talbot Rice in 1929. Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian then interpreted the text as: "This chapel was built in the name of Saint . . . , by the goodwill and at the expense of Khodja Stephanos in memory of himself and of his parents and of his wife Melikh . . . , and of his children (in the year of the Armenians 1071 [A.D. 1622])."<sup>195</sup> A. A. M. B. copied the inscription in 1959 and photographed it in 1962 (pl. 156); we are grateful to Dr. Sebastian Brock for examining these records and telling us that the date

193. Bzhshkean (1819), 83–89, summarized only in trans. Andreasyan, 55, and in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 902. See also Oskian, *Handes Amsorya*, 75 (1961), 273–77.

194. We are most grateful to Dr. Sebastian Brock, Professor Charles Dowsett, and Father Rafael Antonian of San Lazzaro for assistance in interpreting Bzhshkean and the inscriptions of Kaymaklı, and to Dr. Levon Avdoyan for checking the transliteration.

195. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 64; Cf. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 140.

191. Bzhshkean (1819), 79–81; trans. Andreasyan, 54; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886; Oskian, *Handes Amsorya*, 75 (1961), 278–79. The inscription of 1414 appears to be that referring to the *tagawors* Manuel and Alexios in Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 106–7. The date is 863 of the Armenian Great Era. Fallmerayer, followed by Miller (*Trebizond*, 79), and Janssens (*Trébizonde*, 128 note 2) interpret 863 as A.D. 1415; reference to Grumel (*Chronologie*, 262) shows that it should in fact be the year 8 December 1413–7 December 1414. The point is important because the date of the death of Manuel III and the accession of Alexios IV as sole emperor is still unresolved. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 81, 124 note 2, states that Manuel III died on 5 March 1412, that he reigned 27 years, and that he came to the throne on 29 March 1390—suggesting that he perhaps in fact died on 5 March 1417. The issue is complicated by the fact that Alexios IV issued a *prostagma* in favor of the monastery of Dionysiou in September 1416, which makes no mention of Manuel III as emperor, although both had earlier been associated in the refounding of St. George at Peristera. The Armenian altar indicates that Manuel III was still regarded as a full emperor in the year December 1413–December 1414; the *prostagma* hints that Alexios IV was in sole charge of the government by September 1416. Alexios had been co-emperor or Despot since 1395 at the latest and had led a successful revolt against Manuel before 1404. There is no reason why Alexios should have associated his decrepit and unpopular father in the *prostagma* if he had managed to ease him out of public life after 1414, but we are inclined to keep the date 1417 (rather than 1412, 1414, 1415, or 1416) for Manuel's death; see Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, 73–75; Oikonomides, *NA*, I (1955), 14–25; Oikonomides, *Dionysiou*, 97–101.

192. D. E. Oikonomides, Εἰδησεις, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 332; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 791; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 73 ("Aypanda"); Succi, *Trebisonda*, 242, confuses the Hypapante with St. John Exoteichos (No. 92).

“is best read as 871 = 1421, rather than 873 = 1424 or 1071 = 1622.” The question of the date is important because upon it Talbot Rice based his dating of the painting of the chapel at Vazelon monastery and of Kurt Boğan which has subsequently been accepted by scholars—although with growing unease.<sup>196</sup>

*Architecture and Decoration.* The architecture has been described by Selina Ballance and the decoration by Talbot Rice, to whose accounts we must add some further observations.

The main church, standing free in the middle of the courtyard, was approached through a comparatively large, square, and typically Armenian *zhamatun*, now destroyed but evidently an addition, before which stood the “Milk Fountain.”<sup>197</sup> The church consists of a plain basilica, once vaulted (then roofless and in 1961 roofed again to be used as a fodder store), with a single apse; it is entirely painted. Selina Ballance noted that the apse was earlier in date than the north wall, which was apparently earlier than the south wall, which in turn was earlier than the *zhamatun* foundations.

The most striking feature is the apse, which is pentagonal on the exterior and semicircular on the interior in the style of almost all medieval Trapezuntine Greek churches and distinctly un-Armenian in character. Like that of St. Akindynos (No. 57) it stands a little higher than the later naos. It is made of very well-faced blocks of alternating widths and heights in an intricate and controlled progression; it is relieved by two bands of Oinaion stone and each face of the exterior is further decorated with a block of the same stone higher up (pl. 157a). The quality and scale of this work is distinguished and out of keeping with all other buildings on the site; it perhaps comes closer to that of the main apse of the Hagia Sophia (No. 112) with which it shares a high lintel on the eastern face and the same external width of about 6.80 m. A number of *khach'k'ars* (stone slabs decorated with elaborate Armenian relief crosses) are reused in the main body of the present church; *khach'k'ars* are notoriously difficult to date and are commonly incorporated at all angles in Armenian monastic buildings, but it is possible that they came from an earlier church of which the surviving apse formed a part (figs. 45, 46; pl. 159a, b).<sup>198</sup> More important is that the interior of

the apse contains two, or possibly three, layers of painted plaster, while the naos has only one; on an earlier layer on the south side, D. C. W. noted a much damaged scene of the Koimesis in the lower register, which normally is occupied by the Fathers of the Church.

The tiny chapel in the southeast corner, dated 1421, also had paintings which Talbot Rice cleaned and recorded; now they have disappeared.

*Dates.* Talbot Rice accepted a date of 1622 for the southeast chapel and proposed an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date for the painting of the main church. Selina Ballance pointed out that the sole layer of paintings in the main church must be earlier than 1609, when Bordier saw the building and wrote that “[l'église] est de moyenne grandeur, ornee de tous costés de peintures et figure des misterres de la Passion, et vie des Apostres et saints personnages de l'antiquité.”<sup>199</sup> As Bordier pointed out, the Armenians complained that they were unable to repair or embellish anything under the Turks, and indeed there is no dated sixteenth- or seventeenth-century wallpainting in the Pontos. The likelihood is, therefore, that, if the paintings were to be seen before 1609, they had been there since before 1461. Selina Ballance's dating of the various buildings in Kaymaklı monastery depended upon the date of 1622 for the small chapel (which is erroneous), but the relative order of her dating is instructive: in a second period (after the apse of the main church) she placed the small chapel (of 1421), the belfry of the main church, and the north wall of the main church (with the south wall somewhat later). If all these are of the same period, they must be placed around 1421; hence the church, which Hodja Stepanos Shemsedli founded in 1424, would be all but the apse and *zhamatun* of the main church. The third building of the 1420s would be the belfry. Bordier wrote: “A dextre, sortant de léglise, y a la tour carrée qui estoit le clochet, faict de tres-belle et grosse pierre de taille, laquelle tour ou clochet a esté abatue a plus de moytie; nous montasmes jusques au hault, pour voir la tres-belle veue de ce lieu. . . .”<sup>200</sup> The tower was half ruined in 1893 (pl. 154) and is now considerably more so. It included a chapel on the ground and first floors and very wide windows on the second; Talbot Rice regarded it as being very close in plan and date to that of the Hagia Sophia (No. 112), which was built in 1427. This brings us back to Bzhshkean's date of 1424 for the main church and our date of 1421 for the small chapel, and to Selina Ballance's common date for all three (excluding the earlier apse, the later *zhamatun*, and perhaps the south wall of the main church).

The pentagonal apse of the main church places it directly in the tradition of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Greek churches of Trebizond; it is in striking contrast to the more normal Armenian inscribed apse of the small chapel of 1421. In 1609 Bordier put forward the interesting argument that the church had originally been a Roman Catholic one, on the grounds that the bema arrangements were so large; more likely, both historically and architecturally, is that it had originally been a Greek church on Mount Minthron

196. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 79–80; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 151. See also Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 169; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 135; Anonymous, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 270. Cf. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 227; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 292–95. Professor Charles Dowsett kindly confirms Dr. Brock's reading.

197. For a general description, see Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 63–64 and pls. 17–20; for architectural plans, see Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 169–71 and fig. 22; and for a publication of the paintings, see Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 138–243 and pls. 43–54. Typical additional, but larger *zhamatuns* stand before conventual churches at Varagavank, near Van (where the Katholikos St. Peter I was buried), and at St. Bartholemew, Zapbaşı. On the properties of the “Milk Fountain,” see Bzhshkean (1819), 84, and Surmelian, *I ask you* (see note 180), 59, 80, 102. For *zhamatuns*, see J. M. Thierry, “Monastères arméniens de Vaspurakan,” *REArm*, 6 (1969), 152–60, 167–70.

198. E.g., in the later rebuilding of the 10th-century church at Karmrakvank, southwest of Aght'amar—see Thierry, *REArm*, 4 (1967), 178–83.

199. Bordier (1609), 127.

200. Bordier (1609), 127–28.

which was made over to the Armenians in the early fifteenth century and founded as a monastery, with a main church rebuilt by Hodja Stepanos Shemsedli in the 1420s.<sup>201</sup> (Evidence of an influx of Armenians in that period will be adduced below.)

There remains the evidence of the paintings. The now destroyed paintings of the small chapel of 1421 appear to have been older than the bolder ones of the naos and *zhamatun* of the main church of 1424. Older still would be the lower layers of the apse paintings (pl. 157b). As to the main cycle, two observations may be made. First, the paintings were not presented with the church by Hodja Stepanos Shemsedli. An inscription with an "illegible" date was noted by Talbot Rice on the south wall; it records that they were presented by a certain Jacob.<sup>202</sup> Second, they were made after the *zhamatun* was added, for the now badly damaged paintings of the exterior west wall of the naos stop at what had been the level of the *zhamatun* roof. If our supposition that were the paintings present in 1609 they may well have been made before 1461 is correct, the addition of the *zhamatun* and of the paintings would be placed in the period 1424–61. The style, frankly, does not support a date quite as early as this. But the paintings, which are still exposed and in comparatively good condition, call for further inspection; moreover an attempt should be made to record the date of the inscription of the donor Jacob and also to determine the nature of the earlier layers of the paintings in the apse. We give two samples of the paintings, photographed in 1893 and 1959 respectively, in plate 158a, b. They can only be studied in early spring, when the building is empty of fodder for the farm which Kaymaklı now is.

*History.* In the winter of 1022–23 the Armenian Katholikos St. Peter I Guetadarts (1019–58) made a concordat with Basil II, who was wintering in Trebizond. St. Peter and his Artsruni sovereigns were being deported to Sebasteia (Sivas) as part of Basil's annexation of Vaspurakan, and they only returned to Van to be buried at Varagavank. The earliest source for the meeting between the Katholikos and the Emperor appears to be Aristakes of Lastivert (d. 1071), who describes how Basil invited Peter to take part in the Epiphany ceremonies at Khaghtik' (i.e., Chaldia), and the Katholikos created a sensation by inducing a great light in the water when he poured the consecrated oil on it. Khaghtik' is at Büyük and Küçük Kağdariç (Hağtoyariç) between modern Aşkale and the Chaldian Gates (Hağtoyariç *kleisourai*) on the Kopdağ Pass; the water in question might therefore be the nearby Karasu. But another and perhaps later tradition moves the scene to the Trebizond area where Kyriakos of Gandzak, Mkhitar of Ayrivank, Arak'el of Tabriz, and Smbad the Constable agree that St. Peter miraculously held up the waters of a river with a relic of the True Cross, an event still commemorated in the Armenian Synaxary on 6 January. The original version of the story mentions no river and none mention a grant by Basil to Peter or to a monastery. Brosset's identification of

the river first with the Akampsis (Çoruh) and then with the Fortuna Dere, Schlumberger's with the Akampsis, and D. C. W.'s with the Pyxites, are, therefore, probably superfluous. More to the point is that Bzhshkean's embroidery on the story, that the Katholikos stayed at Kaymaklı monastery, and that Basil gave it all the land to the sea at St. Philip's at Daphnous, is quite unjustified—although the monastery later owned much grazing land on Mount Minthrion.<sup>203</sup>

An eleventh-century foundation for Kaymaklı monastery cannot therefore be proved; indeed, nothing can be documented before the activities of the great local patron Hodja Stepanos Shemsedli in 1421–24, and even Bzhshkean regarded him as the real founder of the monastery. There is evidence for what seems to have been an Armenian refugee problem in Trebizond at the time. Ani had been finally abandoned, and in 1400 Timur sacked the substantially Armenian city of Sebasteia. The refugees were temporarily unable to reach the sea at Aminsos (Samsun) and appear to have poured into Trebizond. In 1404 Clavijo was struck by their numbers there and remarked: "[they] are not greatly liked in these parts"—they were, after all, heretic, latino-phrone, and probably destitute. Some went on to the Crimea, and on 11 February 1414 an Armenian of Trebizond petitioned the Senate of Venice on behalf of eighty Armenian families of Sebasteia and elsewhere to be allowed to emigrate from Trebizond to Crete. It was a panic-stricken Armenian woman who nearly burnt down the walled city when Sheikh Cüneyd was besieging it in the 1450s.<sup>204</sup> This evidence fits in with what appears to have been substantial enlargements of Armenian churches in the city to meet the influx in 1414, 1429, and 1431, and with the building at Kaymaklı monastery in 1421–24; probably only examination of the lower layer of paintings in the apse of the main church which Hodja

203. See Arisdaguès de Lasdiverd, *Histoire d'Arménie*, ed. and trans. Evariste Prud'homme (Paris, 1864), 26–27 and notes; M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens* (St. Petersburg, 1870), 49–50; the same, "Arakel de Tauriz," *MASP*, 7th Series, 19 (5) (1873), 26 and note; and the same, "Histoire chronologique par Mkhitar d'Airivank," *MASP*, 7th Series, 12 (5) (1869), 90 and note; the Armenian Synaxary, *sine die*—29 Kalotz; Bzhshkean (1819), 88–89; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 902; Schlumberger, *Épopée*, II, 490–92, 499; and Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 135 note 40. On Hağtoyariç and its *Kleisourai*, see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 54, 151, 157, 165, 224, 226.

204. Wächter, *Kleinasien*, 20; Clavijo (1404), 108, 113; Schiltberger (1402), 12; Arabshah, *Timur*, 190; Aşikpaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 118; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed. 465; Heyd, *Commerce*, I, 534; Bryer, "Gabrades," 185 note 89; Thiriet, *Régestes*, II, no. 1516 of 11 February 1414. Sebasteia had been the place of refuge of the Artsrunis of Vaspurakan (and of St. Peter I) in the early 11th century; if our proposal of a further Armenian move from there to Trebizond after 1400 is correct, it may provide a clue to the wanderings of MS San Lazzaro 1400 (1925), an Armenian Gospel book with Byzantinizing illumination which was brought from Trebizond to the Mekhitarist Convent in Venice in the 17th century and is known as the "Trebizond Gospels." Putting aside the possibility that it was made for, or given by, St. Peter I in Trebizond in 1022/23 (for it may be compared in date and provenance with the early 11th-century Gagik Gospels), one might suppose that it was made in Vaspurakan, taken to Sebasteia soon after, removed to Trebizond after 1400, and then sent on to Venice. See Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), 120 and pls. xxix and xxxi (1).

201. Bordier (1609), 128.

202. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 139; see also Blau (1860), 370.

Baghdasar rebuilt for Hodja Stepanos Shemsedli in 1424 can determine whether Stepanos refounded an existing foundation or was granted a former Greek church by Alexios IV, who is mentioned with respect in two Armenian inscriptions of Trebizond. The monastery flourished thereafter. Murat III (1574–95) (whose throne was still pointed out in the Citadel in 1826) was supposedly entertained by the monastery with a meal consisting entirely of dairy produce; he confirmed its lands and the place, hitherto called Yeşil Manastır (Green Monastery) thereafter is supposed to have taken the name of Kaymaklı (“Clotted Cream”). Kaymaklı monastery remained the center of Armenian religious life in Trebizond until 1915, when its final function was that of a transit camp for Armenians who were to be deported to Syria.<sup>205</sup>

49. Manglavita (pl. 160a–d).

*Situation.* The village of Μαγκλαβίτα (now Mavlavita) lies on the Kalarma Dere, which rises above the famous water source of Kitharaina (now Kisarna, No. 13) and flows into the sea about 2 km west of the Hagia Sophia (No. 112). The village lies in a gorge about 1 km inland and the caves and chapel of the monastery of Manglavita are on, and partly in, the western cliff, about 50 m above the village and about 100 m above sea level.

*Architecture.* The remains of a small upper chapel stand a few meters from the cliff edge; see figure 47 and plate 160a. Only small parts of the north wall at the east end, and the apse, can now be seen. The masonry is of small ashlar blocks laid in regular courses in a mortar of lime, sand, and pebbles. The stones are well bedded with mortar and there are few gaps. The walls were about 0.75 m wide. The plan was almost certainly of the simple rectangular type with rounded apse. The internal dimensions were about 3.5 × 7 m. A fragment of wall plaster remains on the internal face of the north side of the apse wall, but there is no trace of paint on it. A brick fragment bedded into the wall and numerous ridged tiles lying in the field around the chapel are recorded in the Appendix. Their measurements correspond to those of medieval bricks and tiles elsewhere.

A flight of rock-cut steps (pl. 160c) leads from the cliff edge south of the small upper chapel to a flat ledge below (figs. 47, 49). The ledge, now a small garden, is about 5 m wide below the top of the cliff. There are two caves in the western side of the cliff, one of which has been turned into a chapel (figs. 48, 49; pl. 160d).

The rock-cut chapel has an apse oriented to 75°. The entrance was in the south side, but so much of this wall has been destroyed that its original form cannot be reconstructed. Tooling marks on the rock face suggest that there was a further cave which would have extended over most of the area of the ledge now occupied by the garden. Half of a funnel-shaped cutting, for lighting or for the release of smoke, has been exposed on what is now the face of the rock, but in what would have been the roof of the destroyed outer cave. A round-arched niche cut into the rock to the west of the chapel bears traces of plaster, showing either that the

exterior was painted or that the outer cave contained paintings.

The ceiling of the cave chapel is a cross between a barrel and a domical vault; a tiny dome has been shaped somewhat to the east of the center. Niches are cut into the apse's north and south sides, and its roof is a roughly shaped semidome; there are grooves in the walls which would have accommodated a wooden icon screen separating the apse from the naos. Some daylight is let in by a round hole in the apse which pierces through nearly 1 m of rock off center to the south. A step leads up to the apse. The west and north walls of the body of the chapel have been carved out into blind arches. The arch in the north wall is the deeper and it is possible that a grave was hollowed out at its foot. Excavation would be needed to verify the point.

There is a second cave about 3 m to the northeast of the cave chapel (see fig. 47). It is roughly rectangular in plan, with a flattish ceiling. The inner, or southwest, wall is cut in the shape of a blind arch about 0.60 m deep and the floor of the recess stands about 0.20 m above the present floor level of the cave. The resulting platform may perhaps be a niche for a bed. The outer wall of the cave has been destroyed. Near this cave are several signs that the rock has been worked into runnels which led to a rock-cut cistern.

*Decoration of Cave Chapel.* The wallpaintings are very damaged. It required a number of visits over the years and several full days of observation to reconstruct the iconography and record it by measured drawings (figs. 50–59).

The earliest layer of plaster in the apse covers the semidome (fig. 49). This would normally have been plastered before the wall below, but in this case there is further evidence for an earlier date. The painted red border around the base of the semidome has graffiti, but when the apse wall was plastered the earlier red border was covered over by the new plaster and a fresh red border was painted. The semidome is decorated with a seated Christ Pantokrator and two nimbed figures. There are no details left save for those recorded in the drawing of figure 50 and no description of the colors can be attempted since the painting is black from the soot of fires lit in the cave. Christ is identified by the sigla [IC] ΧC horizontally and by the epithet [ΠΑΝΤΟ] (missing, to the left) and ΚΡΑΤΩΡ (on the right). The extreme left-hand figure (not an archangel) is nevertheless identified as what appears to be Raphael (with two Φs), while the right-hand archangel is identified as Gabriel in what appears to be two, or even three, attempts to spell the name, indicating that the original painting was touched up once or even twice. The bold letter forms for the Pantokrator suggest an early date in the post-iconoclastic period. The composition is unusual; an early parallel is the apse mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna, where one of the two nimbed figures is a donor.<sup>206</sup> The Pantokrator is

206. C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* (Paris, 1926), I, 218, fig. 105. The dating scheme of Manglavita is by D. C. W., who recorded this church. But A. A. M. B. must differ over the period of the earliest decoration, for the very reason that the Pantokrator is actually named by that epithet on the painting shown in fig. 50. This is very rare, and apparently unique in Anatolia. The first known “Pantokrator” to be so called is that in Monreale cathedral, of ca. 1170. But for Greek and Balkan examples one must wait until the

205. Schulz/Beuscher (1826), 29–30.

more commonly represented in the apse semidome in the West than in Byzantine churches, if only because domed churches are more common in the East, but there are examples at Eski Gümüş and Direkli Kilise in Cappadocia and at Hagia Maura, near Kyrenia, in Cyprus. Donors are often associated with the Pantokrator or the Mother of God in the apse mosaic of churches in Rome, but if the nimbed outside figures in the Manglavita painting are donors, the only close parallel with the scene appears to be San Vitale.

By the side of the south niche of the apse is a fragment of plaster bearing a cross (fig. 51). The cross appears to have had a foliated decoration and may date from the same period as the Pantokrator, or earlier. A second cross on the south face of the entrance arch may be contemporary with the foliated one. This type of non-figural decoration is common enough in Cappadocia; in the Pontos crosses form the earliest decoration of the cave chapel of Aynalı Mağara, near Amasya, and they are to be seen on the earliest layers of plaster in the Nakıp Camii, Trebizond (No. 53), a chapel at Bibat (p. 269 below) and at Sarmaşıklı (p. 272 below).

The plastering of a single panel on the north wall, where a bust-length figure of a female saint was painted (fig. 52), was possibly contemporary with the painting of the semidome. This may have represented the Mother of God, but not enough remains to make the identification certain. In the top right-hand corner the Hand of God was represented appearing from a segment of the Circle of Heaven. The flesh coloring is obtained by a yellow ground with red outlines and feature lines. The background color was green.

This first period of figural decoration covered only part of the cave. In the second period, the whole interior of the cave was plastered and the decorative program of the chapel established. On the apse wall (fig. 53) there were seven Fathers of the Church standing frontally; in the center, under the window opening, was painted a small rectangular panel with the head and shoulders of the Christ Child. It will be seen that the south niche interrupts the last figure on the south side; it is possible that both niches were cut into the apse at a later period. Without them there would be space for eight, or possibly nine, Fathers. No inscriptions or details survive, save for the patterning of the *epitrachelia* of the two northernmost figures (fig. 54), of which the most northerly had red hair with stylized curls neatly delineated in grey lines. The robes of the Fathers are white with yellow and green fold lines and red outlines. They were repainted at least once, for the Father immediately to the left of Christ shows two right hands. The paintings on the apse wall bear traces of lime

mortar in numerous places and it would appear that they were completely covered up at some time—possibly when the little apse window was blocked up.

Around the arch opening into the apse ran an inscription of which only a few letters survive; on the south side there is a cross (fig. 55). It is possible that the inscription commemorated a donor; the surviving ΚΩΡΟΠΑΛ(ΑΤΙ) could either be a personal name or the title *kouropalates*. To the north of the entrance arch is the standing figure of the Archangel Gabriel with part of the Annunciation text; so it is likely that the cross on the south side was plastered over and repainted with a figure of the Mother of God. Below the Archangel is a dado with wavy diagonal lines, a pattern not uncommon in 12th- and 14th-century Cypriot churches (cf. p. 236 below).

On the north wall a second plastering covered an earlier single central panel under an arched recess (fig. 52). Three panels were painted on this second layer, of which the center one has almost completely fallen away. The right panel contains a single nimbed figure holding a book in his left hand. The left panel contains two half-length nimbed figures, the larger one representing a man with grey hair and beard, the smaller a woman with a cowl; both wear dark red garments. A small fragment of the original painting is preserved in one hand of the woman; it shows yellow and green coloring, red outlines, and white highlights. However it was impossible to determine whether the yellow or the green was employed as ground color for the flesh. The backgrounds are green, later overpainted with blue. On the wall under the north arch there are fragments of yet a third plastering which covered all three panels. This period is characterized by a grey black upper background and a green lower background. Some fragments of this survive on the upper right-hand corner of the central panel. On this upper layer is part of a graffito with date letters giving a terminal date in the first two decades of the fifteenth century for the final layer of plaster.

The lower part of the north arch wall shows no trace of plastering at all; this supports our proposition that the arch formed an arcosolium containing a raised sarcophagus with paintings on the wall above its lid. A zigzag pattern ran round the arch. In the northwest corner is a full-length standing figure clad in a jeweled costume and wearing green boots. The upper background is green with grey-black overpainting; the lower background yellow.

On the west wall is a representation of the Dormition (Koimesis) (fig. 56). It is of a simple type with no architectural background; it includes two angels and fifteen mourners. The only elaboration appears in the foreground scene of the Jew Jephonias and the Angel which may, however, belong to one of the later stages of repaint. On this wall, too, there are fragments of three layers of plaster; the painting on the earliest layer is characterized by a green upper background, the latest by a grey-black upper background. In the earliest stage the flesh was painted simply, with a yellow ground color and red feature lines. In the latest period the flesh was represented by means of a green ground and more than one flesh color of yellow and cream tones, red feature lines, and white highlights. The patterns in the west arch are very crude, but the diagonal wavy line and the undulating stem with foliage are both well-known types.

The chapel ceiling was decorated with scenes of four feasts:

14th century (Omorfí Ekklesia, Athens; Chilandari, Mt. Athos; Dečani, Serbia; Peribleptos, Mistra; and an Ochrid icon). Thereafter, Barlaam, Meteora; Lavra, Athos; and Kaisariani, Athens, conclude the brief list; Manglavita appears to be only the ninth known example. A. A. M. B. would therefore argue that unless the epithet Pantokrator were added later, the decoration in Manglavita probably began in the 14th century, and certainly not before the 12th century. See J. T. Matthews, "The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator," *OCP*, 44 (1978), 442–62; C. Capizzi, Παντοκράτωρ (*Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica*), *OCA*, 170 (Rome, 1964), 268, 275, 285, 287, 288, 289, 302, 304; corrected by K. Wessel, "Das Bild des Pantokrator," *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), 530.

the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Crucifixion (the only scene in the whole chapel that was noted sixty years ago),<sup>207</sup> and the Anastasis (fig. 57). The four Evangelists are represented in the tiny cupola cut near the center of the vault; two have flat writing desks, the other two hold writing tablets (fig. 59). Only the letters MA survive, identifying the figure of Mark. One of the other evangelists has a red halo.

The inscriptions of the comparatively full feast scenes have somewhat demotic spellings (figs. 57, 58). In the Nativity two of the Magi are inscribed Η ΜΑΓΙ and the sigla IC XC is on either side of the Christ Child being bathed, whereas Salome and the midwife, both kneeling, are not identified.

The Presentation of Christ at the Temple is inscribed [H YΠAΠ]ANTI X̄ XV. The jumble of letters to the left of the left-hand figure, identifying the Prophetess Anna (Luke 2:36), should read Η ANNA ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΣ. The letters to the left of Joseph carrying the now indistinguishable doves should read ΙΩΧΦ. The Mother of God is identified by the sigla MP Θ̄, and Symeon by (A) CIM[E]O[N].

The Crucifixion is inscribed Η [CT]AVPΘIC. Below the sun, above the left arm of the cross, three letters survive from what may have been the inscription Ο ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC THC ΔΟΞHC, "The King of glory." On the left, the Mother of God is identified by the sigla MP Θ̄, the two Marys are described as myrrh-bearers, ΜΙΡΟΦΩΡΟ[Ι]. St. John, on the right, is inscribed as (A) ΙΩ Θ[E]ΟΛΟΓΟC. To his right is the inscription ΑΛΗΘΟC Θ[E]Ο[V] V[Ι]ΟC ΗΝ ΟΥΤΟC]. "Truly He was the Son of God" (Matt. 27:54). The centurion to the right, carrying a Frankish-looking pointed shield, does not point to Christ as directly as in most other versions of the scene and is identified as Longinos: (A) Λ[Ο]ΓΓΙΝΟC Ο ΕΚΑΤ[Ο]ΝΤ[Α]ΡΧΟC.<sup>208</sup>

The Anastasis is inscribed [H] ANACTACIC. To the left of, and behind, the Just Kings David, called ΔΑ[Δ], and Solomon, of whose name only the initial C survives, there are the haloes of two more personages. Eve and Adam are not inscribed. Christ has the sigla IC XC and the Just Prophets on the right are described as ΠΡΟΦΙΤ:

There are some indications of a certain muddled thinking. The Crucifixion scene is arranged to bear the inscription "Behold thy mother," which apparently was omitted. But the most singular feature is the substitution of the Presentation scene for the Baptism. We do not know of any other example of this substitution in Anatolian wallpaintings. Perhaps the artist was encouraged to do this by the fact that the frame was more rectangular than square and a three-figure Baptism scene would have been clumsy; as it is, space has allowed him to add the figure of the Prophetess Anna, who is depicted comparatively seldom, although she does figure in the Theoskepastos<sup>209</sup> (No. 124).

The original background colors of the feast scenes were green in the upper portion and yellow in the lower. The faces

and flesh were simply made with a yellow ground color and red feature lines and outlines. In a later period or periods the ceiling was repainted, but no evidence could be found for any replastering such as had been carried out on the walls.

The redecoration was done by a competent painter who made all the upper backgrounds in grey black; for the faces he used a green ground color, more than one flesh tone, red feature lines, and black and white for final touches. In the Crucifixion the halos of Christ and of the Mother of God are red, while the others are yellow. In the Anastasis Christ has a red halo with white and green crossbars, while the other figures have yellow or green halos.

*Date.* Like almost every other mediæval Pontic monastery, Manglavita is centered on a sacred cave. The orientation of the cave chapel, which is some way off due east, might suggest that like St. Sabbas (No. 111) and the Theoskepastos (No. 124) it had originally been associated with the cult of Mithras. There is a third cave by the lower reaches of the Kalarma Dere, on an escarpment just to the west of its mouth.

The Christian history of Manglavita is only slightly less obscure. That there was an expansion of the site is indicated by the chapel added on top of the cliff, the cuttings in the rock, and the quantity of pottery and tile fragments lying around the chapel itself. The competent and neat masonry, with small blocks, suggests a Middle Byzantine date for this expansion. There were at least three stages of decoration in the wall-paintings of the cave church, and we have an early fifteenth-century terminal date for the last replastering of the north wall. The first period is characterized by the crosses, which may be earlier than, or contemporary with, the Pantokrator over the apse and the central panel on the north wall. For this period the only indication for a date is the lettering of the Pantokrator inscription which is bold and neat. The crosses may perhaps indicate an iconoclast decoration and the two early figural paintings (the Pantokrator and the central panel) a ninth- or tenth-century addition. (It may be noted that this is the view of D. C. W. A. A. M. B. argues, in note 206 above, that the Pantokrator painting is probably fourteenth century.) In the next phase the whole of the ceiling and walls of the chapel were plastered and painted. Possibly the neat carving out of the naos ceiling, with its arches and vaulted cupola, was carried out at this stage, for these shapes certainly could not belong to a Mithraic cave. The main features of the painting of this period are the yellow and green background colors and the simple rendering of the flesh with yellow ground color and red feature lines and outlines. The simple iconography of the five scenes and the background colors are paralleled in some Cappadocian churches. A Middle Byzantine date—perhaps between the tenth and the twelfth centuries—would seem reasonable. The later period or periods are characterized by the grey black upper background color and by the use of green in the faces, which are technically more sophisticated than those of the earlier period. The terminal date suggests a period during the Empire of Trebizond for the last decoration. However, this broad dating scheme is not based on fact but on circumstantial evidence and deduction.

*Identification.* In codex Bodl. gr. Lit. 6.6, an early fourteenth-century Trapezuntine synaxarion, on folio 79v

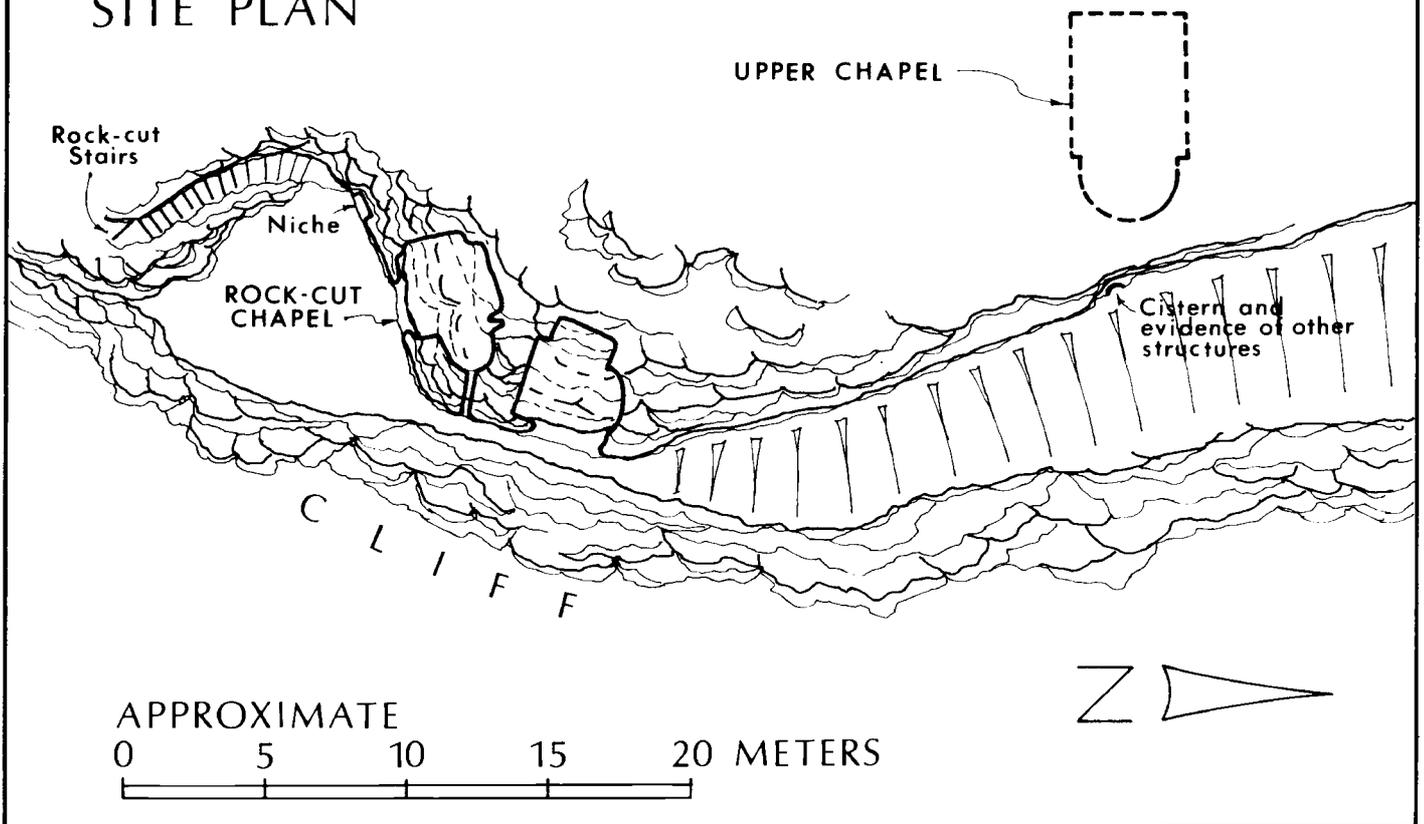
207. I. P. Meliopoulos, Χριστιανική ἱστοριολογία. Ἐν Βυζαντινῶν ναῖδιον, OK, 1 (1916), 290–91.

208. Millet, *Iconographie de l'Évangile*, 425, 440.

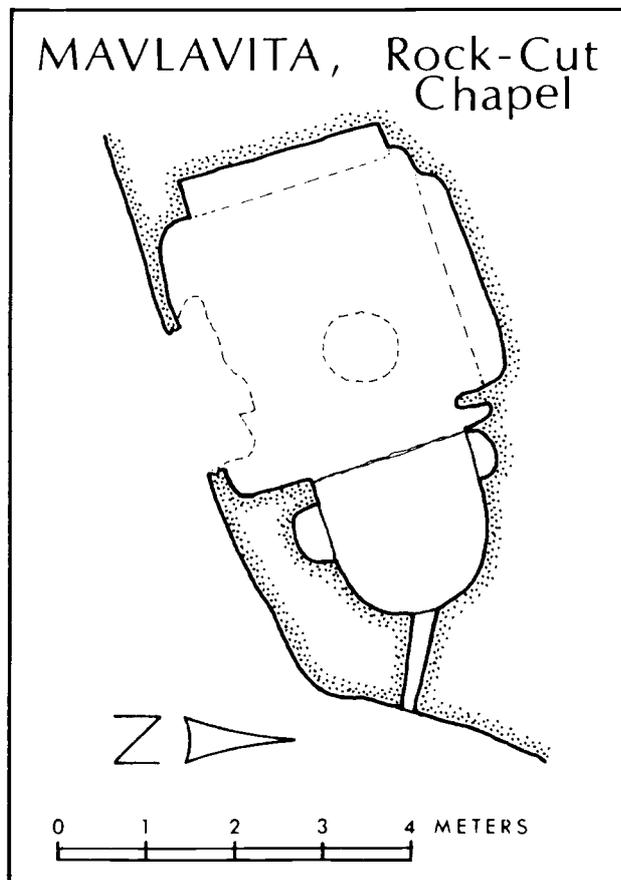
209. Not in Restle, *Wall painting*. On the Prophetess Anna in the Theoskepastos, see Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 82. In Manglavita there is no sign of the roll with her prophecy which she sometimes carries. This common Cappadocian scene is not represented in the Hagia Sophia at Trebizond.

# MAVLAVITA, Chapels

## SITE PLAN



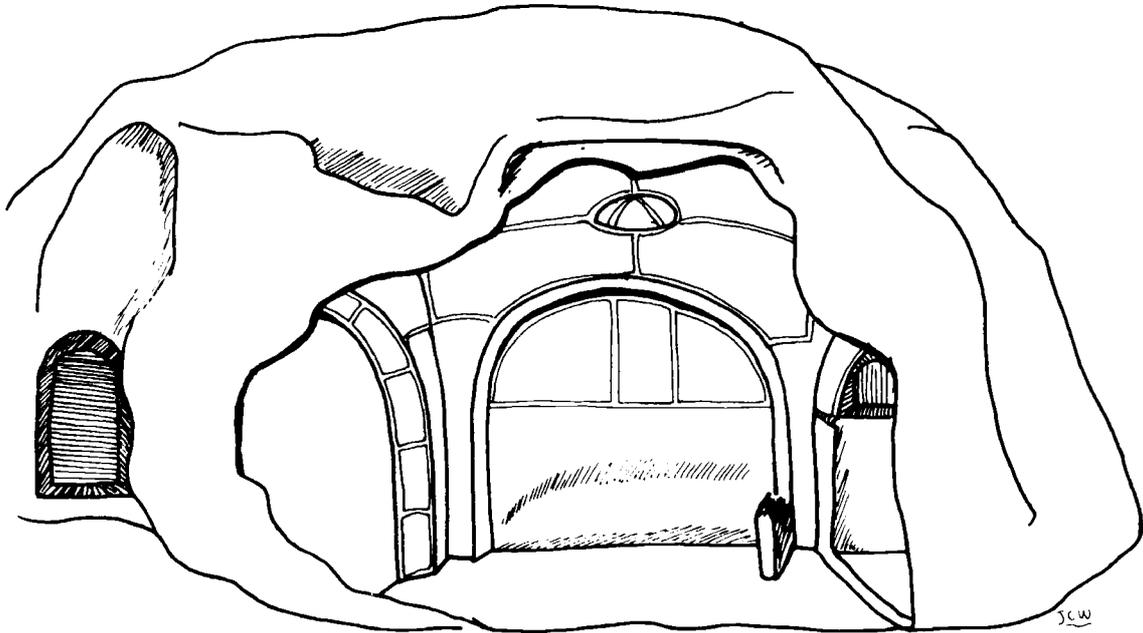
47.



48. Plan

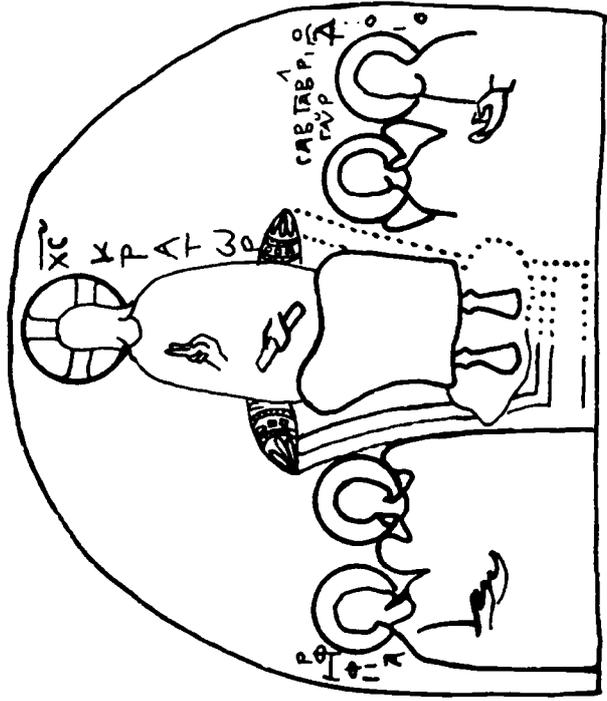


Site of cave and cliff ledge to south of it.

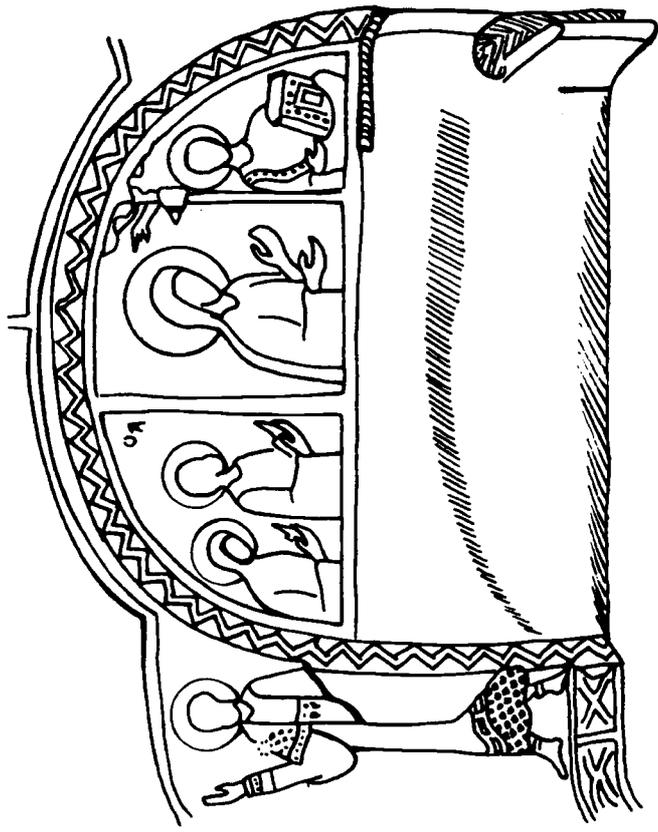


Schematic drawing of cave showing layout of paintings.

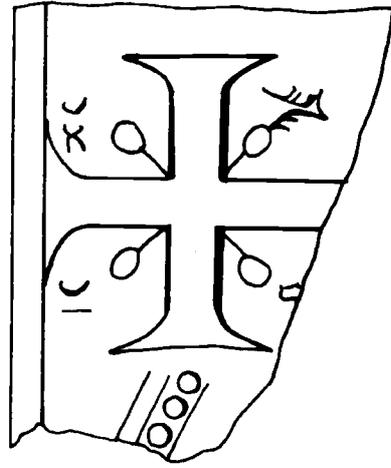
# MAVLAVITA



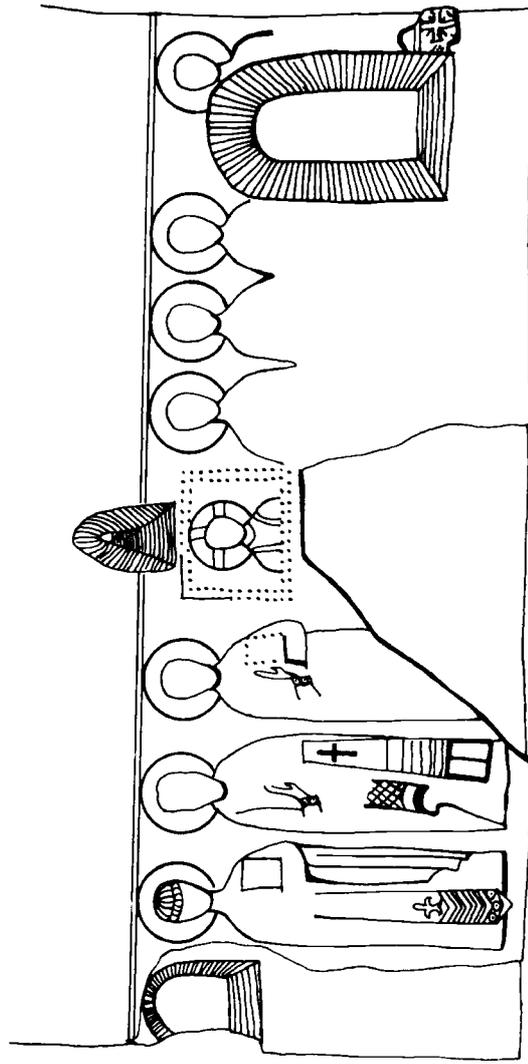
50. Semidome of Apse



52. North Wall, Lunette

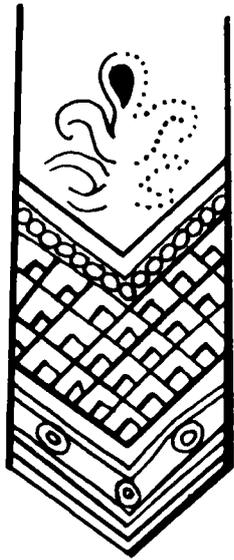


51. Apse, South Niche, South Side. Cross



53. Apse Wall

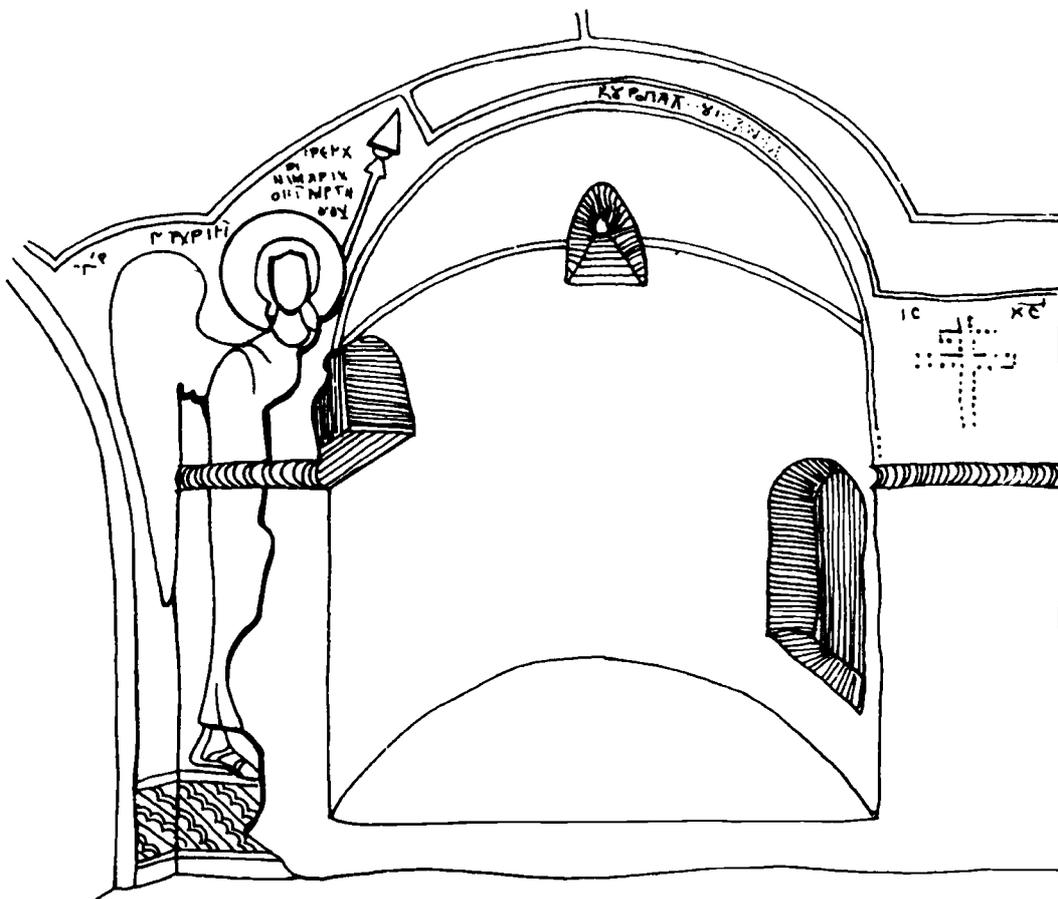
2 Meters



54. Detail of Epitrachelion on Apse Wall

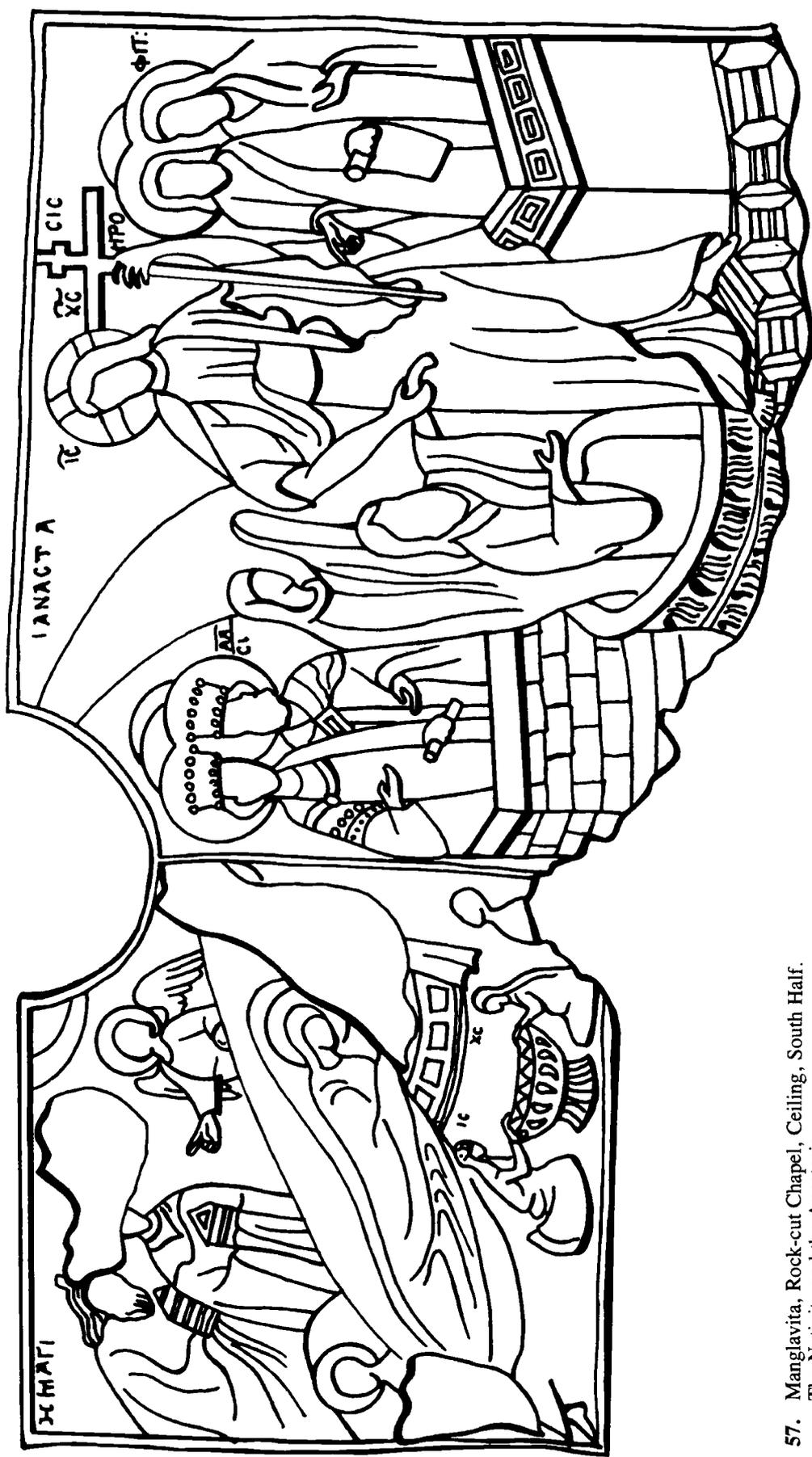


56. West Wall. The Koimesis

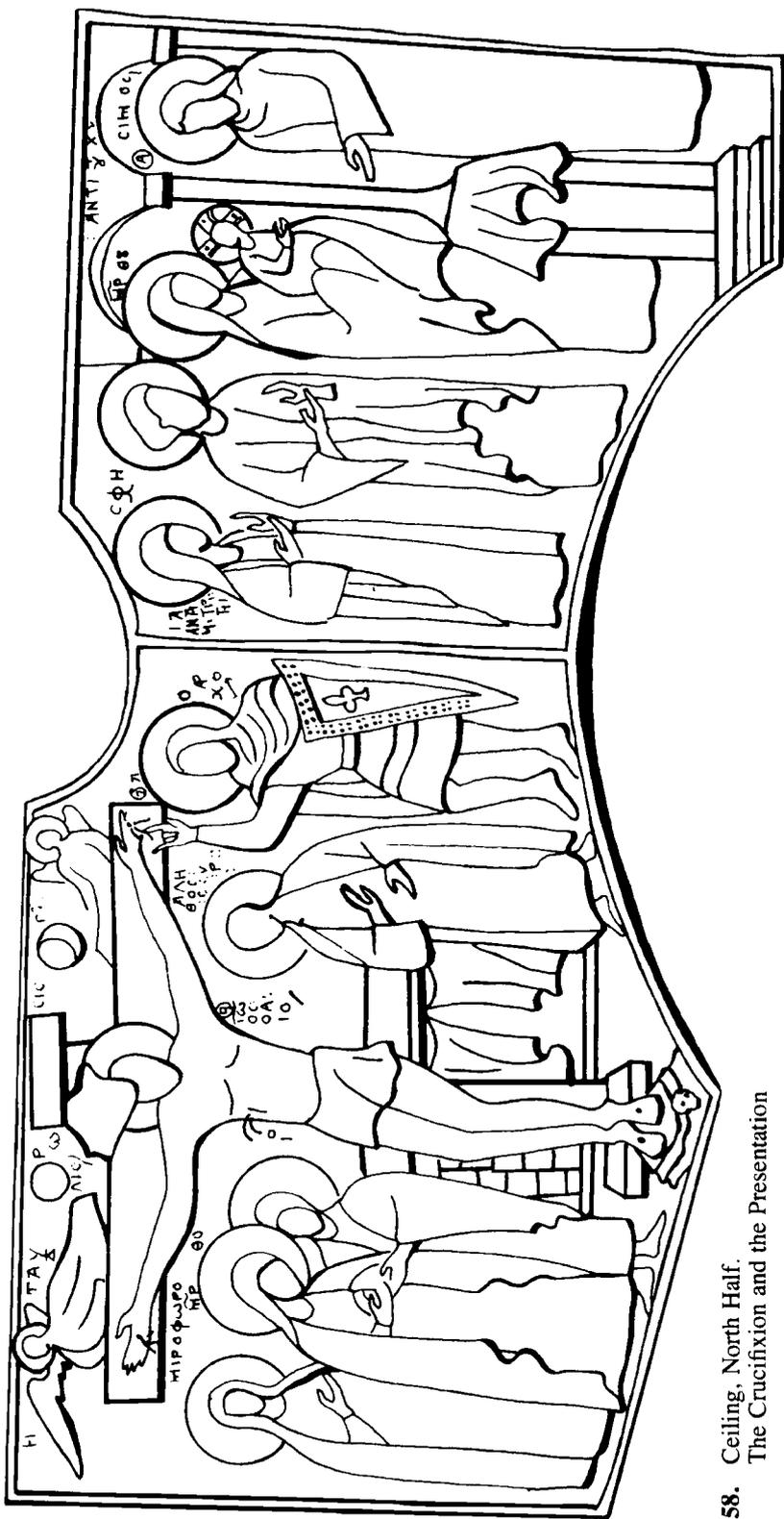


55. East Wall and Apse Arch

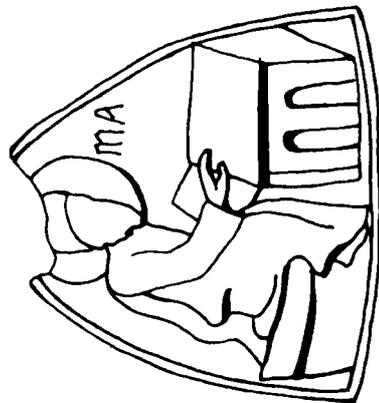
Manglavita, Rock-cut Chapel



57. Manglavita, Rock-cut Chapel, Ceiling, South Half.  
The Nativity and the Anastasis



58. Ceiling, North Half.  
The Crucifixion and the Presentation



59. Evangelists  
in Dome

Manglavita, Rock-cut Chapel

church, the Mother of God of the Pharos—clearly it was an advantage to have a body of men permanently devoted to its upkeep as part of their monastic duties. The Pharos of the Great Palace seems to have been a beacon or lantern placed on an elevated terrace rather than a tower, and was the last of a chain of signal beacons across Anatolia.<sup>240</sup> But the only comparable surviving late medieval structure on the Black Sea seems to be the modest solid beacon in brick and stone which faces out of the western (classical) harbor of Amasris (Amasra).<sup>241</sup> This is 1.86 m square in plan, about 5.30 m high, and about 3.80 m above sea level; a light on top of it could be seen at sea level for over 6 nautical miles.<sup>242</sup> The sixth-century mosaics in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, with two structures at the entrance of the port of Classis, offer perhaps the only representation of a true Byzantine lighthouse. They show stone-built square towers of very much the same proportions as the tower of the Hagia Sophia. Indeed, a tower as high as Hagia Sophia's must be envisaged if the lighthouse of the Pantokrator serviced ships rounding the Holy Cape 23 km to the west, enabling them to strike boldly across Platana Bay and approach to within 10 km offshore, and was visible as well from Kordyle and Platana (23 km and 11 km away respectively), which in the fifteenth century became increasingly important as secondary ports for Trebizond. A brazier hung at about 32.20 m above sea level (the height of the upper apertures of Hagia Sophia tower) would be visible 11.8 nautical miles (21.6 km) at sea level and 12.6 nautical miles (23 km) from the 2.50-meter deck of a caique. For fuller effectiveness, the Pharos of the Pantokrator would have had to have been a little higher than the tower of the Hagia Sophia, built in 1427 at probably about the same time as the Pharos. But medieval lighthouses, lit by wood or coal braziers, were chiefly visible by their plume of smoke by day, rather than by an uncertain glow by night, and the smoke could, of course, be seen further out to sea. It was not until Smeaton's Eddystone lighthouse of 1756 that a candelabrum was introduced; St. Bees' light was a coal fire as late as 1823.<sup>243</sup>

*The Possessions of the Monastery of the Pharos.* The bull of 1432 for the Pharos is both the most important single charter for the economic and administrative history of Trebizond and the least investigated. Not only does it establish evidence for the local administrative districts of the state, but it reveals a monastic economy on a scale comparable to the great houses of Athos and Constantinople.

The holdings of the monastery were remarkably scattered, perhaps reflecting haphazard accumulation over a very long period or windfalls to the Grand Komnenoi of confiscated and inherited lands with which the Pharos was then endowed. The only central groupings are to the immediate

south and west of the monastery and in the eastern suburb of the city, where the monastery held the *Han* of Scholarios and a number of workshops and their artisans.<sup>244</sup> Otherwise it had holdings in every known district of the Empire east of Kordyle, except for Palaionatzouka and Chaldia in the far south. The holdings are listed in the bull, from Mimera in the west to Makraigialou in the east, a distance of 222 km. They included at least three *ktemata* and a number of pastures in one *thema*, six *banda*, fourteen *choria*, five *staseis*, and twenty-four other places. The monastery claimed more than sixty-five *paroikoi* and one fisherman. By contrast the monastery of Soumela, in its palmiest days in December 1364, could list only forty named *paroikoi*.<sup>245</sup>

The bull is a major source for the boundaries of the *banda* of the Empire and our principal one for the existence and scope of the *bandon* of Trikomia, and has been used in discussion of the regions in the appropriate sections of this Study.<sup>246</sup>

57. St. Akindynos (Ἅγιος Ἀκίνδυνος) (Kindinar Camii)

*Situation.* In Kindinar Mahalle (now Bahçecik Mahalle), 300 m south-southwest of the southern entrance to the Citadel (pl. 163).

*Architecture.* Barrel-vaulted single-apsed basilica with north porch. There is evidence of three periods of building: *a.* a simple naos; *b.* a high pentagonal apse replacing an earlier apse, perhaps as part of rebuilding which was never completed; and *c.* a triple-arched north porch and signs of what may be a similar, lost, west porch.

*Decoration.* Recessed niches on the exterior of the apse; a single spiral column with palmette capital in the north porch.

*Date.* D. C. W. regards the naos as "unlikely to be later than the twelfth century"; the pentagonal apse and the porch are common features of the architecture of the Empire.<sup>247</sup>

58. St. Anastasia (Ἅγία Ἀναστασία)

*Situation.* Before the south door of the Frontisterion (marked "School" in fig. III), in the parish of St. Gregory of Nyssa in the eastern suburb of the city.

*Architecture.* A small domed chapel.

*History.* Almost certainly nineteenth-century and part of the Frontisterion buildings. The chapel was presumably destroyed when the Frontisterion became a Turkish college.<sup>248</sup>

59. St. Andrew (Ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας)

*Situation.* Apparently marked on Bordier's plan of 1609 in the Lower City.<sup>249</sup>

244. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 265—*χανακῶν* or *Han*; one workshop was in the Loggia (No. 15).

245. See p. 254.

246. See pp. 160 and 162 especially.

247. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 460; Uspenskij, *Ocherki*, 157 (with the rather unlikely suggestion that Akindynos is derived from the Latin *Centenarium*); Janin, *EMGCB*, 256 (pointing out that "Kentenarion doit indiquer, comme à Constantinople, une tour de la forteresse ou de l'Acropole"); Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 146–50, figs. 7–9, pl. xxiv.

248. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 791.

249. Bordier (1609), 133; Janin, *EMGCB*; 256–57.

240. R. J. H. Jenkins and C. A. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 134.

241. The "Direklikaya," slightly restored in recent years. See S. Eyice, *Küçük Amasra Tarihi* (Ankara, 1965), Res. 3; and N. Sakaoglu, *Amasra* (Istanbul, 1966), 271.

242. *Reed's Nautical Almanac* (London, 1971), 320–21.

243. G. W. Phillips, *Lighthouse and Lightship* (London, n.d.), 56; D. B. Hague and Rosemary Christie, *Lighthouses: their architecture, history and archaeology* (Llandysul, 1975), 9–14.

*Identification.* Probably the present Nakip Camii (No. 53).

60. St. Andrew (Ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας)

*Situation.* By the sea, under the headland of St. Gregory of Nyssa in the eastern suburb, and partly carved out of the rock beneath the church of St. Gregory itself.

*Architecture.* The chapel was a simple structure which must often have been swamped by winter storms (pl. 165a). The masonry was no doubt heavily pointed up for this reason and the mortar almost entirely concealed the stonework. The arch of the door was of carefully fitted blocks and the wall masonry of regular stone courses (pl. 165b). There were small windows in the north, west, and east walls, rectangular both on the exterior and interior. In the interior, on the north side of the apse, there was a shallow arched liturgical niche.

*Decoration.* Before their destruction, D. C. W. noted a few fragments of painted plaster on the north wall.

*History.* The chapel was hallowed in nineteenth-century Trebizond as its oldest Christian shrine, where the Apostle Andrew had first preached the Gospel to the Trapezuntines—an event annually celebrated on 30 November. Chrysanthos claims St. Andrew as first bishop of Trebizond.<sup>250</sup>

It is highly unlikely that the Apostle ever visited Trebizond. Father Dvornik has examined exhaustively the legend of St. Andrew's connections with Byzantium and finds that it was probably formulated by the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century.<sup>251</sup> He does not, however, discuss St. Andrew's connections with Trebizond. This legend appears to have been formulated as an extension of the first one by the time of Epiphanius the Monk in the first half of the ninth century, and further elaborated (not very flatteringly to the Trapezuntines) by Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century.<sup>252</sup> The first Trapezuntine author to mention the association appears to be John Lazaropoulos in the fourteenth century; he sent St. Andrew not only to Trebizond, but all over Chaldia.<sup>253</sup>

From the point of view of the local version of the St. Andrew legend, the chapel could, therefore, have existed in the fourteenth century. In D. C. W.'s opinion the masonry could well have been of medieval date.

The chapel was destroyed during the construction of the new seafront boulevard.<sup>254</sup>

61. St. Anne (Ἁγία Ἄννα) (Küçük Ayvasil) (pls. 164, 166a, b, 167a, b)

*Situation.* Off the Meraş Caddesi in the eastern suburb of the city, less than 100 m south of St. Basil (No. 66).

*Inscriptions.* Two incised inscriptions survive: 1. On

250. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 114, 789.

251. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, DOS, IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 160.

252. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 112–13; Dvornik, *op. cit.*, 176, 257–58.

253. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 70.

254. "...on fait sauter à la dynamite rocher, chapelle et cathédrale, et la première présence chrétienne à Trébizonde ne peut plus se voir que dans le livre de Mgr. Chrysanthos": Janssens, *Trébizonde*, 48.

a relief slab above the south door (pl. 166b), stating that the church of St. Anne was restored in the joint reigns of Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander and in the governorship of the *protospatharios* Alexios, in A.M. 6393 = A.D. 884/85. The text reads: Ἀνενεόθι ὁ ναὸς τῆς ἁγίας| Ἀν[νη]ς ἐπὶ Βασιλεί[ου] Λέ[οντος καὶ Ἀλε]ξάνδρου, στρατηγ[οῦ]ντος Ἀλεξίου κ(αὶ) (πρωτο)σπαθ[αρίου] τοῦ ἀνα[νεώ]σαντος τὸν ναὸν / ἔτ(ου)ς) ζτογ' <sup>255</sup> 2. On the altar stone, later removed to the south door and now preserved in the Hagia Sophia museum, an undated dedication by the priest Gregory, the lettering of which suggests a date of or before the tenth century.<sup>256</sup> All the painted inscriptions within the church, which appears to have been used as a cemetery for officials, especially ecclesiastical, may be regarded as being probably beyond recall. They included at least seven historical inscriptions: 3. On the west wall, north end, a portrait and epitaph of the priest Gregory, *deuterios*, dated A.M. 6870 = A.D. 1361/62;<sup>257</sup> 4. On the west wall, south end, a portrait and epitaph of the archdeacon John Aguanetes, *protobouarios*, dated October A.M. 6920 = A.D. 1411;<sup>258</sup> 5. On the west wall, south end, a portrait and epitaph of a *protektikos*, nephew of the lord Akakuos, dated January A.M. 6921 = A.D. 1413;<sup>259</sup> 6. On the north wall of the naos, a portrait and dedication of the donor of the painting of the Panagia Eleousa, Nikephoros Pr ... zetos, dated indiction 6, A.M. 68. (= A.D. 1293, 1308, 1323, or 1338);<sup>260</sup> 7. On the north wall of the naos, by a representation of St. Michael, dedication of the donor Sabbas Karimi, dated A.M. 6910 = A.D. 1401/2;<sup>261</sup> 8. On the north wall of the naos, by a portrait of St. John the Baptist, dedication of the donor John Makri;<sup>262</sup> 9. On the north pier of the bema and on the north wall, by a painting of

255. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 434, as corrected in Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 23 note 1. The reading "*protospatharios*" in place of a proper name "*Aspastos*" is surely to be preferred. Four out of the ten other known *strategoï* of Chaldia are known to have held the honor of *protospatharios*: see p. 316. We have not seen the "description un peu confuse" of J. P. Meliopoulos, *Τραπεζουντιακά. Ναῖδιον τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης, Neos Poimen*, 3 (1921), 266–67, cited in Janin, *EMGCB*, 257 note 4.

256. Pararikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 299; Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 436–37 is to be preferred. Part of the inscription has now been lost. The stone on which it is cut is now about 1.25 m long. Cf. the inscription of 933/34 at Fetoka (p. 330).

257. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 435; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, pl. xi (2); to be preferred to the very garbled version in Pararikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 299.

258. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 435 (with facsimile); Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, pl. xi (2); to be preferred to the version in Pararikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 299.

259. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 435–36 (with facsimile); as amended in Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 34 note 1; to be preferred to the version in Pararikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 299.

260. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 436, read the concluding lines as ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ἦ, ζ'. . . . But Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 36–37 and fig. 5 (facsimile) apparently read the concluding line as ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ' ζ'ω. It is, frankly, difficult to justify either reading from the facsimile. There is apparently a delta in the missing letters of Pr ... zetos' name. The inscription was not noticed by Pararikas.

261. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 436; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 36. Not noticed by Pararikas; garbled version in Lynch (1893–98), I, 30 note 2.

262. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 436; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 38; Pararikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 299.

the Dormition of St. Joachim and St. Anna, dedications by the donor, the priest Nikephoros; both 8 and 9 are undated.<sup>263</sup>

*Architecture.* Triple-apsed barrel-vaulted basilica with clerestory (pl. 164) and crypt arranged for graves, now gutted. Although Millet stated that “l’église, visiblement, avait un narthex,”<sup>264</sup> no sign of one remains. The apses, unusual for Trebizond and indicating an early date, are semicircular.<sup>265</sup> There are west and south doors.

*Decoration.* The interior of the church was entirely painted, notably with scenes from the Joachim and Anna cycle. Part, at least, of the exterior was also painted.<sup>266</sup> Inscription 1 is cut on the face of a reused classical relief depicting an armed warrior and a flying angel (pl. 166b);<sup>267</sup> above it are four relief plaques of foliated crosses, inserted after 1893 (pl. 166a).<sup>268</sup>

*History.* If inscription 1, recording the restoration of the church in 884/85, refers to the present structure, the church must have been rebuilt from its foundations, for it is all of a piece. Beside the south door relief, classical Ionic capitals were reused (pl. 167a, b), Millet dated to the twelfth century the earliest paintings, which confirm the dedication of inscription 1 to St. Anne; the latest portrait is dated 1413. Talbot Rice dated the foliated cross plaques to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>269</sup> Clearly this earliest known surviving church in Trebizond became an important mortuary chapel in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The gutted tombs are now exposed below the floor level; “les riches vêtements des défunts”<sup>270</sup> have been plundered. St. Anne was one of the churches of the nineteenth-century parish of St. Basil and remained in Greek hands until 1923.<sup>271</sup>

#### 62. St. Auxentios (Surb Oxent, Armenian church)

*Situation.* Probably in the eastern suburb of the city.

*History.* Although listed last of the Armenian churches of Trebizond by Bzhshkean and Ritter, it was the nineteenth-century residence of the Armenian bishop and presumably the then cathedral. It had a fine icon of the Mother of God in the Byzantine style.<sup>273</sup>

Whether St. Auxentios was also the medieval Armenian cathedral of Trebizond is impossible to determine, but three

facts suggest that it may have been, and that it was the oldest of the Armenian churches in the city. The first is the locally appropriate, but comparatively unusual, dedication to the martyrs of Arauraka,<sup>274</sup> which might perhaps be taken to indicate a foundation at a time when the cult of St. Eustratios and his companions was still popular at Arauraka. The second is that the *defter* of 1487 lists, besides a specifically Armenian quarter, an “Aya Aksun,” which may be identified with this church.<sup>275</sup> The third is the common Turkish name for St. Auxentios, “Sulu Manastır,” or “Watery Monastery.” This perhaps points to a holy water fountain, but, if taken literally, indicates that St. Auxentios had once been a monastery and hence the only known Armenian one *within* the city. Armenian bishops traditionally reside in monasteries. In 1404 Clavijo observed: “The Armenians have a bishop and a church of their own tongue in Trebizond. . . .”<sup>276</sup> This seems to imply that before the Shemsedli foundations there was only one church and that the bishop resided in the city itself rather than at Kaymaklı (No. 48), which, as we have already suggested, may then not have been an Armenian monastery. The first mention of an Armenian bishop of Trebizond comes in 1345,<sup>277</sup> but the see, and perhaps St. Auxentios, is certainly older. Both survived until 1915.<sup>278</sup>

#### 63. St. Barbara (Ἁγία Βαρβάρᾱ)

*Situation.* To the west of the western ravine of Trebizond, probably at the seaward end, possibly marking the western boundary of the city.

*History.* The *Melik*’s third attack on Trebizond in 1223 was launched from St. Barbara in the west to St. Constantine in the east (see fig. 41). St. Barbara may be no more than a place name. Unless it is No. 64, which is considerably to the west, there seems to be no further record of it.<sup>279</sup>

#### 64. St. Barbara (Ἁγία Βαρβάρᾱ) (Ayvarvar)

*Situation.* On a high bluff overlooking the sea, about 5 km west of Trebizond.

*Architecture.* A small monastery (?) with remains of a barrel-vaulted single-aisled church with single apse, pentagonal on the exterior and slightly horseshoe-shaped in plan in the interior, and a rectangular narthex and small northern chapel added later.

*History.* Although the site suggested to Selina Ballance, who first recorded it,<sup>280</sup> that the building was a monastery, and its Turkish name that it had been dedicated to St.

263. Millet, *loc. cit.*; Paraniak, *loc. cit.*; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 27 and fig. 3 (facsimile of the second Nikephoros inscription).

264. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 443.

265. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1962), 154–55, figs. 8, 9, pl. xviii(a), (b); Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 57–58, pls. 11, 12.

266. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 58; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 23–39, pls. xi–xiv.

267. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 225 and fig. 24, distinguishes “des personnages très abîmés” in place of the angel. Cf. Lynch (1893–98), I, 29–30.

268. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 58 note 1; and the same, “The Leaved Cross,” *Byzantinoslavica*, 11 (1950), 72–81. Comparison between pls. 165 and 166a will show that the plaques are additions.

269. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 58; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 115.

270. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 434.

271. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 374–79, 792.

272. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 297.

273. Bzhshkean (1819), 79–81; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886.

274. See p. 169.

275. See p. 200.

276. Clavijo (1404), 113. The problem is complicated by the fact that Oskian, *Handes Amsorya*, 75 (1961), 277–78, adds a Hambadzean Vank between Kaymaklı and Trebizond, presumably on Boz Tepe, and a smaller Guetedarts Vank, presumably on the site of the miracle of the Holy Cross on the Pyxites.

277. A. Tautu, *Acta Benedicti XII* (Rome, 1958), 160.

278. M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London, 1955), 205; Surmelian, *I ask you* (see above, note 180), 26–28 (who mentions that the Armenian cathedral in Trebizond had a women’s gallery just before the First World War); Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 369, 791.

279. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 121; Janin, *EMGCB*, 260.

280. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 171–72, fig. 23. Janin, *EMGCB*, 260.

Barbara, it is otherwise unknown, unless it is identical with No. 63.

65. St. Barbara (Ἁγία Βαρβάρα)

*Situation.* In the parish of Daphnous.

*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth century; we have been unable to locate it.<sup>281</sup>

66. St. Basil (Ἁγιος Βασίλειος) (Ayvasil) (pl. 168a, b)

*Situation.* About 190 m due south of the waterfront and about 200 m due east of the eastern wall of the Lower City, in the eastern suburb of Trebizond. It was destroyed about 1972.

*Inscription.* An inscription giving the name, titles, and epithets of the Emperor Justinian, dated Trapezuntine era 480 = A.D. 542, is on the lintel of the door between the narthex and naos (pl. 168b).<sup>282</sup> The text is a shortened version of that over the Tabakhane Gate<sup>283</sup> and contains no new elements. It reads: + Αὐτοκράτωρ καῖσαρ Φλ(άβιος) Ἰουστινιανὸς εὐσεβῆς νικητῆς | ☩ + τροπαιούχος μέγιστος ἀεισέβαστος Αὐγουστος παρέ[σ]χεντο | ἰνδ ᾗ {δ} [ε]τους VII. What is clear from the irregular lettering is that the St. Basil version is most unlikely to have been cut in its present form in 542—or, for that matter, in 1890–95, when the church was rebuilt and the lintel reused. Perhaps it is a copy of part of the Tabakhane inscription, or of another now lost Justinianic inscription, made in an access of antiquarian enthusiasm before 1819, when it was first reported. The inscription gives no hint of what it was supposed originally to have commemorated, but no dedication formula is used; one may therefore suspect that it is unlikely to have been for a church.

*Architecture.* Probably originally a domed cross-in-square building with three apses, the central one pentagonal on the exterior and the pastophories semicircular in plan. The church was rebuilt in 1890–95 to include a western gallery and narthex (pl. 168a).<sup>284</sup>

*Decoration.* There were wall paintings of Justinian and Belisarios, probably nineteenth-century, a fine nineteenth-century wooden icon screen and reused late classical or early Byzantine columns and bases—the latter employed as capitals.<sup>285</sup>

*History.* No evidence whatever seems to justify the nineteenth-century notion that the church was founded by Justinian and Belisarios. It was probably based on the existence of the inscription, and the wall paintings may have

been added as a result of that belief. Millet regarded the original plan as being of an eleventh- or twelfth-century type; Ballance suggested that the masonry of the older part of the naos indicates a fifteenth-century, or later, date. In fact it is more likely to belong to the period of the Empire of Trebizond than to the first centuries after 1461. One might speculate that its real founder was not Justinian or (as has also been proposed) Basil I, but the Grand Komnenos Basil (1332–40). Any attempt to date the church architecturally is confounded by the fact that it was repaired in 1867 (as an inscription on the north wall testifies) and completely rebuilt in 1890–95. St. Basil was then a parish church and remained so until 1923.<sup>286</sup>

67. St. Basiliskos (Ἁγιος Βασιλίσκος)

*Situation.* In the city of Trebizond.

*History.* The existence of a Greek church dedicated to St. Basiliskos the Martyr was reported in 1879, but we know nothing else of it.<sup>287</sup>

68. St. Blaisios (Ἁγιος Βλάσιος)

*Situation.* On a small headland a little to the east of the mouth of the Pyxites, overlooking the sea.

*Architecture.* Bordier, our only source for the church, reported in 1609 that, although it was built by the Greeks, the architecture was “à la Romaine,” that it was small, but “fort gentille.”

*Decoration.* “Nous vismes [writes Bordier] un guidon ou cornette de taftas noir avec les armes d’Angleterre, autour desquelles armes se voit ceste devise en françois, écrite en grosses lettres dor: Honny soit qui mal y pense, et ne peus savoir de personne qui lavoit aportée en ce lieu. . . .”<sup>288</sup> It might, however, be possible to account for this astonishing decoration. Bordier saw the “guidon” on 17 June 1609. In the years before 1609, members of the English Levant Company had been trying to open up communications with Persia through Trebizond, but few Christian ships had been allowed to enter the Black Sea when in 1609 Sir Thomas Glover obtained a license for the *Royall Defence* to sail the Euxine, the “first English shippe that ever swome in those sease.”<sup>289</sup> There was talk of setting up an English agent in Trebizond and in May 1610 John Midnall endeavored to sail from Constantinople to initiate the new project; but he was turned back on a pretext and in June 1610 the English were expressly forbidden to go to Trebizond; for nearly two centuries thereafter no further Christian vessels were allowed to enter the Black Sea. It seems very possible that the English ceremonial flag which Bordier saw is connected with the visit of the *Royall Defence* earlier in the same year, 1609, or with an English ship which called between 1605–8, when negoti-

281. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792.

282. First reported in Bzhshkean (1819), 77, and then in Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 43b–44a. See also: Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 51; Ioannides, *Historia*, 521–22; Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 315; Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 297; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 439–40; *CIG*, IV, No. 8637. The date, apparently tampered with, does not appear in the Finlay *MS*, and is differently reported in the Paranikas. It may have been added after 1850.

283. See p. 182.

284. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 445, 450, fig. 23; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 55; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 155–56, fig. 10, pl. xviii(c); Demetrokalles, *MCh*, 13 (1967), 116–17, pls. 26, 27; Janin, *EMGCB*, 260–61.

285. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 155–56; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 439–40; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 243–46, pl. 8 (a–h) (the icon screen).

286. Papamichalopoulos (1901), 183; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886; Lynch (1893–98), 1, 29; Oikonomides, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 333; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 374–75, 715, 792; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 236–37. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 44r, writes: “The church of St. Basilios is said to have been built by Justinian. It is like churches of more modern date. The dome rests on four arches supported by fine monolith columns.”

287. Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 315.

288. Bordier (1609), 121–22.

289. A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935), 49.

ations were in progress. Perhaps Sir Thomas Glover placed it in St. Blaisios to mark his furthest venture east. It was not until 1831 that a British vice-consul was to raise the device "Hony soit qui mal y pense" in Trebizond again.

69. St. Christopher (Ἅγιος Χριστόφορος)

*Situation.* On the medieval street of St. Christopher, near St. Niketas, and between St. Theodore Gabras and the sea, identified by Meliopoulos as the Semerciler Camii, in the bazaar area of the eastern suburb of the city.<sup>290</sup>

*History.* St. Christopher stood on the boundary of the Venetian concession of March 1364. It is not otherwise recorded.<sup>291</sup>

70. St. Constantine (Ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος)

*Situation.* Apparently on the eastern seaboard of Trebizond, near an old arsenal (perhaps in Daphnous), possibly marking the eastern boundary of the city.

*History.* The *Melik's* third attack on Trebizond in 1223 was launched from St. Barbara (No. 63) in the west to St. Constantine in the east. St. Constantine may be no more than a place-name, but in 1487 there is a reference to "Ayos Kostadin" in Trebizond.<sup>292</sup> It is possible that this St. Constantine is identical with Nos. 30 and 71.

71. St. Constantine (Ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος)

*Situation.* In the nineteenth-century parish of St. Basil (No. 66), in the eastern suburb of the city, perhaps identical with Church A (No. 30).

*History.* Supposedly founded by a Eudokia Komnene, daughter of Alexios II, or of Alexios III (and wife, first of Tadjeddin, emir of Limnia, and then of Constantine Dejanović), or of Manuel III (and wife of a Constantine Xiphilinos-Hypsilantes, whose very existence seems highly dubious), whose portrait was preserved in the church until 1863 and who may have been buried there. This tradition is found only in conflicting secondary sources and, while it seems quite likely that a Eudokia founded, or refounded, the church in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, her identity must be a matter of speculation. The church was destroyed after 1880.<sup>293</sup>

72. St. Constantine (Ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος)

*Situation.* In the parish of the Presentation (No. 47).

*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth century; we have found no trace of it today.<sup>294</sup>

73. St. Constantine (Ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος)

*Situation.* In the southeast corner of the enceinte of the nunnery of the Theoskepastos (No. 124).

290. Meliopoulos, Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 7 (1930), 77.

291. Zakythinios, *Chrysohulle*, 35, 78; *DVL*, II, 103; M&M, A&D III, 133; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 115; Janin, *EMGCB*, 297.

292. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 121; Register No. 828 of 1487 (information kindly supplied by Professor N. Beldiceanu).

293. Ioannides, *Historia*, 136, 236; Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantes, ed. G. Athonides, *Tὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωσιν* (Constantinople, 1870), 7–11; Miller, *Trebizond*, 114; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 457, 715, 792; Lampsides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 48–53; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 92 note 2; the same, *AP*, 33 (1975–76), 17–24; Janin, *EMGCB*, 280.

294. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792.

*Architecture.* Single-apsed barrel-vaulted basilica with west door and east window above the apse overlooking the naos.

*History.* Built by Metropolitan Constantios of Trebizond (1830–79); now gutted.<sup>295</sup>

74. St. Demetrios (Ἅγιος Δημήτριος)

*Identification.* Bordier is the only source for St. Demetrios. His account and plan make it plain that in 1609 it was identical with the cave monastery of St. Sabbas (No. 111).<sup>296</sup> He is, however, insistent on the dedication and it is possible that either the whole monastery, or just the western cave chapel (which he climbed to) were then regarded as being dedicated to St. Demetrios. His information will, however, be found under No. 111.

75. St. Dynamis (Ἅγία Δύναμις)

*Situation.* Apparently at the gates leading from the Middle to the Lower City (see fig. 41).

*History.* The *Melik's* third attack on Trebizond in 1223 was launched from the seaward side at a time before the Lower City walls had been built, and was directed upon the Gate of St. Dynamis. This indicates the gate by the Çifte Hamamı, which should be identified with St. Dynamis, a dedication which has Constantinopolitan analogy.<sup>297</sup> But associated with it are two probable chapels or churches, Chapel M (No. 40) and the Çifte Hamamı itself (No. 42), both of which have a claim to a dedication to St. Dynamis.

76. St. Eleutherios (Ἅγιος Ἐλευθέριος)

*Situation.* At the *skala* of Daphnous, on the former waterfront, below and about 120 m due south of Leontokastron.

*Inscriptions.* Two inscriptions and one escutcheon have been noted in the church; we publish here facsimiles from Finlay's diary of 1850 (fig. 61): 1. "Over the door on the under side of the arch," a quotation in Greek from Ps. 118: 20, with the date 1360 in Latin: Αὐτὴ ἡ Πύλ(η) τοῦ Κ(υρίου) δίκ(αιοι) ἠσελεύσοντε. MCCCLX; 2. On a marble slab in the north wall, 0.41 × 0.95 m, "on the right of the altar looking to the entrance," a funerary inscription in roughly cut "Lombardic" capitals, between two escutcheons, *or à trois barres gules*, of Manfred Lercari, dated 1 June 1365: MCCCLXV DIE / PRIMO IUNII / HAEC SECRES / TIAM FECIT FI/ERI MANFRED/US LERCARIUS. 3. An escutcheon bearing a double cross crosslet, "a cross, yellow outline on a white ground, is to the left of the altar."<sup>298</sup>

*Architecture.* If the church is one of the buildings distinguishable in Curzon's drawing of 1844, the original of which is reproduced in plate 105b, it appears to have been a simple barrel-vaulted basilica.

295. Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 102–3, pl. 45.

296. Bordier (1609), 125–26 and plan.

297. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 121; Janin, *EMGCB*, 265.

298. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 42<sup>v</sup>–43<sup>r</sup>; F. W. Hasluck, "Genoese Heraldry and Inscriptions at Amastra," *BSA*, 17 (1911), 141–42; Paranikas, *CPSyll.*, 29 (1907), 299 (with botched facsimile of the Lercari inscription); Darrouzès in Janin, *EMGCB*, 265–66. Laurent, *AP*, 19 (1954), 151–60, has, however, a seal of David, cofounder of the Empire, uniquely depicting St. Eleutherios.

*History.* The lintel inscription suggests that St. Eleutherios had originally been a Greek church, perhaps converted to Latin use in 1360 (the added Latin date). St. Eleutherios is the only church surviving until recently which we are sure used the Latin rite in the Middle Ages, possibly on the original installation of the Genoese in Leontokastron in ca. 1300–16, more probably after their reestablishment there from 1349 (No. 14). Despite the strictures of Father Darrouzès, St. Eleutherios is likely to be the Genoese dedication of the church, for Eleutherios had been a Greek pope of Rome (177–93) whose relics were preserved in Genoa; it was thus a particularly suitable dedication for Genoese churches in the Levant—there was another on Chios. The Lercari family, of whom a member was buried in the church in 1365, were a well-known Genoese trading dynasty in the Black Sea; it provided consuls in Trebizond in (probably) 1316 and 1456; by long-standing tradition a Megollo Lercari was responsible for a war between Genoa and Trebizond; the same family provided consuls to Caffa between 1404 and 1473 and the arms depicted in St. Eleutherios are repeated with an inscription at Balaklava. The church presumably passed back into Orthodox hands after 1461. It was a chapel in the nineteenth-century parish of St. Marina (No. 102), but is probably the Greek church described as being in ruins in 1826 and as “ruined” by Finlay in 1850. What was left of the site was cleared away with the building of the tunnel below Leontokastron in 1961.<sup>299</sup>

77. St. Eugenios (Ἅγιος Εὐγένιος) (Yeni Cuma Camii) (pls. 169, 170a–c)

*Situation.* About 190 m due east of the Citadel of Trebizond, on a small hill overlooking the eastern ravine, in a quarter bearing, in the sixteenth century, the eponymous name of “Ayo Obyan.”<sup>300</sup>

*Inscriptions.* 1. A stone-cut epitaph of a monk (name illegible), dated December A.M. 6800, indiction 5 (= A.D. 1291), came perhaps from the narthex, was removed to a Turkish school, and is now apparently lost;<sup>301</sup> 2. An inscription in the now hidden opus sectile floor bore the same date 1291;<sup>302</sup> 3. Painted inscriptions accompanying portraits of the Grand Komnenoi from Alexios I to Alexios III (1204–1349) on the west wall were noted, but not transcribed, by Fallmerayer.<sup>303</sup> Finlay alone attempted a transcription of what was visible in 1850, under the heading “Fragments of inscriptions among the remains of the painting on the Western wall of Yeni djumâ (St. Eugenios church).” His facsimile is reproduced in figure 62. The two left-hand inscriptions appear to form part of the imperial title, . . . Βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ and πίστος βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, respectively; 4. Finlay also noted an in-

299. Hasluck, *loc. cit.*; Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 200; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 454, 792; *ASL*, 6 (1868), 955–56; 13 (1884), 528–37; Curzon (1842), *opp.* p. 175; Schulz/Beuscher (1826), 14; Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 95; Bryer, *AP*, 26 (1964), 299. It is evidently the church opposite which mariners were advised to anchor, in Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 35.

300. See p. 200.

301. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 427, fig. 3 (facsimile).

302. Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 303; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 54.

303. Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 125.

scription “In one line over the door,” reproduced in facsimile in figure 62. We are unable to offer an expanded version of it.<sup>304</sup>

*Architecture.* Originally a basilica, St. Eugenios was rebuilt in its present form of a domed triple-apsed church, with central apse pentagonal on the exterior, and pastophories slightly horseshoe-shaped in plan. The building retains an added north porch; probably there was a southern porch also and almost certainly a narthex or west porch, which would have sheltered the paintings of the Grand Komnenoi, of which there is now no trace.<sup>305</sup>

*Decoration.* The exterior west wall, part of the exterior of the apses, and the entire interior are painted. The exterior painting has now weathered away, but it is probable that most of the interior painting survives in good condition beneath comparatively few layers of whitewash (rather than plaster, for the paint is not pitted to take plaster). In 1917–29 some painting could be seen near the north door; there have been further whitewashings since then, but in 1971 another expanse of painting was exposed by whitewash flaking off the west wall of the north gallery. The area exposed was widened by 1973 but had been defaced in the meantime remaining in the same condition in 1975. The painting, of three figures (not a Deesis or a Transfiguration), appeared to be good quality fourteenth-century work, in a near-perfect state of preservation, with very neat brushwork in reds, greens and blues (pls. 169, 170a–c). Lazaropoulos refers to a painting of the Prodomos (who shares a feast with St. Eugenios on 24 June), embellished with a silver chain, on the left-hand side.<sup>306</sup>

Stone slabs with bas-reliefs of birds, bunches of grapes, crosses, and a crescent are built into the exterior of the apses; there is a ropework panel in the north porch.

*George Finlay's Description of 1850.* Finlay's hitherto unpublished description is worth citing in full:

Sunday, 23. Visited St. Eugenios, the most celebrated position in the history of Trebizond from the circumstance of its large monastery frequently serving as a fort in which rebels were able to maintain themselves close to the citadel and in the very centre of the capital of the empire. The chronicle of Panaretos (chap. 10) tells that a party of the Aristocracy seized the monastery in the year 1340 and maintained themselves in it from April to July fighting with the government party in the citadel until they were attacked by the grand duke John the eunuch with the siege artillery of the time & the magnificent monastery was burned.<sup>307</sup> The present church, now the monastery of Yeni djumâ or new friday, was built by Alexios the third. It is small and its style of construction seems to indicate that, however richly endowed it and the monastery may have been by their restorer Alexios III, the buildings themselves

304. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 33v.

305. On St. Eugenios, see Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 425–38, 448; Baklanov, *Byzantion*, 4 (1927), 363–75 (with illustrations); Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 54; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 156–59; Demetrokales, *MCh*, 13 (1967), 114–16, pls. 24–25; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 393–97, pls. 14–17; Lynch (1893–98), I, 31; Papamichalopoulos (1901), 183–84.

306. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 140–41.

307. Peyssonnel, *Traité*, II, 72–73; cf. Bryer, *BK*, 26 (1969), 196 and note 6.

must have been far inferior in solidity to the previous monastery. He perhaps took care that his new buildings should not be calculated to serve as a fort to blockade his palace & the citadel of his capital. I could find no traces of the monastery except a very doubtful foundation but some may be concealed in the Turkish houses & gardens round. The site immediately shows the peculiarities which enabled it to serve as a fort against the ancient & modern city, as Peyssonnel, *Traité*, tells was the case during the last centuries during the civil wars carried on between the Turkish artillerymen *Topdžees* of the citadel & the janissaries of the lower city who occupied the hill of St. Eugenios.<sup>308</sup> It is situated on a point separated from the citadel by the great ravine that forms the protection of the ancient citadel & city towards the east and also from the site of the modern town by ravine less steep but which could form an effectual barrier against attack in former times. The walls of the monastery commanding the two ravines and running across the level space to the south connected with the lowest slopes from Bostepé would form a very strong post with facilities for communicating with the country to the east & south east of Trebizond and commanding the modern road to Erzeroum.<sup>309</sup> which must have been one of the great lines of communication between the provinces of the empire of Trebizond & the capital.

I failed in gaining admittance into the mosque. The imam keeping out of the way. There is a portico before the present entrance but the principal entrance was to the right or west side and had a portico now destroyed. I climbed over a garden wall to examine the paintings on this side mentioned by Fallmerayer and which seem to have been defaced by the weather even since his visit as I could make very little either of the figures or of the inscriptions in the three visits I paid this spot, all of some length for after the first visit I took my lunch in the portico of the mosque. Alexios III was crowned & married to Theodora Cantacuzena in this church (Panaretos, chap. 15. 16. A.D. 1349. 1351)<sup>310</sup> and it is probable that their portraits figured on the church walls in the portico. I could distinguish the red robes and golden eagles on their edges and fragments of inscriptions declaring them to be imperial portraits but not a name was discernible. To encrease my misery, instead of being able to identify the figures of Alexios I & Alexios III seen by Fallmerayer, I could not even find the laurels & Azaleas, nothing but fig trees, almond trees & beans with a few hemlocks growing close to the wall.<sup>311</sup>

*History.* The strange story of the history of the cult of St. Eugenios, which may have emerged in Trebizond in the fifth century, is discussed on p. 168 above. The first firm evidence of a cult, when it may be presumed that there was also a shrine or church dedicated to the martyr, comes with Procopius' statement that Justinian built an aqueduct of St. Eugenios in the sixth century, and in Tychikos' activities in the seventh century. There is, however, nothing to recommend the cherished tradition that Belisarius was associated with the church (and with St. Basil, Soumela, and Vazelon) and that Tychikos maintained his famous library at St. Eugenios.<sup>312</sup>

Xiphilinos and Lazaropoulos yield more or less firm (and incidental) evidence of the existence of a monastery of St. Eugenios from the late ninth century. With Xiphilinos alone, however, one would learn only that there were relics near the site of the martyrdom, a church, and a cult. Even though he would have seen Basil II in Trebizond in 1021/22 (for Xiphilinos was born there between 1006 and 1013) more detailed information of the early monastery and Basil's endowments to it come retrospectively, and perhaps less reliably, in Lazaropoulos. The early monastery seems to have been economically dependent upon annual caravans south (via Matzouka or Sourmaina) to what seem to have been extensive possessions round Paipertes (Bayburt), where the martyr's cult also flourished, until the Seljuk invasions made communications difficult. There was also a *proasteion* at Μαχώνη, looked after by a monk and apparently reached by boat; we cannot identify the place. Abbots of St. Eugenios included Antonios of Paipertes (in Basil I's reign), Ephraim (his successor, much concerned with the Paipertes holdings), perhaps Theodore (Ephraim's nephew, beneficiary of a miracle of St. Eugenios), Paul of Galesios (fl. 1042–55), Meletios, Luke Tzathes (fl. 1297–1330), and a later Basil. But when it comes to reconciling Lazaropoulos, and even Panaretos, with what archaeological evidence there is for a building that has never been completely examined, we are faced, as so often happens, with immediate contradictions. Writing twenty years after, Panaretos states that the church was burnt to the ground in 1340. Lazaropoulos maintained that there were still visible endowments of Basil II to the church, presumably made in 1021/22: two great apses (why not three?), a dome, and two great columns.<sup>313</sup> One would dismiss this out of hand, were it not for the fact that the two western piers are indeed peculiar in incorporating reused Doric columns.

We are on firmer ground in Lazaropoulos' account of the *Melik's* invasion of 1223. The *Melik* made a camp close to St. Eugenios his headquarters for his second assault on the city (which was parried by the martyr himself, for his head was paraded on the walls by the abbot of St. Eugenios). The *Melik's* threat to burn the shrine of St. Eugenios was averted. That the shrine and monastery were then in the eastern suburb is confirmed by the fact that the *Melik* began this second attack by burning the bazaar area there. John Zaxis, a hero of the siege, was buried in the monastery and his widow gave it its final known holding of τοῦ Πουτζεᾶ στάσιον τὴν ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀμμωδίῳ. But that the church of 1223 (or even 1021/22) was not the one known to Lazaropoulos in the 1360s is suggested by his reference to it as "the old monastery."<sup>314</sup> However, the inscription of 1291 shows that the earlier church probably shared the same floor as the later. Finlay's citation from Panaretos refers to the complete burning down of the church in the troubles of 1340. He assumed

308. Peyssonnel, *loc. cit.*

309. I.e., the old caravan road to Erzurum, over Boz Tepe.

310. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 69, 70.

311. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 32v-34r.

312. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vii, 1. Ananias of Shirak was told to learn at the feet of Tychikos of Byzantium, in Trebizond, "... and when I had come I found him at the shrine of Saint Eugenia (*sic*).":

F. C. Conybeare, "Ananias of Shirak (A.D. 600–650 ca.)," *BZ*, 6 (1906), 572–74; Bzhshkean (1819), 21, 104.

313. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 54, 56–57, 65, 74, 85, 87, 102, 140, 144; Janin, *EMGCB*, 266–70.

314. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120, 122; Janin, *EMGCB*, 268, was the first to point out that the Zaxis was not buried in the Chrysokephalos but in St. Eugenios.

that Alexios III was the refounder. But a surviving typikon from (but not of) the monastery, now codex Vatopedi 954/1199, written and decorated by John Argyros for the Matzoukan landowner Prokopios Chantzames, is dated February 1346,<sup>315</sup> suggesting a refoundation before Alexios III came to the throne in 1349. Like Alexios II, however, Alexios III clearly patronized the monastery and was crowned and married there. Another liturgical manuscript, Sinai codex 310/1230, the leather binding of which bears a stamped roundel design of St. Eugenios on horseback (somewhat in the style of contemporary coin types), was written in the monastery by the imperial notary George Rapherendarios in 1365. Beside this modest evidence of a scriptorium there, we know that Chioniades the astronomer bishop gave classes in the monastery, attended even by Armenians.<sup>316</sup>

The church of St. Eugenios became, traditionally, the Yeni Cuma Camii when the *Fatih* prayed in it in August 1461. In fact, Professor Lowry has recently demonstrated that both the church and its quarter probably remained in Christian hands until well into the sixteenth century. The fate of the monastic holdings at Machnoe and Ammodion is unknown, but another holding in Dryona (Dirona) passed into Ottoman hands soon after 1461.<sup>317</sup>

Literary and what we know of archaeological evidence are clearly at odds. The church may not in fact have been greatly damaged in 1340, although Panaretos' reference to "all its beauties" being destroyed then suggests that it was its decoration which was destroyed that time, and that what appears to be the sole layer of painting in the church was made thereafter, probably seeing the light of day for little over a century before being whitewashed prior to 1523.<sup>318</sup> As patron saint of the Grand Komnenoi, St. Eugenios and his monastery may well have received favors from all emperors from Alexios I to Alexios III, as Fallmerayer, who claimed to have seen their portraits on the west wall, might suggest. The Grand

315. J. Strzygowski, "Eine Trapezuntinische Bilderhandschrift vom Jahre 1346," *RepKunstw.* 13 (1890), 241–63; S. Eustratiades and Arcadios of Vatopedi, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, 1931), 202. This manuscript, best known for its series of Labors of the Months, contains a typikon for St. Sabas in Palestine, but not for St. Eugenios itself. Panteleimon codex 701 (= Lambros 6208) is another liturgical manuscript written by a John Argyros. Eustratiades' dating of it by zodiacal signs suggests a Trapezuntine concern for astronomy, and a later note of 1402 on Timur and Bayezit hints also at an Anatolian provenance. But the dates are against an identity with the John Argyros of the St. Eugenios MS, for this John Argyros finished the Panteleimon MS on 22 March 1391.

316. Porfirij (Uspenskij), ed. V. Beneshevich, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur*, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1911), 158–62; Janin, *EMGCB*, 268–69. We are most grateful to Professor Ihor Ševčenko for bringing this to our attention and for allowing us to use his notes on, and photographs of, the manuscript.

317. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 312: "Ayo Eviyan." See now H. Lowry, "Trabzon's Yeni Cuma Camii (New Friday Mosque): Why is it called what it is?" *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, 3 (1975), 91–111; and the same, *Thesis*, 60–61. Lowry argues that the "Aya Ayos" of the 1487 *defter* is St. Eugenios and became the "Cami Cedid" of ca. 1523. A. A. M. B. is in agreement with this general conclusion but, in the table on p. 200 above prefers to identify "Aya Ayos" with the Theoskepastos.

318. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65: και ἐπιπρολήθη ἡ μονὴ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄρατα αὐτῆς ἀπεκαύθησαν.

Komnenoi certainly had a passion for setting up paintings of dynastic groups; they were to be found in the Citadel (No. 4), the Theoskepastos (No. 124), St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88), the Hagia Sophia (No. 112) and in Soumela.<sup>318a</sup> But one may reasonably doubt if all eighteen rulers between 1204 and 1349 were depicted outside St. Eugenios. Such a scale of dynastic portraiture would have outdone any equivalent in contemporary Serbian or later Romanian churches. More likely is that Alexios III would have depicted his immediate family and his new bride Theodora Kantakouzene, as in the Theoskepastos, at a time when his claim to the throne was still being challenged.<sup>319</sup> The floor, with its inscription of 1291, appears to have been repaired twice, the second time (perhaps after the building became a mosque in the sixteenth century) rather carelessly.

Selina Ballance maintains (contra Lazaropoulos) that the original St. Eugenios cannot have carried a dome; the curiously angled south wall of the building suggests an earlier alignment. Very tentatively, therefore, one may postulate the following chronology:

1. An early church on the site, endowed in 1021/22 by Basil II with two columns and perhaps other features. This church still standing in 1223
2. St. Eugenios rebuilt as a basilica in about 1291, when the floor was laid, perhaps on the alignment of the present south wall
3. St. Eugenios enlarged and repaired after 1340, not necessarily by Alexios III. A dome added and the two columns reused to reinforce its supporting western piers.
4. Dynastic portraits added after 1350 by Alexios III. Interior paintings added after 1340 and perhaps also after 1350.

As has already been pointed out, St. Eugenios was rebuilt at about the same time as the Chrysokephalos (No. 120), and perhaps even in rivalry with the cathedral. But we do not know which church served as prototype of the other.

78. St. Eugenios Cave Church (Σπήλαιον τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐγενίου)

*Situation.* About 80 m west-southwest of, and below, St. Eugenios (No. 77).

*Decoration and Inscriptions.* On either side of a painting of a cloaked, nimbed, standing figure, Pararikas read (above the figure and to the left): ΑΓ . . ΙΟC which he promptly interpreted as ΑΓ[ΙΟC ΕΥΓ ΕΝ]ΙΟC); (on the left of the figure): . . . Ο / . . . Η / . . . ΩΝ / (C)ΩCΟΝ / ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥ / ΛΟΝ; and (on the right of the figure, in what appears to have been freer capitals): ΑΓΙ(ΟC) ΕΥΓ/ΕΝΙΟC.<sup>320</sup> Meliopoulos, however, saw only the enigmatic letters Τ Α Ε Κ Π Ο on the left.<sup>321</sup>

318a. One might even speculate if an imperial group was not depicted in the monastery of Dionysiou before it was burnt down in 1534, for Alexios III not only placed his and his wife's portraits on the bull of 1374, but may well have presented the remarkable icon of himself and St. John the Baptist now kept in the abbot's apartments. See Archimandrite Gabriel of Dionysiu, *Ἡ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὁρει ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου* (Athens, 1959), 10.

319. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 69–70.

320. Pararikas, *CPSyll.*, 29 (1907), 297, 304–6.

321. I. P. Meliopoulos, *Τὸ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι σπήλαιον τοῦ Ἁγίου Εὐγενίου*, *AP*, 6 (1934), 159–68; Chrysanthos, 4–5 (1933), 457–58.

*Architecture.* A rockcut chapel or shrine, 3.10 m long, 2.75 m wide, and 1.40 m high, reached by a door 1.30 m wide and 1.40 m high. It had two rock-cut “beds” (liturgical niches?), 1.77 × 0.54 × 0.45 m, and 1.82 × 0.64 × 0.67 m in size respectively, and a “table” 1.60 m long and 0.56 m wide. Paranikas’ decidedly odd drawing shows the semi-circular painted section of the cave rising from a wall of six courses of blocks in which the door is inserted.

*History.* The cave was discovered on 22 November 1898 and has not been reported since 1904; we could not trace it. Paranikas and Meliopoulos naturally claimed earliest associations for it and indeed a cave church may well antedate the present church of St. Eugenios above. But the “furnishings” are curious and neither Trapezuntine savant seems to be too sure of the inscriptions (there are even discrepancies in the two facsimiles which Paranikas published). Any further comment, such as they made, would therefore be pure speculation.

79. St. Eustratios (Ἅγιος Εὐστράτιος)

*Situation.* South of Trebizond, reached by the “upper road” over Mount Minthron (see fig. 41).

*History.* The *Melik* launched his first attack on Trebizond from the direction of St. Eustratios and the south in 1223. The dedication to the martyr of Arauraka may suggest, like that to St. Auxentios (No. 62), an early date.

*Identification.* From Lazaropoulos’ account St. Eustratios may be regarded as a landmark. If so, we tentatively identify it with the very conspicuous Karlık Tepe, about 7–8 km southwest of the city. Here D. C. W. reports the remains of a three-aisled chapel, with three roughly rounded apses and a very large narthex. Pulverized brick is used in the mortar. “About 4 meters below the summit and cut into the rock beneath the south chapel is a small cave with two niches cut into the walls of it and a sarcophagus cut into the rock.”<sup>322</sup>

80. St. George (Ἅγιος Γεώργιος)

*Situation.* In the Venetian quarter of 1367, in the eastern suburb of the city (No. 28).

*Inscription.* An inscription from a church of St. George was seen by Finlay in what appears to have been the church of St. Theodore Gabras (No. 115). His facsimile is given in figure 63. It reads: Ἀνιστορίσθει ὁ ναὸς | τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου παρὰ | Ἄννης Μαγιστρίσσας | τῆς Τζιλιοῦγκης | ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς The Magistrissa (?) Anna Tzilipougkes is not otherwise attested, but her family name seems to be Turkish (Çelebi?).<sup>323</sup>

*Identification.* For reasons stated above and below, we believe that this St. George could be identical with Church C (No. 32), St. George Tsartakle (No. 84) and Talbot Rice’s St. Gregory (No. 87).

81. St. George (Ἅγιος Γεώργιος)

*Situation.* Marked on Bordier’s confusing plan in what could be either the Citadel or the Middle City.

*History.* In 1609 Bordier claimed that the building depicted as a basilica with clerestory and tower, had been a Roman Catholic church but was then in Georgian hands. Neither this St. George, nor a Georgian church, is otherwise attested.<sup>324</sup> A Roman Catholic church within the walled city in Trapezuntine times, or a Georgian (or simply Christian) one in Ottoman times are both inherently unlikely.

82. St. George Kourtza (Ἅγιος Γεώργιος Κορτιᾶς, Κυρτ(σ)ᾶς, or Κορτζᾶς)

*Situation.* Above the ravine of St. George, from which it takes, or to which it gives, its name; close to, and northwest of, St. Eugenios.

*Inscription.* A round stone plaque recording the restoration of his throne by Metropolitan Basil (pl. 161), now lost. The plaque is closely analogous to inscription 2 of the Chrysokephalos (fig. 60), which is dated 914. It was brought to St. George before 1893, according to Millet, from the Chrysokephalos.

*History.* This apparently medieval chapel was replaced in the nineteenth century by another chapel in the parish of Christ. Its epithet is probably derived from the Κόρπη or Citadel which overlooks it. A holy fountain (very probably that of No. 85), venerated by both Christians and Muslims, was associated with the chapel. We can find no trace of either today.<sup>325</sup>

83. St. George of the Limnians (Ἅγιος Γεώργιος τοῦ καλουμένου Λιμνιώτου)

*Situation.* In 1223 a small gate from the Citadel, perhaps associated with a chapel, which we have identified with that at the northeast corner of the Citadel (No. 55). It was on the imperial ceremonial route from the palace to the Chrysokephalos<sup>326</sup> (pl. 123a).

84. St. George Tsartakle (Ἅγιος Γεώργιος Τσαρτακλή)

*Situation.* Between Meraş Caddesi and the site of the Venetian Castle.

*Identification and History.* For reasons stated above and below, we believe that this St. George could be identified with Church C (No. 32), the St. George of 1367 (No. 80), and Talbot Rice’s St. Gregory (No. 87), which would give it a firm medieval background. But it does not assume the epithet “Tsartakle” until the eighteenth century, when the parish, of which it was the main church, was in the hands of the Satiroğlu family. The epithet is perhaps Turkish (*çarşı* ? or bazaar; *çardaklı*? or pergola).<sup>327</sup>

324. Bordier (1609), 133 and plan.

325. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 422 and fig. 1; Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 302; Bzhshkian (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 52; Anonymous, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 270.

326. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120; Janin, *EMGCB*, 261; see p. 194 and fig. 44.

327. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886; Oikonomides, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 333; Bzhshkian (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 52; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 248; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 714–23, 792.

Speculation is based on a reference to a cave in Loukites, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *GHIT*, 20.

322. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 121; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt.* 12 (1962), 139–40, figs. 2, 3 (plan of the church and drawing of the cave); Janin, *EMGCB*, 270.

323. *DVL*, II, 128; Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 43v–44r. Cf. the Tzelipes and Tzilepenopoulos of the 15th century, in Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 134.

## 85. Fountain of St. George

*History.* Ritter reports a fountain (ἁγίασμα) of St. George, near St. Eugenios, called by the Turks “Hidr Ilyas” (Prophet Elijah). It is in all probability identical with that of No. 82.<sup>328</sup>

## 86. St. Gregory (Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος)

*Situation.* On a small summit beside the mouth of the Pyxites.

*History.* This small church or chapel, with a fine fountain and gardens nearby, is noted only by Bordier in 1609, who regarded it as “fort ancienne.” We can find no trace of it.<sup>329</sup>

## 87. St. Gregory (Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος)

*Situation.* “Between the main street of the Bazaar and the sea.”

*Architecture.* A triple-aisled church with three semi-circular apses, and with four columns within. It “is probably only slightly earlier in date than Nakip Djami, to which it is very similar both in style and plan.” The church, which no longer survives, is reported only by Talbot Rice. As no church of St. Gregory is attested here otherwise, it is possible that Talbot Rice was misinformed about its dedication and that what he saw was in fact St. George Tsartakle (No. 84). If this is so, the identity of St. George Tsartakle with the St. George of 1367 (No. 80) becomes a strong possibility.<sup>330</sup>

## 88. St. Gregory of Nyssa (Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης)

*Situation.* On the most easterly headland of the eastern suburb before Leontokastron (fig. III, pls. 152a, 171).

*Inscriptions.* 1. An inscription of Diocletian built into the church before 1863 and replaced with rather more of its face showing when the church was rebuilt after 1863;<sup>331</sup> 2. An epitaph of the blessed Theodore “abbot of this monastery,” who died on 7 May A.M. 6871 = A.D. 1363, in the cemetery of the church;<sup>332</sup> 3. An inscription referring to an Eudokia who became a nun under the name of Euphemia, which calls for comment.

Fallmerayer published facsimiles of four inscriptions in the Panagia Theoskepastos (No. 124). They were, in order, of Alexios III, of Theodora his wife, of Eudokia/Euphemia, and of Eirene his mother. Fallmerayer’s facsimile of the Eudokia/Euphemia inscription is shown in figure 65. His interpretation of this ran: + ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΧΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΕΥΣΕ/ΒΕCΤΑΤΗ Ἡ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ / ΑΓΓΕΛΗ ΕΥΦΜΜΗ Ἡ ΜΟΝΑΧΗ (*sic*) / Ἡ ΜΑΜΗ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΑΝΟΥ.<sup>333</sup> This was revised by Millet as /Εὐδοκία Χ(ριστοῦ) χάριτι εὐ/σεβεστᾶτη ἡ διὰ Θεοῦ καί / Ἄγγελι Εὐφίμι ἡ μοναχῆ / ἡ μάμι τοῦ Ἡοάννου.<sup>334</sup> The identity of this Eudokia/Euphemia, and the reading of the last line of

the inscription, has exercised A. A. M. B., Kuršanskis, and Lampsides—who proposed a reading of Η ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΗ for the last line.<sup>335</sup> All were working on the assumption that Eudokia/Euphemia was a Grand Komnene, with some relation to a John, who took the veil at the Theoskepastos, and produced some ingenious solutions. But A. A. M. B. had been disturbed by the fact that Fallmerayer was the sole witness to the Eudokia/Euphemia inscription in the Theoskepastos. It was not noted by Tournefort (1701), Bzhshkean (1819), or Texier (1839)—who published an admittedly garbled facsimile of the other three inscriptions, but with accompanying portraits of only Alexios III, Theodora, and Eirene.<sup>336</sup> No witness before the Theoskepastos paintings were repainted in 1843 mentions that the Eudokia/Euphemia inscription (noted only by Fallmerayer) was accompanied by a portrait. Furthermore it is the only one of an essentially dynastic group which does not mention any imperial title or name. These factors should have aroused suspicion, but what was not noticed at the time by Millet, Lampsides, A. A. M. B., or Kuršanskis is that what is manifestly the same inscription was noted by Paranikas in the church of St. Gregory of Nyssa, after it was rebuilt in 1863, and, therefore, was probably cut in stone rather than painted beside a portrait of which there is no evidence. The conclusion can only be that Fallmerayer in his notes had inserted an inscription from St. Gregory of Nyssa into a group of three imperial portraits in the Theoskepastos—among which three other witnesses saw neither portrait nor inscription. It helps that Paranikas was innocent of any knowledge of Fallmerayer, and Lampsides, in turn, of Paranikas (or, rather, they do not refer to each other), for both Fallmerayer and Paranikas read that Eudokia/Euphemia was a μάμη of a John, rather than a Μεγάλη Κομνηνή. It is possible that the Eudokia/Euphemia was Eudokia Palaiologine, wife of a John II (1282–97), who was the grandmother (μάμη) of John III (1342–44), and that John III, rather than her sons Alexios II or Michael, is emphasized because there is some evidence that she disapproved of her sons’ rule during her widowhood before her death in 1301; there is also some evidence (cited below) that Eudokia Palaiologine was associated with the church.<sup>337</sup> This would accord with a figure who was evidently imperial (εὐσεβεστᾶτη) but not a Grand Komnene.

*History Before 1863.* St. Gregory of Nyssa was a medieval monastery, probably that described as “Ayos Grigoros” in the *defter* of 1487, which was still a monastery (with connections with Vatopedi on Mount Athos) in the

328. Ritter, *Erkunde*, XVIII, 887.

329. Bordier (1609), 122.

330. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 59–60 and pl. 14.

331. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 41<sup>r</sup> has the last two lines; Paranikas has all six in *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 296 (cf. *CIL*, III [1], No. 6746). See also p. 182.

332. Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 298.

333. Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 66, 101–12; II, 96.

334. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 438.

335. Lampsides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 45–53; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 92 note 2; M. Kuršanskis, “Une alliance problématique au XVe siècle. Le mariage de Valenza Comnena, fille d’un empereur de Trébizonde, à Niccolo Crispo, seigneur de Santorin,” *AP*, 30 (1970), 95 note 3; Cahen, *P-OT*, 312.

336. Tournefort (1701), II, 175–76; Bzhshkean (1819), 78; Texier (*Asie Mineure*, 1839), 597 (= Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, 201–2 and pl. 66); and here, p. 244.

337. Panaretos uses προμάμη once for “grandmother” and μάμη once for either “grandmother” or “stepmother”; ed. Lampsides, 80, 78. See also Pachymeres, Bonn ed., II, 270–75; Nikephoros Gregoras, Bonn ed., I, 202, 287–89.

early seventeenth century. After *ca.* 1665, when St. Philip's (No. 108) was converted into a mosque, it became the cathedral of Trebizond and was completely rebuilt in 1863.<sup>338</sup> The best description of its aspect before then is that of George Finlay, in 1850:

The metropolitan church is a small building within the same court as the episcopal residence. Before the door there is a porch on the right- and left-hand walls of which there are three imperial full-length figures on each side. The church is dedicated to St. Gregory of Nyssa. On the right wall of the porch nearest the church door is the figure of an empress with double-headed eagles embroidered on her robes, the centre figure is that of an emperor whose robes have single headed eagles. This induces me to conjecture that the emperor is John II A.D. 1280–1297 who married Eudocia the daughter of Michael VIII Palaeologos the restorer of the Byzantine Greek empire, which makes these paintings extremely interesting from their antiquity. [In fig. 64] I give the form of the crowns worn by the emperor and empress. The third figure near the door is much defaced. On the left-hand side the figure of an emperor nearest the door has a crown similar to that of the central figure on the right except that it is surmounted by a cross of pearls on its summit; his robes are very richly embroidered. The inscriptions on the right-hand side near the figures are illegible. I could not discover any on the left-hand side.<sup>339</sup>

Finlay's conclusions about the identity of the imperial figure led Miller, who used his manuscript, to conclude that the church contained the portraits of John II and Eudokia Palaiologine, "and it was noticeable that while his robes were adorned with the single-headed eagle, 'the special emblem of the Comneni of Trebizond',<sup>340</sup> his Imperial consort's were distinguished by the double-headed eagle of Byzantium, to show her superior origin."<sup>341</sup> In fact, the identification is not so easy as that, although there seems to have been an independent Greek tradition that it was Eudokia who founded St. Gregory of Nyssa before 1301,<sup>342</sup> for that the "special emblem" of the Grand Komnenoi was the single-headed eagle may be something of a Trapezuntine historiographical myth begun by Fallmerayer. There is a single-headed eagle in relief upon the upper angle of the south facade of the Hagia Sophia (No. 112), but there is no reason to believe that this represents anything more than just an eagle.<sup>343</sup> But from the mid-fourteenth century double-headed eagles appear on the

coins of the Empire and symbolize it on Catalan maps.<sup>344</sup> The double-, rather than single-, headed eagle seems to have been used as a mark of the Empire. It was, of course, a much more common symbol of the Palaiologan Empire of Constantinople. In the Kariye Camii double-headed eagles decorate the robes of a Palaiologos and a monocephalous bird those of a Raoul; Theodora Kantakouzene, wife of Alexios III, is depicted at the head of their chrysobull of 1385 for Dionysiou wearing double-headed eagles on her costume.<sup>345</sup> But Alexios is shown in imperial robes which do not include eagles, either single or double-headed. It is true that John II had made certain undertakings about his imperial status to his father-in-law, Michael VIII Palaiologos, and that Palaiologan and Kantakouzene brides sported double-headed eagles on their robes, but it would be pressing the point to make John II deliberately wear inferior single-headed eagles on his robes in an imperial portrait.<sup>346</sup>

At the most, therefore, we have evidence for the patronage of the Grand Komnenos John II (1282–97) and of his wife Eudokia Palaiologine (d. 1301) (who may conceivably have become the nun Euphemia in her last year) of the monastery of St. Gregory of Nyssa. At the least, we can say that an emperor and empress of Trebizond were depicted there and that the church housed an inscription referring to an imperial lady called Eudokia, who became the nun Euphemia and had a grandson called John.

*Architecture.* Finlay indicates that the church was small and had north and south porches. In 1963 D. C. W. noted traces of medieval foundations beneath those of the cathedral of 1863, but not enough was revealed to distinguish the plan of the building. There was also a hole heavily lined with lime plaster and containing large quantities of pulverized earthenware. This may have been a small Roman or Early Byzantine cistern.

*History after 1863.* In 1863 Metropolitan Constantios of Trebizond (1830–79), who was responsible for the rebuilding of so many medieval monuments of the city during his long reign, replaced the old medieval church of St. Gregory of Nyssa by the most ambitious of all his projects. The new cathedral was a vast cross-in-square church with three "Pontic" apses, belfry, and decahexagonal drum to its dome (pl. 171). The tomb of the last king of Iberia was spared on

338. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 150–65; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 454–55, 553–55; information from Professor N. Beldiceanu; Janin, *EMGCB*, 264–65.

339. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fols. 41<sup>r</sup>–42<sup>r</sup>.

340. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 428; Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 95.

341. Miller, *Trebizond*, 31–32; Janssens, *Trébizonde*, 89.

342. Ioannides, *Historia*, 237; Paraniikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 298; Bryer, *AP*, 33 (1975–76), 17–18; and the same, *REB*, 34 (1976), 129. See now M. Kuršanskis, "Note sur Eudocie/Euphémie," *AP*, 34 (1977–78), 155–58.

343. Brounov, *Byzantion*, 4 (1927), 403–4. A better argument might be adduced from the single-headed eagle shown on a warrior's spade-shaped shield in a now fragmentary scene on the west vault of the north porch of the church, not illustrated or described in *Hagia Sophia*, ed. Talbot Rice, 182–83, but pointed out on the spot by D. C. W. to A. A. M. B. in 1975. But it, too, may represent no more than an eagle. The single-headed eagle is used today as the symbol of the Committee for Pontic Studies and other Pontic organizations in Greece.

344. O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt*, (Moscow, 1910), pl. xv (12); S. P. Lambros, Δικέφαλος αετός ἐν νομισματι τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας Τραπεζούντος, *NE*, 6 (1909), 445; J. A. C. Buchon and J. Tastu, "Notice d'un atlas en langue catalane," *NEBR*, 14 (2) (1843), pl. opp. p. 77; the Franciscan anonymous, *Libro del Conoscimiento* (Madrid, n.d.), 57 and pl. xviii, No. 85, of *ca.* 1340, gives "the Emperor of TRAPESONDA . . . for his device a red flag with a golden two-headed eagle." D. P. Kalogeropoulos maintains a Trapezuntine emigration in Crete because of a relief of a single-headed eagle: Ὁ μονοκέφαλος αετός τῆς Σητείας, *ChP*, 2 (1945), 354; cf. Bryer, "Gabrades," 185 note 89. Such evidence is not sufficient.

345. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (London, 1966), I, 280–92; III, 546–47; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), pls. 85, 88.

346. Pachymeres, Bonn ed., I, 519–52; Guiland, *REB*, 17 (1959), 69–70. The Trapezuntine owner of codex Paris. gr. 2087 seems to have gone out of his way to emphasize the Palaiologan ancestry of Eudokia's son, the Grand Komnenos Alexios II: Darrouzès, *AP*, 26 (1964), 38.

the south side (No. 25), and inscriptions 1, 2, and 3 were preserved or reincorporated into the structure. The church was a principal landmark of Trebizond until the 1930s, when it was dynamited to make way for the City Club, which was itself demolished in 1963 to make way for the new seafront boulevard.<sup>347</sup>

89. St. John the Sanctifier, Mount Minthrion  
(Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Ἀγιαστής)

*Situation.* On the summit of Mount Minthrion, above the Theoskepastos (No. 124), overlooking the city.<sup>348</sup>

*Architecture.* D. C. W. reports: "The cave from which the water springs is itself roughly carved into the shape of a chapel with an apse and a few fragments of painted plaster still cling to the walls. There is a nineteenth-century church above the cave to the east, which has now been turned into a mosque, and there are the ruins of a small rectangular chapel with round apse about  $\frac{1}{2}$  km. further south up the valley."<sup>349</sup>

*Identification.* As Darrouzès points out, a monastery was probably situated on Mount Minthrion. Certainly a shrine of St. John the Sanctifier was built there, a place of some consequence. If the two are not identical, we propose that the remains reported by D. C. W. belong to one of them and, probably, to both.

*History.* The site was more than a mere church or even monastery. Loukites suggests that it replaced a sanctuary of Mithras, after whom Boz Tepe was originally named. That the Turks attacked it in 1336 indicates that it was worth raiding. The imperial family camped around St. John the Sanctifier to avoid the plague raging in the city in 1362 and three years later Kütlübeğ, Alexios III's son-in-law, camped there for eight days on his state visit to Trebizond. There is an obit of the hieromonk and ecclesiarch Cyril of Mythrios, dated 13 May 1434, in codex Bodl. gr. Lit. d. 6, fol. 83<sup>v</sup> below.<sup>351</sup> How long his monastery there survived is not known, but in 1850 Finlay found "a number of Turkish women at the chapel of the Prodomos on the summit of Bostepé"<sup>352</sup>—apparently the same place and still revered.

90. St. John (Surb Ohan or Hovhannes, Armenian church)

*Situation.* On Surb Ohan Square, near Church K (No. 38) and the Bedesten (No. 7).

*Inscription.* There was an "ancient" and unpublished inscription over the door.

*Architecture.* Small chapel with belfry (ruined before 1819), adjoining a small cemetery or mausoleum.

*History.* The church survived until 1915, but we can find no trace of it today.

347. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 52; Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 315; Lynch (1893–98), I, 30; Oikonomides, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 332.

348. Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 32; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 107, 451–52.

349. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 134 (confused with No. 85).

350. Loukites, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 9; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 64, 74, 76, Janin, *EMGCB*, 282–83.

351. Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 133.

352. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 31<sup>r</sup>.

91. St. John the Prodomos and Baptist, tes Petras  
(Church H, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης τῆς Πέτρας; Ἐξότειχος)  
*Situation:* About 150 m west of the Lower City (fig. III).

*Inscription.* A demotic inscription recorded the establishment of the church of St. John tes Petras with land of up to twelve fathoms around in the area of lord Theodore Kamachenos (who held his land from his brothers and lady Eirene widow of Tzanichites), sold by his sons Niketas and Gregory to its hieromonk Barnabas (Basil) Thathalanos, the witnesses being Theodore Tzanichites, Gregory Kamachenos his cousin, George Torkopoulos, Theodosios Aaron, Theodore Latzes (or Chatzes), and many others, in A.M. 6841, indiction 4 = A.D. 1306.<sup>354</sup> The inscription is important for it is the earliest record of such Pontic aristocratic families as the Tzanichites and Kamachenos. The epithet τῆς Πέτρας is paralleled by the same dedication in Constantinople and, more interestingly, is also the name used for the monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos (founded by Alexios III) in Trapezuntine documents. The inscription is now lost.

*History.* St. John was entirely rebuilt in its present form in 1856 by Metropolitan Constantios of Trebizond, justifying a separate entry as No. 92. It was the parish church then of the "Exoteicha." The church is now part of the Kaledibi İikokulu. We have no indication of its original form.<sup>355</sup>

92. St. John Exoteichos (Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Ἐξότειχος).  
See No. 91.

93. St. John Prodomos (Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος)  
*Situation.* In Daphnous.

*History.* Nineteenth-century parish church of Daphnous.<sup>356</sup> We can find no trace of it.

94. St. John the Theologian (Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος) (Mum Hane Camii)

*Situation.* In the wax-workers' quarter, "in a nook of the rock under the eastern wall of the Lower Citadel, close to the sea."<sup>357</sup>

*Architecture.* A domed triple-apsed basilica of about 10 × 6 m (pl. 172). The vaulting of the dome was carried by four columns. The apses were round on the interior and, exceptionally, triangular on the exterior. Apart from the porches, the plan was akin to that of St. Eugenios.

*Date.* Regarded by Talbot Rice as "slightly later" than St. Eugenios.

*History.* St. John the Theologian seems also to have gone under the curious title of the Θεογεννητρία Καρούλα.

353. Meliopoulos, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.*, 7 (1933), 77; Bzhshkean (1819), 81–82; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886.

354. The inscription is in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *CPSyll*, 17 (1887), 114–15; Paraniakas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 299–300; and in Millet, *BCH*, 20 (1896), 496–99 (to be preferred). Uspenskij's dates of 1203/4 and 1210/11 in *Ocherki*, 142–43, are to be rejected; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 460–62, 622, 723, 792; Janin, *EMGCB*, 286–87.

355. Oikonomides, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 333; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 241–43, fig. 2, pls. 6–7 (with plan); Oikonomides, *Dionysiou*, 21. Succi, *Trebisonda*, 242, confuses it with the Hypapante.

356. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792.

357. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 55.

Like all the churches in the walled city, St. John probably became a mosque in 1461. It fell into disuse before 1893 and became a police station, a new building for which replaced it before 1929.<sup>358</sup>

95. St. John Vazon, Metochion

*History.* Speaking of the monastery of St. John, Vazon, in 1701, Tournefort noted that the monks had "a good many Houses even in *Trebizond*: we lodg'd there in a large Convent that belong'd to them."<sup>359</sup> We cannot identify this "large Convent," evidently a *metochion* of the monastery in the city, unless it be No. 106.

96. St. Kerykos. See Chapel L (No. 39)

97. St. Kyriake (Ἁγία Κυριακή)

*Situation.* In the parish of St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88).

*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth century, but perhaps older, for it is mentioned in 1819.<sup>360</sup> We can find no trace of it.

98. St. Longinos (Ἅγιος Λογγίνος)

*Situation.* Near, and perhaps to the north of, St. Eugenios.

*History.* The *Melik's* second attack on Trebizond in 1223 was launched from a front against the eastern walls which stretched from St. Eugenios to St. Longinos (one of the Arauraka martyrs) (see fig. 41). The church (or place) is not mentioned again.<sup>361</sup>

99. St. Mammias (Ayomam, Ayos Manos, Surb Mammias; Armenian church)

*Situation.* In a "street of the Armenians" on the east side of Mount Minthrion.

*Inscription.* An inscription referred to Hodja Miridjan, a donor of the church.

*History.* St. Mammias was a dependent of Kaymaklı (No. 48), with which it was supposedly connected by a subterranean passage. It was already in ruins in 1819 and we cannot trace it. Known to nineteenth-century Turks as "Ayomam," it could be the "Ayos Manos" of the *defter* of 1487.<sup>362</sup>

100. St. Margaret

*Situation.* Probably in, or near, Kanitou (No. 12) in the eastern city.

*History.* The boundary of the Venetian concession of 1319 began at the *ecclesia Sancte Margarite* (see No. 28).<sup>363</sup> The church is not otherwise attested. St. Margaret is almost

certainly a Roman Catholic dedication and we venture that it was perhaps built by the Genoese before 1316. Darrouzès' suggestion that it is identical with St. Eleutherios (No. 76) is, however, unnecessary.<sup>364</sup>

101. St. Maria (Roman Catholic)

*Situation.* Between the Meydan and the sea, in the parish of St. Marina.

*History.* The *firman* to build a church in Trebizond was granted the Franciscan Capuchins (expelled from Tbilisi in 1845) on 28 February 1855. The church of Santa Maria Trapezuntis was inaugurated on 2 February 1874 and is still open.<sup>365</sup>

102. St. Marina (Ἁγία Μαρίνα)

*Situation.* Apparently near St. Eleutherios (No. 76), below Leontokastron.

*History.* Marengo maintains that St. Marina had originally been built by the Genoese and was demolished after 1461; the Greeks, however, built another church of the same dedication nearby which incorporated features from the Genoese building. This tradition is not otherwise attested. In the nineteenth century St. Marina was the church of the Greek parish of the same name. We can find no trace of it.<sup>366</sup>

103. St. Nicholas (Ἅγιος Νικόλαος)

*Situation.* In the Middle City, near the Chrysokephalos (No. 120).

*History.* Originally founded by a master tailor, the church and the founder's house were sold by the nun Makrine Debalatissa (the wife or daughter of the founder) to the Empress Theodora before 1426 for the sum of 4,000 aspers. Theodora gave the property to the monastery of the Pharos (No. 56), which held it in 1432. We cannot otherwise trace the church. Succi gives no evidence for his rather improbable identification of the Tabakhane Camii with a church of St. Nicholas, but that is outside the Middle City walls.<sup>367</sup>

104. St. Nicholas (Ἅγιος Νικόλαος)

*Situation.* In the parish of St. Marina (No. 102), near Leontokastron.

*Inscriptions.* 1. Built into the door of the chapel, the epitaph of a doctor of the Legio XV Apollinaris, in Latin;<sup>368</sup> 2. Built into the south wall, the epitaph of a priest Gregory dated September A.M. 6789 = A.D. 1281, in Greek.<sup>369</sup>

*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth century. The inscriptions suggest an earlier foundation. We cannot trace it.<sup>370</sup>

358. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 445, 450 fig. 22; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 439-40, pl. 50; Demetrokalles, *MCh*, 13 (1967), 119-20, fig. 30; Janin, *EMGCB*, 279.

359. Tournefort (1701), II, 178.

360. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886; Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 52; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 791.

361. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 121; Janin, *EMGCB*, 281.

362. Bzhshkean (1819), 85, who notes that the language and names of such inscriptions indicate that Trapezuntine Armenians originated in Persia as well as Ani; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 886, 902; information from Professor N. Beldiceanu; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 135.

363. Zakythinios, *Chrysobulle*, 11; *DVL*, I, 123.

364. Janin, *EMGCB*, 281.

365. Succi, *Trebisonda*, 263-70.

366. Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 315; Oikonomides, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 333; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 620, 721, 723, 791.

367. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 268; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 238; Janin, *EMGCB*, 281-82.

368. Paraniakas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 296; *CIL*, III (1), No. 6747 (to be preferred).

369. Paraniakas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 298; unfortunately not otherwise attested.

370. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 791.

## 105. St. Niketas (Ἅγιος Νικήτας)

*Situation.* On the boundary of the Venetian concession of 1364, between St. Theodore Gabras (No. 115) and the sea, placed by Meliopoulos near the Semerciler Camii.<sup>371</sup>

*History.* St. Niketas is attested only in the chrysobull of 1364. Its dedication suggests that it was an Orthodox, rather than Roman Catholic, church.

## 106. St. Paraskeve (Ἅγία Παρασκευή)

*Situation.* In the parish of St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88).

*History.* A late source states that the Monastery of Vazelon had a *metochion* of St. Paraskeve dating from the period of the Empire, (perhaps No. 95). Professor N. Beldiceanu kindly informs us of a mention of "Aya Paraskevi" in the *defter* of 1487. There was a chapel of that dedication in the nineteenth century, but we do not know if the two are identical and we have found no trace of it.<sup>372</sup>

## 107. St. Peter (Ἅγιος Πέτρος)

*Situation.* Perhaps near St. Prokopios (No. 109) on Mount Minthrion.

*History.* Barbara, widow of a *kouropalates*, lived close to the church, perhaps before 1204. Nothing else is known of it.<sup>373</sup>

## 108. St. Philip (Ἅγιος Φίλιππος) (Kudrettin Camii, Ayfilboy)

*Situation.* In the southwest angle of Daphnous (pls. 106, 173a-c).

*Inscription.* On a fountain outside was an inscription recording its building during the reign of Metropolitan Gerasimos in A.M. 7014 = A.D. 1506.<sup>374</sup>

*Architecture.* The church was built in three stages. The building of the first stage consists of a single apse, pentagonal on the exterior (pl. 173b) and semicircular on the interior, a square domed naos, and a narrow western bay, a somewhat larger version of the Panagia Evangelistria (No. 122). The second stage includes a substantial rectangular barrel-vaulted extension to the west, to enlarge the naos. The third is an even larger addition to the north. The second extension can reasonably be dated to after 1461, when the church became the metropolis of Trebizond, and the third to after about 1665, when it was converted into a mosque.<sup>375</sup>

*Decoration.* There are no signs of wall paintings. The high wooden floor seems to indicate a mosaic one concealed beneath, as in the Chrysokephalos and St. Eugenios. The well-built apse has arch moldings and there is a ropework decoration on the arch springings of the dodecagonal drum

371. Zakythinios, *Chrysobulle*, 35; 118; *DVL*, II, 103; *M&M A&D*, III, 133; Meliopoulos, *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.*, 7 (1930), 71; Janin, *EMGCB*, 281.

372. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 791; Topalides, *Vazelon*; 394; Janin, *EMGCB*, 282.

373. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 92; Janin, *EMGCB*, 282.

374. Paraniakas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 299 has the date December A.M. 6710 = A.D. 1202; Millet, *BCH*, 20 (1896), 500-1, which has the date A.M. 7014, Indiction 9 = A.D. 1506 is to be preferred.

375. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 454; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 55-56; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 159-61 (with plan).

of the dome. Hitherto unremarked is a curious acanthus molding over the exterior of the northern door of the narthex of the first church and now enclosed in the later porch (pl. 173a). The western addition has a number of reliefs built into it, and the south capital of the west door has a stalactite decoration. According to Talbot Rice, the north capital had a series of single-headed eagles, but we have been unable to make them out, either in his photograph, or on the spot<sup>376</sup> (pl. 173c).

*Date.* The story that the church was founded by Anna, daughter of Alexios III (1349-90), wife of an otherwise unknown treasurer, John Mourouzes, has already been demonstrated as being almost certainly fictitious.<sup>377</sup> Millet regarded the earlier church as not earlier than the thirteenth century. Elsewhere we have argued that St. Philip at Trebizond, St. Michael at Platana, and the Panagia at Tripolis, must be regarded as a group and that, if we are correct in suggesting that the castle and chapel of Tripolis are associated with the Grand Komnenos John II and his wife Eudokia, the date of their construction can be narrowed down to the period 1282-1301; furthermore, if this Eudokia was connected, as Finlay argued, with the earlier church of St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88), which was also modest in size, one may fairly guess that this, too, was part of the group.<sup>378</sup>

*History.* After the Chrysokephalos, in 1461 St. Philip became the second cathedral of Trebizond; in about 1665 it was transformed into a mosque, and St. Gregory of Nyssa became the third and last cathedral.<sup>379</sup>

## 109. St. Prokopios (Ἅγιος Προκόπιος)

*Situation.* Probably on Mount Minthrion. See No. 107.

*History.* The church of St. Prokopios, by which cavalry was stabled, is mentioned in Lazaropoulos' account of the *Melik's* invasion of 1223.<sup>380</sup>

## 110. "Ste. Réverande"

*Situation.* Apparently in the Middle City of Trebizond.

*History.* Bordier places the church of "Ste. Réverande" in his distorted plan of 1609 roughly where the Chrysokephalos (No. 120) should be. He states that it was then still in the hands of the Greeks; so the Chrysokephalos itself cannot be intended.<sup>381</sup> We have no suggestion for it.

376. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), pl. 9; cf. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960).

377. Ioannides, *Historia*, 238; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 440; Miller, *Trebizond*, 114-15; N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucarest, 1971), 230, 237, 247; Janin, *EMGCB*, 292. It is difficult to pin this story down. It first appears in Parthenios, *Barnabas and Sophronios*, 42, in 1775, and may have some support in Papadopoulos-Kerameus ed. *FHIT*, 150—itself a very late source—but reasons for rejecting it are given in p. 143 note 58 above and in Skopoteas, *AP*, 20 (1955), 194-99. Anna, daughter of Alexios III, in fact married Bagrat V (VI).

378. See pp. 139 and 142.

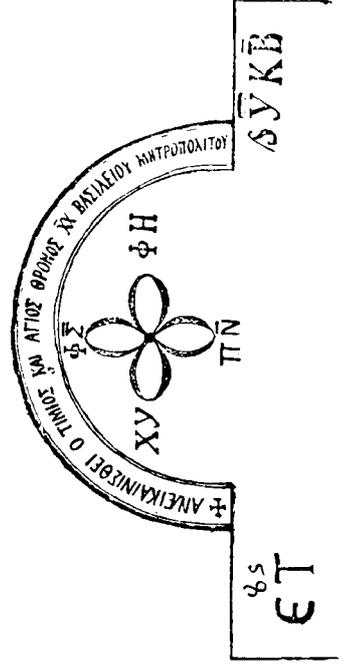
379. It appears in the *defter* of 1487, according to Professor N. Beldiceanu, as "Ayos Filibos." See also ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 150-65 (lament on the loss of St. Philip to the Turks); Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 90-91; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 889; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4-5 (1933), 75, 400-1, 531, 705-6, 711-13.

380. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 92, 122; Janin, *EMGCB*, 188.

381. Bordier (1609), 133 and plan.

ΑΥΤΗΨΥΛΟΙΣΚΩΨΗΗΘΕΛΕΟΤΕ  
 ΧΤΡΡΡΩ

Trebizond



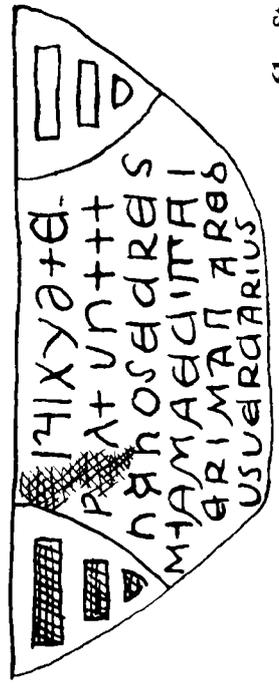
60. St. George Kourtza (No. 82). Inscription from Chrysokephalos (No. 120)

6 A C I    W    I Π I T O C B A C  
 I C    K P A    P I I  
 T ω K P A

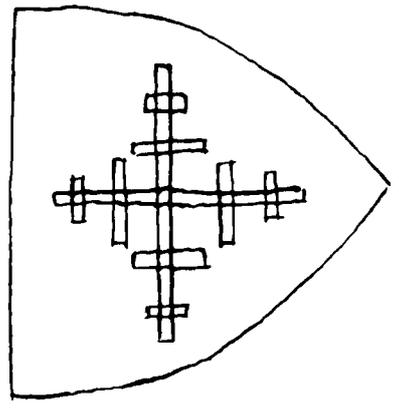
C V N T B A  
 O E H I O P O

..... Π Τ Λ Δ Α Γ · Η Ν Η Υ Η Σ Ι Γ / Θ Ι Α Ι / ρ / λ Β Γ Δ Π Π Π Β Η Κ Υ Η Σ Ι Ν Λ Ρ Ε Ν Ο Ο Σ Α Ι Χ ' 16

62. St. Eugenios Cave Church (No. 77). Two Separate Inscriptions (from Finlay's MS, 1850)



61. St. Eleutherios (No. 76). Inscriptions (from Finlay's MS, 1850)

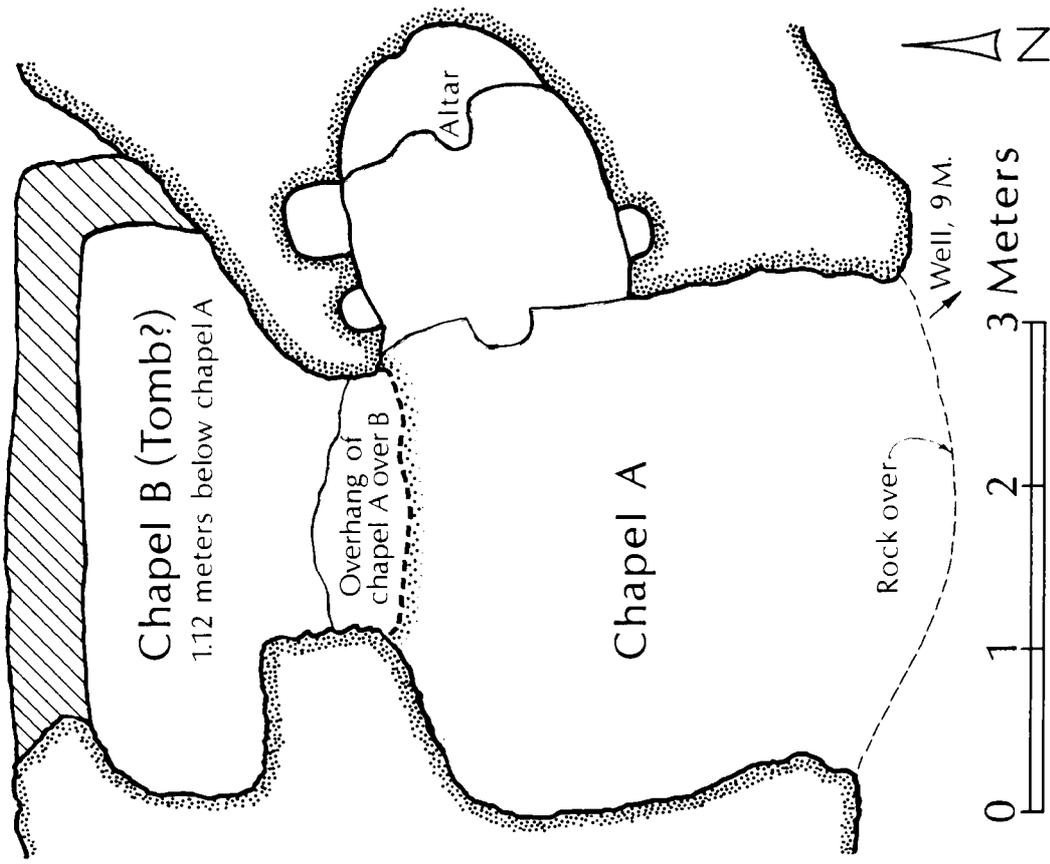


ΑΝΙΣΡΕΘΕΙΟΝΑΟΣ  
 ΔΑΓΓΕΩΡΓ, ΠΑΡΑ  
 ΨΑΝΗΣ ΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΣ  
 ΗΣΤΖΙΛ ΠΟΥΓΚΗΣ  
 ΥΠΕΡΨΥΧΗΚΗΣ

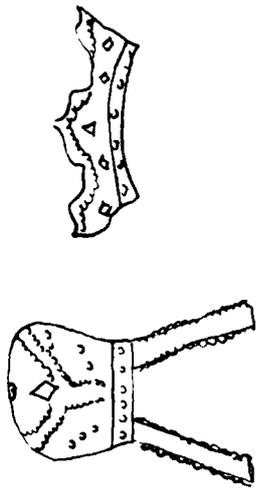
63. St. George (No. 80). Inscription (from Finlay's MS, 1850)

# TREBIZOND: St. Sabbas

## LOWEST ROCK-CUT CHAPEL



66. (No. 111). Rock-cut Chapels A and B



64. Crown (from Finlay's MS, 1850)

ΕΥΑ•ΚΙΗ ΧΤΧΑΡΙΤΙΕΥΣΕ  
 ΕΕΣΑΤΗΗΑΙΡΟΥΘΕΥΚΧΙ  
 ΠΕΡΕΠΙΕΥΦΙΜΙΗΜ•ΗΗ ΧΙ  
 ΗΜΑΙ ΤΟΥΗ•ΡΗΟΥ

65. Inscription

St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88)

## 111. St. Sabbas (Άγιος Σάββας)

*Situation.* On the northern slopes and cliff face of Mount Minthrion. There had been a large rectangular enclosure and four chapels, three (east, upper west, and lower west) in the cliff face and one standing free below; all are rock cut (pls. 106, 174).

*Inscriptions.* Two inscriptions in the east chapel (apparently dedicated to St. Onouphrios) state that its wall paintings were given by Paraskebas Poutzaris on 13 May A.M. 6919, indiction 4 = A.D. 1411.<sup>382</sup>

*The Free-standing Rock-cut Chapel* (fig. 66). This chapel is cut into a large projecting rock, about 7 m high and 12 m wide. It consists of two cuttings: Chapel A has a deep, irregular rock-cut apse with traces of altar footings, a raised bema, and three liturgical niches; Chapel B, to its north and below it, has a retaining wall to the north and may be a large tomb—its length is 2.90 m. Chapel A had two layers of plaster; the lower and thicker is combined with straw, the upper is a hard layer covered with whitewash. There is no sign of wall paintings on it. The chapel, which seems to have been in use until 1923, had a stone-built projection to the south. There is a well to the southeast. Succi attributes to it an unaccountable dedication to St. Peter; Chrysanthos regarded it as the chapel of St. Sabbas.<sup>383</sup> The chapel could well have served as the katholikon of St. Sabbas, for the less accessible rock-cut caves are more in the nature of hermitages, although a series of wooden cells hung from the cliff face, as at Soumela before the nineteenth century, might be envisaged.

*Decoration.* The eastern and the two western chapels are painted. The eastern chapel is firmly dated to 1411; after consideration Talbot Rice dated both western chapels to the second half of the thirteenth century, with a later repainting in the upper one. Restle has republished what can now be seen of the paintings, which, through the deterioration of the approaches to the caves in recent years, are now virtually inaccessible to both vandals and students.<sup>384</sup>

*History.* Cumont's supposition that the caves were originally cut for tombs, Mithraic or otherwise, is a fair one. The dedications to St. Sabbas and St. Onouphrios are emphatically in the early monastic tradition, but there is no indication of when this "desert," somewhat inappropriately set up on the outskirts of a major town, was first established. It is mentioned twice in Panaretos. On 3 May 1344 the depraved Grand Komnenos John III was deposed by his father the Grand Komnenos Michael, "and he degraded his son and banished him to the cave of St. Sabbas." John did not stay long in the monastery; in November 1345 he was sent on to Constantinople. On 13 December 1349 Michael was in turn deposed by the Grand Komnenos Alexios III, with the same

results: "He banished lord Michael to the cave of St. Sabbas and had him tonsured as a monk, but after one year had him sent off to [Constantinople]." <sup>385</sup> The reference to a single cave might be important. If Panaretos is taken literally, what cave is intended? The face of the cliff has, as Cumont noted, been quarried away; was there a "Megaspelaion" which has now gone, or is the lowest chapel intended? If the late thirteenth-century dates for the paintings in the western chapels are correct, there would have been at least two caves in 1344–50. If the fifteenth- or sixteenth-century dates proposed by Talbot Rice and Restle for the repainting of the upper west chapel are correct, there was still activity on the site after 1461; the monastery appears as "Ayos Savas" in the *defter* of 1487. Bordier certainly saw it in 1609, although he unaccountably gave its dedication as St. Demetrios (No. 74). He was taken first to an enceinte wall, then to a rock-cut chapel at the bottom of the cliff (evidently the lowest chapel), and then up an exceptionally precipitous and tricky wooden ladder to a small rock-cut chapel which had two windows and was entirely painted. It is impossible to be certain which chapel he saw, but his mention of a "petit reposoir" halfway up suggests the eastern one, which has two rock-cut cells before it and, although there are traces of rock-cut steps between them and the chapel itself there are none below. The western chapels have masonry steps leading up to them which have now deteriorated.<sup>386</sup>

## 112. The Hagia Sophia (Άγία Σοφία) (Holy Wisdom)

*Situation.* On a bluff about 1.8 km west of the walled city and about 100 m south of the present seashore.

*Description.* The church is the subject of a monograph edited by the late Professor Talbot Rice, the culmination of six years' cleaning and restoration work undertaken there by the Russell Trust under the field direction of D. C. W. This entry, therefore, is confined to additions and corrections to the monograph.<sup>387</sup>

385. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 370; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 67, 69. The monastic obits of codex Bodl. gr. Lit. d. 6, were, A. A. M. B. has suggested elsewhere, inserted to commemorate monks of St. Sabbas from 1368 to 1563. See Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 129–31.

386. Bordier (1609), 126–27; information from Professor N. Beldiceanu.

387. Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*; cf. review articles by O. Lampsides, *AP*, 29 (1968), 431–57, and by A. Bryer, "The Church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond," *Apollo*, 89 (1969), 268–74. D. C. W. comments that Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 45, noted that the provenance of the four capitals on the columns which support the dome was likely to have been Constantinople, citing a similar capital in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum described in G. Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures, Musées Impériaux Ottomans*, III (Constantinople, 1914), P. 463, No. 1239. The unusual motif common to the capitals is a bunch of grapes totally stylized into a triangle in which low relief dots represent the grapes. This motif reappears in sculpture from the early sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople: see M. Vickers, "A Sixth-Century Byzantine Source for a Venetian Gothic Relief in Vienna," *DOP*, 33 (1979), pp. 335–36 and pls. 2–3. We therefore propose that this set of capitals in the Hagia Sophia are at least related to the work in St. Polyeuktos, if not actual candidates for the roster of *disiecta membra* of the church given by R. M. Harrison in "A Constantinopolitan Capital in Barcelona," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 299–300. One might envisage an early-thirteenth-century Venetian demolition contractor's sale at St. Polyeuktos, the results of which were eventually scattered

382. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 440; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 67 (with facsimiles). The inscription has now gone.

383. Succi, *Trebisonda*, 286–87; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 452–53, pl. 59. There is a view from the east of the southern built projection in Schlumberger, *Épopée*, II, 508.

384. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 442–43; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 61–63; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 66–76, 121–37, pls. xxiv (2)–xli; Restle, *Wall painting*, I, 87–89; III, figs. 67–69, pls. 523–41; Soteriou, *BNJbb*, 13 (1937), 124–30.

The monastery consists, or consisted, of the main church, a cross-in-square building with three apses—the central one pentagonal on the exterior—a mosaic floor, and three porches, standing on a platform into the sides of which were inserted eighteen tomb niches; a smaller church, triple-apsed with four columns, standing less than 4 m north of the northern porch of the main church and incorporating an empty grave; a tower standing 22 m west of the main church; and remains of monastic buildings (including a gate house recorded in 1893, pl. 177, and now largely destroyed) within a walled enclosure of about 90 × 50 m. The main church, the smaller church, and the chapel in the tower were painted. The smaller church was razed during the nineteenth century; it, the main church, and the tower are not aligned.

*History.* Medieval literary and epigraphic evidence for these striking remains is slight. As there are a number of slips in the account given by the Russell Trust expedition, it is worth relating the evidence, which begins with that of the founder.

In 1850 Finlay made a facsimile of a painted inscription beside an imperial portrait in the main church which describes an Emperor Manuel Komnenos as founder of the monastery. The portrait and inscription no longer survive; Finlay's hitherto unpublished facsimile is reproduced in figure 67. The inscription reads: Ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) τῷ Θ(εῷ) πιστὸς βασιλεὺς κ(αὶ) αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων κτήτωρ τῆς ἀ(γίας) μωνῆς ταύτης(ς) Μανουὴλ ὁ Κομνηνός. Finlay appears to have unconsciously standardized some of the usual Pontic letter forms.<sup>388</sup>

A graffito on the main church, dated 1291,<sup>389</sup> demonstrates that this Manuel must be the Grand Komnenos Manuel I (1238–63) rather than the child Manuel II (1332) or Manuel III (1390–1417). From this it has reasonably been concluded that Manuel I founded the monastery and was perhaps also responsible for the earlier paintings of the main church which, art-historically, are consistent with the years 1250–70. On the walls of the main church are graffito epitaphs of monks dated 23 November 1291, 21 May 1293, 1441/42, 1442/43, 1451/52, 1452/53, April 1474, and 1508/9, the epitaph of Constantine Loukites the astronomer (1340),

from Barcelona to, perhaps, Trebizond. The influence of the art of the church was extended by copies made either after (as in the Vienna relief) or before the dismemberment of the site, and one may look anew at other capitals in the Hagia Sophia with the latter in mind. In particular, Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, pls. 9b and 9c, compared the bird capital in the west porch with similar ones in the narthex of San Marco, Venice, where sculpture from St. Polyeuktos was probably also incorporated in the building of the west façade in the mid-thirteenth century: see R. M. Harrison and N. Firatlı, "Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: Fourth Preliminary Report," *DOP*, 21 (1962), p. 276 and fig. 14; O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice*, DOS, VI (Washington, D.C., 1960), 206–7. The stylistic links between the Trebizond and Venice examples are direct, but it is equally obvious that they are not by the same hands: the San Marco capitals share the deep-cut exuberance of the St. Polyeuktos work, while the Hagia Sophia one is in neat low relief.

388. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 37<sup>v</sup>; cf. G. Finlay, *A History of Greece*, IV (Oxford, 1877), 340 note 2; Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, 2; Lampsides, *AP*, 29 (1969), 451–52.

389. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 429.

and other graffiti dated 1496/97, 1630/31 and 1659/60.<sup>390</sup> On the drum of the dome are graffiti stating that the church and dome were restored in August 1486 and again in October 1547.<sup>391</sup> The graffito inscription of 1486 is the only one to name the Hagia Sophia as the dedication. There are three literary references. The first is by Lazaropoulos, writing before November 1367 and referring to a period before 1340. He speaks of the wonderful, tuneful, and widely-attended *panegyris* of the Transfiguration held ἐν τῇ μωνῇ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦλόγου Σοφίας,<sup>392</sup> and then goes on to record the connections of the *protovestiaros* astronomer Constantine Loukites and the monastery. This information adds particular poignancy to the second literary reference, a passage in the main section of Panaretos' chronicle, written after 20 March 1390: "Alas, alas for me, wretch and sinner! on the feast of the Metamorphosis, my beloved son Constantine fell into the sea [and drowned] near the monastery of the Hagia Sophia, being 15 years old. . . ."<sup>393</sup>

Panaretos gives a total of 132 dates in his chronicle, usually in the formula of month, day of the month, day of the week, indiction and *annus mundi*. On seven occasions he mentions ecclesiastical festivals. On only three of these occasions does he omit the actual date of the festival. Of these, the dates of two would have been superfluous: in 1356 "we held the Feast of Christmas at Kerasous, and we celebrated Epiphany at Cape Jason"<sup>394</sup> in 1357. The third occasion when Panaretos omits the actual date of the festival is when he writes of the Transfiguration at the Hagia Sophia in 1368. His special treatment of this entry is emphasized by the fact that he later gives the date of 6 August 1372 without mentioning that it was the Transfiguration.<sup>395</sup> In other words, for Panaretos the important aspect of the date of his son's drowning below the Hagia Sophia (where the municipality of modern Trabzon maintains a public bathing beach) was not that it was on 6 August 1368, but that it was on the feast of the Transfiguration. His treatment of the entry is therefore a confirmation of Lazaropoulos' information that the *panegyris*, or "patronal" festival of the Hagia Sophia was the Transfiguration, and one may suspect that Constantine Panaretos was drowned during the popular celebrations and over-indulgence that are associated with such fairs and feasts in the Orthodox world. In Constantinople the "patronal" festival of the church of the Hagia Sophia was Christmas, while that of the monastery of the Pantokrator was the Transfiguration—as is theologically appropriate.<sup>396</sup> In

390. Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 94–96; Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 429–33. Paraniak, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 298, reports, but gives no details of, monastic graffiti dated 1305, 1427, 1443, and 1478, but as they are not confirmed by any other report, and as we have been unable to find them on the building, they must be regarded as dubious.

391. C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," *DOP*, 23–24 (1970), 369.

392. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 132; cf. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 438.

393. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76.

394. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72.

395. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 77.

396. 2 Peter 1:17–18; Janin, *Géographie*, III, 2nd ed., 456, 521; Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpraux, 245. The Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople had four other feasts, but they commemorated its

Trebizond the “patronal” festival of the Hagia Sophia was the Transfiguration; we have no knowledge of the “patronal” festival of the nearby monastery of the Pantokrator of the Pharos (No. 56), but it is unlikely to have been also the Transfiguration, for the Hagia Sophia had pre-empted the fair. There is further confusion, for the two adjacent monasteries shared, basically, the same dedication, the Hagia Sophia and the Pantokrator and Savior being both types of Christ. The third reference to the Hagia Sophia actually calls the monastery that of Christ. It comes in one of 37 marginal notes in a fourteenth-century Trapezuntine *synaxarion*. The annotations are noted by days and refer to events ranging from 1370 to 1447. Entry No. 7 under 9 April (probably 1395)<sup>396a</sup> states that the most reverend lord Antonios proceeded from the Monastery of Stylos (No. 118) εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡγουν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, where the emperors, *archontes*, bishops, clerics, abbots, priests, hieromonks, and monks gathered for his investiture by an otherwise unrecorded Bishop Kallistratos of Chaldia, before going on to a reception at the palace. Only one metropolitan of Trebizond called Antonios is known before 1461; he reigned from 1395 to 1400.<sup>397</sup>

There seems to be no archaeological evidence to establish the date of the smaller church, whose paintings were “wonderfully well preserved” in Finlay’s time<sup>398</sup> and are now destroyed. But it is hardly likely that the main church would have been so situated that its elaborate north porch was quite obscured by another building, so it is probable that the smaller church is later than the main church. If so, it may belong to what seems to have been a period of additions and repairs in the early fifteenth century. In the main church it was Finlay who first noticed that in some areas there were two layers of painting.<sup>399</sup> Portraits of eremitic and monastic saints were added round the north door. The west door was restructured, the figure of Christ above it repainted and copper- or silver-gilt haloes added to the main painted figures in the narthex.<sup>400</sup>

The paintings of one of the tombs in the podium of the main church have been assigned to the same period. Of possible Georgian workmanship, an inscription beside one of the portraits of the tomb, not transcribed by Talbot Rice, suggests that an *archon* of the Gurielate, or even the Gurieli of Georgian Guria himself, was buried there.<sup>401</sup>

foundation day, its benefactor, and certain of its icons and relics; it was on the Transfiguration that the court went there.

396a. See p. 238.

397. Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 132–33; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 257, 437, 463, 787, 790; V. Laurent, “La succession épiscopale du siège de Trébizonde au Moyen Age (additions et corrections),” *AP*, 21 (1956), 91; R. R. Milner-Gulland and A. Bryer, “Two Metropolitans of Trebizond in Russia,” *AP*, 27 (1965), 24. Professor N. Beldiceanu kindly informs us of evidence that an otherwise unrecorded second Metropolitan “Andon” was deposed by the Turks in early Ottoman Trebizond.

398. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 38r; cf. Walpole (1850), II, 231.

399. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 39r.

400. Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, 120, 137, pl. 44; observations by D. C. W.

401. Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, 156–60 and fig. 122: [Ἀρχὼν] Γουριᾶ[ς]. Most of the Vardanidze Gurielis (the eponymous titles of the princes of Guria) were buried at Likhaouri; one met Alexios III

Then there is the tower, which is described below. A graffito states that its building began in 1426/27; paintings in its second-floor chapel are dated 1442/43 and there is an epitaph dated January 1444.<sup>402</sup> A panel on the exterior, described below, depicts two imperial figures flanking the Mother of God. In an inscription in which the name is now lost, the south figure is labeled emperor son of an emperor Alexios.<sup>403</sup> Given the date of the tower, this figure should portray the Grand Komnenos John IV (1429–58), son of the Grand Komnenos Alexios IV (1417–29); and given John’s public identification of himself with the works and memory of the father he had assassinated, in the bull for the Pharos monastery in 1427, one may propose that the north figure is Alexios IV (who began building the tower which his son would have finished). Like the tomb John built for his father, the inscription accompanying the painting on the tower might be meant to demonstrate the legitimacy and continuity of John’s government and, perhaps, be intended as an expiation for the crime he had committed.<sup>404</sup>

During these same years, the monastery of the Pantokrator of the Pharos, less than 1 km to the east (No. 56), was also being rebuilt. One is faced with the fact that two monasteries with essentially the same dedication, both with defensive enceintes,<sup>405</sup> were being added to, or restored, by Alexios IV and by John IV at the same time, that one had a tower and the other a lighthouse, and that the “patronal” festival of one was more appropriate to the other. Standing so close to each other on the seashore, they must have looked like two successive and near-identical Athonite monasteries. Are they in fact the same monastery? Documentary evidence is unequivocally against it, for both are mentioned distinctly in the same Ottoman document,<sup>406</sup> and in the bull of 1432.<sup>407</sup> Our only other indication of the lands of the Hagia Sophia is that the property of “Ayasofya Manastirina” and of “Hriso-Kefal Manastirina” (i.e., the Chrysokephalos), among former monastic lands in Chortokopion in Matzouka, passed into Turkish hands after 1461.<sup>408</sup> The same source also suggests that the Chrysokephalos was also known as the “Ayasofya Manastirina” after the *Fatih* had turned it into a mosque,<sup>409</sup> a confusion for which we can

in 1372; another, Mamia, was closely allied to David Komnenos in 1458–61. See Barkradze (1873), 11–12, 286–335, 337; Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 77; Bryer, *BK*, 19–20 (1965), 183 and note 32; the same, *Apollo*, 89 (1969), 274; and p. 344 below.

402. Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 95; Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 432. Finlay (*MS*, 1850) has a garbled version of the epitaph of the monk (Sabas?) “beside the figure of the most recently painted Abbot,” which he read as A.M. 6912 = A.D. 1403/04 over twenty years before the tower was built. In fact the figures appear to be lay: see fig. 74.

403. Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, 3.

404. See p. 201.

405. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 40a: “This Church & the buildings around has evidently been fortified in the times of the emperors and its position would render it strong against casual attacks.” The walls are now reduced to almost ground level and there is no indication of when they were built. On the walls of the Pharos, see p. 216.

406. See p. 200.

407. See p. 216 and note 232.

408. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 16 (1962), 315; cf. Vryonis, *Decline*, 355.

409. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 16 (1962), 309; cf. Vryonis, *Decline*, 354.

offer no explanation, for it is clear that Ottoman officials distinguished the two monasteries in Chortokopion.

To sum up: the main church (and probably monastery) was founded by Manuel I (1238–63) or his immediate successors if it was, as has been suggested, his funerary church. The gap in monastic epitaphs between 1293 and 1441/42 may hint at a decline thereafter; at any rate, in the early fifteenth century there was considerable refurbishing and rebuilding, which culminated in the building and decorating of the tower from 1426/27. The monastery was still active as such in 1509, but the main church had begun a fitful career as a mosque before 1609,<sup>410</sup> although it seems to have been used by Greeks for many years after.

*The Tower and Its Decoration.* The paintings of the tower (which were cleaned by the Russell Trust expedition in 1961) were not published in the book edited by Talbot Rice and are, therefore, presented here.

The tower is a four-storey building which stands today something over 20 m high. It is 5.60 × 5.02 m in plan and is built of roughly squared blocks of irregular size, laid in fairly regular courses. Exceptionally, the detailed work is made in Ünye limestone and some voussoirs are of brick. The exterior was heavily pointed up with lime mortar to achieve a smooth weather-resistant surface.

A wall, showing the remains of a vault, runs from the southeast corner of the tower, but only excavation could reveal its nature. The ground floor is entered by a door on the south side and consists of a windowless chamber with a wooden ceiling which serves as the floor of the chapel on the next storey. On the exterior east face is the panel with imperial figures, framed in relief by a simple projecting stone molding. The termini of building and decorating are determined by the foundation graffito scratched into the lime pointing low down the east face, A.M. 6935 or September 1426, and the assassination of Alexios IV at the orders of John IV (both depicted on the panel) in September or October 1429<sup>411</sup> (pls. 176a–c, 178a, b).

On the second storey is a chapel, originally entered by a door in the south wall, now blocked, which was evidently reached by an exterior wooden staircase. A few scraps of plaster around the door suggest that it was once decorated with painting on the exterior. The apse is corbeled out of the east face of the tower, above the imperial portraits, and is lit by a single arched window in the center. Quite substantial round-arched windows in the north and west sides have been blocked. The seating for a now lost barrel vault of rubble and lime survives. There are neat ashlar voussoirs for the slightly pointed arches of the interior and carefully cut keystones for the crown. This is unlike earlier Byzantine practice, where

true keystones are not common. The arch of the south door appears to have been formed of alternative brick and stone courses, such as can be seen in contemporary work at Mistra.

The vault of the chapel was decorated with paintings of the Ascension and Pentecost, which suggests that there was no access through it to the next storey, which would have been reached by continuing up an exterior staircase to a now blocked low-arched entrance on the south face. The floor level of this third upper storey is marked on the exterior by a prominent string course and in the interior is seen in the masonry of the vault of the chapel below. There was a window on the east face which is now largely blocked.

The top, or fourth, storey is marked by four large openings with pointed arches, now glazed. The windows now are 2.65 m wide at base and 2.60 m high at center; the apex of the east window is 18.21 m above ground level and the tower itself stands at about 14 m above sea level. Reference to plate 176a, b, and c will reveal alterations made in the 1880s and in 1961–62. The string course on the east face antedates 1836 but could be post-Byzantine. This arch is picked out by a row of open ceramic pipes set into the thickness of the wall. Above the pointed arches were two small round-arched windows in each face of the tower. The curious pyramidal roof has also undergone changes over the last century which removed any trace of either a bell frame (which would make it a bell tower) or soot (which might indicate a function as a lighthouse).

The tower is a puzzling structure. Some maintain that it was the observatory of a local school of astronomers. Apart from the fact that this “school” is notable for its failure to make any original astronomical observations (it failed to place Trebizond on Ptolemy’s list and, apparently, to predict any of the eclipses which, according to Panaretos, took the Grand Komnenoi and their subjects so much by surprise), it flourished under Loukites over eighty years before the tower was built.<sup>412</sup> A. A. M. B. once suggested that it might have housed a particularly troublesome clock, presented by the Republic of Venice to Manuel III,<sup>413</sup> and later remarked that, if the monasteries of the Pharos and the Hagia Sophia were identical (which they are not), it would have been the only surviving Byzantine lighthouse. A belfry is probably the answer. There are parallels at Kaymaklı (No. 48) and perhaps in the Gurian belfry of 1422 at Likhauri—and it must be remembered that a probably fifteenth-century Gurian noble, or the Gurieli, is buried at the Hagia Sophia. The open western porch-belfries which became common in the Pontos after 1856 belong to a different tradition.<sup>414</sup>

Although the imperial portraits of the exterior panel have weathered considerably more since Millet and Fallmerayer saw them, D. C. W. was able to establish more of the composition and the left-hand inscription with the aid of a scaffold (fig. 68). Apart from the inscription, already published

410. Bordier (1609), 120; ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 151 (which must be dated, *contra* Talbot Rice [*Hagia Sophia*, 3], to the late 17th, not the late 15th, century, for St. Philip, not the Chrysokephalos, is the cathedral in question). Succi (*Trebisonda*, 243), maintains earlier foundations of the church by Constantine the Great and Justinian, for which there is not a scrap of evidence. A. A. M. B. told Succi of his reading of the tomb inscription of a lord of Guria (see note 401 above), who is unfortunately transmogrified as a “principessa di Görele” in *Trebisonda*, 244.

411. V. Laurent, “L’assassinat d’Alexis IV, Empereur de Trébizonde (†1429),” *AP*, 20 (1955), 138–43.

412. I. B. Papadopoulos, Περὶ τῆς ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι σχολῆς θετικῶν ἐπιστημῶν, *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, 39 (1919), 12–14, 20–22, 28–30; and the same, in *Neos Poimen*, 4 (1922), 19–39; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65, 73; cf. D. Pingree, “Gregory Chioniades and Palaiologan Astronomy,” *DOP*, 18 (1964), 133 ff.

413. Bryer, *Apollo*, 89 (1969), 369 and note 3.

414. Bakradze (1873), 111; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 238–40, 282; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 120, pl. 53.

by Talbot Rice, the principal discovery is that the central figure is not an imperial portrait, but the Mother of God. In her arms she holds the Christ Child, whose hands are outstretched as if to confer a blessing on the Emperors. The painting was too damaged to permit any stylistic comparisons, but the jewel patterns of the *loros* are similar to those of the archangel on the interior west wall of the chapel within the tower, and of Constantine and Helena at Sarmaşıklı Upper Chapel (p. 276 below).

A record of the paintings as they existed in 1961 is given in figures 68–74 and plates 179–191. The inscriptions were very adequately recorded by Millet in 1895 and the paintings were first published by Millet and Talbot Rice.<sup>415</sup> The account which follows adds what new information became clear as the paintings were cleaned and repaired.

In the apse and east wall of the chapel the inscription correctly recorded by Millet survives, together with the roundel of the Prophet Gideon on the face of the arch. The Prophet's scroll is lined as if for an inscription, but, like those of the other prophets, is unlettered. The background to the Gideon roundel is red, that of Daniel above him is grey, and the background colors continue alternately in red and grey.<sup>416</sup> Millet has made no note of the sixth and seventh roundels at the top of the arch, which had probably been destroyed, like the fifth. The border containing the roundels is decorated with a simple trefoil leaf ornament. Below it is a rectangular panel decorated with a double-axe pattern in red, yellow, and green, with white borders.

The iconography is set out in figure 69 and was correctly described by Millet and Talbot Rice; Millet was right in considering the lower register to be a dado painted with simulated drapery.<sup>417</sup> The now destroyed figure of an apostle at the end of the south side of the Communion has his feet placed differently from the others and may represent Judas turning away. A graffito in bold neat lettering on the red border pattern between the bishops and the Communion scene is the signature of one of our most valuable travelers: "J. Bordier, 1609."<sup>418</sup>

Talbot Rice noted the small liturgical niche on the north side of the apse but not its paintings.<sup>419</sup> On the inner face was a head of Christ, now gone but identified by crossbars in the

halo. Outside the halo, to the left, is a bar of color. If this is an arm of the cross, the subject represented here would have been Christ the Man of Sorrows. On the left side of the niche is a decorative pattern of rows of symmetrically arranged rectangles within which are quatrefoils in alternate green and yellow.

Figure 69 and plate 180a show one of the pair of carefully molded corbel stones which mark the springing of the apse arch, and the decorative pattern in the reveal. The agitated linear folds over John the Baptist's thigh are a good example of the style of drapery painting of the master who painted the tower. The large-scale Deesis figures in the apse were more carefully executed than those in the small scenes along the walls of the chapel.

Plates 179b and 181 show the face of the sanctuary arch, with fragmentary figures of angels above the roundels containing the prophets. The upper pair support a roundel which is now destroyed. Millet suggested that it might have held a bust of the Christ Child. We suggest that this roundel may have contained a cross, so that the arch composition would depict the Triumph of the Cross. If Millet was correct in describing the lower angels as each carrying a cross, the crosses have now disappeared. The ashlar masonry of the semidome and the brick voussoirs of the sanctuary arch can clearly be seen in plate 181.

On the west wall the upper register in the lunette is occupied by a large composition of the Koimesis or Dormition (pl. 182a, fig. 70). Millet's description of it is accurate, Talbot Rice's somewhat confused.<sup>420</sup> Millet is only a little misleading in suggesting that the scene is nearly all in one plane, since he goes on to describe the foreground episode of the angel and the Jew, Jephonias, and the background figures of bishops and mourning women. This is in fact a standard Koimesis composition. The painting is badly damaged. Parts of it were obscured by cementlike deposits which were the foundations of swallows' nests over several generations. When these deposits were removed some faces became visible, the only ones in the chapel which have not been destroyed; they are illustrated in plate 182c, d. They appear to have a yellow ground color with no green *proplasmos*. The feature lines are in umber and red, strengthened in places by black. There is some light red flesh coloring for the cheeks.

Below the Koimesis are two scenes from the Gospel cycle: the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem.<sup>421</sup> Millet described them correctly, except that there are five, instead of six, apostles in the Lazarus scene. Both paintings are badly damaged and the Entry has suffered further since Millet saw it.

On either side of the window, in the lower register, are two large standing figures: to the south a full-length Archangel Michael in imperial costume, to the north a monk. The latter has been much damaged since Millet was able to read his epitaph. The window is smaller than that in the north wall and the four figures in it are now largely gone. The dado

415. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 77–88, 100–6, and pls. iv–x; Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 95; Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 431–32. The architecture is briefly described by Selina Ballance, in Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, 27–28, where there is a "Note on the Paintings of the Bell Tower" by Talbot Rice on p. 252.

416. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 77: "couleurs variées."

417. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 79, 101; Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, 252, notes the correction to his own description.

418. Bordier (1609), 119, was let into the then little-used mosque by an aged Greek woman. He did not mention scratching his name in the tower but described "le clochet à senestre en entrant, qui est une tour carré en laquelle je montay avec trois ou quatre, estant lescallier ruiné en plusieurs lieux, de sorte que lon ne puis aller a la cime, qui est tres haute, et la muraille, tant de la tour que de l'église, fabriquée de belle et grosse pierre de taille sy droicte, unie et bien jointe que lon droit estre dune seule piece, comme jay veu en plusieurs fabriques des Romains." That he assumed that the tower was a belfry may not mean very much; it was presumably later used as a minaret.

419. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 101. The niche was missed by Millet.

420. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 85, 103.

421. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 81, 83, 103. Talbot Rice has five apostles (correctly) for the Lazarus scene, but his account of the Entry is less accurate than that of Millet.

pattern beneath the window and the figures was in alternating groups of three red and three black wavy lines. Cf. p. 212.

Millet described the south door (fig. 72, left). The second child playing in the water, and two children disporting on the bank, whom Millet described in the bottom left-hand corner of the Baptism (pl. 184a), can no longer be distinguished.

On the south wall (fig. 73), the middle register consists of three scenes from the Life of Christ: the Annunciation (pl. 185a), the Nativity (pl. 183), and the Presentation (pl. 187). The intermediate scenes of the Baptism and Transfiguration, which should follow the Presentation, are on the reveals of the south door (fig. 72, left; pls. 183, 184a, b). Millet mentions the second handmaiden pouring water from a jug for Christ's first bath, in the Nativity; Talbot Rice does not mention the jug, which we were unable to see. Millet omits mention of Joseph in the lower right-hand corner, whom Talbot Rice singles out for the great expressiveness of his features.<sup>422</sup> As is usual in Byzantine iconography, he is a rather forlorn figure and sits facing outward from the scene, his head resting on his hand. Plates 183 and 186a–c show the rather naive charm of the sheep and of the ox and ass warming the Child.

In the Presentation, Millet correctly notes ἡ ποπαντή (*sc.* ἡ ὑπαπαντή) in the title; the three letters ποῦ at the beginning of the scroll held by the Prophetess Anna remain as he saw them.

In the lower register of the south wall, on either side of the door are the remains of a large figure. These two figures are life-size and leave no room for a dado pattern such as that which decorates the base of the west wall. St. Basil, to the east of the door, wears ecclesiastical vestments with the *polystavrion*; it is possible that he held a book or scroll in his left hand. St. Eugenios, to the west of the door, is dressed as a courtier but retains his lance in his right hand. Millet gives no account of these pictures, which were summarily described by Talbot Rice.<sup>423</sup>

The barrel vault of the chapel had gone long before Millet's visit, but enough painting survives at the broken edges to permit identification of the scenes as the Ascension in the east half and the Pentecost in the west half. Of the Ascension there are now the remains of five figures on the south side (fig. 73) and six, or perhaps seven, on the north side (fig. 74). On the north side, the tips of the slippered feet of the central figure make it fairly certain that it was the Mother of God. On the south side, the central area, which probably showed the Angel of the Ascension, has gone. The scene was clearly the traditional one, with six apostles on each side and the Angel of the Ascension on the south, and angels carrying up the mandorla in the center. The west half of the vault depicted the Pentecost (pl. 188a, b). The remnants, together with the fragment of inscription, were correctly described by Millet.

The reveals on either side of the north window contained two figures, as noted by Millet, and the crown of the arch was decorated by a pattern of interlaced foliage (pl. 189). The window opening is considerably smaller than the interior

arch for the window; the face of the stonework surrounding the window was decorated with a pattern of wavy lines similar to that on the west wall. The figures, much effaced in Millet's day, are now reduced to the tops of their haloes, Constantine and Helen's cross, and Helen's title.

The Crucifixion (pl. 190a), the Epitaphios Threnos (pl. 190b), and the Anastasis (pl. 190c) cover the upper register of the north wall (fig. 74). Millet's description of the Crucifixion is accurate, and Talbot Rice is wrong in perceiving two figures behind the Mother of God.<sup>424</sup> Millet notes the title for the Threnos: ὁ θεοσομοτάφιος, but his description is inaccurate; there are five mourners, as counted by Talbot Rice. But the latter is wrong in transferring the architectural background from the east to the west side. The Anastasis is correctly described by Millet, except that the scroll is held by John the Baptist (whom he does not identify), behind David, rather than by David.<sup>425</sup>

In the ground register to the west of the window is a full-length figure of the monk Kallistratos Phasianos, who died one September. Millet published the inscription, now less visible, and described the monk as being in an attitude of prayer. He is in fact gesturing toward the apse, as if offering the chapel to Christ.

Both Millet and Talbot Rice see a single figure of a monk to the east of the north window.<sup>426</sup> In fact, there are two full-length secular figures, both wearing turbans of an elaborate type, similar to that worn by the figure in a niche of the south porch of the church.<sup>427</sup> The jeweled tip of what might have been a ceremonial staff can be seen between the two turbans. This suggests that the figures were officials of the Empire.

In an inscription near these figures, now lost, Millet read the epitaph of an unnamed monk (?), dated 1 January 1444; supposedly the terminus for the decoration of the chapel and a possible parallel for the date of the figure in the south porch of the main church.<sup>428</sup>

Below the figures is a narrow dado with the same pattern of red and black wavy lines found elsewhere. The painting of the lower part of the panel has been virtually destroyed, but the surface is covered with graffiti representing ships (pl. 191), comparable to those found on the interior and exterior of the main church.<sup>429</sup>

In summary, the tower contains a rare example of paintings of all twelve feasts. Their condition precludes any close stylistic judgment of them, but they may well be linked with the restoration work in the main church, when the tympanum of the north door was repainted and the form of both the north and west doors was altered.

### 113. St. Theodore (Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος)

*Situation.* In the parish of the Presentation (Hypapante) (No. 47)

424. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 82–84, 104.

425. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 84.

426. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 433; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 81, 104.

427. Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, 155–57, fig. 120.

428. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 433; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 81, 104. The reading of *monachos* is probably unjustified.

429. Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, 248–51, figs. 133–36; Bryer, "Shipping," 3–12.

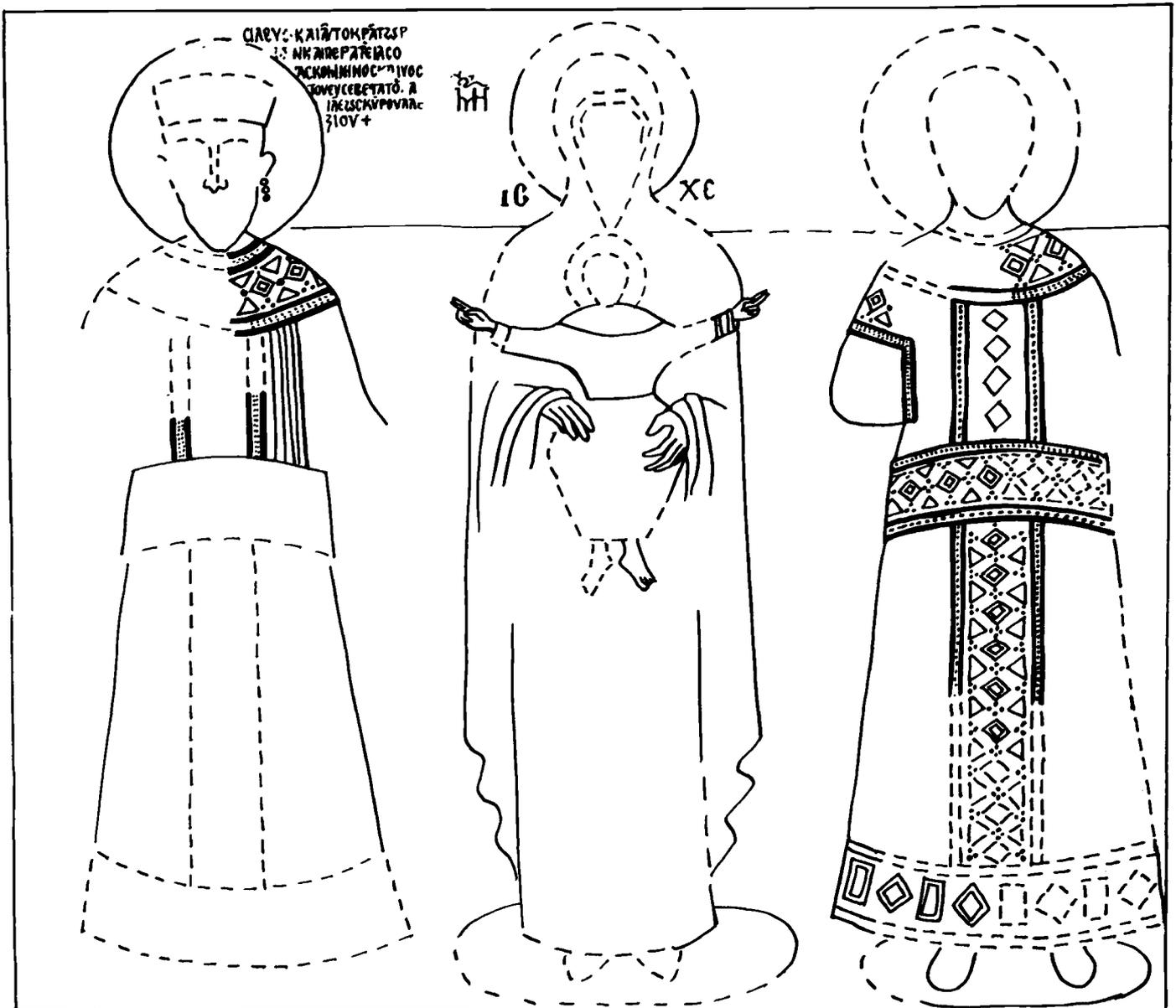
422. He can be seen in the bottom right-hand corner of our pl. 186a. The face is now gone.

423. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 101.

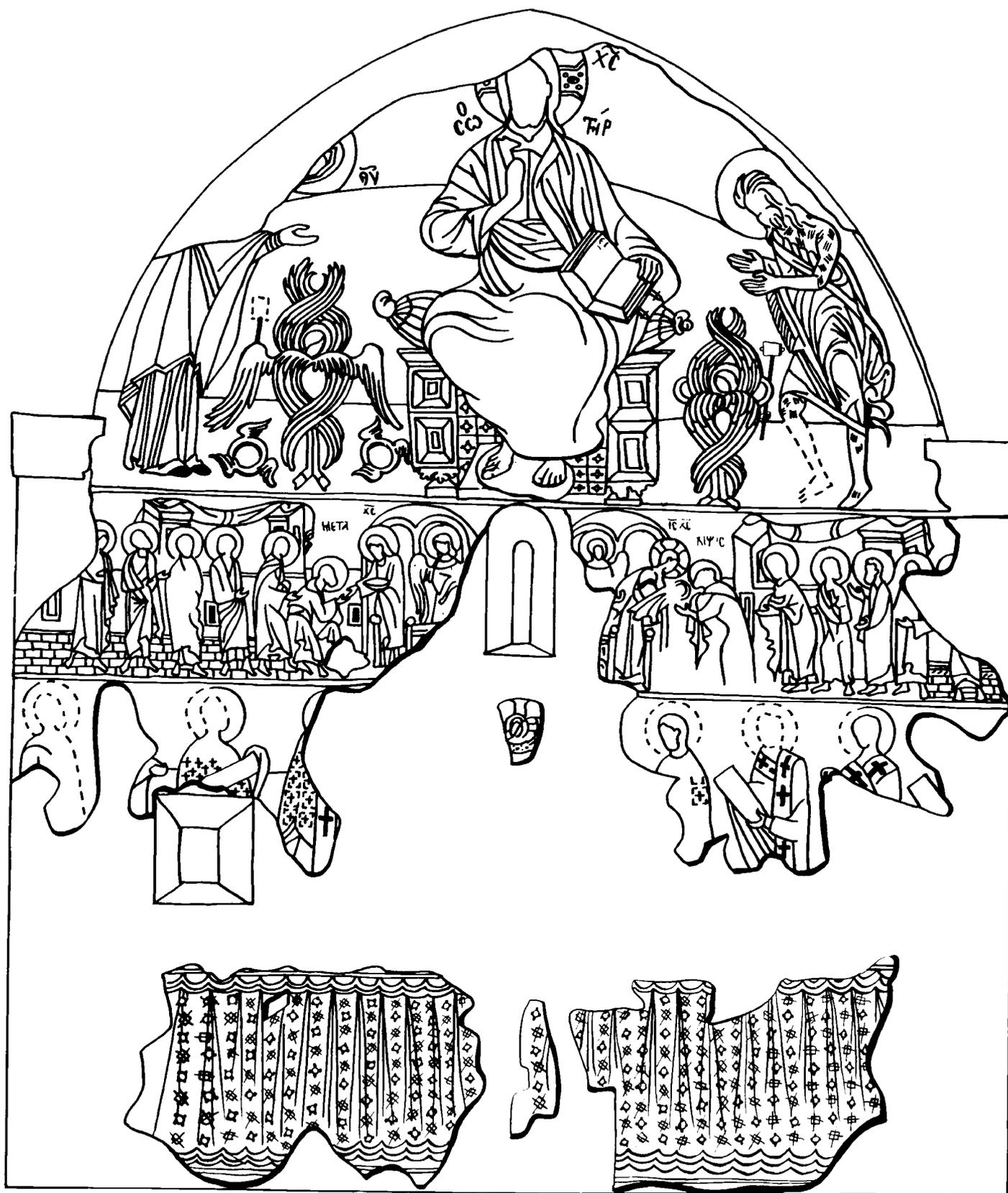
ΕΝΧΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ  
 ΠΙΦΟΣ ΒΑΣΙ  
 ΛΕΥΚΑΝ Δ  
 ΚΡΑΤΩΡΡΩΜΑΙ  
 ΟΝΚΤΗΩΡ ΦΙΟ  
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Ο ΚΟΜΗ  
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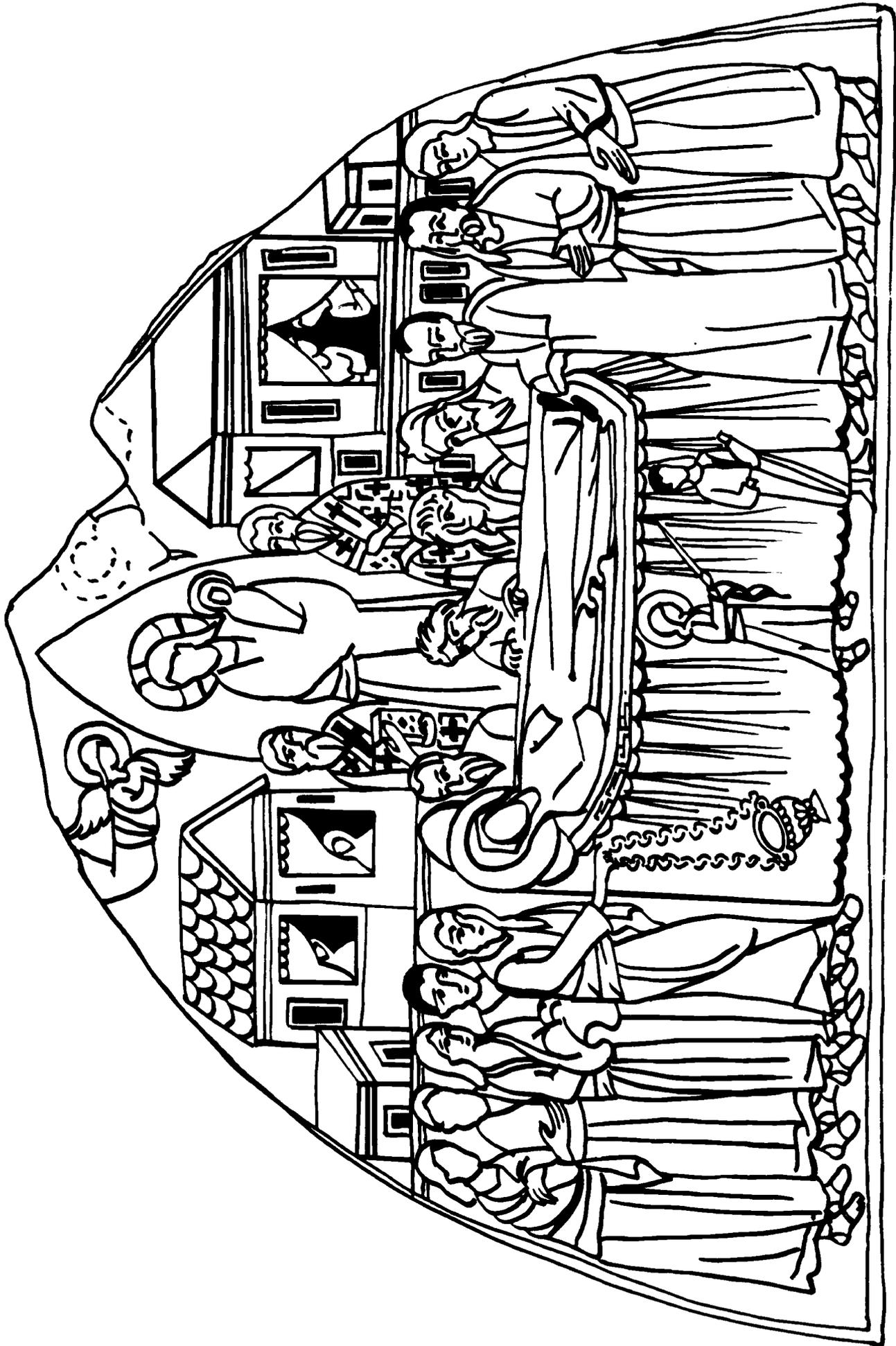
67. Inscription (from Finlay's MS, 1850)



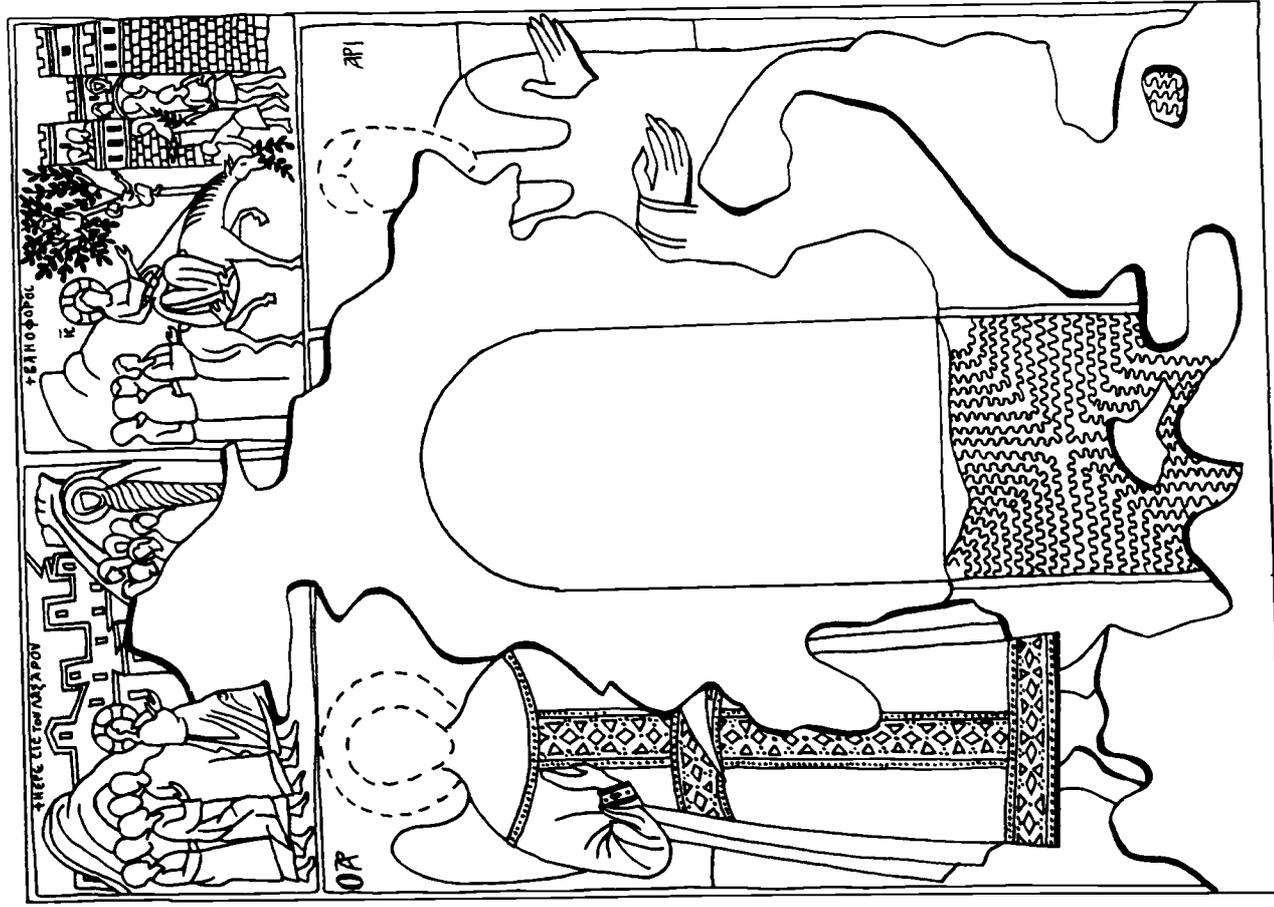
68. Tower, Exterior, East Face, Panel as seen in 1961. Imperial Portraits of Alexios IV (1416–20) at right, and, at left, His Son (and Murderer) John IV (1429–48)



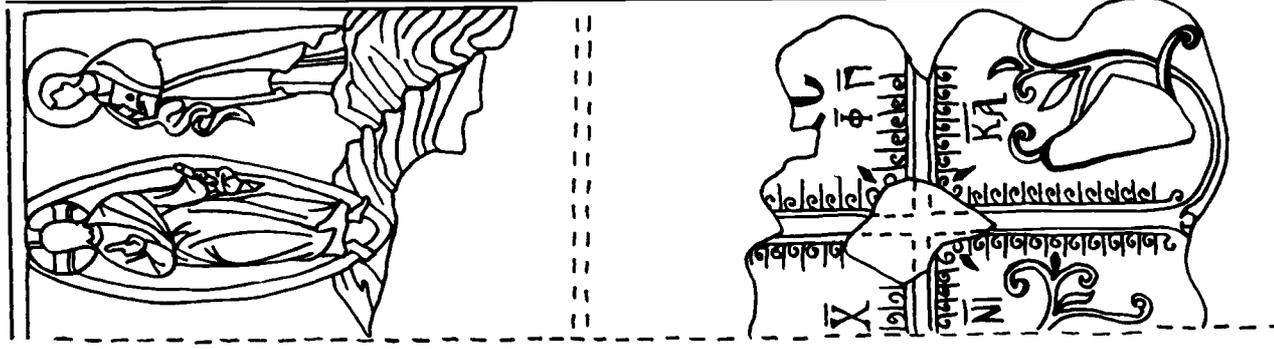
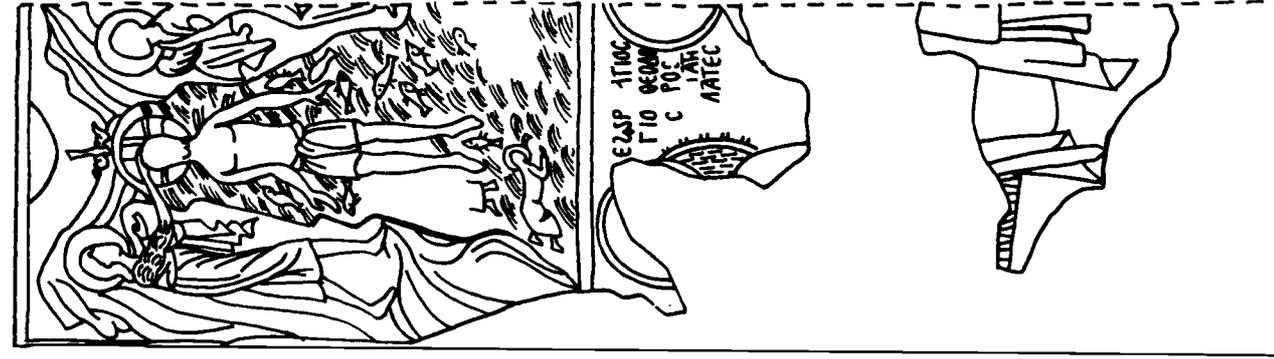
69. Trebizond, Hagia Sophia, Tower Chapel. Painting in Apse



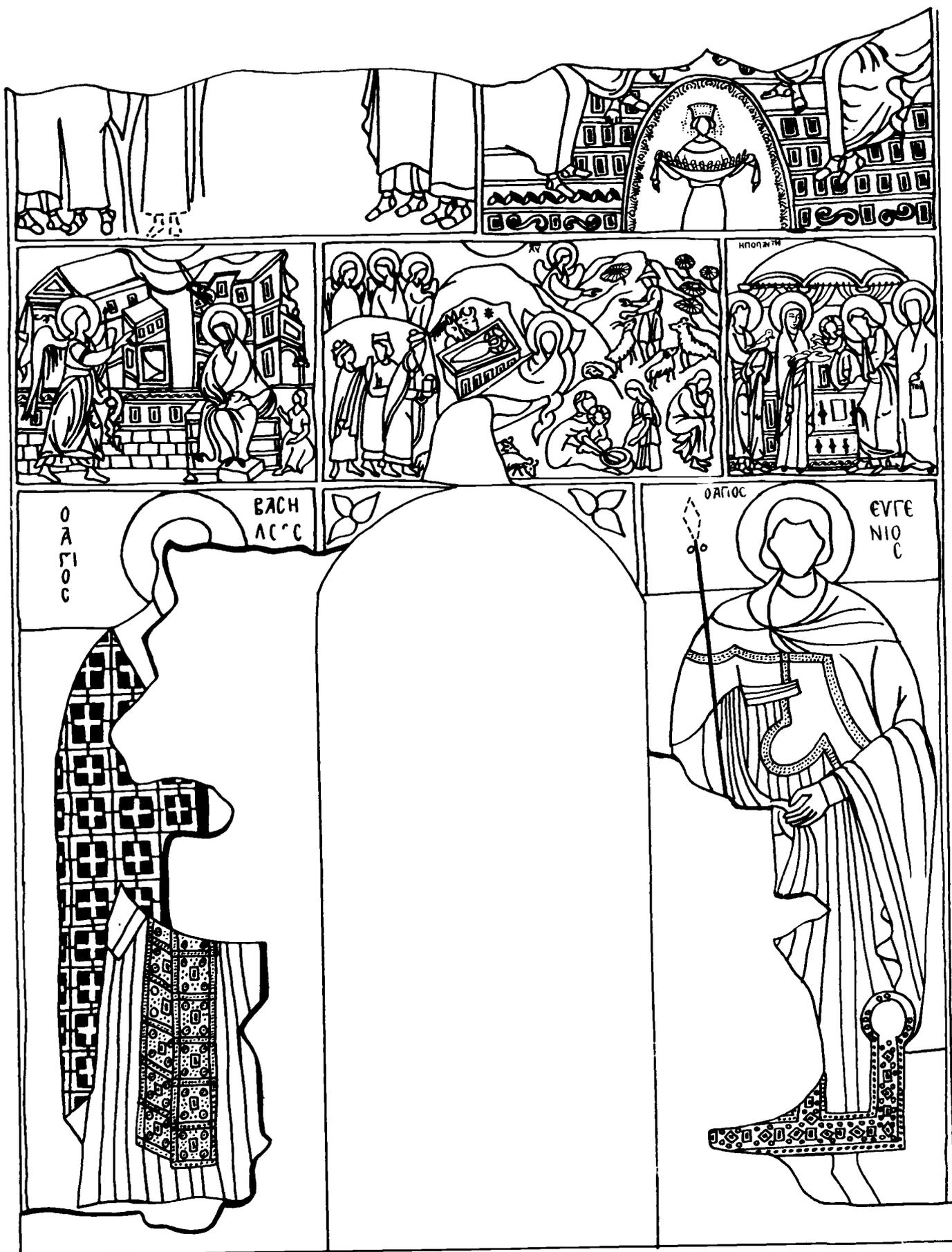
70. Trebizond, Hagia Sophia, Tower Chapel, West Wall, Lunette. The Koimesis



71. Paintings on West Wall  
Trebizond, Hagia Sophia, Chapel



72. Paintings on South Door Archway  
(East Side, left; West Side, right)



73. Trebizond, Hagia Sophia, Tower Chapel.  
 Paintings on South Side of Vault and South Wall



*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth century. We have found no trace of it.<sup>430</sup>

114. St. Theodore (Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος)

*Situation.* In Kireçhane, south of Trebizond.

*History.* A parish church in 1904. We have found no trace of it.<sup>431</sup>

115. St. Theodore Gabras (Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος Γαβρᾶς)

*Situation.* Near St. Basil (No. 66)

*Inscription.* An inscription referring to St. George, apparently taken from No. 80.

*History.* A terminus post quem for the building of the monastery is 2 October 1098, when the great Pontic hero, St. Theodore Gabras, was killed fighting the Turks. It is first mentioned, however, in the bulls for the Venetians of 1364 and 1367. The monastery remained in Greek hands but was in ruins by the nineteenth century and has left no trace today.<sup>432</sup>

116. The Holy Trinity (Ἁγία Τριάς)

*Situation.* In the parish of St. George Tsartakle (No. 84).

*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth century, perhaps identical with Chapel D (No. 33)<sup>433</sup>

117. "Santa Croce"

*Situation.* Our reasons for placing the Venetian Castle of 1367 on the headland called Santa Croce in figure III are given under entry No. 28. The Venetian perambulation begins with a church of Santa Croce, which must have stood close to the headland and on the sea.<sup>434</sup> The whole of the eastern waterfront was drastically changed by the building of the new boulevard in 1960–65. The roadworks of 1963 revealed a church on the seafront about 50 m west of the headland on which the Venetian Castle stood and just east of the point where the Şeker Fabrikası Sokağı reaches the sea. Bulldozers pushed this building back into its former anonymity a few days later, but not before D. C. W. was able to record, though not to photograph, it. We propose this church as the Santa Croce of 1367 (pl. 175).

*Architecture.* The plan (fig. 75) is that of a church with two rounded side apses and a central apse pentagonal on the exterior and semicircular on the interior. The walls of the nave and north aisle were incorporated in a private house, and the south aisle was later converted into a small chapel. The first, and larger, church was orientated at 100°. The external masonry of the south and central apses was formed

of neat rectangular blocks of local stone laid in regular courses. When there was some irregularity in the surface, it was made more even with brick or tile fragments. The core of the wall was of mortared rubble made of a yellowish lime with a plentiful admixture of sand and small pebbles. The north facet of the main apse, which retained its facing stones, contained a block with a guilloche pattern in low relief. Its position suggested that it had been reused rather than cut for the purpose. Traces of a window remained in the southeast facet of the main apse, suggesting a normal pattern of three windows. One side of the window was faced in ashlar blocks which were larger and neater than the facing stones of the rest of the external apse wall. The south apse had a small round-arched window, its arch cut out of a single block of stone. The window opened slightly off center toward the south, narrowing toward the interior. There was a round-arched liturgical niche in the north side of the south apse. At the eastern end of the south side there was masonry, which probably formed the western termination of the main apse or sanctuary, made of ashlar blocks larger than those of the external facing of the church. Between this masonry and the eastern part of the apse was a blocked archway which originally connected the main and south apses.

The only certain remains from the center of the church were five cylindrical stone blocks, two drums of which were smaller than the others. They presumably made up a column which must have supported one of the arches between the nave and the south aisle. Two single blocks, respectively upright and horizontal, must have formed part of the framework of a door, 0.74 m to the west. The door may have led to the later chapel when the south aisle was walled off.

The original floor stood about a meter above ground level when the church was revealed. It was indicated by lime mortar incorporating earthenware dust and fragments which must have been the setting bed for slabs or a mosaic floor. The setting bed stretched unbroken as far as the corner of the Şeker Fabrikası Sokağı.

The small later chapel in the south aisle was formed by blocking the archways between the aisle itself and the nave. The masonry of the blocked archways was made of neat rectangular blocks with surface irregularities filled in by brick or tile fragments. It was similar in character to the masonry of the exterior of the apses of the main church. The similarity might suggest a modification executed soon after the church was built, but this type of masonry is not uncommon in the Pontos and is not yet datable.

A large *pithos* was sunk in the earth about ten meters south of the south apse. To the north of the north apse were the ruins of a small barrel-vaulted chamber, its crown running from east to west. The surface of the internal masonry was composed of two layers of lime plaster, of which the lower contained a quantity of earthenware dust and fragments. The size of the structure suggested that it might have been a tomb.

About 15 m north of the church, standing upon the rock of the seashore, were two courses of neat masonry with earthenware dust and particles. This work was similar to that of the foundation of the Venetian Castle (No. 28) on the headland and may have formed part of a sea wall. About 70 m west of

430. Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 315; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792.

431. The records of the Phosteropoulos family in a Russian diary of 1896/97, now in the possession of Bayan Aliye Asırbay, show that Artemis Phosteropoulos was baptized in St. Theodore, Κιρτισχάνη, on 22 August 1904.

432. Zakythinios, *Chrysobulle*, 34, 78; *DVL*, II, 128; M&M, *A&D*, III, 133; Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 44<sup>r</sup>; Meliopoulos, "Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.", 7 (1930), 76–78; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 114–15; the same, "Gabrades," 175; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 456, 792; Papadopoulou-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 133–34; Janin, *EMGCB*, 271.

433. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792.

434. *DVL*, II, 128; Meliopoulos, "Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.", 7 (1930), 77–78; Janin, *EMGCB*, 291.

the church were one or two courses of similar masonry and mortar. This hypothetical sea wall may have continued even farther west, to join the walls of the Lower City; a photograph taken by O. G. S. Crawford in 1932 shows similar masonry lying in the sea just east of the eastern sea tower of the Lower City (pl. 175).

*Date.* The pentagonal central apse and the semicircular pastophories are a standard Trapezuntine type. In plan the church probably joins Millet's second group of local churches—those with a dome supported by four columns, like the Hagia Sophia (No. 112), St. John Theologos (No. 94), and St. Basil (No. 66).<sup>435</sup> The lime-mortar floor with fragments of brick or pot and pulverized earthenware is found as the setting bed of the mosaic floor of the Hagia Sophia. The foundation courses of the Venetian Castle of 1367 (No. 28) are similar.

Such factors hint at a period during the Empire of Trebizond. If, as we propose, the church is the Santa Croce of 1367, it is more likely to have been an Orthodox than a Roman Catholic church, despite the similarity in masonry with that of the Venetian Castle. The area had not been in Italian hands before 1367, when Santa Croce was already standing. If so, its dedication would have been to the Τιμιος Σταυρός.

118. The Monastery of the Stylos (Στόλου μονή)

*Identification.* Following Chrysanthos we have tentatively identified the monastery of the Stylos, mentioned in 1384 and 1395, with that of Manglavita (No. 49).<sup>436</sup>

119. The Taxiarchai (Οἱ Ταξιάρχαι)

*Situation.* In the parish of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

*History.* A chapel in the nineteenth century.<sup>437</sup>

*Identification.* The Taxiarchai could be identical with any one of Churches B (No. 31), F (No. 35), or G (No. 36).

120. Theotokos Chrysokephalos (Fatih, Orta, or Büyük Camii) (Παναγία Χρυσοκέφαλος)

*Situation.* The conventual cathedral of Trebizond stands in the center of the Middle City; originally it was surrounded by arcaded monastic buildings and, presumably, the episcopal palace, later replaced by numbers of shops and booths, which were cleared away by the Russians in 1917.

*Inscriptions.* 1. The inscription on the north lintel, referring to the Emperor Hadrian, on a marble slab presumably from elsewhere, was plastered over by 1970 and had apparently gone by 1973;<sup>438</sup> 2. An inscription dated 913/14, referring to the restoration of his throne by Metropolitan Basil, and apparently on the back part of it, found in the floor in 1877 and reported in 1879 (fig. 60),<sup>439</sup> is presumed lost; another undated version of the same inscription, (Ἀνεκα)νίσθει ὁ τιμιος καὶ ἅγιος θρόνος (ἐν Χριστῷ) (?) ὑπὸ Βασιλείου Μητροπολίτου, appeared on a

plaque, also presumed lost, which was taken to St. George Kourtza (No. 82) (pl. 161);<sup>440</sup> 3. An inscription reading ΑΛΕΞΙΟC KOMNHNOC on a marble block 1.80 m long, bearing in the center the gilded relief of a bull's head with a palmette on either side—presumably a reused classical block—also found in the floor in 1877, reported in 1879, is also presumed lost;<sup>441</sup> 4. The epitaph of a Grand Oikonomos Zacharios, incorporated into the Kulaklı Çeşme outside the cathedral, was lost with the destruction of the fountain after 1918.<sup>442</sup> 5. (A late insertion in this Study). There are a number of re-used blocks in the drum of the dome and high on the western end of the northern wall of the basilica proper, above the roof of the northwestern annex, which bear decorative and ropework patterns. Because the patterns are in very low relief and because the walls are smothered in layers of whitewash, these blocks are only distinguishable from below in certain raking morning lights. One block, 0.61 m in length, between two decorative ones, bears the fragment of an inscription. It overlooks the roof of the northwest annex, about half way along, and can be reached by ladder. The slightly cut inscription has letters 11 cm. high: ]ION ΕΠΙ ΒΔ CIA[ The crossing of the N is staggered; the C and C are open; the left leg of the Λ reaches to about two-thirds of the height of the right; and the cursive Δ has a round belly. Close inspection of the wall from the annex roof did not reveal any other blocks from the inscription. The evidence is therefore that an inscription that may have commemorated the construction or reconstruction of this (or another) building by an emperor, or during his reign, was later reused in the construction of the upper walls of the basilica. This, and the style of lettering, is consonant with the building sequence proposed on p. 243. We propose that the inscription may originally have celebrated stages 2–3 of 1214–35, and was later used for stage 4, the rebuilding of the upper part of the basilica in 1339–51.<sup>443</sup>

*Architecture.* A triple-aisled domed basilica with (originally) a single pentagonal apse, narthex, exonarthex, galleries above the aisles and narthexes, chamber or annex to the northeast, and north and south porches—the latter long excised and blocked for the *mihrab*.<sup>444</sup>

440. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 422 and fig. 1.

441. Marengo, *loc. cit.*

442. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 424–25 (facsimile and transcript), is to be preferred to Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 300.

443. Although the building has been examined by so many, this inscription was not noticed until 1971, when Mr. Richard Lockett made a color slide of it. Through the good offices of Bay Haşim Karpuz of the Trabzon Museum, A. A. M. B. was able in 1979 to climb on the roof to examine the inscription.

444. The bibliography of the Chrysokephalos is extensive and besides Millet, Talbot Rice, and Ballance, there is a special study of it in Baklanov, *Byzantion*, 4 (1928), 377–91. See also Bzhshkean (1819), trans. Andreasyan, 46–47; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 221–22, 229, 240, 246, 373, 375, 379–86, 389–93, 531; Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 24, 74, 76, 84, 91, 108, 132, 159, 220–21, fig. 35; Diehl, *Manuel*, 769, 785–86; I. E. Kalphoglou, Ὁ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι ναὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Χρυσοκέφαλου, *Argonautes*, 5 (1916), 9–10 (not available to us); Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 420–25, 441, 445–48, 451–53, 458; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 112; Papamichalopoulos (1901), 190–93; Ritter, *Erdbkunde*, XVIII, 881; Rottiers (1829), 205; Succi, *Trebisonda*, 216–20; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5

435. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 443.

436. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Viz Vrem*, 5 (1898), Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 257, 463; Janin, *EMGCB*, 291; Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 128.

437. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 791.

438. Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 301.

439. Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 302.

As is to be expected with the most important church in the Empire of Trebizond, the Chrysokephalos has undergone a number of structural alterations. The major change of plan is that a dome and crossing were added to what was probably originally a galleried basilica. This will be discussed later.

*Decoration.* Wooden boards hide the opus sectile floor and plaster covers the wall paintings and the apse mosaic representing, perhaps, the Mother of God. The marble panels of the central apse wall remain visible. The "considerable remains of a brilliant mosaic on the outer walls,"<sup>445</sup> noted by Finlay, are also concealed by plaster; they were variously reported to represent an Annunciation and the Saints Constantine and Helena. Reused fluted marble Ionic columns and capitals are employed in the north porch. No trace survives of what must have been the most splendid array of Trapezuntine funerary monuments and imperial liturgical furniture. In the vicinity of the church, the Kulaklı Çeşme (No. 45), the tomb of Alexios IV (No. 25) have all disappeared since 1918—the fountain perhaps in 1877. There was an icon of the Panagia Chrysokephalos holding the Child, perhaps fastened to a column, which Andronikos I Gidon endowed with precious stones and pearls from booty taken from the *Melik* in 1223. A later pilgrim attraction must have been the wonderworking tomb of Dionysios, founder (with Alexios III) of the monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos, who was buried in the Chrysokephalos between 1382 and 1389.<sup>446</sup>

*History.* The Chrysokephalos was the metropolitan,<sup>447</sup> coronation,<sup>448</sup> and funerary<sup>449</sup> church of the Grand Komnenoi, a refuge in times of danger,<sup>450</sup> and the conventual church of what must have been one of the richest monasteries of the Empire. Lazaropoulos always applies elaborate periphrases to it; like the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, it is simply the *μεγάλη ἐκκλησία*; in the bull of 26 October 1314 it is the *ecclesia beate Maria Crisocofolita in Castro Trapesonde*; and even the normally tongue-tied Continuator of Panaretos rises to "the most sacred church of the More-Than-Holy Theotokos Chrysokephalos."<sup>451</sup> Its epithet, "Golden-Headed," has usually been taken to refer to the gilded bronze tiles supposed to have covered the dome, but Lazaropoulos gives retrospective evidence that the

church was already known as the "Chrysokephalos" in the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), and Theodore Prodromos' correspondence with, and funerary oration on, Metropolitan Stephen Skylitzes (1120–40) confirms the same epithet, which Lazaropoulos suggests was derived from a golden icon of the Theotokos in the church.<sup>452</sup>

After 1461 the Chrysokephalos became the principal mosque of Trabzon, and the property of the "Hrisokefal Manastiri" passed to the Fatih Sultan Vakıf, which still exists and may well still hold some of it. The monastery then enjoyed a monthly income of 1,208 aspers and held land in Chortokopion in Matzouka (Ortahortokop and Yukarıhortokop, now renamed with stunning lack of imagination as Ortaköy and Yukarıköy, in Maçka).<sup>453</sup>

Like Baklanov, Selina Ballance pointed out that many architectural secrets of the Chrysokephalos cathedral and *katholikon* lie hidden beneath its plaster, but she established a convincing architectural sequence, to which she added tentative dates:<sup>454</sup>

1. An early church or churches on the site, of unknown dates, in which the metropolitical throne was restored in 913/14
2. A complete new basilica, comprising the present structure from apse to narthex, with six bays to nave and aisles, galleries over the aisles, and narthex on three sides of the church, in the tenth or eleventh century
3. A major reconstruction, involving the raising of the vault, the insertion of the crossing and dome, and, perhaps, the addition of the exonarthex, leaving the *bema* arrangements and the ground plan of stage 2 undisturbed, in the twelfth century
4. The addition of a chamber on the northeast in the thirteenth century
5. The addition of the north porch (the south porch is not considered) in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century, when the apse windows were possibly enlarged
6. The addition of the south apse in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

This architectural sequence is logical and must be accepted unless future investigation beneath the plaster and floorboards reveals contradicting evidence. But the chronology does not consider the historical evidence, which cannot be evaded.

Historically, it is clear that the church was adapted to certain special functions after 1204 and that the adaptation can probably be dated to the period 1223–35; that it was rebuilt in the period 1341–51 but that certain sections of the building of 1235 remained undisturbed in 1364 and 1426.

445. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 76, 115, 131; Uspenskij, *Ocherki*, 15–16; Baklanov, *Byzantion*, 4 (1928), 389; PG, 133, col. 1257; L. Petit, "Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Etienne Skylitzes, métropolitain de Trébizonde," *IRAIK*, 7 (1903), 12.

446. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 309, 315; cf. Vryonis, *Decline*, 324–25. There seems to be a confusion here with the Hagia Sophia.

447. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 151; followed by Demetrikalles, *MCh*, 13 (1967), 112–14, figs. 21, 22; and by Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 280–81, 353 note 55, who, however, dates stage three to the 13th century without stating his reasons.

(1930), 51–54, pls. 2–6; Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, 198–99.

445. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 43r; Marengo, *loc.cit.*

446. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 131; Janin, *EMGCB*, 277; Oikonomides, *Dionysiou*, 12. We are grateful to Professor Speros Vryonis Jr. for his observations on this point.

447. Besides containing the metropolitan throne of 914, the Chrysokephalos had the tomb of Metropolitan Barnabas (1333), in which Metropolitan Basil was later buried (1364); Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75.

448. The Grand Komnenos John III was crowned in the ambo of the Chrysokephalos in 1342; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 67.

449. The Chrysokephalos contained the tombs of the Grand Komnenoi Andronikos I Gidon (1235), John II (1297), Theodora Kantakouzene (1426), and (outside) probably Alexios IV (see No. 25); Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 63, 65.

450. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 118.

451. *ASL*, 13 (1884), 517; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 115; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 81: ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῶ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Χρυσοκεφάλου.

These facts reflect the architectural sequence proposed by Selina Ballance but not the dates she assigned to it.

The first stage concerns the first church or churches on the site. The tradition of a fourth-century foundation must be rejected,<sup>455</sup> but one may reasonably suppose that this important site in the heart of the Middle City had attracted a church long before the earliest epigraphic evidence reveals that it was the cathedral of Trebizond by 913/14—the first known bishop (as opposed to metropolitan) of Trebizond is mentioned in 253/54.<sup>456</sup> This church, or another, was in existence in the periods 913/14, 1042–55 and 1126–40.

The second known stage regards the substantial patronage enjoyed by the church in the period 1223–35. It played an important part in the *Melik's* attack on Trebizond in 1223, the spoils of which endowed the Chrysokephalos icon with a magnificent Gospel Book, “precious stones, and gleaming pearls.”<sup>457</sup> The great hero of the siege, Andronikos I Gidon (1222–35), spent his most desperate night in prayer in the church with a Chrysokephalos monk called Gerasimos. Andronikos Gidon, second Grand Komnenos of Trebizond, was buried in the Chrysokephalos in 1235. He was given a tomb in the *parabema*—presumably a pastophory, perhaps the northeast chamber (which we will later propose as a *metatorion* too), rather than the southeast chamber, for that was later equipped with an apse. The Gidon's tomb was still there, undisturbed, when Theodora Kantakouzene was also buried in it in 1426.<sup>458</sup> The inference must be that the apse arrangements remained substantially the same in the period between 1235 and 1426. A more dubious inference might be drawn from the fact that an inscription of Alexios Komnenos on a reused classical slab (presumably the under side of it) was incorporated in the *opus sectile* floor of the church. It is unlikely to refer to Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), the Byzantine emperor, for Trebizond was in virtual rebellion during most of his reign.<sup>459</sup> The earliest Alexios Komnenos to whom it might refer is Alexios I Komnenos (1204–22), the first Grand Komnenos. This may argue that the mosaic floor of the Chrysokephalos was laid after 1222. Similar work in the Hagia Sophia dates to 1250–70, in St. Eugenios to 1291, and, we have suggested, in St. Michael at Platana, to ca. 1300; in Constantinople the floor of the Stoudion church may date from after 1261. The Chrysokephalos floor could therefore be the first of a thirteenth-century series in Trebizond.

455. The tradition ascribing the foundation to Hannibalianus, nephew of Constantine the Great, is a 17th-century one: see Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 140; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 390. Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 487, note 3, apparently citing Bzhshkean (1819), 66 (not 106), has a garbled version that the Chrysokephalos was built as a nunnery by Flavius Julian Constantine, “king of Pontos.” The notion that Justinian commissioned the Genoese to build a cathedral of St. Andrew on the site, advanced in Succi, *Trebisonda*, 216, is quaint, but pardonable in consideration of the author's Genoese origins.

456. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 128–31.

457. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 131; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 245–46.

458. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 81.

459. W. Fischer, “Trapezus im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert,” *MittlÖG*, 10 (1889), 172–207; Bryer, “Gabrades,” 175–77.

The third stage in the history of the Chrysokephalos is probably indistinguishable from the second, but must be examined separately. Local *strategoi* and dukes of Chaldia had been virtually independent rulers of Trebizond before 1204, but all claimed their authority from the emperor in Constantinople; in the cathedral the metropolitan throne of 913/14 would have taken pride of place. From 1204 until 1282 the Komnenos ruler of Trebizond controlled the Pontos on an entirely different basis. He claimed to be not *a*, but *the*, Byzantine emperor, the sole emperor of the Romaioi. Through unprecedented circumstances he could not enjoy his rightful coronation in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, but he carried much greater dynastic prestige than did the upstart Laskarids and Angeloi of the West, while the Palaiologoi were hardly heard of. Until 1214 the serious and not unreasonable aim of Alexios and David Komnenos was to be crowned, or recrowned, in Constantinople. Their defeat by the Laskarids and Seljuks in 1214 meant that they were unlikely to reach the City, but the claim remained. When Michael VIII Palaiologos took Constantinople in 1261, it became clear that Manuel I Komnenos of Trebizond would never be crowned there; and when he signed a concordat with John II of Trebizond in 1282, the Grand Komnenoi gave up their claim to be sole emperors of the Romaioi. Thus, the period when it was important that the Komnenoi be crowned emperors of the Romaioi—although it was obvious that this could be done only in the cathedral of Trebizond, not in Constantinople—was from 1214 until 1282; however, the precedent of having more than one Byzantine emperor had been set and the Grand Komnenoi, as “Emperors of All the East,” remained sticklers for correct court ceremonial, costume, administration, and etiquette until the end of their State.<sup>460</sup>

A Byzantine emperor, and especially a claimant emperor, required a, preferably impressive, cathedral incorporating certain features which were not part of the normal architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and which, for various reasons, are not usually found after iconoclasm. At the very least his coronation church would have had to contain a *metatorion* (a robing or cloak room), a large ambo (a, probably, central pulpit capable of accommodating several persons for the coronation itself), the most splendid Gospel Book which could be obtained on which to take the coronation Oath, and *katechoumena* (galleries in which the newly crowned emperor could be seen and acclaimed and in which he might normally take communion). Alone of the churches of Trebizond, it was the Chrysokephalos which was provided with these conveniences.

In the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople the, or a, *metatorion* appears to have been the southeast bay of the church—

460. Miller, *Trebizond*, 18, 28–29. After 1282 the Grand Komnenoi are noted for the very correct costume in which they are depicted in wall paintings, on coins, and on the chrysobull for Dionysiou (which itself is an extreme example of diplomatic anti-quarianism, harking back to the 11th and 12th centuries); they had fifteen known court offices (including a *tatas* and *parakoimomenoi*) and accepted Easter acclamations on the Meydan as part of the imperial liturgical cycle: Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75; Oikonomides, *Dionysiou*, 50–61.

which has only a central apse.<sup>461</sup> In the Chrysokephalos the *metatorion* was probably in the northeast bay. This is the only Trapezuntine church known to have three aisles and a single apse, a feature which hitherto has been taken to indicate an early date.<sup>462</sup> The Chrysokephalos aisles terminate at the east in square, domically vaulted chambers. The southeast chamber later was enlarged by means of a semi-circular apse. The northeast chamber was never given an apse, but is accessible by stairs to the galleries and at some point received the addition of a much larger chamber on its north side. Imperial robing rooms need direct access to the *bema* and the galleries so that it should not be necessary to cross (or enter) the main body of the church; also they do not require an apse. That the northeast bay of the Chrysokephalos the *metatorion* probably accounts for the fact that the church had only a single, central, apse at its second stage. The *metatorion* is a comparatively small chamber and it is hardly surprising that it had to be added on to later. It would be at this, or the next, stage that blocks decorated with twisted ropework and a fragment of an imperial inscription, noted under inscription 5 on p. 238, would have been incorporated high on the northern wall.

According to Selina Ballance, "the function of the additions at the northeast is obscure . . ." <sup>463</sup> In our opinion, there are a number of functions which the chamber added to the northeast could have served: as the Grand Komnenos' own entrance and vestibule to the church, as a dining room (both paralleled in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople), as a *skévophylakion* for keeping the Gospels and imperial regalia not otherwise provided for, or simply as a larger *metatorion*.

The second feature which the new Byzantine emperors would probably have had to add to their cathedral in Trebizond was an ambo. Centrally placed ambones and solea barriers connecting them with the *bema* were important items of Early Byzantine liturgical furniture but disappear with the rearrangement of the Gospel procession. In early Byzantine times, the Gospel was read from the ambo, but the procession which carried it there was later abbreviated to a simple appearance and reading at the *bema* doors, as in the modern Orthodox liturgy. There is no physical evidence for posticonoclast ambones; the floors of the Stoudion basilica in Constantinople (eleventh- or thirteenth-century) and of the Pantokrator (twelfth-century) reveal no signs of ambo fittings.<sup>464</sup> But, after its former functions in the Constantinopolitan liturgy were lost, at least one ambo had to be retained for another purpose—the coronation of an emperor. This does not mean that an emperor could be

crowned only in an ambo; some were not. But in the fourteenth century, and as late as the coronation ritual for Manuel II Palaiologos in 1391, the ambo is specified.<sup>465</sup> It is not likely that an ambo suitable for coronations was available in the Chrysokephalos when the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond first claimed the Byzantine throne in 1204. But Panaretos supplies direct evidence that this archaic piece of liturgical furniture was later provided, for he writes that on 9 September 1342 the Grand Komnenos John III "was crowned in the ambo of the Chrysokephalos"<sup>466</sup> by Metropolitan Akakios. The secret of where precisely the ambo stood may well lie in the setting of the mosaic floor beneath the wooden boards of the present mosque; structurally as well as traditionally the most appropriate position of the ambo would have been in the center of the church.

The third requirement of a coronation was an appropriately splendid Gospel Book. Doubtless the cathedral had one but, according to Lazaropoulos, after the victory over the *Melik* in 1223 it was presented with a particularly magnificent set of Gospels. On 30 July 1341 the Grand Komnenos Michael arrived by sea to claim the throne. Panaretos states that "in the evening the archontes came down with a form of oath and the Metropolitan Akakios with the Gospel book, and they recognized him as legitimate sovereign. . . ." Michael had no opportunity to be crowned, for he was deposed next day. In 1858 the Metropolitan Constantios of Trebizond presented the Tsar Alexander II with a fine eighth- or ninth-century illuminated Gospel Book which had belonged to the Chrysokephalos and is now in the Leningrad Public Library.<sup>467</sup> Whether it is the same as those mentioned in 1223 and 1341 is a matter of speculation.

The fourth feature essential to a coronation was galleries; like the ambo, it is much more common in earlier than later Byzantine churches. Baklanov assumes that the three-sided galleries of the Chrysokephalos, which are otherwise unknown in Trebizond, were a *gynaikites*, or place for women. The precise use, and even the existence, of women's galleries has since been questioned; in early Byzantine churches an aisle seems sometimes to have been reserved for women, but there is no evidence that the sexes were segregated in later Byzantine churches. Almost invariably the galleries of early Byzantine churches were designated not for women, but for catechumens. These *katechoumena* began to disappear together with the identity of the catechumens as a class; by the seventh century some of the abandoned *katechoumena* which had not been turned into oratories were causing scandal in Constantinople because people were using them to make love in. Nevertheless a few galleries reappear on the fringes of the Byzantine world after iconoclasm as often ambiguous architectural features; they return in the ninth to twelfth centuries to Bulgaria, southern Italy, Kastoria and Lake

461. C. Mango, "The Brazen House. A study of the vestibule of the imperial palace of Constantinople," *Arkæol. Kunsthist. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.*, 4 (4) (1959), 64, 72, 89 note 82, 90 note 86, 91; Mathews, *Early Churches*, 96, 132, 134; J. B. Papadopoulos, "Le mutatorium des églises byzantines," *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), 366–72; H. Kähler and C. Mango, *Hagia Sophia* (London, 1967), 64–65.

462. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 149; "The single apse in a three-aisled church was common enough in the early churches but is most unusual later than, say, the 8th century (except possibly in Lycaonia)."

463. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 148.

464. Mathews, *Early Churches*, 179, 180 note 5.

465. Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 257–61, 353–56.

466. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 67: εἰς τὴν Χρυσοκέφαλον ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι.

467. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 231–32; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 66; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 390–92, 622–23; Janin, *EMGCB*, 279; F. I. Uspenskij, "Trapezuntskaia rukopis' v' Publichnoi Bibliotekie," *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences*, 6th Ser. (Petrograd, June 1917), 719–24 and two plates.

Prespa, and in Nubia; and in the Palaiologan period to Mistra.<sup>468</sup> Like the ambo, only the Late Byzantine coronation ritual demanded the *katechoumena*, employing the outmoded term specifically for the galleries which the emperor climbed to be shown to, and acclaimed by, his people after being crowned in the ambo and swearing on the Gospels.<sup>469</sup> They were not, therefore, like the upper oratories over the narthex of the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond (No. 112) and other Late Byzantine galleries, for they were open from their floor upward. A similar three-sided gallery with wide upper arches was built by Yaroslav of Kiev in his royal church of the Hagia Sophia from 1037.<sup>470</sup> The open arches of the gallery of the Chrysokephalos (pl. 162) are comparable to it, on a much smaller scale, and would have served the same purpose. Earlier, perhaps in the Chrysokephalos also, court and senate would receive communion and synods would be held in the gallery.

To sum up the combined second and third stages: after 1214 the building of a church which incorporated certain archaic features—a *metatorion*, an ambo, and *katechoumena* galleries—would have become a matter of urgency to the Grand Komnenoi. Lazaropoulos and Panaretos were writing over a century and a half after those years but the former retains a memory of massive endowment in the period 1223–25. Both hint that the ground plan arrangements remained undisturbed after that period; not only was the Gidon's tomb of 1235 still there behind the *bema* screen in 1426, but the tomb of the Metropolitan Barnabas (1333) remained undisturbed in the Chrysokephalos until Metropolitan Basil was buried in it in 1364.<sup>471</sup> Therefore, we propose that the church (or churches) which stood in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries was completely rebuilt as a basilica, and comprised the present building from apse to narthex, with six bays to nave and aisles, incorporating a *metatorion* to the northeast, *katechoumena* over the narthex and aisles which were accessible from the *metatorion* and, probably, the opus sectile floor and ambo; we propose, moreover, that this was done before 1235 and probably after 1214—certainly after 1204. This is Selina Ballance's second architectural stage, which she dates to the tenth or eleventh century.

Certain points should be noted. The new church had the bare minimum of liturgical features and furniture required of a crowning church. The *katechoumena* for acclamations probably dictated a narthex below it, rather than the other way round. The *metatorion* and galleries were skimpy. There was no dome or crossing; the building was squat. It may well be that there was no domed church in Trebizond in the early thirteenth century; similarly, the rather clumsy pentagonal apse becomes the first datable example of what was to become a canonical feature of the architecture of the Grand Komnenoi. The model for the new church was perhaps St.

Eugenios (No. 77), which at the time was a barrel-vaulted three-aisled basilica of five bays but, unlike the Chrysokephalos, did not require galleries or a *metatorion*, which, in the Chrysokephalos, excludes side apses as part of the original plan.

The fourth stage comes in the period 1341–51. The evidence for it is a hymn on the occasion of the rededication of the church by Metropolitan Akakios after a very substantial, but otherwise ill-defined, refoundation of the building, composed for its "patronal" feast—the Annunciation (25 March).<sup>472</sup> The author of the hymn, Andreas Libadenos, was working on and off in Trebizond between 1335 and 1361; Metropolitan Akakios reigned from 1339 to 1351. It may be possible to narrow down further the date of the refoundation. Panaretos states that on 4 July 1341 the Türkmens attacked the city "and all Trebizond was burnt down, inside and outside," and that John III was crowned in the Chrysokephalos on 9 September 1342. From this, Oikonomides argues that if the church was burnt down on 4 July 1341 and was ready again for coronation on 9 September 1342, it can only have been repaired for a rededication on 25 March 1342.<sup>473</sup> The argument is neat but presupposes that on 4 July 1341 the Chrysokephalos suffered severe damage, of which there is no evidence in the hymn, and that during a time of civil strife a major rebuilding was carried out in less than nine months. Elsewhere Libadenos describes the fire of 1341 in vivid detail, but it is curious that he does not specifically say that the Chrysokephalos was a victim of it.<sup>474</sup> Panaretos does not record it (whereas he speaks of the burning of St. Eugenios), and Lazaropoulos does not mention it (while he notes that the St. Eugenios of his day was not the same as that before 1340). Although it is dangerous to argue from silence, it would be well to look for an alternative date. On 29 January 1349 Alexios III was crowned, exceptionally, not in the ambo of the Chrysokephalos but in St. Eugenios,<sup>475</sup> a church which possessed no conveniences for the coronation. If he was crowned there because the Chrysokephalos was being rebuilt, possible dates for the rededication would be 25 March 1349, 25 March 1350, or 25 March 1351—the end of Akakios' reign. However, there may have been other reasons for the coronation in St. Eugenios: Akakios had been identified with earlier and rival emperors, and he and his cathedral may have been in disgrace; St. Eugenios was itself newly built and 29 January, Alexios' coronation day, was the feast of the patron saint of the Grand Komnenoi. It is unfortunately impossible to be sure of either sets of dates: 25 March 1342, or 25 March 1349 to 1351. The answer would be important, for it would determine whether the Chrysokephalos was the prototype of St. Eugenios, or was rebuilt simultaneously with it. St. Eugenios was rebuilt between 1340 and 1349.

468. Mathews, *Early Churches*, 129–33, 179; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 191, 204–5, 210, 212, 220, 226, 241, 256, 270, 286.

469. Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 32–33, 269; Mathews, *Early Churches*, 128–29.

470. V. I. Lazarev, *Mozaiiki Sofii Kievskoy* (Moscow, 1960), 39–42, figs. 4–7.

471. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75, 81.

472. N. Banescu, "Quelques morceaux inédits d'Andréas Libadenos," *Byzantis*, 2 (1913), 364–65; Lampsides, *AP*, 29 (1968), 246–47; Libadenos, ed. Lampsides, 113–16, 230–41.

473. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65–69; Oikonomides, *AP*, 18 (1953), 34–17.

474. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 240–41; Libadenos, ed. Lampsides, 67.

475. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 69.

At all events, stage four is clear enough, for Selina Ballance perceived a major reconstruction (architecturally, her stage three) involving the raising of the vault and the insertion of the crossing and dome, and, perhaps, the addition of the exonarthex and extension to the west *katechoumena* above it. It would have involved the dismantling of some of the work of stages two or three and, we suggest, accounts for the recently noted fragment of an inscription and decorative blocks which were re-incorporated at this stage in the top of the western end of the north wall when the vault was raised, described as inscription 5 on p. 238. But stage four would have left the apse and floor arrangements undisturbed, leaving the tombs of Gidon (1235) and of Metropolitan Barnabas (1333) in their places and ready to be used again later. Selina Ballance, however, dates this reconstruction to the twelfth century. She admits that “the absolute dating of the different periods is very difficult and nothing is certain. It is just possible, but on the whole unlikely, that the great reconstruction involving the insertion of the dome belongs to the period commemorated in the rededication hymn, 1340–1350; unlikely, because one would not expect major innovations to the cathedral at as late a date as that, particularly as the Empire (and therefore presumably the revenue) was shrinking as the Turks came closer and closer, and because it leaves only a century for three later periods of additions, of which the middle one—the north porch—is of careful design and workmanship.”<sup>476</sup> But this argument should be reversed. After 1341 the Türkmen menace began to die away and the imperial boundaries did not shrink significantly. Only one major monastery (the Hagia Sophia) is known with certainty to have been founded before 1341; thereafter there was a massive building and endowment program of monasteries. The monasteries of Soumela, Vazelon, Peristereota, Christ at Tsite, St. Sabbas, the Theoskepastos, St. Eugenios, the Pharos, the Hagia Sophia, Manglavita, St. Phokas at Kordyle, and Dionysiou on Mount Athos were all built, refounded, added to, or endowed after 1341.

Selina Ballance goes on to note that, for the major reconstruction, a “12th-century date seems the best guess in our present state of knowledge: while the interior has a strong resemblance to St. Eugenios, the exterior of the drum is simple to the point of grimness and has none of the refinements of mouldings which the Commene churches show, either there or over the apse windows. It is more probable that St. Sophia and St. Eugenios followed the Chrysokephalos in the way the drum is set back from the pendentive ring and the pendentives themselves brought forward, rather than the other way round.”<sup>477</sup> This objection is not insuperable, if one considers that, unlike St. Eugenios and the Hagia Sophia, the Chrysokephalos appears to have been rebuilt under metropolitanical rather than imperial patronage during a period of political upheaval. It is hardly surprising that “the interior has a strong resemblance to St. Eugenios,” for the two are probably near-contemporary although probably rebuilt under different auspices and perhaps even in rivalry.

476. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 150.

477. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 151.

Finally, there are the later additions. After the 1340s came the extension of the *metatorion*, the addition of the north porch (and perhaps also the south porch balancing it) and of the south apse on the other side of the still apseless *metatorion*. These extensions made the original rather skimpy church into something more worthy of an imperial building: the extension of the *katechoumena* and *metatorion* must have been particularly convenient. But there is no literary evidence to date the additions.

To sum up, we propose a new dating scheme for the Chrysokephalos:

1. A tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century church of which there is now no trace
- 2, 3. An imperial basilica, barrel-vaulted, which included *metatorion*, *katechoumena*, single apse, and narthex, probably built after 1214 and finished by 1235
4. A major reconstruction by Metropolitan Akakios, involving the raising of the vault, the insertion of crossing and dome, and perhaps the addition of the exonarthex and the extension of the *katechoumena*, started after 1339 and finished by 25 March 1342, 1349, 1350, or 1351
5. Enlargement of the *metatorion*, addition of porches and of the south apse, in that order, after the 1340s

*Monastic Buildings.* The walling which in 1929 was visible by the office of the Fatih Sultan Evkaf to the north of the church has now been plastered over. Some Byzantine walling standing between the Evkaf office and the lower curtain wall of the Middle City, already noted,<sup>478</sup> may perhaps be connected with the monastery of the Panagia Chrysokephalos.

121. Theotokos Eleousa (Παναγία Ἐλεοῦσα)  
(Compassion)

*Situation.* Close to the Daphnous shore, beside the nineteenth-century Greek cemetery, between St. Sabbas and the mouth of the Pyxites. Possibly identical with No. 123 (pl. 106).

*Inscription.* A now lost inscription of a *vexillatio* of Legio XII was built into a wall.<sup>479</sup>

*History.* Monastic buildings attached to the church were still visible in the nineteenth century and it may therefore have been the monastery of the Eleousa to which Metropolitan Joseph Lazaropoulos retired in November 1367; it also appears to have been close to the site of the Genoese base and arsenal of 1316–49.<sup>480</sup> By the nineteenth century only the ruined church remained, the shrine of a local Greek and Armenian cemetery shown in plate 106. There is no indication of the appearance of the building, which seems to have been destroyed with the construction of the harbor on Eleusa Burunu in 1916.<sup>481</sup>

478. See p. 191.

479. Paraniikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 296.

480. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 76; but see Fallmerayer, (*Fragmente*, 1840), 138–39; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 106 note 3, fig. 9; Janin, *EMGCB*, 272.

481. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 253, 454; Ioannides, *Trebizond*, 238; Delatte, *Portulans*, II, 35; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 89; Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 500 note 2; *Black Sea Pilot*, 407; Finlay (*MS*, 1850), plan on fol. 28<sup>v</sup>, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>; Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 315.

122. Theotokos Evangelistria (Παναγία  
Εὐαγγελιστρία) (Annunciation)

*Situation.* About 150 m northeast of St. Basil and 180 m south of the old waterfront in the eastern suburb of the city.

*Architecture.* A more modest version of St. Philip (No. 108), the Evangelistria was a domed square building with single apse, semicircular internally and pentagonal externally, above a crypt.

*Decoration.* In 1929 there were traces of several layers of wall paintings. A possibly sixteenth-century painting of the Virgin and Child on wood then lay inserted across the dome.

*Date.* Talbot Rice suggested a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date, noting two stages of construction.

*History.* The Evangelistria was a church in the nineteenth-century parish of St. Basil. It was destroyed after 1929.<sup>482</sup>

123. Panagia Paramythia (Παραμυθία) (Consolation)

*Situation.* Within Trebizond. Possibly identical with No. 121.

*History.* In 1364 the seat of the Metropolitan of Alania. Nothing else is known of the church.<sup>483</sup>

124. Theotokos Theoskepastos (Παναγία  
Θεοσκέπαστος) (God-Protected)

*Situation.* Conspicuous on the slopes of Mount Minthron, midway between the harbor of Daphnous and the Citadel of Trebizond.

*Inscriptions.* Before 1843 there were at least four painted inscriptions in, or associated with, the cave church of the Theoskepastos. Three on the north (i.e., “west”) face of the church, in the narthex, identified the portraits of: 1. The Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90); 2. His wife from 1351, Theodora Kantakouzene; and 3. His mother Eirene (shown carrying a model of the façade of the cave church). They apparently stood in that order.<sup>484</sup> Fallmerayer noted a fourth inscription between those of Theodora and Eirene, referring to an enigmatic Eudokia, grandmother of a John, who took the veil as Euphemia. Her identity has puzzled a number of commentators but it was Fallmerayer alone who claimed to have seen the inscription there; apparently not accompanied by a portrait, it was the only non-imperial one.

482. Millet, *BCH*, 29 (1895), 454, fig. 26; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 56–57; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 374–75, 440–42, 715, 792, pl. 53; Janin, *EMGCB*, 272.

483. *M&M, A&D*, I, 477 (No. 238); Janin, *EMGCB*, 274; not in Chrysanthos; see also here, p. 348.

484. First noted by Tournefort (1701), II, 175–76; then by Bzhshkean (1819), 78; thereafter by Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 66, 101–2; II, 96 (with facsimiles); and finally by Texier (*Asie Mineure*, 1839), 597 and pl. 64 (= Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, 201–2 and pl. 66), with drawings of the three figures and inscriptions (out of order), reproduced in Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 99, pl. 41, and in Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, pl. 10. Among later editions, based on one or more of these records, see *CIG*, IV, No. 8741; Paranikas, *CPSyll*, 29 (1907), 297; and Millet (whose edition is to be preferred), *BCH*, 19 (1895), 438. Tournefort and Texier copied the opening lines of Inscription 3 as ΗΡΙΝΗ ΧΥ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΑΕΤΟΥ, but the intriguing possibility that it is the epithet “Mother of the Eagle” (sc. Alexios III) must surely be rejected in favor of Millet’s ΗΡΙΤΙ Χ[ριστο]ῦ . . . μητρη δε του . . . ; the As and Ds of such inscriptions are difficult to distinguish. Janin, *EMGCB*, 272–74. See also Bryer, *AP*, 33 (1976), 17–18.

Paranikas, however, reveals that the inscription was almost certainly in St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88), not in the Theoskepastos; it is discussed here under that heading.<sup>485</sup> 4. A fourth, genuine, inscription nearby, apparently not associated with the first three, was the epitaph of the Despot Andronikos Komnenos (1355–14 March 1376), discovered beneath plaster by Fallmerayer.<sup>486</sup> In 1843 the Andronikos epitaph was replaced by a more elaborate one, probably composed by the Trapezuntine savant Perikles Triantaphyllides in his best style.<sup>487</sup> The group of three imperial portraits of Alexios, Theodora, and Eirene was replaced with figures of Theodora, Alexios, and Andronikos—apparently in that order. The new portraits were identified by the following inscriptions, noted by Finlay in 1850 and the only ones from the site so far unpublished:

1. Θεοδώρα Βασίλισσα, ἡ σύζυγος τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξίου.

2. Ὁ Μέγας Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος ὁ Κομνηνὸς καὶ κτήτωρ τῆς μονῆς ταύτης.

3. Ὁ Μέγας Βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος.<sup>488</sup>

While the model carried by Eirene in the earlier group suggests that she was foundress or benefactress of the Theoskepastos, the inscription of 1843 flatly states that Alexios was founder and the repaintings excluded Eirene altogether. The earlier version is surely to be preferred.

*Architecture.* The nunnery of the Theoskepastos comprised nine features: 1. A walled enceinte, variously described or drawn by Bordier in 1609 as a heptagon, an oval, 18–20 paces wide and (surely an error), two “arpants”—i.e., about 2½ English acres—in size,<sup>489</sup> now a rectangular enclosure on the rocky hillside little more than half an English acre in size; 2. A series of cells, variously described or drawn in 1609 as seven or eight “maisonettes” for ten or a dozen nuns, each with its own garden, or as four long huts,<sup>490</sup> replaced by the present range of small cottagelike cells to the northeast in 1843 and by the two-storied building to the northwest, after 1889;<sup>491</sup> 3. A small conventual church for the nuns, seen by Bordier in 1609<sup>492</sup> but now lost, unless it is represented by 4. A small nineteenth-century, domed, single-aisled parekklesion adjoining and to the east of the cave church, partly built into the rock and opening

485. Noted only by Fallmerayer; *OF*, I, 101–2. See p. 226.

486. Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 104; Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 438–39. The version in S. P. Lambros, Ἐπιτύμβιον Ἀνδρονίκου νόθου υἱοῦ Ἀλεξίου Γ΄ Κομνηνοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τραπεζουῦντος, *NE*, 13 (1916), 51–55, is to be preferred.

487. The 19th-century epitaph is in Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 439 note I; and, after Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 29<sup>v</sup>, in Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 98.

488. Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 28<sup>v</sup>. There are numerous anachronisms in these inscriptions; in particular, Andronikos was never *Megas Basileus* (a title in any case unknown in Trebizond), but Despot.

489. Bordier (1609), 124, 128 (plan).

490. Bordier (1609), 124, 128.

491. Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 97, 102.

492. Bordier (1609), 124, 128.

on to a rock-cut tomb which may be that of the Despot Andronikos;<sup>493</sup> 5. A large fountain at, or near, the northwest and only entrance, fed by another within the cave church, seen by Bordier in 1609<sup>494</sup> and now lost; 6. A nineteenth-century church of St. Constantine (No. 72) within the enceinte and above the cave church; 7. The tomb of Metropolitan Constantios within the enceinte and above the cave church (No. 25);<sup>495</sup> 8. A large two-storied hall, of a build akin to that adjoining the west wall of the Citadel (feature 28, masonry type D1),<sup>496</sup> traditionally and plausibly associated with the Grand Komnenoi,<sup>497</sup> to the west of the cave church; and 9. The cave church of the Theoskepastos itself. This is a simple cave running into the hillside roughly southward and turning slightly east at the end, with remains of a holy-water spring to the west (i.e., "south") of the bema, and opening into an open single-arched narthex to the north (i.e. "west") (pl. 107).

*Decoration.* The wall paintings of the church have been fully described by Millet and Talbot Rice.<sup>498</sup> Restle writes (in 1967) of the "total loss of the Theoskepastos paintings." In fact they are almost totally preserved under a heavy layer of grime which makes them largely unrecognizable. In 1971 A. A. M. B. noted that there are in some places two, and in others three, layers of painted plaster. The surface layer, as Millet (but not Talbot Rice) suggested, appears to be fourteenth-century work.<sup>499</sup> The church passed into the hands of the local children's hospital in 1970 and was relatively secure in 1973. Its paintings, which could be of considerable importance, await closer investigation.

*History.* A. A. M. B. has described the history of the Theoskepastos elsewhere.<sup>500</sup> Cumont's opinion that the cave was once associated with the cult of Mithras is probably justified.<sup>501</sup> The evidence of earlier layers of paintings suggests that the cave was a church before it was incorporated into the Theoskepastos nunnery, which was probably founded, refounded, or endowed by Eirene of Trebizond in the 1340s. The nunnery housed the tombs of Despot Andronikos (d. 1376), of the Grand Komnenos Manuel III (d. 1417), and of the Grand Komnenos Alexios IV (d. 1429) before the latter's remains were transferred to the monument outside the Chrysokephalos (No. 25).<sup>502</sup> Of the doubtless

extensive properties of the house, we know only that in August 1432 it held land adjoining that of the Pantokrator (Pharos) monastery in the location του Σεληνου, that in October 1460, by chrysobull of the Grand Komnenos David, its disputed holdings περι του κτηματος της Κισαραϊνας [Kisarna, No. 13] και του Σεληνου were ordered to be held in common with the Pantokrator (Pharos, No. 56), and that after 1461 its property in Mesarya (Mesehor Ciganoy or Çilkanoymesehor, now Dereli), near Esiroğlu, became part of a timariot holding—the nunnery is described as "Şoşkayastos" in the relevant document.<sup>503</sup> By 1609 the cave church seems to have been served by four or five monks who lived outside the nunnery enceinte: they were guardians of the somewhat idiorhythmic nuns, who had their own chapel.<sup>504</sup> By the time of the restorations of 1843 the cave church seems to have been again within the nunnery enceinte, but was a parish church out of the nuns' hands.<sup>505</sup> The Theoskepastos was the only known nunnery in the Empire of Trebizond and remained a house of women religious until 1922.

#### 125. Zeytinlik Camii

*Situation.* South of Uzun Sokak, up the lane by the side of the Saray Cinema, in the eastern suburb. The Christian dedication of the church is not known.

*Architecture.* A church with three semicircular apses, with window moldings recalling those of the Hagia Sophia, found in 1958 and published by Selina Ballance.<sup>506</sup> In 1959 the possibly seventeenth- or eighteenth-century *medrese* which stood on the site was demolished and in 1962–63 was replaced by a mosque. The mosque incorporates the remains of the north and central apses (pl. 192a, b) and a section of about 2 m of the north wall is preserved within it. Only the north window of the main apse is now intact; its dimensions are 0.45 × 1.87 m.

*Decoration.* A fragment of painted plaster was visible on the north wall in the interior of the mosque where later plaster has fallen away.

#### Conclusion

In 1895 Millet dealt with a total of nine churches in and around the city; in 1930 Talbot Rice discussed fourteen; in 1960 Selina Ballance recorded twelve churches, and in 1975 Darrouzès and Janin discussed forty-five. We have listed a total of ninety-six monuments; known or possible duplication would bring this figure down to about eighty-two and we have information on the physical appearance of only

493. Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 93–94, fig. 11. But Finlay (*MS*, 1850), fol. 28<sup>r</sup>, reckoned that Fallmerayer found the tomb on the right-hand wall of the vestibule or narthex of the cave church.

494. Bordier (1609), 124, 128.

495. Who died in 1879; the tomb is bravely identified in Succi, *Trebisonda*, 280, as that of Andronikos, son of Manuel III (*sic*), who died in 1367 (*sic*).

496. See p. 195.

497. Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 95. To the references there cited may be added Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1879), 315: "Une vaste pièce, dont il ne reste que les murs et d'où l'on a tout le panorama de la ville, servait de salle de repos aux Comnènes, quand ils visitaient le monastère. . . ." The structure was probably reroofed after 1889.

498. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 40–65, 116–20, pls. xvi–xxiv. Cf. Millet, *Iconographie de l'évangile, passim*.

499. Restle, *Wall Painting*, 1, 86. On the presence of paintings of the Five Saints of Arauraka in the church, see p. 168.

500. Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 89–103.

501. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 368–69.

502. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 72, 78, 81.

503. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 262, 271; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 316; cf. Vryonis, *Decline*, 355. As late as 1785 the Theoskepastos owned a shop in the horse market of Botoşani in Moldavia, given it by a, perhaps Moldavian, nun; see C. C. Giurescu, "Les relations des pays Roumains avec Trébizonde aux XIV<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 13 (1974), 246.

504. In *AP*, 29 (1968), 96, Bryer inferred that the cave church was that of the nuns and that the monks had another. A rereading of Bordier (1609), 124, 128, who refers to "un tres grand porche bien voulte" of the monks' church shows that it was probably identical with the cave church and that the nuns had another.

505. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 888; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 792; Oikonomides, *ATP*, 2 (1886), 333.

506. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 164 and fig. 16 (plan).

about thirty-seven. But Trebizond was as handsomely endowed with ecclesiastical monuments as any Byzantine capital. During the period of the Empire the little city had sixteen or seventeen Orthodox monasteries, one or two Armenian ones, and Franciscan and Dominican Houses. The dates of the monuments in the concordance on p. 248 are partly those already advanced by Millet, Talbot Rice, and Selina Ballance, and partly follow certain rules of thumb—principally that when a church is mentioned in 1223 it is presumed to antedate 1204, and that when a church is mentioned as an active one only in the nineteenth-century parish system, it is presumed to date from after 1461. On such dating about twenty-two churches were probably built before 1204, about fifty-six were perhaps built or rebuilt during the period of the Empire, and about twenty-four after 1461 (these figures include possible duplication). Of the medieval churches at least nineteen had wall paintings and the Chrysokephalos boasted mosaics. The principal agents of destruction have been Metropolitan Constantios of Trebizond (1830–79), who ruthlessly rebuilt every single medieval church still in Orthodox hands, and from 1958 the Municipality of Trabzon which has transformed the eastern seaboard. In 1973 only ten monuments survived more or less intact (four as mosques, the Hagia Sophia as a museum) and twelve in a ruinous condition. But three surviving monuments are of major importance and have secrets to yield: the Chrysokephalos and St. Eugenios, which are in good hands as mosques, and the Theoskepastos, which is in the care of a local hospital. As Selina Ballance noted, a certain dating of the complicated sequence of construction of the Chrysokephalos can be established only after closer inspection.

We are left with remarkably little information for dating the churches. It is particularly unfortunate that, because of the zeal of Metropolitan Constantios, we have no information of what the medieval St. John tes Petras (No. 91) looked like, for it was securely dated to 1302, and that we have only the scantiest information on the appearance of the medieval St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88), for that was probably built about the same time as St. John tes Petras. Leaving aside the painted cave churches and the buildings of which we have no physical record, we are left with only five monuments which can be dated with some amount of certainty, by inscription or other evidence. What we have are: a date of 884/85 for the rebuilding of St. Anne (No. 61); a probable date in the period 1250–70 (at its widest) for the building of the main church of the Hagia Sophia; a certain rebuilding of St. Eugenios in 1340–49; a probable rebuilding of the Chrysokephalos at the same time; and the dates 1421 and 1424 for the small chapel and the main part of the larger church at Kaymaklı, respectively. If our identification of “Santa Croce” (No. 117) is correct, we may add the evidence that the church existed in 1367.

St Anne, with its clerestory and semicircular apses, stands alone. The present church is of one build; the inscription of 884/85 records a rebuilding rather than a foundation. Perhaps the inscription, which is on a reused block, was already reused in an earlier church. But of the antiquity of St. Anne there is no doubt. Perhaps the early versions of St. Eugenios and of the Chrysokephalos, which were both basil-

icas, were enlarged types of St. Anne. Millet, however, groups the church with the Nakıp Camii (No. 53), which differs from St. Anne in two important respects—it has a pentagonal central apse and a porch.

Polygonal apses are common enough all over the Byzantine world. But specifically pentagonal central apses, with semicircular pastophories in these instances where there are also side apses, is a peculiarity of Trebizond. Except for the Hagia Sophia (where the porches are on a strangely different alignment in respect to the main building) all the porches of Trebizond are later additions to the churches. How much later is never clear; in the construction of a church the apse comes first and the porch last—perhaps some time after the main building has been finished. But the pentagonal central apse and the porch are the peculiar mark of medieval churches in Trebizond and are found in all the major ones. It is worth looking at them as a category. They consist of:

- No. 30 Church A: apse
- No. 31 Church B: one porch
- No. 32 Church C: apse
- No. 48 Kaymaklı, main church: apse of before 1424
- No. 53 Nakıp Camii: apse and porch
- No. 57 St. Akindynos: apse and one porch
- No. 64 St. Barbara: apse
- No. 66 St. Basil: apse
- No. 77 St. Eugenios: apse and one porch of probably after 1340
- No. 88 St. Gregory of Nyssa: probably two porches of ca. 1300; apse unknown
- No. 94 St. John Theologos: three-sided apse of before 1461
- No. 108 St. Philip: apse of before 1461
- No. 112 The Hagia Sophia: apse and three porches of 1250–70
- No. 117 “Santa Croce”: apse, perhaps of before 1367
- No. 120 Panagia Chrysokephalos: apse and two porches of probably after 1235 or 1349
- No. 122 Panagia Evangelistria: apse

Eight of the sixteen churches which can be dated to some extent belong to the period of the Empire of Trebizond and none can be proved to be earlier. In particular, it is clear that the builders of the Hagia Sophia regarded the formula, which could be modified for any size of church, domed or not, as canonical. It is as it were the symbol of the churches of the Grand Komnenoi. Whether they inherited an earlier tradition is virtually impossible to prove. Selina Ballance cites possible eleventh- and twelfth-century Georgian examples for both the polygonal apses and the porches, which would allow dates before 1204.<sup>507</sup> But relations with Georgia were much closer after that date—during Queen Tamara’s reign in the early thirteenth century and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when Trebizond had relations with the Georgian principality of Guria, one of whose rulers may even be buried in the Hagia Sophia.<sup>508</sup> Tentatively, there-

507. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 173. Diehl’s linking of these porches with contemporary ones in Mistra, Constantinople, and Serbia points only to a general Late Byzantine fashion, for there is no close parallel in the West: *Manuel*, 774–75.

508. See pp. 233 and 345.

fore, we suggest that this main group of sixteen churches belongs to the period of the Grand Komnenoi.

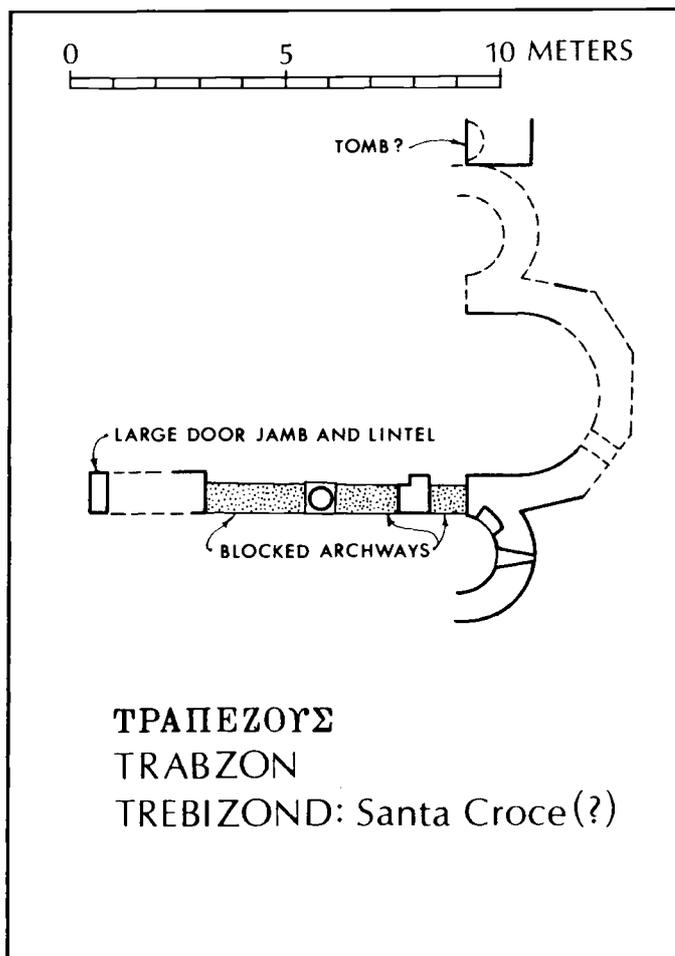
We have already proposed a sub-group<sup>509</sup> overlapping the main group. It consists of certain churches characterized by similar, fairly modest, dimensions, a basically rectangular plan, an abrupt narthex, a high-drummed dome over an almost square naos and vestigial crossing, a single apse lit by three windows, and some relief decoration. This group includes the Panagia at Tripolis, St. Michael at Platana, and St. Philip at Trebizond (No. 108). It might conceivably also include the Evangelistria (No. 122), a much smaller version of the plan, and St. Gregory of Nyssa (No. 88). Two of these churches (St. Michael at Platana and the Panagia at Tripolis) did not have pentagonal apses. This subgroup might be associated with John II (1280–97) and his wife Eudokia (1282–1301), the probable founders of the Panagia at Tripolis, and of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

509. See pp. 142 and 230.

The remaining probably medieval churches of Trebizond are less important; none can be dated securely. There is a group of triple-aisled domed (or probably domed) churches: perhaps the Çifte Hamamı (No. 42), Talbot Rice's "St. Gregory" (No. 87), and perhaps the church to the north of the Hagia Sophia (No. 112). Three more have three semi-circular apses and no sign of a dome: Church E (No. 34), Karlık Tepe (No. 79), and Zeytinlik Camii (No. 125). Then there are four simple single-apsed chapels: Chapel D (No. 33), Church L (No. 39), and perhaps Chapel M (No. 40) and St. Eleutherios (No. 76). None of these groups is architecturally remarkable; all belong to common later Byzantine types.

Our conclusions are less ambitious than those of Millet, Talbot Rice, and Selina Ballance, but we can read no more in the evidence.<sup>510</sup>

510. Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 443–59; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 80–81; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 172–75.



75. Plan





## CONCORDANCE OF CHURCHES IN TREBIZOND (cont'd)

No.	Dedication	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
		Monastery, Church, Shrine	Historical Inscription	Single-aisled basilica	Three aisles	(Probable) dome	Pentagonal main apse	Narthex or narthexes	Porch or porches	Wall paintings or Mosaics	Probably built before 1204	Probably built 1204-1461	Built after 1461	Destroyed before 1915	Destroyed after 1915	Ruined, or Surviving
101.	St. Maria (Roman Catholic)	C										X	X		X	S
102.	St. Marina	C										X?				
103.	St. Nicholas	C	2											X?	X?	
104.	St. Nicholas	C												X?	X?	
105.	St. Niketas (= No. 30?)	C														
106.	St. Paraskeve (= No. 95?)	C									X?					
107.	St. Peter	C														
108.	St. Philip	C	1	X		X		X								S
109.	St. Prokopios	C														
110.	"Ste. Réverandé"	C														
111.	St. Sabbas	M	1	X												R
112.	The Hagia Sophia	M	19		X	X	X	X	3	W			X?			S
113.	St. Theodore	C								W						
114.	St. Theodore	C											X?	X		
115.	St. Theodore Gabras	M														
116.	The Holy Trinity (= No. 33?)	C														
117.	"Santa Croce"	C			X								X?	X		
118.	Stylos Monastery (= No. 49?)	M														
119.	Taxiarchai (= Nos. 31, 35, 36?)	C														
120.	Theotokos Chrysokephalos	M	4		X	X	X	2		M	X		X?	X		S
121.	Theotokos Eleousa (= No. 123?)	M	1			X	X			W				X		
122.	Theotokos Evangelistria	C		X		X										
123.	Theotokos Paramythia (= No. 121?)	C	4							W						
124.	Theotokos Theoskepastos	M		X						W						S
125.	Zeytinlik Camii	C			X					W						R

## Section XXI

# THE *BANDA* OF MATZOUKA AND PALAIOMATZOUKA TO THE PONTIC PASSES

### DESCRIPTION, HISTORY, AND IDENTIFICATIONS (fig. 100)

The deep Prytanis-Pyxites valley introduces travelers to breaks and saddles in the Pontic Alps more than 50 km inland. It was the heartland of the Empire of Trebizond. The *bandon* was called Ματζούκα (Ματσούκα), the “club.”<sup>1</sup> Its administrative capital may well have been at Dikaisimon, but it is only in recent years that the staging post has adopted the name of Maçka itself. The southwest reaches of the valley, around modern Hamsiköy, were detached to form the separate pocket *bandon* of Palaiomatzouka between 1384 and 1408.<sup>2</sup> Here we treat Matzouka and Palaiomatzouka as a single unit and append the final windings of the routes south as far as the green downs of the Zigana Pass, the Pontic Gates, and Mount Kampana, high above the forests and crofts of Matzouka.

Matzouka is the simultaneous guardian of the Trebizond-Tabriz caravan routes in their first stages south, and of the invasion routes north to the sea. It represents the only substantial inland penetration of their Empire which the Grand Komnenoi controlled directly and not through intermediaries. By far the largest of the *bandon* valleys, it is the only one with serious access to the interior as well as to the sea and the only one without a maritime capital, for Trebizond itself stands at the mouth of the Pyxites. The soil of its central reaches was well exploited, rather than rich, affording a mixed farming economy assisted by numerous water mills and fringed by incomparable summer pastures. Its settlement was on the Caucasian pattern, a relatively dense but dispersed population in hamlets and farmsteads

1. Vazelon Acts 133 of 1381, 103 of 1386, 126 of 1408, 123 of 1415, 120 of 1367, 63 of 1278, and 106 of the 13th century; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 263; M&M, *A&D*, V, 278; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 101, 125–28; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72, 73, 80. G. Bapheides, Ἐξοχὲς Τραπεζούντος, *ChP*, 1 (1944), 187. The medieval *bandon* (which is specifically known to have embraced Kogka, Chalabena, Kounakalin, Chortokopion, Doubera, Soumela, Vazelon, and [probably] Peristera) became the Ottoman Maçuka Nahiyesi and still retains its boundaries.

2. Ljubomir Maksimović, “Bandon Paleomacuka”, *ZVI*, 11 (1968), 271–77, observes that “the forming of the bandon of Paleomatzouka . . . proves that the Empire of Trebizond, though considerably weakened already, was still able to take important measures for maintaining the organized life of the State body.” But precisely the opposite development was taking place at the same time in the *banda* of Gemora and Sourmaina, which were amalgamated by 1432—see Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 364.

subtending on comparatively insignificant administrative centers (the *choria* and their *staseis*). Not even Dikaisimon could be called a town, and larger villages like medieval Chortokopion or modern Hamsiköy were in fact agglomerations scattered over several square kilometers (pls. 226a, 227). By contrast, the later settlements of seventeenth-century Greeks in the marginal but safely remote uplands immediately below the pastures and tree line in Santa, Stavri, beyond Torul, and above Matzouka, were huddled and nucleated.<sup>3</sup> The settlement pattern of Matzouka is probably very ancient and the physical appearance of the Pyxites-Prytanis valley cannot be very different today from what it was in medieval times, save for the common substitution of American maize or sweetcorn for wheat—introduced in the Pontos in the late eighteenth century and here only after 1923, when the threshing floors were abandoned. The size of population and the considerable stability of society over four centuries is demonstrated by the following population figures for Matzouka, which are approximate but fairly reliable:<sup>4</sup>

Date	Choria	Christians	Muslims	Christian Percentage
ca. 1520	57	12,080	1,665	88%
ca. 1920	70	16,525	5,335	76%

Medieval Matzouka harbored the only sizeable numbers of Greek peasants in the interior of the Empire, their farms meeting the grazing lands of the Laz and Türkmens on three sides, which were annually disputed in May.<sup>5</sup> Compared with the unreliable tributaries of the Grand Komnenoi on the southern and eastern fringes of their state, the Matzoukans were loyal to the central government (to which in the Middle Ages they contributed civil servants), for-

3. See Bryer, *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 30–54.

4. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 16 (1962), 314–18; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 91–93 (cf. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 [1933], 791–96). Both figures are in hearths or households; a multiplier of five has been used here. The Ottoman figures do not include those for the village of Ilaksa, which belonged to the Padişah. The ca. 1920 figures reveal that the Prytanis valley (in which Vazelon stands) was 88 percent Greek and the Panagia valley (in which Soumela stands) was 80 percent Greek. Modern Maçka is now reckoned to include seventy-six villages. Cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 121.

5. See Bryer, *AP*, 28 (1966), 152–160, which concentrates on Matzouka.

midable warriors, hardy traditionalists, pious benefactors, and patient farmers. Without them the Greek culture of Trebizond would have been a veneer and the Empire no more than a Türkmen-Laz eccentricity. The Matzoukans justified the "Byzantine" style of the Grand Komnenoi and were its most zealous defenders.

The Matzoukans were noted for their belligerence, their resilience, and family cohesion. By fighting repeatedly for their lands along the Prytanis and Pyxites, they denied invaders access to Trebizond; during the period of the Empire the annual drain of manpower into captivity after struggles for grazing lands seems to have reached serious proportions. Then it was observed that the defenders of the Grand Komnenoi, "although few in number and ill-equipped, are heroes, like implacable lions who never let their prey escape."<sup>6</sup> In 1223 they drove the *Melik* from his siege of Trebizond up the valleys of Matzouka to Κάπαλιν, where they captured him; a commemorative shrine to St. Eugenios was still standing there in the 1360s.<sup>7</sup> In 1361 they held the passes against the emir of Bayburt, slaughtering numerous infidels, whose heads they brought gleefully down to Trebizond.<sup>8</sup> They attempted to hold the same passes in 1461 against the *Fatih*; later ballads speak of the heroic (if improbable) defense of Palaiokastros, the chief castle of Palaio-matzouka below modern Hamsiköy.<sup>9</sup> Undaunted, the Matzoukans descended to liberate Trebizond one Friday in the 1660s.<sup>10</sup> They were beaten off and reprisals were taken but they managed to retain some independence until the nineteenth century. There were few crypto-Christians then. One reason for a stability of culture was that medieval and modern Matzouka was dominated by three great landowning monasteries: Peristera, Soumela, and Vazelon. In 1890 Peristera held eleven, Soumela fifteen, and Vazelon twenty villages, many in continuous ownership since confirmatory grants in 1364, 1386, and 1417–1429 respectively, for monastic lands were respected in the valley and only five villages were sequestered to the *Vakif* of Gülbahar Hatun.<sup>11</sup> When a peasant's landlord is an abbot, it would clearly be unwise to apostatize.

The Matzoukan vitality is based on a powerful sense of kinship.<sup>12</sup> Their society and economy revolved round the

6. Al Umari (1330), 380.

7. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 128. We cannot equate the name with any of the four Kapan's and three Kapania in Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 178. It may well be derived from the *kapalion* (or tax district) of Doubera, on which see Fallmerayer, *OF*, II, 96, and note xxviii on p. 154; Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, p. LII. Mme Hélène Ahrweiler kindly tells A. A. M. B. that she believes that the *kapalion* can be equated with the ancient *kapalote*—a tax on ploughing and other working beasts and, by extension, upon the land worked: see B. Panchenko, *IRAIK*, 9 (1904), 168, and F. Uspenskij, *Byzantion*, 14 (1927), 502–3. The term seems to have become a Pontic place name elsewhere: see Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 404 (Kapanion) and Vazelon Act 129 of the 14th century.

8. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73; Libadenos, ed. Banescu, *Byzantis*, 2 (1913), 387, 391.

9. Miller, *Trebizond*, 107.

10. Janin, *EO*, 15 (1912), 497.

11. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 1–129; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 16 (1962), 318.

12. There are numerous studies of society and folk custom in *AP*. It is quite possible that the elaborate ritual of Pontic family cele-

brations reaches back to the Middle Ages—such as the death customs described by S. Lianides in *AP*, 26 (1964), 159–76 (cf. Koukoules, *Bios*, IV, 73–119; and Dumézil, *Contes Lazes*, 124–26), and the marriage customs noted by V. Cottas at the Pontic village of Tsihtsivar in the Caucasus, where nocturnal processions, songs, dances, and impromptu acting formed "une noce véritablement byzantine" (*Le théâtre à Byzance* [Paris, 1931], 74).

13. Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, pp. LXII and CII.

14. It is possible that the Sapoua family took its name from an existing and alternative Thonaria, but the Act of 1270 does not suggest this. It is more likely that this Thonaria (which is a common place name meaning 'Haystacks') was called Thonar'-Sapoua to distinguish it from other Thonaria. See Vazelon Act 36 of 1270, and, for other deeds relating to the Sapoua family, see Vazelon Acts 79 of 1260 and 80 and 107 of the 13th century. On Thonar'-Sapoua, see G. Zerzelides, 'Ερμηνευτικά τοῦ τοπωνυμικοῦ τῆς Ἄνω Ματσούκας, *AP*, 24 (1961), 260.

15. "The seat of one of these old chieftains was pointed out about nine miles from Trebizond, perched on the summit of a tall, sharp ridge, rising boldly from the midst of the valley and dividing it into two branches": Southgate (1837), I, 152; cf. Fontanier (1827), III, 327; Finlay (MS, 1850), fol. 45<sup>a</sup> (then in ruins, he suggested that the Derebeys had used the site of a medieval fortress); and Bryer, *BK*, 26 (1969), 195 note 4. We have not visited it.

16. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 314, 316; Kiourtsides, *PE*, 1 (1950), 159; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 91; Vryonis, *Decline*, 355. In the *defters* it is perhaps Çilkanoymesehor, now Dereli; the monasteries are transcribed by Gökbilgin as Sumale, Şoşkâyastos, Ayokos, and Alabene.

a tributary north of the junction of the Galiana and Pyxites is St. Basil, Ayvasil, now Anifa or Akoluk, with its churches, described below.<sup>17</sup>

South of Ἅγιος Βασίλειος, the Galiana, Pirastiyos Dere, runs from the Pyxites near the İtoğlu castle, south-southeast. It divides into two branches, the easternmost reaching the great monastery of St. George Peristereota. Near the junction is Πιπάτ, Bibat, with its churches, which are described below; Σέσερα, Şira, now Günay, where the monasteries of Peristera, St. Phokas, and "Isfelyar" held lands and where properties forming part of the dowry of Theodora Komnene, Uzun Hasan's bride, were situated;<sup>18</sup> and the villages of medieval Ὠλάσα, now Duralı.<sup>19</sup> An unidentifiable place called Ψωρή is associated with Olasa in the Acts of Vazelon.<sup>20</sup> Of the Olasan settlements, Φυντάκ, Fandak or Kandak Köyü, seems to have become prominent.<sup>21</sup> To the southwest, the Pharos monastery held land in τήν Κογκάϊν or Κογκά, Konga, now Alaçam, in 1432.<sup>22</sup> To the southeast, the church at Pirastiyos leads to the massive stavropegiac monastery of St. George, perched on a great rock on the west side of the river and near what may have been a sacred cave such as so many other Pontic monasteries boasted. Although one of the "Big Three" monasteries of Matzouka, the history of Peristera is the most obscure and no charter of it has been published or survives. Supposedly founded in 752, it was ravaged and abandoned in 1203, refounded in 1393 and reendowed in the early fifteenth century. There are hints that it was a Laz preserve: its abbots were then Theophanes of Lazia (1393–1426), Barnabas of Lazia (1426–49) and Methodios of Sourmaina (from 1449). A local early sixteenth-century landowner was called Vasil Lazos. But nothing appears to survive from what was regarded as one of the finest Pontic libraries to document the estates of St. George Περιστερεώτου in the Galiana valley. Most of the medieval buildings were destroyed in a disastrous fire in 1904 and the monastery was rebuilt thereafter.<sup>23</sup>

17. Vazelon Acts 14 of 1262, 46 of 1264, and 67 of the 13th century name an Ἅγιος Βασίλειος.

18. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 317; Vryonis, *Decline*, 355. The monasteries are transcribed by Gökbilgin as Ayo Fokas, Ayo Yorgi, and Isfelyar; we cannot identify the last.

19. Vazelon Act 106 of the 13th century; Blau (1860), 372.

20. Vazelon Act 106 of the 13th century.

21. For its later church, see Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 256–59.

22. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264.

23. There is a bibliography of the monastery and of its exarchate of the Γαλιάνα in Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 288 note 1. See also Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 317 (Ayo Yorgi); and, for the medieval abbots, Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 75–76. Marengo, *Missions Catholiques*, 11 (1889), 327, notes: "Non loin de Mela se trouve le monastère de Saint-Georges aux Colombes. Ce monastère, construit par les premiers Comnènes, était autrefois très-renommé et habité par un grand nombre de moines; il n'en a plus que de dix à douze. Le supérieur, qui a le titre d'exarque, étend sa juridiction sur 800 maisons des environs. Il correspond directement avec le patriarcat de Constantinople, et ordonne des prêtres sans le concours de l'évêque de Trébizonde. Ce couvent possédait une bibliothèque très-précieuse réduite aujourd'hui à quelques volumes sans valeur. Les moines de Saint-Georges, moins riches que ceux de Mela, sont, comme eux, cultivateurs et bergers. Beaucoup de pèlerins du Pont visitent ce monastère." Cf. Colias, "Bibliothèques," 809–12.

From Peristera a lonely track heads south up through wooded mountains to the watershed; it eventually drops down to Balahor, two or three days away. Returning to the main Pyxites valley, the traveler passes a series of great pitted basalt cliffs to reach Δικαίσιμον at the main confluence of the Πυξίτης, Πρύτανις (or Upper Pyxites), and Παναγία rivers. The place is surely Ad Vinesimum, the first Roman staging post, 20 *m.p.* south of Trebizond; to Lazaropoulos and Panaretos it was known as Dikaisimon, but it later adopted the name of the walnut groves which surround it: Cevizlik or Καρύδια. Now it is called Maçka, an obstinate survival of the medieval name for the entire valley, Matzouka, and perhaps even of the Peutinger Table's version of Magnana.<sup>24</sup> Its churches will be noted later. At Dikaisimon the northernmost lands of Vazelon and Soumela met the southernmost estates of Peristera. Of the nine primary *choria* supposedly granted Vazelon by Alexios III in 1386 two flank Dikaisimon (which itself puzzlingly escapes mention in the Acts). Χαβύ, 4 km to the west (now Hava, which once had a church), was a *stasis* and then a *chorion*.<sup>25</sup> About 2.5 km east-northeast of Dikaisimon is Ζούζα, near Χαρά or Καρά, now Καρικόγ, Kapuköy, another *chorion* of Vazelon.<sup>26</sup> The church called Geyikli, or Sarmaşıklı, described below, is probably associated with Zouza.<sup>27</sup> About two hours' walk to the northeast a castle is reported on a hill summit, near Lolongena and probably at İpsori; it overlooks the confluence of the Pyxites and Galiana.

Dikaisimon is today a busy market town, the administrative center of all Maçka as far as Palaio-matzoukan Hamsiköy. One may suspect that it has always been a meeting place, for the caravan route south, hitherto faithful to the Pyxites, divides into three here to climb the foothills of the Pontic Alps. The name may hint that the *kritai* of the *bandon* of Matzouka dispensed justice at Dikaisimon, and a nineteenth-century tradition pointed to a summer palace of the Grand Komnenoi in the environs.<sup>28</sup> But Clavijo did not mention it; noting only that on his first night out of Trebizond "we camped in a dismantled church standing beside a river called Pexic . . ." <sup>29</sup> The Pyxites was crossed by a new (but unstable) bridge in the 1840s, endowed by a Turkish widow; perhaps it replaced the Παλαιογεφύριον of the Acts of Vazelon.<sup>30</sup>

From Dikaisimon the eastern (more strictly south-

24. Miller, *IR*, col. 681; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 119; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 79, 400; Ioannides, *Historia*, 240, has Δικαίσιμον.

25. Vazelon Acts 79 of 1260, 103 of 1386 (*chorion*), and 106 of the 13th century (twice: *chorion* and *stasis*); Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 259.

26. Vazelon Acts 50 of 1268, 103 of 1386 (cf. Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 [1972–73], 160), and 106 of the 13th century. See also Kiourtsides, *PE*, 1 (1950), 157; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 79.

27. See p. 272.

28. Vazelon Act 120 of 1367, when Sebastos Pelinas was *krites* of Matzouka; Miller, *Trebizond*, 116–17.

29. Clavijo (1404), trans. Le Strange, 117.

30. Vazelon Act 105 of the 13th century; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 272–73. Perhaps also the *Ponte qui dicitur Pons Garini* (i.e., of Erzurum-Karin), of *ASL*, 13 (1884), 517. There was another bridge a little further up the river: Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 119.

southeast) route leads up the Panagia, Merymana Dere, valley through the lands of Soumela to the great monastery; the summer caravan road climbs along the ridge between the Panagia and Prytanis valleys to Chortokopion and Karakaban; the winter caravan route continues along the Pyxites, called Prytanis from this point onward, into the lands of Vazelon. We will take the three areas in turn.

Soumela lies four hours from Dikaisimon; the track was perilous but pilgrims passed through scenery of awesome grandeur, described by numerous travelers. The steep azalea-clad gorge aroused Fallmerayer at his most lyrical; Finlay, not to be outdone, confided to his diary: "It is impossible not to be in ecstasy with such scenery. It offers the precipices of Etolia with the waters of Switzerland and the richest vegetation of Brusa mingled with the flowers of Damascus."<sup>31</sup>

The entire valley was the fief and, later, exarchate, of Soumela, endowed by at least five Grand Komnenoi, which still controlled fifteen villages in 1890.

The holy, imperial, patriarchal, and stavropegiac monastery of the All-Holy Mother of God on Mount Mela, later called Soumela, was supposedly founded by two Athenians, Basil and Soterichos, who, as the monks Barnabas and Sophronios, were commanded by the Virgin to take her icon to the Pontos. The icon, called the Panagia Atheniotissa or Gorgoepekōos ("who answers quickly"), is one of the four or five popularly believed by the Orthodox to have been painted by St. Luke, and was a noted prophylactic against locusts. It preceded the monks, coming to the cave on Mount Mela, next to a holy-water fountain. Most great Pontic monasteries are centered on a sacred cave and, like Vazelon (supposedly founded in 270) and Peristera (supposedly founded in 752), it is difficult to separate tradition from fact in Soumela's early history. But the tradition, and hence the existence of Soumela, seems to have been established by the tenth century.

By ca. 1300 the monastery probably consisted of the, perhaps unpainted, cave, the icon, the fountain to the southeast of the cave, and wooden cells hanging from a cliff face on the western side of the Panagia River. It enjoyed the patronage of the Grand Komnenoi John II (1286–97), Alexios II (1297–1330), and Basil (1332–40). Current guidebooks, based on an account by the late Professor Talbot Rice, even state that the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90) was crowned there—in fact he was crowned in St. Eugenios, Trebizond, on 21 January 1350, but he was responsible for the rebuilding of Soumela in 1360–65. Panaretos states that "on Wednesday 5 May 1361, at the fifth hour, there was an eclipse of the sun, such as had not been witnessed in all our lifetimes, so that the stars shone in the sky and it lasted 1½

31. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 273; J. P. Fallmerayer, "Das Höhenkloster Sumelas," *Byzanz und das Abendland* (Vienna, 1943), 189–225. There is a bibliography of Soumela in Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 270 note 3, with additions in Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1973), 127 note \*. The account which follows is from A. Bryer, *Merymana Manastir: the Monastery of Soumela: a brief history* (Birmingham, 1972, revised 1973), a cyclostyled guide written at the behest of Bay Şükrü Köse, Chief Ranger of the Merymana Experimental Forest.

hours. Lord Alexios the Emperor and Lady Eirene his mother were found congregated in the monastery of Soumela in Matzouka, making many prayers and supplications."<sup>32</sup> It was at Soumela that Metropolitan Niphon of Trebizond died of pleurisy on 18 March 1364.<sup>33</sup> In December of that year Alexios III, in gratitude to the Theotokos for his salvation from shipwreck, granted Soumela a chrysobull which enumerates its possessions.<sup>34</sup> It then enjoyed lands and exemptions in the entire *kapalion*, or tax-district of Δουβερὰ, Λιβερά, Λειβερά, now Yazlık, with Κουσιπίδιον, Κουσιπίδης, Kospityos, Kanah Köprü, now Coşandere, Κόρους, and Ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος (which we cannot identify) in the Panagia valley; in Messarea, Çilkanoymeshor, now Dereh, in the *bandon* of Matzouka; in Chara, now Hara, in the *bandon* of Sourmaina; and in Mochlantos castle, Diokaine, and Kintzyvera in the *bandon* of Gemora; together with forty named *paroikoi* (serfs) and the watchtower of Doubera (visible from Dikaisimon) which it was enjoined to man against Türkmen marauders.<sup>35</sup>

Soumela was here excused all imperial taxes and tributes, as well as existing and future dues, great and small, and from the jurisdiction and authority of the local Matzoukan dukes, and from military and financial obligations and other extortions; it was an entire immunity (*exkouseia*). Soumela was obliged only to render into the Imperial Vestiary a twice-yearly tribute, and no more, to be given to the *archontes* and financial authorities. And if immigrants settled on its lands over and above the forty named serfs of the monastery, who were not registered on the imperial cadaster, they would also be excused in the same way and would contribute to the *kapalion* (or tax-district) which Soumela enjoyed. Alexios III even commanded that if serfs from the Imperial Demesnes settled on Soumela land, and if Soumela serfs died without heir, the lands of both would fall to the monastery, without further argument.

Alexios III may also have presented the monastery with an icon of the "Rosy-complexioned Mother of God." His successor, Manuel III (1390–1417), gave Soumela a filigree reliquary of the True Cross. To his reign must probably be attributed the portraits of Manuel III, Alexios III, and Andronikos which used to be distinguishable on the south wall of the cave (pl. 210a, b). By 1461 the monastery probably consisted of the painted (perhaps still open) cave church, the fountain, possibly a chapel for the relic of the True Cross, and probably some of the monastic buildings and nine chapels which litter the vast rock ledge to the north of the cave.

The Ottomans especially favored Soumela. Selim, son of Maria of the Soumela village of Doubera, governor of Trebizond (1489–1512) and Sultan (1512–20) confirmed its rights and presented the monastery with a set of massive silver candlesticks.

The second period of prosperity came with endowments as

32. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73.

33. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75.

34. See Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 92–100; Kausokalybitis and Metaxopoulos, *Soumela*, 45–52; M&M, *A&D*, V, 280; Lambros, *NE*, 3 (1106), 482–85, and the same, *NE*, 4 (1907), 243–44.

35. See Appendix.

a result of the reopening of the Tzanicha-Gümüşhane-Argyropolis silver mines in Chaldia in the seventeenth century. The monks squabbled over the new wealth and over such lucrative benefices as the vicarate of Koloneia, Şebinkarahisar, which they controlled until 1693. Things came to a head in 1686 when abbot Euthymios and his monks swore to a reform covenant before the icon by St. Luke in the cave and appointed two financial assessors to manage their affairs. As numerous inscriptions in the monastery testify, the archbishops of Chaldia—most of whom then came from the great silver mine-contracting family of Phytianos—patronized Soumela, particularly during the period 1686–1744, when almost all the visible wallpaintings, most of the chapels (including that of the True Cross, north-east of the cave), the eastern apse extension of the cave (which, liturgically, had faced the wrong way), and the inner monastic buildings were constructed or decorated.

The third period of prosperity was only marginally less destructive of the medieval monastery than the second. It began with the lifting of restrictions on local crypto-Christians in 1865 and the establishment of the diocese of Rhodopolis in 1860. In 1864 the present monastic approach, the aqueduct, the library (by the entrance), and the entire present façade were built. They replaced the old wooden cells which had hung like swallows' nests from the cliff face. The new buildings were not required for the monks (who rarely numbered more than a dozen in residence, with rather fewer in surrounding vicarates), but for the thousands of pilgrims (some Muslim, making an unofficial *hac*) who came annually on 15 August, the feast of the Koimesis, to venerate the icon of the Theotokos attributed to St. Luke. They largely paid for the rebuilding. Soumelan monks were practiced fundraisers: between 1744 and 1763 the monk Ioannikios made profitable trips to Şebinkarahisar, Ankara, Erzurum, the Crimea, and Skythopolis. Most nineteenth-century abbots made fund-raising trips to Pontic Greek communities in Russia. The surviving account books show that between 1840 and 1904 the annual income of the monastery rose from £387 to £4,142.

Soumela suffered during the First World War, when for nearly a year it lay on the Russo-Turkish lines. The last entry in the surviving Visitors' Book is dated 24 June 1921; the last monks left early in 1923. Thereafter the monastery became the haunt of tobacco smugglers; it was gutted by fire in *ca.* 1930. It suffered particularly from vandals. In 1961 it became the headquarters of a State Experimental Forest and that Soumela survives today is due to the energy and devotion of Bay Şükrü Köse, its first Chief Ranger. Viewed particularly from about 2 km up the valley, it is still the most thrilling site in the Pontos, visited by almost as many tourists nowadays as it was by pilgrims of the past.

Pontic Greeks have built a New Soumela near Kastania, Verria, in Greece, where every 15 August thousands of pilgrims venerate the blackened icon by St. Luke. The reliquary of the Holy Cross, given by Manuel III, is now in the Byzantine Museum, Athens; the icon of the "Rosy-complexioned Mother of God" is now in the National Gallery, Dublin; another is in a private collection in Oxford; and the probable icon screen is now in private hands in

America. Sultan Selim's candlesticks were robbed in 1877; the head of Barnabas and the bull of Alexios III are lost; sixty-seven of the former eighty-four MSS (the earliest of the twelfth century) and about one hundred fifty printed books from the library are now in the Archaeological Museum in Ankara. They do not include the first MS of *Digenis Akrites* to be found and published, which was at Soumela. But local Muslim peasants still bring the rags of their sick to the holy well of Meryemana, the Soumelan Mother of God.

George Finlay gives a glimpse of the monastery in its great days in a diary of 1850: "The roar of the waters 3,000 feet (*sic*) below the monastery, the snowy slopes visible on the ridge to the south over the valley which is hardly a rifle-shot across, the immense wooden pile of buildings with its galleries and cells clinging like swallows' nests to the precipice, the sound of the convent bell continually announcing the arrival of parties of pilgrims and the nasal chant of the continual masses was grand, strange, solemn and picturesque."<sup>36</sup>

Doubera was the capital of the Soumelan estates. It stands high above the eastern cliffs of the Panagia River, about 6 km south-southeast of Dikaisimon. It is a modest place upon which a certain fame was thrust. Here the polemarch Theodore faced the *Melik* in 1223; it was the center of the Soumelan immunity and tax district and was the native village both of the medieval archontic family of Douberites and of Maria of Doubera who, as Gülbahar Hatun, became the favorite wife of Bayezid II (1481–1512) and mother of Selim (1512–20); the place remained in Ottoman favor thereafter. Finally, after the emergence of the crypto-Christians in 1856, the autonomous exarchates of Peristera, Vazelon, and Soumela (always peculiar franchises) were merged to form the last and least of all Pontic dioceses with Doubera as its see. The village church (probably of the megalomartyr George), with its fine surviving wooden doors, was elevated into a brief career as the cathedral of Rhodopolis.<sup>37</sup> The castle and medieval remains of Doubera are described below.

Between Doubera and Zouza lies Σανξενοῦ or Σανσενοῦ, whose now lost fourteenth-century church had Aesopian wallpaintings of 1403/4, noted below. At Kouspides the Panagia River is met by the Λαραχανής, Larhan Dere. The Panagia takes a track along the eastern divide past Soumela and Mount Mela up through the tree line into the open pastures and, finally, the clouds of the Pontic Alps east of Mount St. Paul, Çakırğöl Dağı, which reaches 3,063 m above sea level. The Larachanes takes a parallel track along the western divide up to the watershed between Mount St. Paul and the Κουλάτ, Kolat Dağı, which reaches about 2,700 m. Kouspides is noted for its bridge τῆς Παναγίας. Kanalı Köprü, its now destroyed churches and women's monastery of St. John Prodromos (about 2 km northwest of and 250 m

36. Finlay (MS, 1850), fol. 48<sup>a</sup>.

37. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 119; Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 124; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 79, 400; Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, p. xxxii (and *s.v.* 'Douberites'); Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 225, 273; Ioannides, *Historia*, 241; Kiourtsides, *PE*, I (1950), 159; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 136; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 268–70.

above Kouspides), are described below.<sup>38</sup> The Larachanes' track passes Κούτουλα, Kudula, now Kirantaş,<sup>39</sup> first, and then Panaretos' Λαραχανή or Λαχαρανή, Larhan, now Akarsu, itself.<sup>40</sup> The suffix suggests a *han*, and the place was certainly a minor staging post. It was one of the highest medieval villages on the north side of the Pontic Alps, at over 1,250 m; above it and to the south are summer pastures and *hans* which are not permanently inhabited. It is first mentioned when on Friday 23 July 1361 Hoca Latif, the emir of Bayburt (Χοτζιαλατίφης in Panaretos, κακός Ὀλατουφης in Libadenos), "brought 400 selected soldiers and penetrated Matzouka towards Lacharane and Χασδένιχα. The Matzoukaitai, on the other hand, surprised some 200 Turks and carried off the majority together with many arms and horses, and decapitated this Chotzialatiphes, and on the following day marched in triumph with their heads all through Trebizond."<sup>41</sup> Six years later Alexios III patrolled the summer pastures of Larachane εἰς τὸν Παρχάριν τῆς Λαραχανῆς, before descending to Chaldia to the south.<sup>42</sup> Clearly the Larachane valley offered an invasion route into Matzouka which would have bypassed Soumela but not its main estates: hence the monastic watchtower which Alexios III enjoined the monastery to maintain against the Türkmens stood near Doubera and not close to the monastery itself. Larachane is not to be confused with the Λαχανῆ of the Acts of Vazelon.<sup>43</sup> The whereabouts of Chasdenicha, on the emir of Bayburt's other invasion route in 1361, will be discussed below.

South of Dikaisimon, a rising ridge divides the Panagia-Larachane from the Pyxites-Prytanis routes. It carries the central and most important summer road over the Pontic Alps, used by most travelers before the 1850s. The modern road takes the western winter road over Zigana, but the history of its siting and building in the years after 1850, until the final reconstruction of 1931–37, is a chapter of mismanagement, accident, and random murder. If Greek Hamsiköy had not doubled Turkish Yerköprü's bribe of £400 for the road to pass through it, travelers would today follow a more logical course.<sup>44</sup> Clavijo admitted that the Zigana winter route "is not the usual one for travellers to take unless their company is so numerous as to warrant a safe passage, or on the other hand are prepared to pay a considerable sum as a free gift to the lord (Kabazites) and his men."<sup>45</sup> The only

drawback to the eastern summer route was that its pass through the Pontic Gates, Pylai (which we have taken to be the striking shoulders below Kulat Dağ and beyond Kara Kaban) is considerably higher than that at Zigana: in feet it is 7,595 as opposed to 6,640. But its prime advantage was that by providing a short cut across the Zigana dog-leg, it saved at least a day. The alternative route (or routes, for there were several variations) appear as early as the Peutinger and Antonine Itineraries, which divide at Magnana, Dikaisimon, Maçka, and rejoin at Salonenia (Kalecik or thereabouts). By the western route—through Ziganne, Zigana, then Thia (behind which name may well lurk that of Tzanicha), and Sedissa, it was reckoned at 97 *m.p.*, but the eastern route was only 60 *m.p.* This ran through Gizenenica, Chasdenicha; Bylae, the Pontic Pylai, Frigidarium, Farganandi, Φαρχανάπτων, Φαρχανάπτων; Patara; and Medocia.<sup>46</sup> Both routes are marked on the maps of Curzon, Lynch, Kiepert, and Briot,<sup>47</sup> before the new western chaussée led to the now complete abandonment of the historic summer road to Trebizond.

The main summer route started just south of Dikaisimon, climbing to the east out of the Prytanis valley and up to Chortokopion and its castle. The watershed is less than a day away. Here endless green downs, clouds to the north, and ranks of mountains to the south have awed generations of travelers. Most turned to rejoin the Zigana road by Thia-Tzanicha. Some held along the down to the east, crossed the knot of tracks which meet at Anzarya Han (another possibility for the Pontic Gates), and dropped down to Maden Han and thence rejoined the Zigana road at Kovans, 17 km on from Tzanicha, or even at Khadrakh, on the far side of the Vavuk Pass. The extreme eastern route, one branch of which we have seen heading south from St. George, Peristera, ran through Taşköprü to Varzahan or Charton, Hart. It was a formidable and lonely track, but undeniably the swiftest. The Tatar post took it and the earliest practical guide to the area (Joannou's of 1861) recommends it—stating it to have been the old Genoese route.<sup>48</sup>

The primary summer road, however, ran through the villages of Chortokopion and the Pontic Gates. It was taken, for example, by the English embassy of 1292, by Smith

38. Ioannides, *Historia*, 240–41; Kiourtsides, *PE*, 1 (1950), 159; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 71–72; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 136; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 160, map.

39. Kiourtsides, *PE*, 1 (1950), 159.

40. Kiourtsides, *PE*, 1 (1950), 159; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 249, 653, 718.

41. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73; Libadenos, ed. Banescu, *Byzantis*, 2 (1913), 390.

42. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76.

43. Vazelon Acts 105 and 106 of the 13th century.

44. British consular reports, chiefly under PRO FO/526, record the protracted building of the road. The initial building of the road took twenty-two years, under foreign contract. In 1867 M. Balthazar and his son, Armenian-French road engineers, were murdered by their own workmen at Esiroğlu. See also PRO FO/524/12 and the anonymous "Trebizond and the Persian transit trade," *Royal Central Asian Journal*, 31 (1944), 293–94.

45. Clavijo (1404), trans. Le Strange, 117.

46. Miller, *IR*, cols. 645–46, 681–82; Cuntz, *IR*, I, 31; not in Şemseddin Talip, *Le strade romane in Anatolia* (Rome, 1938); or in F. Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1926); or in W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, *Classical Map of Asia Minor* (London, 1960). The eastern route depends upon the placing of Frigidarium in Leri, rather than near Hamsiköy: see Bees, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 133; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 164; and Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), No. 22 in table on p. 313.

47. Fairly reliable maps are in Curzon (1842), Lynch (1893/98), Briot (1867), and (probably the most useful) Kiepert, *ZGEB*, 25 (1890), at end, Kiepert 1:400,000, *Klein Asien*, and the modern Turkish 1:200,000 survey. The maps in Allen and Muratoff, *Battlefields*, are quite helpful. All other maps of the area (especially Chrysanthos' and Papadopoulos') are more or less misleading, and Kandilaptes and Eleutheriades offer no maps in their Chaldian surveys. There are sketch maps of later sites in Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 130–32.

48. A myth accepted by many 19th-century and modern travelers is that the Genoese built a chain of castles, each separated by a day, from Trebizond south; the least probable of these was shown Curzon ([1842], 155) above the fathomless lake Tortum.

(1833), Southgate (1837), Hommaire de Hell (1846), Layard (1848), Walpole (1850), Blau (1860), and Tozer (1879). It was also an obvious invasion route from the south, taken by the *Melik* in 1223 (passing through the Στένον defile above Chortokopion),<sup>49</sup> by the emir of Bayburt in 1361 (passing Chasdenicha),<sup>50</sup> but probably not by Mehmed II's army in 1461.<sup>51</sup>

Chortokopion is the key to the summer road. It falls into the classic pattern of Pontic settlement. It is a village and a district of villages, all called Chortokopion or permutations of the name, spread along 10 km of track. Hence it appears confusingly in the Acts of Vazelon as both a *chorion* and a *stasis*. We have taken Lower Chortokopion, with its castle, as Chortokopion proper; Middle Chortokopion as Charsula, and Upper Chortokopion as Chasdenicha. The name indicates the part-grazing, part-agricultural economy of the area. In medieval and later sources the village, or villages, appear as Χορτοκόπιον, Χορτοκόπη, Ἄνω and Κάτω Χορτοκόπιον, Hortokobuzu (Lower Chortokopion), Hortokobuvaset (Charsula), Hortakobubala (Chasdenicha); Yukarı- and Aşağıhortokop, now renamed Yukarı- and Aşağıköy.

Chortokopion was one of the primary *choria* of the monastery of Vazelon in the great bull of 1386; it was a προούστειον where the monasteries of the Hagia Sophia, the Chrysokephalos and St. Phokas also held land before 1461; other clerical small-holders included Kosmas, bishop of Satala, in 1256, and the nun Anysia, in 1344. But Chortokopion was also a *stasis* of the *chorion* of Χαλάβενα, which counted among other *staseis* Τζηλαρίσι and Χαρσύλα and was bound by the *staseis* of Τζιμπρικᾶ, Ἰντζούλη, Μαζάσπη, and abutted on Θέρισα and Ἀλώνη; it had an old chapel dedicated to St. Longinos (Ἄγε'—Λογγίνος). Chortokopion itself became the *stasis* of Καντζή; another alias was Δριδιώνιν. Later it was regarded as being two settlements: Chortokopion proper and Χαμουρίν; and later still as Chortokopion proper and the three villages of Χαμουρίν: Θέρισα, Σαχνόνη, and Χαμουρίν to the north and west—dealt with below. Under a different medieval circumscription, Χασδένιχα or Upper Chortokopion—the Gizenenica of the Itineraries—was the leading *chorion*, embracing the *staseis* of Chortokopion, Τριγολίκτιν, Χαμουρίν, and Χαρσύλα. As Chasdenicha, Chaszanenica, Gizenenica, Upper Chortokopion was one of the late Roman stations of the Pontos, home of the *Ala prima Ioua felix* in the *Notitia dignitatum* of 406–8. The ragged castle of Lower Chortokopion, described below, does not bear comparison with the other regular military camps of Satala, [Sou]sourmaina, or Apsaros, but the impressive range of its archaeological evidence shows that it commanded the most important route south until the Middle Ages.<sup>52</sup>

49. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 118. Finlay, *History*, IV, 334, and Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 73 and fig. 5, are clearly mistaken in placing the Stenon in the Zigana range and below Dikaisimon, respectively, but there is no obvious defile above Chortokopion before the Pontic Gates.

50. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73.

51. See p. 64.

52. *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Seeck, 84; Uspenskij, *Vazelon*,

From Upper Chortokopion and Chasdenicha the summer route climbs beneath Mount Kapanion, Καπάνιον, Καπάν', Cabanum, Karakabandağı—not to be confused with the eastern mountain of the same name near Taşköprü, or with the principal of the many places called Kampana in the Acts of Vazelon, in Staman on the west side of the Prytanis. Hence the route is known as the Karakabanyolu. There seems to have been a staging post here, or at Hoca Mezarhanlari (ca. 2,300 m), or at Dipotamon (ca. 2,250 m). The staging post, wherever it stood, would only be about 10 km east of Palaio-matzouka and Kampana, where Clavijo left the last imperial guards provided him in 1404 and passed into territories not under the direct control of the Grand Komnenoi. Kapanion also marked the effective boundary beyond which the Empire could not guarantee the safety of travelers, as its treaty with Genoa of 26 October 1314 indicates. The Grand Komnenoi could not even protect their own subjects in what amounted to an inner frontier area running from Kampana in the west through Palaio-matzouka to Kapanion in the east, all below the watershed. These most southerly widely inhabited reaches of the upper Prytanis bore the brunt of Türkmen raids in early summer. In Trigoliktos, village of Chortokopion, the entire Romanopoulos family was carried off by Türkmens in the thirteenth century. There are two other striking indications of local insecurity along the front. In 1302 Anna Elaphinaba made over half her *gonikeion*—property located in Tzimprika, Kampana, and Palaio-matzouka—to Vazelon because “during the raid of the Hagarenes my relatives were carried off in captivity.” And in December 1344 the nun Anysia, faced with the same problem, namely, a lack of manpower to run the ancestral croft because the family had been captured by the Türkmens, made over her lands in Chortokopion and elsewhere to the monastery; it included two threshing floors, a farmyard, a river meadow, and a large field by the “imperial highway.” Replacing the men lost on the pastures to the Türkmens, there were, of course, refugees from south of the watershed and, as we have seen in Trikomia, from Limnia. Some may have come with the bishop of Satala. It was a hybrid area below the pastures; many surnames (but no forename) have a Turkish air about them and the surname “Aichmalatos” indicates a fugitive from the Türkmens rather than a captive of the Trapezuntines. But in most years the perils of border life were compensated for by the prosperity of the superb pastures. Kampana paid *allelengyon* in the thirteenth century and Kapanion was able to sell Geoffrey of Langley and his English party adequate bread, wine, and 15 aspers' worth of meat on 22 July 1292. Two further days of fast

p. xxxii; Miller, *IR*, col. 681; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos, *FHIT*, 118; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73; Kiourtsides, *PE*, I (1950), 158; Vazelon Acts 30 of 1295, 39 of 1264, 52 of 1269, 53 of 1256, 78 of 1291, 100 of 1344, 103 of 1386, 106 of the 13th century, and 144 of 1434; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 79, 80, 485, 589, 590, 600, 653, 686; Gerbasios, *AP*, 6 (1934), 72–81; A. Papadopoulos, Γαμήλια ἔθιμα εἰς τὸ Χορτοκόπι τῆς Ματζούκας, *AP*, 19 (1954), 242–48; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 90, 124; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 315; Vryonis, *Decline*, 355. In the early 16th century the population of Chortokopion totalled thirty-one hearths, four *mücerred*, four *bive* and six *baştime*, all Christian; some monastic holdings were converted into *timar*. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 48.

traveling across the no-man's-land to the south, sheltering *in campis* at night, brought them to Bayburt where they were next able to buy some food—only a little milk, eggs, and raw meat. But Kapanion was the last place in which the English could buy wine for many months. Almost the next English visitor to Kapanion was Hamilton, who found it “a cold and dreary spot, consisting of a few huts and a barn for the accommodation of travellers” in 1836. His escort, like Clavijo's, tried to run away, but he managed to lock them up for the night. Things were a little better the following year, 1837, when Southgate reported that the Karakaban staging post had just been rebuilt and consisted of “a cluster of small buildings with dram-shops and stables for the refreshment and repose of travellers”—probably very like its medieval counterpart.<sup>53</sup>

Then came the Κοῦλατ, Kolatdağları, and Ἄγε'—Σέρ'ς, Ayaser (Zerzelides' candidate for Xenophon's Θήχης), before caravans dropped into the Pontic Gates.<sup>54</sup>

Returning to the north, the river Μουλακᾶ, Malaka Dere, enters the Prytanis about 4 km south-southwest of the great junction of Dikaisimon. The secluded Moulaka valley runs west-southwest into the hills. High above its junction with the Prytanis, and to the southwest, is the major settlement of Διανείαχα, Δανείαχα, alias Σκίρτα, later Zanha, and now Çeşmeler. In the thirteenth century the hieromonk Theodoretos, abbot of Vazelon, had a holding there; Basil the Chazar had land in Dianeiacha in 1301, and it was named a primary *chorion* of Vazelon in the bull of 1386. Dianeiacha was the ancestral home of the Protopapadopouloi in the thirteenth century and of the later Leontides family, which, like the Stratikebas dynasty, claimed descent from the Kabazitai. The place was promoted from the status of *stasis* to that of *chorion* with its own *staseis* of Τζαμπαλούκη and, perhaps, Σίλω or Σύλος.<sup>55</sup> We have not visited Dianeiacha, which would probably repay investigation.

53. Vazelon Acts 105 and 106 of the 13th century, 65 of 1302, and 143 of 1433; Alice-Mary Maffry Talbot, “The Patriarch Athanasius (1289–1293; 1303–1309) and the Church,” *DOP*, 27 (1973), 14 note 6 (on “Aichmalatos”); Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 101, 118; *ASL*, 13 (1884), 517, 598–609; Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, p. xxx; Hamilton (*Researches*, 1836), I, 165; Southgate (1837), I, 155; Bryer, *AP*, 26 (1964), 301 note 5; Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 336; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 80.

54. Walpole (1850), II, 202; Tozer (1879), 430–34; Ainsworth (1840), II, 386; Southgate (1837), I, 156; Hell (1846), I, 387–90; II, 247–48; Stuart (1835), 80; Hamilton (*Researches*, 1836), I, 389; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 148–49—claiming that this mountain of 2,650 m is the most southerly point from which the sea can be seen, but A. A. M. B. was unable to see the sea from there on reasonably clear days in 1971 and 1973, while the north side of the watershed is usually enveloped in cloud. It lies, in any case, three days from Trebizond.

55. Vazelon Acts 143 of 1433, 103 of 1386, 106 of the 13th century, 3 of 1301, 149 of the 15th century, 17 of 1260, 29 of 1264, 108 of the 13th century; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 600; Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 78; Ioannides, *Historia*, 341; K. G. Bapheaiades, Ἡ Δανείαχα, *ChP*, I (1943), 108 (with photograph of the grazing lands of Dianeiacha on the slopes of Παλαμσσών); the same, in *ChP*, I (1944), 187; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1973), 167–68. In *AP*, 30 (1970), 259–60, Bryer and Winfield mistakenly identified Dianeiacha with Angürğa (which has a 19th-century church). But Angürğa lies north of the river; we can find the name on no list or map and do not know its Greek equivalent.

Opposite Dianeiacha and on the north side of the Moulaka stands another of the nine primary *choria* of Vazelon: Σπέλια, Σπέλια, Σπήλαια, later İspela, now Ocaklı. In 1336 the village witnessed the assembly of the Trapezuntine army for a patrol of the local grazing lands, and what may be its medieval church of the Prodomos is described under No. 15 below.<sup>56</sup> Then, working west along the north bank of the Moulaka, one comes next to Μουντάνος or Μουνταντῶν, now Mendandoz or Mendaldos, which was a medieval *chorion* and *stasis*; its surviving church is dated 1866.<sup>57</sup> Finally, 18 km west of Dikaisimon, lies Σανογια[νιτικόν], Sanaya, later Zanay, now Akmescit—a place mentioned in 1260 with a later ruined church.<sup>58</sup>

Working west along the south bank of the Moulaka from Dianeiacha, one comes first to Μέζυλα, later Mekzila or Meksilahanları, now Çatak, and then to Κονσερά, later Kusera, now Ormanüstü. Much of this area was Vazelon land. Near Kousera, in the thirteenth century, John Sagmaras gave Vazelon a church of the Prodomos above a place which we have not identified called Τζαμουχίον. Even further west lies Παπάρουζα, later Paparza, now Çamildüz, near Βοğaç, Πογότη', now Üçgedik. With Ὀστρικέστιν, Paparouza was the most remote of the primary *choria* of Vazelon in 1386.<sup>59</sup>

The headwaters of the Moulaka penetrated Çepni country, south of Trikomia, in the fourteenth century, and Alexios III was clearly concerned with preventing the Türkmens raid on Matzouka through what amounted to a side entrance, which was guarded by Gantopedin (No. 24) and, perhaps, Nezir Kale. Alexios III patrolled the area in 1366 and again in 1370. In 1366, the year after the state visit of his son-in-law, Kütlübeg, Alexios “made an expedition into the Παρχάριν [i.e., the summer pastures]. And we—being more than two thousand foot and cavalry altogether—marched from Spelia to Φιανόνη with him, and on past Gantopedin and Μάρμαρα and we went by Saint Merkourios to Achantakas,” where the party stayed four days with the emir Kütlübeg before returning to Trebizond in June.<sup>60</sup> We have already suggested that St. Merkourios and this Achantakas probably lay near the coast and the capital (the emir had camped the previous year on Mount Minthron and would want a similar summer *chandax* near Trebizond), which indicates a circular progress from Spelia, up the Moulaka valley, then north over Phianoë (Fikanöy Yayla) down to the Prytanis again near Gantopedin and the mouth of the Vazelon valley.

Gantopedin is identified only by Kiepert. His identifications, although otherwise unsupported, are from local en-

56. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76; Vazelon Acts 79 of 1260, 103 of 1386, and 106 of the 13th century; Kiourtsides, *PE*, I (1950), 158; Ioannides, *Historia*, 241; Bapheaiades, *ChP*, I (1944), 187.

57. Vazelon Acts 79 of 1260, and 129 of 1424; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 261–66.

58. Vazelon Acts 21 and 24 of 1260.

59. Vazelon Acts 24 of 1260, 27 and 28 of the 13th century, 103 of 1386, and 108 of the 13th century; cf. Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 161; Janin, *EMGCB*, 287–88.

60. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76; cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 146 and note 136, where a Fikanöy-Tonya-Horosdağı-Kürtün-Suma Kale-Harşit route is proposed.

quiry and most make sense.<sup>61</sup> After passing Gantopedin the expedition would have headed north of Spelia, west of the main caravan route, over the Marmara pastures, which probably divided Trikomia from Lower Matzouka. In May 1370 Alexios III again “set out into the Parcharin in the Marmara district with some few men. And on Tuesday the twenty-first of the same month, they suddenly encountered a force of Turks—some five hundred cavalry and three hundred foot. The Emperor’s following was about a hundred horsemen and the Emperor joined battle and gained the victory by force of arms and pursued them; and he sent back here [i.e., Trebizond] some Hagarenic heads and their banner.”<sup>62</sup> That life was difficult on the southern front, round Kapanion and Chortokopion, is to be expected, but even Lower Matzouka was threatened in the fourteenth century by the godless sons of Hagar.

The 3 km of the Prytanis between its junction with the Moulaka and the “hanging monastery” of the Kremaste were the central estates of the monastery of Vazelon. Administratively most of the settlements came under Chortokopion in the Middle Ages. Today the winter road runs high above the eastern bank of the Prytanis, coming first to Χαμούριν, near Πηγάδιον, a primary *chorion* of Vazelon in the 1386 bull, associated with Charsula and, as a *stasis*, alias Μάζηλα or Ἀγρίδιον; later Hamurya and now Sukenari.<sup>63</sup> Next the road comes to the staging post for Vazelon, Κεραμίτλη or Kaloyerhani, from which the monastic façade can be glimpsed beyond the deep cleft of the Prytanis and above its own secret valley. Keramitle is no more than a tea-house, successor of the monastic staging post, and a tile works today; but, as the name suggests, the origins of the tilery are certainly medieval and could well be ancient.<sup>64</sup>

On the west bank of the river stands the thirteenth-century village and *proasteion* of Σαχνόνη, later Sahanöy and now Köprüyana, a *chorion* in 1223. Its remarkable painted church, now lost, was published by Talbot Rice under the name of “Kurt Boghan.” Described under No. 25 below, the church was probably a dependency of Vazelon.<sup>65</sup>

Sachnoë lies below Keramitle on the Prytanis at the point where the still neatly paved way leads to Vazelon. Close by, on the west side of the river, stands a small castle, perched on a rock and enclosing a chapel, described below. It commands

both the Prytanis and Vazelon valleys and no doubt served the same function as did the Soumelan watchtower of Doubera above the Panagia River. It is probably the castle of the Λάβρα (i.e., of Vazelon) in Lazaropoulos’ description of the invasion of 1223 and, if Kiepert is correct is also the castle of the “candleholder” (which it resembles), Γαντοπέδιον of the campaign of 1366.<sup>66</sup> Between Sachnoë and the monastery of Vazelon itself stood the medieval *metochion* of St. George (sc., Gregory) of Neokaisareia, below Λαζαρέσιον.<sup>67</sup>

Ahead the pilgrim faces Mount Ζαβουλῶν and below it the holy, imperial, patriarchal, and stavropegiac monastery of John, the worthy Forerunner and Baptist of Βαζελῶν (the latter name is derived from the former), the third and perhaps richest of the monasteries of Matzouka. Its history, with bibliography, has been described elsewhere and we have already published sketch plans of the surviving ruins. Like all major Pontic monasteries, Vazelon is based on a sacred cave, but like most of them it suffered extensive rebuilding in the late nineteenth century. Supposedly founded in ca. 270, and supposedly rebuilt after a sixth-century Persian invasion, only the little chapel of St. Elias on the terrace of Vazelon, described below, and perhaps some of the monastic buildings to the south of its enclosure are medieval survivals. Today Ayana Manastir stands gutted and the main buildings are of difficult access.<sup>68</sup>

To the south of the entrance to the Vazelon valley, scattered high above the west bank of the Prytanis, stands the litigious *stasis* of Αἰθήρισα, Θέρισα or Θερσίσιται, alias Μαζάσπη, later Sersa, and now Sevimli or Kiremitli. Βαλεντζιακέσιον and Νιλέσιον were associated with it in the Middle Ages.<sup>69</sup> Below and to the south of the village the striking remains of the nunnery of the “Hanging Virgin,” the Παναγία Κρεμαστή, can be seen very clearly from the road on the east side of the Prytanis. The site was refounded as a nunnery dependent upon Vazelon in 1858; its sacred cave, some of its monastic foundations, and two apparent references to it in the thirteenth century suggest that it had a medieval history as a *metochion*. We have published the site, with a plan, elsewhere. Today it is known as Kizlar Manastir and Keramitle, the staging post it shares with Vazelon, is sometimes called Kız Han after the departed nuns.<sup>70</sup>

For two reasons the following 8 km of the Prytanis valley can be examined in unsurpassed detail and so the very center of the rural heart of the Empire can be known as intimately as Trebizond itself. First, more than 190 Acts of Vazelon provide over 500 place-names from the thirteenth to the

61. Kiepert, *ZGEB*, 25 (4) (1890), map at end; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 80, makes Phianoë “of Spelia” a summer castle, in contrast to Kiepert who marks it (too far east) as a grazing district. It is Fikanöy Yayla, 1,919 m high, 10 km due west of Maşka and 20 km due south of Akçaabat.

62. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 77.

63. Vazelon Acts 47 of the 13th century, 103 of 1386, 106 and 108 of the 13th century, 175 of 1449; Kiourtsides, *PE*, 1 (1950), 158.

64. Honigmann, *Byzantion*, 11 (1936), 558–59; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 364; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 300 note 1.

65. Vazelon Acts 75 of 1275, 106 and 119 of the 13th century; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 120; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 80, 400, 484, 489, 498–99; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 151–58, pls. LI–LVII (today Kurtboğan); Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, 5; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 137.

66. Lazaropoulos in ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 119; Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 76; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 80.

67. Vazelon Act 175 of 1449; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 364; Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, 21.

68. There is a description and bibliography in Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 289–98. Succi, *Trebisonda*, 295–97, adds little. Professor N. M. Panayiotakis and A. A. M. B. are reediting the Acts of Vazelon, according to the Leningrad and Ankara cartularies.

69. Vazelon Acts 43 of 1275, 143 of 1433, 62 of the 13th century, 63 of 1278, 60 of 1265, 106, 104 and 118 of the 13th century, 176 of the 15th century; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 364.

70. Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 364–65; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 298–301. Cf. the Χάναβ of Vazelon Act 5 of the 15th century.

eighteenth centuries. Second, Zerzelides has compiled a toponymy of 1,031 place-names from the same area, known to twenty-nine former Greek inhabitants before 1923. The value of Zerzelides' exhaustive study is that it was made, initially, without reference to the medieval sources, and that the memory of virtually all the names he recorded in 1959 is now fast dying out among Turkish inhabitants of the valley and with the passing of the native Pontic Greek refugees. Add to the documentary evidence the factor of the extraordinary conservatism and continuity of Matzoukan settlement and culture from medieval to recent times, and we are offered exceptional opportunities of identification. There are arguments for finding upward of 330 field, village, and other names common to the 500 or more medieval ones and 1,031 modern ones, in an area of no more than 24 sq. km which perhaps supported a medieval population of 500 families. This scale of identification is without parallel in the Byzantine world (even among Athonite holdings) and would be hard to find in the Western. But there are two severe caveats in collating the material. First, as in Santa, many Matzoukan settlements seem to have changed their names in the eighteenth century or earlier. Most alternative names are noted in the Acts—whether by the original scribes or as an addition by eighteenth-century copyists is not clear. The aliases are confined to the more important toponyms; it is difficult to be sure, but there does not seem to have been a similar shift among the lesser names. Nevertheless, Staman, the largest twentieth-century district with a capital settlement of fifty houses, does not figure at all in the Acts. Here the center may have moved uphill from the valley floor, as seems to have happened to at least one other village, reflecting in microcosm the late seventeenth-century Pontic flight to the highlands. Elsewhere, however, the scale and pattern

of medieval settlement appears to have been singularly close to the modern. A second caveat lies in the lesser names, many of which have Pontic Greek meanings, especially those applying to more than one place or feature. One cannot often relate medieval with modern names which mean "hay-stacks," "walnuts," "ridge," "steep place," and so on.

In medieval and modern times there were ten or eleven principal areas of settlement, each with a capital village and subtended hamlets and crofts scattered over a wide area, two on the steep west bank of the river and eight or nine on the eastern. Each principal settlement was surrounded by fields and stood at 300 to 1,000 m. Above and behind the main village was a subsidiary summer village at about 1,500 m surrounded by summer grazing lands. The finest grazing lay above the tree line at about 2,000 m. Because of the proximity of the permanent and summer villages, transhumance could be effected in a matter of hours, and the links between the agricultural and pastoral economies were very close. Most families do not in fact seem to have moved; one could conveniently have acted as a shepherd one day and as a farmer the next. This convenience surely gave Upper Matzouka and Palaiomatzouka its enclosed stability of society and economy. True, the "imperial highway"—the western of the caravan routes—ran through the valley to give an opening to a wider world. But then, as now, it in fact ran through only one settlement at the most and had no discernible influence upon the culture of the valley. Communications were difficult and wheeled traffic only became possible on the highway in the nineteenth century and is still impossible between most settlements.

To illustrate the situation, a cross section of the valley, taken almost due west-east, would look like this:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Height</u>	<u>Distance from Boudoxe</u>
Mount Βουδοξή	Summer grazing below	2,300 m	—
Κολελέσ'	Summer village	1,500 m	1,500 m
Τσιμπρικᾶ	Permanent village	400 m	4,000 m
River Πρυτάνις	Fields above	300 m	4,300 m
"Imperial highway"	Fields above	400 m	4,800 m
Γιαννακάντων	Permanent village	500 m	5,500 m
Χουμέριξα	Summer village	1,700 m	8,500 m
Mount Καρα-καπᾶν	Summer grazing below	2,400 m	10,500 m

The first main settlement, Γιανναντών, lies on the east bank between the river and Karakaban. The capital village is about 500 m above sea level; from it the valley rises to 1,100 m in 7.5 km. Giannanton, Yanandoz, now Yazılıtaş, does not appear as such in the Acts but was assuredly a medieval settlement, for it boasted the painted church of Ἄγ' -Ηϋέντις (i.e., St. Eugenios), noted by Talbot Rice and described below. The Greeks translated the Turkish name of Yazıl[ı]taş as Γεγραμμένη πέτρα.<sup>71</sup> A "hay place" was in the area—Ἄχυρωνοἰδρία, later Ἄχυρώνια—a high field toward

Pontila which was a thirteenth-century imperial gift.<sup>72</sup> Λολότσης (later Λολότς') in Upper Giannanton gave a surname in 1386.<sup>73</sup> One of the medieval hemp fields probably lay in Giannanton: Καναβόργη (later Κανναβουρέν'), giving its name to a winter hamlet of seven houses.<sup>74</sup> Honey was another product. A little valley leading up to Karakaban was called Μελίσσιον in the thirteenth century (later Μελεσσείας

71. Uspenskij *Vazelon*, 21; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 96–101; Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 364; p. 294 below.

72. Vazelon Acts 104 and 108 of the 13th century, 143 of 1433; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 97.

73. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 97; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 270.

74. Vazelon Act 4 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 98.

ἰὸρμίν).<sup>75</sup> High above Giannanton lay the treeless pastures of Μαρμιανέσιν or Μαρκιανάντων (later Μαρκανί').<sup>76</sup>

South of the Melessin valley lay the second district, headed by the medieval *stasis* of Ποντύλα (alias Γερνάρη, later Πόντιλα and Bondila, now Güzelce). It was an important settlement at about 550 m and usually appears as Gernares in the Acts. It included an imperial holding and Πυροκωστέσια as a subsidiary.<sup>77</sup> Below the capital village and near Giannanton lay the "campus" fields of Καμπίσκιν (later Καμπίσκια), where in 1344 the nun Anysia donated her field beside the "imperial highway," which snakes between the Prytanis below to the west and the main settlements above to the east.<sup>78</sup> In Pontyla, Gernares, also lay arable fields called the Κελλία,<sup>79</sup> perhaps a reminder of local monastic cells, and the pits of Κοτύλιν (later Κοτύλ[ια]), a winter hamlet of cottages which figures in a thirteenth-century imperial donation.<sup>80</sup>

Facing Giannanton and Pontyla-Gernares from the west bank of the Prytanis lay the third district of Upper Matzouka. At 400 m, its village capital was the lowest in the valley: Κουνάκαλιν (alias Ἴντζούλη, later Κουνάκα). Medieval Kounakalin was a medieval *stasis* which was reclassified as a *chorion* before 1349. In that year the abbot of the local monastery of St. Gregory of Nyssa was the hieromonk Makarios.<sup>81</sup> It is less certain whether the Βερένεα of Lazaropoulos' account of the attack of 1222 is the Βαναρεῖον in Kounakalin (now Valena or Verena), a "bushy place" which may have given the surname Βαρενής in 1442.<sup>82</sup> Among other local features were Χαγιά (later Χαϊά), a field;<sup>83</sup> Ἀμιλιός (later Ἀμηλῆς), north of Tsimprika;<sup>84</sup> Τετανῶ (later Τεντενῶ), whose twenty later houses stood at 1,800 meters;<sup>85</sup> a medieval farmstead, approached by the steps of Σκάλιν (later Σκάλας, near Χαλία);<sup>86</sup> the fourteenth-century reparable fields (an imperial

gift) of Κυρά or Κυράν, near Καλάκαν and Κουνακάντων (later Κυριάνια);<sup>87</sup> one of the several places called Πεγάδιν or Πεγαδάν, this near Tsimprika and later called Πεγάδ';<sup>88</sup> the arable slopes of Κοιλάδιν in Kounakalin, later Κοιλάδ' and not to be confused with the Koiladion, Kudala, Yemişli, of the Pharos monastery to the north;<sup>89</sup> the stockade of Ἀχαντιώνιν in Kounakalin (which was not apparently remembered in modern times);<sup>90</sup> and the olive groves and woods of later Τσαλλέας—a possibly Turkish name which, as Τσαχλέας, may have given a surname in 1448.<sup>91</sup> The *stasis* of Τζακέρης or Τζερεκέρης (later Τσεκέρ' τὸ Ρακάν'), first recorded in 1270, has a Turkish sound;<sup>92</sup> nearby Γαυρίν or Γαυράς (later Ἄγε' Γάβρας), with its church, is a memory of the great Pontic family of Gabras which produced the martyr St. Theodore;<sup>93</sup> in the district also lay the fields of Καστανίσκιν (later Καστανίσκ').<sup>94</sup> But in the Middle Ages Kounakalin, Intzoule, was apparently less important than the great *chorion* of Χαλάβενα, which apparently extended, as we have already seen, its jurisdiction for a while across the valley to Chortokopion. The place lay west-southwest of Kounakalin, Intzoule, and, as Χαλάβ, a settlement of fifteen families, was later to be regarded as the northernmost settlement of Staman.<sup>95</sup> Τζιμπρικό (later Τσιμπρικό), a *stasis* southwest of Kounakalin, Intzoule, and later to be regarded as the northeasternmost settlement of Staman, gave rise to a medieval surname. It appears as a place-name in the area first in 1302 and is found elsewhere. It is perhaps derived from a Turkish word meaning "meadow," which may have been used in Matzouka as early as the thirteenth century.<sup>96</sup>

Recrossing the Prytanis to the east bank, we reach the fourth major district of Upper Matzouka, which reaches up to the peaks of Karakaban. The medieval *stasis* of Γενακάντων (later Γιαννακάντων, Yanakandos, now Gürgenagaç), is the present capital village and stands fairly close to the "Imperial highway" at over 500 m.<sup>97</sup> Within the *stasis* lay Ἄγιος Θεόδωρος, perhaps identifiable with the little church of Ἄγε'-Θεόδωρον in Λαχανῶ; medieval

75. Vazelon Act 80 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 100.

76. Vazelon Act 166 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 99.

77. Vazelon Acts 78 of 1291, 104, 106, and 113 of the 13th century, 115 of 1292, 116 of 1270, 177 of the 15th century; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 718; Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 365 (as Ποντίλια); Kiepert, *ZGEB*, 25 (1890), map (as Pontélia); Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 101–4.

78. Vazelon Acts 100 of 1344, and 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 102.

79. Vazelon Act 118 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 102.

80. Vazelon Acts 104 and 108 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 103.

81. Vazelon Acts 48 of 1439, 56 of 1300, 66 of the 14th century, 86 of 1272/1287, 99 of 1344, 106 of the 13th century, 115 of 1292; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 104–11; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 80, 400, 499; Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 119.

82. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 119; Vazelon Act of 1442 in Zerzelides, *AP*, 24 (1961), 255; cf. the same, *AP*, 23 (1959), 144.

83. Vazelon Acts 30 of 1295, and 181 of 1564.

84. Vazelon Act 67 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 104.

85. Vazelon Acts 52 of 1269 (?), and 143 of 1443; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 105.

86. Vazelon Act 108 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 105.

87. Vazelon Acts 13 of 1435, and 104 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 105.

88. Vazelon Act 16 of 1245; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 106.

89. Vazelon Acts 48 of 1349, 56 of 1300, and 62 of the 13th century.

90. Vazelon Acts 4 of the 15th century, 62 and 67 of the 13th century, and 99 of 1344.

91. Zerzelides, 23 (1959), 109; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 284.

92. Vazelon Acts 163 of the 15th century, 125 of 1382, 127 of 1388, 36 of 1270, and 102 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 109.

93. Vazelon Acts 105 of the 13th century, and 143 of 1433; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 103, 111.

94. Vazelon Act 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 110.

95. Vazelon Acts 64 of 1259, 69 of the 13th century, 143 of 1433, and 106 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 122; p. 257 above.

96. Vazelon Acts 65 of 1302, 106 of the 13th century; Th. K. Theophylaktos, *Ἡ μονὴ Γουμπερά*, *AP*, 13 (1948), 208–9; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 180.

97. Vazelon Acts 105 of the 13th century, and 121 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 110–114; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 306–7.

Λαχανῶς boasted a monastery of the Theotokos.<sup>98</sup> But medieval Genakanton seems to have been overshadowed by a more important place: the *chorion* of Μανδρακενή (later Μαντρακενή, Mandiranoy, now Alataş), which lay 300 m above and almost 3 km southeast of Genakanton, among high fields below the forest belt. It was a primary *chorion* of Vazelon in the chrysobull of 1386. The relationship between Genakanton and Mandrakene must always have been close, however. The name suggests that the *chorion* may have served as Genakanton's fold and it is now a semipermanent village. But the summer station of the area was probably Choumerixa, close to the summit of Karakaban and another 900 m higher.<sup>99</sup>

The fifth and sixth districts lie to the south and are today headed by the twin villages of Ἀδόλη (the medieval Ἀδὸλιν) and Κρένασσα (the medieval name is identical, later Kiransa, now Anayurt). Although not named as even a *stasis* in the Acts, Krenasa seems to have held the same importance then as now; it boasted at least two medieval churches and the medieval monastery of the Panagia.<sup>100</sup> A Krenasan field was named after Ἅγιος Βασίλειος (later Ἄγε'-Βασίλτω').<sup>101</sup> The twin settlements of Krenasa-Adolin lay at about 500 m. Below them, near the highway, was a goat field called Τραγάδες (Τραγᾶς appears as a name in 1386).<sup>102</sup> The hazelnut groves of Τζιμίλια (later Τσιμίλια) are first mentioned in the thirteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Near Tzimilia lay the settlement of Σαρπίσκια (later Σαρπίσκια, with five houses), first mentioned in 1260. If the name is derived from the Turkish *sarp* ("steep"), we may have here the earliest datable example of Turkish creeping into Matzoukan parlance; there is a similarly-named former Greek village, similarly placed on a steep slope, southwest of Torul, Ardasā.<sup>104</sup> Other place-names in Krenasa-Adolin have common Greek meanings; the cherries of Κεράσιν (later Κεράσ');<sup>105</sup> the clefts of Σωλένια (later Σελένια);<sup>106</sup> and the mature gardens of Παλαιοκέτην (later Παλαιοκέπια).<sup>107</sup>

Recrossing the Prytanis west we reach the seventh and largest of the districts of Upper Matzouka, Σταμάν. The name and its high capital village at 1,700 m is unknown in the Acts. One may postulate an earlier settlement below the cliffs of Staman round the mountain stream and lake of the

Ἀνάληψης, where there was the site of a monastery of the Ascension, said to have suffered during a sixth-century Persian attack.<sup>108</sup> The northern outposts of Chalabena and Tsimprika have been described; probably the most remote of the district's adjuncts was a high cultivated ravine west of Chalabena, called Νυσσίν from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries and Νεσία or Νεσίν later.<sup>109</sup> A more substantial settlement of Καμπανῶς (later Καμπανᾶ) lay close to the river in eastern Staman; it also boasted a former monastery.<sup>110</sup> The wood above Legnou was later called Πυρῆ; Πυρός appears as a surname in 1386.<sup>111</sup> South of Staman, at about 1,750 m stood Ῥαχίν (later Ραχίν, with fifteen houses—the name indicates a ridge).<sup>112</sup> Moving up the steep mountainside one reached Ἀπίδιν (later Ἀπιδόπα, a settlement of three houses); named after pear groves, it stood among very ancient woodlands.<sup>113</sup> Κανάκαλιν (later Κανακᾶ, presumably after the Turkish *canak*, or pot) was a spring grazing land with five houses.<sup>114</sup> The later Τσαπρῆ τὸ Σελέν' (the name Τζαπρίς appears in 1386) was a high woodless gorge.<sup>115</sup> Finally one reached the pastures above the tree line, called Καλαμίδιν (later Καλαμίδια indicating a fallow field)<sup>116</sup> and the summit of Mount Βουδοξίου (later Βουδοξή) itself at 2,300 m, which faced Karakaban over 10 km to the east.<sup>117</sup>

Southern Staman, above Chalabena and Tsimprika, may well have formed part of Palaiomatzouka; certainly all the areas described below belonged to the miniature *bandon* which was detached from Matzouka, promoted from the status of *chorion*, between 1384 and 1408. One may suspect a local separatist move here, for the first known *doux* of the new administrative area was Constantine ὁ Χαψονομίτας, probably a local worthy from what was later to be Hamsiköy. But by 1415 the government may have regained some control, for the *kephale* of Palaiomatzouka then was none other than the Grand Constable Constantine Tzanichites.<sup>118</sup>

The first major settlement of Palaiomatzouka and the eighth of Matzouka lies on the east bank of the Prytanis below Palaiokastro. In modern times it was based on Ζάβερα as a capital village (Zavera, now Dikkaya). Ζαβεριώτης indeed appears as a surname in 1448, but the local tradition

98. Vazelon Acts 105 and 106 of the 13th century, and 121 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 112, 114.

99. Vazelon Acts 103 of 1386, and 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 112–13.

100. Vazelon Acts 67 of the 13th century, and 115 of 1292; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 114–21; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 304–6 and photograph of Krenasa in fig. 95.

101. Vazelon Acts 14 of 1262, 46 of 1264, and 67 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 115, 120.

102. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 115; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 283.

103. Vazelon Acts 105 of the 13th century, 96 of the 14th century, and 4 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 117.

104. Vazelon Acts 79 of 1260, and 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 117.

105. Vazelon Acts 104 and 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 118.

106. Vazelon Acts 62 of the 13th century, and 129 of the 14th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 118.

107. Vazelon Act 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 118.

108. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 121, 131.

109. Vazelon Acts 62, 112, and 73 of the 13th century, 115 of 1292, 190 of 1702, 143 of 1433, and 187 of 1704; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 124.

110. Vazelon Acts 65 of 1302, and 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 128; Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 366. On Kampana, see above, p. 257, in connection with Kapanion.

111. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 123; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 278.

112. Vazelon Acts 38 of 1261, 49 of 1245, 52 of the 13th century, and 115 of 1292; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 125.

113. Vazelon Acts 104 and 105 of the 13th century, and 148 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 132.

114. Vazelon Act 96 of the 14th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 131.

115. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 135; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 284.

116. Vazelon Act 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 127.

117. Vazelon Act 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 127.

118. Vazelon Acts 128 of 1384, 123 of 1415, 126 of 1408.

that the Byzantine center lay above Zabera and to the east at Λευτοκάρα or Λευτοκάριν (later Λεφτοκαρέν) is partly borne out by the Acts. This settlement, at about 1,500 m, had a painted Byzantine church dedicated to Ἄγιος-Στοφόρον (i.e., St. Christopher).<sup>119</sup>

Leftokaren is backed by a great bald mountain which embraces eastern Palaiomatzouka and rises to 1,200 m: Λευκίωνιν (later Λευκέν).<sup>120</sup> In the Middle Ages there were cultivated fields on its flanks and it also appears as a place-name. The northwest corner of the district is marked by the medieval *stasis* of Δάβαρη, by the imperial highway, alias (or with) Γαίμαντρα (later Δαβαρ').<sup>121</sup> The name, indicating cheese rennet, gives a hint at the increasingly pastoral life of the valley as it climbs into the mountains. Ὁξέα stood nearby and a field in Dabare was called Σταυραλίου in the thirteenth century.<sup>122</sup> The pastoral village associated with Dabare seems to have been the *stasis* of Γαίμαντρα (later Turkicised as Γιαμάτσ' = γαμας = "hillside," but originally indicating a shepherd station more directly).<sup>123</sup>

Another high *stasis* associated with Dabare was Τζυλικάρι, alias Ζερζέλη (later Ζερζελάντων, home of the Zerzelidai).<sup>124</sup>

Near Dabare was the *stasis* of Καλκανᾶς (later Καλκάν': Turkish *kalkan*, "shield"), with a field called Σολδόη, but the name only appears in 1564.<sup>125</sup> Thirteenth-century Κορώνης could perhaps be the later Κορών' τὸ Ρακάν'.<sup>126</sup>

The most striking feature of Palaiomatzouka is its castle, perched on a great rock 450 m above the tumbling Prytanis, 1,500 m above sea level, and controlling the point where the great highway climbs out of the Matzouka valley and up to the highlands of Zigana; it is described below. It first appears to be mentioned as a Πυργήν in the thirteenth century; later it was to be called the Παλαιόκαστρο or Κάστρον.<sup>127</sup> But it is Clavijo who names it as the castle of Palaiomatzouka. We left him, above, somewhere near Dikaisimon. He was following the modern route fairly closely, up from Matzouka into Palaiomatzouka. "The country here was well populated and the fields well cultivated, having corn lands irrigated by the streams that flowed down from the hills. The next day Monday [28 April 1404] we left this place and the guard which the emperor

[Manuel III] had bestowed to accompany us here turned back, for they told us that beyond being enemy country they dared go no further. We therefore traveled on by ourselves (with the guides and our servants) and at the hour of vespers passed by without stopping at a castle that we were told belonged to the emperor and the name of which was Palima (Palomacuça, Pilomazuca). This castle crowns a high peak and the way up is by steps. Down among the rocks at its foot are built some few houses."<sup>128</sup>

The curious feature of Clavijo's account is that the imperial escort maintained that Upper Matzouka was "enemy country" while he was later told that Palaiomatzouka was an imperial castle. Four years later we find the newly-created *bandon* in the hands of a local *doux*; perhaps Clavijo reveals what was in reality a local separatist rebellion which the central government had to acknowledge.

Most later travelers enthused over the scenery of Upper Matzouka (although English travelers tended to be appalled by the cruelty shown to pack animals on the road: their skeletons littered the track to Tabriz.) American Protestant missionaries usually gave vent to their feelings about two days out of Trebizond. The Rev. George H. Hepworth, viewing the valley from the heights of Palaiomatzouka, piously observed that "the scene was too magnificent for words. It seemed to me that the Lord had taken special pains with that part of Asia Minor, and the contrast between nature and the people was almost painful. They do not deserve to live in a country so full of resources, for they make so little of them. The words of the old hymn came to my lips more than once,

'Where every prospect pleases,  
And only man is vile,'

but I prudently kept silent."<sup>129</sup>

As Maksimović has pointed out, when the *chorion* of Palaiomatzouka was erected into a *bandon*, its attendant *stasis* of Τζεπτήλος or Τζευτήλου (later Ζευτήλ', or the "plough whip") was promoted from the status of *stasis* to that of *chorion*. Its position southwest of Zabera and close to Palaiokastro confirms the placing of the new *bandon* in Upper Matzouka.<sup>130</sup> Φουτζανέσιν lay within its bounds,<sup>131</sup> and the peak of Λιθάριν (later Λιθαρίσκ), once an imperial gift, overlooked the *chorion-stasis*. In these parts too, at an Ἀσώματος (a church of an archangel?), rather than at the Asomatos of Platana, Bayram's invasion of 30 August 1332 was probably turned back.<sup>132</sup>

Of a handful of medieval churches in the area of

119. Vazelon Acts 108 of the 13th century, and 145 of the 15th-16th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 136, 140; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 259.

120. Vazelon Acts 49 of 1245, and 115 of 1292; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 141.

121. Vazelon Acts 106 and 114 of the 13th century, and 115 of 1292; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 135.

122. Vazelon Acts 114 of the 13th century, and 115 of 1292; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 123, 139, 142.

123. Vazelon Act 106 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 144.

124. Vazelon Acts 85, 90, and 106 of the 13th century, 143 of 1433, 88 of 1273/1288; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 137.

125. Vazelon Act 181 of 1564; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 138, 143, 146.

126. Vazelon Act 62 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 139.

127. Vazelon Act 104 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 140. For the ballad the castle evoked, see Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 46-47.

128. Clavijo (1404), trans. Le Strange, 116; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 72.

129. Hepworth (1897), 72. The hymn which the American divine misquotes can hardly be described as "old," for Bishop Reginald Heber, its author, only died in 1826.

130. Maksimović, *loc.cit.*; Vazelon Acts 104 of the 13th century, 127 of 1388, 128 of 1384, 123 of 1415, and 163 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 142.

131. Vazelon Act 127 of 1388.

132. Vazelon Acts 104 and 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 144; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 64; Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 144.

Palaiomatzoukan Palaiokastro, only the Savior now appears to survive and is described below. Some other identifications in the immediate area may be suggested. Χαντζόη (later Χαντζέα) was a settlement of three houses above St. Stephen;<sup>133</sup> the medieval and later Πλακίν is the rocky summit of the Ἀκροφάγινα;<sup>134</sup> Ζαγιανός could be the immense peak of Ζαενάβα;<sup>135</sup> Ἀπάκιν with its ruined house in 1386 may be the later Ἀπακόπα;<sup>136</sup> and there are the Θονάρια of the Sapouras family.<sup>137</sup>

Principal among settlements in Palaiomatzouka was the ninth primary *chorion* of Vazelon: Χαψή or Χαψίν (later Χαψία or Χαψᾶ).<sup>138</sup> Lesser places were Χαλία and Σοκάπιν.<sup>139</sup> Chapsin is surely represented by modern Hamsiköy, a name which, like Matzouka-Ματσα itself has only reemerged in modern times. The reason is that until recently Greeks regarded the five settlements of Hamsiköy, lining the highway as it climbs out of the valley, as distinct, employing post-Byzantine names for them. The *han* and shops of Upper Hamsiköy were known as Τσαχαριά-ντων.<sup>140</sup> Tshacharianton does not appear as such in the Acts, but three Palaiomatzoukan place-names in the settlement are mentioned: the medieval Τζορτζίν (later Τσωρτσίν) in Upper Hamsiköy market;<sup>141</sup> Σάπας or Σάπης (later Σαπάντων), associated with it;<sup>142</sup> and the field called Γομαλαιά (later Χωμαλέας) near St. Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>143</sup>

The *stasis* τοῦ Χουλίωνος, near St. Barbara and St. Theodore in Palaiomatzouka, had a number of appendages: Σιδερίωνιν, Ὑποκέπιν, Κράνιν (later Κράνια “skulls,” “a bushy place”), Μιτικαριώνιν (later Μυτικαρέν “pointed walnuts”) and in the latter Καρύδιν or Καρίδη (later Καρυδόπον “walnuts”).<sup>144</sup>

The tenth district of Upper Matzouka and the final one of Palaiomatzouka lies above and due south of Hamsiköy. Its later center was Μελιανάντων, Melanlı, perhaps the medieval Μοχλάντων although the surname Melianes also appears in 1415.<sup>145</sup> Of places in or near Meliananton the Acts assign three specifically to Palaiomatzouka:

133. Vazelon Act 108 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 145.

134. Vazelon Act 105 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 146.

135. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 146.

136. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 156; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 254.

137. Vazelon Acts 62 of the 13th century, and 115 of 1292; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 155.

138. Vazelon Acts 104 and 105 of the 13th century, 103 of 1386, and 125 of 1415; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 161.

139. Vazelon Acts 54 of 1260–1270, and 108 of the 13th century.

140. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 149–59.

141. Vazelon Acts 105 of the 13th century, and 146 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 151.

142. Vazelon Acts 80 and 104 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 160.

143. Vazelon Acts 85 of the 13th century, and 143 of 1433; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 149.

144. Vazelon Acts 104, 105, 62, 70, and 101 of the 13th century, 96 of the 14th century, 172 and 149 of the 15th century, 55 of 1250, 162 of 1478, 143 of 1433, 12 of 1435, 35 of 1310, 44 of 1276, 81 of 1397, 100 of 1344, 120 of 1367; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 150, 164.

145. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 159–64; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 272.

Χασπούκης (later Χασπούκια),<sup>146</sup> (which retained its name, meaning a “mud trench,” later)<sup>147</sup> and a croft named after its threshing floors, Ἀλώνια or Ἀλώνιν (later Ἀλών’).<sup>148</sup> Beyond Hamsiköy, too, lay Γουβέσια (later Γουβία),<sup>149</sup> the perhaps wolf-infested Λυκούδης (later Λυκουδίνα),<sup>150</sup> and the croft of Κογκέσ[ιν] (later Κογκίτα).<sup>151</sup> Above Meliananton lay the little monastery, or cell, of Μόνοβας (later Μόνοβα),<sup>152</sup> and at Πλαγιαδ[ιν] maybe τὸ Πλάγιν.<sup>153</sup> Finally there was Ζαγιανός (later Σαγιανόη)<sup>154</sup> and, high to the southeast was the later center of Φαργανάντων; Φαργάνος appears as a surname in 1388.<sup>155</sup>

The great highway climbs on beyond Hamsiköy through the tree line and on to the windy pasture. There are no further permanent settlements, but summer camps are set up as far as Zigana itself. After passing Palaiomatzoukan Palaiokastro Clavijo found himself for the rest of the second day out “in fine forests.”

The road [was] excellent, except in one part where from the height above a landslide had taken place, blocking the path and damming back a stream. This place we only managed to pass after much trouble and delay: whereby that day’s march proved short, for the cause aforesaid. That night we had to camp out in the open. Tuesday [29 April 1404], next day, the way led over very high mountains, here there was snow and we had many streams to cross. By nightfall we had come up with a castle called Zegan [Sigana], built on a high peak. The sole entrance thereto was by a wooden bridge that stretched from a neighbouring rock up to the castle gate. This stronghold was garrisoned by the men of a Greek noble whose name was Cyril Cabasica [Quirileo Arbosita = *kyr* Leon Kabazites].<sup>156</sup>

Clavijo had struggled over bare country. Bordier found snow below Zigana as late as June 1609;<sup>157</sup> it is always cold and usually misty, for the road has climbed out of the damp, green forests of Matzouka into the empty Parcharia. The wind sweeps across treeless grazing lands.

The Zigana Pass is a winter pass only in name, for it can be blocked by snow for up to six months of the year, but it is slightly lower and its climate marginally more clement than that of the summer pass of the Pontic Gates. It stands 6,640 feet high, 70 km from Trebizond and 260 km from Erzurum

146. Vazelon Act 105 of 1386; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 159; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 288.

147. Vazelon Act of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 160.

148. Vazelon Act 104 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 161.

149. Vazelon Act 183 of the 15th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 162.

150. Vazelon Act 38 of 1261; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 162.

151. Vazelon Act 108 of the 13th century; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 160.

152. Vazelon Act 105 of 1386; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 160; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 272.

153. Vazelon Acts 184 of the 15th century, 190 of 1702, 38 of 1261; Zerzelides, *AP*, 24 (1961), 254.

154. Vazelon Act 105 of 1386; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 162; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 259.

155. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 164–73; the same, *AP*, 24 (1961), 286.

156. Clavijo (1404), trans. Le Strange, 116–17.

157. Bordier (1609), 153–55.

(although, as the crow flies, the two are only 129 km apart). It is the climax to the route. Other passes, at Vavuk and Kop Dağı, are to come, but there is nothing more dramatic than the saddle at Zigana. Standing upon it, one is struck by the two quite distinct geographical and cultural worlds which it divides. Through the cloud wrack that comes racing over it, the traveler can glimpse the endless ranges of Chaldia stretching into Armenia to the south and the dark Pontic rain lands (but never the sea itself) to the north. Small wonder that nineteenth-century travelers regularly, and unjustifiably, identified Zigana with Xenophon's Theches and dutifully added their stone to the cairns of the pass.

More often Zigana, Vavuk, and the Kop have driven travelers to desperation. In the dreadful winter of 1844, the Hon. Robert Curzon was frozen there in a green silk eider-down. He may well have passed Minoides Mynas on the snaking track, but as the latter was laid out by dysentery it is not surprising that neither manuscript hunter noticed the other. Of experiences on the Zigana Pass, Dr. John Careri's were untypical only in that he may in reality never have stirred from his armchair in Naples. Nevertheless he claimed to have found himself with other missionaries "almost in the second region of the air, on the top of mount Zigana" on 29 April 1694. Two years before, the Vali was supposed to have lost ten men on the pass, and three years before that a Dominican is said to have lost the use of his tongue in the cold (he regained it by chewing cloves). Careri's supposed companion (and maybe his genuine informant), "Father Dalmasius, being out of patience on the top of this hill, being quite spent with the labour of climbing a-foot, broke out into these words: 'Come hither, gentlemen of the Propaganda, and see what a condition we are in here'. And a few steps further: 'Come along you who do not give a penny; . . . and I am satisfied you'll give all you are worth to be home again'. As he repeated these words [Careri] smiled, and the more to tempt him said, 'Do you think that coming to the mission in the Levant is like taking a walk in the Tuileries?'"<sup>158</sup>

The police post and butchers' shops (which sell fresh mutton from the surrounding pastures) of the pass today represent a recent summer settlement. The pass is too exposed for permanent habitation. The ancient Zigana is surely represented by the medieval castle, later *han* and modern village deep below the pass to the south: Ζίγανα, Ζύγανα, Zigana, which retained its ancient name until the 1960s, when it was officially (and so far ineffectually) renamed Kalkanlı on the almost certainly erroneous grounds that Zigana was an Armenian name and therefore inappropriate for this part of Turkey. The pass was probably first used by

the Romans in A.D. 58, when Corbulo crossed it. Most commentators have, however, made the mistake of consigning to this inconvenient outpost both the Cohors secunda Ualentianiana, Ziganne, of the *Notitia dignitatum*, and a suffragan bishopric of the Phasis, who should both in fact be found at Anaklia, on the Georgian coast. Clavijo is the only late medieval source to mention this Zigana. It then lay on the Trapezuntine borderlands, the northernmost outpost of the akritic Kabazites family. The castle, which he describes accurately, is not easy to detect and the Cumonts seem to have been the only travelers to notice it.<sup>159</sup> It is described below.

Zigana, like the Pontic Gates, may be taken as the southern limit of the coastlands, and their watershed the divide between the *banda* of Matzouka and Palaio-matzouka and Trapezuntine Chaldia, which is described in another section.

#### MONASTERIES, CHURCHES, AND CASTLES

By popular tradition there were 365 churches in Matzouka. The figure could well be an underestimate and Zerzelides counts 98 churches in Upper Matzouka alone before 1922.<sup>160</sup> But probably the majority of medieval churches were replaced by new structures in the nineteenth century, a number of which we published elsewhere.<sup>161</sup> We are left with 28 churches, 12 monasteries, and 4 castles known to have existed, or said to have existed, before 1461. Apart from No. 1, they are taken geographically, from north to south.

##### 1. St. Eugenios, at Kapalin

*Situation.* We cannot identify Kapalin in Matzouka.

*History.* Built after 1223; in existence in the 1360s.<sup>162</sup>

##### 2. Church A, at Hagios Basileios, Anifa, Akoluk

*Situation.* "Non loin du hameau d'Aivasil."

*Architecture.* A small chapel built of alternate courses of brick and stone, ruined in 1916 and unidentifiable now.<sup>163</sup>

##### 3. Church B, at Hagios Basileios, Anifa, Akoluk

*Situation.* West of the road, in the hamlet of Ayvasil.

*Architecture.* Triple-apsed building, the central apse pentagonal on the exterior; perhaps domed; ruined in 1960.

159. Miller, *IR*, cols. 652, 649–50; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 907; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 555; Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 1 (1937), 253; Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 63; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 32–33, 83, 168–70, 484, 769; Gervasios Sarasites (metropolitan of Alexandroupolis), 'Επαρχία Ῥοδοπόλεως, *AP*, 6 (1934), 80; A. A. Papadopoulos, 'Επώνυμα Χαλδίας κατὰ τὸν 18ον αἰῶνα, *AP*, 8 (1938), 10 note 1; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 87. Because it is the modern pass, Janssens, *Trébisonde*, 8–11, 16, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 73, 100, 124, 126 note 1, 127, 156, 177, accords Zigana a disproportionate importance; because it does not appear in medieval Trapezuntine sources, Miller, *Trébizonde*, ignores it; while the Cumonts, *SP*, II, 361 and plate, have the most judicious entry, though still confusing Zigana with that in Parthey, *Notitiae*, I, 468; VII, 238; VIII, 281; IX, 428; George of Cyprus, ed. Gelzer, xxiv, 468; *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Seock, 84; Le Quien, *OC*, I, cols. 1345–46; and Bees, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 134–35. See p. 236.

160. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 137; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 87–188.

161. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 256–307.

162. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 128.

163. Protassoff, *Byzantion*, 4 (1928), 419.

158. Hoffmeister (1910), 139; Curzon (1842), 172–75; Careri (1694), IV, 98. Of the latter, Sir James Porter (in the Anonymous, *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners of the Turks* [London, 1768], I, 1, note) writes: "Careri, a Neapolitan gentleman, who, for many years, never quitted his chamber, during a long indisposition, amused himself with writing a voyage round the world: giving characters of men, and descriptions of countries, as if he had actually visited them." If this is so, it is difficult to know where this latter-day Mandeville obtained his information, for, like Mandeville's account of the Pontos, Careri's is derived from reality. Careri is not in Richard Hill, *Pseudo Travellers. A Catalogue of fraudulent and unauthenticated travel* (London, 1969).

*Date.* Talbot Rice suggested a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date.<sup>164</sup>

#### 4. Phantak, Fandak Köyü, Çakılca Köyü

*Situation.* A dirt track climbs steeply east to a disused manganese mine from the bridge over the Pyxites at Muhurçü, just south of Hagios Basileios, Ayvasil, Anifa, Akoluk. About 3 km from the bridge the track levels out at a point where a nineteenth-century church, published elsewhere, lies a few meters below the road to the left and, 200 m to the right, stands a mosque with minaret.<sup>165</sup> A track south leads past the mosque to two ruined chapels, fifteen minutes' walk away. The village of Çakılca is non-nucleated. The section in which the chapels stand is now called after its owner, Halil Başoğlu Mahallesi, who stated that it was previously called *Betteroğulları Mahallesi* ("Sons of Peter?").

*Architecture.* The larger chapel is rectangular in plan with semicircular apse (fig. 76). A stone semidome survives and the roof, which was said to be intact until 1956 or 1957, was probably a barrel vault of stone or mortared rubble. There was a west door and a tiny window in the center of the apse, said to have been the only light. The walls of the body of the chapel are of large ashlar blocks, set in a mortar of lime and grit. The largest blocks are about 1.55 × 0.42 m in size. The thickness of the walls is formed by two blocks laid parallel with no mortared rubble filling. By contrast, the masonry of the apse is of small stones set in regular courses. The work is still neat but two reasons suggest that it is of a different period: a clean crack between the apse masonry and the north side walls; and differences of construction—the apse mortar employs a quantity of pebbles and the stones are less well set in it, leaving numerous gaps in the core of the wall. The walls now stand to a height of about 1.5 m and the apse about 3 m, which represents the original height of the barrel vault of the chapel. The orientation of the apse is 75°.

A smaller chapel, of which only the shape of the apse remains, lay 1 m to the south. The north side of the apse was

cut out of the natural rock; its internal measurements are 1 m across and 0.55 m deep. Its orientation is 110°. There is no trace of anything save the apse, which was only found in 1960, but fragments of painting on the exterior of the west and south walls of the larger chapel suggest the possibility that it was originally joined to the smaller chapel. A second apse similar in size to the smaller apse would fill the intervening space between the two structures and a common narthex may have joined them. The church at İkisü, described below,<sup>166</sup> offers a parallel for the addition of a twin-apsed church to a single-apsed chapel. But at Phantak the northern and southern apses would have been 35° askew; our hypothesis could be confirmed only by excavation.

*Decoration.* The whole of the walls of the larger chapel were plastered and painted. A lower layer of plaster is visible on the north wall where the upper layer has fallen away. It bears traces of red lines, but there is not enough evidence to decide what they indicated. This lower layer may represent a first period of decoration but is more likely a plaster ground to even up the masonry surfaces in preparation for the thin layer of surface plaster. The surface layer consists of lime containing a straw or chaff binder. The most common colors are red, yellow, black, and white, with some green. Visible preliminary drawing is in thin wash lines of yellow and red.

Most of the paintings of the larger chapel are covered by a hard white crystalline deposit which made photography difficult; they were therefore recorded by drawing in figure 76A (cf. pl. 193a–c).

Only part of the painting of the apse semidome survives. In the center is an enthroned figure. It wears a haematite purple robe with highlights of the same color. The figure sits upon a red bolster covered by a white cloth, lying upon a throne painted in yellow, red, and green. The throne, bolster, and cloth all have elaborate decorative patterns, which include large numbers of white pearls. The enthroned figure is flanked by two tetramorphs. Of the south tetramorph only the feet and wing tips survive; they are red with green motifs and pearls. The north one has red and brown wings with decorations representing eyes. Its halo is green with red inner and white outer outlines. The background is now greyish black, but originally there may have been a blue wash over it.

It is just possible that the seated figure represented the Mother of God with the Christ Child. It is much more likely, however, that we have here a Theophany; the attendant tetramorphs and archangels (see below) point at a Christ Pantokrator surrounded by the Heavenly Host, familiar as a dome composition and here transferred to the apse because the chapel had no dome. As a composition it is very close to a similar Theophany in the rock-cut church near Hoşmesalos, which lies only 12 km north of Phantak.<sup>167</sup>

Busts of archangels in roundels occupy the top register of the apse wall; there are traces of roundels for all seven statutory archangels, the busts of five of which survive. But their inscriptions are garbled and we may be sure of only Michael in the center and Uriel to his right; the first and second archangels to the left of Michael could be Gabriel and

164. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 69; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 135, 145–46, pl. xxv(a), and plan in fig. 6.

165. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 256–59 and figs. 17, 18. At Olasa (Duralı or Bahçekaya), about 1 km to the south, of which Phantak appears to be a part, Talbot Rice noted two "ancient" churches. The first, above the village, had been converted to a school by 1929. The second, on the Peristera track, had a pentagonal apse of what appears to have been dressed "honey conglomerate" blocks. It was a barrel-vaulted basilica with south and west doors. He distinguished remains of two layers of paintings, one on the north wall which he dated to the 16th century and one earlier, which, on unexplained stylistic grounds he assigned to the 14th-century. The nature of the apse, of the type found at Kaymaklı, the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, and elsewhere, indeed suggests a medieval date. However, Talbot Rice's photograph of the interior of the building, subsequently published by Chrysanthos, shows that the interior, at least, had a conventional 19th-century look: semicircular with three deep windows, narrow on the exterior and very wide on the interior. It may, however, be identical with the church in another of Talbot Rice's photographs subsequently published by Chrysanthos, identified as that at Visera (p. 163 above). We have not been able to locate either of the Olasan churches to sort out the confusion, and they may well have been destroyed. See Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 69–70; Chrysanthos, 4–5 (1933), 464 and pls. 61 and 82.

166. See p. 305.

167. See p. 322.

Raphael respectively, leaving Chamuel (Phaniel), Jophiel, and Zadkiel to be accounted for, if En. 8:2 was followed. The first archangel (Gabriel?) to the north of the central window is on a red background and has wings with yellow feather lines. Its tunic is white with red outlines, decorated with red, green, and yellow motifs and pearls. The ground color of the face appears to be yellow with features drawn in red, but green shading at the sides of the face make it possible that the overall ground color was green. The hair is red with yellow defining lines; the hair ribbon is white and the inscription is white. The second archangel north of the window (Raphael?) is in a roundel of greyish black ground color. Its tunic is yellow with red outlines and is decorated with pearls and green motifs.

The first archangel to the south of the window (namely Michael, in the center of the row) is in a roundel of red ground color. The hair and wings have black as well as yellow outlines. The surviving left wing also has some light red lines.<sup>168</sup> The second archangel to the south of the window (Uriel) is in a roundel with a yellow ground color. It wears a tunic with yellow outlines and red decorations. The wings have a red ground color with black and light red outlines. The face has white highlights; similar outlines probably existed on the faces of the other archangels but have fallen away. The third archangel to the south of the window was in a roundel with a greyish black ground, and had red wings. A more complete description of the colors is impossible because, although the drawing in figure 76A was made in 1961, the recording of the colors was not made until 1963, by which time this archangel had largely disappeared and the fragment of the fourth archangel south of the window had entirely gone. All roundels are outlined with a white line and set in an elaborate decorative pattern with a yellow ground and white defining lines. The pattern changes immediately above the window.

In the ground register of the apse five surviving of what were once six Fathers of the Church stand slightly bowing toward the center, i.e., the east. The first to the north of the central window is St. Basil, inscribed ὁ ἄγιος Βασίλειος. Like the remaining four, he had a yellow halo with a red inner outline and a white outer outline.<sup>169</sup> He wears a white *sticharion* with sketchily painted yellow and red lines to indicate the principal folds, and an *omophorion* with black crosses. The yellow borders of the *sticharion* are decorated with short red lines in groups of three, for which we can find no parallel; perhaps the painter was attempting to indicate a fur edging to the *sticharion*; but it is not his only idiosyncrasy. The *epimanikion* is broken up into a diamond-shaped pattern. The scroll is white with red ruling lines and red lettering from the Cherubic Hymn: [Οὐ]δ[ε]ις [ἄξ]ηος τῶν σ[υ]ν[δ]ε[δ]εμ[έν]ων τ[α]ῖς σαρκ[ικαῖς]. . .

168. Where coloring of parts of figures of other archangels is not described, it may be assumed that they are the same as this one.

169. Black may have been used more extensively in the paintings than it appears now. It was always applied in a medium on to the dry plaster and was the last color (except for white) to be put on the wall. So, unless the medium was very good, blacks tended to powder off over time. The coloring and detail of the remaining figures will not be described unless they differ from those of St. Basil.

The second bishop to the north is identified by the inscription as St. Gregory of Nyssa: [ὁ ἄγιος Γρηγόριος] ὁ Νήσις. The face had a yellow ground color and red feature lines, with green shadows and white highlights. The *epimanikion* over the left wrist has undulated motifs. The bishop raises his scroll, rolled, in his left hand.

The first figure to the south of the window is identified as St. John Chrysostom: [ὁ ἄγιος Ἰωάννης] ὁ Χρ[υ]σόστομος. His scroll carries the opening words of the Prothesis prayer: ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός [ἡμῶν] ὁ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἄρ[χ]α[ν]γ[ε]λ[ῶν] ἄρ[χ]α[ν]γ[ε]λ[ῶν]. . .

The face of the second figure to the south was in fairly good condition in 1961, but had largely gone by 1963. This bishop had a black beard made with a black ground color and white defining lines for the hairs. The lettering, which is comparatively clear, identifies him as St. Gregory the Theologian: ὁ ἄγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος. The inscription on his scroll appears to come from the opening words of the priest's inaudible prayer immediately before the opening of the central door at the end of the liturgy: Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σ[ε], Δέσποτα φι[λά]ν[θρω]π[ε].

The identification of the third figure on the south side is a puzzle. The inscription reads unequivocally St. Theodore—apparently twice. Any epithet which may have been on the right-hand side of the head has now disappeared. The problem is that, to our knowledge, no St. Theodore is found among the Fathers of the Church elsewhere in Byzantine art, for the good reason that no St. Theodore was classed as a Father. It is remotely possible that St. Theodotos of Ankyra (Ankara) is intended here. More probable is that the artist made an error. What is left of the figure (grey hair with white defining lines) does not assist its identification in any way.

The inscription below the central window was in white letters on a greyish black background. It is partly destroyed by the structural fault which runs through the wall. Our only record of it is in figure 76A, from which no reconstruction can be attempted.

A small section of undulating pattern survives on the south side of the reveal of the apse arch. It consists of a wide green stem running straight up the middle of the reveal, with thinner yellow lines to either side of it. Over these is the foliated, undulating pattern in red lines.

On the south wall are remains of five figures, which must have occupied the entire height of the chapel wall. No border lines or bands separate them.

The westernmost figure is a warrior wearing a red undergarment and a green cloak. On the undergarment, over which he should be wearing body armor, is an elaborate pattern of pear shapes and segments with rays radiating out of the dots. The patterns are green with white outlines. The sleeves of the undergarment are profusely decorated with white blobs to indicate pearls. With his left hand the figure grips the sheath of a short sword, which he is drawing out with his right hand. The outlines of both the right hand and the sheath are incised; they are all that remains.

The second figure is a warrior with a red undergarment and red cloak, both plentifully sprinkled with pearls. His body armor is yellow with an overall patterning of white lines which may indicate chain mail. Below the waist is a different pattern of armor, also decorated with pearls, which may

represent a leather strapwork tunic. The warrior's left arm is by his side and he carries a lance in his right hand. The hands are painted a yellow ground color, with red outlines and white highlights.

The third figure is also a warrior, with a green undergarment, yellow body armor, and a red cloak. The green garment is in two, or possibly three, tones of green with white highlights. Only a small section of it remains around the thighs, but it suggests that the painter was technically competent. The yellow body armor is decorated with pear-shaped patterns in green, similar to those of the first figure. Below the waist is a strapwork pattern similar to that of the second figure. All three warriors wear broad sashes across the chest, but the pattern survives only in the third figure; it is an undulated design. The left arm of this warrior is by his side; his right hand and arm cannot be seen, but a stave or lance is visible.

All that remains of the fourth figure are traces of a blue tunic and a red cloak. He was not a warrior.

The fifth and easternmost figure appears to have been an ascetic. He wears a red garment rendered with a red ground and a single broad darker red brush stroke to indicate a fold. His bare legs are made up of yellow flesh color and red outlines. He holds a white scroll with green ruling lines and red lettering.

The background color for all five figures is greyish black.

On the west wall north of the door there was a dado divided into two panels and decorated with daubs of red and yellow paint in imitation of marble. Above it are the remains of two registers of painting, each with a single figure. The lower figure was bearded and had a yellow halo with white outline; the beard and face seem to have a green ground color and the feature lines are yellow, but they probably only represent the preliminary drawing. This figure wears a red robe with fold lines in a darker red, and a blue cloak (or stole) painted with alternate rectangles. In his right hand he holds what appears to be a billhook. To his left is a structure with grey walls and grey hatched decoration, and a red roof on which the tiles are distinguishable. The background is greyish black, but there was doubtless a lower ground strip of a different color. The figure was probably connected with the scene on the north wall, described below, which represented either the Burial or the Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist.

The figure in the upper register wears a white robe and a red cloak, neither of which now show any fold lines or other differentiation save for three yellow lines across the white robe. The head and shoulders are lost. The ends of a towel or belt with red and green decorative bands are visible near the hand. The left hand now survives only as a red outline on the plain plaster.

To the south of the door is a figure with a yellow ground and a greyish black upper background. He wears a green robe, which is articulated with a few red fold lines, and a red cloak. In one hand he holds a stave or lance.

The scene at the west end of the north wall, in the lower register, has an inscription suggesting that its subject is the Burial or the Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist: ἰ κήδ[ε]υ[σ]ης [τ]οῦ [ἀ]γίου Ἡ[ω]άννου τ[ο]ῦ Πρ[ο]δ[ρ]όμου. In

the center is a shroud lying on a red coffin; below it is the green lid of the coffin which is marked with thin red lines, probably in imitation of marble. On either side is a standing figure in white garments, wearing a type of *omophorion* decorated with red rectangles in place of black crosses. The western figure holds a book upon which there was a now lost inscription, while the eastern one holds the same type of billhook or spoon as that held by the lower figure on the west wall. Both figures are clean shaven and have red hair. The faces have a green undercoat, yellow flesh color, red feature lines, and thick white highlights around the eye and nose. The background at either end of the scene is composed of architectural features; a red ball hovers above the building at the east and three rays emerging from it (making it appear to be supported on three struts) suggest that it may represent the sun. A graffito on the red roof of the eastern building is partly legible and begins with the invocation Κύριε βοήθη τὸν δούλον σου. . . , but is otherwise illegible save for the end which appears to read: ἔτου[ς] ,Ϝωμβ' = A.M. 6842 = A.D. 1333/34—a few months after the upheavals which brought the Grand Komnenos Basil to the throne of Trebizond. Thus the graffito gives a terminus ante quem for the decoration of the church.

Following this scene on the north wall, a panel with four standing figures fills the space up to the apse. Beginning from the west, the first figure wears a yellow robe with an overall pattern of a diamond net surmounted by another diaper pattern, and a red cloak. The second figure wears the same kind of garments, which, however, are decorated with different red and green patterns; the cloak has a white outline and is embellished with pearls. The third figure wears a yellow robe sprinkled with pearls, and a red cloak. The fourth figure is an ascetic with red beard and hair indicated by hatched red lines. The ground color of the arm is yellow. In his left hand he holds a scroll whose inscription is clear, although phonetically spelt: Μετανοῖται ἡ γῆ κην γὰρ ἰ βασιλῖα τῶν οὐρ[α]νῶν (Matthew 3:2). That the figure depicts St. John the Baptist is confirmed by the equally rustic inscription between the scroll and the body indicating the Invention of the Head of the Forerunner: ἡ εὑρεσις τῆ[ς] τημείας κ[ε]φ[α]λῆ[ς] τοῦ Πρ[ο]δ[ρ]όμου[ς].

Possibly St. John held in the right hand his own head on a platter. The upper background to these four figures is grey black; the lower background is still concealed beneath the present ground level.

On the exterior south and north walls of the chapel there were paintings of which only traces now survive. It is impossible to determine their subject matter. On the exterior of the west wall, north of the door, are traces of a half figure with a yellow halo outlined in red. Below is a diamond net pattern in red lines over the unpainted plaster ground. To the south of the figure is a circle divided into segments. This geometrical drawing is accurate and must have been accomplished with some form of compass.

In the apse of the smaller adjacent chapel there are also fragments of painted plaster, but they are so damaged as to make their subject matter indistinguishable.

*Date and Purpose of the Chapels.* The large ashlar blocks of the large chapel are uncommon in the Pontic mountains

and may indicate a Middle Byzantine date. The masonry and mortar of the main apse, on the other hand, are of poor quality and more in accord with a Trapezuntine, or Late Byzantine, date. There may be, therefore, two periods of building. But there seems to be only one period of decoration.

That the Fathers in the apse are all bowing toward the east suggests a date not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century (before, they were represented in a fully frontal posture). In the inscriptions the angular form of the "omega" has a parallel in Lagoudera, Cyprus, of 1192, and in one of the cave churches of Mount Latmos which belongs, stylistically, to the same period. The bottom stroke of the "delta" is still at, or near, its base and some of the "alphas" keep their earlier and true form. The stepped "nu" is also found at Pipat and Soumela.

The face of St. Gregory the Theologian with its linear elaboration gives the impression of a provincial version of the late twelfth-century linear style. These points indicate an earlier, rather than later, date during the period of the Empire of Trebizond—perhaps the thirteenth century and certainly before the graffito of 1333/34.

The complex of chapels could perhaps represent a group of funerary monuments; however, the painted plaster in the smaller chapel indicates that it was not a tomb. The unusual concern with the life of St. John the Baptist in the paintings of the larger chapel points to a likely dedication for it.

##### 5. Church at Pirastiyos Liboda

*Situation.* About twenty minutes' walk up a track south-east of Liboda, at the confluence of the Galiana, Kalyan, and Peristera, Kuştu, rivers.

*Architecture.* Published elsewhere by D. C. W. as the only known example in the Pontos of a medieval cross-in-square church surmounted by a dome.<sup>170</sup>

##### 6. Church A, at Pipat, Öteki Su

*Situation.* From the Pirastiyos tea house a track runs southeast above the south side of the Galiana. About thirty minutes' stiff walk up the track and ten minutes' climb above it to the left brings one to the ruins of a chapel in a nut grove. The scattered settlement of Πιπάτ, Bibat, which, like Φαντάκ, Çakılca Köyü, may have lain within the estates of the monastery of St. George at Peristera, was entirely Turkish by 1923.<sup>171</sup>

*Architecture.* In plan the chapel is a simple rectangle on the exterior, with rounded apse on the interior. Robbing and buried foundations made it impossible to determine the probably rounded shape of the exterior of the apses.

The walls are constructed of irregular uncut blocks, with the flat surface laid outward. The coursing is uneven and made up by smaller stones in the gaps. The mortar consists of lime, grit, and pebbles, with the stones fairly well bedded so that the gaps are few. The quoins are good ashlar blocks. The walling blocks are of the "honey conglomerate" found in a

number of Pontic medieval monuments elsewhere, such as in the citadel church of İspir. The advantage of this stone, whose spongy texture contains embedded fossils, is that its numerous air pockets made it light and particularly suited to vaulting, but it weathers badly. The owner of the land on which Church A, Pipat, stands was of the opinion that the stone came from a quarry near the confluence of the Galiana and Peristera rivers at Pirastiyos. He also reported that he remembered the chapel as having a barrel vault—which is confirmed by traces of inward curving masonry. Where the inward curve begins, flat stones are laid in the manner of bricks, a practice not uncommon in areas where bricks were scarce.<sup>172</sup> The owner also reported that outside the north door there had been a porch where one could sit, and that the door itself had a flat monolithic lintel. There was a second door at the west end, but its shape was impossible to determine, for most of the wall had fallen away.

The ground level on the south side of the church has risen since its construction by about 5 m, reaching the height of the barrel vault. Byzantine ridge tiles lying around the site are recorded in the Appendix.

*Painting.* There is no trace of exterior wall painting. The painting in the interior is in a very poor state, but painted fragments of plaster on the north and west walls, in the northwest corner, and in the middle of the south wall show that these areas, at least, were decorated. The plaster is of lime with straw or chaff binding.

The only legible stretch of painting is a panel on the north wall, to the east of the door, depicting a mounted saint slaying a dragon (fig. 77). The plaster here is of pure white lime, in a single rendering which varies greatly in thickness because of the uneven stonework of the wall. The edges of the plaster are wiped back to the masonry from the red painted borders enclosing the panel, an indication that the panel was executed on a specially treated patch of plaster, while surrounding areas were left unplastered. The ground consists of a series of bands up to the height of the front hooves of the horse. The surviving bands are respectively green, yellow, green, yellow, and green, but there may have been further bands below these. The background above the bands is now greyish black, and may once have had a blue wash. The horse is brown. The whole upper part of the saint's figure has disappeared. His tunic is now grey, but perhaps originally had a blue wash. His cloak is in two tones of red—a light red ground with red shadow lines. The armor as well as the trappings of the horse are executed with care and elaboration of decorative detail, which includes pearls. The dragon is greyish black with painted scales; its open mouth reveals jagged white teeth.

In the top left-hand corner is the white sigla  $\textcircled{\text{A}}$ , but no trace of a name, which would almost certainly be that of St. George. On a yellow band of ground near the dragon is an

170. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 152. A notable example is in the ruins of the castle of Cihar, inland from Pazar. In Cyprus, the western dome of St. Anastasia, Pano Polemidia, is constructed of stone used in the same way as brick. Stone employed like herringbone brickwork is found at Zil Kale, the Bell Castle, south of Ardeşen up the Furtuna Dere, and in other Pontic medieval sites.

170. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 143–44, fig. 5, pls. xxii(d), xxiii(a). Evidently Talbot Rice's school church at Olessa.

171. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 91.

inscription in white of which only the letters  $\text{ΑΥ}$  are legible. This may have formed part of a donor's inscription.

*Date.* The architecture of the chapel gives no clue to its date. The panel of St. George includes the dragon, an indication that it is unlikely to be earlier than the twelfth century, but not the chained princess, the city, and the accompanying rider; these additions become common from the fifteenth century and first appear in an admittedly restored icon from Erzurum, said to be dated 1327, which may be Trapezuntine work. The barred "alpha" and the stepped "nu" are not infrequent in the Pontos and are found in Trapezuntine aspers from the thirteenth century. In Cappadocia these letter types are first dated at Karşı Kilise in 1212, but they also appear in the apse paintings of Eski Gümüş<sup>173</sup> which are certainly earlier. In Cyprus the same types appear in some undated and probably thirteenth-century paintings at Asinou.

A thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date for the painting in Church A at Pipat, Öteki Su, may therefore be suggested.

#### 7. Church B, at Pipat, Bibat Köyü

*Situation.* One must follow the same track up the Galiana, Kalyan, as for Öteki Su, but keep on it for a further five to ten minutes instead of turning off to Church A. Church B is hard by one of the houses of the village, but there are no means of giving more precise directions, for the settlement is widely dispersed and the visitor must specifically ask for the ruin. D. C. W. is grateful to the owner of the nearby house, who is also the proprietor of the ruin, for assistance and hospitality in 1961 and 1963. The village stands about 500 m above sea level.

*Architecture.* The plan (fig. 76) is that of a rectangular building with small narthex and an apse whose shape cannot be determined without excavation. The walls are built of rough-cut blocks of local stone laid in regular courses; the mortar is of lime with small stones as filling. A few courses of stone remain to show that both naos and narthex were stone vaulted. The stones of the vaulting are of the yellow, porous honey-conglomerate type noted at Church A, Pipat; they are good ashlar blocks smaller in size than those employed in the walls. The narthex vault was about 1 m lower than that of the naos. There were west doors to the narthex and naos. The narthex could be a later addition, for its pointing is brought up to neat ridges, which is not found in the naos walls. The church may have stood about 5 m high, but the accumulation of a meter or more of debris makes it impossible to judge its original height accurately.

*Interior Painting.* In the naos and narthex two layers of plaster are clearly distinguishable.

In the naos, the lower layer was very extensively chipped to receive the later layer. It bore traces of red and, on the south wall, the outline of a cross in red, with a curving frame similar to those at Sarmaşıklı (see fig. 81D). Traces of black around the cross may indicate lettering.

173. Lynch (1893/98), I, 128–29 and fig. 25; D. Talbot Rice, "The Accompanied Saint George," *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Paris 1948* (Paris, 1951), 383–87; M. Gough, "The Monastery of Eski Gümüş—A preliminary report," *AnatSt.*, 14 (1964), 160–61, pl. 32a.

The entire wall space of the naos, however, seems to have been painted only during the second and third periods of decoration. In the apse are traces of standing figures, presumably Fathers of the Church, but no detail of them survives. On the south wall, immediately adjoining the apse, are traces of a large standing figure which occupies the height of two registers of painting (pl. 194a). This figure wears a white cloak with yellow and red shadow lines. His grey-black tunic may have been blue. The motifs and pearls decorating his stole suggest a person of importance. The lower background was green; the upper background was black, possibly originally overpainted with blue. On the green ground are traces of white lettering: the  $\Delta\Theta$ ... and  $\Theta$ ... hint at a donative or dedicatory formula: "... servant of God..."

West of the large figure are five smaller ones, only partly preserved, in richly bejewelled costumes (fig. 78). They wear red tunics and yellow brocade overtunics decorated with red and green jewels and white pearls. The first figure appears to be holding a staff or cross, the last an orb. The imperial costumes might suggest a group of Grand Komnenoi, or, more likely, a row of archangels; however, the staff between the first and second figure raises a third possibility, that the series of unidentified personages begins with Saints Constantine and Helena holding the cross. Above the group was a fragment, missing by 1963, bearing the head of the Christ Child and part of the purple robe of the Mother of God, probably part of a Nativity scene.

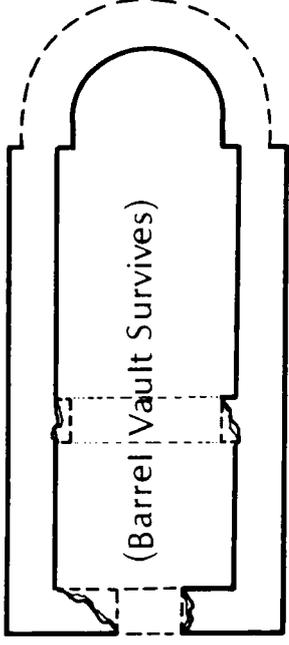
The west wall has largely fallen, but a small fragment of painted plaster in the south corner bears the remains of a zig-zag pattern of black lines on a white ground.

The ground register of the north wall has at the west end fragments of a standing figure with red boots. This single figure is enclosed by a painted red border frame in a panel 85 cm wide. The center of the wall shows two nimbed warrior saints and between them at the top, a segment of Heaven from either side of which a hand appears to bless them (pl. 194b). Between the figures is an inscription in white letters:

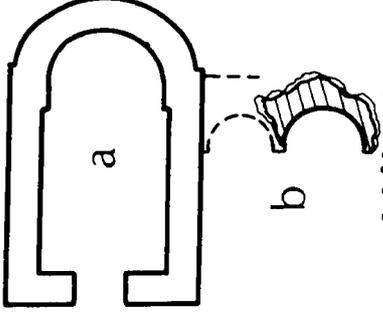
ὁ ἐξερχόμενος ἐν  
ναὸ ἡωγ .....  
.....  
..... τοῦ μ.....  
5 αὐτοῦ

The epigraphy is marked not only by the stepped "nu", but by the flowing leftward tails of the letters "tau" and "upsilon."

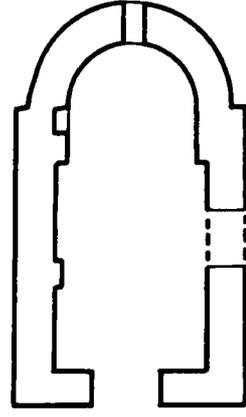
The lower background of this panel is red, the upper background part blue and part green, indicating probably an azurite blue which has changed to malachite green in some areas. The warrior to the left has a red halo outlined in yellow. He has yellow hair and a rather scanty beard of the same color whose curls are picked out in red lines. His face appears to be painted with a yellow ground and red feature lines; green shadow color is used in patches around the eyes and at the side of the face, but does not seem to have been, as so often is the case, an overall ground color; a lighter yellow tone differentiates the cheeks and chin, apparently without any white highlighting. The saint wears yellow armor with



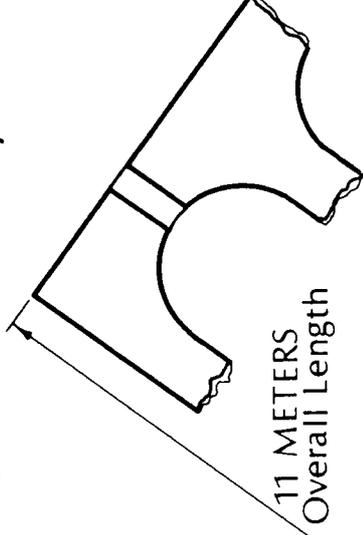
Bibat Köyü



Çakılca Köyü



Soğuk Su

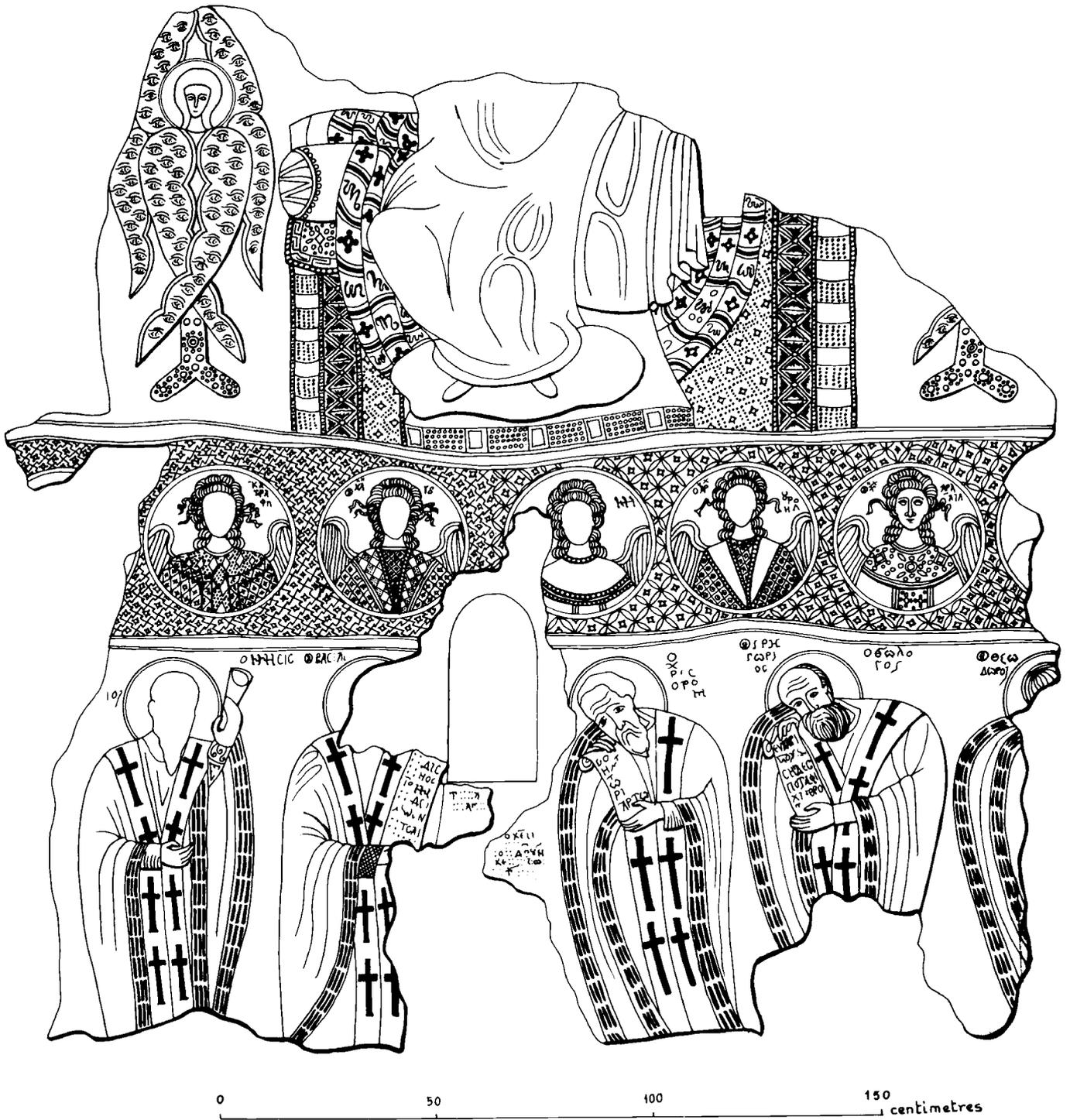


Keci Kale

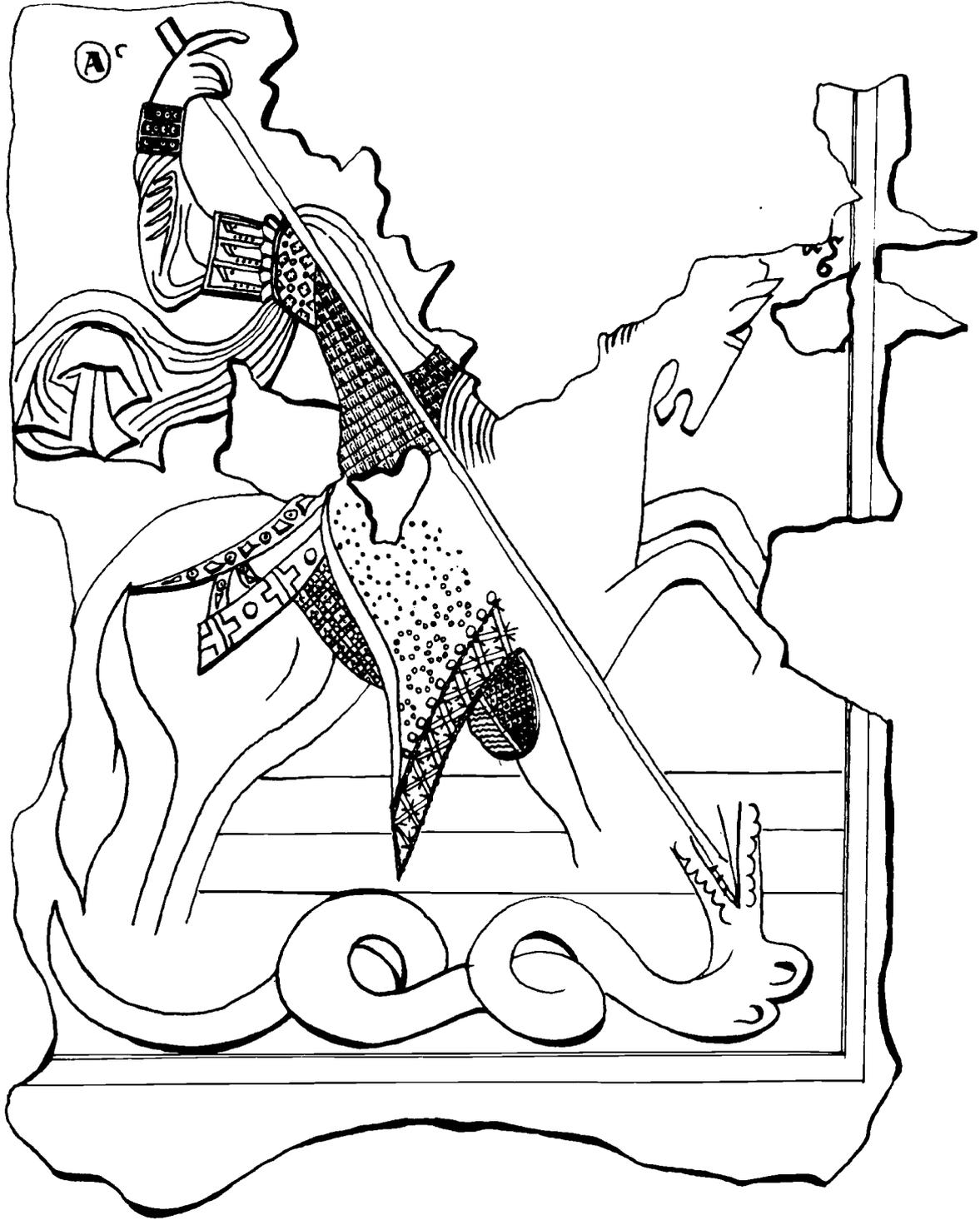


## CHAPELS

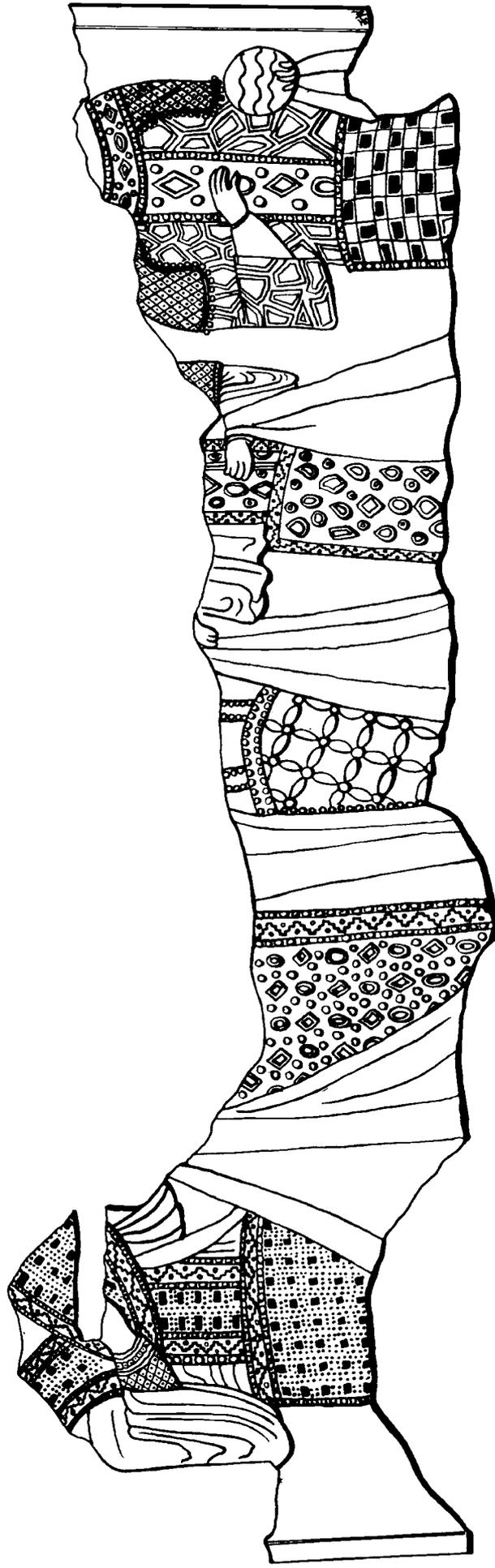




76A. Matzouka, Phantak, Çakılca Köyü, Apse



77. Matzouka, Pipat, Öteki Su, Church A, North Wall. St. George



78. Matzouka, Pipat (Bibat Köyü), Church B, South Wall. Five Figures

red outlines and white pearls, a red cloak, and yellow boots. Only the letters of his name can be distinguished; he was probably one of the two Saints Theodore. Of the warrior to the right only a small portion of the face and halo remains. An inscription to the left of the halo identifies him as St. George: ὁ ἄγιος Γεώργιος. Both warriors carry lances.

The segment of Heaven has a yellow outline and a pattern of squares outlined in red within the border. The hands of God have a yellow ground and red outlines. It is impossible to determine the height of the ground register accurately; it may have been about 1.50 m. On the green ground is an Arabic graffito reading *Bismillah*.

Above the warriors are remains of a smaller middle register representing the half figures of two female saints in a panel of about 43 × 28 cm. They had yellow halos and were painted against a blackish green background (pl. 194c). Their faces were built up like those of the warriors, with a yellow ground and red feature lines, but their clothing is a very simple piece of painting.

Above this panel is a fragment which seems to belong to an Anastasis; the broken gates in yellow with white highlights; the white keys are clear. The lower part of Christ's robe, white with green shade lines, and the lower parts of the imperial costumes of David and Solomon, survive. In the narthex nothing of the painting on the first layer of plaster can now be deciphered. Of the second layer two full-length standing figures stand in the lower register of the west wall, to the south of the door (pl. 195). Below them was an indistinctly patterned dado in red. Both figures hold white martyrs' crosses and wear garments enriched with embroidered trimmings at the hem, neck, shoulders, and cuffs. The flesh of the faces seems to be built up like that of the warriors on the north wall of the naos, with a yellow ground color, red feature lines, and green shadows. The nostrils were carefully drawn. The hair is red with yellow curl lines. The figure to the left wears a green cloak with red fold lines. The other figure has a green tunic with dark green and red shade lines, and a red cloak held by a clasp decorated with pearls. The lower background is yellow, whereas the upper background is, unusually, left unpainted.

The remains of the upper register, showing some walling and a piece of clothing, are insufficient to permit identification of a scene.

North of the west door some green and red coloring survives, enough to indicate two standing figures balancing those to the south, described above.

On the north wall there were two registers of painting, but nothing can be distinguished except the background, which was in three bands of color, beginning from the bottom, yellow, green over yellow, and grey-black.

On the south wall there was single register of painting, about 1.85 m high. The lower background was green, the upper greyish black. Most of the paint has gone, but two horse hooves and part of the tail and some fragments of a dragon suggest that this was a large panel representing a mounted figure of St. George (who was also represented, standing, inside the naos). The narthex is a not unusual place for the scene.

*Exterior Painting.* On the west wall of the narthex, to

the south of the door, are the remains of a mounted saint (pl. 196). He has a yellow halo with white outline and wears a cloak in two tones of haematite purple with white highlights. The face is yellow and the hair is red. The armor and horse are in yellow. Above the halo and below the tail of the horse there are traces of two lines of fairly large white lettering but not enough is left to be legible. No date can be made out in the votive graffiti visible in plate 196. The plaster is wiped back to the masonry on the south side, indicating that the panel stood on its own, but remains of painted plaster elsewhere on the wall perhaps indicate a later phase of decoration.

The only distinguishable subjects in the remains of the paintings which covered the length of the south wall of both the narthex and naos are two warrior saints (pl. 197) against a background consisting of four alternate bands of red and greyish black. The saint to the left has a red halo with a white outline, the one to the right a yellow halo with a red inner and a white outer outline. The faces are built up with red feature lines over a yellow ground, as elsewhere, and appear to have been of the same simple type as those of the female saints on the north wall in the interior of the church. The saint to the left has red hair with yellow lines for the curls and is in the act of unsheathing a short sword with his right hand. He wears a green tunic with yellow cuffs and red outlines, and a red cloak. His armor is yellow, decorated with painted white pearls. To the right of the halo are traces of white lettering, of which only ΠΙ are certain—perhaps part of the name of St. Demetrios, who is otherwise apparently featured only once in medieval Pontos, at Vazelon (No. 26 below), as well as in a later painting at Soumela with the ubiquitous St. George.<sup>174</sup> The saint to the right wears a grey tunic and a red cloak. His armor is yellow with red and green linear decoration, and pearls. In his right hand he holds a lance.

*Date.* The masonry gives no clue to the date of the church and the paintings are so damaged that they yield very little useful stylistic or iconographic evidence. All that can be stated is that there was a first period of non-figural decoration, followed by what may be two periods of figural painting, for a discrepancy can be noted between the careful and competent execution of the faces of the two saints on the west wall of the narthex and the primitive appearance of the faces of the female saints on the north wall of the naos and of the two warriors on the exterior south wall. Such lettering as survives shows early forms of the A and M.

A reasonable guess for the date, based upon the smooth and uninteresting but well-painted faces of the narthex figures, would be the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, which would bring Church B at Pipat into the main Matzouka group. But some of the painting could well be earlier; the church itself, with its first plaster layer decorated only with crosses, is almost certainly earlier.

#### 8. Monastery of St. George Peristereota, at Kuşul, Şimşirli

*Situation.* On the west bank of the Galiana, about 5 km southeast of Pirastiyos (pl. 198).

174. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, pl. L (2).

*Architecture.* The main monastic enceinte was almost destroyed by fire in 1904 and its two churches, now hardly recognizable as such, replaced earlier ones. Some of the monastic buildings to the left of the entrance are, however, clearly older and may date back to the refoundation of 1393; they need further investigation. Most of the other buildings of the complex are nineteenth or twentieth century in date. To the southwest of the monastery proper is a cave chapel, recorded elsewhere by A. A. M. B. While probably of no great age, it may represent the original sacred cave of Peristera, similar to other caves found in most of the major Pontic monasteries. The whole site, remote and usually swathed in mists around its great rock, has been severely degraded by treasure seekers.<sup>175</sup>

#### 9. Sarmaşıklı, Geyikli Kilisesi (Zouza ?), Upper Church

*Situation.* The village of Athanları (formerly Atlıkilise) lies about 1.5 km north of Maçka, Dikaisimon, on the Trebizond road. About 100 m south of Athanları a steep track climbs east of the main road and emerges, after hairpin bends, on to a plateau upon which stands the administrative buildings of Maçka. A path leads up a hill from the northeast side of the plateau; the church lies about half an hour's walk uphill, about 5 m to the right of the path. It is now almost buried in the hillside.

Sarmaşıklı Kilisesi means "Ivy Church," and it is indeed covered with ivy. Its alternative name, Geyikli Kilisesi, means "Deer Church," a more interesting appellation, for there are no deer in the district. There may have been a painting of the vision of St. Eustathios, such as is found on the exterior of a wall of one of the chapels of Soumela.<sup>176</sup>

*Identification.* There are three medieval churches in the area: Sarmaşıklı, Upper Church (No. 9); Sarmaşıklı, Middle Chapel (No. 10 below); and Sarmaşıklı, Lower Chapel (No. 11 below). They betoken at least a medieval settlement, topographically pointing to Zouza, Kapuköy, a thirteenth-century primary *chorion* of Vazelon which was confirmed in 1386, as we have proposed above.<sup>177</sup> Such an identification would not conflict with the dates which we propose for the churches below, while the fact that two of them appear to have been abandoned before the modern period may be confirmed by the fact that Zouza also became Kapuköy before the modern period. But the identification cannot be certain and we have preferred to name the churches Sarmaşıklı.

Our accounts of the Upper Church and Lower Chapels at Sarmaşıklı are based upon D. C. W.'s visits of the early 1960s, but have been checked by Greville Astill, Ian Burrow, Jane Isaac, Heather Wanstall, and Sue Wright, who visited them ten years later, when they had become further degraded. We thank them for their notes.

*Architecture.* The plan (fig. 79) is that of a small church with nave and two aisles divided by four cruciform piers. The

central apse is three-sided on the exterior; the pastophories are inscribed within the thickness of the east wall. The aisles have mortared rubble barrel vaults and ashlar ribs (see pl. 201b). It seems likely that the nave was also barrel vaulted; the situation of the piers rules out the likelihood of a dome, unless it were very irregularly shaped. The voussoirs of the arches between the piers are formed of flat bricks or tegulae (the only evidence of regular brickwork in the building) bedded into thick layers of a mortar composed of lime, pebbles, and a few fragments of pulverized brick and tile. The arches are rounded irregularly; indeed the masonry of the church as a whole is full of irregularities. On the exterior the walls are faced with roughly squared stones laid in regular courses. The core is of mortared rubble; the stones are well laid in with few gaps. The quoins and external facing of the apse are of good ashlar. The church is built partly of blocks of yellow limestone and partly of a hard yellow, green, and red stone. Doors in the north and west walls are rectangular on the exterior with monolithic limestone lintels; but on the interior they are surmounted by arches (pls. 200b, 201a). The west door, moreover, has on the exterior a slightly recessed lunette with hood molding in the mortar above the lintel.

There was a small porch, now indeterminable, outside the north door. Apparently it was roofed with a barrel vault, for its east wall curves slightly inward. A quantity of loose stone piled up outside the west wall raises the possibility of a narthex. The earth level has risen about 6 m on the south side, to the height of the barrel vaults, and conceals the entire south wall (pl. 199a). The interior height of the church can only be estimated. The original floor level seems to have been 1.52–2 m below the present ground level; thus the original height of the aisles was about 4–5 m, and the center of the nave vault was perhaps about 7 m.

Much of the interior wall surface appears to have been evened up with a rendering of a pinkish roughcast mortar which contains considerable quantities of pulverized brick or tile.

*Interior Decoration.* Wall paintings survive only below pilaster height, and apparently belong to a ground register. Traces of red paint still remain on the upper parts of walls in the northeast corner and in the vaulting of the southeast corner, but save for outlines of a figure in the semidome of the south apse and of figures in the north half of the barrel vault of the south apse, and also of figures in the north half of the barrel vault of the south aisle, not enough is left to permit identification of the subject matter. It would seem that the decoration of the church consisted of two registers, one on the walls, and one on the vaults. The complete decoration belongs to a final phase because on the vaults there is only one layer of plaster while on the walls fragments of several layers are distinguishable.

The fragmentary and confused layering of the plaster makes description of the paintings difficult. The system followed here is to describe each section of wall in turn, designating its various layers of plaster and paint with letters, in alphabetical order; the lowest layer, A, corresponding to the earliest period.

This has the disadvantage of having to give the paintings a

175. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 284–89, pls. 86–88, fig. 20.

176. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 140–42, pls. 21, 22, fig. 4.

177. See p. 253 and Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 272.

classification by relative date before advancing any arguments for so doing, but any other system would force us to move from one small fragment to another round the church and back again, and this would cause as much confusion in the reader's mind as was initially caused in our own during the several visits we made to the church. The classification will be found below.<sup>178</sup> Where no period is assigned to a fragment it is simply because evidence is totally lacking. The order of description goes from the north aisle to the nave and from there to the south aisle. The west end of the church shows no traces of decoration.

#### NORTH APSE (pl. 202a)

There are no traces of paint on the lower layer of plaster. On the upper layer on the north side there is the figure of the Archangel Gabriel, inscribed . . . ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (pl. 202b); it is of period D. The background is grey-black but may have had a blue overpaint. The robe is in two tones of red with pronounced white highlights. The wings are outlined in white and have red primaries, white secondaries, and brown for the main body of the wing above which feathers are delineated in yellow. The face is now destroyed but the flesh of the hand is yellow and red with some green shadow. The hair is brown with red curl lines. The halo is yellow with inner blue and white outer outlines of about the same width. The tip of the staff is decorated with white pearls. The inscription is in neat white letters. The "correct" form of Α may be noted, as opposed to the Δ which seems to have become common from the thirteenth century to distinguish it from the Δ, the lower stroke of which marched steadily upward in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The vertical strokes of the letters are broad and bold, in contrast to the thin diagonal and horizontal ones. The angularity of the forms is markedly similar to letters on Cypriot wall paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which revert to earlier forms of "alpha" and "delta." All that can be seen in the south half of the apse is the top of a building in the background. It may be conjectured that this is part of the background for the figure of the Mother of God (now concealed beneath ground level) in an Annunciation scene.

#### NORTH AISLE, EAST BAY, NORTH WALL: EAST PANEL

The lower layer of plaster is of period A (pl. 203a, fig. 80); it shows the top portion of a floreated cross in red outlines in the bottom left-hand corner. The figure on horseback visible in the center of the main scene, where the plaster has fallen away, may belong to period B. This bearded figure, dressed in red, has a white halo with a broad red outline; the horse is white. No detail can be made out, nor can a connection be established between the plaster under this figure and that under the cross.

On the upper layer of plaster is a scene of the Koimesis, probably belonging to period D. Exclusive of the red borders, this painting is 1.82 m long and may have been about 1.75 m high. The upper background is grey-black. The buildings have a yellow ground with red and white shaping lines and outlines. The roofs are red with tile outlines in black. The

lower half of the scene is buried from just below the top of the recumbent figure of the Mother of God. She is dressed in the traditional haematite colored *maphorion* and hood. Part of the lower half of the figure of Christ behind the bier is visible, but the representation of Mary's soul has gone. Christ's robe has a brown ground color with two hatched shades of yellow highlights. Traditionally, the highlights for Christ's garments are less indicative of the form of the body than are the white highlights for the garments of other figures; this is true also of the Sarmaşıklı figure. The Koimesis is one of a handful of scenes which gave Byzantine painters an opportunity to depict the Uncreated Light of God; this particular figure of Christ originally stood in a mandorla of which fragments can be seen at His lower right, with two bands of light and dark grey coloring which may originally have been light and dark blue.

Of the mourners there survive traces of four at the head of the bier and eight at the foot. Their haloes are all yellow with inner blue and outer white outlines. Below and to the left of Christ, a figure wearing a white *omophorion* with two red crosses is the only bishop identifiable as such of the four who, according to tradition, were present at the Koimesis. The face is made with a yellow ground, some green shadowing, and red feature lines. There was probably a much more extensive use of black for shadow lines and outlines, but black was put on last on dry plaster and often has powdered off. The garments of the mourners appear to be made of a ground color with a lighter tone of the same color and white highlights, but there may well have been also a darker tone which has now flaked. In the top portion of this scene two angels are flying down to receive Christ and the soul of His Mother. The inscription reading Ἡ κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου is in white letters of regular form with horizontal and vertical strokes of about the same thickness; it looks different from that of the Archangel Gabriel.

#### NORTH APSE, ARCH

On the face of the arch at the east end of the Koimesis is a simple fret or key pattern in red on a white ground. The plaster relates to that of the Koimesis and probably belongs to period D. There are two jeweled and differently foliated crosses: one on the face of the apse arch, on the south side (in a corresponding position in respect to the fret pattern) (fig. 81B); the other on the north face of the dividing wall between the north and the main apses (fig. 81C). Both bear the misspelt sigla ΙΧ ΧC NH KA. The second cross has, in addition, the ungrammatical invocation: Κ(ύρι)ε βοίθ(ε)ι τὸ δο(υ)λοῦ σου Ἡωάννη Δαλει. The script on these crosses, which should belong to period A, is untidy.

#### NORTH AISLE, EAST BAY, NORTH WALL: WEST PORTION

On the same plaster rendering as the Koimesis, but divided from it by a red painted border, is a panel 1.25 m wide which was probably also painted during period D. It depicts St. Theodore the Tyro and St. Eugenios of Trebizond and is inscribed: [ὁ ἄγιος] Θεόδωρος ὁ Τύρον and ὁ ἄγιος Εὐγένιος. The proximity of the two Pontic soldier saints is reminiscent of the same group at the chapel at Vazelon.<sup>178</sup> There is a further six-line inscription to the left of St.

178. See pp. 277–79.

Eugenios. As evidence for the local cult of the patron saint of Trebizond, it is unfortunate that only the name Εὐγεν[.] is clear in figure 83.

The lower background is yellow, the upper grey-black. The halos are yellow; that of St. Theodore has a diameter of 42 cm. St. Eugenios holds a long yellow cross in his right hand and had a sword in his left. His cloak is red with yellow decoration, but no other details are discernible. St. Theodore wears a red cuirass intended to be of leather strapwork or strapped metal over a yellow tunic or shift, visible between the elbow and wrist. His chest is clothed in a yellow jerkin of cloth embroidered with a design of pear-shaped elements somewhat reminiscent of a Tabriz carpet and ending in a row of pearls and tassels. His hips are covered with the lower part of the leather strapwork cuirass.

#### ARCH BETWEEN NAVE AND NORTHEAST BAY

Below the projecting stone which forms the springing of the arch at its east end there are three layers of plaster. The lowest has a painted cross of period A on a green ground, with black outlines and lettering (fig. 81D) and also some red outlines and red diamond-shaped jewels at the end of the arms. At the top of the cross are the sigla: (I)C X(C) NI KA. The jumble of lettering on either side of the foliation at the top of the cross is our only record of a further invocation. The following words might be made out of the drawing: line 1 (left): Δέησ(ι)ς; line 3 (right): πρε]σβύτε [ρο . . .]; line 6 (right): ἄ(μ)ήν.

Both the middle and the upper layers of plaster had representations of the Theotokos. A fair amount of the middle layer survived in 1959 (pl. 199b) but had disappeared by 1962 (pl. 201b). It was characterized by a brilliant blue background laid over a yellow-green ground. (This is the only instance known to D. C. W. of a blue background which was not laid over a grey, black, or red ground.) The halo was yellow with a wide inner red and a thin outer white outlines. The *maphorion* and cloak are of the traditional haematite color; the cuffs of the tunic were decorated. The slightly bowed head and the gesture of the hands suggest that this was the type of the Theotokos Eleousa holding a scroll (fig. 83A). Its position here is not uncommon for the Eleousa, and a figure of Christ is in the appropriate corresponding position on the south side. The ligature: MHP, which may also belong to the repaint, is in white lettering distinguished by an exuberant abbreviation mark and a certain sense of style conveyed by strong upright strokes contrasting to thin ones. On the cornice above the figure there was originally a pattern consisting of an undulated foliate stem similar to that above St. George (cf. fig. 84). This middle layer of painted plaster belongs to period C. At some intermediate time between the rendering of the middle and upper layers of plaster, the figure was repainted, or at least retouched, and the plain red outline of the halo was enriched with jewels outlined in white. The repaint must be assigned to period C or D. Only two small patches of the upper layer were visible in 1959, but there was enough to show that the subject of the painting on this layer had been the same.

At the springing of the arch is an elaborate foliated cross above a very small niche (pls. 199b, 201b; fig. 83). The arms

of the cross are decorated with red and green jewels, but there is no sign of any lettering. Its style is more ornate than that of any of the other crosses and it is the only cross to appear in the vaults or arches. But it is painted on the lowest layer of plaster and, since later layers all bear figural decoration, we may reasonably assume that it belongs to period A. Pieces of recently burnt candles in the niche show that the Mother of God's cult had not been quite forgotten locally.

#### NORTHEAST PIER: EAST FACE

Facing the Mother of God is a figure of St. George (fig. 84) inscribed ὁ ἄγι[ος] Γεώ[ργιος]. It belongs to the same period (C or D) as the first painting of the Mother of God. The similarity is in the distinctive background color, painted over a yellowish green ground, and in the yellow halo (37 cm in diameter) with thick inner red and thin outer white outlines. The Saint's hair has yellow curls on a red ground. A fragment of the face appears to have a yellow ground color and green shading; no other details remain. There is a lower layer of plaster but no paint could be seen on it and much seems to have fallen or been hacked away before the plaster with St. George was rendered, for in places the latter is directly attached to the masonry. The figure was later repainted and its halo enlarged (cf. the dotted line in fig. 84). Above the figure, the projecting cornice is decorated with two bands: the lower has an undulated stem with foliage and the upper a series of chevrons enclosing foliated elements.

#### NORTHEAST PIER: NORTHEAST ANGLE

There are some curious figures on the narrow faces of the northeast angle of the pier (fig. 84A). On the north face is a half-length figure with what appears to be a jewel decoration on his clothing. The drawing consists of red outlines on plain plaster, save for a trace of yellow on the figure's face. Below this figure is a segment of yellow halo with inner blue and outer white outlines.

On the east face are the remains of five heads with irregular halos varying from 17 to 21 cm in diameter. The uppermost head has a red outline for the halo; the contours of the bearded face are yellow. The lower four are very faded; they have blue outlines for the halos, red feature lines, and possibly a yellow ground for the face.

These drawings are either painter's doodles or preliminary sketches and belong to period D.

#### NORTHEAST PIER: WEST FACE

Below the cornice is a foliated cross (fig. 81A, pl. 203b) in red, green, and black outlines. At the top, beneath the sigla IC XC NH KA, is a blundered invocation Κ(ύρι)ε βοίθη(ι) τὸν δουλοῦ{-λον} σου Γεόργιον. The cross probably belongs to period A.

#### NORTH WALL, ENGAGED EAST PILASTER: WEST FACE

A fret pattern in blue on white ground covers an earlier layer of plaster. If it is linked to the similar fret next to the Koimesis, it belongs to period D.

#### NORTH AISLE, CENTER BAY: WALL EAST OF DOOR

Fragments of three layers of plaster can be seen here.

There are traces of a grey-black background on the top layer; the narrow wall space could have accommodated a standing figure.

#### MAIN APSE AND SANCTUARY

There are considerable stains of red and some traces of green and blue. On the north side, to the right of the window, the outlines of three heads, presumably of Fathers of the Church, are visible. At the point where the apse broadens into the sanctuary on the north side there are on the molding alternate horizontal bands of white and red, imitating brickwork, similar to the pattern in the receding arches under the dome in the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond.

The outlines of three circles, each *ca.* 30 cm in diameter, linked by smaller circles to form a kind of guilloche are on the north wall of the sanctuary. One of the larger circles encloses the outlines of a cross and was later overpainted with a head. There are fragments of red, white, and green overpainting. The apse is so full of rubble and undergrowth that it is impossible to trace the relationship between different layers of plaster, but it may be guessed that the guilloche belongs to period A and was repainted with heads in period B; the figures may belong to any period from B onward.

#### ARCH BETWEEN NAVE AND SANCTUARY

On the north end, below cornice height, are remains of two layers of plaster. Traces of a yellow ground (presumably for a face) are on the upper layer of the west face. The south end retains a segment of a halo with blue inner and white outer outlines. The background color is blue over black. Remains of two layers of plaster are also on the south end, below cornice height. The upper layer has fragments similar to those on the north end; in addition, the letters  $\delta \alpha\gamma(10\varsigma)$  are visible. The blue inner and white outer outlines of the halos put all these fragments in period D.

#### SOUTH APSE AND SOUTHEAST BAY

Most of this is filled with debris up to the beginning of the vault. On the north side of the vault and in the semidome are traces of red outlines of figures.

#### ARCH BETWEEN NAVE AND SOUTHEAST BAY

Under the springing of the arch, at the east end, below cornice level is a figure of Christ, the head of which was disengaged from the debris reaching up to the cornice (fig. 85). The earliest layer of plaster, visible in one or two places, shows traces of green and a cross; it probably belongs to period A. The middle layer continues up to the cornice, which is decorated with two very similar bands of foliated patterns. This middle layer is painted with the figure of Christ which has a red halo and white outlines. The bars of the cross in the halo are plain white, with red outlines and inner lines, possibly indicating jewels. All that is left of the head is a fragment of hair represented by a red ground and yellow hair lines. The background seems to be green.

The figure of Christ on the middle layer probably belongs to period C. It was later repainted, and the arms of the cross were made a brilliant emerald green with a decoration of

circular jewels outlined in red; the new background was bright blue over a yellowish green ground. This repaint belongs to the intermediate period C-D.

The third or upper layer does not appear to have been a complete rendering. The halo remained red, but the bars of the cross were painted in plain yellow with no jewel decoration. The halo has a white inner and a red outer outline. The background color is grey-black but probably had a blue wash. This work might be of period D.

Finally, in period E the halo was repainted blue and given a white outline. Its final diameter is about 37 cm.

#### SOUTHEAST PIER: EAST FACE

In this area the debris is piled up to cornice level, but it looks as if the paintings beneath might be preserved in fair condition. The removal of some debris revealed the existence of layers of plaster below cornice level, but nothing could be seen of the decoration of the first three, except that the second layer was painted with a bright blue background which might assign it to the period C-D. On the fourth and final rendering is a figure of the Archangel Michael inscribed . . . MIXAH. The border frame reaches up onto the cornice, excluding any patterned bands such as those which appear on the cornices of other piers. The halo of the Archangel is about 35 cm in diameter and is yellow with a blue inner and a white outer outline. The background is grey-black; a blue wash has probably powdered away. The lettering is white and the form of the "alpha" is "correct." The face has yellow and brown colors for the flesh (though the brown may be a discoloration), and green shadows. The white highlights are in fine delicate lines over one side of the neck and around the eyes. The feature lines are red and the hair is made with a yellow ground and red lines delineating the curls. There are probably more tones of color in the face, but they are blended with a fine brush and cannot be easily distinguished. The technique used for this face can be usefully compared with the instructions given by Theophilus, Cennini, and Dionysios of Fournà.<sup>179</sup> Parts of a yellow stave and of the upper part of a wing survive; they are made up of a yellow ground, white highlights, and a heavy blue outline. The robe is red, with darker tone for the fold lines, and white highlights. The *loros* is yellow with white pearls and red jewels. The lettering and the blue inner outline of the halo link the figure of Michael with that of Gabriel in the north apse and thus with period D. In fact, so close is the epigraphic style of this panel to that of the Gabriel panel that it suggests the same hand. The face of Michael, with its fine white highlights, may be compared with paintings in the late Serbian monasteries of the Morava school or at Mistra, suggesting a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century date.

179. Theophilus, ed. Dodwell, I, 5-8; Cennini, ed. and trans. D. V. Thompson, Jr., *The Craftsman's Handbook* (New Haven, 1932-33), I, 40-45; II, 42-47; Dionysios of Fournà, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* (St. Petersburg, 1909), pars. 16-23, 20-22; M. Didron, *Manuel d'icongraphie chrétienne* (Paris, 1845), 33-36; D. C. Winfield, "Middle and Later Byzantine Wall Painting Methods. A Comparative Study," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 63-139.

## SOUTHEAST PIER: SOUTHWEST ANGLE

On the narrow west face the single visible layer of plaster appeared to be the lowest. It was decorated with a green cross with dark red tips, and, above it, in green with black outlines, there was a tree flanked by two birds.

## SOUTHEAST PIER: WEST FACE

There are two layers of plaster below the cornice (fig. 86). The lower layer is decorated with a foliated cross similar to that on the north face of the wall between the main and north apses which must be assumed to belong to period A; at the top there are traces of an invocation. The upper layer of plaster survives only at the top of the panel and is inscribed ἡ βασι[τι]σι[ς] in a script suggestive of period D. The background is grey-black; the segment of Heaven and the rays emanating from it are grey.

## SOUTHWEST PIER: EAST FACE

A painting bearing the inscription ὁ ἄγιος Θεόδωρος ὁ [Σ]τρατηλάτης seems to be on the earliest layer of plaster, although it is always possible that an earlier layer fell away before the rendering with St. Theodore was made (pl. 204a, b; fig. 87). The background is grey-black. The inscription is white and its letter forms are bold and irregular; the ligatures of "Theodoros" and the flamboyant terminal "sigmas" have no parallel in the church. The Saint has a red halo measuring 32 cm in diameter, with a thin white outer outline and a broad dark red inner one decorated with white pearls. His red cloak is swept back across the shoulders and the tunic has yellow sleeves decorated with pearls. The breastpiece is yellow with an overall pattern of brown lines imitating chain mail. The stave of the lance is red and has a white tip. The shield has red splotches over a white ground; its rim is yellow and is decorated with pearls and rectangular stones. The hair is made with a yellow field color and red and white lines for the curls. The flesh appears to be a plain yellow with red feature lines. Above the panel is a horizontal decorative pattern of red chevrons.

At the top corners of the panel are remains of a later plaster rendering with a grey-black background. This layer continues on to the narrow north and east faces of the pier angle on one of which is a fret or key pattern similar to those in the north aisle. The upper layer should therefore belong to period D. The figure of St. Theodore Stratilates seems to belong to period B.<sup>180</sup>

## SOUTH AISLE, CENTER BAY: SOUTH WALL

The upper parts of the figures of St. Constantine and St. Helena holding the True Cross are visible (pl. 204b, c) and enough rubble could be cleared away to recover the detail

180. There was rather more left of St. Theodore when D. C. W. first visited the church, but his inspection of the paintings was frequently interrupted by a local crone. She regularly came to peer at him over the south aisle whence she hurled imprecations. On her final visit of the day she appeared brandishing an adze, which D. C. W. greatly feared was intended for him and his wife, but she was diverted from rushing at them by St. Theodore, whose image she attacked with great vigor. There is no fury like that of an iconoclast unleashed, and they fled.

shown in the drawing of figure 88. They are inscribed [Ἐλέ]νι and Κοσταν[τῖνο]ς. Of the four "epsilons" on the horizontal bar of the cross the top one appears as C in the text figure; the left-hand one is visible in plate 205a. The figures, unlike those in Vazelon<sup>181</sup> and in the eastern chapel of St. Sabbas, Trebizond (pl. 174), are correctly placed. The panel is 1 m wide and perhaps 2 m high, framed by red borders. The halos are yellow with inner blue and outer white outlines, and are 40 cm in diameter. The background is grey-black; the foreground was probably green. The lettering is white: the "alpha" and "stigma" should be noted. Helena wears a red tunic with white highlights and a yellow (for gold cloth) *loros* with jewels outlined in blue and white. The kite-shaped end of the *loros*, normally pinned at the waist, is unusually low, suggesting that the painter of Sarmaşıklı, unlike the artists of Vazelon and St. Sabbas, thought it was a purely ornamental *thorakion*. It is decorated with a yellow cross outlined in blue, and with pearls and red stones on the arms of the cross, on the ground, and on the hem. The crowns of both figures appear to be identical—yellow with blue outlines and a similar jewelery of pearls and red stones; possibly there were also green stones whose color has powdered off. Trapezuntine painters undoubtedly knew the difference between the crown of an emperor and that of an empress, as figure 64 from St. Gregory of Nyssa, Trebizond, indicates. Conventionally, however, the crowns of St. Constantine and St. Helena were simplified; here both imperial figures (unlike their counterparts in St. Sabbas and Vazelon) wear what amounts to the crown of an empress, without *prependoulia*.

The faces have a green ground, red feature lines (sometimes finished in black for emphasis), yellow and cream flesh tones, touches of light red, and white highlights. The paintings are so damaged as to make stylistic analysis—though not comparison with analogous figures—impossible; the inner blue halo outline would put the panel in period D.

Beside and to the east of the Constantine and Helena panel is the Nativity. Its inscription, as well as all detail, has gone, but the iconography is clear. The scene is on a second rendering of plaster which in some places adheres so closely to the wall as to suggest that the first layer must have fallen away at the time the second layer was applied. The background is grey-black. The mountains are, unusually, deep green—perhaps resulting from a mold growth on the more normal yellow. The Mother of God has a yellow halo with an inner blue and an outer white outline. From behind the mountains in the top left-hand corner the Heavenly Host emerge; fragments of yellow, green, and red halos are visible among them. One angel has a haematite colored robe with white highlights. Below the Host are remains of the figures of the three Magi and on the right-hand side are a shepherd and an angel. The scene is 1.25 m wide and may have been 2 m high. The same layer of plaster rendering continues round and onto the southeast pilaster, where it is decorated with another example of the fret or key pattern; here the colors are grey-black lines over a yellow ground. The blue halo outline in the Nativity and the recurrence of the fret pattern suggest period D for this work. On the broad, or north, face of the pilaster

181. See p. 292.

are the remains of a standing saint whose yellow halo has a blue inner and a white outer outline. Both this and another figure with a similar inner blue halo outline, on the corresponding face of the southwest pilaster, must also belong to period D.

*History and Date.* Since no documentary or epigraphic evidence for the church exists its history must be determined from its structure and decoration. The structure has been discussed elsewhere, but several points made there by D. C. W. now need modifying.<sup>182</sup> In particular it should be noted that the inscribed pastophories can no longer be regarded as unique for the area—an early example is now the church at Kabaköy.<sup>183</sup>

The paintings are so badly damaged that, with two or three exceptions, no stylistic or iconographic analysis is possible. However, a sequence can be established among them.

The earliest layer of plaster (period A) is characterized by a non-figural decoration of crosses. Subdivisions according to types of crosses might be ventured: floreated with supplicatory inscriptions (fig. 81A–D); floreated without inscription (fig. 82); and an unfloreated one with birds (fig. 86). Crosses recur throughout Byzantine art.<sup>184</sup> They appear among the earliest decorations in many Cappadocian churches, as well as in Trebizond at Manglavita (No. 49) and the Nakıp Camii (No. 53), in Matzouka at Pipat (No. 7), and at Aynalı Mağara near Amaseia.<sup>185</sup> It would be unwise, however, to relate such crosses necessarily to Iconoclasm.

Period B is represented by the blurred image of a mounted saint on the north wall, partially visible below the Koimesis scene, and by the figure of St. Theodore Stratilates on the east face of the southwest pier. The former must have been painted on dry plaster, for the colors have run to such an extent that only the outlines can be distinguished with difficulty. The latter was better preserved in 1959 than in 1962. The painting is characterized by a certain rustic simplicity; there is no subtlety of technique and the predominant yellow and red ochres recall the earlier figural work in the Cappadocian churches. The exuberant decoration of the lettering might suggest a later period, but it seems to D. C. W., who would venture an eighth-century date for period A, that a ninth- or tenth-century date would not be unreasonable for period B. However, A. A. M. B. notes that no securely dated painting of before 1204 exists in the entire Pontos for comparison and that dates after 1204 for the church and all its periods would be more consistent with historical probability.<sup>186</sup>

182. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt.* 12 (1962), 140–42.

183. See p. 314.

184. See D. Talbot Rice, "The Leaved Cross," *Byzantinoslavica*, 11 (1950), 72–81, esp. figs. 1–8; Xyngopoulos, *Oi τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Ὁρρανοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1964), pls. 152–53.

185. D. Winfield, "Aynalı Mağara, Amasya," *JÖBG*, 20 (1971), 281–93.

186. See Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1973), 291–93. Equally unsubstantiated is the statement in I. Wilson, *The Turin Shroud* (Harmondsworth, 1979), 134, that a painting of the *mandylion* of Edessa existed in Trebizond before 1204; apart from the fact that it is not possible to date any Pontic wall painting before 1204, none appears to be of the *mandylion*.

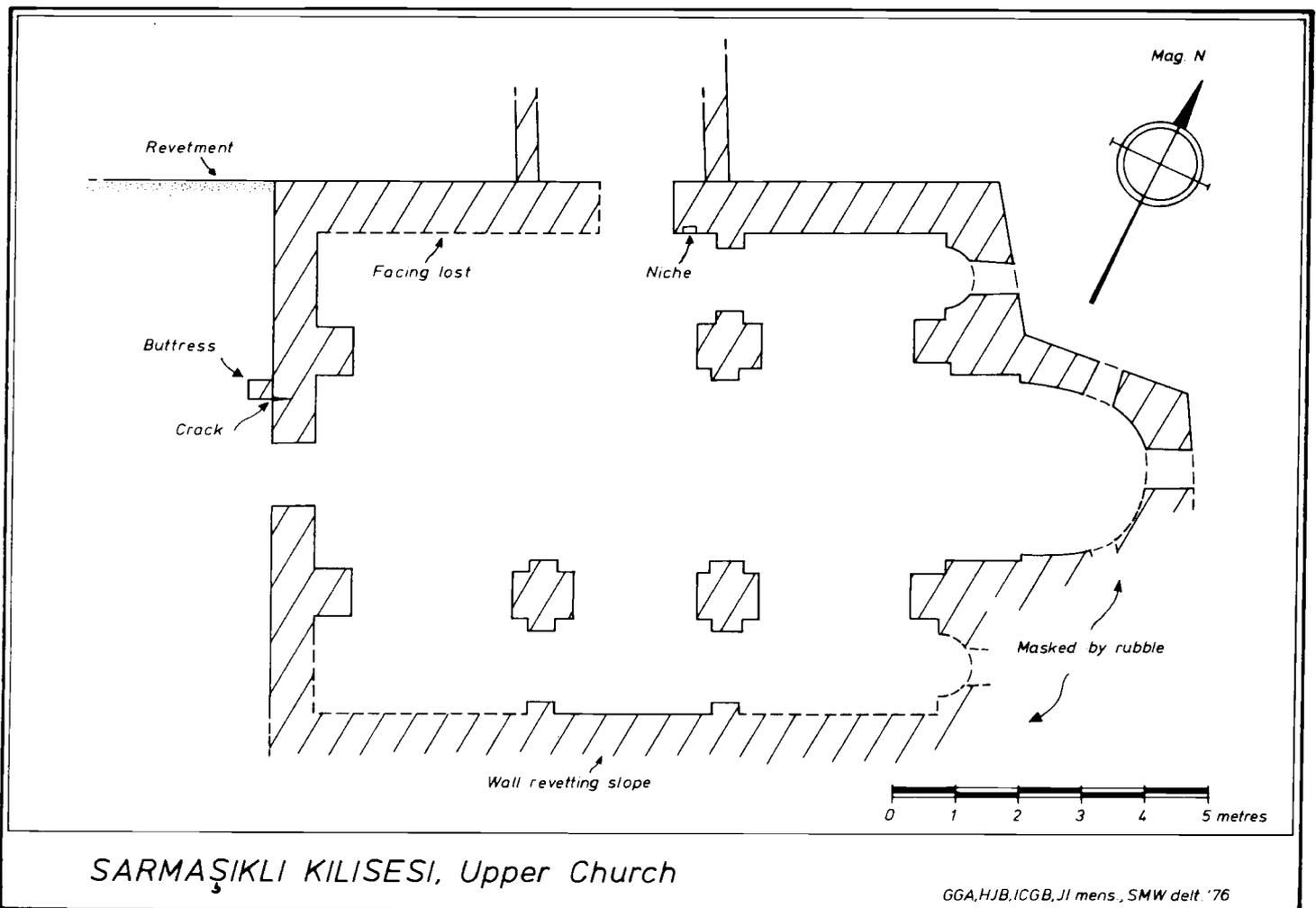
Periods C and D are characterized by a red halo outline, or red halos and a bright blue background painted over a green ground. To this stage belong the middle of the three plaster layers for the Mother of God, St. George, and Christ, and the second of the four plaster layers for the Archangel Michael. As there is inadequate evidence for a separate classification, D. C. W. has also assigned the repainting of these figures to periods C or D. Plaster layers and repaints proclaim the existence of such periods but not enough stylistic detail survives to allow discussion of their date.

The remaining work probably all belongs to period D, although there are inconsistencies of letter styles within it (notably between the neat and regular forms of the Koimesis inscription and the more exuberant and individual styles in the inscriptions of the two Archangels). The paintings are on a second or third layer of plaster and virtually all are characterized by blue inner outlines of the halos. The repainting of Christ on the west face of the southeast dividing arch may belong to a final period E, which cannot be dated.

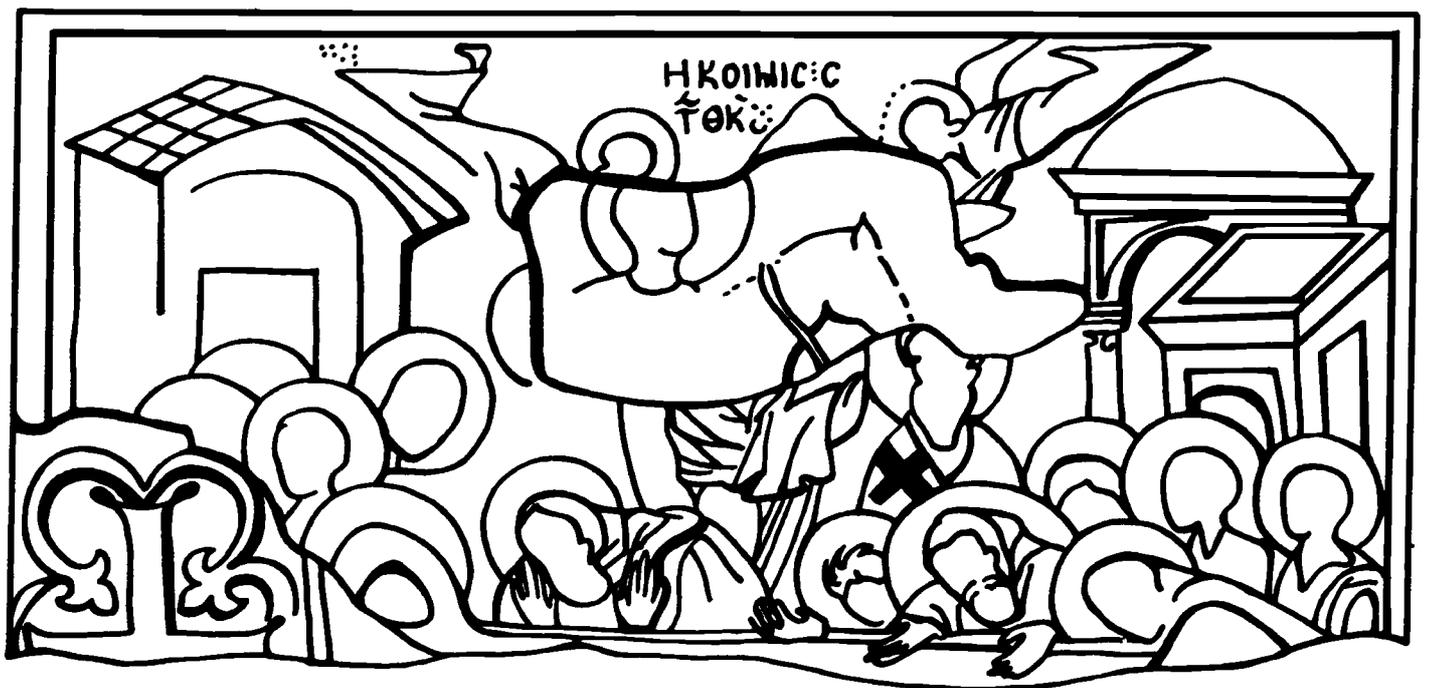
We have thus a church with at least four periods of painting. We can hazard a date only for the penultimate period D. First, a negative consideration: we know of no dated or datable wall painting in the Pontos in the period between 1461 and the early eighteenth century,<sup>185</sup> and period D is not post-Byzantine; indeed, the half-submerged ruins of the church suggest that it was abandoned before the modern era. With three previous stages of decoration preceding it, period D should not, however, be assigned to a time before the last century of the Empire of Trebizond. The complex architectural background of the Koimesis scene and the angular letter forms in the Archangel inscriptions indeed point to a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date.

If this is correct, Sarmaşıklı period D would fall into a group of late Trapezuntine wall paintings which include the later work at the Hagia Sophia and the earlier work at Kaymaklı, both at Trebizond, the church of 1391 at Sachnoe,<sup>186</sup> the chapel of 1411 at the monastery of St. Sabbas, Trebizond, and (probably) the chapel at Vazelon. Comparison will reveal how relatively distinguished is the work elsewhere: a direct comparison can be made between the figures of St. Constantine and St. Helena at Sarmaşıklı (fig. 88, pl. 204c), and the same figures on the west wall of the east chapel of St. Sabbas, painted in 1411. But St. Sabbas, the Hagia Sophia, Vazelon, and Sachnoe were monasteries, or dependents of monasteries, with imperial patrons, while Sarmaşıklı seems to have been no more than a remote village church. Perhaps it would be fairer to look for more "provincial" parallels for it within the Trapezuntine world. One is provided by the painting, apparently of St. Constantine, in the cave chapel of Crimean Mangoup, a fortress of the Greek princes of Gotthia, relatives and allies of the Grand Komnenoi. Here the crown lacking *prependoulia*, the rustic air, and much of the color scheme are closer to Sarmaşıklı than to St. Sabbas. The work at Mangoup has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.<sup>187</sup>

187. Millet and Rice, *Painting*, 70, 124, pl. xxv (3); O. I. Dombrovsky, *Freski srednevekovogo Kryma* (Kiev, 1966), pl. 53; A. and J. Stylianou, "By this conquer" (Nicosia, 1971), 33–36, figs. 21, 22.

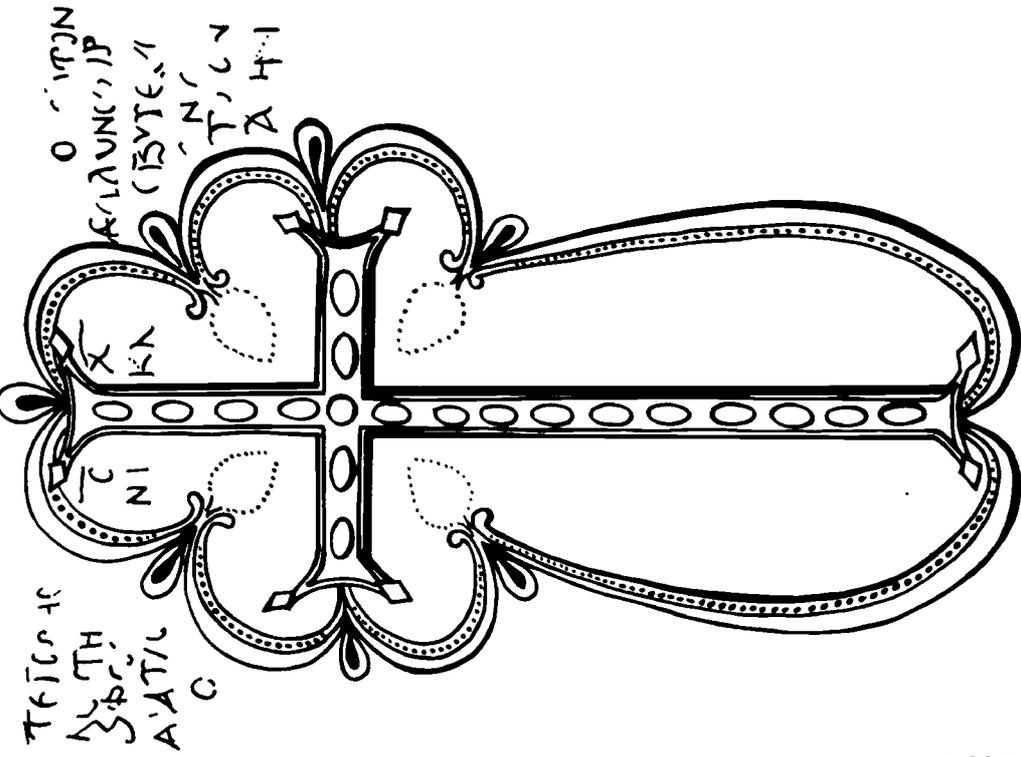


79. Plan

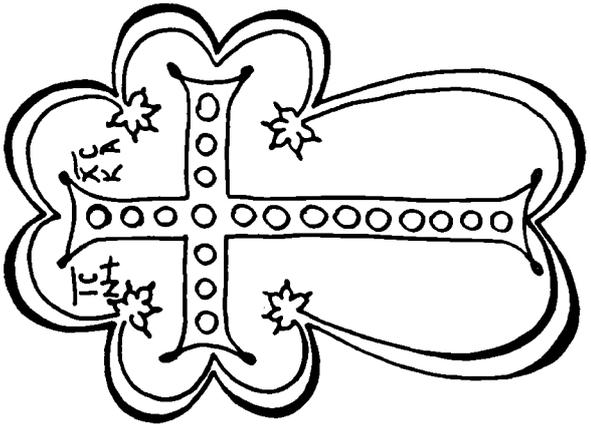


80. North Wall. Lower Register with Three Layers of Paint

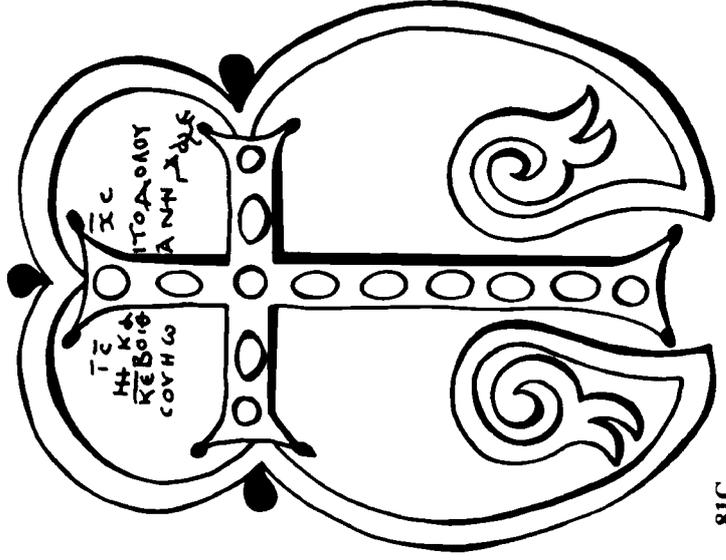
Matzouka, Sarmaşıklı



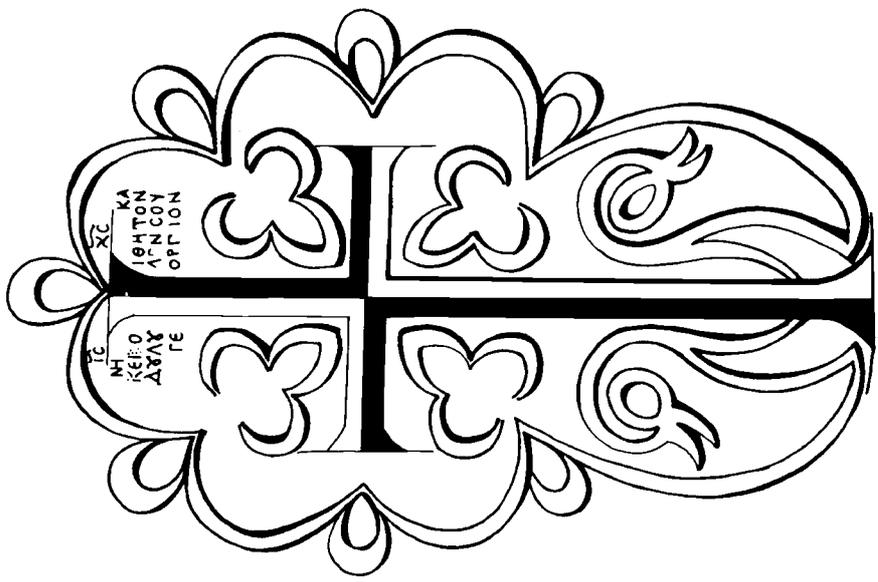
81D.



81B.

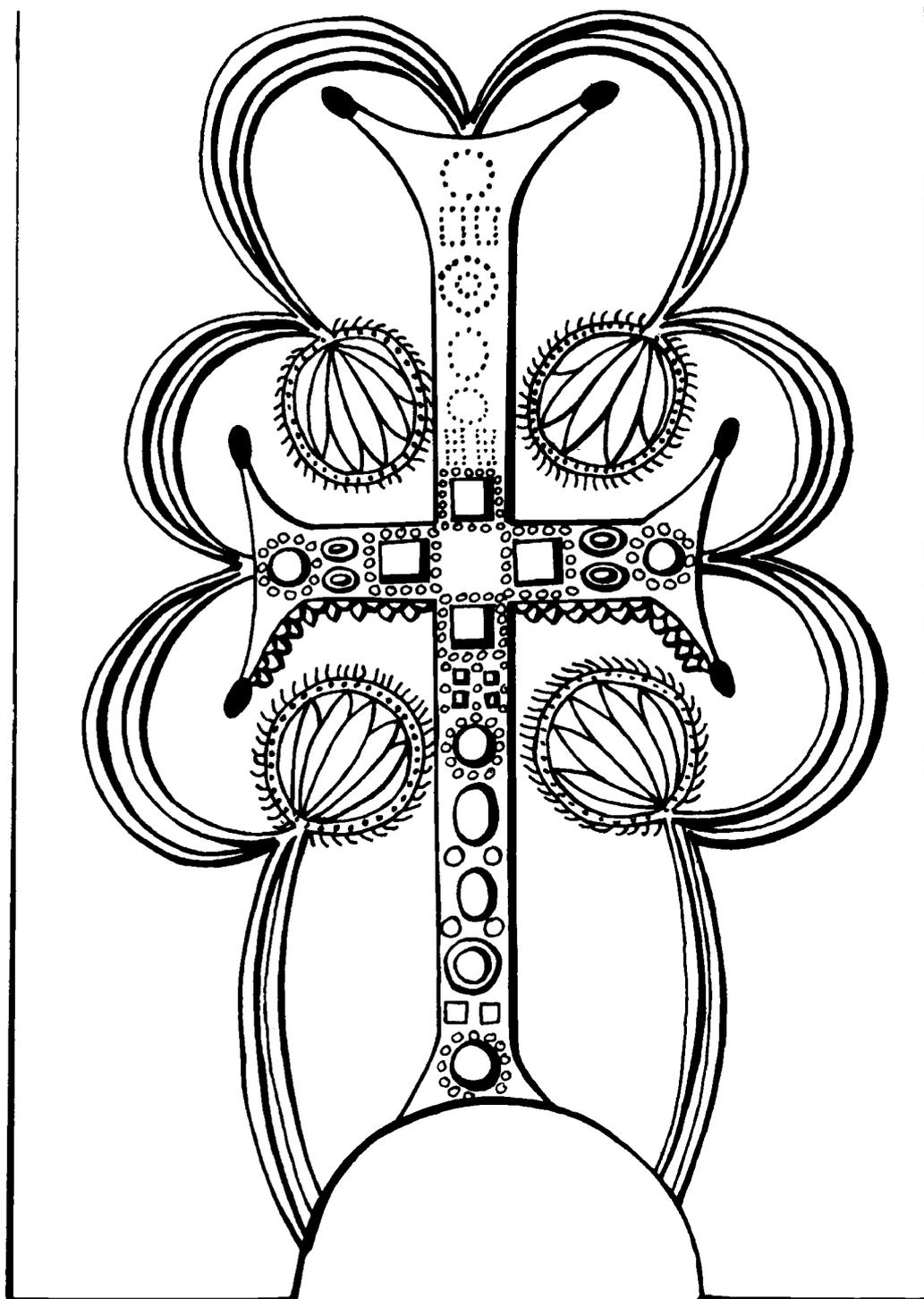


81C.



81A.

Matzouka, Sarmaşıklı,  
Upper Church.  
Painted Crosses



0 1 Meter

82. Matzouka, Sarmaşıklı, Upper Church. Painted Cross on Arch between Nave and Northeast Bay



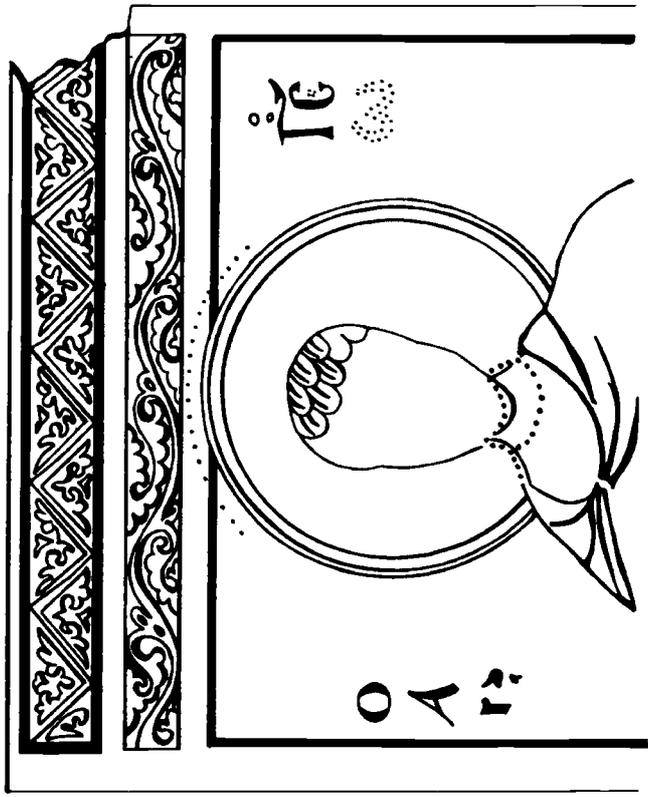
0 1 Meter

83. North Wall. Sts. Theodore and Eugenios

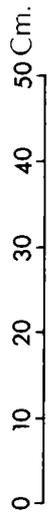
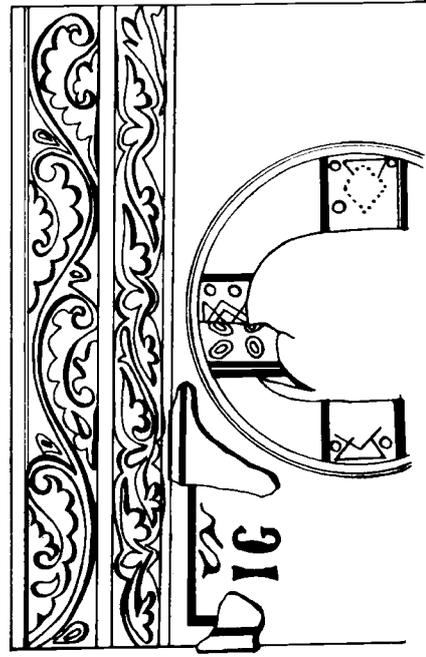


0 10 20 30 40 50 Cm.

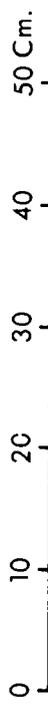
83A. Arch between Nave and Northeast Bay. Theotokos



84. Northeast Pier, East Face. St. George



85. Arch between Nave and Southeast Bay. Head of Christ



84A. Northeast Pier, Northeast Angle, Narrow Faces. Half-figures and Heads

Matzouka, Sarmaşıklı, Upper Church

Hilarion (16 December), and St. Eleutherios and St. Leonides (8 August).

The next panel represents a nimbed and bearded figure stretched out horizontally on what might be a rack (fig. 94). One tormentor holds the martyr's hands, a second has his arm upraised, perhaps in the act of flogging him. The scene is 76 cm long, but since its upper part has fallen away it was not possible to measure its height. The martyr could conceivably be St. Lawrence (15 August). In both panels the scenes are decidedly obscure and it might be ventured that the painter, whose iconography and sense of decorative programming was obviously uncertain, wanted to depict tortures without having any particular martyrs in mind.

*Date.* The condition of the paintings is such that no dating by style is possible. However, a comparison might be made between the rather mannered letter forms in the scrolls held by the Fathers and those of period D in the Upper Church at Sarmaşıklı, Geyikli;<sup>194</sup> Some similarity can also be observed between the hem decorations of the Fathers and those found in the apse of the chapel at Phantak, Çakılca.<sup>195</sup> A date within the period of the Empire of Trebizond seems likely and the letter forms suggest a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century one. Thus all three of the monuments of Sarmaşıklı could, chronologically, form part of the medieval *chorion* of Zouza which was geographically centered on what is now Kapuköy.

#### 12. St. John Theologos, at Dikaisimon, Maçka

*Situation.* On a hill near, and to the southwest of, Maçka.<sup>196</sup>

*Architecture.* A single-apsed basilica, almost square in plan, with gabled roof, 2.05 m high. The height of the walls ranged from 1.46 m to 1.73 m. The door was 0.74 m wide; above it was a roughly cut cross in a niche. The church was built of large irregular blocks, faced with mortar.

*Decoration.* The walls were painted with a Gospel cycle, and the ceiling with busts of prophets and apostles in medallions, which were decorated with feathery flourishes. Protasoff illustrates two of the medallions, that of David in a vermilion chlamys lined with pearls and with brown folds, and that of Isaiah in a red-brown garment. Chrysanthos notes the appropriate inscriptions on their scrolls.<sup>197</sup>

*Date.* Protasoff proposed a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date for the painting; the style of the lettering suggests that he may be right. The church was still in use in 1917, but had gone by 1962.

#### 13. St. Theodore, at Dikaisimon, Maçka

*Situation.* On a rock above the village.

*History.* Attested in the thirteenth century, this church is said to have survived until this century, but we have found no sign of it.<sup>198</sup>

194. See p. 269.

195. See p. 277.

196. Protasoff, *Byzantion*, 4 (1928), 420–22 and fig. 22; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 136.

197. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 464–66 and fig. 62.

198. Lazaropoulos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 119; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 400, 464; Janin, *EMGCB*, 271.

#### 14. Chaba, Hava

*Situation.* On the west bank of the Prytanis, 4 km southwest of Dikaisimon.

*History.* D. C. W. was informed that the church of this village, which was controlled by Vazelon in the fourteenth century, is now ruined. We have not seen it.<sup>199</sup>

#### 15. Spelia, İspela, Ocaklı

*Situation.* Spelia stands beneath the Phianoë pastures and escarpment and above the north bank of the Moulaka, 6 km southwest of Dikaisimon. In 1961 seven churches or chapels were reported to D. C. W. Two were destroyed when the school in the upper village was built; ruins of a third were about 200 m northwest of them. Three more were reported in the surrounding hills but were not visited. The seventh church (shown in pl. 205) stands on a small spur about 500 m below the village mosque, on the track which runs up to Spelia from Mexyla. This is the building discussed here.<sup>200</sup>

*Architecture.* A barrel-vaulted single-apsed basilica, with a single south door, and a single window—a slit in the apse of the same size on the interior as the exterior. It was impossible to obtain access to the interior, but a rib could be discerned in the vault, east of the door, and there may be blind arches in the north and south walls. The masonry is of roughly squared blocks of local reddish stone, which perhaps betrays a manganese content (there is a manganese mine nearby). The cornice, quoins, block in which the window is set, door lintel, and facing stones of the arch above the door are of good ashlar masonry in a coarse yellow limestone. Stone slates cover the low-gabled roof, which reaches a height of about 4 m. The church is oriented at 95°. There appear to be foundations of a building on the south side (if they are not natural rock), but no signs of it having abutted, or been jointed into, the south wall.

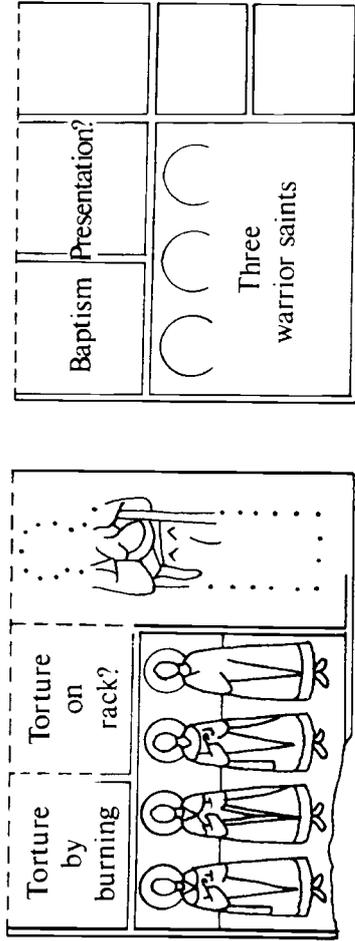
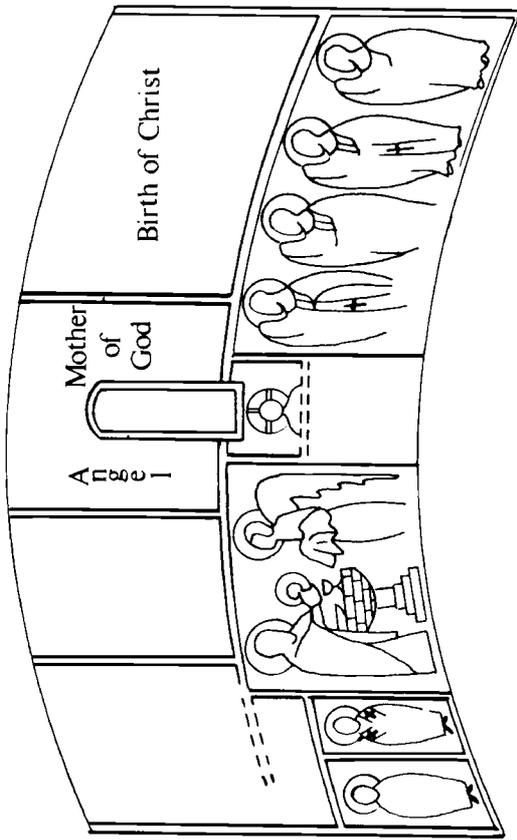
*Exterior Painting.* There had been painting on the south wall, which is now reduced to scattered scraps of red borders, grey-black backgrounds, and yellow, green, and red coloring. There are two layers of painted plaster at one point beneath the cornice to the east of the door. The later layer carries a fragment of a halo with red inner, and white outer outlines.

Remains of a yellow halo with a white outline, a grey-black background, and a red border, in the molding of the arch of the lunette above the door are enough to show that it was painted with a bust, perhaps representing the patron of the church. The plaster is of lime with a straw or chaff binding. Beneath it are traces of red paint showing the shape of a foliated cross on the roughcast ground which evened up the surface before the final plastering was applied.

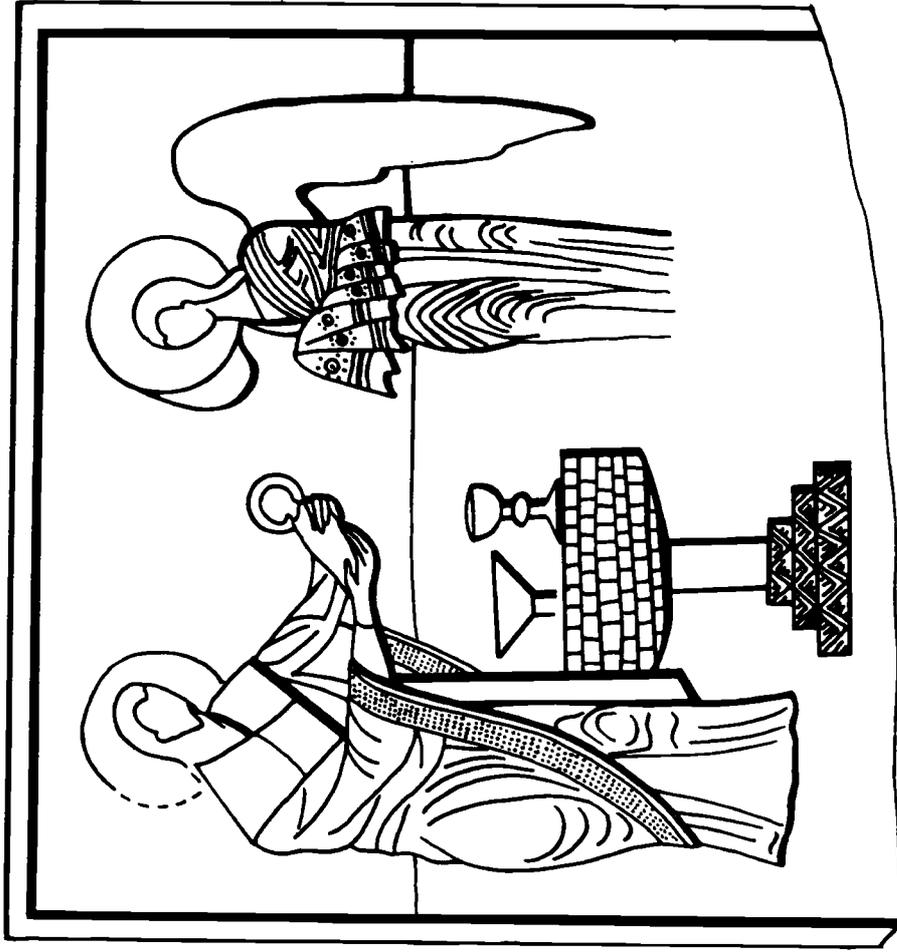
*Identification and Date.* The indifferent masonry is of little help for the dating, but the fragments of painted plaster suggest a medieval date. The nearest church which also had external painting is at Sachnoe (No. 25), 6 km due south and near Spelia's thirteenth-century *stasis* at Aitherisa. Sachnoe was painted for an abbot of Vazelon in 1391 (pls. 214, 215a, b). But, although Vazelon also enjoyed ecclesiastical and other rights in Spelia from the thirteenth century (or earlier)

199. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 259.

200. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 261 (misspelled Iaspela).

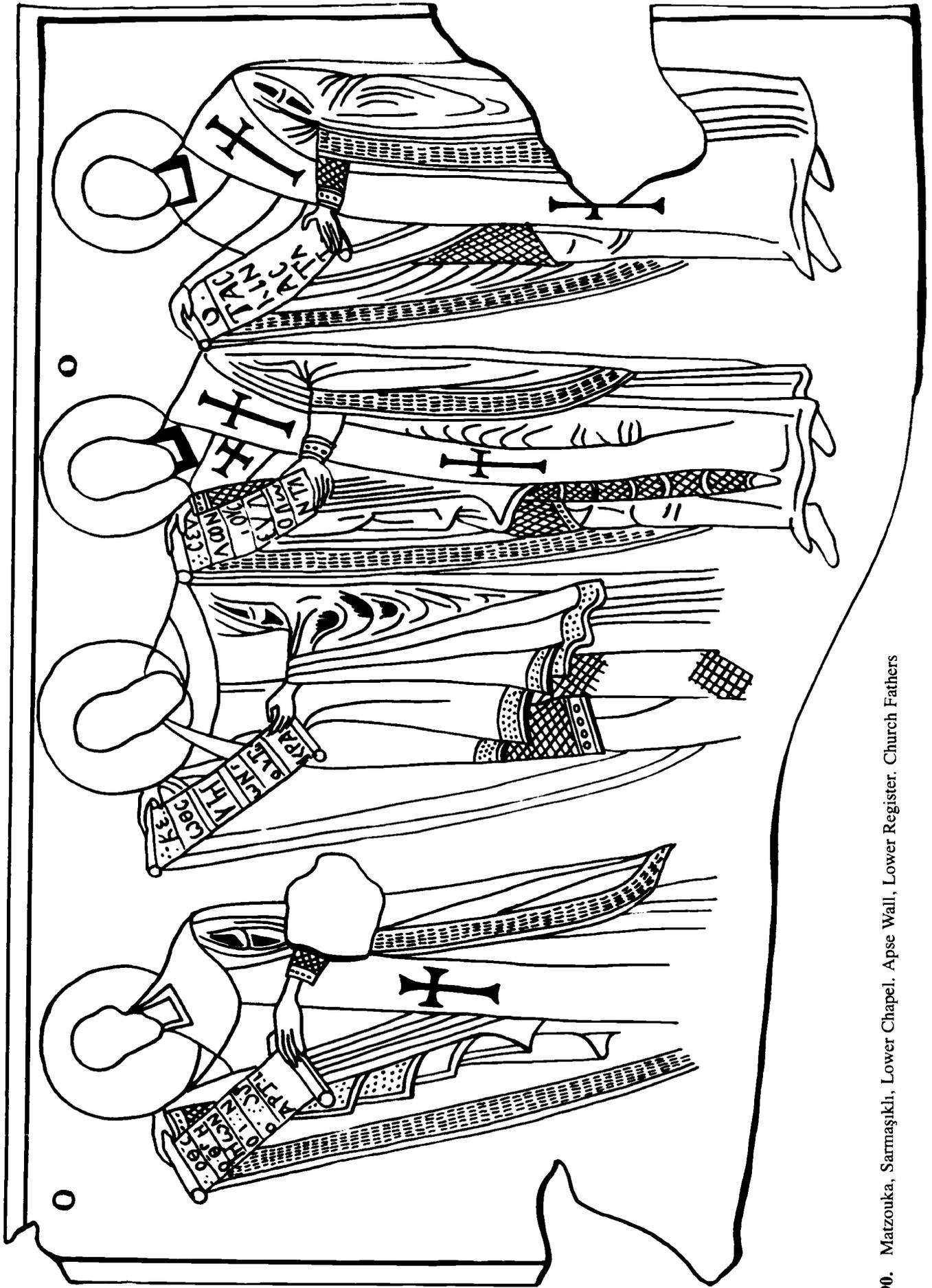


88A. Layout of Wall Paintings: top, Apse; left, North Wall; right, South Wall



89. Apse Wall, Lower Register. Liturgy

Matzouka, Sarmaşklı, Lower Chapel



90. Matzouka, Sarmaşıklı, Lower Chapel. Apse Wall, Lower Register. Church Fathers



0 10 20 30 40 50 Cm.

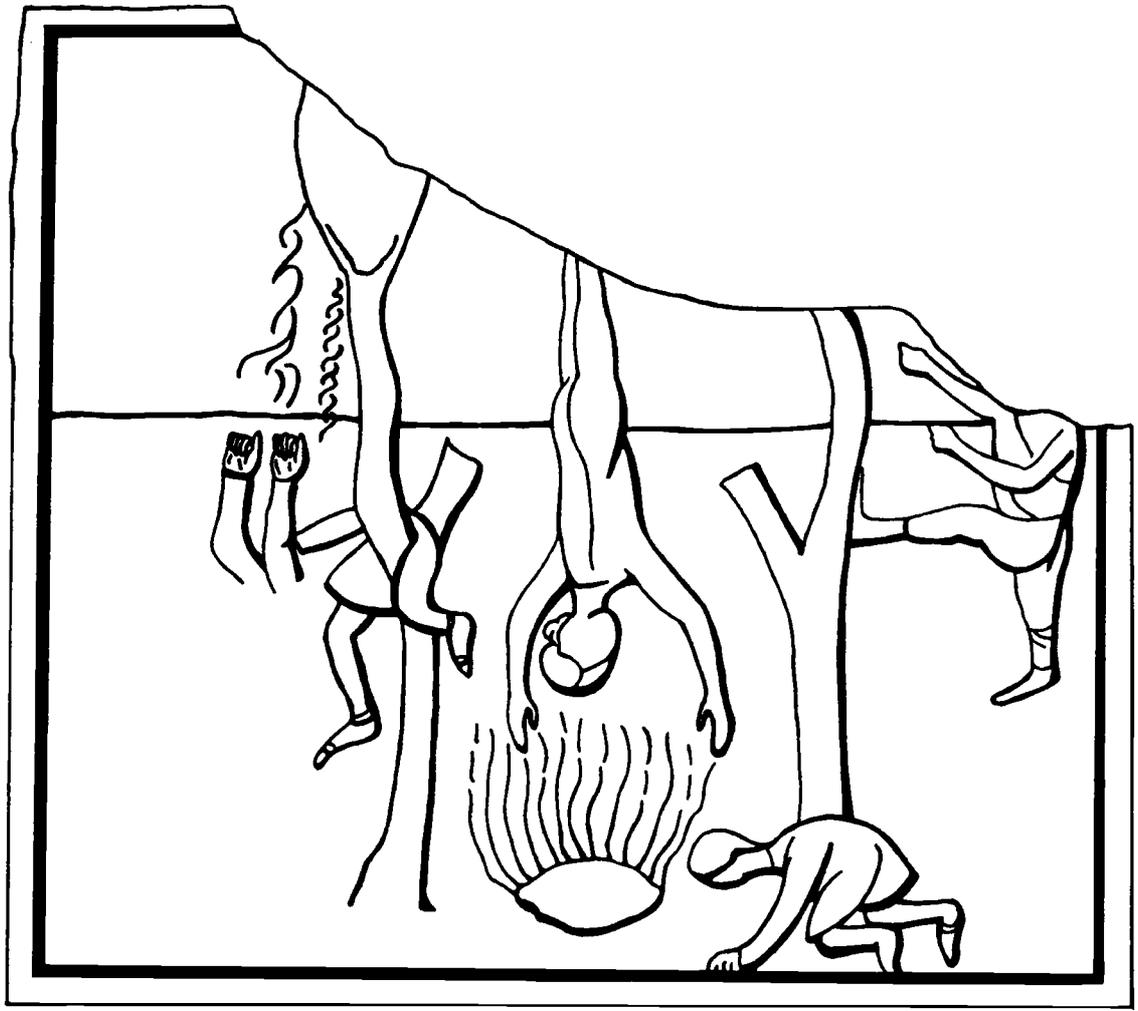
91. Standing Figure



0 1 Meter

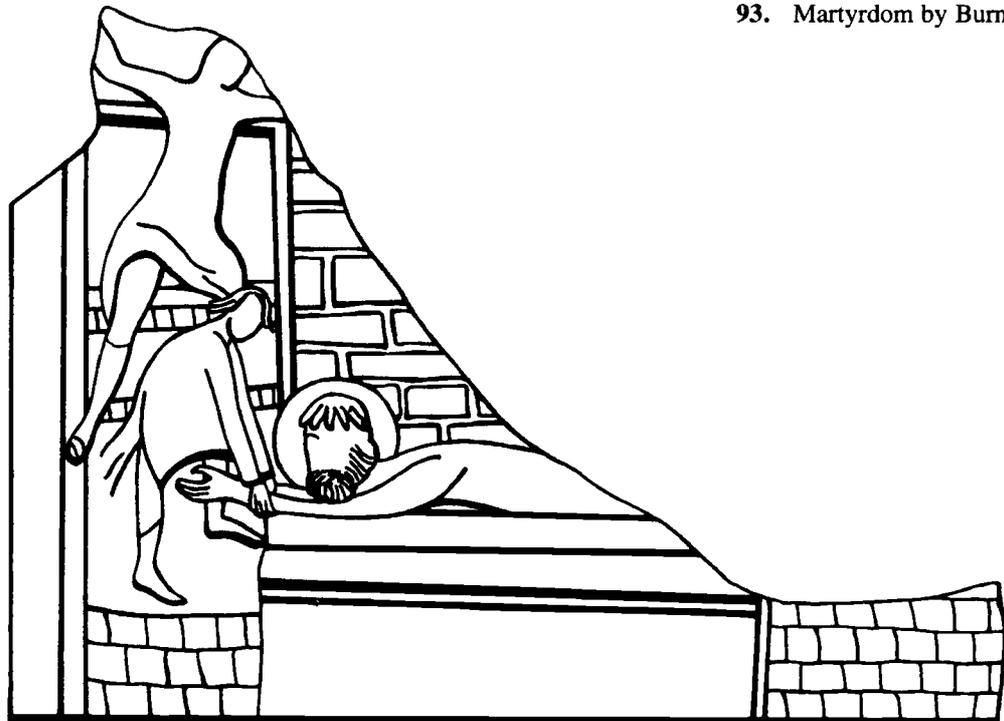
92. Lower Register. Four Figures

Matzouka, Sarmaşıklı, Lower Chapel, North Wall



0 10 20 30 40 50 Cm.

93. Martyrdom by Burning



0 10 20 30 40 50 Cm.

94. Martyrdom on the Rack

until after 1874, the only church attested in the village is the one recorded by Kyriakides, who also noted the Sachnoe inscription. Kyriakides' information came from a note of the Spelia inscription in a now lost cartulary of Vazelon. Confidence in the accuracy of the proofreading of his article is not encouraged by the fact that the place is named Σπέλλα. At all events, he stated that the church of St. John Prodromos there had been founded by Manuel the Porphyrogenetos in 1179 (presumably Σχπζ' = A.M. 6687 = A.D. 1178/79). Kyriakides, Uspenskij, and Chrysanthos therefore identified the founder as the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos of Constantinople (1143–80). This identification, however, is highly unlikely. First, it is difficult to conceive why the then dispirited Emperor Manuel should wish to endow a church in a remote village south of Trebizond, an area he never visited or otherwise patronized. His general Michael Gabras might be postulated as an intermediary; but in 1175 he and his Trapezuntine troops had disgraced themselves by abandoning Amaseia to the Turks and Gabras was imprisoned. Manuel would have been in no mood to favor the area, even on the absurdly modest scale of this or other surviving buildings of Spelia. Second, it is even more difficult to conceive why, given an emperor as a donor (especially Manuel, who had, in his novel of 1166, boasted more splendid titles than any Byzantine emperor since Justinian), the author of the foundation inscription should have named him simply "Manuel the Porphyrogenetos." This Manuel was evidently of imperial lineage but was not, or not yet, an emperor. Another Manuel must be found.<sup>201</sup>

The only Manuel known to have been designated heir-apparent to the throne of Trebizond was Alexios III's son. This Manuel was born in 1365, and became heir on 14 March 1376, when his half-brother Andronikos, previously designated heir, fell from a palace window. Manuel also inherited Andronikos' Georgian fiancée as wife. The village of Spelia, or part of it, was certainly an imperial one, for in 1386 Alexios was able to grant it to Vazelon. When Manuel finally succeeded to the throne as Manuel III in 1390, he patronized local Matzoukan monasteries too. We propose, therefore, that Kyriakides, or a scribe of Vazelon, or a nineteenth-century proofreader, misread Σωπζ' (A.M. 6887 = A.D. 1378/79) as Σχπζ', that St. John Prodromos was founded by Manuel (III) then, two years after he had succeeded Andronikos as designated heir to the throne, and that the epithet *porphyrogenetos* (rare but not unknown in Trebizond), quietly emphasizes that while Andronikos, Alexios III's favorite son, had been illegitimate, it was Manuel who was the Emperor's legitimate heir. Even the taciturn Panaretos made the point under 1376: "the new emperor, Kyr Manuel and Grand Komnenos, the younger, legitimate, and lawful son of our emperor."<sup>202</sup>

201. Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 361; Uspenskij, *Vazelon*, p. v, and Acts 70 of 1260, 103 of 1386, and 106 of the 13th century (Spelia moved into Mountanton *stasis* in the 14th century); Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 489; Bryer, "Gabrades," 180; Vasiliev, *Goths*, 140–41; Janin, *EMGCB*, 287: "L'interprétation paraît très suspecte." Significantly, Ioannides, *Historia*, 241, confuses Manuel I Komnenos with Manuel III Grand Komnenos in connection with Soumela.

202. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75, 78, 80; Bryer, *Thesis*, I, 307–12.

Our proposed redating of St. John Prodromos, Spelia, to 1378/79 would make it part of the intensive building and decorating of churches known to have taken place in Matzouka in the decades before and after Manuel III's accession in 1390; for example Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11, 22, and especially, 25—Sachnoe of 1390/91. But the question still remains as to whether our church at Spelia is St. John Prodromos. It might be answered if a key could be found to its door.

#### 16. Angürga (pl. 206)

*Situation.* Crossing to the west bank of the Prytanis, about 2 km south of Dikaisimon, thirty-five minutes' climb brings one to modern Angürga—its medieval name is unknown. There are ruins on the edge of a flattish spur overlooking the valley.

*Architecture.* The ruins of a small loose-stone chapel may be of almost any date, but the presence of some larger, well-dressed rectangular blocks, perhaps reused, suggest that the site is an old one.<sup>203</sup>

#### 17. Doubera, Libera, Yazlık: Castle (pl. 207a)

*Situation.* The castle stands about 350 m above the Panagia (Meryemana) River, 2 km southeast of Dikaisimon, from which it is readily visible.

*Architecture.* The site consists of a spur of rock which juts out of the north side of the valley. The only extant masonry is across the neck which links the spur to the hillside (pl. 207a). It is faced with roughly squared stones, laid in regular courses; an even surface is achieved with heavy lime pointing and smaller stones. The core is of mortared rubble. The surviving wall is about 2.10 m thick at the base, tapering to about 1.50 m. It now stands about 10 m high.

There is no trace of any other masonry. The walls must have followed the contours of the spur, enclosing its flat top of about 30 by 13 paces. But the sides are steep, and wood may have sufficed for other walls.

*History.* The site overlooks the junction of the Prytanis, Pyxites, and the Panagia rivers, an obvious position for a watchtower castle to observe the Soumela and Matzouka valleys, but too precarious a place for more than a watchtower. Chortokopion (No. 2) would have served as the most substantial defensive place of the area. But it was at Doubera that the polemarch Theodore held the *Melik* in 1223, and a possible terminus for the present structure may be mention of a *kastron* of 300 aspers a year, which Soumela was enjoined to hold against the Turks in the bull of 1364.<sup>204</sup> Doubera was capital of the Soumela estates; this castle is the only one known upon them, so we therefore propose that it was built before 1364.

#### 18. St. John Prodromos Grotto at Doubera, Libera, Yazlık (pl. 207b, c)

*Situation.* Ruins of two chapels and a cell lie in and on a tall outcrop of rock about half way up the track from the Dikaisimon-Soumela road to Doubera village, on the west

203. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 259–60, where Angürga is mistakenly identified with Dianeiacha.

204. Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 99, 135; and note 37 above.

side. The site was visited by Protassoff in 1917, by Talbot Rice in 1929, and by D. C. W. in 1957 and 1960.<sup>205</sup>

*Architecture.* The first chapel is a simple rectangle with a rounded apse on top of the rock (pl. 207b). The masonry is of rough stone, with a few well-dressed blocks which may well be spoils from an earlier building. It is uncoursed, but the uneven stonework is heavily pointed up with lime mortar to offer a more weather-resistant surface. Wooden beams were used in the construction; there is a rectangular window in the south wall. There are no traces of painted plaster on either the exterior or interior. As some of the rock has fallen away, the first chapel is now difficult to reach. As it now stands, it is probably not so old as the second chapel.

Below the first chapel, in the lower part of the rock, is what appears to be a natural cave, for no attempt has been made to even up the rock surface. A small, second, chapel was made of it by closing the east entrance with a wall which was, in 1917, 1.05 m high. A small cell was created on the south side of the chapel by another wall built across the south entrance. Protassoff found that the cave and construction were no more than 2.34 m long and 2.18 m high; in 1917 there still was a small altar. D. C. W. found that the masonry of the apse had fallen, but most of the south wall survived, through which a small window gave a spectacular view across the valley.

*Painting.* Protassoff found that the sanctuary had been completely painted on the interior and exterior, but the work was already deteriorating in 1917 and by 1929 was even further damaged. In 1917 the best-conserved painting was in two square panels with brownish borders above the entrance, the first of a saint and the second of the Panagia Galaktotrophousa. The colors were ochre on a greenish background, with white highlights. In the interior the best-preserved paintings were on the east wall and consisted largely of busts of saints. On the left, in a medallion of 0.32 m diameter, was an elderly saint with pointed beard, wearing an *omophorion*. In the center were two saints, 0.52 m high, each with white hair and a forelock. The inscription . . . ΜΙΑΝΩ beside one enabled Protassoff to identify them as Sts. Cosmas and Damianos. On the right was a series of martyrs and, maybe, prophets. Among them St. Panteleimon, a young man with curly hair, holding a box, was identified by inscription. Next to him an old saint with pointed beard blessed with the right hand. Below these figures was a dado painted ochre with stylized water lilies. All this had been carried away with the collapse of the apse by 1957.

In 1957–60 the interior walls of the cave were still evened up with a roughcast rendering of mortar, which was covered by a surface plaster of lime with a straw or chaff binder. There were two layers in one place on the south wall of the chapel, each bearing traces of paint. Unless this is simply an overlap formed by the joint of two plaster sections, it may indicate two periods of decoration.

205. Protassoff, *Byzantion*, 4 (1928), 422–25 (the only statement of the dedication to the Prodomos, taken from local Greeks in 1917); Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 71; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 136 (pointing out that Protassoff's directions to Nos. 12 and 17 should be reversed). Cf. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 467; Janin, *EMGCB*, 282.

The few fragments of painted plaster which remain confirm that the entire chapel had been decorated. The most prominent surviving colors are red and yellow, but there is a little green, and a scene on the south side had a grey background. Three standing figures can be made out. Their surviving garment colors suggest that the painter used a simple two-tone system on an overall ground color, with fold lines in a darker tone of the same color.

Whereas Protassoff found stylized water lilies on the now lost eastern dado, the dado on the south wall is decorated with a frieze of seven or eight animals with red outlines. Among them are a running deer with antlers and two animals fighting, one of which is badly wounded, his body being rendered with a yellow ground on which large spots of red indicate blood.

It has been argued, in the case of Byzantine relief sculpture, that such scenes have remote origins in Sassanian hunting friezes, but in the modest examples of Matzouka there could be two more likely traditions. First, they may contain Aesopic reminiscences, as in the paintings in a room above the church at Eski Gümüş, near Niğde; and in the church at Sanxenou, close to Doubera (No. 19). But the Doubera scenes do not seem to add up to any Aesopic fable. Second, there seems to have been a local and not surprising tradition of decoration with animals and hunting scenes. A deer is depicted in red outline on the exterior of one of the upper chapels of Soumela; in another example, dated as late as 1875, a hunter with dog, shoots a bird in a tree, in the exterior wall painting over the entrance to a second floor cell in Vazelon.<sup>206</sup> We suggest that our animal dado belongs to this local tradition.

Protassoff's figure of the Panagia on the exterior of the chapel has now gone, but in 1957–60 there remained a small patch of painting on the outer wall of the cell (pl. 207c). It depicts a bearded male figure and a small female one. The faces are made with a yellow ground color, red feature lines, and striking white highlight lines which give an intense expression to the face of the old man. This figure has a yellow halo with a red inner and a white outer outline. The female figure has a thin white outline to her red halo. Only a guess can be made as to the identification of this scene, but the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimos would be appropriate for a hermitage such as this evidently was.<sup>207</sup>

206. Sirarpi Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar. Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 25–26; A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople* (Paris, 1963), 79–80; D. Winfield, "Some early medieval figure sculpture from north-east Turkey," *JWarb* (1968), 41–42, 65; M. Gough, "The monastery of Eski Gümüş," *AnatSt*, 15 (1965), 162–64, fig. 1; Tsakalof, *BZ*, 19 (1910), 119–21; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 291 and pl. 90. D. C. W. suggests that the Soumela deer may be part of the scene of the vision of St. Eustathios; see No. 9.

207. S. Radojčić, "Une poenitentium, Maria Egipatska u vrspskoj umetnosti 14 v.," *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja*, 4 (Belgrade, 1964), 25 ff.; Miller and Rice, *Painting*, 37, 152; Restle, *Wall painting*, II, X (Göreme Chapel, 7, Tokalı Kilise); A. and J. Stylianou, *Asinou* (Nicosia, 1973), 19, 59–60, and pl. 8; Nafsika Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la Chapelle de la Vierge de Mérenta. Deux monuments du XIIIe siècle en Attique* (Salonika, 1976), 54, 60, 61, and pl. 49; Doula Mouriki, *The frescoes of the church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens, 1975), 33.

*Date.* Cave churches are common enough in the Pontos up to the Ottoman conquest, but an establishment of a new one is not known thereafter. The grotto of St. John Prodromos would have belonged to Soumela, but does not figure among the cells and hermitages of that monastery listed by Kyriakides. On stylistic grounds, Protassoff ventured a thirteenth- to fourteenth-century date for the paintings; D. C. W. is inclined to agree, noting that the highlights in the face of what may be St. Zosimas (pl. 207c) point to a date later than the twelfth century.<sup>208</sup>

19. St. Theodore, or the Evangelistria, at Sanxenou, Sansenou

*Situation.* Midway between Doubera, Yazlık, and Zouza, Kapuköy, with about half an hour in each direction, and about 3 km east of Dikaisimon, Maçka. The site has not been reported since Tsakalof's account of 1908, on which the following is based.<sup>209</sup>

*Decoration and Inscriptions.* An inscription in the sanctuary read: σινβιον και τεκνον αυτου ευχου | Ιωαννης . . . (about 9 letters) . . . υπερ ψυχικης | σοστριας τον δουλον του Θεου | Κοσταντινου ,5 ψιβ' (A.M. 6912 = A.D. 1403/4). On the exterior of the west wall was a painting of St. Theodore Stratelates, identified by an inscription to the right and left of the figure, and a dedicatory cross. On the exterior of the north wall were representations of a wolf, and a cock on a branch above it, in red outlines. Beside the cock was the inscription: φοβουμε σε κίρι | ο Αλεπε(ξ) | πολῶς κανονᾶς | ἐχ(ε)ῖς. Beside the wolf was the inscription: καταβε(θι.) | δεσποτα απο | εκη(θεν) | σε εὐχῆ(θητι) | σ | ου. Talking animals point to an Aesopic tradition, but there is no fable of the Wolf and Cock in the Aesopic canon; Tsakalof relates the scene to the story of the Lamb mocking the Wolf.<sup>210</sup>

51; and examples in St. Sozon, Geraki, Lakonia (west wall of *bema* interior), and in the Panagia Kera, at Kritsa, Crete (over door of south aisle).

208. Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 265–67; Janin, *EMGCB*, 282; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 90 note 1; Protassoff, *Byzantion*, 4 (1928), 424).

209. Tsakalof, *BZ*, 19 (1910), 119–21 (with facsimiles of the wolf and cock, and of the inscriptions, which are transcribed here without correction). Kyriakides, *soumela*, 266, 268, states that the grotto chapel of Sanxenou was dedicated to the Evangelistria; Tsakalof confirms this dedication but, as Janin, *EMGCB*, 272, points out, the wall-painting and cross indicate a dedication to St. Theodore. Cf. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 467–68; and Miller, *Trebizond*, 74. Sanxenou was freshly painted when Clavijo (1404), 116, found a ruined chapel in which to camp on the Pyxites, below the village—perhaps a reflection of the relative security monuments enjoyed on and off the main highway.

210. Four of the seven scenes in Eski Gümüş, which Gough thought “may well be unique in Anatolia” are apparently identifiable with Aesopic fables; it is unfortunate that he never published the inscriptions which accompanied them. Our Sanxenou texts do not relate to any in the standard Greek Aesopic canon, not even the Lamb and the Wolf which Tsakalof proposed; nor does a combination of a Wolf and a Cock figure in S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of folk literature* (Copenhagen, 1958). But there was a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century revival of interest in the fables and life of Aesop in which it has been suggested that Trebizond may have shared (although there is no text to prove it); our inscriptions may relate to a tale in the Aesopic apocrypha which we have not identified, and which needs further investigation. See: Esope, *Fables*, ed. and trans. E. Chambry (Paris, 1927), 99; B. E. Perry, *Aesopica*, I (Urbana,

20. Dependencies of Soumela

The known medieval dependencies of Soumela, described on p. 254 above, are obviously not complete. For example, Sanxenou (No. 19) is not known as a Soumelan property until the nineteenth century. Nor evidently is Kyriakides' list of properties in 1898 complete either, for in 1890 Cuinet affirmed that the monastery controlled fifteen villages.<sup>211</sup> As the present forest rangers of Soumela assure us, there are scores of sites in the Panagia valley which we, as well as the now thousands of tourists who visit Soumela, have not visited. Except for the three sites noted below, we have not visited the following chapels, properties, and *metochia* known to have been dependencies of Soumela in the nineteenth century, but where (as at Sanxenou) there may be medieval sites:

In Ἀγούρσα, Agursa, now Bakımlı, on the west bank of the Larachanes (Larhan) river, 5 km south of Kinalıköprü a farm and chapel of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel.

In Ἀγουρζένον, Agurzanos, on the east bank of the Panagia river, 2 km north of Kinalıköprü, a farm.

In Ἀπίδια (unidentified), near Platana, Akçaabat, a farm.

In Dikaisimon (Maçka), a house, hospice, and water-mill.

Immediately west of (and presumably above) Soumela, the chapel of the Evangelistria, sometimes used as a hermitage.

In Istanbul, then ruined properties in Unkapanı and Fener.

In Κουσπίδης, Kouspidion, Kospityos, now Coşandere, just north of Kinalıköprü, properties described in No. 21 below.

In Κορδέτιον (unidentified, on the slopes of Mount Mela and perhaps near the Evangelistria chapel), a workshop and water mill.

In Platana, Akçaabat, two houses, one of two storeys.

St. Barbara *metochion*, supposedly established by Sophronios, a founder of Soumela, has hitherto been identified with what is now a nineteenth-century chapel immediately below the monastery and on the track up to it. However, Kyriakides may be read to identify this building with St. Elias, while Chrysanthos states that St. Barbara stood a half-hour away, much further than “St. Elias,” in which case we have not seen it. It was in St. Barbara that the treasures of Soumela were hidden in 1922–30.<sup>212</sup>

St. Constantine, perhaps at Σκαλίτα, İskalhta, 4 km north of Soumela, was the property and farm of the monastery from before 1364 until this century, when it had three chapels: St. Constantine (perhaps identical with the Sts. Constantine and Helena supposedly established by Barnabas, a founder of Soumela); St. Gregory the Theologian; and the Nativity of the Panagia.<sup>213</sup>

1952), 381, 422; M. Gough, *AnatSt*, 15 (1965), 164; the same, “Annual Report,” *AnatSt*, 16 (1966), 9; Restle, *Wall painting*, I, 180–81; and H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), 29, 31, 42, 47, 96.

211. Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 265–68; Cuinet, *Turquie*, I, 15.

212. Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 265–66; Ioannides, *Historia*, 243; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 471; 481; Janin, *EMGCB*, 260; Kausokalybites and Metaxopoulos, *Soumela*, 18; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 266 and pl. 21; Succi, *Soumela*, 131; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 72.

213. We have not identified St. Constantine, and Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 471, does not justify his identification of it with

St. Symeon Stylites, a cave chapel just north of Soumela.

In Sanxenou, a farm, a water mill, and the chapel described in No. 19 above.

Ἰν Σκόπια, İskopya, now Ardıçlıyayla, on the west bank of the Larachane River, 2 km southwest of Kınalıköprü, a farm.

In Trebizond, a large farm and an unidentified chapel of the Koimesis.

21. Monastery of St. John Prodromos, at Kouspidion, Kospityos, Coşandere, and Kınalıköprü

*Situation.* The Panagia, Meryemana, and the Larachanes, Larhan, rivers meet below the fine bridge of Kınalıköprü, 10 km north of Soumela and 10 km south of Dikaisimon. Although Kouspidion lies over 1 km to the north of, and above, Kınalıköprü, on the west bank of the Panagia, the two settlements are related and will be taken together.

*Monuments.* One of the two nineteenth-century churches of Kınalıköprü survives as a mosque, its apses excised. But there is now no sign of the two chapels which stood at the foot of the steep hill which divides the two rivers. Talbot Rice noted in 1929 that the upper chapel was then new and of little interest, but the lower one was a double chapel, of which the southern building was painted. Its apse still stood in 1929. It was decorated with the Panagia flanked by two standing saints, painted in black and red with a brownish black background. Talbot Rice dated the work, on unstated architectural grounds, to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. But such masonry is very difficult to date in the Pontos, where the only three dated sixteenth- or seventeenth-century churches known to us were not known to Talbot Rice. If he was, as we suspect, in fact dating the painting on stylistic grounds, Talbot Rice habitually placed dated fourteenth- and fifteenth-century work in the Pontos in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It may be that this is the case here.

Kouspidion lies about 300 m above Kınalıköprü. Here a women's monastery of St. John Prodromos was under the spiritual direction of Soumela in the nineteenth century. Its buildings are also nineteenth century and there seems to be no earlier evidence for the house. But Kouspidion was part of the Soumelan estates in 1364 and a chapel, which stood outside the nunnery enceinte, was clearly old. Also dedicated to the Prodromos, this modest building stood about 2.5 m high. With precision which probably derives from his misdating of the Kaymaklı chapel to 1622, Talbot Rice assigned the damaged paintings of the Prodromos to the early seventeenth century. It may well have been medieval. We have no report of a rock chapel of the Forty Martyrs which stood nearby.<sup>214</sup>

22. Monastery of the Theotokos of Soumela (Meryemana Manastır)

Skalita. See also Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 266; Kausokalybitis and Metaxopoulos, *Soumela*, 24–25; Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 97; perhaps it is the chapel mentioned by Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 72.

214. Fallmerayer, *OF*, I, 97; Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 266–67; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 71–72 and pl. 24; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 136; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 291–92; Janssens, *Trebizonde*, fig. 17.

*Situation.* On the cliff face of Mount Mela, overlooking the west bank of the Panagia River, about 20 km south-southeast of Dikaisimon and about 1,150 m above sea level (pl. 208).

*Medieval Wall Painting.* Soumela has been described often enough, but travelers have inevitably reported the painting visible on the exterior and interior of the great cave church which was last executed in 1710, 1732, and 1740. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, vandals were stripping the top layers of painting to reveal, all too briefly, earlier layers, which it may now be too late to study. Beyond the main cave church, which faces west (to the left in pl. 209), there may be medieval painting beneath eighteenth-century work in the chapel of the Holy Cross (bottom center in pl. 209), for this chapel was perhaps built to receive the reliquary of the True Cross given the monastery by Manuel III (1390–1417); vandals have not turned their attention to it yet. There could also be medieval work in the honeycomb of partly rock-cut chapels above the main church (top right in pl. 209), but they are now inaccessible. Paintings representing animals and a St. George and the Dragon can be made out on the exterior of one. Otherwise there are, or were, three areas of early painting visible:<sup>215</sup>

1. A now indistinguishable panel on the south wall of the main church was apparently never overpainted in successive redecorations of the cave (pl. 210a). It carried a portrait group of three standing Grand Komnenoi. Fallmerayer and Kyriakides identified them (from left to right) as: Manuel III (1390–1417); his father Alexios III (1349–90); and Alexios III's natural son Andronikos (IV), designated heir until his death in 1376 when Manuel III succeeded him as heir apparent. It is unfortunate that Talbot Rice found the accompanying inscriptions "mostly illegible," noting only ὁ μέγας κομνηνοί (*sic*),<sup>216</sup> for the inscriptions should have indicated who was actually reigning when the panel was painted. However, the words Ἀνδρόνικος|ὁ Μέγας Κομνηνός can be made out above and to the right of the right-hand figure in Talbot Rice's photograph in pl. 210a; so it may be speculated that Manuel III, perhaps also founder of the Spelia church (No. 15), would not have included his long-dead half-brother if he had already succeeded to the throne and had commissioned this panel, and that (conversely), Alexios III would not have included Manuel III if the latter had not already succeeded Andronikos as designated heir. This argument would make Alexios III patron of the panel (as of much else in Soumela) and date the painting to the period 1376–90. At all events, this imperial group, common enough in the city of Trebizond, is the only one which survives in the countryside.

2. By 1970 a large patch of later painting had been prised off the north wall of the main church revealing a first layer, heavily pitted to take a subsequent one (pl. 210b). This earlier layer showed the top half of a lower register of at least seven standing ascetic saints, and the bottom half of a middle register of what may have been Gospel scenes. The painting

215. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 149–50, pl. 50(2).

216. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 147, pl. 48(2).

was curiously washy, with acid green, pink, and very light blue colors, as if the original tones had been diluted.

3. The vertical rock face to the northeast, and outside the main church (lower center of pl. 209), was decorated with a large representation of the Last Judgement. There are three layers of painted plaster. D. C. W. reports that in 1970 the head of one figure was in good condition at a point where the lowest layer had been revealed. He is convinced that it is by the hand of one of the painters who worked on the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond—a painter very familiar to him from six years of cleaning and restoring his work. If this is so, it belongs to the 1260s.

4. A late insertion in this Study is the discovery reported in Özkan Tüfek, *Sumela. Meryemana* (Istanbul, 1978), 38–39, of a “secret” chapel, one of four, in the cliff face about 100 m north of the monastery proper, apparently “lost” since 1893. Describing the chapel as “inaccessible,” Tüfek nevertheless provides photographs of its paintings: a Koimesis on the ceiling (pl. 10), a Transfiguration (pl. 11), a Virgin and Child on the north wall, St. John Prodromos (pl. 12), and Fathers of the Church (cover). The photographs are too bleary to be at all sure, but they appear to be of paintings both older (there are twelfth-century indications) and in better condition than any others in Soumela. If this is so, we have the problems of why a small outer cave was perhaps painted before the exterior rock face of the main cave church, which in turn was apparently painted before the main church, and before the reign of John II (1286–97), the first Grand Komnenos so far attested as having patronized the place. But vandals may well have destroyed clues to solving these problems and it is to be hoped that the evidently important paintings reported by Tüfek are recorded before the outer chapels too are reached and their decoration obliterated.

23. Chortokopion, Hortokop Kale (pls. 211, 212a, b)

*Situation.* Above the old caravan route, about 5 km south of Dikaisimon. The old route leaves the present road by the cemetery of modern Maçka, south of the town, and climbs steeply above and to the east of it along the eastern ridges of the valley. The old route, significantly called the *Gâvur Yolu* (Infidels’ Road), is still paved in some sections. About 3 km from Dikaisimon it is joined by a track from the east, bulldozed in 1974, which runs through what is left of a medieval church at nearby Gorgor. What is left is part of a semicircular apse, below and to the west of the new track. It has a patch of about one square meter of wall painting on two layers of plaster—the lower bound with chaff and the upper of thin, hard lime. Colors include white, dark blue, haematite purple, a rather acid green and two shades of red-brown. Nothing can be made out save for the scratch of a compass-drawn halo. About 2 km above Gorgor, the route passes Chortokopion castle, the first halt after Dikaisimon. The castle stands on what appears to be an artificial habitation mound on a gently sloping shoulder of mountain (pl. 211). The site is about 300 m above the floor of the Prytanis valley, 70 m above the old caravan route and 300 m below the mountain top. It commands long stretches of the valley, and a fine distant view may be had of it from the modern road to

the north of Athanları. Opposite Chortokopion (now Yukarıköy), on the west side of the valley, are Gantopedin castle, Zanha Kale (No. 24), and a castle which we have not investigated, called Nezir Kale.

*Architecture.* A roughly circular curtain wall, over 60 m in diameter, punctuated by nine round towers and a gate to the southeast, encloses the flat top of the mound (pl. 212a, b). The round towers, which are open on the interior, are 8 to 11 m in diameter; stretches of wall between them run for 12 to 15 m. To the south the curtain wall has gone, but its site can be traced. The masonry is random coursed with rough-cut stones of varying shapes and sizes, laid with a flat face to the exterior. The regularity of the plan is in marked contrast with the irregularity of the build.

*Identification and Date.* The nature of the mound hints at prehistoric habitation. The enclosure is littered with ridge tiles (see Appendix). Coin finds ranging from one of the Antiochoi of Kommagene (ca. 69 B.C.–A.D. 72, a third-century Roman coin, bronze coins of Anastasios I (491–518) and Leo VI (865–911), and Seljuk to Ottoman specimens, confirm not only long historic habitation, but make the site a likely candidate for the station of *Ala prima Ioua felix*. But the walls cannot be dated: there is no decorative detail and no stretch survives up to the height of the catwalk. The shape tells us a little more: its regularity, that the plan may be originally Roman, but that (unlike more substantial rectangular camps at Satala, Apsaros, and Sourmaina) the Romans were content to adapt to the lie of the land in this minor camp, which may be Gizenenica. But the present walls suggest that if their course is Roman, their execution is much later, when the place became medieval Chasdenicha in Chortokopion. Excavation would probably be rewarding.<sup>217</sup>

24. Gantopedin, Labra, Zanha Kale (fig. 95, pl. 213a, b)

*Situation.* The castle stands on a conspicuous rock, perched above a ravine on the steep hillside west of the Prytanis between Dianeiacha, Zanha, now Çeşmeler, and Sachnoë, Sahanoy, now Köprüana. It can be seen from the modern road for several kilometers up and down the valley.

*Architecture.* The site is more of a watchtower than a castle, on the lines of that at Doubera (No. 17), evidently serving to alert Vazelon in the same way as Doubera alerted Soumela. Like Doubera, its walls either were made of wood on two sides, or have slipped down the cliff. But, unlike Doubera, the masonry of Gantopedin is roughly coursed and

217. See p. 257. Vazelon Act 106 of the 13th-century lists among dues to that monastery the *proasteion* of Chalabania or Chortokopion. The most important property had owed the monastery of St. Gregory του Σαβατιωνος (evidently a surname) three *nomismata*, now commuted to Vazelon by metropolitan *sigillion*. This monastery might be any St. Gregory of the region, but its epithet is not otherwise found. Janin, *EMGCB*, 264, notes that “quant a Sabatiôn, on ne le retrouve pas non plus, mais étant donné que les textes ont été recopiés, la forme éditée reste à vérifier et à expliquer.” We can verify, but not further illuminate the text in the Leningrad MS, fol. 69<sup>v</sup> (it is not in the Ankara MS), which should be emended thus: Μονή ὁ ἀγ(ιος) Γρηγόριος τοῦ Σαβατιωνος δι(ον) (?) τῆς μ(ητ)ροπόλ(εως) (νομίσματα) ἡ κατέχετ(αι) διὰ τριγίλιον τ(ῆς) μ(ητ)ροπόλ(εως) παρὰ τ(ῆς) τοιαύτης μον(ῆς) τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου τοῦ Ζαβουλῶν.

poorly pointed. The stonework is closer to that at Chortokopion (No. 23). The western wall still stands close to its original height of about 8 m at a point where a catwalk, with window slits, was added—the square joints of the addition are clear in plate 213a. Access to the castle is through a low door on the northwest (to the left in pl. 213a) at a point where the wall broadens to a thickness of 1.55 m, largely made up of mortared rubble. The interior contains a small barrel-vaulted double-apsed chapel (pl. 213b), of about the same size as that at Koralla, Görele Burunu. But this example has a northern door. The interior is plastered and was given a blue wash (perhaps in quite recent times). There is no sign of wall painting.

Two periods of construction are evident; to the second belongs the catwalk, with which the chapel may be associated.

*Identification and Date.* We identified this site with the monastic castle of “The Candlestick,” mentioned in 1223 and 1366.<sup>217a</sup> It should not be assumed that the chapel in the castle should necessarily date from before 1461 (indeed at Koralla and Tripolis the castle chapels were evidently in use after 1461), but Gantopedin would have served little purpose as a castle thereafter. Both building periods are probably medieval.<sup>218</sup>

25. The Taxiarchai, at Sachnoe, Sahanoy, now Köprüyanı

*Situation.* In, or near, Sachnoe, on the west bank of the Prytanis, about 10 km southwest of Dikaisimon. The church was destroyed between 1929 and 1957. Our account of it, therefore, derives from Kyriakides’ and Topalides’ notes of before 1910, and from Talbot Rice’s visit of 1929.<sup>219</sup> Plates 214 and 215a, b reproduce Talbot Rice’s original photographs.

*Identification.* Kyriakides and Topalides note a church of the Taxiarchai (the *archistrategoi* Michael and Gabriel) at Sachnoe, a non-nucleated village of the sort that the casual visitor could walk through without realizing it was there. Talbot Rice published a church in this area which he called “Kurt Boghan,” “the name of the village to which it is nearest, as we were unable to discover its actual name.”<sup>220</sup> Talbot Rice thought that the church “may well have been dedicated to St. Michael.”<sup>221</sup> He identified the archangel Michael (riding a white horse) on a painting above, and to the north of, the west door. Flanking this scene was another figure on a (brown-black) horse, above, and to the south of, the west door, which Talbot Rice identified as Joshua. However, Joshua son of Nun is usually shown kneeling and untying St. Michael’s sandals in scenes representing his encounter with the Archangel.<sup>222</sup> It is much more likely that

the second mounted figure depicted the other archangel, Gabriel. The two strikingly balanced figures mounting guard over the entrance to the church would, therefore, confirm its dedication to both *Taxiarchai*. Chrysanthos first linked Talbot Rice’s “Kurt Boghan” with Topalides’ and Kyriakides’ church of the Archangels at Sachnoe, an identification with which we concur.<sup>223</sup> Still relatively well preserved in 1929, with its painted altar intact, the singular architecture and decoration of this small church made it one of the most interesting, if not distinguished, in the Pontos.

*Architecture* (pl. 214). A basilica having a single apse, pentagonal on the exterior and semicircular on the interior, with a single, west door, the whole carrying a cruciform gabled roof, and an octagonal drum on pendentives which was topped by a stone tiled dome. The building was apparently built of well-dressed stone, with moldings, string courses, and at least one relief (of a dove, above the door). Judging by photographs such as that in plate 214, the building was about 3 to 4 × 6 to 7 m in plan, and the dome was about 7 to 8 m high. Although the west wall extended above the gabled western roofs, there may have been only one stage of building and decoration. There were three slit windows in the apse, three on either side (in wide, round-arched, embrasures), one above the door, and four in the drum.

*Decoration.* The church was painted almost entirely outside and entirely inside. (In the description that follows, Roman numerals refer to registers, counting from ground up; scenes are read from left to right.)

EXTERIOR:

*West Wall.* I. Probably a decorative pattern, punctuated by the door. II. Three turbaned laymen presented to Christ by an archangel (perhaps St. Michael; Talbot Rice notes no inscription); door; seated Christ flanked by two figures (probably a Deesis). III. Archangel Michael on horseback; window; Archangel Gabriel on horseback (?). IV. Single indistinguishable scene.

*North Wall.* I. Decorative pattern. II. Indistinguishable to Talbot Rice, but four or more scenes can be made out in his photograph, of which one to the left may be a deathbed composition, and a winged angel (perhaps the ubiquitous St. Michael) hovers over a scene to the right. III. Five scenes punctuated by three windows, clearer than register II in Talbot Rice’s photograph. Talbot Rice identified the central scene, in the middle window embrasure, as St. Zosimas and St. Mary of Egypt; and, to the right of it, the Archangel Michael saving his church at Chonae from an inundation. IV. Single, indistinguishable scene in the upper embrasure of the middle window. V. Single, indistinguishable scene above the middle window.

*Apse (Five Faces).* I. Probably a decorative pattern. II. Indistinguishable to Talbot Rice, but two standing saints can be made out on his photograph on the north face; perhaps there were ten altogether. III. Five scenes, the south, southeast, and east ones, indistinguishable. Two figures can be made out on the northeast face. On the north face “is a scene which perhaps represents the dedication of the church. In the

217a. See p. 258.

218. Beldiceanu, *Recherche*, 53 (perhaps also an explanation for the survival of the church in Bayburt castle).

219. Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 362; Topalides, *Vazelon*, 45; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 79–80 and pl. 30; Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 151–58 and pls. 51–57; and a further photograph by Talbot Rice in Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), pl. 77.

220. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 151. Now Kurt Boğan.

221. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 155.

222. Hetherington, *Dionysius of Fournā* (above, note 190), 65.

223. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 498; cf. Janin, *EMGCB*, 292.

middle the church is shown. To the left is a group comprising numerous figures, some of them in ecclesiastical raiment, and to the right a single figure clothed in royal costume. He is apparently the donor [but] no inscription is preserved. . . ."<sup>224</sup> Talbot Rice's photograph suggests that the figures should be reversed, that the "ecclesiastical raiment" is the *polystavrion* and that there was an architectural background to the composition. IV. Five scenes, the south and southeast ones indistinguishable; the Archangel Michael wrestling with Jacob was on the east face; the Ascent of Elijah on the northeast face; and the Archangel Michael appearing to the Three Hebrews on the north face.

*South wall.* Layout as on the north wall, but weathering reduced legible scenes to the upper register. IV. Unidentified by Talbot Rice, but perhaps the Archangel Michael showing Hagar the water; two angels in the middle window embrasure; the Archangel Michael barring the way to Balaam.

#### INTERIOR:

*Dome.* Pantokrator "of the usual type" in dome; four prophets between drum windows; four evangelists on pendentives; medallions on inner face of engaged arches.

*West Wall.* I. Koimesis of Theotokos; door (with St. Nymphros in north embrasure); Washing of feet. II. Nativity and Presentation of Theotokos (run together); window; Raising of Lazarus and Entry into Jerusalem (run together); III. Pentecost.

*North Wall.* I. Theotokos ἡ πονολύτριά and Child, with St. John Prodromos ὁ Βαζελῶ(νος) (not ὁ Βαπτιστής, Talbot Rice's reading, as can be seen in his photograph, reproduced in plate 215b); and a turbaned layman named, according to Talbot Rice, Ἀλέξιος ὁ υἱ(ός) τοῦ Στρατιγῆ<sup>225</sup> (an inscription difficult to check in plate 215b, but obviously not identical with the Ἀλέξιος ἱερεὺς ὁ Στρατήγης of Vazelon Act 81 of 1397). II. Crucifixion; Anastasis. III. Baptism.

*Apse.* I. Fathers of the Church. Altar painted with Epitaphion. II. Communion of the Apostles (bread); three windows with standing saints between them; Communion of the Apostles (wine). III. In conch, Theophany consisting of the Theotokos, a seraph, Christ ὁ Παντεπόπτης on a throne borne by two four-winged beings, a tetramorph, St. John Prodromos. Inscription on face of conch: Ἐπέβλεψεν ὁ κ(ύριος) εἶδε πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ετοιμοῦ κατοικητηρίου αὐτοῦ (pl. 215a). IV. Ascension.

*South Wall.* I. Archangel Michael in imperial robes, below which "some small figures, apparently laymen . . ."<sup>226</sup> present him with a model of the church in what may be a repetition of the scene on the exterior of the apse. II. Presentation of Christ and Transfiguration. III. Nativity.

*Date.* We cannot presume to offer a secure date for a church which we have not seen and which may have been destroyed half a century ago. But assuming that the church

was decorated soon after it was built (for there is no record of more than one layer of painting), there are certain hints as to its date.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE PAINTING:

It would be risky to venture an opinion on the style and epigraphy of the painting on the basis of Talbot Rice's photographs, but we are on safer ground when considering the iconography. Perhaps the two most unusual features of the iconography are: first, the number of portraits of laymen and possible donors (discussed below); and, second, the elaborate references to the Archangel Michael. The Archangel appears prominently on the exterior of the west wall and interior of the north wall, in conjunction with lay figures, and in up to five compositions on the exterior registers III and IV. This prompts one to wonder if the indistinguishable panels of register III did not depict further scenes in which the Archangel appeared. It may be presumed that the mosaics of St. Michael's great pilgrim church at Chonae, destroyed in 1189, depicted an elaborate cycle, elements of which became popular as far as Kiev from the eleventh century, whereas we know of no other Anatolian church (and certainly of none in Cappadocia) with such a potentially complex series of the Archangel's miracles. By the time of Dionysios of Fournā, the St. Michael cycle had been regularized as a series of fourteen miracles, yet even Dionysios of Fournā's list has a makeshift air.<sup>227</sup> Of necessity, the incorporeal Archangel's "Life" is unconventional, and he seems to have been identified with angelic appearances in the Old Testament as a matter of convenience. The scale of the St. Michael cycle at Sachnoe, therefore, points to a period in or after the eleventh century. The architecture of the church may help to define the period a little more precisely.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE ARCHITECTURE:

There are no satisfactory known parallels in the Pontos to features such as the roof structure and the exceptional elevation of the church (reminiscent, perhaps, of St. Anne in Trebizond, though closer to later medieval churches in mainland Greece and Serbia). But the pentagonal apse is another matter. It is an almost canonical mark of the more pretentious churches of the Grand Komnenoi, and no known examples can be dated before 1204 or after 1461.<sup>227a</sup> An inscription may determine the date with even greater precision.

227. Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed., 230, 523–24; Vryonis, *Decline*, 96, 128; D. I. Pallas, "Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel," *RBK*, III, cols. 44–48, 54; H. Kuhn, "Zur byzantinischen Erzählungslitteratur," *BZ*, 9 (1900), 382–87; H. Longvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* (Kiev, 1971), 31–35, pls. 191–94 and 200; R. J. H. Jenkins, "A Cross of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius," with "An Art-historical Comment" by E. Kitzinger, *DOP*, 21 (1967), 235–56, 239, 247–48; A. Grabar, "La porte de bronze byzantine du Mont-Gargan et le 'cycle de l'ange'," in *Millénaire monastique de Mont-St.-Michel*, III (Paris, 1971), 364 ff., and Hetherington, *Dionysius of Fournā*, 65. A. A. M. B. is grateful to Dr. Robin Cormack and Mrs. Laskarina Bouras for references and discussion.

227a. See p. 256.

224. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 152.

225. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 155. If Alexios' father was in fact a *strategos*, this would probably date the church before the Ottoman conquest. But a *Strateges* appears as late as 1482 in Vazelon Act 7, apparently as a family name.

226. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 155.

## THE EVIDENCE OF KYRIAKIDES AND TOPALIDES:

In 1900, Kyriakides stated, in the same note which referred to the church at Spelia (No. 15) in a now lost cartulary of Vazelon, that there was record that the hieromonk Nikodemos Lazaropoulos had founded the Taxiarchai at Sachnoe in 1391. We have already questioned the reliability of this note, but in this case there is confirmation, with a significant omission, by Topalides, who in 1909 published an inscription beside a portrait of the founder of the church: Νικόδημος Ἱερομόναχος κτίτωρ τοῦ ναοῦ τούτου ἐν ἔτει Α.Μ. 6899/Α.Δ. 1390–91.<sup>228</sup> Unlike other commentators, we, therefore, agree with Janin in having no constraint to relate this hieromonk Nikodemos with the famous Lazaropoulos family of fourteenth-century ecclesiastics.<sup>229</sup> However, Vazelon Act 120 of 1367 reveals that a Nikodemos was then indeed hieromonk and *kathegoumenos* of Vazelon, while Kyriakides' dubious *fasti* of abbots shows that he may have been succeeded by a Makarios in or before 1392.<sup>230</sup>

That the Taxiarchai church was closely attached to Vazelon is evidenced by the fact that it lay across the pilgrim path to the monastery, by the epithet ὁ Βαζελῶνος given to St. John Prodromos in its wall painting, and, perhaps, by the monastic flavor of such figures as St. Zosimas and St. Mary of Egypt, and St. Onouphrios. That an abbot of Vazelon should be the formal *ktetor* of this church is therefore appropriate—few others could be in the monastic village of Sachnoe. But the problem is that, although we have demonstrated that Kyriakides' and Topalides' Taxiarchai must be Talbot Rice's Kurt Boğan, there is no sign of Topalides' portrait and inscription of abbot Nikodemos in Talbot Rice's record of Kurt Boğan. Tentative, but lame explanations would be that Talbot Rice fought shy of Greek inscriptions which stumped him, or that Nikodemos' portrait and inscription may somehow have disappeared between Topalides' visit of about 1899 and Talbot Rice's of 1929. The church had an exceptional number of paintings of what were probably donors, many wearing the Late Byzantine turban, which was familiar in Trebizond.<sup>231</sup> We may presume that turbaned figures were laymen, ruling out Nikodemos. There were three on the exterior of the west wall. The group on the apse exterior included a figure in imperial robes (which rules out the Archangel Michael, for Talbot Rice mentions no wings), figures in *polystavria* (which presumably rules out Nikodemos), and unspecified but perhaps no less significant other portraits (among which that of Nikodemos may have lurked unrecognized). The same scene could have been repeated on the interior face of the south

wall. Byzantine donors and founders did not carry conventional humility so far as to omit their names beside their portraits, but it is too late to regret that Talbot Rice noted only the name of Alexios son of Stratiges beside the portrait on the interior face of the north wall, in plate 215b. A more convincing explanation may be that Nikodemos stood unidentified by Talbot Rice, among the "other" figures painted on the apse exterior (and perhaps on the interior of the south wall). He would have been the *ktetor*; and all other figures, imperial, clerical, or lay, would have been donors. This is the explanation which we would like to propose: namely, that a young English art historian missed what three decades before a local Greek archimandrite regarded as the most important inscription and portrait in the church. The explanation is just, but only just, plausible, and it is now too late to assess.

## THE OPINION OF TALBOT RICE:

On the grounds of its style of architecture and painting, Talbot Rice opined that the church was sixteenth-century or, more precisely, "slightly earlier than the small chapel at Kaimaklı, which is dated to the year 1622."<sup>232</sup> But we have demonstrated that the Kaymaklı chapel (and we can only presume its paintings) is in fact dated by inscription to 1421.<sup>233</sup> This would not necessarily invalidate Talbot Rice's relation of it to the Sachnoe church, among others. The Kaymaklı chapel, Sachnoe, as well as other churches share the same conventional apsidal iconography. The only record we have of the paintings of the Kaymaklı chapel (as opposed to the church) is in Talbot Rice's photographs of what he uncovered, which has now been destroyed.<sup>234</sup> They at least show that the Kaymaklı chapel paintings were stylistically distinct from any other work recorded in the Pontos, either by Talbot Rice or by us. It is difficult to see from his own photographs how Talbot Rice arrived at his stylistic conclusions. For example, the figures of the Fathers of the Church in the Kaymaklı chapel have a wooden appearance which may be characteristic of Armenian painting.<sup>235</sup> That they were painted by Armenians is evidenced by painted inscriptions in Armenian in both the Kaymaklı chapel and church: indeed, they constitute the only known Armenian wall paintings in the Pontos and possibly the only known ones of their period. Thus, apart from his misattribution of the Kaymaklı chapel to 1622 instead of 1421, Talbot Rice was running unjustified risks in making his dating of Greek churches in Matzouka, like the Taxiarchai, dependent upon a stylistically independent Armenian example.

However, the late date of slightly before 1622 which Talbot Rice assigned to the Taxiarchai led him to an interesting problem for he observed that the royal figure depicted in the apse could not therefore be a Grand Komnenos, and so might be "a Roumanian prince or Voivode,"<sup>236</sup> for

228. Topalides, *Vazelon*, 45. Topalides' actual text reads: "... ἐν ἔτει 6891"—1391 μ.χ. But 6891 is 1382–83. We follow Kyriakides, Chrysanthos, and Janin in assuming that the A.M., rather than the A.D., is a mistake.

229. Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 362 and note 1; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 485, 489, 498; Janin, *EMGCB*, 292.

230. Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 366. But one suspects that this is Makarios of Vazelon Acts 135 of 1431, 142 of 1433, 8 of 1435 (*contra* 13 of 1435 which names a Blasios as then abbot of Vazelon, who appears in Kyriakides' list under 1256), 160 of 1448, 151 of the 15th century, and 145 of the 15th to 16th century.

231. E.g., in Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, pl. 69.

232. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 151; Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 79–80.

233. See p. 208 f.

234. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 140–42 and pls. 44 (2) and 45.

235. E.g., Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar* (see above note 206), pls. 61, 62.

236. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 152.

Soumela was endowed from that region. In fact it was not until the eighteenth century that Soumela obtained benefactions from rulers of Romania (when they were Phanariot), while Vazelon had to be content with obtaining the patronage of Peter the Great: the seventeenth century in fact marked the nadir of Pontic Greek fortunes and few buildings can be ascribed to it.<sup>237</sup> If we can redate the church to 1391, however, the royal figure would be the Grand Komnenos Manuel III (1390–1417), whom we have already proposed as the founder of the church in the nearby imperial village of Spelia twelve years before, when Manuel was still a *porphyrogenetos* heir to the throne, and Nikodemos was already abbot of Vazelon.<sup>238</sup>

But what might be termed the Romanian connection must be disposed of. Talbot Rice not only suggested a possible Romanian patron, but expressed the opinion that “it seems well-nigh certain that Trebizond influenced Romania directly with regard to the development of painting,” citing the exterior decoration of churches like the Taxiarchai in particular.<sup>239</sup> In 1938, P. Henry took up the proposition and argued persuasively against it on the grounds of iconography and chronological sequence.<sup>240</sup> Would a redating of the Sachnoe church to 1390–91 reverse his judgement? The answer is surely no, for Henry’s iconographic arguments still hold good: the scenes on the exterior of the Taxiarchai and other Pontic churches have no iconographic parallel in Moldavia, or, it would seem, anywhere else. The fashion for external painting is another matter. The Pontos shared it with Cyprus, mainland Greece, and Moldavia in the Late Byzantine, and post-Byzantine, world. Yet, unlike these other areas, in the Pontos no thought seems to have been given to the protection of outside paintings against the elements. For example, the Taxiarchai shows no sign of having had a wooden ambulatory, or wide eaves, with the result that the paintings on its southern side were severely weathered.

#### CONCLUSION:

We propose that the church of the Taxiarchai in the monastic village of Sachnoe was probably founded and decorated by abbot Nikodemos of Vazelon in 1390/91, with the assistance of a number of lay benefactors, including Alexios son of Stratiges, perhaps some bishops, and, probably, the Grand Komnenos Manuel III; and that it is to be identified with the church published by Talbot Rice as “Kurt Boghan.” Individual as it is, what little can still be judged of the painting style and the epigraphy of the work at Sachnoe accords with this date.

26. Chapel of St. Elias, at the Monastery of St. John Prodromos of Vazelon (Ayana Manastir)  
(pl. 216–225; figs. 96, 97)

*Situation.* On the cliff face of Mount Zaboulon, about 16 km south-southwest of Dikaisimon and 6 km southeast of

its *han* at Keramitli, and about 1,300 m above sea level. The appearance of the monastery, with its façade of nineteenth-century cells masking a sacred cave, has many similarities with its great rival of Soumela. But Mount Zaboulon is less precipitous than Mount Mela, although the monastery of Vazelon in fact stands higher above sea level than Soumela, in Cumont’s words, “collé, comme un gigantesque pigeonier, à une muraille de calcaire au fond d’une forêt.”<sup>241</sup>

Nineteenth-century rebuilding at Vazelon (which we have recorded elsewhere)<sup>242</sup> spared even less medieval work than at Soumela. Indeed, apart (presumably) from the foundations of the terrace on which it stands, the lower parts of some of its internal monastic buildings, and some masonry near the cliff face, there is little sign of the medieval monastery. However, a small chapel (pl. 216a) stands on the monastery terrace, about 30 m north of the nineteenth-century buildings, (to the right of which it is visible in pl. 216b).

*Identification.* Chrysanthos identified the chapel, which Talbot Rice saw in 1929, with Topalides’ chapel of St. Elias (the Prophet Elijah), but also cited Topalides’ statement that the *skete* (if not chapel) of St Elias stood, until modern times, about an hour above the monastery.<sup>243</sup> A place called St. Elias appears in Vazelon Acts 104 of the thirteenth century, and 115 of 1292. Another possible dedication is provided by what may be the earliest graffito in the chapel, scratched on the red border above the head of St. Nicholas (18 in fig. 97; visible at the bottom right of pl. 219b): οὗτος ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Προδρ[όμου] ἀνεκτίησε [ὁ] βασιλε[ύς]. But we are inclined to believe that this casual pilgrim graffito, which cannot be taken to be a formal dedication inscription, refers to the imperial refoundation of the church of the Prodromos in the monastery itself, while, insofar as there is a prominently placed figure in the iconography of the chapel, it is St. Elias (1 and 19 in fig. 97). So we are inclined to concur with Chrysanthos that this chapel (as well as the *skete* above the monastery) was dedicated to the Prophet.

*Architecture.* A small barrel-vaulted chapel, with single projecting apse, semicircular on both the exterior and the interior (fig. 96), typical of the region. The apse has a window with three small lights; another small window is in the south wall. The single door, in the west wall, has a tympanum above the lintel. Except for its ashlar quoins, door, and window frames, the chapel is built of fairly large blocks in irregular courses. Little mortar is exposed; there are no signs of pulverized brick in it. The exterior was at one time white-washed, but there is no indication that it was otherwise decorated. The only exceptional feature is a round hole about 25 cm in diameter which was intentionally cut in the north side of the vault and may originally have been covered by tiles. More recently, a hole has been broken in the south vault to serve as a chimney for fires (pl. 216a). This has revealed the structure of the vault and roof. The vault is of mortared rubble, the roof is of large thin stone tiles at the

237. Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 115–79; Vazelon Act 188 of 1694; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 291–92.

238. See p. 281.

239. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 175.

240. P. Henry, “La peinture moldave du XVIe siècle a-t-elle pu être influencée par Trébizonde?”, *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 735–39.

241. Cumonts, *SP*, II, 371.

242. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 289–98; Janin, *EMGCB*, 283–86.

243. Topalides, *Vazelon*, 44, 85; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 485.

eaves, overlaid by smaller narrower stones at the top (as at Sachnoe), the whole supported by a rib at the center.

*Decoration.* The interior is entirely covered by a single layer of painting. The decoration is well preserved, apart from portions in the top and center of the conch, most of the faces of the figures (which have been mutilated), and an area round the hole in the roof (which has been blackened with soot). However, by the time of our last visit in 1969, continual use of the chapel for shelter and fires was leading to its swift deterioration. It is therefore in the expectation that the days of what was the best-preserved painted church in the Pontos were already numbered, that we have devoted here an extensive photographic record to the chapel, mostly made in 1967.

The painting is on two layers of plaster. A lower lime-and-straw plaster ground is of varying thickness, according to the surface of the masonry, but averages 2 cm. It is slightly yellow in color, with abundant straw in quite large pieces. Plaster joins ran along vertical and horizontal red borders. A thin surface layer of plaster carries the painting.

Basic colors are yellow, brown, green, brick red, black, white, haematite purple, blue, and (perhaps) olive green. The ground colors of backgrounds are yellow or brick red. Flesh is built up on a green ground. Halos have a broad haematite inner outline and a white outer outline, compass drawn, perhaps with a reed rather than a brush. The same device was used for St George's circular shield (31 in fig. 97). Green garments have a green ground, dark green shadow lines, light green intermediate highlights and white highlights. Red garments a red ground, dark red shadow lines and white highlights.

In the painted inscriptions, aspirates are angled hooks. "Alphas" sometimes have a diagonal bar and "deltas" a stepped bar and pronounced serifs. The lettering is close to that found in St. John Theologos, Dikaisimon (No. 12 above), assigned by Protasoff to the thirteenth century.

The numbering of scenes and figures in the following commentary is keyed to fig. 97.

1. Deesis, in badly damaged apse conch, with a relatively large standing Christ, flanked by the Theotokos to the north and the prophet Elijah (Elias) behind her; and by St. John Prodromos to the south and the prophet Elisha (Elisaïos) behind him.
2. Ascension, in east vault (pl. 217a). Christ in red chiton and purple himation; four winged angels; other figures (probably abbreviated to six apostles on either side) indistinct.
3. Pentecost, in badly damaged west vault. A still visible apostle is in green chiton and red himation.
4. Koimesis of the Theotokos, in upper register of west wall (pl. 217b). St. Peter in (possibly) green chiton and yellow himation; St. Paul in purple chiton and grey himation.
5. Heavenly Host, in upper register of apse wall (pl. 218). A chorus of angels with hands outstretched meets at the damaged center of the apse. Their robes are more elaborate than those in the equivalent scene in the drum of the dome of the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, but lack of space in the Vazelon chapel prevents them from being treated as fully.<sup>243</sup> Whereas in the Hagia Sophia there are at least 79 angels led by their Taxiarchai, at Vazelon there cannot have been more than five winged angels at most on either side in the foreground. A second row behind is indicated by bubbling haloes and glimpses of faces. The angels' robes are in red, blue, green, and white, with borders of pearls. Their halos are in red, green, yellow, and (probably) other colors. Their wings are yellow and pinkish red, outlined in white.
6. Annunciation, in upper register of south wall, east section (pl. 219a, b). The spirited angel of the Annunciation is divided from the Theotokos (who stands before an abbreviated architectural background) by the south window.
7. Nativity and Presentation, in upper register of south wall, west section (pls. 219b, 220, 221). The two scenes, which are not separated by a red border, were so badly encrusted with soot that only when the surface was washed for photography purposes was it realized that they were actually two separate scenes. Despite the small scale of the work, all essential elements (including Joseph, the Magi, the Bath of the Child, a single shepherd, and an angel) are included in the Nativity. Christ is identified with the sigla IC XC. The Presentation is inscribed Ἡ Ὑπαπαντή. Simeon bears the Christ Child beneath a canopy; the Theotokos holds out her veiled hands; Joseph carries two doves, and behind him is a figure which is presumably the prophetess Anna.
8. Baptism, in middle register of west wall, south portion (pl. 222). The scene is inscribed Ἡ Βαπτίσις, and Christ is identified with the sigla IC XC. The Prodromos places his right hand on the head of Christ; a dove descends from above; a sketchy grisaille personification of the Jordan with an urn crouches below Christ and the Prodromos; to the right stand three angels with yellow, green, and yellow halos. There is no division between this scene and no. 9.
9. Raising of Lazarus, in middle register of west wall, north portion (pls. 223a, b). The scene is inscribed Ἡ ἔγερσις τοῦ Λαζάρου; to the right of Christ is the sigla IC XC. He is followed by four apostles, but the arch above the door precludes the inclusion of Martha and Mary. One figure unwraps the cloth wound around Lazarus, another removes the marbled lid of his sarcophagus; the artist's treatment of six mourning Jews behind Lazarus is of some distinction.
10. Crucifixion, in upper register of north wall west section, left (pl. 224a). The scene is inscribed Ἡ Σταύρωσις. At the head of the cross is the label Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης between the sigla IC XC. The Theotokos is identified as the MHP ΘV, and St John as Ὁ ἄγιος Ἰωάννης Ὁ Θεολόγος. St. John wears a red chiton and a green himation, and Christ's loincloth is also green. These green garments are built up from a green ground and dark green shadow lines, to light green intermediate highlights, and white highlights. Christ has a red halo. The skull of Golgotha lies below the cross. Two plunging angels flank the top of the cross. The sun and moon are omitted. The twisted, etiolated figure of Christ is relatively, and unusually, smaller than those of St. John and the Theotokos.
11. Anastasis, in upper register of north wall, west section, right, follows the Crucifixion without a red dividing

- border (pl. 224b). The scene is named 'Η Ἀνάστασις and Christ bears the sigla IC XC. The two Just Kings stand to the left in front of the Prodomos, who points to Christ. Christ has no mandorla and moves to the right without glancing back. The Gates of Hell lie apart, not across each other. Christ grasps the cross with his left hand and Adam's wrist with his right. Behind Adam is Eve, and behind her Abel awaits his turn. Pontic artists were usually unsure of the appearance of classical or Early Christian sarcophagi. Here the artist has given up the attempt altogether and has depicted tower-like structures, complete with windows, from which the figures emerge. Christ wears a green chiton and a yellow himation on which the highlighting is particularly neatly hatched. The Gates of Hell are yellow and the mouth of Hell itself is haematite purple. The heavily jewelled kings wear red and green tunics and green and red superhumeral, respectively. St. John Prodomos is covered with a brown hairy cloak. Christ's hair is brown and his halo red with a jewelled cross. Adam's hair is grey and long and his halo green. The kings' and the Prodomos' halos are yellow; Eve and Abel have no halos. The "sarcophagi" are pink and the rocks in the background brownish.
12. Transfiguration, in upper register of north wall, east section. The scene is conventional; of the apostles who are visible, one wears a red chiton and a yellow himation, and another a green himation.
  13. St. Athanasios, in lower register of apse wall, is the first of six standing Fathers of the Church who are turned toward the center of the apse, three on either side in respect to the center. Each has a yellow halo, a *sticharion* on a white background, and an *omophorion* with black crosses. As in numerous similar Late Byzantine series in the Balkans, but in the Pontos only in Matzouka, the Fathers hold scrolls bearing liturgical texts. The permutation of Fathers, their respective position in the apse, and the liturgical texts assigned to them do not appear to follow any system elsewhere in the Byzantine world, and none is evident here. Unfortunately, we made no record of the text on the scroll carried by St. Athanasios, who is inscribed 'Ο ἄγ(ι)ος Ἀθ(ανάσι)ος.
  14. St. Gregory (of Nazianzus), in lower register of apse wall, is named 'Ο ἄγ(ι)ος Γρηγόριος 'Ο Θεολόγ(ος) (pl. 225a). The five lines of his scroll begin (but perhaps do not end) with the opening of the prayer of the second antiphon: ὁ τὰς κοι | νὰς ταύ | τας καὶ | συμφώ(νους) | τίς αιτα (τὰς αἰτήσεις ?).<sup>244</sup> Graffiti of two bearded heads on the background to the right of St. Gregory's name should be noted in plate 225a.
  15. St. Basil, in lower register of apse wall, is identified by only four letters of his name (pl. 225a). His scroll is destroyed and his face, like those of all the other Fathers, has been defaced.
  16. St. John Chrysostom, in lower register of apse wall, the first of the group of three Fathers turned to the left, has been entirely destroyed, save for the ligature of his epithet.
  17. St. Gregory (of Nyssa?) in lower register of apse wall, is identified simply as ὁ ἄγ(ι)ος Γρηγόριος. His white *sticharion* has greenish folds. The five lines of his scroll are taken from the opening of the first antiphon: Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ε)ὸς ἡ | μῶν οὐ | τὸ Κράτος | ἀ(νε)ίκαστον | κ(αι) ἡ δόξα.<sup>245</sup>
  18. St. Nicholas, in lower register of apse wall, is identified as ὁ ἄγ(ι)ος Νικόλαος (an attempt has been made to prise out his name). His white *sticharion* has pinkish folds. The four lines of his scroll are badly damaged but appear to be taken from the opening of the *ekphonesis* of the second prayer of the faithful: ὁ[πῶς] ὑ|πὸ τοῦ | κ[ράτου]ς | π(άντ)ο(τε).<sup>246</sup>
  19. Prophet Elijah (Elias), in lower register of south wall, east section, left, is indistinct, save for his name.
  20. Another prophet (presumably Elisha), in lower register of south wall, east section, right, is very indistinct.
  21. A martyr (distinguished by his white cross) in lower register of south wall, west section, begins a series of figures of standing saints which continues on the same register of the west wall and of the north wall, west section. Fire has damaged the painting.
  22. St. Arsenios, in lower register of south wall, is inscribed but damaged. St. Arsenios the Roman, fourth-century anchorite disciple of St. John the Small, is otherwise unrepresented in Pontic painting.
  23. St. Euthymios, in lower register of south wall, is inscribed but damaged. A companion of St. Sabbas, St. Euthymios is also found in the paintings of 1443 in the tower of the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond.<sup>247</sup>
  24. An ascetic saint (distinguished by his long hair), in lower register of south wall. Fire has damaged the painting.
  25. A standing saint, in lower register of west wall, south portion. The figure is relatively well preserved from the knees upward, although most of the head has been defaced. An inscription identifying the right-hand figure (no. 26) as St. Makarios was painted between the halos of both, but there does not seem to have been any epigraphic identification of no. 25. Clad in a jewelled himation above the tunic, this figure depicts a fairly young man, with a full head of hair and a pointed beard. He blesses with his right hand and holds a rolled scroll in his left. In the context of this part of the church one might expect St. Sabbas, or St. Anthony, but this figure does not correspond with any obvious ascetic or monastic saint.
  26. St. Makarios, to the right of no. 25, in lower register of west wall, is inscribed ὁ ἄγ(ι)ος Μακάριος. the head of this strikingly tall, hirsute, naked figure, has been obliterated. His right hand clutches a long wispy beard; his left is raised

244. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I (Oxford, 1896), 311; Babić and Walter (see note 190 above), *REB*, 34 (1976), 271, no. 4. An abbreviated version could appear in Sarmaşıklı Lower Church (p. 279).

245. Brightman, *Liturgies*, I, 310; Babić and Walter, *REB*, 34 (1976), 271, no. 2.

246. Brightman, *Liturgies*, I, 317; Babić and Walter, *REB*, 34 (1976), 271, no. 11.

247. Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 81; Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, 120 (as 'Euthemios').

- open. Like no. 24, St. Makarios, pneumatophore of the *Skete*, is depicted as a conventional ascetic.
27. Sts. Constantine and Helena, in lower register of west wall, north of door. (pl. 225b). Like that in the eastern chapel of St. Sabbas (pl. 174), and unlike that in Sarmaşıklı Upper Church (No. 9; pl. 204c), the Vazelon composition shows Constantine on the left and Helena on the right. They are inscribed respectively  $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma(10\varsigma)$   $\text{Κωνσταντῖνος}$  and  $\eta \acute{\alpha}\gamma(1\alpha)$   $\text{Ἑλένη}$ . Their cross bears four capital "epsilons." The jewelled robes of the Vazelon example are more fussy in detail than those in the St. Sabbas chapel of 1411, but the composition is substantially more confident-looking than that in Sarmaşıklı. Helena's imperial robe has a red ground, dark red shadow lines, and white highlights; the artist has treated the kite-shaped end of her *loros* convincingly, as if he knew how the garment was actually worn.
28. St. Demetrios, in lower register of north wall, west section, begins a series of four standing military saints, which follow each other without any separation. St. Demetrios, popular enough elsewhere, is otherwise known only at Pipat church 8 (No. 7 above) in medieval Pontic painting.
29. St. Theodore, in lower register of north wall (pl. 225c), has nothing to indicate which of the two saints bearing the same name is represented here. Sarmaşıklı Upper Church (No. 9) has both Theodore the Stratelates and Theodore the Tyro, but it is the Pontic Tyro of Euchaïta who is associated with St. Eugenios there, and it is possible that here too the Tyro is intended.
30. St. Eugenios of Trebizond, in lower register of north wall (pl. 225c). Despite damage to the face, this is perhaps the finest surviving wall painting of the patron of Trebizond.<sup>248</sup> The figure is inscribed  $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma(10\varsigma)$   $\text{Εὐγένιος ὁ Τραπεζοῦντος}$ . He holds a long white martyr's cross and

248. The energetic propaganda of clerics, from John Xiphilinos onward, for St. Eugenios as patron of Trebizond and, eventually, of the Grand Komnenoi, seems in fact to have fallen on stony ground in Matzouka, if one can judge from the fact that among the hundreds of Christian names recorded in the Acts of Vazelon there are only two Eugenioi (in Acts 27 of the 13th century and 63 of 1278; Act 117 of the 13th century records St. Eugenios as a place name). Otherwise,

wears a short red military tunic and a blue cloak edged with pearls. His kite-shaped shield is white, decorated with a pattern which might be described as "disintegrated Kufic" lettering (also found on the covering of the deathbed of the Theotokos in the Koimesis, no. 4) in red.

31. St. George, in lower register of north wall (pl. 225c), is inscribed  $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma(10\varsigma)$   $\text{Γεώργιος}$ . His red cloak is fastened over a convincing representation of chain mail. But the most striking feature of the figure is its brightly painted circular shield. Unlike St. Demetrios, St. George is relatively common in Pontic painting, and the Grand Komnenos George even substituted him for St. Eugenios on certain bronze coin types.<sup>249</sup>
32. St. John the Baptist, in lower register of north wall, east section, is inscribed thus rather than "the Prodomos," or "of Vazelon."
33. The Theotokos, in lower register of north wall, stands in a panel which also includes no. 34.
34. Christ, in lower register, of north wall, stands next to St. Athanasios (no. 13) in the apse and opposite the prophet Elijah (no. 19).

The height of the panels, within their red borders, ranges from 1.07 to 1.40 m.; the chorus of angels (no. 5), however, is only 0.69 m high. The width of the panels, within their red borders, range from 1.74 m by the west door, to 1.22 m in the apse. Some halos overlap the upper borders; there is no gap between the feet of figures and the lower borders.

Measurements in centimeters of selected figures are given in the Table that follows.<sup>250</sup>

there is only the nun Eugenia Trapezontopoulla, who gave an icon to San Giorgio dei Greci, Venice, in the 17th century (M. Chatzidakis,  *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs* [Venice, 1962], 88–90). Compare these pitifully few Eugenioi with the Spyridons who overrun Corfu and with Lazaropoulos' boast, in ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 141), that so many Trapezuntines were called Eugenios that a Constantinopolitan judge was confused, when trying a case, because each of the three Trapezuntine witnesses he called gave Eugenios as his name.

249. O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt* (Moscow, 1910), 71.

250. We are grateful to Mrs. Jane Hampartumian (née Isaac) for making these measurements.

VAZELON, CHAPEL OF ST. ELIAS. MEASUREMENTS OF SOME OF THE FIGURES

Figure no. Name	33 Theotokos	19 Elijah	13 Athanasios	26 Makarios	31 George	30 Eugenios	27 Helena	27 Constantine
Halo diameter (with borders)	35	33.5	30	29.5	31	30	28	28
Compass point of halo	left eye	nose bridge	just above right eye	destroyed	middle forehead	nose bridge	between eyes	between eyes
Top of head to outer halo border	—	—	9	8	7.25	7	crowned	crowned
Top of head to heel	—	—	130.5	128	136	126	crowned	crowned
Top of head to toe	—	—	134	137	142+	140	crowned	crowned

VAZELON, CHAPEL OF ST. ELIAS. MEASUREMENTS OF SOME OF THE FIGURES (*conti*)

Figure no. Name	33 Theotokos	19 Elijah	13 Athanasios	26 Makarios	31 George	30 Eugenios	27 Helena	27 Constantine
Width of shoulders (superhumeral top)	—	—	28	23	34.5	31	18	—
Width of hem of chiton or tunic	—	—	32	—	45	39	30	—
Height from chin to knee	—	—	—	<i>ca.</i> 90	84	—	—	—
Top of head to chin	—	—	<i>ca.</i> 16 (bearded)	—	20.5	—	—	—
Top of head to eyeline	—	—	<i>ca.</i> 9	—	destroyed	10	—	—
Eyeline to chin	—	—	<i>ca.</i> 6	—	destroyed	destroyed	7	—
Eyeline to nose tip	—	—	<i>ca.</i> 4	—	—	destroyed	destroyed	—
Top of head to hairline	—	—	6	—	—	6	—	—
Width of head on eye- line across hair	—	—	13	—	—	16	hair drawn back	—
Width of head excluding hair	—	—	9	—	—	10.5	10	—
Chin to neckline	—	—	bearded	—	5.5	—	4	—

*Date.* Talbot Rice noted that "the paintings are well preserved and show quite good work, but they do not appear to be much earlier than the late seventeenth century."<sup>251</sup>

About fifty votive and other inscriptions are scratched on the wall paintings. Their style ranges from the careful, stilted open lettering of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries through that with convoluted ligatures of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries to the fluent copybook script of the schoolmasters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A number of prayers and signatures are dated, usually in arabic numerals, as follows: 1661, 1663, 1693, 1716, 1728,  $\mu\lambda$ ? (= 173?), 1740, 1747, 1773, 1792,  $\alpha\omega\beta'$  (= 1802), 1814, and 1917. The most useful graffito, and perhaps the earliest from the style of its lettering, has already been noted above the head of St. Nicholas. It refers to the restoration of the church of the Prodomos by the emperor. The "church" cannot be this chapel of St. Elias and is probably the monastic church of the Prodomos of Vazelon nearby. The monastery was endowed by several emperors, particularly by the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90).

Iconographically, the group of ascetic saints is appropriate to a monastery such as Vazelon and is paralleled for example in St. Sabbas, Trebizond. The group of military saints, led by St. Eugenios of Trebizond, whose official cult the Grand Komnenoi were at pains to promote, may be compared with a similar concern with military saints in the

Late Byzantine world, not only in the Pontos, but also in fourteenth-century Serbia.

The painter of St. Elias had a feeling for scale and monumentality. He achieved this in a small chapel by limiting the festival scenes to ten, plus the Koimesis, and by eliminating some of the red borders (e.g., between the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, the Baptism and the Raising of Lazarus, the Nativity and the Presentation) which would otherwise have overdivided the work. The sense of weightiness and volume in some of the figures perhaps points to the thirteenth century in general and to the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, in particular.<sup>252</sup> It is especially marked in the angel of the Annunciation (pl. 219a, b), in the angels of the Baptism (pl. 222), and in the apostles Paul and John at the Koimesis (pl. 217b). Reminiscent of work in the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, are the faces of a pair of apostles above St. Paul in the Koimesis, of a beardless apostle, the second behind Christ, in the Raising of Lazarus (pl. 223a), as well as the choir of angels, with their many-colored halos, in the apse (pl. 218).

The sense of volume is increased by cutting down on the number of tones of color, and thereby decreasing linear definition. It is interesting to note that black is used very sparingly. It is often left out of both shadow lines and outlines so that the whole impression is of loose volume, for instance, in the Heavenly Host composition.

251. Talbot Rice, *Byzantion*, 5 (1930), 79.

252. Cf. *L'art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani, 1965*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade, 1967).

Stylistically, St. Elias has some affinities with the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, and it has virtually none with the Taxiarchai, Sachnoe. But the evidence of its iconography, graffiti, and style, and the opinion of Talbot Rice, do not add up to very much; all we can say is that the church dates almost certainly to the period 1204–1461 and, probably, to the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.

27. Gregory of Neocaesarea, *Metochion* of Vazelon Monastery

*Situation.* In the woods, about one hour east of Vazelon monastery, in the region of Sachnoe.

*History.* Reported by Kyriakides, we have no other evidence for the site.<sup>253</sup>

28. Monastery of the Panagia Kremaste (Kızlar Manastır) (pl. 226a)

*Situation.* Below Aitherisa, the buildings of the monastery, which mask a sacred cave, can be picked out clearly above the west bank of the Prytanis from the modern highway.

*History.* Probably a medieval foundation, the place was refounded as a monastery for women by Vazelon monastery in 1858—as Vazelon’s equivalent to Soumela’s nunnery of the Prodomos at Kouspidion. Most of what is now visible, and especially the cave church, was set up after 1858 and has been published elsewhere. But the foundations of the terraced cells are clearly older and may represent a medieval shrine of which we have no literary record.<sup>254</sup>

29. St. Eugenios, at Giannanton, Yanandoz, now Yazılıtaş

*Situation and Identification.* Between Giannanton and Pontyla, Güzelce, on the east bank of the Prytanis. The church described by Talbot Rice at “Yazili Tash Khar-kand,” standing on a rocky eminence, is evidently Kyriakides’ Γιάζηλη-τάς, and Zerzelides’ Γιαζίλι-τασίον, at the 45th-km stone from Trebizond. It was destroyed before 1962.<sup>255</sup>

*Architecture.* A small round-apsed basilica, with west door and stone-tiled roof. The door had a molded frame surmounted by a tympanum.

*Decoration.* Both the exterior and the interior were painted, red and black being the principal colors. The paintings were in a very poor state of preservation in 1929.

*Date.* Talbot Rice suggested a sixteenth century date for the church and its paintings. Zerzelides called them ancient. They were probably medieval.

253. Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 364–65; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 300 note 1.

254. Talbot Rice, *Byzantium*, 5 (1930), 78–79; Vazelon Acts 46 of 1264, and 62 of the 13th century; Ioannides, *Historia*, 241; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 298–301, fig. 22, pls. 92–93. Topalides, *Vazelon*, 44, states that the Kremaste was an 18th-century *metochion*, refounded in 1878.

255. Talbot Rice, *Byzantium*, 5 (1930), 78 and pl. 29; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 365; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 96, 104: ‘Αγ-Ηθέντης; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 137.

30. St. Marina, at Giannanton, Yanandoz, now Yazılıtaş

*Situation.* Between Giannanton and Pontyla, Güzelce, on the east bank of the Prytanis and presumably near St. Eugenios.

*History.* described by Zerzelides as a chapel dating from the period of the (Grand) Komnenoi; we have no further record of it.<sup>256</sup>

31. St. Basil, at Kounakalin, Konaka, now Küçükkonak (pl. 226b)

*Situation.* In Messorym, the central settlement of Kounakalin, on the west bank of the Prytanis, opposite Pontyla.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as a small ancient church; we have no further record of it.<sup>257</sup>

32. St. Pankratios, at Kounakalin, Konaka, now Küçükkonak

*Situation.* In Messorym, the central settlement of Kounakalin, on the west bank of the Prytanis, opposite Pontyla.

*History.* described by Zerzelides as a small ancient church; we have no further record of it.<sup>258</sup>

33. St. Constantine, at Kounakalin, Konaka, now Küçükkonak

*Situation.* In Taratsanton, to the north of central Kounakalin.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as ancient, and ruined before 1923.<sup>259</sup>

34. St. Helen, at Kounakalin, Konaka, now Küçükkonak

*Situation.* In Taratsanton, to the north of central Kounakalin.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as ancient, and ruined before 1923.<sup>260</sup>

35. St. Gregory, at Kounakalin, Konaka, now Küçükkonak

*Situation.* In Taratsanton, to the north of central Kounakalin.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as ancient, and ruined before 1923.<sup>261</sup>

36. St. (Theodore) Gabras, at Kounakalin, Konaka, now Küçükkonak

*Situation.* In Kourance, a summer settlement of Kounakalin and northwest of the main village, on the east slopes of Mount Myl and 1,200 m above sea level.

*History.* Although Zerzelides does not describe this chapel as old, its dedication hints that it may be medieval.<sup>262</sup>

256. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 101.

257. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 111.

258. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 111.

259. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 111.

260. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 111.

261. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 111.

262. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 111.

37. Monastery of St. Gregory of Nyssa, at Kounakalin, Konaka, now Küçükkonak

*Situation.* In Taratsanton, to the north of central Kounakalin.

*History.* Various descriptions by Zerzelides and Topalides as existing, or founded, in the time of Justinian; in 870; and in 1363; the firmest medieval evidence for the monastery is a charter of January 1349 in which its abbot Makarios made an agreement with abbot Theoktistos of Vazelon. The monastery was in ruins by 1923.<sup>263</sup>

38. Monastery of the Theotokos of Lachanas

*Situation.* In Lachanas, northeast of central Genakanton, Yanakandos, now Gürgenagaç, toward Pontyla, on the east bank of the Prytanis.

*History.* Vazelon Act 106 reveals that in the late thirteenth century the monastery drew revenues from Kounakalin-Intzoule. There is no later record of it.<sup>264</sup>

39. Theotokos (Panagia), at Genakanton, Yanakandos, now Gürgenagaç

*Situation.* In central Genakanton, on the east bank of the Prytanis.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient painted church.<sup>265</sup>

40. Evangelistria, Genakanton, Yanakandos, now Gürgenagaç

*Situation.* In Omal, southwest of central Genakanton, toward Krenasa, on the east bank of the Prytanis.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient chapel; A. A. M. B. noted facing stones of "honey conglomerate" and scattered marble blocks in the Omal area which could be vestiges of it.<sup>266</sup> The "honey conglomerate" is the same stone as that found at Pipat Church A (No. 6), but the marble may suggest a nineteenth-century church.

41. St. George of Rachata, Genakanton, Yanakandos, now Gürgenagaç

*Situation.* Between central Genakanton and the highway.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as a large ancient church.<sup>267</sup>

42. St. Anna, Krenasa-Adolin, Kiransa, now Anayurt

*Situation.* In Achouria, on the east bank of the Prytanis.

263. Vazelon Act 48 of 1439; Janin, *EMGCB*, 285; Topalides, *Vazelon*, 95–96; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 109; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 366.

264. Vazelon Acts 105 and 106 of the 13th century; Janin, *EMGCB*, 274, 285; Topalides, *Vazelon*, 95–96; Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 112. Bryer and Winfield noted a walled enclosure which could have been the site of the monastery, *AP*, 30 (1970), 306–7.

265. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 114; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 307.

266. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 114; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 307.

267. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 114.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient church with wall paintings.<sup>268</sup>

43. Monastery of the Theotokos (Panagia) of Krenasa

*Situation.* In Xenita, between Krenasa and Zavera, Zavera, now Dikkaya.

*History.* Described as an ancient monastery by Zerzelides, its buildings and an associated church were in ruins by 1923; we have no other record of it.<sup>269</sup>

44. St. Sabbas, Staman, İstama, now Başar

*Situation.* In Kampana, at the bottom of the Prytanis valley between Krenasa and Staman, and contiguous to No. 43.

*History.* Zerzelides states that the church was connected with the monastery of the Theotokos of Krenasa.<sup>270</sup>

45. Theotokos (Panagia), Krenasa, Kiransa, now Anayurt

*Situation.* In Kampana, at the bottom of the Prytanis valley between Krenasa and Staman, and contiguous to No. 44.

*History.* Zerzelides states that the ruined church was connected with the monastery of the Theotokos of Krenasa.<sup>271</sup>

46. St. John Prodromos, Staman, İstama, now Başar

*Situation.* In Skeparı, northwest of Kampana.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient church with wall paintings.<sup>272</sup>

47. St. Longinos, Staman, İstama, now Başar

*Situation.* In Chalabena of Staman, high on the eastern slopes of Mount Boudoxe.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient church.<sup>273</sup>

48. St. Nicholas, Staman, İstama, now Başar

*Situation.* North of Kampana.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient church.<sup>274</sup>

49. St. Cosmas and St. Damian, Staman, İstama, now Başar

*Situation.* High on the wooded slopes of Mount Boudoxe.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient, small, church.<sup>275</sup>

50. Ascension (Analepsis), Staman, İstama, now Başar

*Situation.* On the river and lake of the Ascension,

268. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 120; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 304–6.

269. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 120.

270. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 136; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 365.

271. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 120; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 365.

272. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 136.

273. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 136.

274. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 136.

275. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 136.

Pervaneoğlu Dere, in Yerköprü, on the old highway, which the village failed to persuade authorities to make the present road follow in the nineteenth century.

*History.* The monastic site, said to have been ravaged by the Persians in Justinian's reign, was later connected with the monastery of the Theotokos of Krenasa.<sup>276</sup>

51. St. Christopher, at Zavera, Zavera, now Dikkaya

*Situation.* In Leftokarin, the supposed Byzantine center of Zabra, east of Palaiokastro.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient Byzantine church, basilical in plan.<sup>277</sup>

52. Palaiokastro(n), Castle of Palaiomatzouka, Hamsiköy Kale, Dik Kaya Kale (fig. 98, pl. 227a, b)

*Situation.* Perched on a great rock above the Prytanis, the castle is one of the most striking landmarks in the Pontos (pl. 227a).

*Architecture.* The castle consists of a keep, roughly 20 m square, the walls of which still stand up to 10 m high in places. They are built of roughly coursed stone and an attempt has been made to even up the exterior with mortar. At least two periods of construction are visible. In the second, the keep was raised by one or more storeys. Associated with these additions may be a curtain wall enclosing an area of about 25 × 40 m on the east side of the keep (fig. 98, pl. 227b).

*Date.* If the castle is the "Pyrgen" of the thirteenth-century Vazelon Act 104, it may then have consisted of the keep alone. By the time Clavijo passed beneath it in 1404 it was a castle, named Palaiomatzouka and presumably seat of the duke of the breakaway *bandon*. One might therefore speculate that the second period of building came in the fourteenth century.<sup>278</sup>

53. Holy Savior (Ay Sotir), at Lefka (fig. 99, pl. 228)

*Situation and Identification.* The chapel stands about 400 m east of the castle of Palaiomatzouka, overlooking modern Hamsiköy, in the Zaberan farm called Lefka (Λευκέν'). It corresponds to Zerzelides' Ἁγέ-Σωτήρα, and was, more particularly, dedicated to the Transfiguration.<sup>279</sup>

*Architecture.* A barrel-vaulted chapel with single semi-circular apse, the outside measurements of which are no more than 4 × 8 m. The inside is faced with well-cut blocks, but the outside facing has been robbed entirely, exposing a rubble core. The west end of the building, which is now a hay store, is largely missing, but enough remains to show that there had been a window or tympanum above the door lintel, similar to that above the entrance to Church A at İkisü. There are slight traces of plaster. The height of the barrel vault of the naos is now 3.65 m. A ribbed arch stands before the cleanly built conch of the apse. It is possible that the three or four liturgical niches in the apse were made later.

276. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 131; Kyriakides, *Vazelon*, 365; Topalides, *Vazelon*, 72–74, 82.

277. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 149.

278. Vazelon Act 104 of the 13th century; Clavijo (1404), 116; Topalides, *Vazelon*, 82.

279. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 140, 141, 149.

*Date.* A far from exhaustive search for the ninety-five churches recorded by Zerzelides as standing in the comparatively short upper Matzoukan section of the Prytanis valley before 1922 revealed the remains of less than a dozen. Of these, the chapel of the Holy Savior, Lefka, was the only one which was clearly medieval (although Zerzelides ventures no opinion as to its date). But it belongs to such a common Pontic medieval type that one cannot be more precise.<sup>280</sup>

54. Koimesis of the Theotokos, Tshacharyanton, Hamsiköy

*Situation.* In Mytikaren, the northeast section of Tshacharyanton, in what is now central Hamsiköy.

*History.* Described by Zerzelides as an ancient church with wall paintings, the Koimesis must have been one of the first to be destroyed in Hamsiköy, for it lay among the *hans*, shops, and stalls selling rice-pudding (for which the place is now famed throughout Turkey) of what is now a busy bus station. It was not reported by Talbot Rice there in 1929, when more distant and modern churches were still standing.<sup>281</sup>

55. St. John Chrysostom, Meliananton, Hamsiköy

*Situation.* In Mangan of Upper Meliananton, Melanlı, now Çıralı, due south of central Hamsiköy, and one of the highest permanent settlements of Palaiomatzouka.

*History.* Zerzelides reports an ancient small church.<sup>282</sup>

56. The Taxiarchai, Meliananton, Hamsiköy

*Situation.* In Kangell of Upper Meliananton, Melanlı, now Çıralı, due south of central Hamsiköy.

*History.* Zerzelides reports that an ancient church was dedicated to the Archangels.<sup>283</sup>

57. Koimesis of the Theotokos, Tshacharyanton, Hamsiköy

*Situation.* In Palaichor, a summer village of Tshacharyanton, which lies about 1,800 m above sea level, 3.5 km southwest of Hamsiköy, below the Zigana pass. It is clearly visible about twenty-five minutes' climb east of the modern road after it has wriggled above the tree line and into the open pastures.

*History.* Reported by Zerzelides as a small ancient church. See no. 58 below.<sup>284</sup>

58. Holy Savior (Ay Sotir), Meliananton, Hamsiköy

*Situation.* In Batheas Elas, the principal summer village of Meliananton which lies about 2,200 m above sea level, 3 km south of Hamsiköy. Visible below to those who ride through the Pontic Gates, its huddled houses are built of stone and sunk into the hillside, as are those of Palaichor.

*History.* Zerzelides reports an ancient church, dedicated to the Transfiguration. If this, and the Koimesis at Palaichor (the name of which suggests an old settlement), were indeed medieval churches, the fact would have considerable his-

280. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 302–7.

281. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 159; Talbot Rice, *Byzantium*, 5 (1930), 78; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 302–4.

282. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 163.

283. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 163.

284. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 157, 159.

torical implications. Palaichor and Batheas Elias would have been exposed to Türkmen attack in spring and have always been abandoned in winter. If their summer churches were medieval, they would not only represent the most highly situated Trapezuntine buildings, but say much for the security of transhumant life existing then in these green mountains.<sup>285</sup>

59. Zigana Castle, Kalkandere Kale (pl. 229a, b)

*Situation.* The police station and group of sheep-butchers' stalls which stand today in the exhilarating air of the Zigana Pass, do not represent medieval Zigana, which, for the convenience of travelers and its few permanent inhabitants, is tucked away in the folds of the mountains south of the pass. Nor is it a watershed; streams still flow north. There are three settlements, gathered on either side of this tributary of the Philabonites, Harşit, about 2 km below the pass. The first is on the present (and nineteenth-century) road, to the east of the river. This is certainly in a photograph by Cumont, and is probably represented in an engraving of 1869, published by Deyrolle, which shows a basilical church with a single semicircular apse, topped by a dome over a drum with up to twelve windows, overlooking the ravine and road among *hans*. In the watercourse, about 180 m below the village, is an earlier staging post, as shown by the remains of an impressive Ottoman caravansary, the central vault of which was once carried by eight columns, each over 5 m tall. The caravansary (pl. 229a), which was abandoned in the nineteenth century or before, must have been built after Mehmed II's conquest of the area in 1479–80 and in its size may emphasize the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Ottoman determination to make the Tabriz route secure. The third site, which the Ottoman *han* supplanted, is the earliest and overlooks the Ottoman one from high above the west bank of the river and what had been Clavijo's route in 1404. Now insignificant and not immediately visible from the road, it seems to have been noted hitherto only by Cumont. The castle stands 700 m west of Zigana Köyü, on a rock from which the pass itself is visible at 51° north; the next staging post, at Torul to the south, is invisible from it.

*Architecture.* In 1404 Clavijo described the castle on its pinnacle which could only be reached by a wooden draw-bridge from another rock. In 1900 Cumont reported that, of the remains of the castle, "il subsiste les fondations d'une tour ronde à l'extrémité de la crête que suivait l'enceinte. Au pied, jaillit une source ferrugineuse."<sup>286</sup> Today a minor road has been blasted past the remains of the castle which consist of the ill-built bastion at the southern edge of a ridge, standing to 3.5 m at its highest (pl. 229b). The walls were very roughly faced. The mortar includes abundant lime and pebbles. Smaller and less impressive than the castle of Palaio-matzouka, it nevertheless seems to have been composed of a keep (or watchhouse) and vestigial enceinte.

*Date.* The present castle must date from before 1404, but the strategic position of the site has demanded some sort of controlling station since antiquity.

285. Zerzelides, *AP*, 23 (1959), 163–64.

286. Cumonts (1900), 361; Deyrolle (1869); Clavijo (1404), 116–17.

## CONCLUSION

Together with Trebizond itself, its Matzoukan hinterland encompasses the greatest number of medieval monuments of any part of the Pontos (see fig. 100)—as does this Study. An analysis of the buildings we have described allows us, however, to draw even fewer conclusions than could Talbot Rice from the even skimpier evidence he published.

Apart from the buildings and the paintings of the three great cave monasteries (Nos. 8, refounded in 1393; 22, refounded in 1365; and 26, probably re-endowed in 1386), the medieval monuments of Matzouka were as modest as they were numerous. Given a nineteenth-century zeal for building, or refounding, churches (which is not documented here), the local tradition that there were three hundred sixty-five churches in the *banda* of Matzouka and Palaio-matzouka is certainly an underestimate.<sup>287</sup> But, apart from the medieval churches established by monastic, imperial, or archontic patrons (as were Nos. 8, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, and 26), the rest belonged to a demotic subculture whose interest is precisely that it represents no more than that. Our documentation is hardly complete, but demonstrates both the range and the limits of the art and architecture of the Late Byzantine village church.

Matzoukan castles were modestly built too, if strikingly placed. With the exception of Chortokopion, which may have been a more permanently manned establishment, they were mere watchtowers. The five we have described (Nos. 17, 23, 24, 52, and 59) were certainly built or refortified in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, while No. 23 is, and No. 59 should be, on an ancient site. No. 23 may have been an imperial castle, Nos. 17 and 24 were monastic, and Nos. 52 and 59 were archontic castles, but there is little to choose between them.

Beside the monasteries of Peristera, Soumela, and Vazelon, there were at least four others which probably flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Nos. 37, 38, 43, and 50 (for which sixth-century existence was claimed). Most, if not all, medieval Matzoukan churches belong to the same period too, although D. C. W. proposes eighth- and ninth-century dates for No. 9, and a twelfth-century date for No. 10. There are dates (albeit insecure ones) of 1378/79 for No. 15, 1390/91 for No. 25, and 1403/04 for No. 19. Thirteenth-century dates have been proposed for Nos. 1 and 5; thirteenth- to fourteenth-century dates for Nos. 4, 7, 9, 12–14, 18, 22, 24, and 26; and a fourteenth- to fifteenth-century date for No. 11. Like No. 2, Zerzelides "ancient" churches of Nos. 29–36, 39–49, 51, and 53–58 may also be late medieval. This outburst of building, and the prosperity which engendered it, coincides with the periods of local independence from 1204 to 1461—a period noted already as being, not surprisingly, responsible for the bulk of the medieval monuments of the capital.

Most churches were small, round-apsed, barrel-vaulted basilicas, usually covered with stone roofs and always built in stone such as Nos. 4, 6, 9, 10–13, 16, 26, 29, 51, and 53. There were a few variants: No. 3 boasted 3 apses; Nos. 5 and 25 (the

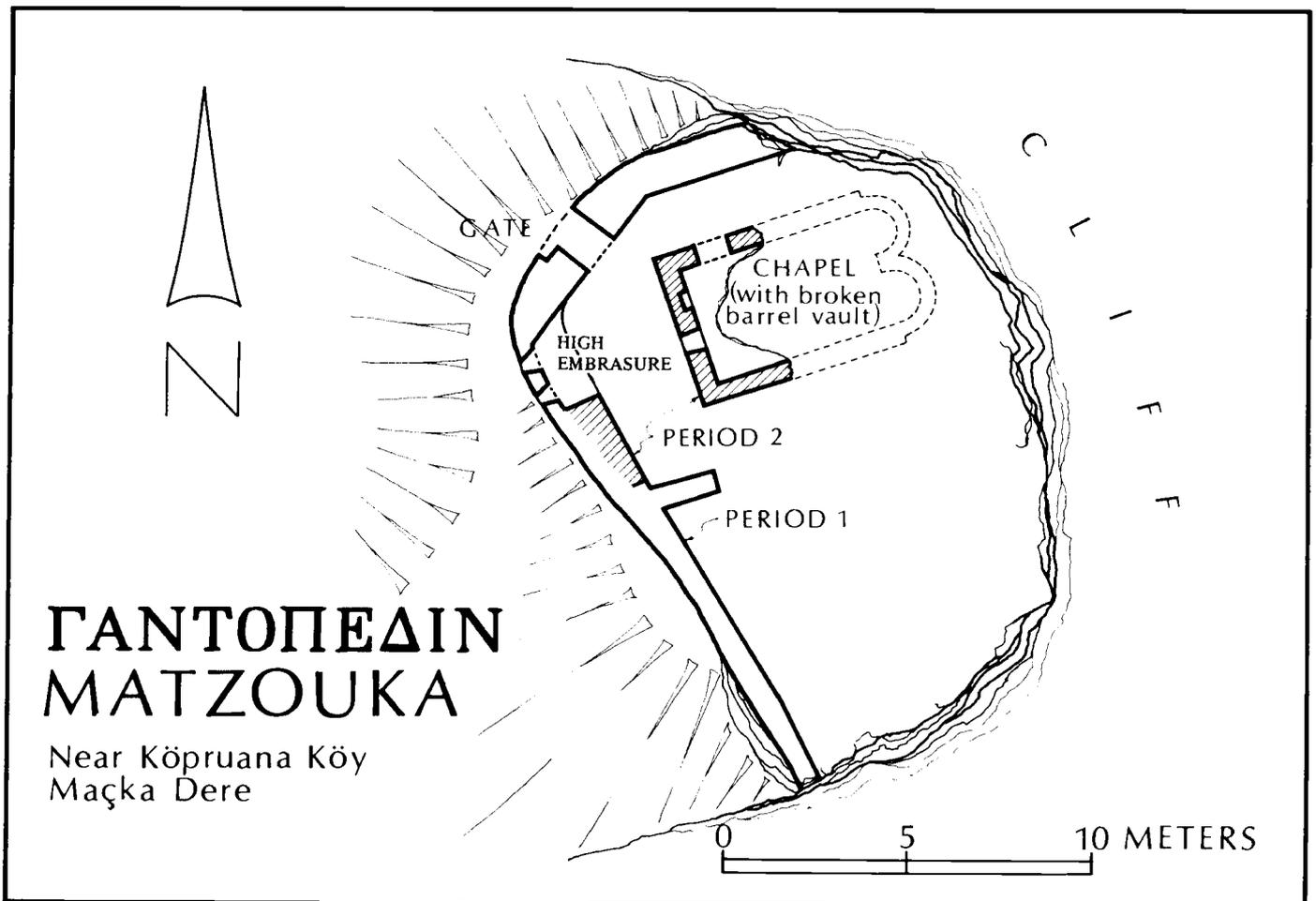
287. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 137.

most remarkable) were domed; and Nos. 3 and 25 had pentagonal apses, the mark of the more pretentious churches of the Grand Komnenoi. "Honey conglomerate" stone was employed in Nos. 6, 7, and maybe 40; and brick or tile in Nos. 2 and 6. Despite the tile works of Kiremitli, bricks do not seem to have been used much in the upper reaches of the valley. The three great monasteries set the example for cave churches, followed in Nos. 18 and 28.

The interior walls of at least thirteen churches were painted (Nos. 4, 7, 10–12, 18, 22, 25, 26, 29, 39, 42, and 46). More remarkable is the fact that the exterior walls of at least seven churches were also painted (Nos. 7, 11, 15, 18, 22, 25, and 29). A full cycle of the Life of Christ was attempted in only two (No. 25, which had only eight recorded scenes, but contained further ones of the Life of the Theotokos; and No. 26, which has ten scenes of the Life of Christ). Otherwise, the Matzoukan churches were iconographically unadventurous. It was difficult to squeeze an ambitious cycle into the constricted space of most of them. The normal Matzoukan

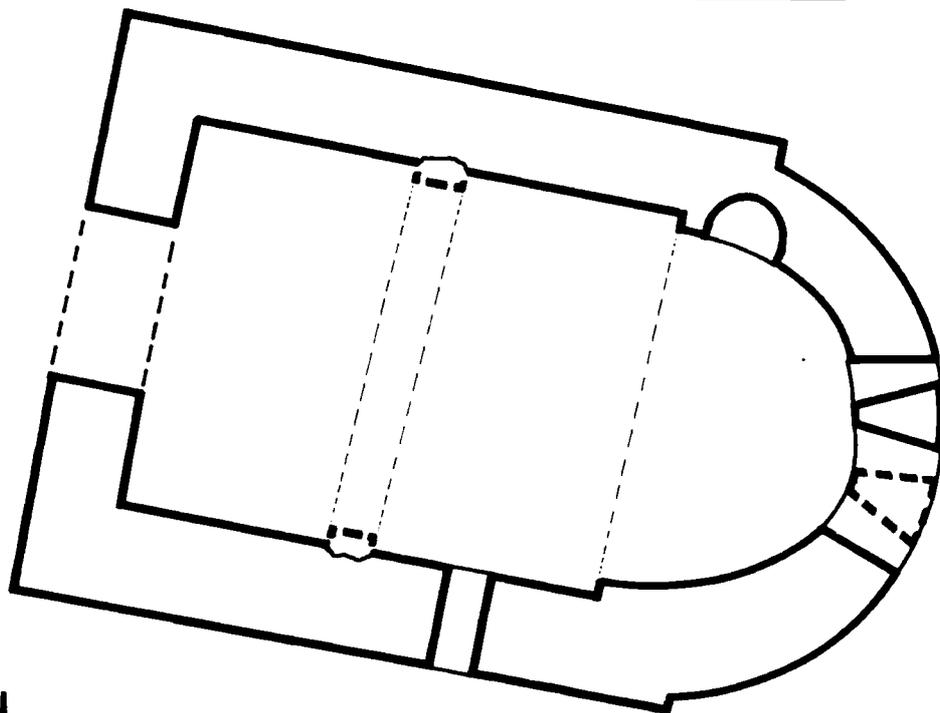
village church had a Theophany in the conch (e.g., Nos. 4 and 25); Fathers of the Church advancing, usually holding their scrolls, into the apse (e.g., Nos. 6, 11, 25, and 26), sometimes connected with a communion scene (e.g., Nos. 11 and 25). In the body of the church one would find groups of military saints (e.g., Nos. 6, 7, 9, and 26), and perhaps ascetics (including St. Zosimas and St. Mary of Egypt) (e.g., Nos. 18, 25, and 26). Popular individual figures were the Prodomos (Nos. 6 and 25), the Archangels (Nos. 9 and 25), and Sts. Constantine and Helen (Nos. 7, 9, 26). This simple repertoire was completed with dedicatory or decorative crosses (e.g., Nos. 7 and 9), or Aesopic scenes (Nos. 18 and 19).

Some village churches, such as at Sarmaşıklı or Pipat, were assiduously redecorated, but only the two associated with the monastery of Vazelon (Nos. 25 and 26) can claim any artistic distinction. The distinction of the valley itself is that the rude vigor of its local culture created so many monuments in the late Middle Ages.

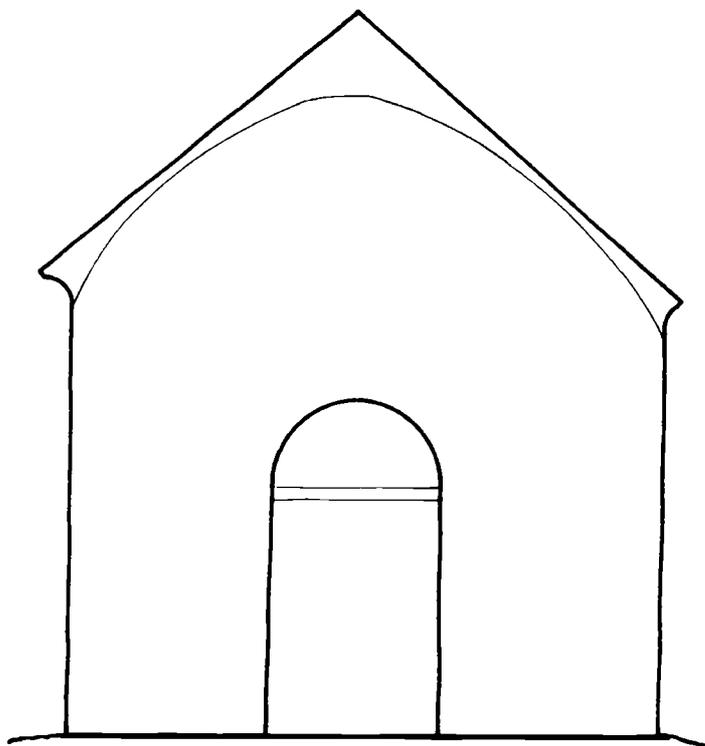


95. Gantopedin, Labra, Castle. Plan of Site

0 1 2 3 METERS

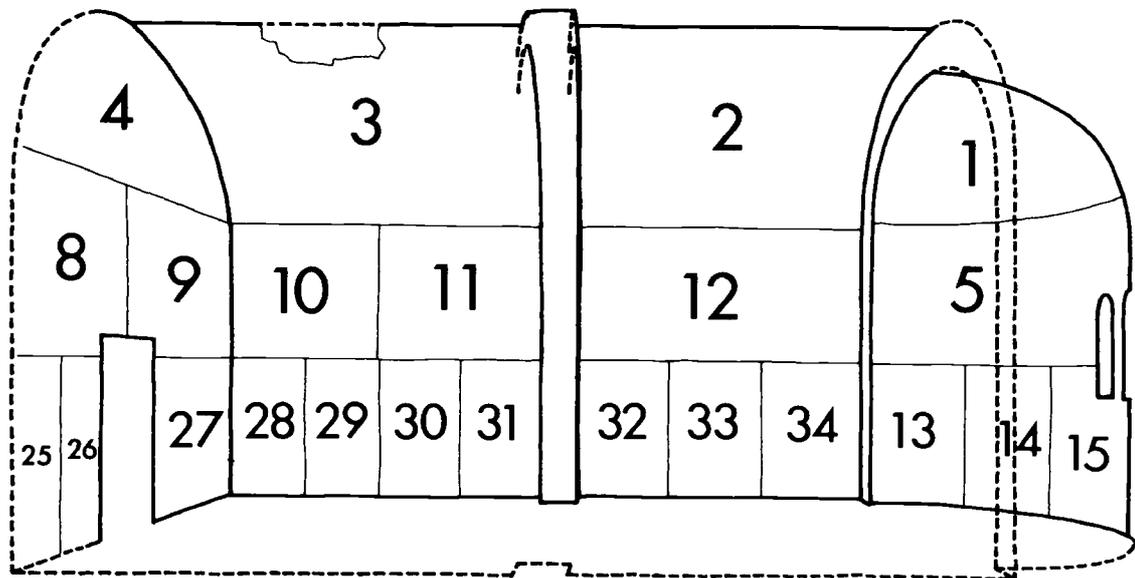


PLAN

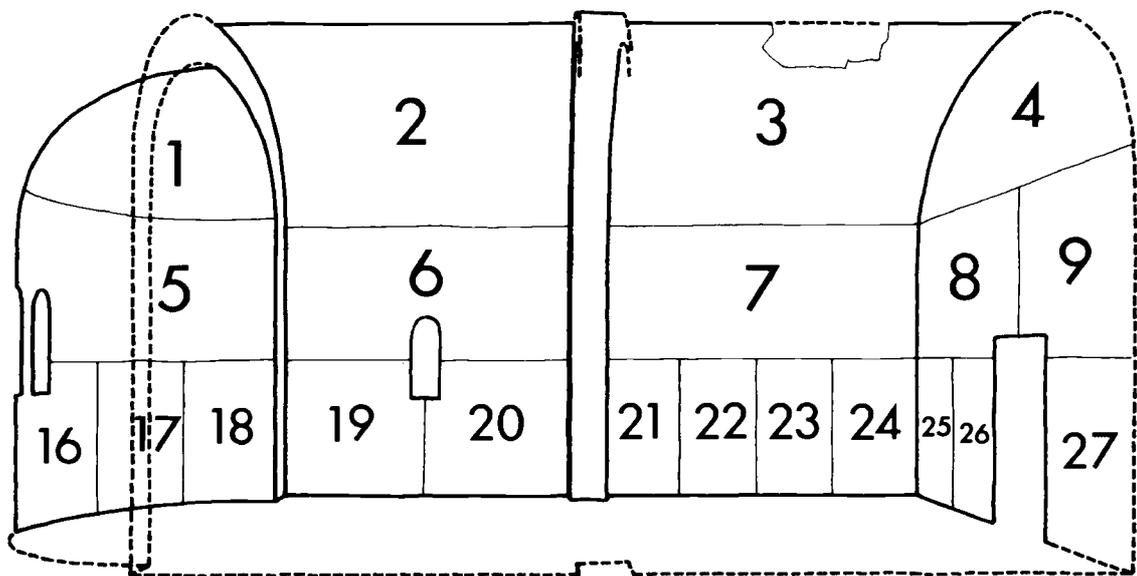


WEST ELEVATION

**BAZEΛΩΝ, AYANA**  
MANASTIR Chapel

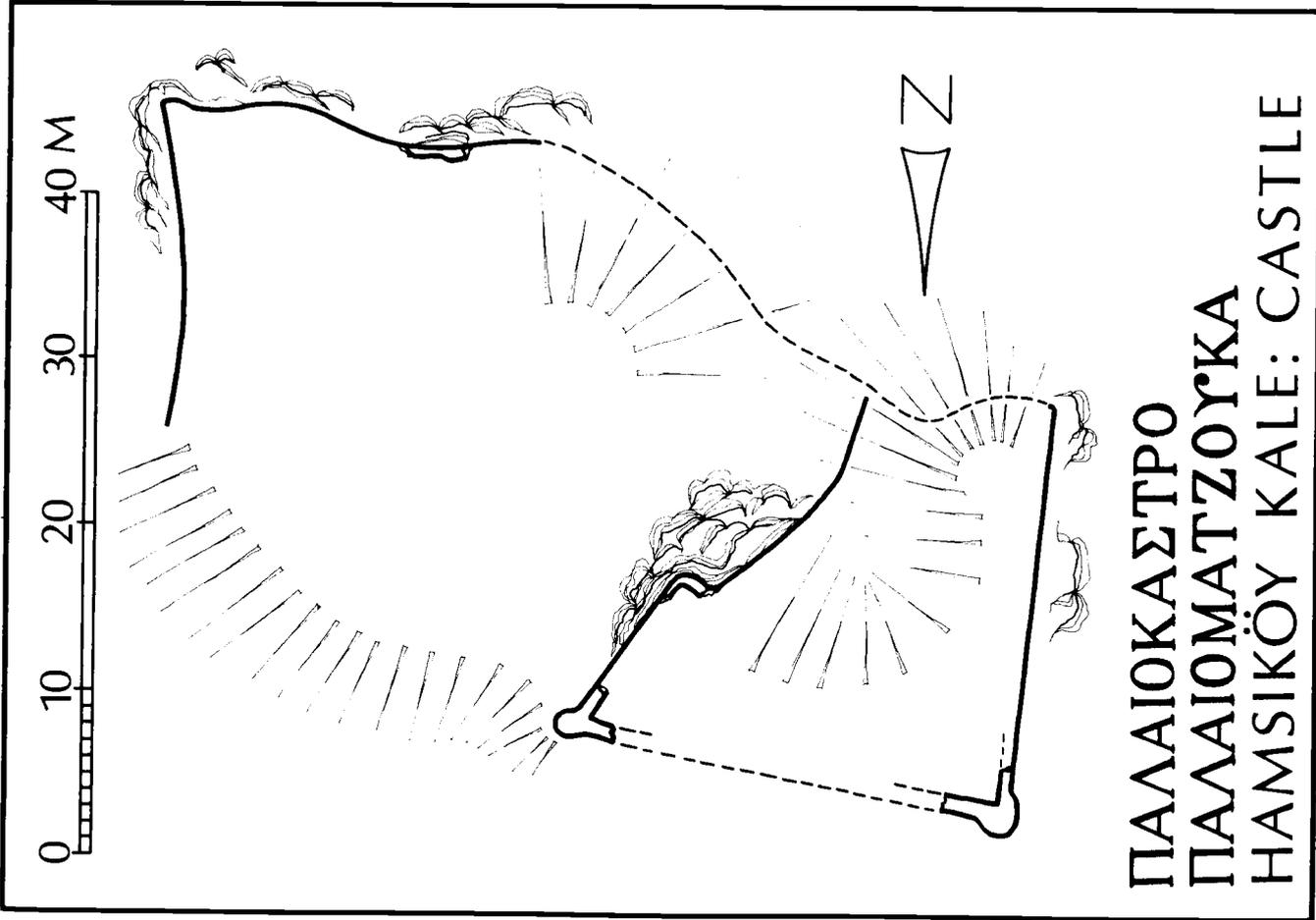


View North

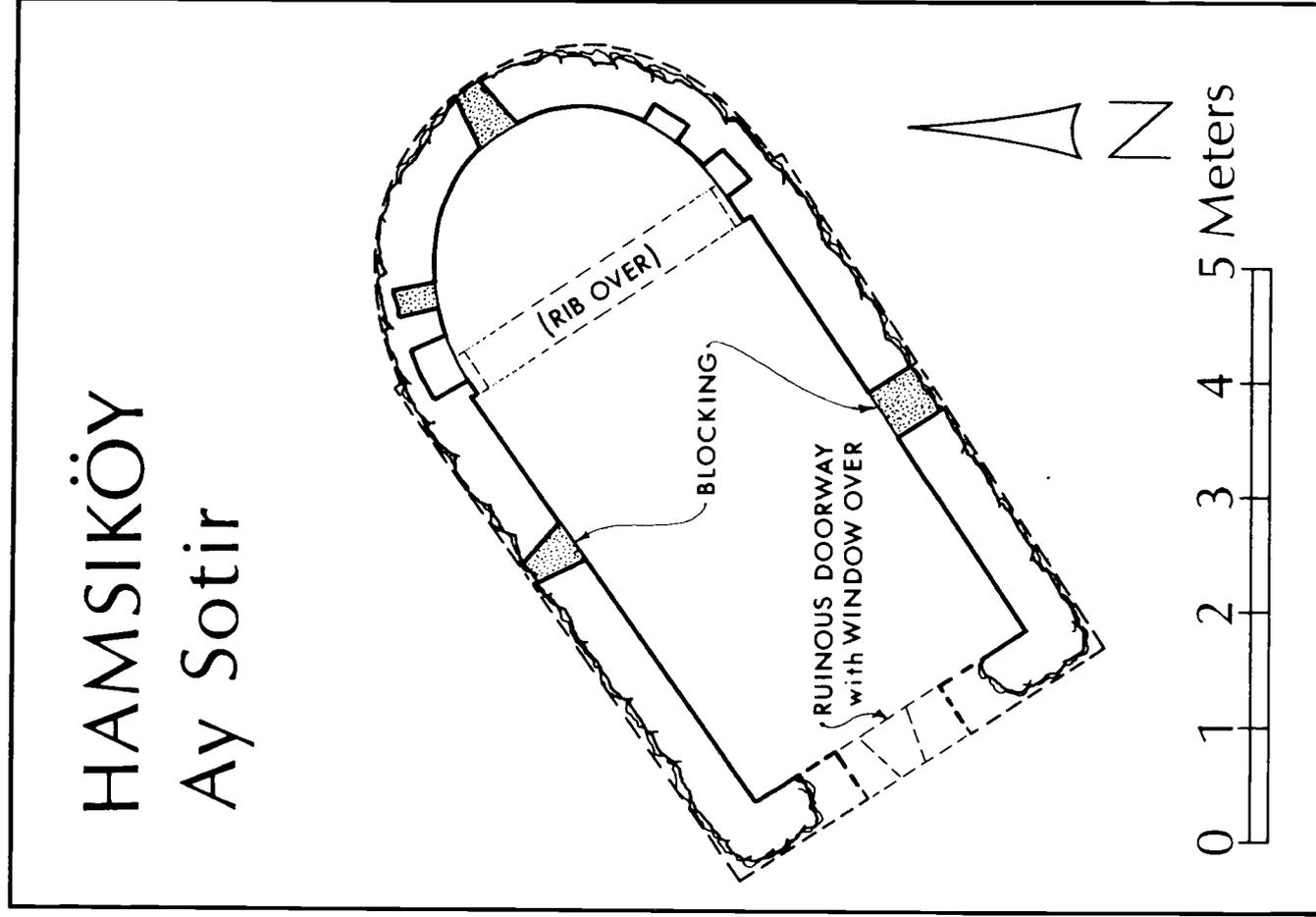


View South

97. Matzouka, Vazelon Monastery, Ayana Manastir, Chapel of St. Elias. Key to Wall Paintings



98. Plan of Site



99. Plan



## Section XXII

# CHALDIA

### HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

Geographically, this section is limited by the boundaries of Trapezuntine Chaldia. Historically, however, it must also embrace a much wider concept of Byzantine, and even ancient, Chaldia. Trapezuntine Chaldia was only a vestige of the former Byzantine theme, with its capital at Trebizond itself, but it was a highly distinctive vestige. Its shrunken boundaries enclosed what one may term "Inner Chaldia," the heartland of the province—and probably the primary strongholds of the ancient Chaldians too.

The extent of Trapezuntine Chaldia is best established by elimination. By eliminating the *banda* of Matzouka and Palaioatzouka (XXI) to the north beyond the Zigana pass and Pontic Gates; the lands of the Arhakil (XXVI) and of the Saatabago (XXVII) to the northeast beyond the high Paryadres; the citadel and plain of Bayburt (XXVIII) to the southeast of the Vavuk pass; and the intermittently Trapezuntine region of Cheriana (XIX) to the southwest, we are left with Inner Chaldia. This is high, dry country, dropping only to about 1,500 m above sea level where the valley of the Harşit (the Kávıç, which becomes the Philabonites below Torul) cuts raggedly through the mountains, carrying the Bayburt-Trebizond caravan road in its wake. The Kanis and its side waters are no great gifts to farmers. These streams are parched in summer, but burst with flash floods after any rain and when the snows melt. At intervals along the Kanis, which runs from southeast to northwest, mountain tracks snake out of the empire of Trebizond and climb down into Cheriana, Kelkit, and Satala. These paths breast a final range of hills before leaving Chaldia and entering the broad headwaters of the Lykos.

At first sight from the transit road today, there seems little to delay the traveler through Chaldia. The landscape appears barren and treeless, save for the files of dusty eucalyptus and poplar trees which have been planted along the river beds in recent years. Chaldia is dominated by granite escarpments, and the stupendous debris of Eocene volcanic upheavals look painfully naked. The contrast with the valleys north of Zigana, where the landscape is submerged beneath a sea of trees,<sup>1</sup> is stark. Unusually for Anatolia, it may well be that it was the past industry of man which has contributed to the treelessness of Chaldia. Lead ore was extracted from recklessly burrowed mines here. It was roasted for seven days before it yielded a little silver and less gold. It takes 4 lbs. of

wood to produce one of charcoal and Chaldian furnaces demanded nearly 200 lbs. of charcoal to smelt one of silver. So Chaldian villagers owed the Ottoman state both mining and charcoal services in lieu of the customary *harac* that other Christian subjects paid. For two centuries the smelters of Gümüşhane (Argyropolis), the "House of Silver" which remains the area's capital, stripped Chaldia of its timber and scrub, and it is open to question whether the mines were finally closed in the 1840s because the ore or the charcoal had been exhausted first.<sup>2</sup> As early as 1701 Tournefort complained of the lack of firewood in Chaldia.<sup>3</sup> South of Gümüşhane travelers from the coast encounter the fuel of central and eastern Anatolia: dungcakes piled with the haystacks on the flat mud roofs of the nucleated villages, for they have left the wood-burning steep-roofed extended settlements of the Pontos a few miles south of Zigana. One may guess that medieval Chaldia was better wooded, and hence better watered, than it is today. But even today, appearances are deceptive. Despite the fearful erosion, there are green valleys hidden on either side of the Kanis: along the Yağlı Dere, the Tsite valley, and around Sorogaina. They stretch up to even greener *parcharia*—the summer pastures which embrace the northern bounds of Inner Chaldia. Over the last century, orchards have replaced mines as the mainstay of the economy of Chaldia and the apples of Gümüşhane are more than locally pronounced as the sweetest in Turkey. There are pockets of agriculture too, worked by the Pontic plough in a cycle which lags a month or so behind that of the coast and which conforms to the rhythm of continental Anatolia the closer one gets to Bayburt.

In a land of distinct identities, Chaldia represents one of the most ancient and stubborn of all Pontic—and Byzantine—identities. In the face of Byzantine military, civil, and ecclesiastical reorganization in the seventh and eighth centuries, Chaldia refused to die. In Toynbee's words, "For an interpretation of the name Khaldia [the classical scholar] will have to go back to Urartian, Assyrian, and Achaemenian Persian records of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C. Who would have expected that an ethnicon that had gone under ground since then would come to surface again 1,400 years later?"<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the answer is that the "*ethnikon Khaldi*" had not gone to ground at all.

2. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 329.

3. Tournefort (1701), II, 185.

4. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world* (London, 1973), 225, 396, and note.

1. Cf. Evliya (1644), II, 243.

The lands of Urartu (Westerners' "Ararat") first enter record in about 1275 B.C. The Vannic state of Urartu finally collapsed in the face of Median attack and Armenian settlement at the end of the seventh century B.C. But the Armenians do not seem to have destroyed the identity of some Urartians, whose own name for themselves and their sun god was "Haldi"—a name which seems to survive in several northern Pontic villages called "Halt" and which today has a slightly pejorative meaning, as "the people beyond the mountains." Herodotus lists the Μάκρωνες among the proto-Georgian Pontic groups which survived the demise of Urartu, and it was the Makrones whom Xenophon's Ten Thousand encountered in the Pontic Alps of Chaldia in about 400 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Strabo states that the Χαλδαῖοι who lived above Trebizond were the ancient Makronai, and the two terms lived on in Inner Chaldia.<sup>6</sup> The Tzannoi, whom Justinian made strenuous efforts to subdue, seem last to be referred to in an ethnic sense by El Masudi in the tenth century (although they have historically been confused with the "Chani," which is what the Laz call themselves).<sup>7</sup> But the Tzannoi gave their name to Tzanicha, a principal stronghold of Chaldia, and to the Tzanichitai, who were warlords of these mountains under the Empire of Trebizond in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> The Chaldians were even more stubborn than the Tzannoi. Burney and Lang regard the Chaldians as "almost certainly the descendants or remnants of the Urartians";<sup>9</sup> they are named in the *Book of the Prefect* and seem last to be referred to in an ethnic sense in 1374.<sup>10</sup> Chaldia itself was recognized as a Byzantine and Trapezuntine district name, which prolonged its life as an episcopal title until this century.<sup>11</sup>

The memory, at least, of an ethnic identity which, against all efforts of Constantinopolitan and Trapezuntine governments, was projected from antiquity until the early modern period, was reinforced by other Chaldian distinctions: dynastic, commercial, a society controlled from high castles which dominate the region, and what might be termed a hagiogeographical distinction, for Chaldia is infested with almost as many local saints as fortresses.

Strabo had characterized Chaldia as a land of dynastic potentates.<sup>12</sup> It was Byzantine policy not to draw theme governors from such local dynasts (who do not therefore figure in the table of known officers of the theme, at the end of this section on pp. 316–318), but Constantine Porphyrogenitus hints significantly that an imperial agent who had to do business in the area needed to secure the support of its notables—perhaps the "ex-archontes" of

Chaldia who are listed in the *taktikon* Uspenskij of 842–43 are a semi-official recognition of the influence of such men.<sup>13</sup> Two great Chaldian dynasties are known before 1204: the Gabras and Xiphilinos (from whom the Phanariot Hypsilantai were to claim rather unconvincing descent).<sup>14</sup> It was John Xiphilinos, patriarch of Constantinople (1064–75) who elaborated the identification of Trebizond with its (probably originally Araurakan) patron, St. Eugenios.<sup>15</sup> But it was not until the early fourteenth century that Constantine Loukites endowed each of St. Eugenios' companions with specific birthplaces in Chaldia.<sup>16</sup> Why did he do this? The three companions of Eugenios have the conventional Latin names of Diocletian's Roman soldiery, but Loukites harps on their Chaldian ancestry and origins so strongly that one wonders if his encomium on all four martyrs does not reflect an attempt by the central government to associate Chaldian patriotism with that of Trebizond by linking particular villages and strongpoints of the interior with the Eugenios story of the coast: this at a time when the Chaldian dynasts were on the point of challenging the Grand Komnenoi, whose particular patron was Eugenios. So Loukites awarded St. Valerian a hamlet near Ardasia as his birthplace: Ἐδίσκη (later Ἄδισα or Adise, now Yıldız); St. Canidius was assigned the *polichnion* and castle of Σαλόχαινα or Σορώγαινα (later Soruyana, now Yalınkavak); and by elimination, the young St. Aquila was given Γόδατνα or Γόδαννα, which we identify with the village and castle of Kodil (now Gümüşkaya).<sup>17</sup>

This group of places lies in a tight triangle among what are now called the Balaban mountains on the left bank of the Kanis, between Torul and Gümüşhane. Ediske stands on the headwaters of the modern Çit Dere, 11 km southwest of Torul and 7 km northwest of Sorogaina. Godaina is reached by taking the modern İkisü Dere for 5 km south from the river junction at Dipotamos, which lies 10 km southeast of Torul. Three km south of Godaina the İkisü Dere divides in turn into the modern Soruyana Dere (taking the traveler to Sorogaina, 13 km west of Godaina), and the modern Karamustafa Dere, which leads on 5 km south to a village called Ἄτρα, later Edre, now Dörtkonak. There is a tradition that St. Theodore Gabras, martyred by the Turks in 1098, was a native of Atra, which turns our hagiogeographical triangle into a square. The "tradition" might be written off as the happy inspiration of archimandrite Anthimos Gabras of Atra and Buenos Aires, whom Lampsides has unmasked as the author of most (if not all) of an akritic pastiche called "The Ballad of Gabras," assembled between 1896 and 1904—if it had not already appeared in an *akolouthia* published in 1895.<sup>18</sup> The presence of place-names such as Γαβράντων and Βρύση τοῦ Γαβρά, near Atra, also lends

5. Herodotus, II, 104, III, 94; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, viii, 9.

6. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 18, 28.

7. Bryer, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 174–95.

8. Bryer, *BK*, 23–24 (1967), 129–36.

9. C. Burney and D. M. Lang, *The Peoples of the Hills. Ancient Ararat and the Caucasus* (London, 1974), 129.

10. I. Dujčev, *To Eparchikon Biblion* (London, 1970), 42, 170, 250; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 78.

11. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 73; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73–74, 76–77; R. Janin, *DHGE*, s.v. "Chaldia."

12. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 19.

13. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, 218; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 54–55 and note 33; Toynebee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 275.

14. Skopoteas, *AP*, 20 (1955), 150–240; Bryer, "Gabrades."

15. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 33–51.

16. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 12–14, 32.

17. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 82.

18. Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 151 and note 1.

some sort of weight to the "tradition."<sup>19</sup> A birthplace for St. Athanasios the Athonite, in about 920, could be made out near modern Gümüşhane, for as an orphan he was brought up by a leading family called Kanites, but a final martyr's village may turn our square more surely into a pentagon. Thirteen km west of Ediske, and sixteen km west of Sorogaina, lies Ματσopά or Ματσopã, later Macera and now Alınyayla, which housed until this century the tomb of Basil, bishop of Cheriana, then venerated as a martyr.<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult to know what to make of such a network of cults in these mountains, save that it is evidence of a strong and characteristically Chaldian local identity. And, whatever their supposed or actual connections with the village of Atra, the Gabrades were an archetypally Chaldian dynasty, which emerged in the eleventh century as soon as the central government was unable to make its own appointments in the theme. From St. Theodore Gabras to Constantine Gabras, Gabrades ruled Chaldia from about 1075 to after 1140. The Grand Komnenoi were no more able to impose their officials either. So Inner Chaldia was controlled by the Kabazitai and Tzanichitai until 1479, long after Trebizond itself fell.<sup>21</sup> The dynastic tradition continued until modern times. After 1479 the Üçüncüoğlu provided timariots of Torul, while the Greeks produced the Phytianoı (mining concessionaries, abbots, and bishops of Chaldia), the Stratikebas family (who probably founded Choutoura monastery and claimed descent from the Kabazitai), and the Phanariot dynasty of Mourouzes, who probably emerged from near Leri in Chaldia.<sup>22</sup>

One might hazard that earlier Chaldian dynasties owed their authority to a Caucasian clan structure, where hereditary distinction meant more than wealth in land—for while ranch land in Chaldia is abundant, it can never have been as productive as the Greek coastal estates. Until a century ago, Chaldia and the Akampsis valley boasted, or were harrassed by, the equivalent of private armies and clan followings, usually most evident at great weddings. In such a land imperial office conferred slight authority, and any central government had the choice of administering Chaldia with its own officials from Trebizond (where the Chaldians may have had their own quarter in Kanitou),<sup>23</sup> as the Byzantines had attempted to control the region; or of making the best of a bad job and giving existing dynasts official titles at court and leaving Inner Chaldia to their own devices—which is what the Grand Komnenoi seem to have done.

Chaldian rulers had two other distinctions, which offered them independence and some sort of living. They were both borderers and toll-collectors. Ibn al-Fakih described the theme of "Galdiya" (Chaldia) thus: "the seat of the 'im-tratighus' [*strategos*] is 'Ikrita' and its army consists of ten thousand men, and with him are two 'turmukhs' [*tour-*

*marchai*]; and in it are districts and fortresses."<sup>24</sup> In 791–92 Tabari reports a summer raid on "Ikritiyah" when the Arabs "met with such cold that their hands and feet dropped off."<sup>25</sup> What was this "Ikrita"? It was certainly not the seat of the theme governor, for that was at Trebizond. An Armenian bishop [of?] Akrites attended the Council of Nicaea, but the word may disguise an Armenian title; more plausible is that the "Ekritika" which Ptolemy had placed inland of Lazic Colchis had strayed southwest in our Arabs' minds.<sup>26</sup> But we are most attracted by Honigmann's and Pertusi's suggestion that the term represents "akritai"—borders and border lords—for Chaldia is nothing if not akritic.<sup>27</sup> Probably because it enjoyed the informal autonomy of a marchland, the precise date of the regularization of Chaldia as a formal theme is unclear, though certainly earlier than is commonly claimed. Chaldia was termed a "ducatu" by 824, and its "strategos" figures in the Life of St. George of Amastris (d. ca. 802–7, or ca. 825) by Ignatios the Deacon (d. after 843).<sup>28</sup>

More significant, perhaps, is the reason for the appearance of St. George of Amastris at Trebizond, for another characteristic of the Chaldian border barons is that they took what may euphemistically be described as tolls, for they guarded the great trunk road east to Theodosiupolis from the controlled entry port of Trebizond, as well as the routes south to Derxene (now Tercan) and Byzantine "Mesopotamia." So we find St. George of Amastris intervening before the court of the *strategos* of Trebizond to save some merchants falsely accused of fraud by the customs officials.<sup>29</sup> In the late ninth century half the salary of the *strategos* of Chaldia (and all that of the *strategos* of the southern theme of Mesopotamia) came from his *kommerkion*, and the number of known seals of the *kommerkiarioi* of Chaldia (listed at the end of this section) and the distinction of some of the holders of the office testify to the fact that if Chaldia did not itself produce much, the pickings from transit trade through it were worth regulating.<sup>30</sup>

Hitherto, commentators (including A. A. M. B.) have characterized late medieval Chaldian lords as "Greco-Laz," through their connections with the Tzannoı of the past and the relationship of the Tzannoı with the Laz proper. But A. A. M. B. would like to revise this view: there is no reason why the Chaldians need have been either Greek or Laz, but simply Chaldian. In fact Inner Chaldia lies well south and west of Laz settlement, south and east of Greek settlement,

24. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 137–38.

25. E. W. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids," *EHR*, 15 (1900), 740.

26. Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Müller, 925; J. Markwart, "Die Entstehung der Armenischen Bistümer," *OC*, 27 (2) (1932), 161, 197–209.

27. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 53; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 139.

28. P. Lemerle, "Thomas le Slave," *TM*, 1 (1965), 286 and note 119; I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and Judith Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 121 and note 59.

29. L. Bréhier, "Les populations rurales au IX<sup>m</sup>e siècle d'après l'hagiographie byzantine," *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 187.

30. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. I. I. Reiske, Bonn ed., I, 696–97.

19. Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 13 (1937), 19.

20. Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 3 (1946), 505; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 227–32.

21. Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 142, 276 and note 12.

22. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 613–14; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 167–68, 219–27.

23. See p. 197.

and north, east, and (eventually) west of Armenian settlement. Fourteenth-century Trapezuntine writers habitually distinguished between the Laz, the “Rhomaioi” of the coast, and the Χαλδαῖοι or Χάλδοι.<sup>31</sup> A sense of Chaldian identity may account for the stubborn resistance of Inner Chaldia after Trebizond itself fell. As a language, Chaldian seems to have been long lost, but one wonders if a memory of it did not linger in some of the more outlandish and apparently not Lazic names borne by backwoods lords at the Trapezuntine court, such as that of the Grand Duke Lekes Tzatzintzaïos (d. 1340).<sup>32</sup>

As an illustration of the role of the Chaldian lords and their castles, we can do no better than rejoin Clavijo on his journey south. After leaving Zigana castle on Wednesday 30 April 1404, the Spanish envoy came

to a castle that stood crowning a height that lay across and blocking our road, the name of which was Cadaca [Ardaça]. At the foot of the castle and the height flowed a river, while on the other hand stood a range of bare mountains that none would dare attempt to make his way over. Thus the road through was but a narrow strait passing between the river on the one side and the rock of the castle on the other, and the passage was exceedingly close, one man, or one horse at a time only being able to make way ahead. Hence though only a few might be on guard in the castle, they could easily stop any number going that road: which to cross this mountain range was the only path by which the march could be made.<sup>33</sup>

Clavijo’s description of the defile and castle of Ardasā (now Torul) serves as well today (pl. 233a, b). Locally known as the “Kastel,” modern Greek commentators identify it with Panaretos’ Mesochaldia, where in 1362 Alexios III and the imperial family escaped the plague at Trebizond.<sup>34</sup> We prefer to place Mesochaldia at Kovans (pls. 253a–255b), in mid-Chaldia, rather than at Ardasā, which is the gateway to Inner Chaldia. Chrysanthos also identifies Ardasā with Ἀραδάσης, a suffragan bishopric of Neokaisareia after the eleventh century,<sup>35</sup> but, with Janin, we are inclined to reject this siting, for the ecclesiastical province of Trebizond itself then stretched south through Chaldia and Leri, so Aradasēs should be sought further west.<sup>36</sup> To return to Clavijo:

From this stronghold of [Ardasā] therefore there now came forth a band of men who demanded toll of our party and were intent to levy customs on the baggage that we were carrying along with us [and this we had to pay]. The place belongs indeed to the lord Cabasica [Arbosita, Quirileo, Quillileo Cauasica—i.e., the *kyr* Leon Kabazites, duke of Chaldia, whose lands stretched as far north as Zigana castle]. . . . and there he had quartered his band of brigands and evil folk, for that lord is a man of evil sort and kind. This road indeed by

which we had now come is not the usual one for travelers to take unless their company is so numerous as to warrant safe passage, or on the other hand they are prepared to pay a considerable sum as a free gift to the lord [Kabazites] and his men. Some three leagues on beyond the castle of [Ardasā] we passed a tower built on a high rock where the passage was again very narrow, and by the hour of vespers we reached another castle called Dorileh [Dorile] which was strongly built, its structure appeared to be but newly completed, and the road we were following ran below it.<sup>37</sup>

In Chapter Two, D. C. W. proposed that the tower is that at Dipotamos (or İkişu) (pl. 238) and that the castle of Dorileh might be identified with that at Colaşana (pl. 241), with which Clavijo’s descriptions fit well.<sup>38</sup> Dorileh is evidently Torul, which is an area, not a place-, name for this part of Chaldia. A similar area name noted by Clavijo was Palaio-matzouka (Baş Maçka), which has in this century found a home as a place-name at Dikaisimon (Maçka) but was placed by Clavijo at the castle at Hamsiköy. In this century, too, Torul has become localized at Ardasā, but was evidently attached to the chief castle and ducal seat of Chaldia at Colaşana Kale in Clavijo’s time. If we are also correct in identifying Panaretos’ Γόλαχα with Colaşana, there are further hints of its importance, for the chronicler mentions its vicissitudes more often than those of all other Chaldian strongholds put together. Golacha took the brunt of invasions from the south. In 1361 it was the target of the emir of Bayburt’s Chaldian campaign, when he unsuccessfully besieged the place for sixteen days with siege engines and “violent petards.”<sup>39</sup> The Turks were back there in mid-winter, on Epiphany 1369, when Golacha was “deceitfully captured, and because of this Chaldia was devastated; some of the inhabitants perished in the fighting and some in the treacherous cave there.”<sup>40</sup> There is indeed a gaping cave on the Cheriana road, just south of Colaşana (pl. 240). Then, in April 1374 the Chaldians themselves recaptured Golacha and restored it to imperial rule. The Turks recaptured the castle almost immediately, but it was taken back by Chaldians, Trapezuntines, or both, evidently at some date between 1374 and 1404.<sup>41</sup> As ducal capital of Chaldia and Torul, Golacha would perhaps also have been capital of the principality of Torul which survived from 1461–79. It was at this castle that Clavijo

received notice that the lord of these lands. . . was at this very time in residence here: we therefore sent our dragoman to give him information as to who we were, although in fact this lord already knew all that was needful concerning us, news having been sent forward to him as to ourselves and our embassy from the other castles of that territory by which we had already passed. No sooner, therefore, had we sent in our messenger than a man came forth from the castle on horseback, with a message from the lord enjoining on us immediately to halt:

31. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ed., *FHIT*, 96, 123; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 66, 78.

32. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 64.

33. Clavijo (1404), 117; ed. Estrada, 80.

34. Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 11 (1937), 12; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 81; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 74.

35. Parthey, *Notitiae*, 110, 209, 251; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 165.

36. R. Janin, *DHGE*, s.v. “Aradasē.”

37. Clavijo (1404), 117; ed. Estrada, 80. The “usual” road for travelers would have been through the Pontic Gates.

38. See p. 308.

39. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 74.

40. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 77.

41. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 78.

dismounting therefore we proceeded to bestow our baggage in a church which here stood by the road-side. The horseman now informed us that it was needful for all those who passed that way to pay customs to his lord, to whom also a suitable present, of our goods, was deemed fitting, desiring we forthwith would comply.<sup>42</sup>

The messenger explained that his master was obliged to take tolls to pay for the garrisons of the area against the Turks. Leon Kabazites is the third known member of his family to have been duke of Chaldia since 1355; a fourth fought in 1461.<sup>43</sup> Clavijo and his party asked to visit the duke in his castle, but were prevented. Instead,

the next day, Thursday [1 May 1404], in the forenoon the lord [Kabazites] issued from his stronghold, appearing at our camping place, and accompanying him were thirty of his horsemen, armed with bows and arrows. He was mounted on a fine horse, and he too held in his hand arrows with his bow. . . . He then proceeded to explain to us that he lived in that barren land, where indeed we found him now at peace, but that he had continually to defend himself against the Turks who were his neighbours on all sides, against whom he was ever at war. Further he said he and his men had nothing to live on, except it were what they could get given them by those who passed through their country, or what they could come by plundering the lands of their neighbours, and hence he, [Kabazites] must now implore of us to give him some aid as a free gift in the form of money or goods.<sup>44</sup>

This encounter deserves quoting at length, for it offers our most vivid account of the realities of Chaldian akritic life: the use of very small bands of cavalry based on the steep fortresses of the area, and its impoverishment as a battlefield between Türkmens and Trapezuntines. After much haggling, Clavijo's party satisfied Kabazites with a free "gift" of a silver cup and several kinds of stuff. Kabazites offered them an escort—which they had to pay for. Nor were they out of his control yet, for they had to pay dues for a third time before leaving the Chaldian gauntlet. "It was only on the Friday morning [2 May 1404] following that we set forth again, and with us went ten horsemen for our guard. At the hour of mass in the forenoon we came to a castle that was built on a high rock, and this stronghold likewise belonged to [Kabazites]. The garrison of the castle sallying forth now demanded further customs for the baggage we were carrying with us: and after much demur we had to pay."<sup>45</sup> This final castle should be that at Bayana (pl. 243a–c). Thereafter the party traversed a Çepni Türkmen no-man's-land before reaching Alansa and Mongol territory at Alansa, where Kabazites' escort turned back. In this crossing of what seems to have been a definite border, the party made a detour to avoid a newly built Türkmen castle, which we cannot identify.

Things seem to have been even less secure in Chaldia in the

fourteenth century. Panaretos suggests that the central government had to regain authority in Chaldia after the civil wars of the 1330s and 1340s, when Alexios III and local Chaldian dukes could turn to recapturing strongholds lost to the Turks then. Indeed the extent of Trapezuntine Chaldia may have been greater when Clavijo passed through it in 1404 than it had been for a century.

In January 1352, John I Tzanichites had taken possession of his presumably ancestral castle of Tzanicha (pl. 244a) "in a lawless manner," but the young Alexios III was able to march out there as soon as the snows had cleared in April and put an end to the rebellion.<sup>46</sup> In August 1355 John I Kabazites (whose family may have supplanted the Tzanichitai as semi-hereditary dukes of Chaldia), attacked the Turks of Cheriana and liberated Sorogaina (pl. 242a) on the way.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps Kabazites' campaign had been a little too successful, for in 1360 Alexios III was back in Chaldia, trying to fortify "Τοῦ κούκου" (Koğ Kale, pls. 249a–251c) and Kabazites lost his office.<sup>48</sup>

If Clavijo had followed the Kanis road on through Chaldia, rather than turning south at Dipotamos, he would have passed beneath another stupendous castle: the classical Thia and Procopius' and Panaretos' Tzanicha, which now towers over the exhausted mine shafts of Eski Gümüşhane.<sup>49</sup> Strabo mentions Chaldian silver mines (although it is possible that he confused them with Chalybian workings), but the "evidence" for medieval mining in the area rests upon two references: by Marco Polo who noted "a very good silver mine" near Bayburt castle and "Argiron" (which has been taken to be Argyropolis) in 1294; and by Ibn Battutah who visited the Turkish silver-mining town of "Kumish" (which has been taken to be Gümüşhane) in 1332.<sup>50</sup> But in Chapter One we demonstrated that "Argiron" is Erzincan (for Argyropolis is no more than a nineteenth-century Hellenization of Gümüşhane, which is itself a name not met with before the seventeenth century), while "Kumish" is in fact Gümüşakar, a mining town about 70 km west of Erzincan.<sup>51</sup> This clears the air, not least of the problem of explaining away the fact that Inner Chaldia remained demonstrably Trapezuntine well over a century after Ibn Battutah supposedly visited a Turkish town there. Whether the mines noted by Marco Polo were then active and in the hands of the Grand Komnenoi cannot be proved, but seems unlikely. If the Grand Komnenoi actually mined the silver which went into their asper coins, they had a convenient source of silver at Argyria on the Pontic coast,<sup>52</sup> whereas mining on the Bayburt road, on the extremities of Chaldia, would have been more than usually hazardous in the unsettled conditions of the fourteenth century. At all events, mining around Tzanicha is not securely recorded until the

46. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70.

47. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71.

48. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73.

49. Miller, *IR*, col. 681; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 70; Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vi, 26.

50. Strabo, *Geography*, XII, iii, 19; Polo (1294), I, 46 and 49 note 3; Battutah (1332), II, 293; S. Vryonis, Jr., "The question of the Byzantine mines," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 8–9.

51. See p. 26, and Bryer and Winfield. *AP*, 30 (1970), 324–49.

52. See p. 139.

42. Clavijo (1404), 118; ed. Estrada, 80–81.

43. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ed., *FHIT*, 118; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 73, 74, 76, 77; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 494.

44. Clavijo (1404), 118–19; ed. Estrada, 81.

45. Clavijo (1404), 120; ed. Estrada, 82.

Ottomans set up a sixteenth-century mint at Canca, which ceased production after 1574. Mining was revived at Eski Gümüşhane, south of Tzanicha, in the seventeenth century and enjoyed an eighteenth-century heyday before the mines were finally closed in the 1840s, when Gümüşhane itself began moving to the present site of the town on the main road southeast of Tzanicha.<sup>53</sup>

Darrouzès noted that “L’espoir de trouver dans cette région des monuments anciens paraît illusoire.”<sup>54</sup> Happily, this is not so, for Chaldia has some of the oldest and most interesting monuments in the Pontos. There are remains of what appears to be a classical staging post at Zindanlar Arazi (perhaps Bourgousnoes), and perhaps even at Kovans Köyü (pl. 256a, b), while the *Notitiae episcopatum* led us to what is probably the oldest surviving church in the Pontos, at the ancient suffragan bishopric of Leri (pls. 257a–261).<sup>55</sup> At Dipotamos (pls. 235a–237b) and Tzanicha itself (pls. 245–248c) are painted churches which may probably be assigned to the time of the Tzanichitai and Kabazitai, while some of the awesome castles of Chaldia are known to have been built in the Trapezuntine period. Indeed we have two of the very few dated fortresses in the Pontos: Koğ Kale founded by Alexios III in 1360, and the structure of Clavijo’s “Dorileh” at Golacha that “appeared to be newly completed” in 1404—although we know that there was a castle there in 1361. By the nineteenth century Chaldia boasted a number of flourishing monasteries—Goumera, İmera (pl. 230), Choutoura, and Charsera among them—some of which claimed a medieval foundation. While it cannot be demonstrated, such claims are improbable. Our sole evidence of a Trapezuntine see of Chaldia comes in a colophon stating that Kallistratos, bishop of Chaldia, consecrated Antonios as metropolitan of Trebizond in 1395.<sup>56</sup> The bishopric was refounded in 1624 and fixed upon Eski Gümüşhane as its see in 1717, when it became an archbishopric and a cathedral was built.<sup>57</sup> It is this period of revival, stimulated by the boom in silver mining, together with a late seventeenth-century flight of Greeks from the coast to the mountains, to which the Chaldian monasteries owed their prosperity and, probably, foundation. A case in point is Goumera, a monastery which may have emigrated from Tsita on the Sourmaina coast to Tsite in Torul.<sup>58</sup> From the 1680s the marginal lands along the Tsite valley, southwest of Ardasas, and in the Kromni, İmera, Stavri, and Santa districts were settled—apparently for the first time—by Greek Christians and crypto-Christians who were miners, smelters, charcoal-burners, and graziers. The only possible evidence of earlier defense (rather than settlement) in these areas lies in the forts at Kromni (pl. 232a–c) and in the Yağlı Dere (pl. 231a, b), but we cannot date them and it must be remem-

bered that eighteenth-century Derebeys had their castles too. These communities, the wreckage of whose abandoned villages and towns is still scattered over the southern slopes of the Pontic Alps, nurtured the final and most notable flowering of Chaldian culture in the nineteenth century, after the crypto-Christians among them were granted freedom of worship in 1857—but they did not have medieval origins and lie beyond the scope of this Study.

#### MONUMENTS: MONASTERIES, CHURCHES, AND CASTLES

##### 1. Monastery of St. John Prodromos, İmera (İmera, now Olucak) (pl. 230)

*Situation.* Above İmera, 17 km northeast of Gümüşhane.

*History.* Founded as a monastery for women in about 1710, the house is mentioned in 1738 and was granted privileges in 1827. Minoides Mynas inveigled an incomplete MS of the Old Testament from the nuns on his manuscript-hunting tour of 1845. The present church was built by the abbess Roxane in 1859. By the time that Dawkins visited the house in 1914, monks seem to have replaced the nuns.

No medieval origins have been claimed for the monastery, but we include it, because of the excellent photographic record of 1893 (pl. 230), as an example of the remarkable enterprise of the final Chaldian revival, after the emergence of the crypto-Christians of the area in 1857.<sup>59</sup>

##### 2. Yağlı Dere Kale, Nacarlı (Mochora ?) (pl. 231 a, b)

*Situation.* In the hamlet of Nacarlı (Νατζαράντων), at the confluence of the Yağlı Dere and a small stream coming from the north, between Avlıya and Varelli-mahallesi, about 15 km northeast of Gümüşhane. A fort was reported at Sumatri, in the mountains south of Nacarlı, but was not visited. Yağlı Dere castle stands about 1 km to the north of the confluence, on a spur about 200 m above the stream. The site is close to, or identical with, Μόχωρα, a place first mentioned in 1716, and could be the “Byzantine” castle noted by Kandilaptes at Γλουβένα. The temptation to identify this Mochora with the Mochora where an undifferentiated cohort of Armenia is stationed in the *Notitia dignitatum* (see p. 325) must be resisted. This group of coastal stations should place Mochora somewhere on the Iberian shore, where Procopius describes it as a city of the greatest importance, which our site was not.<sup>60</sup>

*Description.* There are remains of two towers on summits about 100 m apart. The lower tower (pl. 231b) has virtually gone, but its foundations follow the contours of the little peak, rather than impose a regular form upon it. Walls on both summits are about 1 m thick and are built of irregular stones laid in random courses. There is a high proportion of pebble to lime in the mortar, which was carelessly

53. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 324–49.

54. Janin, *EMGCB*, 253.

55. Parthey, *Notitiae*, 120, 217, 259. At Μέτσελ’ in Chaldia, where there was a ruined church, Kandilaptes places the former see of the bishop of Achaia and Kelket (Kelkit), of which we know nothing: *ChP*, 21–22 (1946), 506.

56. Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 132–33; Parthey, *Notitiae*, 140, 297.

57. R. Janin, *DHGE*, s.v. “Chaldia.”

58. See p. 328.

59. Myrides, *AP* 7 (1937), 28; Gedeon, *PP*, 689; Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 17–18 (1937), 254; Dawkins, *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 262; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 295–305 and pls. 35 and 36, which should be compared with pl. 230 here.

60. *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Seeck, 85; Procopius, *Wars*, 11, xxix, 19; Bees, *AP*, 14 (1949), 127, 134; Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 14 (1937), 62; 15 (1937), 144; *ChP*, 19–20 (1946), 463; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 309–10; Blau (1860), 378.

thrown in, leaving many gaps in the core. The north wall of the upper tower stands to a height of about 5 m and is punctured by an irregular loophole. It seems likely that the upper tower constituted the keep and the lower tower an outpost of the curtain wall. There is no sign, such as the cutting and leveling of rock surfaces, to suggest that this is an antique site, and one green glazed potsherd found there is insufficient evidence for dating the castle.

### 3. Kromni Castle (Kurum Kale) (pls. 232a, b, c)

*Situation.* The nineteenth-century township of Κρόμνη (Kurum) lay about 18 km northeast of Gümüşhane. Above the ruins of Kromni rise the massive shoulders of the Kolat Dağları, which form the watershed ridges along which the summer road from Trebizond passed through the Pontic Gates. The valley slopes to the northwest of Kromni are precipitous and erosion has left several granite cylinders of rock standing free of the cliff face. On one of these stands a small fort (pl. 232a), about 300 m above the river bed, where a track runs west to Stavri.<sup>61</sup>

*Description.* The walling follows the shape of the rock and encloses an oval about 30 m from southwest to northeast and 20 m wide. The walling is of rough stone set in random courses. Facing stones are laid flat side out and the external face is heavily pointed up with lime mortar to give a flat surface. The mortar is of lime and grit. On the northeast side the walls stand to a height of about 8 m. Set into them are two blocks of rich brown limestone, with equal-armed “Latin” crosses carved on the face. Apart from these enigmatic crosses (pls. 232b, c), there is no evidence for dating the fort and no trace of masonry around or below it.

### 4. Ardasa (now Torul) (pls. 233a–d)

*Situation.* At modern Torul, where the Philabonites River becomes the Kanis. The castle is built on the side of a rocky crag on the north of the river.

*Description.* An entrance gate, wide enough to admit a horse, is preserved, although the path to it has fallen away. Above it is a curtain wall, with beam holes to support a wooden catwalk, leading to a tower, about 10 m wide and standing about 100 m above the modern town. Just below the tower is a large rock-cut cistern.

The masonry is of rough-cut blocks laid in irregular courses, with the external surfaces evened up with a heavy pointing of lime mortar. This rude masonry is quite compatible with a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date, before Clavijo saw the castle in 1404.

### 5. Kore-Anna (Koryana, now Kirazlık)

*History.* By strong local tradition, the *kyra* Anna, daughter of the last Grand Komnenos David, gave her name to the village of Κορή-αββα, near Μουζαίνα (Muzena). She supposedly took refuge there from the unwelcome embraces of Zagan Paşa. In 1870, when the village had become Turkish, a church of the Archangels there was said to contain

an inscription mentioning Anna’s name. Whatever the truth of the tradition, Kandilaptes notes a castle and many ruined churches at Kore-Anna. We have not visited the place, which is about 10 km east of Ardasa.<sup>62</sup>

### 6. Kırkilise (Körkilise) (pl. 234)

*Situation.* About 8 km southwest of Ardasa, on the east bank of the river Tsite (Çit), which is a tributary of the Kanis (Harşit), is a dolomite formation—a rare feature in the Pontos—which faces the villages of Greater and Lesser Tsite (Çit) across the valley from the east. These pinnacles are about one hour’s climb above the river. Well worn steps cut in the rock face lead to a small chapel upon one of them.

*Description.* The chapel is of the simple rectangular type with rounded apse, with a small window in the south side. The masonry is of rough stones laid in regular courses with the flattest face of each stone to the surface. The roof and most of the apse wall have gone.

Although there is nothing in the masonry to date the building, small fragments of two layers of painted plaster on the walls suggest that it may be medieval—perhaps Theophylaktos’ chapel of St. Kerykos.<sup>63</sup>

### 7. Monastery of the Panagia Theotokos, Goumera (Çit Meryamana)

*Situation.* About 9 km southwest of Ardasa, on the east bank of the river Tsite, facing the villages of Greater and Lesser Tsite across the valley from the south.

*History.* We have described this major later monastery elsewhere. A subsequent history of the monastery, by Sokrates Kladas, revives repeated claims that it is a medieval foundation, and, more specifically, that its patron was the Grand Komnenos Alexios III. We can find no literary evidence for the existence of the monastery before 1775 and the present buildings are evidently later, although a ninth-century date has been claimed for them: we agree with Darrouzès that “la datation semble purement imaginaire.” We suggest that the monastery of Γουμερά was founded after the traditional migration of thirteen families from Tsita, near Sourmaina, and the monastery of the Savior there, in 1680. Tsite is first mentioned in Holy Sepulcher registers (where there is no reference to the monastery) in 1708, 1726, and 1733. We further suggest that a foundation by Alexios III was devised for Goumera in imitation of a similar supposed donation by him to Choutoura monastery which was probably forged after 1764.<sup>64</sup>

### 8. Dipotamos (İkisü Köyü), Double Church (pls. 235a–237b; figs. 101–104)

*Situation.* Ten km southeast of Ardasa, where the İkisü, or Karamustafa, River joins the Kanis (Harşit). Known to

62. Ioannides, *Historia*, 247; Miller, *Trebizond*, 110; Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 15–16 (1945), 365.

63. Theophylaktos, *AP*, 13 (1948), 208–9; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 186–88, pls. 153, 154, and fig. 36c.

64. A. A. Papadopoulos, “Ο Πόντος διά τῶν αἰώνων,” *AP*, 1 (1928), 34; Kandilaptes, *AP*, 24 (1961), 151, 154, 157; Papadopoulos, *AP*, 8 (1938), 51, 54; S. G. Kladas, *Ἡ ἐν Χαλδία τοῦ Πόντου ἱερά μονή Παναγία Γουμερά* (Athens, 1972); Janin, *EMGCB*, 271 note 11; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 178, 190, 195–204, pls. 160–65, fig. 36e.

61. The castle is not mentioned in the most exhaustive history of the area—Parcharides, *Kromni*. See Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 19–20 (1946), 463; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 266–73; 30 (1970), 310–12. Kromni castle is just visible at the top left-hand corner of the panoramic view of Kromni in Papamichalopoulos (1902), 141.

Greeks in modern times as Διπότημος, the name may be no more than a calque of İkisü. Two adjoining chapels stand on a hill to the northeast of the confluence, about 30–40 m above river level. They stand on the old track up the İkisü valley, about 100 m northwest of the new road, where it turns south. One of the chapels may have been dedicated to St. John.<sup>65</sup>

Chapel A (pls. 236b, 237b; figs. 101, 102a, b). A slightly horseshoe apse is inscribed within a rectangular plan. The masonry is of waterworn stones laid in irregular courses with flat face outward; the gaps are evened up with smaller stones. The mortar is of lime, with a large proportion of sand and grit, and the stones are fairly well bedded, with some gaps. The quoins, pilasters, doorjambs, and the east window are made from ashlar blocks of the same yellow fossil-bearing stone that was used at Pipat. The owner of the chapels reported that the quarry for this stone was at Coloşana. Exceptionally, the quoins at the eastern corners are made of a different stone.

The semidome was constructed of small ashlar blocks of the yellow stone. A very few pieces of brick were used as filler, but a complete brick forms the seating of the pilaster in the middle of the north wall (see Appendix). The cornices to the pilasters are of plain blocks projecting outward. There are two small windows at the east and west ends. The east window has a pointed arch cut from a single block; there is a similar window in the flat east wall of a chapel by the road near Kişa Köyü in the Tortum valley.

The door, which is in the south wall, had a recessed round-arched tympanum on the exterior which becomes an elliptical arch on the interior (pl. 236a). The monolithic lintel is decorated with an inscribed cross in low relief at the center. Similar low relief crosses are found in the lintel of the church at Leri (Kabaköy, pl. 258a, b) and over the door of the church at Eski Andaval in Cappadocia. Another example is on a block lying in the north aisle of a basilica at Apendrika in Cyprus. The same design appears in nonfigural decoration in Cappadocia.

The masonry of the exterior is heavily pointed to even up the surface, and there may have been painting, although nothing of it survives.

The central section of the north wall has lost all its external pointing. It may be of two builds, or at any rate two mixes of mortar. There is a rectangular niche in the north side of the apse, and a neatly made round-arched niche at the east end of the south wall. Three courses of stone curving inward over the pilaster on the north wall indicate that the chapel had been stone vaulted. But the collapsed vault must have been robbed, for the present floor level appears to be more or less the original one.

*Painting in Chapel A.* Fragments of badly damaged wall painting survive, on two layers of plaster, the ground layer being made up of lime and chaff and the surface layer of lime and a little sand.

There are two layers of painted plaster in the corners of the pilaster and apse junctions in the north wall. This may indicate two periods of painting, or simply be the result of

overlapping plaster joins at those places. The painter mapped out his work in red outlines on the lower layer of plaster. His red border lines remain sketched in a few places and a pair of hands is delineated in the upper register of the south wall. These red outlines on the lower plaster layer are a perfunctory equivalent of *sinopie*, the elaborate preliminary drawings of Italian wall painters. A Byzantine artist paid no great attention to such under-sketching, for he knew precisely what he was going to paint; his only problem was to proportion out the available wall space for his subject matter. The principal colors used here were black, white, red, green, and yellow; umber may also have been used to imitate purple. There is now no sign of blue, but some of the green background color painted over black may once have been blue. The mutation of blue to green can occur through the use of either azurite or a cuprammonium-lime blue.<sup>66</sup> A red garment is sufficiently well preserved to show that it was made in two tones, with white highlights. A face has a yellow ground color, red feature lines, and a green shadow round the eyes. The backgrounds consist of a green-over-black ground, and a grey-black upper background which may once have had blue over it.

There were three registers of painting on the west wall. The lower register was decorated with six standing figures. From south to north, the first two wear calotte crowns (fig. 102a) and probably represent Sts. Constantine and Helena. The crown of the first figure is white with painted jewels and a green chequer pattern over it. Both figures have yellow halos with red inner and white outer outlines. They wear imperial robes decorated with painted pearls and green and red painted stones; both have red or purple cloaks. The third figure wears a grey-black robe and yellow cloak with fold lines indicated in red. He has red hair (or a red cap) and a red halo with dark red inner and white outer outlines. Little is left of the fourth figure, save for some red hair with yellow delineations over it. The fifth figure (pl. 237b) is slightly better preserved; it represents a bearded man. He wears a green robe and red cloak, with a jeweled yellow hem, and has a round clasp at the shoulders. On his head is a green skull cap outlined in red. Of the sixth figure, in the north corner, next to nothing remains. The lower background to the figures is green, the upper is now grey-black, which may once have had a blue overpaint.

A puzzling feature of these six figures is the presence of grey-black patches in places where this color is not called for—for example over white pearls or on a face. The third figure has a greenish patch over some pearls. These patches of color may represent the vestiges of a repaint which has otherwise disappeared, or could be accretions of candle or fire soot.

A horizontal red border divides the ground and second registers. There were two, or possibly three, scenes in the second register. The northern scene has a mounted figure approaching a town with people looking out of windows; it may represent the Entry into Jerusalem. Nothing survives of

65. Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 3 (1936), 14; 17–18 (1937), 254.

66. D. V. Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting* (London, 1956), 130–35, 153, 154.

the third register, which would have been in the lunette formed by the vault.

West of the pilaster on the north wall were two registers of painting, with the upper one extending slightly into the vault. The ground register is painted with two approximately life-size standing figures. The eastern one has a red halo and red cloak. A few fragments of jeweled brocade can be seen on the clothing of both figures, who may represent a pair of soldier saints.

In the upper register was an Anastasis. Little now remains, but the lower part of Christ standing on the doors of Hades is clear enough. He wears a red robe with hatched yellow highlights of the stylized type, that radiate from a central block of color. Adam, Eve, and three other figures stand to the west of Christ. Adam wears a red chiton and a yellow himation, and stretches out his right arm toward Christ. To the east of Christ is a green sarcophagus in which David and Solomon stand.

The pilaster was painted with a standing figure in a red tunic with a yellow brocade hem, studded with pearls and red jewels. A fragment of patterning survives on one side of it.

Painted fragments east of the pilaster suggest a Presentation in the Temple. Joseph wears a green chiton and red himation, and Mary a reddish cloak. The infant Christ has a red tunic with the same hatched highlights as appear in the Anastasis. There were two more scenes in the register above, but the few fragments that remain are unrecognizable. The dado is decorated with a vermicular pattern with foliation (fig. 103).

Nothing intelligible survives on the south wall, except in the corner to the west of the door. The lower register has a wheel with red spokes supported on two posts. On top of it, to the east, is a yellow halo. Patches of paint around it suggest that this is a scene of martyrdom on the wheel. The middle register has a crowned figure (fig. 102b) who is seated and wears a green robe and red cloak; beside him stands a second figure in a red cloak. The middle and upper registers are small and, together, take up the same space as the entire lower register. Nothing is left of the upper register, save for the sketch of the pair of hands on the plaster ground, mentioned above.

In the apse, the ground register seems to have contained five figures of Fathers of the Church—three on the south side and two on the north, where space is taken up by the niche. One of them, perhaps St. John Chrysostom, has red crosses over his robe; all wear a yellow *omophorion*. The background colors are yellow for the ground and green over black for the upper background. (The latter is perhaps the product of a chemical change of blue into green.) In the center, under the window, was a small panel bordered in red. Above the Fathers was a narrow register, containing eight busts in roundels with wide yellow borders (fig. 104). The pattern between the roundels is in green, red, and yellow. Nothing now survives of the painting in the semidome.

Chapel B (pls. 235a, b and 237a; fig. 102c, d). The fact that Chapel B is a later addition is evidenced by painted plaster on the exterior of Chapel A which continues behind the wall of Chapel B where the walls meet at the west end. Although the same waterworn stones are used in the walls, the masonry of

this chapel is of rougher workmanship than that of Chapel A. The mortar contains a larger proportion of lime, and the semidomes of the twin apses are of rough stonework in contrast to the neat ashlar blocks of the semidome of Chapel A. Nearly all the facing stones have been robbed away, but neat blocks of honey conglomerate stone trim the window of the northern apse which is a rectangular slit. Both apses are horseshoe shaped. Although it is difficult to be sure, for the roofs of both chapels have gone, the height of Chapel B seems to have been about 1 m lower than that of Chapel A. At the west end of the south wall, the stone begins to curve inward, indicating a barrel vault, but it is impossible to tell whether there had been one or two vaults. The floor level was about 0.5 m lower than the present one.

*Painting in Chapel B.* Three warrior saints fill a panel in the lower register of the west wall. The figure to the north wears a red cloak and holds a round shield with a wide yellow border around its circumference, decorated with red jewels and pearls. The shield has a green center with radiating pattern (fig. 102d).

The central saint has a red halo with dark red inner and white outer outlines. He wears a yellow bejeweled tunic and a red cloak; his shield has a pattern of white and red stripes and the same jeweled border (fig. 102c). In the middle register was a row of busts in roundels of which no detail survives. Nothing intelligible is left in the upper register.

The painting on the north wall (which continues behind the west wall masonry) may originally have been exterior painting on Chapel A. To the west of the door is a dado of painted material hanging in folds. The middle section has a pattern in red on a white ground (pl. 237a). Above it is a rearing horse with a rider about to use his spear. Little survives of it save the coloring of the horse and fragments of a red garment. To the east of the door a few painted fragments may represent a second mounted saint. Nothing survives on the south wall.

Five Fathers of the Church stand in the ground register of the northern apse. Their white robes are articulated with green fold lines; their *omophoria* have red crosses. The Father to the north of the center holds a closed yellow book with a jeweled cover. Above the Fathers, a narrow middle register is painted with half-length figures (which are not in roundels). In the semidome is an enthroned Christ; the south portion has disappeared but there is a figure to the north, suggesting a Deesis. Christ wears a grey-black chiton and red himation. His footstool and green-tipped bolster are red.

*Date.* Wayside churches suffer from casual traffic. In 1404 the church by the Pyxites in which Clavijo camped, one day out from Trebizond and somewhere near modern Maçka, was already ruined; and his party used another church a few miles south of Dipotamos to stow their baggage in.<sup>67</sup> So it is surprising how much of the adjoining chapels at Dipotamos has escaped the attentions of passing caravans. No painted inscription survives, but a number of Greek and Armenian graffiti and four ship graffiti are visible on the interior west wall of Chapel B. Of them, only “Ιὸν 1686” is legible to give a terminus to the Chapel.

67. Clavijo (1404), 118, 120.

There are architectural parallels both to the inscribed apse of Chapel A and to the twin apses of the later Chapel B. The flat exterior east wall of Chapel A is more common in Georgia and Armenia than in Anatolia; the nearest Chaldian examples are at Kovans Köyü (Keçi Kale) (pl. 256b) and at Leri (fig. 111). Georgian parallels are found in Tao and a precisely similar chapel—down to the pointed arch of the east window—is on the road at Kisa Köyü, below the town of Tortum. None of these, however, can be dated. The twin apses of Chapel B are paralleled in the Pontos at Koralla (fig. 31) and at Fol Maden (pl. 93b), and there are other Byzantine examples. These cannot be dated either.

The only clue, among the paintings, is the calotte crown worn by the figures on the west wall of Chapel A (fig. 102a) which was common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But, historically, it seems more likely that both chapels belong to the period of building and relative independence of Chaldia in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

That the twin chapels at Dipotamos still attract travelers is evidenced by votive rags tied to a small tree in Chapel A, which has survived much better than a much later simple barn church a few meters below the site, of which only parts of the apse and north and west walls still stand.

#### 9. Dipotamos (İkisu Köyü) Castle (pls. 236b 238)

*Situation.* About 500 m northwest of Dipotamos Church.

*Description.* Almost certainly the tower on a high rock, noted by Clavijo in 1404, the site commands the turning of the Kanis road south to Cheriana. Masonry survives on a lower outcrop (where the north wall of a tower stands) and round an associated rock pinnacle above. It is relatively well made of squarish blocks laid in regular courses, which are heavily pointed on the exterior. There were no traces of brick in the lower tower; access to the upper fortifications is precipitous and we did not attempt it.

#### 10. Godaina (Kodil) Castle

*Situation.* Seven km west of the modern Gümüşhane, high above the east Bank of the İkisu Dere. Γόδαινα or Γόδαννα (Kodil) is now Gümüşkaya.

*History.* Beside being the supposed birthplace of St. Aquila, Godaina was the actual birthplace of Ibrahim Paşa the Laz (not to be confused with the Egyptian), a prominent Ottoman general in the opening stages of the Greek War of Independence, who built palaces here and at Kaltanton nearby. Kandilaptes also brings Anna, daughter of the last Grand Komnenos David, here and to Kore-anna.<sup>68</sup> Near the road below Godaina stands the tomb of a local Muslim holy man, of well-dressed honey conglomerate stone, from which the castle can be made out above (pl. 239). We have not visited it.

#### 11. Golacha (Coloşana) Castle (pl. 241)

*Situation.* About 10 km west of modern Gümüşhane, high above the west bank of the İkisu Dere. Γόλαχα is now Bahçelik.

*History.* Kandilaptes makes Δζολόσσενα the birthplace

of St. Canidius, but that was placed firmly by Loukites at nearby Sorogaina.<sup>69</sup> Apparently the principal seat of the Kabazites family and capital of “Toru” itself, Golacha was hotly fought over (once with petards and siege engines) from 1361. Extensive remains of the castle, which in 1404 Clavijo thought was newly built, can be seen from the road, but Clavijo did not climb up to it nor have we. The place would certainly repay investigation.

#### 12. Sorogaina (Solochaina, Soruyana, now Yalınkavak) Castle (pls. 242a, b; fig. 105)

*Situation.* On the Soruyana Dere, a tributary of the İkisu Dere, 18 m west of Gümüşhane.

*History.* The supposed birthplace of St. Canidius, it was recaptured from the Turks by John I Kabazites, duke of Chaldia, in 1355.<sup>70</sup>

*Description.* The castle, one of the most remote in Chaldia, stands on the north bank of the Soruyana Dere, overlooking the modern village on the southern side of the river. It is perched on a series of pinnacles of rock (pl. 242a) and consists of a lower rampart, a well-constructed and -defended lower gate to the southwest (pl. 242b), which leads up to an upper enceinte and gate, with a vaulted cistern or keep in an upper courtyard. Although the defenses enclose a ground area of only about 25 × 35 m, the staging of the natural rock makes the castle almost as high as it is wide. It is surrounded by ravines and cliffs on three sides; access to it and from the village, is from the south. Sorogaina is an archetypal fourteenth-century Chaldian village castle with its *vicus*.

#### 13. Bayana (now İşik) Castle (pls. 243a–c)

*Situation.* On high ground midway between the Livene and Karamustafadere rivers, about 15 km southwest of Gümüşhane.

*Description.* This small castle or fort is one of the best preserved in Chaldia. Using the natural lines of a steep rock outcrop, its keep or tower can only be approached from the north. Its curtain walls and catwalk embrace a small courtyard and a sheer drop of twenty or more meters in the interior. It has evidently been repaired or refortified at least twice since the Middle Ages and is still secure.

#### 14. Monastery of St. George Chalinara, Charsera (Haşera, now Yeşildere)

*Situation.* The monastery of St. George at Χάρσερα lay about five km northwest of Gümüşhane, on the north bank of the Kanis.

*History.* Although a medieval origin has been claimed for the house, it seems no more justifiable than similar claims for other local monasteries, the career of which St. George reflects in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>71</sup> But we have not visited the site of this most obscure of the major monasteries of post-Trapezuntine Chaldia.

69. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 12–14, 31; Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 16 (1937), 207.

70. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 71. The British Army map of 1901 preserves the reading of Soloचना.

71. Ioannides, *Historia*, 251; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 142 and note 3.

68. Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 15 (1937), 144.

15. Tzanicha (Canca), Castle and Chapels (pls. 244a–248b; figs. 106–108)

*Situation.* The castle stands on a great elongated spur about 2 km northwest of modern Gümüşhane about 400 m above the south bank of the Kanis (Harşit) (pl. 244a).

*Description.* Perhaps the most ambitious use of a natural feature for defense in the Pontos, the walls enclose ravines on three sides surrounding an area of about 230 × 30 m at a waist between an upper and lower bailey (fig. 106). The southern side needs no walls, for it is a sheer cliff. The castle is approached from a ramp to the west, where the most substantial walling survives. Here there is a rock-cut cistern with a mortared rubble barrel vault in the lower (outer) bailey. A second wall with gate divides it from the upper (inner) bailey, rising some 10 m higher than the first (pl. 244b). Partly because they have fallen down precipices, the walls of the upper bailey are less impressive than those of the lower one. The masonry is of rough-cut uncoursed stonework, interlaced with beams at intervals of one meter or so in height. The masonry is pointed up with lime mortar to give a smooth surface. Two painted chapels stand on eminences within the upper bailey.

*Chapel A* (pl. 245; fig. 107). The south wall and half the west wall have gone, and the roof has caved in. The apse retains its semidome and a window faced in honey conglomerate stone. There was probably a window in the north wall, which has been knocked out. The walls are constructed of rough stone roughly coursed; the surviving door jamb and molding at the shoulders of the apse are of honey conglomerate stone. The mortar is lime well laid with pebbles.

The interior of the chapel was plastered and painted throughout. The plaster consists of an initial layer of roughcast to even up the masonry, followed by a surface layer about 0.5 m thick. The roughcast plaster consists of lime with a filler of pulverized local stone and a binder of chaff; it was hatched to make the surface layer key onto it.

*Painting.* Above an elaborate ground decoration of eleven crossed-square panels, which branch into a vermiculated design in red, white, and yellow on the shoulder of the apse (pls. 248a, 248c), stand six Fathers of the Church, their bodies frontal and their heads inclined eastward. They wear undecorated robes and purple cloaks. In the center of the apse, over the east window, a roundel may have contained a bust of Christ. A red footstool and trace of a blue robe in the broken semidome above the roundel are vestiges of an enthroned Christ or Mother of God.

Four figures stand above the ground decoration on the north wall; the two eastern ones are probably soldier saints and the two western ones represent Sts. Constantine and Helena. Above them, a horizontal red border runs just beneath a plaster join. On the north side of the west wall are two ascetic saints (pl. 248b); on the jamb of the door an angel faces eastward; and on the exterior, to the north of the door, a cross on three steps stands in a roundel within a red square panel.

The colors are red, yellow, white, black, green, haematite purple, and blue. The only fragment of blue left is in the semidome. Green was used for lower foregrounds, blue or black for upper backgrounds. Preliminary drawing was car-

ried out in yellow on the still fresh plaster, for it survives with no depth to it.

*Chapel B* (pl. 246, 247b; fig. 108). The eastern chapel is built over a cistern, the domical vault of which has now caved in. It is difficult to conceive of the cistern as having been originally freestanding, as today, and it was perhaps originally banked up. The mortar of the cistern is full of pulverized brick particles and has a remarkably pink hue, as does the interior plaster. The masonry of Chapel B is of better workmanship than that of Chapel A and of the cistern, which it postdates. It has regular courses of smooth-faced stones, but the mortared rubble core of the walls is carelessly tamped down. The west wall of the chapel has entirely gone and no painting survives on the south wall; the apse shoulders are of honey conglomerate stone.

The plaster is rendered in two layers. The roughcast layer is of lime with a chaff binder but no filler; it is very white in color. The surface lime plaster has no binder or filler and is about 0.5 cm thick. Red border lines run along the plaster joins.

*Painting.* There are four figures on a lower register, above a crisscross decoration, which probably represent Fathers of the Church. Above them in the apse is a Communion of the Apostles; in a third register above is a procession of prostrating angels; and in the semidome are traces of an enthroned figure. In the soffit of the east window are medallions depicting the Baptist (to the north), a praying Mother of God facing east (on the south side), and a cross medallion in the center above them (pl. 247b). This bore an acrostic of the kind particularly beloved of later Byzantine monastic artists, consisting of two sigla in each of the quadrants formed by a cross. Only two sigla, in the bottom right-hand quadrant, survive:  $\bar{\Lambda} \bar{\Pi}$  (at some more recent date a line has been scratched on the  $\bar{\Lambda}$ , making it an A, and a graffitist has in turn scratched AP next to the original  $\bar{\Lambda} \bar{\Pi}$ ). The best parallel we can find to the Tzanicha acrostic comes from the monastery of the Hypapante, Meteora, the church of which was painted in 1366–67, which is more elaborate:

	$\Phi$	$\bar{\chi}$
	$\Phi$	$\bar{\Pi}$
$\bar{A}$	$\bar{B}$	$\bar{\Lambda} \bar{E}$
$\bar{T}$	$\bar{\chi}$	$\bar{\Lambda} \bar{\Pi}$

where the four sigla at the top of the cross stand for  $\Phi[\omega\zeta] \chi[\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon] \Phi[\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\iota] \Pi[\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota]$ . Bees, who published the Hypapante acrostic, did not expand the eight lower sigla, which in all probability are the same as the Tzanicha ones, nor can we.<sup>72</sup> At all events, the roundels in the window soffit represent a Deesis of some sophistication.

At the western end of the north wall are remains of three

72. N. A. Bees, *Σύνταγμα ἐπιγραφικῶν μνημείων Μετεώρων, Byzantis*, 1 (1909), 580, No. 33; D. M. Nicol, *Meteora. The rock monasteries of Thessaly* (London, 1975), 158–59; cf. C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 163 and note 135. We are grateful to Professor Ihor Ševčenko for discussion.

standing saints. As in Chapel A, the preliminary drawing in Chapel B was carried out in yellow. In neither chapel is there any trace of incision or of any reworking of the plaster in special areas for the faces and flesh. But the quality of the painting in Chapel B is markedly superior, as is the masonry, to that of Chapel A.

*Date.* It is impossible to ascribe any remains to Justinianic Tzanicha. But there was a fourteenth-century heyday of the place in 1352 when John I Tzanichites seized his ancestral castle and Alexios III deprived him of it, while it is unlikely that chapels would have been built within Canca after the Turkish conquest of 1479.<sup>73</sup> The procession of angels in the apse of Chapel B (which is paralleled in the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, and at Vazelon), and the epigraphy of the acrostic, with hooked letters, (to which must be added one angular aspirate, which is all that survives of a saint's name), suggest that a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date would be in order for Chapel B. Chapel A probably belongs to the same period, but the lower quality of its painting is not enough to date it before or after Chapel B.

16. Monastery of St. George, Choutoura (Hudra, now Alemdar)

*Situation.* About 4 km south of Gümüşhane and about 2 km to the west of the Kanis (Harşit).

*History.* The monastery was supposedly endowed by chrysobull of the Grand Komnenos Alexios III in 1365. We have demonstrated elsewhere that this, now lost, document is a forgery based upon a copy of the (itself dubious) bull for Vazelon monastery of 1386, which was available to Choutouran monks in the archiepiscopal archives of Chaldia in Eski Gümüşhane. The forgery was probably devised after 1764. The earliest literary reference to the monastery, in 1554, is also dubious, and even the second (patriarchal) reference, of 1624, has its problems. However, there is no question that Choutoura was the leading monastery of Chaldia thereafter. Its eighteenth-century *katholikon* was replaced by a splendid structure in 1883, which is now fast decaying. But if any Chaldian monastery has a serious claim to medieval origins, it is Choutoura, although its monks, who so zealously pursued the claim, have destroyed any archeological evidence for their monastery before the eighteenth century. Like so many medieval monasteries of the coastlands, Choutoura abuts a sacred cave in a cliff face, and now that we have disposed of nearby Gümüşhane as being a then Turkish town which Ibn Battutah visited in 1332, a Trapezuntine origin for Choutoura becomes possible. However, all that can be demonstrated is that the most prosperous days of the monastery reflected those of the local silver mines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>74</sup>

17. Akçakale (now Partıkanbaşı)

*Situation.* About 300 m above the north bank of the Kanis (Harşit) and about 4 km east of Gümüşhane.

*Description.* Kandilaptes describes Ἀλτσάκαλε as a Byzantine fortress.<sup>75</sup> A perilously sited watchtower or keep

can be seen there from the valley floor, to which we have not cared to climb.<sup>75</sup>

18. Koukos (Koğ Kale) (pls. 249a–251c; fig. 109)

*Situation.* About 15 km southeast of Gümüşhane and about 6 km south of Pirahmet, where the modern Erzincan road turns south from the Kanis (Harşit) to follow the İşik Dere. Approached from the east, Koğ Kale is a grand sight, rearing up on a high rock with commanding views to the north, south, and east (pl. 249a). To the west of the castle, and 30–40 m below it, is a plateau which rises gently for about 2 km and blocks any distant view. Here, the land is cultivated and quantities of sherds suggest the site of a former *vicus*. The view to the north extends as far as the watershed of the Pontic Alps. The rock falls away in precipitous cliffs on the south and east sides of the castle (pl. 249b), and although a northern approach to it is possible, it is intimidating (pl. 250b). The present village of Koğ lies to the southeast of the castle and about 80 m below it.

*Description* (fig. 109). The main gate was to the west, but is now degraded (pl. 251a). There is now no trace of a paved or cut way to it. The present gap in the walls which marks the gate is only about three m wide, with remains of a beam hole (25 × 22 cm) running into the core of the masonry. The position of the hole suggests that the beam supported a door hinge or jamb; grain marks of the shuttering here, and elsewhere, can be seen in the lime mortar.

The gate to the citadel, which stands against the north walls of Koğ Kale, lies in its south wall. Its beam hole (39 × 30 cm) is on the east side. There are signs that the gate was originally rectangular with a wooden lintel, similar to the straight lintels of windows and embrasures elsewhere. The gate has gone, but the present irregular opening measures 1.6 × 2 m.

A third, postern, gate once led out of the castle in a recessed part of the northeast wall (pl. 251c). Here there is a gap of about 1.5 × 3 m. Facing stones on the exterior indicate that there had been a postern, which is protected by a peculiarly angled slit in the east bastion, which would have permitted enfilading fire. A break in the masonry at the base of the postern opening suggests that it was later blocked.

The walls are made of rough blocks of local stone, sometimes laid in regular courses, with the flatter side to the exterior. Gaps are evened up with smaller stones. Quoins are not noticeably more regular than the rest of the masonry. The mortar is of lime and sand with a plentiful admixture of brick and stone chips. The core of the walls is of mortared rubble containing a high proportion of chips, with numerous air gaps, for it was carelessly done. The internal and external facing of the walls is heavily pointed up with lime and sand. As is often found in the Pontos, the pointing of the lower courses of masonry on the exterior has gone, giving the impression that they are of an earlier build, which is misleading. In fact, seepage from the higher interior level and roots have eroded the pointing.

The walls are 1.1–1.2 m thick, except along the more precipitous stretches, where they are only 0.75–0.90 m thick. Timbers are spaced as headers, but there appear to be no stretchers. The headers are about 1 m apart vertically and 3

73. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 70; Ioannides, *Historia*, 247–48.

74. Ioannides, *Historia*, 251; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 158–76, pls. 144–47, fig. 35.

75. Kandilaptes, *PPh*, 9–10 (1936), 10.

m apart horizontally, but are sometimes laid at an angle to the wall. Those that are visible are of stripped pine, roughly trimmed, and average about ten cm in diameter.

Fire from the curtain wall was limited to battlements; there are no slit windows, save an opening of about 15 × 15 cm in the south wall which could have been an observation place or drainage hole.

The position of bastions was to some extent governed by the rock they stand on. Semicircular bastions stand at the west gate (pl. 251a) and at the eastern corner and are equipped with firing slits. The slits are rectangular on both sides, with wooden lintels. A third bastion stands in the middle of the north wall. None of these bastions has any sign of interior masonry walling or vaulting; any interior construction must have been of wood.

Small solid masonry buttresses, or view points, project from the north and south walls.

The citadel, or keep, has a stone partition (fig. 109). An extra thickness of masonry and irregular traces of mortar suggest that stone steps led to its battlements from the southwest corner. A catwalk, with crenellations, seems to have encircled the walls here, which are 1.1 m thick on the north side and 0.9 m on the south. A patch of whitewashed plaster on the south wall to the west of the citadel's entrance is the only sign of habitation, and any domestic buildings must have been of wood.

To the east of the citadel, the careful plastering of a chamber suggests that it was a cistern. The roughcast pointing of the wall is of lime and sand. Ground plaster is mainly of lime, with little sand but abundant cut straw as a binder. The upper plaster is the usual waterproofing layer of lime with powdered brick or earthenware as a filler. Ashlar blocks of yellow and green limestone high on the north wall indicate the springing of what had been a barrel vault, the only trace of stone vaulting in Koğ Kale.

A chamber to the east of the cistern may have been a kitchen. Here a low recess in the east wall is a fireplace, flanked by rectangular niches. The outer wall is about 0.9 m thick and the internal ones about 0.65 m thick. An upper storey to the structure had two rectangular windows with wooden lintels in the north wall (pl. 251b). They are about 1 × 1.25 m in size.

The beginnings of what may have been an internal wall, running from the south wall to the citadel buildings, are hatched on the plan (fig. 109). This would have divided the castle into an outer bailey to the west (where there is no trace of internal building) and a more domestic inner bailey to the east. There seems to have been no attempt to shape steps in the natural rock or to flatten it.

*Identification and Date.* The lack of any levelling of the natural rock, or of different periods of masonry, indicates that the site probably does not have a history before the Middle Ages. By elimination as much as by etymology, Koğ may be identified with the castle “τοῦ κούκου” which Alexios III founded in 1360 to block *hoca* Latif of Bayburt, who was to lose his head in Matzouka in 1361. The signs of hasty construction and glazed graffito ware on the site may confirm the circumstances and period of building of this most southerly imperial outpost, which guarded the Satala

road, as Mesochaldia did the Bayburt highway, against both Çepni and emirs of Bayburt.<sup>76</sup>

19. Zindanlar Arazi, Murathanoğulları  
(Bourgousnoes, Longini Fossatum ?)

*Situation.* About 5 km west of Kouazi (Kovans), 7 km south of Kabaklise (Kabaköy), on the north bank of the Kanis (Harşit), at its confluence with the Leri (Yağmur) Dere, where the road to Yağmurdere now leaves the Bayburt highway. The site is at about 1,200 m above sea level at the point where one of the summer roads from the Pontic Gates reaches the Kanis valley.

*Description.* Amid trees and fields between the modern road and the Yağmur river are two features. To the south are ruins of a rectangular structure of no great age, about 25 × 12 m in size. The walls are of random-coursed masonry with a lime mortar, with stringer beams in the core. Their width is about 0.75 m and they stand to a height of about 2 m.

The second feature, to the north, is a square walled enclosure, the north side of which runs along the Yağmur river. Aligned at 20°, the sides measure about 85, 90, 82 and 85 paces respectively. The walls have almost entirely gone, save for traces of mortar along the southern side, traces of a southwestern corner tower with waterworn facing stones, a stretch of northern wall foundations along the river, and the substantial remains of a northeastern corner tower, but the course of the walls is not difficult to trace by marked changes of ground level. The northeastern tower now stands to a height of about 12 m. Its masonry is 1.5–2 m thick. Its waterworn facing stones are laid in regular courses and the core is of well-laid mortared rubble. A few brick or tile fragments and one ridge tile are in this core. Ridge tiles scattered on the site are slightly heavier than usual (see Appendix). Some earthenware but no glazed sherds were on the site.

*Identification and Date.* Strecker and Briot (*alias* Borit) passed the site, which Strecker and modern maps name Murathanoğulları, and Briot explains was the *han* of Sultan Murat—presumably Murat IV (1611–40), who would have passed here on his Baghdad campaign.<sup>77</sup> The first feature corresponds well with an Ottoman *han*.

The second feature, a square walled enclosure, is clearly much older than the first. It bears the marks of a small, but regular, Roman camp, common enough elsewhere but hardly found in the mountainous Pontos. On this assumption, D. C. W. has proposed a tentative identification of the site with Procopius' “Trench of Longinus” and the “New Town,” Bourgousnoes.<sup>78</sup> We can identify none of Procopius' Tzannic fortresses with certainty: “As one goes on [from the fort of Sisilisson], there is a certain place in the left, toward the north, which the natives call *Longini Fossatum*, because in earlier times Longinus, a Roman general, an Isaurian by birth, had made an expedition against the Tzanoi on one occasion and built his camp there. In that place this Emperor [Justinian] built a fortress called Bourgousnoes, one day's journey distant from Sisilisson. . . .

76. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 73.

77. Strecker (1855), 348; Briot (1867), 464.

78. See p. 50.

[Nearby he built] two forts, one called Schamalinichon and the other is the one they call Tzanzakon; and here he posted another military commander."<sup>79</sup> Taking Tzanzakon to be Tzanicha (Canca), one may speculate that Zindanlar Arazi was Longinus' camp and, even more tentatively, place Schamalinichon at Leri and Sisilisson at Hadrak, where they would have commanded the summer routes south. At all events, the ruins beside the Yağmur River provide rare archaeological evidence of premedieval fortification in Chaldia, and a Justinianic, or earlier, date for them would be in order.

20. Kouazi (Kovans, Keci Kale, Mesochaldia?)  
(pls. 252–255b; fig. 110)

*Situation.* About 25 km east of Gümüşhane a high spur of rock rears up over the north of the Bayburt road. It is crowned by a castle which stands over 250 m above the valley, which here narrows and begins to rise steeply toward the Vavuk Pass and the source of the Kanis (Harşit). The castle therefore commands access from the east into the Kanis valley and its fertile fields, and dominates a northern tributary valley.

*Identification.* Keci Kale, the "Goat Castle" is our candidate for the fourteenth-century Mesochaldia (if only because it stands in mid-Chaldia), and for the seventeenth-century bishopric of Kouazi (Leri), the name of which appears to survive as Kovans.<sup>80</sup>

*Description.* The structure perched on the pinnacle of Kouazi rock, which is today the most evident feature of the site (pl. 254a), is but the keep, or inner fortress of a major complex (fig. 110). The keep follows the shape of the oblong spur on which it is built. There are pointed, round, and square bastions at intervals along its walls. The rock falls away more or less sheer for up to 200 m on three sides, but is connected with the spine of hills to the east, where a saddle gives access to the gate (pl. 253b). The way up to the eastern gate, from the north, is steep and the entrance passage doubles back on itself. It seems unlikely that cavalry or carts could be brought up to the keep.

The masonry is of rough-cut stones which are hardly coursed. The mortar is of lime and pebbles. The exterior of the walls is made up to a smooth surface by liberal pointing with lime mortar. A western tower appears to have been rebuilt in relatively recent times (pl. 255a). There are remains of two rectangular vaulted rooms or cisterns (pl. 252). Their barrel vaults are formed of flat stones, laid as if they were bricks. The inner walls of these chambers are covered with a white plaster which is not medieval.

About 100 m below and to the southwest of the west tower, a great cleft in the rock leads to a cave (pl. 253a). Access to the cave is blocked by an arched medieval wall; villagers tell of a tunnel which runs from the cave to the keep.

An extensive bailey straggles down the cliffs and rocks of the south and east sides of the keep almost to the present Bayburt road which runs below the castle (pl. 254b). Halfway up the hill, remains of a curtain wall follow the hill's contour and may divide the area into inner and outer baileys (pl.

255b). The contour wall is built of small blocks, roughly squared off and laid in regular courses. The mortared rubble core is well laid, and tamped down without air gaps. One section is built of rough stones arranged in a herringbone pattern. These walls are generally of an earlier build than those in the keep. Most of the area enclosed by the bailey is too steep for comfortable habitation, but a jumble of structures at the foot of the walls suggest that the *vicus* of Kouazi was located there.

*Date.* The castles of Chaldia protected settlements at their feet, and acted as toll stations as well. As Clavijo found at "Torul" castle, they were garrisoned by cavalry. But Kouazi must have been peculiarly inconvenient. Its main access was from the north, and while it is possible to scramble up from the southern settlement to the eastern gate, it is hardly convenient. Nor is any access suitable for any but the most sure-footed horses. We suggest that horses may have been left in stabling in the southwest cave (pl. 253a), within easy reach of the main road, where cavalry could intercept travelers viewed from the western tower.

There are several periods of building on the site. The oldest is probably represented by the regular stonework of the lower fortifications of the bailey (pl. 255b) which might be Byzantine. Other masonry in the debris of the bailey, and the wall of the southwest cave, could be Trapezuntine, and if the layout of the keep itself (so reminiscent of Tzanicha) is Trapezuntine, the vaulted chambers and west tower there are certainly later. They may even belong to the Russian invasion and occupation of the area in 1829, after which the inconveniences of the place must have been so apparent that it was abandoned.

21. Kovans Köyü (Keci Kale Nahiyesi) (pl. 256a, b; fig. 76)

*Situation.* About 500 m north of the modern village of Keci Kale and 1.5 m west of the castle.

*Description.* An oval table of rock rises about 50 m above the village (pl. 256a). There is a fair amount of unglazed pottery on the flat top of the outcrop, as well as traces of mortar and robbed foundations of walls. The rock forms a natural defensive position and could have been the site of a fort, a walled monastery or village of almost any period.

At the southeast corner of the site are the remains of a chapel (pl. 256b; fig. 76). Most of its walls have collapsed where the natural rock foundations have eroded away, but part of the apses stands to about 6 m. The plan is of a twin-apsed chapel, with the apses inscribed within the thickness of the east wall, which is flat on the exterior, as at Leri, Dipotamos, and Fol Maden.<sup>81</sup> The walls are constructed of roughly squared stones laid in regular courses, with smaller stones evening up the gaps. The core is of mortared rubble with stones well bedded down and no gaps. The mortar is of lime, sand, and waterworn pebbles. The quoins are of larger blocks. On the north side of the southern apse the wall curves in at the top, indicating that it had been barrel vaulted. The orientation of the apses is at 45°.

On the south wall of the north apse and on the north wall

79. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vi, 24–26.

80. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 24; *Kandilaptes*, *ChP*, 15–16 (1945), 365; and p. 313.

81. See p. 306, 314, and 159.

of the south apse are fragments of lime and sand plaster, which does not appear to have any organic binding material in it. About 1.75 m above the present floor level of the north apse are faint traces of two horizontal red lines, about 17 cm apart. They must represent the preliminary planning of a wall decoration which was lost or never completed.

22. Hagia Sophia, at Leri(n) (Ayasofya Camii, at Kabakilise, now Kabaköy) (pls. 257a–261; figs. 111, 112)

*Situation.* At modern Kabaköy, 5 km due north of Kouazi (Kovans) castle and 27 km east of Gümüshane. Leri (Λερι, Λερίου, Λερίν) is reached by a motorable track which branches north from the Bayburt road at Zindanlar Arazı, along the Leri Dere. Kabaköy (until recently Kabakilise) is today the largest settlement of the Leri valley and its tributaries.<sup>82</sup> The village mosque, a converted church, stands on the side of the valley in the northern quarter of Kabaköy. Its present name of Ayasofya Camii is our only, but specific, indication of its original dedication to the Hagia Sophia.

We have published nineteenth-century churches in the Leri valley elsewhere, and have tentatively assigned Justinian's castle of Schamalinichon to the district—though it is not the "Ulukale" marked here on Tarhan's map, for that does not exist.<sup>83</sup> Villagers said that they had found foundations of a church in fields called Kise Arazı, northeast of Kabaköy, and foundations of an old church were reported at Gökçekilise nearby. At Karakaya, close to Gökçekilise, is a sacred spot dedicated to Hızırlyas, where villagers picnic every sixth of May.

*History.* Leri lies on the fringes of Pontic Greek and Armenian settlements. Only 35 km to the east, at Varzahan, stood two important eleventh- or twelfth-century Armenian churches and the Bayburt plain was predominantly Armenian, rather than Greek, in the sixteenth century.<sup>84</sup> That Leri may have originally lain within the Armenian orbit of settlement is suggested by its very name, which is probably derived from the Armenian for "mountain pasture" (*lerin*, genitive of *leirn*, "mountain"; cf. the modern Hemşin Armenian *ler-e*, or 'payla').<sup>85</sup> The Leri Dere in fact springs in some of the best upland grazing in the Pontos.

But Leri was definitely in Greek ecclesiastical hands by the

82. Ioannides, *Historia*, 251; Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 19–20 (1946), 464; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 312–24, pls. 97–103, fig. 23. The place was first reported, but not visited, by Talbot Rice: *Byzantion*, 5 (1929–30), 77: "a church which is now used as a mosque is said to exist at Kapa Kilissa. This seems to be the farthest point that Greek christianity reached in the southward direction."

83. Tarhan, *Map*.

84. Layard (1848), 7–8 and engraving; Tozer (1879), 427–29; Lynch (1893/98), II, 233 and photograph; Bachmann (1911), 49–53 and pls. 41–43; J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (Vienna, 1918), I, 250 and pl. 280; II, 461–62, 490–92 and pls. 499 and 520–22; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 137–38; H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (Leipzig, 1897), 431, which has a "*Lerin vank*"; and I. Miroğlu, *XVI. yüzyılda Bayburt sancağı* (Istanbul, 1975), *passim*.

85. G. Dumézil, "Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien Musulman de Hemşin," *MActBelg. Cl. des Lettres*, 77 (4) (Brussels, 1964), 22. The Pontic Greek word is "*parcharin*" see Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 63, 72, 76, 77.

ninth century. The see of Trebizond was probably erected into a Metropolis during the reign of Basil I (867–86), and in its earliest known list of suffragans (the *Nea Taktika* of Leo VI [886–912]), the bishopric of ὁ Λερίου is sixth out of seven dependencies of Trebizond. It remained, as ὁ Λερίου, or ὁ Λερείου, sixth out of eighteen and fifteen suffragans respectively in two later lists, variously ascribed to the period 980–1054.<sup>86</sup> It was these *Notitiae* which led us to walk to Kabaköy on the off-chance that we might find a Byzantine cathedral there.

After ca. 1054, the bishopric of Leri does not reappear in documentary sources until 1670. Seljuk raids began in the area in 1048. But Mesochaldian Kouazi (Kovans) castle would have guarded the valley, and neighboring border sees survived—there is mention of a bishop of Satala in 1256, and of a bishop of Chaldia in 1390 (albeit the former in Matzouka and the latter in Trebizond).<sup>87</sup> Lack of information about Leri may simply be attributed to the destruction of the archives of the Church of Trebizond in about 1665.<sup>88</sup>

In 1670 a letter from Patriarch Methodios of Constantinople (1668–71) to Metropolitan Laurentios of Kamachos names τὸ δὲ Κουάζι εἶναι ἐπίσκοπη Λερίου as being seventh and last of the suffragans of Trebizond.<sup>89</sup> It is last mentioned as a bishopric of Λερίου τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Γκούαση in a list of 6 March 1737, added to Soumela MS 27.<sup>90</sup> There is a hint of antiquarian enthusiasm about these late lists of dependents of Trebizond, which may not reflect a

86. Laurent, *CS*, V, 495 (for a resumé of arguments for the dating of the first Metropolitan of Trebizond; a date of ca. 787 was maintained by its last Metropolitan, Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 [1933], 153); George of Cyprus, ed. Gelzer, Nos. 1641–48; Gelzer, *Texte*, 575–76, 640, 646; Parthey, *Notitiae*, s.v.; Bees, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 117–19, 129–30, is most useful, but its chronology and topographical speculations must be used with caution: cf. J. Markwart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen* (Vienna, 1930), 470 f.; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 54, 191ff., and map of ca. 1050.

87. Vazelon Act 53 of 1256; Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 133.

88. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ed., *FHIT*, 164, line 383.

89. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 140–41.

90. MS Soumela 27, in the inside cover of a *Nomocanon* of Manuel Malaxos, written in 1734, now in the Archeological Museum, Ankara. Kyriakides, *Soumela*, 133 note 1, publishes a different version of this list in MS 27, which others have followed: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 19 (1965), 282–322; Bees, *AP*, 9 (1939), 193–248; P. Moraux, "Manuscrits de Trébizonde au Musée Archéologique d'Ankara," *Scriptorium*, 19 (1965), 269–73; Bees, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 120; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 158. Kyriakides' list, to which he gives the date of the main part of the MS, 1734, reads: ἐπίσκοποι τῆς μητροπόλεως Τραπεζοῦντος πῶς ὀνομάζοντο τὸ πρῶτον: ὁ Χαλαίου τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Κελκέτι· ὁ Βυζάνων, Τερτζέν· ὁ Χανδιάρξ, Ἐρζεγκιάν· ὁ Σακάβου, Τζηνήπες· ὁ Φασιανῆς, Πεπεήνη· ὁ Πάϊπερ, Μπαϊπούρτ· ὁ Λερίου, Γκένασης. The list which I saw in MS 27 in 1969 is not dated 1734, but Sunday, 6 March 1737, and is significantly different in detail: ἐπίσκοποι τῆς μητροπόλεως Τραπεζοῦντος πῶς ὀνομάζοντο τὸ πρῶτον: ὁ Χαλαίου, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Κελκέτ. Ὁ Βυζάνων, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Τερτζέν. Ὁ Χανδιάρξ, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Ἐρζηκέν. Ὁ Σακάβου, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Τζηνηπή. Ὁ Φασιανῆς, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Πασένη. Ὁ Πάϊπερ, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Μπαϊπούρτ. Ὁ Λερίου, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Γκούαση. It must be presumed that Kyriakides either had another list or did not copy that of 1737 very carefully. In any case, these 17th- and 18th-century lists belong to a tradition shared by the 9th- to 11th-century ones.

contemporary situation. For example, on 17 July 1737 (the same year as the Soumelan list of sees), Patriarch Silvester of Antioch (1724–66) authorized the ordination of Metropolitan Makarios of Akiska in the church of the Theotokos κατὰ τὴν κώμην Καρμούτ τοῦ Κοῴς.<sup>91</sup> Karmout (Karmut, now Yukarıkermut and Aşağı Kermut) lies in the valley which runs parallel to the Leri, 8–10 km to the west; its churches are probably nineteenth-century.<sup>92</sup> The see had evidently left the Leri valley and had been transferred from the jurisdiction of Constantinople to that of Antioch. Chaldia, with its see at Gümüşhane, not twenty km from Karmout, always remained within the patriarchate of Constantinople, but it seems that eighteenth-century Karmout and Leri were attached to the Antiochene eparchy of Theodosiupolis (Erzurum). By the nineteenth century, the area had reverted to both Chaldia and Constantinople. These disputed borders of the patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch, which ran along the southern frontier of the Grand Komnenoi, probably account for the conflicting statements of 1737, when Antioch clearly had *de facto* jurisdiction in the region.

Variants of the Leri district's new eighteenth-century name of Kouazi are Κοῴς, Κοῴσι, Κούασι, and Γκέναςση.<sup>93</sup> The district name evidently settled (like Torul on Ardasia and Matzouka on Maçka) on the Mesochaldian castle of Kovans; it does not seem to have an earlier usage. This change of nomenclature may reflect substantial, if patchy, Turkish settlement in the eighteenth century, when the Leri valley became Kouazi and Leri itself became Kabakilise, losing its church as a mosque and its see to Karmout, probably by 1737. So although the Turks of modern Kabaköy have apparently retained the memory of the original Greek dedication of the mosque, by the eighteenth century the Greeks of Leri had forgotten the original Greek name for Kabakilise. Some leading Greek families emigrated and made good elsewhere—that of the eighteenth-century scholar Michael Papageorgiou ὁ Λαίριος,<sup>94</sup> and the Mourouzes (Mourouzides) dynasty. The tradition that the Mourouzai sprang from Muruzli (Μουρουζάντων, Muruzandi), 2 km west of modern Kabaköy, is a strong one.<sup>95</sup> They appear to have left Leri for Constantinople in the first half of the eighteenth century, as a result of local Turkish “tyranny.” But they prospered in the capital. Constantine Mourouzes ruled Moldavia in 1777–82, and until 1821 several members of the family held high office in the Porte and as Phanariot princes. Prince Alexander Mourouzes issued a bull in favour of the *Phrontisterion* of Trebizond in 1803.<sup>96</sup>

91. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *IB*, I, 213.

92. Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 313; one was dedicated to the Holy Cross.

93. Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 98–99; Ioannides, *Historia*, 251; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 162. See also Smith and Dwight (1830), II, 309; Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 55.

94. Triantaphyllides, *Phygades*, 129.

95. Ioannides, *Historia*, 251; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 162, 697–98; Kandilaptes, *ChP*, 19–20 (1946), 464; Triantaphyllides, *Pontika*, 99; Miller, *Trebizond*, 114.

96. Ioannides, *Historia*, 139–40; reprinted in Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 613–14; cf. S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), 362 and note, 375 and note, 405; F. W. Hasluck,

But most of the Leri settlements remained Greek, including the village still called Leri (now officially Yetirmez), 4 km northwest of Kabaköy. Half its population of two hundred families were crypto-Christians who openly declared their faith in 1857.<sup>97</sup> Seven or more churches were built in the valley in the second half of the nineteenth century. In their zeal for rebuilding at this time, Pontic Greeks destroyed more medieval churches than had the Turks, and we do not know if there were any others in the valley. But the medieval church at Kabaköy escaped this fate because it was already a Turkish mosque.

*Architecture.* A basilica with inscribed apse and rectangular pastophories, the external measurements of which are 14.27 × 11.42 m (figs. 111 and 112). The east and south walls are built of good ashlar blocks of yellow limestone, averaging 40 cm in height and 30–90 cm in length (pl. 257b). There is little mortar, and only two brick or tile chips were seen in it. The west and north walls are very different. The facing of the north wall has been removed entirely and is now made up of small irregular stones. The west wall is made up of larger, but equally irregular, stones (pl. 257a).

The three apse windows have semicircular arches, each made of three blocks, with hood moldings (pl. 260b). The surviving south window is similar, but has no hood molding (pl. 259). All the north windows are blocked; though they can be located by tapping on the plaster inside, they are hardly visible in the ruinous exterior of the wall. The four irregularly spaced west windows are not arched and have deep sloping sills, characteristic of early modern Pontic churches.

The floor of the mosque is about 1.5 m above the present ground level at the west end (pl. 257a). The ground has slipped down the valley, exposing between 1 and 1.5 m of unfaced stone foundation on all but the east end, which is buried up to the height of the windows (pl. 260a–c).

Some blocks around the main apse window are joggled, in the Georgian manner.<sup>98</sup> The ashlar blocks of the south side (which are themselves chipped, especially at the corners, as if reused) degenerate into irregular repairs one to three courses beneath the edge of the roof, which has a central gable and is apparently stone faced (pl. 257b). Although the roof has clearly been remodeled at some time, there is no evidence to show that the building was ever other than barrel vaulted. The west front is largely rebuilt, presumably when the church became a mosque. The notes made by A. A. M. B. and D. C. W. on independent visits conflict as to whether there had been a narthex. D. C. W. argues that the plan calls for a narthex, which would have been cleared away with the remodeling of the west wall, for its foundations would then have been totally exposed by the erosion of the hillside. A. A. M. B. argues that the large quoins at the west end of the south wall, and the neat conclusion of the west gable of the roof, indicate that the building perhaps did not have a nar-

*Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, II (Oxford, 1929), 471 and note 4.

97. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 718; and PRO, FO 524/10, consular despatch 46 of 1857.

98. Cf. D. Winfield, “Some early medieval figure sculpture from northeast Turkey,” *JWarb*, 31 (1968), 44 and pl. 8.

thex. But we are agreed that, despite rebuilding at various stages, the present plan of the church reflects the original very closely (fig. 111); and that the peculiarities of the masonry suggest two or three periods of stonework:

1. A building faced with ashlar blocks, without visible mortar;

2. Repairs (perhaps after an earthquake) that necessitated the reuse of the ashlar blocks, this time with some mortar;

3. Repairs to the roof and the whole of the west front (perhaps contemporaneous with the second phase), in rough-cut stone.

There is a stone platform at the west end and steps lead to the present door to the building (pl. 257a). At the northwest corner is a covered fountain, on the wooden roof of which a makeshift minaret teeters. The *muhtar* told us that the steps had only been made in the 1940s. The fountain is, perhaps, nineteenth century; it has no inscription. The platform is evidently older; part of its foundations are exposed and it is made of stones of the same size as those of the east and south walls of the building. The west or north wall may have been robbed for this work, unless these stones are the debris of the putative narthex.

The naos has three aisles and four square piers standing on bases with slightly projecting tops (pl. 261; fig. 112). It is barrel vaulted, the ribs for the higher central barrel springing from above the level of the side arches. The six side arches are slightly horse-shoe shaped. The south door has been blocked (pl. 258a) and serves as a *mihrab*. The west door must date from the period of the rebuilding of the western face. The interior is heavily plastered and painted with rustic and somewhat unusual designs. The Holy Places of Islam are depicted on the south side. It was impossible to determine whether there were earlier layers of painting. From their style and condition, one might hazard an eighteenth-century date for the present paintings. A wooden gallery has been installed in the north aisle.

The three arches leading to the apse and pastophories have been blocked and plastered, making the present mosque area a square; very much the same plan was followed when the church at Pirastiyos was converted into a mosque.<sup>99</sup>

The north pastophory and the central apse can be entered through the east windows (pls. 260a–c). The pastophories are vaulted rectangles and the arches leading from them to the naos are built slightly out of center. The apse has a well-built conch and very slight traces of painting (red lines on white) are visible close to the window. The ashlar stone is bare of plaster and is of the same quality as that of the east and south walls. There are no interconnecting arches between the apse and pastophories, or liturgical niches common in Trapezuntine and later Pontic churches.

The lintel of the blocked south door is decorated with two incised crosses in circles (pl. 258a, b). Between the crosses are much defaced reliefs of what appear to have been two birds, and a four-line inscription which has been hammered away beyond recall. But part of a much battered inscription on the right jamb is legible.

The inscription (or inscriptions) is on three blocks,

which may not be in their original positions. The lettering on the lower stone is illegible, as is much of that on the two upper stones (pl. 258c). But the same common invocation is found on both:

Left: + ἰωα[ν]νάκι(ου)  
[ ] Ε[ὐ]στα[θ]ίου.  
Κ[ύρι]ε βοήθ[ει] τ[ὸ]ν  
δ[ού]λον σου Ἐφ[. . .]

Right: Κ[ύρι]ε β[ο]ηθ[ει] τ[ὸ]ν  
δού[λο]ν σου Η[. . .]

The lettering is coarse, but has some affinities with forms found in an early ninth-century inscription from Tzurulon.<sup>100</sup>

*Date.* The most striking features of the church are its inscribed apse plan, its windows, arches, and heavy stonework. Inscribed apses are common enough in Armenia and in Armenian churches elsewhere, such as Stepan Shemsedli's at Kaymaklı, outside Trebizond, which is dated 1421.<sup>101</sup> The plan penetrated Chaldia in churches such as the ones at Dipotamos and at nearby Kovans Köyü. However, these examples are not wholly relevant. For parallels for the combination of a semicircular apse and rectangular pastophories within a square, one must go to Armenian churches—at Ashtarak, near Erevan (sixth century), and Vahgarshapat (Etchmiadzin) (seventh century).<sup>102</sup> But these churches were domed, and the naos of the church at Kabaköy, with its windows, lengthwise vaulting, slightly horseshoe arches, and bare masses of stone with (originally) little or no mortar, while having Armenian affinities, suggests even more strongly that it is a simplified version of a type of parish church which reached places such as Binbirkilise, in Cappadocia, in the sixth century.<sup>103</sup>

The situation of the church of Leri makes it particularly intriguing. Although it lay on the borders of both the Empire and patriarchate of Constantinople, it seems to belong not to the Pontic architectural traditions of the coast, but to those of Armenia and central Anatolia, which it combines. As its name suggests, Leri may first have been settled by Armenians, on the edge of Chaldia, just inside the *limes* established by Justinian. Even if his castle of Schamalinichon cannot be located, the church at Leri points to a sixth-century date, in which case it is probably the oldest surviving church in the Pontos.

100. I. Ševčenko, "Inscription commemorating Sisinnios, 'curator' of Tzurulon (A.D. 813)," *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 564–74.

101. See p. 209.

102. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, I, 147, 180, 190; figs. 167, 213, 226; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 231; fig. 94b; E. Utidjian, *Armenian Architecture* (Paris, 1968), figs. 29 (Odzoun, 5th and 7th centuries), 56, 94, 100. Cf. J. Baltrušaitis, *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris, 1929), 70–74, 117; fig. 101, 103, 105–6, 117; and J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasiens. ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1903), 105, 111, 122, 139; figs. 73, 79, 92, 105.

103. W. M. Ramsay and G. L. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909), *passim*; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 120–24; figs. 49–51.

99. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 143.

We propose that when Leri was erected into a see, in or before the ninth century, it was rebuilt—the second of our architectural phases, when the inscriptions might have been cut on the south wall. Its dedication to the Hagia Sophia, if local Turkish tradition is correct, is also a pointer that it was a church of some consequence. Substantial churches at sees associated with Leri further south, should also be expected in

the two centuries before the Seljuk invasions, at Σακάβου (Hinis), Βίζαβα (Vican), and Ὀλνοῦτη (Oğnut).<sup>104</sup> A final reconstruction, of the west wall especially, probably took place in the period around 1737, for it was then that the see of Leri was moved to Karmout, and Kabaköy seems to have become Turkish.

## APPENDIX

TABLE OF OFFICERS OF THE THEME OF CHALDIA<sup>1</sup>

I. STRATEGOS OF CHALDIA	DATE <sup>2</sup>		
Leontios, imperial protospatharios	9th century <sup>3</sup>	Alexios, protospatharios	884/85 <sup>7</sup>
Leo, imperial protospatharios	9th century <sup>4</sup>	N.	901 <sup>8</sup>
N.	863 <sup>5</sup>	Bardas Boilas	to 923 <sup>9</sup>
John Chaldios, patrikios	fl. 867 and after <sup>6</sup>	Theophilos (Kourkouas)	923/24–40, 952 <sup>10</sup>
		Andronikos, imperial protospatharios	10th century <sup>11</sup>
		Pothos, imperial protospatharios	10th century <sup>12</sup>
		Constantine, imperial protospatharios	10th century <sup>13</sup>
		George Dros(er)ios, patrikios, anthypatos, krites epi tou hippodromou (also strategos of Derzene)	10th–11th centuries <sup>14</sup>
		Peter Argyros, patrikios	10th–11th centuries <sup>15</sup>

104. Markwart, *Sudarmenien*, 51, 462, 498, 546; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 192–99.

1. The earliest reference to a thematic organization in Chaldia may come in the Life of St. George, bishop of Amastris (consecrated ca. 790, died 802–7 or ca. 825), probably by Ignatios the Deacon (died soon after 845), where the bishop intervened in the court of the *strategos* of Trebizond: see L. Bréhier, “Les populations rurales au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle d’après l’hagiographie byzantine,” *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 187; I. Ševčenko, “Hagiography of the Iconoclast period,” in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), p. 121 note 59, citing an as yet unpublished opinion of C. Mango that a date of ca. 825 for the death of George of Amastris is to be preferred to the more commonly held one of 802–7. A more precise *terminus ante* for the separation of Chaldia from the Armeniak theme may, however, come in the mention of a *ducatum Chaldaeae* in the letter of Michael II to Louis the Pius dated 10 April 824: see P. Lemerle, “Thomas le Slave,” *TM*, 1 (1965), 255–56, 286 and note 119. Thereafter it appears in all lists: the *taktikon* Uspenskij (842–43), the treatise of Philotheos (899), the *taktikon* Beneshevich (934–44), and the *taktikon* Oikonomides (971–75): see Oikonomides, *Listes*, 49, 53, 55, 101, 105, 139, 247, 263, 265; and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematis*, ed. Pertusi, 73, 137–39. For a discussion of the origins of the theme, see p. 301 above.

2. Dates, by century, are of seals in the collections of, or published by: Zacos and Veglery, Dumbarton Oaks, Laurent, Schlumberger, Konstantopoulos, Barber Institute, Likhachev, Chabiaras, and Ebersolt. It has therefore been impossible to impose a common dating system, except for the seals now in D.O., which comprise 24 of the sample of 41 used here. A. A. M. B. examined the D.O. seals in 1970 and is much indebted to Dr. John Nesbitt for checking his readings and offering dates in 1979. Nesbitt’s dates are preferred in the table on the few occasions where he differs from those of Zacos and Laurent (in his unpublished catalogue) for the same seal, but variants are mentioned in the notes. Nesbitt’s practice of not dating any seal more precisely than a century has been followed. There is no disagreement as to the 8th- and 9th-century seals in the sample.

3. D.O. Shaw 61, unpublished. Laurent, unpublished catalogue, dates 8th–9th centuries; Nesbitt prefers 9th–10th centuries. Unclear whether similar to the example in Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 290–91, no. 5. At any rate, distinct from the following seal.

4. G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 1 (Basel, 1972), II, p. 1182, no. 2137A.

5. Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., 181.

6. The assassin of Michael III, later crucified for plotting against Basil; he and his father founded monasteries in Sourmaina and Cheriana. See ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 57, 97; R. Guillaud, “Contribution à la prosopographie de l’empire Byzantin:

Les Patrices,” *BZ*, 63 (1970), 303; A. Vogt, *Basil Ier, empereur de Byzance (867–886), et la civilisation Byzantine à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1908); and Janin, *EMGCB*, 266, 270, 295. The *taktikon* Uspenskij confirms the title of *patrikios* for this period, but the further title of *anthypatos*, ascribed by Philotheos to the *strategos* of Chaldia, is not known in practice until the seal of George Droserios (see under No. 11).

7. Inscription in St. Anne, Trebizond, in Millet, *BCH*, 19 (1895), 434; corrected in Millet and Talbot Rice, *Painting*, 23 note 1.

8. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 206.

9. With Adrian the Chaldian and Tatzakes, seized Bayburt, and was arrested in 923 for conspiring to overthrow Romanos Lekapenos. Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., 404; George Continuatus, Bonn ed., 896–97; S. Vryonis, “The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathios Boilas (1059),” *DOP*, 11 (1957), 273; S. Runciman, *The emperor Romanos Lecapenus and his reign* (London, 1929), 70–71, 135.

10. Brother of John Kourkouas and grandfather of John I Tzimiskes; replaced Boilas and enjoyed two terms of office. See note 11 above; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 208, 213; II, 174, 176–77; and Oikonomides, *Listes*, 247.

11. D.O. Shaw 60, unpublished. Laurent, unpublished catalogue, dates 8th–9th centuries. Close in detail to a second seal, D.O. 58.106.5178, unpublished. Nesbitt writes: “Probably safer to date both to tenth century.”

12. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 290, no. 4.

13. D.O. 55.1.1412; and another 10th-century seal of different matrix in D.O. 58.106.2115; both unpublished.

14. N. P. Likhachev, *Istoricheskoe znachenie italo-grecheskoi ikonoposi izobrazhenia Bogonateri* (St. Petersburg, 1911), Appendix 20 and pl. vi, no. 14. For seals of other persons called George Drosos or Droserios, see G. Schlumberger, “Sceaux Byzantins inédits,” *REG*, 2 (1889), p. 257, no. 25; N. B. Chabiaras, Ἀνέκδοτα μολυβδόβουλλα, *DENA*, 12 (1909–10), pl. 149, no. 1 (found on Rhodes), and the probably identical George Drosos or Droserios, dysanthypatos and krites epi tou hippodromou, listed under No. 11.

15. D.O. 55.1.2937, unpublished.

2. DOUX OF CHALDIA<sup>16</sup>

Christopher, imperial spatharios	8th century <sup>17</sup>
Niketas, spatharios	? <sup>18</sup>
N., imperial protospatharios	9th century <sup>19</sup>
N. (also doux of Trebizond)	fl. 867–86 <sup>20</sup>
Bardas Phokas (also doux of Koloneia)	fl. 969–79 <sup>21</sup>

## 3. TOURMARCH OF CHALDIA

N. protospatharios	8th–9th century <sup>22</sup>
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## 4. ARCHON OF CHALDIA?

N.	(842/43) <sup>23</sup>
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## 5. DIOIKETES OF CHALDIA

Andrew	9th century <sup>24</sup>
Theophanios, strator	9th century <sup>25</sup>

## 6. PROTONOTARY OF CHALDIA

Leo, hypatos	8th–9th centuries <sup>26</sup>
Leo	9th–10th centuries <sup>27</sup>

16. The *ducatum Chaldaeae* of 824 (see note 1 above) probably refers to a *strategos* rather than a *doux*, but the *taktikon* Uspenskij lists both a *strategos* and a *doux* of Chaldia by 842/43. The office did not survive in Chaldia in the 10th-century lists, but was revived as a new form of military office, first known to be held by Bardas Phokas of Chaldia. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 49, 53, 344, 354; and, on the survival and revival of the office, Hélène Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, *Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire Byzantin aux IX<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Athens, 1960), 53, 54.

17. Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, iii, p. 1735, no. 3088A. Late 8th century; Nesbitt agrees to an 8th-century date.

18. N. M. Konstantopoulos, Βυζαντινά κολυβδόβουλλα ἐν τῷ Ἐθνικῷ Νομισματικῷ Μουσείῳ, *DENA*, 9 (1906), p. 75, no. 158a.

19. Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, iii, p. 1793, no. 3226A. Nesbitt agrees to a 9th-century date.

20. Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 57; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 349, Contemporary, or identical, with *patrikios* John Chaldios.

21. Leo Diaconus, Bonn ed., 96; Cedrenus (Skylitzes), Bonn ed., II, 379, 426, 430–31. Nephew of Nikephoros II, he probably killed Constantine Gabras in 979. See Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 59; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 263, 344.

22. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 289, no. 1; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematribus*, ed. Pertusi, 138; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 54. The dating of this seal, which was not illustrated, seems to be Pertusi's, following Schlumberger's supposition that the *tourma* of Chaldia preceded the theme.

23. The *taktikon* Uspenskij lists ex-archontes of Chaldia and Crete. *Archontes* existed side by side with *strategoi*, especially in outlying districts, such as Cherson and Crete. Chaldia falls into this category, so I agree with Bury and Ferluga that it probably had *archontes*, against the argument of Oikonomides that the *ex-archontes* of 842/43 comprise former governors of the theme in general. See J. B. Bury, *The imperial administrative system in the ninth century* (London, 1911), 13; J. Ferluga, "Nizhe vojno-administrativne jedinice tematskog urechenja," *ZVI*, 2 (1953), 87; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 54; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 55 and note 33.

24. D.O. 55.1.673 = Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, iii, p. 982, no. 1713. Nesbitt agrees to Zacos' date.

25. D.O. 55.1.1968, unpublished. Nesbitt offers date.

26. Konstantopoulos, *DENA*, 5 (1902), p. 219, no. 157.

27. Konstantopoulos, *DENA*, 5 (1902), p. 220, no. 158. Not identical with the previous example; if it is of the same person, Konstantopoulos' dating must be revised.

Anastasios, spatharocandidate	10th century <sup>28</sup>
Anthimos, imperial protospatharios, candidate, epi ton oikakon	10th–11th centuries <sup>29</sup>
Nicholas Areob(an)denos, spatharocandidate	11th century <sup>30</sup>

## 7. KRITES OF CHALDIA

Constantine, imperial protospatharios	9th–10th centuries <sup>31</sup>
George Makrembolites, spatharocandidate	10th century <sup>32</sup>
Michael, asekrete (also krites of Derzene)	10th–11th century <sup>33</sup>
Leo Areob(a)n (denos), spatharocandidate asekrete (also krites of Derzene)	11th century <sup>34</sup>
Mathew Areo (ban) d (enos), grand asekrete (krites of Derzene alone)	11th century <sup>35</sup>
Nicholas, dikastes	11th century <sup>36</sup>

## 8. KOMMERKIARIOS OF CHALDIA

John, hypatos	8th–9th centuries <sup>37</sup>
Eugenios, genikos kommerkiarios	9th century <sup>38</sup>

28. D.O. 55.1.1351, unpublished. Nesbitt offers date.

29. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 290, no. 6; cf. Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 43.

30. D.O. 55.1.2934, unpublished; cf. *Sigillographie*, p. 290, no. 3. Nesbitt offers 11th century and Schlumberger 11th–12th centuries. Comparison with other members of this family, whose Chaldian seals are cited below, shows that the name should probably be read as Areobandenos. It appears to be the same as the Arbantenos or Arabantinos family, maybe originally natives of Araventan, for whose other seals, see Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 619–20, and V. Laurent, "Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie Byzantine," *Ἑλληνικά*, 4 (1931), p. 207, no. 29 and p. 345, no. 179. The only member of the family who appears to be attested in literary sources is John Arbantenos, described as *pantokrator sebastos* and relative by marriage of John Komnenos in a perhaps premature obit of the Pantokrator monastery, Constantinople, in 1136, and the subject of an epigram by Nicholas Kallikles. See Niketas Choniates, "Thesaurus orthodoxae fidei," PG, 140, col. 253b; P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator," *REB*, 27 (1969), 241.

31. A. Bryer, "A molybdobull of the imperial protospatharios Constantine, krites of the theme of Chaldia," *AP*, 27 (1965), 244–46 and pl.; the seal is now in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.

32. D.O. 55.1.3152, unpublished. Nesbitt offers date.

33. D.O. 55.1.2521, unpublished. Nesbitt offers date. Cf. Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 85.

34. D.O. 55.1.2933, unpublished. Nesbitt offers date.

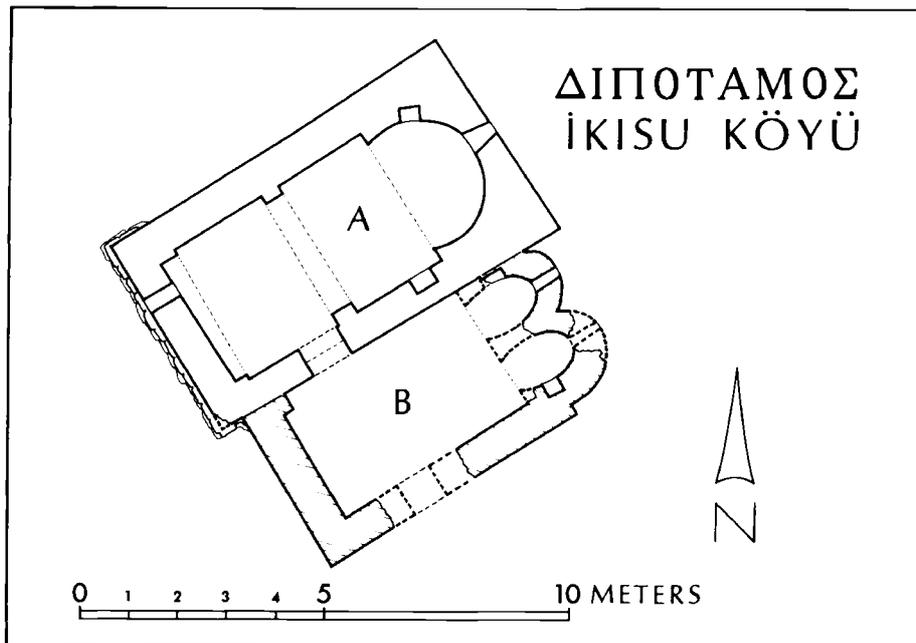
35. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 30 and pl. vii, no. 22.

36. D.O. Shaw 57, published in V. Laurent, "Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie Byzantine," *Ἑλληνικά*, 7 (1934), p. 286, no. 625; cf. Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 70 note 5. Laurent originally published it as 11th or 12th century, but dated it 10th–11th centuries in his unpublished catalogue.

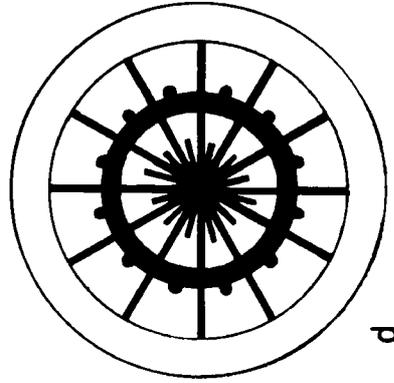
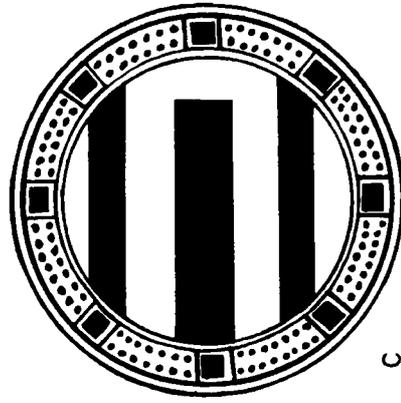
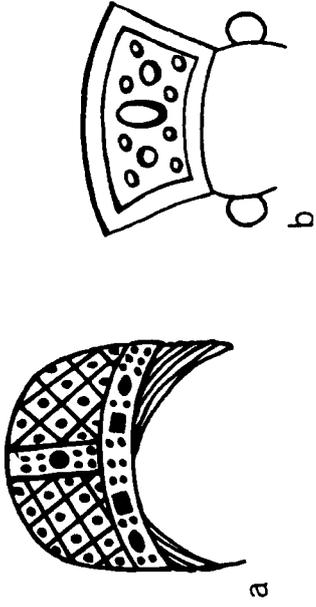
37. D.O. 55.1.961 = Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, ii, p. 1129, no. 2016 (as late 8th or early 9th century).

38. D.O. 58.106.4577 = Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, ii, p. 1064, no. 1880.

- |  |                                   |  |  |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Photios, imperial vestitor                               | 9th century <sup>39</sup>         |  |  |
| Theophylact  | 9th century <sup>40</sup>         |  |  |
| Niketas  | 9th century <sup>41</sup>         |  |  |
| Leo, hypatos   | 9th–10th centuries <sup>42</sup>  |  |  |
| Michael, protospatharios                                 | before 923? <sup>43</sup>         |  |  |
| Agathonikos, protospatharios,<br>epi tou Chrysotriklinou | 10th–11th centuries <sup>44</sup> |  |  |
| John, protospatharios, grand<br>chartoularios            | 10th–11th centuries <sup>45</sup> |  |  |
| Leo, imperial spatharios                                 | 10th–11th centuries <sup>46</sup> |  |  |
| Pothos, exaktor (of the <i>oikistike<br/>sakkele</i> )   | 11th–12th centuries <sup>47</sup> |  |  |
| Christopher, spatharocandidate                           | ? <sup>48</sup>                   |  |  |
| Theodore, imperial spathario s.k                         | ? <sup>49</sup>                   |  |  |
9. KOMES TES KORTES OF CHALDIA
- |                                 |                           |  |  |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| John, imperial spatharios       | 9th century <sup>50</sup> |  |  |
| Theophylact, imperial candidate | 9th century <sup>51</sup> |  |  |
10. ANAGRAPHEUS OF CHALDIA
- |  |                                   |  |  |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| (Elias), epi ton oikakon   | 10th–11th centuries <sup>52</sup> |  |  |
| Michael, spatharios, epi tou<br>Chrysotriklinou, log (ariastes?)<br>of the grand curator,<br>artoklines (also anagrapheus<br>of Derzene and Taron) | 11th century <sup>53</sup>        |  |  |
11. OTHER OFFICERS OF CHALDIA
- |  |                                   |  |  |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| John, protospatharios, epi tou<br>Chrysotriklinou, basilikos, of<br>Chaldia                  | 9th–10th centuries <sup>54</sup>  |  |  |
| George Dros (erios), dysanthypatos,<br>krites epi tou hippodromou,<br>of Chaldia and Derzene | 10th–11th centuries <sup>55</sup> |  |  |
| John, spatharios, komitos, of<br>Chaldia   | ? <sup>56</sup>                   |  |  |
39. Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, iii, p. 1769, no. 3168.  
40. D.O. 58.106.3235 and 55.1.1253 = Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, ii, pp. 1367–68, no. 2527 (five versions).  
41. D.O. 55.1.1093 = Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, ii, p. 1233, no. 2235 (as late 9th century).  
42. D.O. 55.1.1003, 55.1.1006, and perhaps 55.1.1509, = Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, ii, p. 1172, no. 2113 (four specimens with two variations, as late 9th or early 10th century).  
43. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, 196; II, 166. His property in Psomathia, Constantinople, was confiscated by the crown, perhaps after the revolt of 923.  
44. D.O. 55.1.2186, unpublished. Nesbitt offers date.  
45. G. Schlumberger, "Sceaux Byzantins inédits (sixième série)," *Revue Numismatique*, 20 (1916), pp. 37–38, no. 310; found in Aleppo. Cf. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, p. 234, no. 104.  
46. Konstantopoulos, *DENA*, 5 (1902), p. 219, no. 156, perhaps a variant of, or identical with, Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 290–91, no. 5. Cf. Bibicou, *Douanes*, p. 234, no. 105.  
47. V. Laurent, "Sceaux Byzantins inédits," *BZ*, 30 (1933), 356–57; cf. Bibicou, *Douanes*, p. 236, no. 129.  
48. J. Ebersolt, *Sceaux Byzantins du Musée de Constantinople* (Paris, 1914), p. 26, no. 339 (340); cf. Bibicou, *Douanes*, p. 237, no. 138.  
49. Ebersolt, *Sceaux*, p. 26, no. 338 (303); cf. Bibicou, *Douanes*, p. 237, no. 137.  
50. D.O. 55.1.516 = Zacos and Veglery, *Seals*, I, ii, p. 899, no. 1521; cf. Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, p. 37, note 11.  
51. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 289–90, no. 2.  
52. D.O. Shaw 57, unpublished. A. A. M. B. read Elias in 1970; Nesbitt found the name illegible in 1979. Date as in Laurent's unpublished catalogue.  
53. D.O. 55.1.2066, unpublished. Nesbitt offers date.  
54. D.O. Shaw 59, unpublished. Date as in Laurent's unpublished catalogue.  
55. G. Schlumberger, "Sceaux byzantins inédites (3<sup>e</sup> série)," *REG*, 7 (1894), pp. 321–22, no. 105.  
56. D.O. 55.1.516, unpublished.



101. Chaldia, Dipotamos. Double Church. Plan

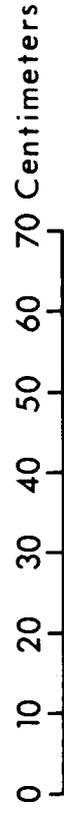
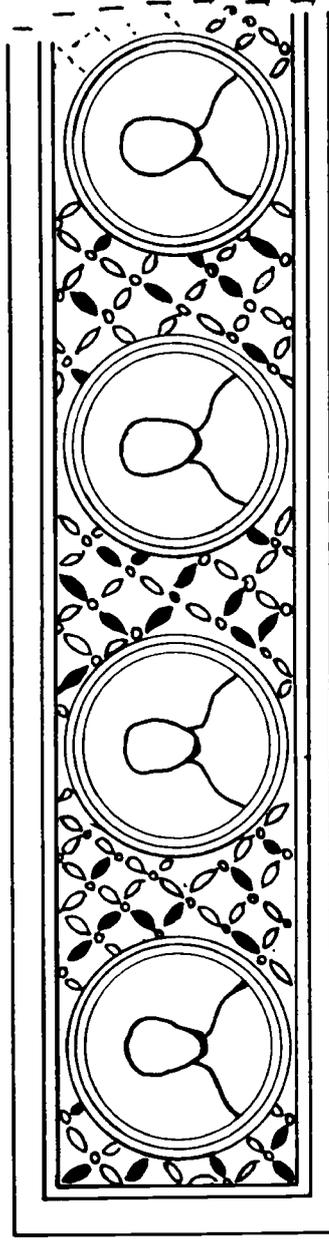


102. Crowns and Details of Shields

Chaldia, Dipotamos, İksu Köyü, Double Church

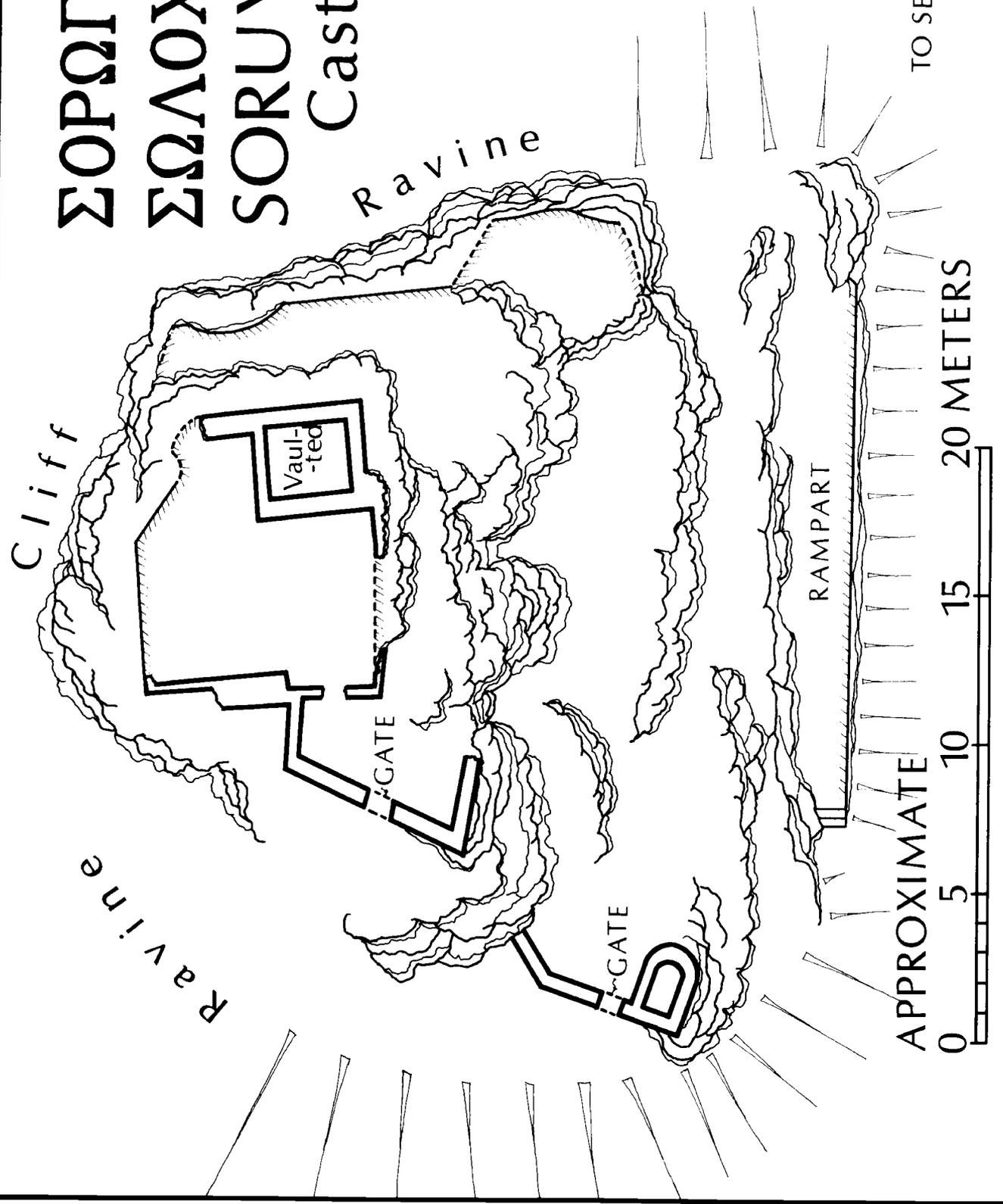


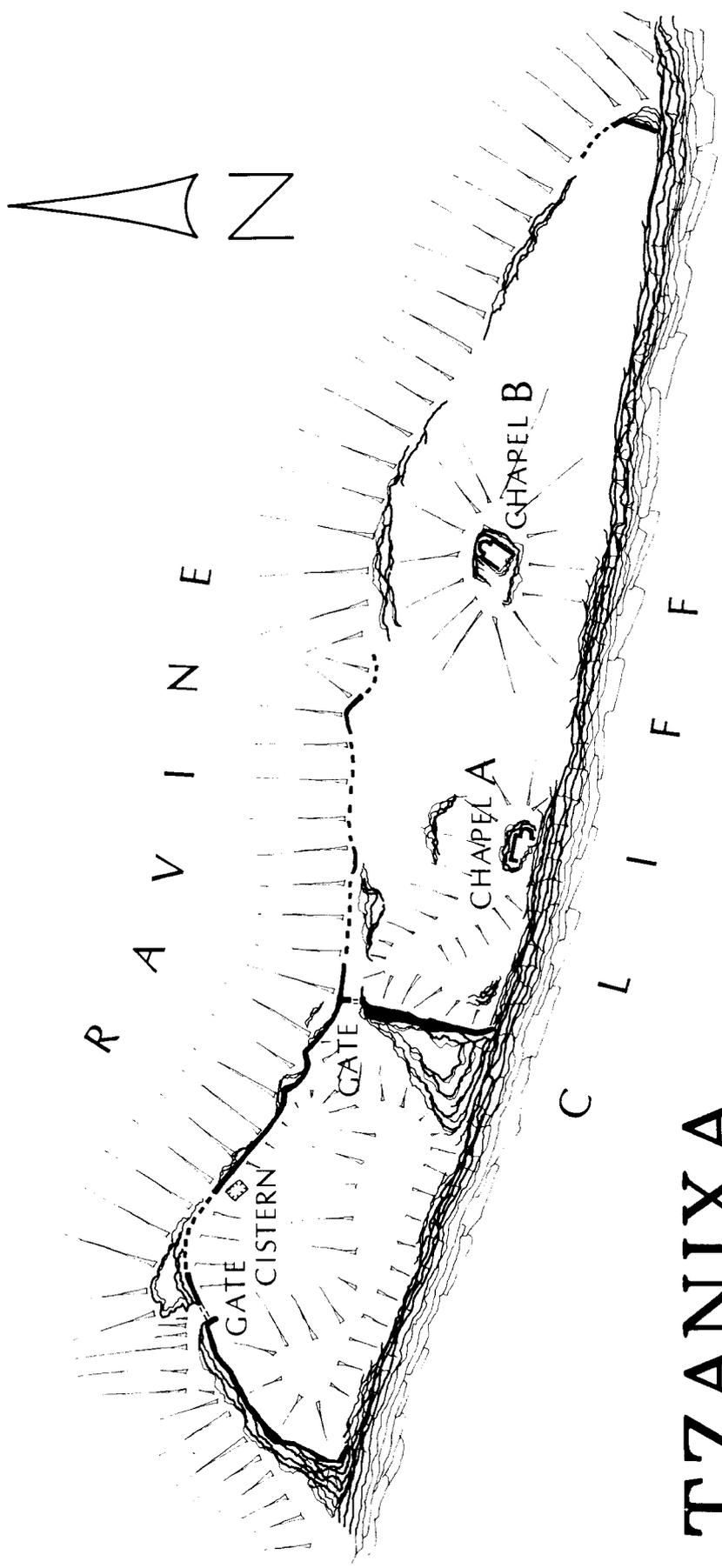
103. Chapel A, North Wall, East End, Dado



104. Chapel A, Apse, Middle Register

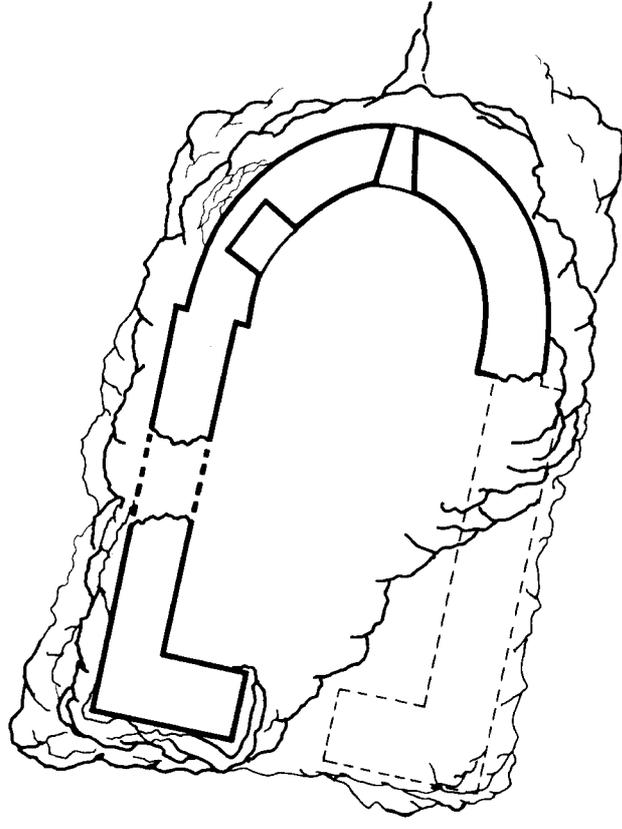
ΣΟΡΩΓΑΙΝΑ OR  
 ΣΩΛΟΧΑΙΝΑ  
 SORUYANA  
 Castle





**TZANIXIA**  
**CANCA near**  
**ΑΡΓΥΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ**  
**ΓÜMÜŞHANE**

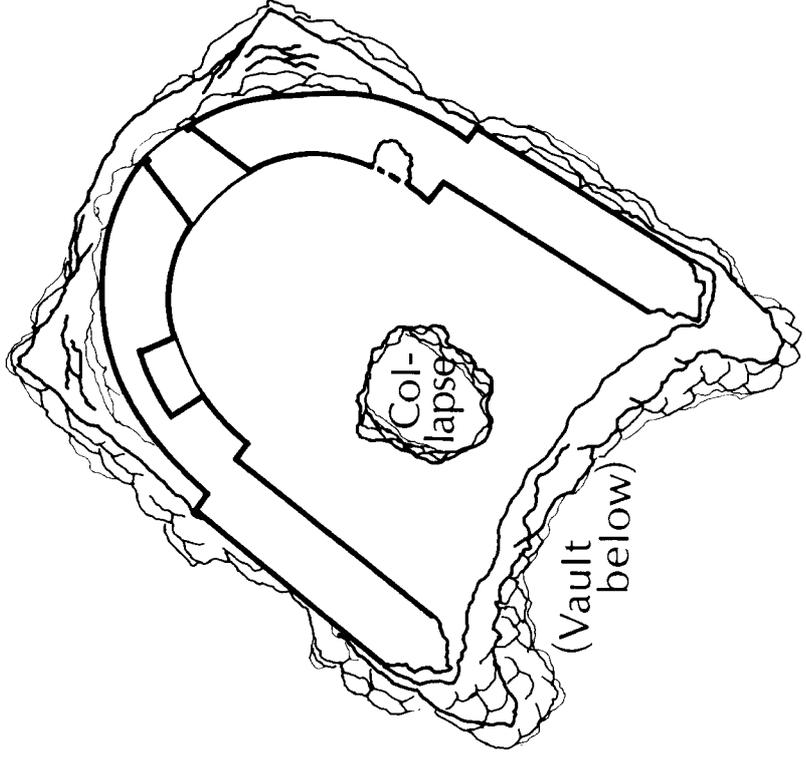
APPROXIMATE  
 0 50 METERS 100



# TZANIXA CHAPEL A

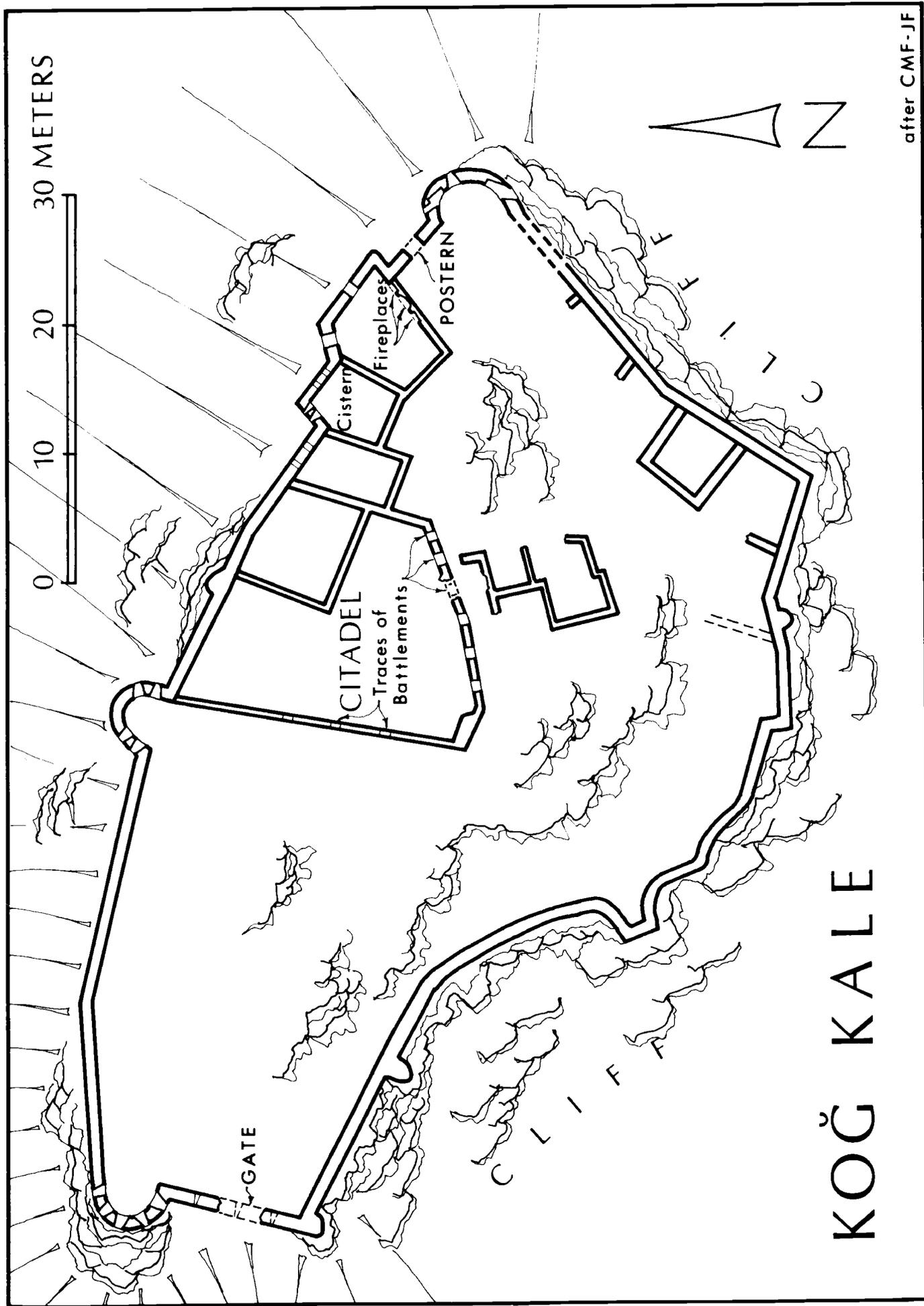
107. Plan

Chaldia, Tzanicha-Canica

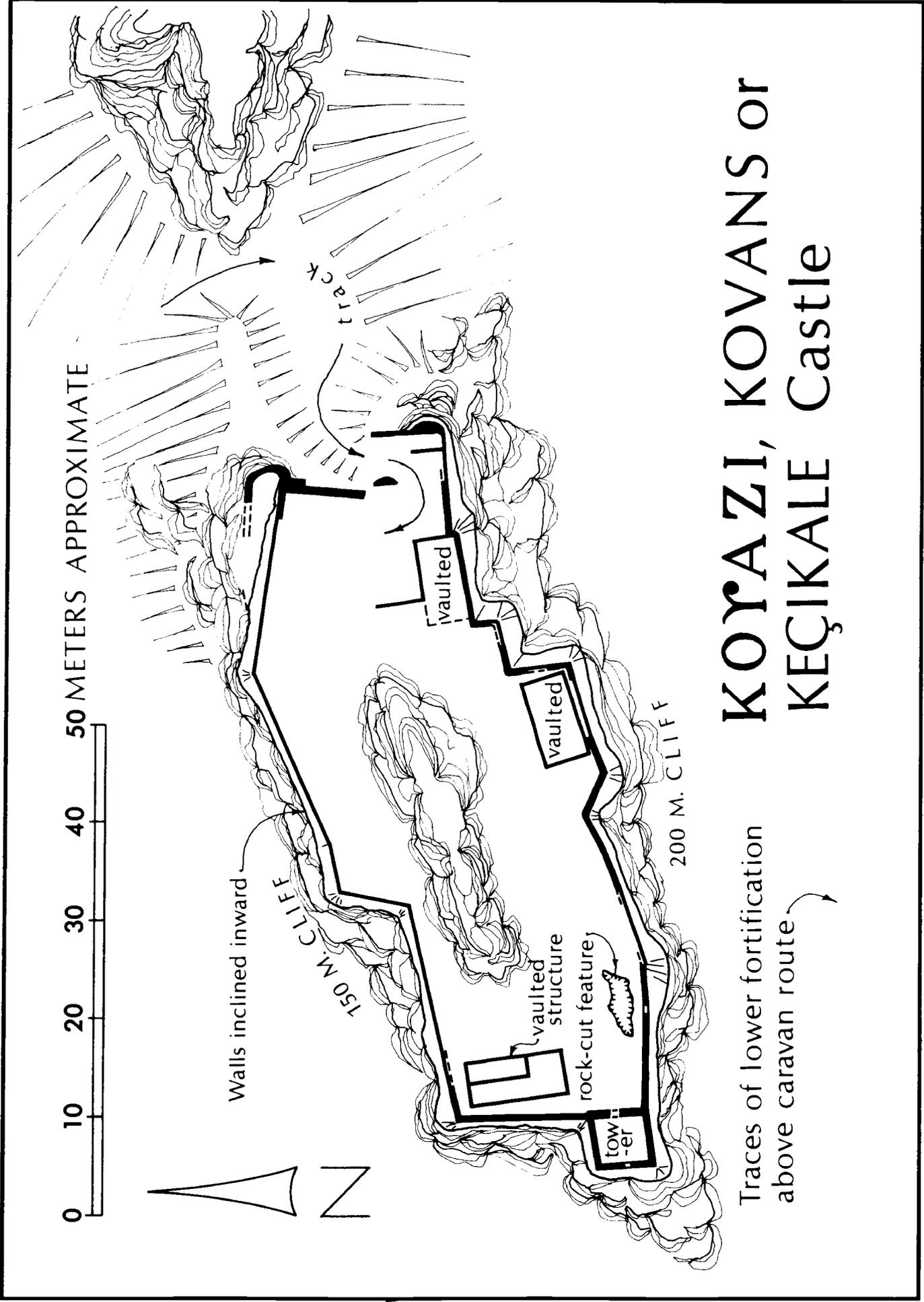


# TZANIXA CHAPEL B

108. Plan



109. Chaldia. Plan of Site



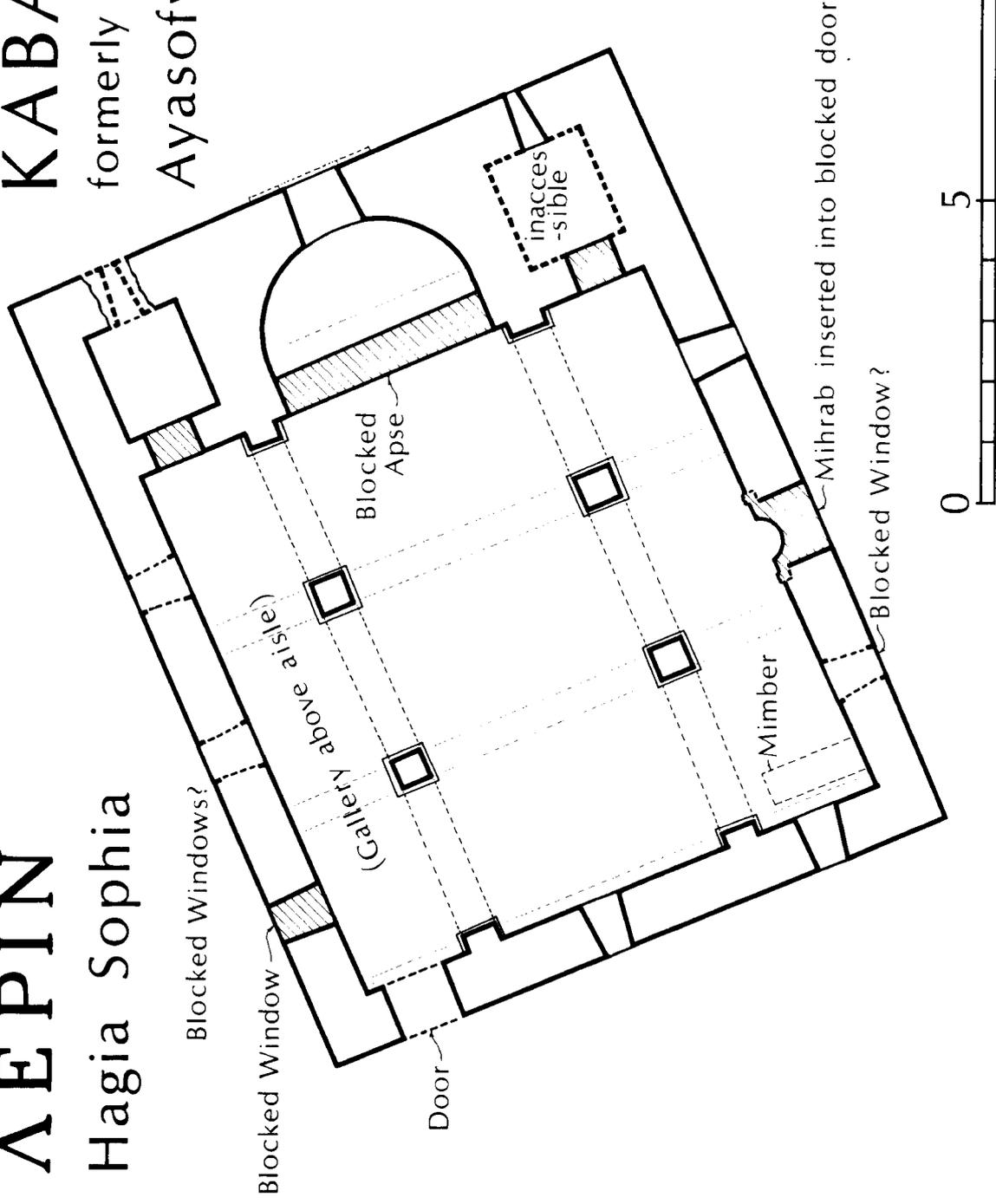
# KOŘAZI, KOVANS or KEÇIKALE Castle

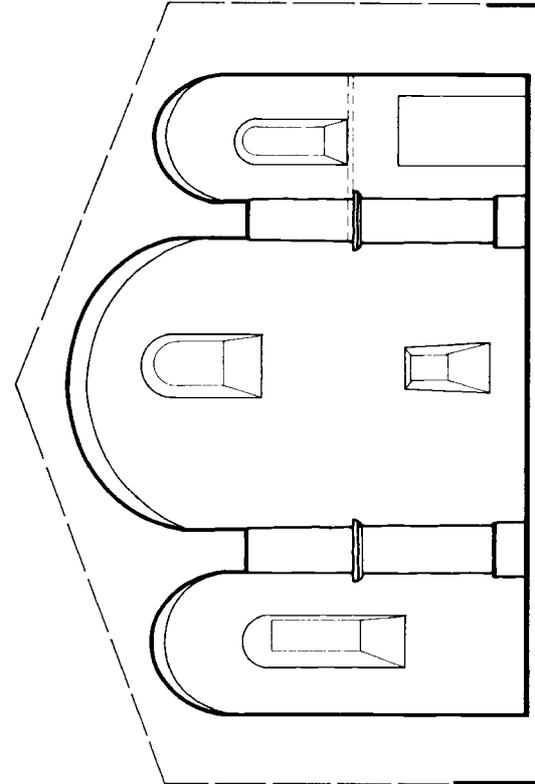
# ΛΕΠΙΝ

Hagia Sophia

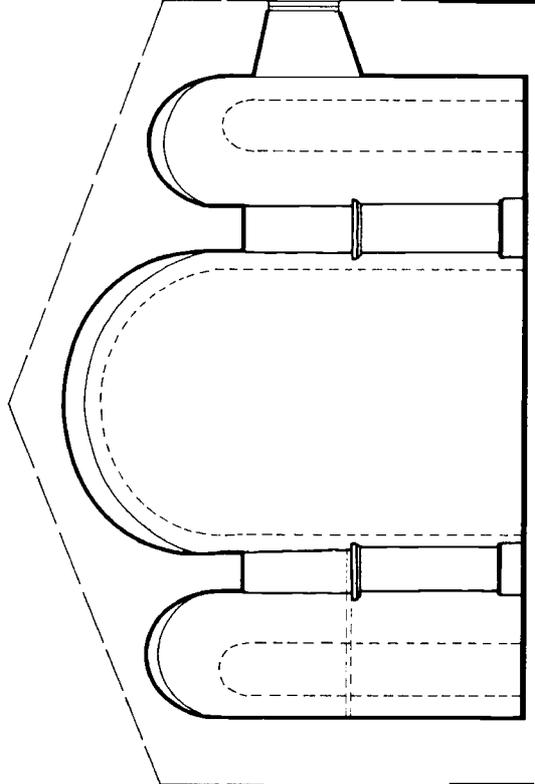
# KABAKÖY

formerly KABAKILISE  
Ayasofya Camii

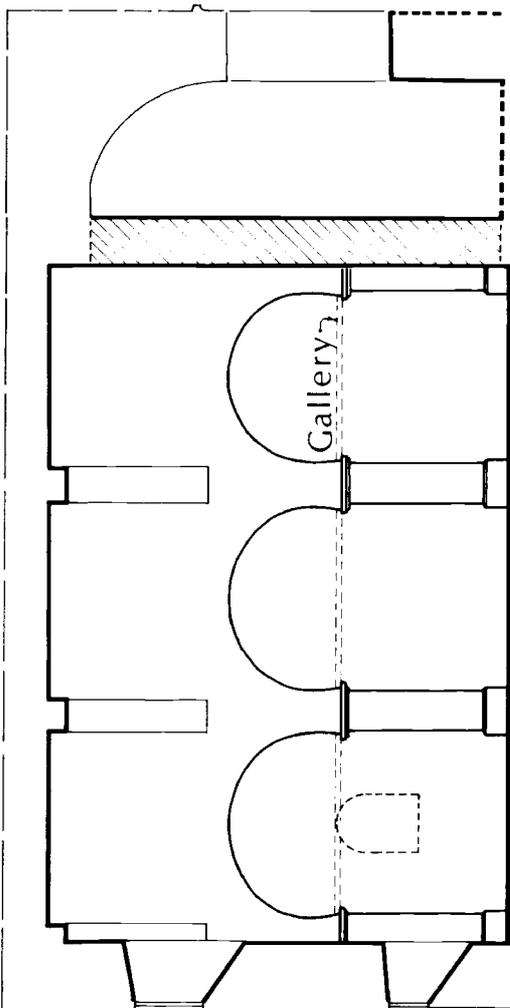




West Interior Elevation

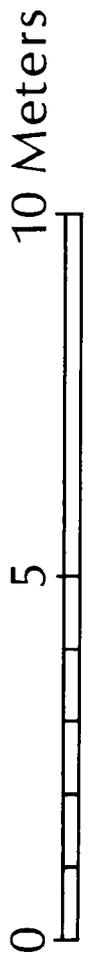


East Interior Elevation



North Interior Elevation

**ΑΕΡΙΝ**  
 Hagia Sophia  
**KABAKÖY**  
 Ayasofya Camii  
 Interior Elevations



## Section XXIII

# THE *BANDON* OF GEMORA

### DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATIONS

The great bulk of travelers, medieval and modern, turned south at Trebizond, leaving little more than a score to struggle on to report on the eastern shores. Like our travelers, settlement also begins to thin out and hug the coast. It increasingly follows the Caucasian pattern, making the identification of names peculiarly tricky. Area names may be associated with a people rather than a place—as with the Chaldians themselves, the Matzoukans, Chotzans, Gemorans, Surmenoi, Hemşinli, and, ultimately, the Laz: each had an intense feeling of localism. But some area names became localized, fixing upon a place, often in postmedieval times, and usually upon an administrative center: the Chaldians found their Halts,<sup>1</sup> Maçka came to Dikaisimon, Hoç to Palavrak-Kymena, Yomra to Dirona, Sürmene to Hamurgân; even Hemşin now claims a home of its own. In turn, place-names must often serve as area names in a settlement pattern where it is hard to discern any actual places. As Cuinet pointed out for the Sürmene district, a “village” of seven to eight hundred souls can be broadcast over seven or eight square kilometers.<sup>2</sup> In Gemora the straggling settlements of Samaruksa are a case in point, for it is impossible to pinpoint where medieval Samarouxas was.

The *bandon* of Gemora (της Γημωρᾶς, Γημουρά, τῶν Γημωρῶν, now Yomra) stretches from the east bank of the Pyxites. The next river to penetrate to the watershed of the Pontic Alps is the Yanbolu (Yomra, Yuvabolu) Dere, which we have taken as the *bandon*'s eastern border, for anything further east would incorporate our candidate for Soursourmaina. The Yanbolu leads up to the settlements of Santa and Ziyaret Dağı, respectively 44 km away from, and 2650 m above, the sea and a notional southern point of the *bandon*, but we suspect that that stretch was deserted in the Middle Ages.

The area first emerges as a *bandon* in the Soumela bull of 1364,<sup>3</sup> but before the Pharos bull of 1432 Sourmaina to the east had annexed Gemora as a joint *bandon* τῶν Γημωροσσυμίων—the reverse of the process in Matzouka in the same years, which reproduced by division into two

*banda*, of Matzouka and Palaiomatzouka.<sup>4</sup> Gemoran medieval independence may have been even briefer, for Panaretos records that “the bubonic plague broke out on 9 July [1382], and killed many people in Trebizond until December and January. It ravaged fearfully in Matzouka, Trikomia, and the district of the Surmenoi (τὸ μέρος τῶν Συρμένων) as far as Dryona.”<sup>5</sup> But “as far as Dryona” should not take us as far as the Sourmaina *bandon* at all, but to the Gemoran center of Δρύωνα, Δρύενα, Δριώνιν ?, modern Dirona. This coastal station at the mouth of its river (along which the intrepid may reach Kurum) on Kovata Bay, has today adopted the name of Yomra and was probably then (as now) capital of Gemora (Yomra).<sup>6</sup> So Panaretos already regarded Gemora as being part of Sourmaina when writing of 1382.

Chrysanthos suggests that Dryona was the home of the great Doranites family, of whom five members held great offices of state in the period 1344–1418.<sup>7</sup> The appearance of a Mihal Durant (Michael Doranites ?) as a landowner of Dirona after 1461 confirms that he is probably right.<sup>8</sup> By then Yomra had regained a certain autonomy as a *nahiye*; Sürmene again swallowed it up before 1890, but it is today a minor administrative unit once more.

Medieval Dryona was of some economic importance. Besides the Doranitai, the Grand Komnenos David had holdings there and three monasteries had claims in the place: St. Eugenios (Ayo Eviyan), the Theoskepastos (Şukâşbaşay), and the Pharos. Their holdings passed to the Sultan.<sup>9</sup>

Kovata Bay offers a sandy beach and sheltered anchorage which, in the early nineteenth century, was regarded as the third port of Trebizond after Platana and Daphnous.<sup>10</sup> Between it and the fertile Pyxites mouth, Trebizond's market

1. See Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 117 and note 1.

2. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 45.

3. M&M, *A&D*, V, 278; Vazelon Acts 7 of 1482 (giving a possible Strategos Andronikos, in which case the date is defective), and 185 of the 15th century; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 33, 52.

4. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264; a process unnoticed in Ljubomir Maksimović, “Bandon Paleomacuka,” *ZVI*, 11 (1968), 271–77.

5. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 80.

6. Vazelon Act 104 of the 13th century (?); Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 33, 89.

7. Constantine Doranites, *Protovestiaros* (1344–50); N. Doranites, his son, *Epilernes* (1344); Theodore Doranites-Phileles, Grand Stratopedarch (1350), *Protovestiaros* (1351); George Doranites, *Amyrtzantarios* (1372); Theodore Doranites, *Protokynegos* (1418); see Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 65, 67–70; Iorga, *N&E*, I, 273; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 90.

8. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 312.

9. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 312; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 269.

10. Gamba (1822), I, 412; Spencer (1836), I, 193–34.

garden, lies a well-peopled stretch of hillocks, wood, scrub, and ubiquitous hazelnut groves, about 5 by 5 km in extent, which rises from the sea to Stephanos (Zafanos, now Bulak), once an Armenian summer resort. This area bears the puzzling name of Χότζα, Χότζς, Χότζη, or Ηοç. Its primary settlement took Chotza itself as an alternative name and all Chotzan villages took, until recently, Ηοç- as a prefix. In Turkish, Ηοç indicates welcome; as a prefix it has something of the force of the Greek εύ-. But, although we have not found an explanation for it in Pontic Greek, Turkish should not help either, for the term is first recorded in 1432, before the Turks came, in the primary and eponymous village of the district, which lies on its northeastern corner, close to Cape Kovata. This is Χότζα ἤτοι Παραυλακίου, where in 1432 the Pharos held property which, as Ηοç, passed with so much else of the Pharos estates to the *imaret* of Gülbahar—forty-eight hearths and eighteen *baştina*.<sup>11</sup> Chotza, Paravlakion, or Ηοç is the modern Hosalavrak, now Pelitli. It boasts yet another Greek (and perhaps postmedieval) name, Κύμιννα, for it was the birthplace of the formidable Trapezuntine didact, Sebastos Kymenites (1625–1702).<sup>12</sup>

The Chotzan secondary villages are: Hostimasya or Ηοçdimasya, now Bostanci; Κερασέα, Hoskirasya or Hosgirasya, now Çilekli, with its nineteenth-century churches; Hoskanak or Ηοçkonak, now Konaklar; Μεσσαρέα, Kiepert's Mesoréa, Ηοçmesalos or Ηοçmasalos, now Çimenli, of which more below; and Ηοçkastamonu, perhaps a newcomer. To these can perhaps be added Ηοçođlan.<sup>13</sup>

Other medieval names can be identified in the *bandon*. South of the Chotza district lay the major settlements of Σαμαρούξας (Büyüksamaruksa, now Yeşilyurt, and Kūçüksamaruksa, now İkişu, 3 km northeast), a Pharos *chorion* whose lands were apportioned to timariots after 1461 (when through some notarial oversight Smarohsa strayed briefly into Μαçka *nāhiyesi*).<sup>14</sup> South of Kovata Bay lay Κούχουλ (Kuhla, Kukla Köyü, now Kaşüstü), a *chorion* in 1432, near which, at Kahve, there is a petrol station which appears to have started life as a nineteenth-century church.<sup>15</sup> Another *chorion* of 1432, Σάινα (Şana, now Çinarlı) lay immediately to the south.<sup>16</sup>

Modern Arsin lies on the coast east of Dryona (Yomra); its

good local clays support a brick-making industry. The name appears to be postmedieval, but south of Arsin lies Βαρβαρᾶς (Varvara, now Harmanlı), on its own stream, where the Pharos had claims in the *chorion* and attendant pastures ten kilometers and more inland.<sup>17</sup>

The Soumela bull of 1364 offers four more names for the *bandon*. We cannot trace the *chorion* of Μοχλάντων, or *stasis* of Διοκαινή—where the Pharos also had holdings.<sup>18</sup> Κομμερᾶς is, however, Komera (now Yalıncak), on the southern fringe of the Chotza district, and the Soumelan *chorion* of Κιντζικερᾶ is doubtless identical with the Κιντζυβερά of the Pharos bull and so is probably modern Civera, between Arsin and Barbara (Varvara). Grand Duke John the Eunuch held lands there before 1344, and so did the two monasteries, and it is appropriate that we have a report of a castle there—which we have not, however, visited.<sup>19</sup>

There remain two problems: the whereabouts of the monastery of St. Phokas τοῦ Διάπλου and the Santa district.

The history of the monastery of St. Phokas (not to be confused with that at Kordyle), and the somewhat shaky texts upon which it rests, has been discussed elsewhere by Janin and A.A.M.B.<sup>20</sup> Briefly, the monastery may enter history when St. Athanasios the Exorcist (Δαιμονοκαταλύτης) became its abbot before serving as metropolitan of Trebizond in 867–86. Athanasios continued to live in the monastery as metropolitan, commuting to his cathedral in Trebizond for weekend services, and he restored its katholikon, dedicated to the Theotokos. The date of the restoration is important because, on the one hand, it may add more weight to our text, and on the other, may confirm a modest burst of building activity round Trebizond during the respective reigns of Athanasios and Basil I, which in turn may perhaps be linked with the possible raising of Trebizond to the status of a metropolis at the time. The reason is that it was also in these reigns that the church of St. Anne in Trebizond (No. 61) was restored in 884/85 and perhaps the monastery of Christ founded in Sourmaina. St. Anne's, the oldest surviving dated church in the city, seems in fact to have been entirely rebuilt at that time.<sup>21</sup>

In 980 Basil II authorized an exchange by the monk Tornikios of three monasteries in Thessaloniki for one in Constantinople and the Trapezuntine St. Phokas—the bargain suggests that this last may have been a considerable house. But St. Athanasios himself was enshrined in Trebizond. When the distraught wife of an emir of Sivas came pursued by demons to seek comfort from the relics of the Exorcist, probably in the mid-fourteenth century, she had to visit both his tomb in the city and his old monastery of St. Phokas outside. In about 1318 Odoric reported confusedly but (A. A. M. B. has argued elsewhere) plausibly, that St. Athanasios' relics lay above a gate of the city. One may speculate that they could have been in the curious chapel which is feature 6 of the Citadel overlooking the gate of St.

11. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 314; Vryonis, *Decline*, 355; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 89, 217; Bzhshkean, trans. Andreasyan (1819), 60 note 10; Bees, *AP*, 14 (1949), 127, 133.

12. Driven by student revolt out of his directorship of the patriarchal academy in 1682, Kymenites founded the forerunner of the Trebizond Phrontisterion which he directed in 1683–89, moving to the rectorship of the Bucharest school in 1690–1702. Happily only two of his 106 works are published. See M. Jugie, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, viii (2) (Paris, 1947), cols. 2381–82; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 726–33.

13. See p. 201.

14. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 316; Bees, *AP*, 14 (1949), 133; Vryonis, *Decline*, 355; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Mihaea Berindei, and Gilles Veinstein, "Attribution de *Timār* dans la province de Trébizonde (fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *Turcica*, 8 (1975), 282 (Samarouxan timar of 16 July 1497).

15. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264; Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, *AP*, 28 (1966), 260–62.

16. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264–65, 267, 269.

17. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264.

18. M&M, *A&D*, V, 277; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264, 269.

19. M&M, *A&D*, V, 278–79; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 269.

20. Janin, *EMGCB*, 293; Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 124 note 32.

21. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 138–41.

George of the Limnians (pl. 124b). The relics were subsequently removed to the monastery of St. Phokas, which changed its dedication to St. Athanasios. That their translation came soon after 1461 is suggested by the fact that it would have been inappropriate to have kept the relics of a Greek bishop above the gates of an Ottoman city. That the dedication of the monastery was not altered immediately is suggested by the fact that it still seems to appear as St. Phokas in the early *defters*. Thereafter the monastery of St. Phokas, St. Athanasios (and even Theotokos) passes out of what history it has.<sup>22</sup>

We cannot identify τοῦ Διάπλου; indeed Janin wondered if the name was not “une erreur pure et simple.”<sup>23</sup> But there are hints of where the monastery stood. The most direct is that of Ioannides who, in 1870, planted it near Chotza-Kymena with such confidence that he failed to say why. Ioannides was, however, a local schoolmaster and antiquarian whose knowledge of the district and its history is not to be trifled with. Chrysanthos blessed his choice by placing a monastery of the “Panagia” in Chotza.<sup>24</sup>

Other hints suggest that not only may the monastery of St. Phokas have flourished under the Grand Komnenoi, but there is no reason why it should not have stood in Chotza. Before 1461 a monastery of St. Phokas held property in Matzoukan Chortokopion, Mesarea, and Sesera. This could conceivably have been the St. Phokas at Kordyle, but is more likely to have been one nearer at hand.<sup>25</sup> Secondly, the late Synaxarios of St. Athanasios gives St. Phokas an iron-rich *proasteion* at Τζαμπόρου.<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere A. A. M. B. has speculated that this might represent the Cam Burunu of Cape Jason in iron-rich Chalybia (the Synaxarion belongs to the Ottoman period).<sup>27</sup> But modern Cambur, 3 km south of Zafanos and the Chotza area is a more obvious candidate.

All in all, we feel that the information at hand about St. Athanasios and his monastery of St. Phokas holds together and that the site must be sought in Chotza. Two candidates are advanced below. In 1860 Blau reported a medieval church at Cinlikaya, between Zafanos and Cambur. But in 1972 Mr. James Crow encountered only nineteenth-century churches in Chotza.<sup>28</sup> However, Bay Cumbur Odabaşioğlu kindly reported a medieval church at Hoşmesalos, near Chotza-Kymina, exactly where Ioannides said it should be, which A. A. M. B. visited in 1973. Blau's church sounds more interesting (we have not found it); ours accords better with Ioannides. We leave it to the reader to choose his candidate.

The second problem is that of Santa (now Dumanlı). This is a group of eight former Greek villages, reached through the Yanbolu gorges, which are, in striking contrast to other

settlement patterns in the area, severely nucleated. They lie huddled on the slopes of a great valley bowl on high marginal land between the tree line and the endless summer pastures. From the eighteenth century the Santaioi created one of the most remarkable and justly renowned local Pontic Greek cultures. Even today, over fifty years after troops had eventually to winkle them out of the Yanbolu defiles in 1923, the Santaioi treasure their folklore, based upon the heroic days of the Derebeys (from whom they fled to their remote enclave) and stimulated by what seems to have been an admirable educational and parochial system, introduced after 1856. Local historians of Santa describe the Santaioi as “the Suliots of the Pontos,” perhaps unfortunately because it gives rise to the thought of how “Greek” the Santaioi, like the Suliots, actually were. But, like the Suliots, their tenacious patriotism is not in question. However, local historians of Santa go on to maintain a continuity of settlement there from antiquity to 1923. In cold fact the earliest (and that dubious) literary reference which we can find to the area comes in 1672—the period when many Pontic Greek communities began a flight to the mountains. More to the point, A. A. M. B. could find no physical evidence for medieval settlement in Santa or along the entire Yanbolu valley in 1967, nor could a Cambridge University expedition which spent two weeks there in 1969. He believes that all surviving churches of Santa were built after 1856 for the crypto-Christians of the area who were recognized then.<sup>29</sup> As there is, therefore, no archaeological or documentary evidence for a medieval Santa known to us, we must reluctantly exclude that singular land from this Study.

#### MONUMENTS

1. At Cinlikaya (“Dschinly-Kaja”), or “ghostly rocks,” between Zafanos and Cambur, Blau reported a Byzantine chapel with wall paintings of the Grand Komnenoi and of Moses on Sinai.<sup>30</sup> The place should repay investigation.

2. The churches of Hoşmesalos (Çimenli)

*Situation.* From the airport of Trabzon a track runs south and southeast past the Derbent Çesmesi, an elegant Ottoman fountain, to Hoşmesalos, whence the track climbs south for about 200 m. Hidden among trees a few meters to the east is the rock-cut apse of Church A; Church B lies on the summit of a hill, within a hazelnut grove about 300 m to the south-southeast.

Church A (fig. 113, pl. 262)

All that remains of Church A, oriented at about 88°, is the greater part of a painted conch hollowed evenly out of a large grey and speckled black conglomerate rock; on the north side of the conch traces of pebble-and-lime mortar are the only indication of what was perhaps a small freestanding basilica to which the conch belonged, but the ground to the west has fallen away, taking with it any further signs of masonry. The conch is at present 1.60 m wide and 1.40 m high (although

22. K. Lake, *The early days of monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1909), 103; A. W. Pollard, *The travels of Sir John Mandeville, with three narratives in illustration of it . . .* (London, 1900; New York, 1964), 98, 326.

23. Janin, *EMGCB*, 293 note 6.

24. Ioannides, *Historia*, p. 239; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), p. 506 and map.

25. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 314–17.

26. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 140.

27. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 124 note 32.

28. Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 293–94.

29. Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 108–29, for a discussion of Santa, its history and historians; Papamichalopoulos (1902), 136–42.

30. Blau (1860), 381–82.

excavation would no doubt reveal a greater depth). It is painted on one layer of plaster; there is no sign of straw or of more than one layer of painting. The colors are predominantly haematite, yellow umber, terre verte, faded indigo, and yellow ochre—the last commonly finished on top of the haematite. The drawing is largely in Indian red; there are no signs of preliminary incisions, but the halos are regular enough to have been made with compasses.

The painting represents a Theophany and is comparable to the similar scene at Çakılca Köyü (Phantak),<sup>31</sup> dated 1333/4—a date which would be acceptable also for Church A at Hoşmesalos. In the center of the conch is an enthroned Christ flanked by two seraphim. He blesses with his right hand and holds a closed book studded with jewels in his left. The cuffs of his sleeved chiton are jeweled and he is sitting on a square throne with footstep also decorated with jewels. Christ is painted largely in haematite over yellow, and his himation is haematite. The upper background to the scene is in indigo, the lower in raw umber. The uppermost portion of the conch is destroyed and, with it, the entire head of Christ has gone. The left-hand seraph is the better preserved of the two; it is round-faced, with prominent ears. Its well-modeled right hand emerges from behind its lower right wing. Its feet (not shown in fig. 113) are brought neatly together. In its left hand is the labarum reading ΑΓΙΟC/[ΑΓΙΟC]/[ΑΓΙΟC]. Its head is 6 cm in diameter; from the tip of its nose to the tip of

its feet it measures 43 cm. The right-hand seraph carries its labarum in its right hand.

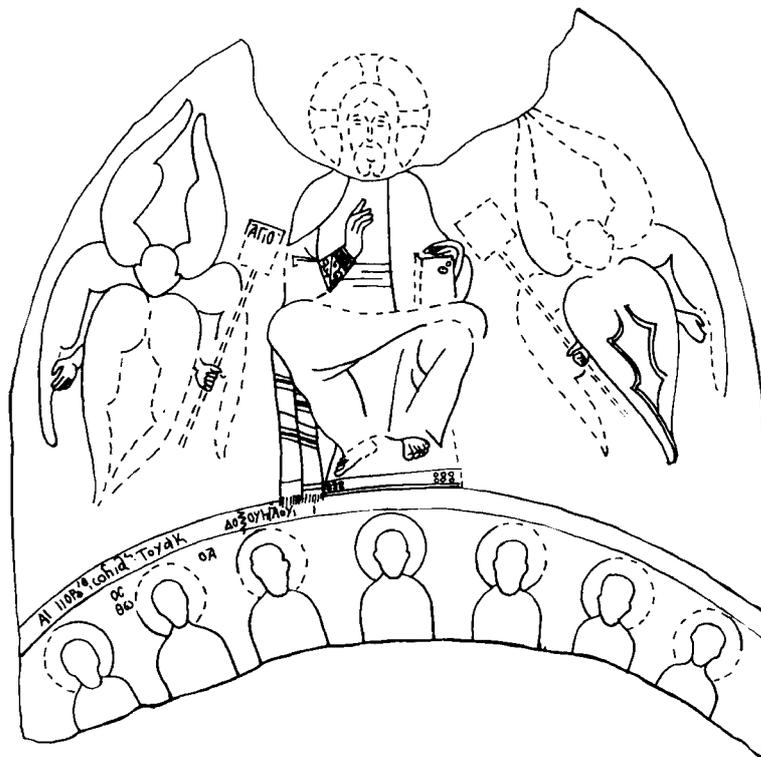
Below the Theophany is an inscription in white on a haematite band, 6 cm wide. It is too degraded to permit much reconstruction, and now reads: ΑΙ[. .]ΠΟΡΟΘΕCΟΝΙΕΙC-ΤΟΥΕΙΚ. Ι[. .ΕΝ]ΔΟΞΟΥΜΑ(ΡΤΥΡΙ)ΟΥΙ[. .]

Beneath the inscription are at least seven nimbed figures, their halos 15 cm in diameter, on an indigo background. It is difficult to make out if they represent archangels (as at Çakılca Köyü) or apostles, but the number (for the scale of the surviving parts of the conch suggests that twelve figures could originally have been accommodated) and an inscription for St. Thomas beside the second halo from the left indicate that the apostles are probably intended.

Church B; on summit, oriented to 90°.

This building, probably a triple-apsed basilica, is very ruinous and overgrown. It is about 1½ paces wide, 13 paces long to the apses, and what appears to be the main apse projects a further two paces. Part of the main apse stands up to a height of 4.5 m; the remainder of the building is more dilapidated and its facing has been entirely robbed, revealing a rubble infill with a mortar of lime, pebble, and iron-black sand. The masonry is akin to type E3 in the Citadel of Trebizond and could, therefore, like the painting of church A, belong to the fourteenth century.

31. See p. 266.



113. Gemora, Hoşmesalos, Church A, Apse

## Section XXIV

# THE *BANDON* OF SOURMAINA WITH OPHIS

### DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATIONS

#### 1. The *bandon*

The 35 km from Araklı to Fici Burunu embrace the great sandy bay of Sürmene. The bay is largely exposed to prevailing winds, but an anchorage as favorable as that at Boon (Vona) lies at its western end near the mouth of the Kara Dere and in the shadow of Araklı Burunu. With the İstala, the Kara Dere is one of two major rivers that come down from the watershed, debouching into wide deltas—the Kara Dere delta is a good kilometer across and 3 km deep. A modest shipbuilding industry survives in the coastal townships, where the eye and adze of the master carpenter have yet to be supplanted by plans and blueprints.

The valleys plunge into increasingly dense forests of chestnut, beech, walnut, alder, poplar, willow, oak, elm, ash, maple, box, and fir. In 1835 Brant described the interior of the Sürmene district thus: "The country is so wooded and mountainous, that it does not produce grain sufficient for the consumption of the population, yet not a spot capable of cultivation appears to be left untilled. Corn fields are to be seen hanging on the precipitous sides of mountains, at which no plough can arrive. The ground is prepared by manual labour, a two-pronged fork, of a construction peculiar to the country, being used for this purpose. Indian corn is the grain usually grown, and it is seldom that any other is used for bread by the people: what the country does not supply is procured from Guriel and Mingrelia."<sup>1</sup>

The western part, at least, of the district was certainly included in the medieval *bandon* of Sourmaina,<sup>2</sup> but it is only in this century that Sürmene (Σούρμαινα, Σύρμενα, Σουσούρμαινα) itself has been moved from its anchorage at Araklıçarşısı eastward to a fresh home at Hamurgân at the mouth of the Manahos Dere. This was perhaps a delayed result of the devastation caused at the old center during the "War of Sürmene" of 1830–34, when Osman Pasha of Trebizond attempted to "pacify" the district.<sup>3</sup>

The *bandon* included the *chorion* of Χαρά (now Hara),

1. Brant (1835), 191. The "indian corn" is a post-Byzantine introduction; the *eliktrin* fork is probably a Byzantine survival.

2. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 80.

3. Fontanier (1827), II, 7–11; Bryer, *BK*, 26 (1969), 202–6. Presumably it was "old" Sürmene that was destroyed. It is not clear which garrisoned Sürmene kalesi; Evliya visited, but as it could take shipping it was perhaps Araklı: see Evliya (1644), II, 51; *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, trans. Z. Danişman, III (Istanbul, 1972), 97.

where Soumela held property in 1364 and the Pharos in 1432, which was finally granted in *timar* on 16 July 1497.<sup>4</sup> The substantial Sourmainan village of Χαλανικὴ (Halanik, now Zeytinli, just west of Hamurgân) formed part of Theodora Komnene's dowry for Uzun Hasan in 1458—but nevertheless remained Christian until 1923.<sup>5</sup>

As would be expected, the coast is studded with small castles, described below. An exception to the evidently medieval ones (Kalecik, Hamurgân, Rôşi) is the *konak* of the Yakupoğlu family which stands at the intriguingly named Sürmene Kastel, 4 km east of modern Sürmene. This exceptionally fine Dere Bey's house, part castle, part mansion, has been recorded elsewhere. Like Boloman Kale it may stand on a medieval site, but this is not evident.<sup>6</sup>

Inland Aho-Zavzaga Kale, with its chapel, commands the important Kara Dere route south and is described below. We have reports of castles also along the İstala Dere, south of modern Of, at Çaykara (Kadahor, presumably Κατοχώριον)<sup>7</sup> and at Yukarı Ögene (Karacam) on the Bayburt track. Further to the east and in the adjoining Makı Dere (a lesser stream) there is evidence of tenth-century Greek settlement at Fetoka, over 20 km inland, described below.

Ophis (Of) is a problem. Like the Santaioi and Hemsinlis, the Oflus are one of the peculiar peoples of eastern Pontos. But unlike the case of Santa there is evidence for classical settlement at Ophis—at least at the river mouth. And unlike the case of Hemsin, the Oflus seem to have been Greek, as place-names along their valley still demonstrate. The problem is that while Ophis figures in ancient and modern sources, it cannot be found in our admittedly patchy medieval ones. "Οφις stands as a river and place in the classical geographers and *Itineraria* and remains as Of today.<sup>8</sup> How it came about that Ophis may have been granted its own short-lived bishopric in the late fifteenth century, against all prevailing currents, and how a bishop of Ophis is

4. M&M, *A&D*, v, 278; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 269; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Berindei, Veinstein, *Turcica*, 8 (1976), 283–84.

5. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 320; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 795.

6. Winfield, M. Q. Smith, Selina Ballance, and Ann Powell, "The Yakupoğlu Konak. An old Turkish House at Sürmene Kastil," *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 197–203.

7. Tarhan, *Map*.

8. Arrian, 8; *Anonymous periplus*, 38; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 82–83, 124–25; Miller, *IR*, col. 648.

supposed to have turned Turk with his entire flock in the seventeenth century, is beyond the concern of this Study. What in fact seems to have happened is that Ophis became Muslim by a slower and less dramatic process, but that the valley retained its Greek speech: Ofu Çaykara today houses the largest Greek-speaking population left in the Pontos, who (perhaps therefore) maintain an impeccable reputation for devotion to Islam. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this anomaly was no more than one feature which made up a distinct (and ferocious) Ofu identity. Today both Greeks and Turks have their own legends to explain the Ofus away.<sup>9</sup>

Our problem is that the name Ophis drops out of our sources between the *Itineraria* and the fifteenth century, nor can we identify settlements in what ought to have been a natural, and we suspect unrecorded, *bandon* τῶν Ὀφίων between those of Sourmaina and Rhizaion. It is the portulans that provide a new name for the coastal center of the district from 1318: variously Stillo, Stilo, and Sale.<sup>10</sup> This is the İstala which survives as the modern name for the Ophis River, which snakes inland past the village of İsteloz. We can therefore resurrect a Trapezuntine name for Ophis (perhaps Στῦλος after some column that stood on the coast), but little else.

Between “Stillo” and Rhizaion the portulans offer a further and otherwise unrecorded medieval name for a cape, probably the modern Fici Burunu. It is Cauo d’Croxé and, like the Cauo d’Croxé which forms the northern cape of the Temryuk peninsula in the Cimmerian Bosphoros, is perhaps an Italian version of a local name, Cape of the Cross.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Military Stations: the *Notitia dignitatum*, the Seven Brothers, and Heraclius’ Persian Campaigns

The remarkable site described below and seen in figure 115, a rectangular walled encampment of about 200 × 300 m in size, with a gate in each side, on the Roman model, prompts us not only to identify the place but ask what it is doing where it is. It stands near Canayer, overlooking Kalecik with its medieval castle and settlement on the coast, Araklı Burunu with its sheltered anchorage, and old Sürmene at the mouth of the Kara Dere.

The first factor is that the coast of the Trapezuntine *bandon* of Sourmaina and Ophis offered the most direct access to Paipertes (Bayburt) and the Akampsis (Çoruh) valley from the sea, as the *han* names along the three main rivers, the Kara Dere, İstala, and Kalopotamos, show. From

9. On the bishopric, which puzzles A. A. M. B., see Gelzer, *Notitiae*, AbhMün, Philol.-philol. Kl., 21 (1901), 635; on the modern Ofus, see M. E. Meeker, “The Black Sea Turks: some aspects of the ethnic and cultural background,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2 (1971), 318–45; and in general, Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 90, 530, 707–13, 764; Bryer, *AP*, 29 (1968), 109 and note 3; Bryer and Winfield, *AP*, 30 (1970), 279–80; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 177 note 3; and Bryer, *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 45–46. As early as Rottiers (1820), 192, there was an (almost certainly untrue) idea that the Pontic Hypsilantes and Mourouzes families had originated in Ophis.

10. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 111.

11. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 646, 648; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 111–17, is mistaken in confusing a *cauum* and a *cauo*: unlike Santa Croce in Trebizond, this is a cape.

modern Trabzon to Bayburt is today 201 km; from Of to Bayburt can be less than 100 km. This stretch of coast is in fact better placed for supplying and launching an expedition to cut off, or come behind, an interior invasion from the east, than is Trebizond itself—as we shall propose happened in 622. Access to the south from further along the coast is not only blocked by more formidable mountains but by the unpredictable nature of the Laz. So in the sixth and seventh centuries the Sourmaina-Paipertes route was the last and best opening to the interior safely within Byzantine territory: it was a sort of *limes*.

The next period when this coast and the interior were in mutually friendly hands, and when the Araklı anchorage and Kara Dere became important again, is most conveniently defined as running from the Byzantine reconquest of Theodosiupolis (Erzurum) from the Arabs in 949, to its loss to the Seljuks in 1080. So in these years the rent-collecting monks of St. Eugenios in Trebizond (No. 77) found the Sourmaina route a convenient alternative to the Matzoukan for their annual caravans of produce from their properties in Paipertes. By conflating accounts, their road from Paipertes appears to have led first to the stage of Κακούης, then to the stage and mountain of Κατουνίος, Κατούνων or Κατουκίος, with its church of St. Zacharias (evidently on or near the watershed and three days from the monastery of Christ in Sourmaina), then—perhaps a detour—through Ζαΐλουσα and the village of Τζαμπλένιχας, before climbing down the Sourmaina (Kara Dere ?) valley to the monastery of Christ and the sea. An attempt to allot identifications for these stages is made on figure II, but there can be no certainty about any. By Lazaropoulos’ time, the route was menaced by barbarians and closed once more.<sup>12</sup> Thereafter, even under Ottoman rule, the Lazic coast lay under what Rickmer Rickmers calls “the traffic shadow of Ararat,”<sup>13</sup> which allows traffic along two sides of the triangle, through Batumi and Trebizond, but has reduced stations between them, like Sürmene, to backwaters.

Strategically, the last time that the Sürmene-Bayburt route became important was in 1916, when, during the Russian invasion, General Yudenich feared a Turkish attack from his south flank along the Kara Dere, which he used for his own attack on Bayburt.<sup>14</sup>

Thus some sort of military, as well as commercial, post is to be expected on the Sourmaina coast, probably at the Araklı-Kara Dere anchorage. The Kara Dere is the “Υσσος, a name remembered by the antiquarian Bessarion, although the author of the Miracles of St. Eugenios seems to have made do with the “Sourmaina” River.<sup>15</sup> The *Anonymous periplus* (and Arrian) not only add that the port at its mouth, “Υσσος λιμῆν, had become Σουσσάρμια (which reappears as the Σουσουρμενα village of Procopius), but record mileages

12. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 57, 93–94, 113, 118, 121, 131; Janin, *EMGCB*, 269–71, 295.

13. Rickmers (1934), 473.

14. W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields. A History of the Wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1828–1921* (Cambridge, 1953), 380–82, 397–99.

15. Bessarion, ed. Lampros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 159 = *Encomium*, 17; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 113.

which place Sousarmia unequivocally at the mouth of the Kara Dere: Trebizond to Sousarmia, 24 *m.p.*; Sousarmia to Ophis, 12 *m.p.*; Ophis to the "Cold River" Ψυχρός (Baltacı Dere), 4 *m.p.*; the Psychros to the Kalopotamos, 4 *m.p.*; and the Kalopotamos to Rhizaion, 16 *m.p.*<sup>16</sup>

The first indication that Hyssos Limen-Sousarmia had become a military station comes when Arrian reviewed its

garrison there: a modest infantry cohort backed by twenty cavalry who demonstrated their lance exercises.<sup>17</sup> This cohort of Trajan's time was remembered in Procopius' day,<sup>18</sup> and figures in the *Notitia dignitatum* of ca. 406–8. This document lists, in no obvious geographical order, the following section under the *Dux Armeniae*, and his *Praefectus legionis primae Ponticae* at Trebizond:

NOTITIA DIGNITATUM <sup>19</sup>	PERIPLI <sup>20</sup>	ITINERARIA <sup>21</sup>	MODERN NAME <sup>22</sup>
Ala prima Ioua felix, Chaszanenica	...	Gizenenica	Hortokop
Ala prima felix Theodosiana, Pithiae (Pitynte)	Πιτυοῦς	...	Pitsunda
Cohors prima Theodosiana, Ualentia	...	...	(See below)
Cohors Apuleia ciuium Romanorum, Ysiporto	Ἵσσοσ λιμὴν = Σουσάρμια	Nyssillime	Canayer
Cohors prima Lepidiana, Caene-Pembole	...	...	(See below)
Cohors prima Claudia equitata, Sebastopolis	Διοσκουριάς = Σεβαστόπολις	Sebastopolis	Sukhumi
Cohors secunda Ualentiana, Ziganne	Σιγγάμης	Sicanabis	Anaklia
Cohors Mochora	...	...	...

Our next "source" is a totally different affair, which has, however, an uncanny resemblance to the *Notitia* and, if nothing else, the merit of being in an obvious geographical sequence, working west to east. It is the legend (the Bollandists hesitate to call it hagiography) of the Seven Brother Martyrs. The brothers (Orentios the leader, Eros, Pharnakios, Phirmos, Phirminos, Kyriakos, and Longinos) supposedly joined Diocletian's army at Antioch, saw service in Thrace, were condemned for their Christian faith, posted to Satala, and sent thence to their respective martyrdoms in Lazia and Zichia. From Satala, the little party was escorted north, not via Trebizond (which is not mentioned), but evidently reaching the coast further east. Here they were martyred piecemeal, at one military (or, at any rate, maritime) station after another, beginning with Eros on 22 June, and ending up with the seventh brother, Longinos, whose body was finally washed up at Pityous (Pitsunda) on 28 July. Their day in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople is 24 June, that of the principal martyr, Orentios, who was cast into the sea with a stone round his neck off Rhizaion. However, the Archangel Raphael rescued the body, which was subsequently given a decent burial ashore.

Peeters has pointed out the obvious parallels in this story with that of St. Eustratios of Arauraka and his four companions. On p. 166 above we have also linked it with two other Pontic group martyrdoms—the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia and the Four Saints of Trebizond. Peeters was

inclined to dismiss the Seven Brothers of Lazia as a Greek concoction, which later passed into Georgian and Armenian tradition. In particular, he argued that a tale which floated without any anchoring cult (especially without any evidence of one of St. Orentios at Rhizaion) was hardly serious: "il serait vain de consulter la tradition locale: la tradition locale ne répondra rien, moins que rien..." He questioned why St. Orentios' tomb "dont personne n'a jamais entendu parler," was not mentioned among Justinian's embellishments at Rhizaion.<sup>23</sup> But, unknown to Peeters, the cult of St. Orentios can be startlingly anchored in local reality at Rhizaion. After 1461, there was indeed a monastery of St. Orentios ("Ayo-Randos") at Rize which surrendered three mills to the Ottoman *evkaf*.<sup>24</sup> Where Greek sources become increasingly patchy as one moves east, Turkish *defters* reveal an otherwise unrecorded cult and monastery.

St. Orentios' cult, if not the whole tale of the Seven Brothers, must therefore be taken more seriously. No attempt has been made to date the composition of the legend, which figures in the *Menologion* of Basil II. It presumably postdates the tales of the Arauraka and Trebizond saints. One may venture that, however garbled, it represents a Byzantine attempt to acculturate the Laz and Abasgians. St. Orentios had a real enough cult and his name sounds plausible. Did each mission and military station want a share of his blood (through an invented family) and a ready-made patron of its own, to give it the local Orthodox identity, sense

16. Arrian, 8; *Anonymous periplus*, 38, 39; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 84–87, 124–125.

17. Arrian, 4, 8; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 82–83, 84–87.

18. Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, ii, 16.

19. E. Böcking, *Notitia dignitatum et administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis*, I (Bonn, 1839) 96–97, 433–40; *Notitia dignitatum*, ed Seeck 84–85; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964), III, 347–80; G. Clemente, *La "Notitia dignitatum"* (Cagliari, 1968), 359–83.

20. Arrian, 4, 8, 13–16, 25, 27; *Anonymous periplus*, 6, 10, 13, 14, 38.

21. Miller, *IR*, cols. 648, 652, 681.

22. See p. 285. The probably prehistoric mound and very long coin sequence at Hortokop indicate a site which antedated the Roman defense system.

23. *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, 71, 222; P. [Peeters], "La légende de S. Orentios et de ses six frères martyrs," *AnalBoll*, 56 (1938), 241–64, esp. 257, 260; Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vii, 3.

24. Gökbiçgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 321.

of *patris*, and annual fair, so vital to a Byzantine town and church? If so, the author who gave St. Orentios six brothers for the purpose reminds one of a novelist who has run out of likely names for his characters—for they are decidedly feeble. And if each station really had an annual fair on its patron's day, as was customary elsewhere, we have the entrancing notion of a sort of perambulating *panegyris* rolling along the east Pontic coast every year from 22 June to 28 July, like some traveling circus. But there are some disturbing factors. The principal feast was that of St. Orentios of Rhizaion, on 24 June. That happens to be not only the feast of St. John the Forerunner, but (from the late ninth century) the feast of St. Eugenios also. Who was "borrowing" a feast day from whom? The catalogue of places concludes with Pityous (Pitsunda), to which St. Longinos was exiled. In the eleventh century John Xiphilinos sent St. Eugenios of Trebizond to exile there too. But surely, neither St. Longinos nor St. Eugenios would have been sent to Pityous if it had not in reality become famous as a place of exile for saints when St. John Chrysostom was sent there in 407. Like the *Notitia dignitatum* of ca. 406–8, this might argue for a fifth-century date for the tale of the Seven Brothers. The matter is discussed below.

The sites of the Seven Brothers' martyrdoms are real enough. Later, St. Andrew was made to call on a similar catalogue of places (perhaps for the same reason): Sourmaina or Ψωρών λιμὴν (i.e., Hyssos Port), the παρεμβολή of Apsaros, and Sebastopolis.<sup>25</sup> The catalogue is garbled, but the fact that the apostle never set foot in these places (or

Trebizond) is no argument that the catalogue did not exist for other purposes. The marginally more solid story of the Seven Brothers may therefore echo the Byzantine attempt to incorporate the Laz and Abasgians into Orthodoxy by the erection of the metropolis of the Phasis (and later exarchate of Lazia), which is paralleled by an attempt to discipline them, as represented in the *Notitia dignitatum*. Byzantine military men and ecclesiastics traditionally went hand in hand on the borders. In the case of the Seven Brothers, saints and soldiers were literally identical. But in the end it was the shadowy Brothers who survived, for Orthodoxy remained along the Caucasian coast long after the Byzantine military toeholds had been lost.

By the sixth century, Petra (Tsikhedziri) had become the key to Justinian's strategy along the coast—the Persians' window on the west—which was in Laz hands. But this great fortress on its cliff does not figure either in the *Notitia* or in the tale of the Seven Brothers; it was not given a bishop. The fact that one encampment is described as "new" in both the tale and the *Notitia* may not mean that it was actually recent when either was composed. But the catalogue—almost a periplus of coastal stations, reaching from just east of Trebizond up to Pityous—in the tale of the Seven Brothers seems to be a memory of an era closer to the days of the *Notitia*, when Pitsunda really could be garrisoned and when Byzantine saints really could be sent there, than to those of Justinian.

The Seven Brothers may be catalogued thus:

MARTYR	DAY	PLACE OF MARTYRDOM <sup>26</sup>	PLINY <sup>27</sup>	PROCOPIUS <sup>28</sup>	MODERN NAME
St. Eros	22 June	Καινή Παρεμβολή	...	Κενά ?	See below
St. Orentios	24 June	Ῥοιζαῖον	...	Ῥιζαῖον	Rize
St. Pharnakios	3 July	Κορδύλος	...	(Κόρδουλα) <sup>29</sup>	Sivri Kale
St. Phirmos & St. Phirminos	7 July	Ἄψαρος	flumen Absarrum cum castello	Ἄψαροῦς	Goniya
St. Kyriakos	24 July	Τῆς Ζιγάνεως ἐπὶ τὴν Λαζικήν	Sigania, amnis	...	Anaklia
St. Longinos	28 July	Πυτιοῦντα	...	Πιτιοῦς	Pitsunda

There are some minor points. In Arrian's time Apsaros had the largest garrison on the coast, with five cohorts: he paid them and made a thorough inspection of the arsenal, sick bay, defenses, and commissariat of the camp.<sup>30</sup> Yet, the place is not named in the *Notitia*, although in the ninth century it was still being called a *parembole*; by us as well. Could Ualentia be its official Latin name?

Zigana is placed, in the tale of the Seven Brothers, as Peeters pointed out, firmly in Lazia, between Apsaros and Pitsunda—at Anaklia. Here it surely corresponds to the bishopric τῆς Ζιγανέων in the metropolis of Phasis, Lazic

eparchy, and so strongly suggests that it was also the Ziganne of the Cohors secunda Ualentiana. The Cumonts and Bees naturally associated this Zigana with the Ziganne of the Antonine Itinerary, the great pass south of Trebizond which still bore that name until 1969 when it was solemnly, and quite ineffectually, renamed Kalkanlı. But that Zigana is a wintry posting for a cohort, who would have found their job already done for them down the Matzouka valley by another stationed at Chaszanenica-Hortokop which controlled both the Zigana pass and Pontic Gates routes. And, at 6,640 feet above sea level, Zigana would have been an even less prob-

25. PG, 120, col. 241; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 113; F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, Dos, IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 160.

26. *ActaSS lunii*, iv (Antwerp, 1707), 809–11; V (Paris-Rome, 1867), 694–96; *Synaxarium CP*, 767.

27. Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, iv, 12, 14.

28. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vi, 22; vii, 3, 8; *Wars*, II, xxix, 18, 22; xxx, 14; VIII, ii, 3, 10–14, 21; iv, 4–6.

29. *Anonymus periplus*, 39; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 124–25.

30. Arrian, 7; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 84–85.

able see for a bishop, even if the geography of the Phasis metropolis had allowed it. Chrysanthos and Peeters sent cohort and bishop to more comfortable quarters by the sea at Pliny's Sigania (Anaklia), and the tale of the Seven Brothers confirms that they were right.<sup>31</sup> (But D. C. W. prefers Zigana.)

The real problem, however, comes with the mention of a Ysiporto and a Caene-Parembole in the *Notitia*, and of a Καινή Παρεμβολή and a Ποιζαῖον in the tale. For Caene-Parembole, Böcking suggested Procopius' Κενά, which must indeed lie somewhere between Satala and the sea and on the Seven Brothers' presumed route to their fates. But the tale makes it clear that "Caene" is Καινή: the "new" encampment—perhaps in distinction from the older Παρεμβολή Ἄψαρος,<sup>32</sup> which had such an impressive garrison in Arrian's day. But while the *Notitia* distinguishes two military stations—the New Encampment and Hyssos Port—the tale of the Seven Brothers names only the New Encampment between Trebizond and Rhizaion. Hyssos Port has already been endowed with the alternative name of Sousourmaina and identified with our linked sites at Canayer and Araklı Burunu; it is close to, or identical with, medieval Sourmaina, later Sürmene. It cannot, according to the *Notitia*, logically be given the New Encampment too, where St. Eros met his end, to add to all its other functions and names. Yet the two must be close together, if not the same. It is conceivable that it only became a refortified "new" encampment after the sixth century, for Procopius described the place just as a *kome*. We can offer no solution to the problem, which, unexpectedly, arises from the *Notitia* rather than from the tale of the Seven Brothers.

But the site at Canayer may well be burdened with further history and certainly with yet another name. Elsewhere, we have argued that if Heraclius had any strategic sense he would have used Sourmaina as a supply base safe in the Pontos with a forward station at Satala for his Persian campaigns of 622 and 623, and that he used Sourmaina during 626 to receive his Khazar allies, send help to beleaguered Constantinople in June of that year, and also as his base for sailing to Lazica and for his Caucasian campaign of the end of that year—for almost certainly he did not use Trebizond.<sup>33</sup> All this would be no more than a bright idea which did not violate an unusually nebulous range of sources, if it were not for the fact that it was in 626 that Heraclius' empress Martina gave birth, on campaign, to their son

Heraclius II (Heracleonas) and that a new name appears within a kilometer of our Canayer site after the sixth century: Ἡράκλεια, a *chorion* of the Pharos monastery in 1432.<sup>34</sup> The name is even better remembered today, for the Turks of modern Araklı (or Erikli) village, Araklıçarşısı landing place, and the cape and castle of Araklı Burunu may unwittingly be commemorating an emperor who reigned for only a few months in 641 before he and his mother Martina were mutilated. For this little area has apparently accumulated more names and more history than any comparable one in the Pontos outside Trebizond—more putative history than may perhaps be considered healthy for it; but it must be remembered that it is Sourmaina, rather than Trebizond, which is the natural port of Satala.

### 3. Tenth-century Churches in Sourmaina.

The father of John Chaldos, eponymous duke of Chaldia in the late ninth century (he knew St. Athanasios the Exorcist), founded the monastery τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ τῶν Συρμένον, or τοῦ Χάλδου, which, as we have seen, was to lie on the Sourmaina-Paipertes route favored by the monks of St. Eugenios, on the Sourmaina River and three days from Mount Katounion.<sup>35</sup>

The reappearance of this monastery in the fifteenth century requires a minor excursus. The Grand Komnenos Alexios III had founded the monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos in 1374 with a promise of an annual subsidy of 1,000 aspers, to be claimed from the Imperial Vestiary. There was some traffic between Trebizond and Athos; St. Romylos had met a Trapezuntine on Athos before 1371 and the bull of 1374 stipulated a welcome for Trapezuntines at Dionysiou. But as its founder Dionysios himself discovered, Turks and pirates made communications difficult between the Holy Mountain and Trebizond (where he is buried in the Chrysokephalos). By the fifteenth century, the evident problems of the Grand Komnenoi in laying hands on ready cash may have made it just as difficult for envoys from Dionysiou to extract their subsidy from the Vestiary once they got to Trebizond. But to the abbot Daniel (fl. 1416–30) the, by now debased, 1,000 aspers was still worth soliciting. In September 1416 he presented himself to the Grand Komnenos Alexios IV in Trebizond and obtained a *prostagma* which satisfied both sides: henceforth the obligation of paying the 1,000 aspers was shifted from the Vestiary to the monastery of Our Savior Christ τοῦ Χάλδου in Sourmaina, which would pay it directly to an agent of Dionysiou in Trebizond. A second *prostagma*, by the Grand Komnenos John IV (1429–60), probably issued early in his reign, confirmed the arrangement. The surviving original of the second *prostagma* and probably contemporary copy of the first are in what might be termed "used" condition: used, Oikonomides suggests, for regular presentation to the abbot of the monastery of Christ in Sourmaina.<sup>36</sup> What the abbot had to say about the ar-

31. Parthey, *Notitiae*, I, 468; 7, 238; 8, 581; 9, 428; George of Cyprus, ed. Gelzer, xxiv, 468; Le Quien, *OC*, I, cols. 1345–46; Miller, *IR*, cols. 652, 681; Bees, *Byzantion*, I (1924), 134–35; Cumonts, *SP*, II, 361; Peeters, *AnalBoll*, 56 (1938), 249; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 168–70; Thomas, *Periplus*, 268.

32. C. Frick, *Chronica minora* (Leipzig, 1892), I, 216.

33. The campaign, much of what little is known of which comes from the verse of George of Pisidia, has most recently been analyzed by N. Oikonomides, "A Chronological Note on the First Persian Campaign of Heraclius (622)," *BMGs*, I (1975), 1–10. See also A. A. Vasiliev, "Notes on the History of Trebizond in the Seventh Century," *Eis Mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* (Athens, 1935), 29–34, esp. 33; N. H. Baynes, "The Military Operations of the Emperor Heraclius," *The United Services Magazine*, N. S., 46 and 47 (1913), esp. 47 (1913), 401–4, 667–68; and T. S. Brown, A. Bryer, and D.

Winfield, "Cities of Heraclius," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 4 (1977) (forthcoming).

34. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 264.

35. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 57, 94; Janin, *EMGCB*, 266, 270, 295–97.

36. Oikonomides, *Dionysiou*, I, 10–15, 50–61, 97–101, 155–57.

rangement is not recorded and our monastery also passes out of record with the second *prostagma*.

Chrysanthos confidently placed the monastery of Christ on the site of the nineteenth-century church of the Transfiguration in the former Greek community of Τσίτα (Cida, Zida), up the Manahos (Μοναχός?) River, south of modern Sürmene, where we have searched for signs of it in vain. A local (and plausible) tradition is that the community, if not the monastery, decamped to a new Τσιτή (Çit) and founded the Panagia Goumera, in the mountains south of Torul in about 1680, during the time of troubles. In 1976 Terzopoulos, a native of the area, proposed that the monastery of Christ lay near the mouth of the Hyssos (Kara Dere), by ancient Hyssos Port and old Sürmene, more particularly on the site of the old Greek Central School there.<sup>37</sup> Although this brings us back to the already overcrowded Canayer area again, Terzopoulos' argument is good because the Kara Dere is probably the Sourmaina River down which the annual caravan for St. Eugenios toiled. But there is no sign of our monastery there today.

Loth to allow the chase to die away, we would like to start a final hare. Just south of Eskipazar is a village named Χάλτ (Halt, now Söğütlü), one of the last Christian villages of apostate Ophis.<sup>38</sup> If there is a memory of Chaldia in the name, could there not also be one of Χάλδος? Its position, so far east, is against it. But further up that valley there is an impressive inscription from a less impressive ruined church at Fetoka (Theotokos?) which describes its rebuilding in 933/34. Although he was misled into thinking that the date was 944/45, Janin was right in pointing out that the date of the inscription is in keeping with that of the monastery of Chaldos.<sup>39</sup>

This date and earlier evidence for ecclesiastical activity in Trebizond and Chotza in the late ninth century may have a further significance. During these years Trebizond was awarded its metropolis at last and the eastern frontiers were being redefined, in Lazia at Κώλωριν, apparently on the present boundary between Turkish Lazistan and Soviet Adjaristan. Fetoka was restored during the career of John Kourkouas (Gurgen) which had begun in 923 with his suppression of a Chaldian revolt and the installation of his brother Theophilos as theme strategos. Kourkouas took Melitene in the year that Fetoka was restored and Edessa in 944. Meanwhile, in 941 Gurgen of Tao, head of the senior branch of the Iberian Bagratids, died. He left frightful succession disputes, especially over Ardanuç, and the Byzantines kept a keen eye on their unraveling. To the

south, the Byzantine frontier was finally consolidated when Theodosiopolis (Erzurum) at last reentered the Empire in 949.<sup>40</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Herakleia-Kalecik, on Araklı Burunu (fig. 114, pls. 263a–d)

*Situation.* Kalecik village lies on the exposed western slopes of Araklı Burunu. To the west a rocky headland gives some protection to its beach. This headland was fortified and linked to a larger walled site on a plateau to the south of it. The modern coastal road now divides the two sites, leaving Kalecik fort isolated on its headland.

*Description.* The headland was originally encircled by a wall standing about ten meters above sea level. A second wall seems to have girded the highest point of the headland, enclosing the seaward part and thereby constituting a sort of inner bailey. To the southeast is a semicircular bastion surmounted by a tower at its highest point.

Large ridged tiles are employed in the foundation courses at the base of the lower wall to the east. The walls have a rubble core with a mortar of lime and sea sand. The facing of regular courses of rough hewn stones has been largely robbed away. The headland includes a tiny sheltered cove on the north face, cut off and hidden from the shore by cliffs. Traces of masonry suggest that there were steps down to the cove from the castle.

To the southwest of the fort is a low plateau bounded by two ravines. The walls of the fort were connected to it over a narrow neck of land which was destroyed when the modern road was driven through. In 1957 there were still a few traces of walling around the plateau, which must have been the site of a village or small township. It was reported that in the old days tournaments used to be held there and men on horseback tried to unseat each other with long poles.

About one kilometer south of Kalecik and to the west of Canayer a church was reportedly destroyed in the 1950s. It stood in fields now called Kilise Düzü.

*Date.* Kalecik on Araklı Burunu seems to have replaced Canayer, up on top of the cape, during the Middle Ages. Neither site is in fact on the Kara Dere delta, where Hyssos Port should theoretically have stood, but the mouth of the river may well have been malarial.

##### 2. Sousourmaina-Canayer, on Araklı Burunu (fig. 115, pls. 264–265c)

*Situation.* Araklı Cape forms a flat-topped plateau, now called Canayer. The coast to the north and west is obscured, but the plateau commands a good view along the coast to the east and a fine view south along the route up the Kara Dere. The plateau site itself is best viewed from the east, along the coast, with Canayer standing against the skyline. It is best reached from the fort at Kalecik on the western side of the cape. From there it is about half an hour's walk inland and

40. S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign. A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1929), 135–50; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, I, Text, 214–16; II, Commentary, 177–78.

On the Athonite Trapezuntine, see F. Halkin, "Un ermite des Balkans au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. La vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos," *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 134; and on the liquidity problems of the 15th century Grand Komnenoi, see A. Bryer, "The Latins in the Euxine," *XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et Co-Rapports*, I, 3 (Athens, 1976), 15–17.

37. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 506; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 133–42, 188–204; A. Ch. Terzopoulos, "Η κατά τὰ Σύρμενα (Σούρμενα) μονή τοῦ Σωτήρος χριστοῦ τοῦ Χαλδου," *AP*, 33 (1975–76), 93–114.

38. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 117; Bees, *AP*, 14 (1949), 137; as a terminus of the İspir route, see p. 54.

39. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 169; Janin, *EMGCB*, 297.

southward up the ravine. The plateau is about 130 m above sea level.

*Description.* The site is in the shape of a rough rectangle, following the sloping edges of the plateau rather than a true geometrical shape. The land slopes away steeply on the north, west, and east sides. Only on the south side, where the plateau spur joins the main ridge of the mountains, is there no natural defense.

The rectangle is about 200 m broad from east to west and 300 m from north to south. In the middle of each of the four walls is a gate, all gates seeming to have been built to the same plan. They had two storeys and form towers in the center of each wall. This, in Roman or Byzantine fortifications, is an unusual form for principal gateways which were usually protected by a tower on either side of the gate entrance. Postern gates, however, were frequently placed in the side face of a tower. The walls had a well tamped down core of mortared rubble and were faced with neat ashlar blocks, some of which averaged  $1.20 \times 0.75$  m in size.

The north gate has a plain projecting cornice on the exterior face to mark the beginning of an upper storey (pl. 265a). The only other architectural feature to survive is the springing of an arch with recessed moldings in the upper storey (pl. 265b). The deeply cut molding of this arch is not suggestive of Roman or Byzantine work: perhaps one should look to the Caucasus for the answer. A semicircular apse at the east end of the upper storey, with a small niche to the north side of it, suggests that there was a chapel above the gate.

Nothing survives of the upper storey of the south gate, save for fragments of *opus sectile* flooring. This consists of a double circular inlay in stone, composed of marble squares and diamonds (pl. 265c).

In the middle of the rectangle is a ruin now so overgrown that nothing can be made of its form. It was said to have been a church.

*Date.* Although walled rectangles continued to be built in the Middle Byzantine period, the form of the ruin we have described with its four regular gates, suggests a Roman type of plan, more particularly that of Apsaros (see p. 350). We propose that it represents the military station of Hyssos Port (or Sousourmaina), first mentioned by Arrian, which reappears in the *Notitia dignitatum* and is mentioned as a settlement by Procopius; we further suggest that it was reused (and perhaps even rebuilt) by Heraclius in 626, when it took the name of Herakleia, and that it could conceivably be the "New Encampment" where St. Eros was supposedly martyred.

### 3. Aho-Zavzaga Kale (fig. 116, pl. 266b, c)

*Situation.* From the sites at Canayer and Kalecik, the Kara Dere takes a route due south to Bayburt. The pass is at 2,650 m, 54 km from Araklı and 40 km from Bayburt. It is reached through a gorge, just north of the summer station of Pazarçık. The British map of 1901 shows a "Bazarjik Kale [ruins]" here, which we cannot justify, but the gorge (in pl. 266a) is overlooked by two caves which have been artificially widened and contain stonework. There were the usual tales of treasure, here associated with the larger, eastern, cave,

where sixty gold coins were said to have been found. Further down the valley we were unable to locate two churches reported above Zifana or see a castle said to be at Kaşığı, but the most obvious castle which guards the valley is variously called Aho or Zavzaga, after nearby villages. This stands on an eminence on the east side of the Kara Dere, about 10 km south of Araklı.

*Description.* The castle, which consists of largely dry stone walling, has an upper fort to the east and a lower bailey to the west. Its defenses are mostly natural, with two sheer cliffs. In the upper fort is a cistern and, in the northeast corner, a chapel. The chapel is typical of the late medieval Pontos,<sup>41</sup> with single projecting apse, the outside measurements of which are about  $6 \times 4$  m. It is built of large, irregular stones with liberal layers of mortar in which there is abundant use of broken brick. There are slight traces of plaster inside. The building is very ruinous, but part of the north wall stands as high as 2.75 m.

*Date.* Given its position, it is unlikely that the chapel could have been built after 1461.

### 4. Sürmene (Hamurgân)

*Situation.* A castle stands on a rock about one km. due south of new Sürmene (Hamurgân). A paved path and steps lead up to it from immediately to the left of the main mosque of the modern town.

*Description.* To the north is a crag surmounted by a ruined tower; about 100 m to the south a smaller hillock, which was not visited, was also said to have a tower. If both crag and hillock were included in the same defenses, the site was a substantial one.

To the north of the crag is an enclosed area where traces of walls can be picked out in the undergrowth. The present means of access to the tower was almost certainly the original one and some remaining masonry indicates the position of the door. On the eastern side of the top of the crag is a small square chamber which may represent a cistern. On the south-western side of the base of the crag the rock is eroded, providing a naturally sheltered walk round to the northern enclosure which is closed at the southwest end by the remains of a wall.

There are remains of a church on the opposite slope of the valley, to the east of the castle, not far south of a mosque.

*Date.* The masonry and mortar of this site are similar to that at Kalecik on Araklı Burunu.

### 5. Röşi (Rovşe)<sup>42</sup> Kalesi (pl. 267)

*Situation.* The ruined fort of Röşi stands on the first headland west of modern Of.

*Description.* The headland was walled. Within it a tower, which used to be visible from Of, stood to a height of 8–10 m. The masonry facing was of small blocks laid in regular courses, with a mortared rubble core to the wall. The quoins of the tower were of large ashlar blocks laid in long and short order. Little remained of the outer wall, but there was a semicircular bastion on the west side, overlooking a

41. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt.* 12 (1962), 157 and fig. 14.

42. Rovşe, in Evliya (1644), II, 51; trans. Danişman, III, 97, where it is described simply as a harbor.

small sheltered cove which may have served as an anchorage for the fort.

The site was severely damaged by road building between 1967 and 1971, after the photograph in plate 267 was taken.

#### 6. Fetoka (fig. 117, pls. 268, 269)

*Situation.* The coast curves east of modern Of northward to the headland of Fici Burunu (Cauo d'Croxe?), which divides the bay of Sürmene from the bay of Rize. Along the northward curve of the headland is the hamlet of Eskipazar, situated on the delta of the rivers Baltacı (the cold Psychros) and Makı. From here a road runs inland up the Makı for 11 km, as far as the township of Hayrat. From Hayrat to the village of Makıtoromanlı is about one and a half hour's walk along a pleasant track. From Makıtoromanlı to the church of Fetoka (presumably Θεοτόκος) is about two hours' stiff walk; the track winds its way more steeply south up the valley, leaving it on its eastern side, and the church stands high above the eastern slopes of the stream.

The church was pointed out to D. C. W. by Bay Ahmet Hizal of Of in 1957. In 1958 they revisited it with Dr. and Mrs. Michael Ballance and Mr. David Wilson. Mrs. Ballance published a plan of the church and mentioned, but did not publish, an inscription with the "date A.D. 944-45."<sup>43</sup> A squeeze and photograph (pl. 269) were taken.

*The Inscription.* The stone, which was almost certainly a lintel, now lies upon the ground. It measures 1.40 × 0.48 × 0.26 m. It is broken at the right-hand end and the face is badly worn in the upper left-hand corner and at the base. The inscription is in seven lines, at least four of which are metric. Lines 1-6 have an average letter height of 4 cm, line 7 of 5 cm. The space between lines 1-5 is of 2 to 2.5 cm, between lines 5 and 6 of 6.5 cm, and between lines 6 and 7 of about 4 cm.

φρίττον εἰσπορεύου ἐνθάδε  
 ἐλε]γξεσαυτὸν τῇ προσευχῇ προσάδων  
 ἐν]εν[κα]ι τὸν νοῦν εἰς γεδδαῖς φροντήδων  
 χ]οροὶ γὰρ ἀγγέλων εἰστήκεισαν κύκλω  
 5 τ]ῶν σῶν ἀπογράφονταῖς εὐχῶν τοῦς πόν[ου]ς  
 + ἀν εκαινι[σθη] ἔτο(υς) ς υμβ'  
 π[άλι]γ ἀνεκ[αινίσθη] . . .

The sense seems to be: "Enter here trembling, |Compose yourself by offering chanted prayers|[Purge] your mind of worldly cares,|for choirs of angels are standing around,|recording the labors of your prayers. |Restored in the year 6442. |[Again] restored . . ."

The date is, therefore, A.M. 6442 = A.D. 933/34, not 944/45 as published. The lettering is conspicuously bold, neat, and classical in form; it and the relatively high standard of epigraphy may be compared with Inscription 2 from St. Anne in Trebizond (No. 61). The lettering of line 7 suggests that it was a later addition.

*Description.* There is little to add to Mrs. Ballance's remarks. The masonry of the small church (pl. 268), which has a formerly polygonal apse, is of unevenly cut blocks laid

in irregular courses, with the flattest face of each stone at the surface. Large ashlar blocks, perhaps reused, including our inscribed stone, are incorporated in the church and adjacent buildings. The latter are quite extensive, suggesting a monastic site. Some rooms are still roofed, although lying well below ground level. Villagers reported that more rooms are said to be buried underground.

A second church was reported to be in a grove on the west side of the valley at a locality called Çornal.

*Date.* The inscription tells us only that a church was restored in 933/34, which was probably restored once again. The surviving remains appear to be of a less pretentious further rebuilding, perhaps, as the polygonal apse might suggest, of the period of the Empire of Trebizond. If Fetoka does stand for Theotokos, the memory of the dedication, if not the church itself, survives.

#### 7. Eski Pazar

*Situation.* The Makı Dere flows through a delta about half a kilometer in width into the sea about 4 km east of modern Of. On the west side of the delta is a hamlet called Balek, which has a good specimen of a nineteenth-century Dere Bey's house, built by a member of the Çakıroğlu family. From here a dirt road leads south, crossing the Makı almost immediately and climbing as far as Hayrat. There are remains of substantial masonry piers beside the modern bridge on either bank, with beam holes which suggest that they may have carried a wooden bridge. The mortar is of lime with a filler of sand and pebbles. Ottoman bridges of the region are usually constructed of (ashlar) masonry: is this an earlier bridge?

On the east side of the Makı Dere, in an area called Eski Pazar, are ruins just above the road and beyond a mosque.

*Description.* The site appears to have been a fort, situated on a low bluff which slopes gently upward from a few meters above sea level. The eastern wall stands to a height of 6-7 m and was perhaps 1.5 m thick at the base before most of the lower facing stones were robbed away. The wall tapers as it rises and is constructed with a slight batter. The facing stones are roughly squared and laid in regular courses; the masonry and mortar is well tamped down. The top, or southern, wall is almost entirely gone, but part of its line, across which a farmhouse stands, can be traced. The western wall is not evident in summer; a winter search, when vegetation is less thick, might reveal traces of it.

The site is medieval. It could represent "Stillo" or, less likely, the "Cauo d'Croxe" of the portulans.

8. We have been unable to locate the Armenian monastery of St. Vardan in Sourmaina, which was reportedly in ruins by the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

44. Oskian, *Handes Amsorya*, 75 (1961), 280. Possibly identical with the St. Vardan of Hemsin; see above note 9.

43. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 167-69 and fig. 21.

## Section XXV

# THE *BANDON* OF RHIZAION

### DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATIONS

The bull of 1432 reveals that the *bandon* of Ῥιζαίου (unusually named after the place, rather than an area or putative people) was the most easterly of the centrally administered districts of the Empire of Trebizond. It stretched east and north to include the chorion of Μαπαύρεως (Mapavri, now Çayeli), just before the traditional Lazic boundary at Athenai (Atina, now Pazar). But because continuity of Greek settlement was largely broken in the countryside, today we can only identify Ζαρέλη (now Zurel) among seven other names named in the *bandon*.<sup>1</sup>

The 40 km of the *bandon*'s coastland offer some shelter behind the headland of Rhizaion itself and then head almost due northeast toward the Athenai headland. The immediate hinterland of Rhizaion itself is today well populated and is probably where one should look for the substantial holdings of the Pharos monastery in the *bandon*. Settlement becomes increasingly sparse further north and east until the mountains of Lazia drive what there is out of the trees and onto the coast. Although the late fifteenth-century population of the Rize district had a proportion of 2063 Christian to only 162 Muslim households, conversion had already begun. Unlike central and western Pontos, the Greek population was unable to hold its ground, probably in the face of Ofu and Laz conversion in the seventeenth century, and the district entered the twentieth century with only two churches open.<sup>2</sup>

As its ruins show, Rhizaion was the last substantial walled township on the east Pontic coast to follow the classical or medieval model. But, unless one branches west to the Kalopotamos and eventually reaches Theodosiupolis (Erzurum), Rhizaion has no good route south or major commercial function; so civic life was perhaps not so much a reflection of local demands and tastes as a periodic imposition from outside. Because it was what amounted to a cultural border town, a certain importance was forced upon it when the border retreated to it at various times—particularly in the early Middle Ages. At other times it receded into the camouflage of the prevailing Caucasian

pattern of settlement in which towns are hardly required, so that by 1890 Cuinet reported that, although, through Russian annexations to the east, the status of capital of a rump *sancak* of Lazistan had been imposed upon it, “Rizeh n'est pas en réalité une ville dans le sens propre du mot.”<sup>3</sup> Yet, it was not the first time that Constantinople tried to make it a regular town. The ups and downs of Rhizaion's external and official, as opposed to internal and local, history is perhaps best reflected in the curious saga of its bishopric, described below.

Ῥίζαιον, Ῥιζαῖον, Ῥιζοῦς, Ῥοιζαῖον, Ῥίζιος, Reila, Risso, Riso, Risum, now Rize, stands on its own stream, the Ῥίζιος.<sup>4</sup> A natural acropolis and relatively sheltered anchorage no doubt attracted earlier Greek colonists, but it does not figure in the *Notitia dignitatum* or the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles. It was, however, the shadowy scene of St. Orentios' drowning in the bay and actual site of a monastery of “Ayo-Rando” of which we know no trace today.<sup>5</sup> Rhizaion was really dragged into prominence by the requirements of Justinian's Lazic strategy. At the beginning of the sixth century it was no more than a “chorion” at a time when Sousourmaina (Canayer, a camp of about 60,000 square meters in size) was a presumably more important “kome.” These are Procopius' terms, who elsewhere eulogized that Justinian “restored Rhizaion himself, throwing about it a novel system of defenses which surpass any description or report of them. For it was so fashioned as to be inferior in point of size and safety to no one of the cities on the Persian frontier.”<sup>6</sup> When in doubt about the exact nature of his master's building achievements, Procopius tended to play safe and exaggerate. In fact, the defense system of Rhizaion is common for the Pontic coast and it is difficult to determine what similar places it surpassed in size or safety. But what we describe and report on below is recognizably on the lines set

1. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 265, 267–69. The *bandon* may be mentioned as such (*gawarik*) in an Armenian source, perhaps before 1221: see M. Sanosean, “The Antiquities of Sper” (in Armenian), *Arewelk'*, 5579 (1904), n.p.

2. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 321; Vryonis, *Decline*, 395 note 139; L. Maccas, *L'hellénisme de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris-Nancy, 1919), 108–10; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 795.

3. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 119.

4. Arrian, 8; *Anonymous periplus*, 39; Baschmakoff, *Synthese*, 86–87, 124–25; Miller, *IR*, col. 648; Bees, *AP*, 14 (1949), 137; Tafel, *Periplus*, 268; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 118; Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 269; T. Papatheodorides, Ἀνέκδοτοι στίχοι Στεφάνου τοῦ Σγουροπούλου, *AP*, 19 (1954), 276; Bzhshkian (1819), 94; Fontanier (1827), II, 6; Teule (1842), II, 5; Koch (1855), 109–10.

5. See p. 325 and Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 321.

6. Procopius, *Buildings*, III, vii, 3; *Wars*, II, xxix, 22; xxx, 14; VIII, ii, 3, 10–11.

up by Justinian, even if much of what survives is probably of a later, medieval date.

There are two types of Pontic coastal settlements with walls. The smaller consists of a fort on the shore which is linked to, and protects, a walled enclosure inland: Koralla (Görele Burunu) and Herakleia (Kalecik, Araklı Burunu) are examples. The larger type reverses the order. A three-tier settlement with two curtain walls has an artificial harbor as the base of its triangle and an inland acropolis or upper citadel, which protects the whole, as its apex: Kerasous (Giresun) and Trebizond itself are examples. Rhizaion is probably the smallest example of the larger variety. Here a lower walled town by a harbor mole leads up to a middle and upper citadel which overlook it. But, for comparison, Rhizaion's entire walled area comprises about 43,750 square meters, while Trebizond's is about 220,900 square meters.

Despite the patronage of St. Orentios, the see of Rhizaion began modestly enough as a suffragan bishopric of Neokaisareia in Pontic Polemonion; its earliest episcopal seal belongs to the seventh century. In 715–30 it was elevated to the status of an independent archbishopric, which it remained until 921–23 or even later. But by 980 it had been reduced to being a suffragan of Neokaisareia once more, probably remaining so until the turn of the twelfth century. It regained autocephaly from 1142/43 and was further promoted to becoming a metropolis in the thirteenth century which, by the late fifteenth century, could boast of being (admittedly the last) of only seventeen metropoleis left in Anatolia before its own see became titular.<sup>7</sup>

Fallmerayer has misled others into the belief that the linen of Rhizaion was eulogized by John Eugenikos in the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Eugenikos does not mention the place, but the supposition of a medieval trade in the striped cloths of the area is nevertheless perfectly plausible. Brant spoke of the fertility of Rize and its fine citrus fruits, writing that it "is famous for the manufacture of a linen made from hemp, used throughout Turkey for shirts."<sup>9</sup> Today Rize is probably more famous for its pastry cooks, but they have emigrated throughout Turkey so successfully that it must be confessed that the pastry shops of Rize itself are not noticeably more distinguished than elsewhere.

Moving along the coast, the insignificant Taşlı Dere seems to be the river noted by classical geographers as the Ἄσκουρος or Ἄσκούρνα.<sup>10</sup> Beyond Gündoğdu there is (as the name informs us) a ruined castle at Bozuk Kale. Then comes the river Ἄδιτηνός or Ardineo (probably the Kibledağı Dere)<sup>11</sup> and the last major Trapezuntine Greek settlement at

the *chorion* of Mapavri (Çayeli, but the medieval site probably lay a little further northeast at Taşhan). Here Theodore Sampson, sometime *amyrtzantarios* of Trebizond, had held land, and the Pharos monastery commanded *paroikoi* whose names might hint at a Greco-Laz diversity: John Γερέλης (gurieli, of Guria ?) who was a priest, Theodore Kallistratos, Sabas Μουρκίβας, Niketas the Μακηδών, Manuel Μαριάβας, Kyriakos Μελέτης, George Μελίας, John Κορδύλης (of Sivri Kale, just up the coast ?), Μάργων, Γαλῆς, Κατζίκης, Πολίτης, John Ἀρέβις (apparently an Armenian) and his brothers.<sup>12</sup> Such estates fell on hard days later with Osman Pasha's "pacification" of the region. In 1842 Teule reported "Je n'avais remarqué dans le bazar de Mapavreh que de gros millet (blé de Turquie, ici nommé *lazout*) et des peaux de mouton. Je ne trouve que des gens misérables, vivant épars au centre d'une belle campagne qui devrait les enrichir, offrant un spectacle affligeant et le plus choquant de tous les contrastes qu'on puisse voir."<sup>13</sup> In 1820 Rottiers had reported that Mapavri had a source of "petroleum" which flowed into the sea,<sup>14</sup> but today it is best known for its tea which flows all over Turkey, gives the modern settlement of Çayeli its name, and is even rendered down into a local eau de cologne.

Κόρδουλα,<sup>15</sup> which we identify with the castle of Kalecik or Sivri Kale, is the border station of what even the portulan maps mark as the frontier of Lazia, and was the site of the supposed martyrdom of St. Pharnakios.<sup>16</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Rhizaion (fig. 118, pls. 270–273)

*The Upper Citadel* stands on a flat-topped hill about 150 m above sea level and southwest of the modern town center of Rize. It has five round towers or bastions, a zigzag gateway to the east, a well, and extra defensive structures within the enceinte. The outer gate defenses stand about seven meters below the main Citadel walls and appear to be later additions. The Citadel walls are of uniform height, of roughly-coursed stone, and about 1.5 m thick. The outer stones are either roughly shaped or naturally flat to provide an even surface which has been liberally pointed over, covering half the stones and giving a smooth finish. The mortar is of lime and sand with some pebbles and is well laid in, with few gaps. The whole wall is a mortared rubble structure in which a large proportion of the stones are waterworn. The towers are round or half round, but it is not possible to see their internal construction, save in the northwest tower where there are remains of a brick barrel-vaulted chamber (pl. 270c). The bricks are 3 to 3.5 cm thick and the mortar is as described.

The well, or cistern, is rock cut and lies in the northwest corner. It is now about 5 m deep and was probably much deeper. A piece of internal walling near it has a much greater

7. Parthey, *Notitiae*, 3, 222; 4, 59; 10, 343; 13, 203; Gelzer, 551, 593–94, 628, 637–41; Le Quien, *OC*, I, 517–18; N. A. Bees, Δύο νέα ἀπογραφὰ τῆς τάξεως πρωτοκαθεδρίας τῆς ἐπαρχίας Λαζικῆς, *AP*, 17 (1952), 242; M&M, *A&D*, II, 570–71; Laurent, *CS*, V (1), 363, 667; Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 340.

8. Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 321 and note\*; cf. Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 94; but not in Od. Lampsides, Ἰωάννου Εὐγενικοῦ Ἐκφρασις Τραπεζοῦντος. Χρονολόγησις καὶ ἔκδοσις, *AP*, 20 (1955), 3–39.

9. Brant (1835), 192.

10. Arrian, 8; *Anonymous periplus*, 39; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 86–87, 124–25.

11. Arrian, 8; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 86–87; Miller, *IR*, col. 648.

12. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 269.

13. Teule (1842), II, 12.

14. Rottiers (1829), 191.

15. *Anonymous periplus*, 39; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 124–25.

16. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 648; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 118–21; and here, p. 326.

proportion of pebble than elsewhere and is perhaps a later addition.

In the field at the center of the keep are fragments of lime- and pulverized brick-mortar which are loose and now unrelated to any building.

*The Lower Citadel* is a walled rectangle, about the same size as the Upper Citadel, but a very considerable drop below the curtain wall between them, through which there is now no evident access. There is, however, the west side of a substantial gate between the Lower Citadel and the walled town proper. Architecturally, the chief feature of the Lower Citadel consists of nine internal relieving arches between features 1 and 2 (fig. 118; pl. 271b, c). These arches stand up to a height of 6 m, are about 3.25 m wide, and are separated by piers averaging a depth of 1 m and a width of 0.9 m. They are brick vaulted.

The upper, southern, end of the Lower Citadel has been excavated, providing a relatively gentle slope to the area. Externally, however, the west wall of the Lower Citadel climbs down a slope which inclines at 30° to 35° (pl. 271a).

*The West Wall* is composed of regular courses of smallish rectangular stones. Feature 1 is a small, semicircular, bastion. Tower 2 is a very large structure with an internal diameter of approximately 5 m; its walls are nearly 2 m thick. The interior of this tower had two storeys, each domically vaulted in mortared rubble; the lower vault appears to spring from two or three brick courses, but much of these and the inside facing stones (if they existed) have gone. Bastion 3 is a rectangle, a little larger than feature 1. Tower 4 is a large rectangle, the details of which are unclear. Below it is a spring which may have been enclosed by a wall which has gone. The main wall between Towers 4 and 5 has also vanished, but probably followed the present path down. These slopes are now wooded and heavily, if haphazardly, built up. Medieval features must be sought in backyards and on private property.

Tower 5 is a rectangular structure with two compartments. Its total size is about 12 × 7 m and its wall thickness is about 1.5 to 2 m. The form of the ground, or first, floor cannot now be determined as debris has accumulated to a depth of 2 to 3 m, but it may well have been the same as that of the upper storeys. The eastern compartment has doors or windows in the south and west sides of what was the second floor. The third floor has a central window on the south side and two on the east. All doors and windows have brick arches. Details of the second floor of the west compartment are unclear, but it had a brick vault (pl. 272a); the third floor had two stone-arched openings at the west end. Other openings are unclear, but the roof was a massive structure of brick, forming a domical vault. The bricks averaged 3.75 to 4.50 cm in thickness and 32 to 40 cm in length (see Appendix). In the western compartment only the internal structure is of brick and the core of the wall is solid mortared rubble with a stone facing. In the eastern compartment, however, brick arches appear to run through to the exterior. The two stone-arched openings at the east end of the west compartment in the north and south walls are round-arched with large, wedged-shaped, voussoirs. But the round-arching does not extend to the

exterior, where the aperture is rectangular. The owner of the tower keeps beehives in them, which precluded much further investigation.

The northwest tower of the Citadel was presumably similar to tower 5, in which the uppermost brick roofing can be seen. The interior of the vault of tower 5 had a layer of mortar over the bricks and was probably built on centering. The thickness of the mortar between the bricks in this tower, and elsewhere, is not very regular. The mortar is consistently of lime, sand, and pebbles.

About six courses from the present base of tower 5 is a single course of large rectangular blocks which may correspond to what was the interior floor level. The stone arches of the second storey lead out onto a catwalk on either side of the tower. This magnificent tower now stands up to a height of 12 m.

Part of the interior of the wall between towers 5 and 6 has traces of a blind arcade similar to that in the interior of the west wall of the Lower Citadel. In both cases its function may have been to carry a catwalk. In this case there are several internal projections (which are not made of brick) and the beginnings of an arch to the north of tower 5 (which is of brick). Including the arcade, the width of the wall is 2 m or slightly more.

About two meters from tower 6 a round-arched gate which has lost most of its facing and is about 1.5 m wide, leads into a highly overgrown barbican which defended it.

Tower 6 is rectangular with a mortared-rubble vault. The brick scattered around suggests that it was faced in brick or had brick relieving arches. There is a brick-arched window in the northwest face.

The wall below tower 6 is solid stone, about 2 m thick, with no trace of internal features. Between towers 6 and 8 the wall is pierced by a road, built in the 1950s, which, according to a nearby inhabitant, destroyed the remains of a circular tower which we have called tower 7.

The wall between towers 7 and 8 is obscured by housing. Tower 8 is rectangular and divided into two compartments divided, as in towers 5, by the main wall. The latter is protected by an external wall, or bastion, which has a series of open towers about 4 m long, projecting outward about 3 m and spaced at about 20 m. They may have continued further in the direction of the sea, but this is unclear. This external wall stands in the same position as the much greater western wall of Trebizond, built by Alexios II (1297–1330), and its stonework is the same as that of much of the west wall of Rhizaion which may be compared to the general type E in Trebizond.

Tower 9, the most northerly now surviving, is circular, with interior vaults of brick. The uncommonly large rectangular-shaped blocks, mortared with lime and sand, in its foundations (pl. 272b) and in those of the adjoining wall to the south indicate a classical, or at any rate early date for its origins. The wall which continues north from tower 9 toward the sea, however, may not be medieval.

*A Sea Wall* ran east from tower 8, parallel to the sea and about 8 m above it (pl. 273). There is an uneven rock bluff in places by the sea along which the wall may have run, but the undergrowth is too dense to make out where it went. Below

the bluff is a beach, and two projecting horns of part natural and part loose rocks, reminiscent of the traces of Hadrian's moles in Trebizond, probably indicate where the harbor lay.

*The East Wall* must be largely guessed at. Fragments of it were found to the east of the hospital, where there is a section about 1.2 m thick, with a mortar of lime, sand, and pebbles. An ivy-covered wall running up from the modern road may also have formed part of it.

*Other Features.* Palgrave of Arabia, the most egregious, dogmatic, inaccurate, and entertaining British consul in nineteenth-century Trebizond, was much impressed by the walls of Rhizaion "which when complete cannot have been much under two miles in extent"—in point of fact they would have been substantially less than one mile. He noticed "a couple of small vaulted chapels each with its three lancet windows looking east—a favourite Nicene symbol—which alone suffice to determine the architects, were they not otherwise clearly indicated by the style of the fortifications themselves. As I clambered about them I might almost have fancied myself at Constantinople, near the Seven Towers. But here, too, was neither inscription or date, though architectural comparison would seem to indicate the eighth or ninth century as the epoch of building."<sup>17</sup> We could find no traces of these chapels, or of what was said to have been a splendid Armenian church at Rhizaion, which was an Armenian, as well as Orthodox, bishopric.<sup>18</sup>

*Date.* Historical circumstances, if not architectural comparison, indicate that Palgrave's date of the eighth or ninth century is the least likely, but we cannot offer any firm conclusions. There is an earlier, more grandiose, period, represented in some of the masonry of the Citadel (which embraces several periods), the northwest tower of the Upper Citadel, and in the great towers 2, 4, 5, and 9. There is a later period, represented in some parts of the west wall (particularly along the Lower Citadel) and in the outer wall to tower 8. The former could plausibly be the work of Justinian (perhaps on an even earlier basis, as suggested by the foundations of Tower 9). The latter could perhaps represent a refortification in Trapezuntine times, perhaps during the fourteenth century. If these suppositions are correct, Justinian's and late medieval Rhizaion had the same extent of fortifications, which may possibly have been established before the sixth century.

## 2. Bozuk Kale (pl. 274).

*Situation.* East of Rhizaion the mountains begin to drop straight down to the sea. Ten kilometers east of modern Rize lies the hamlet of Gündoğdu. Its village school lies about one kilometer further east, below a rocky headland which is surmounted by the fort called Bozuk Kale. The site is on rising ground from about 30 m above sea level.

*Description.* The plan is like that of many coastal forts: a

trapezium with a wider base on the north, narrowing to the south. The north was protected by a cliff and there may only have been wooden walling there. The south wall defended the neck of rock with a steep drop on either side. Only the foundations of this wall remain, forming a section of the track up the hill at this point. A high curtain wall across the neck would have been necessary because the hill rises steeply to the south. Without such a wall, attackers would have been able to send missiles into the fort.

The west wall has entirely fallen away, probably in a landslide. The east wall survives for a stretch of about 50 m; it is composed of rough-cut blocks laid in random courses and well pointed on the exterior with a mortar of lime, sand, and pebbles.

The fort measured about 50 m from north to south by 10 m from east to west at its greatest extent. There is no obvious landing place or productive hinterland which it might have served to protect; perhaps it served as an outstation of Rhizaion. It is heavily overgrown and nothing useful can be said as to its date, except that it is probably medieval.

## 3. Kordyla-Kalecik (Sivri Kale) (pl. 275).

*Situation.* About five kilometers due west of Athenai (Pazar) the Kalecik Dere debouches into the sea. The fort of Kalecik itself stood on a headland west of the river mouth and was visible from the fort on the headland at Pazar.<sup>19</sup>

*Description.* In 1957 part of the south wall of a central tower and some outer defensive walling survived. The whole site was thickly overgrown with a tangled scrub of daphne and bramble, making it impossible to ascertain the plan of the fort.

Excavation would have been necessary to determine the plan of the tower. The mortar was of lime with a sand-and-pebble filler. The walling was generally of random-coursed stone-work, but the upper courses were of squared blocks laid in more regular courses. The tower appeared to have had three or more storeys. In an upper storey was a rectangular window and below that a window which was rectangular on the interior and round-arched on the exterior. The tower appeared to have been strengthened later, when extra masonry, in the form of lean-to buttressing, was added to the southwest side.

Only a small section of the curtain wall was observed on the southeast side, where there was a semicircular bastion.

The mouth of the Kalecik Dere offers the most sheltered beaching for boats between Mapavri and Athenai and is the obvious site for the classical Kordyla—perhaps, as the name suggests, a fishing village. The hinterland which the site serves is not extensive. This fort, apparently Tarhan's Zaleki,<sup>20</sup> and possibly the site of St. Pharnakios' legendary martyrdom, was certainly medieval, but D. C. W. was unable to establish any earlier occupation. What was left of the fort has fallen victim to road building.

17. W. G. Palgrave, *Ulysses, or Scenes and Studies in many Lands* (London, 1887), 16.

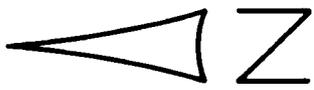
18. Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 507 note.

19. See p. 339.

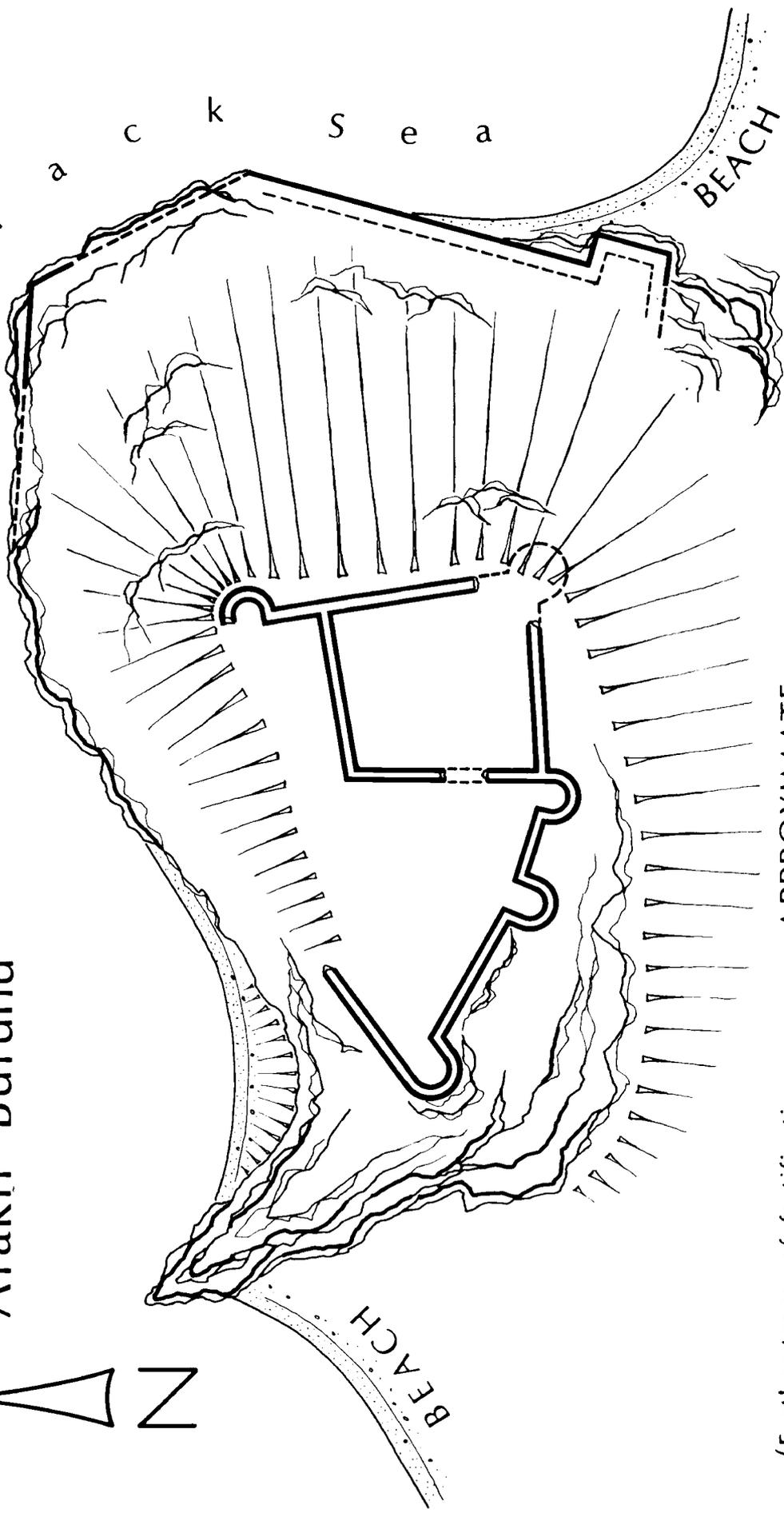
20. Tarhan, *Map*.

# 'HPAKΛEIA, KALECİK

Araklı Burunu



B  
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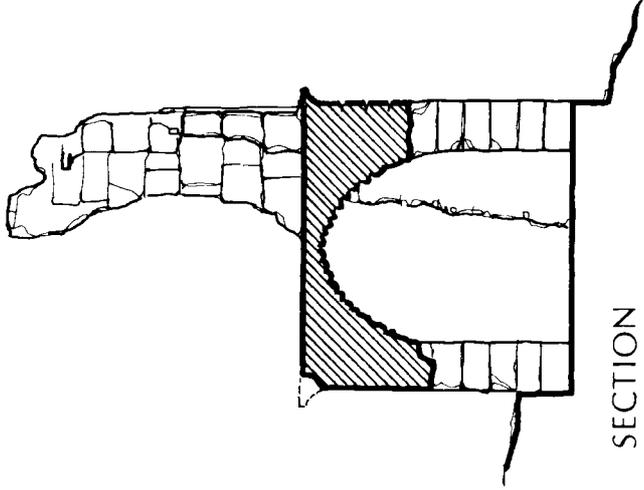
(Further traces of fortification  
c. 100 meters to southwest)

APPROXIMATE

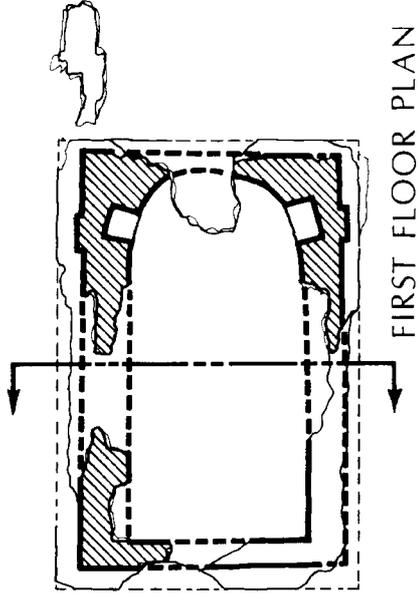
0 10 20 30 METERS



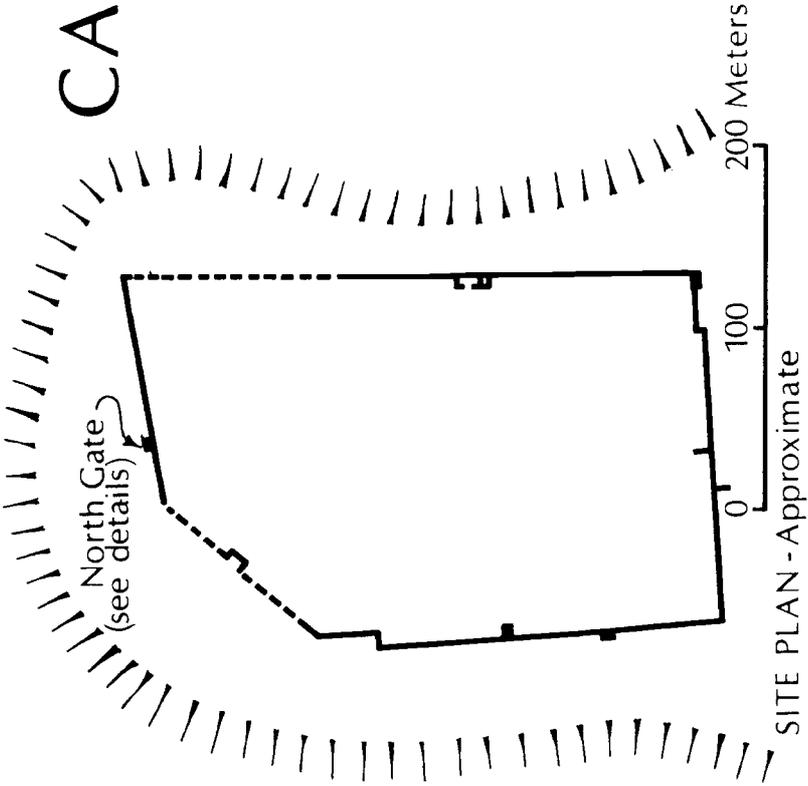
# CANAYER, ΣΟΥΣΟΥΡΜΑΙΝΑ



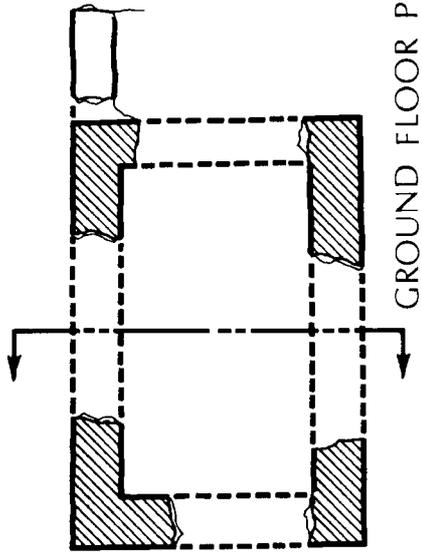
SECTION



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

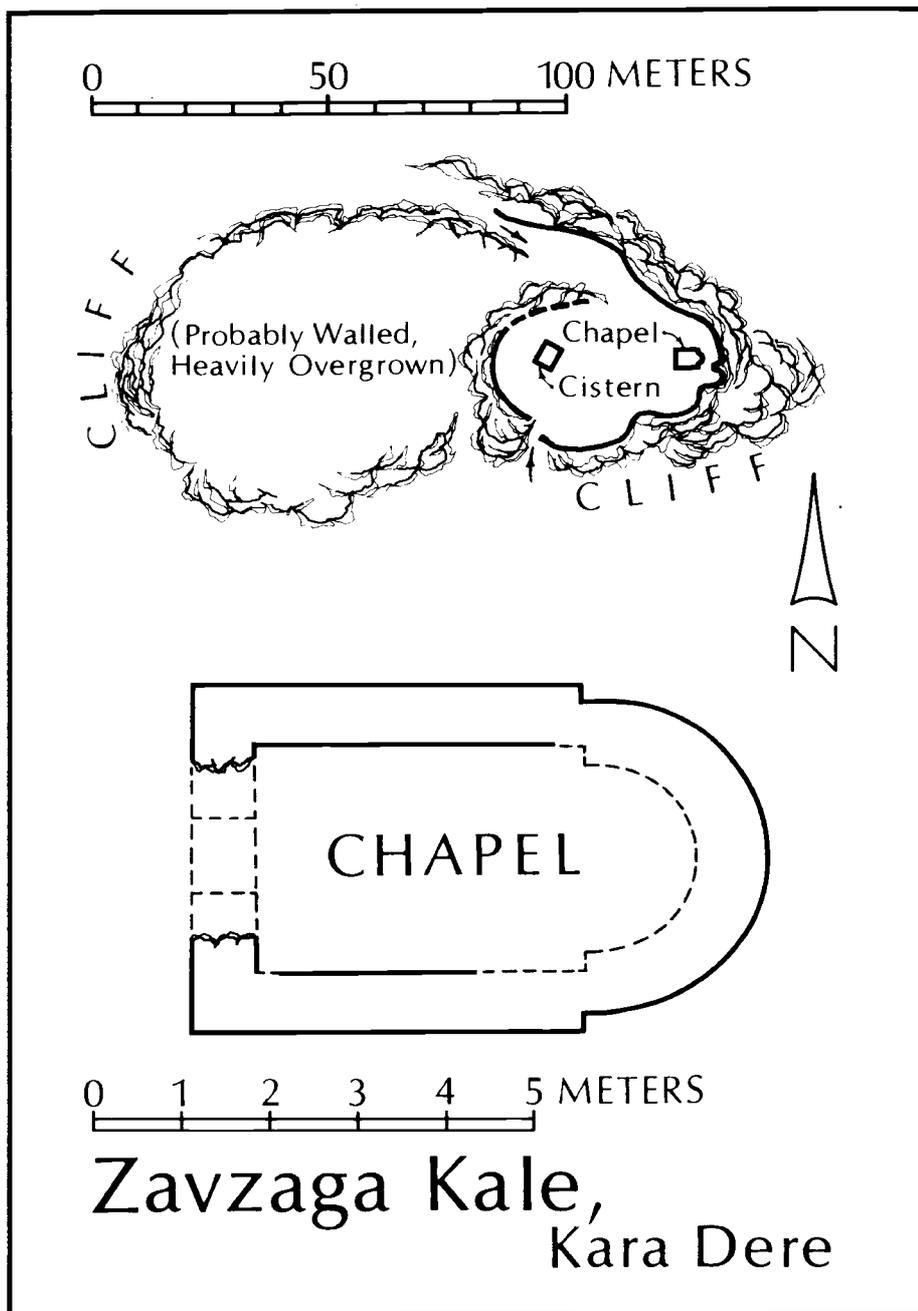


SITE PLAN - Approximate

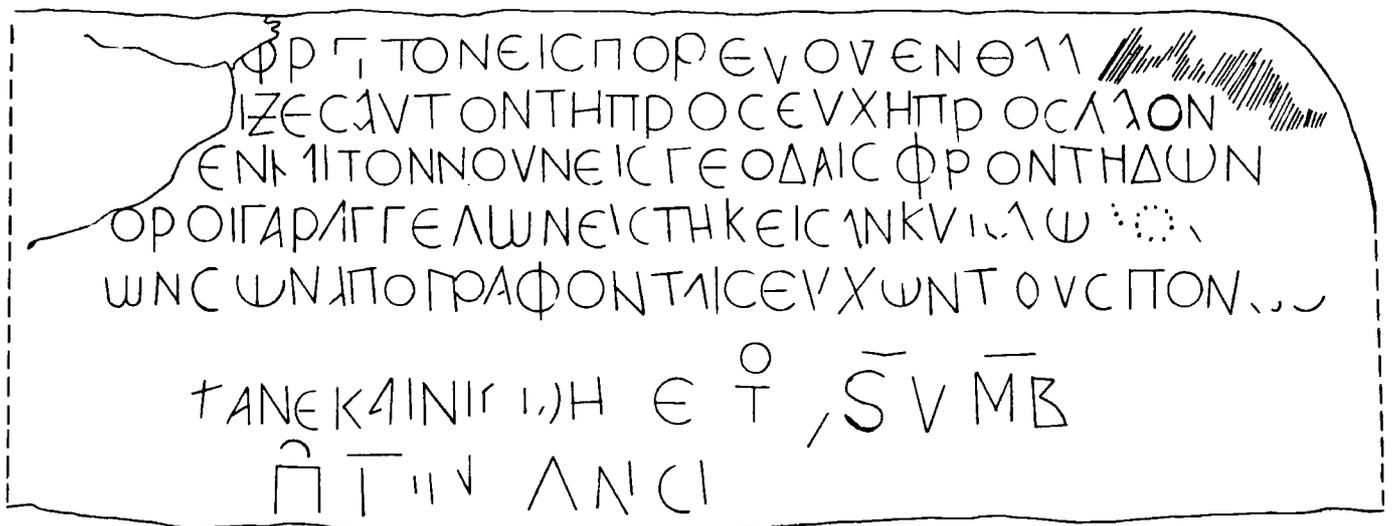


GROUND FLOOR PLAN





116. Plans of Site and Church

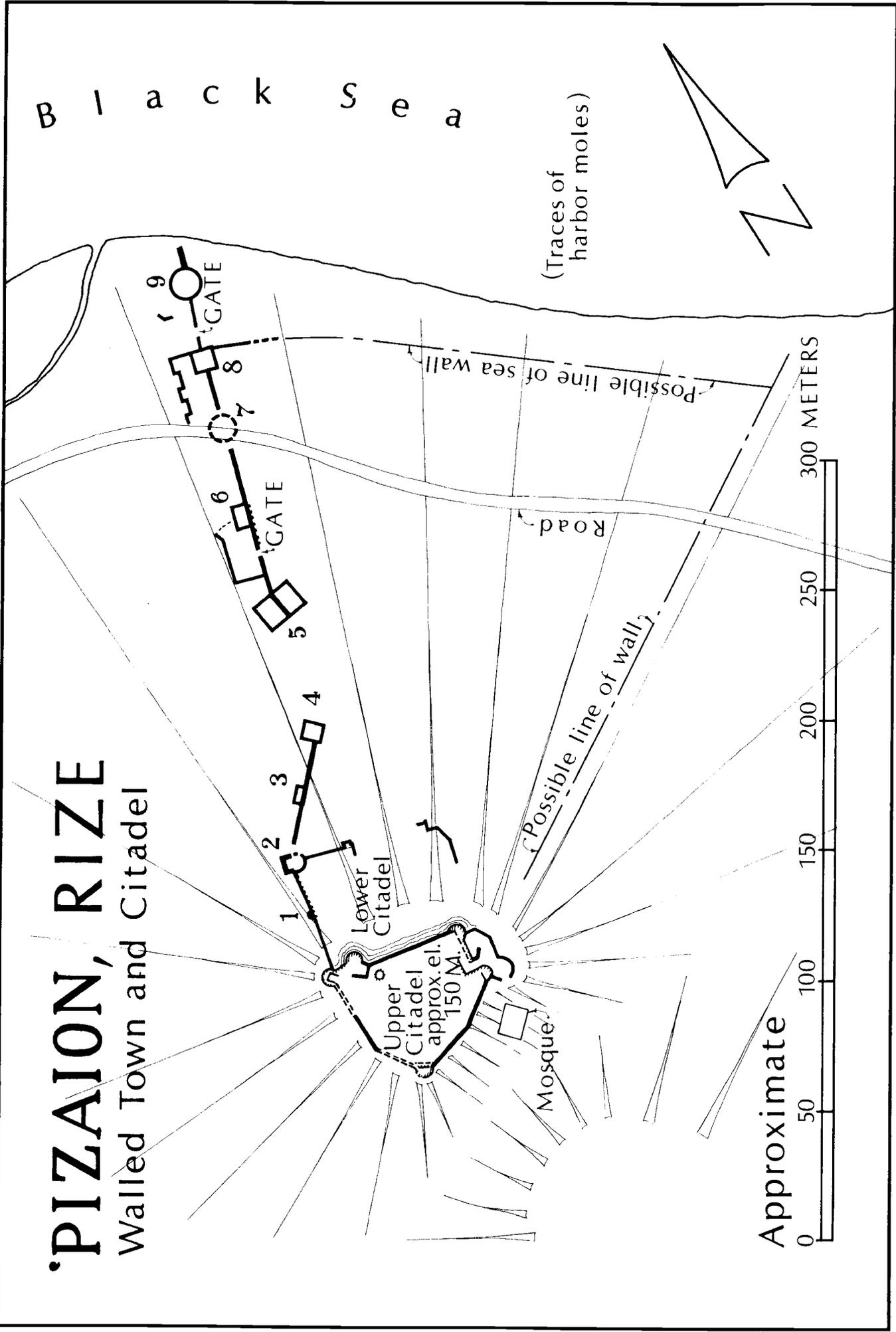


117. Fetoka, Church. Inscription

Sourmaina

# 'PIZAION, RIZE

Walled Town and Citadel



## Section XXVI

# THE THEME OF GREATER LAZIA AND THE LAND OF ARHAKEL

### HISTORY, DESCRIPTION, AND IDENTIFICATIONS

Despite, or because of, the singular peoples who give the stretch its character, the east Pontic border is one of the world's most stable and enduring. For almost two millennia the coastal boundary between Anatolian and Caucasian powers has found its way back to the mouth of the Akampsis (Çoruh) River after each upheaval. To the east and north lay the ancient Laz kingdom, client of Rome from the first century (confirmed in 378), of Persia from 457, and of Byzantium from 522 (confirmed in 561). Yet it is not a cultural boundary, for some Caucasian peoples were caught west of it, the only Georgians to live in Anatolia and retain their identity. Separated from the Laz kingdom, they were perhaps not so much Laz proper as the *αὐτόνομοι ἄνθρωποι* whom Procopius knew, replacing or descended from the Becheiroi, Byzeres, Echecheiries, and monstrous Mossynoikoi of antiquity. Yet they survived, and survive, as "Laz" under successive Byzantine, Trapezuntine, and Turkish rule long after the kingdom of Lazia and its people were forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

Roman and Early Byzantine military and mission stations certainly stretched further than the Akampsis, reaching Sebastopolis and Pityous at various times, but the great camp at Apsaros, inspected by Arrian and supposed scene of the martyrdoms of St. Phirmos and St. Phirminos, was a more solid outpost. The effective border had probably fallen back toward Rhizaion by the sixth century, but returned to *Κώλοριν* (we suggest the same stretch south of the Akampsis mouth) in the tenth century.<sup>2</sup> It was inherited by the Grand Komnenoi, whose clerks grandiosely entitled what amounted to a Laz tribal reservation as the Empire's only known theme, *Θέμα τῆς Μεγάλης Λαζίας*.<sup>3</sup> This most ancient of Byzantine borders survived the fall of Constantinople itself. The Ottomans replaced (or rebuilt) Apsaros with a fortress at Gonia in 1547 and today, after shifts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Soviet-Turkish border has settled at Sarp. Because in the fourteenth century Makraigialou was in Trapezuntine hands and Gonia, 9 km to the north, seems to have been in Georgian hands, we have taken the modern boundary at Sarp as being that of the

theme of Greater Lazia too. But there is little to choose, for Apsaros, Gonia, the Akampsis mouth, and Sarp lie within 6 km of each other.

The claims, at least, of the Grand Komnenoi do not seem always to have been limited by this border. What was perhaps a claim to historic Lazia before 1222 was followed, during the first Mongol period, by the advances of David V Narin (1245–92), who in 1282 attacked Trebizond itself. The Mongol ebb coincided with the reign of George V (1314–46), who took Guria, based on Bathys just north of the Akampsis mouth, in about 1330, and reached İspir in 1334. However the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90) reversed the Georgian tide by taking advantage of the discomfiture of Bagrat V (1360–93)—to whom he married his daughter—during the second Mongol threat. Guria had links with Trebizond by 1373 which seem to have remained until 1461. During the second half of the fourteenth century the Empire of Trebizond and its influence did not so much shrink as move bodily east.<sup>4</sup>

In Lazia, however, Byzantine, Trapezuntine, and Ottoman control was always confined to their coastal stations. Within the valleys local mountaineers conducted their own business as "autonomous peoples" whom Procopius noted. They had a further hold over outsiders, for they seem to have largely monopolized coastal shipping—highly important in an area where, as we shall see, a rate of fifteen kilometers land travel per day was good going. The skiffs which transported armies in Trapezuntine times as well as in Evliya Çelebi's along this coast were Laz.<sup>5</sup>

The Trapezuntine theme of Greater Lazia seems to have begun at the *Ἀθηνῶν ἄκρον* and the settlement of *Ἀθηναί*, Sindena, Sentina, Athenis, Athenas and Atina, now renamed appropriately if unimaginatively as Pazar. Antiquarians from Arrian, Procopius, and Bessarion onward have been intrigued by the name. Naturally a connection with Athene has been sought, columns of whose temple were obligingly noted by Rottiers in 1820, and by Koch later. Alternatively, it is supposedly the burial place of a local queen, Athenaiia. In fact, as Allen points out, Athenai may well be derived, like so many place names of this area which begin with A-, from a Laz word—in this case a word meaning "the place where

1. Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, ii, 10; Bryer, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 174–95.

2. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, II, 214; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, map IV.

3. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 265.

4. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 118–21.

5. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 66 (Anna Anachoutlou's Lazic invasion of Trebizond); Evliya (1644), II, 50–51.

there is shade." There is indeed another medieval site called Aténi in Georgia proper. By the same token, Rhizaion may be "the place where people (or soldiers) meet," and Mapavri suggests "leafy." Athenai's heyday came early. It figures in the *Peripli* and in the *Itineraria*, but not in the *Notitia dignitatum*. Its fortress was already described as abandoned in the second century, when the place offered no more than a small summer anchorage. The attractive castle perched on a rock in the sea there, described below, is a later medieval and probably Trapezuntine build, which passed into Ottoman hands.<sup>6</sup>

From modern Pazar the Ζαγάτις River,<sup>7</sup> now the Pazar or Susa Dere, leads south; one branch reaches the heights of Hemşin. About 8 km inland is a castle, Cihar or Kise Kale; at Sapo, about 3 km east of Pazar, is a medieval church; both are published here. A little further on is the intriguingly named Eski Trabzon but, as even Chrysanthos pointed out, its name is no more than a Turkism into which nothing can be read; the Greek version of the name on our map is an entirely modern usage.<sup>8</sup> At Ardeşen, east of Eski Trabzon, we publish another church, like that at Sapo on Trapezuntine lines and evidence of a definite, if thin, fringe of medieval Greek settlement along the coast. Ardeşen itself is perhaps Ἀρμένη and maybe Λίμνη or Ξυλίνη too; close to it lay the so-called palace of Anchialos. Between it and Eski Trabzon the Furtuna ("stormy") River—once the Πρῦτανις or Πορδάνις and now the Büyük Dere—descends from Hemşin. Bzhshkean placed an Armenian monastery of the Cross (Khach'avank'), dating from "the days of the Armenian kings," of whom there were none in this area, on the lower reaches of the Furtuna Dere. He may, however, have been confusing it with the Manastır now lying 6 km up the next river east (which might repay investigation), the Piskala Dere—apparently the Πυξίτης and, if so, a rare example of the survival of a Greek river name in these parts.<sup>9</sup>

6. Arrian, 5, 6, 8; *Anonymous periplus*, 39; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 82–87, 124–25; Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, vi, 6; Procopius, *Wars*, II, xxix, 22; xxx, 14; VIII, ii, 10, 11; Miller, *IR*, cols. 648–49; Thomas, *Periplus*, 269; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 647; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 122; Bessarion, ed. Lambros, *NE*, 13 (1916), 178; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 324; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Berindei, and Veinstein, *Turcica*, 8 (1976), 287; M. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie* (St. Petersburg, 1851) (Sixième Rapport), 21–25; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), 56; the same's "The March-Lands of Georgia," *The Geographical Journal*, 74 (1929), 140; Bzhshkean (1819), 96, trans. Andreasyan, 63; Rottiers (1820), 190; Taitbout de Marigny (1823), 192–93; Brant (1835), 192; Koch (1855), 105; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 34, 90, 91; Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 503 note 1 (citing Indidjian's mention of ruined chapels at Athenai); Rickmer Rickmers (1934), 471, for a good photograph of the castle; A. N. Oikonomides, Πόθεν οἱ ἐν Ἀττικαῖς ἐπιτυμβίους Ἀθηναῖοι, *AP*, 19 (1954), 181–87.

7. Arrian, 8; *Anon. periplus*, 40; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 86–87, 124–25.

8. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 91; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 935–37; Bzhshkean (1819), 96; trans. Andreasyan, 63.

9. Arrian, 8; *Anon. periplus*, 40; Skylax, 83; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 68–69, 86–87, 124–25; Bzhshkean (1819), 96; trans. Andreasyan, 63. For evidence of monks of Hemşin, if not of a monastery in this area, see two Armenian colophons. The first is in Avedis K. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1976),

In the mountains behind Pazar and Ardeşen lurk the Hemşinlis, who, after the Santaioi and Oflus are the third of the peculiar peoples of the east Pontic interior—peculiar even in a Laz context. The Hemşinli are not mentioned in any Trapezuntine source, but their *locus classicus* is Clavijo's account of his journey through their territory from İspir to the *bandon* of Sourmaina in September 1405, when their recent exchange of their own Armenian lord Arhakek (a common Armenian Christian name meaning "apostle") for a Muslim *atabeg* might be regarded as a microcosm of all Armenian history:

The Moslem lord of İspir city and district is also lord of the Arhakek (Arraquek) district, and he has come to be so after this fashion. The men of the Arhakek district [i.e., Hemşin] in the past became discontented with their lord, who bore the name of Arhakek, like the district that was his. These folk therefore sent privily to that neighboring lord of İspir, with whom they compassed to betray their master, promising that he, of İspir, should be made their ruler in the other's place. And so it fell out, for they delivered up Arhakek to the lord of İspir, whom he imprisoned, setting in his place to rule the Arhakek lands a Moslem governor, but at the same time appointing a Christian lord-deputy to act as his assistant. All this countryside of Arhakek is very mountainous, with mere pathways that cross the passes, and these so rocky and steep that burdened horses cannot travel them. In some places they have had to build bridges of beams from rock to rock to traverse the hill crests. No sumpter beasts are here in use, but men who are porters have to carry all burdens on their shoulders. There is but little corn grown in this region, and the people are of a barbarous race. As we passed through we were in some danger from them, for though they are Armenians and profess to be Christians all are robbers and brigands ["mala gente de mala condiçion" in another version]; indeed they forced us, before we were let free to pass, to give a present of our goods as toll for right of passage. We were four days journeying through their country and then came to the sea-shore. . . .<sup>10</sup>

Somewhere near Eski Pazar—see figure 1. Within a century this penchant for Islam bore fruit which is apparent in the *defters* of the new Ottoman *kaza* of Hemşin, where 32 percent of the households were already Muslim—an exceptionally high proportion for this time and area. But only 671 households and 682 bachelors were recorded there—figures which sound low, but one does not envy the Ottoman notaries who had to seek out the elusive Hemşinlis in the gorges and forests of the Furtuna Dere.<sup>10a</sup>

677–84, No. 155 (Pennsylvania, Freer Library, The John Frederick Lewis Collection MS 123): the poetical works of Nerses Shnorhali, completed on 9 June 1528, during the "reign of Skandar Pasha in Trabzon [Iskender Pasha, 1513–34, buried in Trabzon], when our fortresses were controlled by the *aghas* Daveshali and Siminaws"—possibly a reference to Varoş and Zil Kale. The MS was written at the church of Surb Astuacacin (Mother of God) and Surb Siovn (Sion) "in the monastery where the relics of the father St. Hachik and St. Vardan and his companions have been placed for the glory and protection of our canton of Hamashen." The second colophon is in M. Sanosean, "The Antiquities of Sper" (in Armenian), *Arewelk'*, 5579 (1904), n.p., an apparently 17th-century Gospel written at Berdakay Vank in the İspir-Bayburt region by "Movses, monk (*abeghaya*) of Hamshen, member of the monastery of Berdak."

10. Clavijo (1404), 335–36, ed. Estrada, 244.

10a. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 322–23; Bryer, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 193–94.

Students of the Hemşinlis have overlooked what appear to be the next two references to them. The references are suitably enigmatic. First, in 1474, Contarini wanted to reach Uzun Hasan from Caffa. It was, significantly, an Armenian who tried to persuade him not to sail to the Phasis, but said that he “should go to another place named Tina [Athenai?], about a hundred miles from Trebizond, and belonging to the Turk, and that, as soon as we had landed, we should take horses, and I was promised that, in four hours, I should be taken to the castle of a certain Ariam, who was a subject of [Uzun Hasan], giving me also to understand that at Tina there was only a castle belonging to the Greeks, in which I should certainly be placed in safety.”<sup>11</sup>

The inferences are that, thirteen years after the fall of Trebizond, Athenai castle was technically in Ottoman hands (as the *defters* confirm), but actually in Greek possession. This should not be surprising: Ardası (Torul) was only taken by the Ottomans in 1479. The new Arhakek was called Ariam (presumably the very common Armenian name Aram), and his allegiance, like that of İspir, was to Uzun Hasan. His castle, four hours' inland, was probably Cihar and conceivably Zil.

Contarini rejected the Armenian's advice and did not go to Hemşin. Nor did the egregious English traveler, Samuel Purchas (1577?–1626). But the fame, or notoriety, of the Hemşinli was known to him. Speaking of “Armenia Major and Georgia,” he writes that “in this kingdome is a thing monstrous and wonderfull, which I would not have spoken of or beleevd, had I not seene it with mine owne eyes. In these parts there is a Province called *Hamsem*, contayning in circuit three days journey; and so farre it is covered with an obscure darkenes, that none can see any thing, nor dare enter into it. The inhabitants thereabouts affirm, that they have often heard the voyce of men howling, cockes crowing, neighing of horses; and by the passage of a River, it appeareth to have signs of habitation. This is reported by the Armenian histories to have come to passe by the hand of God, so delivering his Christian servants . . . and so punishing with outward darkenes the inward former blindness and rage of these persecuting idolaters.”<sup>11a</sup> Purchas saw in the darkness of “Hamsem” the original “Cimmerian gloom” of the *Odyssey*, XI, 14.

There certainly was, and is, an Armenian-speaking pocket in this part of Lazia, but one wonders if the Hemşinli of the Land of Arhakek and of today do not in fact represent the vestiges of one of the ancient peoples of the area. Like the Chalybians, they were distinguished economically as much as by race, and the Pontos harbors ancient economies. Strabo, for example, reported that the Mosynoikoi, further west, had lived “in trees or *pyrgoi*”; Clavijo found the peoples round Sourmaina living “in hamlets, each of which bears the name of Turio” (*tyrsis, turris, pyrgos*).<sup>12</sup> Whatever the truth, this contrariwise people, having exchanged Christianity for Islam before it was politic to do so, continue to cling to their Armenian language (albeit in a diminishing form) and spirit

of independence, when it is decidedly impolitic to do so. No doubt they reckoned that they were getting the best of both worlds; but they were asking for the worst. One suspects that their reputation for wiliness is quite undeserved, but, typically, the Muslim Hemşinli were reported as still baptizing their children in 1890—just to hedge their bets.<sup>13</sup>

Like the Guriel of Guria, the Arhakek of Hemşinli Arhakek shared his name before Aram with that of his lordship. But, unlike the Gurieli, the Arhakek is not known to have consorted with the Grand Komnenos. The very Greek Christianity of his closest neighbor and most obvious ally was no doubt against him. It is difficult to know how far the authority of the Grand Komnenos extended inland to Hemşin. Certainly *some* authority did, and we publish two castles to prove it. Both are linked in style and appear first in the late fifteenth-century *defters* as the Upper Castle (Yukarı Kale) and Lower Castle (Aşağı Kale) of Hemşin—although the Upper Castle today lies confusingly close to Aşağı Hemşin.<sup>14</sup> Varoş (Upper Hemşin), Zil (Lower Hemşin), Cihar, and (less obviously) Athenai-Pazar castles may be considered as a group on grounds of construction—and Athenai too first appears in the *defters*. Did the four comprise the Land of Arhakek? It is most unlikely that Athenai was incorporated in Arhakek, for the Grand Komnenoi kept the coast and traveled it. But Zil and Varoş certainly lie in the Land of Arhakek and their construction may well belong to a shadowy period of autonomy before 1405. Varoş (Varoşka, Városi) is a word for “town” in Turkish, Serbian, and Hungarian—as in Famagusta's Varoşi. Among the thirty-four hamlets in the virgin forests of the fifteenth-century Furtuna Dere, a place which the Ottomans found needed, as they did, a garrison of forty, is indeed a “town.” There are in fact signs that this remote settlement, twelve hours' walk from Zil, 1,800 m above sea level and yet still 1,656 m below the towering Varoş Dağı behind it, was once more populous. Was Varoş “town” the capital and metropolis of the Land of Arhakek? The builders of its castle were clearly hampered by lack of material—hardly surprising when one recalls Clavijo's observation that the Hemşinli beast of burden was human. In the late fifteenth century, 499 bushels of wheat were carried up to the garrison at Varoş annually; the garrison of thirty at Zil, Lower Hemşin, commanded 382 measures of wheat and 440 of millet. Zil, the “Bell,” enveloped in its Cimmerian gloom, is today confidently claimed by sober men to be haunted.<sup>15</sup> One thinks of the lord Arhakek, abandoned (on almost traditional Armenian lines) by his own people in favor of a Muslim master. He was quite possibly the builder of Zil and Varoş.

To descend from the undeniably romantic Land of

13. Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 119–120. See also Bzhshkean (1819), 96; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 923–27.

14. Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 321–25; Koch (1855), 107.

15. Asserted to A. A. M. B. by Dr. Sarıoğlu, Hemşinli pediatrician of Washington, D. C., in 1970 and perhaps even confirmed by D. C. W.'s experience of almost a decade before: “Further investigations of this castle were cut short by a fit of terror on the writer's part, which came on him while exploring within the walls, and he fled precipitately; an experience which had not happened before and has not recurred since that occasion.”

11. Contarini (1474), 116.

11a. Purchas, *His Pilgrimage* (London, 1614), 342.

12. Strabo, XII, iii, 18; Clavijo (1404), 336, ed. Estrada, 245.

Arhakei and its staggering castles to the coast and the theme of Greater Lazia: the next major headland east of Pazar, and 27 km as the seagull flies, is that of Viçe. It is now depressingly renamed Fındıklı, after the ubiquitous hazelnuts of the place, which should be Ptolemy's Μάρθουλα or Μόρθουλα. A village significantly named Gavra lies just inland.<sup>16</sup>

From Viçe to Arhavi, the next successive headland east, is 16 km. This is evidently the Ἀρχαβίς, Abgabes, Archavi, Arcavi, and Arcan of classical geographers, Ptolemy, the *Itineraria*, Procopius and the portulans; but it is only in the late fifteenth century that we learn that it boasted a small castle. We have a local report of a castle on a hill just southeast of the town. In 1820 Rottiers found a "Djidja Kale" at "Ginoéz" here, complete with a sculptured Pegasus, but they have eluded us.<sup>17</sup>

Κίσσα, Cissa, Cessa, C. Uxa, or Quissa, now Kise, on its eponymous river, appears later than Archabis but gets into Ptolemy and the *Itineraria*. Its castle, too, first appears in the fifteenth century. As a center, however, it seems to have shifted subsequently to a better anchorage at Hopa, further east. Hopa had become the port of Artvin by the early nineteenth century and is now the most easterly port at which Turkish coastal steamers call.<sup>18</sup>

The major Trapezuntine coastal station on this stretch was not, however, Kissa or Archabis, but the "long beach" of Μακραϊγιαλοῦ, Μακροῦ Αἰγιαλοῦ, later Makriyalı. As its name suggests, it was probably a movable site along what is literally a long beach, which has now settled upon modern Kemalpaşa, named after the Atatürk. Its Greek name, and the fact that it does not emerge before the fourteenth century and never in the portulans, suggests that it was a creation of the Grand Komnenoi: the most easterly safe imperial base

from which the Grand Komnenoi could deal with the Bagratids. It first appears as a *chorion* in Panaretos' chronicle, when "in June [1367] we went down to Lazike with the army, by land and sea, together with the Emperor [Alexios III] and his mother the *despoina* [Eirene]: at the same time we brought with us lady Anna the Grand Komnene, who was married to lord Pankratios Pankratianos [Bagrat V], king of the Iberians and the Abazgoi, at the place called Makrou Aigialou."<sup>19</sup>

Ten years later, the Grand Komnenos Manuel III became co-emperor with his father Alexios III, on the death of his half-brother Andronikos, from whom he also inherited a Georgian bride. She was Gülhan *hatun* (Kurşanskis notes the Iberian penchant for Turkish names), Bagrat V's sister and daughter of David VII (1346–60). Panaretos writes: "On 10 May [1377], as the wooing was indeed progressing, the Emperor and we with him shifted quarters and went off to Lazike, where we spent the whole summer until 15 August around the *chorion* of Makraigialos. Then she came down from Gonia to the territory of Makraigialos also, and the following day we set off and reached Trebizond on [ . . . ] 30 August."<sup>20</sup> On 5 September the crowned bride was displayed at an intriguing court ceremony, or *prokypsis*, when she took the name Eudokia, and was married to Manuel III next day.

Two points may be noted in this passage. First, the land journey along the cliffs and shores of Lazia over the 203 km from Makraigialou to Trebizond took fourteen days. Such dilatoriness (14.5 km per day) might be put down to the fact that the party was carrying a royal bride, after some wooing. But Clavijo was to report that it took him six days in caravan over part of the same route, the 60 km from near Eski Pazar to Trebizond (see Fig. 1)—an even slower rate of progress.<sup>21</sup>

Secondly, the passage suggests that while Makraigialou

16. Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, vi, 6; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 325; Rottiers (1820), 185–86.

17. Arrian, 8; *Anon. periplus*, 40; Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 86–87, 124–25; Miller, *IR*, col. 649; Ptolemy, *Geography*, VI, vi, 6; Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, ii, 11; Thomas, *Periplus*, 269; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 647; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 324–25, 328; Bzhshkean (1819), 97, trans. Andreasyan, 64; Rottiers (1820), 185–87; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 34.

18. Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, vi, 6; Miller, *IR*, cols. 649–50; Thomas, *Periplus*, 269; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 647; Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 122; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 324–25, 327–28; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 936; Brant (1835), 192–93. Bratianu identified the port called "hasta Acquisio" by the anonymous author of the *Libro del Conoscimiento* of ca. 1345, and named as a Mongol possession, with this Kissa. He concluded that during the reign of Abu Said (1317–35), "on pourrait en déduire l'existence d'une sorte de 'couloir' mongol aboutissant à la Mer Noire à travers les possessions de l'Empire de Trébizonde." The suggestion is intriguing, but has no reflection in Trapezuntine sources, while it is almost certain that the author of the *Libro* was referring to the island in the Persian Gulf known to Marco Polo as Kisi and now called Qais (Qeys). Qais supplied Siraf, further to the north, as a major entrepôt of the Gulf in about 1010 and remained prosperous under the Ilkhans before it was in turn superseded by Ormuz. See the Anonymous (Franciscan), *Libro del Conoscimiento* (Madrid, n.d. [Coll. Telemaco, VI]), 111 (a work which appears to be based on early Catalan portulans rather than first-hand knowledge); G. I. Bratianu, *Les vénitiens dans la Mer Noire au XIVe siècle*, Académie Roumaine, Etudes et Recherches, XI (Bucharest, 1939), 12; the same, *Génois*, 258 note 3; Delatte, *Portulans*, I, 289–90; Spuler, *Mongolen in Iran*, 149; Polo (1294), I, 61; E. Bretschneider, *Notices of the Medieval Geography and History*

of Central and Western Asia (London, 1878), 217–18; and David Whitehouse, "Siráf: a medieval port on the Persian Gulf," *World Archaeology*, 2 (1970), 142.

19. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76; see also Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 500 note 1; and Koch (1855), 101. The passage in Panaretos refers specifically to Bagrat V as τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰβήρων, a title which the Grand Komnenos employed himself. Were the Grand Komnenoi using the term "Iberians" as a euphemism for their Laz subjects? Pachymeres had baldly entitled John II (1280–85) as τῶν Λαζῶν ἀρχοντι. By 1401 the Patriarch Matthew I of Constantinople wrote to the Grand Komnenos Manuel III (whom he had every reason not to offend) on the subject of the metropolis of Alania as βασιλεὺς τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ πάσης Λαζικῆς. This is evidently a reference to the theme of Greater Lazia; in which case we are faced with the problem of where Lesser Lazia was—Cank? The letter of 1401 may, however, have the clue. We have seen that the early Grand Komnenoi had claims in what might be termed Iberia, Lesser Lazia, Alania, or Soteriopolis—lands, at any rate, beyond the theme and to the east. The 14th-century metropolis of Alania was linked to that of Soteriopolis and in fact seems to have been based on Trebizond. Did this encourage the Grand Komnenoi to claim the Iberians as their subjects? The confusion, and contradiction of titles, is perhaps best left as Panaretos left them. See Pachymeres, Bonn ed., I, 250; II, 270, 448; M&M, *A&D*, II, 541–42; S. Vailhe—, s.v. "Alania," *DHGE*, I, 1334–38; and p. 347 below.

20. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 78; Kurşanskis, *BK*, 34 (1976), 117–21.

21. Clavijo (1404), 336; see p. 55 above.

was in 1377 in firm Trapezuntine hands, Gonia, 9 km away, was in some sort of Georgian hands. Makraigialou was certainly in imperial hands in 1432, for, with a Lazic *chorion* of Σίδερη, which we cannot identify, it then had the most remote of the monastery of the Pharos' estates: one third of the family inheritance of George the Varangian and half each of Elakros and Tzagios (presumably Laz names), "from the mountains to the beach"—a good description of the narrow coastal strip.<sup>22</sup>

Makraigialou apparently lost its castle in the nineteenth century, but the imperial nuptials of 1367 also required a suitable church. The Baedeker for Russia for 1914 (when the place was still in Russian hands) notes "the interesting ruins of the old church of Makriali." and a traveler of 1969 mentions "a deserted church . . . on the open and low-lying ground to the left of the road. . .," a little way to the north of Kemalpaşa and 4 km from the present Soviet-Turkish border at Sarp—which is why we have not ventured to examine the site.<sup>23</sup>

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Kız Kulesi, Athenai (Pazar) (Pls. 276a–277b)

*Situation.* About 1 km west of the center of modern Pazar is a small headland, now separated by a meter or two to form an islet, on which stand the remains of a fine tower (pl. 276a). There are no traces of associated masonry; so the tower may have stood on its own, but we have a local report that walling once connected it to the land. Almost inevitably, the tower is called Kız Kulesi—"Maiden's Tower."

*Description.* The interior plan of the tower is about 7 × 7 m and it appears to have had a ground floor and two upper storeys. Fallen masonry and scrub now conceal any evidence for a basement or cistern. The south and east walls have fallen to a height of about 2 m, exposing the interior.

The walls are about 1.5 m thick at ground level. They are faced both in the interior and exterior with regular courses of rectangular blocks, but the blocks in each course differ in size. Much larger blocks are used for the quoins and, with other well-dressed blocks which are evident, may be reused. The mortar is of lime with a filler of sand and pebbles. The masonry is of markedly better quality than that of other castles east of Rhizaion.

The gateway is in the west wall (pl. 276b) and measures about 1.65 × 0.90 m. The jambs are of well dressed blocks, the largest measuring about 1.0 × 0.38 m. The interior arch is composed of four voussoirs without a keystone, trimmed to form a compact round arch. The exterior arch was formed of two voussoirs fitted by a mortise and tenon joint—a neat piece of masonry which can only be compared with the more complex joggled joints in the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond (No. 112). Above the arch is a rectangular recess surmounted by a decorative arch in low relief. A relief of a slightly different form is over the gateway of the inner fortress of

Şebinkarahisar and there is an identical one over a door of the Armenian church of St. Thaddeus near Lake Urmia. The remains of rock-cut steps run down from the door northward, probably to the low ledge of rock to the north of the fort which may have served as a landing.

The west wall has a window on either side of the door, each rectangular at the interior narrowing to round-arched slits at the exterior. There are three windows of a similar form on the second storey, above the door, each with stone lintels. The third storey has three windows: a round-arched one at the south end and two which are rectangular at the interior and narrow into slits at the exterior (pl. 276c).

In the north wall there are three slit windows on the ground, or first floor, of the same type as those in the west wall of the ground floor. The second storey has two windows, of which one has slightly pointed arches on the exterior and interior, and the other a slightly pointed arch on the interior and an ogival arch on the exterior. These are about 1.5 m high. The third storey probably had four smaller round-arched windows with a round-arched opening between them. Since this central opening never penetrated to the exterior through the thickness of the wall, it may have served as a fireplace, like that in the keep at Şebinkarahisar (which is otherwise different).

The south wall has the remains of a round-arched window, about 1.5 m high on the interior. The exterior opening is a small slit about 0.45 m high. This, and such other openings as there may have been in the south wall, commanded the landward side.

Beyond the possibly reused blocks, there is no trace of occupation earlier than medieval on the site. The curious molding over the doorway is what one would expect in an area where Mongol, Armenian, Greek, and Georgian cultures meet. The fort belongs, we suggest, to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. All this is in accord with what we know of the history of Athenai, recorded above.

##### 2. Cihar (Kise) Kale (pls. 278a–b, 279)

*Situation.* About seven kilometers inland from Pazar, on the road which runs along the Pazar Dere valley up to the settlement now called Hemşin, is the village of Yücehisar, formerly Lamgo. The walk from Yücehisar to Cihar Kale requires about one and a half hours and a climb of some 500 m. Since the castle cannot be seen until the visitor is almost on top of it, a guide is advisable. A distant prospect of the castle can be had from a point about 5 km inland, where a stone bridge crosses the river. The castle stands on the eastern side of the valley, on the summit of a hill which has gentle slopes on its southern side for the last 100 m or so. The forest has been felled on these upper slopes, leaving a tangle of scrub and thorn; trees, thick scrub, and creepers around and within the castle make it impossible to obtain a plan of it. The internal space might measure 30 m at its widest point.

*Description.* The walls are of random-coursed masonry, well pointed up on the exterior surfaces to give a smooth finish. The core is of mortared rubble, with a mortar of lime, sand, stone chips, and small pebbles. This core has been tamped down to some extent, but there are still a considerable number of gaps in it.

22. Laurent, *AP*, 18 (1953), 265.

23. Karl Baedeker, *Russia with Teheran, Port Arthur, and Peking, a handbook for travellers* (Leipzig, 1914, reprinted Newton Abbot, 1971), 452; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVIII, 937; Pereira (1971), 221; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, *AP*, 32 (1972–73), 256 note 2.

The main gate appears to have been on the east-northeast and flanked by two semicircular towers or bastions. The facing has fallen away from what must have been an original thickness of about 2 m.

There was a rectangular tower on the west side of the castle, but no details of its internal organization can be seen. Several beam holes are visible, but they appear to be for headers used in the walls rather than for floor joists.

In the center of the castle was a tower which doubtless served as a keep. A part of its east wall survives (pl. 279). One of the rooms within it appears to have been vaulted by ridge tiles, numerous fragments of which lie in the fallen masonry. The tiles here have a light red body with the flat base measuring 1.5 cm in thickness and 4 cm from the base to the top of the side (see Appendix). They are consistent with a medieval date.

Northwest of Cihar Kalesi, on the opposite hill, is the village of Kuzika, now called Elmalık. An elderly informant told D. C. W. of a now destroyed church there, of which he could remember the walls. As no Greeks lived in these valleys in modern times and as it was not an Armenian village, the church could have been medieval.

### 3. Sapo Mahallesi, Eski Trabzon (pl. 280a–c)

*Situation.* About 3 km east of Pazar along the coast, the road rounds a headland and bends inland along a shallow bay in a southeasterly direction. About 300 m east of the headland, on a bluff about 25 m above the road, are the ruins of a church.

*Description.* The plan of the church seems to be the same as that at Ardeşen (p. 342 below), but without the additional structure on the north side. Internally the building is about 19 × 10 paces. Its walls are about 0.8–0.9 m wide. The west wall and west corner of the north wall stand to a height of 5–6 m. A section of the north side of the main apse stands to a height of about 2 m.

The wall construction is of mortared rubble with a high proportion of pebble to the lime-and-sand mortar, so that there are many unfilled small gaps in the core. However, the mortar is of rock-like hardness and the larger stones of the outer faces were well bedded down. A few of the external facing stones remain to show that the exterior was constructed of neat ashlar blocks and the setting bed of the north wall indicates that alternate courses were bonded.

The interior wall surfaces were faced with regular courses of waterworn stones, for the most part split in two and laid flat face outward. The exterior face of the west wall is also faced like the interior walls, suggesting that it was indeed an interior wall of a narthex now no longer extant.

The interior walls were brought up to a smooth surface with a roughcast of lime and sand, over which was laid a plaster layer of lime with a straw or chaff binder. This last plaster layer was to serve as a surface for paintings, but of these all that remains is a small fragment of red border in the corner of the tympanum over the west door. On the west wall there are traces of two pilasters which divided the nave from the aisles. The setting bed shows that they were faced with neat ashlar blocks. The springing of the arch from the northwest pilaster is marked by a flat ridged tile at a height of

about 3 m from the present ground level. This manner of marking the springing is paralleled in the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond (No. 122). The width of the pilasters was about 0.6 m and of the aisles about 1.5 m.

Gaps in the north wall at the west corner and in the west wall at the north corner suggest windows, but no more can be said of their existence or shape.

The only surviving architectural feature of interest is the west door. The arch over the door is elliptical, constructed of flat tiles with ridged edges, but on the exterior or west side is a second, semicircular, arch. This is constructed of brick and tiles. The recess between the two arches forms a sort of tympanum, measuring about 0.2 m in depth and a maximum of 0.5 m in height (pl. 280b). The bricks average about 2 cm in thickness and the flat undersides of a few of them are marked with a cross traced in the wet clay by two fingertips, forming twin parallel lines. This marking appears elsewhere in Anatolia and Cyprus. The tiles are of two different kinds: one is of a yellowish red color and has a base averaging 1.25–1.50 cm in thickness, and a ridge 3.5 cm high, inclusive of base; the second is of a deep red clay and averages 2–2.5 cm in thickness at the base (see Appendix). The bricks and both types of tiles are of coarse texture with cavities, but are very solid and show no signs of crumbling. The mortar is in wedge-shaped layers dictated by the sloping of the arches, but on the underside of the arches its thickness is about the same as that of the bricks and tiles.

The apse is, or was, pentagonal on the exterior and rounded on the interior.

*Date.* The church is obviously linked to that at Ardeşen. Its pentagonal apse suggests a Trapezuntine date; its brick and tile work would preclude an earlier date.

### 4. Eski Trabzon

*Situation.* The area consists of a plateau on a bluff, about 30 m above sea level and separated from the sea by 500 m or more of sand and scrub. The plateau is about 2 km long, bounded by the Furtuna Dere and Hakorda Dere. The land slopes gently enough inland to be considered a plateau for about 4 km. The area is now given up to hazelnut groves. There are three similar plateaus to the west of Eski Trabzon and one to the east, each bounded by rivers. These formations are made up of Pliocene deposits of alluvial sands, gravels, and clays and are found elsewhere along the Pontic coast. The one at Eski Trabzon was the scene of the Russian landings, from “elpidiphores,” of 5 March 1916.<sup>24</sup> It is locally reported that the Mingrelians (Meğreli) of the area retreated with the Russians the following year.

*Other Monuments.* Below the northeast corner of the bluff and about 100 m to the north of the new road is a wall of random-coursed masonry forming a ring with an internal diameter of about 18 to 20 m. The wall is 0.6 to 0.7 m thick and stands about 2 m high. Its mortar is of lime with a sand-and-pebble filler and the stones are well laid in with few gaps. There were no indications as to the age or purpose of this enclosure.

It was reliably reported that there had been a ruin of a

24. Allen and Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, 370.

church below the bluff, about 300 m west of the Furtuna Dere, which was destroyed when the new coast road was built. The only other reported ruin was that of the *konak* of a Dere Bey, but neither author has explored these plateaus, which may repay investigation.

5. Zil Kale (fig. 119, pls. 281a–282c)

*Situation.* One of the largest rivers flowing into the Black Sea east of Rize is the Furtuna, or “Stormy,” Dere. This river runs through thickly forested country, sometimes through steep gorges and elsewhere between less precipitous slopes where its course is less turbulent. Along these gentler stretches there are considerable clearings for cultivation and houses scattered up and down the slopes, but throughout most of its length the river is dominated by forest. Zil Kale (“Castle of the Bell”) lies about 39 km inland by the modern road and half an hour’s walk from the tea house at Mollaveysi, at a height of about 750 m above sea level. The castle stands within a gorge which separates two wider stretches of the valley, on a spur some 100 m above the river (pl. 281b). It is engulfed in virgin forest, which has invaded the castle itself, making exploration and observation difficult. The castle dominates the stretch of valley above and below it and perhaps the present track running beneath its walls represents the medieval road. Zil Kale could therefore have controlled traffic into the lower reaches of the Furtuna, while the evidently associated Varoş Kale, about twelve hours’ walk above it, commanded the highland end of this route.

As mentioned above, D. C. W.’s investigation of Zil Kale was abruptly curtailed and the plan in fig. 119 was not checked as it should have been and is a very rough sketch plan. For this reason Grenville Astill and Susan Wright later investigated the castle and their plan and notes must be considered more accurate.<sup>25</sup> However, they confirmed the (under the circumstances) general accuracy of D. C. W.’s plan, which is therefore worth publishing and should be used in conjunction with theirs, and his account, which is summarized below.

*Description.* The castle appears to have consisted of an outer bailey, which may have stretched as far as the river, a middle bailey, an inner bailey, and a keep.

The keep is of irregular shape with a straight wall on the eastern side, where the door is situated. The wall is 2 m thick at ground level. There are a ground or first floor and four floors above, culminating in a roof storey. The interior structures appear to have been wooden and are now lost. The third and fourth floors may have had wooden balconies. The lower windows are slits. The mortar is of lime and sand with

25. See Gr. G. Astill and Susan M. Wright, “Zil Kale,” *AP*, 34 (1977–78), 28–48. Bzhshkean (1819), 96–97; trans. Andreasyan, 64–65, was the first to record the castle as Zil (or Zir) Kale, which is how it is named on Tarhan, *Map*. See also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVII, 927. Of Zil Kale Rickmer Rickmers observed ([1934], 478): “On the knob of a rocky corner stands an old castle of simple architecture but well preserved. That it guarded an important highway seems sufficiently clear. But when? In the remote Georgian days? Or could the Greeks possibly have pushed an outpost so far up-river? Then there are the Comnenian days to consider. Lazistan is full of such puzzles.”

the addition of small stone chips. The facing has rough stones set in random coursing with a flattish surface outward. In several places on the interior the facing stones are set in a herringbone pattern, which is not carried out consistently, over several courses. The mortar pointing has a pinkish tinge—caused by the lime used or by weathering.

An inner bailey is bounded by rock precipices and a high wall to the south and east of the keep (pl. 281c). It was reached through an arch at the southeast corner of the keep which has now largely fallen down the precipice. The outer wall is of random-coursed stonework and shows the same inconsequential attempt at herringbone masonry as the keep. There is a bastion.

The middle bailey contained at least two chambers, one of which, to the north of the tower, could conceivably be a square-apsed Armenian (but not Greek) chapel if it is not objected that the “apse” is at the west end and the door at the east.

Astill and Wright noted an outer bailey with curtain wall defenses, two rooms, and a main (northwest) gate with possible guardroom and an inner gate. They found little to suggest that Zil Kale had a complex structural history—two periods at the most. They noted the following features as characteristic of the castle, which may enable it to be dated by analogy:

Structural details:

- a. *Corners*, several corners of the curtain walling were bonded in a curve at the base and butted in a sharp angle at the top
- b. *Timberlacing*, timbers had been used in walls in the keep and on the exterior of the bastion as lacing, not as supports, for example, for floors.

Architectural features, of which the following seem the most distinctive:

- a. *Doorways*, rectangular external faces, round-headed, vousoired internal faces in three cases
- b. *Recesses*, square recesses or niches with stone lintels, usually found within buildings and gateways (pl. 281c), in twelve cases.

Unfortunately these features are found so widely in the Pontos that they cannot greatly help with the dating. They are, however, all present in Zil, Varoş, Cihar, and Pazar (Athenai) castles, which could be regarded as a group. Zil and Varoş are especially linked. But so far as dating goes, the first appearance of Pazar, Zil, and Varoş in the late fifteenth-century *defters*, noted above, is our best indication that they probably belong to the preceding Trapezuntine period. In the case of Zil and Varoş, however, they would probably not have been built by the Grand Komnenoi or their lords, but by a local Hemsinli lord like Arhakel.

6. Varoş Kale (pl. 283a, c–284)

*Situation.* Varoş Kale is situated on a spur above the highland reaches of the Furtuna Dere at a height of 1,800 m, where the trees begin to give way to the snow pastures. It took D. C. W. twelve hours’ walking to reach Varoş from Zil Kale, but local inhabitants claim to make it in eight hours from Mollaveysi. The track which follows the valley of the Furtuna was once well paved with large flagstones, of which

there are substantial remains. It is at present maintained in a rough and ready manner by cooperative labor.

Not far below the castle, the track crosses the river by means of a well-built stone bridge with a round arch. The castle itself overlooks a fork in the valley where the slopes become less precipitous and there are traces of former terracing in the rough meadow land from which a crop of hay is now taken in the summer. There are also ruins indicating a more extensive settlement than the present group of three or four houses. The remaining houses are not part of a *yayla* but are permanently inhabited. Cattle are kept in the ground floor throughout the winter when communication with the outside world is cut off for about five months. Next to the castle on the east side there are a few modern *yayla* huts, inhabited only in the summer. Above Varoş there are the gentle slopes of summer pastures and it is about two hours' walk, by local reckoning, up to Baş Hemşin and the Tatos pass (see pl. 283b). From there the track descends to Hunut in the Çoruh valley and continues southward to Erzurum. It is still quite frequented in the summer months, taking three days from Varoş to Erzurum, so that it would probably be a six-day journey from the coast to Erzurum. Certainly any controller of Varoş in this Land of Arhakek would look to İspir, rather than to the remote and inaccessible Trebizond, for the nearest power.

From the castle there are wide views on the east side. To the north it commands a view over the track down to the coast past Zil Kale, and to the west a valley leading toward Tekfur Tepe. Southward it commands the Baş Hemşin track, and the horizon is bounded by the serrated peaks of the Tatos mountains.

*The Site.* The spur on which the castle stands has two small hills, one at the east and one at the west end, each surmounted by a tower, and there are curtain walls along the intervening slight depression. There were further outer walls on the south, east, southwest, and west sides, but they have been mostly reduced to foundation level and can only be traced immediately after the snows melt and before vegetation covers them, perhaps in early May. These walls must have formed an outer bailey, together with a barbican where the castle spur is attached to the main body of the mountain by a low ridge—which has a drop of about 20 m. The only apparent door into the castle is on the northwest side (pl. 283a). The length of the castle from northwest to southeast is about 70 m, and the width from northeast to southwest is about 20 m, but the outer bailey and (or) barbican would have made it considerably wider. There are no traces of outer walling on the north and northeast sides. These sides are bounded by cliffs and there may only have been wooden walls to protect them. The main gate would have presumably given on to the ridge on the southern side.

*The Castle.* The thickness of the castle walls varies from 0.5 to 1.5 m. The core is of mortared rubble with a very white lime-and-grit filler, but the mortaring is so scant as to be almost nonexistent; there was obviously an acute shortage of lime. In a region where the quality of masonry is frequently poor, Varoş Kale has the dubious distinction of being outstandingly poorly constructed—which can be explained only by its remote situation and difficulty of transporting such

necessities as lime. The facing is made of stones set in random courses with a rough pointing of lime plaster to even the surface. Parts of the facing are made up of stones laid in herringbone pattern similar to that at Zil Kale, and with the same lack of continuity of work—one hint that the two castles are linked. The troweling marks are visible and the walls give a general impression of a rush job. Here and there are holes through the thickness of the walls, which might be for headers, but the irregularities make observation difficult and no certain trace of the use of wooden interlacing as part of the wall construction could be found. To the north of the door in the northwest wall are two rectangular holes, about 0.6 × 0.4 m in size, running right through the thickness of the wall; there is a single similar hole to the south of the door. These are too big for beam holes and command no view for spy holes; as loopholes they would have been inefficient and their purpose is enigmatic. The northwest wall stands to a maximum height of about 12 m. At a height of about 10 m and directly above the door is a row of beam holes for carrying a wooden floor. To the east of the southwest tower there was a wall running out some 4 m to the end of the spur. There is a clear join in the masonry of wall and tower, but they are probably of the same build.

A section of the outer wall stands to a height of 5 to 6 m in places on the southeast side.

The door which gives on to the outer bailey at the northwest side is about 2.5 × 1.1 m. Its exterior lintel is a single large irregular block, while the interior side has an irregular rounded arch with rough voussoirs, some of which are flat stones, set as if they were bricks, as at Cihar Kale and Zil Kale. Beam holes on either side within the doorway at lintel level show the position of what would have been a horizontal wooden lintel. The soffit and reveals of the arch were finished with a plaster surface.

There appear to have been two towers, of which the northwest has been razed to foundation level. The southwest tower stands to a height of about 4 m. Its walls are over a meter thick at ground level and externally it forms a square of 4 to 5 m, while the internal measurements at ground floor level are 2.5 × 2.0 m, forming an area which is in fact roughly oval in shape. The roof of this ground floor consisted of a rough barrel vault of lime concrete, and the impression of wooden shuttering used for its construction can still be seen in the lime mortar. The walls were plastered with a pinkish plaster which does not appear elsewhere and contains pulverized brick or earthenware. Over this pinkish plaster was a thin surface layer of lime wash. There is no trace of a door into this chamber and the plaster suggests that it may have been a cistern (pl. 284).

#### 7. Ardeşen, Church (fig. 120, pl. 285)

*Situation.* About 1 km east of the town of Ardeşen a track branches south from the coast road, starting between two majestic plane trees. About 500 m along the track and about 20 m to its east are the ruins of a church. The site is on a small plateau, some 20 m above sea level, and is obscured by trees and creepers. The locality was once called Cibistaş and is now known as Kavaklıdere Mahallesi.

*The Church* is built of stone, with walls about 1 m

thick. The walls were faced with neat rectangular blocks of which only about half a dozen remain in place, but the shape of the lost stones is clear from the impressions visible on the mortar of the setting bed. The core of the walls is of carefully laid mortared rubble. The stones are water-rounded from the sea shore and the mortar is of lime and sand with a small admixture of pebbles. The quality of the work is shown by the fact that the lime core stands firm, despite the depositions of creeper and heavy vegetation around it.

The internal plan of this church could be recovered by excavation, but must be conjectured here. It would seem most likely that it was basilical with a nave and two aisles, but a dome above the central bay should not be ruled out. There are two semicircular pastophories and a larger central apse, pentagonal on the exterior and rounded on the interior. There was a narthex at the west end and a structure containing two compartments on the north side.

Neither the shape nor size of the windows or doors are clear, since all their facing stones have gone, but they have been proposed in figure 120 on the basis of gaps and holes in the structure.

The original floor level of the church appears to have been about 0.8 m below the present one, corresponding approximately with the exposed floor of the structure on the north side. The external ground level, however, has eroded to reveal two foundation courses of the apses.

The south wall and a section of the north wall now stand to a height of about 8 m; the remainder are much more degraded.

The south wall of the narthex has cracked away cleanly from the west wall of the church, leaving a gap of several centimeters. It was faced only with roughly squared stones, in marked contrast to the neatness of the facing of the church walls. The narthex may therefore have been a later addition.

There is little left of the structure on the north side of the church. Its walls, which are only a few centimeters above ground level, were faced with the same rough stonework as the narthex, and the core is of mortared rubble containing some fragments of crushed brick and tile. The tiles are 1.5 to 2 cm thick and of a pale yellowish red color. The bricks are 2.5 to 3 cm thick and of a bright red color. (See Appendix). As at Sapo (p. 340 above), some brick fragments have a double tracing of a cross.

The floor of this northern annex is raised above bedrock on the north side by about 1 m. It was constructed of mortared rubble and its ceiling was roughly shaped as a barrel vault, which still retains the mark of the wooden shuttering. Access to the crypt was gained by two openings about 0.8 m wide and perhaps a little higher. The opening under the western end has a monolithic lintel. The floor of the eastern part of the annex has collapsed. The purpose of it might emerge from excavation, but an empty chamber beneath the floor suggests that it may have been a funerary chapel.

*Date.* The plan is clearly linked to that at Sapo (see p. 340 above). The pentagonal central apse (of which this is the most easterly example) is a hallmark of the Empire of Trebizond (and is also found in the church at İspir; see p. 355 below). A Trapezuntine, or possibly earlier, date is proposed.

## Section XXVII

# THE MARCHLANDS OF GEORGIA: THE GURIELATE AND THE SAATABAGO

### DISCUSSION

The Grand Komnenoi dealt directly with the Bagratid kings of central, Kartlian, Georgia. But the Bagratids were fringed on the Georgian marchlands by client rulers, who were geographically closer neighbors of Trebizond: the Gurielis of Guria and the *atabegs* of Samstzkhe. But the Gurielate and the Saatabago (the “atabegate” of Samstzkhe) were not really close neighbors, through that curious distancing effect which the Pontic Alps have upon the people they divide. Except for the frontier point between Makraigialou and Gonia, there was no actual border: the Trapezuntine theme of Greater Lazia clung to the coast on one side of the mountains and the marchlands of Georgia lay snugly in the Akampsis valley on the other side, successive prey of Seljuks, Seljukids, Mongols, Akkoyunlular, and Ottomans. These were two different worlds, and insofar as the intervening Alps were inhabited, it was by uncontrollable peoples and “freelance” rulers, such as the Arhaket of Arhaket, who were best left well alone. The Gurielate and the Saatabago, therefore, are discussed here only so far as they concern Trebizond.

Guria, one of the smallest and poorest of Georgian divisions, lies wedged between the Akampsis to the south and the Phasis (Rioni) to the north. Its natural, but often not actual, port is Bathys (Batumi). Gurian autonomy does not become clear before 1222, when the Georgian states began to disintegrate under Mongol pressure. In 1226 (and again in 1240) the Gurian ruler is first described as “the Gurieli.” Like that of “the Grand Komnenos,” this description is a part-name and part-title; like that of “the Arhaket,” it is a part-name and part-identification with a small land and distinct people.<sup>1</sup>

Guria took advantage of the Mongols to start seriously asserting its independence of central Georgia in the 1280s, but the Mongol ebb forced the then Gurieli to submit to the Bagratid George V (1314–46) in about 1330. However, soon after Bagrat V (1360–90) ascended the central Georgian throne, the Svans revolted to the northeast of Guria. Bagrat defeated them but subsequently ceded Guria to the *eristav* of Svaneti, and the Gurielate was usually held by the Vardanidze family thereafter. Bagrat V’s alliances with his exact contemporary, the Grand Komnenos Alexios III

(1349–90), have been discussed above (p. 338). In 1367 Bagrat married a daughter of Alexios and in 1377 a son of Alexios married a sister of Bagrat. In the case of his Türkmen alliances, such marriages led Alexios into exchanges of state visits. When his relatives by marriage visited him, they would not in fact enter Trebizond, but were entertained in a sort of diplomatic hospitality compound on Mount Minthrion, where they would pitch their tents. These precedents must be remembered when examining Panaretos’ entry for 1372: “On 6 August we went off to Lazike and toward the end of the month and around the beginning of [September] we joined up with basileus Pagkratis [Bagrat V]; we sailed to Bathys [Batumi] with two warships and some forty small boats and pitched our tents outside. There we also met the Goudeles [Gurieli] who had come to do ‘homage’ to the basileus (ἐλθόντι εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ βασιλέως), and after spending six days there, we returned home . . .”<sup>2</sup>

What happened at Bathys is clear in a Georgian context, even if the Gurieli’s proskynesis may have puzzled Panaretos. The Gurieli was acknowledging his feudal *patroni* in the institution known as *patronqmoba* (the Georgian feudal system).<sup>3</sup> The problem is that Panaretos has no scruple about reserving the term *basileus* for his own emperor and awards the title to Bagrat too. It must be assumed that Alexios was also there, included in Panaretos’ “we,” that he was returning the state visit made by Bagrat to Trapezuntine Makraigialou in 1367, and that, in the manner of state visits, he camped outside the host town. The problem is that Panaretos does not make clear to which *basileus* the Gurieli was rendering homage. Common sense points to Bagrat V as the *patroni* of the Gurieli, but there are a surprising number of arguments for it having been Alexios III which will have to be presented.

It is not inconceivable that the Gurieli became a client of the Grand Komnenos in 1372—or rather that the Bagrat switched the patronage of Guria from one third party (Svaneti) to another (Trebizond). There are enough links between the two and hints that Trebizond was the dominant partner.

First, there are (perhaps) fifteenth-century wall paintings in one of the tombs below and beside the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond (No. 122), of three or four figures whose style and

1. Brosset, *Histoire*, I, 521; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), 120, 122; L. Sanders, *Kaukasien* (Munich, 1942), 189–93; Dubois de Montpéroux (1833), III, 82–129.

2. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 77.

3. Allen, *Georgian People*, 250–56.

garments are reminiscent of contemporary Georgian painting. A fragmented figure is in imperial robes, but what appears to be a wing probably makes him no more than an archangel. Opposite him is a standing figure bearing what looks like a wand of office, or scepter. He is labelled "[Archo]n of Gouria" (see p. 233). The Gurielis were associated with a religious and funerary center at Tzamokmodi, where Dubois de Montpéroux saw their plundered tombs, and with Likhaouri, where the castle church was built by a Gurieli in 1352 and where George (the first Gurieli whose given name we know) and his wife Helen built a bell tower in 1422—four years before the Hagia Sophia tower was set up. But evidently one archon of Guria, if not the Gurieli himself, is buried in Trebizond. He was to be joined by the last independent Bagratid king, Solomon II of Imereti, who was buried in Trebizond in 1815. Perhaps, like Solomon, our Gurian was an exile rather than a client. Perhaps, one might even speculate, he is the Gurieli George, who died while telling the Grand Komnenos Alexios IV how to build a bell tower. Beyond that of Gurian-Trapezuntine contact, no conclusion can be drawn from these paintings.<sup>4</sup>

Second, the then Gurieli, Mamia, is supposed to have joined the Grand Komnenos in the great alliance against the Turk in 1459–60. This alliance was something of a figment of the fertile imagination of its chief begetter, Fra Ludovico da Bologna. Mamia (described to Westerners as a "marquis") may not even have been aware of it. But that there was *some* link is indicated by the fact that it was to Mamia that David, last Grand Komnenos, sent his wife Helena Kantakouzene into safety just before the siege of his capital in 1461. According to Chalkokondyles, Mamia was related by marriage (as *gambros*) in some otherwise unrecorded way to the Grand Komnenos. But Chalkokondyles' references to Mamia are so muddled that one editor and several historians have been led into thinking that the name was that of a city, or even was the Mani. Like the paintings in the tomb by the Hagia Sophia, this evidence demonstrates no more than close relations between the Gurieli and the Grand Komnenos.<sup>5</sup>

Third, there are signs that the Grand Komnenoi had some sort of hold over, or rights in, Batumi in the fifteenth century. According to the Genoese, the Grand Komnenos John IV had captured one of their ships in *loco ubi dicitur in lo Vathi* in 1437, and they were still demanding reprisals for the outrage thirteen years later. But before then members of a wayward Burgundian "crusade" had turned up at Batumi in May 1445. Their leader, Geoffroi de Thoisy, was (quite rightly) arrested. He (probably equally rightly) described his local captors as "estranges gens et d'estrangle vie." But it was the Grand Komnenos John IV, or rather his Genoese Grand

Vestiarios, who was in a position to put pressure upon the authorities at Bathys to have Thoisy released. Both incidents suggest that the Grand Komnenoi could exercise rights of *patronqmoba* in Gurian Batumi.<sup>6</sup>

However, there is no evidence that Batumi belonged to the Gurieli. It was certainly used by Genoa and that Republic may perhaps have controlled a port there, perhaps from the more important port of Sebastopolis (Sukhumi), where the Genoese maintained a consulate.<sup>7</sup> Otherwise, such evidence that there is suggests that it was the Bagrat, rather than the Gurieli, who commanded what settlement there was at Batumi. Panaretos' entry for 1372, when the Grand Komnenos, the Gurieli, and the Bagrat all met at Batumi, does not make it clear who was actually in charge of the place. But his entry for 1377 shows that Gonia, opposite Batumi, was then in the hands of the Bagrat rather than the Gurieli. By the mid-fifteenth century, Batumi seems to have passed to the Saatabago. It was from Batumi that Ludovico da Bologna made Qwarqware II, *atabeg* of Samstzkhe (1451–98), write to Philip of Burgundy at a time when the Gurieli was also supposed to be a member of the grand alliance against the Turk. That Batumi may then actually have formed part of the Saatabago is confirmed by the fact that, in the manner of princelings when a central government has turned its back, Qwarqware II ceded his "rights" in Lazistan and Adjaristan (of which Batumi is today the capital) to Mamia's successor, the Gurieli Kakhberi, in 1463—presumably before the Ottomans took them first. But the Ottomans were slower coming than expected, so the Bagratids were able to cede the same lands to the Gurieli in 1535, before the Ottomans finally took Gonia and Batumi in 1547–52. The Gurielis survive to this day, although the last ruling Gurieli, another Mamia, submitted Guria to Russia in 1810. By then his land was depopulated by centuries of export of its principal product, its people, as slaves.<sup>8</sup> Thus, even if the Grand Komnenoi could, in the fifteenth century, have had rights of interference in Batumi, there is no evidence of their having rights of *patronqmoba* over the Gurieli, for Batumi itself was in Bagratid or Genoese (or both) hands first, then passed to the Saatabago and only came to the Gurieli after Trebizond had fallen.

So what Panaretos and Alexios III witnessed at Batumi in 1372 was probably no more than the Gurieli's homage to Bagrat V. This is hardly surprising, for Bagrat V had already exercised his rights as *patroni* over Guria by allotting the Gurielate to the Vardanidze of Svaneti, and state visits are occasions to make a peaceful, if memorable, display of power, which Bagrat had an excellent opportunity to do before his Trapezuntine guest. It was probably more impressive than the two warships and forty smaller boats that Alexios III brought as escort for the occasion.

4. Talbot Rice, *Hagia Sophia*, 156–60 and figs. 121–23; N. Tolmachevskaia, *Dekorativnoe nasledie drevnegruzinsoi freski* (Tbilisi, 1939), 63, pl. 49 (a 14th-century donor from Sapar); Tsarévitch Wakhoucht, trans. M. Brosset, in *Description géographique de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1842), 417; Dubois de Montpéroux (1833), III, 101–8; Bakradze (1878), 11–12, 286–335, 337.

5. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 467, 495; Bryer, *BK*, 17–18 (1964), 183 and note 32.

6. Iorga, *N&E*, III, 254; Bryer, *BK*, 17–18 (1964), 183.

7. Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 380 and note 2.

8. Brosset, *Histoire*, I, 521; II, 252; *K'art'lis-Cxovreba, Chronique géorgienne* (Paris, 1831), 6, 7; Dubois de Montpéroux (1833), 96 note 2; Allen, *Georgian People*, 137, 145, 148. There is a photograph of the then Gurieli in Joseph Baye, *En Iméréthie* (Paris, 1902), 43; a more recent Prince Gurieli married Helena Rubinstein, the cosmetician, and gave his name to a men's after-shave lotion.

To continue our periplus over the border of Trapezuntine Lazia into Georgia: in the 6 km between Sarp and the Akampsis mouth, the Lazic mountains retreat from the coast thus forming a relatively flat stretch on which there stood three major successive fortresses which may be regarded, for all intents and purposes, as the same place and probably the same monument.

First, there is Ἄψαρος, Ἄψορρος, Apsaros, on the river Ἄψυρτος, of the peripli, *Itineraria*, and Ptolemy. This had an especially impressive *parembole* (*castellum* in Pliny) and was the only camp honored with a double martyrdom in the tale of the Seven Brothers: that of St. Phirmos and St. Phirminos on 7 July. Arrian found no fewer than five cohorts in garrison there, inspected their arms, ditch, rampart, sick quarters, corn supplies, and (for a staff officer's inspection sometimes brings compensations) distributed pay. Four centuries later, when the border had shrunk west toward Rhizaion, Procopius confirms that Apsaros must have been a substantial place, "an ancient city," once populous, with great walls, a theatre and hippodrome, all, he believed, reduced to their foundations.<sup>9</sup>

The great rectangular camp at Apsaros, described by Russian archaeologists and noted below, corresponds to such a place, but the literary and archaeological evidence raises questions. The force reviewed by Arrian was the largest he mentions on the Euxine (by contrast, Canayer-Sousourmaina had only one cohort of infantry and a score of cavalry); so the fortress may have been there for some time. Josephus makes Agrippa say of the barbarians who fringed the Black Sea: "These people who formerly recognized no master, not even one from their own ranks, are now in subjection to three thousand soldiers, while forty battleships bring peace to that once unnavigated and savage sea."<sup>10</sup> He was referring to the disposition of forces made after the deposition of Polemon II in A.D. 63. Is Apsaros one of the earlier Roman fortresses of the Black Sea? Unfortunately, Russian archaeologists have published no coins or other datable evidence from the site. The other problem is that, although Arrian attests that it was a major camp in the second century, Procopius that it had been before the sixth century, and the tale of the Seven Brothers that it rated two martyrs, and although we have the remains to prove that Apsaros was an important garrison, the place does not figure in the *Notitia dignitatum*. We have therefore proposed it as Ualentia,<sup>11</sup> so reducing its garrison to one cohort by the early fifth century and offering an official Roman name for the site.

The second period when Apsaros became important as a border fortress comes in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but whether that was on the same site as the camp is not immediately clear—certainly the name Apsaros had passed out of use. There are three new ones: Kolorin<sup>12</sup> for this border area, and a tenth-century border τοῦρμα named after two

rivers, τοῦ Ἀκαμψῆ (Çoruh) καὶ τῆ Μουργούλη (Murgul Dere), noted in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *DAI*.<sup>13</sup> We will propose that the same *tourma*, when named instead after its border castles, should be called "Anakouphe and Soterioupolis." Honigmann has demonstrated that τὸ ὄχυρότατον φρούριον τὴν Ἀνακουφήν, which first appears in 1033, is none other than Apsaros and is not to be confused (as Anakopia) with Nikopsis—on the frontiers of Zichia and Abasgia, home of the relics of St. Simon the Canaanite and apparently modern Tuapse. The border fortress of Anakouphe-Apsaros was then given up to Romanos III by Alde, Alan widow of George of Abasgia, and by her son Demetrios, ambitious younger brother of Bagrat (IV), on Demetrios' defection to Byzantium.<sup>14</sup> If Anakouphe-Apsaros is the Akampsis of the *tourma* in the *DAI*, the Mourgoule at the southern end of this border section becomes Soterioupolis, which will be discussed later.

The third time the Apsaros area had a border station it was Γωνία, Gonia, Gonea, Goniya, Konia, and Gönje, which first appears in the portulans in the fourteenth century. One wonders if the name does not refer to the old Roman camp of Apsaros, with its rigidly square corners, for the site published by the Russians is at modern Gonia and we have no report of any other. It appears to have been in the Bagrat's hands in 1367, then presumably passed to the Saatabago (perhaps with Soterioupolis in 1377–86), and to the Gurieli in 1463. The Ottomans reached the place in 1547 and Evliya's reference to "a high square hill" suggests that it was Apsaros castle that they rebuilt, rather than establish another of which there is now no trace, although Chardin described it as being very large in 1673. Evliya's visit there in the 1640s, when it was the base for amphibious expeditions against the Georgians, is reminiscent of that of Arrian fifteen centuries before—and both complained of the hazards of the local shipping. This time Evliya found a garrison of 500 and, like Arrian, was struck by the independence of the local people, incurable tax-evaders "who can only be controlled at the point of a lance." He goes on to say that "the castle originally built by the Infidels, stands on a high square hill, it was conquered by Mohammed II and has been many times plundered by the Cossacks. The houses are faced with brick, as are all the mosques and *khans*. It lies on the river" Akampsis.<sup>15</sup> If it was in fact "built by the Infidels," Roman Apsaros must represent Byzantine Anakouphe as well as Ottoman Gonia.

Laz ferries cross the Akampsis mouth. About 6 kilometers northeast lies the "deep harbor" of Βαθύς, Lovati,

13. Ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, new, rev. ed., DOT, I (Washington, D.C., 1967), 220.

14. Cedrenus, Bonn ed., 503; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 166 note 7; Brosset, *Histoire*, I, 61 note 3, 320; *DAI*, text, 186–89, and Commentary, 156; Brosset, *Huitième Rapport*, 114; A. S. Uvarova, "Khristsianskie Pamiatniki," *Material' i po arkheologii Kavkaza*, 4 (1894), 8–10; P. Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," *AnalBoll*, 36–37 (1971–19), 116, 113; Allen, *Georgian People*, 89.

15. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 76, 78; Thomas, *Periplus*, 269; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 647; Gökbilgin, *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 327; Wakhoucht, *Géographie*, 418–19; Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, XX, 503 note 1; Bzhshkean (1819), 148; trans. Andreatyan, 65; Chardin (1673), 198; Evliya (1644), II, 50, 190–96; Koch (1855), 97–98.

9. Arrian, 3; *Anonymous periplus*, 40; Miller, *IR*, col. 650; Ptolemy, V, vi, 6; Pliny, vi, 4; Procopius, *Wars*, VIII, ii, 11–14; Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, 305 (Gonia is *kaine parembole*); Brosset, *Adions*, 103.

10. Josephus, *Jewish War*, II, xvi, 4.

11. See p. 325.

12. See p. 347.

Lonna, Lona, Uati, Vaty, Louathi, and Louati, today Batumi. It has had a continuous history, appearing in Arrian and Pliny, and again in thirteenth-century sources onward, some of which have been already discussed. As the most easterly (and wettest) port of the Black Sea, it was already attracting Greeks operating a salt-fish trade from the Kuban to Trebizond *via* Bathys in a chartered Genoese ship in 1290, and occasional Italians thereafter—for it was the port of much of the Circassian slave trade until the early nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Further north the coast falls beyond the horizon of the Grand Komnenoi and we leave it.

There remains the problem of Σωτηριούπολις, which has been variously identified with Pityous (Pitsunda)<sup>17</sup> and Sebastopolis (Sukhumi).<sup>18</sup> Politically, Soterioupolis emerges twice, each time in a geographically linear list of place-names which, at their intersection, should reveal where Soterioupolis actually stood. In the tenth century, the *DAI* records the κάστρον Σωτηριούπόλεως as the *southern* terminus of a string of places starting in the Cimmerian Bosphoros and ending beyond Nikopsis and Abasgia. It was a frontier station. In 1223 it appears again as the *eastern* terminus of a more abrupt catalogue. Speaking of the *Melik's* invasion, Lazaropoulos (the geography of whose miracles is quite precise) states that Andronikos I Gidon gathered his forces "from Soterioupolis and Lazike as far as Oinaion" (Ünye).<sup>19</sup> This suggests that Soterioupolis lay near, and beyond, Lazia and implies that it was a frontier station of the Gidon's empire.

Trapezuntine sources give *strategoi* to Soterioupolis under the duke of Chaldia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In a section of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' compilation (*DAI*, chapter 46), which is unrelated to that in which Soterioupolis occurs (chapter 42), there is mention of the frontier *tourma* of the two rivers, the Akampsis and its tributary the Mourgoule. We have already proposed Apsaros-Anakouphe-Gonia as the stronghold of the Akampsis. The Mourgoule joins the Akampsis 30 km upriver; two towns stand upon it: Borçka (the Georgian Phortchka) with its fortress, and the apparently modern copper-mining town now called Murgul, 20 km to the southwest. There is, therefore, an argument for making Borçka the second stronghold of the *tourma*. The river names, Akampsis and Mourgoule, are not used for this frontier again. Instead a *strategos* of Σωτηριούπολις ἦτοι Βουρζώ appears in the *taktikon* Oikonomides of 971–75. After initial hesitation, Oikonomides proposed Borçka (now Yeniylol) for Bourzo, and hence Soterioupolis.<sup>20</sup> Although it

long antedates Vakhtang's Phortchka and would therefore be the earliest mention of a native name for Soterioupolis, the identification fits geographically and strategically and lies neatly at the intersection of our two original lists of place-names which terminate with Soterioupolis. Indeed, this frontier stretch of the final hectic 30 km of the swift Akampsis is a very obvious one. We therefore propose a tenth-century Chaldian border *tourma* which was inherited, initially intact, by the Grand Komnenoi and consisted of:

Akampsis River, or Apsaros Fortress, or Anakouphe Fortress	}	and	{	Mourgoule River, or Soterioupolis, with <i>strategos</i> and bishop, or Bourzo (Borçka).
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Bishops and *strategoi* went hand in hand on the new tenth-century frontiers. So an autocephalous archbishop of Soterioupolis emerges before 912 and the see figures intermittently in the *Notitiae* until an early- to mid-fourteenth century list—ruling out the possibility of its identity with Sebastopolis, which appears once as the see of Abasgia.<sup>21</sup> But complications arise from 1285 at the latest, when the (now) metropolis of Soterioupolis is found combined with that of Alania. The Alans are an admittedly peripatetic people and "Alania" is little more than a geographical expression which follows them, but by no stretch of the imagination can Alania be brought to Borçka.

The Alans were evangelized in the first quarter of the tenth century and boasted their own archbishop from some time after 940. A Pontic connection comes as early as 998, when the (now) metropolitan of Alania was granted rights over the monastery of St. Epiphanius in Kerasous.<sup>22</sup> Subsequent metropolitans of Alania tended to be conveniently available to sign documents in Constantinople and be based anywhere but Alania. Metropolitan Theodore of Alania did, however, venture out to seek his flock in 1223. He encountered them mostly in the Crimea, enveloped in a certain "Cimmerian gloom"; he was not impressed and reported the first Mongol incursion which was to disperse many Alans even further west. By 1305 they were well settled on the Danube (where there is, unfortunately, another Soterioupolis), ready to be hailed as Vlachs by Romanian scholars—through a remarkable piece of philological legerdemain. But by 1305, the metropolis of Alania was firmly tied to a Soterioupolis, which we will see can only be Pontic Soterioupolis, fully thirteen degrees of the earth's surface from where the Alans should have been. Yet, despite the fact that Soterioupolis does not seem actually to have served any Alans, the diocese becomes unexpectedly active in the period 1285–1401. It was a combined see by 1285, when a Niketas signed himself Metropolitan of Alania and Soterioupolis. However, Patriarch John XIV Kalekas separated the two sees again at

16. Arrian, 9; Pliny, VI, iv, 12; Panaretos, 77; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 647; Thomas, *Periplus*, 268; Bratianu, *Génois*, 17, 196, 227, 258; Sanders, *Kaukasien*, 134, 146; Bzhshkian (1819), 100; Brant (1835), 193; Wagner (1844), II, 261; Koch (1855), 88–95; Bryce (1876), 362; Balard, *Sambuceto*, no. 438—see also nos. 715 and 721 where Balard unaccountably confuses "Faxium" (Phasis, Poti) with Bathys.

17. *DAI*, Commentary, 156.

18. Bryer, *AP*, 24 (1961), 118.

19. *DAI*, text, 182–83, 188–89; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 118.

20. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ed., *FHIT*, ed., 38, 71; N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 260 note 18, 269, 362; the same's "L'organisation de la

frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe–XIe siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial," *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1974), I, 294; Wakhoucht, *Géographie*, 110–11.

21. Parthey, *Notitiae*, 2, 109; 7, 75; 10, 120; Gelzer, *Texte*, 536, 571, 609.

22. See p. 127 below.

some time after 1334. But on 2 February 1347, John VI Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople. Kalekas was deposed, and before the end of that month a certain Laurentios had lost no time in signing a condemnation of Barlaam and Akyndinos as metropolitan of All Alania and Soterioupolis. Metropolitan Laurentios evidently wanted the reunion of the two bishoprics badly enough to act prematurely and on his own initiative, for he only obtained sanction to use both titles six months later, when Alania and Soterioupolis were officially linked again. However, it was a Metropolitan Symeon of Alania (not Soterioupolis) whom Patriarch Kallistos I (1350–53, 1355–August 1363) deposed in 1356, who was restored by the synod as Metropolitan of Alania and Soterioupolis in September 1364, an interregnum dominated by Kallistos' rival, Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–55, 8 October 1364–76). This important act reunited the sees of Alania and Soterioupolis for the last time, and for the first time revealed what the real temporal base of the joint metropolis was. The act confirmed Symeon's rights over the otherwise unknown church of the Theotokos Paramythia, in Trebizond (No. 123) rather than Alania, and, outside Trebizond, the church of Soterioupolis, dedicated to the "Theotokos Atheniotissa and Lazike," beyond which lay Alania, the Caucasus, and Ἀχωχία (Adjaristan?). This is our last mention of Soterioupolis, but transplanted Alania continued to flourish in its alien home in Trebizond, as a concept at least. In 1391 Theodore Panaretos, Grand Oikonomos of the Church of Trebizond and perhaps relative of the chronographer, was granted patriarchal rights over the Churches of Trebizond, Alania, and others (but not Soterioupolis), while the metropolitan of Trebizond was visiting Russia. Finally, in 1401, Patriarch Matthew I censured the Grand Komnenos Manuel III (a persistent and not unsuccessful advocate of simony) for trying to obtain the election of a metropolitan of Alania (but not Soterioupolis) with first five, and then eight, *somia*. Perhaps even more characteristic of the Grand Komnenos is not his bribes but the modest scale of those bribes: sums of about 950 and 1,520 of his debased aspers.<sup>23</sup>

While Kuršanskis will point out elsewhere that the act of 1364 confirms Lazaropoulos' statement that Soterioupolis had something to do with Lazia, and hence with the region of Borçka, we will be pointing out that Lazaropoulos probably had something to do with the act of 1364. The clue to the whole sequence of events is that certain interests, in both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were anxious to press for the union of Soterioupolis with Alania, despite the fact that the Alans were nowhere near Soterioupolis. The extent to which they wanted this union is demonstrated by the fact that a scholion to Parthey *Notitia* XI and Gelzer *Notitia* VII protests too much: it claims that the union had been effected by chrysobull of Alexios Komnenos and by synodal act. The act of 1364 indeed referred back to a chrysobull of Kantakouzenos and stated that the two sees had been united

"for many years." Such unions were customarily made by both imperial and synodal authority. Dölger presumed that the chrysobull had been issued by Alexios I Komnenos of Constantinople, but none is known, and that Alania and Soterioupolis were joined before the thirteenth century is demonstrably untrue. Nor can Alexios I, II, or even III, of Trebizond be intended, for even the Grand Komnenoi did not pretend to unite or create metropolitan sees. The scholion could have been added at any time between 1347 and 1364—probably nearer the latter date—but does not help with the dating of the *Notitia*, variously placed between 1298 and 1352—because it appears in a sixteenth-century manuscript. Perhaps elaborated from the act of 1364 it demonstrates, however, the strength of feeling on the matter.<sup>24</sup>

The sequence is best taken in three stages: 1204–1364, 1364–67, and 1367–91.

Stage 1: 1204–1364. During this period the sees of Alania and Soterioupolis were divided twice and united three times. The principal power to benefit from the union of the two was the Grand Komnenos, for he had political and commercial interests in thirteenth-century Alania. In 1222 Trebizond still claimed part of the Crimea as its *Perateia* and Alexios Paktiares, the Gidon's *archon* of the area, was driven with his tribute ship by ill winds to Sinope.<sup>25</sup> In January of the following year, 1223, Metropolitan Theodore of Alania actually faced his flock, as we have seen. He reported back to Patriarch Germanos in Nicaea that the Alans lived largely in the Crimea (he mentions Cherson and Bosphoros in particular) and were Christian in name only. But, most significant, Theodore found that "a certain pestilential Laz, calling himself bishop" had already visited Alania. This man had ordained some wholly unqualified Alans as priests and had moved on. Behind his scorn lies the probability that this was a real bishop, cut off (as Trebizond was then) from the patriarchate, and that he came from Trebizond (Byzantines, like Pachymeres, referred to Trapezuntines in the thirteenth century, half-contemptuously, as "Laz"). One must expect the Grand Komnenoi to claim and establish ecclesiastical, as well as political, control in what was their own *Perateia*, Alan or not. It was in 1223 that Lazaropoulos reported that the Gidon held Soterioupolis as well as the *Perateia*. By linking Alania and Soterioupolis the Grand Komnenoi could keep alive their interests to the north of the Black Sea long after the Mongols put an end to their political toe-hold in the Crimea—a process which Metropolitan Theodore saw beginning in January 1223. By judicious use of ecclesiastical patronage, the Grand Komnenoi (like the Palaiologoi) could operate beyond their political means. For example, the Caucasus is found somehow connected with Alania and

23. S. Vailhé, *DHGE*, s.v. "Alania"; M&M, *A&D*, I, 76, 77, 255, 258–60, 356–63, 476–78; II, 154–55, 483–84, 541–43; Parthey, *Notitiae*, 2, 63; 10, 63; 11, 72; 12, 72; the signature of 1285 is in V. Laurent, "Les signatures du second synode des Blachernes (été 1285)," *EO*, 26 (1927), 147 (no. 34); Bryer, *AP*, 27 (1965), 24–25.

24. M. Kuršanskis (to whom we are grateful for discussion) in a future issue of *REB*; Parthey, *Notitiae*, 231 and note; Gelzer, *Texte*, 595, 599, 602; Dölger, *Kaiserregesten*, I, *Von 565–1025* (Munich and Berlin, 1924), 58. By changing its date from 1351/52, Gelzer wished to date the *Notitia* to 1298/99. Evangelos Chrysos (to whom we are grateful for discussion), "Ἡ προαγωγή τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Ἰωαννίνων Μητρόπολη," *Dodone*, 5 (1976), 346–48, wishes to move part of it, at least, to the reign of Andronikos III (1328–41). The terminus for our scholion would be 1347, but it only appears in one manuscript, the 16th-century Paris. gr. 1389.

25. See p. 72.

Soterioupolis in 1364, when the joint see was based on Trebizond. The bishopric of the Caucasus was a real, if shadowy, one in the fourteenth century. The Alania which Metropolitan Symeon controlled from Trebizond in 1364 certainly included Tana (Azov), for it was priests from Tana who had denounced him in 1356 (and presumably did not like Trapezuntine control). Ultimately, however, it may have been commerce which interested the Grand Komnenoi in Alania, rather than any zeal to save Alan souls. The Crimea and Tana (where "Alania" seems to have been) exchanged salt and salt fish for Trapezuntine wine and hazelnuts. Ecclesiastically the Greek merchants, whom we have met calling at Bathys with their salt fish, would have traveled from the see of Alania to the metropolis of Trebizond, *via* the diocese of Soterioupolis. The connections made commercial sense and the union of the dioceses was even cemented by the blood of a martyr—appropriately a merchant. Like our Greek salt-fish merchants of 1290, St. John the New of Trebizond chartered a Latin ship. He was martyred by Mongols in about 1340 at the Cimmerian Bosphoros (Kertch, where Theodore had found his Alans and which undoubtedly lay in Trapezuntine Alania); he was abused by Jews and Latins and ended up as patron saint of Moldavia. There is further evidence of traffic, for in 1342 Andreas Libadenos took ship (this time Greek) from Trebizond to the Cimmerian Bosphoros, and lived to tell the tale. He was a Trapezuntine government official and may, as on other of his travels, have been on government business. There was certainly more to the union of Alania and Soterioupolis than a paper transaction of the patriarchal administration.<sup>26</sup>

A rationale can in fact be advanced for the successive unions and separations of Alania and Soterioupolis, if it is understood that the Grand Komnenoi wanted to annex Alania through Soterioupolis, but that Constantinople wanted Alania too and hence the divorce of the sees. It was a political, rather than spiritual, issue, for the Patriarchate seems to have separated or united the dioceses according to shifts in its relationship with the Grand Komnenos, rather than the Church, of Trebizond.

26. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 117; Theodore bishop of Alania, *Sermo epistolaris*, PG, 140, cols. 384–414, esp. 392–93, 404, 409; Pachymeres, Bonn ed., I, 520; Maria Nystazopoulou, 'Ο «Αλανικός» τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλανίας Θεοδώρου καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ἀνάρρησις Γερμανοῦ τοῦ Β', *EEBS*, 33 (1964), 270–78; the same, *Ἡ ἐν Ταυρικῇ Χερσονήσῳ πόλις Σουγδαία ἀπὸ ἸΓ' μέχρι τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος* (Athens, 1965), 25, 71, 153; and A. Bryer, "The Latins in the Euxine," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Reports et Co-Rapports* (Athens, 1976), 9–12, 16. It is curious that the Grand Komnenoi did not revive the claims of the old Lazic Church, much more appropriate to Trebizond (which even remained Exarch of All Lazia), as part of their imperial ecclesiastical *Realpolitik*. The principal suffragans lay, however, in Guria: the Phasis (Rioni), Rhodopolis (the "castle of the rose", Vardistzikhē, destroyed by the Persians in 549–62; the see was revived irrelevantly in Matzouka in the nineteenth century), Petra (the staggering Tsikhedziri, so celebrated in the sixth century but which, geographically and chronologically, has, we regret, no place in this study), and Zigana (Anaklia, on which see p. 326). Parthey, *Notitiae*, I, 34; 3, 476; 4, 34; 6, 34; 7, 34, 234; 8, 34, 512; 9, 423; 10, 582; 13, 433; Nil, 286; Gelzer, *Texte*, 534, 542, 557, 570; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 172, 173; Libadenos, ed. Lampsides, 67–68, 189–90, 228.

Thus the Grand Komnenos may have tried to preempt the Patriarchate by sending a bishop to Alania before 1223. This would have been uncanonical, but the union of sees was blessed, either as a result of the Trapezuntine-Patriarchal concordat of 1260, or of the Trapezuntine-Palaiologan agreement of 1282. Anyway, the first evidence of Constantinopolitan sanction of Alan-Soterioupolitan union comes in 1285. Patriarch John XIV Kalekas separated the two sees again. We propose that he did this in 1339 as part of his campaign against the Grand Komnenos Basil, whom he was considering excommunicating for his marital indiscretions. Basil was patron of Libadenos, whose presence in Kertch may be explained as a bid to save Trapezuntine Alania in 1342.<sup>27</sup>

The reason for the second separation of the two sees, in 1356, is even clearer; for it is part of the "Constantinopolitan" party's activities in Trebizond. When the priests of Tana denounced (or were made to denounce) Symeon, Patriarch Kallistos I's protégé Niphon Pterygionites was metropolitan of Trebizond. Kallistos deprived Alexios III of the Alanian see, but Niphon and the "Constantinopolitan" party shot their bolt in an abortive rising against the Grand Komnenos in October 1363. Niphon was sent to Soumela in disgrace. Two months later Kallistos fell. The tables began to turn.<sup>28</sup>

Stage 2: 1364–67. Niphon died of pleurisy at Soumela on 18 March 1364. For his successor Alexios III was able to obtain a complete contrast: the *Skevophylax* John Lazaropoulos, eminently loyal eulogist of the Grand Komnenoi. There was no need for Lazaropoulos to go to Constantinople for his consecration, which, under the arrangement, could have been done by the patriarchal representative in Trebizond, the Grand *Protosynkellos*. But John Lazaropoulos was enthroned in some preliminary ceremony in Trebizond and chose to go to Constantinople; perhaps because the patriarchal interregnum presented difficulties, perhaps because he had business there. He could have got to Constantinople by April 1364 at the earliest, and was certainly there in September where his influence and hand is surely behind the precision and emphasis of the act of that month rehabilitating Symeon and reuniting Alania and Soterioupolis again. It was, of course, in Lazaropoulos' interests to ensure that Symeon actually lived under his eye in Trebizond: was it he who lured him with the offer of the Panagia Paramythia? But Lazaropoulos did not sign the act of September 1364, for the simple reason that he was not yet consecrated metropolitan of Trebizond. However, his presence in Constantinople surely accounts for the synod's issuing the act before it enjoyed the moral authority of Kallistos' rival, Philotheos, as patriarch. Philotheos entered office on 8 October. He must have consecrated John (now Joseph) Lazaropoulos metropolitan of Trebizond almost

27. L. Petit, "Acts synodale du Patriarche Nicéphore II sur les privilèges du métropolitain de Trébizonde (1 Janvier 1260)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople*, 8 (1902–3), 163–71; M&M, *A&D*, I, 199–201; Nikephoros Gregoras, Bonn ed., I, 548–51.

28. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75; Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 206–7.

immediately, for a metropolitan of Trebizond who can only be Lazaropoulos probably signed a synodal document before the month was out. He returned to Trebizond as metropolitan on Easter Sunday, 13 April 1365. Perhaps Symeon of Alania and Soterioupolis came with him.<sup>29</sup>

Joseph Lazaropoulos resigned the throne of Trebizond on 12 November 1367 and retired to the monastery of the Theotokos Eleousa (Virgin of Compassion, No. 121), on Daphnous. The epithets are so near-synonymous that one must suspect that this was none other than the otherwise unknown Theotokos Paramythia (Virgin of Consolation, No. 123) which Symeon of Alania and Soterioupolis had been allotted three years before. At all events, Lazaropoulos was not to forget Soterioupolis when he came to write the miracles of St. Eugenios.<sup>30</sup>

Stage 3: 1367–91. The Grand Komnenoi were now firmly in charge of the metropolis of Alania, but paradoxically there is no further mention of the hard-won link with Soterioupolis which had brought Alania to them. We do not know whether there was no more than a small Greek enclave and bishop under foreign rule at Soterioupolis (as at Bayburt or Cheriana), or whether the place was then a regular part of the Empire. In 1364, however, free access was evidently still possible between Trebizond and Soterioupolis; as today it is relatively simple from the coast near Hopa and over the Çankurtaran Pass. The church of the Theotokos Atheniotissa stood there—Janin raised the possibility that the epithet refers to Athenai-Pazar in Lazia,<sup>31</sup> but is probably right in preferring the cult of the Atheniotissa, for which Soumela was also famous.<sup>32</sup> Unlike the cases of Bayburt and İspir, we see no reason why the Grand Komnenoi should not have controlled Borçka until 1364 and after, for there are no other candidates for its rulers. But between 1364 and 1391 metropolitans of Alania forgot about the Soterioupolis that had brought them to Trebizond and during that period we suggest that the Grand Komnenoi lost Borçka. They would have lost it to the Saatabago.

The power of the Saatabago waxed and waned in inverse proportion to that of the central, Kartlian, Georgian kingdom, which was in turn dependent upon how strongly the Mongols pressed it. Conditions were on the whole favorable to Trapezuntine control of Soterioupolis and the Mourgoule valley until the 1390s. The Grand Komnenos Alexios II

(1297–1330) allied himself with the Saatabago by marrying the daughter of Beka Jaqeli. Thereafter, the tide turned in favor of the central Georgian kingdom and George V (1314–46) reached İspir, probably under the eyes of Soterioupolis, in 1334. We have seen how carefully Alexios III and Bagrat V allied themselves in 1367–77. But in 1386–1403 the Mongols came near to putting an end to the central Georgian kingdom. Bagrat V apostatized and Anna, his Trapezuntine wife, became a prisoner of Timur. Despite a furious beating by the Mongols, the Saatabago flourished under such conditions and Ioanne II Jaqeli did well for himself by submitting to Timur in 1403. If (as Bagrat V and later Jaqelids did) he turned Muslim, too, Ioanne must probably be the same Muslim *atabeg* of İspir and lord of Arhakil whom Clavijo met two years later. The Saatabago reaped the benefit of the debility of Tbilisi by becoming virtually independent, especially under Qwarqware II and III. It was troubled by three great Akkoyunlu raids in 1458, 1461 and 1485. But startling evidence for the lingering independence of this area lies in the fact that Mehmed II sent his son Bayezid to suppress “Mathakjel,” which has been identified with Borçka, in 1479–80, on the same campaign that put an end to the principality of Torul. So the three miniature principalities of Torul, of the Arhakil, and of the Mourgoule valley, which had fringed, and been associated with, the Empire of Trebizond, outlasted the Grand Komnenoi themselves. But of the three, the Mourgoule valley claimed a far more ancient border identity and may have retained it longest, for the Ottomans did not finally incorporate it, and what had been Soterioupolis, until 1552.<sup>33</sup>

Thus one would expect Soterioupolis to have passed from the possible hands of Trebizond to the probable hands of the Saatabago between 1377 and 1386. Thereafter there would have been no purpose in linking Alania with the place, and the name of Soterioupolis is not heard of again.

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. Apsaros (pl. 286)

*Situation.* At Gonia, 6 to 7 km from Batumi and 1.5 to 2 km from the Çoruh delta.

*Description.* A rigidly rectangular walled enclosure on the Roman model, 195 × 245 m in size (47,775 square meters), with four gates. It is slightly smaller than Sousourmaina, Canayer, with which it must be linked, but is in much better condition through later Byzantine and Ottoman repair. The towers extrude sharply from the walls. There are four corner towers, the southeastern rounded and the rest square, and each gate is flanked by square towers (the east one has lost one tower). In addition, five square and three rounded towers are irregularly distributed between gates and corners. The walls, some of which still stand up to 15 m, are arcaded in some of the inner sections and diagonal staircases lead to their tops. They are made of medium-sized

29. Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 75–76. The metropolitan of Alania remained based on Trebizond in 1447—see Bryer, *REB*, 34 (1976), 134.

30. The Eleousa would have been in Genoese hands in the period 1316–49; it would therefore have become available, without any intervening Orthodox ecclesiastical owner, to offer metropolitan Laurentios of Alania and Soterioupolis soon after he assumed that title in 1347. On the church, see Trebizond, No. 121. Since this section was written, the fourteenth-century documentation on the Church of Alania-Soterioupolis has been republished and commented upon in J. Darrouzès, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, *Les actes des patriarches*; (v) *Les registres de 1310 à 1376* (Paris, 1977), nos. 2082, 2083, 2214, 2225, 2263, 2264, 2270, 2287, 2308 and 2369 (especially), 2379, 2383, 2392, 2393, 2499, 2501, 2502.

31. P. 335.

32. Janin, *EMGCB*, 275 and note 3.

33. Brosset, *Histoire*, I, 668–69; Allen, *Georgian People*, 124–26; Woods, *Aqqyunlu*, 48, 100–1, 104, 151; Kurşankısis, *BK*, 34 (1976), 115–17; Inalcik, *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 425; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 174–75, and here, p. 64.

squared blocks of stone, laid in regular courses, with a heavy pointing of lime and smaller stones to fill gaps.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Batumi

There is no castle or other antiquity evident in the modern town, but A. A. M. B. noticed a small castle on a low mound among trees, about 2 km northeast of the town and on the east side of the road.

## 3. Borçka<sup>35</sup>

The remains of a small castle or fort are wedged between the west bank of the swift Mourgoule river and a prominent

petrol station on the Hopa road, at the entrance to Borçka—a bridge which leads to the modern town on the east bank. Built on a rocky eminence above the river, the castle is roughly circular in shape, with a diameter of about 30 m. A chapel is embedded in its northeast walls. A simple rectangle with west door and semicircular apse, the chapel is about 6 × 4 m in size. Its walls stand up to 1.5 m high. Apart from ashlar quoins, it is built of large random-coursed stones. The mortar, made with abundant gravel, is well packed. There is a liturgical niche on the north side of the apse, which has two windows and overlooks the river due east.

It would be asking too much of this modest chapel to claim it as the Theotokos Atheniotissa, let alone the cathedral of Soterioupolis. But it is of a regular Trapezuntine type and we cannot evade the fact that, like the chapels at Bayburt and İspir, it is built within a castle. So the chapel probably antedates the Ottoman conquest of 1552, in which case it may well belong to the period of interest of the Grand Komnenoi in the place and represent the most easterly of all Trapezuntine monuments.

34. F. Uspenskij, "Starinnaiâ kriēpost' na ust'ie Chorokha," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, VI Ser., XI (Petrograd, February 1917), 163–69; V. A. Lekvinadze, "Material'i po istorii i arkhitekture Apsarskoï kreposti," *Viz Vrem*, 20 (1961), 225–42, with seven plans and five photographs.

35. The castle, located and inserted in this Study by A. A. M. B. in 1979, is mentioned as a "Georgian" one in Ç.O. Efendioğlu, *Artvin Vilâyeti hakkında Genel Bilgi* (n.p., 1927), 60. We are grateful to Haşim Karpuz, of the Trabzon Museum, for this reference.

## Section XXVIII

# A NOTE ON THE SOUTHEASTERN BORDERS OF THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

### DISCUSSION

The Georgian churches of Tao have been described by D. C. W. elsewhere, as have the churches within the citadels of Bayburt and İspir<sup>1</sup>—although we supply here a more accurate plan of the latter. This is not the place to relate the convoluted and often intertwined histories of those places, but we should revise D. C. W.'s original essay on the southeastern borders of Trebizond, published under the same title as that of this section.<sup>2</sup>

D. C. W. noted that the church within the citadel of Bayburt (published by Selina Ballance) and that within the citadel of İspir bore characteristic "Trapezuntine" traits: a main apse which is pentagonal on the exterior and rounded on the interior, with two rounded pastophories. He naturally sought a period of construction when those citadels could have been in Trapezuntine hands. His conclusion was that "the title of 'Great Warrior' given to Manuel I [1238–63], together with the existence of castle churches at İspir and Bayburt, suggests that he may have captured these towns, and if so, it becomes easier to understand the expedition of his son George [1266–80] as far as the Taurus."<sup>3</sup> We now believe these assumptions to be false; however, the presence of the two churches may have an even more interesting explanation.

First, there is no evidence that any Grand Komnenos took either İspir or Bayburt. Their respective (and often identical) rulers are comparatively well documented in the thirteenth century, and it is difficult to imagine when a Trapezuntine occupation can be slipped in without having caught the eye of any annalist. The capture of the gleaming new fortress of Bayburt, probably the strongest of Seljukid strongpoints that ringed the Empire of Trebizond in the thirteenth century, is not the sort of event that would have escaped the record of Panaretos or the eulogies of Lazaropoulos, even if Turkish annalists had kept quiet about it. Second, as A. A. M. B. has demonstrated elsewhere, George Komnenos was probably taken to the *Ilkhan* at Tabriz (not "the

Taurus"), and that under duress.<sup>4</sup> Third, and most important, it is a false assumption that, because there is a Christian church in a citadel, that citadel must have been in Christian hands when the church was built. Bayburt was in continuous Muslim hands from about 1072, when the Seljuks took it, until 1829, when the Russians sacked it.<sup>5</sup> Yet Christians evidently inhabited its castle. Armenian colophonists noted: "... And I arrived from the impregnable fortress in the canton of Baberd ..." in 1341; and in 1346 (two years before Mehmed "the Stirrupholder," emir of Bayburt, attacked Trebizond): "... this holy Gospel was restored in the impregnable fortress called Baberd ..." Nor was the building of a church in a Muslim citadel unprecedented. In 1449 an Armenian cleric built the church of St. Mary in the citadel of Arghni (now Ergani), while four years earlier Cihangir, brother of Uzun Hasan, is himself credited with the foundation of an Armenian church within the fortress of another Arghni (this time Harput).<sup>6</sup> It was, perhaps, a special case, for it was here that Uzun Hasan's Trapezuntine wife Theodora resided with her pious entourage of Greek monks in 1458–78, and there are ruins of substantial churches within Harput citadel as a reminder.<sup>7</sup> Thus, that Christians could reside, and build churches, within Muslim citadels should be no surprise.

It would in fact be surprising if Christians had *not* resided within the citadels of Bayburt and İspir: in those troubled times such towns extended no further than their walls, but there were still too few Muslims to fill them. For example, after four and a half centuries of Muslim rule, the population of Bayburt town (p. 355) was still 66 percent Christian in 1516, rising to 71 percent in 1520 and 77 percent Christian in 1530. The figures for İspir are even more striking. In 1520 İspir town (fig. 121) had an *exclusively* Christian population—of eighty-one households and thirty-four individuals. There was literally no use for the two mosques. İspir *kaza* (which had only just been incorporated into the

4. Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 332–50.

5. Osman Turan, *IA*, s.v. "Bayburt."

6. Avedis K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 83–84, 205, 213. On Mehmed Εικεπτάρις (*rikabdar* ?), see Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 68; Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, *IA*, s.v. "Akkoyunlular," and Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 144 and note 132.

7. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), Appendix II, note 146, and personal observation at Harput.

1. D. Winfield, "Some early medieval figure sculpture from north-east Turkey," *JWarb*, 31 (1968), 33–72; Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 167 and fig. 20; Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 150–53 and fig. 10, pls. xxv (b) and (c).

2. "A note on the southeastern borders of the empire of Trebizond in the thirteenth century," *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 163–72.

3. Winfield, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 172.

Ottoman empire) had a population registered as 95 percent Christian in 1520, rising to 97 percent Christian in 1530.<sup>8</sup> Under such circumstances one should perhaps be asking why there is a mosque, rather than a church, in İspir citadel.

In effect, the Empire of Trebizond was surrounded by Christian peoples whose rulers were Muslim—and this is not only true of its southeastern borders. But so far as attitudes toward Trebizond went, rulers and ruled were not usually in conflict. The Grand Komnenoi could take little comfort in the fact that their neighbors were largely Christian, for the great majority of them were Armenian, not Greek. The Seljuk and Danişmendid settlements had all but destroyed the structure of the Orthodox Church, but largely spared the Armenians, so long alienated from Byzantium and its Church. For example, the Armenian bishop of the virtually Armenian city of Erzincan played a role there in the fourteenth century not unlike that of the mayor of twentieth-century Chicago. This was at a time when the Muslim rulers of Erzincan were threatening Trebizond and when its handful of local Greeks were in dire straits (as their bishop complained in 1316–19); they were, however, better off than Franciscan missionaries who ventured there to be murdered.<sup>9</sup> Other great Greek sees of the immediate interior were forced to take shelter on the Trapezuntine coast: a bishop of Satala at Vazelon in 1256, the metropolis of Amaseia at Limnia, and that of Neokaisareia, mother of all Pontic sees, at Oinaion.<sup>10</sup> South and west of the Pontic Alps the only Greek enclaves which survived were in Cheriana<sup>11</sup> and Soterioupolis,<sup>12</sup> but the Grand Komnenoi were unable to protect the former, while the church of the latter moved, in effect, to Trebizond in the late fourteenth century. Παῖτερτ, Bayburt, Baberd, may also have been an exception of sorts. Trebizond and Bayburt cannot help but be tied by the great caravan routes which lie between them; they see the same traffic and merchants, and a modest Greek colony is to be expected. So Bayburt was the longest-lived suffragan of Trebizond south of the Pontic Alps, retaining a Greek bishop until 1624 at least.<sup>13</sup> There had been more vital connections before 1072, for Bayburt had revered St. Eugenios of Trebizond, and the Trapezuntine monastery of St. Eugenios (No. 78) had a *metochion* and relied upon property in Bayburt. But the Seljuks broke these links and the monastery of St. Eugenios probably had to look to Cheriana for its upkeep thereafter.<sup>14</sup> So there was at least some excuse for a Greek church in Bayburt.

There was no strict ecclesiastical excuse for a Greek church at İspir. Like Bayburt it lay in a probably largely Armenian area, although its Georgian rulers were to tend to Islam and

Armenians gave way to Georgians further down the Akampsis valley. The Armenian *Vank* of St. John lies near İspir and there are hints of Armenian activity in the area in the 1220's, which we shall propose was a significant decade. The village of Aygedzor boasted the Red Gospel of 1225, written by an Armenian priest from Bayburt, while at Matusanch the Gospel of Chimil was revered. This had come from an Armenian village in the *bandon* ("gawar-ik") of Rhizaion, which had been brought over the mountains to İspir when the Laz settled Chimil. The Gospel, said to have been written there centuries before, was restored in 1221.<sup>15</sup>

So the question is not, why are there churches in the citadels of Bayburt and İspir? It is, why are they Greek (and more specifically "Trapezuntine") and not Armenian?

D. C. W. was mistaken in arguing that any Grand Komnenos could have braved the freshly built walls of Bayburt or penetrated as far as İspir to erect churches there; but he was surely right in pointing to the thirteenth century as the most likely time for their construction. It might even be possible to narrow the period of the construction to the years 1223 to 1225.

The period of Trapezuntine symbiosis with its Seljuk and Seljukid neighbors begins with the transfer of Sinope in 1214, then runs specifically from the *Melik's* abortive attack upon Trebizond in 1223, followed by some sort of vassalage of the *Melik* to the Grand Komnenos until his death in 1225, which was eventually followed by some sort of vassalage of the Grand Komnenos to the Seljuks. It begins to end with the Mongol victory over the Seljuk state at Köse Dağı, west of Bayburt, in 1243 and ends for good with the criminal failure of the *pervâne* of the Seljuk state to stop the Mamluk attack on the Anatolian fiefs of the Ilkhanate in 1277. Thereafter Anatolian rulers, including the hapless Grand Komnenos George, prudently dealt directly with their *Ilkhan*. But it must be remembered that when the Mongols duly murdered him in 1277, the *pervâne* may have held Samtskhe (with İspir),<sup>16</sup> as well as Sinope. It is, however, in the early part of the period, particularly in the period 1223 to 1225, when both Trebizond and Georgia held an upper hand locally, that we are most likely to find circumstances favoring the building of our churches. This brings us to the remarkable career of the *Melik* Muğith al-Din Tuğrişah, one of the sons of Kiliç Arslan II, during whose reign we propose the construction of both churches.

The *Melik* was originally allotted Albistan as his portion in the great division of the Seljuk state, but in order to defend it he found himself a vassal and sort of prisoner of Leon I the

8. İsmet Miroğlu, *XVI. yüzyılda Bayburt sancağı* (Istanbul, 1975), 113–14, 117, 184.

9. M&M, *A&D*, 1, 83; Wächter, *Verfall*, 8; Ibn Battutah (1332), 11, 437; Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 334–35.

10. Vazelon Act 53 of 1256; Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 141–42.

11. See p. 165.

12. See p. 346.

13. Chrysanthos, *AP*, 4–5 (1933), 154–58; *DHGE*, VI, cols. 14–15, s.v. "Baberd."

14. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 56, 58, 82, 93, 97, 99–101, 103, 107–8, 111, 113–14, 118; Janin, *EMGCB*, 252, 267, 269, 270, 295, 297.

15. M. Sanosean, "The antiquities of Sper" (in Armenian), *Arewelk'*, 5579 (1904), n.p. We are grateful to Professor Charles Dowsett for translating this article for us.

16. Through his Georgian wife (Gürçi Hatun), granddaughter of Rusudani, the *Melik's* daughter-in-law. After 1277 it would have passed to the first Jaqelid, Sargis, the daughter of whose son Beka Jaqeli married the Grand Komnenos Alexios II (1297–1330). See Vakhushti (in M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. I [St. Petersburg, 1849], 502, 588–89), which makes it explicit that the Gürçi Hatun's inheritance was Samtskhe. However, a recent biographer of her husband does not notice the connection: see N. Kaymaz, *Pervâne Mu'înü'd-din Süleyman* (Ankara, 1970).

Magnificent of Sissouan (1187–1219) in 1194/95. Later he was to find himself a prisoner and sort of vassal of the Grand Komnenos. His castles lost to the Armenian in Albistan, the *Melik* moved north in about 1197 and was installed by his brother Ruk al-Din in hitherto Saltukid Erzurum (with Bayburt and İspir) in 1203. Thus the new Seljuk appanage of Erzurum and the new Komnenos appanage of Trebizond began their careers almost simultaneously. A clash, probably over trade, between (or through) the two was inevitable.

The *Melik*'s most enduring memorial is the greater part of the splendid circuit of walls on Bayburt citadel. They embrace the wide, naturally defensive, ancient Bagratid site, which encloses our church and plunges into the Akampsis. Until the Russians slighted the citadel in 1829, the *Melik*'s walls incorporated the town of Bayburt too. The town now lies below the deserted citadel. One of the *Melik*'s towers dates the work to A.H. Rebi II 610/A.D. August 1213. Several inscriptions describe him as the *Melik*, the Muğith, and the Tuğril, in terms of an energetic, if conventional, defender of Islam and scourge of the infidel: "...The master of kings and sultans, *Melik* of Rûm [i.e., Trebizond ?] and Armenia ... who fights for Allah and stays on the borders fighting the enemy. ...". To this period, too, must be assigned two mosques in İspir: in the lower walled town is the market mosque called the Tuğrilşah Camii of this period, and above and apparently still named after him is the Sultan Melik Mescit, which stands on the highest peak of the citadel, dominating the present church and possibly replacing a more obvious church. Mosque and church share the same quarry, which D. C. W. has been unable to locate. The mosque uses the same quality of masonry as that of the walls of Bayburt, but also incorporates some rougher herringbone work reminiscent of Georgian masonry and of the castles of Varoş and Zil in the Land of Arhakil to the north. İspir and Bayburt would have been the *Melik*'s forward bases from Erzurum for any *Ghazi* war upon Trebizond. But Cahen is probably right in attributing to him commercial instincts too: since 1212 to 1214 the *Melik* had been concerned with the Trebizond-Bayburt-Erzurum route as a rival to Kay Kubadh's Sinope and Sivas. So failing outright capture of the port of the route, the *Melik* had every reason to collaborate with the Grand Komnenos. The *Melik*'s war came in 1223, but it had unexpected consequences, for Andronikos I Gidon defeated him and Trebizond was saved through the miraculous, and somewhat underhand, intervention of St. Eugenios, aided by a providential torrent of rain. Almost two centuries later Panaretos remembered only the *Melik*'s destruction of Greek life, but Lazaropoulos records a Trapezuntine victory, although it was a near thing.<sup>17</sup> Lazaropoulos preserves some of the terms of a treaty, or rather agreement, made between Andronikos and the imprisoned *Melik* as a condition of his release. He is writing hagiography rather than diplomatic history; so there are problems of interpretation. Cahen's view is cautious and probably right, that the *Melik* "acknowledged himself as a vassal [?] of Trebizond. Events in the succeeding years do in fact show him to have been on good terms with Trebizond. Clearly their economic interests

coincided. ...".<sup>18</sup> Lazaropoulos reports that the *Melik* subsequently sent annual gifts of horses to Andronikos, money to the monastery of St. Eugenios and made a bequest to the Chrysokephalos (No. 120). But no sooner had Andronikos released the *Melik* in 1223 than he found himself in the clutches of another Christian neighbor: the formidable Queen Rusudani of Georgia (1223–45). She demanded the *Melik*'s son as her husband (not the last) and naturally insisted that he be baptized a Christian. The *Melik* died a wiser man in 1225.<sup>19</sup>

The building of a "Trapezuntine" church within the citadel of Bayburt for the Greeks there, perhaps even by the *Melik* himself and certainly by his authority, fits the terms of 1223. The building of the church (larger than, but actually dominated by, the mosque) in İspir citadel is a more complicated problem. Unlike Bayburt, the citadel did not comprise what there was of the main town below. İspir is traditionally an outpost of Samtskhe, and Georgian kings reached it in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries; it was part of the Saatabago until the early sixteenth century. It is simple to envisage the *Melik*'s building, or authorizing, a church there on common cultural territory as part of his son's marriage agreement of 1223. But while in plan it is not un-Georgian (compare, for example, its apse and narthex arrangements and proportions with a church in Pitsunda),<sup>20</sup> the İspir church is, like the Bayburt one, obstinately "Trapezuntine." Perhaps only Trapezuntine craftsmen were available; certainly there was no tradition of Georgian church building so far west and the great days of Tao architecture were over. Perhaps the İspir church forms part of the *Melik*'s undertakings to Trebizond, rather than Georgia, among his obligations of 1223. But in any case it stands, like the Bayburt church, as an Orthodox (Georgian or Greek) monument in an Armenian context, built under Muslim auspices.

"Trapezuntine" churches could most likely have been built in Seljuk lands when Trebizond fleetingly held the upper hand in the years 1223 to 1225. When the balance changed and Trebizond found itself a Seljuk vassal before 1243, the phenomenon was reversed and it was Muslims

18. Cahen, *P-OT*, 125, and also 111, 115, 118, 127; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *FHIT*, 116–32; Panaretos, ed. *Lampsidis*, 61; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye* (Istanbul, 1971), 217, 229, 243, 249, 256, 260, 277; L. M. Alishan, trans. G. Bayan, *Léon le Magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arménocilie* (Venice, 1888), 112; L. J. Gyuzalyan, "Neizdaniye nadpisi Bayburtskoy citadeli," *VizVrem*, 8 (1956), 306–30 and twelve illustrations; Bryer, *BZ*, 66 (1973), 344. We are grateful to Dr. Wesam Farag for translating some of the Bayburt inscriptions for us. İ. H. Konyalı, *Erzurum Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1960), 501–6, misled Winfield in *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 166: of the citadel mosque at İspir D. C. W. wrote: "Mr Konyalı concludes that it was built either by the same Tuğrul Şah who built the castle of Bayburt, the market mosque at İspir, and buildings at Erzurum, or by Melik Şah; the latter is supported by local tradition since the mosque is known in İspir as Sultan Melik Mescit. In either case the date of the mosque would be in the late twelfth century or in the first quarter of the thirteenth century." Tuğrul Şah and Melik Şah are, of course, identical—Muğith al-Din.

19. Brosset, *Histoire*, I, 501 and note 2; Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 256; Cahen, *P-OT*, 127.

20. *Material'i Arkheologii Kavkaza*, 4 (Moscow, 1894), 9 and fig. 1.

17. See p. 183.

who came to Trebizond: the wife of an emir of Sivas to shed the devils that plagued her at St. Athanasios the Exorcist's tomb, and the "Seljuk" work that Manuel I incorporated in his church of the Hagia Sophia (No. 112).<sup>21</sup> But the churches of Bayburt and İspir are probably the most expressive surviving monuments of the first period of this symbiosis of cultures, when a Seljuk *Melik* who set out as a *Ghazi* ended up as the captive and some sort of vassal first of an Armenian and then of a Greek, as a benefactor of Trapezuntine monasteries, as an ancestor of subsequent Christian kings of Georgia, and, we suggest, as patron of the castle churches at Bayburt and İspir.

#### MONUMENTS

##### 1. İspir (fig. 121, pls. 287a–288c)

Beside the elegant Sultan Melik Mescit, the Tuğrişah Camii is also presumably a foundation of the *Melik*. The church has been described by D. C. W. elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Its relationship to the mosque should be noted in figure 121. The elaborate citadel overlooking the Akampsis (Çoruh) would repay detailed investigation, which we have not made.

##### 2. Castle near Norgâh (fig. 122, pl. 289a, b)

*Situation.* On the north bank of the Akampsis (Çoruh), 18 km west of İspir and a little east of Norgâh. (The symbol on the main map is placed a little too far east.)

*Description.* A small castle on a rock, with habitation quarters, built of rough stones in regular courses. The walls have a rubble interior and the lime-and-gravel mortar (similar to that of the walls of İspir castle) is used to give them a comparatively smooth finish. There are signs of an outer wall as well as of the inner keep.

This castle is similar to scores already described with the Empire of Trebizond. It is included here to demonstrate how widespread the type is. This particular one could have been built by a thirteenth-century lieutenant of the *Melik*, a

fourteenth-century lieutenant of the *atabeg* of Samtskhe, or an eighteenth-century Ottoman *derebey*. The more elaborate domestic arrangements may indicate a later date, but it is impossible to be certain.

##### 3. Bayburt (pl. 290a, b)

The castle church has been mapped and described by Selina Ballance.<sup>23</sup>

##### 4. The Bayburt Plains

The wide plains to the west, southwest, and north of Bayburt, where the Akampsis makes a great bend before descending from its headwaters, produce wheat and barley, largely at a height of 1,500 m above sea level, adding to the place's importance as a crossroads.

At Mam, a shepherd reported stone foundations on a mound called Sancak Tepesi. We could not find them, or any sherds, but the mound looks artificial.

In fields south of Konorsu, on the southern slopes of a low hill, we noticed foundations of houses and a few sherds. The place was not investigated properly. It could be a nineteenth-century Greek or Armenian village.

Near Vağında, north of Konorsu, and about 1 km west of the road, are foundations of a church in a field called Kilise Arazı. A fragment of ridge tile, possibly Byzantine, was noticed.

At Hayık, a shepherd reported that there was a ruined church, but we did not visit it.

##### 5. Varzahan.

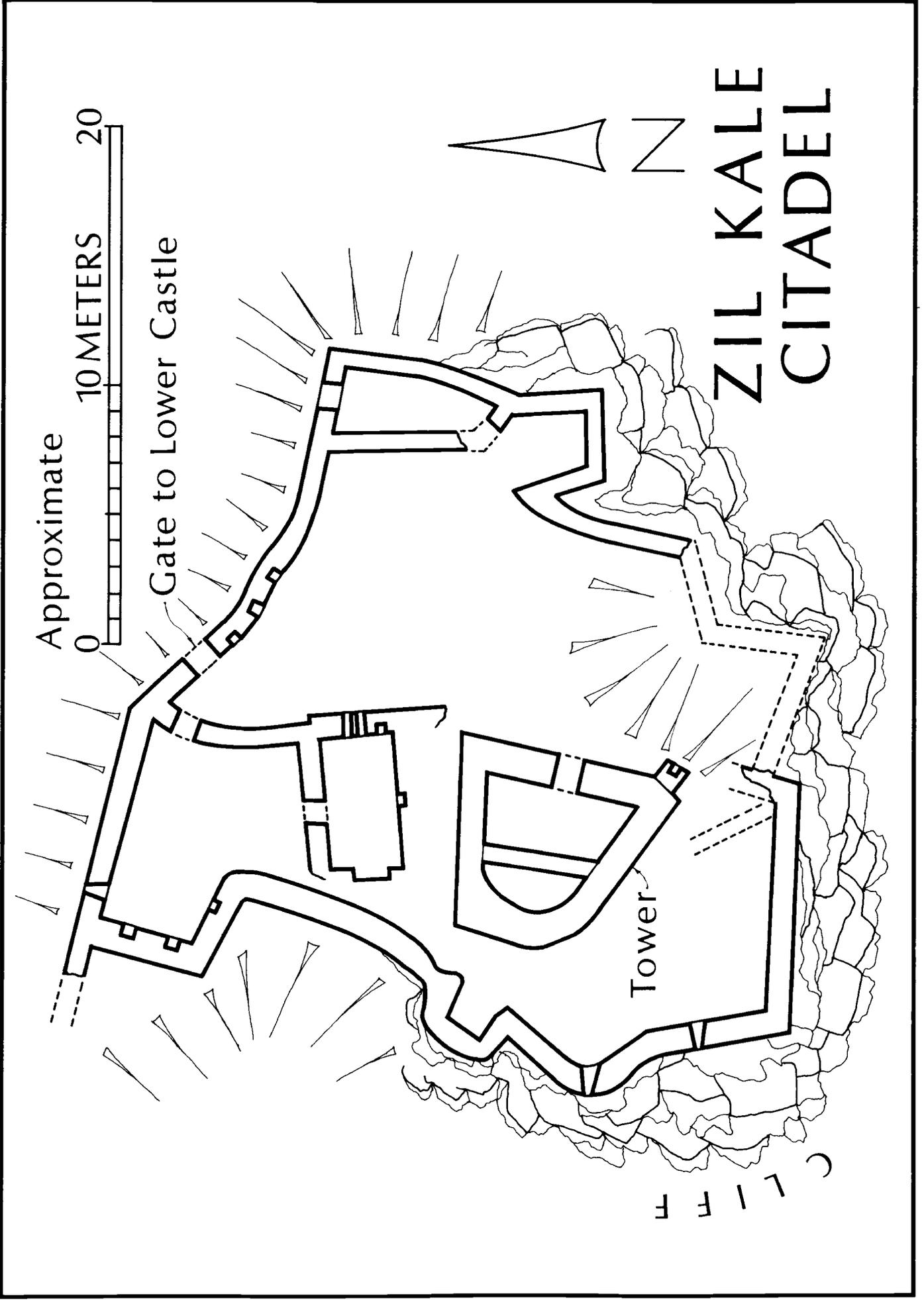
A celebrated eleventh- or twelfth-century Armenian church, associated structures, and tombstones in the form of sculptured rams, stood at Varzahan until this century. Since 1957 there is no trace of them. But, as Varzahan lies one stage west of Bayburt, nineteenth-century travelers regularly recorded the site.<sup>24</sup>

23. Ballance, *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 167 and fig. 20.

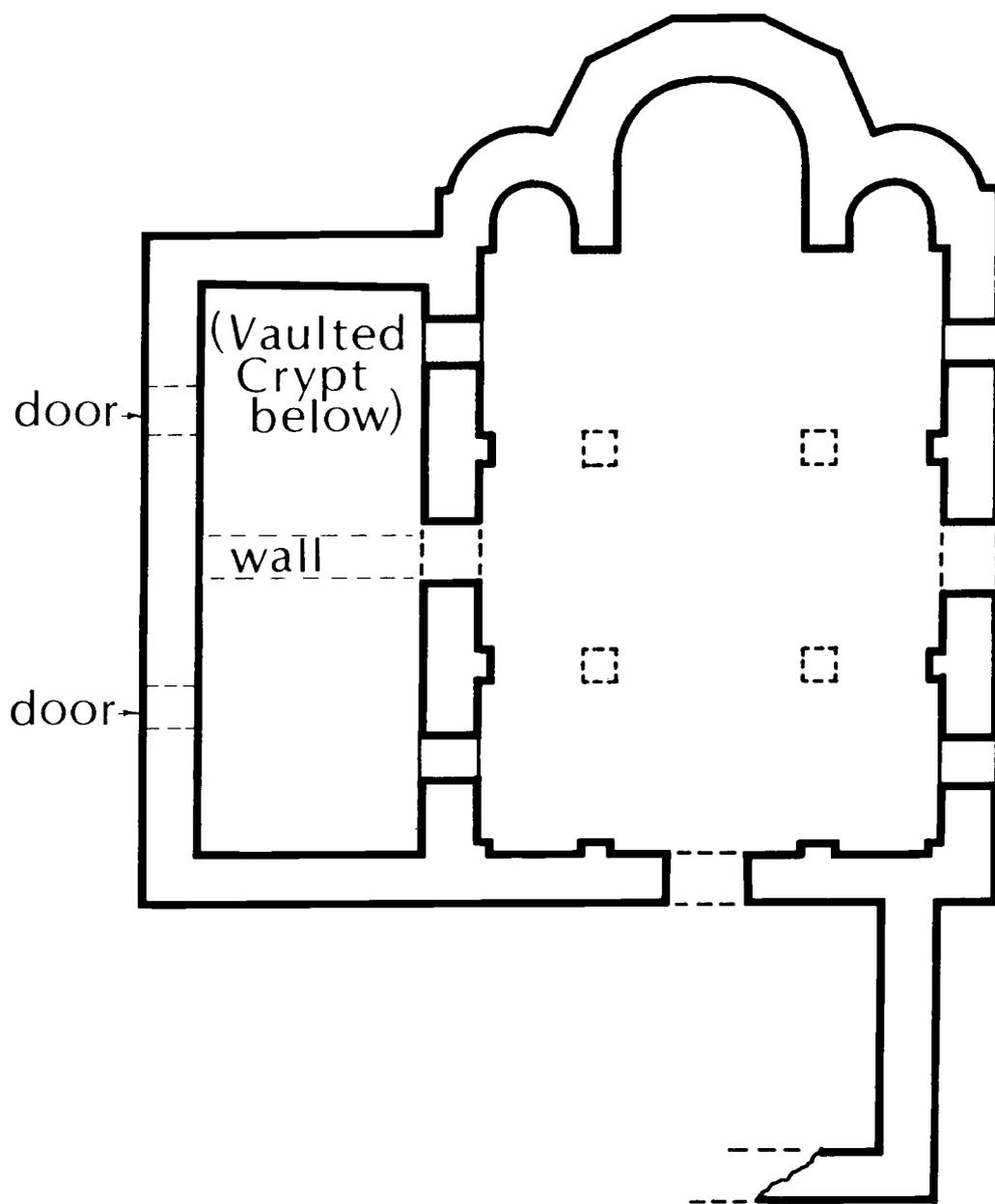
24. Layard (1848), 7–8; Tozer (1879), 427–29; Lynch (1893/98), II, 233; Bachmann (1911), 49–53; J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (Vienna, 1918), I, 250, II, 461–62, 490–92, pls. 280, 499, 520–22; Winfield, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 137–38.

21. Cf. Bryer, *DOP*, 29 (1975), 123–25.

22. Winfield and Wainwright, *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 150–53 and fig. 10, pl. xxv (b) and (c).

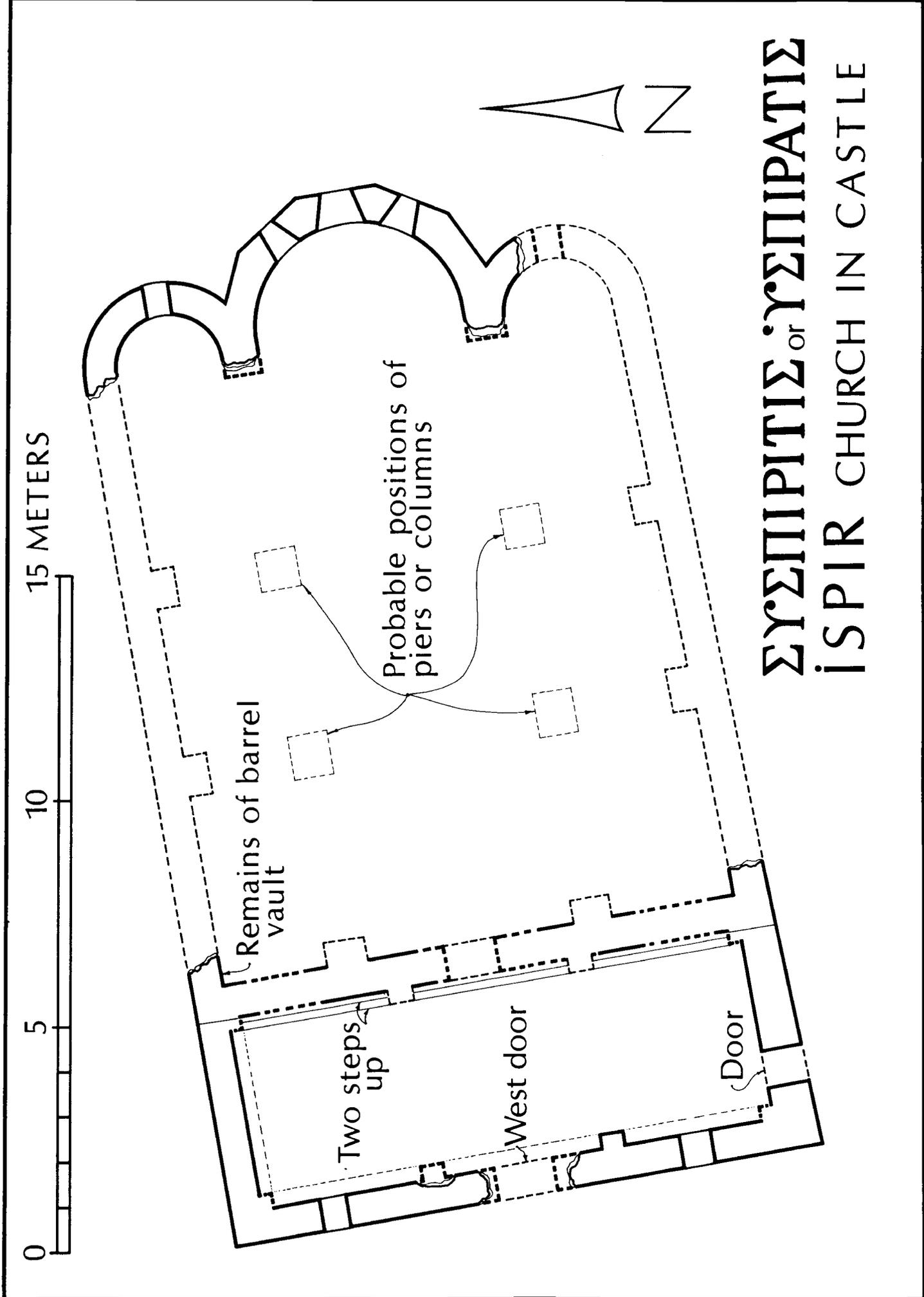


# ZIL KALE CITADEL



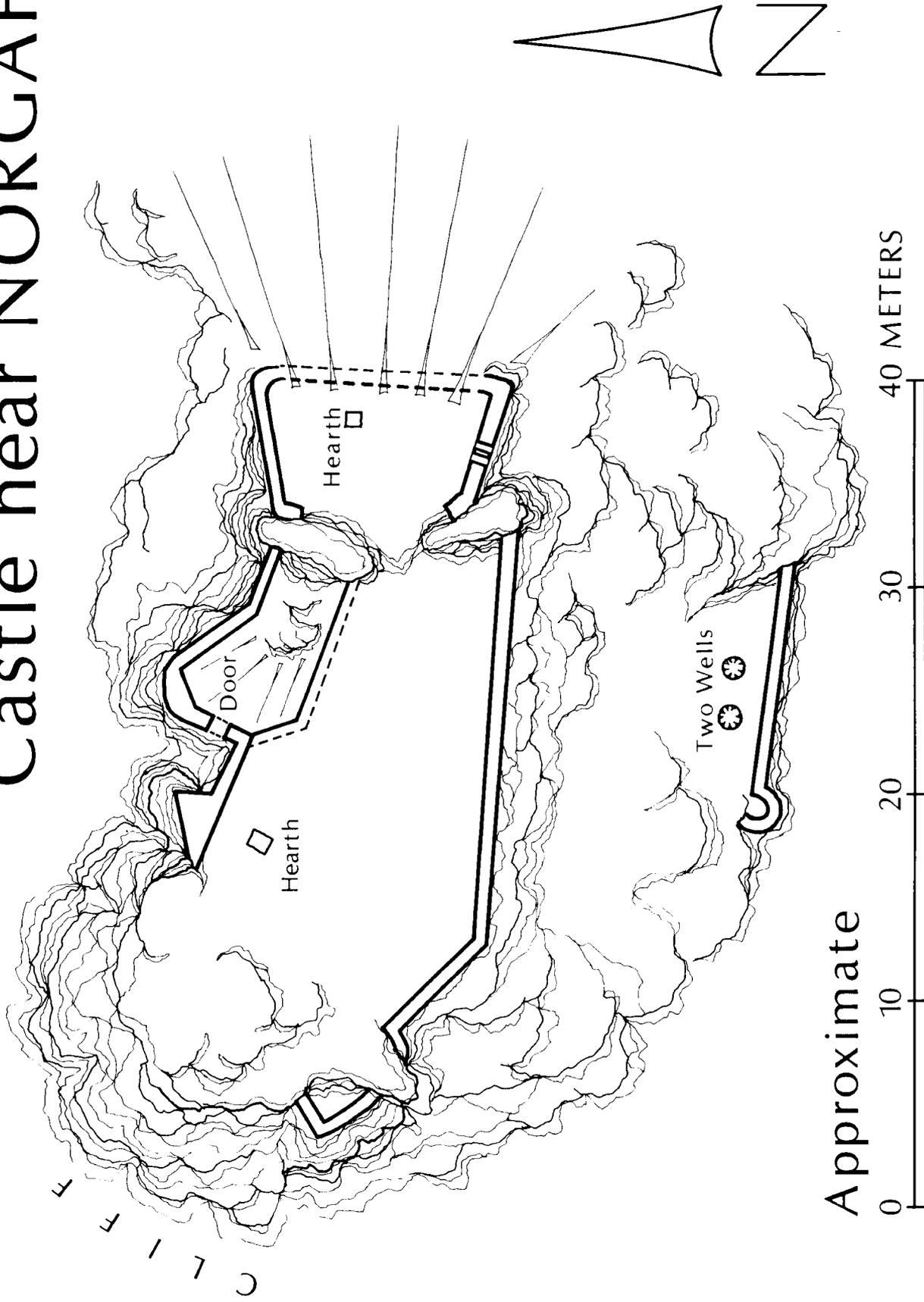
# Church at ARDEŞEN

0 5 10 METERS



ΙΣΠΙΡΤΙΣ or ΥΣΠΙΡΑΤΙΣ  
ISPIR CHURCH IN CASTLE

# Castle near NORGĀH



## Appendix:

# MEASUREMENTS OF BRICK AND TILE IN PAPHLAGONIA AND PONTOS

In these concordances certain Paphlagonian sites (visited by A. A. M. B. and Mr. James Crow) have been included for comparative purposes. Specimens cannot be listed by size, because in most cases they were broken and full measurements could not be taken; nor can sites be listed chronologically, because in most cases they are insecurely dated. Therefore measurements are listed geographically, by sites from west to east.

### 1. BRICK MEASUREMENTS (IN CENTIMETERS)

<i>Location and comment</i>	<i>Thick</i>	<i>Long</i>	<i>Wide</i>
AMASRA (Amastris), "Bedesten," Roman	4.5	33	26
AMASRA (Amastris), "Fatih Camii," Middle Byzantine	4	56	33
AMASRA (Amastris), "Kilise Camii," Middle Byzantine (?)	3	35	26
AMASRA (Amastris), Harbor beacon, Genoese (?)	3	26	26
FAKAS (Karambis), banded masonry, Byzantine	3	49	33
TAŞKÖPRÜ, KIZLAR KALESİ (Pompeiopolis), Early Byzantine	3.5	—	30
OSMANCIK	4	45	—
SİNOP (Sinope), "Balat Kilise," Roman (?)—Early Byzantine	4	43	21
ALAÇAM (Zalekon-Leontopolis), banded masonry, Byzantine	3	39	39
YASUN BURUNU, KİLİSEYANI (Cape Jason)	3–4	—	—
GİRESUN, GEDİK KAYA (Kerasous)	4	—	—
ŞEBİNKARAHİSAR (Koloneia), lower gate of castle, Middle Byzantine (?)	5–6	—	—
ŞEBİNKARAHİSAR (Koloneia), se cistern, Early Byzantine (?)	4–4.5	—	—
ULUŞİRAN (Cheriana), mound	2.8–3	—	—
SARAYCIK, AŞAĞI HAYDURUK	4	—	—
İKİSU (Dipotamos), church	4	35	—
TRABZON (Trebizond), Mavlavita (Manglabita)	3.6	—	—
TRABZON (Trebizond), "Bedesten," Late Medieval	4.2	28	28
RİZE (Rhizaion), citadel	3.5–4.5	32–40	—
ESKİ TRABZON, SAPO	2	—	—
ARDEŞEN, bright red bricks	2.5–3	—	—

### 2. TILE MEASUREMENTS (IN CENTIMETERS)

<i>Location and comment</i>	<i>Base Thick- ness</i>	<i>Ridge Thick- ness</i>	<i>Top of Ridge to Base</i>
AMASRA (Amastris), Büyükada manastir, Middle Byzantine (?)	2.3	—	4.3
TAŞKÖPRÜ, ZIMBALLI (Pompeiopolis), Roman, 24 wide	3.3	—	5.5
AVHAT (Euchaita), Early-Middle Byzantine, 25 wide × 37.5	2	—	3.5
ALAÇAM (Zalekon-Leontopolis)	2.5	—	2.5
YASUN BURUNU, BAYADI KÖYÜ (Cape Jason), red, 47 long	3	—	4.5
YASUN BURUNU, KİLİSEYANI (Cape Jason)	2–2.5	—	—
GİRESUN, GEDİK KAYA (Kerasous)	2	—	—
ŞEBİNKARAHİSAR (Koloneia), castle, Byzantine	2.5	—	—
"	2.5	2	4.2
"	2.1	2.5	4.2
"	2.2	2.3	4.7
"	1.8	1.5–2.5	4.1
ŞEBİNKARAHİSAR, BİROĞUL (Koloneia), cemetery	2.2–2.3	1.7–2.7	4.5

" ridge broken, thickness measured at base	2.5-2.6	2	—
" ridge broken, thickness measured at base	1.7	2.2	5.2
ARMELİT, so. of Cape Zephyrion, squared ridge tile	2.1-2.3	2.5	4.7
SARAYCIK, AŞAĞI HAYDURUK, all well-made red tiles, but one fragment of blackish hue; west of KALUR (Kelora)	2.3	2.3	4.2
"	2.5	3	4.8
"	—	2.7	5
"	2.8	1.7	5.2
"	2.5	2.5	4.9
"	2.2	2.1	4
"	2.8	3.5	5.3
KALE, sw of KALUR (Kelora) on the KELKİT. All tiles were red and coarse, with grit and some holes. There were also imbrex tile fragments here	2.2	3-3.5	4.7
"	2.7	—	—
"	2.1	2.5-3.1	5.5
"	1.8	2.4	5.5
"	2.5	2.5	4.8
" Ridge thickness measured at maximum	2.4	3.2	5.3
KÂLUR KALE (Kelora) on north bank of the KELKİT	2.1-2.2	1.5-3	4
FOL MADEN, round the church	1.8	2-3.7	3.8
"	1.9	1.7	2.5
"	1.6	1.5-2.2	3.6
ULUŞİRAN (Cheriana), mound	1.9	2-2.5	4.3
" Imbrex tile	1.5-1.7	*	*
" Imbrex tile	1.7	*	*
" Tile with very low ridge	2.1-2.4	2.5	3
"	1.9-2	1.5-3	4.7
"	2	1.3-2	3.3
"	2	1.5-2	4.5
"	1.5-2	2-2.5	3.7
TRABZON (Trebizond), Mavlavita (Manglavita)	1.5	1.9-2.4	5.1
"	1.9	1.9-2.4	4.3
"	1.7-2	1.2-1.8	4
"	1.1	2.2	3.5
"	2	2.5-2.7	5.5
" Probably a late tile	1.4	0.9-1.3	2.1
TRABZON (Trebizond), Hagia Sophia, 1260s	1.5	1.8	3.5
"	2.5	2.6	4.5
" 22.3 wide × 30.2 long	1.5-1.7	2-3	4.2
" 21.5 wide × 28 long	1.5-1.7	2.5	3.5
" Imbrex tile, 19.5 wide × 34.5 long	1.8-2.5	*	*
" S. porch, pipe from brick arch center, 6 diameter	5	*	*
" This tile could be from small north church	1.8	2-2.5	3.3
" This tile could be from small north church	1.9	1.5	4
HORTOKOP	1.7	2.3	4.1
KOĞ KALE	ca.3	ca.3.7	5.8
" Imbrex tile	2	*	*
ZİNDANLAR ARAZI	3.2-2	2.5-3	4.5-5
KOVANS KALE, KEÇİ KALE KÖYÜ. Tiles of yellowy-green clay with a squared-off ridge	2.5	2-2.3	5.2
"	2.5	2-2.3	6.2
ESKİ ANDAVAL, AKTAŞ	2.4	2.5-2.8	4
BİBAT, ÖTEKİ SUYU	2-2.5	—	4.2
CİHAR, KİSE KALE. Light red tile	1.5	—	4
ESKİ TRABZON, SAPO. A pale yellowish-red tile	1.25-1.5	—	3.25
" A deep red tile	2-2.5	—	4-4.5
ARDEŞEN. A pale yellowish-red tile	1.5-2	—	—



## Indices

### I. GREEK TOPOGRAPHIC INDEX

We have attempted to name all ancient and medieval, and most modern, Greek toponyms at least once in the forms in which they appear in the sources and thereafter in transliteration. This index should therefore be used as a key to the general topographic index which follows it.

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II. TOPONYMIC AND MONUMENTAL INDEX

This main index to the Study lists place-names and monuments only; page numbers of principal entries and site descriptions are in **bold type**.

*First Caution.* Because toponyms are united in more or less the Latin alphabet, almost all are transliterations from other alphabets: Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, or Greek (see Index I). Variant spellings, commonly from oral tradition and sometimes the result of simple miscopying, are further bedeviled by systems (or no systems) employed by witnesses ranging from the compilers of ancient peripli, Roman Itineraria, fourteenth-century Italian portulans, sixteenth-century Ottoman registers, to accounts by thirteenth-century English and fifteenth-century Spanish ambassadors, and seventeenth-century French, eighteenth-century German and nineteenth-century American travelers. But it would be misleading to impose definitive transliterations of toponyms, for they were, and largely remain, fluid. Rather, our sources monitor the development of a name, and all forms are legitimate in their historical context. Therefore all variants are recorded, but because some places boast over a dozen names or variants, space permits only a representative cross-reference to each. The text usually offers the full range.

*Second Caution.* Pontic toponyms wander more than most. The physical siting of a place is often as variable as its name. In particular, many ancient and medieval area names have found specific homes only in this century. Cross-references do not therefore imply identical sites.

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- ⋯ UNIDENTIFIED RUIN
- ⊗ MINE
- ⌒ MOUNTAIN PASS
- ▲ ELEVATION IN METERS
- ROUTE
- LATIN NAMES UNDERLINED
- CONTOUR INTERVAL: 250 METERS  
BOLD LINES AT 1000 METER INTERVALS

MAP II





