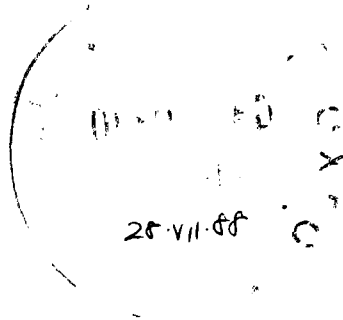


SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE MAEANDER
REGION OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR ON THE EVE OF THE
TURKISH INVASION

by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford



Trinity College,
Oxford

Trinity Term,
1987

CHAPTER FIVE Continuity or Flight? III: The Upper Maeander.

So far this survey of the evidence has shown that many of the late Roman city sites in the lower Maeander region survived as relatively important settlements up to at least the 12th century. Before the Turkish invasions there is very little evidence, save in a small number of specific circumstances, to suggest either a general move away from the open plains to the security of the hills, or an abandonment of ancient open sites in favour of better defensive positions. Indeed the evidence for the survival of a city is as good if not better for settlements on open sites, such as Philadelphia, Mastaura or Laodicea, as it is for those which already occupied good defensive positions such as Tralles, Priene or Amyzon. This continuity in the plains is also an indication that settled agriculture remained the principal activity of Byzantine society and that there was no shift to a pastoral economy. In most cases adaptation to the very different conditions of the 7th to 11th century seems to have taken place within the existing late Roman settlement pattern and the survival or otherwise of a site appears to be linked above all to such specific factors as the status and prosperity of the site in the 6th century, the existence of a defensive circuit of walls and the availability of good agricultural land.

The evidence for the upper Maeander region is of a rather different nature and needs to be placed in the context of

Byzantine strategy against the Arabs before individual sites can be analyzed. Unlike the lower Maeander none of the major cities of the upper Maeander region has been excavated. With some exceptions, notably Apamea, the cities were less important here than further west, but in any case 19th and 20th century classical archaeologists have not been so attracted to these lesser Phrygian sites in comparison to the famous early Greek cities of the coast.

The geography of the upper Maeander has already been described in the outline of the Maeander region as a whole. The area consists of three plains, drained by the Maeander river system, which lie to the east of the central valleys and form an intermediate zone.

In the description in chapter one the emphasis was placed on those factors which made it possible to consider the Maeander region as a whole, but one cannot ignore the fact that geography and climate make the upper Maeander different from the rest of the region to the west.[1]

There are two main routes from the Aegean coast up to the central plateau and these mark the approximate northern and southern extent of the upper Maeander region. One goes from the Hermos valley via Uşak to Afyon Karahisar, the other goes from the Lykos via the Acı Tüz Gölü to reach the central plateau over the pass behind Dinar. Following either route the traveller is aware

2. See supra 6 10 .
3. See P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' Byzantion X (1935) 11]64; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique sur les confins pisido - phrygiens', Bulletin de la classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Académie Royale de Belgique XXXIV (1948) 78-96.

soon after he has climbed up from the lower valley and crossed the intervening mountainous rim that he has entered a different and less comfortable region. On both routes the landscape is of wide plains, all but treeless and backed by steep dry mountains supporting only thorn scrub. In winter the mean temperature is some 5°C lower and hard frosts are common. The olives and figs of the lower Maeander have been left behind.[2]

In addition to the absence of major excavations, there is no archival evidence in the form of surviving documents for the upper Maeander in the medieval period, but in the face of the Arabs and Turks the area was of considerable strategic importance and this is reflected in the number of references in chronicles and saints' lives. However these are often hard to interpret because despite some excellent work by Wittek, Gregoire and others the locations of the region's medieval toponymy is still uncertain.[3] This will be raised again in the discussion of individual sites but for the sake of clarity some of the more fundamental place-name problems need to be explained in advance.

Even the Byzantine names for the region as a whole are not certain. The Panasion and Lakerion plains are mentioned by Niketas Choniates in the context of Manuel Comnenos' campaigns east of the Lykos in 1178. In view of the date, two years after the defeat at Myriokephalon in 1176, the Emperor would not have been campaigning east of the Ak dag̃ toward the Selçuk capital at Ikonion, therefore these plains are almost certainly in the upper

4. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195; any advance east of the Ak daḡ could only have been a deliberate threat to the Sultan of Ikonion. Manuel avoided any such provocation following his defeat in that area at Myriokephalon in 1176: M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 London (1984) 191-3; NIKETAS CHONIATES 191-8.
5. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 239, 572; P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 26 n. 1.
6. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 239, 572; P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 27 n. 2.
7. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178 (Lampē); 195 (Graos Gala); 178-9, 195 (Choma); 178 (Kelainai).

Maeander.[4] The similarity between Panasion and Banaz makes an identification with the northern part of the upper Maeander, the Banaz ovası, quite convincing although whether the Byzantines would have described the full extent of the Banaz ovası as the Panasion is impossible to know.[5] The location of the Lakerion is even less certain. The apparent similarity with the Turkish name for the plain to the north east of the Acı Tüz Gölü, the Daz kırı, the 'bald steppe', was noticed by W. M. Ramsay who believed that the Greek Lakerion was derived from the Turkish Daz kırı, thus proving that the Turks had taken over the plain by the 1170s.[6] The similarity may have some significance but it certainly cannot be used as evidence to support Ramsay's assertions. Daz kırı has a perfectly reasonable Turkish etymology based on the natural conditions of the plain; Lakerion may equally have a Greek etymology. All other regional place names mentioned by Niketas Choniates are of pre-Turkish origin and there is no need to insist on this as an exception.[7] It would certainly fit the context of Manuel's campaign if this plain were somewhere in the southern part of the upper Maeander but no further specification seems possible.

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The evidence of surviving place names is more persuasive in the case of Choma, whose name is almost certainly preserved in the modern village of Homa, beneath the Ak dağ at the eastern edge of the Baklan ovası. The exact whereabouts of the Byzantine sites are however still unknown. The usual identification with the castle on the hill behind Homa is flatly contradicted by the

8. H. AHRWEILER, 'Choma - Aggéloukastron', REB XXIV (1966) 278-83; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 83 n. 2; W. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 223-4; for a full discussion see infra 226 f .
9. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae ed. H. Delehaye, Brussels (1902) 299, 631-4; ATTALEIATES 242, 253; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 117, 172; ANNA COMNENA III, 27, 143; NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 195, 272; KINNAMOS 298.
10. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 197, 219, 400, 422.
11. ibid. 178.
12. G. WEBER, Dinair, Célènes, Apamée, Cibotos Besançon (1892) 9 et passim; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 43, 69-70.
13. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 219-20; Türkiye Harta Genel Müdürlüğü, 1:200,000 (1940-50) Sheets F III and IV.
14. P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 26, 27 n. 2 and plan II.

written sources.[8]

Lampē, as an area and a place, is mentioned in sources from the 9th to the 12th century.[9] The essential pieces of evidence are two itineraries given by Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates, of whom Niketas, as a native of Chonai with kinsmen who actually took part in the events he describes, should have been the better informed.[10]

Niketas records Manuel Comnenos' advance on his disastrous campaign of 1176 as from Laodicea to Chonai, from there to Lampē and thence to the "city of Kelaina where the Maeander has its sources" and from there to Choma and on to Myriokephalon.[11] Kelaina is an alternative ancient name for the city of Apamea, modern Dinar.[12] The usual route from Chonai to Kelaina would be along the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü. The only other route would be to turn to the north and make a detour through the Baklan ovası, but if that had been the case in 1176, whatever its exact site Manuel would have had to have reached Choma before Kelaina .[13] Hence from Niketas Choniates, Lampē must lie on a possible line between Chonai and Kelaina taken along the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü.

One of the possible sites which would fit Niketas' evidence was suggested by P. Wittek in 1935 who wanted to identify Lampē with the Turkish Hambat Kırı which lies to the west and southwest of the Acı Tüz Gölü.[14] This must however be rejected.

15. H. C. HONY, FAHIR IZ, A Turkish-English Dictionary 2nd edn., Oxford (1957) 132-3; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 102-6, 154-5; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor 503-4.
16. H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 82-3.
17. ANNA COMNENA III, 27; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 140, 171, 197, 232; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 82: "Aucune localisation n'est plus sûre que celle de Polybotón - Bulvadin".

There is no need to derive Hambat from Lampē since there exists a more likely Turkish etymology deriving Hambat from Ham, which can mean 'uncultivated' and which would well fit the natural features of this area.[15] Moreover, if Anna Comnena's evidence is taken into account it demands a location for Lampē to the east and north of the lake on the opposite side from the Hambat kırı.

It has been asserted that Anna Comnena's account contradicts the itinerary given by Niketas Choniates and since she most certainly had never been near the upper Maeander her evidence should be disregarded.[16] Her account is of the route taken in 1098 by John Doukas who took an army against the Turks from Laodicea, through Choma to Lampē and thence to Polyboton, which can be identified as the site of modern Bolvadin, 32 kilometres due east of Afyon Karahisar.[17] This appears to place Lampē beyond Choma and certainly if John Doukas were taking a direct route from Choma to Polyboton Anna's account would contradict Niketas whose presumed local knowledge would have to be preferred. However it must be remembered that John Doukas was not marching through Byzantine territory, as was to some extent the case for Manuel Comnenos in 1176. He was instead pursuing a large body of Turkomans whom he had previously defeated near Ephesos and in doing so Doukas was advancing into hitherto Turkish territory. The Turkomans had retreated from Ephesos along the Maeander and thence, Anna tells us rather vaguely, they had retired to Polyboton. Thus, by whatever means, they must have crossed the upper Maeander region and reached the central

18. ANNA COMNENA III, 26-7.

plateau. John Doukas started his pursuit with what appears to have been an attempt to cut them off somewhere near the confluence of the Maeander and the Lykos. He advanced up the valley of the Hermos and then turning south at Philadelphia he reached the Lykos via Tripolis. By the time the Byzantines reached this point the Turkomans had already retired to the east. A number of routes would have been open to the Turks but one would have led across the Baklan ovası and thence directly over the Ak dağ̄ by one of the more northerly passes. If this were the case then John Doukas in pursuit would have turned north having reached the upper Maeander region east of Chonai and followed the Baklan ovası in a curve round to Choma. Even if the Turkomans had taken another route the Byzantines might still have found it advantageous to drive whatever Turks were there from these natural grazing lands.

Having reached Choma and discovered that the enemy were beyond the Ak dağ̄ John Doukas would have been faced by a range of possibilities. His cavalry would have been less mobile than his Turkoman opponents and in unknown country a wise general would avoid the steep and easily defended passes which led directly on to the central plateau. Thus the most obvious course was to turn south and cross the Ak dağ̄ by the main pass at Apamea - Niketas Choniates' Kelaina, modern Dinar. The route would also have had the advantage that the Apamea pass was at a nodal point of the Roman road system; from there a road ran directly to Polyboton where he caught up with the Turks and won a major victory.[13]

19. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 227-8, 347.
20. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 631-4.

Anna describes Lampē between Choma and Polyboton. If Lampē did not lie in the Hambat Kırı, as Wittek suggested, but was instead to the north-east of the lake, John Doukas' journey from Choma to the Apamea pass could easily have taken him through this very area. Such a location for Lampē would make sense of the texts and remove the contradiction between Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates. This identification has already been suggested by W. M. Ramsay on the poor grounds of the hypothetical derivation of the Turkish place name Appa from the Greek Lampē. [19] His identification of the general area in which Lampē lay is confirmed, but it is comparison and analysis of texts which provides the proof. The actual site still cannot be found and there is no evidence as yet to support Ramsay's view that it was at Appa.

There are two other references to Lampē in the medieval sources, which although not decisive, can marginally strengthen the case for a location in the eastern part of the Baklan ovası.

Pentadaktylos was the site of a fortress where the Emperor Leo V imprisoned John, the iconodule abbot of the monastery of the Kathari. The only reference to the fortress is in the Life of the Abbot John, found in the Synaxarion for Constantinople, where Pentadaktylos is described as in the territory of Lampē. [20] The Turkish translation of Pentadaktylos is Beşparmak, which is the name of the five peaked mountain ridge

21. H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 81-2; V. GRUMEL, 'Les relations politico-religieuses entre Byzance et Rome sous le règne de Léon V l'Arménien', REB XVIII (1960) 23.
22. I made a brief visit to this area in September 1986.
23. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195.
24. P. WITTEK, 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' 26-7 n. 2.
25. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 228-30.

above the village of Baklan, overlooking the western side of the plain.[21] The general assumption that Pentadaktylos lay on this mountain seems to be confirmed by the find there of the remains of a medieval settlement. None of the accessible mortared fragments helps dating, but this is a natural look-out point which would have been important in the defensive war against the Arabs. The site could fit in with either suggested site for Lampē but the fact that the mountain is most easily approached by a road leading from the eastern part of the Baklan ovası tends to favour that location.[22]

The other reference is Niketas Choniates' statement that Charax lay between Lampē and another unknown site, that of Graos Gala. [23] Unfortunately neither Charax nor Graos Gala can be located with certainty, although several reasonable suggestions have been made for both. In particular Wittek has wanted to identify Charax with Çardak in the Hambat kırı at the western end of the Acı Tûz Gölü on the grounds of the similarity in name.[24] However such an approach is very uncertain, and Ramsay was in general better advised when he relied on an interpretation of Niketas Choniates' text in the light of local physical geography. Thus Ramsay placed Graos Gala - 'old woman's milk' - at the head of the pass ascending from the Lykos valley.[25]

Since Ramsay and Wittek wrote, a castle has actually been discovered at Çardak on a peak to the north overlooking the plain. The site is that of an early Byzantine castle and like

26. Visited September 1986.

27. See L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 343-55.

the Beş Parmak dağ - which one can see from here - is a natural look-out point with views over the entire valley of the Acı Tuz Gölü.[26] The find does not of course confirm the identification with Charax but it does focus the discussion on a particular site. If it is Charax then the apparent absence of glazed pottery would be a problematic feature, but equally if it is Charax this would do much to confirm the eastern location for Lampē. Niketas tells us that Charax lay between Lampē and Graos Gala: a Graos Gala at the head of the Lykos, a Charax on the mountain behind Çardak, and a Lampē in the Daz kırı would fit the description well.

Another fortress in this region is known because the great iconodule, St. Theodore the Stoudite, was imprisoned there in the early 9th century. His prison, a fortress called Bonita, is described in the Life of St. Theodore as in the theme of the Anatolikoi near a salt lake. The Life also reveals that Bonita was a day's journey east of Chonai. Since the salt lake is clearly the bitter lake of the Acı Tuz Gölü, Bonita must lie somewhere in that valley or on the adjacent hills. L. Robert has suggested a site to the south of the lake but that is really no more than a guess.[27] The castle at Çardak would fit the description, but if a previously unknown castle can be found at Çardak, others may yet be found in the unexplored hills to the south.

The number of references to medieval place-names in the

28. See supra 70-71.
29. See R. J. LILIE, Die byzantinischen Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber 133-55, 339-47, (also 358: although misleading as a map - and not only for the site of Ephesos - it does well express Lilie's thesis which on this point I believe to be correct); J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 23-6, 188-237.

upper Maeander reflects the position of strategic importance which the region came to occupy from the 8th century. During the second half of the 7th and early 8th century warfare between Byzantium and the Arabs went through a phase of major Arab invasions intent on the conquest of Constantinople itself. Linked with the defence of the Imperial capital the critical area in this struggle was the western coastlands where, as suggested above, the fortifications at Sardis and Pergamon are likely to be part of the Imperial government's response to this crisis.[28] After the mid-8th century the pattern changed to one of chronic Arab raiding. These were sometimes on a large and threatening scale, but with some rare exceptions such as Harun al-Rashid's campaign of 781, they appear never to have aimed at Constantinople nor at the permanent occupation of the central plateau. The Byzantine response was one of a flexible defence in depth. Arab armies would be shadowed, major engagements avoided and their booty hopefully evacuated in advance. Flexible defence, however, stopped with the belt of mountains which ring the central plateau and separate it from the coastal plains. Here were many of the great Byzantine fortresses and the homelands of the military families; here was where the Byzantine armies were prepared to stand and fight.[29]

From the point of view of the Imperial government in Constantinople there are two main routes crossing the central plateau to the Arab marches. The more northerly of these went via Ankara to Caesarea and from there either east to Melitene or

30. This is a simplification focusing on the southern part of the frontier. The northern route also continued east into northern Armenia. There is still no definitive work on either Roman or Byzantine roads in Asia Minor which would finally replace W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 197f. and W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, A Classical Map of Asia Minor London (1958); however see D. FRENCH, 'The Roman Road System of Asia Minor' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt VII/2 (1980), 698-729, (Ankara: 707-11); G. HUXLEY, 'A List of aplekta' GRBS XVI (1975) 87-93; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 93-101.
31. C. FOSS, 'Late Antique und Byzantine Ankara', DOP XXXI (1977) 72-84; R.-J. LILIE, Die byzantinischen Reaktion 348; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 126-30; G. HUXLEY, 'A List of aplekta' 92; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien 70-84, 193-6; LEO DIACONUS 40, 44, 113.
32. Kütahya, Amorion, Akroenos (Afyon Karahisar), Sozopolis and Kabala are well attested: C. FOSS, Kütahya 13 et passim; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 122-5, 182-3, plates 12-14; W. M. RAMSAY, 'Prymnessos and Metropolis', Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Athen VII (1882) 126f; C. FOSS, 'The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks' Greek Orthodox Theological Review XXVII (1982) 153-7; MAMA IV, 149, xii-xiv, plates 5-7. Dorylaion is frequently mentioned in the sources in similar contexts, although until its rebuilding by Manuel I in 1175-6 it is not specifically called a fortress. The modern town and prison have so far prevented examination of the site but it is very unlikely that it was an exception: G. HUXLEY, 'A List of aplekta' 92; LEO DIACONUS 117; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 126; NIKETAS CHONIATES 175-7; KINNAMOS 294-8; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 278; MAMAV, xi-xiv.
33. K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 93-110.

south to Maraş. The southerly route followed the western edge of the plateau to Ikonion and thence to the Cilician gates. In both cases the way is marked by major fortresses intended as gathering points for Imperial armies or obstructions to the advancing Arabs. Behind these lines in the relative safety of the hills lay important recruiting grounds for the theme armies.[30]

In the north the two most important fortresses were those at Ankara and Caesarea but there were also a range of other minor defences behind which lay the themes of the Cappadocians, the Armeniakoi, the Paphlagonians and the Boukellarioi.[31] A similar defensive belt existed on the southern route, but within that the heart of the southern sector of the Byzantine defences lay in the mountains to the west of the plateau. There are major fortresses known from this period at Dorylaion, Kütahya, Amorion, Akroenos (Afyon Karahisar) Sozopolis and Kabala. They are linked by Roman roads which offered Byzantine armies the advantage of internal lines of communication. This is the heartland of the senior theme of the Anatolikoi.[32]

Within the territory of the Anatolikoi the upper Maeander region was placed to play an important role. It lies to the rear of the main fortress zone protected by the north-south mountain ranges of the Ak dağ in the south and the Burgaz dağ in the north. Yet it is linked to the outside world via the Roman road system. Important east-west routes reach from the upper Maeander to Kütahya, Afyon and Sozopolis by easily defensible passes.[33]

34. LEO OF SYNADA 68-70; L. ROBERT, 'Les Kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies; sur les lettres d'un metropolitite de Phrygie au Xe siècle; philologie et réalités' Journal des Savants (1961) 115-62; see also supra 6 - 10.
35. Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium ed. J. Rouge', Sources Chrétiennes 124, Paris (1966) 176.
36. S. MITCHELL, 'Population and Land in Roman Galatia' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt VII/2 (1980) 1055-6, 1068-70; many of the villages survived, see J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 211-17; note also Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium 178: 'inde obviat Galatia provincia optima sibi sufficiens divinum panem et eminentissimum manducare dicitur'.
37. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 320; II/2, 148, 151; KODAMA IBN DJA'FAR in IBN KHORDĀDHBEH, Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum VI, Leiden (1889) 199-200.

More over it is a potentially wealthy agricultural area which although by nature distinct from the mediterranean world of the lower Maeander was still wheat and fruit-growing country. unlike the territory of for example Synada on the central plateau beyond the Ak daḡ.[34] Parts of the Baklan ovası were well known in antiquity for their fertility and their modern exploitation can be seen by the present day traveller. Set away from the main thrust of the Arab raids, such an area as the upper Maeander could be expected to have supported the prosperous military class who provided the cavalry of the theme army.

To the east on the central plateau there are indications that from the 7th century the pattern of settlement and exploitation had shifted from the agricultural to the pastoral. It is fair to remark that on these high plains pastoralism is a natural mode of exploitation. Flocks, herds and pastoral products appear in the earliest sources for the region. In the mid-4th century A.D. the anonymous author of the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium still associated Cappadocia with pastoral products such as hides and animals.[35] Yet in the Roman and late Roman periods much of the plateau had been settled by a network of villages and towns.[36] In the Byzantine period many of these disappeared leaving a few major fortress centres such as Caesarea or Ankara. The Arab chronicles and poets of the 8th to 10th century celebrate the huge numbers of sheep, cattle and horses driven back to Syria and Cilicia by successful raiders.[37] Indeed a Byzantine expert on raiding warfare saw the evacuation

38. Three Byzantine Military Treatises ed. G. T. Dennis, 158, 182, 212: the author is primarily concerned with valuable draught oxen but he includes flocks and herds in the animals to be evacuated.
39. See M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 54-6; X. DE PLANHOL, De la plaine Pamphylie aux lacs Pisidiens - Nomadisme et vie Paysanne Paris (1958)
40. F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 102, 239, 247; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor I, 170; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 79; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 126, 502-3. The region became gradually more settled over the course of the 19th century: F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven churches of Asia 229, 236; X. DE PLANHOL, De la plain Pamphylie aux lacs Pisidiens.

of animals as a key feature in an effective defence.[38] The Roman period on the plateau was not entirely one of settled agriculture but the Arab invasions do mark a transition which at the very least involved a considerable change in emphasis. For the rest of the medieval period and beyond that up to the 20th century the Anatolian plateau was a sparsely populated dominantly pastoral zone.[39]

The lower Maeander region represents a striking contrast with the central plateau. The continuity there of settlement sites especially in the plains suggests a continuity in settled agriculture up to at least the 12th century. The upper Maeander is by nature an intermediate zone: a source of fine grazing but also containing areas of potentially good arable land. However the evidence for the Byzantine period is fairly clear that again up to the Turkish invasions settled agriculture continued to be the dominant activity in this area. Protected behind mountains and fortresses the plains of the upper Maeander were in terms of agriculture and settlement closer to the rest of the Maeander region than to the central plateau.

This was clearly not the case for most of the modern period. The accounts left by 18th and 19th century travellers show that until only one hundred years ago the plains of the upper Maeander region and in particular the Baklan ovası and the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü were important nomad grazing grounds.[40] This did not exclude settled agriculture.

41. Uşak: EI/1, 'Uşak'; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 252; M. AKOK, 'Uşak Ulu Camii', Vakıflar Dergisi III (1956) 69-72; Işikli: see infra and n. 89 .
42. See infra 232-3 .
43. W. REGEL, Fontes rerum Byzantinarum sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Rossicae fasc. II, St. Petersburg (1917) 259-61.
44. ANSBERT 76; Historia Peregrinorum 155.
45. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195.
46. ibid. 195-6.
47. ibid. 197.

Travellers saw a number of villages and cultivated fields. Towns such as Uşak and Işıklı grew prosperous as caravan and textile towns, but in view of the available agriculture land they are unlikely to have imported all the necessary grain. Part of their prosperity, reflected in a series of baths and mosques built from the late middle ages onwards, was probably derived from their role as a market of agricultural products to the nomads.[41] Nonetheless the dominant way of life on these plains up to the 19th century was nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralism.

The dominance of the pastoral economy had been established by the later 12th century. In 1192 Isaac II Angelos restored a fortress, possibly Soublaion, and named it Angelokastron.[42] According to the court panegyrist, George Tornikes, it was intended to protect the region from the nomad Turks.[43] These nomads had been seen there two years earlier by the Germans of the Third Crusade as they advanced east from the Lykos valley.[44] In 1178 Manuel I Comnenos successfully drove out the Turks encamped in the Banaz and Baklan ovalarsı,[45] but later in the same year Isaac II's father, Andronikos Angelos, was ignominiously defeated by Turkish nomads in an attempt to take Charax.[46] Niketas Choniates was a native of Chonai and his source was a kinsman who had taken part in the expedition.[47] Andronikos, it appears, had first established a camp at Graos Gala and then had moved with his light troops to attack Charax. Here the Byzantines did no more than seize what Turkoman flocks they could find grazing in the surrounding plain before returning

48. ibid. 179.
49. ibid. 197; see M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 54-6, but note that contra ibid. 55, Niketas' kinsman was not the bishop of Chonai but rather a deacon, levítēs (see A Patristic Greek Lexicon ed. G. W. Lampe, Oxford (1961) 798); furthermore he only brought back one thick fleeced sheep: ois pēgesímallos.
50. ANNA COMNENA III, 26.

toward Graos Gala. At nightfall they had still not reached camp. The Turks and it is probable that these were principally the Turkomans whose flocks had been stolen chose this moment to attack. Following the example of their general the Byzantines panicked and fled west leaving the Turkomans to recover their flocks. Two years before this, Manuel I's army advancing to Myrokephalon in 1176, had been similarly harassed by Turkomans on these plains.[48]

Thus by the 1170s the Turkoman nomads were well established on the upper Maeander plains. It is noteworthy that Niketas Choniates' kinsman was, by his account, one of the few to do well out of the fiasco of the 1178 expedition. He returned to Chonai still carrying his spoils and leading a sheep. His sang froid argues experience in such raids against the Turkomans which in turn suggests that the local Byzantines - he was a deacon of the church at Chonai - had had a long time to come to terms with the way of life of their pastoral neighbours.[49]

The earliest references to the Turkish flocks and herds on the upper Maeander plains come in the Alexiad of Anna Comnena. The account of John Doukas' campaign of 1098 shows large bodies of Turkomans wintering in the western coastlands but it is not specific about the upper Maeander.[50] More explicit is the account given of Eumathios Philokales' bloody campaign against the Turkomans in 1108-9. Philokales drove the Turks from the Lykos and then massacred them on the plain of Lampē where he had

51. IDEM, III, 143.
52. X. DE PLANHOL, De la Plaine Pamphylieene aux lacs Pisidiens 186-8, 195-6, 202; E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey and back to England London (1747) 30; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 126-7; W. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 56, 60, 78, 206-8, 216; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor II, 207. It should be stressed that this is not an argument dependent on environmental determinism. Climate and geography encouraged the Turkomans toward a particular pattern of seasonal migration but other pastoral tactics were open to them, see the useful and cautionary remarks in J. LEWTHWAITE, 'Plain tails from the hills; transhumance in Mediterranean archaeology' in Economic Archaeology ed. A. Sheridan, G. Bailey, BAR International Series 96, Oxford (1981) 57-66.
53. ANNA COMNENA III, 26-7.

found them encamped with their women, children and animals.[51]

The Turkoman nomads were probably only seasonal visitors to the upper Maeander plains. The modern evidence however is very clear that the climate encouraged full nomads to descend from the central plateau in winter down to the lower and warmer plains nearer the coast. For some this could entail a journey as far as the coastal valleys of the west, where several travellers from the 17th to the 19th century have described them wintering with huge flocks.[52] Such a migration also explains the Turkomans whom John Doukas defeated near Ephesos in 1098 and whom he pursued on to the central plateau.[53]

When the lower Aegean coastlands became too dangerous for so distant a migration then the intermediate plains of the upper Maeander region were an important alternative. Thus during the periods of Byzantine recovery in the 12th and 13th centuries the upper Maeander played a crucial part in the Turkoman nomad economy. Even if their presence was only seasonal the very importance of the region to the Turkoman tribes would be bound to make settled agriculture on any significant scale all but impossible.

However the evidence is very clear that this dominance of the pastoral economy was a result of the Turkish invasions and before that date, in the Byzantine period, different conditions prevailed. In the future it should be possible to establish

54. 'Vie de Saint Luc le stylite (879-979)' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, PO XI (1915) 175-186; H. OMONT, Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale Paris (1898) nrs. 1458, 1589.

these developments on the basis of field survey and archaeology, but at present the best evidence is to be found in the Life of St. Luke the Stylite, a 10th century saint who was born in Phrygia but spent the better part of his saintly career on a column near Constantinople.

The fullest version of the Life is in an 11th century manuscript, Paris Gr. 1458. There are also two versions in the Synexaria. These are basically condensed versions of Paris Gr. 1458 but they do contain some phrases drawn from what must hence have been the common source of all three manuscripts. The more valuable of the Synexaria versions is found in Paris Gr. 1589, another mid-11th century manuscript. Paris Gr. 1458 is clearly a Constantinopolitan version showing a lack of interest in any geography outside the Imperial city. Thus it merely records the saint's place of birth by the literary paraphrase of "a land whose name sounds like anatolē". Paris Gr. 1589, however, has fortunately recorded St. Luke's birth place in full as it must have been in the original Life: "the Chōrion of Attikōm of the bandon of Lampē of the theme of the Anatolikoi." Since this fits in with the few other geographical details given in the Life and such precision is hardly Byzantine invention this evidence should be accepted.[54]

The site of Atykōm, or Attikōm depending on the manuscript variant, is unknown. Since A. Vogt made the suggestion in 1909 it has been usual to identify Atykōm with the Atychorion known

55. A. VOGT, 'Vie de S. Luc le stylite', AB XXVIII (1909) 9; W.
M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 136;
IDEM, Cities and Bishoprics 132, 146, 580, 584 n. 3, 587;
L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 129, 356-63.

from an inscription at the sanctuary of Apollo Larbenos in the Çal hills between the Baklan ovası and the lower Maeander. W. Ramsay misunderstood the inscription to be identifying the name of the sanctuary settlement, but as L. Robert has pointed out it in fact only refers to the place of origin of a certain Apollonios who paid for a portico to the sanctuary. L. Robert has noted another inscription mentioning an Apollonios at Zeive, a few miles to the south east, and he has been tempted to identify this evidently ancient site as Atychorion. However L. Robert himself has pointed to the flaws in this identification. In the first place recorded donors to the sanctuary of Apollo Larbenos came from as far afield as Blaundos and Hierapolis. There is no pressing reason to identify Atychorion with an immediately local site. Secondly, the identification of Atykōm with Atychorion depends on the unwarranted assumption that Ramsay knew all the ancient place names of Phrygia. In another place L. Robert has demonstrated how the chance survival of a saint's Life or a similar such document with details of the local toponymy can add dozens of otherwise unknown village names. Atys is well known as a Phrygian cult and one would expect it to have been common in Phrygian place names. Were it not for the repeated statements made on this point in the literature the similarity between Atykōm and Atychorion would deserve no more than a brief reference in a footnote. It certainly does not advance the question of the location of Lampē and can add nothing to the discussion.[55]

56. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 207-8; for the date see ibid. 159-70.
57. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 581.
58. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 210-11: the emendation in 211 n. 3 is unnecessary, L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 359 n. 4; for the road see W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, A Classical Map of Asia Minor.
59. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 239-41; ATTALEIATES 265.
60. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-7; for the date see R. MORRIS, 'The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality' Past and Present LXXIII (1976) 8-10.
61. N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures Economiques de l'Empire Byzantin au XIe siècle', TM VI (1976) 55; however see the remarks in W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries New York (1982) 55-8.

The reference to Lampē in the Life of St. Luke however does place the saint's birthplace unequivocally in the southern part of the upper Maeander region and this is supported by the other geographical details given in the Life. In about 926 St. Luke was for a while a candidate for the bishopric of Sebaste.[56] This was a local suffragan see of the metropolitan of Laodicea. The site has been identified at the modern village of Selçikler, just over 3 kilometres to the west of Sivaslı, on the eastern side of the Banaz ovası.[57] Shortly afterwards St. Luke would have passed through Sebaste following the Roman road to Kûtahya near where he spent two and a half years tending pigs.[58] The same route was followed by Nikephoros Botaneiates in 1078.[59] The overall coherence of these details even in a version of the Life which tends to show more interest in Constantinople would suggest that this is a reliable source for the condition of the upper Maeander in the 10th century.

The Life shows that in contrast to the pastoralism of the 12th century, in the 10th century the Baklan ovası was an area of mixed agricultural economy with the best land given over to arable. In the famine of 927-8 St. Luke was able to dispense 4,000 modioi of grain to the starving from his family's granaries.[60] This was the family's reserve stock, presumably also depleted by the poor harvest and in addition to that set by to feed the family itself. Yet these granaries still contained about ten times what has been calculated as the annual production of grain from a peasant holding.[61] One cannot usefully

62. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 30-38; 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 199-200.
63. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 299-300.
64. See supra 197f .
65. E. W. BROOKS, 'Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes', JHS XXI (1901) 67-77; IBN KHURRĀDHBĪH 77, 144, 192-200; MAÇOUDI, Le Livre de l'Avertissement et de la Revision trans. B. Carra de Vaux, Société Antique, Paris (1896) 240-4, 257; see also 'Ibn al-Fakīh' EI/2; 'Kudama' EI/2; 'al-Mas'ūdī' EI/1; Ibn Khurrada-ahbih' EI/2; on Ibn al-Fakīh note the remarks of A. MIQUEL, La Géographie Humaine de Monde Musulman I Paris (1967) 153-89.

calculate the acreage needed to provide such a surplus but it is obvious that it must have been substantial.

The case of St. Luke is part of the evidence that shows that such wealthy 'gentry' were typical of the cavalry soldiers of the theme army.[62] The saint's family were registered for military service under the bandon of Lampé.[63] Since, as the discussion above has shown, one can be certain of the approximate area in which this bandon lay,[64] and since the number of cavalry soldiers in a bandon is also fairly well documented, the evidence given in the Life for the lands of St. Luke's family, can be used to show that most of the Baklan ovası must have been arable in the 10th century.

The most explicit source for the structure of the Byzantine army in the 9th and early 10th century is an Arab report compiled by a certain al-Garmi in the mid-9th century. He had held a post, possibly as an intelligence officer, on the north-western frontier of the Islamic world. He had then spent some time as a prisoner of war of the Byzantines before being released in an exchange of prisoners in 845. His report was the main source of information on Byzantium for all the 10th century Arab geographers. It does not survive, but most seems to have been preserved through the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Ibn al-Fakih and Abu'l Faradj Kodama, the Secretary.[65]

According to al-Garmi, the themes were divided into tourmai

66. IBN KHURDADHBIH 84, 196; W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine state finances 19 and n. 56.
67. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organisation of the Byzantine army 133-40; CONSTANTINE PROPHYROGENITOS, De.Cer. I, 651-69; IDEM, DAI 236.
68. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, op.cit. 100-04.
69. NIKEPHOROS PHOKAS, 'Praecepta Militaria' ed. J. Kulakovskij, Mémoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, VIIIe série, Classe Historico - Philologique, VIII/9 (1908) 12.
70. W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine State Finances 80-81.

each of 5,000 men. The tourma was divided into five droungai, 1,000 strong, which in turn were divided into five banda, two hundred strong under a kōmes. [66] The work of J. Howard-Johnston has proved the general accuracy of these figures, which are confirmed when set against the Byzantine sources, in particular the documentary evidence of the official papers preserved in the De Ceremoniis. [67]

Again J. Howard-Johnston has shown that the theme as a whole was divided in a ratio of about 1:4 between cavalry and infantry. [68] This division must have applied to the territorial distribution of troops within the territory of the theme. The cavalry troops would have been spread out over the whole area. Hence there was the same ration within the tourmai and the droungai. The bandon of two hundred men was the smallest unit within the theme, but at two hundred men it was still too large for there to have been landed units of two hundred cavalymen in one place and two hundred infantry in another. The division between cavalry and infantry must have come at a level beneath the bandon when the units ceased to be territorial. The bandon therefore must have been divided in a ratio of 1:4 between cavalry and infantry like the theme as a whole, and hence there were probably about 160 infantry to 40 cavalry. This is confirmed by a reference in the Praecepta Militaria of Nikephoros Phokas which refers to a unit of 50 cavalry as a bandon. [69] The ten extra men seems to have been the result of measures to increase the number of cavalry in the Byzantine army. [70]

71. N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes de Preseance III, 341.
72. See Türkiye Harta Genel Müdürlüğü, F IV.
73. E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey 30.

As the Life records, the bandon of Lampē was part of the theme of the Anatolikoi. Most themes, and certainly that of the Anatolikoi, seem to have been divided into three tourmai. [71] It therefore follows that the Anatolikon was divided into seventy-five banda. One seventy-fifth part of the theme of the Anatolikoi is not a very large area and it follows that the bandon of Lampē cannot have been any larger than a third part of the Baklan ovası. In fact it could well have been smaller and a unit of that size would fit well into the plain to the north-east of the Acı Tüz Gölü which has been suggested as the location of Lampē.

The bandon of Lampē thus covered at most an area of about 25-30 square kilometres of which a considerable percentage was rocky or otherwise unsuitable for arable farming. [72] Even if it is imagined that St. Luke's parents were the wealthiest family on the bandon's military roll and that several of the others were too poor to fulfill their military obligations, while other families had died out, the support of nearly forty such cavalymen, one hundred and sixty infantry, the dependents of both groups and the rest of the local population must have involved the farming of most of the bandon's arable land. Pastoralism does not permit a high density of population. If Edmund Chishull's description of the region in 1701-2 as "the vast neglected pastures of this desert empire" [73] had been true of the Byzantine period, with the plain deserted and the

74. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-7.
75. N. FIRATLI, 'Decouverte d'une église Byzantine à Sebaste de Phrygie. Rapport préliminaire', Cahiers Archéologiques XIX (1969) 151-66; IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçukler kazısı ve çevre araştırmaları, 1966-70', Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi XIX/2 (1970) 109-26; IDEM, 'Excavations at Selçukler (Sebaste) in Phrygia', Yayla II (1979) 18-21.

population moved to the hills, then the armies of the theme system could not have existed.

Other details of the Life fit into this picture. The animals referred to seem to be either those which played a key role in the arable economy or which were pastured on its margins. In the famine of 927-8 St. Luke not only fed his starving neighbours but provided forage for their animals, which the Life distinguishes as flocks and oxen. The former would have been the sheep and goats which the modern settled population continue to pasture on the poor hill and marsh land; the latter are the draught oxen whose survival was essential if the fields were to be ploughed and sown for next year's crop.[74]

Unlike the lower Maeander where much of the Byzantine evidence has been uncovered as a corollary of the work of classical archaeologists, none of the Greco-Roman city sites in the upper Maeander have been excavated. Indeed there has only been one excavation of any sort in the region: that was at Selçikler where from 1966 N. Fıratlı uncovered two Byzantine churches. This can be identified as the site of Sebaste, but very little attempt was made to find out about the settlement with which these churches were associated. One useful result, however, was that it did lead to a record being kept of the surface finds of Byzantine sculptural fragments in the Uşak region.[75] There are a number of known Byzantine castle sites in the region but none has received any serious study. Many more

are probably to be discovered. My own research has revealed a previously unrecorded castle at Ulubey and in view of the material brought to light by Firatlı's work, it is certain that future research will add greatly to the knowledge of this region. As yet however archaeology can still only provide supporting evidence for conclusions based on the texts discussed above.

These limitations mean that one cannot approach the region's history in the middle Byzantine period by working forward from the better known circumstances of the Roman cities. In most cases there is no evidence for their fate in the Byzantine period.

Blaundos is an example of a city which does not seem to have survived through the Byzantine period. The city was a Hellenistic foundation set on an excellent defensive site in the rather poor country on the west side of the Banaz ovası. Today the only settlement near the site is a small village and the surrounding countryside is mostly given over to pine forest and rough grazing. During the Roman period the erection of a number of high quality public buildings and the enormous amounts of Roman fineware sherds still visible on the site is evidence of the city's prosperity, and in the 3rd century or later Blaundos could afford to fortify the site with an impressive circuit of ashlar walls. The terminus post quem is given by the various 2nd - 3rd century inscriptions used as spolia in the wall. Despite these defensive advantages there is no evidence that the site

76. Despite the interest of the site Blaundos has not been properly surveyed or published: see S. M. RAMSY, Cities and Bishoprics 591; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise 144-50; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 44, 60, 81-2.
77. EVLIYA ÇELEBI, Seyahatnamesi XIII, ed. Z. Danişman, Istanbul (1971) 57; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern London (1797) 289-90; B. DARKOT, 'Uşak' İslam Ansiklopedisi fasc. 135, Istanbul (1979) 73-5; M. AKOK, 'Uşak Ulu Cami' 69-72: the mosque is dated by inscription to 822 AH 1419 A.D.
78. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1 nr. 324 et passim.
79. ibid. Not. 1 nr. 321 et passim; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 595-6: the identity of the site appears to be assured by the inscription nr. 515 (ibid. 611) = CIG nr. 38656.
80. A. MICHEL, 'Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios' BZ CLI (1941) 446-52.

continued to be occupied into the middle ages. There are no remains of a church on the site and one must presume that the bishop recorded in the notitia lived elsewhere.[76]

Blaundos may have been an exception. Indeed the most difficult feature to explain about this site is the evidence for Roman prosperity. In contrast Uşak is much better placed both because of the available fertile land and in view of the regional route system. Undated medieval remains have been noted here, and there is also a 15th century mosque and a fortress is mentioned from the 17th century.[77] The site is probably that of Flaviopolis - Temenothyrai, which appears as a bishopric in the medieval lists.[78] So also does Trajanoupolis which probably lies six miles to the east at Gâvur Ören and is likewise known as a bishopric.[79] A letter of the Patriarch Michael Keroularios (1043-58) survives instructing the metropolitan of Laodicea to procede in judgement against his suffragan bishop of Trajanoupolis. The latter had been relying on the distance separating his see from Constantinople to avoid answering accusations placed before the Patriarch.[80] Evidently at this date the bishop did reside in his see and at the least this proves the existence of a cathedral church at Trajanoupolis, which of course may not necessarily have been on the ancient site.

More can be said about Kelaina, otherwise known as Apame, modern Dinar, which lies at the western end of one of the most important passes leading from western Asia Minor to the

81. G. WEBER, Dinair, Céènes, Apamée, Cibotos 9-20; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 69-70; DIO CHRYSOSTOM XXXV, 13-16.
82. HIEROKLES 27: Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 374 et passim.
83. LIVY XXXVIII, 13.
84. G. WEBER, Dinair 34-6 and plan; W. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Cities of Asia 109, 247.
85. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178.
86. See supra 199 .
87. Although bishops of this Apamea, as opposed to Bithynian Apamea, are attested at the Councils of 787 and 879, MANSI XIII, 149; XVII, 376.

plateau. The site, like that of Pergamon, divides into an upper and a lower city. The latter, which may more specifically be described as Apamea, developed in the Hellenistic and Roman period. During the first three centuries A.D. Apamea enjoyed a period of great prosperity. It was a major administrative, judicial and commercial centre, set moreover on one of the key points in Asia Minor's Roman road system.[81] However in the later Roman period Apamea was of much less importance. It was no longer a major administrative centre and its decline is marked by its subordinate status in the episcopal notitiae and the Synekdemos of Hierocles which both reflect the circumstances of the late Roman period.[82]

The upper city, known specifically as Kelainai, was already an important fortress in the 5th century B.C. Livy states that it was abandoned when Antiochus I founded Apamea in the 3rd century B.C. but this need not be taken literally.[83] In the late Roman period it was certainly occupied. Arundell and Weber both noticed a church on the site which from the latter's plan and description dates to the 5th-6th century.[84] The subsequent history of the site is however almost unknown. The name Kelainai appears in Niketas Choniates' account of Manuel I's advance to Myriokephalon in 1176,[85] and, as has been observed above, the presumption that Choniates had the ancient site in mind fits the other topographical details.[86] Nonetheless Kelainai is not mentioned in any other source from this period.[87] In particular neither of the western accounts of the

88. G. WEBER, Dinair 21-4.
89. T. DREW-BEAR, Nouvelles Inscriptions de Phrygie Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphium, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam pertinentia XVI, Zutphen (1978) 112-14; MAMA IV, 122-33; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 353-95. Also note the evidence for Roman army units based at Eumeneia as early as the 2nd century A.D., E. RITTERLING, 'Military forces in the Senatorial Provinces' JRS XVII (1927) 28-32; M. P. SPEIDEL, 'The Roman Army in Asia Minor, recent epigraphical discoveries and research' in Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia ed. S. Mitchell, BAR International Series 156, Oxford (1983) 11-13; MAMA IV, 122 nr. 328. An explanation of the remarkable lack of late Roman evidence may lie in the suggestion that this was the Phrygian town destroyed by Diocletian, EUSEBIUS, Historia Ecclesiastica VIII, 11; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 505-8, 514-33.
90. There is no modern published description of the site, but it was noticed by earlier travellers: R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 80-81; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 147.
91. C. FOSS, 'The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks', 153.

German expedition on the Third Crusade, which must have crossed on to the central plateau by this pass make any mention of Kelainai. In fact there is no reference to a settlement here until the 17th century when the Turkish geographer, Hacı Kalfa mentions the village of Geyikler where a weekly market was held. By the 18th century the village was known as Dinar but its present status as town only dates from the coming of the railway in the later 19th century.[88]

Eumeneia, on the northern edge of the Baklan ovası, has in some ways a similiar history. Numerous inscriptions and remains point to considerable prosperity in the Roman period but after that even its late Roman history is obscure.[89] However unlike Apamea its existence in the middle Byzantine period is certain. There is a fortress on the peak overlooking the town. The section I have seen, on the highest part of the west peak, is pre-Roman but there may well be later remains on the eastern part of the mountain. It will need further exploration to find out.[90] An inscription has been recorded, found "near Eumeneia", recording the construction of a kastron and dated 1070.[91] It cannot with certainty be associated with this fortress, but the peak is an excellent defensive site with wide views over the plain and Eumeneia is on an important Roman road leading to the north east. In the immediate aftermath of the Turkish sack of Chonai works at this site would have been a sensible Byzantine response. Two fragments of middle Byzantine sculpture can also be found as decorative spolia in one of the

92. Unpublished.
93. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 81; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, Discoveries in Asia Minor I, 139, 142; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 366-7.
94. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 122-41, 237-41; L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 127-49; these cities appear in the various notitiae and are recorded at the Councils but only in a manner so that 5 disappear and 12 more are added between Notitia I and the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos' Notitiae VII. It is very unlikely that the latter is a revised list of the current sees but the Phrygian suffragan lists do present problems which are far from being solved, Notitiae Episcopatum 77, 210, 213, 280, 286; J. DARROUZES, 'Sur les variations numériques des évêchés Byzantins', REB XLIV (1986) 20-21, 27, 34, 38-40.

town mosques.[92] There is of course no guarantee as to provenance but since ancient Eumeneia still provides a convenient source of building spolia, it is unlikely that these pieces came from further afield. The disappearance of Byzantine remains can be easily explained by the more recent history of the town. From at least the 18th century the well watered and attractive site, now known as a Işıklı, supported a market centre through which caravans passed on their way to Afyon Karahisar. The consequent prosperity is reflected in the four mosques and two hamams, all built with local spolia. The land surrounding the town is fertile and it will always have been a natural centre of population. Its present status as a village is due to the rise of Çivril, 9 kilometres to the west, which was chosen to be the railway terminus for the Baklan ovası.[93]

There are other fertile areas in the plain, and other ancient cities including Peltai, Lounda and the cities of the Gal hills to the west. The epigraphic record demonstrates their existence in the Roman period, but as yet there is nothing known on the individual history of these sites in the middle ages.[94]

Further north, at Selçikler, on the eastern side of the Banaz ovası, two middle Byzantine churches have been discovered. The site lies about 2 kilometres to the west of Sivaslı and has been identified by inscriptions as that of Sebaste - the similarity in names would in any case have pointed to the identification. The remains are principally those of two

95. See supra n. 75.
96. AJA LXXIX (1975) 221-2; ibid. LXXX (1976) 287-8; ibid. LXXXI (1977) 319; ibid. LXXXIII (1979) 342; N. FIRATLI 'Excavations at Selçikler' Yayla II (1979) 18-19. The excavation and publication of this site was effectively halted by the death of N. Firatli in October 1978. There has still been no proper publication of the south church or of the site as a whole.

churches, about 40 metres apart, both surrounded by a wall making an enclosure of about 200 by 200 metres. The excavations were unfortunately limited to the church buildings and there was no attempt made to establish even by pottery analysis or survey whether there were any other associated secular structures. It is for example quite unclear how far if at all Middle Byzantine Sebaste spread outside this ecclesiastical enclosure.[95]

Both churches can be dated on the grounds of their plan, building techniques and above all associated sculpture to the 10th or 11th century, but both rest on the remains of earlier churches. In the case of the larger south church one can make out at least three phases. At the lowest level is a large Roman bath building constructed of cut stone blocks, sometimes more than 2 metres in width. In the late Roman period the bath was demolished and the blocks were partly re-used in the enclosure wall. A basilica church (20 x 30 metres) was built over the bath site. Its plan places it in the 5th or 6th century, although the associated fragments of a marble ambo and other ecclesiastical furniture might tip the balance toward a 6th century date. In the 10th or 11th century this church was rebuilt, using the apse of the earlier basilica but being otherwise about 2 metres narrower on each side and only about two thirds of the original length. The new church also included a narthex and piers to carry a dome.[96]

There is no evidence of any pre-Christian structure, but

97. N. FIRATLI, 'Découverte d'une église Byzantine' 153-7;
IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 111-12.
98. IDEM, 'Découverte d'une église Byzantine' 157; IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 112; AJA LXXI (1967) 172-3; ibid. LXXII (1968) 146.
99. N. FIRATLI, 'Découverte d'une église Byzantine' 153, 155;
IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 113, 125 (plan).
100. N. FIRATLI, 'Découverte d'une église Byzantine' 161-5, 162
(inscription); IDEM, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı' 113-13; IDEM
'Excavations at Selçikler' 19-21. For further discussion of
this church in its ecclesiastical context see infra 468-72.

otherwise the north church had a similar building history. The first north church was a small basilica, 15 by 20 metres. With greater certainty than is the case with the south church, the plan and surviving fragments of architectural sculpture and church furniture date this phase to the 6th century.[97] In the following period the church fell into ruins so that by the 10th 11th century up to 50 centimetres of debris covered the 6th century pavement, yet sufficient survived intact for the whole to be incorporated into a new church.[98] Like the south church this was a typical middle Byzantine domed building rather than a basilica, but here the new church was actually an expansion of two funerary chapels or parekklesia and a large narthex which ran the whole width of the building.[99] The church was decorated with frescoes that are now indecipherable but its most impressive feature was an iconostasis which in great part survives. This was cut from local stone decorated with figures of saints inscribed in circles and encrusted with coloured glass. On the upper side of the architrave is an inscription which attributes the iconostasis to an otherwise unknown Bishop Eustathios. This sculpture is broadly similar to other 10th 11th century work from throughout western Asia Minor, Constantinople and Greece, but its style and choice of motifs can be associated with a group of surviving sculpture produced in western Phrygia at this date.[100]

The discovery of the Sebaste iconostasis led to a limited search for such middle Byzantine sculpture in the Uşak region,

101. AJA LXXIV (1970) 175; N. FIRATLI, 'Uşak-Selçikler kazısı'
121.
102. AJA loc. cit. 175; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 120.
103. AJA LXXV (1971) 181; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 120.
104. AJA LXXIX (1975) 221-2.
105. AJA LXXX (1976) 287-8; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 119.
106. AJA loc.cit. 287-8 and pl. 54; N. FIRATLI, op.cit. 118-19.

and a number of fragments were found in the Banaz ovası. These have not yet been properly published outside some notes in a preliminary report but it appears that at Bulkaz dağ, the site of the quarries for the stone used at Sebaste, a rock cut church was found which can be dated by its wall paintings to the 10th century;[101] at Susuzköy near Banaz in the north-east corner of the plain, 19 kilometres from Sebaste/Selçikler, fragments of another iconostasis were found together with similar architectural sculpture built into the walls of the village houses;[102] at Erice, 11 kilometres north-east of Selçikler, a "10th century church" was found;[103] at Eldeniz, 6.5 kilometres to the north, there are the remains of "several Byzantine churches";[104] at Hacımköy, which has been identified as the site of ancient Aloudda, there are more middle Byzantine architectural fragments;[105] and finally, at Payamları, identified as ancient Paleo-Sebaste or Leonna, lying 6 kilometres east of Selçikler, there are the remains of a small church of unknown date.[106]

This is very important evidence, and it does show how much more of the middle Byzantine period could be revealed by a detailed survey. The concentration of middle Byzantine finds in this area only reflects the initiative of N. Fıratlı and the administrative boundaries of the province. Beyond the Uşak vilayet another museum would have been responsible. These finds therefore cannot establish a settlement pattern, nor can they support regional comparisons at least within Asia Minor. Even

107. See A. GRABAR, Sculptures Byzantines II 93-126, pls. LXIII-LXXXV.

so, this evidence is a striking confirmation of the conclusions which have already been drawn from the Life of St. Luke. Ancient city sites, such as Sebaste and Aloudda, were at the least occupied in the 10th - 11th centuries.

What had happened since the 7th century is unknown but there is no need to presume desertion of these sites. At Sebaste the existence of the enclosure wall, the two churches and the survival of the place name as Sivaslı would at least be compatible with continued occupation. The rebuilding of the churches could point in other directions - but both would have been over 400 years old when the new churches were put up.

In any case the existence of settlements on such open sites as Sebaste and Aloudda in the 10th - 11th century, both of which lack any natural defensive advantage, shows that the Banaz ovası supported a settled population which almost certainly practised arable agriculture. By the 12th and 13th century the area seems to have been given over to the Turkoman flocks. There is no evidence of any later occupation at Sebaste, or indeed anywhere else in the Banaz ovası. In particular no 12th or 13th century architectural sculpture has been recorded. Further west, at for example Magnesia under Sipylon or even in Greece, such later sculpture is relatively common.[107] By contrast in the Banaz ovası the tradition of Phrygian sculpture seems to have come to an end. It would seem likely that the end of the sculpture coincides with the end of the settled communities and a shift to

108. See supra 195f .

109. Türkiye, Harta Genel Müdürlüğü, F IV.

a new pastoral and nomadic economy in the plain.

No more can be said about the settlement sites of the upper Maeander region, but a study of the castles can add a little to the discussion. As was pointed out above,[108] the medieval sources name a number of fortresses: Bonita, Charax, Lampē, Pentadaktylos, Soublaion and Choma. The sites of Bonita and Lampē are unknown outside a general area, but the other names can with varying degrees of confidence be attached to known remains. The identification of both Charax and Pentadaktylos is hypothetical, but whatever the case may be, the two castles above Çardak and on the Beşparmak dağ are neither of them examples of a settlement moved from the plain. They are both essentially lookout posts, each visible from the other, which could provide advanced warning of approaching enemy raiders. Both are extremely small and dependent on cisterns for a water supply. Just at Sardis these are a part of the Byzantine response to Arab attack, rather than evidence for a new settlement pattern.

There are three other fortresses known by name in this region: Choma, Soublaion, and a third, not yet mentioned, Angelokastron. The place name Choma survives as Homa,[109] a Turkish village on the north eastern edge of the Baklan ovası, set on the lowest slopes of the Ak dağ. Above the village is a fortress. The failure of successive commentators to visit the site has unfortunately led to the general acceptance of the mistaken view that Choma, Soublaion and Angelokastron were all

110. Phrygian Choma should not be confused with the Lycian bishopric of the same name, HIEROKLES 31; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 267 et passim; c.f. A. HOHLWEG, Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des öströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia I (1965) 81-2.
111. PLINY, Naturalis Historia V, 106; PTOLOMY, Geographiae V, 2; HIEROKLES 25; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 329 et passim; KINNAMOS 298; NIKETAS CHONIATES 177.

the same place and that that is to be identified with the fortress above the village of Homa. This view is so entrenched and these sites play such an important role in the history of the region in the 11th and 12th century that the argument is worth rehearsing in full.

Choma is not mentioned, before the 11th century. It does not appear in either the Synekdemosis or in any of the episcopal notitiae.[110]

Soublaion, however, or Sibilía, is already attested in the Roman period. Pliny, Ptolemy, Hierokles and the notitiae all refer to either the people or the city; moreover Soublaion appears again in the 12th century in the writings of John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates. These sources are not very informative but they do reveal the general area in which Soublaion lay. Pliny includes the people of the Silbiani in the judicial district, or conventus, of Apamea. Ptolemy places Silbion somewhere in the centre of Phrygia toward the south side. Hierokles lists Sibilía after Peltai, which lies somewhere in the western half of the Baklan ovası, south of Çivril, and Eumeneia, which as we have seen lay at Işıklı. All three cities are placed in Phrygia Pakatiana, and Soublaion also appears in the notitiae as a suffragan bishopric of Laodicea, the metropolitan see of the same province.[111]

This evidence led Ramsay first of all to the conclusion

112. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 221, 578-9.
113. NIKETAS CHONIATES 177.
114. KINNAMOS 298.
115. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178.

that Choma and Soublaion were identical. Since the Ak daġ was the dividing line between Phrygia Pakatiana and Phrygia Saloutaria, Soublaion must have lain to the west. Apamea itself was in Pisidia, but the territory of its conventus included the part of Phrygia Pakatiana now called the Baklan ovası. Following the order in Hierokles which gives Peltai, Eumeneia, Sibia, Ramsay inferred that the latter lay in the south eastern corner of the Baklan ovası just to the north-west of Apamea.[112]

According to Niketas Choniates, in 1175, as part of his increasingly aggressive strategy toward the Selçuk Turks, Manuel I rebuilt two fortresses: one was at Dorylaion, the other at Soublaion.[113] This is also mentioned by John Kinnamos who adds that Soublaion was near Lampē and the source of the Maeander, thus confirming that the ancient and medieval sites are in the same area.[114] Niketas Choniates does not mention Soublaion again, but his account of the 1176 campaign Niketas does describe Manuel going toward Myriokephalon by way of Choma.[115] Ramsay already believed it to be a general pattern for ancient sites to migrate to the hills in the medieval period. Since he also imagined on the basis of an interpretation of Bishop Eulalios' signature at the council of Chalcedon in 451, which reads epískopos tēs en Siblianōi hagías tou theoû ekklesías, that the Sibliani did not have a single city settlement at this date, it was easy for Ramsay to interpret Niketas Choniates' words as evidence that Soublaion and Choma were one and the same place. In the troubled period from the 7th century, Soublaion would have

116. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 221-4.
117. J. G. C. ANDERSON, 'A Summer in Phrygia: II' JHS XVIII (1898) 93-4.
118. See supra 193 .
119. NIKETAS CHONIATES 150.

needed defences. It would have moved to the hills, and in roughly the correct area Ramsay found Homa, that is Choma, which he knew to have been a fortress from his reading of the 11th and 12th century sources. He duly identified this site as Choma - Soublaion.[116]

As Ramsay correctly saw, the Roman sources do place Soublaion somewhere in the southern part of the upper Maeander region but there are almost any number of other possible sites. Contrary to Ramsay's assertion, a polis of Sibia is attested on an inscription by the 3rd century,[117] and one must presume the existence of public buildings, later an episcopal church and probably a wall. Since, as we have seen in the lower Maeander region,[118] Ramsay's hypothesis of a general move to the hills has no validity, it cannot bear on this particular case.

The text of Niketas Choniates does not demand that Choma and Soublaion are identical, and John Kinnanos's reference does no more than confirm what was known already from the Roman sources. More important, however, is Niketas Choniates' quite explicit assertion that Manuel I's building policy was aimed at recovering the plains for settled agriculture. This involved building fortresses in the plains themselves where they would be a direct threat to the Turkoman nomads who wished to use the same territory for winter grazing.[119] Niketas links Soublaion as a pair with the reconstruction of Dorylaion. In the latter case there is no doubt that the new fortress was built on the ancient

120. KINNAMOS 294-6; NIKETAS CHONIATES 176-7, 189, 192; MAMA V, xi-xiv.
121. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 225.
122. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 265, 271, 273; ANNA COMNENA I, 18, 21-2, 100, 103, 130, 131.

site in the midst of the Turkoman grazing grounds. It was its position there rather than on a neighbouring peak which made it such a threat to the Turks, and made its destruction such a significant gain from their victory at Myriokephalon. Soublaion was part of the same policy; the Baklan ovası was a grazing area of comparable importance to the plain of Dorylaion, and the destruction of Soublaion was linked with that of Dorylaion as one of the key Byzantine concessions in 1176. Like Dorylaion, Soublaion was no doubt built in the plain as a direct threat to the nomad winter grazing.[120]

At Dorylaion and at several other of Manuel I's fortresses such as Pergamon the rebuilding involved the re-use of an ancient site which had only been abandoned with the coming of the Turks in the last fifty years. Like these Soublaion was a Roman city and a bishopric, and the most probable hypothesis would make the site a settlement in the plain occupied throughout the middle Byzantine period up to the coming of the Turks. There are several settlement mounds in this part of the Baklan ovası which could be considered as candidates for Soublaion.[121]

Choma appears for the first time in the 11th century as the area from which the Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates drew his military support. The Chomatanoi, as they were called, came with Botaneiates in 1078 from Phrygia to Constantinople where they were to form a major part of the Byzantine armed forces for at least the following decade.[122] At the same period, yet having

123. ANNA COMNENA I, 131.
124. ibid. III, 27; NIKETAS CHONIATES 178-9, 195.
125. See K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 182-3.
126. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 224 n. 1; H. AHRWEILER, 'Choma-Aggélokastron' 278-81.

no apparent connection with these Chomatenoi, a toparch of Cappadocia and Choma is mentioned by Anna Comnena. He was a certain Bourtzes whom the new Emperor, Alexios, had summoned to take part in the 1081 campaign against Robert Guiscard's invasion of the Balkans.[123] In the 12th century Choma is mentioned by Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates as a place-name on the itinerary of Byzantine campaigns against the Turks.[124]

These references have created the impression that Choma was a major fortress at least on the scale of, for example, the great castle at Kabala in Lykaonia.[125] Such a fortress is what both Ramsay and more recently Ahrweiler thought they had at Homa, but in fact it appears that instead of visiting the site both had been put off by the climb and they had taken what was there for granted.[126]

The fortress at Homa is set on a peak 4 kilometres north-east of the village and about 1,500 metres above the level of the plain. The peak itself is a block of whitish limestone hence its local name, the Ak kale - all but sheer on three sides and about 200 metres high. On the fourth side the peak has been eroded into a very steep scree slope which descends to a further cliff above a ravine. The surviving structures on the site cling to the top and to this slope. The area of level ground is very small and limited to terraces none larger than about 3 by 2 metres. The few remains on the site are rough mortared field stone walls. No brick has been found nor pottery. The peak is

127. There is no published description.
128. 'Viede S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-7.
129. See C. FOSS 'The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks',
145-205.

of course waterless and there are no surviving remains of a cistern.[127]

These ruins are not those of an important settlement. As with the more substantial remains on the peak above Çardak, they are no evidence of a change in the settlement pattern and they do not show a movement from the plain to the hills. Nor are they a refuge site: it is far too small and inaccessible to offer advantage to a population wishing temporarily to abandon the plain in the face of raiders. The Ak kale is the natural abode of the goat, but no cow or horse can ever have been hoisted there for safety. The ploughing oxen mentioned in the Life of St. Luke and so essential to the arable economy of the plain would have to have gone elsewhere.[128]

The very fragmentary mortared rough stone walling is almost impossible to date, although it can be ascribed to the medieval or modern period rather than to the Roman or Hellenistic. It is for example very different from the pre-Roman dry stone walls on top of the peak behind Işıklı - Eumeneia. Whatever the date this is certainly not Imperial Comnenian work. The other identifiable works of Manuel I are made distinctive by the decorative bands of brick and masonry. They are also all built on a much larger scale and on less remote sites.[129] The same objection applies to Ahrweiler's case for identifying this site with Angelokastron, the last of the fortresses to be named in the sources. Angelokastron is lauded by George Tornikes as a splendid Imperial

130. H. AHRWEILER, 'Choma-Aggélokastron' 281-2.

achievement in a panegyric addressed to the Emperor Isaac II Angelos.[130] Angelokastron could well be another name for Soublaion, but it is certainly not the name of the remains on the peak at Homa.

Like the castles above Çardak and on the Beşparmak dağ, the tiny castle at Homa is not an important fortress but rather a look-out point. The real advantage of the site is the view. From the peak one can see over most of the northern and eastern Baklan ovası as far as Çivril in the north-west and toward Dinar in the south. Particularly in the summer when clouds of dust make the movement of armies visible for miles the peak offers an excellent early warning of approaching danger. It is a facility that was no doubt used by both the Byzantines in face of the Arabs, and by the later Turks whose herds grazed on the plain below.

The exact site of Choma is thus unknown, but the existence of the Turkish village name is strong evidence that it was somewhere nearby. The modern village, set on the edge of the plain far below the castle, is a pleasant, verdant and well-watered site. There are several pieces of Roman stone in the village and although these could have come from elsewhere it would be surprising if this attractive site had not been occupied. There are no visible medieval remains but the village has not been carefully explored. Until a proper survey may raise alternatives, the village remains the most likely

131. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 233, nr. 82. Ramsay seems to have had doubts as to the location of Choma because he also raised the possibility that Choma referred to a larger region as in τὸν Βορτζῆν Τὸπάρχην ὄντα Καππαδοκίας καὶ Χόματος καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς λογάδας ANNA COMNENA I, 131. That may be the correct interpretation in that particular instance but the other references to Choma discussed above are evidently to a place name. There are several other fortresses in these mountains, such as that reported by Anderson in 1897. Only when these and the Byzantine sites in the plain have been recorded, will it be possible to identify the sites mentioned in the sources with any confidence: J. G. C. ANDERSON 'A Summer in Phrygia: II' 94 n. 1.
132. This, and the following discussion of the castle, is based on two visits to the region made in 1982 and 1985. In particular in April 1985 I made a careful examination of the castle at Ulubey. See also F. V. J. ARUNDELL, Discoveries in Asia Minor 77-96; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 571-3, 611, 619.

possibility.[131]

The largest known medieval castle in the upper Maeander region has no name and it is not in the Baklan ovası where one might have expected from the written sources, but to the north in the Banaz ovası, about which the Byzantine sources are almost completely silent.

The town of Ulubey, known until this century as Göbek, lies on the south-western side of the Banaz ovası, about 13 kilometres north-east of Blaundos. The surrounding landscape is gently undulating and today slightly bleak arable land, although it is noticeably more fertile than in the vicinity of Blaundos which is now mostly given over to the Turkish Forestry Commission. North-south movement is relatively easy in this sector of the Banaz ovası but travelling east-west one soon discovers that the apparently level plain is broken by deep canyons excavated by the tributaries of the Maeander which drain the Banaz ovası to join the main river to the west of the Çal hills.[132]

Modern Ulubey is a small market town which looks to Uşak as the regional centre. Fairly numerous spolia and the remains of what appears to be a tomb in situ suggest this was a Roman site. Otherwise the oldest mosque is not older than the 16th century. There are no indications of any circuit of walls or of any middle Byzantine sculpture.

133. W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 125-6.

About 2 kilometres to the east of Ulubey and totally invisible from the town is a large meandering canyon in the midst of which set on a huge rock pinnacle linked to the west bank only by a narrow natural causeway are the remains of a substantial castle.

The hidden position of the site has meant that among several visitors to Ulubey only Hamilton in 1836 actually saw the castle. He had taken an unusual route across the southern part of the plain, going from east to west against the grain of the landscape. He was actually led to the site by his Turkish guide who knew that his employer was looking for eski memer. Hamilton was suitably impressed by the magnificent scenery of the canyon, but, in his words, "the castle itself was as usual a disappointment; we climbed up to it with great difficulty, and found only a few walls of rude coarse masonry ..". There has been no subsequent modern description.[133]

Hamilton was really looking for inscriptions but in fact he may have dismissed something that would have interested him. The castle itself consists of a towered circuit wall within which the central peak has been terraced to support a number of probably domestic structures. It is possible to identify at least three building phases. Phase one is only visible in a few short stretches of wall such as those marked A on the plan overleaf. These are constructed of unmortared shaped blocks of stone, on average 0.5 by 0.35 metres in size. The quality of this masonry

is high. More of it probably survives than is now visible because by the time phase two was constructed the first phase walls were in ruins and it seems that the new walls enclosed in their structure what remained of the earlier work. This can be seen in the section marked A* on the plan where the later work has fallen away to reveal the unmortared blocks of phase one forming the core of the phase two wall.

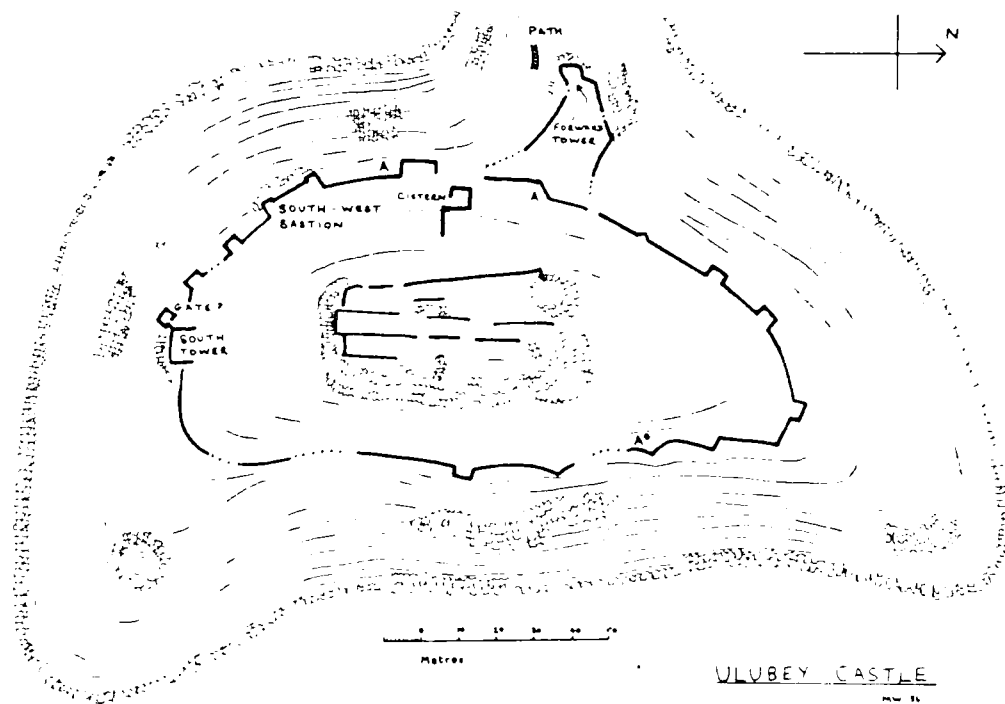


Fig. iii.

Phase two thus rested on the earlier foundations where these survived, or indeed had ever existed, but in general it appears

that by the date of their construction very little of phase one existed in situ. Phase two is built of a heavily mortared rubble fieldstone core faced with small rather neatly cut mortared local fieldstone blocks (0.25 x 0.25 metres) and spolia derived from the remains of phase one. The greater part of the surviving walls seem to be of this period and again the quality of masonry at least of the facing is high.

Phase three was one of major repair and reconstruction rather than a total rebuilding. The principal works of this phase are the large south tower and the south west bastion. Both are constructed of large spolia blocks removed from an ancient site facing a mortared rubble core. The masonry is plain but again the standard is high. On the south-west bastion there are the remains of external wooden beams set horizontal into the face of the wall. The relative dating of this phase is shown by the structure of the south tower where the phase three spolia facing encases a phase two tower which itself is constructed of a heavily mortared rubble core with a neat mortared fieldstone facing such as is characteristic of other phase two work elsewhere in the castle.

Phase three work may be more extensive than I describe since it is probably not confined to the readily identifiable high quality spolia construction. The south tower and the south west bastion built in that manner were evidently intended as highly visible prestige works. The south tower is the most

134. See supra 133f .

135. See supra 39 .

imposing standing structure on the site and it may be part of a gate complex. In which case one would have approached the castle over the natural causeway from the west, past the forward tower - below which are the remains of a man-made path and then proceeded south parallel with the walls, passing the similarly impressive south-west bastion. The bastion itself seems to be the south-west end of a larger building of this phase. One would then have actually entered the castle through a gateway involving a steep left hand turn flanked both by the south tower and a lower tower dating from phase two. The arrangement to some extent repeats that at the Peçin kale, south of Milas,[134] but the ground at Ulubey is so eroded at this spot that it is impossible to be certain. The structures on the central peak are built, however, of coarse mortared fieldstone with no special facing which can be of almost any period. They are not particularly well preserved and could as well be part of phase three as phase two. In addition I may have overlooked more such coarse mortared work erected as repairs to the phase two circuit.

On the west side there are what appears to be the remains of a cistern of unknown date, and there is also a small scatter of pottery among the structures on the peak. Most identifiable sherds are of green glazed ware, probably 11th - 14th century Byzantine, but there are also several sherds of a more recent brown and yellow glazed ware.[135]

The history of the Ulubey castle will remain very uncertain

136. See C. H. E. HASPELS, The Highlands of Phrygia Princeton
(1971) I, 36-72; II, pls. 59, 60, 68, 77.

137. C. FOSS, Kütahya 108-17, 196-201.

as long as it has not been surveyed in detail nor placed in the context of other medieval monuments in the region. However there are a number of indications as to the date of the various phases. The unmortared walls of phase one point to a pre-medieval, probably Hellenistic or earlier period. A number of such early defensive sites are known in Phrygia.[136] Phase two is Byzantine, but within that bracket the date is open to some question.

The extensive use of mortared fieldstone means that the phase is certainly medieval. Despite the lack of brick - characteristic of many Byzantine fortifications - the masonry bears a marked similarity to that of the Byzantine castles in the Kütahya vilayet which borders that of Uşak to the north. In the Kütahya region the major period of fortress building evidently coincided with the height of the Arab threat between the 7th and 9th centuries.[137] After that date one would only expect new defensive works either on the west coast where the naval threat persisted into the 11th century, or far away on the now distant eastern frontier. The same 7th to 9th century period is likely to have seen the building of the castle at Ulubey.

The other possibilities are the later 11th and 12th century. Castle building was resumed in Phrygia in the late 1060s and early 1070s as part of the Byzantine reaction to the Turks. The reign of Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-71) saw new work at Eumeneia and Sozopolis - the latter lying just outside the

138. IDEM 'The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks' 153.
139. See supra 229.
140. C. FOSS, Kütahya 83-4.
141. IDEM, 'The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks' 145-201.
142. See supra 234.

Maeander region to the east.[138] The region was lost to the Turks in the early 1080s but the Byzantines managed to reimpose some form of control for the greater part of the following century. This control was in practice rather limited and it did not allow the earlier arable economy to recover, but one should keep in mind that the Byzantines may have attempted a great deal more. Imperial policy, as has been said before in this chapter, was to build fortresses on the plains where the nomads wished to graze their animals.[139] Manuel's reign saw the building of important fortresses at Soublaion, Dorylaion and at Kütahya.[140] A fortress at Ulubey could well have fitted in with this policy. As yet the only argument to set against this is that the castle appears to be much closer to the 7th - 9th century parallels than to any known 12th century work.[141]

The identifying characteristic of phase three masonry is the use of large spolia blocks. They are larger and whiter in colour than the stones of the phase one walls and the fact that they were not used as spolia in phase two makes it fairly certain that they were not already on site or easily accessible, but instead were specifically bought to the castle for the work on the south tower and the south west bastion. A possibility is that they came from Blaundos, 10 kilometres to the south-west, but this will need to be checked.[142]

The date of the phase three works is difficult to establish. The key feature, however, is probably the external

143. C. FOSS, Kütahya 27-8, 32, 36, 48, 51-2, 54-5.
144. See R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture in South Western Anatolia figs. 2a, 34a; M. AKOK, 'Uşak Ulu Camii' 69-72; most similar of all to the phase three masonry is that found in the numerous unpublished 18th and early 19th century rural tower houses in the lower Mederes valley. Well preserved examples can be seen at the villages of Donduran and Arpaz.
145. See J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern 289-90.
146. C. FOSS, Kütahya 84-5; the Banaz ovası as a frontier area for Germiyan influence: E. QUATREMER, 'Notice de l'ouvrage qui a pour titre: Mesalek Alabsar li memalek alamsar. Voyages des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées (manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque du roi)', Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi XIII (1838) 340, 351-8.
147. See F. V. J. ARUNDELL, Discoveries in Asia Minor II, 214, 223-5; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern 190-91, 289-90.

wooden beams on the outer face of the south-west bastion. There are several parallels for this in medieval and modern Turkish works,[143] and the well constructed masonry is reminiscent of that found in several of the region's mosques.[144] Fortifications in this area continued to be of military significance as late as the early 19th century.[145] Study of the most recent pottery on the site might be helpful, but at present the most likely candidates are either the Emirs of Germiyan in the 14th century[146] or the Kara osmanoğlu in the 18th.[147] Whatever the case it is certainly a mistake to presume that all 'medieval' castles in this area are pre-Ottoman, let alone Byzantine.

Ulubey castle is a much larger fortress than either the Ak kale above Homa or the site above Çardak but it was still a castle rather than a town or even a village. It could and no doubt did provide a refuge for some of the local population, but it is far too small to have provided security for any number of people and animals - let alone a permanent home. The plan above may tend to obscure this point as I have omitted the natural boulders which take up a great deal of the site.

Ulubey castle is a military work, built presumably to take advantage of a natural defensive site and to control one of the few easier crossing places of the canyon. Set there the castle commands an important secondary route across the southern part of the Banaz ovası and protects the approach to the Cayster and

Hermos valleys beyond. Phase two created a well built and strongly fortified site where the Byzantines had gone to considerable effort in its construction. Despite the possibility of a later date, the most likely context for such an effort is the defensive war against the Arabs. In such an area of strategic importance the castle would have provided the Anatolikoi with a useful 'hard point' in a system of mobile and flexible defence.

As with the other Byzantine castles in this region, Ulubey is no evidence of a change in settlement pattern before the coming of the Turks. There is a great deal more to be understood about the Upper Maeander, but here as in the rest of the region the task of understanding the Byzantine world is made no easier by the unsupported presumption of a landscape of abandoned ancient sites and a wholesale withdrawal to the hills.

Taken as a whole, the evidence presented so far in part two has suggested that the city sites in the Maeander region which had supported the prosperous civilization of the Roman period continued to be occupied as identifiable settlements through the Byzantine period up to the coming of the Turks. There are exceptions and in many cases the evidence is very slight, but the overall pattern is clear. Other evidence from elsewhere in the Byzantine world suggests that the experience of the Maeander was not unique. In the Pontos ancient cities such as Trebizond and Sinop continued to be occupied as

148. A. BRYER, D. WINFIELD, The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos 70-72, 75-6, 93, 180-83.
149. J. L. BINTLIFF, A. M. SNODGRASS, 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boetian Expedition: the First Four Years' Journal of Field Archaeology XII (1985) 149.
150. THEODORE DUCAS LASCARIS, Epistulae CCXVII ed. N. Festa, Florence (1898) 108.

major settlements;[148] even in Greece - afflicted by the chronic insecurity of the Slav invasions - the recent work of the Boeotia survey project has revealed the Byzantine population staying put on ancient city sites until the 12th century or later.[149]

This is not to question the basic assertion that the 7th century had been a period of dramatic change which had overturned much of the urban culture characteristic of the Roman world. The survival of a settlement on the site of an ancient city does not imply the survival of the culture which that city had once embodied. Byzantine culture was of course very different from its Roman predecessor, but however one tries to describe it, the roots of Byzantium lay in the Roman Empire in all its Christian, Imperial and other aspects. In the 13th century Theodore Laskaris compared the dwellings of the inhabitants of contemporary Pergamon to mouseholes in the houses of the ancients.[150] Even if one wishes to extend this comparison to Byzantine culture in general, it still demands the overwhelming presence of the Roman heritage in Byzantine life. The network of middle Byzantine towns in the Maeander region, even if they did no more than occupy ancient sites, were an inheritance from the past. The very pattern of settlement was bequeathed by the ancient world.

The importance or otherwise of the bare fact of the survival of the basic settlement pattern depends on the place of

the middle Byzantine town in provincial society. I shall discuss the role of the towns, their population and physical environment in chapter four, but to give that discussion any significance the town must first be placed in the wider context of the society of the medieval Maeander region. In particular to judge whether the settlements described in this chapter were local centres of any importance they must first be seen as part of an interlocking world of central and local elites, political power, administration and landowning.

1. See R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 307-21.
2. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137; PAUL OF LATROS 109.
3. In the late 11th century Latros was exposed to the attacks of the Turks, which led over the following 200 years to the building of an extensive network of fortifications, see MM VI, 61-2; T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 18-86; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 8-24.

CHAPTER SIX: The Middle Byzantine Town in the Maeander Region.

The previous chapters have assembled the evidence to show that the late Roman city sites of the Maeander region continued to be occupied through the 7th to 11th centuries. It appears only to have been in the 12th and 13th centuries in response to the Turkish threat and under the different social and political conditions of those centuries that ancient sites were abandoned in favour of those with more impressive natural defences.

It is easy to see that one of the major incentives in favour of continuity on all sites must have been the protection offered by the city walls. The variation in size and development among the late Roman cities of the Maeander was so great that none can be regarded as typical,[1] yet they all had in common serviceable circuits of walls. The view that a population could find safety through flight to the hills seems to be an illusion. As the monks of Latros discovered, Arab raiders were quite capable of penetrating even the most forbidding mountains of western Asia Minor.[2] Effective security demanded fortifications and there is no evidence of a network of fortified mountain refuge sites in any part of the Maeander region at least before the 12th or 13th century.[3] Retreat to the mountains had other disadvantages. It only offered protection to moveable property such as animals, it needed considerable advanced warning

4. See G. T. DENNIS, Three Byzantine Military Treatises 152.
5. See e.g. supra 192 : the citizens of Laodicea on the Lykos seem to have defended their walls where possible but abandoned the site at the approach of a large army; the necessity of fortifications in the face of raiders is illustrated by the Austrian experience during the Turkish invasion of 1683, see J. STOYE, The Siege of Vienna London (1964) 174-7; there is an interesting contemporary painting at Lilienfeld in lower Austria showing the Turkish raiders in 1683 deterred by even the slight walls of this Cistercian monastery.
6. See S. FAROQHI, Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia Cambridge (1984) 252, 272-5; W. J. GRISWOLD, The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611 Berlin (1983) 49-50, 212-3.

and involved abandoning house, garden and fields to the enemy.

Under some circumstances, and in some areas such as Anatolia where cities had never been common, the population might have no option,[4] but if the enemy was only a small raiding party then a settlement within an ancient circuit of walls offered certain advantages. The walls might not be manned to deter a raiding party;[5] they would protect not only the lives of the inhabitants and their livestock, but also their churches, houses and possibly most important gardens. Agricultural land inside the walls would be at least one stock of food denied to the enemy.

Contrary to a common misapprehension it is not the towns but the dispersed rural settlements which are at most risk in the face of enemy raiding. In this same region in the 17th century it was rural settlement which collapsed during the period of chronic rebellion and unrest begun by the Çelali revolts. The towns suffered too, but by comparison to the villages and farms they appeared secure and prosperous havens and their population grew. Conditions in the 7th and 17th century may not be strictly comparable but one would certainly not expect the development of a more dispersed pattern of settlement in a period of chronic insecurity.[6]

As we have seen in the previous chapters, in view of the deficient archaeological and documentary evidence, it may be a

7. See supra 38f .
8. See C. MANGO, Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome 45-59, 68-82; IDEM, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XI siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', TM VI (1976) 351-65; J. DARROUZES, 'Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au XI siècle', ibid. 159-76.
9. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 116-31; IDEM, 'Archaeology and the Twenty Cities' 469-86.

mistake to underestimate the scale of settlement on ancient sites in the early Byzantine period.[7] To put the case at its most simple: the population is unlikely to have spread over the open countryside; they did not move on to new sites in the mountains; they did not vanish. They must have lived somewhere.

Whether in the 7th to 9th century these settlements were towns or not one cannot say. In the future field surveying or properly carried out excavation may transform the picture but as yet there is not the evidence available. Its absence proves little in itself. Absence of evidence is merely absence of evidence.

Whatever the status of these settlements, there is no doubt that over the Empire as a whole and in nearly all its social and economic activities the 7th to 9th centuries were a period of decline and recession, which from the late 9th or 10th century turned to growth and development. In the Maeander region as elsewhere in the Empire Turkish invasions came upon a society that was wealthier and more developed than it had been at any time since the beginning of the 7th century.[8]

A great deal of evidence for greater prosperity comes from the ancient city sites of the Maeander region,[9] and it is important to question whether this shows development of these sites in particular or whether instead there was a general rural prosperity which would be demonstrated if we were to dig

10. See infra 266f.
11. NIKEPHORS BRYENNIOS 301; for Melissenos see G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/1, 88-9 nr. 99-100; I/3, 1480-86, nrs. 2697-9.
12. See supra 35f.

somewhere else. The importance of the ancient sites may be a distortion imposed by the choice of classical archaeologists to dig the ancient cities in the first place. To take the distinction further, can the ancient sites of the Maeander region on the eve of the Turkish invasion be recognized as towns with an identifiable role in the region's social and political structure, or was this part of Asia Minor simply a village society where power was exercised in a wholly rural environment?

Since there has been no rural archaeology in western Asia Minor, part of the answer to this question involves the historical and documentary material examined in part three,[10] but the evidence of the sites themselves has also to be taken into account.

A prime facie case for active and self-conscious towns in the Maeander region could be made on the basis of Nikephoros Bryennios' account of Nikephoros Melissenos' rebellion in 1080.[11] In that year Melissenos, an important aristocrat and general, left Kos, where he had probably been exiled by the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, and crossed to western Asia Minor. There he raised an army of Turks and Byzantines, and was proclaimed Emperor. Then, by Nikephoros Bryennios' account, he made a tour of the cities of Asia (tas tēs Asias poleis). The phrase recalls Constantine Porphyrogenitos' list of the twenty cities of Asia,[12] but it probably has no more in common than a term of literature for the cities of the Thrakesion. In any case

13. NIKEPHORSO BRYENNIOS 301, 11. 6-10.
14. For the association between the Emperor and provincial towns, see P. MAGDALINO, R. NELSON, 'The Emperor in Byzantine art of the 12th century', Byzantine Forschungen VIII (1982) 132-5.
15. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 24-31.

most of these cities must have lain in the Maeander region.

Nikephoros Bryennios then goes on to say,

"The citizens (politai) submitted to him and surrendered their cities (poleis) as if he were Emperor of the Romans. He in turn against their will handed them over to the Turks, so that by this means in a short time all the cities of Asia, Phrygia and Galatia passed under the authority of the Turks." [13]

The episode apparently reveals an unexpected importance for the Maeander region towns. It suggests that they were normally able to defend themselves, and that in submitting and recognizing the Emperor they reveal some form of corporate identity. [14] It is striking that Melissenos' first act as newly proclaimed Emperor was to go on a tour of the region's towns. Nikephoros Bryennios clearly implies that the handing over of these poleis to the Turks was a decisive step in the loss of western Asia Minor to the Turks.

This account of a sensitive period in the history of the ruling dynasty was written about fifty years after the events and the details of Melissenos' rebellion are no doubt obscured by Nikephoros Bryennios' own prejudices and interests. [15] However there is no reason to reject the essentials of the account as regards the role of the towns.

Yet the account still presents difficulties. It would have been of greater importance for the history of the Maeander

16. C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor; IDEM, Ephesus after Antiquity; IDEM, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis; A. KAŽDAN, 'Vizantiiskie goroda v VII-IX vekach', Sovetskaia Arkheologiya XXI (1954) 164-88; IDEM, Derevnia i gorod v Vizantii IX-XVV Moscow (1960).
17. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the Twenty Cities' 472-5, 481-2.
18. M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City', Byzantinische Forschungen C (1985) 13; IDEM, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 63-5.
19. J.-C. CHEYNET, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206' in Philadelphie et autres études 39.
20. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 131-6.

towns if Nikephoros Bryennios had been specific about which places Melissenos visited and handed over to the Turks. Following the seminal work of Foss and Kazdan,[16] the current impression of the middle Byzantine town, especially in Asia Minor, is rather gloomy. It would probably be granted that Ephesos and Smyrna should be called towns in the 11th century,[17] and they could well have played an autonomous role in the events of 1080. But otherwise Asia Minor in general, including the Maeander region, is regarded as an overwhelmingly rural society.[18] The settlements on ancient sites may have had some of the characteristics of a town - defences, a bishop, possibly a market - but otherwise they were really no more than villagers[19] and Melissenos certainly did not go on a tour of these.

Faced with a paucity of evidence, so much of the negative impression of the smaller and less well known sites away from Ephesos and Smyrna depends on a belief in their very primitive and underdeveloped physical appearance. Still in the early 1070s the available evidence for the appearance of even the largest Byzantine towns in the region seemed to show that despite the relative prosperity from the 10th century onwards, the urban environment - if it could be so called - was primitive and underdeveloped.[20] It followed that if even the most important coastal cities were so unurban, then the smaller inland sites must have been no more than villages.

21. E. BOEHRINGER, F. KRAUS, Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult Berlin (1937) 58-9; P. SCHAUMANN, Das Gymnasium Berlin (1923) 43-4; W. DORPFELD, Athener Mitteilungen XXIX (1904) 19, 203-4; XXXV (1910) 369, 379.
22. See supra 72-3
23. R. BOHN, Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Berlin (1885) 88-91; A. CONZE, Stadt und Landschaft Berlin (1912) 309-18.

In view of the history of archaeology in the Maeander region over the past century the only useful evidence for the physical appearance of a Byzantine town comes from Pergamon, lying just outside the Maeander region to the north. Even before the first world war the German excavators had made some attempt to record the Byzantine remains. The settlement set mostly on the sides of the hills, known as the middle and lower town, was dated by associated coin finds and glazed pottery to the 11th to 14th centuries. The houses consisted of smaller irregular rooms with several later additions all built of poor quality rubble and fieldstone held together with mud. Water was provided from several small cisterns and a number of storage jars were also found. Despite the apparent fire risk there was a pottery set among the houses.[21]

Apart from the defences, partly derived from the late 7th century when Pergamon had been an Imperial fortress,[22] the only larger buildings known were two churches and a chapel built on the acropolis itself, and another church in the lower city. The older of the acropolis churches was on the site of the ancient temple of Athena. It was a very simple building, about 15 by 5 metres, consisting of a single nave and apse, constructed of spolia and field-stone rubble. There were no coins found to date the building but the surviving architectural carving suggested a date in the 10th or 11th century.[23] The second church, dated to the 12th century, again on the basis of the architectural carving, was originally a similar if slightly smaller building of

24. R. BOHN, Die Theater-Terrasse Berlin (1896) 73-4; A. CONZE, op.cit. 309-18.
25. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the Twenty Cities', 479-81; IDEM; IDEM, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 272-6; Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXVII ed. N. Festa, Florence (1898) 107-8.
26. W. RADT, 'Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon' in Wohnungsbau im Altertum Diskussion zur archäologischen Bauforschung 3, Berlin (1979) 199-206; IDEM, Archäologischer Anzeiger LXXXIX (1974) 278; XCIII (1978) 407, 409-12.
27. ibid. C (1985) 472, 474, 476-80; XCI (1976) 305-9.

the same primitive construction. Later a narthex and two side chapels were added, and there were also fragments of a wall painting dated to the first half of the 12th century. The chapel, lying a little further down the hill, cut into the rock of the lowest terrace was probably a funerary chapel associated with the second church. The remains of the other church, built to replace the much larger late Roman basilica were very fragmentary and could not be dated.[24]

The overall impression is of a few workshops, potteries and churches, set amidst a complex of small and primitive houses. There was no street plan and the effect was of a crowded maze, accessible only by winding alleyways which as in the old quarters of some Turkish towns and villages were as much private as public space. The archaeological evidence appeared to show a village environment which fully justified Theodore Laskaris' famous comparison of Byzantine dwellings amidst ancient ruins to mouseholes within a house of his own day.[25]

Since the mid 1970s major advances in the archaeology of Pergamon have transformed our understanding of the site. On the citadel area Byzantine housing of the 12th to 14th centuries has been uncovered and planned.[26] The housing seems to fall into three phases and certainly some of the structures, especially of the later phase when it appears that refugees from the surrounding countryside were crammed into the area behind the walls, fit the description given above.[27] However more

28. IDEM, 'Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon' 206-17; IDEM, Archäologischer Anzeiger XC (1975) 356; XCI (1976) 305-9; XCII (1977) 297-302; XCIV (1979) 309, 312-15, figs. 1, 3; XCV (1980) 401-5; C (1985) 476-80.
29. C. BOURAS, 'City and Village: Urban design and Architecture', JÖB XXXI (1981) 635-6, 638-42, 644-5.

striking is the evidence for larger houses which include well built rooms and show evidence of deliberate planning. Previous structures had been cleared away from the site and foundation trenches dug in the tufa of which the hill is made. A common type of house included residential quarters surrounding a small courtyard containing a well set back from the street. One house in particular, a rather larger complex than the others, including a workshop and storage rooms as well as extensive dwelling quarters, had been planned so as to use the street frontage for shops.[28]

The complexity and sophistication of these houses should not be exaggerated, but equally it must be remembered that they are set on a cramped and difficult site, and throughout much of the period security was a problem. Historians have so far tended to underestimate this material. Bouras, in a useful survey of the physical appearance of Byzantine towns, only drew attention to the way agricultural and industrial facilities were mixed up with residential quarters, the very small scale of the churches and the lack of other public buildings, and the absence of a street plan. Bouras concluded that this was evidence for the underdeveloped nature of Byzantine towns.[29]

All the aspects that Bouras noted certainly are features of the site, but in fact they have no bearing on whether Pergamon was a developed town or not. In the first place the fact that workshops, houses and farmyards were found mixed together in the

30. M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City' 15-16; J. HASLAM, Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England Chichester (1984) XV.
31. C. MANGO, Byzantine Architecture 194-251; IDEM, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XIe siècle' 351-65.
32. T. HASSALL, 'Archaeology of Oxford City' in The Archaeology of the Oxford Region ed. G. Briggs, J. Cook, T. Rowley, Oxford (1986) 118-32; the position of Winchester is obviously complicated by the presence of the cathedral, built on a scale to which there is no contemporary Byzantine parallel, but the other city churches are very similar to those at Pergamon, Winchester in the Early Middle Ages ed. M. Biddle, Oxford (1976) 329-35.
33. H. E. SALTER, Medieval Oxford Oxford (1936) 42, 51; see also Winchester in the Early Middle Ages 335-6.

middle of a town should cause no surprise. This was a feature of most ancient and medieval towns, and was common up to the 18th century. The fact that a town was so closely linked to the countryside does not make it any the less urban according to the definition of the middle ages.[30]

Secondly, one should note that small churches were a characteristic of Byzantine civilization in the middle ages,[31] but possibly more important, in most parts of Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries city churches were equally small and simple. At Oxford, for example, which was without doubt a town at this period, all the city churches, as opposed to the great monasteries which had nothing to do with Oxford's urban life were on an equally small scale to those at Pergamon. The only part of one of them to survive later rebuilding is the tower of St. Michael's at the north gate which was not a church tower but part of the city defences later included in the church.[32] Similarly Oxford had no secular public buildings other than a guildhall which was only a tenement house indistinguishable from any other rather primitive house in the town. Any larger gathering, such as that which elected the mayor, spilled over the street and into St. Martin's churchyard beyond.[33] At neither Oxford nor Pergamon would the early medieval inhabitants have had a use for public buildings on the ancient model. Their absence at Pergamon reflects very little on the quality of its urban life.

In the third feature to which Bouras drew attention - not having a formal street plan Pergamon was evidently different

34. R. E. WYCHERLEY, How the Greeks built Cities 2nd Edn., London (1962) 15-35.
35. B. WARD-PERKINS, From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages Oxford (1984) 179-86.
36. M. BIDDLE, 'Towns' in The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England ed. D. M. Wilson, Cambridge (1976) 125; M. W. BERESFORD, New Towns of the Middle Ages London (1967) passim; T. HALL, Mittelalterliche Stadtgrundrisse. Versuch einer Übersicht der Entwicklung in Deutschland und Frankreich Stockholm (1978) 110-42.
37. D. CLAUDE, Die byzantinische Stadt 44-60; H. KENNEDY, 'From polis to medina: Urban change from late Antique to early Islamic Syria', PP CVI (1985) 11-18; A. A. M. BRYER, 'The structure of the late Byzantine Town: diokismos and the mesoi' in Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society 263-8.
38. On the definition of a town see D. HILL, 'The Saxon period' in Urban Archaeology in Britain ed. J. Schofield, R. Leech, CBA Research Report 61, London (1987) 47-8; M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City' 15-18.
39. ANNA COMNENA III, 154-5; NIKETAS CHONIATES 150; SKYLITZES 394-5 (bishop resident at Pergamon).
40. M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City' 15-18; IDEM, 'Archons and dynasts' 236-41; see infra
41. Winchester in the Early Middle Ages 337-48, M. D. H. CARVER, 'Three Saxo-Norman Tenements in Durham City', Medieval Archaeology XXIII (1979) 9-11, 67-72; W. A. PANTIN, 'The Halls and Schools of Medieval Oxford: an Attempt at Reconstruction' in Oxford Studies presented to Daniel Callus Oxford (1964) 38-41.

from most ancient cities in the region,[34] from several contemporary Italian towns[35] and from some planned towns laid out in the 9th to 12th century West.[36] However this distinction is of limited significance. The street plans of many prosperous and thriving cities were already being eroded through the late Roman period. The disappearance of the formal street plan and the monumental public buildings which are both so characteristic of ancient cities is evidence of a major cultural change in the late Roman world, but there are many other types of urban environment developed forms of town without these features.[37]

Pergamon was plainly a town. It had walls, was a centre of population, a significant proportion of its inhabitants were involved in activities apart from farming, a market can probably be presumed.[38] There was a bishop and it was known as a polis, clearly marking it apart from a village which would have been known as a chorion. [39] We know elsewhere of relatively important figures in the local elite living in towns, and the excavated houses at Pergamon would have provided appropriate accomodation.[40] Outside the cramped citadel, houses could well have been bigger, and even those excavated bear comparison with tenements occupied by quite distinguished figures in contemporary English towns.[41]

The recently excavated housing at Pergamon dates from the 12th to the 14th century. The 11th century town is likely to

42. W. RADT, Archäologischer Anzeiger XCVII (1981) 399-401, 408-9.
43. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 81-3; see supra
44. BASOR CLVI (1962) 39-40; CLXX (1963) 33-5; CCXV (1974) 33; H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 98, 127; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 75-6.
45. IDEM, Ephesus after Antiquity 132-7.
46. See supra 138-9 , n. 211.
47. See infra 261.
48. See supra 146f
49. See S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society London (1967-83) I, 1-28.

have been at the foot of the hill where settlement returned after the Turkish conquest in the 14th century.[42] However there is no reason to think that the 11th century town was of very different appearance. Perhaps under less threat the houses were possibly larger. It is therefore valid to use Pergamon as a model for the other towns in the region.

This presents some difficulties because apart from the acropolis at Sardis which was crammed with refugee housing in the last years of Byzantine Asia Minor,[43] not a single plan of a Byzantine house has yet been produced for the Maeander region. However, what has been found at Sardis,[44] Ephesos,[45] Iasos[46] and Aphrodisias,[47] appears to be very similar to that described at Pergamon. In the past, when Pergamon appeared such a dismal site, this evidence could be integrated with that from Pergamon to suggest a general picture of underdevelopment; but in fact it fits equally well with the new evidence to support a case for a more sophisticated urban structure in the Maeander region.

The best evidence for urban life of this type comes from Mastaura[48] and is documentary rather than archaeological. A Jewish marriage contract or ketubba drawn up in 1022, and preserved in the Cairo Geniza,[49] describes a house at Mastaura which is clearly a courtyard house of the type found at Pergamon. The ketubba's description shows that it was a two storey building with a well in the courtyard. Half the well belonged to the

50. J. MANN, The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs Oxford (1920-22) II, 94; J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire Athens (1939) 188; see also T. REINACH, 'Un contrat du mariage du temps de Basile le bulgaroctone', Mélanges offerts a M. Gustave Schlumberger, Paris (1924) 118-32.
51. J. MANN, The Jews in Egypt I, 87-9, 92; II, 92; J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 194-5; S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society I, 328-32; II, 96, 137-8.
52. J. STARR, op.cit. 187-90; the Cairo Geniza has preserved extensive evidence for emigration to and from Byzantium at this period: S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society I, 39, 49, 53, 63; II, 50, 70, 157, 242, 300, 304, 306; III, 48, 63, 114, 177, 200, 210, 229, 302; IV, 114.

bride's brother, Caleb. The fact that he was specifically allowed access suggests that as in some examples from Pergamon, the house faced on to the street with a passage leading through to the courtyard behind.[50]

The occupants appear to have been a family of modest Jewish traders. The link between Mastaura and Egypt had been forged in the early 11th century by two Mastauran Jews, Leo and Elijah, who had been captured by Arab pirates and taken to Alexandria to be sold as slaves. There they were fortunate to be ransomed by the local Jewish community who had a good reputation for such acts of charity. However the paying of ransoms had become a considerable burden to the Jews of this maritime city and where possible they would wish to make the freed captives contribute toward the cost of their deliverance. Thus in this case Elijah was kept in Alexandria while Leo was sent back to Mastaura to find money to repay the Alexandrian Jews.[51]

This incident appears to have been the beginning of good relations between the Jews of Mastaura and those of Alexandria, and shortly afterwards two more Jews from Mastaura, Namr b. Elqanah and his wife, Eudokia b. Caleb, emigrated to Egypt taking with them their moveable possessions and important documents, including their marriage contract - hence its presence in the Cairo Geniza.[52]

Neither the ketubba nor the letter which describes the

53. SKYLITZES 373, 385-6, 389, 396, 398; KEKAUMENOS 34; Lavra I, 124-5; W. FELIX, Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert Vienna (1981) 185-6, 202-4.
54. S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society I, 45, 46, 103, 211, 301, 328: the Geniza evidence presents difficulties because its frequent unspecific references to Rūm could just as well be to Italians as Byzantines.
55. F. H. VAN DOORNINCK JR., 'An 11th century shipwreck at Serçe Liman. Turkey 1978-81' International Journal of Natural Archaeology XI (1982) 7-11.
56. S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society III, 65-114.

activities of Leo and Elijah specifically says that they were traders, but the link between Mastaura and Egypt is difficult to explain if this had not been the case. Arab raids along the coast of western Asia Minor and throughout the Aegean seem to have been common in the early 11th century, but there is nothing to suggest that they penetrated far inland.[53] The whole episode also implies a certain cosmopolitan experience among the Mastauran Jews which is not compatible with their being merely peasant farmers. Trade between Byzantium and Egypt certainly existed at this period,[54] the best evidence being the wreck of an Egyptian ship which went down off the Carian coast in 1024/5 at Serçe Liman.[55]

It is not easy to assess the wealth and social position of Namr and Eudokia because this document is the only middle Byzantine ketubba to survive. Over 350 ketubbas of the 11th to 13th century are known from Egypt but they are not strictly comparable. Apart from the social and economic gulf which separated the world of the Jewish community in Mastaura, an obscure settlement in inland Asia Minor, from that of Cairo and Alexandria, two of the wealthiest cities of the 11th century mediterranean, the documents themselves are not drawn up according to the same rules. Those from Egypt follow local custom, whereas the Mastaura ketubba seems to be based on the rather different custom of Palestine.[56]

Nonetheless all medieval ketubbas do have certain basic

57. ibid. III, 70, 104-7, 118-35; J. Z. LAUTERBACH, 'Ketubah' The Jewish Encyclopedia VII, London (1904) 472-8.
58. J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 188.
59. S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean Society III, 118-39; IV, 310-17.
60. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 222-3; see infra 488 9
61. N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XI siècle', TM VI (1976) 50-55; M. KAPLAN, 'L'économie paysanne dans l'empire byzantin du V^{ème} au X^{ème} siècle', Klio LXVIII (1986) 205-32.

features in common. They were divided into three parts. The first recorded the initial marriage gift paid by the husband as the price for his wife's virginity. The second gave the main marriage gift, which was a much larger sum paid by the groom on the day of the wedding and usually made up, as here, of items such as clothing or jewellery. The third part was the dowry. In addition it was common for a house, or part of a house, to be given by the bride's family to the young couple. Together these sums made up the capital on which the couple would set up home.[57]

The Mastaura ketubba gives a total figure, which includes coin and the value of certain items, of $35\frac{1}{2}$ nomismata.[58] In terms of the Egyptian ketubbas this sum would place Nasr and Eudokia among the poorer members of the Jewish community, but even in Alexandria or Cairo they would not have been among the destitute.[59]

In the Byzantine context one may remember that cavalry soldiers in the theme army were expected to own land worth at least four pounds of gold (288 nomismata), which if it were given over to cereals should have produced an annual income of about 80 nomismata;[60] the annual income of a peasant farmer, depending on whether he owned or rented his land, seems to have ranged from under 5 nomismata to about 25 nomismata per annum.[61]

The ketubba does not mention other members of Namr's family

62. J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 187-90;
T. REINACH, 'Un contrat de mariage' 118-32.
63. G. F. BASS, G. GOLONU, 'Excavations at Serçe Liman
(1977) A Cargo of Eleventh Century Glass', TAD XXV/2
(1981) 49-54, figs. 1-24.
64. Amongst other things Asia Minor seems to have been
an exporter of cheese: S. D. GOITEIN, A Mediterranean
Society I, 46.
65. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/3,
1169, nr. 2105.
66. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum' PG XCIX, 289-92; see
infra 472.
67. See supra 146f.

and there may have been other property he could expect to inherit. The items of clothing and jewellery show no great wealth but they are quite compatible with a modest prosperity.[62] On the face of it Namr and Eudokia's possessions suggest a family of small traders making a satisfactory living but no large fortune. The Serçe Liman ship was principally trading in raw glass and small glass vessels.[63] It demonstrates that some at least of the Egyptian trade was in relatively inexpensive items.[64] Such a commercial background would fit well the available evidence for the Mastaura Jews who inhabited one of the courtyard houses.

The documents from Mastaura are of great significance for the history of Byzantine towns in the Maeander region. The courtyard house parallels structures excavated at Pergamon, and the presence of a trading community suggests that Mastaura was a market. An 8th century seal of a dioiketes of Mastaura also survives,[65] and the 9th century Life of St. Theodore the Studite calls Mastaura a polis and describes its bishop and clergy.[66] Mastaura can confidently be regarded as a town in the middle Byzantine period.

There is almost no archaeological evidence for Mastaura in the middle ages. Were it not for the remarkable documentary evidence it would have been quite reasonable to presume that the site was deserted. Nothing else would have suggested that it supported a small town.[67] If this is so of small and obscure

68. K. ERİM, AS XIV (1964) 27-8; TAD XVI (1967) 70; ibid. XVII/1 (1968) 43-5, 46-7; ibid. XX/1 (1973) 64-5; AS XXII (1972) 39; TAD XXII/2 (1975) 77; AS XXXIV (1985) 177-8; ibid. XXXV (1986) 178.
69. IDEM, AS XIV (1964) 27; ibid. XVI (1966) 36; TAD XV/1 (1965) 59-60; AS XVIII (1968) 34-5.

Mastaura then there is a strong likelihood that several other sites region risk being seriously underestimated.

In the future the best evidence for a detailed picture of a Byzantine provincial town in the Maeander region between the 7th and 12th centuries should come from Aphrodisias, Byzantine Stauropolis. However from a Byzantine historian's point of view progress so far has been disappointing. After twenty-five years work there is still no published plan of any of the Byzantine housing; we still have very little idea of the shape of the Byzantine town and still less of its development over time. Nonetheless what has been discovered does fit a picture of a quite developed urban structure.

In several parts of the site quarters of densely packed houses and workshops have been found, of simple construction, set without any apparent formal plan around small churches and graveyards.[68] As at Pergamon under detailed study this housing may turn out to be more sophisticated than it now appears from initial reports. In addition a large late Roman house near the church of St. Michael (the former temple of Aphrodite) continued to be occupied through to the 12th century. The building is usually identified as the bishop's palace but the evidence is no more than a stray episcopal seal found in its ruins.[69] The possibility that it was a lay household should not be disregarded. According to his Life St. Philaretos the merciful seems to have lived in just such a late Roman house in later 8th century

70. M.-H. FOURMY, M. LEROY, 'La vie de S. Philarète',
B IX (1934).
71. R. CORMACK, 'The Byzantine provincial city' in Byzantium
and the Classical Tradition 107-16; W. H. BUCKLER,
'A momento of Stauropolis' BZ XXVIII (1928) 98-101:
the cross is now in the Ashmolean museum, 1952.
437.
72. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/2,
991, nr. 1732; J. W. NESBITT, 'Byzantine lead seals
from Aphrodisias', DOP XXXVII (1983) 159-64.
73. See supra 155 f.
74. K. ERIM, AS XXVI (1976) 24-5.
75. R. CORMACK, 'The Byzantine provincial city' 116.

Paphlagonia.[70] At least two, possibly three, late Roman churches were also in use in the 11th century; one or two are known to have been added in the middle Byzantine period.[71] The provision for churches exceeds the number appropriate for even the largest village. Together with the presence of a number of lead seals, including that of the dioiketes of Stauropolis and other central and local officials, the evidence shows Aphrodisias to have been an active provincial town.[72]

As was noted above in chapter four, the theatre at Aphrodisias was not converted into a fortress until the 12th century.[73] The settlement which survived during the 7th to 9th century and grew over the following period did so using the ancient circuit of walls for protection. Byzantine repairs to the circuit seem to have been identified.[74] However it seems unlikely that at any period the entire area within the walls was occupied by the dense settlement. A large part of the site was taken up by the sometimes dangerous ruins of ancient public buildings, but even the rest was probably only partially occupied. Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias is likely to have considered of several areas of settlement focused on such key points as the church of St. Michael or the theatre hill, leaving much of the rest of the space inside the walls available for agriculture and pasture.

A settlement pattern of this type is well documented in Byzantium. Constantinople in its 12th century heyday included

76. See A. A. M. BRYER, 'The structure of the late Byzantine town' 268-74.
77. E.g. Laodicea on the Lykos: see supra 189 f.

extensive fields, and the same was characteristic of many late Byzantine towns from Trebizond to Greece.[76] It is almost certainly true of the middle Byzantine towns of the Maeander region. This pattern would explain how it is possible for an excavation in the middle of a Byzantine city which is known to have been occupied to miss all trace of Byzantine remains.[77] In view of the large circuits of ancient walls and the need at least in the early Byzantine period for security, this pattern of settlement would have been an attractive use of the space available.

The combination of evidence from Pergamon, Mastaura and Aphrodisias creates a much more developed picture of the Byzantine town in the Maeander region than is generally allowed. Many of the sites to the 12th century were no doubt very minor places but the example of Mastaura should warn against easy judgements.

Clearly several more places than Ephesos and Smyrna would have been worthy of Nikephoros Melissenos' attention in 1080, but a list, let alone a ranking of these sites, demands too much of the evidence. In addition to Ephesos, Smyrna, Aphrodisias and Mastaura, Miletos, Laodicea, Philadelphia, Chonai, Sardis and Hypaipa should certainly be included.

Miletos is justified by the seal of a dioiketes and the references in the Life of St. Paul of Latros; Laodicea and

78. See supra 87-8, 183-4.
79. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 24-31.
80. ibid. 301.
81. See C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 72-96.

Philadelphia are known to have been active settlements in the 1090s during the Byzantine reconquest; Hypaipa and Sardis were both seats of a dioiketes, and Chonai was a cult centre of St. Michael.[78]

Beyond these the urban network of the Maeander region is utterly obscure and any suggestion would be no more than a guess. However the silence about places such as Tralles, Tripolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, Hierapolis or many others, is not evidence that they were no more than villages.

Nikephoros Bryennios, who although he wrote 50 years after the event was a well informed and experienced general who had campaigned in Asia Minor,[79] considered the surrender of the cities of Asia, Phrygia and Galatia to have been a decisive step in the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks.[80] The surrender of one or two cities would still have left most of the region in Byzantine hands; the abandonment of a widespread network of fortified towns would have had just the disastrous consequences that subsequent events demonstrate.[81]

If, as has been suggested here, Nikephoros Melissenos appealed to a number of towns in the Maeander region in 1080 this is an important insight into provincial society on the eve of the Turkish invasions. It implies that power and authority in the Maeander region centred on the towns, and from that it follows that the results of urban archaeology on classical sites are not

merely providing an economic background to events, but instead from essential and central evidence from the region's social and political structure.