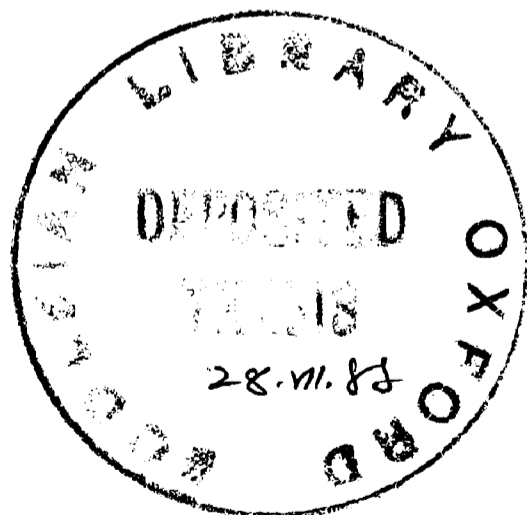


SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE MAEANDER  
REGION OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR ON THE EVE OF THE  
TURKISH INVASION

by

M. Whittow

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



SHORT ABSTRACT

The thesis is a contribution to two of the crucial problems of middle Byzantine history: the social and political structure of the provinces, and the explanation of the rapid fall of Asia Minor to the Turks at the end of the 11th century. These problems are approached through a study of the Maeander region of western Asia Minor.

Part one describes the geography of the region and shows it to have been a naturally fertile area, of great potential importance to the Empire. In the Roman period it had been very prosperous; the subsequent decline cannot be explained by geological or climatic factors.

Part two surveys the archaeological evidence. The ancient city sites remained occupied at a sometimes very low cultural level through the early (7th -8th century) and middle (9th-11th century) Byzantine periods. A general move of settlements to apparently more secure sites with natural defences did not take place until the 12th-13th centuries in the face of the Turks. Up to the end of the 11th century the city sites remained the focus of what was most active in the provincial society of the Maeander region.

Part three looks at the region's elites. The strategoi and

judges who ruled the theme of the Thrakesioi, which makes up the western two-thirds of the region, were outsiders appointed by the Imperial government in Constantinople and only in the region on short term appointments. Several major figures at the Imperial court owned land in the region but only as absentee landlords. When crisis came between 1071 and 1080 these outsiders abandoned the Maeander to the Turks. The church played an important role, but the resident local elite were a comparatively humble group, isolated from Constantinople, and lacking the influence to force the Imperial government into defending their interests.

LONG ABSTRACT

Social and political structures of the Maeander region of western Asia Minor on the eve of the Turkish invasions.

Two of the major problems which any Byzantine historian must consider are first the nature of society in the provinces, and second the reasons for the rapid collapse of Byzantine Asia Minor to the Turks at the end of the 11th century.

The first is important because during the 7th to 11th centuries Byzantium was a large territorial Empire controlling the greater part of Asia Minor as well as extensive areas of the Balkans and southern Italy. Most of the surviving evidence familiar to historians tends to focus on Constantinople and the Imperial court. Indeed the modern use of the adjective byzantine to refer to particularly devious court politics underlines how one aspect of Byzantine life has coloured the image of an entire culture. However dominant Constantinople may have been, the city was only a tiny area of an Empire which stretched from Armenia to the Adriatic; and its population, however privileged, was a minority among the peoples of the provinces. The latter as sources of manpower, revenue, food and materials were vital to the Empire's existence; and the nature of the Byzantine state was shaped by the relationship between the provinces and Constantinople. A history of Byzantium

1. C. CAHEN, 'La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure (seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)', B XVIII (1948) 5-67; IDEM, Pre-Ottoman Turkey London (1968) 1-109.
2. W. C. BRICE, 'The Turkish colonisation of Anatolia', Bulletin of John Ryland's Library XXXVIII (1955) 18-44.
3. G. DAGRON, 'Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'orient byzantin à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> et au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'immigration syrien ', TM VI (1976) 177-216.
4. J. KODER, F. HILD, Hellas und Thessalia Vienna (1976); F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien Vienna (1981); P. SOUSTAL, Nikopolis und Kephallenia Vienna (1981); K. BELKE, Galtien und Lykaonien Vienna (1984).
5. A. BRYER, D. WINFIELD, The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos 2 vols., Washington (1985).

written wholly from a Constantinopolitan perspective is bound to be missing an essential part of its evidence. An understanding of the social and political structures of the provinces, and how they related to Constantinople and each other is a necessary goal of Byzantine studies.

The second problem leads from this in that the fall of Byzantine Asia Minor in the 1070s and early 1080s cannot simply be attributed to a single battle at Manzikert in 1071, the effete-ness of the Byzantines, the feebleness of Michael VII, or even the universal superiority of mounted nomads over a settled population. Important studies, including those by C. Cahen,[1] W. Brice[2] and G. Dagron,[3] have clarified some of the issues, but an essential aspect must have lain in the structure of Byzantine provincial society. The fall of Byzantine Asia Minor was in large part a failure to defend itself, and such a failure is likely to have had its roots in how society throughout Anatolia and the surrounding mountains and coastal plains was organized.

Research has already moved from a pre-occupation with Constantinopolitan politics, and several distinguished provincial studies have appeared. In particular one should note the work of members of the Austrian academy on the Tabula Imperii Byzantini, of which so far four volumes have appeared,[4] and A. Bryer and D. Winfield's major study of the Pontos.[5] In both cases, however, these are archaeological, monumental and topographic

studies, and the social and political dimension has still to be provided. When that is done the events of the 1070s, as indeed of many other periods of Byzantine history, will become much more intelligible.

The Maeander region of western Asia Minor, defined as the valleys of the Maeander, Cayster and Hermos rivers with their surrounding mountains, is a particularly suitable area for exploring these issues. First, the region has a geographical coherence which marks it apart from its neighbours, but nonetheless it is sufficiently large to raise the topic above that of a narrow local history. Second, because about two-thirds of the region was recovered from the Turks in the late 1090s and for the most part remained in Byzantine hands until the beginning of the 14th century, a comparatively large body of evidence has survived. This includes Saints' Lives (of which those of St. Paul of Latros, St. Luke the stylite, St. Nikephoros of Miletos and St. Lazaros of mount Galesion stand out as of major importance), documentary materials from mount Latros, the Xerochoraphion, the Nea Moni on Chios and the monastery of St. John on Patmos, and the inscriptions on lead seals, in addition to the more familiar historical sources which contain a substantial number of references to events in the region.

The Maeander region is also well suited to such a study because from the 17th century onwards it was relatively open to western travellers and scholars, attracted first by trade and the

religious significance of the seven churches of Asia, and then increasingly by the fame of the region's Greek and Roman sites. The travellers' accounts are a valuable source for the region before roads, railways and drainage projects transformed the environment, but their antiquarian researches were also the impetus for the archaeological excavations which began at several sites in the late 19th and early 20th century. Today there are excavations in progress at Ephesos, Miletos, Sardis, Hierapolis, Didyma, Iasos and Aphrodisias. Several other sites received partial exploration in the past.

These projects were all begun by classical archaeologists and the remains of the Byzantine period have been treated with comparative neglect. Yet there has been more archaeology carried out in the Maeander region than in any other province of the Byzantine Empire. Even if the results to a Byzantine historian are somewhat disappointing, it is preferable to the near absence of excavation which is the familiar problem elsewhere.

In using this material I have tried to build on the seminal work of C. Foss. Even where I disagree or contradict his conclusions he deserves the credit for raising many of the issues and pointing to the evidence in the first place. His publications, in particular those on Sardis and Ephesos, marked a major step forward in Byzantine studies.

Part one of the thesis defines the Maeander region and

describes its geography. It also notes the climatic and geographical division between the lower Maeander region consisting of the valleys and adjacent hills of the lower Maeander itself, the Lykos, the Cayster and the Hermos, and the upper Maeander region, an intermediate zone between the coastal plains and the high Anatolian plateau, drained by the Maeander river system and separated from Anatolia to the east by the mountains of the Ak dağ and the Burgaz dağ. Both parts of the region contain extensive areas of fertile agricultural land, but in the lower Maeander this is an outstanding feature making it one of the major agricultural areas of the eastern Mediterranean. As a result of the Maeander region was of great potential importance to any state that controlled it.

In the Roman period the Maeander supported a thriving urban culture which made the region one of the wealthiest and most developed parts of the Roman world. Since the 18th century the region has enjoyed similar prosperity, but during the Byzantine period the Maeander seems to have been poorer and of less importance. Since the Roman prosperity lasted until the end of the 6th century, the move of the Empire's capital from Rome to Constantinople offers no explanation. Similarly geological and climatic change are not a solution. Heavy erosion and siltation have always been a feature of region's great river valleys, and the process is still evident today. The climate may have altered in the late Roman/early Byzantine period, but in so far as the topic is accessible to a historian rather than a climatologist,

the changes seem not to have been on a scale to have major economic consequences. It follows that the rise and fall of the region's prosperity can only be explained in terms of social and economic developments. It also follows that archaeological evidence for the region's general level of prosperity will have a close relationship with other evidence for social and political structures. Both are necessary for an understanding of the region during the Byzantine period.

Part two of the thesis surveys the archaeological material. No written sources can replace this essential evidence. In particular Constantine Porphyrogenitos' De Thematibus and the list of the twenty cities of Asia that it contains is seriously misleading, and can serve as a warning of the some of the problems of Byzantine quellenkritik.

However the archaeology has strict limitations. There has been no rural archaeology or survey work; and excavation has with two small exceptions, at Sebaste in the Banaz ovası, and the Peçin kale south of Milâs, been confined to the sites of classical cities and temples. Until comparatively recently the medieval evidence tended to be destroyed without record. Even where it has been recorded the techniques used have been those appropriate to fairly substantial stone buildings. Since even until recently the common building materials were mud bricks sometimes with a wooden frame, and mud and wood rooves, it is quite probable that a great deal of Byzantine settlement has been

missed. The problem is compounded by the ignorance of Byzantine pottery types. Even the most obvious can only be dated within broad margins.

With these problems in mind I have reassessed the evidence available to Foss, looked at the results of recent excavations and sites that he did not examine, and spent several months over four years looking at cities, castles and other Byzantine settlement sites throughout the Maeander region. My conclusions would suggest a much more positive interpretation than Foss' published work would allow.

His rather gloomy picture is given particular force by the example of Sardis where it appeared that the city was abandoned in favour of a hill-top refuge castle. In fact it is clear that the castle was a major Imperial fortress built in the late 7th century at the height of Byzantium's struggle for survival against the Arabs. The evidence for Sardis itself suggests that it may have struggled on at a low cultural level still on its ancient site. In any case the acropolis castle is not an example of a changing settlement pattern in the early Byzantine period.

This pattern is repeated over the lower Maeander region as a whole. The ancient city sites seem to have remained the principal centres of population up to at least the end of the 11th century. There is no evidence for a move to more secure sites, nor for the establishment of a network of mountain refuges

where a dispersed population could find safety. On a remarkable number of ancient city sites there is evidence for occupation through the Byzantine period.

In the upper Maeander region there has been almost no excavation but several city sites may have been occupied. More important, it can be shown that whatever the population live, they had retreated to hill-top fortresses and they continued to farm the upper Maeander plains.

We are still in the early stages of understanding the Byzantine town, but the evidence surveyed here, showing the continuity of ancient city sites as central places through the Byzantine period up to the Turkish invasions, suggests they should be accorded an important role in provincial society. Compared to Roman cities or even to contemporary Constantinople they would have appeared underdeveloped. The physical remains are in general unimpressive, but that is a feature of many European towns at this period, and would be quite consistent with the Maeander towns as the seat of important members of the local elite.

Part three considers the role of the ecclesiastical and lay elites in the Maeander region. The role of the secular church, which is often underestimated, is discussed, but the main interest of this section concerns the lay elites.

The lower Maeander region fell entirely within the theme of the Thrakesioi, and made up the southern two-thirds of the theme, including those areas that were most fertile and populous. The upper Maeander was part of the theme of the Anatolikoi of which it formed about one fifth.

Up until at least the end of the 10th century the lower Maeander as part of the Thrakesioi was ruled by strategoi, the military governors of the themes. Recent work has revealed a more developed civil administration than has sometimes been described, but in the middle Byzantine period the strategos was nonetheless the overall governor of the region in matters of civil as well as military. From the late 10th century onwards his role was largely taken over by the judge who provided the theme with a civil governor. Neither of these positions was filled by local men. They were outsiders appointed in Constantinople as part of that political world centred on the Imperial court. They were in the theme for a few years before moving on to another province or taking up a post in the capital.

Others who were major political figures at the Imperial court owned land in the Maeander region, but they did not amount to a provincial aristocracy. There is no evidence to show any important political figure building up an interest in the lower Maeander which would then support his political position in Constantinople - indeed there is a significant body of evidence to the contrary. Land could be valuable in the Maeander but

there is nothing to suggest it was anything other than an economic asset and an appropriate investment for large court salaries.

The upper Maeander came under the authority of the strategoi and judges of the Anatolikoi who are outside the scope of this thesis. A number of important political families, prominent in the second half of the 11th century, such as that of Botaneiates, seem to have had their roots there. Yet in fact an analysis of the events which led to the loss of the region to the Turks suggests this was of little consequence in either Constantinopolitan or provincial politics.

In the 1070s Nikephoros Botaneiates was in the upper Maeander because he had been appointed doux of the Anatolikoi and the hostility of the Doukai made it convenient to stay in the theme. Eventually as the pressures of being cut off in the provinces grew, and the Doukas regime in Constantinople became weaker, Botaneiates left the region to seize the Imperial throne. It is a striking feature of these years that he had no interest in defending the upper Maeander against the Turks or in setting himself up as a semi-independent provincial ruler. In turn the region seems to have had little interest in him. Very few accompanied Botaneiates in his attempt on the Imperial throne, and were it not for Turkish support the expedition would have lacked all military credibility. The actions of Botaneiates suggest that in the upper Maeander as elsewhere in the region

there were wealthy absentee land-owners with no vital interests involved.

By contrast the resident local elite as revealed principally through Saints' Lives were a humble group of small land-owners, lesser officials, soldiers, ship-owners and churchmen. Within local society they could be influential but in comparison to the Constantinopolitan officials and generals who came to the region from outside they were poor and powerless.

This leads to two major conclusions. Firstly, that the Maeander region lacked a provincial aristocracy who could bind together the interests of the province and of Constantinople. (The church could not provide an alternative). This is an important factor which shaped provincial society and made it less able to unite in self-defence against the Turks. Secondly, the known Byzantine towns in the region were rather undeveloped places, but that should not indicate a lack of importance. It would be quite consistent with the status of wealth of that local elite who were resident in the Maeander and dominated its provincial society.

## CONTENTS

	page
Abbreviations .....	Xviii

## PART ONE

Geography

## Chapter

I	The Maeander Region .....	2
	Map: Geographical Outline .....	facing

## PART TWO

Cities and Settlement

II	Written Sources and Archaeological Evidence .....	26
III	Continuity or Flight I: The Example of Sardis .....	44
IV	Continuity of Flight II: A Regional Survey of the Lower Maeander .....	72
V	Continuity or Flight III: The Upper Maeander .....	193
VI	The Middle Byzantine Town in the Maeander Region .....	245
	Map: Cities and the Maeander . facing	

## PART THREE

Elites and Society

VII	Themes and Boundaries .....	267
VIII	The Official Hierarchy: strategoi and Judges (7th-11th centuries) .....	290
IX	Unofficial Rulers? - Landed Magnates and Local Power .....	362
X	Magnates in the Upper Maeander Region .....	426

/contd.

Chapter		page
XI	The Secular Church in the Maeander Region .....	446
XII	The Local Elite: a Conclusion .....	477
	Map: The Maeander Region and Constantinople ..... facing	
	Bibliography .....	496

A Note on Transcription

I have not aimed at absolute consistency but rather at what seemed natural to me. I feel the -us ending to be unnecessarily latinate - hence Ephesos and Lazaros; and in general I prefer a transcription close to the Greek, hence Botaneiates, Nikephoros and Skylitzes. However in some cases this leads only to a pedantic rejection of familiar forms, hence I have kept Comnenos, Laodicea, Cayster and Maeander. If the modern Turkish name of a town is close to the original and on the same site I have used that, hence Ankara and Kutahya.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	Archäologischer Anzeiger
<u>AB</u>	Analecta Bollandiana
<u>AS</u>	Acta Sanctorum/Anatolian Studies
<u>B</u>	Byzantion
<u>BAR</u>	British Archaeological Reports
<u>BASOR</u>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<u>BCH</u>	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique
<u>Byz.Slav.</u>	Byzantinoslavia
<u>BZ</u>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
DO	Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection
<u>DOP</u>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
<u>EEBS</u>	Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon
<u>EHR</u>	English Historical Review
EI	Encyclopedia of Islam
<u>EO</u>	Echos d'Orient
<u>EP</u>	Eggrapha Patmou
F	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Whittemore Seal Collection
<u>GRBS</u>	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
<u>HUS</u>	Harvard Ukrainian Studies
<u>IRAİK</u>	Izvestija Russkago Arkheologiceskago Instituta v Konstantinople
<u>Ist.Mitt.</u>	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
<u>JHS</u>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<u>JÖB</u>	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
<u>JRS</u>	Journal of Roman Studies
LAZAROS	'Vita S. Lazari'

<u>MAMA</u>	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
<u>MGH</u>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MM	Miklosich, F., MÜLLER, J.
NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS	'Vita S. Nicephori'
<u>OCP</u>	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
PAUL OF LATROS	'Vita S. Pauli Iunioris'
<u>PG</u>	Patrologia Graeca
<u>PP</u>	Past and Present
<u>RE</u>	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertums - Wissenschaft
<u>REB</u>	Revue des études byzantines
<u>REG</u>	Revue des études grecques
<u>RN</u>	Revue Numismatique
<u>TAD</u>	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
<u>TM</u>	Travaux et Memoires
<u>VV</u>	Vizantiiskii Vremmenik
<u>ZRVI</u>	Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta

PART ONE

GEOGRAPHY

1. G. WHEELER, A Journey into Greece London (1682) 237-9.
2. R. BRINKMANN, 'The Geology of Western Anatolia', in Geology and History of Turkey ed. A. S. Campbell, The Petroleum Exploration Society of Libya, 13th Annual Field Conference, Tripoli (1971) 171-90, esp. 171-2; J. H. BROWN et al., 'Outline of the Geology of the Western Taurids' ibid 225-56, esp. 227; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey (1942-3) I, 133-41.
3. c.f. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 133-5.

CHAPTER ONE      The Maeander Region.

(i) The Geographical Region

In October 1675 George Wheler, later of Lincoln College and Dr. Jacob Spon of Lyon proceeded overland from Constantinople to Smyrna. From Bursa they had travelled south over the hills to Akhisar. As they crossed the Hermos and still more as they descended toward Smyrna itself they were aware that they had come into a different region of Asia Minor: more fertile, more prosperous and full of the remains of classical antiquity.[1]

They had arrived in the region known to modern geologists as the Menderes Massif, an enormous gneiss core still visible in the mountains but now broken by the two great valleys of the Hermos and Maeander rivers which cut down from the edge of the Anatolian plateau and run east-west into the Aegean sea.[2] Of only slightly less importance is the valley of the Cayster river which rises in the mountains within the core. Together these rivers have created three parallel alluvial plains reaching nearly 160 kilometres inland which are the region's outstanding physical feature. Separated by parallel mountain ranges, the arrangement can suggest the comparison with an outstretched hand placed palm down so that the back would represent the central Anatolian plateau and the fingers the mountain ranges extending westward to the sea.[3]

Within thirty miles of the Aegean coast tracts of plain are a mere 10 to 30 metres above sea level, and have only become dry land in historical times. The valleys rise slowly toward the

The Roman and Late Roman port of Ephesos seems to have been more active than Miletos but otherwise it followed a similar pattern and the middle ages saw the gradual rise of harbours lying to the south of the Cayster's encroaching silt. Of these the most important were Phygella, later known as Scala Nova and now the modern resort of Kusadasi, and Anafia, modern Kadi Kalesi. C. Foss Ephesus after Antiquity Cambridge (1979) 3, 58, 94, 106, 111, 119, 121-25, 149, 150 n. 31, 185-7. Phygella in particular was a major port up to the 19th century. It was only a combination of Ottoman prohibition and the development of a railway system focused on Smyrna which prevented the former becoming the region's main port and trading centre, F. W. HASLUCK, 'The Rise of Modern Smyrna' The Annual of the British School at Athens XXIII (1918-19) 146-7; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East and some other countries London (1745) II, 38, 44-5. Smyrna itself was unaffected by the threat of serious silting until the 19th century when the problem was solved by diverting the course of the Hermos, but set at the end of a long gulf it is not an ideal port for sailing vessels and several other harbours both north and south of the gulf were active in the medieval and modern periods, F. W. HASLUCK, op.cit. 138-47; H. AHRWEILER, Smyrne 48-55; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia London (1842) II, 4-5, 11, is simply one of a large number of travellers who have recorded the difficulties of getting in and out of the gulf of Smyrna before the age of the steamship.

4. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 199-211, 400-18; M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450 Cambridge (1985) 26-30.
5. W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor Royal Geographic Society Supplementary Papers IV, London (1890) 27f, 43f, 51f; D. FRENCH, 'The Roman Road - System of Asia Minor' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt VII/2 (1980) 698-729; many western travellers from the 17th century onwards used these routes but see in particular, J -B. TAVERNIER, The six voyages ... through Turkey into Persia trans. J. Phillips, London (1678) 36-8; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A visit to the Seven Churches of Asia London (1828) 205, 256; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure faite par ordre du Gouvernement Francais, de 1833 a 1837 3 vols. Paris (1839-49) III, 43.
6. J. ROUGE, Recherches sur l'Organisation du Commerce Maritime en Mediterranee sous l'Empire Romain Paris (1966) 85-93, 103, 129. The main ports of the region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods were Miletos, Ephesos and Smyrna, earlier rivals such as Priene and Myos having become silted up, D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor Princeton (1950) 73-7, infra. Already in the Roman period Miletos seems to have lost something of its earlier importance and was suffering problems from the Maeander silt, but dredging appears to have kept the harbour open and Miletos is attested as a port until the 15th century, D. MAGIE, op.cit. 117, 167, 882-3; L. ROBERT, 'Les Inscriptions' in Laodicee du Lycos, Le Nymphée ed. J. des Gagniers et al., Paris (1969) 346-51; A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palaestran Milet I/9, Berlin (1928) 169-171, nr 343; K. KRETSCHMER, Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters Berlin (1909) 395-6, 653; W. HEYD, Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-age Leipzig (1885-6) I, 544-6. Note also the probably 16th century nautical graffiti found on the walls of a Turkish bath dated between 1404 and 1410 in Miletos, K. WULZINGER, P. WITTEK, F. SARRE, Das Islamische Milet Milet III/4, Berlin (1935) 52-53; G. KLEINER, Die Ruinen von Milet Berlin (1968) 150. During the middle ages Miletos, known as Palatia, was supplemented and eventually replaced by a number of other harbours closer to the existing shoreline. One of these was Kepoi, or Chipo/Gippo as it appears in the portulans, which lay south of the mouth of the Maeander and was the intended place of embarkation for Michael III's abortive Cretan expedition of 866, A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 259-60; W. TOMASCHEK, Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe, CXXIV, Vienna (1891) 36. Other harbours in the same area are recorded in two 13th century Imperial prostaxeis which granted immunity from customs dues to the monastery of St. John on Patmos, EP I, 225-6, 232. The history and even location of these harbours remains obscure. A re-examination of the written sources in the light of a geographical and archaeological survey could do much to clarify this problem.

east, but a hundred miles inland in the Lykos valley, which forms the eastern extension of the lower Maeander valley, the plain is still less than 170 metres above sea level. The effect of this physical feature has been to bring the mediterranean climate of hot dry summers and mild reasonably wet winters much further inland at this point than anywhere else in either Asia Minor or Greece. Around Smyrna the summer temperature averages over 30 C and there is minimal rainfall; in winter the temperature is very rarely below 7.5 C and the average is between 50 and 75 cms. of rain. At Denizli or Alasehir, near the eastern ends of the lower Maeander and Hermos valleys respectively, the temperature range and rainfall is very similar. By contrast, in southern Cappadocia, rather closer to the Mediterranean than Denizli or Alasehir but on the central Anatolian plateau and separated from the sea by the Taurus mountains, after the same hot dry summer comes a very cold winter with daytime temperatures averaging between -1 C and -7 C and over thirty snow days a year.[4]

The valleys also have the effect of channelling the route system along an east-west axis. The region has as a result become the focus of the historically most important routes from the central plateau to the Aegean coast.[5] From there easy sea routes link the valleys to the wider world. The silt bearing rivers which have created the great alluvial plains by their nature make for impermanent harbours regularly giving way to others as their ports are slowly turned into dry land, yet at a given moment the region's coast has never been short of adequate harbours.[6]

The mountains tend to reinforce the east-west axis, forming an effective but not impenetrable barrier throughout most of the

7. In both these areas and indeed all over the Mediterranean porous limestone is a common bed-rock. It weathers slowly and thus has a thin initial soil cover and a very slow rate of replacement, Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 136, 141; Admiralty Handbook: Greece I, 9f. ; C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe London (1979) 159, 161.
8. J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Parts of Europe, Asia Minor, The Islands of the Archipelago London (1759) I, 146-7. Edmund Chishull there twenty years earlier in 1699 had actually gone one better: "Mount Tmolus", he wrote, "may deservedly be termed the physic garden of the universe", E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey and back to England London (1744) 17-18. This is also where the 14th century Aydinoglu Emirs withdrew to escape the summer heats, The Travels of Ibn Battuta trans. H. A. R. Gibb, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge (1962) II, 439-42; infra 92 .
9. In August the contrast between the hot dry plain and the vegetation of a well-watered mountain village can be quite dramatic. Yesil, green, is in any case a term of praise commonly applied to cities or villages. Tire, for example, in the south west of the Cayster valley, calls itself Yesil Tire. To the north east on the other side of the Cayster valley in the mountains above Birgi is the village of Yilanli Koyu. There is an abundant source of water even in the height of summer and in August 1982 the fruit and vegetable crops and the general prospect fully justified the villagers' enthusiasm for their green village.

region. Major gaps allowing easy north-south movement do however exist. To the west a route leads over the pass through the hills between Manisa and Smyrna thence south via the Torbali plain, the plain of Ephesos on the Cayster and over an easy pass into the Lower Maeander near Söke. To the east between Alaşehir and Tripolis the valleys of the Hermos and the Maeander turn toward each other leaving a relatively easy pass over the dividing hills just beyond the head waters of the Cayster.

Together with the long alluvial valleys, the mountains derived from the gneiss core are one of the key geographical features of the region which marks it off from the areas beyond. The rock is non-porous and more easily weathered and hence preserves a more stable top soil than is common in Asia Minor or Greece: an advantage for the vegetation even in the face of heavy grazing.[7] More important however are the small basins of alluvium found throughout these mountains. An example is the small plain and lake found high on the Boz dag, half way between Sardis and Birgi. Its lush fertility moved Jan Van Egmont, there in the early 1720s, to write, "This chain of mountains may be justly termed the kitchen garden of lesser Asia; and I must own to have been so delighted with the rich variety it afforded of the vegetable kingdom, that I determined, if ever I embraced the hermetical life, to make this the place of my retirement." [8]

Van Egmont could have found many such potential hermitages within the Tmolos and Messogis ranges, many occupied today by villages proud of their greenness.[9] North and south of the gneiss region however the landscape rapidly changes. To the north of the Hermos the plain continues but the underlying rock is now

10.

Admiralty Handbook: Turkey 136-41; J. H. BRUNN, 'Outline of the Geology of the Western Taurids' in Geology and History of Turkey ed. A. S. Campbell, 225-56; A. PHILIPPSON, 'Reisen und Forschungen in Westlichen Kleinasien', Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen Ergangungs heft, CLXXXIII (1915) 27-40; L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie Paris (1983) 1-25 ; IDEM, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure' BCH CII (1978) 481f; infra 130 .

limestone and the mountains are severely eroded bleak waterless places with a vegetation of stunted thornbushes offering sustenance only to the goats who further the general desolation. These mountains are, by contrast to the Tmolos and Messogis ranges, very thinly populated and still difficult of access in the 1980s. The gneiss massif extends south of the Maeander forming mountains with similar basins of alluvium to the northern ranges. The breadth of these southern ranges however makes them relatively inaccessible and has discouraged settlement so that the present population is small. Beyond the massif is an older belt of hard volcanic schists and marbles which curves toward the north west reaching the valley of the Maeander in the Beş Parmak dağ (Byzantine Mount Latros) which overlooks the Bafa Gölü. This belt of rocks forms the southern watershed of the Maeander river system. The hills contain small areas of fertile soil but they are often so isolated that it has been left to desert dwellers such as the monks of Mount Latros to make use of them. Otherwise their major use is for grazing. Beyond this belt in central Caria the underlying rock turns to limestone and granite. The hills are again unproductive and the plains basins of alluvium, isolated by mountains from each other and from the sea, are small in comparison with the great alluvial valleys to the north.[10]

Thus the geography and geology of this part of western Asia Minor make it possible to define a region distinct from the areas to the north and south. Similarly to the east there is a distinct change in landscape, geology and climate which marks the onset of a different region. Travelling east from the Hermos or lower Maeander valley one at once climbs a mountainous ridge rising to about 1400 metres before descending to one of two plains. From

- 11 See Turkiye, Harta Genel Mudurlugu, 1:200,000 (1940-50) F-III, F-IV; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, ; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics I, 1-6, 122-3, 217-20, 235-7; II, 569-73; L. ROBERT, 'Philologie et Geographie' Anatolia IV (1959) = Op.Min. III, 1425-37.
12. F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A visit to the Seven Churches of Asia London (1828) 236, 248-51; W. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 123: the cultivated basins of red soil that he describes are characteristic of eroded limestone land formations throughout the mediterranean area, C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe 281-3.

the Hermos one reaches the more northerly Banaz ovası at 950 metres above sea level; from the Maeander one comes to the Baklan ovası lying to the south separated by a range of low hills at about 850 metres above sea level. Further south still, but at the same altitude, is the narrow plain which forms the eastern extension of the Lykos valley and is mostly filled by the bitter waters of the Acı Tüz Gölü.[11]

The underlying rock of these plains is limestone with various granite outcrops, but particularly in the Baklan ovası and around the Acı Tüz Gölü the base rock is well covered by alluvial soils. For the Baklan ovası this is again due to the Maeander river which rises above Dinar and flows through the plain before cutting an enormous gorge down to the lower valley to the west. Due to the river the soil is fertile and well watered and in some ways it can help to think of this plain as a version of the lower alluvial valley raised by some 700 metres. The Banaz ovası to the north is more evidently different. The landscape is harsher with the limestone closer to the surface and a greater preponderance of granite creating in parts a boulder and thorn covered moorland. The extra hundred metres above sea level is also significant since it encourages a steeper run on the rivers from the surrounding mountains so that especially to the south and west of the plain great canyons have developed. However there are still sufficient basins of alluvium to support a sizeable modern agricultural population.[12]

The climate of these plains is also distinguishable from that of the region to the west. The plains share the same hot dry summer with the mediterranean zone but it is followed by a colder

13. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 199-211, 400-18; see also M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 26-32.
14. I owe this information to the kindness and hospitality of B. Mehmet Kasik and other staff at the Ulubey Lisesi.
15. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 200, 210-11, 400-18.

and drier winter. At Uşak on the northern edge of the Banaz ovası the recorded rainfall in winter only averages 43 cms. and the average winter temperature is a mere three degrees above freezing point. Heavy and prolonged frosts are common.[13] The point is brought home by the small rooms and huge stoves of the modern Turkish houses in these plains which contrast with arrangements further to the west. Indeed a school teacher at Ulubey, 32 kilometres south of Uşak, complained that one of the principle disadvantages of his present post was the inevitably high heating bills.[14]

Yet were he to be moved further east on to the high central plateau of Anatolia his bills would be considerably worse, which points to an important further distinction. These plains form an intermediate zone between the mediterranean world of the great alluvial valleys and the Anatolian plateau to the east. Travelling east across these plains one comes to a further range of mountains, the Burgaz dağ̄ facing the Banaz ovası and the Ak dağ̄ facing the two plains to the south. This is the true mountain rim of the central plateau, rising to just short of 2,500 metres before descending to the plateau itself which is consistently over 1,000 metres above sea level. Just as the example of southern Cappadocia quoted above has shown, east of the Ak dağ̄ the climate becomes progressively more extreme and closer to that of the central Asian steppes with very hot dry summers alternating with bitterly cold winters.[15]

These plains and the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü thus make up a definite region distinct from the alluvial plains and gneiss mountains of the Menderes massif but also distinct from the

16. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 198-9; L. ROBERT, 'Les Kordakia de Nicee, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies; sur les lettres d'un metropolitte de Phrygie au Xe siecle; philologie et realites' Journal des Savants (1961) 115-62; L. ROBERT, A Travers l'Asie Mineure Bibliothque des ecoles Francaises d'Athens et de Rome CCXXXIX (1980) 155, 276, 286, 348.  
Tezek: "As for its calorific qualities, one need only remember the old Turkish story, the punch-line of which begins: Tezek boktur ...", M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 140 n. 223.
17. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics II, 396-7, 569-73; see n. 5 supra.
18. e.g. M. F. HENDY 'Byzantium, 1081-1204: An Economic Reappraisal', TRHS XX (1970) 33-4; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor passim; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4, Vienna (1984) passim.

central plateau beyond. By comparison to the plateau in terms of landscape, geology and climate, this is an intermediate zone, and in the context of the geography of Asia Minor as a whole there are reasons to regard the distinction from the region to the west as less significant than the major break which occurs on reaching the edge of the central plateau.

In human and agricultural terms the region is joined to the alluvial valleys rather than to the plateau, as an area of wheat and fruit growing and potential winter grazing. Beyond the Ak dag the shorter growing season and the combination of hot dry summers and harsh winters seems to have encouraged the cultivation of barley rather than wheat. Trees become even scarcer and houses have traditionally been heated on dried dung (tezek) for want of another fuel.[16]

Similarly the river and route system tend to encourage links with the region to the west in contrast to the mountain barriers which obstruct travel further east. The region is crossed by two important routes from the coast to the central plateau - one leading from the Hermos via Uşak to Amorion, the other from the Maeander via Lykos to Dinar and beyond - but in both cases the routes have tended to bind the plains to the coast rather than to the plateau.[17]

Historians and geographers have tended either to see western Asia Minor as a whole or to divide it along the lines established by classical geography.[18] Neither approach is entirely satisfactory. Both tend to obscure the significance of geographical differences. The one because on that large scale the sole distinction that stands out is that with the central plateau;

19.

F. ROUGON, Smyrne, Situation commerciale et economique  
Paris (1892) 69-70 et passim.

the other because the classical division of Ionia, Lydia, Caria and Phrygia have no geographical coherence. A notable exception is the report on the commercial and economic position of Smyrna published by F. Rougon in 1892. Rougon realised that to understand the city's wealth one had to look at the hinterland from which it drew its trade, and that that area included not only the alluvial plains and the green gneiss mountains but the higher plains of the Banaz and Baklan ovası as well. Only beyond the Ak dağ did trade and agriculture look to Antalya not to Smyrna for its outlet.[19]

The area of alluvial plains and adjacent mountains lying west of the central plateau and enjoying a mediterranean or semi-mediterranean climate can therefore be justifiably seen as a coherent geographical region and it will be regarded as such in this study. Its parts, particularly the upper plains and the lower valleys are distinct but they share more in common with each other than they do with the regions beyond.

The main physical features of the region which tie it together and give it form are the three great alluvial valleys of the Hermos, the Cayster and the Maeander. Of these by far the most important is the Maeander. Not only is it the largest and longest of the valleys which break the Menderes massif, but unlike the Hermos or the Cayster, its main channel rises on the edge of the central plateau and through its tributaries the Maeander drains the entire Banaz and Baklan ovası. Even the valley of the Acı Tuz Gölü is via the Lykos a part of the Maeander river system.

The Maeander has been one of the principle factors in creating the landscape and climatic conditions which distinguish

20.

Admiralty Handbook: Turkey I, 136; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern London (1797) 207; R. CHANDLER, Travels (1817) 119: "we found the surface [of Mount Galesion] bare, except for a few pines on one summit, beneath which some miserable cattle were standing, seemingly pinched with hunger, and ruminating on the wretchedness of their lot." In July 1982 the difficulties of exploring Galesion moved me to describe it in a note as "a gigantic heap of white breeze-block rubble held together by thorn bushes". However the particularly denuded modern state of this range is only of 19th century origin. In the 18th century the sides of the mountain were still covered with pine trees, R. CHANDLER, op.cit. 127. These seem to have been lost to increased felling in the second half of the 19th century, C. DE SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne Vienna (1873) 23, see n. 48 infra.

the upper plains from the central plateau and it is pre-eminent among the lower valleys. It therefore seems appropriate to call this region the Maeander region, and bearing in mind the distinction between the areas above and below the great gorge bringing the river from the high plains to the lower valley, it is natural to distinguish between the Upper Maeander region, consisting of the Banaz and Baklan ovası and the valley of the Acı Tüz Gölü, and the Lower Maeander, consisting of the alluvial valley and the adjacent mountains.

The definition of the Upper Maeander makes easy geographical sense looking at the map and requires no further comment. That of the Lower Maeander region is less geographically determined and decisions as to its exact boundaries have to be made on historical grounds. For example if one includes the belt of mountains on the south side of the Maeander as distinct from the mountains of central Caria, taking as the approximate limit the southern watershed of the Maeander tributaries, then it is difficult to exclude the plain of Milas lying south of the Maeander beyond the watershed but next to Mount Latros and an integral part of that mountain's economy. Similarly the great limestone massif of Mount Galesion between Smyrna and Ephesos is something of an intruder into the region, being in geological terms an outlier of the bleak limestone ranges to the north.[20] In both these cases historical convenience and personal knowledge have led to their inclusion. However the Aegean islands close to the coast, such as Samos and Chios, are by their nature part of a different geographical and historical zone and can be disregarded.

21. R. ROUGON, Smyrne 69-134; C. DE SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne 10-12, 16-23; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey II, 131-44. c.f. C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe 192-226.
22. Admiralty Handbook
23. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey II, 135-7; O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique Paris (1877-85) 11-12; XENOPHON, Hellenica III, ii, 17; C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe 357.
24. The modern settlement pattern in all three valleys is particularly evident at dusk, when from any mountain side, several hundred feet above the plain, there is a ribbon of lights visible along the terrace but a general darkness over the mountains and the plain itself, save in the immediate vicinity of a town.

(ii) Agricultural Wealth and Potential.

As a whole the Maeander region is well suited to producing the staple crops of the Mediterranean agricultural economy: wheat, olives, vines, fruit and vegetables. It can also provide substantial grazing for sheep, goats and even cattle.[21]

The principal factor in this fertility is the extent of the alluvial plains whose size places the Maeander region in the same category as other prosperous alluvial areas of the Mediterranean such as the Po valley in northern Italy or the Guadalquivir in Spain.[22] In the valleys the most recently deposited alluvium is not the best arable land. Near to the sea the water table is still saline, but even inland the recent silt produces a sticky soil that presents considerable difficulties to the plough. The older alluvium, however, although now largely given over to cotton, is excellent wheat growing land.[23]

Traditionally more important than the younger soils in the valley bottom have been the older alluvial deposits which form a raised terrace running the whole length of the lower valleys. Many of the valley's settlement sites are clustered here, set above the flood plain and beneath the steeper slopes of the mountains behind. Where possible the sites avoid taking up valuable agricultural land and choose rocky outcrops which also offer defensive advantages.[24] Otherwise the lighter and better drained soils of these terraces are densely cultivated with fruit and vegetables close to the villages and towns, wheat further out and olives and vines, either grown in mixed cultivation with the wheat or on the higher poorer soil. The densely cultivated small fields indicate the fertility of the soil and especially in spring

25. L. ROBERT, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure' BCH CI (1977) 68-73; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia 61, 67, 72; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor London (1834) II, 251-6; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 529-33.
26. C. D. SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne 23; R. MEIGGS, Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean world Oxford (1982) 371f, 392-4.
27. Admiralty Handbook: Turkey II, 143f.
28. Supra n. 12. The area around Cal, for example, is well known today for the production of cherry wine.
29. J. C. DEWDNEY, Turkey London (1971) 162-7; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey 133-41; F. ROUGON, Smyrne 71.

or early summer the traveller has the impression of passing through a continuous market garden.[25]

This carefully cultivated environment is repeated on the alluvial basins high in the mountains, but even where the slopes cannot support olives or vines they are still important for grazing, or timber where that has survived the onslaught of the goat.[26]

In the Upper Maeander the climate rules out the profitable cultivation of olives,[27] but otherwise most of the area is an extension of the same agricultural pattern. In the Baklan ovası, the area around Dinar, much of the Banaz ovası - although particularly in the north and east - and the Çal plain set in the hills where the Maeander cuts down to the lower valley, there are important areas of good arable land. Some indeed rival the terraces of the lower valleys in their density of cultivation. On the west side of the Banaz ovası where the limestone comes closer to the surface the soil is poorer. Pockets of good land support villages and even small towns but naturally the principal landuse in the area is rough grazing and in the last fifty years, forestry.[28]

In terms of the Mediterranean and even more so in terms of Asia Minor this adds up to a considerable agricultural potential. It is therefore not surprising that in modern Turkey the Maeander is one of the most prosperous and developed agricultural regions.[29] The same applied to the Roman world: to quote only one piece of a huge body of evidence, the anonymous Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium of the mid-4th century, said of this region, "et sic est maxima Asia quae eminet in omnem provinciam et

30. Expositio Totius Mundi et Gertium ed. J. Rouge. Sources Chretiennes CXXIV, Paris (1966) 182; for a survey of some of the evidence see T. R. S. BROUGHTON, 'Roman Asia Minor' in An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome ed. T. Frank, IV, Baltimore (1938) 599-902.
31. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey London (1968) 72-84; infra 245f.
32. e.g. G. WHELER, A Journey into Greece 255, 269; T. SMITH Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks London (1678) 205-6: Smith actually attributes it to "the unpardonable carelessness of the Greeks".

habet civitates innumerabiles."[30]

By contrast in the Byzantine period, as the following chapter will show, there is no doubt that the region underwent an absolute economic decline. Moreover there is no evidence to suggest that maxima Asia played any pre-eminent role in the 7th to 11th century Empire, even relative to other Byzantine provinces. By the later 11th century the economic trend had turned for the better, but in some ways the regions's rapid loss to the Turks in the 1080s was the culmination of a major long term change in fortunes.[31]

It appears that the Byzantines did not tap the region's considerable natural resources to anything like their full potential, and even more important, the absence of any effective local resistance to the first Turkish invasions points to a failure to create a community of interest between the province and the Imperial government in Constantinople. The following chapters will argue that these two features of the Byzantine period in the Maeander region are interconnected and therefore that the region's long term economic development may legitimately be interpreted as an aspect of Byzantine social and political history.

(iii) Long Term Environmental Change.

Even the early visitors to the Maeander region were aware that dramatic changes had taken place in its geography over the historical period. At its most obvious, cities such as Ephesos and Miletos, which they knew from ancient authors to have been great maritime cities, were now utterly landlocked, several kilometres from the sea.[32]

33. e.g. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique (1877) Plates 1 and 2.
34. See in the first place, C. FOSS, Ephesus Appendix III, 185-7; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 1-68.

By the 19th century travellers had begun to take this idea further. The wealth of Roman Asia had been famous, the poverty of the present region - at least before the cotton boom - was all too evident. Was it possible that the same natural forces which had overwhelmed Ephesos' port with silt were also at work impoverishing the whole region? If that were so then social and political history would have to take second place to the study of physical geography. The decline of Byzantine Western Asia Minor would be no more than the inevitable consequence of geophysical events.[33]

The key questions are whether these changes were the result of human actions or inevitable natural forces, and furthermore, whatever their cause, did these geographical changes have disastrous consequences for the economy and society of the Maeander region.

Over the last twenty years the most important work on this subject has been done by geographers who have tended to concentrate on the impact of natural forces. Among these there have been two major approaches. One would see the major factor lying in the changes in relative levels of land and sea - known as the eustatic level - the other would look to the impact of climatic change.

Major changes in the eustatic level would certainly have dramatic effects. If the level fell this would increase the angle of run on the region's rivers, speed up erosion and leave ports cut off from the sea. A rise in the eustatic level would lead to coastal flooding, slower flowing rivers and a reduced rate of erosion.[34]

35. N. C. FLEMMING, 'Archaeological evidence for eustatic change of sea level and Earth movements in the Western Mediterranean during the last 2,000 years', Geological Society of America Special Paper CIX (1969); IDEM, Cities in the Sea London (1972) 184f.
36. IDEM, 'Archaeological evidence' 99; N. C. FLEMMING, N. M. G. CZARTORYSKA, P. M. HUNTER, 'Archaeological evidence for eustatic and tectonic components of relative sea level change in the south Aegean' in Marine Archaeology ed. D. J. Blackman, Proceedings of the 23rd Symposium of the Colston Research Society held in the University of Bristol, April 4th to 8th 1971, London (1973) 57f.
37. J. L. BINTLIFF, 'Climatic change, archaeology and Quaternary science in the eastern Mediterranean region' in Climatic change in Later Pre-History ed. A. Harding, Edinburgh (1982) 152-3.
38. ibid. 158.
39. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 62f.

A eustatic explanation for change does however seem to have been rejected for good through the work of N. C. Flemming.[35] Over the last two thousand years it appears that there have been a variety of changes in the relative level of land and sea throughout the Mediterranean. During this period there is no evidence for a general rise in sea level, but there is for local tectonic changes - that is changes in the level of the land. The particular evidence for the Maeander is uncertain, but the eastern Aegean coastlands, of which the Maeander forms a part, are a seismically active area and this is the most obvious indication of any tectonic movement. However, Flemming has demonstrated that this can really be of no historical significance since the largest suggested fall in the eustatic level is no more than 30 centimetres over 3,500 years. Such a drop would only have the slightest discernible effect.[36]

The process of climatic change offers a much more substantial explanation. It is claimed that during the 4th to 7th centuries AD the climate in the Mediterranean as a whole shifted to a pattern of slightly hotter, drier summers and colder, possibly wetter winters, interspersed with alternate periods of dramatic rainfall and drought.[37] The most recent synthesis, that of J. L. Bintliff, sums up the effects as follows:

"... the loss of hill-land and valley fields due to enhanced erosion, poorly controlled, aggrading rivers, and decline in warmth that could have had deleterious effects on crops, must have been significant in the decline of the Roman and Byzantine Empires." [38]

Although some have claimed that there is supporting evidence to be found in contemporary written sources,[39] the case for

40. C. VITA-FINZI, The Mediterranean Valleys. Geological change in historical times Cambridge (1969) passim; for Turkey in particular, see IDEM, 'Late Quaternary continental deposits of central and Western Turkey' Man IV (1969) 605-19.
41. IDEM, The Mediterranean Valleys 7-88, 91-102.
42. ibid. 103-15.

climatic change in the late Roman - early Byzantine period rests on the interpretation of the sedimentation patterns of mediterranean streams. It was first put forward in detail by C. Vita-Finzi in 1969[40] with various subsequent refinements. The work was principally carried out in Tripolitana, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, but it was claimed that the conclusions were supported by observations taken throughout the Mediterranean. On this basis Vita-Finzi asserted that over the last 50,000 years all mediterranean streams and rivers had gone through alternate phases of increased erosion and deposition. During this period there had been two phases of increased deposition. The first, lasting from about 50,000 years ago to about 10,000 years ago, produced what Vita-Finzi has named the Older Fill. This was succeeded by a phase of increased erosion which cut down the Older Fill leaving it as an exposed terrace above. This in turn was succeeded by a further phase of increased deposition which produced a new alluvial level called the Younger Fill.

On the basis mainly of north African pottery deposits found in the Younger Fill, Vita-Finzi dated the opening of this new phase to between the 4th and 7th century AD. This phase seems to have lasted until about the 16th/17th century when a renewed phase of increased erosion began which apparently still applies.[41]

Vita-Finzi and others have regarded this pattern of sedimentation as so general a phenomenon as to require a general explanation, and since Flemming has shown that a change in the eustatic level could not have been responsible, a change in the climatic pattern has seemed the only probable mechanism.[42]

43. D. EISMA, 'Stream deposition in the Mediterranean area in historical times' Nature CCIII (1964) 1061; IDEM, 'Stream deposition and erosion by the eastern shore of the Aegean' in The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East ed. W. C. Brice, London (1978) 67-81.
44. S. JUDSON, 'Erosion and deposition of Italian stream valleys during historic time' Science CXL (1963) 898-9.
45. C. N. RAPHAEL, 'Late Quaternary changes in coastal Elis, Greece' Geographical Review LXIII (1973) 73-89.
46. M. BELL, 'The effects of land - use and climate on valley sedimentation' in Climate Change in Later Pre-History 127-32, 139; c.f. J. L. BINTLIFF 'Climate change, archaeology and Quaternary Science' 152, 156.
47. ibid. 152.
48. R. MEIGGS, Trees and Timber in the ancient Mediterranean World, Oxford (1982) 371-403, esp. 392-4; for west Turkish forests over the last century see, A. PHILIPPSON, 'Die Vegetation des westlichen Kleinasien' Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen LXV (1919) 168-73; X. DE PLANHOL 'La Vie de Montagne dans le Sandras dag (Carie Meridionale - Turquie)' Revue de Geographie Alpine XLII (1954) 667; IDEM, H. INADIK, 'Études sur la vie de Montagne dans le sud-ouest de l'Anatolie' ibid. XLVII (1959) 379. see also n. 20 supra.

Since 1969 Vita-Finzi's initial assertions have required some qualification. In particular it seems that there are several important exceptions to the late Roman date for the Younger Fill. In the Maeander region itself, although the Younger Fill is present in the Cayster river, the greater part was accumulated centuries earlier during the Hellenistic period.[43] A similar dating has been shown for the Younger Fill in Sicily,[44] while at Elis in Greece the major part was deposited in Roman times with very little post-Roman alluviation.[45]

This range of dates has raised doubts in some quarters about the validity of the climate theory. M. Bell, for example, has argued that the discrepancies are such that the only proper way to approach the Younger Fill is to interpret it in the light of each valley's individual geomorphology. As far as there is a general cause, the Younger Fill was the product of human factors, such as the increased agricultural exploitation of the uplands leading to the loss of forest cover, more erosion and more siltation.[46]

However more recent research in Greece and Turkey has in fact tended to confirm Vita-Finzi's original dating, and to suggest that the cases quoted above are either exceptional or misunderstood.[47] Bell's theory of increased agricultural exploitation and deforestation also fits badly with a late date for the Fill. The deforestation of Western Asia Minor had begun before the late Roman period, and the next significant increase does not seem to have been until the 19th century.[48]

Thus on balance the case for climatic change is quite strong. Vita-Finzi's identification and dating of the Younger Fill both seem to have been confirmed; and since it is a mediterranean-wide

49. The caveats should still however be kept in mind: note the cautionary remarks of C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe London (1979) 323-5; the evidence of pollen counts also does not fit easily with a hypothesis of major climatic change: J. C. KRAFT, G. RAPP, S. E. ASCHENBRENNER, 'Late Holocene Paleography of the Coastal plain of the Gulf of Messenia, Greece and its relationships to Archaeological settings and to coastal change' Geological Society of America Bulletin LXXXVI (1975) 1207-8; see also J. M. WAGSTAFF, 'Buried assumptions: Some Problems in the Interpretation of the 'Younger Fill' raised by recent data from Greece', Journal of Archaeological Science VIII (1981) 247-64.
50. See n. 39 supra.
51. 'Vita S. Theodori Syceotae' ed. A.-J. Festugiere, Vie de Theodore de Sykeon Subsidia Hagiographica XLVIII, Brussels (1970) 40, 46; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 64.
52. PROCOPIUS, De Aedificiis V, iii, 3; ii, 6-13; iii, 1-6; iii, 7-11; iii, 12-15; iv, 1-3, 4-6; v, 8-13, 14-20.
53. 4th century: L. ROBERT 'Les Inscriptions' in Laodicee du Lycos, Le Nymphée, ed. J. des Gagniers et al., Paris (1969) 346-51; 6th century: A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palaestran Milet I/9, Berlin (1928) 169-71, nr 343.
54. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor Princeton (1950) II, 883-4; G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 2nd edn. London (1979) 204-6.

phenomenon it must have been caused by a general environmental shift rather than local human factors.

Yet even if climatic change is accepted, it is still far from clear that it had the consequences that Bintliff and others imagine. It has been claimed that contemporary written sources do show a dramatic change in the environment during late Roman and Byzantine periods. [50] However when these sources are examined in detail it seems instead that they are describing the normal natural patterns of the region which have changed little if at all over the historical period. For example there are a number of references to rivers eroding their banks and silting their mouths during this period. The early 7th century Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon, a saint who spent most of his career in Galatia, contains several references to land erosion. [51] Procopius' De Aedificiis refers to a number of uncontrollable and raging rivers which the Emperor Justinian brought to order. [52] There are 4th and 6th century inscriptions recording dredging operations at Miletos and elsewhere in the Maeander region. [53]

Yet none of this is evidence of a new problem, as for example the case of Myos can show. The city, lying at the western end of the Maeander valley, was an Ionian foundation of about the 10th century BC. The site has been identified at Avşar kalesi, near the village of Avşar, about 2 kilometres to the north of Bafa Gölü and about 25 kilometres from the present coastline. [54] At the time of the foundation of the city Bafa Gölü was an inlet of

55. HERODOTUS, V, 32 and 36.
56. STRABO XIV, i, 10.
57. VITRUVIUS IV, i, 4.
58. STRABO XIV, i, 10.
59. PAUSANIAS VII, ii, 10-11.
60. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor 882-3, 893-4, 894-5; PAULY-WISSOWA, 'Magnesia' 471-3.

the sea and like Priene and Miletos - today similarly landlocked - Myos was a considerable port. Herodotus records that in 499 BC a fleet of 200 warships could anchor there.[55]

From that date on the evidence reveals a continuous decline, until by the end of the 1st century BC Strabo could state that Myos was no longer a separate city but had been incorporated into Miletos.[56] Its fate seems to have been widely known since at approximately the same time Vitruvius also knew of Myos, "quae olim ab aqua est devorata."[57] When Strabo wrote there was still a small settlement there, even if only accessible by rowing boat via some three miles of shallow channels through the marshes.[58] A century and a half later Pausanias found the site entirely deserted, which prompted him to give a valuable description of what had happened:

"The people of Myos abandoned their city for the following reason. A small inlet of the sea used to run to their land. This inlet the river Maeander turned into a lake, by blocking up the entrance with mud. When the water, ceasing to be sea, became fresh, mosquitos in vast swarms bred in the lake until the inhabitants were forced to leave the city. They departed for Miletos, taking with them the images of the Gods and their other moveables, and on my visit I found nothing in Myos except a white marble temple of Dionysios."[59]

The fate of Myos is only the best known example of what was obviously a continuous process of silting which had been at work for at least a millenium before the deposition of the Younger Fill. The other major coastal cities in the Maeander valley all had to change site during the first millenium BC in order to survive and even they were being inexorably overtaken by the silt.[60] Further east, even the island of Hybanda was by the 1st

61. PLINY, Natural History II, 204; L. ROBERT, Opera Minora 1423-8.
62. PLINY, Natural History II, 201, 204; V, 115; STRABO XIV, i, 24; D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor 885-7.
63. PLINY, Natural History V, 119; D. MAGIE, op.cit. 1035; G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 97-8.
64. PAUSANIAS VII, ii, 11.
65. n. 53 supra.
66. J. KEIL, 'Erlass des Prokonsuls L. Antonius Albus über die Freihaltung des ephesischen Hafens', Jahrshefte des Österreichischen archaologischen Instituts XLIV (1959) 142-7.

century AD a mere hill in the surrounding alluvial plain, where it now bears the modern village of Ozbaşı.[61]

To the north the Cayster was steadily silting up the port of Ephesos and creating, akin to Myos, malarial swamps that appear to have forced an early change of site.[62] The Hermos too was steadily encroaching on Leucai,[63] and further north, near Pergamon, Pausanias noted how "a similar fate to that of Myos" had overwhelmed Atarneos.[64]

Naturally the local and imperial authorities attempted to hold back this process. Their dredging operations in the 4th and 6th centuries AD have already been referred to, [65] but this was naturally nothing new. At Ephesos there is epigraphic evidence going back to the 4th century BC showing the city in a constant battle with the Cayster silt.[66] There is nothing to suggest that silting had become a greater problem in a period of apparant climatic change.

As with silting, so with the other environmental hazards characteristic of the Maeander region. What is often taken as evidence for worsening conditions is in fact only a reflection of new types of source material. The conditions themselves had occurred in the past and were to continue in the same manner into the future.

To take an example: the Maeander's changing course destroys adjacent farmland. For the Maeander itself this is today no longer a major problem because of the advances in modern drainage technology, but on smaller streams, and on the Maeander until quite recently, river erosion was a sometimes devastating problem.

67. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 1-20.
68. EP II, 18. The changing course of the Maeander was evidently disastrous for this particular estate but a single example does not justify the conclusion in M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 68, that "the loss to agricultural productivity, and therefore eventually to the state's finances ... was probably appreciable, and may have been fundamental."
69. F. DOLGER, Beitrage zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts Byzantinisches Archiv IX, Leipzig (1927) 120.
70. STRABO XII, viii, 19.
71. See n. 52 supra; c.f. A. CAMERON, Procopius London (1985) 84-112.

Its process was noted by the two French geographers, Rayet and Thomas, in the 1860s,[67] land destroyed by the river was recorded in a later 11th century praktikon of an estate near Miletos,[68] and about a century earlier land tax officials were being advised to take this factor into account when they were drawing up assessments;[69] the same problem was noted by Strabo a millerium earlier as a common natural fact of the region's geography.[70] It is therefore no kind of argument to point to the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon and claim it as evidence of increased erosion. The only discernable change in the 6th and 7th century was the compilation of a saint's Life which would record such a fact.

The same applies to Procopius' De Aedificiis, Book Five contains a number of references to raging rivers because Procopius is compiling a panegyric record of the Emperor's building and it is only by such means that he can glorify an otherwise prosaic programme of bridge building. It would appear to be the genre not the climate which is at fault.[71]

There are more references to storms, droughts, famines, floods and severe winters in the period from the 4th century AD than before, but this is plainly a historiographical distortion rather than an absolute increase. The evidence quoted above for coastal silting at Myos and elsewhere comes for the most part from ancient geographers who tended to be more interested in long term factors rather than particular storms or droughts. Otherwise ancient writers, particularly those in the tradition of classical historiography reveal very little climatic information. By contrast the ecclesiastical historians, chroniclers and hagiographers from the 4th century saw the universe as a moral whole where climatic prodigies were an expression of divine

72.

The glaciation evidence can be found in W. R. FARRAND, 'Blank on the Pleistocene map' Geographical Journal (May 1979) 548-54; S. ERINC 'Changes in the physical environment in Turkey since the end of the Last Glacial' in The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East ed. W. C. Brice, London (1978) 87-110. The combination of exceptionally harsh winters with hot dry summers stands out in several contemporary accounts: W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, ; V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia London (1828) 154-5, 160, 163-5; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor London (1834) II, 21, 201-5; C. FELLOWS, A Journal written during an excursion in Asia Minor London (1839) 12-13, 301; IDEM, An Account of Discoveries in Lycia London (1841) 3. This climatic pattern contrasts both with equivalent evidence from the 17th and 18th centuries when the mild winter was regarded as the natural travelling season, (travelling season, for example: T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks etc. London (1678) 207-8; J. B. TAVERNIER, The Six Voyages London (1678) 6; F. HASSELQUIST, Voyages and Travels in the Levant; in the Years 1749, 50, 51, 52 London (1766) 27; C. THOMPSON, Travels Reading (1744) II, 373; G. WHELER, A Journey into Greece London (1682) 261. Mild winters: J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, The Islands of the Archipelago London (1759) I, 1; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 3rd edn. London (1817) 76), and also with the known pattern of the later 19th century and the present day: C. DE SCHERZER, La Province de Smyrne Vienna (1873) 14-15; Admiralty Handbook: Turkey (1942-3) 199. It is a reason for added caution when considering the Younger Fill to note that this period of greater seasonal range is apparently not detectable in the sediment patterns: D. EISMA, 'Stream deposition and erosion by the eastern shore of the Aegean' in The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East ed. W. C. Brice, 67-81. Modern sedimentation has generally been a 20th century phenomenon resulting from the deep ploughing of the central plateau, R. J. RUSSELL, 'Alluvial morphology of Anatolian rivers', Annals of the Association of American Geographers XLIV (1954) 363-6. Note also the suggestion that advancing alluvial coasts naturally alternate between periods of rapid and slower advance without external factors being necessary, ibid 376.

73.

V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit (1828) 10, 72, 162, 166, 205, 218; IDEM, Discoveries in Asia Minor (1834) II, 142; C. FELLOWS, A Journal (1839) 21, 25, 278, 287-8; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 513-4, 52.

judgement on human actions. Their meaning might not always be clear but it was felt that they should be recorded as potential evidence of God's intentions for mankind. A dismal list of natural and climatic horrors can be compiled for the late Roman and medieval period, but although of great interest there is no reason to believe it reveals any substantial change.

Thus the case for climatic change in the late Roman and Byzantine period still rests on no more than a contested interpretation of the Younger Dryas, and the assertion of Bintliff and Vita-Finzi that it had serious social and economic consequences remains entirely hypothetical. Indeed the written sources discussed above tend to suggest a fairly constant and familiar environment throughout the historical period.

In this context a comparison with the climatic patterns of the 19th century can be helpful. There is evidence in the descriptions of travellers and in the glaciation pattern on Mount Ararat to show that the first half of the 19th century, and in particular the decades of the 1820s and 1830s, was a period of exceptionally harsh winters and hot dry summers.[72] This amounted to something very close to the climatic changes envisaged by Bintliff for the 4th to 7th centuries AD. Yet despite the reduced winter temperatures, the greater seasonal range and the shorter growing season, the early 19th century was still a period of agricultural revival in western Turkey. The same travellers who could describe the ice as "thick in every direction" in the Maeander valley, also noted the growing agricultural prosperity of exactly the same area.[73] Social, political and economic factors in this case far outweighed the influence of deterioration in the climate.

74.

See the remarks of F. BRAUDEL, The Structures of  
Everyday Life trans. S. Reynolds, London (1981) 49-51.

The same impression is given by studies of the Little Ice Age and its effect on the western European economy between the 14th and 17th century. Climatic change could wreak havoc in a marginal area such as the North Yorkshire moors, especially where economic pressures had encouraged the growing of inappropriate crops, but the vast majority of communities continued on despite. The overwhelming impression is of continuity and where necessary adaption.[74]

Bintliff's model of climatic change envisaged the key factors undermining the region's economy as increased erosion and sedimentation, lower general temperatures and shorter growing season. The first of these has been shown to be a permanent feature of region's geomorphology. The second and third were endured in the 19th century, and the same would certainly have occurred in the 7th. If climatic change occurred in the late Roman period it was only of minor importance.

Man's activities are very plainly moulded by his environment and that is particularly evident among the agricultural societies of the Mediterranean. The Maeander region was part of the mediterranean world and its inhabitants followed a pattern of life closely determined by that environment. The evidence discussed above does not support the idea that major changes occurred either in the climate or the geography of the Maeander region which could have transformed its society or economy. Fluctuations in both no doubt did take place, but there is no reason to think that the inhabitants would not have adapted. The mediterranean is a harsh world with extremes that come as a surprise to the summer visitor from the north. Any successful mediterranean society has to be hardy, sophisticated in terms of its environment, and

75.

See C. D. SMITH, Western Mediterranean Europe 155-191;  
H. A. FORBES, Strategies and Soils: Technology,  
Production and Environment in the Peninsula of  
Methana, Greece Michigan (1982) ; a useful  
summary is to be found in L. FOXHALL, 'Greece Ancient  
and Modern. Subsistence and Survival' History Today  
XXXVI (1986) July 35-43.

adaptable.[75] The dramatic, even drastic rise, fall and recovery of the Maeander region from the heyday of the Roman Empire to the present day are the result of political, social and economic changes, not the inevitable consequences of climate or geography.

PART TWO

CITIES AND SETTLEMENT

1. G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages' DOP XIII (1959) 47-66; S. VRYONIS, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century Berkeley (1971) 6-10; c.f. A. KAZDAN, 'Vizantijskie goroda v VII-IX vekach' Sovetskaya Archeologiya XXI (1954) 164-83; for a survey of previous work and ideas see C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities 12-20; for a survey of more recent work over the empire as a whole, see C. BOURAS 'City and Village: Urban design and Architecture', XVI Internationaler Byzantinisten kongress. Akten I/2, JÖB XXXI (1981) 611-53. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics I, 11-31; IDEM, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 82-8.
  
2. C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of western Asia Minor unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard (1972) passim; IDEM Byzantine and Turkish Sardis Cambridge, Mass. (1976) 53-89; IDEM, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977) 469-86; IDEM, Ephesus after Antiquity: a late antique, Byzantine and Turkish City Cambridge (1979) 46-137.

CHAPTER TWO      Written sources and archaeological evidence.

(i)      The Sources

The general economic trends of the Byzantine world are fundamental to any understanding of the history of its society, and to that end a considerable advance has been made over the last twenty years. In the late 1960s it was widely held that the distinguishing feature of Byzantium was its preservation of the urban culture of the Roman world. Such a view marked no great advance on the work of W. M. Ramsay eighty years before. Yet through the excavation of classical sites at Corinth, Athens, Ephesos, Sardis and Pergamon the evidence had become available for a radical reappraisal of this view.[1]

In the field of Byzantine studies the work of C. Foss constitutes something of a breakthrough. By looking at the evidence of archaeology and numismatics rather than at the 'distorting mirror' of the literary sources Foss could prove for Western Asia Minor that the sophisticated and prosperous urban culture which characterized the late Roman world did not survive the crisis of the 7th century. His evidence also showed that the history of medieval Byzantium was not one of a steady decline from a glorious Roman past but a collapse followed by a gradual recovery reaching a peak in the 11th and sometimes 12th centuries. The recovery however was not of the Roman past but of a new cultural amalgam which can be called Byzantine.[2]

3. See the remarks of C. MANGO, Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror Inaugural Lecture, University of Oxford, Oxford (1975) passim; c.f. M. MULLETT, 'The Byzantine Letter' in Byzantium and The Classical Tradition (1981) 81.
4. G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Sur la date de la composition du livre des Thèmes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers thèmes d'Asie Mineure' B XXIII (1953) 31-66; neither T. C. LOUNGHIS, 'Sur la date du de Thematibus' REB XXXI (1973) 299-305, nor H. AHRWEILER, 'Sur la date du de Thematibus de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète' TM VIII (1981) 1-5 offer a convincing alternative.
5. De Thematibus 68.

Foss' main point, that there was a 7th century collapse followed by a 9th-11th century recovery, can be accepted without hesitation. The work of other scholars has subsequently reinforced his hypothesis. But his evidence is less sure for what sort of society and settlement pattern survived the 7th century to form the basis for that of medieval Byzantium. In particular the case for the abandonment of classical sites in favour of a dispersed rural settlement withdrawing to hill top refuge sites in time of crisis is in need of reassessment.

The problem is basically one of inadequate sources, both written and otherwise. As Foss made clear, the literary descriptions left by Byzantines can form no base for study. High-style Byzantine texts tend to clothe reality in a complicated classicising garb so that although not devoid of importance they bear a shifting and uncertain relationship with reality.[3] Other materials such as some saints' lives or documents are less tendentious but they tend to take contemporary reality for granted and rarely specify their surroundings in detail. More fundamental they are far too rare to form a useful body of evidence.

In view of this the importance often given to the 10th century work of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, the De Thematribus, is untenable. This work, reliably dated to 934/5,[4] purports to describe the themes or provinces into which the Empire was then divided. Under the theme of the Thrakesion its author included a list of the twenty cities of Asia in order of importance.[5] Historians have known since at least the 18th century that the De Thematribus was not a reliable guide to the 10th century Empire. "A review of the Themes or provinces,"

6. E. GIBBON, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire  
Oxford (1776). V, 467 and n. 10.
7. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of  
Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977).
8. De Thematibus 60-3.

complained Edward Gibbon, "might promise such authentic and useful information, as the curiosity of government only can obtain, instead of traditionary fables on the origins of cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants." [6] However despite this the De Thematis has not been disregarded. In particular the list of the twenty cities of Asia has been used to show that they were still extant in the 10th century and moreover that if these cities were in a poor state then it followed that others unnamed were only so much worse. [7]

Although it must form something of a digression from the main theme of this chapter, this interpretation of the De Thematis and the twenty cities deserves to be refuted in detail, not only because of the confusion introduced by the spurious importance of the list, but because it is an essential introduction to the nature of Byzantine sources.

The first part of the De Thematis covers the theme of the Anatolikoi and apart from its relevance as containing the Upper Maeander region within its boundaries, the chapter is a particularly clear example of the distortion and misuse which Constantine inflicted on his sources. [8]

One can divide these sources into three groups. The first can be labelled 'antique', the second is approximately 8th century, while the third was contemporary. Of these the most important as an indication of Constantine's working methodology is probably the first group of evidently antique materials.

Despite the supposed subject matter of the chapter, Constantine included material which covered the past history of

9. De Thematibus 60, lines 1-9. This may not be an unreasonable error in view of the theme's origin as the army of the magister militum per Orientem C. DIEHL, 'L'Origine du régime des thèmes dans l'Empire Byzantine' Etudes Byzantines Paris (1905) 276-92.
10. C. ERDMANN, Forschungen zur politischen ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters Berlin (1951) 1-31, 43-51.

the whole of Asia Minor and its government, rather than merely the Anatolikon as it was understood in the 10th century. In fact throughout the chapter there is a tendency to equate 'the Anatolikon' with 'the East' and that in turn with Asia Minor.[9]

It is a disconcerting feature of the whole of Constantine's work that he appears so often oblivious to the significance of the terminology he was using. He has a few lines on the Macedonian and Persian rulers of Asia Minor, but his major concern was with the Roman and especially late Roman period. This is quite understandable in that the late Roman period and above all the 6th century held a fascination for the medieval Byzantines. It was closer in time than the ancient Roman period but more important it was Christian in religion and relatively well served by surviving sources. In both east and west it is striking that the goal of the various medieval movements for renovatio imperio was the late Roman rather than earlier Empire.[10] Nevertheless, Constantine Porphyrogenitos found the late Roman world very difficult to understand. The essential continuity of the Empire was part of the dogma of the Byzantine state yet the difference between even the late Roman Christian Empire and the Byzantium of the 10th century was so great that interpreting the past in terms of the present became an increasingly hard if perennial task for the Byzantine scholar. In trying to place the pre-7th century inheritance into the contemporary Byzantine world picture, Constantine was not alone. He was following in the Byzantine tradition and could be described as attempting to do for the administrative and geographical materials what Theophanes, George the Monk and the Patriarch Nikephoros had earlier attempted for history, and the authors of the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai and

11. THEOPHANES, Chronographia ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig (1883-5); NIKEPHOROS, Istoria Syntomos ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig (1880); Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanum ed. T. Preger, Leipzig (1901-7) 1-73, 135f; see also Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai ed. A. Cameron, J. Herrin et al., Leiden (1984).
12. De Thematibus 63, lines 74-8.
13. JOHN LYDOS, On Powers or the Magistracies of the Roman state ed. A. C. Bandy, The American Philosophical Society, Memoirs CXLIX, Philadelphia (1983) ix-xxvi.
14. JOHN LYDOS xxxix-lxiv; PHOTIOS, Bibliothèque ed. R. Henry, vol. II, Paris (1960) 187-8.

the Patria Constantinopoleos had tried to achieve for the buildings, statues and traditions of Constantinople.[11] Just as these earlier authors, Constantine Porphyrogenitos found the practice of this task led in the main only to confusion and rejection of any historical sense.

At the end of the chapter Constantine includes a passage which because for once its source can be independently identified is a valuable indication of his working method. It reads as follows:

"These are now the boundaries of the theme of the East [toû tês Anatolēs Thematos]. Those called Tourmarchai are in the service of the Strategoi. It is stated that those of this rank have under their command 500 archers [stratiotas toxophorous], 300 peltasts and 100 spearmen. For thus it is recorded in the book of John of Philadelphia, called Lydos." [12]

John Lydos is well known. He was a senior civil servant, born c. 490, who wrote the De Magistratibus Populi Romani - the work to which Constantine is referring - in the mid-6th century.[13] It is not absolutely certain that Constantine knew of this work in the full original rather than via a florilegium or an epitome, but the De Magistratibus was available in 10th century Constantinople and reasonably well known among Byzantine intellectuals of the period. It had been read by the Patriarch Photios in the 9th century who discusses it in the Bibliotheca, and the principal surviving manuscript has been dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.[14] In any case the only passage in the De Magistratibus to which he can have been referring to is this:

15. JOHN LYDOS 68-70.
16. Les Listes 341.
17. J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 100-4.
18. LEO VI, Taktika PG CVII, 721-4, 732, 736; Three Byzantine Military Treatises ed. G. T. Dennis, CFHB XXV, Washington (1985) 176, line 64.

"[The early Roman Legion was divided into] units of three hundred shield-bearers, which they called cohortes, and alai, namely 'troops' of six hundred horsemen; vexillationes of five hundred horsemen; tourmai of five hundred archer-horsemen [tourmas apo pentakosiōn toxotōn hippeōn]; and legions of six thousand foot soldiers and the same number of horsemen." [15]

Quite plainly Constantine was mystified by the De Magistratibus. He had in his possession a work whose title proclaimed that it contained what he wanted to know, yet in fact he could hardly understand it because John Lydos' world and intellectual background were so far removed from his own. As a consequence Constantine grasped at the first thing which appeared familiar, which happened to be tourmai. John Lydos in this passage is actually describing the organization of the ancient Roman legion but Constantine at once associates this with the tourmai which were the principal subordinate units into which the Byzantine theme army was divided. The commanders of these units were the most senior officers under the strategos and were called tourmarchai. [16] The association was made more reasonable by an approximate equivalence of numbers. John Lydos' tourmai each contained five hundred mounted archers. It has been calculated that for some themes the strength of the cavalry contingent was about 1,500 men. [17] Since there were usually, or at least traditionally, three tourmarchs in a theme, John Lydos' tourmai appeared to fit the pattern. Moreover the description of them as 'archer horsemen' fitted the practice of the 10th century theme cavalry. [18] The three hundred peltasts of the De Thematis are presumably to be derived from John Lydos' cohort of three hundred shield bearers, though Constantine's one hundred spearmen are

19. J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 30-1.
20. Excerpta de legationibus ed. C. de Boor, Berlin (1903); Excerpta de insidiis ed. C. de Boor, Berlin (1905); Excerpta de Sententiis ed. U. P. Boissevain, Berlin (1906); Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis I ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Berlin (1906); ibid II, ed. A. G. ROOS, Berlin (1910). For preamble, with note of alternative readings, see P. LEMERLE, Le Premier Humanisme Byzantin Paris (1971) 281-2 and n. 48. In general on the Excerpta see IDEM 280-88.

still left to be explained. This is not a serious problem because almost nothing is known about the organization of infantry forces in the middle Byzantine theme armies, but it is not easy to see how Constantine's statements could be fitted into what is known of the 10th century military system.[19]

Constantine's approach to his sources as exemplified in his treatment of the De Magistratibus was repeated on a larger scale in the project which led to the creation of the Excerpta. Substantial portions of only four books of the Excerpta now survive but it is clear that it was made up of a series of extracts taken from ancient authors and arranged under titles such as 'On Embassies', 'On the Virtues and Vices', or 'On the Proclamation of Kings'. The titles of twenty-five such books are known but the whole seems to have been intended to number fifty-three books. Apart from the sheer scale of the enterprise, its most striking feature is its anti-historical approach. The excerpted authors are taken from all periods of the ancient world and the relevant passages are transcribed with no attempt at placing them either in a chronological sequence or even in any sort of context. They stand simply as chosen examples of a type of event from which Constantine intended that his readers would draw a universally valid moral point.[20]

The standing of the Excerpta as what might be described as an encyclopedia of moral exempla makes it a more sophisticated work than the De Thematibus, but in conception the two are very close. In the latter Constantine was doing little more than pigeon-holing information that he had derived from a number of

21. De Thematibus 114f; A. PERTUSI, 'La Formation des thèmes byzantins' Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten - kongress I, Munich (1960) 36-7; G. OSTROGORSKY, History of the Byzantine State trans. J. Hussey, 2nd edn. Oxford (1968) 157.
22. De Thematibus 61, lines 10-20.

antique literary sources and with the minimum of concession to the demands of history he placed it under the 10th century headings of the themes. In addition to the antique materials in the chapter there are also the two groups of slightly more recent date. One is of the 7th or 8th century, the other appears to be roughly contemporary with Constantine himself. Yet in practice his treatment of his sources remains exactly the same.

The theme of the Anatolikoi was one of the original themes of Asia Minor set up in the wake of the Arab invasions. In the 7th century it included the south and south-west of Asia Minor, namely the classical provinces of Isauria, Pamphylia and Lycia. In the 720s, in response to the great Arab assault on Constantinople in 717-18 and the chronic political instability of the previous thirty years, the Emperor Leo III instituted a radical reform of the theme system. Two key features of this were the reduction in size of the main eastern theme of the Anatolikon and the reassignment of its southern and south-western portions to provide the territorial base for the new naval theme of the Kilyrrhaiotai.[21] This had happened over two centuries before Constantine had written, yet he could still describe the Anatolikon as follows:

"The present Anatolikon theme, as it is now called, takes its population wholly from five ethnoi. It starts from the komopolis called Mēros, and is called Phrygia Saloutaria as far as Ikonion. The neighbourhood of the Isaurians towards the Taurus is called Lykaonia. That towards the sea and the south and the mountain called Psychros as far as Attaleia itself is called Pamphylia. The region above and inland is called Pisidia. That from Akroinos as far as Amorion is called Phrygia Kapatiana. That lying toward the sea and bordering on Caria is called Lycia. Those parts inland and in the neighbourhood of the Taurus stretching as far as the borders of Cappadocia are called Anatolika, for they are part of the theme of the Anatolikon." [22]

23. ibid 61, lines 20-25.

Amidst a certain amount of geographical nonsense, it is plain both from the contents and from the opening words, "The present Anatolikon theme, as it is now called ..." that Constantine had simply copied verbatim a much earlier source.

The Emperor cannot have been unaware that the 10th century theme did not include Lycia, Pamphylia and Isauria. Apart from the unlikelihood of such ignorance it is contradicted by the third group of materials contained in the chapter. "Now these," he writes, almost repeating the words which a few lines above he had introduced a state of affairs that had in fact ceased to exist two centuries earlier," are the present boundaries of the Anatolikon theme: it starts from Mēros which is at the end of the Opsikion, and it reaches as far as the boundaries of Isauria in length; in breadth it extends from the left hand side of the Boukellarion and the beginning of Cappadocia to the right hand side of Isauria and the beginning of the lands of the Kibyrrhaiotai." [23]

Such a statement could have been made at any date from the 720s onwards, but perhaps the distinction drawn between Isauria and the Kibyrrhaiotai implies that the former was a separate theme at the time of writing. Mountainous Isauria was a traditional recruiting ground of Byzantine soldiery, but the region's strategic importance as a guardian of the crucial Taurus passes increased in step with the rise of the neighbouring Emirate of Tarsos in the Cilician plain. Isauria appears first as the kleisoura of Seleukia in the Taktikon Uspenskij of 842-3, but it was not raised to the status of a theme until the reign of Romanos I, probably between 927 and 934/5 when it appears as a theme in the De Thematibus. This need only prove that Constantine's source

24. Les Listes 54 n. 35, 350; De Thematibus 147-8; A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/2, 7.
25. De Thematibus 67.
26. ibid 68.
27. H. AHRWEILER, 'La Region de Smyrne' 123-4.

post-dates the 9th century creation of a kleisoura, but this would be straining at a small point and it is reasonable to regard this material as roughly contemporary.[24]

Constantine's inclusion of contradictory materials from a wide range of periods and his failure even to edit earlier sources in the light of contemporary information can only be explained on the presumption that he saw no importance in such contradictions. As with the Excerpta, the process of pigeon-holing was to be an end in itself. If this were the case, then throughout the De Thematibus unless it is possible to identify Constantine's source the mere inclusion of a piece of information does not guarantee it the slightest relevance to the 10th century.

The chapter on the Thrakesion, which includes the list of twenty cities of Asia, is in fact even more antiquarian in content than that on the Anatolikon. It starts with a revelation of ignorance by stating that the ruler of Asia Minor, the proconsul, was a man called Asiarch. There follows a story taken from Nikolas of Damascus a Greek historian of the late 1st century BC, which explains that the name Thrakesion derives from a couple from Thrace who settled in Lydia in the days of Alyattes. Constantine then notes that the theme is peopled by the Lydians, Maionians, Carians and Ionians - all antique information of no relevance to the 10th century.[25] Finally Constantine lists the twenty cities of Asia.[26]

The source for the list is unknown. H. Ahrweiler mistakenly claimed that it was a list of the "twenty famous cities" of Asia Proconsularis,[27] but in fact it does not coincide with that

28. c.f. HIEROKLES 21-2; E. HONIGMANN, Die Sieben klimata und die POLEIS EPISEMOI Heidelberg (1929) 200, 219, et passim; L. ROBERT, 'Sur des Inscriptions d'Ephèse' Revue de Philologie XLI (1967) 44-64.
29. See infra. 73 - 83, 111-12, 128-30, 146-52.
30. 'Djughrāfiya', EI 2nd edn. II, 578-84; on the place of geography in the Arab world see A. MIQUEL, La Géographie Humaine de Monde Musulman Paris, I (1967), II (1975) passim, but in particular on the relationship between the writing of geography and literature, administrative writings and the direct observation of travellers, see ibid I, 21-3, 69-106, 267-330.

province, nor with the Diocletianic province of Asia or with the diocese of Asiana. Elsewhere in the De Thematibus Constantine refers to the work of the 6th century geographer, Hierocles, but that is not the source of this list, nor is any of the episcopal notitiae. He also includes other similar lists introduced as poleis episemoi, and it has been suggested that this might be the technical expression applied to lists of cities whose longitude and latitude in the seven klimata were recorded by ancient geographers for the purposes of map making. E. Honigmann published a number of these ancient lists and it can be seen at once that they are of an entirely different character.[28]

The absence of an evident source has encouraged a misplaced confidence in the list. This is despite the fact that it excludes places such as Philadelphia and Mastaura known to have been extant if not prosperous in the Byzantine period and gives cities such as Priene and Colophon a pre-eminence they cannot have held since the 4th or 5th century BC.[29] In view of Constantine's treatment of his sources, demonstrated above for his chapter on the Anatolikon, there can be no case for regarding the 'twenty cities' as anything other than an antique list pigeon-holed into a vaguely appropriate chapter. It has no significance for the historian of the Byzantine Maeander.

Constantine's curious work has merited so much attention because otherwise in terms of formal works of geography there is very little else. It is a feature of Byzantine culture that it did not produce a geographical literature to match that of the contemporary Arab world.[30] Thus, as Foss urged, in view of the scarcity and nature of the literary and documentary evidence, the

31. e.g. J. LEFORT, Villages de Macédoine 1. La Chalcidique Occidentale Travaux et Mémoires Monographies I, Paris (1982).
32. See T. W. POTTER, The Changing Landscape of South Etruria London (1979) 1-18, 138-67; San Vincenzo at Voltorno, The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery ed. R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, BAR International Series 252, Oxford (1985) for an example of the important results that a combination of archaeology and documentary history can yield. The latter study could be an example for students of mount Latros to follow.
33. Important surveys bearing upon the Byzantine period in Greece have either been carried out or are still in progress in Boeotia, Sparta, Megapolis, Nemea, Keos and the Argolid. So far little except conference communications and preliminary reports has appeared, but see J. L. BINTLIFF, 'The Boeotia Survey' in Archaeological Field Survey in Britain and Abroad ed. S. Macready, F. H. Thompson, The Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Paper N.S. VI, London (1985) 196-216; IDEM 'The Development of Settlement in South-West Boeotia' in La Beotie antique Colloques internationaux du CNRS, Paris (1985) 49-70; IDEM, A. M. SNODGRASS, 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: the First Four Years', Journal of Field Archaeology XII (1985) 123-61; T. VAN ANDEL, C. N. RUNNELS, K. O. POPE, 'Five Thousand Years of Land Use and Abuse in the Southern Argolid' Hesperia LV/1 (1986) 103-28. Otherwise for an overview of survey projects in Greece, see Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area ed. D. R. Keller, D. W. Rupp, BAR International Series 155, Oxford (1983) 207-302.
- Unlike Asia Minor, southern and central Greece - that is the Peloponnese, Attica and Boeotia - had slipped out of Imperial control in the 7th century, but even after its recovery from the 8th century there is little to show that it played any important political or economic role until the 11th century when there is considerable evidence for regional vitality: see C. MANGO 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XI siècle et leur signification historique et sociale' TM VI (1976) 351-65; J. L. BINTLIFF, A. M. SNODGRASS op.cit. 149; IDEM, 'The End of the Roman Countryside: A View from the East', in Europe in the First Millennium AD ed. R. F. Jones, BAR International Series, forthcoming (1987?) 6-8 [page reference to article proofs]; A. BON, Le Peloponnese Byzantin jusqu'en 1204 Paris (1951) is still a useful basic guide.
34. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain. A Regional Settlement Study BAR International Series 292, Oxford (1986) is unfortunately no exception.

primary source for the economic and material life of the Byzantine world is bound to be archaeology and numismatics. However these non-literary sources still pose major problems which are far from being solved.

In the first place they offer very little evidence for the rural history of Byzantium. It is generally accepted that the society and economy of the medieval Byzantine Empire was overwhelmingly rural and for over a century important work has been done on the surviving documentary evidence, but this is heavily biased in location toward the estates of the Mount Athos monasteries and in time to the later Byzantine period.[31] Byzantinists are well aware of the revolution in the historiography of early medieval Italy that large field surveys, in particular the British south Etruria survey, have brought about.[32] So far however attempts to follow this example have been continued to Greece which was arguably an untypical area, not of central importance to the Byzantine state until the 11th century.[33] Certainly nothing has been done in the Maeander region.[34]

As a result all the published archaeology is of urban sites.

If one could be sure that one was looking at all the important Byzantine settlements in the region that fulfilled urban functions then it could be argued that the economic level of these sites reflected that of the surrounding rural world. However Byzantine archaeology is only just becoming an autonomous branch of study and bar two churches at Sebaste in the Banaz ovasi, no excavation has been undertaken with Byzantine remains as the primary goal.

35. e.g. Antioch on the Maeander, infra 156 - 65 ;  
Philadelphia, infra 73 - 83 ; or Phygella,  
infra 112 - 16.
36. For a useful survey of the development of the  
archaeology of the Byzantine town, see C. BOURAS 'City  
and Village' 611f.

There are four major and nine minor published sites in the Maeander region: Ephesos, Sardis, Miletos and Aphrodisias, and Priene, Magnesia on the Maeander, Iassos, Labraunda, Tralles, Nyssa, Laodicea, Hierapolis and Sebaste. Pergamon is also an important site since although it lies outside the region to the north, it has in the main been well excavated and published. Apart from Sebaste, all these sites were excavated for their classical remains. Numerous others, which would have been of more interest to a Byzantinist, are still untouched. Such sites, which typically do not appear in Constantine Porphyrogenitos' list of the twenty cities, have to be taken into consideration if urban archaeology is to be used as a test of more general regional prosperity.[35]

The subordination of Byzantine archaeology to the classics has also provided little incentive to the solution of peculiarly Byzantine archaeological problems. Until the second world war the usual fate of middle Byzantine levels on classical sites was to be dumped on a spoil tip, recorded perfunctorily if at all. The Byzantine material was recorded on those sites where it was too obvious to ignore, but this has only become general practice since 1945.[36] In some cases this change of heart has come too late, but more important the current methodology of many classical archeologists is still ill-suited to the investigation of Byzantine sites. Classical archaeologists are in the main looking for stone structures rather than those of wood or mud-brick which may leave little more than post holes and the traces of hearth sites. The example of Luni in northern Italy shows what one may be missing. The first excavation apparently showed that the site

37. B. WARD-PERKINS, 'Two Byzantine Houses at Luni', Papers of the British School at Rome XLIX (1981) 91-8.
38. T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks London (1678) 215; J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMANN, Travels through Part of Europe London (1759) I, 113, 136; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East London (1745) II, 37, 71; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor Oxford (1817) 166, 216; W. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches London (1828) 20; C. FELLOWS, A Journal London (1839) 19; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure Paris (1839-49) III, 9, 28-9; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor London (1842) 111. Most modern construction is in concrete but a considerable number of framed and unframed mudbrick structures are still to be seen. In 1982 good examples of framed mudbrick houses were found in the upper parts of Birgi and Tire, both towns in the Cayster valley. See infra
39. J. W. HAYES, Late Roman Pottery London (1972) 323-70, 417-8, 423-7; IDEM, Supplement to Late Roman Pottery London (1980) lix-lxi.
40. The basic works on Byzantine pottery are D. TALBOT RICE, Byzantine Glazed Pottery Oxford (1930); M. A. FRANTZ 'Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens' Hesperia VII (1938) 428-67; C. H. MORGAN, The Byzantine Pottery Corinth XI, Cambridge, Mass. (1942); R. B. K. STEVENSON 'The Pottery 1936-7' in G. BRETT, W. J. MACAULAY, R. B. K. STEVENSON, The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, First Report Oxford (1947) 31-63; T. S. MACKAY 'More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth' Hesperia XXXVI (1967) 249-320; A. H. S. MEGAN 'Zeuppus Ware' BSA LXIII (1968) 67-88; IDEM 'An Early Thirteenth Century Aegean Glazed Ware' in Studies in Memory of David Talbot-Rice, ed. G. Robertson, G. Henderson, Edinburgh (1975) 34-45. The forthcoming publications of the Byzantine pottery from Sarachane in Istanbul, and from Pergamon, will be of great importance.
41. J. L. BINTLIFF 'The Development of Settlement in South-West Boeotia' 66.

had been abandoned in the 5th century, but a second small scale excavation by B. Ward-Perkins, using more careful techniques, revealed the post holes of two 6th century houses.[37] With some honourable exceptions the standard of archaeology in western Turkey has not been high. Bearing in mind the unanimous report of early travellers that before modern Turkey was rebuilt in the breeze-block and concrete, most houses were built of mud-brick, the larger ones with wooden frames and rooves, the smaller and poorer being little more than mud huts,[38] one should treat the negative evidence from medieval buildings with considerable scepticism.

These deficiencies are compounded by the undeveloped nature of Byzantine pottery studies. In the 7th century it is clear that the previously widespread types of late Roman fine wares, both African and Phocaeen, disappear[39] to be replaced by a variety of glazed and coarse wares. At present it is possible to identify a number of types of Byzantine glazed wares,[40] but this knowledge has been of little practical use to the archaeologist working in the field trying to identify medieval sites. As J. L. Bintliff has commented in regard to the results for the Byzantine and Turkish periods obtained from the first four years of the Boeotian survey:

"To lump together some twelve centuries of relatively recent history into a single 'period' may seem crude, but even to produce a site-survey map for these centuries, with period subdivisions is something which few if any of our predecessors have been able to achieve, such is the level of 'background' knowledge in this field".[41]

42. D. TALBOT-RICE, Byzantine Glazed Pottery 32-45; C. MORGAN, The Byzantine Pottery Corinth XI, 115-166.
43. D. TALBOT-RICE, op.cit. 31-2; C. MORGAN, op.cit. 23.
44. Infra 61, 166, 238 A particularly distinctive type of elaborate incised ware is found at Tripolis on the Maeander, see infra 155 The ware consists of bowl fragments in pale red fabric. This was then coated inside and out with a white slip and baked. An elaborate geometric pattern was then incised and the bowl was glazed with two types of green glaze and then fired. The final effect is of a brown/brown-green design on a background of two shades of green.
45. The literature on these excavations and surveys is large and growing: as well as T. W. POTTER loc.cit. n. 32 supra, see the bibliography in C. WICKHAM 'Historical and Topographical Notes on Early Medieval South Etruria, (Part One)' Papers of the British School at Rome XXXIII (1978) 132-3; D. ANDREWS, J. OSBORNE, D. WHITEHOUSE, Medieval Lazio, Studies in architecture, painting and ceramics Papers in Italian Archaeology III, BAR International Series 125 (1982) is an example of how detailed excavation and survey work together.
46. D. B. WHITEHOUSE 'Forum Ware: A distinctive type of early medieval glazed pottery from the Roman Campagna', Medieval Archaeology IX (1965) 55-63; IDEM 'Forum Ware Again' Medieval Ceramics IV (1980) 13-16. Some recent research has suggested that Forum ware was produced in the 6th century, D. B. WHITEHOUSE, 'Medieval Pottery from South Etruria' in D. ANDREWS, J. OSBORNE, D. WHITEHOUSE, Medieval Lazio 327-33, but one should note that this view has no reliable excavated context and neither, an 8th-9th century date nor even two types of 'Forum Ware' - a late Roman and an early medieval - should be ruled out. Current excavation tends to confirm the 8th-9th century date.

There are exceptions to this ignorance. The various types of elaborate incised and sgraffito ware appear after about 1050 and are likely to be 12th or 13th century in date.[42] Yet it is still difficult to put this information to use. These elaborate wares required two firings and must have been relatively expensive.[43] 12th/13th century incised ware is to be found on Maeander region sites[44] but it can never have been a very common pottery and it is impossible to draw firm conclusions from its absence.

For such identifiable yet expensive wares as these to be a valuable asset in exploring the Byzantine settlements of the Maeander region they would have to be placed in the context of the whole range of contemporary pottery from the most expensive table ware to the humble cooking pot.

As yet this can only be done to a limited degree for Constantinople, Corinth and perhaps Athens, but there are areas where there has been no field survey to put this evidence to use. The problem can be well illustrated by comparison with the work done in Italy, where a fundamental achievement of the south Etruria and subsequent surveys has been the way excavation and survey have gone hand in hand. Pottery has been excavated in stratified contexts in Rome and the knowledge so gained has been put to use in surveys of the Roman Campagna.[45]

For those working on the early medieval period in south Etruria the key development took place in the 1960s when a distinctive glazed ware, known as Forum ware, was dated with some confidence to the 8th-9th century.[46] This pottery was fairly

47. D. WHITEHOUSE, 'Medieval Pottery from South Etruria' 329.
48. H. PATTERSON, 'The Late Roman and Early Medieval Pottery from Molise' in San Vincenzo al Volturno ed. R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, 83-4, 93-6.
49. San Vincenzo al Volturno 1, 3, 101, 105.
50. D. P. S. PEACOCK, Pottery in the Roman World: an ethnoarchaeological approach London(1982) 75-88.
51. ibid. 62-5; 'Red Painted and Glazed Pottery in Western Europe from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century' ed. J. G. Hurst, Medieval Archaeology XIII (1969) 93-147.
52. ibid; D. P. S. PEACOCK, Pottery in the Roman World 152-9; H. BLAKE 'Medieval Pottery: Technical Innovation or Economic Change?' in Papers in Italian Archaeology I ed. H. McK. Blake, T. W. Potter, D. B. Whitehouse, BAR Supplementary Series 41/ii (1978) 438-41.
53. An interesting study pointing the way in this direction is E. M. JOPE 'The Regional Cultures of Medieval Britain' in Culture and Environment, Essays in Honour of Sir Cyril Fox ed. I. LL. FOSTER, L. ALCOCK, London (1963) 327-50. Once the preliminary work has been done the study of pottery, building types and sculpture offers similar possibilities in the Byzantine world.

common and production was centred on Rome.[47] Away from Rome surveyors had to face difficult problems. In Molise, for example, 200 kilometres south-east of Rome, neither Forum ware nor any of the other types of pottery familiar from Roman excavations was to be found. Once the sequence of identifiable late Roman wares had stopped the surveyors had to construct their own pottery sequence based on local excavations at San Vincenzo at Volturmo, Colle Castellano and Santa Maria in Cività.[48]

This distinction between the pottery found at Molise and that seen in the Roman Campagna reflects the former's separation from the regional economy to the north which looked to Rome as a market and producer.[49] Yet Molise was no exception. In the Roman world coarse cooking pots had usually been of local manufacture,[50] but in the early middle ages even the table ware tended to come from the same local or regional source. Unlike the smooth slip fine wares of the late Roman world, glazed pottery is comparatively easy to make, and throughout the middle ages there were innumerable types produced to serve limited regions all over Europe and the Middle East.[51] Some of this pottery was traded, sometimes quite extensively, but never on the scale familiar from the Roman world.[52] The regional nature of much of medieval pottery does offer the prospect of being able to shed light on the workings of a regional economy,[53] but even if one wishes to do more than use pottery as a guide to chronology of settlement it still requires a knowledge of the locally produced pottery sequence peculiar to that particular region.

This applies as much to the Byzantine world as to Italy or further west. Hence the pottery recorded from stratified contexts

54. The best example of this is the Brown-glazed ware found in Constantinople and Corinth, C. MORGAN, The Byzantine Pottery Corinth XI, 36-42; R. B. K. STEVENSON 'The Pottery 1936-7' 36-7. The ware has been compared with Forum Ware, but since there has been no survey work near Constantinople it has not played a similar role in historians' thinking. The two wares appear to be related, but in what way is not clear and a 6th century date (see n. 46 supra) adds to the obscurity. c.f. R. B. K. STEVENSON 'Medieval lead-glazed pottery: links between east and west' Cahiers Archéologique VII (1954) 89-94: independent developments perhaps seem more likely, see K. KILMURRY, The Pottery Industry of Stamford, Lincs. c. AD 850-1250 BAR British Series 84 (1980) 180-1.
55. One group of pottery which may be early is represented by the dark red very coarse sherds of a gritty fabric which seem to be a distinctive feature of the Byzantine sites in the Maeander region. They are almost certainly cooking pots, c.f. T. S. MACKAY 'More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth' 288-300. Dating will probably have to await some future publication of the Aphrodisias finds.
56. An important advance in Byzantine pottery studies is signified by A. H. S. MEGAN, R. E. JONES 'Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to the Problems of Origin and Distribution' BSA LXXVIII (1983) 235-63. The use of such techniques is one of the factors behind the sophistication of pottery studies in England, e.g. A. G. VINCE 'The Saxon and medieval pottery of London: A review' Medieval Archaeology XXIX (1985) 25-93.
- In another field of Byzantine Studies important basic work is being done on fortification and wall types, e.g. C. FOSS, Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kutahya, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph No. 7, BAR International Series 261, Oxford (1985); C. FOSS, D. WINFIELD, Byzantine Fortifications, An Introduction Pretoria (1985) is not as yet available.
57. e.g. C. FOSS 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity' EHR XC (1975) 721-47; IDEM 'The fall of Sardis and the value of evidence' JÖB XXXIV (1975) 11-22.
58. M. HENDY, Studies in Byzantine Monetary Economy 175-201, 221-7, 378-80, 602-13, 640-3.

at Constantinople or Corinth will only be of much value to surveys centred on these particular cities. On the slight evidence available Constantinopolitan wares were traded in small quantities, but there is nothing as yet to suggest this was anything other than very limited in scale before at least the 11th/12th century.[54]

A small amount of identifiable Byzantine pottery is visible on sites throughout the Maeander region and much more, particularly coarse ware, is there if one only knew what it looked like.[55] In the Maeander the outlook is perhaps more optimistic than elsewhere. The pottery from Pergamon and Sardis is due to be published, and even more important large quantities of Byzantine pottery from recorded levels at Aphrodisias awaits cataloguing. Once both are published Byzantine archaeologists in this region will at last have in their hands one of the basic tools.[56]

As yet however the pottery is of only limited assistance and archaeologists and historians have tended to turn instead to coin finds as a basis for their chronology.[57] This is reasonable up to the early 7th century but in fact the coins disappear at the same moment as the late Roman fine wares. This has been interpreted as evidence for the abandonment or at least extreme contraction of associated settlements but it is not clear that this is not a circular argument linked to the lack of dateable pottery. As a recent work on the Byzantine monetary economy suggested, it could be argued that because from the 3rd century AD onwards coinage was a central government monopoly, produced to pay soldiers and officials, the disappearance of coins reflects a crisis in central government rather than a shift in settlement pattern.[58]

A recitation of the deficiencies of the available sources is not a negative as it might appear. In the long term many of the deficiencies of the archaeology could be remedied, but more important in the present context such a critical survey provides the basis for a reassessment of the evidence that will suggest wider implications for the region's social and political history.

1. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain (1986) 1-14, 252-95, 302-26; A. H. M. JONES, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 2nd edn. Oxford (1971) 28-94; IDEM, The Greek City Oxford (1940) 259-60, 271-4.
2. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977) 469-86; see also supra n. 2.
3. Three Byzantine Military Treatises ed. G. T. Dennis, Washington (1985) 144-239.

CHAPTER THREE      Continuity or Flight? I: The Example of Sardis.

The Roman settlement pattern of the Maeander region was based on a network of cities. The cities themselves fitted into a regional hierarchy but each city was to some extent an independent entity exploiting a surrounding territory of productive agricultural and pastoral land. The territory also supported a number of villages but many of the farming population actually lived in the city and there was no question that that was the cultural centre of the territory and its pre-eminent centre of population. Roman villages existed only as satellites of the city.

Over the region as a whole this pattern formed a dense network which was the key to exploitation of the region's natural prosperity.[1]

C. Foss has established that the urban culture of the Late Roman world did not survive the 7th century. Cities drastically contracted in size or were abandoned and it has been inferred that the Byzantine period saw a new settlement pattern of dispersed villages and rural estates whose population looked to hill top castles and refuge sites in time of crisis. The Roman city sites were now only inhabited as one amongst many village settlements, marked out by the wreckage of past glories and the residence of an appropriately poverty stricken bishop, but otherwise looking to the same places of refuge as anyone else.[2]

This impression appears to be confirmed by the Peri Paradromes, a 10th century treatise on skirmishing warfare,[3] and by the Islamic sources. Both present a picture of medieval Asia Minor as a land of villages and fortresses. The Peri Paradromes never mentions a city, while the testimony of the Islamic sources

4. Hudud al'Alam: The Regions of the World, trans. V. Minorsky, Oxford (1937) 157, quoted in M. HENDY, 'Byzantium, 1081-1204: An Economic Reappraisal' TRHS 5th series XX (1970) 35-6.
5. A. MIQUEL, La Géographie Humaine de Monde Musulman loc.cit. supra n. 30.
6. A. H. M. JONES, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 134-46, 174-90, 191-214; S. MITCHELL, 'Population and Land in Roman Galatia' Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt VII/2 (1980)
7. R-J. LILIE, Die byzantinische 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 express Lilie's thesis which on this point is certainly correct; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 23-6, 188-237.

can be summed up by the Hudud al-alam, a 10th century Persian text: "In the days of old cities were numerous in Rum but now they have become few. Most of the districts are prosperous and pleasant and have each an extremely strong fortress, on account of the frequency of the raids which the fighters for the faith direct upon them. To each village appertains a castle where in times of flight they may take shelter".[4]

The Arabic and Persian geographical tradition is far from being one of objective reporting and such a statement may reflect no more than the perspective of the thriving urban culture of the 9th-10th century Islamic world.[5] In this case however the judgement seems to be confirmed by the Peri Paradromes, but in fact there is no reason to believe that this picture refers to more than the mountains on the eastern frontier and the central Anatolian plateau. These were areas to which the urban culture of the ancient world came late and they never supported the dense network of cities found for example on the west coast.[6] Moreover the Byzantine response to the chronic Arab raiding which had developed over the two centuries before these texts were written, was one of a flexible defence in depth. On the central plateau Arab armies would be shadowed, major engagements avoided and their booty hopefully evacuated in advance. Under such conditions the Roman settlement pattern would have had little chance of survival. 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.[7]

8. For an account of Byzantine-Arab warfare up to 959 see A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes trans. M. Canard II/1 Brussels (1968). By 959 the era of Arab raids towards the west of Asia Minor were long over.
9. Most Muslim geographers writing about the Byzantine Empire in the 9th to the 11th century used the report produced by a certain Muslim 6. Abi Muslim al-Garmi, who had been a prisoner of war of the Byzantines before being released in an exchange in 845. The report is attributed to al-Garmi by Ibn Khurdadhbih, but al-Mas'udi, writing in the 10th century gives the fullest notice:
- "He was a man who held a post on the frontier and was possessed of knowledge as to the people of the Romans and their country; and he wrote books containing information about the Romans and their kings and the men of rank among them, and their districts and roads and ways through them, and the times of making raids into their country and invasions of it ..."
- IBN KHURDADHBIH, Kitab al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum VI, Leiden (1889) 77, 144, 192-200; MACOUDI, Le Livre de l'Avertissement et de la Revision trans. B. Carra de Vaux, Societe Antiqua, Paris (1896) 240-4, 257.
10. St. Gregory the Decapolite appears to have had an uncomfortable time in early 9th century Byzantium because he looked like an Arab, C. MANGO, Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome London (1980) 31; IDEM 'On Re-reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite' Byzantina XIII/1 (1985) 637; F. DVORNIK, La Vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves Macedoniens au ix<sup>e</sup> siècle Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'études Slaves V, Paris (1926) 47, 53-4, 58.
11. G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments outside the City Walls Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Report I, Cambridge, Mass. (1975) 32-4; C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' 475-7; G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times Cambridge, Mass. (1983) 14-16.

The Maeander region lay immediately beyond the mountain belt. In the 10th century Arab raiders did not reach this far west and hence the conditions envisaged by the Peri Paradromes do not refer to this area.[8] Similarly Islamic geographers drew for their descriptions of the land of the infidels on the experience of ghazi warriors.[9] Since at least until the 11th or 12th century Muslims were not easily tolerated visitors to Byzantium,[10] there was an obvious tendency to apply a description of the central plateau to the land of Rum as a whole. In the absence of a reliable description of the Byzantine Maeander region, the case for a dramatic change in settlement pattern has to rest on archaeology, and with no conclusive field survey this again means the fragmentary evidence available for the region's ancient cities and medieval castles.

In particular the key example, which has provided a model for the rest of the region, is Sardis where an American team has carried out a careful if limited excavation since 1958. They have suggested that following a Persian sack in 616 the lower city was abandoned and any surviving inhabitants took refuge in the hastily constructed acropolis castle set on an eroded peak which dominated the site. Over the following two hundred and fifty years settlement on the site of the former lower city amounted to no more than a few isolated villages or hamlets.[11]

The American excavation of Sardis has been extremely thorough, hence the conclusions of its excavators have carried a great deal of weight. However within the late Roman walls only the Gymnasium complex has been excavated and this constitutes less than a twentieth of the area within the circuit. The Gymnasium was destroyed by fire in the early 7th century and subsequently

12. F. K. YEGUL, The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis  
Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Report III,  
Cambridge, Mass. (1986) 1-16.
13. c.f. C. FOSS, 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the end  
of Antiquity' EHR XC (1975) 736-8.
14. See B. WARD-PERKINS, From Classical Antiquity to the  
Middle Ages: urban public buildings in northern and  
central Italy, AD 300-850 Oxford (1984) 3-48  
; D. CLAUDE, Die byzantinische Stadt im 6.  
Jahrhundert Munich (1969).
15. R. CORMACK, 'The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine  
Provincial City: the Evidence of Thessalonike and  
Aphrodisias' in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition  
107, 108-16; see infra 155 -6.

abandoned,[12] but it is far from certain either that this can be linked to a Persian attack or that it should be interpreted as part of a total abandonment of the lower city. The case for the Persian sack seems to rest on nothing more than a chronological coincidence with a period of such raids about which very little is known.[13] The fire could just as well have had more mundane causes. If that were so then the example of other cities at this period is relevant since that suggests that when such monumental structures were destroyed by accident they were not repaired nor even re-used but simply left as redundant ruins. This seems to have applied not only to those buildings which were already redundant but also to those which had still been in use. The cultural tide was running against buildings such as gymnasia, and, even if civic inertia had previously tolerated the traditional payments made towards their upkeep, there was no incentive to restore them after a disastrous accident.[14] A ruined gymnasium was simply a huge pile of rubble which was too difficult to remove and not worth the effort of reuse. The daily life of the settlement carried on around it.

One example comes from a city in the region, Aphrodisias, in the valley of Dandalas, a southern tributary of the Maeander. As the Roman public buildings fell into decay, their fallen ruins gradually blocked the streets of the ancient city. The Byzantine population made no attempt to move them and the medieval settlement adapted itself to these new obstacles. Thus in Aphrodisias the ruin of the public buildings is no evidence of abandonment.[15] The most striking example however is Constantinople itself. Medieval Constantinople was full of the abandoned ruins of the Roman public buildings which had been built

16. C. MANGO, Le Développement Urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles) Paris (1985) 51-62; G. DAGRON, Constantinople Imaginaire. Etudes sur le recueil de Patria Paris (1984) passim; Constantinople In the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai ed. A. Cameron, J. Herrin, Leiden (1984) passim.
17. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 57; G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Monograph I, Cambridge, Mass. (1971) 113-20, 156-9; F. K. YEGUL, The Bath-Gymnasium Complex 16, 17-18, 89-90; the road: BASOR CLXVI (1962) 45-6.
18. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 641-2.
19. F. K. YEGUL, The Bath-Gymnasium Complex 14-16, 40-44, 51, 70, 78, 83, 91, 94, 104.

on a scale appropriate to an Imperial capital. The awe and suspicion they aroused is evident throughout the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai and the Patria Constantinopoleos, which are both to an extent commentaries on what it is like to live in a city dominated by the ruins of a mysterious and ill-understood past. Even the huge Constantinian Senate house, erected on the north side of Constantine's forum was never repaired after it was gutted by fire in 465. Its blackened fire damaged portico was still visible in the 10th century, a ruin at one of the ceremonial centres of the Imperial city.[16]

The Gymnasium site was never re-developed but even its ruins do contain some evidence of activity in the early and middle Byzantine period. During the later 7th century some rooms were temporarily re-occupied and 85 copper coins of Constans II (641-68) and two of Constantine IV (668-85) were found in association with the building of a new road.[17] The coins and road are almost certain evidence for the presence of an army unit,[18] but that sheds no particular light on conditions elsewhere in the lower city. The Gymnasium may simply have been a convenient shelter amidst a field of deserted ruins.

That there may have been more to early Byzantine Sardis is suggested by the presence of a number of limekilns in the Gymnasium ruins. One of these can be dated to the 7th century, and two to the 10th-11th century, but the other three seem to belong to an intervening period.[19]

At whatever date, lime burning in the Gymnasium ruins implies a substantial settlement in the lower city. Lime burning

20. ibid. 145 n. 39.
21. ibid. 145-6.
22. ibid. 91.
23. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 50, 73.
24. ibid 74; F. YEGÜL, op.cit. 46-7, 77-8.

is a very simple activity.[20] There was a great deal of suitable marble around in Byzantine Sardis and for small amounts it was convenient to burn whatever lay to hand. This is the practice of modern Turkish peasants. The concentration of lime kilns in the Gymnasium reflects the mass of marble statuary to be found in such a place,[21] and the fact that it was otherwise abandoned. The dirt and danger of fire from the kilns would do no harm there. Yet such advantages would only be real if there had been the steady demand for lime created by an active settlement, making it worthwhile to exploit the quantities of marble available in the Gymnasium, and also sufficient pressure on space to encourage the lime burners to occupy these rather unstable ruins.[22] The presence of lime kilns in the Gymnasium also shows that the demand for lime was focused on the ancient lower city. Had most of the lime been destined for the acropolis then the temple site in the Pactolus south sector would have been much more convenient.[23]

Unfortunately this is not a decisive argument because the relevant stratigraphy in the Gymnasium was disturbed and the dating of the lime kilns only rests on two associated coins, one of Leo IV (775-80) and one of Theophilos (829-42).[24] However three other structures, elsewhere in the lower city, help to confirm the picture of a substantial settlement continuing throughout the so-called Dark age.

One is church E in the Pactolus North Sector outside the city wall to the west. The site is now occupied by a 13th century domed structure but the original church was a large 4th century three aisled and wooden roofed basilica. Had this building been

25. G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 196-204, 206-7; H. BUCHWALD, 'Sardis Church E-A Preliminary Report' JOB XXXVI (1977) 265-99; BASOR CCXI (1973) 17-19 ibid. CCXV (1974) 33-41; c.f. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 74; J. A. SCOTT, D. C. KAMILLI, 'Late Byzantine Glazed Pottery from Sardis' in Actes du XVe Congres International d'Etudes Byzantines, II/B, Athens (1981) strongly argues for a period of near desertion on the basis that "no pottery ... can be dated earlier than the later half of the 12th century". In particular for church E she writes: "The picture that emerges is one of a scattered population keeping the church in repair as best they could and seeking in death the security that eluded then in life through burial in its environs." The drawback with this interpretation is that it rests solely on identifiable glazed wares. The coarse wares were not originally recorded (ibid. 681 n. 4) and cannot in any case be identified. That the pottery finds here seem to record is merely the appearance of glazed wares. It also tends to ignore the local and regional nature of the pottery industry. The absence of early Constantinopolitan types will have to be proved to be significant, rather than taken for granted, ibid. 680-1, n. 2; see supra 42.
26. G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 196; H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I, The Excavations Leiden (1922) 33; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 34, 39, 60 75; 165 n. 55.
27. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 60, 75.

abandoned for any length of time the roof would soon have collapsed and a major rebuilding would have been necessary before an re-use was possible. Such a fate did eventually overtake the building. In the 9th century it seems that a new roof was erected but by the 11th century the church appears to have been abandoned with the narthex used as a dwelling. By contrast for the two centuries before the 9th, the church had been kept in use by a series of minor makeshift repairs. Therefore during the early Byzantine period Church E was neither destroyed by fire nor abandoned. Its survival is likely to have been the work of a continuing community.[25]

The same applies to the other and larger basilica of late Roman Sardis, Church D, a 6th century structure inside the walls just to the east of the centre of the city. Its size suggests it may have been the Cathedral. This area has not been excavated, but the find of a 9th/10th century funerary inscription just to the south of the church implies that the building was in use at that date. Since there is no indication of a major re-building of this church, the survival of a wooden roofed basilica again points to a continuous occupation.[26] Five hundred yards to the south of Church D on one of the early foothills of the acropolis is an unpublished and unexcavated structure which the Report labels Building A. I have not examined this structure but there is a suggested date of between the 7th and 9th century.[27]

This evidence is admittedly slight and could be fitted into several models for the 7th-9th century settlement but it is an important corrective to the impression of total devastation which

28. 'Fragmentum chronici anonymi auctoris ad annume domini 813 pertinentia' ed. E. W. Brooks, Corpus Scriptorum Christiani Orientalis, Scriptorum Syri III/3, Part 3, Paris (1905) 10; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 118-19.
29. THEOPHANES 390-1, mentions the fact that the Arabs wintered in Asia and that they took Pergamon.

can be gained from looking at the fate of the Gymnasium and the coinage evidence. Leaving aside the enigmatic Building A, the survival of two basilica churches points to a community rather above the level of a village. Given a very poor standard of material life there is nothing to show that Sardis did not survive continuously on the same site.

Attention has been diverted from this point by a failure to appreciate fully the significance of the acropolis castle which is one of the most important surviving Byzantine buildings in the region. The key text for an understanding of this fortress is the following notice for the year 716 in a 9th century Syriac chronicle:

"In the year 1027 [Seleucid era = 716 AD] Suleiman assembled troops and workmen and they went by sea and encamped in Asia; and they took two cities, Sardis and Pergamon, and other fortresses ..."[28]

There is no reason to think that this Syriac Chronicler was particularly well informed about western Asia Minor and there is nothing to be gained from a close examination of his words, such as his distinction between 'city' and 'fortress', but he has preserved at least the main points of an accurate account of the early 8th century which can be confirmed from other sources.[29] In it the fortress of Sardis is highlighted as one of the principle strongholds of the Byzantines whose capture is one of the Caliph's most famous triumphs. He also places the fortress in its proper strategic context.

Examination of the site in the light of this text proves that the chronicler was referring to the acropolis castle and that

See G. HUXLEY, Why did the Byzantine Empire not fall to the the Arabs? Inaugural Lecture, Athens (1986) 3-14.

that was an Imperial fortress built to face a particular strategic crisis at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century. Until the appearance of the Turks at the end of the 11th century the history of the acropolis has almost nothing directly to do with the history of the lower city. The castles at Sardis and Pergamon, which the chronicler also mentions, are both irrelevant to the understanding of the overall settlement pattern of the Maeander region.

The context of Suleiman's assembly of an army and workmen, and his journey by sea to Asia, that is western Asia Minor, is the background of the second Arab siege of Constantinople which lasted from 716 to 718.[30] Due to the enormous size of Asia Minor west of the Taurus and to Constantinople's position at the furthest north western extremity any serious threat to the Byzantine capital had to involve Arab armies wintering in Asia Minor. Furthermore a successful siege of Constantinople would be greatly dependant on the Arab ability to support a large army and fleet in the vicinity over several campaigning seasons. Some supplies could be brought by sea but it was much more reliable to live off local produce where possible. Given the harsh winter climate of the central plateau the natural Arab strategy on such a campaign would be to seize part of the western Asia Minor coastlands. The Maeander region, a good agricultural area with useful ports and within easy reach of the east, was an obvious target. Hence the Caliph's presence there in 716.

Despite the fragmentary sources for the period one can see this strategy being put into operation not only in 716 but before

31. THEOPHANES 345-6, 348, 351, 353-4; E. W. BROOKS, 'The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources' JHS XIX (1899) 23, 28, 29.
32. THEOPHANES 390-1, 395-9; E. W. BROOKS, op.cit. 192, 195; IDEM? 'The Campaign of 716-718, from Arabic Sources' JHS XVIII (1898) 23, 28, 29.
33. See G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis 18-22; G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 1-12; for the natural advantages of the acropolis hill see infra 56f. and H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 19-21.

each of the Arab attempts to capture the Imperial city. In 653, the year before Muawiya's abortive expedition to Constantinople, the Arabs overran Rhodes and for ten years before the next attempt, which lasted from 674 to 678, Arab armies wintered in Asia Minor. The Arab sources are not very clear as to where they wintered but Theophanes does record that an Arab army spent the winter of 670/1 at Cyzikos and that another spent the winter of 672/3 at Smyrna.[31] There followed a lull due to the second civil war in the Islamic world, but forty-three years later, Theophanes confirms the Syriac Chronicler in recording that the Arabs spent the two winters of the 716-18 siege in western Asia Minor.[32]

In the event the Arabs failed but they were plainly following the right strategy. Had they managed to establish a permanent control over the coastlands of western Asia Minor then Constantinople would probably have been doomed. The Byzantines can be expected to have realized this and to have taken appropriate defensive measures.

A major fortress at Sardis would have been an obvious part of any Byzantine response. The acropolis hill is an excellent defensive site and the public buildings of Roman Sardis would have been available as first class building material. Set above one of the best routes from the central plateau down to the coastlands a fortress there would have been ideally placed to contest Arab control of the Hermos valley and threaten communications with the east.[33]

The Byzantine problem was the inferiority of their field

34. Three Byzantine Military Treatises 144-239; see also J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 188-238.
35. R. C. SMALL, Crusading Warfare 1097-1193 Cambridge (1956) 204-15; a good example of this role in practice is given by Ibn 'Abd az-Zahir in his account of the fall of al-Marqab in 1285: F. GABRIELI, Arab Historians of the Crusades London (1969) 334.

army when faced with the Islamic armies in pitched battle. In the raiding warfare which was a chronic feature of the Byzantine-Arab borderlands between the 7th and the 10th century the Byzantines learnt to counter this problem. The mobile, skirmishing warfare described in the 10th century military handbook, the Peri Paradromes, [34] was a major factor in the very survival of the Empire over these centuries. However if the Caliph were to occupy western Asia Minor and thence capture Constantinople such mobile warfare would be of little avail.

The problem is to some extent paralleled by the experience of the Crusaders in Outremer in the 12th and especially the 13th century. The Crusader response was the construction of massive fortifications, such as Karak in Moab, Crac des Chevaliers or Marqab, which allowed a very small garrison to defy a much more powerful besieging army. The castle would be a base from which the Crusaders would carry on an aggressive mobile war and by this means they were able to maintain their control over the territory surrounding the castle despite the temporary military superiority of a succession of Islamic field armies. [35]

Some awareness of this strategy is evident in the Peri Paradromes although it was written with rather different military problems in mind. In this work the civilian population may take refuge in nearly fortresses (kastra), but it is intended that most will seek safety in the mountains. However the kastra have a similarly vital role in providing the hard points of a flexible defence. The author gives the example of the fortress of Misthea, on the southern shore of Beyşehirgölü, which was vainly besieged by a very large invading army from the Cilician Emirate of Tarsos.

36. Three Byzantine Military Treatises 164, 218-20, 222-6; see also ibid. 302-4; for Misthea, see K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4, Vienna (1984) 205-206.
37. Published information on the acropolis excavations since 1960 is to be found in BASOR CLXII (1961) 32-9; ibid. CLXVI (1962) 35-9; ibid. CLXX (1963) 31-7, 60; ibid. CLXXVII (1965) 8; ibid. CCVI (1972) 15-20; ibid. CCXV (1974) 31-3; Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research XLIII (1976) 67-9; BASOR CCXXVIII (1977) 48-50; G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 43-7.

While the enemy was so occupied, the smaller Byzantine field army took the opportunity to raid Cilicia itself thus forcing the enemy to return to the defence of their homeland.[36]

With so much at stake for the Byzantines such a fortress in western Asia Minor would have to be set on an outstanding defensive site overlooking an important agricultural area which the Arabs would want to exploit. The fortress would have to be large enough to hold a garrison sufficient not only for its own defence but also so as to wage guerrilla warfare against the Caliph's army. This is exactly what one finds on the acropolis hill at Sardis.

The fortress at Sardis was excavated in part during the early 1960s[37] but unfortunately the full report of this work has still to appear. Its ruins raise problems of dating and interpretation which cannot as yet be satisfactorily solved, but even so enough is clear for it to be certain that this was the goal of Suleiman's campaign in 716 and that it had been built on the orders of the Imperial government to deny the Maeander region to the Caliph's armies.

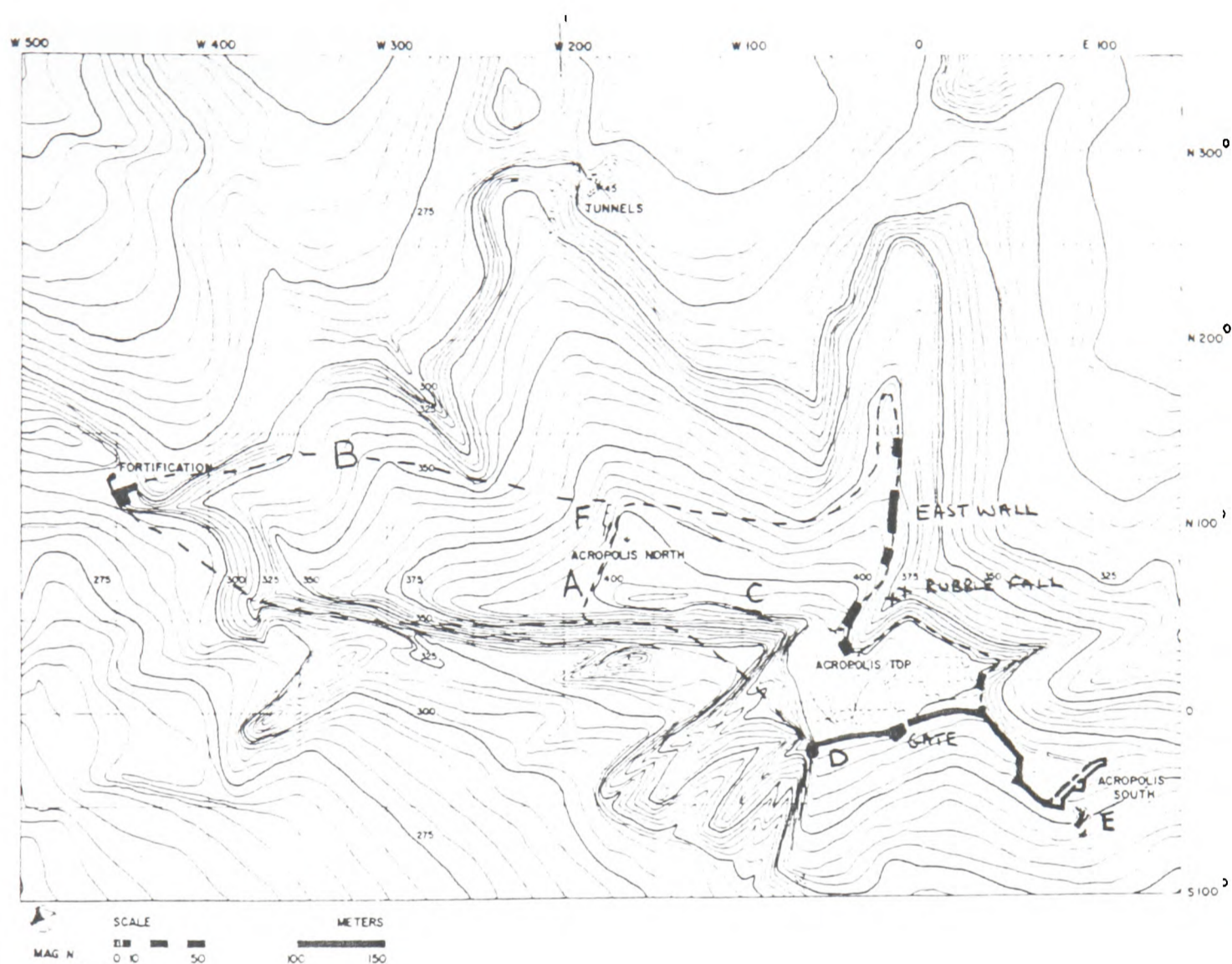


Fig. 1. THE ACROPOLIS CASTLE AT SARDIS.

The acropolis castle occupies a heavily eroded peak of a sandy conglomerate which forms part of a high terrace separating the Hermos valley from the Tmolos range to the south. These sandy hills rise to over 400 metres with precipitous cliffs and gullies caused by water erosion but possibly made more extreme by landslips due to earthquakes to which this area is prone. As one

38.

H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 19-21; the discussion is otherwise based on three days spent at Sardis in the spring of 1985.

can see from the plan (fig. I), the acropolis hill is sheer on the south side and very steep on all the other sides save to the south east where it is merely steep. From the north side, having an initial cliff, the site rises steadily at about 40 degrees until one reaches a high central ridge. Beyond this to the south east is the only area of fairly level ground, amounting to about half a hectare.[38]

Aside from the ancient Lydian fortification of which fragments survive at E and F on the plan, the Byzantine fortifications fall into two or possibly three phases. The largest section is that which starts at the great south bastion in the acropolis south sector and extends west to tower D, and north along the line of the east wall. These walls which still rise in places to over 9 metres in height, are on average 4 metres thick and are constructed of an outer and inner face of large spolia blocks of ashlar and marble. The southern stretch of this wall is well preserved unlike the east wall. However the surviving fragments of the latter and the fallen rubble in the gully to the east of the acropolis top sector leave no doubt that this was part of the same phase. The whole was built with great skill and professional expertise. Most important is the south bastion made up of three prow shaped towers with large openings designed for a balista battery whose field of fire would have covered the whole south eastern approach. The upper part of the bastion including a supporting gallery to the rear was constructed of very neatly laid brick. Above the battery level there appears to have been a further, possibly enclosed, fighting level again constructed of brick. The great thickness of the walls throughout, together with

39. For this and other features see, D. PRINGLE, The Defences of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest BAR International Series 99, Oxford (1981) I, 133-4, 137, 147-8, 149-52; W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien Denkmäler Antiker Architektur II, Berlin (1976) figs. 11, 13, 18, 59; M. WHITBY, 'Procopius' Description of Dara (Buildings II, 1-3)' in The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy, BAR International Series 297 (1986) 755-7; R. J. H. JENKINS, H. MEGAW, 'Researches at Isthmia' BSA XXXII (1931-2) 69-71; V. KONDIC, 'Les Formes des Fortifications, Protobyzantines dans la région des Portes de Fer' in Ville et peuplement dans l'Illyricium protobyzantin Collection de l'école Française de Rome 77 (1984) 135, 138-40; V. KONDIC, V. POPOVIĆ, Caričin Grad, Belgrade (1977) 42-5; R. F. HODDINOTT, Bulgaria in Antiquity London (1975).
40. See H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I ill. pp. 19 - 21 ; G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis fig. 24.
41. J.-M. SPIESER, Thessalonique et ses Monuments du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Contribution a l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne Paris (1984) 68-70.

the quantities of brick rubble found on the eastern slopes makes it likely that the brick upper level of the south bastion was extended over the whole length of the wall. By comparison with 6th century military works on the eastern frontier, in the Balkans and in Africa, this would probably have taken the form of an enclosed brick fighting level.[39]

At the furthest western end of the hill is another small section of fortification. It is built of the same high quality spolia facing with a mortared rubble core as the surviving southern section but it is distinguished by bands of brick work, six courses thick, on the outer facing. This difference in technique may suggest that it constitutes part of a different phase in the acropolis fortifications, possibly that of a repair or extension shortly after the original construction.[40] Equally this section may represent no more than the work of a different building team. The example of the late Roman walls at Thessalonika where two army units each used a different technique when working at the same time on the same circuit of walls shows that a different building technique does not necessarily prove a separate phase.[41] Here at Sardis too little survives of this western wall and it is in too dangerous a position to be certain. The question has to remain open.

However, the small stretch of mortared field stone rubble wall marked C on the plan is definitely part of a separate phase. It is only about one metre thick and includes broken brick fragments in the mortar. Walls of this type are common throughout the middle ages but other evidence to be discussed below shows that it must date to between the 11th and 14th centuries and

42.

Ill. in H. C. BUTLER, Sardis I 19 shows there has been little evident erosion of this section since 1910-14. This would tend to support the case for an earthquake as the major cause of destruction, see infra 60.

probably to the earlier part of that period. It is also important to note that unlike the western section where erosion has made the original course of the walls a matter of complete conjecture, this wall was built when the erosion of the south cliff was only slightly less advanced than it is today.[42]

The lack of a full published report of the acropolis excavations is found to make the dating and interpretation of the walls provisional. Current projects on Byzantine fortifications may also alter some of the detailed conclusions. However working from what has been published to date and what is visible on site these appear to have been at least three phases of Byzantine occupation.

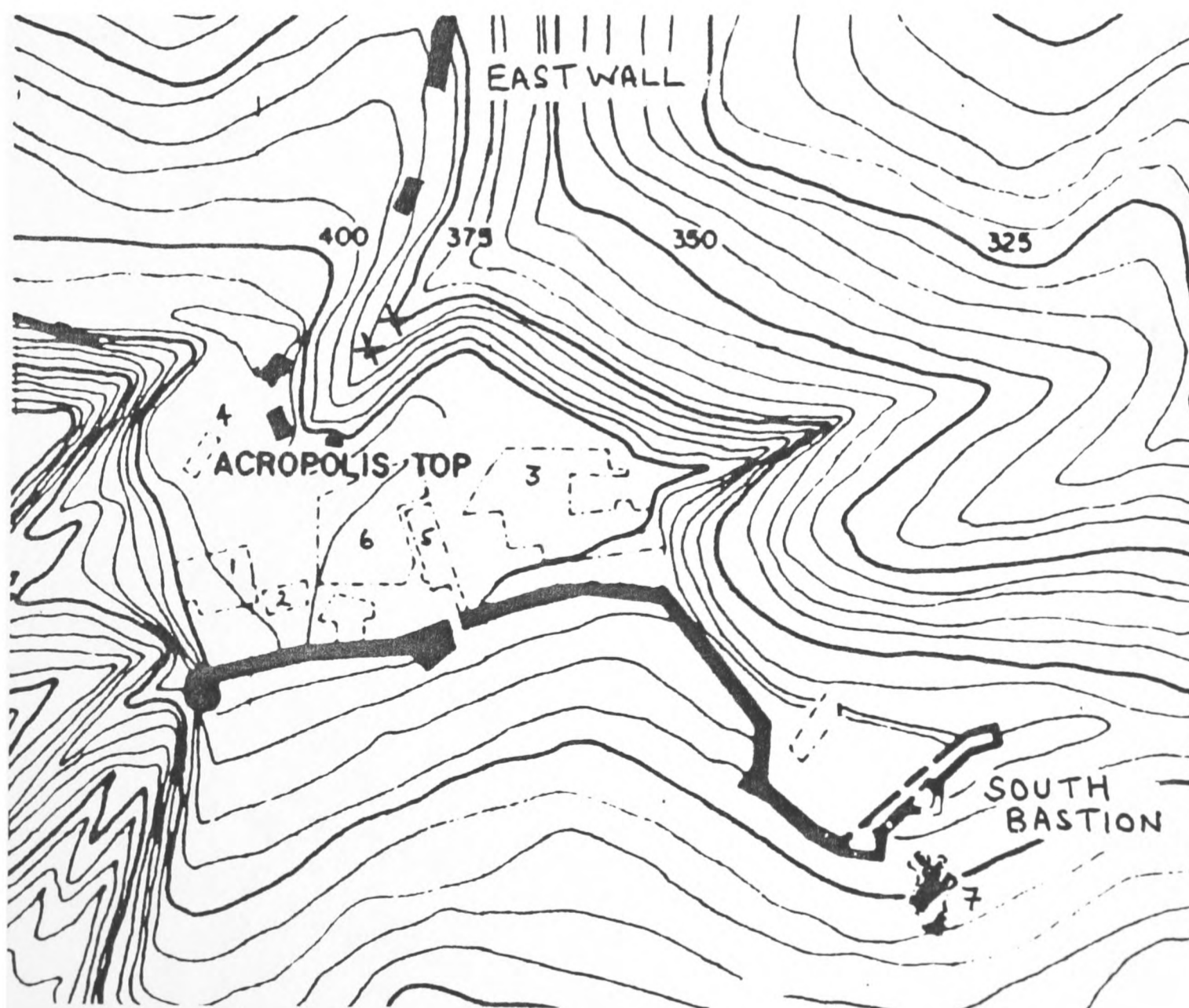


Fig. II. ACROPOLIS EXCAVATIONS, 1960-62.

For key to numbers see over.

43. BASOR CLXII (1961) 33-4, 37; *ibid.* CLXVI (1962) 35-40; *ibid.* CLXX (1963) 32-3; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 61.
44. G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins nr. 651, 75; nr. 1089, 118; nrs. 1092 and 1099, 119; nr. 1103, 121; nr. 1128, 126.

- Key - 1. Trench A, 1960.  
 2. Trench B, 1960.  
 3. Trench C, 1960, extended 1962.  
 4. Trench D, 1960.  
 5. Trench E, 1960.  
 6. Central Terrace, 1961.  
 7. Lydian fortifications.

The first occupation phase consists of a well built brick cistern in the north part of trench C and some very fragmentary walls in the central terrace area. Its abandonment can be dated to before the 11th century since several 11th century graves cut through this level and if the evidence of trench E is correct, where an extraordinary amount of sand and gravel fill was discovered, it may be connected to a major earthquake and landslip.[43] Six coins were found associated with this phase. The earliest was a follis of Maurice, struck at Cyzikos in 589/90; the most recent a follis of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos dated to 945. The others are three folleis of Constans II dating from between 655 and 664, and a nomisma struck in Justinian II's second reign between 705 and 711.[44] This building phase either followed another earthquake or, it seems more likely, involved the deliberate removal down to the level of the natural conglomerate of all previous structures on the site. The brick construction of the cistern makes it almost certain that the walls and the south bastion were built at the same time.

The second phase dates to the 11th century. There are numerous graves and the indications of a dense network of poor quality housing. One of the graves contained a bronze medallion

45. BASOR CLXII (1961) 33; *ibid.* CLXVI (1962) 38-40;  
G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins nr. 1169, 132; nrs.  
1170 and 1171, 133; nr. 1188, 138; C. FOSS,  
Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 70-71.
46. BASOR CLXII (1961) 33-4, 37; *ibid.*, CLXX (1963) 33-5;  
*ibid.*, CLXXVII (1965) 8; *ibid.* C (1972) 15-20; G. E.  
BATES, Byzantine Coins nr. 1189, 139; nr. 1194, 140;  
nr. 1199, 141; nr. 1206, 142; nr. 1226, 144: these  
coins date to between 1185 and 1261; C. FOSS, Byzantine  
and Turkish Sardis 82-3, 121-4.
47. W. H. BUCKLER, D. M. ROBINSON, Greek and Latin Inscriptions  
43, nr. 19 (= C. FOSS, *op.cit.* 116) H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM  
114-16, nr. 324, is ingenious but incorrect, being based  
on unreliable earlier readings, see W. H. BUCKLER, D. M.  
ROBINSON *op.cit.* pl. VII, squeeze.
48. Nicaea: A. M. SCHNEIDER, W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer  
von Iznik (Nicaea) Istabuler Forschungen 9, Berlin (1938)  
30-35, pls. 18, 20, 25, 27, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44, 148;  
Ankara: G. DE JERPHANION, Mélanges d'Archéologie Anatolienne  
Mélanges de L'Université Saint-Joseph XII, Beirut (1928)  
150-1, 155-66; pls. LXXXIII-IV, XCII, XCIV-VI; C. FOSS,  
'Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara' DOP XXXI (1977) 74,  
78-9.
49. C. FOSS, Kutahya 62-7, 81-3; G. DE JERPHANION, *op.cit.*  
155-66; pls. LXXXIII-IV, XCII, XCIV-VI.
50. See D. PRINGLE, The Defences of Byzantine Africa 149-52;  
and n. 52 *infra.*

showing the anastasis which has been dated on stylistic grounds alone to the first half of the 11th century. There were also four coins: one of Michael IV (1034-41), two of Isaac I (1057-9) and one of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-81).[45]

This phase was followed by another period of apparent abandonment. During the last phase the site was again covered by a dense network of small houses, workshops, including a pottery producing typical 12th-14th century Byzantine glazed ware, and a small rock cut chapel decorated with frescoes. This phase lasted right through until the final Turkish conquest in the early 14th century.[46]

From the evidence of the excavated occupation phases the main east walls and the south bastion would have to be dated to between the 6th and the 10th century. The vast quantity of spolia used in these walls and above all the presence as spolia of a 6th century inscription set up in the lower city after 539,[47] further establishes a terminus post quem of the early 7th century. Apart from the coin of Constantine Porphyrogenitos the terminus ante quem would be much less certain. The type of construction with a massive spolia base and brick upper works is compatible with fortifications built as late as the 9th century.[48] The only feature which definitely points to an early date is the south bastion. Prow shaped towers and triangular bastions are common enough in the 9th century but there would be nothing at Nicaea, Ankara or Kütahya to parallel the large openings for a ballista battery.[49] This is much closer to the defensive arrangement of a 6th century fortress and hence is rather more likely to be the fortress attacked by Suleiman in 716.[50]

51.

A. GABRIEL, Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie Paris (1931) I,  
19-23.

The acropolis castle is a very large fortress. Whether or not the western fortification belongs to a different phase, it must have been intended as part of a circuit of walls enclosing the whole hill (marked B on the plan, fig. I). The western fortification is overlooked from the east, hence any fortification which extended to the western edge of the acropolis hill was bound to include the peak and also the level ground in the acropolis top sector. The eastern walls also point to a large fortress. The stretchers on the west side of tower D point out into space indicating that the line of the wall continued on that side. The east wall also extends a considerable distance to the north, well beyond what would have been a possible minimum circuit, and the present south gate is small enough to have been intended as a postern. The total disappearance of the western walls, bar the isolated tower, is probably best explained by an earthquake.

Such a large circuit would be comparable in size to other important Byzantine fortresses, such as Kutahya or Ankara and it would have been rather larger than that at Caesarea in Cappadocia.[51] However the original fortress could have been limited to the area of the south bastion, acropolis top and adjacent peak sectors (circuit A, fig. I). A later extension to the western edge of the hill would have strengthened these defences by preventing an enemy from climbing unopposed up the western precipice and on to the easier slopes of the hill top itself. Yet even if the original works were confined to the eastern part of the hill, it still amounted to a huge undertaking. Several thousand tons of spolia, bricks, rubble, sand, lime and timber had to be carried to the top of a hill deliberately chosen

52. There appear to be the remains of wide openings which may reasonably be interpreted as such mountings.
53. G. M. A. HANFMANN, Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times 143-4; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 3; G. M. A. HANFMANN, J. C. WALDBAUM, A Survey of Sardis 35-49; figs. 11-58; W. MÜLLER-WIENER in Erasmus XXXI/7-8 (1979) 238 is quite correct to stress the fine quality of these walls. They were not the rushed and careless construction of an emergency. Walls were a status symbol and Sardis could well afford an impressive circuit.
54. D. CLAUDE, Die byzantinische Stadt.

as inaccessible and a large enough work force assembled to turn these materials into a fortress.

Not only is the site and scale of this structure impressive, but its architect created an exceptionally sophisticated fortress whose great strength is evident in the surviving ruins and was no doubt even more so when the walls stood to their full original height. There is even still a sense of menace and power to be gained from the view of the massive ashlar masonry and the ballista mountings[52] set in the sweep of the walls round to the south bastion. The latter must have been a particularly daunting sight as an enemy prepared to advance up the only practicable approach to the fortress.

At whatever date it was built such a fortress must have been built by the army. It is inconceivable in either the late Roman or Byzantine period that it was the result of civilian civic endeavour, and, almost by definition, had the citizens of Sardis needed such a fortress they would have been unable to have built it. Had they had the money and manpower they would surely have been better spent repairing and defending the fine existing circuit of late Roman walls around the lower city.[53] Civilian enterprise, apparently, in most cases episcopal, is not unknown in the early Byzantine period but these are no examples on this scale.[54]

It is also important to stress that there is no question of this fortress being primarily intended as a refuge site. A typology of such fortifications should be one of the gains from the present work on Byzantine castles, but even on the basis of

55. See infra
56. See A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I *passim*.
57. See ns. 42 and 43 supra.

the evidence now available refuges can be characterized as being out of sight of any main road, usually extremely isolated in mountain country, and poorly constructed of mortared fieldstone. By their nature they were not intended for permanent occupation or to withstand serious siege.[55] The fortress at Sardis forms a complete contrast. It is set on a peak visible for miles, close to one of the most important roads in western Asia Minor, and built on a scale which defies the enemy to attack. It no doubt did serve as a place of refuge but that was not at all its primary role.

There can therefore be little doubt that the acropolis castle was the fortress that Suleiman attacked and that it had been specifically built by the Imperial government to deny the fertile plains of the Maeander region to the Caliph's armies. The only other possible context within the chronological limits defined by the evidence from the excavation of the acropolis top sector is the middle decades of the 9th century, particularly the 830s, when the combination of a revived and aggressive Caliphate with the Spanish Arab raiders, who operated from Crete against targets throughout the Aegean, provoked a military crisis for the Empire. In the event internal political circumstances deprived the Abbasid Caliphs of the opportunity to press home the advantage gained by the victory at Dazimon and the capture of Amorion and Ankara in 838. Unlike the earlier period there was apparently no co-ordination between the Caliph's campaigns by land and the raids of the Cretan Arabs by sea.[56] Even so, major building works at Nicaea, Ankara, Kütahya and Smyrna[57] show how seriously the Byzantines took the renewed Arab threat. There is every likelihood that other fortifications in Asia Minor should be dated

58. K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 190-91, pls. 17, 18.
59. D. FRENCH, S. MITCHELL, Ankara. A Guide to the City and District Ankara (no date) 95-6.
60. See V. KONDIČ loc.cit. supra n. 33.
61. K. BELKE, op.cit. 191; S. MITCHELL, RECAM II, 219-21, nrs. 270-73.
62. W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Geography 227; J. G. C. ANDERSON 'Exploration in Galatia Cis Halym, Part II' JHS XIX (1899) III; DAI 236.

to this period and in theory it would be possible to fit the fortress at Sardis into the pattern.

There are several obvious objections to the 9th century date. Aside from the notice in the Syriac chronicle, there are two decisive points. The first concerns the building technique and defensive arrangement of the south bastion; the second, the find, mentioned above, of 87 copper coins of Constans II and Constantine IV among several temporarily re-occupied rooms in the derelict Gymnasium.

The details of the south bastion, in particular its wide openings for a balista battery, do not fit in well with what else is known of 9th century fortification.

An example of a triple bastion built to command the more accessible and vulnerable approach to a fortress exists at the Kizil Hisar, near the Galatian village of Taburoglu, 89 kilometres south west of Ankara. As yet there is no published plan nor indeed an adequate description, but from what is available it does appear that the arrangement of the bastion is broadly similar to that at Sardis.[58] A 9th century date has been suggested for this fortress, but in fact this only depends on an apparent similarity with the prow shaped towers at Ankara.[59] Prow shaped towers, however, are not confined to the 9th century,[60] and the evidence for late Roman occupation suggests that these walls may be as early as the 7th century.[61] Furthermore, if the suggested identification of the site with that of the bandon of Aphrazeia were certain, then an early date would be very convincing. Wherever Aphrazeia may be, as a bandon of the Anatolikoi it was extant by the end of the 7th century.[62]

63. E. W. MARSDEN, Greek and Roman Artillery. Historical Development Oxford (1969) ; D. PRINGLE, The Defences of Byzantine Africa 149-52; see for example, PROCOPIUS V, xxi, 14-18; xxii, 21: 576-7 siege of Rome.
64. This important point is made in J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, 'Byzantine Artillery' forthcoming; the key text he draws attention to is the Miracula Sancti Demetri which proves that at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century the Avars had traction artillery while the Byzantines did not: P. LEMERLE, Les Plus Anciens Recueils des Miracles de Saint Demetrius Paris (1979) I, 154, 187; the appearance of traction artillery in the muslim world and the West is discussed in D. HILL, 'Trebuchets' Viator IV (1973) 99-114; C. M. GILLMOR, 'The Introduction of the Traction Trebuchet into the Latin West' Viator XII (1981) 1-8. c.f. L. WHITE, Medieval Technology and Social Change, Oxford (1962) 101-2; C. FOSS, Kütahya 77.
65. See D. HILL 'Trebuchets' 99-114.
66. A particular problem is the relationship between the late Roman ballista, the toxobolistrai megalai mentioned in 949, and the origins of the crossbow: see De Cer I, 670-71; A. DAIN, Naumachica, Paris (1943) 60; J. HALDON ' - The Byzantine Crossbow?' University of Birmingham Historical Journal XII (1970) 155-7; G. T. DENNIS 'Flies, Mice and the Byzantine Crossbow' Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies VII (1981) 1-5.
67. C. FOSS, Ephesus 197-8; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 640 n. 374.

In any case, once examined in detail the similarity between the Kizil Hisar and the Sardis acropolis becomes less significant. Kizil Hisar has nothing of the characteristic of late Roman military brick work and above all there are no openings for a ballista battery.

The ballista was essentially a large bow which derived its torsion from twisted sinew drums on which the arms of the bow pivoted. By about the 4th century AD a number of these machines had been replaced by another item of torsion artillery, the stone throwing onager, but the ballista still played a major role in the defence of late Roman fortifications.[63] At the turn of the 6th/7th century traction artillery was introduced by the Avars into the Byzantine world.[64] Traction artillery was technically easier to construct and maintain, less susceptible to wet weather, had a higher rate of fire and would shoot much larger missiles.[65] Torsion artillery, including the ballista, seems to have gradually disappeared. The process is ill-documented and unclear,[66] but by the 9th century there is no known example of a fortress provided with the openings for a ballista battery. What was a common feature in the 6th century, was no longer part of Byzantine defensive architecture by the 9th. There is no reason to see Sardis as an exception.

The coin evidence supports this interpretation. Stray coin finds are very common on all the region's sites up to the early 7th century. Their number declines to almost nothing for the later years of Heraclios, recovers slightly for the early years of Constans II and then virtually disappears until a few examples from the 9th century herald the middle Byzantine recovery.[67] At

68. G. E. BATES, Byzantine Coins 6-7.
69. M. HENDY, op.cit. 619-26, 640-45.

Sardis of the total number of 1,234 coins found for the eight centuries from the 6th to the 14th, over 80 per cent were struck in the century and a quarter before 616. Were it not for the 87 coins found in the Gymnasium only a further 7 coins, that is about half a per cent of the total, would have been recorded for the period between 616 and the 9th century.[68]

The problems posed by the coin evidence have already been touched upon in the discussion of sources. While it is reasonable to see the decline in coinage as evidence for a drastic economic and cultural decline, it is not so to see it as evidence for the abandonment of settlement sites. In the late Roman Empire the State had had a near monopoly over the initial distribution of coinage, essentially in the form of pay and donatives to the army and civilian officials. As the Empire collapsed in the face of Persian, Avar, Slav and above all Arab attack so bankruptcy followed and the supply of the coin was abruptly halted. The slight resurgence in coin finds under Constans II cannot be seen as part of a general recovery. Too few coins are involved and there is no other corroborative archaeological evidence. Instead this is simply evidence for the state's improved financial position during a lull in the Arab threat. After Constans' reign the deepening crisis of the Arab invasions forced the Empire to abandon monetary payments as the basic support for the armed forces in favour of the distribution of land.[69]

The 87 coins from the Gymnasium are a very substantial find for the 7th century. Given the government monopoly of minting, the Empire's dire military position and the quite evident poverty stricken state of 7th century Sardis, the coins must have had their origin in government expenditure. Of the 87 coins 48 were

70. G. E. BATES, op.cit. 113-20.
71. ibid. nr. 1089, 118; nr. 1092 and 1099, 119; BASOR  
CLXII (1961) 33.
72. G.E BATES, Byzantine Coins 113-20.
73. ibid. pl. 7, nrs. 1014-96.

found in a single room and the rest either came from adjacent rooms or the fill of a Byzantine road built over the remains of a late Roman porticoed street.[70] Like the fortress, the road was certainly not a civilian work. It was built for military purposes and very probably by an army unit.

The road was part of the main route linking western Asia Minor to the central plateau and the military road from Constantinople to the eastern frontier. Had the Byzantines been building a fortress at Sardis repairs to this route would have been an essential part of the same strategy, since the Byzantine field army would have had to have been able to re-deploy so as to face Arab attacks from either Syria or the Aegean. In addition three coins of Constans II were found among the first phase on the acropolis making it even more likely that the road and the fortress were built at about the same period.[71]

The coins in the Gymnasium and on the acropolis date from all three decades of Constans' reign - 56 from the 640s, 26 from the 650s and 5 from the 660s - but there are also two coins from the reign of his son and successor, Constantine IV (668-85). One was found in the fill of the Byzantine road, the other was found in a corridor leading north from the room which had contained over half the coins and has been called the guard-house.[72]

The only certain conclusion from the coins is a terminus post quem for their deposit of about 669. Several are clipped and they appear worn, but the latter could be the result of worn dies.[73] Nonetheless the absence of any later coins than Constantine IV is a strong argument to place the major building

74.

BASOR CLXX (1963) 31-2; G. E. BATES, op.cit. nr.  
1128, 126; c.f. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis  
70.

operations at Sardis in the late 7th or early 8th century. In that period the most likely date for such large scale works is the period after 680. The Arabs had failed before Constantinople in 674-8 but the attempt had highlighted the danger to the Byzantines if they lost control of the west coast. After Mu'awiya's death in April 680 the Byzantines gained a further breathing space as the Muslims fell into civil war which lasted for more than a decade. This would have been a timely opportunity to deploy important units in a strategic project to improve the region's defences. By 716 the fortress should have been ready to face Suleiman's army.

According to the Syriac chronicle Suleiman captured Sardis in 716, but the second siege of Constantinople was no more successful than the first and in 718 the Arabs abandoned western Asia Minor not to return. After that the fortress remained in use until the mid-10th century.[74] The immediate cause for its abandonment may have been an earthquake but by that date it had also ceased to be of much strategic significance. The very scanty remains show that there was no important settlement there and it seems to have been occupied only as a small military outpost. When the army left, the site was of no interest to the local population and the site was abandoned.

The failure to establish "Upper Sardis" on such an excellent defensive site is an important example of a Byzantine community not taking to the hills but instead continuing to occupy the old city site in the plain. By comparison, in central Italy at about the same time there are numerous examples of communities moving to such well protected sites. From the 6th century onwards many Italians abandoned the settlements of the Roman period in the

75. T. POTTER, The Changing Landscape of South Etruria 138-69, Pls. XI 6, XV.
76. BASOR CLXII (1961) 32-9; ibid. CLXVI (1962) 37, 39; ibid CLXX (1963) 32-3; ibid. CCXV (1974) 33; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 71-89.
77. C. FOSS, op.cit. 121-4.

plains in favour of hill top sites such as Orvieto. Even as conditions improved from the 8th century the population did not return to its former sites. In the new hill top towns they had built churches, houses and walls, and despite the inconvenience the population would stay there until the 20th century.[75]

The Byzantines at Sardis were not to follow the Italian example until the 11th century and even then it would not be a permanent move until the 13th century. The evidence for the second phase of occupation on the acropolis shows that this was a different phenomenon to the early Byzantine experience. The excavations revealed, unlike the earlier phase, a dense settlement of poor housing which the coin finds date to the later 11th century. There can be little doubt that this new occupation of the site was a consequence of the first Turkish conquest. This phase did not last long. After the Byzantine re-conquest in 1098 the acropolis was again abandoned, but as Imperial Control waned toward the end of the 12th century so the upper site was once more re-occupied. Despite the greater security of the Lascarid period, reflected in new buildings such as Church E in the lower town, the upper site remained a settlement for the rest of the Byzantine period.[76] This was the town of Sardis whose struggles with the Turks at the beginning of the 14th century were described by Pachymeres.[77] By that date the town had at last permanently migrated to the acropolis hill.

Sardis is obviously a peculiar site. The acropolis was occupied in the later 7th century as an Imperial fortress not a new town. The population may well not have been given the option of moving to the upper site. Even so the example and the contrast

78.

ibid. 2-52; F. K. YEGÜL, The Bath Gymnasium Complex at Sardis 49.

with the Italian pattern does suggest some general conclusions.

Firstly, western Asia Minor was probably at no time before the Turkish invasions afflicted with such chronic insecurity as central Italy. Survival on ancient sites was for most of the time a reasonably safe option.

Secondly, late Roman Sardis was an ancient and wealthy community, still at the end of the 6th century with a great civic pride and a sense of identity. Such a community, if given any realistic choice, would not abandon its ancient home.[78]

Thirdly, the example of Sardis shows how important it is to distinguish between military castles and fortified settlements. Not every hill top fortress is proof that the local cities had been abandoned in the early Byzantine period, even if later in the 12th or 13th century this did come to be the case. Despite the proximity of a suitable hill, the population of Sardis appear to have survived on the ancient site in the plain. Just as with Sardis so with the other cities in the region, the slight evidence for continuity needs to be taken seriously if one is to visualize the society which was conquered by the Turks in the later 11th century.

1. C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 118; IDEM, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' AJA LXXXI (1977) 479-81; A. CONZE, Stadt und Landschaft, Altertumer von Pergamon I, Berlin (1912) 305-6, 359, pls. 62-63.

CHAPTER FOUR      Continuity or Flight? II: A Regional Survey of  
the Lower Maeander.

It should be admitted from the first that in view of the lack of field surveys, the difficulties with the archaeological evidence and the lack of excavation of Byzantine sites the case for continuity as yet amounts to no more than a probability. The available evidence does not prove that the ancient sites remained the principal centres of settlement but there is nothing which proves the contrary and over the region as a whole the evidence fits without strain into a model of continuity.

The evidence for continuity at Sardis has already been noted above. The existence of the acropolis fortress is no evidence for a move in the site of the city. Instead it was built by the army in accordance with the strategic plans of the Imperial government. Up until the end of the 11th century its development was of little relevance to the history of the rest of the settlement.

Although they lie outside the Maeander region two other related fortresses should be noted. The Syriac chronicle entry for 716 indicates that the fortress at Pergamon was part of the same strategic scheme, although this could have been deduced from the very similar construction of the walls of the Pergamon acropolis castle, the similar well-protected site and the associated find of 124 coins of Constans II.[1]

2. L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 2nd Edition, Paris (1962) 268, 318; c.f. H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 86.
3. La Vie Merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa ed. V. LAURENT, Subsidia Hagiographica 29, Brussels (1956) 121; F. HALKIN 'Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainquer des Arabes en 863 (d'après un texte inédit)' AB LXII (1944) 219; last stands: 866: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 240; 932: GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONT. 912; 980: SKYLITZES 328.

A further unconfirmed possibility is the fortress of Plateia Petra. The exact site is uncertain although it is known to have been in the mountains of Lydia and set on impregnable cliffs. This places it somewhere in the mountainous country north of the Hermos, north-east of Sardis. The most likely site is the great rock at Şahankaya, called the Yedikule,[2] but it is by no means certain and having not visited the site myself I am not in a position to judge. In any case the written evidence shows that, wherever Plateia Petra may have been, in the 9th century it was one of the strongest fortresses of the Thrakesion theme. On at least three occasions it was used for the last stand of a fleeing rebel and there is no record of its fall to assault or siege. Such a fortress might have been built in the 9th century but if the site was so suitable it is more likely to have been occupied earlier, possibly therefore at the same time as the acropoleis at Sardis and Pergamon.[3]

About thirty miles to the east of Sardis on the same side of the Hermos valley is the important ancient and Byzantine town of Philadelphia, modern Turkish Alaşehir. Due in part to the existence of the modern town there has never been an excavation of any part of the site and a recent survey project seems to have been limited in its aims. Nonetheless Philadelphia still has a very fine circuit of late Roman walls and there is a relatively large body of written evidence for the period from the early 12th century to the city's final conquest by the Turks in 1390. If it is legitimate to extrapolate from the actions of these later

4. 'Philadelphia' P-W XIX/2, 2091-2; D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 40, 797-9; roads: W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, Classical Map of Asia Minor London (1958); H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 17; P. SCHREINER 'Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293-1390)' Orientalia Christiana Periodica XXXV (1969) 394; Caravan road: e.g. J.-B. TAVERNIER, The Six Voyages 37; medieval travellers: see infra 78-80 .

Philadelphians who used for their defence the same walls that had been there many centuries earlier, then it is almost certain that the city had had a continuous existence on the same site during the early Byzantine period.

Philadelphia was an Attalid foundation of the 2nd century BC set in fertile agricultural lands at an important route centre of western Asia Minor. Up until the 1950s the main road from the Hermos on to the central plateau passed through Philadelphia in order to avoid the rough country of the Katakekaumene. From Philadelphia the road passed via Blaundos (near Ulubey) and thence to Uşak and Afyon. This was the route followed by the Roman road, by caravan traffic in the 17th and 18th centuries, and by the late 19th century railway. Another important route led south east from Philadelphia over the watershed between the Hermos and Maeander river systems to join Smyrna, Sardis and Philadelphia with the cities of the Lykos valley. From there major routes led either east via Apamea to the eastern frontier and the southern coast, or south into Caria and Lycia. Again this route was followed by a Roman road and its use is recorded throughout the medieval and early modern period. Philadelphia is also linked via a minor route to Koloe and the Cayster Valley. Small Ottoman bridges testify to its earlier use but it is not an easy route and would require the considerable use of dynamite before it could bear a modern road. It should be regarded as a possible route for local trade but not for an advancing army.[4]

5. D. MAGIE, loc.cit.
6. E. CURTIUS, 'Philadelpheia, Nachtrag zu den Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens', Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (1872) 9-5 and pl. VIII.
7. H. BUCHWALD, 'The Church of St. John the Theologian in Alaşehir (Philadelphia)' JÖB xxx (1981) 301-18.
8. A. PRALONG 'Les remparts de Philadelphie' in Philadelphie et autres études Byzantina Sorbonensia 4, Paris (1984) 121-5.

Like the other cities of the region Philadelphia enjoyed considerable prosperity during the Roman period. In April 1985 the excavation of a large ditch for new sewers across the centre of Alaşehir revealed the remains of the Roman city's public monumental centre. Several Roman inscriptions are also known recording imperial benefactions to the city.[5] In the 1870s it was still possible to discern the site of a theatre and the stadium is visible today.[6] This prosperity continued in the late Roman period. The remains of a large basilica in the centre of the modern town are probably 6th century,[7] while the circuit of late Roman walls are themselves evidence of considerable civic wealth.

The walls of Philadelphia have usually been dated to the 3rd or 4th century but it has been recently suggested that they date to the early 7th century, on the grounds that although their technique of construction is very similar to those at Sardis the latter are not securely dated and the technique is broadly the same as that used throughout the early and middle Byzantine period. The 7th century would, it is argued, be a likely context for such a powerful circuit.[8]

This is not a convincing view. In the first place it greatly exaggerates the similarity in Byzantine and late Roman building techniques. Dating can be complicated but there should be no reason to confuse late Roman with middle Byzantine walls. The walls at Philadelphia with their rubble core, neat brick

9. J.-M. SPIESER, Thessalonique 66-7, pls. IX/2, X, XII/2; see supra.
10. ZOSIMUS IV, xxx 4-5.

banding, regular field stone facing, and above all no spolia are plainly late Roman. The walls at Sardis are very similar to those at Philadelphia and although there is nothing to date them exactly the great size of the circuit and again the absence of spolia points to a still active urban culture. The same applies at Philadelphia. It is inconceivable that at either Sardis or Philadelphia such defences would have been erected at a time of military crisis and economic collapse without making use of whatever convenient building materials were to hand. The walls of Thessalonika are a real case of panic building, apparently put up in the mid-5th century in the face of the Huns. There the builders used anything suitable, including numerous inscriptions, decorative facings, column drums and blocks of seats from the hippodrome.[9] By contrast the walls at Sardis and Philadelphia were erected at a leisurely pace in a time of peace. Such circumstances did not prevail in the 7th century.

Two pieces of literary evidence for the late Roman prosperity of the city should also be noted. Zosimos records that in 379 or 380 there was an outbreak of fighting in Philadelphia between contingents of Egyptian troops being transferred to Europe and barbarians from north of the Danube bound for Egypt. The fact that they met in the market at Philadelphia shows the continued importance of the city both as a route centre and as a market and likely source of supplies.[10] John Lydos, whose De Magistratibus was used as a source by Constantine Porphyrogenitos, was a Philadelphian who left his

11. JOHN LYDOS 113, 148-51.
12. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 145; Not. 2, nr. 165;  
Not. 3, nr. 201; Not. 4, nr. 155; Not. 7, nr. 194; Not.  
9, nr. 91; Not. 10, nr. 95.
13. SATHAS, MB V nr. 180, 459-61.
14. ibid. 28.

home in 511 to pursue a career in the Imperial civil service. His description of John Maxilloploumakios' evil deeds in torturing wealthy Philadelphians and stealing their property should not only be seen as a record of the ravages of Imperial tax collectors, but also as an indication that such wealthy targets still existed in 6th century Philadelphia.[11]

Apart from episcopal lists in which Philadelphia appears as the senior suffragan bishopric of the metropolitan of Sardis,[12] there is no mention of the city until the 11th century when it seems to have been one of the residences of the judge of the Thrakesioi. The only evidence for this is a letter of advice, probably dating to the late 1040s or early 1050s, which Michael Psellos wrote to a theme judge then resident in Philadelphia. Psellos says in the letter that he had first been to Philadelphia as a very young man when he passed through as part of the entourage of a certain Kataphloros on the way to Mesopotamia.[13] Psellos first left Constantinople aged 16 in 1034 to serve a judge in Macedonia and Thrace.[14] It is possible that this judge was the same Kataphloros who if he had been transferred to a new judgeship in the east might well have sailed from Thessalonika to a coast port and thence travelled east up the Hermos valley via Philadelphia. Shortly afterwards, as this letter shows, Psellos had returned to Philadelphia as a theme judge himself. In the manuscript the letter is untitled but the contents and in particular the play on philadelpheia in the opening section make it quite plain that Psellos is writing to a

15. ibid. 459-61; the manuscript is Parisinus Graecus 1182, see P. GAUTIER, 'Deux manuscrits Pselliens: Le Parisinus Graecus 1182 et le Laurentianus Graecus 57-40' REB XLIV (1986) 79.
16. G. L. F. TAFEL, G. M. THOMAS, Urkunden zur älteren Handels - und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit Besonderer beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante I, Vienna (1856) 271; M. ANGOLD, A Byzantine Government in Exile Oxford (1975) 247.
17. GEORGES ET DEMETRIOS TORNIKÈS, Lettres et Discours ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris (1970) 150-1, 173.
18. C.f. J.-C. CHEYNET, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206' in Philadelphie et autres études 39; see M. MULLETT, 'The classical tradition in the Byzantine letter', in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition 91.
19. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey ; ANNA COMMENA III, 27; P. SCHREINER 'Zur Geschichte Philadelphias'.

judge resident in Philadelphia and had himself also been resident there.[15] In the 12th century Philadelphia was for a period a separate theme but there is no evidence of such an administrative unit in the 11th century.[16] The title suggested by Sathas in his edition, 'To the judge of Philadelphia', should therefore be disregarded. Both Psellos and his addressee would have been in Philadelphia as judges of the Thrakesioi. In the 12th century, the dux of the Thrakesioi was normally resident in Philadelphia,[17] but again there is no evidence to suggest whether or not this was true for the judges in the previous century. In any case Psellos' letter is an important indication that the silence of the rest of the written sources and the absence of archaeology is a poor guide to a city's status in the early and middle Byzantine period.

It has been noticed that Psellos refers to Philadelphia in this letter as a chōrion and its inhabitants as chōritai, but in fact there is little that one can draw from this. To describe Byzantine provincials as barbarians and their towns as villages was a literary affection prevalent among Byzantine letter writers in the 11th century.[18]

With the rest of the region Philadelphia must have fallen to the Turks about 1080 but in the spring of 1098 it was reconquered by John Doukas and from then until 1390 it remained in Christian hands.[19] During the early years of the reconquest

20. ANNA COMNENA III, 154-5.
21. H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 125-30.
22. C. FOSS, Kütahya 68-71; these remains which seem to appear on the map in E. CURTIUS, 'Philadelpheia' pl. VIII, were overlooked by A. PRALONG 'Les remparts de Philadelphie 112-14.
23. M. COUROUPOU 'Le siège de Philadelphie par Umur Pacha d'après le manuscrit de la Bibl. Patriarcale d'Istanbul, Panaghias 58' in Geographica Byzantina ed. H. Ahrweiler, Byzantina Sorbonensia 3, Paris (1981) 71, ll. 10-11, 19.
24. ACROPOLITES 105; NIKETAS CHONIATES 412.
25. H. AHRWEILER, 'La region de Philadelphie au XIV siècle (1290-1390). Dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure' Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions (1983) 175-197, esp. 195.

Philadelphia, like Ephesos, Smyrna and Pergamon, was a separate military command[20] but in the early 1130s the Thrakesion was reconstituted as a theme under a dux, who seems to have been resident in Philadelphia.[21] On the city's acropolis there are the remains of some fine opus mixtum which by comparison with similar work at Kütahya could be dated to the mid-12th century.[22] In the 14th century this structure was known as the palation which would support the suggestion that this was the residence of the dux of the Thrakesioi.[23]

Philadelphia's defences, its position as a route centre close to the contested lands of the Upper Maeander and its own fertile hinterland, meant that from 1098 onwards it played an important role in Byzantine strategy as a forward bulwark against the Turks. On several occasions in the 12th and 13th centuries Byzantine authors noted the Philadelphians' warlike qualities. In particular George Acropolites, writing in the second half of the 13th century, described Philadelphia as a great and populous city whose inhabitants were all capable of bearing arms and were particularly skilled in the use of the bow - the characteristic weapon of their Turkoman opponents.[24] This experience of the frontier was to stand the Philadelphians in good stead in the 14th century when they survived long after all else in western Asia Minor had fallen to the Turks as a virtually independent 'Greek Emirate'.[25]

There is no evidence of such local military initiative

26. J.-C. CHEYNET, 'Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de  
dissidence, 1182-1206' 39-54.
27. ANNA COMNENA III, 144-5.

before the last two decades of the 12th century[26] but this should not imply that Philadelphians had been incapable of defending themselves. An incident in 1109-10 suggests otherwise. The stratopedarch, Eumathios Philokales, had earlier inflicted a savage defeat on the Turkomen in the Baklan ovası and the area around the Acı Tüz Gölü. This in turn had provoked a counter attack from Hasan, the ruler of the Turks in Cappadocia, who marched on Philadelphia with a large army aiming to destroy Eumathios' forces in battle. By giving strict orders that no one was to show themselves on the city walls Eumathios was able to deceive the Turks into believing that the city was only held by the local population. Feeling himself to be safe from the Byzantine field army, Hasan allowed his own large army to split into three raiding groups. As soon as these had moved off, the Byzantine forces emerged from Philadelphia and defeated the Turkish raiders in detail.[27]

The significant point of these events for the history of Philadelphia is that although Hasan believed it was held only by its inhabitants, the Turks made no attempt to sack the city. According to Anna Comnena's account this was because they did not have the necessary siege equipment, but it also follows that no attack was made because the citizens were expected to be able to defend their walls. Otherwise it would simply have been a matter of climbing in.

The walls of Philadelphia enclose an area of approximately

28. c.f. A. PRALONG, 'Les remparts de Philadelphie' 101-25.
29. E. CURTIUS, 'Philadelphieia' 94; c.f. A. PRALONG, op.cit. 116.
30. see infra ; in general proteichismata were built at more immediately threatened sites such as Dara or Thessalonika, see M. WHITBY, 'Procopius' description of Dara (Buildings II. 1-3)' in The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East 761; J.-M. SPIESER, Thessalonique 72-3.
31. A. M. SCHNEIDER, W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea) 16-19.

180 hectares rising to join the site of the acropolis on the south side. They are built of neatly coursed mortared fieldstone with a mortared rubble core. Some major repairs and improvements were carried out in the 12th and 13th centuries but otherwise they are all of late Roman date.[28] Up to at least 1870 the fragmentary remains of what appears to have been a proteichisma were visible by the south east gate.[29] Whether or not this was part of the original late Roman defences is not clear. Although a proteichisma formed part of the late Roman circuit at Antioch on the Maeander, such outworks are uncommon among the urban defences of western Asia Minor,[30] and a later date has to be considered. A 13th century proteichisma is known from Nicaea in Bithynia.[31] The date here will have to await excavation.

In any case the point remains that the walls which Hasan felt unable to take in 1109-10 were essentially the same as those which surrounded the city in the late Roman period. Hasan's expedition also dates to seventy years before any Byzantine author commented upon the warlike qualities of the Philadelphians. From this it follows that if the circuit were defensible in the face of a large Turkish army in the early 12th century, then it is hard to believe that in the 7th century, when the Philadelphians were heirs to nearly 900 years of civic tradition, they would simply have abandoned these same walls in the face of the Arabs.

The absence of any mention of Philadelphia in the sources

32. J. KEIL, A VON PREMERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-Hist. Klasse LVII, Vienna (1914) 15-17.
33. P. S. NASTUREL, Le testament de Maxime de Skoteinë (1247) in Philadelphie et autres études 69-100; there are two editions of this text: S. EUSTRATIADES, 'Ἡ ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ μονῆς τῆς Ὑπερκύβης Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοτεινῆς' Ἑλληνικά III (1930) 325-39; M. I. GEDEON, 'Διαθήκη Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ κτίτορος τῆς Λυδίας μονῆς Κοτινῆς (1247)' Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά II (1939) 270-90. Neither is totally satisfactory.
34. S. EUSTRATIADES, op.cit. 325; M. I. GEDEON, op.cit. 271-2.
35. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 15 and fig. 7.

for the early Byzantine period is hardly important. Few places are mentioned at all and it is natural that the chronicles should concentrate on the major fortresses or Christian centres such as Sardis, Amorion or Ephesos. Philadelphia should no doubt appear under the "other cities and fortresses" common to the Byzantine and Arab accounts.

More significant is the apparent absence of anywhere else for the 7th century Philadelphians to have gone. This has to be suggested with some caution, since there are still areas in the hill country separating Alaşehir from Kiraz and the Cayster valley to the south which need modern exploration; however earlier travellers in the area make no mention of any fortresses in these hills,[32] and more important, a surviving document of 1247 implies that in the early 13th century they were deserted.

The document is the will of Maximos, abbot and founder of the monastery of the Theotokos tēs Skoteinēs, which is preserved in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos.[33] Various indications in the will show that the monastery lay near to Philadelphia on a wooded hill.[34] Since the only hills in the vicinity are those to the south the monastery must have been in this general area. In fact the actual site may have been discovered. In 1911 J. Keil and A. Von Premerstein saw the sculptural remains of a Byzantine church reused to form the grave of a Muslim saint at Tacdaci Köy, a village 5 kilometres south of Alaşehir lying 750 metres above sea level.[35] If this is not

36. S. EUSTRATIADES, op.cit. 325-6; M. I. GEDEON, op.cit. 271, 272-3.
37. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' JOB XXVIII (1979) 297-320.
38. Satala: ibid. 305-6; L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure 93-103, 287-313; Maonia: C.FOSS, op.cit. 304-5; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.Hist. Klasse LIV, Vienna (1911) 79, 87-9; P. HERRMANN, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordost Lydien, Denkschriften LXXX (1962) 4-12.

the church of the Theotokos it certainly lay very close to hand. In the will Maximos says that when his father first went there which was presumably in the early 13th century - the area was uncultivated and thickly wooded. Indeed it was such a lonely and deserted region that in the early years monks could not be persuaded to live there.[36] Clearly there had been no shift in population to the security of these hills.

In general in this part of Lydia known medieval castles and potential refuge sites date to the 12th century or later. Some of the remains in the Katakekaumene, north of Philadelphia, have been examined by C. Foss, and it is clear that most of the fortress building dates to the Lascarid period.[37]

The three main sites are Satala, Maeonia and Tabala. At Satala and Maeonia the evidence suggests a continuous occupation of the same site through the ancient and medieval periods.[38] Tabala however appears to be an exception where the settlement did move from its ancient site in the plain on to a nearby hill in the early Byzantine period. Very little is known about ancient Tabala. It is possible that the hill top was so excellent a defensive site as to encourage the Byzantines to leave the late Roman city, but as with Sardis, Pergamon or possibly Plateia Petra, there remains suspicion that this was an official military work. Tabala is in a key strategic position commanding one of the main routes to the east and the walls would appear to be a rather too major investment for a previously

39. C. FOSS, op.cit. 302-4, and pl. 5; P. HERRMANN, op.cit. 19-22 and pl. V.
40. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78-9, 92-3.
41. ibid. 79; HIEROKLES 21-2 and map III.
42. Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin and Leipzig (1924-40) II, i 405.

unimportant city.[39] In any case Tabala is too far from Philadelphia to represent a refuge site for its citizens.

Beyond the Boz dağ south of the Hermos lies the upper valley of the Cayster. This area has been noted for its fertility since antiquity, but due to its position away from the major west - east routes in a cul-de-sac of mountains, it did not develop any large or famous cities. As late as the 2nd century AD some of the more remote parts of the valley were still organized into tribes and villages.[40] By the 6th century there were some twelve or more cities in the valley and surrounding hills: Hypaipa, Metropolis, Dioshieron, Nicaea, Valentinianopolis, Koloe, Palaiopolis, Larissa, Thyraia, Augaza, and possibly Titacazus and Tmolos.[41] Bar to some extent Hypaipa and perhaps Koloe, all these cities were very minor settlements. Their status may be illustrated by the incident which took place at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 when Bassianos, a wealthy citizen of Ephesos, complained to the Council that he had been beaten up to force him to become bishop of the "miserable little city of Augaza".[42] However, despite their lack of wealth and size, and, one might have presumed, the consequent fragility of their urban culture, there is evidence which suggests they survived as settlements on the same site up until at least the end of the 11th century.

Hypaipa seems to have been the most important ancient city in the valley, lying on a main road from Ephesos to Sardis. In the 1st century BC it had played a prominent part in the

43. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 225.
44. G. WEBER, 'Hypaepa, Le Kaleh d'Aïasourat, Birghi et Oedemich' REG V (1892) 7-10; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 64f.; what appear to have been more medieval remains were visible in the early 1720s. "... a very pleasant little town, the inhabitants of which are the chief proprietors of the above mentioned olive trees and adjacent country ... from a Christian slave we understood, that it's [sic.] name was Capai ... On an eminence near it, are still visible the ruins of a castle.": J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe I, 143.
45. G. WEBER, op.cit. 7-8; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure III, II: the inscription he records of Martyrios, a scholastikos and lamprotatos apo legatos who decorated the church of St. Theodore in Hypaipa, is evidence not only for the existence of the church, but also for the city's prosperous late Roman ruling class: see H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 46-7, nr. 124/4.

resistance to Mithradates and the Hypaipans were no doubt rewarded for their loyalty. Throughout the Christian period Hypaipa was the senior suffragan see of the Metropolitanate of Ephesos.[43]

Up until the late 19th century there were considerable Roman building remains on the site, but the visible remains today are limited to an arch of a Roman bridge, several column drums, a few very fragmentary inscriptions and the vaulted substructure of a large Roman building, possibly a bath. There have also been noted the remains of a mortared fieldstone wall but there is no published description nor have I seen it.[44]

As so often throughout the Maeander region the disappearance of the remains has been the result of economic development over the last century and a half. The problem is particularly severe in the Cayster valley because of its present agricultural prosperity, its successful modern towns and above all the proximity by rail of Smyrna. Hypaipa, although itself only the site of a small village, is three miles north west of Ödemis which has replaced it as the principal market centre of the valley. The railway reached Ödemis in the 1880s and within a few years Hypaipa was being stripped for building materials. The marble was burnt for lime and the ashlar broken for rubble. Most of ancient Hypaipa, and with it much of the accessible evidence for its post-Roman history has either been built into the walls of Ödemis or is part of the mortar of Smyrna.[45]

46. G. WEBER, op.cit. 8; the village has now been renamed Gunluce, but the old name is still remembered.
47. The evidence for Hypaipa's metropolitan rank is rather slight, and although the promotion is not in doubt, Hypaipa was only a short lived metropolitan see. All the evidence comes from the notitiae. The oldest manuscript of notitia 7, MS Atheniensis 1429 of the 12th century, contains the colophon in a much later hand that Hypaipa had been created a metropolitan see by Isaac II Angelos. The notitia itself was drawn up in the early 10th century and is associated with the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos: Notitiae Episcopatum 53-5, 58, 78, 435; Not. 7, nr. 120 apparatus. Similarly one rescension of notitia 10, of which the oldest manuscript is 14th century, includes Hypaipa as a metropolitan see and attributes the promotion to Isaac II. The notitia itself, like notitia 7, draws on a 10th century archetype and this is a later insertion: Notitiae Episcopatum 95-7, 116-17, 438; Not. 10, nr. 11 apparatus. Notitiae 12 and 15, however, were both composed in the late 12th century and both included Hypaipa as a metropolitan see in the archetype. There is no other evidence to confirm their reading, and certainly notitia 15 does contain some rather doubtful claimants to metropolitan status, but notitia 12 appears more reliable. Pyrgion, for example, which is listed below Hypaipa, is confirmed as a metropolitan see by a patriarchal letter of 1342 (MM I, 228f.). Hypaipa's metropolitan rank did not last long. In 1216 it again appears as a suffragan of Ephesos, and this is confirmed by a patriarchal letter dated to 1230: Notitiae Episcopatum 128-32, 134-5, 159, 166, 171; Not. 12, nrs. 89 and 90, Not. 15, nrs. 93 and 109; E. KURTZ, 'Tri sinodalnykh, gramoty mitropolita Efesskago Nikolaja Mesarita VV XII (1906) 103; J. NICOLE, 'Bref inédit de Germain II Patriarche de Constantinople (Annee 1230)' REG VII (1894) 80; c.f. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 185. The reasons behind the promotion no doubt lay in a wider context of ecclesiastical politics, but the fact that it was even possible to make Hypaipa a metropolitan see for a short period does show it to have been a considerable settlement. See the similar case of the short lived metropolitan see of Argos, J. DARROUZES, 'Notes inédites de transferts episcopaux' REB XL (1982) 159, 164.
48. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 263.
49. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 75-6, and fig. 42.

The site has never been excavated nor properly surveyed but there is some evidence to suggest continuity of occupation. In the first place the modern village on the site preserves the name Hypaipa in Taype or Datbey.[46] There is no other nearby site from which the name could have migrated, hence it follows that at least the later Byzantine settlement was on the ancient site and it is very likely that the earlier Byzantine settlement was as well.

The fact that Hypaipa was recorded in the notitiae throughout the Byzantine period is in itself insignificant but the elevation of the see to metropolitan rank during the reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185-95) is evidence that the city not only existed at this date but was of sufficient importance to merit such a promotion.[47] The fact that Hypaipa and Philadelphia were raised to metropolitan rank at about the same date suggests a roughly equivalent status.[48]

For the earlier period the best evidence for continuity is probably an inscribed block of architectural sculpture referring to a bishop Andreas which was photographed by J. Keil and A. Von Premerstein in 1911. They had seen it embedded in the walls of the mosque at Yenice Köyü, one mile north of Ödemis. Since the mosque was otherwise constructed of spolia from Hypaipa, less than two miles away, there was no reason to think that this block did not come from the same source.[49]

50. See A. GRABAR, Sculptures byzantines du moyen age II (XIe-XIVe siècle) Paris (1976) 41-9, pls. VII, VIII, XI, XIII, XIV; see also pl. XXV a and b.
51. ibid. 44 nr. 16, pl. VII, c; MAMA IV (1933) 12, pl. 17.
52. J. STRZYGOWSKI, 'Das griechisch-kleinasiatische Ornament um 967 n. Chr.' Wiener Studien XXIV (1902) 443-7.
53. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise 88, figs 47 and 48.
54. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 185 nr. 264.
55. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals Basel (1972) I/2, nr. 1293 nr. 2365.

The inscription, so far as it survives, asks the Lord to remember our bishop Andreas, and gives no date. On stylistic and iconographic grounds the decorative frieze, which formed part of the architrave of an iconostasis screen, is certainly 9th to 12th century.[50] The closest dated parallels are with a fragment of another architrave now in the museum at Afyon Karahisar, dated 934-5,[51] and with the other architrave found by Strzygowski in the Ulu Cami at Manisa, which bears the date 967.[52] That it appears to be a less sophisticated work than the relief slabs dated to 1056, which Keil and Von Premerstein had found three years earlier at Maeonia, can hardly be significant.[53] It is tempting to associate the Bishop Andreas of the inscription with the bishop of Hypaipa of the same name who appears on an early 11th century seal,[54] but in any case the Hypaipa fragment almost certainly dates to well before the first appearance of the Turks in the Cayster and is important evidence for continued Byzantine occupation of an ancient site not blessed with natural defences.

Before this the only evidence seems to be a seal of Sisinnios, dioikētēs of Hypaipa, which can be approximately dated by the Theotokos monogram on the obverse to the 8th or 9th century.[55] A dioikētēs was a financial official under the logothete of the Genikon with a responsibility for the collection and assessment of the land tax. The territory under his supervision, known as a dioikēsis, seems in many cases to have been organised indepently of the theme and based on the territory which

56. F.DÖLGER, Beitrage zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung 70-1; N. SVORONOS, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes' BCH LXXXIII (1959) 56-7 and f.; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 313.
57. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. I/2: 1082, nr. 1918; 1207, nr. 2183; 1317, nr. 2426; 1348, nr. 2487; 1000, nr. 1748; 1169, nr. 2105; I/3: 1783, nr. 3203; V. LAURENT, Documents de sigillographie byzantine. La collection C. Orghidan Paris (1952) 140-1, nr. 261.
58. Kiraz, Cherry; in the 12th century the Cayster valley seems to have been known as the Kelbianon and there are several references to its fertility and wealth: KINNAMOS 39; ANNA COMNENA III, 145; NIKETAS CHONIATES 368. This may also be the site of the Second Crusade's Decervion: ODO OF DEVIL 110; see W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Geography 114.
59. LEO DIACONUS 5.

looked to a particular city.[56] Thus in the Maeander region dioikēteis are also known for Sardis, Stauropolis, Miletos, Ephesos, Laodicea, Mastaura and Stratonikeia.[57] That Hypaipa was another such fiscal unit implies its continued role as a market centre for the Cayster valley in the early Byzantine period.

The other city in the Cayster valley which may once have been of some importance was Koloe, modern Kiraz, today a small but thriving market town at the north eastern end of the valley. In military terms the site has nothing to recommend it. Koloe is set in the midst of a fertile plain surrounded, as the modern name suggests, by fruit orchards.[58] The 10th century historian, Leo the Deacon, came from Koloe and he may be justly reflecting this fertility when in his Historia he describes his patria as "the fairest chōrion in Asia".[59]

However, a mile to the north east of Koloe, and visible from the city, is a castle set on a bluff overlooking the Cayster river. The castle, which contains a village, is called Asar and until very recently Kiraz was still called Kelles, a derivative of Koloe. This in itself is no assurance that the name Koloe had not previously migrated to the castle site, but both C. Foss in 1972 and myself in 1982 have been shown what appear to be the remains of Byzantine walls in Kiraz basements. Moreover the castle at Asar is of a plan and building technique which dates it almost certainly to the Lascarid period, and if not, no earlier than the 12th century. The castle was entirely built in one

60. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 314-6, and n. 70.

phase. If early Byzantine Koloe had migrated to this site then nothing remained in the 12th or 13th century to be included in the new castle. On these grounds it is very likely that the Koloe of Leo the Deacon and his predecessors had survived on the ancient site.[60]

The other ancient cities of the upper Cayster were set in far superior defensive positions to either Hypaipa or Koloe, but they had consequently less access to fertile agricultural land and despite their defensive advantage there is no evidence either that they were any the more important in the early Byzantine period or that the threat of Arab attack saw any general move to the hills.

The ancient site at Ayas<sup>?</sup>uluk lies on a bare but defensible hill overlooking the plain between Birgi and Kiraz. This was probably Nicaea of the lower Kilbianoi, a poor city founded in the 2nd century AD as an urban centre for one of the Cayster's tribal groups. The hill top has a circuit of mortared fieldstone walls of uncertain date. They are not ancient, nor do they appear to be Turkish. The total absence of brick, in contrast with other distinctive Comnenian and Lascarid works, argues against a 12th or 13th century date. Thus they are either a very poor specimen of late Roman city walls or, more probably, early Byzantine work. In any case the likelihood is of continuous occupation throughout the early Byzantine period, but there is nothing to suggest any new prominence at the expense of more

61. G. WEBER 'Hypaepa, Le kaleh d'Aiasourat, Birghi et Oedémich' 10-15; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78-9, 93.
62. C. FOSS, 'Explorations in Mount Tmolus', California Studies in Classical Antiquity 39-43, pls. IV and v.

exposed sites.[61]

Another minor ancient city, occupying one of the secluded basins of fertile soil in the Boz dağ range, has been found by C. Foss at the village of Lübbey Yaylası, just over half way between Sardis and Hypaipa. Its ancient name is unknown, although it may have been Tmolos. The site and surrounding area have preserved considerable evidence of Roman occupation, and some graves found with an associated bronze coin of Constantine X Doukas (1059-67) show that this continued through the Byzantine period. Part of the area is known as Manastır Yeri, "the site of the monastery", but otherwise there is no evidence as yet to suggest that Lübbey Yaylası was any more important in the Byzantine period than before.[62]

Above Birgi the road climbs steeply for about two hours to the village of Kemer and beyond that along some two miles of winding path is the village of Yılanlı, another of the Boz dağ's suprisingly fertile and populated settlements. To the north west the landscape is dominated by the huge bulk of the Boz dağ itself, while the valley below the village slopes to the east before turning south towards the plain of Kiraz. About 30 metres above the village of Yılanlı is the Yılankalesi, a fortress built on a rocky and waterless spur of the Boz dağ.

The Yılankalesi is a castle consisting of a lower circuit and a shorter upper circuit which forms a small citadel complex

63. c.f. C. FOSS, op.cit. 45-9.
64. W. MULLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XI (1961) 112-16 (Kecikalesi); 9-14 (Avşar); 14-19 (Heracleia under Latros).

at the northern end. It is entirely built of the local fieldstone held together by a grey mortar. The walls contain no brick and no spolia. The whole structure is apparently all of one phase.

The date is very uncertain. No coins or pottery have been found which might have provided a terminus. The construction of mortared fieldstone is not Roman, neither is the plan. The total absence of brick does distinguish the Yilankalesi from nearly all known 12th and 13th century Byzantine work and it could easily date from the early Byzantine period, but this attribution should not be accepted without caution.[63]

Of the fortresses in the region which have been studied and can be attributed with some confidence to the 13th century, the closest parallel to the Yilankalesi is the Kecikalesi, a castle built on a spur of the Alaman dağ and with very wide views over the lower Cayster and the plain of Torbalı. The Kecikalesi is also constructed of mortared fieldstone, but it does use a few bricks and a spolia lintel block to form a decorative detail over the west gate. The general wall masonry is neater and more regular than that of the Yilankalesi and it shares its rectangular plan with other castles, notably those at Avşar and Heracleia under Latros, which are constructed in the more familiar Lascarid style using large quantities of brick.[64]

The absence of brick at the Kecikalesi was almost certainly

65. The Travels of Ibn Battuta, AD 1325-1354 trans. H. A. R. Gibb, Hakluyt Society, London (1958-71) II, 439-40; J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe I, 145-7; A. PHILIPPSON, 'Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien' Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen Ergänzungsheft CLXXII (1912) 63-73, pls. VI and VII.

dictated by the height of the site above the Cayster valley. Apart from the local fieldstone all other building materials had to be brought up 300 metres of very steep slope covered with boulders and thornbushes. It is possible that the same factor applied in the building of the Yilankalesi. Without more careful study I am not convinced that the absence of brick, irregular stonework and peculiar plan are not the result of particular local problems. Since there is nothing to suggest that this was on or near an ancient site, one must presume that as at the Kecikalesi all bricks and spolia had to be brought up from the valley, three hours below. Its builders had to face the problems of a steep rocky spur and a local fieldstone which may not have made ideal building material. The result would necessarily look rather different to a fortress built in the Cayster valley or its immediate foothills.

Even if the Yilankalesi were not a 12th or 13th century work it may have been built in the Turkish period. When Ibn Battuta visited the Aydinog̃lu Emir, Muhammed, in the early 1330s, he found that the Emir had left his usual residence at Birgi for a yayla in the Boz daḡ. Rather than the small valley of Yılanlı, the Aydinog̃lu court probably spent the summer on the west side of the Boz daḡ at Gölcuk where the lush pastures so impressed Van Egmont in the 18th century.[65] However the well watered Yılanlı valley would not have been neglected and since the Greeks still held Philadelphia at this date one would expect to find some 14th century Turkish fortifications in these hills. Their role would

66. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137.
67. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 315 n. 70.

partly have been to protect Turkish flocks in these hills but also to deny access to Philadelphian shepherds.

The possibility does remain that the Yılankalesi was an early Byzantine castle. If so it could be an indication that this valley was used as a temporary refuge from Arab attacks, but it is no evidence for a substantial movement of the permanent population to the security of the hills. The Yılankalesi is a castle not a fortified settlement. The spur on which it is built is so rocky even within the walls that only a very small garrison could ever have lived there. There is no spring or cistern on the site and the absence of pottery fragments even raises the question of whether it was ever occupied at all. For a permanent population the absence of suitable defences for all the residents and their flocks would have been a very serious disadvantage. The Boz dağ range is relatively accessible and if the Arabs were able to force their way into the wilderness of Mount Latros[66] then the Yılanlı valley should have presented few problems. However, before the site can be interpreted with confidence more work will have to be done, both on the castle itself and on the Tmolos range in general.

By the early 13th century both the older settlements on the northern side of the valley, Koloe and Hypaipa, were in decline. Even after the building of the nearby castle at Asar, Koloe seems to have survived in the plain,[67] but its ecclesiastical and administrative role was gradually taken over by Pyrgion, a

68. See n. 47 supra.
69. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 1020; G. WEBER, 'Hypaepa, Le kaleh d'Aiasourat, Birghi et Oédemich' REG V (1892) 15-21.
70. 680: MANSI XI, col. 648; 691: MANSI XI, col. 993; 879: MANSI XVII, col. 376.
71. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 103; Not. 2, nr. 120; Not. 3, nr. 128; Not. 4, nr. 114; Not. 7, nr. 143; Not. 9, nr. 37; Not. 10, nr. 34 ('now Pyrgion'); Not. 13, nr. 38.
72. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 208-9 nrs. 294 and 295. A third seal, also referring to the see as Pyrgion, is dated by Laurent to the 11th/12th century: ibid. 209, nr. 296.
73. R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture in South Western Anatolia, Cambridge Mass. (1931) I, 24-32, fig. 42.
74. J. DARROUZES 'Notes inédites de transferts épiscopaux' REB XL (1982) 159, 165-6; IDEM 'Le traité de transferts' REB XLII (1984) 185; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 207-8.

settlement in an excellent defensive position set on one of the foothills of the Boz dağ. Hypaipa too, although it had been promoted to metropolitan rank in the reign of Isaac II Angelos, was reduced to a suffragan see in less than thirty years. There is no mention of Hypaipa at all after 1230,[68] and its importance was soon lost to Thyraia, on the south side of the valley, but like Pyrgion in an excellent defensive position.

Pyrgion, modern Birgi, is actually an ancient site known as Dios Hieron,[69] and since it appears in the Council lists for 680, 691 and 879,[70] the site probably had some form of continuous existence. In the notitiae, where it was a suffragan see of Ephesos, the site appears as Dios Hieron,[71] but in the Councils of 680 and 691 this overtly pagan place name had been replaced by Christoupolis. By 879 this in turn had given way to Pyrgion. The latter probably reflects local usage - particularly since that name appears on two 11th century episcopal seals[72] - and is a clear indication that Pyrgion was a fortified site during those years.

Up until at least the 12th century Pyrgion remained a very minor settlement. The oldest surviving monument is a short stretch of wall that might be dated on grounds of technique and style to the 12th or 13th century.[73] By the end of the 12th century Pyrgion had surpassed Koloe to such an extent that it was promoted at about the same time as Hypaipa to become the second metropolitan see in the Cayster valley.[74] Like Hypaipa, the

75. J. DARROUZES 'Notes inédites' 165-6; MM I, 228f, 461.
76. MM IV, 154.
77. PACHYMERES II, 436.
78. R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture I, 24-32; II, 102-6; IBN BATTUTA 438-42; G. WEBER, 'Hypaepa, Le kaleh d'Aïasourat, Birghi et Oédemich' 15-21; DOUKAS XVIII, 8; XXVI, 4.
79. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 360-65; E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey 17-18.
80. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 314; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, 'Bericht über eine dritte Reise' 57, 80; A. PHILIPPSON, 'Reise und Forschungen' CLXXX (1914) 42.

vagaries of ecclesiastical politics meant that this new status was shortlived, but in 1342 the metropolitanate was revived and lasted until the 1360s.[75] In the mid-13th century Pyrgion was named with Koloe as a separate administrative district under the Thrakesioi,[76] but the fact that Roger de Flor thought Pyrgion rather than Koloe worth holding to ransom in 1304 is an indication of their relative importance.[77] Three years later in 1307 Pyrgion fell to the Turks, but the new rulers actually further enhanced the city's pre-eminence. For the rest of the 14th century Pyrgion was the capital and dynastic mausoleum of Aydinog̃lu Emirs, who built there a palace, the Ulu Cami and a medrese. [78] After the Ottoman conquest which was finally achieved in 1414, Pyrgion did decline but up to the 19th century it was still a more prosperous town than any of the settlements in the plain.[79]

At Palaiopolis, modern Balyanbolu, there are the remains of a Lascarid castle, and this seems to be another example of a very minor ancient city whose defensive advantages only attracted attention in the 12th or 13th century.[80] More striking, however, is the case of Thyraia, modern Tire, which took over Hypaipa's position as one of the chief towns in the valley. Thyraia grew from a very insignificant ancient site to become during the Ottoman period one of the principal cities of the Maeander region.

Thyraia is set in an excellent defensive position on a hill

81. P-W Suppl. VII, 1573-4; J. KEIL, A. VON PREMERSTEIN, op.cit. 82-90; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 33, 78; D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 886; see STRABO IX, 440; XIII, 620.
82. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMERSTEIN, op.cit. 83-4, fig. 83.

overlooking the plain. Throughout the Roman period this part of the Cayster valley was included in the territory of Ephesos. Thyraia was thus not a city in its own right but a katoikia, a village settlement, which was not of sufficient importance either to appear in Hierocles' Synekdemos or to deserve its own bishop. Even as one of the katoikiai of Ephesos, Thyraia seems to have been surpassed by Larissa, which lay near the modern village of Güselimtepe in the Cayster plain.[81]

Larissa seems to have continued as a settlement at least in the middle Byzantine period. Keil and Von Premerstein, who established the site of Larissa in 1911, saw there the remains of a fairly large church (15 x 15 metres, with a narthex beyond), built using a great deal of spolia from the surrounding site. Their plan and description is not very detailed but one can deduce from the square, pierced and domed structure with an attached narthex that this is broadly of Byzantine rather than late Roman date.[82]

The church might have been part of an isolated monastery but comparison with other known Byzantine monastic complexes makes this rather unlikely. Byzantine monasteries seem to have been built either close to a town or city, or in isolated mountain areas. Numerous examples of the first type are to be found in and around Constantinople, Thessalonika and Athens; those on Mount Latros, Mount Galesion, Bithynian Olympos or the Nea Moni on Chios are examples of the second. Monasteries set

83. See R. JANIN, Grands Centres passim; A. A. M. BRYER, 'The late Byzantine Monastery in town and Countryside' in The Church in Town and Countryside ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History 16, Oxford (1979) 222; thi is perhaps an incautious assertion, which can only be tested when current field surveying projects have advanced our knowledge of the Byzantine settlelment pattern; see supra 38-43.
84. MUNTANER 496-7.
85. ibid. 497.
86. ibid. 498.

in an isolated position in the midst of an agricultural plain would appear to have been rare in the Byzantine world. Larissa is much more likely to have been some form of settlement when this church was built.[83]

The exact date of the church is not known but the likelihood is that it pre-dates the 12th century. Keil and Premerstein's plan would fit such a date, and despite periods of effective security in the 12th and 13th centuries, these were never long enough to have encouraged the building of a large church in such a relatively exposed position.

Whether Larissa continued to be occupied in the early Byzantine period remains unknown, but the general interpretation of a move to a more secure site at the time of the Turkish invasions seems to be confirmed in this context by the 14th century Spaniard Muntaner in his account of the deeds of the Catalan company in western Asia Minor in 1304. Having defeated the Turks at Philadelphia, the Catalans moved via Magnesia to Thyraia.[84] The Turks "made raids in the direction of Tyre, as far as the church in which rests the body of Monseyer Saint George, which is one of the most beautiful churches I have ever seen, and is about two miles from Tyre." [85] Shortly afterwards the Turks made a full scale attack on Thyraia from the direction of the Cayster plain. The Catalans went down into the plain and defeated them. One of the Catalan commanders, En Corberan, who had been killed by a Turkish arrow, was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. George.[86]

87. A. J. TOYNBEE, The Western Question in Greece and Turkey  
London (1922) ; M. LLEWELLYN SMITH, Ionian Vision:  
Greece in Asia Minor 1919-22 London (1973).

Muntaner's account clearly implies that the church was in the Cayster plain and that it was an isolated building, or at least not set in an important settlement. He was also impressed by the beauty of the church which suggests that it was a sizable structure. So far this agrees with Keil and Von Premerstein's description of the church at Larissa, and although they give the name of the church as Hagios Athanasios, that was presumably only local Greek opinion in 1911 and since the Greek population of the Cayster were almost entirely 19th century immigrants that can be of no historical significance.[87]

Whatever the case, Muntaner's church of St. George must have been built as part of a settlement and at a date before the Turkish invasions. Clearly by 1304 the settlement had largely moved to the security of nearby Thyraia leaving the church and its relics isolated in the plain.

Despite its excellent defensive position there is no indication that Thyraia was of any importance before the 12th century. Two Byzantine inscriptions have been found in Tire, one used as spolia in the walls of the Uçuleli Cami, the other built into the walls of the 19th century church of the Holy Taxiarchai. The first reads as follows: "Here lies Leo Chonētas who built [rebuilt?] the church. You who minister here remember him because of the Lord." From Jordanidēs' early 20th century copy, the lettering of the inscription, in particular the cursive alpha, the plain serifless delta and the generally regular,

88. A. FONTRIER, 'Inscriptions de la plaine du Caystre, recueillies par M. Eustratios Jordanides' Revue des Etudes Anciennes IV (1902) 266; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 119, nr. 333/5.
89. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 91-2, fig. 51.
90. E. KURTZ, 'Tri sinodalnykh gramoty' 103; otherwise the only other reference is in three 14th century manuscripts of notitia 10. Its appearance there really does no more than underline the unreliability of these lists: Notitiae Episcopatum 93-5, 108, 142-4; Not. 10, nrs. 46 and 58. It has been suggested that Thyraia may appear in earlier notitiae under the guise of Arkadiopolis, but since both names appear in the Synodal list of 1216, as well as in notitia 10, this idea can be disregarded: ibid. Not. 10, nr. 32; E. KURTZ, op.cit. 103; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78-9; c.f. W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Geography 104, 114.
91. PACHYMERES II, 588; IBN BATTUTA II, 442; DOUKAS XXVI, 4; XXIX, 2.
92. W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 535.

separated, slightly square letter forms, suggests a 10th or 11th century date.[88] The second is a broken marble pilaster which bears part of an inscription written in the quarters of a cross recording that an anonymous deacon had installed beautiful columns in the bēma. The date is very uncertain but it is definitely 11th century or earlier.[89] In both cases the inscriptions are important evidence of building work during the Byzantine period but since they could have come from almost any ancient site near Tire they are of no significance for the history of the city.

No bishop of Thyraia is mentioned until Synod of 1216 but there must already have been a town for it to have been an episcopal see. [90] By the time of Muntaner in 1304 Thyraia had become one of the chief cities in the region. As the major settlement in the Cayster valley it had already replaced the ancient centre of Hypaipa and would soon do the same for Pyrgion. Thyraia continued to prosper after the Turkish conquest in 1307 when it received an enforced settlement of refugees from Ephesos.[91] During the Ottoman period caravans from Smyrna did not follow the line taken by the Roman road and its modern successor through Ephesos/Selçuk and Magnesia/Ortaklar, but instead went over mount Messogis to Aydin via Tire.[92] The development of the railway in the later 19th century led to the end of Tire's ancient route, and even within the Cayster valley, Tire was surpassed by Ödemis, the modern market centre which has inherited Hypaipa's ancient role as the valley's major settlement in the plain. As evidence of its

93. J. A. EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe I, 139; E. CHISHULL, Travels in Turkey 19; R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture I, 32-6; I. ASLANOĞLU, 'Three mosques in Tire', Vakıflar Dergisi VIII (1969) 166-70.
94. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 84-5, 96, fig. 48.

former prosperity modern Tire still contains two large houses built between the 14th and 16th centuries, and at least eighteen mosques dating from the same period up to the 18th century.[93]

Keil and von Premerstein discovered more evidence of Byzantine occupation of the Cayster plain thirteen miles north of Tire on the other side of the valley. At the village of Furunlu, three miles west of Bayındır, they saw the remains of a middle Byzantine cross-in-square church. It is a three apsed, four piered building, 10 x 10 metres, with three entrances on the west side possibly leading to a narthex. On the north side another entrance suggests that there may have been an additional parekklesion on that side. They also saw a piece of Byzantine relief sculpture lying near the village mosque but they did not publish an illustration. One mile to the east in the village of Kara Halili they found a very fragmentary inscription built into a fountain which names a deacon Kyriakos and Timothy. The lettering is possibly 6th century or early Byzantine.[94]

Only a start has been made in exploring the settlement history of the Cayster valley, but it does appear that the major change in the settlement pattern came not in the early Byzantine period, but much later after the 11th century. The appearance of the Turks in about 1080, the Byzantine reconquest of the region in 1098 and even more the loss of the Banaz ovası in the last quarter of the 12th century placed the Cayster, like the Hermos, increasingly close to a hostile enemy and moreover made its

95. R. MERIÇ, Metropolis in Ionien, Ergebnisse einer Survey -  
Unternehmung in den Jahren 1972-1975 Beiträge zur klass-  
Phil. 142, Vienna (1982) 1-9, 19-21.

fertility of new significance to a reduced Byzantine state. Up until the 12th century at the earliest the major settlements survived on ancient sites occupying open positions in the plain; only from that date on do hill top sites appear to have become the new chief towns of the Cayster valley.

To the west of Bayındır the Cayster turns south before returning west to reach the sea north of Ephesos. The divergence is caused by the limestone massif of mount Galesion, the modern Alaman dağ. In the Roman period the eastern slopes of the massif and the adjacent plains were the territory of the small city of Metropolis. The site, which was surveyed by R. Meriç in 1972-5, consists of a lower town on the edge of the plain and a small acropolis set on a low hill to the west. The only fortifications of the ancient city seem to have been a Hellenistic fort on the acropolis hill. This was reoccupied in the early Byzantine period with the addition of various mortared fieldstone walls. Metropolis is named in the Synekdemos and was also a bishopric but it seems to have been of little importance. Nonetheless the fact that the modern Turkish name for the plain and its chief town, Torbalı, derives from Metropolis suggests that the settlement continued up to at least the 14th century.[95]

Behind Metropolis, mount Galesion is very unfavourable to settlement and was as little populated in the Byzantine period as it no doubt had been earlier and still is today. The Life of St. Lazaros of Galesion, written in the mid-11th century, describes

96. LAZAROS 520, 521-2, 527, 529, 581; see R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 119.
97. W. MULLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 112-16.
98. R. JANIN, Les églises et les monastères 247-50.
99. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia' 481-2; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Sigacik und Çandarli' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XII (1962).
100. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 21-2, nrs. 79 and 80.
101. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 84, c. 20; THEOPHANES 353; see supra

an inhospitable region inhabited only by monks and the occasional shepherd which is still recognizable in the landscape today.[96] The only site known in these mountains is the appropriately named Kecikalesi (Goat Castle), a 13th century fort built on a spur which provides excellent views over the surrounding plains. The fort is all of one period and was evidently built as a look-out post.[97] It may also have provided protection to the monastic community which had followed St. Lazaros to live on the mountain. The Galesiote monks had a distinguished reputation in the 13th and early 14th century Empire[98] and would no doubt have been accorded such protection, but otherwise there is no evidence of any settlement associated with the Kecikalesi. These bleak mountains certainly did not support a permanent refuge population from the plains.

The two major Roman cities to the west of Sardis and the Upper Cayster were Smyrna and Ephesos. Both were continuously occupied throughout the early Byzantine period.

Smyrna is the less well known of these sites. It was a large and thriving city in the 4th to 6th century, protected by a circuit of late Roman walls which were kept in repair into the 7th century.[99] An inscription records work carried out on the circuit in the reign of Heraclios.[100] The city was ravaged by the Arabs in 654-5 and again in 672 when an army wintered there, and it would doubtless not have been spared in 716-7.[101] Apart from the damage inflicted the Arab attacks are also evidence that

102. 'Vita S. Theodori ... Studitorum' PG XCIX, cols. 204-5.
103. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 24, nr. 82/2.
104. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Die Stadtbestigungen von Izmir' 63-4; H. GREGOIRE 'Inscriptions historiques byzantines. Ancyre et les arabes sous Michel l'ivrogne' Byzantion IV (1927-8) 437-49; A. M. SCHNEIDER, W. KARNAPP, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik 35, 51-2, pl. 44; C. FOSS, Kütahya 83.
105. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 563.
106. LAZAROS 579.

Smyrna was still a place worth attacking and a suitable site for an army to winter. The next evidence comes from the 9th century. The Life of St. Theodore the Studite records that in about 820, Bardas, the strategos of the Thrakesioi was lying ill in Smyrna when he appealed to the saint to cure him.[102] About thirty years later major work was carried out on the city's defences. An inscription dated at least part of the work to 856-7,[103] and although nothing survives today the numerous closely set towers shown on the Storari plan of 1854 would have identified it as a 9th century construction, similar to Michael III's other works at Nicaea, Ankara and possibly Kütahya.[104] It is not known whether the 9th century work was a repair and reinforcement of the late Roman walls, or a replacement along a new line. The former is probably more likely. The Storari plan shows that this was a city wall enclosing a substantial area rather than a fortress, however large. As such the most likely context is a repair to the late Roman walls incorporating a more advanced defensive arrangement in face of the Cretan Arabs. At about the same time Smyrna's importance was acknowledged by its promotion to the rank of a metropolitan see in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[105] In the 11th century Smyrna was still apparently thriving. In 1042, a monk from Mount Galesion passing through Smyrna, was able to hear there the latest news from Constantinople. Taking advantage of this he took the next boat from Smyrna to Mitylene and was the first to arrive with the news of Constantine Monomachos' promotion to the Imperial throne.[106] In the 1080s the Turk Çaka (Tzachas of the Byzantine

107. ANNA COMNENA II, 111, 116, 157-8; III, 23-5; for further evidence of Smyrna's Byzantine prosperity: Mssrs. FERMANEL, FAVVEL, DE LAUNAY, DE STOCHOVE, Le Voyage d'Italie et du Levant Rouen (1687) 19: they were travelling in Turkey in 1631 and saw the remains of a church that had been entirely buried until its discovery eight years before - 1623. The church had apparently contained an inscription that was 600 years old; SKYLITZES 405: earthquake of February 1040 in which Smyrna suffered particularly badly, "many beautiful buildings" fell and citizens killed; S. EYICE 'Iznik'te bir Bizans kilisesi' Bulleten XIII (1949) 37-51: this is probably a Lascarid church but it may be earlier. See also C. FOSS 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 482; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 34-42.

sources) occupied Smyrna and with the help of local shipbuilders built a fleet which he used for raiding in the Aegean. With the clear cooperation of its inhabitants, Çaka used Smyrna as a base until its recovery by Imperial forces in 1097. From Anna Comnena's account of these events, Smyrna was a sizable town in the 11th century, surrounded by walls which the inhabitants could defend in the time of siege.[107]

Since the 19th century Smyrna has appeared to be the natural site for a major west coast city, and consequently its survival as an important settlement from the 7th to the 11th century has not seemed particularly extraordinary. It lies at the focus of the regional route system and above all has an excellent deep water harbour protected from the wind. However these appearances are rather deceptive. The only natural advantage Smyrna has as a terminus for routes from the central plateau is that it is less affected by silting than for example Ephesos or Miletos. Even so there are other sites, such as Kuşadası, which do not suffer from silting at all, and in any case this was no great advantage in an age of shallow draught vessels.

The city's present preeminence as a route centre is largely the accidental creation of the modern railway and road system, and the position of Smyrna's harbour at the end of a long gulf is convenient only for modern shipping. In the past the gulf was in fact a major disadvantage. From May to September the wind (the

108. F. W. HASLUCK 'The Rise of Modern Smyrna' BSA XXIII (1918-19) 139-47; W. TURNER, Journal of a Tour in the Levant London (1820) III, 126; see supra n.3, p.6
109. J.-B. TAVERNIER, The Six Voyages 33; J. A. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through Part of Europe 122; infra ; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor II, 11.
110. P. RICAUT, The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi, 1678 London (1679) 35.

Imbat) usually blows from the sea on to the land in daytime. Even so a combination of sandbars and the problems of doubling Cape K m r made the entrance of the gulf slow and troublesome for sailing vessels. Getting out of the gulf was worse. If there was any offshore wind at all in the summer it only blew at night and was frequently too slight to blow a vessel out to sea. In the winter the wind was stronger but less predictable and in effect made the gulf no more easy of access. A succession of travellers from the 17th to the 19th century have recorded their experiences of the major navigational disadvantages of the gulf of Smyrna but possibly the most revealing note is that made by W. Turner who found in 1814 that the masters of small local sailing vessels refused to take him into Smyrna because of the difficulties of getting in and out of the gulf.[108]

Merchants, shipmasters and travellers did not suffer in silence. From the 17th to the 19th century they pointed out the advantages of other ports. In particular Kuşadası (Scala Nova, Phygela), Urla (Clazomenai) and Siġaçık (Teos) were suggested as preferable replacements.[109] These all had much better harbours for sailing vessels, were just as suitable for their access to the major land routes and did not suffer from silting. They could also be regarded as healthier than Smyrna which up until the late 17th century was surrounded by mosquito breeding "bogs and fens".[110]

In practice however, whatever the natural disadvantages of

111. F. W. HASLUCK, op.cit. 111; J.-B. TAVERNIER, op.cit. 32.
112. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East III, 38; J.-B. TAVERNIER, op.cit. 33; P. DE TOURNEFORT, Relation d'un voyage du Levant Lyons (1717) II, 403.

the site they were far outweighed by political factors. In the first place the unimportance of Smyrna between the 14th and the 16th century meant that it had not become the residence of an Ottoman paşa. The provincial governor instead lived at Manisa and the only government official at Smyrna during the 17th and 18th centuries was the relatively lowly kadı. Kadı s were cheaper to bribe and in cases of conflict the Frank merchants at Smyrna could usually draw on influential support in Constantinople to overrule the Kadı's decision. In any case it was easier for the Ottomans to tolerate the activities of the infidel merchants in a minor town, away from senior officials such as the pasa at Manisa.[111]

An even more important political factor was the ownership of Smyrna in the 17th and 18th century by the Sultan's mother, the Valide, who collected a large percentage of the port's revenue. To maintain this she was willing to encourage western merchants, tolerate their resident communities, churches and consulates, and in effect grant them a certain autonomy. She was also able to give them important backing in Constantinople which would protect them from any efforts of the Kadı. The Valide would obviously not tolerate any move to an alternative port and hence the western merchants had little choice but to put up with the navigational disadvantages of the gulf.[112]

It follows from this that the survival of Smyrna in the Byzantine period was not simply a recognition of the natural

113. G. WHEELER, A Journey into Greece 246.
114. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 259-60; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 204, 236.
115. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 658.
116. ATTALEIATES 224.
117. R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 77; J. DALLAWAY, Constantinople Ancient and Modern 196.
118. It has been correctly pointed out that the tomb of St. Polycarp and the associated cult recorded at Smyrna since the 17th century has no claim to antiquity or authenticity, F. W. HASLUCK, 'The "Tomb of St. Polycarp" and the Topography of Ancient Smyrna', BSA XX (1913-14) 80-93; see e.g. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 36; in the 13th century the city was more famous for its icon of Christ, F. W. HASLUCK, op.cit. 86; ACROPOLITES 103; however the early medieval evidence leaves the cult of St. Polycarp in no doubt: St. Polycarp appearing on the bishop of Smyrna's seal, V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 564, nr. 740; 565, nr. 741; 566, nr. 743; an encomium of St. Polycarp written by Metrophanes, metropolitan of Smyrna and opponent of Photios in the 9th century, survives in at least two manuscripts, B. GEORGIADES, 'Ek tōn tou Mēropolitou Smyrnēs Mētrophanous (865)', Ekklesiastikē Alētheia III (1893) 298-302.
119. See infra 189.
120. See supra n. 105.

advantages of the site. The acropolis hill was not an ideal defensive position[113] and the gulf was as much a handicap to Byzantine sailors as to their successors. Indeed although the evidence shows that Smyrna was used as a port in the 11th century, it is significant that on none of the three Cretan expeditions where the point of embarkation is known did the Imperial planners choose Smyrna. In April 865 the Caesar Bardas intended the army to embark at Kēpoi, near the mouth of the Maeander, south of Miletos;[114] in 911 the logothete Himerios sailed from Phygela (Kuşadası);[115] in 960 Nikephoros Phokas had arranged for his army to embark at the same place, but at the last moment he was put off by the poor omen of the name, and he choose instead the adjacent headland of Hagia.[116] These decisions suggest that Smyrna was a busy port in the 11th century only because it was an important settlement already for other reasons.

One reason for Smyrna's prosperity was the existence of a surrounding territory of fertile agricultural land,[117] but this was not an advantage peculiar to Smyrna, nor of particular significance in the early Byzantine period when other similarly placed cities were in serious decline. Another reason was its cult status as the home of St. Polycarp.[118] Yet as the abandoned shrine of St. Philip at Hierapolis[119] demonstrates this was not enough to insure the survival of a city and at Smyrna the city's ecclesiastical status was not to be recognized until the 9th century.[120]

121. C. MANGO, Le développement urbain de Constantinople 54, 57.

122. Anna claims that 10,000 were killed in the massacre which followed Kaspax's assassination, ANNA COMNENA III, 25.

Clearly the only remaining factor at Smyrna which can have been decisive was the existence of a well-kept circuit of defensible late Roman walls.

The walls would not have protected the inhabitants from the assault of the Caliph's army as in 654-5 and 672, but on other occasions they would have been secure against most raiders. The security would in due course have attracted a larger population which would in turn increased the city's effective garrison. Early medieval Smyrna probably did not fill the area inside the walls. As at Constantinople itself,[121] parts of the ancient city would have been given over to farmland. However the settlement would have been of sufficient importance both as a military centre and as a source of revenue to deserve the new defences built by Michael III in the mid-9th century. The new walls would in turn have encouraged the prosperity of the settlement and it is not surprising shortly afterwards to find Smyrna as a metropolitan see. By the 11th century Çaka would have found one of the natural military centres of the Maeander region still on its ancient site in the plain next to the gulf. The advantages of its population[122] and its walls would have outweighed the difficulties his sailors would have experienced bringing their vessels in and out of the gulf. Thus Smyrna, rather than Clazomenai or Phokaia, became the centre of Tzachas' short-lived seafaring Emirate, although it is interesting to note that among his first actions was to gain control of these places

123. ibid. 110-12.
124. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity passim.
125. ibid. 122.
126. Teos: D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 79-80, 898-900; G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 106-15; Lebedos: D. MAGIE, op.cit. 79-81, 899-900; G. E. BEAN, op.cit. 118-22; Colophon: D. MAGIE, op.cit. 79-80, 898-9; G. E. BEAN, op.cit. 151-5.
127. HIEROKLES 22, Notitiae Episcopatum passim.

and their rather better harbour facilities.[123]

Ephesos too, as C. Foss has shown,[124] is an example of continued occupation of the ancient site up to the 12th century. Ephesos was an important cult site and centre of pilgrimage but that would not have been sufficient to ensure its survival. As with Smyrna, on top of any minor natural advantages the essential factor in its survival was the existence of a powerful circuit of walls, which at Ephesos appear to be early Byzantine. It is also worth stressing C. Foss' conclusion that there is no evidence either of the main part of the settlement having moved to the Ayasuluk hill before the 12th century or of the city's harbour having fallen into early disuse. At the time of the Turkish invasions at the end of the 11th century Ephesos was still on its ancient site.[125]

The other coastal settlements between Smyrna and Mount Mykale (Samsun dağ) included places such as Teos, Lebedos and Colophon which had been prosperous pre-Roman cities but had declined under the Empire.[126] Their city status ensured them each a bishop in the late Roman period and this arrangement was inherited by the middle ages,[127] but they were mostly very minor places and so they remained up until at least the 12th century. Between the 7th and the 11th century these small coastal sites would have been particularly exposed to Arab raiding, first by fleets from Syria and then in the 9th and 10th centuries by Cretan raiders and finally in the 11th century by

128. ibid. 75 and Not. 7, nr. 651.
129. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 48-51; ANNA COMNENA II, 110.
130. H. AHRWEILER, op.cit. 52-5.
131. ibid. 53-5; EP I, 226, nr. 23.

pirates from Africa. Conditions were not propitious for the survival of small coastal cities but despite this there is evidence for at least some continuity on the same ancient sites.

Clazomenai was built on an island linked to the mainland by a causeway. It was a bishopric first under the metropolitan of Ephesos and then from the 9th century under Smyrna.[128] It enjoyed a period of particular prosperity in the 13th century when the main settlement seems to have been inland at Ambrioula, although the coastal site was still occupied. The only earlier reference to Clazomenai dates to the late 11th century when it was one of the first objectives seized by Çaka with his new fleet. Çaka's attack shows that in the 1080s it was still on the ancient coastal site and was of sufficient importance for the Emir to attack and Anna Comnena to record.[129]

On the other side of Cape K m r, the ancient port for Chios was at Erythrai. With the exception of a short period from the later 19th century to 1922 when Erythrai enjoyed a certain revival thanks to an active Greek community, this role has been taken over by the port of  eşme, 10 miles to the south west.[130]  eşme, under the Byzantine name of Linoperamata, was already the chief local port in this area by the 13th century. This is attested by a prostaxis of Theodore I Laskaris granting customs exemptions at the emporion of Linoperamata and other ports to the monastery of St. John on Patmos. No earlier reference is known.[131]

132. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Sigacik und Çanderli' 97 n. 109; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor II, 11; O. RUGE, 'Inschriften aus Nordwest- und west-kleinasien' Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (1892) 707-8 nrs. 8 and 9; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 19 nr. 64.
133. G. WEBER, 'Zur Topographie der Ionischen Küste, II: Lebedus' Athener Mitteilungen XXIX (1904) 280; contra H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 12 n. 58, 124 n. 7, LAZAROS 561 Lebedios has nothing to do with Lebedos. The confusion of two places called Bessai is a further warning against assuming that places with the same or similar name are identical, E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Éphèse' REB XLIII (1985) 243-51.
134. C. SCHUCHHARDT, 'Kolophon, Notion und Klaros' Athener Mitteilungen XI (1886) 407; T. MACRIDY, 'Altortümer von Notion' Wiener Jahreshefte VIII (1905) 155-73; IDEM 'Antiquités de Notion' Wiener Jahreshefte XV (1912) 36-37.
135. T. MACRIDY 'Altortümer von Notion' 155; T. MACRIDY BEY, C. PICARD, 'Fouilles du Hieron d'Apollon Clarios à Colophon' BCH XXXIX (1915) 38, 45.

Teos is a similar site now occupied by the village of Siḡacik. Its excellent port was noted by Hamilton in the 1830s and by the Genoese in the 14th century who built a fortress there. A bishop of Teos is attested throughout the Byzantine period but there is no further evidence and no visible Byzantine remains.[132]

14 kilometres to the south east Lebedos was another ancient walled city on the coast. The remains of a three aisled basilica have been noted, but it is probably late Roman and there is no other indication of Byzantine occupation.[133]

More important is the city of Colophon a further 17 kilometres along the coast. Roman Colophon consisted of two sites, Old Colophon, 14 kilometres inland near the village of Deḡirmendere, and new Colophon, known in the ancient world as Notion, lying on the coast to the south. Since the Hellenistic period the main settlement of the valley had concentrated on the site of Notion, close to the famous temple of Claros. The old inland acropolis seems still to have been occupied in the late Roman period to judge by a stretch of apparently late Roman wall on the site, but otherwise the name, the bishopric and the main settlement were on the coast.[134] In the decade before the First World War Th.Macridy Bey and C. Picard noted late Roman/Byzantine walls at the coastal site and the remains of a small church. They identified in the latter two building or possibly repair phrases.[135] An inscribed 6th century ambo

136. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 27-8, nr. 94.
137. ibid. 28, n. 95; T. MACRIDY 'Altertümer von Notion' 159.
138. See infra 222-4 .
139. c.f. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 124 n. 7.

dates the first to the late Roman period and also identifies the building as the episcopal church of Colophon.[136] The second phase was Byzantine. Another inscription on a fragment of a typical middle Byzantine decorated architecture is dated to 959/60.[137] The inscription not only shows that the church was in use at that date, but like the similar sculpture at Sebaste in the upper Maeander region,[138] it also records that the architrave was a gift of the bishop, and thus shows that this was still the episcopal church of the bishop of Colophon in the mid 10th century. Since nothing else is known of the site it is unclear whether it was occupied throughout the Byzantine period. If the inscription had been dated a year or more later one might have questioned whether the period after the reconquest of Crete in 960-1 saw a reoccupation of coastal sites hitherto exposed to Arab raids. Yet in 959/60, in view of a succession of disastrous attempts to expel the Arabs from Crete, there can have been little reason for special optimism on this count. The inscription thus tends to favour the case for continuity on the ancient site of new Colophon.[139]

The two major sites between the Cayster and Mount Mykale are Phygela at Kusadası and Anaia at Kadıkalesi. They were both ancient sites and were both occupied in the 13th and 14th centuries. At Phygela the evidence is clear that the site was occupied continuously throughout the early and middle Byzantine periods. There is less evidence for the history of Anaia over the same period, and it remains no more than a possibility that

140. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 33, 383; STRABO XIV, i, 20.
141. T. TOBLER, Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex Saeculo VIII. IX. et XV. Leipzig (1874) 20, 60; see C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 123 and n. 29.
142. La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa ed. V. Laurent, 149-51 and n. 3.
143. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 82-5; on the walls of Phygela/Kuşadası in general see ibid. 74-85; IDEM 'Kuşadası und Yeni-Foça. Zwei italienische Gründungsstädte des Mittelalters' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XXV (1975) 399-420.
144. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De.Cer. I, 658; ATTALEIATES , 224.
145. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 42, nr. 115/3.

Anaia too was a continuously occupied site.

Phygela was not a city in the Roman period. Like Larissa in the Cayster valley, Phygela had been absorbed into the territory of Ephesos in the 3rd century B.C., and Strabo, writing in the 1st century A.D., could refer to the site as a poliknion.<sup>[140]</sup> After the 7th century however, Phygela is comparatively well attested. In the mid-720s the Anglo-Saxon St. Willibald visited Phygela<sup>[141]</sup> and a century later in the early 820s one of Thomas the Slav's lieutenants in his revolt against Michael II was imprisoned in a fortress there. This is recorded in the Life of St. Peter of Atroa which specifically refers to a fortress on an island, thus confirming the previously contested identification of Phygela with modern Kuşadası.<sup>[142]</sup> The visible remains of fortifications on the island at Kuşadası are of Ottoman date but excavation would no doubt reveal the previous fortress.<sup>[143]</sup> As has already been noted Phygela is twice attested in the 10th century. Both Himerios in 911 and Nikephoros Phokas in 960 intended to embark their expeditionary forces for Crete at Phygela.<sup>[144]</sup> More evidence survives for the 11th century. An inscription dated to 1019, found at Kuşadası used as spolia in the wall of the new church of 1798, records the restoration or construction of a church dedicated to St. George.<sup>[145]</sup> There are also two references to Phygela in the mid-11th century Life of St. Lazaros of Mount Galesion. In the first Phygela again appears as the place of embarkation for a monk sailing to Crete; in the second, it is as the port where a

146. LAZAROS 532, 578.
147. EP I, 114-15, nr. 12.
148. EP I, 128-9, nr. 14; ibid. 136 nr. 15; ibid. 149, nr. 17; ibid. 226, nr. 23; EP II, 147-8, nr. 62; ibid. 211-12, nr. 72.
149. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 123; A. P. KAŽDAN, 'Vizantiskie goroda v VII-IX vekach', Sovetskaia Arkheologiiia XXI (1954) 184; S. VRYONIS, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor Berkeley (1971) 11 n. 42.

sailor who has been saved from shipwreck by the intervention of St. Lazaros lands on his way to thank the saint.[146]

The next reference to Phygela is not until 1202 when Alexios III Angelos issued a chrysobull, now preserved in the monastery of St. John on Patmos, confirming the donation by the koubouklēsios John Palanitos of a house and courtyard in the emporion of Phygela to the monastery of St. George Dysikos.[147] Shortly afterwards this property passed to the monastery of St. John and there are several further references in the Patmos archives to the emporion of Phygela and to this property.[148]

In the past there has been some confusion over the history of Phygela. The evidence which proves that it was on the site of modern Kuşadası was not published until 1956 and the point was not made in print until 1979. A great deal of previous discussion has been misled by this oversight. At the same time A. Každan had argued that Phygela was a new town in the 9th-10th century. This has been rebutted by S. Vryonis who pointed to St. Willibald's visit a century earlier, but Každan's point has a merit which should not be ignored. Phygela was not an important place in the Roman period.[149] It was a poliknion rather than a polis which presumably is why it did not have a bishop. It is thus very unlikely that Phygela had any late Roman walls. This seems to be confirmed by the two accounts of St. Willibald's travels. Contrary to Vryonis' translation, neither the longer version in the Hodoeporicon or the shorter in the Itinerarium calls Phygela

150. T. TOBLER, Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae 20, 60.

151. EP II, 147; EP I, 226, nr. 23.

a 'large town'. Both versions refer to all the other places which Willibald visited as urbes, but the former calls Phygela a villa magna and the latter refers to it simply as a villa. The distinction is clearly deliberate and seems to be that for Willibald and his author on urbes was a town or city defined by its walls and probably in most cases its bishop, whereas a villa was any other settlement which lacked these features and was thus by definition non-urban. In most cases villa can be translated as village and even in the case of Phygela as described in the Hodoeporicon as a villa magna, the implication seems to be that this was a sizeable settlement which nonetheless lacked those characteristics which to St. Willibald defined the urban. It is thus seriously misleading to call 8th century Phygela a large town.[150]

Up to the 11th century Phygela was obviously important as a harbour and the island gave the site a potentially major military importance. The 9th to 11th century evidence need show no more than this and there is nothing else to show that Phygela was ever a major town. No excavations have been carried out at Kuşadası but there do not appear to have been any earlier walls than those erected by the Genoese at Scala Nova. Furthermore, unlike Thyraia which had also been neither a late Roman city nor a bishopric, Phygela was never made a see in any Byzantine period. In the 13th century Phygela was called an emporion but then so were such small settlements as Hieron, on the site of ancient Didyma.[151]

152. T. WIEGAND, Priene 27, 490-2; J. KEIL 'Zur Topographie des ionischen Kuste südlich von Ephesos' Wiener Jahreshefte XI (1908), Beiblatt 151-4; C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 124-5; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of Eastern Roman Provinces 78; HIEROKLES 21; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 104 et passim.
153. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 68-74, figs. 15 and 16.
154. EP I, 226 nr. 23.
155. EP I, 232 nr. 24; EP II, 207 nr. 71; N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion' REB XXVI (1968) 21, 35.

Phygela is a definite case of continuity. The reason for its survival may in fact have been the proximity of a fortress on the island, but there is no reason to think that the inhabitants of early Byzantine Phygela moved site. Roman Phygela was a minor settlement and despite the fame which medieval Phygela gained thanks to its harbour the evidence suggests that the continuity extended even to the minor importance. Up at least to the 11th century Phygela does not represent a change in settlement pattern. It was only from the 17th century as Scala Nova that this became one of the major centres of the west coast.

Anaia, lying at Kadıkalesi 9 kilometres to the south of Kuşadası, was a more important settlement than Phygela in both the Roman period and in the 12th-14th centuries. It had been an independent city from the 2nd century A.D. onwards and consequently a bishopric throughout the Christian period.[152] In the late 12th or early 13th century, to judge by the surviving walls, a major fortress was built at Anaia covering 2.25 hectares,[153] and for the rest of the 13th century it appears frequently in the sources as an important port. In the 1214 prostaxis of Theodore I Laskaris Anaia is described as an emporion,[154] like Phygela, but in the 1244 horismos of John III Batatzes and other later 13th century documents Anaia is specified as a customs station, a kommerkion, as opposed to the other coastal settlements which are merely described as skalai, harbours.[155] Apart from the portulans which do not

156. JGR I, 489; G. L. F. TAFEL, G. M. THOMAS, Urkunden zur ältern Handels III, 71.
157. ibid. III (nr. 370: *Judicum Venetorum in causis piraticis contra Graecos decisiones*) 161, 180, 184, 185, 193, 207, 211, 221, 225-6, 236, 247, 254, 256, 262, 264, 273.
158. MUNTANER 498; PACHYMERES II, 420.
159. J. KEIL 'Zur Topographie des ionischen Kuste' 154.

discriminate by the size of a settlement, whereas Phygela is not mentioned in the Latin sources, Anaia was a well known fortress and port. A quarter in Anaia was granted to the Genoese by the 1261 treaty of Nymphaion, and access was granted to the Venetians by the treaty of 1265. It was still however a Byzantine port.[156] In a list, dated March 1278, recording the outrages perpetrated by Greek pirates against Venetian citizens, Anaia appears frequently as a pirate base whose inhabitants were among the more prominent enemies of the Venetian merchants.[157] In Muntaner's account of the Catalan company's deeds in 1304 Anaia again appears as one of the key strong points of the Maeander region.[158]

After the Turkish conquest the coastal site of Anaia seems to have been soon abandoned and later its role was taken over by Scala Nova. Ottoman Anaia, still called Ania at the beginning of this century, was not a port at all but a village set on a more secure site 5 kilometres inland.[159]

The history of Anaia between the 7th and the 11th century is almost unknown. It continued to be a bishopric and as such appears in the notitiae, but otherwise the only reference to Anaia comes from the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos written in the last third of the 10th century. Nikephoros first became a monk on mount Latros, but he soon left to found his own ascetic community. The first place he chose was somewhere called Platanē, near Anaia on the north side of mount Mykale. He did

160. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 147.

161. c.f. H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer Paris (1967) 166 n. 1.

not stay there long because he clashed with the bishop of Anaia who was attempting to enforce episcopal control over the new monastery.[160] The incident is important evidence that there was a bishop of Anaia in the 10th century and that he resided in his see. It also makes it almost certain that there was a settlement called Anaia at this date. However since Platanē is otherwise unknown the incident does not reveal whether the coastal site at Kadikalesi had been continuously occupied since the Roman period. It is a possibility, but so too would be a move to an inland site, either the same or close to that of Ottoman Ania. Looking at the history of both Anaia and Phygela from the Roman period to the present day, the second possibility may be the more likely. On the small stretch of coastal plain between mount Mykale and the Cayster, there seems to have been only room for the development of one port town in addition to Ephesos. Phygela was of little importance in the Roman period, whereas from the 17th century Scala Nova and Kuşadası have thrived. The references to Phygela in the 8th to 11th centuries need not indicate that this was a large town but they do suggest that this was the principal port of this stretch of the west coast. Nikephoros Phokas did not actually sail from Phygela in 960 but went from the headland of Hagia instead. It has been wondered whether Hagia is another name for Anaia, and although this seems rather unlikely, it is an indication that the question of continuity or otherwise on this site should be left open.[161]

The most important coastal site south of mount Mykale is

162. C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 477-8; G. KLEINER, Die Ruinen von Milet 19-21.
163. G. KAWERAU, A. REHM, Das Delphinion Milet I/3, Berlin (1915) 160-1; H. KNACKFUSS, Der Südmarkt Milet I/7, Berlin (1924) 158; W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 26 n. 44; A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palastren Milet I/9, Berlin (1928) 142.
164. H. GREGOIRE RIGCAM 67-70, nrs. 219-224/2; G. KLEINER, Die Ruinen von Milet 136-7; H. KNACKFUSS, Der Südmarkt 56, 69, 151, 180, 229-61, 303 nr. 206; C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 477-8; influential Milesians at the Imperial court: A. VON GERKAN, F. KRISCHEN, Thermen und Palastren 168-71.

Miletos, occupying a small rise set amidst the muddy plains of the Maeander mouth. In the Hellenistic period Miletos had been the pre-eminent west coast port, and even if it had been subsequently overtaken as a commercial and administrative centre by Ephesos, it was still one of the more important centres of the late Roman Maeander region.[162]

The classical remains at Miletos have attracted scholarly attention since the 19th century, but despite the extensive excavations carried out by Th. Wiegand from 1899, and the present excavations which began under W. Müller-Wiener in 1961, the history of medieval Miletos remains vague. In particular a considerable amount of poor quality Byzantine housing has been noted on the ancient site but very little of it has been dated.[163]

Nonetheless the evidence is quite clear that Miletos was continuously occupied on its ancient site throughout the period up to the 11th century and beyond. In the first place Miletos was enjoying a period of renewed growth and prosperity in the 6th century. Like all cities at this period it had problems adapting its ancient structure of public buildings to new social demands but thanks to the patronage of a number of influential Milesians at Justinian's court, the city was still restoring and erecting new public buildings up to at least the end of the century.[164] The same influence at court is the probable explanation of the 6th century promotion of the see of

165. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 643.
166. A. VON GERKAN, Die Stadtmauern Milet II/3, Berlin (1935) 81-4, 114-7, 126-8.
167. A. VON GERKAN, Das Stadion Berlin (1921) 13, 41; IDEM, Die Stadtmauern 85-6, 114-7; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' Istanbuler Mitteilungen 282-5.

Miletos to the rank of an autocephalous archbishopric.[165]

Such a prosperous city would be very much the type of settlement one would expect to show resilience in the face of more difficult times. In other similar cases, such as at Philadelphia, Sardis or Smyrna, the existence of a circuit of late Roman walls seems to have been crucial in ensuring continuity on an ancient site, but at Miletos, as in fact at Ephesos, the city wall was less of an advantage. It had been erected during the reign of Gallienus (259-68) and was of a hasty and primitive construction, lacking towers, let alone the other refinements of late Roman fortification. It was also over 5 kilometres long and included large areas that were no longer essential to the city at the beginning of the 7th century.[166]

As at Ephesos, the large wall was replaced by a smaller circuit including about a quarter of the ancient city. The new wall was well built of large spolia blocks with towers positioned to provide flanking fire and it made use of various public buildings such as baths, a theatre and a ceremonial agora gate to form strong points in the circuit. The theatre in particular was developed to form a separate citadel overlooking the whole site.[167]

A terminus post quem for the walls is provided by an inscription dated to 538 set up on the agora gate to commemorate its restoration by Justinian. At the time of the restoration the

168. H. KNACKFUSS, Der Südmarkt 229-61, 303 nr. 200; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 67 nr. 219.
169. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 25 and n. 43; A. VON GERKAN, Die Stadtmauern 116.
170. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, op.cit. 25-34; and n. 50; IDEM, 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' 282-5; H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 69-70 nr. 221; see P. ALLEN, 'The "Justinianic" Plague', Byzantion XLIX (1979) 5-20.

agora gate was still a free standing monumental structure. It was only later built into the circuit of walls.[168] There is no such precisely dated terminus ante quem. They are certainly early Byzantine since they were extant in the 10th or 11th century when they were destroyed by an earthquake, and the type and method of construction is similar to the other early Byzantine walls at Pergamon, Ephesos and on the acropolis at Sardis.[169] More evidence survives for the theatre castle which was an integral part of the defences, but in fact it does not do much to narrow the possible dates. A coin of Theophilos shows that it was a fortress before the 9th century. There is also an inscription cut into the outside wall of the theatre which appeals to the seven archangels to protect the inhabitants of the polis of Miletos. The lettering and language date the inscription to between the 5th and the 8th centuries. If the enemy in mind had been human this inscription would support a 7th-8th century date for the fortress, but there is no reason to prefer a human enemy to another such as the mid-6th century plague. The inscription would unfortunately fit both equally well.[170]

Further evidence of continuity lies in the complex of buildings linked with the church of St. Michael in the heart of the new walled area. The church of St. Michael is a three-aisled basilica built in the 6th century and of a type common since the 5th century. To the north is what is almost certainly the bishop's palace. On the side adjacent to the church the palace

171. Preliminary Reports: T. WIEGAND, Archäologischer Anzeiger (1904) 8-9; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Milet 1973-1975' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XXVII/XXVIII (1977-8) 94-103, 117-25; ibid. XXIX (1979) 170-73; see plan I, ibid. XXX (1980) 26; Anatolian Studies XXVIII (1978) 28; ibid. XXIX (1979) 206.
172. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 71-2 nr. 225 (mistakenly ascribed to Didyma); W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Milet 1973-1975' 117.

reuses part of a possibly 4th century peristyle house but otherwise it is a new construction of a later date made up of three porticoed ranges around a central courtyard.[171]

No coins or suitable pottery were found which could help to date the complex hence its chronology is relative to a single inscription. This records that the Patriarch Kyriakos and two of the most senior patriarchal officials decorated the church. Kyriakos was patriarch from 595 to 606 but because the phrase basileuontos men Maurikiou appears to have been deleted from line two, the inscription probable dates from 602, the year of Maurice's assassination. The inscription does not commemorate the original building of the church but rather its phylokalia (sic), 'adornment'. On the grounds that it reads pasa hē phylokalia this has been taken to include the surviving geometric floor mosaics in the church. Since there is no trace of any earlier floor level and such an otherwise impressive church could hardly have made do with a mud floor for very long it has consequently been concluded that the church itself was built only very shortly before 602.[172]

The bishop's palace has three groups of floor mosaics belonging to three different phases. The earliest appear to be late 4th century floor levels carried over from the pre-existing peristyle house. The second group of mosaics are of a geometric design of exactly the same style and type as those in the church. The third, which are part of a later but undated phase, are of a

173. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Milet 1977' Istanbuler Mitteilungen XXIX  
(1979) 170-73; ibid. XXX (1980) 24-30.

figural design showing hunting scenes, fighting animals and single animals in a style which would fit a 6th-7th century date, but would not exclude one slightly later. These figural mosaics were laid down in a period of repair which presumes a certain lapse of time since the original construction. If on the basis of the similarity between the geometric mosaics in the church and the palace both buildings can be dated via the inscription to c.602, then it follows that the figural mosaics must have been laid well into the 7th century or even the 8th century. Furthermore since this is only one phase of a series of repairs the palace must have been occupied right through the early Byzantine period.[173]

This is essentially the view taken by W. Müller-Wiener but there are some caveats which should be taken into account. The main problem is that despite pasa hē phylokalia it may be rash to presume that the floor mosaics were part of Kyriakos' adornment of the church. Neither the style of the mosaics nor that of the church building itself precludes a much earlier date, even in the late 5th century. The floor mosaics could have been regarded as part of the structure of the church, Kyriakos' phylokalia being instead wall decorations or a sanctuary screen. If the original building of the church and the palace, and the laying of the geometric mosaics, were put back to, for the sake of example, the middle of the 6th century, it would still have been possible for the first repair phase and the laying of the figural mosaics to have been carried out before the onset of the 7th century crisis.

174. PAUL OF LATROS 45, 53, 63, 137.

175. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 142-5.

176. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' 285.

Yet even if this were a more correct chronology, Müller-Wiener would still be justified in seeing this complex as evidence for continuity since the repair phases would in any case extend the proven occupation of the palace through the 7th century and very probably through the whole early Byzantine period.

In the 10th century Miletos is comparatively well attested. In the Life of St. Paul of Latros, reflecting the view-point of the monks of Latros in the mid-10th century, Miletos appears several times as the major local centre of population and as a source of supplies.[174] Shortly before Nikephos Phokas' assassination in 969, St. Nikephoros was appointed archbishop of Miletos. The Life reveals nothing about the 10th century town except to show that its archbishop was resident in his see.[175]

The state of Miletos in the 11th century at the time of the Turkish invasions is unclear. During the early Comnenian period the theatre castle was rebuilt following an earthquake which destroyed the city walls. Since there is no evidence of building work between the earthquake and the Comnenian activity at the theatre castle, an early date for the earthquake might suggest a near abandonment of the site.[176]

The same earthquake destroyed the fortress at Hieron, 16 kilometres to the south of Miletos, built amongst the remains of the former temple of Apollo at Didyma. The kastron of Hieron was rebuilt and on the basis of an inscription this phase has been

177. H. GREGOIRE, RIGCAM 74 nr. 226; A. REHM, Didyma II: Die Inschriften Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin (1958) 317 nr. 597; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 38-41; the Life of St. Paul of Latros is dated by its reference to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos, who died in 959, as 'the late', PAUL OF LATROS 72.
178. H. GREGOIRE, loc.cit.; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, op.cit. 39 n. 74; H. GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER 'Les fortresses construites en Asie Mineure face a l'Invasion Seldjoudide' Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses Munich (1960) 184; L. ROBERT, 'Sur Didymes à l'époque byzantine' Hellenica XI (1960) 496 and pl. XXI (photograph of the squeeze taken by B. Haussoullier in 1896); D. TSOUGARAKIS, Byzantine Crete, 5th-12th Century, Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford (1984) 202-6: this also confirms the reading '12th indiction' and hence the date 1088-9. For the lettering see the very similar example dated to 1079 in A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, 'Inscriptions du Peloponnèse II: Inscriptions du IX au XIV siècle' TM IX (1985) 306-7 nr. 47, Pl. XI; on Çaka, see P. GAUTIER, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis 1er Comnène' REB XXVIII (1970) 10-13.
179. W. MÜLLER-WIENER 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet' 282-6.

dated to 988-9. Since the Life of St. Paul of Latros, which cannot be earlier than the 960s, still regards Miletos as an important settlement, the earthquake has been generally dated to the 970s or 80s.[177]

This is almost certainly a serious error. The problem has arisen because the inscription is only dated by an indication which maybe either the twelfth or the second, although a reference to Crete means it must date to after the Byzantine reconquest in 961. H. Gregoire, who first proposed the 988-9 date, believed that the Comnenian period was ruled out by the lettering. In fact the lettering would fit any date in the 10th or 11th century whereas the titles used would only have been found in the late 11th century. Hence the most likely date for the rebuilding is 1088/9 when the Byzantines were struggling to contain Çaka's naval threat in the Aegean.[178]

It follows from this that there is no reason to place the disaster before the later 11th century and it is perhaps more likely that the failure to reconstruct after the earthquake was due to the Turkish threat. The archaeological evidence suggests that for a period Miletos amounted to no more than a village within the walls of the theatre. That period was probably very short and the immediate result of the loss of the walls in the face of the new Turkish threat. It was not typical of pre-11th century Miletos.[179]

180. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et Le Golfe Latmique 20-21; A. PHILIPPSON, Das Südliche Jonien Milet III/5, Berlin (1936) 12-14; W. TURNER, Journal of a Tour in the Levant III, 93; T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898 Berlin (1904) 6-8.
181. See L. ROBERT, 'Une épigramme de Carie' Revue Philologique XXXI (1957) 7-22.
182. See L. ROBERT, 'Sur Didymes à l'époque byzantine' 490-504.
183. T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos Milet III/1, Berlin (1913) 3-4; F. KRISCHEN, Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos, Milet III/2, Berlin (1922) 1-2; A. PHILIPPSON Das Südlich Jonien \* 17-19; see STRABO XIV ii 22 for a judgement on Herakleia in the 1st century BC; difficulties of access by road: G. E. BEAN, Aegean Turkey 211; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 189.

Miletos is not set in the most fertile part of the Maeander plain. There is better agricultural land to the north east toward Priene and to the south toward Didyma.[180] Indeed in the ancient world Miletos had to extend its territory to the Kazıklı plain beyond Didyma to support its large population.[181] The soil around Miletos is sandy and poor which makes the city's survival in the Byzantine period all the more striking. The other ancient cities in this part of the Maeander region tended also to survive on their ancient sites, but there is no evidence either of a move to the hills or of a tendency for the apparently better sited cities to take over the role of Miletos as the chief local centre.

Didyma itself survived as the bishopric, fortress and port of Hieron but it was always a very minor settlement and there is no evidence that the archbishop of Miletos ever migrated to this site.[182]

Herakleia under Latmos had never been of any importance since the advancing silt cut lake Bafa off from the sea during the 1st century A.D. Until the building of the new road in the 1960s the only access by land from the Maeander valley was by a difficult road along the northern side of the lake, and most travellers came instead by boat.[183]

The site has a continuous history up to at least the late 10th century. It was a bishopric throughout the period and in

184. MM IV, 132.

185. PAUL OF LATROS 109.

186. The identification of Melanoudion has given rise to a certain amount of controversy: T. WIEGAND Der Latmos 185 (= Myos, modern Avşar); P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Menteşe: Studie zur Geschichte West-kleinasiens im 13.-15. Jahrhundert Istanbuler Mitteilungen II, Istanbul (1934) 169; J. DE JERPHANION, 'SAMPSON et AMISOS. Une ville à déplacer de neuf cent kilomètres' Orientalia Christiana Periodica I (1935) 264 n. 3 (= Mendelyat, modern Selimye); C. WENDEL, 'Planudea' BZ XL (1940) 438-43; L. ROBERT, 'Didymes à l'époque byzantine' Hellenica XI-XII (1960) 503 (= Herakleia under Latmos); W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen 10 n. 10; C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 482 n. 51 (= Kazıklı kalesi); L. ROBERT, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure' BCH CII (1978) 507. As L. Robert realized, the key text is Pachymeres' account of Alexios Philanthropenos victorious campaign of 1293. In it Melanoudion is said to be near the fortress called Duo Bounoi which lies in a limnē. The normal prose meaning of limnē is a lake and the only appropriate lake is the Bafa Gölü. Moreover Duo Bounoi means the two small hills and there is an island in the Bafa Golu which not only fits this description but has the Turkish name of Ikiz ada, the double island. Herakleia under Latmos is the nearest 13th century fortress; it was clearly an important site and it is set on rather striking black rocks which would explain the mela in the place name: PACHYMERES II, 211; L. ROBERT, 'Didymes' 503. L. Robert is however too quick to dismiss other possibilities. In particular it has always been a formidable objection that the monastery of St. John on Patmos was granted in 1214 customs exemption for two boats entering a number of west coast ports, apparently including Melanoudion. This seemed to preclude Herakleia under Latmos since it lay in a land locked lake. An explanation which would preserve the identification of Melanoudion with Herakleia has however become available with the new edition of the Patmos archives. The text of the 1214 prostaxis of Theodore I Laskaris remains much the same, but in a later Horismos of 1244 the new editors have been able to read tō Melanoudiō where Miklosich and Müller had to leave a lacuna. The 1244 document is essentially a confirmation of the 1214 exemption but thanks to the new reading the horismos links Melanoudion in the exemption with Sampson, known to be an inland site. Thus Melanoudion, despite its appearance in the 1214 prostaxis need not have been a coastal port. It therefore follows that C. Wendel and L. Roberts' identifications can be provisionally accepted: EP I, 226, nr. 23; 232, nr. 24, pl. XLVII; c.f. MM VI, 183.

187. PAUL OF LATROS 109.

987 Ignatios, bishop of Herakleia, witnessed the accord between the Latros monasteries of St. Paul and Lamponion.[184] More important the 10th century Life of St. Paul of Latros mentions Herakleia as a city of the ancients and said of it, "This place lacked walls and impregnable buildings because of the rough terrain and cliffs of the place and wilderness; but this does not matter for the inhabitants make use of the cliffs as much as walls for their safety".[185] This description is easily recognizable as the ancient site of Herakleia among the rocks above the modern village of Kapıkırı. It also shows that in the 10th century the settlement had not yet moved to the peninsula jutting out into lake Bafa south of the village. The peninsula is occupied by a fortress dated on the grounds of its building technique to the 12th or 13th century. This seems to be the site of Melanoudion which appears only in the 12th and 13th century sources and was part of the new Comnenian order in the Maeander region.[186] The abandonment of Herakleia presumably took place when Melanoudion was built and up to the 11th century it would have survived on the ancient site.

Although Herakleia survived through to the 11th century on its ancient site, like Phygela it was only as the very minor place it had been in the late Roman period. The Life of St. Paul of Latros, which proves the fact of continuity, also describes Herakleia as a polichnion and it never features in the Life either as a market or a centre of population.[187] Despite the advantages of its excellent defensive site and the small secluded

188. T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos.

189. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene ; C. FOSS,  
'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 481-2 .

fertile plain close at hand, there is nothing to indicate an influx of population during the early Byzantine period from the cities of the Maeander plain to the north.[188]

The other city close to Miletos is Priene, set on a terrace above the northern edge of the Maeander plain with its cliff-faced acropolis rising sheer behind. Even the lower town on the terrace is on a more secure site than Miletos, while the acropolis probably the best defensive position in the entire Maeander region. The agricultural land in the plain around Priene is also considerably more fertile than that around Miletos. Like Herakleia, the Maeander silt had gradually left what had been a port far from the sea so that Priene had declined to be a very minor market town in the late Roman period. Its status as a polis ensured Priene its own bishop, hence it had a cathedral basilica kept in repair up to at least the end of the 6th century, but otherwise its public buildings were obsolete, derelict and abandoned. In contrast to Miletos, the only building remains at Priene from the 5th and 6th century are a small amount of low quality housing.[189]

Despite the lack of importance in the late Roman period one might expect the security of its position to have attracted a greater population to Priene from the 7th century onwards. The evidence for this is uncertain. Priene remained a bishopric throughout the period and there is a synodal judgement preserved from 1059 which indicates that at that date the bishop was

190. Notitiae Episcopatum passim; MANSI XIX, 896-7; V. GRUMEL  
Regestes III, \_\_\_\_\_ nr. 887.
191. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene 475-93; EP II, 19 n. 50, l.  
291.
192. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, loc.cit.; W. MÜLLER-WIENER,  
'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 46-56; G. DE JERPHANION,  
'SAMPSON et AMISOS. Une ville à déplacer de neuf cent  
kilomètres' 257-67; P. ORGELS, Sabas Asidenios, dynaste de  
Sampson' Byzantion X (1935) 67-80.

resident in his see.[190] In the early Byzantine period the lower city seems to have been abandoned in favour of the acropolis. The site was excavated between 1895 and 1898, and although the absence of coins and buildings is not decisive evidence of abandonment, in this case it does appear to be confirmed by a praktikon originally drawn up in 1073 which refers to Priene as hē episkipē anō in contrast to the ancient lower town which is called a chōrion or a proasteia. [191]

The acropolis could have accommodated a sizeable settlement. There is little archaeological evidence of such a settlement but it has not been studied with that in mind. The major remains on the acropolis are fortifications. The earliest of these are 4th century B.C., and then there are at least two Byzantine phases. The second is late 12th - early 13th century almost certainly connected with the career of Sabas Asidenos who at that time used the acropolis, then known as Sampson, as his main fortress. The earlier Byzantine phase consists of a circuit of walls built of spolia blocks round a mortared rubble core. They were probably built in the 7th or 8th century. The construction is broadly similar to the early Byzantine fortifications at Sardis and Pergamon, although the closest parallel is with the early Byzantine circuit at Ephesos. [192]

These walls probably did provide security for a refugee population from the plain but that may not have been their primary purpose. The similarity with the walls at Sardis and

193. See R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 185-6.
194. K. REGLING, Die Münzen von Prienne Berlin (1927) 186.
195. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. 652, 663, 667; P. CHARANIS, 'On the Ethnic Composition of Byzantine Asia Minor', Mélanges Kyriakides Thessalonika (1953) 143; for Byzantine use of warning beacons, see P. PATTENDEN, 'The Byzantine Early Warning System' B LIII (1983) 258-99.
196. T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene 14-15; OR. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 23-4; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure II, 290-93; A. PHILIPPSON, Das Südliche Jonien Milet III/5, Berlin (1936) 21-6.

Pergamon raises the possibility that Priene is not so much evidence of a civilian move to a more secure site, but another example of Imperial military enterprise. As at Sardis, the sheer cliffs of the acropolis render it almost impregnable on three sides, and from the top there is a view over the entire mouth of the Maeander, from mount Mykale in the north to the Didyma peninsula and south to lake Bafa and the mountains of Latros.[193] Indeed the find of coins of Constantine II suggests the fortress may fit into the same strategic context as that at Sardis.[194] The Priene fortress continued in use after the 8th century. It may well have been used as a warning beacon of Arab raids and in the 9th and 10th centuries it seems that a coastal guard of Armenian troops was established in the Thrakesion theme with one contingent of at least five hundred men based at Priene.[195]

Behind these cities the mountains of this part of the Maeander region are wild and bleak. Some areas are covered with dense pine forest but overall, unlike mount Tmolos, they have few natural advantages and are today almost uninhabited.[196] The same seems to have applied in all periods in the past save the Byzantine when from the 9th century both mount Mykale to the north and mount Latros to the south attracted monks to their solitude.

St. Nikephoros of Miletos was the founder of the monastic community on mount Mykale. The monastery was his third attempt

197. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 147-8, 153.
198. PAUL OF LATROS 109, 112-13, 114-15, 126 et passim; MM IV, 307-8.
199. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137; PAUL OF LATROS 109; for the growing prosperity and organisation of Latros in the 10th and 11th centuries, see R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries' Byzantinische Forschungen X (1985) 186-93.

to find erēmia. The first had been near Anaia and the second near a main road which clearly excludes the wilds of the Mykale range. The name of the monastery, the Xerochoraphion, is itself an indication of the desolation of at least some parts of mount Mykale.[197] More detailed evidence for these mountains comes from the Life of St. Paul of Latros. It shows that hermits came to mount Latros in search of solitude which they found in abundance, but the mountains were also used by the population of the local towns, in particular Miletos, as grazing for their flocks. The Life is quite clear that the monks were the only permanent inhabitants of the mountains but there were enough seasonal visitors to cause conflict over pasture rights.[198] Part of the attraction may have been its inaccessibility to Arab raiders. They nonetheless attacked mount Latros in 830 and since this is probably too early for the monasteries to have been the target the raiders must have been after the animals. Indeed the Arab threat to Latros was on at least one occasion so serious that the monks had to find temporary refuge among the wilder fastneses of mount Mykale.[199]

Since Th. Wiegand's work in the 1890s onwards mount Latros has been comparatively well explored. Both it and mount Mykale are dotted with the ruins of fortified monasteries, chapels, hermitages and the castles which were built to protect them. A very few of the chapels and hermitages date from the 11th century or earlier, but the vast majority of these remains, including all the fortifications, are of the 12th and 13th century - especially the latter. There is no sign of any earlier settlements or

200. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 1-86; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 8-19.
201. W. RADT, 'Kuyruklu kalesi: Fluchtburg and Tyrannenfestung von Mylasa in Karien', Istanbuler Mitteilungen XIX/XX (1969/70) 167-8; see S. HORNBLOWER, Mausolus Oxford (1982) 89-100.

refuge centres and no evidence to support the idea of an early Byzantine move to the hills.[200]

The plain of Mylasa lies at the south western corner of the Maeander region, south of mount Latros. In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. its settlement pattern has been described as one of mountain fortresses and refuge centres together with at first dispersed villages in the plain and later more urban but still undefended concentrations such as the Mausolean foundation of Mylasa.[201] The two principal fortresses are the Kuyruklu kalesi in the mountains overlooking the plain east of Mylasa, and the Peğin kale in a similar position to the south. Both these were ancient centres of population and defence and they were both re-occupied at some stage in the Byzantine period. It has been suggested that this is part of a general return to the pre-Hellenistic settlement pattern in this area, but as elsewhere in the Maeander region first impressions may be deceptive.

The Kuyruklu kalesi is built on a waterless peak above the village of Yusufça Köyü. The fields around the village are well cultivated and fertile but to reach the castle itself involves a hard climb over thorn covered boulders. The castle shows clear evidence of three building phases. The first two, making up most of the circuit are ancient. The earliest is pre-Hellenistic; the later can be dated to the 4th-3rd century B.C. and is associated with Eupolemos, a Macedonian who became a Hellenistic tyrant of Mylasa. The third phase belongs to a single period of

202. W. RADT, op.cit. 169, 174-6.

medieval construction which involved the addition of several metres of mortared fieldstone to the evidently long ruined ancient walls. This phase also saw the addition of several new towers lacking in the ancient plan. The interior is filled by considerable ancient remains but there is apparently no evidence for any medieval settlement inside the walls.

The date of the medieval phase is uncertain. The type of wall construction - uncoursed mortared fieldstone with very small quantities of brick fragments - suggests a late date. The closest parallel appears to be in the 13th century additions to the acropolis castle at Priene, but a date after the Turkish conquest in the 1290s would be equally possible. Dating on the basis of wall type alone is not an exact science, but with that in mind there seems to be nothing to suggest a date for the medieval phase earlier than the 12th century.[202]

The Peçin kale is a much more complicated site. It consists of a castle and a large walled lower town both set above the plain of Mylasa with the kale itself on a volcanic plug which rises nearly sheer at the north end of the site. Excavations are being carried out at the moment by a Turkish team. Nothing has been published so far and their presence means that only restricted access to the site is possible. In 1982 I was fortunate to be shown round part of the excavations and to discuss what had been found with one of the Turkish archaeologists. The excavation has produced firm evidence for

the Hellenistic site and also uncovered the very extensive and impressive remains of the 14th century capital of the Menteşe Emirate. By contrast the evidence for the Byzantine period is scanty and what remains points to the 12th or 13th century as the main period of Byzantine occupation. Much more Byzantine evidence, however, could underly the buildings of the Menteşe period.

Only one Byzantine coin had been found up to 1982 and this was an undated scyphate, hence the 11th to 13th century. The pottery needs proper study but the initial impression was that apart from the obviously Turkish ware, the most common type of medieval pottery was a glazed ware which could be as late as the 14th century but was no earlier than the 11th. For much of this pottery the excavators have as yet found it impossible to say whether it was late Byzantine or Turkish.

I was not allowed to see anything of the walls of the lower city but the interior is filled by Turkish buildings dating from the Menteşe and Ottoman periods constructed of very fine quality masonry. Apart from the six baths and two mosques the türbe of Ahmet Ghazi stands out for its high quality ashlar masonry and fine carving around its south gate. For the opposite reason the only Byzantine building evident in the lower city stands out for its poor mortared fieldstone walls and small size. This is a rectangular structure, approximately 5 x 3 metres and surviving to about half a metre above ground. Since its axis runs east-

west and there is an apse at the east end it was presumably a chapel but in the short time I was there I could see no means of dating it until excavation can provide a context.

Turning to the fortress itself, on the basis of rather insufficient observation I could identify at least four distinct types of masonry.

Type I is the technique used in a single tower and adjacent wall above the cliff on the west side of the castle. Under the circumstances of my visit I did not notice the peculiar construction of this section at the time, but it stands out clearly on a photograph showing a general view of that side of the castle. Presumably the tower has a rubble core like the others, but it is distinctive in being neatly faced in ashlar or spolia blocks without the use of brick infill characteristic of type II and III, and which is clearly visible on other photographs taken at a similar distance.

Type II consists of mortared fieldstone with brick fragments. Much of the curtain wall on the north side as well as the inner parts of the south gate complex is built in this manner. The wall towers of this type are distinguished by ashlar quoins.

Type III is constructed of a similar mortared fieldstone core with a facing of ashlar or spolia blocks each surrounded by

203. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 62.
204. See W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 98-112.
205. See W. MÜLLER-WIENER, op.cit. 13, 15, 20-22, 115-116; C. FOSS 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 316-20.

a border of bricks and brick fragments. This type of masonry appears principally on the south side facing the lower town and in the outer parts of the south gate complex.

Type IV is of simple mortared fieldstone, uncoursed and with no brick. This is the construction of various late repairs and additions. It is also that of the houses of the Turkish village which survived on the kale until the middle of this century.

Suggested dates for these walls are bound to be tentative. Type IV however can be dealt with easily. This is the latest repair phase. The castle was kept in repair as late as the 1730s[203] and this type of masonry is presumably the work of local masons during the Ottoman period whose techniques were still being used by villagers in the 20th century. Type III can be dated as Turkish work of the 14th or 15th century. Very similar masonry is common in the Maeander region and the closest parallel is to be found in the Aydinoğlu and Ottoman additions to the castle at Ayasuluk.[204] The type II masonry is more difficult. In general such mortared fieldstone and brick infill walls are regarded as 12th century or later, but there are marked differences between the type of masonry used in these parts of the Peçin kale and that of the Byzantine buildings dated to the 13th century found around lake Bafa and on mount Latros.[205] The latter is characterized by the use of large amounts of brick where available and by rather haphazard coursing of the

206. See T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 73-9, and plan 5.
207. C. FOSS, Kütahya 71-3, 84-5, pls. 19, 20, 21, 51 and 60.
208. IBN BATTUTA II, 429.

fieldstone. Unlike the Peçin kale where all the walls bar the modern additions of type IV use a mortared rubble core, the technique used in the Byzantine fortifications is that of a thinner wall supported by parallel retaining arches on the inner face.[206] The quoins on the Peçin kale towers also have no known parallel in the Byzantine works. Finally the masons of the Peçin kale seem to have made an extraordinary effort to maintain neat and level courses in a manner very distinct from the dated Byzantine work. Given the imperfect state of knowledge of Byzantine building techniques in this region any date is open to question, but it seems probable that the type II walls, and hence the greater part of the Peçin kale are of the Turkish rather than the Byzantine period. Although perhaps too far away to be strictly valid the closest parallel to the type II masonry is the phase III work at Kütahya which has been dated to the early 14th century.[207]

On this analysis most of the present Peçin kale is of the Menteşe period. This receives some support from the account Ibn Battuta gives of the Menteşe Emir, Orhan Bey, whom he visited in 1331 or very shortly before: "His residence is in the city of Barjin [Peçin], which is close to Milâs, there being two miles between them. It is a new place, on a hill there, and has fine buildings and mosques. He had built there a congregational mosque, which was not yet complete." [208] Ibn Battuta is mainly referring to the town rather than the kale itself, but the reference to Peçin as a "new place" would fit with a previously

209. See also the Peçin kale, P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Mentese 127-9, c.f. date suggested ibid. 128; A. AKARCA, T. AKARCA, Milâs, Coğrafyası, Tarihi ve Arkeolojisi Istanbul (1954) 116-21.
210. K. JEPPESEN, The Propylaea Labraunda I/1, Lund (1955) 2-3, 31-2; A. WESTHOLM, The Architecture of the Hieron Labraunda I/2, Lund (1963) 1-5, 7-10, 86, 106-14, 117; P. HELLSTRÖM, Pottery of Classical and later date, Terracotta lamps and Glass Labraunda II/1, Lund (1965) 40-41, 43, 46-7, 49-52, 54.

unimportant or deserted site. If the kale had been extant before the early 14th century it would have amounted to a fairly substantial Byzantine site which would hardly have fitted Ibn Battuta's description.

The only major exception to a primarily Menteşe date for the fortress may be the single tower and adjacent wall of type I which could be of the earlier Byzantine period. However since I am not in a position to discuss this with any confidence the question has to remain open.[209]

Another important site which can provide evidence for the history of settlement in the plain of Mylasa is the Hekatomid cult site of Labraunda in the mountains south east of Latros on the north side of the plain. This is an ideal refuge centre: a good defensive site set amidst terraces of fertile agricultural land, high in the mountains, hidden from view and with quantities of ancient remains to reuse for building materials. If there had been a general move to the hills in the early Byzantine period Labraunda would certainly have been reoccupied. Yet a careful excavation by a Swedish team from 1949 to 1960 proved, perhaps rather suprisingly, that the site was abandoned at the end of the 6th century and not re-occupied until the 10th or 11th century.[210]

The evidence from the hills around the plain of Mylasa would thus fit in with a case for continuity on the late Roman

211. D. LEVI, 'Le due prime campagne di scavo a Iasos (1960-1961)' Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene N.S. XXIII-IV (1961-2) 529, 536, 544-7; IDEM 'Le campagne 1962-1964 a Iasos' ibid. N.S. XXVII-VIII (1965-6) 408, 425-6, 462-3, 463-7; IDEM, 'Gli Scavi di Iasos' ibid. N.S. XXIX-XXX (1967-8) 538-9, 544-9; American Journal of Archaeology LXXVII (1973) 184; ibid. LXXVIII (1974) 122-3; ibid. LXXX (1976) 277.
212. A. and T. AKARCA, Milâs 86-9; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 20; there are also a number of 5th and 6th century inscriptions, including an important prefectorial edict issued between 480 and 486 against tax fraud, RIGCAM 81-6, nrs. 239-42; for the date of nr. 240, 82-3, see PLRE II, 339; L. ROBERT, Études Anatoliennes 543.
213. A. and T. AKARCA, Milâs 91-115; 'Milâs' EI/1, 495-7; P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Menteşe 125-7.

city sites in this area, but unfortunately there is very little positive evidence from the cities themselves. The best example of continuity comes from the coastal site of Iasos on the gulf of Güllük where an Italian team is still excavating. Preliminary reports refer to a wall, apparantly built in the early Byzantine period, which encloses a reduced part of the ancient site, and also to various structures dated by coin finds to the 10th and 11th centuries. So far nothing has been found to suggest anything other than a continuous occupation of the site from the late Roman period onwards.[211]

The river system of the plain of Mylasa reaches the sea at the gulf of Güllük but Iasos itself lies on the northern side of the gulf separated from the plain by a range of mountains and the sea. The principal ancient site of the plain proper was Mylasa, but of its Byzantine history very little is known. As with so many of the more important sites throughout the Maeander region Mylasa has been continuously occupied throughout the modern period by a thriving town. Very few remains of antiquity have survived, still less of the middle ages, and there has been no excavation. Nonetheless those fragments that do remain show that Mylasa was a prosperous late Roman city with sufficient wealth to build imposing walls and to repair an earlier Roman aqueduct.[212] They also show that late medieval Mylasa was a similarly prosperous settlement with a continuous history from at least the 1330s.[213] The written evidence confirms this impression. The 5th century Life of St. Xenia implies an active

214. 'S. Eusebiae seu Xenae vita' ed. T. Nissen, AB LVI (1983) 110-11, 114; A. CALMELS, 'Sainte Xéni à Myalsa', EO II (1899) 352-6; the importance of the bishop in late Roman Mylasa is confirmed by a number of episcopal inscriptions dating from the 5th and 6th century, RIGCAM nr. 239, 81; nr. 239/2, 81; nr. 239/3, 82; nr. 239/5, 82; nr. 240/3, 85.
215. IBN BATTUTA 428-9.
216. Notitiae Episcopatum passim; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 384-5, nrs. 522 and 522/2.
217. MM IV, 324-5; the date in this document reads 'the month of April, the 2nd Indiction, 6635'. This raises problems in that 6635 AM, which is equivalent to 1127 AD, is in the 5th rather than the 2nd Indiction. Some emendation is clearly necessary, but H. Ahrweiler's suggestion of 1133 has no obvious merit, c.f. H. AHRWEILER 'La Région de Smyrne' 128-9; see also C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 485-6, n. 85.
218. ANNA COMNENA III, 26-7, 154-5; Neokastra was by contrast a more general term for an area and a group of new castles, NIKETAS CHONIATES 150.
219. See supra n. 186 .

Roman urban community headed by the bishop.[214] In the 14th century Ibn Battuta visited Mylasa and described it as "... one of the finest and most extensive cities in the land of al-Rum, with quantities of fruits, gardens and waters." He also noted Mylasa's fine hamams and mosques.[215]

In both the late Roman period and the 14th century onwards the surviving monuments show that Mylasa occupied the present site in the plain. The history of the intervening centuries is much more vague. Mylasa is attested as a bishopric throughout the Byzantine period and there are two seals known from the 10th and 11th century recording John and Leo as bishops of Mylasa.[216] Otherwise there is no mention before 1127 when the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion appears as one of the new administrative units set up in the Comnenian reorganization of western Asia Minor.[217] Mylasa in this context could be merely a territorial indication, possibly referring to the plain, but comparison with other new Comnenian themes suggests this is unlikely to be so. Smyrna, Philadelphia and Ephesos were all named after their principal fortresses.[218] Melanoudion was almost certainly Herakleia under Latmos, and if not it was another neighbouring fortress. Melanoudion is not attested as a general name for the territory of lake Bafa and mount Latros, hence there is little likelihood that Mylasa was used in that sense either.[219]

It is thus fairly certain that Mylasa was a fortress and

220. IBN BATTUTA 428-9.
221. 'Milâs' EI/1, 495-6; A. and T. Akarca, Milâs 91-2, 94-103.
222. X. DE PLANHOL, 'Le Cadre Géographique: Le pays de Laodicée - Denizli' in J. Des Gagniers et al. Laodicée du Lykos, Le Nymphée Quebec - Paris (1969) 393-400.
223. R. M. RIEFSTAHL, Turkish Architecture in South Western Anatolia 24-32, 32-6.

centre of population in the 12th and 13th century but the place-name might have moved from ancient city site in the plain. If this were so then the only realistic possibility is that the name had moved to the Peçin kale. The archaeological evidence discussed above does not encourage this view but there is what appears to be a small Byzantine chapel on the lower part of the site and the possibility cannot be ruled out of consideration on archaeological grounds alone. Nonetheless for a number of reasons such a move is rather unlikely.

In the first place whatever the exact significance of Ibn Battuta's description of the Peçin kale as a "new place", in the context of his account it is definitely 'new' in contrast to Mylasa in the plain.[220] Since the Menteşe emirate had only been established about forty years at the time of his visit it makes it almost certain that Turkish Mylasa was on the site of the pre-existing Byzantine fortress.

The sites of the early mosques at Mylasa also confirm this view. All but one of the 14th and 15th century mosques were placed outside the city wall.[221] In a number of medieval Turkish towns many of the population lived, as Ibn Battuta implies was the case here, in the gardens surrounding the city.[222] Even so the examples of Birgi and Tire show that mosques were normally built inside the walls[223] and in any case the arrangement at Mylasa presupposes that the interior was already occupied. The existence of this settlement inside the

224. A. and T. AKARCA, Milâs 98-9; 'Milâs' EI/1, 495-6.

walls by the beginning of the 14th century and the absence of mosques suggests that Mylasa was a Christian town before the Turkish conquest.

The only medieval mosque in the centre of Mylasa is the Bülent Cami, set in the highest part of the town and according to the Turkish historians, A. and T. Akarca, constructed out of the remains of an earlier church on the same site. Since they wrote in 1954 the Bülent Cami has been substantially restored and redecorated, and there has been no proper study of the structure. On the basis of a brief visit in 1982 I am not certain that the evidence for re-use amounts to any more than walls built of Roman and late Roman spolia blocks.[224]

If Mylasa was already a town on the ancient site before the Menteşe conquest it is very unlikely to have been a recent foundation of the 12th or 13th century. Throughout the region the later Byzantine period, from the first appearance of the Turks in later 11th century onward, was one when a good defensive position became a paramount factor in the choice of a settlement site. By contrast the site of Mylasa had been noted since antiquity for the very opposite reason. At the beginning of the 1st century A.D. Strabo said of Mylasa, "it lies in a very fertile plain; and above rising to a peak is a mountain which has a very fine quarry of white stone ... But one may well be amazed at those who so absurdly founded the city at the foot of a steep and commanding crag. Accordingly one of the [Roman] commanders, amazed at the fact, is said to have said, 'If the man

225. STRABO XIV, ii, 23.

226. Since I first wrote this passage I have continued to work on the Classical and Byzantine sites in the region. Several more could now be added to the discussion, but since they merely provide further examples of the same pattern it seemed better to set them aside for a fuller treatment elsewhere.

who founded this city was not afraid, was he not even ashamed?"[225] For a site so open as Mylasa to have been an important centre in the 13th century it must have been important before the Turkish conquests. It is thus at the very least probable that Mylasa, like Philadelphia whose site it very much resembles, was a continuously occupied site throughout the Byzantine period. The Peğın kale is an excellent site whose defensive advantages the Byzantines are unlikely to have ignored, but it seems that it was not until the Menteşo Emirate brought a new political and cultural order to the area that Mylasa was even partially and temporarily superseded as the major centre of this part of the Maeander region.

Returning to the Maeander valley and its adjacent hills and moving east along its course toward the Lykos valley and the central plateau, the same basic pattern can be detected. The evidence is still scanty and a more detailed picture may only emerge when Byzantine pottery can be easily identified in the field, but there is sufficient evidence to support the general picture of continuity in the settlement pattern up to the appearance of the Turks. Again it is increasingly clear that the great castle building phase when the population took to the hills occurred not in the early Byzantine period in the face of the Arabs, but instead two centuries and more later in the face of the Turks.

Not all the cities of this area can be discussed.[226] In

227. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 124-5, 139, 208; C. HUMANN, Magnesia am Maeander. Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1891-1893 Berlin (1904) 1-5; O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 117-34.
228. C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure III, 35-43, 96-9; see also the report by M. Azan, surgeon to the expedition, ibid. 104-5.

many cases there is no evidence but the silence should not be taken as indicative of their fate. Wherever a judgement is possible it seems that these sites were continuously occupied through to the 11th century. This applies equally to cities in the Maeander plain as to those in the north Carian hills, and to cities on open sites in the plain as much as to those in good defensive positions.

In the main Maeander valley and its major southern tributaries the most important cities are Tralles, Magnesia, Nysa, Mastaura, Tripolis, Aphrodisias, Alabanda and Alinda. Magnesia, Mastaura, Tripolis and Aphrodisias are set on open sites similar to that of Mylasa, where they all benefitted from easily accessible high-quality agricultural land. Their fates varied but in each case there is some evidence for continuity.

Magnesia on the Maeander is set in a fertile plain on the north side of the Maeander at the confluence of the river Lethaios where the main river turns toward the south-west and the sea. The site is open to serious silting from the river and is overlooked by the surrounding hills.[227] Over the last century and a half the site is known to have flooded regularly in winter. In the mid 1830s the French expedition to Magnesia found work was impossible after the beginning of November and its members suffered badly from malaria.[228] These conditions have been kept in check by modern drainage and similar efforts in antiquity combined with a different course taken by the Maeander would have

229. C. HUMANN, Magnesia am Maeander 32-3; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 88; C. FOSS, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities"' 482-3.

made this a more advantageous site in the past. Magnesia was a very large Hellenistic and Roman city which was still prosperous in the late Roman period.

In the early Byzantine period a wall was built enclosing about a tenth of the ancient site. It is constructed of large spolia blocks facing a core of mortared rubble. The walls are undated but they are very similar in technique and appearance to those at Sardis, Ephesos and Pergamon and thus can be dated with some confidence to around the 7th or 8th century. The area within these walls is between 8 and 10 hectares which makes it rather larger than a fort and comparable to other medieval towns in Asia Minor and in the mediterranean world as a whole.[229]

The walls are not the only good evidence for a settlement on the site in the early Byzantine period. In 1874 O. Rayet copied an inscription asking the Lord to protect his servant the Strategos of the Thrakesioi. The stone was found in a house at the nearby village of Kemer, but since all the other more ancient spolia had come from Magnesia, this inscription almost certainly came from there too. The stone bears no date, however the title strategos was only current for the Thrakesioi between the later 7th and the 11th century, and the lettering would tend to point toward the earlier part of that period. The inscription not only shows that Magnesia was occupied during the Byzantine period, but also supports the idea that the walls had been an official military building project on the same pattern as those at Sardis.

230. B. HAUSSOULLIER, 'Dédicace d'un stratège des Thrakésiens' Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger I, Paris (1924) 101-4; Strategoi, see infra 290 f
231. MANSI XI, 676, 993.
232. PAUL OF LATROS 116; LAZAROS 509; there are also two episcopal seals but it is not clear to which Magnesia they belong, V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 189-90, nrs. 270 and 271.
233. NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS I, 214.
234. W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 57-65, 88-9; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure II, 278-93; II, 83-4, 87-8.

The inscription may even have been a record of the strategos' role in their construction or repair.[230]

Other evidence from the early Byzantine period is the presence of bishop Patrikios of Magnesia at both the church councils of 680 and 692. At the latter his see was styled protomaian droupolis. [231] A bishop of Magnesia is again attested in the mid-10th century Life of St. Paul of Latros which refers to a monk who came from a monastery under the bishop's control. In the late 10th century the future St. Lazaros of mount Galesion was born in a village near Magnesia.[232] Otherwise there is still no mention of the site, apart from episcopal lists, until the 14th century when Nikephoros Gregoras reports that it fell to the Turks in 1304.[233] Since there is no indication that Magnesia had ever moved to a site in the nearby hills,[234] it is fairly safe to presume that there had been continuously a settlement within the circuit of Byzantine walls.

Mastaura is another open site further to the east along the Maeander valley about 3.5 kilometres north east of the present town of Nazilli. It is a little known site which deserves particular attention because its continuity on the same spot through to the 11th century can be proved by two reliable sources, a 9th century Saint's Life and the documentary evidence of a Jewish marriage contract dated to 1022. In the later Byzantine period after the appearance of the Turks Mastaura moved to a nearby hill top site. In the light of the evidence so far

235. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maendrum nach Forschungen und Aufnahmen in den Jahren 1907 und 1909 Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts X, Berlin (1913) 18-20.

discussed Mastaura thus stands as something of a model for the history of city sites in the Maeander region during the Byzantine period.

Roman Mastaura is on a small plain where one of the larger streams from the Messogis, the Chrysaoras river, cuts through the foothills. The site has not been excavated nor properly surveyed but it is easily identifiable from the mass of Roman ruins.[235]

The site is open and overlooked by surrounding hills but it perhaps does have some defensive advantages which should not be overlooked. Mastaura is set back from the Maeander plain and the main road, the side of modern Nazilli, among the heavily eroded landscape of the upper terrace which separates mount Messogis from the plain. Around Mastaura the landscape is curiously inaccessible. Streams from the Messogis range and seasonal rains have cut the soft conglomerate into a maze of steep sided peaks and plateaux interspersed with small basins of fertile alluvium. Even on the steepest of slopes the ground is covered with dense vegetation, natural or cultivated, and the area is criss-crossed by small and winding sunken paths. Unguided the visitor can easily get lost.

This slight isolation may have helped to protect the site but it also had the effect that Mastaura was not an important place in the ancient world. It is rarely mentioned in literary

236. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 78;  
B. V. HEAD, Historia Numorum 2nd Edn. Oxford (1911) 653;  
R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 263, 270,  
189, 310; see STRABO XIV, i, 47.
237. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 67-8.

sources and inscriptions, and seems not to have ranked as a city until the 1st century AD when Mastaura may have been promoted by Tiberius. The city minted coins from that date until the reign of Valerian but they are extremely rare.[236] Nonetheless the ruins are quite extensive and their large scale, typical of Roman public buildings suggests a fairly prosperous city. Indeed Mastaura is further evidence of the all pervasive nature of Roman urban culture under the Empire. The ruins are today hidden under thick vegetation and landslips and moreover have been used as a quarry for building stone by the inhabitants of Nazilli since at least the 18th century.[237]

About 200 metres to the east of the Roman site the ground rises steeply out of the valley of the Chrysaoras towards a lofty hill densely covered with trees and thornbushes. It is sheer on all sides save on the west, which faces the Roman city below. Here the cliffs are lower and two arms of the hill form a steep but not inaccessible gully. This is partially blocked by a Byzantine wall about two metres thick and neatly constructed of alternate bands of brick and mortared rubble. Once one has surmounted the surrounding cliffs the top of the hill slopes at about forty degrees toward the west, save at the two highest points, to the north and south, where there are two small areas of level ground on which are the remains of more Byzantine walls and a tower. These are constructed of mortared fieldstone with brick fragments. Further down the slope of the northern arm of the hill there is a neatly constructed and well preserved brick

238. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maeandrum 20; K. KURUNIOTIS, 'Anaskafai en Nyse te epi Maiandro' Deltion VII (1921-2) 1-88, 227-46.
239. T. REINACH, 'Un Contrat de Mariage du Temps de Basile le Bulgaroctone' in Mélanges offerts a M. Gustave Schlumberger I, Paris (1924) 123; J. MANN, The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs Oxford (1920-22) I, 87, 88-9, 91, 92-3; II, 92, 94; J. STARR, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch - Neu griechischen Philologie 30, Athens (1939) 188; see infra 256f .
240. BHG
241. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum' PG XCIX, 289.

cistern.

Despite the lack of proper archaeological examination the basic outline of the settlements's history can be established with some assurance. Van Diest, who examined Mastaura before the Great War, and Kuruniotis, who excavated at Nysa during the Greek occupation from 1919 to 1922 but who also made some examination of the ruins at Mastaura, both noted the remains of a city wall surrounding the Roman site built of very neatly coursed fieldstone over a rubble core in the same style as the late Roman walls at nearby Nysa and at Sardis.[238]

In the 11th century the area within this wall was definitely the site of Mastaura. In the 1022 marriage contract the clause describing the house refers to an entrance "on the river bank".[239] This would in any case rule out the hill top site but since the Chrysaoras flows through the middle of Roman Mastaura, there can be no doubt that this was where the house lay.

The possibility that the Jews' house was part of a new 10th or 11th century suburb can be rejected because there is also evidence from the 9th century that Mastaura still occupied the old Roman lower town. In the B version of the Life of St. Theodore the Stoudite written in the mid-9th century by the monk Michael the Stoudite and contained in Codex Vaticanus 608,[240] Mastaura is described as a polis. [241] The word has the proper

242. ibid. 304-5.
243. ibid. 304.
244. ibid. 288.
245. ibid. 305, 308.
246. Notitiae Episcopatum passim.
247. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum' 289.
248. ibid. 289-92.
249. See infra 446f.

sense of an urban settlement, at least as opposed to a village, or a castle, a fortress, a suburb, or even a refuge site. Because Michael carefully distinguishes other settlements as kōmē,[242] topos,[243] phourion,[244] or chōrion,[245] the description of Mastaura as a polis can hardly be accidental, and since the word is found nowhere else in the Life it cannot be merely the result of literary variation. The use of the word polis must imply that in the first half of the 9th century Mastaura was sufficiently a town for this to have been the proper term.

One of the factors in Michael's choice of polis as the proper description of Mastaura would have been his awareness that it was a bishopric.[246] Only poleis had bishops and hence any settlement with a bishop was a polis. The context in which the word appears is the story of "a certain notable cleric coming from the land of the Thrakesioi, in particular the polis of Mastaura",[247] who went to visit his relations in the Anatolikon at Bonita in Phrygia, where St. Theodore the Stoudite was imprisoned for a period between 815 and 821. The cleric was converted to the iconodule "true faith" by the saint, and subsequently returned to Mastaura where he caused a local schism against the iconoclast bishop.[248]

The incident provides important evidence for the role and position of the bishop and clergy in the middle Byzantine period, and this will be discussed below,[249] but here it is sufficient

250. C. FOSS, Kütahya 68-71.

251. C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 206-9,  
figs. 12-17; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche  
Befestigungen' 49-56.

to note that Michael's account shows the existence of a sizeable clerical community in Mastaura. This probably implies the continued use of at least one of the city's late Roman churches and certainly rules out the possibility that there was no more to 9th century Mastaura than a small fort on the hill.

Turning to the hill, there is no evidence that it was occupied before the 12th century. At some date the site was fortified and the position of the lower wall in the western gully and the cistern on the northern arm suggests that this was done on a large scale. However although the cistern is undated the lower wall appears to be mid-12th century. The closest parallel to its opus mixtum construction is that of the phase II work at Kütahya which has been approximately dated to between 1120 and 1150.[250] A similar date would be appropriate for the construction of Mastaura fortress. An important factor is that Turkish raiders coming from the east would be visible from the peak as far as the beginning of the Lykos valley and a strong force at Mastaura would have been well placed to harass returning raiders.

The walls and the tower on top of the hill are later than the 12th century circuit wall below. The closest parallels are to be found in the late 12th and 13th century walls at Magnesia on Sipylon (modern Manisa), and the Samsun kale on the acropolis at Priene.[251]

252. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 51-2; C. FOSS 'Late Fortifications in Lydia' 299-302.
253. T. R. S. BROUGHTON 'Roman Asia Minor' in An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome ed. T. Frank, IV, Baltimore (1938) 724; C. FOSS, op.cit. 299.
254. C. FOSS, loc.cit.

For the site as a whole the evidence strongly suggests that a settlement of some sort survived on the Roman site through to the arrival of the Turks. The subsequent fate of the lower town is unknown but it seems that the presence of the Turks led to the occupation and fortification of the hill top site. As at Sardis by the 14th century Mastaura had probably moved inside its own castle but there is nothing to suggest that it had done so in the 7th or 8th century.

Tripolis, lying about 65 kilometres due east of Mastaura at the point where the Maeander river emerges into the lower valley, is another ancient city set on an open site and overlooked by a nearby hill which seems not to have been fortified until after the appearance of the Turks. As with Mastaura, the site has been neither excavated nor surveyed, but its later Byzantine history is comparatively well documented and unlike Mastaura, it does have the considerable advantage that both the ancient lower town and the acropolis are free of dense thornbush and are hence reasonably accessible.[252]

In the Roman period Tripolis was rather overshadowed by the rise of Laodicea, but even so the abundant coinage and extensive ruins show the Roman city to have been wealthy and thriving.[253] This prosperity was still evident in the late Roman period when a city wall was constructed in coursed mortared fieldstone of a type familiar from Sardis and Philadelphia.[254] The ancient city was set in a small portion of the plain slightly protected

255. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 265-6, nr. 371.
256. ANSBERT, Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris MGH, Scr. Rer. Germ. N. S. V., Berlin (1928) 75; Historia Peregrinorum ibid. 154-5.

by low hills, but aside from the acropolis hill to the north-east which lay well outside the late Roman wall, the site has no natural defensive advantages.

Instead the citizens must have relied upon the wall. The circuit is not excessively large, unlike for example the Lysimachian walls at Ephesos, and the wall is well built between 2.5 and 3 metres thick. It also takes advantage of the ancient theatre, a temple and a large public bath complex built of massive ashlar blocks to create powerful bastions on the more exposed southern side. No other nearby site in the hills is known, but in any case no such site was likely to offer much better security.

Tripolis appears in the acts of the councils up to the Photian synod of 879, and in the Notitia throughout the Byzantine period, during which it was the second suffragan bishopric of the province of Sardis, after Philadelphia. A single seal of a bishop of Tripolis is known dating from the later 11th century.[255] Otherwise there seems to be no mention of Tripolis until the 24th April 1190 when Frederick Barbarossa's army, en route for the Third Crusade, passed by the "dirutam civitatem que Minor Tripolis dicebatur" which the crusaders actually mistook for Thyateira, a city much further to the north.[256]

In theory Tripolis could have been abandoned for centuries but if the minor bishopric and settlement of Mastaura survived on

257. ibid. 74-5, 154-6.

258. See C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 301-2.

its Roman site it is difficult to imagine why the larger town of Tripolis should have been deserted in the early Byzantine period. Mastaura is rather more isolated from the main road but then Tripolis appears to have had better walls. By contrast the cause of abandonment in the 12th century is absolutely clear. In April 1190 the crusaders saw large numbers of Turkoman nomads and their flocks in the Lykos valley.[257] In the early Byzantine period in the face of the Arab threat a population could have survived at Tripolis going out of the walls to farm the surrounding hills. Even if the Turks had not taken the city they could have prevented farming of the surrounding land and consequently forced the population to move elsewhere.

Confirmation of this hypothesis will have to wait until Tripolis is surveyed and even excavated, but the crusader account does make one thing certain: the castle, which now occupies the hill overlooking Roman Tripolis from the north-east was not there in 1190. In fact a late date for the castle would have been inferred from the masonry, which appears to be Lascarid,[258] but it is encouraging to see the chronology of masonry types confirmed by written sources. On the hill there is nothing to suggest any earlier medieval occupation than the 13th century. Clearly if the presence of bishops of Tripolis at 8th and 9th century councils has any significance for the history of the town, their episcopal seat had not migrated to the hill top, but had stayed put on the old Roman site.

259. R. T. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 146, 233, 254, 270-81.
260. Hopefully this will be remedied in due course: see R. CORMACK 'The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: the Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias' in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition 103 n. 1; Anatolian Studies XXXII (1982) 10.

A final piece of supporting evidence can be found in the distribution of pottery fragments on site. The upper slopes of the castle hill are covered with a fairly dense scatter of 13th century sgraffito ware. Most of this has a distinctive pale green and brown glaze over a pale pinkish body. Nothing of this type is at all evident in the lower town. There most of the pottery is clearly Roman but there is a great deal of various undated coarse wares which could easily have been produced during the Byzantine period.

The other main open site in this part of the Maeander region is Aphrodisias - or Stauropolis as it was known from the 7th century - lying in the valley of the Dandalas, a southern tributary of the Maeander river. In the centre of Aphrodisias is a prehistoric settlement mound or hüyük which is defensible but otherwise the site lies in an open position in the Dandalas plain.[259]

The current excavations at Aphrodisias are one of the major archaeological projects in the region but as has already been noted they are of less importance to the Byzantinist than might have been desired. In theory the work carried out there since 1961 should produce a detailed picture of the Byzantine city and the opportunity to establish a stratified chronology of Byzantine pottery types but so far this has not occurred.[260] Nonetheless these excavations do provide conclusive evidence of what is only hypothesis elsewhere. The exact nature of Byzantine Aphrodisias

261. See R. CORMACK, 'The Classical Tradition' 103-18; infra  
262-3 .
262. Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi XVII/1 (1968) 43-4; ibid. XVIII/2  
(1969) 87-8; ibid. XIX/1 (1970) 55-6; ibid. XXII/2 (1975)  
73-4.

remains unclear but there is no doubt that the site was occupied continuously from the late Roman period up to the 12th century.[261]

The details of the evidence will be discussed below for what it can reveal of a middle Byzantine city in the Maeander region, but here it is worth noting that the centre of early and middle Byzantine Aphrodisias seems to have remained around the Church of St. Michael, converted from the former temple of Aphrodite in the heart of the Roman city, rather than on the hüyük to the south. Indeed it is unclear at what date the hill was occupied and the theatre turned into a fortress. It could have been as late as the 12th century, and if it was earlier, this would only have amounted to a fortified acropolis in the midst of a larger settlement whose focus lay elsewhere.[262]

There are a number of other important ancient sites occupying open positions in this part of the Maeander which could be discussed in this context, but two in particular are worthy of note: Antioch on the Maeander and Harpasa.

Antioch on the Maeander was a Roman city of moderate importance which came to prominence as one of the key Byzantine settlements in this region during the 12th and especially 13th century. The site is little known and there is no adequate published description. As yet it is impossible to be certain, but there is every likelihood that Antioch was another ancient

263. A. PHILIPPSON 'Reisen und Forschungen' CLXXX (1914) 94;  
ibid. CLXXXIII (1915) 26 and 40.
264. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor 128, 988-9; STRABO XIII,  
iv, 15; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 291; Not. 2, nr.  
354; Not. 3, nr. 472; Not. 4, nr. 309; Not. 7, nr. 368;  
Not. 9, nr. 250; Not. 10, nr. 302; Not. 13, nr. 306; see  
also infra 446f. ; MANSI XVII, 373.

site which continued to be occupied through the 7th and 11th centuries.

Antioch lies on an extensive low hill, set in the midst of the plain four kilometres south-east of the confluence of the Dondalassu with the Maeander. The site is something of a geological island set in a sea of alluvial fields. The hill does offer some defensive advantages, but it should really be classed as an open site. Antioch is far from being a natural place of refuge.[263]

In antiquity, according to Strabo, the city was of moderate size but prosperous due to its fertile territory which was famous for figs. Antioch also benefited from the nearby bridge across the Maeander which carried the main east-west road on to the right bank of the river and thence on toward Tralles. At the beginning of the Byzantine period Antioch was a suffragan see of Caria, that is Stauropolis or Aphrodisias, and its bishops are duly attested at church councils.[264]

Otherwise there is no written evidence until the 12th century. Early in January 1147 the Second Crusade, led by Louis VII of France, crossed the river in the face of local opposition. The crusaders' opponents took refuge in Antioch, which Odo of Deuil, eye-witness and chronicler of these events, describes as a civitatula. Though small, Antioch was still capable of defying the crusading army. Louis had to recognize that the effort

265. ODO OF DEVIL 108-10.

266. NIKETAS CHONIATES 192.

267. AKROPOLITES 15-17.

required to seize the town would not be repaid in any booty gained.[265]

The bridge was evidently no longer standing at this date, but the episode does show that Antioch was still the usual crossing place, and hence that Odo's civitatula still occupied the ancient site. Had the site moved several kilometres away into the hills, it would hardly have figured in these events.

Little had changed by 1198 when the Selçuk sultan, Kaykhusraus I, mistook the sounds of a wedding feast for the signals of an army lying in wait, and withdrew from the in fact totally unprepared town. This story, recorded by Niketas Choniates, need not be taken literally, but it does confirm Odo's impression of a small fortified town, rather than a mere fort.[266]

A few years later in 1211, George Akropolites could refer to Antioch as "the chief place of the territory of the Maeander." In that year Kaykhusraus made a further attempt to seize what was evidently an important strategic strongpoint. Antioch managed to hold out until the relieving army appeared, commanded by the Emperor himself. What followed was a decisive Byzantine victory. The Selçuk sultan was killed and his army routed.[267]

After that there is no further mention of Antioch until western travellers appeared in the 18th century. According to

268. R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 68-9.

the earliest account, given by Pococke, in 1740 the site was long deserted, but even then it had not entirely lost its strategic significance. In 1739 the forces of the rebel, Soley Bey, were finally defeated at the Antioch crossing.[268]

The actual remains at Antioch are of remarkable interest but have never been properly studied. There is no published plan nor adequate description. What follows is no more than an introductory sketch to illustrate the main features.

Fig. III. Antioch on the Maeander: General Area Plan.

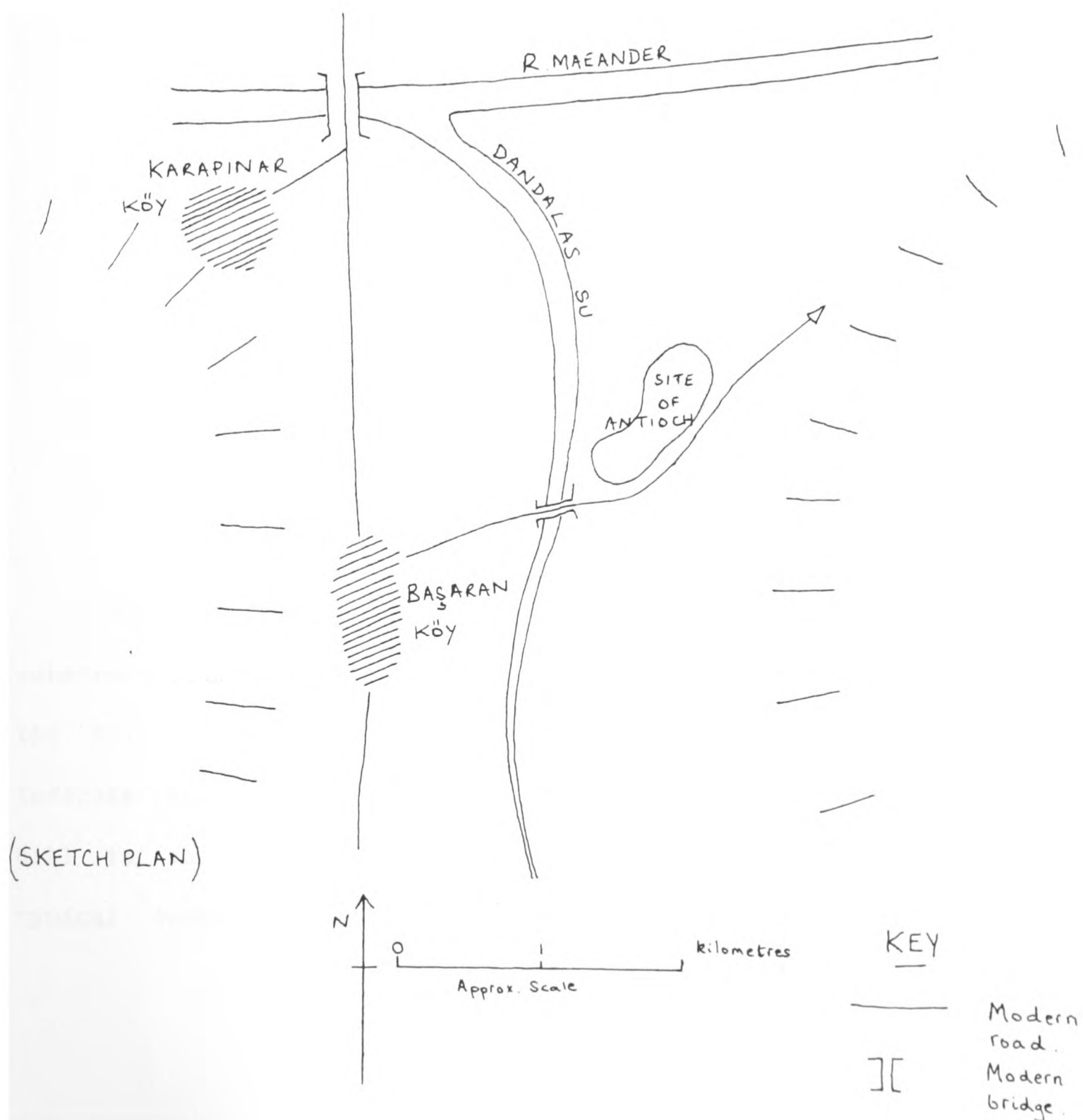
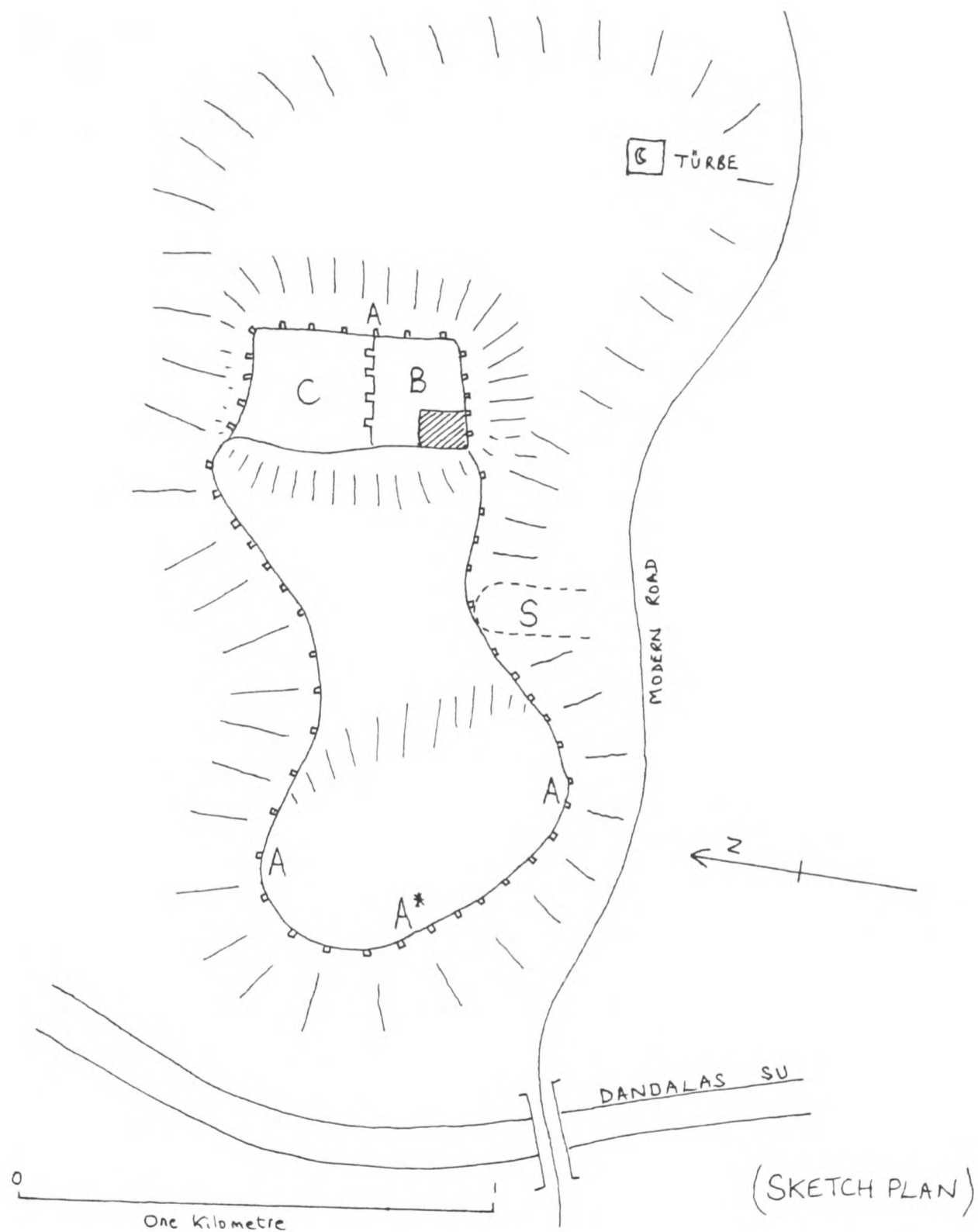


Fig. IV. Antioch on the Maeander: Site Plan.



The scatter of pottery and the various visible substructures show that the greater part of Roman Antioch lay on the hill top. A gentle indentation on the south side (S) may indicate the site of a stadium. Isolated on a lower part of the hill to the south-east is the small Hafza Hatun Türbesi, a typical domed, mortared fieldstone structure which includes two

269. See supra ns. 29-31.

fragments of decorative spolia. One appears to be Roman, possibly 4th century, the other may be from a 5th/6th century church.

Otherwise the main features of the site are the fortifications. The entire hill top, thus including what was the greater part of the Roman site, is enclosed by a powerful circuit wall with numerous towers and a proteichisma. It is best preserved at the south-western end, marked A\* on the plan, where two towers are standing. The line of the wall and the proteichisma is however easily discernable throughout.

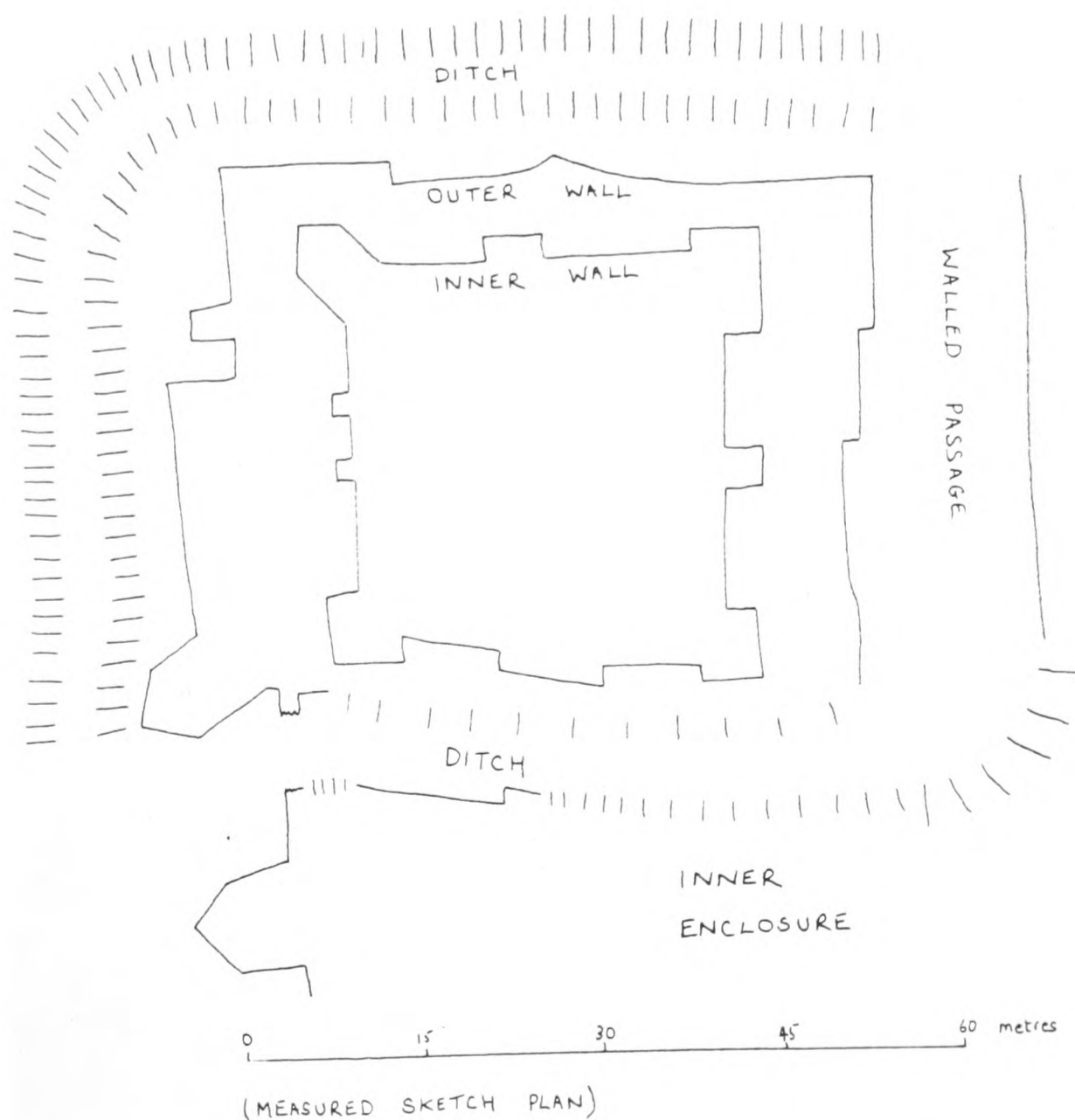
As was noted above, in the discussion of Philadelphia, such a proteichisma is a very rare feature in the city defences of western Asia Minor. One was added to the defences of Nicaea in Bithynia in the 13th century, and another may have been built at Philadelphia itself. Unfortunately the latter is no longer visible and it is not known whether it was a 13th century addition or part of the original defences.[269] I could not be absolutely certain, but at Antioch the proteichisma does seem to be an integral feature of the same date as the main wall.

Unlike Philadelphia, what should perhaps be called the acropolis fortifications at the north-eastern end of the site are visible and in part comparatively well preserved. They consist of two enclosures, marked B and C on the plan above. The smaller south-eastern enclosure (B) is the inner enclosure, defended on

the north-west by a towered wall and ditch. Its ground level lies some 4 metres higher than the larger outer enclosure.

In the south-western corner of the inner enclosure is a small castle, marked D on the plan. This is the best preserved structure on the site. It is small, only about 60 metres square, and heavily fortified, with double walls, towers and a complicated entrance system.

Fig. V: Antioch on the Maeander: the Castle.



The dating of these fortifications presents problems which

270. A. PHILIPPSON 'Reisen und Forschungen' CLXXX (1914) 94.

I do not pretend to have solved. More than 70 years ago, Philippson, who has given the only published account of the site, described the circuit wall as late Roman.[270] Its construction of spolia blocks over a mortared rubble core would be consistent with such a date, as would the fact that it includes almost the entire Roman city. There is no sign of an earlier line of fortifications.

The enclosure walls on the north-east side are the continuation of the circuit wall, although it may be significant that the proteichisma is more visible here than elsewhere. The construction is mainly mortared fieldstone and very little spolia can be seen in comparison to the more southerly stretches. Of the inner walls, dividing the enclosures from the rest of the site, not enough is visible above ground to enable a judgement to be made on their construction.

The castle is constructed of mortared fieldstone with a small amount of brick and stone spolia. The latter appears principally in the angles and lower courses of towers, and as lintels. The towers, all square or prow shaped, are solid. They were built round an internal wooden scaffolding whose beam holes survive. The fieldstone has been carefully laid in quite neat courses and in some sections thin bricks were inserted into the interstices.

Neither the type of construction nor the plan contribute

271. See C. FOSS, 'The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks' Greek Orthodox Theological Review XXVII (1982) 145-201; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen' 9-12, 111-16; see supra
272. See C. FOSS, 'Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia' 299-304, 306-9, 316-20.
273. A larger settlement than merely the castle is also indicated by Antioch's promotion in the mid-13th century to the rank of a metropolitan see: Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 15, nrs. 120, 189; Not. 17, nr. 111; Not. 18, nr. 111; Not. 19, nr. 120. The date of this promotion is uncertain, but the earliest reference is in 1250: Notitiae Episcopatum 164; V. LAURENT, 'Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié a Stroumnitsa' EO XXXIII (1934) 25; it has been claimed that a metropolitan of Antioch on the Maeander is attested by a second Synodal decision of 10 July 1250, but this seems to be a mistaken: J. LEUNCLAVIUS, JGR 240; G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES V, 116; MANSI XXII, 1141; a further copy of this decision, MS Baroccianus 142 fol. 265 v., unfortunately omits the prologue with the list of metropolitans present; c.f. Notitiae Episcopatum 164. At least this promotion show that there was an episcopal church at Antioch which cannot have been inside the cramped walls of the castle. An undated 'Byzantine' font has also been found near the site with an inscription mentioning the bishop of Antioch, Anatolian Studies XXXIII (1983) 234.

much toward dating the castle. It certainly is not Turkish: the coursed mortared fieldstone, brick and spolia, and the solid square towers recall other Byzantine castles and contrast with the known examples of Turkish work,[271] but there is no very exact Byzantine parallel. It does not, as might have been expected, show any resemblance to the major Lascarid fortifications at Tripolis, Tabala, Magnesia or other sites.[272] The building style of the Lascarid period is sufficiently distinctive to exclude the Antioch castle. It follows as an obvious interpretation that Odo's civitatula and the scene of Niketas Choniates' wedding feast story was the castle plus the two enclosures. The castle alone would have been too small to have contained a settlement.[273] This would also explain the better preservation of the proteichisma along this north-eastern edge.

How much earlier than the 13th century was the castle built remains an open question. It could conceivably have been an early Byzantine fortification built to guard the strategic Antioch crossing, but since it is the best preserved part of the site and shows no signs of a repair phase this has to be unlikely. However supposing that the castle was added in the early 12th century what is still remarkable is that with so few additions Antioch was capable of defying the Crusaders and later two attempts by Kayhhusraw's Turks. Clearly its late Roman defences, and in particular perhaps its proteichisma, had made Antioch an exceptionally strong site.

274. R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 283; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 68.

275. R. MARCHESE, op.cit. 270.

If it was a sufficiently strong site to attract settlement in the 12th and 13th century, despite the lack of any marked natural advantages, then it would appear to be unlikely that it was abandoned in the early Byzantine period. Further study is needed of this important site, and ideally that should include the excavation of a trench through the north-eastern enclosure walls. However in the meantime it is still tempting to draw parallels with the history of Philadelphia. Both cities lay on important route junctions, both had strong late Roman walls, both were important in the 12th and 13th century. It would appear likely that Antioch no less than Philadelphia had a history of continuous settlement through the Byzantine period.

Harpasa also lies on the south side of the Maeander, 16 kilometres west of Antioch and due south of modern Nazilli. It lies on the eastern side of the valley of the Ak çay close to its confluence with the main river. Roman Harpasa, which seems to have been a small city, was an open site on fertile soil about 100 metres above the alluvial plain of the Maeander. Very few visible remains survive of the Roman period, but above and to the east of Harpasa has a large steep acropolis hill rising to a further 300 metres above the lower town.[274]

On the acropolis there are the substantial remains of unmortared cut ashlar walls, which probably date to about the 4th century B.C.,[275] the outline of a Roman theatre and a circuit

of walls dated by their typical late Byzantine construction of mortared fieldstone and brick to the 12th or 13th century. The lower town of Harpasa could well have been deserted between the 7th and 11th century. There is as yet no evidence on which to base a conclusion. Later Byzantine Harpasa was certainly on the hill. It is a fine defensive position and the area within the circuit is quite large enough for a small town. A scatter of green glazed pottery indicates the presence of a sizeable settlement. However the walls are sufficiently well preserved to show that there was no building phase between the 4th century B.C. and the 12th or 13th century. Evidently if Harpasa survived the early Byzantine period it was not by taking refuge on the acropolis.

If the open sites of Magnesia, Mastaura, Tripolis and Aphrodisias survived then it would be most curious if those ancient sites which combined the security of late Roman walls with natural defences had been abandoned. The main such sites in the middle Maeander area are Tralles and Nysa, and Alabanda and Alinda in the Çine Çay and the plain of Karpuzlu, part of the Maeander drainage basin in northern Caria. None of these sites has been properly studied but there is some evidence of continuity.

Ancient Tralles is built on the terrace which rises to about 200 metres above the north side of the Maeander valley. Priene lies on what is effectively the same terrace further to

276. O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, Milet et le Golfe Latmique 33-44.
277. ibid. 43; J. VAN EGMONT, J. HEYMAN, Travels through part of Europe I, 132, 136.
278. R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 248, 260, 306, 318; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 177-9; T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks 255; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 54-5; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches 63; C. TEXIER, Description de l'Asie Mineure III, 28-9; O. RAYET, A. THOMAS, op.cit. 42-4.

the west. The site consists of a plateau separated from the rest of the terrace by deep ravines cut by streams running off mount Messogis. The plateau rises to a small peak in the north-east corner and there is a more gentle approach from the west, but in general this is a fine defensive position with excellent views over the Maeander plain.[276]

The modern town of Aydin occupies the slopes of the plateau and spreads into the plain below. The ancient site is now mostly occupied by a Turkish army base although in the past the town did spread on to the plateau and palace of the Karaosmanoğlu derebeys apparently occupied the south-east corner.[277]

In both the Roman and the modern periods Tralles/Aydin has been the most important administrative and commercial centre of the Maeander valley. The site lies at one of the focuses of the regional route system where the best east-west route from the central plateau to the Aegean meets the easiest land route via the Çine Çay into Caria. Up until the building of the railway and post-war road network it was also linked to Tire and Smyrna more directly than at present via a route over mount Messogis. Tralles also lies in a very fertile agricultural territory famous since antiquity for figs and vines.[278]

There is little evidence for Tralles in the Byzantine period before the last quarter of the 12th century. The see appears in the Notitia and successive incumbents attended the

279. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 186-9, nrs. 266-9.
280. LAZAROS 585; c.f. H. AHRWEILER, 'La Region de Smyrne' 31 n. 11.
281. NIKETAS CHONIATES 192.
282. PACHYMERES II, 468-74; for the date see A. FAILLER, 'La Restauration et la chute définitive de Tralles au 13e siècle' REB XLII (1984) 249-63; for its subsequent fate in the 14th century see P. LEMERLE, L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur la "Geste d'Umur Pacha" Paris (1957) 37.

various councils. There are four seals of 11th century bishops[279] and one bishop of Tralles is known to have been oikonomos of the province of Ephesos shortly before 1054. Contrary to what has been suggested this is no evidence that the bishop lived in Ephesos or that his see had been abandoned. Indeed there is no reason to think that the opposite was not the case.[280] However it is not until 1176 that Tralles is attested as an important fortress.[281] The next reference to the town is in 12 . At some period over the intervening hundred years, but probably in the 1260s or 70s, Tralles had been abandoned. In 1280 Andronikos II Palaiologos restored the city and imported a population, intended to make Tralles the bulwark of Byzantine resistance to the Turks. In the event, apparently because of the failure to provide a secure water supply, the city fell to the Turks in 1283 or 1284, but nonetheless the re-occupation is an important indication that the Byzantines were aware of the site's military advantages.[282]

The presence of the army base on the plateau has effectively prevented any archaeological work. The only surviving fragment of wall appears to be late Byzantine but such a prosperous city must have been walled in the late Roman period. If other small sites in open positions continued to be occupied it is unlikely that Tralles would have been abandoned.

Some caution has to be observed at this point. If the city had been abandoned the population would presumably have taken

285. JOHN OF EPHESES 229-32.

286. ibid. 232-3.

valleys below." Moreover, by John's own account, the monastery of Derira was "on a strong site upon a lofty mountain in the centre of the new churches", was a substantial building: "he built very strongly, and of great extent, from ample funds supplied him by the Emperor Justinian, who also bore the expence of the other monasteries and churches".[285] In fact it was such an excellent site that the orthodox bishop of Tralles coveted it as a summer residence.[286]

John of Ephesos' account could be taken as evidence that the Messogis range was capable of supporting a large population and also could provide excellent defensive sites to protect them from the Arabs. Indeed if the bishop of Tralles was prepared to move into a hill-top monastery to avoid the summer heat his 7th century successors would probably have done the same to escape the Arabs. More important still, none of these monasteries and churches have been discovered. If John of Ephesos' account is taken seriously then a large population and several major buildings have vanished into the hills, and on these grounds it could be reasonably objected that if all these substantial sites cannot be found then the absence of any early Byzantine refuge site in these hills ceases to be of any significance.

The problem exists because like so much of the region the Messogis range has not been surveyed for its ancient sites. Even so there are reasons which make it necessary to reject John's account.

287. ibid. 230-31.

289. STRABO XIV, i, 44-5; c.f. F. R. TROMBLEY, 'Paganism in the Greek world at the end of Antiquity: the case of rural Anatolia and Greece, Harvard Theological Review LXXVIII (1985) 329-32.

In the first place his description of the pagan organization based on the temple at Derira is fantastic. According to John, "Fifteen hundred temples situated in the neighbouring provinces were subject to its authority, and every year at a vast assembly held there, the regulations were fixed for the ensuing twelve-month, and the order of ministrations settled for the use of both priests and people".[287] High priests existed but their authority was not on this scale. Some Emperors such as Maximin Daia and above all Julian attempted to establish a pagan hierarchy but in general ancient cult sites were individual centres exercising an attraction only of fame and reputation. Their influence can perhaps best be compared to the informal authority of a successful holyman. John's description is simply the preconceptions of someone who saw all religion in terms of the organization of the Christian church.

In the 1st century A.D. Strabo knew of a number of cult sites in the Messogis and although these were mostly on the lower slopes this does give some support to John's claim to be converting a pagan population. However even in the Roman period the high mountains had been empty places and there is no doubt that any pagan population of this range in the 6th century would have been small. The claim to have converted thousands of pagans in the mountains behind Tralles must at the least be an exaggeration.[289]

The absence of any recorded remains is also suspicious.

290. See T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 61-72, 88-96, 190-228; T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, Priene 487-8.
291. W. H. C. FRIEND, The Rise of the Monophysite Movement Cambridge (1972).

Twenty-five churches if small and in the plain could have vanished, but a major Imperial monastery must have left considerable remains. In the plain the search for building materials, the pressure on space in a village, and the silting and erosion caused by the rivers have led to the disappearance of hundreds of churches in the region, but mountains are peculiar for their ability to preserve. The ruined monasteries of Latros and Xerochoraphion are still there, abandoned by their monks but largely untouched by the few shepherds who populate the mountains.[290] An Imperial foundation on mount Messogis would not have vanished without trace. Indeed there is no reason why at the least it should not have survived through the Byzantine period. Yet even in the better documented 12th and 13th century there is no evidence that Messogis was ever a holy mountain.

In conclusion it seems quite possible to accept that John of Ephesos was sent by Justinian to convert pagans in these provinces and that the focus of his activity was the isolated hills behind Tralles which still contained a pagan community in the 6th century. Their paganism however would have been a factor of their small numbers and their isolation. John of Ephesos wrote the Ecclesiastical History in Constantinople in the increasingly anti-monophysite atmosphere of the 580s.[291] His work is a piece of monophysite propaganda written forty years after his mission to western Asia Minor. It would have been natural for John to have exaggerated his role and achievement in order to claim the conversion of pagans for the monophysite

292. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maeandrum passim; R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 223-33.
293. W. VON DIEST, op.cit. passim: K. KURUNIOTIS, 'Anaskafai en Nyse tē epi Maiandro' 1-88, 227-46.
294. W. VON DIEST, op.cit. 11, 51-2; K. KURUNIOTIS, op.cit. 19.

missionaries and to highlight the Emperor's personal contribution. On the contrary it would have been extremely surprising if John had not written with this in mind, but as a result the Ecclesiastical History cannot be taken as a reliable source for the settlement pattern of the Maeander valley.

To return to the city sites, that of Nysa lay in a similar position to Tralles further east on the terrace overlooking the Maeander. Slightly less important than Tralles it was nonetheless a wealthy city with all the advantages of a good defensive site and a fertile territory enjoyed by its neighbour to the west.[292]

The site is potentially of great archaeological importance since it has been abandoned from the later middle ages when the settlement moved to Sultan Hisar in the plain about 2 kilometres to the south east. However neither the German or Greek excavators, who worked at Nysa just before and after the First World War, had the expertise or the interest to reveal much of the period of Byzantine occupation.[293]

There are grounds on which to suggest a continuous history for Nysa throughout the early middle ages but they are too meagre to support any firm conclusion. The key piece of evidence is the walls. Nysa is surrounded by a circuit built of mortared fieldstone and spolia which can be dated by their size and construction to the late Roman period.[294] In the 13th century

295. PACHYMERES II, 468-74; Nysa fell just before Tralles, hence for the date see A. FAILLER, 'La Restauration et la chute définitive de Tralles' 255.
296. W. VON DIEST, Nysa ad Maeandrum 23; see also C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 363-4.
297. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 94 et passim; two episcopal seals are known, one dating to the 9th, the other to the 11th century. However there is no means of deciding whether they belong to Asian Nysa or its namesake in the province of Cappadocian Caesarea. V. Laurent opts for the latter, but particularly in the case of the 11th century seal one might suspect that the bishop of Cappadocian Nysa might well have had the image of St. Gregory, his most famous forebear, on his seal: V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 174-5, nrs. 249-50.
298. Notitiae Episcopatum 134, 166, 170; Not. 12, nr. 145; Not. 15, nrs. 92 and 176.
299. E. KURTZ, 'Tri sinodalnykh gramoty' 103.
300. e.g. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 9, nrs. 11, 12, 26 and 37.
301. See supra 84f

Nysa was capable of withstanding a siege. If the Nysa which resisted the Turks in 1283[295] could be shown to be a town of any description, then it would follow that the walls must have been kept in repair, which would in turn presuppose a continuous history.

However, about 500 metres to the east lies a small castle, no larger than 100 metres square, which could well have been the extent of late 13th century Nysa.[296] Late Roman Nysa was still an active town and a bishopric.[297] It had a well built and not over large circuit of walls, so that one might expect it to survive, but unfortunately the only evidence that Nysa was more than a very small castle depends on the Notitiae Episcopatum.

These show that in the late 12th century Nysa was promoted first to the rank of an archbishopric and then to that of a metropolitan see.[298] Like Hypaipa in the Cayster valley these promotions were shortlived. By 1216 both Hypaipa and Nysa were again suffragans of Ephesos.[299] No doubt much of the explanation for the several promotions of Isaac II's reign lies in high ecclesiastical politics, but these were not fictitious sees nor were they simply picked out as the senior suffragans. Hypaipa was the senior suffragan of Ephesos, but Nysa and Pyrgion both appear rather low in the list.[300] In the case of Hypaipa we have seen that there is evidence to suggest a town and an episcopal church;[301] the same is likely to have been the case at Nysa. If so then the 13th century site must have lain behind

302. R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 91, 176-81, 261:  
STRABO XIV, xxvi, 1; XIV, ii, 17; G. E. BEAN, Turkey  
beyond the Maeander 152-68.
303. STRABO XIV, xxvi, 1; see R. MARCHESE, op.cit. 261.

the ancient walls rather than being confined to the castle. One would not pretend this is a strong case, but the survival of Nysa through the early Byzantine period is a possibility and the site needs re-examining with this in mind.

The two other city sites in this part of the Maeander region in good defensive positions are Alabanda and Alinda in northern Caria. Neither were very important in the Roman period although Alabanda seems to have been the wealthier city with a larger territory. Alinda actually shows little evidence of any major building projects in the Roman period. Indeed part of the present interest of the site is its preservation of Hellenistic structures unreplaced by any extensive Roman building phase. Nonetheless they both occupy useful defensive positions close to good agricultural land, and in the case of Alinda, a site set in a small plain secluded from the main routes. Both would appear to have been well placed as settlements during the Byzantine period.[302]

At Alabanda there is some evidence for continuity. The city lies on the western side of the fertile plain of the Çine Çay, opposite the modern town of Çine. The Roman city covered a large area, extending into the plain, but the heart of Alabanda, the walled area of the Hellenistic city, was the two hills at the southern edge of the site, compared in antiquity to two panniers borne by an ass.[303] It appears that Roman Alabanda had expanded from this defensive core and Byzantine Alabanda

304. EDHEM BEY, 'Fouilles d'Alabanda en Carie Rapport sommaire sur la premiere campagne' Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (1905) 446, 450, 455, 458 and pl. 2; IDEM, 'Fouilles d'Alabanda en Carie. Rapport sommaire sur la seconde Campagne (1904)' ibid. (1906) 408, 409-10, 420-21 and fig. 12.

contracted back to it.

The site was rather casually excavated at the turn of the century and the subsequent report tends to refer to numerous late Roman buildings as Byzantine but nonetheless it is clear that occupation continued through the early Byzantine period. The very fine cut ashlar Hellenistic walls show evidence of frequent late repair including a section on the west side where extensive use was made of spolia, and that on the top of the east hill where there are considerable remains of poorly built mortared fieldstone structures. On the west hill is a medieval Turkish türbe containing some middle Byzantine carved spolia. The carving is not distinguished and the builders of the turbe clearly saw it as of no particular interest. Given the masses of other spolia available on the site these fragments would not have been brought from elsewhere and must be the remains of a middle Byzantine building at Alabanda. On the east side of the city a three aisled basilica has also been recorded. It is late Roman and built mostly of spolia, as is an adjacent baptistery which is on the site of an ancient temple. Among the associated sculptural fragments there are a number of fragments of a carved lintel decorated with a geometrical pattern characteristic of 10th and 11th century works.[304]

Alinda is on a similar hill top site which expanded into the plain during the Roman period. One would have expected it to have contracted back to the hill in the Byzantine period but

305. J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I, Paris (1983) 1-17; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 161-8; R. MARCHESE, The Lower Maeander Flood Plain 91, 179-81; V. SCHULTZE, Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften II: Kleinasien Gutersloh (1922) 168.
306. See P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Mentese 165-6.

there is no evidence there at all of a Byzantine settlement. The impressive Hellenistic ruins of city walls and other public buildings, despite being untouched by any archaeologist show no signs of any later occupation. Although Alinda is known to have been occupied in the late Roman period there is very little evidence. The only late Roman building to have been seen was a church built of neat ashlar blocks. Without a proper survey one cannot be certain that Alinda was abandoned, but it does appear that if the city survived it was not on the well defended hill but in the new Roman area of expansion in the plain.[305]

The picture for this part of the Maeander region is not clear, but the evidence is against a major shift in population to the hills and other such secure sites. In the valley of the Çine Çay there is only one important site first occupied in the middle ages. This is the isolated hill top overlooking the river crossing at Eski Çine. The cliffs and the large extent of level ground on the top of the hill make this an excellent defensive site with ample space for the local population to take refuge with the flocks and draught animals. Yet the site does not seem to have been occupied until the Turks turned it into a major fortress in the 14th century.

The only Byzantine evidence on the site is several sculptural fragments found in the walls of the late 14th century mosque and the village houses. Their style is middle Byzantine but they could be as late as the 12th or 13th century.[306]

However there is no structure associated with these fragments. Unlike Alabanda, there is nothing to suggest that a 14th century builder would have had any ancient spolia at Eski Çine. Apart from fieldstone, all building materials would have had to have been brought from elsewhere and the nearest heap of convenient cut ashlar would have been at Alabanda. These fragments are therefore almost certainly not evidence of Byzantine occupation at Eski Çine but instead further confirmation of continuity at Alabanda.

All the other remains at Eski Çine are Turkish. The mosque and the modern village lie at the foot of the hill. Above, dominating the site, is a large and impressive fortress constructed of mortared fieldstone with brick fragments. The shape and arrangement of the towers and the general plan of the fortress is similar to that of the Peçin kale. The comparison is strengthened by the building technique. That of the Eski Çine fortress being essentially the same as the type II work at the Peçin kale which has been dated to the early 14th century. The Eski Çine fortress was clearly built in a single phase and there is no evidence of earlier work. Even the bridge over the Çine Çay, which is connected to the castle summit by a covered walk, appears to be of the same date as the castle with major Ottoman repairs. Since in addition to the visible evidence on site, Eski Çine is known from documentary sources to have been one of the principal centres of the Menteşe Emirate, the fortress can be dated with confidence to the 14th century and regarded as a

307. ibid. 51-2, 74-5, 165-6; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 65-6: his account will sound familiar to anyone who has travelled in rural Turkey in search of ancient remains: "I lodged here in the coffee-house; and when the people knew my business, they informed me of the antiquities of the place, and half the village accompanied me up the hill, laughing and jesting with much good humour; and afterwards many of them came and sat with me in the coffee-house." Pococke visited Eski Çine on 22 February 1740.
308. J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon 17-23, 50-57.
309. ibid. 53-5, 69, 71, 79, 83; figs. 45, 52-3, 71-5; MM IV, 290, 294; EP II, 177 nr. 67; PAUL OF LATROS 123; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 386-7, nr. 524.
310. For the absence of Byzantine remains at potential refuge sites see J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon 271-7; A. WESTHOLM, The Architecture of the Hieron, Labraunda I/2, 13-19; for a general view of the isolation of this area of northern Caria see S. HORNBLOWER, Mausulos 5-11.

wholly Turkish site.[307]

Any population leaving the plain would have taken refuge in the north Carian hills. These are not a particularly attractive area for settlement but they do support a small population today and they contained a few minor cities in the Roman period.[308] One of these, Amyzon, lying 10 kilometres to the north of Alinda, has been partially excavated by L. Robert. This revealed a small early Byzantine circuit wall which fits with several references to the city and its bishop in various Latros documents from the 10th to the 13th century to prove continuity on the ancient city site.[309] However this is again not evidence for a move to the hills. The continuity of Amyzon is only well attested because of its proximity to a monastery some of whose documentation has survived, and its isolation which preserved its early Byzantine wall. Amyzon itself was a minor Roman city which had declined to become in relative terms an equally minor Byzantine town. Only a survey can provide the detailed evidence, but on the work done so far, it seems that the majority of sites in these hills are Hellenistic and earlier. This was probably the period in which the Carian hills were most densely populated and there is nothing to suggest that the Byzantine period saw a return to these conditions.[310]

To the east of Tripolis the Maeander river turns north east to describe a great arc through the hill country which separates the lower Maeander valley from the upper plain of the Baklan

311. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 1-7 and map.

312. See supra

ovası. The main route onto the central plateau does not follow the river through these hills but instead turns south-east along the broad valley of the Lykos. This gradually rises at its eastern end and the road again turns east, past the Acı Tuz Gölü and on to Apamea, modern Dinar, where it meets the Maeander again at its sources.[311]

The Lykos valley is one of the key strategic zones of Asia Minor. Besides being on the most important west-east route on to the central plateau, the valley is the most easterly extension of the Mediterranean coastlands. With fertile soil and a good water supply, the milder near mediterranean climate gave the Lykos at all periods a crucial role in the region's pastoral, nomadic and agricultural economy. Moreover this is the centre of a network of routes stretching not only east and west but south into Caria and Lycia, south-east via Pisidia to the Pamphylian coast, north-east via the Baklan and Banaz ovası to Afyon, Amorion and Kütahya, and north-west, past Tripolis to Philadelphia and the Hermos valley.[312]

The history of the valley's cities since pre-Hellenistic times reflects the area's strategic role. Any successful city in the Lykos valley was almost bound to become a major administrative, military and commercial centre, while a cult site here would become a centre of pilgrimage. The only limiting factor, as W. M. Ramsay observed, is that historically the Lykos has only been able to support two major cities, one primarily a

313. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 38, 84, 209.

314. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 195-6.

315. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 400, 422.

cult site, the other a secular settlement. An early example is how with the foundation of Laodicea by the Seleucid Antiochos II, the previous chief city of the valley, Colossai, went into a gradual but steady decline.[313]

The same strategic considerations gave the Lykos valley considerable importance in the Byzantine period. This is best documented for the 12th century when it became the hub of the Byzantine defensive network against the Turks, but it must still have been an important area under the different strategic conditions of the earlier warfare against the Arabs. Indeed one of the Lykos cities may have been the capital of the Thrakesioi. The valley lies at the eastern limits of the theme and as C. Foss has pointed out, in purely military terms when fighting the Arabs, the theme capital would be much better placed here than at Ephesos, far from the enemy on the west coast. Ephesos has been generally accepted as the capital of the Thrakesioi but in fact there is no proof and the possibility of a capital in the Lykos valley deserves to be kept in mind.[314]

In comparison to the rest of the Maeander region the Lykos valley is well reported during the Byzantine period. In particular there are a number of references to the valley in the 12th century, when it was not only of great strategic importance but also of special interest to the major Byzantine historian of the period, Niketas Choniates, who had been born there at Chonai.[315] However even

316. W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 82-8.
317. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 208-16; T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks 249; R. POCOCKE, A Description of the East II, 78.

these sources, including Niketas Choniates, provide only fragmentary and unclear evidence for the history of the Lykos cities. This material has generally been interpreted to show the cities as examples of Byzantine abandonment of ancient sites in the 7th century, but in fact, as elsewhere in the region, a reassessment can change the picture.

Continuity here would be particularly significant because the Lykos cities lay on an exposed invasion route; if they survived then the probability is increased of a more general continuity throughout the region.

The best known example of a city in this area which moved site during the early Byzantine period is Colossai, known in the middle ages as Chonai. The modern town, which continues to bear the name in the form of Honaz, lies 5 kilometres to the south of Colossai at the foot of the Honaz dağ. On one of the foothills above Honaz stands a medieval fortress. The castle hill provides an extraordinary view over the Lykos valley and is surrounded by cliffs forming such effective natural defences that the site was still of military importance in the 18th century.[317]

From Niketas Choniates' account it is clear that by the second half of the 12th century Chonai had moved to the castle hill and the site of modern Honaz, but it has been argued, and generally accepted, that the move had taken place several

318. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 208-16.
319. MANSI XI, 1001; XII, 998, 1106; XIII, 393; XVI, 194;  
XVII-XVIII, 373.
320. MICHAEL GLYKAS 377.
321. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 3, nr. 143; Not. 7, nr. 85;  
Not. 8, nrs. 58 and 99; Not. 9, nr. 560; Not. 10, nr. 674;  
Not. 11, nrs. 55 and 119; Not. 12, nr. 53; Not. 13, nr.  
747.
322. See LAZAROS 511.
323. Colossions II, 18.
324. 'Narratio de miraculo a Michaelae archangelo Chonis atrato'  
ed. M. Bonnet, AB VIII (1889) 289-307.

centuries earlier in the face of the Arabs.[318] The only evidence for an early date is the changing titulature of the signatories for the see at the Byzantine church councils. In 692 the bishop signed as of Colossai; in 787 his successor signed as bishop of Colossai hētoi Chonai; and in 869 the signature is simply that of the bishop of Chonai alone.[319] From that date the see was only known as Chonai and the name Colossai was forgotten to such an extent that it was possible to imagine that the recipients of St. Paul's epistle were Rhodians, so called from the famous Colossus.[320]

However, as with the notitia,[321] the conciliar lists alone do not prove even the existence of the see and there are other possible explanations of the change of name. In the 11th century by far the most famous and important thing at Chonai was the church and shrine of St. Michael, which was a centre for pilgrimage from all over Asia Minor.[322] The cult of the archangel seems to have been very strong in Phrygia since the earliest christian period,[323] but the medieval fame of the church was traditionally held to have resulted from a miracle by which St. Michael saved his shrine from a flood engineered by hostile pagans. The latter had dammed two rivers for ten days intending to pollute and sweep away the archangel's holy spring, but just as the waters were released and poured down upon his shrine St. Michael split the earth and caused the waters to be funnelled safely into the ground.[324]

325. ibid. 285-8, 300-7; BHG nr.
326. G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 222-3; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 214-16; W. J. HAMILTON, Researches in Asia Minor I, 510.
327. ATTALEIATES 140-41.
328. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178, 400, 422; R. JANIN, La Géographie Ecclesiastique 354-8; see also PROCOPIUS, De Aedificiis I, iv, 27; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. ed. A. Vogt I, 93-7.
329. 'Menologium Basil II' PG CXVII, 34.

A detailed account of the miracle is provided by a 9th or 10th century source. It has no historical value for the origins of the cult site, but it must accurately reflect the association between the shrine and certain physical features of the Lykos valley.[325]

The scene of the miracle was clearly imagined to be the small gorge, just over 3 kilometres long, down which the river flows. The site of Colossai is to the south of the river. Close by, to the north, on the other side of the river, on the site of the ancient necropolis, there are visible (or were at the end of the last century) the remains of a large church which since it fits the indications in the sources is almost certainly that of St. Michael.[326] According to Michael Attaleiates' account of its sack in 1070, the pilgrimage church was in just such a position close to the gorge,[327] while the description given in the 12th century by Niketas Choniates is of "an enormous church great and celebrated edifice surpassing in beauty and magnitude the shrine of the good martyr Mokios in Constantinople".[328]

The pilgrimage church was thus a considerable distance from modern Honaz, being instead part of the site of the ancient city. The Byzantines derived the name Chonai from Chōnē, a funnel, and associated it with the miracle of St. Michael and the gorge.[329] Whether or not the derivation is actually correct, Chonai must originally have been a settlement close to the gorge. If Chonai had been from the first on the peak 5 kilometres away at modern

330. NIKETAS CHONIATES 178.

Honaz then the association between the place name, the miracle and the gorge would hardly have developed. The details are obscure, but clearly early medieval Chonai is not an example of a move to a more secure site and in fact is essentially a continuation of Colossai on something very close to the ancient site.

This can be confirmed if one reconsiders the written sources. Before 1189 there is no evidence that the pilgrimage church and the town of Chonai were on different sites. Niketas Choniates reports that in the summer of 1176, the Emperor Manuel Comnenos marching east on the disastrous Myriokephalon campaign, came to Chonai - "a prosperous and great city, this author's homeland" - where he entered the church of the archangel.[330] Niketas is quite clear that the church of St. Michael was at Chonai, not several kilometres away in the plain. If Chonai had been at Honaz in 1176 it would not have been on the Emperor's route and he would only have visited the church without any mention of the town.

Michael Attaliates' account of the sack of Chonai in 1070 is even clearer. It describes the Turks taking both the church of St. Michael and the city of Chonai. The description focuses on the church because it was this sacrilege which shocked contemporaries, but the fleeing population is evidently the citizens of Chonai, and these have no refuge save the gorge where they trusted St. Michael would save them. In the event,

331. ATTALEIATES 140-41.

332. NIKETAS CHONIATES 196.

333. ibid. 400.

according to Attaleiates the gorge was flooded and those who were not slaughtered were drowned. Their sinfulness, he explained, had brought upon them not only the assault of their enemies but the hostility of the natural elements. A more secular explanation would be that Chonai's site in the plain lacked effective defences. If Chonai in 1070 had already been on the hill to the south, the Turks would not have taken the town with such ease.[331]

Despite the insecurity no move seems to have been made for over another hundred years. In 1177, Andronikos Angelos, fleeing from a defeat by the Turks near the Acı Tüz Gölü to the east of the Lykos, came first to Chonai, but discovering that his horse was not yet exhausted, he carried on to Laodicea. Niketas Choniates is not explicit but the episode does imply that Chonai had not yet moved. Had the town already been on the hill at Honaz it would not have been on his route, and had it been a secure fortress there would have been no need to press on.[332]

The first indication that Chonai had moved to a more secure position does not come until 1189 when Niketas Choniates' account of the rebellion of Theodore Mangaphas implies that only those farming in the plain were lost when the Turks again sacked the church.[333]

The medieval remains at Honaz are very fragmentary and ill recorded, but they do not support Ramsay's view that this was the site of an early Byzantine fortress. What survives of the circuit wall on the hill-top is built of a rather poor quality

334. See C. FOSS, Kütahya 25, 71-3, 84-5.

335. See supra 94, 124-5, and 156 .

mortared fieldstone. It contains no brick and in itself could be of almost any date but a small section survives on the north-western side where it is possible to see the remains of a wooden framework built into the wall as an initial support. This technique, with parallel horizontal beams set into the external face of the wall, is known as cribwork and seems to be a characteristic of Turkish building methods.[334] Since the whole wall and a single adjacent surviving cistern are very similar construction, this would appear to be all of a late date. Otherwise very little survives on the acropolis top, but there is no apparent evidence of an early Byzantine fortress.

If the early Byzantine period did not see a move to a more secure refuge from the ancient site in the plain, the change in name from Colossai to Chonai is perhaps still significant and may point to another development. Most of the other name changes in the Maeander region seem to involve the replacement of an overtly pagan name by one with natural or christian connotations. Thus Aphrodisias became Stauropolis, Dios Hieron became Pyrgion, and the most famous of the later oracles, Didyma, became the Byzantine bishopric of Hieron.[335] More applicable here may be the example of Ephesos, which was usually known throughout the medieval period as Theologos, after St. John the Theologian. As C. Foss has shown, the change in name occurred several centuries before the ancient site was abandoned in favour of the hill of St. John to the east. For much of the Byzantine period the settlement surrounding the church of St. John was no more than a

336. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 117, 121.
337. Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 7, nr. 85.

suburb of the main town, but even so the shrine of St. John was by far the most famous thing about Byzantine Ephesos and the saint's cult could gradually supplant the ancient name in common usage.[336] The same could well have occurred at Colossai, but whereas at Ephesos the ancient name applied to one of the great cities of the Roman world and hence remained current at least in such semi-official contexts as the episcopal notitiae, Colossai was a very minor city in the late Roman period - so minor in fact that it could be forgotten that this was the city of St. Paul. Hence by the 9th century Colossai would be known even in the notitiae simply by reference to the shrine of St. Michael.[337]

The change in name in fact also reflects a small change in site. As noted above the church of St. Michael was probably on the ancient necropolis which was by definition outside the Roman city. If as seems likely the early and middle Byzantine town was centred on the pilgrimage church, it would appear that a move had taken place, not to the safety of the hills but instead down from even the small hill of the ancient city to the hallowed site in the plain.

The great cult centre of the Lykos in the Roman period was Hierapolis, which overlooks the valley from a high terrace to the north-east. The impressive Roman remains and the spectacular white mineral deposits of its hot springs have made Hierapolis one of the best known sites in western Turkey. An excavation still in progress by an Italian team has shown that the site was

338. P. VERZONE, 'L'urbanistica di Hierapolis de Frigia. Tracciato viario e monumenti rimessi alla luce dal 1957 al 1972', Atti del Congresso di storia dell'Architettura, Atene 29 Sept. - 5 Oct. 1969, Centro di studi per la storia dell'Architettura Rome (1977) 401-12; P. VERZONE, 'Le Campagne 1962 - 1964 a Hierapolis di Frigia, Annuario della Scuola Archeologica de Atene N.S. XXV-XXVI (1963-4) 371-89; D. DE BERNADI, 'L'architettura monumentale della Porta d'Onore e della Via Colonnata' ibid. 396-8; Anatolian Studies XXXIV (1984) 219.
339. ANSBERT 75; Historia Peregrinorum 154.
340. Revelations III, 17.
341. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule 47-8, 127, 391, 564, 813; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 61.

continuously occupied up to the end of the 11th century.[338]

In view of the prosperity and fine defensive position of late Roman Hierapolis the evidence for continuity might have been expected. Apart from a number of large baths and churches, the city had also invested in a powerful circuit wall of the type familiar from Sardis, Philadelphia and Tripolis. Hierapolis was also well placed to carry on its sacred role in a Christian context since the Apostle Philip was buried there and a large church had been built over the tomb. In fact although Hierapolis did survive it was overtaken by Chonai, even though the later was on a more exposed site in the plain below. By 1190 the German crusaders would simply notice the "ruined city of Hierapolis".[339]

The relative decline of Hierapolis would fit with Ramsay's view that the Lykos valley could only support two cities; and if Chonai was one, Laodicea can be shown from the 12th century sources to have been the other.

Laodicea is the city of the Apocalypse which boasts, "I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing".[340] This was still true in the late Roman period. The city was an administrative and commercial centre, famous for its law courts, textiles and trade.[341] The site has only been very partially excavated, concentrating solely on the nymphaeum complex in the centre of the city. The excavation has confirmed the city's wealth, lasting through to the end of the 6th century, but it has

342. J. DES GAGNIERS, et al., Laodicée du Lykos.
343. See the discussion of this evidence, infra 446 f
344. NIKETAS CHONIATES 195-6; ODO OF DEUIL 112-4.
345. ANSBERT 75.
346. ANNA COMNENA III, 27.

provided no new material which might have contributed to any understanding of the subsequent history of the site. As with the Gymnasium at Sardis, the abandonment of an obsolete and derelict public building is no evidence for the fate of the rest of the city.[342]

Between the 7th and 11th century written sources only mention the city in connection with the metropolitan bishop and in circumstances which need not prove anything about Laodicea itself.[343] In the 12th century the valley's new strategic importance brought the city to the attention of contemporary historians and for this period there is a relatively large body of evidence. The number of references, most of them slightly obscure, has unfortunately tended to confuse the issue and it is important to concentrate on three essential points.

In the first place, 12th century Laodicea was on the ancient site in the middle of the valley. All the sources are clear that Laodicea was on the main road which ran close to the Lykos. Any traveller would pass through it and it did not require a detour into the hills.[344] Astert's reference in April 1190 to Laodicea as "in pede altissimi montis" should not be taken exactly and is no evidence that the city had moved site.[345]

Secondly, Laodicea on its ancient site was a fortified city both in 1098, when it surrendered to John Doukas,[346] and in

347. NIKETAS CHONIATES 12; KINNAMOS 5-6.

348. It is noteworthy that the site has been abandoned since the middle ages: T. SMITH, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks 251; R. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor 263; F. V. J. ARUNDELL, A Visit to the Seven Churches 85.

1119 when it surrendered to John II.[347] On both occasions the Byzantines regarded the surrender as fortunate because the city would have been capable of resistance. Niketas Choniates' account credits John II with building a wall around Laodicea, but this does not prove that the city had previously lacked defences. If it had had no walls it would have been unnecessary in 1098 and 1119 to parley for its surrender. It is probable that the Emperor John did carry out a major refortification of Laodicea, but Niketas Choniates has been misled, possibly by an inscription, into believing that there had been no earlier walls.

Thirdly, if Laodicea was fortified in 1098 then the city must have been so for several centuries. No fortifications in this region have been attributed to the first period of Turkish rule between about 1080 and 1098. If it had not already been fortified the site does not have sufficient natural advantages to have attracted occupation.[348] The same applies to the immediately preceding period. The Turkish sack of Chonai in 1070 may well have caused the Imperial government and the local population to take defensive measures, but if Laodicea had not already been a fortified site, then any new defences would have been much more appropriate at Chonai itself rather than at a long abandoned Laodicea. Before 1070 the Lykos had been relatively secure for over two hundred years. Almost any earlier date for the fortifications would be possible, but in view of the fact that Laodicea was a major late Roman city and the chief administrative centre of the region, it almost certainly would

349. ODO OF DEUIL 114; ANSBERT 75; evacuation in the face of a serious attack, rather than a local raid, was clearly standard practice and the disaster at Laodicea which took place between these two successful evacuations shows what could happen if the populace were caught unawares. The accounts of the successful Turkish attack and sack of Laodicea however do present problems which have yet to be solved:

(i) The attack is described by Niketas Choniates and John Kinnamos. Since both accounts see it as a surprise which caught the inhabitants unprepared and led to large numbers killed or captured, they are almost certainly referring to the same event. The secondary literature is in disarray over the date. W. M. Ramsay, repeated by des Gagniers, gives 1158 and Planhol, for an unstated reason, gives 1156. Both these must be wrong. According to John Kinnamos the sack of Laodicea was part of the Turkish response to Manuel I's 1159-61 campaign and preceded Kiliç Arslan's visit to Constantinople in 1162. Thus Kinnamos' account implies a date probably in the spring or summer of 1161. Niketas Choniates on the other hand sees the attack in the context of deteriorating Byzantine - Turkish relations after the 1162 'summit'. F. Chalandon took the view that Kinnamos and Choniates were describing two different attacks, but this puts too much reliance on either author's grasp of events. Both Kinnamos and Choniates found considerable difficulty in marrying events in different parts of the Empire into a single chronologically coherent account. Which author, if either, is correct remains a problem to be solved; the attack, however, almost certainly took place in the 1160s or 70s rather than the 50s: KINNAMOS 198; NIKETAS CHONIATES 124; J. DES GAGNIERS et al. Laodicée du Lycos II, 406; F. CHALANDON, Jean II Comnene (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnene (1143-1180), Paris (1912) 461, 499; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 18-19, 79.

(ii) Choniates' account reads as follows: 'Steílas dè kai phálaggas epiléktous tèn katà Phrygían ekportheí [i.e. Kiliç Arslan] Laodíkeian, oukéti oúsan synoikouménēn hōs nūn heōratai, oud'euerkési phrangnuménēn teichesi, katà dè kōmas ekkechumenēn, perī tās hypōreías tōn ekeise bounōn.' This requires some comment. It does not as has been suggested prove either that Laodicea was undefended at this period or that it had moved site. As at Kütahya, euerkesi ...teichesi, would refer to the improved defences put up later in the century. It does not show that there had been no walls before. Similarly the contrast between synoikoumenē and ekkechumenē simply means that not everyone lived inside the walls, rather than that they had changed site or ceased to look to the ancient city mound as the focus of the settlement: NIKETAS CHONIATES 124; C. FOSS, Kütahya 76-7; c.f. X. DE PLANHOL in J. DES GAGNIERS et al., Laodicée du Lycos 406-8. De Planhol's alternative site at Hisar Köy is simply ancient Attouda, which is itself another case of continuity. Attouda appears as a separate bishopric in the Notitiae and is surrounded by a late Roman/early

Byzantine wall. I visited the site in August 1986. See C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 503, n. 25; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 45<sup>4</sup> et passim; MAMA VI (1939) xii-xiv, 24-32.

350. L. ROBERT, Hellenica IV, Paris (1948) 45-7; C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 181-2.
351. ibid. 195-6.

have had a circuit of pre-Byzantine walls. Twice in the 12th century Laodicea was temporarily evacuated on the approach of the Crusaders,[349] and this may reflect earlier practice in the face of major Arab armies, but in any case the survival of the walls in a defensible state up to 1119 shows that at least under normal circumstances the circuit was continuously occupied and maintained throughout the Byzantine period.

If this interpretation is correct, Laodicea would have been an important fortress standing at one of the key strategic route centres of western Asia Minor. Through the late Roman period Laodicea had probably been the capital of the diocese of Asia. In 536 the diocese had been suppressed and the office of vicar was combined with the governorship of Phrygia Pakatiana (western Phrygia). The new officer, who had the title of comes of Phrygia Pakatiana would have continued to have had his seat at Laodicea.[350] With this history Laodicea has to be considered as the most likely site for the capital of the theme of the Thrakesioi before the 12th century.[351]