

HESPERIA

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME 77
2008

This article is © The American School of Classical Studies at Athens and was originally published in *Hesperia* 77 (2008), pp. 655–709. This offprint is supplied for personal, non-commercial use only. The definitive electronic version of the article can be found at <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2972/hesp.77.4.655>>.



HESPERIA

Tracey Cullen, EDITOR

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

- Carla M. Antonaccio, *Duke University*
Angelos Chaniotis, *Oxford University*
Jack L. Davis, *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
A. A. Donohue, *Bryn Mawr College*
Sherry C. Fox, *Wiener Laboratory*
Thomas W. Gallant, *University of California, San Diego*
Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Jonathan M. Hall, *University of Chicago*
Guy M. Hedreen, *Williams College*
Hermann Kienast, *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens*
Leslie V. Kurke, *University of California, Berkeley*
Olga Palagia, *University of Athens*
John K. Papadopoulos, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Jeremy B. Rutter, *Dartmouth College*
A. J. S. Spawforth, *Newcastle University*
Sofia Voutsaki, *Groningen Institute of Archaeology*
Marc Waelkens, *Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven*

Hesperia is published quarterly by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Founded in 1932 to publish the work of the American School, the journal now welcomes submissions from all scholars working in the fields of Greek archaeology, art, epigraphy, history, materials science, ethnography, and literature, from earliest prehistoric times onward. *Hesperia* is a refereed journal, indexed in *Abstracts in Anthropology*, *L'Année philologique*, *Art Index*, *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*, *Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals*, *Current Contents*, *IBZ: Internationale Bibliographie der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenliteratur*, *Numismatic Literature*, *Periodicals Contents Index*, *Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies*, and *TOCS-IN*. The journal is also a member of CrossRef, the citation linking service.

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens is a research and teaching institution dedicated to the advanced study of the archaeology, art, history, philosophy, language, and literature of Greece and the Greek world. Established in 1881 by a consortium of nine American universities, the School now serves graduate students and scholars from more than 150 affiliated colleges and universities, acting as a base for research and study in Greece. As part of its mission, the School directs ongoing excavations in the Athenian Agora and at Corinth and sponsors all other American-led excavations and surveys on Greek soil. It is the official link between American archaeologists and classicists and the Archaeological Service of the Greek Ministry of Culture and, as such, is dedicated to the wise management of cultural resources and to the dissemination of knowledge of the classical world. Inquiries about programs or membership in the School should be sent to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 6–8 Charlton Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540-5232.

HIERON

THE ANCIENT SANCTUARY AT THE MOUTH OF THE BLACK SEA

ABSTRACT

This article presents the currently available literary and archaeological evidence for the sanctuary of Hieron at the mouth of the Black Sea, including the previously unpublished record of its only known excavation. Analyzing the evidence in separate topographical, historical, and archaeological sections, with a map and photographs, the author provides the most complete description of Hieron to date, shows how the entrance to the Black Sea was perceived in spatial and religious terms, and encourages future archaeological exploration that could increase our understanding of ancient trade and settlement in the Black Sea region.

A single site served as a common haven and place of worship for any person entering or leaving the Black Sea in antiquity.¹ It is surprising that such a place remains relatively obscure, especially given the recent and very welcome renaissance in Pontic studies.² For much of its history, Hieron simply meant “The Sanctuary,” a name denoting such fame as to require no further specification.³ As boundary between the Aegean and the Pontus, Hieron

1. This article originated as a short appendix to my 2003 Oxford doctoral dissertation on the Classical Athenian grain supply, in which the Black Sea (and hence Hieron) played an important role. The eventual length and scope of the study, however, led to its exclusion from the resulting monograph (Moreno 2007). I am indebted to my Oxford colleague Adrian Kelly for his sharp philological eye, to Caspar Meyer of Birkbeck College, London, for his expertise in Pontic archaeology, to my former Magdalen pupil John Tully for locating rare materials in remote libraries, and to Christopher Date, Gary Thorn, and Virginia Ennor for their kind help at the British

Museum. I am also grateful to Balliol, St. John's, and Magdalen Colleges, and to the Craven Committee of the Faculty of Classics at Oxford University for extending the academic and financial resources necessary to study and visit the site. Finally, I thank the two anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers for their very constructive comments. All illustrations and translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. The T and I designations in the article (e.g., T3) correspond to texts and inscriptions reproduced in the Appendix.

2. Three international congresses on Black Sea antiquities have been held, at Varna (1997), Ankara (2003), and Prague (2005); major projects of

research and excavation have been launched (e.g., the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies); specialized journals such as *Ancient West & East* and *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* are now devoted to the area; and large catalogued exhibits (e.g., of Graeco-Scythian gold) have toured many European and American cities. See also the short summary by Boardman (1999, pp. 281–282); recent bibliography on each Greek polis on the Black Sea can be found in Avram, Hind, and Tsatskheladze 2004.

3. All testimonia up to Philochoros (T12) omit the article (e.g., ἐφ' ἱερὸν). See below, n. 39.

was the place where divine and (occasionally) mortal powers controlled every passage from one sea to the other. To sailors, Hieron was a common repository and trading place of regionally relevant information; the spot from which all Black Sea navigational charts took their measurements; and the crucial shelter from the numerous dangers involved in negotiating the winding Bosphorus: from pirates, storms, and wars to the notoriously treacherous currents and winds of the straits. In short, Hieron was—and, for us, potentially remains—the key to the Black Sea.

The following pages attempt a survey of the topography, history, and archaeology of the site.⁴ My principal aim is to provide a systematic compilation of the ancient testimonia, inscriptions, and material evidence from the 6th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D., in addition to a map, photographs, and complete references. My attempt to contextualize and synthesize this evidence is a work in progress and should for the most part be regarded as a guide. Above all, the reader should be aware that evidence for the period after the 6th century A.D. is only included selectively, and is presented as well as can be managed by a nonspecialist.

LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

For the fullest physical description of Hieron we are indebted to the 16th-century humanist Pierre Gilles (also known by his Latinized name, Petrus Gyllius). While working as a manuscript hunter for the great Renaissance king of France, Francis I, Gilles became the discoverer, last known reader, and translator into Latin of a complete version of the most important ancient description of the Bosphorus straits. The *Ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου* (or *Per Bosporum navigatio*) was written in the 2nd century A.D. by the geographer Dionysius of Byzantium. Unfortunately, the copy used by Gilles (MS <G>) has been lost since his death in 1555. Fate dealt equally harshly with another surviving copy of Dionysius (Athos A), which emerged in 1841 in the monastery of Vatopedi but was stolen and dismembered shortly thereafter. In 1917 Rudolf Güngerich was able to recover and edit all the fragments of the Athos manuscript, now in Paris and London—except the single membrane on which Hieron figured.⁵ Gilles must therefore remain the crucial mediator of our knowledge of Hieron. His *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres* is a valuable work, not only as a translation of the remaining lost sections of Dionysius, but also as the result of Gilles's full and learned autopsy of the Bosphorus straits in the 16th century.

The crucial detail of Hieron's location is given sequentially by Dionysius in his itinerary (T37), and is preserved and confirmed by Gilles:

Ἱερὸν etiamnum a Graecis appellatum, a Latinis Fanum, parvum castellum natura et muro munitum, a solis Turcis habitatum, situm est in alto supercilio promontorii, cujus projectu Bosporus in maximas totius oris pontici angustias coarctatur.⁶

[The place] still called Hieron by the Greeks, and Fanum by the Latins, a small castle protected by nature and a wall, inhabited only by Turks, lies on the high brow of a promontory, by whose projection the Bosphorus converges into the narrowest part of the whole mouth of the Pontus.

4. What follows should be taken as a completion and reappraisal of the work of Müller (1861), Lehmann (1921), and Lehmann-Haupt (1923), to which I am particularly indebted.

5. Güngerich [1927] 1958, Müller 1861, and Wescher 1874 are the earliest editions of the text.

6. Müller 1855, p. 80.

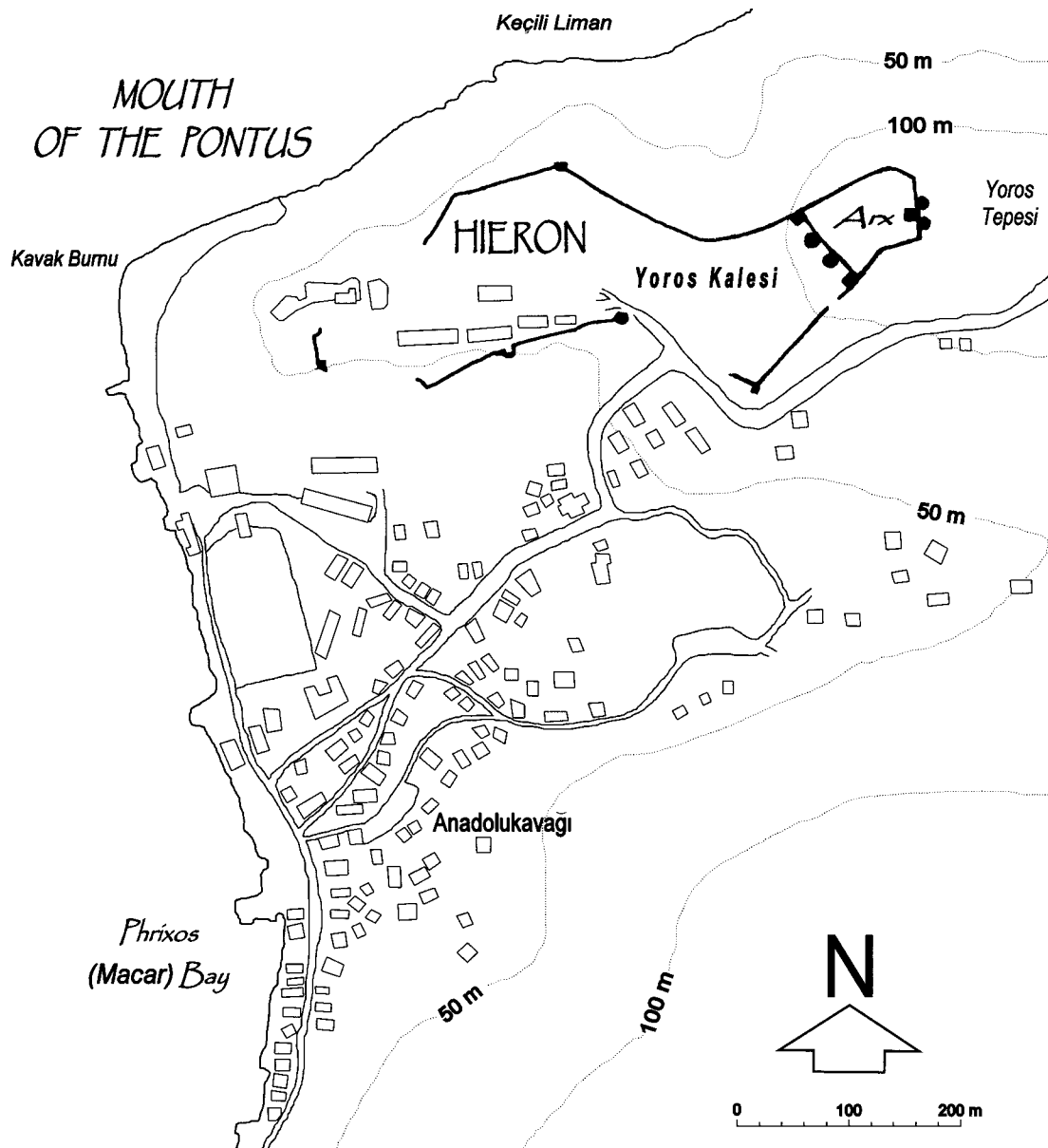


Figure 1. Hieron, site plan

Thanks to Dionysius and Gilles, we possess not only this description of the site, but also its relative position within a dense and well-established sequence of other sites on both sides of the straits.⁷ Even without this valuable geographical information, however, it would be possible onomastically to identify the site of Hieron as the high promontory that juts into the sea at Kavak Point, where the 12th-century “Yoros” castle now stands, commonly (but mistakenly) called “Genoese” (Figs. 1, 2).⁸ The name Yoros is attested as early as 1816 by Clarke,⁹ and it is a clear contraction of the name “Jovisurius” used in late antiquity, as appears, for example, on the

7. See Müller 1861; Dethier 1873, pp. 68–71; *RE* III, 1899, cols. 749–750, s.v. Bosphoros (E. Oberhummer); Foss 2000 (Directory); note in addition that T36 correlates Hieron to the sequence of sites on the other side of the straits.

8. The coordinates are 41°10′42″ north, 29°05′30″ east. On the fortifications, see Lehmann 1921, pp. 168–173; Toy 1930; Gabriel 1943; Foss and Winfield 1986, pp. 148–150; and also Eyice 1976, pp. 63–92, which provides

a large dossier of engravings, photographs, and plans of Yoros Kalesi (figs. 88–131).

9. Clarke 1816, p. 439, n. 5 (“Joro, or Joron”).



Peutinger Table (T43). In turn, *Iouis Urius* is the Latin translation of the Greek Zeus Ourios (“of the fair winds”), the god revealed by Cicero (T21) and Menippos (T25) as the preeminent divinity at Hieron from at least the 1st century B.C. (see also T31, T34, T35, T50, I6).¹⁰

On the shore below the Yoros castle is the Turkish harbor village of Anadolu-kavağı (“Asian Poplars”) (Fig. 3). Gilles’s careful account shows that in the 16th century Anadolu-kavağı did not exist, and that the only population at Hieron lived in the “small castle” on the promontory. Can Anadolu-kavağı nevertheless have been the site of ancient Hieron, as all modern maps seem to assume?¹¹ We know that the name Hieron was extended from the sanctuary to the village (*oppidulum* or πόλισμα—Hieron

Figure 2 (*top*). The promontory of Hieron with Yoros Castle and the Black Sea (horizon), from the south

Figure 3 (*bottom*). Anadolu-kavağı and Macar Bay, looking south to Yuşa Tepesi, from Yoros Castle

10. Lehmann 1921, pp. 173–176.

11. This unfortunately includes, most recently, the *Barrington Atlas* (Foss 2000).



Figure 4 (*top*). The Black Sea, from Hieron

Figure 5 (*bottom*). Lower plateau of the promontory, looking west from the citadel

was never a πόλις) (T36) and the general site (χωρίον) (T20, T25) associated with it in antiquity.¹² It is likely (though, without excavation, by no means certain) that the ancient village was located on the site of Anadolukavağı. However, only the site of the castle, on the high promontory, can agree with Herodotos's account that Darius "sat at Hieron" to survey the Black Sea (T3), because the promontory prevents such a view from Anadolukavağı (Fig. 4). Furthermore, if we follow Dionysius of Byzantium, the temple and main part of the sanctuary must have been on the lower, western plateau of this promontory, with a fortified citadel above it to the east (T37) (Fig. 5).¹³ This citadel must have been on Yoros Tepesi, where is now the keep of the Byzantine fortress, the "small castle"

12. On the "status" of Hieron, see Avram, Hind, and Tsetschladze 2004.

13. Lehmann 1921, pp. 180–181.



Figure 6. Byzantine fortress on the citadel (Yoros Tepesi), from the east

mentioned by Gilles (Fig. 6).¹⁴ The fabric of this building is exceptionally rich in ancient spolia (see Figs. 7 and 8).

Before Cicero and Menippos, who knew Hieron as ἱερὸν Διὸς Οὐρίου, the site was also named τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Χαλκηδονίων or τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀσίας (*Fanum Asiaticum*). But a review of the sources shows clearly that these are not alternative names, but merely qualifications used to distinguish Hieron from τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Βυζαντίων, or τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἑυρώπης (*Fanum Europaeum*), which lay on the opposite shore of the Pontic mouth. References to this companion sanctuary, where the cults of Serapis (T17) and (perhaps earlier) of the Phrygian goddess Cybele (T36) were practiced, are no earlier than the late 4th or mid-3rd century B.C. (by inference from T15). The European Hieron was in any case distinctly less important, and probably less ancient, and appears only seldom in our sources (T26, T33, besides those already given).

Gilles's description of the promontory of Hieron ("by whose projection the Bosphorus converges into the narrowest part of the whole mouth of the Pontus") preserves another crucial topographic fact. The site of Hieron was conceived in antiquity as lying at the narrowest part of the mouth (στόμα or ὅς) of the Black Sea. All sources from the 5th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. explicitly and invariably agree with Gilles on this point.¹⁵ Pausanias's dedication (I1) even speaks of the site as being on the Euxine. That this detail of Hieron's location is now frequently disregarded is not surprising. Indeed, it seems misleadingly self-evident from any modern map that Hieron was well inside the Bosphorus straits (see Fig. 9). A different view might help us envisage the site as the Greeks did (e.g., Fig. 10). The Pontic mouth was pictured as a large area stretching deep

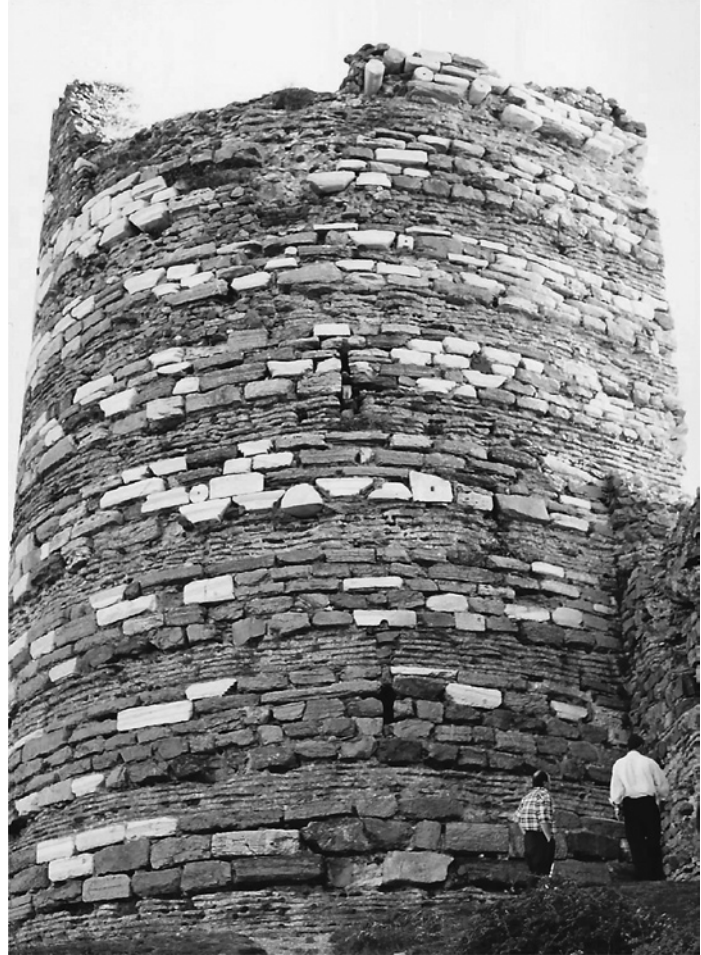
14. Cook (1940, p. 145) offers the attractive suggestion, based on a Byzantine inscription encased in the wall of the fortress (φῶς Χριστοῦ φανεῖ πᾶσι), that this may have been the site of a *pharos*, as mentioned by Philostratos (T40) and illustrated on the Tabula Peutingeriana (T43). See Toy 1930, p. 228, for this and a second Byzantine inscription, with illustrations (pl. LXXVI).

15. See T1, T5, T6, T10, T16, T17, T18, T19, T21, T25, T26, T31, T34, T35, T36, T39, T41, T42, T44, T46, and T50.



Figure 7 (left). Ancient spolia in the Byzantine walls

Figure 8 (right). Architectural fragments in the fabric of the Byzantine tower seen on right in Figure 6



into the Bosphorus.¹⁶ It certainly extended beyond Hieron to the place called by Dionysius “the keys and bolts of the Pontus” (αἱ κλεῖδες καὶ τὰ κλῆθρα τοῦ Πόντου):

aperitur enim Pontus tectus eminentibus promontoriis, nullo amplius impediēte verum aspectum.¹⁷

The Black Sea, having been hidden by towering promontories, is revealed at this point, where no further promontory conceals its real appearance.

Failure to envisage the mouth of the Pontus in this larger sense has led to the confused emendation of the otherwise unproblematic text of Herodotos, where Darius, going to the mouth of the Pontus, visits both the Kyaneai (the Blue or Clashing Rocks, also called the Symplegades)

16. Strabo (12.4.1, and also T30) writes about the mouth of the Pontus at Byzantium and Chalcedon (μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κατὰ Βυζάντιον καὶ Χαλκηδόνα); cf. *RE* III, 1899, col. 743, s.v. Bosphoros (E. Oberhummer) (the site of Hieron itself as “Anfang des

Pontos”); *RE* IXA.1, 1961, col. 1023, s.v. Urios (G. Radke) (“als Beginn des Schwarzen Meeres”).

17. Güngerich [1927] 1958, §69 (Gilles’s translation of the lost passage from Dionysius).



Figure 9. Composite satellite photograph of the Bosphorus. Photo courtesy NASA

of Argonautic fame, as well as Hieron (T3).¹⁸ Most modern editors have rejected the reading ἐπὶ Ἱρῶ, although it has the unanimous support of the manuscripts, and have emended to ἐπὶ ῥίῳ, thus forcing the Great King to shift seats from the famous sanctuary to a nameless headland next to the Rocks.¹⁹ There is no problem with the text: both the Rocks and Hieron were thought in antiquity to lie at the mouth of the Pontus, in the larger sense just described, as indeed Procopius also shows (T48: “the ‘Dark Blue Rocks’ where even now is the place called Hieron”).²⁰

18. It has also led to the mistaken belief (e.g., in How and Wells 1912, p. 332) that Herodotos underestimated the length of the Bosphorus. A related problem: Gilles, following Dionysius of Byzantium, understood—like anyone with personal experience of the Bosphorus, and unlike, e.g., Pickard 1987—the very simple optical illusion behind the “clashing” effect of the rocks (“Symplegadasque fuisse olim flexiones variorum et multiplicium promontorium” [Müller 1861, p. 77]); compare his translation of Dionysius directly before the κλειδες καὶ κληῖθρα τοῦ Πόντου

(Güngerich [1927] 1958, §69): “subsequuntur saxosa littora et praecipitia in mare impendentia velut visionis flexamina ex eo, quod oculis flexibilem aspectum obiciant.”

19. See, e.g., Stein 1869–1871; Hude 1908; Rosén 1987; and Corcella and Medaglia 1993. Dindorf 1844 and Krüger 1855–1856 retain the correct reading.

20. Our differing data for the width of the mouth belong in the context of describing this large area; cf. *RE* III, 1899, cols. 742–743, s.v. Bosphoros (E. Oberhummer). The distance at

Hieron between Asia and Europe, the narrowest part of this mouth, measured just over 1,000 m. Gilles expresses the distance as 4 stadia, a more or less accurate figure that he seems to have accepted from Herodotos (T3) and Philostratos (T40) on the basis of his own acquaintance with the site. Other sources give different measurements for the distance from one continent to the other, but they do not refer to the same part of the Pontic mouth or the Bosphorus straits (see T17, T26, T32, T48). The only exception is T5: could ζ there be a corruption for δ?



Figure 10. Aerial view of the Bosphorus, from the north, showing the Black Sea (foreground), Hieron (center), and Byzantium (background). Photo courtesy NASA

It is variously reported that Hieron was established by Jason and the Argonauts (either on their way to Colchis: T1, T13, T33, T42; or returning from it: T17, T23; cf. T4, T14), or by Phrixos (T37), or by the son (T4) or sons (T14) of Phrixos as he (or they) passed the straits.²¹ The latter variants make it likely that the harbor of Phrixos placed by Stephanus of Byzantium (apparently following Nymphis) “at the mouth of the Pontus” (T49) was none other than Hieron’s harbor, modern Macar Bay.²² The likelihood is strengthened by the fact that Hesychius names the harbor of Phrixos in conjunction with a promontory that must be Kavak Point, since he calls it the “promontory of the Pontic sea” (ἡ ἄκρα τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης), where the temple (ναός) stood “which Jason once dedicated to the Twelve Gods” (T45).

Phrixos/Macar Bay provides protection from the powerful northeasterly (Etesian) winds that blow during the summer, and which (together

21. Cook’s justification of these variations (1940, p. 148) is highly ingenious: “Both attributions amount to much the same thing. For Iason was son of Aison, son of Kretheus, son of Aiolos; while Phrixos was son of Athamas, son of Aiolos. The cult was essentially Aeolian, and *Zeus Ourios* was

but a later religious manifestation of Aiolos himself.” If this is so, however, one should ask why all the variants (with a single and late exception, Pomponius Mela: T31) have Jason or Phrixos establishing a sanctuary not to Zeus, but to the Twelve Gods or Poseidon.

22. See Müller 1883–1901, p. 792 (“ab eoque distinguendus est alter Phixi portus a Dionysio Byz. [Gün-gerich (1927) 1958, §99] commemoratus, qui hodie vocatur Kandliche [= Kanlıca in Foss 2000] a Fano c. 50 stadia meridiem versus”).



Figure 11. View of the narrows at Hieron showing traffic and winds

with the strong, southward surface current) have always been notorious obstacles to all who sail into the Black Sea from the Bosphorus (see Fig. 11).²³ The site fails to elicit the enthusiasm of the British Navy's *Geographical Handbook*: "Macar bay, south of Kavak point, is deep, but the high shores cause baffling winds which make the anchorage unsafe."²⁴ But Gilles, who had considerable practical experience of traditional sailing conditions in the Bosphorus, gives a different and decidedly more positive description, adding the crucial availability of plentiful fresh water:²⁵

Sub imam vallem a cardine meridiano claudentem Fani Asiatici promontorium, subjectus est portus optimus, et valde profundus, quem a septentrionis et orientis ventis tutum efficit promontorium Fani numquam fere navibus carentem: quo simili portu caret Fanum Europaeum; itaque hominum opere molibus jactis factus erat. Cujus reliquias nunc appellari Mauromolem ante dictum est. Prope illum portum Asiaticum existit vallicula laurorum silva virens, per quam fluit fons, perennem rivum emittens, etiam aestate implere valentem quinque digitorum fistulam.²⁶

Along the foot of the valley bordering the promontory of the Asiatic Hieron on the south is located an excellent and very deep port, which the promontory of Hieron renders safe from northerly and easterly winds, and which is almost never empty of ships. Since the European Hieron lacks a similar port, one was built artificially, by laying a mole. It was said before that the ruins of this are now called Mavromole. Near the Asiatic port exists a verdant little valley with a grove of laurels, through which flows a spring, which releases a stream that flows throughout the year, and even in summer is capable of filling a water pipe 5 inches in breadth.

23. See Tott [1784] 1786, pp. 44–45; *RE* III, 1899, col. 744, s.v. Bosphoros (E. Oberhummer); Carpenter 1948; Labaree 1957.

24. Naval Intelligence Division 1942, p. 51.

25. On the fountain, see also Vyzantios 1862, pp. 201–202, who reports the ruins of a temple in its vicinity (perhaps the Temple of Artemis, mentioned in T39 and T45 as located on the harbor?). Vyzantios also notes that the etymology of the bay's name (Macar) may be related to this stream.

26. Müller 1861, pp. 80–81.

The reader should note that the frequency of ships that Gilles observes using the bay had nothing to do with the size of the town, which, as we have seen, was minuscule in the 16th century (“parvum castellum . . . a solis Turcis habitatum”). This has always been the case. Hieron’s location is completely inadequate for more than a village. Hemmed in between the sea and the rough mountains of coastal Bithynia, it is a site difficult to access by land and unsuited to agriculture.²⁷ Hieron’s obvious link to the rest of the world—in fact, the very reason it existed—was always the sea.

The military and commercial advantages of the bay were always clear, whether the site was used simply as a shelter or staging ground for sailors (T25, T37); a place for naval convoys to gather (T7, T8, T11, T12, T22); or a fort to control, levy tolls on, or simply block traffic into or out of the Black Sea (T19).²⁸ This explains why the sanctuary contained documents and monuments addressed to any sailor who was about to enter or exit the Pontus (T2, T9, T16, I1, I2, I5, I6).

Even more fundamental to our understanding of Hieron’s historical function and importance is its symbolic role as a place of passage. Hieron is a classic instance of a Greek nonurban sanctuary as a point of geographical and political reference, and as a feature of demarcation and transition, possession and mediation, in the senses famously proposed and demonstrated by François de Polignac.²⁹ The Bosphorus as a whole, by both connecting and separating two seas and two continents, is perhaps the perfect example of a landscape symbolically encoded in this way.³⁰ But this is even more true at Hieron, whose mythological foundation was the pioneering (indeed heroic) act of sacrifice by Greeks on the shores of the Black Sea. It is this that makes the sanctuary an appropriate place for the Persian king, in Herodotos’s account, to survey the Pontus before crossing into Europe to invade Scythia (T3).³¹ A possible meaning of this scene may not have been lost on the historian’s audience: the way that Darius surveys the sea by “sitting at Hieron” (ἰζόμενος . . . ἐπὶ Ἱερῶν) seems to suggest his enthronement at the sanctuary, and thus his transgressive assumption of the position of a god before his expedition, which of course ended in failure. The dedication of a massive cauldron by Pausanias as “ruler of Hellas” certainly had such a meaning: prestige offerings at Greek nonurban sanctuaries were, as Polignac has shown, powerful claims of domination.³² But they could also be classic displays of hubris: the cauldron was evidence that Pausanias “gave himself over completely to arrogance” in the period popularly known to have led to his downfall (T16).

Darius’s survey of the Black Sea from Hieron makes a further point about the site. It is at this place in his narrative that Herodotos provides a digression on the size of the Black Sea, a decision clearly related to the fact that Hieron was the point where every Pontic sailing itinerary (σταδισμός) began.³³ Hieron thus allowed the Greeks to frame the entire Pontic space and to articulate its dimensions using a common variable: “How far from Hieron?” While the general importance of this fact for navigation, trade, and colonization cannot be overstated, its specific use is nowhere more striking than in a 4th-century contract for a maritime loan (T10). The document names Hieron as the place where the Black Sea ends, and which the borrowers, on their return voyage to Athens, must have passed

27. The most important natural resource at Hieron is, unsurprisingly, the plentiful fish migrating around the Black Sea (T19, T41). Fishing was no doubt a seasonal and profitable industry, as was true near Gibraltar in Roman times. See also Vyzantios 1862, p. 200.

28. On the Byzantine customs and toll point from the time of Justinian, see Ahrweiler 1961, 1966.

29. See Polignac 1995, p. 104, particularly his parallels of sanctuaries imposing a point of reference on the sea in the Greek colonial world.

30. See Gilles (Müller 1861, p. 3): “Bosporus una clave duos orbes, duo maria aperit et claudit.”

31. The account is completely believable, and in line with the famous Persian sensitivity to local religious customs, which Darius elsewhere demonstrates, e.g., in connection with the sacred gardeners of Apollo in western Asia Minor (ML 12); on the genuineness of this document, see Briant 2002, pp. 491–493; Kuhrt 1995, vol. 2, p. 699.

32. See Polignac 1995, pp. 51–52.

33. See T5, T6, T25, T27, T28, T29, T34, T35, T50.

before a certain date (the heliacal rising of Arcturus, in late September) if they wished to avoid a significantly higher rate of interest. The choice of date is due not only to the perceived dangers of entering the Aegean so late in the sailing season, but also to the fact that, if piracy threatened, the vessels sailing from Hieron after the rise of Arcturus were the last to receive protection by Athenian naval convoys (see T7).

HISTORY

Hieron's position as the cardinal marker of the Pontus is unbroken in history from Darius to the Peutinger Table. This alone is a startling fact, and it strongly suggests the possibility that Hieron's foundation coincides with the earliest Greek ventures into the Black Sea. The excavation of Hieron might therefore make a decisive contribution to the ongoing debate on the chronological and historical context of Greek "precolonial" ventures in the first half of the 7th century B.C.,³⁴ and the establishment of the first Greek settlements beginning in the last half of that century.³⁵ The earliest archaeological evidence for both types of activity in the area of the Bosphorus straits and the Propontis currently derives from only one location (Byzantium) and is of very limited quantity.³⁶

The mythological variants of Hieron's foundation provide little practical help in elucidating the site's history in the Archaic period.³⁷ Our earliest testimonia, however, suggest that the site had considerable fame and prestige some time before Darius's visit ca. 513 B.C. (T3) and Pausanias's dedication ca. 478–475 B.C. (T2, T16), the two earliest dated events at Hieron. The royal visit in particular suggests a conservative terminus ante quem for the foundation of Hieron in the first half of the 6th century (the terminus post quem being perhaps the early, 7th-century phases of Greek activity in the Black Sea). It may be relevant to note that the "mass colonization" of the Black Sea, in which it is very likely that a site like Hieron played an important role, is currently thought to have begun ca. 600 B.C.³⁸ Only future archaeological exploration of the site can narrow the period of Hieron's foundation from a wide hypothetical range of ca. 700 to ca. 550 B.C. into something more helpfully precise.

Sources after Herodotos—Apollodoros (T7, T8), Demosthenes (T9), Pseudo-Demosthenes (T10), and Philochoros (T12)—all expect their

34. Carpenter (1948) doubted the ability of the Greeks to sail into the Black Sea before ca. 680 B.C.; this position was attacked by Labaree (1957), Graham (1958), and Drews (1976), who argued from literary sources for Greek colonization beginning in the 8th century. The dominant view among archaeologists is that of Boardman (1999, pp. 238–245), and is tentatively followed here (cf. Tsatskheladze 1994, p. 114, otherwise following Boardman, yet willing to see the 8th

century as "a time of exploration" of the Black Sea by Greeks); see further Tsatskheladze 1994, pp. 111–113, for bibliography on the controversy, and Tsatskheladze 1998, pp. 10–15, for the archaeological evidence of the precolonial phase.

35. See Tsatskheladze 1994, pp. 115–118; 1998, pp. 19–36.

36. Samples of Corinthian pottery dated to ca. 600 B.C. found at Byzantium, whose foundation is said by literary sources to have occurred around 660 B.C.: see Boardman 1999, pp. 242,

246; Loukopoulou and Laitar 2004, p. 916, on the literary sources.

37. Tsatskheladze (1994, pp. 114–115), who examines the chronology of visual representations of the Argonautic myth, finds that the earliest depictions date from the 7th century, and more generally that the myth "must be judged poorly illustrated."

38. Tsatskheladze 1994, pp. 119–121 (the 6th century covers his second and third stages of colonization); 1998, p. 67.

audiences to know the place simply as “Hieron,” remarkably without further qualification.³⁹ Herodotos suggests an even greater fame by explaining the size of the Scythian cauldron of Ariantas at Exampaia (near Olbia) by choosing, as a familiar point of comparison, Pausanias’s dedication at Hieron. Initially, one might wonder whether this comparison was meant for the benefit of members of Herodotos’s audience who might have visited Hieron, and sailed into the Black Sea, but had never been to Olbia or known of Exampaia and its cauldron. But this seems so unlikely that we must conclude that many 5th-century Greeks, like Pausanias himself, did not have to enter the Black Sea in order to know the famous Hieron, either through autopsy or report.⁴⁰

We have 4th-century evidence that Hieron was the depository of copies of Greek political inscriptions: there is a report of Athenian decrees honoring the Bosporan king Leukon (T9), and a surviving copy of the Olbian coinage decree (I2). Hieron was the perfect place to deposit such documents, as it was the possession of everyone and no one. Despite its proximity to Byzantium and Chalcedon, which always contested ownership between themselves (and with a succession of thalassocrats), we are told that the sanctuary generally remained “a common haven to all who sail” (T37). Hieron thus fits the typical role of a Greek sanctuary as a place of “mutual recognition,” where divine protection guaranteed the sanctity of all undertakings, including treaties, and aided in the dissemination of their information.⁴¹

We might use this insight to extract some further meaning from the visits of Darius and Pausanias, since a 5th-century Greek audience would have understood them to coincide and to prefigure the perceived border of the Greek and Persian worlds after the famous Peace of Kallias.⁴² The Peace referred to the Kyaneai (i.e., the Pontic mouth, where Hieron stood) as one of the limits beyond which Persian fleets could not sail.⁴³ It is a tempting speculation that, like the Athenian decrees later mentioned by Demosthenes, a copy of the Peace of Kallias was erected at Hieron, both to proclaim a fact supremely relevant to those entering or leaving the Pontus, and to guarantee the document’s sacrosanctity.⁴⁴

As was normal in any Greek sanctuary, Hieron seamlessly combined a set of religious and practical roles. Every summer, sailors entering the Pontus would have waited in its harbor for a break in the Etesian winds, and probably combined the stop with worship at the sanctuary (see T37). Their return to the Aegean in late summer was arguably even more important, as their ships now came loaded with lucrative cargoes including

39. See above, n. 3. Cf. Cook 1940, p. 142 (the “Sanctuary” *par excellence*); and, picturesquely, Grosvenor 1895, p. 210 (“a Gibraltar of the gods”).

40. Compare Grosvenor’s description (1895, pp. 209–210): “The Hieron was a place whither pilgrims pressed as to Mecca or Lourdes. It was sufficiently remote to render pilgrimage meritorious, and not so inaccessible as to make the pious journey dangerous or hard.”

41. Polignac 1995, p. 109.

42. See Badian 1993, pp. 1–107, unorthodox but persuasive in arguing for 466/5 as the date of the Peace (with renewals in 449 and 423), and giving a complete bibliography and survey of the problems.

43. See Meiggs 1972, pp. 146–148; Badian 1993, pp. 14–15.

44. Might this explain why (curiously) it is Isokrates who gives us

the earliest detailed reference to the terms of the Peace ca. 380? There is no particular reason why Isokrates would have particular knowledge of this document, except for the fact that his Bosporan students would have had to pass through Hieron, and would have known the inscription if a copy had been erected there (see Isok. 17, written ca. 393; Isok. 15.224).

slaves, grain, fish, and hides (T12, T19). The passage of grain through the Bosphorus was of course especially critical, as was the exaction of tolls on all merchandise.⁴⁵ During the Ionian revolt, Histiaios of Miletos had seized shipping and obtained revenues in the straits;⁴⁶ imperial Athens later established customs points identical in their strategic and financial importance, and even later became famously vulnerable to blockades of grain from the Black Sea⁴⁷—but the sites we hear about in this connection are invariably Byzantium, Chrysopolis, Chalcedon, Kyzikos, and the Hellespont. Why not Hieron?

Despite its exceptional position, Hieron played a very different role from other Bosphoran sites in this period: it was never a customs point or pirate's nest. Instead, we hear that whenever piracy or war threatened to starve or severely deprive Athens (much as the Harpies were said to have done to poor Phineus on the coast opposite the sanctuary), merchant ships assembled at Hieron to be convoyed through the straits by Athenian triremes. The references to this long and complex operation, which lasted as long as 45 days, reveal 4th-century Athenian naval capabilities as badly overstretched—as in 362 and 361, when Byzantium and Chalcedon were attempting to seize grain shipments (T7, T8).

Of greater historical significance (though Hieron has never been closely studied in this connection) are the events of the late summer of 340, which became the immediate cause of war between Philip II and Athens. On that occasion the Macedonian king surprised the Athenians by seizing the grain ships while they were at Hieron itself (T11, T12, T22). The general Chares, who was responsible for the convoy, was absent. Was he negligent? Outright blame seems out of the question, but to excuse him by saying that the Peace of Philokrates was still in force (even if only by slender technicalities) seems to miss the point.⁴⁸ The reason why Chares was away was probably the same one that made Hieron the appropriate site for the marshaling of convoys of merchantmen, or that prevented the stationing there of customs officials: it was the status of Hieron as a sanctuary, giving it (and any who stopped there) a divine guarantee of inviolability (ἀσυλία).⁴⁹ Chares apparently did not expect Philip, a man notoriously sensitive to the public observance of religious procedure (whether genuinely or not is beside the point), to commit blatant sacrilege by violating the sanctuary.⁵⁰

This reasoning seems to lie behind Didymos's description of the seizure as Philip's "most lawless act" (τὸ παρὰ νόμον ἔργον), and a similar

45. On the changing importance of grain exports to the Aegean (and especially Athens) from the Black Sea from the 6th to 4th centuries B.C., see Moreno 2007, with full references to and treatment of the current debate.

46. Hdt. 6.5.3.

47. Athenian officials called "watchers" (φρουροί) by Aristophanes and Eupolis are attested at Byzantium and Kyzikos before 424/3 and at Chalcedon before 405 (Ar. *Vesp.* 235–237; Eupolis *PCG* fr. 247; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.1–2). These seem to be the same officials called the

Ἑλλησποντοφύλακες in the inscriptions that authorize grain shipments to Methone and Aphytis to sail from Byzantium: *IG* I³ 61, lines 10–32 (date: 430/29) give tributary and diplomatic concessions to the Methoneans for good behavior toward Athens; lines 32–41 (date: 426/5) say that the Ἑλλησποντοφύλακες will permit import of grain from Byzantium tax-free (presumably also for good behavior); *IG* I³ 62 (date: 428/7) shows concessions on grain imports to Aphytis identical to those granted to Methone in return for

an oath of alliance with Athens and Athenian soldiers on Potidaia.

48. Cf. Hammond and Griffith 1979, p. 575: "It was not a good moment, this, for Chares to have left his squadron in order to confer with Persian commanders, admirable though the concept of a concerted strategy must seem."

49. On this topic generally, see Rigsby 1996.

50. On Philip and his "religious convictions," see Hammond 1994, p. 95.

portrayal by Demosthenes no doubt constituted a powerful Athenian justification in smashing the stelai recording the Peace of Philokrates and officially going to war against the barbarian king of Macedon.⁵¹ There was, however, a basic mitigating aspect to the seizure: Philip could also accuse the Athenians of impiously using a common sanctuary as a base to provision his declared enemy, the city of Selymbria.⁵² Accordingly, he released 50 of the 230 captured ships as neutral, a gesture meant to portray the Athenians as the real violators of the sacrosanctity of the sanctuary and its port.⁵³

Unfortunately, it is not possible to follow the history of the site in detail after the Classical period. It seems clear, however, that Hieron's sacrosanctity, apparently always respected before 340, was never fully restored. It is at Hieron that the Parian Marble (T15) places the two-day naval battle that took place in the summer of 318 between Kleitos and Nikanor, the admiral of Antigonos, and which we find described at greater length in Diodorus (T24) and Polyaeus (T38).⁵⁴ Using a tactic remarkably similar to Philip's, Antigonos ferried men from Byzantium to Hieron, ruthlessly surprising Kleitos, exactly like Chares before him. The Temple of the Twelve Gods on the promontory and the Temple of Artemis on the harbor may have suffered as a result of the events of either 340 or 318 (or both), since we find them being rebuilt and renewed (respectively) by the Byzantine *strategos* Timesios of Argos, probably sometime in the late 4th century (T45).⁵⁵

The Galatians pillaged Hieron probably not long after they crossed into Asia in 278 B.C. (T37). The sanctuary, having been converted decisively into a fortified customs point, later fell under Seleukid control, since it was sold to the Byzantines "for a considerable sum of money" (T19) by Seleukos II or III (T37).⁵⁶ It was in turn briefly taken from the Byzantines ca. 220 B.C. by Prusias of Bithynia, who agreed to return it after having dismantled its fortifications (T20). From a strategic point of view, Hellenistic Hieron thus seems to have played a role not very different from that of Byzantium or Chrysopolis in the 5th century B.C.

Yet, despite all of these "waves of war," as Cicero calls them (T21), Hieron probably flourished during the Hellenistic period. The sanctuary, which seems earlier to have given preeminence to the Twelve Gods, Poseidon, and Artemis, now becomes decisively devoted to Zeus or Jupiter Ourios, and remains associated with this god until the end of antiquity (T43).⁵⁷ Cicero refers to the famous cult statue of that god (T21), whose worship appears to become enormously popular also at Delos around this time,

51. Dem. 18.73.

52. See Wüst 1938, p. 132.

53. See Bresson ([1994] 2000, pp. 132–133), who shows that documentation normally found on board would indicate where ships were bound.

54. The battle has been badly misplaced since Polyaeus (Ἐλλάσποντος, ἐνθα ἡ μάχη): see, e.g., Kromayer and Veith 1928, p. 173 ("in der Propontis"); Engel 1973, p. 143 ("Etwa im nordöstlichen Küstenzipfel der Propontis").

55. See Lehmann 1921, p. 175.

56. Probably the latter (during his short rule, 226–223), given the indication μικροῖς ἀνότερον χρόνις, referring to ca. 220 B.C., in Polybios T19; cf. Walbank ad loc. (1957–1979, vol. 1, p. 504) (uncertain); Müller 1861, p. 76, n. 1 (opting for Seleukos II).

57. The Twelve Gods: T4, T13, T14, T16?, T17, T23?, T33, T42?, T45; Poseidon: T1, T14, T16, T32?; Artemis: T39, T45. Lehmann (1921, pp. 173–174) reconciles the multiple traditions by arguing that Poseidon,

initially the chief of the Twelve Gods worshipped at Hieron, later yielded preeminence to his *syμβomos*, Zeus. Müller (1883–1901, p. 792) explains the separate cult of Artemis as not included among that of the Twelve Gods at Hieron (according to T33). On the epithet Ourios, see *RE* IXA.1, 1961, cols. 1024–1028, s.v. Ourios (G. Radke); cf. Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980, pp. 479–480, on Aesch. *Supp.* 594, the earliest attestation of the word.

and to spread to the western Mediterranean.⁵⁸ At Delos, this phenomenon seems attributable in part to Pontic devotees, including Mithridates VI, who might have “imported” the god from Hieron; but Roman and Levantine worshippers were equally (or even more) assiduous in embracing Zeus Ourios in syncretism with Jupiter *Imperator* or *Secundanus*, or the Egyptian god Serapis.⁵⁹ Two dedications to Zeus Ourios at Hieron from the 1st century B.C. depict Hieron as more widely frequented than ever before. One is a stele set up in 82 B.C. by a crew under the command of the legate Aulus Terentius Varro (I5), a legate of L. Licinius Murena.⁶⁰ The presence of these men at Hieron suggests that the area of Roman naval operations during the so-called Second Mithridatic War included the Bosphorus straits and even the Black Sea.⁶¹ The other inscription (of the Augustan period), on the base of a statue of Zeus Ourios, is a charming elegiac dedication by Philo, apparently the son of Antipater of Tyre (I6).⁶²

It is therefore all the more perplexing that shortly after this date we face an almost total absence of literary evidence on the site of Hieron. In fact, aside from the continuing appearance of the site in Roman and Late Antique *stadiasmoi*, the silence is complete. A corrupt passage from the elder Pliny, as emended by Carl Müller, may even indicate that the town at the mouth of the straits (named Uriopolis in the *Natural History*) no longer existed by the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. (T32). Equally ominous may be the uncharacteristically cursory physical description of the site by Dionysius of Byzantium in the 2nd century A.D.: dwelling at length on a single dedication (a statue of a praying boy), he does not mention Zeus Ourios or any other cult at Hieron (T37).⁶³

The site returns to historical prominence in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., but now exclusively as a customs and toll point. The post of Count of the Straits of the Pontic Sea (κόμης στενῶν τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης), based at Hieron (T44), seems to date to the reign of Anastasios (A.D. 491–518).⁶⁴ Among the duties of the *comes* was to see “whether anything was being conveyed to the barbarians who are settled along the Euxine Sea, of a sort which it is not permitted to export from the land of the Romans to their enemies” (T46). Hieron also appears as an operational base following a Hunnic attack on Bosporos (ancient Pantikapaion) in A.D. 528, which prompted Justinian to mount a major amphibious campaign to the eastern Crimea and Taman (T44).⁶⁵ Perhaps at the same time, the

58. See Cook 1925, p. 708, on this statue and its appearance (according to a Syracusan coin of 215–212 B.C., fig. 643); see *RE* IXA.1, 1961, cols. 1025–1028, s.v. *Urios* (G. Radke); Klek 1937; and Cordano 1993 on the diffusion of the cult to the West.

59. See Cook 1940, pp. 152–157.

60. See Broughton 1952, pp. 70, 72.

61. See Lehmann-Haupt 1923, p. 368; *IKalch*, p. 30.

62. Cook 1940, p. 147, n. 2; *IKalch*, p. 28; *RE* IXA.1, 1961, col. 1025, s.v. *Urios* (G. Radke).

63. See Müller 1861, p. 76, n. 1: “Proclivis igitur conjectura est topogra-

phum nostrum, in recensendis diis juxta Bosporum cultis diligentissimus, Jovis Urii propterea non meminisse quod nullus tum superesset.” The statue (the “Praying Boy” type; cf. Philostratos, T40) is discussed at length by Cook (1940, pp. 149–152) and Sauer (1908). Perhaps the original bronze, or at least a copy of it, is the “Praying Boy” in the Berlin Museum (Conze 1891, pp. 2–5, no. 2), attributed to Boedas of Byzantium, son and pupil of Lysippos.

64. Ahrweiler 1961, pp. 246–250; cf. 1966, p. 13, n. 4. See also Mordtmann 1879.

65. Gajdukevič 1971, pp. 513–516.

emperor modified and enhanced the duties of the *comes*, apparently adding the levy of a toll (T46).⁶⁶

Byzantine warfare—with the Herulians in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. and with the Slavs on up to four separate occasions from 865 to 1043—is likely to have affected the physical condition of the site.⁶⁷ These events, like Justinian's expedition to the Bosphorus, seem to have hastened the conversion of Late Antique Hieron into an important Byzantine fortress.⁶⁸ This is the nature of the visible Byzantine ruin, built in the 12th century by Manuel I Comnenus, who also extended a chain from it to a second fortress (Rumelikavağı) across the Bosphorus.⁶⁹ The fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 seems to have put an end to Byzantine administration of the fortresses, which Byzantium formally surrendered by treaty to the Genoese in 1352.⁷⁰ The Genoese probably remained there until 1452, when the Ottomans cut off Latin shipping through the Bosphorus.⁷¹

By the time of Gilles's visit in the 16th century, both fortresses, together with the moles that had held the chains, were in a state of complete decay.⁷² Hieron was reduced to a "small fortress" (*parvum castellum*) on the site of the ancient citadel. It was inhabited "only by Turks," probably a permanent garrison with a mosque and hamam installed by Bayezid II.⁷³ Gilles saw these men quarrying enormous stones from the ruins. He describes the area immediately to the west, the location of the ancient sanctuary, thus:

quod adhuc utrinque moenibus antiquis oppidi Fani cinctum spectatur jam penitus deserti et vineis consiti.⁷⁴

The part of the town of Hieron, which up to the present time can be seen surrounded on either side by ancient walls, is now thoroughly deserted and planted with vines.

Bayezid's garrison was decommissioned by Murad IV in the year 1624, and new fortifications were built on the shore of the straits to protect against Cossack incursions; this is the origin of the modern town of Anadolukavağı.⁷⁵ The fortifications were further strengthened and provided with artillery by the French engineers Toussaint in 1783 and Meunier in 1794.⁷⁶ The fort remained a vital military asset to the Ottomans until the empire's collapse after World War I, which led to the demilitarization of the Bosphorus. But Turkish military control was resumed under the Montreux Convention in 1936.⁷⁷ The strategic importance of the straits, which the Convention still enshrines, is only likely to increase further in coming years, as the vast energy reserves of central Asia are tapped and piped to Black

66. Ahrweiler 1961, pp. 239–246; see also 1966, p. 384, n. 6, and Lehmann 1921, p. 179, on the profitable exaction of tolls by Alexios Apokaukos and John Kantakouzenos in 1345; cf. Lee 2000, p. 54. The precise location of Mochadion ("near the place which is now called Hieron"), where Justinian built a church to the archangel Michael (T47), is unknown: see Janin 1934, p. 47; 1975, p. 9.

67. See Gibbon 1776–1788, vol. 5, pp. 460–463 (Womersley), for Greek fire deployed against the Russians at the entrance to the straits; Müller 1861, p. 76, n. 1.

68. See Ahrweiler 1961.

69. See Foss and Winfield 1986, pp. 148–150.

70. Ahrweiler 1961; see Nicol 1988, pp. 255, 276–277; further references can be found in Lehmann 1921, p. 178;

Janin 1964, p. 485.

71. Gibbon 1776–1788, vol. 6, pp. 938–941 (Womersley).

72. Müller 1861, p. 80.

73. Gabriel 1943, p. 80.

74. Müller 1861, p. 80.

75. Vyzantios 1862, p. 201; Gabriel 1943, pp. 81–83.

76. Vyzantios 1862, p. 201.

77. Gabriel 1943, p. 79, n. 2.

Sea ports.⁷⁸ That is to say, extensive access to Hieron for archaeological study remains sadly unlikely for the foreseeable future. Fortunately, the site remains almost entirely undeveloped except for military installations, from the vicinity of which civilians are still excluded. Only the citadel (on Yoros Tepesi) is accessible to visitors, who arrive in considerable numbers at Anadolukavağı, the northernmost station of the Istanbul ferries, and ascend the hill to picnic and enjoy the stunning scenery.⁷⁹

ARCHAEOLOGY

Hieron has only been excavated once, in 1863, by the British physician Julius Michael Millingen (1800–1878). During his extraordinary career Millingen attended Lord Byron at Metaxata and performed his autopsy at Missolonghi, worked in Istanbul as court physician for five successive Sultans, and helped to introduce the Turkish bath to England.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, only the briefest report of his excavation at Hieron has ever appeared, in a London newspaper of December 1863.⁸¹

The article reports that on July 18, 1863, Millingen “almost accidentally noticed” a large marble slab buried under the entrance to the Byzantine fortress. Alerted by one of his sons that there were “several eggs beneath the surface,” Millingen realized that he was dealing with a carved architectural fragment “some 12 ft. 6 in. in length.” Then, “fearing to injure the work by rash or imprudent digging, he at once communicated a résumé of his observations to the British Museum,” and obtained from it an offer of financial assistance conditional on the Ottoman Porte’s approval. But the Porte (approached through the British ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Henry Bulwer) refused permission for an English excavation, “fearing either that the ground contained hidden treasure, or that the relics would be removed to England.” The Porte did, however, allow Millingen permission to continue his work, and promised to defray his expenses. Only then did Millingen begin to dig, and “after much care and labour, threw open the magnificent portal” of which the newspaper published an engraving (Fig. 12) and the following description:

The lintel, as before stated, is 12 ft. 6 in. in length by 6 ft. broad, whilst the two upright columns are about 18 ft. high, and rest on a fourth block, or threshold, of marble of equal dimensions with the lintel. These massive stones are all of pure Parian marble, the lintel itself being exquisitely carved, though from the nature of the ground under which it has remained buried for so many years, and from the evident remains of the castle gateway it must formerly have been used as the doorstep of the entrance to the citadel.

The description and engraving present a puzzle, for such a design, whether for a portal or other building, is foreign to the traditions of Greek or Roman architecture. We have a “lintel” carved with *ova*, resting directly, without an entablature, on two “columns” without capitals; and these columns, which appear fluted on the engraving, in turn rest directly, without bases, on a “threshold.” Can this be, as the newspaper claims, the “Portal of an Ancient Temple”?

78. See Greenberg and Kramer 2006.

79. See Freely 1993, pp. 93–108. For earlier references, see Grosvenor 1895, p. 212; Baedeker 1905, pp. 134–137; Mamboury 1951, p. 553; Sumner-Boyd and Freely 1973, pp. 494–500.

80. Millingen 1831; Mavrogény 1891; Saunders 1909; Hall 2004.

81. *ILN* 1863.

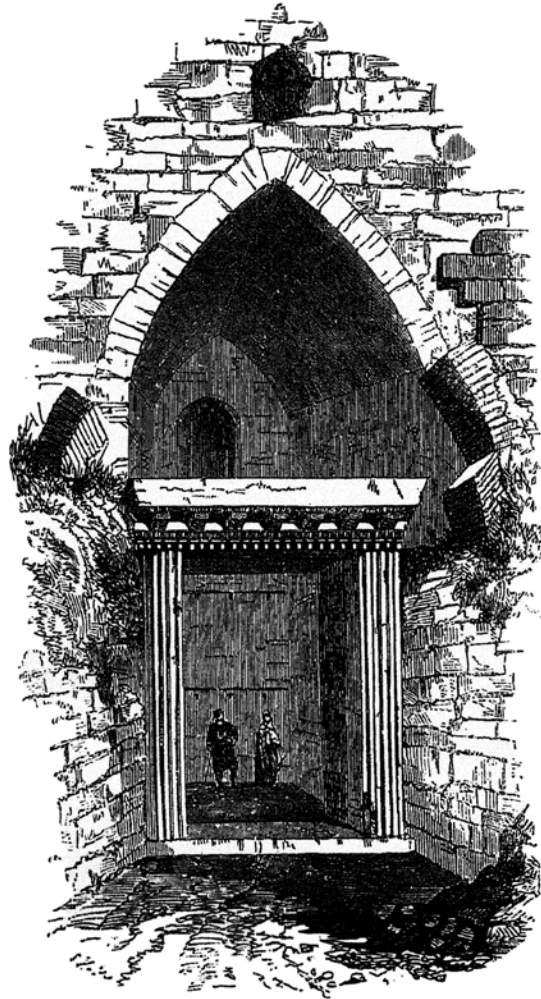


Figure 12. The “Eastern Gate of the Temple of Zeus Ourios,” published in *ILN* 1863 (cf. Figure 14). Courtesy *Illustrated London News*

A possible solution to this problem is revealed by Millingen’s letter to Sir Charles Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. Found in the Museum archives, this previously unpublished document (Fig. 13) is the only direct record of excavation at Hieron:

Constantinople August 3rd, 1863

My dear Sir,

I have much pleasure in informing you, that I have lately been successful in making an archaeological discovery of the highest interest—for such, I presume, you will yourself consider to be, that of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Urius, at the mouth of the Bosphorus. Its emplacement, corresponding exactly to the information given by Apollonius Rhodius, Herodotus, Dionysius Byzantius, Pomponius Mela, and other authors on the subject; complete evidence as to the name of this ancient Fanum or Hieron lies before us. The portion of this monument found by me, consists of the Eastern Gate; which being *in situ*, I was able to examine sufficiently as to ascertain exactly its dimensions; as well as the style of its architectural character. The cornice of the lintel measures 12 feet, and is 18 inches in height; the monolith, of Parian Marble, which forms both the lintel and architrave of this gateway, is 5 feet, laterally. The frieze

Constantinople August 30th 1863
 C. 17 Aug 1863
 BRITISH MUSEUM
 No 2979
 15 AUG 1863
 My dear Sir
 I have much pleasure in informing you that I have lately been successful in making an archaeological discovery of the highest interest. In fact, I presume you will yourself consider to be, that of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Urbi, at the mouth of the Bosphorus. Its emplacement, corresponding exactly to the information given by Apollonius Rhodius, Strabo, Dionysius Byzantinus, Pomponius Mela, and other authors on the subject, complete evidence as to the name of this ancient Forum or Hieron lies before us. The portion of this monument found by me, consists of the Eastern Gate,

which being in situ, I was able to examine sufficiently as to ascertain exactly its dimensions, as well as the style of its architectural character. The cornice of the lintel measures 12 feet, and is 18 inches in height; the monolith, of Parian Marble, which forms both the lintel and architrave of this gateway, is 5 feet laterally. The piece of the cornice is of the most exquisite workmanship, and its conservation is in the most satisfactory state. The width of the gateway is a little more than ten feet, from which I infer that its height can hardly be less than eighteen feet. The lateral pediments on which the lintel rests, are 6 feet in width—and fluted deep. The upper part of the lintel, being only about two feet below the surface, a few days excavation would suffice to bring to light the whole of this monument, and enable one to judge how far it is entitled to a place in the

of the cornice is of the most exquisite workmanship, and its conservation is in the most satisfactory state. The width of the gateway is a little more than ten feet, from which I infer that its height can hardly be less than eighteen feet. The lateral pediments on which the lintel rests, are six feet in width—and fluted deep. The upper part of the lintel, being only about two feet below the surface, a few days excavation would suffice to bring to light the whole of this monument, and enable one to judge how far it is entitled to a place in the British Museum, and also whether this clue may guide us to further and more important excavations?

My intentions being to carry on these researches entirely for the benefit of the Department of Archaeology of which you are the Keeper, I beg you to lay this matter before the Board of Trustees of the British Museum and to request them, on the event of the decision being adopted of exploring the ruins of this Temple, to appoint me Superintendent of the excavations and open me a credit of £100. for necessary expenses. I pledge myself then, with that sum, to disinter before one month the whole of the said Gateway.

I wrote a fortnight ago to Sir Henry Bulwer on this subject requesting him to communicate the information to Her Majesty's Government, and to apply to the local authority for authorisation to

Figure 13 (above and opposite). Letter from Julius Millingen to Sir Charles Newton, reporting discoveries at Hieron, 1863. © Trustees of the British Museum

British Museum, and also whether this clue may guide us to further and more important excavations?

My intentions being to carry on these researches entirely for the benefit of the Department of Archaeology of which you are Mr. Keeper, I beg you to lay the matter before the Board of Trustees of the British Museum and to request them on the event of the decision being adopted of exploring the ruins of this Temple, to appoint me superintendent of the excavations and open me a credit of £100. for necessary expenses. I pledge myself then, within that sum, to disinter before one month the whole of the said Gateway.

I wrote a fortnight ago to Sir Henry Bulwer on this subject requesting him to communicate the information to H. M. Government, and to apply to the local authorities for authorisation to undertake the excavations I proposed as exploratory. Half two days ago wrote to say that he would try to hasten my *trouvaille* and that subsequently to this visit, I might draw up a report which he would send home.

Procrastination being however not only the thief of time, but often of archaeological discoveries also, I have deemed it expedient to lay this important matter before the person whom I consider to be the right man in the right place, and who knows the right way, to arrive at a prompt result.

Begging, by telegram, an answer to my application and proposals, I have the honor to remain

Dear Sir

Your most obedient servant
J. Millingen

Charles Newton Esq.

Keeper of the Archaeological
Department at the
British Museum

82. British Museum Archives P 6919, August 15, 1863; see further the Standing Committee Minutes for August 17, 1863 (C 10,410–C 10,411), describing the approval of all of Millingen's requests; and reports from the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, August 15, 1863 (in Officers' Reports 43, vols. 71–72, August 1863–January 1864), showing Newton's support of the excavation. It is impossible to know if Millingen kept a more detailed account, as Saunders (1909, p. 440) notes: "several of his manuscripts, including a life of Byron, were destroyed in the great fire at Pera in 1870, in which he lost nearly all his personal effects."

undertake the excavations I proposed as exploratory. His Excellency two days ago wrote to say that he would try to visit my *trouvaille*, and that subsequently to this visit, I might draw up a report which he would send home.

Procrastination being however not only the thief of time, but often of archaeological discoveries also, I have deemed it expedient to lay this important matter before the person whom I consider to be the right man in the right place, and who knows the right way, to arrive at a prompt result.

Begging, by telegram, an answer to my application and proposals, I have the honor to remain

Dear Sir

Your most obedient servant

J. Millingen

Charles Newton Esq.

Keeper of the Archaeological Department at the British Museum⁸²

We can recognize some fundamental inconsistencies between this letter and the newspaper report. Far from restraining his spade, Millingen admits that he excavated the site (presumably from July 18 to August 3: more than two weeks) without official permission, clearing the entire "lintel" and working down as far as the supporting "lateral pediments"



Figure 14. Gateway of the Byzantine fortress on Yoros Tepesi (Millingen's "Eastern Gate"), September 2001

(i.e., the "columns" referred to in the newspaper article), which he describes as "fluted deep." More importantly, Millingen had already decided by the time he wrote to the museum (not after applying through Sir Henry Bulwer to the Porte) that he had discovered the "Eastern Gate" of the Temple of Jupiter, found *"in situ."*⁸³

On September 14, 2001, I inspected the remains excavated by Millingen and discovered that his identification of the "Eastern Gate" is as problematic as the chronology of events given in the *Illustrated London News*. The site is the gateway of the Byzantine fortress on Yoros Tepesi (Fig. 14; cf. Fig. 6, above). The carved "lintel," which now lay derelict under the gateway, appears to be the cornice of a building of Hellenistic or Roman date (Fig. 15). Albert Dumont dates it stylistically to the 4th century B.C.:

... une architrave d'un travail achevé, et qui date certainement, au plus tard, de l'époque d'Alexandre ... l'architrave nous donne de

83. British Museum Archives, Standing Committee Minutes, October 17, 1863: "Read a letter dated 25th August from the Foreign Office, announcing that The Porte had expressed its intention to investigate on its own account the supposed discovery by Dr. Millingen, and to reward him if his conjectures proved correct." Nowhere in these documents is expressed the condition given in the newspaper, p. 593: "A prompt and favourable

answer was forwarded to Constantinople to the effect that, if Sir Henry Bulwer could obtain permission from the Ottoman Government to clear the supposed structure, the British Museum would give all the necessary pecuniary assistance." The Porte's refusal seems to reflect an emulation of the current fashion in European courts for public collections of national antiquities. Around this time the Porte was moving toward creating its own

museum, which originally (from 1846) comprised the private collection of Fethi Ahmet Paşa and was housed in the Church of St. Irene, where it was seen by Dumont in the late 1860s (Dumont [1871] 1892). This officially became a *Hofmuseum* in 1869 and the "New Museum" in 1875, buttressed by the first Turkish law forbidding the export of antiquities. See Dethier 1881; Reinach 1882.



Figure 15. Cornice of an ancient building (Millingen's "lintel")

précieux renseignements sur le style des édifices élevés par Byzance et Chalcédonie au quatrième siècle avant notre ère. Le style est celui des temples d'ordre ionique les plus élégants. Des ovules et des chapelets de perles en forment la décoration principale; mais à ces motifs classiques se trouvent déjà mêlés des attributs qu'on ne retrouve pas dans les monuments de la Grèce propre; on y voit entre autres le *croissant* de Byzance et des motifs inconnus aux architectes d'Athènes.⁸⁴

Only one of the two "columns" survives, though in a badly mutilated state. It is a fragment of architrave, which has been set vertically, but is certainly not "fluted deep."⁸⁵

Later reports raise similar problems of consistency. On March 26, 1864, Millingen announced to the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, through one A. Karatheodori, that he had discovered two statues in his "excavations at Hieron."⁸⁶ These, however, had been seen by another member of the Society, E. Ioannides, who clarified that they were not statues, but mutilated fragments of marble, perhaps torsos, almost entirely amorphous.⁸⁷

84. Dumont [1871] 1892, pp. 250–251. It is dated to the early 2nd century B.C. by Lehmann (1921, p. 181), who describes it from a visit to the site in 1918: "Es ist ein über dem Haupttor verbauter schöner Geisonblock aus feinkörnigem, kristallinischem Marmor, dem so-geannten prokonnesischen Stein. Erhaltene Länge 3 m. Links und rechts gebrochen, Höhe 50 cm, Dicke 152 cm. Der obere Teil vorn ist vor noch nicht allzu langer Zeit abgebrochen, wie die geringe Verwitterung der Bruchfläche lehrt. Die Unterseite ist

beim Zurechtmachen zu der Verwendung als Türsturz entsprechend abgearbeitet und hat Angellöcher bekommen. Ob das Stück, eine verhältnismäßig gute Arbeit vom Beginn des 2 Jahrhunderts n. Chr., von einer Erneuerung des Tempels in damaliger Zeit oder von irgend einem anderen Gebäude stammt, muß dahingestellt bleiben."

85. Lehmann (1921, p. 181) accurately describes the original pair: "Die Torpfosten werden von zwei anscheinend der gleichen Epoche [i.e., early 2nd century B.C.] entstammenden

gleichartigen Architravblöcken mit drei Faszien, über denen je ein Rundstab liegt, und einem oberen Hohlkehlenabschluß gebildet." Toy (1930, pl. LXXVI) gives a faithful sketch of the pieces and their dimensions: he also gives the correct measurements of the architrave (whose height is exaggerated in both Millingen's letter and *ILN* 1863) as H. 11' 4", D. 3' 6", W. 1' 5".

86. Mavrogenes 1864, p. 122.

87. Mavrogenes 1864, p. 122. Nothing further is known about these pieces; see Lehmann-Haupt 1923, p. 373.

Then, in 1872, Millingen sold to the Berlin Museum a block of marble with a fragmentary figured relief of 5th-century style (H. 34, W. 33 cm).⁸⁸ He claimed that he had purchased this at Bujukdere in 1864, from fishermen who had caught it in their nets from the bottom of the sea off Hieron.⁸⁹ A hint of discomfort with this account seems reflected in the vague provenance given in the Berlin Museum catalogue.⁹⁰ In fact, it is likelier that Millingen himself discovered the relief in 1863 or 1864 at Hieron or its vicinity.⁹¹

A more precise origin was revealed in 1924, when the Directorate of Museums commissioned a rescue excavation on the nearby mountain Yuşa Tepesi, reportedly in order to hinder the continuation of clandestine explorations there.⁹² Yuşa Tepesi, or “Mount of Joshua,” whose 202 m summit was known in antiquity as the *Herculis Kline*, lies to the south of Hieron (Figs. 3 and 9).⁹³ The ruins of a Byzantine building on its northern slope were identified by the excavator as belonging to the Church of St. Panteleemon built by Justinian (T47).⁹⁴ Built into the walls of the church were four fragmentary marble reliefs very closely resembling Millingen’s in style.⁹⁵ Martin Schede’s hypothesis that all of these reliefs come from a single monument located to the south of Hieron (perhaps the Nymphaeum mentioned by Dionysius of Byzantium), and not from Hieron itself, seems to be correct.⁹⁶

In sum, far from finding the glorious portal of an ancient temple in situ, the only excavations ever carried out at Hieron merely revealed a Byzantine structure assembled from ancient spolia.⁹⁷ At least it is comforting that Hieron has been identified and largely preserved from modern building activity, and thus remains likely to provide a wealth of illuminating new evidence to its future students.

88. First published by Michaelis (1864) with a drawing; Conze (1891, p. 384) offers an illustration and a full description of the piece; Macridy Bey’s account (1929, pp. 351–352) includes a photograph (fig. 15).

89. Reported also on March 26, 1864, by A. Karatheodori on behalf of Millingen: Mavrogenes 1864, p. 122. Millingen (1871, p. 120) himself repeats the story; Lehmann-Haupt (1923, p. 369) reasonably doubts the plausibility of the account.

90. Conze 1891, p. 384: “In den Trümmern des sog. Genueser Schlosses auf dem Vorgebirge Hieron am asiatischen Ufer des Bosporos, wo es als Baumaterial verwandt gewesen sein wird. Erworben 1872 von Millingen in Konstantinopel.”

91. It is interesting to note that Millingen’s father, the numismatist James Millingen, had “supplied most of

the great museums of Europe with their choicest specimens of ancient art,” and “frequently offered his purchases to the trustees of the British Museum” (Goodwin 1909, p. 438).

92. Macridy Bey 1929, pp. 356–357; Mamboury 1936, pp. 248–249; Janin 1939, pp. 149–150; 1975, pp. 12–13; Eyice 1976, p. 66, n. 157, with figs. 80–87. On the popular belief in hidden treasure near the site, see Vyzantios 1862, p. 202.

93. Clarke (1816, pp. 440–441) observed an Ionic capital “not less than two feet and a half in diameter” on this hill.

94. Macridy Bey (1929) follows but does not mention Vyzantios 1862, pp. 202–203. See also Janin 1975, p. 10, on the Byzantine monastic foundations of “Kyr Nicholas” and St. George in the vicinity of Hieron.

95. Macridy Bey 1929, pp. 356–357, with figs. 15–19.

96. See Schede 1929, p. 357, n. 1. I have therefore decided not to discuss any of the reliefs; cf. Freely 1993, p. 106 (a confused report); on the Nymphaeum, see Güngerich [1927] 1958, §95.

97. Even Dumont ([1871] 1892, p. 250), who goes some way toward accepting Millingen’s conclusions, describes the gateway as “de beaux fragments d’une porte antique;—évidemment le montant de la porte et le seuil ne sont pas aujourd’hui à leur place ancienne; ils ont dû être transportés dans le château des lieux environnants. L’appareillage indique peu d’expérience et surtout peu de soin.” See Toy 1930, pp. 227–228: “A doorway constructed out of the marble fragments of an entablature from some temple was inserted immediately inside the porticulis at a period now difficult to determine.”

CONCLUSION

Even from this preliminary exploration of Hieron, which is all that the evidence currently allows, we can establish some significant conclusions. Topographically, it is clear that the sanctuary itself was located not on the site of modern Anadolukavağı, but rather on the western plateau of the promontory that terminates at Kavak Point. From this height, Hieron commanded the modern Macar Bay, known in antiquity as the harbor of Phrixos. We have seen that this site was conceived in antiquity as being the narrowest part of the mouth (στόμα or *os*) of the Black Sea, a fact that affects its historical role in important ways. The military and commercial advantages of Hieron were second in importance only to its status as the common repository of documents, monuments, and dedications of all who crossed the Bosphorus, and as the cardinal point of the entire Black Sea.

Historically, it is reasonable to suppose that Hieron's foundation coincides with the earliest Greek ventures into the Black Sea. Nevertheless, the evidence so far only provides a terminus ante quem of ca. 600 to ca. 550 B.C. Thereafter, the history of Hieron can be divided into the following four phases.

In the first (Archaic and Classical) phase, Hieron's role as a sanctuary, especially its divine guarantee of inviolability (ἄσυλία), was of paramount importance. From this resulted not only the considerable fame of the site and its attraction to worshippers and visitors, but also its various practical roles as the Pontic milliarium, repository of interstate treaties, and marshaling place for merchants and grain fleets.

In the second (Hellenistic and Roman Republican) phase, and following the precedent set by the clash between Philip II and Athens in 340 B.C., Hieron's religious inviolability had decidedly less significance. The site's financial and strategic advantages were increasingly exploited. It was seized on several occasions, plundered at least once, and turned into a fortified customs house, and thus strictly ceased to be (as it had been throughout the first phase) "a common haven for all who sail" (*commune receptaculum omnium navigantium*). Nevertheless, its fame seems to have spread more widely than ever, even to the western Mediterranean, and now for the first time in principal association with Zeus or Jupiter Ourios.

In the third (Roman Imperial) phase, the site seems have undergone a serious but unexplained decline; and in the fourth phase (from the Byzantine period to the present), Hieron has served exclusively as a militarized control point, fortified at various stages until the late 18th century.

Archaeologically, the site has been almost completely overlooked. A single and superficial excavation exposed only a few architectural fragments of Hellenistic or Roman date. Yet the fabric of later fortifications preserves copious visible architectural fragments and other ancient spolia. There and underground, in all likelihood, lies evidence that will decisively enrich our understanding not just of Hieron, but of the Black Sea as a whole, from the time of the first Greek voyages until the end of antiquity.

APPENDIX

ANCIENT TESTIMONIA AND INSCRIPTIONS

The following is the first complete collection of ancient testimonia on Hieron (labeled T) and inscriptions thought to be from the site (labeled I). The passages are listed chronologically, by date of composition (as far as it is known), and an English translation is provided. I would like to remind the reader that, because of space limitations, the passages printed here have been taken out of their original context, and caution must be exercised.

ANCIENT TESTIMONIA

T1 Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 4.203–210 (ca. 462 B.C.)

σὺν Νότου δ' αὔραις ἐπ' Ἀξείνου στόμα πεμπόμενοι
ἦλυθον· ἔνθ' ἄγνόν Ποσειδάωνος ἔσ-
σαντ' ἐνναλίου τέμενος,
φοίνισσα δὲ Θρηϊκίων ἀγέλα τάρων ὑπάρχεν,
καὶ νεόκτιστον λίθων βωμοῖο θέναρ.
ἐς δὲ κίνδυνον βαθὺν ἴεμενοι
δεσπότην λίσσοντο ναῶν,
συνδρόμων κινηθμὸν ἀμαιμάκετον
ἐκφυγεῖν πετρᾶν. δίδυμαι γὰρ ἔσαν ζω-
αί, κυλινδέσκοντό τε κραιπνότεραι
ἢ βαρυγδούπων ἀνέμων στίχες·

Sped by the breezes of the South Wind, they came to the mouth of the Inhospitable Sea, where they established a sacred precinct for Poseidon of the Sea, and there was at hand a tawny herd of Thracian bulls and a newly built stone altar with a hollow. As they sped on to grave danger, they prayed to the lord of the ships for escape from the irresistible movement of the clashing rocks, for the two of them were alive and would roll more swiftly than the ranks of loudly roaring winds.⁹⁸

T2 Herodotos, *Historiae* 4.81 (ca. mid-5th century B.C.); cf. Nymphis, *FGrH* 432 F9 = T16

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κεῖται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει καὶ ἐξαπλήσιον τοῦ
ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου

98. Trans. W. H. Race, Cambridge, Mass., 1997.

ἀνέθηκε. ὅς δὲ μὴ εἶδέ κω τοῦτον, ὥδε δηλώσω· ἑξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρέει τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήϊόν ἐστι δακτύλων ἑξ.

In this place there stands a brazen bowl, six times as big as the one that was set up as a dedicatory offering at the entrance to the Pontus by Pausanias, son of Kleombrotos. Anyone who has not seen Pausanias's bowl will understand me better if I say that the Scythian bowl can easily hold 600 amphoras' equivalent in liquid and the thickness of the bronze is 6 inches.⁹⁹

T3 Herodotos, *Historiae* 4.85–87 (ca. mid-5th century B.C.)

Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλεομένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλληνές φασι εἶναι, ἰζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ἴρῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον, ἐόντα ἄξιοθέτητον. πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος, τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος στάδιοι εἰσι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἐωυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τοῦτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι, μήκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχὴν, τὸ δὲ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίου εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστι· . . . μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὥδε. νηὺς ἐπίπαν μάλιστά κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυῖας ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας. ἤδη ὦν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἑννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὗται ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τούτων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσι . . . ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλῆς Σάμιος.

Darius continued his march from Susa to Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, where the bridge was, and then took ship and sailed to the Kyanean rocks, those rocks which according to the Greek story used to be changing their position. And seated at Hieron he looked out over the Pontus—a sight indeed worth seeing. It is the most marvelous of all seas; it is 11,100 stades long, and 3,300 wide at its widest point. Its mouth is 4 stades wide, and the length of the Bosphorus, the narrow strait that leads into it (and where the bridge was), is nearly 120 stades. . . . The foregoing measurements were arrived at in the following way: in a summer day a ship can cover a distance of approximately 70,000 fathoms, and in a night 60,000. To sail from the entrance of the Pontus to Phasis—which represents a voyage along its greatest length—takes nine days and eight nights; this would make a distance of <1,110,000> fathoms or, converting fathoms into stades, 11,100 stades. . . . When he had looked on the Pontus, Darius returned by sea to the bridge, which had been designed by a Samian named Mandrokles.¹⁰⁰

99. Based on trans. by A. de Sélin-court, Harmondsworth 1954.

100. Based on trans. by A. de Sélin-court, Harmondsworth 1954.

- T4 Herodoros, *FHG* II F 47 (ca. 400 B.C.); see Schol. in Ap. Rhod. 2.531–532 = T33

- T5 [Scylax], *Periplus* 67.32–45 (Müller 1855, pp. 56–57; *FGrH* 709) (ca. 5th–4th centuries B.C.)

ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου εἰσὶ στάδιοι φ'. καλεῖται δὲ Ἀνάπλους ὁ τόπος ἀνὰ Βόσπορον μέχρι ἂν ἔλθῃς ἐφ' Ἱερὸν. ἀφ' Ἱεροῦ δὲ τοῦ στόματός ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου εὖρος στάδια ζ'. . . παράπλους δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ μέχρι Σηστοῦ δύο ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν δύο, ἀπὸ δὲ Σηστοῦ μέχρι στόματος τοῦ Πόντου δύο ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν δύο, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στόματος μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ ἡμερῶν τριῶν καὶ νυκτῶν τριῶν.

From here [Selymbria] to the mouth of the Pontus the distance is 500 stades. And the place along the Bosphorus until you come to Hieron is called the Anaplous. From Hieron at the mouth of the Pontus, the width is 7 stades. . . . The sailing itinerary along the coast of Thrace from the Strymon River to Sestos is of two days and two nights, from Sestos to the mouth of the Pontus of two days and two nights, and from the mouth to the Ister River of three days and three nights.

- T6 [Scylax], *Periplus* 92.1–12 (Müller 1855, pp. 67–68; *FGrH* 709) (ca. 5th–4th centuries B.C.)

ΒΙΘΥΝΟΙ. μετὰ δὲ Μαρνανδύνους εἰσὶ Θράκες Βιθυνοὶ ἔθνος, καὶ ποταμὸς Σαγάριος καὶ ἄλλος ποταμὸς Ἀρτάνης καὶ νῆσος Θυνιάς (οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἡρακλεῶται) καὶ ποταμὸς Ῥήβας. εἶτ' εὐθὺς ὁ πόρος καὶ τὸ προειρημένον Ἱερὸν ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πόλις Χαλκηδὼν ἔξω [τοῦ πόρου τῆς] Θράκης, μεθ' ἣν ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ὀλβιανός. παράπλους ἀπὸ Μαρνανδύνων μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ὀλβιανοῦ (τοσαύτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Βιθυνῶν Θράκη) ἡμερῶν τριῶν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου, ἕως [ἐπὶ] τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης παραπλήσιός ἐστιν ὁ πλοῦς, ὅτε παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν.

BITHYNIANS. After the Mariandynoi is the race of the Thracian Bithynians, and the river Sangarius and another river, the Artanes, and the island Thynia (which the people of Herakleia inhabit), and the river Rhebas. Then straightaway comes the strait and the previously mentioned shrine at the mouth of the Pontus, and after this the city of Chalcedon [outside the straits, in] Thrace, after which comes the Olbian gulf. The sailing itinerary from the Mariandynoi to the innermost part of the Olbian gulf (for such is the size of Bithynian Thrace) is one of three days. And from the mouth of the Pontus to the mouth of the Maiotian marsh is the same distance for one sailing along Europe as along Asia.

- T7 [Demosthenes] (= Apollodoros) *In Polyclem* 50.17–19 (359 B.C.; describing events of the summers of 362 and 361 B.C.)

τοιούτων τοίνυν μοι τῶν πραγμάτων συμβεβηκότων, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἅμα Τιμομάχου προστάξαντος πλεῖν ἐφ' Ἱερὸν ἐπὶ

τὴν παραπομπὴν τοῦ σίτου καὶ μισθὸν οὐ διδόντος, εἰσαγγεληθέντων δὲ ὅτι Βυζάντιοι καὶ Καλχηδόνιοι πάλιν κατάγουσι τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν σῖτον ἐξαίρεϊσθαι, δανεισάμενος ἐγὼ ἀργύριον παρ' Ἀρχεδήμου μὲν τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς ἐπίτοκον, . . . αὐτὸς δ' ὑπομείνας ἐν Σηστῷ τοῖς τε παραμείνασι τῶν ἀρχαίων ναυτῶν ἔδωκά τι, ὅσον εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ μοι ὁ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν τῆς τριηραρχίας, καὶ ἑτέρους ναύτας ἐντελομίσθους προσέλαβον, ἐν ὅσῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸν ἀνάπλουν τὸν ἐφ' Ἱερὸν παρεσκευάζετο. ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ τε Εὐκτῆμων ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς Λαμψάκου ἄγων τοὺς ναύτας οὓς ἐμισθώσατο, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς παρήγγειλεν ἀνάγεσθαι, τῷ μὲν Εὐκτῆμονι ἀσθενῆσαι ἐξαίφνης συνέβη, καὶ πάννυ πονήρως διετέθη· τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἀποδοὺς τὸν μισθὸν καὶ ἐφόδια προσθεὶς ἀπέπεμψα οἴκαδε· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντηκόνταρχον ἕτερον λαβὼν ἀνηγόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν παραπομπὴν τοῦ σίτου, καὶ ἐκεῖ περιέμεινα πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἕως ὃ ἐκπλους τῶν πλοίων τῶν μετ' ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐγένετο.

Consequently, when my affairs were in the condition that I have described, and at the same time I was ordered by the general Timomachos to sail to Hieron to convoy the grain, though he provided no pay (word had been brought that the Byzantines and the Chalcedonians were again bringing the ships into port and forcing them to unload their grain), I borrowed money from Archedemos of Anaphlystos, 15 minae at interest, . . . I myself stayed in Sestos and gave some money—all I had—to the old sailors who stayed with me, since the term of my trierarchy had expired, and I secured also some other sailors at full pay, while the general was making ready for his voyage to Hieron. But when Euktemon came back from Lampsakos, bringing the sailors whom he had hired, and the general gave the word for us to put to sea, it happened that Euktemon suddenly fell sick, and was in a very serious condition. I, therefore, gave him his pay, adding money for his journey, and sent him home; while I secured another pentecontarch and put out to sea to convoy the grain, and I stayed there 45 days, until the vessels that left the Pontus after the rising of Arcturus had sailed out.¹⁰¹

T8 [Demosthenes] (= Apollodoros), *In Polyclem* 50.58–59 (359 B.C.; describing events of the summers of 362 and 361 B.C.)

καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθέ μοι ὁ χρόνος τῆς τριηραρχίας, προστάττοντός μοι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πλεῖν ἐφ' Ἱερὸν παρέπεμψα τῷ δήμῳ τὸν σῖτον, ἵνα ἔχητε ἄφθονον ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν <τὸ> κατ' ἐμὲ ἐλλείπηται, . . .

And when the term of my trierarchy had expired and I was ordered by the general to sail to Hieron, I convoyed the grain for our people, that you might buy in a plentiful market, and that, so far as depended on me, you should have no want, . . .¹⁰²

101. Based on trans. by A. T. Murray, Cambridge, Mass., 1939.

102. Based on trans. by A. T. Murray, Cambridge, Mass., 1939.

- T9** Demosthenes, *In Leptinem* 20.35–36 (355 B.C.); see Schol. in Demosthenem 91a, 91b = **T42**

ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν αὐτοῖς τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Λεύκωνος.
ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

ὥς μὲν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τετύχηκεν τῆς ἀτελείας παρ' ὑμῶν
ὁ Λεύκων, ἀκηκόατ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί.
τούτων δ' ἀπάντων στήλας ἀντιγράφους ἐστήσαθ' ὑμεῖς κακεῖνος,
τὴν μὲν ἐν Βοσπόρῳ, τὴν δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ, τὴν δ' ἐφ' Ἱερῶ.

Take and read them the decrees touching Leucon.

[The decrees are read]

How reasonable and just was the immunity which Leucon has obtained from you, these decrees have informed you, gentlemen of the jury. Copies of all these decrees on stone were set up by you and by Leucon in the Bosphorus, in the Piraeus, and at Hieron.¹⁰³

- T10** [Demosthenes], *In Lacritum* 35.10 (ca. mid-4th century B.C.)

ἐδάνεισαν Ἀνδροκλῆς Σφήτιος καὶ Ναυσικράτης Καρύστιος
Ἀρτέμωνι καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ Φασηλίταις ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
τρισχιλίας Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μένδην ἢ Σκιώνην, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς
Βόσπορον, ἐὰν δὲ βούλωνται, τῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ μέχρι Βορυσθένους,
καὶ πάλιν Ἀθήναζε, ἐπὶ διακοσίαις εἴκοσι πέντε τὰς χιλίας, ἐὰν
δὲ μετ' Ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκπλεύσωσιν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐφ' Ἱερὸν, ἐπὶ
τριακοσίαις τὰς χιλίας, ἐπὶ οἶνου κεραμίσις Μενδαίοις τρισχιλίοις,
ὅς πλεύσεται ἐκ Μένδης ἢ Σκιώνης ἐν τῇ εἰκοσόρῳ ἢν Ὑβλήσιος
ναυκληρεῖ.

Androkles of Sphettos and Nausikrates of Karystos lent to Artemon and Apollodoros, both of Phaselis, 3,000 drachmas in silver for a voyage from Athens to Mende or Skione, and thence to Bosphoros—and if they so choose, for a voyage to the left parts of the sea as far as the Borysthenes, and thence back to Athens, on interest at the rate of 225 drachmas on the thousand; but, if they should sail out from Pontus at Hieron after the rising of Arcturus, at 300 on the thousand, on the security of 3,000 jars of wine of Mende, which shall be conveyed from Mende or Skione in the 20-oared ship of which Hyblesios is owner.¹⁰⁴

- T11** Theopompos (*FGrH* 115 F292) (4th century B.C., describing events of 340 B.C.); see Didymos, *Dem.* col. 10.49 = **T22**

- T12** Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F162) (ca. 340–260 B.C., describing events of 340 B.C.); see Didymos, *Dem.* cols. 10.34–11.5 = **T22**

- T13** Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 2.528–533 (ca. 270–245 B.C.); see Schol. in Ap. Rhod. = **T33**

... ἀριστῆες δὲ καταῦθι
μῖνον ἐρυκόμενοι, ξεινῆια δ' ἄσπετα Θυνοί
πάνδημοι, Φινῆι χαριζόμενοι, προΐαλλον.

103. Trans. J. H. Vince, Cambridge, Mass., 1930.

104. Based on trans. by A. T. Murray, Cambridge, Mass., 1936.

Ἐκ δὲ τόθεν μακάρεσσι δώδεκα δωμήσαντες
βωμόν ἄλως ῥηγμῖνι πέρην καὶ ἐφ' ἱερὰ θέντες,
νῆα θοὴν εἴσβαινον ἐρεσσέμεν.

... But the chieftains stayed there by constraint, and all the Thynians, doing pleasure to Phineus, sent them gifts beyond measure. And afterwards they raised an altar to the blessed twelve on the sea-beach opposite and laid offerings thereon and then entered their swift ship to row.¹⁰⁵

T14 Timosthenes (Wagner F 28) (ca. 270–240 B.C.); see Schol. in Ap. Rhod. 2.531–532 = **T33**

T15 Marmor Parium, *FGrH* 239 F B13 (114) (ca. 264/3 B.C., describing events of the summer of 318, misdated to the Athenian archon year 317/6 B.C.; see Jacoby, *FGrH* IID, p. 700); cf. Diod. Sic. 18.72.4–9 = **T24**; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.6.8 = **T38**

ἀπὸ τῆς Κλείτου ναυμαχίας καὶ Νικάνορος περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Καλχηδονίων, καὶ ὅτε Δημήτριος νόμους ἔθηκεν Ἀθήνησιν, ἔτη Π'III, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δημογένους.

From the sea battle between Cleitus and Nicanor around the temple of the Chalcedonians, and from when Demetrius made laws at Athens, 53 years, when Demogenes was archon at Athens [317/6 B.C.].¹⁰⁶

T16 Nymphis, *FGrH* 432 F9 = Athenaios 12.50.21–33 (536a–b) (3rd century B.C.); cf. Hdt. 4.81 = **T2**

Νύμφις δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν ἔκτῳ τῶν Περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, “Παυσανίας (φησὶν) ὁ περὶ Πλαταιᾶς νικήσας Μαρδόνιον, τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐξελθὼν νόμιμα, καὶ εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιδοὺς, περὶ Βυζάντιον διατρίβων, χαλκοῦν τὸν ἀνακείμενον κρατήρα τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἰδρυμένοις, ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἶναι συμβαίνει, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιγράψαι, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναθεὶς, τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιλαθόμενος αὐτοῦ· μνᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἀνέθηκε Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι Παυσανίας, ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου, πόντου ἐπ' Εὐξείνου, Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος, υἱὸς Κλευμβρότου, ἀρχαίας Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς.”

Nymphis of Heracleia, in the sixth book of the work dealing with his native city, says: “Pausanias, the victor over Mardonius at Plataeae, departed entirely from Spartan customs, and when he was staying at Byzantium he gave himself over completely to arrogance; he had the impudence, on the bronze bowl dedicated to the gods whose shrines are at the entrance—which bowl, as it happens, exists even to this day—to inscribe the following epigram as though he alone had made the dedication, entirely forgetting who he was in his wanton arrogance: ‘This monument of his prowess is dedicated to lord Poseidon by Pausanias, ruler of Hellas with its wide spaces, at the Euxine sea; a Lacedaemonian by birth, the son of Cleombrotus, of the ancient race of Heracles.’”¹⁰⁷

105. Based on trans. by R. C. Seaton, Cambridge, Mass., 1912.

106. Trans. G. Newing, <http://www.ashmolean.museum/ash/faqs/q004/q004017.html> (accessed October 20, 2008).

107. Trans. C. B. Gulick, Cambridge, Mass., 1933.

T17 Polybios, *Historiae* 4.39.5–6 (2nd century B.C.)

ἄρχει δὲ τοῦ στόματος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Προποντίδος τὸ κατὰ Καλχηδόνα διάστημα καὶ Βυζάντιον, ὃ δεκατετάρων ἐστὶ σταδίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ καλούμενον Ἱερὸν, ἐφ' οὗ τόπου φασὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Κόλχων ἀνακομιδὴν Ἰάσονα θῦσαι πρῶτον τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς· ὃ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ δώδεκα στάδια πρὸς τὸ καταντικρὺ κείμενον Σαραπιεῖον τῆς Θράκης.

Between Chalcedon and Byzantium the channel is fourteen stades broad, and this is the entrance at the end nearest the Propontis. Coming from the Pontus, it begins at a place called Hieron, at which they say that Jason on his return voyage from Colchis first sacrificed to the twelve gods. This place is on the Asiatic side, and its distance from the European coast is twelve stades, measuring to the Serapieium, which lies exactly opposite in Thrace.¹⁰⁸

T18 Polybios, *Historiae* 4.43.1 (2nd century B.C.)

τοῦ δὲ στόματος τοῦ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα συνάπτοντος ὄντος ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, καθάπερ ἀρτίως εἶπον, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἱεροῦ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Πόντον πέρας ὀρίζοντος, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βυζάντιον διαστήματος τὸ πρὸς τὴν Προποντίδα, . . .

The length of the channel connecting the Pontus and the Propontis being, as I have said, a hundred and twenty stades, and Hieron marking its termination towards the Pontus, and the strait of Byzantium that towards the Propontis, . . .¹⁰⁹

T19 Polybios, *Historiae* 4.50.2–3 (2nd century B.C.; describing events of 220 B.C.)

ὃς κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην ὁρμὴν πολεμῶν παρείλετο μὲν αὐτῶν τὸ καλούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος Ἱερὸν, ὃ Βυζάντιοι μικροῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις μεγάλων ὀνησάμενοι χρημάτων ἐσφετερίσαντο διὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου, βουλόμενοι μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν μηδενὶ καταλιπεῖν μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεόντων ἐμπόρων μήτε περὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς θαλάττης ἐργασίας.

For Prusias, entering upon the war with all the animosity that I have described, had seized the place called Hieron at the entrance of the channel, which the Byzantines a short time before had made their own by purchasing it for a considerable sum of money because of its convenient situation; and because they did not wish to leave in anyone else's hands a point of vantage to be used against merchants sailing into the Pontus, or one that commanded the slave trade, or the fishing.¹¹⁰

108. Trans. E. S. Shuckburgh, London 1889.

London 1889.

109. Trans. E. S. Shuckburgh,

110. Based on trans. by E. S. Shuckburgh, London 1889.

T20 Polybios, *Historiae* 4.52.4–8 (2nd century B.C.; describing events of 220 B.C.)

ἐπιφανέντων δὲ τούτων, ἐγένοντο διαλύσεις ἐπὶ Κώθωνος τοῦ Καλλιγείτονος ἱερομνημονούντος ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ, πρὸς μὲν Ῥοδίους ἀπλαῖ, Βυζαντίους μὲν μηδένα πράττειν τὸ διαγώγιον τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεόντων, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τούτου γενομένου τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς Βυζαντίους· πρὸς δὲ Προυσίαν τοιαῖδε τινές, εἶναι Προυσίᾳ καὶ Βυζαντίοις εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, μὴ στρατεύειν δὲ μήτε Βυζαντίους ἐπὶ Προυσίαν τρόφῳ μηδενὶ μήτε Προυσίαν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους· ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Προυσίαν Βυζαντίοις τὰς τε χώρας καὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ σώματα χωρὶς λύτρων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ πλοῖα τὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς ληφθέντα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ βέλη τὰ καταληφθέντ' ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὴν λιθίαν καὶ τὸν κέραμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ χωρίου (ὁ γὰρ Προυσίας, ἀγωνίων τὴν τοῦ Τιβοΐτου κάθοδον, πάντα καθεῖλε τὰ δοκοῦντα τῶν φρουρίων εὐκαίρως πρὸς τι κεῖσθαι)· . . .

Upon their appearance a pacification was arranged, in the year of Kothon, son of Kalligeiton, Hieromnemon in Byzantium. The treaty with the Rhodians was simple: "The Byzantines will not collect toll from any ship sailing into the Pontus; and in that case the Rhodians and their allies are at peace with the Byzantines." But that with Prusias contained the following provisions: "There shall be peace and amity forever between Prusias and the Byzantines; the Byzantines shall in no way attack Prusias, nor Prusias the Byzantines. Prusias shall restore to the Byzantines all lands, forts, populations, and prisoners of war, without ransom; and besides these things, the ships taken at the beginning of the war, and the arms seized in the fortresses; and also the timbers, stonework, and roofing belonging to the site called Hieron" (for Prusias, in his terror of the approach of Tiboetes, had pulled down every fort that seemed to lie conveniently for him). . . .¹¹¹

T21 Cicero, *In Verrem* 4.128–130 (70 B.C.)¹¹²

quid? ex aede Iovis religiosissimum simulacrum Iovis Imperatoris, quem Graeci Urium nominant, pulcherrime factum nonne abstulisti? . . . Iovem autem Imperatorem quanto honore in suo templo fuisse arbitramini? conicere potestis, si recordari volueritis quanta religione fuerit eadem specie ac forma signum illud quod ex Macedonia captum in Capitolio posuerat T. Flamininus. etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Iovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrime facta, unum illud Macedonicum quod in Capitolio vidimus, alterum in Ponti ore et angustiis, tertium quod Syracusis ante Verrem praetorem fuit. illud Flamininus ita ex aede sua sustulit ut in Capitolio, hoc est in terrestri domicilio Iovis poneret. quod autem est ad introitum Ponti, id, cum tam multa ex illo mari bella emergerint, tam multa porro in Pontum invecta sint, usque ad hanc diem integrum inviolatumque servatum est. hoc tertium, quod erat

111. Based on trans. by E. S. Shuckburgh, London 1889.

112. Another reference by Cicero, *In Pisonem* 85, is sometimes cited (e.g., Lehmann 1921, p. 177), but it is a corrupt passage. Cicero cannot have mistaken Hieron for "an ancient shrine of the barbarians," so the passage must originally have referred to a Thracian god that is elsewhere documented: *a te Iovi Zbelsurdi fanum antiquissimum barbarorum sanctissimumque direptum est*. See Nisbet 1961, p. 154.

Syraculis, quod M. Marcellus armatus et victor viderat, quod religioni concesserat, quod cives atque incolae colere, advenae non solum visere verum etiam venerari solebant, id C. Verres ex templo Iovis sustulit.

And did you not carry away from the Temple of Jupiter the very beautifully made and deeply revered image of Jupiter Imperator, called Ourios by the Greeks? . . . As for the Jupiter Imperator, consider how profoundly it must have been honored in the god's own temple: you may judge of this if you will remember what intense reverence was felt for the statue, of the same shape and design, that was captured in Macedonia and placed in the Capitol by Titus Flamininus. It used to be said that there were three splendid statues of Zeus Imperator, all of this one type, to be found in the world; the first this one from Macedonia that we now see in the Capitol, the second at the mouth of the Pontus and the straits, and the third this one that was at Syracuse in the days before Verres was governor. The first one Flamininus took away from its temple; but only to place it in the Capitol, Jupiter's earthly dwelling place. The second one, that stands at the mouth of the Pontus, has been kept safely there to this day, free from damage or profanation, despite all the waves of war that have rolled through the straits, out of that sea or into it again. This third one, which was at Syracuse, which Marcus Marcellus, with his sword still in his conquering hand, beheld and piously refrained from taking, which was worshipped by the citizens and other inhabitants of Syracuse, and not only visited but venerated by travelers who came there—this one Verres took from the Temple of Jupiter, and carried away.¹¹³

T22 Didymos, *Demosthenes* cols. 10.34–11.5 (1st century B.C., describing events of 340 B.C.)

ἐξήφθη δ' ὁ π[ρὸς] τὸν Μ[α]κεδόνα π[ό]λεμος Ἀθηναίων [. . .]
[. . .] ἄλλα μὲν, ὅσα Φίλιππος εἰρήνην [πρ]οσποιού[μενο]ς
ἄγειν ἐπλημμέλει, το[ύς] Ἀθηναίους, μάλιστα δ' ἡ ἐπὶ
Βυζάν[τιον] καὶ Πέρινθον αὐτοῦ στρατεία. τὰς <δὲ> πόλεις
ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο παραστήσασθαι δυοῖν ἔνεκα, τοῦ τε ἀφελέσθαι τὴν
σιτοπομπίαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἵνα μὴ πόλεις ἔχωσιν ἐπιθαλατ-
τίους ναυτικῶ προὔχοντες ὀρμητήρια καὶ καταφυγὰς τοῦ πρὸς
αὐτὸν πολέμου, ὅτε δὴ καὶ [τὸ] παρανομώτατον ἔργον διεπράξατο
τὰ ἐφ' Ἱερῶ πλοῖα τῶν ἐμπόρων καταγαγ[ώ]ν, ὡς μὲν ὁ Φιλόχορος
λ' πρὸς τοῖς διακ[οσ]ίοις, ὡς δ' ὁ Θεόπομπος ρπ', ἀφ' ὧν ἑπτακοσία
τάλαντα ἤθροισε. ταῦτα δὴ [. . .] ἐσι διαπεπράχθαι ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου
[τ]οῦ μετὰ Νικόμαχον ἄρχοντος, καθά[περ] ἄ[λ]λοι τε καὶ Φιλό-
χορος οὕτως φη[σιν]. “Καὶ Χάρης μὲν ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὸν σύλλογ[ον]
τῶν βασιλικῶν στρατηγῶν καταλιπὼν ἐφ' Ἱερῶ ναῦς, ὅπως ἂν τὰ
πλοῖα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου συναγάγωσι. Φίλιππος δ' α[ἰ]σθόμενος οὐ
παρόντα τὸν Χάρητα τὸ μὲν [πρ]ῶτον ἐπειρᾶτο πέμψαι τὰς ναῦς τὰ
[π]λοῖα καταγαγεῖν· οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ βιάσ[θ]αι, στρατ[ι]ώτας
διεβίβασεν εἰς τὸ πέραν ἐ[φ'] Ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν πλοίων ἐκυρίευσεν.

113. Based on trans. by L. H. G. Greenwood, Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

ἦν δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω τὰ πάντα διακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ ἐπικρίνων
τὰ πολέμια διέλυε καὶ τοῖς ξύ[λ]οις ἐχρήτο πρ[ὸ]ς τὰ μηχανώματα,
καὶ σίτου [κ]αὶ βυρσῶν καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐγκρατῆ[ς] ἐγένετο.”

The war of the Athenians against the Macedonian was kindled by all Philip's other offences relating to the Athenians, while he was pretending to be at peace, but especially his expedition against Byzantium and Perinthos. These cities he was ambitious to bring over to his side for two reasons: to deprive the Athenians of their grain supply and to ensure that they might not have coastal cities to provide bases for their fleet and places of refuge for the war against him. And it was then indeed that he perpetrated his most lawless act, by seizing the grain-merchants' ships that were at Hieron, 230 in number according to Philochoros, 180 according to Theopompos, and from these he gathered 700 talents. (That) those things were done the year before in the archonship of Theophrastos the archon after Nikomachos, as Philochoros among others recounts in the following words: "And Chares sailed away to a gathering of the royal generals, leaving warships at Hieron to see to the marshalling of the vessels from the Pontus. And Philip, observing that Chares was not present, at first attempted to send his warships to seize the transports, but, being unable to capture them, he shipped his soldiers over to the other side against Hieron and became master of the transports. In total there were no less than two hundred and thirty vessels. And judging these to be prizes of war he broke them up and used the timbers for his siege-engines. In addition he came into possession of grain and hides and a great amount of money."¹¹⁴

T23 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 4.49.1–2 (probably following the *Argonautica* of Dionysios Scytobrachion of the 2nd century B.C.: see Diod. Sic. 3.52.3) (1st century B.C.)

ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Γλαῦκον δύναι πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τοὺς δ' Ἀργοναύτας κατὰ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου γενομένους προσπλεῦσαι τῇ γῇ, βασιλεύοντος τότε τῆς χώρας Βύζαντος, ἅψ' οὐ καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων ὠνομάσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὲ βωμοὺς ἰδρυσαμένους καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδόντας καθιερώσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν παραπλεόντων.

Then (the account continues) Glaukos sank back beneath the deep, and the Argonauts, arriving at the mouth of the Pontus, put in to the land, the king of the country being at that time Byzas, after whom the city of Byzantium was named. There they set up altars, and when they had paid their vows to the gods they sanctified the place, which is even to this day held in honor by the sailors who pass by.¹¹⁵

114. Based on trans. by P. Harding, Cambridge 1985.

115. Based on trans. by C. H. Oldfather, Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

T24 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 18.72.4–9 (probably following Hieronymos of Kardia from the 3rd century B.C.) (1st century B.C.); cf. Marmor Parium, *FGrH* 239 F B13 (114) = T15; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.6.8 = T38

γενομένης δὲ ναυμαχίας οὐ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν Βυζαντίων πόλεως ἐνίκα ὁ Κλεῖτος καὶ κατέδυσε μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναυς ἑπτακαίδεκα, εἶλε δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ κατέφυγον εἰς τὸν τῶν Χαλκηδονίων λιμένα. τοιαύτης δ' εὐημερίας γενομένης τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον οὗτος μὲν ὑπέλαβε μηκέτι τολμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ναυμαχῆσειν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἥττης, ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν στόλον ἐλαττώματα παραδόξως διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀγχινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἀνεμαχέσατο τὸ γεγονός ἐλάττωμα. παρὰ γὰρ Βυζαντίων μεταπεμψάμενος νυκτὸς ναυς ὑπηρετικὰς ταύταις μὲν διεβίβαζεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ψιλικῶν ταγμάτων τοὺς ἱκανούς. οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν ἀποβεβηκόσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πεζῇ κατεστρατοπεδευκόσι κατεπλήξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον. ταχὺ δὲ πάντων διὰ τὸν φόβον τεταραγμένων καὶ εἰς τὰς ναυς ἐμπεδόντων πολλὸς ἐγένετο θόρυβος διὰ τε τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἐξαρτύσας τὰς μακρὰς ναυς καὶ τῶν ἀλκιμωτάτων πεζῶν πολλοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἐπιστήσας ἀπέστειλε, παρακαλέσας τεθαρρηκότως ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίους, ὥς πάντως καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐσομένου τοῦ νικήματος. τοῦ δὲ Νικάνορος νυκτὸς ἀναχθέντος καὶ διαφωσκούσης τῆς ἡμέρας οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιπεσόντες ἄφνω τοῖς πολεμίοις τεθορυβημένοις εὐθὺς κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπίπλουν ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὰς μὲν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τύπτοντες ἀνέρρηττον, ὧν δὲ τοὺς ταρσοὺς παρέσυρον, ὧν δὲ αὐτάνδρων παραδιδομένων ἀκινδύνως ἐκυρίευν· τέλος δὲ πλὴν μιᾶς τῆς ναυαρχίδος τῶν λοιπῶν πασῶν αὐτάνδρων ἐκυρίευσαν. ὁ δὲ Κλεῖτος φygὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν ναὺν ἐπεβάλετο μὲν διὰ Μακεδονίας ἀνασώζεσθαι, περιπεσὼν δὲ στρατιώταις τισὶ τοῦ Λυσιμάχου διεφθάρη.

A naval battle took place not far from Byzantium in which Kleitos was victorious, sinking 17 ships of the enemy and capturing not less than 40 together with their crews, but the rest escaped to the harbor of Chalcedon. After such a victory for the side of Kleitos, this man believed that the enemy would no longer dare fight at sea owing to the severity of their defeat, but Antigonos, after learning of the losses that the fleet had suffered, unexpectedly made good by his own keen wit and generalship the loss that he had encountered. Gathering auxiliary vessels from Byzantium by night, he employed them in transporting bowmen, slingers, and a sufficient number of other light-armed troops to the other shore. Before dawn they fell upon those who had disembarked onto the shore from the ships of the enemy and were encamped on land, spreading panic in the forces of Kleitos. At once these were all thrown into a tumult of fear, and when they leaped into the ships, there was great confusion because of the baggage and the large number of prisoners. At this

point Antigonos, who had made his warships ready and had placed in them as marines as many of his bravest infantry, sent them into the fight, urging them to fall on the enemy with confidence, since the victory would depend entirely upon them. During the night Nikanor had put out to sea, and, as dawn appeared, his men fell suddenly upon the confused enemy and at once put them to flight at the first attack, destroying some of the ships by ramming them with the beaks, sweeping off the oars of others, and gaining possession of certain of them without danger when they surrendered with their crews. They finally captured all the ships together with their crews save for the one that carried the commander. Kleitos fled to the shore and abandoned his ship, endeavoring to make his way to Macedonia to safety, but he fell into the hands of certain soldiers of Lysimachos and was put to death.¹¹⁶

- T25 Menippos, *Periplus* D 5604, 5622, 5703 17 (Diller 1952, pp. 147–164), quoted in Marcianus, *Epitome Periplus Menippe* 6–8; see also Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Χαλκεδών (pp. 682–683 Meineke) (late 1st century B.C.)

διήρηκεν δὲ ὁ Μένιππος τὸν περίπλουν τῶν τριῶν ἡπείρων, Ἀσίας τε καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης, τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ καλουμένου Διὸς Οὐρίου, ὅπερ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κεῖται τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου, τοῦ περίπλου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκατέρων τῶν ἡπείρων ποιησάμενος. . . . κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον Βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τῆς Ἀσίας μέρεσιν, ἅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνος, κεῖται χωρίον λεγόμενον Ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ ναὸς ἐστὶ Διὸς Οὐρίου προσαγορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἀφετήριόν ἐστι τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεόντων . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Διὸς Οὐρίου εἰς Ῥίβαν ποταμὸν στάδια ρ’ κτλ.

Menippos divided the sailing itinerary of the three continents (Asia, Europe, and Libya) as follows: . . . from the so-called Hieron of Zeus Ourios, located at the very mouth of the Pontus, he set the start of the sailing itinerary of each of the two continents. . . . In the region of the Thracian Bosphorus and the mouth of the Euxine Sea, in the parts of Asia that lie on the right and that belong to the Bithynians, lies the site called Hieron, where there is a temple called by the name of Zeus Ourios. This site is the starting point for those sailing into the Pontus. . . . From the Hieron of Zeus Ourios to the river Rhibas the distance is 90 stadia, etc.

- T26 Strabo, *Geographica* 7.6.1 [C 319] (ca. 64 B.C.–ca. A.D. 24)

αἱ δὲ Κυάνεαι πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου εἰσὶ δύο νησίδες, τὸ μὲν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ προσεχές, τὸ δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, πορθμῷ διειργόμενα ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίων. τοσοῦτον δὲ διέχει καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Βυζαντίων καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Χαλκηδονίων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὸ στενώτατον· προϊόντι γὰρ δέκα σταδίους ἄκρα ἐστὶ πενταστάδιον ποιούσα τὸν πορθμόν, εἴτα δίσταται ἐπὶ πλεόν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀρχεται τὴν Προποντίδα.

116. Based on trans. by R. M. Geer, Cambridge, Mass., 1947.

The Kyaneai are two islets near the mouth of the Pontus, one close to Europe and the other to Asia; they are separated by a channel of about 20 stadia and are 20 stadia distant both from the temple of the Byzantines and from the temple of the Chalcedonians, which is the narrowest part of the mouth of the Euxine. For when one proceeds only 10 stadia farther one comes to a headland which makes the strait only 5 stadia in width, and then the strait opens to a greater width and begins to form the Propontis.¹¹⁷

T27 Strabo, *Geographica* 12.3.7 [C 543] (ca. 64 B.C.–ca. A.D. 24)

διέχει δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Χαλκηδονίου σταδίους χιλίους που καὶ πεντακοσίους . . .

This city [Herakleia] is about 1,500 stadia from the Chalcedonian temple . . .

T28 Strabo, *Geographica* 12.3.11 [C 546] (ca. 64 B.C.–ca. A.D. 24)

διέχει δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἱεροῦ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους . . .

It [Sinope] is 3,500 stadia from Hieron . . .

T29 Strabo, *Geographica* 12.3.17 [C 548] (ca. 64 B.C.–ca. A.D. 24)

εἴτ' ἔνθεν εἰς Φᾶσιν χίλιοί που καὶ τετρακόσιοι, ὥστε οἱ σύμπαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ μέχρι Φάσιδος περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους σταδίους εἰσὶν ἢ μικρῷ πλείους ἢ ἐλάττους.

Then from here [Trapezos] to Phasis is approximately 1,400 [stadia], so that the distance from Hieron to Phasis is in total about 8,000 stadia, or slightly more or less.

T30 Strabo, *Geographica* 12.4.2 [C 563] (ca. 64 B.C.–ca. A.D. 24)

ταύτης δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου Χαλκηδὼν ἵδρυται, Μεγαρέων κτίσμα, καὶ κώμη Χρυσόπολις καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Χαλκηδόνιον . . .

In this country [Bithynia], at the mouth of the Pontus, are located Chalcedon, a foundation of the Megarians, and the village Chrysopolis, and the Chalcedonian temple . . .

T31 Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* 1.101–102 (A.D. 43–44)

. . . exiturique in Pontum pelagi canalis angustior Europam ab Asia stadiis quinque disternat, Thracius, ut dictum est, Bosphorus. ipsis in faucibus oppidum, in ore templum est: oppidi nomen Chalcedon, auctor Archias Megarensium princeps, templi numen Iuppiter, conditor est Iaso. hic iam sese ingens Pontus aperit . . .

. . . And at the point where the sea flows out into the Pontus, a channel (the so-called Thracian Bosphorus) separates Europe from Asia by less than five stadia. There is a town at the very neck, and a temple at the mouth: the name of the town is Chalcedon, its creator

117. Based on trans. by H. L. Jones, Cambridge, Mass., 1924.

Archias the ruler of Megara; Jupiter is the god of the temple, and Jason its founder. And at this point the great Pontus opens up . . .

T32 C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia* 5.43 §150 (1st century A.D.)

ultra Calchadona Chrysopolis fuit, dein Nicopolis, a qua nomen etiamnum sinus retinet, in quo portus Amyci. dein Naulochum promunturium, Estiae, templum Neptuni. Bosphorus, D p. intervallo Asiam Europae iterum auferens, abest a Calchadone VII D p.,¹¹⁸ inde fauces primae VIII DCCL p., ubi Uriopolis (?)¹¹⁹ oppidum fuit. tenent oram omnem Thyni, interiora Bithyni. is finis Asiae est populorumque CCLXXXII, qui ad eum locum a fine Lyciae numerantur.

Beyond Chalcedon formerly stood Chrysopolis, and then Nicopolis, of which the gulf, upon which stands the Port of Amycus, still retains the name; then the Promontory of Naulochum, Estiae, a temple to Neptune. The Bosphorus, the point where it again separates Asia from Europe by half a mile, is seven and a half miles from Chalcedon. From there to the beginning of the mouth is eight miles and three-quarters, at the place where the town of Uriopolis(?) formerly stood. The Thynians occupy the whole of the coast, the Bithynians the interior. This is the termination of Asia, and of the 282 peoples that are to be found between the border of Lycia and this spot.

T33 Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii *Argonautica* ad 2.531–532 (1st century A.D. and later); on the text, see Müller 1861, p. 76

βωμόν ἀλὸς ῥηγμῖνι πέρην· ἐν δὲ τῷ πέραν, φησὶν, αἰγιαλῷ τῆς Ἀσίας, διαπλεύσαντες ἐπ’ αὐτόν, βωμόν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἐδομήσαντο. φανερόν οὖν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἱερόν ἐστὶν οὕτω καλούμενον ἐν τῷ πέραν τῆς Εὐρώπης [τῆς Ἀσιάδος]. Τιμοσθένης δὲ φησι τοὺς μὲν Φρίξου παῖδας βωμόν ιδρύσασθαι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀργοναύτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ φησι τεθυκέναι τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας, ἐφ’ οὗ Ἄργος ὁ Φρίξου ἐπανιὼν ἐτεθύκει. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ οὗτοι· Ζεὺς, Ποσειδῶν, Ἄϊδης, Ἑρμῆς, Ἥφαιστος, Ἀπόλλων, Δημήτηρ, Ἑστία, Ἄρης, Ἀφροδίτη, [Ἥρα] καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ.

“An altar on the sea beach opposite”: On the beach opposite, he means, from Asia. Having sailed across to it, they built an altar to the Twelve Gods. Clearly, therefore, in Europe: for even now a so-called Hieron stands on the coast of Europe [opposite from Asia]. Timosthenes says that the sons of Phrixos built the altar of the Twelve Gods, and the Argonauts of Poseidon. And Herodorus says that the Argonauts sacrificed at the altar, where Argos the son of Phrixos had sacrificed on his return. The Twelve Gods are Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, Hermes, Hephaistos, Apollo, Demeter, Hestia, Ares, Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena.

118. Müller’s emendation: 1861, p. 10, n. 5.

119. Müller’s emendation: 1861, p. 10, n. 5.

T34 Arrian, *Periplus ponti Euxini* 12.2–3 (ca. A.D. 131)

τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Οὐρίου διέχει ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου σταδίους
εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐστὶν στενότατον ταύτῃ τὸ στόμα τοῦ
Πόντου καλούμενον, καθ' ὃ τι εἰσβάλλει εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα . . .
ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ Ῥήβας ποταμός· σταδίους
διέχει τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἐνενήκοντα, κτλ.

The Temple of Zeus Ourios is 120 stadia from Byzantium, and this is the narrowest part of the so-called mouth of the Pontus, through which the Pontus empties into the Propontis. . . . On the right as one sails from Hieron is the river Rhebas: it is 90 stadia from the Hieron of Zeus, etc.

T35 Arrian, *Periplus ponti Euxini* 25.4 (ca. A.D. 131)

. . . ἐκ δὲ Κυανέων ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Οὐρίου, ἵνα περ τὸ
στόμα τοῦ Πόντου, στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα.

. . . from the Dark Blue Rocks to the Hieron of Zeus Ourios, which is at the mouth of the Pontus, [distance:] 40 stadia.

T36 Dionysius Byzantius, *Per Bosporum navigatio* §75 (Güngerich [1927] 1958) (2nd century A.D.)

post, *inquit D.*, Scletrinam existunt Milton promontorium, nominatum a similitudine coloris, atque contigua domus cuiusdam nauarchi et litus arduum directumque et praecipitium ad solis ortum inclinatum; circa autem ipsum est mare taeniis distinctum, et Fanum, cunctum contra frontem Fani Asiatici situm; aiunt hic Iasonem litasse duodecim diis. haec Fana sunt oppidula iuxta Ponti ostium posita; est etiam templum deae Phrygiae, sacrum illustre et publice cultum.

After Scletrina [says Dionysius] are the “Red Chalk” promontory, named from its likeness to the color, and the nearby house of a certain admiral, and a rough and sheer coastline with an east-facing cliff; around that same place is a stretch of sea punctuated by reefs, and the Hieron, which is located exactly facing the Asian Hieron. They say that this was the place where Jason sacrificed to the Twelve Gods. These Hieron are small towns sited next to the mouth of the Pontus; there is also a temple to the Phrygian goddess, a famous holy place and a cult open to all.

T37 Dionysius Byzantius, *Per Bosporum navigatio* §§92–94 (Güngerich [1927] 1958) (2nd century A.D.)

inde subiungit Dionysii Anaplys: post Chelas esse nuncupatum Hieron, *hoc est Fanum*, a Phryxo Nephelae et Athamantis filio aedificatum, cum navigaret ad Colchos, a Byzantiis quidem possessum, sed commune receptaculum omnium navigantium. supra templum est murus in orbem procedens; in hoc est arx munita, quam Galatae populati sunt ut alia pleraque Asiae. possessio autem Fani controversa fuit, multis ipsam sibi vindicantibus ad tempus mari imperantibus, sed maxime omnium Chalcedonii hunc locum sibi haereditarium asserere conabantur; verumtamen possessio semper

remansit Byzantiis olim quidem ob principatum et domesticum robur—multis enim navibus mare possidebant—, rursus vero cum emissent a Callimede, Seleuci exercitus duce. in Fano, *inquit D.*, statua aerea est antiquae artis, aetatem puerilem prae se ferens, tendens manus. causae multae afferuntur, cur haec statua sit in hanc figuram conformata; quidam, *inquit*, aiunt audaciae signum esse navigantium, deterrens temeritatem navigationis periculis plenam atque ostendens redeuntium salutis felicitatem et pietatem; non enim sine terrore utrunque est; alii dicunt puerum in littore errantem aliquanto post venisse, quam e portu navis soluta esset, salutisque desperatione affectum manus ad coelum tendere, pueri autem preces deum exaudientem reduxisse navem in portum; alii aiunt in magna maris tranquillitate, omni vento silente, nave diu retardata, nautas inopia portus laborasse, nauarcho autem visionem insedissee iubentem, ut nauarchus filium suum sacrificaret, non enim alio modo posse assequi commeatum et ventos; nauarcho necessitate coacto et parato puerum sacrificare manus quidem puerum tetendisse, deum vero misericordia motum ob absurdum pueri supplicium obque pueri aetatem sustulisse puerum et ventum secundum immisisse. haec quidem et his contraria, ut cuique placuerit, credibilia existimentur. sub Fani, *inquit D.*, promontorium subit et succedit Argynronicum nominatum ex eo, quod multa pecunia emptum fuisset . . .

Then the Anapulus of Dionysius continues: After the Breakwater is the place called Hieron [meaning Shrine], which was built by Phrixus, son of Nephele and Athamas, when he sailed to Colchis, and which at any rate is controlled by the Byzantines, but is a common haven to all who sail. Above the temple is a wall proceeding in a circuit, within which lies a fortified citadel, which the Galatians plundered as they did many other parts of Asia. Indeed, the control of Hieron was disputed, being claimed by many states as they controlled the sea in turn, but the Chalcedonians above all attempted to claim the place as ancestrally their own. Nevertheless, the Byzantines always retained control, in times past because of their supremacy and native strength—for they used to control the sea with many ships—but afterwards because they purchased it from Callimedes, who commanded the army of Seleucus. At Hieron [*says Dionysius*] there is a bronze statue of ancient craftsmanship, displaying a young man holding out his hands. Many explanations are given for why this statue is arranged in this shape; some say [*he says*] that it is a mark of the boldness of sailors, discouraging the danger-filled recklessness of sailing forth, and displaying the fortunate possession of safety and the dutiful reverence of those who sail back; for neither way is free from fear. Others say that a boy wandering on shore returned shortly after his ship had left the port, and, overcome by despair for his safety, stretched his hands up to heaven, but that the god heard the prayers of the boy and returned the ship to port. Others say that on the occasion of a great calmness of the sea, while every wind was still and a ship was long delayed, its sailors were struggling under the scarcity of the port's supplies. Whereupon a vision appeared to the captain, ordering the captain to

sacrifice his own son, since by no other means could the voyage and the winds resume. But at the moment when the captain, being compelled by necessity, was ready to sacrifice the boy, it is said that the boy stretched out his hands, and that the god, doubtless moved by pity at the uncivilized torment of the boy and at the boy's youth, took the boy and sent a favorable wind. These at any rate are the arguments for and against, which each man may deem credible as it suits him. Below the promontory of Hieron [*says Dionysius*] follows and rises the promontory Argyronicum, so-called because it was purchased for an enormous sum of money . . .

T38 Polyaeus, *Strategemata* 4.6.8 (2nd century A.D.); cf. Marmor Parium *FGrH* 239 F B13 (114) = **T15**; Diod. Sic. 18.72.4–9 = **T24**

Ἀντιγόνη νῆες ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, ὧν ἦν ναύαρχος Νικάνωρ, ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς τὸ Πολυσπέρχοντος ναυτικόν, οὗ Κλεΐτος ἐναυάρχει. Ἑλλήσποντος, ἐνθα ἡ μάχη. Νικάνωρ τῶν ναυτῶν ὑπ' ἀπειρίας πρὸς ἐναντίον κῦμα βιαζομένων ἀπέβαλε ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα. τῶν πολεμίων λαμπρῶς νικησάντων παρῆν Ἀντίγονος ἐσπέρας καὶ τὴν ἡτταν οὐκ ἔδεισεν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐξήκοντα ἐτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν αὐθις νυκτὸς ἐκέλευσε· τῶν δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους ἐπιστήσας τοῖς σκάφεσι προσέταξεν ἀπειλεῖν ὥς ἀποκτενοῦσι τοὺς μὴ χωροῦντας ἐς μάχην. Βυζάντιον δὲ φίλην ἔχων, ἐγγὺς οὖσαν, ἐντεῦθεν ὑπηρεσίαν ναυτικὴν διὰ τάχους ἐκέλευσε [ἐπιπλεῦσαι], πελταστὰς καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας χιλίους παρὰ τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων ὁρμούσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἀκοντίζειν καὶ τοξεύειν ἔταξεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν νυκτὶ μίᾳ διετέτακτο. ἀρχομένης δὲ ἑω οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐτόξευον καὶ ἠκόντιζον· οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ, οἱ μὲν ἔτι καθεύδοντες, οἱ δὲ ἄρτι ἀφυπνίζοντες, ἀφυλάκτως ἐτιτρώσκοντο. ἄλλοι μὲν ἀνέσπων τὰ πρυμνήσια, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνεῖλκον τὰς ἀποβάθρας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀγκύρας ἀνιμῶντο· πάντων δὲ βοή καὶ ταραχος ἦν. Ἀντίγονος ἐσήμηνε καὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῦσαι καὶ μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ ῥοθίου ποιῆσθαι τὰς ἐμβολάς. αὐτίκα δὲ συνέβαινε, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς βαλλόντων, [τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων,] κρατεῖν μὲν [τοὺς ἡττημένους, ἡττᾶσθαι δὲ] τοὺς νενικηκότας.

Antigonos' 130 ships, of which Nicanor was the admiral, fought a battle against Polysperchon's navy, of which Cleitus was the admiral. The battle took place in the Hellespont. Nicanor lost seventy ships because, through inexperience, his sailors were overpowered by the opposing current. After the enemy triumphed brilliantly, Antigonos arrived in the evening and was not alarmed at the defeat. He ordered the men in the remaining sixty ships to be ready for another battle that night, and he stationed the bravest hypaspists on skiffs and ordered them to threaten to kill whoever did not advance to battle. Since nearby Byzantium was an ally, he ordered a naval force to sail from there as fast as possible, and he stationed 1,000 peltasts, light-armed troops, and archers to throw javelins and shoot arrows from the shore near the anchored ships of the enemy. All this was arranged in one night. At the beginning of dawn the

men on the shore discharged javelins and arrows. The enemy, some still sleeping, others having just awakened, were wounded while off their guard. Some were dragging up the stern cables, others were drawing up the ladders, others were pulling up the anchors. All were shouting and confused. Antigonos signaled the sixty ships to sail and ram with courage and shouting. Immediately it came about, when those on land threw and the others attacked by sea, that the losers won, and the winners lost.¹²⁰

T39 Ptolemaios, *Geographia* 5.1.2–3 (2nd century A.D.)

Βιθυνίας τὸ πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ
 Ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος . . .
 Χαλκηδών . . .
 . . . μετὰ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος,
 Βιθυνίας ἄκρα . . .

The promontory of Bithynia at the mouth of the Pontus, where lie:
 The Hieron of Artemis [56°25' 43°20']
 Chalcedon [56°05' 43°05'] . . .
 . . . After the mouth of the Pontus and the Hieron of Artemis,
 The promontory of Bithynia [56°45' 43°20'].

T40 Philostratos (Maior), *Imagines* 1.12.1–5 (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.)

θηράσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ δαῖτα ἡρηκότας διαπορθμεύει ναῦς
 ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν σταδίους μάλιστα πρὸς τέτταρας
 (τουτὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τοῖν ἔθνοιν) καὶ αὐτερέται πλέουσιν . . . ἡ
 ἀκτὴ δὲ ὑψηλὴ καὶ τοιοῦδε μύθου φέρει σύμβολα. κόρη καὶ παῖς
 ἄμφω καλὴ καὶ φοιτῶντε ταύτῃ διδασκάλῳ προσεκαύθησαν
 ἀλλήλοις καὶ περιβάλλειν οὐκ οὔσης ἀδείας ὥρμησαν ἀποθανεῖν
 ἀπὸ ταυτησὶ τῆς πέτρας κἀντεῦθεν ἤρθησαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν
 ὑστάταις καὶ πρώταις περιβολαῖς. καὶ ὁ Ἔρως ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ τείνει
 τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ὑποσημαίνων τὸν μῦθον ὁ ζωγράφος . . .
 ἔστ' ἂν ἐφ' Ἱερὸν ἀφικώμεθα. καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ νεὼν οἶμαι ὀρᾶς καὶ
 στήλας, αἱ περιίδρυνται αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πυρσόν, ὃς
 ἥρτηται ἐς φρυκτωρίαν τῶν νεῶν, αἱ πλέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.

And when the youths have finished the hunt and have eaten their meal, a boat carries them across from Europe to Asia, about four stades—for this space intervenes between the countries—and they row themselves across. . . . The promontory is lofty and gives a suggestion of the following tale: A boy and girl, both beautiful and under the tutelage of the same teacher, burned with love for each other; and since they were not free to embrace each other, they determined to die at this very rock, and leaped from it into the sea in their first and last embrace. Eros on the rock stretches out his hand toward the sea, the painter's symbolic suggestion of the tale . . . until we come to Hieron. You see the temple yonder, I am sure, the columns that surround it, and the beacon light at the entrance that is hung up to warn from danger the ships that sail out from the Pontus.¹²¹

120. Trans. P. Krentz and E. L. Wheeler, Chicago 1994.

121. Based on trans. by A. Fairbanks, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

T41 Philostratos, *Vitae sophistarum* 1.528 (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.)

Μάρκῳ τοίνυν ἦν ἀναφορὰ τοῦ γένους ἐς τὸν ἀρχαῖον Βύζαντα, πατὴρ δὲ ὁμώνυμος ἔχων θαλαττουργοὺς οἰκέτας ἐν Ἱερῷ, τὸ δὲ Ἱερὸν παρὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πόντου.

The genealogy of Markos dated back as far as the original Byzas, and his father, who had the same name, owned slaves who were fishermen at Hieron. (Hieron is beside the entrance to the Pontus.)¹²²

T42 Scholia in Demosthenem 91a, 91b (4th century A.D.?)

(91a.) τὴν δ' ἐφ' Ἱερῷ] τόπος ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οὕτω καλούμενος διὰ τὸ τοὺς Μινύας ιδρύσασθαι ἱερὸν τῶν θεῶν στελλομένους ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον δέρας.

(91b.) τὴν . . . Ἱερῷ] Ἱερὸν οὕτω καλούμενον διὰ τὸ τοὺς Μινύας ἱερὰ ιδρύσασθαι τῶν ἡρώων στελλομένους ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον δέρας. τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου.

(91a.) At Hieron:] The place is in the Hellespont and is thus called because the Minyans built a shrine of the gods when they were setting out for the Golden Fleece.

(91b.) At Hieron:] Hieron is thus called because the Minyans built a shrine of the heroes when they were setting out for the Golden Fleece. This is the one at the mouth of the Pontus.

T43 Tabula Peutingeriana, segmentum IX.2 (see Miller 1916, p. 636) (4th century A.D.?)

Jovisuri^{us}.

Jupiter Ourios.

T44 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* 18.14 Thurn (Bonn ed., p. 432) (5th–6th centuries A.D., describing events of A.D. 528)

καὶ μανέντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν αὐτῶν Οὔννων καὶ ἔσφαξαν τὸν ῥήγα καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Μοῦγελ. καὶ πτοηθέντες Ῥωμαίους ἦλθον ἐν Βοσπόρῳ καὶ ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε κόμητα στενῶν τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ὃν ἐκέλευσε καθῆσθαι ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἱερῷ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ στόμιον τῆς Πόντου, Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, ἀποστείλας αὐτὸν μετὰ βοηθείας Γοτθικῆς. καὶ ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Οὔννων ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς πέμψας διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης πλοῖα γέμοντα στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἔξαρχον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ γῆς πέμψας πολλὴν βοήθειαν καὶ στρατηγὸν Βαδουάριον.

The priests of the Huns were furious, and killed the king and made his brother Mougel king in his place. Fearing the Romans, they went to Bosphorus and killed those who were guarding the city. Hearing this, the emperor made the ex-consul John the *comes* of the Straits of the Pontic Sea, and ordered him to take up his position at the place known as Hieron, at the mouth of the Pontic Sea, dispatching with him a force of Goths. The emperor

122. Based on trans. by W. C. Wright, Cambridge, Mass., 1921.

began a campaign against the Huns, sending ships full of soldiers, together with an exarch, through the Pontic Sea and sending likewise by land a large force under the command of the general Badouarios.¹²³

T45 Hesychius Milesius, *Patria Constantinopoleos* 33 (6th century A.D.)

ἱερά τε θεῶν πλείστα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀνεστήσατο, τὰ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ὄντα ἐπεκόσμησεν· τὸν γὰρ πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης κείμενον ναόν, ὃν Ἰάσων ποτὲ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καθιέρωσε, κατηρειπωμένον ἀνήγειρε καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Φρίξου λεγομένῳ λιμένι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οἶκον ἀνεκαίνισεν.

A great many shrines to the gods he [Timesios] either erected himself, or adorned if they already existed. For he rebuilt the temple that is located on the promontory of the Pontic sea, which Jason once dedicated to the Twelve Gods, and was in ruins. And he renewed the temple to Artemis on the so-called harbor of Phrixos.

T46 Procopius, *Historia arcana* 25.1–6 (6th century A.D.)

ἅπερ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναύτας καὶ βαναύσους καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους, δι' αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας εἴργασται, φράσω ἔρχομαι. πορθμῷ δύο ἐκατέρωθεν Βυζαντίου ἐστὸν, ἄτερος μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἄβυδον, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐξείνου καλουμένου Πόντου, οὗ τὸ Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πορθμῷ τελωνεῖον μὲν ἐν δημοσίῳ ὡς ἤκιστα ἦν, ἄρχων δὲ τις ἐκ βασιλέως στελλόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ καθήστο, διερευνώμενος μὲν, ἦν ναὺς ὅπλα φέρουσα ἐς Βυζάντιον οὐ βασιλέως ἴοι γνώμη, καὶ ἦν τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀνάγοιτο οὐ φερόμενος γράμματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ σημεῖα οἷς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη (οὐ γὰρ θέμις τινὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀνάγεσθαι οὐκ ἀφειμένον πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχῇ ὑπουργοῦσι) πραττόμενος δὲ τοὺς τῶν πλοίων κυρίους τέλος οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενον ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὰ μισθὸν ὁ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τοῦ ἔργου τούτου λαμβάνειν ἡξίου· ὁ μὲντοι ἐπὶ πορθμοῦ τοῦ ἐτέρου στελλόμενος τὸν μισθὸν ἀεὶ πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένος ἦν καὶ διερευνώμενος ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ταῦτά τε, ἅπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ ἦν τι ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους κομίζοιτο, οἱ παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνου ἴδρυνται Πόντον, ὧν περ οὐ θέμις ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους κομίζεσθαι. οὐδὲν μὲντοι ἐξῆν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τῶν τῆδε ναυτιλλομένων προσίεσθαι. ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τελωνεῖόν τε δημόσιον κατεστήσατο ἐν πορθμῷ ἐκατέρῳ καὶ μισθοφόρους ἄρχοντας δύο ἐς ἀεὶ πέμπων μίσθωσιν μὲν αὐτοῖς παρείχετο τὴν ζυγκειμένην, ἐπήγγελλε δὲ χρήματά οἱ ὅτι πλείστα ἐνθένδε ἀποφέρειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. οἱ δὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ εὐνοϊάν οἱ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες ἀπαξάπαντα πρὸς τῶν πλεόντων τὰ τῶν φορτίων τιμήματα ληϊζόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο.

123. Trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott, Melbourne 1986.

And I shall now proceed to tell of his treatment of merchants and sailors and craftsmen and traders in the market-place and, through

these, of all the others. There are two straits on the two sides of Byzantium, the one at the Hellespont between Sestus and Abydus and the other at the mouth of the sea called the Euxine, where is the place named Hieron. Now on the Strait of the Hellespont there was no public Customs House at all, but a certain magistrate commissioned by the Emperor was stationed at Abydus, watching to see whether any ship bearing arms went towards Byzantium without the Emperor's permission, and also whether anyone was putting out from Byzantium without carrying a permit and seals from the men who have this function (for it is illegal for anyone to put out from Byzantium without being released by the men who serve the office of the official known as the "Magister"), and collecting from the masters of the ships a toll which was felt by no one, but which was, as it were, a sort of payment claimed by the man who held this office as compensation for his labor. But the man dispatched to the other strait had always received his salary from the Emperor, and he watched with great care for the things I have mentioned and, in addition, to see whether anything was being conveyed to the barbarians who are settled along the Euxine Sea, of a sort which it is not permitted to export from the land of the Romans to their enemies. This man, however, was not permitted to accept anything from those who sailed that way. But since the time when the Emperor Justinian took over the Empire, he has established a Customs House on each strait, and sending out regularly two salaried officials, although he did provide the salary agreed upon, yet he directed them to use every means in their power to make a return to him from that source of as much money as possible. And they, being concerned only with demonstrating to him their loyalty towards him, finished by plundering from the shippers the entire value of their cargoes.¹²⁴

T47 Procopius, *De aedificiis* 1.9.11–14 (6th century A.D.)

ἐς δὲ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἐνθένδε ἰόντι ἄκρα τις ἀπορρῶς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ προβέβληται ἡϊόνα, ἐφ' ἧς μαρτύριον Παντελεήμονος ἁγίου εἰστήκει, ἀρχὴν τε ἀπημελημένως πεποιημένον καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ πεπονηκὸς ἄγαν ὅπερ ἐνθένδε περιελὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, τοῦτόν τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὰ μάλιστα οἰκοδομησάμενος τὸν ἐκείνῃ τανῦν ὄντα νεών, τῷ τε μάρτυρι διεσώσατο τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κάλλος ἐντέθεικεν, ἐκατέρωθι τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα πηξάμενος. τούτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν χώρῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀργυρωνίῳ πτωχῶν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταγώγιον, οἷσπερ ἡ νόσος τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐλωβήσατο. ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ διερρωγὸς ἤδη τὰ ἔσχατα προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνενεώσατο, γενησόμενον τοῖς οὕτω ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνάπαυλαν. ἀκτὴ δὲ τίς ἐστι Μωχάδιον ὄνομα τοῦ χώρου ἐγγύς, ὃ καὶ νῦν Ἰερὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἐνταῦθα νεῶν τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ἄλλον ἐδείματο ἱεροπρεπῇ τε διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἱερῶν, ὧν περ ἐπεμνήσθη ἀρτίως, οὐδενὸς ἀξιώματι ἀποδέοντα.

124. Trans. H. B. Dewing, Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

As one goes on from there toward the Euxine Sea, a certain sheer promontory is thrust out along the shore-line of the strait, on which stands a martyr's shrine of St. Panteleëmon, which had been carelessly built to begin with and had suffered greatly from the long passage of time; this the Emperor Justinian removed completely from the spot and in its place built in a very magnificent manner the church which now stands on this site, and he thus preserved to the martyr his honor and at the same time added beauty to the strait by setting these shrines on either side of it. Beyond this shrine, in the place called Argyronium, there had been from ancient times a refuge for poor persons who were afflicted with incurable diseases. This, with the passage of time, had already fallen into a state of extreme disrepair, but he restored it with all enthusiasm, so that it should provide a lodging for those who suffered in this way. And there is a certain promontory named Mochadium near the place which is now called Hieron. There he built another church to the Archangel, one of peculiar sanctity and inferior in esteem to none of the shrines of the Archangel which I have just mentioned.¹²⁵

T48 Procopius, *De bellis* 3.1.8 (6th century A.D.)

ταύτη γὰρ ξυνίασιν αὐθις ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἀβυδον, καὶ πάλιν ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Καλχηδόνι μέχρι τῶν πάλαι κυανέων λεγομένων πετρῶν, οὗ καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χωρίοις μέτρῳ δέκα σταδίων τε καὶ τούτου ἐλάσσονι διείργεσθον ἀλλήλαιν.

For at this point [the two continents] again approach each other at Sestus and Abydus, and once more at Byzantium and Chalcedon as far as the rocks called in ancient times the "Dark Blue Rocks" where even now is the place called Hieron. For at these places the continents are separated from one another by a distance of only ten stades and even less than that.¹²⁶

T49 Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. Φρίξος (p. 672 Meineke) (6th century A.D.)

Φρίξος, πόλις Λυκίας. ἔστι καὶ Φρίξου λιμὴν παρὰ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονίᾳ περαία, περὶ οὗ Νύμφης ἐν ἁ' περὶ Ἡρακλείας τάδε φησὶν – – –.

Phrixos, a city of Lycia. There is also a harbor of Phrixos at the mouth of the Pontus, on the coast of Chalcedon, about which Nymphis says the following in his first book *On Herakleia* [*FGrH* 432 F1]: – – –.

125. Trans. H. B. Dewing, Cambridge, Mass., 1940; on Mochadion and the church to the archangel Michael, mentioned only in this passage, see n. 66, above, and Janin 1934, p. 47.

126. Trans. H. B. Dewing, Cambridge, Mass., 1916.

T50 Anonymous, *Periplus ponti Euxini* 1.4; 2.1; 3.1; 90.9; 91.2, 5, 7, 12; 92.1, 8, 13 (Müller 1855, pp. 402–423; Diller 1952, pp. 102–146) (6th century A.D. or later)

The *Periplus* compiles the relevant passages from Menippos (T25) and Arrian (T34, T35).

INSCRIPTIONS

- I1 Inscription on the cauldron dedicated at Hieron by Pausanias (ca. 478–475 B.C.)

See Hdt. 4.81 = T2; Nymphis, *FGrH* 432 F9 = T16.

- I2 Olbian coinage decree

Marble stele discovered in 1876 in the foundations of a Turkish house at Anadolukavağı. *Editio princeps*: Mordtmann 1878. Dubois 1996, pp. 28–39, no. 14 (with drawing) = *IPE* I² 24; *IKalch* 16.

H. 0.67, W. 0.32 m

4th century B.C.

- [εἰς Βο]ρυσσθῆνη εἰσπλεῖν τὸν βου-
[λόμε]νον κατὰ τάδε· ἔδοξε βουλῇ
[καὶ δῆ]μῳ· Κάνωβος Θρασυδάμαντο[ς]
[εἰπ]ε· εἶναι παντὸς χρυσίου ἐπισήμο
5 [κ]αὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου εἰσσαγωγῇ[ν]
[κα]ὶ ἐξαγωγῇ· ὁ δὲ θέλων πωλεῖν ἢ
[ὦν]εἶσθαι χρυσίον ἐπισήμον ἢ ἀργυ-
[ριο]ν ἐπίσημον πωλείτω καὶ ὠνεῖσθ[ω]
[ἐπὶ] τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιασ[τη]-
10 [ρί]ω[ι· ὅς] δ' ἂν ἄλλοθι ἀποδῶται ἢ πρίη-
[ται, φευ]ξεῖται ὁ μὲν ἀποδόμενος το[ῦ]
[πωλουμέν]ου ἀργυρίου, ὁ δὲ πριάμενος τῇ[ς]
[τιμῆς], ὅσου ἐπρίατο· πωλεῖν δὲ καὶ ὦν[εἶ]-
[σθαι] πάντα πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τῇ[ς]
15 [πόλ]εως, πρὸς τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸ ἀργύριο[ν]
[τὸ] Ὀλβιοπολιτικόν. ὅς δ' ἂν πρὸς ἄλλο [τι]
[ἀπο]δῶται ἢ πρίηται, στερήσεται ὁ μὲν [ἀ]-
[ποδ]όμενος ὃ ἂν ἀποδῶται, ὁ δὲ πριάμ[ε]-
[ν]ος ὅσου ἂν πρίηται· πράζονται δὲ τοῦ[ς]
20 [πα]ρὰ τὸ ψήφισμά τι παρανομόντας
οἱ ἂν τὴν ὥνῃν πρίωνται τῶν παρανο-
μησάντων, δίκῃ καταλαβόντε[ς]·
τὸ δὲ χρυσίον πωλεῖν καὶ ὠνεῖσθ[αι] τὸ]-
ν μὲν στατήρα τὸν Κυζικηνὸν εἰνά]-
25 το ἡμιστατήρο, καὶ μήτε ἀξιώτερο[ν μή]-
τε τιμιώτερον, τὸ δ' ἄλλο χρυσίον τὸ [ἐ]-
[πίσ]ημον ἅπαν καὶ ἀργύριον τὸ ἐπίση[μον]
πωλεῖν καὶ ὠνεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν ἀλλ[ήλους]
πείθωσι· τέλος δὲ μηδὲν [πράττειν μήτε]
30 [χ]ρυσίου ἐπισήμου μήτ' ἀργυ[ρίου ἐπισή]-
[μ]ου μήτε πωλόντα μήτ' [ὠνούμενον]
[-----]ο[.]ργαμι[-----]

The following applies to anyone wishing to sail to Borysthenes.

It was decreed by the Council and the People, Kanobos son of

Thrasydamas proposed: let importation and exportation of all gold and silver be of stamped gold and stamped silver. Whoever wishes to sell or to buy stamped gold or stamped silver, let him sell it or buy it on the stone in the hall of the Assembly. And if anyone sells or purchases elsewhere, the seller shall be prosecuted for the sold silver, and the buyer for the amount paid as a price for it. Let everything be sold and be bought on the basis of the coinage of the city, on the basis of the bronze and silver coinage of the city of Olbia. And if anyone sells or buys on the basis of any other coinage, the seller shall be deprived of whatever he sold, and the buyer of the price he paid for it. And those who purchase the right to exact payment from transgressors will exact payment from those who transgress the decree in any way, having prosecuted them in court. Let gold be sold and bought at the rate of eight(?) and a half [Olbian silver staters] per Kyzikene [electrum] stater, neither less nor more, but let all other stamped gold and stamped silver be sold and bought at whatever rate is mutually agreed. Let no tax be exacted either on stamped gold or on stamped silver, whether sold or bought - - -.

I3 Regulation for the priesthood of the Twelve Gods

Marble stele. *Editio princeps*: Curtius 1877 (from a copy); see Mordtmann [1884] 1888, p. 169, no. 2 (reported as found at Hieron). *IKalch* 13; Lehmann-Haupt 1923, p. 373, no. 5.

H. 0.17, W. 0.23, D. 0.45 m

3rd century B.C.

[- - - - -] Νικομάχου τοῦ θυ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] *vacat* [- - - - -]
 [τύχαι ἀγα]θαί. ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ἱερωτε[ίαν]
 [τῶν θεῶ]ν τῶν δώδεκα ἱερωτεύσει ἐ[πὶ]
 [ζωᾶς λ]αζόμενος τῶν θυομένων πάν[των]
 5 [τὰ] δέρματα καὶ τὰς κωλεάς, ὅσα κα τ[οῖ]
 [θια]σῶνται θύωντι τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς ἐν τ[ῶι]
 [κοι]νῶι τῶι Νικομαχείῳ. ποταγόντω δὲ τ[οῖ]
 [το]ὶ ἑκαστάκι γινόμενοι τὰ ἱερεῖα ἅ κα [δέηι]
 [θυσιά]ζειν ποτὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῶν θε[ῶν]
 10 [τῶν] δώδεκα καὶ ποιοῦντω τὰν θυσίαν
 [καὶ τὰν σπονδά]ν. αἱ δὲ κα [μ]ὴ ποτάγ[- - -]
 - - - - -

Of Nikomachos the sacrificial priest(?). To good fortune. The man who purchases the priesthood of the Twelve Gods will serve as priest for life, taking the skins and thigh bones from all the victims, which the members of the *thiasos* should sacrifice to the Twelve Gods in the common Nikomacheion. Let each of the serving [priests?] lead the sacrificial animals, as they are due to be sacrificed, to the altar of the Twelve Gods, and let him perform the sacrifice and the libation. But if - - - not lead - - - -.

I4 Thessalian manumission list

White marble stele first mentioned by Albert Dumont, who in 1871 reported seeing it three years earlier at Büyükdere, on the European coast opposite Hieron. In the Berlin Museum since 1872 (with its provenance recorded as: “Angeblich aus dem Heiligtum des Zeus Urios am Bosporos”). Included in Lehmann-Haupt’s catalogue of inscriptions and sculpture from Hieron. Dumont and, later, Louis Robert independently identified the inscription (from the month Agagyllos on line 17, and the manumission tax on line 18) as Thessalian (Larisan). Robert supposed that the stone had been transported from Thessaly to the Bosphorus in the Ottoman period, and then mistakenly reported as originating from Hieron; as a result, the inscription does not appear in *IKalch*. But the year of purchase by the Berlin Museum is the same as that of the relief sold by Millingen (Conze 1891, pp. 383–384, no. 945; see p. 678, above), making it likely that the inscription was in the same consignment of materials from Hieron. Furthermore, a Thessalian manumission list cannot *prima facie* be thought unlikely in a Panhellenic sanctuary such as Hieron.

Editio princeps: Conze 1891, pp. 452–454, no. 1175 (with drawing); see Dumont [1871] 1892, p. 251; Robert 1936a, 1936b, 1940; McDevitt 1970, pp. 48–49, no. 348; Lehmann-Haupt 1923, p. 368, no. 2.

H. 0.83, W. 0.62 m

3rd–2nd century B.C.

[-----]νόμου [-----]
 [---- α]νδρου τοῦ Πολυκρίτου καὶ Μυχ[-----]
 [--- Ἀφρο]δισία Σωσύλου ἀπὸ Ἑλένης [-----]
 [---- Ἀ]φροδισία καὶ Ἡδίστη ἀπὸ Ἀριστομένου
 5 [-----]ολάου· Μαστὼ Παυσανίου ἀπὸ [-----]
 [-----]σιμος Διονυσίου ἀπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ [---]
 [----- Ἀθ]ηναίας τῆς Παυσανίου [-----]
 [-----] τοῦ Ἐπικρατίδου Ἀρτεμισία [-----]
 [---]νίου· Εὐπραξίς Κρατερόφρονος ἀπὸ [-----]
 10 [---]λους Ἀντίπατρος Θεμι[-----]
 [-----] Πίθωνος [-----]
 [Ἀγα]θόβουλος Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ Ἀπολ[ωνίου ---]
 [---]κράτους ἀπὸ Ἀντικράτους τοῦ Θ[-----]
 [---] ἀπὸ Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους [-----]
 15 [ἀπὸ] Θρασυμάχου τοῦ Γόργου Εὐφρό[νιος -----]
 [----]Μένωνος [-----]
 ἐκ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Ἀγαυλίου [-----]
 τοῦ [---- (?) ----- τοὺς] δε[κ]α[π]έντε [στατηῆρας]
 [-----]
 20 ς τοῦ Νυσσίου Ἀσκληπ[-----]
 [-]ιδόκου {²⁷[Πα]ιδόκου(?)}²⁷ τοῦ Ἀλκότα [-]

The fragmentary text does not permit satisfactory translation.

I5 Dedication by the officers and marines of a Koan warship

White marble stele discovered at Büyükdere, opposite Hieron. *Editio princeps*: Kalinka 1898a (with drawing); cf. Hiller von Gärtringen 1898,

cols. 89–94; with reply by Kalinka 1898b, cols. 93–96; Mordtmann, in Lehmann-Haupt 1923, p. 367 (claiming that the stone was discovered at Hieron). *IGRR* I 843; *IKalch* 15; Lehmann-Haupt 1923, pp. 366–368, no. 1.

H. 0.40, W. 0.36, D. 0.08 m

82 B.C.

Κωίων

- ἀγ[ουμ]έ[ν]ου τοῦ στόλου παντὸς Αὐ-
λου Τερε[ν]τίου Αὐλου υἱοῦ Οὐάρρωνος
πρεσβευτᾶ, γαυαρχοῦντος Εὐδά-
5 μου το[ῦ] - - - - -], τριηραρχοῦντος Κλέ-
ονίκου τ[ο]ῦ Εὐκα[ρ]που· τετρήρεως, αἱ ἐπ[ι]-
[γ]ραφ[ᾶ], ἔρ[γ]ο[ν] Π[ε]ισιστράτου το[ῦ]
[Α]λιοδώρου· [κυβε]ρν[α]τ[α]ς Καρ[τ]ιμ[έ]νης Ἀριστ[ω]-
[ν]ύμου, π[ρ]ώρε[ῦ]ς [Τί]μω[ν] Γλαύκ[ο]υ, [κ]ε[λ]ευστ[ᾶ]ς
10 [Α]ριστοκρ[ά]της δ[ί]ς, π[ε]ν[τ]ηκό[ν]τ[α]ρχος Ἀγίσσ[α]-
[δ]ρος Ἐ[ρ]γ[ο]τέλ[ε]υς, ἰατρὸς [. . .]νος Θεογένο[ν]υ
ἐπιβάται
Δαμόκριτος Ἐκφαντίδα, Θρασύδαμος Θρασυμ[ά]-
χου, Νικοκλῆς Κλειν[ί]α, Ἐπικρ[ά]της Τελεσικράτο[υ]ς,
15 Τιμόθεος β', Αντ[ί]οχος Εὐφ[ά]νου, Νικ[α]γόρας β' τοῦ
Θρασυάνδρου, Ξενόδο[κ]ος Τιμοκράτου, Ἡραγόρας
Πραξιφάντου, Ξενόδοκο[ς] Ἐχεκρατίδου, Νόσσων
Τιμοκλεῦς, Ξενότιμος [Κ]ρ[ά]τευσ, Καλλικράτης Ἀριστ[ο]-
παππου, Νικαγόρ[α]ς Διογένο[υ], Ν[ι]κόμαχος β' τοῦ Ἀναξί-
20 [λ]α, Αντίγονος Αντάνδρου, Καλλικράτης Χαριστί[ου],
[Εὐ]αῖνος Νικοκλεῦς, Πραξι[α]ς Θεοδάμου, Ἀνδρότ[ι]μος
[Με]νεκλεῦς, [- - - - -]
- - - - -

Of the Koans. The legate Aulus Terentius A. f. Varro being commander of the whole fleet, Eudamos son of - - - - - being admiral, Kleonikos son of Eukarpos being commander, on the quadrireme with the appellation - - - - -, built by Peisistratos son of Haliodoros. Kartimenes son of Aristonymos was officer in command at the stern; Timon son of Glaukos was officer in command at the bow; Aristokrates son of Aristokrates was boat-swain; Agesandros son of Ergoteles was pentekontarch; the doctor was - - - - - nos son of Theogenes. The marines were Damokritos son of Ekphantidas, Thrasydamos son of Thrasymachos, Nikokles son of Kleinias, Epikrates son of Telesikrates, Timotheos son of Timotheos, Ant[iokhos son of Euph]anes, Nikagoras son of Nikagoras son of Thasyandros, Xenodokos son of Timokrates, Heragoras son Praxiphantes, Xenodokos son of Ekhekratides, Nosson son of Timokles, Xenotimos son of Krates, Kallikrates son of Aristopappos, Nikagoras son of Diogenes, Nikomakhos son of Nikomakhos son of Anaxilas, Antigonos son of Antandros, Kallikrates son of Kharistios, Euainos son of Nikokles, Praxias son of Theudamos, Androtimos son of Menekles, - - - - -

I6 Epigram dedicating a statue to Zeus Ourios

White marble statue base known since 1676 in a private house in the vicinity of the church at Kadıköy (Chalcedon). In the British Museum since 1809. *Editio princeps*: Wheeler 1682, p. 209; see *CIG* II 3797 = *GIBM* 1012 (with photograph) = *IKalch* 14.

H. 0.20, W. 0.66, D. 0.30 m

Late 1st century B.C.

Οὔριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὁδηγητῆρα καλεῖτω
 Ζῆνα κατὰ προτόνων ἱστίον ἐκπετάσας·
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ κυανέας δίνας δρόμος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν
 καμπύλον εἰλίσσει κύμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις,
 5 εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντου πλάκα νόστον ἐρευνᾶι,
 νείσθω τῶιδε βαλὼν ψαιστὰ παρὰ ξοάνωι.
 ὧδε τὸν εὐάντητον ἀεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παῖς
 στήσε Φίλων, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης.

Let any man, having spread out his sail by the halyards, summon from his stern Zeus, the fair-winded guide. Whether his course lies through dark-blue whirlpools, where Poseidon rallies the curving wave against the shoals, or he seeks a voyage home to the Aegean plain of open sea, let him come and place cake-offerings before this statue. Here did Philo the son of Antipater set up the ever-gracious god, a symbol of fair and prosperous sailing.

REFERENCES

- Ahrweiler, H. 1961. "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REByz* 19, pp. 239–252.
- . 1966. *Byzance et la mer, la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e–XV^e siècles*, Paris.
- Avram, A., J. Hind, and G. Tsetskhladze. 2004. "Hieron Dios Ouriou," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, ed. M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, Oxford, p. 929.
- Badian, E. 1993. *From Plataea to Potidaea: Studies in the History and Historiography of the Pentecontaetia*, Baltimore.
- Baedeker, K. 1905. *Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien: Handbuch für Reisende von Karl Baedeker, mit 9 Karten, 29 planen und 5 Grundrissen*, Leipzig.
- Boardman, J. 1999. *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*, 4th ed., New York.
- Bresson, A. [1994] 2000. "L'attentat d'Hiéron et le commerce grec," in *Économie antique: Les échanges dans l'antiquité: Le rôle de l'état* (Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire 1), Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, pp. 47–68; repr. in A. Bresson, *La cité marchande*, Bordeaux, pp. 131–149.
- Briant, P. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, Winona Lake, Ind.
- Broughton, T. R. S. 1952. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic 2* (Philological Monographs 15), New York.
- Carpenter, R. 1948. "The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *AJA* 52, pp. 1–10.
- Clarke, E. D. 1816. *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa 2*, pt. 1, 4th ed., London.
- Conze, A. 1891. *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücke*, Berlin.
- Cook, A. B. 1925. *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion 2*, Cambridge.
- . 1940. *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion 3*, Cambridge.
- Corcella, A., and S. M. Medaglia, eds. 1993. *Erodoto: Le storie 4: La Scizia e la Libia*, Rome.
- Cordano, F. 1993. "Due note adriatiche," in *Hesperia: Studi sulla grecità di occidente 3*, ed. L. Braccisi, Rome, pp. 145–153.
- Curtius, E. 1877. In *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, pp. 474–476.
- Dethier, P. A. 1873. *Le Bosphore et Constantinople: Description topographique et historique*, Vienna.
- . 1881. "Histoire du Musée central ottoman de Stamboul et son programme," in *Études archéologiques* (Annexe du bulletin scientifique), ed. P. A. Dethier, Istanbul, pp. 1–3.
- Diller, A. 1952. *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, New York.
- Dindorf, W., ed. 1844. *Herodoti historiarum libri IX*, Paris.
- Drews, R. 1976. "The Earliest Greek Settlements on the Black Sea," *JHS* 96, pp. 18–31.
- Dubois, L., ed. 1996. *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont*, Geneva.
- Dumont, A. [1871] 1892. "Rapport sur un voyage archéologique en Thrace," in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires 6*, 2^e série, Paris, pp. 447–515; repr. in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, ed. T. Homolle, Paris, pp. 186–287.
- Engel, R. 1973. "Polyäns Strategem IV 6, 8 zur 'Seeschlacht am Hellespont,'" *Klio* 55, pp. 141–145.
- Eyice, S. 1976. *Bizans devrinde Boğaziçi*, Istanbul.
- Foss, C. 2000. "Bosphorus (1:150,000)," in *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. R. J. A. Talbert, Princeton, p. 53.
- Foss, C., and D. Winfield. 1986. *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction*, Pretoria.
- Freely, J. 1993. *The Bosphorus*, Istanbul.
- Friis Johansen, H., and E. W. Whittle, eds. 1980. *Aeschylus: The Suppliants 2*, Copenhagen.
- Gabriel, A. 1943. *Châteaux turcs du Bosphore*, Paris.
- Gajdukevič, V. F. 1971. *Das bosporanische Reich*, Berlin.
- Gibbon, E. 1776–1788. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Womersley, 6 vols., London 1994.

- GIBM = G. Hirschfeld and F. H. Marshall eds., *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Pt. 4, Oxford 1916.
- Goodwin, G. 1909. "Millingen, James," in *Dictionary of National Biography* 13, ed. S. Lee, London, pp. 437–438.
- Graham, A. J. 1958. "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *BICS* 5, pp. 25–42.
- Greenberg, I., and A. E. Kramer. 2006. "Cheney, Visiting Kazakhstan, Wades into Energy Battle," *The New York Times*, May 6.
- Grosvenor, E. A. 1895. *Constantinople* 1, Boston.
- Günterich, R., ed. [1927] 1958. *Dionysii Byzantii anaplys Bospori*, repr. Berlin.
- Hall, D. C. 2004. "Millingen, Julius Michael (1800–1878)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 38, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, Oxford, p. 251.
- Hammond, N. G. L. 1994. *Philip of Macedon*, Baltimore.
- Hammond, N. G. L., and G. T. Griffith. 1979. *A History of Macedonia* 2: 550–336 B.C., Oxford.
- Hiller von Gärtringen, F. 1898. "Wei-hung einer koi-schen Schiffsmannschaft in Samothrake?" *ÖJhBeibl* 1, cols. 89–94.
- How, W. W., and J. Wells. 1912. *A Commentary on Herodotus* 1, Oxford.
- Hude, C., ed. 1908. *Herodoti Historiae*, Oxford.
- IKalch = R. Merkelbach, ed., *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 20), Bonn 1980.
- ILN 1863 = "Discovery of an Ancient Temple near Constantinople," *ILN*, December 12, 1863, pp. 592–593.
- Janin, R. 1934. "Les sanctuaires byzantins de Saint Michel (Constantinople et banlieue)," *EchOr* 33, pp. 28–52.
- . 1939. "La topographie de Constantinople byzantine," *EchOr* 38, pp. 118–150.
- . 1964. *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed., Paris.
- . 1975. *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique*, Paris.
- Kalinka, E. 1898a. "Mittheilungen aus Konstantinopel," *ÖJh* 1, pp. 31–37.
- . 1898b. "Wei-hung einer koi-schen Schiffsmannschaft in Samothrake?" *ÖJhBeibl* 1, cols. 93–96.
- Klek, J. 1937. "Urios," in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher, Leipzig, vol. 6, cols. 117–121.
- Kromayer, J., and G. Veith. 1928. *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*, Munich.
- Krüger, K. W., ed. 1855–1856. *Ἡροδότου ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις*, Berlin.
- Kuhr, A. 1995. *The Ancient Near East, c. 3000–330 B.C.*, 2 vols., London.
- Labaree, B. W. 1957. "How the Greeks Sailed into the Black Sea," *AJA* 61, pp. 29–33.
- Lee, A. D. 2000. "The Eastern Empire: Theodosius to Anastasius," in *Late Antiquity: Emperors and Successors, A.D. 425–600 (CAH³ XIV)*, ed. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby, Cambridge, pp. 33–62.
- Lehmann, K. 1921. "Das Kap Hieron und die Sperrung des Bosporus," in *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts sechzigstem Geburtstage*, ed. K. Regling and H. Reich, Vienna, pp. 168–181.
- Lehmann-Haupt, C. F. 1923. "Zu den Inschriften und Skulpturen von Hieron," *Klio* 18, pp. 366–374.
- Loukopoulou, L., and A. Łaitar. 2004. "Byzantion," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, ed. M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, Oxford, pp. 915–918.
- Macridy Bey, T. 1929. Letter, in Schede 1929, cols. 357–358.
- Mamboury, E. 1936. "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul et dans sa banlieue immédiate aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles," *Byzantion* 11, pp. 229–282.
- . 1951. *Istanbul touristique*, Istanbul.
- Mavrogenes, S. 1864. "Συνεδρίασις τῇ 26 Μαρτίου 1864," *Τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου τὰ Περισωθέντα* 2, pp. 121–122.

- Mavrogeny, S. S. 1891. *Les bains orientaux, avec une note biographique du Jules van Millingen*, Strasbourg.
- McDevitt, A. S. 1970. *Inscriptions from Thessaly: An Analytical Handlist and Bibliography*, Hildesheim.
- Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford.
- Michaelis, A. 1864. "Grabrelief vom Bosporos," *AZ* 22, pp. 198–202.
- Miller, K. 1916. *Itineraria romana: Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana*, Stuttgart.
- Millingen, J. M. 1831. *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece, Containing an Account of the Military and Political Events Which Occurred in 1823 and Following Years*, London.
- . 1871. "Ραβδομαντείας ἀνά-γλυφον ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τοῦ Οὐρίου Διός," *Τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου τὰ Περισθέντα* 4, pp. 120–123.
- ML = R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, eds., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, rev. ed., Oxford 1988.
- Mordtmann, A. D. 1879. "Ein Edict Justinians," *MdI* 4, pp. 307–311.
- Mordtmann, J. H. 1878. "Epigraphische Mittheilungen: Inschrift von Olbia," *Hermes* 13, pp. 373–380.
- . [1884] 1888. "Notice sur les antiquités trouvées au Hiéron," in *Trudy VI. archeologičeskago sjesda v Odessje* 2, Odessa.
- Moreno, A. 2007. *Feeding the Democracy: The Athenian Grain Supply in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford.
- Müller, C. F. W. 1855. *Geographi graeci minores* 1, Paris.
- . 1861. *Geographi graeci minores* 2, Paris.
- . 1883–1901. *Claudii Ptolemaei geographia*, Paris.
- Naval Intelligence Division, Great Britain. 1942. *Turkey* 1, London.
- Nicol, D. M. 1988. *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge.
- Nisbet, R. G. M., ed. 1961. *Cicero: In L. Calpurnium Pisonem oratio*, Oxford.
- Pickard, W. F. 1987. "The Symplegades," *GaR* 34, pp. 1–6.
- Polignac, F. de. 1995. *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, trans. J. Lloyd, Chicago.
- Reinach, S. H. 1882. *Catalogue du Musée Impérial d'Antiquités*, Istanbul.
- Rigsby, K. J. 1996. *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley.
- Robert, L. 1936a. "Études épigraphiques: V. Inscription de Larisa," *BCH* 60, pp. 205–206.
- . 1936b. "Études d'épigraphie grecque: XLIV. Une inscription au Musée de Berlin," *RPhil* 10, pp. 152–154.
- . 1940. "Inscriptions de Thessalie (XI.3)," *Hellenica* 1, pp. 67–68.
- Rosén, H. B., ed. 1987. *Herodoti Historiae*, Leipzig.
- Sauer, B. 1908. "Der Betende des Boedas," *Philologus* 67 (n.s. 21), pp. 304–310.
- Saunders, T. B. 1909. "Millingen, Julius Michael," in *Dictionary of National Biography* 13, ed. S. Lee, London, pp. 439–440.
- Schede, M. 1929. "Archäologische Funde: Turkei," *AA* 44, cols. 325–368.
- Stein, H., ed. 1869–1871. *Herodoti Historiae*, Berlin.
- Sumner-Boyd, H., and J. Freely. 1973. *Strolling through Istanbul: A Guide to the City*, 2nd ed., Istanbul.
- Tott, F., Baron de. [1784] 1786. *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, Amsterdam (= *Memoirs of Baron de Tott* 2, London).
- Toy, S. 1930. "The Castles of the Bosporus," *Archaeologia* 80, pp. 215–228.
- Tsetschladze, G. R. 1994. "Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G. R. Tsetschladze and F. de Angelis, Oxford, pp. 111–135.
- . 1998. "Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, and Native Population," in *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, ed. G. R. Tsetschladze, Stuttgart, pp. 9–68.
- Vyzantios, S. D. 1862. *Ἡ Κωνσταντινοῦπολις*, Athens.
- Wagner, E. A., ed. 1888. *Die Erdbeschreibung des Timosthenes von Rhodos*, Leipzig.
- Walbank, F. W. 1957–1979. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols., Oxford.
- Wescher, C. 1874. *Dionysii Byzantii de Bospori navigatione quae supersunt*, Paris.
- Wheler, G. 1682. *A Journey into Greece*, London.
- Wüst, F. R. 1938. *Philipp II. von Makedonien und Griechenland in den Jahren von 346 bis 338*, Munich.

Alfonso Moreno

OXFORD UNIVERSITY
MAGDALEN COLLEGE
OXFORD OX1 4AU
UNITED KINGDOM

alfonso.moreno@magdalen.oxford.ac.uk