

## The Europeans Shores of the Bosphorus

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## European shores of the Bosphorus

### Περίληψη :

The “Thracian” or “Mysian” Bosphorus separates the continents of Europe and Asia and the waters of the Black Sea from the Sea of Marmara. Its names distinguish it from the ancient Cimmerian Bosphorus (Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος), which separates the modern Black Sea (ancient Pontus Euxinus, Πόντος ὁ Εὐξεινος) from the modern Sea of Azov (ancient Palus Maeotis, Μαῖω τις λίμνη) and corresponds to the modern Russian Kertch.

### Άλλες Ονομασίες

Thracian Bosphorus; Mysian Bosphorus; ancient Greek Βόσπορος Θρακικὸς; Latin Bosphorus Thracicus

## 1. Anthropogeography

### 1a. Geographical location

Bosphorus is generally considered as the narrowest natural strait continuously used for navigation since Antiquity. It is about 31.7 km long and varies in width from 4.7 km at its N end to a minimum of 0.698 km, between Kandilli – ancient Echaia Promontor (Ἐχαιὰ ἡ κρωτήριον) and Aşiyan (with ca. 0.750 km between Anadolu Hisarı – ancient Potamonion, on the modern Göksu Dere – and Rumeli Hisarı – ancient Pyrrhias Kyon/Byzantine Φωνεύς).<sup>1</sup> In midstream, its depth varies from 30 to more than 110 m. It has 12 sharp turns (with a 80° turn near modern Yeniköy, Greek Neapolis, Νεάπολις)<sup>2</sup> and there are many holes and banks in the ground.<sup>3</sup>

The “Thracian” or “Mysian” Bosphorus separates Europe (with the ancient region of Thrace) from Asia (through ancient Mysia/Bithynia) and the waters of the Black Sea from the Sea of Marmara.<sup>4</sup> Its epithets distinguish it from the ancient Cimmerian Bosphorus which separates the modern [Black Sea](#) (ancient Pontus Euxinus) from the modern Sea of Azov (ancient Palus Maeotis) and corresponds to the nowadays Russian Kertch.<sup>5</sup>

The normal upper current in the Thracian Bosphorus is directed from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara in a south-westerly direction at the ordinary rate of about 2 knots, and parallel to the coast of Europe, towards Büyükdere bay (which it does not enter)<sup>6</sup> to Kirich point,<sup>7</sup> half a mile northward of Therapia,<sup>8</sup> passing over Englishman banks, and washing Kiobashi point;<sup>9</sup> thence taking a south-easterly direction, it shoots over to the Asiatic shore a little south of Injir bay.<sup>10</sup> From the southward of Injir bay (Lat. 41°7'N., Long. 29°6'E.), it runs along the Asiatic coast as far as Khanlijeh,<sup>11</sup> whence it is again deflected towards the European shore, and running at the rate of 5 knots between the two Hissars, or castles, or Rumuli and Anadolu, strikes the western shore of Arnaut point;<sup>12</sup> at this part it has been named the Devil's current.<sup>13</sup> Between Arnaut point and Defterdar point<sup>14</sup> it follows the direction of the two shores, with a marked tendency to advance towards that of Asia, till, having passed Defterdar point it directs itself almost entirely towards Skutari. The current at the entrance of the Bosphorus, from Skutari, sets strongly over to Old Seraglio point, which divides it into two branches, the southern one falling into the sea of Marmara; the western stream, filling the Golden Horn, rushes up as far as the second bridge.<sup>15</sup>

However, the current may change direction under the influence of strong SE winds and an increased amount of water and changes into a whirlpool in the coves, making maneuvering and navigation particularly difficult: thus, the same Black Sea Pilot<sup>16</sup> wards off that “only a general estimate can be given of it for the use of the navigator”.

This surface current was very well known to the ancient Greek [navigators entering the Black Sea](#): one of its earliest literary descriptions appears in Polybius, who used scientific (geographic and oceanographic) arguments to prove the excellence of the site of [Byzantium](#).<sup>17</sup>

The second, lower, current in the Bosphorus flows from the salty waters of the Aegean to the Black Sea, increasing the salinity of the superior, biotic level of this exceptional, “double layered” sea;<sup>18</sup> however, certain oceanographers proclaim that this deep current



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returns into the Marmara Sea before arriving into the Euxine, and that it is absorbed by the turbulent surface current.<sup>19</sup> We do not know when it was discovered, but Hipparchus, quoted by [Strabo](#) (1.3.12) still thought that “the strait at Byzantium makes no change at all but continues to have its outflow only from the Pontus into the Propontis, and, as Hipparchus reports, even stands still sometimes”, so, only the Latin writer Macrobius mentions it for the first time in his *Saturnalia*, at the beginning of the 5th c. AD.<sup>20</sup>

The geological history of Bosphorus, as an ancient rocky sill created before the post-glacial flood of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean which occurred 7600/8400 years ago,<sup>21</sup> or as a valley through which the Mediterranean and the Black Sea exchanged their water surplus in both directions over the various geological eras<sup>22</sup> has recently caused a great amount of debate. It is interesting to note that even some ancient Greek historians connected flood myths and folk-tales with the first days of the strait: certainly, at least since the final part of the Classical era, the [Aristotelian](#) explanation of the formation of the Maeotis, the Euxine and the Bosphorus from water and silting brought by the numerous rivers of Scythia was known in the Greek schools.<sup>23</sup> But the most famous author connected with this theory is, in Hellenistic times (more precisely in the 3rd c. BC), Strato of [Lampsacus](#), who has explained in detail the formation of the Bosphorus as an irruption of the fluvial waters which had refilled the Black Sea into the salted Mediterranean.<sup>24</sup> An explicit connection between Greek flood-stories and the Bosphorus’ irruption is not formulated until the 1st c. BC, when Diodorus Siculus<sup>25</sup> notes that local historians from Samothrace had included in their line of argument about the autochthony of the islanders stories about the Black Sea flood.

On the other hand, archaeological traces since the Lower Paleolithic period have been found on both European and Asiatic shores of the Black Sea and of the Marmara Sea and there is more exploration underway in the wooded hills of ancient Thrace.<sup>26</sup> So, only further (conventional and underwater) archaeological and geological explorations in the region could verify the age of the Thracian Bosphorus, the impact of human prehistoric occupation in the area and, eventually, the existence of other channels, on the European or the Asiatic continent, which allowed for the exchange of water between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea in such remote times.

In any case, the agricultural wealth of the European hinterland in the last thousands of years, the numerous rivers which rise not far away and which flow into this geological channel, the numerous bays and natural harbors allowing access to the sea and easy fishing have always encouraged human habitation to develop here, increasingly until the 4th century AD, when [Constantinople became the new Rome](#), and since the Byzantine times until today, when Istanbul counts more than 11 million inhabitants.<sup>27</sup> Except [Dionysius of Byzantium](#) and his maritime periegesis of Bosphorus’ shores, we have no other ancient detailed and complete description of this shore. But the 16th century reader of Dionysius, Petrus Gyllius, visited the sites and wrote an interesting treaty about the Thracian Bosphorus, proposing valuable identifications of the ancient toponyms with the modern places and insisting upon the maritime-oriented character of the Bosphoran settlements.

### 1b. Etymology of the geographical term

The name was understandable, in ancient Greek<sup>28</sup> or maybe Thracian,<sup>29</sup> as the “pass” (πόρος) of the “ox” (βοῦς). At least since Aeschylus’ play *Prometheus Bound* (v. 733-734), the etymology of the straits called “Bosporos” was connected with Io’s mythological wanderings through Europe and Asia.<sup>30</sup> If the first of the 5th century BC Athenian dramatists had mentioned the Cimmerian Bosphorus among the sites of Io’s periegesis, one century later, Ephorus<sup>31</sup> has probably related the destiny of the same Inachos’ daughter with the Thracian channel. At any rate, after Polybius’ *Histories*,<sup>32</sup> Io’s connection with the Thracian Bosphorus becomes common.<sup>33</sup> Toponyms as ἄκταιΒοσπόρραι, Βοῦς, Βουκόλος, Βουκόλια<sup>34</sup> or even the [coins](#) of the Classical Greek Byzantium attest the importance of the “bovine” myth(s), already integrated into the local tradition before Hellenistic times. Thus, the Heracleian historian Nymphis<sup>35</sup> relates the toponym with the historical crossing of Bosphorus by the [Phrygians](#), during their migration from Europe to Asia, the “Βοῦς” being just the head of their ship in shape of bull’s head,<sup>36</sup> another rational interpretation explained the same name by a supposed ancient custom of the Bosphoran dwellers, who would have crossed from one shore to the other with their cattle,<sup>37</sup> yet the Athenian historian Phylarchos related in the 3rd century BC<sup>38</sup> the same name with the verb “σπείρω”, “to sow”, considering that only the inhabitants of the regions out of the Black Sea were aware of the agricultural techniques in the prehistoric



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times.

In the mythical chronology, these passes from Europe to Asia, on the shores of the Euxine, preceded the Argonautic expedition to [Colchis](#): among the numerous [Argonautic stations](#) which have been identified, in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times, on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, the most famous are the “Clashing-Rocks” (‘Συμπληγάδες’, considered as early as Herodotus<sup>39</sup>), identical with the “Dark-Rocks” (Πλαγκταί or Κυάνεαι πέτραι) and identified with the different sloping rocks at the Pontic edge of Bosphorus, in particular, on the Asiatic shore, with the rocks still visible in Kavakoz Bay (near modern Şile)<sup>40</sup> or with the Eşek Adası (near modern Çayağzı), and with the Öreke taşı (near modern Rumeli Feneri)<sup>41</sup> on the European one.<sup>42</sup>

### 1c. Scientific perception

Ancient historians and geographers have treated with great interest this essential crossway of the ancient world:<sup>43</sup> [Herodotus](#) records [Darius’](#) bridge across the Thracian Bosphorus and chooses the description of this passage between [Chalcedon](#) and Cyaneas, between the Persian and [Scythian lands](#), Asia and Europe, for presenting a sketch of the all the northern Hellenic seas.<sup>44</sup> His first estimation of the channel length, about 120 stadia (23 km), for a width of 4 stadia (0.76 km), is close to the real measurements.<sup>45</sup> One century later, the first Greek periplous still preserved describing the shores of the Mediterranean and attributed to Scylax of Caryanda, registers the Anaplous as the European (Thracian) shore of the Bosphorus, 500 stadia in length, between Sely(m)bria (still called in Turkish Selivri) and Hieron as well as a medium width of 7 stadia for the strait.

By the middle of the 2nd century BC, Polybius included in his geo-historical digression about Byzantium a geographic (or rather “geometric”) presentation of all the adjoining seas, confirmed these measures:<sup>46</sup> for 120 stadia long, his Thracian Bosphorus varies in width from 14 stadia (between Calchedon and Byzantium) to 12 stadia at the mouth of the Euxine, between the Asiatic Temple of the Twelve Gods and the European Temple of Sarapis (the two Hieria).<sup>47</sup> Later on, at the beginning of our era and only several decades after the Roman conquest of the area, [Strabo](#), the Geographer born in [Amaseia of Pontus](#), offers a more detailed, still geometrical description of the channel.<sup>48</sup> Leaving the Black Sea at the Cyaneas (which he identifies with two islets, one close to Europe and other to Asia, separated by a channel of 20 stadia and by other 20 stadia from the Byzantine and Calchedonian Temples/Hiera [the modern Rumeli and Anatoli Kavağlı]), the geographer counts 50 stadia from the Hieria (once unified by Darius’ four stadia bridge) to the Golden Horn: there are 10 stadia from the Hieria till another narrow part of the channel (which is five stadia large),<sup>49</sup> 35 stadia before arriving at the Sykai “Under-the Fig-tree” promontory (later Ioustinianopolis, Genovese Pera, modern Galata quarter in Istanbul),<sup>50</sup> and five other stadia to the famous Golden Horn.

It is this European golf, close to the walls of the Byzantines and extending westerly for about 60 stadia, which interests Strabo, as it has always ensured prosperous fishing to his dwellers and, more generally, the economic superiority of Byzantium upon Calchedon, the prior city founded by the “blinds”. In Latin, the works of Pomponius Mela and of [Pliny the Elder](#) are the oldest geographic texts preserved until nowadays: taking advantage of the progress of the Roman geography (and probably of Agrippa’s world map), the encyclopaedist situates Bosphorus at 711 miles (= 1052 km) from Dyrrachium and the Adriatic Sea, and mentions Darius bridge at the narrowest point of the strait, 500 paces wide.

During [Hadrian’s](#) time, [Arrian](#) of Nicomedia inspected the Euxine shore and its province and wrote a complete periplous of the Black Sea: as Herodotus, he indicates 120 stadia between Byzantium and the Asiatic sanctuary of [Zeus Ourios](#). In the same century, Ptolemy of Alexandria<sup>51</sup> establishes the coordinates of Byzantium at 56° Longitude and 43°05’ Latitude and those of an Asiatic, close to Calchedon, at 56° Longitude and 43°10’ Latitude. However, the most important text concerning Bosphorus, its geometry and geography, probably contemporary with Ptolemy, remains the work of Dionysius Byzantius, *de Bospori navigatione*: he also estimates Bosphorus’ length just like Herodotus, at 120 stadia; for its width, he agrees with the Periplous of Pseudo-Scylax and with Pliny the Elder, approximating it at seven stadia.

As late as the beginning of the Byzantine period, in the VIth century AD, Procopius of Caesarea<sup>52</sup> integrated the Bosphorus in a global geographic description prefacing his Vandalic War: he estimates its length at 84 stadia and its width at more or less 10 stadia, insisting



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upon a general shape which recalls the ancient cartographic representations of the strait. Among these, the Tabula Peutingeriana inspired by models of the late antiquity offer a good idea about the importance of this crossing point, through the exaggeration of the representation compared with the general "scale" of the map.

### 1d. Ethnological data

Before the arrival of the Greeks, at the latest at the beginning of the 7th century BC, the two shores of the Bosphorus were inhabited by [Thracian tribes](#). On the European side, are attested, in classical times, the Astai<sup>53</sup> but also Odrysians and Saepai, and on the Asiatic side the Phrygians, the [Mysians](#) and the [Bithynians](#) who have successively occupied this north-western part of Anatolia after their migration, about the 12th century BC, from the lower Danube region. As the toponymy and the mythology of the region shows, from Archaic until Hellenistic times, [Ephesians](#) (Ἐφεσιάτης), [Rhodians](#) (Ῥοδίων Περίβολοι), [Lycians](#) (Λιμῆν ν Λυκίων, from Lycian [Myra](#) to Myrleion) and especially Megarians (at Byzantium and Calchedon) but also (indirectly attested) Arcadians (through their Zeus Apsasion?), Argians (through Hera Akraia?), Corinthians, and Boeotians have probably established themselves in this region,<sup>54</sup> where Athenians and Spartans will try to impose their rule in classical times.

### 2. Historical geography

#### 2a. Colonization on the European shore of Bosphorus

The ancient sources are not concordant for the foundation of Byzantium, in the first half of the 7th century BC (or, as the modern historians tend to agree, about 660 BC, after the foundation of Calchedon), by colonists come from Megara, Corinth, Boeotia, Argos, Mycenae, Carystos, Sparta and Athens.<sup>55</sup> Established upon the promontory edged by the Propontis, the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, the city has taken advantage of the maritime currents which forced all the ships coming from the Black Sea to sail close to its walls and which brought to the Byzantine fishermen large shoals of tuna. Its [chora](#) extended, at different moments of its antique history, from Selymbria and the mouth of the river Athyras on the Propontic shore to the north on the Black Sea shore. So, "encircled" by Thracian realms, the Byzantine territory had constantly been threatened by the inland Barbarians.

#### 2b. Topography of the European Bosphorus / Anaplous

On the shores of the Golden Horn (ancient Greek Κέρας, later Chrysokeras), the ancient and Byzantine texts allocate several sacred places of Byzantium.<sup>56</sup> after the three ports of the city and the Bosporios Akra (Turkish Saray burnu), there are the sanctuary of the Earth (Tellus) goddess (Γῆ Ἀνησιδώρα), the Temple of Demeter and Kore, the Temple of Hera and Pluto, the Skironides (Σκιρωνίδες πέτραι, close to the modern Suleiman Mosque), the temple of Athena Scedasios (Athena Dissipatoria in Petrus Gyllius' description), the golf Melias and the Garden (Κῆ ποι), the Sanctuary of the Arcadian Zeus (Ζεὺς Ἀψάσιος), the promontory called [Μελλαποκόπυας](#) (modern Fener), two fishing stations called Ἰ νγενίδας(?) and, between the, there was a place called after its abundant ivy. North to the promontory (modern Palat Kapusi?), the Golden Horn ends in the "Putrid Sea" (Σαπρὰ Θάλασσα), where the Cydaros (modern Alibey Suyu) and the Barbyzes (modern Kagithane deresi) flow together,<sup>57</sup> near the ancient city of Semystra, mythical place integrated to the territory of Byzantium and connected (through the nymph Semystra, mother or grandmother of Byzas the Founder) to its creation, Argonautic and Inachid legends. On the opposite, northern shore of the Golf, Drepanon promontory could eventually be identified with the modern Sütluçe<sup>58</sup> and the Auleon Sinus with the golf at Hasköy. Passing the Sykai (nowadays Galata) promontory,<sup>59</sup> one returns to the principal strait separating Europe and Asia, dominated by the tumulus of Hipposthenes the Megarian and by the cult place of Amphiaraios.<sup>60</sup> Further to the North, Dionysius of Byzantium recalls two places called Αὐ λητῆ ς and Βόλος, before arriving at the sanctuary of Artemis Phosphoros and Aphrodite Praeia (for Petrus Gyllius Aedes Dianae Luciferae and Veneris Placidae, probably later replaced by the church of Saint Clara/Kemankes mosque, on the slope called in modern times Mumhane). Not far away from the "Forehead" (Μέτωπον, modern Tophane), there is the sacred place of the Homeric hero honoured by the Megarians, Aias the Telamonian (Αἶ άντειον, yet on the modern Tophane), the cliff Παλινόρμικον, where the "sea turns" (differently identified with the modern Fındıklı, Tophane, Salipazar or Sultan Saray), and the temple of [Ptolemy II Philadelphus](#).<sup>61</sup> To continue the series of legendary places, the χωρίον Δελφί ν or Καράνδας and precede Θέρμαστis,



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Πεντηκοντορικόν, and Τὰ Σκύθου, the place from where a Scythian, called Tauros, left for Pasiphae's Crete. Further north, one finds an Ἴασόνιον,<sup>62</sup> a Daphne, a βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, where the Argonauts have probably sacrificed,<sup>63</sup> and a place called in later times Diplokionion (translated into the modern Beşiktaş), before arriving at the places recording different sites of colonization on the Bosphorus, a foundation of the Rhodians (Ῥοδίων Περίβολοι, maybe in modern times Çırağan Saray)<sup>64</sup> and of the Thasian Archias (Ἀρχεῖον, modern Ortaköy). The cult place of the Old man of the sea (Senex Marinus, Γέρον Ἄλιος identified on occasion with Nereus, Phorkys, or Proteus, as he was connected with foundation or Argonautic legends) comes next (on the modern Defterdar burnu).<sup>65</sup> After several other fishing places (Παράβολος, Κάλαμος, Βυθίας, Βάκα with the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods) comes, on the site of the modern Arnavut Köy, the Hestiai promontory (modern Akıntı burnu),<sup>66</sup> yet another place related to the most ancient history of Byzantium, than a place called Χηλαῖ and the sanctuary of Artemis Diktyne.<sup>67</sup> It is close to this place, at the modern Rumeli hisari, where a temple of Hermes was erected, that Mandrokles of Samos built for Darius the first Persian bridge upon the Bosphorus.<sup>68</sup>

Back into the local mythology, the text of Dionysius of Byzantium, now lost but used by Petrus Gyllius, mentioned Petra Phidalia (at modern Baltalimanı), Cyparodes, Portus Mulierum,<sup>69</sup> the temple of Hecate Trivia (modern Emirğan) and the Sinus Leosthenes (called in later times Sosthenes and in contemporary Turkish Istinye).<sup>70</sup> In this same region belonging, in the Argonautic myth, to Amykos, there are also Commarodes (later Νεοχωρίον, modern Yeniköy), Thermemeria, Portus Pitheci, Sinus Pharmacia (modern Therapia)<sup>71</sup> and the steep shore of Clavis Ponti (modern Kireç burnu) and Petra nominata Dicaea.<sup>72</sup> Following the shore of "Deep Golf" (Bathykolpos, modern Büyük Dere), one goes alongside the altar of the Megarian hero Saro,<sup>73</sup> the Simaeum promontory (modern Mazar burnu), Scletrina golf (modern Kalafat Yeri) and the altars of Apollo and the Mother of the Gods, where [Medea](#) planted a laurel.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, only the Miltum Promontorium (modern Telli tabya köyü) separate the traveller from the European Hieron, with the temples of Serapis and of the Phrygian Goddess.<sup>75</sup> Further on to the Black Sea, there are Timea,<sup>76</sup> Chrysorrhoea<sup>77</sup> and the foundations of the Ephesians, Lycians and Myrleans<sup>78</sup> as well as another temple of Aphrodite and, maybe of Artemis (which would explain the toponym 'Phosphoros'). This is Phineus' shore<sup>79</sup> with the City of the Vultures (Gyropolis/Phinopolis),<sup>80</sup> and, as one turns to the left following the European shore, the Cyaneas Rocks in front of the Panium/ Φανάριον promontory (modern Rumeli Feneri).<sup>81</sup>

### 2c. Economy

As all the modern historians of Byzantium have remarked,<sup>82</sup> the city took financial advantage of his geographical position of crossing point between the Black Sea and the Aegean. But the ancient authors, in Greek and Roman times, were particularly impressed by the reputation of the Byzantines fisheries:<sup>83</sup> from Archestratos' oysters, parrot wrasses, tuna in Aristotle's Politeia, Polybius' historical analysis and Philostratus' the Elder topographical image of Bosphorus,<sup>84</sup> the richness and the variety of the fish exported all around the Mediterranean are the constant supply of this city.

### 2d. Mythology and Religion

The [Argonautic](#) stations of the Bosphorus are often duplicated, as a result of the competition between the two Megarian foundations situated on the opposite shores of the strait. So, Strabo has counted<sup>85</sup> two series of Cyaneae (maybe the modern Eşek Adası in Asia and the Öreke taşı in Europe, see supra), situated at equal distances from two sacred (Hiera) promontories (the modern Rumeli and Anatoli Kavağı): the European one, with the temples of Serapis and Hermes (?), belonging to Byzantium and a second one, the Asiatic, with a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, of Zeus Ourios and maybe of Artemis and Poseidon,<sup>86</sup> taken by the Byzantines from the Calchedonians. These points have always been essential landmarks for the navigators to and from the Euxine; thus, they have been integrated into all the episodes of the Argonautic maritime cycle: it is Phrixos, son of Athamas and brother of Helle, who left Orchomenos for Colchis and set up the first sanctuary of the Twelve Gods; probably a second Bosphoran port, situated on the Asiatic shore, kept his name (Phrixou limen). In their way back to Greece, his sons have probably sacrificed to the Twelve Gods in this same sanctuary, whose foundation was attributed by some mythographers to themselves.<sup>87</sup> Finally, Apollonius of Rhodes has chosen the



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most famous version and considered Jason to be the founder of the Asiatic Hieron.<sup>88</sup> Before the arrival of the Argonauts, the shores were inhabited by barbarians, dominated by the Asiatic Amykos and the European Phineus: in such a hostile maritime and terrestrial environment, only the mystical help of an Old man of the sea could save the navigators. Finally, Jason was not the only one to have his Jasonion close to Byzantium. The return of the Argonauts through the Thracian Bosphorus explained the toponyms related to Medea: at the Pontic extremity of the Asiatic shore there was a Tower of Medea, close to the Ancyraion where Jason left its anchor; on the European shore, Dionysius of Byzantium related the Colchian magician to Pharmacia; she planted a laurel close to the European sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and married Jason at Byzantium. This is just another remarkable example for the ancient Byzantine propaganda that has constantly tried to integrate the city into one of the most important Panhellenic myths.

1. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1964<sup>2</sup> (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A), p. 477.
2. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1964<sup>2</sup> (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A), p. 475.
3. The best description is given in *The Black Sea Pilot. Comprising the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus, Black Sea and Sea of Azov* (6<sup>th</sup> ed., London 1920), p. 37-38.
4. Str. 12.4.8 (with other etymologies).
5. Io's crossing was also identified with the Ionios Kolpos and with the sea between Syria and Egypt (cf. the summary of different versions in Eustathius' *Commentary on Dionysius Periegeta* 92).
6. Ancient Bathys Kolpos (Dionysius of Byzantium, *Anaplous* 71)/Byzantine Kalos Agros. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A) (Paris 1964<sup>2</sup>), p. 471-472 with sources.
7. Actually Turkish Kireç (Burnu), ancient Κλεῖ δες τοῦ Πῶντου. Cf. E. Oberhümmer, "Bosporos", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1897), col. 750.
8. Byzantine name for the ancient Pharmacia/Pharmakeus. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A) (Paris 1964<sup>2</sup>), p. 481. Modern Turkish Tarabya.
9. Ancient Bacchiaie/Θερμημερία. Cf. E. Oberhümmer, "Bosporos", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1897), col. 748.
10. Actually Turkish Incir (köy).
11. Actually Turkish Kanlıcam, ancient Φρίξου λιμνή.
12. Ancient Anaplous/Hestiae/Byzantine church Michaelion/ Φιλέμπορος/Promotou (cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1964<sup>2</sup> (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A), p. 468, 471, 476, 477-478, with the Byzantine sources, and, for the Patria, cf. A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos*, Bonn, 1988 (Freie Universität Berlin Poikila Byzantina 8), p. 704-706).
13. The origins of this expression are to be found in Dionysios of Byzantium, who was writing in the II<sup>nd</sup> century AD (§ 53) that in this region 'the current has the force of a dragon'.
14. Ancient Senex marinus/Portus Senum . Cf. E. Oberhümmer, "Bosporos", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1897), col. 747.
15. *The Black Sea Pilot. Comprising the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus, Black Sea and Sea of Azov*, (6<sup>th</sup> ed., London 1920), p. 37-38.



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16. *The Black Sea Pilot. Comprising the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus, Black Sea and Sea of Azov* (6th ed., London 1920), p. 16.
17. Plb. 4.43. Note that the ancient Greek Hieron (Ἱερόν ν) mentioned in Plb., also known as the Sanctuary of Zeus Ourios and originally a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, on the Asiatic side, corresponds to the modern Anadolu Kavağı; a second Hieron was situated on the European shore and identified by Polybius with Sarapis' temple. Byzantium integrated in its territory the two *Hiera*, taking away the Asiatic Hieron from Calchedon, as it is known, e.g., from Plb. 4.50.3 and D. S. 20.111.3.
18. For the oceanographic point of view see, Ü. Ünlüata, T. Oguz, M.A. Latif, E. Özsoy, "On the Physical Oceanography of the Turkish Straits", in L.J. Pratt (ed.), *The Physical Oceanography of the Sea Straits, NATO/ASI Series*, (Deventer 1990), p. 25-60. The bibliographic history of the discovery of the profound current of the Bosphorus is presented also by A.V. Rojdestvensky, "Le Déversement dans la mer Noire des eaux de la mer de Marmara. Le courant inférieur du Bosphore", *Cahiers Océanographiques* 23.3 (1971), p. 283-289. In general, for the oceanography of the Black Sea, see Y.I. Sorokin, *The Black Sea. Ecology and Oceanography*, (Leiden 2002).
19. Cf. F.W. Walbank, "Polybius on the Pontus and the Bosphorus (IV,39-42)", in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday, vol. I: Prehistoric Greece, Egypt and the Far East, Architecture and Topography, Sculpture, Paintings and Mosaics*, (Washington Univ. 1951), p. 478, n. 34.
20. Macr. 7.12.36; cf. also Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 8.6.27-28. See F.W. Walbank, "Polybius on the Pontus and the Bosphorus (IV,39-42)", in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday, vol. I: Prehistoric Greece, Egypt and the Far East, Architecture and Topography, Sculpture, Paintings and Mosaics*, (Washington Univ. 1951), p. 478, and S. West, "The Most Marvellous of All Seas: The Greek Encounter with the Euxine", *Greece & Rome* 50.2 (2003), p. 152-153.
21. See W. Ryan and W. Pitman, *Noah's Flood: The New Scientific Discoveries about the Event that Changed History*, (1998) and, more recently, their collaboration with the Pan-European "Noah-Project", directed by Gilles Lericolais (K.K. Eriş, W.B.F. Ryan, M.N. Çağatay, U. Sancar, G. Lericolais, G. Ménot, E. Bard, "The Timing and Evolution of the Post-Glacial Transgression across the Sea of Marmara Shelf South of Istanbul", *Marine Geology* 243 (2007), p. 57-76. Cf. C.O. Major, S.L. Goldstein, W.B.F. Ryan, G. Lericolais, A.M. Piotrowski, I. Hajdas, "The Co-Evolution of Black-Sea Level and Composition through the Last Deglaciation and Its Paleoclimatic Significance", *Quaternary Science Reviews* 25 (2006), p. 2031-2047, as well as the contributions of Mark Siddall (e.g. M. Siddall, L.J. Pratt, K.R. Helfrich, L. Giosan, "Testing the Physical Oceanographic Implications of the Suggested Sudden Black Sea Infill 8400 Years Ago", *Paleoceanography* 19 (2004). For archaeological proofs interpreted in this direction, see the articles of Robert Ballard (e.g. R.D. Ballard, D.F. Coleman, G.D. Rosenberg, "Further Evidence of Abrupt Holocene Drowning of the Black Sea Shelf", *Marine Geology* 170.3 (2000), p. 253-261.
22. V. Yanko-Hombach, A.S. Gilbert, N. Panin, P.M. Dolukhanov (eds), *The Black Sea Flood Question: Changes in Coastline, Climate and Human Settlement*, (Dordrecht 2006), publishing the papers from three conferences preparing the IGCP 521 Project "Black Sea-Mediterranean Corridor during the last 30ky with respect to sea-level change and human adaptation", [www.avalon-institute.org/IGCP](http://www.avalon-institute.org/IGCP)) and V. Yanko-Hombach, A.S. Gilbert, P. Dolukhanov, "Controversy over the Great Flood Hypotheses in the Black Sea in Light of Geological, Paleontological, and Archaeological Evidence", *Quaternary International* 167-168 (2007), p. 91-113, each time resuming oceanographic, geologic and archaeologic evidence); cf. T. Abrajano, A.E. Aksu, R.N. Hiscott, P.J. Mudie, "Aspects of Carbon Isotope Biogeochemistry of Late Quaternary Sediments from the Marmara Sea and Black Sea", *Marine Geology* 190 (2002), p. 151-164.
23. Arist., *Mete.* 1.14 535a.
24. See F.W. Walbank, "Polybius on the Pontus and the Bosphorus (IV,39-42)", in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday, vol. I: Prehistoric Greece, Egypt and the Far East, Architecture and Topography, Sculpture, Paintings and Mosaics*, (Washington Univ. 1951)
25. D. S. 5.47
26. See C. Runnels, M. Ozdoğan, "The Palaeolithic of the Bosphorus Region, NW Turkey", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 28.1-2 (2001), p. 69-92 and Ş. Dönmez, "The Prehistory of the Istanbul Region: A Survey", *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 43 (2006), p. 239-264 with their bibliography for the previous prehistoric campaigns in the area.
27. For the geopolitical problems, see, S. Yerasimos, "Istanbul: approche géopolitique d'une mégapole", *Hérodote*, 103.4 (2001), p. 102-117.
28. Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, (Paris 1999), quoting the review of P. Kretschmer, "Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1935", *Glotta* 27 (1939), p. 1-39.





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29. Cf. A. Fick, *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas*, Göttingen, 1873, p. 423, V. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker* II.2. *Die Sprachreste*, Wien, 1894, p. 63, E. Oberhümmer, "Bosporos", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1897), col. 741, using the parallel of the thracian toponym (attested by Procopius, *De aedificiis* 4.11.20), and Th. Reinach, "Le Bosphore chez Eschyle", *Revue des études grecques* 36 (1923), p. 64, n. 1; under the name "Bosporion", in the same column of this encyclopedia, the same philologist, historian of the ancient geography, connected the Greek toponym with light-bearing", the epiclesis of the goddess Hekate. None of these Thracian etymologies is retained by D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriften der Balkankommission 15, (Wien 1957), who considers, p. 55 and 76, Βόσπαρα as a deformation from Bessapara (with parallels).
30. In fact, Aeschylus is the earliest Greek author mentioning the name of the Thracian Bosphorus, in his tragedy *The Persians*, v. 723 and 746. See also the occurrences in V. Burr, *Nostrum Mare. Ursprung und Geschichte der Namen des Mittelmeeres und seiner Teilmeere im Altertum*, Stuttgart, 1932., p. 24ff.
31. Ephorus 70 F 157 Jacoby, apud Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium 2.168.
32. Plb. 4.43.
33. Cf. Arr., *Bith.* 156 F 20b Jacoby in Scholia in Dionysios of Byzantium 7; App., *Mith.* 101 [468]; Amm. Marc. 22.8.13; Scholia in Apollonius Rhodius 2.168.
34. Cf. Plb. 4.43.6, Dion. Byz. 110. We could also record the Thracian red bulls sacrificed by Jason to Poseidon, in Pindar's Argonautic version (*Pythica* 4.204-206), or the sacrifice of a bull before Byzas' foundation of Byzantion (cf. Hsch., *Patria* 3-4, 11).
35. Nymphis, *FHG* 432 F 11b; Jacoby in Scholia in Apollonius Rhodius 2.168.
36. Cf. Arr., *Bith.* 36.
37. Scholia in Apollonius Rhodius 2.168; Plin., *HN* 6.2.
38. 81 F 68 Jacoby = in Etymologicum Magnum s.u. Βόσπορος.
39. Hdt., *Hist.* 4.85.
40. Many modern publications follow the wrong opinion of F.H. Tozer (quoted also in the Loeb edition of Strabo's *Geography* 7.6.1; cf. also K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I-II, (Paris 1855-1861), p. 70-71, n. 2) that the islet visible in the sixteenth century on the bight of Kabakos is now submerged. A simple search on *Google Earth* allows the nowadays Internet user to see pictures of these spectacular rocks near Şile, for the pleasure of the tourists on the Black Sea beaches of Istanbul.
41. Cf. also the Dikili taşı (known to the *The Black Sea Pilot. Comprising the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus, Black Sea and Sea of Azov*, (6th ed., London 1920), p. 37-38; but P.A. Dethier, *Der Bosporos und Constantinopel*, (Wien, 1876<sup>2</sup>), p. 73, proposes the identification of the later with *Turris Timaei*, mentioned by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.
42. Cf. Str. 7.6.1.
43. The numeric estimations of the Bosphorus have already been compared by K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, (Paris 1855-1861), p. 8, and E. Oberhümmer, "Bosporos", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1897), col. 743.
44. Hdt., *Hist.* 4.38-89.
45. Hdt., *Hist.* 4.85.
46. See F.W. Walbank, "Polybius on the Pontus and the Bosphorus (IV,39-42)", in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday*, vol. I : *Prehistoric Greece, Egypt and the Far East, Architecture and Topography, Sculpture, Paintings and Mosaics*, (Washington Univ. 1951), p. 469-479.



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47. *Contra*, Dionysius of Byzantium (*apud Petrum Gillium*) will identify the European *Hieron* with the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods where Jason stopped.
48. Str. 7.6.1-2.
49. Cf. Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis libri* 1.101.
50. See E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Galata et ses environs", *Revue des études byzantines* 4 (1946), p. 218-238.
51. Ptol., *Geogr.* 3.11.3 and 5.1.3.
52. Procopius Caesariensis, *de Bello Vandalico* 3.1.8.
53. See Ch. Danov, "Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels", *ANRW* II.7.1, p. 21-185.
54. See A. Robu, *La Cité de Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin. Fondations et institutions politiques mégariennes*, (Université de Neuchatel 2008).
55. See L. Loukopoulou, A. Lajtar, "Propontic Thrace", in M.H. Hansen, Th.H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, (Oxford 2004), p. 912-823.
56. The Ancient and Byzantine Greek word Anapλους had three meanings: 1. the navigation up the Bosphorus (cf. Dionysius Byzantius, *Periegesis*); 2. the European shore of the Bosphorus (the meaning which we explore here: cf. Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplous* 67); 3. a site on the European shore [for which see R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1964<sup>2</sup> (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 4A), p. 468].
57. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 103.
58. See C. Foss, "Map 52. Byzantion", in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton-Oxford, 2000, Map-by-Map directory, contra E. Oberhümmer, "Keras I", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21 (1921), col. 257-262.
59. See E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Galata et ses environs", *Revue des études byzantines* 4 (1946), p. 218-238.
60. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 120.
61. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 129. For the relationships between Ptolemy and Byzantion, see A. Avram, "Sur la date de la divinisation de Ptolémée II Philadelphie à Byzance", in L. Ruscu et alii (eds), *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, (Cluj-Napoca 2004), p. 828-833, and "Antiochos II Théos, Ptolémée II Philadelphie et la mer Noire", *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres Paris* (2003), p. 1181-1213.
62. H.B. Dewing, "Argonautic Associations of the Bosphorus", *The Classical Journal* 19.8 (1924), p. 470, identifies it with Diplokionion/ Beşiktaş.
63. F. Vian, 'Légendes et stations argonautiques du Bosphore', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Roger Dion. Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique*, Paris, 1974 (Caesarodunum 9bis), p. 93 and 99 (for its connection with the Argonautic Amykos).
64. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 139.
65. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 142. Cf. H.B. Dewing, "Argonautic Associations of the Bosphorus", *The Classical Journal* 19.8 (1924), p. 470 and F. Vian, 'Légendes et stations argonautiques du Bosphore', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Roger Dion. Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique*, Paris, 1974 (Caesarodunum 9bis), p. 101-102, for its part in the Argonautic legend.
66. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 157. There was probably a homonyme settlement on the Asiatic shore, see F. Vian,



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- 'Légendes et stations argonautiques du Bosphore', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Roger Dion. Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique*, Paris, 1974 (Caesarodunum 9bis), p. 93.
67. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 157.
68. Cf. Hdt. 4.85-88. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 160.
69. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 176.
70. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 183. In Byzantine sources, the name Sosthenion is no more explained as a corruption of Leosthenion, but also from the Greek verb "σώζω", with reference to the Argonautic legend. See F. Vian, 'Légendes et stations argonautiques du Bosphore', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Roger Dion. Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique*, (Paris 1974), (Caesarodunum 9bis), p. 100.
71. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 190.
72. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 199.
73. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 203.
74. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 208.
75. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 212.
76. Attested by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.
77. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 220.
78. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 224sq.
79. Or Aula Phinei, as is mentioned in the *Orphic Argonautica* v. 680-681.
80. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 232: " .Gypopolis, cognomen adeptus sive ab immanitate Thracica et Barbara agrestique : aiunt enim hic habitasse Phineo regi subiectos, crudelitate plurimum eminentes: sive etiam appellatus est Gypopolis, ex eo quod Vultures frequentes apud hunc locum versari gaudeant".
81. See P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, (Lyon 1561), p. 247: "Sublimes autem Cyaneas et supra mare elatae, aspectum gerents similes cyano, sive a terra multiformi, sive ex refractione maris. Supra Cyaneas ara existit Apollinis a Romanis statuta...".
82. The main monographies of the city are K. Merle, *Die Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon von ihrer Gründung bis zum Eingreifen der Römer in die Verhältnisse des Osten*, (Kiel 1916) and W.P. Newskaja, *Byzanz in der klassischen und hellenistischen Epoche*, (Leipzig 1955); more recently, see the article of L. Loukopoulou, A. Lajtar, "Propontic Thrace", in M.H. Hansen, Th.H. Nielsen (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, (Oxford 2004), p. 912-823.
83. See the sources in J. Dumont, "La pêche du thon à Byzance à l'époque hellénistique", *Revue des études anciennes* 78-79 (1976-1977), p. 96-119.
84. See the references in S. Douglas Olson, *Archestratos of Gela. Greek Culture and Cuisine in the Fourth Century BCE. Text, Translation and Commentary*, (Oxford 2000), p. 68.
85. Str. 7.6.1
86. Cf. Pindar, *Pythica* 4.204-206. See also F. Vian, 'Légendes et stations argonautiques du Bosphore', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Roger*



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Dion. *Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique*, (Paris 1974) (Caesarodunum 9bis), p. 95-98, retaining in the end the situation of this sanctuary at Byzantion.

87. Cf. Herodor., *FGrH* 31 F 47.

88. A. R. 2. 531-532.

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### Πηγές

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Polybius 4.39-44

Herodotus, *Histories* 4.85-88

Strabo 1.3.4; 7.6.1-2

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 4.46; 4.76; 5.150; 6.1

Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.12.36-37

Procopius, *History of the Wars* 3.1.7-8; 8.6.16-19; 25-28

P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres*, Lyon, 1561

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### Παραθέματα

1. Petrus Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio*, p. 244-245.

Iam uero ut ab Vrbe Byzantio ad Pharum et Cyaneas pedibus profectus sum, ita a Pharo similiter pedibus Byzantium reuerti, quam proxime ad littus accedere potui. Sed primum a Pharo ad Myrleium non potui, quod littus praeceps et praeruptum sit, perpetuis rupibus editum in altitudinem plus minusue quadraginta passuum. Supra hoc littus existit planities campestris, colliculis et ualliculis distincta, longe lateque patens, sensim assurgens usque ad uerticem collis, in quo ante dixi fuisse antiquam Pharum. Itaque a Pharo ad Chrysorrhoeam iter feci per supercilia collium, per desertas pastiones plenas ericis aliisque fruticibus, ubi nihil cultum apparet, praeter exiguas arationes, non tam iniquitate terrae, quam inopia agrorum : si qua descensus patet ad littus, ut patet ad Myrleium, et ad portum Ephesiorum, statim latae rupes me impendierunt ut ex altis littoris crepidinibus mihi saepe ascendendum fuerit ad circumeundas rupes obuias, et per directos et praeruptos cliuos repere quadrupedis more habui necesse. A Chrysorrhoea iuxta littus iter habere potui ad promontorium Smilton, quod praeceps et abruptum non peruium est, nisi in excelsis cliuis: inde ad Bathycolpon iuxta Bosporum perrexi: a Bathycolpo ad Commarodes, exceptis ualibus, uia non patet in ora maritima, sed angustissima semita



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habetur in arduis cliuis cofragosis et abruptis. A  
Commadore ad Leosthenium iter confeci fere  
secundum litus. A Leosthenio ad Portum Phidaliae  
(excipio ualles) uia duntaxat patet per altos cliuos. A  
Phidalia ad oppidum nuncupatum Sycas, siue  
Iustinianas, uia patet iuxta Bosporum. A Sycis  
Byzantium traiectus est breuior quatuor stadiis, a quo  
quidem traiectu appellato Syceno ad finem Bospori  
planities maritima (Constantinopoleos partem  
continens) accessum latum largitur etiam quam  
proxime ad Bosporum.

### 2. Herodotus, *Histories* 4.85-88

Δαρειός δὲ ἐπεῖτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκητο τῆς  
Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, ἵνα ἔζευκτο ἢ γέφυρα,  
ἐνθευτέν ἐσβάς ἐς νέα ἐπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλεομένας,  
τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλληνές φασί εἶναι, ἰζόμενος δὲ  
ἐπὶ ῥίω ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον, ἐόντα ἀξιοθήητον. Πελαγέων  
γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος, τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος  
στάδιοι εἰσι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῆ  
εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἔωντοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι.  
Τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες  
στάδιοι, μήκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχὴν, τὸ δὲ Βόσπορος  
κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔζευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι  
καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ· τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος.  
Ἡ δὲ Προποντίς, εὐῶσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων,  
μήκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλή-  
σποντον, ἐόντα στενότητα μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίους, μήκος δὲ  
τετρακοσίους. Ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα  
πελάγεος τὸ δὲ Αἰγαῖον καλεῖται. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα  
ᾧδε. Νηὺς ἐπίπαν μάλιστά κη κατανύει ἐν μακροημερίῃ  
ὄργυιās ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας. Ἦδη ᾧν  
ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ  
Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἑννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ  
νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὐτὰ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄργυιέων  
γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄργυιέων τουτέων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ  
χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσι. Ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερω-  
δοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ  
Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν  
πλόος αὐτὰι δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὄργυιέων  
γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. Ὁ μὲν νυν  
Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορός τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω  
τέ μοι μεμετρέεται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι,  
παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς  
αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ἐλάσσω ἔωντοῦ, ἢ Μαιητίς τε  
καλεῖται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.  
Ὁ δὲ Δαρειός, ὡς ἐθηεῖσαστο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω  
ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλῆς  
Σάμιος. Θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε  
δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμῶν γραμμάτα ἐς μὲν τὴν  
Ἀσσύρια, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε-  
ῖγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἦρχε. Τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν,



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χωρίς του ναυτικού, εβδομήκοντα σὺν ἰππεῦσι, νέες δὲ ἑξακόσιοι συνελέχθησαν. Τῆσι μὲν νυν στήλησι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ὀρθωσῆς Ἀρτέμιδος χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. Τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χώρος τὸν ἔζευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἔμοι δοκέειν συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἰοῦ· Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤσθεις τῆ σχεδὴ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἔδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα. Ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν, ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζευξίν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα, ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε·  
Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε  
Μανδροκλέης Ἥρη μνημόσυνον σχεδῆς,  
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίῳσι δὲ κύδος,  
Δαρεῖου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

### 3. Polybius 4.43

Τοῦ δὴ στόματος τοῦ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα συνάπτοντος ὄντος ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ μήκος, καθάπερ ἀρτίως εἶπον, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἰερού τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πόντον πέρασ ὀρίζοντος, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βυζάντιον διαστήματος τὸ πρὸς τὴν Προποντίδα, μεταξὺ τούτων ἐστὶν Ἐρμαῖον, τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ προοχῆς τινος ἀκρωτηριαζούσης ἐν τῷ στόματι κείμενον, ὃ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας ἀπέχει περὶ πέντε στάδια, κατὰ τὸν στενώτατον δὲ τόπον ὑπάρχει τοῦ παντὸς στόματος· ἢ καὶ Δαρεῖον ζευξαί φασι τὸν πόρον, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας διάβασιν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἄλλον τόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου παραπλήσιός ἐστιν ἡ φορὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος διὰ τὴν ὁμοίτητα τῶν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ μέρος τῶ στόματι παρηκόντων τόπων· ἐπὶ δ' εἰς τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἐρμαῖον, ἢ στενώτατον ἔφαμεν εἶναι, φερόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ συγκλειόμενος ὁ ῥοῦς βία προσπέση, τότε δὴ τραπεῖς ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πληγῆς ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς ἀντιπέρας τῆς Ἀσίας τόποις. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν, οἷον ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς, τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ποιεῖται πρὸς τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἑστίας ἄκρα καλούμενα τῆς Εὐρώπης. ὅθεν αὐθις ὀρμήσας προσπίπτει πρὸς τὴν Βοῦν καλουμένην, ὅς ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας τόπος, ἐφ' ὃν ἐπιστηναί φασι πρῶτον οἱ μῦθοι τὴν Ἰῶ περαιοθεῖσαν. πλὴν ὃ γε ῥοῦς τὸ τελευταῖον ὀρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς Βοῦς ἐπ' αὐτὸ φέρεται τὸ Βυζάντιον, περιορισθεὶς δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν βραχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ διορίζει τὸν καλούμενον Κέρας, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον πάλιν ἀπονεύει. διευτονεῖν μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι δύναται πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας χώραν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐστι



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Καλχηδών· πλεονάκις γὰρ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν πεποι-  
ημένος, καὶ τοῦ πόρου πλάτος ἔχοντος, ἤδη περὶ  
τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐκλυόμενος ὁ ῥοῦς οὐκέτι βρα-  
χείας πρὸς ὄξειαν γωνίαν ποιεῖται τὰς ἀνακλάσεις  
ἐπὶ τὴν περαίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀμβλεῖαν· διό-  
περ ἀπολιπὼν τὴν τῶν Καλχηδονίων πόλιν φέρεται  
διὰ πόρου.

### 4. Strabo 1.3.4

[...] τοῦ δὲ Στράτωνος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπτομένου τῆς αἰτιολογίας, ὅτι  
φησὶν οἴεσθαι τὸν Εὐξείνιον μὴ ἔχειν πρότερον τὸ κατὰ  
Βυζάντιον στόμα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς βιάσασθαι καὶ  
ἀνοῖξαι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλοντας, εἴτ' ἐκπεσεῖν τὸ  
ὔδωρ εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. τὸ  
δ' αὐτὸ συμβῆναι καὶ περὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν·  
καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸν κατὰ στήλας ἐκραγῆναι πόρον,  
πληρωθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν τῆς θαλάττης, κατὰ  
δὲ τὴν ἔκρυσιν ἀνακαλυφθῆναι τὰ τεναγώδη πρότε-  
ρον. φέρει δ' αἰτίαν πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τῆς ἕξω θαλάττης  
καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦδαφος ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἔπειθ' ὅτι καὶ  
νῦν ἔτι ταινία τις ὑφαλος διατέτακεν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώ-  
πης ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην, ὡς ἂν [μὴ] μιᾶς οὐσῆς πρότερον  
τῆς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκτός. καὶ βραχύτατα μὲν εἶναι τὰ  
περὶ τὸν Πόντον, τὸ δὲ Κρητικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν καὶ  
Σαρδῶν πέλαγος σφόδρα βαθέα· τῶν γὰρ ποταμῶν  
πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ῥεόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ  
τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἰλύος πληροῦσθαι, τὰ ἄλλα  
δὲ μένειν βαθέα. διὸ καὶ γλυκυτάτην εἶναι τὴν Πον-  
τικὴν θάλατταν τὰς τ' ἐκρύσεις γίνεσθαι εἰς οὐς ἐγκέ-  
κλιται τόπους τὰ ἐδάφη. δοκεῖν δὲ κἂν χωσθῆναι τὸν  
Πόντον ὅλον εἰς ὕστερον, ἂν μένωσιν αἱ ἐπιρροῦσεις  
τοιαῦται. [...]

### 5. Diodorus Siculus 5.47

[...] οἱ δὲ Σαμόθρακες ἰστοροῦσι πρὸ τῶν παρὰ  
τοῖς ἄλλοις γενομένων κατακλυσμῶν ἕτερον ἐκεῖ  
μέγαν γενέσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ περὶ τὰς Κυ-  
ανέας στόματος ῥαγέντος, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἑλ-  
λησπόντου. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ πέλαγος λίμνης  
ἔχον τὰξιν μέχρι τοσούτου πεπληρωσθαι διὰ τῶν  
εἰσρέοντων ποταμῶν, μέχρι ὅτου διὰ τὸ πλῆθος  
παρεκχυθὲν τὸ ῥεῦμα λάβρως ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὸν Ἑλ-  
λήσποντον καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς παρὰ  
θάλατταν ἐπέκλυσεν, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπι-  
πέδου γῆς ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ θάλατταν ἐποίησε· καὶ  
διὰ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις καιροῖς ἐνίους  
τῶν ἀλιέων ἀνεσπακέναι τοῖς δικτύοις λίθινα κιο-  
νόκρانا, ὡς καὶ πόλεων κατακεκλυσμένων. τοὺς  
δὲ περιληφθέντας προσαναδραμεῖν εἰς τοὺς ὑψη-  
λοτέρους τῆς νήσου τόπους· τῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἀνα-  
βαινούσης ἀεὶ μᾶλλον, εὐξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς





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ἐγχωρίους, καὶ διασωθέντας κύκλω περὶ ὅλην τὴν  
νήσον ὄρους θέσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ βωμοὺς  
ἰδρύσασθαι, ἐφ' ὧν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν θύειν [...]