ROUTES AND COMMUNICATIONS IN LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ANATOLIA (ca. 4TH-9TH CENTURIES A.D.)

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ABSTRACT

ROUTES AND COMMUNICATIONS IN LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ANATOLIA (ca. 4TH-9TH CENTURIES A.D.)

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This study presents a framework to evaluate the impacts of administrative/political and economic structures of the late Roman and Byzantine period on the use of routes and status of cities in Asia Minor. The studies that looked at the dynamics of the era between the 4^{th}-9^{th} centuries argued the state of urbanism, via both literary and archaeological sources, and suggested 'decline', 'transformation' and 'continuity' or 'discontinuity' of the classical city. The period considered was dominated by military and political circumstances that influenced both the use of routes and urbanization dynamics. By combining the historical evidence gathered from textual studies and archaeological data collected from excavation reports, the thesis aims to discuss how and in which ways these changes were influential on the use of routes and hence the status of urban centres located along these routes between the fourth and ninth centuries. The discussion is illustrated in reference to two main diagonal routes between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, which used by the Roman armies, pilgrims, and Arab raiders. The main

cities known archaeologically and textually along these routes are used to draw a picture of Anatolia and thus to evaluate the nature of change in the urban status of Roman cities.

Keywords: Routes, Communications, Urbanization, Change, Late Roman and Byzantine Anatolia.

ÖZ

GEÇ ROMA VE BİZANS ANADOLUSU'NDA ROTALAR VE İLETİŞİM (M.S. 4.-9. YÜZYILLAR)

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Bu çalışma, Geç Roma ve Bizans döneminde idari/siyasi ve ekonomik yapıdaki değişimlerin Anadolu'daki şehirlerin statüsüne ve rotaların kullanımına etkilerini değerlendiren bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. 4. ve 9. yüzyıllar arasındaki dönemin dinamiklerine bakan çalışmalar, kentleşme durumunu, klasik şehrin 'sürekliliği' veya 'süreksizliği', 'dönüşümü' veya 'çöküşü' üzerinde durarak, yazılı kaynaklar ve arkeolojik veriler yoluyla tartışmışlardır. Söz konusu dönem, hem rotaların kullanımı ve hem de kentleşme dinamiklerine etki eden, askeri ve siyasi koşulların egemen olduğu bir süreçtir. Kazı raporlarından ve tarihi belgelerden elde edilen verileri birleştirerek, bu tez, söz konusu değişimlerin, 4. ve 9. yüzyıllar arasında, rotaların kullanımına ve bu yüzden bu rotalar üzerinde kurulmuş kentlerin durumuna nasıl ve ne şekilde etki ettiğini tartışmaktadır. Bu tartışma, Arap akıncıları, hacılar ve Roma orduları tarafından kullanılan iki ana diyagonal rotayı referans alarak açıklanmaktadır. Bu rotalar üzerinde, arkeolojik ve tarihi olarak bilinen ana kentler, Anadolu'nun genel görünümünü ortaya koymak ve Roma kentlerinin durumundaki değişimi değerlendirmek için kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Rotalar, İletişim, Kentleşme, Değişim, Geç Roma ve Bizans Anadolusu.

To My Mother Gönül Kaya

&

My Father Ali Kaya

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CE	The Catholic Encyclopaedia
EB	Encyclopaedia Britannica
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam
ERE	Encyclopaedia of the Roman Empire
OCD	The Oxford Classical Dictionary
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
ODLA	The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity
PECS	The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The main routes, which can be defined as the routes between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, had played a significant role as lines of communication and were of considerable importance for the management of administrative/political, economic, and military operations in Asia Minor from the ancient times onwards. The main routes that crossed Asia Minor along east-west and northwest-southeast (diagonal) directions in the Roman and Byzantine Anatolia, likewise, had served for the movement of travellers, goods, pilgrims, and armies, and hence supported trade and communication; their state of use is known from historical and archaeological sources. Routes as agents of communication and transportation influenced urban dynamics in ways ranging from sustaining economic and social vitality, and connecting centres of religious prominence, production, and military operations, to channelling goods and logistical material between settlements. In this respect, they can provide a potential contextual framework to discuss the mutual effect of changes that occurred in the administrative/political, economic structure and the use of routes, and their impact on the urbanization dynamics of late Roman and early/middle Byzantine Asia Minor.

The changes that occurred in the administrative/political, religious, and economic structure of the Eastern Roman Empire, starting from the fourth century A.D., affected the use of routes, the system of communication, and the function of some cities. The newly implemented political/administrative apparatuses in the next four centuries were related, on the one hand, to religious developments, and to the situation of warfare on the other. The consequences of the changing dynamics in these interrelated spheres are seen in such matters as the use of the main routes, shifting patterns, and changing

scope of trade and commerce, changing nature of cities and their urbanization status. The changes in the administrative/political and economic structure of Late Roman Asia Minor are particularly associated with the shift from a polytheistic culture to a monotheistic one[1]. With the rise of Christianity, the public life and institutions in the Roman Empire had changed considerably; in the period from about the fourth into the sixth century A.D., in particular, the Empire witnessed drastic changes.

The mutually effective developments not only during the period from the fourth into the sixth but also the seventh to the ninth centuries, which is characterised as a period of warfare, had an impact on the movement patterns and communication networks, and hence on the urbanization dynamics[2]. During both periods, such changes revealed themselves in many ways. In this respect, the urban centres in Asia Minor encountered two significant changes:

1) Between the late fourth and sixth centuries, there was an intense building activity - construction and reconstruction activities, in particular, related to religious use; alteration, and renovation of existing buildings to function in the same way and change, and transformation of existing buildings into new functions characterise

2) From the early seventh century onwards modification or major structural change happened in the urban fabric, such as constructing monumental city walls or strengthening them to make cities heavily fortified; building hilltop, walled refuge areas within the urban boundary; changes in the status and context of urbanization from 'urban collapse', 'shrinkage' or 'localization', to 'impoverishment'; urban settlements turning into military centres

From the fourth century onwards, the administration of the state became increasingly 'centralized', while churches and monasteries became supported by the imperial developments that made the empire gradually transform into a 'Christian state', although this process took centuries. With the foundation of Constantinople that began

[1] Brown, 1971.

[2] Brown 1971, p. 8.

towards the end of 324 A.D., and its inauguration and dedication in 330 A.D., the routes leading to Constantinople and the cities situated along these routes gained importance. The diagonal connections leading from Constantinople to Jerusalem through the Cilician Gates, in particular, also became the significant channels of flow of goods and people and assumed a religious use as well. As a result of imperial interest and investment, the facilities associated with pilgrimage had improved, and the pilgrims coming from the West began to travel to visit the Holy Lands by using the main lines of communication that passed through central Anatolia.

As change occurred in several institutions of state and public life, so communication and urbanization along the routes that linked the cities also changed in certain ways. Two new main routes were established between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates as lines of northwest-southeast connections in Asia Minor in … century. These routes constituted the backbone of the newly evolved Late Roman and Early/Middle Byzantine routes, and communication and transport arteries in Asia Minor. The first, also known as the Pilgrim's Road, and labelled in this study as Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1 (NW-SE DR 1), connected Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Nicaea (İznik), Ancyra (Ankara), Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), and Tyana (Kemerhisar). The second route labelled as THE Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2 (NW-SE DR 2) connected Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Nicaea (İznik), Dorylaion (Eskişehir), and Amorium (Emirdağ).

In the seventh century, new routes which had developed over the Taurus and anti-Taurus region and were integrated to the NW-SE DR 2 that linked Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Nicaea (İznik), Dorylaion (Eskişhir) and Amorium (Emirdağ) came into prominence while the NW-SE DR 1 that ran between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Nicaea (İznik), Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), Ancyra (Ankara), and Tyana (Kemerhisar) lost significance. The Arabs started to penetrate Anatolia from the seventh century onwards, and the NW-SE DR 2 became the artery used by the Arab raiders between the seventh and ninth centuries. Cities along these routes had become

military centres or 'fortified sites', yet, they maintained their economic and religious role despite the reduced economic activities.

1.1. Aim of the Study

The centuries between the 4th and 9th are often described to have witnessed profound social, economic, administrative and urban changes, and are contextualized in reference to arguments that suggest 'transformation', in the sense of an on-going evolution, change, and/or 'continuity' and 'discontinuity'. The evidence used to support these arguments is both textual and archaeological. This study addresses situations of 'change', 'continuity/discontinuity', and 'transformation' by elaborating on 'routes' as supportive evidence and aims to look at the impacts of the geopolitical, administrative, economic, and social changes on the use of routes by using archaeological and textual evidence, and thus to discuss in which ways the usage and status of routes were influential on the urban dynamics of Late Roman and Early/Middle Byzantine Asia Minor. To concretize the discussion, it constructs a framework by sampling and comparing the use of two main routes in two periods. The framework addresses the usage status of the routes, as well as the urban dynamics of the selected cities located along these routes. Two of the main diagonal routes that extended along the northwest-southeast axis, and connected Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, are taken as case-studies. These were transverse routes and provided easy access of communication between the capital and the southern hinterland of the empire between the fourth and ninth centuries, affecting both the security of the capital and the empire, as well as reflecting the dynamics of urbanization.

The research questions that guided the study are:

1) Does the use of routes indicate or reflect the changing dynamics in the political, military, and economic situation of the Eastern Roman Empire?

2) Do the changes in communications networks help to explain or otherwise indicate the 'transformations' that led from the 'classical Roman' to the 'early/middle Byzantine' period?

3) Do routes provide further supporting evidence on urban status in the periods concerned, in addition to what offered by archaeological and textual sources?

4) In which ways routes can be a potential source of evidence to provide a critical evaluation of the urban scene in Asia Minor in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine Periods?

1.2. Scope of the Study

The periods covered include those between the 4th-6th and 7th-9th centuries. They represent the periods of key changes that occurred, and had an impact on the function and development of cities and the use of major routes in Asia Minor. The periodization used follows the Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity and the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium as references[3]. The two routes chosen for the case study are particularly significant in both periods as they facilitated easy access between the capital and the eastern borderlands, regularly used by soldiers and military units, state officials, and for commerce. They, also illustrate the use of major arteries both by the Romans/Byzantines and also by the Arab raiders and pilgrims.

I differentiate and deal with the late Roman and 'early/middle Byzantine' periods relating to the question of status and nature of change in the administrative/political and economic structure of the Eastern Roman Empire as such:

1) The late Roman period between the fourth and the sixth century, in the course of which Christianity had become the official religion of the empire. A Christian landscape emerges following the changes in the use and maintaining of Roman urban edifices and the building of new religious structures, although the classical structures

[3] *ODLA*, 2018, p. vi; *ODB*, 1991, p. vii.

continued to function to some degree; patterns of urban land-use changed due to the new religious and political/administrative conditions.

2) The 'early/middle Byzantine' period between the seventh and ninth century, in which the Roman cultural and urban institutions that began to change in the previous centuries had gradually diminished. Both the consequences of the changes that had occurred in the earlier centuries and also the ongoing warfare and economic insecurity generated by the Arab raids into Anatolia were influential on this.

I examine the use of two main routes in the late Roman and early/middle Byzantine periods, by taking into consideration the changes that had occurred respectively:

1) NW-SE DR 1 (Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1) between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Nicaea (İznik), Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), Ancyra (Ankara), and Tyana (Kemerhisar), i.e., the Pilgrim's Road, as the main network of communication, which was established in the Roman period and continued to be used throughout the late Roman period, and used mostly for travel, religious and economic purposes.

2) NW-SE DR 2 (Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2) between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Nicaea (İznik), Dorylaion (Eskişehir), and Amorium (Emirdağ) as the main network of communication, which was used, apart from economic purposes, primarily for military operations, for the movement of armies and their supplies.

1.3. Method of the Study

The research method is based on making a comprehensive ancient literature review of the sources mentioning routes; a complete review of the excavation and survey reports on the archaeology of urban settlements in Roman and Byzantine Asia Minor and a review of the scholarship on routes, archaeological finds, and period studies

and to integrate the collected sources, evidences and approaches to define the thematic sections and hence the discussion framework:

The research on textual evidence, which includes both primary and secondary sources, is conducted in several libraries and research institutions and by using on-line platforms and sources[4]. The seminal works that focused on the periods between the 4th and 9th periods and represent the theoretical and critical arguments in the field are reviewed to provide the scope and context of the scholarship.

Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, *KST* (Reports of Excavation Results) and *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, AST* (Reports of Survey Results), have served as the main sources of archaeological information regarding the urban and architectural context of the cities located and/or established along the routes. All the excavation and survey results conducted in Turkey from 1980 to 2019 and published as reports, in this sense, are reviewed to collect information on late Roman and early/middle Byzantine urbanization. Associated archaeological finds, such as inscriptions and milestones are searched and gathered within the scope of the literature survey.

Site visits are done to see parts of the case study routes, and cities mentioned in the study. Traveling between the visited cities is done by following modern roads and via vehicles. Such traveling enabled to observe the landscape, particularly along the Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1 (NW-SE DR 1). The lack of funding limited the scope of such visits only to the northern section of the NW-SE DR 1.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology is used to prepare a visual database and to produce original maps. The visualization of the evidence collected through maps represents the original contribution of the study.

[4] The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (BIAA) David French Library, The Middle East Technical University (METU) Library, and Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations at Koç University (RCAC), Istanbul Research Institute Library (IAE), The Turkish Historical Association Library (TTK).

Key terms are specified, and sources are correlated with them. The commonly used terms in the research in this regard are as follows; a list of all the terms used in the study is given in Appendix C:

1) The *diagonal route* refers to Northwest-Southeast Connections.

2) The *Pilgrim's Route* refers to the road from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates, the section of the route that passed from Asia Minor.

3) *Persian Raids* refer to the attacks of the Sassanian Persia which had posed a threat to the Empire in the east, upper Euphrates, and the upper Syria in the early seventh century A.D.

3) *Arab raids* refer to the incursions of the Arab troops coming from the Arab lands to Asia Minor between the seventh and ninth centuries.

4) The *main city* refers to the urban centres which originated from the classical city in antiquity and expanded into the Roman period, and were significant in terms of the provinces in which they were established, and the diversity of urban amenities that had.

CHAPTER 2

LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ROUTES IN ASIA MINOR: QUESTIONING URBANIZATION AND STATUS OF CITY

The Romans, among the building monumental urban edifices, constructed a network of well-paved roads[5], which made cities more effective and connected in terms of communication and transport within the empire. Thus, via such their public spaces as streets, *fora*[6], colonnaded avenues, gates, and city walls, the Roman cities spaces, and buildings as became connected physically by roads and functionally by routes within the empire[7]. The 'building of the empire' gained a different momentum, especially in the Roman Imperial period[8] when the administration became reorganized in a provincial system that created local hub/s on major and/or minor intra-regional or intra-urban routes. In this system, some cities that were already prominent in terms of their economic capacity in the pre-Roman rule, for example, had flourished and became the major urban centers in Asia Minor, such as Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir). New monumental urban structures, apart from public buildings, like arches, *propylaea*, and colonnaded streets, were built, or the existing ones were expanded and/or embellished in the Imperial era, particularly in the eastern part of the Empire[9], also well exemplified in Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir).

[5] Owens, 1996, pp. 115-120, and p. 104.

[6] MacDonald, 1986, p. 32, p. 51.

[7] Grimal, trans. 1956, pp. 41-76.

[8] Owens, 1996, pp. 141-142.

[9] Owens, 1996, p. 141.

The Roman urbanism and its operation shifted into a different focus with the official acceptance of Christianity as the new state religion seven decades after Constantine's conversion to Christianity in 312 A.D. The ancient city of Byzantium became the new capital of the eastern Roman Empire by Emperor Constantine the Great in 324 A.D., after whom the city was renamed Constantinopolis, and dedicated in 330 A.D. The shift of administration from Rome to Constantionpolis influenced the state capacity, and use of the network of communication in Asia Minor significantly.

The urbanization of the Roman Empire, following the fourth century A.D. political and administrative developments and extending well into the ninth century A.D, is discussed by the scholars of the field as a departure from the urbanization of the classical antiquity[10], approached as periods distinctively different from the Roman imperial period in its urbanization and administration; thus identified as "Late Antiquity" or "Late Roman Period", and "Transition Period" or "Early Byzantine Period". Distinguished as periods of change, the first context took into its focus the period between the early fourth and the first half of the seventh century while the second between the seventh and the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The change of the state religion and the dynamics that followed had an impact on the Roman Empire as the social, political/administrative, and economic structures had also changed. The changes in that regard became subject to discussions that centered on the nature of urbanization, the status of the cities, and the related infrastructure. In this regard, theories are developed to define and characterize the state of the Roman Empire

[10] The changes occurred in the classical urban transformation in Asia Minor are based on the changes in the social, administrative/political and economic conditions of the empire by the leading scholars: Brown, 1971, p. 8 explains these changes with the religious developments of the later Roman Empire from the 4th c. onwards, which is identified with the rise of Christianity. Cameron, 2001, p. 8 also emphasizes the impact of Christianity on change in eastern urban centres. Laiou and Morrisson, 2007, p. 40 remark the effect of economic changes that the transformation of the ancient city could be distinguished with "the encroachment of shops on public spaces". Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 458 lean the changes in the nature and function of urban centres between the 7th and 9th c. on changes in the fiscal, military and ecclesiastical administration, which was affected by the raids. Whittow, 1990, pp. 15-21 and 2009, p. 140 suggests that the disappearance of *curilaes* – members of the local council – does not mean the administration system of the cities totally collapsed, rather change in the mode of operation.

in the post fourth century A.D., and the question of a 'decline' or a 'continuity' of the classical city became the leading research and discussion themes.

2.1. On Roads and Routes in Asia Minor

The first seminal study on the archaeology of routes and roads in Asia Minor is *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* written by William Ramsay (1962; first published in 1890). The book provided the first comprehensive information about the Pilgrim's Road that stretched between Constantinople and the Holy Lands, and the military and trade routes in Asia Minor. Ramsay made a comparative examination on cities, trade routes, road systems, Roman bishoprics, and itineraries in reference to Byzantine historians, such as *Theophanes* and *Zosimus,* and his on-site research in Anatolia. He looked at the Roman routes between the sixth century B.C.[11] and twelfth century A.D., and the Roman cities between the first century B.C.[12] and twelfth century A.D., thereby underlining the history of the roads and their comparative importance in reference to historical events in a wider scope.

Another seminal study, which became a major source on Roman roads in Asia Minor, is *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor* by David French, who did a rigorous study between 1974 and 2016. He used milestones to contextualize the roads. The terms *road* and *route* regarding the communication network in Roman Asia Minor were coined together first by French.

Most of the information about the Byzantine routes between the beginning of the fourth and mid-fifteenth centuries A.D. comes from the series of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*[13]. The routes are presented and described in reference to the archaeological

[11] He refers to the 'Great Trade Route' regarding this date.

[12] Only two cities, Klannoudda (35 miles from Philadelphia (Alaşehir), and Sinope, were mentioned in this century.

[13] *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, (TIB), published by the *Austrian Academy of Sciences* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*), is a research project on the historical geography of the Byzantine Empire,

and historical evidence, and hence TIB is of foremost importance for this study. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* consists of eighteen volumes, with maps that focus on the regions/provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Of the eighteen volumes, ten provide information about Byzantine Asia Minor, and dwell on all the main west-east, north-south and northwest-southeast routes. The main cities and stations established along the main arteries in these directions are presented in detail, including milestones and inscriptions found near or in the cities. Each volume contains detailed modern and ancient maps, showing castles, stations, churches, and alike. The administrative and economic developments of the Byzantine Empire between the fourth and thirteenth centuries is given in each volume; useful for this study are the fourth and seventh volumes of the TIB, that included Phrygia and Galatia regions.

2.2. Contextualizing Post 4th Century Roman Urbanization: 18th Century - Early 20th Century Approaches

'Change', 'transformation', and 'continuity' in the later Roman Empire were first brought into discussion in the seminal work of Edward Gibbon, *Decline and the Fall of the Roman Empire,* first published in 1787. Gibbon discussed that the decline of the classical culture was due to the rise of Christianity and the fall of the Western Roman Empire due to the 'barbarian' invasions by the Alamanni, Burgundians and Visigoths between the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. While the eastern part of the Empire was

including all the regions of Asia Minor except Pontus, which is under consideration. In each volume, the archaeological evidence is combined with written sources. The TIB is a significant source for understanding the main arterial routes as well as "geography and climate, borders and territorial designations, administrative history, church history and monasticism, economy and demographic trends" (https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/) in the Byzantine world from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the fifteenth century AD. Of the 18-volume *Tabula*, 8 is about Asia Minor, and only 7 are yet completed and published: The region of Cappadocia was studied by Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle, 1981; Galatia and Lycaonia by Klaus Belke and Marcell Restle, 1981; Cilicia and Isauria by Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, 1990; Phrygia and Pisidia by Klaus Belke and Norbert Mersich, 1990; Lycia and Pamphylia by Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, 2004; Paphlagonia and Honorias by Klaus Belke, 1996; and Bithynia and Hellespontus by Klaus Belke, 2020. Current sections under preparation are Western Asia Minor: Lydia and Asia by Andreas Külzer; and Caria by Friedrich Hild.

protected, with Constantinople already functioning as its capital, the western part of the Empiredeclined in the late Roman period, with the rise of the barbarian kingdoms in the later fourth century A.D. The loss of the cities in the Western Empire to the western kingdoms was, thus interpreted by Gibbon as decline. Gibbon also argued that the cities in the west and east of the empire were influenced by the new religion, as bishops gained importance in cities and Churches, such as the Church of Antiocheia, were founded and raised to great esteem. Gibbon mentions tha the clergy by delivering doctrines of patience and timidity, propagating to dedicate public and private wealth to charity and devotion, played an influential role in the decline of the military spirit and the administration network of the cities in the Roman Empire, and thus "a new species of tyranny oppressed the Roman World"[14], which brought the decline of the Roman world, according to Gibbon.

The myth of a 'decline' is followed in the early 20th century scholarship as well. But the debate took on new significance in terms of understanding the fate of the cities in Asia Minor when the idea of urban 'continuity', as an opposing theory, is put forward. Thus, both the decline and the continuity theories received supporters in the early 20th century scholarship. John Bagnall Bury claimed that the Roman Empire did not come to an end until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. In *History of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), Bury discussed that the Eastern Roman Empire continued in its constitutions and institutions by adapting to new circumstances. He remarked that the continuity of the empire depended on "its conservative spirit"[15], which was effectively seen in the political and also social structure of the empire.

Arnold Hugh Martin Jones argued the 'decline' of the city in the context of its political/administrative structures and took 'decline' as a phenomenon that had occurred independently from the classical city in *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937). Based solely on textual evidence, Jones discussed that there was a continuous

[14] Gibbon, 1897, p. 665.

[15] Bury, 1923.

decline of the city in terms of its fall in independence and political freedom. He argued that the *polis* had lost its urban character, and the classical cities came to an end in the late sixth century A.D. According to him since the local councils had lost their members, the income of the cities was reduced, and cities lost their vitality.

2.3. Contextualizing Post 4th Century Roman Urbanization: Mid-20th Century to Present

It is seen that the studies, that advocated either a 'continuity' or a 'discontinuity' in the urban context from the mid-20th century onwards took, indiscriminately, the social, political, administrative, and economic structure of the late Roman Empire between ca. the fourth-seventh and seventh and ninth centuries as their period focus. Making a comparison between the two parts of the empire also emerges as another common theme in the works of the modern scholarship.

Peter Brown argued for a social and cultural 'continuity' or 'discontinuity' in the West and East during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries by comparing, for instance, the religious practices in between the two. Christianity was more effective in the East than the West in the fourth century, but at the same time, the pagan culture in the East, for example, in Harran, survived longer than the West. In his influential study, *The World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (1971), Brown argued that by the sixth century, the cities were actually controlled by the bishops. However, he also argued that the "classical Greek culture continued to hold the interest of the upper classes of Constantinople"[16], so the classical elite survived in the Eastern Roman Empire. Despite this however, "the religious community was over the classical idea of the state"[17], according to Brown.

[16] Brown, 1971, p. 177.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 187.

Mason Hammond in *The Emergence of Medieval Towns: Independence or Continuity* (1974) also highlighted and discussed that "the institution of the city-state effectively vanished during the 'crisis' of the third century A.D."[18]. Hammond suggested that "change must be regarded as outweighing continuity in estimating the significance of any classical survivals for the emergence of medieval towns"[19] and stated that the enemy attacks damaged the classical buildings, which could not be repaired because of the economic crisis in the third century. In the sixth century, the use of buildings changed, that is to say, they were transformed to assume new functions, such as from temples to churches.

Günter Weiss interpreted 'change' and 'continuity' in the social structure of the Roman Empire between antiquity and the Byzantine Empire in *Antike und Byzanz: Die Kontinuität der Gesellschaftsstruktur* (1977), in terms of how there was a 'continuity' in the overall structure of the society. Weiss associated this to *Gesellschaftsentwicklungen*– a social development perspective. According to him, social life continued to develop without an interruption, although there was the disappearance of institutions, such as *demoi*[20], reduction in the fiscal measures, and shift in population and disappearance of upper class families[21]. In this regard, Weiss proposed three stages of social development that 1) Consistent structure in parts and in the overall structure of the society (*Gleichbleiben der Struktur* and *Gesamptgefüge*) 2) Insignificant changes in each form of appearance, and modes of action of social behaviour emerged, but the basic structure

[18] Hammond, 1974, p. 13. The term 'crisis' in the 3rd century is used by the scholars due to the condition of warfare in the West and East, the fluctuating economic situation of the empire like inflation, and the effects of catastrophic events, such as the outbreaks of plague between 250 and 270 AD. Liebeschuetz, 2007, pp. 17-19. See, Strobel, 1993; Cameron, 1998, p. 10; Witschel, 1999, pp. 375-377; De Blois and Rich, 2002, p. 204.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

[20] Plural form of *demos.* The term was described as "the populace of the city" by Edward Gibbon, 1787, and by Alan Cameron, 1976, as James Evans emphasizes. But, according to Evans, the *demoi* refer only to "the male citizen body". Evans, 2011, p. 220.

[21] Weiss, 1977, p. 530.

(*Grundstructure*) of the society in various areas of society, such as issues of equality in public life and structure of autocracy, continued 3) Structural change[22] (*Strukturwandel*). In terms of urbanization, Weiss argued in light of literature evidence that, it is difficult to generalize the state of the Byzantine urbanization in the sixth century, but by the seventh century, the fortified settlement, *kastron*, had definitely served for the security of the late Roman population as in the case of Miletus, Acroinon, Colossae, Chonai, Pergamon, Ancyra, Cotyaeion, Seleucia, Sision and Mopsuestia[23]. Weiss proposed that there is no difference between the terms 'Late Antiquity', 'Late Roman Empire', and 'Early Byzantine Empire'[24]. He underlined that the cities were the most important political, economic, and cultural units of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries A.D. According to him, by the third century A.D., "there was a slow disappearance of municipal self-government and the decline of the urban upper class of the curial due to state financial burdens and economic losses"[25]. By questioning the social developments in the empire, Weiss discussed and concluded that "the Roman Empire never ceased to exist, and the Byzantine society essentially remains the society of late antiquity, which is confirmed and supplemented in the field of cultural life and the state apparatus"[26].

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[22] Weiss, *ibid*., describes the term 'structure – *Struktur*' as "the recognizable, relatively continuous social impact in society", based on the description of F. Fürstenberg, "Sozialstruktur" als Schlüsselbegriff der Gesellschaftsanalyse, in *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 18 (1966), pp. 439-453, and he leaves it open to discuss.

[23] *Ibid.* The term *kastron* was mentioned by *Theophanes* in the 8th century, and is indicated as a fort, *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 630. Archaeological excavations and surveys in the cities of Miletus (von Graeve, 2012, p. 10); Pergamon (Otten, 2017), Ancyra (Peschlow, 2017), Cotyaeion (Foss, 1983), and Seleucia (Boran *et al.*, 2019) show the fortresses used during the late Roman and Byzantine periods. Miletus, Ancyra, and Cotyaeion are stated as *kastra* (Niewöhner, 2017, p.6 and p. 44; Niewöhner, 2007, p. 129). Pergamon is under discussion whether *kastron* was built or restored in the Turkish period (Niewöhner, 2007, p. 135; also see Otten, 2017; Koder, 2017). Seleucia is demonstrated as a "kale şehir (fortress city)" (Boran *et al.*, 2019, p. 81). For further discussion of *kastra*, see Niewöhner, 2007; Niewöhner, 2017; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, Koder, 2017.

[24] *Ibid*., p. 531.

[25] *Ibid*., p. 547.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 560.

In a case-based study, Clive Foss looked into twenty cities from Asia Minor by using archaeological and textual evidence. In *Archaeology and Twenty Cities in Byzantine Asia* (1977), he claimed that the ancient size and prosperity of the cities were reduced due to the Persian invasions that took place in the first half of the seventh century. According to him, the cities in late Roman Asia Minor lost the characteristics of urbanization in the classical sense. Different from classical urbanization, the cities, despite prosperous in the late Roman period, acquired new aspects such as city walls and churches[27]. Nevertheless, Foss explained that while some cities such as Ancyra and Sardis were reduced to fortresses, economically prominent port cities such as Ephesus and Smyrna continued to be occupied during the early seventh century. Foss suggested that by the seventh century, the cities in question consisted of ruins and defensive facilities, which continued until the ninth century during when they had shrunk and lost major urban population[28].

Cyril Mango discussed and claimed 'discontinuity' in "the way of life" of the late Roman Empire in *Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium* (1981). Mango associated the abruption of the ancient social life with the disappearance of cities by the seventh century and argued that, it is therefore difficult to say that there was 'continuity' between antiquity and early Middle Ages[29]. In this regard, he said/interpreted that the structure of ancient society, which was based on the *polis,* began to change from the seventh century onwards, i.e., towns developed and existed had acquired a rural or semi-rural life. Mango describes this 'changed society' as "medieval

[27] Foss, 1977a, p. 485. Contrary to the Foss' argument, archaeological evidence shows that there was in the use of some classical building structures, such as theatres and baths, in Laodicea (Şimşek, 2011, p. 453) and Tralleis (Dinç, 1998, p. 22). For discussion, see Chapter 4. Although the Byzantines had to construct defensive structures in order to preserve the cities against the hostile attacks by the seventh century and the cities were reduced in size, archaeological evidence shows that the cities such as Ephesus (Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 18-19) and Ancyra (Peschlow, 2017, pp. 203-217) maintained their importance both administratively and economically. For discussion, see Chapter 5.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Mango, 1981, p. 49.

Byzantium" and associates it to "a small élite group and a relative literacy, and a great mass of illiterate[30]".

In contrast to Mango's point of view, Averil Cameron in *Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late sixth-Century Byzantium* (1981) stated that the shape of urban life was changed. Cameron argued that the typical Roman buildings began to be used for different purposes, such as for defensive structures, and demonstrated that there was a new organizational structure in urban life, as demonstrated by such buildings as *kastron*, central church and housing[31]. Cameron, about a decade later contextualized 'Late Antiquity' in The *Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600* (1993). She discussed that some scholars had described the fourth and fifth centuries as 'the later Roman Empire' while some others remained undecided to which period the term 'Byzantine' or 'Byzantium' should be associated with. Cameron suggested using 'Late Antiquity' in her book, for according to her "some of the basic of classical civilization still survived"[32]. Focusing on cultural change and the impact of Christianity on the elites in eastern cities, and the states' defensive policy against the barbarian attacks, and the late roman economy, she argued about both 'change' and 'continuity' in the late Roman period until the early seventh century A.D.

Alexander Kazhdan and Antony Cutler argued in *Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History* (1982) that the cities did not cease because of the Persian invasions, but there was an interruption between the seventh and ninth centuries until the reappearance of the towns in Asia Minor. Kazhdan and Cutler discussed that the situation of the empire had shaped the 'city' during the period in question. They suggested that the Slav and Avar attacks in the West and the Persian and Arab raids in the East were the main reasons for the 'catastrophe' of the Late Roman urbanization,

[30] Mango, 1981, p. 50.

[31] Cameron, 1981, p. 230.

[32] Cameron, 2001, p. 8.

and there were already signs of a 'catastrophe' in the urban systems[33], which was an on-going situation. Contrary to the Weiss' point of view, Kazhdan and Cutler discussed that there was discontinuity in urban social structure. According to them, in the period from the fourth to the mid-seventh century, the ancient or 'classical' social structure with cultural activity and everyday life continued to exist. However, the dominating political structure controlled the *polis*, thereby leading to its 'collapse', Kazhdan and Cutler emphasize. The city, including the ancient social structure, traditional forms of independence, everyday life, had collapsed, and a new society in the countryside emerged during the 'transition' period from the seventh to the ninth century[34].

James Russell pointed out in *The Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: The Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence* (1986) that by the end of the sixth century, "the elements of building structures seem to have collapsed, however, the traditional structure of bishoprics which was associated with the cities was still intact in most parts of Asia Minor, and still in Byzantine hands even as late as the ninth century"[35]. According to Russell, the political and economic situation of the empire in the sixth and seventh centuries resulted in the 'transformation' of *polis*. Russell stated the transformation of early Byzantine urban life as 'urban decay', but at the same time suggested that such changes as "the closing and partitioning of the porticoes of colonnaded avenues and other public buildings to house a wide variety of domestic, industrial and retail activities; the abandonment of public buildings such as baths and theatres; desultory maintenance of public amenities such as city-walls and aqueducts, still remains unclear"[36]. Russell, thus, stressed the importance of archaeological study to answer and evaluate the 'decline of the *polis*'[37].

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[33] Kazhdan and Cutler, 1982, p. 441.

[34] *Ibid.* p. 477.

[35] Russell, 1986, pp. 143-145.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

In *The Demise of the Ancient City and the Emergence of the Medieval City in the Eastern Roman Empire* (1988) Helene Saradi proposed that the ancient city 'declined' after the middle of the sixth century in reference to the changes in such factors as "the density of population, economic vitality and an administrative centre of a larger district"[38]. Based on textual evidence, Saradi took Christianity as one of the main factors in the change of life in the classical city. She also discussed the collapse of the classical buildings, by examining the archaeological evidence[39]. According to Saradi, the power of the local elites was reduced, and the urban economic vitality collapsed. Saradi's most recent study on the topic, *The Byzantine Cities (8th-15th centuries) Old Approaches and New Directions* (2012), provides a discussion about the early, middle and late Byzantine cities, by exemplifying the urban changes in such cities as Pergamon, Corinth and Thessaloniki. She evaluated critically the existing approaches and suggested that "our understanding of the cities in the middle and late Byzantine centuries requires new questions to be asked and new approaches to be taken. The study of the city can gain in depth, when viewed in a perspective employing interdisciplinary methods and in broad synthetic works"[40]. Saradi has become one of the leading figures that underlined the potential contribution of interdisciplinary approaches[41].

John Haldon argued in *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (1990) that by the seventh century, "the Byzantine city was different from its classical antecedent since it was no longer fulfilled the same role, either in the social formation as a whole or in the administrative apparatus of the state"[42]. After

[38] Saradi, 1988, p. 367.

[39] Saradi, 1988, pp. 365-401.

[40] Saradi, 2012, p. 45.

[41] Saradi focuses on published works both in archaeological and textual, and her study is based on theoretical and methodological approaches. Based on the discussions relating to the topic, Saradi states the necessity of interdisciplinary studies for the issue and of new questions for further research.

[42] Haldon, 1990, p. 94.

commenting on the differences between city, *polis,* and *kastron,* Haldon indicated that there was shrinkage in the area of many original urban settlements, such as Ephesus and Sardis, which had already started in the previous two centuries. Haldon also stated that some cities such as Nicaea and Attaleia survived due to their particular location; that is, they continued to survive either as being a center of communication or an important commercial center[43]. John Haldon discussed the evolution of urban centers in Late Antiquity in *The Idea of the Town in the Byzantine Empire* (1999). Haldon divided the urban development to three phases: 'late Roman' until the middle of the seventh century; the period from the 650s to the 770s, and the period from the 770 onwards. Haldon stated that the physical structure of the cities had changed in the fifth and sixth centuries; however, this did not mean that the cities were reduced in their economic or exchange activities; the decrease was in the maintenance of large public structures such as baths and aqueducts. Between the middle of the seventh and ninth centuries, on the other hand, the construction activities had focused not on maintaining public edifices, but on fortification works and construction or repair of churches or monastic buildings[44]. In his most recent study in this context, *The Empire that Would not Die: The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival 640-740* (2016), John Haldon concluded that by the sixth century, there was a significant political and ideological change in the late Roman and Byzantine world and that the "secular ruler, state, and church were joined in a complex whole"[45]. Haldon further stated that by the middle of the seventh century, "monks were in both villages and towns had an important connective role"[46] in the system of administration, and the church was the most critical and powerful ideological and economic institution. He elaborated on the importance of Christian ideology in the running of the administrative system of the provinces, and hence cities, and also

[43] *Ibid.,* pp. 108-111.

[44] Haldon, 1999, pp. 1-13.

[45] Haldon, 2016, p. 96.

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 106.

suggested that many cities had survived, and were reoccupied after the devastating attacks of the Arab troops during the seventh and eighth centuries, as in the case of Euchaïta[47]. The archaeological survey in the city showed that there was a city wall in the northern side of Kale Tepe, which is in the east of the city, and is possibly the defensive structure that was mentioned in the Miracles of St. Theodore[48]. However, the question relating to the nature of the struggle of the city's population against the raiders is still open to question[49].

By following the same line of reasoning with Haldon, Mark Whittow also discussed 'continuity' in the cities of the Near East before the sixth century, despite such catastrophic events as drought and flood that affected the cities, in *Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine City: A Continous City* (1990). According to Whittow, the archaeological evidence shows prosperity in the cities such as Ephesus and Miletus in the sixth and the seventh centuries. He suggested that the late Roman cities were not built in the 'classical style' and that a Christian culture, which was represented by churches, became the main cultural model. The late Roman cities in this regard lacked the construction activities of public baths, *gymnasia*, *stadia* and temples because of the change in the cultural values. The dominant structure of the late Roman period was the church, including monasteries, hospitals and orphanages, and not the classical buildings[50]. Antiocheia and Ephesus, for example, maintained their vitality and prosperity, simply because both cities were pilgrimage centres. Despite the prominence of Church and related developments, however, there was 'continuity' in cities and their elites[51]. Whittow readdressed the question of 'continuity' and 'discontinuity' in *Early*

[47] This is known from the hagiographic source of *St. Theodore of Euchaïta*. Haldon, 2016, p. 37.

[48] Elton *et al.*, 2012, pp. 210-211.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Whittow, 1990, p. 18 and p. 28.

[51] Whittow, 1990, pp. 15-28.

Medieval Byzantium and the End of the Ancient World (2009). Looking at the 'decline' of the *curiales* and examining Syria, Palestine, Anatolia, and Greece, Whittow asserted that the system of administrative organization was changed in the cities and that the local city councils lost power[52]. In this regard, Whittow argued that the Byzantine elite continued to be an influential social group, and many cities including Ephesus and Sagalassos were not abandoned, but instead survived and functioned as military and ecclesiastical centers[53].

John Hugo Wolfgang Gideon Liebeschuetz, in *The End of the Ancient City* (1992) asserted that there was a gradual 'decline' in the classical city. Liebeschuetz associated it with the 'decline' of the institutions of civic self-government[54]. He stated that the bishops had emerged as a new urban class, and the classical urbanism is declined in the first half of the sixth century because the *curiales* had disappeared in the cities. Accordingly, the classical urbanization and culture, as well as the corresponding architectural structure had collapsed in the second half of the sixth century. In *Transformation and Decline: Are the Two Really Incompatible?* (2006), Liebeschuetz suggested that the cities in the late Roman Period were in the process of 'transformation' in the third or fourth centuries in the West and in the second half of the sixth or seventh centuries in the East. Liebeschuetz evaluated the transformation on the basis of Christianity that played a leading role and gave way to an increasing amount of church construction in the eastern Roman Empire from the late fourth century onwards. After asking as to whether the "post-curial government"[55] was different than the old civic

[52] Whittow, 2009, p. 140. Excavations at Ephesus showed that the city had a probable seventh-century city wall and became the most important pilgrimage centre as understood from a basilica, dedicated to St. John, in the Ayasuluk Hill. Ladstätter, 2011, p. 14-17. Sagalassos excavations indicated Late Roman fortification walls (4th-6th c.) and a stronghold from the "middle Byzantine" period (8/9th -10th c.), a 5th century Christian basilica. Waelkens and Mitchell, 1988, p. 202; Waelkens, 1990, p. 126; Waelkens, 2005, p. 429.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 145.

[54] Liebeschuetz, 1992, pp. 8-12.

[55] Liebeschuetz, 2006, p. 470.

council (*curial boule*), Liebeschuetz stated that the *curiales* continued to function in this period despite the fact that they were a small minority. He, indeed, approached the 'changes' that took place in this period in the context of 'decline' of the classical world in the late Roman period.

Archibald Dunn, in *The Transition from Polis to Kastron in the Balkans III-VII: general and regional perspectives* (1994) focused on settlements and discussed the difference between *polis* and *kastron* in the Balkans. Dunn stated that the economic, political, and cultural changes which occurred between the third and seventh centuries affected the cities. He argued that from the mid- third century onwards cities began to relocated to "small walled sites" due to the invasions. The arrangement of "small upland sites" were garrisons, stations, and mining centres and as such were not based on traditional urbanization, that is, creating a new provincial, administrative, military and fiscal centre[56]. He suggests, in this respect, that late antique urbanization can be categorized as "'civic urban', 'non-civic urban', and 'non-civic non-urban'[57] and stresses that the emergence of *kastron* from the seventh to the ninth centuries should be studied separately[58], since the characteristic of 'civic' and 'urban' had disappeared[59] during the 'transition' period.

Bryan Ward-Perkins discussed aspects of urban life from the fifth to the seventh centuries in *Urban Survival and Urban Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean* (1996). He argued the fate of cities in reference to whether "urban civilization transformed into another by a process of death, or by a process of gradual transformation within a living organism?"[60] He highlighted that the existence of 'towns' is a difficult

[56] Dunn, 1994, p. 65.

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 66.

[58] Dunn, 1994, pp. 69-70.

[59] *Ibid.,* p. 67.

[60] Ward-Perkins, 1996, p. 4.

topic to comment, but, a debate on the 'life of a town' is more possible. Ward-Perkins suggested that, related to the function of any settlement, it is significant to look at a number of structures in the society by considering; "the military and administrative demands of the state, networks of long-distance exchange, and the needs of local agricultural producers for markets and so on"[61]. He prioritizes a research on towns themselves to understand the interruptions, changes and continuities in their settlement status[62].

Wolfram Brandes discussed the idea of the city in light of the sources from the sixth to the eighth centuries in *Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (1989)[63]. Brandes based his argument on discussing *polis* and *kastron* as concepts. Stating that the historical texts, i.e., hagiographic, are difficult to comprehend, and hence hardly useful, Brandes examined the terms *polis* and *kastron* in the light of both archaeological and textual evidence[64]. He explained that "in der Spätantike fand die Form *kastrum* eine zunehmende Verbreitung"[65], and discussed that *kastron* and *civitas* were used as synonyms in Latin-speaking regions during the 6th century, and that *kastron* played a significant military role during the period in question[66]. Brandes stressed that in the seventh century *polis* and *kastron* were used as synonyms[67]. Brandes looked at urbanism

[61] *Ibid.,* p. 14.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[63] Brandes, 1989, pp. 28-43.

[64] Brandes, 1989, p. 28.

[65] The pattern of *kastron* was widespread in Late Antiquity.

[66] In light of inscriptions and historical documents, Brandes, *idem.*, p. 29, discusses the military role of the term *castrum,* and the term *polis* in the 5th and 6th centuries, by exemplifying the fortress of Ain al-Ksar (in Algeria), the city of Clysma in Egypt, the Cappadocian fortress Limnai (mod. Gölcük), the fortress of Circesium (al-Qarqisiye between the Euphrates and Khabur rivers).

[67] *Ibid.,* p. 34. Brandes, *idem.,* pp. 34-37 examines the Sinai Monastery, Mesembria, Mistheia (mod. Nesebar), Charsianon (in Cappadocia). In light of historical accounts, Brandes, *idem.,* p. 38 states the term *polis* was commonly used as seen in the cities such as Amastris and Amorion.

in "Late Antiquity" or "early Middle Ages"[68] in *Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries –Different Sources, Different Histories?*(1999) as well. He discussed, this time, the distinction between "town" and "city" in light of textual evidence. He mentioned that the term *polis* continued to be used in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* and ecclesiastical sources. Accordingly, the term *kastron*, however, emerged first in the sixth century and was used in the military context, and then became a widely used term since "towns were reduced to fortresses"[69]. He stated that "towns", which survived as *kastra*, must have continued their function as a military existence in Late Antiquity, and if they did not disappear completely, they had existed with reduced urban functions[70]. Exemplifying some cities, such as Pergamon and Euchaïta, and questioning demographic and economic changes in late Roman and Byzantine Asia Minor, Brandes concluded the discussion by suggesting that the issue should be taken into consideration with an integrated analysis of archaeological and historical-philological research in order to better understand the question relating to the meanings and use of the terms *polis, kastron, city* and *town* in this regard. Brandes argued that textual evidence does not provide information about Pergamon before the seventh-eight century, but the city had shrank after the seventh century[71]. He underlined the regional variation of Asia Minor, and emphasized that the impact of the seventh-eighth century conditions on cities were not same, Euchaïta for instance, had survived during the seventh and eighth centuries[72].

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[68] Brandes, 1999, p. 25.

[69] *Ibid.,* p. 29.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 32. Brandes, *idem.,* emphasizes the impact of the plague in 541/542 and the Persian and Arab invasions on population, and hence the condition of the towns.

[71] The archaeological evidence relating to late Roman Pergamon is limited. However, Otten, 2017 mentions churches were built in the fifth century, and pottery finds as well as coins help to understand the degree of continuity between the fifth and seventh centuries. It is also known that new fortifications were constructed in the period of Arab raids. Otten, 2017. Most recent excavation carried out at *gymnasium* shows the late Byzantine defensive Wall, but there is no new report regarding the late Roman and 'transition' period constructions. See, Pirson *et al.,* 2019, p. 121.

[72] See Chapter 5.

The increasing archaeological evidence and its evaluation in relation to the textual studies enabled to contextualize city and urbanization in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods with comprehensive insights in the last two decades. In their seminal work, *Towns, Tax and Transformations: State, Cities and Their Hinterlands in the East Roman World, c.500-800* (2000), Wolfram Brandes and John Haldon stated that the status of the city was utterly 'transformed' in the Roman East and the *kastra* expanded in late Roman Asia Minor after the fifth century. They argued that the seventh-century cities were "market centers, defensive enclosures, and cult or religious centers" in the late Roman period[73], and that the cities were responsible for collecting taxes as well as meeting the expenses of road works.

Eric Ivison's work, *Urban Renewal, and Imperial Revival in Byzantium 730-1025* (2000), suggested a change in the role of the cities in Asia Minor between the early eighth and eleventh centuries. He demonstrated that by the eighth century, cities played a role as fortresses to "meet the military and administrative needs of the empire"[74]. Ivison suggested that many cities, such as Nicaea, Dorylaion, and Cotyaeion, maintained their imperial and ecclesiastical control in the administration like their late antique predecessors[75]. In this respect, Ivison associated the survival of the cities to their economic and administrative as well as strategic role[76] during the period in question.

Gilbert Dagron, like Brandes and Haldon, defined the Byzantine city as a "*kastron* (fortified sites) and/or *emporion* (market settlements)", in *The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries* (2002). [77]. Dagron discussed that change occurred in the

[73] Brandes and Haldon, 2000, p. 141.

[74] Ivison, 2000, p. 2.

[75] In light of textual evidence, Ivison, *idem*., suggest that those settlements mentioned above continued to be administrative and military 'cities' and centres of ecclesiastical administration as well as archbishoprics in the eighth and ninth centuries, and their survival depended on their strategic, administrative and also economic role.

[76] *Ibid.,* p. 3.

[77] Dagron, 2002, p. 393.

function of the cities as they began to serve as "a way station for the movement of the army"[78]. He argued that by the seventh century, the function of the city or town had changed and assumed a military character, and thus the policy of the state had also changed as the cities or towns became fortified and "transformed into bases of military operations"[79].

Hugh Kennedy and John Haldon emphasized in *The Arab and Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands* (2004) that cities, such as Sardis and Ancyra exhibited the characteristics of a defense settlement in the early Byzantine period[80]. They stated that many cities became closed and turned into defended towns[81] due to the condition of warfare. Cities such as Cotyaeion and Pergamon also became defended towns[82]. Kennedy and Haldon suggested that the enemy attacks did not threaten some cities such as Ephesus and Smyrna; yet they were militarized for the security of routes and the passing of the armies in this period[83].

Michael Whitby debated on "urban decline" in terms of the political aspects of riots and factions in the Late Roman period in his study, *Factions, Bishops, Violence and Urban Decline* (2006). Whitby mainly discussed "whether a reduction in the

[78] *Ibid.,* p. 401.

[79] *Ibid.,* 406.

[80] The archaeological excavations show that the people of Sardis moved to lower city, and the city continued to survive and have military character, providing the security of the route from Smyrna to Ancyra in the west-east direction, during the Arab raids. See Cahill, 2013, p. 148. As a fortified city, Ancyra was also able to survive the Arab attacks by way of its strong fortress. See Peschlow, 2017, 349-360.

[81] Kennedy and Haldon, 2004, p. 84.

[82] Archaeological evidence demonstrates the fortress of Cotyaeion was constructed in the seventh-ninth centuries. See Erdoğan and Çörtük, 2009, pp. 107-138. The fortress of Pergamon is also dated to this period. See Otten, 2017.

[83] *Ibid*.

visibility of urban controllers stimulated an increase in violence in cities"[84]. He argued that the *curiales,* as an elite group, was replaced by smaller local landowners, and for them the ecclesiastical hierarchy was important,[85] most probably because of the increasing power of bishops. Evaluating the effects of the riots and factions, raids, and the natural disasters that had occurred in the early fifth-sixth century on cities, Whitby suggested that important cities such as Antiocheia and Constantinople continued to survive despite the political disorder, enemy threats and catastrophes. According to him, change happened in the nature of urban structures, as "communal organization in cities did not disappear, and Christianity contributed to the survival of cities"[86] in this respect.

The status of the late antique city is elaborated by Chavdar Kirilov in *The Reduction of the Fortified City Area in Late Antiquity: Some Reflections on the end of the 'antique city' in the lands of the Eastern Roman Empire* (2007)[87]. Kirilov said that the reduction of the wall circuits is often accepted as a sign of the 'decline' of the city. Based on archaeological evidence, Kirilov suggests, on the other hand, that the changes in the late antique city, its population and fortified area do not necessarily mean a "general decline of the institution of the city"[88]. In fact, the cities continued to play a significant role as administrative and economic centers, and that "in many cases, 'reduction' was a synonym for 'survival'"[89].

Philipp Niewöhner discussed the status of the cities and *kastra* in Asia Minor in detail in *Archäeologie und die "Dunklen Jahrhunderte" im Byzantinischen Anatolien* (2007). Niewöhner suggested that new walls were built in some cities such as Amorion

[84] Whitby, 2006, p. 445.

[85] *Ibid.,* p. 446. This is most probably because of the increasing power and impact of bishops on cities. Whitby, *idem.*

[86] *Ibid.,* p. 459.

[87] Kirilov, 2007, pp. 3-25.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] Kirilov, 2007, p. 19.

and Myra in the fifth century while the existing walls in some frontier cities like Caesarea were strengthened or shortened. Based on archeological evidence, Niewöhner also discussed the role of unfortified cities in the west and central Anatolia and mentioned the difference between the late Roman and 'early Byzantine' defensive structures[90]. In this regard, *kastra* served for "the maintaining of the strategic position and the security of governor and bishop"[91].

Angeliki Laiou and Cécile Morrisson addressed the nature of Late Roman city in an economic context in *The Byzantine Economy* (2007). Accordingly, there was a 'transformation' of the ancient city by the sixth century, as demonstrated by the penetration of shops into public spaces[92]. Although reduced, trade and economic relations continued well after the seventh century, and *kastra* became the primary element of the economy[93] in the Byzantine Empire as a result of that production; trade was reduced due to the situation of warfare.

Luca Zavagno in *Cities in Transition: Urbanism between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages 500-900 A.D.* (2009) discussed 'transformation' and looked at the cities in Asia Minor in the light of archaeological evidence. Zavagno supported the idea of 'transformation' and 'continuity' in the cities, which were different from their classical predecessors[94]. Exemplifying the cities of Ephesus and Amastris, he suggested that there were social and economic transformations in the Byzantine Empire, since

[90] For both periods, Niewöhner mentions the 5th-6th and 7th-9th centuries. Niewöhner, 2007, pp. 123-135, prefers to use 'Dark Ages' for the period between the 7th and 9th century when he argues 'cities' or 'kastra'.

[91] Niewöhner, 2007, p. 124.

[92] Laiou and Morrisson, 2007, p. 40.

[93] *Ibid*., p. 43.

[94] Zavagno, 2009, p. 16.

Roman public buildings lost their main functions. As such, there was 'transformation' rather than 'decline' in the nature and function of the city[95].

The recent study of Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850: A History* (2011) compiled both archaeological and textual evidence to question 'transformation', 'continuity' or 'discontinuity' in the ancient city during the period in question. Brubaker and Haldon emphasized that the social and economic functions of the cities differed from region to region. In this sense, building activities such as construction or repair of churches and fortresses in the provinces of Asia Minor may help to understand the urban infrastructure. They underlined that after the middle of the seventh century, many provincial settlements in Asia Minor began to play a significant role in "military and administrative operations as well as the church"[96], which were different from the traditional or classical cities of the late Roman Empire. They portrayed the cities as economic, administrative, and military centers that had continued to survive during the period from the seventh to the ninth centuries.

Johannes Koder also argued for 'continuity'/'discontinuity' in cities in *Regional Networks in Asia Minor during the Middle Byzantine Period* (2012). Koder underlined the limited nature of textual evidence to understand the physical aspects of cities, such as settlement type and size in the late Roman period, and thus the importance of studying archaeological evidence in discussing urbanization in the early Byzantine period[97].

The study of Myrta Veikou, *Byzantine Histories, Settlement Stories* (2012), is about the identification of Byzantine settlements in Greece in terms of their archaeological context. Veikou looked at the early Byzantine urban centers, some of which were 'abandoned' or 'relocated'. According to her, a settlement was established at a particular location for its closeness to water or land communication, as in the case of

[95] *Ibid.*

[96] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 541-551.

[97] Koder, 2012, p. 150.

Ephesus and Ancyra. She therefore, questioned the availability of natural sources as these were vital for building a new settlement in the early Byzantine period[98].

Luke Lavan discussed Late Roman urban change in *From Polis to Emporion? Retail and Regulation in the Late Antique City* (2012). Based on both textual and archaeological evidence Lavan mentioned that shops were established along the main colonnaded streets, such as in Gerasa and Samara, and the colonnaded streets were continued to be used, for example in Sagalassos and Antiocheia[99], during the sixth and early seventh centuries. Urban public structures such as the baths at Side and *sebastion* at Aphrodisias, on the other hand, were converted into halls of cellular rooms in the late Roman period. These cellular units were used as shops, which demonstrated continuity in commercial activities and change in the role of the cities from *polis* to *emporion* – trade sites or centers[100]. Lavan argued that this can be explained by "the 'commercialization' of city centers, which did not cause urban decay or a loss of monumentality"[101]; on the contrary this was a period of vitality in the commercial amenities of the classical city in which colonnaded shops expanded, and the cities were dominated by shops, baths, and churches in the East, including Asia Minor[102].

Marek Jankowiak brought another insight to the fate of the cities in the early seventh century in *Notitia I and the Impact of the Arab Invasions on Asia Minor* (2013). Taking *Notitiae Episcopatuum* as a source he discussed mainly the impact of Arab invasions on the 'urban network' of Asia Minor. Based on the textual evidence, Jankowiak considered the attendance of bishops to the ecclesiastical meetings during the first waves of the Arab raids in light of textual evidence thereby exemplifying the

[98] Veikou, 2012, pp. 171-177.

[99] Lavan, 2012, p. 336.

[100] Lavan, 2012, pp. 347-348.

[101] *Ibid.* p. 366.

[102] *Ibid.*

density of the ecclesiastical urban network of Asia Minor. According to him, there was a 'disruption' of bishoprics, some of which were restored, such as in Pisidia and Lycaonia, while some bishoprics, such Lycia and Galatia II, were not, which indicates the effects of Arab raids on the ecclesiastical network and urban life of Asia Minor.

Taking into consideration the social and administrative structure of the Byzantine Empire, Chris Wickham argued in *The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism* (2013) that "local civil aristocracies lost their independent role to state patronized generals and armies"[103], which were supported by the central authority, while the system of taxation and the city continued to function in the seventh and eighth centuries[104]. Wickham discussed that the seventh and eighth century urban society of the eastern empire had collapsed. According to him, the collapse was probably due to the payment for the state without detriment to the civil aristocrats, who were the main body of urban life. He furthermetioned that the "state gave up taxing through cities, and organized the process direct on a rather smaller scale, having becoming a city-state concentrated on Constantinople"[105].

Adam Izdebski discussed 'continuity' in settlements, especially in the ecclesiastical structures, of Asia Minor in *A Rural Economy in Transition: Asia Minor from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (2013). Based on archaeological evidence, Izdebski interpreted that there was a process of growth of villages in Asia Minor. He focused on "rural settlement patterns and changes in site density, and the presence of fortifications in the countryside" from the late Roman to the early middle Ages, betweenthe fifth-seventh and the seventh-twelfth centuries. Exemplifying settlements such as Aizanoi, Miletus and Troad, Izdebski demonstrated the existence of rural

[103] Wickham, 2012, p. 55.

[104] *Ibid*., p. 57.

[105] *Ibid.* Wickham emphasizes that the system of administration in the cities during the seventh-eighth centuries changed thereby affecting and collapsing the 'classical' urban society.

economy and development of the countryside with settlements[106]. Characterizing four types of fortifications (urban, imperial, small, re-used classical and Hellenistic), developed in late Antiquity and early Middle Ages, Izdebski suggested continuity in the fortified settlements, such as Amastris, Cotyaeion, and Pessinus[107].

Stephen Mitchell in *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (2015) dwelt briefly upon the changes in the classical cities which had already occurred in the late Roman period. In this sense, the fifth-sixth century city administration consisted of a "patriarchal system"[108], which was comprised of officials and bishops appointed by the imperial power[109]. It seems that both, Wickham and Mitchell point out the dominating role of central autocracy in the administration of the cities, which was 'different' from the system of the classical city-state.

Enrico Zanini introduced "the contemporary idea of early Byzantine city" in *Coming to the End: Early Byzantine Cities after the mid-6th century* (2016). He used "contemporary" in the sense of "the product of the interaction between the three different elements"[110], and stated that the phenomenon of continuity/discontinuity should be studied by taking into consideration "regional differences and the relationship between the transformation of urban fabric and the development of human social, economic and cultural fabric of the same cities"[111]. Zanini associated the transformation of cities to the effects of Christianity and militarization of urban space. He also emphasized the importance of topography and maintenance of infrastructure in studying

[106] Izdebski, 2013, pp. 8-36.

[107] *Ibid.,* pp. 49-71.

[108] Mitchell, 2015, p. 11.

[109] *Ibid*.

[110] Zanini, 2016, p. 127. Zanini, *idem.*, identifies these three elements as the study of archaeology in the field, non-archaeological sources, and the interaction of the critical thinking of the two elements, including archaeological and non-archaeological study, such as digital technologies.

[111] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the transformation of the socio-economic structure in the cities after the mid-sixth century.

The most recent study by John Haldon, Hugh Elton and James Newhard, *Archaeology and Urban Settlement in Late Roman and Byzantine Anatolia Euchaïta-Avkat-Beyözü and its Environment* (2018) discusses the issue of 'continuity' or 'discontinuity' by exemplifying the city of Euchaïta, based on archaeological and environmental data, and textual evidence. Although the city was never a major metropolis, it survived and continued to play a role as a military center between the seventh and ninth centuries. The archaeological survey conducted at the site showed the development of the city from the fourth century onwards, with changing role and status over time[112]. In light of historical sources and environmental and archaeological data, Haldon, Elton and Newhard explained how a late Roman and Byzantine settlement in northern Anatolia had developed, including changes in its the civic status as a result of Christianity, and foundation of a Byzantine military base in the seventh-ninth centuries[113].

The scholarship on the urbanization and settlement status in the late Roman and Early Byzantine Periods as outlined above demonstrates that:

1) The early studies, between the 18th and early 20th centuries, interprets the question of the fate of cities and urbanization, by suggesting a theory of 'decline' and 'loss of vitality', that is, the erosion of the classical city. The supporters of this idea, Gibbon, Jones, Foss, Mango, Kazhdan and Cutler, Saradi and Liebeschuetz, however, took into consideration primarily textual evidence rather than archaeological evidence and/or took little support from the archaeological sources.

2) In the recent scholarship there are approaches that favor 'transformation' and 'continuity'. Bury, Brown, Hammond, Weiss, Cameron, Russell, Haldon, Whittow, Dunn, Brandes, Ivison, Dagron, Niewöhner, Laiou and Morrisson, Zavagno, Wickham,

[112] Haldon *et al.*, 2018, p. 209.

[113] *Ibid.,*

Brubaker, Zanini, and Izdebski argue, in this respect, that the issue is not 'decline', but rather 'change' from one form to the other, and as such it is 'transformation'. That is to say, there is a 'transformation' in religious, political/administrative and economic structures and a 'change' in the status of cities and the function of the city structures.

3) With the increase in the amount of archaeological evidence in the last decades, the approaches began to involve interdisciplinary perspectives. The scholars like Brubaker and Haldon, Kennedy and Haldon, Whittow, Jankowiak, Haldon, Elton and Newhard, Zavagno, and Izdebski dealt with the question in a more relative manner by looking at the effects of political/administrative, religious, and economic changes on the status of urbanization which manifest in change in the nature and function of urban centres, including physical character, such as their physical size and the use of building structures, public life, demography, trade and commerce, and the structure of political elite.

4) Archaeological data, i.e. architecture, may help to understand the status and role of cities in terms of the change in the physical structure of urban centres, such as the construction of new buildings/structures, the use of old ones, and the reuse of old structures for new purposes. Physical change manifested in the construction and repair of fortresses and city walls, the use of theatres and baths or their reuse for different purposes, and new constructions of churches, monasteries, hospitals etc.

5) The main factors in the change of the role and status of urban centres were Christianity becoming the official religion of the empire in the fourth century A.D. and the situation of warfare. Because the changes in the urban centres were related mostly to religious and political reasons, they can be seen as 'transformation' rather than 'decline'. It seems that the urban character of the main cities[114] remained the same, but the landscape of urban culture changed in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods. It is unlikely that all cities had changed their identity. Yet, the urbanization between the

[114] The term 'main city' is used for the urban centres which were established along the main routes and continued to be occupied in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods.

fourth and seventh and seventh and ninth centuries seems to have occurred differently: many of the public buildings were in the process of subdivision or functional change in the fourth-seventh century A.D. urbanization, such as from temples to churches while the seventh-ninth century cities had changed towards a more military function. The archaeological and textual evidence that can demonstrate this change in Asia Minor is yet fragmentary. Many newly surveyed settlements, such as Euchaïta, are significant as they provide information about the change in the function and role of the cities in Asia Minor during the late Roman and early Byzantine or 'transition' period in the light of new archaeological data.

Although the Roman and Byzantine roads and routes are studied in different publications, as sampled above, it was John Haldon who first introduced late Roman and Byzantine routes as a theme to discuss 'change' and 'continuity' in the cities of Asia Minor. In the section "Communications: the strategic infrastructure" in *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World 565-1204,* Haldon briefly introduced the road network of Byzantine Empire between the sixth and twelfth centuries[115]. The study presented here, inspired from that work, and especially took into consideration the statement that "the transformation in the role of urban centres during the late Roman period must have had equally dramatic consequences for the upkeep of the provincial road system"[116].The idea of using routes as an evidence to critically address and contextualize the administrative/political, economic and urban dynamics of the period between the fourth and ninth centuries owes much to this inspiration and the personal communications with John Haldon.

[115] Haldon, 1999, pp. 51-60.

[116] *Ibid.,* p. 52.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEXTUALIZING 'ROUTES' AND 'ROADS': TERMINOLOGY, SOURCES AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION NETWORK IN ASIA MINOR

3.1. 'Route' and 'Road'

In the ancient world is a road defined as "any line of communication between pre-existing points"[117] while route "the intended line of communication by means of a highway etc. a track or a path"[118]. Routes in this regard are planned to accomplish a purpose such as communication and transportation of goods and people. A network of communication and transport can well be described as a product of "organized labor in construction[119]" as well. The crossing of roads from a place makes it accessible to different kinds of relationships and dynamics. The primary purpose for constructing road and route networks, however, is often related to economic and/or military and political necessities[120].

Roads were mentioned as a subject by several ancient authors, such as, Herodotus, Strabon, Pliny, Plutarch and Ptolemy, and depicted as a tool of power in establishing and maintaining relations and interactions[121]. When Herodotus describes the

[117] French, 1980, p. 703.

[118] *Ibid*.

[119] Earle, 1991, p. 11.

[120] Hassig, 1991, p. 18.

[121] Staccioli, 2003, p. 7.

Royal Road from Susa to Sardis, he mentions that it is necessary to pass through the Halys, the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers which takes ninety days and that there are 111 mansions along the road[122]. Strabo describes the southern route from Ephesus to the Euphrates, and mentions that the distance between is almost 4.740 *stadia*, in reference to Artemidoros [123]. Pliny also provides distances between some main cities such as Sinope and Amisus established on the coastal regions of Paphlagonia and Pontus, and the coasts in Asia Minor. His work is indeed a source on the local road network of Asia Minor[124]. Plutarch provides information about the construction of roads and working activities conducted by Roman *tribune*[125] Caius Gracchus. Ptolemy's *Geography* mentions coordinates of cities in Asia Minor and and also elsewhere. He further demonstrates how cities were appointed to provinces[126]. Ramsay (1890), however, discussed that the information concerning provincial division in Ptolemy is not correct and his work is not a reliable source; a more useful source in this regard is Strabo, as he gives more accurate information regarding Asia Minor[127].

Ancient Roman roads and routes in Asia Minor are classified according to their physical aspects and named as *highway*, *roadway*, *trackway,* and *pathway* first by David French[128]. According to French, highways and roadways are the "built, engineered,

[122] *Herodotus*, trans. 2004, p. 272.

[123] *Strabo*, trans. 2000, pp. 240-241. 1 stadion = 1.80 m, Humphrey *et al.,* 1998, p. xxi.

[124] *Pliny the Elder*, trans. 1855, 6.2.

[125] "Any of various military and civil officials in ancient Rome", *EB*, 2016.

[126] *Ptolemy*, trans. 1991, pp.111-119.

[127] Ramsay, 1962, p. 95. All the ancient authors provide information about some of the routes mentioned above, but only Plutarch, trans. 1959, p. 213 states the construction of roads as means of power.

[128] French, 1974, p. 143. Based on French' study, K. Belke also classifies Roman roads as as such: "*highways* are broad and paved, for vehicles, *roadways* narrow and paved, for pack animals, *trackways* broad, constructed but not paved, *pathways* narrow and not paved", Belke, 2017, p. 28.

paved and maintained lines of communication"[129]. A highway is wider than 3.25 meters, whereas a roadway is less. (Figure 1a, Figure 1b, Figure 1c; Figure 2a, Figure 2b, Figure 2c). A trackway, which is broad, and a pathway, which is narrow, on the other hand, are the two "constructed but not paved and regularly maintained lines of communication"[130].

Construction of highways and roadways began in the period of the Roman Republic. The construction activities in the second century B.C. are known from the account of *Plutarch*:

> But he[131] busied himself most earnestly with the construction of roads, laying stress upon utility, as well as upon that which conduced to grace and beauty. For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-rammed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all intersecting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and corresponding height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance. In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles[132] and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances. Other stones, too, he placed at smaller intervals from one another on both sides of the road, in order that equestrians might be able to mount their horses from them and have no need of assistance[133].

It is known from the administrative documents formulated by the geometrician *Siculus Flaccus*[134] that the Romans defined roads in three contextual categories as public

[129] French, 1981, p. 128; French, 1980, p. 703; French, 1974, p. 144. It is difficult to track roadways from milestones. In light of French's study, the Roman highways in Asia Minor include the Pilgrim's Road, the route from Satala to Nicopolis, *Via Sebaste*, and the route from Caesarea to Melitene. French, 1980, p. 13. French does not mention the main highways in each region in his study of milestones, many of which are still in use today, in the study of milestones; therefore it is not included here.

[130] French 1980, p. 703; Berechman, 2003, p. 459; Chevallier, 1976. It seems that milestones were erected on highways as they were generally found near modern highways, such as the Kayseri-Malatya highway, in Turkey. It is known that the distance and the name of the following city were carved on milestones so that the travellers could get information about the road through which they travelled. Tilburg, 2007, p. 20.

[131] *Caius Gracchus,* Roman tribune (123-122 B.C.), *EB*, 2016.

[132] A Roman mile equals to ca. 1,480 m, *Plutarch*, trans. 1999.

[133] *Plutarch*, trans. 1959, p. 213.

[134] Berechman, 2003, p. 459.

roads (*viae publicae*), strategic roads (*viae militares*), and local roads (*viae vicinales*)[135]. They used the terms *vicus* for flat streets, *clivus* for rippled roads, *semita* for paths, and *angiportus* for small road or passageways found in the cities. The term *viae* was used for extra-urban roads[136]. The Roman roads consisted of paved (*viae munitae)* and unpaved roads (*viae terrenae*)[137] (Figure 3a, Figure 3b), which were divided further into two as *viae silice stratae* (stone roads) and *viae glarea stratae* (gravel roads)[138].

In the Roman imperial period, there were over fifty thousand miles of roads within the lands controlled by the Romans, reflecting the power of the Empire[139]. The main concern for their construction was to establish and maintain an administrative and military mechanism by way of a well-organized transport system[140]. That is to say, the Roman roads had served primarily for the movement of armies and pack animals[141]. The roads constructed in the provinces of the Roman Empire are taken as signs of

[135] *Ibid*. According to the juridical classification of Roman roads by *Ulpian* (d. 228 A.D.), *viae publicae* are described as the roads "built on public land and accessible to everyone", Tilburg, 2007, p. 9. The *Via Appia*, between Rome and Brundisium, for example, is categorized as a public road, Berechman, 2003, pp. 459-460. It is possible to suggest that the *Pilgrim's Road*, from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Ancyra, can also be classified as a public road. *Viae vicinales* were local roads connecting *viae publicae* with settlements and villages, *idem.* p. 9. In the *Ulpian*'s classification, *viae militares* were part of *viae vicinales,* appearing by rivers and cities. Tilburg, *idem,* p. 33, argues that Ulpian does not mention its military character, and states *viae militares* "were not special-category roads", but functioned for strategically important military affairs by the army, *idem.* p. 33.

[136] Staccioli, 2003, pp. 11-12.

[137] Tilburg, 2007, p. 14.

[138] *Ibid*., p. 15.

[139] Chevallier, 1976, p. 131; Maas, 2012, p. 19. Kolb, 2019, p. 9 states that the network of main roads, the *viae publicae*, was developed and expanded first to around 100.000 km, and then to 200.000 km, including the local roads, after the 2nd century AD. The term *main road* refers to highway which was on average more than 3.25 m wide, French, 1980, p. 128, and the *viae publicae* were at least 8 feet width = 2.43 m, and there was no maximum width for it, Tilburg, 2007, p. 27. That is why it is reasonable to assume that the main road can refer to the highway and also the *viae publicae.*

[140] Williams, 2012, p. 75.

[141] Berechman, 2003, p. 461.

Roman occupation, improving trade and security within the empire[142]. Therefore, roads and road networks provided access and penetration into the occupied territories for the imperial army and administrative units[143]. In other words, the Roman roads, which were well-engineered and maintained, and formed a dense network within the empire, were mainly used for military purposes so that the state could control the territories and the borders[144]. They foremost enabled the Roman army to deploy resources effectively and to stand against the enemy threats. The fact that the Romans constructed roads mainly for administrative and military reasons is also suggested by the common description of roads as *viae militares*[145]. The routes which were used for military purpose enabled the movement of men and materials from the provinces to the frontiers as well as to the prominent centers of politics, such as Ancyra and Caesarea.

Information about the construction, maintenance, and the state of the Roman roads, i.e., of public, local, strategic roads, is known from Ulpian and included in *The Digest of Justinian,* which dates to the second century A.D. The Digest mentions construction and maintenance activities in the light of the account of Ulpian:

> Local roads established by private contributions of land of which there is no longer any recollection are included among public ways. But between these and other, military roads there is this difference, that military roads terminate at the seashore, in cities, public rivers, or another military road, whereas this is not the case with local roads. For some of these lead into military roads, and others trail off with no way out[146].
>
> The praetor says: 'I forbid doing or introducing anything in a public road or way by which that road or way is or shall be made worse'. We call a road public if its land is public. For our definition of a private road is unlike that of a public road. The land of a private road belongs to someone else, but the right of going and driving along it is open to us. But the land of a public road

[142] Leyerle, 2012, p. 110.

[143] Given, 2004, p. 50.

[144] Berechman, 2003, p. 456.

[145] Tilburg, 2007, p. 33; Belke, 2008, pp. 295-300.

[146] *The Digest of Justinian*, trans. 1998, p. 87.

> is public, bequeathed or marked out, with fixed limits of width, by whoever had the right of making it public, so that the public might walk and travel along it[147].
>
> Some roads are public, some private, some local. We mean by public roads what the Greeks call royal, and our people, praetorian or consular roads. Private roads are what some call agrarian roads. Local roads are those that are in villages or lead to villages. These some call public, what is true, provided that they have not been established by the contributions; for what is repaired by private contributions is by no means private. For this reason the repairs may be communal, because the road is for common use and amenity[148].

Roads as the physical spaces of routes were equally important as a means of improving or establishing effective links between the cities of the empire, and the nodal points of the imperial fiscal administrative apparatus. The cities were responsible for the maintenance of the Roman highways within and beyond their territories, classified as *viae publicae*[149]. Roads were administered by the *cursus publicus* or *demosios dromos,* the organization responsible from the communication service and imperial post. The *cursus publicus* was responsible for the maintenance of roads and bridges along the main routes, and the maintenance of hostels or way stations, which are known as *mansio* or *stathmos,* and *mutatio* or *allage* – smaller stops to change animals[150]. The officials, called *comes sacrarum largitionum,* and *comes rei privatae,* were the administrative authorities responsible from the organization of the transportation of goods. They were given official permission to use the horses and wagons of the postal services[151] (Figure 4). Two distinct systems were used in terms of transportation in the Roman Empire. The first was *cursus clabularis* or *platys dromos,* the slow post. This was the mechanism used to move items such as grain, weapons and military clothing. The latter was *cursus*

[147] *Ibid*, p. 89.

[148] *Ibid*.

[149] Mitchell, 1993, p. 127.

[150] Belke, 2008, p. 302; Avramea, 2002, p. 58; Kolb, 2001, p. 95; Tobin, 1999.

[151] Kolb, 2001, p. 102.

velox or *oxys dromos*, the fast service, which was used to mean the transportation of officers, shipments and alike[152].

The pre-existing Roman roads in Asia Minor continued to play a significant role in the transportation of people and the army, the exchange of goods, and communication network of urban centers in the Byzantine Empire as well. Based on the Roman classification system, the Byzantines described the highways as *basilike hodos* and *demosia hodos* [153] and classified the roads and routes according to function and physical aspect[154]. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* mentions the physical aspects of roads and routes in the tenth century, which provide information about the Byzantine roads. Accordingly, the roads were either narrow steep and dangerous, or else easy to travel; the account also emphasizes the importance of available water sources along the routes:

> When he was intending to go on an expedition, Constantine the Great was accustomed to take counsel with those who had experience in relevant matters, such as where and when the expedition should be undertaken. When he had ascertained from this advice the place and time for the expedition, he was also accustomed to enquire as to which others knew about these matters, particularly those with recent experience. And when he had found whether any others were knowledgeable, he summoned these also and asked each one individually how long the route was which ran from home territory to the objective; and whether the regions along the route were waterless or not. And then he enquired as to which road was narrow, precipitous and dangerous, and which broad and traversable; also whether there was any great river along the way which could be crossed. Next he enquired about the country: how many fortresses it possessed, which were secure and which insecure, which populous and which sparsely populated, what distance these fortresses

[152] Kolb, 2001, pp. 97, 102; Avramea, 2002, p. 59; Belke, 2008, p. 302.

[153] The *basilike hodos* refers to the roads for which the emperor was responsible from constructing and maintaining, and the *demosia hodos* was used to mean *via publica*. Belke, 2008, p. 303.

[154] French, 1981, pp. 19-22; French, 1993, pp. 446-448; Schneider, 1982, pp. 29-37; Belke, 2008, p. 304. Long distance roads were measured more than 6.50 m. wide and paved with small stones in the eastern provinces. Belke discusses that these highways were narrower in order to serve as non-vehicular roadways with smooth surface, during or after the sixth century A.D. However, it is known from the account of *Procopius* that vehicular roads were also constructed in this period, which led from Antiocheia to northern Syria, from Tarsus to the Cilician Gates, and the *Via Sebaste* through Döşeme gorge. *Procopius,* trans. 2002, IV-8; V-2; V-5; for a detailed discussion on these roads, see Belke, 2008, pp. 304-306.

> were from one another; and of what sort were the villages about them, large or small, and whether these regions were level or rough, grassy or arid[155].

Evidence with regard to the road network and communications of Roman and Byzantine Asia Minor comes indeed, from a range of sources, including milestones that date between the first century B.C. and sixth century A.D.[156], reports of the archaeological surveys conducted in Anatolia, from 1980s to present, and textual evidence such as itineraries and chronicles that were prepared between the early third and twelfth centuries.

3.2. Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological evidence on the presence and use of roads in Asia Minor comes from milestones. The first comprehensive study on milestones is published by David French who has systematically recorded the milestones found in the museums and on site[157]. The Roman milestones provided the distance between a named location and the discovered place of the milestone[158]. Accordingly, milestones are placed at intervals of 1485 meters; hence the known milestones indicate that there were more than ten thousand kilometers of paved roads in Asia Minor. They began to carry inscriptions written in Latin and Greek from the second century B.C. onwards[159]. The inscriptions are important as they mentioned the name of the emperor, the record of the construction

[155] *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, trans. 1990, p. 83.

[156] Belke, 2008, pp. 296, 305.

[157] French, 1986.

[158] The most recent study on milestones in Asia Minor is published by the British Institute at Ankara, see the catalogue of online monographs, French, 2012a; French, 2012b; French, 2013; French, 2014a; French, 2014b; French, 2014c; French, 2016.

[159] French points out that two or more texts began to be carved on milestones to manifest power or propaganda towards the end of the first century A.D., French, 1992, p. 7.

of the road if any, the name of an imperial official and a civic official if any, the name of the city, distance to that city, and also included dedication and imperial acclamation[160].

The epigraphic sources, i.e., carved inscriptions as well as the milestones themselves, however, are not found after the sixth century[161], so they served as an evidence only for a certain period. Other types of textual evidence, i.e., chronicles and hagiographic sources, on the other hand, give information on roads and routes, and comes from both west and east between the sixth and twelfth centuries and can be used as a source to discuss the use of late Roman and Byzantine routes in Asia Minor.

3.3. Ancient Textual Evidence

Byzantine Sources: The ancient textual evidence, which is informative on roads and routes, comes from saints' lives[162], itineraries[163], geographical documents[164], cartographic sources[165], codices[166], and the accounts of ancient historians[167].

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[160] *Ibid*., p. 8.

[161] Belke, 2008, p. 296.

[162] Although it is difficult to deduce very much from saints' lives regarding routes, Theodore the Sykeon provides invaluable information about the routes that he took.

[163] Itineraries or *itineraria* are "the terrestrial equivalent of *periploi* (ancient descriptive geography), sequential lists of settlements, way-marks, or posting-stations, often with distances between them", *OCD*, 2012, p. 752. The itineraries were regularly used by private and official travelers, and they were prepared by Greek cartographers. *EB*, 2007.

[164] Geographic documents, such as Hierocles' Synekdemos, were written to provide information about the official lists of cities in the Eastern Roman Empire in geographical order. *OCD,* 2012, p. 683.

[165] I present cartographic sources in the category of ancient written sources in light of the documentation of historical phenomena, Koeman, 1968, p. 75.

[166] Plural form of *codex*, which refers to "a collection of imperial laws from the time of Hadrian onwards". *OCD*, 2012.

[167] These were chronicles, which were the records of events written by historians, such as *Procopius* and *Theophanes the Confessor*. The chronicles were written to record the events occurred in their period. For example, *Procopius* accompanied the campaigns of Justinian while *Theophanes* used *Procopius*' account in order to write the history of events objectively.

In the life of *St. Theodore of Sykeon*, monk and bishop of Anastasiopolis in Galatia in the sixth century, the journey and miracles of the saint are narrated. *The Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon* mentions the routes he followed and the cities he stayed and performed a miracle, such as Juliopolis (near Nallıhan) and Amorium (Emirdağ)[168]:

> Another member of the clergy of the city of Heliopolis (=Juliopolis) named Solomon was tormented by an impure spirit. He came by side of the very Saint Theodore, accompanied by her wife who was likewise possessed. They received his benediction each day, and within a very short time, they were delivered from impure spirits[169].
>
> As soon as he arrived in the outskirts of the city of Amorion, all witnessed his helpful coming and the city came out of the walls to encounter him with a procession[170].

The Antonine Itinerary or *Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti*[171], which was written to show the distances between cities and towns of the Roman Empire as a list in the late third century is one of the primary ancient sources that date to the late third/early fourth centuries A.D. The Itinerary gives information about the Roman communication system in a geographical context[172], that is, it gives the geographic names of the road network, such as from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates[173]. Some known routes, such as the route from Dorylaion (Eskişehir) to Ancyra (Ankara) or from Nicomedeia (İzmit) to Ancyra, however are given in an inconsistent manner in the Antonine Itinerary, as Ramsay indicates[174].

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[168] *Theodore the Sykeon*, trans. 1970.

[169] *Ibid*. p. 85

[170] *Ibid.* p. 88.

[171] *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, trans. 1990.

[172] Tozer, 1897, p. 307; Belke, 2008, p. 296; Ramsay, 1962, p. 198.

[173] *EB*, 2007.

[174] Ramsay, 1962, p. 66, mentions that the distances between the cities in the Antonine Itinerary were not given accurately.

The Jerusalem Itinerary or *Itinerarium Burdigalense*[175] which was prepared in the fourth century for "the use of pilgrims on their way from Western Europe to Jerusalem" is another major source[176]. The Itinerary had served for travel of the pilgrims and describes a single route from Burdigale (Bordeaux) to Jerusalem, which crossed Asia Minor, and passed through Chalcedon (Kadıköy), Nicomedeia (İzmit), Ancyra (Ankara), Tarsus, and Antiocheia (Antakya)[177]This document is of importance also in terms of providing information about numerous minor stations; known as *mutations* or *mansions* in comparison to the Antonine Itinerary which does not include such information and also not accurate in some of the distances, as Ramsay mentions[178].

Geographical information about the late Roman Empire is found in *Synekdemos* of Hierocles[179], a sixth century A.D. source prepared to give an official list of the cities along with the titles of their governors[180] in the Eastern Roman Empire. *Synekdemos* provides names of 64 provinces in the empire[181]. In the ninth century, *Synekdemos* was reworked and combined with the ecclesiastical source of *Notitia Episcopatuum*[182], which focused on the Archiepiscopate of Constantinople; however, "the list is secular, including many places which were not bishoprics"[183].

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[175] *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, trans. 1990.

[176] Ramsay, 1962, p. 198; Tozer, 1897, p. 309.

[177] French, 2016, p. 15.

[178] Ramsay, 1962, p. 66.

[179] Unknown author of *Synekdemos*, *ODLA,* 2018, p. 719.

[180] *ODLA*, 2018, p. 719.

[181] Ramsay, 1962, p. 74 discussed that in many cases, the cities given in the *Synecdemos* are confirmed by archaeological investigations; on the other hand, the lists belonging to Lydia and Hellespontus, for example, are difficult to understand in terms of accuracy of the list of the cities in Synecdemus. See Ramsay, in *idem*, p. 95.

[182] *Hierocles Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum*, ed. 1866.

[183] *ODLA*, 2018, p. 719.

Cartographic sources, such as the Peutinger Table or *Tabula Peutingeriana*[184], are though to be copy of a 5th century A.D. tourist map[185] that was remade in 1265, and presents land routes with distances, and cities. While it describes roads in detail, the boundaries of countries and geographical features are highly abstract and do not refer to any modern geographical projection or perspective (Figures 5, Figure 6). Coming originally from the fourth century A.D., the *Tabula* represents the roads radiating from Constantinople. Ramsay points that the roads and routes in the west-east direction are depicted as zigzag lines, therefore interrupted[186]. Some distances, as in the other documents, are not given correctly, for instance, the distance of the route between Nicomedeia (İzmit) and Sangarios (Sakarya River)[187].

Evidence on the physical aspects of Roman roads, their construction, maintenance, and use can be found in laws, such as the Theodosian Code, *Codex Theodosianus*[188], an imperial legislation of the fifth century which gives substantial information about the construction and repair of roads. This source sheds light on the Roman roads and the Roman posts and refers to the later Byzantine roads and posts as well. The *Theodosian Code* is also a main source for the administrative mechanism of the Roman roads and posts since "the sixth century *Justinianic corpus*[189] and the late ninth-century *Basilika*[190] contain no new laws relating to roads and postal service"[191].

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[184] Miller, 1962.

[185] *ODB*, 1991, p. 2004.

[186] Ramsay, 1962, p. 96.

[187] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[188] *The Theodosian Code*, trans. 1969.

[189] *The Codex of Justinian*, trans. 2016.

[190] See MacKay, 1999, p. 67.

[191] *Ibid.*

The accounts of historians provide information about the routes used by thearmies as well. A well-known account of this sort from the later Roman era is that of Procopius, a Byzantine historian, who gives information about building activities in his book *De Aedificiis*[192] or "Buildings", which is dated to the sixth century. Procopius focuses on major public works such as the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, public buildings, and churches in Asia Minor. He mentions about the construction of roads near Nicaea (İznik), the Dracon River (Kocaçay), and Antiocheia (Antakya), by reporting that a wagon-road near the Dracon River and Antiocheia were built, which enabled communication through the mountains and precipitous hills. The construction and restoration activities of bridges over the Dracon, Siberis (Kirmir Çayı), Pyramus (Ceyhan), Sarus (Seyhan) and Cyndus (Berdan) Rivers were also completed, as understood from Procopius' accounts[193]. Among the other works mentioned by him is the restoration of the aqueducts in Nicaea and of public baths in Nicaea, Nicomedeia (İzmit), and in Cappadocia[194], and church constructions and restorations in Constantinople, Ephesus, Nicaea (İznik), near Galatia and Cappadocia[195].

Some Byzantine historical accounts give information especially about the significant military operations that had occurred along the main routes in Asia Minor. Of these, Theophanes the Confessor (c. 752-818 A.D.) mentions the Byzantine campaigns that were organized between the fourth and the ninth centuries. The routes followed by the Byzantine emperors and the Arab troops, and the stations used can be found in the account of Theophanes[196]. Although there is no exact description of the routes followed by the Arab armies, Theophanes' account mentions the probable routes the Arabs had

[192] *Procopius*, trans. 2002.

[193] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, pp. 325, 331, 337, 339, and p. 341.

[194] *Ibid.*

[195] *Ibid.*

[196] *Theophanes the Confessor*, trans. 1997.

used to reach the targeted cities. The account also talks about the regions of Armenia, Cappadocia and Galatia through which the Huns had passed and reached Euchaïta in 515 A.D.[197], and the Persian and Arab raids against the empire[198].

Nicephorus I, the Patriarch of Constantinople (c. 758-829 A.D.) who wrote about the raids of the Saracens into Anatolia, and the places in which the emperor encamped in the eighth century. The account of *Nicophorus* is an important one, since the narrative also gives some information about the campaigns of the Byzantines[199]. He states that Dorylaion (Eskişehir) was an encamping place, and that the emperor went from Crysopolis (Üsküdar) to Amorium (Emirdağ) in the course of an expedition, and returned to Constantinople after wintering at Amorium[200].

Historians of the later centuries, also contribute to our knowledge about the Byzantine routes. The account of *John Skylitzes* (c. 811-1057 A.D.) mentions the campaigns against the Arab forces in central Anatolia, and the attacks on cities, such as Amorium and Dorylaion, and therefore is a useful source on the use of routes for military purposes in the ninth century[201], which may also shed light on the routes that were followed by the armies and invaders during the previous two centuries.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (c. 905-959 A.D.) mentions about a route during when the emperor had attempted to organize a campaign in his account *Imperial Military Expeditions*[202]. The work gives information about the military camps found along the routes from Constantinople to Caesarea in Cappadocia, and between Dazimon

[197] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 245.

[198] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, pp. 377, 429, 434, and p. 490.

[199] *Nicephorus*, trans. 1990.

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] *John Skylitzes*, trans. 2010.

[202] *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, trans. 1990.

(near Tokat) and the *Armeniakon*[203] district, and hence the route in the northwest-southeast direction between the capital and Caesarea (Kayseri). *De Thematibus* of Porphyrogenitus is also an important source to understand the provincial and military divisions of the empire, i.e. the system of *theme* or *themata*[204], and therefore the routes passing through these administrative units[205] such as *Anatolikon* and *Opsikion*[206].

Leo the Deacon (c. 950-992 A.D.), a Byzantine historian, wrote about the expeditions against the Arabs in the south in the tenth century, in which he provided the firsthand account of the battles. The account helps to follow the route the emperor used when he had campaigned against Cilicia[207] as well as some information concerning the role of cities during the campaigns; he indicates for example, that Caesarea in Cappadocia was a military camp where the troops of Asia were gathered[208].

Byzantine sources give substantial information about the campaigns of the Byzantines against the Persian and Arab raids. Of these, the account of Theophanes the Confessor and the eye witness experience of Procopius are of particular importance since they mention about the cities established along the main routes and their status as military centers or encamping places in more detail.

Arab Sources: The Arab sources regarding the Byzantine geography and history also provide information on the use of late Roman and Byzantine routes in Asia Minor.

Among these are the eye witness accounts of the travels of Persian and Arab geographers, which provide information about the nature of Byzantine fortified sites and surrounding countryside, and hence the extent of the empire and its geography. Ibn

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[203] See Appendix C.

[204] See Appendix C.

[205] *Constantine Prophyrogenitus*, trans. 1952.

[206] See Appendix C.

[207] *Leo the Deacon*, trans. 2005.

[208] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Khurdādhbeh (c. 820-912 A.D.), the later ninth century geographer, describes in his book, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*[209]*,* the route from Tarsus to Constantinople via Amorium (Emirdağ). He also gives information about the presence of twelve patriarchs, six of which were based in Constantinople[210].

Al-Idrīsī (c. 1100-1165 A.D.) writes in more detail about the route from Tarsus to Constantinople, giving the place names in Arabic[211] in *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* or *Al-Kitāb ar-Rujārī*[212], which includes a descriptive geography. Some other routes such as those from Nicaea (İznik) to Attaleia (Antalya) are also mentioned in the account of al-Idrīsī.

Ibn Ḥawqal is a tenth-century geographer, who gives information about the cities of Asia Minor in his book *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*[213]. Ḥawqal mentions about the cities established on the direction of Constantinople in such detail as their proximity[214], and about the road from Attaleia (Antalya) to Constantinople, which took eighth days by land[215].

The leading Arab historians, who give information about the barbarian attacks in late Roman and middle Byzantine periods, and hence Asia Minor, between the fifth and ninth centuries, are Al-Ṭabarī (c. 839-923 A.D.), Ibn al-Athīr (c. 1160-1233 A.D.), and Abū al-Faraj or Bar Hebraeus (c. 1226-1286 A.D.). Ṭabarī provides information about the campaigns and expeditions of the Byzantine emperors and the Arab raids, starting

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[209] *EI*, 2018, p. 3.

[210] *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, trans. 2008. For detailed description of the regions, see *Khurdādhbeh*, *idem.*, pp. 90-93.

[211] *Al-Idrīsī*, trans. 1975.

[212] *The Book of Roger, EI*, 2018, p. 3.

[213] It was translated to French as *La configuration de la Terre* (*The Configuration of the Earth).*

[214] *Ibn Ḥawqal*, trans. 1964.

[215] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

from the thirteenth volume of *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*[216], which consists of 40 volumes. The account of Ṭabarī is especially important to trace the routes that Arabs had followed in Asia Minor[217]. The account provides useful information such as names of fortresses conquered and the directions of the raids[218]. The Arab raids are mentioned by Al-Athīr as well, who mentions the routes used by the Arab raiders in *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tā'rīkh*[219]. He also describes the directions of the raids[220], such as the one against Tyana (Kemerhisar) through al-Jazĭra (Mesopotamia and Osrhoene)[221]. Al-Faraj's account *The History of Al-Faraj* mentions briefly the expeditions of the Arabs[222], in comparison to the more detailed accounts of Ṭabarī and Al-Athīr. However, it is possible to learn from Faraj that the Arab raiders had organized an expedition to Constantinople via Amorium (Emirdağ)[223].

A mutual reading of the archaeological data and historical texts is essential to comprehend with some integrity the context related to the presence and use of the roads and routes in Asia Minor in the late Roman and early Byzantine eras. The textual evidence points to and/or provides clues about the routes used by the armies and invaders while the archaeological data, such as the milestones, and roadside stations show the existence of roads and the use of routes in Anatolia respectively.

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[216] *The History of the Prophets and Kings.*

[217] *Al-Ṭabarī*, trans. 1989.

[218] *Ibid.*

[219] *Complete History*, *İbn'ül-Esîr* (*Ibn al-Athīr*), trans. 1989.

[220] *Ibid.,* p. 477. *Ṭabarī* gives more detailed information about expeditions and raids than Athīr.

[221] Bonner, 2017.

[222] *Gregory Abû'l-Farac* (Bar Hebraeus), trans. 1999.

[223] *Ibid.,* p. 193.

3.4. Pre-Roman Routes in Asia Minor (c. 2nd millennium B.C. – 2nd century B.C.)

There was a network of roads and routes in Asia Minor before the Roman period. This network was expanded especially during the fourteenth century B.C.[224] The Hittites had developed a road network in northern Anatolia that led from Hattusas to the western, northern and southern coasts of Asia Minor. The network connected the capital of Hattusas (Hattuša/Boğazkale), founded in the Halys (Marassantiya/Kızılırmak) basin to its hinterland; to Amisus (Samsun) in the north, Sebasteia (Sivas) in the east and Smyrna (İzmir) in the west [225] (Figure 8). Located in central Anatolia, Hattusas was close to ancient trade routes leading to the western coast and to the south: A route went from Amisus to Cilicia and Syria, and the other from the upper Euphrates to the Aegean coast[226]. The route from Europe to Tabriz or central Asia via Bosphorus passed through the north of Anatolia, and Hattusas served as the center of a network of roads on this northern highway as well. As Winfield suggests, this line of communication was probably used also by the Urartians in the first millennium B.C.[227] The Hittites used the routes leading to the southwest mostly for military and defensive purposes, against the threat of the Arzawa people, who were settled in the southwest of Anatolia[228].

Among the cities that flourished significantly in the Hittite period and connected via a road network are Tapigga (Maşat–a military garrison), Tahazimuna (Dazimon–near Tokat), Šapinuwa (Ortaköy–a garrison city), Anziliya (Zela–the religious centre of the Hittites), Hanhana (a cult centre about 20 km south of Gangra/Çankırı), Arinna

[224] Garstang, 1943, p. 35.

[225] Delaporte, 1936, pp. 22-30.

[226] *Ibid.* p. 39.

[227] Winfield, 1977, p. 152.

[228] Garstang, 1943, pp. 37-39; Garstang and Gurney, 1959, p. 2.

(Alacahöyük), Karkemiš (Karkamish), Kumanni (Komana/Şar in Cappadocia), Hupišna (Cybistra near Ereğli/Konya), Tuwanuwa (Tyana/Kemerhisar), Tarša (Tarsus), Adaniya (Adana), Alalah (Tel-Atchana), Tišmurna (Smyrna?) and Apaša (Ephesus?)[229] (Figure 8). Of these settlements, Tyana, Smyrna and Ephesus continued to play an important role during the late Roman and early Byzantine periods.

Roads and routes, which led to Gordion (almost 95 km southwest of Ankara), the capital of the Phrygians, gained importance when the Phrygians established their rule in central Anatolia in the second half of the eight century B.C. Roads, which were used for military and trade purposes in Anatolia during the Phrygian period, were diverted to Gordion, when the roads leading to Hattusas lost importance. That is to say, roads leading to Gordion began to be used intensively when the city gained importance as the capital of the Phrygian Kingdom. The transportation of luxury goods such as glass and ivory, for example, had been done by using the overland route between the East and Gordion[230]. Some of the cities that had flourished or gained more prominence along this route in the same period were Tavium (Büyüknefes), Ancyra, Pessinus (Ballıhisar), Orkistus (Ortaköy), Acmonia (Ahatköy), Satala (Sadak) and Sardis (near Salihli), which received importance, following their connection to the communication system in western and central Anatolia[231] (Figure 9).

Between the eighth and sixth centuries Anatolia witnessed the rise of a number of kingdoms in inland Anatolia, and Greek colonization. The latter led to the establishment of new cities especially at the coastal areas of the Aegean and Mediterranean. The expansion of the Greek colonization in Asia Minor between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C.[232] gave way to an increase in both commercial activities and network of communication. The communication network between Greece and the

[229] Alp, 2005, pp. 49-51.

[230] Young, 1963, pp. 348-364.

[231] Ramsay, 1962, p. 29.

[232] Harl, 2011, p. 753.

coastal regions of Anatolia flourished especially during the late seventh century B.C. with many cities gaining prominence as trade centers. The economically influential Greek settlements that are known from this period are Smyrna (İzmir), Phokaia (Foça), Miletus (Milet) and Knidos (Datça). The maritime trade, in particular, was improved and operated between the cities of the Aegean coast and Athens, for which Ephesus and Byzantium served as the major market centers[233]. The Greeks who had settled in the southern coastal cities such as Aspendos (Serik/Antalya) and Side facilitated the trade between the Aegean world and the Levant, and also Egypt in this period[234]. The Lycian coast and the city of Phaselis (north of Tekirova), located on the coastal route from Corycus (Kızkalesi/Mersin) through Attaleia (Antalya), are also known to have interacted with Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (Figure 10)[235].

The Persian Empire, in the meantime, had completed a major road that would connect them to the Aegean in the fifth century B.C. Called as the Royal Road it started from the capital of the Empire, Susa (Shush) in Iran, and went up to Sardis (Salihli) (Figure 11). The Royal Road stretched in the east-west direction and was used for political/administrative and commercial purposes, as Herodotus mentions[236]:

> Now the true account of the road in question is the following: Royal stations exist along its whole length, and excellent caravanserais; and throughout, it traverses an inhabited tract, and is free from danger. In Lydia and Phrygia there are twenty stations within a distance of $94^{1/2}$ *parasangs*[237]. On leaving Phrygia the Halys has to be crossed; and here are gates through which you must need to pass ere you can traverse the stream. A strong force guards this post. When you have made the passage, and are come into Cappadocia, 28 stations and 104 *parasangs* bring you to the borders of Cilicia, where the

[233] Reed, 2003, p. 21.

[234] Harl, 2011, p. 754.

[235] Ibid., pp. 31, 69.

[236] *Herodotus*, trans. 2004, p. 272; Anderson, 1897, p. 43; Charlesworth, 1924, p. 78; Starr, 1963, pp. 163-64; Winfield, 1977, p. 152; Taeschner, 1926, p. 97; Magie, 1950, p. 39. For the discussion of the Royal Road, see Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 20; and also see French, 1998, pp. 15-43.

[237] 1 *parasang* equals to 3, 31 miles = 5,328 km, *Herodotus,* trans. 2008, p. 593.

> road passes through two sets of gates, at each of which there is a guard posted. Leaving these behind, you go on through Cilicia, where you find three stations in a distance of $15^{1/2}$ *parasangs*. The boundary between Cilicia and Armenia is the river Euphrates, which it is necessary to cross in boats. In Armenia the resting- places are 15 in number, and the distance is $56^{1/2}$ *parasangs*. There is one place where a guard is posted. Four large streams intersect this district, all of which have to be crossed by means of boats. The first of these is the Tigris; the second and the third have both of them the same name, though they are not only different rivers, but do not even run from the same place. For the one which I have called the first of the two has its source in Armenia, while the other flows afterwards out of the country of the Matienians. The fourth of the streams is called the Gyndes, and this is the river which Cyrus dispersed by digging for it three hundred and sixty channels. Leaving Armenia and entering the Matienian country, you have four stations; these passed you find yourself in Cissia, where eleven stations and $42^{1/2}$ *parasangs* bring you to another navigable stream, the Choaspes, on the banks of which the city of Susa is built. Thus the entire number of stations is raised to one hundred and eleven; and so many are in fact the resting-places that one finds between Sardis and Susa[238].

In the pre-Roman period, new roads were built and new routes came into prominence[239]. One of the major routes established in this context was the 'Great Trade Route'. This was a southern route, and its presence is traced in the fifth century B.C.[240] It ran from the Aegean coast to the Cilician Gates, and was used during the Persian period[241]. In the Hellenistic period between 300 B.C. and 100 B.C., the 'Great Trade Route' must have been developed further and used actively with new cities such as Laodicea (Denizli), Apameia (Dinar) and Nysa (Sultanhisar) founded along its direction by the Hellenistic Kings[242]. In the third century B.C., when more new cities such as Philadelphia (Alaşehir) and Philomelion (Akşehir) were established by the kings of Pergamon (Bergama), they were made part of this line of communication. A new route known to have established in this period was between Laodicea and Amisus (Samsun).

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[238] *Herodotus*, trans. 1996, pp. 408-409.

[239] Charlesworth, 1924, p. 79.

[240] Ramsay, 1962, p. 36.

[241] *Strabo*, trans. 2000; Tozer, 1897, p. 305; Charlesworth, 1924, p. 79.

[242] Ramsay, 1962, p. 43.

In the Hellenistic period, Smyrna (İzmir) and Ephesus became the most important commercial centers and port cities of Asia Minor and the Aegean. Some of the other cities which emerged in this period include Cyzicus (Kapıdağ Peninsula), Chalcedon (Kadıköy), and Byzantion (Istanbul) in the northwest, Heracleia (Ereğli/Zonguldak), Sinope (Sinop), Amisus (Samsun) and Trebizond (Trabzon) in the north of Asia Minor . Thus, the newly established routes mentioned above and leading from western Anatolia to the Black Sea coasts in the west-east and southwest-northeast axes connected Aegean and Pontus. The main northern route between Bithynia and Pontus was used by the kings of Pontus and later by the Romans for military and administrative purposes, as shown by Ramsay[243]. In the south Perge (Aksu/Antalya), Aspendos (Serik/Antalya), Side and Attaleia (Antalya) are known as the prosperous cities[244] located along the west-east coastal route in the Hellenistic period (Figure 12). The main routes in the Hellenistic period were thus the Great Trade Route that ran between the Aegean coast and the Cilician Gates and was under Seleucid power, and the route from Pergamon to Thyatira (Akhisar) that was under the rule of Pergamon[245].

Some of the cities[246] that were part of the main routes in Anatolia in the Greek period continued to flourish in the Roman period. There were a number of separately operated routes but not a unified communication system in Anatolia until the Roman period, as Harl mentions[247]. One of the likely reasons for this absence can be the

[243] Ramsay, 1962, pp. 29, 44.

[244] Harl, 2011, p. 771.

[245] Ramsay, 1962, pp. 43-44. There was one other route from Nicomedeia to Amaseia, which connected Bithynia and Pontus; however, it was no great importance in this period, Ramsay emphasizes. *Ibid.*

[246] Cities like Laodicea (Denizli), Apameia (Dinar), Antiocheia (Antakya), Nysa (Sultanhisar), Seleucia (Silifke), Philadelphia (Alaşehir), Attaleia (Antalya), Philomelion (Akşahir), Nicomedeia (İzmir), and Prousias (Bursa), founded in the Hellenistic period, must have continued to have local importance in the Roman period. Some of them such as Nicomedeia and Philadelphia became significant as are Byzantium or Ephesus, since they were established on the main highway in the northwest-southeast and west-east directions respectively during the late Roman and Byzantine periods.

[247] *Ibid*.

frequent change of power among the Anatolian Kingdoms and lack of a unified political medium.

3.5. Roman Routes (c. 2nd century B.C. – 3rd century A.D.)

Roads and routes gained a unified character to act as an integrated network in especially the Roman period. That is to say, the power of the Roman Empire brought a dense and administratively managed network of communication to Asia Minor. They maintained and further developed the routes on east and west which were in use in the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C.[248] and constructed new roads when Asia Minor was divided into provinces in the second century B.C. In this context, new roads were built and new routes were developed between the newly established provinces of Bithynia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Galatia, Cilicia, Cappadocia and Pontus[249]. These routes would be used until the occupation of Anatolia by the Seljuks in the twelfth century[250].

The Romans indeed built several new roads for administrative and military purposes (*viae militares*) in many parts of Anatolia[251] that are known from milestones. There are 1216 recorded milestones found within the then provincial boundaries of Asia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pontus and Bithynia, Lycia and Pamphylia, Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia. The majority of the milestones are found in Cappadocia (375 milestones); followed by Galatia (253 milestones), Asia (235 milestones), Pontus and Bithynia (160

[248] *Ibid*., p. 45.

[249] French, 1992, p. 6.

[250] Belke, 2008, p. 295; French, 1992, p. 6.

[251] These roads, which led to Melitene –the military station- and included the regions of eastern Cappadocia and lesser Armenia were planned for the defense of the frontier against the mountainous people of Isauria and Pisidia in the time of Augustus. It is known that roads connected colonies of Augustus to each other, such as Iconium to Lystra and Laranda, Side and Apamea to Selge and Cremna. Chevallier, 1976, p. 141. When security was provided, the roads lost their military value. Ramsay, 1962, p. 47. Later a military road was built between Satala and Melitene by Vespasian. Chevallier, 1976, p. 141.

milestones), Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia (102 milestones), and Lycia and Pamphylia (91 milestones) respectively[252] (Figure 13, Figure 14).

While all the roads were convenient for the use of people and animals, only some were suitable to allow wheeled traffic[253]. The construction of the first Roman roads in Anatolia was carried out by Manius Aquillus[254] between 129 B.C and 126 B.C.[255]

The new road building activities in Asia Minor in the Roman period known from the milestones can be listed as such[256]:

1) *Via Sebaste,* also known as the Imperial Road, was a paved Roman highway running from Perge (Aksu/Antalya) to Antiocheia (Yalvaç) and was built in the first century B.C. (Figure 15)[257].

2) The road from Tarsus to Anemurium (Anamur) and Perge (Aksu/Antalya), which was built in the first century B.C.[258]

3) The road from Ephesus to Cyzicus (Kapıdağ Peninsula), which was built in the first century B.C.[259]

4) The road between Cotiaeum (Kütahya) and Philomelium (Akşehir) in Phrygia that was constructed in the second half of the first century A.D.[260]

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[252] See French, 2012a; French, 2012b; French, 2013; French, 2014a, French, 2014b; French, 2014c.

[253] French, 1992, pp. 12-13.

[254] A *proconsul*, title of the governor, *ODLA,* p. 1238, of Asia, French, 1992, p. 6.

[255] French, 1992, p. 6. French, 2014a, p. 18, discusses that due to lack of documentation some questions remain unclear for all provinces for example whether first Roman paved roads were built by army or local workmen, and how much of the sources were used to finance the road works.

[256] I take the most recent and comprehensive study on milestones, recorded by David French, as reference.

[257] French, 1980, p. 707.

[258] French, 2014c, p. 71.

[259] French, 2014a, p. 321.

[260] *Ibid*., p. 321.

5) The road from Nicomedeia (İzmit) to Neocaesarea (Niksar) in Pontus and Bithynia, a paved road built in the second half of the first century A.D.[261]

6) A paved road built between Sinope (Sinop) and Neocaesarea (Niksar) and dated to the first century A.D.[262]

7) A road between Satala (Sadak) and Melitene (Malatya) in the first century A.D.[263]

With regard to the priorities of work related to road building or repairing the Romans had considered most likely connecting cities and settlements that posed significance in terms of military affairs[264]. The stations and garrisons established along the routes enabled to facilitate military accessibility among cities. Respectively, Pompey established stations in the valleys of Lycus (a tributary of the Maeander) and the Halys (Kızılırmak) River, and Augustus' colonies and garrisons were located in the regions of Lydia and Isauria. These garrisons and stations provided connection also between cities and the sea[265]. The movement of both people and materials from provinces to the frontiers and political centers were thus supported by the enriched network[266].

The routes, especially along the east and west directions, continued to develop "without essential alteration"[267] during the Roman imperial period. The 'Great Trade Route' gained even more importance, as it now connected Galatia and northern Phrygia with the Aegean Sea via Smyrna (İzmir) and Ephesus[268] (Figure 16). The Roman road

[261] French, 2013, p. 169.

[262] *Ibid*.

[263] See fn. 133.

[264] Ramsay, 1962, p. 45.

[265] Charlesworth, 1924, p. 81; Mitchell, 1993, p. 124.

[266] Haldon, 1999, p. 52.

[267] Ramsay, 1962, p. 45.

[268] *Ibid*.

system along East-West was thus depended on this route which started from Ephesus in the Aegean coast and went up to the Euphrates in the east, providing a well-connected communication system among provinces which was enriched and extended from the routes that came from north and south and joined at significant urban centers such as Laodicea (Denizli) and Caesarea (Kayseri).

The diagonal routes were those that cut Asia Minor along Northwest-Southeast direction and connected the capital cities (Nicomedia (izmit) and then Constantinople) of the eastern Roman Empire to the inland cities and southern coasts of Asia Minor. When Nicomedia became the capital of the empire in the period of Diocletian in the third century, the diagonal route leading to the capital for example, had gained importance. This route had two branches which led from Nicomedia and Claudiopolis (Bolu) to the Cilician Gates through Iconium (Konya) and Tyana (Kemerhisar) respectively[269]. This line of communication, especially the branch that crossed the Pilgrim's Road, was used as a major artery during the third century. Belke states that the Pilgrim's Road that connected Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Ancyra (Ankara) was the main road of Asia Minor in the third century A.D., which provided religious and economic communication between Constantinople and Syria[270].

The Roman emperors gave importance to repairing the pre-existing roads in Asia Minor as well[271]. Information about repairs and restorations also comes from the milestones. Accordingly, the roads refurbished in the east-west, north-south, and northwest-southeast directions as such:

1) In the province of Asia, the road from Ephesus to Cyzicus (Kapıdağ Peninsula) was restored during the first and third centuries A.D.[272]

[269] Winfield, 1977, p. 152.

[270] Belke, 2008, p. 298.

[271] Chevallier, 1976, p. 141.

[272] French, 2014a, p. 321.

2) The road from Ephesus to Dokimion (İscehisar) was repaired towards the end of the second century A.D.[273]

3) The roads from Pergamon (Bergama) to Sardis (Salihli), from Mylasa (near Muğla) to Telmessos (at Fethiye) and to Myndos (Gümüşlük) were renewed in the first and second centuries A.D.[274]

4) The restoration of the Pilgrim's Road from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates was done between the second and third centuries A.D.[275]

5) The roads between Caesarea (Kayseri) and Iconium (Konya), Satala (Sadak) and Ancyra (Ankara), Neocaesarea (Niksar) and Ancyra (Ankara), Neocaesarea (Niksar) and Nicomedeia (İzmit), Caesarea (Kayseri) and Ancyra (Ankara), and Caesarea (Kayseri) and Melitene (Malatya) in the province of Cappadocia were repaired between the first half of the third and the late third century A.D.[276]

6) The roads from Corycus (Kızkalesi/Mersin) to Claudiopolis (Bolu) and from Seleuceia (Silifke) to Claudiopolis (Bolu) were restored at the end of the first century A.D.[277]

7) The road along the *Via Sebaste* was restored towards the end of the second century A.D.[278]

8) The road from Xanthus (Kınık/Antalya) to Cibyra (Gölhisar/Burdur) was rebuilt and reestablished in the second century A.D.[279]

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[273] *Ibid*., p. 322.

[274] *Ibid*., p. 321-322.

[275] French, 2014c, p. 71; French, 2013, p. 169; French, 2012a, p. 193; French, 2012b, pp. 315-316.

[276] French, 2012b, pp. 312-315.

[277] French, 2014c, p. 71.

[278] *Ibid*., p. 71.

[279] French, 2014b, p. 121.

9) A road from Prusa ad Olympum (Bursa) to Cyzicus (Kapıdağ Peninsula) was strengthened in the first century A.D.[280]

10) The roads, which collapsed by time, between Nicomedia (İzmit) and Neocaesarea (Niksar) as well as the Pilgrim's Road, were re-established during the first and second centuries A.D.[281]

11) The road from Chalcedon (Kadıköy) to Trapezus (Trabzon) was also refurbished at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries A.D. (Figure 17)[282]

Of these roads, the example that demonstrates best the restoration and rebuilding of the Roman roads in Asia Minor is *Via Sebaste*, which was wider than six meters and thus suitable for wheeled traffic[283]. The section that passed through the Döşeme defile[284] in Pamphylia was restored and rebuilt in the Byzantine period, and known to have been used until the Ottoman period[285].

[280] French, 2013, pp. 169-170.

[281] *Ibid*.

[282] *Ibid*.

[283] Belke, 2017, p. 29.

[284] Döşeme defile or Döşeme gorge, known as Döşeme Boğazı, is located near Kovanlık district in Antalya. There is a 2.5-3 m wide paved road, which started from 3 km northeast of Kovanlık, and went to the district of Dağ through Döşeme Boğazı. www.antalya.ktb.gov.tr.

[285] Mitchell, 1993, pp. 70, 77; Belke, 2008, p. 300.

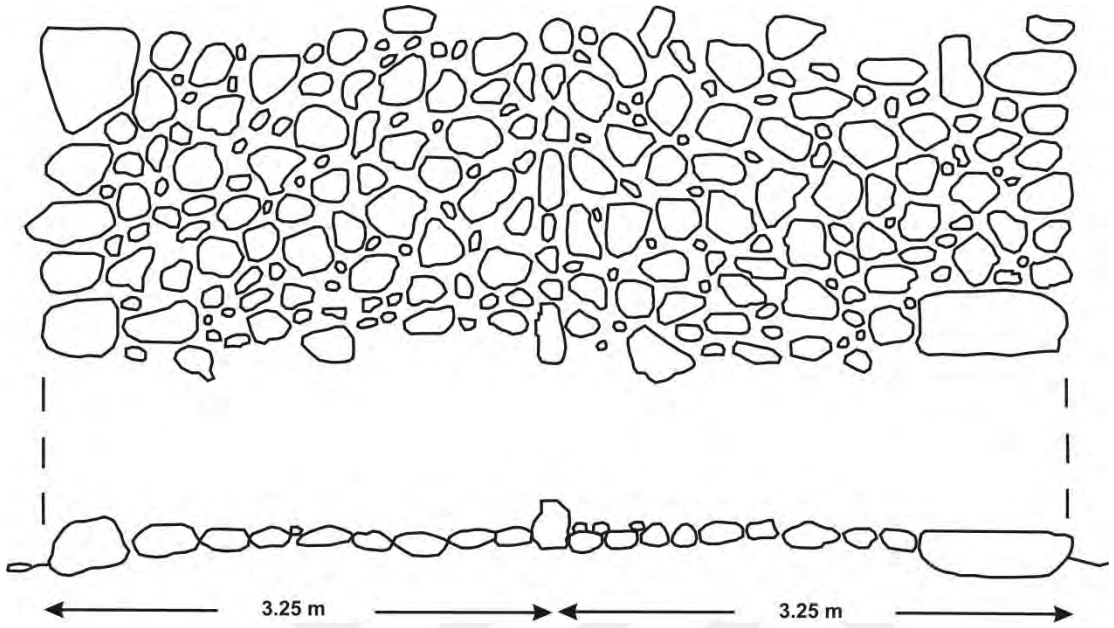


Figure 1a. Plan of Roman Road, adapted from French, 1992, p. 18. Drawn by the author, 2019.

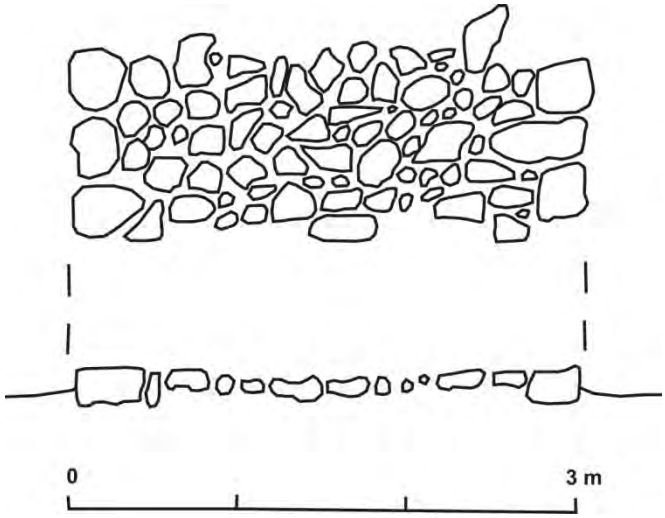


Figure 1b. Plan of Roman Road, adapted from French, 1992, p. 18. Drawn by the author, 2019.

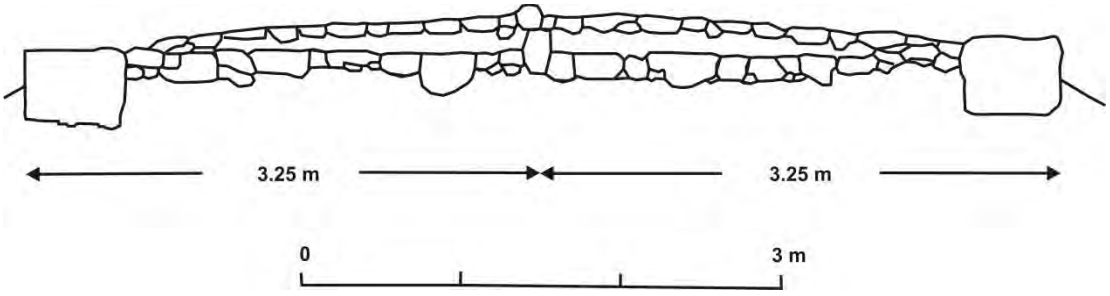


Figure 1c. Plan of Roman Road, adapted from French, 1992, p. 18. Drawn by the author, 2019.

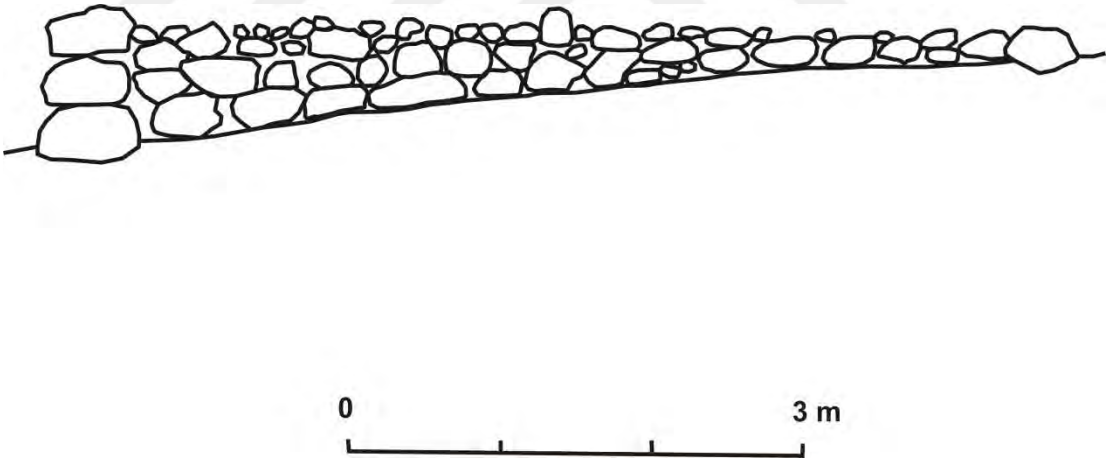


Figure 2a. Transversal profile of Roman Road, adapted from D. French, 1992, p. 19. Drawn by the author, 2019.

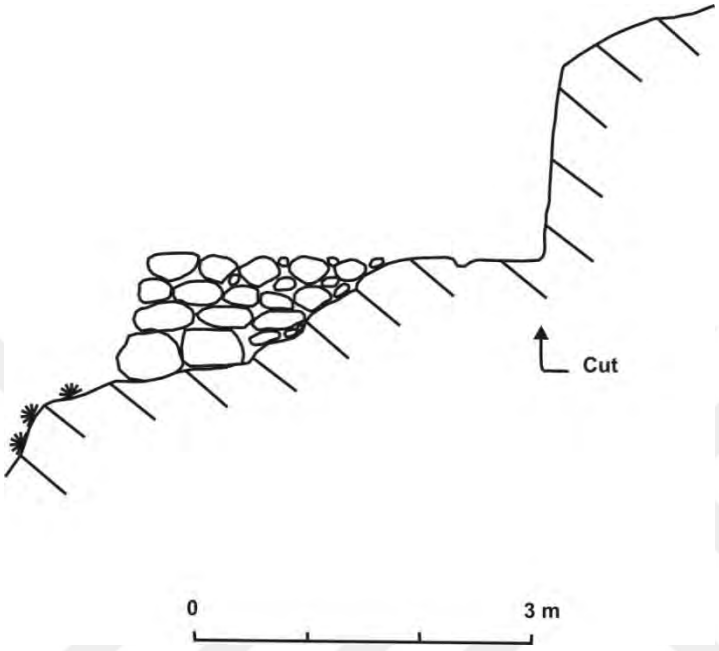


Figure 2b. Transversal profile of Roman Road, adapted from D. French, 1992, p. 19. Drawn by the author, 2019.

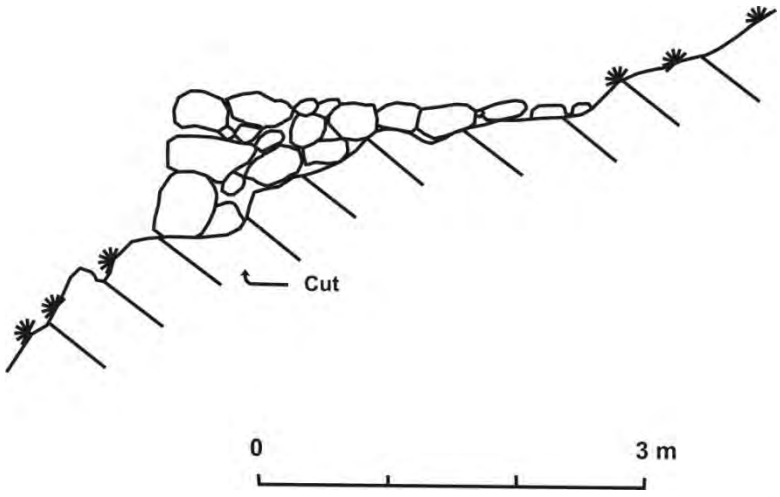


Figure 2c. Transversal profile of Roman Road, adapted from French, 1992, p. 19. Drawn by the author, 2019.



Figure 3a. Paved Roman Road (Tarsus-Mersin). Photo from Mersin Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism Archive.
https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr



Figure 3b. Unpaved Roman Road near Aspona, French, 1992.



Figure 4. Four wheeled wagon for land transport in the Roman Empire, a relief from Zollfeld, Carinthia, Austria. Photo by Erich Lessing.
https://www.baslibrary.org/archaeology-odyssey/5/6/19



Figure 5. *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Segment VIII, Miller, 1962.



Figure 6. *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Segment IX, Miller, 1962.

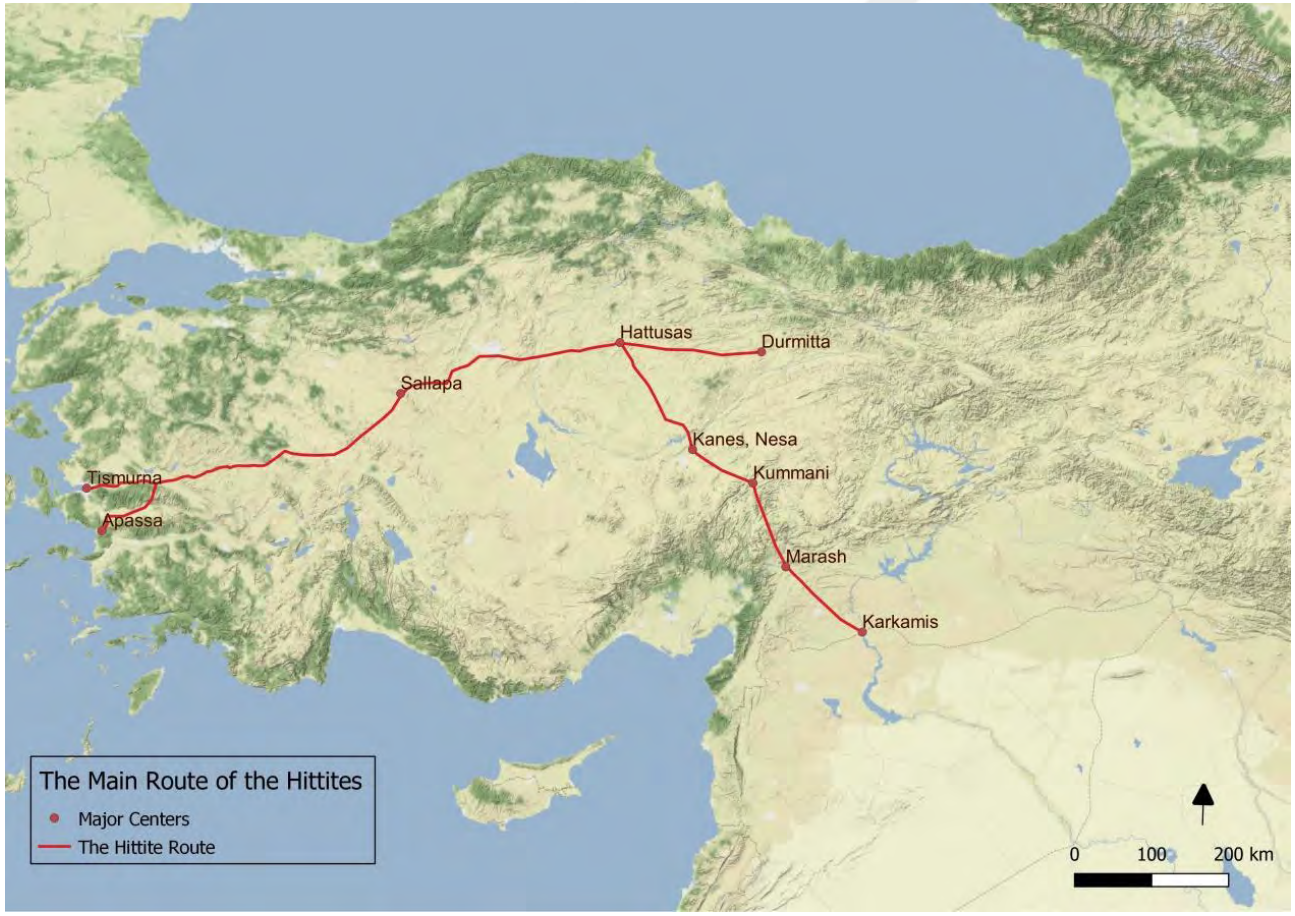


Figure 7. Flourishing Cities in the Hittite Period. Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: QGIS Software. Source: Alp, 2005.

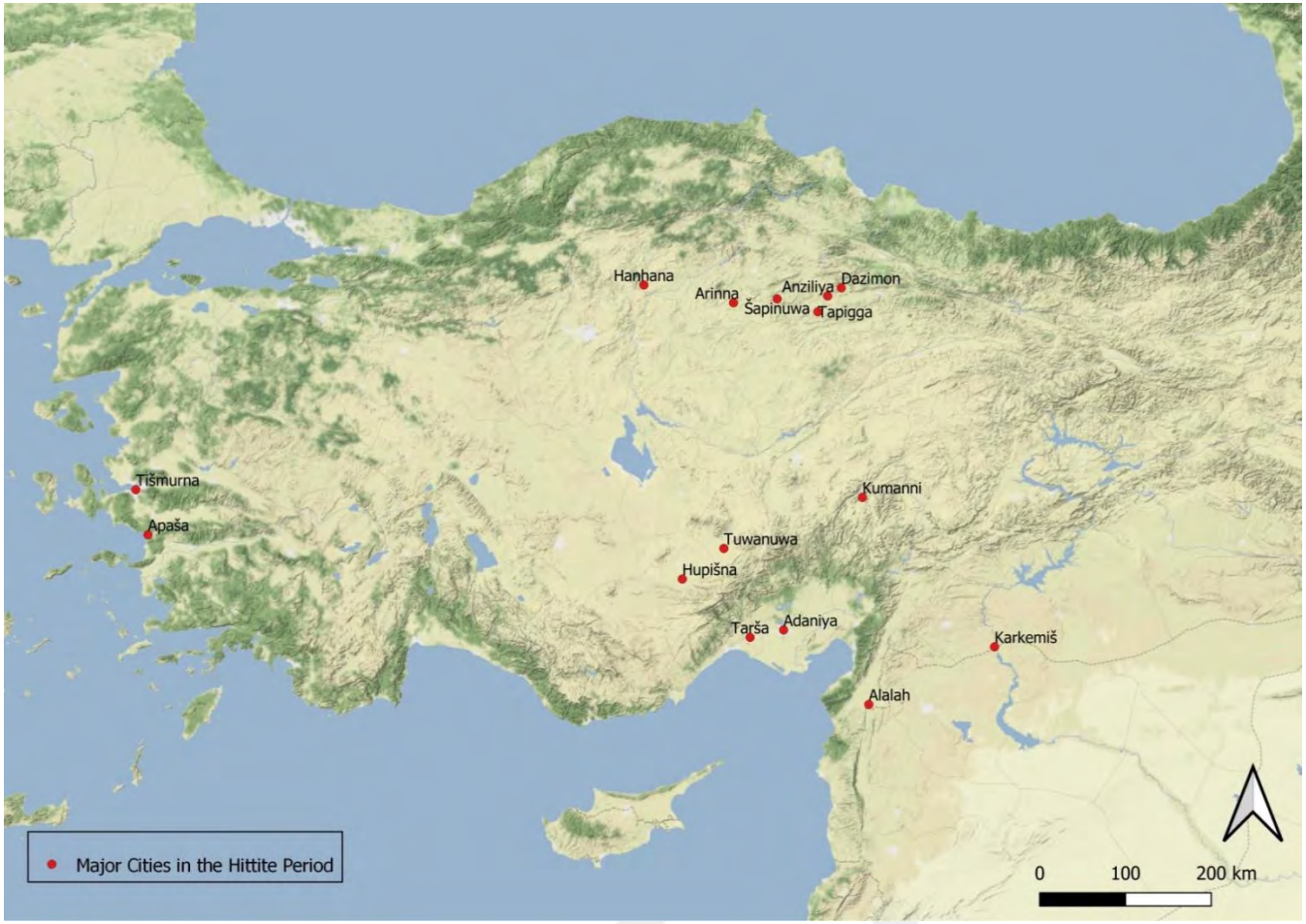


Figure 8. Emerging Cities in the Hittite Period. Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: QGIS Software. Source: Alp, 2005.



Figure 9. Emerging Cities in the Phrygian Period. Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: QGIS Software.



Figure 10. Existing Greek Settlements and Maritime Trade (ca. 9th-6th c. B.C.). Prepared by the author 2019. Base map: QGIS Software

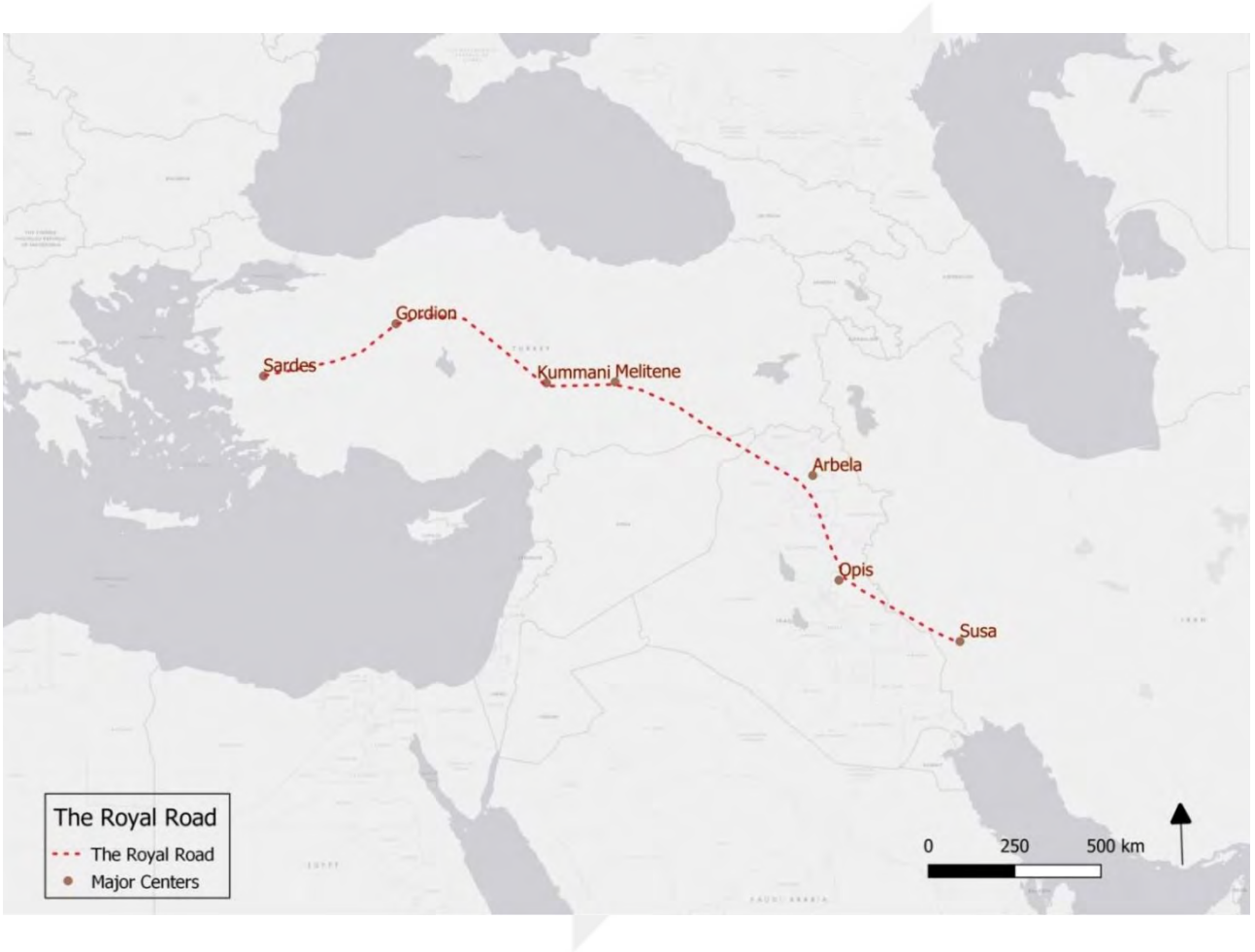


Figure 11. Royal Road. Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: QGIS Software.

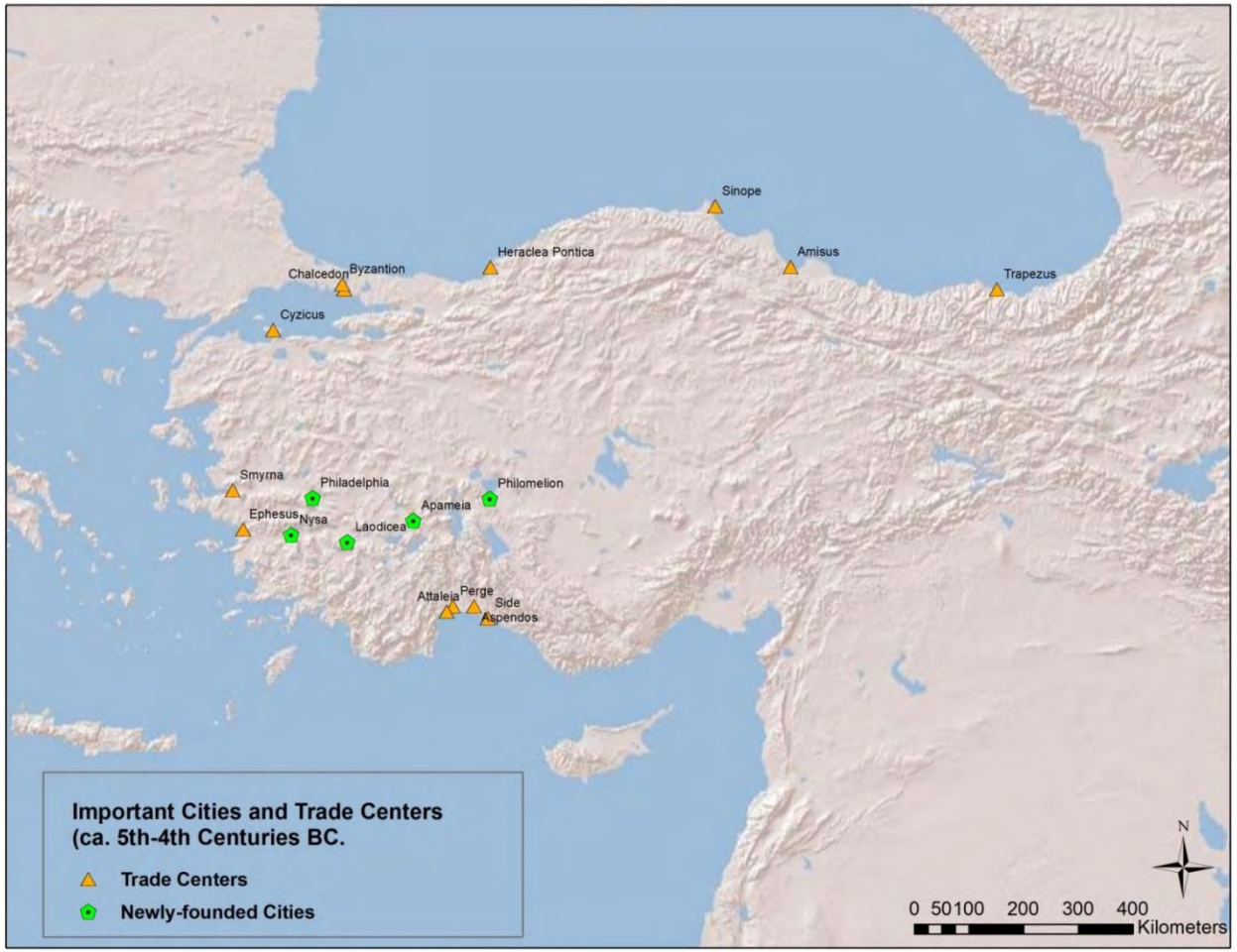


Figure 12. Important Cities and Trade Centres (ca. 5th-4th c. B.C.).Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

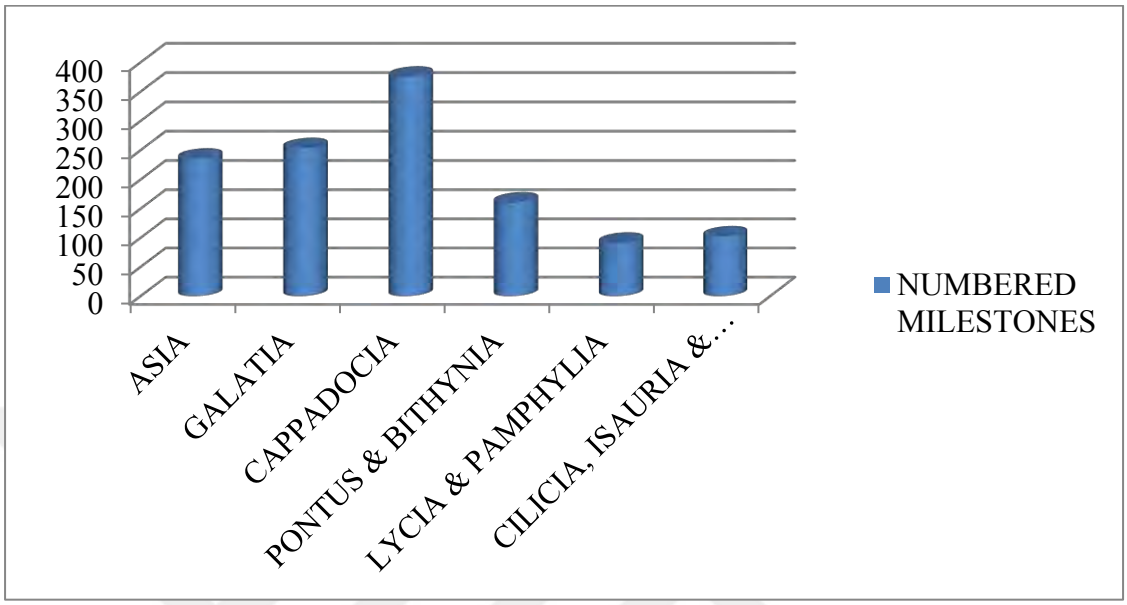


Figure 13. Numerical distribution of milestones, compiled from D. French Monograph Series, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c.

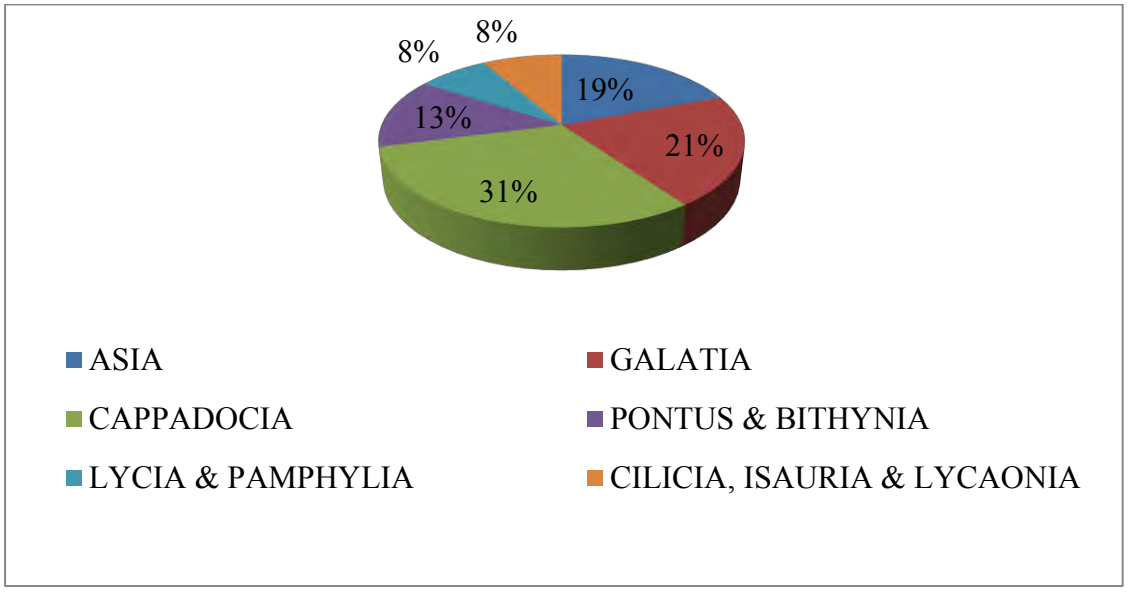


Figure 14. Distribution ratio of milestones, compiled from D. French Monograph Series, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c.

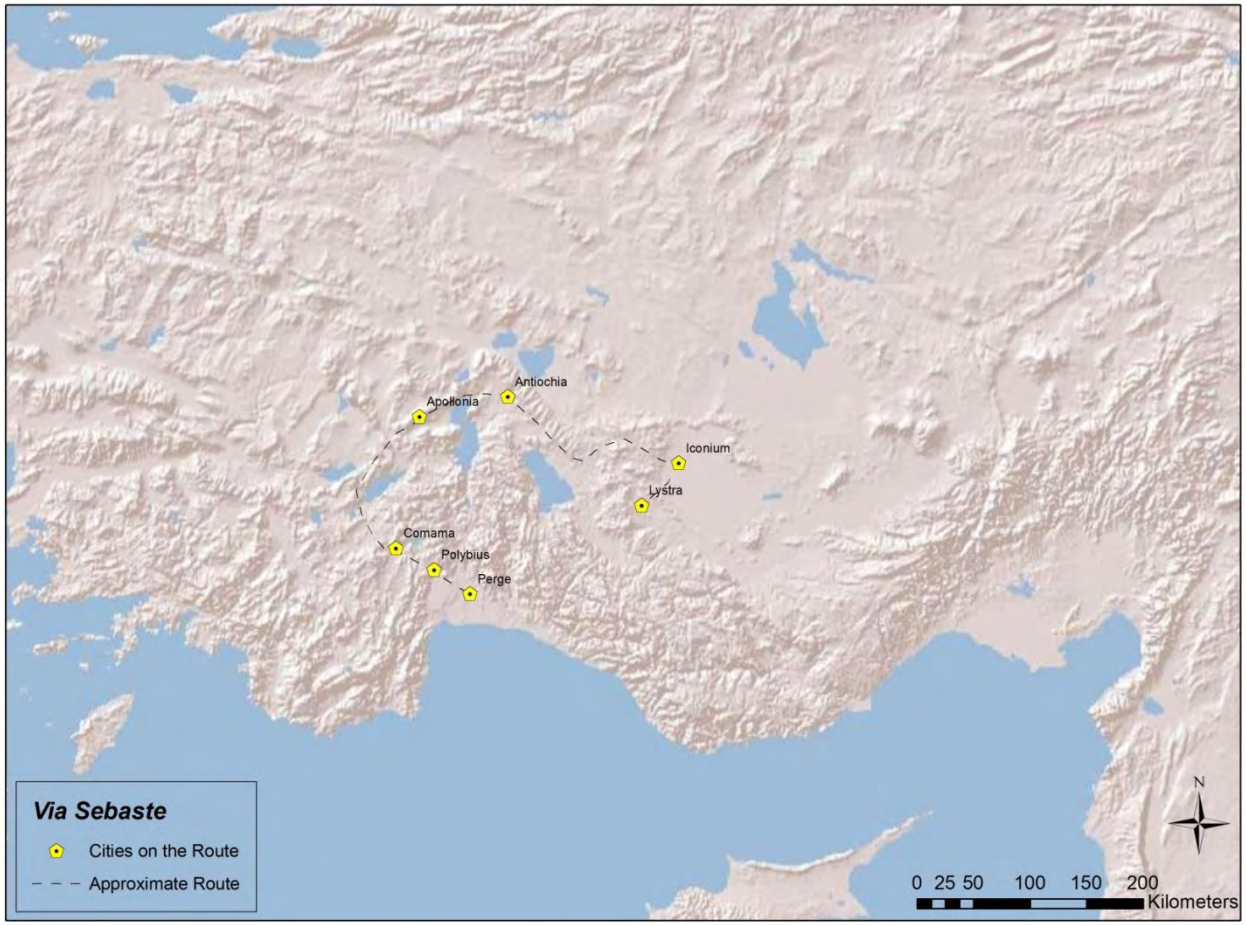


Figure 15. Map of *Via Sebaste*. Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

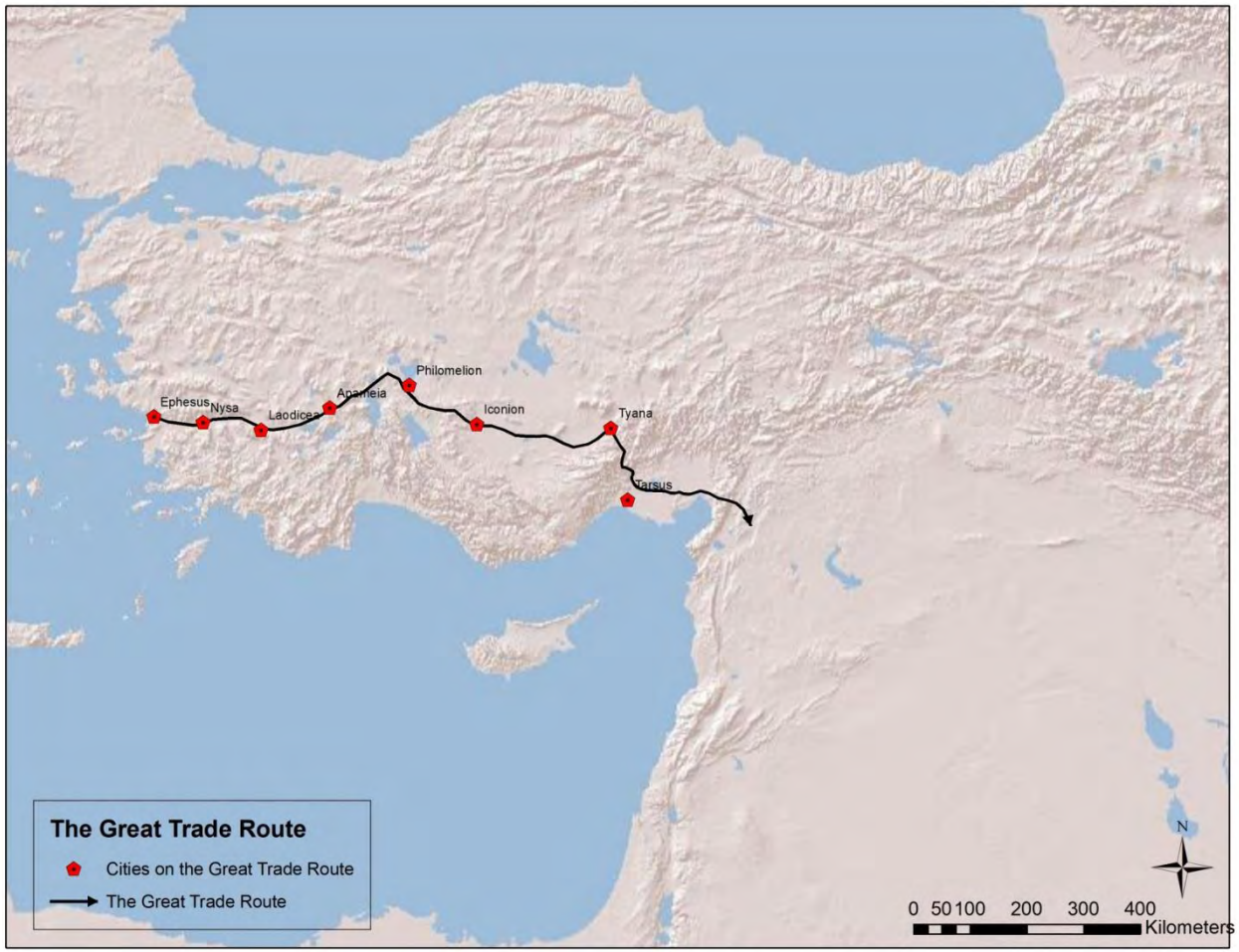


Figure 16. 'Great Trade Route'. Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: ArcGIS Software. Source: Ramsay, 1962 (first published in 1890).

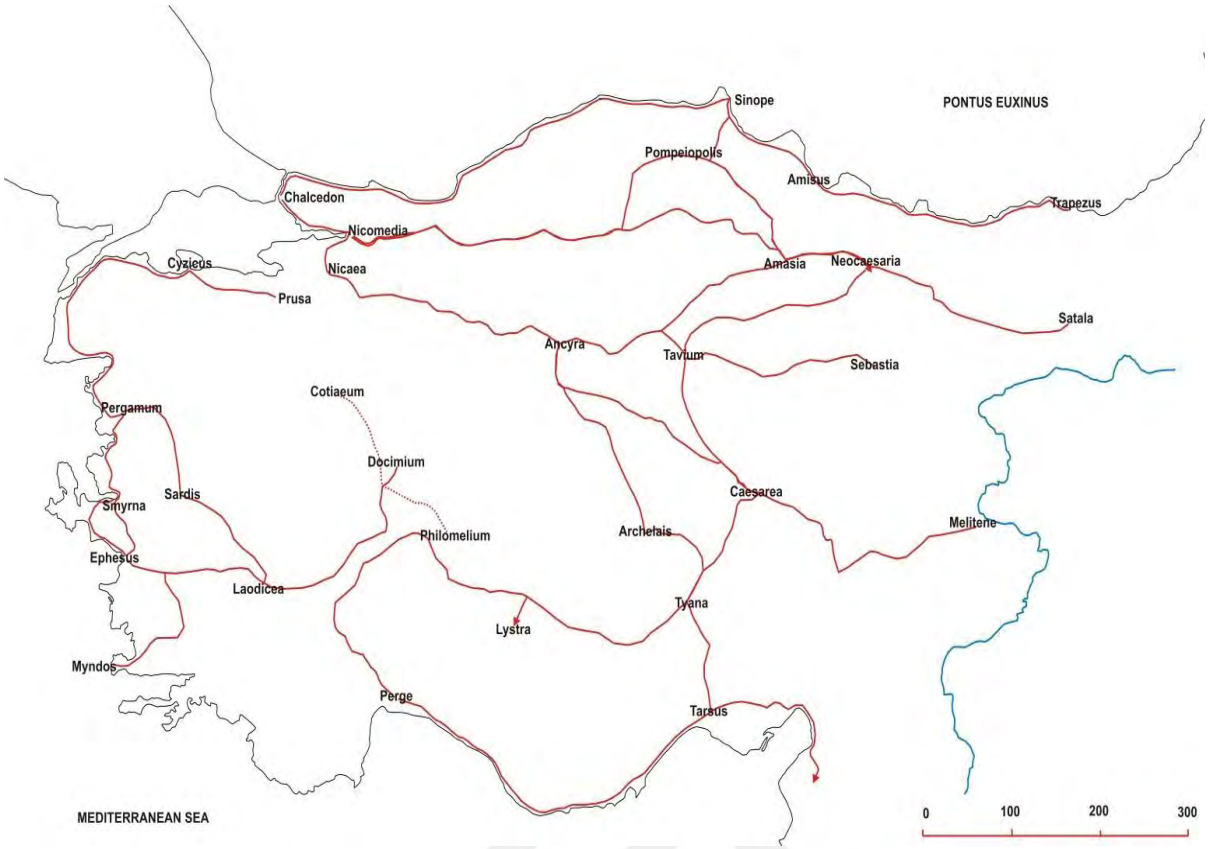


Figure 17: Constructed and refurbished Roman Roads (ca. 1st c. BC-3rd c. A.D.). Conspectus map prepared by the author, 2019. Sources: French, 2012a; French, 2012b, French, 2013; French, 2014a; French, 2014b; French, 2014c.

CHAPTER 4

ROUTES IN LATE ROMAN ANATOLIA ON THE EVE OF THE ARAB RAIDS (ca. 4TH- 6TH CENTURIES)

This chapter presents the political and economic developments in Late Roman Anatolia from the fourth until the seventh century, their impact on the use of the main communication routes, and in which ways the communication routes had played a role on the current dynamics of urbanization. The two phenomena that had paved the way towards major political and economic changes in Asia Minor in the pre-Late Roman period were:

1) The rise of the Eastern Roman Empire, achieving administrative and economic power as the Christian Roman Empire from the later fourth century onwards, foundation of Constantinople in 330 A.D., and its inauguration and becoming the new cpital of the Roman Empire when Rome lost its status as the capital in the fourth century A.D.[286]

2) Recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the late fourth century A.D.

Both developments had consequences on the scope and status of communications, routes, and urbanization in Late Roman Anatolia, starting from the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

City in the Roman Empire were the representative of the institution which had supported peace and civilisation[287]. When the Romans established their rule in the

[286] Frede, 2010, p. 53; Cameron, 1993, p. 7; Mitchell, 2015, p. 337; Haldon, 2005, p. 16; Elton, 2015.

[287] Owens, 1996, p. 121.

eastern Mediterranean, they developed the Roman city, which was of the characteristics of autonomous throughout the first three centuries A.D. Cities were categorized in provinces and supervised by the provincial governor[288]. As the administrative apparatus of the state, the duty of the city was repairing roads, billeting of soldiers and collecting taxes, organized by a council (*boule)*[289]. Cities, in this regard, were political, administrative, economic, social and cultural centres in the Roman Empire, which were reflected in the forum and the public places[290]. When Christianity and the system of autocracy played a vital role in the administration of the empire, cities became the residences of bishop and clergy, and landowners, and at the same time, officials related to financial and judicial duties[291], which were responsible for the emperor. The reflections of the change were seen in the construction of palaces, churches, and rich villas[292], thereby resulted in the development of the Late Roman city, which had a smaller extent 'classical form' of urbanization. Roman urbanization, in this regard, had occurred extensively in areas that were possible to gain tax from the manufacturing of goods, their transportation, and long-distance trade which led to communication network in especially the Eastern Mediterranean. The late Roman urbanization, though continued to develop in Roman urban contexts, had changed in terms of the 'transformation' of religious and administrative situation of the Eastern Roman Empire, which is discussed below.

The religious, political/administrative, and economic developments that followed had an impact, foremost, on the political context, and urban administration in Late Roman Anatolia, thereby changing the role and the operation of the cities. The

[288] Whittow, 1990, p. 5.

[289] *Ibid.*

[290] Owens, 1996, pp. 121-134; Grimal, trans. 1956, p. 11; Woolf, 1995, p. 9; Brown, 1971, p. 41.

[291] Whittow, 1990, p. 12; Haldon, 1990, pp. 94-99; Brown, 1971, p. 41.

[292] Brown, 1971, p. 41; Cameron, 1993, pp. 58-62.

archaeological research that focused on the state of cities in Asia Minor in the later Roman era, in this respect, provides substantial evidence about the urban scenery in Asia Minor from the fourth to the seventh century A.D.[293]

It is known that by the early fourth century, the empire favoured 'centralization' as its administration concept. Hammond states that the centralized administration took precedence over the "self-governing classical city-state"[294] in this century, and argues that the governmental mechanism of the classical city-state was now under the control of the central autocracy[295]. This approach, thus, is associated with the fact that the state was already transformed from 'republic' to 'autocracy'[296] in the late third and early fourth century A.D. Also underlined by Koder, "the cities in the late Roman period were deprived of their liberties and turned into responsible members of the provincial administration"[297]. The 'centralization' of the system of imperial administration affected the administration of the cities as well. First of all, all official appointments, such as provincial governorship and offices for commissions were tied to the signature of the emperor. Different from the Roman imperial period, Brown states that this type of administration system accounted for the idea of *l'état c'est moi*[298] in the late Roman period[299]. The apparatus of imperial ratification worked in appointment of, for example, the principal magistrates of cities such as in the designation of the *curator* (trustee for carrying out private or public duties)[300] and *defensor* (official charged with safeguarding

[293] See Appendix B.

[294] Hammond, 1974, p. 25.

[295] *Ibid*.

[296] Bury, 1923, p. 5.

[297] Koder, 1986, p. 157.

[298] The idea of 'the state, it is me!' which is a phrase attributed to Louis XIV of France and indicates an administrative monarchy, Rowen, 1963, p. 83.

[299] Brown, 1971, p. 42.

[300] *ODLA*, 2018, p. 438.

citizens against the injustices of the powerful)[301], who seem to have emerged as "figureheads subject to confirmation by the emperor"[302]. The *curiales*[303], on the other hand, continued to collect the taxes for the central administration, as they did in the Roman imperial period[304]. Despite being taxed to the Empire the cities continued to operate as trade centres and supporters of the Church in their local administration[305]. Mitchell states, in this regard, that the city in the late Roman period maintained its status in terms of tax collection, and continued to be governed by local landowners[306] in the fourth century A.D. According to Cameron and Mitchell, cities maintained their urban character, but their role had been modified from being urban settlements they developed into ecclesiastical and trade centres in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.[307]. That is also to say, that, there was growing prosperity and a more patriarchal system of administration in the cities[308].

The foundation of Constantinople as the new capital of the Roman Empire made it a centre of authority and attraction, thereby associating it with all the changing dynamics of the period (Figure 18). The new capital, established as a patriarchate and subordinated to Rome[309], now became the second Rome, as mentioned in Chronicon Paschale:

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[301] *Ibid*., p. 470.

[302] *ODLA*, 2018, p. 352.

[303] See Appendix C.

[304] As the local representatives of the imperial government, the *curiales* assisted the administration of estates and offices, the collection of duties, levies, and taxes in the Roman Empire, *ERE*, 2002, p. 160.

[305] Hammond, 1974, p. 20.

[306] Mitchell, 2015, p. 11.

[307] Cameron, 1993, pp. 58-60; Mitchell, 2015, p. 11.

[308] *Ibid.*

[309] Koder, 2017, p. 11.

> In the time of the aforementioned consuls, Constantine the celebrated emperor departed from Rome and, while staying at Nicomedeia metropolis of Bithynia, made visitations for a long time to Byzantium. He renewed the first walls of the city of Byzas, and after making considerable extensions also to the same wall he joined them to the ancient wall of the city and named it Constantinople[310].
>
> …Constantine the most pious, father of Constantine II Augustus and of Constantius and Constans Caesars, after building a very great, illustrious, and blessed city, and honouring it with a senate, named it Constantinople, on day five before Ides of May [11 May], on the second day of the week, in the third indiction, and he proclaimed that the city, formerly named Byzantium, be called second Rome[311].

Thus, by the fourth century, the cities which were already established, in especially the northern part of Roman Asia Minor, began to flourish as centres of religious and economic action and interaction[312]. The cities located in the northern regions of Asia Minor and thus happened to be close to Constantinople, such as Nicaea (İznik) and Ancyra (Ankara) had developed a more intense communication with the new capital[313]. Therefore, foremost the cities in question, and settlements located on the main routes in the northwest-southeast direction, had gained further significance as understood from building activities, such as construction of churches, in this period. The urban life, as Mitchell emphasizes, continued to evolve in the East in the fourth century in relation to Constantinople becoming the capital of the Roman Empire and hence the administrative and economic centre in the first half of the fourth century[314]. The cities established along the main routes leading to Constantinople in the northwest-southeast axis, thus, cutting Asia Minor diagonally, in the pre-fourth century had developed further, since the trade between Constantinople and Syria began to operate along these diagonally stretched routes between north and south.

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[310] *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. 2007, p. 15.

[311] *Ibid*., p. 17.

[312] Ramsay, 1962, p. 74.

[313] *Ibid*.

[314] Mitchell, 2015, p. 11.

The 'Great Trade Route' (or the 'Old Trade Route') which was known from the period of Seleucid Kingdom and that ran between Ephesus and the Euphrates in the west-east direction, and passed through the Cilician Gates lost its importance (Figure 19). The already existing routes that ran along the east-west direction continued to function but starting from the fourth century A.D. onwards, the diagonal routes that crossed central Anatolia became more operative in the transmission of goods and people, as they connected the capital with the Middle East (Figure 20).

4.1. Rise of Religion as an Apparatus of Power

Constantinople assumed the title of "holy city"[315] soon after it became the capital of the Roman Empire, which made the emperor gain a 'holy identity' and the main benefactor of religion. In what followed was a series of developments that made religion an apparatus of power on issues of urban and public administration. Having the support of the state the Christian bishops became representatives and implementers of a religion dominated order. They began to demonstrate increasing personal influence and authority in matters concerning the functioning of towns and cities in Asia Minor[316]. Brown suggests that from the first to the fifth century, Christianity, the Christian Church, and the Christian bishop played a dominating role in the administrative system and the public life of the empire[317], and that the Christian Church assumed a leading role in the political/administrative and economic structure, and social growth of the Empire[318]. In the city of Caesarea Mazaca (Kayseri) in Cappadocia, for example, both St. Basil of Caesarea (Figure 21) and St. Gregory of Nyssa (Figure 22) assumed leadership, and

[315] Brown, 1971, p. 143.

[316] *Ibid*., pp. 86-91; Cameron, 1993, pp. 15-16, p. 58; Caseau, 2001, pp. 39-52; Rapp, 2003, p. 155; Maxwell, 2012, pp. 849- 850.

[317] *Ibid*., p. 65.

[318] Cameron, 1993, p. 66.

became the religious authorities who were influential both in the local context and also the court of Constantinople[319].

Fourth century was a dominantly religious one, and witnessed, as Inglebert put "the transition from a political, classical, uncontested model of Roman hegemony to a religious, Christian, contested model of Roman supremacy"[320]. Inglebert argued that by doing so, the state would convert to Christianity and become a Christian Roman Empire, and this model would reconfirm and strengthen "the superiority and universality of the Roman values and ideologies in a new way"[321]. Thus, when Christianity became a state religion, the bishops started to play a significant role as the representatives of Christ[322] (Figure 23, Figure 24). By the late fourth century, "the bishop was an established figure within the elite of an increasingly Christian Roman Empire"[323]. Together with the rise of the power of the bishops, Gillet points out that a network of communication had developed between emperors, bishops and 'barbarian' kings, and between Roman aristocrats and monks[324]. According to Gillet, the Christianization of the empire and the rise of the importance of the bishop's social status might have introduced new routes of communication to serve for social and administrative purposes in the late Roman period, since an ecclesiastical network of communication came into existence in this century[325]. The communication between the aristocrats and bishops took the form of exchanging theological ideas[326]. A culture and network of "hospitality" was also developed among

[319] Harl, 2001, p. 308.

[320] Inglebert, 2012, pp. 22-23.

[321] *Ibid*., p. 23.

[322] Rapp, 2003, p. 155.

[323] Gwynn, 2014, p. 110.

[324] Gillet, 2012, p. 815.

[325] *Ibid*., p. 820.

[326] *Ibid*., p. 816.

the bishops, exemplified by Basil in Caesarea (Kayseri) and the bishop of Sasima (Gölcük), and bishops of Podandos (Pozantı) and Ancyra (Ankara)[327], who all attained a leadership power in central Asia Minor[328].

Regional councils can be given as examples for this type of network of communication which took place among the bishops. The regional councils that began to be held in Asia Minor in the late Roman period, from the fourth century onwards, also provided a medium to nourish a network of communication and interaction between the bishops and to discuss issues concerning the Church discipline[329]. In this context, meetings were held in Ancyra (Ankara) in 314 A.D., in Neocaesarea (Niksar) in Pontus between 314 A.D. and 325 A.D., in Gangra (Çankırı) between 325 A.D. and 381 A.D., in Antiocheia (Antakya) in 341 A.D., and Laodicea (Denizli) in Phrygia between 343 A.D. and 381 A.D.

Christianity continued to have a dominating role in the administration of the empire during the fifth century as well. In this century, the Church hierarchies were also set in the East. Cameron points out that in the meeting of the Ephesus council in 449 A.D., the power of the Church was asserted by giving it an official status[330]. The union of the state and the bishops between Rome and Constantinople was consolidated in the Chalcedon (Kadıköy) council in 451 A.D. The town councils stayed under the authority of bishops, as in the case of Ephesus[331]. The religious changes, such as those, had an impact on the social and political/administrative structure of the empire, as Brown and

[327] Mratschek, 2019.

[328] Mratschek, 2019, 9, 149, discusses that regardless of religious value; hospitality was "for Ambrose of Milan a globally recognized *publica species humanitatis"* - public appearance of humanity. Every bishop as well as those running monastic centres and patrons from high society practised 'hospitality'. For more detailed discussion see Mratschek, 2019, pp. 149-155.

[329] There were councils also held outside Asia Minor, which were in Tyre in 335 A.D., Serdica (Sofia) in 342 A.D., Carthage in 419 A.D., Gallagher, 2008, pp. 588-591.

[330] Cameron, 1993, p. 22.

[331] Caseau, 2001, p. 39.

Cameron mention[332]. Brown emphasized that the changes in the social and economic situation of the Empire were associated with the religious developments; Christianity and the Christian Church had become a significant part of the culture of the Late Roman Empire which Brown defines as "new beginnings rather than a 'decline' and 'fall'[333]. Cameron, likewise, states the increased importance of the Christian Church in the political, economic and social life of the Empire[334]. She argued that Christianity steadily became the main structure of the state in the sixth century, and led to the transition of Roman culture to a "medieval Christian society"[335].

4.2. Building Activity

Building activity is seen in three contexts between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D.:

1) Construction of new buildings,

2) Alteration and renovation of existing buildings to function in the same way,

3) Change and transformation of existing buildings into new functions.

The continuity and vitality of urban life on the one hand and the religious, economic, and political/administrative changes that introduced and necessitated new social mechanisms on the other, had consequences in the building activities within the Empire. In Asia Minor, these consequences became visible especially in the cities found in the western and southern parts of Anatolia since the regions in the hinterland of the Aegean and Mediterranean were more densely inhabited than the rest of Asia Minor due to intense regional, inter-regional and international social, cultural and commercial interactions with both the West and the East, and hence as regions of social and

[332] Brown, 1971, p. 143; Cameron, 1993, pp. 79-80.

[333] Brown, 1971, p. 8.

[334] Cameron, 1993, p. 66.

[335] *Ibid.,* p. 80.

economic opportunity and prosperity: That is also why both regions had witnessed intensive construction as well. Several new buildings were constructed, and the old ones continued to be used in the functioning cities; this is well illustrated in the cities which are surveyed and/or excavated[336]. Most of the construction activities reported in the surveyed and excavated cities and settlements concentrate in western Asia Minor (or the province of Asia). Archaeological evidence shows that approximately 38 % of the building activities were conducted in western Anatolia, 15 % in Lycia and Pamphylia, 10 % in Galatia, 10 % in Cilicia, 10 % in Cappadocia, 10 % in Bithynia, and 7 % in Pontus[337]. The statistical analysis demonstrates, to certain extent, 'continuity' in 'urban life' and also a degree of change in the status and role of the cities.

The building activities in Asia Minor can be classified as:

1) Maintenance and restoration of existing buildings that are in use, such as theatres and churches and structures like city walls.

2) Restoration of existing infrastructures, such as aqueducts and cisterns, or new such construction.

3) Spatial rearrangement and/or restoration of existing buildings or restoration to change their functions.

4) Construction of new buildings such as churches and basilicas.

5) Reconstruction or restoration of buildings, destroyed by earthquakes, or those that were abandoned, such as churches.

Among the major public buildings that became the new urban landmarks in late Roman cities were churches, church complexes and monasteries, as well as production facilities like quarters of shops and workshops. The residential landmarks of the same

[336] See Appendix B.

[337] It should be kept in mind that according to the archaeological data surveyed between 1980 and 2019, there are many sites in the vicinity of Ankara, Eskişehir, Bolu, Amasya, Isparta-Burdur, Çankırı-Çorum, Afyon, Aksaray, Upper Maeander, Konya-Beyşehir, Mersin-Göksu, Uşak, Çanakkale, and İzmir, that indicate late Roman and early/middle Byzantine occupation. However, the data is not specified and do not provide specific information about periods and/or architectural structures. Therefore, they are not included in the ratio distribution, mentioned above.

period included majestic imperial palaces and governor's residences (*praetoria*), episcopal residences and lavishly built aristocratic residences. Non-elite and modest housing, as expected constituted the majority of the urban fabric[338]. In the main urban centres, such as Aphrodisias (near Aydın), Sardis (Salihli) and Ephesos, the Roman residential quarters generally continued to be occupied, with alterations in the fifth and sixth centuries, as demonstrated by Özgenel[339]. Archaeological evidence shows that lavish residences were also built anew in the both centuries; modest and similar dwelling units were often built into some existing public structures and spaces, such as agora. The houses built inside the agora in Ephesus[340] (Figure 25), Assos (Behram)[341], Nysa (Sultanhisar)[342] and Sardis (Salihli)[343] (Figure 26), and the palace of eparchy, which was constructed on a Roman villa, can be given as examples of buildings/houses obtained by such architectural interventions. The palace of eparchy dated to the sixth-seventh in Tralleis (Aydın), on the other hand, is an example of the newly built large residential complexes of Late Antiquity[344] (Figure 27). Evidence on new imperial residences comes from Constantinople, where the lavish palaces of Antiochos and Lausos at Sultanahmet (Figure 28), and the palace of Myrelaion at Laleli (Figure 29) were built during the fifth and sixth centuries[345].

[338] Uytterhoeven, 2007, pp. 33-50; Jacobs, 2012, pp. 113-164. For discussion of housing in the late Roman period, also see Ellis, 2007, pp. 1-10.

[339] Özgenel, 2007, p. 240. Özgenel, *ibid.,* p. 262, argues that both the late Roman and Roman houses in Asia Minor continued "the Greek tradition of building around an open, paved, colonnaded and often central courtyard". For detailed discussion, see Özgenel, *ibid.*, pp. 240-262.

[340] Koder and Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 278-296.

[341] Böhlendorf-Arslan, 2017, p. 218.

[342] İdil and Kadıoğlu, 2005, pp. 387-400.

[343] Greenewalt, 1986, p. 385.

[344] Dinç and Dede, 2004, p. 346.

[345] Asgari, 1985, p. 77.

Infrastructure, Workshops and Structures of Production: The cities, depending on their economic conditions organized and did infrastructural investments during the late Roman period. Archaeological evidence indicates that new water supply structures, dated to the fifth-sixth and sixth-seventh centuries, were built in some cities, such as, Ephesus[346], Nysa (Sultanhisar)[347] (Figure 30), Laodicea (Denizli)[348] and Tripolis (near Yenice/Denizli)[349]. In Ephesus, the new water supply structure was built into a public building[350], and a room of the *prythaneion* (municipal building) was reconstructed as a reservoir[351].

Construction of new production units into existing structures is a known practice in late Roman period. For example, such new structures were built inside the existing buildings in Laodicea (Denizli)[352] and Hierapolis (Pamukkale)[353]. A kiln structure used for ceramic production was added into the latrine area in Hierapolis (Pamukkale)[354], which demonstrates both the change in and continuity of production in the city between the fifth and the seventh centuries. The limestone hearths found nearby the agora in Kyme (at Aliağa) also indicates the reuse of old and altered structures for production purposes in this period[355]. In Laodicea, furthermore, the temple, excavated and defined

[346] Koder and Ladstätter, 2010, p. 334.

[347] İdil and Kadıoğlu, 2007, p. 656.

[348] Şimşek, 2011, p. 459.

[349] Erdoğan and Çörtük, 2009, pp. 107-138.

[350] Koder and Ladstätter, 2010, p. 334.

[351] *Ibid.*

[352] Şimşek, 2011, pp. 457-465. Contrary to the Foss' argument, the archaeological evidence shows that some classical building structures, such as theatres and baths, continued to be used in Laodicea, Şimşek, 2011, p. 453 and Tralleis, Dinç, 1998, p. 22.

[353] Ferrero, 1994, p. 346.

[354] Ferrero, 1998, p. 239.

[355] La Marca, 2017, p. 246.

as Temple A, was transformed into a quarry and a lime kiln in the early seventh century[356], indicating the change in the function of the temple in this period.

Late Roman workshops, found in the upper agora at Sagalassos (Ağlasun)[357] (Figure 31) and dated to the sixth century, also demonstrate alteration of ancient structures and open areas that were altered to transform into other functions. An illustrative example is Kyme (at Aliağa), where the theatre area was transformed into handicraft workshops in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Likewise, in Ephesus a new structure was built adjacent to the southern stairs of the theatre to function as a workshop in the late Roman period[358]. In Hierapolis (Pamukkale), the north side of the agora was transformed into workshops for craftsmen and artisans[359]. Workshops were built adjacent to the northern wall of *gymnasium* in Tralleis (Aydın)[360], and were established on the Stadium Street in Laodicea (Denizli)[361], which explicitly demonstrate the change for use of earlier structures for different purposes as well.

Public Buildings: Some classical Roman public buildings, like theatres and baths continued to be functional in some cities until the middle of the seventh century, while in some other cities they had faced change and alteration. The theatre in Laodicea (Denizli)[362] and the bath in Tralleis (Aydın)[363], continued to serve for their purpose throughout the sixth century. The Roman bath at Metropolis, likewise, continued to be

[356] Şimşek, 2011, pp. 454-457.

[357] Waelkens and Hofman, 1995, p. 129; Waelkens *et. al*., 1999, p. 289.

[358] Koder and Ladstätter, 2011, p. 282.

[359] Ferrero, 1992, p. 132.

[360] Yaylalı, 2009, p. 22.

[361] Şimşek, 2011, p. 460.

[362] Şimşek, 2011, p. 453.

[363] Dinç, 1998, p. 222.

used until the sixth century[364], but *palaestra* changed its function[365]. In Sardis, a marble road, along which Byzantine shops were established, was rebuilt in the early fifth century, thereby indicated the social and economic use of the road leading to the west. Western and southern parts of bath-gymnasium complex were also renovated in this period while temple was out of use in the fourth-fifth centuries[366].

Asia Minor was hit by a number of earthquakes in the fourth, sixth, and early seventh centuries, which caused damaging in many cities; thereby becoming a major reason for renovation, re-building and new building in Late Roman Asia Minor (Figure 32). Theophanes describes the effect of an earthquake on Constantinople in 553 A.D. as such:

> On 15 August of this year, in the 2nd indiction, in the middle of the night as Sunday was dawning, there was a terrible earthquake. It damaged many homes, baths, churches, and part of the walls of Constantinople, particularly near the Golden Gate. Many died. Much of Nicomedeia also collapsed. The earth tremors lasted for 40 days[367].

Earthquakes influenced the routine of urban life in different ways. The use of some old structures, such as temples and altars either terminated or changed in function. Some others, such as agora and churches continued to be used after the restorations. The temple of Laodicea in Laodicea (Denizli) which was destroyed by a fifth-century earthquake, for example, was not used afterward; the new structures that were later added alongside the temple were used for a different purpose[368]. The *nymphaeum* in Laodicea[369] was destroyed probably also by the earthquake that had occurred in 494

[364] Aybek e*t al.*, 2011, p. 171.

[365] The function of *palaestra* in the sixth century is not known, Aybek, 2014, p 112.

[366] Rautman, 2011, pp. 9-12; Rautman, 1995, pp. 49-66.

[367] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 335.

[368] Şimşek, 2006, p. 426. Archaeological evidence shows that the temple was completely destroyed by the earthquake, and new spaces were constructed near the east and west walls of the *naos*, *Ibid.*

[369] Şimşek, 2005, pp. 305-320.

A.D. The pool of the *nymphaeum* fell out of use and was altered for a new function after the destructive earthquake[370]. In Tripolis (near Yenice/Denizli), the agora continued to be used after the same earthquake[371], probably because it was not much damaged. Excavations at Soli-Pompeiopolis (Mersin) showed that an earthquake in 535 A.D. had destroyed the small church and at the same time caused depression on the surface of the colonnaded street, hence giving a great damage to the city[372]. The settlement area which was affected by the earthquake of 565 A.D. in Arykanda (near Finike) was abandoned, and the residents, moved to the south of the town and built an entirely new zone in the city[373]. That an ironsmith's workshop was found on the colonnaded street in Aizanoi (Çavdarhisar), in the light of a hearth and plenty of tapping slag[374] indicates that the new use of this area occurred after an earthquake in the second half of the sixth century. A structure with a tessellated floor in Seleucia on Calycadnus (Silifke), dating to Roman period, was also damaged by the earthquake in the second half of the sixth century[375], which shows that Roman period mosaic and hence the building remained unchanged, although the floor was damaged seriously[376]. The earthquakes destroyed the Late Hellenistic fountain house as well as most of the aqueducts in Sagalassos (Ağlasun) in 518 A.D. and 528 A.D., after which, the building was closed off, and water began to be supplied through new terracotta pipes[377]. The earthquakes occurred in 464 A.D., and 543

[370] *Ibid*. Şimşek states that the findings of the tessellated mosaics in the pool may help to understand its different function in later periods. *Ibid.*

[371] Duman, 2018, p. 264.

[372] Yağcı and Kaya, 2012, p. 171; Yağcı and Yiğitpaşa, 2019, p. 270.

[373] Bayburtluoğlu, 1995, p. 253.

[374] Rheidt, 1994, p. 66.

[375] Topçu, 1985, p. 510.

[376] *Ibid.*

[377] Waelkens, 1994, p. 177.

A.D. radically destroyed the Temple of Hadrian in Cyzicus (Kapıdağ Peninsula). The temple was located on the north of the ancient city of Cyzicus (Kapıdağ Peninsula). The excavations revealed that the temple area was used as a cemetery in the Byzantine period[378]. The cistern excavated in Smyrna (İzmir) was probably not used after a mid-sixth century earthquake[379]. The excavations carried out in Hierapolis (Pamukkale) showed that the *gymnasium* was rebuilt after a probable earthquake in the late Roman period[380], which indicates continuity in use. Among the other cities known to have been affected by the hazards of the earthquakes in the later Roman from excavations are: Nicaea (İznik)[381], Lagina (near Yatağan)[382], Stratonikeia (near Yatağan)[383], Rhodiapolis (Kumluca/Antalya)[384] and Hadrianopolis[385] (Eskipazar) in the fourth century, Cibyra (Gölhisar/Burdur)[386] in the fifth century, Aphrodisias (near Aydın)[387], Antiocheia (Antakya)[388], Doliche (Dülük)[389], Olympos (near Antalya)[390], Patara (Ovagelemiş)[391],

[378] Yaylalı and Özkaya, 1993, p. 224.

[379] Ersoy, 2010, p. 419.

[380] D'andria, 2012, p. 485.

[381] Ekin-Meriç *et al.,* 2019, p. 297.

[382] Tırpan and Söğüt, 2010, p. 511.

[383] Söğüt, 2011, p. 201.

[384] Çevik *et al.,* 2010, p. 217.

[385] Laflı, 2009, p. 405.

[386] Özüdoğru, 2015, pp. 685-695.

[387] Smith, 2019, p. 243.

[388] Pamir, 2015, p. 283.

[389] Blömer *et al.*, 2019, p. 664.

[390] Olcay-Uçkan *et al.*, 2017, p. 193.

[391] Aktaş, 2017, p. 53.

Bathonea (Küçükçekmece)[392], Troy (Çanakkale)[393], Kastabala (near Osmaniye)[394] and Myra (Demre)[395] in the sixth century, and Sardis (Salihli)[396], Myndos (Gümüşlük)[397] and Elaiussa-Sebaste (Erdemli)[398] in the seventh century. In this regard, earthquakes may help to understand the changes, abandonment or continuity of building structures in late Roman Asia Minor.

Religious Buildings: An apparently widespread building activity of the Late Roman period was the construction of new buildings related to ecclesiastical infrastructure - a phenomenon that continued until the sixth century, as Rapp mentions[399]. Construction of new church buildings was encouraged and supported in the meeting of the Holy Synod in Nicaea, held in 323 A.D.[400] The new church building activities, which were encouraged and supported by the emperor in the fourth century, are mentioned in the account of *Eusebius* as such:

> Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus to Eusebius.
> Until the present time, well –beloved brother, while the impious policy and tyranny persecuted the servants of the Saviour God, I believe, and have through careful observation become convinced, that all the church buildings have either become dilapidated through neglect, or through fear of the prevailing iniquity have fallen short of their proper dignity. But now, with liberty restored and that dragon driven out of the public administration through the providence of the supreme God and by our service, I reckon that the divine power has been made clear to all, and that those who through fear

[392] Aydıngün, 2017, p. 377.

[393] Pernicka and Aslan, 2012, p. 513.

[394] Zeyrek, 2011, p. 105.

[395] Ötüken, 2011, p. 397.

[396] Cahill, 2019, p. 100.

[397] Şahin, 2015, p. 28.

[398] Equini-Schneider, 2015, p. 563.

[399] Rapp, 2003, p. 149.

[400] Cameron, 1993, p. 22.

> or want of faith have fallen into sins, and have come to recognize That which really Is, will come to the true and right ordering of life. Where therefore you yourself are in charge of churches, or know other bishops and presbyters or deacons to be locally in charge of them, remind them to attend to the church buildings, whether by restoring or enlarging the existing ones, or where necessary building new. You yourself and the others through you shall ask for the necessary supplies from the governors and the office of the Prefect, for these have been directed to cooperate wholeheartedly with what your holiness proposes. God preserve you, dear brother.
>
> These then were the terms of letters to those in charge of the churches in every province. The provincial governors were ordered to act accordingly, and the legislation was implemented with great speed[401].

The church building activities, increased in Asia Minor in especially the fifth and sixth centuries[402]. For instance, new churches were built in Olympos (near Antalya), Perge (Aksu/Antalya), Side, and Patara (Ovagelemiş) in the fifth-sixth century[403]. Their architecture which shows many similarities indicates that they were all contemporary. The Church of St. Plato and the Church of St. Novatians in Ancyra (Ankara), likewise, exemplify the main new projects in Galatia during the fifth century[404]. The Panagia Church at Caesarea in Cappadocia (Kayseri), dated to the fifth century[405], and the church built in Anazarbos (Anavarza), dated to the beginning of the sixth century[406] are the examples of new church structures built in Cappadocia and Cilicia[407] respectively. The

[401] *Eusebius*, trans. 1999, pp. 110-11.

[402] Cameron, 1993, p. 58; Caseau, 2001, p. 39.

[403] Parman, 2002, pp. 137-145.

[404] Foss, 1977b, p. 61.

[405] Ötüken, 1983, p. 93. Cooper and Decker, 2012, p. 30 state that the St. Mamas Church is also one of the late antique religious structures in Caesarea (Kayseri), which was a probable sixth-century church.

[406] Sayar *et al.,* 1994, p. 140.

[407] Elton, 2019, p. 96, states that the date of churches in Cilicia is learnt from inscriptions, such as the church of Akören (75 km northeast of Tarsus) built in 504 and the church around Flaviopolis (near Kadirli) in 596, since it is difficult to make a stratigraphic dating.

church built in the Gulf of Keramos[408] (Gökova Körfezi) demonstrates the establishment of a Christian community in the region in the fifth century[409].

Different than the West, the churches in Asia Minor were generally constructed on older structures[410]. The ancient theatre in Side, for example, became an outdoor Church in the fifth-sixth century[411], and the *caldarium* of the bath in Sinope (Sinop) was transformed into a Church in the fifth century[412] (Figure 33). Excavations in the Temple of Seleuceia on Calycadnus (Silifke), known to have been built in the second century A.D., showed that it was also transformed into a church[413]. In Sagalassos (Ağlasun), the upper part of the Doric temple was abandoned in the later sixth or early seventh century[414], and the temple was rebuilt as a basilica[415]. In Ephesus[416] and Nysa (Sultanhisar), it is also possible to see that churches replaced the temples. At Nysa (Sultanhisar), a Byzantine church was built on the ancient temple situated to the south of *gymnasium* (Figure 34), and the library building (Figure 35) was transformed into a Byzantine Church[417]. No other development than the transformation of temples to churches, clearly indicates that the urban societies gradually changed from being pagan to Christian in Asia Minor in the fourth and fifth centuries. This change is yet more clearly observable in the settlements of western and southern Anatolia than the interior

[408] Ruggieri, 1999, pp. 225-226.

[409] Parrish, 2018, p. 139.

[410] Foss, 1977b, p. 39.

[411] İzmirligil, 1983, pp. 291-297; İzmirligil and Günay 2001, p. 336.

[412] Köroğlu, 2016, pp. 463-477.

[413] Topçu, 1981, p. 49.

[414] Waelkens and Hofman, 1995, pp. 373-419.

[415] Waelkens, 1990, p. 126.

[416] Ladstätter, 2011, p. 15.

[417] İdil, 1993, pp. 117-118; İdil and Kadıoğlu, 2005, pp. 392-393; İdil and Kadıoğlu, 2007, pp. 647-671.

of Asia Minor since the excavations concentrate in these regions and provide evidence concerning architectural and urban changes.

The church construction activities continued in Asia Minor in the sixth century as understood from the account of Procopius:

> The emperor Justinian built many churches to the Mother of God in all parts of the Roman Empire, churches so magnificent and huge and erected with such a lavish outlay of money, that if one should see one of them by itself, he would suppose that the emperor had built this work only and had spent the whole time of his reign occupied with this alone[418].

Constantinople received many new churches, some of which were dedicated to the 'Mother of God' in the late Roman Empire, such as the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae in the district of Fatih and the Church of St. Mary of the Spring in the district of Zeytinburnu:

> One of the churches of the Mother of God he[419] built outside the fortifications in a palace called Blachernae. This church is on the sea, a most holy and very stately church, of unusual length and yet of a breadth well-proportioned to its length, both its upper and its lower parts being supported by nothing but sections of Parian stone which stand there to serve as columns…[420].
>
> He dedicated to the Virgin another shrine in the place called Pegê[421].
> Both these churches were erected outside the city-wall, the one where it starts beside the shore of the sea, the other close to the Golden Gate, as it is called, which chances to be near the end of the line of fortifications, in order that both of them may serve as invincible defences to the circuit-wall of the city [422].

[418] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 39.

[419] The emperor Justinian I.

[420] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 39.

[421] *Ibid*.

[422] *Ibid*.

Procopius provides a detailed account of many of the new churches sponsored by the emperor in the capital, such as the churches of St. Anna around the Church of St. Mary and St. Archangel Michael in Fatih:

> In that section of the city which is called which is called Deuteron he erected a most holy and revered church to St. Anna, whom some consider to have been mother of the Virgin and the grandmother of Christ[423].
>
> He found a shrine of the Archangel Michael in Byzantium which was small and very badly lighted, utterly unworthy to be dedicated to the Archangel; it was built in earlier times by a certain patrician senator, quite like a tiny bedroom of a dwelling-house, and that, too, of the house of one who is not very prosperous. So he tore this down, even to the lowest foundations, so that no trace of its earlier unseemliness might remain. And increasing its size to the proportions which it now displays, he transformed it into a marvellously beautiful building. For the church is in the form of a rectangle, and the length appears not much greater than the width. And at either end of the side which faces the east a thick wall was perfectly constructed of many fitted stones, but in the middle it is drawn back so as to form a recess. On either side of this rise columns of naturally variegated hues which support the church. The opposite wall, which faces approximately the west, is pierced by the doors which lead into the church[424].

Churches of St. Peter and Paul in Beyoğlu, St. Sergius and Bacchus (Figure 36) in the district of Fatih, and St. Sophia (Figure 37) at Sultan Ahmet were also built in the sixth century:

> His faith in the Apostles of Christ he displayed in the following manner. First he built a Church of Peter and Paul, which had not previously existed in Byzantium, alongside the imperial residence which in former times was called by the name of Hormisdas[425].
>
> There too he built another shrine to the famous Saints Sergius and Bacchus[426].

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[423] *Ibid*., pp. 41-43

[424] *Ibid*., p. 43.

[425] *Ibid*., p. 45.

[426] *Ibid*., for information about the restoration and construction of the churches in Constantinople, and its suburbs, see *Procopius*, trans. 2002, pp. 55-97.

> They had the hardihood to fire the Church of the Christians, which the people of Byzantium call 'Sophia'. So the whole church at that time lay a charred mass of ruins. But the emperor Justinian built not long afterwards a church so finely shaped, that if anyone had enquired of the Christians before the burning if it would be their wish that the church should be destroyed and one like this should take its place, shewing them some sort of model of the building we now see, it seems to me that they would have prayed that they might see their church destroyed forthwith, in order that the building might be converted into its present form[427].

With Christianity being promoted by the construction of churches in Asia Minor in the course of the late Roman period, mass rituals associated with religious activities like pilgrimage began to be practiced more intensely. Pilgrimage is indeed, an essential indicator of the use of the communications routes also for religious purposes. In the fourth and fifth centuries, new pilgrimage centres were evolved in the Mediterranean. Among them were Meryemlik, *Hagia Thekla* in Seleuceia (Silifke/Mersin), and Abu Mina (Burg al-Arab/Egypt)[428]. Located close to the coast, *Hagia Thekla* became a famous pilgrimage centre in the late Roman period[429].

The pilgrimage boomed in the sixth century[430], which shows a growing network of religious activities in Asia Minor. The pilgrimage centres of both Ephesus and Ayasuluk Hill received a growing influx of visitors in the Late Roman Period[431]. The

[427] *Ibid*., p. 11. The passage mentions the re-construction activity of the church in the sixth century, which was fired in the course of the Nika riot.

[428] *Ibid*., p. 217.

[429] Pilgrims constituted a great major of travellers. The hostels which were built in pilgrimage centres to accommodate of them, however, are not much known due to a lack of archaeological evidence. Bakirtzis, 2008, p. 380. The Pilgrim's Road from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates in the northwest-southeast direction continued to be used during the pilgrimage. At the same time, it seems that the routes in the west-east and north-south axis, leading to Ephesus, Euchaïta, Germia, and Sinope, must have continued to be used for the purpose of pilgrimage in this period.

[430] Cameron, 1993, p. 77.

[431] Ladstätter, 2011, p. 15. Excavations at Ephesus showed that the city had a probable seventh-century city wall and became the most important pilgrimage centre as understood from a basilica, dedicated to St. John, in the Ayasuluk Hill. *Ibid.*, p. 14-17.

local production of pilgrimage flasks, *eulogia*[432], as attested in Ephesus, shows that there was demand for the item, which was used in other pilgrimage centres as well and that Ephesus was a significant centre of production. The pilgrimage to the city sustained the economic development in Ephesus, and the small flasks that were sold to the pilgrims supported this vitality[433]. The export of these small bottles from Asia Minor to Palestine and Egypt meant that pilgrimage-related trade and commerce constituted significant financial revenue on a regional basis[434]. Pilgrims visited cities that were later turned into cult centres as well. The metropolis of Myra[435], for example, became a pilgrimage centre after the death of St. Nicholas[436]. Germia (Gümüşkonak)[437], which was first a polis, became a bishopric and a pilgrimage site with a church dedicated to St. Michael[438]. Seleuceia (Silifke), Euchaïta, Sinope (Sinop), and Chalcedon (Kadıköy)[439] became pilgrimage centres in the late Roman period as well.

In addition to that of pilgrimage, there was also an interregional network of other cultic activities in the fifth century, like the ritual of incubation[440], which began to be practiced systematically, firstly in the cult centre of Thekla in the fifth century[441]. This tradition was also practiced in the cults of Kosmas, Damianos, and Artemios in

[432] "A small mould-made flask with a disc-like body", probably used for Christian liturgy. Vroom, 2017, p. 190; Katsioti and Mastrochristos, 2018, p. 84.

[433] Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 15-17.

[434] See Anderson, 2004, pp. 79-93.

[435] *John Malalas*, trans. 1986, XIV.XXIV.

[436] Ötüken, 1994, p. 370.

[437] Vardar, 2008, p. 460.

[438] Niewöhner, 2011, p. 49. *St. Theodore the Sykeon* was known to have come to Germia, and performed his miracles there, St. Theodore the Sykeon, trans. 1970, p. 100.

[439] Haldon, 2005, p. 95.

[440] See Appendix C.

[441] The ritual was developed within the cult of the martyrs; see Ehrenheim, 2016, pp. 53-97.

Constantinople, Cyrus, and John at Menouthis (modern Abu Qir)[442], and of Demetrios in Thessaloniki[443]. The evidence about the practice of incubation ritual in such diverse locations indicates well the interaction of religious and cultural activities on a regional scale in the late Roman period.

The above mentioned examples of building activities in Asia Minor indicate that there was economic vitality in the Roman Empire from the fourth to the seventh century. All constructions activities, as well as, pilgrimage functions became possible with the use of main routes which ensured:

1) Movement and transport of man power and necessary equipment for new constructions, and alterations to the cities after earthquakes,

2) Arrival of pilgrims to the pilgrimage centres via comfortable travels,

3) Transfer of resources to the capital rapidly and easily after Constantinople became the capital and an intense construction period had began.

4) Providing a comfortable and safe journey for the emperor in his visits of cities.

In this regard, the existing cities sustained and kept alive their economy by means of providing transport, resources and accommodation facilities for pilgrims, and doing. The diagonal routes were actively used for pilgrimage, manpower and trade by pilgrims, travellers, craftsmen, artisans, and tradesmen.

Building and construction activities, which consisted of alteration and renovation of existing buildings to function in the same way, change and transformation of existing buildings into new functions, and completely new buildings, were related to the on-going religious and commercial activities in Late Roman Asia Minor. While according to Whittow the construction of buildings such as temples and theatres, stopped in Asia Minor as in the Near East, starting from the sixth century[444] and instead such civic

[442] About twenty kilometres east of Alexandria in Egypt.

[443] Ehrenheim, 2016, p. 55; Montserrat, 1998, p. 257.

[444] Whittow, 1990, p. 18.

building types as orphanages, hospitals, and religious complexes like monasteries were constructed, the period between the fourth and seventh centuries witnessed an urban context that was defined and maintained according to usual practices, that is, its dynamics were determined by the consequences of the political changes, religious developments and natural disasters[445]. As Whittow states[446], the late Roman cities were not built in 'classical style' but demonstrate the changing role of the main cities and settlements as religious centres between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D.

The diagonal route from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates in this regard would develop to become known as the Pilgrim's Road in this period. Transformed into the main arterial network, the Pilgrim's Road made Asia Minor a natural bridge for the pilgrims travelling between the West and the Holy Lands, especially after pilgrimage spread beyond the Holy Land. The first imperial pilgrim to Palestine is known to have been Helena, who did her travel in 327 A.D.[447]; the holy capital of Constantinople now became the "New Jerusalem"[448]. By using the Pilgrim's Road, the pilgrims could travel to the Holy Lands diagonally and thus more directly, and visit the pilgrimage centres such as Ephesus and Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü) located along the variants of the Pilgrim's Road in the west-east and east-west directions. The route constituted a backbone for an intertwining network of communication in Asia Minor.

4.3. Economic Vitality, Urbanization and Use of Main Routes

It is accepted that there was an economic expansion and commercial vitality in the later Roman Empire from the fourth into the sixth centuries, as discussed by Peter

[445] *Ibid*.

[446] Whittow, 1990, pp. 15-28.

[447] The mother of the emperor Constantine, Gwynn, 2014, p. 213.

[448] *Ibid*., p. 222.

Sarris[449], Averil Cameron[450], and Jairus Banaji[451]. In this period, the eastern Roman Empire, with Constantinople acting as the holy capital, developed independently from its western counterpart. During the fifth century, it is accepted that the cities kept their economic vitality[452] to a considerable extent and continued to function as political/administrative, religious, and market centres. The significance of the cities continued until the penetration of the Arabs into Asia Minor[453] from the seventh century onwards. Before the Arab penetration, the cities in Asia Minor had already been threatened temporarily by the Persians in the early seventh century A.D. Therefore, the sustainability, growth and expansion of the commercial network in Asia Minor were related to, the lack of a significant and devastating threat, unlike in the west, which was exposed to the attacks of Huns, Vandals, Visigoths, and Burgundians, in the first half of the fifth century[454] (Figure 38).

Despite the situation of warfare in the West, the main urban centres in Asia Minor maintained their economic vitality as understood from the archaeological evidence that shows the building of new workshops and shops in the fifth-sixth centuries. Examples of newly built shops and workshops are found in Ephesus[455], Sardis (Salihli)[456], Tralleis (Aydın)[457] (Figure 39), Laodicea (Denizli)[458] (Figure 40), and

[449] Sarris, 2004, pp. 55-73.

[450] Cameron, 1993, p. 201.

[451] Banaji, 2016, pp. 1-35.

[452] Hammond, 1974, p. 26.

[453] Greatrex, 2008, p. 236. The Arabs systematically raided Asia Minor, but the incursions were temporary as those of the Persians. However, the attacks weakened the empire, thereby reducing the prosperity and vitality of the cities.

[454] Cameron, 1993, p. 110.

[455] Koder and Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 278-296.

[456] Greenewalt 1986, p. 385

[457] Yaylalı, 2009, p. 22.

Hierapolis (Pamukkale)[459], all dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, and in Tripolis (near Yenice/Denizli)[460] dated to the sixth-seventh centuries. Excavations show that metal and glass objects were produced in the workshops of Sardis (Salihli), which included an imperial arms factory[461], ornament factories and weapons[462]. Sardis, therefore, was an important metalwork centre providing weapons to the State. In Tralleis (Aydın), fourteen shops were found; they were producing glasses and were local importance[463]. The kilns used for production of ceramics, tiles and bricks, and workshops for lime production in Hierapolis (Pamukkale)[464], were also of local importance. The workshops of potters and blacksmiths in Ephesus show that the city was still a prosperous one in late Roman period. In addition, the lamps used for religious purposes were locally produced and used in Ephesus[465]. Since Ephesus was a pilgrimage centre, visitors gave presents and donated to the church and hence contributed to the local economy and the network of communication, which operated via both land and sea, enabled an easy access to Ephesus, as also mentioned by Ladstätter[466].

It is also known that the marble workshops producing column heads were actively functioning in Constantinople in the fifth century[467] and that marble used in

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[458] Şimşek, 2011, p. 460.

[459] Ferrero, 1992, pp. 131-140; Şimşek, 2010, p. 110.

[460] Erdoğan and Çörtük, 2009, p. 107.

[461] Foss, 1976, p. 12.

[462] Haldon, 1992-1993, p. 143.

[463] Akkan *et al.,* 2017, p. 269.

[464] Ferrero, 1994, p. 347.

[465] Ladstätter, 2011, p. 14.

[466] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[467] Asgari, 1985, p. 78.

these workshops were generally imported from Proconnesos (Marmara Island)[468] (Figure 41, Figure 42) where there were marble workshops as well. It is known that marble and marble products (Marmara Island) were transported to Sicily from Proconnesos, as demonstrated by the shipwreck found near Marzamemi (in south-east Sicily) which contained a sixth century Corinthian column head that belonged to Proconnessian workshops[469]. Proconnesian capitals that date to the late fifth and early sixth centuries are found at Ören in the Gulf of Keramos and[470] at the Studios Monastery in Constantinople[471]. The exchange and/or transportation of various marble products and marble itself represent the regional and interregional commercial activities in the sixth century. The marble mined and worked in Asia Minor was transported to west via sea routes, for which the ports in cities such as Ephesus were used. It is known that marble was used extensively in new building such as churches and structures reconstructed after the earthquakes. It was used both as construction and a decoration material. Marble applied to floors and walls, and used in the columns in flamboyant houses and public edifices as well as interior furnishing, including liturgical furniture, such as baptismal fonts or tables and washbasins. In this respect, marble had a market in both public and private use. The major land and sea routes enabled the transportation of the luxury material between production centres and cities[472].

[468] Ward-Perkins, 1980.

[469] Asgari, 1992, p. 316.

[470] Ruggieri, 1999, p. 226.

[471] Aydın, 2011, p. 343; most recent studies showed that the Proconnesian marble was also transported to Amaseia where it was used to make *sarcophagi*, see Keskin, 2018, pp. 920-932.

[472] The use of marble in late Roman Asia Minor was common. Both Proconnesian and Dokimion marble had been imported to Syria and Rome since antiquity. In Asia Minor, in many cities like Perge (Aksu/Antalya) in the Pamphylian coast, Proconnesian was used for building purposes as it was a relatively cheaper material. However, it was not preferred in cities like Sagalassos because of the difficulty of transportation via land routes. Corremans *et al.,* 2012, p. 48. Some cities such as Ephesus and Aphrodisias, on the other hand, had produced marbles locally and they provided for local markets, and hence took part in the network of import. Ward-Perkins, 1980a, p. 328; Ward-Perkins 1980b, pp. 23-69.

Ceramic was another trade item that can be traced in both local and regional contexts. In fact, the transportation of ceramics was the main commercial operation within the network of communication and maritime trade during the Late Roman period. The trade network between the southern and western regions of Asia Minor and northern Africa and the Levant was actively used for ceramic trade. Hence, it can be suggested that not only the local trade but also the long-distance commercial activities were in operation on the eve of the Arab invasions. Import African Red Slip Ware[473] (Figure 43) of the fifth century, for example, was found in cities such as Limyra (at Turunçova)[474] and Sinope (Sinop)[475]. Local imitation of the African Red Slip Ware was found in Sagalassos (Ağlasun), a major production centre that worked for export[476]. The distribution of Phocean wares[477] (Figure 44) produced locally also increased in the fifth and sixth centuries and was exported to cities in both Asia Minor and Syria and Palestine as well[478]. Archaeological evidence shows that the Phocean wares were also used in Rough Cilicia[479], Limyra (at Turunçova)[480], and Olympos (near Antalya)[481] as well. The ceramic finds from Perge (Aksu/Antalya) in Lycia showed similarity to those

[473] African Red Slip Ware, "wheeled-made fine tableware, was produced at factories in North Africa, including Tunisia and eastern Algeria from the mid-first into the seventh century A.D". *ODLA,* 2018, p. 31.

[474] Borchardt, 1999, p. 145.

[475] Tezgör, 2000, p. 318.

[476] Waelkens, 1990, p. 126.

[477] Phocean Red Slip Ware, also known as Late Roman C, was tableware, identified with Phocea, which was the principal production site. *ODLA,* 2018, p. 1189. Most recent studies in the island of Boğsak showed that Phocean Red Slip Wares as well as Cypriot Red Slip Wares most probably continued to be circulated after the 7th century. Varinlioğlu, 2018, p. 473.

[478] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 495.

[479] Rauch, 1999, p. 340. For detailed information regarding the distribution and trade of the Phocean wares in Cilicia, see Jackson, 2009, pp. 137-145.

[480] Borchardt, 1999, p. 145.

[481] Olcay-Uçkan *et. al*., 2011, pp. 80-98.

of Anemurium (Anamur) in Cilicia, Gözlü Kule, Antiocheia (Antakya) on the Orontes, Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, which are all dated to a period between the fourth and seventh centuries[482]. Ceramic finds dated to the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century[483] from Myra (Demre) show similarity to Cypriot ware (Figure 45), and similar examples are seen in Apollonia (at Kaş), Paphos (in Cyprus), Alexandria, Nessana (modern Nitzana) and Shavei Zion in the Levant[484] as well. Fine ceramic ware was definitely among the most demanded consumer items in both Asia Minor and its neighbours, and it was commercially exchanged in-between. It can be suggested that ceramicware became a commercial commodity and conspicuous consumption item, like marble, to satisfy the demands of the elite who consumed it in the banquest they hosted in elaborate, apsed reception halls. A majority of them were transported first to the port cities like Ephesus and transferred to the inland cities via land routes as in the case of Sagalassos (Ağlasun)[485].

The *amphorae*, used to transport and store olive oil and wine, were imported from Palestine and North Syria to the Aegean and Constantinople during the middle of the sixth century[486]. The shipwrecks demonstrate the interregional and international circulation of *amphorae* which support the economic liveliness in Asia Minor from the fifth to the seventh centuries. The shipwreck found in the Arap Island in Marmaris, for example, showed that the *amphorae*, dated between the fifth and seventh centuries, were

[482] Abbasoğlu, 1996, p. 113.

[483] Ötüken, 1994, p. 370.

[484] Ötüken, 1995, p. 477.

[485] Sagalassos was also a production centre of the ceramics, known as Red Slip Ware, produced from the second to the seventh centuries A.D., and seen around the Mediterranean. The RSW is found near Kırşehir and Konya; Late Roman and Early Byzantine coarse ware ceramics are found near Konya and Kırşehir, in Pessinus and Tavium, and around Andrapa (Keles Hüyük) on the Pilgrim's Road. See Anderson, 2008, pp. 234-235. Sagalassos excavations revealed Late Roman fortification walls (4th-6th c.), a stronghold from the "middle Byzantine" period (8/9th -10th c.), and a 5th century Christian basilica, which show an urban continuity. Waelkens and Mitchell, 1988, p. 202; Waelkens, 1990, p. 126; Waelkens, 2005, p. 429.

[486] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 496.

transported from Rhodes and Cyprus[487]. The circulation of *amphorae* is traced in a wider geography, from the Aegean, Palestine, Egypt, Tunisia and Italy to the southwest of England[488]. The *amphorae* found in the shipwreck of Karaburun[489] proved the operation of long-distance trade with the Black Sea, Palestine, and Egypt between the fifth and seventh centuries. Another shipwreck discovered in Datça was carrying the *amphorae* of the same period to the southwest of Anatolia, northern Syria, and Cyprus[490]. The shipwrecks of Kızılburun[491], the Marmara Islands[492], and Ekinlik Island[493] further prove that the trade of *amphorae* continued actively between the fifth and seventh centuries. That Late Roman 4 (LR4) *amphorae* from Gaza and Late Roman 2 (LR2) *amphorae* (Figure 46) from Yassıada found in Limyra (at Turunçova) showed that the trade network between these regions and Lycia[494] was still in use. The *amphorae* produced in Israel and found at Kekova and Iskandil Burnu shipwrecks[495] indicate the presence of a maritime trade network between the south-western and southern coasts of Asia Minor and the Levant in the sixth century. Yet, it should be kept in mind that information concerning the distribution of *amphorae* to the lands of Asia Minor by way of the main routes is fragmentary since there is no specific study on the transportation of *amphorae*

[487] Yıldız, 1984, pp. 21-31.

[488] *Ibid*.

[489] Özdaş, 2009, p. 332.

[490] Pulak, 1988, pp. 1-11.

[491] Pulak, 1995, pp. 1-13.

[492] Günsenin, 1996, p. 358.

[493] Özdaş, 2008, p. 252.

[494] Borchardt, 1999, p. 144.

[495] Yıldız, 1984, p. 24.

to the inland cities and settlements of Anatolia[496]. On the other hand, the *amphorae* arriving at ports like Ephesus were transported to inland, apparently via paved roads which were suitable for wheeled traffic. The early Byzantine *amphorae* found in the recent surveys at Euchaïta (Avkat) indicated that they were the production and imitation of *amphorae* produced at Ephesus, thereby suggesting a probable interaction and transportation between Ephesus and Euchaïta[497].

The glass finds from Amorium (Emirdağ), dated to the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and which are similar to those found at Sardis (Salihli), Anemurium (Anamur), Myra (Demre), Gerasa (modern Jerash) and Carthage[498], demonstrate its trade during the late Roman/early Byzantine period. It is also known that glass was transported between some prominent late antique cities in western Asia Minor, such as Ephesus and Sardis (Salihli) (even the first half of the seventh century) and the southern coastal towns like Myra (Demre)[499] in the fifth and sixth centuries. The glass finds from Myra (Demre) consist of glass lamp-holders, and hence it is reasonable to assume that they were produced for oil-lamps, which were used in the religious ceremonies in the late Roman period. Such lamps were often found in the churches, as seen in Anemurium (Anamur)[500]. Excavations at Myra (Demre) confirm that similar examples of glass lamps found in Myra were also used in Sardis (Salihli), Alahan, and Ephesus[501].

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[496] Most recent archaeological excavations indicate that the circulation of *amphorae* was more intense in the coastal regions of Asia Minor. *Amphorae,* dated to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., are found in cities like Tlos (Korkut *et al.,* 2019), Parion (Keleş *et al.*, 2019), Olympos (Olcay-Uçkan *et al.,* 2019), Knidos (Doksanaltı *et al.,* 2019), Kelenderis (Zoroğlu *et al.,* 2019), Euromos (Kızıl and Doğan, 2019), Elauissa Sebaste (Polosa, 2019), Antiocheia ad Cragum (Hoff *et al.,* 2018), Myra (Çevik *et al.,* 2018), Side (Alanyalı *et al.,* 2018), Metropolis (Aybek *et al.,* 2018), and Labraunda (Henry and Çakmaklı, 2018).

[497] See Vroom, 2018, pp. 143-146.

[498] Lightfoot and Mergen, 2002, p. 249.

[499] Ötüken, 1992, pp. 296-297.

[500] O'hea, 2007, p. 243.

[501] Ötüken, 1992, p. 297.

As archaeological evidence shows, the economy and trade continued, if not expanded, in the fifth and sixth centuries. The transportation of consumer goods and materials, produced locally or imported, in Asia Minor, and building activities of all sorts present a panorama of urbanization which was fed by the Roman routes that connected main centres, such as the port city of Ephesus in the coastal cities of Asia Minor with those inland centres during the fifth and sixth centuries.

The main Roman period routes seem to have been used during the Late Roman period as well. In this respect, the use of diagonal communication routes in the northwest-southeast direction that passed via Nicomedeia (İzmit), Nicaea (İznik), Ancyra (Ankara) and the Cilician Gates (Gülek Pass)[502] remained unchanged in the later periods. On the other hand, they were expanded by new routes that allowed further connection to the economically leading cities. The port cities in the coastal regions, such as Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir), became major centres of economic exchange in this regard. It can well be suggested that they became the commercial capitals of the provinces in which they were founded and thus necessitated establishing new routes. The communication network of economic activities took place on the roads that often also formed the routes. A coastal route in the west-east axis was developed between Corycus (Kızkalesi/Mersin) and Korasion (Susanoğlu/Mersin) in Cilicia in the sixth century. This route was a section of the Roman road running from Side to Seleuceia Pierias (Samandağı), which was already used by the traders[503]. The *Via Sebaste*, which was used for military purposes since the Roman imperial period and passed through the regions of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Pisidia, gained more importance as an interregional transportation and communication link in the late Roman period[504].

While the evidence pointing the status of economic operations in the inland cities of Anatolia is fragmentary finds of trade items such as marble, ceramic ware, *amphorae,*

[502] Belke, 2017, p. 30.

[503] Hild and Hellenkemper, 1990, pp. 128-130.

[504] Hild and Hellenkemper, 2004, p. 244.

and glasses, from the main coastal cities, such as Ephesus, Myra and Side, as well as workshops indicate an economic liveliness in late Roman Asia Minor. The inland cities, were no less lively, as understood from the lavish residences, public buildings and churches that were built or furnished with marble and other costly stones, and/or consumed the daily items that were part of the private and public contexts in the flourishing coastal cities. Marble is known to have been used, for example, in the large residences found in Aphrodisias (near Aydın) and Sagalassos (Ağlasun). While Aphrodisias (near Aydın) supplied marble from the nearby quarries, Sagalassos (Ağlasun) provided marble from Dokimion (İscehisar) via land route in the late fourth and fifth centuries A.D.[505]

4.4. Impact of Administrative/Political Changes on the Use of Main Routes

The state policy focused mainly on expanding its territory in Syria, Italy, Egypt, the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and the Balkans during the sixth century[506]. Attacks in the west, such as Goths and Slavs, and in the east by the Persians, did not pose a serious threat to late Roman Asia Minor, thereby enabling continuity in the use of main routes. Therefore the roads needed to be maintained and even reinforced with new passes; in this context, new bridges were constructed, such as the one on the Sangarios (Sakarya River)[507], an impetuous and deep stream in Bithynia. This bridge supported the main diagonal connection in the northwest-southeast direction between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates. Belke states that the main lines of communication in the eastern provinces of the empire remained the same in the fifth and sixth centuries[508]. According

[505] Corremans *et al.,* 2012, p. 44.

[506] Huxley, 1982, p. 91.

[507] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 327; *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 344; Şahin, 1985, p. 175 suggests that the bridge was constructed over the Sangarios in order to provide a river navigation system to reach the Black Sea and south.

[508] Belke, 2008, p. 296.

to Brubaker and Haldon as well, the main arteries in Asia Minor continued to be used both by private travellers and military and administrative officials in both centuries[509], including trade caravans and armies. In the light of the accounts of Theophanes and John Malalas, it can be stated that the main lines of communication between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, passing through central Anatolia, continued to be used, apart from other reasons, for military purposes as well. This is known, for example, from their mention of the infantry, called *Lykokranitai*, which was sent from the region of Phrygia to the Saracen and Persian territory when the Saracens[510] invaded the region of Syria up to Antiocheia (Antakya):

> Saracens invaded first Syria as far as the boundaries of Antiocheia. The Saracens took booty with the Persians….a detachment of the army dispatched by the emperor, plus the infantry of the so-called *Lykokranitai* from Phrygia, arrived[511].
>
> When the emperor heard what the Saracens had done, he sent a considerable force of infantry, known as the *Lykokranitai*, from Phrygia and they set out for the Saracen and Persian territory[512].

The routes which were protected by the garrison units called *limitanei* and established in strategically placed forts, and the cities located on the routes became very crucial for the security of the empire in the later sixth century. The fifth-century military administrative system of *limitanei* and the mobile field forces called *comitatenses* remained the same in the sixth century[513]. Yet, while the empire worked to maintain the existing communication network in good shape, even reinforce it with new bridges, this could not be achieved in many places. Transportation became inconvenient and

[509] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 509.

[510] The nomads living in the region of Arabia, *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 514.

[511] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 178.

[512] *John Malalas*, trans. 1986, 18: 34.

[513] Haldon, 1990, pp. 208-209.

uncomfortable, especially for wheeled vehicles[514], probably due to the bad conditions of the roads and bridges[515]. Belke states that by the fifth century, the wheeled transportation vehicles used to carry people was replaced by animals, thereby making the service of *cursus clabularius*[516] useless[517]. The short-distance transportation of heavy loads such as agricultural goods and building materials[518], on the other hand, continued to be carried by "the traditional two-wheeled ox-carts beside pack animals"[519]. The wheeled carts, in addition, must have been used for the transportation of consumption goods, such as marble and ceramics, produced both locally and regionally, to the ports for import and to local markets.

Roads, as always, were needed to be repaired in the sixth century. To find the relevant repair budget, the tax system, known as *annona* and introduced in the third century A.D. to meet the expenses of road works as well as provide recruits, were put back into operation in the sixth century. It was the *praetorian prefecture* who continued to collect these taxes[520].

The presence and sustainability of cities, therefore, were related much to the maintenance of roads and collection of the taxes in the Late Roman period, as in the previous centuries, and it seems that the system of communication and the network of cities already established in the Roman Imperial period continued, with some changes in the status of routes regarding the military affairs, in the sixth century A.D.

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[514] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 509; Haldon, 1999, p. 54; Belke, 2008, pp. 300-301.

[515] Belke, 2017, p. 35.

[516] See Appendix C.

[517] Belke, 2017, p. 35; Belke, 2008, pp. 300-301.

[518] Belke, 2017, p. 35.

[519] *Ibid*.; Koder, 2012, p. 155 also mentions a "change in the transportation of goods and persons by beasts of burden such as horses, mules and donkeys".

[520] "The provincial governor who controlled to levy taxes instead of the civic *curiae* in the sixth century", Brandes and Haldon, 2000, p. 155.

4.5. State of Roads

In Late Roman Anatolia, the northern Asia Minor gained further political importance because of its proximity to the new capital Constantinople. The diagonal routes leading to the capital in the northwest-southeast direction, such as the routes between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, respectively, gained further significance as they enabled easy communication between the provinces and the capital. There were two main diagonal routes in the northwest-southeast direction that ran from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Ancyra (Ankara).The system of routes leading to the capital became more densely used and thus served as the main communication network of the empire in terms of both military and economic us, and provided access to the major urban centres established along them, during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. In this respect, it is known that both the pre-Roman ancient roads, and the new roads constructed and re-established by the Romans between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D. continued to be used throughout the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries as well[521]. During this period of about three centuries, however, many of the roads became narrower than the standard Roman roads, reducing the amount of wheeled traffic, as Belke suggests[522]. Thus, the main roads, i.e., highways, in Asia Minor, were gradually transformed into roadways with an average width of 3.5 m.; but they continued to serve for the wheeled traffic as well as ox-carts during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries[523].

The situation of the use of road network demonstrates that the reconstruction and refurbishment of the Roman Imperial Period roads in Late Roman Asia Minor seem to have been done until the sixth century[524] (Figure 47). According to the road-building

[521] French, 1993, p. 445; Ramsay, 1962, p. 74; Belke, 2008, p. 298.

[522] Belke, 2017, p. 29.

[523] *Ibid*., p. 29.

[524] *Ibid*.

inscriptions found on the milestones the existing roads were used during the fourth and fifth centuries[525]:

1) In the province of Asia, the main Roman roads from Ephesus to Dokimion (İscehisar), Cotiaeum (Kütahya) to Philomelium (Akşehir), Ephesus to Cyzicus (Kapıdağ Peninsula), Smyrna (İzmir) to Sardis (Salihli), and Sardis (Salihli) to Acmonia (Ahat) continued to be used in the fourth century; and from Smyrna (İzmir) to Ephesus, and Apamea (Dinar) to Dorylaeum (Eskişehir)[526] in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Roman road from Pergamon (Bergama) to Laodicea (Denizli) and then to Side[527] was restored in the fourth century[528].

2) In the province of Pontus, the main Roman road from Chalcedon (Kadıköy) to Trapezus (Trabzon) and from Nicomedeia (İzmit) to Neocaesarea (Niksar)[529] continued to be used in the fourth century. According to milestones, there is no evidence relating to the refurbishment of the main roads after the fourth century[530] .

3) In the provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia, the main Roman roads from Perge (Aksu/Antalya) to Antiocheia Pisidia (Yalvaç) (*Via Sebaste*), from Perge (Aksu/Antalya) to Laodicea (Denizli), from Xanthus (Kınık/Antalya) to Cibyra (Gölhisar/Burdur), from the Pamphylian coast to Cibyra (Gölhisar/Burdur), from Xanthus (Kınık/Antalya) to Laodicea (Denizli), from Xanthus (Kınık/Antalya) to Sidyma (near Seydikemer/Muğla), from Tlos (near Seydikemer/Muğla) to Telmessus (at

[525] See Appendix A.

[526] French, 2014a, pp. 81-101, pp. 169-173, pp. 43-79, pp. 111-124, p. 125, pp. 193-198, pp. 130-135.

[527] *Ibid*. p. 256.

[528] French, 2014a, pp. 321-322. The latest milestone is found at Dörttepe (Muğla), on the road between Bargylia (near Güllük) and Myndos (Gümüşlük), and dated to the early sixth century A.D., see French, 2014a, p. 322.

[529] French, 2013, pp. 35-50, pp. 79-110.

[530] *Ibid*. pp. 169-170. For information about Byzantine routes in Pontus, see Bryer and Winfield, 1985, pp. 17-25. The topography and geography of Pontus has been discussed most recently by Podossinov in light of textual evidence, i.e. the discussion of *Tabula Peutinger*. See Podossinov, 2020, pp. 43-51.

Fethiye), from Limyra (at Turunçova) to Choma (Hacımusalar), from Aparlae (Sahilkılınçlı/Antalya) to Xanthus (Kınık/Antalya), from Xanthus (Kınık/Antalya) to Perge (Aksu/Antalya), from Prostanna (Akpınar/Isparta) through *Via Sebaste* to Colonia Parlaïs (Barla/Eğirdir), from Sagalassos (Ağlasun) through *Via Sebaste* to Conana (Gönen/Isparta), from Isinda (Belenli) to Colonia Comama (Şerefhöyük), from Sagalassos (Ağlasun) to Conana (Gönen/Isparta), from Perge (Aksu/Antalya) to Tarsus are known to have been used in the fourth century. Two milestones found at Turunçova, located on the road from Limyra (at Turunçova) to Choma (Hacımusalar), demonstrate that the road was used in the first half of the fifth century[531]. There is no evidence of the restoration and refurbishment of roads after the early third century[532].

4) In the provinces of Isauria, Cilicia and Lycaonia, the main Roman roads from Mopsuestia (Yakapınar/Misis) to Cocusus (Göksun), from Corycus (Kızkale) to Laranda (Karaman), from Tarsus to Pilgrim's Road, between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, from Laranda (Karaman) to Isaura Nova (at Zengibar Kalesi), from Pilgrim's Road to Antiocheia (Antakya) continued to be used in the fourth century. It seems that the roads were not restored in the regions after the third century[533].

5) In the province of Cappadocia, the main Roman roads from Satala (Sadak) to Ancyra (Ankara), from Neocaesarea (Niksar) to Tavium (Büyüknefes), from Sebasteia (Sivas) to Tavium (Büyüknefes), from Caesarea (Kayseri) to Melitene (Malatya), from Caesarea (Kayseri) to Amisus (Samsun), from Trapezus (Trabzon) to Samosata (Samsat)

[531] French, 2014b, pp. 31-45, pp. 46-52, p. 55, p. 58, pp. 61-62, p. 64, pp. 69-70, p. 72, pp. 74-77, pp. 78-80, pp. 81-86, pp. 88-89, pp. 90-93, pp. 96-99.

[532] *Ibid*., p. 121.

[533] French, 2014c, p. 34, p. 45, p. 53, pp. 54-55, pp. 56-60.

continued to be used in the early fourth century[534]. The road from Neocaesarea (Niksar) to Nicomedeia (İzmit)[535] was in use in the second half of the fourth century as well.

6) In the province of Galatia, the main Roman roads from Ancyra (Ankara) to Amorium (Emirdağ), from Colonia Iconium (Konya) to Philomelium (Akşehir), from [*Via Sebaste*] to Apamea (Dinar), from Ancyra (Ankara) to Caesarea (Kayseri), from Colonia Iconium (Konya) to Caesarea (Kayseri), from Colonia Iconium (Konya) to Tyana (Kemerhisar), from Ancyra (Ankara) to Colonia Iconium (Konya) continued to be used in the fourth century[536]. The Galatia section of *Via Sebaste*[537] was also in use in this century.

There are no milestones and inscriptions related to the road construction and maintenance in Asia Minor, dated to the beginning of the sixth century[538]. In this respect, the information on the state of the roads can only be found in the textual evidence. According to Procopius, the roads in Asia Minor were reconstructed and refurbished to facilitate accessible communication and transportation in both economic and military affairs. The bridges constructed and restored throughout the sixth century also made the roads passable and provided easy access among the cities.

Information on the use and state of the roads in the sixth century texts can be outlined as follows: According to the account of Procopius, waggon-roads were built in places near the River Dracon (Kocaçay), close to the city of Helenopolis (Yalova)[539] in Bithynia, and on a narrow track near the city of Antiocheia (Antakya) in Cilicia:

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[534] French, 2012b, pp. 32-77, pp. 80-95, p. 99, pp. 123-124, p. 127, p. 137, pp. 145-147, p. 156, p. 158, p. 160, p. 163, pp. 172-173, pp. 175-177, pp. 184-185, p. 190, p. 198, pp. 200-203, p. 206, p. 225, pp. 231-232, pp. 239-254, p. 261.

[535] *Ibid*., pp. 256-258.

[536] French, 2012a, pp. 23-39, p. 97, pp. 104-128, pp. 129-132, and p. 137.

[537] *Ibid*., pp. 141-167.

[538] Belke, 2008, p. 296.

[539] Hendy, 1985, p. 63, Ramsay, 1962, p. 188.

> Close to this city flows a river which the natives call Dracon from the course which it flows. For it twists about and winds from side to side, reversing its whirling course and advancing with crooked stream, now to the right and now to the left. Consequently it is actually necessary for those visiting there to cross it more than twenty times. Thus it has come about that many have lost their lives when the river has risen in sudden flood. Furthermore, a dense wood and a great expanse of reeds which grew there used to obstruct its exit to the sea and made it more troublesome for the regions round about. Indeed, not long ago, when it had been swollen by heavy rains, it backed up and rose in flood and spread far out over the land and caused irreparable damage. For it ruined many districts, uprooted vines and even olive trees and countless other trees of all sorts, trunks and all, not sparing the houses which stood outside the circuit-wall of the city and inflicting other severe losses upon the inhabitants. And feeling compassion for them, the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan. He cleaned off the woods and cut all the reeds, thus allowing the river a free outlet to the sea, so that it might no longer be necessary for it to spread out. And he cut off in the middle the hills which rise there, and built a waggon-road in places which formerly were sheer and precipitous; and in this way he made the crossing of the river for the most part unnecessary for those who dwelt there[540].
>
> As one goes from the city of Antiocheia, which is now called Theopolis, into Cilicia, there is a suburb lying very close to the road, Platanôn by name; and not far from this city lay a path which had long been compressed into a very narrow track by the overhanging mountains; and after being washed by rains for a long time it was destroyed for the most part and afforded only dangerous passage to travellers. He spent a sum of money past reckoning, cutting through, for a great distance, all the mountains, which rose there to a great height and overcoming impossible obstacles; and he constructed a waggon-road, contrary to all reasons and expectation, making flat and open ground of what had previously been broken by precipices, thereby clearly demonstrating that nothing could prove impossible for a man of discerning judgement who was ready to disregard expense[541].

A road leading from Bithynia to Phrygia was refurbished in this century:

> There is a certain road in Bithynia leading from there into the Phrygian territory, on which it frequently happened that countless men and beasts too perished in the winter season. The soil of this region is exceedingly deep; and not only after unusual deluges of rain or the final melting of very heavy snows, but even after occasional showers it turns into a deep and impassable marsh, making the roads quagmires, with the result that travellers on that road were frequently drowned. But he himself and the Empress Theodor, by their wise generosity, removed this danger for wayfarers. They laid a covering of very large stones over this highway for a distance of one half a

[540] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 325.

[541] *Ibid*., p. 337.

> day's journey for an unencumbered traveller and so brought it about that travellers on that road could get through on the hard pavement. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian in this way[542].

The construction of two bridges on the Sangarios (Sakarya River) and the Dracon River (Kocaçay) in Bithynia and Siberis (Girmir/Kirmir Çayı)[543] in Galatia was also completed in the sixth century:

> And that great river which they now call the Sagaris[544], rushing down, as it does, with its impetuous stream and having a great depth at the centre and broadening out till it resembles a sea, had always been, since the world began, left untouched by a bridge; instead they lash together a great number of skiffs and fasten them together cross-wise, and people venture to cross these on foot, as once the Persian host, through fear of Xerxes, crossed the Hellespont. But even this is not without danger for them, for many a time the river has seized and carried away all the skiffs, together with their cable, and thus put a stop to the crossing of travellers. But the Emperor Justinian has now undertaken the project of building a bridge over the river[545].
>
> And he placed two very broad bridges over this river[546], and in consequence everyone now crosses it without danger[547].
>
> There is a river in Galatia which the natives call Siberis, close to the place called Syceae[548], about ten miles from Juliopolis toward the east. This river often rose suddenly to a great height and caused the death of many of those traveling that way. The Emperor was disturbed when these things were reported to him, and he put a stop to the evil thenceforth by bridging the river with a strong structure capable of resisting the stream when in flood, and by adding another wall in the form of a jetty on the eastward side of the bridge; such a thing is called a *promachon* or breakwater by those skilled in this matter[549].

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[542] *Ibid*., p. 329.

[543] Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 224.

[544] The Sangarios River, Sakarya River.

[545] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 327, p. 329.

[546] The Dracon River, Kocaçay.

[547] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 323.

[548] The city in which *St. Theodore* was born.

[549] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 331.

The construction of channels and bridges on the Pyramus (Ceyhan), Sarus (Seyhan), and Cydnus (Berdan) Rivers, which flow alongside the settlements of Mopsuestia (Yakapınar/Misis), Adana and Tarsus respectively, were also completed in the sixth century so that the roads passing along these rivers could be easily crossed:

> There is in Cilicia a certain city called Mopsuestia, said to be the work of that ancient seer. Alongside this flows the Pyramus River, which, while it adds beauty to the city, can be crossed only by a bridge. But as much time passed it came about that the greater part of the bridge had suffered; indeed it seemed to be on the point of falling at any moment and for this reason death faced those who crossed it. Thus a structure which was devised by the men of former times for the preservation of life came, by reason of the negligence of the authorities, to be a source of great danger and a thing to be feared. But our Emperor with great care set right all the damaged parts and once more restored the safety of the bridge and of those who crossed it, and caused the city to plume itself again, and without risk, on the river's beauty[550].
>
> Beyond it there is a certain city named Adana, on the eastern side of which the Sarus River flows, coming down from the mountains of Armenia. The Sarus is navigable and quite impossible for men on foot to ford. So in ancient times an enormous and very notable bridge was constructed here. It was built in the following fashion. At many points in the river piers of massive blocks of stone were reared upon its bed, built to a great thickness and forming a line extending across the entire width of the stream and in height rising far above high water. Above each pair of piers spring arches which rise to a great height, spanning the open space between them. The portion of this masonry which chanced to be below the water and so was constantly battered by its powerful current had, in a space of time beyond reckoning, come to be mostly destroyed. So the whole bridge appeared likely after no long time to fall into the river. It had come to be always the prayer of each man who crossed the bridge that it might remain firm if only during the moment of his crossing. But the Emperor Justinian dug another channel for the river and forced it to change its course temporarily; and then getting the masonry which I have just mentioned free from the water and removing the damaged portions, he rebuilt them without any delay and then returned the river to its former path, which they call the "bed". Thus then were these things done[551].
>
> At Tarsus, the Cydnus River flows through the middle of the city. It appears that in general it had caused no damage at any time, but on one occasion it chanced that it did cause irreparable loss, for the following reason. It was about the time of the spring equinox, and a strong south wind which arose suddenly had melted all the snow which had fallen through the winter season, blanketing practically the whole Taurus range. Consequently streams of

[550] *Ibid*., p. 337.

[551] *Ibid*., p. 339.

> water were pouring down from the heights everywhere and each of the ravines discharged a torrent, and both the summits and the foothills of the Taurus Mountains were deluged. So by reason of this water by Cydnus rose in flood, for the streams kept pouring their water into it, since it was close to the mountains, and it was further swollen by heavy rains which fell at the same time; consequently the river flooded and immediately wiped out completely all the suburbs which were situated to the south of the city. Then it went roaring against the city itself, and tearing out the bridges, which were small, it covered all the market-places, flooded the streets, and wrought havoc by entering the houses and rising even to their upper storeys. Night and day the whole city continued in this critical and uncertain situation, and it was only tardily and at length that the river subsided little by little and returned once more to its accustomed level. When the Emperor Justinian learned of this, he devised the following plan. First he prepared another bed for the river above the city, in order that the stream might be separated there into two parts and might divide its volume so that only about half of it should flow toward Tarsus. Then he made the bridges very much broader and so strong that the Cydnus in flood could not sweep them away. Thus he brought it about that the city stands forever freed from fear and from danger[552].

New roads and bridges were constructed in Amida (Diyarbakır), Edessa (Şanlıurfa), and Antiocheia (Antakya), all located at the Persian-Roman frontier. The ports of southern coasts and inlands were constructed and restored[553]; the maintenance of the main highway between Bithynia and Phrygia and the road from Antiocheia (Antakya) leading to the north were completed as well. The works on the fortification of Circesium[554] (modern Buseira) at the Euphrates and on the walls of cities such as Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), Caesarea (Kayseri), and Edessa (Şanlıurfa) were also completed and strengthened in the sixth century[555]. At about the same time, a new channel was constructed for the *Skirtus* River in Edessa to prevent the flooding of the city[556]. The road passing through Beilan Pass over the Amanus Mountains was

[552] *Ibid*., p. 341, p. 343.

[553] *Ibid*., p. 125, p. 143, pp. 167-173.

[554] John Malalas mentions a fortress built in Circesium in the fourth century A. D. *John Malalas*, trans. 1986, 13.21.

[555] *Ibid*., pp. 133-135, p. 137, pp. 147-149, p. 333, p. 335, also see Avramea, 2002, p. 76

[556] Procopius, trans. 2002, p. 143.

restored[557], and marshes in the rivers such as the Maeander, Hermus (Gediz River), and Cogamis (Alaşehir Stream) were cleaned up[558].

During the attacks of Persians to Asia Minor in the east between the third and seventh centuries A.D., cities such as Antiocheia (Antakya) and Ephesus maintained their urban vitality, and also served as military bases for the army units[559]. These attacks, however, did not affect the functioning of the major urban centres and the main arteries of the inland of Asia Minor, and the construction activities continued in the cities in the east. But, for the security of the empire and take precautions against probable attacks, the empire conducted some restoration and renovation activities, and improved fortifications and city walls structures[560]. Establishing new fortresses and strengthening the wall of the cities in the frontier regions, as seen in Amida (Diyarbakır) and Constantina or Tela Antoninopolis (Viranşehir)[561], had definitely required a considerable amount of cost, but provided an increased amount of security along the eastern frontier:

> Constantius built Amida and fortified it strongly. And founded Constantia (Antonioupolis) 700 stades south of Amida[562].

The sixth century witnessed renovation of existing cities and construction works to strengthen their fortresses and significant defensive structures such as city gates and also construction of new castles. In this century several castles were built and the fortifications of many cities were renewed and reinforced in eastern Asia Minor. The castle of Anastasiopolis (Dara) was built in this century. The fortifications of

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[557] Hendy, 1985, p. 64.

[558] *Ibid*., p. 68. For detailed information about the roads and routes around the Maeander, see Külzer, 2016, pp. 285-291.

[559] Liebeschuetz, 1992, p. 31.

[560] Koder, 2017, pp. 13, 24.

[561] See Calder and Bean, 1958.

[562] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 59.

Theodosiopolis (Erzurum)[563] along the Euphrates were further strengthened, and a new fortress was established at Citharizôn[564]. The fortifications of strategically located settlements such as Melitene (Malatya), Colonia (Şebinkarahisar) and Satala (Sadak) were restored and improved in the sixth century[565]. Other cities that were established in the hinterlands of the frontier and along the major routes, such as Caesarea (Kayseri) and Sebasteia (Sivas) were also strengthened and refurbished with walls. The walls of Nicopolis (Suşehri) and Sebasteia (Sivas) were rebuilt[566], and Edessa (Şanlıurfa) and Samosata (Samsat), located on the east, became the meeting stations for the imperial army at the beginning of the sixth century[567]. Thus, the frontier area that stretched from Amida (Diyarbakır) in the south to Theodosiopolis (Erzurum) in the north became reinforced by castles and fortifications[568].

Procopius mentions the role of eastern urban centres established on the major routes, such as those located on the route running from Ancyra (Ankara) to Caesarea (Kayseri), then to Melitene (Malatya) and to Sebasteia (Sivas) on the west-east axis (W-E Route[569]), for the security of the existing routes[570]. Sebasteia (Sivas), a city of Armenia was in collapse because of its reduced urbanisation and therefore it became necessary to rebuild its walls for defensive reasons in the sixth century:

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[563] Persians conducted a raid to Theodosiopolis (Erzurum) and Amida (Diyarbakır) in the late fifth or early sixth century, but withdrew from both cities as Malalas mentions. *John Malalas*, trans. 1986, 16.9.

[564] "A site situated in the southeast of Bingöl, which was a large and well-defended hill-like site". Mitchell, 2015, p. 142; Howard-Johnston, 2006, p. 227.

[565] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, pp. 197-199.

[566] *Ibid*.

[567] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 225.

[568] Honigmann, trans. 1970, pp. 8-17.

[569] Also known as the "Great Military Route", Ramsay, 1962, p. 199.

[570] Located in the region of Cappadocia, which played a role as a 'buffer zone' beyond the eastern frontier; the cities in question were of importance in terms of functioning military stations and centres, which acted as meeting places, such as Caesarea, for the army.

> Furthermore, he rebuilt the walls of Sebasteia and Nicopolis, cities of Armenia, for they were all on the point of collapsing, having suffered from the long passage of time, and he[571] made them new[572].

As one of the most important military centres in Late Roman and Byzantine Anatolia, Caesarea (Kayseri) had been surrounded by a wall already in ancient time; however, because the walls were not stable enough to defend the city they were restored in the sixth century[573]. It seems that the city remained the same as it was known from the Roman period since according to Procopius there were no new building activities up to the sixth century:

> The city of Caesarea there has been from ancient times very large and populous. But it was surrounded by a wall which, by reason of its immoderate extent, was very easy to attack and altogether impossible to defend. For it embraced a great expanse of land, which was not at all necessary to the city, and by reason of its excessive size it was easily assailable by an attacking force. High hills rise there, not standing very close together, but far apart. These the founder of the city was anxious to enclose within the circuit-wall so that they might not be a threat against the city; and in the name of safety he did a thing which was fraught with danger. For he enclosed within the walls many open fields and gardens as well as rocky cliffs and pasture lands for flocks. However, even at a later time the inhabitants of the place decided not to build anything in this area, but it remained exactly as it had been. Even such houses as did chance to be in this district have continued to be isolated and solitary up to the present day. And neither could the garrison maintain a proper defence in keeping with the extent of the wall, nor was it possible for the inhabitants to keep it in repair, seeing that it was so large. And because they seemed to be unprotected, they were in constant terror. But the Emperor Justinian tore down the unnecessary portions of the circuit-wall and surrounded the city with a wall which was truly safe, and made defences which would be thoroughly impregnable in case of attack; and then he made the place strong by the addition of a sufficient garrison. Thus did the guarantee the safety of the inhabitants of Caesarea in Cappadocia[574].

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[571] Justinian I.

[572] *Procopius,* trans. 2002, p. 199.

[573] *Ibid*., pp. 333-35.

[574] *Ibid*.

The Armenian city of Melitene (Malatya) was a Roman legion and it likewise had a stronghold. Procopius mentions that not all the inhabitants of Melitene (Malatya) were living inside the fortifications because of the restricted space. The citizens settled, instead, on the plain near the fortifications where there were both residences and such public amenities as, streets, *stoas*, baths, marketplace and theatres:

> There was in antiquity a certain town in Lesser Armenia, as it is called, not far from the Euphrates River, in which a detachment of Roman soldiers was posted. The town was Melitenê, and the detachment was called a "legion". In that place the Romans in former times had built a stronghold in the form of a square, on level ground, which served adequately as barracks for the soldiers and provided a place where they could deposit their standards. Later on, by decision of the Roman Emperor Trajan, the place received the rank of a city and became the metropolis of the province. And as time went on, the city of Melitenê became large and populous. But since the people were no longer able to live inside the fortifications (for it was reduced to a small space, as I have said) they settled in the adjoining plain, and here their shrines have been erected and residences of the magistrates and their marketplace, and all the other places for the sale of goods, and all the streets and stoas and baths and theatres of the city, and whatever else contributes to the embellishment of a great city. In this way it came about that Melitenê was for the most part unwalled. Accordingly the Emperor Anastasius undertook to surround the whole of it with a wall; before, however, he had carried out his purpose he fulfilled the measure of his life. But the Emperor Justinian built about it on all sides a very strong wall and made Melitenê a mighty stronghold for the Armenians and a thing of beauty[575].

Some cities and settlements were also strengthened in the West. Nicomedeia (İzmit), Kios (modern Gemlik), Prusa (Bursa), Cyzikos (the Kapıdağ Peninsula), Cotyaeion (Kütahya) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir) in Anatolia, and Heracleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) in Thrace became the places where the *scholae*[576] were stationed. The cities in central and western Anatolia were to a lesser extent fortified in comparison to the eastern cities of Asia Minor. It was due to the fact that there was no major threat to those regions.

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[575] *Ibid*., p. 201.

[576] "*Scholae* were the cavalry units in the period from Constantine I until the fifth century. The units were reformed and became once more elite regiments under Constantine V, forming until the eleventh century the core of the imperial field armies", Haldon, 2005, p. 172.

The public projects that concentrated on restoring, renovating, and building structures, especially in the frontier areas at east provided the security of the Roman roads and routes in the sixth century as well. In other words, the castles and strongly fortified cities enabled a more secure system of travel and communication for armies, caravans and travellers. The cities like Ancyra (Ankara), Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), Dorylaion (Eskişehir), Cotyaeion (Kütahya), Caesarea (Kayseri) established along the diagonal routes from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates were of great importance for the security of the route leading to the capital. The cities such as Ancyra (Ankara) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir), including Sebasteia (Sivas), Satala (Sadak), Melitene (Malatya), were also part of the routes in the west-east directions. The fortification of these cities, therefore, also provided secure economic and trade relations along the west-east axis, and hence caravans and armies could stop over in the stations and receive logistic support safely. Road maintenance or new construction activities in the provinces were not seen after the sixth century, and Justinian is the last emperor about whose road and bridge building and repairing activities we are informed[577].

4.6. New Use of Late Roman Routes

Almost all of the routes established in the imperial period continued to function for the movement of people, goods and armies. In terms of the survival of the economic relations and the development of urbanization in the cities, the main routes in the northwest-southeast axis, that is those roads that connected Constantinople and the northern Syria, were actively used as a network of communication from the fourth century onwards. They became more prominent especially after the east-west routes between the Aegean coast and the East lost their importance with Constantinople becoming the seat of power.

[577] Belke, 2008, p. 301.

The diagonal route which gained prominence in the Late Roman period was the one that stretched Anatolia along Northwest-Southeast direction, running from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Ancyra (Ankara). Named as Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1 (NW-SE DR 1) in this study, the route is also known as the Pilgrim's Road since the Roman imperial times.

4.6.1. Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1 (NW-SE DR 1)

The NW-SE DR 1, also known as the Pilgrim's Road, ran between Chalcedon (Kadıköy) and the Cilician Gates (Figure 48). Connecting the West to the Holy Lands in the Eastern Mediterranean region, this route became the main travel route for the pilgrims with the rise of Christianity. Before Constantinople became the capital of the eastern Roman Empire, the road was not identified as Pilgrim's Road and, in fact, had served as the main arterial route[578] that ran through the heartland of Anatolia in Asia Minor[579]. When Constantine established Constantinople as the capital of the Roman Empire, the Great Trade Route that ran between Ephesus and the Euphrates on the East-West direction and which was in use since the fourth century B.C. lost its prior importance. The old route between Byzantium and the Cilician Gate, gained more importance in the fourth century as it now connected Constantinople and the south, and thus began to be used as the Pilgrim's Route. The route provided easy access to the regions of Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, respectively, where there were not only substantial cities but also religious centres. A total of 149 milestones, dated from the first to the second half of the fourth century A.D., are found along this route[580] (Figure 49), (Table 1). This constitutes approximately 12.25 % of the total milestones

[578] Belke, 2008, p. 298.

[579] The presence of urban centres along the Pilgrim's route can be traced back to the third century A.D. before the Pilgrim's route became far more important after the declaration of Constantinople as the new capital of the empire.

[580] French, 2012a, pp. 174-222.

found in Asia Minor. It is understood from the bulk of milestones that this road was restored in the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D. and continued to be actively used.

Information about the Pilgrim's Road also comes from textual evidence. The Pilgrim's Road is depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*[581], and mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (Antonine Itinerary)[582] and Jerusalem Itinerary or the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*[583]. Of the three primary sources, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* is the most accurate and reliable in terms of the names and distances[584] when compared to the actual situation today[585] (Table 2). The length of the NW-SE DR 1, that is, the distance of the route between Constantinople and Antiocheia (Antakya), which was the last destination of the Pilgrim's route in the lands of Asia Minor, is given as 754 Roman miles, which equals to 1112 kilometres, in the Antonine Itinerary whereas in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, as 763 Roman miles, which is more close to the actual distance. The latter itinerary also informs that there were about 68 *mutationes* and 40 *mansiones*[586] on the route[587] (Figure 50).

Though the route passed through the inland of Anatolia, which is dry and hot in summers and cold and snowy in winters, it was preferred by the pilgrims since it offered the cheapest land travel option between the West and the Holy Lands[588] in the fourth

[581] *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. 1962, IX 5-X.

[582] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. 1990, pp. 20-21.

[583] *Ibid*., pp. 91-93.

[584] French, 2016, p. 40.

[585] The stated distance between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates is almost the same as the current distance, which is 1129 kilometres.

[586] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. 1990, pp. 92-93. According to *Burdigalense*, the distance between *mansiones* and *mutationes* ranges approximately from 6 to 20 Roman miles, which means from approximately 9 to 30 kilometres.

[587] *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.

[588] Ramsay, 1962, p. 242.

century. Ramsay states that the route of the pilgrims continued to be maintained from the fourth to the sixth century[589]; it was also supported by resting stations (*mutations* and *mansios*) and bridges for comfortable travel during this period, as is known at least from a bridge, which was built over the river Siberis (Girmir Stream) in the sixth century[590] to enable easier movement. The presence of *mutationes*[591] and *mansiones*[592] along the Pilgrim's Road made the route suitable for state officials and private travellers as well. There is no literary or archaeological evidence related to the maintenance of this route in the seventh century A.D.

4.6.2. The Urban Centres along the NW-SE DR 1

The cities located along the route which started from Constantinople and indicated in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*[593] are: Nicomedeia (İzmit), Nicaea (İznik), Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), Ancyra (Ankara), Colonia Archelais (Aksaray), Tyana (Kemerhisar), Faustinopolis (Başmakçı/Niğde)[594], Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuestia (Yakapınar (Misis)/Adana), and Alexandria (İskenderun) (Figure 51). Of these, the main cities were Nicaea (İznik), Ancyra (Ankara) and Tyana (Kemerhisar).

Departing from Chalcedon (Kadıköy), the Pilgrim's Route went first to Nicomedeia (İzmit), the first big city established on this route and the capital of the Roman Empire in the second half of the third century A.D.[595] (Figure 52). In the

[589] *Ibid*.

[590] *Ibid*., p. 241.

[591] "Places where it was possible to change horses and rest", Foss, no date, p. 3.

[592] "Small towns which offered overnight accommodation", Foss, no date, p. 3.

[593] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. 1990.

[594] *PECS*, 1976, p. 326.

[595] *Ibid*., p. 179.

Antonine Itinerary, the distance from Chalcedon (Kadıköy) to Nicomedeia (İzmit) is given as 65 Roman miles[596] while the Jerusalem Itinerary provides the distance more accurately as 61 Roman miles[597], which corresponds to 89 kilometres, the same distance today.

There were at least two *mutationes* and one *mansio* between Nicomedeia (İzmit) and Nicaeae (İznik). Although Nicomedeia lost its previous importance after Constantinople's rise as capital from the fourth century onward, the city kept its prominence in the fifth century, since it was located on the highway, enabling an easy access to the capital via land and sea[598]. John Malalas mentions that public buildings, the colonnades, the harbour, the public arenas, and the church were built in the reign of Theodosius II[599], which shows the vitality of the city in this period. The city of Nicomedeia kept its importance in the late Roman period and was presented in the ecclesiastical divisions of Asia Minor. Nicomedeia (İzmit) was also mentioned in the councils of Nicaea (İznik), Constantinople, and Chalcedon (Kadıköy) in 325 A.D., 381 A.D., and 451 A.D. respectively[600]. In *Hierocles' Synekdemos*[601], Nicomedeia (İzmit) was presented as the city under the province of Pontus in 530 A.D.[602] Procopius mentions the city and writes about the restoration and construction activities in the sixth century:

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[596] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. 1990, p. 20.

[597] *Ibid*., p. 91.

[598] Foss, 1995, p. 186.

[599] *John Malalas*, trans. 1986, 14.20.

[600] Ramsay, 1962, p. 197.

[601] In *Hierocles' Synekdemos*, the provinces and their cities are given in a geographical order, which consist of 64 provinces and 935 cities, see *Synekdemos*, ed. 1866, p. 1.

[602] *Hierocles' Synekdemos*, ed. 1866, p. 33.

> In Nicomedeia he restored the bath called Antoninus, for the most important part of it had collapsed, and because of the great size of the building it had not been expected that it would be rebuilt[603].

The councils held in 536 A.D. and 553 A.D. also mentioned the city of Nicomedeia (İzmit)[604]. The city played an important role as a military station, where the guards of the Roman army encamped, into the middle ages[605]. Theophanes mentions Constantine going to Nicomedeia (İzmit) when the emperor intended a campaign against the Persian threat in 335 A.D.:

> In the same year many of the Assyrians in Persia were being sold in Mesopotamia by the Saracens, and the Persians declared war on the Romans. The pious Constantine went out from Nicomedeia on his way to fight the Persians, but became ill and died in peace[606].

According to the account, it is difficult to determine the route followed by the Roman army from Nicomedeia (İzmit) to the east for the battle with the Persians. Since Nicomedeia (İzmit) was established on a strategically important location, an alternative route, which led from Nicomedeia (İzmit) and Amaseia (Amasya) in the east-west direction, could have been also used during the sixth century. Ramsay mentions that this route was used by *Euctychius*, the patriarch of Constantinople, and passed through Çorum[607] and Gangra (Çankırı) [608]. Surveys conducted in Nicomedeia showed that the Hellenistic and Roman structures, such as houses and colonnaded square, were demolished in the late Roman period[609]. The theatre, however, survived; the now standing theatre of Nicomedeia belongs to the Roman imperial period. Çalık-Ross

[603] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 329.

[604] Ramsay, 1962, p. 197.

[605] *Ibid*., p. 212.

[606] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 54.

[607] Probably through Etonea at Beyözü.

[608] Ramsay, 1962, p. 318.

[609] Foss, 1995, p. 186.

mentioned that the fortification wall of the city contained stones from the theatre as well[610].

Nicaea (İznik) (Figure 53), located between Nicomedeia (İzmit) and Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), was established along the Pilgrim's Route, including the eastern shore of Lake Askania (İznik Gölü). The city was protected by the city walls that date back to the third century A.D., had four main gates that opened to four cardinal directions and were restored during the late Roman period[611] (Figure 54). Excavated and/or surveyed structures that date to the Roman period consist of the theatre, four main gates, including the Lefke Gate, the İstanbul Gate, the Lake Gate and the Yenişehir Gate[612], which continued to function in the late Roman period as well (Figure 55). The route from Nicomedeia (İzmit) to Nicaea (İznik) was crossed by boat that arrived first at Prainetos (Karamürsel/İzmit). Then it followed the land route, rather than the water routes of Lake Sapanca and Lake Geyve[613], to reach Nicaea (İznik). The Pilgrim's Route entered the city through the İstanbul Gate and left it from the Lefke Gate, both of which provided a direct access to St. Sophia, crossing in the city centre[614]. The fact that a council was held and decisions were taken in Nicaea in 325 A.D.[615] (Figure 56) shows the significance of the city as being one of the episcopal meeting places in Asia Minor. The church of St. Sophia (Figure 57), being the most important church of the city and built in the second half of the fifth century A.D., furthermore, attest the continuing importance of the city in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods[616]. Before the sixth century A.D., Nicaea

[610] Çalık-Ross, 2007, p. 893.

[611] *Ibid*., p. 204.

[612] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[613] Ramsay, 1962, p. 240.

[614] Belke, 2020, p. 268.

[615] Jones, 1964, p. 87.

[616] Peschlow, 2017, p. 209.

(İznik) was an autocephalous bishopric, i.e., one which was directly controlled by the Patriarch[617]. When the administrative status of the cities changed from the fourth century onwards, the influence of Nicaea (İznik) had also increased. Procopius informs about the construction and restoration activities in Nicaea (İznik) during the sixth century A.D. as such:

> And it is proper to tell of the benefits which he[618] also bestowed upon Nicaea in Bithynia. First of all, he restored the entire aqueduct, which was completely ruined and was not satisfying the need, and thus he provided the city which abundant water. Then he built churches and monasteries, some for women and some for men. And the palace there, which already had in part collapsed, he carefully restored throughout; and he also restored a bath at the lodgings of the *veredarii*[619], as they are called, which had lain in ruin for a long time. To the west of this city and very close to it a torrent is wont to smite almost everything, making the road there altogether impassable. A bridge had been built over it by the men of earlier times, which, as time went on, was quite unable to withstand the impact of the torrent, since it had not been properly constructed, as it chanced; and finally it yielded to the pressure of the surge and was swept away with it without leaving a trace in the spot where previously it had stood. But the Emperor Justinian planted another bridge there of such height and breadth, that the previous bridge seemed to have been only a fraction of the new one in point of size; and this bridge rises high above the torrent when it is in flood and keeps in perfect safety those passing that way[620].

Several types of Red Slip Ware ceramics[621], glazed and unglazed ceramics, the sherds of Palestine *amphora*, and Late Roman terra cotta lamps found in the İznik

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[617] Neill, 1957, p. 201.

[618] Justinian I (Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus) (c. 482-565) was the East Roman emperor between (527 and 565), *ODLA*, 2018, p. 846.

[619] Also known as *agentes in rebus*, *EB*, 2016, defined as the "imperial agents who came under the oversight of the *Magister Officiorum* (a powerful palatine official, who shared administrative control of strategic areas, managing the *fabricae* (arms factories) and *Cursus Publicus* (transportation and communications system)", *ODLA*, 2018, p. 34, p. 943.

[620] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 327. Most recent study around Nicaea (İznik) has revealed two ancient bridges, which are Kuru Köprü and Karasu Deresi Köprüsü. Weissova and Pavuk, 2016, p. 16, state that the Karasu Deresi Köprüsü, located along the Pilgrim's Road, could be recognized from the description of *Procopius*.

[621] Özügül, 2017, p. 322.

excavations show the economic prosperity of the city and its accessibility to import objects and luxury items between the fourth and the sixth century[622]. Examples of Late Roman terra cotta lamps found in the city also came from the Church of *St. Polyeuktos* in Istanbul, and the Balkans[623], providing information about the regional and interregional trade and interaction between Nicaea and the Balkans as well as Constantinople during the late Roman period.

The third major city along the route was Juliopolis (near Nallıhan) (Figure 58, Figure 59), which was located between Nicaea and Ancyra; located in the provincial territory of Galatia its ancient name was *Gordou Kome*. In Procopius the city is mentioned in reference to the construction activities:

> As to this Juliopolis, its circuit-wall used to be disturbed and weakened by a river[624] which flows along its western side. This Emperor, however, put a stop to that, by setting up a wall flanking the circuit-wall for a distance of not less than five hundred feet, and in this way he preserved the defenses of the city, which were no longer deluged by the stream[625].

It is known from the Jerusalem Itinerary that there were 9 *mutationes* and 4 *mansiones* between Nicaea (İznik) and Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), and the distance was 117 Roman miles, or 163 kilometres[626], which is around 20 kilometres less than the distance today. The city became prominent from the fourth century onwards due to the Pilgrim's Route. In this century, it became *a trade centre*[627].

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[622] Ekin-Meriç *et al.,* 2018, p. 290.

[623] Özügül, 2017, p. 324. For terra cotta lamps, see *ibid*., p. 329.

[624] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 331, fn. 1 states that the river was Hierus (Girmir Stream); Ramsay, 1962, p. 241 suggests that it was Siberis (Girmir Stream), which was described as Hierus in Pliny, and Hycronpotamum in the Jerusalem Itinerary.

[625] *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 333.

[626] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. 1990, p. 92.

[627] Sağır *et al.*, 2018, p. 60.

The excavations carried out in Juliopolis demonstrated that the church built in the fifth-sixth century was probably dedicated to St. Theodore[628], which is confirmed by the textual evidence: According to the life of St. Theodore the Sykeon, Solomon, a member of the bishops' class in Juliopolis, and his wife had trouble because of an evil spirit, and St. Theodore came to Juliopolis (near Nallıhan) to heal them. After treated by St. Theodore, Solomon and his wife painted an archangel on the wall of the church, in which he was depicted as sleeping, and dedicated it to him[629]. The city seems to have been occupied and saved its importance throughout the late Roman and early Byzantine periods[630] as archaeology confirms[631]. Most recent study found a defensive wall, including two towers, in the north-south direction. The ceramic finds from the excavated area in the defensive wall are dated to the Roman period, and the walls might have been constructed in the same period[632].

Ancyra (Ankara), located in the middle of the Pilgrim's Road, functioned as the metropolis of Galatia Prima in the late Roman period. The city is also known as the place where *St. Eustochios* was executed[633]. On the road from Juliopolis (near Nallıhan) to Ancyra (Ankara) there were four *mutationes* and two *mansiones*, and the distance was calculated as 87 Roman miles[634], which is about 128 kilometres. Thus, the road from

[628] *Ibid*., p. 62.

[629] *Theodore the Sykeon*, trans. and ed. 1970, p. 103.

[630] Ramsay, 1962, p. 245.

[631] Surveys carried out at the village of Tahirler (approximately 20 km. south of Beypazarı district) located on the road between Juliopolis (near Nallıhan) and Ancyra (Ankara) spotted a late Roman monastery complex, churches, and settlement sites. The evidence from Tahirler indicates how new types of settlements, religious and/or civic, might have been established along the Pilgrim's Road in the sixth century and thus had functioned in relation to the use of the route. It can be suggested that the pilgrims may have stopped over there. See Brown, 1998, pp. 239-245; for the study on rural settlements see Izdebski, 2013; Izdebski 2017.

[632] Sağır *et al.,* 2018, pp. 62-63.

[633] Ramsay, 1962, p. 334.

[634] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. 1990, p. 92.

Nicomedeia (İzmit) to Ancyra (Ankara) was calculated as 258 Roman miles, about 380 kilometres. Ancyra (Ankara) was located at the crossroads of the roads that spanned along the west-east and north-south directions and the northwest-southeast diagonal route (NW-SE DR1). Of these directions, the west-east connection between Dokimion (İscehisar) and Ancyra (Ankara) was an important one since the fourth century B.C.[635]. Its importance came from the production of white marble, the Dokimion marble, which was a demanded trade item in both the imperial and the later periods[636].

Ancyra (Ankara) played a very significant role in the defensive structure of Asia Minor as the city was a major supply base and an encamping station for the troops[637]. In addition, since the city was in the province of Galatia, which was rich in grain, pasture and manpower, it was a significant agricultural, commercial and industrial centre for the Galatian merchants in the late Roman period[638]. Ancyra (Ankara) was built according to an orthogonal street plan and north-south and east-west pattern, which were dated to an earlier period of classical date[639] (Figure 60). This classical urban plan was explained by a bath house ('Askeri Cezaevi') on the *agora,* corresponding to Hükümet Meydanı, which was located on the north-south and west-east axis. On the other hand, Bennett states that there was a colonnaded street located in 1931 in the north of Çankırı Kapı bath house, which shows the pre-existing route in this regard[640]. During the fourth century, the significance of Ancyra (Ankara) had increased due to its location on the Pilgrim's Road. Foss points out that the officials and all messengers began to pass through Ancyra (Ankara), after the communication had started between Constantinople

[635] Ramsay, 1962, p. 40.

[636] Waelkens, 1986, pp. 113-127.

[637] Foss, no date, p. 2.

[638] *Ibid*., p. 4.

[639] Bennett, 2006, p. 204.

[640] *Ibid,* pp. 205-206. It probably demonstrates the diagonal route (NW-SE DR 1) from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Ancyra (Ankara) in the northwest-southeast direction.

and Antiocheia (Antakya), where an imperial residence was built[641]. The city was represented in the councils, and Marcellus, the bishop of Ancyra (Ankara), had attended the councils held in Nicaea (İznik), and the synod held in Constantinople in the fourth century[642]. In addition, three church councils were held in Ancyra (Ankara) in 314 A.D., 358 A.D., and 375 A.D.[643]. The religious conventions had thus provided medium for the communication of bishops.

Building activities in Ancyra (Ankara) consisted of churches, monasteries, dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, and structures of public and private use, and late Roman city walls, already known from the late third and early fourth centuries[644]. The Temple of Augustus[645] (Figure 61) and the Church of St. Clement were two important religious buildings in the city in the late Roman period[646]. While a Roman theatre and a colonnaded street with shops built next to the Baths of Caracalla are excavated, knowledge about the late Roman structures is insufficient as Peschlow, and Serin emphasize[647].

The south-eastern section of the Pilgrim's Road running from Ancyra (Ankara) to Antiocheia (Antakya) was 461 Roman miles long[648], which accounts for about 679 kilometers. The route passed through the east of Lake Tatta (Salt Lake), and the western side of Argos Mountain (Mount Hasan). There were ten *mutationes* and eight *mansiones*

[641] *Ibid*., p. 3.

[642] *Ibid*., p. 15.

[643] Serin, 2011, p. 1259; Serin, 2018, p. 337.

[644] Serin, 2018, p. 339, mentions that there is very restricted archaeological evidence indicating the building structures.

[645] The architectural and archaeological context suggests that the temple was used for Christian worship rather than its 'transformation'. For detailed discussion, see Serin, 2018, pp. 342-354.

[646] Foss, 1977b, p. 65.

[647] Peschlow, 2017, p. 351; Serin, 2018, p. 339.

[648] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. 1990, pp. 92-93.

between Ancyra (Ankara) and Antiocheia (Antakya)[649]. The six settlements established along this section of the Pilgrim's Route were Aspona (Sarıhüyük at Bala), Colonia Archelais (Aksaray), Tyana (Kemerhisar), Faustinopolis (Basmakçı), Tarsus, and Adana. These cities were presented as bishoprics in the ecclesiastical division. Aspona (Sarıhüyük), situated at the north of Lake Tatta (Salt Lake), was a border town of Galatia, and was mentioned under the province of Galatia in both the Chalcedon Council[650] and Hierocles[651]. Colonia (Aksaray) was not mentioned in Hierocles but was mentioned under the province of Cappadocia in the councils held in 325 A.D., 381 A.D., and 451 A.D.[652] The Pilgrim's Route left Ancyra (Ankara) in the southern direction to lead to Iconium (Konya) to the south, and to Caesarea (Kayseri) in the south-eastern direction[653].

Tyana (Kemerhisar) was under the province of Cappadocia, and were mentioned as such by Hierocles[654]. A pavement[655] found near Gorbeus[656] (Oğulbey), known to have been located on the Pilgrim's Road from Ancyra (Ankara) to Parnassos (Değirmenyolu), and a *mansio* spotted near the frontier of Galatia, attests the use of this road in the imperial period. Tyana was situated between Ancyra and Antiocheia (Antakya). It was located at a crossroad on the Pilgrims' Route and branched off to central and eastern Anatolia via the northern valley of Niğde and Caesarea-Mazaca (Kayseri) respectively

[649] *Ibid*., pp. 92-93.

[650] Ramsay, 1962, p. 243.

[651] *Hierocles' Synekdemos*, ed. 1866, p. 35.

[652] Ramsay, 1962, p. 282.

[653] Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 96.

[654] *Hierocles' Synekdemos*, ed. 1866, p. 36.

[655] Ramsay, 1962, p. 46, does not provide the dating of the paved road. Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 96 mentions it as "the old road". According to milestones found at Oğulbey, the earliest date is given as the first century A.D. French, 2012a, p. 204.

[656] Ramsay, 1962, p. 46.

from here[657]. Therefore, it was probably one of the cities where travellers had refreshed or bought supplies and stayed overnight. A polygonal building found at Tyana (Kemerhisar) and dated to the fourth-sixth century, is identified as a church in light of the inscriptions found nearby[658]. Tyana was an ecclesiastical centre as it is understood from the councils of Ephesus (449 A.D.), Chalcedon (451 A.D.) and Constantinople (536 A.D.) where bishops of Tyana were mentioned[659]. The Roman period buildings excavated, including the Roman baths, a catchment reservoir and an aqueduct, are dated back to the first half of the third century A.D.[660] Excavations also demonstrated that the rooms in the east-west and north-south axes of the Roman period buildings were added into the baths, which are connected to the *basilica*[661]. A mosaic pavement found in the baptistery of the church (Byzantine church) and dated to the fifth or sixth century[662] indicated the vitality of the city in this period as well.

The road from Tyana (Kemerhisar) to Tarsus passed through the tributary of the Sarus River (Seyhan Nehri). Lying west of the direct route to Tyana (Kemerhisar) there were the springs[663]. The route reached Tarsus, the metropolis of the province of Cilicia[664], as well as an important port for Cilicia and a point of departure for coastal traffic. The Taurus Mountains acted as a barrier and prevented a heavy traffic between the inland plateau and the Mediterranean[665]. The easiest path from Cappadocia to Tarsus

[657] Berges, 1996, p. 225.

[658] Rosada, 2005, p. 160.

[659] Rosada and Lachin, 2009, p. 7.

[660] Rosada and Lachin, 2011, p. 203.

[661] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[662] *Ibid.,* p. 206; Doğanay and İşler, 2019, p. 643.

[663] Ramsay, 1962, p. 68.

[664] *Hierocles' Synekdemos*, ed. 1866, p. 38.

[665] Ramsay, 1962, p. 58.

therefore was via the Cilician Gates, which was the main pass through the Taurus Mountains[666]. This pass, however, was probably not much suitable for horses, since it crossed rocky walls, as Ramsay mentions[667]. Nevertheless, the Tyana (Kemerhisar)-Tarsus was important for military use, as it joined the direct route coming from the eastern Cappadocia[668].

The Pilgrim's Route, or the Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1 (NW-SE-DR1) which run between Constantinople and Cilician Gates via Ancyra (Ankara), had become less used compared to the Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2 (NW-SE DR 2), which led from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ), in terms of the priority of the use of routes during the period from the seventh to the ninth century A.D., discussed in the next chapter.

[666] *ODLA*, 2018, p. 345. Across the Taurus Mountains, there were some routes that were not suitable for the passage of travellers, large armies; these can be identified as mere tracks. For discussion, see Elton, 2017, pp. 5-11.

[667] *Ibid*., p. 58.

[668] *Ibid*., p. 351.



Figure 18. Plan of Constantinople. Source: Haldon, 2005, p. 40.

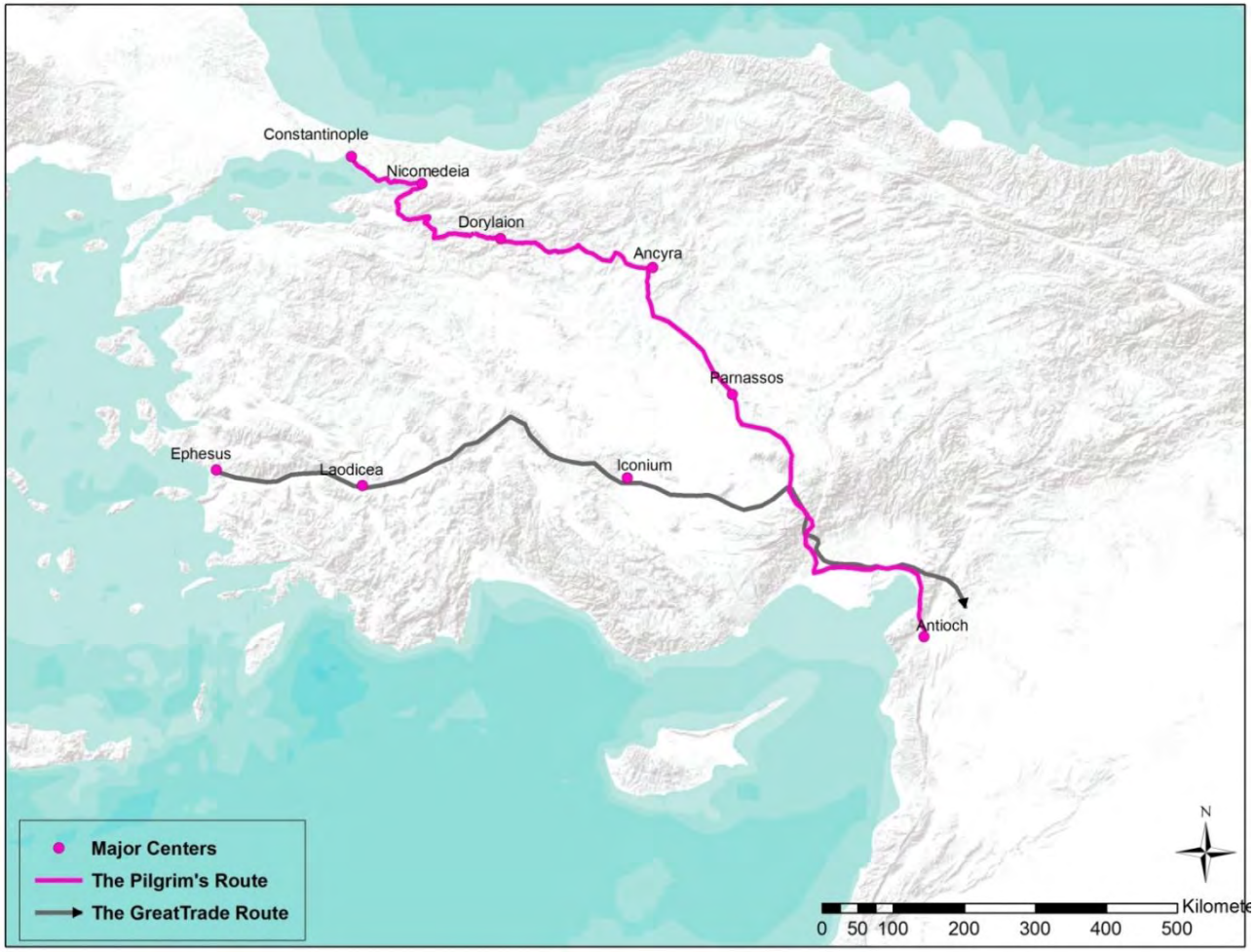


Figure 19. Pilgrim's Route and 'Great Trade Route'. Prepared by the author, 2018, Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

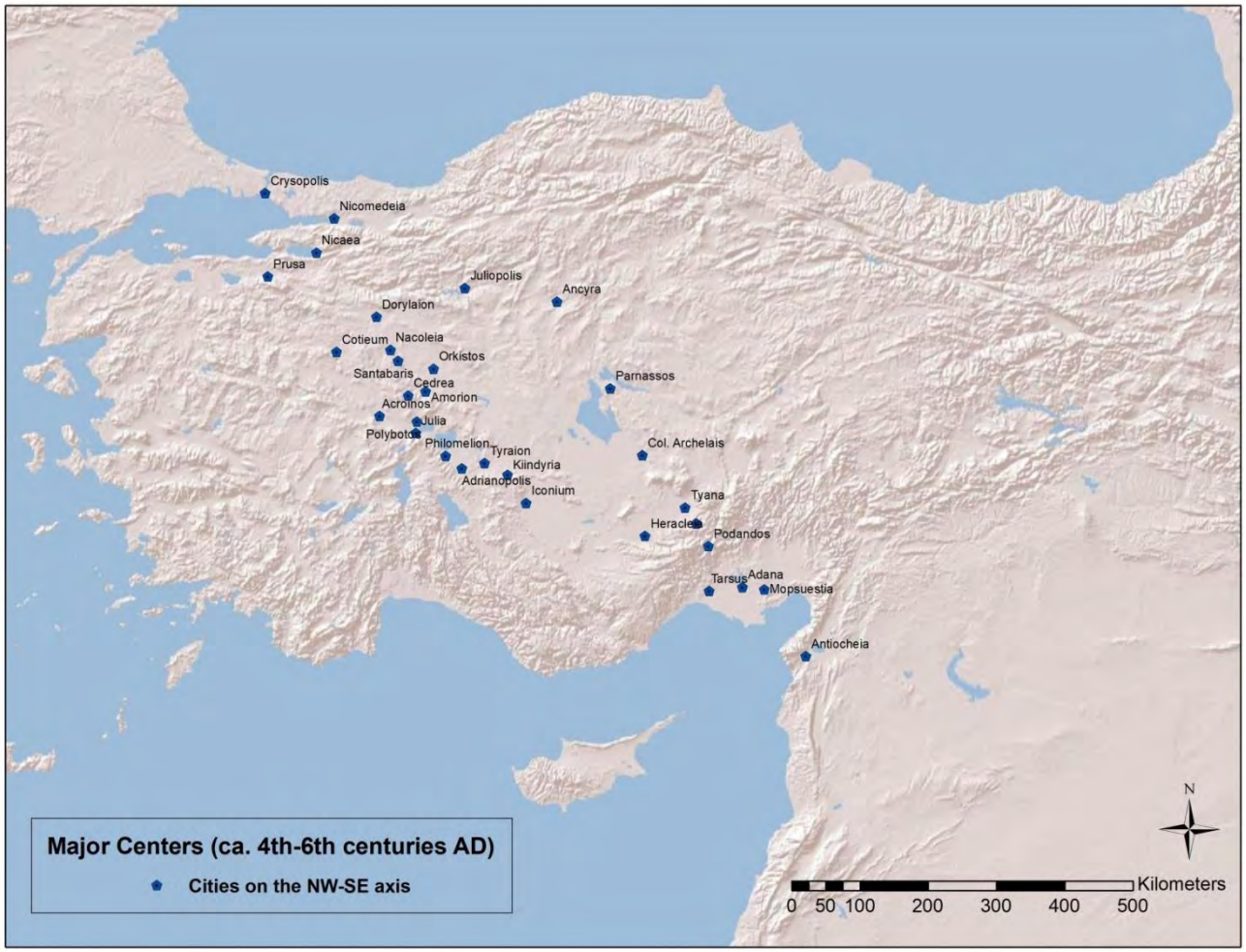


Figure 20. Emerging cities along two diagonal routes in Central Anatolia. Source: Belke and Mersich, 1984; Ramsay, 1962. Prepared by the author, 2019, Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

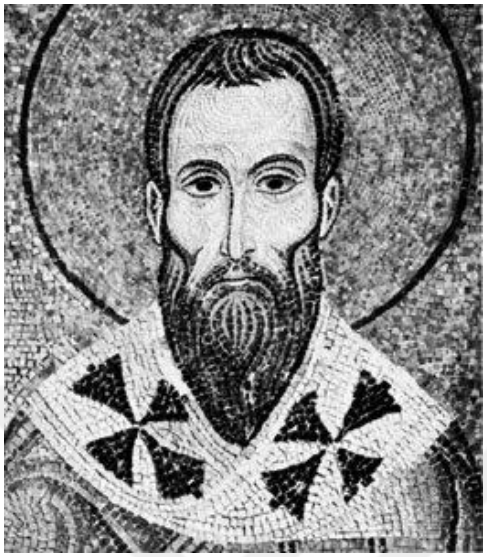


Figure 21. Mosaic of St. Basil of Caesarea, from the Palatine Chapel, Palermo, Sicily, Italy, 12th century. Source: Encyclopædia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Basil-the-Great



Figure 22. Mosaic of St. Gregory of Nyssa, from the Palatine Chapel, Palermo, Sicily, Italy, 12th century. Source: Encyclopædia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Gregory-of-Nyssa

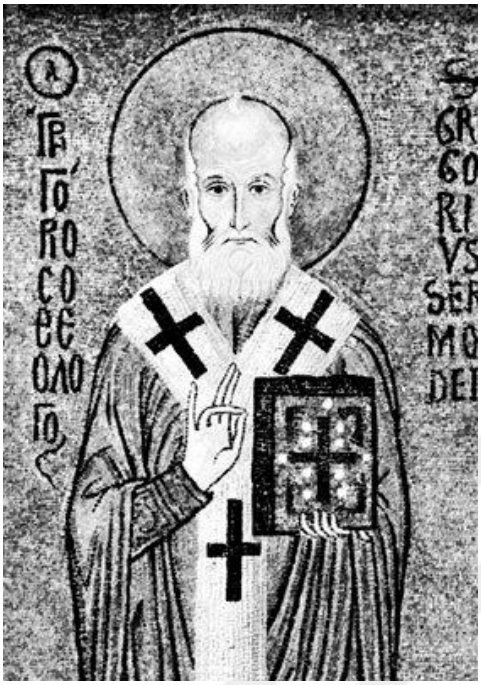


Figure 23. Mosaic of St. Gregory I Nazianzus, Archbishop of Constantinople, 379-381 AD, from the Palatine Chapel, Palermo, Sicily, Italy, 12th century. Source: Encyclopædia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Gregory-of-Nazianzus



Figure 24. Mosaic of St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, 398-404 AD, from the Palatine Chapel, Palermo, Sicily, Italy, 12th century. Source: Encyclopædia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-John-Chrysostom

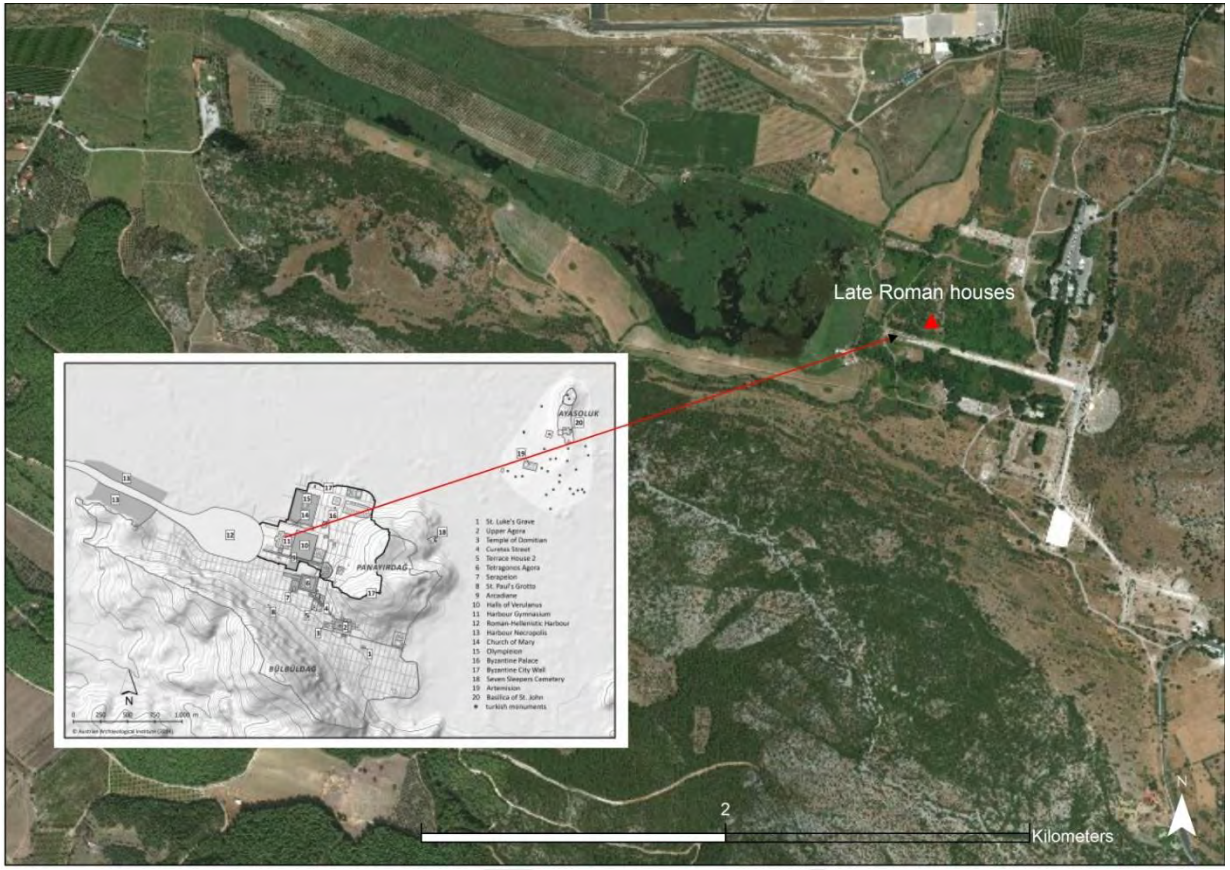


Figure 25. Late Roman houses in Ephesus, Site Plan: https://www.world-archaeology.com/issues/byzantine-ephesus-life-in-the-city-after-empire/. Base map: ArcGIS Software



Figure 26. Late Roman houses in Sardis, Site Plan: C. H. Greneewalt, 1995, p. 398; C. H. Greenewalt, 2001, p. 419. Basemap: GoogleEarth.

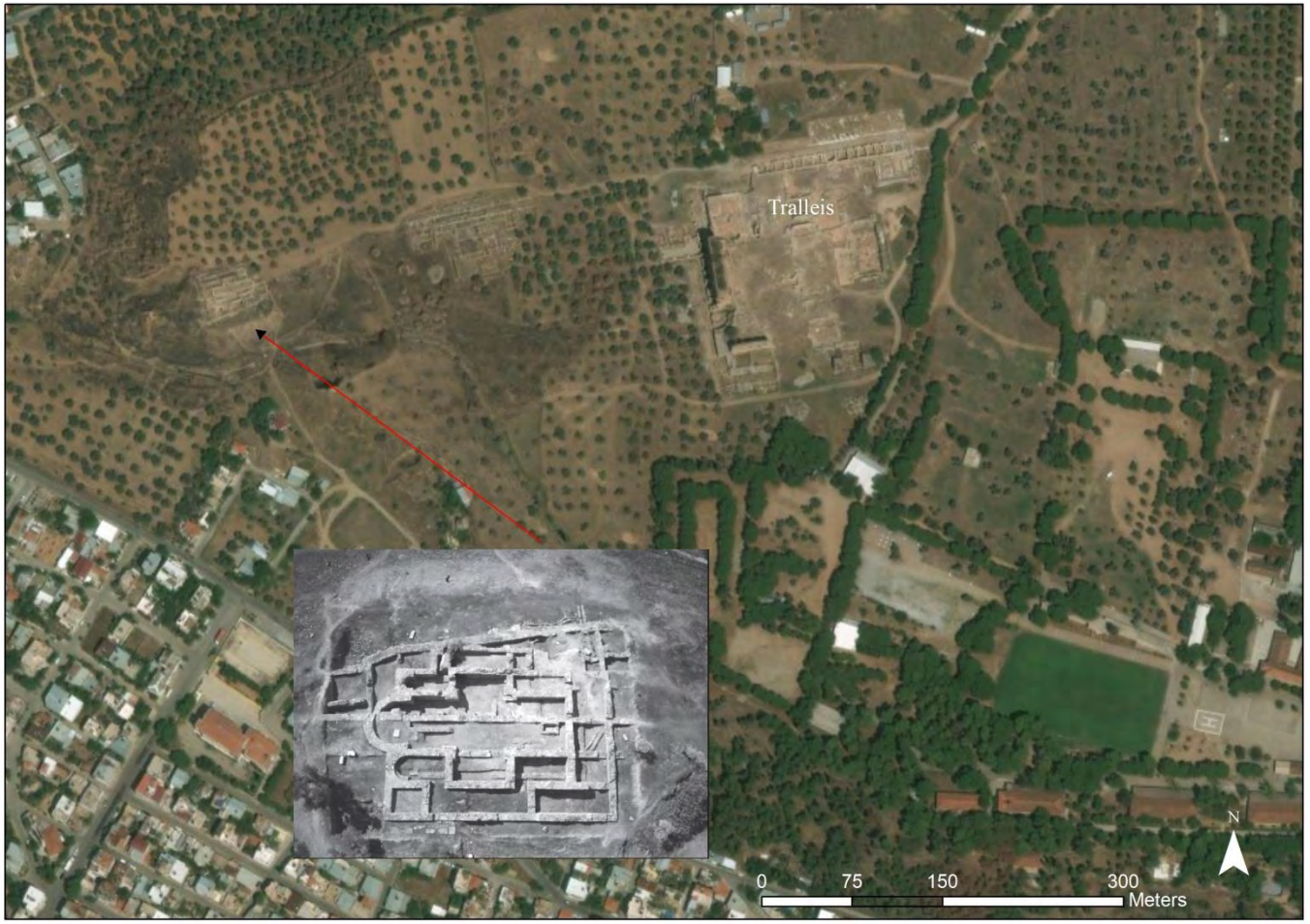


Figure 27. Palace of Eparchy in Tralleis. Source: Dinç and Dede, 2004, p. 351. Base map: ArcGIS Software.

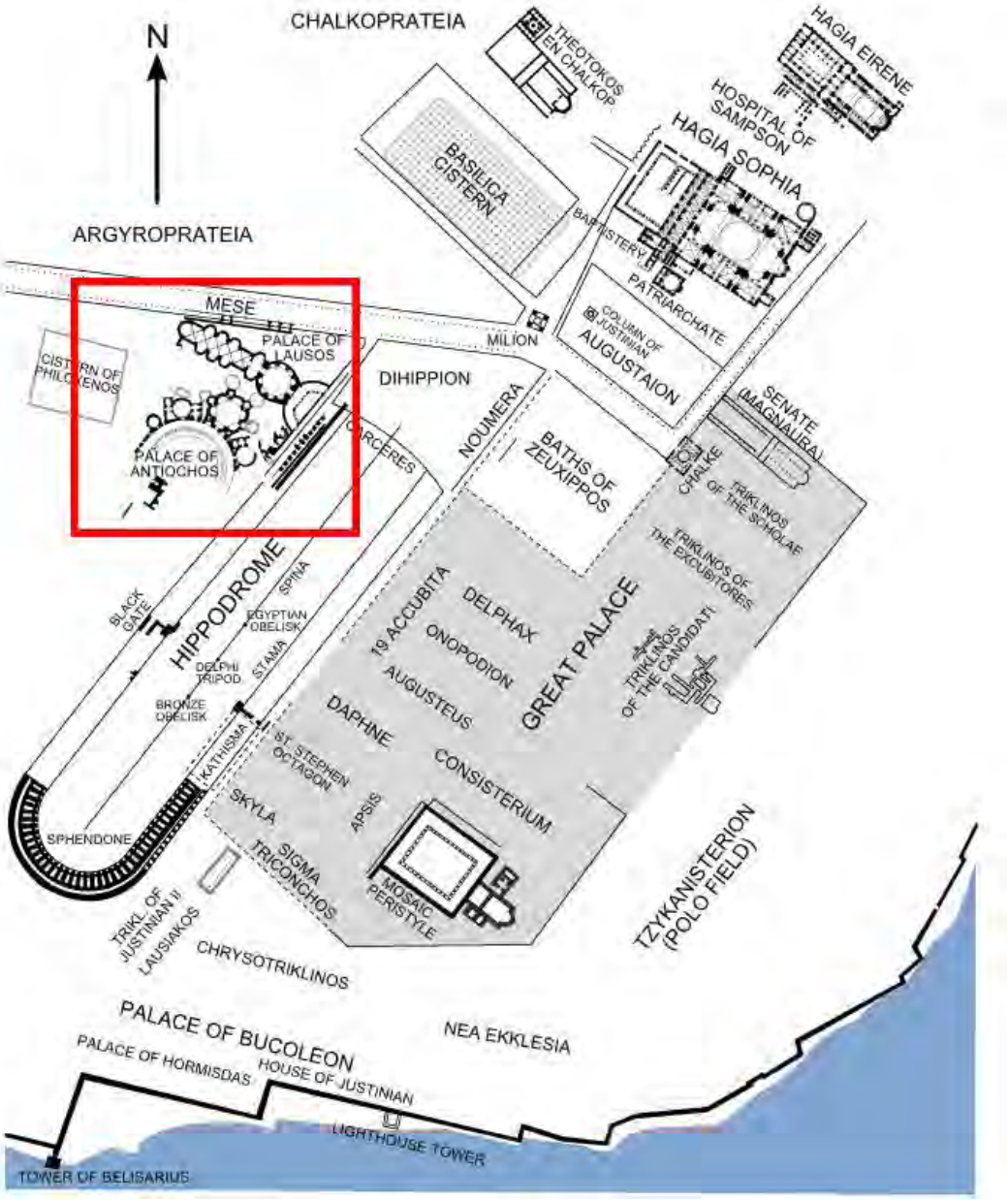


Figure 28. Plan of the Antiocheiaos and Lausos Palaces, Sultanahmet, İstanbul. Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, http://www.envanter.gov.tr/anit/smo/galeri/49683?page=2



Figure 29. Palace of Myrelaion, today Bodrum Mosque, İstanbul, TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi.
https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/bodrum-camii

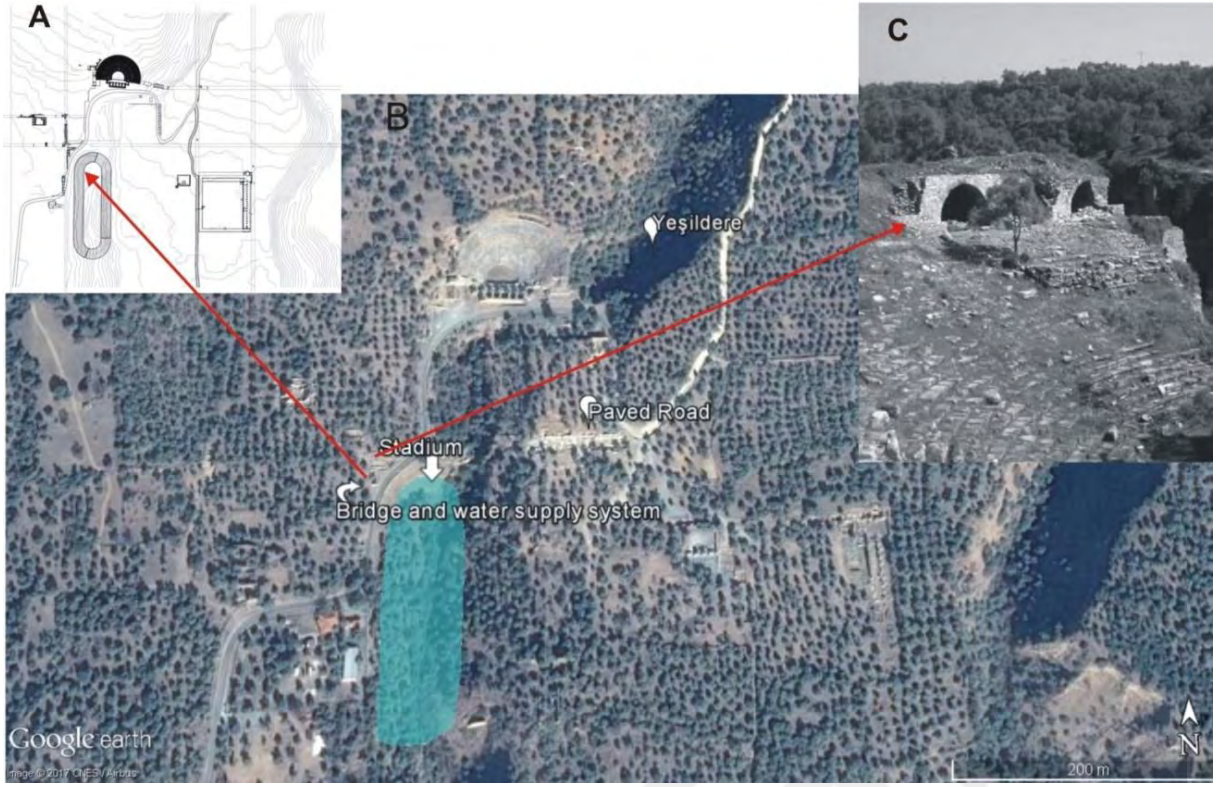


Figure 30. Late Roman building structures. A. Nysa Site Plan: İdil and Kadıoğlu 2007, p. 665; B. View of Nysa Stadium from Google Earth, C. Bridge and Early Byzantine Water Supply System. Source: İdil and Kadıoğlu 2007, p. 669. Basemap: GoogleEarth.



Figure 31. Plan of the workshop area at the western edge of the upper agora in Sagalassos. Source: Waelkens, 2001, p. 175. Photo: https://globalheritagefund.org/tag/upper-agora-sagalassos/

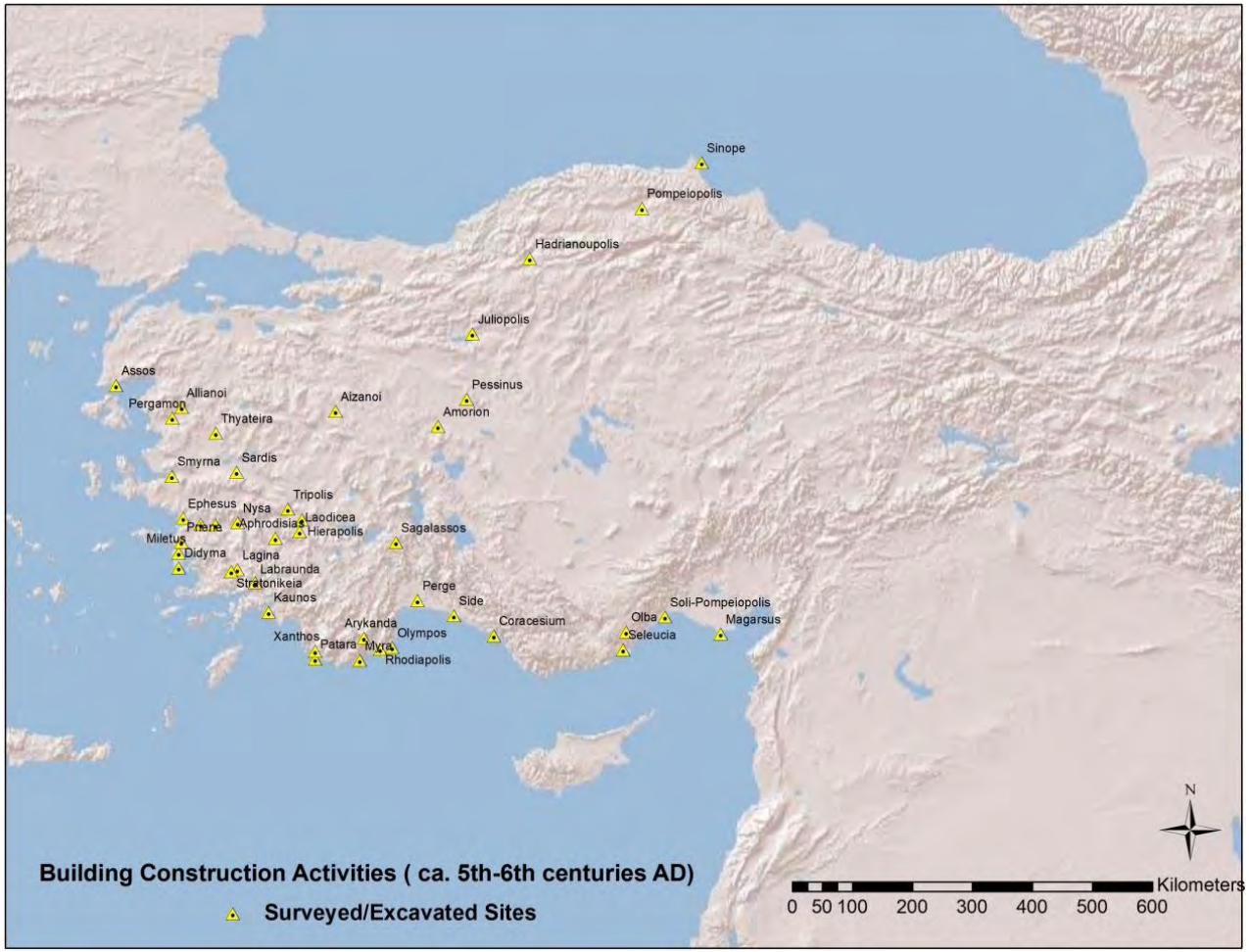


Figure 32. Building construction Activities (ca. 5th-6th centuries), prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.



Figure 33. Sinop Balatlar Church, Source: Köroğlu *et al.*, 2015, pp. 528-529.



Figure 34. Nysa Gymnasium. Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, https://aydin.ktb.gov.tr/TR-64434/nysa.html



Figure 35. Nysa Library, Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, https://aydin.ktb.gov.tr/TR-64434/nysa.html



Figure 36. Church of St. Sergius and Bacchus. Matthews, 1976, p. 245.



Figure 37. Hagia Sophia Church, Istanbul. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 38. Migrations and invasions of Huns, Germans and Slavs.Source: Haldon, 2005, p. 19.



Figure 39. Workshops in Tralleis, photo by author, 2019.



Figure 40. Shops behind Syria Street in Laodicea. Photo: Şimşek, 2003, p. 316
Basemap: GoogleEarth.



Figure 41. Corinthian capital, Tarsus Museum, Aydın, 2016, p. 186.



Figure 42. Impost from the Basilica of Bayezit A, Hagia Sophia Museum, Istanbul, Guiglia-Guidobaldi *et al.*, 2007, p. 323.



Figure 43. African Red Slip Ware, (early 3rd- mid 7th c.), Vroom, 2005, p. 30, p. 32.



Figure 44. Phocean Red Slip Ware, (mid 5th-mid 7th c.), Vroom, 2005, p. 36.

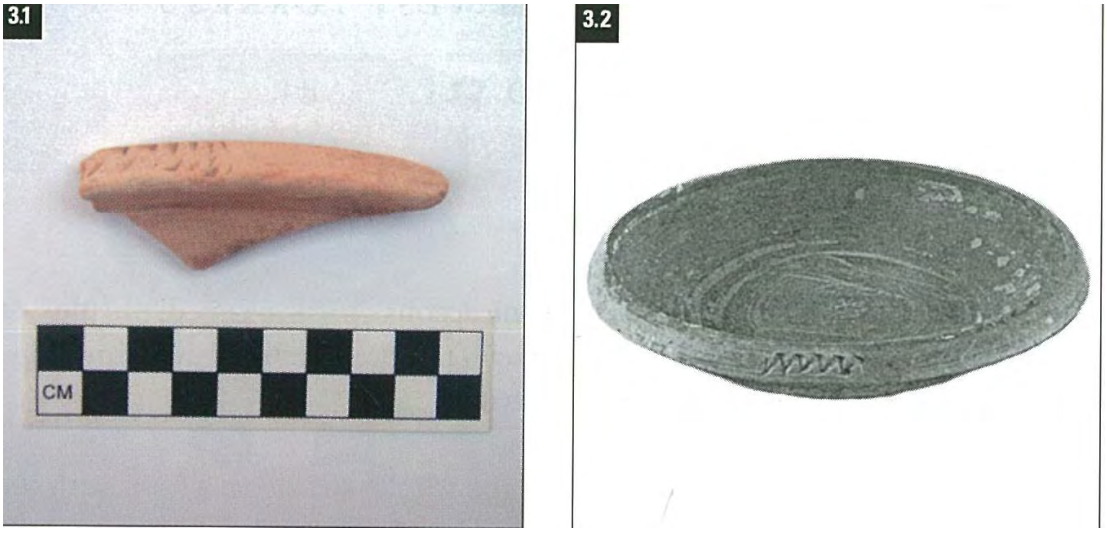


Figure 45. Cypriot Red Slip Ware, (late 4th – late 7th c.), Vroom, 2005, p. 38.

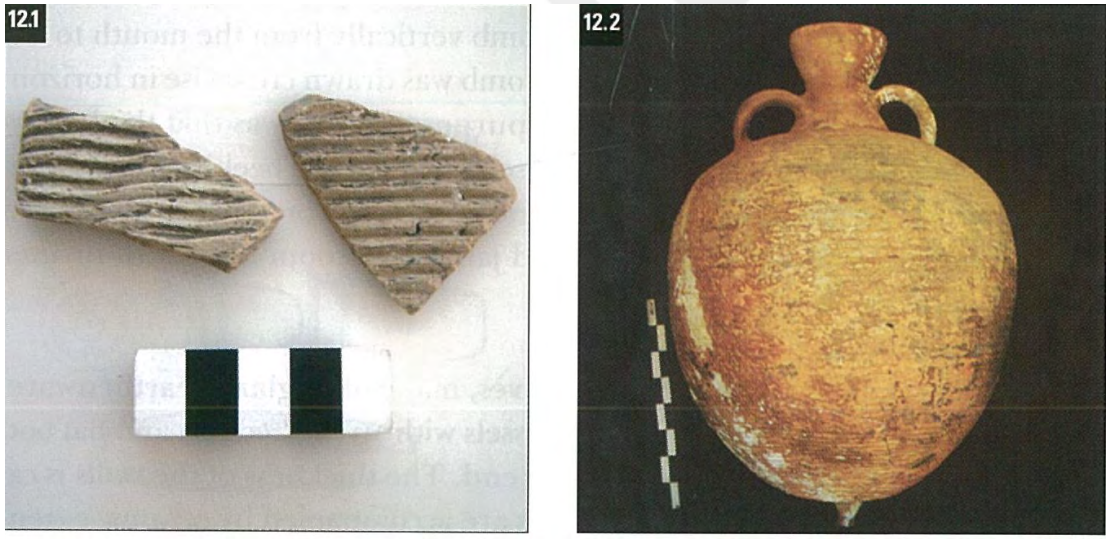


Figure 46. Late Roman Amphora 2, (4th – late 6th/7th c.), Vroom, 2005, p. 52.

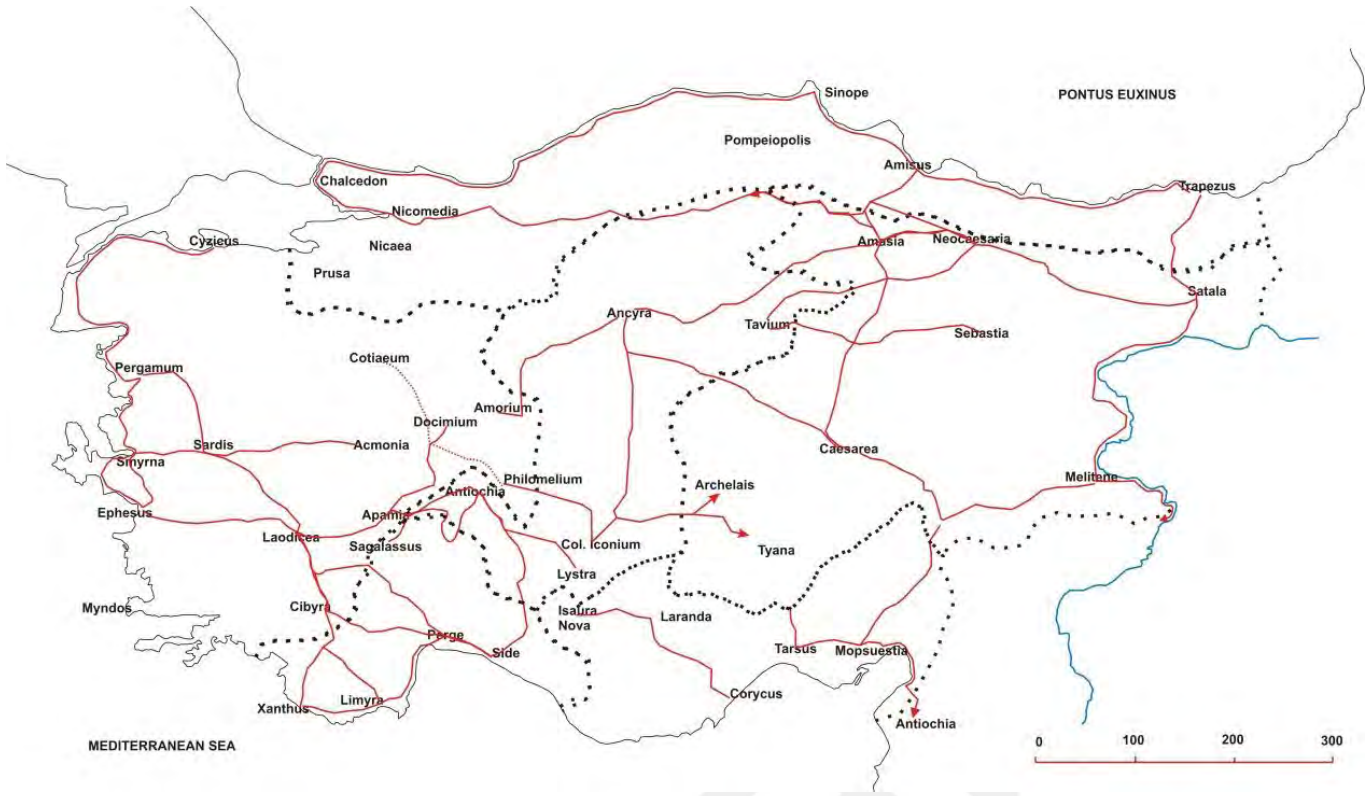


Figure 47. Restored and refurbished Roman roads in Asia Minor (ca. 4th-6th centuries A.D.). Conspectus map prepared by the author, 2019. CorelDRAW. Adapted from D. French, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 201.

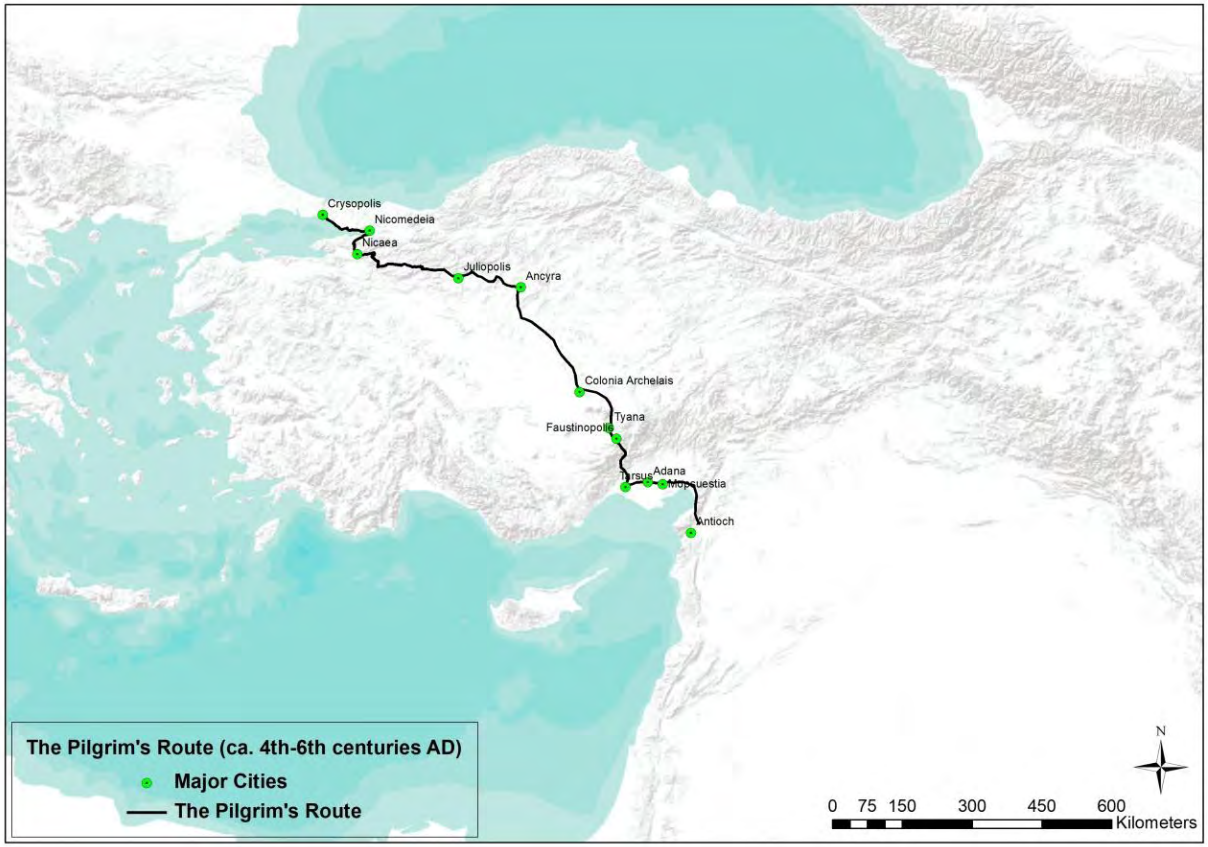


Figure 48. Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1 (Pilgrim's Road), prepared by the author. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

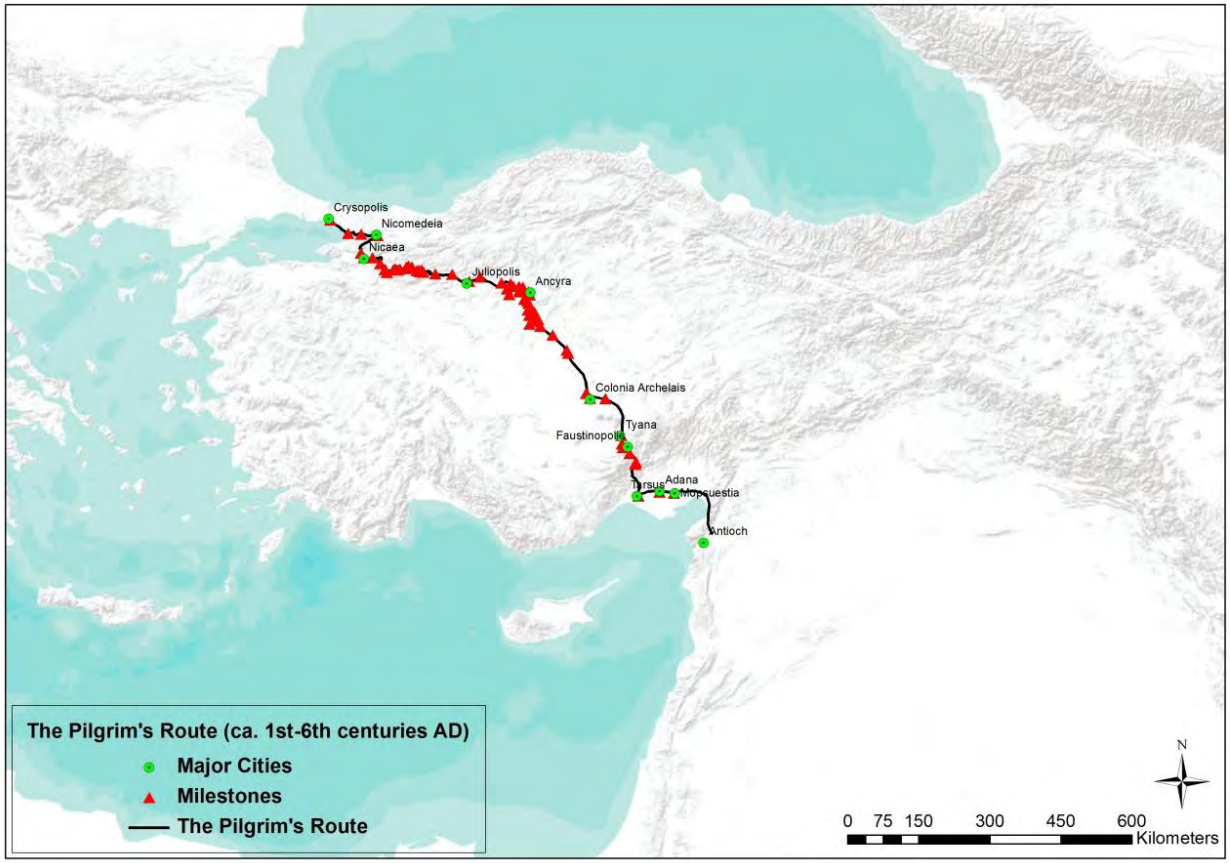


Figure 49. Milestones and major cities on the Pilgrim's Road, prepared by the author. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

Table 1: Inscriptions found in the settlements, dated from the 1st to the 4th c. A.D., according to the dated and recorded milestones found along the Pilgrim's Route.

1st c. AD	2nd c. AD	3rd c. AD	4th c. AD	2nd-3rd c. AD	3rd-4th c. AD	2nd-3rd-4th c. AD	1st-2nd-3rd-4th c. AD
Oğulbey	Yarımca	Gebze	Aktaş	Karaali	Kadıköy	Medetli	Çankaya
Bağiçi	İzmit	Iznik	Sarıhacılar		Gebze	Afşar	
	Köse	Himmetoğlu	Gökçeözü		Karadin		
	Çoğlu	Sobran	Duman		Üyük		
	Eryaman	Çayırhan	Kayabaşı		Beşevler		
	Macun	Ankara	Bölücekova		Doğancılar		
	Akköprü	Ahlatlıbel	Oğulbey		Çay		
	Abazlı	Örencik	Bağiçi		Ahmetbeyler		
	Bağiçi	Oğulbey	Sarıhüyük		Bayram		
		Yöreli	Değirmenyolu		İlyahut		
		Topakkaya	Pozantı		Tatlar		
		Demirci	Bayramlı		Erkeksu Çiftlik		
		Kavuklu			Etimesgut		
		Eminlik			Yuva		
		Kırkgeçit			Batıkent		
		Pozantı			Ahıboz		
		Soğukpınar			Günalan		
		Adana			Aksaray		
					Kemerhisar		
					Yakapınar		

Table 2. Distances between the cities located along the Pilgrim's Route given in the Peutinger Table, the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries, and today

PEUTINGER TABLE	**ANTONINE ITINERARY**	**JERUSALEM ITINERARY**	**TODAY**
Constantinople	**Byzantio**	**Constantinopoli**	**İstanbul**
Calcedonia	Calcedonia IV	Calcedoniam	Kadıköy
-	-	Mutatio Nassete VII	-
-	Panticio XV	Mansio Pandicia VII	Pendik
-	-	Mutatio Pontamus XIII	West of Gebze (Miller 1916, p. 656)
Livissa XXXVII	Libissa XXIV	Mansio Libissa IX	Gebze
-	-	Mutatio Brunca XII	Yarımca
Nicomedeia XXIII	**Nicomedeia XXII**	**Civitas Nicomedeia XIII**	**İzmit**
Eribulo	-	Mutatio Hyribolum X	Near Sekban-İskele (Miller 1916, p. 657) "İhsaniye ?" (French 2016, p. 70)
-	Libo XXI	Mansio Libum XI	North foot of Çayır Dağ (Miller 1916, p. 657) Senaiye (French 2016, p. 71)
-	-	Mutatio Liada XII	Southern slope of Çayır Dağ (Miller 1916, p. 657) Sarıağıl (French 2016, p. 71)
Nicea XXXIII	**Nicia** XXIII	**Civitas Nicia** VIII	**İznik**

Table 2. (continued)

-	-	Mutatio Schinæ VIII	Karadin (mod. Karatekin) Köy
-	Mœdo Orientis XVI	Mansio Mido VII	Taşköprü (French 2016, p. 72)
-	-	Mutatio Chogeæ VI	Mekece (Miller 1916, p. 657) Selimiye (French 2016, p. 67)
-	-	Mutatio Thateso X	"Dikenli Geçit ?" (French 2016, p. 77)
Tateabio XL	Tottaio XXVIII	Mutatio Tutaio IX	Gölpazarı (French 2016, p. 77)
-	-	Mutatio Protunica XI	Hacıköy (French 2016, p. 74)
-	-	Mutatio Artemis XII	Kilciler (French 2016, p. 66)
Dablis XXIII	Dablis XXVIII	Mansio Dablæ VI	Taraklı (Miller 1916, p. 657) Kayabaşı (French 2016, p. 69)
-	-	Mansio Ceratæ VI	"Himmetoğlu ?" (French 2016, p. 67)
-	Cenon Gallicanon XVIII	Mutation Finis X	Ericek (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 95)
Dadastana XL	Dabastana XXI	Mansio Dadastana VI	Karahisar (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 95, French 2016, p. 68)
-	-	Mutatio Trans Monte VI	Bağlıca/Saçak Dere (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 95, French 2016, p. 77)
-	-	Mutatio Milia XI	Eymir (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 95, French 2016, p. 72)

Table 2. (continued)

Iuliopoli XXIX	**Iuliopolim XXVI**	**Civitas Iuliopolis VIII**	**near Nallıhan**
Valcaton XII	-	-	Undefined "nach der Entfernung auch am Fluss Aladağ Su ("Skopas", Belke & Restle 1984, p. 95), etwa am Westufer desselben", Miller 1916, p. 658)
-	-	Mutatio Hyeronpotamum XIII	Girmir Çay (French 2016, p. 70)
Fines Cilicie X	-	-	"Corrig. Fines Galatiae, Girmir Çay" (French 2016, p. 21)
Lagania XXVIII	Laganeos XXIV	Mansio Agannia XI	Dikmen Hüyük (French 2016, p. 71), Anastasiopolis in EBP (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 197)
-	-	Mutatio Ipetobrogen VI	Perli Çiftlik (French 2016, p. 71)
Mizago XXXVIII	Minizo XXIII	Mansio Mnizos X	near Balçiçek Çiftlik (French 2016, p. 72)
-	-	Mutatio Prasmon XII	"Area of Ayaş Road ?" (French 2016, p. 74), "on the modern Ayaş road" (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 96)
-	Manegordo XXVIII	-	Avdan Çiftlik (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 96)

Table 2. (continued)

-	-	Mutatio Cenaxem Palidem XIII	Çakırlar Çiftlik or Macun Çiftlik (French 2016, p. 67, Belke & Restle 1984, p. 96)
[Ancyra] XXVIII	**Ancyra XXIV**	**Civitas Anchira Galatia** XIII	**Ankara**
-	-	Mutatio Delemna X	"near Gölbaşı" (French 2016, p. 69) "on the small summit of Kepeliboğaz" (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 96)
Corveunte X	Corbeunca XX (p. 143) Gorbeus XXIV (p. 205)	Mansio Curveunta XI	"near Oğulbey" (French 2016, p. 68) "at Çakal/ mod. Oğulbey" (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 96)
-	Rosolaciaco XII (p.143) Orsologiaco XVIII (p.205)	Mutatio Rosolodiaco XII	Deliler Çiftlik (French 2016, p. 75)
Garmias XIII	-	Mutatio Aliassum XIII	"Afşar ?" (French 2016, p. 64), "at Afşar" (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 96)
Aspona X	**Aspona XXIII (p. 143) Aspona XX (p. 205)**	**Civitas Aspona XVIII**	**Sarıhüyük** (French 2016, p. 66)
-	-	Mutatio Galea XIII	"near Büyük Bıyık" (French 2016, p. 70)

Table 2. (continued)

-	-	Mutatio Andrapa IX	Keles Höyük (Belke & Restle 1984, p. 97, French 2016, p. 65)
Aspasi XII	Parnasso XXIV (p. 143) Parnasso XXII (p. 205)	Mansio Parnasso XIII	Parlasan/Değirmenyolu
-	Ozzala XVII (p. 143) Nysa XXIV (p. 205)	Mansio Iogola XVI	Undefined (French 2016, p. 71, "Ozzala" Hild 1977, p. 40)
Nita …zo XXXI	Nitazi (?) XVIII (p. 143) Osiana XXXII (p. 205)	Mansio Nitalis XVIII	"near Oymaağaç" (French 2016, p. 73)
-	Saccasena XXVIII	Mutatio Argustana XIII	"Hüyük near Yeniyuva" (French 2016, p. 66)
[Archelais] XXX	**Coloniam Arcilaida XXVII (p. 143) Caesarea XXX (p. 205)**	**Civitas Colonia Archelais XV**	**Aksaray**
-	-	Mutatio Momoasson XII	Gökçe/Mamasun (French 2016, p. 72)
-	Nandianulus	Mansio Anathiango XIII	Bekarlar/Nenezi (French 2016, p. 65)
-	-	Mutatio Chusa XII	Yazıhüyük (French 2016, p. 67)
-	Sasima	Mansio Sasima XII	Hasaköy (Hild 1977, p. 44)
-	Andabilis	Mansio Andavilis XVI	Andaval/Aktaş (French 2016, p. 65)

Table 2. (continued)

Tyana	Tiana	**Civitas Thyana XVIII**	**Kemerhisar**
-	**Faustinopolim**	**Civitas Faustinopoli XII**	**Başmakçı**
-	-	Mutatio Caena XIII	"near Keçikalesi ?" (French 2016, p. 67) "near Tahta Köprü" (Hild 1977, p. 52)
Paduando XII	Podando	Mansio Opodando XII	Pozantı
Fines cilicie	-	Mutatio Pilas XIV	Gülek Boğazı
-	Nampsucrone	Mansio Mansucrinæ XII	"near Hacıhamzalı & Kirit" French 2016, p. 72)
Tarso	-	**Civitas Tarso XII**	**Tarsus**
-	-	Mutatio Pargais XIII	"near Gökçeler ?" (French 2016, p. 73)
Adana	-	**Civitas Adana XIV**	**Adana**
Mopsistea	-	**Civitas Mansista XVIII**	**Misis**
-	-	Mutatio Tardequeia XV	"Kurtkulağı ?" (French 2016, p. 77)
aRegea	Aegeas	-	Ayaş (French 2016, p. 64)
Catabolo	Catabolo	Mansio Catavolo XVI	Muttalip Hüyük (French 2016, p. 67)
-	Bais	Mansio Baiæ XVII	"Payas ?" (French 2016, p. 66)
Alexandria catisson	Alexandria	Mansio Alexandria Scabiosa XVI	İskenderun

Table 2. (continued)

-	-	Mutatio Pictanus IX	Belen (French 2016, p. 74)
-	-	Mansio Pagrios VIII	"Bağras ?" (French 2016, p. 73)
Antiocheiaia	**Antiocheiaia**	**Civitas Antiocheiaia XVI**	**Antakya**

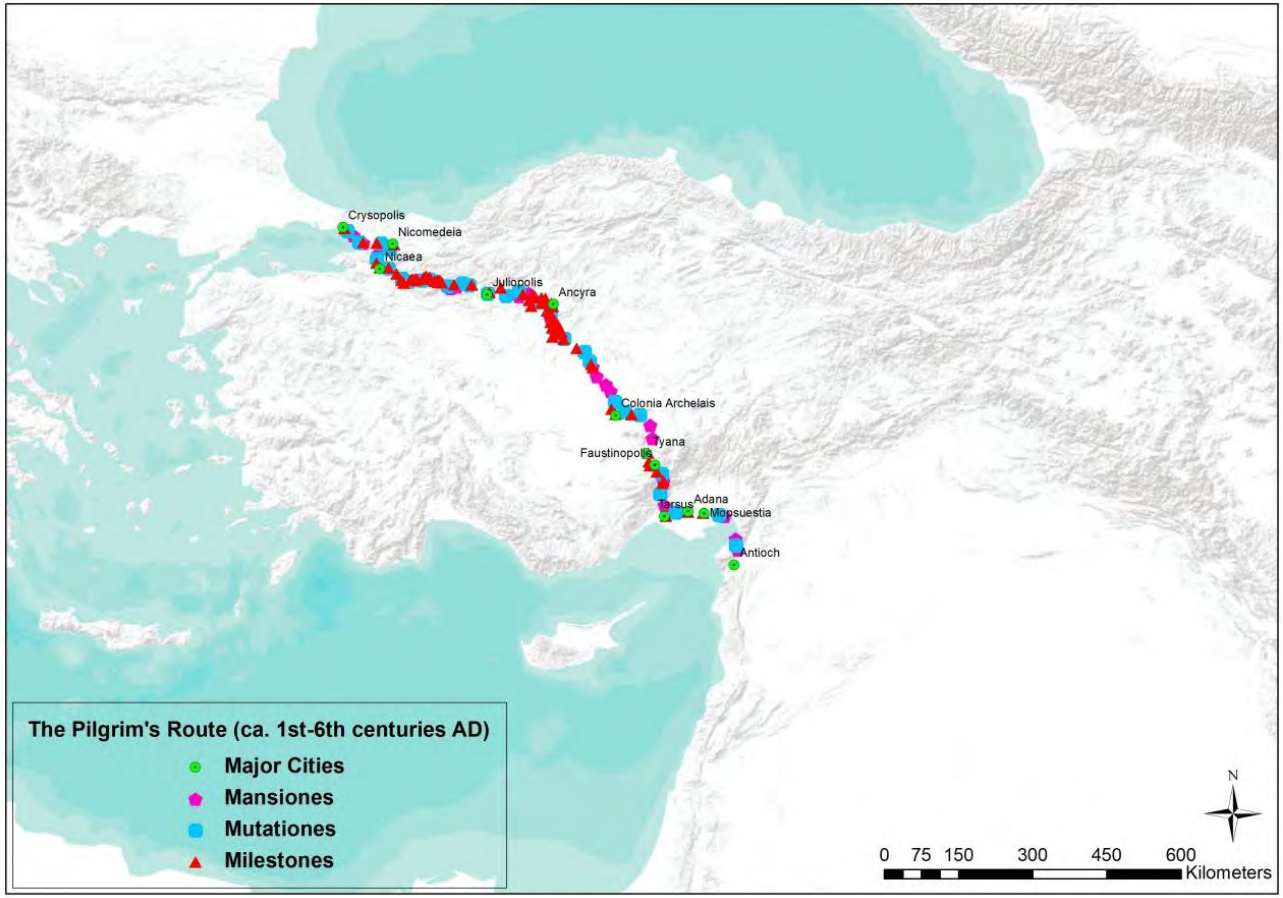


Figure 50. *Mansiones* and *mutationes* established along the Pilgrim's Road prepared by the author Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

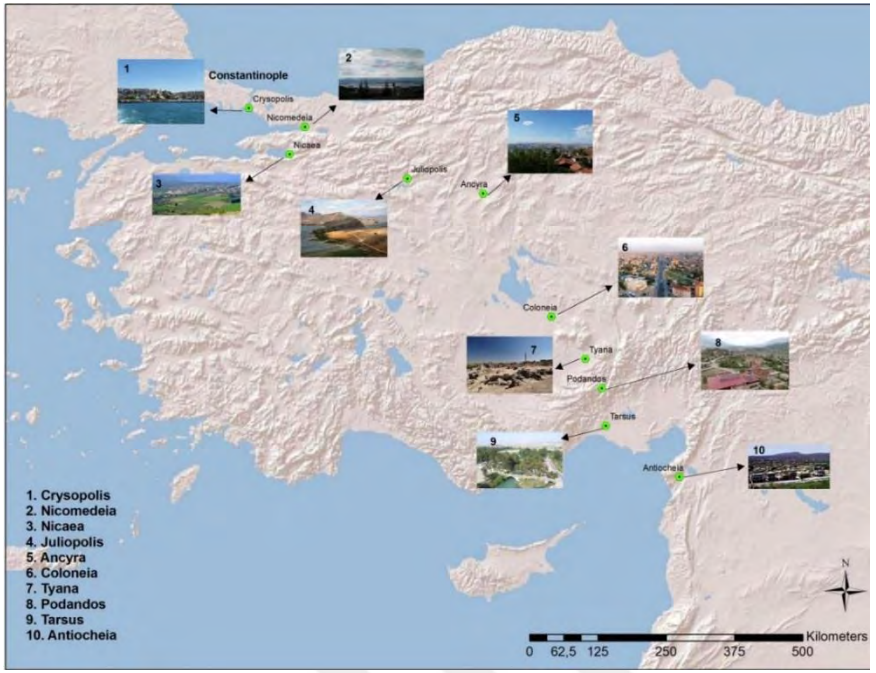


Figure 51. Urban centres established along the Pilgrim's Route, prepared by the author. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.1. Photo by author 2. Photo by author 3. Eyice, 2001, pp. 547 4. www.nallihan.gov.tr/juliopolis 5. Photo by author 6. www.gezimanya.com/aksaray 7. www.turkisharchaeonews.net/site/tyana-kemerhisar 8. www.pozanti.gov.tr 9. www.mersin.ktb.gov.tr/TR-73148/tarsus.html 10. www.islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/antakya

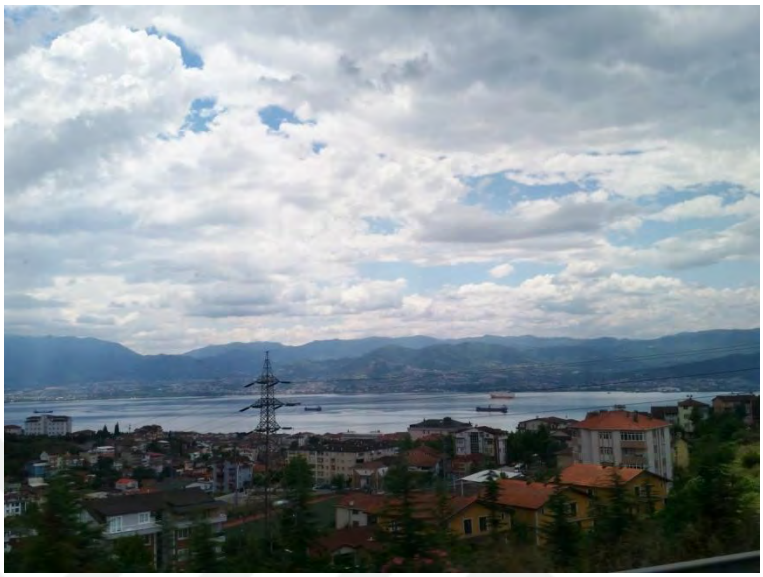


Figure 52. Nicomedeia (İzmit). Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 53. Plan of Nicaea (İznik). City Plan by Niewöhner & Peschlow, 2017, fig. 15.2., Peschlow, 2017, p. 205.

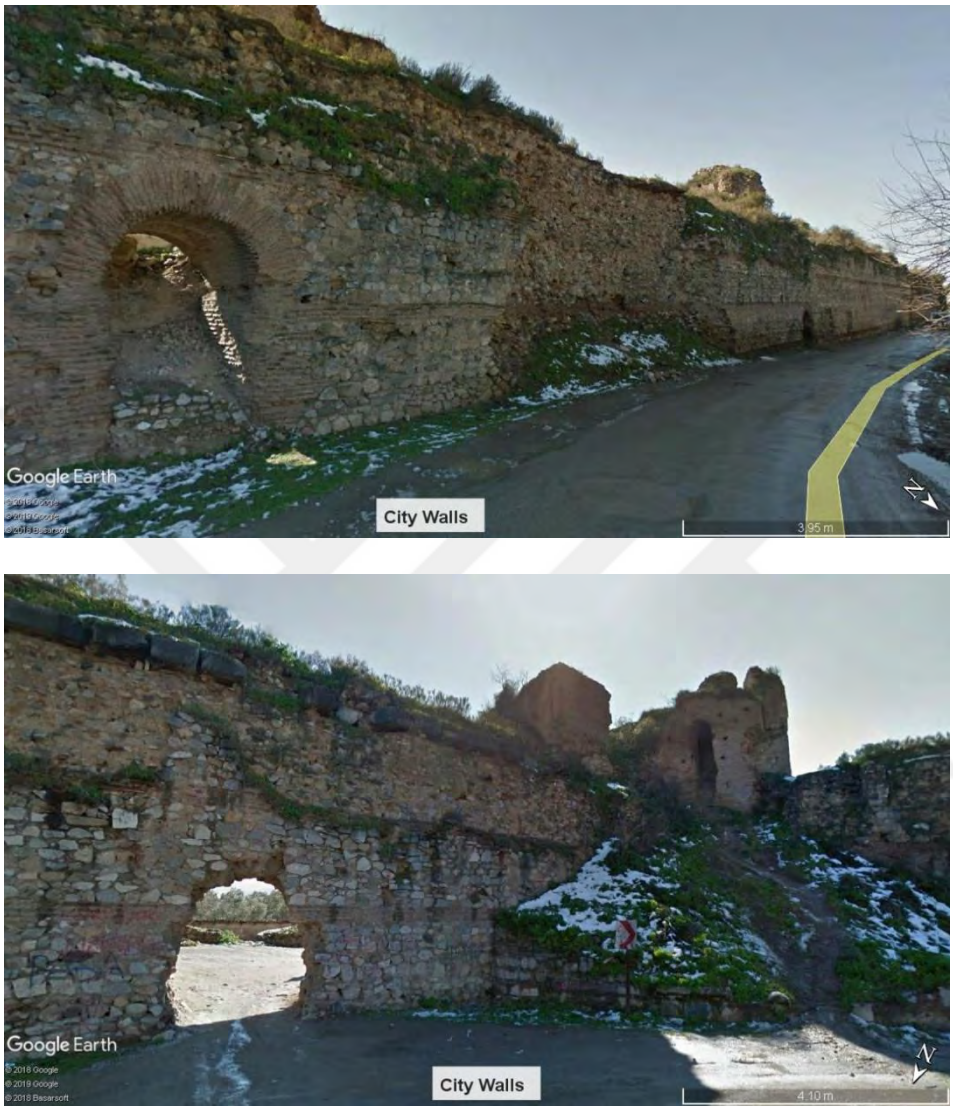


Figure 54. City walls of Nicaea. Photo: Google Earth.



Figure 55. Late Roman and Early Byzantine Nicaea (İznik), prepared by the author. Basemap: ArcGIS Software. Photos: 1. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/iznik; 1912; 2. Bursa Valiliği https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/bursa/gezilecekyer/znik-ayasofya; 3. Bursa Valiliği, https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/bursa/TurizmAktiviteleri/znik-roma-tiyatrosu, 2012; 4. A. E. Keskin, 2017, in Peschlow, 2017, fig. 15.5., p. 210.



Figure 56. Council of Nicaea, fresco from the Basilica of St. Nicholas in Demre. Source: Encyclopædia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/event/First-Council-of-Nicaea-325

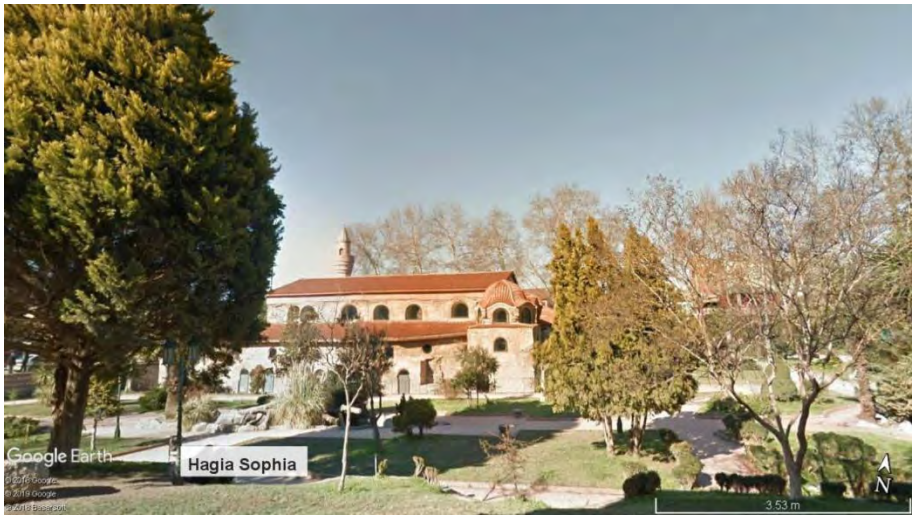


Figure 57. Church of St. Sophia. Photo: GoogleEarth.



Figure 58. Juliopolis near Çayırhan and Nallıhan. Map: Google Earth.



Figure 59. View of Juliopolis. Photo: http://adkam.akdeniz.edu.tr/juliopolis.

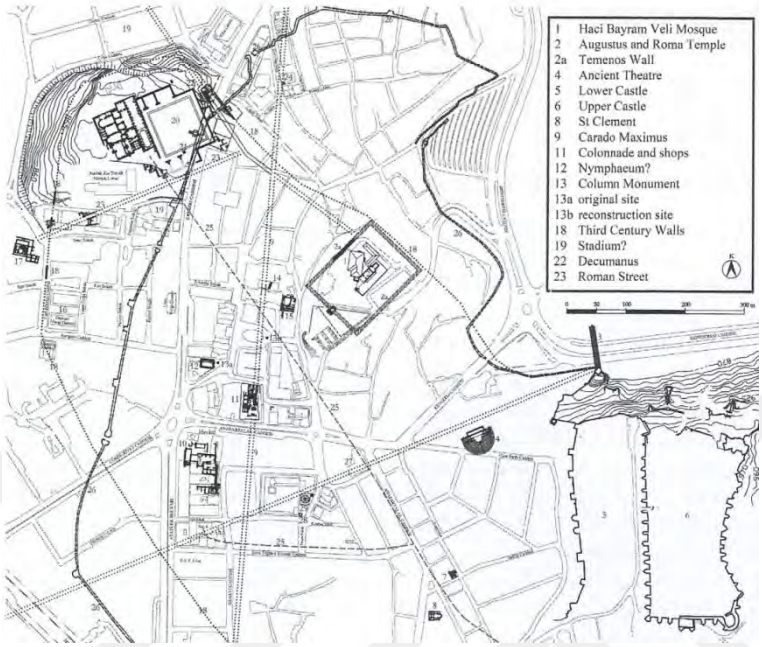


Figure 60: Plan of Late Roman Ancyra, Peschlow, 2017, fig. 33.1, p. 350.



Figure 61. Temple of Augustus, Ankara, photo by author, 2019.

CHAPTER 5

ROUTES, URBANIZATION AND THE CHANGING DYNAMICS: ARAB PRESENCE IN ASIA MINOR (ca. 7th – 9th CENTURIES)

The period between the seventh and the ninth centuries is often defined as the age of 'transitional', 'Early Byzantine' or 'Early/Middle Byzantine' Period"[669]. During this period radical changes had occurred in the political and administrative structure of the Eastern Roman Empire (the Byzantine Empire).The changes happened, particularly in the contexts of political administration and economy and which had an impact on the urbanization and the use of the main routes in Asia Minor in this period, more specifically between the middle of the seventh and the second half of the ninth centuries can be summarized as follows:

1) The situation of warfare, first with the Sassanids (the last pre-Islamic Persian Empire), and later the Arabs, and the changing situations and associated developments in the frontier zones; the Taurus-anti Taurus region gaining prominence as the new frontier zone, and replacing Cilicia which until then had acted as the defensive and frontier region of Asia Minor.

[669] Haldon, 2012, p. 103. The period from the seventh to the ninth century A.D., first called 'Dark Ages' by Edward Gibbon, is considered and described as "transitional" or "early Byzantine", "early/middle Byzantine" period by the leading Byzantinists. See Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 453-454. Brown explains the period between the second and eight century within the context of 'Late Antiquity', focusing on the main changes in religious practices, i.e. the rise of Christianity, Brown, 1971. Cameron also states that the social, political and economic changes in the Mediterranean world between the fourth and seventh centuries reflected 'Late Antiquity'. Cameron, 1993, pp. 58-66. Considering from a different perspective, Whittow states that the period between the seventh and ninth centuries may vary in terms of social, cultural, political and economic contexts. Therefore, Whittow claims that the period can be described both as "Long 'long' Late Antiquity as well as 'Medieval' or 'Middle Byzantine' in this regard. Whittow, 2009, pp. 134-153. Also see Chapter 2.

2) Changes in the political/administrative system of empire, the emergence of four new administrative divisions, *themes* or *themata*[670], that were established on a military basis in the first half of the ninth century: *Anatolikon*, *Opsikion*, *Armeniakon* and *Thrakesion*[671].

3) Changes in the status of cities and context of urbanization; urban collapse; shrinkage, localization, impoverishment, and urban settlements turning into military centres.

4) Changes and developments in the contexts and patterns of economy, trade and commerce.

Starting from the seventh century onwards, Byzantine Asia Minor witnessed more changes in political/administrative and economic spheres, which were more transformative, when compared to the previous centuries. One of the main causes of the 'transformation' was the situation of warfare with the Arabs that lasted until the ninth century, as Brubaker and Haldon, Wickham, Ivison, Dagron, and Whittow emphasize[672].

Between the beginning of the seventh century and the raids of Arabs to Asia Minor in the middle of the seventh century, the Byzantine Empire had battled with the Persians. The Persians threatened the Byzantine Empire between 603 and 628 A.D.[673]

While the Persian attacks mainly took place in the eastern frontier of the empire; they posed a threat to the cities in the eastern part of central Anatolia, including Melitene (Malatya), Caesarea (Kayseri), and Ancyra (Ankara). In the course of their invasions,

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[670] The term *themata* or *themes* was broadly studied by Haldon. In this regard, *themes* or *themata* were "groupings of provinces which different armies were based" They gained a geographical identity by 730; then became elements of fiscal and military administration. Haldon, 2005, p. 68. For detailed information, see Haldon, 1990, pp. 203-205; 212, 276; Haldon, 1999, pp. 84-128; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 723-752; also see Appendix C.

[671] Of these divisions, the *Anatolikon* included in southern central Asia Minor, the *Opsikion* in north-west Asia Minor, the *Armeniakon* in the eastern and northern district of Asia Minor, and the *Thrakesion* in the rich provinces of central western Anatolia. Haldon, 2005, p. 68.

[672] On 'transformation', see Chapter 2.

[673] Kaegi, 2000, p. 32. About the Persian Wars, see *Procopius*, trans. 1914.

they attacked Cappadocia and captured first Caesarea (Kayseri) in 610 A.D.[674], and then Chalcedon (Kadıköy) and Ancyra (Ankara) in 615 A.D. and 618 A.D., respectively[675]. They took control of Cilicia, as a naval base, the plain of Pamphylia and also Syria[676], and furthermore, besides disrupting the communication routes in eastern Asia Minor, they also threatened the eastern lands further in the empire, resulting with fall of Antiocheia (Antakya), Jerusalem, and Egypt to the Persians in the first half of the seventh century[677]. The Persians indeed, did not aim for a permanent occupation of Anatolia, and organized raids to take booty and hence threaten the empire[678]. The turmoil they had created, however, affected the political equilibrium of the eastern empire; the peace between the two Empires could be established in 626 A.D.[679] With the rise of Islam, the Arabs who expanded their territories in the west of the Arabian Peninsula, the Levant, Syria, and Egypt had become a major threat[680]. They captured all of Mesopotamia and gained control over the Persians in 638 A.D.[681], causing a new and

[674] *Theophanes,* trans. 1997, p. 429.

[675] *Ibid*., pp. 433-434.

[676] Foss, 1975, pp. 721-725.

[677] Brown, 1971, p. 170; also see *Procopius*, trans. 1914.

[678] In light of the account of Theophanes, Persians, previously allied with the Saracens (nomads of the region of Arabia, *Procopius*, trans. 2002, p. 514) took booty when they and their allies invaded the boundaries of Antiocheia (Antakya) in 528 A.D. *Theophanes,* trans. 1997, p. 270. Likewise, the Persians attempted to invade and take cities, such as Ancyra (Ankara) and Chalcedon (Kadıköy) in Asia Minor, their presence was not permanent in the first half of the seventh century, *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, pp. 433-434, as the Roman army could defeat the Persians, and at the same time, the commanders and the leader of the Persians could not dare confront and to make a stand against the Romans in this period. *Ibid*., pp. 434-445. Foss, 1977b, pp. 69-77, emphasizes that Ancyra (Ankara) continued to play a role as a military centre in the early seventh century or in the course of the Persian attack, indicating the temporary Persian threat in the city. Procopius also mentions in detail that the wars with the Persians rather occurred behind the eastern frontier area, which caused no major damage in Asia Minor, *Procopius*, trans. 1914. Shortly thereafter the Arabs took control of Persia in 638 A.D., which lasted about 150 years and affected Anatolia negatively.

[679] Brown, 1971, p. 458.

[680] *Ibid.,* p. 467, p. 470.

[681] *Ibid.,* p. 475.

more serious threat for the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine) in the following centuries.

Starting from the mid-seventh century, the Arab troops began to conduct raids to Asia Minor, which lasted more than a hundred and fifty years (Figure 62). They began to invade Asia Minor in the 640s, and had reached as far as Ancyra (Ankara), Amorium (Emirdağ), Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü), and Trebizond (Trabzon) during the first wave of the attacks[682]. The invasion of the city of Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü) is mentioned by Michael the Syrian:

> [The Arabs] passed into Cilicia pillaging and taking captives, and arrived near Euchaïta without the population noticing it. They took control of the gates suddenly. When Mu'wiya arrived, he ordered the inhabitants put to the sword and stationed pickets so that no one might escape. After assembling all the wealth of the city, they tortured the officials [of Euchaïta] so that they would disclose the hoards. The Arabs took into slavery all the people, men, and women, and children, and perpetrated great destruction in this unfortunate city, and defiled the churches. Then they returned exultantly to their own land. These events occurred in the year 640[683].

The first wave of the invasions that occurred in 647 A.D. is also mentioned by Abu'l Faraj:

> The Arabs marched on Caesarea, and captured the city, passing through Armenia. Then, they advanced upon the city of Amorium, however, they could not occupy it[684].

The Arab troops started to penetrate Anatolia, by passing through the Taurus Mountains, and the regions of the anti-Taurus range, and Armenia IV[685]. In this period,

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[682] Haldon, 2016, p. 138.

[683] Trombley, 1985, p. 74; Haldon, 2018, pp. 210-255.

[684] *Abu'l Faraj*, trans. 1999, p. 180; also see *Ṭabarī,* trans. 1994, p. 164.

[685] Ahrweiler, 1974. The Anti-Taurus range was the region that traversed Taurus by the pass between Arabissos (Afşin) and Germaneikeia (Kahramanmaraş), which contains the plains of Uzun Yayla and Elbistan, and wide valleys such as that running between Cocussos (Göksun) and anti-Taurus range. In the northeast, it stretches towards the Euphrates. Ramsay, 1962, p. 85; Sinclair, 1989, p. 65. Armenia IV or Armenia Tertia was known as Upper Mesopotamia, including Palu and the Bingöl Plain, and also Mardin. Sinclair, 1989, p. 140; Kaegi, 2003, p. 251.

the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire had changed, and the empire lost most of Italy and the whole of North Africa in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries. As of this time, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea were of importance for the communication and transport between the East and West. By the seventh century, the territories of the empire consisted of the Balkans and Asia Minor, including the Aegean islands and Crete, and Cyprus[686]. Asia Minor in this regard assumed an important role as one of the significant regions of the empire that provided the security of the communication routes and the transportation system within the core zone of the state, which included the central Anatolian plateau[687]. The Arab invasions aimed primarily to break the resistance of the Byzantine Empire and to disrupt the communications[688] between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, which corresponded to the Pilgrim's Route (NW-SE DR 1), that operated via Ancyra (Ankara), and the NW-SE DR 2 that ran via Amorium (Emirdağ), the major line of communication and travel between the capital and the Cilician Gates. Even though they did not establish a permanent stay, like the Persians, their raids had consequences on the urbanization and the use of main routes in Asia Minor. The primary concern of the Byzantine Empire between the seventh and the ninth centuries A.D. within this context then, was thus to defend the lands under its control against the enemy attacks[689].

It can therefore be stated that the political and economic changes that started to occur in the eastern Roman Empire in the seventh century, were the inevitable and unavoidable results of the warfare situation. Nevertheless, the changes which were already implemented in the political/administrative, economic, and religious structures of the empire, starting from the fourth but more powerfully executed during the fifth and

[686] Haldon, 1999, p. 47. Before the raids, the empire extended to southern Spain, the North African coastline, including Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and north-west of Iraq. *Ibid.*

[687] Haldon, 2005, p. 13; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011.

[688] Haldon, 2016, p. 138; Haldon, 1999, pp. 34-67.

[689] Haldon, 1999, pp. 34-67; Ahrweiler, 1971; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011.

sixth centuries A.D., had lasting consequences and as such influenced the corresponding dynamics of the later centuries. The nature of the changes that had happened in urbanization, the use of routes, means of communication and transport in Asia Minor in the fifth and sixth centuries, on the other hand differed from the shifts that occurred in the course of the period between the seventh and the ninth centuries. It is argued in the previous chapter that the consequences of the changes between the fourth and sixth centuries, such as the rise of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire and the dominating role of central authority, the emperor, on the network of communication in Byzantine Asia Minor were primarily related to responding to and supporting the commercial and religious activities and urban vitality. Between the seventh and ninth centuries, however, the economic relations and urban vitality slowed down as the main concern of the state became focused on the management and performance of military affairs.

The roads known from the late Roman period continued to be used in this period, but new routes came into use along the northwest-southeast direction by the middle of the seventh century. Due to the hostile Arab attacks, which affected especially the inland, eastern, and southern coastal regions of Asia Minor, the system of communication in the two centuries that followed had shifted towards developing "mainly military routes along which imperial and provincial marching camps"[690] were settled. The military routes that ran in the northwest-southeast axis from Constantinople to the east of Anatolia and the Cilician Gates had become the corridors of access to the Arabs[691] and thus were of no beneficial use for the Byzantine army. The two alternative military routes which emerged anew and were used especially by the Byzantine troops in this period are:

1) The route that ran from Crysoupolis (Üsküdar) to Attaleia (Antalya) in the south coast and Ephesus in the west coast via Dorylaion (Eskişehir), Cotyaeion

[690] Haldon, 1999, p. 54.

[691] *Ibid.*

(Kütahya), Amorium (Emirdağ), Acroinon (Afyon) and Chonai (Honaz); going also to Caesarea (Kayseri) and Sebasteia (Sivas) by forking at Iconion (Konya), and to the Cilician Gates.

2) The route starting from Constantinople and branched off to the east at Dorylaion, and thence to Caesarea (Kayseri), Sebasteia (Sivas), Dazimon (near Tokat), Colonia (Şebinkarahisar), Satala (Sadak), and Melitene (Malatya)[692] (Figure 63).

The emergence of the new military routes in Asia Minor also led to the foundation of imperial and provincial military camps, known as *aplekta*[693], between Constantinople and eastern Asia Minor. The account of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* lists these provincial military camps as such:

> The *aplēkta* are: the first *aplēkton* at Malagina, the second at Dorylaion, the third at Kaborkion, the fourth at Kolōneia, the fifth at Kaisareia, the sixth at Dazimōn in the (district of the) *Armeniakoi*. The *stratēgos* of the *Thrakēsioi* and the *stratēgos* of the *Anatolikoi* must join the emperor at Malagina. The *domestikos* of the *Scholai* and the *stratēgos* of the *Anatolikoi* and the *stratēgos* of Seleukia ought to meet the emperor at Kaborkion. If the expedition is to Tarsos, the remaining *themata* ought to assemble at Kolōneia, but if it is to the eastern regions, the *stratēgos* of Kappadokia and those of Charsianon and of the *Boukellarioi* ought to meet the emperor at Kolōneia, those of the *Armeniakoi* and of Paphlagonia and of Sebasteia at Kaesareia. The Armenian *themata* should assemble at Bathys Ryax if the expedition is to Tephrikē[694].

The Pilgrim's Road, i.e., the NW-SE DR 1[695], which was actively used in the late Roman period, also lost its significance between the seventh and the ninth centuries.

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[692] *Ibid.,* p. 56-57. The routes described above were in fact Roman roads. Their use has changed and they became major military routes.

[693] *Ibid.*, p. 141. Also known as "base camps", Haldon, 2005, p. 132, *aplekta* were fortified camps to billet troops, *ODB*, 1991, p. 131. Brown *et al.,* 1978, p. 19, emphasize that *aplekta* had to be established in an extensive area, including good communications and well-watered pastureland, such as Dazimon (near Tokat) and Bathys Ryax (Kalınırmak Gap on the north-eastern edge of the Ak Dağ, Haldon, 2000, p. 85) in addition to being places which had room for army and its beasts to spread and feed. Winfield, 1977, p. 159.

[694] *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, trans. 1990, p. 81.

[695] It stretches from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Ancyra (Ankara).

Yet, the main diagonal route that ran between the capital and Caesarea in the northwest-southeast and west-east directions respectively, passed via Dorylaion and south of Ancyra (Ankara), defined as the 'Great Military Route' by William Ramsay, it was probably in use in the sixth century[696], and must have been continued to be used during the period of Arab raids as well. However, our knowledge of the functions of the remains limited since there is no direct literary evidence regarding its use.

In the period concerned, a new route, which can be described as the Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2 (NW-SE DR 2)[697], and that connected Constantinople to the Cilician Gates, again via Dorylaion and Amorium (Emirdağ), gained importance[698]. It is known that this route was used more frequently for military purposes. The primary sources provide information about the use of the NW-SE DR 2, the route that gained more usage during the period from the seventh until the ninth century[699].

5.1. Political and Administrative Developments during the Arab Raids

From the seventh century onwards, there were two threats to the Byzantine Empire: the Persians and the Arabs. Of these, the Arab raids initiated profound changes in the political and economic situation of the empire, which lasted for more than a century. The Persians were first but it was the Arabs that had posed serious danger for the communication routes and urban centres of in inland Anatolia, between the seventh and ninth centuries. They conducted sweeping attacks, which aimed to collect booty,

[696] It is the second military route mentioned above. It is discussed that the Byzantine emperors used this route during their eastern campaigns, see Ramsay, 1962, pp. 197-221. However, Byzantine and Arab sources do not mention its use between the seventh and ninth century. Sebêos, the Armenian historian, mentions that the emperor Heraclius marched from Constantinople to Caesarea (Kayseri), but he does not mention the route that was taken between the two cities in detail. *Sebêos*, trans. 1999, p. 81.

[697] See pp. 228-235 in this chapter.

[698] It is the first military route mentioned above.

[699] See pp. 231-235 in this chapter about these sources.

make the supplies unreachable for the Byzantine imperial seat, and thus to interrupt the communications[700] , especially between the capital and the major cities. To prevent this situation the Byzantine administration started to pay subsidies to the Arabs, as they previously also did to the Persians[701].

Hence, the organization of new frontier zones and new administrative structures, i.e., the military divisions, later known as *themata*, played an essential role in restoring the conditions in Asia Minor.

In this period, the frontier zone, and therefore the political/administrative system that was in operation, changed in certain ways. The *limes* in the east, that is the fortified area linked by roads[702], lost its importance since the Byzantines fought with their enemies far from the *limes* in the seventh century[703]. The zone that was considered frontier until the seventh century was defined by the boundary line that stretched between Amida (Diyarbakır) and Theodosiopolis (Erzurum)[704], as mentioned in Chapter 4. When the empire lost its territories of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in the Battle of Yarmuk in 636 A.D. to the Arabs, the frontier zone was redefined to cover the region between the Taurus Mountains and Mesopotamia[705]. The passes of Podandos (Pozantı), Feke (in Adana), Mazgaçbel (in Kahramanmaraş), Eyerbel (in Kahramanmaraş), Pyramos River Gorge (Ceyhan River) and Adata (in the north of Kahramanmaraş)[706] through the Taurus Mountains, which constituted the new frontier border on north after

[700] Kennedy and Haldon, 2004, p. 80.

[701] Hendy, 1985, pp. 262-265. Hendy mentions that in 781, the Byzantines paid 70.000 *nomismata* (νόμισμα or coin, which was standard gold coin of 24 keratia, (*ODB,* 1991, p. 1490) annually or twice a year. *Ibid.*

[702] The term *limes* was used to define the defence system in the frontier area. Isaac, 1988, p. 125; Ahrweiler, 1971, p. 219.

[703] Honigmann, 1970, p. 35.

[704] *Ibid*., pp. 8-17.

[705] Dagron, 2002, p. 397; for detailed information and discussion about the frontier area, see Eger, 2015.

[706] Haldon, 1990, p. 106; Kaegi, 2000, p. 241.

the 640s played a vital role in gaining control over the travelling military and civilian elements and creating a buffer zone between the Byzantines and Arabs[707] (Figure 64).

The provincial administration also changed in the first half of the seventh century. The field armies remained insufficient for defence against the raids, and thus the Byzantine state focused on establishing strong points that were strategically located in the frontier areas and the inland of Asia Minor. Meanwhile, because the state ran out of cash due to the situation of warfare, it stopped sustaining the Imperial army and the soldiers were distributed across the provinces to be called back when necessary. With this change, the Byzantine army became "provincialized, localized and ruralized by the middle of the eighth century"[708]. The local administrative systems in the provinces and the military districts garrisoned across the provinces started to shaped the mechanisms of provincial administration in the eighth century. By the 820s, the provincial divisions, known as *themata*, including *Anatolikon*, *Opsikion*, *Armeniakon* and *Thrakesion*, and the maritime division of *Kibyrrhaiotai*, were established (Figure 65). According to the organization of *themata*, the "recruiting and maintaining the soldiers in the late Roman field armies transformed into the pattern of provincially based and recruited forces"[709], which were commanded by *strategos*[710]. The main purpose of this system change was to organize the logistical arrangements of the soldiers rather than a strategic decision,[711] so that the field armies could be supported by the rural population[712].

A military route passed from each provincial division, along which the main cities and fortresses of that province were established in the Roman period. The main

[707] Kaegi, 2000, p. 242; Haldon, 1990, p. 106.

[708] Brandes and Haldon, 2000, pp. 144-151; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011.

[709] Haldon, 2007, p. 111; Haldon, 1999.

[710] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 729.

[711] Haldon, 1992, pp. 142-143.

[712] Haldon, 2006, p. 634.

cities, which can be defined as cities of military centres, such as Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Ancyra (Ankara), and which were founded on such military routes, therefore, gained prominence, foremost as stations and logistic-supply centres. For example, Chonai (Honaz), established on a steep and precipitous hill along the road from Ephesus to Julia in the west-east direction and situated in the *Thrakesion Theme*, became an important military station in the seventh and eighth centuries[713]. Amorium (Emirdağ), as the capital of the *Anatolikon Theme*, became the military station where the army stayed in the winters during the campaigns against the Arabs[714]. Another important city established on the diagonal route from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates (NW-SE DR 2) was Dorylaion (Eskişehir), which belonged to the *Opsikion Theme*. The city was the meeting place of the armies, and was also the military centre of the *Opsikion Theme*. It is known that the *Opsikion* army had stationed at Dorylaion (Eskişehir) during the eighth-century Arab raids[715]. Dorylaion (Eskişehir), Amorium (Emirdağ), and Ancyra (Ankara) became the "thematic headquarters and strategic stages on the highways that led to the eastern frontier"[716]. In this regard, the main cities, established earlier along the main communication routes, as exemplified, effectively functioned to support the military necessities in each division of the *themata* in Asia Minor as well.

The Byzantine armies were confronted, with difficult terrain conditions as they passed along the routes during the war times. The exposed harsh terrain, the waterless roads of central Anatolia, and the rough mountainous land made their pass a very difficult task. The Byzantine state had to provide the security of the frontier region in the Taurus Mountains and hence to support the army and keep it in good state. Since the

[713] Ramsay, 1962, p. 135.

[714] *Theophanes,* trans. 1997, p. 575.

[715] *Ibid.*, p. 575.

[716] Ivison, 2000, p. 26. The cities in question were established along the main diagonal route leading from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates and played a vital role in the security of the route. See pp. 227-235 in this chapter.

geography and the conditions of the roads could not change the strategy used to manage the frontier region was reformed[717]. Lilie argues that the Arab forces had mainly concentrated on the frontier regions of Cilicia and Armenia IV, as their strategy was "to weaken the Byzantine border defences, and thus to open way for the capture of Constantinople"[718]. The main strategy of the Byzantines on the other hand was to avoid battle for which, the enemy troops could be made ineffective by exposing them to such difficulties as illness and lack of water and supplies[719]. Accordingly the Empire endeavoured to control, especially the narrow passes that provided passage through the mountains at the frontier, well until the end of the eleventh century, that is, until the Seljuk arrival into Anatolia[720]. With this defence strategy, Haldon emphasizes that the Byzantine state also aimed to "to permit the invaders to the frontier, to withstand them by major fortified centres or military garrisons and to make the enemies' resources and line of communication vulnerable as time and energy when attacked"[721]. As such, the defence strategy of the early Byzantine Period, operated on a different basis, compared to the longer term, offensive operations of the Roman Empire, which were carried out in the third century and based on withstanding the pressure of many small attacks at the frontier and pushing them into Roman territory[722]., The strategically important geographical zones, in this respect, also changed by the second half of the seventh century. Haldon divides the strategic geography of Asia Minor in this period into three zones: The first was the region in which the communication routes became exposed to

[717] Haldon, 1999, p. 60.

[718] Lilie, 1976, p. 133, pp. 137-139. The Arab troops attempted to occupy Constantinople also via the sea routes. Theophanes mentions that Mu'awiya conducted a raid against Constantinople and the two armies battled at Phoinix Sea (in Lycia) in 653 A.D., *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 482. For more detailed information about sea routes followed by the Byzantine armies and Arab troops, see Ahrweiler, 1966.

[719] Haldon, 1999, p. 37.

[720] *Ibid*., pp. 59-60.

[721] *Ibid*., pp. 60-61.

[722] *Ibid*., p. 60.

the Arab raids and devastations, i.e. the Cilicia region. The second zone consisted of the interior of Asia Minor, the region of Phrygia-Galatia that included many defended focal points, and fiscal and military centres, and in which the Byzantine troops and the Arab raiders battled. The last is the core zone, the hinterland of the capital, which from time to time was targeted by the invaders[723]. Of these three strategic regions, Phrygia-Galatia was the core zone through which passed the primary military routes in the northwest-southeast axis, and the armies followed the main line of communication in central Anatolia.

In the period of the Arab raids, the routes which ran along the northwest-southeast direction and constituted the main line of communication of Asia Minor continued to be used, by both the imperial armies and the raiders. The raiders indeed followed some of the routes that were the main arteries of Asia Minor, stretching between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates in the northwest-southeast axis during their attacks to inland Anatolia. During the first wave of the Arab invasions, which began in the 640s, the Arabs attacked Byzantine Armenia by using the routes coming from Mesopotamia[724]. The starting point of the raids was the Euphrates valley in the east, where Germanicae (Kahramanmaraş) and Melitene (Malatya) were the major urban centres. The raiders penetrated Asia Minor by crossing the Taurus Mountains, passing through the Podandos gorge (Pozantı) in the south. Ahrweiler mentions that by taking the route of the Taurus Mountains, the Arab troops initially aimed at capturing the regions of Cappadocia and Lycaonia. The raiders later followed the route through the Halys valley (Kızılırmak) and thence reached Galatia and Paphlagonia through Cappadocia, and Phrygia and Pisidia via Lycaonia; the routes they had used functioned, most likely, as the diagonal connections of Asia Minor in this period. It is also known that Arab armies also used the route passing through the coast of Propontis (Marmara

[723] Haldon, 2016; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, the second zone, i.e. the region of Phrygia-Galatia, which was the main diagonal route (NW-SE DR 2) that the Arab troops used to make massive attacks; it passed through strategically located fortified cities such as Amorium (Emirdağ) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir).

[724] Kaegi, 2000, p. 67.

Sea) or the mouth of the Sangarius River (Sakarya River) in Pontus in the north and reached Phrygia and Bithynia[725].

The raiders preferred, likely, the diagonal connections when they attempted to occupy Constantinople. For instance, the diagonal route connecting the cities of Iconion (Konya), Amorium (Emirdağ) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir) along the northwest-southeast direction was frequently used by them.[726] It seems that the cities of Ancyra (Ankara), Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ), which were established earlier and prospered along the main diagonal routes between fourth and sixth centuries, had played an important role in terms of confronting the Arab armies. Since the Arabs generally concentrated on plundering the regions of Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and Isauria[727], the large cities along the inland of Asia Minor such as, Ancyra and Dorylaion, which were located on the main arteries, remained under the control of the Byzantines and provided the security of the main routes, communication, and transport in Asia Minor in the seventh century[728].

[725] Ahrweiler, 1971, pp. 7-10. The Arab troops followed a number of routes mainly across the border of the Taurus Mountains and the Euphrates valley when they targeted specific urban centres established along the main diagonal communication routes. For example, the raiders moved to central Anatolia via the gorge of Adata (in the north of Kahramanmaraş) and the Pyramos valley (Ceyhan). The routes mentioned above demonstrate that the first wave of the raids was carried in an unsystematic way. Both the Byzantine and Arab sources mention that the Arabs later systematically raided Asia Minor, following the main diagonal route in the northwest-southeast direction, which was exemplified in this chapter, see pp. 132-135.

[726] *Ibid.*

[727] *Ibid.*

[728] It is known that the Arabs attempted to raid the main urban centres in Asia Minor also via sea routes, in addition to the lands routes when they proceeded to Propontis (Marmara Sea) and the Aegean Sea to embark for Constantinople. They preferred to winter at western Anatolia passing through the valleys of the Maeander (Menderes), Lycus (a tributary of the Maeander), and Hermus (Gediz River) between the Aegean coasts and the interior of Anatolia, before attempting to reach the Aegean Sea; they utilized the opportunity to support their fleet, which was deployed in the Aegean. See Ahrweiler, 1971; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011; Haldon, 2005; Haldon, 1999.

5.2. Economic Situation

The condition of continuous warfare by the seventh century reduced the economic activity in Asia Minor. The state, however, continued to survive despite the political and economic disruption. The Arab attacks had an unfavourable impact on the economic activities, leading to a restriction in the operation of the commercial exchanges. The economic reduction is reflected, foremost, by the decrease in the urban-rural exchange activities. The economy of exchange, in this respect, shifted more to small-scale trade between the seventh and the tenth centuries, as Dagron and Laiou mention[729].

Longer-distance commercial exchange activities also continued on a much-reduced scale. The use of land routes for large-scale trade was not favoured anymore, as sea routes offered a much cheaper opportunity of transportation, as known especially from the seventh and eighth centuries. The sea communication would change its scope and transform into small-scale navigation between the islands of Aegean in the ninth century, due to increased piracy along the coasts of Cilicia and Crete, as well as North Africa[730].

Gold coinage, despite the economic constraints, continued to be minted in the later seventh and eighth centuries. Brubaker and Haldon relate this to the fact that the empire could still sustain a powerful administrative mechanism in fiscal and military affairs[731]. Hence, the reimbursement of the army continued to be paid in gold. The minting of bronze coinage, as opposed to this, was reduced. The curtailment in the issue of the bronze petty coinage indicated a reduced level of economic activity between the second half of the seventh and the early ninth centuries. A major reason of economic

[729] Dagron, 2002, p. 406; Laiou, 2002, p. 735.

[730] Laiou, 2002, pp. 697-698.

[731] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 453, 466 mention that "coin until the ninth century had the major function of supporting the operation of a redistributive fiscal mechanism". In this regard, the salaries of the soldiers were paid in gold by the State in this period.

regression, as argued by Brubaker and Haldon, was military-oriented expenditures, such as the supply and payment of the army during the long period of warfare[732]. Despite the reduction of bronze coinage, for example, the soldiers continued to be paid in both gold and bronze during the second half of the seventh and throughout the eighth centuries. Hence, Brubaker and Haldon state that the bronze finds from Asia Minor, as in the Balkans, should be associated with the presence of the military operations[733]. The archaeological evidence for bronze is fragmentary in Asia Minor which supports Brubaker and Haldon who suggested that "the transformation of urban centres and insecurity of the internal market must have brought about the lack of supplies of bronze in the seventh and eighth centuries"[734].

It seems that, however, the economic activities and the communication network of trade were not interrupted entirely. According to Brubaker and Haldon, and based on the primary textual evidence, the simultaneous occurrence of reduction in production and continuity in exchange activities can be explained by the continuity in the daily exchanges which were done by the circulation of bronze, though limited in volume,; the gold paid to the army was supplied by taxation[735]. Accordingly, the small-scale exchange activities, despite in a reduced context, continued to be conducted from the second half of the seventh century until the ninth century or later. Nevertheless, since the published ceramic evidence of this period from Anatolia is also fragmentary, it is difficult to provide an inclusive picture of the network of exchange among the settlements in Asia Minor between the seventh and ninth centuries[736].

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[732] *Ibid.*, p. 467; also see Laiou and Morrisson, 2007.

[733] *Ibid.*, pp. 470-473.

[734] *Ibid.*, p. 485. Archaeologically, the circulation of coins in Byzantine Asia Minor from the seventh to the ninth centuries is limited.

[735] *Ibid.,* p. 483.

[736] See Vroom, 2017.

Despite the reduction and curtailment of production starting from the mid seventh century, it is known that by the later seventh and eighth centuries the production and distribution of agricultural products were transported to the places where the troops were deployed[737]. Hence, although archaeology provides less evidence for the use of main lines of communication in relation to the transport of goods in this period, continuity in the production and distribution of goods for military purpose, at least via some of these routes during the period of the Arab raids is a plausible suggestion.

It is also known that the economic activity was regionalized and, therefore, the provincial system of exchange was based on the availability of coins in the towns and along the major routes of communication in each region during the seventh and eighth centuries. Although there was a decrease in the amount of coin finds in Asia Minor, the archaeological evidence suggests continuity in exchange activities[738], which had probably operated via the main routes of the regions. In this regard, it could be suggested that the local economic activities had continued to exist, and that the modern studies, based on hagiographic texts and other primary sources, suggest a continuity in the used of trade routes, and travels[739].

During the period of the raids, the cities were reduced in size, and/or changed physically, indicating a reduction in market exchange and commerce, and reflect a lessened communication network, as Koder stated[740]. The localization of networks of exchange after the middle of the seventh century also illustrates this situation. In the western and southern coastal regions of Asia Minor, the pottery production became more localized. For example, while the local production had increased, the import of

[737] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 456.

[738] Haldon, 2012, p. 112. *Amphorae* evidence from shipwrecks, and archaeological surveys as well as excavations carried out in the cities such as Amorium (Emirdağ) and Euchaïta (Avkat) demonstrate the economic exchange activities, although in reduced scale. See Lightfoot, 2007, p. 272; Haldon *et al.,* 2018, pp.70-134, and pp. 210-255.

[739] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 517-518.

[740] Koder, 2012, p. 150.

fine ware decreased in Ephesus; according to Ladstätter this can be associated with the patterns of consumption and distribution rather than a decline[741].

The locally produced *amphorae* in the southern and central Aegean represent the continued network of exportation of olive oil and wine in the seventh and eighth centuries[742], as in the sixth century (Figure 66). In this respect, despite the localized economy, the interregional commerce continued to operate. The distribution of fine wares was moved from western Asia Minor into the Aegean towards the later seventh century, as it is seen in the transport of 'Phocaean red slip' ware found at Thera and Cyprus[743]. The operation of regional commercial trade between the capital and the inland cities are known from such examples as Amorium (Emirdağ) and Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü)[744].

The use of sea routes for commercial purposes, on the other hand, had changed between the seventh and ninth centuries. The founding spot of several shipwrecks demonstrates the sea-route of commercial change in the shipping activity during the period in question. A large number of shipwrecks from the Aegean and the Mediterranean prove that the commercial network of *amphorae* trade continued to be functional in the seventh century. Cape İskandil at Datça[745], Cape Çamaltı and Cape Çıhlı[746], Küçük Ada[747] and Yassıada on the Marmara Islands[748] also attest the network of commercial exchange; for example, the continuity in the commercial activities is

[741] Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 18-19.

[742] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 497.

[743] *Ibid.*

[744] *Ibid.,* pp. 502-505.

[745] Pulak, 1989, pp. 73-81.

[746] Günsenin, 1997, p. 99.

[747] Günsenin, 1996, p. 360.

[748] Günsenin and Özaydın, 2002, pp. 381-91.

shown by the *amphorae* transported from Yassıada to the Arap Island in Marmaris[749]. The shipwrecks of Karaburun[750] and Kızılburun[751] near İzmir, Cape Dikice[752] near Kumluca (Antalya), and of Dilek Peninsula[753] at Aydın also show the transportation of *amphorae* for commercial uses in this century. It seems that the trade of other types of pottery, such as jars, was also done via the sea routes in the same century[754]. The Byzantine shipwreck of Selimiye found in Muğla carried jars which were manufactured in the Crimean kilns and dated to the late eighth through the middle of the ninth century[755].

Since the primary concern of the state was to defend the territories of the Empire in Asia Minor in this period, it is reasonable to assume that the exchange activity and the network of communication routes used for commercial purposes, besides other usages, in Asia Minor had to remain functional to support the army in terms of logistics and supplies. [756]. Hence, the distribution of some fine wares became localized by the second half of the seventh century, while the trade of some *amphorae* types, dated to the eighth and ninth centuries and seen in the Aegean and Cyprus, can be associated to the condition of warfare[757].

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[749] Yıldız, 1984, p. 24.

[750] Özdaş, 2008, p. 330.

[751] Pulak, 1995, p. 7.

[752] Özdaş, 2009, p. 263.

[753] Özdaş, 2008, p. 330.

[754] Jars found in the shipwreck demonstrated that grapes to produce wine and olive were transported via the sea route between the Aegean and the Black Sea, Hocker, 1999, p. 368.

[755] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[756] Haldon, 1999, p. 38.

[757] See Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 499.

5.3. Urbanization

The multi-dimensional and interrelated dynamics of changes witnessed in spheres from administration and finance to religion and defence in the Empire, between the seventh and ninth centuries led the urban character of the cities change as well The changes can be contextualised as follows:

1) Re-organization of the status of cities as military and ecclesiastical centres.

2) Reduction in the physical size of the city,

3) Modifying the existing city walls or building new defensive structures,

4) Building new fortified, compact and walled settlements in the form and character of castles near the urban settlements,

5) Moving outside the original limits of the city, to settle in the nearby sites, such as lower slopes or skirts of the urbanized areas.

The fiscal, military, and ecclesiastical[758] developments, in particular, initiated the changes in the nature and function of the urban centres in Byzantine Asia Minor[759].

According to Brubaker and Haldon, the cities, in this regard, and as different from their classical function, started to serve for previously unpractised purposes in terms of their social and administrative role in the state administration[760]. In other words, urban settlements occupied defensible sites and became centres of military or ecclesiastical administration in the seventh and eighth centuries[761]. Although there was a reduction in the attendance of bishops to the ecclesiastical councils held in 680 A.D., 692 A.D., and 787 A.D. because of the effects of the invasions[762], as understood from

[758] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 458.

[759] For discussion on 'change', 'transformation' and 'decline' of urban centres in the Eastern Roman Empire, see Chapter 2.

[760] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 531-572; also see Zavagno, 2009, p. 16.

[761] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 535.

[762] Jankowiak, 2013, pp. 435-461;

the list of *Notitiae Episcopatuum*[763], it is reasonable to propose a degree of continuity in the bishoprics of the provinces in this period[764].

The urban activities were mainly limited to the modification and renovation activities of major buildings from the early seventh century onwards[765], and Byzantine Asia Minor is often taken as a case to argue that the period between the seventh and ninth centuries was a period of 'transition' or 'early/middle Byzantine' in which a regionalized and locally varied patterns of settlement and fortification occurred[766]. It is, however, difficult to trace and discuss the settlement pattern in especially the eighth century because of the admittedly sparse excavations, and surveys that focus on this period[767].

There is clear evidence that the situation of warfare adversely affected urbanization, and hence the communication routes in Byzantine Asia Minor; the urban changes that happened in this period had occurred in different contexts than they were in the fifth and sixth centuries. From the seventh century onwards, the role of the cities as established and vivid urban centres began to change in Asia Minor. It looks that many cities were transformed into fortified sites to become military centres. The main cities continued to be occupied, at the same time, but in a mode different than an urban centre of Roman antiquity in its classical understanding. For example, the role of the main cities operating predominantly as a military centre, such as providing an effective defence for the inhabitants, thereby facilitating the security of the main network of communication. Several cities and towns must have been militarized and reduced in

[763] See *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, ed. 1981.

[764] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 550.

[765] Koder, 2012, p. 150.

[766] Haldon, 2012, p. 103.

[767] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 531-538.

occupation to facilitate defence[768]. The towns fortified in this period had served as military bases of the campaigns as local security or restricted recovery operation nodes[769]. Rural communities, as well, moved to more defensible, often upland sites: the defence structures such as forts and castles, in this respect, functioned as "fortified village communities rather than military establishments"[770]. The Byzantine towns and fortresses in this regard consisted of "a very visible defensive capacity, embodied in a citadel or fortress, usually located on a naturally defensible site, and a lower town, often within the late Roman walls, but divided into some separate settlement foci"[771].

The main characteristic of the urban centres of the period starting from the seventh century and continuing well into the ninth, is that most of them had now transformed into *kastra,* that is, they were not abandoned, but turned into heavily fortified and more compact settlements[772]. Brubaker and Haldon state that "The transformations which affected the eastern part of the late Roman world did not necessarily involve an abandonment of formerly urban sites (*poleis*) in favour of fortified sites (*kastra*)"[773]. They further discuss that "distinct communities continued to exist within the city walls, while the citadel or *kastron* – which also kept the name of the

[768] Kennedy and Haldon, 2004, p. 84.

[769] Dagron, 2002, p. 406.

[770] *Ibid.*

[771] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 551; Niewöhner, 2007, pp. 127-128.

[772] Brown, 1071, pp. 8-45; Hammond, 1974, pp. 1-33; Weiss, 1977, pp. 529-560; Cameron, 1981, pp. 205-206; Russell, 1986, pp. 137-153; Haldon, 1990, pp. 92-119; Whittow, 1990, pp. 3-29; Whittow, 2009, pp. 134-153; Dunn, 1994, pp. 60-81; Brandes, 1999, pp. 25-57; Niewöhner, 2007, pp. 120-160; Zavagno, 2009, p. 16; Zanini, 2016, pp. 127-141; Haldon, 2016; Haldon, 2018, pp. 210-255.

[773] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 538. Archaeological excavations and surveys in the cities of Miletus (von Graeve, 2012, p. 10); Pergamon (Otten, 2017), Ancyra (Peschlow, 2017), Cotyaeion (Foss, 1983), and Seleucia (Boran *et al.*, 2019) show the fortresses used during the late Roman and Byzantine periods. Miletus, Ancyra, and Cotyaeion are stated as *kastra* (Niewöhner, 2017, p.6 and p. 44; Niewöhner, 2007, p. 129). Pergamon is under discussion whether a *kastron* was built or restored in the Turkish period (Niewöhner, 2007, p. 135; also see Otten, 2017; Koder, 2017). Seleucia is demonstrated to have become a "kale şehir (fortress city)" (Boran *et al.*, 2019, p. 81). For further discussion of *kastra*, see Niewöhner, 2007; Niewöhner, 2017; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, Koder, 2017.

ancient *polis* – provided a refuge in case of attack or a strongpoint which could be defended until relieved"[774]. At Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü), the archaeological and historical evidence shows that the people were resettled in the town after the Arabs left the city. That is to say, the people of the city had escaped to the *kastron* during the raids, and then returned to Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü)[775]. The event was explained also in the miracles of *St. Theodore of Euchaïta*[776]:

> As we have said, after [the Arabs] had wintered here and collected a large body of men and captives in the main streets and roads and in the houses, and after they had been wasted by famine and frost, the entire city stank and became unbearable to the enemy. Wherefore they retired in the month of March, unwillingly as it were. Many of the people here left the 'strongholds' after the departure of the enemy, and upon seeing the foul stench and desolation of the city wished to become migrants from their own parts to other cities. But the martyr of God discountenanced this and did not let it happen. For thunderclouds were set in motion by his prayers, and all at once a turbulent rainstorm was brought to our city such as could never happen in our own days. Through this act the city embraced its inhabitants, who were rejoicing[777].

The harbour city Amastris (Amasra), for instance, was reduced and transformed from a classical *polis* into a Byzantine fortress in the seventh century[778]. During an Arab attack that occurred in the middle of the eighth century, their inhabitants moved inside the city walls by the help of St. George of Amastris (Amasra)[779]. Ancyra (Ankara) became a citadel in the second half of the seventh century[780] while Cotyaeion (Kütahya)

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[774] Brubaker and Haldon, p. 542; Haldon, 2006, pp. 613-617. The term *kastron* appears in the hagiographical texts of the the ninth and tenth centuries. *Ibid.*

[775] Niewöhner, 2007, p. 128.

[776] Haldon, 2016, p. 137; also see Trombley, 1985, pp. 65-90.

[777] Trombley, 1985, p. 69.

[778] Hill and Crow, 1992, p. 86.

[779] Hill, 1990, p. 81.

[780] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 540.

received a similar structure of defence. Sagalassos (Ağlasun) also survived and became a strongly fortified settlement in this period[781].

The cities which were intensely exposed to the Arab attacks, on the other hand, were abandoned, and people moved elsewhere, as in the frontier regions of the empire. For instance, the inhabitants of Sision (Kozan), a town and fortress[782] situated in the Cilician plain, had moved to the Taurus region in the first half of the eighth century[783].

The functioning cities, though fortified and/or shrank in size and vitality, on the other hand, continued to play an important role as centres for tax collection, thereby supporting the supplies of the troops[784] in the seventh century[785]. This can also be understood from the continuing service of some imperial offices responsible from the distribution of goods and supervising trade, such as *comes commerciarium* and *kommerkiarioi*[786] at the beginning of the seventh century. The provision of equipment and weapons to the soldiers was allocated by the system of *apotheke*[787]. The system had served for military affairs rather than for trade and commerce. The structure of the *apotheke* system was changed in the eighth century. The *dromos* who had previously administered the transportation system and the distribution of good*s* under the control of the *praetorian prefect,* the provincial governor, was replaced with *kommerkia,* a

[781] *Ibid*., p. 539.

[782] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 520.

[783] Haldon, 2016, p. 137.

[784] Haldon, 1992, p. 143.

[785] Brandes and Haldon, 2000, pp. 159-160.

[786] *Comes commerciarium* was a title given to the authority who was "the head of the market towns along the frontier in the fourth century", and who worked for the supervision of producing and selling silk until the seventh century (*Oikonomides* 1986, p. 33), Haldon and Brandes, 2000, p. 163. The Imperial *kommerkiarioi,* were responsible from the movement of goods and the external commerce, Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 519.

[787] The system consisted of "the redistribution of produce and materials of all kinds, both in respect of supplying, equipping armies, and so forth", Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 688.

structure based on an independent mechanism supervised by the *imperial kommerkiarioi*[788]. The change probably made the transportation of the army supplies more effective during the period of invasions. The *kommerkiarioi* played an important role in the internal administrative activities of military affairs as well, when it became necessary to supply the army with equipment and provisions, *kommerkiarioi*[789] fulfilled this duty; the practice lasted until the development of the *theme* organization in the ninth century. Besides supplying for the army, the *kommerkiarioi* also provided grain to Constantinople. The seals of *kommerkiaroi* were found in the ports, such as Heracleia (Ereğli), Amastris (Amasra), and Kerasous (Giresun), and along the Black Sea coast, demonstrate the continuity of their service, a functioning network of communication for economic purposes, and at the same time, the transportation of interregional supplies for the army.

Archaeological evidence confirms the changes in the status of urbanization and the degree of 'transformation' and 'continuity' in the cities in many aspects. Accordingly, they demonstrate that the degree and scope of change differed from one region to the other, as the situations and conditions related to the impact of the Arab raids on the urban centres and settlements were not homogeneously altered in any specific region. Corycus (Kızkale), located on the coastal route between Tarsus and Perge (Aksu/Antalya), for example, played an important role as an anchorage during the struggle between the Byzantines and Arabs. The city was surrounded by a fortification wall, including the churches built outside the wall, and a Byzantine necropolis, which continued to be used throughout the middle ages[790]. The significant harbour cities such as Attaleia (Antalya), Patara (Ovagelemiş), and Myra (Demre), listed in the *Kibyrrhaiote Theme* and established between the two coastal regions of Lycia and Pamphylia,

[788] "Imperial *kommerkia*" emerged in the 730s and supplied the provincial armies until the first decades of the ninth century. Haldon, 2008, p. 541.

[789] Haldon, 2012, p. 113; Haldon and Brandes, 2000, p. 164, Hendy, 1985, p. 619.

[790] Vann, 1997, p. 260; Tunay, 1997, pp. 325-339.

continued to be settled and kept their significance in this period. Attaleia (Antalya), as a military naval base and commercial centre, was of importance for the region, since the route leading to the harbour city of Attaleia (Antalya) connected the routes coming from all provinces, which passed through Iconion (Konya), Caesarea (Kayseri) and Sebasteia (Sivas)[791]. The city of Patara (Ovagelemiş) in Lycia was exposed to the invasions and raids by the Persians and Arabs, respectively, and its habitants moved to the upper city during the attacks. The port of the city lost its importance after the incursions; however, the hilltop in the east of Patara (Ovagelemiş) continued to be occupied. A Byzantine chapel indicated the continuity of occupation in Patara (Ovagelemiş), though its date remains unknown [792].

In Myra (Demre), which played a strategic role as a harbour city of Lycia in this period, the commercial activities remained uninterrupted after the raids of the seventh century. Ceramics found in the excavations of Myra (Demre) showed that they were used between the seventh and tenth centuries[793], glass finds that dated to the eighth century[794], and unglazed pottery finds from the eighth and ninth centuries[795] show continuity in the occupation and commercial activities in Myra (Demre). As a naval base and the site of a bishopric[796], Amastris (Amasra) functioned as another important fortress during the Arab raids. The city was reduced in size but continued to be settled during the 'early/middle Byzantine' period. Archaeological survey shows that during the construction of the inner and outer walls of the Byzantine fortification in Amastris

[791] Hild and Hellenkemper, 2004, p. 244.

[792] Buluç, 1983, pp. 143-144.

[793] Ötüken, 2003, pp. 31-47.

[794] Çömezoğlu, 2003, p. 36.

[795] Doğan *et al.,* 2016, pp. 129-143.

[796] Hill, 1990, p. 81.

(Amasra), classical building structures, such as the stones of the theatre, were used[797]. The surveys conducted in the fortress demonstrated that the castle extended over the late Roman city, and centred on the ancient acropolis[798]. Occupation of continuity inside a castle during the raids can be understood from the presence and use of churches as well. In two examples, churches that date to the seventh and eighth centuries illustrate the functioning of cities within fortified hill-top contexts[799].

Hadrianoupolis (Eskipazar/Karabük), situated on the route along the west-east axis that passed through Paphlagonia demonstrates a fortified urban structure with two early Byzantine churches, dated to the sixth century, continued to function until the eighth century[800]. A bath structure built in the fifth century also continued to be used throughout the seventh and until the eighth century[801]. Hadrianoupolis (Eskipazar/Karabük) was of importance in the region in terms of its economic development since the city was famous for its viticulture and promoted the wine trade with at least such cities as Sinope (Sinop), Heraclia Pontica (Ereğli), and Amastris (Amasra)[802]. Pompeiopolis (Taşköprü/Kastamonu), located on the northern variant of the main west-east route in Paphlagonia, also kept functioning. Excavations

[797] Hill, 1991, p. 314; Hill, 1990, pp. 81-87.

[798] Hill, 1991, p. 314. Hill mentions that the main circuit of the Amasra fortress was built in the late seventh or eighth century. *Ibid.,* p. 316. Surveys conducted at Amasra demonstrated that the fortress of Amasra shows similarity to that of Ancyra (Ankara) and Amorium (Emirdağ), which were located on the NW-SE DR 1 and NW-SE DR 2 respectively. Hill and Crow, 1992, p. 86; Hill and Crow, 1993, p. 22 state Amastris maintained its prosperity throughout the seventh century, and the city was "transformed from a classical *polis* into a Byzantine *kastron* or fortress", which was also seen in Ancyra (Ankara) and Amorium (Emirdağ). The archaeological survey confirms that the fortress of Amasra as well as the above mentioned cities and many others were firstly built in the seventh century A.D. also demonstrates such a change by the seventh century, thereby indicating the intensive military use of the diagonal routes in this period.

[799] *Ibid.*

[800] Laflı, 2008, pp. 285-299.

[801] *Ibid.,* p. 287.

[802] Laflı, 2009, p. 406.

demonstrated that the ancient city of Pompeiopolis (Taşköprü/Kastamonu) was probably abandoned after the seventh century, but the building infrastructure from the excavated area indicated a possible Byzantine castle, dated to the first half of the eighth century, and showed the continuity of occupation[803]. It is also suggested that the fortified structure shows similarity with those of Miletus (Milet), Aphrodisias (near Aydın), and Side[804].

The archaeological evidence concerning the urban situations in western Asia Minor in the early/middle Byzantine period is more comprehensive. The archaeological work conducted in the region shows that by the seventh century the cities established along the previously known routes that ran on the east-west axis, the Great Trade Route and the western part of the Royal Road, and which passed through this region, were reduced in size; their inhabitants, however, must have continued to live in the reduced settlements which were surrounded by city walls or previously strengthened by fortresses and castles. The excavations carried out in the well-known urban centres such as Ephesus (Figure 67) and Smyrna (İzmir) show a continuity of occupation in a transformed urban environment. Accordingly, the occupation area of Ephesus[805] had extended down to the lower city to include, the port and the Ayasuluk Hill[806], which acted as a defensive barrier against the Arabs in the seventh century. In Smyrna (İzmir), the agora area was abandoned while the acropolis of the city, which is known as Kadifekale, and the vicinity of Liman Kale became inhabited by the early Byzantine

[803] Summerer, 2016, p. 144.

[804] *Ibid.,* pp. 143-157.

[805] Ladstätter, 2011, p. 14. The new settlement area was located in the upper and lower city. Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 13-14 emphasizes that the city was reduced in size, the Byzantine fortress was probably built in the seventh century, and many small settlements emerged in the city. See Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 3-28; Koder and Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 278-297; Külzer, 2011, pp. 29-46 for detailed information.

[806] Külzer, 2011, pp. 31-35. The city maintained its importance as a military, commercial and religious centres as well as the centre of commercial transaction from the seventh into the eighth centuries. Hendy, 1985, p. 179; Koder and Ladstätter, 2010, pp. 324-325.

community[807]. This occupation is associated with the fact that the people had moved to such more sheltered places during the threat of the attacks[808], as in the cases of Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü)[809] and Amastris (Amasra)[810] as well. The excavations in Laodicea (Denizli) also indicated a reduction in the size of the city after the seventh century. This shrinkage, however, is associated with the earthquake that occurred in the seventh century. Since the city was established at the crossroads as well as at a strategic point of the border between the regions of Byzantine Asia and Phrygia, it must have continued to control the surrounded area with its strong castle[811] after the seventh century.

The change in the physical size of the cities, the construction of fortresses or city walls, and the use of pre-existing defence structures indicate the changed character of the "city" in western Asia Minor. The cities and settlements located on the main arterial route in the west-east axis that ran between Ephesus and Julia (Çay) as well as Smyrna (İzmir) and Ancyra (Ankara) represent the use of such settlements as defence nodes in the seventh century. The city wall in Ephesus[812] and the Byzantine fortress in Magnesia ad Maeanderum (near the Maeander River)[813] were built as new structures in the seventh century. The fortress of Cotyaeion (Kütahya) is also dated to the period between the seventh and ninth centuries[814] while the fortresses in Tripolis (Yenice/Denizli) to that of

[807] Ersoy *et al.*, 2015, pp. 18-19.

[808] *Ibid.,* p. 27.

[809] Haldon, 2018, pp. 210-255.

[810] Hill and Crow, 1993, p. 22.

[811] Traversari, 1995, p. 69.

[812] Ladstätter, 2011, p. 14.

[813] Bingöl, 1996, p. 87.

[814] Foss, 1983, p. 153.

the fourth-fifth centuries[815]. In Laodicea (Denizli)[816] and Hierapolis (Pamukkale)[817], the fortifications were built in the early fifth century and used later.

The use of public buildings and the occupation status of residential quarters are also informative about the urban changes initiated by military necessities. Some public buildings in the cities above mentioned became dysfunctional either because of the wars or natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes. A reservoir constructed into *prytaneion* (symbolic centre of the *polis*) of Ephesus in the sixth century, was out of use because of a seventh-century earthquake. But, it was re-used in the eighth century according to the coin finds from the room of the *prytaneion*[818]. The studies at Sardis (Salihli) showed that some of the late Roman residential units (Figure 68) continued to be used during the early/middle Byzantine period as well. The final construction phase of the walls of these units indicates a continued occupation in at least some parts of the units, during the eighth and ninth centuries[819]. Located on the west-east route, Sardis must have continued to the defence and security of the route in the west-east direction by functioning as a military base and a logistic centre[820]. In Tralleis (Aydın), the coins, date to the period between the seventh and second half of the eighth century, indicate the use of the early Byzantine road[821]. The excavations in the city also showed that public buildings continued to be occupied and used in Tralleis (Aydın) between the fourth and fourteenth centuries"[822]. As Veikou states, "the availability of natural sources is vital for building a

[815] Erdoğan and Çörtük, 2009, pp. 107-138.

[816] Şimşek, 2011, p. 454.

[817] Ferrero, 1996, p. 97.

[818] Koder and Ladstätter, 2010, p. 334.

[819] Greenewalt, 1995, p. 411.

[820] Cahill, 2013, p. 148.

[821] Dinç, 2003, pp. 340-341.

[822] *Ibid.*

city in the early Byzantine period"[823] which is also true for Talleis (Aydın). The city was founded at a location with a mild climate, natural defence, fertile lands, and wetland area; and as such must have provided a secure stop place for the route leading to the Aegean coast and the inland of Asia Minor[824]. The studies carried out in the theatre and *ploutonion* (sanctuary dedicated to Hades) in Hierapolis (Pamukkale) indicate that the occupied area is dated to the eighth century and later[825]. The excavations, carried in the street in the north of *gerontikon* and *propylon* at Nysa (Sultanhisar), demonstrate continuity in the use of the street in this period[826]. Glass finds and roof tiles from the Olympos (Nif) Mountain also demonstrate the occupation of this area region during the eighth and ninth centuries[827].

In terms of the political and administrative reorganization of the empire, some cities in western Asia Minor, including port cities such as Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir) and others in their hinterland, were included in the *Thrakesian Theme* to meet the logistical demands and the other needs of defensive operations during the eighth century. The *Theme of Thrakesion* included the Kelbianus Plain, the course of Hermus (Gediz), and Lycus (a tributary of the Maeander River) Valleys as well. Byzantine Asia and Lydia belonged to this theme, which also included Hierapolis (Pamukkale), Chonai (Honaz) and Laodicea (Denizli)[828].

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[823] Veikou, 2012, p. 171.

[824] Dinç, 1998, p. 220.

[825] D'andria, 2013, pp. 130-131; D'andria, 2014, p. 364; D'andria, 2015, p. 211.

[826] İdil and Kadıoğlu, 2009, p. 510.

[827] Tulunay *et al.,* 2014, p. 349. Archaeological evidence from western Anatolia (the province of Byzantine Asia) demonstrated that the region maintined economic interaction and the network of communication continued to operate via the ports cities, Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir) in this period. For detailed information about the network of communication in Byzantine Lydia (or Asia), see Külzer, 2016, pp. 279-311.

[828] Ramsay, 1962, p. 131, p. 151, p. 423.

The Arabs also organized their raids by using the sea routes, and arrived at the Aegean coasts by passing through the Cilician coasts, in the second half of the seventh century. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that western Asia Minor was relatively less affected by the raids between the seventh and ninth centuries. The archaeological evidence also attests that there were no major destructions in the region. The two major cities of the region, Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir) remained little affected by the Arab invasions and continued to function after the seventh century, as mentioned above[829]. Having commercial ports in the Aegean, both cities continued to function as the important commercial hubs for the local economy of the region. Ephesus maintained its significance as an essential market centre[830] and continued to assume a significant role in the administrative as well as the social and economic activities in the empire during the Arab invasions[831]. The communication between Constantinople and western Asia Minor was sustained also in the eighth century. According to the account of Theophanes, the skilled workmen were brought to the capital from the regions of Asia and Pontus for the restoration of the aqueduct of Valentinian which took place in Constantinople in 766/767 A.D.:

> There was a drought; no pure water fell from heaven, and it entirely abandoned the city. When the emperor saw this he began to restore the aqueduct of Valentinian (constructed by Valens in 237, rebuilt in the region of Justin II (565-578) and the Avars destroyed in the siege of Constantinople in 626). Skilled workmen brought to Constantinople from Asia and Pontus 1,000 homebuilders and two hundred plasterers, from Greece and the islands five hundred tile makers, and from Thrace 5,000 workmen and two-hundred potters. He put overseers and one patrician in charge of them. When the work was done in this way, water reached the city[832].

[829] Avramea, 2002, p. 74.

[830] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 520.

[831] Ahrweiler, 1971, pp. 13-32.

[832] *Theophanes*, trans. 1982, p. 128.

Ephesus came into further prominence in the context of religious functions as well. Each monk and nun is said to have met in Ephesus in the 770s, and the bishop of Ephesus, Theodosius, became a leader of the two hundred and thirty-eight bishops[833]. St. John, the patron saint of Ephesus, met with the emperor to speak about the financial matters[834] in 794/5 A.D., as Theophanes mentions:

> In April he (the emperor Constantine) made an expedition against the Arabs. On 8 May he engaged an Arab raiding party at a place called Anousan;[835] he defeated them and drove them as far as the river. He then went to Ephesos and, after paying in the church of the Evangelist, remitted the customs dues of the fair [which amounted to 100 lbs. of gold] in order to win the favour of the holy apostle, the evangelist John [836].

The *panegyreis* (religious feast)[837] which continued to be celebrated in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries shows that urban social life had survived to some extent in Ephesus[838]. The city was still functioning as a pilgrimage centre in the first half of the seventh century as well[839].

Textual evidence mentions that the route leading to Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir) via the Maeander was exposed to the Arab attacks. Although the occupants had moved to Ayasuluk, Ephesus still served as a significant refugee and military centre after the seventh century[840]. According to the account of Tabarī, [841] and Theophanes[842] when the

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[833] *Ibid.,* p. 117, p. 132.

[834] Here it is unclear as to whether it referred to "a reduction of the tax in favour of the church of St. John" or "donation of the whole revenue of the fair to St. John". *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 646, fn. 3.

[835] Situation is unknown, *Theophanes*, 1997, p. 645, fn. 2.

[836] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 645.

[837] See Appendix C.

[838] Haldon, 2012, p. 116; Laiou and Morrisson, 2007, p. 81.

[839] Külzer, 2011, pp. 31-35; Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 15-17. For a detailed discussion on communications in western Anatolia, see Külzer, 2016.

[840] Haldon, 2007, pp. 131-132.

emperor made a spring expedition against the Arab attacks during the eighth century, he went to Ephesus after the campaign:

> In this year, ʾAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʾAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ led the summer raid and reached as far as Ephesus, the town of the Companions of the Cave.[843]

As a military centre, the city must have provided the security of the cities and the settlements established in its hinterland and along the routes in the west-east axis. Even though one branch of the Arab troops reached Ephesus via the land route of the Maeander, the city suffered little damage. It was probably due to the fact that the Arabs targeted the small settlements rather than the major urban centres, which were strengthened with strong fortresses and hence had become powerfully fortified[844]. The Arab troops, however, passed through the region and its main arteries. During an expedition, for example, they arrived at the coast of Hellespontus[845] by following the main arteries (probably via the NW-SE DR 2) and coming from the region of Phrygia, detouring at Sardis (Salihli) and heading north to Abydos (near Çanakkale) in the first half of the eighth century; they aimed to reach Constantinople[846]:

> Now Masalmas, after he had wintered in Asia, was awaiting Leo's promises. But when he had received nothing from Leo and realized that he had been tricked, he moved to Abydos, crossed over to Thrace with a considerable army, and advanced towards the Imperial City[847].

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[841] *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1989, p. 168.

[842] See fn. 155.

[843] *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1989, p. 168.

[844] Ahrweiler, 1971, pp. 10-12.

[845] The region which bordered the Aegean Sea, the Dardanelles, the Propontis (Marmara Sea), and the provinces of Bithynia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Asia. *ODLA,* 2018, p. 707.

[846] *Theophanes,* trans. 1997, pp. 539-545.

[847] *Ibid.,* p. 545.

In this period, Smyrna had served as another station for the armies when the Arab fleet wintered at Smyrna during the raids in the second half of the seventh century[848]:

> In this year (671/2) the deniers of Christ equipped a great fleet, and after they had sailed past Cilicia, Mouamed, son of Abdelas, wintered at Smyrna, while Kaisos wintered in Cilicia and Lycia[849].

With the change in the urban status, physical situation and function of the main cities, the system of communication network, and the use of routes, connecting the now significant military centres, had also changed; the changes in this respect followed the shifting or emerging strategic priorities in the course of the raids. The Late Roman urban centres in the coastal regions of Asia Minor continued to function as economic, political, and religious foci of the empire. In that regard, Ephesus and Smyrna (İzmir) were two of the significant urban settlements. The changing role of the cities in time is also indicated by the degree of continuity in the communication network as well. In this respect, while the coastal regions and cities established along their main arteries were little affected by the raids, the inner lands and the main routes in central Anatolia were much exposed to the attacks since the invasions were conducted through the NW-SE DR 2 and thus were influenced from the devastating results of the raids. Despite this, however, the significant inland cities and settlements, such as Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ), continued to be occupied (Figure 69).

As foci of military and ecclesiastical administration, cities had played a significant role in providing the needs of both the State and the Church. Thus, the defensive properties of settlements or urban sites, and their relationships with military, administrative and ecclesiastical affairs were of importance for the survival of the cities in Asia Minor[850]. In other words, the survival or continuation of a late Roman city was

[848] Lilie, 1976, p. 75.

[849] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 493.

[850] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 463.

based on its significance in terms of the state interests[851] during the early Byzantine period. Based on the hagiographical texts and archaeological evidence, some cities which continued to survive in the lower town were thus Amorium (Emirdağ), Sardis (Salihli), Ephesus, Miletus (Milet), Didyma (Didim), and Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü)[852]. Many fortressed sites defended by natural features were also important to control the main routes. These centres, which had lower towns located within the late Roman walls, were Amaseia (Amasya), Amastris (Amasra), Coloneia (Şebinkarahisar), Charsianon (Muşali Castle), Iconion (Konya), Acroinon (Afyon), Dazimon (near Tokat), Sebasteia (Sivas), Priene (near Söke/Aydın), Heracleia (near Bafa Lake) in Caria, and Heracleia (Ereğli) on the Black Sea coast[853].

During the 'early/middle Byzantine' period by some scholars, cities in Asia Minor were in the process of 'transformation' in the characteristics. As Weiss (1977), Haldon (1990), Dagron (2002) and Niewöhner (2007) discuss, *kastra*, i.e., the fortified

[851] Ivison, 2000, p. 3.

[852] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 538-559. The excavated or surveyed sites confirm this situation. For Amorium (Emirdağ), see Lightfoot, 2007, p. 269; for Sardis (Salihli), see Greenewalt, 1995, p. 411; Greenewalt, 2001, p. 415; for Ephesus, see Ladstätter, 2011, pp. 12-14; for Miletus (Milet), see Niewöhner *et al.,* 2017, p. 208; for Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü), Haldon *et al.,* 2010, p.36.

[853] *Ibid*., p. 546. Many archaeological surveys demonstrate early/middle Byzantine settlements and fortress structures; however, precise dating is required to better understand the archaeological settlement pattern shifts in early/middle Byzantine Anatolia. It should be kept in mind that settlement patterns differ from region to region. Surveys in central Anatolia, for example, indicate the presence of flat or rock-cut settlement patterns that were occupied by the Byzantines. Settlement patterns, such as rock-cut and hilltop, vary in the rest of Byzantine Anatolia. For central Anatolia, see Omura, 2001, pp. 83-89; Matthews, 2000, pp. 175-181, Matthews, 2002, pp. 9-15, Matthews, 2003, pp. 219-223; Vardar and Vardar, 2001, pp. 237-249, Vardar, 2003, pp. 203-219; Sivas and Sivas, 2006, pp. 163-175; Erciyas and Sökmen, 2009, pp. 289-307; Yıldırım and Sipahi, 2004, pp. 305-315; Olcay-Uçkan, 2008, pp. 225-237; Drew-Bear, 1992, pp. 165-171. For western Anatolia, see Lohman *et al.*, 2009, pp. 103-119; Debord, 1992, pp. 141-147; Balance, 1996, pp. 185-199; Diler, 1996, pp. 315-335; Akdeniz, 1997, pp. 233-255. For central-eastern Anatolia, including Cappadocia, see Schneider, 1996, pp. 15-35; Sever *et al.*, 1992, pp. 523-541; Ökse, 2000, pp. 11-25. For Southern Anatolia, see Asano, 1993, pp. 7-19; Vann, 1997, pp. 259-273; Sayar, 1992, pp. 203-223; Coulton, 1992, pp. 47-59; Durugönül, 1999, pp. 329-339; Rauch, 1999, pp. 339-349; Mitchell, 1997, pp. 47-63; Tunay, 1997, pp. 325-339. For the vicinity of Thrace, see Özdoğan, 1990, pp. 443-459; Ertuğrul, 1997, pp. 1-15. For the Black Sea Region, see Crow, 1994, pp. 73-85; Bilgi *et al.*, 2003, pp. 41-51; Özdoğan *et al.*, 1998, pp. 63-105; Erol, 2014, pp. 28-41; Ortaç, 2016, pp. 171-193. For detailed information and discussion on rural settlements in Byzantine Asia Minor, see Izdebski, 2017, pp. 83-89; Izdebski, 2013, pp. 79-96; Steadman, 2015.

sites, began to emerge in between the seventh and ninth century. The late Roman cities assumed an urban character and function different from the 'classical sites' and gained a 'military character' in this period. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the main characteristics of the 'early Byzantine' cities took form with regard to a 'military' aspect.

5.4. Byzantine Routes

The routes in Byzantine Asia Minor between the seventh-ninth centuries actually used the Roman roads established before the sixth century. Hence, the Byzantine "roads in Asia Minor were of Roman character"[854] and "the Byzantines, who had inherited the entire Roman road network, only rarely built completely new roads"[855]. It is stated that by the eighth and ninth centuries, the major roads, which had already been "transformed into roadways before the seventh century, on the other hand, became tracks"[856]. In this period, the road between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, i.e., NW-SE DR 2, stretching in the northwest-southeast axis, became the main route of Asia Minor while the roads in the west-east and north-south axes were of local importance.

The situation of the road network in the early Byzantine period shows a development that corresponds especially to the political and military developments in Asia Minor. This is most evidently demonstrated by the fact that the road system that was established along the northwest-southeast direction and had a diagonal orientation,

[854] French, 1993, p. 445.

[855] Belke, 2017, p. 29.

[856] Haldon, 1999, p. 53; also see Belke, 2017, pp. 28-39. The first classification of the Roman roads is done by French, who argued that the old highways were changed to roadways in the sixth and seventh centuries. For the classification and development of the Roman roads, see French, 1980, pp. 698-729. For a discussion on Roman roads, see French, 1974, pp. 143-149; French, 1980, pp. 698-729; French, 1993, pp. 445-454. Belke, on the other hand, argues that French's approach is 'schematic', Belke, 2017, p. 28. Archaeologically, it is difficult to trace Roman roads on site, comment on their status or transformation into 'roadways' during the seventh and ninth centuries in this regard. See Chapter 3.

which was already known and used during the Roman imperial period, consisted mainly of military routes along which were located the imperial and provincial marching camps. This was a consequence of the political hegemony of Constantinople as the capital and centre of autocracy of the Roman Empire since the fourth century A.D., and the significance of this in the economic and political development of Asia Minor, facts that initiated the establishment of alternative or variant routes. The alternative routes or the variants of diagonal routes that came into use in Byzantine Anatolia developed both diagonal orientation that ran between northwest and southeast, and also along the major compass directions, west-east, and north-south.

West-East Routes: There were two main routes in the west-east axis in Asia Minor from Ephesus to the Euphrates and/or to the Cilician Gates that passed via Iconion (Konya) and from Smyrna (İzmir) to Caesarea (Kayseri) via Ancyra (Ankara) – the main military centre – therefore passing through regions of Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia[857]. In this regard, the routes in the west-east axis in Byzantine Asia Minor consisted of the two main arteries, which radiated from Ephesus to Julia (Çay) and from Smyrna (İzmir) to Ancyra (Ankara) and thence Sebasteia (Sebasteia) and Caesarea (Caesarea) in Cappadocia. The first route (W-E R 1) of this axis, started from Ephesus and went up to the Euphrates, i.e., the Great Trade Route, and passed through the highlands of Phrygia and Galatia in Central Anatolia, was in use from the fourth to the seventh centuries for local economic purpose. When the diagonal connection from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates (NW-SE DR 1), i.e. the Pilgrim's Road, gained importance between the second and fourth centuries A.D., the route from Ephesus to the Euphrates lost its prominence[858]. However, the western part of the west-

[857] Another main route is known to have been in use between Nicomedeia (İzmit) and Amaseia (Amasya), in the Roman imperial period; however, it was important mainly for the local transport between the coastal and inland regions of Pontus. Belke, 1996, p. 118. Coastal routes from Constantinople to Trebizond (Trabzon) in the region of Pontus, from Kalynda (Şerefler/Muğla) to Side in the region of Lycia and Pamphylia, from Side to Mopsuestia (Misis) in the region of Cilicia were also of local importance in this period. Hellenkemper and Hild, 2004, p. 250; Hild and Hellenkemper, 1990, p. 130; Belke, 1996, pp.127-128.

[858] For information and discussion, see Chapter 3.

east route from Ephesus to Julia (Çay)[859], which passed through the Meander Valley must have continued to be used and of regional importance in the 'early/middle Byzantine' period[860].

The second route that connected Smyrna (İzmir) and Ancyra (Ankara) (W-E R 2), and stretched in the west-east direction, might have been continued to be used for local and regional trade purposes in the 'early/middle Byzantine' period as well[861]. The eastern section of this route, which ran between Melitene (Malatya) and Ancyra (Ankara), passing through Caesarea (Kayseri), and went to the capital, was used for the imperial postal service, and had 108 post-stations[862]. Little, however, is known about this section of the west-east route in this period. It must have been used to some extent for the purpose of military campaigns by the imperial army. During the first wave of the invasions in 667/669 A.D., the Arab troops passed through the region of Cappadocia, wintered in the district of Hexapolis[863], which consisted of six cities located on the main route between Caesarea (Kayseri) and Melitene (Malatya), and later went until Chalcedon (Kadıköy), passing through Galatia[864]. Another raid was conducted in the

[859] See Belke and Mersich, 1990.

[860] Ramsay, 1962, p. 32. The western section of this route from Laodicea to Iconium (Konya) via Apamea (Dinar) continued to be used by the Seljuks, and known as the caravan route in the middle ages. Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 149.

[861] Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 151 suggest that this route is similar to the Ottoman route used in the 19th century, and also to the one that is in use at present. The variant of this route leading to the northwest of Phrygia was used in the first half of the twelfth century, as the Seljuks organized an expedition to the western Asia Minor through Synaos (Simav), established on this route. *Idem.*, p. 152.

[862] Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 106.

[863] The region of Armenia III, according to Eustathios' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes. Hild, 1977, p. 96. The region of Hexapolis, which involved in Armenia III, consisted of Melitene (Malatya), Arka (Akçadağ), Arabissos (Afşin/Arapsun), Ariarathia (Büyükkaramuklu), Comana Chryse (Şar), and Cocussos (Göksun). Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 60; references for the modern names of the places are French, 2016; Hild, 1977.

[864] Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 60; Lilie, 1976, p. 73.

summer of 775 A.D. via the Melitene (Malatya) pass[865], and the Arabs reached Ancyra (Ankara)[866]. In both attacks, the eastern section of this route between Melitene (Malatya) and Caesarea (Kayseri) was probably used by the invaders, since the route was previously known by the armies and enabled an easy access tosome main cities, such as Caesarea (Kayseri) and Ancyra (Ankara). The route from Nicaea (İznik) to Sebasteia (Sivas) via Tavium (Büyüknefes) in the west-east axis constituted the significant line for the military supply of the Euphrates, facilitating the transfer of equipment and provision to the army. The stations of Ancyra (Ankara) and Tavium (Büyüknefes) were at the key position on this military route. The invaders used this route in the raids of 730 A.D. as understood from the fact they captured the *kastron* of Charsianon (Muşali Castle)[867]. About this period, there is no literary evidence on a certain route[868] (Figure 70).

North-South Routes: In Byzantine Anatolia, there were two main routes in the north-south direction, one of which connected Sinope (Sinop) to Anemurion (Anamur), passing through Ancyra (Ankara) and the other Tavium (Büyüknefes) to Adana. The most significant route in the north-south direction was the connection between the region of Galatia and Lycaonia. Nodal points of this north-south route were Ancyra (Ankara) and Iconion (Konya), which connected the inland region of Anatolia to Paphlagonia in the north and to Lycaonia as well as to Cilicia in the south[869] (Figure 70).

Routes in the north-south and west-east directions in all the provinces of Byzantine Asia Minor, however, were of lesser importance compared to the diagonal

[865] *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1995, p. 55.

[866] *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1990, pp. 202-203.

[867] Hild, 1977, p. 107. Hild mentions that Tavium (Büyüknefes) must be adjacent to Charsianon (Muşali Castle), placed between Sivas and Büyüknefes. *Ibid.* pp. 105-107.

[868] Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 104.

[869] Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 108. The north-south connection was used in Galatia, *Idem.,* p. 110 and in Lycia and Pamphylia, Hild and Hellenkemper, 2004, pp. 246-248 in the period of the Seljuks and the Crusader, in Cappadocia after the ninth century, Hild, 1977, p. 127, in the province of Asia (western Asia Minor) in the Crusader period, Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 155; Kaya, 2019, pp. 34-51.

connections which had gained primacy during the late Roman and 'early/middle Byzantine' periods. In this respect, the main route that ran in the northwest-southeast direction, leading from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ) is discussed in detail since it connected the cities and settlements located along the main roads to the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

Northwest-Southeast Routes: There were two main routes in the northwest-southeast direction: First went from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and second ran between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Ancyra (Ankara), known as the Pilgrim's Road. The newly initiated diagonal routes passed through the regions of Bithynia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Galatia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia. These routes and their variants, which consisted of some of the existing roads as well, facilitated the movement of men and materials between the inner provinces and the frontiers. They, at the same time, became the penetration corridors used by the Arab raiders[870] in the seventh century.

The Pilgrim's Road (NW-SE DR 1), which was diagonally established between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates in the first half of the first century A.D., had become the main route already in the late Roman period. In the early/middle Byzantine period, the main diagonal route from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates began to pass through the routes via Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ) instead of Ancyra (Ankara)[871], since the route was frequently used by the armies during the early/middle Byzantine period[872]. Nevertheless, in the period of Arab raids, the main and significant

[870] Haldon, 1999, p. 56.

[871] Belke, 2017, p. 30. The variants of this diagonal route, which branched off at Nacoleia (Seyitgazi) were used for the military operations by the tenth century. See Belke and Mersich, 1990.

[872] Belke, 2017, p. 30. It is known from the textual evidence that the NW-SE DR 1 was also not much used in the ninth century, mostly due to the fact that the organization of the military defence system was re-located in the region of the upper-Euphrates. The route began to be re-used by the end of the eleventh century when the eastern borderlands were ultimately lost to the Seljuks, and used until the Seljuk domination was established in central Anatolia. Hild and Restle, 1981, p. 34; Hild and Hellenkemper, 1990, p. 130; Hild, 1977, p. 34; Ramsay, 1962, p. 200.

urban centres established along the NW-SE DR 1 continued to be occupied. Nicaea (İznik) maintained its existence in the period from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.

The second main diagonal route that crossed Byzantine Anatolia and ran between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates was the Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2 (NW-SE DR 2) that passed through the regions of Phrygia and Galatia in central Anatolia. From the middle of the seventh century onwards, the NW-SE DR 2 began to be used specifically by both the Byzantine and Arab armies[873]. The cities established along this diagonal route, thus, played a significant role as military centres and stations between the seventh and ninth century. Both the archaeological and textual evidence provides information about the use of this diagonal connection and the character of the cities located along the route. The main cities and settlements on this route were Nicaea (İznik), Dorylaion (Eskişehir), and Amorium (Emirdağ). The NW-SE DR 2 was a newly emerged route during the Arab invasions period (Figure 70).

5.4.1. Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2 (NW-SE DR 2)

During their attacks from the seventh to the ninth century, the Arab raiders used the diagonal route between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, which is named as the Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2 (NW-SE DR 2)[874] since the route enabled easy access to the capital. The route was used both military and economic reasons in this period[875] (Figure 71). The NW-SE DR 2 crossed the regions of Bithynia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, respectively. The cities along this line of communication were,

[873] Haldon, 1999, p. 56.

[874] The NW-SE DR 2 is described as A1 in *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7*, see Belke and Mersich, 1990, pp. 139-146.

[875] Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 139.

starting from Constantinople: Nicomedeia (İzmit), Nicaea (İznik)[876], Lamunia (Bozüyük), Dorylaion (Eskişehir)[877], Nacoleia (Seyitgazi), Santabaris (Bardakçı), Orkistus (Ortaköy), Amorium (Emirdağ), Laodicea Cecaumene (Ladik), Iconion (Konya)[878], Heracleia (Ereğli), Loulon (east of Ulukışla), Podandos (Pozantı), and the Cilician Gates (Gülek Boğazı)[879], and the landscape on which the cities located was suitable for armies that accommodated. Of these the main nodal points of the route were Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ)[880]. The NW-SE DR 2 had variants, forking at Dorylaion (Eskişehir), and joining the routes coming from Ephesus in the west-east axis, from Attaleia (Antalya) in the north-south axis, and from Caesarea (Kayseri) in the east-west axis[881]. The route can be divided into sections that corresponded to the course of the roads which lied between two cities. The first northern section ran between Constantinople and Dorylaion (Eskişehir); the second section between Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ), and the last section between Amorium (Emirdağ) and the Cilician Gates. The part of the northern section of the route, running from Constantinople to Nicaea (İznik) was also the first part of the NW-SE DR 1 (the Pilgrim's Road). Hence, NW-SE DR 1 and NW-SE DR 2 used the same route until Nicaea (İznik), from where one branched to Ancyra (Ankara) and the other to Dorylaion (Eskişehir) (Figure 72).

The 9 milestones found in this section of the road clearly indicate that the section until Bozüyük (at Bilecik) after which the road joined another road coming from Prusa

[876] It is known to have been the station called Agrillum (in the southwest of Bilecik), passing through the valley of Sangarios (Sakarya River) and Karasu, and the *aplekton* Malagina (Mela) between Nicaea (İznik) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir). Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 141, p. 143.

[877] Belke and Mersich, 1990, pp. 139-142; Belke, 2020, p. 270.

[878] Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 144.

[879] Hild, 1977, pp. 61-63.

[880] Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 143; Hild, 1977, p. 61.

[881] *Ibid.*

(Bursa) was actively used in the imperial and Late Roman periods[882]. There are, however, no milestones showing a direct line between the two cities of Nicaea (İznik) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir)[883].

Information about the NW-SE DR 2 is found in cartographic and textual evidence. The Bithynian section of this route that stretched from Nicaea (İznik) to Dorylaion (Eskişehir) is represented in the *Tabula Peutinger*[884]. Ibn Hawqal[885] and al-Muqaddisi[886] mention this part of the road which is characterised as a military route. According to their accounts, Malagina (Mela), a gathering place, or an *aplekton,* which was included in the *Opsikian Theme*[887]*,* and Agrillum (south-west of Bilecik) at Bilecik[888] were two stations situated between Nicaea (İznik) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir)[889].

Five milestones are found between the section of Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ)[890], while no milestones between that of Amorium (Emirdağ) and Laodicea Combusta/Cecaumene (Ladik) are presented or recorded in the study of David French[891]. Idrīsī mentions that the road from Nicaea (İznik) to Amorium (Emirdağ) took

[882] French, 2013, pp. 111- 121.

[883] *Ibid.,* pp. 17-23.

[884] *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. 1962, IX, 2-3.

[885] *Ibn Ḥawqal*, trans. 1964, p. 189.

[886] Ciner, 2018, p. 157.

[887] Ramsay, 1962, p. 211.

[888] Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 141.

[889] Two variants between Nicaea (İznik) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir) are known to have been used by the Crusader army in 1097 and by emperor Alexius I Comnenus in 1116. Belke and Mersich, 1990, p. 141.

[890] French, 2014a, pp. 165-168.

[891] French, 2016, p. 32. French shows the existence of the road, but there is no information about the recorded milestones.

eight days[892] , and the distance between Amorium (Emirdağ) and Tarsus was around 239 miles[893]. Ibn Khordadhbeh gives the distance of the road between Tarsus and Amorium (Emirdağ) almost the same. In Khordadhbeh, the road between Amorium (Emirdağ) and Tarsus is given as 244 miles, and the road that ran between Amorium (Emirdağ) and Constantinople as 254 miles. As such, the distance of the NW-SE DR 2 between Constantinople and Tarsus amounts to almost 498 miles[894], which is almost 200 kilometres less than today's distance.

It is known from the textual evidence that by the seventh century, the NW-SE DR 2 was frequently used by the Byzantine armies and the Arab troops. Ṭabarī gives information about the first waves of the Arab invasions in 643/44 A.D. taking the NW-SE DR 2:

> In this year Mu'awiyah launched a summer offensive and reached Amorium, accompanied by some of the Companions of the messenger of God[895].

The account of Theophanes also mentions the first wave of the Arab attacks on Amorium (Emirdağ), which occurred in 666/7 A.D. and that Byzantine army confronted the raiders at Amorium (Emirdağ) which was invaded by them:

> They also took Amorium in Phrygia and, after leaving there a guard of 5,000 armed men, returned to Syria. When winter had fallen, the emperor sent the same *cubicularius* Andrew, and he reached Amorium at night when there was much snow. He and his men climbed on the wall with the help of planks and entered Amorium. They killed all the Arabs, all 5,000 of them, and not one of them was left[896].

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[892] *Idrīsī*, trans. 1975, p. 306.

[893] *Ibid.,* p. 307-308. *Idrīsī*, *idem,* mentions that the road between Medînat'ul-Leïn (?) and al-Bahasi (?) took three days, which was a part of the road from Amorium (Emirdağ) to Tarsus.

[894] *Khordadhbeh*, trans. 2008, pp. 87-88.

[895] *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1994, p. 164.

[896] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 490.

In 708 A.D., the Arabs conducted a summer raid against the Byzantines that took place in central Anatolia, and followed the route from Podandos (Pozantı) to Amorium (Emirdağ):

> Maslamah and Ἀbbās b. al-Walīd took Amorium and the castle of Erzuliye. After taking Amorium, they captured Heracleia and Kammuniye. Ἀbbās b. al-Walīd organized the expedition via Bezendûn in the summer[897].
>
> Maslamah headed for Ἀmmūriyyah, where he encountered a large body of Byzantines. Byzantines were defeated. Maslamah conquered Hiraqlah and Qamūdiyyah. Al-Abbas made the summer campaign from the direction of al-Budandūn[898].

The Arab troops continued to threaten and penetrate Asia Minor via the NW-SE DR 2 and reached Chalcedon (Kadıköy) after capturing the city of Amorium (Emirdağ) in the first half of the eighth century, as mentioned by Theophanes[899] . During their campaign to Constantinople in 715/16 A.D., they attacked Amorium (Emirdağ), one more time, most probably following the same route. Theophanes writes about the negotiations that took place between the Byzantines and Arabs during the campaign, and at Amorium (Emirdağ), there were:

> In this year Masalmas made an expedition against Constantinople. He sent in front of him Souleiman with a land army and Oumaros by sea, while he himself followed them with much military equipment. When Souleiman and Bakcharos had reached Amorium, they wrote the following to Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics… And, taking down their tents, they departed. Meanwhile the *strategos* introduced the turmarch Nikaias with 800 soldiers into Amorium and ejected most of the women and children. And he himself went off Pisidia[900].

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[897] *Ibn al-Athīr*, trans. 1985-1987, p. 479.

[898] *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1990, p. 146.

[899] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 490; *Abu'l Faraj*, trans. 1999, p. 180.

[900] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, pp. 538-539.

The negotiations between the Byzantines and Arabs resulted such that, the Arab raiders decided to move to Acroinos (Afyon) in Byzantine Asia to winter there[901]. As such, they had made a detour to the west coasts of Asia Minor and went until Abydos (near Çanakkale) before they advanced to Constantinople[902]. The invaders also ambushed the Byzantine troops many times[903], since they have managed to raid into the inland of Asia Minor via using the same military route[904].

The Arab troops made several expeditions in the eighth century with the aim to capture Constantinople. They did the 778/9 A.D. raid via the NW-SE DR 2, as Theophanes and Tabarī both mention:

> In this year Madi, the leader of the Arabs, waxed angry and sent Asan (Hasan b. Qahtaba) with a great force of Mourophoroi, Syrians, and Mesopotamians and they advanced as far as Dorylaion. The emperor ordered the *strategoi* not to fight an open war, but to make the forts secure by stationing garrisons of soldiers in them. He appointed high-ranking officers at each fort and instructed them to take each 3,000 chosen men and to follow the Arabs so as to prevent them from spreading out on pillaging raids, while burning in advance the horses' pasture and whatever other supplies were to be found. After the Arabs had remained fifteen days at Dorylaion, they ran short of necessities and their horses went hungry and many of them perished. Turning back, they besieged Amorium for one day, but finding it fortified and well-armed, they withdrew without achieving any success[905].
>
> Qahtabah led the summer expedition with 30,000 regular troops. He reached Hammah al-Adhrūliyyah (Dorylaion) and wrought great destruction and damage in Byzantine lands without capturing a fortress or meeting an army[906].

---

[901] *Ibid*.

[902] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 545.

[903] When the Arabs detoured to the west they reached Acroinos (Afyon) and Synnada (Şuhut) in the west of Phrygia, see *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 571; *Theophilus of Edessa*, trans. 2011, pp. 231-232.

[904] Arab troops attempted to pass through the gorges located on the Taurus Mountains when they conducted a raid to the capital and to the west of Anatolia. For information about the passes of the Taurus Mountains, see Kennedy, 2005, p. 242; Haldon, 1990, p. 106.

[905] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 624.

[906] *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1990, p. 206.

The raid that took place in 781/2 A.D. was done most probably through the same route:

> While the Roman army was busy with these matters, Madi's son Aaron sallied forth with an enormous armed force composed of Maurophoroi and men from all of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the desert and advanced as far as Chrysopolis after leaving Bounousos to besiege Nakoleia and guard his rear[907].

The Arab attacks via the NW-SE DR 2 continued in the years of 795/6 A.D. as well:

> In the same year, the Arabs came as far as Amorium, but did not achieve any success and withdrew after taking captives in the surrounding country[908].

All of these raids followed the NW-SE DR 2 as understood from the textual evidence. By following this line of communication route they aimed to occupy the capital both by the sea and the land. They reached the capital many times in 663 A.D., 710 A.D., 715 A.D., 718 A.D., 756 A.D., 762 A.D., 765 A.D., and 776 A.D. and were not successful[909]. The city had strong defence walls, both the Theodosian Wall built in the fifth century A.D., and the walls which extended from the Marmara Sea to the Golden Horn stopped invaders[910]. The Arabs, indeed, did not intend to occupy the inland of Asia Minor permanently; therefore, the cities along this route maintained their existence during the presence of Arabs, perhaps Amorium (Emirdağ) being the most effected from their raids. It can be suggested that the Arabs preferred this relatively short diagonal route and captured shortly the cities that were on the NW-SE DR 2. The fact that they did not stay in the captured cities for long indicates their desire move rapidly to capture the capital. In this respect, the NW-SE DR 2 played a significant role in terms of the military operations of this period for both parties. The cities and stations

[907] *Theophanes*, trans. 1997, p. 629.

[908] *Ibid.*, p. 646.

[909] Sevgen, 1959, p. 153.

[910] *Ibid.,* p. 149.

located on the NW-SE DR 2 were of vital importance as to provide the security of the diagonal route, and stopping a possible attack against the capital.

5.4.2. The Urban Centres along the NW-SE DR 2

The changing character of the urban centres established along the NW-SE DR 2 shows the degree of continuity in the status of urbanization and the use of this military route in this period. Among the cities, Nicaea (İznik), Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ) were local centres of communications, and Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ) played a significant role as the military bases of the *Opsikion* and *Anatolikon Themes,* respectively[911] . They were at the same time centres of market exchange, administration, and stations for defence[912], hence continued to be occupied during the period from the seventh to the ninth century A.D. despite their reduction into 'fortresses'.

Located at the crossroads Nicaea (İznik) had four gates: "Yenişehir Gate" on the south, "İstanbul Gate" on the north, "Lefke Gate" on the east, and "Sea or Lake Gate" on the west[913]. Excavations show that the theatre at Nicaea (İznik) continued to be used until the eighth century. It is also known that the structures of the theatre were used in the construction of city walls to strengthen it against the Arab raids in the seventh century[914]. Due to its strong walls, which included 238 towers and dated to the fourth century, Nicaea (İznik) was able to survive during the Arab raids in the eighth century[915].

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[911] *Ibid.*, p. 575.

[912] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 457. That both cities were listed in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* I, II, and III under the provinces of Phrygia Salutaris and Galatia II shows their importance and continued existence, *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, ed. 1981, pp. 224-226, pp. 237-238, and p. 251.

[913] Sevgen, 1959, p. 164.

[914] Yalman, 1987, pp. 299-329; Yalman, 1995, p. 426.

[915] Sevgen, 1959, p. 156.

Located on the route between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, Dorylaion (Eskişehir) played a significant role as gathering place of the troops in the seventh and eighth centuries. Dorylaion (Eskişehir) gained importance in this period since the city was at the crossroads, stretching to the Propontis (Marmara Sea) in the north, the Aegean coasts in the west, and the Mediterranean in the south. Excavations, carried out at the site of Dorylaion (Şarhöyük in Eskişehir), demonstrate that the city played a role as a military centre as understood from the restored walls of the city (Figure 73). Textual evidence also confirms that the armies encamped at Dorylaion (Eskişehir). The city walls, dated to antiquity[916], continued to be functional in the 'early/middle Byzantine' period[917] (Figure 74). The archaeological excavation showed that the city walls of Dorlyaion (Eskişehir) were similar to that of Amorium (Emirdağ), and may suggest the continuity in the occupation of the two fortified sites[918].

Located between Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and the Cilician Gates, and approximately 170 km southwest of Ankara, Amorium played an important role from the seventh to the ninth century[919]. Routes coming from Constantinople in the northwest, Ephesus in the west, and Ancyra (Ankara) in the east joined at Amorium (Emirdağ). Archaeological data and historical texts provide information about Byzantine Amorium (Emirdağ). The city was of little importance for the military route until the seventh century when it became the capital of the *Anatolikon Theme*[920]. The city afterward had acted as an important fortress, thereby becoming a military base[921] and providing

[916] No certain date is given.

[917] Darga, 1995, pp. 351-369; Darga, 2003, p. 49. Most recent study confirms the Byzantine fortress in the city, but no certain date is given, Baştürk *et al.*, 2017, p. 265.

[918] Darga, 1994, pp. 482-484. Our knowledge about the late Roman and early/middle Byzatnine Dorylaion (Eskişehir) is limited.

[919] The city continued to be occupied by the Arab raiders even after the ninth century, and was destroyed in 838 A.D. See *Ibn al-Athīr*, trans. 1985-1987, p. 419; *Ṭabarī*, trans. 1991, pp. 97-122; *Abu'l Faraj*, trans. 1999, pp. 226-228; *Skylitzes*, trans. 2010, p. 76.

[920] Whittow, 2009, p. 146.

security for the NW-SE DR 2. Archaeological excavations carried out at Amorium (Emirdağ) indicated continuity in the occupation of the city (Figure 75).

Amorium (Emirdağ) was situated in the north of modern village, including the Upper and the Lower City (Figure 76). Archaeological escavations showed that the circuit walls found in the Upper City was dated to the seventh century[922], which indicated the constructed defensive structure against the Arab attacks in this area[923]. A bath, a gateway, a fortification and a church found in the Lower City, dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, showed that the structure was in use between the seventh and ninth centuries[924]. Excavations in the north of the church in the lower city proved that the excavated area continued to be occupied in this period as well[925]. An excavated area attached to the north side of the Church showed the use of pressing grapes in the eighth and/or early ninth century[926]. Pottery and glass finds also show continuity in the occupied area of Amorium (Emirdağ) and also in the vitality and prosperity of the city. For instance, grey pottery found in the site and dated to the period from the fifth to the ninth centuries indicates production and transportation in the city[927]. Evidence such as silk textiles and local production of pottery also indicated that the city acted as a commercial entrepot with no major interruption[928]. The production of local red fabric

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[921] Harrison, 1988, p. 192.

[922] Lightfoot, 2017, p. 335.

[923] The city continued to be occupied within the late Roman settlement area, and after the destruction of the city in 838 A.D. the new settlement seems to have spread beyond the *kastron* into the Lower City, till the early Byzantine fortifications, Lightfoot, 2017, p. 338.

[924] Lightfoot and Arbel, 2004, p. 3; Lightfoot, 2017, p. 335; Lightfoot, 1998, pp. 303-320.

[925] Lightfoot *et al.,* 2011, pp. 47-69.

[926] Lightfoot, 2017, p. 337.

[927] Lightfoot *et al.*, 2005, p. 249.

[928] Lightfoot *et al.*, 2007, p. 286.

ware also continued in Amorium (Emirdağ); this was a local type of the Glazed White Ware I of Constantinople during this period[929] (Figure 77).

Both cities, i.e. Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ) in this regard, played a vital role in terms of providing the security of the NW-SE DR 2, and at the same time of Constantinople during the Arab attacks into Asia Minor from between the seventh and ninth century. Archaeological evidence showed that Amorium (Emirdağ) continued to be occupied and maintained its vitality. Despite limited archaeological data regarding the early/middle Byzantine period, Dorylaion (Eskişehir) was most probably inhabited in this period.

Two cities, Ancyra (Ankara) and Tyana (Kemerhisar), located on the NW-SE DR 1, are known to have been occupied in this period. Ancyra had become an important military centre at the beginning of the seventh century since it was founded at the crossroads (Figure 78). It was the capital of the *Theme Opsikion*, then the *Theme Bucellarion* in 776 A.D. and 799 A.D.[930] As a strongly fortified city, Ancyra was able to survive the Arab attacks[931] (Figure 79). The city had an "outer castle" and an "inner castle", including about twenty remaining towers (Figure 80, Figure 81), and the main gates, including "Kale Kapı" to the south, "Genç Kapı" to the west, "Dış Ala Kapı" as a secondary western gate, and "Hisar Kapı" as the main gate[932]. The "inner castle" was 14-16 m high and 42 pentagonal towers[933]. It was restored in the seventh and eighth

[929] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 504.

[930] Belke and Restle, 1984, p. 127.

[931] Foss, 1977b, pp. 29-30; Peschlow, 2017, pp. 349-360. The most important architectural edifice of Ancyra (Ankara) was the Church of St. Clement. Peschlow discusses that the church was built during the 'Invasion Period'. Serin also argues that the church might have been built in the ninth century, but emphasizes that many architectural elements are dated to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. For the detailed discussion, see Peschlow, 2017, pp. 354-355; Serin, 2014, pp. 65-92.

[932] Peschlow, 2017, p. 258.

[933] Sevgen, 1959, pp. 53-55.

centuries[934]. After the middle of the seventh century, although the production was regionalized in Byzantine Anatolia, and the inter-regional movement was reduced to Ancyra (Ankara)[935], the city continued to function as a trade centre throughout the eight century[936] albeit in a reduced scale. Another city known from excavations is Tyana located on the NW-SE DR 1. Archaeological excavations conducted in the eastern part of the excavated area in Tyana (Kemerhisar) indicated potsherds that are dated to a period between the seventh and the tenth centuries A.D.[937] The Late Roman Tyana (Kemerhisar) seems to have maintained its importance as an ecclesiastical[938] and commercial centre until the coming of the Seljuks[939].

[934] *Ibid.,* p. 52.

[935] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 504; Haldon, 2012, p. 106.

[936] Foss, 1977b, p. 76.

[937] Rosada and Lachin, 2011, p. 210; Rosada, 2005, p. 158.

[938] Tyana continued to be the metropolis of Cappadocia II in this period, see *Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. 1981, p. 236.

[939] Although Tyana (Kemerhisar) was exposed to the Arab attacks, especially after the ninth century, it continued to be occupied, Doğanay and İşler, 2019, p. 641.

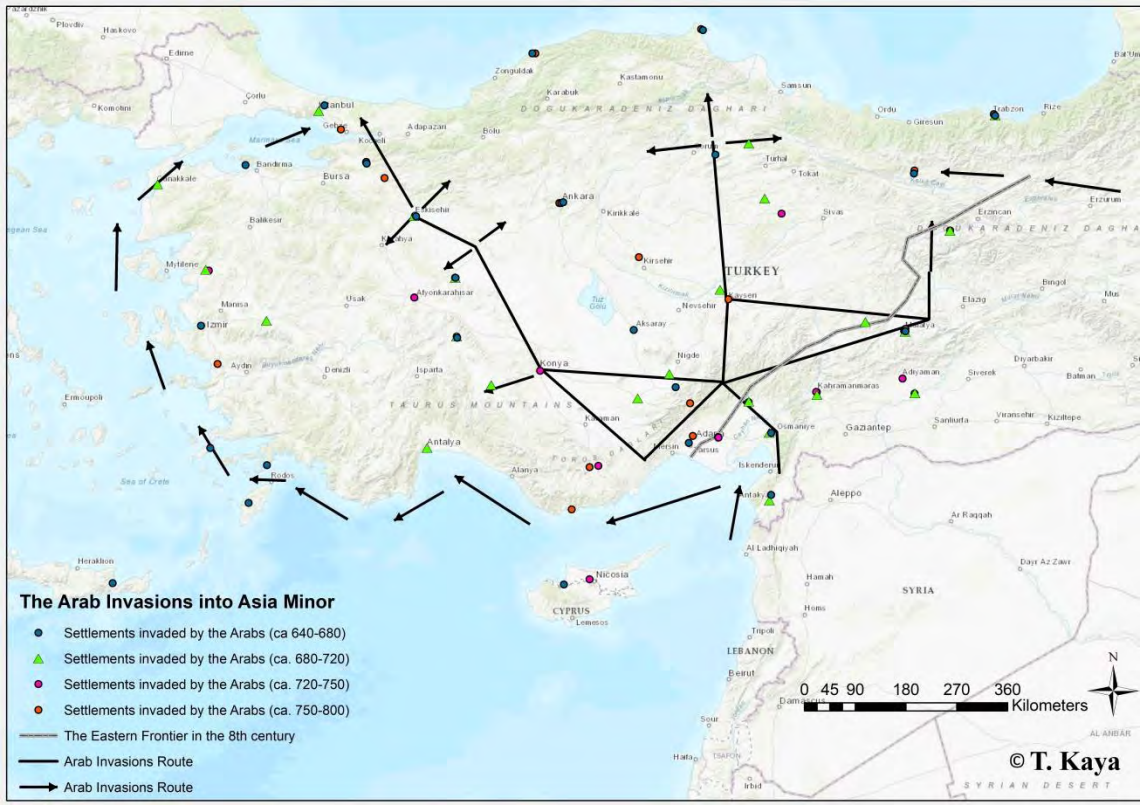


Figure 62. Arab attacks and response of the Byzantines, ca. 640-800 A.D., adapted from Lilie, 1976, prepared by the author. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

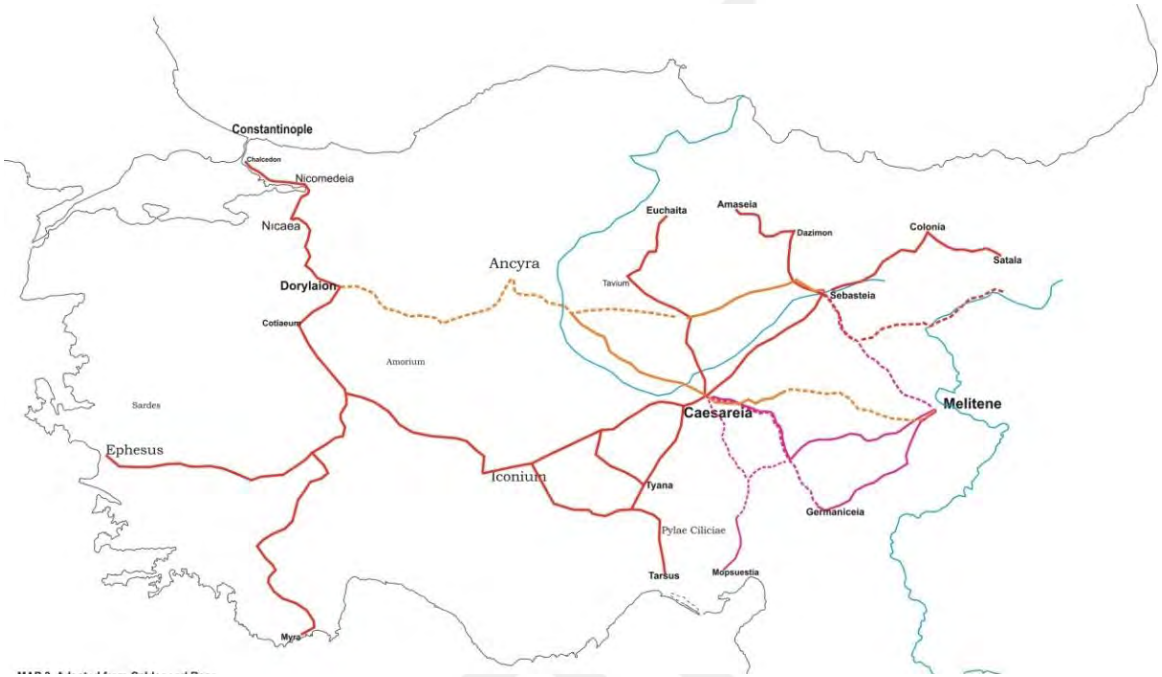


Figure 63. Emerging routes in Early/Middle Byzantine Anatolia, prepared by the author. Source: Haldon, 1999.

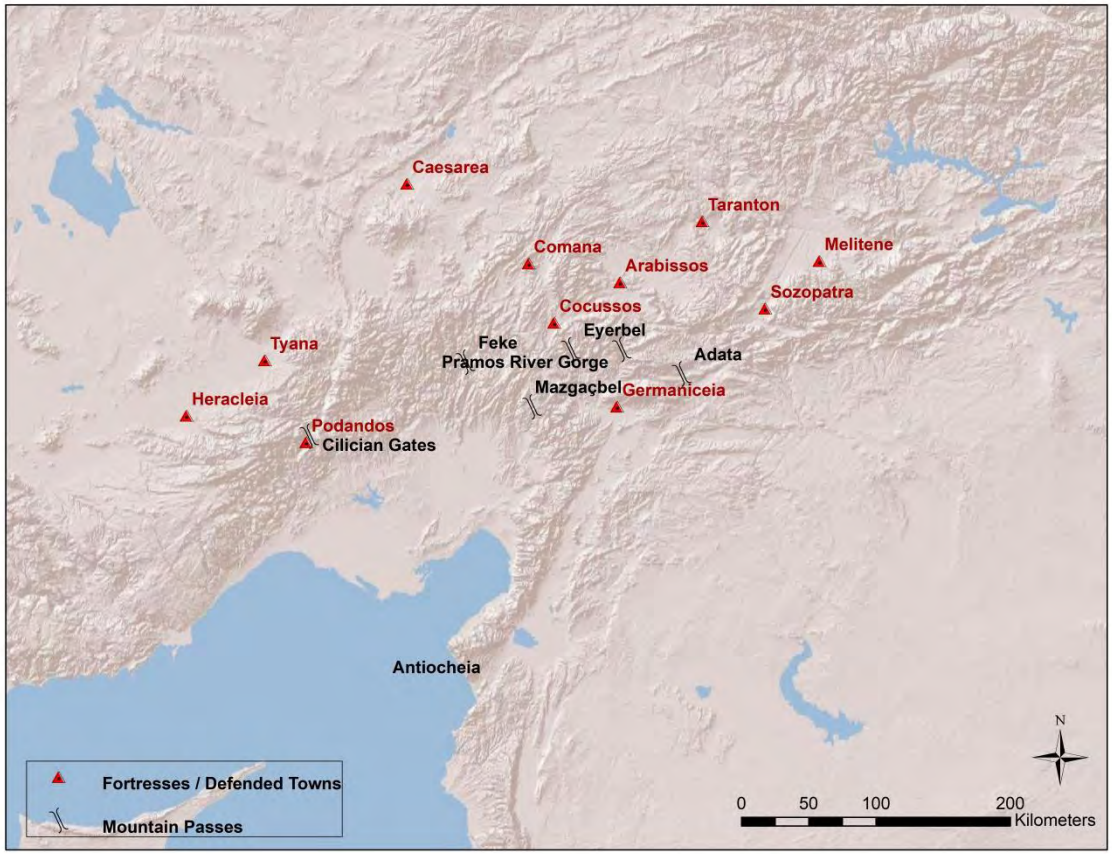


Figure 64. Taurus and anti-Taurus Mountain passes. Adapted from Haldon, 1990; Kaegi, 2000, prepared by the author. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

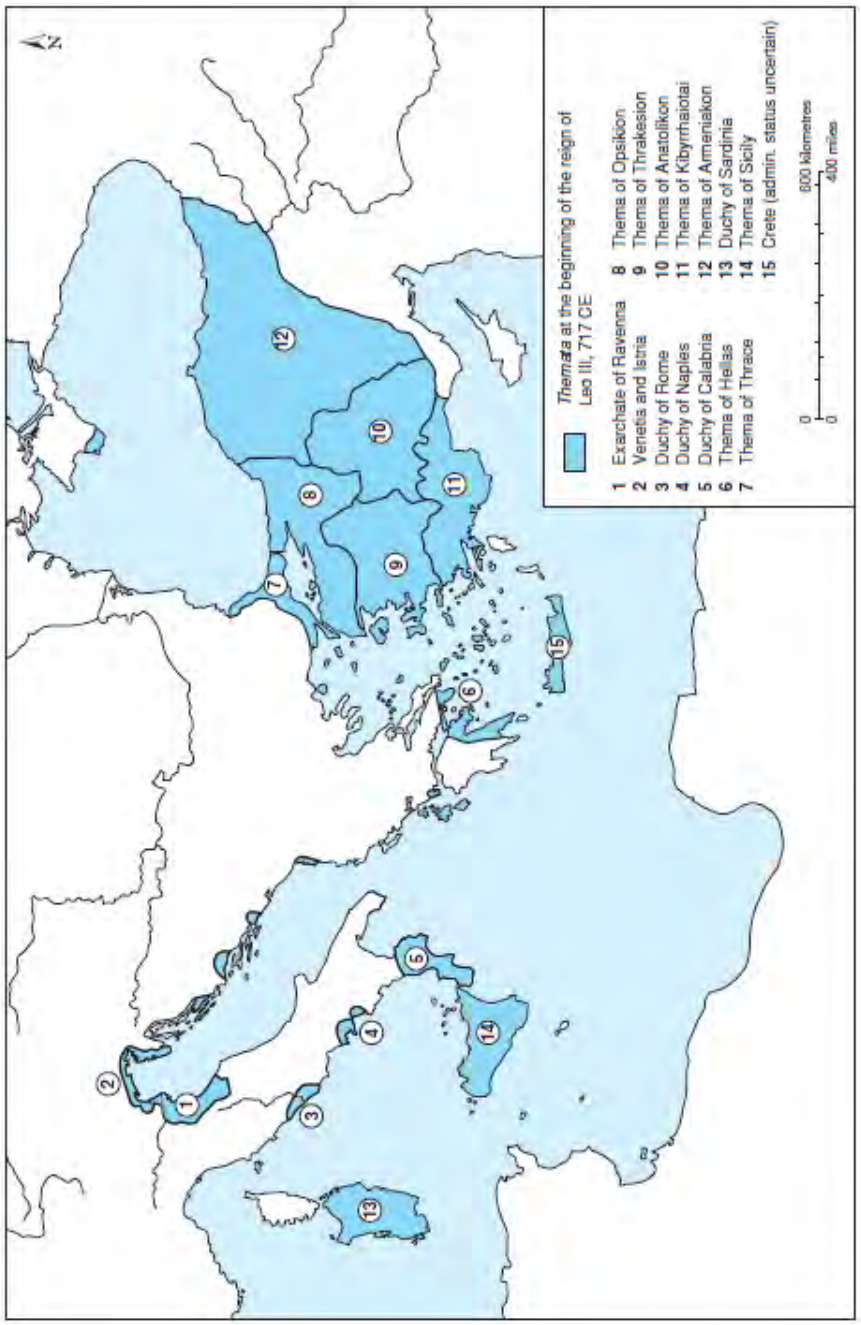


Figure 65. Map of *Themata.* Source: Haldon, 2005, p. 70.



Figure 66. Late Roman *Amphorae* 1, (early 5th-late 7th c. / 8th-9th c.),Vroom, 2005, p. 52.



Figure 67. Ephesus in the 7th century A.D., Ladstatter and Daim, 2011.



Figure 68. Byzantine Fortification at Sardis, prepared by the author. Source: Cahill, 2013, Basemap: GoogleEarth.

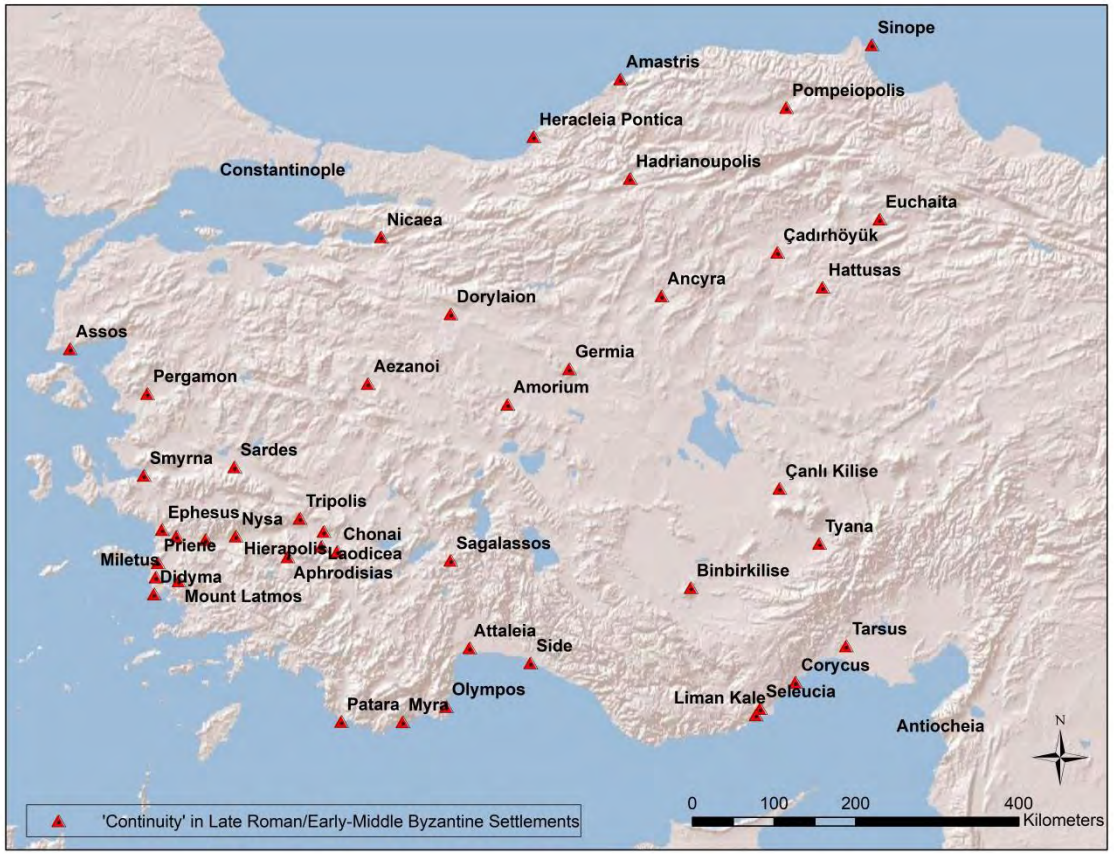


Figure 69. Continuity in Late Roman cities, prepared by the author. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

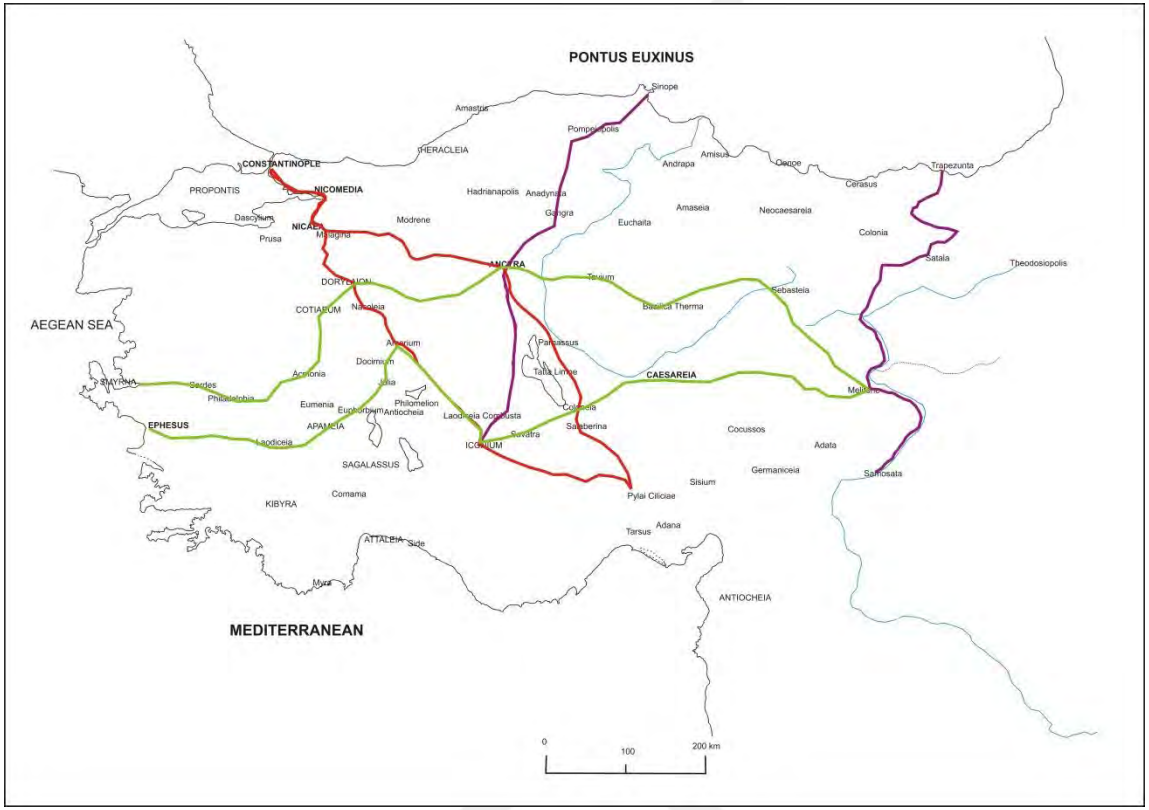


Figure 70. Emerging Routes in Early/Middle Byzantine Anatolia. Green Line: West-East Routes; Red Line: Northwest-Southeast Routes; Blue Purple: North-South Routes, prepared by the author. Sources: *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4 & 7.*

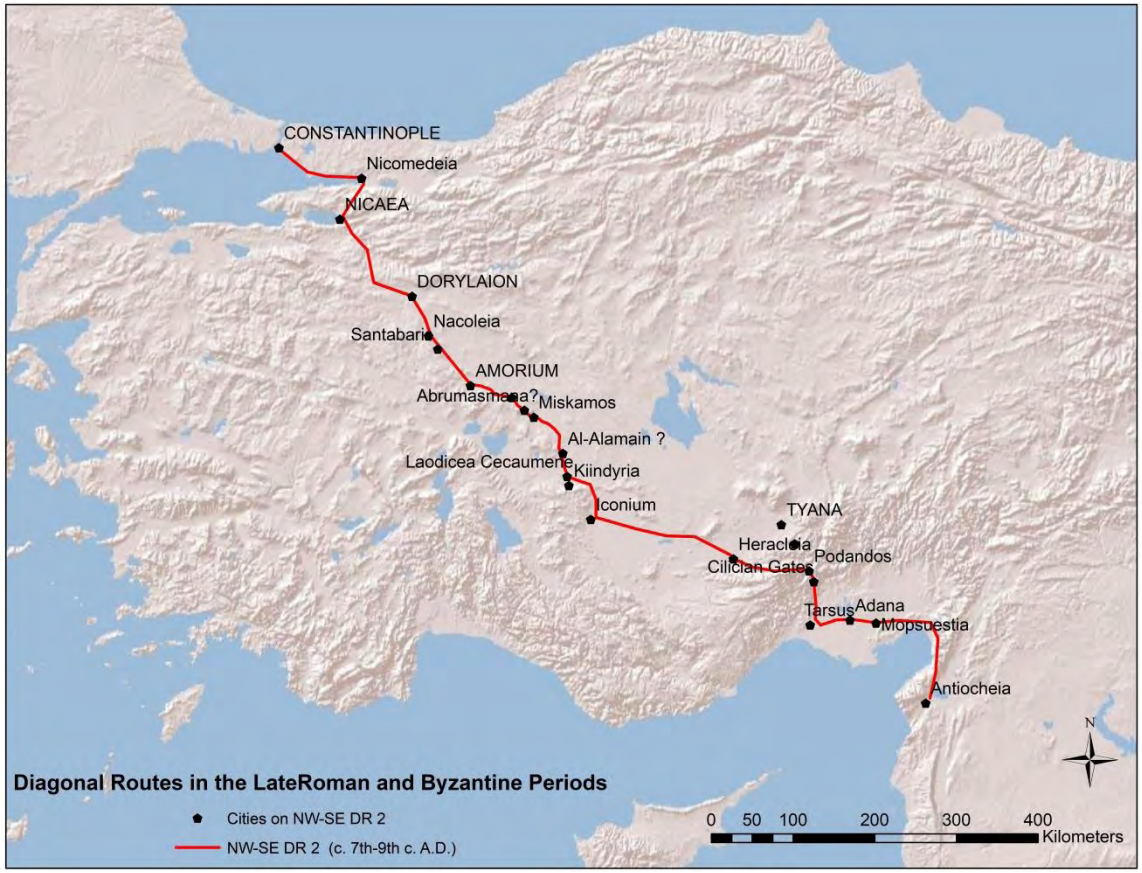


Figure 71. Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 2, prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: ArcGIS Software. Sources: *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7*

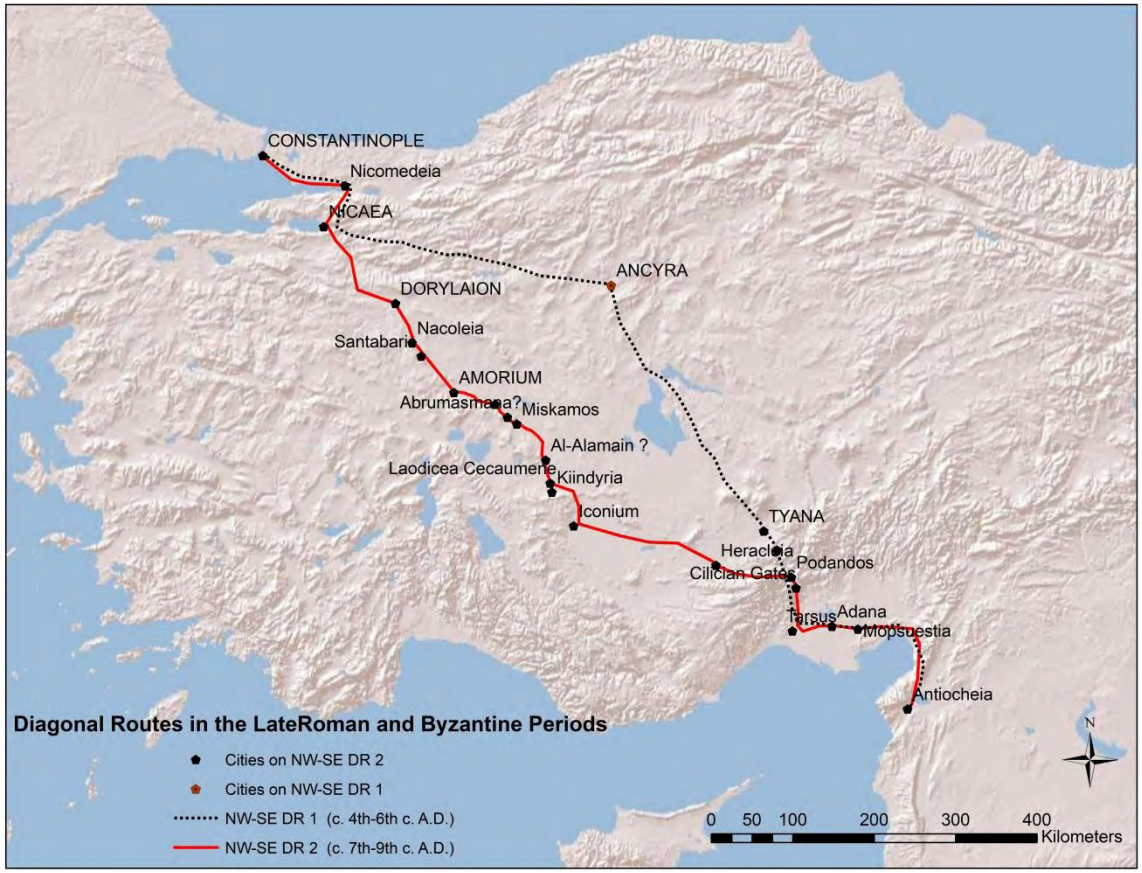


Figure 72. NW-SE DR 2 and continuity in the main cities along the NW-SE DR 1. Prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: ArcGIS Software. Sources: *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4 & 7*.



Figure 73. Eskişehir view from Şarhöyük (Dorylaion) excavation area, photo by author, 2008.



Figure 74. Ruins of fortification wall Şarhöyük (Dorylaion) (Byzantine), photo by author, 2008.



Figure 75. Amorium excavation area, Emirdağ District Governorship, http://www.emirdag.gov.tr/amorium-antik-kenti

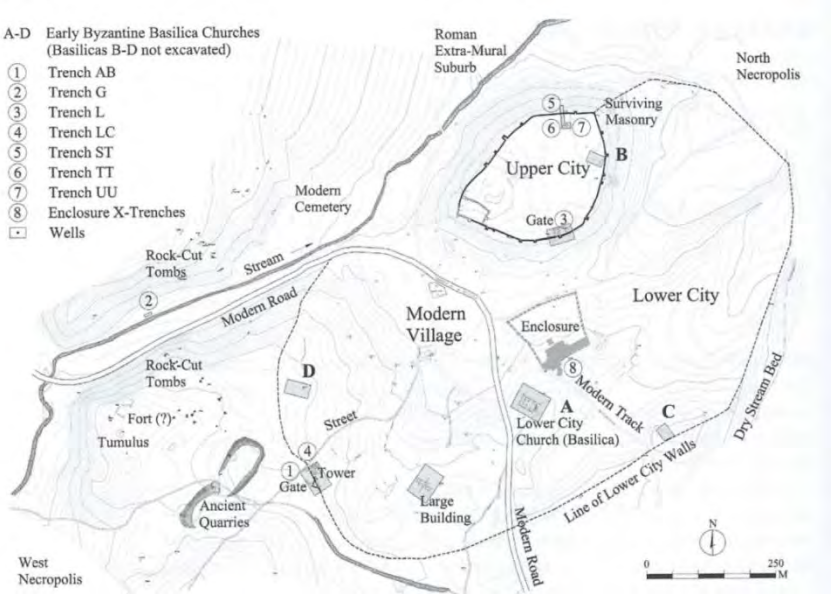


Figure 76. Plan of Amorium, Lightfoot, 2017, p. 334.



Figure 77. Contantinopolitan Glazed White Ware, (ca. 7th – late 8th c.), Vroom, 2005, p. 62.

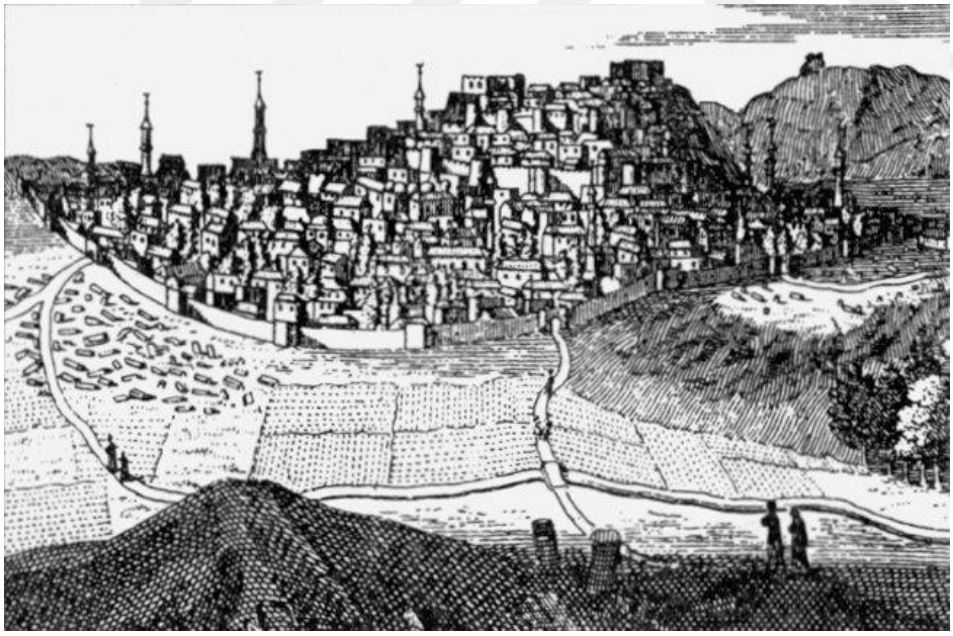


Figure 78. Ancyra with city walls, representing XVIIIth century, engraved by Pitton de Tournefort, 1727, Paris.
https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ankara

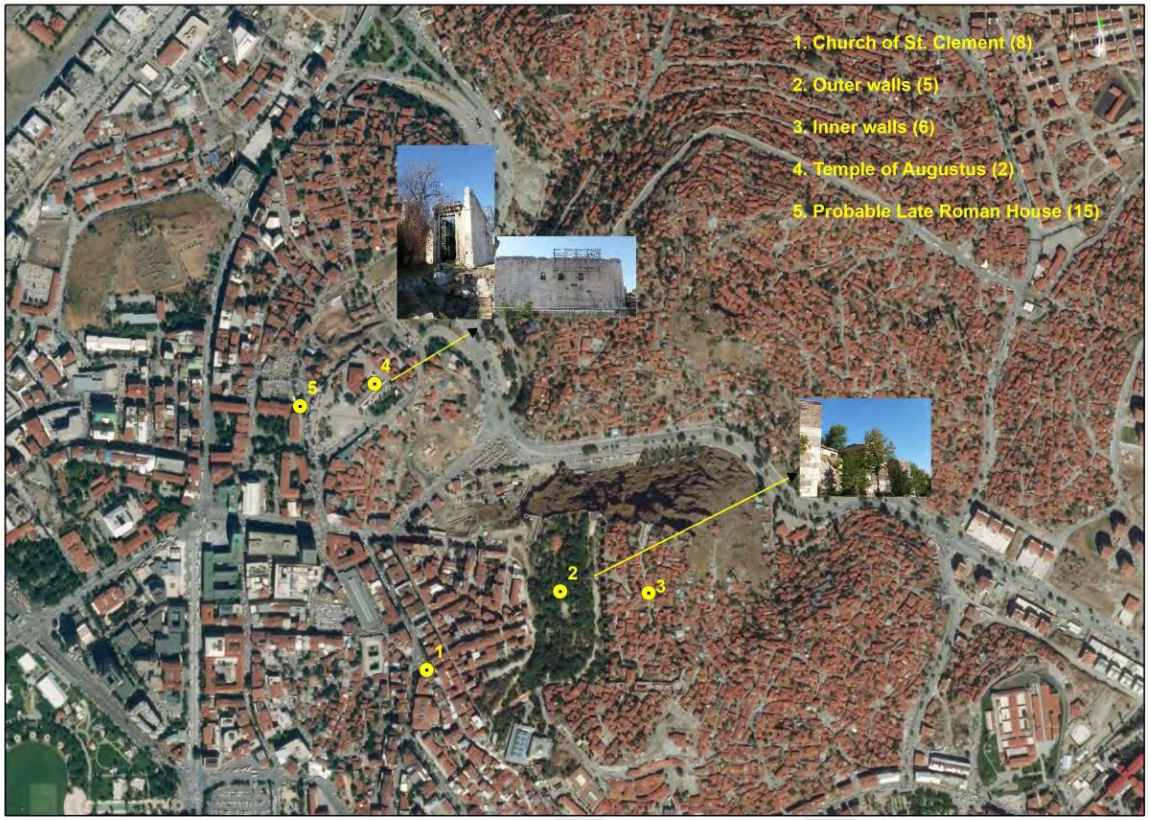


Figure 79. Late Roman and Byzantine Ancyra, prepared by the author, 2019. Basemap: ArcGIS Software.

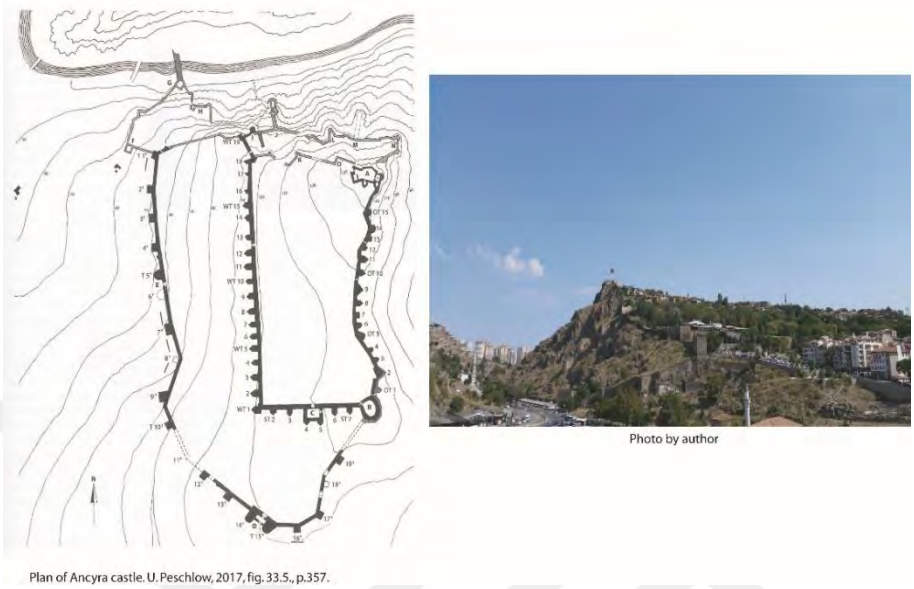


Figure 80: Outer and inner walls of Ancyra, Peschlow, 2017, p. 357, photo by author, 2019.



Figure 81. Ancyra Castle, photo by author, 2019.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis discusses the impact of changes that occurred in the political/administrative and economic situation of the Eastern Roman Empire during the late Roman and early Byzantine periods on the use of the main routes and the status of the main cities located along these routes in Asia Minor. Combining textual and archaeological evidence, it overviews the political/administrative and economic conditions of the eastern Roman Empire in the period concerned and argues in which ways the function of cities and their urbanization dynamics had changed and makes a reading of this context in reference to the use of routes in Asia Minor.

The contextual dynamics that define the post-Roman era and during which major administrative/political, social, and economic changes had occurred, are generally studied under two periodical divisions; the Late Roman Period (4^{th}-6^{th}centuries AD) and 'transitional' or Early/Middle Byzantine' Period (7^{th}-9^{th}centuries AD)[940]; the thesis used this periodization.

Asia Minor was already equipped with a dense network of communication that operated via roads and routes that were established between major urban centres when the eastern Roman Empire gained power and made Constantinople as the new capital of the empire in the 4^{th} century. Communication routes in late Roman and early Byzantine Anatolia began to be used more for purposes other than the transportation of goods and movement of people between the 4^{th} and 9^{th} centuries. During these centuries, new

[940] See Brown, 1971; Cameron, 1981; Cameron, 1993; Haldon, 1990; Haldon, 2016; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011; Whittow, 1996.

networks of communications, in the forms of routes had emerged, especially between the cities leading to the capital Constantinople and between the capital and the Cilician Gates. The Cilician Gates was the main pass through the Taurus Mountains and it was a strategic node that linked the diagonal routes coming from Constantinople to Antiocheia (Antakya)[941], thence continuing to the Holy Lands in Palestine. Since the diagonal routes enabled easy access to Constantinople, they gained much more importance compared to the routes that operated along the west-east and north-south directions.

The political and economic situation of Asia Minor began to change profoundly after the official foundation of the Eastern Roman Empire in Constantinople in the 4th century. Among the major changes were; Christianity becoming the official religion of the empire, Constantinople becoming the new capital of the Roman Empire, and the state administration becoming a centralized autocratic system. These changes inevitably influenced urbanization dynamics and the use of, especially, the major Roman routes in Asia Minor as well. While some major routes had continued to be used in the same capacity and for the usual travel and transportation purposes, the use of some others had lessened or decreased, new routes had emerged and became integrated into the existing ones or assumed new functions. As routes were defined by their destination cities and also with the major settlements that were located along them, the continuity or change in their use had varying degrees of impact on the fate of all the settlements, in particular, the urban centres during the period in question.

The primary and modern sources indicate that two dominating changes that characterize and define the context of this period had occurred in religious and military spheres. The new religious structures introduced by Christianity had an impact on the state administration, which brought new forms of institutions and administrative bodies. The administration became centralized under an autocratic system since the emperor gained a 'Holy' character, which made the empire a 'Christian Roman Empire'. Constantinople gained a holy character, from where the emperor appointed and

[941] *ODLA,* 2018, p. 345.

approved the authorities to serve as the religious leaders of the cities. Appointed by the emperor, the Christian bishop gained primary significance. The imperial assignment of such posts inevitably elevated the figures who were assigned to religious and, hence, administrative positions in the urban centres as persons of authority power and influence. The emperor and the bishops attended the councils together, such as those held in Ephesus in 431 A.D. and Chalcedon in 451 A.D. The ecclesiastical network of communication, in addition, enabled to exchange theological ideas and practices between the bishops through the meetings of councils such as Ancyra and Laodicea, thereby providing interaction among them. The power of the Church was asserted by giving it an official status in the fifth century. The religious developments created a shift in the urban maintaining and/or planning priorities and function of buildings such as initiating the construction of churches, which indeed, led to strengthen the role of church institution in the operation of political, social and economic matters as well.

Reflections of such religion-initiated and operated developments influenced the network of communication and urbanization dynamics at different levels: First of all, the building stock in the cities was expanded to include more religious buildings; between the fifth-and sixth centuries, urban and rural settlements received several churches and chapels. Secondly, many Roman public buildings were transformed into and reused as religious buildings. A Roman villa transformed into a palace of eparchy in Tralleis, for example, demonstrates that domestic buildings were also altered to serve for religiously-oriented functions. Such building transformation activities had actually started in the early fourth century but gained momentum in the following two centuries. For example, the old structures, such as the *agorae* in Ephesus and Assos, were replaced by residences and modest houses in the 5^{th}-6^{th} centuries. Implementation of such constructional manipulations to obtain new religious spaces in the cities, as well as the construction of new shops, workshops and industrial areas, or transformation of existing public buildings or domestic areas to include production and commercial units, is archaeologically attested in many cities and show that there was an economic and urban vitality in this period. Exports of *amphorae* and ceramics via sea routes demonstrate the

operation of regional and interregional networks of communication and transport; the archaeological finds confirm that there was not a radical decline in the economic vitality of the 5th-6th centuries. Despite the Persian threat in the eastern frontier and the Avar and Slav raids in the West, the cities continued to sustain their urban dynamics. The communication routes also maintained their function to a great extent, such as the Pilgrim's Road, serving as both an economic and religious network of communication during this period. The archaeological evidence supports the idea that the enemy threats did not have a significant effect on the continuity of the main centres.

Specific conclusions concerning this period, and in reference to the use of routes, archaeological and textual evidence, can be presented on the basis of cities included and discussed in the study: The Northwest-Southeast Diagonal Route 1 (NW-SE DR 1) or the *Pilgrim's Road* gained importance and continued to be used in this period. The route was significant for the pilgrims since it was the cheapest natural and land route to travel between the West and the Holy Lands. It actually stretched between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates, thence to Antiocheia (Antakya). The major cities on the route in Asia Minor were Nicaea (İznik) and Ancyra (Ankara). The bulk of milestones indicate refurbishment and continuity in the use of the route during the fourth century. Textual evidence shows that with 68 *mutationes* and 40 *mansiones* it facilitated easy and comfortable access for both the pilgrims and the official and private travellers. Textual evidence indicates that Nicomedeia (İzmit), Nicaea (İznik), Juliopolis (near Nallıhan), Ancyra (Ankara), and Tyana (Kemerhisar), established along the route, maintained their importance as having main churches and urban vitality during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Archaeological evidence also confirms this: Church of St. Sophia, built in the second half of the fifth century, indicates the importance and status of Nicaeae (İznik) as a bishopric; Church of St. Clement and the Temple of Augustus, the two prominent religious buildings in late Roman and early/middle Byzantine Ancyra (Ankara), continued to be used in religious practices; recent excavations in Juliopolis (near Nallıhan) also showed that a church dedicated to *St. Theodore* was built in the fifth-sixth century which confirmed the importance of the city as a bishopric. The cities, such as

Nicaea (İznik) and Ancyra (Ankara) maintained their importance throughout the 'early/middle Byzantine' period. City walls and fortresses were strengthened against the attacks, and urban dynamics, such as public life, commercial relations and the use of public spaces, continued to function despite the on-going 'transformations' or 'changes' in the role, function and physical character of urban centres.

From the seventh to the ninth century, however, radical changes had occurred in the eastern Roman Empire. With the rise of Islam and the Umayyad dynasty, the Arabs emerged as a powerful enemy. They began to organize raids to Asia Minor, starting from the 640 A.D. onwards, with the aim to occupy Constantinople, threaten the empire and collect booty. The textual evidence illustrates that the State had to take precautions to maintain security. The emperor felt the pressure to violate the prevailing territories and changed the system of administration. Military districts, i.e., *themes,* were formed. With the emergence of *themes*, the main urban centres that were established within the borders of the provinces, acquired a 'military' character; therefore, they continued to be occupied within a military context. This is reflected in the urban dynamics of the cities as well. They foremost became heavily fortified. In this regard, the old cities continued to sustain their urban dynamics within a firmly walled enclosure such as Ancyra (Ankara) and Nicaea (İznik). On the other hand, new fortified settlements called *kastra* had emerged as in the case of Amastris (Amasra) and Euchaïta (Avkat/Beözü). *Kastra* had provided the security of the inhabitants as a refuge or strongpoint;[942] in this regard the *kastron* that were located on a hill above the late antique city, provided the security of the late Roman population during the Arab attacks. The archaeological evidence about *kastra* is limited, for the time being, and is known from Euchaïta (Avkat/Beyözü), Amastris (Amasra), Cotyaeion (Kütahya), Ancyra (Ankara), and Dorylaion

[942] Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 542.

(Eskişehir)[943]. In the meantime, the late antique city continued to function within its walled enclosure as in Ephesus, Sardis (Salihli), and Ancyra (Ankara).

This intensive warfare period had different impacts on the fate, and function of the urban centres as well as the status of usage of the network of communication; not all cities were devastated or influenced radically from the raids. While Cilicia was permanently lost to the raiders, and Cappadocia, the eastern part of Galatia and Lycaonia had encountered a vital threat, the western Asia Minor and Pontus regions remained little affected by the incursions. Within the turmoil of wars, new routes came into use, which were used primarily for military purposes. The diagonal routes continued to be the main preference of both the civilians and the armies as the routes in the northwest-southeast direction provided an easy access between the capital and the Cilician Gates, and the main cities established along the diagonal routes which were of strategic importance for their defensive capacity, provided the security of the routes for people and armies. As such, the diagonally running routes starting from Constantinople and leading to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion (Eskişehir), became primary the lines in the network of communication. The Pilgrim's Road lost its importance because the diagonal connection between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion gained prominence in terms of economic and especially military reasons.

Of the diagonally established new routes, the NW- SE DR 2 that ran between Constantinople and the Cilician Gates became regularly used by the armies of both the Byzantines and the Arabs. The NW-SE DR 2 showed that the main cities located along, such as Amorium (Emirdağ) and Dorylaion (Eskişehir) had survived and continued to be occupied despite the destructive attacks by the raiders. Archaeological evidence also indicates well this situation. Since there were a consistent attacks by the Arab troops against the Byzantines, the city walls and fortresses of the cities in question were both re-built and strengthened.

[943] See Niewöhner, 2007, pp. 131-132; Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, p. 454-455; Haldon, 2018, pp. 210-255; Elton, 2018, pp. 24-25.

The capacity of the economic activities inevitably reduced but not totally came to an end. Trade, in a lessened scale continued, and local production was maintained; for example, supported by the continuity of the local products in Amorium. The decrease in urban economies was no doubt related not only the decreased security of the roads but also the production and distribution of products mainly for military purposes, rather than for commercial and trade purposes, that is, to channel the goods to supply the army.

Specific conclusions concerning this period, and about the use of routes, archaeological and textual evidence, can be presented, based on cities included and discussed in the study: The armies frequently used the NW-SE DR 2. The main cities established along this route gained a 'military' character and maintained their importance locally. Textual evidence provides information that Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Amorium (Emirdağ) were the military bases of the *Opsikion* and *Anatolikon Themes*. Archaeological evidence also shows that they had similarly constructed city walls in this period. The church found in the lower city of Amorium (Emirdağ), for example, and the local products indicated the continued occupation of the city in this period. It is difficult to understand the degree of continuity of late Roman structures in Dorylaion (Eskişehir) because of limited archaeological evidence while Amorium (Emirdağ) provided

Information about the continuity in the use of late Roman structures such as the bath and the church, found in the Lower City. As demonstrated in the examples of Nicaea (İznik), Ancyra (Ankara), Dorylaion (Eskişehir), and Amorium (Emirdağ), the cities along the military-oriented routes definitely gained a military character in this period and maintained their economic situation despite in a reduced scale. The emergence of *kastra* is a known fact, yet there is not much available archaeological information. The late Roman city continued to be occupied, as in the case of Amorium (Emirdağ) and Ancyra (Ankara), and many others. To assess the degree and nature of continuity, however, more archaeological studies are necessary. The archaeological and textual evidence shows a degree of continuity in urbanization and operation of communication networks, likely at a reduced scale. Because the archaeological

excavations and surveys concerning the period between the seventh and ninth centuries are scarce in many regions of Anatolia, it is difficult to comment in some detail on this issue.

Study of the routes provides a reading of the impacts of political, administrative, religious and economic developments that are interrelated and mutually influencing each other, on the network of communication between cities, and thus, about the function and status of cities in late Roman and early Byzantine Anatolia. It offers a perspective to assess and question issues of transformation and continuity in late antiquity from the aspects of movement and communication.

Considering both archaeological and historical evidence, it can be suggested that religious and administrative changes between the fourth and seventh century, as Brown and Cameron emphasize, had an impact on cities and the use of Byzantine routes, which were reflected in building activities in Asia Minor. While 'classical' understanding continued to some extent until the seventh century on the one hand, the changes in question had already initiated the process of 'transformation' in the Eastern Roman Empire on the other. The Arab raids, which lasted almost a hundred and fifty years, posed a severe threat to the empire between the seventh and ninth centuries. The fate of cities in Asia Minor became shrinkage, localization and impoverishment thereby resulted in military centres. Although reduced in size, cities continued to be occupied within the walls, some of which were newly built, and to function as centres of production and consumption in addition to military bases, as Brubaker and Haldon state. Communication routes in Asia Minor were used mainly for religious and commercial purposes by pilgrims, traders and people during the period from the fourth through the sixth centuries in this regard. From the seventh century onwards, the main concern in the use of routes was related to military affairs due to the situation of warfare and political unrest in Byzantine Asia Minor.

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APPENDICES

A. MILESTONES FOUND ON THE ROMAN ROADS (C. 4TH-6TH CENTURIES A.D.)

A.1. ASIA:

ROAD	LOC.	DATE	SOURCE	PHOTO.	TEXT
Cyzicus-(-Prusa)	Camandıra Çiftlik Karacabey (Bursa)	AD 293-305, AD 324-333, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 37	-	(on the front face of the shaft) [Imp C]**aes Aur. Val Diokletiano** 2 [p f] **Aug et I**/mp/ **Caes M Aur.** [Val] **Maximiano p f** /Au/[g et Fl] 4 [Val] **Constantio et** [Gal] [V]**al Maximiano nobilis**[s] 6 (vac) **Caisaribus** (below text [1]) [Dd nn] 2 [Fl Constantino p f max] **victori ac tri**[umf Aug] 4 [e]t **Fl. Constan**[tino et Fl] **Constantio** [nobb Cae]- 6 [sa]**ribb** (on the rear face of the shaft) [Dd nn] 2 **Fl Co**[nstantino p f] **victori semper** [Aug et] **Fl.**[a] 4 **Constan**[tino et Fla] **Constantio et Fla** 6 **Constanti nnbb ac**
Cotiaeum – (-Prusa)	Esnemez (Eskişehir)	AD 293-305, AD 308-324, AD 324	French 2014a, p. 39	-	(1) (side 1) Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Αὐτκρρ Γαΐ°Οὐαλ 4 Διοκλητια|νῷ κὲ Μ Αὐρ°Οὐα|λ Μαξιμιανῷ Cββ καὶ τοῖς 8 ἐπφφ•Καιc|c ΦλαβΐΟὐαλ| Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλ°Οὐα|λ 12 Μαξιμιανῷ line 1: ligatures HMωN line 6: ligatures Nω line 10: ligature ωN line 12: ligatures Nω (2) (side 2) **DDNN** **Fl Val** **Constantino** 4 **p f invicto Aug** **et Fl (I)ul Crisp-** | **-o** erased letters [erasure ?] 8 **et Fl Iul Constantino** **nobb Caess** (vac) **A Cotiaeo** **mi XXVIII** 12 **mi LII**

A.1. (Continued)

Aezani – (-Prusa)	Tavşanlı (Kütahya)	AD 317	French 2014a, p. 41	-	("at top" [MAMA]) [- - - -]ΑΝΤ [- - - -]ḲΙΜΙΝ (?)Ε ("lower" [MAMA]) μί ε´ (below text [1]) (vac) [Τ]οῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Φλαβ Οὐαλ. [Κ]ωνσταντῖνον καὶ Λικιννιαν[ὸν Λι]κιννίου 4 τοὺς ἐ[ω]νίας Σεβ[αστοὺς] καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστίους Καίσ[α]ρας Κρίσπον [καὶ] Ḳ[ωνστ]ατῖνον Λικίννιον 8 καὶ Ḳωνσταντῖν[ο]ν μί ε´
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Selçuk Pranga Çiftlik (İzmir)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 43	-	- - - - [- - - - - - -]**O** [pp ff] **inṿicṭis Ạugg** 4 [D]**Ḍ nn** [F]**l Ịul Crispọ** **et Val Liciniạno** **Licinio et Fl´ Cl´** 8 **Cọnstantiọ** **nobb**ᵉ**Cae**[ss] (traces of letters) (missing lines) *exempli gratia* [DDnn] [Impp Caess Fl Val] [Constantino] [et Val Licini]**o**
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Belevi 1 (Selçuk/İzmir)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 44	-	(vac) **Αὐτοκ**[ράτορα Καίσα]- [ρ]**α Δ**⟨ι⟩**οκλη**[τιανὸν Εὐ]- [σε]**βῆ Σεβασ**[τὸν κ(αὶ) Αὐτοκρά]- 4 [το]**ρα Καίσα**[ρα Μαξι]- (vac) **μιανὸν Ε**[ὐσεβῆ] [Σ]**εβαστὸν** [κ(αὶ) Οὐαλέριον] (vac) **Κωνστά**[ντιον κ(αὶ) Γαλερι]- 8 [ον] **Οὐαλέριον** [Μαξιμιανὸν] (vac) **τοὺ**⟨ς⟩ **ἐπιφανεσ**[τ(άτους) Καίσαρας] (vac) **Ἀπὸ Ἐφέ**[σου] (vac) **μί η´**

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Cyzicus	Belevi 2 (Selçuk/İzmir)	AD 311-313, AD 363-364, AD 383	French 2014a, p. 45	-	**DD·nnṇ ⟦ - - - - ⟧** 2 **⟦ - - - - ⟧o̩ et Fl** **Val·Co⟨n⟩stantino** 4 **et Val Liciniano** **[Li]cinio invictis** 6 **[Aug]gg** **mi XI** [D N] 2 **[Io]viano v[ic]toriossisi-** **[m]o principi piissimo** 4 **[im]peratori clem[en]-** **[t]issimo Aug** 6 **[A]el Cl Dulcit[ius]** (vac) **procos** 8 **d n maiest[atique eius]** **dddd nn[nn]** 2 (vac) **Fl Grat[iano]** **et Fl Valle[ntiniano]** 4 **et [F]l Theo[dosio et Fl A]-** **rc[a]dio piis[simis - - - -]** 6 - - - -
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Belevi 3 (Selçuk/İzmir)	AD 383	French 2014a, p. 46		[DDDD nnnn] 2 [Fl G]ra̩ti̩a̩no̩ e̩t̩ Fl̩ Valle̩nti̩ni̩a̩no̩ 4 [et] Fl̩ Theo̩do̩si̩o̩ e̩t̩ Fl̩ Arca̩di̩o̩ 6 (vac) A̩u̩g̩g̩[g] [?]

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Cyzicus	Belevi 4 (Selçuk/İzmir)	AD 305-306, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 48		- - - - [καὶ Γαίῳ] Οὐαλε- 2 [ρίῳ Μαξ]ιμείνῳ [τῷ] ἐπιφ[ανε]στά- 4 τῳ Καίσαρι Ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου 6 (vac) μί ζ´ (vac) **d** (vac) **N** 2 **Constantini maxv**[ictoris] **ac triumfatori**[s] **semper** 4 **Aug** ‖ - - - - - - - - - - ‖ **et** **Constanti et Consta** 6 **invictis Augg´** (vac) **mi VII**
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Belevi 5 (Selçuk/İzmir)	AD 363-364, AD 383	French 2014a, p. 49	-	**D N** 2 **Ioviano victoriosissimo** **principi piissimo** 4 **imperatori clementi-** **ssimo Aug** 6 **Ael Cl Dulcitius v c II** **procos** {D} **d n maiestati**<que> 8 (vac) **eius** **DDDD nnnn** 2 **Fl Gratiano** **et Fl Vallent**[inian]**o** 4 **et Fl Theodosi**[o] **et Fl Arcadio piiss felici**(bus) 6 (vac) **Augggg** (vac)
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Yeniköy (Torbalı/İzmir)	AD 383	French 2014a, p. 55	-	**DD** (vac) **nn** 2 **Fl Gratiano** [et] **Fl Valent**⟨in⟩**ian**[o et] 4 [Fl Th]**eodo**[sio et] [Fl Arcadio] 6 [Augggg]

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Cyzicus	Torbalı (İzmir)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 55	-	’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ Αὐτοκρατόρων Γ Αὐρ {ΟΥΙ} Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητ[ι]- 4 ανοῦ κ̣ὲ̣ Μαρ Οὐαλερί[ου] Μαξιμιανοῦ κ̣ὲ̣ Φλαβί Ο[ὐα]- λερίου Κωνσταντίο⟨υ⟩ [κὲ Γα]- λερ Οὐαλερίου (vac) 8 Μ̣αξιμιανοῦ ᶜ {ΚΑ} [τ]- ῶν ἐπιφανεστάτω[ν] Και⟨ά⟩ρων ’Απὸ ’Ε- φέσου αι′
Ephesus-Cyzicus	İzmir	AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 60	-	**DD** (vac) **nn** **Constantini** **max victor** 4 **ac triumfat´** **semper Aug et** **[[C]onstantini]]** **et Constanti** 8 **et Constanti** **nob´b Caess** (vac) **mi I**
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Menemen (İzmir)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 62	-	[B F] [Impp Caess] [C Aurelio Valerio] 4 [Diocletiano et] [M Aurelio Valerio] [Maximiano et] [Flavio] **Valerio** 8 **Constantio** [et] **Galerio Valer**[io] **Maximiano** **nobiḷ Caess** 12 (v) **A** [S]**mir**[na] (vac) [mp VIII]

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Cyzicus	Kazıkbağları (Bergama-İzmir)	AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 65-66	-	**Imperato**[ris] **Domini n**[ostr]**i** **Constantintini** 4 **maximi victoo-** **ris semp**[er Augusti] **et Cons**[tantini] **e**[t] **Constant**[i] 8 **et Con**[stantis] **no**[bb Caess]
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Dereiçi (Bergama/İzmir)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 67	-	- - - - 2 [καὶ Φλ] Οὐαλ /Κ/ω[νσταντίῳ] καὶ Γ Οὐαλ Μαξιμ⟨ι⟩α[νῷ] 4 τοῖς ἐπιφανεσστά- τοις Καίσαρσι (vac) 6 (vac) **mp γ´**
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Kurfallı (Bergama)	AD 317	French 2014a, p. 68	-	**Imperator Caesar´** 2 **Val Licinianus´p´·f´ inv´·Aug´·** (vac) **et´** 4 **Val´ Licinianus Licinius´** **nobiliss´ac·piiss´·Caesar** (vac) 6 (vac) **mp VI**

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Cyzicus	Aşağı Kırıklar (Bergama	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 70	-	- - - - 2 Κ̣α̣ί̣σ̣α̣ρ̣ι̣ [M] Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣ Μ̣α̣ξ̣ι̣- μιανῷ Σε̣[β] κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Φ̣λ̣α̣′ 4 Ο̣ὐ̣α̣λ̣ Κ̣ω̣ν̣[σ]τ̣α̣ν̣τ̣ί̣ῳ κ̣αὶ Γ Οὐαλ Μαξ⟨ι⟩μι- 6 ανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανε- στάτοις Καίσαρσι
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Armutova (Burhaniye)	AD 313-317	French 2014a, p. 71	-	[DD nn] 2 **Constantino et** [Lici]**niano** [Li]- 4 **cinio invictis** [Augustis] 6 - - ? - -
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Avcılar (Edremit)	AD 379-383 AD 402-408	French 2014a, p. 72	-	[- - - - - - - -]**I** 2 [- - - - Theod]**osius** (vac) [- - - - p f in]**vic Ag** 4 [DDD] **nnn FFFLLL** **Arcadio et Hono**[rio et] 6 **Theodos**[io - - - - - -]

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Cyzicus	Ayvacık (Çanakkale)	AD 311-313 AD 361-363	French 2014a, p. 74		**dd nn Impp** 2 **Gal Val Maxim et** **Fl Vale Constantino** **dd´ tutius uruis Iuli**[iano] 2 **filosofiae /m/ag**[is]**tro ve-** **nerando semper v**[i]**ctori** 4 (vac) **Aug**
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Kızılköy (Ezine/Çanakkale)	AD 333-335 AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 75	-	[-] **Au Constanti**[nus] 2 [max]**imu**[s victor et] [Fl I]**ul C**[onstanti]**u**[s et] 4 [Fl Iul C]**onsta**[ns -] [- - - - -]**OM**[- - - -] [?] 2 [DDD] **NNN Cosstanti-** [nus] **Aug et** (v) **Costanti-** 4 [us Aug e]**t Costa Aug** [ ]Ṿ (v) **MI.I**
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Misakça (Bandırma/Balıkesir)	AD 363-364	French 2014a, p. 77	-	No visible inscription

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Cyzicus	Şirinçavuş (Bandırma/Balıkesir)	AD 363-364	French 2014a, p. 78	-	[D] **n** 2 [Fl I]**oviano** **p f victori** 4 [sem]**per Aug**
Ephesus-Cyzicus	Beyköy (Bandırma/Balıkesir)	AD 361-363	French 2014a, p. 79	-	No visible inscription
Ephesus-Docimium	Aydın	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 83	-	(vac) **Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ** **/τοὺς ἐπιφανεστά-** **τους Καίσαρας Φλ** 4 **Οὐαλε Κωνσταντίῳ** **καὶ Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλερ[ίφ] Μαξιμιανῷ/** **καὶ Φλ·Οὐαλ Κωνσταντίῳ** **⟨καὶ⟩ Γαλερίῳ Οὐα[λ] Μαξιμιανῷ** 8 (vac) **τοῖς Καίσαρσιν** (vac) **μ β′**

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Docimium	Tekin (Dinar/Afyon)	AD 293-305 AD 379-383	French 2014a, p. 87		- - - - 2 κ̣α̣ὶ τοῖς ἐπιφα- νεστάτοις Καί- 4 c[α]ρ[ι] Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ - **DD nn** 2 **Fl´ Gratiano** - - - - 4 - - - - **[- Aug]u̯sti[s]**
Ephesus-Docimium	Akça (Dinar/Afyon)	AD 313-317	French 2014a, p. 87	-	**ΔΔ nn** 2 [- - - -] **[Con]stantino et** 4 **Licinniano** **invictis** 6 (vac) **Augg** - - - - 8 **Ab Apamia** [?]
Ephesus-Docimium	Çobankaya (Şuhut/Afyon)	AD 305	French 2014a, p. 89	-	**dd NN Impp dio-** **c̣ḷetiano et Ma-** **[x]imiano N** 4 (vac) **et Fl´ Val´ Const-** **INVICTIA antio et G̣a̤ḷ** (vac) **Val Maximia-** **no nobil** 8 [Ca]**es**[s] (vac) μ θ´

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Docimium	Atlıhisar (Şuhut/Afyon)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 91	-	**Φλ Οὐαλ Κρίσπος καὶ Οὐα**[λ] [Κωνς]**ταντεῖνος Λικί**[νιος] [κ]**αὶ Φλ Κλ Κω**[νς]**τα**[ντεῖνος] [οἱ ἐ]**πιφανέ**[στατοι Καίσαρες]
Ephesus-Docimium	Ağzikara (Şuhut/Afyon)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 92	-	Τ[οῖ]ς **Κυρίοις ἡμῶν** **Γ Οὐαλ Διοκλητιαν**[ῷ καὶ] **Μ Οὐαλ** ‖[Μαξιμιανῷ]‖ **Σεββ΄ καὶ** **Φλ** [Οὐα]**λ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ** **Γ**[αλ Οὐαλ Μαξιμι]**ανῷ** **τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν**
Ephesus-Docimium	Afyon 1	AD 317-324, with revisions of the text AD 333-335, AD 337-340, AD 364-367	French 2014a, p. 93	-	(vac) **ΔΔ NN** **Fl Va**(l) **Constanti**[no] ‖[et Val Licin Licinio]‖ ‖[invictis Augg]‖ ‖[et Fl Iul Crispo et]‖ ‖[Constantino Licinio]‖ ‖[et Fl Cl Constantino]‖ ‖[nobilissimis Caess]‖ **Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Φλ Οὐα**(λ) **Κωνσταντείνῳ κα**[ὶ] ‖Λ[ικιν]‖ ‖[Λικινίῳ]‖ **ἀνεικήτοις Σεββ** **καὶ Φλ** Ἰ**ουλ Κρείσπῳ καὶ** **Κωνς**[τα]**ντίνῳ** ‖[Λικινίῳ καὶ]‖ ‖[Φλ Κλ Κωνσταντίνῳ]‖ ‖[ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσ]‖

A.1. (Continued)

Ephesus-Docimium	Afyon 2	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 97	-	[Τοῖς Κ]υ̣ρίοις ἡμῶν̣ [Γ Οὐαλ] **Διοκλητιανῷ καὶ** [Μ Οὐ]**αλ Μαξ[ι]μιανῷ** (vac) **Ϲ̣εβ̣β̣ κ̣αὶ** [Φλ Οὐαλ] **Κ̣ωνσταντίφ κ̣αὶ** [Γ Οὐαλ] Μα[ξ]ιμιανῷ [ἐπιφα]**νεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν** (vac) (vac) **μί ζ′**
Ephesus-Docimium	Beşkuyu (Afyon)	AD 317-324, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 98	-	[. . . 10 . . .]**ΠΑΝ**[- - - - -] [. . 7 . .]**ΟΙΕΤΟΛ**[- - - - - -] [. . . 10 . . .]**ΝΙΟΝ**[- - - - -] [καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφ]**α̣**[νεστάτοις] [Καίϲϲ Φ]**λ** ⟨Ἰ⟩**ουλ Κ̣ρ̣**[ίσπῳ] [καὶ Ο]**υ̣αλ Κωνσταντίν**[ῳ] [Λικι]**νίῳ καὶ Φλ̣ Κλ̣** [Κ]ων[ϲ]- [ταν]**τείνῳ Ἡ Δοκιμέων** (vac) **πό**(λις) (vac) **μί ε′** A A . . . OCI . . . **τοῖς Κυ**[ρίοις ἡμῶν] **Φλ Οὐαλ̣ Κ̣**[ωνσταντίνῳ] . . . . **ἀν**[εικήτῃ Σεβ] **καὶ Φλ Οὐαλ̣ Κ̣**[ωνσταντίνῳ] **καὶ Φλα** [Κλ] **Κον**[σταντίῳ] **καὶ Οὐαλ Κ**[ώνσταντι τοῖς] [ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσι] (vac) **Ἀπ**[ὸ Δοκιμίου] [μί ε′]
Ephesus-Docimium	Gebeciler (Afyon)	With revisions of the text, AD 317-324, AD 324-326, AD 333-335, AD 337-340, AD 379-383	French 2014a, p. 99-101		**Imp·Cae·L·**[Septimio Se]- **vero Pert**[inaci Arabi]- **co Adiabenico P̣ạ**[rthi]- **co maximo Aug·**[et] **Imp Cae M·Aur Anto**[ni]- **no maximo Aug** ‖[et]‖ ‖ - - - - ‖ **A Docimio mi VI**{I} (vac) **Αὐτ·Καί·Λ·Σεπτιμίῳ Σεουήρῳ** **Περτίνακι Σεβ·Ἀραβικῷ Ἀδια-** **βηνικῷ Παρθικῷ μεγ·καὶ Αὐτ** **Καί·Μ·Αὐρ·Ἀντωνίνῳ Σεβ·**‖[καὶ]‖ ‖ - - - - ‖ ‖ - - - - ‖ (vac) **μί**(λι)**α ϛ′**

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum- Cyzicus	Bergama (İzmir)	AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 102		**ḌḌ nn Constantini maximi** 2 **victo̱ris ac triumfatoris sen-** **per Au̱g et Constanti̱ni** 4 **et Co̱nstantii et Co̱nstatis** (vac) [i]ṉvvv **Auggg** 6 (vac) **I̱**
Pergamum-Cyzicus	Köseresul (Bandırma/Balıkesir)	AD 333-335, AD 361-363	French 2014a, p. 104	-	(vac) **dd NN** 2 **Fl Constanti̱no̱** **p f victori ac trium-** 4 **fato**[ri sem]**per** [A]**u**[g] **et F**[l Constantino] 6 [et Fl Constantio] **e**[t Fl Constanti no]- 8 **ḇ**[ilissimis ac floren]- **tis**[simis Caess] (vac) **D´ n´** 2 **Imp Caes** **Fl Cl Iuliani** 4 (vac) **Aug** **m XVIII** 6 (vac) ιη´
Pergamum-Cyzicus	Yeşilçomlu (BAndırma/Balıkesir)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 104-105	-	No visible inscription

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-Cyzicus	Doğruca 1 (Bandırma/Balıkesir)	AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 106	-	[Dd] **nn** [Fl Val Cons]**ṭanṭ̣ino** [p f victori semp Aug] 4 [et Fl Con]**stantino** [et Fl Con]**stantio** [et Fl Co]**nstante n̤o̤**- [bb ac] **florentiss** 8 (vac) [Cae]**ss** [-] (?)
Pergamum-Cyzicus	Doğruca 2 (Bandırma/Balıkesir)	AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 107		[D]**d nn F**[l] 2 [Vale]**n̤tinianus** **et Fl Valens** 4 **semper Augg** (vac) (?) **mi** **Theoδosio** 2 **et Valentiniano** **perp Augg**[s] 4 (vac) **η′**

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-Cyzicus	Ömerli (Bandırma/Balıkesir)	AD 293-305, AD 324-326, AD 333-335, AD 364-367	French 2014a, p. 108-109	 	[- - - -] 2 [- - - -] **Maximia**[no] **et nobilissimi**[s] **Caes´** 4 **Co**⟨n⟩**stantio et Maximiano** (vac) μί η´ 6 (vac) **VIII** [- - - Cons]**tantino** [- - - - - - Cr]**ispo** [- - Constan]**ti**⟨n⟩**o** [nobilissimis] **Caess** (vac) **Dd nn** **Fl Constant**[ino p f] **victori ac trium-** 4 **fator**⟨i⟩ **simper** **Aug et Fl Constantino** [et Fl] **Constantio et** [Fl] **Constanti nobb** 8 **ac florentiss Caess** **Dd nn Fl** 2 **Valentinianus** **et Fl Valens** 4 **simper Augg** (vac) μί η´
Smyrna-Thyatira	Altındağ 1 (Bornova/İzmir)	AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 110	-	**dd** (vac) **nn** 2 **Constantini** **max victoris** 4 **triumfatoris ac** **semper Augusti** 6 ⟦[et Constantini]⟧ **et Constanti** 8 **et Constanti**(s) **nobb Caess** [?]

A.1. (Continued)

Smyrna-Sardis	Altındağ 2 (Bornova/İzmir)	AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 111	-	[dd nn] 2 [Constantini] [max victoris] 4 [triumfatoris ac] [semper Augusti] 6 ‖[[et Constantini]]‖ [et C]**on[**stanti] 8 **et Con[**stanti(s)] **nobb Caes**[s] **m II**
Smyrna-Sardis	Bornova (İzmir)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 113	-	- - - - 2 [τοῖς ἐπι]**φανεσ**[τά]- [τ]**οις Καίσα**[ρ]**σιν** 4 **’Απὸ Σμύρνης** **μ ε΄**

A.1. (Continued)

Smyrna-Sardis	Pınarbaşı 1 (Bornova/İzmi r)	AD 317-324, AD 383	French 2014a, p. 113	 	**Fl Val Crispo et** 2 ‖[Val Liciniano]‖ ‖[Fl Cl Constan]‖**tino** 4 (vac) **nobb Caeess** **dddd nnnn** 2 **Fl Gratiano** **Valentiniano** 4 **Theodosio** **et Arcadio pii-** 6 **ssimis semper** (vac) **Augggg**

A.1. (Continued)

Smyrna-Sardis	Pınarbaşı 2 (Bornova/İzmir)	AD 361-363, AD 383	French 2014a, p. 116	-	[D]**DDD nnn**[n] 2 [F]**l Gratiano** [V]**ạlentiṇ**⟨i⟩**anọ** 4 [T]**ḥeodọsio** [e]**ṭ Arcạdio ṗ**[ii]- 6 [s]**ṣimis semper** (vac) **μί ϛ′ Ạụggg**[g]
Smyrna-Sardis	Pınarbaşı 3 (Bornova/İzmir)	AD 335-337	French 2014a, p. 118		[DD (vac) NN] 2 [Constan]**ṭị̣ṇo maxi-** **ṃọ ṣ**[e]**ṃ**[p]**ẹr Aug** 4 ‖ - - - - ‖ [et Co]**ṇstanti**[o] 6 [et C]**ọnstaṇti** (vac) **ṇobb Caess** 8 (vac) **μί η′**

A.1. (Continued)

Smyrna-Sardis	Pınarbaşı 4 (Bornova/İzmir)	AD 364-367	French 2014a, p. 119	-	[D]D (vac) **NN** **Fl Valentiniano** **et Fl Valenti** (vac) **victorr** (vac) **Augg**
Smyrna-Sardis	Hacılar (Bornova/İzmir)	AD 333-335, AD 364-367	French 2014a, p. 122	-	**D**[D] (vac) **nn** **Constan̩tini** **max̣ vic̣toris** **ac triumfatoris** **semper Aug** ⟦e̩t [Constantini]⟧ **et Constanti** **et Constant** **nobb Caess** (vac) **mi VI** **DD** (vac) **nn** **Fl ·Valentiniano** **et Fl·Valenti** **victorr sp** (vac) **Augg**
Smyrna-Sardis	Belkahve (Bornova/İzmir)	AD 383	French 2014a, p. 123	-	**dddd nnnn** **Fl Gratiano** [V]**alentiniano** **Theodosio** **et Arcadi pi**[i]- **ssimis sempe** **Augggg**

A.1. (Continued)

Sardis-Acmonia	Alanyurt 1 (Eşme/Uşak)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 125	-	Τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν Καίφ Οὐαλερίφ Διοκλητιανῷ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρκῳ Οὐαλερίφ Μαξ- ιμιανῷ καὶ Φλαουίφ Οὐαλερίφ Κωνσταντίφ καὶ Οὐαλερίφ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν τῆς λαμπρᾶς Βαγηνῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ . A . EI
Sardis-Acmonia	Alanyurt 2 (Eşme/Uşak)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 125-126	-	[. . Μαξ]ιμιανῷ [καὶ Φ]λ Οὐαλερίφ [Κωνς]ταντίφ καὶ [Οὐαλ Μ]αξιμιανῷ [τοῖς ἐπι]φανεστά- [τοις Καίσαρσι]ν τῆς [λαμπρᾶς Βαγη]νῶν [πόλεως . . . . .]

A.1. (Continued)

Sardis-Cidyessus	Hamam (Banaz/Uşak)	AD 313-317, AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 128	-	[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]**IA** 2 [Flavius Valerius Cons]**tantinus** **p f invict**[u]**s Aug** (vac) [e]**t Val** 4 **Licinnianus Licinnius p f inv** (vac) **ictu**[s A]**ug** [καὶ] **Κρίσπου καὶ** 2 [Λι]**κίνιον** [καὶ] [Κ]**ωνσταντεῖνον** 4 **τῶν ἐπιφανεστά-** **Καισάρων** (vac) **των**
Apamia-Dorylaeum	Caber (Çivril/Denizli)	AD 340-350, AD 361-363, AD 364-367, AD 423-425	French 2014a, p. 132		**Pacis aetern**⟨a⟩**e** **fundatoribus** **ΔΔ nn Fl Iuḷio** 4 **Constantio et** **Fl Iulio Con**⟨s⟩**tanti** **/v/ictori**⟨bu⟩**s Aug** **Ab Eu** (vac) **menia** (vac) 8 μί ϛ′ **Ḍ n̩** 2 **F̣ḷ Ịụḷiano** **p̣i̯o̯ felici** 4 (vac) **Aug** (vac) μί ϛ′ **DD**[D n]**nn** 2 **Fl Vallen̩tiniano** **et Fl Valente** 4 **et Fl Gratiano** **Augg** 6 **Auggg** **D n The-** 2 **odosio ui-** **ctoriosis-** 4 **simo sempe-** **r Aug**

A.1. (Continued)

Apamia-Dorylaeum	Akça 1 (Altıntaş/Kütahya)	AD 293- 305, AD 305-306, AD 313-317	French 2014a, p. 134	-	[Τοῖς] κυ[ρίοις] [ἡμ]ῶν Γ Α[ὐρ] [Διοκ]λητια[νῷ] 4 [κὲ Μ]αξιμιαν[ῷ κὲ] (vac) τοῖς ἐ (vac) [πι]- φανεστάτο[ις] Κέσαρσι Μαρ Αὐ[ρ] 8 Κωνσταντίῳ κὲ Μαξιμιανῷ 10a (vac) μ α′ 10b κὲ τοῖς ἐπιφα-Σεβα[στ]- νεστάτοις 12 Κέσαρσ[ι]ν Σεβήρῳ 14a [[κὲ Μαξιμινῷ]] 14b [ὑπὲ]ρ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμ[ῶν] Κωνσταντίνου [κὲ Λικιν]- 16 [νίου] τῶν ἀιωνίω[ν]
Apamia-Dorylaeum	Akça 2 (Altıntaş/Kütahya)	AD 324	French 2014a, p. 135	-	1(14) Φλαβίῳ 2(15) Κωνσταντίνῳ 3(16) ἀνικήτῳ 4(17) Σεβαστῷ
Laodicia-[Pergamum-(*Via Sebaste)*]	Pamukkale (Denizli)	AD 340, 350, 355, 360	French 2014a, p. 140		**Pacis aeternae** 2 **fundatoribus** **Dominis nostris** 4 **Fl Iul Constantio** **et Fl Iul Constanti** 6 **victoribus Augg et** **Fl Cl Iuliano nob Caes** 8 **A Hierapoli** (vac) (vac) μί α′

A.1. (Continued)

Laodicia-[Pergamum-(*Via Sebaste)*]	Pamukkale Museum 1 (Denizli)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 143	-	ΝΕΟΝΛΙΟΙΙ Φ⟨λ⟩ Οὐαλ Κρεῖσπον καὶ Οὐαλ Κονσταντ̣εῖν̣[ον] κε Φλ Οὐαλ Κονσταντεῖνο[ν] τοὺς ἐπ[ι]φα- νεστάτους Καίσαρας [. . .] ’Απὸ [- - - -]
Laodicia-[Pergamum-(*Via Sebaste)*]	Pamukkale Museum 2 (Denizli)	AD 364	French 2014a, p. 143	-	**principi iiuventutis** **D N Fl Vale⟦[ntiniano]⟧** **⟦**[invicto Aug]**⟧** **⟦**[- - - -]**⟧** **⟦**[- -]**⟧** (vac)
Laodicia-[Pergamum-(*Via Sebaste)*]	Pamukkale Museum 3 (Denizli)	AD 364, 450, 455	French 2014a, p. 144	-	- - - - **Fl Valentini**[an]- **o B´** (vac) **L** (vac) (vac) **μί ε´**

A.1. (Continued)

Aezani-[-Philomelium]	Hacımahmut (Emet/Kütahya)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 146	-	**NOCONS** **NI** (?) **C** **US** ⟦ - - - - ⟧ ⟦ - ⟧ ⟦ - - - - ⟧ ⟦ - - - - ⟧ ⟦ - - - - ⟧ ẹ[t Fl C]o̩**nstantinus** ⟦[nobill]⟧ **Caesss** (vac) **m VI** [Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡ]μῶ̣ν [Φλ Οὐαλ Κων]στα[ν]τ[είνῳ] [καὶ Λικιννιανῷ Λικιννίῳ] 4 [τοῖς αἰωνίοις] Ϛε̣β̣[αστοῖς] [καὶ Φλ Κρείς]π̣ῳ [καὶ Οὐαλ] [Κωνσταντείνῳ Λ]ι[κιννίῳ] [καὶ Φλ Κων]σταντε[ί]ν̣[ῳ] 8 [τοῖς ἐπιφα]νεστ[ά]τ[οις] [Καίσαρσιν] [?]
Aezani-[-Philomelium]	Gökağaç (Emet/Kütahya)	AD 306-307, AD 317-324	Fench 2014a, p. 148	-	[Dd nn] 2 **Maximiano** (vac) **et** 4 ⟦[Severo]⟧ [s]**emper Ạụgg** 6 ⟦[et Maximino]⟧ **et Constantino** 8 **nobb Caess** [ab] **Aezanos** 10 (vac) **mi V** (vac) μί ε′ **LONOGEI** 2 **dd NN Fl V**[a]**l** Ϛọ[nsta]**ntino** ⟦[et Liciniano Licinnio]⟧ 4 **semper invictis pp ff Augg** **et Fl Crispus e**⟦[t Val Constan]ṭịṇụṣ⟧ 6 ⟦[Licinnius]⟧ **et F**(l) **C**(l) **Constantinus** **nobbb Caesss** 8 **Ab Aezano** (vac) **mi V**

A.1. (Continued)

Aezani-[-Philomelium]	Haydarlar (Kütahya)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 150		Τοῖς [Κυρίοις ὑμῶν] Γαε Οὐαλ Διοκλητια[νῷ] καὶ Γαλ[ερ] Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ Σεββ καὶ Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλερ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις (vac) Καίσαρσι (vac) Ἀπὸ Ἀππίας (vac) μί ιγ′
Aezani-[-Philomelium]	Gökçeler 1 (Altıntaş/Kütahya)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 151-152		Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Γαε Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανῷ καὶ Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ Σεββ καὶ Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλερ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις (vac) Καίσαρσι Ἀπὸ Ἀππίας (vac) μί ϛ′
Aezani-[-Philomelium]	Gökçeler 2 (Altıntaş/Kütahya)	AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 153	-	Φλ Κ[ωνϲ]τα[ντίν]ῳ ἐῳν[ί]ῳ Σεβ[αστῷ] καὶ Φλ Κων[ϲ]ταντί[νῳ] Φλ [Κωνϲ]ταντίῳ καὶ Φ[λ Κώνσταντι] ἐπιφανε[στάτ]οις Καί[ϲ]αρσιν

A.1. (Continued)

Aezani-[-Philomelium]	Altıntaş (Kütahya)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 154	-	[Τοῖς Κυρίοις] [Σεβαστοῖς] [Διοκλητιανῷ] 4 [κὲ Μα]ξιμια[νῷ] κὲ τοῖς ἐπιφ[φ] Καίϛϙ[ρει] Κωσταν[τίῳ] Σεβ 8 κὲ Μαξ[ιμιανῷ] (vac) Σε[β] (vac) ΔΕ (vac) mi I
Aezani-[-Cidyessus]	Yıldırımkemal (Sincanlı/Afyon)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 156		Ἀὐτοϰράτορας Καί[σα]ρας Οὐαλέριον Διοκλητιανὸν 4 καὶ Μά Μαξιμιανὸν Σεβαστοὺς καὶ Φλάβιον Γαλέριον 8 Κωνστάντιον καὶ Γαλέ[ρ]ιον [-] Μα[ξ]ιμιανὸν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους 12 (vac) Καίσαρας (vac) [?]
Aezani- Ancyra	Kurtluhallar (Emet/Kütahya)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 157	-	Ἀὐτοκράτορι [Καίς]- αρι Οὐαλ[ερίῳ] Διοκλητε[ιαν]- 4 ῷ Σεβ καὶ Ἀ[ὐτ]- οκράτορι Κ[αίς]- αρι Μ Αὐρ Μ[αξι]- μειανῷ Σε[β καὶ] 8 Οὐαλ Κως[ταντ]- ίῳ ἐπιφανε[στάτῳ] Καίσαρι καὶ [Γαλερίῳ] Μαξιμειᾳ[νῷ ἐπιφα]- 12 νεστάτῳ [Καίσαρι Ἀ]- πὸ Ϛυν[άου] (vac) θι′ μ

A.1. (Continued)

Aezani- Ancyra	Beyköy (Emet/Kütahya)	AD 324-326, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 158	-	[Τοῖ]c Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Φλα Κωνσταντείνῳ ἀνικητῷ Σεβαστῷ 4 καὶ Φλα Κρίσπῳ καὶ Φλα Κωνσταντείνῳ καὶ Φλα Κωτατίῳ 8 ἐπιφανεστά- τοις Καίσαρσιν 'Από Συνάου (vac) θι΄ μί Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Φλαβίῳ Κονς- ταντίνῳ εὐσε- 4 βῇ εὐτυχῇ [ἀ]νι- κητῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ Φλαβίῳ Κωνταν- τίνῳ καὶ Καυδίῳ 8 Κονσταντίῳ Κώνστᾳ ἐπιφανεστάτοις Κήσαρσιν 'Από Συ- νάου 12 (vac) θι΄ μί
Aezani-Dorylaeum	Zobu 1 (Emet/Kütahya)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 159	-	- - - - 2 **et Fl C**[o]**nstanṭị**[nus] (vac) **nobbb Caesss**

A.1. (Continued)

Aezani-Dorylaeum	Zobu 2 (Emet/Kütahya)	AD 351-354, AD 364-367	French 2014a, p. 160	-	(vac) **dd´ NN´** 2 **Fl Iul Cons{i}tantio** **Aug et Fl Cl** 4 **Con⟨s⟩tantio** **{I}nob Caesari** [Φλ Οὐαλεντινια]νὸν καὶ Φλ 2 [Οὐάλεντα το]ὺς ἐωνίους [Αὐγούστους] 4 [ἡ λα]μπρ Αἰζάνων (vac) πόλις (vac) 6 **ΩΝΕωΑΝΝΙ**
Aezani-Dorylaeum	Eskişehir	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 162	-	(vac) **B F** 2 **dddd nnnn Impp** **G Val Diocletiano** 4 **et M Aur Val Μ[aximiano]** **invictis Augg et Fl Val** 6 **Constantio et Gal** **Val Μa[ximiano] I nobi-** 8 **lissimis Ca⟨e⟩sarib⟨u⟩s**
Cotiaeum-Philomelium	Çay (Afyon)	AD 317-324, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 170	-	[Φλ Ἰουλ Κρείσπος] 2 καὶ Ο[ὐαλ] Κωνς[ταν]- τῖνο[ς Λι]κίννι- 4 [ος] καὶ Φλ Κλ Κων- σταντεῖνος οἱ 6 ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες **dd nn Fl V⟨a⟩l Constantino** **max vict ac triumf** **senper Aug et Fl Cl** 4 **Constantino et** {Fl Iul Constantino et} **Fl Iul Constantio et** **Fl Iul Constante** 8 **fortiss ac nobb Caesss** **et Fl dalmatio fortis** (vac) **ac nob Caes{s}**

A.1. (Continued)

Antiocheiaia-[(-Perge)]	Yenice 1 (Karacasu/Aydın)	AD 333-335, AD 340-350	French 2014a, p. 174	-	[- - - - -]**RMATIS** (vac) **DD nn** **Fl Val Constantino** **maximo victori ac ṭṛiumfato-** [ri semp]**er Augusto et** [Fl Iul Constantino et] [Fl Cl] **Constantio e**[t] [Fl Iul] **Constante** [nob]**b Caess** [-] Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ Τοῖς Δεσπότες ἡμῶν Φλ Ἰουλ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Φλ Κλ Κώνσταντι αἰωνίοις νεικητὲς CCBB (vac) μί ϛ′
Antiocheiaia-[(-Perge)]	Yenice 2 (Karacasu/Aydın)	AD 340-350, AD 361-363	French 2014a, p. 175	-	Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ Τοῖς δεσπότες ἡμῶν Φλ Ἰουλ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Φλ Κλ Κώνσταντι αἰωνίοις νεικητές Cεββ **D n Fl Cl** **Iu/l/iano** (vac) **Aug**
Antiocheiaia-[(-Perge)]	Karahisar 1 (Tavas/Denizli)	AD 333-335, AD 395-402, AD 425-450	French 2014a, p. 176	-	**I bI** /D/ **nn Fl Val Constaṇ**[tino max] **victori et triumf**[atori] **Aụgụṣto** [et] **Fl Cl Constantino ẹt** **Fl Iul Constantio et** **Fl Iul Constante** (vac) n̥o̥b̥ Caesṣ εἰς ἐωνα{ν} Ἀρκάδιον Αὐγ εἰς ἐωνα Ὀνώριον Αὐγ Ἡρακλίας μί β′ Φλ Θεοδοc[ί]ου καὶ Φλ Βαλλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αυγγ (vac) μί β′

A.1. (Continued)

Antiocheiaia-[(-Perge)]	Karahisar 2 (Tavas/Denizli)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 177	-	dd NN Impp diocletiano et 2 Maximiano invictis A- ugg Κω⟨ν⟩στάντι⟨ο⟩ν 4 (vac) Μαξιμιανὸν (vac) Κέσαρες (vac) 6 'Απὸ 'Ηρακ(λείας) (vac) (vac) μί γ′
Antiocheiaia-[(-Perge)]	Karahisar 3 (Tavas/Denizli)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 178-179	-	Κωσταν- Κέσαρες τεῖνος Μαξιμιανός DD nn Fl Val Cṇṣtantino mạx 2 victori ac triumf semper Aug et Fl Cl Constantino et 4 Fl Iul Constantio et Fl Iul Constante 6 nobb Caess
Antiocheiaia-[(-Perge)]	Kızılcabölük (Tavas/Denizli)	AD 395-402	French 2014a, p. 179	-	(2) [εἰc ἐ]ῶνα ['Αρκά]δι[ο]ν Αὐγ εἰc ἐῶνα Φλ 'Ο- [ν]ώριον Αὐγ (vac) μί η′

A.1. (Continued)

Themisonium-[(-Perge)]	Karahüyük (Acıpayam/Denizli)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 180	-	’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορσιν Διοκλητιανῷ {καὶ} καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ Σεββ καὶ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντίῳ καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ ἐπιφφ Κέσαρσιν (vac) μί α′
Apollonia-Thyatira	Kırkağaç (Manisa)	AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 181	-	[Το]ῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν [Φλ] Ουαλερίῳ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντείνῳ C⟨ε⟩β [Φ]λ ’Ιουλίῳ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντίῳ Φλ ’Ιο[υλί]ῳ Κώ⟨ν⟩σταντι [ἀνεική]τοις Σεββ
Iulia Gordos-Thyatira	Gördes 1 (Manisa)	AD 324-326	French 2014a, p. 183	-	[Το]ῖς κυρίοις ἡμ[ῶν] Φλ Κωνσταντ[είνῳ] Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ καὶ Γρίσπῳ καὶ Κωνσταντεί[νῳ] καὶ Κωνσταντί[ῳ] τοῖς γεννεωτά[τοις] καὶ ἐπιφφ Κέσα[ρσιν] ’Από Γόρδου μί δ′

A.1. (Continued)

Iulia Gordos-Thyatira	Gördes 2 (Manisa)	AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 184	-	Τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν Φλ Κωνσταντείνῳ καὶ Φλ Κωνσταν[τείνῳ] καὶ Φλ Κωνς̣τ̣[αντίῳ] καὶ Φλ Κώνς̣τ̣[αντι] (vac) (vac) τοῖς ἐπιφφφ Καίσσσ
Daldis-[Pergamum-(*Via Sebaste*)]	Yeniköy Hasankıran (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 379-383	French 2014a, p. 187	-	]ης ἡμῶν ? Γρατια]νοῦ Φ. ? Οὐαλεντιν]ιανοῦ Θεοδ]ο̣σ̣ίου]των μί] ζ΄] ΓΓ Γ
Saitta-(-Acmonia)	Karyağdı (Demirci/Manisa)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 189	-	Τοῖς Κυρίοις [ἡμῶν Γ Αὐρ Οὐαλ] Διοκλητιανῷ [καὶ Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλ] Μαξιμιανῷ Σ̣ε̣β̣α̣σ̣τ̣[οῖς ἀνείκητοις] [καὶ] ἐπι[φ]ανεστάτοις [Καίσαρσι] [Φλ] Οὐαλ [Κ]ω⟨ν⟩σταντίῳ [καὶ Γαλ] [Οὐαλ] Μαξιμιανῷ Ἀπὸ [τῆ]ς [λαμπ]- [ρο]τάτης Σετηνῶν πόλεως (vac) μί η΄

A.1. (Continued)

Saitta-(-Acmonia)	Gökçeören (Demirci/Manisa)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 190	-	Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Γ Οὐαλε- 2 ρίῳ Διοκλητιανῷ Σεβ κὲ Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλερ Μαξιμιανῶ 4 Σεβ ἀνείκητοις κὲ τοῖς ἐπι- φανεστάτοις [Κα]ίσαρσι Φλ 6 Οὐαλ Κω[νσταντίῳ] κὲ Γαλ Οὐα- λερ Μ[αξιμιανῷ Ἀπ]ὸ τῆς 8 λαμπ[ροτάτης Σαιττ]η- νῶν [πόλεως] 10 (vac) [μί θ′] Τοῖς [δεσπόταις ἡμ]ῶν 2 Φλ [Κωνσταντίνῳ] Σεβ καὶ Φ[λ Κωνσταντ]ίνῳ 4 καὶ Φ[λ Κωσνταντί]ῳ κα[ὶ Φλ Κώνσταντι τοῖς Κ]αί- 6 [σαρσιν Ἀπὸ τῆς Σαιττ]ηνῶν [πολέως] 8 [μί θ′]
Silandus-(-Acmonia)	Kula (Manisa)	AD 293-305, AD 324-326	French 2014a, p. 191	-	(vac) Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανῷ εὐς[εβ(εῖ)] εὐτυχεῖ 4 ἀηττήτῳ Σεβ Γερμανικῷ μεγίστῳ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπάτῳ ζ′ πατρὶ πατρίδος ἀνθ καὶ Αὐτοκτράτορι Καίσαρι Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ εὐσεβῖ εὐτυχεῖ 8 Σεβ Γερμανικῷ μεγίστῳ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας πατρὶ πατ[ρί]δος [κ]αὶ [Φ]λα Οὐαλ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντίῳ καὶ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτο⟨ι⟩ς 12 Καίσαρσιν ἡ λαμπροτάτη Σιλανδέων πόλις ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς (vac) (vac) μί η′ [Dd] **nn Val** [Cons]**tantino p f** [in]**victo Aug et Fl** 4 **Val Crispo et Fl** **Val Constantino** **et Fl Val** **Constantio nobil** 8 **Caesarib**

A.1. (Continued)

Smyrna-Ephesus	Seferihisar 1 (İzmir)	AD 305-306	French 2014a, p. 195	-	’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ 2 Φλαβ′ Οὐαλερ′ Σεουήρῳ καὶ 4 Γαλερ′ Οὐλερ′ Μαξιμείνῳ 6 ἐπιφανεστάτοις (v) Καίσαρσιν 8 ’Απὸ Τέῳ (v) μί α′
Smyrna-Ephesus	Seferihisar 2 (İzmir)	AD 293-305, AD 402-408	French 2014a, p. 196	-	[’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ] 2 [Γ Αὐρ Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανῷ] Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλερ Μαξιμιαγ[ῷ] Ϲεββ 4 καὶ Φλ′ Οὐαλερ′ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλερ′ Οὐαλερ′ Μαξιμιανῷ ἐπιφφ Καίσαρσιν 6 ’Απὸ Τέῳ ἐπ[ὶ Λέβεδον] (vac) μί θ′ [’Αγ]ạθῇ Τύχῃ 2 Φλ′ ’Αρκαδείου κὴ Φλ ‘Ονορείου 4 κὴ Φλ Θεο[δοϲ]ίου νέου Βασιλέος 6 μί θ′
Smyrna-Ephesus	Kavakdere (Seferihisar/İzmir)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 197	-	’Αγαθῇι Τύχηι 2 Γ′ Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανῷ καὶ Μ′ Αὐρ′ Οὐαλερ′ Μαξιμιανῷ Ϲεββ 4 καὶ Φλ′ Οὐαλερ′ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλερ′ Οὐαλερ′ Μαξιμιανῷ ἐπιφφ Καίσαρσιν 6 ’Απὸ Τέῳ (vac) ἐπὶ Λέβεδον (vac) μί (vac) η′ [’Αγαθῆι Τ]ύχηι Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντεῖνον μέγιστον Ϲεβ[αϲτὸν] 4 καὶ Φλ′ Κωϲτάντιον καὶ Φλ′ Κωνσταντεῖνον καὶ Φλ′ ’Ιούλ′ Κώνσταντ⟨α⟩ τοὺϲ ἐπιφαν′ Καίσαρας 8 (vac) ’Απὸ Τ[έ]ῳ (vac) μί (vac) η′

A.1. (Continued)

Smyrna-Ephesus	Gümüşsuyu (İzmir)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 198	-	['Αγα]θῇ Τύ[χῃ] 2 [Φ]λα Οὐ[αλ] Κωνσταντίῳ 4 καὶ Γαλ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ 6 Καίσαρσιν - - ? - -

A.1. (Continued)

Mylasa-[(-Telmessus)]	Milas (Muğla)	AD 293-305, AD 317-324, AD 324-333, AD 333-335, AD 337-340, AD 340-350	French 2014a, p. 202-203	-	'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ Αὐτοκράτορας Καί- σαρας Γ Οὐαλέριον 4 Διοκλητιανὸν ⟦[καὶ]⟧ ⟦[Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανὸν]⟧ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Καίσαρας Φλαβ Οὐαλέριον 8 Κωνστάντιον καὶ Γαλ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανὸν ἡ Μυλασέων πόλις ἡ- γεμονεύοντος Φουλβ 12 'Αστικοῦ τοῦ διασημοτάτου (vac) Εὐτυχῶς Καί Φλα Οὐαλέριον Κωνσταντῖνον Καί Οὐαλ Λικίννιον Λικιννιανὸν 4 ἀνικήτους Σεββ κὲ τοὺς ἐπιφαν Κέ- [σαρας Φλ Ἰού]λιον ⟦[Κρείσπον]⟧ [υἱὸν] τοῦ Δε- 8 σπότου Φλα Κωνσταντίνου [κὲ Οὐαλ] Κωνσταντῖνον ⟦[Λικίννιον]⟧ υἱὸν τοῦ Δεσπό- [του] ⟦[Λικ Λικιννίου]⟧ 12 κὲ Φλα Κλ΄ Κωνσταντῖνον υἱὸν τοῦ (vac) Δεσπό- του Φλα Κωνσταντίν(ου) 16 (vac) μί δ΄ **DDDD** (vac) **NNNN** 2 **Fl Ual Constantino** **Aug** ⟦ẹṭ Fl Ụạl Cr[ispo]⟧ 4 **et Fl Ual Constantino** **et Fl Ual Constantio** 6 (vac) **Mylasen** (vac) **mi IIII** **Imperatoṛị Ca**[esari] 2 **Fl Constantino Au**[g] **victoris semper Aug** 4 **et Fl Constantino et** **Iul Constantio et** 6 **Fl Consta** ⟦nn Caess⟧ (vac) 'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ 2 τοῖς Δεσπότες ἡμῶν Φλ 'Ιουλ Κωνσταντίῳ 4 κα⟨ὶ⟩ Φλ Κλ΄ Κώνσταν αἰωνίοις νεικητές 6 (vac) Σεββ (vac) μί δ΄

A.1. (Continued)

Mylasa-[(-Telmessus)]	Bağcılar (Yatağan/Muğla)	AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 206	-	2 Φλ Κλ Κονσταντῖνον Φλ ’Ιούλ Κονστάντιον Φλ ⟨’Ι⟩ού[λ Κόνσταντα]
Mylasa-Myndus	Yokuşbaşı (Bodrum/Muğla)	AD 491-518	French 2014a, p. 208	-	† ’Επὶ Φλ ‹ [’Α]ναστασίου 2 τοῦ εὐσεβ ‹ ἡμ[ῶν] βασιλέως 4 Φλ ‹ ’Ιωάνης ὁ μέγ κόμης κὲ ὑπατικός

A.1. (Continued)

Mylasa-Myndus	Bodrum 1 (Muğla)	AD 293-305, AD 340-350, AD 395-402	French 2014a, p. 209-210	-	[Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ] [Αὐτοκ]ράτορσιν Καίσαρσιν [[Γ Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανῷ]] 4 τῷ ἀνεικήτῳ Σεβ [[καὶ Μ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ]] [[τῷ ἀνεικήτῳ] Σεβ]] καὶ Φλ Οὐαλερίῳ 8 Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν (vac) ἡγεμονεύοντος 12 Φουλβ Ἀστικοῦ τοῦ διασημο (gap c. 0.050) Ἀπὸ Ἀλικαρναccοῦ (gap 0.13) (vac) μί β΄ Τοῖc Δεcπόταις 2 ἡμῶν (vac) Φλ΄ Κωνcταντίῳ 4 καὶ Φλ Κωνcτα τοῖc αἰωνίοις 6 Cεββ Τοὺc Δεcπότας 2 ἡμῶν ΦΩΝ Φλ Ἀρκάδιον Φλ Ὀνώριον 4 τοὺc ἀωνίουc Αὐγγγ
Mylasa-Myndus	Bodrum 2 (Muğla)	AD 308-310	French 2014a, p. 211	-	Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶ[ν] Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ καὶ [[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]] ἀνεικ[ή]τοις Σεβαστοῖς καὶ 5 [[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]] Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντείνῳ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν ἡγεμονεύοντος Οὐαλ Βαταοῦ τοῦ διασημο 10 μί ς΄

A.1. (Continued)

Mylasa-Myndus	Göl (Bodrum/Muğla)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 212	-	Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρσιν Γ Αὐρ Οὐαλερίῳ 4 Διοκλητιανῷ ἀνεικήτῳ Σεβ [- - - -] [- - - -] Φλα Οὐαλερίῳ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλ 8 Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν (vac) ἡγεμονεύοντος Φουλβ Ἀστικοῦ τοῦ διασημο (vac) 12 Ἀπὸ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ (vac) μί γ′
Mylasa-Myndus	Dağbelen, Beypınar (Muğla)	AD 293-305, AD 340-350, AD 491-518	French 2014a, p. 213	-	[-]ΩΝ [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] [-]Ν [-] Φλ′ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ 2 Γαλ Οὐαλ[ερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν Τοῖ⟨ς⟩ Δεσπότες ἡμῶν 2 Φλ′ Κοσταντίῳ κὲ Φλ′ Κώνστα 4 τοῖ⟨ς⟩ ⟨αἰ⟩ωνίοις Σεβ′ † Ἐπὶ Φλ′ Ἀνα- 2 στασίου τοῦ εὐσεβ′ ἡμῶν 4 Βασιλέος Φλ′ Ἰωάνης ὁ μεγα- 6 λοπρε′ κόμ κὲ ὑ- πατικός
Ceramus-[(-Myndus)]	Sek 1 (Milas/Muğla)	Ad 293-305	French 2014a, p. 216		Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Γ Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανῷ [κὲ] 4 Μ [Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ] ΒΒ κὲ τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν ΒΒ Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντίῳ κὲ Γ′ Οὐαλ Μαξιμ[ιανῷ] εὐτυχέσιν εὐσεβέσιν 8 [- - - -] ΒΒ [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] [.]ΗΣ Μ Οὐαλ [Ἀ]δρεινακίου 12 (vac) ἡ Κεραμ πο (vac) μί ζ′

A.1. (Continued)

Ceramus-[(-Myndus)]	Sek 2 (Milas/Muğla)	AD 293-305, AD 311-313, AD 317-324, AD 340-350	French 2014a, p. 217	-	’Αγα[θῇ Τύχῃ] τοῖς Κυρί[οις ἡμῶ]ν [Γ] Οὐ(α)λ Διο[κλητια]νῷ 4 [καὶ Μ Οὐ(α)λ Μαξιμι]ανῷ [καὶ Φλα Οὐ(α)λ Κωνσταν]τίῳ [καὶ Γαλ Οὐ(α)λ Μαξιμι]ανῷ ἡγεμονεύοντος 8 Τι Φλ ’Αστικοῦ [- - - -] μί β´ **d´d´ N´N´** 2 ‖Gal Val [M]a[x]i[m]ino et‖ **Gal Val ⟨C⟩unstantino et** 4 **Val Licinniano Licinnio Aug´g´** Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν Φλα Οὐ⟨α⟩λ Κρίσπῳ 4 καὶ Οὐ⟨α⟩λ [Κω]νσταντίνῳ Λικιννι[ίῳ κ]αὶ Φλα Κωνσταν- τίνῳ (vac) ἡγ[εμον]εύ{γ}οντος 8 τοῦ δ⟨ι⟩ασημο Φιρμι- νιανοῦ Τοῖς Δεσπότες ἡμῶν 2 Φλ´ ’Ι[ουλ Κω]νσταντίῳ καὶ Φ[λ´ Ἰουλ Κ]ώνσταν 4 [- -] νικηταῖς
Ceramus-[(-Myndus)]	Sek 3 (Milas/Muğla)	AD 293-305, AD 305-306	French 2014a, p. 220	-	**dd nn C Aurel Val Dioc⟨i⟩etiano ⟨e⟩t** 2 **M Aurel Val Maxi**[m]i[a]**no p´p´ ff** [i]**n**[vi]**ctis Aug´g´ et** [- - - -] 4 [- - - -] [- - - -] **d n** 2 **Fl Val Constantio et** [G]**al Val Maximiano pp ff** 4 [s]**emper invictis Augg** [et] **Flav Severo et** 6 [G]**al Val Maximino** [n]**obilissimis Caesar**[i]**bus** 8 ἡγεμονεύοντος Οὐ⟨α⟩λερίου 10 ’Ρινακίου μί θ´

A.1. (Continued)

Bargylia-[Myndus]	Dörttepe (Milas/Muğla)	AD 491, 518, 527	French 2014a, p. 221		[Ἐπὶ] Φλ ΑΝΑΕἰουστίν(ου) 2 [το]ῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡ- μῶν βασιλέως Φλ 4 Προκόπι⟨ο⟩ς ⟨ο⟩ ὁ περίβλ [κ]όμ καὶ ὑπατικὸς ἀνε⟨νέ⟩- 6 ωσεν τὰ μίλια μί †
Mylasa-Miletus	Pınarcık 1 (Milas/Muğla)	AD 313-317	French 2014a, p. 222	-	Δ̣Δ̣ΝΝ 2 Φλ Οὐαλε̣[ρίῳ] [Κω]νσταντε[ίνῳ] 4 καὶ Λικι[ννιανῷ] Λικινίῳ 6 Cεββ μί ιβ′
Mylasa-Miletus	Pınarcık 2 (Milas/Muğla)	Constantinian	French 2014a, p. 222	-	No visible inscription

A.1. (Continued)

Mylasa-Miletus	Yeniköy (Söke/Aydın)	AD 305-306, AD 313-317, AD 333 -335, AD 355-360, AD 361-363	French 2014a, p. 213-215	-	(vac) δδ Ṇ[N] 2 ‖ ? ‖ Φλ Ο[ὐα]λ̣[ε]ρ̣ί̣[φ] Ạ *vacat* ? 4 [Κων]σταντείνῳ καὶ Λικιννν[ι]α̣ν̣[ῷ] 6 Λικινίῳ (vac) [C]ε̣ββ (vac) [DD] **nn** **Fl·Val·Constantino Γ** **[A]ug** 4 **[e]t Fl Val·Cons[ta]nti⟨n⟩o Γ** **et Fl·Val· Constantio Γ** **et Fl·Val· Constante̩ Γ** **invv Augg** 8 (vac) **mi III** **et Fl Iulio** **Constantio Γ** **nob·Cae**[s] 12 (vac) **mi** [III] (vac) [DD] **nn** (vac) 2 **Fl·Iul·Constan**[tius] (vac) [A]**ug** 4 **[e]t Fl·Cl Iulianu̩**[s] **nob·Caes´** 6 (vac) μί̣ γ´ **. . . . ·Cl·Iulia-** **nus·Imp·Aug**
Iasus-[-Miletus]	Kıyıkışlacık (Milas/Muğla)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 226	-	(vac) Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ Αὐτοκράτορειν Καί- σαρειν Γαίῳ Οὐα[λ]ερίῳ 4 [Διο]κλητιανῷ [καὶ Μάρκῳ] Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ Σε[ββ] καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρειν Φλαβ [Οὐαλ] 8 Κωνσταντίῳ [κα]ὶ Γαλ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἀνεικήτοις Σεβας[τοῖς] (vac) Ἀπὸ Ἰασοῦ̣ 12 - - - -

A.1. (Continued)

Miletus-Didyma	Yenihisar (Söke/Aydın)	AD 361-364	French 2014a, p. 229	-	Φλα Κλ^{c} Αὐτοκρ 2 ’Ιουλιανὸς Αὔγουστος 4 ’Απὸ τῆς π[ό] μίλ 6 IIII CC
Caunus-[(-Telmessus)]	Osmaniye (Köyceğiz/Muğla)	AD 361-363	French 2014a, p. 230	-	Φλ ’Ιού[λιον] ’Ιουλιαν[ὸν] τὸν Αὐτοκρά- 4 τορα Σεβ[α]- στὸν Κα[- -] πό μί [-] (vac) 8 erasure καὶ Φλ Γρ[ατι]- (vac) erasure 12 νοῦ Αὐγού[στου] τῆς οἰκο[υμέ]- νης
Alabanda-[(-Telmessus)]	Cumalı (Çine/Aydın)	AD 293-305, AD 313-317	French 2014a, p. 231	-	**Dd·nn·G·Aur·Val·Dio**[cletiano et] **M·Aur·Val·Maximiano** {et} (vac) **pp·ff·invictis·Augg·et** 4 (vac) **Fl·Val·**[Co]**nstantio et** (vac) **Gal·Val·Maximiano** (vac) **nobb·Caess**·{et} ἐπὶ ἡγεμ Ι Φουλβίου 8 ’Αστίκου τοῦ διασημο ’Απ(ὸ) ’Αλαβάνδων μί ε′ **D**[d nn] 2 [F]**l Val·Constantino·p·f·inv·Aug·et** **Val·Liciano Licinio p·f·inv·Aug** 4 μί ε′

A.1. (Continued)

Alexandria Troas-[-Cyzicus]	Geyikli 1 (Ezine/Çanakkale)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 234	-	[Imp Cae]s **C Val** [Di]o- 2 [cletianu]s **p f Aug et** [Imp Caes] **M Aur Val Maxi-** 4 [mi]**anus p f Aug** **et Fl Val Constantius** 6 **et Gal Val Maximianus** **nobilissimi Caess**
Alexandria Troas-[-Cyzicus]	Geyikli 1 (Ezine/Çanakkale)	Ad 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2014a, p. 235	-	[Imp Caes C Aur Val] [Dio]**cletianus p f** [A]**ug ·et Imp Caes** 4 [M] **Aur Val Maximianus** **p f Aug et Fl Val** **Constantius et** **C Val Maximianus** 8 **novilissimi·Caess** (vac) **mi II** [D n Imp Fl] 2 **Constantino** **maximo Aug·et** 4 **Constantino et** **Constantio et** 6 **Costa nob Caesss**
Alexandria Troas-[-Cyzicus]	Alexandria Troas (Çanakkale)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 236	-	Imp Caesar Aug Diocletiano regnante

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-(-Side)	Büknüş (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 308-310, AD 333-335, AD 364-375	French 2014a, p. 240-241	-	[Τοὺς γῆς καὶ θαλ]ά̣σση[ς] [καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπω]ν - - - - - - - - - - - -]Ţ̣ΑΥ̣[-] 4 [- - - - - - - - - - π]ρεσβύτερον Σεβ καὶ Γ̣α̣[λ] Μ̣α̣[ξ]ι̣μ[ια]νὸν Σεβ καὶ Λι̣κ̣ι̣ννιανὸν Λικίννιον Σεβ καὶ Γ̣α̣λ̣ [Οὐα]λερίαν θ̣ι̣ο̣τάτην Αὐγούσταν 8 [[καὶ Μαξιμεῖνον]] υ̣ἱὸν βασιλέων καὶ Κ[ων]ς̣ταντεῖνον υἱὸν βασιλέων ['Απὸ 'Ερ]μοκαπηλίων μί α' Τοὺς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους αὐτοκράτορας δεσπότας ἡμῶν 4 Φλα Οὐαλ Κωνσταντεῖνον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Καίσαρρ Φλα 'Ιούλ Κωνστάντιον καὶ Οὐα 8 Φλ Κωνσταντεῖνον καὶ Φλ 'Ιούλ Κώνσταντα 'Η Λυδῶν 'Ερμοκαπη- λειτῶν πόλις 12 (vac) μί α'
Pergamum-(-Side)	Sindelli (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 333-335, AD 393-423	French 2014a, p. 243	-	Τοὺς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότας ἡμῶν 4 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντεῖνον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανες- τάτους Καίσαρας 8 Φλ 'Ιούλ Κωνστάντιον καὶ Φλά Κωνσταντεῖνον καὶ Φλα 'Ιούλ Κώνσταντι ἡ Λυδῶν (vac) 'Ερμοκαπηλειτῶν 12 (vac) πό Φλ 'Ονόριον

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-(-Side)	Zeytinliova (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 293-305	French 2014, p. 244	-	’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ Αὐτοκράτορας Καίσαρ’ Γ Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Αὐρ’ Οὐα’ Μαξιμιανὸν εὐσεβεῖς εὐτυχεῖς ἀν(η)κητ’ Σεβ’β’ καὶ Φλαβ’ Οὐαλ’ Κωνστάντιον [κ]αὶ Οὐαλέρ[ιον] Μαξιμιανὸν τοὺς ἐπιφαν’ (vac) Καίσαρας ’Η λαμ’ κ(αὶ) διας’ Θυ(ατειρηνῶν) πό(λις) μί ς’
Pergamum-(-Side)	Ballıca (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 245	-	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Λικιννιανὸν Λι[κ]ίνιο[ν Σεβ] [καὶ] Λικινιανὸν [τ]ὸν [ἐπι]- [φ]α[ν]έστα[τον Καίσαρα] (vac) (vac) ’Από ’Απολλωνίδδος (vac) μί β’
Pergamum-(-Side)	Akhisar (Manisa)	AD 293-305, AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 250	-	(vac) ’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ Αὐτοκ’ Καίσαρας Γ Οὐαλέ Διοκλητι[ανὸν] κ’ Μ’ Αὐρ’ Οὐαλέ Μαξιμιανὸν εὐσεβ’ εὐτυχοῦς ἀνεικήτους Σεββ’ κ’ Φλάβ Οὐαλ’ Κωνστάντιον κε Γαλερ’ Οὐαλ’ Μαξιμιανὸν τοὺς ἐπιφαν’ Καίσαρας ’Η λαμ κὲ (vac) διασ (vac) Θυ πό μί α’ [Τοῖς Κ]υρίοις ἡμῶν [Φλα]ουίφ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντείνῳ Σεβ [κὲ Φλ] Οὐα’ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντίῳ [κὲ Φλ] Οὐα’ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντι ὰητ⟨τ⟩ήτοις Σεββ (vac) μί α’

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-(-Side)	Pınarcık 1 (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 251	-	[To]ῖc [δε]c[πόται]c ἡμῶν 2 [F]**l V**[al Con]**s**[tant]**ino NB** **et F**[l Val] **Constantio** 4 [et Fl Val Cons]**tanti** **CO.SSIII** 6 **TO** **m** [-]
Pergamum-(-Side)	Pınarcık 2 (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 252	-	(erased) μί γ′ **B F** 2 **DD nn Val** **Licinn Licinio** 4 **p f invicto** **Aug et** 6 **Val L[i]cinn** [Licinio nobil] 8 [ac piiss Caes] [-]
Pergamum-(-Side)	Pınarcık 3 (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 367-375, AD 395, AD 402	French 2014a, p. 253	-	MA. .IN 2 XON Οὐαλεντινιανο[ῦ] Ι′Αρκαδίου ΤΩΝ 4 Φλ′ ‘Ονώριον ΝΙΩΝ Αὐγούστων 6 (vac) μί γ′

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-(-Side)	Hacıosmanlar, Demahalle (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 355	-	**Impp Caess Fl´ Val´** 2 **Constantino et Val´** **[[- - - - - - - - - -]]** 4 **pp ff inbicc Augg e⟨t⟩ Fl´ Val´** **[[C]ris[po]] et Val´ Constantino** 6 **[[- - - -]] et Fl´ Cl´** **Constantino nob**[bb Caesss] 8 [?]
Pergamum-(-Side)	Akselendi (Alaşehir/Manisa)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2014a, p. 258	-	’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ 2 Αὐτοκ´ ΚΚΣΣ Γ Οὐαλ Διοκλητιανὸν κὲ Μ 4 Α[ὐρ] Μαξιμιανὸν εὐ̣[σ]- ε[β εὐτυχ] Σεββ κ(ὲ) Φλ 6 Ο̣ὐ̣α̣λ̣ [Κω]νστάντιον κὲ Οὐα [Γ]α̣λ̣ Μ̣α̣ξεμιανὸν τοὺς ἐπ- 8 [ιφφ Κ]α(ι)ς ἡ [λ]α̣μ̣[πρ κὲ μεγ] [Θυατειρηνῶν πόλις] 10 π(όλις) μ α´ Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῷ̣[ν] 2 **Fl Constantino** **et Fl Val Constantio** 4 **et Fl Val Constanti** **aetteto SSBBB´** 6 **et Fl Val Constaṇ⟨ti⟩** **nobb Caess**
Pergamum-(-Side)	Gölmarmara (Akhisar/Manisa)	AD 313-317	French 2014a, p. 260	-	**DD[ ]** **]CONSTA[** **]VALERIV[** **]ḶICINPF[** **MD**

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-(-Side)	Kanboğaz 1 (Turgutlu/Manisa)	AD 379-383	French 2014a, p. 260	-	[Τοῖ]ς δ[ε]ςπ̣ό̣τ̣αις ἡ[μῶν Φλ] 2 Γρατιανῷ καὶ Φλ Οὐαλεντινι[ανῷ] 4 [καὶ] Φλ′ Θεοδοσίῳ [αἰ]ω̣νίο[ις Αὐγούστοις]
Pergamum-(-Side)	Kanboğaz 2 (Turgutlu/Manisa)	AD 393-395, AD 423-425, AD 450	French 2014a, p. 261		Τ[ῶν Κυρίων] ἡμῶν 2 Φλ Θεωδοσίου καὶ Φλ ʼΑρκαδίου 4 καὶ Φλ ʻΟνορίου (vac) Αὐγγγ Τῷ ἀηττήτῳ 2 (vac) Σεβ Φλ Θεωδοσίῳ κὲ 4 Φλ Οὐαλλεντι- νιανῷ αἰωνν 6 (vac) Αὐγγ
Pergamum-(-Side)	Kanboğaz 3 (Turgutlu/Manisa)	AD 379-383, AD 393-395, AD 425-450	French 2014a, p. 263		et Fl Theodosio 2 perpet Auggg Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν 2 Φλ Θεοδοσίου καὶ Φλ ʼΑρκαδίου 4 καὶ Φλ ʻΟνορίου - - - - κὲ Φλ Οὐαλλεντινιανῷ αἰω (vac) ν (vac) ν Αὐγγ

A.1. (Continued)

Pergamum-(-Side)	Kestelli (Turgutlu/Manisa)	AD 293-305	French 2014a, p. 264	-	Τοῖς Κυρίοις ἡμῶν Γ·Οὐαλ·Διοκλητιανῷ κὲ Μ Αὐρ·Οὐαλερίῳ 4 Μαξιμιανῷ Σεββ κὲ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν {κὲ} Φλ Οὐαλερ Κωνσταντίῳ κὲ Γαλερ 8 Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ (vac) ἀηττήτοις (vac) Ἀπὸ Σαρδέων (vac) μί ζ′
Pergamum-(-Side)	Köseali (Salihli/Manisa)	AD 293-305, AD 402-408	French 2014a, p. 265	-	[- - - - Διοκ]ḷητιανῷ 2 Σεβ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορ[ι]α Κ[αί]σαρα Μ Αὐρ Κλα Μαξι- 4 μι[αν]ὸν Σεβ (vac) καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων 6 Καισάρων Κωνσταντίου καὶ ω[- - - -] Τοὺ[c δ]ες- 2 πότας ἡμῶν Φλ Ἀρκάδιον 4 Φλ Ὀνώριον Φλ Θεοδόσιον 6 ἐωνίουc Αὐγ (traces of letters) 8 Ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας μί ιḍ′
Pergamum-(-Side)	Kadıköy (Buldan/Denizli)	AD 361-363	French 2014a, p. 268		D´ (vac) Ṇ 2 Fl´ Cl´ Iuḷiaṇo pḷiṣṣiṃo 4 perpḛtuo (v) Aug (vac) 6 [A T]ripolis mi XI

A.1. (Continued)

Laodicia-(-Perge)	Serinhisar (Acıpayam/Denizli)	AD 305-306, AD 307-308	French 2014a, p. 271		’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ 2 τῶν ἐπιφα[νεc]- τάτων Κεcάρων 4 Cεββ ἡμῶν Κων- cταντίου καὶ Μαξι- 6 (vac) μιανοῦ ’Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ 2 Αὐτοκράτορcιν Μαξιμιανῷ [καὶ] 4 [Κων]cταντήνῳ - - ? - -
Laodicia-(-Perge)	Alaettin (Acıpayam/Denizli)	AD 293-305, AD 313-317, AD 317-324	French 2014a, p. 273		(vac) **B F** 2 [Imp]**p** [Caess] **Diocletiano** 4 **et Maximiano** [pp] **ff** [invv] 6 (vac) **Augg** **et** [Constantio] 8 [et] **Maximiano** [nobb] **Caess** Τοῖc Κυρίοις ἡμῶν [δεcπόταις] Κωνcταντείνῳ (καὶ) Λικινίῳ ΝΕΟΝΛΙΟΝ Φλ Οὐαλ Κρείcπον 4 καὶ Οὐαλ Κωνcταντεῖν[ον] καὶ Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνcταντεῖνον 8 τοὺc ἐπιφαν- εcτάτουc [Κ]αίcαραc

A.1. (Continued)

Laodicia-(-Perge)	Yusufça (Gölhisar/Burdur)	AD 425-450	French 2014a, p. 275	-	[Φ]λ Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ Φ̣λ̣ 2 [Ο]ὐαλλεντινι[ανῷ] (vac) Αὐγ′γ′ 4 (vac) μί ζ′

A.2. PONTUS ET BITHYNIA

Prusa (-Dorylaeum)	Dibekli/Bilecik	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 29		- - - - 2 **eṭ Ġaḷ Val M**[aximiano] **nobb Caesar**[ibus] 4 **a Nicaea mil ṗ**[ass] (vac) **L̤** 6 [’A]**πὸ Νεικαία**[ς] (vac) **ν′** (vac)
Chalcedon-Trapezus	Sinop 1	Ad 333-335	French 2013, p. 36		**Imperr** [Caess] **Fl Val Constantino** **maximo victorị** 4 **Augus**[to] **et Fl Consta**[ntino et] **Fl Iul Constantio** **et Fl Consta** 8 **nnbb Caesrr** **Fl Iul Le**/o/**ntius** **pre pro Elenopont**

A.2. (Continued)

Chalcedon-Trapezus	Sinop 2	AD 308-315, AD 333-335, AD 340-350, AD 367-375, AD 379-383	French 2013, p. 37-38		(vac) **B F** **Imp Caes Fl Val** **Constantino** 4 **p f invicto Aug et** **⟦Imp Caes Val Licinn⟧** **⟦Licinnio p f inv Aug⟧** (vac) **et Fl Val Crispo** 8 **et Fl Val** **Constantino** **nobb Caess** α′ (vac) **DD nn** (vac) **Imrr** **Fl Vl′ Consta**[n]**tino** 4 **m**[a]**ximo Augusto** **et Fl′ Constantino** **et Fl Constantio** **et Fl Consta** 8 **nnbb Caess** **Fl Iul Leontius pr** **pr Helenopont** **D′D′n′n′** **Fl′ Constan**[tino venerandae] (vac) **memoriae** [Aug] 4 **Imp Caesar**[i Fl Constantio p f] **victor⟨i⟩ Au**[g] **Imp Caesari Fl** [Iul Constantae] **p f victor⟨i⟩ Aug** 8 **Fl Achillius v p praes provinc** **Helenop d n m q eorum** **DDD** **nnn** **Fl Valen-** 4 [ti]**nianus** **et Fl Valete** **p f Ag et Fl** **Gratianus** 8 **p f Aug** (vac) **m** [I] (vac) **DDD nnn** 2 **Fl·Gratianus p·p·** (vac) **p·f·Aug** 4 **et·Fl·Valentinianus** (vac) **p·f·Aug** 6 **et·Fl·Theodosius** (vac) **victor·p f·Aug**

A.2. (Continued)

Chalcedon-Trapezus	Sinop 3	AD 305-306, AD 333-335, AD 361-363, AD 367-375, AD 379-383, AD 383	French 2013, p. 39-40		[Imp·Caes·Flav·Val]ęr [Con]ṣtantio p·f·invict·Aug [et·Im]p·Ç̣aes·Gal·Valerio 4 [Maxi]m̤iano·p·f·inv̤i̤c̤·Aug· ‖ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ‖ ‖ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ‖ (vac) α´ (vac) 8 [Aur·] Ḥierax·v·p·p̣[r·pr Po]n̤t̤ (vac) **Paflag·** (vac) (vac) **DD nn** (vac) (vac) **Inperr** (vac) **Fl´ Vl´ Constantino** 4 **maximo** [Augus]t̤o **et Fl´ Con̤**[stantin]**o** **et Fl Cọ**[nstanti]**o** **et Fl´ Consta** 8 (vac) **nnbb Cesrr** [Fl Iul Leo]**ntius pr** ⟨p⟩**r** (vac) [Hele]**noponti** (vac) **I** (vac) α´ (vac) **D`n`** **Inperatori Caes** 3 **Claud Iuliano** **p´ e´ semper Aug** **Fl´ Dom` Hilarius** 6 **v´ c´ praeses** **prov Helenopont**(i)  **D`D`D` n`n`n** **F`l`Va-** **lentin-** 4 **anus p f** **Aug et Fl** **Valens** **p f Aug et** 8 **Fl Gratianus p f Aug** (vac) μ α´ (vac) [DDD] n̤n̤n̤ F̤l̤ [Gratian]**us** (vac) [- - - -] 4 **et Fl Valentinianus** (vac) [- - - -] **et F̤l̤ Theodosius** (vac) [- - - -] 8 (vac) **mil I** (vac) α´ **Fl Arcadii** 2 (vac) **nvic´ S** (vac) **RPNNCIFPILI**

A.2. (Continued)

Chalcedon-Trapezus	Çalboğaz 1 (Gerze/Sinop)	AD 324-326	French 2013, p. 42		- - - - **et F Val Ç[onsta]n̤tino** 3 **nobb Caes̤s̤**
Chalcedon-Trapezus	Çalboğaz 2 (Gerze/Sinop)	AD 293-305, AD 317-324, AD 324-326	French 2013, p. 43	-	**Imp Caes C Aur Val** **Diocletiano** **p f invicto Aug et** 4 **et Imp Caes M Aur Val** ‖[Maximiano]‖ **p f invicto Aug et̤** **Fl Val Constantio et̤** 8 ‖[Gal Val Maximiano]‖ **nobill Caes̤s** (vac) **XXX** **Aur Priscianus** [v p] 12 [pr pr P] **d n m q eorum** - - - - [et] F̤l̤ Ç̤l̤ Ç[onstantino] **nobb̤ Caess** - - - - **et F Val Crispo** **et F Constantino** **nobb Caess**
Chalcedon-Trapezus	Çeçe (Gerze/Sinop)	AD 361-363	French 2013, p. 44	-	[D n] [Imperato]- **ri Ç̤aes Claṳ-** 4 **d Iuliano** **p f semper** **Aug Fl Dom** **Hilarius** 8 **v c praeses** **prov Heleno-** **ponti** μ ιθ′

A.2. (Continued)

Chalcedon-Trapezus	Çeçe 2 (Gerze/Sinop)	AD 293-305, AD 361-363	French 2013, p. 46	-	- - - - **Gal Val** [Maxi]ṃịa̱**no** **nobil Caess** **Aur Priscianus v p** **pr pr P d n m** [q eorum] (gap 0.18) (vac) **mil XXXVII**
Chalcedon-Trapezus	Çeçe 3 (Gerze/Sinop)	AD 333-335	French 2013, p. 47	-	(vac) **DD ṇ**[n] **Impeṛ**[-]] **Fl Vl Co**[- - - -] - - - -
Chalcedon-Trapezus	Gerze (Sinop)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 48		[Imp Caes C Aur Val] **Dioc̣i̱**[etia]ṇ**o** **p f i̱ṉvicto Aug et** [Imp C]a̱e̱**s M Ạur Val** **Maximiano** **p f invicto Aug et** **Fl Val Constantio et** **Gal Val Maximiano** **nobill Caess** (vac) **mil ιζ′** **Aur Priscianus v̱ p̱** **pr p̱ṟ P̣ d n m q eorum**

A.2. (Continued)

Chalcedon-Trapezus	Kerim (Gerze/Sinop)	AD 293-305, AD 324-326	French 2013, p. 49		- - - - 2 **Aur Priscianus v p** **pr pr P** [d] **n m q eorum** (vac) 4 **λθ′** - - - - 2 **[- - - - - - - - - -]io** **et F Val Constante** 4 **nobb Caess**
Tium-Creatia Flaviopolis	Çaycuma 1 (Zonguldak)	AD 313-317	French 2013, p. 51		**DD NN** [Impp Caess] **Flavio Valerio Consṭa**[ntino] 4 **pio felici invicto Augusto et** **[[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]]** **[[- - - -]] invicto Augusto** (vac) **Ab Tio cibitate** 8 (vac) **milia p** (vac) [-]
Tium-Creatia Flaviopolis	Çaycuma 2 (Zonguldak)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 52		(vac) **B** (vac) **F** **Imp C G Aur Val Diocletiano** **p f invicto Aug et Imp C** 4 **G Aur Val Maximiano p f invicto** **Aug et Flavio Val** **Constantio et G Val** **Maximiano nobb Caesaribus** 8 (vac) **η′**

A.2. (Continued)

Tium-Creatia Flaviopolis	Çaycuma 3 (Zonguldak)	AD 293-305, AD 305-306	French 2013, p. 54		- - - - et Fl Val [Constantio] et Gal Val M[aximiano] nobb Cae[ss] (vac) **B** (vac) **F** **Imp C I Fl Val** **Constantio** 4 **p f invicto Aug** **et Imp C Gal Val** **Maximiano** **invicto Aug** 8 ⟦et [- - - -]⟧ ⟦et [- - - -]⟧ ⟦nobb Caes [-]⟧ [-]
Sinope-[-Neocaesarea)]	Göllü 1 (Sinope)	AD 324, AD 333-335, AD 340-350, AD 361-363	French 2013, p. 55	-	- - - - 2 **Cl Constantino** **nobb Caess** 4 [-] - - - - 2 **Constantin**[o - - - - vi]- **ctori max tri**[- - - -] 4 **Fl Constantino** [et] **Fl Constanti**[o] [et] 6 **Fl Consta** **nnbb C**⟨a⟩**ess** 8 [- - - -] (vac) **DD nn** **[C]onstantini venerandae** **memoriae Aug** 4 **Imp Caesari Constantini et** (vac) **pf victor**⟨i⟩ **Aug** **Imp [C]aesari Fl Constanti et** (vac) **pf victor**⟨i⟩ **Aug** 8 **Fl Achillius v [p] praes provinc** **Helenop d n m q eorum** [-] **DN Caes** [- -] **Iulia**[no p f s]**em-** **per Aug** [- - - -] 8 [- - - -] [- - - -]

A.2. (Continued)

Sinope-[-Neocaesarea)]	Göllü 2 (Sinope)	AD 293-305, AD 340-350	French 2013, p. 56-57		- - - - 2 **Ạur Pṛiscianus v** [p] **pr pr P ḍ ṇ ṃ q ẹọṛụṃ** [(vac) DD nn] [Constantini venerandae] [memori]**ae** [Aug] 4 Ịmp Ċaęsaṛ[i Fl Co]**n**[s]ṭ[antio] (vac) [pf] vịċ[t]**or**⟨i⟩ Ạ[ug] [I]**mp Caesari** [Fl Constanti] (vac) **pf´ victor**⟨i⟩ Ạug 8 **Fl` Achillius** [v p praes provinc] [H]ęḷ**enop**·[d n m q eorum] [-]
Sinope-[-Neocaesarea)]	Erikli (Sinope)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 57		**Imp Caes C Aur Val** **Diocletiano** **p f invicto Aug et** 4 **Imp Caes M Aur Val** **Maximiano** **p f invicto Aug** [et] **Fl Val Constantio et** 8 **Gal Val Maximiano** (vac) **nobill Caess** (vac) **mil** (gap 0.33) **κδ´**
Sinope-[-Neocaesarea)]	Tıngır 1 (Sinop)	AD 293-305, AD 317-324, AD 333-335	Fre nch 2013, p. 60	-	[Imp Caes C Aur Val] **Dio**[c]ḷẹ[ti]ạ[no] [p f invicto Aug et] 4 [Imp Caes M Aur Val] **M**[aximia]**n**[o] **p f invicto Aug et** **Fl Val Constantio et** 8 **Gal Val Maximiano** **nobill Cae**[ss] (vac) **mili**[a] **Aur Priscianu**[s v p] 12 **pr pr P d n m q eorum** (vac) **XXXV** ----- [-] **D n Imp Caes Valerio Licinniano** 2 **Licinnio p f invicto Aug** (vac) **μ λ*ε´** - - - - 2 [et] **Fl Ċl Constantino** [et] **Fl** [I]**ul Constantio** 4 **et Fl Co**⟨n⟩**sta nobb C**[C] [Fl Iul Le]**ontius v p** 6 [pr pr Helenponti]

A.2. (Continued)

Sinope -[-Neocaesarea)]	Tıngır 2 (Sinop)	AD 293-305, AD 305-306, AD 309-311, AD 324-326, AD 340-350	Fre nch 2013, p. 61-62		8 [Fl Val Const]- **antio et Ga-** **l Val Maximi-** **ano nobil** 12 **Kasaris** [Imper Caes] [Flav Valer]- io Constantio 4 **p f invicto Aug** **et Imper Caes Ga-** **l Valerio Maxi-** **miano p f invi-** 8 **cto Aug et Fl Vale-** **[[**[rio S]evero et Ga**]]-** **l Val Maximi⟨a⟩no** **nobill Caesalprus** 12 **Aur Hierax v p pr r R-** **onti Paflaugon** (gap c. 0.08) κε′ - - - - **Fl V Constantino** **nobill Caess fill** **κε′ Augg** - - - - 2 **et Fl Val Crispo mil p** **et F Val Constantino** 4 **nobb Caiss** - - - - **D´D´ n´n´** **Fl´ Constantino venerandae** **memoriae Aug´** 4 **Imp Caesari Fl Constantio p f** **victor⟨i⟩ Aug´** **Imp Caesari Fl´ Iul´ Constantae** **p f´ victor⟨i⟩ Aug** 8 **Fl Achillius v p praes provinc** **Helenop d n m q eorum** (gap 0.135) κε′

A.2. (Continued)

Sinope-[-Neocaesarea)]	Tıngır 3 (Sinop)	AD 293-305	Fre nch 2013, p. 64		- - - - 2 **p f invicto Aug et** **Fl Val Constantio et** 4 **Gal Val Maximiano** **n̤o̤bill Caess** 6 - - - -
Sinope-[-Neocaesarea)]	Tıngır 4 (Sinop)	AD 293-305	Fre nch 2013, p. 65		[Imp Caes] C̤ Aṳ[r V]a̤l [Dioclet]**iano** [p f in]vi̤**cto Aug et** 4 [I]m̤**p C̤aes M Aur Val** **Maximiano** [p] **f invicto Aug et** [Fl] V̤**al Constantio et** 8 [G]**al Val Maximiano** [n]o̤**bi**[l] C̤a̤**ess** - - - -
Sinope-[-Neocaesarea)]	Tıngır 6 (Sinop)	AD 340-350	Fre nch 2013, p. 66	-	(vac) **DD nn** **Fl Constantino** **v̤e̤ne̤ra̤nda̤e me̤mo̤ria̤e Aṳg** 4 **Imp Caes Fl Co⟨n⟩stantio** [et] **Imp Caes Fl Iul Co⟨n⟩stan**[t]**i** **Fl Achillius v p praes** **pr E̤l̤**[enopo d n m q eorum] 8 [-]

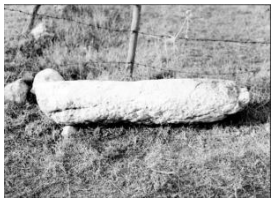
A.2. (Continued)

Amisus (-Caesarea)	Kavak (Samsun)	AD 340-350	French 2013, p. 73	-	(vac) **DD nn** **Constantino** **venerandae memoriae Aug** **Imp Caes Fl** **Constan̤tio** **p f semp Aug** **Imp Caes Fl Iul** **Constante p f Aug** **Fl Achillius** [- - - -] - - - -
Amisus (-Caesarea)	Ahmetsaray (Ladik/Samsun)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 75		**Imp Caes** **G Aur Val** **Diocletiano** **p f invic Aug et** **Imp Caes ⟦ - - ⟧** **⟦V̤a̤l̤ [- - - - - -]⟧** **p f invic Aug** **et Fl Val** **Constantio** **et Gal Val** **Maximiano** **nobiliss Caess** (vac) κγ′
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Bolu	AD 305-306	French 2013, p. 79	-	[Imp Caes Fl]**av V**(a)**l** [Constan]**t̤i̤o p̤**[i]**o** [fel invict]**o Aug et** [Imp Caes] **Ga**[l] **V**[al] [Maximi]**ano̤** [pio] [fel i]**n̤v̤i̤cto** [Aug] [et Fl Val S]**e̤ve̤ro** [et] [Gal Val Ma]**ximino** [nobill] **Caes̤**[s] - - - -

A.2. (Continued)

Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Düzağaç (Mengen/Bolu)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 80	-	(vac) **B F** (vac) **Impp CC C Aurel Val Diocletiano et** 4 **M Aur Val Max**[imiano] **pp ff invv** [Augg et] **Flavo** [Val Constantio] [et Gal Val Maximiano] 8 [nobb Caess]
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Kayginca /Taşköprü/Zonguldak)	AD 305-306	French 2013, p. 82	-	[Im]**p Cae**[s Fl] [Va]**l Constanti**[us Aug] [e]**t Imp Caes G**[al] 4 [Va]**l Maximian**[us Aug] [et F]**l Val Se**[verus et] [F]**l Val Se**[verus et] [Ga]**l Val** [Maximinus] 8 [nob]**il Ca**[ess] (vac) **XI**
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Bademci (Küre/Kastamonu)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 83	-	**Impe**[r Caesari] **Diocl**[etiano] **p fel invic**[to Aug] 4 **et Imp Caesa NO** **Mar Aur Va⟨le⟩rio** **Maximiano** **p felic⟨i⟩ invicto Aug** 8 **et Flavio Valerio** **Constantio** **et Galerio Valerio** **Ma**[xi]**ṃiano** 12 [nobb Caess] [–]

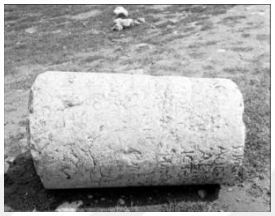
A.2. (Continued)

Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Boyabat 1 (Sinop)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 86	-	**Imper´ Caes´ G´ Aur´ Val´** **Diocletiano pio** **fel´ invicto Aug´ et** 4 **Imp´ Caes´ Marco Aur´** **Val´ Maximiano pio** **fel´ invicto Aug Fl´** **Val´ Constantio et** 8 **Gal´ Val´ Maximiano** **nob´b´ Caes´s´ n´n´** **Aur´ Priscianus** **v´p´** (vac) **p´r´** (vac) **p´P´** (vac) 12 (vac) **XXXIII**
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Boyabat 2 (Sinop)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 86	-	**Imp´ Caes G** [Aur] **Val´ Diocletian**[o pio] **fel´ invicto Aug´ et** 4 **Imp´ Caes´ Marco Aur´** **Val´ Maximiano pio** **fel´ invicto Aug et Fl´** **Val´ Constantio et Ga**(l) 8 **Val Maximiano** **nobb´ Caess nn´** **Aur´ Priscianus** (vac) **v´ p´ pr´ p´ P** 12 - - - -
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Aşağı Narlı (Vezirköprü/Samsun)	AD 305-306	French 2013, p. 87		**Imp Caes Fl Val** **Constantio** **p f invicto** [Aug et] 4 [I]**mp Caes Gal Val** **Maximiano** **p f invicto Aug** [et] **Fl Val Severo** [et] 8 **Gal Val Maximino** **nobiliss Caes**[s] (vac) **curante Au**[r] **Hieraxe** 12 **v p praes** **p P P** ιαʹ

A.2. (Continued)

Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	İncesu (Vezirköprü/Samsun)	AD 305-306	French 2013, p. 92	-	**Imp Caes Fl Val Constantio p f invicto Aug et Imp Caes Gal Val Maximiano p f invicto Aug et Fl·Val·Severo et ⟦[- - - -]⟧ximino nobiliss·Caess** - - - -
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Gömlekhisar (Vezirköprü/Samsun)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2013, p. 93	-	**Imp** [Caes´ C Aur] **Val Diocl**[eti]**ano p f invicto Aug** [et] **Imp´ Caes´ M Aur Val Maximiano p f invicto Aug et Fl Val Constanti**[o et] **Gal Val´ Maximiano nobiliss·Caess** (gap 0.14) **Aur´ Priscianus v p´ praes p P d** [n] **m´ q·eorum** [Imp Caes Fl Val] [Co]**nstantino ma**[xi]**mo Aug et Fl Constantino et Fl Constantio et Fl Const**[anti] [no]**bb Caess**
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Vezirköprü 1	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 97	-	**Imp Caes C Aur** [V]**al Diocletiano p f invicto Aug et** [I]**mp Caes M Aur Val** [M]**aximiano** [p] **f invicto Aug et** [F]**l Vall Constantio et G Val Maximiano nobiliss·Caess** [- - - -]

A.2. (Continued)

Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Vezirköprü 2	AD 293-305, AD 317-324	French 2013, p. 98-99		[Imperatori Caesari C Aur Val] Dioc[l][etiano pio felici invicto] **Aug et Imperatori Caesari M** 4 **Aurelio Maximiano pio felici invi-** **cto Aug et** [Fl Val Co]**nstantio et Gale** **Maximian**[o] **nobilis**[si]**mis** (vac) **Caess** 8 **Aurel Valentinianus v p p**[r pr P] **S** [D D N N] [Fl Val Constantino] **p f invict Aug et** 4 [[Val Licin Licinio]] [[p f invict Aug et]] **Fl Val Crispo et** [[Lic Licinio et]] 8 **Fl Cl Constantino no-** **bilis**[s] **Caess** **Val Chrysaorius** **v p praes prov-** 12 (vac) **inc** (vac) **Diospont**
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Tepeören (Havza/Samsun)	AD 305-306	French 2013, p. 102	-	**Imp Caes Fl Val** 2 **Constantio** **p f invicto Aug et** 4 **Imp Caes Gal Val** **Maximiano** 6 **p f invicto Aug** [- - - -] ?
Nicomedeia (-Neocaesarea)	Havza	AD 333-335	French 2013, p. 109		**DD N´N** **Imp·p·** **Fl Constantino** 4 **victor⟨i⟩ maximo** **Aug** **et Fl Constantino** **et Fl Constantio** 8 **et Fl Concta** **nnbb Caess** [-]

A.2. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Kadıköy (İstanbul)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 111	-	[Imp C C Aur Val] 2 [Diocletiano Aug] [et Imp C M Aur Val] 4 **Maxi**[miano] **A**[ug et] **Flav G Val Const**[antio et] 6 **Gal Val** **Maximiano no**[bb Caes]s 8 **a Calchedonia** [-]
Pilgrim's Road	Gebze (İzmit)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 117	-	[B] **F** 2 [Imp] **C G Aur Val** [Dioclet]**ianus p f inv Aug et** 4 [I]m[p] **C M Aur Val** [Max]**imianus p f inv Aug et** 6 [Fl V]**al Constantius et** [Gal] **Val Maximianus** 8 [nobb] **Caess A Nicomedia** **mil XXII**
Pilgrim's Road	Karadin (İznik/Bursa)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 123		B (vac) **F** 2 [Im]**p C G·Aur Val·** [Dioc]**letianus** 4 [p f i]**nv Aug·et** [Imp C] **M Aur Val** 6 [Maximia]**nus** - - - -

A.2. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Medetli 1 (Osmaneli/Bilecik)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 124		**B F** (gap 0.013) **Imp C C Aur Val** **Diocletianus p f inv Aug** 4 **et Imp C M Aur Val** **Maximianus p f inv Aug** **et Fl Val Constantius et** **Gal Val Maximianus** 8 **nobb Caesares** **A Nicaea mil XXV** **'Από Νεικαίας** (vac) **κε'**
Pilgrim's Road	Medetli 2 (Osmaneli/Bilecik)	AD 337-340	French 2013, p. 125		**B F** 2 **Imp Cae**[s]**s** [Fl Val] **Constantino p f** 4 **vic semper Aug** **et Fl Iul Constantio** 6 **p f vic semper Aug** **et Fl Iul Constant**⟨i⟩ 8 **p f vic semper Aug** (gap c. 0.17) 9 **A Nicaea mil XXV** **'Από Νεικαίας** (gap c. 0.15) 11 **κε'**
Pilgrim's Road	Üyük (Gölpazarı/Bilecik)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 127-128		[I]m̤[p C] **C A**[ur] V̤[al] [D]**iocletia**[nus] **p f inv Aug et** 4 **Imp C M Aur Val** **Maximianus** **p f invic Aug et** **Fl Val Consta**[n]**tius** 8 **et Gal Val Maximianus** **nobb Caesares** **A Nicaea** /m/**il XXVI** **'Από Νεικαίας** 12 **κ ς'**

A.2. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Aktaş (Gölpazarı/Bilecik)	AD 337-340, AD 364-367	French 2013, p. 131		- - - - 2 [- - - - Fl Iul Constanti]- **o p f vic semper A**[ug] **et** 4 **Fl Iul Constanti p f** **⟨t⟩ vic semper** 6 (vac) **Aug** [- - - -] - - ? - - **Valentiniano** 2 **et Valenti** **pp ff s⟨e⟩mper** 4 **Augg**
Pilgrim's Road	Beşevler (Gölpazarı/Bilecik)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 131	-	[Imp C G Aur Val] [Diocletianus p f inv Aug] [et Imp C M Aur Val] 4 [Maximianus p f inv Aug et] **Fl Val**[l Constantius] **et Gal Val** [Maximianus] **nobb Ca**[ess] 8 **A Nica**[ea - -] 'Aπὸ N[ι]κ[αίας - -]
Pilgrim's Road	Doğancılar (Gölpazarı/Bilecik)	AD 293-305	French 2013, p. 133		(wreath) **B F** **Imp C C Aur Val** **Diocletianus** 4 **p f inv Aug et** **Imp C M Aur Val** **Maximianus** **p f inv Aug et** 8 **Fl Val Constantius** **et Gal Val M**[ax]**imianus** **nobb Caesares**

A.2. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Sarıhacılar (Gölpazarı/Bilecik)	AD 337-340	French 2013, p. 134		[Im]**p Caess Fl Val** **Constantino p f** **vic semper Aug** 4 **et Fl Iul** **Constantio p f** **semper Aug** **et Fl Iul** 8 **Constanti p f** **semper Aug** (?)
Pilgrim's Road	Gökçeözü (Gölpazarı/Bilecik)	AD 364-367	French 2013, p. 135	-	- - ? - - **[V]alentiniano** 2 [et Val]ẹnṭi [pp ff s]ẹmpeṛ 4 **[A]uḡg**
Pilgrim's Road	Duman (Taraklı/Sakarya)	AD 337-340	French 2013, p. 136		**[I]mp Caess Fl Val** **Constantino p f** **vic semper Aug** 4 **et Fl Iul** **Constantio p f** **vic semper Aug** **et Fl Iul** 8 **Constanti p f** **vic semper Aug** (?)

A.2. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Kayabaşı (Göynük/Bolu)	AD 364-367	French 2013, p. 137		**dd NN** 2 **Valentiniano** **et Valenti** 4 **pp ff semper** **Augg** **m p**
Pilgrim's Road	Himmetoğlu (Göynük/Bolu)	AD 361-363	French 2013, p. 139		**B** (wreath) **F** 2 **d N Fl Cl Iuliano** **p f symper** 4 **Aug**
Pilgrim's Road	Bölücekova 1 (Göynük/Bolu)	AD 337-340	French 2013, p. 140	-	**B** (wreath) [F] **Imp Caess Fl Val** **Constantino p f** 4 **vic semper Aug** **et Fl Iul** **Constantio p f** **vic semper Aug** 8 **et Fl Iul** **Constanti p f** **vic semper Aug** - - - -

A.2. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Bölücekova 2 (Göynük/Bolu)	AD 364-367	French 2013, p. 141	-	[DD] **NN** 2 **Valentiniano** **et Valenti** 4 **pp ff semper** [Augg] - - ? - -
Pilgrim's Road	Ahmetbeyler (Göynük/Bolu)	AD 293-305, AD 363-364, AD 364-367	French 2013, p. 142		**p f inv Aug et** 6 **F{e}l Val Constantius** **e̩t Ga̩l Va̩l M̩**[aximianus] 8 **nobb Caesares** (vac) **'Απὸ Νει̯κα̯ίας** 10 **ξθ΄** 2 **Fl Ioviano** **victor p f** 4 **semper** **Aug** [dd NN] 2 **Valentiniani et** **Valenti** [pp ff] 4 **sem̩per Aug**

A.3. GALATIA

Ancyra-(-Amorium)	Dodurga (Yenimahalle/Ankara)	AD 293-305	French 2012a, p. 24	-	**Imp Caes** [C Aur Val] [Dio]**cl̤e̤**[tiano] [p f in]**v̤i̤**[cto Aug] **e̤t̤ Imp Ç̣**[aes M Aur Val] [M]**aximi**[ano p f inv Aug] [et] **F̤l̤·Val Ç̣**[onstantio] [et Gal Va]**l̤ M**[aximiano] [nobb C]**ae̤**[ss]
Ancyra-(-Amorium)	Ballıhisar (Sivrihisar/Eskişehir)	AD 311-313	French 2012a, p. 29	-	**B** [F] **Imp Ceas Gal Val** **‖**[Maximino p]**‖ fel** **invicto Aug et In-** **pr Cea Fla Val** **Co⟨n⟩stantino** **p̣ f̤e̤l̤ i̤n̤v̤**[icto] [Aug - -] - - - -
Colonia Iconium-(-Philomelium)	Bahçesaray (Sarayönü/Konya)	AD 361-363	French 2012a, p. 31	-	**Fl^{s}Cl Iuliano** **victor⟨i⟩^{s}ac** **triumfatori** [p]**erpet^{s}Aug** **μί θ΄**

A.3. (Continued)

Colonia Iconium-(-Philomelium)	Ladik (Sarayönü/Konya)	AD 333-335, AD 364-367	French 2012a, p. 32	-	**ΔΔ nn** 2 **Imp Caes Fl Valerio** **Constantino p f invicto Aug** 4 **et Fl Constantino** **et Fl Cons[t]antio Aug** 6 **et Fl Constante** (vac) **nnll Caess** 8 (vac) **μ γ´** **dd NN Fl Valentiniano** 2 **et LRATIA et Fl Valente** (vac) **ANO Auggg**
Colonia Iconium-(-Philomelium)	Bakırpınar (Sarayönü-Konya)	AD 305-306	French 2012a, p. 33	-	Φλ´ Ο[ὐαλε]ρίῳ 2 Cεου[ήρῳ] (vac) καὶ Γ[αλε]ρίῳ 4 Οὐα[λερί]ῳ Μα[ξιμεί]νῳ 6 ἐπι[φανεc]τάτυc Κέc[αρcι]ν̣
[*Via Sebaste*](-Apamea)	Çapalı 1 (Dinar/Afyon)	AD 317-318, AD 379-383	French 2012a, p. 35	-	(vac) **DD n**[n] **Fḷ Ṿaḷ Constantino** [[[et Val Liciniano]]] 4 [[[Licinio]]] **pp ff in-** **ṿict Augg et Fl** **Val Crispo et Val´** **Constantini Licini** 8 **et** [Cl Val Const]**antin̤i** [nobb] **Caesss** **M** **ddd n̤**[nn] 2 **Fl Grati**[an]o̤ e̤t̤ **Fl Valen**[ti]n̤**iano et̤** 4 **Fl Theodosio** **ppp̣ fff** 6 (vac) [- - -]**is Auggg**

A.3. (Continued)

[*Via Sebaste*](-Apamea)	Çapalı 2 (Dinar/Afyon)	AD 317-318, AD 361-363	French 2012a, p. 37	-	**dd NN** 2 [Fl] **Ṿa̤l Constantino et** **⟦[Val Liciniano Licinio]⟧** 4 [pp ff in]**ṿict Augg et Fl** [V]**a̤l Crispo et Val Constantini** 6 **⟦[Licinio]⟧ e̤t Cl Val Constantino** [nnnb]**b̤b Caesss** 8 [?] **Δ N** 2 **Fl´ Claudi⟨o⟩** **Iuliano** 4 **pio felici vict** **max semp Aug** (vac) 6 **μί** [-]
[*Via Sebaste*](-Apamea)	Çapalı 3 (Dinar/Afyon)	AD 317-318	French 2012a, p. 38	-	**DD nn** 2 **Fl Val Constantino** ⟦[et Val Liciniano]⟧ 4 ⟦[Licinio]⟧ **pp f̣f̣** [i]**n̤victA̤ṳg̤g e̤t F̤l̤** 6 [V]**a̤l Crispo e̤t V̤a̤**[l] [Const]**a̤ntini L̤i̤**[ci]- 8 [nio] **e̤t Cl Val** [Con]- [stantino nobb Caesss] [-]
Ancyra-(-Hadrianoupolis)	Yukarı Yanlar (Eldivan/Çankırı)	AD 293-305, AD 364-367	French 2012a, p. 47	-	**B E DD nn** 2 **Imp Caes C Aur Va**[l] **Diocletiano p e in Aug̣** 4 **et Imp Caes M Aur Val** **Maximiano p f in Aug** 6 **et Fl V̤a̤l Constantio** **et Gal Val Maximiano** 8 **n̤**[o]**biliss Caess** **mil p** 10 **A̤ṳr P̤risci⟨a⟩nus v p praes** **p̤r̤o̤**[v P]**o̤nt d n** /m/ **q eor**[u]**m̤** **DD nn** 2 **Valentiniani** **et Valenti Augg** 4 **et Gratiano Aug**

A.3. (Continued)

Ancyra (-Caesarea per Aquas Saruvenas)	Tol (Bala/Ankara)	AD 317-318, AD 361-363	French 2012a, p. 97		- - - - 2 [-] **inṿ** [-] [et Fl] **Val Crispo** 4 [et Val] **Constanti**[no [Licini]**o̩ et Fl Cl** 6 [Con]**stantino** [nobb] **Cas·s** - - ? - - **Iuliano** 2 **A**[u]**gusto** - - ? - -
Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Konya	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 105		- - - - 2 **Fl Consta̩**[ntino et] **Fl Iul Co̩n**[stantio et] 4 [Fl Constanti] [nobb Caess] 6 [-]
Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Kulak Murat Hanı 1 (Konya)	AD 375-378	French 2012a, p. 108	-	[DDD nnn] 2 [Fl Valente] [et Fl Gratiano] 4 **et Fl V**[alentiniano] **per**[p]**e**[t]**uis a̩c** [victo]- 6 **rio̩**[si]**si**[mi]**s se̩n-** [per Aug]**g̩g̩**

A.3. (Continued)

Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Kulak Murat Hanı 2 (Konya)	AD 375-378	French 2012a, p. 110		**DDD** n̰n̰[n] 2 **Fl Ṿaleṇṭe** [e]ṭ F̣l G̣raṭia̱[no] 4 **eṭ F̣l Ṿaleṇṭiṇi-** **ano p̣erp̣eṭ**[uis] 6 [ac victoriossim]- [is semper] **Ạu-** 8 (vac) **ggg**
Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Eğribayat 1 (Konya)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 112		[DDDD] **nnnn** 2 [Fl Val Con]**stantiṇo Ạu**[g et] [Fl Co]**nstạntiṇo ẹt** 4 [Fl Consta]n̰t̰i̱o̱ ẹt [Fl Consta]nti 6 [nobb Caess]
Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Eğribayat 2 (Konya)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 114	-	**DDDD nnnn** 2 **Fl Val Constanti**[no] - - - - 4 - - - - - - - - 6 - - - - - - - -

A.3. (Continued)

Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Kızılcakuyu (Konya)	AD 375-378	French 2012a, p. 119		**ddd nnn Valente** 2 **Gratiano et Valẹn[t]-** **iniano perpe-** 4 **tuis Augg** **μί ε´**
Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Obruk 1 (Konya)	AD 375-378	French 2012a, p. 122		**DDD nnn** **Fl Valente** **et Fl Gratiạno** 4 **et Fl Valentiniano** **perpetuis ac victo-** **riosissimis ṣẹnpẹṛ** **Auggg** 8 **μ ϗδ´**
Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Obruk 2 (Konya)	AD 375-378	French 2012a, p. 124	-	**DDD nn̤n** **F** (vac) **l Valente** **et Fl Gṛaṭiạno** 4 **et Fl Valentiniano** **perpetuis ạc victo-** **riosissimis sẹṃpẹṛ** **Auggg** 8 **μ α´**

A.3. (Continued)

Colonia Iconium (-Caesarea)	Obruk 3 (Konya)	AD 375-378	French 2012a, p. 126	-	**DDD nṇn** **F** (vac) **l Valente** **et Fl Gṛaṭi̇ȧno** 4 **et Fl Valentiniano** **perpetuis a̤c victo-** **riosissimis se̤m̤pe̤r̤** **Auggg** 8 **μ α´**
Colonia Iconium (-Tyana)	Abditolu 1 (Çumra/Konya)	AD 333-335, AD 364-367, AD 367-375	French 2012a, p. 129	-	**dddd nnn**[n] 2 **Fl Val Constantino A**⟨u⟩**g** [e]**t** **Fl Cl Constantino et** 4 **Fl Constantio et** **Fl Iul Constante** 6 **nobbb CCC**[C] [-] [D] **n Fl** 2 [Vale]**ntiniano** [e]**t Fl Valenti tr-** 4 [ium]**fatoribus s** [.] **A**[u]**gg** **et Gratia-** 2 **no perpe-** **tuo A**[u]**g**
Colonia Iconium (-Tyana)	Abditolu 2 (Çumra/Konya)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 130	-	**dddd nnnn** 2 **Fl Val Constantino A**⟨u⟩**g** [e]**t** **Fl Cl Constantino et** 4 **Fl Constantio et** **Fl Iul Constante** 6 **nobbbb CCCC**

A.3. (Continued)

Colonia Iconium (-Tyana)	Abditolu ? (Çumra/Konya)	AD 333-335, 375-378	French 2012a, p. 130	-	[DDDD NNNN] ? 2 **Fl Val** [Constant]**ino Aug** **et Fl Cl** [Constantin]**o** 4 **et Fl** [Consta]**ntio** [et Fl Iul Cons]**tante** 6 LLL (vac) **ṃp XI** **ddd nn**[n] 2 **Fl Vale**[nti et] **Fl Gr**[atiano] 4 **et Fl Vale**[nti] **niano PP** 6 **LLL** **maxim**(is) 8 **semp**(er) **Aug**
Colonia Iconium (-Tyana)	Karkın (Konya)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 131	-	**Ḍ DDD nn**[nn] 2 [Fl V]**a**[l] **Cons**[tantino Aug [et Fl Cl] **Const**[antino] 4 [et Fl Val] **Const**[antio] [et] **F̣l Ịul Const**[ante] 6 **NObbbb CCCC** [?]
Ancyra-Colonia Iconium	Altınekin (Cihanbeyli/Konya)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 137		- **DDDḌ nnnn** 2 **Fl Val Constantino Aug et** **F**‖[l Constantin]**o̩** ‖ **et** 4 **F̣l Constan**[t]**i̩o̩ et** **Fl Ịul Cons**[t]**a̩nte** 6 [nobb Caess] **A**(?)

A.3. (Continued)

Via Sebaste	Uluborlu (Isparta)	AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2012a, p. 141	-	- - - - **ppp fff** **invict** **Auggg**
Via Sebaste	Yassıören (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2012a, p. 142	-	(vac) **DD** 2 **FL VAL CONST** **MAX C** 4 **C** **ET FL** 6 **PPP FFF** **INVICT**[I]**S**
Via Sebaste	Esendere 1 (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 317-318, AD 324-326	French 2012a, p. 143-144	-	(vac) **d̤d̤ n̤n̤** **Fl Val Constantino** ⟦[et Val Licinniano]⟧ 4 ⟦[Licinnio]⟧ [pp ff inv]**ic-** [tis A]**ug**[g et] **Fl Val Cr**⟨i⟩**spo** **et Val Constantino** **Licinnio et Fl Val** 8 **Constanti**⟨no⟩ **nobb** **Caess** [?Ab Apol]**lonia** [XX] **DD nn Fl Constantino** 2 **invict Aug** **et Fl Iul Crispo** ⟨et⟩ 4 **Fl Constantino** **nobb Caess** 6 (vac) **XX** (vac)

A.3. (Continued)

Via Sebaste	Esendere 2 (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 145		**dd**[n]**n** 2 [Fl Va]**l Ḍo̱ṉsta̱ntino** (vac) **max** (vac) **Aug** 4 ‖[et Fl Cl Constantino]‖ **et Fl Iul Constantio** 6 **et Fl Iul Constanti** - - - -
Via Sebaste	Gençali 1 (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 317, AD 324-326	French 2012a, p. 147	-	**DD nn** **Fl Val Constantino** **et** ‖[Val Licin]n̤i̤a̤[no Lici]‖- 4 n̤n̤i̤o̤ p̤p̤ [f]f̤ **invictis Augg** **et Fl Va⟨l⟩ Crispo et Val** **Constantino Licinnio** 7 (?vac) **CILNOBB** 7a (?vac) 8 **Apollonia** **m p** (vac) (vac) **XVIII** **DDD nnn** 2 **Constantino p f inv̤i̤c** **Aug et F[l] Iul Crispo Fl** 4 **C C Cons** **- ? -**
Via Sebaste	Gençali 2 (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 363-364 ?	French 2012a, p. 149	-	**Fl Iovi**[ano] (?) **perp Aug** (?)

A.3. (Continued)

Via Sebaste	Gençali 3 (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 317-318	French 2012a, p. 151	-	[- - et Val Constan]- [tino] **Ḷi̱cinnio et Cl** [Val] **Constantino nobb** (vac) **Caess** 5 (?vac) **Apollo´** - ? -
Via Sebaste	Gençali 4 (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 333-335, AD 367-375	French 2012a, p. 152		[DD nn] 2 **Fl** [V]**aḷ Cọṇṣtantino** **mạx Aug** 4 **et ⟦Fḷ** [Cl Constantin]**ọ⟧** **et Fl Iul Coṇṣtantio** 6 **et Fl Iul Conṣtante** ⟦ - - - - ⟧ 8 ⟦ - - - - ⟧ **μί ιθ´** **D̤D** (v) **nn** 2 **Fl V̇alentinian**[o] **et Fl Valente** 4 **et Fl G̣ṛatiano** **Ạ̇**[ugg]**g̣**
Via Sebaste	Gençali 5 (Senirkent/Isparta)	AD 317-318, AD 333-335, AD 367-375	French 2012a, p. 153	-	- - - - 2 ⟦[- pp ff i]⟧**nv** **Ạ̣ụg̣g ẹṭ Fḷ Ṿaḷ** [Crispo] 4 **ẹṭ Ṿaḷ Ç̣onṣ**[antino] [Licinnio - -] - - - - **dḍ ńń** 2 **Fl Constantino** **maxi Aug** 4 ⟦[- - - - - - - - - - - -]⟧ **et Fl Iul·Cons**[t]**antio** 6 **et Fl Iul Constanṭe** **et ⟦**[- - -]⟧ - - - - The last inscription is not visible

A.3. (Continued)

Via Sebaste	Sücüllü 1 (Yalvaç/Isparta)	AD 337-340	French 2012a, p. 156	-	[DDD] **nnn** 2 [Fl Cl] **Constant[i]no** [et Fl Iul] **Constantio** 4 [et Fl Iul] **Constanti** [vict]**oriosissimis semper Auggg** 6 **HPA**
Via Sebaste	Sücüllü 2 (Yalvaç/Isparta)	AD 379-383	French 2012a, p. 157	-	[DDD n]**nn** 2 **Fl Gratiano** **Fl Valentiniano** 4 **Fl Theodosio** **semper Aug**[gg] 6 V C **m p IV**
Via Sebaste	Dedeçam (Yalvaç/Isparta)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 158	-	[Imp C C Aur Val] 2 [Diocletiano] [p f invict Aug et] 4 **Imp C M Aur Val** **Maximiano** 6 [p] **f invict Aug** [et Flavio Valerio] **Constantio** 8 [et G]**aleri**[o Valerio Ma]**ximiano** [no]**bilissimis Caẹsaribus** **DD nn** 2 **Fl** Cl Constantino **mạx-** (vac) imo 4 **et Fl Iul Constantio et Fl** **Cl Constante** 6 **vicṭoris semp** **ab Antiochia Augg** 8 **mi p V**

A.3. (Continued)

Via Sebaste	Kıyakdede (Şarkikaraağa./Isparta)	AD 305-306	French 2012a, p. 162	-	**Φλα′ Ο[ὐ]α̣λ̣[ερίῳ]** 2 **Cευήρ[ῳ] κ̣αὶ** **Γαλ̣ε̣ρί̣[ῳ] Ο̣ὐαλερίῳ** 4 **[Μαξι]μείνῳ τοῖc** **ἐ̣π̣ι̣φ̣ Καί[cαρc]ι̣ν̣**
Pilgrim's Road	Bayram (Ayaş/Ankara)	AD 293-305	French 2012a, p. 174	-	[Imp Caes C Aur Val] [Diocletiano] [p f inv Aug et] 4 [Imp Caes M Aur Val] **Maximiano p f** **inv Aug·et Fl** **Constantio et** 8 **Gal Val** **Maximian**[o] [nobill Caess] - - - -
Pilgrim's Road	İlyağut (Yenimahalle/Ankara)	AD 293-305, AD 307-308	French 2012a, p. 176	-	⟦Imp Caes·C Aur·Val·⟧ ⟦[Diocle]tiano·p·f·inv·Aug·⟧ 3 ⟦et·Imp·Caes·M·Aur·Val·⟧ ⟦[Maximia]no p f·inv·Aug·⟧ ⟦ – – – – ⟧ 6 ⟦ – – – – ⟧ – – – – **m XXI** **κα′** - - - - 2 **Fl Cons**[t]**a**[n]- **tino Augg** (vac) 4 **κα′**

A.3. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Tatlar (Yenimahalle/Ankara)	AD 293-305	French 2012a, p. 178	-	No visible inscription
Pilgrim's Road	Erkeksu Çiftlik (Yenimahalle/Ankara)	AD 293-305	French 2012a, p. 179	-	**Imp·Caes·C** [Aur] **Val·Diocletiano** [p f] **inv·Aug·et Imp·Caes** **M·Aur·Val·Maximiano** **p·f·inv·Aug·et** **Fla·Val·Constanti**[o] **et·G·Val·Maximiano** **nobillissimis** **Caesaribus** **RLSMV. .**
Pilgrim's Road	Etimesgut (Yenimahalle/Ankara)	AD 293-305	French 2012a, p. 181	-	**Imp Caes·C·Aur·Val** **Diocletiano p f·inv·** **Aug·et Imp·Caes M Aur·Val** **Maximiano p f·inv·Aug** **et Fla Val·Constantio** **et Gal·Val·Maximiano nobi-** **lissimis Caesaribus**

A.3. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Yuva (Yenimahhalle/Ankara)	AD 293-305, AD 317-324, AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 183	-	**Imp·Caes·C·Aur·Valer** 2 **Dịọcḷẹṭị**[a]**no·p·f·in**[v] **Aug·et·Imp·Caes·**[M·] 4 [Aur]**·Val·Ṃ**[axim]**iano·p f** **i**[nv·Aug] **et Fl** [–] 6 [–] [–] **Imp Caes** **Constantino p** **f** [-] **et Imp Val Lic**[iniano] [- - - -] (?) [Imp Caes F]**l Val** **Constantino p f** [max] [– – – –] **Constantino et** **Constantio et** **Constanti nob**[b] [Caess]
Pilgrim's Road	Batıkent (Yenimahhalle/Ankara)	AD 293-305, AD 313- 317, AD 361-363	French 2012a, p. 184		**Imp Ca̤e̤s C A**[ur] **Val** 2 **Dio̤cḷe̤ṭi̤a̤no p f inv** **Aug et Imp Caes Ṃ Aṳr̤** 4 **Val** [Maximia]**no p f inv Aug** **et Flav**(io) **Va̤l Co̤n**⟨s⟩**ta̤n̤tio et** 6 **Gal Va̤l Ma̤x̤imia̤no̤ nobili**[s]- **simis Caesaribus** **B** (vac) **F** (vac) 2 **Imp Caes Fl** **Val Co**⟨n⟩**stantino p f inv Aug** 4 **et Imp Caes Val Licinio p f** (vac) **in**⟨v⟩ **Aug** (vac) 6 **M VIIII Θ** **Fl Iuliano maxi-** 2 **mo victori a̤c̤ tri-** **umfatori** ⟨s⟩**emper** 4 **Aug**
Pilgrim's Road	Ankara 1	AD 293-305	French 2012a, p. 191	-	– – – – **et Gal V**[al Maximiano] **nobilissi**[mis Caess] **m VII**

A.3. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Ankara 2	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 191	-	[D n Fl Val] [Constantino] **maximo victori** 4 [ac t]**riumfatori** **semper Aug et Fl Cl** **Constantino et Fl** **Constantio** 8 **et Fl Iul Constant⟨i⟩** **nobb Caess** **m XXXIIII** **λδ´**
Pilgrim's Road	Oğulbey 1 (Çankaya/Ankara)	AD 364-367	French 2012a, p. 203	-	**dd nn Fl** 2 **Valentiniano** **e⟨t⟩ Fl Valente** 4 **triumfatoris** **semper Augg**
Pilgrim's Road	Oğulbey 2 (Çankaya/Ankara)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 206	-	[– – – –] 2 [Constantino maxi]- **mo victori ac triumf-** 4 [atori sem]**per Aug** [et] [Fl Constantin]**o et Fl Consta-** 6 [ntio et Fl Constanti] [nobb Caess]

A.3. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Ahıboz (Çankaya/Ankara)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 208		**dd nn** **Conṣṭ**[antino] **maxiṃ**[o victori] 4 **ac tri**[umfatori] **sempę**[r Aug et] [F]**l Co**[nstantino] **et Fl Ç**[onstantio] 8 **et Fl Ç**[onstanti] [– – – –] [– – – –]
Pilgrim's Road	Günalan (Çankaya/Ankara)	AD 364-367	French 2012a, p. 209		**DD nn Fl** 2 **Valentiniano** **et Fl Valente** 4 **triunfatoris sen-** **per Augg** – – – –
Pilgrim's Road	Bağiçi (Bala/Ankara)	AD 333-335	French 2012a, p. 213		**dd nn Fl** **Constantino ma-** **ximo victori ac tri-** 4 **umfatori semper** **Aug et Fl Constantino** **et Fl Constantio** **et Fl Consta´ nobb** 8 **Caess** **ṃiḷ** [–]

A.3. (Continued)

Pilgrim's Road	Afşar (Bala/Ankara)	AD 293-305	French 2012a, p. 218	-	**B F** Imp·Caes·C·Aur· Val·Diocletiano 4 p·f·inv·Aug·et· Imp·Caes·M·Aur· Val·Maximiano p·f·inv·Aug·et 8 Fl·Val·Constantio et·Gal·Val· [M]aximiano [nobb·Caess] 12 – – – –
Pilgrim's Road	Sarıhüyük (Bala/Ankara)	AD 313-317	French 2012a, p. 221	-	**Imp** [Caes] **Fl Val⟨e⟩rio** **Constantino p f inv Aug et** 3 **Imp Caes Va**[[l Licinianο]] [[Licinio]] **p f in⟨v⟩ Aug** **m LXV** 6 **μ ξε´**

A.4. LYCIA ET PAMPHYLIA

Via Sebaste	Boğaziçi (Burdur)	AD 311-313	French 2014b, p. 31	-	⟦Imperatori C[ae]sari⟧ ⟦Gal Valerio M[axi]⟧- ⟦[mino pio fe]liçi⟧ 4 ⟦invicto [A]ugusto et⟧ **Imperatori Caesari** **Flavio Val** **Constantino pio** 8 **feliti invicto** **Augusto·et** **Imperatori Caesari** **Licinniano Licinnio** 12 **pio felici invicto** **Augusto** (?)
Via Sebaste	Düğer 1 (Burdur)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p. 32		Αὐτοκράτορσι Καίσαρσι Γαΐῳ Αὐρ Οὐαλερίῳ Διοκλη- τιανῷ εὐσεβ⟨ε⟩ῖ εὐτυχ⟨εῖ⟩ Σε- βαστῷ καὶ Μάρκῳ Αὐρελίῳ 5 Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ καὶ Φλαβίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Κωστιαν καὶ Γαλ[ερ]ίῳ Κωσταντίῳ ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσι ἡ λαμπρὰ Σαγαλασσέων 10 (vac) πόλις
Via Sebaste	Düğer 2 (Burdur)	AD 311-313	French 2014b, p. 33	-	[Imp Caes Gal Val] [Maximino p f] [inv Aug et] 4 [Imp Caes Fl Val] [Constantino] [p f inv Aug et] [Imp Caes Licinniano] 8 **Licinnio** [p f] **inv Aug** (vac) (?)[-]

A.4. (Continued)

Via Sebaste	Karakent (Burdur)	AD 311-313	French 2014b, p. 38		⟦[Imp Caes Gal Val]⟧ 2 ⟦[Maximino]⟧ ⟦[p f inv Aug et]⟧ 4 **Imp´ Caes Fla** **Constantino** 6 **p´ f´ inv Aug´ et** **Imp C Licinniano** 8 **Licinio p f** **inv Aug** 10 μί γ´
Via Sebaste	İlyas 1 (Burdur)	AD 311-313	French 2014b, p. 40	-	**Imp·Caes·** **Gal·Val·** **Maximeino** 4 **·p·f·inv·Aug·et** **Imp·Caes Fl Val·** **Constantino** **p·f·inv·Aug·et** 8 **Imp·Ç̣a̤e̤s** **Liçi̤n̤n̤iano** **Licin**[nio] [p·f·inv·Aug] 12 [-]

A.4. (Continued)

Via Sebaste	İlyas 2 (Burdur)	AD 311-313 & 313-317, AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2014b, p. 41		⟦Imp Caes⟧ ⟦Gal Val⟧ ⟦Maxi[mino]⟧ ⟦p f·inv Au[g et]⟧ 5 **Imp Caes·Fl Val** **Constantino** **p·f·inv·Aug·et** ⟦[Imp Caes]⟧ ⟦[Licinniano]⟧ 10 ⟦[Licinnio]⟧ ⟦[p·f·inv·Aug]⟧ [-] **dd n**[n] **Fl Cl Constantino** [ma]**ximo Aug** 4 (vac) **et** **Fl Cl´ Constantino Aug** (vac) **et** **Fl Cl Const**⟨ant⟩**io Aug** 8 (vac) **et** **Fl Cl Consta**⟨anti⟩ **Aug** **nobb** [- -] [-] [text [3] revised] Constantinus, Constantius and Constans as *Augusti*
Via Sebaste	Ardıçlı (Keçiborlu/Isparta)	AD 311-313 , AD 313-317	French 2014b, p. 42	-	⟦[Imp·Caes·Gal·Val]⟧ ⟦[Maximino]⟧ ⟦[p·f·inv·Aug·et]⟧ 4 ⟦[Imp·Caes·Fl·Val]⟧ [Constantin]**o** **p·f·inv·Aug et** [Im]p Cae[s] 8 [Lici]**n**[niano] [Licin]nio [p·f·inv·Aug] (vac) μί α´

A.4. (Continued)

Perge-(-Laodicia)	Yazır (Korkuteli/Antalya)	AD 293-305, AD 317-324, AD 335-337	French 2014b, p. 47		**Impp Caess C[ai]o Aurelio Galerio Diocletiano et Marco Aur Valerio Maximian[o] pp ff invictis Augg et Flavio Valerio Constantio et Galerio Valerio Maximiano nobilissimis Caesss** (vac) ἡ λαμπρὰ Τερμεσέων (vac) [πόλις] [Τοῖς ἐπιφαν]εστάτοις [κυρίοις Φλ]α Οὐαλ [Κωνσταντίνῳ] καὶ Οὐαλ (vac) [Λικ Λικινί]ῳ (vac) [καὶ Κρείσπῳ καὶ Λικινίῳ] [καὶ Κωνστ]ανν[τ]ίνω [ἐπιφφ Καίσαρς]ιν [ἡ λαμπρ]ὰ Τερμης- [σέων πόλις] [DD]DD nn[nn] Fl Constantino [m]a[xi]mo Aug (vac) et Fl Constantino (vac) et Fl Constantio (vac) et [Fl] Constan⟨ti⟩ (vac) et F[l] ‖[Dalmatio]‖ [nobbbb] Caesssss
Perge-(-Laodicia)	Teke 1 (Korkuteli/Antalya)	AD 333-335	French 2014b, p. 49	-	[Τοὺς τῆς οἰκ]ουμένης [δεσπό]τας Φλ Οὐαλ [Κωνστα]ντεῖνον Σεβ [κ]αὶ Φλ Κλ Κωνσταντεῖνο[ν] καὶ Φλ Ἰού[λ] Κωνστ[άντιον] καὶ Φλ Ἰ[ούλ Κώνσταντα] ἀνδρ[ειοτάτους καὶ ἐπι]- [φανεστάτους Καίσαρας] [-]

A.4. (Continued)

Perge-(-Laodicia)	Teke 2 (Korkuteli/Antalya)	AD 361-363	French 2014b, p. 49	-	Φλ Κλ Ἰουλιανὸν 2 τὸν ἀήττητον Αὔγ Φλ Cωζόμενος 4 ὁ λαμπρ ἡγεμ ἡ Βαλ 6 μί ιζ′
Perge-(-Laodicia)	Teke 3 (Korkuteli/Antalya)	AD 333-335	French 2014b, p. 50	-	**dd nn** **F**[l] Ṿa̤**l Const**[antino] [p f invicto Aug] **et** 4 **Fl Cl Constanti**[no et] **Fl Iul Constantio e**[t] **Fl Constan**⟨ti n⟩**obb Caess** **Balburensium** 8 **civitatis** **curantae** **Aur Fab Faustino v p** **praeside provin**[ciae] 12 **Lyciae** (vac) **mi XVI**
Perge-(-Laodicia)	Mamatlar (Korkuteli/Antalya)	AD 333-335	French 2014b, p. 51	-	[DD] **nn** 2 **Fl Val** [Constantino - - - - Aug et] **Fl** [Cl Constantino et] - - - -

A.4. (Continued)

Xanthus-(-Cibyra)	Esen (Fethiye/Muğla)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p. 54		[Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ]αῖcαρ Λ [Cεπτίμιος Cεουῆρος Εὐ]cε- [βὴc Πέρτιναξ Cεβ Π]αρθικὸc 4 [Ἀδιαβηνικὸc πατ]ὴρ πατρί- [δος δημαρχικῆς ἐξο]υcίας [τειμητὴς καὶ Αὐτοκ]ράτωρ [Καῖcαρ Μ Αὐρήλιο]c Ἀντω- 8 [νεῖνος Cεβ Εὐcεβὴ]c δημαρ- [χικῆς ἐξουσίας τειμ]ητὴς [[καὶ Π Cεπτίμιος Γέ]τας Καῖ]]- [[cαρ]] [τὰc ὁδοὺc ἀποκ]ατέc- 12 [τηcαν διὰ ἐπιτρό]που τῶν [Cεβαcτῶν Ἑλουίου] Μαρια- [νοῦ - - - -] - - - -
Via Sebaste- (-Cibyra)	Akçaören (Burdur)	AD 311-313	French 2014b, p. 58		**Imp Caes Gal** **Val Maximiano** **p f inv Aug et** 4 **Imp Caes Fl** **Val Constantino** **p f inv Aug** **et Imp Caes** 8 **Licinniano** **Licinnio** **⟨p f⟩ inv Aug** (vac) (vac) μί 12 (vac) [?]
Xanthus-[(-Cibyra)]	Çavdır (Kaş/Antalya)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p. 59	-	Αὐτο[κράτορ]σιν 2 Καίσαρσιν Γαίφ Διοκλητιανῷ 4 [- -] Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ εὐσεβέσιν 6 εὐτυχέσιν Σεββ καὶ Οὐαλερίφ 8 Κωνσταντίφ καὶ Γαίφ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ 10 ἐπιφφ Καίσσ Ξανθίων ἡ 12 μητρόπολ[ις] (vac) ? (vac)

A.4. (Continued)

Xanthus-Sidyma ?	Karadere (Fethiye/Muğla)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p. 62	-	Αὐτοκράτορ- σιν Καίσαρσιν Γαΐῳ [Οὐ]αλ 4 Διοκλῃ[τιανῷ] καὶ Μάρ Αὐρ Οὐαλ Μ[α]ξιμιανῷ εὐ[σε]β[έσιν] εὐτυ- 8 χέσιν Σεβ καὶ Φλα Οὐαλ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλ Ο[ὐαλ] 12 Μαξιμ[ι]ανῷ ἐπιφ Καισς Ξανθίων ἡ μητρόπολις
Tlos-[-Telmessus]	Düğer (Fethiye/Muğla)	AD 364	French 2014b, p. 63		[- - - -] 2 [- - - -] Φλ Ο̣ὐ̣[- - - -] 4 τῷ θ̣ι̣οτάτῳ δε̣σ̣- πότῃ τῆς οἰκου- 6 μένης Σεβαστῷ ἡ Τλωέων (vac) 8 μητρο μί α′ πό(λις) M I
Limyra-Choma	Turunçova 1 (Finike/Antalya)	AD 364-367, AD 402-408	French 2014b, p. 64	-	[Φ̣λα Οὐ]α̣λ̣ε̣ντι̣ν̣[ιανῷ] [κὲ] Φλα Ο[ὐ]ὰ̣λ̣[εντι] [κὲ] Φλ ’Α̣ρκα̣δ̣[ίῳ κὲ] 2 Φλ ’Ο̣νω̣ρίῳ INEON Φλ Θ[εο]δ[οσί]φ Σεβ[ας]- 4 τοὺς MOINII

A.4. (Continued)

Limyra-Choma	Turunçova 2 (Finike/Antalya)	AD 293-305, AD 402-408	French 2014b, p. 70	-	Γ Αὐρ [Οὐαλ] Διοκλητιανῷ καὶ Μαρ Αὐρ Οὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ εὐσεβέσιν εὐτυχέσιν Σεβαστοῖς καὶ Φλ Οὐαλ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γαλ [Ο]ὐαλ Μαξιμιανῷ ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν Λιμυρέων ἡ λ[α]μπρο- τάτη μητρό[πολις] τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους
Limyra-Choma	Tekke (Elmalı/Antalya)	AD 333-335	French 2014b, p. 71	-	Φλ 'Αρ[κ]άδιον Φλ 'Ονώριον Φλ Θεοδόσιον νέον τοὺς ἐωνίους Αυγγ **dd [n]n** **Fl Val Constantino p f** (vac) **invicto Aug** **et Fl Cl Constantino** **et Fl Iul Constantio** **et Fl Iul Constan⟨ti n⟩obb Caess** **Aur Faḅ Faustinus v p praes** **provinciae Δ** **Δ**
Aparlae-[-Xanthus]	Asar (Kaş/Antalya)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p. 72	-	Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρσιν Γαΐῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Διοκλητιανῷ (vac) καὶ Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐα- [λερίῳ Μαξιμι]ανῷ εὐσεβέσιν εὐτυχέσιν Σεβας[τοῖς] καί Φλαυίῳ Οὐαλε[ρίῳ] Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Γ[αλερίῳ] Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξι[μιανῷ] τοῖς ἐπιφανεστ[άτοις] (vac) Κέσαρς[ιν] 'Απ⟨ε⟩ρ⟨λ⟩είτων [ἡ] πόλις (vac) μί

A.4. (Continued)

Xanthus-Perge	Kale (Kaş/Antalya)	AD 293-305, AD 364, AD 364-367, AD 383, 393-395	French 2014b, p. 74		Τὸν θειότατον 2 καὶ ἐπιφανέστα- τον Καίσαρα 4 Γαλέριον Οὐαλέριον ⟦Μᾳ[ξιμι]ᾳνῷ⟧ὸν Μυρέων 6 ἡ μητρόπολις Τ⟦[ῷ]⟧ θεοφιλεστάτ⟦[φ]⟧ 2 Σεβαστ⟦[ῷ]⟧ Οὐαλεντινι- ⟦[ανῷ - - - -]⟧ 4 ⟦ - - - - - - ⟧ ⟦ - - - - ⟧ 6 ἡ μητρόπολις Τ⟦[ῷ]⟧ θεοφιλεστάτ⟦[φ]⟧ 2 Σεβαστ⟦[ῷ]⟧ Οὐαλεντινι- ⟦[ανῷ τῷ αἰωνίῳ]⟧ 4 ⟦['Αυγούστῳ]⟧ ⟦[Μυρέων]⟧⟧ 6 ἡ μητρόπολις Τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους 2 Σεβαστοὺς Οὐαλεντινιανὸν καὶ Οὐάλενταν 4 καὶ Γρατιανὸν Αὐγγγ ΣΕΓΟΥΔΩ Κάστος ὁ λαμπρ ἡγε 6 Μυρέων ἡ μητρόπολις
Xanthus-Perge	Karakise (Antalya)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p. 77	-	**Imp**[p Caess C Aurelio] **Oale**[rio Diocletiano] **et** [M AurelioVale]- 4 **rio** [Maximiano pp ff] **in**[victis Augg et] **Fla**[vio Valerio] **Co**[nstantio et Ga]- 8 **le**[rio Valerio Maxi]- [miano nobilis]- [s]**i**[mis Caess] [-]

A.4. (Continued)

Prostanna-*Via Sebaste*	İğdecik 1 (Isparta)	AD 313-317, AD 333-335, AD 337-340, AD 340-350	French 2014b, p. 79	-	(vac) **DD nn** 2 **Fl Val Constantino** **et Val Liciniano** [Li]- 4 [cinni]o pp **ff invict**[is] (vac) **Augg** 6 **Civitat Conanensium** **Fl Val Constantino maximo victori Aug et** 2 **[[Fl Cl Cons[tantino et]]** **Fl Iul C**[on]**stantio et** 4 **Fl Iul Constante** [nobb C]aesss [[- - - -]] [[- - - -]] (vac) 7 (vac) **mi I**
Prostanna-*Via Sebaste*	İğdecik 2 (Isparta)	AD 305-306	French 2014b, p. 79	-	---- 2 κὲ Γαλερίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμίνῳ 4 ἐπιφανεστάτοις Κέσαρσι -.- ? -.-
Sagalassus-*Via Sebaste*	Ağlasun 1 (Burdur)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2014b, p.81	-	Αὐτοκράτορσι Καίσαρσι Γαΐῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Διοκλητιανῷ εὐσεβ′ εὐτυχεῖ Σεβαστῷ 4 καὶ Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ εὐσεβ′ εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ καὶ Φλα Οὐαλερίῳ Κω⟨ν⟩σταντίῳ καὶ Γαλερίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ 8 ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσι [ἡ] ἱερὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἔνδο- [ξος β′] νεωκόρ[ος πόλις τῶν] [Σαγαλασ]σέω[ν πρώτη τῆς] 12 [Πισιδίας φίλη καὶ σύμ]- [μαχος Ῥωμαίων] [μι α′] (vac) **DD nn** 2 **[[- - - -]]** **Fl Val Constantino max victori Aug** 4 **[[et Fl Cl Constantino]]** **et Fl Iul Constantio** 6 **et Fl Iul Constanti** (vac) **victoris Aug** 8 (vac) **mi p** (vac) α′

A.4. (Continued)

Sagalassus-*Via Sebaste*	Ağlasun 2 (Burdur)	AD 333-335, AD 337-340, AD 350	French 2014b, p.82	-	**dd NN** **Fl Val Constantino** **victori Aug et Fl Cl** 4 **Constantino et Fl** [Iul] **Constantio et Fl Iul** **Constante** ‖[nobb Caess]‖ ‖[ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ]‖ 8 καὶ ἔνδοξος β′ νεωκ[ό]- ρος Σαγαλασσέων πό[λις] πρώτη τῆς Πισιδία[ς] φίλη καὶ σύμμα[χ]ος 12 (vac) **Ῥωμαίων** **Impp dd NN** **Fl Val Constantino** **victori Aug** ‖[et Fl Cl 4 Constantino et]‖ **Fl** [Iul] **Constantio et Fl Iul** **Constante p f victo**[ri] [. . . . ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ λ]αμπρὰ 8 καὶ ἔνδοξος β′ νεωκ[ό]- ρος Σαγαλασσέων πό[λις] πρώτη τῆς Πισιδία[ς] φίλη καὶ σύμμα[χ]ος 12 (vac) **Ῥωμαίων**
Sagalassus-*Via Sebaste*	Çeltikçi 1 (Burdur)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p.83	-	[- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] 4 [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]Γ]ᾳλερ Οὐαλ̣ [Μαξιμιανῷ ἐπιφα]νε̣ς- τάτ̣οις Κ̣ἑ̣σ̣α̣ρ̣σι ἡ ἱ̣ε̣ρ̣ὰ̣ κὲ λαν- 8 πρὰ κ̣ὲ ἔνδοξ̣ος β′ νεωκό̣[ρ]ο̣ς Σαγαλλα⟨σ⟩σ̣έων πόλις (?)

A.4. (Continued)

Sagalassus-*Via Sebaste*	Çeltikçi 2 (Burdur)	AD 293-305	French 2014b, p.85	-	[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρϲι Γαΐῳ [Αὐρ Οὐαλερίῳ Διο]κλητιανῷ εὐϲεβ⟨ε⟩ῖ [εὐτυχεῖ Ϲεβαϲτ]ῷ Μ Αὐ[ρ] Οὐαλερίῳ 4 [Μαξιμιανῷ εὐϲ]εβ⟨ε⟩ῖ εὐτυχ⟨ε⟩ῖ Ϲεβαϲτῷ [Φλαβίῳ Ο]ὐαλερίῳ Κωνϲτα- [ντίῳ κὲ Γαλερίῳ Μα]ξιμιανῷ [ἐπιφανεϲτάτοις Κα]ίϲαρϲιν ἡ ἱερὰ 8 κὲ λαμπρὰ κὲ ἔνδοξος β′ νεωκόρο[ϲ] Σαγαλαϲϲέων πόλις πρώ⟨τη⟩ τῆς Πι- ϲιδίας φίλη κὲ ϲύμμαχος [Ῥω]- μέων 12 -.- ? -.-
Isinda-Colonia Comama	Bozova (Korkuteli/Antalya)	AD 361-363, AD 364-367	French 2014b, p. 88	-	**D** (vac) **n** 2 **Fl´ Cl´** **Iulianum** 4 (vac) **Aug´** **d´d´n´n´** 2 **Fl´ Valentinianum** **et Fl´ Valentem** 4 (vac) [.]
Sagalassus-Conana	Isparta	AD 313-317, AD 317 or 324, AD 333-335, AD 337-340, AD 340-350	French 2014b, p. 92	-	**DD nn** 2 [Fl Val] **Constantino** **et Val´ Liciniano** 4 **Licinio pp´ ff´ invict´** **Augg´ Civit´ Conanen-** 6 **sium** (vac) (vac) **mi VI** **Fl Val Cons[t]antino** **[vic]tori Aug et** [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] **Fl Val Constantino maximo victori Aug et** 2 **Fl Iul Constantino et** **Fl Iul Constantio et** 4 **Fl Iul Constante nn Caess** **[et [- - - -]]**

A.4. (Continued)

Sagalassus-Conana	Deregümü (Isparta)	AD 333-335, AD 337-340	French 2014b, p. 94	-	[DD nn] 2 [Fl Val Constantino] [maximo Aug et] 4 [v]**ictọ**[ri et Fl Cl] [Consta]**ṇṭino ẹ**[t Fl Iul] 6 [Co]**nsṭantio et F/l/ Iuḷ** [Co]**n**{i}**stante n**[ob]**ḅ** [C]**a**[ess]
Sagalassus-Conana	Gönen (Isparta)	AD 313-317	French 2014b, p. 95	-	[D]**D NN** 2 **Fl Val Constantino** **et V**[al Lic]**iniano** 4 **Licinio pp ff invict** **Aug**[g] 6 **a civitat**(e) **Conanium** [?]
Perge (-Tarsus)	Boztepe (Serik/Antalya)	AD 364-367	French 2014b, p. 95	-	Τοὺς δεσπότας (vac) ἡμῶν (vac) Οὐα[λεντινιανὸν] 4 κὲ Οὐάλεντ[α] τοὺς ⟨c⟩εμν[οτάτους] Αὐγους[τοὺς] ἡ λαμπρὰ Σιλ- 8 λυάτων π[όλις] μί [-]

A.4. (Continued)

Perge (-Tarsus)	Çolaklı 1 (Manavgat/Antalya)	AD 305-306	French 2014b, p. 97		**Imp·p·Caes·s·G·Aur·Val·** **Diocletiani et M·Aur·** **Val·Maximiani Augg·** 4 **et Imp·p·Caes·s·Fl·Val·** **Constanti et Gal·** **Val·Maximiani·p·p·** **felice·s invicti·Augg** 8 **et Fl·Val·Severi et Gal·** **Val·Maximiani nob·b** **Caes·s·** (vac) (vac) **mi VI**
Perge (-Tarsus)	Çolaklı 2 (Manavgat/Antalya)	AD 293-305, AD 350	French 2014b, p. 98		**Αὐτο̣[κράτορσιν]** 2 **Καίσαρ̣[σιν]** **Διοκλητ̣[ιανῷ]** 4 **κ̣[αὶ - - - -]** - - - - Τῷ δεσπότῃ τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ Ἰουλ Κωνστα⟨ν⟩τ⟨ί⟩ῳ ἐπιφανεστάτ⟨ῳ⟩ ἡ λαμπρὰ Σιδήτων πόλις

A.5. CILICIA, ISAURIA ET LYCAONIA

Mopsuestia-(-Cocusus)	Yeşildam (Ceyhan/Adana)	AD 306-307, AD 317-324	French 2014c, p. 33	-	**dd NN Maximiano et** 2 **Maximiano inv Augustis** [et] **Maximino et** 4 **Constantino** **nobiliss Caess** 6 (vac) **m I** **dd NN** 8 **Crispo et** **Licinio et** 10 **Constantino** **n**[obili]**ss Caess**
Corycus-Laranda	Kızkalesi (Silifke/Mersin)	AD 306-307	French 2014c, p. 40	-	‖ - - - - ‖ καὶ Οὐαλέριον ‖ - - - - ‖ τὸν ἐπιφ[α]νέστατον Καίσαρα καὶ Φλάουιον Οὐαλέριον Κωνσταντεῖν[ο]ν τὸν ἐπιφανέστα- τον Καίσ[αρα] μί β′
Corycus-Laranda	Yeğenli (Silifke/Mersin)	AD 306-307	French 2014c, p. 44	-	**ΔΔNN** **Maximiano** [et] **Maximiano** 4 **invictis Augg** **et Maximino** **et Constantino** [no]**bilissimis** 8 [Ca]**es**[ar]**ibus** **M P II**

A.5. (Continued)

Tarsus-[Pilgrim' Road]	Gölovası (Yumurtalık-Adana)	AD 286-305	French 2014c, p. 53	-	Imp[er C]ae- 2 sari M Aur Val´ Ṃ[a]x̣iṃiano 4 pio felici invicti Aug (vac) 6 m pa[s]s XI
Laranda-Isaura Nova	Gürağaç 1 (Çumra/Konya)	AD 293-305	French 2014c, p.54	-	[Αὐτοκράτορι] [Καίσαρι Γ] [Αὐρ Ουαλερίῳ] 4 [Διοκ]ḷητι̣ᾰ- [ν]ῷ εὐσεβ ε̣ὐτυ[χ]εῖ Σε- β καὶ Αὐτο- 8 κράτορι Καίσαρι Μ Αὐρ Οὐαλε- ρίῳ Μαξι- 12 μιανῷ εὐ- c[εβεῖ] εὐτυ- χεῖ Σεβ
Laranda-Isaura Nova	Gürağaç 2 (Çumra/Konya)	AD 293-305	French 2014c, p.54	-	[Αὐτοκράτο]ρα Καί[σαρα Γ] [Αὐρ Οὐαλ] Διοκλητιανὸν [εὐσεβῆ εὐτ]υχῆ Σεβ καὶ 4 [Αὐτοκράτο]ρα Καίσαρα Μ Αὐρ [Οὐαλέριο]ν̣ Μαξιμιανὸν [εὐσεβῆ εὐτυ]χῆ Σεβ καὶ Φλαύιον [Οὐ]αλέριον 8 Κωστάντιον καὶ Γαλέριον Οὐαλέριον Μαξιμιανὸν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους 12 [Κ]αίσαρας

A.5. (Continued)

(Pilgrim's Road) (-Tarsus)(-Antiocheiaia)	Bayramlı (Tarsus/Mersin)	AD 306-307	French 2014c, p. 56	-	**dd NN** 2 ‖[Maximiano et]‖ **Maximiano** 4 **invictis Augg et** ‖[Maximino et]‖ 6 **Constantino** **nobilissimis Caess** 8 **mil** [XII] 10 **ιβ´**
(Pilgrim's Road) (-Tarsus)(-Antiocheiaia)	Yakapınar (Adana)	AD 306-307	French 2014c, p. 59	-	**ddd NN[N]** 2 **Valentiniano** **et Valenti** 4 **et Gratiano** **maximi⟨s⟩ victoribus** 6 **semper Auggg** (vac) **μί ις´**

A.6. CAPPADOCIA

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Gölova (Suşehri/Sivas)	AD 367-375	French 2012b, p. 34	-	**DDD nnn** 2 **Valentinia-** **no et Valen-** 4 **te et Grạtiano** **perpetuis** 6 **Ạugustis**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Hatipli (Reşadiye/Tokat)	AD 293-305, AD 335-337	French 2012b, p. 36		- - - - [- - - -] ẹṭ **Imp** [Caes M Aur Val Maxi]**miano** - - - - **Imperạ**[to]**r**⟨i⟩ **C**[aes] **Fl Val Constan**[ti]**no** **maximo victọ**[r⟨i⟩] 4 **ac triumfator**⟨i⟩ **semper Aug** **et Fl Cl Constantino** **et Fl Iul Constantio** 8 **et Fl Iul Constantae** [- - - -] [- - - -] (vac) [?]**C**[?]
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Niksar (Tokat)	AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 37	-	[I]mṗẹṛạṭọ⟨i⟩ [C]aes **Fl Val Consṭanṭino** **maximo victor**⟨i⟩ 4 **ac triumfatori** **semper Aug** **et Fl Cl Constantino** [e]**t Fl Iul Co**[ns]**tanṭio** 8 [e]**t Fl Iul** [Const]**antae** (vac) **nobb** [Caes]**s** - - - -

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Akça (Erbaa/Tokat)	AD 293-305, AD 335-337	French 2012b, p. 38	-	- - - - 2 (vac) **mil p XXX** **μίλ·λ΄** 4 **Aur Priscianus v p praes** **pr P d n m q eorum** - - - - **nnnnbbbb Caessss**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Çalkara (Erbaa/Tokat)	AD 293-305, AD 335-337	French 2012b, p. 39	-	- - - - 2 **mil p XXV** **μίλ κε΄** 4 (vac) **Aur Priscianus** [v p pr] 6 **pr P d n m** [q eorum] **Impe**[r]**ator**⟨i⟩ **Caes** **Fl Val Constantino** **maximo victor**⟨i⟩ 4 **ac triumfator**⟨i⟩ **semper Aug** **et Fl Cl Constan**[t]**ino** **et Fl Iul Constantio** 8 **et Fl Iul Const**[a]**ntae** **et ‖**[Fl Delmatio]**‖** **nnn**[n]**bb**[b]**b** [Caess]**ss**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Karaağaç (Erbaa/Tokat)	AD 335-337	French 2012b, p. 40		**Imperator**⟨i⟩ **Caes** **Fl Val Co**/nstantino/ **maximo victor**⟨i⟩ 4 **ac triumfator**⟨i⟩ **semper Aug** **et** ⟨F⟩**l Cl Constantino** **et Fl Iul Constantio** 8 **et Fl Iul Constantae** ‖et Fl Delmatio‖ [n]nnn[bbbb Caessss] - - - -

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Çakırsu (Taşova/Amasya)	AD 293-305, AD 317-318, AD 335-337, AD 367-375, AD 393-423	French 2012b, p. 40		**Imp·Caes·C·Aur·Val·** **[D]iocletiano** **p f inv Aug e**[t] 4 _[Imp Caes M Aur Val]´ _[Maximiano]´ **p f inv Aug et Fl Val** **Constantio et** 8 **Gal Val Maximiano** **nobiliss Caess** (vac) **mil·p·XXXV** **μίλ·λε´** 12 _[A]**ur Priscianus v p pr p**[r]´ _[Po]**nt d n m q eorum**´ **ddd NNN Fl Va<l> Crispo et** 2 **Val Constantino** _[Licinnio]´ [et] **Fl Constantino nobbb** 4 **Caesss** **Imp Ç**[aes] **Fl Val Ç**[onst]**ạnṭino** **maximo victor**⟨i⟩ 4 **ac triumfator**⟨i⟩ **semper Aug** **et Fl Cl Cọ**[n]**ṣtantiṇọ** **et Fl Iul Constantiọ** 8 **et Fl Iul Constantae** **ẹt Fl Ḍẹlmaṭiọ** **ṇṇṇṇbbbb Ḉaessss** **Impp Caess ΔΔNN** 2 **Fl Valentiniano** **[e]t Fl Valente** 4 **et Gratiano** **perpetuiṣ** [Augg]**g** **D n Fl H-** 2 **onorio** **p Aug**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Yerkozlu (Taşova/Amasya)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 43		**Imp Caes C Aur Val** **Diocletiano** **p f inv Aug et** 4 ‖[Imp Caes M Aur Val]‖ ‖[Maximiano]‖ **p f inv Aug et Fl** [Val] **Constant**[io et] 8 **Gal Val Maximiano** **nobiliss Caess** (vac) (vac) [mil] **p XI**[II] - - ? - -

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Aşağı Baraklı 1 (Taşova/Amasya)	AD 305-306	French 2012b, p. 44	-	**Imp Caes F⟨i⟩Val** **Constantio** **p f invic Aug et** 4 **Imp Caes Gal Val** **Maximiano** **p f invic Aug et** **Flavio Valer⟨io⟩** 8 [Severo et Gal Val] [Maximino] [nobb Caess] - - ? - -
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Aşağı Baraklı 2 (Taşova/Amasya)	AD 335-337	French 2012b, p. 45	-	[I]ṃ**perator⟨i⟩ Caes** [Fl V]**al Constantino** [max]**imo ṿictor⟨i⟩** 4 [ac] **triumfator⟨i⟩** [s]**emper Aug** [et Fl] **C̣l Constantino** [et Fl I]**ul Constantio** 8 [et Fl I]**ul Constanti**{ae} ‖[et Fl Delmatio]‖ [nnnn]**bbbb Caessss** . **ΛΑΕ**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Çiğdemlik (Amasya)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 45	-	[Imp Caes] [C Aur Val] [Diocletiano] 4 [p f inv Aug et] [Imp Caes] [M Aur Val] ‖[Maximiano]‖ 8 [p f i]ṇ**v·Aug·eṭ** **F**[la]**vio̤·Val·** **Cons̤tan̤tio̤** **et̤ Gal·Ṿal** 12 **Ṃaximiano** **nobill·C̣aess** **mil·p ιβ´** **Aur·P̣riscianus** 16 **v p·praes·p·Pont** **d·n m q eorum**

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Aydoğdu (Amasya)	AD 293-305, AD 367-375	French 2012b, p. 48		**Imp Caes´ C** **Aurel´ Val** **Diocletiano** 4 **p f inv´ Aug et** **Imp Caes´ M** **Aurelio Val** ‖[Maxim]i̯a̯no̯‖ 8 **p f inv Aug et** **Fla̯v̯**[io Val]**er** **Co**[nstanti]**o et** **G**[alerio Val] 12 **M**[aximiano] [nobb Caess] - - - - **DD nn** 2 **Valentinianu**[s] **Valens** 4 **et Gratianus** **Augg**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Boğa (Amasya)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 49	-	‖7 lines erased‖ 8 **VIIII** **θ´** 10 **Aur Priscianus** **v p praes p p P** 12 **d n m q eoru̯m**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Bağlıca (Amasya)	AD 293-305, AD 306-307	French 2012b, p. 49		**Imp** [Caes] **Val** **Maximiano** **p f invict Aug et** 4 **Imp·Caes Flav** **Val Se̯v̯e̯ro** **p f invict Aug et** **G·Val** ‖[Maximino]‖ **et** 8 **Fl·Val·Constantino** (vac) **nobb Caess**

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Toklucak (Amasya)	AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 52		[Fl Constantino] [p f m victori] [semper Aug] 4 [et Fl Cl Constantino] [et Fl] **Iul Constantio** [et] **Fl Iul Consta**[nti] [nob]**iliss Caess** 8 **Fl Iul Leontius** [v] **p praes prov** **Heleno**[nti]
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Karayakup (Göynücek/Amasya)	AD 306-307	French 2012b, p. 53		**Imp·Caes·G·Val** **Maximiano** **p f invict·Aug·et** 4 **Imp Caes·Flav·** **Val·‖Severo‖** **p f invict·Aug·et** **G Val·‖Maximino‖ et** 8 **Fl Val Constantino** (vac) **nobb Caess** [-]
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Boğazkaya 1 (Mecitözü/Çorum)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 54	-	- - / - - [Dioc]**letiano** 2 [- - - - - -] **et** - - - - - - - - [et Gal] **Val** [Maximiano] 2 [Aur Prisc]ianus [v p] praes·pro(v) Ponti 4 d n m q eorum (vac) ϗ′ **BF** **DD nn** **Imp Caes Fl** 4 **Constantino** **p f m vic sem-** **per Aug et** [Fl] **Cl Constantino** 8 **et Fl Iul Constantio** **et Fl Iul Constante** **nobiliss Caess** **Fl Iul Leontius** 12 **v p praes provinc** **Helenop d n m q** **eorum** (vac) [ϗ′]

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Boğazkaya 2 (Mecitözü/Çorum)	AD 308-311	French 2012b, p. 56	-	[Impp Caess] [Gal Val Maximiano] **p f inv Aug** ‖[et]‖ ‖[Val Licin Licinnio]‖ **p f·inv Aug et·** **Gal** ‖[Val Maximino]‖ **et Flav Constantino** **fill·Aug** (vac) **Fl´ Severus v p p p** **Diosp** (gap, c. 0.16) κς´
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Boğazkaya 3 (Mecitözü/Çorum)	AD 293-305, AD 305-306	French 2012b, p. 57	-	---- [-]T[- -] M[- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] (vac) κς´ [Impp Caes]s Fl **Val Constantio et** **Gal Val Maximiano** **pp ff invict Augg** **et Fl Val** ‖[Severo]‖ **et Galę Val** ‖[Maximino]‖ **nobill Caess** (c. 0.14 gap) κς´

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Köseeyüp (Mecitözü/Çorum)	AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 59		**BF** **Imp Caes Fl** **Constantino** 4 [p f m] **vic sem**[per] (vac) **Aug et** [Fl Cl] **Constantino** [et Fl Iul] **Constantio** 8 [et Fl] **Iul Constanti** **nobiliss Caess** **Fl Iul Leontius** [v] **p praes provinc** 12 [H]**elenop d n m q** (vac) **eorum** (vac) **mil p** **XXXI** 16 **N**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Çitli 1 (Mecitözü/Çorum)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 62	-	2 **m p XXXIII** **N PB Aur Priscianu**[s] 4 **v p praes pro**(v) **Po**[n]**ti** **d n m q eorum** **DD nn O**(?) **Imp Caes F**⟨l⟩ **Val** **Constantino** 4 **p f m vic**[t]**o**[ri] **sem-** [pe]**r A**[ug] [et Fl Cl Con]**stanti**[no] [et Fl Iul C]**onstant**[io] 8 [et Fl] **Iul C**[on]**stant**[i] [n]**obb Cae**[s]**s** [Fl Iul] **Leontius** [v p p]**raep**[s pr Helenop] 12 [d] **n m q** [eorum]

A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Çitli 2 (Mecitözü/Çorum)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 63	-	- - - - [et Fl] Val [C]onstantio [et G]**alerio Val** 4 [Max]imiano [nob]ill Caess ‖[mil pass]‖ XXXVIIII (vac) 8 λθ′ **Aur Prisc**ianus **v p praes pr Ponti** **d n m q eorum** - - - - 2 [et] **Fl Cl Con** et Fl Iul Const⟨a⟩n 4 et Fl Iul Const nobiliss Caess 6 [F]l **Iul Leontius** v p praes prov 8 Helenop d n m q eorum
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Elvançelebi (Mecitözü/Çorum)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 66	-	[I]mper Caes [C Aur Val] [Di]ocletiano p f invic [Au]g et Imp Caes M Aur [Val] 4 [Ma]ximiano p f invic A[ug] [et F]l Constantio et G[al] [Val] Maximiano nobill [Ca]ess mil p [X]XXVIII (vac) 8 [Aur P]riscian[u]s v p [pr] [pro]v Pont d n m q e[orum]

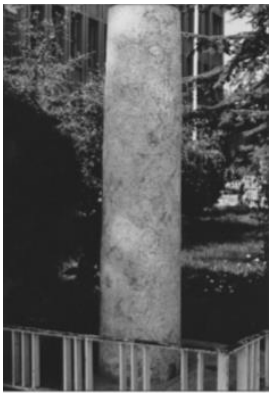
A.6. (Continued)

Satala- (-Ancyra)	Çorum	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 68	-	**DD nn** **Imper** [C]**aes Caio Aurel Val** **Diocletiano p f invicto** 4 **Aug et Imp Caes M Aur Val** **Maximiano p f inv Aug et** **Fl Val Constantio et Gal** **Val Ma**[x]**imiano nobill** 8 ⟨vac⟩ **Caess mil** [p] ⟨vac⟩ **LV**
Satala- (-Ancyra)	Deniz (Çorum)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 76	-	**In Ces**(?) **A´ Valerio Δ**[io]- **clɳtiano pi fẹ**[l invic]- **to Au**⟨g⟩ **et In Ce**[s M] 4 **Aur Maximian**[o p fel] **i̯n Aug et F̣ḷa̱v̱i̯o̱** [Max]- **imiano et Gaḷ** [Val Con]- **stantio n̥o̱b̥**[b] 8 **C̣**⟨a⟩**e̱s̱s̱ mi**
Neocaeasaria-(-Tavium)	Gözova (Tokat)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 83	-	[Impp Caess] 2 [C Au]**r Val**[erio] **Diocletiano** - - - - [DD] **nn** [Im]**p** [C]**aes F̣ḷ Va̱**⟨l⟩ **Co**[n]- s[ta]**n**[ti]**n**[o v]**ictori ac** [t]**riumf semper Aug** 4 **et Fl Cl Constanti**⟨n⟩**o** [et Fl] **Iul Constantio** [et Fl Iul Constanti] [nobbb Caesss] 8 [-]

A.6. (Continued)

Neocaeasaria-(-Tavium)	Tokat 1	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 84	-	- - - - [Fl Valerio] [Const]**ant**[io] 4 [et] **Gal·Val** **Maximiano** **nobillis·Caess** (vac) **mil·p** 8 **Aurel** [P]**riscianus** **v p pr pr**[ovinc Po]**nti** **d n m** [q eo]**rum**
Neocaeasaria-(-Tavium)	Tokat 2	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 85	-	[Imp Caes C Aur Val] [Diocletiano et] **Imp** [Caes M Aur Val] 4 **Maxim**[ia]**n**[o] **p**[p ff] **inv**[i]**c** [A]**ugg** [et] **Flav** [Val] **Constanti**[o] (vac) **et Gal**[e]**r Va**[l] 8 [Maxim]**ia**[no nobb Caess] - - - -
Neocaeasaria-(-Tavium)	Zile 1 (Tokat)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 90		[Imp] **Caes** **Caio Aur´ Val** **D**[i]**ocletiano** 4 **pi**[o] **fel·invic Aug** **et Imp Caes** **Marc Aur** [V]**al** **Maximiano** 8 **pio fel invic** [A]**ug** **et Flav Val´** **Constantio** **et Gal**[e]**r Val** 12 **Maximiano** [nob]**il**[i]**ssimis** **Caesaribus** **Civ·Zel·** (vac) **m**[il p -] 16 [Aur] **Prisc**[i]**anus** [v p] **praes prov Pont** [d n] **m q eorum**

A.6. (Continued)

Neocaeasaria-(-Tavium)	Zile 2 (Tokat)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 92		**Imp̣er Caes** **Caio Aur Val** **Diocletiaṇo** 4 **pio fel inv⟨i⟩c Aug** **et Imper Caes** **Mar Aur Val** **Maximiano** 8 **pio fel invic Aug** **et Flav Val** **Constantio** **et Gal Val** 12 **Maximiano** **nobilissimis** **Caesaribus** **Zelit mil·p·I** 16 **Aur Pṛis**[cianus] **v p praes p**[r Pont] **d n m q eọ**[rum]
Neocaeasaria-(-Tavium)	Zile 3 (Tokat)	AD 293-305, AD 317-324	French 2012b, p. 93		**Imper Caes** **Caio Aur Val** **Diocletiano** 4 **pio fel inv⟨i⟩c Aug** **et Imper Caes** **Mar Aur Val** **Maximiano** 8 **pio fel´ invic A⟨u⟩g´** **et Flav Valer** **Constantio** **et Galer Val** 12 **Maximiano** **nobilissimis** **Caesaribus** **Zelit M I** 16 **Aur Priscianus** **v p praes Ponti** **d n m q eorum** **α´** **B** (vac) **F** **DD** (vac) **nn** **Imp Caes Flav Val** 4 **Constantino** **p f invic Aug et Val** **Liciniano Licinio** **[p] f invic Aug et** 8 **[. . . . .]L...AL** - - - -

A.6. (Continued)

Neocaesaria-(-Tavium)	Kurupınar (Zile/Tokat)	AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 94		**Imp C<a>es** **Fl Constantino** **p f m**(aximo) **victori** 4 **semper Aug** **et Fl Cl Constantino** **et Fl Iul Constantio** **et Fl Iul Constante** 8 **nobbss** (vac) <Caess> **Fl Leontius v p** **praes pr Helenop** **d n m q eorum**
Sebastia-Tavium	Elmalı (Çekerek/Yozgat)	AD 313-317	French 2012b, p. 99	-	**DD nn** 2 [Flavii Va]**l**[erii] [C]**onstan**[ti]**ni e**[t V]**all** 4 [L]**icinniani Licinii** (?vac) **Augg** 6 (vac) **η´**
Caesaria-Melitena	Çakırlar 1 (Tufanbeyli/Adana)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 122	-	- **Imp Caes** 2 **Cai** **Dioc**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Çakırlar 2 (Tufanbeyli/Adana)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 123	-	- **Gal Val** 2 **Maximiano** **nobil Caes**
Caesaria-Melitena	Çakırlar 3 (Tufanbeyli/Adana)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 126	-	- **Imp Caess** 2 **Marco Aur Va**[l] **‖ - - - - - - ‖ p f** 4 **invicto Aug**
Caesaria-Melitena	Mollahüseyin (Sarız/Kayseri)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 136	-	**Gal Val** **Maximiano** [n]**obil C**[aess]

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Kemer 1 (Sarız/Kayseri)	AD 285-305	French 2012b, p. 144	-	**Constantio nobil Caes**
Caesaria-Melitena	Kemer 2 (Sarız/Kayseri)	AD 285-305	French 2012b, p. 147	-	2 **Imp Caes Caio Val Δiocletia⟨n⟩o**
Caesaria-Melitena	Yalak 1 (Sarız/Kayseri)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 155		**Gal Val Maximiano [n]obil C[aess]**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Yalak 2 (Sarız/Kayseri)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 157	-	[Imp Caes] [Marco] **Aur** [Maximi]**ano p f** **invicto Aug**
Caesaria-Melitena	Doğankonak 1 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 161		**Imp Caes** **Marco Aur** **Maximiano p f** **invicto Aug**
Caesaria-Melitena	Doğankonak 2 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 162		2 **Gal Val** **Maximiano** **nobil Caes**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Mehmetbey 1 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 171		- 2 **Imp CC C** **diocletiano** **p f** 4 **Augg**
Caesaria-Melitena	Mehmetbey 2 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 172	-	**et F´ Val** **Constantio** **nob Cạ**[e] - **ss**
Caesaria-Melitena	Göksun 1 (K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 174	-	[et?] **Gal Val** [Ma]**ximiano** [no]**b̥iḷ Caes**[?s]

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Göksun 2 (K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 174		**Imp Caes** **Gaio Val** **Diocletiano** **p f invicto Ạụ[g]**
Caesaria-Melitena	Göksun 3 (K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 176		2 **et Gal Val** **Maximiano** **nobb Cae-** **ss**
Caesaria-Melitena	Göksun 4 (K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 184	-	**Maximian[o]** **nob Cae-** (vac) **ss**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Göksun 5 (K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 184	-	**Imp** [Caes] **M Au**[r] **Maxim**[iano]
Caesaria-Melitena	Yağmurlu (Göksun/ K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 190	-	[Impp Caess] [C Aur Val] **diocletiano** 4 [et M Aur Val] [Maximiano] **pp ff invi Augg** **et Flavi Val** 8 **Constantio** **et Gal Val** **Maximiano** **nob Caess** 12 [-]
Caesaria-Melitena	Kanlıkavak 1 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 197	-	**Impp** [Caess C Aur Val] [Di]**o**[cle]**tian**[o] **et M Aur Val** **Maximiano** 5 **pp ff inv Aug** **et Fḷavị̣ Ṿaḷ** **Constantio** ⟨vac⟩ **et** [G]aḷ Ṿaḷ **Maximiano** 10 [nobb Caess]

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Kanlıkavak 2 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 200	-	**Impp C̣C̣ C̣ Auṛ** **diocletiano** **et M Aur Val** 4 **Maximiano** **pp ff invi Aug** [et Fla]**vi Vaḷ** **Constantio** 8 **et Gaḷ** [V]**a**[l]**e** **Maximiano** 10 **nobb Caess**
Caesaria-Melitena	Kanlıkavak 3 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 201	-	[Impp CC C Aur] [diocletiano] **et** [G]**al Val** 4 **Maximiano** **pp ff invi Aug** **et Flavi Val** **Constantio** 8 **et G**⟨a⟩**l Valer** **Maximiano** **nobb Caess** ǫ[-]
Caesaria-Melitena	Kanlıkavak 4 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 202	-	**Impp CC** ⟨C Aur Val⟩ **diocletiano** 4 **et M Aur V**⟨a⟩**le̩** **Maximiano** **pp ff invi Aug** **et Flavi Val** 8 **Constantio** **et Gal Val** **Maximiano** **nobb Caess**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Kanlıkavak 5 (Göksun/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 206	-	No visible inscription
Caesaria-Melitena	Elbistan (K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 225	-	- - - - [et Flav]**io V**[alerio] **Con**[st]**antio** [et] [Galer]**io V**[alerio] [Maximiano] **nob**[ilissimis Caess] [-]
Caesaria-Melitena	Yaztopallı (Elbistan/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 230	-	**et Flavio** 2 **Valerio** **Constantio** 4 **nobilisim** **Caesari**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-Melitena	Gözecik (Elbistan/K. Maraş)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 231		**Imp Caesari** 2 **Gaio Val** **Diocle̥tiano** 4 **p f**
Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Kadışehri (Çekerek/Yozgat)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 238		**Imp Cae̥s C Au(r) Va(l)** **Diocletiano p f** **invict·Aug et** 4 **Imp Cae(s) M Au(r) Va(l)** **Maximiano p f in´** **Aug et F(l) Va(l)´** **Constantio et** 8 **Gal Va(l) Maximiano** (vac) **nnll CC** (vac) **ϗα´**
Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Güzelbeyli (Zile/Tokat)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 242		**Impera A** **cletiano** . 4 . . . . 8 . . . **aler Valer** 12 [Ma]**ximiano** **nobilissimis** **Caesaribus** **Aur´ Priscianus** 16 **v p praes prov Pont** **d ´n´ m´ q´ eorum** **mil p** [-]

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Yıldıztepe (Zile/Tokat)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 243		- - - - **et Flav Valer** **Constantio** 4 **et Galer Valeṛ** **Max**[imiano] **nobilissimis** **Caesaribus** 8 **Zelit mil p** [VIII] **Aur Priscianus** **v p praes prov Pont** **d n m q eorum** **Imper Caes** **Fl Constantino** **p f m victori** 4 **semper** [A]**ug** **et Fl Cl Constantino** **et Fl Iul Constantio** **et Fl Iul Const**(anti) 8 [nobb Caess]
Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Alanyurt (Zile/Tokat)	AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 244		- - - - **et Fl Cl** [Consta]n̤t̤i̤n̤o̤ **et Fl Iul** [Cons]t̤a̤n̤**tio** 4 **et Fl Iul** [Co]n̤**stan̤t̤i̤** **nob**[b] **Caess** **Fl Leont̤i̤us v p** **praes pr Ḥ̤e̤lenop̣** (vac) 8 **d n m̤ q̤ e̤o̤**[rum] (vac) (vac) **θ´**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Akyazı (Amasya)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 245		[I]mp Caes C·Aur·Val Diocletiano 4 p·fel·inv·Aug et·Imp·Caes M·Aur·Val· ‖Maxim[iano]‖ 8 p·fel·inv·Aug et·Fl·Valer· Constantio et·Gal·Val· 12 Maximiano nobill·Caess mil·p ιε´ (vac) 16 Aur´ Priscianus v p·praes pr P d n m q eorum
Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Mahmatlar (Amasya)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 2456		Imp Caes C Au[r] Val (leaf) Dio[cl]etiano p (leaf) f[el inv] Aug (leaf) 5 et Im[p] Caes M [Au]r Val· ‖[Maximiano]‖ p fel [i]nv Aug et (leaf) Fl Valer (leaf) 10 C[on]stant[io] [et Gal Valer] [Maximiano] [nobb Caess] - - - -
Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Uygur 1 (Amasya)	AD 313-317	French 2012b, p. 247		B F DD nn Imp Caes Fl Val 4 Constantino p f invic Aug et Imp Caes Val Liciniano Licinio 8 p f inv Aug

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Uygur 2 (Amasya)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 248	-	Imp´ Caes C´ Aur´ Val Diocletiano 4 p fel inv Aug et Imp´ Caes M Aur Val ‖[Maximiano]‖ 8 p´ fel inv Aug et Fl Val Constantio et Gal Val 12 Maximiano nobill Caess (vac) mil p (vac) ϗα´ (vac) 16 Aur Priscianus v p praes[es] pr´ P d n m q eorum
Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Ezinepazar (Amasya)	AD 305-306	French 2012b, p. 250		[Im]per·Caes·Fl·Val· **Constantio·et** **Gal·Val·Maximiano** 4 **p·p·f·f·invictt Augg et** **Fl Val ‖Se[vero]‖** **et Gal Val ‖[Maximino]‖** **nobill·Ca/e/ss** 8 **ιθ´** **Aure⟨l⟩i⟨us⟩ Hierax v p** **/p/raes prov Pa-** **flag d n** (vac) **m q** 12 **eorum mil·p·**

A.6. (Continued)

Caesaria-(-Amisus)	Kapıkaya (Amasya)	AD 293-305, AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 252		**Imp·Caes** **C·Aur·Val·** **Diocletiano** **p·fel·inv·Aug** **et Imp** (vac) **Caes** **M·Aur** (vac) **Val** ‖[Maximiano]‖ ‖[p fel inv Aug]‖ ‖[et Fl Val]‖ ‖[Constantio]‖ ‖[et Gal Val]‖ ‖[Maximiano]‖ ‖[nobb Caess]‖ **mil p** [-] [-] (vac) [Aur Prisci]**anus v** [p] [praes prov Pont] [d n m q̲ eorum] **Imp Caes** [-] **Constantino** **p f invic semp Aug** **et Fl Cl Constantino** **et Fl Iul Constantio** [et Fl Iul Constanti] [Fl Leontius] [pr]**aes** - - - -
Neocaesaria(-Nicomedia)	Ilıca 1 (Taşova/Amasya)	AD 361-363, AD 364-367	French 2012b, p. 256	-	**Imp·Caes** **D N Cl Iuliano** **p f invic·Aug** **Impp Caes⟨s⟩ dd nn** **Fl Valentiniano** **et Fl Valente** **Augg**

A.6. (Continued)

Neocaesaria(-Nicomedia)	Ilıca 2 (Taşova/Amasya)	AD 293-305	French 2012b, p. 257	-	- - - - 2 p f [- - - - et Fl V]al Consta[nti]o et 4 Gal Val Maxim[i]ano nobiliss C[ae]s (vac) 6 mp XXXXV ·μίλ·με´ 8 Aur Priscianu[s] v p praes p P d [n m q] 10 eorum
Trapezus-(Samosata)	Eski Malatya (Malatya)	AD 340-350	French 2012b, p. 261	-	Imp [Ca]es 2 /M//// Fl Iuli/////// 4 et Fl I/////// pp ff MA////// 6 semper Aug
(Pilgrim's Road)-(-Tyana (-Antiocheiaia))	Değirmenyolu (Şereflikoçhisar/Ankara)	AD 317-324	French 2012b, p. 263		(vac) AINN (vac) Αὐτοκράτορειν Κέσα[ρειν] Φλ´ Οὐαλ´ Κωνσταντί[νῳ] 4 εὐσεβῖ εὐτυχῖ Σεβ μ[εγ κὲ] Οὐαλ´ Λικιννιανῳ Λικινγ[ίῳ] εὐσεβῖ εὐτυχῖ Σεβ μεγίς[τῳ κὲ] Φλα´ Οὐαλ Κρίσπῳ κὲ 8 Οὐαλ Λικινίῳ καὶ Φλα Κλαυδίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐπιφ´ Καίσαρειν (vac) – ? –

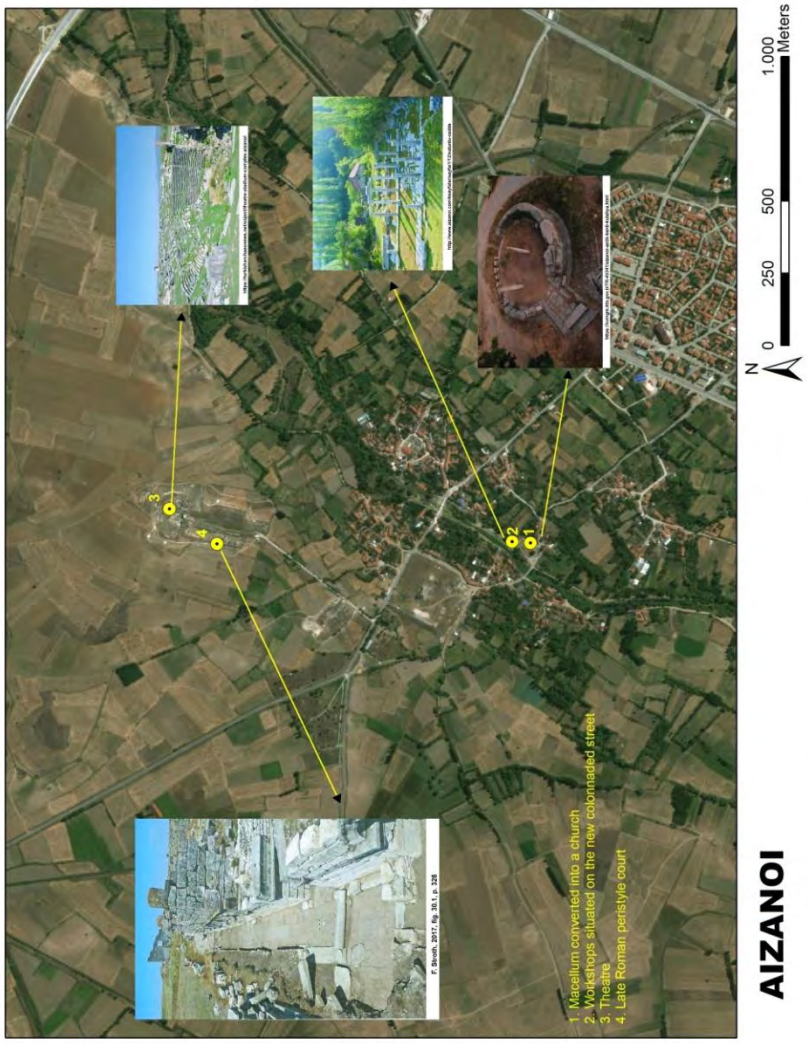
A.6. (Continued)

(Pilgrim's Road)-(-Tyana (-Antiocheiaia))	Aksaray	AD 293-305, AD 317-324	French 2012b, p. 265	-	**Impprrbb** **Caessbb** **Caio A**[ur Val] **Diocletia**[no] **et Marc A**[u]**r G**[al] **Maximiano** [p] **f invic Aug** **et Imp** **Caes Fla** **Constantio** **et Caio A**[ur Val] **Maxim**[iano] **p f invic** **Caes** **A Co mil X** **DD nn** **Constantino** ‖[et Licinio]‖ **Augg** **et Crispo et** ‖[Licini]‖**o e**[t] **Constantino** **nobb Caess** **[?]**
(Pilgrim's Road)-(-Tyana (-Antiocheiaia))	Kemerhisar 1 (Bor/Niğde)	AD 324-326	French 2012b, p. 267		[Τοῖς δεσπόταις] [ἡμῶ]ν [τῷ ν]εικητῇ [Κωνστ]αντείνῳ [Σεβαστ]ῷ καὶ ‖[Κρίσπῳ]‖ [καὶ] [Κωνσταν]τίνῳ καὶ Κ̣ω̣ν̣σ̣τ̣[αντίῳ] [ἐπιφφ Καίσαρσιν] - (?) -

A.6. (Continued)

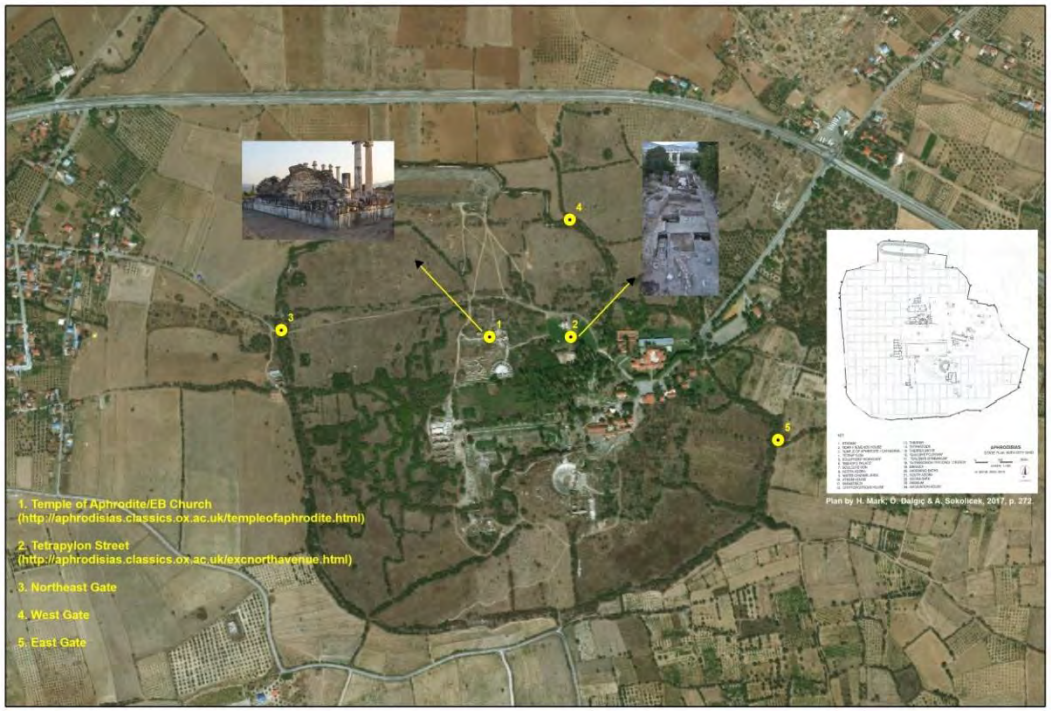
(Pilgrim's Road)-(-Tyana (-Antiocheiaia))	Kemerhisar 2 (Bor/Niğde)	AD 333-335	French 2012b, p. 269	-	Τοῖς δε[σπόταις ἡμῶ]ν 2 Φλ Κων[σταντίνῳ νε]ικητῇ Σεβ μεγ καὶ Φλ Κωνσταντίνῳ 4 κὲ Φλ Κω[νστ]αντίῳ κὲ Φλ [Κωνστάντ]ι [ἐπιφφ Καίσσ] 6 [?]
(Pilgrim's Road)-(-Tyana (-Antiocheiaia))	Pozantı (Adana)	AD 317-324	French 2012b, p. 275	-	- - - - Λικινίῳ εὐτυχ⟨ε⟩ῖ Σεβαστῷ 3 Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρ[σιν καὶ] Κρείσπῳ καὶ Λικιν[ιανῷ] Λικινίῳ καὶ Φλ Κων[σταντίνῳ] 6 ἐπιφανεστάτοις Κέ[σαρσιν] Ἀπὸ Ποδάνδου (vac) μ γ´

B. REVIEW OF EXCAVATION REPORTS (KAZI SONUÇLARI TOPLANTISI, *KST*, VOLUMES, (4TH-9TH CENTURIES)



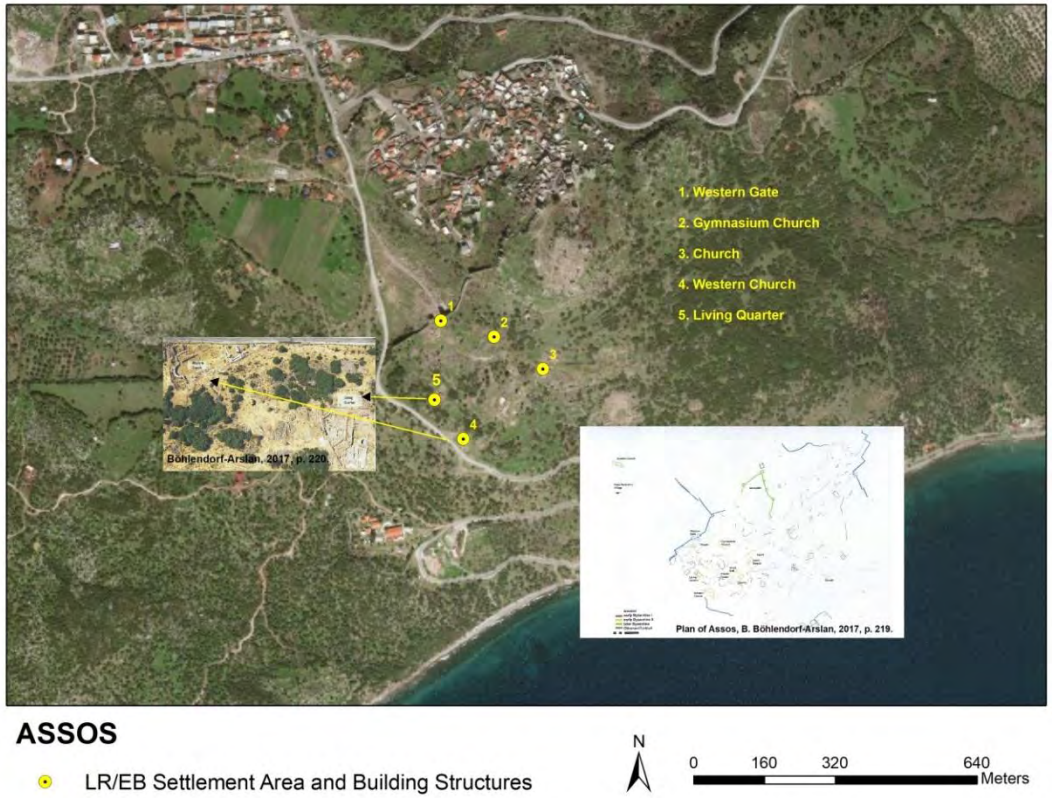
B. 1. AIZANOI:

Rheidt, K. (1994). Die Ausgrabungen in Aizanoi 1993. *XVI. KST*, 57-65; Rheidt, K. (1996). Die Ausgrabungen in Aizanoi 1994. Aizanoi, 1994 Yılı Kazı ve Onarım Çalışmaları. *17. KST*, 293-311; Özer, E. (2017). Aizanoi 2014-2015 Sezonu Kazı ve Araştırmaları. *38. KST*, 275-297; Özer, E. & Taşkıran, M. (2019). Aizanoi 2017 Sezonu Kazı ve Araştırmaları, *40. KST*, 581-603.



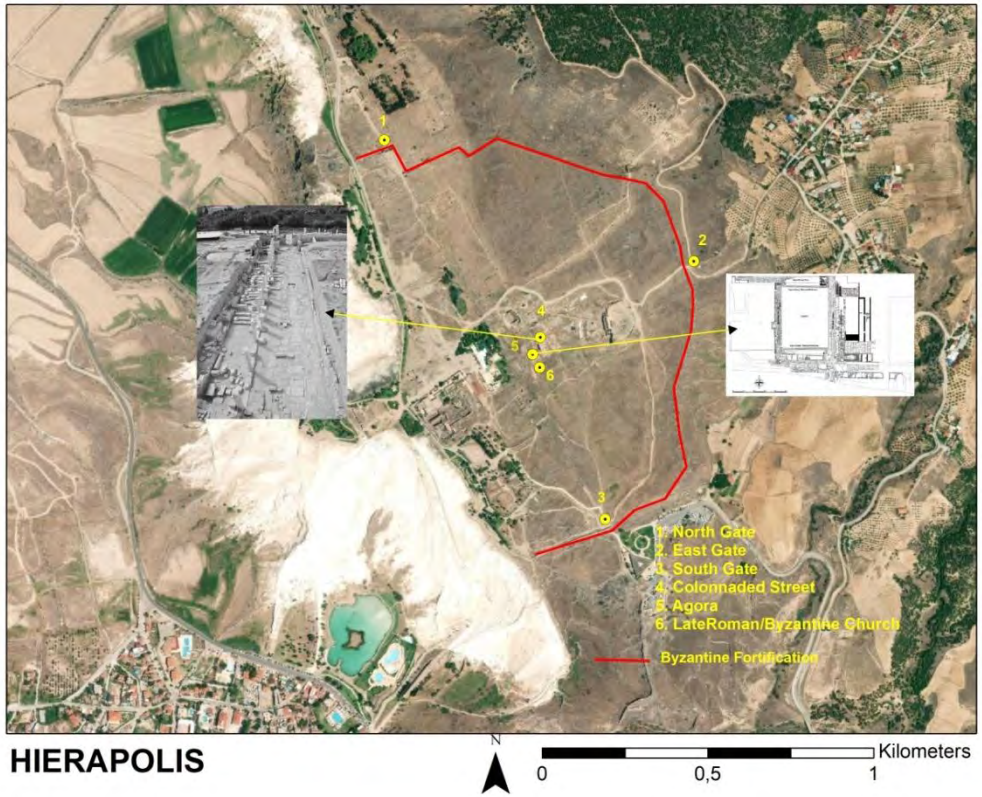
B.2. APHRODISIAS

Smith, R.R.R & Ratté, C. (2003). Aphrodisias 2001. *24. KST,* 327-333; Smith, R.R.R & Ratté, C. (2004). Aphrodisias 2002. *25. KST*, 2004, 387-397; Smith, R.R.R & Ratté, C. (2005). Aphrodisias 2003. *26. KST*, 2005, 331-343; Smith, R.R.R & Ratté, C. (2006). Aphrodisias 2004. *27. KST*, 2006, p. 19-33; Smith, R.R.R & Ratté, C. (2007). Aphrodisias 2005. *28. KST*, 63-73; Smith, R.R.R. (2008). Aphrodisias, 2006. *29. KST*, 157-171.



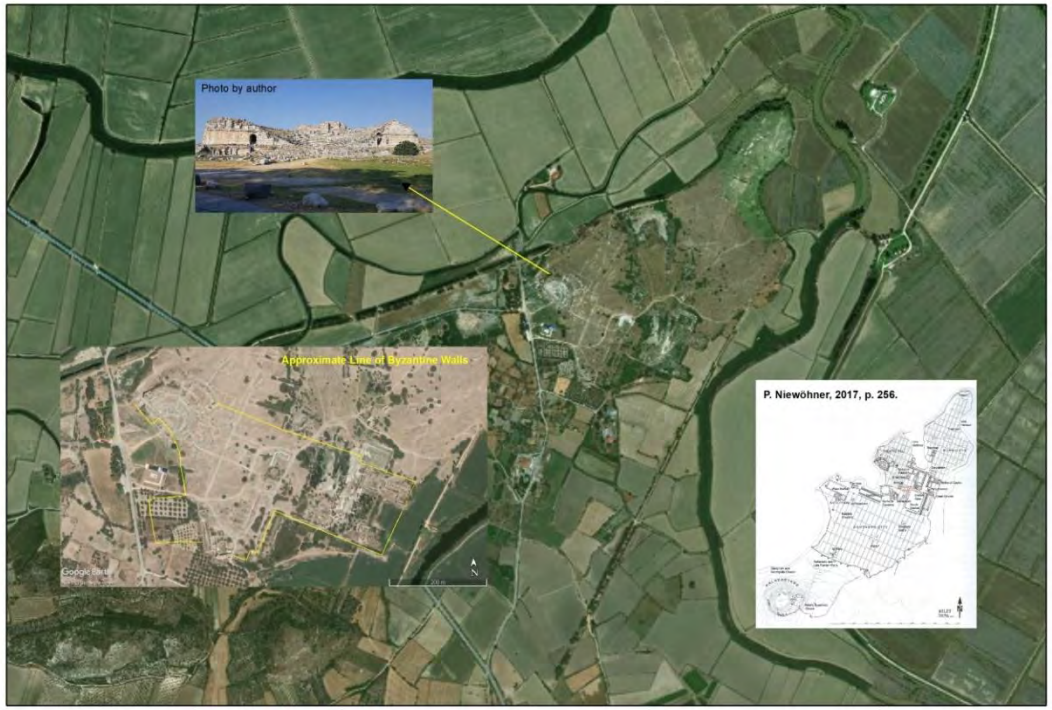
B. 3. ASSOS

Arslan, N., Arslan, B. & Bakan, C. (2018). Assos Kazı 2016 Yılı Çalışmaları. *39. KST*, 389-405; Arslan, N., Böhlendorf-Arslan, B., Bakan, C., Rheidt, K. & Engel J. (2017). Assos Kazısı 2015 Yılı Sonuç Raporu. *38. KST,* 53-73. Arslan, N., Böhlendorf-Arslan, B., Bakan, C. & Ayaz, M. (2015). Assos Kazısı 2013 Yılı Çalışmaları. *36. KST*, 393-413.



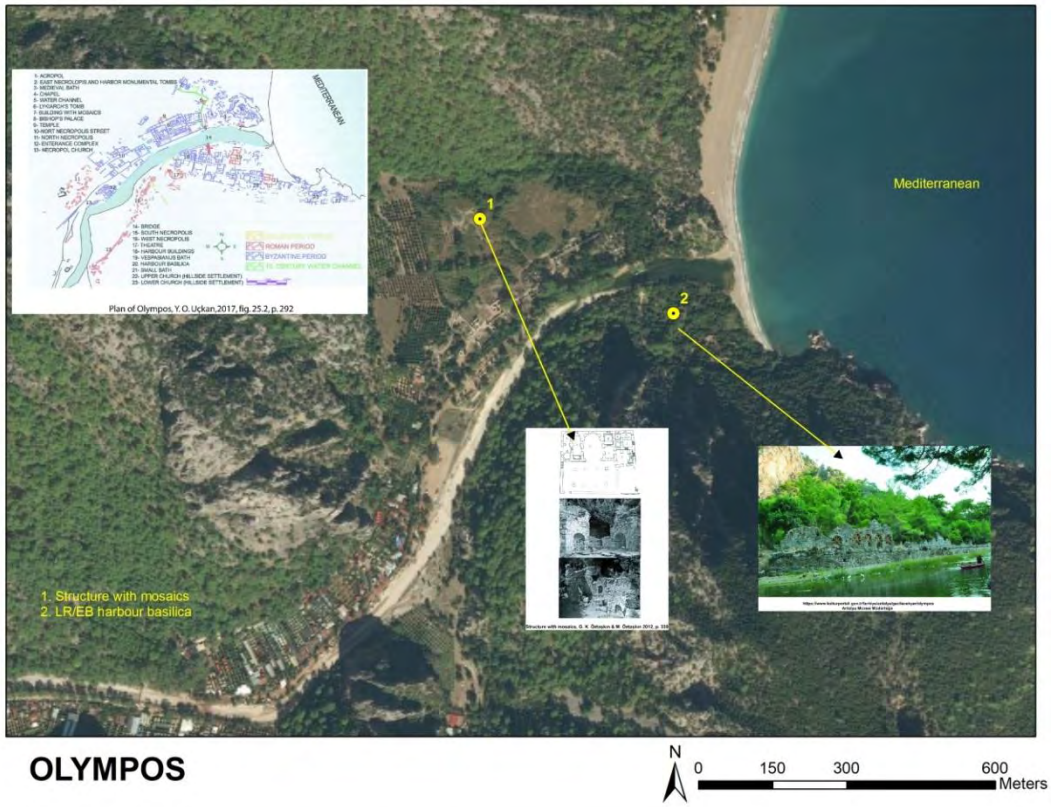
B.5. HIERAPOLIS

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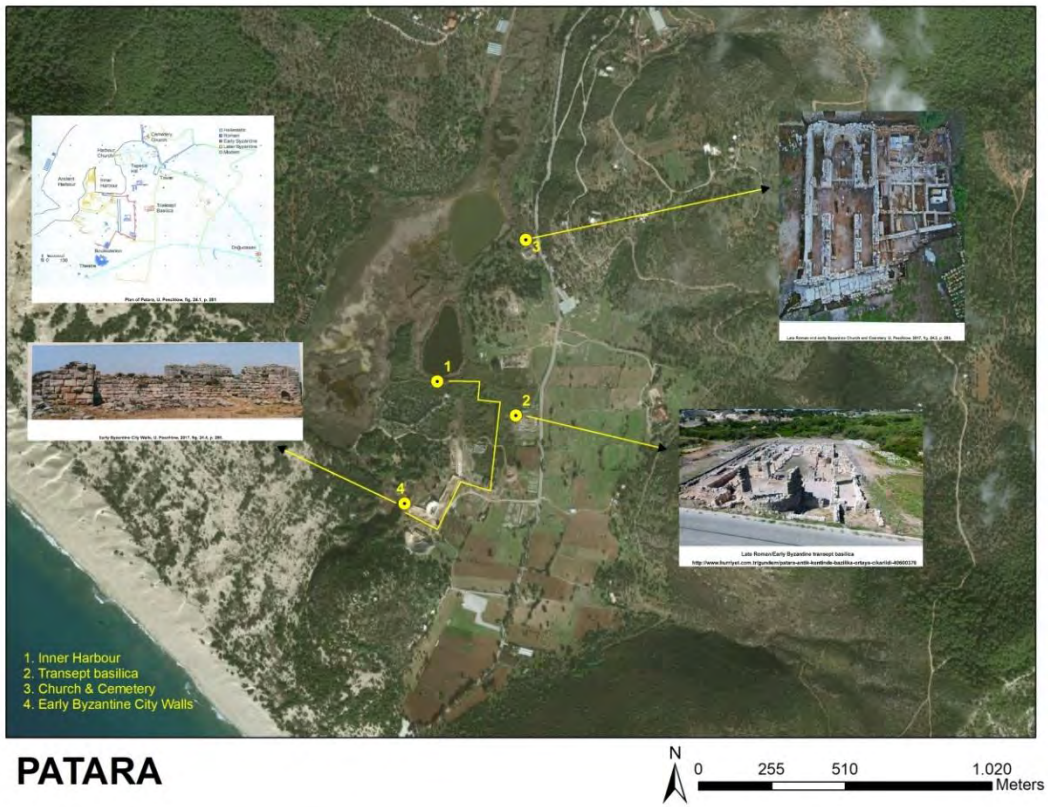
B.6: MILETUS

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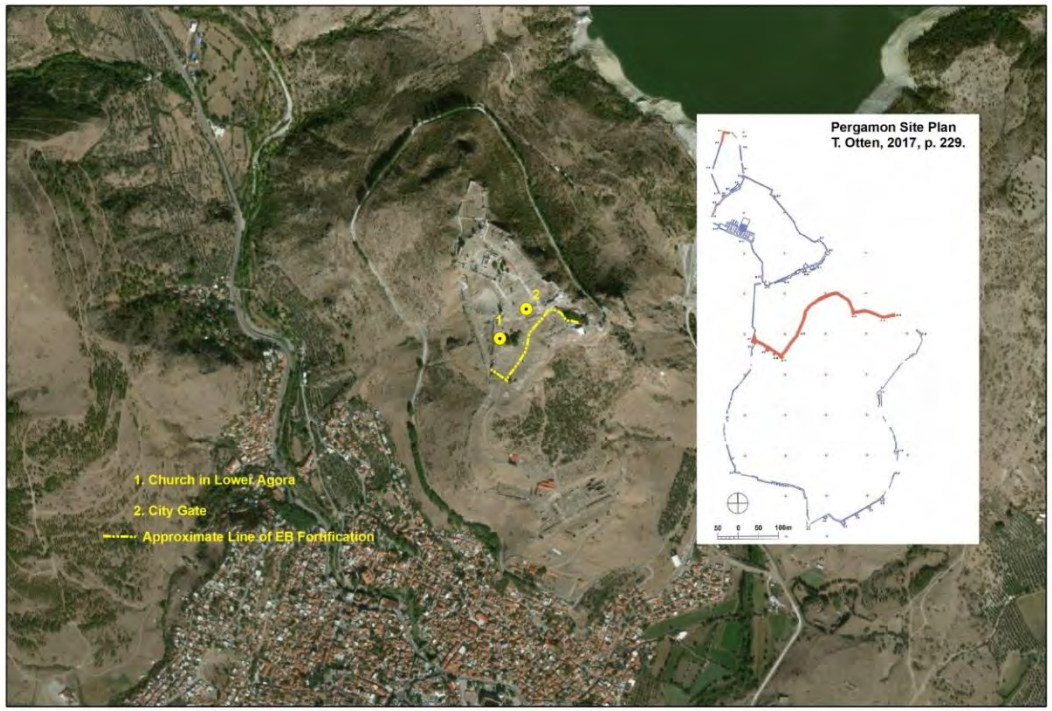
B.7. OLYMPOS

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B.8. PATARA

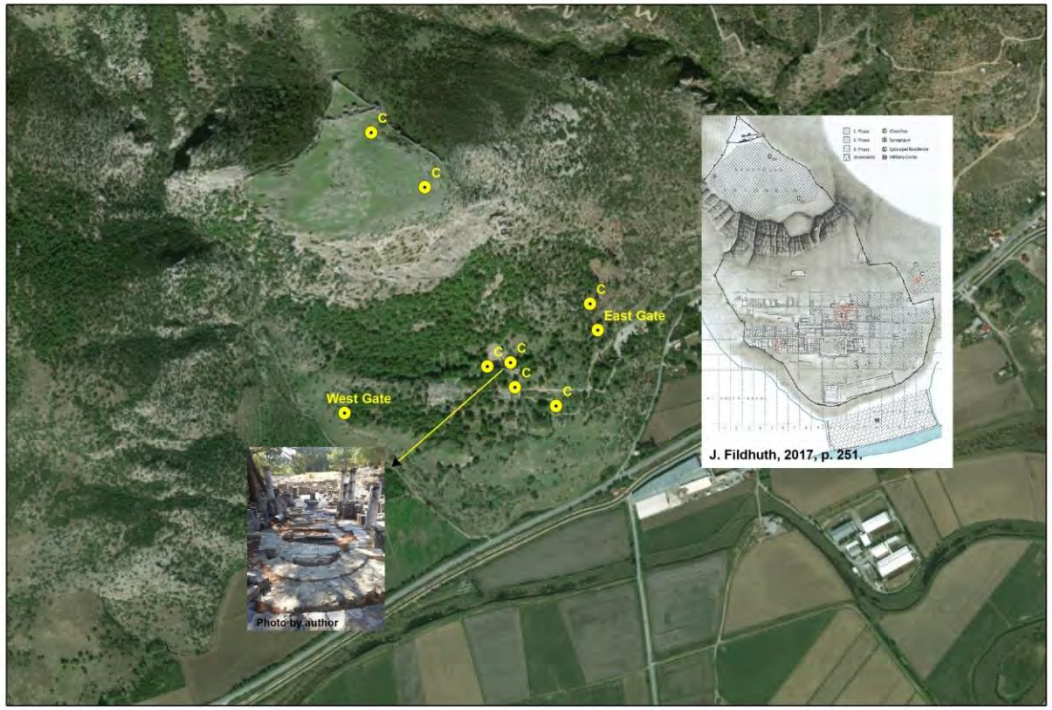
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B.9: PERGAMON

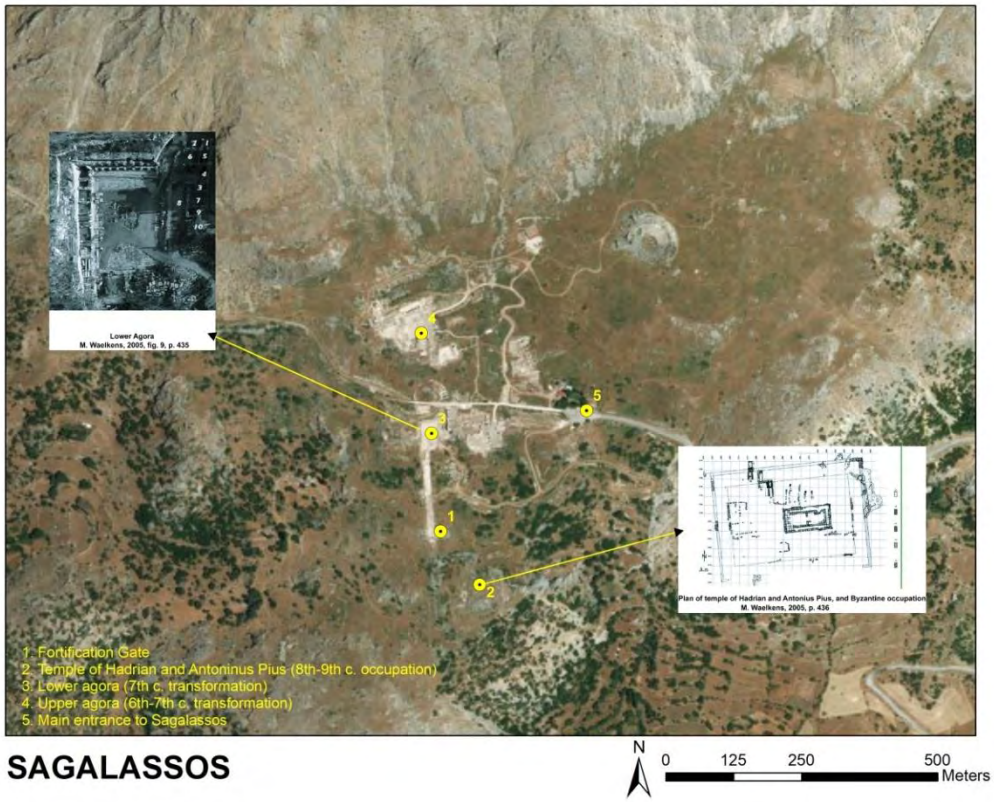
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Plan of the citadel: Crow, J. (2017). Sinope. In P. Niewöhner (Ed.), *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia from the End of Late Antiquity to the Coming of the Turks* (pp. 389-395), Oxford.

C. GLOSSARY OF TERMS[944]

- ***Actus*** refers to "a Roman measure of land" (P. Smith, 1873, p. 13); a term used also for "local road or track for animals or vehicles" in ancient Rome (L. Adkins and R. A. Adkins, 2014, p.190).
- ***Annona*** (*res annonaria*) refers to a tax paid in kind. After the 4th century, the *annona* began to be paid in cash. By the 6th century, the *annona* was used to apply to "rations and supplies, distinct from the public tax" (A. J. Cappel, 1991, p. 105-106).
- ***Aplekta*** Plural form of *aplekton.*
- ***Aplekton*** (*ἄπληκτον*, from Latin *applicatum*) is a "fortified camp" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 131).
- ***Apotheke*** means **"**imperial depots" (M. Whittow, 1996, p. 119), also described as "storehouse" and refers to "an institution covering a broad geographical area" (N. Oikonomides, 2002, p. 985).

[944] The terms and definitions are taken from *Theophanes*, trans. 1982; *John Malalas*, trans. 1986; *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity,* O. Nicholson (ed.), 2018, Oxford University Press; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* A. P. Kazhdan (ed.), 1991, Oxford University Press; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth (ed.) E. Eidinow (assist. ed.), 1996, Oxford University Press; *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, W. Smith (ed.), 1873, London; *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy,* C. Bruun and J. C. Edmondson (ed.), 2015, Oxford University Press; J. F. Haldon, *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History*, 2005, Springer; L. Adkins and R. A. Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*, 2004, Infobase Publishing; R. Amis, *A Different Christianity: Early Christian Esotericism and Modern Thought*, 2003, Praxis Research Institute; R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, 1976, Batsford; C. van Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire,* 2007, Routledge. A. Avramea, "Land and Sea Communications, Fourth-Fifteenth Centuries", in Laiou (ed), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Library and Research Collection, Washington D.C., pp. 57-90; M. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600-1025,* University of California Press; N. Oikonomides, "The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy" in Laiou (ed), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Library and Research Collection, Washington D.C., pp. 973-1058.

- ***Arianism*** refers to desertion of orthodoxy, in other words, denial of the "consubstantiality of the Father and the Son" (T. E. Gregory and A. Cutler, 1991, p. 167). According to the doctrine, "the Son was not coeternal with the Father but was created by him from nothing" (*Ibid.*).
- ***Comes Rei Privatae*** means "financial official" (D. Lee, 2018, p. 375) or "Palatine official heading the *Res Privata*, responsible for the administration and revenues of state-owned property" (C. Kelly, 2018, p. 375).
- ***Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*** means "high-ranking financial official of the late Roman Empire" (A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, 1991, p. 486).
- ***Comitatenses*** "from *comitatus,* military retinue, late Roman field army or mobile troops as opposed to border troops (*limitanei*)" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 487).
- ***Cubicularii*** refers to "chamberlains of the *cubiculum* (room in a Roman house, serving a range of functions such as exclusive reception hall and quiet corner for private business – D. Boin, 2012, p. 437) in the Roman imperial household, usually eunuchs" (S. Tougher, 2012, p. 436).
- ***Cubicularius*** Singular form of *cubicularii.*
- ***Curator*** comes from Roman public law, *curator* means "the responsibility for a particular area of public administration, normally inhering in a magistrate" (E. Badian, 2012, p. 397).
- ***Curiales*** (*βουλευταί*) refers to "members of the local council (*curia*) of municipium in the late Roman Empire" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 564).
- ***Cursus Clabularis/Platys Dromos*** means one of the two sections of *cursus publicus,* that is, "the regular transportation for goods" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 662)
- ***Cursus Publicus*** refers to Greek *dromos* (*δρόμος*), "the system of imperial post and transportation" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 662).

- ***Cursus Velox/Oxys Dromos*** means one of the two sections of *cursus publicus,* that is, "the accelerated transportation for imperial officials and their baggage" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 662).
- ***Defensor*** or *defensor civitatis,* means"important judicial official in each city" (M. Moser, 2012, p. 470), or more clearly, "an official of the late Roman Empire who functioned as a semiprivate advocate of provincial citizens in relations with the central government" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 600).
- ***Demosios Dromos*** refers to *demosios* (*δημόσιος*) means "the state treasury, fisc" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 610). *Demosios Dromos* was "employed also for the roads themselves" (*Ibid.*). See *cursus publicus.*
- ***Dromos*** (*δρόμος*) also known as "the imperial (*demosios*) *dromos,* Latin *cursus publicus"* (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 662).
- ***Dromos tes Dyseos*** refers to "the West Road, including European apart from Macedonia and Thrace" (A. Avramea, 2002, p. 60).
- ***Dromos ton Anatolikon/ton Armeniakon/tes Thrakes/ton Melanion*** These terms refer to "the East Road, that is, the Armeniac Road, the Thracian Road, and the Malagina Road" (A. Avramea, 2002, p. 60).
- ***Eulogia*** (*εὐλογία*) means "blessing" or "benediction", *eulogia* "applied to consecrated gifts as well as to the bread offered optionally at the eucharist or blessed separately and distributed in church or sent as a gift" (G. Vikan, 1991, p. 745).
- ***Gerontikon*** used for "a collection of stories in Greek about the *gerontes* or early Fathers of the church" (R. Amis, 2003, p. 375).
- ***Gymnasium*** (*γυμνάσιον*) "A place of exercise for the citizens" (R. A. Tomlinson, 1996, p. 659).
- ***Imperial Kommerkia*** "Offices run by state employees who may have exercised general control over the merchandise and collected duties" (A. Kazhdan and N. Oikonomides, 1991, p. 1141).

- ***Kastra*** Plural form of *kastron*.
- ***Kastron*** (*κάστρον*) "A fortified settlement, usually on a hilltop, distinct from the open lower town" (C. Foss, 1991, p. 1112).
- ***Kommerkiarioi*** Plural form of *kommerkiarios.*
- ***Kommerkiarios*** (*κομμερκιάριος*) "A fiscal official, probably the successor of the late Roman *comes commerciorum,* the controller of trade on the frontier" (A. Kazhdan and N. Oikonomides, 1991, p. 1141).
- ***Limitanei*** refers to "Frontier soldiers" in the late Roman Empire (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 1230).
- ***Lykokranitai*** refers to ***"***Force of infantry" or "infantry regiment" (*John Malalas*, trans. 1986, p. 260, 351).
- ***Mansio/Stathmos*** refers to "station for lodging and food" (A. Kolb, 2018, p. 440).
- ***Maurophoroi*** used by *Theophanes* for "the Abbasids and their backers" (*Theophanes*, trans. 1982, p. 114).
- ***Mutatio/Allage*** refers to "station for the change of transport facilities" (A. Kolb, 2018, p. 440).
- ***Nestorianism*** (*Νεστοριασμός*) A doctrine that "developed in the first half of the 5th century by Nestorios. Supporters of *Nestorianism* "underscored the human principle in Christology" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 1459).
- ***Nymphaeum*** "A monumental fountain set against a wall articulated with niches, often decorated with columns and statuary" (M. J. Johnson, 1991, p. 1505).
- ***Palaestra*** (*παλαίστρα*) "A place for wrestling, a part of the *gymnasium*" (W. Smith, 1873, p. 849).
- ***Panegyries*** sing. *Panegyris* (*πανήγυρις*) "Being a general gathering, it could refer to a religious feast, a public celebration, or a purely episodic market" (A. Laiou, 1991, p. 775).

- ***Parasang*** A measure "used in Persia, corresponding to 5.4 kms" (D. Potts, 2018, p. 1139).
- ***Ploutonion*** A sanctuary dedicated to Hades (Pluto).
- ***Polis*** refers to the Greek city-state.
- ***Praetorian Prefecture*** **"**Commander of the emperor's bodyguard under the principate" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 1710)
- ***Propylon*** "A monumental roofed gateway" (R. A. Tomlinson, 1996, p. 1259).
- ***Prosopon*** (*πρόσωπον*) means *persona* in Latin. *Prosopon* was "used in Trinitarian and Christological controversies" (K. H. Uthemann, 1991, p. 1633).
- ***Prytaneion*** refers to "symbolic centre of the *polis,* housing its communal hearth, eternal flame, and public dining-room where civic hospitality was offered; usually in or off the agora" (A. J. S. Spawforth, 1996, p. 1268).
- ***Scholae*** Plural form of *schola,* "unit of organization, civil and military" (C. Kelly, 2018, p. 1338).
- ***Stadion*** A Greek unit of measurement, 1 Stadion = 180 m.
- ***Stadia*** Plural form of Stadion
- ***Stoa*** (*στοά*) "A long narrow, rectangular building with colonnades on both short sides and along one long side; also a freestanding colonnade or portico. *Stoas* usually enclosed the sides of an *agora* and were used to line important streets in front of public buildings" (M. Johnson and A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 1958).
- ***Stoas*** Plural form of *stoa.*
- ***Strategoi*** Plural form of *strategos*.
- ***Strategos*** (*στρατηγός*) means general. *Strategos* also refers to "the military governor of a *theme*" (A. Kazhdan, 1991, p. 1964).
- ***Themata*** Plural form of *theme*.
- ***Theme*** used for "groupings of provinces across which different armies were based. By 730 or thereabouts they had acquired a clear geographical identity; and by the later eighth century some elements of fiscal as well as military

administration were set up on a thematic basis, although the late Roman provinces continued to subsist" (J. F. Haldon, 2005, p. 68).

- ***Via Sebaste*** The route "running from the coast of Pamphylia, through the Döşeme pass into the Pisidian highlands, and the settlements of Comama, Apollonia, Pisidian Antiocheia, and Iconium, thence Lystra". (S. Mitchell, 1996, p. 1596).
- ***Viae Glarea Stratae*** or *Via Glareata* used for the road "where the surface was hardened by gravel" (W. Ramsay, 1873, p. 1192).
- ***Viae Militares*** used for "a variant of *viae publicae*" (A. Kolb, 2014, p. 653)
- ***Viae Munitae*** refers to paved roads
- ***Viae Publicae*** refers to the state or public roads.
- ***Viae Silice Stratae*** refers to stone-paved roads (R. Chevallier, 1976, p. 86).
- ***Viae Terrenae*** used for "the mere track worn by the feet of men and beasts and the wheels of waggons across the fields" (W. Ramsay, 1873, p. 1192), or "mere surface roads" (R. Chevallier, 1976, p. 87).

D. CURRICULUM VITAE

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ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7734-6833

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
Ph.D.	METU Settlement Archaeology	2020
Scientific Preparatory Programme leading to Ph.D.	METU Settlement Archaeology	2009
M.A.	GAZI Uni. Archaeology	2007
B.A.	GAZI Uni. History	2004
High School	Trabzon High School, Trabzon	1998

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2008-2009	The Avkat Archaeological Project (PRINCETON UNIVERSITY)	Graduate Researcher
2009	Bolu Archaeological Project (ABANT IZZET BAYSAL UNIVERSITY)	Graduate Researcher
2007-2008	Ovaören Archaeological Project (GAZI UNIVERSITY)	Graduate Researcher
2003	The BTC Crude Oil Pipeline Archaeological Project (BP, BOTAŞ, Gazi Uni., METU)	Undergraduate Researcher

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Upper-Intermediate German, Intermediate Modern Greek, Basic French, Basic Persian, Basic Latin, Advanced Ottoman Turkish.

AWARDS & ACHIEVEMENTS

Year	Achievement	Place
2020	PRINCETON UNIVERSITY & KOÇ UNIVERSITY, Environment & History Workshop Scholarship (CCHRI & ANAMED)	Istanbul
2017	AEMB Refunding Grant	Paris
2014	STAVROS NIARCHOS & BODOSAKI-SISMANOGLIO MEGARO, Scholarship for Modern Greek Education	Istanbul
2010	METU GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, Graduate Courses Performance Award	Ankara
2006	EUROPEAN COMMISSION EDUCATION & TAINING, Leonardo da Vinci Grant	Berlin
2004	GAZI UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF ARTS & SCIENCES, Bachelor of Arts Honours	Ankara

PUBLICATIONS

Kaya, T. "Understanding the use of Byzantine Routes in Central Anatolia (ca. 7th-9th c.)" in Studia Ceranea Journal of the Waldemar Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, *Studia Ceranea* 9, (2019), pp. 259-278.

Kaya, T. "Communications in Byzantine Asia: Change and Continuity", in L. Ciolfi & J. Devoge (eds.) *Rencontres Annuelles des Doctorants en Études Byzantines, Porphyra* CsB VII, (2019), pp. 34-51.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Kaya, T. "The Crossing Routes of Byzantine Cappadocia on the eve of the Arab Raids (c. 4th-7th centuries AD)", Cappadocia and Cappadocians in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine Periods, An International Symposium on the Southeastern Part of Central Anatolia in Classical Antiquity, May 14-15, 2020, Dokuz Eylül University, Turkey.

Kaya, T. "Interpreting the Impact of 'Transformation' and 'Continuity' on the use of Byzantine Routes in Central Anatolia (ca. 7th-9th centuries)", First Colloquia Ceranea International Conference, 11-13th April 2019, Ceraneum Centre, University of Łódź, *Poland.*

Kaya, T. "Trading Networks and Interaction in Late Roman Asia Minor (ca. 5th-6th centuries AD", GAO Annual Graduate Conference 2019, 11-12th March 2019, University of Oxford, England.

Kaya, T. "Communications in Byzantine Asia: Change and Continuity", Xes Rencontres Internationales des Doctorants en Études Byzantines, 6-7 octobre 2017, Université Paris-Sorbonne, France.

HOBBIES

Basketball, Tennis, Trekking, Travel, Computer Technologies, Movies, Books, Foreign Languages and Cultures.

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Rotalar ve iletişim ağı, geç Roma ve erken Bizans Anadolusu'nda idari/siyasi ve ekonomik yapı ve aynı zamanda geç Roma kentleşmesinde meydana gelen değişimleri değerlendirmek açısından önemli bir kaynak oluşturmaktadır. Etkileşim aracı ve sistemi olarak rotalar, kentleşme, kentsel değişim ve yerleşim statüsü hususlarında iyi bir temel yapı sağlamaktadır. **Routes and Communications in Late Roman and Byzantine Anatolia (c. 4th-9th Centuries A.D.) / Geç Roma ve Bizans Anadolusu'nda Rotalar ve İletişim (M.S. 4.-9.yy)** başlıklı doktora tez çalışmasında, milattan sonra dördüncü ve dokuzuncu yüzyıllar arasında, sosyal, dini ve siyasi alanda gerçekleşen olaylar zincirinin, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu (Bizans) Anadolusu'nda nasıl bir 'dönüşüm' ve 'değişim'e sebep olduğu sorusu ve bu değişimlerin yol ve iletişim ağları ile nasıl ilişkilendirilebileceği ele alınmıştır.

Geç Roma ve Bizans İmparatorluğu'nda, 'değişim', 'dönüşüm' veya 'çöküş' ve 'süreklilik' veya 'süreksizlik' konuları ile ilgili tartışmalar, 18. yüzyıldan günümüze, 'klasik Roma' kentinin gelişimi, değişimi veya sürekliliği üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Roma dönemi kentsel değişim veya dönüşüm, yolların ve dolayısıyla rotaların kullanımıyla ilişkilidir. Bu bağlamda, kamu alanı ve yapı unsurlarında olduğu gibi, Roma kentleri ve yapılarının zamanla değişimi, Roma İmparatorluğu'nda fiziksel olarak yollar ve işlevsel olarak rotalarla bağlantılıdır.

Kentleşme ve kamu yapıları fonksiyonundaki değişim, Hıristiyanlığın, devletin yeni dini olarak resmiyet kazanmasıyla birlikte, farklı bir odak noktası haline gelmiştir. Hıristiyanlığın yükselişi, Roma İmparatorluğu'ndaki kamusal yaşam ve kamu kurumlarında, yaklaşık olarak M.S. 4. yüzyıldan 6. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru önemli ölçüde değişime sebep olmuştur. Bu yüzyıllardaki değişimleri müteakip, 7. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren, yaklaşık olarak 150 yıl sürecek olan Arap akınları, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu (Bizans) Anadolusu'nda idari/siyasi ve ekonomik anlamda, farklı

dinamiklerin oluşumuna sebep olmuştur. Bu çalışma, söz konusu dönemler arasında, karşılıklı olarak etkili olan gelişmelerin iletişim ağları ve hareket şekillerine, dolayısıyla da kentleşme dinamiklerine etkisini ele almaktadır. Bu değişimler pek çok şekilde kendini gösterir; nitekim Anadolu'daki kentsel merkezler iki ana değişime tanıklık etmiştir:

1) 4. ve 6. yüzyıllar arasında yapım faaliyetindeki artış – yeni veya yeniden inşa faaliyetleri, dini amaçlı kullanım, var olan yapıların aynı kullanım amacıyla tadilat veya tamiratı ve var olan yapıların yeni işlevsel dönüşümü veya değişimi.

2) 7. ve 9. yüzyıllar arasındaki değişiklikler veya ana yapısal değişimler – 7. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren anıtsal surların yapımı veya bu surların güçlendirilerek şehirlerin tahkim edilmesi, şehir sınırları içerisinde duvarla çevrili iltica bölgelerinin oluşumu, tepe üstü yapılaşması, kentsel bağlam ve statüdeki değişimler, şehrin 'çöküşü', küçülmesi veya yerelleşmesi ve aynı zamanda fakirleşmesi, kentsel yerleşimlerin askeri merkezlere dönüşmesi.

Kamusal hayattaki değişimlerin varlığı, iletişim ve rotalar üzerinde kurulan ve birbirine bağlanan kentlerin değişimine muayyen olarak etki ettiğini gösterir. Bu bağlamda, Anadolu'da kuzeybatı-güneydoğu ekseninde iki ana rota, Konstantinopolis (İstanbul) ve Kilikya Kapıları (Gülek Boğazı) arasında zuhur etmiştir ve Anadolu'daki Geç Roma – Erken/Orta Bizans rotalarının gelişmesinde etkili olmuştur. 'Hacı Yolu' olarak da bilinen birinci rota, Konstantinopolis (İstanbul) ve Kilikya Kapıları (Gülek Boğazı)'nı İznik (Nicaea), Ankara (Ancyra), Nallıhan (Juliopolis) ve Kemerhisar (Tyana) kentleriyle birbirine bağlar ve bu çalışmada Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 1 (NW-SE DR 1 / KB-GD DR 1) olarak tanımlanmıştır. İkinci rota, yine Konstantinopolis (İstanbul) ve Kilikya Kapıları (Gülek Boğazı)'nı bu sefer İznik (Nicaea), Eskişehir (Dorylaion) ve Emirdağ (Amorium) kentleriyle birbirine bağlar ve bu çalışmada Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 2 (NW-SE DR 2 / KB-GD DR 2) olarak tanımlanmıştır.

'Değişim', 'süreklilik/süreksizlik' ve 'dönüşüm' durumları, bu çalışmada 'rota'nın tamamlayıcı bir kanıt olarak ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenmesiyle ele alınmıştır.

Arkeolojik veriler ve tarihsel metinler kullanılarak, jeopolitik, idari, ekonomik ve sosyal değişimlerin rotaların kullanımı üzerinde etkilerini ve aynı zamanda söz konusu rotaların durumu ve kullanımının nasıl ve ne şekilde Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans Anadolusu kentlerinde etkili olduğunu tartışmak amaçlanmıştır. Bu şekilde, rotaların kullanım durumu ve bu rotalar üzerine kurulan kazı ve yüzey araştırması yapılmış ana şehirlerin kentsel dinamikleri açıklanmıştır.

Eski zamanda yol, "önceden var olan noktalar arasındaki herhangi bir iletişim hattı" iken, rota "bir ana yol veya bir patika vasıtasıyla planlanmış/tasarlanmış iletişim hattı" olarak David French (1980, p. 703) tarafından tanımlanmıştır. Yine French tarafından eski yollar ve rotalar, fiziksel görünümlerine göre ana yol (highway), şose (roadway/trackway) ve patika yol (pathway) olarak sınıflandırılmıştır. Bu yollar, taş döşeli (paved) ve taş döşemesiz (unpaved) olarak Roma döneminde yapılmış ve kullanılmıştır ve genellikle kamu yolları (public roads) olarak bilinir.

Romalılar, hüküm sürdükleri bölgelerde yaklaşık olarak 50.000 milin üzerinde yol inşa etmişlerdir. Dolayısıyla, Romalıların işgalinin bir göstergesi olarak yollar, ticaretin gelişimi ve imparatorluğun güvenliği açısından oldukça önemlidir. Roma yol ağı, imparatorluğa ait askeri ve idari unsurlar için, işgal edilmiş topraklara kolayca nüfuz edebilmeye olanak tanımıştır. Bu bağlamda, yol ağı esas olarak askeri gereksinimlerle ilişkilendirilmiş ve böylece devlet sınırları ve toprakları kolayca yönetilebilmiştir. Yol ağının askeri kullanımı, eyaletlerden Ankara (Ancyra) veya Kayseri (Caesarea) gibi politik/siyasi merkezlere, malzeme ve insan gücü mekanizmasının işleyişine destek olmuştur. Böylece, rotaların fiziksel alanı olarak yollar, imparatorluğun şehirleri ve imparatorluğa ait mali ve idari sistemin kavşak noktaları arasında etkili bir ağ oluşturmuştur.

Yollar ve rotalar hakkında arkeolojik veriler ve tarihi kaynaklar, Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans Anadolusu'nda Roma yol ağını anlamaya yardımcı olmuştur. Arkeolojik veri olarak, mil taşları Roma dönemi yollarının varlığını göstermesi açısından birincil kaynaktır. David French tarafından kapsamlı bir şekilde çalışılmış olan Anadolu'nun Roma İmparatorluğu'na ait mil taşları, bu çalışmada rotaların gelişimini

anlamak açısından temel oluşturmuştur. Yaklaşık olarak 1216 adet kayıtlı ve numaralandırılmış mil taşları, Anadolu'da 10.000 km kadar döşeli (paved) Roma yollarının varlığını kanıtlamıştır. Tarihsel kaynaklar ise rotaların kullanımına ışık tutmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, rotaların kullanımı hakkında bilgi veren azizlerin hayatı, seyahatnameler, coğrafyacıların seyahatleri ve en önemlisi eski tarihçilerin açıklamaları ve anlatımları, arkeolojik verileri desteklemektedir. Bizans ve Arap kaynakları göz önünde bulundurularak, yolların ve kentlerin durumunun yanı sıra, dönemin ana yol ağının nasıl ve ne şekilde kullanıldığı hakkında bilgiler kullanılmıştır. Bu bilgiler, imparatorların ve akıncıların geçtiği rotalardan oluşmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak ana rota üzerine kurulmuş Ankara (Ancyra) ve Emirdağ (Amorium) gibi kentlerin durumu ve statüsü hakkında da bilgiler edinmek mümkün olmuştur.

Anadolu'da Roma dönemi rotalar ve iletişim ağının gelişimini anlayabilmek için, Roma döneminden önce gelişen rotalar genel olarak ele alınmıştır. M.Ö. 14. yüzyıllarda egemenliğini kuran Hitit Devleti, başkenti Hattuşaş (Boğazkale) olmak üzere, Ege kıyılarından Doğu'ya uzanan bir yol hattı üzerinde kavşak noktası olmuştur. Ardından, M.Ö. 8.yüzyılın ortalarında iç batı Anadolu'da güç elde eden Frigler, Ankara'nın yaklaşık 95 km güneybatısında kurulan Gordion kentini başkent yapmışlar ve iletişim ve yol ağı bu dönemde Anadolu'nun iç batı kesiminde zuhur etmiştir. M.Ö. 9. – 6. yüzyıllar arasında Anadolu'da kurulan krallıklar ve kıyı bölgelerde yer alan Yunan kolonilerinin yeni kentler kurmalarıyla, Doğu ve Batı arasında gelişen ticari faaliyetlerle, Anadolu'nun yol ağı ekonomik açıdan gelişmiştir. M.Ö. 5. yüzyılda, doğu-batı ekseninde Pers İmparatorluğu'nun başkenti Susa kenti ve Lidyalıların Sardis'i arasında genişletilen ve restore edilen Kral Yolu, bu dönemde askeri ve ekonomik amaçlarla önemli bir ana yol olarak kullanılmıştır. Yine aynı yüzyılda, Efes'ten Fırat Nehri'ne kadar William Ramsay tarafından ifade edilen 'Büyük Ticaret Rotası' veya 'Eski Ticaret Rotası', Doğu-Batı (Ege kıyıları ve Kilikya Kapıları) arasında ticari faaliyetlerde kullanılmıştır. Söz konusu bu rota üzerinde M.Ö. 300-100 yılları arasında kurulan Denizli (Laodicea) ve Dinar (Apamea) gibi kentler, bu rotanın gelişimi ve kullanımının artmasını sağlamıştır. Bu dönemde, Batı Anadolu'dan Karadeniz kıyılarına kuzey-güney

ekseninde, Bithynia'dan Pontus bölgesine batı-doğu ekseninde ve yine Pamphylia'dan Cilicia'ya batı-doğu ekseninde yeni rotalar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu söz konusu birbirinden bağımsız olarak işleyen rotaların varlığına rağmen, Anadolu'da Roma dönemine kadar birleşik bir iletişim sistemi yoktur. Bu durum, Kenneth Harl tarafından Anadolu krallıkları arasında güç dengelerinin sürekli değişiklik göstermesi ve bu nedenle birleşik bir politik/siyasi ortamın olmamasıyla açıklanır. Romalıların Anadolu'da hâkimiyet kurmasıyla, yollar ve rotalar bir iletişim ağı olarak birleşik bir karakter kazanmıştır ve böylece Roma İmparatorluğu'nun gücü, Anadolu'ya yoğun bir iletişim ağı getirmiştir.

Anadolu M.Ö. 2. yüzyılda eyaletlere bölündüğünde, Romalılar yeni yollar inşa etmişlerdir. Mil taşları üzerindeki yazıtlardan edinilen bilgilere göre, yeni yapılan yollar yeni kurulan eyaletleri – Bithynia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Asia, Galatia, Cilicia, Cappadocia and Pontus – birbirine bağlayan ve birbirleri arasında iletişimi sağlayan önemli rotalar haline gelmiştir. Bu yollar, insanların ve hayvanların kullanımı için uygun olarak ve bazısı da tekerlekli araçların geçişi için uygun inşa edilmiştir. Mil taşlarından edinilen bilgiler ışığında, Anadolu'da Roma yollarının varlığı, inşası, tamir ve tadilatı, bu çalışmada Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans yollarının varlığı ve rotalarının kullanımına referans oluşturması açısından detaylı olarak incelenmiştir.

M.S. 4. yüzyıldan itibaren 6. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru imparatorlukta meydana gelen idari, siyasi ve ekonomik değişimler, rotaların kullanımına etki etmiştir. Politik/siyasi ve ekonomik değişimi tetikleyen iki temel unsur, Geç Roma dönemine girerken gerçekleşmiştir:

1) 4. yüzyıldan itibaren, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu'nun yükselişi, 'Hıristiyan Roma İmparatorluğu' olarak idari ve ekonomik güç kazanması, Roma şehrinin başkent olarak statüsünün düşmesiyle birlikte Konstantinopolis'in başkent statüsüne yükseltilmesi.

2) Hıristiyanlığın, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun resmi dini olarak kabul edilmesi.

Her iki temel değişim ve gelişme, Geç Roma döneminde Anadolu'da iletişim ağı, rotaların kullanımı ve kentleşme olgusuna etki etmiştir.

Geç 3. yüzyıl ve erken 4. yüzyıllarda cumhuriyet sisteminden otokrasiye geçişle birlikte Roma İmparatorluğu'nda merkezi yönetimin gücü artmaya başlamıştır. Bu yeni idari sistem, 'klasik' şehirlerin idaresinde de etkili olmuştur. Eyalet yöneticisi ve idari atamalar imparatorun onayından geçmekteydi. Peter Brown bu yeni idari sistemi "Devlet benim!" fikriyle açıklar. Nitekim imparatorun onayı, her kentin temel sorumlusu olan idareci ve yönetici (*curator* ve *defensor*) yetkililer üzerinde de etkili olmaya başlamıştır. Klasik şehir devletlerin idari mekanizması, bundan böyle merkezi otokrasi, diğer bir deyişle, mutlak monarşinin kontrolü altındaydı. Fakat yine de bu dönemde bazı kurumların ve vergi toplayan memurlar (*curiales*) gibi idari sistemin devam ettiği tartışılmaktadır.

Değişen siyasi ve idari sistem, kentlerin rolünün değişmesine de sebep olmuştur. Efes ve Ankara (Ancyra) gibi ana kentler, dini ve ticari merkezler haline gelmiştir. Konstantinopolis'in başkent olmasıyla birlikte, şehrin art bölgesinde gelişen şehirler, kuzeybatı-güneydoğu ekseninde uzanan diyagonal rotaların gelişmesi ve önem kazanmasına olanak sağlamıştır. Batı-doğu eksenli 'Büyük Ticaret Rotası' önemini kaybetmiş, Konstantinopolis'i, Suriye ve Filistin (Kutsal Topraklar) ile birbirine bağlayan diyagonal rotaların hem ticari hem de dini açıdan kullanımı artmıştır. Hıristiyanlığın yükselişi ve resmiyet kazanması ve imparatorluğun ve başkentin 'kutsal' statü kazanmasıyla birlikte, söz konusu ana rotalar üzerine kurulmuş olan ana kentlerin idaresinde ve kamu hayatında Hıristiyan piskoposların baskın rolü olmuştur. Bu durum, Roma aristokratları ve rahipler, aynı zamanda imparatorlar ve rahipler arasında yeni bir iletişim ağının gelişmesine neden olmuştur. Denilebilir ki, kilisenin gücünün artması ve kilise ve piskoposların imparatorun da onayı ile birlikte kent idaresinde ortak hareket etmesi, kentlerin 'dini' ve 'merkezi' sistemle yönetilir hale gelmesine sebep olmuştur.

Dini ve idari sistemin ve dolayısıyla ekonomik durumun değişimi kentlerin statüsüne ve rotaların kullanımına etkisini açıkça göstermektedir. Arkeolojik verilerden edinilen bilgilere göre imparatorluğun dini, idari ve ekonomik durumundaki değişimin kentlere yansıması üç temel unsurla açıklanmıştır:

1) Yeni inşa faaliyetleri.

2) Var olan yapıların aynı amaçla tamir ve tadilatı.

3) Var olan yapıların yeni kullanım amacıyla değişimi ve dönüşümü.

Anadolu'da Geç Roma döneminde söz konusu faaliyetlerin arttığı arkeolojik olarak kanıtlanmıştır. Arkeolojik kazı ve yüzey araştırmaları ışığında, inşa faaliyetlerinin en yoğun olarak Batı Anadolu bölgesindeki şehirlerde olduğu söylenebilir. Bu durum, şehir hayatının canlılığını Geç Roma döneminde artarak sürdürdüğünü göstermiştir. Arkeolojik veriler ışığında, Anadolu'da inşa faaliyetleri beş alt başlıkta sınıflandırılabilir:

1) Tiyatro, kilise ve şehir surları gibi var olan yapıların onarımı.

2) Sarnıç ve su kemerleri gibi altyapı sistemlerinin onarımı veya yeni yapılması.

3) Var olan yapıların mekânsal organizasyonları veya değişen işlevleri için yapılan tadilat.

4) Kilise ve bazilika gibi yeni dini yapıların inşası.

5) Doğal afetler nedeniyle yıkılan veya terk edilen yapıların onarımı veya yeniden inşası.

Anadolu'da ana rotalar üzerinde kurulmuş olan ana kentlerde söz konusu faaliyetler, kentlerin ekonomik olarak gücünü ve canlılığını göstermesi açısından önemlidir. Örneğin, yeni su şebekesi sistemi Efes, Nysa (Sultanhisar), Laodicea (Denizli) gibi Geç Roma döneminin önemli kentlerinde inşaası arkeolojik olarak ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Sagalassos (Ağlasun) kentinde yukarı *agora*'da (kent meydanı) yapılan araştırmalar, bu alana işliklerin yapıldığını ve agoranın işlevindeki değişimi göstermiştir. Diğer taraftan, Laodicea'daki (Denizli) tiyatro ve Tralleis'teki (Aydın) hamam yapısı aynı amaçla kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. Deprem nedeniyle hasar gören tapınak ve altar (sunak) gibi yapılar, Ladociea'da (Denizli) olduğu gibi, ya terk edilmiş ya da farklı bir amaca hizmet etmek için deşişime uğramıştır. Yeni yapıların inşasına örnek olabilecek en önemli yapı, 4. yüzyıldan itibaren kiliselerin yoğun olarak inşasıdır. 5. ve 6. yüzyıllarda kilise inşasının arttığı görülmüştür. Konstantinopolis'teki kiliselerin yapımına ek olarak, Olympos, Side, Perge ve Sinop gibi önemli kentlerde ve

Anadolu'nun diğer pek çok Geç Roma kentlerinde yeni kiliselerin yapıldığı arkeolojik olarak kanıtlanmıştır.

Geç Roma dönemindeki bu dini gelişmelere paralel olarak hac yolculuğu ve faaliyetleri de hızla artmıştır. Hac ziyaretleri, bu bağlamda, iletişim rotaları ve ağının kullanımının en önemli göstergelerinden biridir. Bu dönemde Meryemlik (Hagia Thekla), Efes ve Euchaïta (Avkat) gibi yerleşimler hac merkezi haline gelmiştir. M.S. 3. yüzyıldan beri bilinen, Batı ve Doğu arasında uzanan ve Konstantinopolis ve Kutsal Toprakları birbirine bağlayan diyagonal eksenli Hac Yolu, hac ziyaretlerinin artmasıyla önem kazanmıştır. Böylece, bu dönemde 'klasik' tarzda yapım faaliyetlerinden ziyade, yeni inşa faaliyetleri, eski yapıların yeni işlev kazanması, dini yapıların artması ve hac ziyaretlerinin önem kazanması, klasik şehir yapılarında değişimi açık bir şekilde göstermiştir.

Geç Roma döneminin en önemli özelliğinden biri de ekonominin büyümesi ve ticari faaliyetlerin artmasıdır. 4. yüzyıldan başlayarak 6. yüzyılın içlerine doğru Efes ve Smyrna (İzmir) gibi önemli liman kentlerde özellikle deniz ticareti gelişmiştir. Bu durum, uluslararası ticari faaliyetlerin, ucuz olması nedeniyle deniz yoluyla yapılmasına olanak sağlamıştır. Efes veya Sardis (Salihli) gibi önemli kentlerde ortaya çıkarılan dükkânlar, işlik veya atölyeler üretimin arttığını göstermektedir. Bu işliklerde üretilen seramikler, amforalar, cam ve mermerler daha çok deniz yoluyla taşınmışlardır. Sualtı arkeolojisiyle gemi batıklarından elde edilen malzemeler Geç Roma döneminde deniz ticaret ağını ortaya koymuştur. Yerel, bölgesel ve bölgeler arası deniz ticaret ağı, Anadolu'nun ekonomik canlılığını gösterir. Örneğin, batıklardan ortaya çıkarılan amforalar, Filistin, Kuzey Suriye ve Ege ile Konstantinopolis arasında bölgesel ve bölgeler arası zeytinyağı ve şarap taşımacılığı ve dolayısıyla ticari ağın kullanımını göstermiştir. Geç Roma Anadolusu'nda ticari iletişim ve etkileşim ağının gelişimi söz konusu arkeolojik verilerden açık bir şekilde anlaşılmaktadır.

Tarihi kaynakların ışığında, 6. yüzyılda imparatorluğun doğu ve batı sınırlarında barbar ataklarının artmasıyla, sınır bölgelere ulaşan mevcut ana yolların tamiri, köprülerin yapımı ve tamiri, sınır bölgesindeki şehirlerin surlarının güçlendirilmesi veya

yeni sur inşası görülmektedir. Arkeolojik veriler ışığında, Anadolu'da önceden bilinen Roma yolları kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. Ana yolların (highway) şoseye (roadway) dönüşümü ve fakat kağnı ile tekerlekli araçların kullanımına devam edildiği tartışılmaktadır. Sınır bölgelerde barbar akınlarına rağmen, bu dönemde ticaret ve hac ziyaretleri nedeniyle Hac Yolu rotası en önemli iletişim ağı olarak kullanılmıştır. Birinci durum çalışması olarak ele alınan 'Hac Yolu' rotası detaylı olarak bu çalışmada incelenmiştir. Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 1 (KB-GD DR 1 / NW-SE DR 1) olarak bu çalışmada tanımlanan 'Hacı Yolu' rotası üzerinde Konstantinopolis ve Kilikya Kapıları arasında kuzeydoğu-güneybatı eksenli uzanmaktadır. KB-GD DR 1 üzerinde kurulmuş Nicaea (İznik), Juliopolis (Nallıhan), Ancyra (Ankara) ve Tyana (Kamerhisar) kentleri, bu rotanın en önemli bağlayıcı ana kentleridir. Kazı ve yüzey araştırması yapılmış bu kentlerin Geç Roma döneminde Anadolu'da dini, idari ve 'ekonomik' açıdan önemleri ortaya konmuştur. Tarihi kaynaklar, bu rotanın kullanımıyla ilgili olarak ana kentlerin civarında konumlandırılan konaklama merkezlerinin (*mutationes* ve *mansiones*) varlığını göstermektedir. Gerek ulaşım rahatlığı ve gerekse en ucuz doğal kara rotası olması nedeniyle, KB-GD DR 1 (Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 1), Batı ve Kutsal Topraklar arasında hacıların, seyyahların ve tüccarların sürekli ve yoğun olarak kullandığı bir rota haline gelmiştir. Nitekim bu rota üzerinde yukarıda bahsi geçen ana şehirlerin bu dönemde ekonomik canlılığı, gerek dini gerekse ticari inşa faaliyetlerinin sürekliliği ile açıklanmıştır. Bu süreklilik özellikle arkeolojik kazılardan elde edilen yayını yapılmış verilerle doğrulanmıştır.

7. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Sasani İmparatorluğu'nun Anadolu üzerinde baskı kurma çabaları, akın düzenleme ve ganimet elde etme üzerine kurulmuştur. Procopius'un *Buildings* adlı eserinden elde edilen bilgilere göre, Sasaniler, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu ile daha çok doğu sınır bölgelerde mücadele etmişlerdir. Her ne kadar Anadolu'nun içlerine akın faaliyetleri düzenlemiş olsalar da etkileri uzun sürmemiştir. Bu durum, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu'nun (Bizans) 6. yüzyılda, etkili yol ağı ve onarımı ve aynı zamanda sınır şehirleri surlarının güçlendirilmesiyle açıklanabilir.

7. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Arapların Persler üzerinde hâkimiyet kurmasıyla birlikte, imparatorluğun doğu sınırlarında siyasi dengeler değişmiş, İslamiyet'in doğuşu ve akabinde Emevi sülalesinin Suriye bölgesinde yükselişiyle birlikte, Araplar Anadolu'ya ilk akınlarını 640 yılı civarında yapmışlardır. 8. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Abbasi sülalesinin yönetimi devralmasıyla bu akınlar, Türklerin Anadolu'yu ele geçirmelerine kadar, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu ve yine Suriye bölgesinde kurulan Abbasi Devleti arasında sürmüştür. 7. yüzyıldan 9. yüzyıla kadar süren bu dönem, tarihi kaynakların sessiz kalması ve dolayısıyla Roma şehri hakkında bilgi yetersizliği sebebiyle, bilhassa Bizans tarihçileri tarafından 'Karanlık Çağ' olarak adlandırılmıştır. Fakat son kırk yıldır yapılan arkeolojik kazılar ve yüzey araştırmalarıyla, bu tezde ele alınan 4. yüzyıldan 6. yüzyıl sonlarına kadar olan Anadolu'da Geç Roma dönemi kentleşmesi anlaşılabilmiştir. Buradan hareketle, 7. yüzyıldan itibaren, her ne kadar 7. ve 9. yüzyıllar arası arkeolojik veri az olsa da, idari, siyasi ve ekonomik gelişmelerin Roma şehirlerine ne şekilde etki ettiği karşılaştırmalı olarak kısmen anlaşılabilmektedir. Son yirmi yılda ortaya çıkarılan arkeolojik veriler, Anadolu'da 7. ve 9. yüzyıllar arası 'Karanlık Çağ'ı bir dereceye kadar aydınlatabilmiştir. Buna göre bu dönemler arası, 'Geçiş' veya 'Erken/Orta Bizans' dönemi olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmada söz konusu 7. ve 9. yüzyıllar arası Erken/Orta Bizans Dönemi başlığı altında ele alınmıştır.

Arap akıncılarının Anadolu'daki varlığı, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun siyasi, idari ve ekonomik yapısındaki değişimlere etki etmiştir. Bu durum, rotaların kullanımı ve kentleşmedeki değişimde görülür. Erken/Orta Bizans dönemi Anadolusu'nda 7. ve 9. yüzyıllar arasında görülen söz konusu değişimler, dört alt başlıkta ele alınmıştır:

1) İlk olarak Sasaniler (İslamiyetten önceki son Pers İmparatorluğu) ve ardından da Araplarla olan savaş durumu dolayısıyla sınır bölgelerinde değişen durum: Savunma ve sınır bölgesi olarak Kilikya'nın imparatorluğun elinden çıkması ve yeni sınır bölgesi olarak Toros ve anti-Toros bölgesinin önem kazanması.

2) Politik ve idari sistemin değişmesiyle birlikte, *Anatolikon*, *Opsikion*, *Armeniakon* ve *Thrakesion* themalarının (*themes*) idari bölgelerin ortaya çıkması – 9.

yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren askeri özellik kazanarak *themata* adıyla tarihi kaynaklarda geçmektedir.

3) Kentleşmenin statüsünde ve bağlamındaki değişimler, kentin düşüşü, küçülmesi, yerelleşmesi ve fakirleşmesi, buna bağlı olarak askeri merkezler haline gelmesi.

4) Ekonominin ve ticaret şeklinin değişmesi.

7. ve 9. yüzyıllar arasındaki dönem, 4. yüzyıldan 6. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar olan dönemle arkeolojik ve tarihsel olarak karşılaştırıldığında dönüşümlerin daha çok olduğu bir süreç olarak görünmektedir. Nitekim Arap akınları sistematik bir şekilde 150 yıl boyunca yoğun bir şekilde sürmüş, her ne kadar Araplar kalıcı olarak Anadolu'ya yerleşmemiş olsalar da, Roma şehirlerinde tahrip edici etkilere sebep olmuşlardır. Bu durum, gerek Arap kaynakları gerek Bizans kaynakları ve gerekse arkeolojik verilerle kanıtlanmıştır. Arapların Konstantinopolis'i kuşatmak amacıyla hem deniz ve hem de kara rotalarıyla hareket etmeleri ve istila ettikleri veya konakladıkları kentlerde ganimet elde ederek kentlere zarar verip kendi topraklarına dönmeleri, bu sürecin değişiminde en önemli sebeplerden biri olmuştur. Fakat bu tahripkâr politika, beraberinde Erken/Orta Bizans Anadolusu kentlerinin tamamen çöküşünü getirmemiştir. Söz konusu kentleşme olgusundaki değişimler, önceki yüzyıllardan beri süregelen değişimlerin de bir sonucu olarak açıklanmıştır. Leslie Brubaker ve John Haldon'ın arkeolojik, tarihsel ve paleo-çevresel çalışmalarıyla disiplinler arası yaklaşımları, bu süregelen dönemin değişen dinamiklerini ortaya koymuştur.

Toros, anti-Toros ve Ermenistan (Armenia IV) bölgelerinden hareketle, Araplar Anadolu'ya nüfuz etmişlerdir. Geç Roma döneminde kullanılan 'Hacı Yolu' rotası önemini kaybetmiştir. Geç Roma döneminden bilinen yollar yüksek olasılıkla yerel olarak kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. Fakat bu dönemde yeni askeri rotalar ortaya çıkmıştır. Konstantinopolis'ten başlayarak Caesarea'ya (Kayseri) uzanan batı-doğu eksenli askeri rota ile yine Konstantinopolis'ten Kilikya Kapıları'na kuzeybatı-güneydoğu eksenli askeri rotalar kullanılagelmiştir. Bu çalışmada, Kuzeybatı-

Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 2 (KB-GD DR 2 / NW-SE DR 2) olarak adlandırılan rota ikinci durum çalışması olarak ayrıntılı bir şekilde ele alınmıştır.

Arapların Anadolu'ya söz konusu rotalarla gerçekleşen akınları, idari ve siyasi değişimlere, ekonomik ilişkilerin ve kentlerin canlılığının zayıflamasına sebep olmuştur. Dolayısıyla, Arap akınları Anadolu'da iletişim ağının ekonomik ve sosyal bağlamda etkin olarak işlemesini engellemiştir. Başkent ve ana kentler arasındaki ticari ve sosyal iletişim ağı sekteye uğramıştır. Bizans İmparatorluğu Suriye, Filistin ve Mısır'daki topraklarını, 636'da Araplarla yapılan Yermuk savaşında kaybedince, Anadolu'nun merkezi konumu artmış ve Anadolu'daki rotalar askeri amaçla kullanılmış ve savunma sistemi açısından büyük önem kazanmıştır. Doğudaki sınır bölgesinin (*limes orientis*) önemini kaybetmesi ve sahra ordusunun akınları engellemede yetersiz kalması hasebiyle, Bizans İmparatorluğu Anadolu'nun stratejik olarak sınır bölgelerinde konuşlandırılan güçlü noktaların tesisine odaklanmıştır. Böylece, Bizans ordusu, 8. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren bölgesel, yerel ve kırsal özellik kazanmıştır. Stratejik olarak önem kazanan ve ana rotalar üzerine kurulmuş olan Amorium (Emirdağ) gibi kentler themalara (*themes*) başkentlik yapmış ve ordu toplanma yeri olarak askeri merkezler haline gelmiştir. Böylece söz konusu merkezler veya şehirler her bölgenin (*themes*) güvenliğini sağlaması açısından önemli rol oynamışlardır. Bizans ve Arap kaynaklarına göre, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun bu dönemdeki savaş stratejisi savunma odaklıdır. Bizans savunma stratejisi, savaştan sakınarak, düşman birliklerini mühimmattan yoksun bırakarak zor duruma düşürmek ve böylece etkisiz hale getirmekti. Buna ilaveten, sınır bölgesinde tahkim edilmiş ana merkezler veya ordu karargâhlarında düşmana karşı direnerek, düşman kaynaklarını ve iletişim hattını güç ve zaman bakımından savunmasız hale getirmekti. Bu bağlamda, John Haldon tarafından 1) Kilikya 2) Frigya—Galatya ve 3) Konstantinopolis'in art bölgesi (hinterlandı) olarak sınıflandırılan yeni stratejik bölgeler ortaya çıkmıştır. Burada ilk iki bölgeden diyagonal olarak geçen belli başlı ana rotalar, hem Bizans ordusu hem de Arap akıncıları tarafından kullanılmıştır.

Akınlar nedeniyle ekonominin zayıflaması ve daralması, kentlerin canlılığını yitirmesi ile açıklanır. Düşman tehditleri nedeniyle daralan ekonomi ve ticari faaliyetlere rağmen, bölgesel ve bölgeler arası ekonomik aktiviteler ulaşım ve iletişim ağları vasıtasıyla devam etmiştir. Bu dönemde de ucuz ulaşım sağlaması nedeniyle deniz ticaret rotaları kullanılmıştır. Altın para basımı devam ederken, 7. ve 8. yüzyıllarda bronz para basımı kısmen sürmüştür. Arkeolojik verilerin sınırlı olmasına rağmen, altın ve bronz sikkelerin askerlere yapılan ödemelerde kullanıldığı tarihi kaynaklardan bilinmektedir. Fakat bu yüzyıllar arasında sikkelerin varlığına yönelik çalışmalar oldukça sınırlıdır ve bu alanda çalışmaların yapılması elzemdir.

Arap akınlarının idari ve ekonomik durumda değişikliğini yansıtan en önemli unsur Erken/Orta Bizans dönemi Anadolu kentleşmesindeki değişimdir. Arap akınları döneminde Bizans Anadolusu'ndaki kentleşme beş alt başlıkta ele alınmıştır:

1) Askeri ve dini merkezler olarak kentlerin statüsünün yeniden organizasyonu.

2) Kentin fiziksel boyutunda küçülme.

3) Kentlerde var olan savunma yapılarının değişimi veya yeni savunma yapılarının inşası.

4) Şehir yerleşimleri yakınında yeni berkitilmiş ve duvarla çevrelenmiş kale formunda ve karakterinde yerleşimlerin inşası.

5) Civardaki mevkilere yerleşmek amacıyla, kentleşmiş yerlerin etekleri veya aşağı yamaçları gibi kentlerin asıl sınırlarının dışına taşınması.

Kentlerin askeri özellik kazanması, diğer bir ifadeyle statü ve karakterlerinin değişimi, 'klasik' şehir anlayışından farklıdır. Yukarıda belirtilen sınıflandırmalar doğrultusunda, bu dönemde ortaya çıkan *kastron* (fortified site/berkitilmiş mevki) yapısı, Geç Roma şehirleşmesinden de farklılık göstermektedir. John Haldon ve Philip Niewöhner tarafından tartışılan *kastron* yapısı herhangi bir atak sırasında tehlike anı geçene kadar bir sığınma yeri şeklinde yorumlanmıştır. *Kastron* yapısı, bu dönemde kentleşme olgusunu göstermesi açısından önemlidir. Her ne kadar akınların etkisiyle şehirler eski canlılığını yitirse de ana rotalar üzerinde kurulmuş olan Ancyra (Ankara) ve Amorium (Emirdağ) gibi ana kentler yerleşilmeye devam etmiştir. Arkeolojik veriler

ışığında, Efes ve Smyrna (İzmir) gibi liman kentleri ise ticari merkezler olmaya devam etmiştir. Akınlara maruz kalmış Patara (Ovagelemiş) ve Myra (Demre) gibi bazı şehirler yukarı şehre taşınmışlardır. Tralleis (Aydın), Sardis (Salihli), Nysa (Sultanhisar) ve Hierapolis (Pamukkale) gibi bazı şehirler ise kısmen terk edilmiş ve küçülmüştür. Efes gibi önemli ticari merkezler imparatorluğun hem ekonomik hem askeri ve aynı zamanda da dini merkezleri olarak varlıklarını sürdürmüşlerdir. Bu merkezler özellikle devletin ve kilise idaresinin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktaydılar. Amorium (Emirdağ), Sardis (Salihli), Efes, Miletus (Milet), Didyma (Didim) ve Euchaïta (Avkat) gibi kentler ise aşağı şehirde varlıklarını sürdürmüşlerdir.

Anadolu'da Erken/Orta Bizans döneminde ortaya çıkan rotaların en önemlilerinden birisi olan KB-GD DR 2 (Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 2) ve bu rotanın üzerinde kurulan Nicaea (İznik), Dorylaion (Eskişehir) ve Amorium (Emirdağ) şehirleri, arkeolojik veriler ve tarihi belgeler ışığında bilhassa askeri açıdan önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu rota sırasıyla Bithynia, Phrygia, Lycaonia ve Cilicia bölgelerinden geçmekteydi. Arap akıncıları için bir koridor görevi gören bu rota, Konstantinopolis'e kolay ulaşım sağladığı ve orduların geçişi için elverişli olduğu için tercih edilmiş olmalıdır. Arkeolojik kazılar, Bizans ve Arap kaynakları Dorylaion (Eskişehir) ve Amorium (Emirdağ) kentlerinin bu güzergâh üzerinde ordu konaklama ve toplanma yeri olarak stratejik açıdan önemli olduklarını ortaya koymuştur.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmada ele alınan ve tartışılan Geç Roma dönemi ile Erken/Orta Bizans döneminde meydana gelen siyasi, idari ve ekonomik değişikliklerin Anadolu'daki rotaların kullanımına etkisi arkeolojik veriler ve tarihi belgeler ışığında, şehirlerin durumu ve statüsünden yola çıkılarak açıklanmıştır. Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu ekseninde uzanan ve Konstantinopolis'i Kilikya Kapılarına, sırasıyla, Ancyra (Ankara) ve Dorylaion (Eskişehir) kentleri vasıtasıyla birbirine bağlayan, iki ana rota KB-GD DR 1 (Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 1) ve KB-GD DR 2 (Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 2) olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu iki ana rotalardan birincisi KB-GD DR 1 (Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 1), M.S. 3. yüzyıldan beri ana rota olarak kullanılagelmiş olan 'Hacı Yolu' rotası olarak da bilinmektedir. Bu rotanın hac

ziyaretleri ve ticari faaliyetler için Geç Roma döneminde, yani M.S. 4. yüzyıldan 6. yüzyıl sonlarına kadar kullanıldığı arkeolojik verilerden ve tarihi kaynaklardan açık bir şekilde anlaşılmıştır. İkinci rota ise KB-GD DR 2 (Kuzeybatı-Güneydoğu Diyagonal Rota 2), Arap akıncılarına koridor oluşturan ve M.S. 7. yüzyıldan 9. yüzyıla kadar kullanılan[945] askeri rotadır. Bu iki ana rota üzerinde kurulmuş ve stratejik öneme sahip olan söz konusu ana kentlerin Geç Roma (4. – 6. yy) ve Erken/Orta Bizans (7. – 9. yy) dönemleri boyunca varlıklarını sürdürdükleri, arkeolojik ve tarihsel olarak bilinmektedir. Ana kentler, her ne kadar 'klasik' şehir olgusundan uzaklaşmış ve ele alınan iki dönemde de farklı bir konum ve statüye sahip olmuş olsa da, Doğu Roma (Bizans) İmparatorluğu'nun siyasi, idari ve ekonomik varlığını kesintisiz sürdürdüğünün en önemli göstergesidir. Bu bağlamda, kentlerin, değişime rağmen varlığını koruması ve rotaların kullanımındaki süreklilik bu çalışmanın ana unsurudur.

Bu çalışmada ele alınan ana rotaların kullanımı ve bu rotalar boyunca kurulan arkeolojik kazısı yapılmış ana kentlerin değişen dinamiklerini ortaya koymak için beş temel araştırma sorusuna cevap verilmeye çalışılmıştır:

1) Kanıt ve çalışma alanı olarak rotalar Geç Roma ve Bizans kentlerinin önemi hakkında bilgi sağlamakta mıdır?

2) Rotaların kullanımı, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu'nun askeri, idari ve ekonomik durumunda değişen dinamikleri doğrudan gösterir mi veya yansıtır mı?

3) İletişim ağlarındaki değişimler 'klasik' Roma'dan Erken/Orta Bizans dönemlerine doğru uzanan dönüşümleri açıklamaya veya göstermeye yardımcı olmakta mıdır?

[945] Bu tez çalışmasında, bu rotanın 9. yüzyıla kadar kullanılan kısmı ele alınmıştır. Bu rotanın M.S. 9. yüzyıldan sonra alternatif yollarının varlığı ve kullanıldığı *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* çalışmasında kısmen ele alınmaktadır. Ayrıca Franz Taeschner tarafından Osmanlı kaynaklarına dayanarak yapılan çalışmada, Konstantinopolis ve Kilikya Kapıları arasında kolay iletişim ağı sağlayan bu rotanın ticari amaçla da kullanıldığı belirtilmektedir. Bakınız, Taeschner, 2010, *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre Anadolu Yol Ağı,* s. 126-150.

4) Rotalar arkeolojik veriler ve tarihi kaynaklardan elde edilen bilgilere göre söz konusu dönemlerde kent statüsü ve durumuyla ilgili daha fazla destekleyici kanıt sağlar mı?

5) Rotalar ne şekilde Geç Antik ve Erken/Orta Bizans dönemlerinde Anadolu'da kentlerin kritik anlamda değerlendirilmesini sağlayan potansiyel bir kaynak ve kanıt oluşturur?

Yukarıdaki araştırma sorularına yanıt verebilmek için, bu tez çalışması boyunca Türkiye'de kütüphane araştırmaları yapılmıştır. Arkeolojik verilerin kullanımı ile ilgili olarak 1980'den günümüze Kültür Bakanlığı tarafından yayınlanmış olan *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı (KST)* ve *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (AST)* serilerinden yararlanılmıştır. 'Hacı Yolu' rotasının kuzey bölümü kısmen yerinde ziyaret edilmiştir. Anadolu'da Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans dönemi rotaların kullanımı ve şehirlerinin coğrafi ve mekânsal dağılımını ve dolayısıyla dönüşümün hangi bölgelerde yoğunlaştığını anlayabilmek için Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri teknolojisi kullanılarak, orijinal haritalar oluşturulmuştur. Tezin ana terimleri olan diyagonal rota, 'Hacı Yolu' rotası, Pers akınları, Arap akınları ve ana şehir/kent kavramları açıklanmıştır. Çalışma kapsamında, iki ana rota (KB-GD DR 1 ve KB-GD DR 2) ulaşım ve iletişim ağı kolaylığı ve arkeolojik veri sağlaması nedeniyle seçilmiştir. Bu iki ana rota, iki farklı zaman diliminde incelenmiştir. M.S. 4. yüzyıldan başlayarak 6. yüzyılın içlerine doğru geçen süre Geç Roma Dönemi olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu dönemde meydana gelen ana unsur, Hıristiyanlığın resmi din olarak kabul edilmesi ve Konstantinopolis kentinin başkent ilan edilmesidir. Bu iki önemli değişimle birlikte Roma İmparatorluğu'ndaki siyasi, idari, ekonomik ve dini değişimler, rotaların kullanımı ve şehirlerin değişimine doğrudan etki etmiştir. M.S. 7. yüzyıldan 9. yüzyıla kadar olan süre ise Erken/Orta Bizans Dönemi olarak ele alınmıştır. Önceki yüzyıllardan süregelen ve zaten değişmekte olan kent olgusunun veya kentleşmenin Roma kültürünün azalmasını gösteren en önemli unsurlardan biri olduğu görülmüştür. Buna ek olarak, Arap akınlarının etkisiyle ekonomik ve siyasi ortamın güvensiz bir hale gelmesi, bu dönemin ana değişimlerini yansıtmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans dönemi olarak ele alınan

bu iki farklı zaman diliminde siyasi, idari, dini ve ekonomik gelişim ve değişimler göz önünde bulundurularak, Anadolu'da rotaların kullanımı ve 'klasik' kentlere etkisi karşılaştırmalı olarak ele alınmıştır.

Arkeolojik veriler, tarihi kaynaklar ve günümüz tartışmalarından yola çıkılarak oluşturulan bu tez çalışmasında, rotalar, dini, idari, siyasi ve ekonomik öneme sahip kentleri birbirine bağlayan, ekonomik ve sosyal canlılığın sürdürüldüğü kentlerin dinamiklerini destekleyen, yerleşimler arasında lojistik malzeme ve ürünlerin teminatı için bir kanal oluşturan fonksiyonel iletişim ve ulaşım aracıdır.

Anadolu'da Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans döneminde kullanılan özellikle diyagonal rotalar, Hıristiyanlığın yükselişi, Konstantinopolis'in Roma İmparatorluğu'nun başkenti haline gelmesi ve merkezi idari yönetimin ağırlık kazanmasıyla dini ve idari amaçlara hizmet etmiştir. Ekonominin canlanması ve ticaret ağının artması, kentlerde inşa faaliyetlerinin hız kazanması, söz konusu rotaların kullanımını da beraberinde getirmiştir. Arap akınlarıyla birlikte diyagonal rotaların kullanımı yerel anlamda ekonomik ve bölgesel anlamda askeri amaçla kullanılmıştır. Arkeolojik verilere dayanarak, kentlerin statüsü ve rollerindeki değişim, diyagonal rotaların kullanımındaki değişimi yansıtmıştır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma yukarıdaki araştırma sorularına cevap vermektedir:

1) Bir araştırma alanı olarak rotaların Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans dönemi kentlerinin önemleri hakkında bilgi sağlaması, söz konusu dönemlerde hangi rotaların kullanımının önem kazanmasına bağlıdır. Bu sebeple, ana rotalar üzerine kurulmuş olan ana kentlerin statüsü ve önemi buna bağlı olarak artmıştır.

2) Rotaların kullanımı, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu'nun askeri, idari ve ekonomik durumunda değişen dinamikleri doğrudan göstermiştir. Nitekim hangi rotaların kullanımının tercih edildiği, siyasi/politik ve askeri durum hakkında bilgi sağlamıştır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, ana rotaların önem ve önceliğindeki değişim, Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu'nda söz konusu dönemler arasındaki askeri ve siyasi değişimleri yansıtmaktadır.

3) İletişim ağlarındaki değişimler, 'klasik' Roma'dan Erken/Orta Bizans dönemlerine doğru uzanan dönüşümleri açıklamaya veya göstermeye yardımcı olmuştur. Ana rotaların siyasi ve ekonomik kullanımları, Roma kentlerinin ve ana yollar üzerinde kurulan Ancyra (Ankara) ve Amorium (Emirdağ) gibi ana kentlerin idari, siyasi, askeri ve ekonomik statülerindeki değişimlerini göstermiştir. KB-GD DR 1 ve KB-GD DR 2'nin kullanılmaya başlamasıyla birlikte, bu rotalar üzerinde stratejik açıdan öneme sahip ana kentler de rotaların kullanımına paralel olarak değişmiş ve rotaların kullanım amaçlarına göre şekillenmişlerdir.

4) Rotalar arkeolojik veriler ve tarihi kaynaklardan elde edilen bilgilere göre söz konusu dönemlerde kent statüsü ve durumuyla ilgili daha fazla destekleyici kanıt sağlamıştır. Kentlerin değişimi, askeri, ticari ve dini amaçlarla seyyahların, hacıların ve tüccarların seyahatleri, orduların geçişi; ürünlerin, insan gücü ve malzemelerin taşınmasındaki değişimleri göstermektedir. Bu çeşit kaynaklar, malzemelerin taşınması ve ticari aktivitelerdeki değişimler hakkında bilgi vermektedir ve dolayısıyla, söz konusu değişen dönemlere ışık tutmaktadır. Örneğin, ana rotalar vasıtasıyla askeri nedenlerle orduların geçişi, ekonomik aktiviteler nedeniyle tüccarların ziyaretleri, dini amaçlarla da hacıların ziyaretleri ana kentlerin statüsündeki değişimi yansıtmıştır. Zaman içerisinde meydana gelen bu değişimler, Geç Roma ve Erken/Orta Bizans döneminde Anadolu'da klasik şehirlerin ve aynı zamanda imparatorluğun ekonomik, siyasi, idari ve askeri yapısındaki değişimleri göstermiştir.

5) Rotalar farklı amaçlar için kullanımındaki değişiklik açısından Geç Antik ve Erken/Orta Bizans dönemlerinde Anadolu'da kentlerin kritik anlamda değerlendirilmesini sağlayan potansiyel bir kaynak ve kanıt oluşturmaktadır. Stratejik açıdan rotaların önemi, stratejik açıdan şehirlerin rolleri hakkında bilgi sağlamaktadır.

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