IDENTITY IN PONTUS FROM THE ACHAEMENIDS THROUGH THE ROMAN PERIOD

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

IDENTITY IN PONTUS FROM THE ACHAEMENIDS THROUGH THE ROMAN PERIOD

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The Kingdom of Pontus ruled over the Black Sea Region from 302 to 64 B.C. and covered a large geographical area. From its foundation until the day it was destroyed, it hosted many cultures in its territory and tried to adapt to cultural changes throughout its history. The aim of this thesis is to examine the kingdom's material culture in the light of the theoretical approaches to periods of cultural transition and to observe their effects on cultural identities. It also brings a theoretical approach to how social identities change during the process of integration. This study seeks to develop a better understanding of these changes to see if they were voluntary or compulsorily enforced by an intentional policy. Finally, it tries to comprehend how the changes were incrementally implemented into the society.

Keywords: Pontus, Black Sea, Cultural identity

ÖZ

AKHAMENİDLERDEN ROMA DÖNEMİNE KADAR PONTUS'DA KİMLİK

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Pontus Krallığı M.Ö. 302-64 yıllarında Karadeniz Bölgesinde hakimiyet sürdü ve geniş coğrafi sınırlara ulaştı. Kuruluşundan yıkıldığı güne kadar pekçok kültürü topraklarında ağırladı. Bu yeni kültürlerle beraber gelen değişikliklere dönemler boyunca uyum sağlamaya çalıştı. Bu tezin amacı, bu geçiş dönemlerine yapılan teorik yaklaşımlar ışığında materyal kültürü incelemek ve kimlik yapılarına dair etkilerini gözlemlemektir. Aynı zamanda, toplumsal kimlik yapılarının entegrasyon süreçleri sırasında ne gibi değişikler gösterebileceğine dair teorik bir yaklaşım getirmektir. Son olarak bu çalışma, bu değişikliklerin gönüllü olarak mı yoksa kasıtlı uygulanan bir politikanın sonucu olarak mı gerçekleştiğini anlamaya çalışmakta ve bu değişikliklerin topluma nasıl aşamalı olarak uygulandığını araştırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pontus, Karadeniz, Kimlik

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Kingdom of Pontus ruled over the Black Sea Region from 302 to 64 B.C., and covered a large geographical area. The inhabitants of its territory were Greek and the founder kings' were Iranian, which meant that these two cultures would have to merge in order to establish a strong kingdom. It is important to comprehend how these two cultures were merged, the changes integration involved and their adoption by the indigenous people, because this will help us to understand how the kingdom became peaceful and durable.

As Rome expanded, it began to pose a threat to Pontus, and problems started to arise. After long wars with Rome, Pontus was defeated, and its land was divided among the provinces of the Roman Empire. This meant that a new culture and language was about to be introduced to Pontus. These significant administrative, social, linguistic changes also changed the architecture and material culture of the kingdom.

The Kingdom of Pontus is a good case for examining the identity issues that occurred during Hellenization and Romanization. It took nearly one hundred years of change to bring the kingdom under the control of the Romans and adapt it to a new system.

Thesis research will enhance our theoretical understanding of cultural identity changes in the Black Sea Region. The Black Sea region, especially the Kingdom of Pontus experienced both Greek and Roman cultures, so it is ideal for a study of cultural identity.

The first chapter will be based on theoretical developments concerning cultural identity and focus on a new and up-to-date review and interpretation of the literature on the subject. Identity in archeology has been questioned in a variety of ways and correlated with material culture. Examining material culture and cultural identity is significant both for individuals and societies. Among the data available for the Classical Period in the Black Sea, this study will consider coins, inscriptions and architectural remains.

The second chapter will focus on cultural identity in the Black Sea Region. Starting with the Persian Empire, it will briefly introduce the historical background of the Kingdom of Pontus; its establishment, period of expansion, royal and religious policies and its final defeat by the Romans.

Later, the study will examine cultural identities in the Kingdom of Pontus separately for the Persian-Hellenistic and Roman periods. Together with material remains, the historical sources provide valuable information for understanding the social development of these societies and will thus be examined in detail. By examining the reorganization of the cities and changes in language, political institutions, culture; the study will first evaluate the fusion of Greek and Persian cultures from the beginning of the kingdom to its end, and then the Roman integration and acculturation of the society, to understand if these changes were voluntarily or compulsorily

enforced by an intentional policy. It will try to comprehend how the changes were incrementally implemented, their consequences for both, the locals and the Romans and finally, how these two cultures merged.

Unfortunately, a wide range of the ancient sources and material remains did not reach the present, and therefore the available information from the Black Sea Region is limited. The Roman conquest, transformed or destroyed most of the architectural structures and most of the writings of the authors who were born and raised in Pontus were lost. Most of the evidence that remain was written, made or built by the Romans and advances their point of view. This could lead to a biased interpretation. Nevertheless, Strabo, Appian and Polybius are the authors who offer the most information about the kingdom.

There is a lack of remains related to the image of Mithridates from the Black Sea Region. However, remains discovered elsewhere have helped to reduce this lack. There are few institutions that work solely on the Black Sea Region. The Black Sea & Eastern Mediterranean Studies Program at the International Hellenic University in Greece and the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies in Denmark have been of the most benefit to me. Many excavations and surveys have been conducted by both Turkish and foreign archeologists in the region and generated a lot of new information.[1]

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[1] For example; the Komana Project (2004-present) by METU, the Amisus Excavations (several excavations since 1991) by Samsun Museum, the Pompeioupolis Excavations (several excavations since 1984) by Kastamonu Museumand the Sebastoupolis Excavations (1989-1990).

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL IDENTITY IN ARCHEOLOGY

2.1. Theoretical Developments in Identity Studies

Identity has been a matter of debate in archeology for sometimes now. While the lexical definition means "the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is"[2], identity in archeology, as in the modern world, remains ambiguous. It is a sensitive topic of study that involves on ethnicity, status, age, gender and religion, to describe both individuals and groups, in historical contexts.[3]

Identity has been interrogated in a variety of ways in archeology. According to Meskell, there are two ways to comprehend identity. The first is to understand the social development of societies as defined by formal associations such as the American Anthropological Association. The second is to learn about people's individual experiences.[4] That is to say, archeology should examine identity separately for the individuals and societies. When analyzing society, archeology should interpret common people, as

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[2] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/identity

[3] Garcia (2005); Insoll (2007).

[4] Meskell (2007, 23-24).

well as elites on an individual basis to get a clear understanding of hierarchical order in communities.[5]

However, it should be remembered that sometimes identities are not chosen by people, but ascribed to or even imposed on them, by their society they belong to.[6] When examining the identity of these groups, ethnicity should also be considered. Ethnic conflicts should also be understood and taken into account.[7] Therefore, before examining the theoretical developments in identity, it is also essential to get familiar with the ideas of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Ethnicity is; "the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition". Ethnicity is the interaction of cultural and social developments within a group,[8] and ethnic identity defines a group that shares common national or cultural attitudes.[9]

In the history of archeological research, studies of identity have varied immensely. Already in the nineteenth century, awareness about culture had emerged.[10] Culture refers to "the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively".[11] In the archeological context, culture provides

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[5] Casella (2005, 111).

[6] Noonan (2003, 64).

[7] Insoll (2007, 4).

[8] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ethnicity

[9] Jones (1997, XIII).

[10] Trigger (1989, 235).

[11] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/culture

information about the habits, traditions, behaviors of individuals and societies, and accordingly their identities.

According to Siapkas, the cultural-historical approach in archeology shares the assumptions of the primordialist approach in anthropology.[12] Both approaches tried to analyze identities through only physical cultural evidence found during fieldwork. However, archeologists did not give enough importance to ethnicity which made primordialists.[13] The term, primordialism, was coined by Shils and Geertz in anthropology,[14] and originates from "primordialis" which means "first of all" in Latin.[15] It sees ethnicity as a static category that includes race, language, religion, region and kinship.[16] Isaacs states that the identity of an individual derives from a "basic group identity", the group they were born in, which is linked to the ethnic identity of this group by common cultural features.[17] According to primordialists, an ethnicity includes people with the same heritage and ancestry and is a non-changing identity. There are fixed ethnic boundaries and ethnic groups are connected by biological factors and place of residence. Hence it is fixed across time and because of this assumption, the primordialist approach cannot explain changes in identity. Meanwhile in archeology, the cultural-historical approach was

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[12] Siapkas (2003, 51).

[13] Olsen and Kobylinski (1991, 10); Siapkas (2003, 17).

[14] Geertz (1963, 112).

[15] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/primordial

[16] Siapkas (2003, 51).

[17] Isaacs (1975, 30-40).

dominant. It assumed that in a determined society, cultural behaviors and beliefs would be stable and the same for each individual, and that culture emerged from shared ideas and beliefs, and ensured the integrity and unity of the society.[18] Thus, Childe says that a standard type of identity would emerge over generations.[19] However, apart from this, there was no detailed research on identity which delayed on identity studies in archeology. In particular individual identity did not gain importance until the post-processualist approach, which begin to spread in the 1980s.

Instrumentalism is another theoretical approach, which stands in opposition to primordialism. Starting in the 1970s, the instrumentalist approach gradually gained more importance. Unlike primordialism, instrumentalism's main idea was to determine ethnicity from society and culture.[20] It sees ethnic identity as a changing phenomenon that can be affected by its socio-economics and politics. Thus, ethnicity is socially and politically constructed over time and situational factors and processes need to be taken into account when analyzing the identities of both groups and individuals. However, the instrumentalist approach does not explain the interaction between culture and ethnicity.[21] Many of its assumptions and characteristics; are similar to the processual approach in archeology.[22] Processual archeologists also agree that,

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[18] Jones (2007, 45).

[19] Childe (1956, 8); Jones (2007, 45).

[20] Siapkas (2003, 15).

[21] Jones (1997, 76-79).

[22] Siapkas (2003, 188).

to have a clear understanding of research results; environmental, behavioral and situational factors should be taken into consideration. The facts are not enough evidence on their own and they need to be explained in their context.[23]

Binford, the pioneer of the processual archeology, also advocated analyzing long-term changes in archeological data and their place of origin. Understanding their environment, the factors and conditions that affected them facilitate a broader view of the archeological context.[24] Binford tried to explain that all the steps in the entire process are important to evaluate. Trying to understand material culture in the long-term, makes it possible to observe changes over time and take environmental factors into account. Environmental factors affect societies in different ways, and they can directly affect material culture, which provides significant information about identity.

However, according to García, processual archeology did not have a significant effect on identity studies. Initially, its methods remained similar to the cultural-historical point of view, where the individuals were not examined separately within societies, and the societies' identities were understood to be uniform. Thus, they studied group identity but did not pay much attention to individuals. In the forthcoming years, archeologists started to focus on the creation of the archeological records and include material culture in order to get a better understanding of identity.[25]

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[23] Trigger (1989, 372).

[24] Binford (2001, 24).

[25] García (2005, 4).

Analyzing the process and understanding the environment and its conditions are significant, but without comprehending individuals' relation to culture, it is still challenging to have a well-defined identity construction. With Hodder's ethno-archeological research, the archeologists began to see the importance of the interaction of material culture and ethnicity for understanding identity.[26] The lack of interest in the individual began to get more criticism with the rise of the theoretical movement, after 1985, that would later be called post-processualism. [27]

Post-processual archeology emerged as a critique of processual archeology.[28] It was developed in the 1970s, with the intention of attempting to achieve a deeper comprehension of ancient societies. This movement of thought accentuated the subjectivity of archeological understandings.[29]

To get a better understanding of this trend, we will look at Hodder's ideas, the pioneer of post-processualist theory. Hodder's work was significantly concerned with identity studies.[30] He agreed on the fact that, the past conditions of material remains, their production, use and change through time cannot be excluded from our observations on society or separated from past social situations. Since identity is also considered part of the social process, examining this process as a whole together the material

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[26] Siapkas (2003, 189).

[27] Leach (1973, 763).

[28] Yoffee and Sherratt (1993, 13).

[29] Wilkie (2016).

[30] García (2005, 5).

remains, improves our understanding of both individual and group identities.[31] While achieving a deeper understanding of especially individuals, the post-processual approach still failed to deal sufficiently with status and religion.[32] When studying material remains, they did not give importance of the status of the people who were producing and using them whether they were elites or common people.

According to Trigger, objects are the things that make people and people construct social structure with them.[33] Possibly, due to migration of the progressive cultures, hybridity is noticeable in material culture.[34] Material culture certainly interacts with ethnic identity, however Trigger has argued that ethnicity is not an approachable phenomenon for archeology because it is not possible to have a direct understanding of the ideas of people who lived in the past.[35]

Ethnic identity may be understood to define groups that share common national or cultural attitudes. Here, it is appropriate to briefly define national identity, and then explain what we mean by cultural identity. National identity is "a sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, and language".[36] The idea of culture is also involved with national

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[31] García (2005, 6).

[32] García (2005, 8).

[33] Trigger (1989, 446).

[34] Trigger (1989, 238).

[35] Trigger (1977, 22-23).

[36] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/national_identity

identity. "Culture" is the phenomenon that separates nations and establishes the content of national identity.[37] Unlike primordialism's view of identity as a naturally given and static entity, cultural identity means that both group and individual identities are constructed under the effects of socio-cultural, political and socio-historical factors and processes, which are all invested in the significance of artifacts. Thus, while cultural identity is open to changes due to socio-historical processes, ethnic identity is related to nationality and ethnicity, which makes it harder to change.[38] The relationship between identity and material culture will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

It should be remembered that there may always be other phenomena that affects identity. For example, Insoll, introduced a phenomenon that has recently began to be discussed, age. He reminds us that people change in childhood, adulthood and even old age and that this should be taken into consideration when examining identities.[39]

To sum up briefly, cultural-historical archeologists, like primordialists, did not sufficiently emphasize identity and saw it as innate and constant. Instrumentalists, emerged as a reaction to this approach and claimed that identity is influenced and shaped by society and culture. At around the same time, a new trend in archeology, processualism examined the identity of societies as groups, but ignored individual identity. With the post-processual

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[37] Jones (1997, 41).

[38] Golubovic (2011, 26).

[39] Insoll (2007, 5).

movement began by Hodder, archeologists began to consider not only current conditions but past conditions as well in order to understand identity. A difficulty arises from our modern idea of identity within the context of nationalism. While cultural identity is tried to be understood in relation to interaction between different groups, national identity refers to a communal identity, which is less subject to change due to external factors.

Identity is shaped in a variety of ways, and many factors play a role in its transformation, including political, cultural and economic condition. Comprehending these complex processes facilitates understanding identity, the historical behavior of peoples and ethnic conflicts. Identity is a complex issue that needs to be interpreted using ethnicity, culture and material remains.

Understanding the theoretical developments concerning identity in archeology is essential for analyzing the group identity of the Black Sea Region, its chronological development and the factors that affected it.

2.2. Identity and Material Culture

Material culture consists of concrete evidence that provides valuable information about culture. Evidence based on the material culture is also valuable for examining the identity of both individuals and societies.

Taylor's classic definition of culture is: "a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other

capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.".[40] However, it is important for archeology that any such definition should include objects and artifacts, the stuff of material culture, as Kroeber and Kluckhohn do: "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditional elements of future action.".[41] The study of culture in archeology has been important for understanding the cultural dynamics of ancient communities. Culture can be both material and non-material; however the archeologists only have access to physical evidence, the remains of material culture, so they do cultural analyses of artifacts, to try to reconstruct the human past.[42] It should also be mentioned that, although the artifacts may be in different forms and shapes, the term 'material culture' is often used for portable objects.[43] Research on material culture, has accelerated as the social sciences started to concentrate more on consumption, and work in post structural and interpretive theory has increased the attention devoted to language, culture and space.[44] When examining past

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[40] Taylor (1870, 1).

[41] Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, 181).

[42] Patnaik (1995, 59).

[43] Woodward (2007, 3).

[44] Woodward, (2007, 5).

societies, studies start with material culture, the concrete evidence. Material culture can give ideas about the processes of societal development. The technology with which objects are produced, can provide information about the relationship between objects. Material culture also provides information about the use of space and time and gives us the chance to explore and understand culture more thoroughly.[45]

Material culture and identity are correlated in many aspects. Objects may give information about both individuals and societies, and their social identities. It can facilitate to define the geographical borders of an ethnic group in the light of the locations the artifacts were found. By this, their territory and movements can be also examined and additionally, multiculturalism can be understood better.[46]

Material culture reflects societies' morphologies as well.[47] A better understanding of a society may be achieved if the materials, for example, had multiple purposes, were celebrated for their aesthetic value or can be connected to traditions.[48] Since the stages of production vary from society to society, material culture offers opportunity to see the similarities and differences between groups. Thus, the study of material culture is not only important for understanding resources, technologies, production techniques and economies but also provides information about the societies that

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[45] Hodder (1994, 171).

[46] Insoll (2007, 7-13).

[47] Lemonnier (1986, 253).

[48] Patnaik (1995, 60).

made and used it. Of course, the studies depend on the evidence available. While it is easier to find artifacts such as ceramics and coins; organic materials rarely survive. However, some objects transmit culture through generations and they yield information about social identity, beliefs and social life.[49]

The materials that have been preserved until the present are limited. A wide range of materials, have been destroyed by decomposition, by natural disasters, by humans or by reuse.

Classical archeologists deal with a wide range of materials such as pottery, sculptures, grave stelai, inscriptions and coins. They also deal with architectural remains such as temples and administrative and social structures.

2.2.1. The Material Culture of the Black Sea Region

This inquiry into the Black Sea Region will start by looking at its material culture. It is important to determine the numbers, types and locations of material remains and what kind of information they can provide. It will be based on materials that reveal information about social structure and identity in the Black Sea Region and remains that illuminate the influence of Mithridates VI on the society. The historical sources provide a wealth of information, too. Unlike other regions, it is possible to read ancient texts about the Black Sea Region by several authors with different perspectives.

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[49] Hodder (1982).

Among the data available for the Classical Period in the Black Sea, historical sources have a vital place. They provide valuable information about the geography of the Black Sea Region. Even though, a wide range of the ancient sources did not reach the present day, Strabo (64 B.C. - 20 A.D.) provides important information. His *Geographica,* describes about Amaseia, the Pontic city of his birth, the region's geography and other cities.[50] He gives some information about the cultural and political structure of the Kingdom of Pontus. He also touches on the geography of Anatolia. However, it is difficult to access to detailed records about Mithridates VI and the wars waged in that period.[51] Most of the ancient sources that can be accessed today, were written by Romans or Hellenes who were close to them, are thus entirely objective. Unfortunately, the work of the authors who were natives of Pontus have not reached the present. Therefore, the extant information is insufficient.[52] Polybius (ca. 200-120 B.C.) wrote about the general situation of the Black Sea Region and the establishment of the Kingdom of Pontus.[53] Although the subsequent years were compiled from fragments of various resources in Justius' *Epitome*, it is possible to learn about the first years of the reign of Mithridates VI and his policies. Cicero (106-43 B.C.) describes the situation of the provinces in the Roman period, the policies of the Romans and their political situation during the Mithridatic Wars. This source is very significant for understanding

[50] Strabo (XII.3).

[51] Justin and Appian are the main authors who talk about his reign and the Mithridatic wars. Erciyas (2001, 17).

[52] Arslan (2007, 533).

[53] Polybius Hist. (V).

political positions during the Roman period because Cicero includes speeches such as *De Imperio Cn. Pompei* which clearly details the Romans' behaviors towards Mithridates.[54] On the other hand, Plutarch (ca. 46-120 A.D.), in his work *Moralia*, gives us an idea about how the Romans were seen by the Hellenes and thus contributes to study of these identities. Finally, the author who provides the most detailed information about the personality of Mithridates is Appian, with his work *Mithridatika*.[55]

Another source of information is coinage. The coinage of Kingdom of Pontus bore the portrait and legends of Mithridates since Mithridates ascended the throne in 120 B.C.[56] The most coins were minted during the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator.[57] He minted a great number of coins in order to pay his soldiers during the Mithridatic wars. These coins make it possible to determine the policies he pursued and the course of the wars. The coins of Mithridates VI were more realistic in the beginning.[58] When he started to compare himself with Alexander the Great, the portraits took on a more idealized style.[59] He was trying to depict himself as the savior of Hellenism, the one who would save the Anatolian

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[54] McGing (1986, 179).

[55] Arslan (2007, 532-536).

[56] Pfeiler (1968, 75); McGing (1986, 44).

[57] Reinach (1888).

[58] Højte (2009, 148-149).

[59] McGing (1986, 101).

people from the Roman barbarians as the beloved Alexander the Great has earlier saved them from the Persians.[60]

The coins make it also possible to examine the royal Greek iconography of that period.[61] The iconography and writings on the coins provide information about Mithridates VI, too. The mythological figures metaphorically elucidate the socio-political situation of the Kingdom of Pontus and give us an idea about the beliefs and traditions of its inhabitants.[62] The only problem is identifying Mithridates VI differentiating him from Alexander the Great since both were so often compared.[63]

Coins also differentiate the elites and the commoners because royal and civic coins were made from different materials.[64]

Unfortunately, since most of the coins do not derive from dated contexts, they lack information.[65] Still, the portraits and inscriptions on the coins, facilitate understanding the spread of Mithridates' sovereignty.[66]

In addition, the epigraphical sources are also significant because they provide the information as a primary source. There are a great variety of epigraphical remains in the Black Sea Region from

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[60] Arslan (2007, 127-128).

[61] Højte (2009, 149).

[62] Arslan (2007, 536-537).

[63] Erciyas (2001, 17-18).

[64] For further information see Erciyas (2001).

[65] Erciyas (2001, 157).

[66] Arslan (2007, 536).

during the Hellenistic period and the Hellenic Pontic Kingdom, especially from during the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator.[67] They include "senatus consulta" decrees of the senate of Pontus, and inscriptions made in honor of military commanders from during the Mithridatic wars. The sculptures and inscriptions in honor of the Pontic King unfortunately did not reach the present because they were destroyed by the Romans after they conquered Pontus.[68] Thus, there are no remains that provide information about how the people saw him or how he influenced them.[69]

Looking at architectural remains, especially in the temple states of Komana, Zela and Ameria, in terms of the changes they underwent and the situation of the temples, yields valuable information about the political thought and the people's respect for their traditions during the Hellenistic period and thereafter. It also allows us to interpret identity through their reactions to these changes.[70]

Unfortunately, there is a lack of remains related to the image of Mithridates VI from the Black Sea Region. However, some were discovered elsewhere and helped to reduce this gap in our knowledge. There are Mithridatic dedications on Delos and in Nemea. In 116/115 B.C., statues began to be made in honor of Mithridates VI Eupator and his brothers. Even though there are not many physical remains that reveal how the king wanted to portray himself, the most useful and important statue for this was made in

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[67] Erciyas (2001, 17).

[68] Arslan (2007, 537).

[69] Erciyas (2001, 18).

[70] For further information abour temple states see Sökmen (2009).

his honor in 102/101 B.C. in the temple of Kabeiroi on Delos, in the honor of Mithridates. He was portrayed together with other Hellenistic kings and Persian officials to show his international recognition.[71] At the same time, the inscriptions identify the building as a temple and its cult statues in Delos were dedicated to Mithridates by a priest known as Athenian Helianax on behalf of the Greeks and Romans.[72] It contains around 50 royal sculptures which were made between the years of 116-88 B.C. They are significant for understanding the king's politic and how the society has perceived him as a ruler. InChios and Rhodos, inscriptions have been found that address the king's participation in these cities. A statue honoring the king was also discovered in Rhodos and another statue found in Miletos and dated to 86/85 B.C.[73]

Information from the Black Sea Region is limited because with the Roman conquest, most of the architectural structures were transformed or destroyed, and most of the writings of the native Pontic authors were lost.[74] Thus, most of the evidence that remains was written, made or built to reflect the Romans' point of view. The architectural remains should therefore be analyzed from different poins of views. Like the sculptures and the dedicatory inscriptions, they give an idea about both self, images and social identities.[75] However, we cannot expect an objective perspective since societies tend to depict things as they want them to be seen, or as they wish

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[71] Højte (2009, 10).

[72] Erciyas (2001, 104-105).

[73] Kreuz (2009, 32-33).

[74] Arslan (2007, 537).

[75] Woodward (2007, 174).

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to see them. Since the elites exerted power cultural influence over the commoners, the material culture tends to represent them.

CHAPTER 3

IDENTITY IN THE CENTRAL BLACK SEA REGION

3.1. Historical Background

The Kingdom of Pontus ruled over the Black Sea Region from 302 until 64 B.C.,[76] and reached a large geographical border. Beforehand, the region was bound to Cappadocia under the rule of the Achaemenid Persian Empire. It became an independent state under the rule of Mithridates Ctistes in 302 B.C.[77] This chapter, will examine the situation of Pontus during the reign of the Persian Empire, after that the establishment of the kingdom, its policies, wars and their administrative and social consequences. Then I will describe how the Romans gained strength and finally conquered the Kingdom of Pontus.

3.1.1. The Persian Empire

The Achaemenid Persian Empire (550-330 B.C.) was founded by Cyrus II of Persia, also known as Cyrus the Great in 550 B.C.[78]

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[76] Christodolou (2015, 6).

[77] Yarshater (1983, 107).

[78] Plutarch, Artaxerxes 1. 3 at http://classics.mit.edu/; The name is the Latinized version of Kỹros in Greek and means sun. (In Old-Persian kûruš or Khûrvaš) Cyrus the Great (ca.600/590 - 530/529 B.C.) was called the King of Kings for his accomplishments. During his reign, the Achaemenid Empire absorbed all the civilized settlements of the ancient Near East and become its largest empire. Nevertheless, he respected the beliefs of the regions he conquered. He had

Cyrus initially ruled over Iran and Lower Mesopotamia but his empire expanded when he conquered all the Persians and Medes.[79] For more than 200 years, the Achaemenid Empire occupied an area from the Hellespont in the west to northwest India, and from Egypt in the south to the borders of modern Kazakhstan.[80] The Central Black Sea Region was dominated by the Achaemenid Empire from the 6th century B.C. onwards.[81]
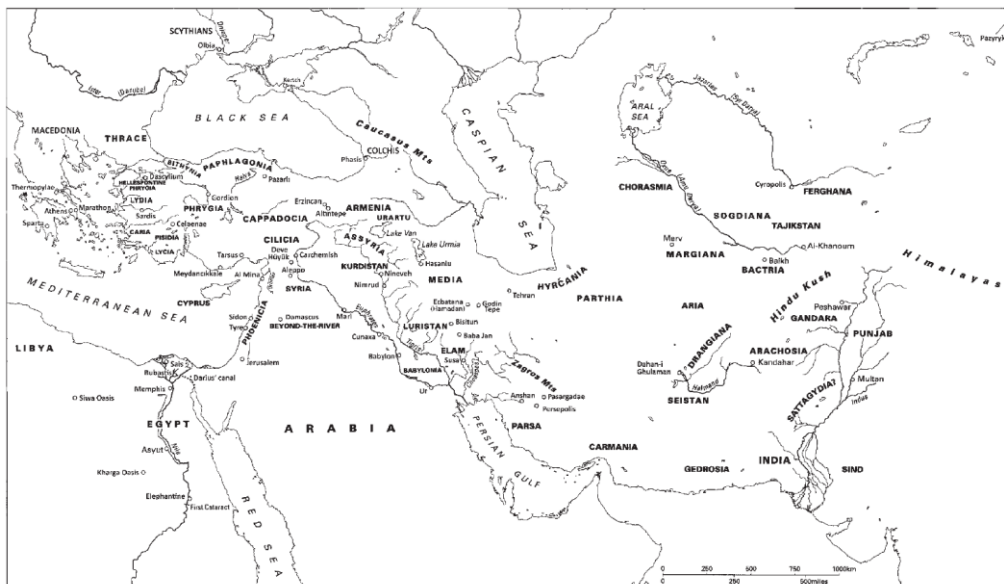
Figure 1: Map of the Achaemenid Empire[82]

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many successes in human rights, political and military strategies and has been seen as a great model.

For further on his life and policies: Schmitt (1983).

[79] Dusinberre (2013, 8).

[80] Kuhrt (2007, 1).

[81] Benario (2006, 81).

[82] Dusinberre (2013, 6-7).

Due to good relations with Iran, Cyrus (559-530 B.C.) was able to establish the Persian Empire with the support of the "warrior nobles of Iran".[83] Intimate relations with the Near East in terms of economy and cultural similarities, also helped his cause.[84]

The empire was an autocracy.[85] Under the Achaemenids the land was divided into provinces and called satrapies.[86] They were ruled by satraps[87], which means protector of the province in Old Persian.[88] This way made it easier to maintain imperial authority.[89] Even though the borders of the provinces were not clearly defined, their administrative structures were the same. Each provincial capital had a palace where satraps could stay, as well as the king, when traveling through the empire.[90] The taxes collected from the provinces were also stored there, so in case of need, satraps could probably use these funds with the permission of the royal family.[91] The central administration also controlled the trade route known as

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[83] Benario (2006, 80-81).

[84] Starr (1991, 277).

[85] Starr (1991, 277).

[86] The lands were divided according to the people's ethnicity, not geographically. Tekin (2010, 97).

[87] Kuhrt (2001, 114).

[88] Dusinberre (2013, 34).

[89] (Dusinberre (2013, 33).

[90] Briant (1996, 196-207).

[91] Kuhrt (2001, 115).

the Royal Road.[92] However, the provinces were also very powerful on their own.[93]

After the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses (529-522 B.C.) took over. During his reign, Egypt was added to the empire. Then Darius I (522-486 B.C.) ascended the throne. He reorganized the satrapies and the tax system.[94] He also won control over the west coast of the Black Sea and Trachea, as well as the Bosporus. There were a few revolts, but they were successfully suppressed.[95]

With the conquest of Egypt, the empire expanded into three continents, Africa, Asia and Europe. Iranian influence was very powerful during that period, too. This influence was felt in the Black Sea Region as well. For example, it had a temple to the Persian deities Omanes, Anaitis and Anadatus at Zela.[96]

On the other hand, the size and also probably the cultural diversity of the empire caused troubles for the central authority. After the death of Darius, his son Xerxes (519-465 B.C.) ascended to the throne and the empire began to feel effects of a new started period of stagnation and progressively a period of regression.[97] The subsequent 150 years saw a great decline. The royal family had

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[92] The Royal Road started in Susa, the capital in southwestern Iran, and continued to Ephesus and Sardis. It was 2.500 kilometers long and could be traveled in approximately in three months. It played an important role in trade between the East and the West. Tekin (2010, 97).

[93] Dusinberre (2013, 34).

[94] Tekin (2010, 97).

[95] Tekin (2010, 100).

[96] Strabo Geo. (XI.8.4; XII.3.37).

[97] Droysen (1883, 53); Briant (2009, 178).

expanded but Egypt was lost, and the military was no longer as strong as it once had been[98]. Rebellions occurred, especially in eastern Iran and central Asia, and they were barely suppressed. In the end, although the empire lasted for one more century, Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.)[99] conquered it during the reign of Darius III.[100]

Mithridates II (337 - 302 B.C.), the son of Ariobarzanes (363/362-337 B.C.) who was one of the founders of the Kingdom of Pontus, represented himself as a descendant of one of the seven lineages of the Persian Empire and claimed that the territories under his rule were given by Darius I to his ancestors.[101] However, with the death of Alexander the Great, he aroused suspicion for taking sides,[102] and was killed by Antigonos I Monophtalmos. This led to the reign of Mithridates III, also known as Mithridates I Ctistes.[103]

With Alexander's death, Pontus was separated from the Kingdom of Cappadocia,[104] and became an independent state ruled by

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[98] Kuhrt (2001, 93).

[99] Tekin (2010, 125, 175).

[100] Kuhrt (2001, 95).

[101] Polybius Hist. (V.43.2).
These claims cannot be proven. McGing (1986, 13).

[102] Plutarch (4.1).

[103] Arslan (2007, 49-52).

[104] Hewsen, Salvatico (2001, 41).
Pontus and Cappadocia emerged from two Cappadocian satrapies of the Persian Empire when the Macedonians took them over. One part was called Cappadocia Proper, Cappadocia near Taurus and Greater Cappadocia while the other part was called Pontus, even though the other part called it Cappadocia Pontica. Strabo (XII.1.4).

Mithridates I Ctistes in 302 B.C.[105] Despite their Persian origins and system of government, the kings asserted their independence from the Achaemenid dynasty by retaining their Hellenistic character.[106]

As we will see in the following chapters, the Persian influence was maintained by the kings of Pontus, especially Mithridates VI. Even though he was known and accepted as the protector and defender of the Greeks, he had mixed Persian and Greek ancestry,[107] and his main aim was to reunite Persian and Hellenistic civilizations with Hellenic philosophy and Ahuramazda[108] ethics in the center of Anatolia. According to the inscriptions we also know that Greek became the official language at this time.[109]

3.1.2. The Kingdom of Pontus

The Kingdom of Pontus was founded by Mithridates III of Cius, also known as Mithridates I Ctistes of Pontus (302-266 B.C.).[110] First, he set up a stronghold of the kingdom at Cimiata in Paphlagonia,

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In this region there were kings from both Cappadocia and Pontus, and Appian says that possibly they have divided the government so both of them could rule a part of it. Appian (8.9).

[105] Yarshater (1983, 107).

[106] Summerer (2009, 100).

[107] Saprykin (2009, 251).

[108] http://www.livius.org/articles/religion/ahuramazda/ : Ahuramazda was the god of the ancient Iranians, whose cult was propagated by the legendary prophet Zarathustra, the founder of Zoroastrianism.

[109] McGing (1986, 11).

[110] For further information about the Mithridatic dynasty see: McGing (1986).

and remained silent for several years.[111] Later, he was killed by Diodoros, the general of Seleukos Nicator, Ariobarzanes (265-255 B.C.) ascended the throne after him.[112]

THE KINGDOM OF PONTUS

BLACK SEA

SINOPE

AMASTRIS

r. amnias

PAPHLAGONIA

OLGASSYS

GAZELONITIS
SARAMENE

THEMISCYRA

AMISUS
PHAZIMONITIS

DIACOPENE

r. iris

COTYORA

LAODICEIA

r. thermodon

PHARNACEIA

PIMOLISENE

PARYADRES MTS.

AMASEIA
PHANAROEA

CABEIRA

GAZIURA

r. halys

COMANA

r. lycus

ZELA DAZIMONITIS

GALATIA

ANCYRA

r. scylax

TAVIUM

SEBASTEIA

r. halys

CAPPADOCIA
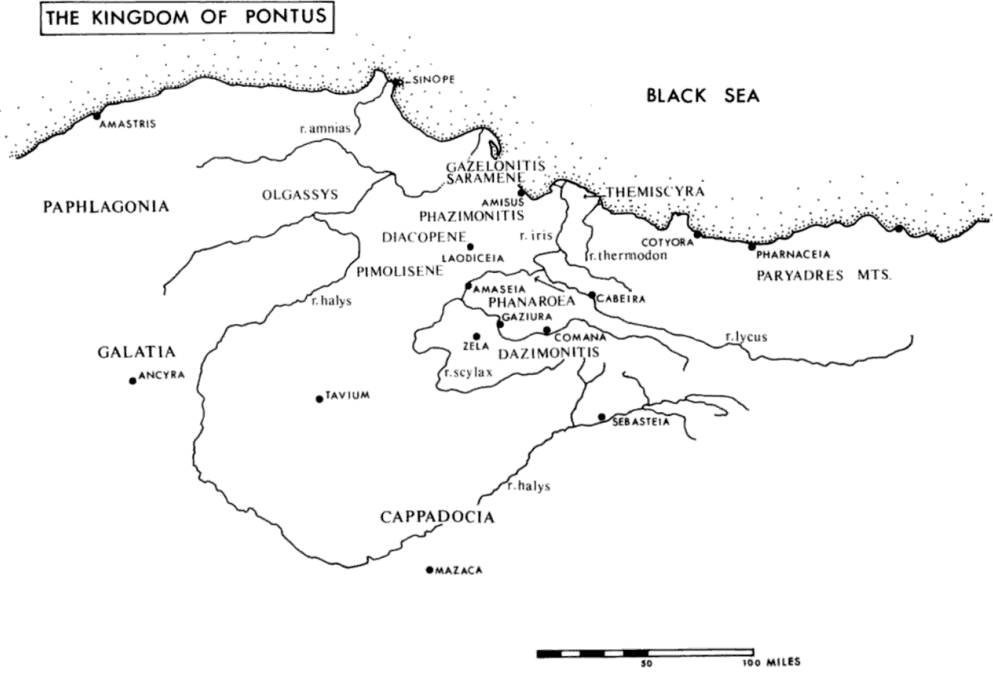
MAZACA

50   100 MILES

Figure 2: Map of the Kingdom of Pontus[113]

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[111] McGing (1986, 15).

[112] Tekin (2010, 157).

[113] McGing (1986, 2).

The kings who ruled the province afterwards were; Mithridates II (255-220 B.C.), Mithridates III[114] (220-185 B.C.), Pharnakes I[115] (185-169 B.C.), Mithridates IV (169-150 B.C.), Mithridates V (150-120 B.C.) and finally Mithridates VI Eupator (120-60 B.C.). Unfortunately, we do not have a lot of information about the kings who ruled before Mithridates V.[116]

The Kingdom of Pontus was established at the intersection of the busy and important commercial roads of Asia, the Balkans and the Black Sea Region. It extended out from Amastris to Pharnaceia.[117] The roads went to Paphlagonia to the southwest, Colchis to the east, Galatia and Cappadocia to the south, reaching the Halys River (the modern Kızılırmak) in the south. The Black Sea formed a natural northern border.[118] The Kingdom of Pontus was famous for its "poisons and poisonous herbs, Virgil, Ovid, Seneca".[119]

The ancient geographer Strabo named this area "Pontus"[120]. Due to its relations with its neighbors and its location, it was host to traditions and cultures from Asia Minor, Anatolia, Iran and Greece.[121] Despite Persian origin, it is impossible to talk about a

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[114] Mithridates III was the first king to mint the coinage of the kingdom. Tekin (2010, 158).

[115] During the reign of Pharnakes I, Sinope became the capital of Pontus. Tekin (2010, 158).

[116] Tekin (2010, 158).

[117] McGing (1986, 1).

[118] Laurent (1830, 211).

[119] MacBean (1773, 6).

[120] McGing (1986, 1).
[121] Christodoulou (2015, 6).

single ethnic identity. Pontus was ethnically diverse.[122] The main language of the kingdom was Greek, but other local languages were also used.[123] The religion of the kingdom was syncretic polytheism, involving the worship of Greek, Anatolian and Persian gods.[124]

Sinope was conquered in 182 B.C. during the reign of Pharnakes I (185-169 B.C.).[125] Greek coastal towns such as Cotyora, Pharnacia and Trapezus were also seized, and dominance over the coasts passed to the Kingdom of Pontus during his reign.[126] Even though Rhodians complained to Rome about the situation, the result did not change. Pharnakes I was successful in the beginning of his reign, but later he started a war against Ariarathes IV, the king of Cappadocia, and was forced to sign a treaty containing unfavorable articles. He had to leave all the land in Galatia and Paphlagonia, but at least he was allowed to keep Sinope.[127]

Mithridates V Eugertes (150-120 B.C.), his successor, preferred to be friendly with Rome. He even supported them during the Third Punic War in 149 B.C.[128] He married his daughter with the king of Cappadocia. Later he occupied the region, making the kingdom

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[122] Erciyas (2006, 7).

[123] Christodoulou (2015, 7).

[124] Sapyrkin (2009)., Christodoulou (2015, 3).

[125] Crook, Lintott and Rawson (1994, 131).

We unfortunately do not know when Pharnakes I was exactly born and died. From inscriptions and coins, we can only say that he definitely ruled between these years. For further information: Højte (2005).

[126] Crook, Lintott and Rawson (1994, 131).

[127] Polybius Hist. (XXIV. 1, 5, 8, 9); (XXV. 2).

[128] McGing (1986, 36-39).

larger than ever before. At the same time, he has a policy of Hellenism and he saw himself as the protector of the Hellenistic cultures. He regarded himself as having descended from Persian kings and Alexander the Great, and it is possible to see this in his coins as well. Having Hellenistic images on his coins also indicated his power in the Greek world.[129] Mithridates V was poisoned to death at an early age by an unknown assassin in 120 B.C.[130]

When Mithridates V was poisoned to death, his son Mithridates VI was still quite young. His fear of being poisoned, led him to learn how to make antidotes against the known poisons of the time.[131] He had advanced information in the science of poisons.[132] It is alleged that he immunized himself to poisons by taking small quantities of poisons to prevent the possibility of poisoning.[133]

Mithridates VI, ruled Anatolia as the king of Pontus, from 113 to 63 B.C. and was considered the most successful and intelligent enemy of the Roman Empire. Not only did he use philhellenism to win acceptance by the Greek world, but he also wanted to expand his kingdom and gain respect by using philhellenism in his domestic and foreign policies.[134] He wanted good relations with the Romans in order not to ruin the peaceful atmosphere which existed since

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[129] Erciyas (2006, 14).

[130] McGing (1986, 36-39).

[131] Plinius Nat. (XXV).

[132] For further information about his pharmacologial knowledge see: Mayor (2014).

[133] Plinius, Nat. (XXV, 3).

[134] McGing (1986).

the Peace of Apamea.[135] He just wanted the Black Sea Region to be safe and secure.[136] However, although he initially did not want to fight, he changed his mind when his kingdom began to grow stronger. He wanted to push his limits.[137] Sometimes he may even intentionally have provoked fights. Later, Mithridates VI defeated Lucullus, Pompey and Sulla, some of the most successful commanders of the Roman Republic. He conquered Cappadocia, Bithynia, Lower Armenia, Kolhis and Tauric Chersonesus and the kingdom attained its largest size during his reign.[138]

The great support he received from Rome helped him a lot, too. The peaceful and friendly policy he followed for many years allowed him to gain strength. He not only intended to expand geographically, but at the same time practiced philhellenism,[139] and used the Black Sea as a military base to reach Mediterranean regions.[140] Since he was not perceived as a threat, Rome kept helping him. When they realized the situation, they found themselves in trouble. Important cities such as Amaseia began to mint their own drachmae to indicate their power. Although

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[135] The Peace of Apamea ended the war between the Seleucid King Antiochos III Megas and Rome in 188 BC. Antiochos' army was destroyed by after the Romans. For further information, see: Taylor (2013).

[136] McGing (2010, 6).

[137] McGing (2010, 209).

[138] Crook, Lintott and Rawson (1994, 137-138).

[139] Philhellenism refers to the attitude of non-Greeks (mostly Romans) who followed Greek traditions or conducted policies that were accepted by Greek provinces. The term itself derives from the Greeks explanation of foreign rulers. For further information see: Gallia (2008).

[140] Christodoulou (2015, 14).

eventually the Romans tried to reduce the power of the Kingdom of Pontus initially, they failed to do so.

Mithridates constantly pursued different policies to consolidate his power, including religiously propagandizing the cities using the cults of the Kingdom of Pontus. Dionysus cults were quite important and became official in 101 B.C. and Mithridates VI began to call himself Mithridates Eupator Dionysus.[141] He also began to be portrayed as Dionysus on coins.[142] Zeus and Hera were likewise official gods of the kingdom, representing the Greek world directly, so they and their attributes are also found on kingdom's coins.[143]

Mithridates was a very powerful ruler. He exhibited his armor and clothing in the temples of Delos, Nemea, and Delphoi, to show himself and his power to the people.[144] People were admired his magnificent attire. He was good at horse-riding and practiced doing so on a daily basis.[145] He was also very skilled with weapons,[146] and he was agile and strong.[147] One of his most impressive abilities was knowing all the local languages of his multiethnic kingdom. He could speak 22 languages and did not ever need an interpreter

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[141] Saprykin (2009, 250).

[142] Saprykin (2009, 250).

[143] Callataÿ (2009, 88).

[144] Mayor (2011, 158).

[145] Mayor (2011, 120).

[146] Mayor (2011, 298).

[147] Arslan (2007, 512).

during his 56-year reign.[148] He could speak to his soldiers in their own languages, which made him a very powerful leader.[149]

In early 91 B.C., when Mithridates VI attacked Bithynia and Cappadocia, he massacred many Romans to stop the Roman Empire from spreading to Anatolia.[150] Despite being a peaceful ruler, he was also very cruel to those who betrayed him.[151] This led to begin the First Mithridatic War (89-85 B.C.). This gave him the chance to be the savior of not only the Greeks in his kingdom but of all the Greeks and this was also a part of his policy.[152] To do this he had to defeat Cornelius Sulla's five legions. Both Rome and Pontus were ready for a battle, and not at all weak.[153] However, the war was won in 85 B.C. by the Romans and Mithridates VI had to cede all the territory he had gained in this war to Rome. The war was officially ended with the Treaty of Dardanus which was verbal, not written.[154] Mithridates' prestige was quite shaken, but the Romans were unable to avenge the people who were slaughtered. It was almost certain that another war would break out.

The Second Mithridatic War (83-81 B.C.) has been started by the Roman general Lucius Licinius Murena.[155] At the conclusion of the

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[148] Plinius, Nat. (XXV, 3).

[149] Arslan (2007, 513).

[150] McGing (1986, 108-130).

[151] Arslan (2007, 551).

[152] McGing (2010, 121).

[153] McGing (2010, 1).

[154] McGing (1986).

[155] Cicero (104).

First Mithridatic War, Sulla had made an agreement with Mithridates that allowed him to keep ruling the Kingdom of Pontus. Murena attacked the Pontic city of Komana in 89 B.C., arguing that Mithridates had rearmed his kingdom, and that it was a direct threat to Roman Asia Minor. After several conflicts, peace ensued over Sulla's orders. However, Mithridates perceived Murena's attacks as attacks by Rome. Since the agreement was not written, it could not be practiced, which raised a number of questions.

Meanwhile, Mithridates tried to maintain his good relations with the Roman general Sertorius by sending 3000 talents and 40 ships to him. Mithridates also wanted Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Galatia and Asia to recognize his rule,[156] but they did not. When their relations started to sour, Mithridates increased and accelerated his efforts to improve his army. The Third Mithridatic War (73-63 B.C.) was fought by the Romans against Mithridates VI and the king of Armenia, Tigranes II. It was the longest Mithridatic war. Mithridates tried to prevent Roman expansion but did not succeed.

In 69 B.C., Lucullus started to move towards Tigranokerta to ensure the safety of the coasts in Bithynia and Pontus.[157] Mithridates asked for the help of the Tigranes II who was one of his relatives.[158] So Tigranes sent one of his generals, Mithrobarzanes to fight a battle against the Romans but he was killed and Tigranes

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[156] McGing (1986, 141).

[157] Arslan (2007, 392).

[158] Arslan (2007, 391).

realized the immensity of the danger.[159] Later, he lost a significant part of his men as a result of a trap Murena set for him. In 69 B.C., Tigranes tried to rebuild his army.[160] After regathering his strength and courage, he set out to fight against Romans in open terrain, but he did not take Mithridates with him. Mithridates had warned him about the power of the Romans' war strategies, but Tigranes did not heed his warnings.[161] Although he had fewer soldiers in his army, Lucullus defeated Tigranes with his knowledge of military strategies. Afterwards, Mithridates informed Tigranes that they should combine forces and attack the Romans again, but in the meantime, more provinces recognized the dominance of the Romans.[162] After a short break, Lucullus tried to attack Armenia once again, but he could not defeat the two kings who were following different war tactics. He suffered great losses and was forced to retreat. Then, Mithridates and Tigranes tried to gather their strength again. Lucullus' subsequent efforts failed, so the command of war was given to Gaius Calpurnius Piso and Manius Acilius Glabrio.[163] There were also several plans to assassinate Mithridates, but none were successful.[164]

At the time, Roman general Pompey, was dealing with pirates in the Mediterranean. After his success, the Romans wanted him to

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[159] Arslan (2007, 394).

[160] Arslan (2007, 397-399).

[161] Arslan (2007, 400).

[162] Arslan (2007, 403-405).

[163] Arslan (2007, 408-423).

[164] Arslan (2007, 430).

command the units fighting against Mithridates, and he came to do so. In this period, Tigranes and Mithridates fell apart and Tigranes surrendered. When Tigranes surrendered, Pompey came to Amisus and united the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus.[165] So, Mithridates Eupator, the great enemy of Rome, and protector of the East, lost the Third Mithridatic War and realized that he would not be able to regain his power. He chose to die rather than being displayed in public during the triumph of the Romans. He tried to commit with poison but did not die because his body was accustomed to poison. He asked to his bodyguard Bituitus to kill him. That's how he committed suicide 63 B.C.[166]

The western Pontus was annexed to Roman territory, while the eastern coast remained semi-dependent until 64 A.D.

3.1.3. The Roman Province

At the end of long war with Rome, Pontus was defeated, and it was totally abolished as its land was divided among the provinces of the Roman Empire.[167] In 66 B.C., Pompey had to reorganize the cities. [168] In the beginning, it was not easy to transform all the provinces. It took nearly a hundred years for Pontus to be completely brought under the control of the Romans.[169] Afterwards the lands of

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[165] "Provincia Bithynia et Pontus" Tekin (2010, 63).

[166] Arslan (2007, 446-506); Tekin (2010, 63).

[167] Okur (2007, 3).

[168] Madsen (n.d., 27); Højte (2006, 15).
For further information about the reorganization of the urban centers, see:
Summerer, Winther-Jacobsen (2015).

[169] Marek (1993, 63).

Mithridates were joined and became parts of Bithynia and Pontus, Galatia and Cappadocia.[170]

The structure of the cities was far from being a Greek polis and were already in an unpleasant situation after the Third Mithridatic War. The settlements were located around castles. When Pompey conquered them, he destroyed most of those castles to avoid any potential threat to the Romans.[171]

Bithynia and Pontus had composed of mixed cultures.[172] The coast had Greek colonies, and the inland had partially Hellenized people who were most influenced by Iranian culture.[173] Even Pontus' administrative systems were influenced by Iranian culture and not based on the city culture of the Greeks. Thus, a very different society had to adapt to Roman culture. Some arrangements were made for political and social issues. Roman festivals were also celebrated in the Greek cities in an effort to adapt them to Roman culture.[174] There were many upsides to being or becoming Roman. The territory was at peace. There were many developments

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[170] Højte (2006, 15).

[171] Højte (2006, 16).

[172] Marek (1993, 26).
The kings of Bithynia were very interested in Hellen culture, and they were careful to establish cities in the Hellenic style. They played an important role in spreading Hellenic culture in this region. The will of the last king of Bithynia, Nicomedes Philopator IV, left his kingdom to Rome. In 74 B.C. For further information, see: Sevin (2001).

[173] Madsen (n.d., 1).

[174] Madsen (n.d., 2).

especially in art and sculpture.[175] These opportunities were very attractive for those who wished to assimilate.

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[175] Haverfield (1905, 11).

CHAPTER 4

IDENTITY IN THE PERSIAN – HELLENISTIC PERIOD: ROYAL AND RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

The Persian-Hellenistic period, was the time when the Kingdom of Pontus was newly established, and the extant Greek culture and the Iranian influence from the rulers' origins were being merged. After Alexander's death, Pontus was separated from the Kingdom of Cappadocia,[176] and became an independent state under the rule of Mithridates Ctistes in 302 B.C.[177] He maintained his independence and Hellenistic character under a Persian dynasty, and Pontus embraced with the traditions and cultures of Asia Minor, Anatolia, Iran and Greek.[178] The interaction of these cultures left a variety of characteristics in the Kingdom's material culture. The effects of this cultural cohesion can be seen in languages, political institutions, social change and material culture.[179]

Kreuz examined the monuments together with its epigraphic evidence to see if they would give information about the royal ideology of Mithridates and how much they were affected by both

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[176] Strabo (XII.1.4); Hewsen, Salvatico (2001, 41).

[177] Yarshater (1983, 107).

[178] Christodoulou (2015, 6).

[179] Marek (2009, 36).

Greek and Persian cultures.[180] Unfortunately, there is a lack of remains related to the image of Mithridatic kings in the Black Sea Region, and the Roman conquest transformed or destroyed most of the architectural structures from the Hellenistic period.[181] Still, information about Mithridates VI can be gathered from other statues and buildings in his honor, for example, on Delos.

A significant rectangular monument, measuring 5.20 meters wide x 3.45 meters high x 3.90 meters deep, was built for Mithridates VI in the sanctuary of the Samothracian Kaberoi, on Delos.[182] It was dedicated to Mithridates by an Athenian priest known as Helianax on behalf of the Greeks and Romans.[183] The sanctuary was dedicated "to the gods of Samothrace" with the arrival of the Athenians around 166 B.C, and it was enlarged before 132/1 B.C. The monument for Mithridates VI was added later around 102/1 B.C.[184] Unlike the locations that have been generally preferred for these kind of royal monuments, this monument was positioned next to the original building. The entrance was on the south, a hall with two ionic columns in antis.[185]

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[180] Kreuz (2009).

[181] Arslan (2007, 537).

[182] Kreuz (2009, 134).

[183] Erciyas (2001, 104-105).

[184] Erciyas (2001, 105).

[185] Kreuz (2009, 134).
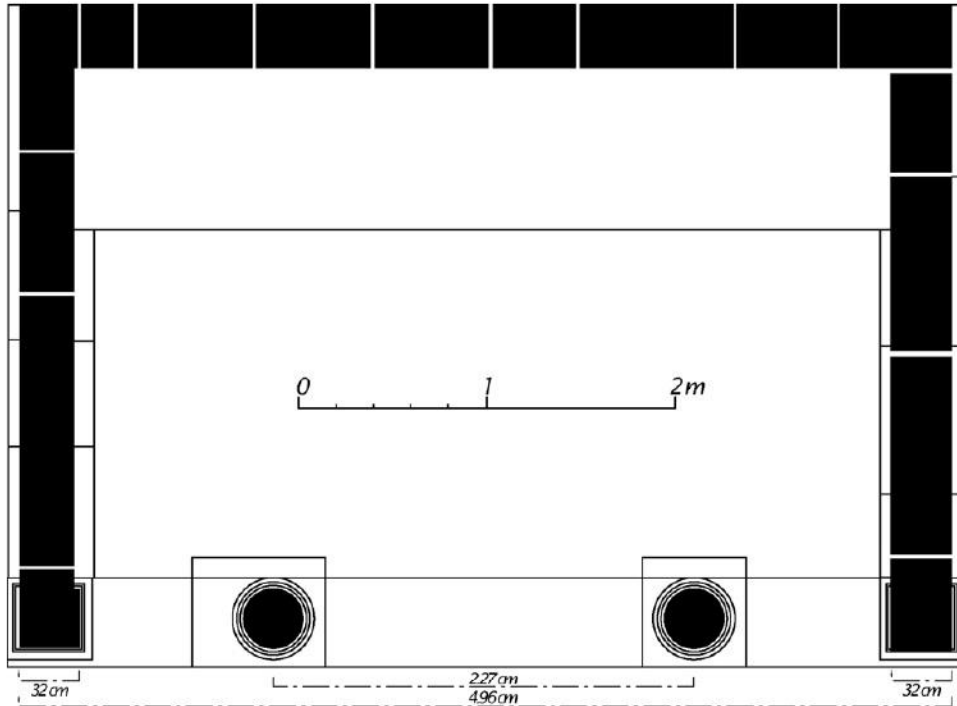
Figure 3: The Monument to Mithridates VI on Delos[186]

Inside the monument, there were 12 portraits made into shields as medallions, and decorated with double row of wreaths honoring Mithridates' Parthian allies and friends. The presence of his friends from both Hellas and the East was a sign of how much the eastern and western cultures had merged. These portraits represented;

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[186] Chapouthier (1935, fig. 55).
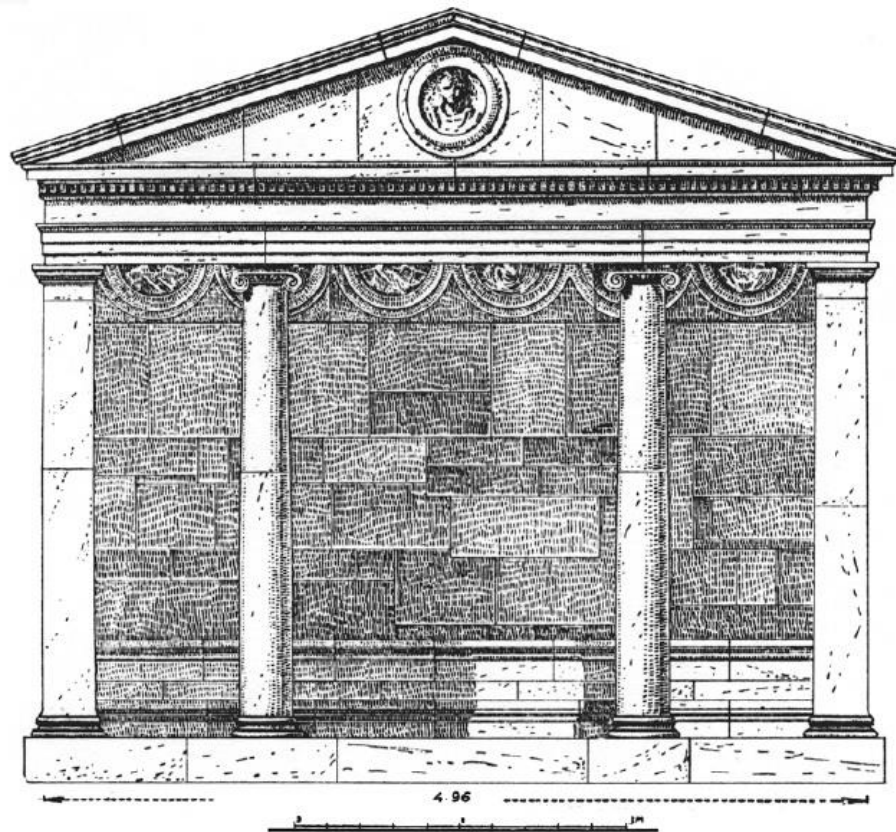
Figure 4: A Reconstruction Drawing of the Facade of the
Monument to Mithridates VI on Delos[187]

Gaius from Amisos, his secretary who was the son of Antipatros, the son of Philetairos, his foster brother, General Dorylaos, the son of Mithridates Diophantos, the king of Cappadocia Ariarathes VII Philometor, the king of Syria Antiokhos VIII Grypos, Asklepiodoros the father of Helianax, a civil servant from Parthia, the king of Parthia Mithridates II and the doctor of Mithridates Eupator, Papias. A portrait of the king was painted on the monument's pediment.

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[187] Chapouthier (1935, fig. 56).
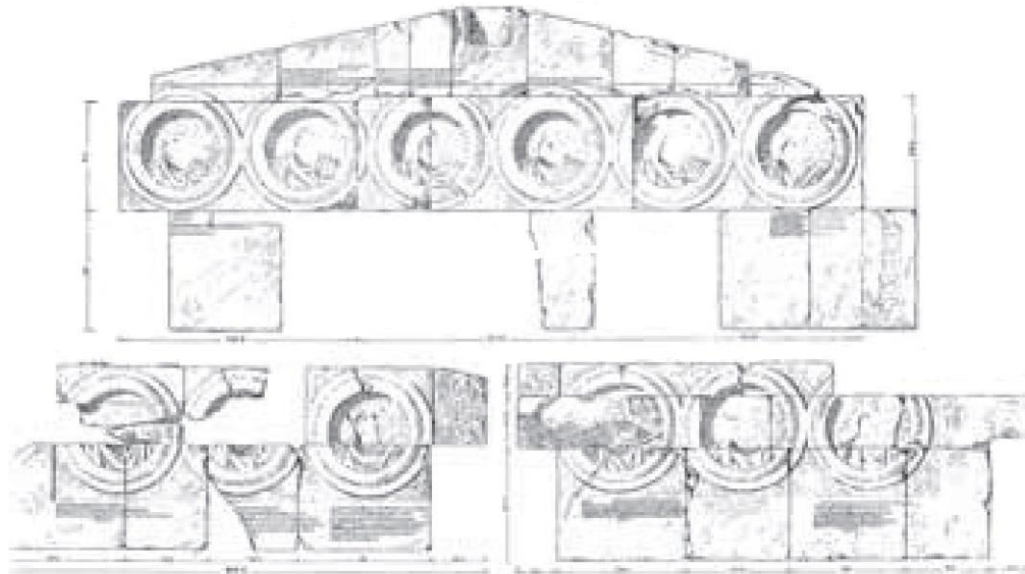
Figure 5: The Portraits/Medallions on the Inner Walls[188]

This shows that Mithridates was seen as the savior of the Anatolian people from the Romans.[189] His portrait together with other Hellenistic kings and Persian officials, proves his international recognition.[190] His recognition in the Greek world as a ruler with Iranian roots was an important step in his Hellenistic kingship in terms of being supported and respected by the locals.

With Mithridates' policy of philhellenism both Persian and Greek cultures began to merge. Even though they were ruled by a Persian administration system, there were still many different languages spoken in Asia Minor.[191] Unlike the oriental kings, Mithridates did

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[188] Chapouthier (1935, fig. 36).

[189] Arslan (2007, 120).

[190] Højte (2009, 10).
[191] Strabo Geo. (XII. 3 25).

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not interfere with the languages spoken in his territories and the Greek language has spread during his reign and finally became the official language. On a Greek inscription found close to Gaziura it is written that, people cannot enter the territory without the permission of the garrison commander. McGing suggested that this inscription means that Greek was spoken by more than only Hellenized courtiers.[192] Another Greek inscription was found in Amisos with two possibly Ionian names on it; Arte and Mata.[193] McGing suggests that these non-Greek names on a Greek inscription could be the result of the trade route from Amisus through Amaseia. Amaseia was known for its Greek influence and trading they may have spread this influence to the people of Amisos.[194]

Another example that shows the philhellenism of Mithridates is a statue dedicated to him on Delos by Seleukos of Marathon. Its inscription is as below;

Βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου | Εὐεργέτου. Σέλευκος | Μαραθώνιος γυμνασιαρχῶν

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[192] McGing (1986, 11).

[193] Robert (1949, 344-346); McGing (1986, 11).

[194] McGing (1986, 11).
For detailed information of the Greek inscriptions see also: Mitchell (1999).

It means "Seleukos of Marathon set up King Mithridates Euergetes' statue while he was gymnasiarkhos".[195] This inscription indicates that people have indigenized his policy.

The earliest royal portraits which have been found on coins have been dated to Mithridates I Ctistes. On the very first coins of the kingdom, the images were similar to the coins of Alexander the Great with "Athena on the obverse and a standing Nike with the vertical legend of King Mithridates in Greek on the reverse".[196] On coins have been dated to Mithridates III, rather than the idealistic Greek style, the images were realistic and portrayed as an old man wearing a crown on his short hair, and for the first time with the image of the king was on the obverse.[197] With Mithridates IV, the images on the coins remained realistic, while the god and goddess on the reverse side of the coins were Greek. Erciyas suggests that this could be as evidence of a more peaceful policy.[198]

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[195] Boeckh (1843, 231); Durrbach (1976, 168), Arslan (2007, 71).
n: 99=I Délos 1558

[196] This may be simply for showing him as the successor of Alexander the Great or just to follow the Hellenistic trend. Erciyas (2006, 165).

[197] Erciyas (2006, 165-166); Arslan (2009,62).
The kings were proud of their Iranian roots, hence on the contrary to the Hellenistic ones they mostly made more realistic portraits. Mørkholm (1991, 131); Callataÿ (2009, 64).

[198] Erciyas (2006, 167).
Callataÿ states that probably until the end of the 3rd century B.C. there was not legal tender, therefore it should not be looked for a propoganda in the iconography of the royal coins. Callataÿ (2009, 88).

Figure 6: A Silver Tetradrachm of Mithridates III (with seated Zeus holding an eagle on his right hand and a sceptre in his left hand)[199]

Figure 7: A Tetradrachm of Mithridates IV (with Perseus, standing and holding gorgoneion and harpa) [200]

The coins of Mithridates Eupator are valuable examples of the mixture of Greek and Persian culture. The king strived to portray himself as the guardian of the Greeks, and his subjects defined him as their savior and identified him with their Gods, especially with Dionysus. Thus, he was also known as Mithridates Eupator Dionysus. This could be defined as a religious propaganda and also

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[199] Callatay (2009).

[200] Callatay (2009).

should be viewed as a part of his philhellenism.[201] Zeus and Hera had also been worshipped since the 3rd century B.C. and were seen as the protectors of the royal family.[202] They remained official gods from the kingdom during the reign of Mithridates Eupator (Fig. 1), and the official royal cult probably belonged to Zeus Stratios,[203] Who was likely to have been associated with Ahuramazda, the protector of the Achaemenids in ancient Iran.[204] This is a significant indicator of the importance of Iranian culture to the royal family.[205] Although the rituals remained under Iranian influence, the kings worshipped to Zeus Stratios instead of Ahuramazda which is an important to indicator of cultural amalgamation.[206]

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[201] Christodoulou (2015, 19).

[202] Christodoulou (2015, 20).

[203] (App. Mith. 66-70).

[204] Cumont (1901).; McGing (1986, 10); Christodoulou (2015, 21).

[205] McGing (1986, 10).

[206] Although the king was proud of his Persian roots, he respected the Hellenistic values and thus decreased the gap between the two cultures to merge them. McGing (1986, 11).

Figure 8: The City Coinage of Amisos under Mithridates Eupator (with the head of Zeus and his attribute an eagle on a thunderbolt)[207]

Another official royal cult was devoted to Perseus who was correlated with Apollo under Mithridates V. The cult became popular during the reign of Mithridates Eupator.[208] On the coins of Sinope there is a statue of Apollon holding "a Scythian bow and a small figure of Nike".[209] On obols of the same series Mithridates Eupator is portrayed with a leather cap called *kyrbasia* which was a head-dress of the ancient Persian kings.[210]

Figure 9: A Royal Coinage of Mithridates V (as Apollo-Perseus, and standing with "a Scythian bow and a small figure of Nike")[211]

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[207] Saprykin (2009).

[208] Christodoulou (2015, 23).

[209] Saprykin (2009, 261).

[210] Pfeiler-Lippitz (1972).; Saprykin (2009, 261).

[211] Saprykin (2009, 260).

Figure 10: A Coinage of Mithridates VI Eupator (as Apollo-Perseus wearing a leather kyrbasia on a Pontic obol)[212]

It is important to see how the coins had both Persian and Greek influences by portraying Greek gods together with the king wearing the Persian *kyrbasia*.

The political ideology of the kingdom, was also a part of the policy of philhellenic since the mid-2nd century B.C. However, it was not easy for the kings to find a god with whom to identify themselves. They had to use cultural amalgamation correctly in order not to arouse suspicions about their philhellenism. According to Saprykin, it was not possible to identify with Zeus because he "was the highest of all the Olympian gods and goddesses and creator and patron of all spheres of life".[213] Hence, Dionysus, as his son, was a better option because he could be associated with the Anatolian, Hellenic and Iranian gods. The important thing was to divinize the king which raises the subject of temple states.

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[212] Saprykin (2009, 261).

[213] Saprykin (2009, 263).

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4.1 Temple States

In Hellenistic period before the Roman domination of Anatolia, small communities lived independently around temples, which we can identify as local powers. Temple and their priests unified and guided these communities. We are aware of three such sanctuaries, or temple states in the Black Sea Region under the reign of Mithridates. Zela, which was dedicated to Anaitis, Omanus and Anadatus; Kabeira which was dedicated to Men; and Komana which was dedicated to Ma.[214]

Temple states were "economically independent religious entities"[215] which means that authority derived from the temple.[216] During the Roman era, these communities were brought together as cities to bring them under a centralized administration and to benefit from their power, but this will be discussed later.[217]

4.1.1 Komana – Dedicated to Ma

Komana was established in the middle of the Dazimonitis (Kazova) Plain in the vicinity of the Iris (Yeşilırmak) River. It had a good economy thanks to Yeşilirmak's productive alluvial deposits.[218] The

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[214] http://aktuelarkeoloji.com.tr/komana-antik-kenti-gun-yuzune-cikiyor.
As a part of the royal propaganda, the Greek gods were always primary, however they were unified with Anatolian and Iranian gods. Saprykin (2009, 264).

[215] Sökmen (2005).

[216] For further information about the temple states, see: Sökmen (2005).

[217] http://unyezile.com/komana.htm

[218] http://aktuelarkeoloji.com.tr/komana-antik-kenti-gun-yuzune-cikiyor.

sacred beliefs with the same name and culture with Komana (Şarhöyük) in Cappadocia were quite similar. For this reason, we should be careful not to confuse them.[219]

Komana was a religious center and was ruled by priests.[220] It was dedicated to the goddess Ma, who had a warrior character.[221] Most of the people were devout servants living in the temple.[222] The head priest was elected by the king in the Hellenistic Period and held the most prestigious position after the king.[223] The city was affiliated with the king politically, but the treasure of the temple was under the control of the priests. Being close to the commercial routes, there was also an economic interest in the area.[224] Strabo describes the place as the "Corinth of Pontus" which probably refers to its economic importance.[225] It is also known that Mithridates Eupator has appointed one of his closes *philoi*, Dorilao to govern the sanctuary of Komana.[226] This case is special because he did not belong to the king's family and was of Greek origin. This indicates that Mithridates worked closely with Greek people, had

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[219] Arslan (2007, 25).

[220] The surface survey initiated by Erciyas in 2004 provides the first clear information about the site.

[221] Strabo Geo. (XII 2.3).

[222] Arslan (2007, 25).

[223] http://aktuelarkeoloji.com.tr/komana-antik-kenti-gun-yuzune-cikiyor.

[224] Pastor (2010, 144).

[225] Strabo (XII.3.36).

[226] Philoi refers to people close to the government and who were responsible for tasks both administrative and military in the Hellenistic world. It derives from the ancient Greek and means "friends". For further information see: Pastor (2010).

confidence to them, and that the Greek elites held positions in important institutions.[227] We start to see representation of Ma on coins during the reign of Caligula[228] and then on the coins of Caracalla, Septimus Severius and Trajan; which offers a better understanding on the presence of the temple.[229] However we do not know the origins of the goddess Ma.[230]

Epigraphical sources can give a better understanding on the importance of this temple. Two important inscriptions have been found. One, which is dated to 161-169 AD,[231] ,tells us that Komana had been granted immunity.[232] Another inscription was found by Wilson in 1958, is dated to early 2nd century AC, and says that the city was immune and blessed.[233]

Komana kept its semi-independent position under the rule of both the Pontic kings and the Roman Empire until the arrival of Christianity.[234]

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[227] Pastor (2010, 146).

[228] Erciyas (2001, 147).

[229] A tetrastyle temple with eight columns according to the coins. For further reading: Erciyas (2001).

[230] Kaya (2013, 61).

[231] Ramsay (1906, 41).; Kaya (2013, 60).

[232] Ramsay (1882, 153); Kaya (2013; 61).

For further information about the goddness Ma see: Casabonne (2009, 7).

[233] Wilson (1960, 233); Kaya (2013, 61).

[234] Erciyas (2009, 287).

4.1.2 Zela - Dedicated to Anaitis, Omanus and Anadatus

Zela was a sanctuary settlement, located 57 kilometers south of Amaseia. The Persian-Hellenized cult of Anaitis, Omanos, and Anadatos was clearly established concurrently with the Persian occupation,[235] possibly in the beginning of the 6th century to celebrate victory over the Sacae.[236] However, as McGing notes, it is hard to imagine a Persian existence in the Asia Minor at that time, making it more likely that the Persians have brought their God after the conquest of Cyrus.[237]

Erciyas says of these gods "Anaitis, the Persian goddess of fertilizing waters, was accompanied by Omanos and Anadatos, two other Persian gods. Omanos could have been the guardian of the animals, and Anadatos may have been related to both gods.".[238] She also touches upon the land administration and cultic activities noting that Zela was not very different from Komana. Again, the priest was the proprietor of the territory around the city.[239] Under the Pontic rulers there was presumably no civic association at Zela, despite the fact that coins bearing the name of the sanctuary state were stamped during the rule of Mithradates VI.

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[235] Cumont (1906, 188-94).

[236] McGing (1998, 5).
For further information, see: Boffo (1985, 31-33).

[237] McGing (1998, 6).

[238] Erciyas (2001, 142).

[239] Erciyas (2001, 143).

The temple was probably constructed in the late Achaemenid period in the 4th century B.C.,[240] and later in the 6th century B.C.,[241] Anaitis was introduced to Asia Minor. We have a limited information about the temple of Anaitis in Zela from coins minted during the Roman Imperial Period.[242] The temple was probably a hexastyle located on a low hill.[243] On its northeastern side there was a small theater.[244]

Strabo states that a festival took place once a year to celebrate Cyrus' victory against Scythians. He also says that the temple was built on the honor of this victory.[245] The celebration was of Persian origin, indicating that the temple was built under Persian rule.[246] Erciyas says that the sanctuary was probably visited by Persians even after the reign of Mithridates which implies that the Persian cults still existed during that period.[247]

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[240] Borce and Grenet (1991, 288).

[241] Sökmen (2005, 281).

[242] Sökmen (2005, 281).
This hexastyle temple was situated on a low hill. Its main purpose was probably "to celebrate the defeat of the Sakai by Kyros". For further information, see: Sökmen (2005).

[243] Hexastyle temples have a single row of peripheral columns around the naos and six columns on the front.

[244] Wilson (1960, 215); Kaya (2013, 56).

[245] Strabo Geo. (XI. 8. 5).

[246] Kaya (2013, 59).

[247] Personal communication with Erciyas.

4.1.3. Ameria - Dedicated to Men Pharnakou

The third temple state in Pontus was in Kabeira.[248] Its temple was dedicated to Men Pharnakou and like the other temple states, it was ruled a priest and had many servants.[249]

The literary sources, have information only from Strabo. Sökmen notes this place's importance with quote from Strabo "the kings of Pontus took their royal oath here as "by the Fortune of the king and by Men Pharnaces".[250]

The people of Anatolia syncretized Dionysus with Men, who represented "victory over evil" in Persian Zoroastrianism. [251]

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[248] Sökmen (2005, 282).

[249] Strabo Geo. (XII.3.31).

[250] Sökmen (2005, 281).

[251] Saprykin (2009, 263).

CHAPTER 5

IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

After defeating Mithridates VI in 66 B.C., Pompey began to reorganize the cities. He united Bithynia and Pontus and both monarchies were replaced by the Roman rulers. Consequently, new rules were introduced to the people.[252] As Madsen notes, some theories claim that most of the changes Rome wanted had already occurred in the cities and were part of Greek culture. Thus, he says that it was probably easier to make all the changes the Romans desired.[253] For example, the *demoi*[254], the *boulai*[255] and the *archontes*[256] continued to function as they did in the Hellenistic period.[257] Fernoux says that the introduction of life-long membership in the *boulai*, changed the entire political system, and the Greek political structure was renewed. Roman citizenship was introduced. Social hierarchy became evident.[258] There were significant changes in the tax system. Constitutional law was

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[252] For detailed information see: Berger (1968).

[253] Madsen (2013, 27).

[254] *Demoi* means the common people of the city.

[255] *Boulai* means city councils.

[256] *Archontes* means rulers.

[257] Marek (2009, 39).

[258] Madsen (2013, 27).

introduced. The cities permitted to grant their residents Roman citizenship and the conditions for doing so were specified.[259]

During this reorganization, the temple states had also faced several changes. Komana's territory, probably as a matter of respect, was initially preserved.[260] Afterwards it was enlarged, and it gained the right of *asylum,*[261] which meant that the city was "immune to violence and civil authority"[262]. On the other hand, Zela was transformed into a *polis,* which deprived it of this right.[263]

The Romans brought many innovations especially technological improvements. The buildings were enlarged and transformed into the Roman architectural style.[264] Millar suggests that it is better to use the term, Graeco-Roman instead of dividing them into Greeks and Romans because the cultures merged.[265]

Another thing we should know is that the Roman citizens who supported the Roman activities of the administration were gaining the support of highest level of the elite, local patrons in Asia Minor and being rewarded for their services. The people who were

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[259] Madsen (2013, 28); Fernoux (2004).

[260] Sökmen (2005, 284).

[261] Ramsay (1882).

[262] Rigsby (1996).

[263] Sökmen argues about Zela's unpreserved autonomy in her article says that Strabo does not provide enough information about this issue. She asks if Pompey intentionally aimed to demolish the Persian elements in Zela and that is why it has not gained the right of asylum and on the contrary in was transformed into a polis. For further reading: Sökmen (2005).

[264] Madsen (2013, 28).

[265] Millar (1993).

abandoning their homes to take up active roles in the Roman administration could also possibly rise to more power. This was also one of the main factors that helped Rome to establish it in Pontus.[266]

At the same time, euergetism and philanthropy by the local elite were prevalent especially in the rich and politically strong Roman provinces in the first two centuries A.D.[267] The euergetes statue found in Komana was made in honor of a benefactor's public work, and is a good example.[268] Portraits of civic benefactors were exhibited in public areas together with heroes and legendary founders. Komana may have been influenced by this,[269] which also indicates that Greek cultural traditions were recognized.[270] The presence of this statue confirms the existence of an elite identity and the presence of social hierarchy in this period.[271] Erciyas says that this information means that Komana's identity had been transformed by being Hellenized due to the effects of Romanization.[272]

According to the letters Plinius wrote to emperor Traianus, the cities must have been in financial difficulties at that time. Thus, the

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[266] Madsen (2013, 60).

[267] Zuiderhoek (2009, 1).

[268] Zuiderhoek (2009, 7).

[269] Erciyas says that this evidence shows that Komana became a polis with a boule. Personal communication with Erciyas.

[270] Ng (2015, 539-545).

[271] Zuiderhoek (2009, 151).

[272] Personal communication with Erciyas.

reorganization must have included also economic development projects, too.[273] For example instead of building new political structures, they continued using the ones which already existed.

One of the major changes was dividing Pontus into units. Pontus was divided into 11 units, which are called *πολιτεία*, but can also be described as the cities. It aimed to facilitate the administration. Amisos, Sinope, Amastris, Amaseia and Zela maintained their names while new cities were formed with the names of Pompeiopolis, Neapolis, Magnopolis, Megalopolis, Diospolis and Nikopolis. The newly created cities were established in dispersed settlements where the population potential was high, and the living conditions were convenient.[274] Trade from the north, east and west to the south was passing through these cities, and thus these cities achieved considerable economic gains and correspondingly showed rapid development.[275]

Since during the Mithridatic Wars the cities had too many losts, Rome also worked on increasing the population. Pompey must have made an arrangement that the children born from a Pontic mother should be accepted as Pontic, too.[276]

It was also forbidden for a person who is already registered in one city to register in another city, in order to prevent the immigration

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[273] Doğancı (2017, 74).

[274] Broughton (1938).

[275] Plinius. Epist. (X, 114-115).

[276] Oktan (2008, 61).

of the rich people.[277] Thus it can be said that they tried to keep the existing financial resources in the city.[278]

Pompey intended to protect Roman hegemony throughout Asia Minor. Pontus was the region that created the most problems for him. Since its system was already working well, it was hard to transform its cities into Roman cities.[279]

Greek culture had expanded across the Mediterranean, and, in many respects, it has influenced the Romans. Intermarriages played an active role in their cultural amalgamation and friendships have affected the Romans politically. Many Greeks joined the imperial administration.[280]

Madsen says that it is not possible to draw conclusions about Roman identity. People chose to become Roman because doing so financial, legal and social benefits. Working as a military or civilian official meant getting paid by the empire and gaining a higher status in society.

Madsen also notes that the easiest way to have a role in the administration was, to have worked several years in the army beforehand. Since the borders were at peace, working in the army was an even more attractive option for the people. They were paid well by the governor. Therefore, we should not be surprised that a

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[277] Oktan (2008, 62-64).

[278] For further information about the reorganization and Pompey, see: Broughton (1946).

[279] Madsen (2013, 29).

[280] Madsen (2013, 62).

lot of Greek people have tried to get a role in it as well.[281] However, the fact that being a Roman has also started to be a matter of prestige has led people to want to see the effects of Romans in their city, so they would also be privileged.[282]

Unfortunately, we do not know if Latin was taught in the Greek cities and if it was, at what level. We know that public documents about military and road systems in some provinces were written in Latin. Bilingual inscriptions have also been found but they do not give clear information, but if we take into account the peaceful policy they were pursuing, some places may not really have needed Latin except for public affairs. [283] In addition, given the presence of a large number of Greeks in the administration, perhaps the two languages were equally acceptable.

Gatzke describes the language issue and its connection with identity in detail. She agrees that languages are a good way to understand public identity. Since the 1970s, with the increase in these studies, language's effects on social identity and behaviors have begun to be examined as well. Bilingualism can be a distinctive feature. Gatzke argues that bilingualism can exist in two situations, highly educated elites and lower classes who needed to learn a second language for work or daily life. Unfortunately, we do not have enough information about the propagation and range of

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[281] Madsen (2013, 76).

[282] Madsen (2013, 63).

[283] Marek (2009, 38).

the Latin language in Anatolia, but by studying inscriptions, we see that Latin was used by both elites and commoners.[284]

This indicates that the Romans had not only adapted their administrative system, but also their architectural style, culture and language. The two cultures merged, and this has probably ensured the fusion of the societies as well. It has facilitated integration into social life. Gatzke and Curchin agree that this was not planned but the natural result of integration, and that it was possible for subjects to keep Greek traditions as long as they were loyal to the Romans.[285] I agree that adaptation came as a result of merging the two cultures, but since the whole system of the province changed we ask if this result may have actually been due to unintentional, involuntary enforcement. Gatzke gives Anatolia as an example, saying that its inhabitants were living in Greek culture without Greek governors, although for the Romans, I believe it is still hard to say something definitive since they have also tried to adapt their architecture and technology.[286]

There is another theory that approaches this issue from another point of view. Woolf says that Roman culture did not spread through out Anatolia but instead, it was affected by Greek culture, with a lot of Greek people taking up active roles in the administration has even increasing the influence of Greek culture.[287] As a consequence of integration it is usual for both

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[284] Gatzke (2013, 26-33).

[285] Curchin (2004, 14); Gatzke (2013, 43).

[286] Gatzke (2013, 43).

[287] Woolf (1998, 117).

cultures to influence each other, but knowing that being Roman or using Roman names were signs of elite status probably accelerated Romanization.

5.1. Romanization and Romanization Models

Romanization means the voluntary or compulsory integration and acculturation of populations conquered by the Romans. The defeated populations become a part of Roman civilization which generally did not bother to oblige the indigenous people to use Latin language, law and religion, but granted a wide range of autonomies based on alliance, federalism and trust.[288]

The term was first introduced by Mommsen. Afterwards it was used by some French scholars in 1870,[289] and became a well-known concept after Haverfield, a British historian and archeologist.

Understanding the adaptation period Romanization is important. From the second century B.C. onward, Roman products verify the importation of Mediterranean products by Europeans. Despite the fact that most peoples continued to see themselves as indigenous, from Rome's perspective they had been inducted into the Roman world. They were inside the political and financial range of the empire, but socially to some degree still outside of it. They became a part of it, but their languages, ways of life, and material culture remained barbarians.[290]

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[288] Mattingly (2004, 5-26).

[289] Ridder (2014, 4).

[290] Wells (1999, 94).

Curchin also touched upon this issue. He claims that, we can comprehend how the Roman Empire worked, by concentrating on the changes in the behaviors of indigenous peoples who lived in central Spain.[291] Curchin tries to create, a model of Romanization that portrays the ideal way to incorporate indigenous individuals into the Roman Empire and get them to embrace or adapt to Roman ways of life. He thinks this combination provides the best insight into Romanization. Curchin adopted a strategy in utilizing both processual and post-processual bits of knowledge mixed with archeological and epigraphical evidence to show how Romanization occurred. Figure 11 shows the models he proposed.[292]
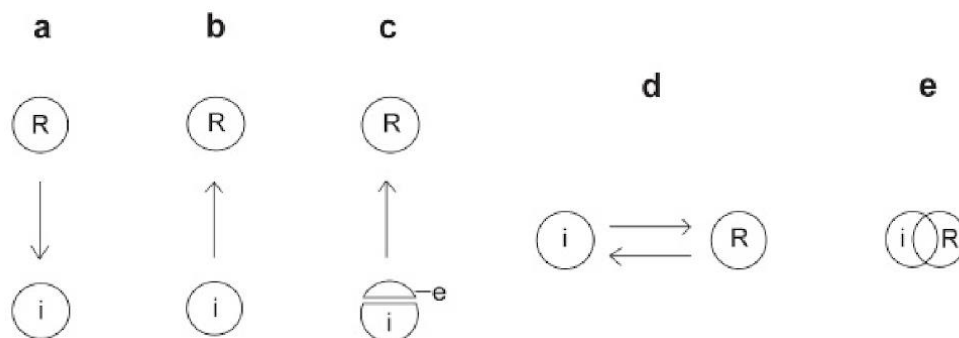
Figure 11: Models of Romanization Proposed by Curchin [293]

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[291] Curchin (2004, 10).

[292] Curchin (2004, 12).

[293] R (means Roman), I (means indigenous). The arrows represent the direction of initiative. Curchin (2004, 13).

A. The Dominance Model

In this model, Rome forces its way of life on conquered peoples. The assimilation can be seen as a process where one culture demolishes another culture or "forced conversion". Curchin also notes that, while it is known that Rome was a conqueror and tried to impose Roman law and economic systems, there is no proof that they followed a policy of imposing their culture on subjected populations.[294]

B. The Self-Romanization Model

This model was first proposed by White,[295] and then called it "adoption by imitation"[296]. This refers to the "initiative of the indigenes in the Romanization",[297] who may have seen their culture as inferior to that of Rome.

C. The Elite Model

In this model, the elites willingly assimilate for their own benefit and lead the lower classes.[298]

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[294] Curchin (2004, 13).

[295] Sherwin White (1973, 222).

[296] Wightman (1983, 239).

[297] Curchin (2004, 13).

[298] Curchin (2004, 13).

D. The Interaction Model

In this model, there is a common interaction between the cultures.[299] Both the Romans and the indigenous people influence each other reciprocally in a shared process of acculturation. This model differs from the others because it involves a two-way relationship and interchange.

E. The Integration Model

In this model, there is again an interchange with a slight difference from the interaction model. Here both cultures, the Romans and the indigenous people are influenced by each other, but as a result they form a new "provincial culture".[300] This model is also known as "transculturation".[301]

Its advantage is minimizing harm to people who are coexisting. According to Curchin this is the best model for Romanization and I agree with him entirely. It merges the cultures to create a new culture with effects from both sides.

As we can see, there are variety of theories of Romanization. It is important to comprehend the particular conditions under which it occurred. Even so, Curchin agrees that probably none of them were planned, but were unintentional. It was not their explicit intention, so it happened naturally and slowly as a result of having the two

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[299] Curchin (2004, 14).

[300] Curchin (2004, 14).

[301] Curchin (2004, 14): Fear (1996, 274).

cultures in the same place and which in the end were somehow integrated.

The discussion of Romanization is a still an on-going debate. Roman and romanization both terms still cause a lot of misunderstandings. According to Barret, the term Roman has wrongly been comprehended as 'the culture of Rome', which stains two mistaken assumptions.[302] Roman culture was neither homogeneous nor isolated because it was connected with many other cultures.[303]

A few researchers even claim that there was no cultural Roman identity until Roman culture merged with local cultures. Artifacts found by excavations, have been counted as an evidence of Roman culture even though they were only found in Rome's provinces[304]. This complicates defining which materials should be considered to be Roman. At the administrative level, there were many people who were not of Roman origin.[305] Curchin believes that Rome had no persisting culture but developed into local varieties throughout the entire Mediterranean.[306]

Another problem is defining the term native. It is even harder to define during Romanization because the culture formerly known as native has already been affected by the culture of the

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[302] Barrett (1997, 51).

[303] Webster (1997, 325).

[304] Freeman (1993).

[305] Wells (1999).

[306] Curchin (2004, 131).

conquerors.[307] Curchin touches upon this issue as well and agrees that, although for the pre-Roman period we can partially explain what native means, during Romanization, this becomes impossible because native cultures had already begun to mix with the culture of the conquerors.[308]

The term culture also causes misunderstandings since it is not well defined if we mean only cultural change or arts and material culture as well with it. Curchin says that we should not take it in a limited sense but on the contrary, to consider it with all the things that are characteristic of a particular people.[309] He also notes the criticism by of Lloris, which notes that studies generally examine cultural aspects but tend to ignore politics. This reminds us, again, that we should consider culture in a wider perspective.

We often hear the term Romanocentric together with the term Romanization. This is another misconception which violates the principle that all cultures are equal.[310] The Romanocentric viewpoint sees Romanization as a form of development or progress that improved the provinces that submitted to it.[311] I agree with Curchin that we need balance with the indigenocentric perspective as well. A shared and integrated culture requires the contribution of all its peoples.

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[307] Keay and Terrenato (2001, 131).

[308] Curchin (2004, 9).

[309] Curchin (2004, 11).

[310] Woolf (1998, 5).

[311] Curchin (2004, 10).

The final problem with Romanization would be misunderstanding the term, Romanization, and seeing it as a complete and sudden process of assimilation when it was actually a piecemeal and continuous process. Curchin agrees that these misapprehensions may be caused by old publications and even Strabo. In *Geo.* (III.2.15), while describing the people of a city called Baetica, he says that they were completely been Romanized and had even forgotten their native language, but failed to add that this process has taken more than two centuries, causing the readers to imagine that this was a sudden change. [312] I agree with Curchin that this is a phenomenon that needs time to be completely implemented. It is difficult to change language, culture and daily habits which means that people would have needed time to interact with the conquering culture. The process may take less time if the new culture somehow benefits the indigenous people, which can shorten the duration of adaptation period.

The information we have suggests that Pontus resembles Curchin's elite model of Romanization which means the elite people were willing to assimilate for their own benefit and thereby also led the lower classes to do so. However, since there may initially be a force by the Romans, it might have features from the dominant model, too. Comparing with the other models, although there was both interaction and integration between the two groups, Roman policy altered the motivations of the local people. The Romans tried to demonstrate the benefits of being Roman and encouraged people to adapt to their culture and traditions. Citizens were given many privileges, advantages and higher status in the community. As a

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[312] Curchin (2004, 11).

consequence, the local people adapted to this new way of life, and as Curchin says, Romanization was probably easier because of the people's desire for it.
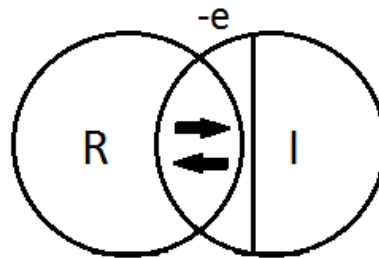
Figure 12: Voluntarily Adaptation Model of Romanization

I believe that in the case of Pontus, it would be more accurate to create a new model because it contains features from each model. My suggestion would be Voluntarily Adaptation Model. In this model, even though there may initially be a force by the Romans, local elites want to assimilate voluntarily for their own benefit, and thus try to take higher positions at the administrative level. They start to interact and integrate with the Roman people. This, also successfully leds the lower classes to do so.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The founders and rulers of the Kingdom of Pontus had Iranian roots, but it was established in a land where the local people were Greek. Therefore, during Persian sovereignty, the people experienced intensive Persian and Greek influences. The kingdom followed a policy of philhellenism in order to pacify the society and gain acceptance in it. The kings also disseminated religious propaganda to establish an environment based on mutual respect and trust. They identified themselves with the gods and minted divinized portraits on their coins. They won more respect with statues and monuments in their honor. During this period, the two cultures began to merge. Although they were ruled by a Persian administrative system, many different languages were still spoken in Asia Minor, especially Greek.

The kings' peaceful policy prevented chaos in their territories. Instead of forcing the people to adopt the Persian language and Iranian traditions, the kings preferred to represent themselves as members of this philhellenic society to gain acceptance. They respected the people's religious beliefs and tried to unify them. As in the temple states, they transformed features into their culture, for instance in Ameria, where Anatolians syncretized Dionysus with Men Pharnakou, who represented the victory over evil in Persian Zoroastrianism. Thus, they managed to create a cultural amalgamation with common features. This peaceful policy ensured

that the kingdom remained durable and strong for many years and made people willingly become its subjects and voluntarily adapt to the kings' innovations. The kings respect for Greek traditions and use of the Greek language resulted in a slow, but steady fusion of cultures. Since the kings could speak the local people's language, it was easier for the local people to adhere to the Persian administration system. They did not feel forced into another identity and mutual respect between the two cultures was reinforced.

Peaceful policy kept the peace for a long time, but could not resolve the kingdom's problems with the Romans. In 63 B.C., after Mithridates committed suicide, the Romans conquered Pontus.[313] In 66 B.C. Pompey began to reorganize the cities which meant their people had to adapt to another culture.

However, since both cultures were quite vigorous, neither was able to preserve their identity entirely, and the policy of philhellenism was partially reversed by the conquest. The Greeks could not just continue to speak Greek and ignore the presence of the Romans, just as the Romans could not abolish the Greek language and culture.[314] As a consequence, both language remained in use. The administrative language was Latin while local inscriptions kept being written in Greek.

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[313] The western Pontus was then annexed to Roman territory, while the eastern coast remained semi-independent until 64 A.D.

[314] Although we lack clear information about the usage of Latin, its propagation and range, inscriptions indicate that both languages were used actively in this period.

There is a lack of remains related to the image of Mithridatic kings inside the Black Sea Region, as well as in the Hellenistic period of the Kingdom of Pontus. This is because, most of the architectural structures from the Hellenistic period were transformed or destroyed by the Romans after the conquest which makes it difficult to interpret their identity. Fortunately, significant remains outside Pontus such as the portraits of Mithridates VI and his friends on the inner walls of the monument in Delos, which proves us how successful he was with merging the two cultures and that the two cultures were integrated. If Curchin's Romanization models could be adapted also to this period, I would say that it has several features of the integration model because both cultures influenced each other and as a result, formed a new shared culture. Since the people were not forced to accept anything related to Persian culture, they slowly integrated and possible identity confusions were probably mostly inhibited. However, since this integration was due to the elites who wanted to assimilate for their own benefit, it would not be wrong to say that it has features from the elite model, too. Thus, I believe that in case of Pontus, it would be more accurate to create a new model. My suggestion would be Voluntary Adaptation Model. In this model, even though there may initially be a force by the Romans, local elites want to assimilate voluntarily for their own benefit, and thus try to take higher positions at the administrative level. They start to interact and integrate with the Roman people. This, also successfully leds the lower classes to do so.

On the other hand, there are more remains from the Roman period which makes it easier to examine Romanization. Administrative structures such as *demoi, boulai* and *archontes* show that the

Romans did not intend to abolish the existing culture but preferred to find a way to adapt the people to Roman culture. They changed city borders, enlarged or united them, but they did not use direct force on the local people. I understand this as a way of supporting the process of adaptation. Instead of forcing people to use Latin, they represented it as a matter of prestige. Thus, they did attempt to force the two cultures to integrate but psychologically affected the people and made them wish to become Roman because of the benefits of doing so.

They gave privileges, advantages and higher social status to the locals who became Roman citizens. This policy's success can be discerned in the increase of inscriptions in Latin which shows Latin began to be used in many areas. Still, the people were not afraid to speak Greek but felt free to choose their language as wished. As time went by, Romans spread throughout Pontus, the people probably started to use Latin more often. The use of Roman names also increased which shows that more people were presenting themselves as Romans.

Although the local people created problems in the beginning, naturally, we have to admit that accepting a new administrative system is a difficult transition. The Romans implemented their changes gradually, and by placing the Greeks in the administration, they made the process less painful. By providing high salaries to soldiers in the army and facilitating their participation in the administration, they ensured the support of the Greek locals in the army, too. This both helped the people and made the Roman Empire stronger.

In time, the Romans introduced their own judicial system and rules, and established a system that was fully compatible with Roman governance. The kingdom's administrative structures–boulai, for example–were adapted the new Roman system. Since it became more and more attractive to become Roman, these kinds of radical changes were easily accepted.

I see Roman' power as a natural result of their non-coercive adaptation policy. They demonstrated the benefits of being Roman and interested people in their culture and traditions, as well as becoming Roman. As a consequence, the Greeks adapted to this new way of life. They joined the administrations and the army. They have used Latin language and took on Roman names. Although the two cultures and identities seem to be integrated in the beginning, they eventually became Roman and shared a common identity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Pontus Krallığı M.Ö. 302 yılından 64 yılına kadar Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde hakimiyet sürdü ve bu süreç içerisinde geniş coğrafi sınırlara ulaştı. Kuruluşundan yıkıldığı güne kadar da Pers, Yunan ve Anadolu kültürlerini topraklarında ağırladı.

Önceleri aynı coğrafyada M.Ö. 550 yılında I. Cyrus tarafından kurulan Akhamenid İmparatorluğu hüküm sürüyordu ve Pontus da bu sınırlar içerisinde bulunuyordu. Cyrus, başlangıçta İran ve Aşağı ,Mezopotamya'yı yönetmişti, ancak imparatorluk tüm Persleri ve Medleri ele geçirince daha da genişledi. Akhamenid İmparatorluğu, 200 yıldan uzun bir süre, kuzeybatı Hindistan'dan Mısır'a ve güneyde modern Kazakistan'ın sınırlarına kadar olan bir alanı yönetti. Orta Karadeniz Bölgesi'ne ise 6. yüzyıldan itibaren hakim oldu. Büyük İskender'in ölümüyle beraber, M.Ö 302'de I. Mithridates Ctistes'in liderliğinde Kapadokya Krallığı'ndan ayrıldı, ve bağımsızlığını kazandı.

Pontus Krallığı konumu itibariyle önemli bir geçiş yoluydu ve Karadeniz, Balkanlar ile Asya'yı birbirine bağlayan ticaret yollarının kesişiminde bulunuyordu. Güneyinde Kızılırmak, kuzeyinde Karadeniz yer alıyordu. Antik yazar Strabon bu bölgeden Pontus adıyla bahsetmekteydi. Halk Yunan kökenliydi ve diğer yerel dillerle beraber Yunanca ağırlıklı olarak konuşuluyordu. Ancak kurucularının Pers kökenli olması sebebiyle Pers etkisi de krallıkta yoğun bir şekilde hissediliyordu. Bu sebeple de kültürlerarası bir

etkileşim vardı. Bu etkileşim dilde, politik yapılarda ve sosyal yaşamda hissediliyor, materyal kültürün değişimiyle beraber takip de edilebiliyordu. Krallar bunu devam ettirmeye çalışıyor ve halkın kendi kimlik özelliklerini korumalarında etkin rol oynuyorlardı. Özellikle V. Mithridates Euergetes barışçıl bir politika izlenmiş, ve o dönemde krallığın sınırlarını genişletmeyi başarmıştı. Kendini Persli krallarla Büyük İskender'in bir karışımı olarak görüyordu. M.Ö 120 yılında bilinmeyen bir sebeple öldürülmesinden sonra krallığın başına geçen VI. Mithridates de aynı barışçıl politikayı sürdürmeye çalışmış, bunu aynı zamanda kendini güçlendirmek için de bir avantaja çevirmişti. Dini politikalar da uygulayarak halkın ona olan saygısını arttırmaya çalışmıştı. Hatta kendisini Dionysos ile o kadar özdeşleştirmişti ki, Mithridates Eupator Dionysos olarak da çağrılmaya başlanmıştı. Bastırdığı sikkelerden de bunu takip etmek mümkündür. VI. Mithridates oldukça güçlü bir kraldı ve bunu halkına göstermekten de çekinmiyordu. Delos, Delphoi ve Nemea tapınaklarında zırh ve kıyafetlerini sergiliyor, kendini aynı zamanda bir nevi tanrılaştırıyordu. Ayrıca krallığında konuşulan 22 yerel dili de bilmesi sayesinde askerleriyle daha sağlam ilişkiler kurabiliyordu. Bunun yanında kendisine ihanet edenlere karşı da oldukça katıydı ve bu tutumu ilerleyen dönemlerde Yunan halkını tehlikede hissettiği için Roma'ya karşı başlatacağı I. Mithridates Savaşı'nın ana sebeplerinden biri olacaktı. I. Mithridates Savaşı Roma'nın lehine sonuçlandı ve Mithtidates bu savaşta kazandığı bütün topraklardan çekilmek zorunda kaldı. Bunu takiben intikam almak amacıyla Romalı general Lucius Licinius Murena, II. Mithridates Savaşı'nı M.Ö. 89 yılında başlattı. Gerekçe olarak da Mithridates'in ordularını tekrardan topladığını ve güçlenmeye başladığını, bunun da Roma için bir tehdit oluşturduğunu söyledi.

Önemli sonuçlar doğurmasa da Mithridates bunu Roma'nın bir saldırısı olarak algıladı ve ordusunu güçlendirdiğinden emin olunca M.Ö 73'de Ermenistan Kralı II. Tigranes ile beraber Roma'ya saldırdı. Tigranes'in Mithridates'in uyarılarını dikkate almamasından dolayı, Lucullus onu üstün askeri stratejileriyle yenilgiye uğrattı. Bu süreçte Roma'nın gücü de daha çok eyalet tarafından tanınmaya başlanmıştı. Tigranes ile Mithridates güçlerini tekrar birleştirince, Lucullus'un istediği başarıya ulaşmasını büyük ölçüde önlemiş oldular. Bu sırada savaşın başına daha önce Akdeniz'de korsanlara karşı büyük başarılar elde eden Pompey getirildi. Aynı dönemde Tigranes ve Mithridates'in arası açılmıştı. Mithridates savaşı kaybedeceğini anlayınca, halkın karşına yenilmiş olarak çıkartılmaktansa intihar etmeyi tercih etti. Başta kendini zehirlemeye çalışsa da zehirlere karşı bağışıklığı olduğu için başarısız oldu, ve bunun sonucunda kendini koruması Bituitos'a öldürttü. Ardından Batı Pontos hemen Roma Krallığı'na bağlansa da, doğu Pontos M.S. 64 yılına kadar yarı bağımsızlığını korudu.

Pontus'un Roma Krallığı'na bağlanmasından sonra Pompey eyaletleri yeniden organize etme çalışmalarına başladı. Kolay bir süreç olmadığı gibi, Pontus'un tamamen Roma hakimiyetine girmesi de yaklaşık 100 yıl sürdü. Eyaletler Yunan polis özelliğini tam anlamıyla taşımıyordu ve büyük ölçüde Pers etkisi de varlığını sürdürmeye devam ediyordu. İlk olarak politik ve sosyal alanda değişikliklere gidildi ve insanlar zaman içerisinde Roma sistemine kültürel olarak alıştırılmaya çalışıldı, uyum sağlamalarına gayret edildi.

Pontus Krallığı bu iki geçiş dönemindeki kimlik yapılarını incelemek açısından iyi bir örnektir. Kimlik yapısı arkeolojide sıklıkla tartışılan

bir konudur ve birşeyin veya bir kimsenin karakteristik özelliklerinin tanımlanması anlamına gelir. Kimlik, çeşitli biçimlerde şekillenir ve politik, kültürel ve ekonomik durumlar dahil olmak üzere, birçok faktör değişiminde rol oynar. Aynı zamanda etnik köken, statü, yaş, cinsiyet ve kimi zaman ise din konulara da değinmeyi gerektirir. Yıllar içerisinde bu konuda pekçok teori ve yaklaşım geliştirilmiştir. Karadeniz Bölgesi'nin grup kimliğini, kronolojik gelişimini ve onu etkileyen faktörleri analiz etmek için de bu yaklaşım ve teoriler önem arz etmektedir. Meskell'e göre kimlik yapısını arkeolojide iki şekilde anlayabiliriz. Birincisi toplumların sosyal gelişimine bakarak, ikincisi ise kişilerin deneyimlerini anlamaya çalışaraktır. Ancak kişiler kimliklerini kendileri seçmemiş olabilirler, ve kimlikleri onlara tanımlanmış olarak gelmiş olabilir. Bu sebeple etnik çatışmaları da anlamaya çalışmak gerekmektedir. Etnik kimlik ortak ulusal ve kültürel geleneklere sahip gruplara dayanır. Bununla ilişkili olarak tarih boyunca da pek çok düşünce akımı oluşmuştur.

İlk başlarda primordialistler aynı kültürel-tarihsel yaklaşımı destekleyenler gibi, kimlik hakkında çok fazla çalışma yapmadılar ve kimliği doğuştan gelen, değişitirilemez bir olgu olarak kabul ettiler. Bu yaklaşıma tepki olarak çıkan enstrümentalistler ise kimliğin toplum ve kültür tarafından etkilenip şekillendiğini savundular. Aynı zamanda bu dönemde arkeolojide yeni bir eğilim olan süreçcil yaklaşım, toplumların kimliğini gruplar olarak incelemiş, ancak bireysel kimliği göz ardı etmeye devam etmiştir. Hodder tarafından başlatılan post-süreçsel akımla beraber, arkeologlar kimliği anlamak için sadece mevcut koşulları değil geçmiş koşulları da göz önünde bulundurmaya başladılar. Yine de herzaman farklı etkenlerin olabileceği de göz önünde

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bulundurulmalıdır. Örneğin Insoll, insanların küçüklüğünden olgunlaştığı zamana kadar değişim geçirdiğini ve bu sebeple yaş unsurunun da kimliği anlamada önemli bir nokta olabileceğini vurgular. Bununinla beraber kültürlerarası etkileşimlerin de önemli bir faktör olabileceği unutulmamalıdır. Kültürlerarası etkileşimle bağlı olarak milliyetçilikten bahsettiğimiz zaman ise bizim modern kimlik anlayışımızdan kaynaklı zorluklarla karşılaşmaktayız. Kültürel kimlik, farklı gruplar arasındaki etkileşimle ilgili olarak anlaşılmaya çalışılırken, ulusal kimlik, dış etkenlerden dolayı daha az değişime uğrayan bir ortak kimlik anlamına gelir. Bu noktada ulusal kimliği kısaca tanımlamak ve sonrasında kültürel kimliğin ne anlama geldiğini açıklamak uygun olacaktır. Ulusal kimlik, farklı gelenekler, kültür ve dil tarafından temsil edilen, bütüncül bir millet duygusudur. Kültür, ulusal kimlikle de ilgilidir. Kültür, ulusları ayıran ve ulusal kimliğin içeriğini oluşturan olgudur. Primordializmin, kimlik olgusunu değiştirilemez kabul etmesinden farklı olarak, kültürel kimlik, hem grupların hem de bireysel kimliklerin, sosyo-kültürel, politik ve sosyo-tarihsel faktörlerin etkileri altında meydana geldiği anlamına gelir. Bu nedenle, kültürel kimlik sosyo-tarihsel süreçlere bağlı değişimlere açıkken, etnik kimlik milliyet ve etnik köken ile ilişkilidir ve bu da değişimi daha zor kılar.

Maddi kültür kalıntıları, kültür hakkında bilgi sağlayan somut kanıtlardan oluşmaktadır. Bu kanıtlar, hem bireylerin hem de toplumların kimliklerinin incelenmesinde önemli rol oynar. Taylor'ın klasik kültür tanımı: "toplumun bir üyesi olarak edinilen bilgi, inanç, sanat, ahlak, hukuk, özel ve diğer yetenekleri ile alışkanlıkları içeren karmaşık bir bütündür". Bununla birlikte, arkeolojide böyle bir tanımın, Kroeber ve Kluckhohn'un da dediği gibi, nesneleri ve

eşyaları, maddi kültürün içeriklerini de içermesi önemlidir. Kültür hem maddi hem de manevi olabilir ancak arkeologların yalnızca maddi kalıntılara erişimi vardır. Bu sebeple arkeolojide antik toplulukların kültürel dinamiklerini anlamak için bu kalıntılar etkin rol oynamaktadır. Materyal kültür ve kimlik birçok yönden brbiriyle bağlantılıdır. Nesneler hem bireyler hem de toplumların sosyal kimlikleri hakkında bilgi verebilir. Buluntu yerlerine göre hareketleri anlaşılabilir, kültürel etkileşimler gözlenebilir.

Material kalıntılar, kültürü nesiller boyunca aktarır ve sosyal kimlik, inançlar ve sosyal yaşamları hakkında bilgi verir. Bugüne kadar korunanlar sınırlıdır çünkü çoğu, ayrışma, doğal afetler, insanlar veya yeniden kullanım yolu ile yok edilmiştir.

Klasik arkeologlar ise seramik, heykel, mezar taşları, yazıt ve sikkeler gibi çok çeşitli bir malzeme yelpazesini değerlendirmektedirler. Ayrıca tapınaklar, idari ve sosyal yapılar gibi mimari kalıntılarla da ilgilenmektedirler. Karadeniz Bölgesinde kimlik yapısını inceleme çalışması da, bölgenin sosyal yapısı ve kimliği hakkında bilgi veren malzemelere ve VI. Mithridates'in toplum üzerindeki etkisini aydınlatmaya yardımcı olacak malzemelere dayanarak yapılacaktır. Aynı zamanda antik yazarların metinleri de incelemek bu bölge için mümkün olacaktır.

Çoğunluğu günümüze ulaşmasa da, özellikle Strabon'dan (M.Ö. 64 - M.S 20) bölgenin coğrafyası hakkında bilgi edinmek mümkündür. Kendisi Pontus'a bağlı Amaseia'da doğduğu için özellikle Pontus Krallığı'nın sınırlarını çizmemize, kültürel ve politik yapısını anlamamıza yardımcı olur. Polybius (yak. M.Ö 200-120) ise Karadeniz'in genel durumu ve Pontus Krallığı'nın kuruluşu hakkında bilgiler verir. Sonraki yılları Justius'un *Epitome*'undan derlenmiş

olsa da, VI. Mithridates'in saltanatının ilk yılları ile izlediği politikaları burdan öğrenmek mümkündür. Cicero (M.Ö. 106-43) Roma Dönemi'ndeki eyaletlerin durumunu, Romalıların politikalarını ve Mithridat Savaşları sırasındaki politik durumu anlatır. Bu kaynak, Roma Dönemi'nde siyasi pozisyonları anlamak için çok önemlidir çünkü Cicero, *De Imperio Cn Pompei* gibi, Romalıların Mithridates'e karşı davranışlarını açıkça gösteren konuşmaları içerir. Öte yandan, *Moralia* adlı eserinde Plutarch (yaklaşık M.S. 46-120), Romalıların Yunanlar tarafından nasıl görüldüğüne dair bir fikir verir ve böylece bu kimliklerin incelenmesine katkıda bulunur. Son olarak, Mithridates'in kişiliği hakkında en ayrıntılı bilgiyi veren yazar, *Mithridatika* adlı eseriyle Appian'dır.

Bunların yanında bir başka bilgi kaynağı da sikkelerdir. Mithridates'in M.Ö 120 yılında tahta çıkmasından beri Pontus Krallığının sikkeleri onun portre ve efsanelerini taşıyordu. En çok sikke ise VI. Mithridates Eupator döneminde basılmıştı. Mithridat Savaşları sırasında askerlere ödeme yapmak için çok sayıda sikkeye gerek duyulmuştu. Bu sikkeler kralın izlediği politikaları ve savaşların gidişatını anlamada önemli rol oynamaktadır. Sikkeler üzerindeki ikonografi ve yazılar, VI. Mithridates hakkında da bilgi vermektedir. Mitolojik figürler, Pontus Krallığı'nın sosyo-politik durumunu ve yerel halkın inançları ve gelenekleri hakkında fikir verir. Bulunan çoğu sikke kazılardaki arkeolojik tabakalardan gelmemelerine rağmen, üzerindeki portre ve yazıtlar sayesinde Mithridates'in egemenliğinin yayılması hakkında bilgi verirler.

Epigrafik kaynaklar açısından, Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde pekçok kalıntıya ulaşmak mümkündür. Özellikle VI. Mithridates Eupator döneminde. Pontus Senatosu'nun *senatus consulta* kararnameleri

ve Mithridat Savaşları sırasında askeri komutanların onuruna verilen yazıtlar bulunmuştur. Kralların şerefine yapılan heykeller ve yazıtlar maalesef Pontus'u fethettikten sonra Romalılar tarafından tahrip edildiği için günümüze ulaşamamıştır. Bu sebeple yerel halk tarafından nasıl kabul gördüğü veya onları nasıl etkilediği konusunda bilgi veren bir kalıntı yoktur.

Mimari kalıntılara bakacak olursak ise Komana, Zela ve Ameria tapınak devletleri, geçirdikleri değişimler ve tapınaklar sayesinde Helenistik Dönem boyunca halkın geleneklerine gösterilen saygı ve krallığın politik düşünceleri hakkında önemli bilgiler verir. Aynı zamanda, bu değişimlere karşı verilen tepkiler aracılığıyla da kimlik yapısını yorumlamamızı sağlar.

Ne yazık ki, Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde VI. Mithridates hakkında bilgi veren kalıntılar çok kısıtlıdır. Bu eksiklik, bölge sınırları dışında keşfedilmiş buluntularla beraber kısmen kapatılabilmektedir.

Bu bilgiler ışığında kimlik yapılarını inceleyecek olursak, Pers-Helenistik Dönem arasındaki geçişle başlamak gerekir. Pers-Helenistik Dönem, Pontus Krallığı'nın yeni kurulduğu ve var olan Yunan kültürünün, Pers kökenli yöneticilerin kökeninin etkisiyle birleştirildiği zamanı kapsamaktadır. Büyük İskender'in ölümünden sonra, Pontus Kapadokya Krallığı'ndan ayrılmış ve 302 yılında Mithridates Ctistes yönetimi altında bağımsız bir devlet olmuştu. Pontus Krallığı bir Pers hanedanlığı altında bağımsızlığını ve Helenistik karakterini koruyarak, Küçük Asya, Anadolu, İran ve Yunan kültür ve geleneklerini de içine aldı. Bu kültürel kaynaşma sonucunun etkileri, dil, politik kurumlar, sosyal değişimler ve maddi kültür üzerinden görülebilmektedir.

Bu dönemde çoğu materyel kültür ve mimari yapının Romalılar tarafından tahrip edilmesi, yok edilmesi sebebiyle detaylı olarak anlaşılabilmesi zordur. Özellikle Mithridat Krallarına yönelik oldukça az buluntu yer almaktadır. Ancak yine de antik yazarların anlattıklarından veya onlara ithafen yapılan anıtlardan ve heykellerden bilgi edinmek mümkündür. Bunun en önemli örneklerindne biri Atinalı rahip Helianax tarafından VI. Mithridates'e adanan Delos'daki tapınaktır. M.Ö. 101/102 yıllarında inşa edilen tapınak, 5.20 metre genişliğinde, 3.45 metre yüksekliğinde, 3.90 metre derinliğinde olup dikdörtgen şeklindedir ve bu türden kraliyet anıtları için genellikle tercih edilen yerlerin aksine, orijinal yapının yanında konumlandırılmıştır. İçerisinde VI. Mithridates'in Yunan ve Pers kökenli arkadaşlarıyla resmedildiği 12 tane madalyon yer almaktadır. Bu izlediği barışçıl politikayı görmek ve uluslararası alanda tanınırlığını kanıtlamak açısından öneml bir örnektir. Aynı zamanda Yunan dünyasında Pers kökenlerine sahip bir hükümdar olarak tanınması, yerel halkın desteğini kazanması ve saygı gösterilmesi bakımından da önemli bir adımdı. Aynı zamanda bulunan Yunanca ve Latince yazıtlarla beraber bu iki kültürün ve dilin karışmaya başladığı da anlaşılmıştır. Örneğin Gaziura'ya yakın bulunan bir Yunanca yazıtta, insanların garnizon komutanının izni olmadan bölgeye giremeyeceği yazılıdır. McGing, bu yazıtın, Yunanca'nın tahmin edilenden daha fazla kişi tarafından konuşulduğu anlamına geldiğini söylemektedir. Amisos'ta, üzerinde muhtemelen iki İyonyalının adının bulunduğu bir başka Yunanca yazıt bulunmuştur; Arte ve Mata. McGing, Yunanca olmayan bu isimlerin Yunanca bir yazıtta olmasının, Amaseia'dan Amisus'dan gelen ticaret yolunun sonucu olabileceğini söylemektedir. Amaseia

Yunan etkisi altındaydı ve bu etkiyi Amisos halkına yaymış olabileceği düşünülmüştür.

Sikkelere bakıldığı zaman ise, VI. Mithridates Eupator'un sikkelerde kendini Zeus Stratios ile beraber bastırdığı görülmüş, ve Zeus Stratios'un eski Iran diniyle bağlantıları olduğundan iki kültürü de vurgulamak istediği anlaşılmıştır. Aynı zamanda kendini Yunanların koruyucusu olarak göstermiş ve kendini sikkelerde Dionysus'la da beraber de bastırmıştır. Böylece Mithridates Eupator Dionysus olarak da bilindiği kesindir. Bu bir dini propaganda olarak da yorumlanabilir. Saprykin'e göre Mithridates'in kendini Zeus'la beraber göstermesi mümkün değildi çünkü o "tüm Olimpiyat tanrıları ve tanrıçalarının en yükseği ve yaşamın tüm alanlarının yaratıcısı ve hamisi" idi. Dolayısıyla, oğlu olan Dionysus, Anadolu, Yunan ve İran tanrıları ile ilişkilendirilebileceğinden daha iyi bir seçimdi.

Kralların barışçıl politikası, bölgedeki olası kaosları engelledi. Halklarına Pers dilini ve Pers geleneklerini benimsetmeye zorlamak yerine, krallar kendilerini yerel halka kabul ettirmek için, kendilerini onlardan biriymiş gibi göstermeyi tercih ettiler. Halkın dini inançlarına saygı duydular. Tapınak devletlerinde olduğu gibi, var olan özellikleri kendi kültürleriyle özdeşleştirmeye çalıştılar. Örneğin, Ameria'da, yerel halk, Pers Zerdüştlüğü'nde kötülüğün zaferini temsil eden Men Pharnakou ile Dionysus'u özdeşleştirdi. Böylece ortak özelliklerle kültürel bir birlik oluşturmayı başardılar. Bu barışçıl politika, krallığın uzun yıllar boyunca sağlam ve güçlü kalmasını, insanların kralların yeniliklerine gönüllü olarak adapte olmasını sağladı. Yunan geleneklerine ve Yunan dilinin kullanımına saygı duyan kralların bu tutumu, yavaş ama istikrarlı bir kültür

birleşimi ile sonuçlandı. Krallar yerel halkın dilini konuşabildikleri için, yerel halkın Pers yönetim sistemine bağlı kalması daha da kolay oldu. Başka bir kimliğe zorlanmış hissetmediler ve iki kültür arasındaki karşılıklı saygı da güçlenmiş oldu.

Roma Dönemi'ne geldiğimiz zaman ise çok daha detaylı bilgiye ve kalıntıya ulaşmak mümkün olmaktadır. Pompey'in eyaletleri yeniden organize etmek istemesi üzerine çeşitli değişikliklere gidilmiştir. Bunlardan bir kısmı Helenistik Dönemden beridir Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde var olan üç tapınak devleti üzerinde olmuştur. Tapınak devletleri, ekonomik açıdan bağımsız dinsel oluşumlardır. Küçük topluluklar, yerel güçler olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz tapınaklar etrafında bağımsız olarak yaşamışlardır. Roma Dönemi'nde ise bu topluluklar şehir olarak bir araya getirilerek merkezi bir idare altında toplandılar. Bu tapınak devletlerinden ilki Yeşilırmak'ın yakınlarında yer alan Ma'ya adanmış Komana'dır. Mithridates Eupator'un, Komana tapınağını yönetmek için yakın arkadaşlarından biri olan Dorilao'yu atadığı da bilinmektedir. Bu, Dorilao'nun kralın ailesine ait olmadığı ve Yunan kökenli olduğu için istisnai bir durumdur. Mithridates'in Yunan halkıyla yakın işbirliği içinde olduğunu, onlara güven duyduğunu ve Yunan halkının elit kesiminin önemli kurumlarda görev yaptığını göstermektedir. Sonrasında Komana, Roma Dönemi'nde önce sınırları genişletilmiş sonrasınra ise *asylum* denilen savaştan uzak ve sivil otoritenin geçerli olduğu bir konuma yükseltilmiştir. İkincisi Amaseia'ya 57 kilometre mesafede yer alan, Anaitis, Omanus ve Anadatus'a adanmış Zela'dır. Zela, Roma Dönemi'nde bir polis'e çevrilerek korunmuştur. Bu da Roma'nın bu tarz yerel kült merkezlerine yaklaşımını anlamak açısında iyi bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Son olarak, bilinen bir diğer tapınak devleti ise

Kabeira'daki Men'e adanmış Ameria'dır. Anadolu halkı, Dionysos'u Pers zerdüştlüğünde kötülüğe karşı zaferi temsil eden Men ile özdeşleştirmiştir. Bu da kültürlerin kaynaşmasını görmek açısından önemlidir. Sonuç olarak tapınak devletleri değişikliklere uğrasalar da, gösterilen saygıdan ötürü yıkılmamışlar, yalnızca adapte edilmişlerdir.

Bu dönemde, yerel elitlerin hayırseverlik işleri, ilk iki yüzyılda, özellikle zengin ve politik olarak güçlü Roma eyaletlerinde yaygındı. Örneğin Komana'da bulunan euergetes heykeli bir hayırseverin kamu çalışmalarının onuruna yapılmıştı. Kamu yararına çalışanların portreleri, kahramanlarla ve efsanevi kurucularla birlikte kamusal alanlarda sergilendi. Komana bundan etkilenmiş olabilir ve bu da Yunan kültür geleneklerinin kabul edildiğini göstermektedir. Bu heykelin varlığı, aynı zamanda bu dönemde elit bir kimliğin varlığını ve sosyal hiyerarşinin varlığını da doğrular. Erciyas bunun Komana'nın kimliğinin, Romalılaşmanın etkileri nedeniyle değişmiş olduğuna işaret ettiğini söylemektedir.

Demoi, boulai, archontes gibi idari yapılar Hellenistik Dönem'de olduğu gibi çalışmalarına devam ederken, zamanla Roma'ya ait değişiklikleri yerel halka tanıtmaya başladılar. En önemlilerinden biri olan Roma vatandaşlığı bu dönemde tanıtıldı. Sosyal hiyerarşi daha belirgin hale geldi. Vergilendirme sisteminde belirgin değişikliklere gidildi. Anayasal hukuk kuralları tanıtıldı. Hangi eyaletlerin, yerel halka hangi şartlarda Roma vatandaşlığı hakkını verebileceği açıklandı. Bu değişikliklerle beraber Romalılar aynı zamanda mimari yapıları da yenilemeye başladı. Yapıların bir kısmı genişletildi ve Roma mimarisine uygun hale getirildi.

Roma, eyaletleri üzerinde yaptığı bütün değişiklikleri zoraki bir yöntemle yerel halka kabul ettirmek yerine, onları ilgi çekici hale getirerek insanların kendiliğinden bu değişikliklerini tercih etmesini sağlamaya uğraştı. Örneğin Roma vatandaşı olup idari anlamda aktif rol oynayan insanları, elit sınıfın en üst tabakasına dahil etti. Yaptıkları işler için insanlar desteklendiler ve ödüllendirildiler. Kamu hizmeti yapan ve orduda yer alan insanlar krallık tarafından maaşa bağlandı. Bunun yanında yönetime Yunanların girmeye başlamasıyla beraber, Romalılar da Yunanlardan etkilenmeye başladı ve bir anlamda kültürlerarası etkileşimi arttırmış oldu. Madsen bu noktada, karşılıklı etkileşimden dolayı direkt olarak bir Roma kimliğinden bahsetmenin mümkün olmadığını belirtir.

Zaman içerisinde Roma vatandaşı olmak bir prestij haline gelmeye başladı ve insanlar bu hakkı kazanmak için uğraştılar. Dil konusunda ise çok fazla bilgiye sahip olmamakla beraber, bulunan sayılı yazıtlardan her iki dilin de eyaletlerde konuşulduğu bilinmektedir. Her iki dil de kullanımda olsa da idari dil Latince iken, yerel yazıtlar daha çok Yunanca yazılmaya devam ediliyordu. Gatzke iki dilin de uzun bir süre korunabilmesinin iki yolu olabileceğini düşünmektedir. Birincisi elit kesimin eğitim yoluyla ikinci dili öğrenmesi ihtimaliyken, ikincisi alt sınıfın günlük ve iş yaşamında kullanmak amacıyla ikinci dili öğrenmeye çalışma ihtimalidir. İki dilin kullanımıyla beraber Roma'nın yalnızca yönetim sistemini veya mimari yapısını adapte etmeye çalışmadığını, buna ek olarak dilini, kültürünü de yerel insanlara öğretmek için gayret gösterdiği anlaşılmaktadır. Yerel halkın bu denli iç içe geçmeye başlaması da kültür etkileşiminin daha da artmasına sebep olmuş, günlük ve sosyal yaşamlarını kolaylaştırmıştır.

Roma Dönemi'ndeki bu geçiş aşamasına Mommsen Romanizasyon adını vermiştir ve 1870'lerde başka yayınlarda da yer almasıyla beraber sık kullanılan bir terim haline gelmiştir. Kısaca kültürlerin çeşitli etki veya baskılar sonucunda Romalılaşmasına denir. Curchin bu geçiş aşamasını daha iyi yorumlayabilmek amacıyla kişileri anlamanın önemli olduğunu söyler ve 5 farklı model sunar. Bunların ilki Baskıcı Modeldir. Roma'nın zoraki olarak kendi kültürünü yerel halka empoze etmeye çalıştığından bahseder. İkincisi ilk kez White tarafından önerilen Kendi Kendine Romanizasyon Modelidir. İnsanların bağımsız bir şekilde daha üstün buldukları kültürü kopya ederek Romalılaştığını söyler. Elit Modelde ise elit sınıfın kendi çıkarları için Romalılaşmak istediklerini ve bu yönelimleriyle beraber alt sınıfı da yönlendirdiklerini savunur. Etkileşim Modelinde ise kültürlerarası bir etkileşim olduğundan, her iki kültürün de birbirleriyle belli başı özelliklerini paylaştığını söyler. Son model olan Entegrasyon Modelinde, iki kültürün etkileşme sonucu ortaya yeni özellikler taşıyan bir kültür ortaya koyduğunu belirtir. Curchin'e göre en ideal yöntem de budur. Curchin'e katılmakla beraber, modeller incelendiğinde Pontus'un Elit Modele daha çok uyduğuna inanıyorum. Romanın artan gücünü de, zorlayıcı olmayan uyum politikalarının doğal bir sonucu olarak görüyorum. Herhangi bir baskı kurmadan veya zorluk çıkarmadan kendi kültür ve alışkanlıklarını yerel halka ilgi çekici göstermeye çalışmışlardır. Bunun sonucunda da başarılı olmuş ve insanlar statülerini yükseltmek, prestij kazanmak, farklı haklardan faydalanmak için Roma vatandaşı olmak istemişler, yönetimde ve orduda yer almak için çaba sarfetmişlerdir. Latin dilini konuşup, Roma isimlerini kullanmaya başlamışlardır. Bu da iki taraflı bir etkileşime sebep olarak kültürlerin daha iyi kaynaşmasını sağlamıştır. Her ne kadar

bu iki kültür ve kimlik başlangıçta bütünleşmiş gibi görünse de, sonunda Romalılaşmışlar ve ortak bir kimlik paylaşmışlardır.

APPENDIX B - TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Gür
Adı   : Selin
Bölümü : Yerleşim Arkeolojisi

TEZİN ADI: Identity in Pontus From the Achaemenids Through the Roman Period

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

Yazarın İmzası: _____ Tarih: _____