

FURKAN ÇAĞLAN

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF LATE BYZANTINE
ANATOLIAN CITIES IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Bilkent University 2025

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF LATE
BYZANTINE ANATOLIAN CITIES IN THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A Master's Thesis

by
FURKAN ÇAĞLAN

Department of
History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
July 2025

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF LATE BYZANTINE ANATOLIAN
CITIES IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Graduate School of Economic and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

FURKAN ÇAĞLAN

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

THE DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

July 2025

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF LATE BYZANTINE ANATOLIAN CITIES IN THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By Furkan Çağlan

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History

Luca Zavagno
Advisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History.

Paul Latimer
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History.

Pelin Yoncacı Arslan
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Refet S. Gürkaynak
Director

ABSTRACT

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF LATE BYZANTINE ANATOLIAN CITIES IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Çağlan, Furkan

MA, Department of History

Advisor: Associate Professor Dr. Luca Zavagno

July 2025

This thesis examines the urban transformation of Late Byzantine Anatolian cities in the thirteenth century, a period that was characterized by political fragmentation after the emergence of two successor states – the Empire of Nicaea and the Empire of Trebizond after the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the frontier politics between the Byzantines and the Rum Seljuqs. This study explores the reactions and adaptations of cities in Anatolia in the thirteenth century to changing socio-political, economic and cultural factors such as the loss of imperial power after the Fourth Crusade, military threats, particularly from the Rum Seljuqs and nomadic Turks, growing commercial ties, and cross-cultural interactions on the frontier, focusing on four different cities – Nicaea, Trebizond, Laodicea, and Ephesos.

Using an interdisciplinary approach, combining a wealth of literary sources with material sources, and utilizing historical geography, this study uses a comparative and

thematic approach to demonstrate the urban transformation resulting from the responses of these four cities to the socio-political, economic and cultural changes of this period. Also, this thesis considers the functions of these cities within the framework of being an ‘imperial’ capital and strategically located, particularly on the border, and having commercial and religious nuclei.

The choice of selecting case studies from different geographies allows for an understanding of the development of frontier dynamics, influenced by topographic and geopolitical changes, imperial legitimacy and cross-cultural interactions. Considering all these, the thesis argues the urban transformation of Late Byzantine Anatolia cities emphasized their adaptations and reactions to the circumstances in the thirteenth century, paving the way for the transition from Byzantine city to Turkish city in the fourteenth century.

Keywords: city, Anatolia, Late Byzantine, thirteenth century, frontier

ÖZET

ON ÜÇÜNCÜ YÜZYILDA GEÇ BİZANS ANADOLU ŞEHİRLERİNİN KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Çağlan, Furkan

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Luca Zavagno

Temmuz 2025

Bu tez, 1204'teki Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi'nden sonra İznik İmparatorluğu ve Trabzon İmparatorluğu olmak üzere iki ardıl devletin ortaya çıkmasıyla siyasi parçalanma ve Bizanslılar ve Anadolu Selçukluları arasındaki sınır politikalarının karakterize ettiği bir dönem olan on üçüncü yüzyılda Geç Bizans Anadolu kentlerinin kentsel dönüşümünü göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, on üçüncü yüzyılda Anadolu'daki şehirlerin, Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi'nden sonra imparatorluk gücünün kaybı, özellikle Anadolu Selçuklu Sultanlığından ve göçebe Türklerden gelen askeri tehditler, büyüten ticari bağlar ve sınırda kültürler arası etkileşimler gibi değişen sosyo-politik, ekonomik ve kültürel faktörlere tepkilerini ve uyumlarını araştırmaktadır ve dört farklı şehre odaklanmaktadır: Nicaea, Trebizond, Laodicea ve Ephesos.

Disiplinler arası bir yaklaşım kullanarak, zengin edebi kaynakları maddi kültür kaynakları ile birleştirerek, tarihi coğrafyayı kullanarak, bu çalışma, bu dört şehrin bu dönemdeki sosyo-politik, ekonomik ve kültürel değişikliklere verdiği tepkilerden kaynaklanan kentsel dönüşümü göstermek için karşılaştırmalı ve tematik bir yaklaşım kullanır. Ayrıca, bu tez bu şehirlerin işlevlerini bir ‘imparatorluk’ başkenti olma, özellikle sınırda, stratejik konumda bulunma ve ticari ve dini çekirdeklere sahip olma çerçevesinden ele alır.

Farklı coğrafyalardan vaka çalışmaları seçme tercihi, topografik ve jeopolitik değişikliklerden, imparatorluk meşruiyetinden ve kültürler arası etkileşimden etkilenen sınır dinamiklerinin gelişimini anlamaya olanak tanır. Tüm bunları göz önünde bulundurarak, tez Geç Bizans Anadolu şehirlerinin kentsel dönüşümünü on üçüncü yüzyıldaki koşullara karşı adaptasyonunu ve tepkilerini vurgulayarak on dördüncü yüzyılda Bizans şehrinin Türk şehrine geçiş dönemine bir zemin hazırladığını ileri sürer.

Anahtar Kelimeler: şehir, Anadolu, Geç Bizans, on üçüncü yüzyıl, sınır

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to say that I feel truly lucky thanks to my family and the kindest people around me throughout my life; hence, I would like to thank the following people for making my life enjoyable and for their support throughout the thesis writing process.

Firstly, I would like to extend my gratitude to my advisor, Luca Zavagno, for his love and guidance that never ceases. Without him, I would never be passionate about Byzantine cities. My sincere thanks to all of my professors including Paul Latimer, Nathan Liedholm, David Thornton and Filip Malesevic who were helping me a lot during my master at Bilkent.

Also, I want to thank my beloved one, Muharrem Enes Erdem, whose endless support and friendship I have felt since the first day I started my master's degree at Bilkent, and Ahmet Alp Kaya, Oğuzcan Ünal, Erdiñç Ofli, Fermude Gülsevinç, who did not hesitate to be with me and helped me with their support, feedback and guidance throughout this process. I am also thankful Anthony Kibum Shin for his proofreading, worthwhile suggestions and comments, which were priceless for my thesis.

I wish to thank my Golden Trio; Aylin Türkmen and Gülsüm Özgür. I see them as my sisters and always feel their support and love. I am also grateful my chosen brother Ferhat Delice for his help during this process and for always being a man of his word.

Finally, I would like to thank my beautiful family. Whenever I stumbled and fell while climbing the stairs of life, the hands of my family reached out to pick me up. I deeply thankful my mother Selma Çağlan and my father Erhan Çağlan for their infinite love

and support throughout my life. I have always felt the warm love of my mother and my father, so I cannot thank you enough.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
INTRODUCTION: What is a city?.....	1
CHAPTER I: Post-1204 Byzantium: A Socio-political and Economic Outlook.....	14
1. Socio-political Outlook of the Post-1204 Byzantium in Anatolia	14
1.1. After Komnenoi: Byzantium between 1180–1204	14
1.2. <i>Archontes</i> and Provincial Separatism.....	19
1.3. The Fourth Crusade and the Post-1204 Anatolia	26
1.3.1. The Formation of the Empire of Nicaea	28
1.3.2. The Formation of the Empire of Trebizond	32
1.4. Politics and Society in the Frontier	35
2. Economic Outlook of the Post-1204 Byzantium in Anatolia.....	41
2.1. Urban and Rural Economic Policies	41
2.2. Urban Consumption and Productions and Commercial Relations.....	45
2.3. The Frontier Economy and Turco-Byzantine Interactions.....	48

CHAPTER II: Historical Geography: Anatolia	51
1. Sources for Historical Geography	52
2. Defining Anatolia: Geography, Climate and Power	58
3. Frontier Geography in post-1204 Anatolia	71
CHAPTER III: Themes in the Historiography of Late Byzantine Cities and Methodology	78
1. Literary and Material Sources on Late Byzantine Cities and Methodology ..	78
2. Multiple Definitions of Byzantine Cities in Literary Sources	84
3. Urban Identity in Literary and Material Sources	88
CHAPTER IV: Late Byzantine Cities in Thirteenth–Century Anatolia	103
1. ‘Capital’ Cities: The Impact of Imperial Claim on Nicaea and Trebizond..	104
1.1. Nicaea: An ‘Imperial City in Exile	104
1.2. Trebizond: A City of the Grand Komnenoi	118
2. Laodicaea: A frontier city between the Byzantines and Rum Seljuqs	132
3. Ephesos – Ayasoluk: Betwixt Church and Trading Ship.....	140
4. Concluding Remarks.....	150
CONCLUSIONS: Beyond Thirteenth Century.....	156
FIGURES	161
BIBLIOGRAPHY	179

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Tetarteron of Theodore Komnenos Dukas	161
2.	Electrum trachy of Theodore I Laskaris	161
3.	Seal of John Mankaphas	162
4.	Seal of John Komnenos Dukas, 1240–1242	163
5.	Tetarteron, Theodore Mankaphas	164
6.	City Plan of Nicaea	164
7.	Tower #106, City Walls of Nicaea	165
8.	Inscription of Theodore I Laskaris	166
9.	The Hagia Sophia in Nicaea	167
10.	Omphalion inside the Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea	168
11.	Seal of John III Doukas Vatatzes	169
12.	Christ Chalkites in Chora Monastery, Constantinople	170
13.	Variants of Aspron trachy of Theodore II Laskaris	171
14.	Proconnesian Marble Spolia in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond	171
15.	A Majestic Eagle of Grand Komnenoi in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond	172
16.	The Genesis Frieze in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond	173
17.	Double-headed Eagle Tile from Kubadabad Palace	174
18.	The Portrait of Manuel I Grand Komnenos in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond	175

19.	Late Byzantine Fresco in the Grotto of St. Paul.....	176
20.	Late Byzantine Fresco in the Church of St. John.....	177
21.	Late Byzantine Fresco in the Seven Sleepers in Ephesos	178



INTRODUCTION: What is a city?

Umberto Eco's fictional portrayal of the city of Pndapetzim in *Baudolino* reflects the notion of the city as a social and symbolic construct. In his book, *Baudolino*, Eco introduced a city called Pndapetzim during his travels to the East.¹ Before arriving in this city, he encounters a physically strange race that lived and was born in this city. He learns that other races with physical oddities also live in the city and realizes that these races actually have physical differences but that they are not aware of these physical differences and define each other with their differences based on their belief in the Trinity. Afterwards, Baudolino presents a city view and describes the city. There are buildings, palaces, streets, and markets in it.² However, it is obvious that Baudolino is trying to explain that a city does not only consist of physical structures such as streets and buildings, but is dependent on the collective memory of the inhabitants living in it, together with the lives that make the city exist, the past, the culture and the meanings attributed to it. In this context, what makes cities visible is the collective memory created by their inhabitants and their cross-cultural interactions despite their differences. This observation by Baudolino actually shows that we have difficulty in defining cities. Such socio-cultural approaches and fiction are useful for deepening our understanding of the city, but they remain insufficient when applied to the unique circumstances of the medieval and Byzantine worlds.

¹ Umberto Eco, *Baudolino*, trans. William Weaver (London: Vintage, 2003), 362.

² Eco, *Baudolino*, 370–371.

What is a city? Cities are one of the oldest social organizations created by the collective consciousness of humanity, regardless of time and place throughout history.³ Answering this question is not easy as it seems, and defining a city is more complex than it seems at first glance. When you search for the meaning of the word “city” on search engines like Google, the first result you will see will be from the Cambridge Dictionary. Here, a city is defined in its simplest sense as “a large town.”⁴ If a city is merely ‘a large town,’ then what exactly defines a town? According to this definition, is a town the essence of a city? And by that criterion is a city bigger? As Lewis Mumford reminds us, a city’s size alone cannot define it because many ancient or medieval cities had a modest population but a strong administrative and symbolic presence.⁵ According to David Harvey, urban life entails the collaborative creation of space and identity, thus we should avoid limiting the notion of the city to a material or statistical model.⁶ These questions reflect the larger problem of defining the city. What is considered a city in one area or era may not be the same in another; hence, there is no universally accepted definition. Since different disciplines bring different perspectives to urban phenomena; urban concepts and phenomena, moreover, lead to differences between languages; for instance, the distinction between city and town in English may not have a direct equivalent in related languages.⁷

In the light of these difficulties in defining a city, the aim is to answer the following question: How can we define a city, and furthermore, in tune with the focus

³ Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper, eds. *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 148.

⁴ Cambridge University Press, “City,” *Cambridge Dictionary*, accessed March 17, 2025, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/city>.

⁵ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 185–186

⁶ David Harvey, “The Right to the City,” PDF, Originally published in *New Left Review*, no.53 (September-October 2008), accessed March 17, 2025, <https://davidharvey.org/media/righttothecity.pdf>.

⁷ Kuper and Kuper, *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, 148.

of the present thesis how can we define the Byzantine city and, in particular, its post-1204 embodiments? Now, I will start by discussing modern theoretical perspectives on the concept of the city, focusing on researchers like Lewis Mumford⁸, Robert E. Park⁹, and David Harvey.¹⁰ Their different points of view, such as the sociological, economic, and cultural, reflect the complexities of defining a city. After this, I will project the abovementioned standpoints on the Medieval period through the works of Max Weber¹¹, Henri Pirenne¹², Martin Biddle¹³ and Chris Wickham;¹⁴ I will then look at the concept of city in the Byzantine context by focusing on Wolfram Brandes¹⁵ and Athanasios Vionis'¹⁶ thoughts in the definition of the Byzantine city. Lastly, I will make the case that the majority of these categories are inadequate for the realities of Late Byzantine cities.

The city is “a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions ... a moral as well as a physical organization,” according to Robert E. Park, who made this claim from a sociological standpoint.¹⁷ In this way, the common experiences, beliefs, and customs of the inhabitants of the city form it, and human behavior creates this social organism.¹⁸ Building on this notion, David Harvey defined urban life as a common right to both create and be molded by the urban environment and he proposed that “in making the

⁸ Mumford, *The City in History*.

⁹ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

¹⁰ Harvey, “The Right to the City.”

¹¹ Max Weber, *The City*, ed. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (London: The Free Press, 1958).

¹² Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, trans. Frank D. Halsey (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹³ Martin Biddle, “Towns,” in *The Archeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David M. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Methuen, 1976).

¹⁴ Christopher J. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁵ Wolfram Brandes, “Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries—Different Sources, Different Histories?,” in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G.P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 25–57.

¹⁶ Athanasios K. Vionis, “Understanding Settlements in Byzantine Greece: New Data and Approaches for Boeotia, Sixth to Thirteenth Centuries.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 71 (2017): 127–174.

¹⁷ Park and Burgess, *The City*, 1

¹⁸ Ibid.

city man has remade himself.”¹⁹ Lewis Mumford added historical and practical perspectives to these sociological ideas on the concept of the city, and he said that the city should be viewed as “a complex of inter-related and constantly interacting functions” rather than just as a collection of buildings.²⁰ He also highlighted how, even in the absence of physical infrastructure, urban life is maintained through symbolic rituals and memory.²¹ I argue that despite being created in the twentieth century, these concepts may be used to evaluate how cities operated as socio-political and economic entities as well as administrative and defensive units, especially in the politically fragmented and transitional areas of post-1204 Anatolia. I will go into further depth to understand the socio-political and economic histories of post-1204 Anatolia in connection with the cities.

Henri Pirenne published his work *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* in 1925. In his book, he argued that two key factors shape urbanism: a middle class (the bourgeoisie) depended on trade for capital and political independence, and a collective structure among city dwellers that fosters unity that allows cities to break free of local feudal or religious control. This perspective is commonly accepted as a standard definition of urban life because it focuses on the idea that cities primarily have commercial functions.²² Also, in order to understand the semantic understanding of the city, Pirenne discussed the existence of cities in ninth-century Western Europe by emphasizing the definition of the term “city.” He suggested that if a city is seen as a trade-based community or a legal entity, then cities may not have existed at that time. However, if a city is viewed as an administrative

¹⁹ Harvey, “The Right to the City,” 1–2.

²⁰ Mumford, *The City in History*, 85.

²¹ Ibid., 244–245.

²² Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*.

and fortified center, there were indeed many during the post-Carolingian era influenced by military needs for protection.²³ Basically, for Pirenne, the city is an enclosed area that provides protection to people and contains all administrative, religious, political, and economic foci. For example, he demonstrated that the words meaning city (town and *gorod*) in English and Russian originally meant an enclosed place.²⁴

Also, Pirenne mentioned the power of the Church in the early Middle Ages. The church tied its bishop territories to the boundaries of the Roman city. Without the state, bishops, who had even more privilege, held a strong position, managing communities with spiritual authority, economic power, and political influence.²⁵ During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Church's dominance stayed strong and each bishopric included lands around the city along with the cathedral, keeping constant ties. Pirenne emphasized the change in the meaning of "civitas" from the early ninth century onwards. It became the same as that of the bishopric city. For example, "Civitas Parisiensis" not only meant the city where the bishop lived but also the entire region of Paris.²⁶

Furthermore, in response to this difficulty in defining a city, the plausible thing to do is to try to determine an ideal type of city and its characteristic elements. At this point, the ideal city type that Martin Biddle put forward to study Anglo-Saxon England, and which became quite influential, can be given as an example. This ideal city consists of twelve criteria.²⁷ These are a circuit wall, street planning, market(s), a mint, some degree of legal autonomy, having the role of a central place, a large or

²³ Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, 35.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 37–38.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁷ Biddle, "Towns," 100

dense population, economic diversity, 'urban' house styles, social divergence, complicated religious organization and judicial functions.²⁸ According to Biddle, at least three or four of these criteria are required to characterize a town.²⁹ These criteria, determined by Biddle, were applied to Anglo-Saxon England, but with a few revisions and adaptations, they could be said to be broad and universal and could also be applied to the Late Byzantine cities.³⁰ Furthermore, there is a lack of archaeological data on the Late Byzantine cities and this difficulty is not unique to Anatolia. For example, it is difficult to determine the street plan of a post-1204 Byzantine cities in Anatolia because many modern cities in Turkey (like Nicaea-İznik, Laodicea-Denizli, Ephesos/Ayasoluk-Selçuk) were built on top of these Byzantine cities.³¹

On the other hand, Chris Wickham uses three criteria to distinguish the city from the countryside and to define the city: demographic density, market and economic activities.³² In addition to the universality of Martin Biddle's criteria, the differences that emerged in the discussions on urbanism brought with them terminological and definitional problems. According to Wickham, the reason for these differences is the inconsistency in the perspectives of scholars from Northern and Southern Europe in defining cities. Northern European scholars perceive urbanism as an economic phenomenon and attribute the name 'town' to this structure. In this respect, the word 'town' has an economic nuance, but 'city' has an institutional meaning as being an episcopal center in English. Also, other Northern European languages exhibit similar differences.³³ On the other hand, in the languages of the

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Jonathan Shea, *The Late Byzantine City: Social, Economic, and Institutional Profile*, (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2010), 6.

³¹ Ibid., 6

³² Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 594

³³ Ibid., 593.

Mediterranean world such as Italian and Spanish, the word for ‘city’ (*città* and *ciudad*, respectively) has more emphatic institutional references and has the feature of being a legacy of monumental Rome, as part of the urban autonomy of the Middle Ages.³⁴ However, when examining the urban centers of Rome, Northern European; British and French historians used different terminology and used the word ‘city’ instead of ‘town’ with an institutional leaning.³⁵ Therefore, even within the same language, the use of ‘city’ and ‘town’ might carry implicit cultural perspectives; however, Wickham emphasizes that terms such as ‘urbanism’ and ‘urban center’ are neutral terms here. Yet, regional prejudices test the neutrality of these terms.³⁶

In urban studies, this distinction between ‘city’ and ‘town’ in the Middle Ages, based on cultural implications, is ignored.³⁷ First of all, the perspectives and expressions of people in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages towards urban centers were quite different from the modern definition of ‘town.’ Therefore, scholars interested in the Middle Ages relied on Max Weber’s concept of ‘Stadt’ and in order to resolve this conceptual confusion, they considered the concept of ‘Rechtsstadt,’ which would not apply to Byzantium at all.³⁸ Max Weber, in his work known as *The City* (1921) tried to compare “Occidental” and “Oriental” urbanism by giving a definition of a city. According to Weber, five qualifications define a city: a fortification, a market, a law code and court, institutional unity among city dwellers, and political independence towards the city’s administrators.³⁹ However, Brandes states that in order to define a settlement as a city and to distinguish it from other settlements (such as villages and castles), its multi-functionality should be taken as a

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 594.

³⁷ Brandes “Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries,” 25.

³⁸ Ibid., 25–26.

³⁹ Max Weber, *The City*.

criterion.⁴⁰ For this reason, he used C. Goehrke's principle of two main features of a 'town' and its multi-functionality. A settlement's multi-functionality means it is an administrative, military, economic, and commercial center; in addition, there is a visible distinction between the classes. Together, these are the two basic elements that define a settlement as a 'town,' according to Goehrke.⁴¹ Alan Harvey similarly emphasized how hard it is to define a city precisely in the Byzantine context because a city might have a variety of purposes, including judicial, religious, military and economic ones, as well as acting as the main center for the nearby rural areas.⁴²

In this respect, a city can be perceived as a superior entity in the hierarchy, administratively, economically, and culturally, to the surrounding rural areas.⁴³ For example, Vionis has argued that in the late period, cities or so-called 'micro towns' should be seen as transformed cities rather than as differentiated and degenerated in scale and monumentality, and accordingly, while cities retained their importance as bishopric centers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, archaeological evidence suggested that these settlements were villages.⁴⁴ Vionis' research is particularly influenced by Johannes Koder's historical-geographical method⁴⁵, which brought spatial-economic frameworks like "Christaller's Central Place Theory" and "von Thünen's Location Theory" to the study of Byzantine settlement patterns.⁴⁶ Koder stressed how vital it is to use both archeological data and spatial theory modified for

⁴⁰ Brandes, "Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," 26–27

⁴¹ Ibid. Carsten Goehrke, "Die Anfänge des mittelalterliche Städtewesens in eurasischer Perspektive", *Saeculum* 31 (1980) 221–239.

⁴² Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 198

⁴³ Luca Zavagno, *The Byzantine City from Heraclius to the Fourth Crusade, 610–1204: Urban Life After Antiquity* (Cham: Palgrave Pivot, 2021), 6.

⁴⁴ Vionis, "Understanding Settlements in Byzantine Greece," 171–172

⁴⁵ Luca Zavagno, "'The Way We Were': a journey in the last fifty years of Byzantine archaeology (1975-2024)," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 49, no.1 (December 2024): 7.

⁴⁶ Johannes Koder, "Land use and settlement: theoretical approaches," in *General Issues in the Study of Medieval Logistics: Sources, Problems and Methodologies*, ed. J.H. Haldon, *History of Warfare* 36 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 156–183

historical reconstruction in order to rebuild regional hierarchy of settlements.⁴⁷ Lastly, Koder described a Byzantine city as a place that has no agricultural activities but has high building density and sparsely populated areas that create various neighborhoods.⁴⁸

It is significant to highlight that many of these scholars that are mentioned above, except for Wickham, wrote about the concept of the medieval city by emphasizing the Western Late Medieval commercial city, as in the case of Henri Pirenne. However, the idea of the Late Byzantine city is different from those of both the Medieval Western city and the Late Antique and Early Medieval Byzantine cities. This is because Alexander Kazhdan, citing Ernest Kirsten, states that Late Byzantine cities were not like their Western counterparts and that twelfth and thirteenth-century Byzantine cities were equivalent to those in tenth-century Northern Italy.⁴⁹ Also, Michael Angold explained how political disintegration after 1204 caused provincial cities to become the capitals of petty states, like Thessaloniki, Nicaea, Trebizond and Arta, and he characterized these cities as “centers of consumption” and “communities of landowners.” Because of this, Angold said, “they were not centers of manufactures and their trade was largely in the hands of the Italians.”⁵⁰ In the same vein, according to Alan Harvey, “Byzantine towns, like their late Roman predecessors, were centers for the consumption of surplus wealth appropriated from the rural economy”⁵¹ and he

⁴⁷ Koder, “Land use and settlement,” 181.

⁴⁸ Koder, “The Urban Character of the Early Byzantine Empire: Some Reflections on a Settlement Geographical Approach to the Topic,” in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers. Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University. Washington D.C. August 3–8, 1986* (New York, Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University, 1986), 156; Zavagno, *The Byzantine City ... Crusade*, 5.

⁴⁹ Alexander Kazhdan, “The Italian and Late Byzantine City,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 1. See also, Ernst Kirsten, “Die byzantinische Stadt,” in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, München 1958*, Teil V/3, (München: Selbstdruck, 1958), 36.

⁵⁰ Michael Angold, “The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine ‘City’,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985), 36.

⁵¹ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 202.

stated that a strictly economic definition should highlight specialization in crafts and industry differentiating city inhabitants from rural agricultural areas.⁵²

Furthermore, for the idea of Late Byzantine city, Helen Saradi pointed out that for the last centuries of Byzantium, city and urban life have attracted more academic attention in terms of their relation to administration and trade.⁵³ Cities were more commonly recorded in written sources during the fragmentation period of post-1204.⁵⁴ Also, Saradi highlighted the potential to reevaluate urban centers by using Latin and Greek historical and documentary materials.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Tonia Kioussopoulou emphasized the ideological function of cities in the creation of Byzantine national identity in reaction to outside dangers like Turks (*Τούρκοι*) in the later period. The idea of “*patris*” is a concept of homeland in written sources that became more associated with certain cities as the Empire disintegrated and waned, and this is one of the main topics she examined.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Kioussopoulou pointed out that the lack of systematic archeological excavation is one of the biggest challenges in researching late Byzantine cities. Due to this shortage and the fragmented character of the textual sources, there is a noticeable deficiency of excavated material.⁵⁷ The idea of the Late Byzantine city defined itself as a new political model that was influenced by local

⁵² Ibid., 198.

⁵³ Helen Saradi, “The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries): Old Approaches and New Directions,” in *Οι Βυζαντινές πόλεις 8ος-15ος αιώνας: Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις*, ed. Tonia Kioussopoulou (Rethymno: University of Crete, Faculty of Philosophy, 2012) 41.

⁵⁴ Saradi, “The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries),” 41.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Tonia Kioussopoulou, ed., *Οι Βυζαντινές πόλεις 8ος-15ος αιώνας: Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις* (Rethymno: University of Crete, Faculty of Philosophy, 2012); Tonia Kioussopoulou, “Spatial Organization in the Late Byzantine Cities (13th–14th Centuries),” In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 91–103.

⁵⁷ Kioussopoulou, “Spatial Organizations,” 92.

identity rather than imperial centralization and *ekphrasis* and *enkonomia* showed this transformation.⁵⁸

In the light of these complexities in defining the Byzantine cities, my thesis aims to evaluate the urban transformation of the Late Byzantine city in Anatolia in the thirteenth century. I will focus on only the thirteenth century because the Byzantine Empire at the beginning of the thirteenth century was one of the most powerful empires in the Eastern Mediterranean because it controlled two-thirds of the Balkans and half of Anatolia; however, the Empire at the end of the twelfth century, the empire's lands had diminished severely and were contested between Turks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Franks. Two catastrophic events featured the thirteenth century: the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and the collapse of the last Byzantine territory in Anatolia by the Turks by 1304.⁵⁹ Between these dates, the significant point was the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 by the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259 – 1282) and this showed that the empire still had some strength to its survival and Byzantine cities in Anatolia in the thirteenth century exemplified this survival mechanism.⁶⁰ Since Anatolia in the thirteenth century incorporated the frontier zone with the Turks, the thirteenth century witnessed that earliest phase of the transition from Byzantine cities into Turkish cities in Anatolia, and it formed the basis of the fourteenth century Anatolia. In Chapter I, I will focus on a socio-political and economic outlook of the Byzantine Empire after 1204. Firstly, I will explain the collapse of the imperial power in the last quarter of the twelfth century by showing the deterioration of the Komnenian administrative system, the emergence of provincial

⁵⁸ Saradi, "The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries)," 45.

⁵⁹ Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

⁶⁰ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 2.

elites and the growing political fragmentation that affected the provincial cities. Then, I will examine the Fourth Crusade in 1204 that led to the formation of two successor states in Anatolia, the Empire of Nicaea and the Empire of Trebizond and I will analyze the frontier dynamics by highlighting how elite interactions and territorial insecurity between Byzantines and the Rum Seljuqs in the thirteenth century impacted on the frontier zone in Late Byzantine Anatolia. Secondly, I will concentrate on the economic outlook of Byzantine Anatolia after 1204 by touching upon the relationships between urban and rural outposts, their production, and international commerce; hence, I will explain the Laskarid emperors' economic policies towards the post-1204 Byzantine cities in Anatolia and frontier economy that had influence on local economies. In Chapter II, I will investigate the historical geography that was shaped by environmental, topographical, spatial characteristics of Late Byzantine Anatolia and their influence on the Late Byzantine Cities. This chapter will propose the significance of Anatolia as a border zone and the influence of cross-cultural exchanges along with the geographical transformation on urban growth in the post-1204 era. In Chapter III, I will mention the historiographical and methodological complexities while identifying and defining the Late Byzantine cities via combination of the literary and material sources. In relation to this, the third chapter will analyze the creation of urban identity as a result of the socio-political circumstances of the post-1204 period. I will also present the methodology I will use in this thesis and Chapter III will answer why literary and archeological sources should be combined to understand Late Byzantine cities in Anatolia in the thirteenth century. In Chapter IV, I will provide a three-case study via four Byzantine cities in the thirteenth century: Nicaea, Trebizond, Laodicea and Ephesos-Ayasoluk. In addition to combining literary and material sources, as a methodological aspect, I prefer to divide thirteenth-century Anatolia geographically to

comprehend socio-political and economic dynamics in relation with the cities in this period. Also, like in the other chapters, I will only focus on the thirteenth century in these case studies. Firstly, this chapter will explore Nicaea and Trebizond and their urban transformation, which was affected by their imperial claims and imperial identities for aiming to recapture Constantinople; accordingly, I will compare these two cities. Secondly, I will analyze a frontier city, Laodicaea, in the Maender River Valley in the thirteenth century to show how elite interactions on the frontier, persistent conflicts between Byzantines and Rum Seljuqs, and co-existence between these societies in the frontier influenced the transition of Laodicaea in the thirteenth century. Thirdly, I will clarify how two continuing functions of Ephesos-Ayasoluk, which were religious and commercial, impacted the urban growth of Ephesos in the thirteenth century. Through these functions, I will demonstrate the significance of Ephesos-Ayasoluk as a ‘coastal’ city for Byzantine economic activities by looking at the impact of Italian commerce on its regional interconnectivity. In conclusion, I will state the transformations that Late Byzantine cities went through in the thirteenth century in Anatolia were greatly influenced by the socio-political and economic changes of the period.

CHAPTER I: Post-1204 Byzantium: A Socio-political and Economic Outlook

1. Socio-political Outlook of the Post-1204 Byzantium in Anatolia

1.1. After Komnenoi: Byzantium between 1180–1204

The period from 1180 to 1204 is often regarded as a precursor to the Fourth Crusade.⁶¹ In Byzantine history, the Fourth Crusade was accepted as a significant event and this incident encouraged most historians to examine the causes of the empire's decline in this period, which featured territorial and political fragmentation that marked the "sad quarter of the century," i.e., between 1180 and 1204.⁶² In the search for the reasons for the political fragmentation and the weakening of the empire in the last quarter of the twelfth century leading up to 1204, various political and economic factors, especially the collapse of the Komnenian administration system, have been considered.⁶³ For example, Hendy emphasized the weakness of central authority in the empire and the expansion of the provincial economy during this period.⁶⁴ However, on the other hand, according to Whittow, this increasing prosperity and economy should also be questioned.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, it can be said that the failure of the foreign policy of the Empire, the decay of the Komnenian administrative system, the rise and

⁶¹ Michael Angold, "The Road to 1204: The Byzantine Background to the Fourth Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 25, no.3 (September 1999), 277–278.

⁶² Alicia J. Simpson, "Perceptions and Interpretations of the Late Twelfth Century in Modern Historiography," in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century"?*, ed. Alicia J. Simpson (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation Institute of Historical Research, 2015), 14.

⁶³ Simpson "Perceptions and Interpretations," 14.

⁶⁴ Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, vol.4: Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081–1261 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), 9.

⁶⁵ Mark Whittow, "The middle Byzantine Economy (600–1204)" in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500–1492*, ed. Johathan Shepard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 490–493.

growth of rebellions and provincial separatism would indicate that political factors were much more influential than economic ones.⁶⁶

The era in Byzantine history starting with the death of Manuel Komnenos in 1180 and concluding with the fall of Constantinople in 1204 is characterized by numerous events such as revolts, usurpations, and conspiracies as well as the decline in the strength of military, resistance to external threats and persistent financial difficulties.⁶⁷ Historiography tends to use the much debated and outdated “notion of decline” for this period, but on the other hand, “the notion of crisis” is also used to express these indicators in this period.⁶⁸ Certainly, these indicators were present throughout the empire’s existence; nonetheless, there was an innovation in this period, which was that the councils and assemblies came to the forefront in processing the emperor’s legislative and decision-making processes, and the emperor began to ask his subjects for their consent in fiscal impositions.⁶⁹ For example, the Angeloi were removed from the empire not via insurrection but by a resolution of the Church and its delegates at the Hagia Sophia.⁷⁰ By the end of the twelfth century, provinces and cities began to be represented and consultation became significant, but this consultation required negotiation and the cities were not invited to the negotiation in this decision-making process, which jeopardized political unity in the empire.⁷¹

Moreover, Byzantine foreign policy in the last quarter of the twelfth century was characterized by diplomatic inconsistencies and opportunism.⁷² As the Third

⁶⁶ Simpson “Perceptions and Interpretations,” 15.

⁶⁷ Demetrios S. Kyritses, “Political and Constitutional Crisis at the End of the Twelfth Century,” in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: “The Sad Quarter of a Century”?*, ed. Alicia J. Simpson (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation Institute of Historical Research, 2015) 97.

⁶⁸ Kyritses, “Political and Constitutional Crisis,” 97.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 108–110.

⁷² Simpson “Perceptions and Interpretations,” 15–18.

Crusade coincided with this period, difficulties began to emerge in Byzantine foreign policy. For instance, Richard I and Philip II chose the sea route to reach the Holy Land, and therefore they did not attract Byzantine attention, but the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa preferred the land route, which meant that he would have to pass through Byzantine territory with his army. The possibility that Byzantium had made an agreement with both the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum and the Ayyubids increased Frederick's suspicions of Byzantium.⁷³ For example, in his interactions with the Angeloi with Saladin and the Western forces like crusading armies and Frederick Barbarossa, the emperor Isaac II Angelos engaged in duplicity with Frederick and Saladin during the Third Crusade, but the German emperor did not comply with Isaac, and this led to the devastation of the Byzantine lands during the crusade.⁷⁴ Also, despite the absence of a formal alliance with Saladin, succeeding emperors maintained fluctuating alliances with Muslim leaders and papacy as well, and this led to the realization of objectives like the reconquest of Cyprus.⁷⁵ Therefore, the foreign policy of the empire in this period can be seen as opportunistic and reactionary, which constituted a menace to the future of the empire.⁷⁶ Another reason that led the empire to failure in the last quarter of the twelfth century was the deterioration of the Komnenian administrative system, as I mentioned above. Paul Magdalino's work⁷⁷ provides a chance to grasp better the function of this system. The Komnenian system of government emphasized the imperial family and its power, promoting a consensus between imperial authority and the elites in the provinces, thus ensuring control and

⁷³ Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*, trans. J.C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 232–239.

⁷⁴ Paul Magdalino, "Isaac II, Saladin and Venice," in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2007) 93–106.

⁷⁵ Simpson, "Perceptions and Interpretations," 17–18.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷⁷ Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

loyalty of the provinces. Until Manuel I Komnenos' death in 1180, this system functioned well, but subsequent Komnenian dynastic disputes under Manuel's successors, Alexios II and Andronikos' intervention reduced Komnenian trust, and additionally, Andronikos implemented reforms for the provinces that limited the privileges of the provincial elites, and this resulted in uprisings and broke the consensus between the aristocracy and the imperial authority.⁷⁸

In addition, Hendy states that the failure of this system resulted from two factors: The first is the privatization of the empire and the second is the privileged imperial positions granted by most of the dynastic members of Komnenoi; however, because of their lack of legitimacy and dynastic background, the Angeloi did not possess such authority; thus, they had difficulty in carrying out the fundamental duty that was collecting taxes.⁷⁹ In the meantime, one of the main components of Komnenian family-oriented rule was the *pronoia* system, which traded tax income grants for military service. By the time of Manuel I, *pronoia* had taken center stage in the administration and these awards included lifelong rights for recipients, state property, army attachments to land, and tenant farmers.⁸⁰ Some historians have suggested that Byzantium under Alexios I devolved into a feudal monarchy and compared *pronoia* to Western feudal regimes. (*feodum* or *beneficium*) However, recent research casts doubt on this by pointing out that *pronoia* conferred tax revenue rights without granting social or legal authority over the territory or its inhabitants.⁸¹ Grants of *pronoiai* ultimately became hereditary, although the analogy of feudal benefits to them is doubtful. Nevertheless, *pronoia* played a vital role in encouraging the

⁷⁸ Simpson, "Perceptions and Interpretations," 22–23.

⁷⁹ Hendy, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins*, vol.4, 8–9.

⁸⁰ Nathan Leidholm, *Elite Byzantine Kinship, Ca. 950–1204: Blood, Reputation, and the Genos. Beyond Medieval Europe*, (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019) 153.

⁸¹ Leidholm, *Elite Byzantine Kinship*, 153–154.

emperor's relations with his family and aristocratic families. However, the core problem about *pronoia* resides in Niketas Choniates' observations regarding the adverse consequences of Manuel's military restructuring by the application of these grants.⁸² The extensive distribution of *pronoiai* to commoners and half-barbarians fostered dissatisfaction among provincial populations, who became the victim of the arbitrary authority of soldier-tax collectors, and this situation led to significant disarray within the army, devastation in the Byzantine lands and invasion of Byzantine provinces by foreigners.⁸³ Secondly, the Komnenian system began to be incompatible with the growing provincial economy; therefore, Hendy attributed the internal dissolution to the interplay between the stagnant core and the increasing periphery, so this led to an increase in regionalism and separatism in the provincial centers.⁸⁴ On the one hand, Magdalino agreed that there was a growing provincial economy; however, he limited its role in his analysis of the collapse of the Komnenian system, and the Komnenian Empire's most important feature was the imperial family and the disintegration of the Komnenian family's cohesion was the main cause to system's collapse.⁸⁵ The Komnenian family grew with marriage alliances and successive generations that gave rise to competition, and the family fragmented into competing familial factions such as the Angeloi.⁸⁶ Lastly, Kazhdan associated the failure of the late twelfth century with growing role of the aristocracy between 1180 and 1204, because the military aristocracy were composed of influential families around the Komnenian dynasty, but after Andronikos I (1183–1185), the civil aristocracy gained

⁸² Simpson "Perceptions and Interpretations," 31.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Michael F. Hendy, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration, and Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 43–48.

⁸⁵ Paul Magdalino, "The Empire of the Komnenoi (1118–1204)," in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c.500–1492*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 657–662.

⁸⁶ Magdalino, "The Empire of the Komnenoi," 657–662.

power; as a result, the struggle between these two groups led to its failure.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Cheynet contested this perspective by asserting that the main problem was internal conflict within the Komnenian dynasty that was aggravated by the absence of a definite line of succession.⁸⁸ Hence, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, these problems would seem to lead to the usurpations and provincial rebellions. Before this, I discuss the changes in Byzantine aristocracy on the eve of 1204 and their roles in the provincial cities.

1.2. *Archontes* and Provincial Separatism

The first question that should be asked is who the *archontes* were, what their identities were, and what their connections to Byzantine cities were.⁸⁹ An *archon* was an imperial appointment similar to the Roman *dynatos*, as Romanos Lekapenos's chrysobull of 934 described.⁹⁰ In provincial cities, the *archon* had considerable influence; for example, in the tenth century, John Malakenos, who was considered the most significant citizen of the entire region of Hellas and the Peloponnese as well as of Laconia, was accepted as a prominent *archontes* with deeply and locally familial ties with the region.⁹¹ Despite having solid local ties and coming from well-established families, such prominent *archontes* in the provincial cities remained in contact with Constantinople and the imperial government.⁹² Initially, this title indicated a person's

⁸⁷ Alexander P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 7 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 69–70.

⁸⁸ Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance* (963–1210), Byzantina Sorbonensia 9 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990), 432–440.

⁸⁹ Michael Angold, "Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford: BAR, 1984) 236.

⁹⁰ Angold, "Archons and Dynasts," 236.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 237.

position within the imperial government and whether in military or administrative functions, *archontes* were essential to the local administration.⁹³ It can be said that the gentry are the closest English equivalent of *archontes*, but there are comparable difficulties in describing them. Both held land and had sway over local affairs, but the main difference between *archontes* and gentry is that the former had strong links to the cities.⁹⁴ The incorporation of *archontes* into urban and provincial affairs grew more due to the emergence of influential dynastic families and changing dynamics of imperial administration throughout the twelfth century.⁹⁵

A powerful aristocracy that was both essential to the state and independent of governmental positions arose during this time and prominent families such as the Doukas and the Komnenos put their own interests ahead of the state's. Reflecting this aristocratic self-awareness, by 1200, 80% of people in historical records had a familial second name and the increasing appearance of these names starting in the late tenth century on lead seals used for official correspondence is another example of this aristocratic self-awareness and this change.⁹⁶ Alexios I based his government on his kinship or bloodline, staging a coup that propelled him to power in 1081. It can be said that the military aristocracy had triumphed with the Komnenos family's consolidation of power. Rather than adding his appointments to the existing hierarchy, Alexios established a new court title, the *sebastos*, which comes from the Greek version of Augustus. Only members of the imperial household, as well as some senior foreign dignitaries, were permitted to hold this title.⁹⁷ Therefore, the majority of the Byzantine

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 238.

⁹⁵ Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, 150–160.

⁹⁶ Paul Stephenson "The Rise of the Middle Byzantine Aristocracy and the Decline of the Imperial State," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 22.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 27.

aristocracy at this period favored a military occupation and titles, considering administrative positions and titles to be beneath them, and they were lured to the military because it allowed them to be in close proximity to the emperor, which raised their stature and power.⁹⁸

Cities started reclaiming cultural and economic significance from the twelfth century to the thirteenth century.⁹⁹ With this growth, a confident aristocracy arose, influenced regional politics, and stimulated economic expansion through trade and commercial output, and urban elites also paid more attention to social and cultural issues.¹⁰⁰ An archon of Nymphaion, Goudeles Tyrannos, in Western Asia Minor in the late thirteenth century, can be given as an example. He had farms outside the city and held significant urban real estate. His urban investments were perfumery, four cloth-selling workshops, and a tower that contained a bakery and a workshop, yielding an annual income of 200 *hyperpyra*.¹⁰¹ Hence, this case shows that individuals among the archontes were capable of earning significant revenue through urban commercial activities. Although this does not indicate active promotion of urban economic development, the city functioned as a significant outlet for produce from their rural estates.¹⁰² Also, archontes preferred to locate their houses in the main city, and they lived with their families in the cities; thus, they did not isolate themselves from society.¹⁰³ Moreover, bishops became significant agents between the center of the empire and its provinces, particularly due to the weakness of the Komnenian system

⁹⁸ Savvas Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204–1453*, (Leiden: Brill, 23 May. 2011), 45.

⁹⁹ Claudia Sode, “The Formulation of Urban Identity on Byzantine Seals,” in *Seals: Making and Marking Connections across the Medieval World*, ed. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak and Carol Symes, (Amsterdam and London: Arc Humanities Press, 2019) 149.

¹⁰⁰ Sode, “The Formulation of Urban Identity,” 149.

¹⁰¹ Angold, “Archons and Dynasts,” 239–240.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

of administration.¹⁰⁴ For example, some bishops, such as Michael Choniates, maintained loyalty to Constantinople while articulating regional grievances like arbitrary taxation, which indicated increasing provincial discontent.¹⁰⁵ However, at the end of the twelfth century, the emergence of cities governed by archontes in the Empire indicated that this phenomenon was a present case rather than a mere consequence of the political discontent. These could be disregarded under peaceful circumstances and could be seen as the imperial network that was supported by the imperial system, but the challenge here was the informality of their authority at the end of the twelfth century.¹⁰⁶ Hence, it can be said that this increasing integration of these elites and bishops into local identities and interests facilitated the emergence of provincial separatism and threatened the imperial authority.

When the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa passed through Byzantine territory with his army to go to the Holy Land between 1189 and 1190, an anonymous author recorded his expedition in the work of *Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*. The author described the Byzantine lands as:

“The kingdom was split into four, and at the time when we were crossing it was very weak and under threat. For in Cyprus a certain man of the royal blood named Isaac had usurped the royal dignity for himself; beyond the Hellespont, that stretch of sea popularly called the Arm of St. George, a certain Theodore was in rebellion in the region of Philadelphia; while Kalopeter the Vlach and his brother Asen with the Vlachs subject to them were exercising tyrannical rule over much of Bulgaria, and especially in the region where the Danube flows into the sea.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 263–264.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 243–244.

¹⁰⁷ *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*, edita a quodam Austriensi Clerico, qui eidem interfuit, nomine Ansbertus, ed. Joseph Dobrowsky, (Prague: Apud Cajetanum de Mayregg, 1827), 34; G.A. Loud, trans., *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 63–64; See in Latin; “...omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur quadrifarium regnum ipsum divisum omnimodis erat attenuatum et imminutum ipsis diebus, quibus illic transiebamur. In Cipro enim quidam de regio sanguine et ipse Ysaakiusdictus regiam sibi dignitatem usurpabat ; ultra mare Ellespontum, quod brachium S. Georii vulgo dicitur, circa Philadelphiam, quidam Theodorus rebellabat. Praeterea

Theodore Mangaphas' usurpation in Philadelphia, likened to the uprising of Isaac Komnenos in Cyprus, has generally been understood as an example of provincial separatism. In Philadelphia, Mangaphas started the uprising in 1188–1199. He declared himself emperor and issued his own coins after winning the allegiance of the people of Philadelphia and the surrounding areas.¹⁰⁸ However, Isaac II Angelos defeated him in Philadelphia and Mangaphas gave up his imperial title, returning to his unknown position. After that, Basil Batatzes, doux of Thrakesion in 1191 forced him to escape; therefore, Theodore Mangaphas left Philadelphia and went to the court of the Rum Seljuq Sultan, Kay Khusraw I in Konya. After he recruited Turkish soldiers, he raided the frontier regions and cities like Phrygia, Caria and Laodicea, but with the demand of Isaac, Kay Khusraw sent him back to Byzantium on the condition that they not harm him.¹⁰⁹ According to Niketas Choniates, Theodore Mangaphas was an imposter to the throne and defector.¹¹⁰ The most interesting thing that indicated his imperial claim was his minting coin. His coin described him as in imperial attire, holding a sceptre, and in its inscription written “Θεόδωρος Βασιλεὺς ὁ Μαγκαφᾶς.”¹¹¹ Should we interpret the Mangaphas case as a provincial separatism?¹¹² First of all, before Mangaphas, the city inhabitants of Philadelphia were prone to rebel. For instance, John Komnenos Batatzes, the doux of Thrakesion, rebelled against the

Búlgarise in maxima parte ac versus Danubium , quousque mare influit, quidam Kalopetrus Flachus et frater jus Crassianus cum subditis Flachis tyrannizabat.”

¹⁰⁸ Alicia Simpson, “Provincial Separatism in the Late Twelfth Century: A Case of Power Relations or Disparate Identities,” in *Identities and Ideologies in the Medieval East Roman World*, ed. Yannis Stouraitis, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012) 259–260.

¹⁰⁹ Simpson “Provincial Separatism,” 259–60.

¹¹⁰ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Ioannes A. van Dieten, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 11, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 400–401.

¹¹¹ Hendy, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins*, vol.4, 392–396; See also; Pagona Papadopoulou, “Coinage and Economy at the end of the Twelfth Century: An Assessment,” in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: “The Sad Quarter of a Century”?*, ed. Alicia Simpson, (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation - Institute of Historical Research, 2015), 185–186.

¹¹² Simpson, “Provincial Separatism”, 260.

usurper Andronikos I Komnenos in 1182. Both in the case of Mangaphas and Batatzes, the result was the same but the Philadelphians always supported their local leaders, and even in the case of Mangaphas, although the family origin of Isaac, who was the true emperor, was Philadelphia, the city supported Mangaphas.¹¹³ Choniates also affirmed this disloyalty of Philadelphians.¹¹⁴ Hence, it would seem that the actions of Mangaphas and the behaviors of Philadelphians showed the imperial claim and urban identity. Because the city stood in close proximity to the frontier, they had to think of and prioritize their local loyalties instead of the state's interests.¹¹⁵ As for the question of whether it was political separatism or not, Mangaphas' first actions, those of betraying the emperor and designating himself as an emperor by minting coins, were the acts of a typical usurper but his subsequent actions of fleeing to Konya and plundering the frontier region turned him into a defector, and Mangaphas continued with these until 1205.¹¹⁶ While defection was widespread in this period in Anatolia, George Akropolites rendered a similar picture of Anatolia after 1204 and said that after the conquest of Constantinople, many rulers in multiple areas seized control of their personal regions, pursuing their own initiatives by calling on their inhabitants to defend their lands.¹¹⁷

Based on Akropolites, it would not be wrong to say that the emergence of independent rulers in the cities continued until 1204 and later, as seen in the example

¹¹³ Ibid., 260–261.

¹¹⁴ Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et Epistulae*, No.9, ed. Ioannes A. Van Dieten, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), 92.

¹¹⁵ Simpson, "Provincial Separatism," 261.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 262. For Mangaphas' actions until 1205, see; Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 52–56; 128–136.

¹¹⁷ George Akropolites, *The History*, trans. and ed. Ruth Macrides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 120; For defection, see; Alexander D. Beihammer, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuq Relations," *Speculum* 86, no.3 (2011): 597–651.

of Manuel Mavrozomes.¹¹⁸ Mavrozomes claimed his independence in Western Asia Minor by taking advantage of the political unrest in the frontier region. He established his control around the Maender River Valley and the Seljuqs of the Sultanate of Rum helped him.¹¹⁹ Both Manuel Mavrozomes' and Theodore Mangaphas' case can be described as provincial revolts, since both tried to gain the imperial throne, and their actions were the results of the nature of the frontier and the imperial authority's lack of power on the frontier.¹²⁰ When Theodore I Laskaris established his control and political unity after 1204, Philadelphia became a vital city in the heartland of the Empire of Nicaea, along with Nymphaion and Magnesia.¹²¹ As a result, with the gradually growing importance of local aristocracy and archontes in the cities, provincial separatism was the product of the period that led the empire 1204.¹²²

After 1204, the Latins engaged in negotiations with the rulers of the cities and acknowledged the rights of the archontes, and this acknowledgment may be seen in the *Pactum Adrianopolitanum* of 1206, which was made between Adrianople's officials and Venetian authorities.¹²³ Venetians recognized the autonomy of the city under its leader, Theodore Branas, who retained his post via succession, which translates to the Byzantine title of *dynasts* or *archontes*.¹²⁴ On this point, it is necessary to reveal urban autonomy along with urban identity of Byzantine cities. With the creation of cities' military officers like *kastrophylax* and *prokathemenos* after 1204,

¹¹⁸ Sara Nur Yıldız, "Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes and His Descendants at the Seljuq Court: The Formation of a Christian-Seljuk Komnenian Elite," in *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th – 14th centuries)*, ed. Stefan Leder, (Würzburg: Orient-Institut Istanbul, 2011), 56.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Simpson, "Provincial Separatism," 262.

¹²¹ Ibid., 263.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Filip Van Tricht, "The Byzantino-Latin Principality of Adrianople and the Challenge of Feudalism (1204/6–ca.1227/28): Empire, Venice, and Local Autonomy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014), 68.

¹²⁴ Van Tricht, "The Byzantino-Latin Principality of Adrianople," 68.

cities received a significant degree of autonomy. Also, with imperial chrysobulls from the middle of the thirteenth century, cities gained their commercial and legal autonomy. For example, Monemvasia took its chrysobull in 1262, and Ioannina obtained it in 1319.¹²⁵ Hence, a city receiving an imperial chrysobull became a privileged community in addition to receiving its legal and civic identity. In short, cities and regions developed their unique identities throughout the Empire alongside powerful families at the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹²⁶ Shortly after the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Constantinople fell to the Latins, resulting in the fragmentation of the Empire into successor states. Some Constantinopolitan imperial families like the Doukas, the Laskarids, and the Komnenos ruled in those successor states and continued to create aristocratic networks and links.

1.3. The Fourth Crusade and the Post-1204 Anatolia

Throughout the centuries, Constantinople was accepted by both Christians and Muslims alike as a city of wonders, abounding in wealth and power. Therefore, it was commemorated as “the queen of cities,” “the navel of the earth,” and “the eye of the inhabited world.”¹²⁷ The seizure of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in April 1204 stands as one of the most astonishing and significant events in Byzantine history.¹²⁸ Originally initiated by Pope Innocent III in 1198 to recapture Jerusalem, the Fourth Crusade encountered unforeseen circumstances originating from financial problems and political manipulations. Upon failing to procure enough financing for

¹²⁵ Angold, “Archons and Dynasts,” 246.

¹²⁶ Leidholm, *Elite Byzantine Kinship*, 159.

¹²⁷ Dimitar Angelov, *The Byzantine Hellene The Life Of Emperor Theodore Laskaris And Byzantium In The Thirteenth Century*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 13.

¹²⁸ Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 3.

Venetian support to transport their ships to the Holy Land, the Crusaders redirected their efforts to assault Zara and then negotiated an agreement with a Byzantine prince, Alexios Angelos. He promised financial and military assistance to the Crusaders, and in return, Alexios was reinstated as emperor in 1203. He directed the crusaders to Constantinople in 1203 and was declared as an emperor. Nevertheless, tensions between the Byzantines and the Crusaders intensified, and the Crusaders determined to seize the city via force. Their attack in April 1204 led to the downfall of Constantinople and the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire.¹²⁹ After this, the Latin Empire of Constantinople was established and the underlying structure for the newly formed Latin empire was created by *Partitio Romaniae*, which was a treaty delineating the partition of Byzantine territory among the crusaders and Venetians.¹³⁰ The conquest of the Byzantine Empire ushered in a new era and changed the balance of power in the Mediterranean. The Latin Empire centered in Constantinople contained many governmental entities, notably the Kingdom of Thessalonica and the Duchies of Athens and Thebes.¹³¹ The inhabitants of Constantinople had to accept refugees from other places. The Byzantines rejected to recognize Latin governance in Constantinople. Just before the fall of Constantinople, two members of the Komnenoi dynasty, Alexios and David Komnenos fled to Trebizond and established the Empire of Trebizond. On the other hand, Michael Angelos founded the Despotate of Epiros in Arta and Theodore Laskaris, son-in-law of Alexios III Angelos, escaped from Constantinople to Anatolia around Nicaea and led to the emergence of the Empire of

¹²⁹ Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, 3–4.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹³¹ Jean Longnon, “The Frankish State in Greece, 1204–1311,” in *A History of the Crusades, vol.2: The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, eds. Setton, Wolff, Hazard (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 235–237.

Nicaea.¹³² These successor states endeavored to keep the Byzantine identity while pursuing their imperial claims towards the Latins in Constantinople. Although they managed to survive in exile, they contended not only with the Latins but also between themselves for imperial throne.

1.3.1. The Formation of the Empire of Nicaea

Emperor Alexios V Mourtzophoulos was fleeing Constantinople when the Latins entered the city in April 1204. Thereupon, the city's dignitaries proclaimed Constantine Komnenos Laskaris as the new emperor at the Hagia Sophia. Subsequently, when it became evident that the conflict could not be maintained in Constantinople, his adherents, under the leadership of Constantine Laskaris, retreated to Anatolia, designating Nicaea the center of their activities. As Constantine's brother, Theodore, tried to repel Latin attacks in the region, Constantine made an alliance with the new Rum Seljuq Sultan, Ghiyath al-Din Kay Khusraw I, to mitigate the aggressive actions of the Turks from the East. This was his last act since he died after the Battle of Adramyttion, in which the Latins triumphed, and was succeeded by his brother Theodore Laskaris.¹³³ Theodore Laskaris first assumed the title of *despot* in 1205.¹³⁴ During this time, soon after 1204, the cities of Anatolia were under independent circumstances. Theodore was originally rejected in Nicaea, prompting him to seek assistance in nearby city, Prusa, where he endeavored to unify the Byzantine resistance under single authority. He arrived at Nicaea with the backing he received in 1206 and

¹³² Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 12.

¹³³ Clive Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises*, (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1996), 57–58.

¹³⁴ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 12.

proclaimed Nicaea his capital; however, he still lacked the title of emperor.¹³⁵ In 1207 and 1208, he executed a series of military campaigns with the Latins and another successor state, the Empire of Trebizond, led by David Grand Komnenos, brother of Alexios Grand Komnenos in Trebizond.

During this period, some previous political and intellectual elites sought refuge in Nicaea. Niketas Choniates was one of them. His works are significant sources for this era. The theme of the exile at the era are evident in his works. Choniates is discontented with this circumstance, since although attaining a vital position prior to 1204, he was troubled by his unfavorable relations with the Laskarids. However, he lived at Nicaea, which he characterized it as a prison, until his death in 1215.¹³⁶ Furthermore, noble ecclesiastical leaders also sought refuge in the city. These individuals articulated the lack of the imperial institution. Consequently, Theodore and the dignitaries of Nicaea convened a synod, resulting in the election of Michael Autorianos in March 1208. Subsequently, Patriarch Autorianos anointed Theodore Laskaris as emperor in 1208.¹³⁷ Theodore's main purpose was to recover the empire and bring unity to Western Anatolia, and with his triumph over the Rum Seljuqs at the battle of Antioch-on-the-Maeander in 1211, he was partially restored.¹³⁸ However, the same success did not come against the Latins. Due to the growing Latin power in the north, Laskaris was staying in the south during the summer around Nymphaion and Smyrna and he carried the imperial mint to Magnesia, but Nicaea remained as a political and diplomatic capital of the Empire due to the presence of the Patriarch.¹³⁹ Also, Theodore and his heirs pursued a diplomacy with the Latin world, the Rum

¹³⁵ Foss, *Nicaea*, 58.

¹³⁶ Foss, *Nicaea*, 58.

¹³⁷ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 13.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹³⁹ Foss, *Nicaea*, 61.

Seljuqs and the empire's aristocracy through the Union of Churches and marriage alliances. His heir and son-in-law, John III Vatatzes was one of the products of these marriage alliances.¹⁴⁰ One of the most important features of John III Vatatzes' reign was his "crusade against the Turks," as it was called by Langdon.¹⁴¹ Although Langdon described this as the last imperial offensive in Asia Minor, Korobeinikov highlighted that Michael Palaiologos advanced into the Maender Valley in 1260–1261, so this can be accepted as the last campaign of the Nicaean Empire.¹⁴² During Vatatzes' reign, the Maender Valley, extending from Miletus to Tripolis and Laodicea was one of the most disputed Byzantine territories in Asia minor and it became a central site of Byzantine-Turkish contention. The ultimate Byzantine evacuation from this area happened in 1276–77 with the Turkmen integration after the disintegration of Rum Seljuqs.¹⁴³ Vatatzes, who witnessed the height of the Empire of Nicaea, moved the south in his palace at Nymphaion and Magnesia served as an imperial treasury and mint. Nevertheless, Nicaea maintained its significance as the seat of the Patriarchate. After Vatatzes' death in 1254, his son, Theodore II Laskaris ascended to the throne and initiated measures to enhance the intellectual culture of Nicaea. He founded an imperial school in the city and especially his own passion for learning and philosophy significantly influenced the educational change of the empire.¹⁴⁴ The Nicaean Emperors strove to consolidate imperial authority concerning ecclesiastical administration. One way to accomplish this was to make changes in the diocesan structures of the Church in the cities. For example, during the reign of Theodore I

¹⁴⁰ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 15–16

¹⁴¹ John Springer Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231* (New Rochelle, NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1992), 2.

¹⁴² Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 79.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁴⁴ Foss, *Nicaea*, 69–71. For the life of Theodore II Laskaris, see; Angelov, *Byzantine Hellene*.

Laskaris, the cities of Philadelphia and Heraclea Pontica were elevated to metropolitan status. These cities were large in their time and these elevations were made in accordance with the political conditions of the time. At this point, it is possible that the imperial power in these cities was increased in this way due to their locations close to the border, Heraclea's commercial position, and Philadelphia's past disloyalties.¹⁴⁵ As mentioned above, the Laskarids paid attention to imperial family and marriage alliances when they were pursuing diplomacy with the Nicaean aristocracy and came to compromise with local elites. Nevertheless, Theodore I Laskaris adopted a hostile approach towards his main rivals in Anatolia, like David Komnenos of Paphlagonia, brother of the emperor of the Empire of Trebizond, Alexios Grand Komnenos and Manuel Mavrozomes, the son-in-law of the Rum Seljuq sultan. However, in order to control another local magnate, Savvas (Sabbas) Asidenos who had authority over the lower Maender River valley from Sampson (Priene), during the final years of Theodore's reign, Asidenos married into the imperial family and was honored with the title of *sebastokrator*.¹⁴⁶ The Palaiologos family gained prominence within the Empire of Nicaea through matrimonial alliances and military contributions. Michael Palaiologos, the future emperor, who was known for his charisma and military prowess, earned favor among the aristocracy despite skepticism from the Emperor Theodore II Laskaris. After Theodore II's death in 1258, Michael became the regent for John IV Laskaris and eventually claimed the imperial title.¹⁴⁷ In 1260, Michael Palaiologos pursued comprehensive diplomatic and military initiatives to retake Constantinople. He established treaties with the Seljuqs, Mongols and Bulgars to

¹⁴⁵ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 48–49.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 61. For the Nicaean Aristocracy, see Vincent Puech, "Aristocracy and the Empire of Nicaea," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 71–74.

¹⁴⁷ Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 29–30.

fortify the empire's frontiers and forged an essential alliance with Genoese via the Treaty of Nymphaion.¹⁴⁸ In July 1261, his commander, Alexios Strategopoulos, seized Constantinople; the Latin Emperor Baldwin fled, and the Venetian quarter in the city was obliterated to prevent their return. Upon learning this, Michael VIII Palaiologos entered Constantinople on 15 August 1261 with a religious procession. This spelled the end of the Laskarids and marked the turning point of the rise of the Palaiologan dynasty.¹⁴⁹ From then on, the Laskarids undertook to make the Empire of Nicaea the main heir to Byzantine legitimacy by consolidating the military, reorganizing the churches, and making strategic marriage alliances, and with this, they would also seem to set the stage revival and imperial power in cities to unite in Late Byzantine Anatolia. In the meantime, another contender for imperial authority was arising in the eastern periphery of Anatolia: The Empire of Trebizond.

1.3.2. The Formation of the Empire of Trebizond

The Empire of Trebizond became vital, even though it had been a mostly forgotten part of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁵⁰ Following the end of the Komnenian Dynasty with Andronikos Komnenos in 1185, Alexios and David Komnenos, who claimed descent from Andronikos Komnenos, proclaimed Trebizond as the capital.¹⁵¹ Historians have contested timing and manner of the departure of the Komnenian brothers from Constantinople. The brothers, who purportedly aided by the Georgian Queen Tamara, declared their empire in Trebizond in 1204, once again with the

¹⁴⁸ Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, 33–34.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Antony Eastmond, "The Empire of Trebizond," in *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond*, ed. Antony Eastmond (İstanbul: ANAMED/Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 31.

¹⁵¹ İbrahim Tellioglu, *Komnenosların Karadeniz Hakimiyeti Trabzon Rum Devleti (1204–1461)* (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2009) 25–26.

Tamara's assistance.¹⁵² The acceptance of the Komnenoi by the local populace was mostly due to the power of the Komnenoi in the area.¹⁵³ Eastmond highlighted George Finlay's notion that the Trebizond Empire was established by chance, and according to him, Trebizond persisted haphazardly.¹⁵⁴ Yet, the Komnenian brothers asserted that their lineage distinguished them from other rulers of successor state. They also used the title of Grand Komnenoi.

Alexios Komnenos ascended the throne of Trebizond and he sent his brother David Komnenos to Paphlagonia, aiming to safeguard his imperial title and recapturing Constantinople. The closeness to Constantinople may be a decisive role in this move because Nicaea was the nearest state to the City, so posing a danger to the imperial claims of Trebizond. Thus, David Grand Komnenos sought to acquire Paphlagonia and Nicomedia, but he was defeated by Theodore Laskaris.¹⁵⁵ Consequently, Trebizond gradually disintegrated within the Byzantine world when the Rum Seljuks seized Sinope in 1214 and reinforced their dominance. The incursion of the Mongols in the mid-thirteenth century undermined the Rum Seljuks, but Trebizond successfully protected itself due its isolated position.¹⁵⁶ After Michael VIII Palaiologos regained Constantinople, the battle of de facto imperial supremacy ended, but the emperors of Trebizond did not hesitate to continue their imperial claim. However, the real situation was very different because they were only recognized by Constantinople when they established a marriage alliance between the Emperor John II Grand Komnenos and Michael VIII Palaiologos. According to Pachymeres, John accepted

¹⁵² Telliöglu, *Trabzon Rum Devleti*, 26

¹⁵³ Ibid., 27.

¹⁵⁴ Eastmond, "The Empire of Trebizond," 33. See also, George Finlay, *The History of Greece from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks and of the Empire of Trebizond 1204–1461* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1851).

¹⁵⁵ Eastmond, "The Empire of Trebizond," 48.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 49.

the title of despot and began to wear black shoes instead of red ones that indicate an imperial symbol.¹⁵⁷ Hence it can be said that the Grand Komnenoi preserved some connections with Byzantium and established marriage alliances between themselves and the Palaiologan emperors; yet the empire never regained prominence in Byzantine political affairs. They also formed marriage alliances with neighboring states but their survival was mainly based on their strategic position and clever diplomacy.¹⁵⁸ Angold stated that the Empire of Trebizond should be referred to as a “Greek emirate,” influenced by the region’s and city’s Hellenic origins.¹⁵⁹

Most of our knowledge regarding social life in the Empire of Trebizond originates from life in the city of Trebizond, because life outside of the city was limited to agriculture and natural resource usage.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the picture of the empire was mostly driven by the urban elites in Trebizond, particularly the Grand Komnenoi. It can be said that they were the patrons of the city and they were responsible for the building and embellishment of the churches and the city.¹⁶¹ Women also actively participated in urban life. For example, as mentioned, the sister of Michael VIII, Eudokia Palaiologina married John II Grand Komnenos and came to Trebizond. She was one of the advocates of the empire against her brother.¹⁶² Moreover, the Empire of Trebizond had a dynamic intellectual environment; for instance, Gregory Chioniades and George Chrysokokkes researched astronomy and made translations of Persian text into Greek, and thus contributed to urban intellectual life. Most

¹⁵⁷ George Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, ed. Albert Failler and trans. Vitalien Laurent, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 24 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984,) VI. 34.

¹⁵⁸ Eastmond, “The Empire of Trebizond,” 50.

¹⁵⁹ Michael Angold, “Byzantium in Exile,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol.5: 1198–1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999,) 547.

¹⁶⁰ Eastmond, “The Empire of Trebizond,” 50–51.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 51–52.

importantly, Michael Panaretos¹⁶³ and Bessarion were two significant intellectuals of Trebizond. Bessarion particularly emerged as an important figure who praised the city with his rhetorical compositions.¹⁶⁴ After 1204, the Empire of Trebizond along with her capital city, evolved into a political and cultural hub with the imperial aspirations of the Grand Komnenoi.

1.4. Politics and Society in the Frontier

One should understand how Late Byzantine cities in Western Anatolia in the frontier were influenced by political and social trajectories of the period before the loss of Byzantine Anatolia in the thirteenth century, it needs to be investigated the structure of the frontier vice versa Byzantium and the Turks.¹⁶⁵ Although the most of the sources about the Byzantine-Seljukid border in the thirteenth century were Ottoman sources that belonged to the end of the fourteenth century, the frontier was delineated as *uj*¹⁶⁶ and was seen as “a sort of no man’s land.”¹⁶⁷ This frontier was perceived as a narrow land populated by the nomads.¹⁶⁸ According to Hopwood, the description of frontier:

“The *uj* was a debatable land, under the control of nomadic groups. Sedentarists could only be protected by the presence of forts, to which they could retire on the arrival of the nomads, and at which strong defensive forces could be concentrated. The upper reaches of the river valleys of western Anatolia lay on the crucial divide between arable and grazing land. The extent of each zone was ultimately determined by environmental factors, but temporary changes in

¹⁶³ Annika Asp-Talwar, “The Chronicle of Michael Panaretos,” in *Byzantium’s Other Empire: Trebizond*, ed. Antony Eastmond (İstanbul: ANAMED/Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 173–174.

¹⁶⁴ Aslıhan Akışık-Karakullukçu, “Praising a City: Nicaea, Trebizond, and Thessalonike,” *Journal of Turkish Studies*, In Memoriam Angeliki E. Laiou, eds. Nevra Necipoğlu ve Cemal Kafadar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2011), 1–25.

¹⁶⁵ Korobeinikov, *The Byzantium and the Turks*, 228.

¹⁶⁶ This word, spelled “*uc*” in Turkish literally means “tip, extremity, end.”

¹⁶⁷ Andrew C.S. Peacock, “The Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and the Turkmen of the Byzantine frontier, 1206–1279,” *Al-Masāq* 26, no.3 (2014), 269.

¹⁶⁸ Korobeinikov, *The Byzantium and the Turks*, 228.

the balance of power between the transhumant and the sedentarist could temporarily advance the extent of each zone.”¹⁶⁹

However, contemporary sources such as Aqsarāyī wrote that the *uj* could be seen as any large area. For example, Kütahya and Sandıklı were closer cities to the Nicaean frontier and Ghurghurum and Akşehir were farther from the frontier with their close location to Konya, but both of them were seen by Aqsarāyī as part of the frontier.¹⁷⁰ Ibn Bībī described the Trebizond-Seljuq border as the *uj* of Amasya, but the city was far away from the westernmost fortress of the Empire of Trebizond that was Limnia.¹⁷¹ Since the *uj* lands were composed of large regions, including Seljuq cities, it can be inferred that nomads did not make up the predominant population, and the southern Nicaean-Seljuq frontier included important trade routes, thriving towns, and peasant populations.¹⁷² In this context, it can be said that the coexistence of nomadic and sedentary populations shaped the frontier zones of Anatolia. Korobeinikov used Ottoman tax records from the sixteenth century to show that nomads like the Bozulus (Boz Ulus, literally the “gray nation”) Turkmens of the Akkoyunlu confederation in Anatolia co-existed with established populations under state’s control and even they had seasonal pastures with well-defined migratory routes.¹⁷³ Similarly, in thirteenth century Anatolia, Laodicea, one of the cases examined in this thesis, and her environs are shown as exemplifying this because while

¹⁶⁹ Keith R. Hopwood, “The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier c. 1250–1300.” in *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica: Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums*, ed. Markus Köhbach et al. (Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik, 1999), 155.

¹⁷⁰ al-Aqsarāyī, Karīm al-Dīn, *Mūsāmeret ül-ahbār. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan, (Ankara: TTK, 1944), 74.

¹⁷¹ Ibn Bībī, *El-Evāmirü’l-‘Alā’iyye fī’l-umūri’l-‘Alā’iyye*, ed. A. S. Erzi, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), 336.

¹⁷² Korobeinikov, *The Byzantium and the Turks*, 229–230.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 230–232.

the Byzantine populations were living in the city, the nomadic people settled around Laodicaea.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, in terms of the Seljuq side of the border, the ideas of Paul Wittek were especially useful. In his well-known *ghazi* theory,¹⁷⁵ Paul Wittek claimed that nomadic warrior groups had no connections with the central government and they were driven by the ideology of *ghaza* (raiding, or in his phrasing, “holy war”) in the border zones of Western Anatolia towards the end of the thirteenth century. According to him, the border zones had a different culture from the Seljuq heartland and were home to independent warriors, whose identity was affected by conflict and raiding activities in the frontier.¹⁷⁶ In terms of this, Wittek likened the Seljuq side of the frontier with the Byzantine side by giving the examples of local magnates like Manuel Mavrozomes and Theodore Mangaphas.¹⁷⁷ Even both sides of the frontier had features in common because Balivet depicted the frontier city of Philadelphia as “Greek emirate” due to Philadelphian elites’ marriage alliances with Turks.¹⁷⁸ In contrast, Peacock highlighted that these areas had caravanserais, religious complexes sponsored by waqfs, and were connected to Rum Seljuq legal and fiscal institutions¹⁷⁹ Also, he emphasized that the frontier zone of Rum Seljuqs shared more in common with Konya than with Byzantine cities on the other side of the border like Philadelphia.¹⁸⁰ He gave an example of Laodicaea and her environs with examining the insurrection of Mehmed or Muhammed Beg. He illustrated that even Turkmen chiefs in the border regions sought

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 233.

¹⁷⁵ Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1938).

¹⁷⁶ Peacock, “The Seljuq Sultanate of Rum,” 271–272.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 273

¹⁷⁸ Michel Balivet, *Rhomanie byzantine et pays de Rum turc: Histoire d’un espace d’imbrication gréco-turque*, Les Cahiers du Bosphore 10 (Istanbul: ISIS, 1994; repr. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 43–45, 85–99.

¹⁷⁹ Peacock, “The Seljuq Sultanate of Rum,” 273.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

a policy from centralized authorities to legitimize themselves. In this case, Mehmed Beg in Denizli acquired official emblems of authority like those of *şihna* (governor) or *firman* (decree) from the Mongol authority, Hülagü Khan.¹⁸¹

On the other hand, the Byzantine side of the frontier was also vital to understand the structure of the frontier after 1204 in Anatolia. In this sense, it is important to understand how the Byzantines reacted to the growing Turkmen and Seljuq threats in the border zones. Firstly, it can be said that Nicaean emperors continued the Komnenian frontier policy and established a fortification line along the frontier around the cities such as Nicaea and Philadelphia.¹⁸² The Nicaean defensive strategy against Turks in the frontier was predicated on three main elements: stationed provincial garrisons (*themata*) at strategic frontier sites like frontier cities and castles; Turkic, predominantly Cuman and Qipchak, nomadic people resided on the Nicaean side of the frontier; and the *akritai*, who were granted tax exemptions in return for military service. These *akritai* became enormously rich because they received additional rewards in the form of governmental income. This situation of the *akritai* attracted the interest of Michael VIII Palaiologos.¹⁸³ When he served as a regent for the John IV Laskaris, he pursued of a policy by bestowing hereditary *pronoia* and allocating riches and property to the elite. The *pronoia* system was an indispensable policy for the Byzantines to fund the military and it worked by allocating imperial territories to individuals in return for military service, sometimes associated with tax exemptions and social status.¹⁸⁴ Michael VIII maintained a relationship with the Seljuqs but he also strengthened the border areas as Philadelphia fortified around 1259. Just after his

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 283.

¹⁸² Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 79.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 236.

¹⁸⁴ Fotini Kondyli, "The Lords at the End of the Empire: Negotiating Power in The Late Byzantine Frontiers (Fourteenth–Fifteenth Centuries)," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 112 (2017): 312.

capture of Constantinople, a pro-Laskarid revolt erupted around Nicaea in 1261, and upon this, Michael VIII sent Chadenos to conduct a cadastral survey of border territories to reestablish control. His reform changed the situation of the *akritai* and converted them from tax-exempt irregular frontier troops into *pronoiai*, whose land earnings were collected by the state, with each soldier receiving annual payment. Hence, this altered them into mobile *themata* soldiers along the frontier and he suppressed the pro-Laskarid insurrection.¹⁸⁵ In addition, Michael Palaiologos formed a matrimonial alliance with the Mongols to ensure the security of his eastern border and avoid the increasing Mongol threat.¹⁸⁶

Moreover, unlike the Nicaean emperors, the enemy that Michael VIII encountered on the frontier was not the Seljuk sultan but nomadic Turkmen groups, and these groups were looking for suitable lands such as the Meander River valley on the frontier in order to continue their nomadic lifestyle because of the Mongol threat in the east.¹⁸⁷ For this reason, they raided the Byzantine territories there. After Michael's initiative on the frontier between 1261 and 1263, no active operations were seen in the region between 1267 and 1280, and nomadic Turkmen groups infiltrated the Byzantine territories both from the Paphlagonian border and from the southern Meander valley.¹⁸⁸ Around 1280, Michael VIII's heir Andronikos II gained significant victories in the Maeander Valley by clearing Turkish troops between Lydia and Ionia and he seized the Laodicea with Cayster Valley. Also, he refortified the city of Tralles that was important fortress-city to impede advances of Turks. However, after his return back from Anatolia, Turkish troops reclaimed the region, destroyed Tralles and Nyssa.

¹⁸⁵ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and The Turks*, 240.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 243–244.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 244–245.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 246.

The main actor of this destruction was a commander referred to in Greek Sources as “Mantachias” or “Salpakis” and this signified the first mention of Menteshe Beylik.¹⁸⁹

Lastly, it should be mentioned that another peculiar feature of the frontier in relation to cities in the region in the thirteenth century between the Byzantines and Turks was elite interaction and their investments in border zones. Keith Hopwood emphasizes the Byzantine Turkish border as a vibrant area of cultural integration by observing that elite engagement was realized by the integration of two communities.¹⁹⁰ This originated back to the Komnenian period and last quarter of the twelfth century. From this time, border lords and local magnates fulfilled a significant function for the structure of the frontier. For instance, Manuel Mavrozomes’ activities in the frontier can be shown as an example of this elite engagement of the frontier. This was because his family’s lineage traced its roots back to the descendant of the Mavrozomes family who had emerged as a provincial elite in the Peloponnese in the twelfth century, and as a result of Komnenian policy, his family merged with the Komnenian dynasty, so Manuel Mavrozomes acquired imperial posts in the late twelfth century. After Angeloi came into power, Mavrozomes drifted apart and became close to the Seljuq side. He became the father-in-law of the Rum Seljuq Sultan, Kay Khusraw I, and with the help of the sultan, he took control of the frontier region and frontier cities of Laodicea and Chonai.¹⁹¹ Yıldız said that “he and his descendant refashioned themselves as Seljuq

¹⁸⁹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and The Turks*, 249–250. Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, I, 597. For the Menteşe Beylik, see Dimitri Korobeinikov, “The Formation of Turkish Principalities in the Boundary Zone: From the Emirate of Denizli to the Beylik of Menteşe (1256–1302),” in *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium of the History, Culture, and Civilization of Western Anatolian Principalities: Menteşe Principality, 25–27 April 2012, Muğla* (Muğla: 2014); Keith R. Hopwood, “The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier c. 1250–1300,” in *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica: Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums*, ed. Markus Köhbach et al. (Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik, 1999), 158.

¹⁹⁰ Keith R. Hopwood, “Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbors,” in *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities, and ‘Black Holes’: Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, ed. Eugenia Kermeli and Oktay Özel (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2006), 42

¹⁹¹ Sara Nur Yıldız, “Manuel Mavrozomes,” 56–58.

elites without eschewing their Byzantine and Christian identity; rather their Komnenian credentials were prominently displayed in the Seljuq realm.”

Looking at the Seljuq side of the frontier, after the mid-thirteenth century, the frontier region experienced elite investment from Mongol and Seljuq officials in order to increase its economic significance and political integration into the Seljuq state.¹⁹² For example, Fakhr al-Din Şahib Ata established institutions near Akşehir and transformed cities such as Ladhiq, Honaz, and Afyonkarahisar into hereditary estates for his family. This indicates that the frontier was not a marginal area but rather a politically significant and prosperous region influenced by elite patronage and strategic settlement.¹⁹³

2. Economic Outlook of the Post-1204 Byzantium in Anatolia

2.1. Urban and Rural Economic Policies

For the Byzantine economic history, cities are significant not only as centers of production but also due to their connections with population dynamics, urban and rural settlement patterns and the distribution and consumption of products as well as commerce.¹⁹⁴ This is valid for the Late Byzantine cities because it can be said that the Late Byzantine cities functioned as centers for consumer activity, for demand and consumption of material commodities.¹⁹⁵ For this reason, in this section, I will examine the post-1204 era in Anatolia by considering the economic situation and successor

¹⁹² Peacock, “The Seljuq Sultanate of Rum,” 279.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 280.

¹⁹⁴ Charalambos Bouras, “Aspects of the Byzantine Cities, Eight–Fifteenth Centuries,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 498.

¹⁹⁵ Klaus-Peter Matschke, “The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 464.

states in terms of their economic policies, distributions of settlement like urban-rural areas, frontier policies, and commerce. Economic growth can be seen in the cities of Asia Minor and it can be traced back to the tenth century, but the cities in Asia Minor could not reach the same degree of growth in cities of European provinces of empire like Thebes and Corinth. This economic impetus in the later period came with the demands of affluent landowners and state officials in major cities and was increased by the support of Italian merchants.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, proximity to Constantinople was very influential in the economic growth of cities in Asia Minor. For example, the Nicomedia, Nicaea and Prousa in the eastern part of the Propontis became advantageous in terms of this.¹⁹⁷ Hence, for instance, Nicaea after 1204 was the perfect choice for the Laskarids because the city was located near important land road connections and in close proximity to Constantinople.¹⁹⁸ In some regions, urban growth was driven by the emergence of ‘feudal’ social ties. Since most of the cities were largely ruled by local archontes who originated from influential local landowning families, they contributed to the local economies.¹⁹⁹ For example, they had rights to the money generated by marketplaces and harbors. This established a relationship between rural areas and urban centers. For instance, in 1216, Basil Gabalas sold his fields in Phygella and faced challenges in collecting taxes from them due to their distance from his house in Ephesos, so he aimed to acquire homes in proximity to the city instead.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 208; 223.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ekaterini Mitsou, “Ideology and Economy in the Politics of John III Vatatzes (1221–1254),” in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, eds Ayla Odekan, Engin Akyürek, Nevra Necipoğlu et al. (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2010), 195.

¹⁹⁹ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 225.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 227.

The deterioration of the economic unity of the empire affected by the political failure of the last quarter of the twelfth century, mentioned previously.²⁰¹ After 1204, the political fragmentation of the empire also accelerated the economic disunity of the Byzantine Empire. For example, although Byzantine coinage was an indicator of the economic unity of the empire, when the regions separated into local units and local currencies were circulated within these units, a disunity emerged.²⁰² After the fall of Constantinople, when these patterns were reinforced, the disunity could not be provided despite the subsequent economic prosperity in the Empire of Nicaea.²⁰³

The Anatolian provinces were the main heartland that supplied the majority of the resources that helped the emperors of Nicaea in realizing their European conquests and ultimately restoring the Byzantine Empire.²⁰⁴ The thirteenth century was a prosperous era for Byzantine Anatolia, but it was disrupted by the oppressive taxation policies of Michael VIII and in the early fourteenth century by the instability caused by the Turkish incursion and the actions of mercenaries like the Catalans.²⁰⁵ The increasing prosperity in Anatolia in this period was significantly attributed to the economic and fiscal policies of the Laskarid emperors, who made substantial investments in rural and urban economies.²⁰⁶ According to Bouras, “During the period of the Laskarid emperors, some of Asia Minor prospered again (on a local level), and this is manifest both in the vitality of the settlements in the general building

²⁰¹ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 120.

²⁰² Michael F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1969), 290–95.

²⁰³ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 120.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁰⁵ Angeliki E. Laiou, “The Agrarian Economy,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 320.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

activities.”²⁰⁷ The economic and fiscal policies of the Laskarid emperors, particularly John III Vatatzes, separated the Empire of Nicaea from the other successor states.²⁰⁸ After 1204, Theodore I Laskaris restored relative political unity in the Western Anatolia, John III Vatatzes implemented serious economic policies on the rural areas that emerged as a key objective for Emperor John III. As part of his policies, John III Vatatzes with prominent landowners restructured production on imperial territories and advocated agricultural self-sufficiency by founding new settlements, *zeugelateia*.²⁰⁹ He established villages on *zeugelateia* adjacent to each fortress and castle. In this way, the state provided cities and fortresses with supplies, as they were adequately stocked from surrounding *zeugelateiai* and villages.²¹⁰ This measure also strengthened the defense of those regions, particularly along the frontier.²¹¹ Also, by establishing better organizations for productions, John III Vatatzes supported investment made by aristocracy and the monasteries.²¹² For instance, a monastic foundation like Lembiotissa profited by these settlements in newly acquired territories like Mela near Smyrna.²¹³ John III’s economic policies included all economic sections of the empire, and his policies can be described as “protectionist” and “self-sufficient” based on the agricultural economy.²¹⁴ Furthermore, in Byzantine Anatolia in the thirteenth century, fertile coastal plains and river valleys accelerated grain cultivation in areas such as the Memanionmenos plain near Smyrna, which emerged as a

²⁰⁷ Bouras, “Aspects of the Byzantine Cities,” 504. For such settlements, see Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A late antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 136–137.

²⁰⁸ Mitsou, “Ideology and Economy,” 195.

²⁰⁹ David Jacoby, “Rural Exploitation in Western Asia Minor and the Mediterranean: Aspects of Interaction in the Thirteenth Century” in *Aureus: Tomos aphieromenos ston kathegete Evangelos K. Chrysos*, ed. Taxiarchis G. Koliass, Konstantinos G. Pitsakis, and C. Synellis (Athens: 2014), 244.

²¹⁰ Mitsou, “Ideology and Economy,” 197.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Laiou, “The Agrarian Economy,” 314. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 108.

²¹³ Jacoby, “Rural Exploitation,” 244.

²¹⁴ Mitsou, “Ideology and Economy,” 198.

significant region for grain production. Also, significant quantities of grain were accumulated and transported to Seljuq regions in return for valuable commodities like gold and silver.²¹⁵ As Alan Harvey states, “owing to the close interaction between town and country the course of urban history reveals close parallels to that of the rural economy. The condition of the rural economy was the prime factor underlying the decline or expansion of towns.”²¹⁶

2.2. Urban Consumption and Productions and Commercial Relations

Besides the interrelation of rural and urban economy, when looking at the urban economy after 1204, cities became the center of consumption of material goods.²¹⁷ In Anatolia, cities retained their significance. First, Nicaea became the main residence for the emperors in exile and then Nymphaion and Magnesia became prominent and were mostly inhabited by the emperors. Also, the late Byzantine aristocracy, such dynasts and archontes continued to live in large provincial cities.²¹⁸ In Late Byzantine cities as centers of consumption, the commoners mainly needed basic clothes and food, although aristocratic demands were much more sophisticated.²¹⁹ Late Byzantine cities continued to be a center of production as well.²²⁰ As mentioned above in the example of Gabalas, landowners lived in cities to be close their properties because they invested in business in the cities.²²¹ Silk production developed in the cities in this period such as in Nicaea. Nicaea became one of the most important places for the silk industry after 1204 and even following the recovery of Constantinople.²²² As a part of John

²¹⁵ Jacoby, 245. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 103.

²¹⁶ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 241.

²¹⁷ Matschke, “The Late Byzantine Urban Economy,” 464.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid., 466.

²²¹ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 108–109.

²²² Ibid., 109. Jacoby, “Rural Exploitation,” 248.

Vatatzes' economic policy, the people of Nicaea had to use the goods made by Nicaean artisans and silk producers. Also, Vatatzes was against the foreign silk products. Additionally, thirteenth-century pottery demonstrated his protective stance against the foreign products because local types such as Zeuxippus and Aegean wares were developed as a pottery product of regions and cities like Bithynia, Pergamon, and Anaia, which indicated local styles.²²³

There were also foreign merchants such as Venetians, Genoese and Pisans in the cities of the Empire of Nicaea and in the Empire of Trebizond.²²⁴ Foreign trade was maintained with the help of these foreign merchants. For example, ships traveled between Anaia which operated as the port of Ephesos and the coast of Syria. These ships, particularly western ones, carried pilgrims as well. Additionally, there were Pisan traders at Adramyttion, and luxury goods from India and Egypt were sold in Magnesia's markets. All of these showed that trade continued beyond the Aegean.²²⁵ Many cities in Western Asia Minor like Anaia, Ephesos, Adramyttion, and Smyrna became significant hubs for trade in the Mediterranean after 1204.²²⁶ Foreign merchants contributed to these ports, linking them to the markets in Italy and the Levant, and they played major roles in the economic recovery of post-1204 Anatolia.²²⁷ By the 1270s, Western Asia Minor's grain exports were big business. As mentioned above, the Nicaean empire encouraged grain production, and surpluses of grain were sold to the Seljuqs in return for gold. Also, grain was sold by ships to Eastern Mediterranean centers through foreign merchants. For example, in 1278, a Pisan trade manual demonstrated that Anaia exported grains. This grain was often sent

²²³ Mistou, "Ideology and Economy," 198–199.

²²⁴ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 105–106.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 113–114.

²²⁶ Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," 254.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 252.

north to Negropont and then switched ships to reach Pisa. Exports to Acre are also mentioned in the same source, which showed the grain trade from Byzantine Asia Minor to the Levant.²²⁸ Along with grain, silk became prominent. As mentioned earlier, silk production was very significant for the Nicaeans. Again, the Pisan manual confirmed that raw silk was sent to Alexandria from cities like Smyrna and Anaia.²²⁹ Furthermore, the Byzantines continued to make treaties with these merchants. For example, Theodore I Laskaris signed a treaty with the Venetians of Constantinople in 1219 that let them trade freely in the areas under his control.²³⁰ Also, the Treaty of Nymphaeum in 1261 gave the Genoese business rights in Adramyttion, Smyrna, and Anaia that were important stops on the trade path that went from Egypt to Constantinople. For example, Smyrna was a stop for goods on their way to Magnesia and Nymphaion.²³¹ Additionally, the foreign merchants established commercial quarters in the cities and these quarters evolved into substantial and permanent settlements in the cities.²³² As for Trebizond, as a capital of the Empire of Trebizond in the thirteenth century, it became a prominent trading city that acquired medieval consciousness. Trebizond was a major port that was the starting point for the shipping of goods to the west, along the Silk Road from China. Also, people from Genoese and Venetian colonies residing in the city to make business described Trebizond to western readers in this way.²³³ However, agriculture was the main source of income for the

²²⁸ Ibid., 246–248.

²²⁹ Ibid., 249.

²³⁰ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 114.

²³¹ Jacoby, “Rural Exploitation,” 253–254. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 115.

²³² Klaus-Peter Matschke, “Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 771.

²³³ Antony Eastmond, “Introduction: The Lure of Trebizond,” In *Byzantium’s Other Empire: Trebizond* ed. Antony Eastmond (İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2016), 11.

Empire of Trebizond.²³⁴ Lastly, the open marketplaces and fairs in the Late Byzantine cities became prominent in the post-1204 period. These open markets were generally located in open urban or peri-urban locations, but due to their ephemeral and informal arrangements, they left no archeological traces; hence our knowledge comes from the literary sources. In cities such as Ephesos, these fairs took place in open places outside city walls. Also, yearly fairs related to religious festivals, such as those held in Ephesos, Chonai, and Trebizond, drew together merchants from throughout and beyond the empire and this led to strengthen the position of urban centers in the interregional and international commercial activities.²³⁵

2.3. The Frontier Economy and Turco-Byzantine Interactions

Referring to Harvey²³⁶ again, Anatolian cities in the thirteenth century were very dependent on the rural hinterlands around them. Since cities were so dependent on other areas, they were exposed to the Turks, who took over nearby lands and disrupted the supply network and city security. However, Turks did not completely cut off economic links. For example, at the end of the thirteenth century, Bilecik showed how Byzantine craftsmen continued to sell their products, like pots and textiles, in Turkish markets like Dorylaion. Because of this interaction, the production continued to be strong and wealth in goods gathered in cities like Bilecik, which Turkmens used for trade;²³⁷ hence the wheels of the frontier economy kept turning. On the other hand, along the border areas, fortifications significantly contributed to the enhancement of agricultural and small-scale commodities production by creating local economic

²³⁴ Anthony Bryer, "Estates of the Empire of Trebizond. Evidence for Their Resources, Products, Agriculture, Ownership and Location," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997): 370–71.

²³⁵ Bouras, "Aspects of the Byzantine City," 513–514.

²³⁶ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*.

²³⁷ Matschke "The Late Byzantine Urban Economy," 479.

demand.²³⁸ Therefore, the Empire of Nicaea, by maintaining Komnenian policy of construction of fortresses along the frontier, the Laskarids' fortresses and fortress cities around the urban centers in the border areas would seem to fulfill defensive, administrative and economic functions.

Although both the state and the church impacted urban growth, the lay aristocracy, particularly local elites, grew in importance, especially as their economic power expanded, and the elites not only endorsed present cities but also founded new fortifications and monasteries.²³⁹ For this reason, the emperors of Nicaea recognized their significance in defense of the frontier and conferred upon them exemptions from taxes and substantial benefits. In this way, they motivated them in their ongoing border conflict with the Turks.²⁴⁰ Fortresses along the frontier were connected with a network of roads that facilitated trade between the Nicaean Empire and Rum Seljuqs.²⁴¹ On the other hand, the Seljuqs carried out socio-economic strategies to revitalize Anatolia's rural and urban life. As a part of larger Turkic-Islamic colonization, their strategies focused on reviving agricultural life and fostering long-distance trade by constructing caravanserais and bridges to promote commerce and integrate nomadic Turkmens into settled urban life.²⁴² The Seljuq side of the frontier had caravanserais such as Deve Han, Çardak Han, and notably Akhan near Laodicea erected in 1254, which exemplified the cross-border commerce routes and the administrative and symbolic presence of Seljuq power in the frontier.²⁴³ By constructing a network of commercial buildings like caravanserais along important trade routes, they altered the Byzantine

²³⁸ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 207.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 101.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Koray Özcan, "The Anatolian Seljuq City An Analysis of Early Turkish Urban Models in Anatolia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 54, no.2 (2010), 276.

²⁴³ Peacock, "The Seljuq Sultanate of Rum," 278.

road system that was already in place. These roads stretched eastward to the two important Ilkhanid cities of Tabriz and Sultaniye, and connected Konya, the capital of the Rum Seljuqs, to Byzantine trading centers like Ephesos.²⁴⁴ Moreover, these buildings functioned not only in commercial operations, but also as conduits of military supplies, and communication structures, particularly in the frontier zones.²⁴⁵ Although the Byzantine side of the frontier was deficient in similar structures, it can be said that the Seljuq caravanserais demonstrated that the Seljuqs strategically constructed on the border, so they economically connected the frontier with both inland cities like Konya and Mediterranean trade centers through coastal cities in Western Asia Minor.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Özcan, "The Anatolian Seljuq City," 276.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER II: Historical Geography: Anatolia

“Geography Matters,” said Doreen Massey in 1984 in her introduction to her edited volume with John Allen, entitled *Geography Matters! A Reader*.²⁴⁷ Traditional definitions of human geography center on three aspects. First of all, it is the relationship between space and society. For example, this includes how spatial structure shapes and is shaped by social processes. Second, it concerns the interaction between the society and the environment with a focus on how the societies interact with and change their environments. Third, human geography, in contrast to other social sciences, examines the interactions of diverse social dimensions like the politics, economics, and social structures within the particular localities, which are specifically important when discussing history.²⁴⁸ Human geography has also undergone a significant conceptual and methodological development over the last twenty years and it has begun to offer unique frameworks that are impacting the social sciences and humanities.²⁴⁹ This intellectual development led to a growing recognition of “space” as an essential analytical category in fields that had previously given spatiality little consideration.²⁵⁰ Moreover, spatial views have become more prevalent in fields like cultural studies, sociology, political science, anthropology, history, and art history in recent years, and among these fields, it has become clear that space is a “social

²⁴⁷ Doreen Massey and John Allen eds., *Geography Matters! A Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁴⁸ Massey and Allen, *Geography Matters!*, 1.

²⁴⁹ Barney Warf and Santa Arias, *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, (London: Routledge, 2009), 1.

²⁵⁰ Warf and Arias, *The Spatial Turn*, 1.

construct” that is essential to the formation of culture and the way people live. Using terms like “space” and “place” helps to describe the geographical aspects of culture.²⁵¹ Therefore, “geography matters, not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because where things happen is critical to knowing how and why they happen.”²⁵² In this respect, I will examine how the historical geography of Late Byzantine Anatolia relates to Late Byzantine cities and why the topography, geomorphology and environmental peculiarities of Late Byzantine Anatolia affected Late Byzantine cities and how the human factor produced certain effects on Late Byzantine cities, on the frontier geography between the Byzantine Empire and the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum that emerged in this Late Medieval Anatolia. As mentioned in the first chapter, Late Medieval Anatolia is significant for its political fragmentation and its function as a dynamic frontier region, through ongoing interactions between the Turks and Byzantines. As a result of these, Anatolia’s urban and rural environments were subjected to change owing to military demands, environmental variation, and intercultural relations.²⁵³ Therefore, in my opinion, Anatolia may serve as a unique example for examining the impact of geography on the transformation of Byzantine cities in the post-1204 era.

1. Sources for Historical Geography

In order to understand the historical-geographical, geomorphological, topographical, and environmental features of Late Byzantine Anatolia, some examples

²⁵¹ See, Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

²⁵² Warf and Arias, *The Spatial Turn*, 1.

²⁵³ Johannes Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner: historisch-geographischer Abriss ihres mittelalterlichen Staates im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (Graz: Styria, 1984).

should be given of the literary and archeological sources.²⁵⁴ There are four main sources which allow us to acquire a full grasp of the Byzantine millennium in the context of the historical geography of Anatolia: Stephanos' *Ethnika*,²⁵⁵ Hierokles' *Synekdemos*,²⁵⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenetos' *De Thematribus*,²⁵⁷ and *the Notitiae Episcopatum*.²⁵⁸ This last work may be useful for the post-1204 period because it includes lists of places such as bishoprics and archbishoprics between the seventh and sixteenth centuries.²⁵⁹ These lists were not always accurate because they included speculative claims for episcopal sees even though their cities were lost to the enemy and their bishops resided in Constantinople.²⁶⁰ Also, Byzantine ambassadors and foreign travelers such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa²⁶¹ and Ibn Sa'īd²⁶² wrote a vast amount of literature on the later periods, and they indicated the historical geography of the Late Byzantine period.²⁶³ Despite the absence of geographical treatises in the Byzantine empire in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries – perhaps because classical and Late Antique writers' texts like Strabo, Dionysios Periegetes, and Ptolemy and their knowledge about geography were used as cumulative – literary sources like chronicles by writers such as Georgios Akropolites²⁶⁴, Georgios Pachymeres,²⁶⁵ and Nikephoros

²⁵⁴ Johannes Koder, "The Geography of Byzantine Anatolia" in *Anatolia in the Byzantine Period*, ed. Engin Akyürek and Koray Durak (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2021), 4.

²⁵⁵ Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnica*, ed. Margarethe Billerbeck, vol I–V, (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006–2017).

²⁵⁶ Hierocles, *Synekdemos*, ed. Ernest Honigmann (Bruxelles: Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slave, 1939).

²⁵⁷ Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematribus*, ed. Agostino Pertusi, (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1952); See, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *The De Thematribus (On the Themes)* translated and introduced by John F. Haldon, Translated Texts for Byzantinists, vol.11 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021).

²⁵⁸ *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Jean Darrouzès, (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981).

²⁵⁹ Koder, "The Geography of Byzantine Anatolia," 4–5.

²⁶⁰ Andreas Külzer, "Byzantine Geography," in *Oxford Handbook of Science and Medicine in the Classical World*, ed. Paul T. Keyser and John Scarborough, (Oxford: 2018), 926.

²⁶¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, translated with revisions and notes by H. A. R. Gibb, vol. I (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society/Cambridge University Press, 1958).

²⁶² Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*, (Beirut: 1970)

²⁶³ Külzer, "Byzantine Geography," 11.

²⁶⁴ Akropolites, *The History*.

²⁶⁵ Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*.

Gregoras²⁶⁶ contained sporadic but significant geographic references, particularly to natural disasters, unusual phenomena and place descriptions. Hence, these texts provided a glimpse into twelfth- and thirteenth-century Byzantine perceptions of space and surroundings.²⁶⁷ In order to document their perceived influence on society and history, Byzantine historiographers and chronographers documented meteorological phenomena and natural calamities like earthquakes, droughts, floods, and disease, and these gave insights into Byzantine rural and urban society.²⁶⁸ Important information was preserved in monastery archives, whereas imperial documents lost after 1071 and 1204 restricted the administrative knowledge.²⁶⁹ Cartulary records of monasteries could be reflected in the perception of space in society. For example, as mentioned in the first chapter, in the thirteenth century, Laskarid emperors, particularly John III Vatatzes, established villages and monasteries around the urban centers to improve economic prosperity. Therefore, the Monastery of Lembiotissa near Smyrna in Western Asia Minor for example had a rich collection of documents like charters, wills, and judicial decisions, and it showed how individuals' perceived natural areas and how they built their social networks and local identities within them.²⁷⁰ Another source was hagiographies, and these showed how the Byzantine mobility and spatial perception were influenced by holy geography and showed how religious mobility and holy space impacted travel, settlement patterns and cultural environment, even if they

²⁶⁶ Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols, (Bonn 1829–1855).

²⁶⁷ Johannes Koder, "Historical Geography of the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Problems of the Sources," in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Proceedings of the First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu, (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2016), 37.

²⁶⁸ Ioannis Telelis, "Byzantine Textual Sources for Climatic and Environmental Developments," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 32 (2022), 25.

²⁶⁹ Koder, "Historical Geography of the Byzantine World," 38.

²⁷⁰ Myrto Veikou and Alexander Beihammer, "'Spatial' Identities: Literary Spaces and Human Agencies in Byzantine Smyrna through the Cartulary of Lembos Monastery (End of 12th–13th Centuries)," in *Space, Landscapes and Settlements in Byzantium*, ed. Andreas Külzer and Mihailo St. Popovic (Vienna–Novi Sad: Austrian Academy of Science; Akademska knjiga, 2007), 385–390.

offered little specific geographic information.²⁷¹ The Life of St. Matrona of Chios, for example, provides an account of the city where a saint was born, and commends the city for its size and beauty, temperature, and its lovely gardens..²⁷²

Furthermore, portolans and nautical charts are vital sources when assessing the importance of harbor cities throughout the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods. In terms of application, they accurately depict actual circumstances without any artistic interpretation.²⁷³ Portolans provide information about shorelines, ports and shipping routes and were seen as living records of Mediterranean geography. Like the *periploi* of the early periods, they served as a navigational aid and developed as a result of the growing need for maritime trade after the thirteenth century.²⁷⁴ The importance of harbors is particularly evident in the portolans. Through the usage of various colors, in the Late Byzantine period, the categorizations of the names of the harbors that these portolans depicted are made apparent: the most significant harbors appear in red, while the less significant ones appear in black or grey.²⁷⁵ For example, one of the portolans, the Pisana Chart from the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, depicted the port of Adramyttion and Anaia in red, apparently to show their significance in the region. Another nautical chart from the fourteenth century labeled the harbor cities of Phokaia and Smyrna in red ink along with the Adramyttion and Anaia.²⁷⁶ First of all, these

²⁷¹ Paul Magdalino, "Constantine VII and the Historical Geography of Empire," in *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, ed. Yota Batsaki, Paul Magdalino, and Dimitar Angelov (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 24.

²⁷² Helen Saradi, "The Kallos of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical Topos and Historical Reality," *Gesta* 34, no.1 (1995), 48.

²⁷³ Andreas Külzer, "Harbor Cities as Interfaces of Maritime and Terrestrial Communication Systems in Late Antique and Medieval Western Anatolia," in *Space and Communities in Byzantine Anatolia: Papers from the Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 24–26 June 2019*, ed. N.D. Kontogiannis and T.B. Uyar (Istanbul, Koç University Press, 2021), 109.

²⁷⁴ Mehmet Kahyaoğlu, "Portolan Charts and Harbor Towns in Western Asia Minor towards the End of the Byzantine Empire," in *Trade in Byzantium: Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium* ed. Paul Magdalino and Nevra Necipoğlu, (Istanbul: Koç University's Research Center For Anatolian Civilization (ANAMED), 2016), 267–268.

²⁷⁵ Külzer, "Harbor Cities as Interfaces of Maritime," 101–102.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

sources are important because they aid scholars in the localization and identification of the harbors of the Late Byzantine cities.²⁷⁷ Secondly, since the rise of maritime trade was tied to the emergence of these portolan maps and the economic potential of those cities and their hinterlands was cartographically linked to the designation of harbors as major or insignificant locations on the maps. For instance, by the early fourteenth century, these portolans demonstrated that the recently established harbor of New Phokaia (Yeni Foça, Folia) had surpassed Old Phokaia, as New Phokaia's color indicated its rise in terms of commercial significance as a result of its alum trade with Genoese activities in the city.²⁷⁸ Additionally, the significance of these cities can be understood from the papers that the Byzantine emperors gave to grant privileges and free commerce with these cities to Italian merchants.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, material remains or archeological records formed the other sources of historical geography of Late Byzantine Anatolia. For example, for the localization and identification of some Late Byzantine cities in the above-mentioned portolans, archeology finds widespread usage²⁸⁰ for determining some archeological remains such as roads, bridges, harbor installations, irrigation systems. These offered important perspectives into post-1204 Byzantine Anatolia's functional topography. Since Anatolia became the frontier space that was dominated by the interactions between Byzantine and Rum Seljuq subjects, in this space of interactions, caravanserais, as mentioned in the first chapter appeared on the roads of the Seljuqs side of the frontier.²⁸¹ These structures, for instance, supported networks of communication in the Late Byzantine frontier zones among the elites in the cities and improved the political and socio-economic relations.²⁸² In

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 106.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 104.

²⁷⁹ Kahyaoğlu, "Portolan Charts and Harbor Towns in Western Asia Minor," 269.

²⁸⁰ Külzer, "Harbor Cities as Interfaces of Maritime," 106.

²⁸¹ Koder, "Historical Geography of the Byzantine World," 35.

²⁸² Kondyli, "The Lords at the End of the Empire," 310.

addition, they ensured the security of the Byzantine cities.²⁸³ For example, the Seljuqs established caravanserais on the road between Laodicea and Konya, their capital: Ak Han, built 7 km northeast of Laodicea in 1254; and Çardak Han, between Denizli and Dinar, were two of these caravanserais. The network of caravanserais in the Sultanate of Rum, particularly these caravanserais, provided the best protection on the route between Konya and Laodicea.²⁸⁴

Moreover, for studying the geomorphological and environmental features of Anatolia, paleoclimatic studies have gained prominence, because these studies recreate previous climate patterns by combining information from the “archives of society” like written records with the “archives of nature” like lake sedimentary, tree ring, and isotopic analysis. Evidence of environmental and human-induced changes in the geography can be found through these kinds of analysis. Along with these, reports of severe weather can be found in written sources, so by combining these two types of archives, the impacts of climate change on human culture and broad geographical range can be studied.²⁸⁵ Also worth mentioning as collective research is the ongoing *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (TIB) project of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Studies within this project are essential in mapping and recording the historical geography of the Byzantine Empire between the fourth and mid-fifteenth centuries. The project provides a rich bibliographic collection of urban settlements in different parts of the empire with a diachronic perspective on space.²⁸⁶ A useful

²⁸³ Galina Fingarova, “Late Byzantine Bridges as Markers of Imagined Landscapes,” *Levant* 51, no.2 (2020), 161.

²⁸⁴ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 226.

²⁸⁵ Johannes Preiser-Kapeller and Ekaterini Mitsiou “The Little Ice Age and Byzantium within the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1200–1350: An Essay on Old Debates and New Scenarios,” in *The Crisis of the 14th Century: ‘Teleconnections’ between Environmental and Societal Change*, ed. Martin Bauch & Gerrit Jasper Schenk (Berlin & Boston, MA: De Gruyter), 195–196.

²⁸⁶ *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–) accessed June 18, 2025. <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/>; Luca Zavagno, “The Byzantine City and its Historiography,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II* (ca.

strategy for expanding our knowledge of Byzantine cities during the Medieval period starts from a regional viewpoint.²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the combination of regional approaches that enable the interpretation of settlements from macro-geographical perspectives provided by projects like the *TIB* is important for our understanding of the Byzantine cities.²⁸⁸ Using the *TIB* volumes helps to understand the network of routes both by land and sea that establish the links between two cities.²⁸⁹ For example, the volume of the *TIB* on Bithynia allows scholars to recreate the road and marine networks using particular archeological sites, literary references, toponymic consistencies that allow them to identify connectivity between two cities like Nicaea and Nicomedia.²⁹⁰ This makes it easier to see how urban centers interacted with one another and the surrounding environment.

2. Defining Anatolia: Geography, Climate and Power

After outlining the sources and analytical instruments for historical geography, the chronological and geographical context of what we call “Anatolia” should now be defined. In modern usage “Anatolia” usually implies the land that constitutes the majority of today’s Turkey, extending from the Black Sea in the north to the Mediterranean coastline in the south and southwest and from the Sea of Marmara in the west to the eastern borders with Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Iran. However, using this phrase to refer to a medieval territory runs the risk of imposing a teleological

500–1500), ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 34, n.55.

²⁸⁷ Michael Decker, “Methodologies for Byzantine Urban Studies, in *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 74.

²⁸⁸ Decker, “Methodologies for Byzantine Urban Studies,” 74.

²⁸⁹ Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, “Liquid Frontiers: A relational analysis of maritime Asia Minor as religious contact zone in the 13th–15th century,” in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola & Sara Nur Yıldız (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 122.

²⁹⁰ Klaus Belke, *Bithynien und Hellespont*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 13, 2 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2020), vol.1, 513.

framework, which interprets the geography of the past from the standpoint of the Turkish nation.²⁹¹ Therefore, the difficulties in defining any time period and the region must be addressed before any examination of Late Medieval Anatolia can begin.²⁹² What does “Anatolia” actually mean? How has its meaning changed throughout time? These should be the main questions to ask for.²⁹³ For instance, Chris Wickham famously considered Anatolia as a part of the Byzantine Heartland²⁹⁴, but this was valid until the 1200s and post-1204 period.

The physical limits of Anatolian geography remained unchanged in the Medieval period, and it was very similar with the modern situation because the relationship between larger topographical features and climate are resistant to abrupt changes over longer periods of time. However, during shorter periods, features like vegetation and land usage may be prone to change.²⁹⁵ Külzer asserted that it is imperative to focus more on the temporal dimension by focusing on smaller time frames and smaller places, because the circumstances of the Early Byzantine period differed greatly from those of the Late Byzantine period.²⁹⁶ This difference may be seen in many areas, like geographic space, in which the physical environment has changed over the course of millennium due to geomorphological processes such as shifting coasts, river mouths and the formation of hilly and insular areas.²⁹⁷ When regarding the unchanging geography of Anatolia, the Anatolian peninsula has a high

²⁹¹ Patricia Blessing, “Introduction – Space and Place: Applications to Medieval Anatolia,” in *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500*, ed. Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 4.

²⁹² Blessing, “Introduction,” 4.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Wickham, *Framing*, 29–33.

²⁹⁵ Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 35.

²⁹⁶ Andreas Külzer, “Reconstructing the Past in a Changing Landscape. Reflections on the Area of Ephesus and Other Sites in Western Asia Minor,” *Gephyra* 16, (November, 2018), 76

²⁹⁷ Külzer, “Reconstructing the Past,”

plateau in the center, while in the north and the south, this plateau is bounded by tiny coastal strips; in the west, it spreads up to the sea with broader plains. In the north and the west, the rivers Maeander, Hermos, and Halys reach the sea whereas in the south, streams are restricted by mountain ranges. Inland regions have a dry steppe climate as a result of this physical structure, whereas coastal regions experience a softer, more humid Mediterranean climate.²⁹⁸ In accordance with these features, land usage and vegetation vary. Thus, the location and growth of settlements have been significantly influenced by Anatolia's physical geography.²⁹⁹ For example, cities such as Nicaea and Laodicea developed in fertile plains close to lakes and to river-and-lake systems like Maeander, Lykos, and Askanios, which allowed for agricultural surplus and provided strategic locations and points of interaction along the network of roads.³⁰⁰ Also, Laodicea and the surrounding border regions were suitable for large flocks of sheep in terms of climate and terrain, and there were various winter pastures. For this reason, these lands in the Nicaea-Seljuq border region were desired by Turkish nomads as an indicator of the transhumance characteristic of the Anatolian economy.³⁰¹ On the other hand, for some cities in the frontier region, Chonai and Hierapolis, and their position on a plateau close to thermal springs, influenced their function as a regional hub for pilgrimage and healing.³⁰² Hence, the social, political and economic structure of urban life in medieval Anatolia were significantly shaped by the many geographical contexts in which urban life flourished, including the central plateau, mountain

²⁹⁸ Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 26–28

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁰⁰ Foss, *Nicaea*, 1; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 219; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 100, 103. For grain surplus in Western Asia Minor, see; Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," 244–245.

³⁰¹ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 102.

³⁰² Paul Arthur, *Byzantine and Turkish Hierapolis (Pamukkale)*, (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2006), 169–171; For Chonai see Clive Foss, "Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia," *American Journal of Archeology* 81, no.4, (Autumn 1977): 484.

regions, and coastal locations. These contexts must be taken into consideration in analyzing urban development in Anatolia.³⁰³

Additionally, the political geography of the Byzantine Empire underwent significant upheaval as a result of a combination of territorial gains and conquests.³⁰⁴ Anatolia along with the Aegean had been the central region of Byzantium since the founding of Constantine's Roman Empire. It had withstood the dangers of Arab and Persian attacks in the seventh century without completely collapsing.³⁰⁵ It continued to be a stronghold, home to powerful aristocratic families and elite military formations that rose to prominence; however, looking at the political geography of post-1204 Anatolia, roughly one-third of the peninsula was still in the hands of the Byzantine successor state – the Empire of Nicaea – by 1250.³⁰⁶ By the middle of the thirteenth century, The Seljuq Sultanate of Rum shared a vast geographical border with the Empire of Nicaea, and Rum Seljuqs controlled much of Anatolia. Other parts of the peninsula also lay in the hands of the other states.³⁰⁷ For instance, a small portion of Bithynia, close to Constantinople, remained under the control of the Latin Empire after the late 1220s. The Armenian Kingdom ruled over the southeast part of Cilicia, while the other successor state, the Empire of Trebizond, ruled over the Pontos region along the Black Sea.³⁰⁸

As a result of these geopolitical splits, both Byzantine and post-Byzantine authors called the region, known as Anatolia, differently. Hence, the term of Anatolia

³⁰³ Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*; James Howard-Johnston "Authority and Control in the Interior Asia Minor, Seventh–Ninth Centuries," in *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (Sixth–Tenth Century)*, ed. Alain Delattre, Marie Legendre, and Petra Sijpesteijn (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 128–175; Zavagno, *The Byzantine City... Crusade*, 12.

³⁰⁴ Külzer, "Reconstructing the Past," 76.

³⁰⁵ Angelov, *The Byzantine Hellene*, 37.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Angelov, *The Byzantine Hellene*, 37.

is a difficult one to define.³⁰⁹ Since ancient times, Anatolia has been referred to as “Mikra Asia.”³¹⁰ First, Constantine Porphyrogennitos, in the prologue of *De thematibus*, has established its association with Anatolia (in Greek ‘the sunrise’ and ‘the East’; in Latin, *Anatolia*; and in Turkish, *Anadolu*)³¹¹: “here, the themata of Anatolia, which is to say, of Asia Minor. The first theme, called Anatolikon.”³¹² The relationship between Asia and Anatolia was suggested by other writers although they were relatively vague. For instance, Scylitzes Constantinus³¹³ in the eleventh century wrote of “Asia and the entire Anatolia,” yet Anna Komnena³¹⁴ in the twelfth century made reference to “all the Anatolia and along the great Asia.”³¹⁵ In the thirteenth century, Theodore II Laskaris referred to his homeland as Anatolia.³¹⁶ Again, although the word primarily denoted the east, it also referred to the geographical mass east of Constantinople known as Asia Minor.³¹⁷ Both the local citizens and foreigners in the early thirteenth century recognized the Empire of Nicaea as Anatolian.³¹⁸ Venetian records also referred to the citizens of the Nicaea as “anatolici”, and a metropolitan bishop of Athens described Theodore I Laskaris as the “Emperor of Anatolia.”³¹⁹ Furthermore, the titles of the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch and the emperors of the other successor state – the Empire of Trebizond – the Grand Komnenoi are two

³⁰⁹ Nikos D. Kontogiannis and Tolga B. Uyar, eds., “Placing Communities in Byzantine Anatolia’s Space: Introduction,” in *Space and Communities in Byzantine Anatolia: Papers from the Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 24–26 June 2019*, ed. N.D. Kontogiannis and T.B. Uyar. (Istanbul, Koç University Press, 2021), xx.

³¹⁰ Johannes Koder, “Historical Geography,” in *The Archeology of Byzantine Anatolia: From the End of the Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks*, ed. Philipp Niewöhner, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 17.

³¹¹ Koder, “Historical Geography,” 17; Koder, “Historical Geography of Byzantine Anatolia,” 7.

³¹² Haldon, *The De thematibus*, 78.

³¹³ Scylitzes Constantinus, *History*, ed. E. Th. Tsolakes (Thessalonika: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968).

³¹⁴ Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, ed. Peter Frankopan, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (London: Penguin Classics, 2009).

³¹⁵ Koder, “Historical Geography of Byzantine Anatolia,” 7.

³¹⁶ Angelov, *The Byzantine Hellene*, 37–39

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

examples of how the new rulers of Anatolia adopted Late Byzantine notions of belonging, by referring themselves to “the entire Rhomania and the East.”³²⁰ Also, as mentioned in the first chapter, the late thirteenth-century political conflicts between the Laskarids, the Palaiologoi and the Grand Komnenoi are indicative of the concept of the “East,” because the Palaiologoi was crowned “emperor of the Romans” and the other was crowned “emperor of Anatolia, Iberia, and Perateia.”³²¹

Various words used to refer to Anatolia have diverse meanings in the modern scholarship.³²² The phrase “Asia Minor” evokes its Roman heritage, whereas “Anatolia” is Greek in origin and has been incorporated into Turkish as “Anadolu.” reflecting a shift associated with early Republican and late Ottoman nationalism.³²³ In recent studies, the phrase “lands of Rum” refers to both Anatolia and the Balkans as Byzantine territories; however, “Rum” allows broader conversations on mobility, frontier and geography, and geographical identity while embracing the region’s multi-layered cultural geography including Roman, Byzantine and Islamic heritages.³²⁴ The naming of the region eventually shifted from Anatolia to Rum in the medieval and early modern times in intellectual discourse because of its historical function as a boundary zone.³²⁵ In relation to the name, toponyms and the names of natural environments display a resistance to change over time, yet language and semantic shifts allow us to obtain political and demographic clues as to the development of settlements and urban centers, harbors and routes.³²⁶ As previously mentioned in discussing the situation of the frontier zone between Byzantium and Turkish territory,

³²⁰ Kontogiannis and Uyar eds., “Byzantine Anatolia’s Space,” xxii.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Blessing, “Introduction,” 5.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Cemal Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum,” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25; Blessing “Introduction,” 5.

³²⁵ Blessing, “Introduction,” 5.

³²⁶ Koder, “Historical Geography of the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries” 36.

the transition from Byzantine to Seljuq and other Turkic governance during the Late Byzantine period was linked to significant toponymic changes. There are three types of these toponymic developments. The first is the name's morphological adaptation to new languages of the population, such as Hagios Theologos or Altoluogo to Ayasoluk and Laodicaea to Ladik. The second type replaces one name with an entirely new one, such as changing Dorylaion to Eskişehir; or changing a hydronym like Hermos to Gediz. The third type involves translation of names into new language such as Myriocephalon ("many-headed") to Kırkbaş ("forty-headed").³²⁷

Scholarly literature on Anatolia or Asia Minor often highlights the region's variegated geography and diversity of agricultural products.³²⁸ Thus, geographical features influenced the Byzantine population's behavior, way of life, travel, trade, and communication. All people were impacted by them, including sailors traversing the Aegean Sea or the Eastern Mediterranean, and those who lived in the valleys and mountains of Anatolia.³²⁹ Since my focus is Late Byzantine Anatolia and its cities, I will give some examples of geomorphological, topographical and climatic peculiarities that affected the urban settlements of the period. Spatial transitions took place locally as well as geographically, religiously or politically, and evidence from archeological and literary sources demonstrated how urban settlement changed throughout time, often with inconsequential locations gaining identities.³³⁰ For example, harbors saw several stages of alteration throughout the Byzantine era as a result of human and natural influences. This is because harbors may become less

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ John Haldon, "Remarks on History, Environment, and Climate in Byzantine Anatolia: Comments on a Complex Landscape," in *Byzantine Anatolia's Space: Introduction*, in *Space and Communities in Byzantine Anatolia: Papers from the Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 24–26 June 2019*, ed. N.D. Kontogiannis and T.B. Uyar. (Istanbul, Koç University Press, 2021), 3.

³²⁹ Külzer, "Byzantine Geography," 921–922.

³³⁰ Külzer, "Reconstructing the Past," 77.

functional or have water shortages due to natural processes, including silting, sea level changes, and climate changes, which might result in abandonment.³³¹

However, most cities, such as Ephesos, retained their significance. This city offers an example from the area of Ephesos and its hinterland,³³² showing the ways in which the Cayster River's (Küçük Menderes) alluvial deposits have changed the coastal landscape. While the shoreline lay east of present-day Zeytinköy during the Middle Byzantine period, by the Late Byzantine period it had moved a kilometer to the west; thus, the harbor channel needed to be continuously extended as it kept silting up.³³³ Also, the alluvial plain rapidly transformed from a natural to a cultural setting as new roads and communities appeared.³³⁴ Another harbor in the Pamucak region of the hinterland of Ephesos was connected to the coastal town by alluvial deposits. A basilica in this region, whose name remains unknown, served as a place of pilgrimage in the Early Byzantine era.³³⁵ The ruins of a Byzantine settlement farther south were demolished during the building of the modern Aqua Park and hotel complex. The "Topographical Map of Western Asia Minor," published in 1910 by Alfred Philppson, showed that these remnants were formerly connected to the town of Phygela.³³⁶ However, this region is the late medieval harbor of Ephesos.³³⁷ The German pilgrim Ludolf of Suchem, in his writings from 1336 to 1341, described the area and stated that Ephesos was a large community with many residential structures and (Latin) churches, located around four kilometers inland from its harbors.³³⁸ Despite this, to

³³¹ Külzer, "Harbor Cities as Interfaces of Maritime," 95–96.

³³² Külzer, "Reconstructing the Past," 78.

³³³ Ibid., 79.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid., 79–80.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid., 80.

³³⁸ Ibid.

some academics, the area he described is equivalent to Pamucak.³³⁹ Settlements and harbors had to be relocated as a result of these efforts, which caused further change to the landscape over time.³⁴⁰ It can therefore be inferred that in the deltaic areas around cities like Ephesos, changing water-land balances necessitated human intervention through harbor building and river diversion. However, this does not imply that it lost its significance, because the harbor location was used for a very long period thereafter, and as the delta moved further west, it maintained a link to the sea. When it became too small, a new landing spot with connected spoils was created at Pamucak and on the right bank of the Küçük Menderes. The location of the harbor pointed to the fact that it was used until the Late Byzantine times and even in the Turkish periods.³⁴¹

For instance, relocation also led to the growth of a new minor road network around the late Medieval harbor of Ephesos to maintain trade.³⁴² As for roads, road security in Anatolia was momentarily restored after Alexios I, and later under the Nicaean Empire. In the meanwhile, the Rum Seljuqs created their own communication networks based on the earlier Roman and Byzantine roadways in eastern Anatolia.³⁴³ Also, the Late Byzantine times saw greater decline in bridge construction.³⁴⁴ However, there were some reconstructions of the bridges in the Late Byzantine period such as Uluabat Bridge near Lopadion and the Huge Bridge (Koca Köprü) near Nicaea on the

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Myrto Veikou, "Sea of Agency: Islands and Coasts of the Byzantine Aegean in Environmental Perspective," in *A Companion to the Environmental History of Byzantium*, ed. Adam Izdebski and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 360.

³⁴¹ Stock Fryderike et al., "In search of the harbours: New evidence of Late Roman and Byzantine harbours of Ephesus," *Quaternary International* 312, (2013): 68; Foss, *Ephesus*, 121; 149.

³⁴² Andreas Külzer, "Roads and Routes. Communication Networks in the Hinterland of Ephesos," in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), 155.

³⁴³ Klaus Belke, "Roads and Routes in Northwestern and Adjoining Parts of Central Asia Minor: From the Romans to Byzantium, with Some Remarks on their Fate during the Ottoman Period up to the 17th Century," *Gephyra* 20 (2020): 87.

³⁴⁴ Fingarova, "Late Byzantine Bridges," 154.

road to Nicomedia.³⁴⁵ The maxim “To increase the resources of the country, and to ensure its security” prompted the emperors of the Empire of Nicaea to build a vast network of fortifications through the reconstruction and repairment of the bridges.³⁴⁶ Later, the eastern provinces were ignored during the Palaiologan emperors’ rule, and regional sovereignty was upset by the advent of Turkish advance, and the major roads had been closed by Turkish armies.³⁴⁷ For example, Ibn Sa‘īd, in his chapter on the Seljuq Sultanate in his *Geography of the World* talked about international trade roads in the north and the west of Anatolia from the Herakleia Pontica, which was the only Byzantine city he mentioned in his chapter, to the port of Antalya.³⁴⁸ According to Ibn Sa‘īd these roads probably stopped at the Bolu Geçidi (Bolu Pass), which is a densely wooded area. Despite both villages being on well-known roads that Ibn Sa‘īd mentioned, the challenging terrain would have made safe passage difficult for bandits and ghazis.³⁴⁹ The Late Antique system of roads served as the foundation of the road network in northwestern Anatolia in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but certain sections of it were abandoned because of instability and geography, and this prompted the creation of alternative routes. For instance, the road from Herakleia Pontica to Kastamonu passed through Çaycuma and Dafay rather than Safranbolu, and portions of it persisted in catering to local trade in spite of the disturbances.³⁵⁰ Also, the creation of the new alternative roads resulted from their usage by the state’s own troops, rather than by combatants with religious motivations, such as ghazis and border raiders.³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 158

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 161.

³⁴⁷ Belke, “Roads and Routes in Northwestern,” 87.

³⁴⁸ Ian Booth, “Ghazis, roads, and trade in north-west Anatolia 1179–1291,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 31, no.2 (2007): 127.

³⁴⁹ Booth, “Ghazis, roads, and trade,” 135.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 144.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 145.

Another consideration that has the potential to deepen our comprehension of Byzantine society is the incorporation of climate and environment into the models of social, economic, and political transformation in Byzantine Anatolia.³⁵² An important subject for the study of how humans and environment interact is climate history, as climate history helps to contextualize the climatic trends in the Middle Ages such as the Medieval Climate Anomaly and Little Ice Age.³⁵³ The Medieval Climate Anomaly, known as the Medieval Warm Period around 950 and 1250; and the Little Ice Age, which was the cold climate period around 1300 and 1850, were two climatic trends in the Middle Ages that had a major impact on the Late Byzantine Period.³⁵⁴ Records from the Eastern Mediterranean demonstrated that climate changed from being warmer and wetter in the twelfth century and drier by the fifteenth century. This has been designated as the transition from the Medieval Warm Period to the Little Ice Age, but the outcomes differ depending on the sort of evidence and the locality.³⁵⁵ According to paleoclimatic evidence derived from lake sediments, pollen analysis and written documents, Anatolia's climate began to shift toward drier and more variable circumstances in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.³⁵⁶ Ioannis Telelis analyzed the extreme climatic events during this period by examining many Byzantine sources and confirmed that these events could be correlated within the Little Ice Age pattern of the period, but he avoided drawing any firm conclusions.³⁵⁷ The settlement

³⁵² John Haldon, et al., "The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, and Archeology," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XLV:2 (Autumn 2014): 120.

³⁵³ Telelis, "Byzantine Textual Sources for Climatic," 19.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Sam White, "The Little Ice Age in the Eastern Mediterranean, 14th–17th Centuries," in *A Companion to the Environmental History of Byzantium* ed. Adam Izdebski and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 519.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 519–522.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 521. Ioannis Telelis, "Medieval Warm Period and the Beginning of the Little Ice Age in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Byzanz als Raum: zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, ed. Klaus Belke et al. (Wien: Kommission der Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 2000,) 223–243.

patterns of Late Byzantine rural and urban groups may have been impacted by environmental stress in Anatolia after the 1180s because, according to proxy evidence from Cappadocia and Western Anatolia, in areas such as Lake Nar and Sofular Cave, the thirteenth century saw a change toward drier conditions.³⁵⁸ Also, after 1204, the Empire of Nicaea enjoyed political stability, elite collaboration, and advantageous geographical circumstances, particularly in the wetter areas of the Western Anatolia. For instance, records from monastic archives for some parts of western Asia Minor showed how the empire made investments to develop and enhance their properties and agricultural activities by building watermills or planting vineyards.³⁵⁹ However, the agricultural activities suffered from colder and wetter circumstances after the large volcanic eruption that occurred between 1257 and 1258; thus, the early indicators of the Little Ice Age, even in stable areas like Nicaea, including harsh winters and famines, began to be observed.³⁶⁰ After Palaiologos regained Constantinople, they neglected western Asia Minor, whose provinces were “neglected, heavily taxed and suffered from Turkish attacks.”³⁶¹ If one connects the early indications of the Little Ice Age with the fall of Byzantine control in the Western Asia Minor, setbacks and refugee difficulties coincided with severe weather and hard winters especially in 1298 and 1299, according to literary evidence. Although there is a noticeable drop in the production of olives and grapes, especially the region surrounding Miletus and Eastern Bithynia, the evidence is unclear on long-term agricultural collapse.³⁶² For this reason,

³⁵⁸ Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, “The Medieval Climate Anomaly, The Oort Minimum, and Socio-Political Dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Byzantine Empire, 10th to 12th Century,” in *A Companion to the Environmental History of Byzantium* ed. Adam Izdebski and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 472.

³⁵⁹ Preiser-Kapeller, “The Little Ice Age,” 204–205.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 208.

³⁶¹ Angeliki Laiou, “The Palaiologoi and the World Around Them (1261–1400),” in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500–1492*, ed Jonathan Shepard, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 805.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 210–211.

it can be said that the environment influenced the development of Late Byzantine urban society, by upsetting agricultural systems, lowering population, and undermining local economies. The end of the Medieval Climate Anomaly, the onset of catastrophic weather occurrences, and the destruction caused by the Black Death exerted a profound effect on cities.³⁶³ In the first section, I mentioned the policies that the Nicaean emperors implemented in terms of agricultural production. However, looking at climatic and pollen data, although these are not sufficient on their own, can yield more concrete examples. For example, pollen studies from eastern Bithynia and the Miletus hinterland indicate that grain and olive cultivation remained relatively stable, while viticulture was the only type of cultivation to increase after 1204. Also, with favorable climates and Laskarid agricultural policy, Nicaean agriculture stayed robust during a wider dry spell in western Anatolia. In this context, it is noteworthy that Nicaea made money from grain exports during the Seljuq famine in 1243.³⁶⁴ These environmental disruptions put more strain on urban areas that were already under pressure from political fragmentation and local aristocratic property ownership.³⁶⁵ Urban and rural resilience was weakened further due to socio-political instability, such as the advance of the Turks.³⁶⁶

Nevertheless, the degree to which climate change had a direct influence on the Late Byzantine Empire is still unknown, despite intriguing evidence of extreme weather occurrences in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as severe winters, droughts and floods.³⁶⁷ When looking at the social complexity and adaptative strategies, instead of a straight line of causation between climate change and decline,

³⁶³ Ibid., 190–195.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 205.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 195.

³⁶⁶ White, “The Little Ice Age,” 523–525.

³⁶⁷ White, “The Little Ice Age,” 523.

one can see that even as central imperial power waned, local aristocracy and urban communities in the city-based Late Byzantine Empire adjusted on their own to crisis situations.³⁶⁸ For example, the efforts of the aristocracy led to new trade relationships and political realignments in the cities.³⁶⁹

3. Frontier Geography in post-1204 Anatolia

Another point that makes Anatolian historical geography peculiar in the Late Byzantine period is the gradual formation of a new frontier zone between Byzantium and the emerging Muslim-Turkish realm.³⁷⁰ This frontier zone began to take shape from the end of the eleventh and in the beginning of the twelfth centuries, after Alexios I Komnenos's reign. (1081–1118). This zone ranged through the crossroads of the mountain passes and fertile riverine areas of Western Asia Minor and the peripheries of the Anatolian plateau, and this was one of the most notable changes in terms of spatial arrangements.³⁷¹ Up to the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), the frontier in Western Anatolia continued to undergo many changes; thus, throughout this time, it served as a political, cultural, and religious barrier and an area of interaction between Byzantine-Christian Anatolia and growingly Islamized region that was ruled by the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum's elites and dotted with communities of semi-autonomous Turkmen nomads.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ Preiser-Kapeller, "The Little Ice Age," 217.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Alexander Beihammer, "Spatial Concepts and Administration in the Byzantine-Turkish Frontier of Twelfth-Century Asia Minor," in *Spatialities of the Byzantine Culture from the Human Body to the Universe* ed. Myrto Veikou and Ingela Nilsson, (Brill: Leiden: 2022), 400.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Beihammer, "Spatial Concepts and Administration," 401. See also Koder, "Historical Geography of the Byzantine Anatolia," 17.

What were the geographical limits of the Late Byzantine frontier in Anatolia after 1024 as a result of these changes,³⁷³ and how did these limits affect the human factor and urban trajectories on the border? First of all, to the north, the Seljuq portion of Paphlagonia was centered around on Kastamonu and Safranbolu, while Byzantine territories included Tios, Amastris and Kromna close to Cape Karambis (Kerembe Burnu).³⁷⁴ On the major route connecting Bithynia and Paphlagonia to the significant areas of Plousias / Prousius and Tarsia (close to Adapazarı) lay Byzantine cities, even if Klaudiopolis (Bolu) in Bithynia was lost to the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum since the end of the eleventh century.³⁷⁵ Then, the frontier followed the Sangarios River, which had Byzantine fortifications on the right bank of the river, such as Kabeia (Geyve). In order to keep the area of Tarsia (Adapazarı), fortifications and bridges were constructed. For example, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos built a timber wall on the right bank of the Sangarios and restored the Justinian Bridge in the area.³⁷⁶ Therefore, it can be said that the fortifications and existing roads and bridges were also important elements on the frontier landscape to keep the cities safe. Furthermore, Nicaea, as a ‘capital,’ was very close to the border; hence, the environs of such vital cities had to be fortified. For example, there were fortified places close to Nicaea like Angelokomis, Belokomis, Plataneia, Melangeia/Malagina.³⁷⁷ Pachymeres gave an account on the tense environment of city inhabitants living close to the border. In 1265, a false report that Mongol soldiers were attacking Nicaea spread across the city and this news generated great fear. This exemplified the ongoing tension and insecurity

³⁷³ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 217.

³⁷⁴ Akropolites, *The History*, 149; Booth, “Ghazis, roads and Trade,” 128–135; See also, Klaus Belke, *Paphlagonien and Honorias* Tabula Imperii Byzantini 9 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 275.

³⁷⁵ Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey. The Seljukid Sultanate of Rûm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, (Harlow: 2001), 44; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 217–218; Clive Foss, “Byzantine Malagina, and the Lower Sangarius, *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990): 173–174.

³⁷⁶ Foss, “Byzantine Malagina,” 173–174. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 218.

³⁷⁷ Foss, “Byzantine Malagina,” 161–172. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 218.

characteristics of border settlements.³⁷⁸ The fortifications along the border continued to the south with Achyraios (Balıkesir) and Kalamos (Gelembe)³⁷⁹ Towards the south, there were two significant fortified centers, Sardis and Philadelphia in Lydia, which constituted the wealthiest region of the Empire of Nicaea. In addition, Magnesia and Nymphaion were chosen by Emperor John III Vatatzes as imperial residences.³⁸⁰ Among these cities, Philadelphia is one of the closest frontier zones; its environs were fortified similarly to Nicaea, and there were many fortresses such as Magidion, Tabala and Tripolis.³⁸¹ The lattermost one was crucial for the defense of the frontier of the Empire of Nicaea, especially after the nearby city of Laodicea was lost to the Seljuqs.³⁸² However, the Maeander River valley in the south formed another very wealthy part of the Empire of Nicaea.³⁸³ The Empire of Nicaea continued to rule both banks of the Maeander River during the Late Byzantine era, with important cities such as Tralles (Aydın), Nyssa, and Priene on the right bank and Antioch on the Maeander, Miletos, and Mylasa on the left.³⁸⁴ The ancient Roman road that ran through Karia and into Lycia was part of this region. But since Lycia was one the areas of Anatolia to fall into Turkish hands in the eleventh century, without ever being reclaimed by the Byzantines, it has long been a disputed boundary zone.³⁸⁵ As a result, the important matter for the Empire of Nicaea was the strategically positioned cities that controlled the headwaters of the rivers.³⁸⁶ Malagina in the Sangarios River Valley protected

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 218. Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques* vol. III, 28; 316–324.

³⁷⁹ Akropolites, *The History*, vol. I, 15; 149. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 218.

³⁸⁰ Ibid. Angelov, *Byzantine Hellene*, 44.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Clive Foss, “Late Byzantine Fortification in Lydia,” in *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*, ed. Clive Foss, (Aldershot: 1996c), 300–304.

³⁸³ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 219. For the historical geography of the Meander Valley, see: Peter Thonemann, *The Maender Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³⁸⁴ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 219.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Hopwood, “Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbor,” 41.

Nicaea in the east, while cities along the Rhyndakos and Makestos rivers were in control of Lopadion in the west by protecting Nicaea from the Latin frontier at the beginning of thirteenth century. Similarly, Phrgi in the Kaystros, Philadelphia in the Hermos and Laodicea in the Lykos were the main strongholds and cities near the frontier, protecting the richest parts of the Empire.³⁸⁷ In the twelfth century, the Komnenoi understood the vulnerability of the defensive line and established the defense system centered on fortifications such as Poimanenon, Achrous, Chliara, Pergamum, Anaia and Palatia.³⁸⁸ Moreover, the Byzantines dominated the rich and well farmed coastal regions and river valleys of Western Anatolia; on the other hand, the Sultanate of the Rum Seljuqs possessed the arid, frigid and thinly inhabited central plateau. This stark topographical contrast created the frontier geography between the Byzantines and the Seljuqs. As a result, the Seljuq side of the frontier stretched far and wide across the steppe, while the Byzantine side maintained its tightness due to the necessity to preserve farming. Therefore, the frontier zone of Late Byzantine Anatolia can be characterized by dispersed urban centers, where the main economic activity was pastoralism.³⁸⁹

Another point that characterizes Late Byzantine frontier geography in Asia Minor is that it was a contact zone. One should shift perspective from state-centered models to one that sees the Late Byzantine frontier as consisting of dynamic areas where local players and the imperial center contested power, by considering the function of local frontier elites. Hence, instead of having a distinct frontier, these areas were overlapping landscapes that influenced socio-economic relationships, political

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 42. For the Komnenian defense system see Humberto DeLuigi, *Winter in the Land of Rum: Komnenian Defenses against the Turks in Western Anatolia*, master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2015.

³⁸⁹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 232.

power, and communication networks.³⁹⁰ Differentiating between more autonomous border regions that were influenced by their elites and centralized political cores is essential when examining internal dynamics; thus, these border areas frequently saw the blending of multiple peoples and religious systems, with cultural contact and conflict.³⁹¹ According to post-colonial theory, these spaces might be viewed as a “Third Space” since they are marked by continuous cultural dialogue and hybridization.³⁹² Also, not only was the inland frontier considered as a zone of interaction, the ports and coastal zones between Anatolia and the Mediterranean and particularly the Aegean Sea,³⁹³ i.e., Maritime Asia Minor, also became a vibrant contact zone as a result of the rise in Italian trade activity along with the Seljuqs’ expansion.³⁹⁴ Moreover, Late Byzantine frontier regions were disputed and fluid, and organized around crucial strategic points rather than being linear or well defined, as portrayed in the contemporary Byzantine texts.³⁹⁵ For this reason, a system of fortified cities, castles, and important routes delineated boundaries rather than strict borders.³⁹⁶ Cities and fortifications served as administrative, commercial and culturally negotiating hubs in addition to being military outposts in the frontier geography. Particularly in areas where local and imperial powers as well as foreign ones conflicted, cities and fortifications played a role in monitoring contacts across the frontier and in establishing authority over neighboring territories.³⁹⁷ The cities and fortifications on the frontier like Laodicea were located as strategic points according to geographical features. For example, Laodicea was part of the extensive network of

³⁹⁰ Kondyli, “The Lords at the End of the Empire,” 310.

³⁹¹ Beihammer, “Spatial Concepts and Administrations,” 402.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Preiser-Kapeller, “Liquid Frontiers,” 117.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Kondyli, “The Lords at the End of the Empire,” 312.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 311.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 311–312

roads in Byzantine Anatolia and crossroads and caravan routes between East and West, from Konya to Ephesos.³⁹⁸ Laodicaea benefited from the fertile Maender river valley, which was a major route to Ephesos or Miletos.³⁹⁹ In addition, newly built caravanserais around cities and roads not only served as rest stops for traveling caravans but also connected the Western borders of the Sultanate of Seljuq Rum with the Empire of Nicaea. Nonetheless, the Byzantine side of the frontier did not have many of these structures and commerce was the only significant activity in the region. However, the caravanserais indicated and symbolized the strength of the Sultanate of Seljuq Rum and the elite that constructed them.⁴⁰⁰ It was noteworthy that the Seljuqs of Rum were very aware of the importance of caravanserais on roads, as seen in their construction of many caravanserais such as Akhan outside of Denizli (Laodicaea),⁴⁰¹ Altınapa, Kızılören Han and Kuruçeşme Han⁴⁰² between Central and Western Anatolia.⁴⁰³ As a result, taking a closer look at Late Byzantine Anatolia's frontier geography reveals how the landscape and strategic placement of these structures, in the context of all of the region's topographical dynamics, affected the development, defense and alteration of urban centers along the Byzantine and the Sultanate of Seljuq Rum frontier.

As emphasized in the preceding chapter, the post-1204 frontier was a region of intense interaction shaped by provincial rebellions, like Theodore Mangaphas and Manuel Mavrozomes' fortification-building program that was carried over from

³⁹⁸ Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The Byzantine-Seljuq Border in Times of Trouble: Laodikeia in 1174–1204," In *Byzantium, 1180–1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century?"*, ed. Alicia Simpson (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2015), 52.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Peacock, "The Seljuq Sultanate of Rum," 278.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Hopwood, "Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbor," 43.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. For the caravanserais see *Anadolu Selçuklu dönemi kervansarayları*, ed. Hakkı Acun, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007).

Komnenian period by Laskarids, and trading activities between Seljuqs and Byzantines. In order to protect essential routes and control instability, the Byzantine Empire restored and enlarged the walls in important cities such as Philadelphia, Tripolis, and Laodicea.⁴⁰⁴ On the other hand, in order to promote trade and incorporate the frontier into larger trading networks, the Seljuqs made investments in roads and caravanserais.⁴⁰⁵ However, I do not mean that the cities on the frontier regions had different urban patterns from coastal regions in Western Asia Minor in the post-1204 era. On the contrary, maritime commerce also changed coastal towns like Ephesos, Anaia and Miletos, creating a “liquid frontier” that impacted on cities via economic connectedness⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 100. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 218–220.

⁴⁰⁵ Peacock, “The Seljuq Sultanate of Rum,” 276–279. Özcan, “Anatolian Seljuq City,” 276. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 225–229.

⁴⁰⁶ Preiser-Kapeller, “Liquid Frontiers,” 117.

CHAPTER III: Themes in the Historiography of Late Byzantine Cities and Methodology

This chapter will examine the methodological and historiographical themes of Late Byzantine cities, such as their definitions and identities, to understand them by focusing on their representation in both literary and material sources. The first part will concentrate on two points: literary sources that impacted the perception and identity of Late Byzantine cities and material sources that allowed more subsidiary perspectives on the idea of Late Byzantine cities; thus, the first part will reveal why I use material sources as a method in this thesis in addition to literary sources. The second part will examine how the idea of the Late Byzantine cities was formed in the historiography on them, by touching upon the terminological difficulties experienced by Byzantine intellectuals due to the multiplicity of city definitions based on the literary sources. The last part will investigate the urban identity that emerged as a result of the political fragmentation and the imperial competition between the post-1204 successor states, using both literary and material sources.

1. Literary and Material Sources on Late Byzantine Cities and Methodology

The complexities around the urban transformation of Byzantine cities are mostly examined through the comprehensive analysis of several themes in the

historiography on Late Byzantine cities, such as their definitions and identities.⁴⁰⁷ The extensive analysis of literary and material sources would allow an enhanced comprehension of the complexities surrounding the cities and urban identities that started to emerge in the tenth century.⁴⁰⁸ Scholars focused on cities and urban life of the Late Byzantine period, particularly through the empire's governance and economy.⁴⁰⁹ In this fragmented empire that was characterized by attempts at restoration, conflicts with enemies like Turkic peoples, and changing alliances, the Late Byzantine cities are well documented in the literary sources.⁴¹⁰

As the literary sources mentioned military confrontations with both internal and foreign adversaries, the continuity of the cities was more emphasized in correspondence than in rhetorical sources such as *encomia* and *ekphrasis*, in which the cities are glorified.⁴¹¹ Encomia and ekphrasis were composed in praise of a city, and they examine the nature and identity of the cities. In the urban literature that the Roman Empire left for Byzantium, the Byzantines praised their cities for their centuries-long integration with their political, socio-cultural, economic, and religious life. These laudatory introductions or descriptions were seen in these encomia and ekphrasis.⁴¹² When encomiasts depict cities, they often allude not to extensive geographical rule but to political power centralized inside the city confines.⁴¹³ During the Late Byzantine era, these sources presented the lyrical representation of the cities through rhetorical

⁴⁰⁷ Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno eds., "Introducing the Byzantine City, Its Histories, Ideas and Realities," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 6.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Saradi, "The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries)," 41.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Helen Saradi, "The Byzantine City in Literary Sources," In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno, (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 56

⁴¹³ Akışık, "Praising a City," 2.

devices and nostalgia, and these representations romanticized the city by elevating its symbolic and spiritual significance.⁴¹⁴ The complex language of Late Byzantine encomia and ekphrasis generally conceals the intentions of the writers, which complicates the understanding of the historical truth behind their idealized representations; nevertheless, these sources portray the Byzantine city via its geography, social structure, economics, and political history.⁴¹⁵ For instance, three prominent examples of city encomia that I will discuss in detail in this chapter were Theodore II Laskaris' and Theodore Metochites' praises of Nicaea written in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,⁴¹⁶ and Bessarion's⁴¹⁷ portrayal of Trebizond in the fifteenth century. Hagiographies also reflected the Late Byzantine urban image and urban culture.⁴¹⁸ In Late Byzantine hagiographies, the city gained an ideological significance and was perceived as a literary symbol that reflected the cultural values of intellectuals.⁴¹⁹ Also, Late Byzantine hagiographies illustrated the political situation of the empire. For example, Langdon used hagiographic texts to show the imperial offensive of John III Vatatzes against the Turks.⁴²⁰ He used the hagiographical text of George Pelagonia, who drew heavily on the chronicle of Akropolites to write about the wars of John III Vatatzes between 1225–1229 against the *barbaroi* (Turks).⁴²¹ However, hagiographies can be deceptive because George Pelagonia mixed up the chronology and described Theodore I Laskaris' victory over the Seljuqs in the battle

⁴¹⁴ Saradi, "The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries)," 44.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Foss, *Nicaea*; Theodori Ducae Lascaris, *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence: Sansoni, 1898) see also, Angelov, *Byzantine Hellene*.

⁴¹⁷ Scott Kennedy, ed. and trans., *Two Works on Trebizond. Michael Paneratos; Bessarion*, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 52 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019). Bessarion, "Βησσαρίωνος ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα," ed. Spyridon P. Lambros (Athens: Neos Hellenomnemon, 1916), 145–204.

⁴¹⁸ Helen Saradi, "The Byzantine City in Byzantine Hagiography," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography* (London: Routledge, 2020), 442.

⁴¹⁹ Saradi, "The Byzantine City in Byzantine Hagiography."

⁴²⁰ Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial*, 25–33.

⁴²¹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 221.

of Antioch-on-the-Maeander in 1211 as John III's heroism.⁴²² Moreover, hagiographies about cities can be reworked by intellectuals. For example, the Miracles of St. Kosmas and Damian in the seventh century contained a section praising Laodicaea in Phrygia, which was adapted by Maximos the Deacon in the fourteenth century.⁴²³ Furthermore, in many historiographical sources from the thirteenth century, such as the works of Niketas Choniates,⁴²⁴ George Pachymeres,⁴²⁵ George Akropolites,⁴²⁶ and Nikephoros Gregoras,⁴²⁷ many themes like the urban environment, the military significance of cities, their fortifications, and their defensible locations were well articulated.⁴²⁸ These descriptions showed up in some Latin and oriental sources (in Arabic and Persian), like chronicles and travel accounts from the end of the twelfth century to the fourteenth century. For example, Ansbertus,⁴²⁹ who was the author of *Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris*, described the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa's passage through Anatolia on crusade in 1189–1190. Ibn Bībī,⁴³⁰ who was a secretary in the Seljuq chancery in Konya, narrated the events between 1192 and 1280 in Rum in his work, known as *El-Evâmirü'l- 'Alâ' iyye fî'l- umûri'l- 'Alâ' iyye*. Aqsarâyī,⁴³¹ who was a secretary like Ibn Bībī, described the events in thirteenth century-Anatolia, particularly the years between 1246 and 1308, in his work entitled *Müsâmeret ül-ahbâr*. Ibn Sa'îd,⁴³² in his work *Kitâb al-Jughrâfiyâ*, provided information on cities in Anatolia and their geography at the end of the

⁴²² Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial*, 26–29.

⁴²³ Saradi "The Byzantine City in Byzantine Hagiography," 441.

⁴²⁴ Choniates, *Historia*; idem, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates (1118–1207)*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1984).

⁴²⁵ Pachymères, *Relations historiques*.

⁴²⁶ Akropolites, *The History*, translated by Ruth Macrides.

⁴²⁷ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*.

⁴²⁸ Saradi, "The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries)," 41; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*.

⁴²⁹ Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Nova Series vol. V, ed. Anton Chroust (Berlin, 1928).

⁴³⁰ Ibn Bībī, *El-Evâmirü'l- 'Alâ' iyye fî'l- umûri'l- 'Alâ' iyye*.

⁴³¹ Aksaraylı Mehmed oğlu Kerîmüddin Mahmud, *Müsâmeret ül-ahbâr. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*.

⁴³² Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā ibn Sa'îd al-Maghribī, *Kitâb al-Jughrâfiyâ*.

thirteenth century. Hence, all of these sources described the situation of Byzantine Anatolia, including its geography, fortifications, ports, economic activities, and its relationship with foreigners and enemies like Venetians, Genoese, and Seljuq Turks.⁴³³

As stated in the beginning of this part, the Late Byzantine cities have a wealth of literary sources, but examining them calls for a multidisciplinary approach, combining literary and material sources when examining Late Byzantine cities. Combining archeological sources with this abundance of literary sources gives us the opportunity to understand the urban fabric and the connections between the newly emerging local identities in society and economic growth that were experienced by the Byzantine Empire in the post-1204 period.⁴³⁴ Extensive excavations, urban surveys, ceramics, coins, lead seals, and inscriptions are essential for examining the changing urban economy, socio-cultural dynamics, urban identity, and military functions.⁴³⁵ For instance, Claudia Sode examined in her book chapter the development of urban identity, the role of military and economic power shaping in the consciousness of inhabitants, and expression of local cults through lead seals.⁴³⁶ This urban identity can be also traced with numismatic sources that Cecille Morrison presents the issue in her studies.⁴³⁷ For example, the Laskarids used the depiction of St. Tryphon, a patron saint of Nicaea, using the saint's symbol, lily, on their coins.⁴³⁸ Urban archeology enhanced our comprehension of the characteristics of a "real" Late Byzantine city, especially

⁴³³ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and The Turks*, 20–25.

⁴³⁴ Zavagno, "Byzantine City and Its Historiography," 29.

⁴³⁵ Zavagno, *The Byzantine City... Crusade*, 16.

⁴³⁶ Sode, "The Formulation of Urban Identity," 149–165.

⁴³⁷ Cecile Morrison, "The Emperor, the Saint and the City: Coinage and Money in Thessalonike from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57, (2003): 173–200; Cecile Morrison, "Thirteenth-Century Byzantine 'Metallic' Identities," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 133–167

⁴³⁸ Foss, *Nicaea*, 105–106.

excavated sites like Monemvasia, Corinth, and Thessaloniki.⁴³⁹ However, this archeological approach is mostly lacking for cities in Turkey because of insufficient systematic excavations.⁴⁴⁰ Nevertheless, some cities can be given as examples that have been well-excavated, such as Pergamon, and provide significant archeological observations to support our idea of the Late Byzantine Anatolian cities.⁴⁴¹

Moreover, when the Byzantine Empire lost its cities against the Rum Seljuqs in Anatolia, the surviving Byzantine monuments and subsequent constructions from the Seljuq and Ottoman periods containing the Byzantine hereditary tradition in the Late Byzantine Anatolian cities can enable us to understand this transformative period.⁴⁴² For example, Suna Çağaptay provided the example of the transformation from Late Byzantine Prousa into Early Ottoman Bursa.⁴⁴³ She stated that when the Ottomans conquered Prousa in 1326, they reframed the urban fabric according to their interests to create an Islamic and Ottoman city and they made this by preserving some hereditary features of Byzantine Prousa. For example, Bursa maintained its vital functions inherited from Byzantium, such as agricultural, spiritual, hydraulic, and therapeutic functions, while simultaneously transforming itself via the incorporation of Ottoman religious and imperial monuments such as mosques and *külliyes*. Through these monuments, they repurposed the Byzantine legacy.⁴⁴⁴ Briefly, as mentioned in the introduction, for methodology I juxtapose literary sources with material and

⁴³⁹ Zavagno, "The Byzantine City and its Historiography," 30.

⁴⁴⁰ Decker, "Methodologies for Byzantine Urban Studies," 79; Kiousopoulou, "Spatial Organizations in Late Byzantine Cities (13th–14th Centuries)," 92.

⁴⁴¹ Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole*, (Cologne: DuMont, 1988).

⁴⁴² Bakirtzis and Zavagno, "Introducing the Byzantine City, Its Histories, Ideas and Realities," 6.

⁴⁴³ Suna Çağaptay, *The First Capital of the Ottoman Empire: The Religious, Architectural, and Social History of Bursa* (Londra and New York: Bloomsbury, 2021).

⁴⁴⁴ Suna Çağaptay, "Islamic City, Ottoman City. Byzantine Prousa to Ottoman Bursa," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno, (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 335–336.

archeological sources and put them together to create a more comprehensive understanding of the Late Byzantine city in Anatolia in the thirteenth century.

2. Multiple Definitions of Byzantine Cities in Literary Sources

Myrto Veikou stated that there were two main factors that make the Byzantine city difficult to theorize. Firstly, the definitions of “city” and “urban life” transformed over the Byzantine Empire’s extended lifetime due to social changes. Secondly, Byzantine literary sources lack a clear and uniform definition of a city. Byzantine primary sources display ambiguity in explaining cities. They use assorted terms such as “polis” (πόλις), “asty” (ἄστυ), and “kastron,” (κάστρον) interchangeably to refer to the same place during the same time, and this has led difficulties to arise in establishing a uniform urban notion.⁴⁴⁵ Literary sources did not give physical descriptions of cities and they merely referenced cities by their names. Also, in many cases, it was unnecessary to give the name of the city.⁴⁴⁶ For example, Constantinople was referred to as “The City” (ἡ Πόλις), because this demonstrated the presumed and collective recognition of Constantinople’s importance.⁴⁴⁷ Therefore, the significance and essence of the city to the Byzantines were not fixed but fluctuated throughout time and space and among people. The categories of various settlements were evident in the written

⁴⁴⁵ Myrto Veikou, “Theorizing Byzantine Urbanity, The City Constituting Memory, Memory Constituting the City,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500 – 1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 37; Kioussopoulou ed., *Οι αόρατες βυζαντινές πόλεις στον ελληνικό χώρο (13ος–15ος αιώνας)*, 19–20; See also Brandes, “Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries – Different Sources, Different Histories?,” 25–29.

⁴⁴⁶ Veikou, “Theorizing Byzantine Urbanity,” 37.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid. See also Demetrius John Georgacas “The Names of Constantinople,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947): 358–366.

sources, but these were still mostly ambiguous and they may not provide a clear current representation.⁴⁴⁸

Due to this challenge arising from the changing urban life over time and space and the lack of a uniform definition of the city, there are many different approaches to the Byzantine city in its historiography.⁴⁴⁹ Since my thesis focuses on the post-1204 period, Helen Saradi and Tonia Kioussopoulou's studies are noteworthy. Saradi and Kioussopoulou tackled the intricate challenge of defining urban life by using literary sources.⁴⁵⁰ For example, Kioussopoulou used Fernand Braudel's criteria to describe a Byzantine city. Braudel's criteria emphasized elements such as division of labor in the cities against rural areas, settlement change, environmental control, and interaction with other settlements around the cities.⁴⁵¹ She emphasized how the urban environment influenced power relations and social interactions, and she tackled the problem of the definition of the Byzantine city with theoretical approaches by adopting a receptivity to archeological data; therefore, her method characterized the Byzantine city as a geographical entity intricately intertwined with economic, social, and political interactions that together created a unique urban identity throughout the Late Byzantine period.⁴⁵² On the other hand, Helen Saradi, using literary sources, stated that reference to cities and realistic definitions increased in the Late Byzantine period, and she connected this with urban expansion by heightened economic increase, trade

⁴⁴⁸ Saradi, "The kallos of the Byzantine city: the development of a rhetorical topos and historical reality," 37–56.

⁴⁴⁹ See; Zavagno, "The Byzantine City and Its Historiography," 17–36.

⁴⁵⁰ Saradi, "The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries)," 25–45; Saradi, "The City in Byzantine Hagiography;" Kioussopoulou, *Οι αόρατες βυζαντινές πόλεις*; idem, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονομός, Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την άλωση*. (Αθήνα: Πόλις, 2007), English translation by Paul Magdalino, *Emperor or Manager. Power and political ideology in Byzantium before 1453*, (Geneva: La pomme d'or, 2011).

⁴⁵¹ Kioussopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονομός*, 20; Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et Capitalisme XVe-XVIIIe siècle. Les Structures du Quotidien*, v. I (Paris: Armand Colin, 1979).

⁴⁵² Kioussopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονομός*; Veikou, "Theorizing Byzantine Urbanity," 42–43.

activity, and the emergence of autonomous rulers in the provincial cities such as Nicaea and Trebizond.⁴⁵³ After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Byzantine successor states spread over formerly Byzantine lands and cities imperiled by ongoing conflicts among these rulers as well as foreign threats like Turks; because of this, they reinforced their walls. Particularly, the cities that attained capital status like Nicaea and Trebizond saw population growth and intensified their building operations.⁴⁵⁴

Urban growth led to changes in terminology in literary sources. For example, Niketas Choniates in his *Chronike Diegesis* used the word *polis* for larger places, rather than *kastron*. For smaller settings, he used some derivatives of *polis*, such as “polisma,” “polismaton,” and “polichne,” as well as “chora,” “kome,” “phourion,” “eryma,” “ochyroma,” and “kastron.”⁴⁵⁵ Also, Theodore Skoutariotes in his additions to the *Chronike Syngraphe* of George Akropolites, stated that small and insignificant places were referred to as “phoria,” instead of “polis.” He mentioned that fortifications protected the settlements with towers and circular walls, and that the word “kastron” was utilized in defining these urban settlements.⁴⁵⁶ The word choices of these writers signify not only the urban development but also the urban ideal and culture advocated by these intellectuals. This change in terminology pertaining to the cities was reflected the archaic language of the intellectuals. For example, after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, Niketas Choniates lamented “the City” through the destroyed ancient status that symbolized the urban culture of Constantinople, by using ancient language in order to establish links between classical and Byzantine legacy of the City.⁴⁵⁷ On the

⁴⁵³ Helen Saradi, “The Byzantine City in the Literary Sources,” 64.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Choniates, *Historia*. See Alexander P. Kazhdan, “Byzantine Town and Trade as Seen by Niketas Choniates,” *Byzantinoslavica* 56, no.1, (1995): 209–218.

⁴⁵⁶ Georgios Akropolites, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg, corrected by Peter Wirth (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978), I:285.9–11.

⁴⁵⁷ Saradi, “The Byzantine City in the Literary Sources,” 64. Niketas Choniates, *De Signis*, ed. Ioannes A. van Dieten (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 647–655.

other hand, the use of the name “polis” for larger settlements indicates the expansion and affluence of cities that fostered a robust urban awareness among intellectuals; therefore, other than Constantinople and Thessaloniki, some provincial urban centers were also recognized as *polis* by these writers.⁴⁵⁸ This urban imagination increased scholarly fascination with antiquity, and writers began to engage in idealization of cities by referring to the city’s spiritual identity, to evoke an idealized urban environment in writing about it, and they began to attribute an identity to cities that I will elaborate on later in this chapter.⁴⁵⁹ Additionally, during the Late Byzantine era, the supposed divergence between *kastron* and *polis* evolved beyond mere military and civilian dichotomy because numerous places regarded as *kastron* had already integrated such characteristics in preceding centuries as military and administrative features; hence the Late Byzantine urban transition did not consist in the abandonment of *polis*, but rather in alterations to their populations and the city’s function.⁴⁶⁰ On the other hand, the system of religious administration was contingent upon the population size of the particular cities; hence a metropolitan’s or bishop’s seat was always located in a city, but the population may not have been secure in many scenarios, and a bishop’s seat was dissolved when the population of the city diminished.⁴⁶¹ In short, the changing socio-political and economic situation and functions and representations of urban centers reflected the challenges in defining the Byzantine city particularly in

⁴⁵⁸ Saradi, “The Byzantine City in the Literary Sources,” 64; Helen Saradi, “Byzantine urban imagination: Idealisation and political thinking (eight to fifteenth centuries),” in *Cities as Palimpsests? Responses to Antiquity in Eastern Mediterranean Urbanism*, ed. Elizabeth Key Fowden, Suna Çağaptay, Edward Zychowicz-Coghill et al., (Oxbow Books, 2022), 271.

⁴⁵⁹ Saradi, “Byzantine urban imagination,” 271.

⁴⁶⁰ John Haldon, “The Idea of the Town in the Byzantine Empire,” in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G.P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins, *Transformation of the Roman World*, vol. 4. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 12.

⁴⁶¹ Kiousopoulou, “Spatial Organization in Late Byzantine Cities (13th–14th Centuries),” 91.

literary sources and highlighted the increasing intellectual and administrative importance assigned to urban centers.

3. Urban Identity in Literary and Material Sources

From the tenth century onwards, references to cities in the sources like *encomia* and *ekphrasis* in the Byzantine Empire increased, with these references stressing their ancient origin, and in the Late Byzantine period. There was also an increasing emphasis on the social and economic development of Byzantine cities and the development of trade, especially relations with Italian trading cities that allowed cities to become more prosperous. Byzantine intellectuals and writers wrote to redefine the Byzantine city and contribute to the creation of a collective and an urban identity.⁴⁶² Collective identity is formed when people with the same goals and ideologies come together, and people in the upper echelons of society, such as political and religious leaders, inaugurated the formation of this collective identity. However, a collective identity may emerge from among peers at the same level within a group; hence a new independent group or regional leaders might rise up against the emperor.⁴⁶³ It is possible to see the notion of identity (*tautotes* / ταυτότης) and otherness (*heterotes* / ἑτερότης) in written sources from ancient times to the Middle Ages.⁴⁶⁴ For example, Michael Psellos described the opposition between identity and otherness under the notion of *genos*.⁴⁶⁵ Also, Niketas Choniates explained the relationship between *soma*

⁴⁶² Saradi, “Byzantine urban imagination,” 270.

⁴⁶³ Johannes Koder, “Space and Identity Byzantine Conceptions of Geographic Belonging,” in *Spatialities of Byzantine Culture from the Human Body to the Universe*, eds. Myrto Veikou and Ingela Nilsson, (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 212.

⁴⁶⁴ Koder, “Space and Identity,” 212.

⁴⁶⁵ “Πέντε τὰ γένη κατὰ Πλάτωνα, οὐσία, ταυτότης, ἑτερότης, κίνησις, στάσις, οὐχ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπάλληλα, ἀλλ’ ὡς πανταχοῦ διήκοντα...” Michael Psellos, *Michael Psellus Philosophica minora: volume II Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemonologica*, ed. Dominic J. O’Meara, (Berlin, Boston: BSB B.G. Teubner, 1989), 38; Koder, “Space and Identity,” 212–213.

(body) and *psyche* (soul) and a person's identity, stating that the body is doomed to decay, but the soul will not be harmed in identity.⁴⁶⁶ The notion of *tautotes* was used indirectly in the sense of identity. However, it was used together with other terms such as *genos* and *patris* or *pater*.⁴⁶⁷ For example, Nikephoros Blemmydes considered *genos* to have two meanings: the first is that of being biologically born from a father, and second is that of belonging to the homeland.⁴⁶⁸ For this reason, one can conclude that Byzantine writers were highly aware of the difference between biological and local identity.

Furthermore, literary sources present an idealized view of this creation of urban identity, the continuation of urban life, and the survival of city walls.⁴⁶⁹ A city is also a reflection and an imaginary creation of the ideology of its citizens.⁴⁷⁰ In other words, cities take shape with the ideas and values of each of their inhabitants; hence, after 1204, cities began to acquire more emotional meanings for their inhabitants and became a place of origin and homeland.⁴⁷¹ As mentioned above, one of the concepts used in the sources of the period is the notion of *patris*, and in the Late Byzantine period, the decline of Byzantium and its occupation by foreign powers are shown by the emphasis on *patris* in the texts of the period.⁴⁷² During this period, cities began to emerge as independent political entities, and they began to take on new functions. For

⁴⁶⁶ "...τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἐν ταυτότητι μένουσαν καὶ τροπῆς ἀπαράδεκτον, ἀλλοιωτὸν δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάθεσιν ὑποκείμενον." Niketas Choniates, *Epistle*, In *Nicetaei Choniatae orationes et epistulae* (CFHB 11.1), ed. J. van Dieten, (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 1972), 7.210. Koder, "Space and Identity," 213.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁴⁶⁸ "Τὰ σημαινόμενα τοῦ γένους διάφορα. Γένος γὰρ λέγεται καὶ ἡ ἐκάστου τῆς γενέσεως ἀρχή, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ τεκόντος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. [...] Διττὴ τοίνυν ἡ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρχή, φυσικὴ τε καὶ τοπικὴ [...] Λέγεται γένος καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς, καθὸ σχέσεως ἔχουσι πρὸς τε τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτούς· ὥς ὅταν λέγωμεν τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων." Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Epitome Logica*, 10.1 in *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 142, col. 753A ed. J.P. Migne. Koder, "Space and Identity," 213

⁴⁶⁹ Çağaptay, "Islamic City, Ottoman City Byzantine Prousa to Ottoman Bursa," 334.

⁴⁷⁰ Zavagno, *The Byzantine City ... Crusade*, 66.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁴⁷² Saradi, "The Byzantine cities (8th–15th Centuries): Old Approaches and New Directions," 43. See Kioussopoulou, *Emperor or Manager*, trans. Paul Magdalino, 143–152.

example, after 1204, cities such as Nicaea, Trebizond, and Thessaloniki emerged as new capitals of Byzantine successor states. The term *patris* is frequently used in written sources and is expressed through intimacy and interest in the city by touching upon the city's ancient past and nostalgic feelings for the *patris* when one is away; thus, one of the most important reasons is that the city was now more valuable than the Empire.⁴⁷³ The discourse of *patris* was mainly perceived by the Byzantines as a city, town, or village rather than an expansive landscape. Cities, as the first of these three designations, were associated with the discourse of *patris* and defined by the sense of belonging of individuals and families to their origins, the local language and religion and to other traditions. Hence, this sense of belonging and nostalgic feelings from childhood can be considered as a homeland.⁴⁷⁴

Later on, matters such as which village was subject to which city and which homeland these constituted were regulated by Roman and Byzantine laws, but written sources show that this distinction was not limited to the legal realm.⁴⁷⁵ For example, in the *Life of Alypius Stylites* in connection with the city of Adrianoupolis in the Paphlagonia, it was expressed thus: “... he possessed a homeland, if one call ‘homeland’ what is upon the earth, the city bearing the name Hadrian (Adrianoupolis), which stood as the significant city of the Paphlagonian land,”⁴⁷⁶ Here, the homeland of the *patris* is the city itself, not the land itself.⁴⁷⁷ Therefore, the Lives of Saints or hagiographies may present the significance of the city by giving critical information about the traditions in the city. It is also possible to obtain information about the

⁴⁷³ Saradi, “The Byzantine cities (8th–15th Centuries), 44.

⁴⁷⁴ Koder, “Space and Identity,” 217.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 218.

⁴⁷⁶ “...πατρίδα μὲν ἔσχεν, εἰ δεῖ πατρίδα λέγειν τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς, τὴν Ἀδριανοῦ πόλει ὁμόνυμον, ἢ μία τῆς Παφλαγόνων καθέστηκεν χώρας” Vita prior Alypii Stylitae, in *Les saints stylites*, eds. H. Delehay, (Brussels, 1923), 2.4; Koder, “Space and Identity,” 218.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

political, sociological, economic, and cultural aspects of cities as well as the image of the city in urban life from these hagiographies.⁴⁷⁸ Rich with urban imagery, the Lives of Saints stories convey for their audience common urban activities, or in other words those of merchants and artisans, by establishing connections with the ancient buildings of the city in which the story takes place.⁴⁷⁹ A good example is the testament and *Life of Saint Nikon the Metanoite*, dating back to the eleventh century. In the Life of St. Nikon, although Sparta was governed by central political and administrative powers, it had local elites who expressed a civic consciousness and identity because the local *archontes* not only refused Nikon's demand to exile the Jews from the city, but also opposed the planned construction of a church in the *agora*, preferring that it be used as a polo-ground (*tzykanisterion*) for the elite.⁴⁸⁰ Moreover, in the transitional period from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Middle Ages, the Byzantine Empire faced assaults by the Avars and Slavs in the Balkans and by the Arabs and Persians in the East, and these military challenges that cities faced created a new relationship between saints and cities.⁴⁸¹ Saints came to be seen in the imagination of city dwellers as protectors and defenders of the city, and this originated from their religious beliefs.⁴⁸² Saints, as patrons of cities, contributed to the creation of urban identity. For example, the Miracles of Saint Demetrios at Thessaloniki provide the most striking account of the Slavic invasion. In the attack of 586, Saint Demetrios appeared as a soldier on the city walls of Thessaloniki and fought.⁴⁸³ In later periods, the image of *archontes* was contrasted with the figure of the inclusive patron saint in such narratives.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁸ Saradi, "The Byzantine City in Byzantine Hagiography," 422.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 423.

⁴⁸⁰ Zavagno, *The Byzantine City... Crusade*, 63.

⁴⁸¹ Saradi, "The Byzantine City in Byzantine Hagiography," 428.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 436.

From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards, as increasing urban development combined with nostalgia for the ancient past, chroniclers and orators sought to idealize cities over their identities and create ideal cities filled with city dwellers who had morally upright features, and this led to the creation of the illusion of a uniform spiritual identity.⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, this whole sense of belonging to a city-homeland can be understood with the lamentation of Niketas Choniates about the loss of Constantinople. Niketas Choniates, who was an imperial bureaucrat and provincial official, known as *logothetes ton sekreton* in Constantinople, used the full range of rhetorical language in all three versions of his work, the *Chronike Diegesis*. In his lament of the sack of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and the destruction of the ancient statues in Constantinople, Choniates tried to create a different urban image by associating the sack of the city with the fall of Jerusalem, employing a highly emotional tone. By describing the damage done to the statues by the Latins while sacking the city, Choniates expressed his deep sorrow for the destruction of the aesthetic statues of Constantinople, which were of Roman heritage, and expressed pride in the city's national identity and hope for reaching salvation from the enemy.⁴⁸⁶

On the other hand, Michael Choniates, who was the brother of Niketas and the metropolitan of Athens, wrote about the nature of Byzantine cities in this period. Michael Choniates described what qualities a rich city should have: good climate, location, proximity to the sea, variety of soil products and population.⁴⁸⁷ In Choniates' letters, he expressed complaints about the difference between Byzantine Athens and ancient Athens, with his attachment and love (ἔρως) for ancient Athens as the evident

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Saradi, "Byzantine urban imagination," 272–273.

⁴⁸⁷ Teresa Shawcross, "Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 17–19.

theme in contrast to the lack of the same qualities of Byzantine Athens.⁴⁸⁸ It is clear that intellectuals like the Choniates brothers, who came from Constantinople to a provincial city, were disappointed by the low intellectual background of the provincial cities in which they now found themselves, compared to Constantinople.⁴⁸⁹ However, Michael Choniates was devoted to ancient Athens and expressed a love for that long-lost city, which we often see in his comments referring to the past glory and identity of Athens. In describing this glory, Choniates frequently refers to ancient buildings; in this way, Choniates tried to preserve the identity of Byzantine Athens by holding it up to the ideal he saw in ancient Athens.⁴⁹⁰ Hence, both Niketas and Michael Choniates conveyed the landscape and daily life of Byzantine cities through the elements of *ekphrasis* in their writings that shaped the way cities and their inhabitants experienced and saw themselves. On the other hand, Byzantine intellectuals resorted to *encomia* both to create an urban identity and image for the political ideology of the elite class and to reveal ancient forms of government.⁴⁹¹ Moreover, according to Kioussopoulou, the works of many Palaiologan writers were composed of elements of urban patriotism, and there was an effort to create an urban and political identity; thus, the urban identity was united by the deep-rooted history and education of its citizens in the city-homelands.⁴⁹² Also, the creation of identity was provided by the feelings of belonging to cities, and this sense of belonging was closely related to the spatial dimension of identity. For instance, Bessarion stated that urban identities were fixed with the role of people in the city, whether they were citizens, soldiers, or generals who only defended their homeland honorably, and this sense of belonging to space

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid; Saradi, "Byzantine urban imagination," 271–272.

⁴⁸⁹ Shawcross, "Identities and Allegiances," 17–19.

⁴⁹⁰ Saradi, "Byzantine urban imagination," 271–272.

⁴⁹¹ Zavagno, *The Byzantine City... Crusade*, 66.

⁴⁹² Tonia Kioussopoulou, *Οι αόρατες βυζαντινές πόλεις στον ελληνικό χώρο (13ος–15ος αιώνας)*, (Αθήνα, Πόλις, 2013), 153; Veikou, "Theorizing Byzantine Urbanity," 49.

was associated with terms such as *polis*, *chora*, and *patris*:⁴⁹³ “We are citizens, we are soldiers, we are generals, defending the city, the land, the homeland, of the children, of our ancient tombs, and simply everything most precious.”⁴⁹⁴

Up to this point, we have seen the role of literary texts in creating the image and identity of the Byzantine city. Lastly, the literary genres of the last centuries of Byzantium, *encomia* and *ekphrasis*, also contributed to this literature. These rhetorical texts allow us to understand the “idea” of the city, and these texts contributed to the ancient past of the cities and the Greek identity of the inhabitants by showing the urban self-confidence of the city with ancient clichés that enabled them to construct an identity.⁴⁹⁵ The emphasis on ancient clichés in the works of the Byzantine intellectuals such as Manuel Maschopoulos and Plethon Gemistos may not have originated solely from their interest in antiquity.⁴⁹⁶ This situation may be related to the political independence and fragmentation that emerged after 1204 because the Empire lost the unifying element for its cities after 1204; therefore, this situation created an urban identity that was politically self-determinative and similar to that of Italian cities.⁴⁹⁷ The praises of these cities (*encomia*) were addressed to the public in the form of speeches in public places according to the rules of ancient rhetoric, and these writings are replete with views of the city and idealizations of it. They also convey the unique beauty of the cities, embellished or imagined in contrast to a more mundane reality, and convey their political messages by emphasizing one aspect of the city.⁴⁹⁸ These

⁴⁹³ Koder, “Space and Identity,” 216.

⁴⁹⁴ “Ἡμεῖς πολῖται, ἡμεῖς στρατιῶται, ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν στρατηγοί, πόλεως, χώρας, πατρίδος, τέκνων, τάφων πατρῶων καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν τιμιωτάτων ὑπερασπίζοντες.” Bessarion, *In calumniatorem Platonis*, In *Bessarionis in calumniatorem Platonis libri IV* (Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann, Funde und Forschungen, vol. 2), eds. L. Mohler, (Paderborn, 1927), 14.6.15–18; Koder, “Space and Identity,” 216.

⁴⁹⁵ Saradi, “The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th centuries),” 44.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 45

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁸ Saradi, “Byzantine urban imagination,” 274.

sources coalesce around a common theme of praising the fortifications for their beauty and power.⁴⁹⁹ Emperors, rulers, and intellectuals frequently mentioned the fortification, thereby illustrating the significance of fortifications in the communal consciousness of Byzantine society.⁵⁰⁰

For example, Theodore II Laskaris (r. 1254–1258), the son of Emperor John III Vatatzes (1222–1254), made an oration about Nicaea. The city was the capital of the Empire of Nicaea, established by the Laskarid dynasty after 1204. In this oration, Theodore praised the natural beauties of Nicaea and created an idealized image of the city. First, he talked about the beauty of the city walls, because these walls gave protection to the city and guaranteed its freedom. By referring to the walls and towers being built with strong materials, he asserted that the real beauty of the city comes from education and that it is like a divine mind (νοῦν θεῖον).⁵⁰¹ He emphasized that the walls were aesthetically beautiful due to their “unconquerable” situation.⁵⁰² Additionally, he claimed that Nicaea was the city of God, with its magnificent churches and monasteries. Through these references, he made an imperial claim by evoking political messages such as the hope that a city of God like Constantinople would be saved and the Latins expelled.⁵⁰³ Theodore Metochites (1270–1332) also wrote an oration on Nicaea. This work aimed to establish a connection between ancient and Byzantine cities, which is another element of the city’s praise, and he directed the Byzantine elites’ attention to their ancient Greek past to distinguish them from the Latins. In this way, he aimed to create a cultural identity by idealizing Nicaea and

⁴⁹⁹ Saradi, “Kallos of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetoric Topos and Historical Reality,” 37–56.

⁵⁰⁰ Nikolas Bakirtzis, “Fortifications and The Making of the Byzantine City,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno, (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 278.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Foss, *Nicaea*, 132–133, 144–145, 174–175.

⁵⁰³ Bakirtzis, “Fortifications and The Making of the Byzantine City,” 275.

focused on how Nicaea managed to sustain the Empire after 1204.⁵⁰⁴ Finally, Bessarion (1403–1472) made an oration about Trebizond, the capital of the Empire of the same name, written about 1436. The main idea in this work is that while other Byzantine cities fell, Trebizond remained standing and preserved the divine destiny of Byzantium and Greek identity along with the freedom of Trebizond. As with other orators, Bessarion conveyed this idea by basing it on the ancient past of the city of Trebizond, and he identified the city with Athens, portraying it as an emulation of Athens.⁵⁰⁵ Hence, he created a national identity for the people of Trebizond, to be used against the Turkish threat. As a result, in the creation of urban identity in the Late Byzantine cities, there were many rhetorical references to the issue of identity in literary texts.⁵⁰⁶

By combining written and material sources, local and urban identity developing in the Late Byzantine era can be reconstructed more realistically. In other words, a diachronic examination of literary genres such as *encomia* or *ekphrasis* and sigillographic and numismatic sources can also allow us to reach more accurate judgments about the Late Byzantine cities and their urban identities. For instance, Byzantine emperors in the twelfth century used the title of despotes on their lead seals and coins. It was the highest rank in the Byzantine aristocracy and was typically awarded to the heirs. Titles like *autokrator*, *basileus*, and *augoustos* had become nearly obsolete.⁵⁰⁷ Thirteenth-century emperors like the Laskarids, the Palaiologans, the Komnenos and Doukas in Thessaloniki, and Grand Komnenoi in Trebizond also used

⁵⁰⁴ Saradi, “Byzantine urban imagination,” 276.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 280; “...καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐξεικασμένη τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐκείνης εἰκὼν καὶ ἀκριβὲς ὡς ἐνὴν ἀπείργαται μίμημα.” Bessarion “Ο “Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα” Λόγος τοῦ Βησσαρίωνος (κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις),” ed. O. Lampsidis, *Archeion Pontou* 39 (1984): 29–30.

⁵⁰⁶ Saradi, “Byzantine urban imagination,” 280.

⁵⁰⁷ Morrison, “Thirteenth-century Byzantine ‘Metallic’ Identities,” 134–135.

the title of *despotes* by maintaining this tendency.⁵⁰⁸ It can be said that the usage of imperial dynastic names like Komnenos and Doukas and showing the family background on the lead seals and coins was a trend in that period. Here, it may also be worth pointing out that the name of Doukas originates from ‘dux.’ For example, coin inscriptions revealed Komnenian ancestry.⁵⁰⁹ Theodore Komnenos Doukas wrote “Komnenos ho Doukas” or simply “Doukas” on his coins. Many of Doukas’ coins in Thessaloniki bore his name, but one scarce coin in particular proclaimed Theodore as “Theodore Doukas, faithful emperor and autocrat of the Romans, in Christ our God”⁵¹⁰ (*fig. 1*) Also, John III Vatatzes in Nicaea placed the Doukas name on the majority of his coins and seals. However, on one specific coin, his predecessor Theodore I displayed both his Laskarid family name and Komnenian ancestry.⁵¹¹ (*fig. 2*) The use of surnames for identification and personalization further contributed to the forming of an aristocratic identity.⁵¹² Lead seals bearing poetic inscriptions that trace the lineage of their owners’ families became more common and comprehensive by the late twelfth century.⁵¹³ For example, a twelfth – century seal belonging to John Mankaphas, who was a *sebastos*, declared that the Mankaphas family “has its roots in Rome.” In this way, it demonstrated a type of geographical heritage and Roman identity.⁵¹⁴ (*fig. 3*) However, some elites showed their family background on the lead seals and these visual artifacts were used as a propaganda tool aimed both at their subjects and their competitors. In this case, retracing the Roman identity of the family

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Morrison, “Thirteenth-century Byzantine ‘Metallic’ Identities,” 137

⁵¹⁰ “Θεόδωρος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Δούκας;” See; *ibid.*

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵¹² Leidholm, *Elite Byzantine Kinship*, 129.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*

is nearly impossible, but the individual tried to market his family's Roman roots with the lead seal.⁵¹⁵

At the same time, fortifications were significantly related with urban identity.⁵¹⁶ As Byzantine cities underwent economic and social transformations, fortifications like walls, towers and gates were products of these transformations and these changes exerted a significant impact on them.⁵¹⁷ Also, one of the purposes of the fortifications was the need to provide defense; hence the fortifications regulated urban space and strongly influenced daily life in the cities.⁵¹⁸ After the Fourth Crusade in 1204, as the political structure of the Byzantine Empire became more fragmented, fortifications emerged as the principal means of safeguarding the urban existence.⁵¹⁹ For instance, the defenses of cities such as Nicaea, Trebizond and Thessaloniki were strengthened.⁵²⁰ However, along with their defensive functions, visual culture formed an important part of the city walls and fortification.⁵²¹ Firstly, the existence of fortifications in the cities depended on their symbiotic connection with local communities and this relationship impacted the cultural life of cities.⁵²² Seeking divine protection from the walls by means of the patron saints of the cities against the enemies was woven into the cultural fabric of Byzantine cities; for instance, the appearance of the crosses on wall façades and the arrangement and procession of icons of saints on the fortifications indicated the holy and hierotopical roles of fortifications and Christian identity of the cities that consolidated the relationship between the

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Bakirtzis, "Fortifications and the Making of the Byzantine City," 278.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 272.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid; Nikolas Bakirtzis, "The Practice, Perception and Experience of Byzantine Fortification," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (New York: Routledge, 2011), 352.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Akışık, "Praising A City," 1–2.

⁵²¹ Nikolas Bakirtzis, "The Visual Language of Fortification Façades: The Walls of Thessaloniki," *Monuments and Environment* 9, (2005): 15.

⁵²² Idem, "Fortifications and Making of the Byzantine Cities," 277.

inhabitants and fortifications.⁵²³ Secondly, dedicatory inscriptions on the fortifications indicated the patronage of rulers and civic authorities.⁵²⁴ Inscriptions were positioned to optimize their visibility, often at gates, roadways, towers; their builders thus attempted to present the history of the city by showing significant achievements of its former rulers and the significance of its fortifications.⁵²⁵ Hence, inscriptions on city walls created a collective memory and identity in the cities.⁵²⁶ While inscriptions in Nicaea and Trebizond displayed the imperial claims and protective features of their rulers, the Laskarids and the Grand Komnenoi, the same scenario was evident in the thirteenth century among the Rum Seljuqs, with their inscriptions on the walls of Konya.⁵²⁷ Inscriptions on fortifications façades were accompanied by the symbolic usage of *spolia*, i.e., re-used material, which was a prevalent practice in the building of Byzantine fortifications and city walls.⁵²⁸ The reuse of materials was not only pragmatic but also imbued with profound ideological significance.⁵²⁹ This practice transcended conventional practicality and embodied a more expansive Byzantine perspective originating from aesthetics, memory, and identity. Also, the use of *spolia* reinforced a cultural mentality by conveying a continuity with the past that affected all social strata in the cities.⁵³⁰ Thirdly, during the Late Byzantine era, castle imagery was standardized and used as emblems for certain cities. They may have adhered to a technique that originated in the Mediterranean, and they began to depict their cities on

⁵²³ Idem, “The Practice, Perception and Experience of Byzantine Fortification,” 361–362.

⁵²⁴ Idem, “Fortifications and Making of the Byzantine Cities,” 278.

⁵²⁵ Idem, “The Practice, Perception and Experience of Byzantine Fortification,” 361.

⁵²⁶ Idem, “The Visual Language of Fortification Façades: The Walls of Thessaloniki,” 21–22.

⁵²⁷ Scott Redford, “City Building in Seljuq Rum,” in *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture*, ed. Christian Lange and Songul Mecit (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 269.

⁵²⁸ Bakirtzis, “The Practice, Perception and Experience of Byzantine Fortification,” 361–362.

⁵²⁹ Idem, “Fortifications and Making of the Byzantine Cities”, 281; See Helen Saradi, “The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archeological and Literary Evidence,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3, no.4, (Spring, 1997): 395–423.

⁵³⁰ Nikos D. Kontogiannis, *Byzantine Fortifications: Protecting the Roman Empire in the East*, (Yorkshire and Philadelphia: Pen & Sword Books, 2022), 223.

coins and lead seals; this contributed to the formation of civic identity in the cities.⁵³¹ For instance, many coins from Thessaloniki featured a castle symbol that emphasized the cities' defensive nature, and being part of these cities meant belonging to a community with shared goals and traditions, enjoying protection from external threats and sharing collective responsibility for maintaining defense through walls. As a result, the emergence of urban autonomy and the development of civic identities were closely tied to perceptions of the Other and the need for defense.⁵³² Due to their local religious cults and identities, a sense of community emerged from among the citizens in the Byzantine Empire from the tenth century onwards, and the language used to describe cities often implied a collective identity.⁵³³ For example, John Komnenos Doukas, the emperor of Thessaloniki (1237–1242 and despot of Epiros (1242–1244) has a beautiful lead seal that reflected Thessalonian identity merging with the depiction of the patron saint of the city, St. Demetrios.⁵³⁴ (*fig. 4*) On its obverse, John is depicted as standing alongside an image of St Demetrios, with the city wall of Thessaloniki in the background. St. Demetrios' gesture of placing his hand on John's shoulder symbolizes the protection and his patronage in the city, while his hand outstretches and points to a building that represents his shrine in Thessaloniki.⁵³⁵ This iconography on the lead seal actually resembles a seventh-century mosaic in the Church of St. Demetrios, where the saint was portrayed with a bishop and a lay donor, and positioned in front of the walls of Thessaloniki.⁵³⁶ Thus, the imagery on seals was sometimes inspired by visual media in local city churches. The lead seals depicted the city through

⁵³¹ Kontogiannis, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 226. See Sode, "The Formulation of Urban Identity," 149–166; Morrison, "The Emperor, the Saint and the City," 173–200; Morrison, "Thirteenth-Century Byzantine 'Metallic' Identities," 133–167.

⁵³² Akışık, "Praising A City," 2.

⁵³³ Sode, "The Formulation of Urban Identity," 150.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

structures such as walls and religious buildings — by transforming these structures into symbols of self-identification, they expressed the owner's allegiance to his city through local cults.⁵³⁷

As discussed before, on the eve of 1204, some local usurpers started to establish short-lived city-states, and one of them was Theodore Mangaphas, who was a member of a Philadelphian aristocracy. He established his rule in Philadelphia between the years 1189/90 and 1205. Niketas Choniates saw Mangaphas as a claimant to the throne and a traitor to the empire. More importantly, Mangaphas minted his own coins depicting himself in imperial attire, wielding a scepter, with the inscription "Theodoros Basileus..."⁵³⁸ (*fig. 5*.) In fact, this coin indicates the ruler's identity again because the dynastic component of rulers' identities became increasingly vital in how they portrayed themselves.⁵³⁹ Along with this, it was a characteristically Philadelphian behavior, because this was not the first time Philadelphians rebelled, as they had previously supported their local leaders before being subdued by imperial forces. Through numismatic depictions as in this example, we can thus obtain a glimpse into Philadelphian custom and identity.⁵⁴⁰ On the other hand, we can also see actual, conscious efforts to create a civic identity in Nicaea and Trebizond. These can be seen in depictions of St. Tryphon and St. Eugenios, the patron saints of these two cities, on the coins. In Nicaea, the coins of the Laskarids, particularly depict Theodore II Laskaris, who made extensive efforts to consolidate his authority in Anatolia by emphasizing his ancestral homeland of the dynasty, Bithynia.⁵⁴¹ Saint Tryphon was revered in Nicaea and elevated to the position of protector of the empire and is featured

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ "Θεόδωρος Βασιλεὺς ὁ Μαγκαφᾶς," See; Simpson, "Provincial Separatism," 260–261.

⁵³⁹ Morrison, "Thirteenth-century Byzantine 'Metallic' Identities," 138.

⁵⁴⁰ Simpson, "Provincial Separatism," 260–261.

⁵⁴¹ Angelov, *Byzantine Hellene*.

prominently on its coinage.⁵⁴² I will elaborate on the issue of identity along with the patron saints of cities in the last chapter. On the other hand, during Manuel I Grand Komnenos' reign, Trebizond experienced a shift in coinage from traditional concave electrum to flat silver coins resembling Seljuk dirhems.⁵⁴³ This change aimed to accommodate Eastern trade needs but retained Byzantine imagery and the titles for the emperor, and these can be seen on the coins belonging to Manuel I Grand Komnenos; generally, on the reverse side, the introduction of the local martyr St. Eugenios marked the beginning of Trapezuntine identity on coins, which persisted until the empire's downfall.⁵⁴⁴ In sum, in the first half of the thirteenth century, as mentioned above, the successor states were in competition to carry on the empire's legacy, and this competition was also reflected in their heirship of the Komnenos coinage; one of the most important elements in this coinage was the saint, which was one of the elements reflecting the city's identity.⁵⁴⁵

To conclude, this chapter has demonstrated the importance of combining literary sources with material sources to understand significant aspects of the Late Byzantine cities such as their definitions and urban identities. Therefore, by examining both literary and material and visual sources like lead seals, coins, and fortifications, a newly emerged urban identity may be accepted as a part of the urban transformation after 1204. The following chapter will analyze this transformation by focusing on the three-case study from the thirteenth century: Nicaea and Trebizond, Laodicea, and Ephesos-Ayasoluk.

⁵⁴² Puech, "The Aristocracy and the Empire of Nicaea," 76–77.

⁵⁴³ Morrison, "Thirteenth-century Byzantine 'Metallic' Identities," 163.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Morrison, "The Emperor, the Saint, and the City," 179

CHAPTER IV: Late Byzantine Cities in Thirteenth-Century Anatolia

This chapter aims to present case studies that display the transformation of Late Byzantine cities in the thirteenth century based on the historiographical and methodological themes from the preceding chapters. The first part in this chapter will discuss two successor states' 'capital' in the thirteenth century – Anatolia: Nicaea and Trebizond. This part will focus on how these two cities and two different dynasties – the Laskarids and the Grand Komnenoi during the thirteenth century developed imperial identities that impacted on the urban fabric via looking at their monuments such as fortifications, churches, ceremonial spaces as well as their visual-material culture like coins, seals, and inscriptions. The second part in this chapter will examine Laodicaea as a case of a frontier city between the Byzantines and Turks in the thirteenth century. Laodicaea exemplified how fragmentation, diplomatic activities between the Byzantines and the Turks around elite interactions and the growing nomadic Turkmen pressure in the frontier transformed a frontier city. The third part in this chapter will investigate Ephesos-Ayasoluk in the thirteenth century considering its two continuing functions: religious and commercial. The critical analysis of both literary and material sources will allow us to understand the city's holy environment and harbor's location within the role of pilgrims and Italian merchants that helped the urban continuity of Ephesos-Ayasoluk.

1. ‘Capital’ Cities: The Impact of Imperial Claim on Nicaea and Trebizond

1.1. Nicaea: An ‘Imperial City in Exile

Nicaea, modern İznik, was an old Byzantine and Ottoman city, located on the eastern bank of Lake Ascania, now known as İznik Gölü. During the Byzantine period, İznik remained under the shadow of Constantinople; hence Nicaea became a secondary provincial city.⁵⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Nicaea functioned as the site of two ecumenical councils in 325 and 787. Throughout the seventh and eighth centuries, Nicaea benefited from the defensive system of the empire and resisted the Umayyads’ attacks during the second siege of Constantinople between 716 and 718. In 727, it was attacked by the Umayyads again; however, the city prevailed and became the administrative center of the Opsician Theme from the eighth century onward.⁵⁴⁷ Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, the Byzantine Empire recovered its conquered lands and Constantinople became the center of the empire. Yet, in its hinterland, and neighboring regions like Thrace and Bithynia, and cities like Adrianople and Nicaea continued to be the main protectors of the core of the empire.⁵⁴⁸ In the eleventh century, Nicaea attracted Constantinopolitan elite, who made investments in the city. For instance, a certain Nikephoros acquired a *pronoia* for the monastery of Hyacinth in Nicaea by the order of the emperor Constantine X Doukas.⁵⁴⁹ Later, Nicaea became the capital of the first Turkish state, founded by Suleyman Shah in Anatolia, from 1081 to 1097. After such an eventful history, Nicaea became the capital of the Empire of Nicaea and the

⁵⁴⁶ Michael Angold, “The City Nicaea ca. 1000–1400,” in *Iznik Throughout History*, ed. Işık Aybaklıgil, Halil İnalçık, and Oktay Aslanapa (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2003), 27; Urs Peschlow, “Nicaea” in *The Archeology of Byzantine Anatolia: From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks* ed. Phillipp Niewöhner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 203.

⁵⁴⁷ Angold, “The City Nicaea,” 27.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 28.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 29.

residence of the Laskarid dynasty in exile from 1204 to 1260. In 1331, Nicaea / İznik was ultimately integrated into the Ottoman state.⁵⁵⁰

After 1204, as mentioned in the first chapter under the title of the formation of the Empire of Nicaea, Theodore Laskaris became the first to hold the title of Despot, and he organized a synod in Nicaea to choose a new patriarch in 1208. The newly chosen patriarch, Michael Autorianos, crowned Theodore I Laskaris as emperor.⁵⁵¹ Angold asserted that when the patriarch and imperial office were established, the two key pillars of the Empire had been rebuilt.⁵⁵² During the thirteenth century, Nicaea witnessed several changes, restorations and enhancement of its fortifications that made Nicaea prominent while seeing the city become the new capital in exile.⁵⁵³ However, in the Empire of Nicaea, the Laskarids' sole purpose was the recovery of Constantinople; hence, they implemented political, economic, ecclesiastical, and foreign diplomacy for this purpose, as discussed in the first chapter. For example, Theodore Laskaris valued his well-established family ties with the members of the Byzantine aristocracy to consolidate his powers. In this sense, Theodore followed in the footsteps of the great emperor Alexios Komnenos.⁵⁵⁴ During this period, Nicaea turned into a city where diplomatic relations with other states were maintained and negotiations were held on ecclesiastical discussions as the seat of the patriarchate.⁵⁵⁵ Although John III Vatatzes carried his palace complex to Nymphaion and the imperial mint to Magnesia, Nicaea flourished as a center of culture and education, and the city

⁵⁵⁰ Peschlow, "Nicaea," 203.

⁵⁵¹ Foss, *Nicaea*, 58–59.

⁵⁵² Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 18; Naomi Ruth Pitamber, "Loss, Memory, and Exile: Innovation and Simulation in Laskarid Art and Architecture," in *Pánta rheî: Change in Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture, Art, and Material Culture*, ed. Jenny P. Albani and Ioanna Christoforaki, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 54.

⁵⁵³ Naomi Ruth Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium: Laskarid Urban Environments and the Landscape of Loss (1204–1261)*, (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2015), 69.

⁵⁵⁴ Angelov, *The Byzantine Hellene*, 29.

⁵⁵⁵ Foss, *Nicaea*, 61.

continued to serve as the seat of the Patriarchate and the capital of its cultural and intellectual life.⁵⁵⁶ Many intellectuals and bishops came to Nicaea as refugees, such as Niketas Choniates and Nikephoros Blemmydes and bishops regularly attended synods and discussions at Nicaean court. This showed that the Church in exile continued the Constantinopolitan customs regarding the patriarchal court.⁵⁵⁷ Therefore, this vibrant life of the city and the imperial claims of the Laskarids shaped the urban fabric, on which I will elaborate in this part, such as churches, city walls, visual materials, and objects.

First, one should discuss how Nicaeans overcame the feeling of being exiled and how intellectuals approached the theme of exile. After the Laskarids recognized their permanent exile in Nicaea, they started attempting to fortify their cities against foreign threats. To enhance their economy, they made agricultural policies to increase productivity, and then they began to establish offices and churches to fulfill governmental and ecclesiastical roles.⁵⁵⁸ Hence, they began to revitalize and memorialize the urban landscape, and thus managed to re-create Byzantium within “a landscape loss.”⁵⁵⁹ Prior to 1204, exile in Byzantium had been an individual experience; however, in the post-1204 period, it was seen by contemporary intellectuals as a communal exile and a disruption in imperial continuity, and the fall of Constantinople was seen as divine punishment for collective sin; nonetheless, the Byzantine aristocracy and religious authorities sustained their hopes for salvation and the ultimate restoration of Constantinople.⁵⁶⁰ In addition, these intellectuals invoked

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 65; Angold, “The City Nicaea ca. 1000–1400,” 36–37.

⁵⁵⁷ Foss, *Nicaea*, 58–59, 68.

⁵⁵⁸ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 17.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 24–25; See also, Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*; See contemporary accounts; Choniates, *O city of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*; Ibidem, *Historia*; Akropolites, *The History*, trans. Ruth Macrides; Ibidem, *Opera*.

narratives of exile from the biblical stories, particularly from the Hebrew Bible, such as the Jewish exile under the Babylonian King in the sixth century BC.⁵⁶¹ Here, for example, from the mouth of Niketas Choniates:

“...When shall we look upon thee, not as thou now art, a plain of desolation and a valley of weeping, trampled by armies and despised and rejected, but exalted and restored, revered by those who humbled thee and provoked thee, and once again suckling the milk of the Gentiles and eating the wealth of kings? When shall we doff these shriveled and tattered rags which, like fig leaves and garments of skins, suffice not to cover the whole body and which the foreigners, as treacherous as the serpent, forced upon us with attendant evils and injuries...”⁵⁶²

Niketas Choniates compared the fall of Constantinople and the exile of her inhabitants to the biblical expulsion from Eden by using the connotations associated with “fig leaves”, “tattered skins,” and “nakedness.”⁵⁶³ Similarly to Adam and Eve, the “Constantinopolitans” confronted an unknown and unforgiving destiny.⁵⁶⁴ Another example comes from the tower restored by Theodore I Laskaris named Tower of Babylon,⁵⁶⁵ on which I will give details in the next several pages. Additionally, in one of his letters to Theodore I Laskaris, Niketas made a link between the exile of Jews and that of Constantinopolitans by using biblical allusions here:

“...And if we are going to celebrate the re-entry to the city from which we had been cast out, under a liberator like Moses and one who brings back the captivity of Zion like Zerubbabel, at the judgement of my reign, then let his be more wondrous than your other wondrous works, and more extraordinary than any marvel ever accomplished...”⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶¹ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 34.

⁵⁶² Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, 325; Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 19

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 19–20.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 76–77.

⁵⁶⁶ Niketas Choniates, *Orationes Et Epistulae*, 128. “εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰσιτήρια ἐορτάσομεν ἥς ἐκπεπτόκειμεν πόλεως εἰς ἐλευθερωτὴν Μωσῆν καὶ τὸν ἐπανάγοντα τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν Σιών Ζοροβάβελ, κριθείσης τῆς βασιλείας μου, εἴη ἂν τοῦτο τῶν σῶν θαυμασίων ἔργων θαυμασιώτερον καὶ τῶν πώποτε τελεσθέντων ἐξαισίων ἐξαισιώτερον.”

Thus, exile as a communal experience was framed by intellectuals like Niketas Choniates through the biblical perspective of Babylonian captivity, depicting Constantinople as the New Zion,⁵⁶⁷ and the Laskarids tried to turn the landscape of exile into a new homeland by military success and an extensive construction program over cities and fortresses;⁵⁶⁸ hence, the theme of exile impacted the imperial claims of the Laskarids and the urban fabric of Nicaea.

Now, with respect to imperial claims and urban identity, two characteristics of post-1204 Nicaea will be discussed here: the city walls and the churches, along with Laskarid coins and seals. Theodore II Laskaris presented his praise of the city of Nicaea in 1253 and started with a description city's wall, called "ornament of Nicaea:"⁵⁶⁹

"Men of Nicaea, your most illustrious city, from the very sight of it alone, gives great pleasure to the rational mind—by the firm wall which encircles the grounds within, with its remarkable size and symmetry, by its situation, its battlements and towers and the height of both of them, the most magnificent and choice material of its structure, and the arrangement and skillful method of its construction—by all that is within and all outside; by all that is its own, and by its essential and adventitious qualities; by all the good things that flow in every day from the excellence of its site; and by you, honorable men, that is a part of your character. For it is then that a city is above other cities, and a queen above queens, and a ruler above rulers, a superior above superiors—appropriately distinguished in rank one over the other—when it excels them in the use of reason."⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁷ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 65–66.

⁵⁶⁸ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 67.

⁵⁶⁹ Foss, *Nicaea*, 155.

⁵⁷⁰ "Ἄνδρες ὦ Νικαεῖς, ἡ περιφανεστάτη πόλις ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ μόνης τῆς ὄψεως ἐμποιεῖ πολὺ τῇ λογικῇ ψυχῇ τὸ τερψίθυμον, ἕκ τε τῆς περὶ κύκλωσε τοῦ ἔνδον χώρου καλοτευχίας, ἕκ τε τοῦ ἀξιολόγου μεγέθους ταύτης καὶ ἰσορρόπου, ἕκ τε τῆς θέσεως, ἕκ τε τῶν θριγγωμάτων, τῶν πυργωμάτων, τοῦ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὑψώματος, τῆς περιφανεστάτης ὕλης καὶ ἐξαιρέτου τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ ἐντέχνου μεθόδου τῆς αὐτῆς σπαρτιάσεως ἕκ τε τῶν ἔνδοθεν καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν, τῶν ἰδίων, τῶν οὐσιωδῶν, τῶν ἐπουσιωδῶν, τῶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου καλοκάγαθίας συρρέοντων καθεκάστην πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὧς σεμνοὶ ἄνδρες, τὴν κοσμιότητα καὶ κατ' ἥθος λογικὴν παιδείαν ἀσυγκρίτων. Τότε καὶ γάρ ἐστι πόλις πόλεων, καὶ βασιλὶς βασιλίδων, καὶ ἄρχων ἀρχων ἀρχόντων, καὶ ὑπερέχων ὑπερεχομένων, καὶ καταλλήλως θάτερον θατέρου ἐξαίρετον τῇ τιμῇ ὅποταν ὑπερβαίνει τῇ λογικότητι." See, Foss, *Nicaea*, 132–133.

Theodore II Laskaris glorified the city walls that provided protection to the inhabitants during the exile by highlighting the defensive and educational characteristics of Nicaea.⁵⁷¹ Until 1204, the walls underwent many repairs and required much rebuilding because of earthquakes and attacks.⁵⁷² After 1204, main focus of Theodore I Laskaris and John III Vatatzes was again the protection of Nicaea, but these modifications to the city walls involved more than just fortifying the city walls, because they projected their imperial claims through the walls, and thus shaped the image of Nicaea as a new capital of the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁷³ Also, according to Clive Foss, the walls were significantly symbolized in the eyes of refugees as providing shelter upon entering Nicaea when they escaped from Constantinople. The walls of both cities reflected their civic identities and a sense of belonging to the city; hence the walls operated to provide memorial and visual associations with safety and identity.⁵⁷⁴ Thus, a careful examination of the city walls and accompanying inscriptions of Theodore I Laskaris will enable us to understand the Laskarids' imperial claims and identity.

Theodore I Laskaris repaired the city walls after his coronation in 1208 and embedded three inscriptions into the towers, of which two are lost today.⁵⁷⁵ John Covel (1638–1722), who was an English priest, scholar, and traveler, worked as a chaplain in Constantinople and he traveled around Asia Minor and kept a diary of his observations, such as of the architecture and inscriptions in Anatolia.⁵⁷⁶ He visited

⁵⁷¹ Helen Saradi, "The Monuments in the Late Byzantine Ekphraseis of Cities: Searching for Identities," *Byzantinoslavica* 69, no. 3, suppl. (2011): 185–189.

⁵⁷² Foss, *Nicaea*, 5.

⁵⁷³ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 70.

⁵⁷⁴ Foss, *Nicaea*, 82.

⁵⁷⁵ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 72. Clive Foss and David Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction*, (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1986), 85–86, 95–96.

⁵⁷⁶ E. Leedham-Green, "Covel (Colvill), John (1638–1722), college head," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 Sep. 2004); Accessed 14 Jun. 2025.

Nicaea between 1669 and 1677 and he recorded these inscriptions in his journal.⁵⁷⁷ According to the city plan of Nicaea that was published by Foss (*fig. 6*), the location of the first inscription was on the northeastern part of the wall, between two towers and two gates, namely Tower #48 and the Tower #64, and the Lefke and Istanbul Gates; that part of the walls was considerably repaired by Theodore I.⁵⁷⁸ The inscription reads: “The citadel of Nicaea, having been utterly destroyed, was renewed by the Emperor Lord Theodore Komnenos Laskaris in the year of the world, 1208.”⁵⁷⁹ The second inscription of Theodore I was situated on Tower #19, which was in the southeastern corner of the city walls.⁵⁸⁰ This inscription reads: “The tower of Theodore Komnenos Laskaris, Emperor of the Romans, in Christ.”⁵⁸¹ As can be seen, these two inscriptions imply Theodore I’s patronage by illustrating him as the sponsor of the towers and rebuilder of the city walls. The only surviving inscription is the third one, which has a unique characteristic. It appeared on Tower #106 (*fig. 7*), and the inscription (*fig. 8*) reads: “This Tower of Babel was made and indeed the enemy is confused. Theodore Laskaris made the wonder (ἔργον?) ...”⁵⁸² This inscription illustrates Theodore I as the sponsor of the tower, but by calling it a Tower of Babel (Πύργος Χαλάνης), making reference to the Old Testament, it called to mind the exile of the

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6471>.

⁵⁷⁷ J. Raby, “A Seventeenth-Century Description of Iznik-Nicaea,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 26 (1976): 149–188.

⁵⁷⁸ Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 110–111.

⁵⁷⁹ “ἀνεκαινείωσθη διόλυτο[ν] κάστρον Νικαίας ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλ[ε]ίας τοῦ κονμηνοῦ ασκάρη ἔτει ςψις (6716) κ[όσμου] κύρου θεοδώρου τοῦ λ...,” Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 73.

⁵⁸⁰ Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 85–86; See *fig. 5* in this thesis.

⁵⁸¹ “πύργος θεοδώρου ἐν χ[ριστ]ῷ αὐτοκράτορ(ος) Ῥωμαίων Κομ[ν]ηνοῦ τοῦ Λασκάρη;” Raby, “A Seventeenth-Century Description,” 152, 157. See, Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 74–75.

⁵⁸² Foss, *Nicaea*, 94; Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 75.

“ΠΥΡΓΟ[Σ] ΧΑΛΑ ΝΗΣ [οὗτος ἐπι-
 ΒΟΥΛΑΣ ΔΕ ΣΥ ΓΧΕΙ Π[ολεμί
 ΟΝ[.] ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ ΙΤΗ[ς ἐποιήσε]
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΑΥΜ[α]”

Translation made by Naomi Ruth Pitamber.

Jews from Jerusalem to Babylon and the exile of refugees from Constantinople to Nicaea, as we have seen in Niketas Choniates' frequent references to it.⁵⁸³

John III Vatatzes, for his part, undertook a comprehensive construction project for the city walls of Nicaea.⁵⁸⁴ By using Theodore II's *encomia*, Foss showed that Theodore's narrative mentioned his father John III's initiations about the city walls.⁵⁸⁵ Theodore said: "... before through the great deeds of the sublime Emperor (John III Vatatzes), it doubles its security, walled in with projecting towers and dressing its walls with battlements, adorned with beauty, and firmly fixed with stability"⁵⁸⁶

John III Vatatzes added an outer ring to the city walls and strengthened the city's defense, and the double-wall design he used at Nicaea symbolically reflected the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople.⁵⁸⁷ The patronage of John III Vatatzes, via adding an outer ring to the city walls of Nicaea, can be interpreted as asserting Laskarids' imperial claims and legitimizing their efforts to create an imperial capital by likening the Nicaean walls to the walls of Constantinople. In addition, during the reign of John III Vatatzes, reused materials, *spolia*, were embedded to strengthen the city gates.⁵⁸⁸ This use of *spolia* had a pragmatic as well as an ideological aspect: for example, these *spolia* are mostly found especially on the Istanbul Gate and the Lefke Gate.⁵⁸⁹ One should also mention the urban layout of Nicaea. The configuration of modern Iznik adheres to that of ancient Nicaea. It featured two principal streets (*cardo* and

⁵⁸³ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 76–77.

⁵⁸⁴ Foss, *Nicaea*, 94.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 144–145.

⁵⁸⁶ "...ταῖς ἀριστουργίαις τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ βασιλέως τὴν γε, ὡς εἶκος, ἐπίτασιν τῶν ὧν εἶχε δεξαμένη περιτειχισμάτων καὶ πυργωμάτων, διπλασιάζει τὸ ἀσφαλές, περιτειχιζομένη τοῖς προπυργώμασιν, καὶ ἐπενδυομένη τοῖς θριγγίοις θριγγώματα, τῇ τε ὠπραιότητι καλλωπιζομένη καὶ στηριζομένη τῇ ἐδραιότητι..." See Foss, *Nicaea*, 144–145; Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 84.

⁵⁸⁷ Foss, *Nicaea*, 83, 94–95.

⁵⁸⁸ Livia Bevilacqua, "Spolia on City Gates in the Thirteenth Century: Byzantium and Italy," in *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*, ed. Ivana Jevtic and Suzan Yalman (Istanbul: ANAMED, 2018), 179.

⁵⁸⁹ Bevilacqua, "Spolia on City Gates," 180–181.

decamanus) intersecting at right angles in the city center, and these streets link the four gates of the city walls: the Istanbul Gate, Lefke Gate, Yenişehir Gate, and Lake Gate. (fig. 6)⁵⁹⁰ While the Istanbul Gate faced Constantinople towards the Latins, the Lefke Gate faced the Rum Seljuqs, in central Anatolia; therefore, the extensive Roman-era decorative *spolia* used especially on these gates can be linked to the identity that the city and the Laskarids wanted to establish through their Greek and Roman heritage and their symbolic triumphalism against the border states.⁵⁹¹ The extensive use of ancient *spolia* made reference to the past glory of the city and ancient rhetoric that was used by encomiasts like Theodore II Laskaris and Theodore Metochites.⁵⁹² In this context, these encomiasts highlighted the beauty of churches and fortifications with extensive *spolia*, and this became a feature of the transformation of urban fabric in the late period.⁵⁹³ On the other hand, the Rum Seljuqs in Konya also symbolically used ancient sarcophagi as *spolia* for the same purposes on the city walls of their capital, Konya, and on the gate they called the Constantinople Gate, located in the north and facing the border of the Nicaean Empire.⁵⁹⁴

After the reconquest of Constantinople, the legacy of Nicaea continued. For example, Theodore Metochites gave his encomium on Nicaea, the “Nicene Oration,” in the presence of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1259–1322) in 1290.⁵⁹⁵ Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), who was a patron of Chora Monastery in Constantinople, was a well-known intellectual and patron during the reign of Emperor Andronikos II

⁵⁹⁰ Peschlow, “Nicaea,” 204–206.

⁵⁹¹ Bevilacqua, “Spolia on City Gates,” 188–189.

⁵⁹² Livia Bevilacqua, “Antiquity Revived in Byzantine Nicaea: The City Walls and Their Figural Decoration in the Thirteenth Century,” in *İznik/Nicaea on Its Way to Become UNESCO World Heritage Site*, (Istanbul: 2020), 565; Saradi, “Byzantine urban imagination,” 274.

⁵⁹³ Saradi, “The Kallos of the Byzantine City,” 47.

⁵⁹⁴ Scott Redford, “The Sarcophagus as Spolium: Examples from Thirteenth-Century Konya,” In *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*, ed. Ivana Jevtic and Suzan Yalman (Istanbul: ANAMED, 2018), 205–208.

⁵⁹⁵ Foss, *Nicaea*, 128.

Palaiologos. He praised the city of his childhood and emphasized the impregnable nature of its walls for their aesthetic appearance and their practicality while conveying that the walls afforded aesthetic comfort to its inhabitants, and they played a role as a strong barrier and menace to external foes.⁵⁹⁶ Commenting on the outer ring of walls, he stated that this Laskarid addition to the walls had been completely integrated into the city's urban identity.⁵⁹⁷ Hence, the enhancement of the city walls made by Theodore I Laskaris and John III Vatatzes created links with the memory of Constantinople both symbolically and practically, which showed the efforts at creation of an identity and the imperial claim of the Laskarids to regain Constantinople.⁵⁹⁸

On the other hand, in the eyes of exiled refugees, Nicaea became an artifact of collective memory, and this collective memory also existed in the monuments of Nicaea like its churches.⁵⁹⁹ The legitimacy of Constantinople depended on the assertion of being home to the Orthodox patriarch and his cathedral. With the appointment of Michael Autorianos as the Orthodox patriarch at Nicaea in 1208, the empire in exile was established.⁶⁰⁰ In this respect, the Church of Hagia Sophia at Nicaea (*fig. 9*) played an important role and replaced the Hagia Sophia cathedral in Constantinople and served as the essential tool for the exiled inhabitants to recreate the image of the lost landscape.⁶⁰¹ The church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea was constructed on a previous Roman public area and became the episcopal seat of the city in the fifth century. It hosted the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, and with its location at the main juncture of two Roman roads in the city, the church continued its

⁵⁹⁶ For English Translation of Nicene Oration by Metochites, see Foss, *Nicaea*, 164–195; Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 92.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁸ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 92, 97.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶⁰⁰ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, vii.

⁶⁰¹ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 98.

importance as a metropolitan church and undertook some repairs during the Middle Byzantine era.⁶⁰² This continuing importance highlighted the position of the Church of Hagia Sophia as an ecclesiastical and political center during the Laskarid period in the thirteenth century.⁶⁰³

The Hagia Sophia in Nicaea underwent some changes during the Laskarid period, and Christina Pinatsi has asserted that these changes to the Hagia Sophia indicated its cathedral function as the patriarchal church of the Empire of Nicaea and validated the patronage of the Laskarid court.⁶⁰⁴ She dated the pavement of the church to the early thirteenth century by showing ceremonial coronation pavement or *omphalion* (fig. 10) for the Laskarids.⁶⁰⁵ This thirteenth century pavement in the church contained various decorative elements, particularly the *fleur-de-lis design*, which was linked with the Laskarids in Nicaea because it alluded to their reverence for St. Tryphon, a Nicaean martyr connected to the miraculous flowering of a lily.⁶⁰⁶ St. Tryphon became prominent as a patron saint of Nicaea during the Laskarid period, and Theodore II Laskaris closely associated himself with St. Tryphon. He rebuilt the Church of St. Tryphon in Nicaea and he established his school of education in the Church of St. Tryphon.⁶⁰⁷ The church had a cross-in-square plan that was characterized by four central columns supporting a dome, three apses and a narthex.⁶⁰⁸ The church was a Laskarid reconstruction, as seen in its masonry of rubble and brick bands and in

⁶⁰² Ibid., 99, 106. For Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine Hagia Sophia in Nicaea, see Urs Peschlow, "The Churches of Nicaea / İznik," In *İznik Throughout History*, ed. Işık Aybaklıgil, Halil İnalçık, and Oktay Aslanapa (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2003), 202–203, 206–207.

⁶⁰³ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 106.

⁶⁰⁴ Christina Pinatsi, "New Observations on the Pavement of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99, no. 1 (2006): 119–126.

⁶⁰⁵ Pinatsi, "New Observations," 119–126

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 121; Foss, *Nicaea*, 104–108.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 104–108.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 107.

its ornamentation, which aligned with the Laskarid aesthetic.⁶⁰⁹ The church's location was determined to be in the northern part of the city, near the Istanbul Gate.⁶¹⁰ On the other hand, the lily symbol connected with the patron saint of the city indicated the Laskarid imperial identity in Nicaea and even the Laskarids emperor used lily and St. Tryphon in their coins that I will explain in the following section. There was a scholarly discussion about establishing the Church of Hagia Sophia as a patriarchal church. Firstly, one should mention the Church of the Virgin in the Monastery of Hyacinth, known as the Church of Dormition in the modern times. The church's design had a central cruciform nave, topped by a dome supported by four main piers, and the nave and the sanctuary were a single area separated by a *templon* adorned with marble, featuring crosses.⁶¹¹ The church may be dated to the late seventh century due to its plan, but it was rebuilt during the early thirteenth century. Foss argues that it was the patriarchal church and coronation church because it had more galleries and dressing rooms than Hagia Sophia.⁶¹² On the other hand, based on a redating of the *omphalion* in the Church of Hagia Sophia, Pinatsi affirmed that the Hagia Sophia was the true patriarchal church, and Angold came to the same conclusion, putting forward Hagia Sophia's size and location.⁶¹³ In sum, although the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople was lost, the inhabitants of Nicaea and Laskarids sustained its memory with its namesake in Nicaea.⁶¹⁴

Furthermore, one should mention the Laskarids' coins and seals, showing their Nicaean identity. Laskarids' coins and seals displayed their imperial image and

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 108.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 98–99

⁶¹² Ibid., 99–101, 111.

⁶¹³ Pinatsi, "New Observations," 123; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*; Angold, "The City Nicaea ca. 1000–1400," 36.

⁶¹⁴ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 137; Pitamber, "Loss, Memory, and Exile," 70–71.

identity.⁶¹⁵ First of all, the icon of Christ Chalkites previously represented a depiction of Christ positioned over the Chalke Gate, which was the bronze entryway to the Great Palace in Constantinople, and the icon symbolically served as an important imperial image to invoke divine protection.⁶¹⁶ This notable mosaic, located in the narthex of the Chora Church, depicted the grand picture of Christ accompanied by the Virgin Hagiosoritissa in full length and positioned on a pedestal.⁶¹⁷ Below these images, there are two donor figures that belong to Isaac Komnenos and Maria Palaiologina. There is also an inscription⁶¹⁸ that indicates the picture of Christ Chalkites. After 1204, John III Doukas Vatatzes recontextualized this icon in his seals and transformed its importance as an imperial symbol that represented his imperial claim in exile.⁶¹⁹ A seal (*fig. 11*) depicts John III Doukas Vatatzes crowned and adorned in a typical Byzantine imperial robe, holding the labarum and a globus on the obverse. The reverse has a full-length depiction of Christ with his right hand raised up for blessing and his left hand holding the Gospel Codex. The inscription contains the *nomina sacra*: “IC XC,” and the epithet reads: “O XAAKITHC.”⁶²⁰ In this seal, the Christ was depicted as a full-length figure, despite the prevalent depiction of him as a bust, and the epithet gives a clue as to identification of the Christ Chalkites.⁶²¹ Later, Theodore Metochites, considering his connection with Nicaea, revitalized this iconography in the adornment of the Chora Church in Constantinople (*fig. 12*) and he increased its ideological importance.⁶²² Also, John III Doukas Vatatzes used the symbol of Christ Chalkites to

⁶¹⁵ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 188.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 190–191.

⁶¹⁷ Paul A. Underwood, “The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Camii at Istanbul,” in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 254–260; Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 190.

⁶¹⁸ “O XAAKITEΣ” Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 190.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 191–192.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 191.

underline his dynastic relation with the Doukas Dynasty, because the last empress who inhabited in Constantinople, Euphrosyne Doukaina, was his wife's grandmother and she used this icon in her seals. Hence John III Vatatzes strengthened his imperial image by showing his connections with the Doukas dynasty on his seal.⁶²³ A similar custom can be seen in the Empire of Trebizond. The Grand Komnenoi emphasized their heritage to advertise their power.⁶²⁴ Lastly, as mentioned above, Laskarid coins contained the symbol of a lily to link themselves to the patron saint of St. Tryphon of Nicaea. Nicaea was already a significant Orthodox pilgrimage destination because of its connection with the First and Seventh Ecumenical Councils, and Nicaea acquired greater spiritual importance with St. Tryphon, who was represented by a blooming lily.⁶²⁵ For example, Theodore II Laskaris consolidated his imperial claim and Nicaean identity with St. Tryphon, and he used the iconography of St. Tryphon with a flourishing lily on his coins.⁶²⁶ (*fig. 13*) On the other hand, as mentioned in the first chapter, John III Vatatzes revived the economic life of the Empire of Nicaea with various fiscal reforms while imposing a stringent ban on foreign goods.⁶²⁷ This showed the Laskarids', particularly John III's, efforts of creating a national identity.⁶²⁸ Consequently, the urban transformation of Nicaea in the thirteenth century into an imperial capital in exile was realized via its city walls, holy spaces like churches, and symbolic material objects that were indicators of new urban and political identity, which flared up with the imperial claims of the Laskarids. The following part will

⁶²³ Ibid., 196–197.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ For Medieval pilgrims visited Nicaea, see Cyril Mango, "The Meeting-Place of the First Ecumenical Council and the Church of the Holy Fathers," in *İznik Throughout History*, ed. Işık Akbaygil, Halil İnalcık, and Oktay Aslanapa, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2003), 305–313; Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 202.

⁶²⁶ Foss, *Nicaea*, 105; Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 202.

⁶²⁷ Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*.

⁶²⁸ Mitsou, "Ideology and Economy in the Politics of John III Vatatzes," 200–205.

examine the case of Trebizond, another capital of a successor state, in order to analyze similar claims.

1.2. Trebizond: A City of the Grand Komnenoi

The origin story of Trebizond goes back to 765 BCE, when Greek colonists from Miletus founded the city as a commercial point on the Black Sea coast, calling it Τραπεζοῦς (Trapezous). The city gained a position in Greek historical memory due to Xenophon's narrative of the Ten Thousand arriving by sea in 401 BCE, which was an event that gained significance thanks to their shouts of "Θάλαττα! Θάλαττα!", which means "Sea! Sea!"⁶²⁹ Later, Trebizond joined the Roman lands in the first century BCE. During the Roman era, the Romans let the city of Trebizond engage in commerce autonomously, but in the third century CE, the city was destroyed by the Goths, and later under Justinian's rule, Trebizond emerged as a city in the eparchy of the Black Sea. By the sixth and seventh centuries, the region experienced revitalization due to conflicts with the Persians and Arabs, since Trebizond served as a supply for the Byzantine army. Also, the Arab conquest in Anatolia prompted migration to Trebizond, enhancing growth in both population and trade. From the ninth century onwards, the city first attained capital status by serving as the capital of the Chaldia Theme.⁶³⁰ This theme was founded in 824, and Trebizond became the center of the theme along with other significant cities and ports like Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar), Armeniakon (Canik, Samsun), and Herakleia (Karadeniz Ereğlisi). Also, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the theme functioned as a semi-autonomous administrative

⁶²⁹ Xenophon, *The Persian Expedition*, trans. R. Warner (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949), 4.7.24; Eastmond, "Introduction: The Lure of Trebizond," 11.

⁶³⁰ Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, *Trabzon İmparatorluğunun Tarihi*, trans. Ahmet Cevat Eren, ed. İbrahim Tellioğlu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011), 13–15.

entity because the dukes (*archontes*) often behaved as if they were autonomous from the Byzantine Empire. The Gabras or Gabrades family stood at the center of this issue and ruled the region as a semi-autonomous dukedom from 1060 to 1140.⁶³¹ For example, Theodore Gabras, who was a prominent member of this family, was the first duke of the Chaldia. After he took Trebizond back from the Turks in 1075, Alexios I Komnenos appointed him as the duke of Chaldia in 1081 to eliminate him in Constantinople.⁶³² Until his death in 1098, he acted as a separated duke in the empire and expanded his land. After he was slain in Theodosiopolis (Erzurum), he came to be regarded as a hero and was accepted as a martyr in the twelfth century, then as Saint Theodore of Trebizond in the fourteenth century.⁶³³ After 1204, the city emerged as a capital of the successor state that was the Empire of Trebizond under the Grand Komnenoi. It became known as the Empire of “All Anatolia, of the Iberians and of the Lands Beyond.”⁶³⁴ The arrival of the Grand Komnenoi in Chaldia in 1204 could be perceived as a continuation of a dynastic separatism that began with the Gabrades family.⁶³⁵ The arrival of Komnenos brothers, Alexios and David, coincided with the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and this led Alexios to establish his authority in Trebizond. By 1212, he assumed the title “Megas” or “Grand” to affirm his descent from Andronikos I Komnenos; hence, like John III Vatatzes’ efforts to legitimize himself by affiliation into the Doukas dynastic heritage, the Grand Komnenoi claimed descent from the Komnenos heritage.⁶³⁶ However, this title was traditional among the rulers of the period in the Anatolian region; for example, the Danishmends gave

⁶³¹ Anthony Bryer, “A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c. 979 – c. 1653,” in *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, ed. Anthony A.M. Bryer, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), 166–167.

⁶³² Bryer, “The Gabrades,” 175.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), 2–12, 178.

⁶³⁵ Bryer, “The Gabrades,” 170.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., 19; Ruth Macrides, “What’s in the name ‘Megas Komnenos’?,” *Archeion Pontou* 35 (1978–79), 238–245.

themselves the titles of “Grand Master and Sultan of Cappadocia,” the Sultan of Konya, as well as the “Grand Sultan,” and even later, the Byzantine emperors of the Palaiologos dynasty gave themselves the title of “Mega-Basileios Romaion.”⁶³⁷ As mentioned in Chapter I, while Alexios I Grand Komnenos stayed in Trebizond, he sent his brother David Grand Komnenos to Paphlagonia in 1208, but David was defeated by Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea and banished him to Vatopedi Monastery.⁶³⁸ Meanwhile, in 1204, Alexios I Grand Komnenos was defeated by the Seljuqs and lost the Black Sea harbor city of Sinope.⁶³⁹ Although these defeats caused the Grand Komnenoi to move further away from Constantinople, the period after 1204 allowed them to attempt the first steps in establishing Trebizond as an “imperial” capital and becoming a sort of new Constantinople. These steps were first taken by Alexios I Grand Komnenos (1204–1222) when he rebuilt the city’s main cathedral, the Panagia Chrysokephalos, as a coronation church.⁶⁴⁰ After Alexios, his son-in-law, Andronikos I Gidon (1222–1235) extended the imperial palace and Manuel I Grand Komnenos (1238–1263), Alexios’ grandson, built the church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond. This building campaign in Trebizond in the thirteenth century constituted the creation of an imperial identity of the Grand Komnenoi.⁶⁴¹ They maintained their imperial claim until John II Grand Komnenos (r. 1280–1285) accepted the title of Despot by signing a treaty with Michael VIII Palaiologos; in return, John II married Michael VIII’s daughter.⁶⁴²

⁶³⁷ Fallmerayer, *Trabzon İmparatorluğunun Tarihi*, 79.

⁶³⁸ Antony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium. Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 19.

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 19–20.

⁶⁴² Ibid., 4.

Trebizond is located in the northeastern part of Anatolia and situated between the coast of Black Sea and the Pontic Mountains.⁶⁴³ After 1204, Trebizond's isolated location from Constantinople posed a geographical disadvantage for the Grand Komnenoi.⁶⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the era of the Empire of Trebizond was characterized by significant building and trading activity.⁶⁴⁵ For example, travelers and ambassadors visiting Trebizond from the West revealed this building activity and gave descriptions of Trebizond from Western perspectives during the reign of the Grand Komnenoi.⁶⁴⁶ Trebizond's status as a vital commercial center on the Silk Road ensured its importance in the Western medieval consciousness.⁶⁴⁷ For instance, in the late thirteenth century, the Venetian merchant Marco Polo visited Trebizond while returning from China alleged that the local ruler, presumably Emperor John II Grand Komnenos (1262–1297) extracted a substantial amount of money from his family's trading enterprise.⁶⁴⁸ Later on, in the early fourteenth century, the Florentine banker Francesco Pegolotti presented a pragmatic viewpoint in his book, known as *The Art of Trade*. He emphasized Trebizond's economic connectivity with Eastern markets and he noted that the city used regular weights and measures like in Tabriz, which demonstrated a robust trade connection, and this was proved by the discovery of Trapezuntine coins in Iran.⁶⁴⁹ Moreover, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Spanish ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo visited Trebizond in 1404 and gave this description:⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 182,

⁶⁴⁶ Eastmond, "Introduction: The Lure of Trebizond," 22–25.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 22.

⁶⁴⁸ Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, ed. Der. A.C. Mule and P. Elliot (Londra: G. Routledge & Sons: 1938), vol.1, 29.

⁶⁴⁹ Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Der. A. Evans (Cambridge: MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936), 29. "Il peso e la misura di Torisi è tutt'uno con quello di Trabisona,"

⁶⁵⁰ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 11, 179.

“The city of Trebizond lies beside the sea, and its encircling wall climbs over the hill slopes at the back of the town. Here, a strong castle on a height that is surrounded by its own wall. On the one side of the city flows a small river whose waters pass down through a deep gorge, and this makes Trebizond to be very strongly protected in that quarter. On the other quarter there is a level plain, but the city wall here is strong. All round lie the suburbs, with many fine orchards. Here a fine street runs along beside the sea beach, traversing one of the suburbs and this is a sight to see, for in its shops all the goods brought to the city are on sale. Close to the sea stand two castles, girt by strong walls and towers, one belongs to the Venetians the other to the Genoese, by each of whom respectively their castle was built with the consent of the Emperor. Outside the city are to be seen many churches and monasteries.”⁶⁵¹

González’s account gave a vivid description of the intense building activity in the city, and the walls, suburbs, monasteries and churches come to the forefront in this description. The urban layout of Trebizond was influenced by its natural topography, culminating in three structures. Trebizond had three interconnected but different walled enclosures like the Lower City, the Middle City, and the Citadel, and the last of its defenses was completed in 1324.⁶⁵² The nucleus of the city was positioned on an extended and narrow rock ridge between two steep ravines, Boz Boğazi in the west and Kuzgun Dere in the east, which led to the Black Sea and formed an imperial port.⁶⁵³ Each enclosure, ascending from the water beneath, was progressively smaller and more elevated than the preceding one. The Lower City was located at sea level. The smaller Middle City was situated on the southeast corner, positioned 20 meters above. Lastly, the Citadel at the top of the city was located 950 meters inland and 50 meters above sea level.⁶⁵⁴ The Lower City extended over the western valley and comprised wooden houses that were vulnerable to damage and destruction by fire. During the unsuccessful attacks on Trebizond in 1223 by Mugith al-Din Tughrilshah,

⁶⁵¹ Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embassy To Tamerlane*, 1403–1406, trans. Guy Le Strange (London: G.Routledge, 1928), 112–113. Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 179.

⁶⁵² Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 179, 182.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 182

known as the Melik, meaning *ruler*, the Lower City remained unfortified, indicating that the classic Byzantine city comprised only the Middle City and the Citadel.⁶⁵⁵ Therefore, the Lower City along with the western ravine was fortified by Alexios II Grand Komnenos (r. 1297-1330).⁶⁵⁶ The Middle City was featured prominently in the large Church of the Chrysokephalos and monastery. During the attack of Melik, the Middle City served as a place of refuge.⁶⁵⁷ The walled Citadel at the summit that included the palace of the Grand Komnenoi was an extensive complex. The Citadel and palace were described as a “jumble” of buildings including rooms for audiences and banquets, residential quarters, administrative offices, and chapels. For example, the Epiphanei, an open square, can be seen as a focal point for court ceremonies and public appearances of the emperors.⁶⁵⁸ The west of present-day Trabzon’s Meydan Park was characterized by three parallel streets in the east-west direction, and the location of Trebizond and the main road, known as “imperial way,” was the *cardo* of antiquity.⁶⁵⁹ Moreover, the main public space of the city, known today as the Meydan, played a role in functioning as *agora*, and the residential areas were positioned between the Lower and Middle City, although the suburbs were developed.⁶⁶⁰ The suburbs extended beyond Trebizond’s city walls. The eastern suburb, connecting with the Daphnous port, was constructed and functioned as the primary commercial and industrial area. This region featured Italian neighborhoods, including the Genoese quarter, known as Leontokastron and Venetian complexes such as marketplaces, warehouses, and religious establishments.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 183.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., 182.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 179.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., 180, 198; Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 48.

⁶⁶⁰ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 179.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

However, on this point, after this vivid early fifteenth-century account of Clavijo, one should ask, how did Trebizond attain such a shape and prominence under the Grand Komnenoi? To address this, this section will evaluate thirteenth-century – Trebizond when the Grand Komnenoi endeavored to legitimate their authority and imperial claim. I examine how they, especially Manuel I Grand Komnenos, ruled between 1238 and 1263, employed architecture, visual culture, and material objects to project imperial identity in the thirteenth century via monuments such as Hagia Sophia, Panagia Chrysokephalos, and the Church of St. Eugenios alongside material and visual artifacts. These monuments played roles as both ceremonial and administrative hubs, and they allowed the emperors ideologically to assert and define themselves as an imperial power, both against their local subjects and against foreigners like Nicaea and the Rum Seljuqs.⁶⁶²

The Panagia Chrysokephalos, located in the center of Trebizond’s Middle City, functioned as a cathedral and ceremonial church of the Grand Komnenian dynasty. By the early thirteenth century, the Chrysokephalos gained political importance as the principal coronation and funeral church for the dynasty. The architectural design changed to address specific requirements after 1204. For example, the church was initially built as a basilica with three domes, galleries above the aisles and narthex, and a single apse, but it needed some additional elements to function as a coronation church, such as a *metatorion* in the northeast chamber, *katechoumena*, and an *ambo*.⁶⁶³ The construction was further developed by decorative embellishments and inscriptions. One example is a marble block inscribed with “ALEXIOS KOMNENOS”⁶⁶⁴ It was adorned with a relief of a bull’s head and it can be interpreted

⁶⁶² Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 12.

⁶⁶³ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 238, 240–241.

⁶⁶⁴ “ΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ”

as a link to Alexios I Grand Komnenos, indicating reconstruction in the early thirteenth century.⁶⁶⁵ The decorations in the church also played a role in receiving imperial patronage from Andronikos Gidon, the second Grand Komnenos, between 1223 and 1235. The icon of the church, supposedly embellished with pearls and stone but spoiled after 1223's victory against Melik, indicated that the emperor's patronage of the Chrysokephalos enabled it to serve as a shelter for refugees during Melik's attacks. Thus, the Chrysokephalos became the burial place of Andronikos Gidon after his death in 1235.⁶⁶⁶

In the eastern ravine of the city was another church, dedicated to the patron saint of the city, the Church of Saint Eugenios. The worship of St. Eugenios probably originated in the fifth century and strengthened through time. The earliest proof of his cult can be seen in Procopius. He documented that Emperor Justinian constructed an aqueduct in the name of St. Eugenios in the sixth century CE.⁶⁶⁷ Some sources such as Xiphilinos and Lazaropoulos indicated the existence of a monastery dedicated to the S. Eugenios by the late ninth century; however, we know that the cult of St. Eugenios became considerably institutionalized after the monastery received patronage from Basil II, who traveled to Trebizond in 1021 or 1022.⁶⁶⁸ In the aftermath of the Melik's attacks on Trebizond in 1222 and 1223, this church was renovated by Andronikos I Gidon because the Melik used this church as a base for his attacks but Andronikos prevented them, and he patronized the church to show his dedication to St. Eugenios.⁶⁶⁹ Although the church of St. Eugenios was built in basilic form, in 1291, it was transformed into a domed and triple-apsed building. This process of transformation

⁶⁶⁵ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 238.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 240.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 223; Bill Thayer, ed., "Procopius: Buildings," *LacusCurtius*, accessed June 5 2025, book III, vii, I., transcription by Henry B. Dewing's Loeb Classical Library edition (1940).

⁶⁶⁸ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 223.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 223–224; Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 52.

was supplemented by various inscriptions and images such as portraits of the Grand Komnenoi from Alexios I to Alexios III, which were later lost. These, however, displayed a link between the church and the Grand Komnenoi.⁶⁷⁰

The church of Hagia Sophia, which was built by Manuel I Grand Komnenos, was one of the most important churches in Trebizond that displayed the imperial claims and identity in exile.⁶⁷¹ It was located outside of the citadel, two kilometers west of it, but it stood in the center of the medieval city.⁶⁷² The Hagia Sophia and its relationship between other imperial buildings in Trebizond like the cathedral of Panagia Chrysokephalos, the church of St. Eugenios, the imperial palace, and commercial quarters demonstrated how the urban space of Trebizond was shaped according to the ceremonial power of the Grand Komnenoi.⁶⁷³ Ceremonials and processions played a significant role in the life of the cities in the Byzantine empire, because they provided visibility for rulers, to convey their powers to local subjects and foreign audiences.⁶⁷⁴ According to Lazaropoulos, ceremonies and processions, in connection with monuments such as churches and imperial palace, made up an essential part of urban life in thirteenth-century Trebizond. The Grand Komnenoi perceived this as a continuation of the twelfth-century imperial custom of their Komnenian ancestors.⁶⁷⁵ The position of Hagia Sophia and its prominence facilitated imperial ceremonies and processions on a larger scale in Trebizond, and Hagia Sophia

⁶⁷⁰ Bryer and Winfield, Pontos, 222.

⁶⁷¹ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 3.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁷⁴ For processions, see Leslie Brubaker, "Space, Place and Culture. Processions across the Mediterranean," In *Cross-Cultural Interaction between Byzantium and the West, 1204–1669. Whose Mediterranean Is It Anyway? Papers from the Forty-Eight Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Milton Keynes, 28th–30th March 2015, ed. A. Lymberopoulou (London; New York, 2018) 219–235; Michael McCormick, *Eternal victory. Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 47, 55.

⁶⁷⁵ Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis*, ed. and trans. J. O. Rosenquist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou*, 154, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*: 5 (Uppsala, 1996), 314.

with its ceremonial function allowed the Grand Komnenoi, particularly Manuel I, to display their Christian identity.⁶⁷⁶ Despite Hagia Sophia's remote location, it was built near the *tzykanisterion*, the imperial polo field. Eastmond asserted that this may be seen as resemblance to the Hippodrome of Constantinople, as a public place that served as a location for processions.⁶⁷⁷

As previously mentioned, during the reign of Alexios I Grand Komnenos, the Panagia Chrysokephalos was rebuilt as a cathedral and coronation church, with a unique and antique architectural style to accommodate the liturgical and ceremonial requirements of the exiled Grand Komnenoi.⁶⁷⁸ The additions to the church, such as a *metatorion* as imperial vestments, galleries for the emperor, and an *ambo* for coronation, transformed the church into one of coronation, which created the seat of ecclesiastical Orthodox authority in the city.⁶⁷⁹ As also previously mentioned, the Church of St. Eugenios was rebuilt by Andronikos Gidon after Melik's assaults. Therefore, although there were existing churches in the city, Manuel I Grand Komnenos wanted to split their functions, both in the urban fabric and in the constructed Hagia Sophia, into those of an imperial burial place for Grand Komnenoi and a ceremonial place due to its location. Eastmond concludes that the "Hagia Sophia transformed the ritual geography of the city."⁶⁸⁰ Therefore, Manuel attested the churches in the city distinguish specific functions, respectively coronation, cult, and burial.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁶ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 54–56.

⁶⁷⁷ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 201–202; Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 55.

⁶⁷⁸ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 48–49.

⁶⁷⁹ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 240–241; Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 48–49.

⁶⁸⁰ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 54.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid. Ufuk Serin, "The Byzantine 'City' in Asia Minor," in *Routledge Companion to the Byzantine City: from Justinian to Mehmed II (c. 500 – ca. 1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno (London; New York; Routledge, 2024), 158.

Furthermore, the architectural design and visual material of the Hagia Sophia contain an abundance of details that reflect the imperial identity of the Grand Komnenoi. Firstly, some columns of the Hagia Sophia took on prominence because they were made of Proconnesian marble (*fig. 14*) and were distinguished by their exceptional quality. Therefore, they were presumably brought from Constantinople because their styles had similarities with column capitals in St. Polyeuktos and Topkapı Palace; hence all of these were considered to be *spolia* brought from Constantinople.⁶⁸² The use of *spolia* had significant ideological connotations that represented the Grand Komnenoi's affiliation with an imperial claim over the lost landscape, and these columns can be interpreted as an attempt to replicate Constantinople's impact on Trebizond.⁶⁸³ In addition, there are sculptural reliefs on the exterior of the Hagia Sophia. Among these, one should mention two of them on the south porch wall: a majestic eagle (*fig. 15*) and the Genesis frieze. (*fig. 16*). A majestic eagle with a halo and outstretched wings was engraved into the key stone of the porch, representing the heraldic symbol of the Grand Komnenos.⁶⁸⁴ A similar practice was that of using eagles as symbols similar to examples of double-headed eagles in Seljuq Rum, as on the entrance to the citadel of Konya; and tiles from the palace at Kubadabad (*fig. 17*), around 1230, which are exhibited today at the Karatay Madrasa and Museum in Konya.⁶⁸⁵ The Genesis frieze narrates the tale of the Fall of Man in Genesis Chapter IV [sic],⁶⁸⁶ which demonstrates the expulsion of Adam and

⁶⁸² David Talbot Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, (Edinburgh University Press, 1968) 8–36.

⁶⁸³ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 44.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 61–62.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 147–148. See also, Suna Çağaptay, “On the Wings of the Double-Headed Eagle: Spolia in Re and Appropriation in Medieval Anatolia and Beyond,” in *Spolia Reincarnated: Second Life of Spaces, Materials, Objects in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Period*, ed. Ivana Jevtić and Suzan Yalman (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2018), 309–338.

⁶⁸⁶ Genesis 3:1–24 (The Fall of Man); cited as Genesis 4 [sic] in Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 64.

Eve, along with the Closed Gate of Eden and their lamentation.⁶⁸⁷ The Genesis frieze definitely displayed the political stance of the Grand Komnenos and established a link between Adam's exile with the Grand Komnenos' exile and their desire to return Constantinople as Niketas Choniates and Theodore II Laskaris used the theme of exile similarly.⁶⁸⁸

Manuel I Grand Komnenos also embedded his own image on the interior wall of Hagia Sophia to demonstrate his patronage on the church.⁶⁸⁹ Fortunately, the image (*fig. 18*) still existed in the nineteenth century, and was recorded and described by George Finlay with its associated inscription, which reads: "In Christ God, faithful emperor and autocrat of the Romans, donor of this holy monastery, Manuel Komnenos."⁶⁹⁰ Here, Manuel asserted the universal authority of his emperorship by saying "faithful emperor and autocrat of the Romans" that indicates his imperial claim. Also, he showed his Christian identity that plays a role in the creation of the self-identity of Trebizond as the center of Christian world.⁶⁹¹ Hence, it can be said that the imperial claim of Grand Komnenos against Laskarids and Palaiologos was maintained during the reign of Manuel until John II Grand Komnenos' treaty with Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1282. However, the robes he wears in the image were not in their correct imperial context due to the absence of the gem-encrusted *loros*, the crown with *prependulia*, and silk *sakkos*, excluding red boots.⁶⁹² Nevertheless, the depiction of

⁶⁸⁷ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 64. See also, Antony Eastmond, "Narratives of the Fall: Structure and Meaning in the Genesis Frieze at Hagia Sophia, Trebizond," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53, (1999): 219–236.

⁶⁸⁸ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 73. Eastmond, "Hagia Sophia at Trebizond," In *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond* ed. Antony Eastmond (İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2016), 95–97.

⁶⁸⁹ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 139.

⁶⁹⁰ "ΕΝ ΧΩ ΤΟ ΟΟ ΠΙCΤΟC ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΝ ΚΤΗΤΟΡ ΤΗC Α ΜΟΝΗC ΤΑΥΤΗ ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ Ο ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC / 'Εν ΧριCτῳ] τῷ Θεῳ πιστόc βαCιλεὺc κ[αὶ] αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων κτήτορ τῆc ἀργίας) μωνῆc ταύτη[ς] Μανουήλ ὁ Κομνηνός" Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 139–141. See George Finlay, *The Journals and Letters of George Finlay*, ed. J.M. Hussey 2 vols. (Camberley, Surrey, 1995)

⁶⁹¹ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 141.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 142.

Manuel on his silver coins was in correct form. He was depicted in Byzantine imperial robes on the obverse, with St. Eugenios, the patron saint of the city, on the reverse.⁶⁹³ Manuel was depicted as grasping a horn of anointment in his right hand, which represented his divine legitimacy by referencing the anointing of King David by the prophet of Samuel.⁶⁹⁴ In the fragmented post-1204 empire, coronation rituals were disrupted and developed by the successor states, which began to employ several strategies to establish their legitimacy. For example, in Nicaea, the emperors intentionally followed traditional Byzantine coronation ceremonies, and they innovatively used the chrism in the ritual, which showed the significance of the patriarch's hierarchical ability.⁶⁹⁵ On the other hand, the Latins in Constantinople modified the ceremony by relying on their western customs, due to the absence of the Orthodox patriarch, and they elected a new Latin patriarch. In the meantime, in Thessaloniki, in another successor state, the Despotate of Epirus, the anointment ceremony was performed using myrrh that exuded from the grave of St. Demetrios, a patron saint of Thessaloniki, whose remains heavenly strengthened the emperor's claim.⁶⁹⁶ As a result, similarly, the use of a horn allowed Manuel I Grand Komnenos to describe himself as spiritually powerful without obtaining patriarchal authority. Using David as leitmotiv gave him the chance to position himself as a legitimate emperor among the successor states, and this strengthened Trebizond's imperial claim.⁶⁹⁷ Allusions to David were also used by other Grand Komnenoi and even the Komnenos dynasty in the twelfth century. For example, Manuel I Komnenos made

⁶⁹³ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 143.

⁶⁹⁴ See Christopher Walter, "The Significance of Unction in Byzantine Iconography," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976): 61–66.

⁶⁹⁵ Donald M. Nicol, "Kaisersalbung. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2 (1976): 37–52.

⁶⁹⁶ Nicol, "The Unction of Emperors," 44–46.

⁶⁹⁷ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 145.

reference to the horn of David in his orations and David Grand Komnenos used David on his seals.⁶⁹⁸

Lastly, the Grand Komnenos palace at the Citadel of Trebizond was rebuilt after 1204, as mentioned earlier, and the palace played an important role in imperial ceremonies in the Empire of Trebizond. The palace symbolically alluded to Constantine the Great's establishment of Constantinople, and Bessarion in the fifteenth century extensively glorified Trebizond, via the palace of the Grand Komnenos, as the legitimate successor of Byzantium.⁶⁹⁹ He emphasized the freedom of his city, characterized as freedom from foreign rule.⁷⁰⁰ He also established the narrative of freedom between two dialectic contexts, between the civilized man of Hellenic origin and the barbarian; hence he established Trapezuntine civic identity based on the city's Hellenistic past and rejected Roman identity.⁷⁰¹ He clearly deviated from the thirteenth-century idea that Manuel I Grand Komnenos proposed, by displaying his identity in the form of his portrait in the Hagia Sophia. However, Bessarion glorified Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), the founder of Komnenos dynasty, by creating a link that showed the Grand Komnenoi as potent rulers, tracing their origin to Alexios I Grand Komnenos, the founder of the Empire of Trebizond. between Alexios I Grand Komnenos, the founder of the Empire of Trebizond.⁷⁰² In conclusion, Trebizond was transformed into a symbolic and ceremonial capital, strengthened by the imperial identity in exile, by the efforts of the Grand Komnenoi who preserved their Komnenian

⁶⁹⁸ Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 436, 447; Rustam Shukurov, "The Enigma of David Grand Komnenos," *Mésogeios* 12, (2001), 125–136.

⁶⁹⁹ Serin, "The Byzantine 'City' in Asia Minor," 158; Bessarion, "Βησσαρίωνος ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα," 145–204; See also, Frederick Lauritzen, "Bessarion's Political Philosophy: The Encomium to Trebizond," *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2 (2011): 189–195.

⁷⁰⁰ Akışık, "Praising a City," 11.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

⁷⁰² Akışık, "Praising a City," 14; Bessarion, "Βησσαρίωνος ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα," 184.

past. This aspect exemplified their patronage of Trebizond via their monumental work and visual-material artefacts.

2. Laodicaea: A frontier city between the Byzantines and Rum Seljuqs

This section will examine how the city of Laodicaea, situated in the Maeander Valley, exemplified the changes that impacted border cities on the Byzantine-Turkish frontier of thirteenth-century Anatolia. Whereas the previous chapters explained this frontier in terms of their political, socio-economic and geographical contexts, this part will focus on these contexts by exploring Laodicaea's transformation from a Byzantine fortress-town into a Turkish frontier outpost. By examining its strategic location and changes to it, the role of elites such as Manuel Mavrozomes, and its eventual seizure by Seljuqs and nomadic Turkmens, Laodicaea allows us to understand that the frontier in thirteenth-century Anatolia was not only the space of cross-cultural encounter but also where identities and authorities underwent frequent alteration.

Laodicaea stood at a strategic crossroads that was situated between mountain ranges like the Baba and Eşeler Mountains to the south, and Çökelez and Beşparmak Mountains to the north and northeast, in the Lower Maeander River Valley.⁷⁰³ While the southern mountains provided some defense, the defense of the city was vulnerable from the east, where the vital caravan route linking central Anatolia to coastal cities like Ephesos was located. On this caravan route, Seljuq constructed a series of caravanserais between Laodicaea and Konya.⁷⁰⁴ The rich Maeander Valley was located to the west and the north of Laodicaea, and via the network of roads and river

⁷⁰³ Celal Şimşek, *Laodikeia (Laodicea ad Lycum)* (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 35–38.

⁷⁰⁴ Şimşek, *Laodikeia*, 37; Thonemann, *The Maender Valley*, 204, 239–241; *Anadolu Selçuklu dönemi kervansarayları*, ed. Hakkı Acun, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007), 161–173.

routes, Laodicaea was integrally connected to cities in the heartland of the Empire of Nicaea such as Philadelphia, and coastal cities like Ephesus.⁷⁰⁵ At the end of the twelfth century, the author of *Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris*, who recorded Frederick Barbarossa's passage through Anatolia on crusade, described the environs of Laodicaea: "Passing through a most fertile valley, filled with liquorice, cardamom, myrtle, figs, and other plants, we now entered the Turkish area and came to the plain of Laodicia ..."⁷⁰⁶ As can be seen in this description, Laodicaea was in a fertile environment, and this location provided Laodicaea with "a sense of independence."⁷⁰⁷ By the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, the significance of Laodicaea decreased due to the network of fortifications newly built by the empire, such as Philadelphia and Antioch-on-the-Maeander. Nevertheless, Laodicaea came to the fore in preventing a Turkish influx from Lycia and Phrygia.⁷⁰⁸

Celal Şimşek stated that ancient Laodicaea was in a deserted condition in the late eleventh century and its inhabitants established two possible settlements at Hisarköy and at Denizli Kaleiçi; hence, there were two possible Laodicaeas over the course of the twelfth century.⁷⁰⁹ The first one was probably built on the mountain slopes by John II who faced the Rum Seljuqs in 1119–60, only to be destroyed by Kılıç Arslan II. On the other hand, the other Laodicaea was presumably built after 1172.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁵ Şimşek, *Laodikeia*, 35–45.

⁷⁰⁶ "...transmeantes per vallem amoenissimam, liquaericia, cordonono, myrto, ficulneis et aliis speciebus opimam intrantes, etiam ibi distinctum locum Turco accessimus ad campos Laodiciae..." Ansbertus, *Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris*, ed. Josepho Dobrowsky, (Prague, 1827), 84; *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud, (London; New York: Routledge, 2016)

⁷⁰⁷ Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The Byzantine-Seljuq Border in Times of Trouble: Laodikeia in 1174–1204," in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century?"*, ed. Alicia Simpson (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2015), 52.

⁷⁰⁸ Korobeinikov, "Laodikeia," 53.

⁷⁰⁹ Şimşek, *Laodikeia*, 58–62; Korobeinikov, "Laodikeia," 57.

⁷¹⁰ Korobeinikov, "Laodikeia," 54–57.

When Frederick Barbarossa came to the region in 1190, Laodicea was described as a “civitas,” and: “this town is at the foot of a very high mountain, beyond which lies Ephesus ... This was the boundary of the land under Greek Rule.”⁷¹¹ Therefore, it is estimated that the new fortress built after 1172 was at Hisarköy, on the slope of the mountain where Barbarossa arrived.⁷¹²

However, by tracing the name of Laodicea in oriental sources, Korobeinikov concluded that Denizli Kaleiçi was the fortress of both Byzantine Laodiceas, erected after 1172, where Barbarossa arrived. Meanwhile, despite lacking archeological excavations, the fortress of Hisarköy was the one built by John II between 1119 and 1160.⁷¹³ Laodicea was known as “Ladik” or “Ladhiq” by the Turks, and this word comes from the word “Tunghuzlu”, meaning “domuzlu,” in Turkish (with wild boars), which is the origin of the modern name “Denizli;” that is, the place where wild boars live.⁷¹⁴ The difference between Ladik (Ladhiq) and “Tunghuzlu” or “Tonghuzlu” (Denizli) can be traced from the Seljuq sources. For example, Ibn Bibi used only the word “Ladik” without making a distinction between the Byzantine and Seljuk one, while Aqsarayi suggested that Byzantine Laodicea was the city captured by Kay Khusraw I in 1207 and later he proposed that the city was in the province of “Burghulu” or “Tughurlu”, in relation to the word “Tunghuzlu.”⁷¹⁵ Here, Aqsarayi may have {re-interpreted Turkic *tōñğūzlu*, meaning “with wild boars,” by association

⁷¹¹ “...quae scilicet civitas sita in pede altissimi montis, ultra quem Ephesus est. Finis hic fuit ditionis terrae Graecorum...” Ansbertus, *Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris*, ed. Joseph Dobrowsky, (Prague, 1827), 84; *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud, (London; New York: Routledge, 2016)

⁷¹² Thonemann, *Maender Valley*, 5 n. 13.

⁷¹³ Korobeinikov, “Laodikeia,” 59.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., 57.

⁷¹⁵ Ibn Bībī, *El-Evāmīrū 'l- 'Alā 'iyye fī 'l-umūri 'l- 'Alā 'iyye*, ed. Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956); Ibn Bibi, *El-Evāmīrū 'l- 'Alā 'iyye fī 'l-umūri 'l- 'Alā 'iyye (Selçukname)*, trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2023); Aksaraylı Mehmet oğlu Kerîmüddin Mahmud. (al-Aqsarāyī, Karīm al-Dīn), *Mūsāmeret ül-ahbār. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*, 32, 132; Korobeinikov, “Laodikeia,” 57–58.

with the Arabic word [al-]thughūr [الثغور], meaning “[the] border, gap, opening.” Perhaps because Arabic words usually have stems consisting in three consonants, with ambiguous vowels, [a]l-th-gh could then have been reanalyzed as “Ladhiq.”⁷¹⁶ The transition from ancient Laodicaea to Byzantine Laodicaea or Denizli can also be seen in Kaleiçi and Hisarköy fortresses. For example, Kaleiçi walls were constructed in part using *spolia* from ancient Laodicaea, which had distinctive triangular buttresses and travertine blocks. This may support the hypothesis that the former inhabitants of Laodicaea relocated and defended this new location. Hence, these fortifications that resemble Laodicaea’s masonry and urban planning demonstrate a connection to the city’s urban continuity.⁷¹⁷

As mentioned in Barbarossa’s account, Laodicaea was the last stronghold of the Byzantine frontier. Foss argued that Laodicaea emerged as a local frontier power between 1198 and 1203 and became the center of a new theme established by Alexios III, known as the theme of Laodicaea and the Maeander.⁷¹⁸ The *Partitio Romaniae* mentioned Laodicaea as the center of the theme of Maeander.⁷¹⁹ However, despite its growing importance, Laodicaea slowly came to drift away from the Byzantine realm.⁷²⁰ First of all, in the last quarter of the twelfth century, Laodicaea’s connection with Byzantine authority diminished due to the increase in aristocratic revolts, including that of the aforementioned Theodore Mangaphas in Philadelphia. Mangaphas was supported by the Seljuqs and sacked Laodicaea and its surroundings

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., 58; For identification of Laodicaea and Denizli, see Mark Whittow, *Social and Political Structures in the Maender Region of Western Asia Minor on the Eve of the Turkish Invasion*, (D.Phil. diss, University of Oxford, 1987), Vol. I, 182–192; Vol. II, 246 n. 5.

⁷¹⁷ Celal Şimşek, “Laodikeia’dan Ladik’e Denizli,” *Uluslararası Denizli ve Çevresi Tarih ve Kültür Sempozyumu* (Denizli: Pamukkale Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Yayınları, 2007), 41–43.

⁷¹⁸ Clive Foss, “Laodicaea,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2:1777.

⁷¹⁹ Antonio Carile, “Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae,” *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965): 218, 245.

⁷²⁰ Korobeinikov, “Laodikeia,” 63.

in 1193 and 1194. Another local rebel, Michael Doukas Komnenos Angelos also sacked Laodicaea and its surroundings in 1200.⁷²¹ These left the Maeander Valley vulnerable to Turkish incursions.⁷²² The events of 1204 increased the isolation of Laodicaea. The city was in the hands of the Byzantines on 13 April 1204, then Seljuqs seized the city in the summer of 1204, but Theodore I Laskaris was able to recapture the city in 1205.⁷²³

During this period, while Laodicaea changed hands between the Seljuqs and the Byzantines, elite interaction significantly influenced the fate of Laodicaea, with one name coming to the fore in this period: Manuel Mavrozomes, who was the father-in-law of the sultan, Kay Khusraw I.⁷²⁴ As a result of the diplomacy between Theodore I Laskaris and Kay Khusraw, Laodicaea became the heart of Manuel's statelet between 1205 and 1207.⁷²⁵ The case of Mavrozomes illustrated how the border regions embraced charismatic leaders based on personal bonds of devotion and protection, as well as connections with other rulers in the regions.⁷²⁶ After being declared emperor at Nicaea, Theodore I Laskaris signed a truce with Mavrozomes and accepted Mavrozomes as a vassal in the frontier zone, because the Rum Seljuq Sultan Kay Khusraw I gave him the frontier cities of Choanae and Laodicaea.⁷²⁷ Niketas Choniates illustrated the case of Mavrozomes with David and Alexios (Grand) Komnenos by highlighting the factionalization and fragmentation of Byzantine Anatolia as a consequence of the tainted thoughts of these individuals resulting from their ambitions and familial obligations.⁷²⁸ Choniates stated that this situation in Byzantine Anatolia

⁷²¹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 220.

⁷²² Korobeinikov, "Laodikeia," 66.

⁷²³ Ibid., 67.

⁷²⁴ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 124, 137.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., 20.

⁷²⁶ Hopwood, "Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbors," 43.

⁷²⁷ Yıldız, "Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes," 58.

⁷²⁸ Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, 343.

had arisen from the Komnenian family-oriented rule, giving the example of Mavrozomes' case.⁷²⁹ The relationship between these individuals, such as Theodore Mangaphas in Philadelphia and Manuel Mavrozomes in the Maeander River valley, and the Rum Seljuqs constituted the frontier diplomacy of the Byzantium and their attitude towards the frontier regions.⁷³⁰ Finally, Laodicaea was conquered by the Rum Seljuqs in 1207.⁷³¹

After Laodicaea was captured by the Seljuqs in 1207, Tripolis gained much importance.⁷³² As a part of the fortification program of the Nicaean emperors, Tripolis was rebuilt by Theodore I Laskaris, although only one tower still survives today.⁷³³ According to Foss, the defense of the city was increased by John III Vatatzes, but it is difficult to identify the builder of the tower because there is no inscription.⁷³⁴ Nevertheless, the tower has an ornamental design, a cross in relief on *spolia*. Pitamber argued that the tower may have been adorned by Theodore I to replicate the crosses seen on the walls of Nicaea.⁷³⁵ Foss stated that the tower originates from the thirteenth century, judging by its building technique, and it is probable that Tripolis was repaired after the battle at Antioch-on-the-Maeander in 1211.⁷³⁶

Moreover, Arabic epigraphic evidence may be useful in determining an accurate date for when Laodicaea at Denizli-Kaleiçi was transferred to Seljuq control.⁷³⁷ There was an inscription dated 1230 credited to Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Kay-Qubad I in Denizli rather than in ancient Laodicaea or Hisarköy that was located in his

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 290.

⁷³⁰ Hopwood, "Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbors," 42.

⁷³¹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 220.

⁷³² Ibid., 218–219.

⁷³³ W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1890), 35.

⁷³⁴ Foss, "Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia," 299–302.

⁷³⁵ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 83.

⁷³⁶ Foss, "Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia," 301–302.

⁷³⁷ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 222 n. 38.

ribāṭ (hospice). There was also another inscription attributed to him in 1236, located 8 km west of Denizli. Additionally, the Sultan ‘Izz al-Din Kay-Kawus II commissioned the construction of an aqueduct at Denizli.⁷³⁸ After 1207, it seems that Seljuqs waited some time to settle in Laodicea and its surroundings. Another point is that during this time, the Nicaean emperors confronted the Sultan himself and his army, instead of nomadic troops.⁷³⁹ According to Langdon, who utilized hagiographic texts as a documentary source, John III Vatatzes between 1225 and 1229 confronted the Seljuqs, and their army did not consist of nomadic troops. Langdon states that John III took Laodicea after 1226 and held it until his death in 1254.⁷⁴⁰ However, Arabic epigraphic evidence did not confirm this argument. Furthermore, in 1993, more than 2600 silver coins were discovered in Saraylar Mahellesi in Denizli that belonged to various Seljuq Sultans, including Kay Kubad, Kay Khusraw, Kay Khawus, and Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan.⁷⁴¹ Şimşek argued that these coins might have been money to pay soldiers stationed in the border regions, which demonstrated Denizli (Laodicea)’s importance as a frontier city.⁷⁴²

On the other hand, Akropolites provided a first account reporting the presence of nomadic populations around Laodicea. In 1257, the Mongols defeated Sultan Kay-Kawus II, who took shelter in the Nicaean realm in return for giving them Laodicea and adjacent fortifications. Then, although Nicaean forces took the city, they had to retreat despite the city’s evident affluence. This move may indicate that the nomadic Turkish factions in the environs of the city had disrupted Laodicea’s prosperity during

⁷³⁸ Ibid. See also, Fahri Akçakoca Akça, *Küçük Denizli Tarihi*, (Denizli, 1945), 20–24; *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe*, ed. Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, (Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1937), XI, 4264–4265, 4277, 175–176, 182–183.

⁷³⁹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and The Turks*, 220–221.

⁷⁴⁰ Langdon, *Byzantium’s Last Imperial*, 18–24, 50, 104.

⁷⁴¹ Şimşek, “Laodikeia’dan Ladik’e Denizli,” 38–39.

⁷⁴² Ibid.

Nicaean rule.⁷⁴³ Then, in 1258, Michael Palaiologos recommended that the sultan go from Konya to Antalya. However, the most direct route between Laodicea and Konya to Antalya, as mentioned above, and which was seen as the safest caravan route, was occupied by the nomadic Turks.⁷⁴⁴ Aqsarāyī mentioned one of the first Turkmen emirs near Laodicea, a certain Mehmed Bey: he “was amir of Turks in *uc*, due to his enmity against the *kundistabl* (Michael Palaiologos) revolted against the sultan stationed around Antalya and Alanya, fought against the sultan and defeated the sultan.”⁷⁴⁵ Aqsarāyī also talked about the neutralization of Mehmed Bey at the beginning of the reign of Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan IV with the help of the Mongols: “after that, the army of the Mongols and the Muslims entered into the *uc* provinces under the banner of the Sultanate and cleared the provinces up to the borders of Istanbul (the Empire of Nicaea) and its region from the tyrant Turks, the rebels who overstepped their limits and did not bow down. Their great commander Mehmed Bey, Ilyas Bey, Salur Bey and all the other Turkish lords who sought discord were captured.”⁷⁴⁶ As a result, it can be said that there was nomadic confederation on the frontier in the mid-thirteenth century, and one of them was under the authority of the *bey* of Denizli, Mehmed Bey, whose lands extended from Dalaman to Denizli and from Denizli to Antalya and Alanya covered mountain ranges in this region.⁷⁴⁷ Thus, it was evident that the nomadic Turks inhabited the environs of Laodicea in the 1250s, and Michael probably led his campaign in Laodicea against the Turks in 1260 against the emirate of Mehmed Bey.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴³ Akropolites, *The History*, tr. Ruth Macrides, 326.

⁷⁴⁴ Korobienikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 222, 226.

⁷⁴⁵ Aksaraylı Mehmet oğlu Kerimüddin Mahmud. (al-Aqsarāyī, Karīm al-Dīn , *Mūsâmeret ül-ahbâr. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*, 50.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁷⁴⁷ Korobienikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 224.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 225, 227.

These sources attest to the existence of the nomadic Turks in the environs of Laodicaea on the frontier, but what can be said about the social communities in Laodicaea during this period? Initially, the *Notitiae Episcopatum* indicated that Laodicaea had metropolitan status and was rated 25th metropolitan in 1141.⁷⁴⁹ However, considering its conquest by the Seljuqs in 1207 and threat posed by the nomadic Turks, Laodicaea ascended to the 22nd position in *Notitiae* written between 1189 and 1268.⁷⁵⁰ Hence, Laodicaea flourished between these times with its Byzantine and Turkish community coexisting together. In addition, if the nomadic Turks could be brought under control, who had been enticed by the fertile lands of the Maeander Valley to come to the environs of Laodicaea, then perhaps they could live in harmony with the sedentarists.⁷⁵¹ Hence, I argue that Laodicaea constituted a unique case of a *modus vivendi* on the frontier in the thirteenth century.⁷⁵²

In sum, Laodicaea stands as an early example of a Byzantine frontier city, transformed into a Turkish city, that was influenced by the late twelfth century political fragmentation, changing elite interactions on the border, diplomatic relations, and the influx of nomadic Turks that resulted in a *modus vivendi*. This pointed to the changeable, adaptable character of the border regions in the thirteenth century.

3. Ephesos – Ayasoluk: Betwixt Church and Trading Ship

This part will focus on Ephesos⁷⁵³ – Ayasoluk from the thirteenth century until its capture by the Turks in 1304, in terms of its two functions, religious and commercial, by using literary and recent archeological sources. As to its religious

⁷⁴⁹ *Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, 375.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 380.

⁷⁵¹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 232–233.

⁷⁵² For the 12th century, see, Beihammer, “Spatial Concepts and Administrative Structures,” 421.

⁷⁵³ I prefer to use its Hellenized form, Ephesos, but its Latin form is Ephesus.

function, this part will analyze the monumental holy attractions that created a sacred space that captivated pilgrims and travelers, based on an examination of visual materials such as frescoes. On the other hand, regarding its commercial functions, this part will explore harbors and neighboring ports that flourished with the Italian presence in the city and commercial activities, based on an investigation of materials like ceramics and coins. As Clive Foss writes, “by the end of Byzantine rule, it had moved and declined to become an inland fortress, while the old city by the Harbor was largely abandoned and ruined.”⁷⁵⁴ He also states in his 1979 book that “the archeological record of long centuries of Byzantine rule is scanty.”⁷⁵⁵ However, recent archeological findings in Byzantine and Medieval Ephesos demonstrate that urban life did not decline by the end of the Byzantine Empire; they indicate that commerce persisted in Ephesos and that the ancient city was not entirely deserted, despite the attacks by the Turks in later periods.⁷⁵⁶

Ephesos – Ayasoluk is located in the modern town of Selçuk in İzmir. Although ancient Ephesos first flourished next to the Cayster River (Küçük Menderes) and on its plain, the population subsequently relocated to Ayasoluk Hill. During the Byzantine period, this region was referred to as Theologos, which the Italians subsequently called Altoluogo, and then the Turks renamed to Ayasoluk or Ayasuluk. It can be said that all of these appellations were based on Theologos or Ayos Theologos. This demonstrates the toponymic transition, with many cultures having an impact on the

⁷⁵⁴ Foss, *Ephesus*, 116.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 131.

⁷⁵⁶ Joanita Vroom, “Medieval Ephesos as a Production and Consumption Centre,” in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), 231.

city throughout its history.⁷⁵⁷ During the Hellenistic period, Ephesos became significant as a vital port and commercial place, and the silting of its harbor and its grid-planned streets were major features of the city in this time.⁷⁵⁸ During the Roman period, the city flourished with monumental architecture such as the Arcadiane and the Library of Celsus, which paved the way for urban expansion.⁷⁵⁹ In the early Byzantine period, Ephesos was transformed into a Christian city by conversion of temples into churches and new monuments erected in the city such as the Churches of St. Mary and St. John.⁷⁶⁰ However, with the Persian and Arab attacks from the seventh to the ninth century, combined with the silting of the harbor, led to a deterioration in economic vitality and urban existence. Ephesos by the Harbor was confined to an area encompassed by the walls, while the majority of the population was carried behind the wall around the Church of St. John in Ayasoluk Hill.⁷⁶¹ After the ninth century, and over the subsequent two centuries, Ephesos-Ayasoluk experienced recovery and prosperity, and it became the capital of the Thracian theme and the center of civil and military bureaucracy.⁷⁶² After 1071, the Turks advanced towards Western Anatolia, and while Alexios I Komnenos fought both the Turks and the Normans, there was a brief domination of Ephesos by a Turkmen named Tengribirmish, but after the First Crusade, Alexios established dominance in the region.⁷⁶³ During this period, Alexios I Komnenos depended on assistance from Venice, and in 1082, his chrysobull granted the Venetians free trade privileges in significant imperial ports, notably

⁷⁵⁷ Foss, *Ephesus*, 121, 121 n. 19, 21; Çağla Caner Yüksel, "A Tale of Two Port Cities: Ayasuluk (Ephesus) and Balat (Miletus) during the Beyliks Period," *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 31, no. 3 (2019): 340.

⁷⁵⁸ Peter Scherer, *Ephesus: The New Guide*, (İzmir: Ege Yayınları, 2000), 17–18.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid. Sabine Ladstätter, "Bizans Döneminde Ephesos – Büyük bir antik kentin tarihinde son sayfa," (Ephesos in the Byzantine Period: The Last Page in the History of an Ancient Metropolis)," in *Bizans Döneminde Ephesos*, ed. Falko Daim and Sabine Ladstätter, (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları: 2011), 231–232.

⁷⁶⁰ Foss, *Ephesus*, 36–37.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 103.

⁷⁶² Foss, *Ephesus*, 116–117.

⁷⁶³ Ibid., 118.

Ephesos.⁷⁶⁴ Manuel I Komnenos reaffirmed the chrysobull that inaugurated an era of Italian presence in the city.⁷⁶⁵ Towards the end of the twelfth century, although most Western Anatolian cities were subdued by the local dynasts, the situation of Ephesos was not ambiguous; thus, after 1204, the city accepted the rule of Theodore I Laskaris.⁷⁶⁶

Ephesos-Ayasoluk's religious affiliations made it a significant city for pilgrimage and monasticism throughout the Byzantine period, and during the Laskarid period, the city flourished and continued its religious functions by attracting pilgrims as well as functioning as a center of education and learning.⁷⁶⁷ Firstly, the fortifications on Ayasoluk Hill were rebuilt by the Laskarids and the Gate of Persecution was a part of the city walls.⁷⁶⁸ The Gate of Persecution in medieval Ayasoluk might have been regarded as a holy passage that reflected the movement between spiritual worlds during the pilgrimage, because the Gate was perceived as a border and a space of remembrance, with embellished *spolia*, and it played a role as a portal during the pilgrimage for holy attractions of cities, such as the Artemision and the Church of St. John, which were restored under the Laskarids.⁷⁶⁹ Passing under the Roman arch of the Gate of Persecution intensified pilgrims' feelings as they neared revered locations like the Church and Oratory of Saint John. The Gate not only symbolized a physical entrance but also the spiritual commitment of pilgrims, and

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.; For the date of chrysobull, see, Peter Frankopan, "Byzantine trade privileges to Venice in the eleventh century: the chrysobull of 1092," *Journal of Medieval History* 30, no. 2 (2004): 135–160.

⁷⁶⁵ Foss, *Ephesus*, 118.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., 119.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 116. 125.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 135; Suna Çağaptay, "Into the Sacred Space: Facing Ayasoluk and Its Gate of Persecutions," in *Architecture and Visual Culture in the Late Antique and Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honor of Robert G. Ousterhout*, ed. Vasileios Marinis, Amy Papalexandrou, and Jordan Pickett, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 200.

⁷⁶⁹ Çağaptay, "Facing Ayasoluk," 195; Foss, *Ephesus*, 136.

functioned to protect the sanctity of a holy place.⁷⁷⁰ The Via Sacra contained many pilgrimage attractions such as the Grotto of Saint Paul, the Tomb of Luke, and the Cave of the Seven Sleepers. These served as an important route between Ephesos and Ayasoluk and played a role in connecting nearby cities like Magnesia and Tralles with Ayasoluk.⁷⁷¹ Despite the silting of Ephesos' harbor, which limited access from the east, pilgrims continued to visit holy attractions, and these were newly redecorated in the Late Byzantine period. The Late Byzantine fresco in the Grotto of St. Paul offers an example of this⁷⁷² (*fig. 19*). A chapel next to the Church of St. John and the entry portal of the fortifications were adorned with frescoes dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and these frescoes both depicted prophets and saints and figures representing the patron of the church, St. John⁷⁷³ (*fig. 20*). Meanwhile, the cemetery of Seven Sleepers, located between the ancient Ephesos and Ayasoluk, contained Late Byzantine frescoes and various graffiti and inscriptions in Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Latin that showed the diverse backgrounds of pilgrims.⁷⁷⁴ In the church complex of the Seven Sleepers, a depiction of Christ's Ascension embellished the catacomb vault, flanked by saints in the entrance wall. One of the saints is St. Christopher, who was depicted as carrying the Infant Jesus on his shoulder (*fig. 21*), by a theme

⁷⁷⁰ Çağaptay, "Facing Ayasoluk," 198–199.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁷⁷² Sabine Ladstätter, "Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages. An Archeological Introduction," in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), 63; Çağaptay, "Facing Ayasoluk," 197.

⁷⁷³ Ladstätter, "Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages," 65.

⁷⁷⁴ Foss, *Ephesus*, 165; Norbert Zimmermann, "The Seven Sleepers of Ephesos," in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), 257, 268; Çağaptay, "Facing Ayasoluk," 197.

originating in the early thirteenth century in the West. This Western theme may indicate the influence of a Latin patron.⁷⁷⁵

Ephesos-Ayasoluk captivated holy men during the Laskarid period. Mount Galesion maintained its status as a religious center that became one of the Empire's important monasteries throughout the Laskarid era.⁷⁷⁶ In particular, Mount Galesion gained importance for its opposition to Michael Palaiologos' pro-union policy with the Roman Church.⁷⁷⁷ Near the monastery, Keçikalesi (Goat Castle) still survives today. Having been constructed in the early Laskarid period, it played a role in protecting the pass from Ephesos to Cayster valley.⁷⁷⁸ As mentioned above, Ephesos along with Nicaea was a major learning center in the Laskarid era. For example, Nicholas Mesarites, who was bishop of the city around 1215, and Nikephoros Blemmydes were two significant scholars in Ephesos.⁷⁷⁹ Blemmydes became prominent in Ephesos, where he became a monk and abbot of the Monastery of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus. John III Vatatzes ordered him to found a school in Ephesos, where he educated some leading figures like the historian Akropolites and Theodore II Laskaris.⁷⁸⁰

Clive Foss has argued that the city had to relocate to Ayasoluk hill due to the silting process that made Ephesos an inland city and led to a creation of a new port known as the Scala Nova.⁷⁸¹ However, looking at the account of Ludolf von Suchem,

⁷⁷⁵ Zimmerman, "The Seven Sleepers of Ephesos," 267.

⁷⁷⁶ Foss, *Ephesus*, 129. See also, Richard P. H. Greenfield, "'As Though Struck in the Heart by a Missile': The Impact of Lazaros Galesiotes in Ephesos in the First Half of the Eleventh Century," in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019): 139–147.

⁷⁷⁷ Foss, *Ephesus*, 129.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 130–131.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 121–122

who traveled to Ephesos between 1336 and 1341, he described Ephesos and the change of its harbor:

“The proper city of Ephesos (ancient) is barely four miles away from the sea ... About four miles away from the ancient city of Ephesos, on the sea shore in the place where there is a harbor a new city has now been built and it is inhabited by Christian who have been driven out of Lombardy because of a conflict. These people have churches and Franciscan monks ... Close to the new city of Ephesos there is a river as big as the Rhine ...”⁷⁸²

Dalanay argues two possible locations for the harbor according to Suchem’s description. The first candidate is Çanakgöl Tepe Harbor, which lies 4.5 km from the ancient city.⁷⁸³ According to archeological findings, Çanakgöl Tepe Harbor might have been used during Late Antiquity until the Middle Byzantine period, as evidenced by tenth-century coins.⁷⁸⁴ In addition, regarding Suchem’s description, the identification of the new city of Ephesos as Scala Nova (Kuşadası) is incorrect because Scala Nova is much farther away from Ephesos and there is no major river there.⁷⁸⁵ The second candidate is Pamucak Harbor, mentioned in earlier chapters. The galleries and amphoras used for storage in the Pamucak region prove that this place was a harbor.⁷⁸⁶ The trade manual written by the Florentine merchant Pegolotti around 1330 wrote that the harbor was 9 miles away from the city of Altoluogo. It can be said that Pegolotti, unlike Suchem, pointed to Pamucak Harbor, which lay 12 km away from

⁷⁸² “Vera civitas Ephesi distat a mari ad quatuor parva miliaria ... An hac civitate antiqua Ephesi supra litus maris ad quatuor miliaria in loco, quo est portus, nunc nova civitas est constructa, et a Christianis de Lumbardia per discordiam expulsis est inhabitata, qui habent ecclesias et fratres minores, ut Christiani viventes ... Prope novam civitatem Ephesi est fluvius in modum Reni magnus...” Ludolphus van Suchem, *De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, ed. Ferdinand Deycks, (Stuttgart, 1851), 24f; Yaman Dalanay, “What Happened to the Harbor of Ephesos after the Roman Empire?,” in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), 126–127 n. 21.

⁷⁸³ Dalanay, “the Harbor of Ephesos,” 127.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 125–126.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 127.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 131.

Ayasoluk. This situation was also proven in later portolan charts.⁷⁸⁷ By examining both archeological and written sources, it was possible to establish the chronology of the harbor's operation between the Middle Byzantine and Late Byzantine period, and the information that the harbor of Ephesos was operation in the thirteenth century is that the boats of the Monastery of St. John of Patmos frequently visited the harbor, and John III Vatatzes granted them privileges such as not paying custom duties.⁷⁸⁸

However, because of its changing location, neighboring ports gained importance in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries like Anaia. Anaia was a bishopric during the Byzantine period, and according to the documents from the Laskarid era, the city was seen as an *emporion* and *kommerkion* (or customs post).⁷⁸⁹ In the thirteenth century, particularly with the Treaty of Nymphaeum, Anaia was granted to the Genoese, allowing them to erect buildings in the city, but in 1265, similar privileges were given to Venetians as well. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the increasing conflicts between Genoese and Venetians led Anaia to gain a reputation as a center of piracy, and Anaia was finally captured by the Turks in 1304.⁷⁹⁰ Anaia was protected by a fortification, known today as Kadikalesi, whose architectural style dates to the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth century.⁷⁹¹ Recently, archeological excavations in Anaia have been led by Professor Zeynep Mercangöz and her team. They have discovered that the city was not limited to its defensive function, they found a religious building giving evidence of Anaia's archiepiscopate in the Laskarid period, and material objects like ceramics and coins, indicating the

⁷⁸⁷ For localization of Pamucak Harbor see, Külzer, "Harbor Cities as Interfaces of Maritime," 106–108; For portolan charts, see, Kahyaoğlu, "Portolan Charts," 267–277; Dalanay, "the Harbor of Ephesos," 132–133.

⁷⁸⁸ Foss, *Ephesus*, 124. Dalanay, "the Harbor of Ephesos," 135.

⁷⁸⁹ Foss, *Ephesus*, 124.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 125.

commercial function of Anaia.⁷⁹² For example, coins dating back to the thirteenth century that emerged from burial places within the church invite our attention. In the area called Anaia Hoard A, 19 gold coins belonging to John III Vatatzes were unearthed.⁷⁹³ In the area called Anaia Hoard B, which is not a burial hoard, 24 billion tracheas belonging to Theodore I Laskaris were found.⁷⁹⁴ Finally, 33 copper tracheas belonging to various subsequent emperors were excavated in Anaia Hoard C.⁷⁹⁵ In conclusion, these coin finds at Anaia are rare in terms of being found in burial places, but they are important in terms of Anaia's prominence as a commercial center.⁷⁹⁶ Furthermore, many glazed and unglazed ceramics from all across the excavation area such as Zeuxippus-type ceramics⁷⁹⁷ and Aegean ware and small amphorae indicated local manufacture.⁷⁹⁸ On the other hand, the discovery of ceramic pieces from many Byzantine sites, Islamic countries, and Italy give evidence of long-distance economic mobility.⁷⁹⁹

Anaia's increasing importance did not diminish the role of Ephesos-Ayasoluk commercially in the thirteenth century. Accordingly, Joanita Vroom discusses the

⁷⁹² Zeynep Mercangöz, "Introduction," in *Byzantine Craftsmen – Latin Patrons: Reflections from the Anaian Commercial Production in the Light of the Excavations at Kadıkalesi near Kuşadası*, ed. Zeynep Mercangöz, (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 13–14.

⁷⁹³ Ceren Ünal, "Kadıkalesi/Anaia Hoard A: Seventeen Grave Finds Hyperpyra from the Reign of Nicaean Emperor Ioannes III Doukas Vatatzes (1221–1254)," *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 64 (2018): 147–162.

⁷⁹⁴ Ceren Ünal and Merve Toy "The Kadıkalesi/Anaia Hoard B: A Group of Billion Trachea of the Nicaean Emperor Theodore I Laskaris from the Main Church in Kadıkalesi/Anaia," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 180 (2020): 323–333, at 323.

⁷⁹⁵ Ceren Ünal and Merve Toy, "Kadıkalesi/Anaia Hoard C: Thirty-Three Copper Trachae and Stamena from the Main Church in Kadıkalesi/Anaia Excavation," *Revista Numismática Hécate* no. 7 (2020): 80–97.

⁷⁹⁶ Mercangöz, "Introduction," 16.

⁷⁹⁷ The name (Zeuxippus Bath) comes from the Roman baths in Istanbul where they were first found.

⁷⁹⁸ Mercangöz, "Introduction," 18; Zeynep Mercangöz, "Archeological Finds on Late Byzantine Commercial Productions at Kadıkalesi, Kuşadası," in *Byzantine Craftsmen – Latin Patrons: Reflections from the Anaian Commercial Production in the Light of the Excavations at Kadıkalesi near Kuşadası*, ed. Zeynep Mercangöz, (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 32–37, 38–53; For amphorae in Anaia see; Sinan Mimaroğlu, "Late Byzantine Commercial Amphorae in Kadıkalesi/Anaia," *idem*.

⁷⁹⁹ Mercangöz, "Archeological Finds," 54–58; For Islamic ceramics in Anaia see, Zeynep Mercangöz, "Doğu Akdeniz Topraklarından Bir Bizans Kalesine: Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi'nde Orta Çağ İslam Seramikleri," *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Kültür Envanteri Dergisi* 17 (2018): 93–117.

pottery findings of Ephesos-Ayasoluk dating back to the Late Byzantine period, particularly before the Beylik period in the thirteenth century.⁸⁰⁰ She states that Medieval Ephesos under the rule of the Laskarids was the center of production and consumption situated at the crossroads of main economic and cultural circumstances in the region.⁸⁰¹ She analyzed pottery findings from two excavation areas in Ephesos-Ayasoluk. The first one, the Artemision, was initially excavated by British archeologists, who found a variety of fragments dated to the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the majority of which were locally produced; this may be evidence of a workshop around the city in medieval times. Nevertheless, those local products, in terms of their design, shapes, and techniques resembled pottery originating from the Near East at that time.⁸⁰² Three types of ceramic were excavated: Monochrome Yellow Sgraffito Ware, Monochrome Ochre-yellow Sgraffito Ware, and Monochrome Green Sgraffito Ware, the last of which was identified as “Zeuxippus Ware,” as a type of thirteenth-century glazed earthenware. These Zeuxippus wares in Artemision were produced in Anaia, judging by their similarities.⁸⁰³ The second one, Türbe, was excavated by Sabine Ladstätter, and incorporated various Middle and Late Byzantine potteries. Along with the Zeuxippus ware dated to the thirteenth century, this site contained the first imports of Islamic frit wares, which revealed a connection between Islamic regions and Western Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸⁰⁴ Based on all these pottery findings, it is possible to speak of a habitation in Medieval Ephesos in the thirteenth century. Furthermore, a unique example of a glazed bowl from the second half of the thirteenth century, known as “Roulette Ware,” was found

⁸⁰⁰ Vroom, “Medieval Ephesos as a Production and Consumption Centre,” 231–256.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, 232–235.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.*, 236.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 240.

in the Hammam 4 area in 2012. This bowl exemplified the earliest ceramic products of workshops in Veneto, Venice. Along with these bowls, thirteenth century crusader coins minted in the Peloponnese by the Villehardouin dynasty were found as well, in Hammam 4. Hence, this archeological evidence, combined with written sources, attest to the Venetian presence in the city throughout the thirteenth century.⁸⁰⁵ In addition, two Genoese tombstones of 1284 and 1293 in the church of St. John substantiated the Genoese colony that was established as a result of the Treaty of Nymphaeum.⁸⁰⁶ In conclusion, the purpose of this part was to demonstrate that in the case of Ephesos-Ayasoluk in the thirteenth century via literary and archeological sources, the significance of the city did not decrease in the thirteenth century. On the contrary, it maintained its prosperous position. by emphasizing its two concurrent functions, religious and economic. The reason for this may have been influenced by the pilgrimage and trade that Italians revived with their entry into the Byzantine market, particularly after the Treaty of Nymphaeum. Byzantine Ephesos – Ayasoluk in the thirteenth century would seem to formed the background of Turkish Ayasoluk in the fourteenth century.

4. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I analyzed four different cities — Nicaea, Trebizond, Laodicaea, and Ephesos-Ayasoluk — to understand the urban transformation of Late Byzantine Anatolian cities in the thirteenth century. In this concluding section, I will compare and contrast these four cities, which represent four different cases in the environment of political fragmentation and adaptability in the post-1204 period in

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., 244.

⁸⁰⁶ Foss, *Ephesus*, 121, 121 n.18.

Anatolia, although they had similar reactions to the disintegration of the empire after 1204. Nicaea and Trebizond in the thirteenth century were two capitals each claiming imperial continuity by displaying their imperial identities. Laodicea in the thirteenth century played a role as a frontier fortress-town characterized by its adaptability to military and administrative changes. Ephesos-Ayasoluk in the thirteenth century continued to be a sacred and commercial hub, which impacted its role in external connectivity.

I claim that the emperors of Nicaea and Trebizond tried to validate their imperial claims by intentionally shaping the urban fabric, but they pursued their goal in different manners due to their geopolitical locations. The imperial claims of Nicaea and Trebizond were reflected in the city's architecture. For example, as mentioned above, the Laskarids reconstructed the Church of Hagia Sophia as a ceremonial and patriarchal church that showed their idealistic views of Constantinople. Similarly, in Trebizond, the Grand Komnenos rebuilt the Panagia Chrysokephalos as a coronation church, and Manuel I Grand Komnenos in particular built the Church of Hagia Sophia, which was used for ceremonies and as a burial site, to show his Christian identity and patronage. Thus, the two Hagia Sophias, with their namesake of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, allowed Nicaea and Trebizond to repurpose their cities as 'imperial' capitals by connecting in symbiotic relation with the true imperial capital, Constantinople.⁸⁰⁷ Additionally, both cities strengthened their city walls for defensive purposes. However, the Laskarids in Nicaea, particularly Theodore I Laskaris and John III Vatatzes, made enhancements to their city walls to display their symbolic patronage, which left clues about their intention to turn their cities into the imperial capital. For example, as Theodore II Laskaris mentioned, John III Vatatzes added an

⁸⁰⁷ Pitamber, *Replacing Byzantium*, 253; Antony Eastmond, "Hagia Sophia at Trebizond," 59–100.

outer ring to the city walls of Nicaea, and the city walls were deliberately made to resemble the Theodosian Walls in Constantinople.⁸⁰⁸ Manuel I Grand Komnenos, for his part, by his portrayal and inscription in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond conveyed the message of his imperial claim by proclaiming himself “emperor and autocrat of the Romans.” Hence this portrayal and inscription showed the Grand Komnenos’ imperial aspirations.⁸⁰⁹ Although the Laskarids and the Grand Komnenoi reorganized their cities according to their purpose of creating an ‘imperial’ capital, they also demonstrated their allegiance to their cities through their patron saints, St. Tryphon and St. Eugenios respectively, through symbols like lilies and majestic eagles that represented Nicaean and Trapezuntine identity and through their dedicated churches and their coinages. Moreover, being exiled from Constantinople was felt acutely by inhabitants of both cities, and this is exemplified by the Tower of Babel, constructed by Theodore I Laskaris, and the Genesis frieze in the Hagia Sophia at Trebizond. These show that both urban fabrics transformed according to imperial claims of the Laskarids and Grand Komnenoi.

However, Trebizond was geographically peripheral and more integrated into the Black Sea region. For example, Angold has asserted that its two defeats in Paphlagonia and in Sinope impacted Trebizond’s regionality. He writes that “This had the effect of cutting off the empire of Trebizond from the mainstream of Byzantine history. It became instead a ‘Greek emirate’. Its history belongs with that of Anatolia and the Black Sea rather than with that of the late Byzantine Empire.” However, I am drawn to Antony Eastmond’s thoughts about this issue. He quotes Bryer: Trapezuntine leaders were “anxious to maintain an impeccably Constantinopolitan outlook among

⁸⁰⁸ Foss, *Nicaea*, 144–145.

⁸⁰⁹ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 139–141.

the Greco-Laz of their pocket empire.”⁸¹⁰ He states that by exemplifying urban fabric, particularly the Hagia Sophia, the Grand Komnenoi sought to project a Constantinopolitan image by drawing on the local environment, and this created a more localized interpretation of their imperial claim.⁸¹¹

On the other hand, the case of Laodicaea provides more comprehension about cities that were influenced by their proximity to the Turkish frontier. Laodicaea transformed into a fortress that illustrated an urban identity reshaped by elite interactions such as Manuel Mavrozomes and militarization of the frontier. Laodicaea’s strategic location on the frontier between the caravan routes and in fertile Maeander River valley attracted both Seljuqs and nomadic Turkmens; hence, constant military conflicts with the Turks obligated Laodicaea to adapt to the socio-political environment of the frontier. Because of this, Laodicaea contained multilayered ethnicities that developed a *modus vivendi*. Ephesos was not an inland border fortress like Laodicaea, but the silting of its harbor and dangers posed by external threats made it resettling in Ayasoluk; however, this is not a decline as Foss argued. Ephesos continued to grow in the thirteenth century and transformed into a pilgrimage center and economic conduit, revived by Venetian and Genoese interactions. However, these interactions transformed coastal zones into “liquid frontiers,” as Preiser-Kapeller calls them, as in the case of Ephesos and Trebizond. He added that “Venetians and Genoese and other commercial communities integrated all these locations and regions as hubs and nodes into their commercial networks and into the late medieval ‘World System.’”⁸¹²

⁸¹⁰ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 153; A.A.M. Bryer, “The Church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond,” *Apollo* 89, (1969), 270.

⁸¹¹ Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 153–154.

⁸¹² Preiser-Kapeller, “Liquid Frontiers,” 117; Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250 – 1350* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Therefore, in terms of economic and commercial functions, Ephesos took center stage in the thirteenth century. Its participation in Italian maritime commerce, which was demonstrated by harbor renovations, coins, and imported ceramics, emphasized that Ephesos had become a significant center in long-distance trade of the thirteenth century. Trebizond most likely established commercial links with areas to the north and the east like the Caucasus and Crimea, and the existence of Venetian and Genoese quarters outside of the city close to the harbors like Ephesos indicated the economic role of Trebizond.⁸¹³ As Laodicea was a frontier city, its location along the east-west caravan route renewed its strategic importance, but due to the threats of nomads, the commercial continuity was damaged and carried out to other centers like Tripolis and Denizli.

I argue that these four cities also had different religious roles. For example, while Nicaea and Ephesos hosted ecumenical councils throughout their history, Ephesos gained prominence much more with its sacred attractions, including St. John and the Seven Sleepers. Nevertheless, the Laskarids made both cities in the thirteenth century educational and learning centers, with churches and monasteries like the Church of St. Tryphon in Nicaea and Mount Galesion in Ephesos. In Trebizond, the Grand Komnenoi also showed their devotion to the religion by prioritizing acts of imperial patronage such as the reconstruction of the Church of St. Eugenios. In contrast, Laodicea's survival focused on its military and political functions; hence it is difficult to discern its religious role. Nevertheless, its representation in the *Notitiae*

⁸¹³ Andrew Peacock, "Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World Down to the Mongol Period," in *the Black Sea: Past, Present and Future Proceedings of the international, interdisciplinary conference Istanbul, 14 – 16 October 2004*, ed. Gülden Erkut and Stephen Mitchell (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2007), 65–72

*Episcopatum*⁸¹⁴ showed the existence of the Greek community in Laodicea, despite the Turkish threat on the frontier.⁸¹⁵

In conclusion, I place these four cities into categories based on the approaches and discussion I have explained in the first three chapters, to understand the urban transformation of Late Byzantine Anatolian cities in the thirteenth century. The first category is the impact of the socio-political events of the period, including the political fragmentation that began to emerge in the last quarter of the twelfth century and reached its peak in 1204; provincial separation; and the changes in the Byzantine aristocracy that led to the formation of a new urban identity and cross-cultural interactions, particularly with the Turks. Both cities can be exemplified with this category. The second category is dominated by the economic development of the period and commercial relations, and by the emergence of Italian populations, such as Venetians and Genoese, in Byzantine cities. Ephesos and Trebizond can be fitted into this category. The third category is related to the geographical location of Anatolia. The climatic and topographic changes that Anatolia underwent and the transformation of Anatolia into a geopolitically frontier zone especially after 1204 are the main factors in this category. Laodicea as a frontier city and Ephesos, which were continuously affected by the silting process, can be included in the third category. Therefore, rather than forming a common category for the idea of Late Byzantine Anatolian cities, these four cases exhibited different adaptations to the socio-political and economic changes that were experienced by the Byzantine Empire in the thirteenth century.

⁸¹⁴ *Notitiae Episcopatum*, ed. Darrouzès, 375–380.

⁸¹⁵ Korobeinikov, *Byzantine and the Turks*, 233.

CONCLUSIONS: Beyond Thirteenth Century

This thesis aimed to show how the transformation of Late Byzantine cities during the thirteenth century was significantly affected by the larger socio-political, economic, and geographical factors of the post-1204 era. For this reason, Chapter I highlighted the socio-political and economic outlook of the Byzantine Empire in the post-1204 period. I began by identifying the causes of the political fragmentation of the period of failure of the Komnenian administrative system and changes in the twelfth century Byzantine aristocracy. I have emphasized that these changes influenced the growing political fragmentation of the provincial cities. I analyzed the events of the Fourth Crusade and the formation of two successor states in Anatolia, namely the Empire of Nicaea and the Empire of Trebizond. Since I used the ‘capitals’ of these two successor states, Nicaea and Trebizond as case studies, I have looked into their formations deeply to understand their imperial aspirations for returning to Constantinople. Then, I traced how the socio-political situation of the Empire impacted the frontier regions in thirteenth-century Anatolia by showing the elite interactions and diplomatic relations between the Byzantines and the Turks. In connection with this, I highlighted the importance of the relationship between urban and rural economies, particularly on the frontier, their production, and the participation of the urban centers in international trade activities through Italian peoples like the Venetians and Genoese.

Chapter II aimed to demonstrate why aspects of the historical geography of Anatolia, including environmental, topographical, and climate changes, were

significant factors of the transformation of Byzantine cities. I have especially laid stress on geopolitical changes in the frontier zone during the thirteenth century and on how cross-cultural interactions along with these changes impacted the urban centers in the border zone. Chapter III indicated the historiographical and methodological difficulties in defining and identifying the idea of Late Byzantine cities in the thirteenth century, by analyzing them in the context of literary and material sources. Additionally, I have explained the emergence of urban identity throughout the Late Byzantine period as a result of the socio-political factors during this period by using literary and material sources such as lead seals and coins. Hence, this chapter provided clues for my methodology and responded to the question of why the combination of the literary and material sources is vital for understanding the idea of the Late Byzantine city.

Chapter IV presented three case studies by discussing four post-1204 Byzantine cities in Anatolia – Nicaea, Trebizond, Laodicea and Ephesos-Ayasoluk. Firstly, I showed that Nicaea and Trebizond played roles as ‘imperial’ capitals that transformed their urban fabrics according to their imperial claims. Secondly, I illustrated Laodicea as a frontier city that stood as an example of how frontier regions of the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia during the thirteenth century were influenced by elite interactions, military conflicts, and coexistence with the Turks in the Maeander Valley. Thirdly, I pointed out that Ephesos-Ayasoluk as a coastal city maintained its importance thanks to its commercial and religious continuity, via its sacred spaces and interactions with Italian merchants. To reach such conclusions, I utilized literary sources such as *encomia*, *ekphrasis*, chronicles, and material-visual sources like coins, seals, ceramics, frescoes and paintings. Combining and comparing these sources allowed me to understand the differences and similarities between each case study,

and I concluded that these cities made various adaptations throughout the thirteenth century that were influenced by socio-political and economic circumstances.

I stated that I limit my time period in this thesis to the thirteenth century in the introduction. Here, I will briefly elaborate on why I focused only on Anatolia in the thirteenth century briefly. From the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1337, the year of the loss of the last possession of the Byzantine Empire, Nicomedia, to the Turks, the diplomatic relationships between the Byzantines and Seljuqs illustrated the success of adaptation of the Late Byzantine cities in Anatolia during this period. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the success of the relationship between them on the frontier was based on Greek influence at the court of the Rum Seljuqs. Korobeinikov called this peaceful period (1160–1261) one of *entente cordiale* between the Empire and the Rum Seljuqs, and the survival of the *entente* depended on the friendship between the rulers of the two states and their interchanging elites.⁸¹⁶ Manuel Mavrozomes of Laodicea was an example of this. Towards the mid-thirteenth century, the Rum Seljuqs were confronted with their biggest threat coming from the East, the Mongols. The Nicaean Emperors and Rum Seljuqs acted together against the Mongol threat, as the *entente* stipulated. However, the Seljuqs were defeated by the Mongols in the Battle of Köseadağ in 1243. Subsequently, after Michael VIII Palaiologos reconquered Constantinople, he ended the peaceful relationship with the Seljuqs and turned his foreign policy towards the Ilkhanids.⁸¹⁷ Although the Mongolian advance into Anatolia did not initially affect the Byzantine Empire directly, nomadic Turks who started to arrive on the frontier between the Byzantines and Seljuqs as a result of the Mongolian wars, such as the Turks of Denizli, situated around

⁸¹⁶ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 289.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 294.

Laodicaea. They began to strain the defense of Byzantium's eastern border towards the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁸¹⁸ During the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaiologos at the end of the thirteenth century, various reforms were made for Anatolia, as mentioned in Chapter I, such as Michael's *pronoia* reform and Andronikos' repair of cities and fortifications like Tralles in the Maeander Valley. However, financial difficulties weakened the Byzantine army, and the use of foreign mercenaries such as the Alans and Catalans for the army rendered their defense in Anatolia ineffective.⁸¹⁹ At the beginning of the fourteenth century, after the collapse of the Rum Seljuqs and Byzantine power in Anatolia, around twenty Turkish principalities (*beyliks*) emerged and started to control former Byzantine territories. These principalities began to capture former Byzantine cities such as Tralles, Pergamon, and Ephesos and make them their capitals, and Byzantine authority in Anatolia mostly vanished, although some cities, such as Nicaea and Nicomedia, resisted the Turks in Bithynia in the first decades of the fourteenth century.⁸²⁰ Theodore Metochites described the Turks in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century as having "... many rulers, the ever-increasing heads of the Hydra. If there were a zeal for established authority and appropriate unity in whatever form, the current state of affairs would be different."⁸²¹

The decline of Byzantine power in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century did not illustrate a complete urban decline because, with the establishment of Turkish principalities, Byzantine cities transformed into Turkish *beylik* cities that continued to become prosperous by taking on new administrative, economic and religious

⁸¹⁸ Speros Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 136 – 137.

⁸¹⁹ Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 295 – 296.

⁸²⁰ Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 137.

⁸²¹ Theodore Metochites, *Οἱ Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*, ed. Ioannis D. Polemis (Athens, 2007), 384; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 290.

functions. For example, the emirate of Aydın that was established in Ayasoluk by 1304 well illustrated this transformation, because Byzantine Ephesos-Ayasoluk was repurposed by the Aydınids, and they transformed Ayasoluk into a new Turkish-Islamic administrative, commercial, and religious center. Commercial relations were maintained with the Venetians and Genoese and new architectural Turkish-Islamic elements such as mosques, imarets, caravansaries, zawiyas, and waqfs were introduced.⁸²² In these ways, I have offered an introduction to why thirteenth century Anatolia was significant and formed the basis of the fourteenth century, with a view to understanding the transition from Late Byzantine cities into Turkish cities in Anatolia.

⁸²² Foss, *Ephesus*, 141 – 167; Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 351 – 352.

FIGURES



Fig. 1. Tetarteron of Theodore Komnenos Doukas, Thessalonike, 1227–1230. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, 562, no. 11; DOC.



Fig. 2. Electrum trachy of Theodore I Laskaris, Magnesia, 1208. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, vol. 4, El. 1.1; DOC.



Fig. 3. Seal of John Mankaphas, twelfth century, sebastos. Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, bequest of Thomas Whittemore. Photo © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC. Accession number: BZS.1951.31.5.413. Available at <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.413>.



Fig. 4. Seal of John Komnenos Dukas, 1240-1242. *Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore*, Image: © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC Accession number: BZS.1955.1.4356.



Fig. 5. Tetarteron, Theodore Mankaphas, Philadelphia. DOC 4/1-2, 392396, 5a.1-5b.6, pl. XXII, B.(2.1)-2.4; Baldwin's Auctions 1994, 93, no.208; Grierson 1982, 375, pl. 67, no.1127.



Fig. 6. City plan of Nicaea, illustrating walls, towers and monuments Clive Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises*, fig.1.



Fig. 7. Tower #106, City Walls of Nicaea. Naomi Pitamber, “Replacing Byzantium,”
278. Photograph taken by Naomi Pitamber in 2013.



Fig. 8. Inscription of Theodore I Laskaris, Tower 106. Naomi Pitamber, “Replacing Byzantium,” 279. Photograph taken by Naomi Pitamber in 2013.



Fig. 9. The Hagia Sophia in Nicaea (modern name, İznik Ayasofya Orhan Camii), photograph taken by author in 2024.



Fig. 10. Omphalion inside the Church Hagia Sophia in Nicaea. Photograph taken by author in 2024



Fig. 11. Seal of John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–1254). Obverse: Christ Chalkites; reverse: John III Doukas Vatatzes. Legend: “Ἰωάννης δεσπότης ὁ Δούκας.” Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore, Photo: © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC. Accession number: BZS.1951.31.5.1700 Available at <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1700>



Fig. 12. Christ Chalkites in Chora Monastery, Constantinople. (Modern Kariye Camii, İstanbul) Photograph taken by author in 2024.

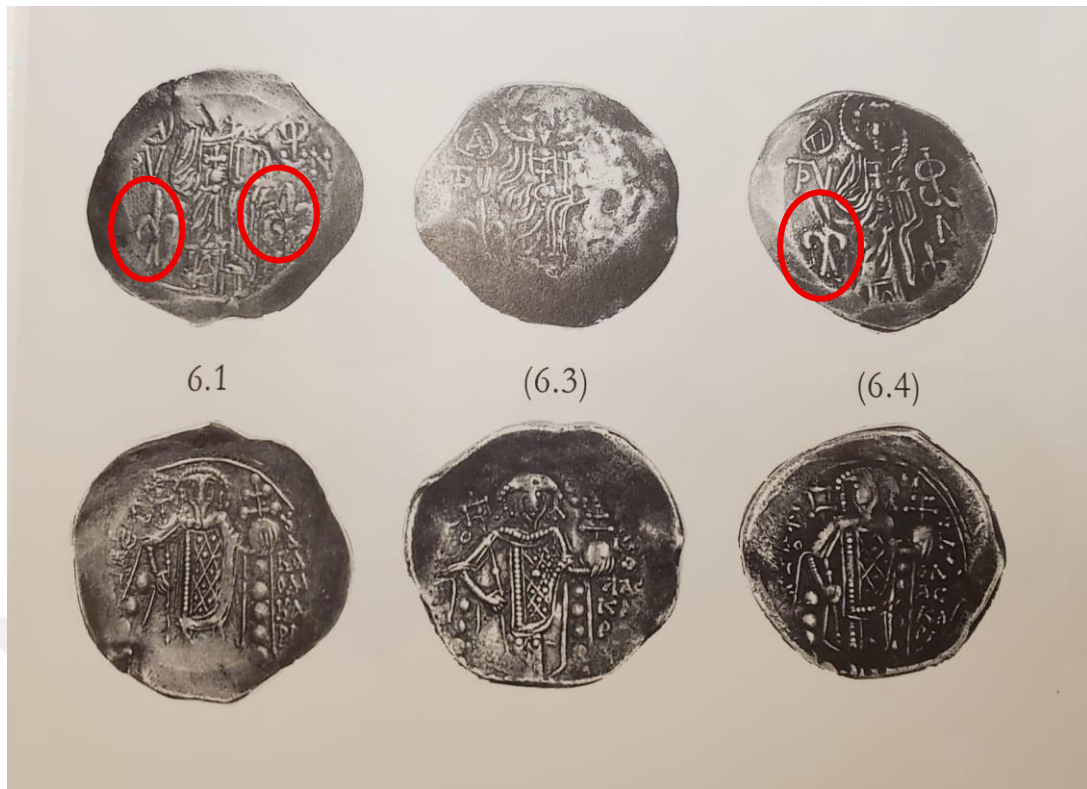


Fig. 13. Variants of aspron trachy of Theodore II Laskaris with St. Tryphon and labarum with lily. Hendy, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pl. XXXV, nos. 6.1, 6.3–6.4.



Fig. 14. Proconnesian marble spolia column capitals in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond. Antony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in the Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), fig.19 and fig.20, 44.



Fig. 15. A Majestic eagle of Grand Komnenoi keystone on the south porch of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond. Antony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in the Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), fig.98, 148.



Fig. 16. The Genesis Frieze on the south porch of the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond.

Photograph was taken by David Hendrix, the Byzantine Legacy.



Fig. 17. Double-headed Eagle tile from Kubadabad palace dated 1230s in Konya Karatay Madrasa and Museum. Photograph taken by Muharrem Enes Erdem in 2024.



Fig. 18. Grigorii Gagarin's engraving depicted the portrait of Manuel I Grand Komnenos in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond Antony Eastmond, "The Empire of Trebizond," In *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond* ed. Antony Eastmond (İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2016), fig.10.



Fig. 19. The Late Byzantine Fresco in the Grotto of St. Paul. Sabine Ladstätter, “Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages. An Archeological Introduction,” in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), fig. 59, 64.



Fig. 20. Late Byzantine fresco showing saints in the Church of Saint John. Sabine Ladstätter, “Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages. An Archeological Introduction,” in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), fig. 60, 64.

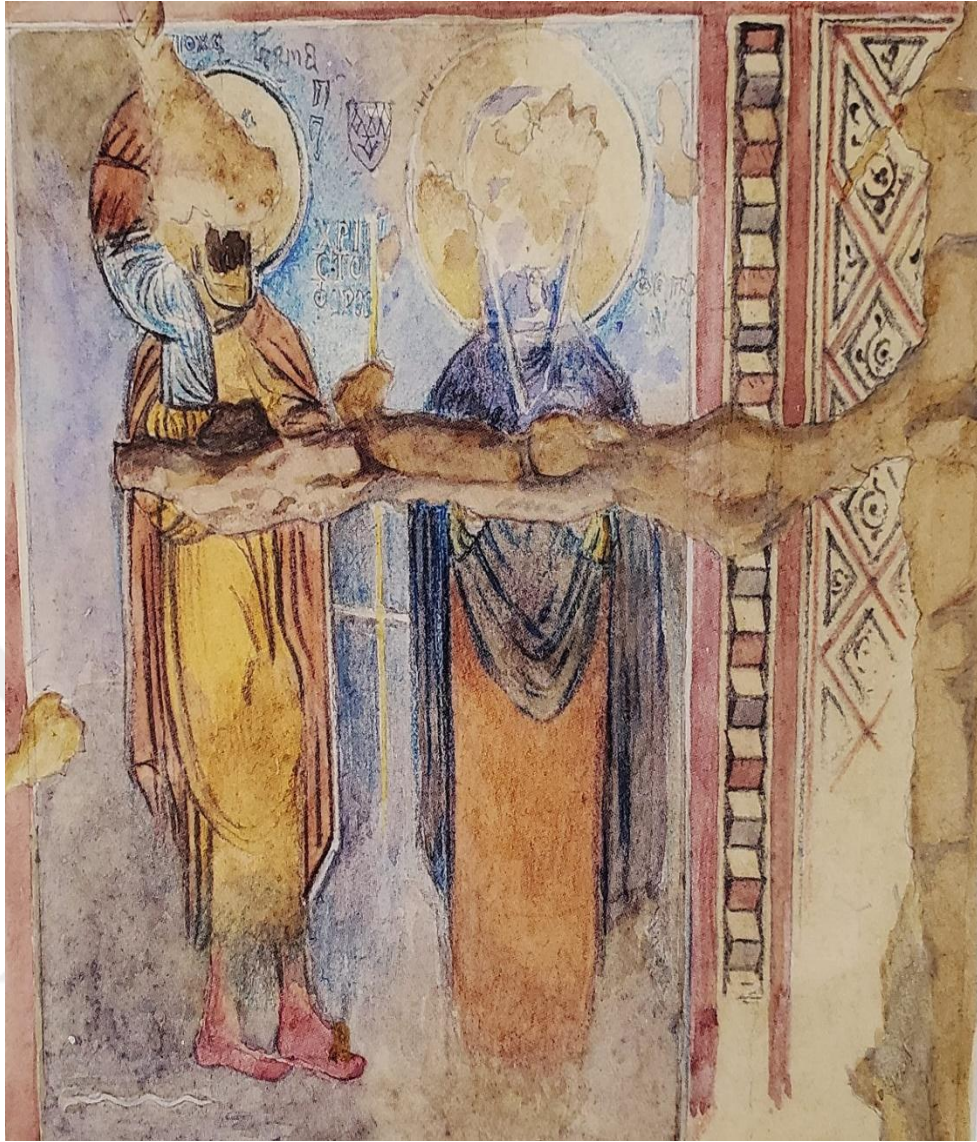


Fig. 21. Late Byzantine Fresco in the entrance of catacomb from the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus. Norbert Zimmermann, “The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus,” in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019), fig. 9, 268.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī. *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*. Beirut: 1970.

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250 – 1350*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Acun, Hakkı, ed. *Anadolu Selçuklu dönemi kervansarayları*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007.

Akça, Fahri Akçakoca. *Küçük Denizli Tarihi*. Denizli, 1945.

Akışık-Karakullukçu, Aslıhan. “Praising a City: Nicaea, Trebizond, and Thessalonike.” *Journal of Turkish Studies*. In Memoriam Angeliki E. Laiou. Edited by Nevra Necipoğlu ve Cemal Kafadar. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2011. 1–25.

Akropolites, George. *The History*. Translated and edited by Ruth Macrides. Oxford Studies in Byzantium. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Akropolites, Georgios. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*. Edited by August Heisenberg. Corrected by Peter Wirth. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978.

Aksaraylı Mehmed oğlu Kerîmüddin Mahmud. (al-Aqsarāyī, Karīm al-Dīn). *Müsâmeret ül-ahbâr. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*. Edited by Osman Turan. Ankara: TTK, 1944.

Angeolov, Dimiter. *The Byzantine Hellene The Life Of Emperor Theodore Laskaris And Byzantium In The Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Angold, Michael, ed. *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*. BAR International Series 221. Oxford: BAR, 1984.

Angold, Michael. “Byzantium in Exile.” In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. vol.5: 1198–1300. Edited by David Abulafia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Angold, Michael. "The City Nicaea ca. 1000–1400." In *Iznik Throughout History*. Edited by Işık Aybakkıgil, Halil İnalçık, and Oktay Aslanapa. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları. 2003.

Angold, Michael. "The Road to 1204: The Byzantine Background to the Fourth Crusade." *Journal of Medieval History* 25, no.3 (September 1999): 257–78.

Angold, Michael. "The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine 'City'," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985): 1–37.

Angold, Michael. *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Angold, Michael. *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.

Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris, Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series vol. V. Edited by Anton Chroust. Berlin, 1928.

Arthur, Paul. *Byzantine and Turkish Hierapolis (Pamukkale)*. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2006.

Asp-Talwar, Annika. "The Chronicle of Michael Panaretos." In *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond*. Edited by Antony Eastmond. İstanbul: ANAMED/Koç, Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016.

Bakirtzis, Nikolas and Luca Zavagno eds. "Introducing the Byzantine City, Its Histories, Ideas and Realities." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500 –1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London and New York: Routledge, 2024.

Bakirtzis, Nikolas. "Fortifications and The Making of the Byzantine City." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London and New York: Routledge, 2024).

Bakirtzis, Nikolas. "The Practice, Perception and Experience of Byzantine Fortification." In *The Byzantine World*. Edited by Paul Stephenson. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Bakirtzis, Nikolas. "The Visual Language of Fortification Façades: The Walls of Thessaloniki." *Monuments and Environment* 9. (2005): 15–34.

Balivet, Michel. *Rhomanie byzantine et pays de Rum turc: Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication greco-turque*. Les Cahiers du Bosphore 10. Istanbul: ISIS, 1994; repr. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011.

Beihammer, Alexander D. "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuq Relations." *Speculum* 86. no.3. (2011): 597–651.

Beihammer, Alexander. "Spatial Concepts and Administration in the Byzantine-Turkish Frontier of Twelfth-Century Asia Minor." In *Spatialities of the Byzantine Culture from the Human Body to the Universe*. Edited by Myrto Veikou and Ingela Nilsson. Brill: Leiden: 2022.

Belke, Klaus, *Paplagonien and Honorias*. Tabula Imperii Byzantini 9. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.

Belke, Klaus. "Roads and Routes in Northwestern and Adjoining Parts of Central Asia Minor: From the Romans to Byzantium, with Some Remarks on their Fate during the Ottoman Period up to the 17th Century." *Gephyra* 20. (2020).

Belke, Klaus. *Bithynien und Hellespont*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 13. 2 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020.

Bessarion. "Βησσαρίωνος ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα." Edited by Spyridon P. Lambros. Athens: Neos Hellenomnemon, 1916. 145–204.

Bessarion. "Ο "Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα" Λόγος τοῦ Βησσαρίωνος (κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις)." Edited by O. Lampsidis. *Archeion Pontou* 39 (1984): 3–75.

Bessarion. *In calumniatorem Platonis*. in *Bessarionis in calumniatorem Platonis libri IV* (Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann, Funde und Forschungen, vol. 2). Edited by L. Mohler. Paderborn, 1927.

Bevilacqua, Livia. "Antiquity Revived in Byzantine Nicaea: The City Walls and Their Figural Decoration in the Thirteenth Century." In *İznik/Nicaea on Its Way to Become UNESCO World Heritage Site*. Istanbul: 2020.

Bevilacqua, Livia. "Spolia on City Gates in the Thirteenth Century: Byzantium and Italy." In *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*. 173–194. Edited by Ivana Jevtic and Suzan Yalman. Istanbul: ANAMED, 2018.

Biddle, Martin. "Towns." In *The Archeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, Edited by David M. Wilson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Methuen, 1976. 99–150.

Blemmydes, Nikephoros. *Epitome Logica*. 10.1 in *Patrologia Graeca*. vol. 142. col. 753A. Edited by J.P. Migne.

Blessing, Patricia. "Introduction – Space and Place: Applications to Medieval Anatolia." In *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500*. Edited by Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.

Booth, Ian. "Ghazis, roads, and trade in north-west Anatolia 1179–1291." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 31. no.2. (2007): 127–145.

Bouras, Charalambos. "Aspects of the Byzantine Cities, Eight–Fifteenth Centuries." In *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by Angeliki E. Laiou. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002. 497–582.

Brandes, Wolfram. "Byzantine Cities in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries – Different Sources, Different Histories?." In *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Edited by G.P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins. Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, 1999. 25–57.

Braudel, Fernand. *Civilisation matérielle, économie et Capitalisme XVe-XVIIIe siècle. Les Structures du Quotidien*. v. I. Paris: Armand Colin, 1979.

Brubaker, Leslie. "Space, Place and Culture. Processions across the Mediterranean." In *Cross-Cultural Interaction between Byzantium and the West, 1204–1669. Whose Mediterranean Is It Anyway? Papers from the Forty-Eight Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Milton Keynes, 28th–30th March 2015*. Edited by A. Lymberopoulou. London; New York, 2018. 219–235.

Bryer, A.A.M. "The Church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond." *Apollo* 89. (1969).

Bryer, Anthony and David Winfield. *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*. vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985.

Bryer, Anthony. "A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c. 979 – c. 1653." In *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*. ed. Anthony A.M. Bryer. London: Variorum Reprints, 1980.

Bryer, Anthony. "Estates of the Empire of Trebizond. Evidence for Their Resources, Products, Agriculture, Ownership and Location." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997): 365–391.

Byzantinus, Stephanus. *Ethnica*. Edited by Margarethe Billerbeck. vol I–V. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006–2017.

Çağaptay, Suna. "Into the Sacred Space: Facing Ayasoluk and Its Gate of Persecutions." In *Architecture and Visual Culture in the Late Antique and Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honor of Robert G. Ousterhout*. Edited by Vasileios Marinis, Amy Papalexandrou, and Jordan Pickett. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.

Çağaptay, Suna. "Islamic City, Ottoman City. Byzantine Prousa to Ottoman Bursa." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London and New York: Routledge, 2024.

Çağaptay, Suna. "On the Wings of the Double-Headed Eagle: Spolia in Re and Appropriation in Medieval Anatolia and Beyond." In *Spolia Reincarnated: Second Life of Spaces, Materials, Objects in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Period*. Edited by Ivana Jevtić and Suzan Yalman. Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2018. 309–338.

- Çağaptay, Suna. *The First Capital of the Ottoman Empire: The Religious, Architectural, and Social History of Bursa*. Londra and New York: Bloomsbury, 2021.
- Cahen, Claude. *The Formation of Turkey. The Seljukid Sultanate of Rûm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*. Harlow: 2001.
- Cambridge University Press. "City." *Cambridge Dictionary*. Accessed March 17, 2025. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/city>.
- Carile, Antonio. "Partitio terrarum imperii Romanieae." *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965): 125–305
- Cheynet, Jean-Claude. *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 9. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990.
- Choniates, Niketas, *Historia*. Edited by Ioannes A. van Dieten. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975.
- Choniates, Niketas. "Epistle." in *Nicetaei Choniate orationes et epistulae*. Edited by Ioannes A. van Dieten. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.
- Choniates, Niketas. *De Signis*. Edited by Ioannes A. van Dieten. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975.
- Choniates, Niketas. *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates (1118–1207)*. Translated by Harry J. Magoulas. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1984.
- Choniates, Niketas. *Orationes et Epistulae*. No.9. Edited by Ioannes A. Van Dieten. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 3. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1973.
- Clavijo, Ruy González de. *Embassy To Tamerlane, 1403–1406*. Translated by Guy Le Strange. London: G.Routledge, 1928.
- Comnena, Anna. *The Alexiad*. Edited by Peter Frankopan. Translated by E.R.A. Sewter. London: Penguin Classics, 2009.

Constantinus, Scylitzes. *History*. Edited by E. Th. Tsolakes. Thessalonika: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968.

Dalanay, Yaman. "What Happened to the Harbor of Ephesos after the Roman Empire?," In *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*. Edited by Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019.

Decker, Michael. "Methodologies for Byzantine Urban Studies." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London and New York: Routledge, 2024.

DeLuigi, Humberto. *Winter in the Land of Rum: Komnenian Defenses against the Turks in Western Anatolia*. Master's thesis. Bilkent University, 2015.

Eastmond, Antony. "Hagia Sophia at Trebizond." in *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond*. Edited by Antony Eastmond. İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2016.

Eastmond, Antony. "Introduction: The Lure of Trebizond." In *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond*. Edited by Antony Eastmond. İstanbul: ANAMED/ Koç University Press, 2016.

Eastmond, Antony. "Narratives of the Fall: Structure and Meaning in the Genesis Frieze at Hagia Sophia, Trebizond." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53. (1999): 219–236.

Eastmond, Antony. "The Empire of Trebizond," In *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond*. Edited by Antony Eastmond. İstanbul: ANAMED/Koç University Press, 2016.

Eastmond, Antony. *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium. Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond*. Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

Eco, Umberto. *Baudolino*. Translated by William Weaver. Vintage paperback edition. London: Vintage, 2003.

Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp. *Trabzon İmparatorluğunun Tarihi*. Translated by Ahmet Cevat Eren. Edited by İbrahim Tellioğlu. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011.

Fingarova, Galina. "Late Byzantine Bridges as Markers of Imagined Landscapes." *Levant* 51, no.2. (2020). 151–168.

Finlay, George. *The History of Greece from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks and of the Empire of Trebizond 1204–1461*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1851.

Finlay, George. *The Journals and Letters of George Finlay*. Edited by J.M. Hussey. 2 vols. Camberley, Surrey, 1995.

Foss, Clive "Byzantine Malagina, and the Lower Sangarius." *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990): 161 –183.

Foss, Clive and David Winfield. *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1986.

Foss, Clive. "Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia." *American Journal of Archeology* 81. no.4. (Autumn 1977): 469–486.

Foss, Clive. "Laodicea." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Foss, Clive. "Late Byzantine Fortification in Lydia." In *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*. Edited by Clive Foss. Aldershot: 1996c.

Foss, Clive. *Ephesus after Antiquity: A late antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Foss, Clive. *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises*. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1996.

Frankopan, Peter. "Byzantine trade privileges to Venice in the eleventh century: the chrysobull of 1092." *Journal of Medieval History* 30. no. 2. (2004): 135–160.

Fryderike, Stock et al. "In search of the harbours: New evidence of Late Roman and Byzantine harbours of Ephesus." *Quaternary International* 312. (2013): 57–69.

Georgacas, Demetrius John. "The Names of Constantinople." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78. (1947): 347–367.

Goehrke, Carsten, "Die Anfänge des mittelalterliche Städtewesens in eurasischer Perspektive," *Saeculum* 31 (1980): 194–239.

Greenfield, Richard P. H. "'As Though Struck in the Heart by a Missile': The Impact of Lazaros Galesiotes in Ephesos in the First Half of the Eleventh Century." In *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*. Edited by Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019: 139–147.

Gregoras, Nicephorus. *Byzantina Historia*. Edited by Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker. 3 vols. Bonn: 1829–1855.

Haldon, John et al. "The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, and Archeology." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. XLV:2. (Autumn 2014): 113–161.

Haldon, John. "Remarks on History, Environment, and Climate in Byzantine Anatolia: Comments on a Complex Landscape." In *Byzantine Anatolia's Space: Introduction,* in *Space and Communities in Byzantine Anatolia: Papers from the Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 24–26 June 2019*. Edited by N.D. Kontogiannis and T.B. Uyar. Istanbul, Koç University Press, 2021.

Haldon, John. "The Idea of the Town in the Byzantine Empire." In *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Edited by G.P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins. Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Harvey, Alan. *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Harvey, David. "The Right to the City." Originally published in. *New Left Review*, no.53. (September–October 2008). Accessed March 17, 2025.
<https://davidharvey.org/media/righttothecity.pdf>.

Hendy, Michael F. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and Whittemore Collection. Vol.4, Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081–1261*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999.

Hendy, Michael F. *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1969.

Hendy, Michael F. *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Hendy, Michael F. *The Economy, Fiscal Administration, and Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*. Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989.

Hierocles. *Synekdemos*. Edited by Ernest Honigmann. Bruxelles: Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slave, 1939.

Historia de expeditione Frederici imperatoris, edita a quodam Austriensi clerico, qui eidem interfuit, nomine Ansbertus, Edited by Joseph Dobrovsky. Prague: Apud Cajetanum de Mayregg, 1827.

Hopwood, Keith R. "Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbors." In *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities, and 'Black Holes': Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*. Edited by Eugenia Kermeli and Oktay Özel. Istanbul: Isis Press, 2006. 39–45.

Hopwood, Keith R. "The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier c. 1250–1300." in *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica: Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums*. Edited by Markus Köhbach et al. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik, 1999.

Howard-Johnston James. "Authority and Control in the Interior Asia Minor, Seventh–Ninth Centuries." In *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (Sixth–Tenth Century)*. Edited by Alain Delattre, Marie Legendre, and Petra Sijpestejin. Leiden: Brill, 2019. 128–175.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. Translated with revisions and notes by H. A. R. Gibb. vol. I. Cambridge: Hakluyt Society/Cambridge University Press, 1958.

Ibn Bibi, *El-Evāmirü'l- 'Alā' iyye fī'l-umūri'l- 'Alā' iyye (Selçukname)*. Translated by Mürsel Öztürk. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2023.

Ibn Bībī. *El-Evāmirü'l- 'Alā' iyye fī'l-umūri'l- 'Alā' iyye*. Edited by A. S. Erzi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957.

Jacoby, David. "Rural Exploitation in Western Asia Minor and the Mediterranean: Aspects of Interaction in the Thirteenth Century." In *Aureus: Tomos aphieromenos ston kathegete Evangelos K. Chrysos*. Edited by. Taxiarchis G. Kolias, Konstantinos G. Pitsakis, and C. Synellis. Athens: 2014.

Kafadar, Cemal. "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum." *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25.

Kahyaoğlu, Mehmet. "Portolan Charts and Harbor Towns in Western Asia Minor towards the End of the Byzantine Empire." In *Trade in Byzantium: Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*. Edited by Paul Magdalino and Nevra Necipoğlu. İstanbul: Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilization (ANAMED), 2016.

Kazhdan, Alexander P. "Byzantine Town and Trade as Seen by Niketas Choniates." *Byzantinoslavica* 56. no.1. (1995): 209–218.

Kazhdan, Alexander P. and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 7. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Kazhdan, Alexander. "The Italian and Late Byzantine City." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 1–22

Kennedy, Scott. ed. and trans. *Two Works on Trebizond. Michael Paneratos; Bessarion*. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 52. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia, ed. *Οι Βυζαντινές πόλεις 8ος-15ος αιώνας: Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις*. Rethymno: University of Crete, Faculty of Philosophy, 2012.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονόμος, Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την άλωση*. Αθήνα: Πόλις, 2007. English translation by Paul Magdalino. *Emperor or Manager. Power and political ideology in Byzantium before 1453*. Geneva: La pomme d'or, 2011.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia. "Spatial Organization in the Late Byzantine Cities (13th–14th Centuries)." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London and New York: Routledge, 2024. 91–103.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia. *Οι αόρατες βυζαντινές πόλεις στον ελλαδικό χώρο (13ος–15ος αιώνας)*. Αθήνα, Πόλις, 2013.

Kirsten, Ernst. "Die byzantinische Stadt." In *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, München 1958*, Teil V/3, München: Selbstdruck, 1958. 1–48.

Koder, Johannes. "Historical Geography of the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Problems of the Sources." In *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Proceedings of the First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*. Edited by Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu. İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2016.

Koder, Johannes. "Historical Geography." In *The Archeology of Byzantine Anatolia: From the End of the Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks*. Edited by Philipp Niewöhner. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Koder, Johannes. "Land use and settlement: theoretical approaches." In *General Issues in the Study of Medieval Logistics: Sources, Problems, and Methodologies*, Edited by J.H. Haldon, History of Warfare 36 Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006. 159–183.

Koder, Johannes. "Space and Identity Byzantine Conceptions of Geographic Belonging." In *Spatialities of Byzantine Culture from the Human Body to the Universe*. Edited by Myrto Veikou and Ingela Nilsson. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

- Koder, Johannes. "The Geography of Byzantine Anatolia." In *Anatolia in the Byzantine Period*. Edited by Engin Akyürek and Koray Durak. İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2021.
- Koder, Johannes. "The Urban Character of the Early Byzantine Empire: Some Reflections on a Settlement Geographical Approach to the Topic," *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers. Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University. Washington D.C. August 3-8, 1986 New York, Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University, 1986*, 156–189.
- Koder, Johannes. *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner: historisch-geographischer Abriss ihres mittelalterlichen Staates im östlichen Mittelmeerraum*. Graz: Styria, 1984.
- Kondyli, Fotini. "The Lords at the End of the Empire: Negotiating Power in The Late Byzantine Frontiers (Fourteenth–Fifteenth Centuries)." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 112 (2017): 309–339.
- Kontogiannis, Nikos D. and Tolga B. Uyar, eds., "Placing Communities in Byzantine Anatolia's Space: Introduction." In *Space and Communities in Byzantine Anatolia: Papers from the Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 24–26 June 2019*. Edited by N.D. Kontogiannis and T.B. Uyar. İstanbul, Koç University Press, 2021.
- Kontogiannis, Nikos D. *Byzantine Fortifications: Protecting the Roman Empire in the East*. Yorkshire and Philadelphia: Pen & Sword Books, 2022.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "The Byzantine-Seljuq Border in Times of Trouble: Laodikeia in 1174 –1204." In *Byzantium, 1180–1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century?"*. Edited by Alicia Simpson. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2015.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "The Formation of Turkish Principalities in the Boundary Zone: From the Emirate of Denizli to the Beylik of Menteşe (1256–1302)." In *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium of the History, Culture, and Civilization of Western Anatolian Principalities: Menteşe Principality, 25–27 April 2012, Muğla*. Muğla: 2014.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Külzer, Andreas. "Byzantine Geography." In *Oxford Handbook of Science and Medicine in the Classical World*. Edited by Paul T. Keyser and John Scarborough. Oxford: 2018.

Külzer, Andreas. "Harbor Cities as Interfaces of Maritime and Terrestrial Communication Systems in Late Antique and Medieval Western Anatolia." In *Space and Communities in Byzantine Anatolia: Papers from the Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 24–26 June 2019*. Edited by N.D. Kontogiannis and T.B. Uyar. Istanbul, Koç University Press, 2021.

Külzer, Andreas. "Reconstructing the Past in a Changing Landscape. Reflections on the Area of Ephesus and Other Sites in Western Asia Minor." *Gephyra* 16. (November, 2018): 75–90.

Külzer, Andreas. "Roads and Routes. Communication Networks in the Hinterland of Ephesos." In *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*. Edited by Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019.

Kuper, Adam, and Jessica Kuper, eds. *The Social Science Encyclopedia*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Kyriakidis, Savvas. *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204 – 1453*. Leiden: Brill: 2011.

Kyritses, Demetrios S. "Political and Constitutional Crisis at the End of the Twelfth Century." In *Byzantium, 1180 – 1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century"?*, edited by Alicia J. Simpson, Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation – Institute of Historical Research, 2015. 97–111.

Ladstätter, Sabine. "Bizans Döneminde Ephesos – Büyük bir antik kentin tarihinde son sayfa." (Ephesos in the Byzantine Period: The Last Page in the History of an Ancient Metropolis)." In *Bizans Döneminde Ephesos*, Edited by Falko Daim and Sabine Ladstätter. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları: 2011.

- Ladstätter, Sabine. "Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages. An Archeological Introduction." In *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*. Edited by Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019.
- Laiou, Angeliki E. "The Agrarian Economy." In *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by Angeliki E. Laiou. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002. 315–375.
- Laiou, Angeliki. "The Palaiologoi and the World Around Them (1261–1400)." In *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500–1492*. Edited by Jonathan Shepard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Langdon, John Springer. *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231*. New Rochelle, NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1992.
- Laskaris, Theodori Ducae. *Epistulae CCXVII*. Edited by Nicola Festa. Florence: Sansoni, 1898.
- Lauritzen, Frederick. "Bessarion's Political Philosophy: The Encomium to Trebizond." *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2. (2011): 189–195.
- Lazarapoulos. *Synopsis*. Edited and translated by J. O. Rosenquist. *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou*, 154. *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*: 5 (Uppsala, 1996).
- Leedham-Green, E. "Covel (Colvill), John (1638–1722), college head." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (23 Sep. 2004). Accessed 14 Jun. 2025. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6471>
- Leidholm, Nathan. *Elite Byzantine Kinship, Ca. 950–1204: Blood, Reputation, and the Genos. Beyond Medieval Europe*. Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019.

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes. *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*. Translated by J.C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Longnon, Jean. “The Frankish State in Greece, 1204–1311.” In *A History of the Crusades, vol.2: The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*. Edited by Setton, Wolff, Hazard. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

Loud, G. A., trans. *The Crusade of Frederick of Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*. Crusade Texts in Translation 19. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.

Macrides, Ruth. “What’s in the name ‘Megas Komnenos’?” *Archeion Pontou* 35. (1978–79) 238–245.

Magdalino, Paul. “Constantine VII and the Historical Geography of Empire.” In *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*. Edited by Yota Batsaki, Paul Magdalino, and Dimitar Angelov. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. 23–41.

Magdalino, Paul. “Isaac II, Saladin and Venice.” In *the Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans, and Russia*, edited by Jonathan Shepard. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2007. 93–106.

Magdalino, Paul. “The Empire of the Komnenoi (1118–1204),” in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c.500–1492*, edited by Jonathan Shepard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Magdalino, Paul. *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Mango, Cyril. “The Meeting-Place of the First Ecumenical Council and the Church of the Holy Fathers.” In *İznik Throughout History*. Edited by Işık Akbaygil, Halil İnalçık, and Oktay Aslanapa. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2003.

Massey Doreen, and John Allen eds. *Geography Matters! A Reader*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Matschke, Klaus-Peter. "Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." In *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by Angeliki E. Laiou. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002. 771–806.

Matschke, Klaus-Peter. "The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries." In *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by Angeliki E. Laiou. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002. 463–495.

McCormick, Michael. *Eternal victory. Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Mercangöz, Zeynep. "Archeological Finds on Late Byzantine Commercial Productions at Kadıkalesi, Kuşadası." In *Byzantine Craftsmen – Latin Patrons: Reflections from the Anaian Commercial Production in the Light of the Excavations at Kadıkalesi near Kuşadası*. Edited by Zeynep Mercangöz. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013.

Mercangöz, Zeynep. "Doğu Akdeniz Topraklarından Bir Bizans Kalesine: Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi'nde Orta Çağ İslam Seramikleri." *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Kültür Envanteri Dergisi* 17. (2018): 93–117.

Mercangöz, Zeynep. "Introduction." In *Byzantine Craftsmen – Latin Patrons: Reflections from the Anaian Commercial Production in the Light of the Excavations at Kadıkalesi near Kuşadası*. Edited by Zeynep Mercangöz. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013.

Metochites, Theodore. *Oi Δύο Βασιλικοὶ Λόγοι*. Edited by Ioannis D. Polemis. Athens, 2007.

Mimaroglu, Sinan. "Late Byzantine Commercial Amphorae in Kadıkalesi/Anaia." In *Byzantine Craftsmen – Latin Patrons: Reflections from the Anaian Commercial Production in the Light of the Excavations at Kadıkalesi near Kuşadası*. Edited by Zeynep Mercangöz. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013.

Mitsou, Ekaterini. "Ideology and Economy in the Politics of John III Vatatzes (1221–1254)." In *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Proceedings of the First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*. Edited by Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, Nevra Necipoğlu. İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2016.

Morrison, Cecile. "The Emperor, the Saint and the City: Coinage and Money in Thessalonike from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57. (2003): 173–200.

Morrison, Cecile. "Thirteenth-Century Byzantine 'Metallic' Identities." In *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*. Edited by Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018. 133–167.

Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*. New York: Harcourt: Brace & World, 1961.

Nicol, Donald M. "Kaisersalbung. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2. (1976): 37–52.

Nicol, Donald M. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Edited by Jean Darrouzès. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981.

Özcan, Koray. "The Anatolian Seljuq City An Analysis of Early Turkish Urban Models in Anatolia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 54, no.2 (2010): 273–290.

Pachymérès, George. *Relations Historiques*, Edited by Albert Failler and translated by Vitalien Laurent. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984.

Papadopoulou, Pagona. "Coinage and Economy at the end of the Twelfth Century: An Assessment." in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century"?*. Edited by Alicia Simpson. Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation - Institute of Historical Research, 2015.

Park, Robert E., and Ernest W. Burgess. *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Peacock, Andrew C.S. “The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and the Turkmen of the Byzantine frontier, 1206–1279.” *Al-Masāq* 26. no.3. (2014). 267–287.

Peacock, Andrew. “Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World Down to the Mongol Period.” In *the Black Sea: Past, Present and Future Proceedings of the international, interdisciplinary conference Istanbul, 14 – 16 October 2004*. Edited by Gül den Er kut and Stephen Mitchell. British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2007.

Pegolotti. *La practica della mercatura*. Edited by Der. A. Evans. Cambridge: MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936.

Peschlow, Urs. “Nicaea.” In *The Archeology of Byzantine Anatolia: From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks*. Edited by Phillipp Niewöhner. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Peschlow, Urs. “The Churches of Nicaea / İznik.” in *İznik Throughout History*. Edited by Işık Aybaklıgil, Halil İnalçık, and Oktay Aslanapa. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2003.

Pinatsi, Christina. “New Observations on the Pavement of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea.” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99. no. 1. (2006): 119–126.

Pirenne, Henri. *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. Translated by Frank D. Halsey. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Pitamber, Naomi Ruth. “Loss, Memory, and Exile: Innovation and Simulation in Laskarid Art and Architecture.” In *Pánta rheî: Change in Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture, Art, and Material Culture*. Edited by Jenny P. Albani and Ioanna Christoforaki. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.

Pitamber, Naomi Ruth. *Replacing Byzantium: Laskarid Urban Environments and the Landscape of Loss (1204–1261)*. PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2015.

Polo, Marco. *The Description of the World*. Edited by Der. A.C. Mule and P. Elliot. Londra: G. Routledge & Sons: 1938.

Porphyrogenitus, Constantine VII. *De Thematibus*. Edited by Agostino Pertusi. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1952.

Porphyrogenitus, Constantine VII. *The De Thematibus (On the Themes)*. Translated and introduced by John F. Haldon. Translated Texts for Byzantinists, vol.11. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021.

Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes “The Medieval Climate Anomaly, The Oort Minimum, and Socio- Political Dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Byzantine Empire, 10th to 12th Century.” In *A Companion to the Environmental History of Byzantium*. Edited by Adam Izdebski and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller. Leiden: Brill, 2024.

Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes. “Liquid Frontiers: A relational analysis of maritime Asia Minor as religious contact zone in the 13th–15th century.” In *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. Edited by A. C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola & Sara Nur Yıldız. Burlington: Ashgate, 2015. 117–146.

Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes. and Ekaterini Mitsiou “The Little Ice Age and Byzantium within the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1200–1350: An Essay on Old Debates and New Scenarios.” In *The Crisis of the 14th Century: ‘Teleconnections’ between Environmental and Societal Change*. Edited by Martin Bauch & Gerrit Jasper Schenk. Berlin & Boston, MA: De Gruyter.

Psellos, Michael. *Micheal Psellus Philosophica minora: volume II Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemonologica*. Edited by Dominic J. O’Meara. Berlin, Boston: BSB B.G. Teubner, 1989.

Puech, Vincent. “Aristocracy and the Empire of Nicaea.” In *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*. Edited by Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint Guillain. London and New York: Routledge, 2016. 69-81.

Raby, J. “A Seventeenth-Century Description of Iznik-Nicaea.” *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 26. (1976): 149–188.

Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole*. Cologne: DuMont, 1988.

Ramsay, W. M. *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. London: Royal Geographical Society, 1890.

Redford, Scott. "City Building in Seljuq Rum." In *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture*. Edited by Christian Lange and Songul Mecit. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.

Redford, Scott. "The Sarcophagus as Spolium: Examples from Thirteenth-Century Konya." in *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*. Edited by Ivana Jevtic and Suzan Yalman. 195– 210. Istanbul: ANAMED, 2018.

Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe. Edited by Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1937.

Rice, David Talbot. *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*. Edinburgh University Press, 1968.

Saradi, Helen. "Byzantine urban imagination: Idealisation and political thinking (eight to fifteenth centuries)." In *Cities as Palimpsests? Responses to Antiquity in Eastern Mediterranean Urbanism*. Edited by Elizabeth Key Fowden, Suna Çağaptay, Edward Zychowicz-Coghill et al. Oxbow Books, 2022.

Saradi, Helen. "The Byzantine Cities (8th–15th Centuries): Old Approaches and New Directions." In *Οι Βυζαντινές πόλεις 8ος-15ος αιώνας: Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις*, edited by Tonia Kiousopoulou. Rethymno: University of Crete, Faculty of Philosophy, 2012. 25–46.

Saradi, Helen. "The Byzantine City in Byzantine Hagiography." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, London: Routledge, 2020. 419–452.

Saradi, Helen. "The Byzantine City in Literary Sources." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. (London and New York: Routledge, 2024.

Saradi, Helen. "The Kallos of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical Topos and Historical Reality." *Gesta* 34. no.1. (1995).

Saradi, Helen. "The Monuments in the Late Byzantine Ekphraseis of Cities: Searching for Identities." *Byzantinoslavica* 69. no. 3. suppl. (2011).

Saradi, Helen. "The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archeological and Literary Evidence." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3. no.4. (Spring, 1997): 395–423.

Scherer, Peter. *Ephesus: The New Guide*. İzmir: Ege Yayınları, 2000.

Serin, Ufuk. "The Byzantine 'City' in Asia Minor." In *Routledge Companion to the Byzantine City: from Justinian to Mehmed II (c. 500 – ca. 1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London; New York; Routledge, 2024.

Shawcross, Teresa. "Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204." In *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*. Edited by Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Shea, Jonathan. *The Late Byzantine City: Social, Economic, and Institutional Profile*. PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2010.

Shukurov, Rustam. "The Enigma of David Grand Komnenos." *Mésogeios* 12. (2001): 125–136.

Simpson, Alicia J., "Perceptions and Interpretations of the Late Twelfth Century in Modern Historiography," In *Byzantium, 1180 – 1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century"?*. Edited by Alicia J. Simpson. Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation – Institute of Historical Research, 2015. 13–34.

Simpson, Alicia. "Provincial Separatism in the Late Twelfth Century: A Case of Power Relations or Disparate Identities." In *Identities and Ideologies in the Medieval East Roman World*. Edited by Yannis Stouraitis. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

Şimşek, Celal. "Laodikeia'dan Ladik'e Denizli." *Uluslararası Denizli ve Çevresi Tarih ve Kültür Sempozyumu*. Denizli: Pamukkale Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Yayınları, 2007.

Şimşek, Celal. *Laodikeia (Laodicea ad Lycum)*. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013.

Sode, Claudia. "The Formulation of Urban Identity on Byzantine Seals," In *Seals: Making and Marking Connections across the Medieval World*, Edited by Brigitte Bedos-Rezak and Carol Symes. Amsterdam and London: Arc Humanities Press, 2019.

Stephenson, Paul. "The Rise of the Middle Byzantine Aristocracy and the Decline of the Imperial State." in *The Byzantine World*. edited by Paul Stephenson. London and New York: Routledge, 2010. 22–33.

Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Vienna: Verlag de Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–. Accessed June 18, 2025. <https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/>.

Telelis, Ioannis. "Byzantine Textual Sources for Climatic and Environmental Developments." *Byzantina Symmeikta* 32 (2022). 17–41.

Telelis, Ioannis. "Medieval Warm Period and the Beginning of the Little Ice Age in the Eastern Mediterranean." In *Byzanz als Raum: zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*. Edited by Klaus Belke et al. Wien: Kommission der Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 2000. 223–243.

Tellioglu, İbrahim. *Komnenosların Karadeniz Hakimiyeti Trabzon Rum Devleti (1204–1461)*. Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2009.

Thayer, Bill. ed. "Procopius: Buildings." *LacusCurtius*. accessed June 5 2025. book III, vii, I. Transcription by Henry B. Dewing's Loeb Classical Library edition. (1940).

Thonemann, Peter. *The Maender Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

Ünal Ceren, and Merve Toy. "The Kadıkalesi/Anaia Hoard B: A Group of Billon Trachea of the Nicaean Emperor Theodore I Lascaris from the Main Church in Kadıkalesi/Anaia." *The Numismatic Chronicle* 180. (2020): 323–333.

- Ünal Ceren. and Merve Toy, “Kadıkalesi/Anaia Hoard C: Thirty-Three Copper Trachae and Stamena from the Main Church in Kadıkalesi/Anaia Excavation.” *Revista Numismática Hécate* no. 7. (2020): 80–97.
- Ünal, Ceren. “Kadıkalesi/Anaia Hoard A: Seventeen Grave Finds Hyperpyra from the Reign of Nicaean Emperor Ioannes III Doukas Vatatzes (1221–1254).” *Annali dell’Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 64. (2018): 147–162.
- Underwood, Paul A. “The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Camii at Istanbul.” In *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* Edited by K. Weitzmann. Princeton, 1955). 254–260.
- van Suchem, Ludolphus. *De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*. Edited by Ferdinand Deycks. Stuttgart, 1851.
- Van Tricht, Filip. “The Byzantino-Latin Principality of Adrianople and the Challenge of Feudalism (1204/6–ca. 1227/28): Empire, Venice and Local Autonomy.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014): 325–342.
- Veikou, Myrto and Alexander Beihammer. “‘Spatial’ Identities: Literary Spaces and Human Agencies in Byzantine Smyrna through the Cartulary of Lembos Monastery (End of 12th–13th Centuries).” In *Space, Landscapes and Settlements in Byzantium*. Edited by Andreas Külzer and Mihailo St. Popovic. Vienna–Novi Sad: Austrian Academy of Science; Akademska knjiga, 2007.
- Veikou, Myrto. “Sea of Agency: Islands and Coasts of the Byzantine Aegean in Environmental Perspective.” In *A Companion to the Environmental History of Byzantium*. Edited by Adam Izdebski and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller. Leiden: Brill, 2024.
- Veikou, Myrto. “Theorizing Byzantine Urbanity, The City Constituting Memory, Memory Constituting the City.” In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London and New York: Routledge, 2024.
- Vionis, Athanasios K. “Understanding Settlements in Byzantine Greece: New Data and Approaches for Boeotia, Sixth to Thirteenth Centuries.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 71 (2017): 127–74.
- Vita prior Alypii Stylitae, in *Les saints stylites* Edited by H. Delehaye. Brussels, 1923.

Vroom, Joanita. "Medieval Ephesos as a Production and Consumption Centre." In *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*. Edited by Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019.

Vryonis, Speros. *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Walter, Christopher. "The Significance of Unction in Byzantine Iconography." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2. (1976): 53–73.

Warf, Barney and Santa Arias, *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Weber, Max. *The City*. Edited by Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth. London: The Free Press, 1958.

White, Sam. "The Little Ice Age in the Eastern Mediterranean, 14th–17th Centuries." In *A Companion to the Environmental History of Byzantium*. Edited by Adam Izdebski and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller. Leiden: Brill, 2024.

Whittow, Mark. "The middle Byzantine Economy (600–1204)." In *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500–1492*, edited by Jonathan Shepard, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 465–493.

Whittow, Mark. *Social and Political Structures in the Maender Region of Western Asia Minor on the Eve of the Turkish Invasion*. 2 vols. D.Phil. diss, University of Oxford, 1987.

Wickham, Christopher J. *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400 –800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Wittek, Paul. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1938.

Xenophon, *The Persian Expedition*. Translated by R. Warner. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949.

Yıldız, Sara Nur. “Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes and His Descendants at the Seljuq Court: The Formation of a Christian-Seljuk Komnenian Elite.” In *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th – 14th centuries)*. Edited by Stefan Leder. Würzburg: Orient-Institut Istanbul, 2011.

Yüksel, Çağla Caner. “A Tale of Two Port Cities: Ayasuluk (Ephesus) and Balat (Miletus) during the Beyliks Period.” *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 31. no. 3. (2019): 338 –365

Zavagno, Luca. “‘The Way We Were’: a journey in the last fifty years of Byzantine archeology (1975-2024).” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 49, no.1 (December 2024): 11–21.

Zavagno, Luca. “The Byzantine City and its Historiography.” In *The Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City: From Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500–1500)*. Edited by Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno. London and New York: Routledge, 2024.

Zavagno, Luca. *The Byzantine City from Heraclius to the Fourth Crusade, 610–1204: Urban Life After Antiquity*. Cham: Palgrave Pivot, 2021.

Zimmermann, Norbert. “The Seven Sleepers of Ephesos.” In *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul, 30 November – 2 December 2012*. Edited by Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2019.