

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF BYZANTINE ANATOLIA

*From the End of Late Antiquity until
the Coming of the Turks*

Edited by

PHILIPP NIEWÖHNER

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CHAPTER THREE

Urbanism

Philipp Niewöhner

ANATOLIA WAS among the most stable regions of the late antique Empire. Christianity was well established by the Constantinian period, and a lot of urban building went on in the reign of Theodosius and his dynasty. Afterwards, Anatolia was spared during the Migration Period, withstood Arab incursions from the later seventh to the ninth centuries, and remained under Byzantine rule until the Turks started to invade the region from the later eleventh century onwards. However, in spite of political continuity, settlement patterns and material culture of Anatolia changed fundamentally from the mid-fifth century onwards, and this chapter attempts to synthesize evidence from various city sites into an overall scenario of when and why ancient urbanism came to an end and what happened thereafter. As the fate of the cities turns out to have been closely related to that of the surrounding countryside, the development of rural settlements is also taken into consideration. The chapter is organized chronologically and starts with the fourth century and the Theodosian period in order to establish that Christianization was followed by the last urban building boom of late antiquity and was apparently quite unrelated to the decline and fall of the ancient cities.

The tide turned in the mid-fifth century, which marked the beginning of “late” late antiquity or the early Byzantine period. Urbanism was affected negatively and went into decline while the countryside reached unprecedented levels of prosperity. This development may have been enhanced by the outbreak of the Justinianic plague in 542 that would have hit any densely occupied cities worse than the loosely settled countryside. However, numerous cities survived into the seventh century, when they were newly fortified against Persian and Arab incursions. The new strategic situation concentrated settlement activities on urban sites once more, while the defenseless countryside appears to have suffered badly from the incursions. Later, when peace and prosperity returned to rural Anatolia during the middle Byzantine period, most cities seem to have been finally deserted. By the time the Turks arrived on the scene in the later eleventh century, most of Anatolia was ruralized. The middle Byzantine ruralization completed a development that had started in the early Byzantine period

and brought about the decline and fall of ancient urbanism in times of political peace and rural prosperity.

THE EARLIER FOURTH CENTURY

The Christianization of Anatolia was well under way by the fourth century.¹ For example, Christianity is openly professed in a third-century necropolis at Ephesus² as well as on third- and early-fourth-century tombstones in Phrygia³ and Lydia.⁴ Third-century churchmen are enumerated both in the epigraphic record and in other written sources,⁵ and the persecutions under Decius and Diocletian claimed many Anatolian martyrs.⁶ More than 100 Anatolian bishops attended the First Council of Nicaea in 325.⁷ Contemporary texts refer to Anatolia often in relation to various Christian heresies, for which the region was notorious, e.g. Montanism with its center in Phrygia⁸ and Novatianism, Homoiousianism or Makedonianism, as well as Eunomianism most noticeably in Hellespontus, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, and Galatia.⁹ In the course of the fourth century most Anatolian communities will have acquired specially designated and often purpose-built churches. The written sources attest to some, chiefly in the cities and often built by the bishops, most probably as cathedrals. This distribution may mainly reflect the anecdotal character of the texts that are typically concerned with single urban events.

On the eve of the great persecution in 303, Diocletian had a newly built Christian cathedral in view of his imperial palace at Nicomedia razed, its scriptures burned, and its treasures seized.¹⁰ St. Parthenius, the first known bishop of Lampsacus in Hellespontus, is said to have had Constantine's support in tearing down the temples and erecting a church.¹¹ Bishop Eleusius of Cyzicus, the metropolis of Hellespontus, destroyed a Novatian church and later had to rebuild it by order of the emperor Julian.¹² Eugenius, bishop of Laodicea Combusta or Catacecaumene in Pisidia, who had endured persecution in 312 before his ordination, is commemorated on his sarcophagus for constructing what must surely have been the cathedral.¹³ In 326 a church in Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia Prima, was reportedly built with *spolia* from the temple

1. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 53–108; Destephen, S., “L'émergence de l'Église.”

2. Zimmermann, “Sieben-Schläfer-Zömeterium.”

3. Chiricat, “Crypto-Christian” (bibliography).

4. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XXIII, Stuttgart 2010, cc. 756–57 s.v. “Lydien” (C. Foss) (bibliography).

5. Clarke, “Third Century.”

6. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte*; *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, passim.

7. Honigmann, “Original Lists.”

8. Mitchell, “Montanism” (bibliography).

9. Brennecke, *Homöer*; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 96–100.

10. Eus. Vit. Const. ii.50–1 (Letter of 324), *Oratio ad Sanctos* 25.

11. Vita Parthenii: *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 114, cc. 1347–66; Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte*, pp. 374–76.

12. Soz. H. e. 5, 15, 5; Brennecke, *Homöer*, p. 100 note 21.

13. Calder, *Monumenta*, pp. 89–91 cat. 170; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 82.

of Asclepius at Aegeae.¹⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus the Elder had an octagonal cathedral built at his see in Cappadocia that his more famous son and successor describes in a memorial oration in 374.¹⁵ Basil, bishop of the Galatian metropolis Ancyra, erected a “new church” in 358, which implies that an older church must have existed before that date.¹⁶ In addition, the existence of two Montanist churches is attested in the Life of St. Theodotus of Ancyra, which was arguably written in the 360s.¹⁷

The ample written evidence for church building in Anatolia is not mirrored in the archaeological record,¹⁸ and a more general dearth of activity has been noted at Ephesus and at Aphrodisias, where the earlier fourth century is ill attested and does not seem to have seen any major building projects, although at Ephesus such would have been dearly needed after some devastating earthquake destruction in the later third century.¹⁹ The same has been observed in various other cities all over Anatolia: Starting in the later third century, the Tetrarchic period as well as the reign of Constantine and his dynasty are poorly attested in the archaeological record. The monumental urban building projects of the High Empire came to an abrupt end during the so-called crisis of the third-century, for example at Aezani, where the stadium was apparently never finished.²⁰ This was followed by an erosion of much of the existing Roman cityscape in the course of the fourth century. Temples, theaters, gymnasia, and many thermae were given up, left to decay, or pulled down.²¹ At Aezani the stadium was quarried for other purposes from the middle of the fourth century onwards, and the neighboring thermae and gymnasium had gone out of use by this date.²² At Docimium, the most important marble quarry and workshop in central Anatolia, production of the famous columnar sarcophagi came to an end in the later third century,²³ and the fourth-century output was relatively meager, consisting mainly of wall revetment and some liturgical furniture.²⁴ The quarry island of Proconnesus near Constantinople seems to have all but closed down during the better part of the fourth century.²⁵

Most of the fourth century was apparently characterized by stagnation and lacks a distinctive formal repertoire and style. Pilaster capitals from Ancyra and

14. Vit. Const. 3, 56; Soz. H. e. 2, 5, 5; Joh. Zonar. anal. 13, 12 (*Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 134 c. 1152A); Chuvin, *Derniers païens*, pp. 40–1.

15. Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 18, 39 (*Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 35 c. 1037); *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XXII, Stuttgart 2008, c. 275 s.v. “Kultgebäude” (S. De Blaauw).

16. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XXIII, Stuttgart 2010, c. 793 s.v. “Lykaonien” (R. Behrwalde).

17. Mitchell, “Life of Saint Theodotus,” pp. 112–3.

18. Mitchell/Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch*, p. 213.

19. Ratté, “Urban Development of Aphrodisias”; Ladstätter/Pülz, “Ephesus,” pp. 391–98; Ladstätter, “Ephesos,” pp. 493–99.

20. Rohn, “Theaterstadion,” pp. 125–26.

21. Saradi, *City*, pp. 295–352 (bibliography).

22. Rohn, “Theaterstadion,” pp. 126–27 (stadium); Naumann-Steckner, “Thermen von Aizanoi,” p. 104 (gymnasium).

23. Waelkens, *Dokimeion*, p. 128.

24. Niewöhner, “Phrygian Marble.”

25. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XX, Stuttgart 2004, cc. 68. 74 s.v. “Kapittel” (U. Peschlow).

architrave blocks from Afyon can be dated to the period only through association with inscriptions; stylistically, they seem to carry on in the tradition of the third century.²⁶ Only the architrave blocks can be ascribed to a church on the basis of their Christian inscriptions. Most other churches of the period were probably housed in older buildings, or newly erected with reused material, or otherwise built in an unobtrusive fashion that is not easily recognizable. In consequence, the record of fourth-century churches depends solely on chance discovery by excavation. This would happen most likely in the ancient city centers, where most excavations take place; the small number of discoveries may be taken to indicate that churches were more often located elsewhere. In the outskirts, in the necropoleis, or in the countryside, which are hardly ever excavated, early churches would stand a much smaller chance of discovery.

Church EA at Sardis has all the characteristics that one may expect in a fourth-century church (Fig. 18.2): it is located outside the city walls in a suburb that was built at about the same time as the church and has therefore been labeled “Christian quarter” by the excavators.²⁷ In contrast, the so-called Church of St. Paul at Antioch in Pisidia that dates from the episcopate of Optimus (374–381) occupies a desirable location inside the city walls and close to the monumental center.²⁸ The south church at Laodicea on the Lycus, the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana, is also located in the city center on a major street.²⁹ A large and exceptional church stands on an outcrop that dominates the neighboring city of Hierapolis in Phrygia.³⁰ As a monumental marker of an extra-urban memorial complex for St. Philip, the church is well visible from the city center and connected by a processional way. Coin finds from the reign of Constantius II (337–361) are particularly numerous, and the building technique is also suggestive of a date in or soon after his reign.

Other important western Anatolian cities do not seem to have received any major fourth-century church building in a central location, for example Aphrodisias, the provincial capital of Caria and Laodicea’s southern neighbor on the other side of a mountain range. Large-scale excavations and geophysical prospections have exposed most of the city center but no fourth-century church. Aphrodisias is outstanding for the continuation of the old fashioned statuary habit,³¹ and the ancient city center was maintained intact with no wasteland, where a church could have been erected. This seems to have been linked to strong pagan and/or conservative factions among the citizens that survived into the fifth and sixth centuries and are attested both in the written sources and in the archaeological record.³² Although the Christians were eventually able to convert the central Temple of Aphrodite into a church around the

26. Mert/Niewöhner, “Blattkapitelle in Konya,” pp. 385–86 fig. 8; Niewöhner, “Phrygian Marble,” pp. 231–3 fig. 11–2.

27. Buchwald, *Churches EA and E*, pp. 1–27.

28. Mitchell/Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch*, pp. 210–7; Herring-Harrington, “Church of St. Paul.”

29. Şimşek, *Laodikeia*, pp. 345–60.

30. D’Andria, “Apostolo Filippo”; Gümgüm, *Martyrion di Hierapolis*.

31. Smith, “Statuary at Aphrodisias,” pp. 168–88.

32. Chanotis, “Christen, Juden und Heiden.”

year 500,³³ all other known early Byzantine churches are situated outside the city walls in the necropoleis.³⁴

THE THEODOSIAN PERIOD

In contrast to the earlier fourth century, the Theodosian period from 379 to 450 is well attested in the archaeological record and witnessed the last urban building boom of antiquity. This applies, for example, to large peristyle houses with apsidal halls and to private baths that were hallmarks of late antique elite culture,³⁵ but also to mosaics in general³⁶ and to public buildings like colonnaded streets³⁷ and city walls.³⁸ The new buildings often employed reused parts from ancient ruins, so-called *spolia* that were arranged so as to display their venerable antiquity as well as superior workmanship and to lend some respectability to otherwise mediocre architecture.³⁹ At Aezani the Temple of Artemis was dismantled and partly reused for the building of a colonnaded street around AD 400.⁴⁰ Numerous new city walls also employed *spolia*, particularly around the gates, where they would have attracted the greatest attention and—in conjunction with a pair of flanking towers in the grand Hellenistic tradition—propagated a long and distinguished urban history.⁴¹ Otherwise, the new fortifications were of limited defensive value, as they surrounded extensive urban areas with long curtain walls, few towers, and little attention to strategic requirements.

“LATE” LATE ANTIQUITY OR THE EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD: MID-FIFTH TO MID-SEVENTH CENTURIES

From the later fifth century onwards, Anatolian urbanism went into decline again: ever more *thermae* stopped functioning; porticoes and peristyle houses were downgraded, subdivided, and given up; and city walls were again pulled down and/or rendered indefensible by lean-to structures.⁴² At Aezani the last

33. Chaniotis, “Conversion.”

34. Dalgıç, “Churches.”

35. Niewöhner, “Riddle of the Market Gate,” p. 113 (bibliography); Rose, “Troy and the Granicus River Valley,” p. 160; Summerer, “Pompeiopolis,” pp. 343–44; Uytterhoeven, “Bathing in ‘Western Style’”; Stroth, “Quarry to Church,” pp. 153–59; Uytterhoeven, “Urban Mansion.” See also chapter 19 on Ephesus in this volume.

36. Scheibelreiter-Gail, *Mosaiken*.

37. Saradi, *City*, pp. 209–352; Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, pp. 87–9 (bibliography); Martens, “Streets at Sagalassos.” See also chapter 23 on Aphrodisias in this volume.

38. Niewöhner, “Riddle of the Market Gate,” pp. 109–12.

39. Trezguet, “Architecture tardive.”

40. Rheidt, *Aizanoi*, pp. 15–17.

41. Niewöhner, “Stadtmauern,” pp. 241–53.

42. Rose, “Troy and the Granicus River Valley,” pp. 161–62; Niewöhner, “Riddle of the Market Gate,” pp. 119–20; Uytterhoeven, “Urban Mansion.” See also chapters 23 and 19 on Aphrodisias and Ephesus in this volume.

thermae and the city's *macellum* were converted into churches.⁴³ The colonnaded porticoes of the Theodosian street had been subdivided and turned into workshops and a smithy by the second half of the fifth century; by the sixth century, when the colonnade finally collapsed due to an earthquake, a thick layer of accumulated earth already covered the pavement.⁴⁴ The street had apparently been given up altogether by this time, and the earthquake debris was never subsequently cleared away, although it completely blocked the passage along the street.

A similar encroachment of formerly public urban spaces by workshops and even by agricultural installations occurred in numerous Anatolian cities during the fifth and sixth centuries, including the largest and most important metropoleis like Ephesus.⁴⁵ At Sagalassos, a public lavatory was also affected and turned into a container for agricultural manure, indicating the loss of yet another amenity that used to characterize urban life.⁴⁶ The abandonment of a large extra-mural Potters' Quarter suggests that the dwindling production had moved closer to the shrinking city center, possibly into some abandoned urban buildings.⁴⁷ There and elsewhere, new church buildings on formerly public squares further contributed to the loss of traditional *urbanitas*, for example at Pergamon, Priene, Iasos, and Elaiussa Sebaste.⁴⁸

The city of Miletus at the estuary of the Maeander River in Caria was more fortunate in so far as it did not suffer any major earthquake destruction before the middle Byzantine period. The ancient city center was preserved throughout late antiquity and the early Byzantine period, including numerous ancient buildings and their decoration with mythological statues. Only the genitals were carefully worked off with a fine chisel.⁴⁹ New church buildings did not invade the old center before the middle of the sixth century.⁵⁰ Moreover, one of the new sixth-century churches was hidden behind a Roman propylon and the other narrowly fitted into a preexisting insula and decorated with the same old-fashioned type of architrave as a neighboring heroon.⁵¹ The preservation of the ancient heritage was a major concern throughout the early Byzantine period and informed all building projects in the center of Miletus. Even when a new and much reduced circuit of city walls was built in the seventh century (Fig. 21.1), various ancient façades were left standing and now decorated either the inner or the outer face of the wall, with a former temple porch forming the main city gate (Fig. 21.3).⁵² This conservationist approach to ancient buildings suggests that the widespread deterioration and collapse of the urban monuments in other, less fortunate cities did not necessarily result from Christian

43. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, pp. 143–5 (bath); 145–58 (macellum).

44. Rheidt, "Aizanoi 1992 und 1993," pp. 699–712.

45. Chapter 19 on Ephesus in this volume.

46. Chapter 27 on Sagalassos in this volume.

47. Chapter 27 on Sagalassos in this volume.

48. Chapters 17 and 20 on Pergamon and Priene in this volume; Berti, "Iasos"; Equini Schneider, *Elaiussa Sebaste* 3, pp. 54–109; Ferrazzoli, "Elaiussa Sebaste," pp. 292–95 fig. 3–5.

49. Bol, *Marmorskulpturen*, pp. 11–12; Dally, "Faustinathermen."

50. Niewöhner, *Basiliken von Milet*, pp. 111–24.

51. For the architraves compare Feld, "Michaelskirche" and Weber, *Heroa von Milet*, pp. 101–35.

52. Niewöhner, "Neue Monumente von Milet," pp. 181–89.

rejection of pagan culture or Byzantine indifference to ancient heritage. However, Miletus, too, appears to have suffered from loss of urban population, and by the sixth century parts of the city that had last been reconfigured during the Theodosian period lay abandoned and were eventually used as burial sites.⁵³

Bathing appears to have been maintained wherever possible, even after the deterioration and collapse of the ancient *thermae*. Smaller bath buildings, so-called *balnea*, continued to be built and restored, for example at Miletus, Ephesus, and Amorium.⁵⁴ They provided for personal hygiene, but not for larger social gatherings and entertainment as the ancient *thermae* used to do. The case of the Southern Baths at Miletus is instructive: they were

originally built in the Roman Imperial period with the usual set of vestibule, changing room, warm, hot, and cold bathing rooms, as well as additional chambers. In the early Byzantine period, around AD 500, the Southern Baths were renovated and now contained two hot bathing rooms, each with its own, separate entrance and changing room (Fig. 3.1). The result was a double bath, probably for the simultaneous but separate bathing of men and women. Both sexes could wash at any time, but neither had more than one bathing room at their disposal. Similarly small and utilitarian baths were also available outside the cities, for example at the port of Andriake in Lycia, at Kirse Yanı, a rural house in the Carian Mountains (Fig. 8.2), and at a manor house in the Maeander estuary. Once bathing had been reduced to washing, it stopped to be an urban status symbol.

A general loss of urban distinction seems to be confirmed by the kind of settlement that was newly elevated to *polis* status during the early Byzantine period, for example Germia, Euchaïta, and Justinianopolis/Didyma. Germia was a newly established healing center and pilgrimage site without a Roman past, tiny in size, with next to no space for any lay population, of no secular political, administrative, military, or economic significance, and without

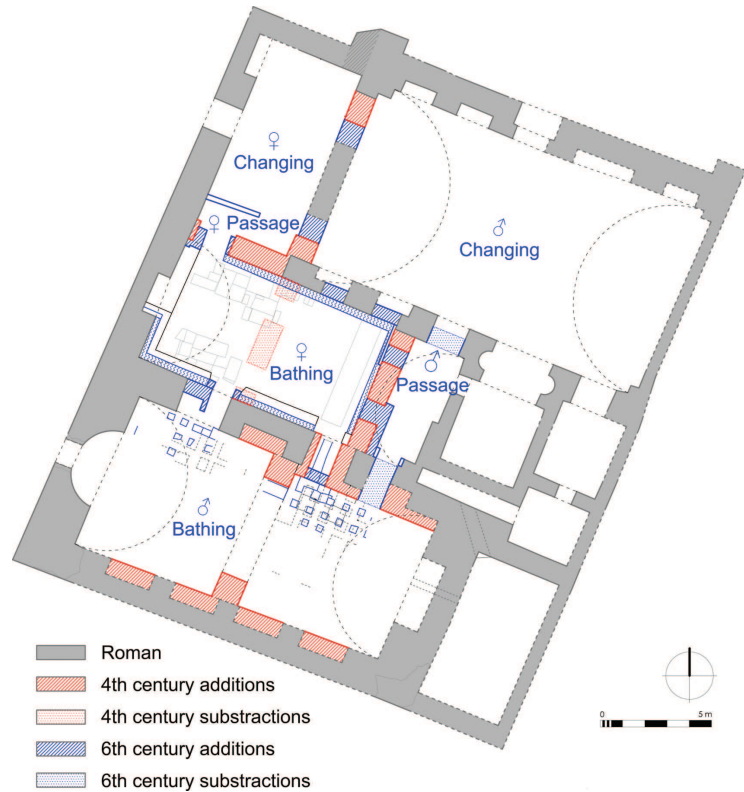


Fig. 3.1.

Miletus, Southern Baths, second-century building (Roman) with late antique (fourth century) and early Byzantine (sixth century) alterations that led to a double bath with separate changing and bathing rooms for men (♂) and women (♀) (D. Göcmen/P. Niewöhner)

53. Niewöhner, "Settlement History of Miletus,"

54. Ivison, "Lower City Enclosure," pp. 20–24, 28–29; Steskal, "Badewesen und Bäderarchitektur," p. 85; Niewöhner, "Südstadthermen von Milet."

fortifications.⁵⁵ Euchaïta appears to have been a similar case, small, insignificant, and known mainly for the grave of St. Theodore Tiro, although Anastasius did have some fortifications built when he established the site as *polis* and archbishopric.⁵⁶ Didyma used to be a pagan equivalent to Germia, a rural shrine and oracle in the vicinity of ancient Miletus; later the temple was converted into a church,⁵⁷ and a street in the direction of Miletus received a new colonnade as late as the sixth century.⁵⁸ No other outstanding feature is known, and Justinian's main reason for turning Didyma into a *polis* and a bishopric may have been the need for an additional bishop,⁵⁹ because the number, size, and population of rural settlements around Miletus had increased.⁶⁰

CHURCH BUILDING AND RURALIZATION

Churches were erected in great numbers throughout the early Byzantine period and appear to have been the only major exception to urban decline, but churches were not a particularly urban feature; they were even more numerous in the countryside and attest to rural prosperity that went hand in hand with urban decline.⁶¹ The rural churches known from the territory of Aezani hugely outnumber the urban ones, and the inhabitants of the early Byzantine countryside generally seem to have employed more marble and stonemasonry than their urban counterparts.⁶²

The extensive use of marble for rural churches was a new development of the fifth and sixth centuries; until the last urban building phase around AD 400, architectural sculpture had been employed almost exclusively for the monumental embellishment of the cities. The new ascendance of the countryside was enhanced by an increase in rural settlements and apparently also in rural population. In the territory of Aezani the number of settlements doubled during the fifth and sixth centuries; many of the new sites were located in hilly and mountainous regions that had scarcely been settled during the Roman Imperial period.⁶³ A similar expansion onto marginal lands in conjunction with an enlargement of the preexisting Roman settlements can be observed in various parts of Anatolia and points to a general increase of rural population during the early Byzantine period.⁶⁴

55. Niewöhner et al., "Germia."

56. Chapter 36 on Euchaïta in this volume.

57. Knackfuss, *Didyma*, pp. 29–37; Peschlow, "Didyma," pp. 211 f. 251–54; Bumke, "Didyma." Cf. also Reichardt, "Kirchen in Didyma".

58. Tuchelt, "Didyma," pp. 120 f.; Schneider, "Didyma," pp. 31–33.

59. Feissel, "Un rescrit de Justinien."

60. Berndt, *Halbinsel von Milet*, p. 114; Lohmann, "Milet und die Milesia," p. 352; Niewöhner, "Umland von Milet."

61. E.g. Foss, "Lycian Coast," pp. 26–9; Varinlioğlu, "Marginal Environment"; Kolb, *Kyaneai*; Eichner, *Wohnhäuser in Kilikien*, pp. 25–6.

62. Niewöhner, "Aizanoi and Anatolia," p. 246; Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, pp. 76–9.

63. Niewöhner, "Aizanoi and Anatolia," pp. 242–45; Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, pp. 80–1.

64. Dappner/Vermeulen/Wiedemann, "Pessinonte," p. 132 fig. 10; Blanton, *Western Rough Cilicia*, p. 60; Baird, "Konya Plain"; Rose, "Troy and the Granicus River Valley," p. 164; Coulton,

The chronology suggests that the rural boom and the urban decline were linked. Interest and spending seem to have shifted from the monumental embellishment of the cities to the building of rural churches. Moreover, the new settlements on marginal lands could not have yielded a great agricultural surplus and may only have become possible because a lesser percentage of their produce was now being siphoned off and consumed in the cities. This major structural shift in the relationship between city and countryside may have been brought about by changes in the administration of the empire, depriving the cities and their councils of their former key positions.⁶⁵ Administrative duties became burdensome, which led to the “flight of the *curiales*” and resulted in a more direct administration of the provinces by the state.⁶⁶ The elites began to leave the cities from the fifth century,⁶⁷ when large urban peristyle houses stopped being built and existing ones were subdivided, downgraded, given up, and left to decay.⁶⁸ Instead, a new and different kind of aristocratic house was built for the first time, outside the cities, often in remote areas of rural Anatolia.⁶⁹ The archaeological evidence places this new phenomenon likewise in the early Byzantine period. Confirmation that the country house had become the normal residence of the Anatolian aristocracy comes from later written sources.⁷⁰

The ruralization worked to the disadvantage of the cities and their traditional elites and was much lamented by the ancient literati, many of whom were from that social stratum; their laments have been echoed by modern classicists, with their traditional focus on the elite culture that declined together with the cities. Other, less articulate parties may in fact have profited from the process. One beneficiary was the state that seems to have realized an ever-increasing income. Another group that could well have benefited were the inhabitants of the countryside, who had previously fallen prey to the short-term interests of the cities and their *curiales*; the state was more concerned with the long term, and hence may, for example, have positively encouraged the cultivation of marginal land.⁷¹ The decline of the traditional urban elite seems also to have made room for newcomers, who typically now held positions in the bureaucracy, and who reinvested their monetary earnings in the land.⁷²

Balboursa, pp. 175–81. However, Ratté/De Staebler, *Aphrodisias Survey* observe a late antique reduction in settlement and population in the region of Aphrodisias in Caria.

65. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 104–9; Laniado, *Notables*, pp. 1–129.

66. Brandes/Haldon, “Towns, Tax, and Transformation”; Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*.

67. Jones, *Empire*, vol. 2 pp. 737–57; Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*; Laniado, *Notables*, pp. 1–129; Saradi, *City*, pp. 148–85.

68. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, pp. 90–91 (bibliography); Waelkens et al., “Residential Complexes at Sagalassos”; Zaccaria Ruggiu, “Regio VIII, insula 104”; Rose, “Troy and the Granicus River Valley,” pp. 161 f.

69. Dagron/Callot, “Bâtisseurs isauriens,” pp. 58–61; Eichner, “Sinekkale”; Eichner, *Wohnhäuser in Kilikien*, pp. 287–313; Niewöhner, “Andriake”; Giese/Niewöhner, “Kirse Yantı.”

70. Whitton, “Rural Fortifications,” pp. 62–65; Schreiner, “Haus in Byzanz.”

71. Grey, “Agri deserti.”

72. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 110–20; Laniado, *Notables*, pp. 131–252; Liebeschuetz, “Oligarchies in the Cities”; Banaji, *Agrarian Change*.

Other positive factors that might have contributed to rural prosperity in this period include an improved climate, advances in technology, and/or an increase in demand and higher prices for agricultural products due to the loss of the African provinces and their surplus grain.⁷³ However, these factors cannot explain urban decline, and therefore ought to be considered as secondary to changes in administrative practices that alone can account for both urban decline and rural prosperity.⁷⁴ As a negative factor, the Justinianic plague may have accelerated urban decline from the 542 onwards.⁷⁵ It cannot, however, have triggered the overall development, as the urban deterioration was already well under way before the plague broke out. The overall population increase in conjunction with the cultivation of marginal lands should also have occurred before the outbreak of the plague. In fact, the latter was probably linked to the high population level, ensuing malnutrition, and strained living conditions. This appears to be confirmed by a relatively poor health record in the early Byzantine period, compared with the preceding Roman era and the following middle Byzantine period.⁷⁶

PROVINCIAL ARCHITECTURE

The intensification of building activity, particularly churches, from the Theodosian period onwards led to a revival of quarrying and marble trade, including the establishment of a distinct period style (Fig. 3.2). This is best known from Constantinople and the marble quarries of Proconnesus/Marmara Adası that supplied most building material for the Theodosian enlargement of the imperial capital.⁷⁷ However, the formal repertoire and style associated with the Theodosian aggrandizement of Constantinople had previously been developed in central Anatolia, where the long overland route seems to have effectively discouraged the use of Proconnesian marble and the quarries at Docimium near Synada in southeast Phrygia were the most important suppliers of first-class architectural carvings.⁷⁸

The Docimian production bridged the gap between the late Roman tradition, which had all but faded out during the “crisis of the third century”, and the Theodosian revival.⁷⁹ The main items for export beyond the High Plateau were wall revetment and pilaster capitals.⁸⁰ The high cost of surface transport to the

73. Hirschfeld, “Climatic Change”; Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth*.

74. The follow-up question is, of course, why these changes in administrative practices occurred in the first place. This has not yet been answered satisfactorily, but for some preliminary suggestions, see Niewöhner, “Who Is Afraid,” pp. 170–71.

75. Little, *Plague and the End*.

76. Chapter 4 on human remains in this volume.

77. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XX, Stuttgart 2004, cc. 57–123 s.v. “Kapitell” (U. Peschlow).

78. Niewöhner, “Production and Distribution.”

79. The same may be true for figural sculpture, see Bergman, *Chiragan*, p. 59; Stirling, *Collector*, pp. 126–29.

80. Kramer, *Pilasterkapitelle*, pp. 67–72; Niewöhner/Prochaska, “Großbau”; Niewöhner, “Rotunda at the Myrelaion.”

Mediterranean littoral meant that Docimian wall revetment must have been an expensive status symbol. In contrast, architectural sculpture and liturgical furniture from Docimium were distributed chiefly in inner Anatolia, where they were imitated by various local workshops and established distinct regional forms.⁸¹ Other regional workshop traditions are attested for Caria, Lycia, and Cilicia.⁸² Starting with the general increase in building activity during the Theodosian period, each province developed some characteristic formal and/or stylistic traits, which, in the course of the later fifth and sixth centuries, contributed to a regionalization of church architecture.

The new Christian architecture and stonemasonry of the fifth and sixth centuries differed from one region to another and showed distinct provincial traits,⁸³ for example Binbirkilise on the Boratinon Oros/Karadağ in and around Madenşehir in Lycaonia, the latter city possibly identical with the ancient Barata.⁸⁴ The remote mountain location and local basalt as building material have led to an exceptional state of preservation that makes for an exemplary case study of provincial architecture on the central Anatolian plateau (Fig. 28.2). The porous texture and dark color of the basalt discourage architectural sculpture and impart a gaunt atmosphere, which is further enhanced by a preference for mullions instead of more sophisticated columns and for stone vaults as a substitute for more expensive wooden trusses. Many of these features were peculiar to the western part of the central Anatolian plateau. An instructive comparison is provided by the pilgrimage church of the Archangel Michael at Germia in Galatia.⁸⁵ This church was originally built with brick arches, possibly by the Constantinopolitan aristocrat Stoudios, a benefactor of Germia who built a similar church with brick arches in the capital. Later, the brick arches at Germia were replaced by the wide stone arches (Fig. 32.3), which seem to have been peculiar to the western part of the central Anatolian plateau. This secondary work, unlike the original construction of the church, was obviously a purely local undertaking.

The local Anatolian architecture is generally considered inferior to contemporary Constantinopolitan building, and R. Krautheimer's authoritative overview of *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* refers to central



Fig. 3.2.

Manisa, archaeological Museum, large pilaster capital with broad pointed (German: großgezackt) acanthus typical for the Theodosian period, this specimen apparently of Proconnesian marble (P. Niewöhner)

81. Niewöhner, "Phrygian Marble."

82. e.g. Peschlow, "Tradition und Innovation"; Acconci, "Amboni Cari"; Mietke, "Bauornamentik im Rauhen Kilikien."

83. Krautheimer, *Architecture*. Cf. also the entries on various provinces in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* and *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*.

84. Ramsay/Bell, *Churches*; *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* I, Stuttgart 1966, cc. 690–719 s.v. "Binbirkilise" (M. Restle); Eyice, *Karadağ*.

85. Niewöhner et al., "Germia," pp. 128–29.

Anatolia as a “provincial backwater.”⁸⁶ As the political activities of the Anatolian cities became confined to the local level and the upper echelons of the old local aristocracy departed for Constantinople, so the quality of provincial architecture declined.⁸⁷ The emergence of diverse provincial styles can also be seen as part of the same process of regionalization. Local styles in church architecture normally seem to have followed the example of the respective provincial metropolis or some other regional focal point. This presumably reflects the key position of the provinces and metropoleis in the early Byzantine administration of the empire.⁸⁸ As ordinary provincial cities and their bishops now referred to the local metropolis and archbishop rather than directly to the capital and emperor, so also did the architects of their churches.

Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the design and layout of early Byzantine architecture on the Anatolian plateau. Most of it was presumably built from mud-brick and has disintegrated. However, a large body of marble and stonemasonry survives from these lost buildings, some of which is of the highest quality and contradicts Krautheimer’s classification of central Anatolia as a “provincial backwater.” The state of research is better with respect to the Mediterranean provinces, where limestone and mortar were commonly employed and many early Byzantine buildings survived long enough to be recorded. Lycia, for example, stands out for a number of features that were specific to that province:⁸⁹ Church apses are mostly freestanding as in the Aegean and seldom integrated into a straight east wall as in the Near East. In many cases an eastern chapel seems to have contained relics. Basilicas with triconch sanctuaries occur frequently at remote mountain sites, some of which can be identified with monasteries thanks to the Life of Nicholas of Sion. Some coastal cities imported marbles from Proconnesus, but local limestone carvings were more common, of equally high quality, and affordable to rural communities, too. The great majority of Lycian churches and stone carvings date from the sixth century.

THE INVASION PERIOD: SEVENTH TO EARLY NINTH CENTURIES

Direct archaeological evidence for what happened in the cities of Anatolia from the seventh century onwards is as yet relatively scarce. C. Foss once tried to blame this on the Persian incursions in the 610s and 620s, but coin finds remain fairly plentiful until the reign of Constans II (641–668), for example at Germia in Galatia, where a hoard of 47 gold coins was buried in the center of the pilgrimage site.⁹⁰ The hoard consists exclusively of fresh coinage from the

86. Krautheimer, *Architecture*, pp. 162, 166.

87. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 43–54, 104–24; Saradi, *City*, pp. 441–65.

88. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 137–55.

89. Niewöhner, “Reliquienkapellen in Lykien”; Altripp, “Kirchen und Kapellen.”

90. Niewöhner et al., “Germia,” pp. 129–30.

reign of Constans II. Three similar gold hoards from the reign of Constans II were found at Cücük northeast of Ankara, at Çavuş southwest of Konya, and at Pınarbaşı in Cappadocia;⁹¹ they end with coinage from 663/668, 659/661, and 651 respectively. All four hoards were most likely buried in connection with a wide-ranging Arab incursions and conquest of central Anatolia in the 650s and 660s.⁹² The coins will have been brought in from the capital rather than accumulated locally, for example in the treasury of the pilgrimage church of St. Michael at Germia, because the hoards consist exclusively of fresh gold coins, while local collections are usually more diverse and church treasures included various other objects in addition to coins. The context of 668 seems to point to army detachments that were to fight the Arab incursion and may have buried the coins before going into combat. This would at least prevent the gold from falling into enemy hands. The failure to recover the hoards strongly suggests that the Arabs annihilated the Byzantine forces and most likely also forayed against the various settlements. As to Germia and its vicinity, no more is known, but later Byzantine continuity and prosperity of the pilgrimage site, autocephalous archbishopric, and metropolis shows that the Arab incursions did not permanently disrupt the settlement tradition. In fact, the drop-off in coin finds may have been caused by changes in the monetary system as much as by the Arab incursions.

Continuity throughout the incursion period is attested at the city of Amorium, Germia's southern neighbour, although Amorium was attacked at least five times and conquered twice, in 668 and 838. However, a winemaking industry was established inside the city walls in the seventh and eighth centuries, when Amorium was a *thematic* capital and housed the army headquarters as well as a substantial garrison.⁹³ In a way, the Arab threat may have worked to the advantage of Amorium and other cities, because the Byzantine army and the civilian population naturally sought safety behind urban fortifications, and their presence is likely to have stimulated the urban economy.⁹⁴

Similarly, ceramic evidence from Ephesus confirms continued occupation throughout the Invasion Period. Earlier Byzantine coins are found in later contexts and appear to have continuously circulated through the Invasion Period,⁹⁵ because the minting slowed down and it took longer for old coinage to be replaced and recycled.⁹⁶ The case of Ephesus implies that the absence of new coinage cannot be taken to indicate abandonment. Any scenario of catastrophic settlement collapse during the Invasion Period that is mainly based on the absence of contemporary coin finds will have to be re-evaluated according to the ceramic evidence.

Continued urban vitality seems to be confirmed by the building of new fortifications that re-established the cities as focal points of the settlement

91. Ivanišević/Morrisson/Popović, *Trésors*, p. 380 cat. 311; p. 399 cat. 336; Métivier-Morrisson "Trésor de Pınarbaşı."

92. Jankowiak, "First Siege."

93. Lightfoot, "Business as Usual?"

94. Haldon, "Commerce and Exchange."

95. Chapter 19 on Ephesus in this volume.

96. Chapter 5 on coins in this volume.

network and distinguished them from villages. Miletus is the prime example, because stratigraphical excavations have proven that the Byzantine city walls were built after the turn of the seventh century.⁹⁷ Other city walls at Magnesia, Ephesus, Patara, and Side can be assigned to the same period because they, too, are short and strong, typically including reused column drums as well as whole ancient buildings, and massive towers.⁹⁸ All these features set them apart from the late antique walls of Aphrodisias, Sardis, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Laodicea on the Lycus, Blaundos, Amorium, Limyra, Sagalassos, and Anemurium that were built as prestigious urban showpieces during the Theodosian boom time, but would have been too long and weak for effective defense against the Arabs. The permanent Arab threat necessitated a short circuit that could be kept manned at all times. The Arabs ruled the sea and could attack instantly.⁹⁹ Such raids would have left coastal cities like Miletus, Magnesia, Ephesus, Patara, and Side no time to assemble the troops necessary to defend the extended fortifications of antiquity. Hence the shorter circuits that could be held by small local garrisons.

In inland Anatolia the situation was somewhat different and no city walls of the seventh to ninth centuries are known. The high plateau was not exposed to surprising Arab attacks in the same way as the Mediterranean coast. The enemy had to advance a long way within Byzantine territory. There he would be shadowed by the Byzantines, and they designed an early warning system to notify cities prior to any attack. Hence the cities seem to have felt confident that they would be able to either defend the full extent of their ancient circuits or to do without any walls at all. Euchaïta is for example reported to have successfully defended her ancient circuit against the Persians, but when the Arabs were advancing the inhabitants chose a different strategy: instead of defending their city they took shelter in some fortresses on the hills above. Not for long, though, because as soon as the enemy had left, they returned to the plain and moved into the old city again. At Amorium and at Ancyra the late antique cities and their long walls seem to have been defended until the ninth century, when both places were badly sacked by the Arabs and subsequently reorganized their defenses around fortresses or *kastra*.¹⁰⁰

The survival of Anatolian cities during the period of the Arab wars seems to be confirmed by the church building that was going on there until the ninth or maybe the early tenth century. A mere enumeration of the churches datable to the period is enough to make the point that Anatolian cities remained at the forefront of Byzantine architecture, with the greatest number of churches and the largest domes being erected there,¹⁰¹ for example: the Church of the

97. Niewöhner, "Neue Monumente von Milet," pp. 186–89.

98. Niewöhner, "Riddle of the Market Gate," pp. 121–22 (bibliography); chapters 19, 24, and 26 on Ephesus, Patara, and Side in this volume.

99. Christides, "Arab-Byzantine Struggle."

100. Niewöhner, "Archäologie und die 'Dunklen Jahrhunderte'" (bibliography); chapter 33 on Ancyra in this volume.

101. Buchwald, "Western Asia Minor," pp. 227–28; Ruggieri, *Religious Architecture*; Ousterhout, "Architecture of Iconoclasm."

Dormition at Nicaea in Bithynia;¹⁰² St. Nicholas at Myra,¹⁰³ probably the Cumanın Camii at Antalya,¹⁰⁴ and a cross-domed necropolis church at Patara (Fig. 24.2),¹⁰⁵ all of them in coastal Lycia; the church at Mastaura/Dereagzı in upland Lycia (Fig. 10.2);¹⁰⁶ Church H at Side in Pamphylia;¹⁰⁷ the church inside the Temple of Augustus and Roma as well as St. Clement at Ancyra (Fig. 33.3 and 33.4),¹⁰⁸ the Lower City Church at Amorium (Fig. 31.2),¹⁰⁹ and probably St. Michael at Germia (Fig. 32.2 and 32.3),¹¹⁰ all in Galatia; a church at Sebaste/Selçikler in Phrygia;¹¹¹ a cross-domed necropolis church at Aphrodisias in Caria (Fig. 23.5);¹¹² and possibly St. Mary at Ephesus.¹¹³ Many of these churches replaced early Byzantine predecessors that may have been ruined during the Arab raids, but it seems plain, from the scale of the building work undertaken in these reconstruction projects, that Anatolian urbanism retained considerable vigor during the Incursion Period.

Other, traditional features of ancient urbanism do not appear to have survived. Amorium lost its regular layout due to the Arab conquest of 838. The later settlement lacked urban planning, and the re-erected Lower City Church was surrounded by a graveyard (Fig. 12.6).¹¹⁴ Similarly, an eighth- to ninth-century quarter at Ephesus was not aligned to the ancient street grid any more, and a small church next to the Bishop's Palace became the nucleus of a graveyard.¹¹⁵ In earlier centuries one might have mistaken these later cities for large villages, but during the Invasion Period they would have stood out due to fortifications and size—the size of the cathedral churches and probably also that of the urban population.

The archaeological record of rural Anatolia in the later seventh to ninth centuries is mostly blank. Recent pottery studies suggest that this may in part be due to methodological problems with the recognition of the respective wares.¹¹⁶ As the Arab supremacy curbed Byzantine trade, pottery seems to have become increasingly localized, and local wares are often lacking in features that can be dated with sufficient precision to distinguish the period under consideration from the preceding and/or the following. These methodological difficulties notwithstanding, rural surveys typically come to the conclusion that settlements declined during the Arab incursions, for example in the

102. Peschlow, "Koimesiskirche."

103. Peschlow, "Materialien H. Nikolaus."

104. Kaymak, *Cumanın Camii*.

105. Peschlow, "Friedhofskirche [von Patara]"; chapter 24 on Patara in this volume.

106. Morganstern, *Church at Dereagzı*.

107. Eyice, "Église cruciforme de Side."

108. Chapter 33 on Ancyra in this volume.

109. Ivison, "Lower City Church."

110. Niewöhner et al., "Germia," pp. 128–29.

111. Firatlı, "Sébaste de Phrygie."

112. Dalgıç, "Churches," pp. 371–75 (West Church).

113. Karydis, *Vaulted Construction*, pp. 134–54.

114. Ivison, "Lower City Church."

115. Chapter 19 on Ephesus in this volume.

116. Vroom, "Other Dark Ages."

territories of Balboursa¹¹⁷ and Sagalassos,¹¹⁸ as well as on the Kilise Tepe,¹¹⁹ at Çadır Höyük,¹²⁰ and at Çanlı Kilise.¹²¹ A population decrease is also indicated by palynological evidence for less intensive land use and an increase in wild species throughout Anatolia.¹²²

The rural decline may in part be attributable to the plague, but on the whole the loosely occupied countryside should have been affected less by the epidemic than the cities.¹²³ A more severe rural decline was likely brought about by the Arab raids that will have struck worst outside the urban defences.¹²⁴ This scenario appears to be confirmed by the location of three exceptional rural churches from the period under consideration in Bithynia along the Sea of Marmara, where the Arab incursions hardly ever reached: St. John at Pelekete,¹²⁵ the Fatih Camii at Tirilye,¹²⁶ and the Church of the Archangels at Sige.¹²⁷

THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD: LATER NINTH TO EARLIER ELEVENTH CENTURIES

After the Byzantines had regained full control over Asia Minor and pushed the Arab frontier far to the southeast, fortification stopped to be an issue in western and central Anatolia and urbanism seems to have lost its attraction again. Most cities were neglected and apparently largely deserted and reduced to little more than villages by the eleventh century, before the onset of the Turkish conquest. At Miletus, where a large part of the city center has been excavated down to ancient levels, including two early Byzantine churches, there is as yet no evidence at all for middle Byzantine occupation, which contrasts sharply with an abundance of rural finds from the same period.¹²⁸ What is worse, the two only landward gates of the Byzantine city were found by the excavators as they had collapsed in an earthquake, burying the streets and blocking any access to the city. The debris was never cleared away, indicating that the city was already abandoned when the earthquake occurred. Circumstantial evidence dates this to the middle Byzantine period. When the Turks started to arrive in the region from the later eleventh century onwards and the Byzantine population returned to the cities, seeking shelter behind urban fortifications, Miletus was refounded on a different location and under a new name (see below).

117. Coulton, *Balboursa*, pp. 175–81.

118. Poblome et al., “What Happened.”

119. Jackson, “Kilise Tepe.”

120. Chapter 35 on Çadır Höyük in this volume.

121. Chapter 29 on Çanlı Kilise in this volume.

122. Izdebski, *Rural Economy*.

123. Stathakopoulos, “Death,” p. 109.

124. Jankowiak, “Notitia 1.”

125. Mango/Ševčenko, “Sea of Marmara.”

126. Pekak, *Tirilye*.

127. Buchwald, *Sige*.

128. Niewöhner, “Neue Monumente von Milet,” pp. 228–32.

Elsewhere in Anatolia positive evidence for urban abandonment is not (yet) available, but the middle Byzantine period often forms a conspicuous gap in the archaeological record, which may be accepted as an argument from silence, for example at Side,¹²⁹ Patara,¹³⁰ Nicaea,¹³¹ and Ancyra.¹³² The ancient city center of Priene, too, was largely deserted and came to life again only from the later eleventh century onwards, when it was refortified against the Turks.¹³³ Pergamon and Sagalassos are comparable to Miletus insofar as the middle Byzantine period is poorly attested and new later-eleventh century fortifications against the Turks were built on strategic sites outside the early Byzantine cities.¹³⁴ At Sagalassos as well as on Mount Latmos the dearth of urban evidence is again paired with a relative abundance of middle Byzantine finds in the surrounding countryside.¹³⁵

At Nicaea/İznik a resounding silence during the ninth and tenth centuries is followed by the rebuilding of the monastery church of the Dormition during the reign of Constantine X (1059–1067), probably after an earthquake had caused the collapse of the original dome in 1065.¹³⁶ The rebuilding included the northern and western façades with a modern decoration of blind arcades and pairs of superimposed niches. In contrast, the rebuilding of the basilica of St. Sophia at Nicaea—probably after the same earthquake—is hardly recognisable as middle Byzantine architecture.¹³⁷ The result is jolted and heavysset, both inside and out. The eastern façade lacks any of the playful articulation and attention to detail that is otherwise typical of the age. Even the new drums above the pastophoria are lowly proportioned.

A similar case can be made for a small and architecturally undistinguished church at Assos¹³⁸ and for the baptistery of the East Basilica at Xanthos.¹³⁹ After the large basilica at Xanthos had been ruined, the small tetra-conch baptistery was turned into a church in the eleventh century. This happened in a makeshift way by adding a narthex to the west and a diaconicon to the north, as well as by replacing the east conch with a bema and apsis. The only recognizable stylistic features are engaged half-columns on the outer corner of the polygonal apse, the carving of a new *templon* epistyle, and some frescoes.

The southern façade of the middle Byzantine harbor chapel at Side in Pamphylia is built into the nave of an early Byzantine basilica and consists mostly of old, reused cut stone.¹⁴⁰ Three small arched windows are each

129. Chapter 10 on churches in this volume.

130. Chapter 24 on Patara in this volume.

131. Chapter 15 on Nicaea in this volume.

132. Foss, “Ankara”; Belke, *Galatien und Lycaonien*, pp. 126–30; chapter 33 on Ancyra in this volume.

133. Fildhuth, “500 Reiter.”

134. Otten, “Pergamon”; Poblome/Vionis/Waelkens, “Pottery Assemblage from Sagalassos.”

135. Chapters 22 and 27 on Mount Latmos and on Sagalassos in this volume.

136. Peschlow, “Koimesiskirche.”

137. Möllers, *Hagia Sophia*.

138. Arslan/Rheidt, “Assos,” pp. 228–38.

139. Sodini, “Iconostase à Xanthos.”

140. Gliwitzky, “Side,” pp. 346. 372 fig. 24 b.

framed by a large, twice recessed blind arcade. All the arches are built of brick. The relative austerity of the façade without any niches may have resulted from the limitations of local builders and/or the reused materials unsuitable for any more sophisticated decoration. The use of stone rather than bricks as main building material would seem to discourage a more detailed articulation of the façade.

Another case of repair work that does not reflect any contemporary style or fashion is the Temple of Zeus at Aezani in Phrygia.¹⁴¹ The remaining northern façade of the temple preserves an inscription commemorating its renovation in AD 1004/1005. At that time the *cella* was used as a church, although it had no windows. An apse was added at the eastern end of the *cella*, where it was seen and described in 1826 by Léon de Laborde, but has not survived to our days. As at Amorium, the church at Aezani was surrounded by a cemetery and seems to have been quite disconnected from any urban settlement.

The poverty of most urban evidence from middle Byzantine Anatolia is underscored by a renewed abundance of rural findings, including numerous newly built houses, churches, and monasteries, for example on Mount Latmos in the hinterland of Miletus.¹⁴² Middle Byzantine churches are typically small and have obscure rural locations, for example Üçayak, Karagedik Kilise in the Ihlara Valley, and Çanlı Kilise (all three in Cappadocia), Çeltikdere in Bithynia, and Ali Suması Dağ (Alakilise) and Fisandon in Lycaonia.¹⁴³ Urban decline and the concurrent revival of the countryside seem to indicate a shift in the social and economic center of gravity toward villages and landholdings of the aristocracy. The central administration had long since started to levy taxes directly from rural settlements,¹⁴⁴ and the landed magnates are thought to have greatly increased their power in the middle Byzantine period.¹⁴⁵ Apparently, they preferred to build small churches on their estates rather than contribute to larger urban building projects.

The proliferation of rural monasteries would, in this scenario, have resulted from the pull of the aristocracy, some of them being established to take care of the aristocratic dead. An increasing predominance of aristocratic patronage also seems to be signaled by a change in the epigraphic habit. Verse inscriptions became more common in the middle Byzantine period, particularly on buildings.¹⁴⁶ They served as aristocratic status symbols, as well as showing off the education of the donors.¹⁴⁷ A good example is an inscribed *templon* epistyle

141. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, pp. 153–55.

142. Chapter 22 on Mount Latmos in this volume.

143. Eyice, “Üçayak”; Androudis, “Karagedik Kilise”; chapter 29 on Çanlı Kilise in this volume; Ötügen/Ousterhout, “Çeltikdere”; Ramsay/Bell, *Churches*, pp. 399–405 fig. 324–27 (Alakilise); Eyice, *Karadağ*, pp. 84–89. 221 f. fig. 219–30 (Fisandon).

144. Brandes/Haldon, “Towns, Tax and Transformation”; Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*.

145. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*, pp. 265–74; Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 70–80; Haldon, “Élites, Wealth, and Power,” pp. 182–92. For a caution, see Whittow, “Rural Fortifications”; Cheynet, “Aristocratie byzantine”; Whittow, “Middle Byzantine Economy,” pp. 487–91.

146. Toth, “Epigraphic Traditions.”

147. For example Mango, “Amasya.”

**Fig. 3.3.**

Manisa, Ulu Camii, two fragments of a middle Byzantine *templon* epistyle (P. Niewöhner)

from Anatolia at Manisa (Fig. 3.3).¹⁴⁸ Hundreds more of such *templon* epistyles from Anatolia all appear to have been carved during the middle Byzantine period (Fig. 21.4, 27.3, and 28.3).¹⁴⁹

Palynological evidence points to a general recovery and intensification of agriculture, in Cappadocia and elsewhere in Anatolia,¹⁵⁰ confirming that the countryside flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁵¹ This means middle Byzantine Anatolia was not short of human or agricultural resources and confirms that the downscaling of urbanism does not reflect general decline, but ruralization. It is also not surprising that, with the shift from city to country, material culture tended to become simpler and more utilitarian, as for example at Çadır Höyük¹⁵² or in the territory of Sagalassos.¹⁵³

THE COMING OF THE TURKS: LATER ELEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

According to palynological evidence, general prosperity outlasted the middle Byzantine period and was only reversed again by the Turkish conquest. This seems to be confirmed by the available archaeological evidence, for example

¹⁴⁸ Strzygowski, “Ornament.”

¹⁴⁹ e.g. Sodini, “Iconostase à Xanthos”; Niewöhner, “Mittelbyzantinische Templonanlagen,” pp. 285–345; Ruggieri/Turillo, *Antiochia di Pisidia*.

¹⁵⁰ Haldon, “Cappadocia”; England et al., “Landscape Change in Cappadocia”; Eastwood et al. “Land Use and Landscape Change in Cappadocia”; Izdebski, “Changing Landscapes.”

¹⁵¹ Lefort, “Rural Economy.”

¹⁵² Cassis, “Çadır Höyük.”

¹⁵³ Poblome/Vanhaverbeke/Vionis/Waelkens, “What Happened.”

palatial houses¹⁵⁴ and numerous late Byzantine churches and monasteries that were newly founded in response to the loss of Constantinople in 1204 and the subsequent establishment of two Byzantine principalities in Anatolia, the Empires of Nicaea¹⁵⁵ and of Trebizond.¹⁵⁶ These led to much building activity in their respective capital cities, and the former may also be credited for a thirteenth-century flourish of monastic architecture at Mount Latmos¹⁵⁷ and more generally in the lower Maeander region.¹⁵⁸ Other new church buildings were connected to fortified sites that became the focus of Byzantine settlement activity again, as the arrival of the Turks forced the population to seek shelter behind fortifications once more.

The former city of Miletus was refounded as *Kastron ton Palation*. The new name was obviously referring to those ancient ruins that were still visible above ground, but the *kastron* was located on a hilltop outside and above the former city center (Figs. 21.1 and 21.5).¹⁵⁹ The layout of the late fortifications and a dense jumble of interior buildings—presumably relating to the civilian population—reflect the geography and have little or no relation to any earlier occupation phase, not even through the reuse of large *spolia*. Ephesus and Patara, both of which—like Miletus—had once received strong Byzantine city walls, were now also reduced to small fortresses or *kastra*. The one at Ephesus included the Justinianic Church of St. John, but is otherwise comparable to the *Kastron ton Palation* in so far as it also occupied a hilltop outside the former city centre.¹⁶⁰ The *kastron* at Patara fortified a peninsula in the city center inside the Byzantine city walls (Fig. 24.1 and 24.5),¹⁶¹ which suggests that the latter and probably the whole city had previously fallen into disrepair and been deserted in the course of the middle Byzantine period.

Nothing is known about middle Byzantine Pergamon, but in the late period a new *kastron* was built on the previously uninhabited acropolis hill.¹⁶² The interior was densely built up with houses, suggesting a resident civilian population. Sagalassos underwent a comparable development, attested by numerous eleventh-century coins and graves inside the *kastron*.¹⁶³ At Aezani, the middle Byzantine graveyard around the temple church was built over by houses that contained coins of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025), Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078), and Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078–1081).¹⁶⁴ The

154. Chapter 8 on houses in this volume.

155. Peschlow, “Churches of Nicaea,” pp. 208–15; Niewöhner et al., “Iznik/Nikaia.” See also chapter 15 on Nicaea in this volume.

156. Bryer/Winfield, *Pontos*, pp. 182–90.

157. *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* V, Stuttgart 1993, cc. 651–716 s.v. “Latmos” (U. Peschlow).

158. Fildhuth, “500 Reiter” (bibliography).

159. Niewöhner, “Neue Monumente von Milet,” pp. 206–14, 226–28.

160. Ladstätter, “Ephesos.”

161. Bruer/Kunze, *Stadtplan von Patara*, pp. 79–102. See also chapter 24 on Patara in this volume.

162. Otten, “Pergamon.”

163. Chapter 27 on Sagalassos in this volume.

164. Rheidt, “Aizanoi 1997–2000,” p. 249 note 37.

settlement probably came into being because an ancient *temenos* surrounding the temple church cum cemetery was turned into a fortress.¹⁶⁵ The fortifications themselves are not dated, but the late-eleventh-century houses make it likely that the defenses were put up after the battle of Mantzikert (1071) to counter the invading Turks.

At other ancient city sites in Anatolia the measures taken to defend against the Turks were even less comprehensive. Sardis in Lydia, for example, and Aphrodisias in Caria made do with minute fortresses. At Sardis the acropolis was fortified in the seventh or eighth century, when the Arabs invaded Anatolia (Fig. 18.1 and 18.3).¹⁶⁶ In the eleventh century the fortifications were rebuilt and the interior space was filled with houses. Other areas within the ancient city—around the Temple of Artemis, the Basilica Church, and the gymnasium—had been occupied in the middle Byzantine period but were not subsequently secured with defensive walls. At Aphrodisias, where there is no acropolis, the theater was fortified instead, at the time of Turkish attacks.¹⁶⁷ Middle Byzantine finds point to occupation around the Triconch Church, the Temple Church, and a neighboring house commonly referred to as the Bishop's Palace. The archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that the middle Byzantine occupation of Sardis and Aphrodisias was at best patchy, and this is apparently also reflected by the small sizes of the late fortresses.

Other late fortresses were not related to ancient city sites, for example Achyraus, Lopadion, and Pegadia in Mysia.¹⁶⁸ Overall, the late building activity seems to confirm that Anatolia had been largely deurbanized during the preceding middle Byzantine period. Middle and late Byzantine Anatolia should probably be conceptualized as a predominantly rural society. This would explain how aristocratic and—to a lesser degree—monastic landowners were able to wield near absolute power, and it may also help to understand why the Turkish conquest does not seem to have met with the same kind of resistance that the Anatolian cities had once mustered against the Arab incursions.

165. Naumann, "Festung."

166. Foss, *Sardis*.

167. Cormack, "Byzantine Aphrodisias."

168. Foss, "Defences of Asia Minor."

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