
HÜSEYİN ERPEHLIVAN 

A TRADE ROUTE FROM THE PROPONTIS TO PHRYGIA: ASSESSING THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF KIOS BETWEEN THE ARCHAIC AND THE EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIODS

Summary. This article proposes a reassessment of the role that Kios played as a nexus of trade between the northern Aegean, the Black Sea and inland north-west Anatolia. The city was founded as an emporium at the end of the seventh century BC and joined the Delian League in the following century. The autonomous city was subsequently ruled by a Persian dynasty during the fourth century BC, while retaining its Greek identity. Three groups of ceramics will be analysed for this reassessment: one from rescue excavations at Kios itself; another from surveyed sites in the surrounding region; and a third from other excavated settlements. It is argued that both locally-produced fine wares and transport amphoras allow chronological periods to be traced to relatively high resolutions, and that these reveal Kios to have been a significant market town that was deeply involved in trade with the Aegean and the Black Sea.

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an interpretation of ceramics found in the ancient city of Kios (*Kíos*) and those from its hinterland, in order to better understand the variety of exchange between the city and inland north-west Anatolia from the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic periods, including the Achaemenid period in between. It will then compare and contrast these results with other contemporary assemblages, to demonstrate that Kios (modern Gemlik, literally ‘place for ships’), a *polis* located in the Kianos Kolpos (Gulf of Gemlik) off the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), would likely have controlled a significant harbour from the sixth to the third centuries BC, and that this harbour might have facilitated commerce with large centres inland.

This contention is based on ceramic typologies and chronological assessments of two sets of evidence: ceramics collected during rescue excavations at Kios, and ceramics extensively collected from nearby minor settlements during several archaeological surveys in the region. The data obtained by macroscopic examination from these ceramics will be analysed against published assemblages from well-known production centres. These analyses permit an evaluation of the role that Kios played in commerce (Fig. 1).



FIGURE 1
Map of probable trade partners of Kios, deduced from the provenance of ceramics found there.

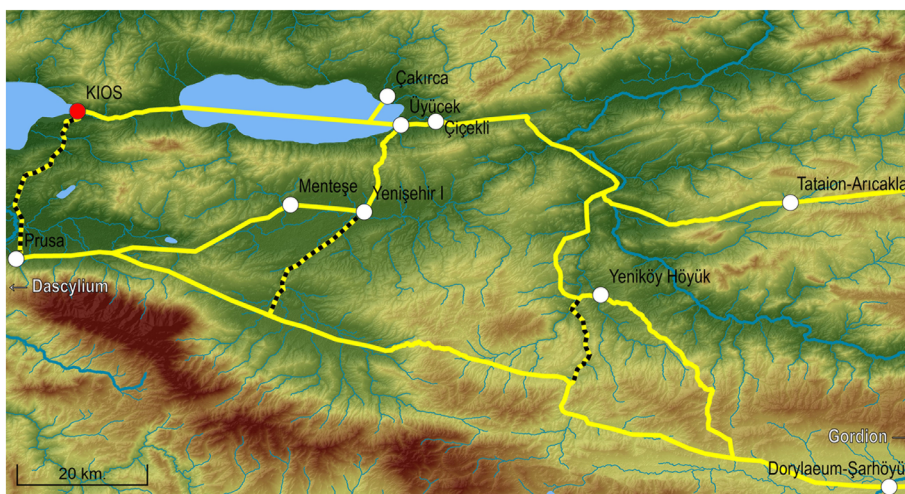


FIGURE 2
Map of the routes between settlements around Kios.

This article focuses on material from the sixth to the third centuries BC, as these centuries cover a period during which the city flourished; they provide the bulk of the material found at the site. The material affords exceptional insights into trade relations between Kios at its apogee, the Aegean world and inland Anatolia, and can be used to show how far imported Archaic and Classical

pottery penetrated inland from the coast, to minor settlements located in the İznik, Yenişehir and Bilecik regions, and even beyond to the Eskişehir plateau in Phrygia Major (Fig. 2).

The objectives of this article are: first, to uncover the maritime trade partners of Kios through macroscopic fabric studies and analogical analyses of fine ware and transport amphoras; second, to understand the patterns of overland trade between Kios and other sites in inland Anatolia, through analyses of ceramic sherds from sites between Hellespontine Phrygia and Phrygia Major; and third, to evaluate archaeological and historical data in order to reveal the role Kios played in interregional trade networks.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

While little is known about the prehistory of Kios, the original nucleus of the settlement seems to have been on a Late Cretaceous hillock (Uğur 2020, 46), part of Mount Argantheion (Samanlı Mountains) (Fig. 3). The hillock, which rises some 40–60 m above sea level, is today surrounded by Late Holocene alluvial soils of the Karsak Delta (Ardel 1943, 162), which are approximately 5 m thick. In the absence of more detailed geological analyses that might provide a finer dating sequence for the deposition of these soils, the proximity of the settlement to the sea during the sixth to third centuries BC must remain speculative. But it is likely to have been directly on the coast, based on similarities with Aegean settlements (Kayan 1999; Hill 2019, 99–100), especially those in the Cayster and Maeander valleys (Müllenhoff 2005; Kraft *et al.* 2007), such as Ephesus and Miletus, amongst many others.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.144) mentioned that the ancient city of Kios was set up as an emporium by the Milesians, and Eusebius (*Chron.* 97b) stated that the colony was founded in

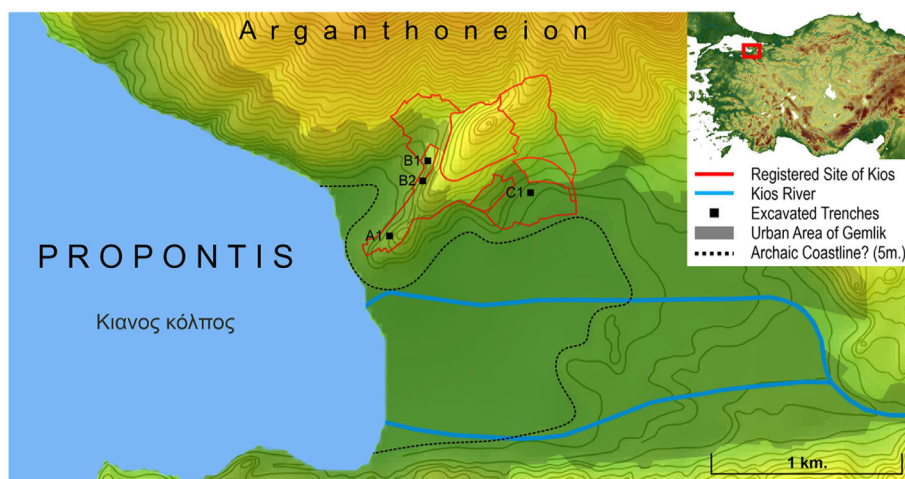


FIGURE 3
Map of the ancient city of Kios.

627 BC. It is probable that Kios, like many regions west of the Halys River, was under the de facto political control of the Lydian Kingdom during the reign of King Croesus (Hdt. 1.28). However, the status of the Milesian colony of Kios and its neighbouring *poleis* on the southern Propontis coast may have been similar to that of Ionia in the first half of the sixth century BC (Hill 2017, 86–9). The existence of the Lydian Kingdom in Hellespontine Phrygia is also known both archaeologically, from Dascylium (Koçak-Yaldir 2009, 298–302), and from Herodotus' anecdote (1.36) about a royal hunt for a ravaging boar on the Mysian Olympus (Uludağ). As with the rest of Anatolia, Kios can be considered to have been under Persian military control after 546 BC (Hdt. 1.86).

Kios participated in the Ionian Revolt that started in 499 BC, but was captured in 497 BC and subjugated by the Persian Empire (Hdt. 5.122). It probably regained its independence and became autonomous following the campaign by the Spartan general Pausanias to the Propontis (Thuc. 1.94) after the Greco-Persian Wars. Kios then joined the Delian League from 454/3 to 418/7 BC (Corsten 1985, T5), but from the information given by Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.4.7) it appears the city had opened diplomatic relations with the Persians around 408 BC.

King Agesilaus II of Sparta stopped over at Kios around 395 BC (*Hell. Oxy.* 22.3). The city must have been left to the Persian Empire again with the Peace of Antalcidas in 386 BC (Corsten 1985, 26). Ancient sources describe Persians that ruled the city in the fourth century BC, who protected its power and status under both the Achaemenid Empire and the successor Macedonian kingdoms (Corsten 1985, 26–34). This wealthy period is also supported by the autonomous coinage in the fourth century BC (Waddington 1908, 309–14, pls. 49–50). In addition to coins, inscriptions of the fourth century BC also provide information on the administrative system of the city (Corsten 1985, cat. 1–2). It is apparent from literary evidence that Kios achieved a balance in its diplomacy between Greeks and Persians.

Notwithstanding the poorly understood settlement patterns of these inland regions, Hellespontine Phrygia was controlled militarily by the satrap himself, from Dascylium, using the various forces at his disposal (Xen. *An.* 6.4.24, 6.5.7). Settlements in this extensive region were probably administrated at a local level, as fiefdoms under the satrap (Sekunda 1988; Erpehlivan 2021a, 62 and 71–2).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND EVIDENCE

Rescue excavations conducted in Kios during the last decades by the Bursa Archaeology Museum were detailed in several unpublished reports. The excavators reported on the remains of several stone walls, but could provide neither a plan nor consistent architectural data due to the limited nature of excavations at different locations around the site. The excavations were carried out in four areas as 10x10 m trenches determined according to modern zoning parcels. The trench given the code A1 provided 94% of trade amphoras and 67% of diagnostic fine wares recovered. It is this trench where most of the Classical and Early Hellenistic sherds were found; it might be regarded as being sited in the city's commercial district (Fig. 3).

Ceramic sherds from nearby prehistoric mounds (Turkish: *höyük*) are consistent with most likely rural settlements, though they are poorly represented by Iron Age material culture. Some of these minor sites were extensively surveyed during the 1940s, 1960s and 1980s, with others being discovered and investigated in recent decades by Efe and Sarı during their research on the Bilecik region (cf. Erpehlivan 2021b).

The closer settlements are located on the İznik and Yenişehir plains to the east of Kios, separated by the small valley that contains lake İznik (Fig. 2). The western shores of this lake were probably part of the city's territory (Corsten 1985, 9–11). Three sites are known. Çakırca Höyük¹ is located approximately 5 km north-west of modern İznik. Üyücek² is situated a few km south of İznik, on the easternmost shore of the lake at a point where the Kiran Dere flows into it, and is today almost flattened. Çiçekli Höyük³ is 5 km east from the centre of İznik, next to an ancient road that is still in use. The mound can be regarded as a stop along what was known as the Pilgrim's Road in Late Antiquity (Şahin 1981, 50–64; French 2013, P1).

The Yenişehir plain is located to the south-east of Kios, and like the lake İznik basin (French 2013, C11 and C9), and the Bursa plain (French 2013, C10 and A5), it has a Roman road. Two known settlements can be regarded as being in the hinterland of Kios: a mound named Yenişehir I Höyük, which is located in the centre of modern Yenişehir, just next to the crossroads (modern D595 and D160); and Mentеше Höyük, located in the Yenişehir plain itself. The latter was excavated by the Netherlands Institute in Turkey in 1997 and 2000 (Roodenberg 2002, 123), and material culture from the relevant periods was found there. However, due to the uppermost layers being flattened some time before the excavation it was not possible to document this material stratigraphically. A route passing through Mentеше Höyük to reach the Bursa plain and then Dascylium (French 2013, A5), and another from the Yenişehir plain to the İnegöl plain (French 2013, C9), crossing the main road (modern D200) from Dorylaeum to Prusa then on to Dascylium (French 2013, A2, 3), had probably been in use since the Early Bronze Age (Efe 2007; Massa 2016).

Bilecik is a region located to the east of the İznik and Yenişehir plains and between ancient Hellenesptine Phrygia and Phrygia Major. There are several sites located in this region that were settled during the relevant period, such as Tataion/Arıcaklar and Yeniköy Höyük, and some earlier Phrygian settlements (Erpehlivan 2021b). Both of the former yielded imported wares and both are situated along Roman roads that followed more ancient routes: Tataion/Arıcaklar, which according to its finds must have been an important Iron Age centre (Bilgin 2020), was a stop along the Pilgrim's Road (Şahin 1981, 59–60); Yeniköy Höyük was also on a Roman road (French 2013, A5), one that was in use during the Byzantine (Belke 2020), Ottoman (Taeschner 2010) and modern periods. Persianization can be inferred by some stelae found in the Bilecik region (Erpehlivan 2021a), but there are also traces of Hellenization, exemplified by a Greek inscription (Erpehlivan 2021b), and the increasing frequency of Greek goods found at rural sites, especially during the fourth century BC. The Bilecik region would therefore have been an important route eastward, from the area around Kios to Dorylaeum and then to Gordion (cf. Discussion) (DeVries 1993; Dusinger *et al.* 2019).

The first major centre along this route would have been the Phrygian city of Dorylaeum. Its Iron Age layer, named ŞH-4 by excavators, is divided into Middle Phrygian (800–550 BC) and Late Phrygian (550–334 BC) strata (Baştürk *et al.* 2017, 267). There are numerous examples of imported fine wares from this layer (Kaya 2019, 156), in addition to transport amphoras theorized to have come from Kios, and destined thereafter to being distributed to Phrygian settlements (Darga 2006, 243–44).

¹ Kökten 1951, Hüyüktepe; Mellaart 1955, Çakırca (5); French 1967, Çakırca (1); Özdoğan 1986, G15/1.

² Kökten 1951, Yüğücek; French 1967, Yüğücek (26); Özdoğan 1986, G15/5.

³ Mellaart 1955, Üyücek Tepe (4); French 1967, Üyücek (22); Özdoğan 1986, G16/1.

CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES FROM KIOS AND ITS SURROUNDING SETTLEMENTS

Preliminary reports show that fine wares between the sixth to fourth centuries BC (Figs. 4–6) are significantly common at Kios (Erpehlivan 2019). Drinking cups are the most frequently encountered of such among the assemblages, possibly because the excavated sectors contained the commercial district or residential quarters. Ionian cups (Fig. 5.1), foot fragments of black-glazed kylikes (Fig. 5.2–3), Lydian skyphoi (Fig. 5.4–5), black-glazed skyphoi (Fig. 5.6), kantharoi (Fig. 5.7–10), and fragments of black-glazed and ‘Intentional Red’ bolsals (Fig. 5.11–12) are among this group. Bowls include black-glazed bowls with inverted rims, medium-sized echinus bowls, small-sized bowls, and salt cellars (Fig. 6.1–7). Partially-glazed bowls with projecting rims belong among the medium-sized bowls (Fig. 6.8–13). Basic- and fish plates are mostly black-glazed or decorated with painted bands (Fig. 6.14–20). Serving vessels include krateroi, fragments of jugs (Fig. 6.21–2), and many fragments of black-glazed closed vessels, one of them decorated with the black-figure technique (Fig. 6.23) and others possibly eastern Greek. Cosmetic vessels are notable among the fine wares (Fig. 6.24–9), and while they are few in number, they consist of several fragments of lekythoi, askoi, gutti, alabastra and other miniature shapes.

In addition to these fine wares, there are many fragments of grey- or orange-coloured plain ware that could not be dated due to the lack of detailed stratigraphical information, but which are likely to come from the same contexts.

Transport amphorae (Figs. 7–9) also have very distinctive shapes, which change rapidly across time and are often peculiar to particular regions or sites. The extensive literature on such amphorae allows them to be dated to a high degree of chronological accuracy and – to some extent – a certain degree of confidence regarding their places of manufacture, among other information (Lawall 2016).

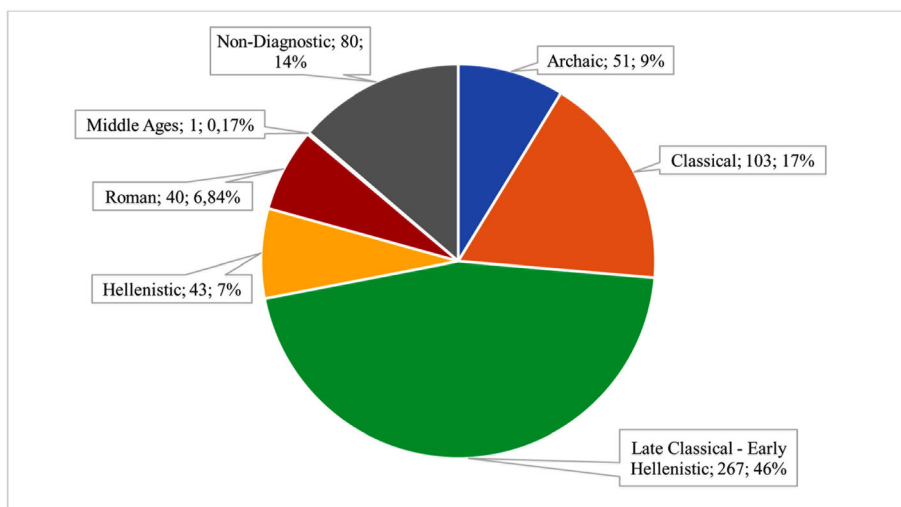


FIGURE 4
Chart of the ceramics found at Kios.

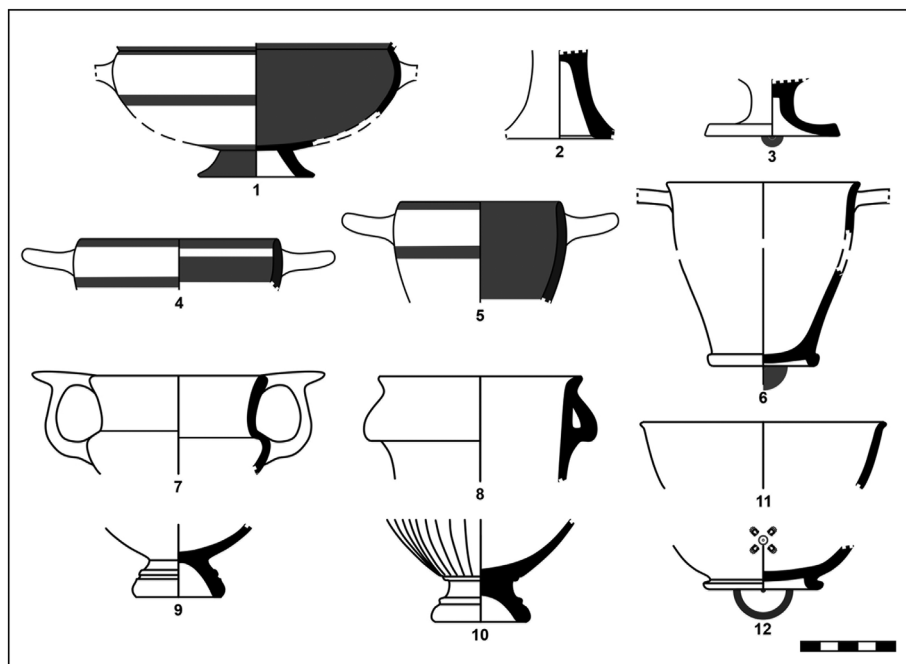


FIGURE 5

Fine wares from Kios. 1. Ionian cup; 2–3. black-glazed kylikes; 4–5. Lydian skyphoi; 6. black-glazed skyphos; 7–10. black-glazed kantharoi; 11–12. black-glazed and ‘intentional-red’ bolsals.

Amphoras of the Archaic period in Kios can be classified into two generic groups: Lesbian- and Ionian- types. Lesbian-type amphoras (Fig. 8.1–3) are represented by five examples at Kios, including the Lesbian Red 1 and Red 2 groups (Lozanov 2010, cat. 1; Lawall 1995, 205–13; 2010, pl. 93.2). The presence of Ionian or possibly Milesian-type amphoras (Fig. 8.4–5), of which there are two examples, may suggest that Kios’s relationship with its metropolis continued even as it participated in wider trade networks. The amphoras found in the excavations are reminiscent of forms from the Milesian 3, 4, and 5 groups (Sezgin 2012, Mil3; Mil4–5).

Among the Classical period sherds there are fragments of Lesbian- (Fig. 8.6–8), Samian- (Fig. 8.9) Chian- (Fig. 8.10–11), Thasian- (Fig. 8.12), Ionian- (Fig. 8.13–14), and southern Aegean- (Fig. 8.15) type amphoras. Early Classical Lesbian amphoras, represented by three examples, parallel forms belonging to the Grey 3 group (Lawall 1995, fig. 82). Several types of Chian-type amphoras began to appear in Kios during the Classical period (Lawall 1995, 88–104, figs. 33–6; Atila 2003, cat. 20; Monachov *et al.* 2016, Ch.13; Coşkun and Çevirici-Coşkun 2017, cat. 5). Two examples of Thasian-type amphoras, which have a known distribution from Thrace to the Black Sea (Lozanov 2010, cat. 10–11), are among the Kios finds. Ionian-type amphoras are represented by three examples (Lawall 1995, fig. 71, 73; Sezgin 2012, 437, İon.22, İon.25), and southern Aegean- or possibly Koan-type amphoras from this period are exemplified by two pieces (Dündar 2017, KosA3–5).

Both Aegean and Black Sea-type amphoras began to appear together during the Late Classical period. Aegean imports dominated, and amphoras originating in the Black Sea are sparsely

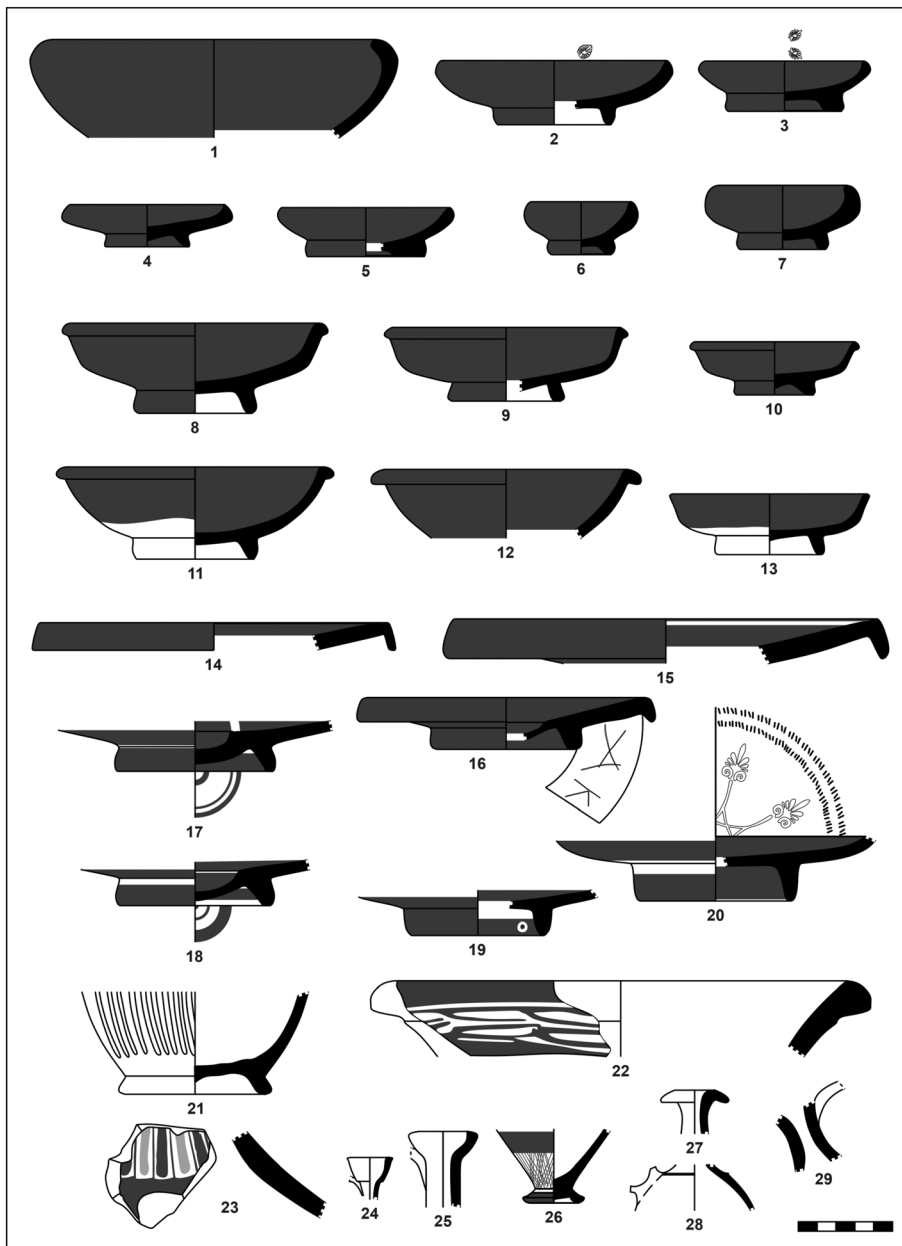


FIGURE 6

Fine wares from Kios. 1–7. black-glazed bowls and salt cellars; 8–13. partially-glazed bowls; 14–20. plates; 21–23. black-glazed closed vessels; 24–29. cosmetic vessels.

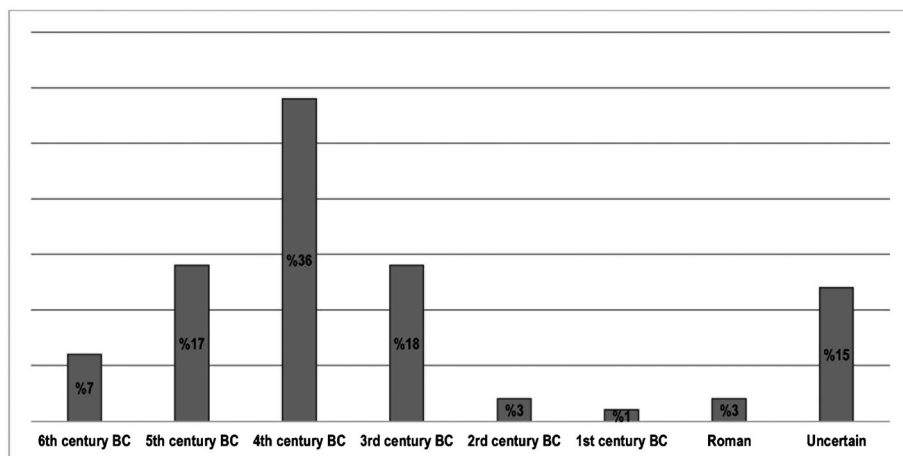


FIGURE 7
Chart of transport amphoras from Kios.

represented, only by a single fragment of a Sinopean-type amphora (Fig. 9.1; Monachov *et al.* 2016, Sn.1). Northern Aegean-type amphoras (Fig. 9.2–7) constitute the most common group of this period (Lawall 2002, 200–1), but a sherd attributed to Mende (Fig. 9.3–4; Lawall 2010, pl. 94.3) and six fragments of Thasian-type amphoras (Fig. 9.5–7; Lawall 1995, 130–44, fig. 45) are also included in the group. Five sherds belong to the Solokha I group from the southern Aegean (Fig. 9.8–9; Lawall 1995, 218–30), while other finds of this period include four fragments of Chian-type amphoras (Fig. 9.10–1; Dündar 2017, Khi45; Coşkun and Çevirici-Coşkun 2017, cat. 7–8) albeit that these were also known from previous periods.

Sinopean-type amphoras (Fig. 9.12–13; Lawall 2010, pl. 95.7; Monachov *et al.* 2016, Sn.6) of which six sherds are among the finds of the Early Hellenistic period, were also seen in the previous period, as were Heracleian-type amphoras (Fig. 9.14; Monachov *et al.* 2016, HP.77) represented in the Early Hellenistic repertoire by a single sherd.

Compared to the *poleis* and minor settlements located to the west of Kios, settlements to the east have been less well surveyed. These are typically prehistoric mounds, or at least were discovered and investigated by those focusing on prehistory, such as Bittel (1942, 163), Kökten (1951, 207–10), Mellaart (1955, 55–74), French (1967, 49–100) and Özdoğan (1986, 411–16); fewer Classical than prehistoric materials were reported from their surveys. Though the related layers of these mounds have been variously described as Phrygian, Classical, Greek or Iron Age in survey reports, it is possible to discuss individual sherds so that they can be dated with greater precision (Fig. 10 and Table 1). Most are sherds from Attic and Atticizing wares (Berlin and Lynch 2002; Trinkl 2013; Lynch and Matter 2014; Dusinberre *et al.* 2019), though Lydian or Lydianising skyphoi and Ionian cups are also included (Gürtekin-Demir 2002; Koçak-Yaldir 2009). There is likely a gross underrepresentation of transport amphoras in these assemblages: they were often discarded in the field, perhaps because the excavators were unable to confidently identify them.

A rim fragment from a black-glazed skyphos (Fig. 10.3), a base fragment of a bolsal (Fig. 10.9), and a body sherd from a black-glazed lekythos (Fig. 10.12) were found at Çakırca

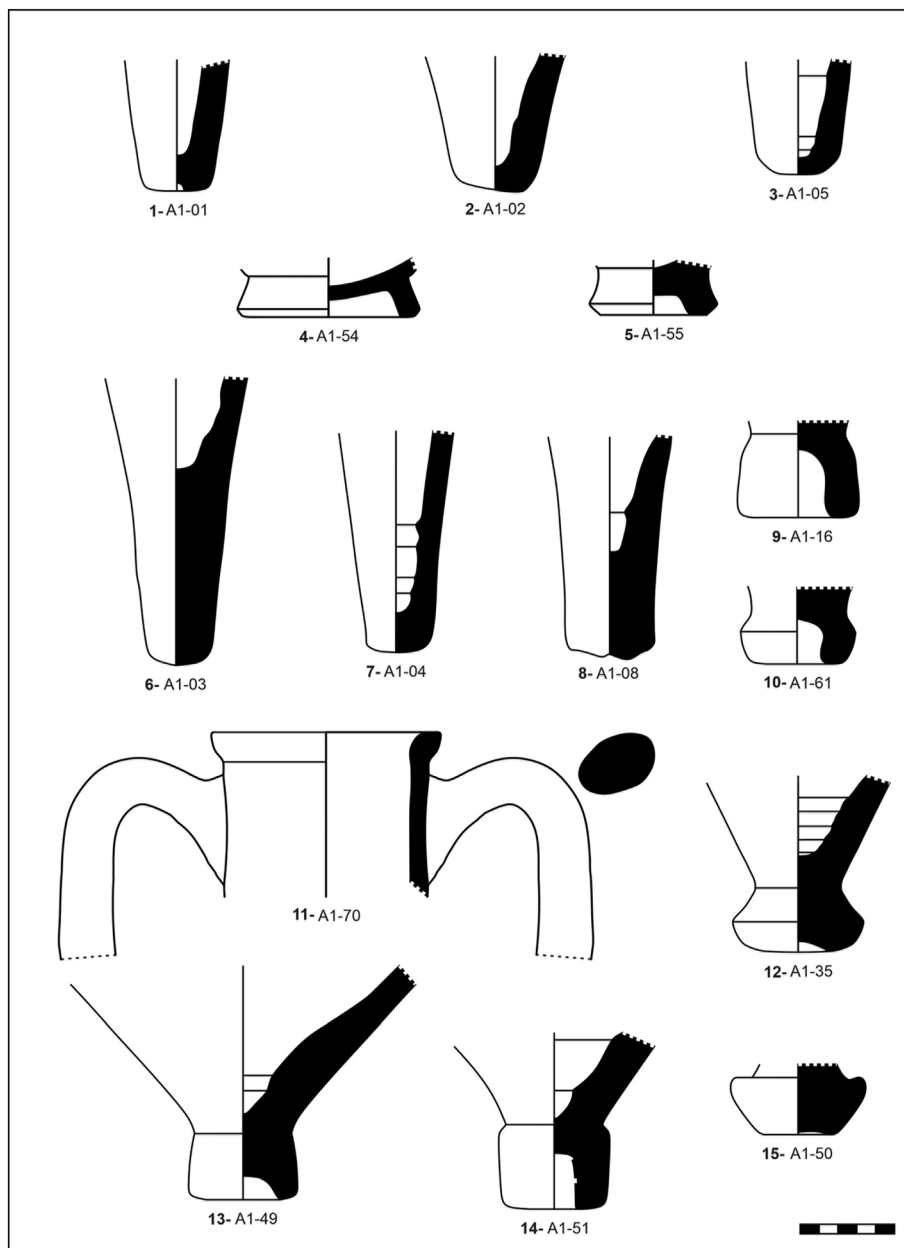


FIGURE 8

Archaic transport amphorae from Kios. 1–3. Lesbian-type; 4–5. Ionian or Milesian-type and Early Classical; 6–8. Lesbian-type; 9. Samian-type; 10–11. Chian-type; 12. Thasian-type; 13–14. Ionian-type; 15. southern Aegean or Koan-type.

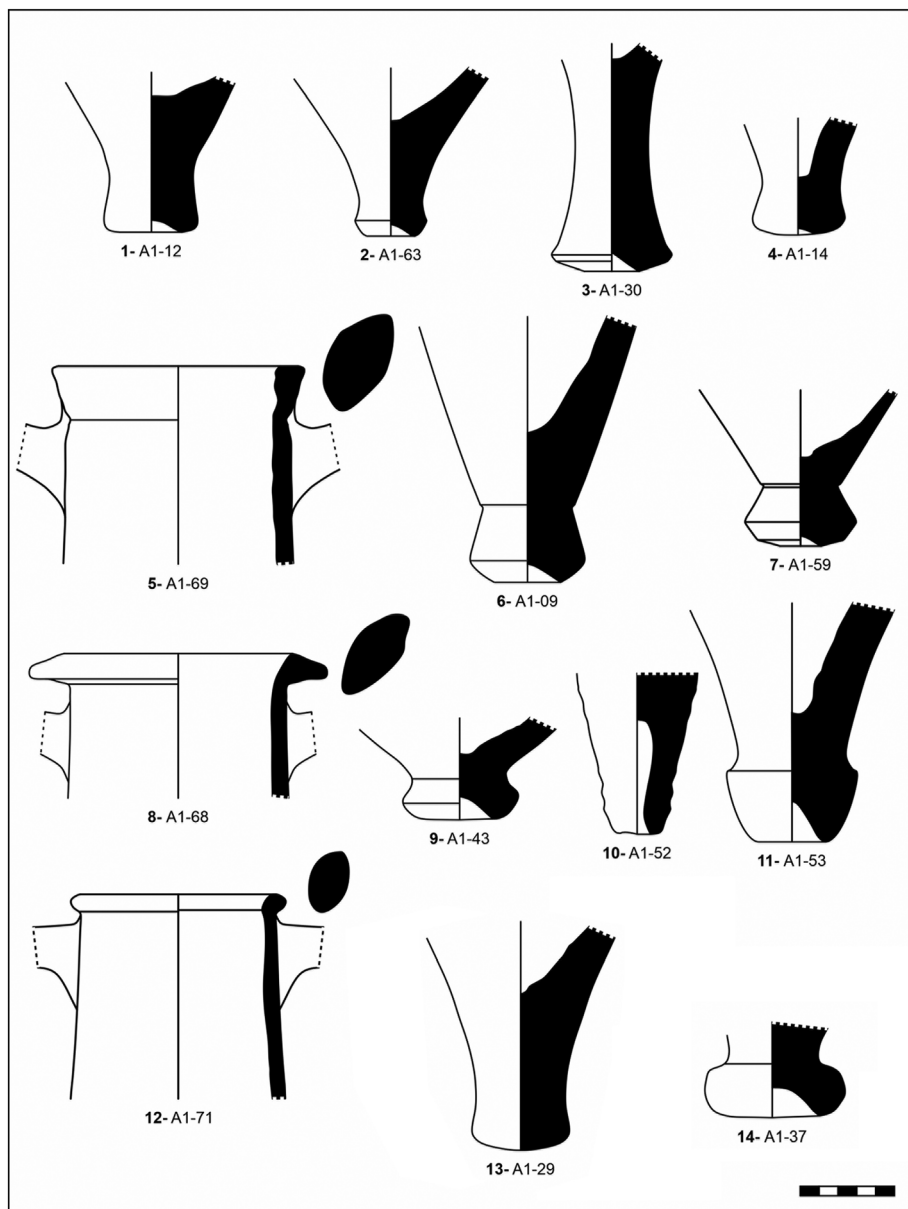


FIGURE 9

Late Classical transport amphoras from Kios. 1. Sinopean-type; 2. northern Aegean-type; 3–4. Mendeian-type; 5–7. Thasian-type; 8–9. southern Aegean Solokha I; 10–11. Chian-type and Early Hellenistic; 12–13. Sinopean-type; 14. Chersonesan-type.

Höyük on the İznik Plain. They compare well with Attic shapes that have been dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Among the finds from Üyücek was the base of a black-glazed skyphos (Fig. 10.5) and a rim fragment from a partially-glazed projecting-rim bowl (Fig. 10.8). These sherds

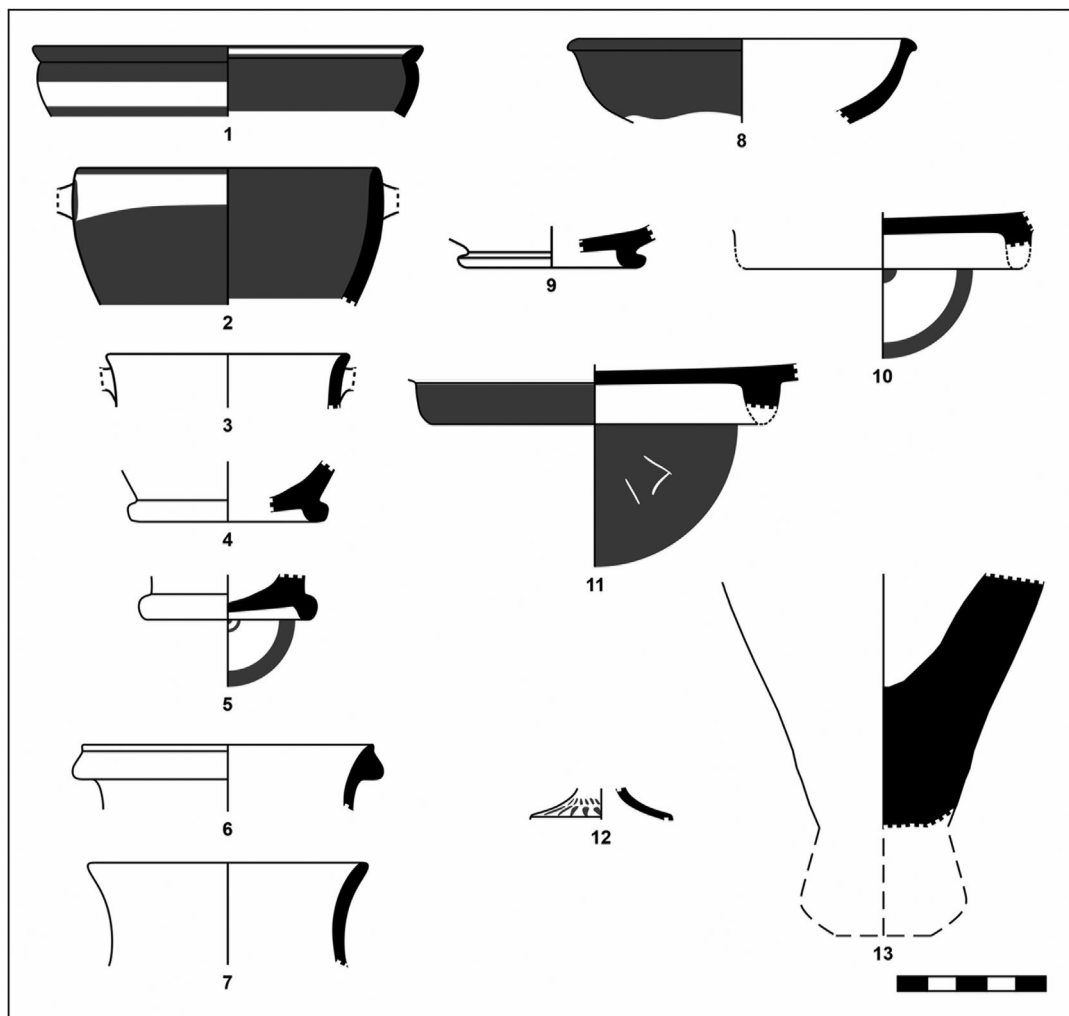


FIGURE 10
Greek sherds from rural settlements around Kios.

suggest that Üyücek flourished – and was perhaps settled in – the fourth century BC. Black-glazed skyphoi appear to have been widespread on the İznik Plain to the east of Kios, because finds from Çiçekli Höyük include a base fragment (Fig. 10.4) from another example, along with the rim fragment of a black-glazed kantharos (Fig. 10.7) and a base fragment from a wide and shallow black-glazed plate with a ‘TI’ graffito preserved on its underside (Fig. 10.11). These finds can likewise be dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

Characteristic sherds from the Yenişehir plain include a couple collected from Yenişehir I: a rim fragment of a banded skyphos (Fig. 10.2) and a base fragment from a black-glazed plate (Fig. 10.10). These sherds demonstrate that the settlement was inhabited during the sixth and fourth centuries BC. Finds at Mentеше Höyük include a mould-made rim fragment of a kantharos, and a

TABLE 1
Ceramic finds from rural settlements near Kios

Settlement	Finds and Analogies	Occupation
Çakırca Höyük	Black-glazed skyphos (Fig. 10.3); bolsal (Fig. 10.9); lekythos (Fig. 10.12) (Sparkes and Talcott 1972, cat. 349, 545–54, 1115–16, 1118–19)	Fifth–fourth centuries BC
Üyücek	Black-glazed skyphos (Fig. 10.5); partially-glazed bowl (Fig. 10.8) (Sparkes and Talcott 1972, 352; Rotroff 1997, cat. 151–4; Bulut 2009, cat. 10)	Fourth century BC
Çiçekli Höyük	Black-glazed skyphos (Fig. 10.4); kantharos (Fig. 10.7); plate (Fig. 10.11) (Sparkes and Talcott 1972, cat. 342–9, 352, 1022–60; Rotroff 1997, cat. 151–4, 778–84)	Fifth–fourth centuries BC
Yenişehir I Höyük	Banded skyphos (Fig. 10.2) (Gürtekin-Demir 2002, 122–7; Koçak-Yaldır 2010, cat. L6–L11); black-glazed plate (Fig. 10.10) (Sparkes and Talcott 1972, cat. 1022–60; Rotroff 1997, cat. 778–84)	Sixth–fourth centuries BC
Menteşe Höyük	Black-glazed kantharoi (Fig. 10.6) (Sparkes and Talcott 1972, cat. 700; Rotroff 1997, cat. 36–43)	Fourth century BC
Tataion/Arıcaklar	Thasian(?) (Fig. 10.13) (Lawall 1995, 136–7, fig. 45), northern and southern Aegean-type amphoras; Corinthian, Lydian and Attic or Atticizing sherds (Kökten 1951; Bilgin 2020)	Sixth–fourth centuries BC
Yeniköy Höyük	Ionian cup (Fig. 10.1) (Schlotzauer 2001, cat. 219–329)	Sixth century BC

body fragment from a black-glazed kantharos (Fig. 10.6). Accordingly, it is proposed that the mound was settled during the fourth century BC.

Arıcaklar, in the Bilecik region, was discovered by Kökten, who reported ‘black and thin’ profiles on the settlement in the 1940s (Kökten 1951, 209, Lev. 12a).⁴ The site has been revisited in recent years during surveys conducted by Sarı (Sarı 2019, 404), whose finds include a fragment of a transport amphora (Fig. 10.13). Although poorly preserved, the characteristics of its clay and its form might be reminiscent of a Thasian-type amphora. Arıcaklar deserves closer attention as it was clearly an important regional centre during the Iron Age, settled at least from the early sixth century BC. A rim fragment from an Ionian cup (Fig. 10.1) was uncovered during fieldwork at Yeniköy Höyük, which was focused on the destruction of the mound. This sherd is similar to the Type 10 form from Miletus, which is thought to be one of its production centres, and is generally dated to the sixth century BC.

DISCUSSION

The significance of Kios in maritime trade networks lies in its geographical, political, and economic position in the region. The city was on a highly defensible promontory, and controlled what was likely a large, well-protected harbour. The south-easternmost point of this promontory has the lowest average wind speed along the southern shores of the Propontis (9.4 m/s), so its harbour was nearly always safe for shipping (Kurt 2013, 111).

⁴ This plate includes a rim fragment from a kantharos (top) and a foot fragment of kylix or a plate (bottom). Both fragments seem similar to black-glazed forms of the fifth and the fourth centuries BC.

Transport amphoras are perhaps the most important evidence for the city's status as a regional market. That they were possibly imported from many different production sites shows that Kios was part of an overseas trade network. The amphoras found there indicate that commerce in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods was carried out progressively between Kios and the cities of the Aegean, and infrequently with the centres of the Black Sea (Fig. 7). Transport amphoras match those of the fine wares, first appearing in the sixth century BC and increasing steadily to peak in the fourth century BC, with a significant decrease in number from the third century BC onwards (Fig. 7). Despite the limited nature of the rescue excavations, the finds nevertheless match the ages of those from surrounding settlements (Troy: Lawall 2002, 2019; Parium: Akkaş 2015; Granicus plain: Rose *et al.* 2007; Dascylium: Atila 2003; Koçak-Yaldir 2009; Byzantium: Öncü 2013; settlements surveyed to the south-east of the Propontis: Erpehlivan 2018), and their densities hint at the scale of commercial activity around this time. Kios was founded at the south-easternmost point of the Propontis, making it ideally located for a role in the supply and distribution of trade products arriving by sea.

The transport amphoras and fine ware found on the north-west Anatolian rural side must have arrived there via ports, likely somewhere along the northern Anatolian coast, probably including Kios itself. The finds of Kios mean it was almost certainly a regional marketplace of goods found along the east-to-west trade route that extended between Hellespontine Phrygia and Phrygia Major. This hypothesis finds support with Gordion's transport amphoras (Lawall 2010). According to which the Hellespontine trade route (Koçak-Yaldir 2011, 370–6) would have been an important alternative to the Black Sea and Aegean trade routes from the Archaic period, as demonstrated by similar finds from Troy and Dascylium (Lawall 2010, 164–5). The route from Cyzicus and Dascylium to Gordion via Dorylaeum can be also supported with archaeological survey finds from minor settlements (Erpehlivan 2020) while there is gap of evidence from Bursa and İnegöl plains. This is in contrast to the Yenişehir and İznik regions, with neither contemporary settlements nor associated remains found on the sites yet. Besides, landing in Kios shortens the land travel of this route by up to 150 kilometres.

According to Osborne (1996), trade always involved the exchange of goods to meet demands. However, there is no direct evidence for what merchants received in exchange for the goods they landed in Kios. Lewis (2016), in his enquiry into Gordion's consumers of Greek goods, put forth the idea that slaves would have been highly desirable Phrygian exports to the Aegean, and Osborne (1996, 39) regarded the slave trade as more valuable than pots. The flow of slaves from Asia Minor, and especially from Phrygia, to the Aegean world is supported by evidence from ancient sources, notably inscriptions that bear local Anatolian personal names from as early as the sixth century BC (Lewis 2016, 320–1), and what may be a coffle pictured on a grave stela from the Bilecik region (Erpehlivan 2021a). Other than the slave trade, there is little evidence for alternative exports, except for the salted fish from Hellespontine Phrygia mentioned by Hermippus (fr. 63) and Eupolis (fr. 199).

CONCLUSIONS

Kios was located at a strategic point, ideally placed to be a regional nexus between maritime and overland trade networks of Hellespontine Phrygia. Its role seems to have begun following the appearance of eastern Greek and Lydian goods in the Archaic period, and expanded to become a regional centre for overseas trade in the Classical period, as did many coastal cities

in the Black Sea region (Bouzek 1996, 159). The total amount of Kios finds are naturally not comparable with Dascylium, the satrapal capital of Hellespontine Phrygia. This last has been comprehensively excavated for more than thirty seasons; thousands of fine ware sherds and 590+ trade amphoras – only found between 1989–2002 (Atila 2003) – have been published. However, the very limited rescue excavations at Kios have yet uncovered hundreds of fine ware sherds and 80+ trade amphoras. This yield indicates the regional importance of the site when its geographical location and historical background are better reconsidered. Materials found from Kios are also consistent with ceramics found in its hinterlands, demonstrating that the city was a place where goods from overseas were exchanged and disseminated – a market town – during the expansion of trade in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. This conclusion is also supported by the autonomous gold and silver coins minted in the city, which parallel other centres of the period (Archibald 2013, 151).

Ceramics can be considered as a proxy of economic activity, even if they do not reveal the exact nature of that activity (Archibald 2013, 140–1). But, as noted by Dusinger (2013, 269), this kind of trade would certainly have required local participation, with merchants who conducted business with Persians or Persianized Anatolians, and with regional communities. This also appears to be a trade that directly benefitted the satrapy (Dusinger 2013, 41). Archaeological evidence from both Kios and its surrounding territory supports the hypothesis that the city was an important market hub between the Archaic and the Early Hellenistic periods. However, there are still many questions waiting to be answered, such as the scale of these trading activities and the identities of the consumers and merchants.

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*Department of Archaeology
Bilecik Şeyh Edebali University
11230, Bilecik Güllümbe Kampüsü E Blok
TURKEY
and
Oriental Institute
University of Chicago
60637, Illinois Chicago 1155 E 58th St
UNITED STATES
E-mail: huseyinerpehlivan@gmail.com
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7612-7118>*

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Data S1. Supporting Information