

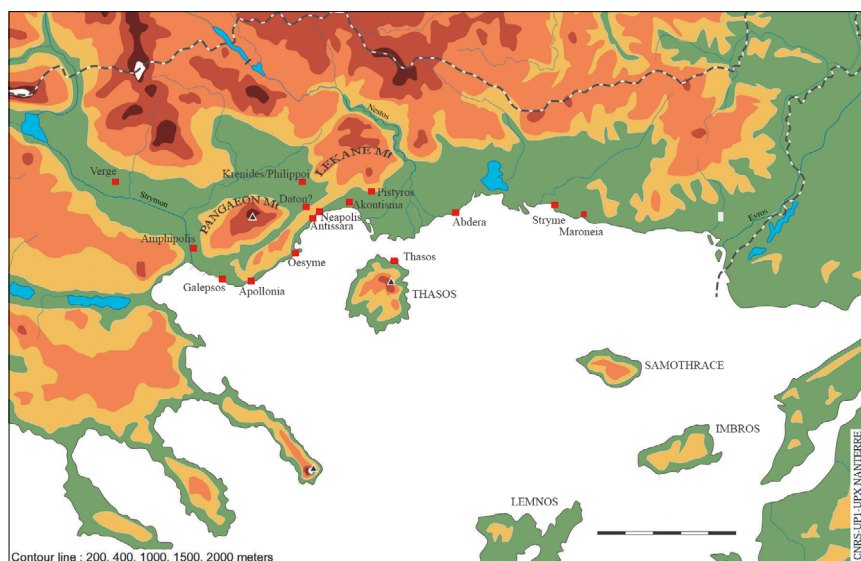
## THE HARBOURS OF THASOS AND NEAPOLIS ON THE ANCIENT NORTHERN AEGEAN SEA ROUTES

In the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, Greek cities founded several colonies and trading posts along the Mediterranean coastline. This led to the establishment of a significant number of new urban settlements on the coast and the further expansion of maritime networks. Before the Archaic Greeks were in these areas, others, such as the Phoenicians, the Mycenaeans, the Early Bronze Age and the Neolithic communities of the Aegean, had already followed the same sea routes<sup>1</sup>.

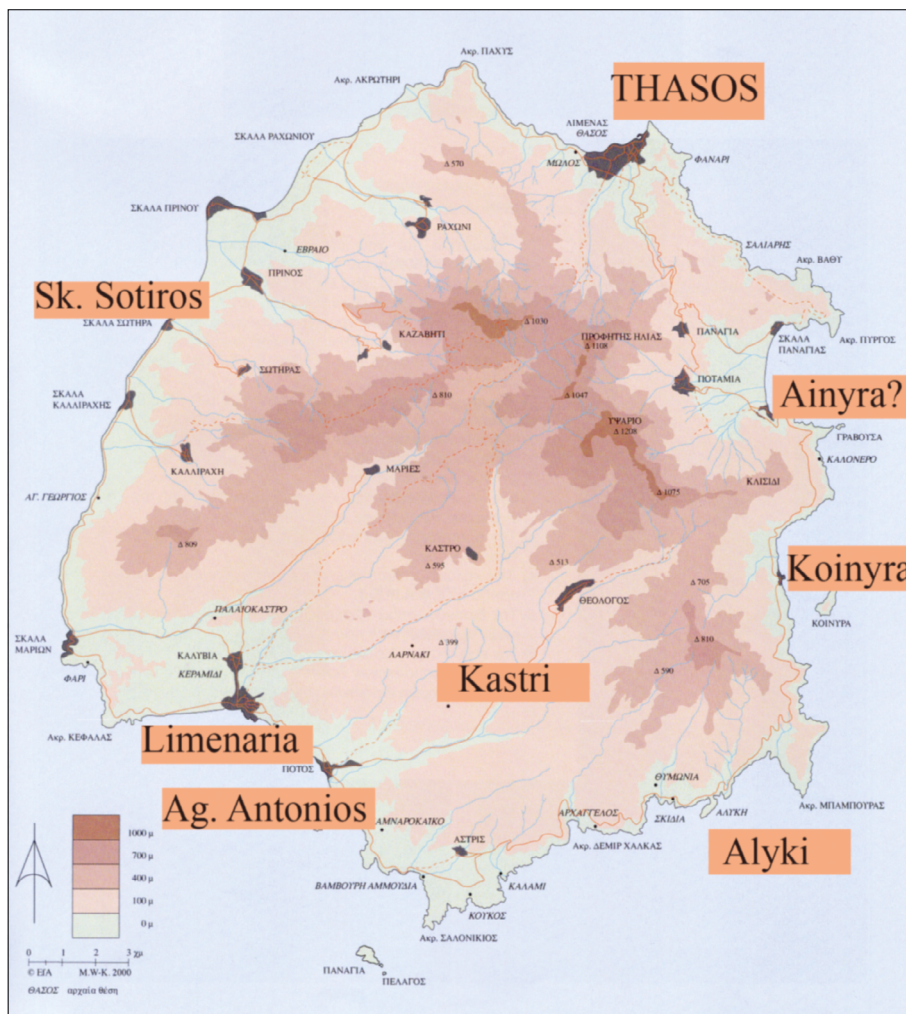
The colonisation of the North Aegean coasts was a significant step for the expansion and development of the commercial, socio-economic and cultural networks of the Greeks. Settlers from Chalkis, Eretria, Corinth, Paros, Andros, Chios, Lesbos, and Klazomenai arrived at the northern Aegean shoreline, which was then inhabited by Thracians<sup>2</sup>. The newcomers had the paramount desire to exploit overseas trade. They also sought living space, large agricultural land, wood and metals, and followed already well known sea routes that connected the Aegean with the Thracian settlements on the shores of the Thracian Sea. The contacts of the Thracian communities with the Aegean Sea, Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean, via the same trade routes that existed long ago, are witnessed by a multitude of archaeological data<sup>3</sup>.

Both, historical and archaeological information, testify to the fact that the harbour of Thasos was an »international« maritime hub that could guarantee the continuous flow of goods, holding at the same time an important political role during the main historical events of the wider area. The first part of this paper will summarise the existing information about the harbours of Thasos.

Thasian colonies and *emporía* were mostly coastal settlements, built on small, fortified peninsulas controlling natural harbours (fig. 1). Furthermore, their commercial and cultural communication with the Thracian hinterland happened via roads that followed the natural paths between mountains, rivers and lakes. The big rivers Strymon, Nestos and Evros were the most important ones. So far, only limited excavations have been



**Fig. 1** Map of the northeast Aegean with the sites mentioned in the text. – (Map CNRS-UPI-UPX-Nanterre, reworked by D. Malamidou).



**Fig. 2** Map of the island of Thasos with the main archaeological sites. – (Map French School at Athens, reworked by D. Malamidou).

conducted on these settlements and their harbour installations. In the second part of this paper, we will take as an example the harbour of Neapolis.

## THASOS

Thasos is a mountainous island with only few small coastal plains (**fig. 2**) and, in antiquity, was considered to be of strategic importance due to its geographical position<sup>4</sup>. The island was situated on the sea routes connecting the Aegean Sea with the Black Sea. Together with Samothrace and Imbros, it bridged the Asia Minor coast with Thrace (**fig. 1**). Moreover, it is located close to the Thracian mainland, rich in precious metals<sup>5</sup>, timber and agricultural products. It comes as no surprise then, that in 680 BC, Parian colonists, led by Telesikles, arrived on Thasos, whilst targeting to expand on the Thracian continental shores<sup>6</sup>. On the location where they established the city of Thasos, they found an earlier Thracian settlement. Its remains have been discovered east/northeast of the ancient Agora<sup>7</sup>, in the residential quarter at the gate of Hermes<sup>8</sup> and in the sanctuary of Artemis<sup>9</sup>. Some metallic objects found among the offerings at *Artemision* could be dated to a precolonial activity<sup>10</sup>.

Thasos became a powerful city-state, with a well organised *chora*<sup>11</sup>, and from the beginning developed vigorous trade relations with the Aegean islands, southern Greece, Ionia and the eastern Mediterranean.





**Fig. 3** Aerial photo of the harbours of Thasos, view from East. – (Photo Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala).

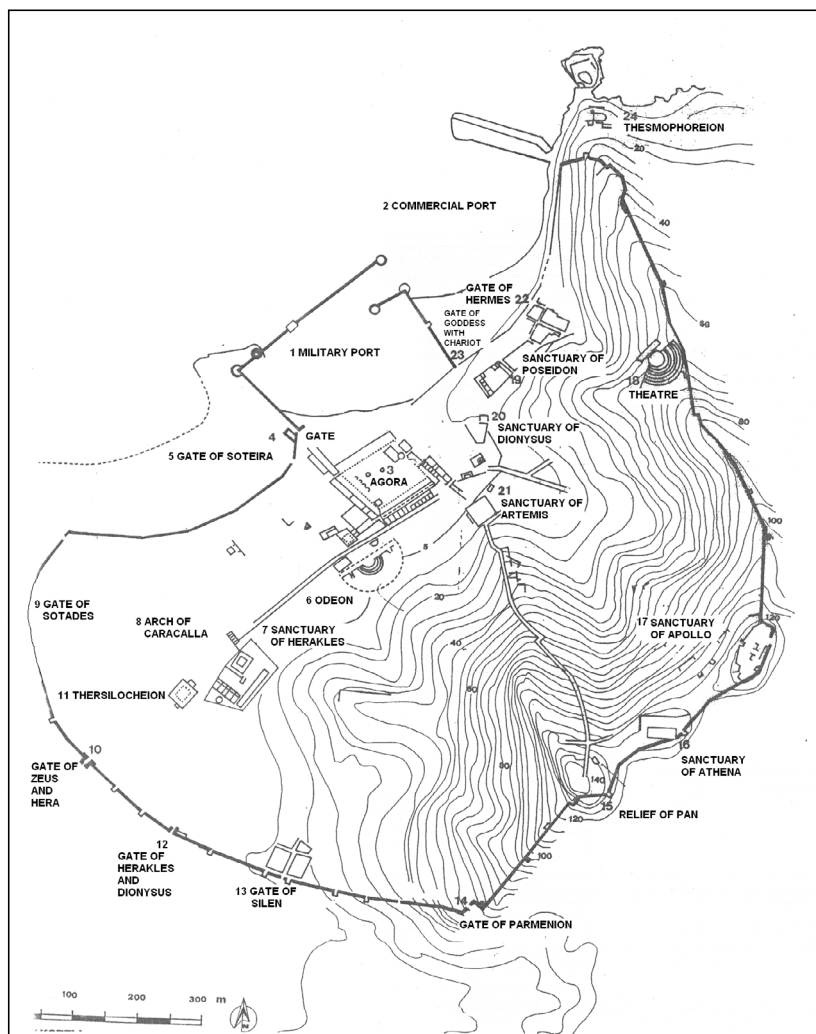
The Thasians founded, very soon after their arrival, a series of colonies and trading posts (*emporía*) along the coastline on the mainland. These settlements comprised collectively the »Thasian Land«<sup>12</sup> (**fig. 1**). Their aim was to ensure the commercial penetration of the Thracian mainland. The colonies of Thasos, from west to east between the Strymon and the Nestos<sup>13</sup> rivers, namely: Galepsos<sup>14</sup>, Apollonia<sup>15</sup>, Oesyne<sup>16</sup>, Antissara<sup>17</sup>, Neapolis<sup>18</sup>, Akontisma<sup>19</sup> and Pistiros<sup>20</sup> as well as Stryme<sup>21</sup> further East, are known from literary sources and some of them have been identified or partly excavated. To these are added some colonies or *emporía* in the hinterland, including Krenides – the future Philippoi<sup>22</sup> – in the Drama plain, and Vergi<sup>23</sup> in the hinterland of Strymon valley. One of the most remote trading posts was Pistiros, near the modern Bulgarian city Septemvri. An inscription which was discovered there, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, refers to the Thasians and other citizens of trading posts from Apollonia and Maroneia and describes their rights and obligations<sup>24</sup>.

### **The main harbour of Thasos**

The harbour of Thasos, constructed in connexion with the ancient town (the *asty*) in the bay of Limenas, had three parts: two commercial harbours and one fortified military harbour<sup>25</sup> (**figs 3-5**).

#### The commercial harbours

The two commercial harbours were placed on each side of the military harbour. The northern harbour was the largest one, and it was protected from the northern winds by a breakwater 120m in length, its founda-



**Fig. 4** Plan of the ancient city of Thasos. – (Draft French School at Athens, reworked by D. Malamidou).

tions are still visible in the sea today (figs 3; 5, 1). This construction, about 18 m wide, has at its end a bulge, where a round tower of 20 m in diameter had to stand. All along the north side of the breakwater, a wall would rise to the height of the city's fortification, probably protecting a quay on the south side. This commercial harbour was connected to the city with two gates (figs 5, 7-8), the »Gate with the Chariot« and the »Gate of Hermes and Charites«, entering the district of the city, which was dominated by the Poseidon Sanctuary<sup>26</sup>, protector of sailors. In the same sanctuary the Thasians worshipped Hera *Epilimena* (of the harbours) and Aphrodite *Pelagia* (of the sea).

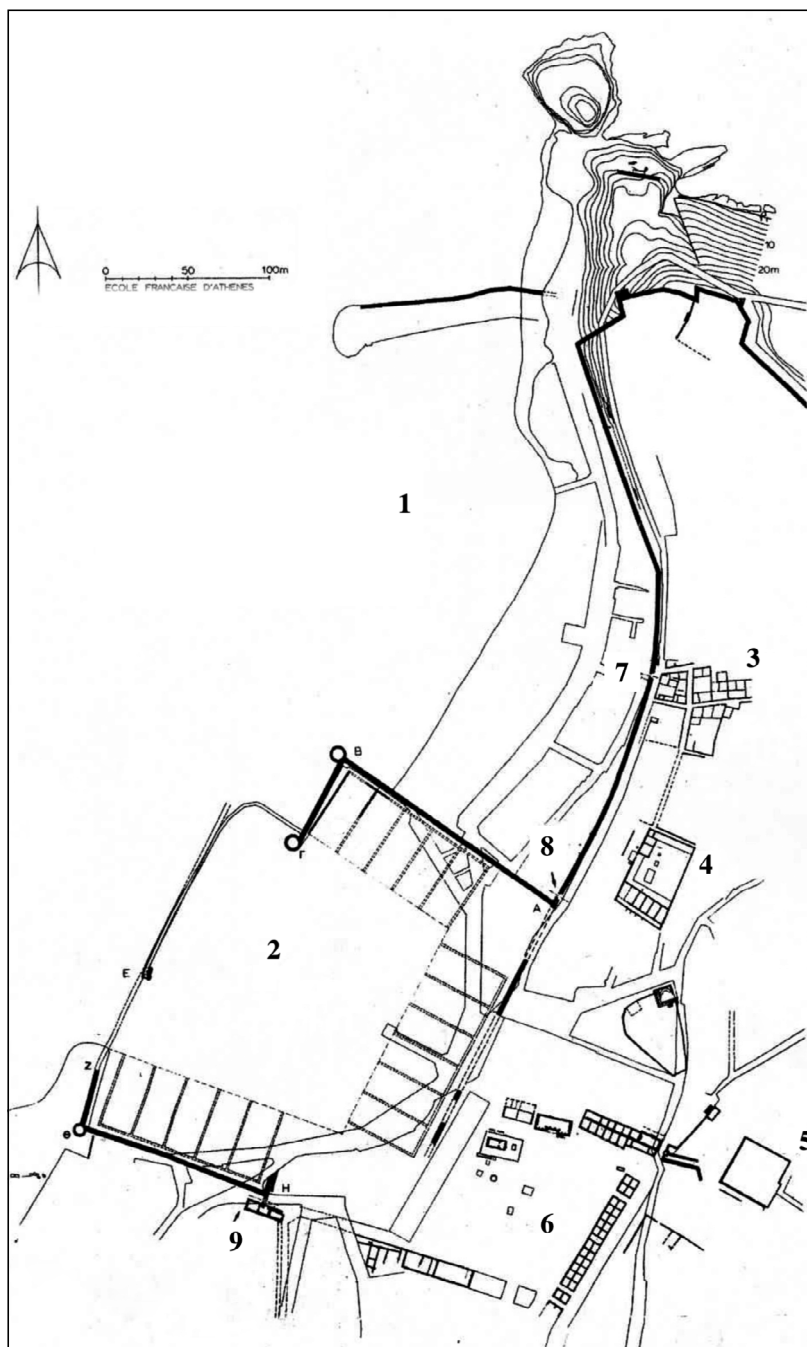
The second commercial harbour is located south of the military harbour. It was probably built on the beach, at the foot of the city walls, and was less protected from the strong winds. This harbour is less documented due to the change in the coastline and modern buildings.

#### The military harbour

Since the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, Thasos possessed a powerful military fleet. The latter was kept sheltered in the city's military harbour during the winter months<sup>27</sup>, where nowadays lies the fishermen's old port. The military harbour had a quadrilateral shape and was located in front of the city's *agora*, intercommunicating through two gates (figs 3-4; 5, 2). This harbour was enclosed by a fortification wall measuring



**Fig. 5** Plan of the ancient harbours of Thasos and adjacent monuments: **1** Northern harbour. – **2** Military harbour. – **3** Residential quarter by the gate of Hermes. – **4** Sanctuary of Poseidon. – Sanctuary of Artemis. – **6** Ancient agora. – **7** Gate of Hermes. – **8** Gate of the chariot. – **9** Gate of the sea. – (Draft French School at Athens, reworked by D. Malamidou).



about 200m × 150m. By the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the fortification of the harbour was reinforced with the addition of round towers in the vulnerable corners. The long, western side exposed to the sea was protected by a strong breakwater on which the fortification wall was built. It has a narrow entrance, located on the east side, and was therefore a closed harbour (*limen kleistos*)<sup>28</sup>. It was equipped with shipsheds (*neosoikoi*) for sheltering warships. Underwater excavations have determined the existence of three complexes of shipsheds (c. 36 m in length) inside the harbour's basin at three sides, remains of these are still visible today under the water-surface. The *neosoikoi*, in their first phase of construction, are dated to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and are, therefore, one of the oldest remnants from edifices of this use from the Classical period<sup>29</sup>.



**Fig. 6** Aerial photo of the Alyki peninsula, view from West. – (Photo Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala).

### The other harbours of the island

On the Alyki peninsula, the quarrying of marble started in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and was still ongoing until the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD (figs 2. 6). Actually the whole southern tip of the peninsula has been quarried away<sup>30</sup>. There are still remains of the quarrying trenches as well as traces of the rock-cut foundations for securing mechanisms that had been loading the quarried material into the ships. The latter could easily approach the coast of the quarry, to be loaded from the slope. The location of the peninsula, forming two bays on each side, favoured the existence of two harbours, offering shelter to ships in different weather conditions. A sanctuary was founded on the eastern bay of the peninsula, already in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. On the walls of the buildings people have carved wishes of safe navigation (*euploia*) for the ships arriving here to load marble, or expressed their gratitude to the *Dioskouroi*, patrons of travellers and sailors<sup>31</sup>. Archaeological documentation is still very scarce for smaller harbours that probably existed on other sites (fig. 2), such as Ainyra, in the bay of Panagia-Potamia, where the »tower of Akeratos« is located (see below), and Koinyra, in the bay of Koinyra, close to the ancient gold-mining galleries at Kleisidi<sup>32</sup>. On the southern side of the island, one minor harbour could serve Demetrium, a settlement mentioned in epigraphic texts, located in the area of Limenaria<sup>33</sup>. It is worth mentioning that the earliest permanent settlement of Thasos has been excavated in Limenaria, dated to the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods<sup>34</sup>. The settlement was founded on a low rocky hill at the feet of the mountains, only c. 150m away from the coastline at that time. Although the dominant characteristics of the settlement connect it closely with the area of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, cultural affinities with Thessaly and the Aegean are abundant. Most noteworthy,

Limenaria yielded early copper and silver production from local ores, sharing more technological similarities with the southern Aegean rather than the Balkan hinterland<sup>35</sup>.

The prehistoric settlement of Agios Antonios<sup>36</sup>, located on a small promontory in the bay of Potos, is comparable. The site was inhabited during the Bronze Age and it was closely connected, as it seems, with the important inland Neolithic and Early Iron Age site at Kastri-Theologos<sup>37</sup>. Both sites revealed pottery and metallic objects (Minyan and Mycenaean pottery, copper knives etc.) that testify close connection with the Aegean maritime networks.

The site of Skala Sotiros is located in the north-western part of the island<sup>38</sup>. It was a fortified, coastal, Early Bronze Age, settlement (3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC), bearing many features in common with Troy, Poliochni on Lemnos, Palamari on Skyros, and many other sites on the eastern coast of the Aegean Sea. Recent geomorphological research has revealed that the harbour installations of this site are most probably to be found underwater<sup>39</sup>. The same harbour probably functioned during the archaic times as well, since excavations revealed, in the upper strata, architectural remains of an occupation phase dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>40</sup>.

### The lighthouses

Lighthouses were built in numerous places on the island to ensure safe navigation<sup>41</sup>. The majority of them were situated on the north and the east side of the island which were more exposed to the extreme north-eastern winds. They were often circular tower-shaped constructions. A fire burnt on a circular platform at the top of the tower, its light guiding ships safely to the shore.

Remains of lighthouses are still visible today. Close to the ancient city, there are remains of a lighthouse at Evraiokastro, and another one, at a short distance to the east, on the Cape »Phanari«, recently restored up to the level where the lighthouse's fire was lit<sup>42</sup>. The best known lighthouse of the island is the »Tower of Akeratos«, dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, remains of which can be found at the Cape of Panagia<sup>43</sup>. This lighthouse also accommodated the tomb of Akeratos, who was an *archōn* (ruler) on both Thasos and Paros at the same time:

»I am the tomb of Akeratos, the son of Phrasieridis. And I lie at the edge of the anchorage, saving the travelling ships and the sailors. Salute«<sup>44</sup>.

### Thasos as a commercial power

Thasos was one of the main maritime centres of the Thracian Sea. Its trading activity was not restricted to the borders of that Sea, but from there they traded supplies with every part of the Mediterranean world. Local shipyards were certainly capable of building big enough ships. Lumberjacks, carpenters, and ship builders worked with the timber provided by the rich woods of the island<sup>45</sup>. Tar from pine resin would be produced by local experts in order to be used for the insulation of the ships.

Due to the heavy traffic in both the commercial harbours of the city, legislation was required in order to regulate their activities, as an inscription dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC testifies<sup>46</sup>. Thasos had commercial control over a large territory, applying duties to the ships sailing between mount Athos and the estuary of the river Hebros. Special laws on the sale and trade of wine had been promulgated from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the system of monthly lawsuits allowed a quick commercial litigation<sup>47</sup>.

The exquisite wine of Thasos conquered the international markets, especially during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and remained for a long time the most popular after that from Chios. Its widespread publicity is mentioned in



the ancient written sources and can be proved by the discovery of Thasian amphorae among the excavation findings in many cities of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea<sup>48</sup>. The handles of amphorae bear stamps indicating the place of origin of the wine (ΘΑΣΙΩΝ), the name of the *archōn* (ruler) in the year of production, that of the market inspector, the producer of the annual amphorae production and an image symbol of the producer and the ruler, which changed every year. These stamps guaranteed the quality of the contents and were the means for a centrally controlled system of production and exports<sup>49</sup>.

Thasos and its continental territory were rich in minerals<sup>50</sup>. Archaeological research enabled the identification of ancient mining galleries in various locations on the island<sup>51</sup>. One of them was located on the Acropolis, which was exploited mainly in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>52</sup>. The access to these rich metal ores and the policies the city adopted through the centuries is reflected in the coinage of Thasos, one of the most ancient and rich in the ancient Greek world<sup>53</sup>. Silver coinage started being minted on Thasos after 525 BC, followed with bronze types, and continued with some interruptions until the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>54</sup>.

Big competitors of Thasos in the Thracian Sea were Abdera<sup>55</sup>, colony of Klazomenai and Teos, that claimed control of the valley of Nestos, linking the coast with the Balkan hinterland to the Danube, and Maroneia, colony of Chios, famous for its wine production. Maroneia<sup>56</sup> owed its prosperity to its extensive and rich territory and also to its harbour, which favoured the development of intense commercial activity. Thasos has claimed its presence in this area by the creation of Stryme, its easternmost *emporion* on the Thracian coast (fig. 1). Stryme has often been the target of the *Maroneites* in their attempt to control the sea routes<sup>57</sup>.

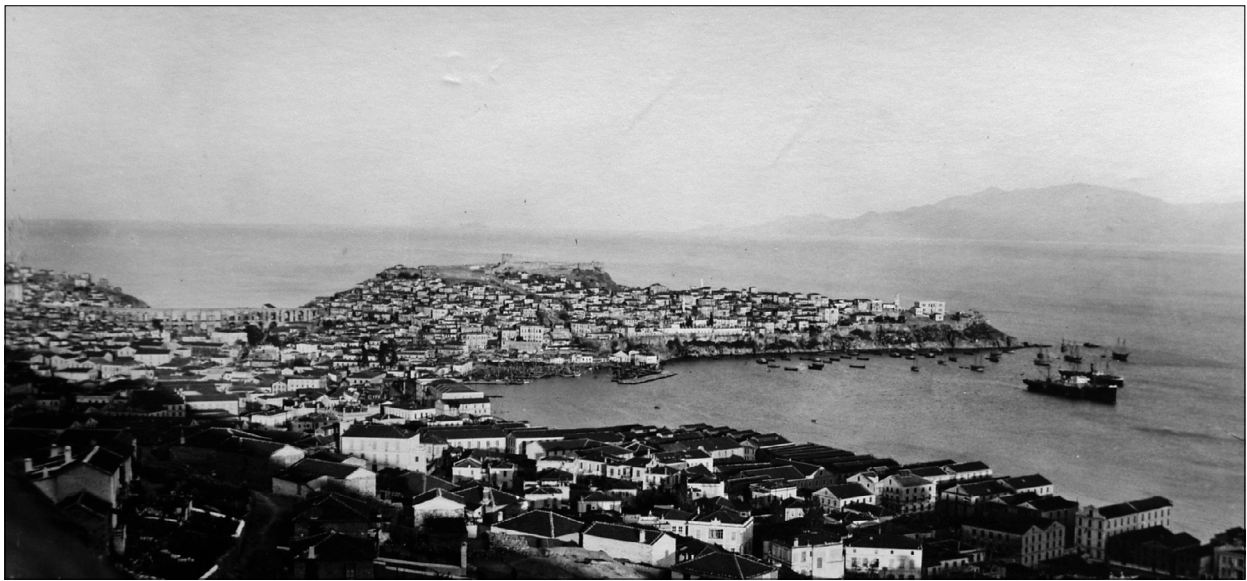
### Thasos in the great wars of the ancient world

The conquest of the region by the Persian king Darius did not soften the competition between the cities, which continued in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. During the first Persian campaign, Thasos resisted the Persians. For this reason, Darius forced the city to demolish its defensive walls and cede its fleet to Abdera<sup>58</sup>. In the second Persian campaign (480 BC) the island offered Xerxes' army a grandiose banquet<sup>59</sup>. Although, after the Persian Wars, another, much more dangerous competitor, appeared. Athens, the victor of the Persian wars and the greatest maritime power in the Greek world, claimed access to the Thracian coastline<sup>60</sup>. Thasos and its colonies joined the First Athenian League (477 BC) and functioned as an advanced naval base of Athens<sup>61</sup>. The Athenians completed their penetration in the region with the foundation of Amphipolis in 437 BC.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the harbour of Thasos became the naval base of the Athenian fleet. Whilst serving as a general on Thasos, the historian Thucydides was ordered to assist the Athenian forces that were besieging Amphipolis (414 BC). He did not reach the Athenian forces in time and as a result he was accused of negligence and condemned to exile, where he wrote his famous »History« of the Peloponnesian war. However, in 411 BC, Thasos defected from Athens, quickly fortified the city walls, repaired the fleet and allied with the Spartans. For ten years thereafter, bloody riots rose on the island between the pro-Spartans and the pro-Athenians, with power alternating between the two parties.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, Thasos joined the Second Athenian League, regained some lost lands on the Thracian coast across and founded Krenides in 360 BC. Very soon thereafter, Philip II occupied Krenides and renamed it Philippi. Thasos sided up with the Macedonians in 338 BC without changing fundamentally its political system thanks to her strategic location. The Thasians are among the first who worshipped Alexander the Great as a god<sup>62</sup>.

After 197 BC, when Philip V was defeated by Flamininus, the Romans were interested in securing their military presence on the Thracian coast, as their garrisons were supplied by sea, and for regular transportation



**Fig. 7** Photo of Kavala and the peninsula of Panagia (early 20<sup>th</sup> century). Thasos island can be seen in the horizon. – (Archive Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala).

of trade goods. After 80 BC, the Thasians are mentioned as »allies and friends« of Rome, they regained political control over the territories on the Thracian coast, and received Skiathos and Peparethos. They lost the latter two after the battle of Philippi, in 42 BC, because their port was used as naval base by Brutus and Cassius<sup>63</sup>. However, Augustus honoured them and the city thrived as part of the *Imperium Romanum*. By the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, after the attacks of the Heruli, the military harbour was transformed into a commercial one.

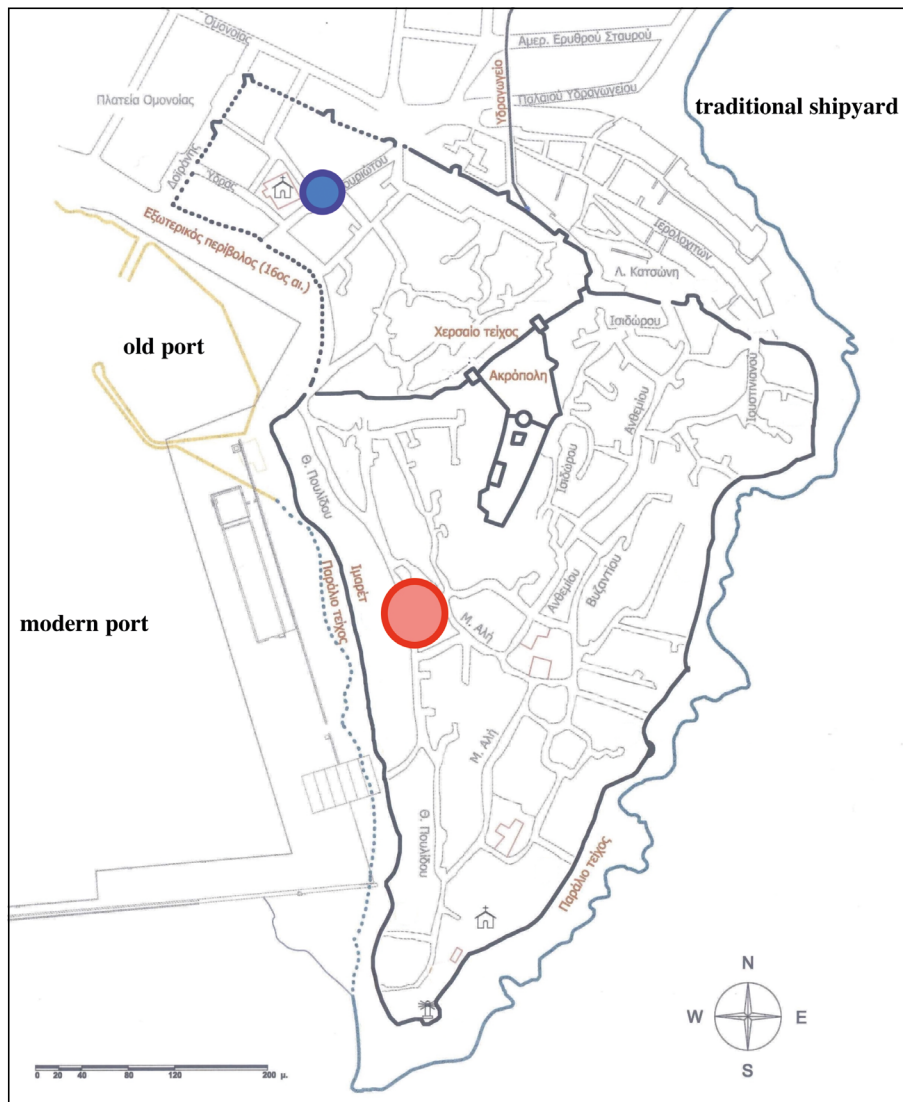
## NEAPOLIS

Ancient Neapolis, located on the peninsula of Panagia in modern Kavala, was the starting point for major road axes leading to the hinterland of Thrace (fig. 1). An important road was the one across the plain of Philippi, heading inland to meet the crossroads that followed the valleys of the rivers Strymon, Angitis and Nestos<sup>64</sup>.

Neapolis<sup>65</sup> (fig. 7) was founded most probably by the Thasians around the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC, even though the ancient sources do not offer any relevant information<sup>66</sup>. Thasos was primarily intended to control the route towards Thrace and its metal-bearing territory and to secure commercial control of the straits between Thasos and the mainland<sup>67</sup>. Because of its privileged position and, above all, its commercial harbour, Neapolis achieved great prosperity<sup>68</sup>.

The nucleus of the new city was build over a Thracian settlement on the present Panagia peninsula. Hand-made pottery of the Early Iron Age (1000-800 BC) testifies to this<sup>69</sup>. Moreover, wheel-made pottery with subgeometric decoration suggested that, already by the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, cultural relations and exchange had developed between the local population and the Greeks<sup>70</sup>.

We know little about the form of the ancient city. Parts of the fortification wall (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) surrounding the peninsula, were detected in few places covered by the fortifications of the Byzantine and Ottoman Times (fig. 8). Excavations inside the walls identified the position of the Parthenos sanctuary<sup>71</sup> which had already existed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and gained pan-Hellenic recognition. Only some columns and capitals



**Fig. 8** Plan of the peninsula of Panagia with the Byzantine and Ottoman fortification. Its southern part follows the city walls of ancient Neapolis. Red dot for the sanctuary of Parthenos, blue dot for the St. Nikolaos church and Kountouriotou Street. – (Draft Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala, reworked by D. Malamidou).

survived from the monumental Ionic temple made of Thasian marble that replaced the Archaic one during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Many of the offerings to the patron goddess, coming from well-known markets of the ancient world (pottery, figurines, jewellery etc.), have been uncovered in ritual pits in the area of the sanctuary<sup>72</sup>. At the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the goddess appears on coins of the city<sup>73</sup>. Parthenos also appears in the relief on a stele which records a decree of the Athenian people honouring their loyal allies, the Neapolitans (336-335 BC)<sup>74</sup>.

### The port of Neapolis

Ancient written sources mention that Neapolis had shipbuilding installations<sup>75</sup>. The fact that the *Neapolites* were honoured in 410 BC for staying in the Athenian League suggests that probably a fleet of warships existed in Neapolis. As a major commercial post, it must have ensured the docking of merchant ships crossing the Aegean to reach the coast of Thrace<sup>76</sup>. Archaeological data for the harbour, or harbours of Neapolis are scarce. Its exact location and form are not well known, as the coastline has changed because of continuous occupation.





**Fig. 9** Aerial photo of the peninsula of Panagia, view from NE. – (Photo Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala).

Remains of what could be interpreted as parts of the main harbour of Neapolis are unearthed during the excavations that have taken place in 1986, during the installation of drainage pipes in Kountouriotou Street<sup>77</sup>. The stratigraphy that was revealed during these public works is of great thickness and testifies to the long sequence of habitation layers. In a seaside area near the modern harbour and the church of St. Nikolaos, west of the ancient city's fortification, an excavation revealed, the existence of a wall defining the limits of a harbour dated to Roman times. The wall of the Roman harbour, which turned out to exist in the Early Christian era, rests on a thick layer of sand. This fact shows that the harbour of the ancient city must now be searched deep into the interior of the bay, perhaps even beyond the conceivable line of the church of St. Nikolaos (**fig. 8**). The remains that have been studied belong most probably to the harbour that was used by the army of Cassius and Brutus before the battle of Philippi against Antonius and Octavian in 42 BC. In this same harbour arrived Apostle Paul, in AD 49, with the message of Christianity, the new religion that would change the world. Future excavations may reveal the harbour installations of the Archaic or Classical times to which the pilgrims of the popular sanctuary of Parthenos arrived with their rich offerings. However fragmented our picture of the harbour may be, it is rather certain now that the bay at the west side of the peninsula of Panagia hosted the main harbour, both military and commercial, connecting Neapolis, Christopolis and Kavala, throughout its long history, with the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean. We cannot exclude the possibility of a second harbour in the eastern bay of the peninsula, where the shipyard is today (**figs 8-9**).

### **Neapolis as a commercial power**

The city of Neapolis flourished especially through mining the rich deposits of gold and silver in her territory. The use of metals in the wider region has been documented since the Neolithic period (5<sup>th</sup> millen-

nium BC)<sup>78</sup>. The archaeological research in the immediate vicinity of Kavala, in the mountains of Lekane, promoted and eventually finally solved the issue regarding the location of the site Skapte Hyle, mentioned in the written sources; Skapte Hyle has been identified for many years with Pangaeon Mountain<sup>79</sup>. Haido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki<sup>80</sup> proposed that Skapte Hyle should be sought north and east of ancient Neapolis, where rich metalliferous deposits are present. Intense mining activity is witnessed from the numerous underground and surface mines, the huge heaps of mined material and slags, between the villages of Krinides, Zygos-Kryoneri, Amygdaleonas, Palaia Kavala, Chalkero and Perni<sup>81</sup>. On the other side, towards Philippoi, south of Amygdaleon, a small distance from the foot of Vassilakis Hill, to the SW, a settlement was identified, equipped with workshop facilities, apparently related to mining activity during Roman times, and eventually related with a station of the Via Egnatia (Fons). Furthermore, on top of the Vassilakis hill, a fortified city has been found and a suggestion has been made to associate this city with the ancient Daton<sup>82</sup> (fig. 1). The latter is mentioned in the ancient literature, having Antissara as its port. The identification of the settlement excavated in Kalamitsa, in the western part of today's Kavala, with Antissara, is generally accepted<sup>83</sup>. Its walls are largely visible, enclosing several sections of ancient houses, mainly of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, as well as a building complex identified with the sanctuary of Asklepios, thanks to fragments of vases with engraved votive inscriptions to Asklepios<sup>84</sup>. The relationship between Neapolis and Antissara remains to be explored<sup>85</sup>.

For the time being, we cannot be sure about the limits of the territory of Neapolis. The extent to which the control of the mines of the Thasian territory passes into the hands of Neapolis by the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, when the colony seceded from her mother-city and began issuing its own silver coins<sup>86</sup>, needs further research. In any case, during the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC the accession of the Athenian camp secured political independence from the metropolis Thasos. Neapolis joined the 1<sup>st</sup> Athenian League and maintained close ties with Athens until its capture by Philip II. One of the honorific decrees to the *Neapolites* (410 and 407 BC) for their loyalty to Athens contains interesting information about the port. It refers to the financial resources that the city had as an income from the docking fees of ships and other duties<sup>87</sup>. The close trade relations with Athens are manifested by the abundance of Attic vases found in the sanctuary of Parthenos, some of them of monumental dimensions and works by well-known Athenian painters of the black-figured style<sup>88</sup>.

In the years of Macedonian domination, the city lost its independence and became the port of the neighbouring Macedonian city of Philippoi<sup>89</sup>. A decree of the city of Philippoi, in 243 BC, contains a reference to the harbour of Neapolis. The text indicates the arrival and departure from the harbour of Neapolis of some *theoroi* (dignitaries) from Kos. They arrived in Macedonia under the protection of the king Antigonos II Gonatas to declare the truce of Asclepeia of Kos. The *theoroi* are received in an honorific way and the resolution mentions the obligation of Philippoi to accompany them with a guard of honour to the harbour of Neapolis upon their departure to set sail for home<sup>90</sup>.

The foundation of the Roman colony of Philippoi (*colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis*)<sup>91</sup> and its thriving era during Roman times gives an analogous push to Neapolis, as the port of the administrative capital of the region, as well as a major commercial station along the Via Egnatia.

There is little archaeological evidence about Neapolis during the Roman Period. The quality of the buildings, of which only some architectural elements and funerary monuments have survived, together with the discovery of substantial hoards of silver coins in the ancient city and the surrounding area attest to the wealth and prosperity of Neapolis. It is in this thriving harbour that Apostle Paul arrived in AD 49 to bring Christianity to Macedonia, for Neapolis was the regular landing place for all those wishing to travel on the Via Egnatia<sup>92</sup>. The sea routes brought again major changes in the place, bridging the centuries towards the medieval world.

## Neapolis in the great wars of the ancient world

Apparently, the Persian armies had no significant impact on Neapolis. Since the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, its name is listed in the Athenian tax registers (first mention 454/453 BC). During the prolonged conflict between Athens and Thasos about the control of the continental coast, the *Neapolites* are on the part of the Athenians. According to epigraphic documents, in 411-410 BC, during the Peloponnesian War, Neapolis was besieged by the allied armies of the Spartans and the Thasians but remained faithful to Athens who responded by sending 20 triremes with general Thrasybulos. Two Athenian honorary decrees<sup>93</sup>, rewarded Neapolis for its loyalty in 410 and 407 BC<sup>94</sup>.

As a naval force, Neapolis participates in the second Athenian League in 377 BC. This did not prevent though the return of the Thasians on the continent, with the foundation of a new colony, Krenides in 360 BC. Probably the participation of the Athenian Kallistratos released the new colony from direct dependence to Thasos. One other decree dated in 355 BC, refers to two residents of Neapolis who are admitted to Athens as consuls and benefactors. On this stele we see the relief representation of Parthenos, much shorter, giving her hand to the imposing goddess Athena<sup>95</sup>.

Literary sources report the arrival of the Athenian general Chares at the harbour of Neapolis, in 355 BC, as part of the mobilisation of Athens and its ally Neapolis against Philip II, when he had already been expanding in Thrace and has occupied Abdera and Maroneia<sup>96</sup>. With the integration of the region into the Kingdom of Macedonia, Neapolis became a seaport of Philippi which now took over the role of the powerful city in the region<sup>97</sup>.

With the passing of the great military road that connected Rome with Byzantium, the well known Via Egnatia, from Philippi and Neapolis, the port, in late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, gained in importance. In 42 BC, as a seaport of Philippi, Neapolis housed the fleet of the republicans Cassius and Brutus, shortly before their final confrontation with Octavian and Antony in the famous battle of Philippi<sup>98</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Thasos and Neapolis are two examples of harbour-cities that have been founded and thrived in the region of the Thracian Sea. They both developed between two worlds: the Aegean world, determined by the mobility of navigation and commerce, and the hinterland of ancient Thrace a more static economy, based on agriculture and stock breeding. These harbour-cities had access to agricultural goods, wood from the mountains, and rich metal resources. Their harbours have been receiving the goods of the rich hinterland of ancient Thrace: cereal, fish, timber, leather, precious metals and marble. And we should not forget the other great driving force of the ancient world, the slaves. These goods were diffused by the Greek ships in the Mediterranean. This trade supported the economic boom of the Greek city-states. In the same harbours anchored ships, bringing many goods, such as wine, oil, pottery, tools, jewellery etc. from the cities of southern Greece, the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor. They imported at the same time political and cultural institutions that transformed the Aegean Thrace and integrated it in the Greek world. This transformation has become an inevitable historical development, despite the active resistance of the native inhabitants, or, in many cases, because it was deliberately pursued by the local communities. Merchant ships along with war fleets from all the cities that have been active in the area sailed for centuries into the waters of the Thracian Sea. Rivalries and alliances succeeded one another, winners and losers alternated over the years. Many details are missing from the historical description of the life of these cities. Future archaeological research is required to clarify many aspects of the economic and socio-political phenomena we have



described, i. e. the way in which the territory of the cities was determined each time, the balance between metropolises and colonies, as well as the role of local societies in the decision-making of the city-states.

## Notes

- 1) Kanta 2003. – Stambolidis 2003. – Tartaron 2013. – Mantelidou/Konstantinidi-Syvridi 2016. – Chidioglou 2016.
- 2) Tiverios 2008.
- 3) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1980; 1990b. – Matsas 2004. – Malamidou 2006; 2009. – Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2015. – Gimatzidis 2017.
- 4) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki/Papadopoulos 2009.
- 5) Baker et al. 1992.
- 6) Graham 1978. – Grandjean 1988. – Grandjean/Salviat 2000.
- 7) Muller 2000; 2010. – Sanidas/Malamidou/Nerantzis 2018.
- 8) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 99. – Muller 2000; 2010. – Pichot 2016, 202-203.
- 9) Pichot 2016, 202.
- 10) For examples of bronze fibulae dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC see Prêtre 2016.
- 11) Brunet 1997; 2007. – Bonias/Brunet/Sintes 1990.
- 12) Θασίων Ηπειρο («Thasiōn Hepeiro»): Lazaridis 1971. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1980; 1990b. – Brunet 1997.
- 13) Loukopoulou 2004. – Zannis 2014.
- 14) Bakalakis/Mylonas 1938. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1980; 2006.
- 15) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1990b, 494 n. 12.
- 16) Giouri/Koukouli 1987. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki/Papanikolaou 1990. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2006.
- 17) Bakalakis 1935; 1936a. – Different suggestion in Zannis 2014.
- 18) Bakalakis 1936b. – Lazaridis 1969. – Picard 1990.
- 19) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1972; 1973. – Nikolaidou/Patera 2017.
- 20) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1972; 1973. – Oekonomidou 1990. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki/Papadopoulos/Zannis forthcoming.
- 21) Bakalakis 1967. – For recent discussion about the location of Stryme see Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2015.
- 22) Picard 1994. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2011.
- 23) Bonias 2000. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2000. – Psoma 2002.
- 24) Chankowski/Domaradzka 1999.
- 25) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 52.
- 26) Bon/Seyrig 1929. – Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 97.
- 27) Since the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the navy served as a great military power for the Greek cities. Triremes, the main warship of Classical Antiquity was a wooden vessel thus vulnerable to the sea-worm *teredo navalis*. Due to this fact triremes should not stay in water for long periods of time, because they could be severely damaged by the worms. Furthermore prolonged staying in the water was making them heavy thus affecting their manoeuvrability and speed. Therefore when not operating, they were either pulled out of the water on sandy beaches or when at home housed in shelters built within naval harbours for this purpose.
- 28) Skyl. 67.
- 29) Simossi 1994; 2017. – Cf. the contribution of S. Paliompeis in this volume.
- 30) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 161. – Servais et al. 1980.
- 31) Bernard/Salviat 1962.
- 32) Des Courtils/Muller/Koželj 1982. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1988. – Weisgerber/Wagner 1988.
- 33) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 170.
- 34) Papadopoulos/Malamidou 2008; 2012.
- 35) Papadopoulos 2008. – Bassiakos/Nerantzis/Papadopoulos 2019. – Malamidou/Tsirtsoni/Vaxevanopoulos forthcoming.
- 36) Papadopoulos/Nerantzis 2012. – Papadopoulos/Nerantzis/Tsoutsoubeli-Liolou 2014. – Nerantzis/Papadopoulos 2016.
- 37) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1992.
- 38) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1990a. – Papadopoulos/Papalazarou/Tsoutsoubeli-Liolou 2007.
- 39) Lespez/Papadopoulos 2002.
- 40) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1989, 509; 1990a, 533.
- 41) Koželj/Wurch-Koželj 1989.
- 42) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 159 fig. 106.
- 43) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 158.
- 44) IG XII 8, 683.
- 45) Hdt. 6, 46.
- 46) IG XII Suppl., 348: Ships approached the two ports according to their cargo capacity. The smaller ships had to use the western harbour.
- 47) Salviat 1958.
- 48) Garlan 1988.
- 49) Garlan 1999. – Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 182-191.
- 50) Hdt. 6, 46. – Thuk. 1, 100, 2. – Marlatos/Andronopoulos 1966. – Baker et al. 1992. – Nerantzis/Papadopoulos 2013. – Vaxevanopoulos 2017. – Vaxevanopoulos et al. 2018.
- 51) Gialoglou/Vavelidis/Wagner 1988. – Vavelidis et al. 1988. – Wagner et al. 1981. – Weisgerber/Wagner 1988. – Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 179.
- 52) Muller 1979. – Koželj/Muller 1988.
- 53) Picard 2017.
- 54) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 303-314.

- 55) Cf. the contribution of K. Kallintzi in this volume.
- 56) Loukopoulou/Psoma 2008. – Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2015.
- 57) Cf. the contribution of Ch. Karadima in this volume.
- 58) Hdt. 6, 44.
- 59) Hdt. 7, 118.
- 60) Picard 2006.
- 61) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 27.
- 62) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 30.
- 63) Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 32.
- 64) Zannis 2014.
- 65) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1990b, 494 n. 12.
- 66) Pouilloux 1954, 158. – Picard 1990.
- 67) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1990b.
- 68) Strab. 7, 36.
- 69) Bakalakis 1938, 107 fig. 1.
- 70) Bakalakis 1938, 108 fig. 2.
- 71) Bakalakis 1938. – Lazaridis 1969.
- 72) Lazaridis 1969, 18-20.
- 73) Papaevangelou 2000, 101 pl. 20.76.
- 74) IG II, 128.
- 75) Strab. 7, 36.
- 76) Bakalakis 1936b, 5.
- 77) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki/Tsouris 1986.
- 78) Tsirtsoni 2018. – Malamidou/Tsirtsoni/Vaxevanopoulos forthcoming.
- 79) Lazaridis 1971. – Unger/Schütz 1982.
- 80) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1990b. – Photos et al. 1989.
- 81) Vavelidis/Christofides/Melfos 1996. – Vavelidis et al. 1996.
- 82) Samartzidou 1990; different suggestion in Zannis 2014.
- 83) Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1990b, 494 n. 12.
- 84) ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΙ/Ασκληπιῶ.
- 85) Neapolis referred to in epigraphic texts as *Νεάπολις παρ'Ἀντισσάραν* (*Neapolis par Antissaran/Neapolis near Antissara*) IG, I2, 195, 25.
- 86) Picard 1990. – Marcellesi 2017.
- 87) IG II, 108: National Museum at Athens Register Number 6598. – Lazaridis 1969, 23.
- 88) Lazaridis 1969, pl. 35.
- 89) Picard 1994. – Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2011.
- 90) Lazaridis 1969, 25.
- 91) Brélaz/Tirolagos 2016.
- 92) Act 16, 8-12.
- 93) IG II, 108.
- 94) Lazaridis 1969, 23. 88 pl. 24.
- 95) Lazaridis 1969, 89 pl. 25.
- 96) Polyain. strat. 4, 2, 22.
- 97) Fournier 2016.
- 98) The Roman historian Appian characterises Neapolis as *Ενόρμισμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν* (seaside anchorage for triremes) (App. civ. D, 106).

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## *Zusammenfassung / Summary*

Die griechische Kolonisation der nordägäischen Küstenzone im späten 8. und frühen 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. führte zur Gründung mehrerer Hafenstädte mit Zugang zu fruchtbarem Ackerland, zu Holz aus den Bergregionen und zu reichen Metallvorkommen. Um die wirtschaftlichen, sozioökonomischen und kulturellen Netzwerke in der Region entwickeln und kontrollieren zu können, waren diese neuen urbanen Zentren von besonderem Wert für die Entwicklung von Häfen, die die Handelsströme gewährleisten sollten. Nach historischen und archäologischen Quellen war der Hafen von Thasos ein »internationaler« Knotenpunkt der Seefahrt von besonderer Bedeutung, während der Hafen von Neapolis, einer thasischen Kolonie an der thrakischen Küste, aufgrund seiner günstigen geografischen Lage und politischer Rahmenbedingungen einen speziellen Platz in der historischen Entwicklung der Region einnahm.

Der vorliegende Beitrag fasst die vorhandenen Informationen zu den Häfen von Thasos und Neapolis zusammen und versucht, einige Aspekte der wirtschaftlichen und sozio-politischen Veränderungen im weiteren Kontext des Thracischen Meeres im Altertum zu untersuchen.

Übersetzung: Th. Schmidts

The Greek colonisation of the North Aegean coastal zone, during the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, led to the establishment of several harbour-cities with access to fertile agricultural lands, to timber from the mountains, and to rich metal resources. In order to develop and control the commercial, socio-economic and cultural networks in the area, these new urban centres have focused on the development of harbours, which would facilitate the flow of tradable goods. According to historical and archaeological sources, the harbour of Thasos was an »international« maritime hub of particular importance, while the harbour of Neapolis, a Thasian colony on the Thracian coast, has gained a special place in the historical development of the region due to its particularly favourable geographic location and some political circumstances.

The present paper summarises the existing information on the harbours of Thasos and Neapolis. Furthermore it attempts to examine some aspects of the economic and socio-political transformations that took place during the antiquity in the wider area of the Thracian Sea.