

# Roman Urbanism in the Pontic Frontier Zone<sup>1</sup>

Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen

Mithradates VI has been called Rome's deadliest enemy.<sup>2</sup> Even if he may not quite have been that, he was certainly one of Rome's most persistent enemies. Over a period of 25 years, he waged three major wars against Rome, one of which – the first Mithradatic war (89–85 BC) – for a time brought the whole of Roman Asia Minor, as well as Athens, under his control. The third Mithradatic war lasted for more than a decade, until the Roman general Gnaeus Pompeius cornered the army of Mithradates in the upper Lykos valley.<sup>3</sup> At the last moment, Mithradates succeeded in making his escape with a small group of soldiers. After an epic march along the eastern Black Sea coast, he eventually arrived in the Bosphoran Kingdom, ruled by his son Machares. It is said that Mithradates now hatched a fantastic plan to march an army up the valley of the Danube and invade Italy from the north. Finding Machares unwilling to risk an open confrontation with the Romans, Mithradates took control of Pantikapaion (Kerch), forced Machares to flee and installed another son, Pharnakes, on the vacant throne. Pharnakes, however, proved equally unenthusiastic about engaging in a conflict with the Romans. Increasingly isolated and fearful that his son would hand him over to Pompey, Mithradates committed suicide.<sup>4</sup> Pharnakes had the corpse embalmed and sent to Pompey as a token of his loyalty to the Roman cause.<sup>5</sup>

Having fought three wars at an immense cost in materiel and Italian lives, the Roman senate was determined to prevent a fourth Mithradatic war. While the Romans had failed to capture Mithradates alive, they nonetheless had control of his kingdom. The problem was how to maintain that control.

Normal Roman practice was to conclude alliances with the city-states of conquered territories. But there were few cities to speak of in Mithradates' kingdom, which had been controlled by a sort of "command economy" operating through a network of castles and strongholds. Strabo tells us that one of Pompey's first actions was to demolish the fortifications of these hilltop strongholds and destroy their water supply, to prevent their re-occupation.<sup>6</sup>

But what was to replace them? To secure Roman control, Pompey created a new province by combining the former kingdom of *Bithynia* with the newly conquered territory, *Pontus*. Bithynia was well furnished with cities, but in Pontus there were only a handful. To create an urban network, Pompey founded seven new cities in the newly conquered territories. In so doing, he was clearly following the example of Alexander the Great, whom he tried to emulate in many ways, even taking Alexander's epithet "the great" as his own *cognomen: Magnus*.<sup>7</sup>

Pompey also, however, followed good Republican precedents in placing five of his seven cities on a *road*. The annexation of Cisalpine Gaul in the 180's and Transalpine Gaul in the 120's had been followed by the construction of new roads through the conquered territories: the *via Aemilia* from the upper Po valley to the



Fig. 1: The “Pompeian road” through northern Anatolia.

sea at Rimini, and the *via Domitia* from the Pyrenees to the Rhône. Both precedents would be familiar to Pompey, as would both roads, which formed links in the chain of communication between the Spanish provinces and Italy. From 77 to 72 BC, Pompey had held an extraordinary command in Spain, where he campaigned against another of Rome’s enemies, Sertorius. Pompey’s victory was commemorated by a monument at the western end of the *via Domitia* in the Pyrenees.<sup>8</sup>

Pompey’s road (fig. 1) formed part of an overland connection from Armenia to the Bosphorus.<sup>9</sup> At its eastern end, Pompey planted a colony of veterans, Nikopolis, the “city of victory”. The road ran down the Lykos valley past Diospolis, “the city of Zeus”, and Magnopolis, taking its name from Pompey’s epithet *Magnus*,<sup>10</sup> near the confluence of the Lykos and the Iris (figs. 4–5).<sup>11</sup>

Having crossed the Lykos and the Iris at their confluence, the road now followed the valley of a minor tributary of the Iris to reach the Kılıçarslan pass, then down to the plain of lake Stiphane, today Ladik Gölü. It followed the northern shore of the lake westward, intersecting the old highway linking the capital of the Pontic kings at Amaseia to the Black Sea at Amisos, and eventually reached Neapolis, the “new city” established by Pompey in the centre of the fertile plain known as the Phazemonitis.<sup>12</sup> Its final stage took it upstream first along the Halys, then along the Amnias, a tributary of the Halys, to reach *Pompeiopolis*. The distance from Nikopolis to Pompeiopolis was about 500 km, with another 500 separating Pompeiopolis from the Marmaran coast. In other words, the city named after Pompey was at about the



Fig. 2: The site of Nikopolis, now known as Yeşilyayla, seen from the south.

mid-point of new province of Pontus et Bithynia and may have been intended as the provincial capital.

Whatever Pompey's intentions may have been, he was not to see them realised. Fifteen years later, Rome was split by a bloody civil war between the partisans of Caesar and Pompey. When the news of Pompey's shattering defeat at Pharsalos reached Pantikapaion, king Pharnakes abandoned his loyalty to the Romans and seized the opportunity to take control of northeastern Asia Minor while the Roman forces were embroiled in fighting elsewhere – in effect, trying to re-establish his father's dominion.<sup>13</sup> The attempt was initially successful but came to a violent end on the battlefield of Zela (Zile) in 47 BC. Caesar's account of his victory was famously brief: *veni, vidi, vici*.<sup>14</sup>

It is an irony of history that though Caesar emerged as the eventual victor, the events of 48–47 confirmed the foresight of his opponent, Pompey, in rendering the mountain strongholds of Mithradates useless for the future. The invasion of Pharnakes was precisely that fourth Mithradatic war during which the Romans had wanted to avoid.

The civil war came to an end in 46 BC but soon another round of conflicts erupted following the murder of Caesar in 44. The victors were Octavian and Mark Antony, who divided the Empire between themselves and their partner Lepidus, Antony receiving the east. In the course of Antony's ten-year dominion over Pontus, Pompey's settlement was undone.<sup>15</sup> The eastern part of the province was dismantled and distributed among client rulers. The five cities now found themselves outside the *imperium Romanum*, into which they were eventually re-integrated during the course of the first century AD.<sup>16</sup>





Fig. 3: This substantial subterranean structure, probably a *cryptoporticus*, attests to the continued prosperity of Neokaisareia under the later Empire.

The easternmost city, Nikopolis, enjoyed the initial advantage of being a veteran settlement as well as a good defensive position on the slopes well above the pass linking the upper waters of the Lykos to those of the Euphrates; it also possessed a city wall. Given the virtual non-existence of epigraphic evidence from Nikopolis, it is impossible to judge whether Pompey's veterans and their descendants remained or whether the city's population took on a more indigenous character after the city had been transferred from Roman rule to the Pontic dynast Dareios. He was the son of the same Pharnakes who had opposed Caesar at Zela in 47 BC.<sup>17</sup> Dareios' place was soon taken by Polemon, a Cilician aristocrat who had served with Antony and was rewarded with Pontus as well as Armenia Minor.<sup>18</sup> According to Strabo, Nikopolis was a flourishing city in his time and later served as provincial capital of Armenia Minor.<sup>19</sup> Today, the site is occupied by modern Yeşilyayla (fig. 2), which has a few hundred inhabitants, most of whom are descendants of Turks transferred from northern Greece to Turkey during the population exchange that followed the treaty of Lausanne (1923).

Diospolis, by contrast, remains a large and populous provincial city, having spread from its original hilltop site downwards and outwards in the direction of the Lykos river (fig. 3). It changed its name several of times during antiquity, eventually becoming known as *Neokaisareia*, whence its modern name, Niksar.

Of the next city on the route, Magnopolis, the remains are even sparser than those of Nikopolis. Indeed, the site of the city was not located until 2015.<sup>20</sup> The decline of



Fig. 4: This *türbe* in the cemetery of Çevresu rests on a foundation of large, regular stone blocks, possibly the remnants of a Roman structure.

Magnopolis set in far earlier than that of Nikopolis; by the end of the second century at the latest – perhaps already by the end of the first – it had lost its status as a self-governing *polis*. As in Nikopolis, the present-day village, known as Çevresu, is home to only a few hundred souls. Visible remains are limited to some spoils, a single inscription and, in the cemetery, the solidly built substructure of a *türbe* (fig. 4) which by its appearance could well go back to the first century BC or AD, later having been reused for the *türbe*.

Neapolis, the “new city” changed its name to *Neoklaudiopolis* in the reign of Claudius or Nero; then, in the third century, reverted to using its indigenous name, *Andrapa*.<sup>21</sup> It was the seat of a bishop (attested as late as the later eighth century, when the bishop of Andrapa attended the second church council of Nikaia) and appears to have been continually occupied despite several changes of name. Its present name, Vezirköprü, recalls the memory of the powerful Köprülü family who through several generations held the office of grand vizier. Like Niksar, Vezirköprü remains a prosperous and populous town; unlike Niksar, it has produced a considerable epigraphic dossier and<sup>22</sup> an up-to-date *Corpus* of the city’s inscriptions is awaiting publication.<sup>23</sup>

Pompeiopolis’ successor city, Taşköprü, is as large as Niksar or Vezirköprü, but fortunately from the point of view of the archaeologist, the city site has been transferred across the river from the northern to the southern bank of the Amnias, leaving the site of the Roman city accessible to excavators. The outlines of the city’s plan and major monuments have been revealed by geomagnetic survey<sup>24</sup> and confirmed by excavation





Fig. 5: The river crossing north of Çevresu, at the confluence of the Iris and Lykos rivers.

(fig. 8). In terms of archaeological evidence,<sup>25</sup> Pompeiopolis oustrips all other Pompeian cities, while its epigraphic dossier rivals that of Neoklaudiopolis for size.<sup>26</sup>

The subsequent history of the five cities offers an interesting case study of cities with a comparable starting-point that develop along different lines. It is difficult, however, to find any sort of system to their subsequent development. Three are today county towns with populations of 20,000 to 35,000 inhabitants; two are small villages. A defensive position does not affect their chance of survival either: Neokaisareia was as defensible as Nikopolis; the site of Neoklaudiopolis was as open as that of Magnopolis.

When we look at the road and its cities in comparison with the *via Aemilia* and the *via Domitia*, however, two important differences emerge. First, the *Domitia* and the *Aemilia* pass directly through the cities on their route, typically forming the high street. By contrast, while all Pompey's five cities are *near* the road, no city is actually *on* it. Strategic considerations may have played a role here: just as Pompey wished to deny Rome's enemies the use of the Mithradatic fortresses, he could not allow them to block the lifeline of Pontus by seizing a single city. That security appears to have come at a price, since the two cities farthest from the road – Nikopolis and Magnopolis – are also the two that did not survive in the long term.

The other contrast is the spacing of towns. Along the *Aemilia*, cities are on average spaced at intervals of 16 km from each other;<sup>27</sup> on the *Domitia*, about 30. Along Pompey's road, by contrast, the average distance is 130 km, rising to 160 km between Pompeiopolis and Neoklaudiopolis and 200 km between Nikopolis and Neokaisareia.



Fig. 6: The lower aqueduct of Neoklaudiopolis.

Studies of urban networks in the western Roman Empire suggest that cities more than 60 or 70 km from each other effectively have no contact zone.<sup>28</sup> The day-to-day interaction of a city with its territory hardly extends more than a full day's journey from the centre. Only under exceptional conditions do cities maintain contact over distances of 150 or 200 km. That a similar situation applied in Pontus is confirmed by the spatial distribution of milestones. Since these were set up when a road was repaired or renovated, the density of milestones offers a good indication of the interest taken by the authorities in a given section of road. The most numerous milestones are those of Neoklaudiopolis. On the road from Neoklaudiopolis towards Pompeiopolis, no less than fourteen stones have been found over the first twelve Roman miles of road. But this is followed by an intervening section of 77 km without a single milestone before the first milestone erected by Pompeiopolis appears near Boyabat. In the opposite direction, numerous milestones are found, counting up to 23 Roman miles (35 km) – but no further. Over the next 65 km, not a single milestone has been found.<sup>29</sup>

What held the inland corridor of northern Anatolia together was the steady coming and going of messengers and troops, couriers and bureaucrats along Pompey's road.

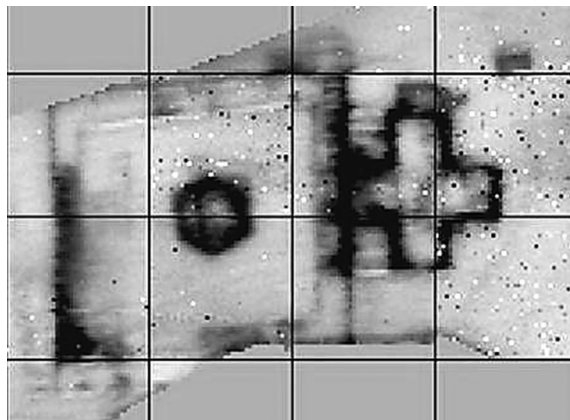


Fig. 7: Ground plan of a late Roman *martyrion* on the outskirts of Neoklaudiopolis as revealed by georesistivity survey in 2010.

After the dissolution of Pompey's province by Mark Antony, all that east-west traffic dwindled away.

The first casualty was the road itself, parts of which fell into disuse. Pompey's road followed the shortest possible route between Magnopolis and Neoklaudiopolis, but since the two cities were now located in different client kingdoms, there was little demand for the direct route. The Neoklaudiopolitans had other priorities: the port of Amisus (Samsun), the former royal city of Amaseia and the hot baths at Havza. The Pompeian road is traceable in the landscape even today, but it has no milestones of the imperial period. Instead, the city devoted its resources to upgrading the Havza road.<sup>30</sup>

Lying on a road that was falling into disuse and backed up against the mountains, Magnopolis suffered as well. It comes as no surprise that it disappears from the city-list in the first or second century AD.<sup>31</sup> Its place was taken by Ibora, lying in the centre of the plain. The last milestone to be erected on the Neokaisareia-Magnopolis road dates from AD 198,<sup>32</sup> but from the Tetrarchy onwards, milestones are found along the road leading towards Ibora and Amaseia.<sup>33</sup>

In terms of site, Nikopolis, perched on a hillside, shared some of the disadvantages of Magnopolis. Nonetheless, the city flourished into late antiquity and was the seat of a bishop and home to a monastery when it was struck by an earthquake in AD 499. Despite the best efforts of the emperor Justinian, who financed part of its reconstruction,<sup>34</sup> Nikopolis was eventually demoted from city status and its place taken by Koloneia.

Neokaisareia and Neoklaudiopolis, too, prospered into late antiquity and the Byzantine period. In the case of Neokaisareia, we must rely mainly on literary sources, notably the writings of the Cappadocian fathers. A close reading of their works reveals that Neokaisareia and Neoklaudiopolis belonged to different functional zones, what contemporary geographers would call "soft spaces".<sup>35</sup> Neokaisareia was oriented towards the Anatolian plateau and the south; Neoklaudiopolis and Amaseia were





Fig. 8: The plan of ancient Pompeiopolis as revealed by magnetometry survey in 2008.

oriented towards Samsun and the coast. There is precious little evidence for interaction between the two communities. Similarly, Pompeiopolis was oriented towards the west, Nikopolis towards the Euphrates valley and the east.

For Neoklaudiopolis, however, we have some archaeological evidence of continued growth and prosperity.<sup>36</sup> At some time in the imperial period, the city acquired a second aqueduct (fig. 6). Since this entered the town at a lower level than the earlier aqueduct, it must have been intended to supplement, not replace, its predecessor – which in turn implies that the demand for water had increased due to population growth. The aqueduct can be traced through the landscape for about six miles but has not been excavated nor surveyed by archaeologists. Its constructional similarity to the lower level aqueduct at Caesarea Maritima suggests a date in the later empire, perhaps the fourth century AD.

Spoil studies have demonstrated that the ancient city was located south of the river. On a plateau to the north of the river, however, we found a large density of ceramic fragments within a concentrated area known as the Papaz Tarlası or “priest’s field”, as well as a broken column and a stone threshold. A geoelectric survey in 2010 revealed the plan of a cruciform building complex with a large, quadrangular courtyard on its western side and what appeared to be the foundations of a fountain at its centre (fig.7).

This was followed up three years later (2013) with an intensive surface survey to establish the date and function of the structure. Though domestic pottery was found, cooking pots were absent, suggesting that the pots were used for bringing food to the site, not preparing it. The dating window is comparatively narrow. Both traits suggest a pilgrimage site, probably a *martyrion* constructed over the grave of a martyr.<sup>37</sup> Such “semi-official” shrines were a familiar feature of late antique Christianity, and an equally familiar problem was that they tended to fall into disrepair within a generation or two after their original foundation. In any case, the scale of the building testifies to continued prosperity at Neoklaudiopolis even during this turbulent time in the history of the eastern Roman Empire.

Researchers have spent considerable amounts of time and paper on the problem of Pompey’s failed project for northern Anatolia and on the related, but unanswerable question: what might have happened if Antony had not dissolved the Roman province? Some have held that the urbanisation project was premature and doomed to failure in any case.<sup>38</sup> That four out of the five cities survived, and that three of them today are county seats, seems to disprove that claim. Urbanisation was indeed possible in northern Anatolia. But the expectation that cities spaced out over such a long distance could nonetheless form a coherent unit – politically, mentally, culturally, socially – was not to be fulfilled. Each in their way, the cities thrive and carved out a functional space for themselves or in conjunction with neighbouring cities, but after Antony’s division of *Pontus*, they never again formed a whole.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The author is grateful to the Danish Council for Independent Research for funding the research project “Where East meets West” (2012–2015; more information at [www.sdu.dk/halys](http://www.sdu.dk/halys)) on which this study is based, as well as the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l’Homme for a fellowship in the spring semester of 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Mayor 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Our main sources for the Mithradatic wars is Appian. See also McGing 1986; Ballesteros Pastor 1996; Arslan 2007; Mayor 2009; Madsen 2010. Despite its age, Reinach 1890 still remains valuable.

<sup>4</sup> Appian, Mithradatic wars 101–102; Cassius Dio 36.49 f.; 37.11–13.

<sup>5</sup> Cassius Dio 37.14.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo 12.28.

<sup>7</sup> Højte 2006; Johnson 2015; Madsen 2019.

<sup>8</sup> Pliny, NH 7.26 (96).

<sup>9</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2016, 32–37.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo 12.30.

<sup>11</sup> On Magnopolis, see now Sørensen 2016, 153–162, replacing earlier research.

<sup>12</sup> Strabo 12.38.



- <sup>13</sup> Sørensen 2016, 119–122.
- <sup>14</sup> Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 37.
- <sup>15</sup> Sørensen 2016, 122–125; Bekker-Nielsen 2017, 34–36.
- <sup>16</sup> For the individual cities, see the relevant entries in Olshausen – Biller 1984.
- <sup>17</sup> Appian, *Civil War* 5.75; Sørensen 2016, 123 f.
- <sup>18</sup> Cassius Dio 49.25; Sørensen 2016, 125–132, who points to the parallels between Antony’s treatment of client rulers in northern Anatolia and in the Levant.
- <sup>19</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2017, 38.
- <sup>20</sup> Sørensen 2016, 153–162.
- <sup>21</sup> For the scholarly controversies surrounding the location of Andrappa, see Bekker-Nielsen 2013, 9–14.
- <sup>22</sup> Bekker-Nielsen – Høgel 2013; Bekker-Nielsen et al. 2015.
- <sup>23</sup> Olshausen – Sauer forthcoming.
- <sup>24</sup> Fassbinder 2011.
- <sup>25</sup> Summerer 2011; 2013; Winther-Jacobsen 2015; Summerer – Johnson (ed.) 2020.
- <sup>26</sup> Marek 1993; 2015.
- <sup>27</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 1989, 25 table 5.3.
- <sup>28</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 1989, 31–32.
- <sup>29</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2020. An up-to-date corpus of Pontic milestones is found in French 2013.
- <sup>30</sup> Bekker-Nielsen & Czichon 2015, 301–303.
- <sup>31</sup> From the early second century onwards, the other four cities were minting local coins; that Magnopolis never did suggests that by this time, it was already in decline and perhaps without polis status: Dalaison 2014, Sauer 2014.
- <sup>32</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2017, 37 n. 105.
- <sup>33</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2017, 44–45.
- <sup>34</sup> Procopius, *Buildings* 3.4.11 f.
- <sup>35</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2017, 48–50.
- <sup>36</sup> For an overview of the archaeology of Neoklaudiopolis, Bekker-Nielsen et al. 2015.
- <sup>37</sup> Winther-Jacobsen – Bekker-Nielsen 2016.
- <sup>38</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2017, 34 f.

### Image Credits

Fig. 1–5: by the author. – Fig. 6: by Bünyamin Kıvrak. – Fig. 7: by Harald von der Osten-Woldenburg. – Fig. 8: courtesy of Lâtife Summerer.

### References

#### Arslan 2007

M. Arslan, *Mithridates VI Eupator. Roma’nın Büyük Düşmanı* (Istanbul 2007).

**Ballesteros Pastor 1996**

L. Ballesteros Pastor, *Mitrídates Eupátor, rey del Ponto* (Granada 1996).

**Bekker-Nielsen 1989**

T. Bekker-Nielsen, *The Geography of Power. Studies in the Urbanization of Roman North-West Europe*, BAR International Series 477 (Oxford 1989).

**Bekker-Nielsen 2013**

T. Bekker-Nielsen, 350 Years of Research on Neoklaudiopolis (Vezirköprü), *Orbis Terrarum* 11, 2013, 3–32.

**Bekker-Nielsen 2014**

T. Bekker-Nielsen, Hard and Soft Spaces in the Ancient World, in: K. Geus – M. Thiering (eds.), 2014. *Features of Common Sense Geography. Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*, *Antike Kultur und Geschichte* 16 (Berlin 2014) 131–146.

**Bekker-Nielsen 2016**

T. Bekker-Nielsen, Trade, Strategy and Communications on the Roman North-East Frontier, *Cedrus* 4, 2016, 31–46.

**Bekker-Nielsen 2017**

T. Bekker-Nielsen, The Corners of a Pontic World: An Essay in the History of Spaces, *Orbis Terrarum* 15, 2017, 23–69.

**Bekker-Nielsen 2020**

T. Bekker-Nielsen, The City and the Road: The Transport Connections of Pompeiopolis in the Light of Recent Discoveries in the Pompeian Cities, in: L. Summerer – P. Johnson (eds.), *Contextualizing Pompeiopolis. Urban Development in Roman Anatolia from a Comparative Perspective* (Istanbul 2020), in press.

**Bekker-Nielsen – Czichon 2015**

T. Bekker-Nielsen – R. Czichon, Roads and Bridges of the Phazemonitis, in: K. Winther-Jacobsen – L. Summerer (eds.), *Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period*, *Geographica Historica* 31 (Stuttgart 2015) 295–305.

**Bekker-Nielsen – Høgel 2013**

T. Bekker-Nielsen – C. Høgel, Three Epitaphs from the Vezirköprü Region, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 45, 2013, 153–160.

**Bekker-Nielsen et al. 2015a**

T. Bekker-Nielsen – C. Høgel – S. Lund Sørensen, Inscriptions from Neoklaudiopolis/Andrapa (Vezirköprü, Turkey), *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 48, 2015, 115–136.

**Bekker-Nielsen et al. 2015b**

T. Bekker-Nielsen – R. Czichon – C. Høgel – B. Kıvrak – J. Majbom Madsen – V. Sauer – S. Lund Sørensen – K. Winther-Jacobsen, *Ancient Neoklaudiopolis (Vezirköprü in Samsun province). A Historical and Archaeological Guide* (Istanbul 2015).

**Dalaisson 2014**

J. Dalaisson, Civic pride and local identities. The Pontic Cities and their Coinage in the Roman period, in: T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Space, Place and Identity in Northern Anatolia*, *Geographica Historica* 29 (Stuttgart 2014) 125–156.



**Fassbinder 2011**

J. W. E. Fassbinder, Geophysikalische Prospektion in Pompeiopolis, in: Summerer (ed.), Pompeiopolis 1. Eine Zwischenbilanz nach aus der Metropole Paphlagoniens nach fünf Kampagnen (2006–2010), ZAKSSchriften 21 (Langenweißbach 2011) 18–27.

**French 2013**

D. M. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor 3, 4. Pontus et Bithynia (with northern Galatia), Electronic Monograph 4 (Ankara 2013) <[https://biaa.ac.uk/ckeditor/filemanager/userfiles/electronic\\_publications/P\\_et\\_B\\_final.pdf](https://biaa.ac.uk/ckeditor/filemanager/userfiles/electronic_publications/P_et_B_final.pdf)> (05.02.2019)

**Højte 2006**

J. M. Højte, From Kingdom to Province: Reshaping Pontos after the Fall of Mithridates VI, in: T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), Rome and the Black Sea Region. Domination, Romanisation, Resistance, Black Sea Studies 5 (Aarhus 2006) 15–30.

**Johnson 2015**

P. Johnson, How did the Landscape of Pompeiopolis become Roman?, in: K. Winther-Jacobsen – L. Summerer (eds.), Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period, Geographica Historica 31 (Stuttgart 2015) 61–82.

**Madsen 2010**

J. Majbom Madsen, Mithradates VI. Rome's Perfect Enemy. ProcDanInstAth 6 (2010) 223–237.

**Madsen 2019**

J. Majbom Madsen, From Trophy Towns to City States. Urban Civilisation and Cultural Identities in Roman Pontos (Philadelphia 2019), in press.

**Marek 1993**

C. Marek, Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia (Tübingen 1993).

**Marek 2015**

C. Marek, Epigraphy and the Provincial Organization of Paphlagonian Cities in the Roman Empire, in: K. Winther-Jacobsen – L. Summerer (eds.), Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period, Geographica Historica 31 (Stuttgart 2015) 307–328.

**Mayor 2009**

A. Mayor, The Poison King. The Life and Legend of Mithradates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy (Princeton 2009).

**McGing 1986**

B. C. McGing, The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator. King of Pontus, Mnemosyne Suppl. 89 (Leiden 1986).

**Olshausen – Biller 1984**

E. Olshausen, J. Biller, Historisch-Geographische Aspekte der Geschichte des Pontischen und Armenischen Reiches 1. Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie von Pontos unter den Mithradatiden, TAVO Beih. B, 29/1 (Wiesbaden 1984).

**Olshausen – Sauer forthcoming**

E. Olshausen – V. Sauer, Die Inschriften von Neoklaudopolis, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (Bonn) in preparation.

**Reinach 1890**

T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator, roi de Pont* (Paris 1890).

**Sauer 2014**

V. Sauer, *Urban Space. The Evidence of Coins*, in: T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Space, Place and Identity in Northern Anatolia*, *Geographica Historica* 29 (Stuttgart 2014) 109–124.

**Summerer 2011**

L. Summerer (ed.), *Pompeiopolis 1. Eine Zwischenbilanz aus der Metropole Paphlagoniens nach fünf Kampagnen (2006–2010)*, *ZAKSSchriften* 21 (Langenweißbach 2011).

**Summerer 2013**

L. Summerer – A. von Kienlin – Georg Herdt, *Frühe Forschungen in Paphlagonien - Neue Grabungen in Pompeiopolis*, in: Ü. Yalçın, *Anatolian Metal* 6, *Anschnitt Beih.* 23 (Bochum 2013) 257–266.

**Summerer – Johnson 2020**

L. Summerer – P. Johnson (eds.), *Contextualizing Pompeiopolis. Urban Development in Roman Anatolia from a Comparative Perspective* (Istanbul 2020) in press.

**Sørensen 2016**

S. Lund Sørensen, *Between Kingdom and “koinon”*. Neapolis/Neoklaudiopolis and the Pontic Cities, *Geographica Historica* 33 (Stuttgart 2016).

**Winther-Jacobsen 2015**

K. Winther-Jacobsen, *Contextualizing Pompeiopolis. A Glimpse of Settlement Dynamics in the City’s Hinterland*, in: K. Winther-Jacobsen – L. Summerer (eds.), *Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period*, *Geographica Historica* 31 (Stuttgart 2015) 307–328.

**Winther-Jacobsen – Bekker-Nielsen 2017**

K. Winther-Jacobsen – T. Bekker-Nielsen, *A Late Roman Building Complex in the Papaz Tarlası, Vezirköprü (Ancient Neoklaudiopolis, Northern Asia Minor). Two Byzantine Coins from the Papaz Tarlası*, *ProcDanInstAth* 8, 25–58.