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Seasides of Byzantium

Harbours and Anchorages of a Mediterranean Empire

Johannes Preiser-Kapeller · Taxiarchis G. Kolias · Falko Daim (eds)



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Harbours, Landing Places and Communication Routes in North-Western Anatolia. The Gulf of Adramyttium (Edremit körfezi) in Late Antiquity and Byzantine Times

The Gulf of Adramyttium represents a significant incision in the coastal line of Western Anatolia: from the southern end of the Dardanelles onwards, the Aegean coast of Asia Minor runs about 60km more or less consistently in south-south-western direction, before a striking change in direction occurs after the passage of today's Babakale. From this point onwards, the coast runs about 80km equally in an east-western direction, only to turn back to a south-western direction after passing the modern villages of Akçay and Dalyan. The island of Lesbos or Mitylênê with an area of more than 1,630km² dominates the northern entrance of the Gulf, which the Greeks call Adramyttênos kolpos since Antiquity, while its Turkish name is Edremit körfezi¹. Both terms refer to the most prominent settlement in the region, to Adramyttium, modern Edremit, an old city, which existed since the 6th century BC; it was slightly relocated from the coast to the interior of the country in the 2nd century AD² (see fig. 1).

According to the Roman geographer Strabo of Amaseia in Pontus (63 BC - AD 23), the term Adramyttênos kolpos, Gulf of Adramyttium, had a double meaning: in a broad sense, it described the whole area between Cape Lekton, modern Babakale in the north and Cape Kanê, a promontory near the small village of Bademli in the south (Strabôn 13,1,51). The linear distance between these two toponyms is more than 80km; the real distance is more than twice as large due to the subdivided coastline with its numerous bays. In a narrower sense, Adramyttênos kolpos was, following Strabo, only the area between Gargara near modern Nusratlı burnu in the north and Cape Pyrrha, nowadays Boz burnu in the south. The linear distance is around 27km or about 60km following the coastline³. The famous Mount Ida (Homer, Iliad 14, 282), nowadays Kaz dağları, extends diagonally to the northern shore of Edremit körfezi for more than 30km; its summit is at Karataş tepesi, where it rises to 1,774m. This

mighty mountain range was responsible for the alternative term Idaios kolpos; common in ancient times as well (Strabôn 13, 1, 6). Most probably, it was congruent to Adramyttênos kolpos even in its broad sense. The landscapes in the Deep South of the Gulf, in the region between modern Ayvalık and Bademli, were sometimes connected with the Gulf of Elaia, modern Çandarlı körfezi, as well; to a certain degree, both toponyms covered identical landscapes. However, these Greek terms were not very precise. If we understand Strabo's description correctly, we have to notice different overlaps. This was usual in Antiquity. In general, space and landscapes themselves were not important as objects; people mostly mentioned them casually and inaccurately, but rarely exactly and scientifically. Therefore, minor variations in geographical designations were more a rule than an exception⁴.

As in many other coastal regions of Asia Minor, the local residents have used the Gulf of Adramyttium since ancient times for fishing, trade, and the transport of different goods. Furthermore, the bay was part of the transregional sea route between the Dardanelles and the Levant. The importance of this route grew immensely after Constantinople became the capital of the Byzantine Empire in 330; until the year 641, for example, numerous trade and supply vessels transported grain from Egypt to the Bosphorus for the benefit of the local inhabitants⁵.

If the ships, following this route, circumnavigated the island of Mitylênê on its western shore, they would use in particular the ports of Eressos and Sigri as supply points⁶; in this case, the contact with Adramyttênos kolpos was limited to a small section in the north of the island and rather low. However, if the ships used the route along the eastern shore of Mitylênê, passing through the 10km wide Poros Muselimê or Müsellim Boğazi and the 20 to 25 km wide Strait of Lesbos, the Stenon Mitylênês or Midilli kanalı, then the Edremit kör-

1 Gk 1:200.000 Nomos Lesbou. – Tk 1:200.000 Edremit. – Heikell, Pilot 60. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 124. – Koder, Aigaion Pelagos, Karte. – Philippson 1:300.000 Blatt I. – Talbert, Atlas 843, Map 56. – Yaman, TYA 70f.
2 Hansen/Nielsen, Inventory 1038. – Külzer, Assos 194f. – Stauber, Adramytteion I 48-63. 127-154. – Tomaschek, Kleinasien 23f. see below.
3 Stauber, Adramytteion I 334-336.

4 Stauber, Adramytteion I 334-336. – Concerning the southern part of the Gulf see Heinle, Landeskunde 18. 26-31. 69-71 Karten I, II and more. – Heikell, Pilot 74-76. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 142-146. – On space and spatial concepts, see della Dora, Landscape 1-31. – Lefebvre, Production. – Veikou, Space in Texts.
5 Kisliger, Verkehrsrouten 153-155. 174. – Kisliger, Verkehrswege und Versorgung 76-81. – Müller, Getreide 2-11. – Teall, Grain Supply 91-98.
6 Koder, Aigaion Pelagos 161f. 209-213. 277 Karte.

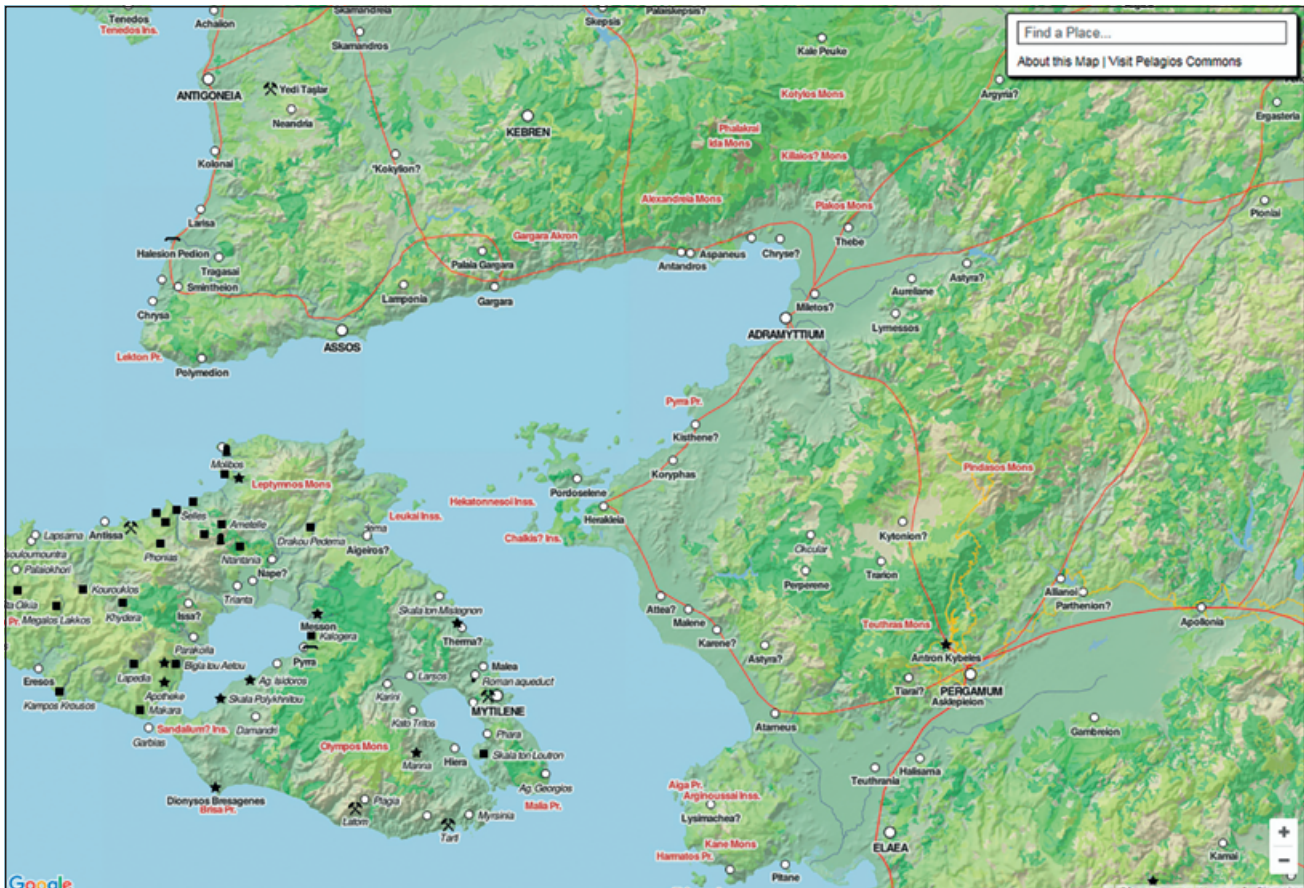


Fig. 1 The Gulf of Adramyttium in Antiquity. – (From Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire, <https://dh.gu.se/dare/> [public domain]).

fezi was a substantial part of the Levant route. After passing through the Gulf, the ships got access to the anchorages near Aspropotamos at Makrygialos-Bay, to Mēstigna or the two harbours of the city of Mitylēnē, all of them excellent places for accommodation⁷. In the past as well as today, the currents and wind conditions are changing in this part of the Aegean Sea during the year; and these issues were essential points for the choice of the individual itinerary along the western or the eastern coastline of Mitylēnē. If the latter was chosen, the port of Nasos at Poroselēnē, modern Cunda, or different anchorages on the smaller islands of the Hekatonnēsoi, such as Poyraz adası, represented further logistical alternatives for the sailors⁸ (see fig. 2).

In addition, the numerous settlements at the Anatolian coast of the Adramyttēnos kolpos offered good opportunities to provide food and fresh drinking water; there were also suitable places to carry out maintenances and repairs which would be necessary for example as consequences of storms and disturbances. During Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the usual itinerary for vessels was about 30 to 50 km a day. Therefore, the sea traffic was dependent on a comparatively regular sequence of supply points⁹. This requirement existed

in the whole region around the Gulf of Adramyttium; the local conditions were excellent for trade and travelling.

Hereinafter, there will be a brief discussion of the history of the landscape around the Gulf, starting in Roman times. Afterwards, a description follows of the important harbours and settlements at the Anatolian shore of the Aegean as interfaces for the communication between land- and sea traffic. The paper is a result of various methodological and theoretical considerations, of intensive studies of relevant literary sources and academic literature as well as of a field trip undertaken in summer 2016 in the framework of the Vienna research project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*.

The Gulf of Adramyttium in History

The hinterland of the Gulf of Adramyttium was part of ancient Mysia; in late Hellenism, it belonged to the kingdom of Pergamum. After the death of the childless king Attalus III (138-133 BC), his empire fell by bequest to the Romans. However, Aristonicus, a half-brother of the devisor, started a revolt, which took several years; only in 129 BC, after the

7 Koder, Aigaion Pelagos 65f. 227f. 230. 284.

8 Heikell, Pilot 66f. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 130. – Koder, Aigaion Pelagos 266.

9 Avramea, Communications 79.

Fig. 2 Map of the Adramyttēnos kolpos. – (QGIS 2.18. A. Külzer, 2017).



rebel had been defeated, were the Romans able to establish their first province in Anatolia, which they henceforth called *Asia*. Ephesus became the capital, while the former residence of the Attalid dynasty, Pergamum, lost its privileged position, possibly due to its inland location¹⁰. In addition, the landscapes in North-Western Asia Minor, formerly close to the capital, fell into the shadow of history. Some minor territorial changes took place in the province *Asia* in the following decades, but these measures were dedicated to territories further in the east of Anatolia; they remained meaningless for the region around Adramyttēnos kolpos. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 4th century, the late Emperor Diocletian (284-305) divided the huge province of *Asia*, originally with a size of almost 180,000 km², into seven smaller units. One of these new provinces, which remained together in a diocese *Asiana*, continued to bear the name *Asia*; Ephesus persisted as its capital. This province covered only an area of 19,100 km²; however, the Anatolian landscapes around the Gulf were part of this administrative unit¹¹.

This administrative system existed for several centuries, but in the course of the 7th century, new reforms took place. At that time, the Byzantines decided to create larger units again, whose commanders combined civil and military power to fight more effectively against the enemies who invaded their territories on the Balkan Peninsula as well as in Asia Minor. Due to a lack of appropriate sources, the geographical extent of these new units, which were called *themata* (the etymology is uncertain, maybe »placement«) from the 9th century onwards, is not exactly known¹². The first four *themata* or themes were *Armeniakon* (established before

667) and *Anatolikon* (before 669) in Central and East Anatolia, *Thrakēsion* (before 680) in Western and *Opsikion* (before 680) in North-Western Asia Minor¹³. Most of the landscape around the Gulf of Adramyttium was part of the *thema Thrakēsion*, but the hinterland of Cape Lektōn in the extreme north-west belonged to *Opsikion*¹⁴. The theme system shared the fate of its Roman predecessor: like the ancient provinces, the *themata* were repeatedly reduced to restrict the power of their commanders. In this case, as well, many details remain unknown, especially concerning historical data and the concrete geographical extent of the single units. Definitely, the theme of *Thrakēsion* was significantly reduced during its existence, large parts of its coastal zones got lost: Emperor Michael III (842-867) for example created a new theme *Aigaion Pelagos*, which incorporated seaboard and wide landscapes of the Troad¹⁵. Adramyttium held an important position in the theme of *Samos*, which appeared in the late 9th century (between 889 and 893): just like Ephesus, it was the seat of a *tourmarchēs* (vice-admiral)¹⁶. The ascend of Adramyttium continued in the following centuries, despite the great destructions caused by the Seljuk Emir Tzachas (Çaka) who invaded North-Western Asia Minor in the year 1091 and plundered the landscapes around Edremit körfezi. However, when Emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203) gave a charter to the naval power of Venice in 1198, the document mentioned the *provincia Atramyti* – thus, Adramyttium and its hinterland formed a separate theme in those days¹⁷! A few years later, the so-called *Partitio Romanie* confirmed the issue: in the year 1204, the *provincia Atramyttii* was mentioned as an area of interest of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople¹⁸.

10 Daubner, *Bellum Asiaticum*. – Magie, *Roman Rule* I 3-158. – Mitchell, *Administration* 17-46. – Sartre, *L'Asie Mineure* 113-117.
 11 Beloch, *Bevölkerung* 507. – Honigmann, *Synekdemōs* 21-33. – Koder, *Urban Character* 183.
 12 Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium 744-755*.
 13 Haldon, *Palgrave Atlas* 68. 77. 128. 130. – Koder, *Historical Geography* 14. – See also Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium* 723-729.

14 Haldon, *Palgrave Atlas* 58 f. 70. – Koder, *Historical Geography* 15.
 15 Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos* 55 f. 78 f. – Külzer, *Assos* 186 f.
 16 Haldon, *Palgrave Atlas* 60 f. 71. – Koder, *Historical Geography* 21.
 17 Tafel/Thomas, *Urkunden* 271.
 18 Tafel/Thomas, *Urkunden* 491. 495.



Fig. 3 Gulf of Adramyttium, view from Assos in the direction of Mitylène. – (Photo A. Külzer, 2016).

Nevertheless, the Latins' rule was short; after two decades, the whole area fell under the dominion of the Greek Empire of Nicaea in 1224. After 1261 again dominated by Constantinople, the landscapes around the Adramyttēnos kolpos finally slipped away from Byzantium at the beginning of the 14th century. At the end of 1304 or beginning of 1305, the Turks dominated the entire region. In 1402, the Mongols invaded the hinterland of Edremit körfezi and reached even Assos (see **fig. 3**) in the far west, but this was just an intermezzo without any significant political impact.

Roads and Routes around the Gulf of Adramyttium

Communication roads and smaller routes connected many settlements, harbour places and anchorages around the Gulf of Adramyttium already in the time of the Attalid dynasty, though sometimes being dust roads in a simple condition. However, immediately after the establishment of the province *Asia*, the Romans started to develop and extend the network of communications in the whole area. As we know by milestones, one of the four transregional roads, which connected Ephesus with its wider hinterland, led northwards close to the coastline via Smyrna to the landscapes around the Gulf of Adramyttium. In the regions of Smyrna as well as of Pergamum, different junctions were leading into the Anatolian hinterland. The coastal road touched Atarneus in the north of Dikili and led in a north-western direction to Hērakleia and the countryside opposite of the island of Poroselēnē. There it changed its course to the north-east and run via Cape Pyrrha and the settlement side of ancient Adramyttium near Ören to the area of the villages of Akçay and Dalyan. In this region,

further interregional communication routes started to open the way to landscapes in different parts of Anatolia, just to mention Cyzicus near the southern shore of the Propontis or Prusa, modern Bursa, in Bithynia.

The coastal road turned westward, following the seaside for some kilometres; in the area of Gargara near modern Arıklı, it changed into the interior of the country, passing the western foothills of Mount Ida. After crossing the Troad, the road reached the Dardanelles. At Lampsacus, today's Lapseki, there was a ferry service, which ensured the connection to the road network in Thrace and on the Balkan Peninsula¹⁹.

Despite the main road leading into the interior of the Troad, a small but well-viable route led from Gargara to the west; it touched the areas of Lampōneia near Kozlu dağı and of Assos (Behraim kale); afterwards, it led via Bademli to Sminthē, modern Gülpınar. A few kilometres north of Assos, a Roman bridge shows that the river Satnioeis (Tuzla çay) has slightly shifted its course in recent centuries. Cape Lekton was connected to this route only by an intersection because taking advantage of the favourable geographical conditions, the street run about 6 km further to the north without passing the hills along the coast, modern Babakale tepeler.

The *Antonine Itinerary*, written in the late 3rd century, describes among others the road from the Dardanelles to Pergamum²⁰. Starting in Lampsacus, the road led via Abydos (Maltepe) and Dardanos south of Kepez to Ilion (Hisarlık); there it turned to the Aegean coast to Alexandria Troas, modern Eski İstanbul. The distances mentioned in the text are generally correct. The next station mentioned after Alexandria is Antandros, a coastal city south-west of modern Avçılar, in the very east of Edremit körfezi. The distance from Alexandria is 35 miles; it is not clear if the itinerary led along the coast via Assos or through the interior of the Troad. The distance between Antandros and Adramyttium is 31 miles; afterwards, the itinerary led to Pergamum, obviously by using the coastal road via Ayvalık and Atarneus, and then into the inner parts of Lydia and Phrygia²¹.

The *Peutinger Map*, in its last ancient version composed in the year 435²², marked the road as well. Due to its greater accuracy, one can realize an itinerary along the seaside of the Aegean and the Gulf of Adramyttium: between Alexandria Troas and Antandros, the map mentioned the stations **Sminthium, ancient Sminthē, which was connected to the sea due to its harbour Chrysa, Assos and Gargara**. From *Adrimittio* listed afterwards, two roads led to *Pergamo*, one along the coast, the other through the steep and troublesome peaks of Mount Pindasos, today's Madra dağı²³.

The development of the road-system in Western Asia Minor took mainly place in Roman times, partly by using an existing infrastructure from older periods, partly in a complete reorganization. In later centuries, during late Antiquity and

19 French, *Milestones I*, 12-18. 45. – French, *Milestones II* 23-25. – Külzer, *Tabula* 51-55. – Külzer, *Verkehrsrouten* 52. 54.

20 Cuntz, *Itineraria* 50, 333,9-335,3. – Külzer, *Assos* 194 f. – Külzer, *Tabula* 59 f.

21 French, *Milestones I*, 12; III, 11-14.

22 Weber, *Datierungen*.

23 French, *Milestones III*, 24. 32-34. – Külzer, *Assos* 195 f. – Külzer, *Tabula* 61.

the Byzantine period, the further expansion of the transport network was limited to the construction of smaller road sections, individual bridges and selective repairs²⁴. Concerning the settlements and harbour places around the Adramytēnos kolpos one can emphasize a general connection to the transegeographical communication system, starting in Antiquity and still in use in the Middle Ages. The coastal settlements were linked to their hinterland; they could make use of the local resources, of agricultural products, livestock, building materials as well as other goods. On the other hand, they could provide the villages with special products procured by sea.

Harbours and landing places at the Anatolian shores of the Gulf of Adramyttium

The westernmost point of the Gulf of Adramyttium lies in the area of modern Babakale: today an Ottoman fortress dominates the place, which was built between 1725 and 1728. Regardless of some unspecified stones, there are no ancient or medieval remains to be seen; but at the beginning of the 20th century, there still existed an ancient harbour construction. The modern local harbour is well suited to the prevailing north-east winds; but if the wind comes from the south, there is no protection at all²⁵. Due to its prominent geographical position, the place is identified with Cape Lekton since the late 19th century. Already Homer mentioned this cape (Homer, Iliad 14.283), Herodotus appreciated its protective function (9,114). Other authors described the cape as border between the Aeolis and the Troad (Pliny, Nat. hist. V 32, 123) or as a prominent place between Alexandria Troad and Assos (Ptolemy V 2, 4). The cape belonged to the theme *Aigaion Pelagos* in the 10th century (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De thematibus 83); maps and portolan charts from the late and post-Byzantine period mentioned the place as Santa Maria²⁶. The famous Piri Reis mentioned the cape in his *Kitab-ı Bahriye* in 1521²⁷. Interestingly, Cape Lekton was differently localized in the past: in the year 1881, Heinrich Schliemann identified Cape Lodos or Deve burnu 5 km further east with Lekton, based on the distances to Polymēdeion, Assos and Gargara mentioned by Homer. This happened irrespective of the fact that there were no settlement remains at all at Cape Lodos. For several years, this place remained afflicted with the ancient tradition, until it fell back to ahistoricity due to an altered identification, which preferred Babakale.

About 9 km east of Babakale, 4 km east of Deve burnu there is an anchorage at Acidere Mevkii, which was already used in middle- and late-Byzantine periods due to the archae-

ological remains. The port was connected with the medieval settlement at Palamut harabesi, located about 1,5 km further north in the interior of the country. Ceramic fragments show that the place was inhabited already in the 12th and 13th centuries. A paved road connected both places; some remains are still preserved²⁸. The nearby Bademli lays at the side-road, which connected Assos with Sminthē; therefore, the harbour place was well connected with its hinterland. Due to the archaeological material, it remained important for the western part of Edremit körfezi until the Ottoman era, although written sources did not mention the place at all. Some scholars searched the ancient city of Polymēdeion in this area, a city, which according to Strabo was located on a hill near the sea (13, 1, 51) and which according to later authors was dedicated to the doom already in the 1st century AD (Pliny, Nat. Hist. V 32, 123; Ptolemy V 2,4)²⁹. However, this localization is wrong; according to archaeological data, the real place of Polymēdeion was further east at Asarlık tepe at the western edge of the bay of Sivrice³⁰.

East of Polymēdeion there is the wide bay of Sivrice, which is still today, despite some minor shallows and cliffs, mentioned in modern sailing manuals as an excellent anchorage³¹. Especially in its eastern parts, the ships are sheltered from the frequent and dangerous winds from the north-east. At Güm-rük burnu, there are small remains from an early Byzantine church; older publications also mention a settlement place there³². Above the bay, there are further settlement remains and ceramics fragments, which belong to the early Byzantine period. In 1521, Piri Reis mentioned a ruined fortress and a silted port at Sivrice bay³³. Some smaller villages in the hinterland of the bay, among them Balabanlı and Bergas, modern Korubaşı, contain various settlement remains from Roman and medieval times; both places are also listed in an Ottoman tax list of the 16th century.

About 8 km east of the bay, there is a small harbour place at Biber deresi; at a distance of 80 m from today's coast, there are remains of an early Byzantine settlement including a three-aisled basilica. Furthermore, the Byzantine settlement near İminikayalar 3 km further to the north was supplied by the port³⁴. From Biber deresi, one can already see the impressive settlement place of Assos at today's Behraim kale. The place was inhabited since the Bronze Age; in the 2nd century AD, it was like Alexandria Troad and Cape Lekton part of *Phrygia mikra* (Ptolemy V 2, 4). Assos was a bishopric already in 431; in the Byzantine period, the city was part of the province of *Asia*, in the 9th century it belonged to the theme of *Aigaion Pelagos*. The early Byzantine settlement was still inside the ancient fortifications; in later centuries, however,

24 Külzer, Assos 187-194.

25 Cook, Troad 227f. 237f. – Heikell, Pilot 60. 64. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 122.

26 Kretschmer, Portolane 652.

27 Piri Re'is 309. 311.

28 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Naturraum 281-283.

29 Talbert, Atlas 851, and Map 56. – Digital Map of the Roman Empire: <https://dh.gu.se/dare/> (23.10.2017).

30 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Siedlungen 156. – Böhlendorf-Arslan, Naturraum 296 fig. 11. – Cook, Troad 283f.

31 Heikell, Pilot 64. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 122f.

32 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Naturraum 297. – But Böhlendorf-Arslan, Siedlungen 155f.

33 Piri Re'is 311. 313. – Böhlendorf-Arslan, Naturraum 283. 296f. – Cook, Troad 239f.

34 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Naturraum 297.

people inhabited mainly parts of the acropolis and an area west of the old fortifications³⁵. Most probably, the famous periplus of Pseudo-Skylax, written before 293 BC, mentioned Assos and its harbour; however, this results only from the context, because the main manuscript, codex *Parisinus suppl. graecus* 443 from the 13th century, owns a *lacuna* just there (see chapter 96). Apostle Paul used the city's harbour in the year 57. One of the **originally two harbour basins** silted up already in the early Byzantine period; this meant a significant restriction. The existing basin shelters only from the north winds; but if the wind comes from south or south-west, which is more common in this area, then landing in the harbour of Assos becomes dangerous³⁶. Therefore, the place lost its importance since the 10th century; consequently, late and post Byzantine portolan charts only scarily mention the city and its harbour.

On the other hand, the **bay of Kadirga burnu**, which is adjacent to the east, offers much better protection to the vessels up to now³⁷. At this place, one can find rich archaeological material from the Hellenistic and Roman periods up to the 15th century; furthermore, **a pier and an anchorage** have survived³⁸. Analysing these remains, some scholars connected the place with the Byzantine bishopric of Gargara in the 19th century³⁹; certainly, this was a mistake, but the idea survived for decades. Once again, historically documented events were attributed to wrong places and false stones.

However, the city of Gargara was not only identified with Kadirga burnu, but also with the archaeological remains at Kozlu dağı, a hill above the village of Kozlu, 4 km north of the coastline of Edremit körfezi. In reality, however, this was the place of ancient Lampōneia, still mentioned as a *polis Trōados* by Stephanus of Byzantium in the 6th century, with reference to older sources (Steph. Byz. L 32 [410]). Only 2 km east of Kozlu, in the south of modern Sazlı, there is another settlement place with a small harbour, which was used in Roman and early Byzantine times. Its importance remained only local.

Already in the 4th century BC, the old city of Gargara (**Palaia Gargara**) was relocated from its place at Koçakaya to the coast; in the 12th century, the *Etymologicum Magnum* remembered this act (221, 26-37). The new place of the city was **at Nusratlı burnu 2 km south-east of Arikli**, as we know today. A paved road led to the coast, but the place of the late antique and medieval harbour remains unidentified yet. Just like Assos, Gargara is not expressly mentioned in the periplus of Pseudo-Skylax, which is disfigured by a text gap. Nevertheless, it is obvious, that the ancient author referred to the city and its port because the manuscript mentioned

immediately after the *lacuna* the cities of Kebrēn, Skēpsis, Neandreia and Pithyeia in the inner parts of the Troad, places, which were easily accessible from the landing places at the Adramyttēnos kolpos (chapter 96). The *Peutinger Map* highlighted Gargara – in contrast to Assos – with a special signature; this fact underlines its excellent traffic connections by land and by sea. The city was a regional market centre, well connected to similar places⁴⁰.

The port of Küçükkuyu, which is about 6 km to the east and prominently highlighted in actual sailing manuals, is of modern origin⁴¹; however, 2 km north of this landing place there was a Byzantine place near the village of **Adatepe**. Like Kadirga burnu and Kozlu, also this place was associated with Gargara by scholars of the 19th century⁴². Only 12 km east of Küçükkuyu there is another harbour, which is appreciated today, the landing place of **Altinoluk**⁴³. The port is modern, too; generally, it is a safe place, but it suffered sometimes from the winds from the north-east. Numerous houses in the older part of the village have *spolia* in their walls; these old architectural remains reveal the existence of an ancient or Byzantine settlement somewhere in the area.

Maybe these materials came from a place in the neighbourhood, still undiscovered; maybe its origin was in **Antandros**, a famous ancient harbour town 4 km further to the east. Pseudo Skylax described this settlement in its border situation between Lydia and Aeolis (chapter 98). Timber, cut in Mount Idē, was processed here for ships and vessels during Antiquity (Thucydides 4, 52). Like Gargara, the *Peutinger Map* highlighted Antandros by representing the town through a special signature. Since the 5th century, Antandros was a bishopric. In our days, the settlement hill is overgrown, mostly with olive trees – we should keep in mind, that the shores of Edremit körfezi are popularly called »Olive Riviera«⁴⁴. Nowadays, a highway leads through the municipal area; it separates **the ancient port area at Avcılar Iskele** from the rest of the city and provides a deceptive picture of the former settlement conditions⁴⁵. Not far away from the village of Avcılar, which is near Antandros inside the country, one can find the place of ancient **Aspaneus**; Strabo mentioned here a stacking place of wood (Strabōn 13, 1, 51). However, the local capitals and other architectural remains from the Byzantine period reveal the survival of the settlement during the Middle Ages⁴⁶.

The landing place of **Astyra** is mentioned by Pseudo-Skylax next to Antandros (chapter 98); it can be found in the innermost north-eastern edge of Adramyttēnos kolpos. In this area, there are two well-known anchorages today, on the one

35 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Assos.

36 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Assos 123 fig. 1. – Heikell, Pilot 64. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 123.

37 Cook, Troad 251, 253f. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 123.

38 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Naturraum 283.

39 Cook, Troad 253.

40 Cook, Troad 255-261. – Concerning the market centres, see Koder, Urban Character 159-164.

41 Heikell, Pilot 65. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 125 f.

42 Judeich, Bericht 542. – Judeich, Gargara 114 f.

43 Cook, Troad 266 f. – Heikell, Pilot 65. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 126 f.

44 Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 125.

45 Cook, Troad 267-271. – Polat, Antandros 209-230. – Stauber, Adramytteion I, 355 *sub voce*.

46 Cook, Troad 267. – Stauber, Adramytteion I, 15.

hand **Ilica Koyu**, a place with hot springs nearby, especially sheltered by north- and western winds, and, on the other hand, the adjacent place of Akçay⁴⁷.

Passing these landing places, the ships reach the place of **old Adramyttium in Ören near Burhaniye**. The city was founded in the 6th century BC; generations later, Pseudo-Skylax recalled to its harbour (chapter 98). In the Roman period Adramyttium was the capital of a special territorial organisation, a juridical district (*conventus iuridicus*); this one was one of the largest in the whole province of *Asia* stressing this way the importance of the city (Pliny, Nat. hist. V 32, 122). In the time of Emperor Trajan (98-117), **the city was dislocated from the coast to the former settlement place of ancient Thēbē in the inner parts of the country, about 12 km further to the north-east**. Archaeological testimonies as well as the report of John Lydus, a historian of the 6th century, who was familiar with the whole region, confirm the date of the city's dislocation. A relocation during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118) as some scholars believe is more than unlikely; the relevant literary sources do not confirm this theory, as an accurate philological analysis shows⁴⁸.

In the south of Ören, the remains of an ancient harbour place have been found below the hill of Bergaz tepe. The existence of another landing place slightly further north is generally accepted. Pseudo-Skylax referred to these places in his periplous (chapter 98). Sailing manuals mention an anchorage at Burhaniye Iskele⁴⁹, but this one is classified as sandy and unprotected; this is the result of geomorphological phenomena, which probably stimulated already the decision to relocate the city in the 2nd century. Adramyttium was a transregional market centre and a bishopric already in 431. In addition, the church hierarchy documented its important position; Adramyttium hold the fifth position among 37 bishoprics in the metropolis of *Asia*, according to the first *notitia episcopatum*, composed in the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610-641)⁵⁰. This position hardly changed in the following centuries⁵¹. Due to its administrative, economic, and political importance, travellers and merchants used to visit the attractive city. They used both communication systems, the roads as well as the sea, the latter regardless of the fact, that the city's position was about 6 km away from the waterfront. The ships anchored probably in the area of Akçay or further to the south; unfortunately, **archaeological remains to determine the concrete position of the main harbour place are not discovered yet.** Smaller vessels were pulled ashore, bigger ones anchored near the coast. The sailors left their vessels and put their goods on beasts of burden or on wagons to reach the local markets in the interior. One must remember

that the mentioned distance of 6 km between the coast and the city-areal is not substantial; for example, the metropolis of Ephesus, always regarded as a coastal town, hold exactly the same position from the seaside.

Nautical charts and portolan charts of the 13th, 14th. or 15th centuries like the Atlas of Tammar Luxuro (13th century), the map of Petrus Vesconte (1311/1320), the Catalan map from 1375 or the Atlas of Andreas Bianco from 1436, mention the city as **Landermiti** or in a similar way⁵². In these sources, Adramyttium was the first important harbour station after the passage of Cape Lekton. This manifests the importance of transegeal maritime traffic for the city. Moreover, the references show that the Edremit körfezi was by no means a cut off corner of the Northern Aegean. On the contrary, the political and economic importance of Adramyttium and its position at a traffic intersection with different roads leading to the inner parts of Asia Minor caused a lively maritime traffic in the bay with numerous ships and vessels transporting various goods and people.

Cape Pyrrha, the southern border mark of the Adramyttēnos kolpos in its narrower sense, is 16 km south-west of Burhaniye. Small ceramic finds bear witness to only insignificant use of the site in the Byzantine period. In the neighbouring bay of Gömeç was the site of the ancient **Kisthēne**, already described by Strabo as an abandoned harbour town with a copper mine in its hinterland (Strabōn 13, 1, 51). In the village of Gömeç itself, milestones from the late 3rd and 4th century AD were discovered, which belonged to the old coastal road⁵³. Various medieval capitals and different architectural remains in the village bear witness to a longer settlement continuity.

The next important harbour places to the south were located at the **Ayvalık Archipelago**; this one is formed by 23 small and smallest islands. In portolan charts, it is sometimes mentioned as **Santa Ana**⁵⁴. Ships and vessels used its copious anchorages; even today, the archipelago is very attractive for sailing boats and yachts, regardless of its cliffs and shallows⁵⁵. Numerous bays offer shelter from the dominant winds from north-east, for example near **Ayvalık**⁵⁶, **ancient Hērakleia**, but also in the more southern bays of Cennet kuyu and Paşa kuyu as well as in the wind shadow of the islands Pinar adası and İncirli adası located further to the west⁵⁷.

In the periplous of Pseudo-Skylax, these excellent anchorages remained, surprisingly, unmentioned; the next important harbour south of Adramyttium this text refers to, is **Atarneus** in the bay of Dikilli, Dikilli körfezi, in the Deep South of Adramyttēnos kolpos in its wider meaning (chapter 98)⁵⁸. The city of Atarneus was located on modern **Kale tepe**, about 4 km

47 Cook, Troad 267. – Stauber, Adramytteion I, 16-26. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 127.

48 Külzer, Assos 194 f. – Stauber, Adramytteion I, 48-50. 145-147.

49 Heikell, Pilot 65. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 128.

50 Darrouzès, Notitiae 206.

51 Darrouzès, Notitiae 219. 233. 252. 274. 296. 310. 354.

52 Kretschmer, Portolane 652 f.

53 Cook, Troad 251. 254. – French, Milestones II 71-73.

54 Kretschmer, Portolane 653.

55 Heikell, Pilot 65-70. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 129-136.

56 Heikell, Pilot 66. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 131 f.

57 Horn/Hoop 130. 134. 136.

58 Heikell, Pilot 60. 70 f. – Horn/Hoop, Nordägäis 138-140. – Heinle, Landeskunde 27-29. 31-33. 140. 144. 192. 226. TYA 71.

inside the country. In the 5th century BC, it was a transregional marketplace, especially for grain (Herodotus 6, 28, 2); but in the 1st century AD it was largely deserted (Pliny, Nat. Hist. V 32, 122; XXXVII 56, 156). However, in the late Byzantine period, there was a small renaissance; according to ceramic fragments and settlement remains, the place was inhabited again.

The landscapes around the Gulf of Adramyttium were easily accessible in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, due to numerous harbours and landing places at its shores and expanded transregional communication roads on the countryside near the sea. The well-developed communication network favoured trade and the exchange of goods; it ensured a certain degree of affluence and prosperity to the local population. This also explained the important position of Adramyttium as a central market town and a leading community in the Byzantine administrative hierarchy. At the northern shore of the Edremit körfezi, four bishoprics were concentrated,

three of them holding a leading position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the province of *Asia*: according to the first *notitia episcopatum* from the 7th century, which will be quoted here as *pars pro toto*, Adramyttium holds the fifth rank, Assos the sixth, and Gargara the seventh rank. Only Antandros was inferior, holding just the 34th position. Nevertheless, also this bishopric, and even more so the others, has a well-developed infrastructure and was a market centre for the villages in its hinterland.

There are only rare and occasional reports concerning the landscapes around the Gulf of Adramyttium in literary sources of late Antiquity and the Middle Ages; essentially, it is archaeological evidence that informs us about the living conditions of the local population in the centuries before the Ottoman occupation. Archaeology shows the reality of life of those people, who lived far away from Constantinople in the vast coastal regions of North-Western Anatolia.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Harbours, landing places and communication routes in North-Western Anatolia. The Gulf of Adramyttium (Edremit körfezi) in Late Antiquity and Byzantine times

The Gulf of Adramyttium (today Edremit) has been an important crossroads of sea and land routes since ancient times, which made connections between the Aegean Sea in the south and the central area around Constantinople in the north and between the sea and the interior of Western Asia Minor, also in combination with the nearby island of Lesbos. The article offers a systematic investigation of the densification of these functions in larger and smaller port towns along the coast between Cape Lekton in the north and Kanē in the south.

Häfen, Landeplätze und Kommunikationswege in Nordwestanatolien. Der Golf von Adramyttium (Edremit körfezi) in der Spätantike und byzantinischen Zeit
Der Golf von Adramyttion (heute Edremit) stellte seit der Antike einen wichtigen Kreuzungspunkt von See- und Landrouten dar, die Verbindungen zwischen der Ägäis im Süden und den Zentralraum um Konstantinopel im Norden bzw. zwischen dem Meer und dem Landesinneren Westkleinasiens herstellten, auch in Kombination mit der nahe gelegenen Insel Lesbos. Der Beitrag bietet eine systematische Untersuchung der Verdichtung dieser Funktionen in größeren und kleineren Hafenorten entlang der Küste zwischen Kap Lekton im Norden und Kanē im Süden.

Sigles Used

AASS	Acta Sanctorum, 1-71 (Paris 1863-1940)	DNP	Der Neue Pauly
ABSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens	DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
ADelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον	DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
AI	Annales islamologiques	DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	DThC	Dictionnaire de la théologie catholique
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana	EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı	GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
BAR	British Archaeological Reports	IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten	IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique	JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
BHG	F. Halkin, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca (Bruxelles 31957)	LBG	Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies	MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
BOO	Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident. Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz	ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia	PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, hrsg. v. J.-P. Migne (Paris 1857-1866)
Byzslav	Byzantinoslavica	PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift	PO	Patrologia Orientalis, hrsg. v. R. Graffin / F. Nau (Paris 1904-)
CCSG	Corpus christianorum, Series Graeca	REB	Revue des Études byzantines
CCSL	Corpus christianorum, Series Latina	SBN	Studi bizantini e neoellenici
CE	Coptic Encyclopaedia	SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae	TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae	TM	Travaux et Mémoires
DeltChrA	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας		

List of Publications of the Project »Harbours and landing places on the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire (4th to 12th centuries)«

Edited volumes and data collections (5)

- J. Preiser-Kapeller / F. Daim (eds), Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems. RGZM – Tagungen 23 = Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zu den Häfen von der Römischen Kaiserzeit bis zum Mittelalter in Europa 2 (Mainz 2015) 141 pp. [org/10.22032/dbt.38384](https://doi.org/10.22032/dbt.38384) (pdf), <https://doi.org/10.22032/dbt.38386> (csv), <https://doi.org/10.22032/dbt.38385> (excel).
- F. Daim (ed.), Die byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels. BOO 4 = Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zu den Häfen von der Römischen Kaiserzeit bis zum Mittelalter in Europa 3 (Mainz 2016) 203 pp. Open access: <https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.330.453>.
- A. Ginalis / D. Heher / A. Külzer / J. Preiser-Kapeller / G. Simeonov, Harbours and landing places on the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire (4th to 12th centuries). In: L. Werther / H. Müller / M. Foucher (eds), European Harbour Data Repository, vol. 04 (Jena 2019). Open access: <https://doi.org/10.11588/10.11588/propylaeum.910>.
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