Hadrianopolis is located on the principal western route from the Central Anatolian plain through the mountains to Bartın and the Black Sea, 3 km west of modern Eskipazar, near Karabük, in Roman southwestern Paphlagonia. Though small, it dominated a rich agricultural and viticultural enclave on the borders between Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Galatia. Between 2005 and 2008, four survey, excavation and restoration campaigns were conducted on the site by Dokuz Eylül University. The 2005 surveys identified the remains of at least 24 buildings, many of which were paved with extensive mosaic floors. Following the publication of the inscriptions (Hadrianopolis I), glass (Hadrianopolis II), and pottery finds (Hadrianopolis III), the present volume is devoted to these early Byzantine mosaics and frescoes from this site, dated mainly to the 6th and 7th centuries AD. The most remarkable of these is the floor mosaic of the nave of the Basilica B, which displays personifications of the four rivers of paradise: Euphrates, Tigris, Phison and Gion.

'It is important to know about the findings from Hadrianopolis. … Anyone interested in Byzantine mosaics and frescoes or in floor mosaics and wall paintings from the period will be interested in this book.'

Professor Liz James, University of Sussex

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Preface

Paweł Nowakowski

The scholarly world has been much looking forward to the publication of the present volume. The last decade saw a significant rise of interest in the study of early Byzantine mosaics as a social and cultural phenomenon. The systematically increasing number of finds and continuing work on known sites have prompted the creation of synthetic studies collecting new scattered evidence, and revising long-known objects in the light of these newest finds. The efforts of field archaeologists and art historians, however, have been focused by far on the mosaics of Syria, Palestine, the Roman province of Arabia, and North Africa: these have always captured the imagination of scholars by their high quality of execution, richness of figural motifs, not infrequently in narrative scenes, and by inscriptions giving a detailed account of the foundation or restorations of excavated buildings.\(^1\)

This does not mean, however, that the mosaics of Anatolia have been entirely neglected. Although they are less frequent, often limited to geometrical patterns, and lacking beautiful figural depictions, the mosaics of Anatolia share many of the features of their Near Eastern counterparts, and have also been subject to detailed research. Indispensable reference works on this topic include the two volumes produced by Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail: *Stifterinschriften auf Mosaiken Westkleinasiens* (published as Tyche Supplementband 5, 2006) and *Die Mosaiken Westkleinasiens: Tessellate des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr* (in the Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 46, 2011). However, these cover only the western part of the peninsula. To them one can add a number of older works, *e.g.* Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος by Stylianos Pelekanides and Panayota Asemakopoulou-Atzaka, for the coastal islands of western Anatolia, and others.

The present, fourth volume of the *Hadrianopolis* series forms an important addition to this list. The authors, Sami Patacı and Ergün Laflı, offer us a complete overview of their four seasons of work on the early Byzantine mosaics of Hadrianopolis, an important ancient city sited in the north Anatolian province of Paphlagonia, approximately three km to the west of Eskipazar. The excavations were conducted there on behalf of the Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir, and we have gradually been allowed glimpses of the finds in several earlier works discussing the inscriptions from the site.\(^2\) The importance of this study lies in the fact that it provides not only revised texts of inscriptions, but more importantly the first detailed analysis of the non-inscribed carpet mosaics from Hadrianopolis’s baths, two basilicas, and other buildings from the perspective of their archaeological context and history of art. The floors of Hadrianopolis have most notably yielded the personifications of the Four Rivers of Paradise, as well as images of animals, birds and plants in what was most probably a hunting scene (a rare find in early Byzantine north Anatolia). The floors are very well preserved, and the overall execution of the geometrical patterns is also surprisingly high, making the site comparable to those of southeast coastal Anatolia, heavily influenced by masterly Syrian craftsmanship. The inscriptions tell us about the involvement and contributions of local elite women: Marina, the *clarissima* (λαμπροτάτη, see p. 80) and Valentina, the ‘most orderly and pious’ (κοσμιωτάτη καὶ σεμνοπρεπεστάτη, see p. 168), and a member of the imperial guard (Himerios, the ‘devoted *scholarius*,’ see p. 168). This brings to mind sites with a well documented local prosopography, such as Aphrodisias in Isauria where several generations of a merchant family recorded their donations to the church of St Panteleemon.\(^3\)

All these factors place the present volume at the forefront of current research, and provide us with a mass of new evidence for the history of early Byzantine Paphlagonia, which is still clouded by the lack of sources.

University of Oxford
17 August 2018

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1. Just to name a few examples, the reader should consult Bowersock 2006; Habas 2009; Madden 2014; Hamarneh 2014; Reynolds 2017; and numerous works of Sean Leatherbury.

2. Especially: Laflı 2007; Patacı 2011; Laflı and Christof 2012; as well as Christof and Laflı 2013; see also *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (SEG) 58, nos. 1473-1474; SEG 62, nos. 1079, 1081-1084; and SEG 61, no. 1084.

Abstract

Hadrianopolis is a site located on the principal western route from the Central Anatolian plain through the mountains to Bartın and the Black Sea, 3 km west of the modern town of Eskipazar, near Karabük, in what was in Roman times southwestern Paphlagonia (modern northwestern central Turkey). This site was a small but important city, controlling this major route and dominating a rich agricultural and especially vinicultural enclave on the borders between Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Galatia. Between 2005 and 2008, four survey, excavation and restoration campaigns were conducted at this Roman and early Byzantine site by Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir. As a result of the 2005 surveys of the area, it was confirmed that Hadrianopolis was indeed coincident with Viranşehir, which is located c. 3 km west of modern Eskipazar and was active between the 1st cent. BC. and the 8th cent. AD. The field surveys in 2005 identified the remains of at least 24 buildings at the site. Among them are two bath buildings, two basilicas, a domus, an apsidal building, a fortified structure of the Byzantine period, a possible theatre, a vaulted building, a domed building and some domestic buildings, most of which were paved with extensive mosaic floors. Following the publication of the inscriptions (Hadrianopolis I), glass (Hadrianopolis II), and pottery finds (Hadrianopolis III), the present volume IV of this multi-volume report is devoted to the early Byzantine mosaics and frescoes from this site, which have been dated mainly to the 6th and 7th cent. AD. The main find spots for mosaics and frescoes are Baths A, Baths B, Basilica A, Basilica B, the Apsidal Building and the Domus. One of the most remarkable discoveries was undoubtedly the floor mosaic of the nave of Basilica B, which displays personifications of the Four Rivers of Paradise: Euphrates, Tigris, Phison and Geon.

Key words: Hadrianopolis, Paphlagonia, Northwestern Central Turkey, Asia Minor, Early Byzantine period, Late Antiquity, 6th cent. AD, 7th cent. AD, Mosaics, Frescoes, Four Rivers of Paradise.

Résumé

Hadrianopolis est située sur la route principale de l’Ouest, allant de la plaine d’Anatolie centrale à travers les montagnes jusqu’à Bartın et la mer Noire, à 3 km à l’ouest de la ville moderne d’Eskipazar, près de Karabük, dans la partie romanisée du sud-ouest de la Paphlagonie. C’était un site modeste mais relativement important, contrôlant cet axe majeur et dominant une riche enclave agricole, surtout vinicole, aux confins de la Paphlagonie, de la Bithynie et de la Galatie. Entre 2005 et 2008, quatre campagnes d’enquête, d’excavation et de restauration ont été menées dans ce site romain et byzantin par l’Université Dokuz Eylul d’Izmir. À la suite des relevés effectués en 2005 dans la région, il a été confirmé que Hadrianopolis coïncidait effectivement avec Viranşehir, ca. 5 km à l’ouest d’Eskipazar, avec des trouvailles datant du 1er siècle av. J.-C. au 8ème siècle après J.-C. Les enquêtes de terrain de 2005 ont identifié les vestiges d’au moins 24 bâtiments sur le site. Parmi eux, deux bâtiments de bains, deux basiliques byzantines anciennes, une domus, un bâtiment à absides, une structure fortifiée de l’époque byzantine, peut-être un théâtre, un bâtiment voûté, une construction en dôme et des bâtiments domestiques dont la plupart étaient pavés de mosaïques. Après les publications des inscriptions (Hadrianopolis I), du verre (Hadrianopolis II) et des céramiques (Hadrianopolis III), le présent volume IV de cette série est consacré aux premières mosaïques byzantines et aux fresques datant principalement du 6ème et 7ème siècle après J.-C. Les principaux lieux de découverte des mosaïques et des fresques sont le bain A, le bain B, la basilique A, la basilique B et le un bâtiment à absides et la domus. L’une des découvertes les plus remarquables fut sans aucun doute la mosaïque au sol de la nef
Abstracts and Key Words in English, French, German, Italian and Turkish

de la basilique B, qui présente des personnifications des quatre fleuves du paradis: l’Euphrate, le Tigre, le Phison et le Geon.


Zusammenfassung


Riassunto

Hadrianopolis si trova sulla principale strada occidentale che dalla pianura centrale dell’Anatolia attraverso le montagne porta fino a Bartin e al Mar Nero; sorge a 3 km a ovest della moderna città di Eskıpazar, vicino a Karabük, nella Paflagonia romana sud-occidentale (attuale Turchia centro-settentrionale). Era un sito piccolo, ma importante, che controllava questo itinerario principale e dominava un ricco territorio agricolo, in particolare vinicolo, ai confini tra Paflagonia, Bitinia e Galazia. Tra il 2005 e il 2008 sono state condotte in questo sito romano e del primo periodo bizantino quattro campagne di indagine, scavo e restauro dall’università Dokuz Eylül di Izmir. Come risultato dei sondaggi del 2005 nell’area, è stato confermato che Hadrianopolis era effettivamente coincidente con Viranşehir, c. 3 km a ovest della moderna Eskıpazar, con reperti risalenti dal I secolo a. C. all’VIII secolo d. C. Le indagini di superficie nel 2005 hanno identificato i resti di almeno 24 edifici nel sito. Tra questi vi sono due edifici termali, due basiliche bizantine antiche, una domus, un edificio abisidato, una struttura fortificata del periodo bizantino, un possibile teatro, un edificio a volta, un edificio a cupola e alcuni edifici ad uso abitativo, la maggior parte dei quali erano pavimentati con grandi mosaici. Dopo le pubblicazioni delle iscrizioni (Hadrianopolis I), vetro (Hadrianopolis II) e reperti ceramici (Hadrianopolis III), l’attuale volume IV di questa serie è dedicato a questi primi mosaici e affreschi bizantini di questo sito che sono datati principalmente al VI e VII secolo d.C. I principali luoghi di ritrovamento dei mosaici e affreschi sono il Bagno A, il Bagno B, la Basilica A, la Basilica B, l’Edificio Abisidato
Hadrianopolis IV

e la Domus. Una delle scoperte più notevoli è stata senza dubbio il mosaico pavimentale della navata della Basilica B, che mostra le personificazioni dei quattro fiumi del Paradiso: Eufrate, Tigri, Fison e Geon.

Parole chiave: Hadrianopolis, Paflagonia, Turchia centro-settentrionale, Anatolia, primo periodo bizantino, tarda antichità, VI secolo. d.C., VII secolo d. C., mosaici, affreschi, i quattro fiumi del Paradiso.

Özet


Introduction

The present monograph is the fourth volume of the series on ‘Hadrianopolis’. It is exclusively devoted to the early Byzantine mosaic and fresco finds at this site in southwestern Paphlagonia, today the town of Eskipazar in the province of Karabük in the northwestern part of central Turkey. This work aims to present all the mosaic and fresco finds from Hadrianopolis in the early Byzantine period, stretching from the late 5th to late 7th cent. AD. It is our aim to contextualise the mosaics from early Byzantine Hadrianopolis within the whole eastern Mediterranean and to understand these finds as part of this whole. The fact that Hadrianopolis contains early Byzantine floor mosaics dating to this limited time period between the 6th and 7th cent. AD from such an unexpected area in northern central Anatolia makes this monograph necessary. The objects presented here were found mainly in the field seasons between 2005 and 2008 by a team from the Dökuz Eylül University (DEU) in Izmir, under the direction of E. Laflı. It also includes the dissertation thesis of S. Patacı which was submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences of the DEU in Izmir in May 2012 and defended in July 2012. Volume V of this series on Hadrianopolis will be produced in 2020 by E. Laflı, S. Patacı and G. Kan Şahin, again with British Archaeological Reports (BAR) in the International Series, and will deal with urban and settlement patterns, architecture and architectural elements as well as cemeteries. The mosaic finds of the early Byzantine period from Hadrianopolis were reported only preliminarily by E. Laflı and A. Zäh in 2008 and 2009, by S. Patacı, A.K. Öz and E. Laflı in 2012, as well as S. Patacı and S. Altun in 2014 and the early Byzantine frescoes by E. Laflı in 2014. Some additional photos of the mosaic finds were detailed in the field report of 2008 and the general report of the seasons between 2005 and 2008. This volume is a complementary, comprehensive and updated collection of these past papers concerning the mosaic and fresco finds. As the number of early Byzantine mosaics has been an important component of the mosaic and fresco finds from Hadrianopolis in the early Byzantine period mosaic finds are patchy, unsuccessfully documented and generally not well-known in the southern Pontic littoral, i.e. Paphlagonia and Pontus, in comparison with other countries that are located on other Black Sea coasts, namely Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Ukraine, Russia and Georgia. Through these scattered finds it seems that during the Roman and early Byzantine periods, i.e. 1st to mid-7th cent. AD, the architecture of Paphlagonia and Pontus was based on wooden and stone elements, and mosaic floors were not common. Previous mosaic publications from these two regions show that most of the mosaic material belongs to the period between the mid-2nd and late 4th cent. AD. The most important mosaic publications from the Turkish Black Sea area are from Amisus, Çiftlik near Sinope, the Balatlar church in Sinope and Pompeiopolis and recent mosaic finds from Amaseia, none of which are known in scholarly sources in detail. The mosaic finds from Amisus are from the 3rd cent. AD. They were found in a domestic area of the acropolis of Amisus and were transported to the museum of Samsun to be displayed. Finds from Çiftlik near Sinope are dated to the early Byzantine period and ecclesiastical in context. In the Balatlar church in Sinop, a Byzantine basilical complex with earlier finds, late Roman–early Byzantine mosaics were found, particularly a mosaic inscription in 2017. The hinterland of Sinop was studied by O.P. Doonan in the early 2000s, and no mosaic results were published until 2018. It seems that mosaic flooring was a tradition on the coastline areas of Sinope but not the hinterland. The nearest comparable site to Hadrianopolis is Pompeiopolis in eastern Paphlagonia, c. 200 km east of Hadrianopolis, in the county of Taşköprü in Kastamonu. The first systematic archaeological excavations and surveys there began in 2006, which also revealed some mosaic finds. Mosaic finds from Paphlagonian Pompeiopolis, though scattered, are mostly from the late Roman–early Byzantine period and have a mixed character in terms of their context. Neither Sinopean nor Pompeiopolitan mosaics are known in detail. In Tiüm, a coastal site in modern Hisarönü–Filvos by Zonguldak in western Paphlagonia, the few mosaic and fresco finds are currently being studied. Finds

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1 Previous volumes: Laflı and Christof 2012 (inscriptions); Fünfschilling and Laflı 2012 (glass finds); as well as Laflı and Kan Şahin 2016 (pottery finds).
2 Laflı and Zäh 2008 as well as 2009.
3 Patacı, Öz and Laflı 2012; as well as Patacı and Altun 2014.
4 Laflı 2014.
5 Laflı 2009a, p. 62.
6 Laflı and Gürler 2012, pp. 49–63, figs. 3–23.
7 Şahin 2004.
8 Şahin 2004; Şahin 2006, pp. 139–152.
10 Köroğlu and Tok 2018, pp. 121–135.
11 Musso et al. 2011, pp. 75–120.
12 Keskin 2017, pp. 36–45.
13 . For the archaeological finds of this date in the Turkish Black Sea area more generally: Belke 2017.
Fig. 1. Map of Turkey with some find places of mosaics and frescoes referred to in the text.
Fig. 2. Map of Turkey with the chronology of some find places of mosaics and frescoes referred to in the text.
from two major coastline sites in Paphlagonia, Heraclea Pontica and Amastris, seem to be few and unfortunately unpublished. However, from Kadıköy in Çaycuma near Heraclea Pontica, a clearly early 3rd cent. A.D. floor mosaic in a countryside villa, superbly composed, is a spectacular find. This floor mosaic still needs to be studied and published extensively. One last find spot is Amaseia, modern Amasya in Pontus, where a team from the local museum excavated several floor mosaics of the Roman and early Byzantine periods. In the course of field surveys of the British Institute at Ankara in Inner Paphlagonia between 1997 and 2001, almost no mosaic or fresco finds were reported. The recent field surveys at Cytorus-Cide on the Paphlagonian coast have provided no evidence in terms of mosaic. Ongoing archaeological excavations and surveys at Comana Pontica, Oluz Höyük in Amasya, Amasra, Sebastopolis, the Island of Giresun-Aretias/Chalceritis, the Kurul Citadel in Ordu and Çingırt Kaya in Fatsa have provided only fragmentary knowledge concerning mosaics in the Turkish Black Sea area. It seems that Paphlagonia has more mosaic finds than Pontus, which was a more rugged region than Paphlagonia. All of the mosaic finds from each site differ from each other.

Hadrianopolis seems to be one of the very few sites in the hinterland of Paphlagonia where extensive mosaic floors of the early Byzantine period were found. The reason for this preference is still not clear: why did the people in Hadrianopolis in the early Byzantine period prefer to have such extensive mosaic floors in their dwellings, civic buildings and churches? The local museums of the Turkish Black Sea area in Samsun, Giresun, Sinop, Trabzon, Amasya, Ereğli of Zonguldak, Amasra, Tokat, Kastamonu, Ordu, Düzce-Konuralp, Gökçebe-Çanakçılar and Rize, as well as Paphlagonian and Pontic materials in the museums of Çankırı, Çorum, Bolu, Ankara and Istanbul, display some mosaic finds. Particularly relevant is the museum of Sinop with its collection of late Roman-early Byzantine mosaics. The museum of Giresun also has some mosaics and frescoes of middle Byzantine period, found in the excavations of Giresun Island, and the frescoes and mosaics in the church of St Sophia in Trabzon belong to the late Byzantine period. These finds are mostly not published and the published ones are known only in a preliminary and incomplete manner. Most of the examples in the collections of the local museums in the Turkish Black Sea area differ from the ones in Hadrianopolis to a great extent. In some cases several geographically and date-wise distant parallels for some patterns of the mosaics in Hadrianopolis were discussed in the following text that are found more or less everywhere, e.g. the different types of guilloche; but, generally it is attempted to stick only to what is directly pertinent - especially date-wise – unless a pattern is so rare that it was necesseray to quote all its parallels.

Before this book could be written, many years of fieldwork were required. Since 2005, four field seasons (i.e. the survey season in 2005, excavations in 2006 and 2007, as well as the restoration season in 2008 – all conducted between June and October of each year - were organized in Eskipazar, in Karabük. In the 2008 season S. Pataci joined the team and began working on the illustrations and photos done onsite by E. Laflı between 2005 and 2008. The writing of this book spanned from May 2009 to August 2018 without any interruption. In March 2017 BAR Publishing accepted our proposal to publish this book in BAR International Series. The text was finally submitted to Oxford on August 17, 2018.

The recent (2010-present) Turkish excavations in Hadrianopolis by the Ondokuz Mayıs University in Samsun headed by V. Keleş and by the University of Karabük, headed by E. Çelikbaş since 2017 reported on the restoration and conservation of the mosaics and roofing of Basilica B between 2010 to 2018. At the beginning of 2018 E. Çelikbaş, the new director since 2017, reported in some Turkish newspapers a newly excavated church that they called ‘Church D’ (perhaps the Apsidal Building) and its mosaics with a three-lined inscription and depictions of a bull and a lion as well as a vine arising from a fountain-vase, flanked by a pair of peacocks. These new mosaics and their fragments from the 2010-2018 seasons which will likely be stored at the museum of Kastamonu, could therefore not be considered here.

Several scholars were involved in the production of this book: Dr Pawel Nowakowski (Warsaw) wrote the preface of this volume and assisted us in terms of Byzantine epigraphy. Dr Alexander Zäh (Hanau) and Mr Sinan Altun (Izmir) assisted us in our past manuscripts concerning the mosaic finds. Dr Özlem Patacı (Ardahan) helped us with the preparation of texts and plans. Revisions and comments on this manuscript were sent by several colleagues, especially by Professor Demetrios Michaelides (Nicosia), between September 2018 and February 2019 which helped the authors to produce a well-laid out manuscript in decent English. All these revisions were inserted by us and the new manuscript was sent to Oxford in January 2019. Because it is difficult for Turkish scholars to present their scientific results in English, this book has been written in English so that this research will be available internationally. Abstracts in English, French, German, Italian and Turkish have also been provided at the beginning of the volume.

The mosaic and fresco fragments dealt within this book are currently stored in two main locations: a large portion of the finds from the rescue excavations in 2003 is now held in a depot of the local Directorate of Culture and Tourism in Karabük, which we did not consider in this book. The remainder is stored in a container which was donated by the Turkish State Water Supply Administration (DSİ) in June 2007, was placed in an area close to the Domus, and

16 Erciyas 2013, p. 139, figs. 13-15; Erciyas 2006, pp. 14-15, figs. 4, 7-8 and 10; Erciyas 2010, p. 358, fig. 4; as well as Erciyas, Sökmen and Kocabıyık 2011, p. 126, fig. 12.

should still be there. In this container the materials from the 2006, 2007 and 2008 seasons were stored. Very few of the mosaic finds that were not diagnostic were left in batches in the field. Some further mosaic fragments found and collected during the rescue excavations at Basilica B in 2003 by the local museum of Ereğli in Zonguldak were perhaps stored in this museum, but they have never been studied.

Mosaic finds in the local museums, such as those in the museums of Çankırı, Kastamonu and Amasra have also been considered for analogical purposes of the present study. Several museums were visited and their mosaic collections inspected in relation to our mosaic studies in Hadrianopolis: the local museums in Amasra, Sinop, Kastamonu, Çankırı and the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara in 2007, Museum of Samsun in 2011 and 2015, museums of Şanlıurfa and Sivas in 2017 and 2018, the Museum of Konya in 2018 and the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki in 2013.

Izmir
17 August 2018