

Sinope, new understandings of the early colony based on recent research at Sinop Kale

Owen Doonan

Abstract

This overview is intended to synthesize the current state of archaeological and historical evidence for the early colony of Sinope and its precolonial antecedents up to the 5th c. BCE. Attention is focused primarily on urban Sinop and Boz tepe and does not consider the countryside, which is discussed in detail in other publications.¹

Keywords: *Sinope, Black Sea colonization, Black Sea pre-colonial interaction*

Introduction

The early phases of settlement at the important and early Ionian colony at Sinope have remained obscure until recently despite the promising early results in the area under the direction of Ekrem Akurgal and Ludwig Budde more than 60 years ago. Scientific excavations in Sinop kale were initiated in 2015 by an international team under the direction of the author and have already begun to shed light on the nature of the site as early as the Early Bronze Age (c. 2300 BCE) and the early colony itself. Our initial phase of excavations has been restricted to a limited area to the west of the extant Hellenistic city wall, in an area that was a highly important pre-colonial settlement but likely to have been rather marginal to the early colony itself. Up until the 1960s the site was buried under up to 4m of overburden that was cut down to the late Hellenistic levels for the construction and paving of a bus stop in the late 1960s. As a result contexts belonging to the Bronze and Iron Ages, the early colony, Classical and Hellenistic levels are available in nearly undisturbed condition on the surface of the site we are excavating.

Sinop before the Ionian colony: Bronze and Iron Age Sinope (c. 2300 BCE – 700 BCE)

Evidence for the pre-colonial settlement at Sinop has been elusive until very recently. In the mid-20th century the construction of a girls' school east of the present site of the Sinop Archaeological Museum turned up a tumulus with finds documenting Early Bronze Age presence in Sinop. Decades later, the Sinop Regional Archaeological Project team cut back an eroded scarp in 2000 just to the west of the northwest corner of Sinop kale next to the entrance of the bus station and the entrance of the city (Figure 1). The site was 50m west of the former bus station and about just south and west of the impressive Hellenistic tower at the northwest corner of the citadel.²

The extreme slope of the site and its proximity to the Hellenistic wall and tower severely constrained our activities during the 2000 field season. The excavations cut back the scarp and clarified the basic stratigraphy of the site but did not cut into the scarp deeply because of the danger of destabilizing the slopes beneath the tower. We established a narrow platform and worked from a 9-meter ladder to excavate the slope. Despite the considerable difficulties we were able to clean back the scarp, identify architectural types and basic stratigraphy. Of course without the benefit of horizontal exposure our findings were provisional. The team succeeded in defining seven archaeological strata as seen in Figure 2.

Given the constraints on this excavation it raised more outstanding questions than answers. Comparanda for the architecture and hand-made finger-impressed ceramics from strata III and IV (Figure 2) can be seen at Berezan, Olbia, Histria and other important north and western Black Sea sites. Comparanda for the burnished Iron Age (c. 1000 BCE) jar from stratum VI and a faceted handle can be found in the Bafra plain.³ This site is of outstanding importance to the understanding of early Black Sea maritime culture, because it provides clear evidence that native populations of the region were sailing across the central crossing before the arrival of the Greeks. The evidence so far available suggests that these mariners may have been pursuing fish rather than trade and may have known of the important annual migration patterns and the surface currents that facilitate crossing over the dangerous central portion of the sea.⁴

More extensive excavations at this important site were initiated by our team in 2015 providing further evidence for the pre-colonial settlement. In a 5 x 10 trench perpendicular to the line of the city wall we documented Early Bronze Age and Iron Age ceramics in the context of a stone pit house similar to that documented in 2000.

¹ See especially Doonan 2004; Doonan *et al.* 2015.

² Doonan 2007; 2010a.

³ Doonan 2010a.

⁴ Doonan 2007.



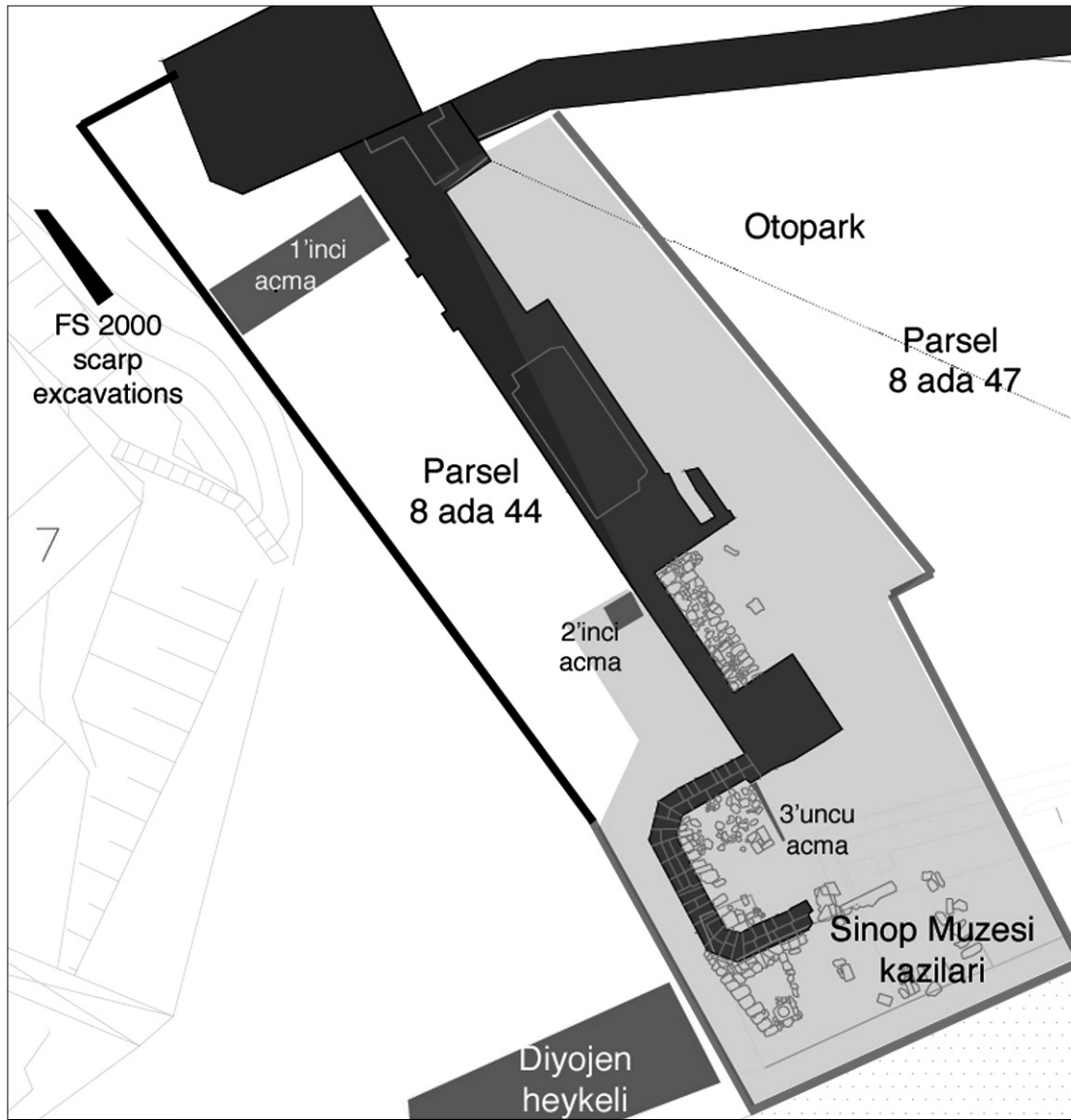


FIGURE 1. EXCAVATIONS AT SINOP KALE 2015. OPERATION 1 IS A 5 X 10 TRENCH THAT EXPOSES PRE-COLONIAL CONTEXTS ON ITS SOUTHWESTERN HALF AND EARLY COLONIAL ON ITS NORTHEASTERN SIDE NEAR THE HELLENISTIC WALL (AFTER DOONAN *ET AL.* 2016).

This is the first clear settlement evidence in the urban area of Sinop (although a tomb discovered when the girls' school was built had demonstrated some Early Bronze Age presence on Boz tepe). House 1 is a dug out lined with rounded river cobbles and associated with a series of ephemeral surfaces with ceramics primarily originating in the north and west Black Sea. In addition to ceramics an Early Bronze Age incised spindle whorl, a fish-hook, incised bone plaques, fish bones and sheep bones were documented in House 1.⁵ The site of the pre-colonial village corresponds to later fishing practices

recorded by Aelian in the second century CE. These practices have had extraordinary longevity in the region, still practiced up until the industrialization of Black Sea fishing in the 1980s. It is possible that these practices of fishing from a high lookout trace all the way back to the Bronze Age.

‘The inhabitants of that whole country know exactly of the coming of the tunny, and at that season of the year the fish arrive, and much gear has been got ready to deal with them, boats and nets and a high lookout place. This lookout place is fixed on some beach and stands where there is a wide, uninterrupted view...

⁵ Doonan, Vural, Goldman *et al.* 2016.

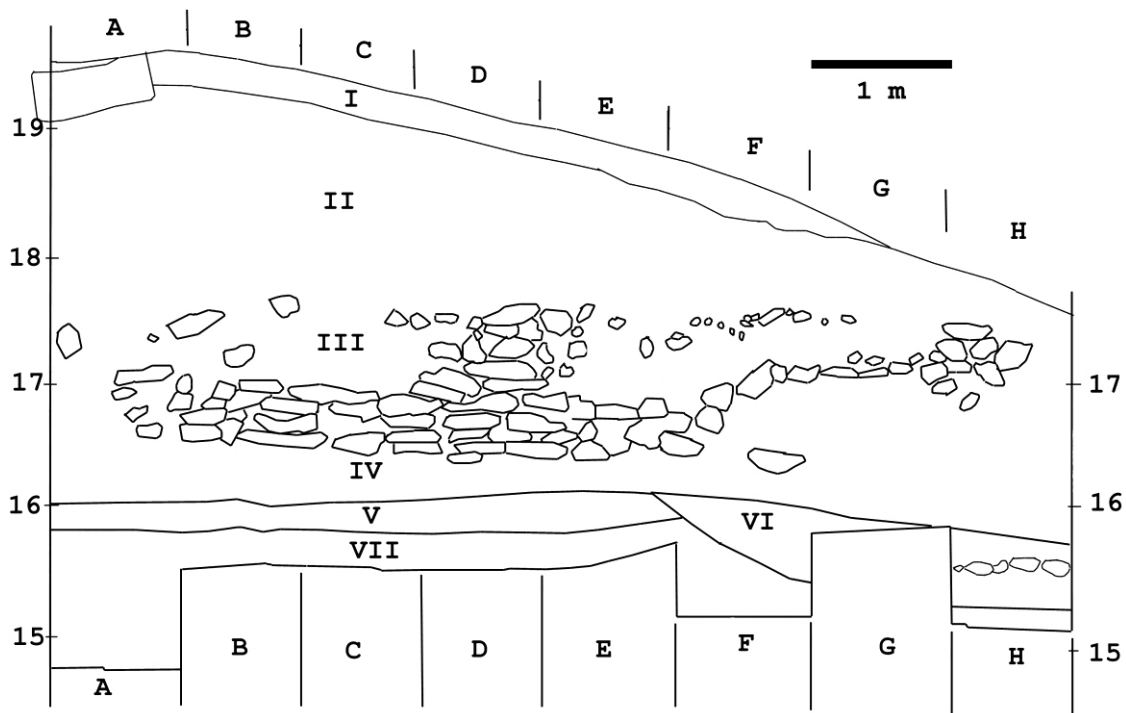


FIGURE 2. STRATIGRAPHY OF THE SCARP EXCAVATION CARRIED OUT IN 2000 BY THE SINOP REGIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT (AFTER DOONAN 2010).

Each of the boats (at least five boats work together) has six young men, strong rowers, on either side...'

Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, XV.v (Schofield trans. LCL 1963).

Evidence for the foundation of Sinope and the early colony

The problem of the foundation of Sinope is a particularly crucial one for understanding the colonization of the Southern Black Sea. Unfortunately the documentary tradition is very fragmentary and conflicted in the case of Sinope. Modern scholarship is sharply divided between those who lend greater weight to the late historical tradition⁶ and those who prefer to build models for early settlement based on archaeological evidence.⁷

Herodotus (*Histories* 4. 12. 2) noted that Sinope was founded after the Cimmerians had founded a colony on the later site of Sinope: 'the Cimmerians in their flight from the Scythians into Asia also made a colony on the peninsula where the Greek city of Sinope has since been founded...' Investigations by the Sinop Province Regional Archaeological Project in 1997 and 2000 at

Sinop Kale NW (see above) initially suggested that the early colonists at Sinope may have encountered the ruins of the Bronze and Iron Age pit houses and believed these to have been left by Cimmerians.⁸ The 2015 excavations at Sinop Kale provided further documentation of the early settlement as described above.

House 2 from our 2015 excavations is associated with archaic Ionian pinkish red-painted wares and possibly some handmade wares from the Bafra region. This structure thus appears to be associated with the early colony and may reflect not only Ionian settlement but also contact with the coast further east, which would be consistent with the literary sources that emphasize Sinope's establishment of colonies soon after its foundation. Smaller operations excavated by our team in 2015 documented the presence of the stratum associated with Hut 2 extended at least 50m south and probably well beyond that.⁹ The 2016 excavations in the fills of the Hellenistic fortification trench have yielded an impressive array of west Anatolian and Greek wares from the seventh to the fourth centuries BC.¹⁰ Clearly the building of the monumental wall disturbed significant deposits related to the early colonial occupation of the site.

⁶ E.g. Graham 1982; or Drews 1976 for an extreme view.

⁷ E.g. Boardman 1991; see discussions in Tsatskheladze 1997 for the Black Sea in general and Doonan 2003 regarding Sinope in particular.

⁸ Doonan 2007.

⁹ See Doonan, Vural, Goldman *et al.* 2016.

¹⁰ Doonan *et al.* forthcoming.

The literary tradition of the historical town of Sinope as a Milesian foundation is generally agreed upon.¹¹ One confusing tradition is that Sinope was founded several times, first by Autolykus the Thessalian Argonaut, then Habrondas of Miletus and finally refounded by Cretines and Coos, also Milesians.¹² The tradition of multiple foundations is more likely to reflect two attempts to found the colony in the latter seventh century, perhaps not even separated by a generation. The first foundation could have fallen quickly to a raid, reinforced by the second group led by Cretines and Coos. All of these could have taken place in a narrow timeframe surrounding the Cimmerian raids in other parts of Anatolia in the 630s.

The earliest published Greek ceramics from Sinope do not include many Ionian examples, although archaic Ionian ceramics were found in the excavations of the Kumkapı cemetery in the early 1950s.¹³ John Hind was shown examples of Wild Goat ware and other East Greek wares at the Sinop Museum in 1968 that have still never been published.¹⁴ The fragmentary character of the excavated evidence and its even more ephemeral publication to date make generalization about the character of Archaic assemblages at Sinope hazardous, but the sixth century finds suggest a broad-based network of Greek connections rather than an exclusive Milesian or Ionian orientation.

The archaeological evidence available to date suggests that the Ionian colony at Sinope was founded in the third or fourth quarter of the seventh century.¹⁵ Excavations by Akurgal and Budde from 1951-1953 explored many test areas around the city, demonstrating occupation from the late seventh century onward.¹⁶ The earliest and best known finds of these early excavations came from the Kumkapı cemetery, overlooking the South harbor just on the mainland side of the isthmus. A published series of aryballoids and assorted other wares clearly establish the presence of a Greek community here by the late seventh/early sixth century BCE.¹⁷ Other finds from this area include a remarkable series of Ionian style grave *stelai* excavated by Akurgal and Budde and displayed in the Sinop Museum, and another found published by French.¹⁸ Within the walls of the town the earliest material published by Akurgal and Budde is a deposit of mid-sixth century Attic Black figure ceramics that were excavated in a refuse deposit ('*bothros*') on the North side of the city.¹⁹

The extensive sampling done by Akurgal and Budde in 1951-1953 and finds from the site of the match factory help give us some idea of the organization and development of the ancient town, although unfortunately no plans and few illustrations of excavated material were published.²⁰ Intact settlement evidence of the Archaic town has not been found to date, other than the very limited finds by our team at Sinop kale in 2015 (see discussion of 'House 2' above). Archaic ceramics were found in pits on the North side of town, outside of the main occupied area at that time (excavation area 'B').²¹ The early settlement is very likely to have been located near Sinop İç kale where our team began excavations in the summer of 2015.²² The closest to this general area that Akurgal and Budde were able to excavate was in the center of town in the garden and around the Pervane medrese, where Classical period houses were recorded just above bedrock.²³ Beneath the foundation of a small Hellenistic temple to the East of the walls, so-called Phrygian and Attic Black Figure ceramics, sixth and fifth century architectural terracottas and small finds dating as far back as the fifth century document activity in Classical and possibly Archaic times.²⁴ This area was beyond the walls of the pre-modern city and these deposits may reflect an earlier cultic function or refuse disposal on the outskirts of town.²⁵

All in all the archaic period settlement appears to have been focused mainly around the İçkale and strongly maritime-oriented in its economy. No evidence has been documented to date that would suggest a formally organized chora or even extensive farming in the hinterland during archaic times. This situation does not appear to have changed dramatically until the fourth century BCE.

Archaeological evidence for the city of Sinope during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE is slightly more extensive based on the partially published finds of Akurgal and Budde. During Classical times Sinope became more actively involved in the Black Sea economy, strengthening links with the North and East coasts. The testimony from Xenophon establishes clearly that Sinope was intensively involved with colonies in the eastern Pontus, and in these times the early examples of Sinopean amphorae and other ceramics start to become more prevalent in North Pontic sites.²⁶

Sinope appears to have been under a tyranny in the mid-fifth century that was overthrown by the expedition of Pericles and Lamachus in the 430s BCE (Plutarch, *Pericles* 20). A cleruchy was set up following the

¹¹ Strabo 12. 3. 11; Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 14. 31. 2; Ps-Scymnus 995-996.

¹² Ps-Skymnus, *Periplus* 986-997; cf. Manoledakis 2010.

¹³ For example, the Fikellura amphoriskos on display in the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara; Akurgal and Budde 1956.

¹⁴ Hind 1988, 216.

¹⁵ Akurgal 1956; Boysal 1959.

¹⁶ Akurgal 1956; Budde 1956; Boysal 1959.

¹⁷ Boysal 1959.

¹⁸ French 2005, no. 71 including a photo pl. 11.

¹⁹ Akurgal 1956, 49; Budde 1956, 6.

²⁰ Akurgal 1956; Budde 1956.

²¹ Budde 1956, 6.

²² Doonan, Vural, Goldman *et al.* 2016.

²³ Budde 1956, 6-9.

²⁴ Budde 1956, 5.

²⁵ Budde 1956, 5-7.

²⁶ Fedoseev 1999.



expulsion of Timesilaus, who apparently fled to Olbia.²⁷ Despite the tradition that six hundred Athenian settlers occupied the houses of the followers of the deposed Timesilaus, evidence for the expansion of the town is clear. In several trenches in the center of the city Akurgal and Budde recorded Classical levels, in one case resting on bedrock. The background context of these events may have been an attempt by Pericles to control this critical node of maritime traffic in the Black Sea and its equally critical local timber resources.²⁸ French has noted the presence of several non-locals among the 65 grave monuments of the late 5th-4th centuries BCE.²⁹ Three identify themselves as Athenians: Kairis from Phaleron,³⁰ Euthykrates from Athens,³¹ Demotion from Athens.³² Other non-locals include Olympiodoros from Kyme,³³ and Zenodros from Klazomenai.³⁴ Athenians comprise a minimum of 5% of the inscribed monuments of the 5th-4th centuries BCE and probably more significantly around 13% of the *stelai*. This figure is likely to under-represent the demographic impact of the Athenian presence in Sinope, as Plutarch (*Lysander* 13) suggests that the Athenians were forced to dismantle their network of cleruchies following the defeat at Aegisopotamoi in 405 BCE.³⁵ In this situation residents of Athenian origin may have been less disposed to represent themselves as such.

Among the other 5th-4th centuries BCE funerary monuments from Kumkapı a fair number record names that may suggest an Anatolian origin, suggesting a degree of mixing between Greeks and non-Greeks in the city.³⁶ One monument is particularly interesting in this regard, that of Manes *elaiopoles*, an oil seller of Paphlagonian origin.³⁷ The name Manes is rather common in Sinope, seen three times in the Classical and Hellenistic grave monuments, and is known as the name of the philosopher Diogenes' servant.³⁸ The name, together with evidence of significant expansion of hinterland settlements showing evidence of contact with Sinop and the Greek world during the fourth century BCE, may reflect the development of the olive industry for which Sinop was better known in later Hellenistic and Roman times. Further evidence of this industry may be traced through the extensive production and distribution of Sinope amphorae starting in the 4th-3rd centuries BCE.

The most recent find relating to the late Classical cemeteries west of the city is the spectacular sarcophagus and related finds (4th-3rd centuries BCE) that were

discovered in excavations next to the Sinop Emniyet Müdürlüğü in November 2012. The wealth of grave goods including more than a dozen fine jugs, and an array of bronze and gold personal adornments, is highly unusual in a Classical Greek tomb from this period. The assemblage testifies to the prosperity of the community of Sinope owing to the colonial trade system.

Bibliography

- Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* (A. Schofield ed., trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Strabo, *Geography* (H. Jones ed., trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Akurgal, E. 1956. Sinop Kazıları, and Die Ausgrabungen von Sinope. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergesi* VI.1: 47-61.
- Akurgal, E. and Budde, L. 1956. *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Sinope*. Ankara: Turk Tarihi Kurumu V.14.
- Arnaud, P. 1992. Les Relations maritimes dans le Pont-Euxin d'après le données numériques des géographes anciens. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 94: 57-77.
- Avram, A. 1999. Matériel amphorique et non amphorique dans deux sites de la Chora d'Istros (Histria Pod et Cogevalac). In Y. Garlan (ed.), *Production et Commerce des amphores anciennes en Mer Noire* (Aix en Provence, Publications de l'Université de Provence): 215-230.
- Bauer, A. 2001. *The Prehistoric Pottery of Sinop Province, Turkey: Observations on Pre-Greek Interaction in the Black Sea*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 3-6 January 2001, San Diego.
- Bauer, A. 2002. Between the Steppe and the Sown: Signs of Community in the Prehistoric Black Sea. Presentation at The University of Chicago Eurasian Archaeology Conference, Beyond the Steppe and the Sown: Integrating Local and Global Visions, 3-4 May 2002, Chicago.
- Boysal, Y. 1959. Über die Älteren Funde von Sinope und die Kolonisationsfrage. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 8-20.
- Bryer, A. and Winfield, D. 1985. *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*. Washington.
- Budde, L. 1956. Kurzer vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Sinope der Kampagnen 1951-1953. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergesi* VI.2: 5-10.
- Budde, L. 1963. Eine Tierkampfgruppe aus Sinope. *Antike Plastik* 2: 55-74.
- Burney, C. 1956. Northern Anatolia before Classical Times. *Anatolian Studies* VI: 179-203.
- Crow, J. 2014. Sinop, the Citadel Walls, Description and Commentary. In S. Redford (ed.) *Legends of Authority*. Istanbul: Koc University Press: 21-60.
- Dougherty, C. 1993. *The Poetics of Colonization*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

²⁷ Surikov 2001.

²⁸ Doonan 2007a.

²⁹ French 2004.

³⁰ French 2004, no. 61.

³¹ French 2004, no. 56.

³² French 2004, no. 54.

³³ French 2004, no. 66.

³⁴ French 2004, no. 70.

³⁵ Surikov 2001, 348.

³⁶ French 2004.

³⁷ French 2004, no. 28, p. 22.

³⁸ Robinson 1906, 447; French 2004, 22.



- Doonan, O. 2003a. Sinope. In D. V. Grammenos and E. K. Petropoulos (eds), *Ancient Greek Colonies of the Black Sea* (Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece, Thessalonica: 1379-1402.
- Doonan, O. 2003b. Production in a Pontic Landscape: The Hinterland of Greek and Roman Sinope. In M. Faudot et al. (eds), *Pont-Euxin et Commerce: La genèse de la "Route de soie."* (Actes du IXe Symposium de Vani, Besançon: Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises: 185-198.
- Doonan, O. 2004. *Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connection in the Hinterland of a Black Sea Port.* University of Pennsylvania Museum Press.
- Doonan, O. 2007a. New Evidence for the Emergence of a Maritime Black Sea Economy. In V. Yanko-Hombach, A. Gilbert, N. Panin and P. Dolukhanov (eds), *The Black Sea Flood Question: Changes in Coastline, Climate and Human Settlement.* Dordrecht, Springer: 697-710.
- Doonan, O. 2007b. Colony and conjuncture: the early Greek colony at Sinope. In J. Cobet et al. (eds), *Frühes Ionien: Eine Bestandsaufnahme.* (DAI, *Milesische Forschungen* V): 613-620.
- Doonan, O. 2010a. The Corrupting Sea and the Hospitable Sea: some early thoughts towards a regional history of the Black Sea. In A. Tuck and D. Counts (eds) *Koine: Mediterranean Studies in Honor of R. Ross Holloway.* Providence, Joukowski Institute of Archaeology Publications Series: 68-74.
- Doonan, O. 2010b. Sacred landscapes and the colonization of the Sinop Promontory. In C. Gates et al. (eds), *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions.* Oxford, BAR International Series 2034: 69-78.
- Doonan, O. 2015. Tumuli and the creation of a Middle Ground in the Hinterland of Greek Sinope. In O. Henry and U. Kelp (eds), *Tumulus as Sema: Proceedings of an International Conference on Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC.* TOPOI Excellence Cluster series. Berlin-DeGruyter.
- Doonan, O. forthcoming a. Xenophon in a Pontic Landscape: Settlement Models for the Iron Age in the Kırkgeçit çayı Drainage, Sinop (Turkey). Accepted (pending revisions) by European Journal of Archaeology.
- Doonan, O. forthcoming b. Iron Age in the region of Sinop, Turkey. In C. Glatz, E. S. Sherratt and A. Bauer (eds), *Current State of Research in the Prehistoric Black Sea, and Interactions and Environment.*
- Doonan, O. and A. Bauer, 2005. Sinop Province Archaeological Project: Report on the 2003 Field Season. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* XXII: 275-284.
- Doonan, O., Bauer, A., Casson, A., Conrad, M., Evren, E., Feathers, J. and Domzalski, K. 2014. Sinop Bölgesel Arkeoloji Projesi: 2012 Saha Çalışmaları. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* XXXI: 146-164.
- Doonan, O., Bauer, A., Casson, A., Conrad, M., Besonen, M., Evren, E., and Domzalski, K. 2015. Sinop Regional Archaeological Project: Report on the 2010-2012 Field Seasons. In S. Steadman and G. McMahon (eds), *The Archaeology Of Anatolia: Current Work.* Cambridge Scholars Press: 298-327.
- Erzen, A. 1956. Sinop Kazısı 1953 Yılı Çalışmaları. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* VI/I: 69-72.
- French, D. 1985a. Sinope and the Thracian Coast. *Thracia Pontica* II: 85-88.
- French, D. 1988. Non-Greek names at Sinope. In I. Kazluzhskaya (ed.), *Etnogenez narodov Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy.* Moscow: Institut Slavyanovedeniya y Balkanistiki: 57.
- French, D. 1990. Sinopean Notes 1. *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16: 45-64.
- French, D. 1991a. The Iron Age in the Black Sea. *Thracia Pontica* IV: 237-240.
- French, D. 1991b. Sinopean Notes 2. *Epigraphica Anatolica* 18: 141-156.
- French, D. 1992. Sinopean Notes 3. *Epigraphica Anatolica* 19: 45-60.
- French, D. 1994a. Sinopean Notes 4. Cults and Divinities, the Epigraphic Evidence. *Epigraphica Anatolica* 23: 99-108.
- French, D., 1994b. Sinopean Notes 5. *Epigraphica Anatolica* 23: 109-112.
- French, D. 2004. *The Inscriptions of Sinope* I. Bonn.
- Graham, A. J. 1983. The Colonial Expansion of Greece. In *Cambridge Ancient History* III,3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 83-162.
- Hamilton, W. 1842. *Researches in Asia Minor.* London, John Murray.
- Hiebert, F. 2001. Black Sea Coastal Cultures: Trade and Interaction. *Expedition* 43: 11-20.
- Hiebert, F., Doonan, O. and Smith, J., in preparation. *Sinop Kale Northwest Excavations, 2000.*
- Hiebert, F., Smart, D., Gantos, A. and Doonan, O. 1997. From Mountaintop to Ocean Bottom: A Holistic Approach to Archaeological Survey along the Turkish Black Sea Coast. In J. Tancredi (ed.) *Ocean Pulse.* New York, Plenum: 93-108.
- Hind, J. 1988. The Colonisation of Sinope and the South-East Black Sea Area. In O. Lordkipanidze (ed.), *Local Ethno-political Entities of the Black Sea Area in the 7th-4th Centuries B.* (Tbilisi): 207-223.
- Hind, J. 1995-96. Traders and Ports of Trade (Emporoi and Emporia) in the Black Sea in Antiquity. *Il Mare Nero* II: 113-126.
- Işin, M. A. 1989. *Sinop.* Ankara, Dönmez Offset.
- Işin, M. A. 1990. Sinop Bölgesi Yüzey Arastirmasi. In M. Saglam (ed.), *İkinci Tarih Boyunca Karadeniz Kongresi Bildirileri.* Samsun: 241-276.
- Ivantchik, A. 1998. Die Gründung von Sinope und die Probleme der Anfangsphase der griechischen Kolonisation des Schwarzmeergebiets. In G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Colonisation of the Black Sea Area.* Stuttgart: 297-330.



- Ivantchik, A. 2001. The State of the Cimmerian Problem. *Ancient Civilizations Scythia to Siberia* 7: 307-339.
- Jones, C. 1988. A Monument from Sinope. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108: 193-194.
- Kacharava, D. 1997. The Greco-Kolkhian Trade Connections in the 7th-4th centuries BC. In J. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology and History of the Black Sea*. Amsterdam, Gieben.
- Kiepert, R., *Karte von Kleinasien*. Berlin 1902-1906.
- Kızıltan, Z. 1991. Samsun Bölgesi Yüzey Araştırmaları 1971-1977. *Belleten* LVI: 213-242.
- Leaf, W. 1916. The Commerce of Sinop. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 36: 1-15.
- Maksimova, M. 1956. *Antichniye Goroda Iugo-Bostochnogo Prichernomor'ya. Sinopa, Amis, Trapezunt*. Moscow: Institute for Historical Material Culture.
- Malkin, I. and Shmueli, N. 1988. The City of the Blind and the Foundation of Byzantium. *Mediterranean Historical Review* III.1: 21-36.
- Manoledakis, M. 2010. On the Cults of Sinope and the Founders of the City. In E. Petropoulos and A. Maslennikov (eds), *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea*. Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Bros.: 563-576.
- Mattingly, H. 1989. Athens and the Black Sea in the Fifth Century B.C. In O. Lordkipanidze (ed.), *Sur les traces des Argonautes*. Paris: Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 613: 151-157.
- Melber, J. 1970. *Polyaeni Stategematom Libri Octo*. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner.
- Mueller, C. 1855. *Geographi Graeci Minores*. Paris: Didot Brothers.
- Munro, J. 1901. Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 21: 52-66.
- Roberts, N., Kuzucuoglu, C., and Karabykoğlu, M. (eds). 1999. The Late Quaternary in the Eastern Mediterranean region. *Quaternary Science Reviews*, v. 18, no. 4-5, 497-716.
- Robinson, D. 1906. Ancient Sinope. *American Journal of Philology* 27: 25-153; 245-279; 447-450.
- Robinson, D. 1905. Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Sinope and Environs. *American Journal of Archaeology* 9: 294-333.
- Sinop Valihği, 2002. Sinop Provincial Government website available at <http://www.sinop.gov.tr/>
- Six, M. Sinope 1885. *Numismatic Chronicle* 3.5: 15-65.
- Stoop, M. 1977-78. Ancient Armene and its harbor. *Anatolica* 6: 117-124.
- Surikov, I. 2001. Historico-Geographical Questions Connected with Pericles' Pontic Expedition. *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 7: 341-366.
- Terrace, E. 1963. Two Achaemenian Objects in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. *Antike Kunst* 6: 72-80.
- Tsetschladze, G. 1999. *Pichvnari and its environs*. Paris: Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Franche-Comté, 659.
- Tsetschladze, G. 1998. Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models and Native Population. In G. Tsetschladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area (= Historia Einzelschriften 121*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner: 9-68.
- Tsetschladze, G. and Triester, M. 1995. The Metallurgy and Production of Precious Metals in Colchis before and after the Arrival of the Ionians. *Bulletin of the Metals Museum* 24: 1-32.
- Tsetschladze, G. and Vnukov, S. 1992. Colchian Amphorae: Typology, Chronology and Aspects of Production. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 87: 357-386.
- Vinogradov, Iu. 1997. Zur poliitiscen Verfassung von Sinope und Olbia im 5. Jh. v.u.Z. In Iu. Vinogradov (ed.), *Pontischen Studien*. Mainz, von Zabern: 165-229 (originally published in Russian; *Vestnik Drevnii Istorii* 1981(2): 65-90; 1981(3): 49-75).

