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SPACE AND COMMUNITIES IN BYZANTINE ANATOLIA

**PAPERS
FROM THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
SEVGİ GÖNÜL BYZANTINE STUDIES
SYMPOSIUM**

**EDITED BY
NIKOS D. KONTOGIANNIS AND TOLGA B. UYAR**

**SPACE AND COMMUNITIES
IN BYZANTINE ANATOLIA**
PAPERS FROM THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
SEVGİ GÖNÜL BYZANTINE STUDIES SYMPOSIUM

ISTANBUL, 24-26 JUNE 2019

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IN BYZANTINE ANATOLIA

PAPERS FROM THE FIFTH
INTERNATIONAL SEVGİ GÖNÜL
BYZANTINE STUDIES SYMPOSIUM,
24-26 JUNE, 2019

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AbhBerl	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Abhandlungen</i>
ActaIRNorv	<i>Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJS Review	<i>The Journal of the Association for Jewish Studies</i>
AnatAnt	<i>Anatolia Antiqua</i>
AnatSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AntTard	<i>Antiquité Tardive</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i>
ANMED	<i>Anadolu Akdenizi: arkeoloji haberleri= News of archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean areas</i>
AnzWien	<i>Anzeiger: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse</i>
ArtB	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
AST	<i>Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>
<hr/>	
BABesch	<i>Bulletin antieke beschaving</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BEFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
BHG	<i>Biblioteca hagiographica graeca</i> , edited by F. Halkin. 3 rd ed. SubsHag 47. Brussels, 1957; repr. 1969
BIAA	<i>British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i>
BSA	<i>The Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens</i>
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
ByzSorb	<i>Byzantina Sorbonnensia</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<hr/>	
CahArch	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i>
CCSG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series graeca</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae</i>

CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CSCO	Corpus scriptorium christianorum orientaliū
CSLA	The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity (CSLA) database, based mainly at the University of Oxford
<hr/>	
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας
DenkWien	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften
DOC	Bellinger, A. R., Grierson P., and Hendy M. F. <i>Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection</i> . Washington, DC, 1966–1999
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Studies</i>
DOSeals	<i>Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art</i> , edited by N. Oikonomides and J. Nesbitt. Washington, DC, 1991–
<hr/>	
ΕΕΦΘεσσ	Ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης
EP	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> . 2nd ed. Leiden; London, 1960–2002
EJOS	<i>Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies</i>
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
<hr/>	
HEROM	<i>Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HT	<i>History and Theory Journal</i>
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
Hugoye	<i>Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies</i>
<hr/>	
IEph.	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> . Vols. I–VIII, edited by H. Wankel et al. Bonn, 1979–1984
IstForsch	<i>Istanbuler Forschungen</i>
IstMitt	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
<hr/>	
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JECrSt	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>

JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JÖAI	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> [note: before 1969, JÖBG]
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSAH	<i>Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians</i>
JWalt	<i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i>
<hr/>	
KST	<i>Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>
<hr/>	
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua</i>
MASP	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg, Sciences politiques, histoire et philosophie</i>
MélRome	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome</i>
MHR	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
MiChA	<i>Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie</i>
MM	<i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana</i> , edited by F. Miklosich and J. Müller. 6 vols. Vienna, 1860–1890
MonPiot	<i>Monuments et mémoires, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot</i>
<hr/>	
OCP	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica</i>
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , edited by A. Kazhdan et al. 3 vols. New York; Oxford, 1991
OHBS	<i>The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies</i> , edited by E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, and R. Cormack. Oxford, 2008
ÖJh	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen institutes in Wien</i>
<hr/>	
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , edited by J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1857–1866
PBW	<i>Prosopography of the Byzantine World</i>
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> . Vol. 1, edited by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris. Cambridge, 1971; Vols. 2–3, edited by J. R. Martindale. Cambridge, 1980–1992
PNAS	<i>Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences of the USA</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
PoDIA	<i>Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens</i>

ProcBrAc	Proceedings of the British Academy
<hr/>	
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RACr	<i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i>
RArch	<i>Rivista di archeologia</i>
RBK	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> , edited by K. Wessel. Stuttgart, 1963–
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RendPontAcc	<i>Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia, Rendiconti</i>
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i>
RSBS	<i>Bizantinistica. Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi</i>
<hr/>	
SBMünch	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SBS	<i>Studies in Byzantine Sigillography</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i> , edited by P. Roussel et al. Leiden, 1923–
SGS 1	<i>Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Papers from the First International Sevgi Gönül Symposium</i> , edited by A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek, and N. Necipoğlu. Istanbul, 2010
SGS 2	<i>The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture, Papers From The Second International Sevgi Gönül Symposium</i> , edited by A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek, and N. Necipoğlu. Istanbul, 2013
SGS 3	<i>Trade in Byzantium, Papers From the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium</i> , edited by P. Magdalino and N. Necipoğlu. Istanbul, 2016
SGS 4	<i>Identity and the other in Byzantium, Papers From the Fourth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium</i> , edited by K. Durak and I. Jevtić. Istanbul, 2019
SoSchrÖAI	Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
SOPJ	<i>Syriac Orthodox Patriarchal Journal</i>
Spolia reincarnated	<i>Spolia reincarnated: afterlives of objects, materials and spaces in Anatolia from antiquity to the Ottoman era</i> , edited by I. Jevtić and S. Yalman. Istanbul, 2018.
StP	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
Synaxarium CP	<i>Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris</i> , ed. H. Delehaye. Brussels, 1902
Syria	<i>Syria. Archéologie, art et histoire</i>
<hr/>	
Teubner	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana

The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia	<i>The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia: From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks</i> , edited by P. Niewöhner. New York, 2017
TIB	<i>Tabula imperii byzantini</i> , edited by H. Hunger. Vienna, 1976–
TM	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>
TÜBA-KED	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Kültür Envanteri Dergisi
TürkArkDerg	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
<hr/>	
VizVrem	Vizantiiskii vremennik
<hr/>	
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZPapEpig	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>
ZLU	<i>Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti</i>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NIKOS D. KONTOGIANNIS and TOLGA B. UYAR

The articles of the present volume were originally delivered during the Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, *Byzantine Anatolia: Space and Communities*. It was organized by the Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies (GABAM) at Istanbul's Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) on 24–26 June 2019. We would like to thank the Vehbi Koç Foundation and especially Ömer M. Koç, whose constant support and heartfelt commitment made this event possible; we can convincingly argue that their unwavering perseverance has turned the Sevgi Gönül Symposium into an impactful global event for the Byzantine scholarly community. We are also grateful to the personnel of both institutions (GABAM and ANAMED) for the impeccable organization of the symposium. We are personally indebted to the director of GABAM, Engin Akyürek, and the members of the Scientific Advisory Board, who entrusted us with the editing of the present volume. We are equally humbled by the trust of all our colleagues and friends who participated in the symposium and then undertook the copious burden to rework and submit their texts for publication. Special mention should be made to John Haldon (opening and closing remarks) and Robert Ousterhout (introductory speech for the Cappadocia sessions).

The volume at hand contains twenty-six papers (stemming from some twenty-nine presentations) whose diversity and wide scope made our work both gratifying and challenging. We have tried to the best of our ability to apply uniform standards to all the texts by referring to established practices (*ODB* for historical names; *Hesperia* for the transliteration system of Greek words; *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition, for citation and style issues; *Dumbarton Oaks' Byzantine publications* for the list of abbreviations) while also allowing for the authors' liberties (e.g., when referring to Anatolia vs. Asia Minor). We truly appreciate the hard work that Jacob Chizzo put into copyediting and proofreading all the texts. Deniz Sever-Georgousakis undertook compiling the index, while Gediz Deren Öktem and Merve Özkılıç put together the general bibliography. Last but not least, we are indebted to Burak Şuşut, who oversaw the design and production of the book, and to Deniz Yasemin Önen, the GABAM academic administrator who made sure that the whole publishing process went smoothly. As always, we happily share with our coauthors and collaborators the accolade but keep full responsibility for any shortcomings or failings our reader may come across.

PREFACE

ÖMER M. KOÇ

Honorary President of the Symposium

Convened for the first time in 2007, the International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium had its fifth session in 2019 with the theme *Byzantine Anatolia: Space and Communities*. I believe it is an admirable way to commemorate my late aunt Sevgi Gönül (1938–2003), whose support for Byzantine Studies and Cultural Heritage proved a lasting impact for intellectual life in Turkey. These triennial Symposia are by now a well-established institution that attract and bring together the greatest scholars from our country and around the world. At the same time, they demonstrate a steadfast devotion to innovation and the advancement of the field.

For the Fifth Symposium the scientific advisory board turned to the land and people of Anatolia. Being one of the main provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire, it became the core land of the Byzantine state after the Arab conquests, and its powerbase in the struggle to reinsert itself as a Mediterranean power. From the end of the eleventh century the area witnessed the conflicts between the Byzantine entity(s) and the Seljuk/Turkish principalities, which finally ended in the fifteenth century with their integration into the Ottoman realm. Under this summarily political history lies a more fascinating reality: the diverse matrix of regional settlements in Anatolia, the changes and adaptations to environmental and socio-economic realities, and the cultural and political expressions of actively engaged populations. The wealth of archaeological material gradually coming to light promises exciting new perspectives and breakthroughs in field studies, particularly historical and art historical research. New material, coupled with innovative approaches, undoubtedly reformulates traditional standpoints and reshapes our understanding of the Empire's core provinces.

As always, I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to Vehbi Koc Foundation, Koç University-Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies (GABAM), Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED), the members of the symposium's Scientific Advisory Board and Executive Board which made this symposium and its accompanying publication possible. Furthermore, I am grateful to all the participants, who greatly contributed to the scientific quality of this symposium with their papers.

Harbor Cities as Interfaces of Maritime and Terrestrial Communication Systems in Late Antique and Medieval Western Anatolia

Andreas Külzer

Austrian Academy of Sciences

Some introductory remarks on Late Antique and Byzantine harbors

Harbor cities are communication interfaces; belonging to both systems, they connect the terrestrial and the maritime traffic routes. The factor of connecting is important: places that are only open to the sea can be moorings, anchorages, or landing places, but hardly ever ports or harbors. Both of these terms refer to a gateway, an intermediary point between the sea, the foreshore and the sites in the hinterland, with a certain relevance for supply, accommodation, and the exchange of ideas, goods, and people.¹

In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, many harbor places in the eastern Mediterranean had no artificial installations, wharfages, or port basins.² Fundamental for their foundation, existence, and survival were appropriate geographical, geomorphological,

1 K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Städtebaus* (Leipzig, 1923), 5–28. In general, see *Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems*, ed. J. Preiser-Kapeller and F. Daim (Mainz, 2015).

2 S. Kingsley, “‘Decline’ in the Ports of Palestine in Late Antiquity,” in *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism*, ed. L. Lavan (Portsmouth, 2001), 59–85, esp. 85; D. Heher, J. Preiser-Kapeller, and G. Simeonov, “Vom Lokalen zum Globalen: Maritime Netzwerke des Austauschs, der Versorgung und Mobilität an den byzantinischen Balkanküsten und in der frühmittelalterlichen Welt,” in *Häfen im 1. Millennium AD: Standortbedingungen, Entwicklungsmodelle und ökonomische Vernetzung*, ed. S. Kalmring and L. Werther (Mainz, 2017), 191–222, esp. 194–195.

and climatic conditions: striking landmarks in the surroundings for general orientation, favorable winds and currents for an easy access of the place, the lack of sandbanks and cliffs in the landing areas, and a favorable system of aggradation, erosion, and siltation in the bay itself. Protection facilities for both, the residents and the sailors, and the access to sufficient amounts of fresh water were extremely important. Also important was an infrastructure that favored the exchange of goods, including the general possibility for loading activities and the existence of communication routes into the respective hinterland.³ However, these favorable conditions and parameters were mutable; immutability did not exist. Most harbor places saw different stages of development throughout the Byzantine millennium due to various environmental and human factors. Silting and sedimentation could affect a bay; for example, sea level fluctuation connected to seismic-tectonic phenomena could restrict the usability of a harbor place. Climatic changes could lead to a drying up of single wells, ditches, and streams and to a shortage of fresh water in general, resulting in an abandonment of the anchorage. Furthermore, political, economic, or social phenomena could influence the flourishing of a harbor. In the seventh and eighth centuries for example, due to a combination of various factors, there was a dramatic decline in the number of harbor places, while from the tenth century onwards, their number increased again.⁴

Settlements and communication systems in Late Antique and Byzantine western Anatolia

The following discussion focuses on western Anatolia, the territory of the Late Antique and medieval province of *Asia*.⁵ The distance between Cape Lekton (Bababurnu) in the extreme northwest of the province and the mouth of the Meander River (Büyük Menderes Nehri) in the deep south was about 750 kilometers. Like pearls on a necklace, cities and

3 K. Walsh, *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Landscapes: Human-Environment Interaction from the Neolithic to the Roman Period* (Cambridge, 2014), 33–39; J. Preiser-Kapeller, “Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems: A Thematic Introduction,” in Preiser-Kapeller and Daim, *Harbours and Maritime Networks*, 1–23, esp. 2–7; M. Veikou, “Mediterranean Byzantine Ports and Harbours in the Complex Interplay between Environment and Society: Spatial, Socio-Economic and Cultural Considerations Based on Archaeological Evidence from Greece, Cyprus and Asia Minor,” in *ibid.*, 39–60, esp. 40–48.

4 *ibid.*, 42–45; C. Morhange et al., “Geoarchaeology of Ancient Harbours in Lagoonal Contexts: An Introduction,” in *Fluvial Landscapes in the Roman World*, ed. T. Franconi (Portsmouth, RI, 2017), 97–110; A. Ginalis et al., *Harbours and Landing Places on the Balkan Coasts of the Byzantine Empire (4th to 12th centuries)*, European Harbour Data Repository 4, ed. L. Werther, H. Müller, and M. Foucher (Jena, 2019), esp. 9, 51–59; M. Giaime, N. Marriner, and Ch. Morhange, “Evolution of Ancient Harbours in Deltaic Contexts: A Geoarchaeological Typology,” *Earth-Science Reviews* 191 (2019): 141–167; M. Artzy et al., “Coastline, River Changes and Their Effects on Anchorages/Harbors and Habitation Patterns: Akko (Israel) as an Example,” in *Harbours and Maritime Cultural Landscapes*, ed. L. Blue et al. (Leiden, forthcoming).

5 Th. Mommsen, “Verzeichniss (sic!) der römischen Provinzen, aufgesetzt um 297. Mit einem Anhang von K. Müllenhoff,” *AbhBerl* (1862), 489–538; T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA; London, 1982), 201–208; H.-W. Drexhage, *Wirtschaftspolitik und Wirtschaft in der römischen Provinz Asia in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (Bonn, 2007); Ch. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich, 2010), 303, 319–329, 482–489, 515–524, 660–662; C. Zuckerman, “Sur la Liste de Vérone et la province de Grande Arménie, la division de l’Empire et la date de creation des Diocèses,” *TM* 14 (2002): 617–637, esp. 622–628, 636–637.

villages, harbor places and anchorages were located on the ramified shores of *Asia*. It is impossible to determine their total number, but certainly, there were more than one hundred; the *Geodatabase of Ancient Ports and Harbors* of Arthur de Graauw mentions eighty-six documented places during Antiquity.⁶ Some of these harbor places were only seasonal in use, others had a permanent importance on a regional level, and a third group owned a continuous and supra-regional significance throughout the year. Larger settlements owned more than one anchorage in response to the changing conditions of winds and currents. Among the most famous harbor cities on the western Anatolian shoreline, one should remember Assos (Behramkale), Atramyttion (Ören, later Edremit), Phokaia (Foça), Smyrna (Izmir), Ephesus (Selçuk), and Anaia (Kadikalesi).⁷

The geographer Hierokles mentioned all these cities in his *Synekdemos*, a provincial directory composed in the sixth century AD on the base of documents dating back to the reign of emperor Theodosios II (r. 408–450). The text numbered 923 cities in 64 provinces in the eastern empire, among them 42 settlements in the province of *Asia*; of these, 17 were harbor cities.⁸ Unfortunately, this source referred in the same breath to important and less important places.

Therefore, it is more useful to analyze the *Notitiae Episcopatumum*, official documents that present the hierarchical rank of the bishoprics of the eastern empire.⁹ The first preserved text of this literary genre, commonly called the text of Pseudo-Epiphanius of Salamis (due to an erroneous dedication in the course of the textual tradition), dates back to the reign of emperor Herakleios (r. 610–641) in the seventh century;¹⁰ the genre continued with few changes up to the last days of the Byzantine Empire.

Pseudo-Epiphanius mentioned thirty-nine cities in the province of *Asia*: the metropolitan of Ephesus, the archbishopric of Smyrna, and thirty-seven bishoprics (**Fig. 1**).¹¹ These were the most important cities of the whole province. They were “central market towns”, settlements with a developed infrastructure that influenced the surrounding villages in not only spiritual terms but also administrative and economic matters. They were domiciles of religious dignitaries, officials, and administrative staff. Artisans and profes-

6 For a general overview, see A. De Graauw, *Ancient Ports and Harbours*, vol. 1, *The Catalogue*, 6th rev. ed. (n.p., 2017), 191–196, starting with No. 3102, “Achilleion,” and ending with No. 3188, “Magnesia ad Maeandrum.”

7 A. Külzer, “Jenseits von Ephesos: Hafenanlagen an der kleinasiatischen Westküste in spätantiker und byzantinischer Zeit,” in *North Meets East 3: Aktuelle Forschungen zu antiken Häfen*, ed. M. Seifert and L. Ziemer (Aachen, 2016), 49–73; A. Külzer, *Westkleinasien (Lydia und Asia)*, TIB 14 (Vienna, forthcoming).

8 Hierokles, *Le Synekdesmos d’Hiérokles et l’opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, ed. F. Cumont and E. Honigmann (Bruxelles, 1939), 1–48, esp. 21–22; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford, 1971), 514–521; A. Külzer, “Hieroklès (Geog.),” in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists: The Greek Tradition and Its Many Heirs*, ed. P. T. Keyser and G. L. Irby-Massie (London; New York, 2008), 392–393.

9 *Notitiae Episcopatumum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. J. Darrouzès, (Paris, 1981); H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 148–156.

10 Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatumum*, 3–9, 203–213; Külzer, “Jenseits von Ephesos,” 61. A new dating proposal mentions the year 662, see M. Jankowiak, “Notitia 1 and the impact of the Arab invasions on Asia Minor,” *Millennium* 10 (2013): 435–461.

11 Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatumum*, 205, 206–207; Jones, *Cities*, 28–94.

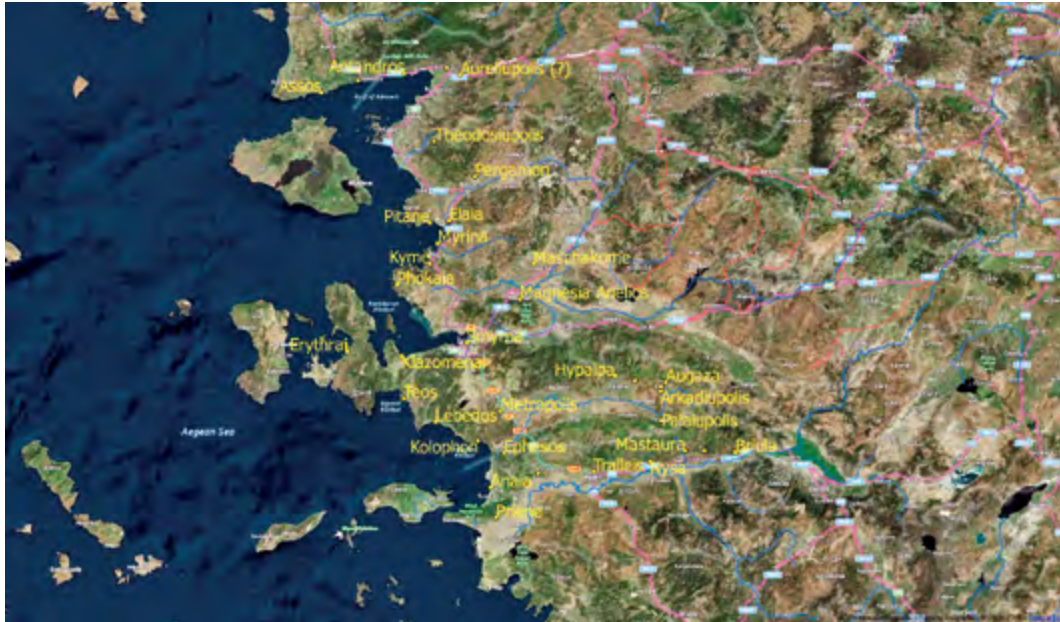


Fig. 1. Central market towns in the Late Antique province of Asia, QGIS 2.18.3 (Source: Andreas Külzer, 2018).

sionals stayed within, occupying various offices and shops.¹² Buildings of representation and administration, workshops, and markets marked the cityscapes.

A ramified road network interconnected the settlements (Fig. 2). It was pre-Roman in origin and expanded in Roman times; its peak dates to the sixth century, the reign of emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565). Among the most important roads of western Anatolia was the one from Ephesus leading to the north through the Idē Mountains (Kaz Dağları) to the Dardanelles.¹³ It runs close to the shoreline depending on the terrain in one or even more ways, a supra-regional interface between the Aegean harbor cities and the Anatolian midlands.

Wherever possible and affordable, Late Antique and medieval travelers used the sea routes complementary to the road network. Eighteen of the thirty-nine “central market towns” mentioned by Pseudo-Epiphanius were harbor cities (46 percent). Obviously,

12 J. 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* (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), 155–187, esp. 159–164; idem, “Land-Use and Settlement: Theoretical Approaches,” in *General Issues in the Study of Medieval Logistics: Sources, Problems and Methodologies*, ed. J. F. Haldon (Leiden; Boston, 2006), 159–183, esp. 169–176; J. Koder, “Historical Geography,” in *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 9–27, esp. 24–27.

13 K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt* (Stuttgart, 1916), 692–704; D. H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vol. 3, *Milestones*, Fasc. 3.5, *Asia*, BIAA Electronic Monograph 5 (London, 2014), 25, 43–79; A. Külzer, “The Late Antique and Byzantine Road-Network in Western Anatolia: Some Additions to a Widely Ramified System,” *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 27.1 (2018): 83–95, esp. 86–87; idem, “Roads and Routes: Communication Networks in the Hinterland of Ephesos,” in *Ephesus from Late Antiquity until the Late Middle Ages. Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul 30th November–2nd December 2012*, ed. S. Ladstätter and P. Magdalino (Vienna, 2019), 149–160.

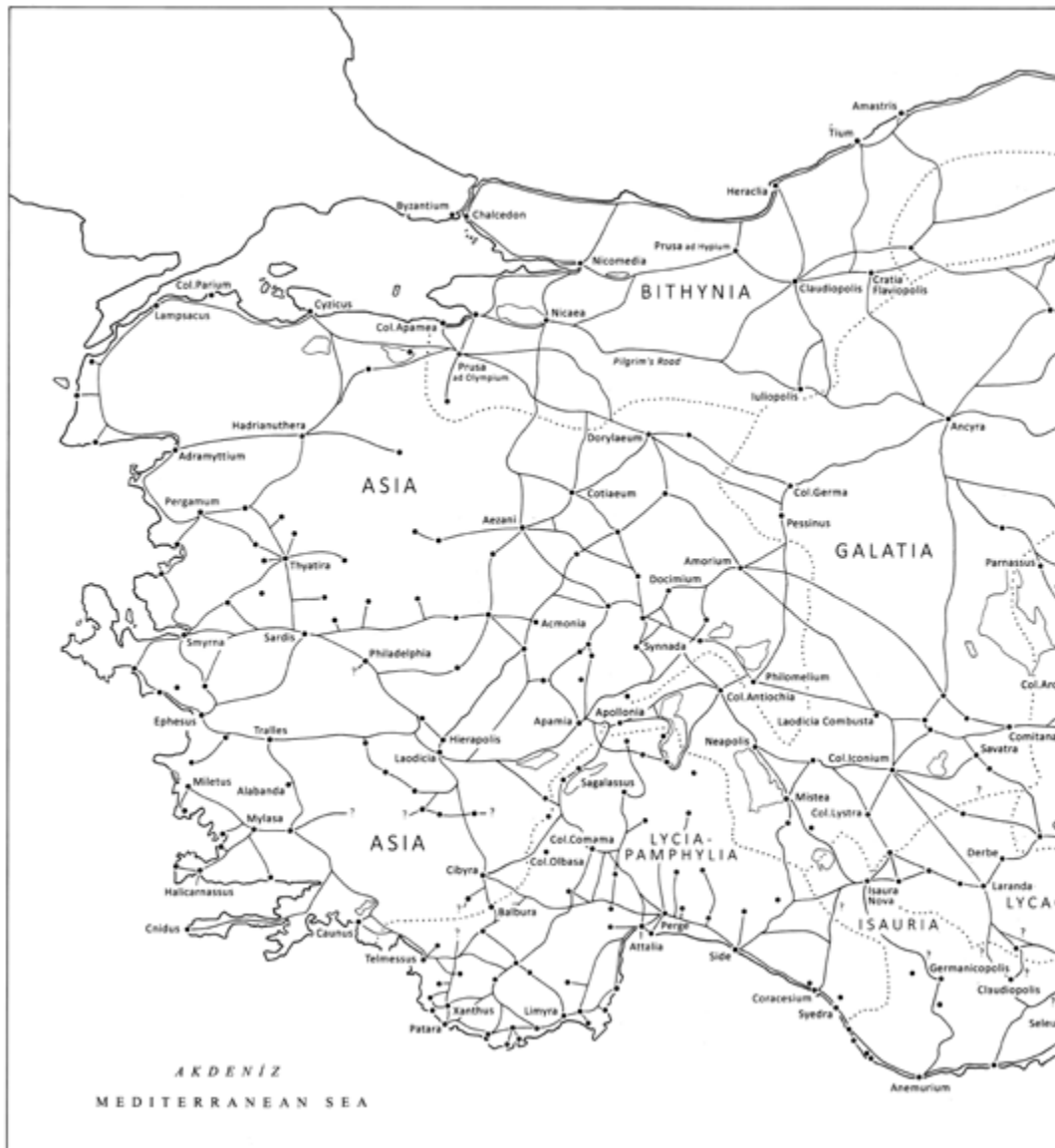


Fig. 2. The road system in western Anatolia (Source: French, *Roman Roads*, Fasc. 3.9, 16).

the harbor places had greater connectivity to neighboring places than to ports at further distances due to lower personal and financial expenses.¹⁴

¹⁴ For first reading, see M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), esp. 83–114, 393–430, 450–468; A. Avramea, “Land and Sea Communications, Fourth–Fifteenth Centuries,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 2002), 1: 57–90; E. Kislinger, “Verkehrsrouten zur See im byzantinischen Raum,” in *Handels Güter und Verkehrswege: Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. E. Kislinger, J. Koder, and A. Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 149–174.



Fig. 3. Network model of harbor sites in the Aegean (Source: Preiser-Kapeller, “Harbours,” 128 fig. 13).

In the framework of our common project of the Byzantine harbors, my colleague Johannes Preiser-Kapeller developed a model of the mutual contacts between harbors and anchorages in the Late Antique Aegean (Fig. 3). The already mentioned *Geodatabase of Ancient Ports and Harbors* of Arthur de Graauw and the *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations* of Harvard University submitted the data. The calculated travel distance was between one and three days, which means a distance between 80 and 250 kilometers.¹⁵

The result shows several local maritime communities staying in closer contact to each other. Regarding the west Anatolian coastline, there are four local centers: 1) the area around Babakale and Assos in the northwest; 2) the area between Atramyttion and Smyrna; 3) the catchment area of the Erythraean peninsula (Çeşme Yarımadası) to Ephesus; and 4) the landscapes between the Mykalē Mountains (Dilek Dağları) and the Carian coast in the south.¹⁶ Within the first zone, Cape Lekton and the bay of Sivrice are significant anchorag-

15 J. Preiser-Kapeller, “Harbours and Maritime Mobility: Networks and Entanglements,” in Preiser-Kapeller and Daim, *Harbours and Maritime Networks*, 119–139, esp. 123–129; De Graauw, *Ancient Ports and Harbours*; The “Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilization (DARMC),” accessed January 13, 2020, <https://darmc.harvard.edu/maps>.

16 Preiser-Kapeller, “Harbours and Maritime Mobility,” 128, fig. 13.

es; in the second zone, Atramyttion, Phokaia, and Smyrna; in the third zone, Ephesus; and in the fourth zone, Anaia deserves a mention.

The mathematical model visualizes the regional core zones of Late Antique everyday communication; in reality, constant exchanges existed beyond these areas. Settlements with high relevance in administration or economy were regularly visited, even from far distances, as the example of Ephesus as the capital and metropolitan seat of the province Asia exemplifies.

Portolans and nautical charts as sources for the reconstruction of former landscape conditions on the shores of western Anatolia

The significance of harbor sites is especially reflected in *portolans* (“harbor books”) and in nautical charts. In contrast to the ancient *periploi* (“circumnavigations”), scientific writings with different historical and ethno-graphic remarks,¹⁷ the *portolans* are writings of practice and use, without any literary claim. The tradition of writing *portolans* in Latin started around 1200 AD and later in Greek during the Late Byzantine period; these texts give information concerning coastlines and anchorages, cliffs and sandbanks, river mouths, and landmarks, useful for orientation and navigation.¹⁸

The earliest nautical charts preserved today date back to the fourteenth century, while according to an older academic tradition, they date even to the late thirteenth century; wind roses and rhumb lines made them useful helpers for steering. The coastlines they show refer only roughly to reality, but the port names they present are classified due

17 For an excellent introduction to the topic, see R. Güngerich, *Die Küstenbeschreibung in der griechischen Literatur*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1971); E. Olshausen, *Einführung in die Historische Geographie der Alten Welt* (Darmstadt, 1991), 81–87. For important literary sources, see A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster, PA, 1952); G. Shipley, *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus: The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World* (Exeter, 2011).

18 T. Campbell, “Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500,” in *History of Cartography*, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago; London, 1987), 371–463. The earliest texts in Latin are: the Pisa Portolan, created around 1200, see P. Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine et portulan au XIII^e siècle. Le Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)* (Rome, 1995); and the Compasso da Navigare, created in the middle of the thirteenth century, see B. R. Motzo, *Il Compasso da Navigare. Opera Italiana della metà del secolo XIII* (Cagliari, 1947). For a new edition of the Compasso, see A. Debanne, *Lo Compasso de navegare. Edizione del codice Hamilton 396 con commento linguistico e glossario* (Bruxelles, 2011). The oldest portolan known so far is written in Arabic: the singular *Kitāb Gharāʾib* dates from the early eleventh century, see *An Eleventh-Century Egyptian Guide to the Universe: The Book of Curiosities*, ed. Y. Rapoport and E. Savage-Smith (Leiden; Boston, 2014). Concerning the *portolans* written in Greek, belonging to the Late Byzantine and Early-post Byzantine periods, see A. Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs*, vol.1, *Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège* 107 (Liège; Paris, 1947), and vol.2, *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques—Mémoires* 53 (Bruxelles, 1958). See also A. Avramea, “Les côtes de l'Asie Mineure d'après un texte pisan de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle,” in *H Byzantinē Mikrā Asia (6ος–12ος Αι.) / Byzantine Asia Minor (6th–12th Cent.)*, Πρακτικά Στ' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Αθήνα 1997, *Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών / Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών*, ed. S. Lampakis (Athens, 1998), 285–302; F. Hild, *Karien in Portulanen und Portulankarten von der Antike bis in die frühosmanische Zeit* (Vienna, 2019), esp. 29–32, 99–106.



Fig. 4. Pisana Chart, detail, rev. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503226n/f1.item> (accessed 13 January 2020).

to the use of different colors: the most important harbor places appear in red, the less important in black, grey, or brown.¹⁹

One of the oldest representatives is the Pisana Chart from the fourteenth century. Its appearance as early as the late thirteenth century, which was widely accepted until recent years, is now under discussion.²⁰ The first-mentioned landing place in the territory under discussion here is Cape Lekton. The port of Atramyttion is highlighted in red due to its importance; it dominates all the harbors down to the Erythraean peninsula (Fig. 4). Only Anaia in the deep south of western Anatolia was also presented in red, obviously holding a similar importance. In contrast, the names of Phokaia, Smyrna, Ephesus, and Phygela were written in darker ink.²¹

At about the same period, in the second decade of the fourteenth century, the Italian cartographer Pietro Vesconte created his nautical chart, which survived in several copies. The oldest one dates from the year 1311; however, the Viennese copy from 1318 is significantly more substantial and therefore commonly used in academic research.²² The map highlighted Atramyttion and Anaia in red, as well as the harbor cities of Phokaia and Smyrna (Fig. 5). The nautical chart of Angelino Dulcert, created in Majorca in the year 1339, gives identical information: among the harbors on the western Anatolian shoreline, only Atramyttion, Phokaia, Smyrna, and Anaia are important enough to be in red.²³ While the chart of Pietro Vesconte failed to mention Ephesus at all, the map of Dulcert refers to Ephesus as well as to its neighbor, Phygela, by using dark colors.

19 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," 376–378, 384–386, 392–398; Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine*, 71–76, 98–102; Hild, *Karien*, 101–104.

20 R. J. Pujades i Bataller, "The Pisana Chart. Really a Primitive Portolan Chart Made in the 13th Century?," *Comité Français de Cartographie* 216 (2013): 17–32; Hild, *Karien*, 32, 103 follows this argumentation. For the traditional dating, see among others K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909, repr. 1962), 106–108; R. J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes: La representació medieval d'una mar solcada* (Barcelona, 2007), 40.

21 *Ibid.*, 40–41.

22 *Ibid.*, 72–73 (1311), CD-ROM A3 (1318), 489–490; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 110–112; Hild, *Karien*, 103.

23 Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 118–119; Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes*, 120–121; Hild, *Karien*, 18, 25, 32, 104.



Fig. 5. Pietro Vesconte (1318), (Source: Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes*, DVD A3).

Various nautical charts present a similar picture; the significance of Atramyttion, Phokaia, Smyrna, and Anafia is obvious. Keeping in mind that these charts were made for practical use, it is clear that they refer to real conditions of the time. Interestingly enough, the distribution of these cities along the coastline of western Anatolia is similar to the mathematical model mentioned above; it underlines the legitimacy and value of these theoretical reflections.

The rank of Atramyttion as the most important harbor in northwest Asia Minor is remarkable. Already in the second century, the city was transferred from the coast west of Burhaniye to the inner parts of the countryside, to that of modern Edremit, a distance of five kilometers to the foreshore.²⁴ There is no evidence for the formation of alluvial soil and larger coastline changes; the landscape around Atramyttion has not changed significantly in the last seven hundred years. Therefore, the ships would have anchored in the area of modern Akçay.²⁵ Transshipped there, the goods, among these – in later centuries – high-priced merchandise like Italian silk,²⁶ entered the city on horseback or via wagon.

24 J. Stauber, *Die Bucht von Adramytteion*, vol. 1, *Topographie (Lokalisierung antiker Orte, Fundstellen von Altertümern)* (Bonn, 1996), 48–53, 127–149; A. Külzer, “Von Assos nach Pergamon und Ephesos: Betrachtungen zu den Straßen Westkleinasiens in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit,” *Asia Minor Studien* 78 (2016): 185–204, esp. 194–195.

25 R. Heikell, *Turkish Waters Pilot. A Yachtman's Guide to the Aegean and Mediterranean Coasts of Turkey with the Island of Cyprus*, 3rd rev. ed. (Huntingdon, 1989), 60, 65; A. Horn and W. Hoop, *Durch die Nordägäis nach Istanbul. Izmir – Marmarameer – Istanbul. Nautischer Reiseführer* (Hamburg, 1989), 124, 128; De Graauw, *Ancient Ports*, 192; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 652–653.

26 D. Jacoby, “Rural Exploitation in Western Asia Minor and the Mediterranean: Aspects of Interaction in the

The ramified road network around Atramyttion enabled distribution of the commodities even to more distant trading centers such as Kyzikos or Prousa.²⁷ As already mentioned, there is no need for the existence of artificial harbor constructions at the seaside; wooden landing stages, called *skalai* in Greek, were sufficient. The existence of an emporium near the shore is possible. The availability of a channel leading to the city, comparable to the situation in Ephesus,²⁸ is unlikely, because one can find no evidence in the fields nor in contemporary literary sources.

The place-name “Phokaia” refers in the use of medieval nautical charts mainly to modern Yeni Foça, a harbor city founded in the late thirteenth century on a sheltered bay open to the north, about ten kilometers north of the famous ancient settlement, modern Foça, having already been founded in the eighth century BC.²⁹ The port was important for the trade of alum.³⁰ Merchants from Italian maritime states, especially from Genoa, enriched the settlement. In contrast, the charts mentioned the port of ancient Phokaia to a lesser extent. If a map referred to both harbor cities, as the Viennese copy of Petrus Vesconte from the year 1318 did, Yeni Foça was called in the simple form “Folia,” a name written in red letters, while the older settlement, explicitly called “Folia ueia,” was presented in a more modest way, in dark ink. This reveals its loss of importance and commercial capacity.³¹

Quite the contrary, the neighboring city of Smyrna owned one of the most significant harbors in all of western Anatolia. Already in Antiquity, it was one of the central interfaces of maritime and terrestrial communication systems.³² Thanks to its large capacity, the city became capital of the maritime theme of Samos in the late ninth century AD, between 889 and 893.³³ Close to Smyrna, the river Hermos (Gediz Nehri) emptied into the Aegean

Thirteenth Century,” in *Aureus: Volume Dedicated to Professor E. K. Chrysos*, ed. T. G. Kolias and K. G. Pitsakis (Athens, 2014), 243–256, esp. 248–252.

27 D. H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vol. 3, *Milestones*, Fasc. 3.9, *An Album of Maps*, BIAA Electronic Monograph 9 (London, 2016), 42, 52, 64–65; French, *Roman Roads*, Fasc. 3.5, 23–25; Külzer, “Late Antique and Byzantine Road-Network,” 86; “DARMC,” accessed January 13, 2020.

28 For first reading, see M. Steskal, “Ephesos and Its Harbors: A City in Search of Its Place,” in *Häfen und Hafensstädte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum von der Antike bis in byzantinische Zeit: neue Entdeckungen und aktuelle Forschungsansätze / Harbors and harbor cities in the Eastern Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Byzantine period: recent discoveries and current approaches*, ed. S. Ladstätter, F. Pirson, and Th. Schmidts, *Byzas* 19 (Istanbul, 2014), 325–338, esp. 333–334; S. Ladstätter, “Hafen und Stadt von Ephesos in hellenistischer Zeit,” *JÖAI* 85 (2016): 233–272, esp. 261–265.

29 Doukas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantină*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), chap. 25.5; “Phokaia,” in *ODB*, 3:1665; Heikell, *Turkish Waters Pilot*, 76, 78–81; Horn and Hoop, *Durch die Nordägäis*, 138, 146–148, 150–153; De Graauw, *Ancient Ports*, 193–194.

30 D. Jacoby, “The Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages: An Island World?,” in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the eastern Mediterranean world after 1150*, ed. J. Harris, C. Holmes, and E. Russell (Oxford, 2012), 93–117, esp. 100, 105.

31 Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes*, CD-ROM A3; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 653.

32 C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna: A History of the City from the Earliest Times to 324 AD* (Oxford, 1938); J. M. Cook, “Old Smyrna, 1948–1951,” *BSA* 53/54 (1958/1959): 1–34.

33 H. Ahrweiler, “L’histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317),” *TM* 1 (1965): 1–204, esp. 34. See also J.-C. Cheynet, “La place de Smyrne dans le thème des Thracésiens,” in Kolias and Pitsakis, *Aureus*, 89–112; B. Yolaçan, G. Şakar, and A. Ersoy, *Smyrna / İzmir Kazı ve Araştırmaları II. Smyrna / İzmir Excavation and Research II* (Istanbul, 2017); Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 653; De Graauw, *Ancient*

Sea and transformed the local coastline due to its numerous deposits.³⁴ The accumulation was strong, the coast shifted continuously to the south, and in the year 1886, the Hermos was artificially relocated to a pre-classical river stream further to the west; since that time, the mouth of the river has been south of Foça. However, there is no evidence that the river deposits affected immediately the port area of Smyrna in Late Antique and Byzantine times.³⁵ Archaeological remains of the medieval harbor installations are still undiscovered.

According to the nautical charts, one of the most important ports in the southern parts of the western Anatolian shoreline was Anaia.³⁶ In earlier years, there was academic disagreement concerning its location: in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the place was often identified with the inland village of Soğucak, nine kilometers southeast of Kuşadası, because the contemporary Greek population called this place *Ania* (Ἄνια),³⁷ which was in reality nothing more than a simple memory transfer. Nowadays, the location of historical Anaia as modern Kadıkalesi is widely accepted.³⁸ The local hill, nowadays about two hundred meters away from the shore, is crowned by an impressive medieval fortress; Professor Zeynep Mercangöz and her team excavated the place in recent years.³⁹ Among other remains, they discovered and reconstructed a huge basilica that corresponds well to the importance of a bishopric, which was documented as early as 325 AD.⁴⁰ The archaeological remains of a settlement below the fortress are significant. Therefore, the location of the fortress and the center of the settlement itself is quite clear.

However, up to now, there has been no explicit material evidence for the harbor place at Anaia, which is referred to by not only the Pisana Chart and other nautical maps, but also different documents from the Monastery of St. John of Patmos that belonged to

Ports, 194.

34 N. Akbulut et al., “Rivers of Turkey,” in *Rivers of Europe*, ed. K. Tockner, U. Uehlinger, and C. T. Robinson (Amsterdam, 2009), 643–672, esp. 645, 655; Heikell, *Turkish Waters Pilot*, 81–83; Horn and Hoop, *Durch die Nordägäis*, 148, 165–168. See also the recent publication of R. Meriç, *Hermus (Gediz) Valley in Western Turkey: Results of an Archaeological and Historical Survey* (Istanbul, 2018).

35 H. Kiepert, *Spezialkarte vom westlichen Kleinasien, nach seinen eigenen Reisen und nach anderen größtenteils noch unveröffentlichten Routenaufnahmen. Maßstab 1:250.000. Eine Karte in 15 Blättern* (Berlin, 1890), Blatt 7; W.-D. Hütteroth, *Türkei* (Darmstadt, 1982), 65–67; E. Doğer, *İlk İskanlardan Yunan İşgaline Kadar Menemen ya da Tarhaniyat Tarihi* (İzmir, 1998), 43–52, 169–171; Külzer, “Jenseits von Ephesos,” 63–64.

36 Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes*, 41, 111, 121, 159, 217, CD-ROM A3 and more; Kretschmer, *Portolane*, 654; De Graauw, *Ancient Ports*, 196.

37 E.g., see the depiction by Kiepert, *Spezialkarte*, Blatt 10.

38 *Forschungen in der Mykale*, vol. I.1 *Survey in der Mykale (Dilek Dağları / Aydın) 2001–2009*, ed. H. Lohmann, G. Kalaitzoglou, and G. Lüdorf, *Asia Minor Studien* 77.1,2 (Bonn, 2017), 582–583 (Soğucak), 583–587 (Kadıkalesi). For a more critical view in recent times, see A. Elamiş, “Bizans Anaia’sı (Asia) ve Çevresinin Tarihsel ve Kültürel Coğrafyası” (PhD diss., Ege University, 2016).

39 Among her valuable publications, see e.g. Z. Mercangöz, “Ostentatious Life in a Byzantine Province: Some Selected Pieces from the Finds of the Excavation in Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi/Anaia (Prov. Aydın, TR),” in *Byzanz - das Römerreich im Mittelalter / Byzantium: The Roman Empire in the Middle Ages, Part 3, Periphery and Vicinity*, ed. F. Daim and J. Drauschke (Mainz, 2010), 191–198; Z. Mercangöz, “Emporium ve Kommerkion olarak Anaia’nın Değişken Tarihsel Yazgısı,” in *SGS* 1, 279–292.

40 E. Honigsmann, “La liste originale de pères de Nicée,” *Byzantion* 14 (1939): 17–76, esp. 47.

the thirteenth century AD.⁴¹ Again, there was no need for the existence of an artificial harbor installation and an appropriate stone infrastructure, neither here nor anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean. However, if stone-made constructions ever existed, it would be an important step to discover them. Suitable archaeological material would be an additional argument to underline the identity of Anaia and Kadıkalesi.

Reconstructing the past: Problems of localization and identification

The coastal landscape between Ephesus and Anaia and the exact locations of the single harbors mentioned in the medieval sources are discussed in academic literature on various occasions. The results are different, as well as the identifications. Some problems could be solved in the meantime; other questions remain still unanswered. Below, some general aspects will be addressed, including the results of personal research (Fig. 6). The localization of the **Late Medieval port of Ephesus** seems to be clear now; it was about two kilometers south of Pamucak in the area of the modern theme park **Aqua Park**.⁴² This is obvious thanks to the detailed report of the German pilgrim Ludolf of Sudheim (Suchem); he visited the *portus* of this so-called *nova civitas* between 1336 and 1341 and described the whole area carefully.⁴³ His description matches the terrain and the monuments documented there. Archaeological remains of several buildings he mentions were recently destroyed during the construction work of a hotel complex.⁴⁴ However, other remains are still visible, among them the huge boundary wall of the harbor area, leading up to the peak of the hill in the south of Pamucak⁴⁵.

The localization of the ancient city of **Phygela** was also controversially discussed. After the analysis of written sources and the documented – but nowadays lost – archaeological material, a localization on the following bay to the south seems to be realistic, about two kilometers away in the area of modern **Bayraklı Dede**, five kilometers north of Kuşadası.⁴⁶ A promontory separates the place from the Late Medieval port of Ephesus. A good argument for this proposal is the description by the pilgrim Willibald in the early eighth century: among other things, the traveler mentions a water pipeline in the area, which is identical

41 *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου*, vol. 1, *Αὐτοκρατορικά*, ed. E. L. Vranousi (Athens, 1980), 225–230 (*anno* 1214), 273–276 (*anno* 1264); *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου*, vol. 2, *Δημοσίων λειτουργιών*, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980) 206–210 (*anno* 1273), to mention just a few of these documents.

42 S. Pfeiffer-Taş, “Suggestions as to the Localization of the Harbour of Ayasuluk and the Italian Settlement during the Aydınoğulları Dynasty from a New Perspective,” in *New Trends in Ottoman Studies. Papers Presented at the 20th CIÉPO Symposium, Rethymno, 27 June–1 July 2012*, ed. M. Sariyannis (Rethymno, 2014), 1087–1107, esp. 1093–1094; Külzer, “Jenseits von Ephesos,” 54–56; idem, *Westkleinasien*; idem, “Reconstructing the Past in a Changing Landscape: Reflections on the Area of Ephesus and Other Sites in Western Asia Minor,” *Gephyra* 16 (2018): 75–90, esp. 79–80.

43 L. Hopfgartner, “Die Entdeckung des spätbyzantinischen und genuesischen Ephesos,” *Studi Genuensi* 4 (1962–1963): 17–81, esp. 54–57; Pfeiffer-Taş, “Suggestions,” 1092–1093; Külzer, “Jenseits von Ephesos,” 54; idem, “Reconstructing the Past,” 80.

44 Hopfgartner, “Die Entdeckung,” 68–69; Pfeiffer-Taş, “Suggestions,” 1088, 1092–1094, 1097–1103.

45 Idem, “Suggestions,” 1101, fig. 13.

46 Hopfgartner, “Die Entdeckung,” 65–69, pl. I; Külzer, “Jenseits von Ephesos,” 55–56; idem, “Reconstructing the Past,” 79–80; idem, “Roads and Routes,” 155.



Fig. 6. The hinterland of Kuşadası (Scala Nova // Nea Ephesos) (Source: Andreas Külzer).

to today's Değirmendere aqueduct.⁴⁷ Other archaeological remains existed near the shoreline of Bayraklı Dede already in the 1960s; however, most of them are lost today due to hotel construction work, but single walls from the Byzantine period are still *in situ*.⁴⁸ Written documents from the Monastery of St. John of Patmos mentioned this landing place still in the thirteenth century, in several cases in combination with the harbor of Anaia.⁴⁹

The connection of the two places **Phygela and Anaia** in the sources allows two general statements: on the one hand, these places were not identical but **two separate harbors** still existing in the Late Medieval period. On the other hand, the *portolans* and nautical charts failed to mention the excellent anchorages of modern **Kuşadası lying in between**.⁵⁰ Instead of referring to these appropriate landing places, the charts present Anaia as the next harbor south of Phygela that was only a simple part of the coastline, without any protective natural bay or mooring. The idea of interim coastal changes must be rejected; there is not a single geomorphological hint for this in the landscape. The lack of bigger streams and rivers means that marshes and alluvial deposits did not exist in the area of Kadıkalesi. Quite the contrary, the former landscape was comparable to the modern one: a curious fact.

47 Idem, "Jenseits von Ephesos," 56; idem, "Reconstructing the Past," 80. Concerning the aqueduct, see the new book of G. Wiplinger, *Der Değirmendere Aquädukt von Ephesos* (Leuven; Paris; Bristol, 2019).

48 Hopfgartner, "Die Entdeckung," 52, 65–67, 68–69; Külzer, *Westkleinasien*.

49 E.g., Vranousi, *Bυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου* 1, 113–118 (d. 1201/1216), 225–230 (d. 1214); Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Bυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου* 2, 146–151 (d. 1221 [?]), 211–212 (d. 1273).

50 Heikell, *Turkish Waters Pilot*, 104–106; A. Horn and W. Hoop, *Kreuzen zwischen Türkischer Küste und Ostgriechischen Inseln* (Hamburg, 1983), 45–49.

How can one explain the matter? Is it possible that people transferred the term Phygela from its original place at Bayraklı Dede to present-day Kuşadası, maybe in the Middle or Late Byzantine period? Clive Foss supported this idea.⁵¹ However, many scholars dislike the idea because of the great distance;⁵² Kuşadası seems to be too far to the south. If a changing of place names really happened, this would rather have connected Phygela with the nearby later harbor of Ephesus.⁵³ According to this theory, the place of the latter Phygela would be identical to the one at Aqua Park, while “Ephesus” could have referred to either the small harbor at Pamucak or the harbor at Çanakgözü.⁵⁴ Both harbor places were insignificant in the Middle Ages, a good explanation for the use of dark colors on most nautical charts or even a total absence. On the other hand, there is no archaeological evidence for the use of the harbor at Çanakgözü in Late Medieval times, and Pamucak is obviously much too small to be involved in the trans-national trade system. This connection seems to be quite implausible.

The same applies to a connection between Anaia and Kuşadası. From the thirteenth century onward, Latin sources called the latter mentioned place *Scala Nova*, while Modern Greek sources referred to it as *Nea Ephesos*.⁵⁵ The term *Scala Nova* means “new landing place.” The use of the word *Nea* could serve as a hint for a new foundation of that settlement. The notation lacks a concrete geographical reference; it was also used for the Late Medieval Ephesian harbor.⁵⁶ It is impossible for the terms *Anaia* and *Scala Nova* or *Nea Ephesos* to refer to the same geographical place, for these toponyms coexisted in contemporary sources while referring to different communities.

Therefore, the idea of possible transfers of memories and toponyms to the landscapes south of Ephesus is not convincing. The lack of the term *Scala Nova* in nautical charts is more easily to explain by the fact that the local markets there were not important enough for trans-national communication and trade. The primary purpose for this category of sources is itemization, a pictorial schedule of trading centers. Economic and political reasons were important for the composition and use of nautical charts, a simple listing of favorable landing conditions. A focus on geographic matters, in contrast, was less important.

51 C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979), 123; “Phygela,” in ODB, 3:1672.

52 See Pfeiffer-Taş, “Suggestions,” 1093–1094; Külzer, “Jenseits von Ephesos,” 56.

53 See the location presented by Ladstätter, “Hafen und Stadt,” 235, fig. 1.

54 A. Schindler, (*Karte der*) *Umgebung von Ephesos, aufgenommen im Herbst 1897, Maßstab 1:25:000*; F. Stock et al., “In Search of the Harbours: New Evidence of Late Roman and Byzantine Harbours of Ephesus,” *Quaternary International* 312 (2013): 57–69, esp. 58–59, 67.

55 W. Müller-Wiener, “Kuşadası und Yeni-Foça. Zwei italienische Gründungsstädte des Mittelalters,” *IstMitt* 25 (1975): 399–420, esp. 400, 416–417; Pfeiffer-Taş, “Suggestions,” 1088; P. M. Kontogiannis, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας* (Athens, 1921), 320, 343, 374.

56 Pfeiffer-Taş, “Suggestions,” 1093.

Conclusion

Late Antique sources mentioned various “central market towns” in the contemporary province of *Asia*. A significant number of them were harbor cities located along the gentle coastline stretching over 750 kilometers between Cape Lekton in the north and the mouth of the Meander River in the south. This fact can be easily explained by the considerable advantages of location: the cities were not only part of the trans-regional terrestrial communication system that connected all the places possessing such an extraordinary administrative function, but also part of the nautical network. They had a greater connectivity and better opportunities for the exchange of goods. Along the coastline under discussion, there were four regional zones in which the communication between neighboring harbor places was particularly intensive, in Late Antiquity as well as in later periods. *Portolans* and nautical charts are important sources for determining the significance of ports in Late Medieval and Early Modern times. Related to practice, they reflect real situations without any aesthetical approach. They are snapshots of yesterday’s daily life. Concerning the western Anatolian coastline, these sources have strengthened the importance of Atramyttion, Phokaia, Smyrna, and Anaia – an astonishing testimony considering neither the first nor the last of these four cities owned a favorable landing place! The *portolans* and nautical charts provide also important information regarding the much-discussed coastal landscape between Ephesus and Anaia. It turns out again that the existence of even excellent geographical conditions was not a guarantee for a harbor place to gain economic success due to a rich exchange of goods. More important than a good anchorage with ideal climatic conditions and well-developed infrastructure were close connections to the trans-regional road network in the hinterland. Let’s not forget the local presence of external merchants with great financial power, for example, as output of corresponding privileges or contracts.

Therefore, the identification of controversial locations with an authoritative use of climatic, geographical, or geomorphological factors in both western Anatolia and other parts of the former Byzantine Empire can easily lead to incorrect reconstructions of the historical reality.