

**ARCHAEOLOGY  
OF WESTERN ANATOLIA 2**  
Proceedings of the Second International Symposium

Archaeology and history of  
the Cayster (Küçük Menderes) Valley  
in south-eastern inland part of Izmir

November 17, 2023 / Izmir, Turkey



Edited by  
Ergün Laflı

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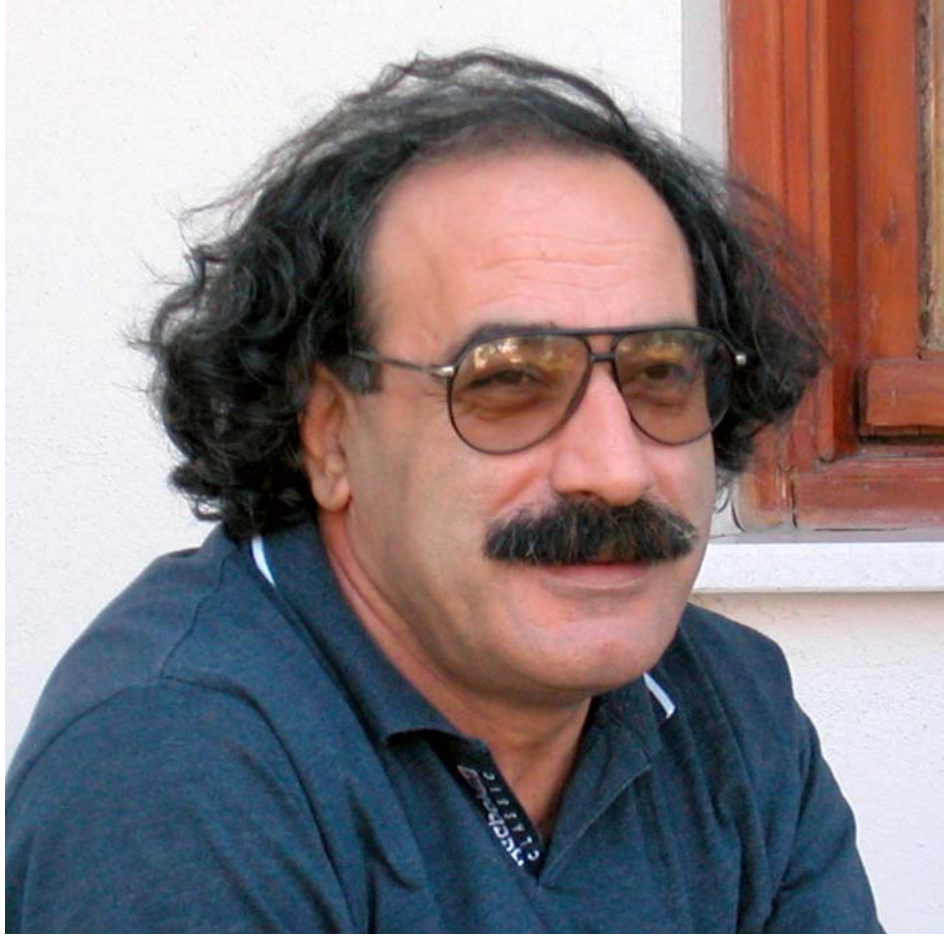
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*Hasan Malay  
(1948-2022)*



*Mehmet Emin Bařaranbilek  
(1945-2022)*

*The second symposium is dedicated to the memory of  
Professor Hasan Malay (Ege University)  
and Mr Mehmet Emin Bařaranbilek (Archaeological Museums of Istanbul),  
two Turkish classical scholars from the Cayster Valley  
who passed away in 2022.*

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**An introduction to the studies concerning archaeology  
and history of the Cayster (Küçük Menderes) Valley:  
editorial remarks about the proceedings of the second symposium**

Ergün Laflı

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The purpose of this second international video conference was to create an analytical framework for understanding the archaeology and history of the Cayster (Küçük Menderes) Valley in south-eastern inland part of Izmir in western Anatolia with its social and material contexts (**fig. 1**). We intended thus to bring together researchers who can present especially new syntheses of archaeological, historical, numismatic and sigillographic data concerning the Cayster Valley. In this online conference we have also included seven papers on the archaeology of Cayster Valley in the ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine periods which composed our first session (*cf.* the program below).

This video conference took place on November 17, 2023. All the lectures and discussions in our e-conference were on Zoom and in English, and were recorded for later viewing on YouTube for participants who were unable to attend the live performance presentation. The YouTube links of the e-conference can be found on p. 8 below. The symposium was first announced in May 2023 (**fig. 2**). Between May and September 2023 there were more than 13 paper applications from eight countries, including – in alphabetical order – Belgium, Greece, Italy, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Spain and Turkey, 13 of which were accepted. All speakers held their lectures virtually. This book was arranged mainly in November 2023 where papers were placed in order by speakers' turns at the conference. It was constantly being updated in its online version on our Academia account. It is also published by Ada Printing House in Buca, Izmir in December 2023.

The second symposium is dedicated to the memory of Professor Hasan Malay (Ege University; 1948-2022) and Mr Mehmet Emin Başaranbilek (Archaeological Museums of Istanbul; 1945–2022), two Turkish classical scholars from the Cayster Valley who passed away in 2022.

I would like to thank following colleagues for preparation of this book and for their assistance before, during and after our conference (in alphabetic order): Professor Engin Akdeniz (Izmir), Dr Maurizio Buora (Udine), Dr Maria Leontsini (Athens), Dr Stefano Magnani (Udine / Münster) and Professor Peter Rothenhoefer (Zhuhai).



**Fig. 1:** Map of the sites presented at the second video conference on the archaeology of western Anatolia (by S. Pataçı, 2023).

Second International Symposium on the  
**ARCHAEOLOGY  
 OF WESTERN ANATOLIA**

Archaeology and history of  
 the Cayster (Küçük Menderes) Valley  
 in south-eastern inland part of Izmir

November 17-18, 2023 / Izmir, Turkey



*Meeting venue*  
 physically in Izmir, Turkey or virtually on [online.deu.edu.tr](http://online.deu.edu.tr)

*Deadline for abstracts' submissions:*  
 September 9, 2023.

*For all inquiries, e-mail us at:*  
[engun.lafli@deu.edu.tr](mailto:engun.lafli@deu.edu.tr)

All are welcome!

**Fig. 2:** Poster of the second video conference on the archaeology of western Anatolia (by E. Laflı, 2023).

# Program of the international video conference

## PROGRAM / PROGRAMME

Please note that appointed times given on the timetable of the conference program are arranged according to the Istanbul-Izmir time zone which is two hours ahead of Central European Time (CET).

*Veillez noter que les heures indiquées correspondent au fuseau horaire Istanbul-Izmir, + 2 heures par rapport au fuseau horaire de l'Europe Centrale (CET).*

### Web links to join to the live meeting on Zoom

*/ Liens Web pour rejoindre la réunion à distance sur Zoom :*

#### Link for the Session 1 / *Lien pour la session 1 :*

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/82645963333>

Meeting ID / *ID de conference :* 826 4596 3333.

#### Link for the Session 2 / *Lien pour la session 2 :*

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/85474800313>

Meeting ID / *ID de conference :* 854 7480 0313.

## November 17 / 17 novembre

09 h 30 Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey)

Introduction: technical information about the symposium.

### 10 h 00 – 14 h 00: Session 1 – Papers on the Cayster Valley / *Conférences sur la vallée du Caÿstre.*

Chairman / *Présidence :* Maria Leontsini (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, Greece)

10 h 00 **Opening lecture / *Conférence d'ouverture :*** Paolo di Benedetto (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II / Università degli Studi della Basilicata, Potenza, Italy)

Ἀσίω ἐν λειμῶνι Καÿστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα (Il. II 461). The image of Cayster River in the historical sources.

10 h 30 Aitor Blanco Pérez (Universidad de Salamanca, Spain)

*Summa honoraria* inscriptions and epigraphic boundaries in the Mid-Cayster Valley.

11 h 00 Ali Özkan (Tire, Izmir, Turkey)

From *polis* to *kastron*: an overview of the changing physiognomy of the urban settlements in the eastern Cayster Valley (Kiraz-Beydağ).

11 h 30 Eda Güngör Alper (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir, Turkey), Koray Alper (Pamukkale University, Denizli, Turkey), Şehmus Tekin and Faruk Tekin (both from the Museum of Tire, Izmir, Turkey)

A group of red-on-white lamps from the Museum of Tire.

12 h 00 Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey), Maurizio Buora (Società Friulana di Archeologia, Udine, Italy), Hugo Thoen (Deinze / Ghent, Belgium) and Hüseyin Avni Baloğlu (Municipality of Bayındır, Izmir, Turkey)

Recent archaeological discoveries in the Upper Cayster Valley.

12 h 30 Binnur Gürler (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir, Turkey) and Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey),

Graeco-Roman small finds from the Cayster Valley and their contribution to the chronology of the region.

13 h 00 Engin Akdeniz (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir, Turkey) and Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey),

Ethnoarchaeological approaches through Late Ottoman postcards from the Turkish towns in the Cayster Valley.

13 h 30 **Keynote speaker / *Conférencière principale :*** Marijana Riel (Univerzitet u Beogradu, Serbia)

Remarks on seven papers on the ancient Cayster Valley.

14 h 00 Discussion.

14 h 30 – 15 h 30: Lunch break / *Pause déjeuner.*

### 15 h 30 – 18 h 30: Session 2 – *Varia Anatolica Occidentalia.*

Chairwoman / *Présidence :* Peter Rothenhoefer (Sun Yat-Sen University, Zhuhai, China)

15 h 30 Aslı Saraçoğlu and Arzu Özver (both from Adnan Menderes University, Aydın, Turkey; read out by E. Laflı)  
Bath-gymnasium building of Tralles.

16 h 00 Marina Yu. Lapteva (Russian State Pedagogical University, St. Petersburg, Russia; not presented)

- Lydian factor in the history of the Ionian tyranny.
- 16 h 30** Eirini Artemi (Hellenic Open University, Patra / Athens, Greece; not presented)  
The role of Ephesus in the Late Antiquity from the period of Diocletian to AD 449 «Robber Synod».
- 17 h 00** Katarzyna Maksymiuk (Uniwersytet Przyrodniczo-Humanistyczny w Siedlcach, Poland; not presented)  
The relation of Priscian of Lydia to Byzantium during the wars of Justinian I with the Sassanid Empire.
- 17 h 30** Tomasz Polański (Polska Akademia Nauk, Crakow, Poland; not presented)  
John of Sardis' commentary to Aphthonius' description of the Alexandrian Serapeum. Graeco-Oriental art in rhetorical ecphrasis.
- 18 h 00** Discussion.
- 18 h 30** Closing / *Clôture*.

**Records of the e-conference in YouTube**  
**/ *Enregistrements de la conférence à distance sur YouTube***

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCU4How2qUqAuGBEm27pKLZw>

## Papers on the Cayster Valley



**Fig. 1:** Colossal reclining statue of the river god Cayster with a *cornucopia*, from the *frigidarium* of the Vedius Gymnasium at Ephesus; new museum in the former Tekel factory premises in Alsancak, Izmir (photo by E. Lafli, 2010).

**Ἀσία ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα (Il. II 461).**  
**The image of the Cayster River in the historical sources**

Paolo di Benedetto

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The Cayster, called Κάυστρος in Greek sources, corresponds to the river that is now called Küçük Menderes (literally “Little Meander”) in Turkish and is one of the most ancient and important rivers in western Anatolia. The Valley of the Cayster (Καῦστριανὸν πεδῖον) was, throughout history, one of the most important and productive centres for ancient civilisations in Asia Minor, along with the plains of the Caicus and Hermus rivers that flow further north: these areas were involved in early human settlement, starting in the Late Neolithic period, and experienced the first Ionian-Aeolian settlements (of which we have records) until the dark ages of the Persian and Arabic invasions.

Studying the Cayster and its Valley is methodologically difficult both in the field of topography and in the more properly historical field: in particular, it is necessary to take into consideration several factors, such as irregularities and continuous hydrogeological modifications of the river's course due to the phenomena of progression by which it has been affected over the centuries and which have radically altered the morphology of the surrounding territory and the inhabited areas in the surroundings. Historical sources allow us to partly reconstruct the events and functions that the river had for the ancients: the Greeks already had knowledge of it since the mythical time of the Trojan War, which can provide a starting point for the history of the Cayster itself and an term of comparison with the other types of sources that have come down to us.

The first reference to the Cayster is recorded in *Il. II 459-466*, in which it appears associated with a series of similes indicating the march of Agamemnon's army towards Troy, within a section of verses preceding the so-called *Catalogue of Ships* and that is taken up, centuries later, by Virgil (*Georg.* I 382-386). Interesting in this regard are notes and interpretations of these verses by commentators and exegetes of the Homeric text and other geographical works, such as Eustathius of Thessalonica (*Comm. ad Il. II 459-464*; *Comm. ad Dion. Per.* 837), and the Byzantine lexicographers (Steph. Byz, *s.v.* Κάυστρον; *Suida*, *s.v.* Κάυστρος). In addition to the more properly historical attestations, consisting of some sections of Scylax of Caryanda's *Periplus* (fr. 98) and the *Histories* of Herodotus (V 100), which testify to the role of the river in the Archaic period and during the Persian wars, the main source is the geographer Strabo, who, in the Augustan period, examines the topography and investigates the history of the Cayster Valley in four sections of his work, recording the existence of several micro-Asian communities that arose near the river (XIII 3.2; 3.4; 4.8) and the geomorphological exploration of the Valley (XIII 4.11).

Among the sources available to us, local mythology and accounts that the imaginary of the Greeks elaborated about the Cayster, who at certain stage acquired a semi-divine personification, also play an important role: according to the *vulgata*, in fact, Cayster was the son of Achilles and the Amazon Penthesilea (Nonn, *Dion.* XXXV 27-28; ; *Schol. ad Il. II 461*; Serv., *Comm. ad Aen.* XI 661), while other sources claim that he was the father of Ephesus, the eponymous hero founder of the Artemision (Paus. VII 2.7). Monetary issues of these elaborations and mythical representations are documented, mostly dating back to Roman times and in association with Ephesus. It was precisely with Ephesus that the Cayster and the river valley established a privileged relationship, to the point that the Cayster Valley can be said to be the true *hinterland* of the Ionian city: ancient Ephesus was,

in fact, once an important port on this river, but over the centuries sediments and alluvial deposits gradually changed the city's land plan. Ancient authors, among others, were aware of the alluvial phenomenon and recorded its consequences (Plin., *Nat. Hist.* V 115), in particular the problems it caused for the functioning of the port. This concern was shared, in the Hellenistic age, by the diadochi, such as Lysimachus, who reorganised the territory of Ephesos, and also in the Roman age, by the emperors, as shown by the great interventions made under Hadrian.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a short presentation of Cayster and its Valley, examining historical data and literary sources, in order to give a reconstruction of how the Cayster was represented and perceived in Antiquity: this analysis will take into account, in general terms, the most recent findings gained from geo-archaeological research and historical geography investigations.

**Keywords:** Aeolis, Ionia, Lydia, Ephesos, Greeks of Asia Minor, Roman Asia Minor, Herodotus, Iliad, Strabo, ancient history.

## ***Summa honoraria* inscriptions and epigraphic boundaries in the Mid-Cayster Valley**

Aitor Blanco Pérez

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The mid-Cayster valley marked the frontiers of the territories of Ephesus and Hypaipa in the Roman imperial period. These lands were shared between different local units (*katoikiai* / *kômai*) which mostly lacked the big urban structures that can be found in the modern town of Tire today. Both circumstances have resulted in a high volume of “travelling” stones and this certainly complicates the epigraphic work carried out in the area so far. Despite such difficulties, this region of the province of Asia has provided us with very important inscriptions, whose relevance goes beyond the study of local circumstances in Roman Anatolia. For example, the cadastre lists discovered here have proven fundamental for understanding the fiscal reforms brought up by the Tetrarchy (I.Ephesos 3804-3806). In this period, we also have a very informative testimony for the survival of foundations and the importance of vineyards in the region (Drew-Bear 1980; Kaiser 2020). My paper will seek to analyse another very important set of inscriptions from the Middle Cayster Valley which have been considered as evidence for the existence of *summa honoraria* in the cities of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire (Abbott-Johnson 1926: 488; Quaß 1993 328-334; Dmitriev 2005 152-157). In line with my research focus on the continuity of civic life in the third century CE, I will highlight that this evidence shows the presence of mechanisms of cooperation that rural communities could trigger in the third century when they agreed to undertake sizeable projects. As a result of the re-examination of these materials, I will also try to argue that some of the attributions contained in the repertory of Ephesian inscriptions (I.Ephesos VII.1) should be revised and hence the epigraphic boundaries in the mid-Cayster valley be redrawn.

**Keywords:** *Summa honoraria* inscriptions, epigraphic boundaries, Mid-Cayster Valley, history of the Cayster Valley, epigraphic studies, Greek and Roman epigraphy, history.

## From *polis* to *kastron*: an overview of the changing physiognomy of the urban settlements in the eastern Cayster Valley (Kiraz-Beydağ)

Ali Özkan

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The name “Küçük Menderes Valley (Little Menderes)” is derived from the Küçük Menderes River (Greek: Κάυστρος/ Kaystros), which originates in the Kiraz District of Izmir and flows into the Aegean Sea at Pamucak Beach in the Selçuk District of Izmir Province. With an approximate length of 130 km, the Küçük Menderes River and its valley constitute an ecologically significant area characterized by intensive agricultural activities and a unique fauna and flora. The region includes the districts of Selçuk, Tire, Torbalı, Bayındır, Ödemiş, Kiraz, and Beydağ, all of which are part of Izmir Province. The area’s abundant water sources and fertile alluvial plain have contributed to its early settlement since ancient times. Archaeological research indicates that the earliest settlements in the region date back to the Late Neolithic Period (Dedecik and Çukuriçi Höyük).

During the Ancient Period, the Küçük Menderes Valley was characterized as having two distinct plains. The western part of the valley is referred to as the “Καυστριανὸν πεδίων” or Kaystros Plain, while the eastern part is known as the “Κιλβιανὸν πεδίων” or Kilbos Plain. This study focuses on the Kilbos region situated to the east of the Küçük Menderes Valley, as well as the settlements within the Kilbos Plain. The Roman Period settlements of Neikaia, Palaiopolis, and Koloe located in the Kilbos Plain are introduced based on existing archaeological data. Subsequently, the evolving physiognomies of these mentioned settlements during the Late Antiquity and Byzantine Period are examined through various catalysts. The characteristic transition in the literature from “polis” to “kastron,” denoted by walled fortifications, is traced within Kilbos, representing a new settlement model. The Byzantine Empire, strained by Sassanian and Arab invasions, considered the construction of new defensive structures on strategic positions and hills. During this process, it becomes evident that the Küçük Menderes Valley, as part of the thematic military administrative system, was equipped with new defensive constructions. Furthermore, cities were surrounded by robust fortifications. Particularly during the Laskarid period, it is understood that a significant construction program was carried out in the region. A city layout of this nature is evident in Palaiopolis, located in the Beydağ district of Izmir, which is extensively discussed in the study. While lacking written evidence, the city walls constructed in Palaiopolis bear a strong resemblance to Laskarid architecture. Consequently, the city’s later developments have been examined within the context of the Laskarid era’s political, social, and economic progressions. Within the enclosed area of Palaiopolis, a basilica-plan church has been identified. Palaiopolis and other castron-type settlements in the region are studied in comparison with Western Anatolia, Greece, and the Aegean Islands. The Laskarids, who had summer palaces in Nymphaion, shifted their political power to Western Anatolia. The proximity of imperial influence to the region laid the groundwork for the empire to gain prestige through construction programs in the area. This process can be considered the Byzantine Period’s last flourishing era for Kilbos and the Küçük Menderes Valley.

This study has been shaped based on the findings obtained from surface surveys conducted as part of my doctoral research. Additionally, it has been enriched with archaeological materials related to the topic studied at the Ödemiş Museum.

**Keywords:** urban settlements, eastern Cayster Valley, Kiraz, Beydağ, history of the Cayster Valley, settlement archaeology, archaeological field studies.

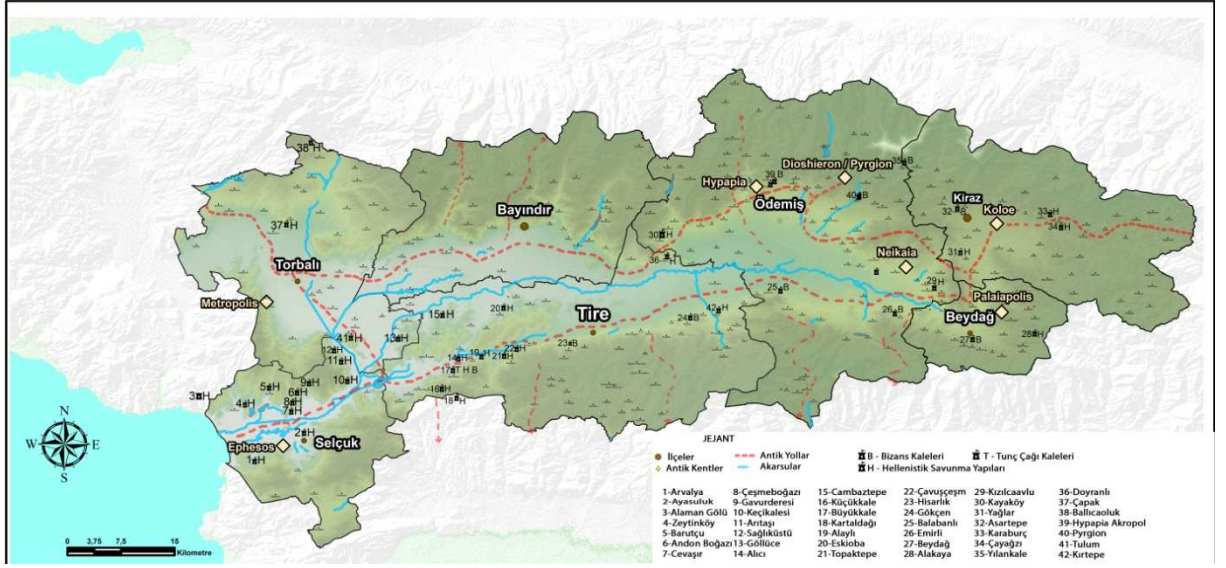


Fig. 1: Ancient roads, cities and fortifications in the Cayster Valley (by A. Özkan, 2023).



Fig. 2: Floor mosaics of a church in Palaiapolis (photo © by the Directorate of the Museum of Ödemiş).



**Fig. 3:** Fortification at Hisarköy in Kiraz (by A. Özkan, 2023).

## A group of red-on-white lamps from the Museum of Tire

Eda Güngör Alper, Koray Alper, Şehmus Tekin and Faruk Tekin

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The Museum of Tire hosts a large collection of ceramic finds from the Cayster Valley and terracotta oil lamps constitute a part of these finds. Among the terracotta lamps, there are 27 red-on-white lamps. Red lining on white is characteristic of this type of oil lamps, which are known to be produced in Ephesus or its surroundings during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf. **fig. 1**). In this paper, it is aimed to introduce the oil lamps of this type, which came to the Museum of Tire in various ways, and to examine their features.

**Keywords:** terracotta oil lamps, red-on-white lamps, Museum of Tire, Ephesus, Roman period, ceramic studies, museum studies.

### References

E. Güngör Alper, The red-on-white lamps from the Agora of Smyrna excavations, in: B. Dreyer and S. Aybek (eds.), *Neufunde-Analysen-Bewahrung. Beiträge zur archäologischen, historischen und restaurativen Forschung in der Westtürkei. Eine Dankesgabe an R. Meriç*, Orient & Occident in Antiquity / Orient & Okzident in der Antike 3 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2018), 119-133.

E. Güngör Alper, Terracotta Lamps from Metropolis in Ionia (Turkey): Typological Assessment, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 28/1, 2019, 297-319.



**Fig. 1:** A red-on-white lamp from the Museum of Tire; Roman period (photo by E. Güngör Alper and K. Alper, 2023).

# Recent archaeological discoveries in the Upper Cayster Valley

Ergün Laflı, Maurizio Buora, Hugo Thoen and Hüseyin Avni Baloğlu

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## Abstract

In this paper recent archaeological discoveries in the Upper Cayster Valley are presented. The catalogue is the result of the authors' work as juridical experts in the territories of Tire, Ödemiş, Kiraz and Bayındır between 2003 and 2023. The chronological range of the discoveries varies between the Lydian period, i.e. the seventh-sixth centuries B.C., and the Late Byzantine period, i.e. the twelfth century A.D.

The article consists of six sections with miscellaneous discoveries: 1. New finds on the tumuli in the Upper Cayster Valley; 2. Other tumuli in the Upper Cayster Valley and their reuse during the Roman period; 3. Lydian painted ware and *hydia* in the Museums of Ödemiş; 4. Hellenistic and Roman small finds from the necropoleis of the Upper Cayster Valley; 5. Roman and Early Byzantine stone quarries near Bayındır in the Upper Cayster Valley; 6. Recent archaeological discoveries in the eastern Upper Cayster Valley during the Late Antique and Byzantine periods.

**Keywords:** Archaeological finds, Lydian period, Hellenistic period, Roman period, Byzantine period, material studies, museum studies.

## Introduction

In this article, we report, as archaeological juridical experts, on the results of some observations within the territories of the ancient regions of the Upper Cayster Valley: on the archaeological materials found, but not yet published, in the Turkish towns of Bayındır, Tire, Ödemiş and Kiraz in the Upper Cayster Valley in the southeastern part of the province of Izmir<sup>1</sup>. Our intention is to share this corpus of finds with the scholarly world before they become completely damaged and lost. We came to know this material while working as archaeological juridical experts in juridic investigations on archaeological sites in the aforementioned region that we carried out between the years 2003 and 2023 on behalf of various local and superior courts in Izmir, Tire, Bayındır, Ödemiş and Kiraz<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary report on these discoveries in a summarized form with different figures has already appeared as Laflı 2023; and Laflı – Buora 2023. The present report is the extended, revised and improved version of the first report and will be published in a journal in 2024 in a more extensive manner and with more images.

<sup>2</sup> In Turkey an archaeological juristic expert or expert witness (“*bilirkişilik*” in Turkish) is a professional person whose opinion by virtue of archaeological education, certification and experience, is accepted by the judge as an archaeological expert. The judge may consider the witness's archaeological opinion about evidence before the court within the expert's area of expertise, to be referred to as an “expert opinion”. Archaeological juristic experts give relevant testimony based on the Turkish law no. 2863 of July 21, 1983 on conservation of cultural and natural property

The focus of this article considers previously unknown archaeological finds from the eastern part of the Upper Cayster Valley which was mainly located in the territories of southern Lydia in Classical Antiquity. The Little Meander River (Turkish Küçük Menderes), the ancient Cayster, rises east of Bozdağlar, the ancient Tmolos, a mountain range south of Sardis forming the watershed between the basins of the Hermos in the north and the Cayster in the south, and connected in the east with Mount Messogis, about halfway between Izmir and Denizli. It flows through southern Lydia and empties into the Aegean Sea northwest of Ephesos, which was located at the mouth of this long river. The ancient Cayster made Ephesos the largest and the most influential city in the Roman province of Asia as well as one of the largest cities in the entire Roman empire. There are numerous archaeological sites and a strong heritage especially of the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period in the area of the eastern Upper Cayster Valley and around the towns southeast of Izmir, that is, from west to east, Bayındır, Tire, Ödemiş, Kiraz and Beydağ. In the Museum of Ödemiş and the Museum of Tire (which was closed in 2020 and transferred most of its exhibits to the Museum of Ödemiş), as well as in the garden of the Çakırağa Mansion in Birgi (which is an offshoot section of the museum in Ödemiş), are several local finds from the periods between the second millennium B.C. and the Byzantine period. While there have been in recent years several books and articles on the inner part of western Anatolia, most have focused on Lydia rather than on the Upper Cayster Valley. In this area, the period between the mid-sixth and early seventh centuries A.D. is the most representative one considering the archaeological material both on the surface of most of the sites and in the local museums.

In this study we share the advantage that most objects are unpublished, and the disadvantage that hardly any has a stratified context that can really serve to fix its date. The discoveries and material of these individual investigations have been presented in a chronological order, from the Lydian period (sixth century B.C.) to the end of the 11th century A.D., and are arranged in 14 corresponding sections below.

### **1. New finds concerning the tumuli in the Upper Cayster Valley**

Tumuli, especially common in Lydia and Phrygia during the Iron Age, are found in the eastern Aegean inland of western Anatolia mostly dating into the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. One of the most important sites is “Bintepeler” (literally “A Thousand Mounds” in Turkish) in the northwest of Salihli in western Lydia<sup>3</sup>. Other Lydian tumuli sites around the Eşme district of Uşak province in southeastern Lydia form the second most abundant area with tumuli in Lydia.

Another region with an abundant number of tumuli is Bayındır in the eastern part of the Upper Cayster Valley in southern Lydia. Near the district of Yusufllu, located 5.5 km east of Bayındır and 73 km east of Izmir, there are two hills, one of which has a flagpole and is a tumulus. The area of Bayındır corresponds to the central part of the historic region of the eastern Upper Cayster Valley and the existence of numerous tumuli at the foot of the mountains or on the mountains overlooking the Bayındır plain attests the importance of the area in the Lydian period. The south-facing entrance to the Yusufllu tumulus is located close to the peak of a higher hill. It was discovered recently during illegal digging. Oriented north-south with an entrance on the south, the tomb consists of a dromos and a further chamber. The most conspicuous feature of this tumulus is the entrance to the dromos, with a pointed pediment. The entrance was framed with a narrow moulding placed on either side. The Yusufllu Tumulus is distinguished from other tombs both by the form of its entrance and by its plan, and the workmanship of its walls gives a date roughly in the mid-sixth century B.C.

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in Turkey. Most of the archaeological juristic issues in Turkey are about illicit traffickings of archaeological properties, archaeological looting or illicit removals of artifacts from archaeological sites or other issues on archaeological protected sites or monuments.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Luke – Roosevelt 2016.

A further region with numerous höyük (literally “settlement mound”) sites and tumuli in the eastern Upper Cayster Valley and in southern Lydia is the township of Kiraz, which is located in the southeasternmost part of Izmir, approximately 148 km southeast of Izmir, on the border of Alaşehir, ancient Philadelphia. During the Bronze Ages the area of Kiraz was densely populated: in 2020 E. Lafli documented a previously unknown höyük site in Çakaltepe in the district of Umurcalı, located 7 km southeast of Kiraz, where a large number of pottery sherds were observed dating from the early second millennium B.C.<sup>4</sup> This seriously damaged höyük site, which we named “Çakaltepe Höyüğü”<sup>5</sup> is currently being cultivated. Moreover, the Tumuli of Yağlar, Arkacılar, Başaran in Yenişehir, Erenler Tepesi, Şemsiler and Karaburç in and around Kiraz on the Kelbianon (or Kelbia, Upper Kilbiani, Kilbianon, Kelbos, Kelebos, Kilbos or Kilbia) Plain<sup>6</sup> make up some of the tumuli from the Iron Age and Lydian periods that are known in scientific literature. In addition, the Tumulus of Üçkonak Village in the neighbourhood of Birgi was excavated and published in detail by the Ödemiş Museum in the 1990s<sup>7</sup>. Some of these tumuli were placed on highly visible positions. Below we present five more tumuli from Kiraz which have increased the number of these monumental tombs from this area known to date.

Located in Okkataşı at the entrance of Arkacılar District, which is 2.5 km south of Kiraz, a tumulus known as “Arkacılar”<sup>8</sup> is situated close to the modern Ödemiş-Kiraz Highway and the Kiraz-Yağlar-Beydağ (ancient Palaiopolis) road. The Arkacılar Tumulus measures approximately 50 m in diameter and 8–9 m in height. Today covered with grass, it is located right on the edge of a plain currently used for agriculture. An archaeological rescue excavation was carried out in the tumulus at the end of 2014 by the Museum Directorate of Ödemiş<sup>9</sup>. Some stone walls with rough workmanship emerged in a pit dug in the southeast of the tumulus at a depth of 0.3–0.4 m below the surface. These two walls with a width of 1.7 m narrow towards the west. Built with five rows of stones with a total height of approximately 0.7 m and made of flat stones of a mica-schist type, they are covered with mud mortar. The masonry technique of the walls has the typological features of the Hellenistic period. However, an earlier crepis wall surrounding the hill was discovered during rescue excavations. Although the tumulus itself has been dated by its excavator to the mid-sixth century B.C., it was reused again for ritual purposes during the Hellenistic period. Additionally, there is a small Hellenistic fort upon a high hill, about 1 km south of the tumulus<sup>10</sup>. This suggests that the Kiraz Tumulus had a two-phase use, just like Manda Tepe in Tire situated 66 km southwest of Kiraz.

A second tumulus called Yağlar Tumulus is located inside the borders of Yağlar District, approximately 200 m east of Arkacılar Tumulus, where rescue excavations were carried out in 2014 by the Directorate of Ödemiş Museum<sup>11</sup>. The burial chamber of Yağlar Tumulus shows typical Lydian features in terms of stone blocks, workmanship and proportions. The flat ceiling of the burial chamber and the kline feet decorated with volutes are peculiar to the Lydian tumuli and have been dated by its excavator to the sixth century B.C.<sup>12</sup> It is not known in detail whether “Lydians”

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<sup>4</sup> No later material, including Classical periods, was observed at this höyük site. Pottery finds from Çakaltepe Höyüğü are similar to the specimens found in the excavations which were carried out by the Museum of Ödemiş in 2022 in the höyük site of Karakova with the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age layers, located in the Karakova Neighbourhood, 5 km south of Ödemiş.

<sup>5</sup> This höyük site is registered on plots 37–38 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>6</sup> Called “τὸ Κελβιανόν” in Ephrem the Syrian 7531; cf. Ramsay 1890, 105, 130; Kinn. (39.9–14) and Pach. (III, 237.15–16).

<sup>7</sup> Sevin – Coşkuntuna Gürsel 2013, 48 f.

<sup>8</sup> It is registered on plot 339 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>9</sup> For this excavation, cf. Gürsel 2016, 353–357, 363–364 figs 12–15.

<sup>10</sup> Meriç 2009, 29 f. figs 130–133.

<sup>11</sup> For this excavation, cf. Gürsel 2016, 347–353, 358–363 figs 1–11. The tumulus is also presented in Meriç 2009, 116, 119.

<sup>12</sup> For klinai in Lydia, cf. Baughn 2013.

were buried both in Arkacılar and Yağlar Tumuli, or whether the ones who built these tumuli were “Lydians”.

In the district of Yenişehir (literally “New City”), located approximately 9 km southeast of Kiraz, close to the summit of a rugged hill called “Yel Değirmenleri” (literally “Windmills”), there is another tumulus called “Yenişehir Tumulus” by us<sup>13</sup>. Currently there is no settlement or agricultural activity on Yenişehir Tumulus, which is covered with grass and trees in some places. No archaeological excavations have been carried out on this tumulus yet. Just opposite this tumulus, there is another one at the end of a slope facing the plain and close to the district of Yenişehir. Various illegal diggings were made on Yenişehir Tumulus in 2020, and at least two pits were dug during these excavations. Some stone walls with rough workmanship appeared at a depth of 0.1–0.3 m from the surface of one of the pits. These walls, approximately 0.6 m high, were built of five to eight rows of stones, composed of flat andesite stones, and covered with mud mortar. Although the function of these walls is not known, the dimensions, wall techniques, materials etc. are similar to the walls of the Arkacılar Tumulus. Large and rectangular stone architectural blocks, probably used in the burial chamber of the tumulus, were encountered on the tumulus.

Another tumulus is located in Kabaktepe at the eastern entrance of Karaburç District. It is situated ca. 2 km east of Kiraz<sup>14</sup>. The Kabaktepe Tumulus is located 54 km north of Sarıgöl and 60 km west of Alaşehir, in the immediate vicinity of the Kiraz-Alaşehir Highway. With a diameter of about 30 m and a height of 3–4 m, it can roughly be dated to the Iron Age (seventh–sixth century B.C.) or later.

## 2. Other tumuli in the Upper Cayster Valley and their reuse during the Roman period

A tumulus called “Manda Tepe” (literally “Water Buffalo Hill”), was excavated in March 2020 by the Museum of Tire. It is located on a hill with dense olive groves. The area is also known as “Kırtepe” (literally “Wild Hill”) in the archaeological literature<sup>15</sup>. The tumulus is situated 900 m southeast of the Tire-Ödemiş Highway and close to the Kırtepe-Sarılar country road. It is 5 km northeast of the district of Gökçen and 16 km northeast of Tire<sup>16</sup>. As the Museum of Tire was officially closed a year ago, all the finds from this rescue excavation and its significant results remain unpublished.

The tumulus itself, with a foundation or podium walls of a large space (a possible tower?), belonged originally to the Early Hellenistic period. Just 10 m south of this unit there are graves and cultic areas belonging to the Roman period, especially to the second and third centuries A.D. The most important find in the area is a rock tomb upon a slope in the northeast facing Tmolos and a (votive?) relief belonging to this rock tomb. This relief is 0.6 m wide, 0.52 m high and was set in a pedimented architectural frame, i.e. a naiskos monument. The height of its pediment is 6 cm. On the relief there are two figures standing side by side and depicted frontally. All the carved details of the figures have been worn smooth. The figure on the left is probably Eros, leaning against an object, probably a pilaster, in a cross-legged pose, in the guise of his usual depictions<sup>17</sup>, holding a sceptre and mourning. The height of this figure is 33 cm and the width 11 cm. The rather faint figure on the right is probably the owner of the tomb. However, the frontal figure is unfortunately too worn for the details to be identified. This type of rock-reliefs is quite uncommon in western Anatolia.

The platform on the slope, located just northeast of the area where illegal excavations were made in 2016 or 2017, was excavated by the former Museum Directorate of Tire in 2020. A large

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<sup>13</sup> It is registered on plot 1174 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>14</sup> It is registered on block 112 and plot 3 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>15</sup> Özkan 2018, 214–216, 230 figs 8–10.

<sup>16</sup> The coordinates of the area are 38.10814019255–27.88862866476.

<sup>17</sup> Usually Eros is the attendant to this type of funerary depictions, cf. *LIMC* iii, 1986, 969–971 nos. 88–106, s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido (by N. Blanc – F. Gury).

complex was built here isodomically with very large rectangular stones, approximately 10 m long, consisting of two or three rows, in a north-south direction, 1 m below the soil surface. No mortar was used in its masonry and its preserved foundation walls were exposed up to a height of about 1 m. At least three spaces were created with these walls. Perhaps the upper parts of these structures were made of mudbrick. The Manda Tepe Tumulus presents new evidence helping to understand the katoikia settlements in the region of Tire in the Upper Cayster Valley: they were similar to a polis, but were rather village communities with some institutions, but not those of a full polis. Due to its strategic location, situated on a point guarding the transport route between the three large cities of the region, i.e. Hypaipa, Sardis and Ephesos, the tumulus was no doubt occupied in earlier periods as well. At any rate, at least two more tumuli from the sixth-fourth centuries B.C. are located in Gökçen and Çiniyer<sup>18</sup>. Building complexes on tumuli in the region of Tire were located at points close to militarily strategic positions, as in Manda Tepe. Thus, the remains discovered by the Museum of Tire during the rescue excavations on Manda Tepe in 2020 could perhaps be the remains of the foundation of a tower. The masonry of this tower, whose architectural details are well preserved, shows similarities with Yağlar Tumulus, another Hellenistic defensive structure located in Kiraz in the eastern part of Upper Cayster Valley<sup>19</sup>. As mentioned before, the tower of Manda Tepe is located on an elevation dominating the road network from the Upper Cayster Valley leading to Ephesos in the west on the eastern Aegean coastline. The fact that the region was located on the route of the ancient Ephesos-Sardis road explains why numerous defensive constructions were built on top of the tumuli in the area of Tire.

In 2021 an abundant surface find of pottery sherds, roof tiles (some of them painted) and figurines was discovered in the area. Especially the sherds of painted and embossed vessels for ritual purposes are noteworthy. All these finds belong to a period between 350 B.C. and A.D. 250 with an unknown hiatus time. Thus, one can assume that there are two different archaeological phases of the area, one shorter phase in the Early Hellenistic and one longer in the Middle Roman period. However, majority of the epigraphic and archaeological finds date from the Roman period.

Thus, Manda Tepe in the region of Tire is an outstanding example of the use of an earlier tumulus as a tower and its later, secondary use as a cultic and funerary area in the Roman period, perhaps as an indication of a continuity of interaction between earlier and later generations with an unknown graveside cultic activity, or a subsequent reorganization of the tumulus complex. But the nature of the Roman use of these tumuli cannot be explained in wider detail, as our surface evidence is currently limited. Furthermore, there are more small-scale sites around Manda Tepe, which were agricultural areas during the Late Iron Age and the Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine periods.

Some other tumuli in the Upper Cayster Valley show also evidence of a reuse in the Roman period: recently four unknown tumuli were discovered by Hatice Kalkan during field surveys in the region of Ödemiş on Kaystrianon Pedion between Tmolos and Messogis Mountain Range (Aydın Dağları): Doyranlar (or Doyranlı), Çataltepe, Ahrandı I and Ahrandı II<sup>20</sup>. Rescue excavations were carried out by the Museum of Tire in 2022 at the tumulus site of Doyranlar or Doyranlı<sup>21</sup> located in the area of Köşeli, 13 km northeast of Tire. A watchtower has also been reported from this tumulus site and a phallos was found<sup>22</sup>, but not in situ. Typologically and mineralogically the phallos from Doyranlar is similar to another phallos (of the Hellenistic period?) in the Museum of Ödemiş where the name of an Ἄτταλος was carved.

A tumulus of the sixth-fifth century B.C. is situated in the area of Yeldeğirmeni, in Çayağzı District of Kiraz, next to Köseoğlusuyu Street, on the lower slopes of a hill on Çayağzı Road<sup>23</sup>. This

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<sup>18</sup> Keil – von Premerstein 1914, 66.

<sup>19</sup> Meriç 2009, 116, 119.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Kalkan 2018.

<sup>21</sup> This site is registered on the island 101 and parcels 47 and 124 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>22</sup> Kalkan 2018, 197, 202, fig. 3.

<sup>23</sup> This site is registered on the island 317 and parcel 19 of the land parcel registry map.

tumulus has also a second phase of use in the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period (first century B.C.-first century A.D.). A rescue excavation was carried out at this site in 2017 by the Ödemiş Museum Directorate after illegal looting carried out in previous years. In these excavations the dromos walls of the tumulus were found at a depth of 10-30 cm from the surface, approximately 4 m in length, 1.5 m in width and preserved up to a maximum height of 1.7 m. These walls were built of five to eight stone rows and consist of locally cut mica-schist stones that can be considered as neatly cut. A large monolithic stone slab measuring approximately 2.5 x 2.5 m, possibly the top cover of this L-shaped dromos, was observed at the edge of the area. These walls are similar to other tumuli in Kiraz with their dimensions, wall techniques and material. In the area just above the dromos there is a marble cornice from the second usage phase of the tumulus which is measuring ca. 1.22 m long, 0.33 m high and 0.82 m wide. On this stone are four reliefs consisting of a boukaphelion, two rams and another boukaphelion which are associated with the burial cult in the area (**fig. 1**). Before the rescue excavations in 2017, a votive stele depicting Kybele was found in the area which is now in the Museum of Ödemiş.

There are also tumuli with two phases in Tire: illegal excavations have been carried out on the northern slope of a hill, located in Yenioba District and 795 m away from the Tire-Izmir Highway<sup>24</sup>. According to the records of the Museum of Tire, the burial chamber of this tumulus, which we call the Yenioba Tumuli, has a length of 4 m and a width of 3 m, and the entrance door located in the north of the tomb is 0.60-0.8 m wide. The door leaf was formed with spolia architectural elements, i.e. two marble elements which are ca. 1 m high and 0.5 m wide on sides. Two klinai, each on the east and west walls of the tomb chamber, were later destroyed. However, it is not clear in which period this tomb was built and in which later period it was reused.

Another tumulus is located on a hilly and rugged terrain, ca. 1630 m north of the Tire-Ödemiş Highway, in the area of Armutlu of the Derebaşı District which is 18.2 km southeast of Bayındır and 20 km northeast of Tire<sup>25</sup>. Illegal excavations were carried out in 2019 at its highest point which is overlooking the plain and road. Today there is a water tank and solar panels on its slopes. The tomb is in the form of a Hellenistic chamber tomb, which was carved into the bedrock and is measuring ca. 2.2 m long, 2 m wide and 3 m deep from the surface. The tomb, the cover system of which was destroyed before, extends in the north-south direction and the original entrance of the tomb chamber should be in the south direction. The southern entrance wall and the western wall of the tomb have been destroyed, and only 1/4 of the tomb is currently preserved. Two stone elements belonging to the tomb, which are currently preserved in the garden of the Museum of Tire, were found in the pit of the tomb. A rectangular, monolithic jamb and a capstone possibly for covering the entrance are most probably related to the second phase of the tomb. The preserved height of the monolithic jamb is 1.8 m and width 1.3 m. The capstone is 1.1 m high, 0.7 m wide, and 1.02 m long. We believe that the first usage phase of the tomb was in the Hellenistic period; it was opened later and used secondarily, probably during the Roman period.

### 3. Lydian painted ware and *lydia* in the local museums in western Turkey

Lydian painted ware is known primarily from the excavations at Sardis<sup>26</sup> as well as from other sites, e.g. Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia and Gordion<sup>27</sup> in Greater Phrygia. Lydian pot painters applied an array of decorative techniques, some inspired by schemes invented elsewhere in Anatolia and Greece, and others of their own design, giving Lydian painted pottery its own refined, lively, and innovative character. The emergence of Orientalising motifs in Lydian painted ware is

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<sup>24</sup> This site is registered on the island 104 and plot 85 of the land parcel registry map

<sup>25</sup> This site is registered on the parcel 1098 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>26</sup> For the most important literature on the Lydian pottery in Sardis, cf. Gürtekin-Demir 2007, 48-55; Gürtekin-Demir 2010, 41-44 figs 2-3; Gürtekin-Demir 2011, 359-371 figs 1-6; Ramage – Ramage 2021.

<sup>27</sup> Gürtekin-Demir 2002; 2021.

clearly evident at the end of the Late Geometric period. Most of the examples of Lydian painted ware are dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.

Both the Museums of Akhisar in ancient Lydia and Ödemiş in the territories of the ancient Upper Cayster Valley as well as of Afyonkarahisar in ancient Phrygia, offer a rich collection of Lydian painted pottery or pottery found in Lydia as well as a collection of *lydia*, i.e. a certain group of perfume jars. There are numerous specimens of Lydian painted pottery in other Turkish museums outside of Lydia<sup>28</sup>. In particular, the Museums of Akhisar and Ödemiş have a large collection of pottery including e.g. examples of so-called Ephesianising, bichrome, streaked and marbling ware. In Ödemiş the main forms of these decorated vessels date from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. and comprise skyphoi, plates, *lydia* and lekythoi. However, vases decorated with protruding ornaments such as bull heads are rare. Most of these abundant finds from both museums come from the tumuli in the region. Comparing these three museums, we see that there are also different subgroups in the Lydian painted ware and other related vessels of the Archaic and Classical periods.

In some examples in the Museum of Ödemiş, Lydian artisans used paint and slip to create different colours and textures, but glossy orange-red to brown vessels were especially numerous, depending on whether these vessels were fired in oxidizing or reducing conditions. Greyware is also common here, and occurs in a wide range of shapes. The use of streaked paint is most common in the later seventh and sixth centuries B.C. and seems to be a particularly Lydian phenomenon; such examples are prolific in the Ödemiş Museum collection. Streaky decoration is most common on skyphoi, often on those with a reserved band at the rim.

There is a particularly ornate pottery plate of the Early Archaic period in the Museum of Ödemiş: it is a footed shallow vessel with a cream slip and brown decoration. The clay is Lydian or western Anatolian in origin. There are banded decorations on the exterior and vertical stripes on the outer face of its lip, which is curved with an outward bulge. On its floor there is also a ray of lights bordered by four rows of a chessboard pattern with added red bands lined in white. Filling ornaments on the bottom are meanders and rosettes. Concentric stripes on the exterior border with large tongues below and meander patterns above.

Also a richly decorated skyphos with a cream slip is an outstanding example of early pottery in Ödemiş. This cup shares some of the characteristics of both Geometric and Archaic skyphoi, but also has some individual decorative features. As it is common on similar cups, a figural scene on the handle zone depicts two opposing lions bordered by combed meander patterns, three rows of a chessboard pattern and other typical eastern decorative elements.

As indicated by its name, the *lydion* (plural *lydia*) originated in Lydia, but may have been of Egyptian derivation. Such jars probably contained *baccaris*, a perfume named after Bacchus for which Sardis was noted in Antiquity. As a small spherical perfume container with no handles, this vessel form was especially popular in everyday life in Lydia. But its function is not as clear as that of other vessel forms in the ancient written sources, whereas the significant aspect of these vases was certainly what they contained. During the Lydian period they were also very popular grave goods for tumuli. The vessel stood on a narrow, relatively high foot, which is cylindrical or conical in shape. The neck could be of varying height; it met the body at an acute angle. The lip is horizontal. Usually, the *lydion* was decorated with stripes. In Lydia it was produced on a mass scale; but figural decoration is rare. In these three museums there is a large number of *lydia*, as we have said above. Based on their differing typology and diverse decoration patterns, it seems that more than one workshop was involved with the production of these vessels, but so far it is not possible to date them more precisely than late seventh to early fifth centuries B.C. Most of them feature a red-brown paint in thin horizontal bands.

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<sup>28</sup> Among others, there are five *lydia* exhibited in the Museum in Alanya which have already been published by H. Ergürer, cf. Ergürer 2022, 860–867 fig. 4. Other museums with Lydian painted pottery are Marmaris in ancient Caria which were studied by the authors and Fethiye in ancient Lycia.

After Lydia, other common typologies among the Archaic and Classical vessels in Ödemiş and Afyonkarahisar are skyphoi and small pitchers with similar decoration. There is also a local derivation of Corinthian style small closed vessels, such as an example in a similar form of an aryballos in the Museum of Afyonkarahisar.

#### 4. Hellenistic and Roman small finds from the necropoleis of the Upper Cayster Valley

The funeral customs as well as burial practices in the Hellenistic and Roman Upper Cayster Valley have been discussed in a few scientific publications<sup>29</sup>, and local archaeological museums in the territories of the Upper Cayster Valley have large amounts of material from Roman tombs<sup>30</sup>. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know more about the provenance of this material in detail, except for the finds published in the annual series of Turkish rescue excavations, the *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Seminerleri*, since 1991<sup>31</sup>. In this region grave gifts may include mirrors, strigils and other artifacts of daily use, but terracotta vases are the most common inclusion. The following are new funerary finds from Hellenistic and Roman necropoleis in the Upper Cayster Valley which generate questions leading to new studies and fresh insights.

Illegal excavations were carried out in August 2020 during the construction of a factory in the Organized Industrial Zone of Tire, located in the area of Kızılyar in Turan District<sup>32</sup>. The area is situated on the side of a hill, close to the Tire-Izmir Highway. During the illegal excavations, a rock-cut chamber tomb and a rich assembly of grave goods were found. Among the finds, there were a Late Hellenistic terracotta amphora, a Middle Hellenistic lagynos with a single screw handle and floral decoration, a Late Hellenistic terracotta mould-made lamp, a Late Hellenistic-Early Roman double-handled skyphos<sup>33</sup>, an Early Roman single-handled terracotta jug<sup>34</sup>, several Middle and Late Hellenistic terracotta unguentaria<sup>35</sup> and their fragments. Kızılyar was most probably the necropolis area of Graeco-Roman Theira or Thaira<sup>36</sup> (modern Tire), and this cemetery was in use between the second century B.C. and second century A.D. The tomb found in the area was named “Kızılyar rock-cut tomb” and a rescue excavation was carried out in the area by the Tire Museum

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<sup>29</sup> For the terracotta sarcophagi from both of the region, cf. Lafli – Buora 2021–2022, 89–90, notes 57–58, 93, note 85, 98, pl. 10, figs 1a-b and 4. In the Upper Cayster Valley there was definitely a workshop producing terracotta sarcophagi during the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Just south of Örentepe near the Cami district of Çırpı, located ca. 20 km west of Bayındır, there is a clay pit for such ceramics in an area called Karagöl. Pottery was produced here until recently, and some brick factories in Torbalı were acquiring their raw material from that region in the Upper Cayster Valley.

<sup>30</sup> For example, a long inscription from the Roman period with 170 cm in height, 64 cm in width and at least 15 lines in a form of a large altar has been found in the farm of Mr Coşkun Ergin and Mr Yüksel Esen in March 2021 in Pirinççi 18 km of southeast of Ödemiş and displayed currently in the garden of the Museum of Ödemiş.

<sup>31</sup> Its first volume appeared as “I. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri, 19–20 Nisan 1990, Ankara, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü” [=First Turkish annual seminar for the results of rescue excavations undertaken by the local museums, 19–20 April 1990, Ankara, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Museums] in 1991. All these seminar volumes are placed online <<https://kvmmg.ktb.gov.tr/TR-44763/muze-calismalari-ve-kurtarma-kazilari-sempozyumu-yayinlari.html>> (accessed on 31.12.2022).

<sup>32</sup> It is registered on the island 1286 and plot 21 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>33</sup> This type of skyphoi was very common as a funerary good in the Hellenistic period in the Upper Cayster Valley: a similar skyphos of possibly Late Hellenistic period has been found with three bronze coins (one of them from Ephesos) in a grave (2 x 0.5 m) which was illegally dug by looters in a mountainous area 1.9 km south of Balçılar District in Şamlıoğlu Area, 10 km northwest of Bayındır; Also an example from Ephesus with similar form: Gassner 1997, 50 Taf. 7 no. 115

<sup>34</sup> Meriç 2002, 37 Taf. 8 K58.

<sup>35</sup> Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991, Taf. 207, no. O3; Taf. 212, no. O18; and also Meriç 2002, 84 Taf. 41, K483-485. Identical Hellenistic unguentaria from a tomb which are dated with coins found in the same assemblage are excavated in Metropolis, located 37 km west of Tire, and published in Ekin Meriç 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Regarding Theira, cf. Meriç – Merkelbach – Şahin 1979, 191–192; and Jones 1983, 116, note 6.

Directorate in August-September 2020<sup>37</sup>. The rock-cut chamber tomb was carved into the bedrock and is measuring ca. 2.2 m long, 2 m wide and 3 m deep from the surface. It extends in the north-south direction and the original entrance of the tomb should be in the south. The interior of the tomb is unadorned and without inscriptions. During the rescue excavation, a relief bowl, two single-handled terracotta jugs, a terracotta lid, a Late Hellenistic terracotta mould-made lamp and a Middle Roman pear-shaped terracotta unguentarium were found around the tomb. The burial chamber was first built in the Late Hellenistic period and was reused in the second century A.D. A Middle Hellenistic terracotta mould-made oil lamp, now in the Museum of Ödemiş, was found in Kiraz in the eastern Upper Cayster valley. Although it is quite simple in terms of decoration, there is a linear representation of grapes around the discus on the shoulder. Such lamps are very common in Ephesos, Tire and Ödemiş in western Anatolia.

## 5. Roman and Early Byzantine stone quarries near Bayındır in the Upper Cayster Valley

In November 2019, illegal excavations were made using explosive materials on the Mermertepe (literally “Marble Hill”), located ca. 1 km west of Paşayeri<sup>38</sup>, 5 km southwest of Buruncuk, 20 km southeast of Bayındır on the border of Tire and 100 km southeast of Izmir. The area is a hilly and uneven land, and it is approximately 1.210 m southwest from the Izmir-Ödemiş Highway. In the area, which is still used as a quarry, marble cutting and carving processes were carried out during the Roman period, especially in the second and third centuries A.D.<sup>39</sup>. This situation is clearly evident from the traces of ancient chisel and stone cutting tools found throughout the whole area of Mermertepe. Semi-worked marble architectural elements were encountered in the area as well. The most prominent and significant find in this area is the lower part of a human figure with a height of 20 cm and a width of 7 cm. Formerly there were two more male portraits on the upper right side of this figure; however, this multifigured part of the quarry, together with the upper part of the figure that E. Laflı has documented, were heavily damaged and destroyed. Obviously these two male portraits belong to young men approaching maturity who are beardless and have short hair or are even bare-headed. The damaged figure on the left is incised only lightly on the surface and only some body parts were displayed in outline. The male figure is standing to the left with both arms outstretched in an unknown gesture. There is an incised elongated object, perhaps a masonry tool, on top of his right arm the identification of which would depend upon the context of the composition of which it was a part. The reliefs are unusual for a number of reasons: these faces do not have sufficiently distinctive characteristics to be considered portraits; thus, they depict figure types rather than portraits. This figure and the two portraits presumably belong to the Roman period, to stonemasons, workers or employers working in the marble quarry at that time; no comparable example is known to the author from Asia Minor. They may also be funerary reliefs with the deceaseds, one of which was depicted possibly with his professional attributes.

Just 100 m opposite Mermertepe there is a further stone quarry site on Karatepe (literally “Black Hill”), perhaps used rather in the Late Antique-Early Byzantine period. This is also a rugged hill site, called Bukolion in the Byzantine period, the modern Ali Paşa Çiftlik bordering the town of Tire<sup>40</sup>. On the southern slopes of Karatepe, where a modern farmhouse is located, quite a lot of terracotta roof tile and brick fragments<sup>41</sup> and pottery sherds were observed in early 2022. The area in question must have been a farmhouse between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. As is clearly

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<sup>37</sup> For this excavation, cf. Tekin 2021.

<sup>38</sup> It is registered on the block 1 and plot 54 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>39</sup> In a previous visit to this site some pottery sherds of the Middle Bronze Age have also been observed.

<sup>40</sup> It is registered on the parcel 316 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>41</sup> In the Upper Cayster Valley there was most probably a local production of tiles especially during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. and most of tile fragments seen in the sites of this region might be production of a single site located somewhere in the area.

evident from the traces of stone cutting on the rocks found throughout the area, stone cutting and carving processes were carried out in Karatepe as in nearby Mermertepe.

These quarries were perhaps used by the inhabitants of two main urban centres of the Upper Cayster Valley, i.e. Hypaipa and Dios Hieron, east of ancient Theira (modern Tire) where the Caystrian Plain began<sup>42</sup>.

## 6. Recent archaeological discoveries in the eastern Upper Cayster Valley during the Late Antique and Byzantine periods

During the Roman and Byzantine periods the prevalent types of community throughout the eastern Upper Cayster Valley were village settlements (*komai*, villages or *katoikiai*, village communities) of varying size and population. Ödemiş<sup>43</sup>, the second largest town of the province of Izmir, lies on a fertile plane ca. 113 km southeast of Izmir, close to the Bozdağlar chain, ancient Tmolos, not far from the Küçük Menderes River. During the Byzantine period Ödemiş was located near the road linking Sardis with the coastal metropoleis, i.e. Ephesus and Smyrna. The character of the Cayster valley in the Byzantine world is little known<sup>44</sup>, as most of the archaeological surface structures were perhaps of *kerpiç* (mudbrick), and few architectural remains of marble, especially churches, were preserved. This inner Aegean landscape was always an agricultural centre with fertile water sources (especially in Palaiopolis), and therefore the Byzantine economy of the region was isolated and based on agricultural products. There were few large cities, but numerous minor rural sites, including some *höyük* (mound) sites. The most influential Graeco-Roman site in this part of the Cayster valley was Hypaipa (Ἵπαιπα), located ca. four km northwest of Ödemiş and 56.7 km southwest of Sardis, and mentioned in the Tabula Peutingeriana (Segment VIII 5). Hypaipa was formerly the seat of a bishop<sup>45</sup> and corresponds to the village of Ottoman “Dabbey” or “Datbeyi” and modern Günlüce<sup>46</sup>. Some other minor Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine sites in the region of Ödemiş and the rest of the Cayster valley were Dios Hieron (modern Birgi), Neikaia or Nikaia (between Türkönü [Ottoman “Ayasuluk” or “Ayazurat”] and Kurucuova), Oumyrotia (Suludere/Yagas; north of Cayster), Palaiopolis (Beydağ/Balyambolu), Theira (Tire), Arkadiopolis (Arkacılar), Dideiphyta (Kireli), Savenda (Yeğenli) and Koloe<sup>47</sup> (or Kaloe, Kleoue, Kalloue, Kolone, Kleos, Kilas, Kilos or Keles; the modern Hisarköy in Kiraz). At the end of the seventh century A.D. Ödemiş and the entire Cayster valley were assigned to the theme Thrakesion<sup>48</sup> which included the territory of Lydia. Thrakesion is known to have been dominated by small-scale land owners and relatively dispersed estates between the seventh and 12-13th centuries A.D. (cf. **figs 2a–b**)<sup>49</sup>. The reports of several scholars that visited Ödemiş and the Cayster valley during the 19th and 20th centuries were collected by Andreas Külzer extensively<sup>50</sup>. In Ödemiş the first excavations were carried out by a local Ottoman Greek from Smyrna, Demosthenes (Emmanuel) Baltazzi, before

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<sup>42</sup> A further possible marble quarry in the Upper Cayster Valley is in the area of Manastır by Keldağ in Ödemiş where a marble quarry is still active. On the archaeology of Keldağ, cf. Kalkan 2020.

<sup>43</sup> In modern Greek “Οδεμῆσις”, Italian “Odemisio” and in French maps “Eudémich”. For some Byzantine lead seals in the Museum of Ödemiş and their contextualisation, cf. Laflı – Seibt 2020.

<sup>44</sup> So far, the most detailed study of the Upper Cayster valley during the Byzantine period has been published by Andreas Külzer. It contains a concise and up-to-date account with numerous references: Külzer 2017, p. 195–213 and 475–478.

<sup>45</sup> Hypaipa was as *prototronos* a suffragan episcopric of Ephesus (Asia) and became a metropolis under Isaac II Angelos, but was again reduced to a bishopric under Theodore I Laskaris in A.D. 1216. Cf. Preiser – Kapeller 2008, 115; Darrouzès 1981, e.g. 310 *notitia* 10, 11 and *apparatus criticus*.

<sup>46</sup> Külzer 2017, 204–205; Meriç 2009, 104–105.

<sup>47</sup> Called “τὸ Κελβιανόν” in Ephraim 7531; cf. Ramsay 1890, 105, 130; Kinn. (39.9–14) and Pach. (III, 237.15–16).

<sup>48</sup> Külzer 2017, 200 note 20; 203 note 31; 407 figs x-4; 408 figs x-6. For Thrakesion cf. Kountoura – Galake et al. 1998, 201–234, 407–424.

<sup>49</sup> Haldon 1993, 48 note 119.

<sup>50</sup> On all the former researches in the Cayster valley cf. Külzer 2017, 200–202. A primary survey of Hypaipa and Pyrgion: Weber 1892.

the year 1885<sup>51</sup>, and by the French engineer Paul Gaudin in 1905. In the course of the British study of five Medieval castles between 1992 and 1996 a focus was the Cayster valley including Yılanlı Kale lying 15 km northeast of Ödemiş<sup>52</sup>. Between the years 2011 and 2015 a field survey project was carried out in Hypaipa by the Yüzüncü Yıl University in Van, where Byzantine evidence was barely reported. It is obvious that Hypaipa had enlarged its urban territories during the Byzantine period and survived until the 12th-13th century A.D., until the first Turkomen came to the area<sup>53</sup>. In recent years between 2002 and 2020 there have been several new finds in the Cayster valley regarding Byzantine archaeology: Palaiopolis was briefly excavated both by the University of Trakya in the 1990s and by the Museum of Ödemiş in 2009, and its castle with a former Roman temple, two Byzantine basilicas and a post-Byzantine church of 1850s were examined in detail<sup>54</sup>. The second and larger basilica in Palaiopolis features three phases, dating from the fifth-sixth centuries A.D., the 12th-13th centuries, and later. In the first phase of the second basilica an extensive mosaic floor with typical geometric and floral decoration of the Early Byzantine period was found. Besides several other finds, a very well preserved prothesis, a naos with 35 burials as well as a diaconicon with three graves were excavated and a fragmentary inscription with the name of the city was discovered in the fill of the church<sup>55</sup>. Another church with an extensive mosaic floor was discovered in Yolüstü (Ottoman “Bezdegüme”) village, ca. 5 km east of Ödemiş where a rescue excavation was carried out by the Director of the Museum of Ödemiş in November 2012. This church measures 3 x 8 m x h. 0.65 m and dates to the fifth-sixth century A.D.<sup>56</sup>. In 2017 the Museum of Ödemiş carried out a rescue excavation in another Early Byzantine church in Ödemiş, where some architectural decoration elements were discovered<sup>57</sup>. Neicaea was known as a mineral deposit of minium (red lead) which was a bright orange red pigment widely used in the Middle Ages for the decoration of manuscripts and for painting<sup>58</sup>. At the acropolis of Neikaia Victor Schultze, a German church historian and archaeologist, noted an extensive basilical church in 1926<sup>59</sup>, the accidental re-discovery of which was reported by the Turkish press in 2017<sup>60</sup>. During the construction of a new hospital south of the Museum of Ödemiş, a Late Antique villa complex was discovered in October 2014. In June 2012 in Potamia, ca. 3-4 km north of modern Bademli, on the southern slope of its acropolis an olive oil workshop of Late Hellenistic-Roman period was discovered and transported to the garden of the Museum in Ödemiş. Furthermore, in January 2022 a sixth century A.D. mosaic floor was discovered in Gereli in a mountainous area, which is located 8 km southeast of Ödemiş.

Illegal excavations on the bank of a dry creek in the district of Alacalı, which is 11 km west of Tire in the Upper Cayster valley, have exposed a formerly less-known small site located near Göldağ on the edge of an agricultural plain. An illegal excavation pit in the form of letter T, measuring approximately 6.5 m by 3.5 m and 4 m deep, was excavated here in March 2018. The pit contains mudbrick walls, but other archaeological layers were destroyed during the illegal digging. Near this pit was placed a basalt mortar with a diameter of 172 cm and a height of 25 cm. Associated with agricultural activities, these finds must belong to a farmhouse or a storeroom located here between the fifth and the beginning of the seventh centuries A.D. In the Early Byzantine period, the district

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. Reinach 1885.

<sup>52</sup> For this project and its results: Barnes – Whittow 1994; also cf. Foss 1978.

<sup>53</sup> Külzer 2017, 204, 206.

<sup>54</sup> Çetin 2012.

<sup>55</sup> Çetin 2012, 77. Byzantine epigraphic finds in the Museum of Ödemiş are currently being studied.

<sup>56</sup> Unpublished; personal observation in March 2017.

<sup>57</sup> So far this excavation remains unpublished; some architectural blocks, such as an impost capital with a cross, are exposed in the garden of the Museum of Ödemiş. We would like to thank Mrs Feride Kat, the new director of the museum, for this information.

<sup>58</sup> Çetin 2012, 78.

<sup>59</sup> Schultze 1926, 84–85. Also cf. Çetin 2012 figs at 77–78. On the topography and archaeological remains of this site cf. Sevin – Arslan Sevin – Çetin 2013; and Sevin 2018.

<sup>60</sup> On January 24, 2017 in Turkish newspaper Vatan with three pictures; cf. <<https://www.gazetevatan.com/yasam/koyun-otlatirken-tarih-buldu-1031525>> (31.12.2022).

of Eskioba was called “Almura” which is located in the immediate vicinity of a Roman road connecting Lydia’s capital Sardis with Ephesos. These new finds could be associated with Almura, as it is very well known that there were some villages, such as Boneiton and Dideiphyta in the southern part of the plain of the Küçük Menderes west of Bozdağlar.

Other Roman and Early Byzantine rural sites in the region of Bayındır in the northern part of the Upper Cayster Valley are as follows: Latorenon Kome (modern Örentepe near Çırpı), a fort site at Uladı, Yakapınar that overlooking Kemalpaşa (ancient Nymphaion), Larisa [modern Güzelimtepe, between Pınarlı and Zeytinova (Falaka)], and Çenikler where some protohistoric rock-reliefs and a citadel site were documented<sup>61</sup>. Also the region between Bayındır and Tire is very rich in minor sites of unknown Classical names, and in reused archaeological elements (**fig. 3**), some of which will be mentioned subsequently:

A rugged site is located in a mountainous and forested area near Şalgam Hill, in the Yörükyurdu Cave Creek, near the quarter of Sarıyurt where pithos fragments, pottery sherds and tiles from the Roman and Early Byzantine periods have been seen. The function of this mountaintop site is unknown. Three sites with similar surface finds from the Roman and Late Antique-Byzantine periods have been seen within the olive grove of Ahmetli Creek, located 1 km northeast of the Arapbaşı District and 2 km southwest of Bayındır<sup>62</sup>; in a hilltop, 1 km north of the Bayındır-Torbali Highway, within the olive grove of Köyüstü, located 1 km northeast of the Elifli District in southwestern Bayındır<sup>63</sup>; and in a mountainous area in Ağadağı within the olive grove of Dağbağ, located 1 km northeast of Yakacık Neighbourhood, in southwestern Bayındır<sup>64</sup>. Such sites with similar finds from the same period were also seen in Tire: on a field with corn plantation in the area of Dutkırı located in Gökçen-Kahrat District near Tire Late Antique-Early Byzantine tile fragments were observed<sup>65</sup>.

A Late Roman-Early Byzantine Ionic capital of limestone was documented inside a recreation area in Avluoturacı, located 2.18 km north of Yakapınar that is 18 km northwest of Bayındır.

A Late Antique-Byzantine site, Siklianon Kaloikia, today in the district of Eski Furunlu is located 5 km northwest of Bayındır, where remains of a monastic site and a church exist<sup>66</sup>. This site was visited by us in early 2022. Remains of a stone quarry, possibly from the Roman period, and a boundary inscription have been seen in a mountainous area in Ağadağı, ca. 2 km northeast of Eski Furunlu<sup>67</sup>.

In the township of Kiraz there are also numerous Late Antique-Early Byzantine sites on the Kelbianon Plain which was the easternmost and the least urbanized part of the Cayster valley, but no less fertile and populated than the rest. The most important discovery in Kiraz in the recent years is a Late Antique mosaic floor that was illegally dug in January 2022 on a real estate located in the area of Gözlübaba of the Çömlekçi District<sup>68</sup>. The area is just north of the Kiraz-Alaşehir Highway and included in a cemetery of the 19th century. The size of this mosaic floor, which comes out at a depth of 0.43 to 0.50 m from the surface, is 1.73 x 1.0 m. In the middle part of the mosaic floor, there are various geometric and floral ornaments such as stylized crosses, meanders, rosettes and hexagonal rings. The main colours used in the mosaic are yellow, brown, white, orange, black, blue and red. The mosaic floor of Gözlübaba is similar to other Late Antique mosaics found in Tire<sup>69</sup>, Ödemiş and Yolüstü Neighbourhoods in the Upper Cayster Valley with

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<sup>61</sup> Külzer 2017, 477 figs X-4.

<sup>62</sup> It is registered on the parcels 1279-1280 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>63</sup> It is registered on the plot 853 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>64</sup> It is registered on the island 123 and plot 415 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>65</sup> It is registered on the island 216 and plot 10 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>66</sup> For its plan and other antiquities from the site, cf. Keil – von Premerstein 1914, 96 f. Numerous spolia were used in the Hacı İbrahim Mosque of Eski Furunlu.

<sup>67</sup> It is registered on the parcel 104 and plot 219 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>68</sup> It is registered on the block 111 and plot 4 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>69</sup> A floor mosaic of Early Byzantine baths was discovered on a plain area in Armutpınarı in the Derebaşı District, located north of the Tire-Ödemiş Highway, 20 km southeast of Bayındır and 21 km northeast of Tire. Mosaic floor

its decoration, workmanship, dimensions, mosaic techniques and stones used and should be dated to the fifth-sixth century A.D. An ellipsoidal marble table measuring 60 x 45 cm as well as a damaged column capital (30 x 30 cm), both from the fifth century A.D., were also uncovered. Another mosaic floor of the Early Byzantine period was discovered in a rugged area of Kiraz in January 2022 as well.

A possible barn from the Late Antique-Early Byzantine period has also been discovered in the district of Başaran, in Küme Evleri which is ca. 18 km northeast of Kiraz. The remains are located near the summit of a hill<sup>70</sup> at a high altitude and is not settled today. The area is parallel to the Başaran-Sarısu road, at a point overlooking the Plain of Kiraz. A large number of roof tiles, pithos fragments and a mortar fragment from the Late Antique-Early Byzantine period between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. were documented at this site and the roof tiles must have been used to cover the building. Because of the surface finds, this farm must have been used for livestock purposes.

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In this article, personal and place names taken from Classical sources are given in a direct transliteration of the Greek and are mostly not romanized.

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Lydian vessels in the Museum of Afyonkarahisar were studied with four authorizations granted by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate of the Monuments and Museums on February 28, 2002 and enumerated as B.16.0.AMG.0.10.00.01/707.1-2 (002458), on June 5, 2002 and enumerated as B.16.0.AMG.0.10.00.01/707.1-2 (008638), on December 9, 2004 (for the year 2005) and enumerated as B.16.0.AMG.0.10.00.01/707.1/14 (030316) as well as on April 27, 2005 and enumerated as B.16.0.AMG.0.10.00.01/707.1(9)-54946. The necessary documentation was assembled during March 2002 and December 2005.

Pottery vessels in the Museum of Ödemiş were studied with an authorization granted by the Museum of Ödemiş on April 6, 2018 and enumerated as 25920734-155.01-E.302122. The necessary documentation was assembled in August 2018. The new director of the museum, Mrs Feride Kat, and the former curator of this collection, Ms Ayşen Gürsel assisted us on several issues and we would like to thank both of them sincerely.

*Lydia* in the Museum of Marmaris were studied with an authorization granted by the Museum of Marmaris on February 19, 2018 and enumerated as 60364499-155.01.E.149289. The necessary documentation was assembled in August 2018.

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of Armutpınarı was discovered on the plot 1626 and wall remains of the baths on the plots 1620, 1625, 1626, 1627 and 1628 of the land parcel registry map.

<sup>70</sup> It is registered on the block 216 and plot 3 of the land parcel registry map.

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**Fig. 1:** A marble cornice block in the tumulus in Çayağzı District of Kiraz (by E. Laflı, 2022).



**Figs 2a–b:** Lead seal of Stephanos basilikos protospatharios and epi tou Chrysotriklinou, the Museum of Tire; second half of the tenth century AD (by E. Laflı, 2022).



**Fig. 3:** A reused marble inscription with *Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη / Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος* as a column capital at the Karakadı Mosque in Tire (14th cent. AD) (by E. Laflı, 2023).

## Graeco-Roman small finds from the Cayster Valley and their contribution to the chronology of the region

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Extensive museum catalogues of glass and bronze finds in the Museum of Tire have been published by B. Gürler some years ago. These finds were especially useful for archaeological comparison for the glass and bronze specimens in Turkey and elsewhere. In this paper we will attempt to use these finds for a possible chronology of Hellenistic and Roman Cayster Valley (**fig. 1**).

**Keywords:** Archaeological finds, Tire, Hellenistic period, Roman period, glass studies, bronze studies, ceramic studies, museum studies.



**Fig. 1:** A kantharos from a burial in the necropolis site of Tire; second century BC; Museum of Tire (by E. Laflı, 2022).

# Ethnoarchaeological approaches through Late Ottoman postcards from the Turkish towns in the Cayster Valley

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In the Ottoman Empire production of postcards blossomed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As an easy and quick way for individuals to communicate, they became extremely popular. The study and collecting of postcards is termed *deltiology*, and in this paper we will present some deltiological approaches of the Ottoman towns in the Cayster Valley, i.e. Bayındır, Tire, Ödemiş and Birgi, through the late 19th and early 20th century postcards to conclude some ethnoarchaeological approaches.

During the late 19th and early 20th century postcards document the natural landscape as well as the built environment, i.e. buildings, cemeteries and sites, in the Cayster Valley. They provide snapshots of local societies in the Cayster Valley at a time when few newspapers carried images about this rural region. Some major events, including celebrations, disasters, political movements, and even wars, were also reflected in these postcards. Commemorating popular humour, entertainment, fashion and many other aspects of daily life, they also shed light on transportation, sports, work, religion, and advertising of the Late Ottoman Cayster Valley.

As a primary source, postcards from the Cayster Valley are incredibly important to the types of historical research conducted by historians, historic preservationists and genealogists alike. They give insight into both the physical world, and the social world of the time. During their heyday in the late 19th century postcards revolutionized communication in the Ottoman Empire, similar to social media of today. Cards showing images of the Cayster Valley began in late 1880s, but increased in number during the 1900s. This golden age of these postcards began slightly earlier in this part of the Ottoman Empire even than Europe and the United States.

**Keywords:** postcards, Tire, Late Ottoman period, ethnoarchaeology, deltiology.

# **Varia Anatolica**

# **Occidentalia**

# Lydian factor in the history of the Ionian tyranny

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## Abstract

This lecture is devoted to the socio-cultural, psychological and political aspects of early tyranny in the city-states of Ionia eighth-sixth century B.C. that experienced the influence of the Lydian monarchy. The first Ionian tyrants gravitated to eastern, Lydian models, imitating the luxury, lifestyle, habits, standards of behaviour of the eastern neighbors. In the field of author's view is tyranny in Erythrae, Ephesos, Colophon, Samos. Lydian influence, the political support given by the Lydian kings for some Ionian tyrants gave a special oriental flavour to the Ionian tyranny. Subsequently such distinguishing tyranny's feature as heredity, luxury of life, the political support of the eastern dynasts was borrowed by the tyrants of the Greek Balkan states.

**Keywords:** Ionia, tyranny, ancient history, political relationships, Archaic period.

As is known, the word τυραννος (“tyrant”) is non-Greek by origin. He is not in the Mycenaean tablets, nor in Homer. In its etymology, one can see the Asia Minor origin and the potestial meaning. This word corresponds to the Asia Minor turan (ruler), with the title of Hittite and Luvian kings – *tabarna*, *taruana* and with the names of the Lydian-Phrygian and Etruscan Gods – Men Tyrannos, Turan. Naturally, therefore, that the first attempts to establish tyranny in the Greek world took place precisely in the Asia Minor region, and above all in Ionia.

The first tyrannies in Ionia were originated in Miletus (Nic Damasc., *FgrHist*, 90 F 52), in Erythrae and on Chios (Hipp. Eryth., *FgrHist*, 421 F 1) at least half a century earlier than one in Balkan Greece (*i.e.*: Corinth, Sikyon, Megara)<sup>1</sup>.

For the first time the word “tyranny” (τυραννίς), and precisely in the Lydian context, is mentioned in the first half of the seventh century B.C. by the Parian poet Archilochus (his *ἀκμὴ* was on 680–640 B.C.).

οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγῃ τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει  
οὐδ' οὐδ' εἶλε πῶ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαιομαι  
θεῶν ἔργα, **μεγάλῃς δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος**  
ἀπόπροθεν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὄφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν  
(West fr. 19)

I do not care for gold-rich Gyges  
I am not stifled by envy. I am not angry  
on the gods' affairs, I do not long for the strongest tyranny  
All this is so far from my eyes. “  
(translation by the author)

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<sup>1</sup> The basis for the early date of one of the first Ionian tyrannies – the tyranny of Amfitres in Miletus – is the mention of the Phrygian priests Cabiri, who came to the aid of the supporters of the deposed *basileus* Leodamas. The closest links between the Ionian settlements and Phrygia date back to the eighth–early seventh century B.C. However, since the 80's Seventh cent. B.C. because of the raids of nomadic tribes (Cimmerians, Treres, Scythians), theirs contacts with Greek cities had weakened. As to tyranny in Erythrae, this events associated in tradition with the Lelantian War (Huxley 1972, 48 – 49). In this war, the Erythrae and Chios were in rival factions of communities. Consequently, the described events concerning the establish of tyranny by Ortyges and his adherents, during which the tyrants Erythrae and Chios manifested solidarity to each other could took place before this war, that is – until 720 B.C.

The usual interpretation of this fragment is such: Archilochus speaks of the tyranny of Gyges, which served as a model for ambitious people who aspired to tyranny. But as can be seen from the context, it is not a question of the tyranny of the Lydian king Gyges, but of the *μεγάλη τυραννίς* as a widespread phenomenon as early as the first half of the seventh century B.C. Gyges for Archilochus is only an example of a rich ruler, just as later Croesus became the personification of innumerable wealth due to the history of Herodotus.

So the tyranny mentioned in this fragment does not characterize the Lydian king Gyges. He is not a tyrant, but a rich ruler, “gold-rich”, *πολύχρυσος*. In our opinion *μεγάλη τυραννίς* should be understood in the sense that in the first half of the seventh century B.C. the tyranny, perceived primarily as a strong one-man power, not necessarily usurped, since the *τύραννος* at the beginning of the Archaic period may be named both the legitimate Greek *basileus* and eastern monarch. It was not only the political reality of the eastern neighbors of the Ionians, but also a common phenomenon in the Greek world.

In the eighth century B.C. in the Ionian Greek communities there was a decline of the *basileia, id est* – oligarchy of the descendants of the *oikistes* of the Ionian settlements. One of the appearances of this decline was the usurpation of power by someone from the nobility who belonged to the genus of the descendants of the *oikist* or his rival clans. In Ionia, these short-term attempts to usurp the power are placed by a narrative tradition in the end of the eighth century B.C. That was in Miletus – the tyranny of Amphitres (Nic. Damasc., *FgrHist*, 90 F 52), on Chios – Amphiclos and Polytekno (Hipp., Eryth., *FgrHist*, 421 F 1) and in Erythrae – Ortyges, Iros, Echaros (*ibidem*). The eastern imprint in these stories is the support given by Cabiri, the priests of the Cybele (she was worshiped both in Phrygia and Lydia) to the opponents of the Milesian tyrants and the craving of the luxury, and also non-Greek, non-Homeric way of presenting their power by the tyrants of Erythrae.

The wealth and luxury of the aristocracy of the East, its power habits became the models for the Ionian nobility, who were losing the ideals of the Homeric *basileis*. Instead Homer’s *προμάχοι*, we see an exhibition of luxurious clothes and jewelleris, oriental ceremonials. Such was in the history of the tyrants Ortyges, Iros and Echaros usurping power in Erythrae. Tyrants behaved themselves like oriental despots: they concentrated administrative and judicial power in their hands, did violence and lawlessness over the Erythrans, wore purple *chitons*, luxurious shoes, gold jewelry, long hair locks, moved around the Erythrae on litters<sup>2</sup>.

This *modus vivendi* of the Erythrian nobles-usurpers is not far from becoming the norm of everyday life of the luxury of the Colophonian aristocracy. In the mid-sixth century B.C. the poet Xenophanes reproached the Colophonians for “useless luxury”, borrowed from the Lydians. Xenophanes considered it as the cause of the *τυραννίς στυγερά* (“cruel tyranny”):

ἄβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,  
 ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς,  
 ἦσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες,  
 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χεῖλοι εἰς ἐπίπαν,  
 ἀυχάλεοι, χαιτήσιν ἀγαλλομεν εὐπρεπέεσσιν,  
 ἄσκητοῖς ὀδμήν χρίμασι δευόμενοι.  
 (fr. 3 Diehl<sup>3</sup>)

And having learned unprofitable luxuries from the Lydians,  
 as long as they were free of hateful tyranny,  
 they used to go into the agora wearing robes all of purple,

<sup>2</sup> Hipp., Eryth., *FgrHist*, 421 F 1: “... Ὑπεδέδεντο δὲ καὶ πολυσιχιδῆ σανδάλια τοῦ θέρους, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἐν γυναικείοις ὑποδήμασι διετέλουν περιπατοῦντες, κόμας τε ἔτρεφον καὶ πλοκαμῖδας ἔχειν ἤσκουν, διειλημμένοι τὰς κεφαλὰς διαδήμασι μηλίνοις καὶ πορφυροῖς. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ κόσμον ὀλόχρυσον ὁμοίως ταῖς γυναιξίν”.

not less than a thousand in all,  
boastful, exulting in their gorgeous long-flowing hair  
drenched in the scent of prepared unguents.

(translated by J. H. Lesher)

Similarly, the Samian poet Asius (sixth century B.C.) admired not the valor, but the beauty of the clothes and hairstyles of the Samian nobles.

οἱ δὲ αὖτως φοίτεσκον ὄπως πλοκάμους κτενίσαιντο  
εἰς Ἥρας τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἴμασι καλοῖς,  
χιονέοισι χιτῶσι πέδον χθονός εὐρέος εἶχον·  
χαῖται δ' ἠίωρεῦντ' ἀνέμωι χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς,  
χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὥς·  
δαιδαλέας δὲ χλιδῶνας ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχιόσῃσαντες  
[ ] τες ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν.

(fr. 13 Bernabe)

“And they would go like that, when they had combed their locks, to Hera’s precinct, wrapped in fine garments, in snowy tunics reaching down to the ground; there were gold brooches on them, like crickets; their hair floated in the wind, bound in gold; round their arms there were ornate bracelets; [ ] a shield-covered warrior” (translated by M. L. West) .

However, the Lydian influence in the history of the Ionian tyranny manifests itself not only in the tyrants’ attraction to eastern luxury and the way of life of the eastern despots, which allowed ancient authors to talk about the *εὐδαιμονία* of the Ionians (Thuc., I, 6; Diod., XII, 21).

At the beginning of the sixth century B.C. after a long period of Lydian-Ionian wars, initiated by the Lydian king Aliattes, became a period of peaceful Ionian-Lydian coexistence caused by the intensive trade ties, exchanges in the field of craft and building technologies, the development of mercenarism, religious contacts and borrowings, matrimonial alliances between the representatives of the Ionian and Lydian aristocracy. This created new opportunities for the Ionian tyrants.

The most impressive examples are Miletus and especially Ephesus in the first half of the sixth century B.C.

The Milesian tyrant Thrasibulus concluded a treaty of friendship (*ξενία*) and military alliance (*συμμαχία*) with the Lydian king Alyattes (Hdt., I, 22). The son of the Ephesian tyrant Pythagoras, Melan, married the daughter of Alyattes (Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, I, 26). Alyattes himself was married to an Ionian girl, probably of the noble origin (Hdt., I, 92).

These political, amicable and matrimonial relations strengthened the power of the Ionian tyrants, created the appearance of its legitimacy, and also created a special Eastern, specifically from the end of the seventh century to the mid-sixth century B.C., Lydian coloring of the Ionian tyranny.

# Bath-gymnasium building of Tralles

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## Introduction

Tralles ancient city is located in the north of Aydın, on a high and wide plateau on the south slope of Mountain Kestane (Megosis). As Menderes River and Mountain Megosis are accepted to be the natural border in ancient texts, the city is seen sometimes in Caria<sup>1</sup>, and sometime in Lydia Region<sup>2</sup>. The antique writer Strabo tells that, at the end of the antique way from Magnesia to Tralles stands the Mount Megosis, on the right lies the Maiandros River Plain, and the city with its preserved surrounding is founded on a trapeze<sup>3</sup>. Strabo again tells that people in Tralles are settled by a community, as rich as the cities in Asia, and some people living in the city work at important positions in other states<sup>4</sup>.

The name of the city is stated mostly as Tralles rarely as Trallas in ancient sources. The Athenian historian Xenophon refers to the city as Tralles in his books *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*<sup>5</sup>. Like the antique cities, the foundation of Tralles is related to a mythological being. According to this, the city was founded by a Thracian nation, Traller and Argos after Doric immigrations and took its name after them. There is also a belief that the city took its name from an Amazon named Tralla or Thiba. According to one of the important writers of the antique period, Pliny the elder, water need of inhabitants is met from the river Eudpn (Tabakhane) that joins the water source called Thebaid which flows through Tralles.

Dedekuyusu (Deştepe) mount in the southwest of Tralles gives clues about the early times of the city. Ceramics from Chalcolithic age, Early and Mid Bronze age are found during excavations on the mount. On the other side, information about the history of the town in Pre-Classical period is insufficient. After the Persians ended Lydia Kingdom in 546 B.C., all the West Anatolia cities, Tralles being among them, joined Persian ruling. Tralles seems to be a Persian Satrapy committed to young Kyros through the period in which Xenophon lived. Upon Kyros' young brother was defeated in the war he planned between 401–400 B.C. in order to disenthron the Persian King Artaxerxes, Tralles became a center committed to Caria Satrapy under Persian control<sup>6</sup>.

After Alexander the Great defeated the Persian King Dareios in 334 B.C. and entered Anatolia, Tralles admitted the Thessalonika domination voluntarily, like many other West Anatolia cities. It is known that, after Alexander the Great took over Halicarnassos, he had catapults and all the weapons carried to Tralles before setting out to Phrygia, and he gave all Caria Satrapy to Idrieus's wife Ada<sup>7</sup>.

During the Diadokh Wars among commanders after the death of Alexander the Great (BC 323), the city changed hands among Asandros, Antigonos and Lysimachos for a short term. Following the battle of Kurupedion among Diadokhsin 281 B.C., the city entered Seleucos domination and had the name Seleucia<sup>8</sup>. Information about the conditions during Seleucos Period is insufficient.

<sup>1</sup> Rayet-Thomas, 1997, 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. An. I 4, 8; Strab. 14. 2. 29; Ramsay 1887, 354 vd.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. 14. 1. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 14. 1. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Xen. An. I 4, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Xen. An. I. 4, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Arrian. Anab. 1. 23.7.

<sup>8</sup> Ruge 1937, 2102; Ramsay 1930, 275.

However, in the Magnesia War that took place near Sipylos Mountain in 190 B.C.<sup>9</sup> and happened among the King of Seleucos, Antiochos III (241–187 B.C.), King of Pergamon Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) and his Roman allies, the people of Tralles chose for Antiochos III. All these incidents indicate the commitment of the city to the Seleucos Kingdom in 190 B.C.<sup>10</sup> After the defeat, Tralles people apologized to Roman leader Lucilius Cornelius Scipio and wanted to be admitted to Roman domination. King of Seleucos Antiochos III was defeated in Magnesia War by Romans and after the Apameia Peace Settlement (188 B.C.)<sup>11</sup>, political pattern of West and South Anatolia lands experienced a big change<sup>12</sup>. With the help of Roman support, Pergamon Kingdom and Rhodes gained power. Like many other West Anatolian cities Tralles was also left by Romans to the Pergamon Kingdom, run by Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.).

Tralles was under the domination of Pergamon Kingdom between 188–133 B.C. and came under the domination of Romans upon King of Pergamon Attalos the third's will in 126 B.C. Tralles joined to the rebellion started by Aristonikos in 126 B.C. against Roman Empire<sup>13</sup>. However, after the defeat the city was imposed to taxing and its right to mint cistophoric coins was revoked. Resistance in Tralles was not just this. The city also supported the rebellion started by King of Pontus Mithridates Eupator against the Romans in 88 B.C. For this purpose Romans and Roman supporters, gathered in the Concordia Temple, were killed by Mithridates and his soldiers<sup>14</sup>. When Sulla defeated King of Pontus Mithridates, the cities which joined to the previous rebellion were punished for five years of paying heavy duty. Later on with Pompeius' mild attitude, taxes were decreased and a healing period of economy began. Pompeius' close friend Nysian trademan Pythodoros of Tralles had an important role in having Tralles its reputation back and the city started cistophoric coin minting again in 58 B.C.<sup>15</sup>

According to ancient writers Tralles, which developed and became more famous during Roman Republic Period, became a city in which rich and intellectual people live. Beside all these positive developments, a massive earthquake happened in Emperor Augustus (27 B.C.- A.D. 14) Period in B.C. 26 and caused substantial damage in the city. Augustus, who wanted to compensate the damage, provided monetary support to the city and started the reconstruction activities. The city took the name "*Caesarea*" from this period to Nero. However, in Emperor Trajanus' (A.D. 98–117) Period the name changed back to Tralles. Reconstruction activities started with Augustus, continuing through Tiberius period (A.D. 14-37), and the town earned reputation in sculpturing during Caligula (A.D. 37–41) and Claudius (A.D. 41–54) period. The Roman Emperor Hadrianus stopped by Tralles during his visit to Anatolia in A.D. 129 and supported the city commercially. However, apart from the coins and scripts, information about the city after this period is restricted. Tralles was ruled under Anatolia Patriarchies during the Byzantine Empire Period. At the end of the 13th century it was conquered by Turks, but the damage caused by the earthquakes and insufficiency of water made it impossible to reconstruct and people moved to the south slope of the city. Aydin was ruled by Aydinoğulları Seignior in the first quarter of the 14th century and by the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 15th century.

### **The Bath–gymnasium building of Tralles**

Ancient *Gymnasiums* are structures with cloisters, where the young population in Greek and Roman societies used to receive social and physical training. The word *Gymnasium* was derived from the Greek word "*gymnos*", which means "naked". The term "*Gymnaso*" means training. *Gymnasiums* were

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<sup>9</sup> Ruge 1937, 2102; Magie 2001, 50 ff; Magie 2001, footnote. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Ruge 1937, 2102; Ramsay 1930, 275.

<sup>11</sup> Howgego 1998, 63 ff; Atlan 1993, 45 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Polyb. 21. 45; Vitruv. 2. 8, 9; Ruge, 1937, 2103 ff; Umar 1982, 138 vd; Özgan 1990, 247 ff; Özgan 1995, 6.

<sup>13</sup> Ruge 1937, 2104.

<sup>14</sup> App. *Mith.* 4. 23; Ruge 1937, 2104.

<sup>15</sup> Ruge 1937, 2105.

as important as “*agora*” (market place) for the cities of the Ancient Age. Thus, every large city in the Ancient Greek society had at least one gymnasium. While the gymnasiums were arranged as open spaces where physical education could be performed until the end of the Hellenistic Period, they became more complex buildings with various places such as baths, changing rooms and jaunt halls during the Roman Imperial Period<sup>16</sup>.

Being one of the largest gymnasiums in Anatolia, the Tralles *Gymnasium* reflects the *gymnasium* plan type that involves the sections of bath and *palaestra* on the same line (fig. 1, 2). The structure had been destroyed for so many times due to great earthquakes that occurred in Tralles and its reconstructions. For instance, the structure that was built during the Hellenistic Period was considerably destroyed during the great earthquake that occurred in 26 B.C., and its reconstruction that was started during the Period of the Roman Emperor Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) continued until the fourth century A.D.

The bath section of the Tralles *Gymnasium* is located in the west of the structure. The monumental western wall of the bath was named “Üçgözler” by the public of the city (fig. 3). The Roman baths used to be planned with resting areas, sports halls, gardens; as well as bathing and meetings were performed within them. Besides, the process of bathing was completed by passing through different halls opening to one another in Roman baths and the baths were comprised of main sections, such as *apodyterium*, *caldarium*, *tepidarium* and *frigidarium*. According to the Roman bathing tradition, visitors had to change their regular clothes in an *apodyterium* to make their sportive exercises before cleaning in the bath, in other words, entering the warm sections of the bath. There are stone counters and boxes for clothes on the walls of the *apodyterium*. The niches on the walls of the *apodyterium* involved original pools and fountains. However, these niches were filled and closed during the subsequent utilizations. Upper covering of the structure is carried by high vaults. Marble plates were used on the ground of halls and wall coverage’s, but an important part of marble plates were removed during the Late Antiquity.

The main entrance to the Tralles *Gymnasium* is provided through the magnificent *propylon*, which is in the center of the northern portico of the *palaestra*. There are two door sills providing the transition to the *palaestra* in the south of the *propylon*. Being one of the most important sections of the Roman baths, *palaestras* are places where the clients used to do soft *gymnastic* exercises and games in a traditional way before entering the hot bath. The two-storey *caldarium* section (fig. 4), which comprises the warm section of the Tralles Bath-*Gymnasium*, is located in the west of the monumental western wall that is called Üçgözler (fig. 4). Being one of the most important sections of bath structures, the *caldarium* is the section where hot water bath was taken and the body was cleaned. There are hot water pools here and bath-tubs within the niches on the walls. People used to take a bath in the *caldarium* and then continued taking bath in the *tepidarium* and *frigidarium*.

The section of the *caldarium* is directly connected with the furnace, in other words *praefurnium*, which was prepared to provide hot water for the structure downstairs, where fire was lit and the bath was heated. Accordingly, hot and warm halls were heated from here. Thus, the heating system on the wall was supported by the heat obtained from the ground. Besides, there are canals called *hypocaust* under the ground of the *caldarium*, which enabled the circulation of the hot air. The *hypocaust* system of the bath is located in the north of the Tralles *Gymnasium*. There is an open swimming pool in the east of the bath section, called *natation*. The *Palaestra*, on the other hand, opens to a rectangular Imperial Hall. There is a hall with three sections, which is designed as “H” and described as “*Basilica Thermarum*” in the east of the bath of Tralles *Gymnasium*. *Basilica Thermarum*s are large halls that resemble a multi-functional *basilica*. In the Tralles sample, the *Basilica Thermarum* was probably used as an *apodyterium* and water hall. There are symmetrically-constructed *apodyteriums* and an *ambulatio* (or *ambulacrum*) in the north and south of bathing sections of the Tralles *Gymnasium*. Grounds and walls of the *ambulatio* section are covered with marble plates. This

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<sup>16</sup> Farrington 1987, 50-9.

area opens to the square-planned open *palaestra*, where young people used to train for wrestling and other sports, and which is surrounded by columns.

The “Imperial Hall” is in the west of the *palaestra* section of Tralles Bath-*Gymnasium* where sportive games were organized (fig. 5). Imperial Halls are the most spectacular places of bath-gymnasium building complexes. Being generally organized as two-storey, the Imperial Halls involve rich architectural embellishing and *aediculae* reflecting the power of the empire. These structures, which played an important role in adopting the Roman Imperial cult especially in the provinces, are generally embellished with the statues of the Emperor and his family. It is generally possible to find the statues of the Emperor and his family on terraces within the main place in such structures, even though they have never been encountered during the excavation works in Tralles. It is observed that the Roman Emperors had attached a great importance to the construction of Imperial Halls in Bath-Gymnasium building complexes that were constructed in Anatolia<sup>17</sup>. They avoided no expense in Imperial Halls, which were constructed an attempt to endear the Imperial Cult to the public. However, such structures could also be used for different functions during the Late Antiquity. For instance, when the structure in Tralles afterwards was turned into a cistern and used as a water tank, this caused the loss of a number of original materials.

The construction of Tralles Imperial Hall started probably in the secondcentury AD. This date coincides with the period, when the restoration activities of the gymnasium-bath structure were started. The Eastern section of the hall was embellished with colonnades in order to enable the people training in the *palaestra* to see the structure in a more magnificent way. Being located in the east of the structure and having a position of bearer, these 9 marble colonnades were processed by being suppressed on sides and placed with intervals of 3.5 meters. The hall section that comprises the main place, on the other hand, has a rectangular perspective with measures of 30 x 15 meters. The data obtained during the excavation works support the fact that the Imperial Hall was smeared and turned into a cistern during the Byzantine Period (fig. 6). Thus, a change of plan was made in the structure during the Byzantine Period and the eastern section, which involved the row of colonnade in the original plan, was afterwards closed by tiles, bricks and rubble stones. Some headings with rough works, which were made to place onto the colonnades, were also obtained during the excavation works being sustained in the structure.

The section of the Imperial Hall located in the center of the structure was turned into a pool. The floor and walls of the pool, which has a depth of 1.75 meters, were smeared with mortar having a thickness of 0.06 meters. The backup and its colonnades located in the middle of the place signify that its ceiling was closed during the period, when it was used as a cistern. These colonnades, which are located in the middle of the pool and prove the use during the late ages, are made of travertine material. The barrel numbers and heights of colonnades within the row of colonnade in the center show a variety. The remnants of plasters observed on the surfaces of barrels prove that colonnades had once been plastered.

There is a *latrina* in the northeast corner of the Tralles Bath-*Gymnasium*, which was planned in such a way to be used approximately by 65 people at the same time (fig. 7). The measure of Tralleis Latrina –which examined in study- is 20.20x15.00. Being derived from the words “*lavatrina*”, “*lavare*” (washing, bathing), the term *latrina* means “toilet”. There are adjacent and keyhole-shaped seats in these structures, which generally involve a pool embellished with columns in the center, and a canal where clean water flows in front of the seats. It is known that sticks with sponge were used instead of toilet tissue for cleaning in the *latrinas* during the Ancient Age<sup>18</sup>. While the east of the Tralles *latrina*, which was constructed in the direction of East-West, has a clean water house; the north, south and west have sections where the toilet need was fulfilled. The *latrina* of the Tralles Bath-*Gymnasium-complex* is depicted as one of the most important *latrinae* of Anatolia<sup>19</sup>, in terms of its size and qualified workmanship of its architectural decorations. There are perforated marble

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<sup>17</sup> Steskal 2005, 557 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Favro 1997, 15 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Topaloğlu 2010, 1ff.

plates on marble commodes placed on the northern, southern and western wall of the place with equal intervals, which enable the sedentary fulfillment of the toilet need. The Attic-Ionian style column base that was explored *in situ* in the southwest of the *latrina* and the podium where the columns were placed, indicate that the upper side of the sitting area of the structure was covered with a *portico*.

The transition from simple one-roomed places that were used for toilet need to the Roman *latrinae* occurred during the period of Emperor Augustus (27 BC–AD 14). As well as the technical developments in water transportation and Sewerage systems during the Early Imperial Period, the progress in the idea of urbanization contributed to the development of *latrinae* and fulfillment of the toilet need in certain places in a healthier and more hygienically way. The use of *latrinae* rapidly increased in number as from the first century AD and ended up by the sixth century AD.

The entrance to the structure located within the *peristyle*-planned group of *latrinae* is provided through/on both sides of the water house in the east. Seating arrangement is in U form. In the *latrina* constructed in the direction of East-West, the northern entrance opens to the ancient street, the southern entrance to the *palestra* and western entrance to the gymnasium. The *peristyle*-planned *latrinae* involve the *Impluvium* (pool) section in the center; the *Impluvium* section is surrounded by sections, where the toilet need was fulfilled. The Eastern side of the Tralles *Latrina* involves a clean water house that is covered with plaster inside. Two of the travertine blocks located in the north and south of the water house were opened in such a way to enable the passing of water pipes. Water shipping of this area was provided through the northeast, in accordance with the inclination of the pipes. There are sewerage canals on baseboards under the seats, which enabled the drainage of toilet wastes outside of the structure. Marble water canals for water cleaning, on the other hand, are located in front of the seats. By this way, the clean water within pipes could flow through the canals in front of those who sat on toilets and the cleaning need was fulfilled through this running water. The sewerage canals under the seat sections of the *latrina*, where the toilet need was fulfilled, pass under the pool in the east of the structure and reach the colonnade street in the north (fig. 8, 9). The Colonnade Street has been found during the 2012-2015 excavations. Colonnade streets are the *cardo* which connects the northern part of the city with the public building like bath-gymnasium complex. The avenue made up the city's east-west line. These colonnades street can be dated to the second century AD, but the colonnade was damaged by the 1899 earthquake. In this paper both the archaeological and historical evidence for a colonnaded street at Tralles are presented and discussed.

Late Roman-Early Byzantine Shops (fig. 10), which were constructed contiguously to the northern wall of the structure, were explored during the excavation works being sustained in Tralles Bath-Gymnasium. A columnar street is located in the northern section of Late Roman-Early Byzantine Shops of Tralles. The total length of shops stretching in the direction of East-West is 95.58 m. The shops were constructed within a certain plan and program. Window-shaped spaces between the shop walls show that these places are interrelated. Very little data were obtained in relation with the upper covering system of shops. In addition to this, the available architectural structure indicates that the upper covering form might have been made of vault.

The data about the upholstery of shops are limited, since they are intensively ruined. However, it is observed that black and red geometrical embellishing were made on the plaster that was mortared with lime and brick on the walls of some shops and niches were opened in accordance with the function of the place. A semicircle-shaped fountain structure is located right in the center of the building complex. There are seven shops on each side of the fountain, which are constructed symmetrically and in connection with the fountain. Being located in the center and having a measure of 8.28 x 7.19 meters, this fountain was probably constructed for the purpose of meeting the water need of the symmetrically constructed shops. The ground of the fountain was made of brick plates and the surface of these brick plates was mortared in order to prevent the influx of water. The mortared section of this two-stage fountain was built with semicircle-shaped bricks. A vertically placed pipe system is located in the center of the brick masonry, which enables water

filling in the fountain. There is a drain hole in the northwest corner of the fountain, which enables the accumulated water to be drained out of the structure.

The located in the east and west of the fountain structure measure—approximately 5.20 x 6.15 meters. Intended purposes of these shops could not be precisely determined, since they were considerably destroyed during the Late Antiquity. In addition to this, it was determined that the shop located in the west of the entrance of the *palaestra* and the places called Shop Numbered 7 were used as glasshouses. The fact that a number of glass objects, glass rods and ovens were found during the excavation works confirms the idea that glass was produced in these shops. It has not been possible to draw an absolute conclusion regarding the functions of other shops. The artifacts that were explored during the excavation works have proven that the shops started to be used in the fifth century AD and that they were used until the first half of the eighth century AD.

### Conclusions

The Tralles bath-gymnasium-complex was used as places for intellectual and physical training. Being one of the largest gymnasiums in Anatolia, the Tralles bath-gymnasium-complex reflects the *gymnasium* plan type that involves the sections of bath and *palaestra* on the same line. The structure had been destroyed for so many times due to great earthquakes that occurred in Tralles and reconstructed buildings. For instance, the structure that was built during the Hellenistic Period was considerably destroyed during the great earthquake occurred in 26 BC, and also its reconstruction that was started during the Period of the Roman Emperor Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) continuing until the fourth century A.D.

The Tralles gymnasium can also be compared with the other contemporary settlements in West Anatolia. Similar architecture and technical features can be seen in the Ephesos and Vedius bath-gymnasium complexes. Characteristic of this type of building is the combination of Roman bath-variations of the Imperial type with the Greek *gymnasium* type. The special ground plan of the Tralles *Gymnasium*, characterized by axial-symmetry and the combination of a bath with a *palaestra*, is found mainly in western Anatolia in the second century A.D.

**Keywords:** Tralles, Caria, bath-gymnasium, *basilica thermarum*, monumental architecture, Hellenistic period, Roman period.

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**Fig. 1:** Bath-gymnasium building of Tralles.



**Fig. 2:** Bath-gymnasium and palaestra buildings of Tralles.



**Fig. 3:** Üçgözler (*Bath-gymnasium*) building of Tralles.



**Fig. 4:** *Caldarium*, the section of Tralles bath.



**Fig. 5:** Imperial Hall building of Tralles.



Fig. 6: Imperial Hall building of Tralles.



Fig. 7: *Latrina* building of Tralles.



**Fig. 8:** Colonnaded Street of Tralles.



**Fig. 9:** Colonnaded Street of Tralles.



**Fig. 10:** Late Roman-Early Byzantine shops of Tralles.

# The role of Ephesus in the Late Antiquity from the period of Diocletian to AD 449 «Robber Synod».

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In the ancient world, Ephesus was a center of travel and commerce. Situated on the Aegean Sea at the mouth of the Kaystros River, the city was one of the greatest seaports of the ancient world. The late antique city can be presented as a city with a great tradition, culture and urban life. In AD 262, during the reign of the Emperor Gallienus, Goths sacked the city and burned the temple. They destroyed both the city and the temple of Artemis. Ephesus declined since then and even though it was rebuilt, it never regained its old splendor. When Diocletianus came to power, he started the restoration process. During the reign of Diocletianus (284-305), the city was reorganized on centralized and authoritarian lines down to the provincial level. During the Byzantine era, Ephesus became a very important city (fifth-sixth centuries AD). A big part of the city was rebuilt by Constantinus I. In AD 401 after the Edict of Thessalonica from Emperor Theodosius I, the ruins of the temple of Artemis were completely destroyed. The most important role of the city took place in AD 431. There, the Council of Ephesus was assembled by the Emperor Theodosius the younger in order to settle the contentions which had been raised in the Church by the heretical teaching of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinopolis. Finally, in AD 449 another council took place: the «Robber Synod», which was condemned by the Fourth Oecumenical Council in Chalcedon in AD 451. In this paper it was examined why Ephesus was important as a city not only in Late Antiquity but also in the Early Byzantine era.

**Keywords:** Ephesus, Late Roman period, Diocletianus, Early Byzantine period.

## Introduction

Ephesus was an ancient Greek city on the coast of Ionia, three kilometres southwest of present-day Selçuk in Izmir Province of Turkey<sup>1</sup>. Ephesus is identified with the city Apaşa, capital of the kingdom of Arzawa «Minor», which is found in the records of Hittite kings towards the late 14<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>2</sup>. As the mythical founder of the city, was thought the prince of Athens, named Androklos, the son of the last Athenian King Codrus. According to the legend, Androklos left Greece after his father's death and founded Ephesus<sup>3</sup> at the place shown to him by a fish and a boar, as the Oracle of Delphi had predicted. Soon after while Androklos was frying, a fish fell out of the pan and a startled boar hiding in the bushes ran. He followed the boar and killed it. The location, where the boar was killed, was where the city of Ephesus was established<sup>4</sup>. Androklos drove away most of the native Carian and Lelegian inhabitants of the city and united his people with the remainder. He was a successful warrior, and as a king he was able to join the twelve cities of Ionia together into the Ionian League. During his reign the city began to prosper. He died in a battle against the Carians when he came to the aid of Priene, another city of the Ionian League<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Gagarin 2010, 78.

<sup>2</sup> Bryce 2009, 230.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.3, transl. in English by H. L. Jones (Loeb Classical Library): «Pherecydes says concerning this seaboard that Miletus and Myus and the parts round Mycale and Ephesus were in earlier times occupied by Carians, and that the coast next thereafter, as far as Phocaea and Chios and Samos, which were ruled by Ancaeus, was occupied by Leleges, but that both were driven out by the Ionians and took refuge in the remaining parts of Caria. He says that Androclus, legitimate son of Codrus the king of Athens, was the leader of the Ionian colonization, which was later than the Aeolian, and that he became the founder of Ephesus; and for this reason, it is said, the royal seat of the Ionians was established there.»

<sup>4</sup> Mechtidis 2007, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo 14.1.3. Pausanias, 7.2.8-10.

Androklos and his dog are depicted on the Hadrian temple frieze, dating from the second century<sup>6</sup>. Later, Greek historians such as Pausanias, Strabo and Herodotos Herodotos Strabo and Pausanias, and the poet Kallinos, the earliest Greek elegiac poet, reassigned the city's mythological foundation to Ephos, queen of the Amazons<sup>7</sup>.

In the ancient world, Ephesus was a center of travel and commerce. Situated on the Aegean Sea at the mouth of the Cayster River, the city was one of the greatest seaports of the ancient world. The late antique city can be presented as a city with a great tradition, culture and urban life. Ephesus was a center of learning and the birthplace and home of the great Pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus. Women enjoyed rights and privileges equal to men and there are records of female artists, sculptors, painters and teachers. In Ephesus, there was the Temple of goddess Artemis, one of the Seven Wonders of the World and the largest building of the ancient world according to Pausanias<sup>8</sup>. The temple received gifts from the Lydian king Croesus (560-547 BC). Pausanias mentions that the temple was built by Ephesus, son of the river god Caystrus, before the arrival of the Ionians. Of this structure, scarcely a trace remains. The temple was dedicated to the Greek goddess Artemis, as it referred.

Generally the Greek goddess Artemis and the great Anatolian goddess Kybele were identified together as Artemis of Ephesus. The many-breasted «Lady of Ephesus», identified with Artemis, was venerated in the Temple of Artemis<sup>9</sup>. There was a strong belief by the citizens of Ephesus that Artemis was born in Ephesus, and not on Delos, as was commonly assumed, and accepted the shrine as an asylum<sup>10</sup>.

After Alexander's conquests and death, Ephesus fell into the areas the diadochi disputed, being part of the domain of Antigonos, Lysimachus, Antiochus Soter, Antiochus Theos, and the Seleucid monarchs<sup>11</sup>. Then monarchs from Pergamum and Pontus, Mithradates took control with Rome in between<sup>12</sup>. It fell to Rome in through a will written by a monarch of Pergamum and then again, in connection with the Mithridatic wars. Although dedications were not always to local figures but might honor the emperor, major public building efforts – construction, dedication, or restoration – attributable to specific male and female benefactors continued into the early imperial period, slowing by the third century AD, when Goths attacked the city between 262-263<sup>13</sup>. Especially, in 262AD, during the reign of the Emperor Gallienus, Goths sacked the city and burned the temple. They destroyed both the city and the temple of Artemis. Ephesus declined since then and even though it was rebuilt, it never regained its old splendor. When Diocletian came to power, he started the restoration process. In the later period its history continued not as pagan city but as a Christian one.

### **1. Ephesus in the period of Diocletian. From paganism to Christianity**

Ephesus was a great important city from its foundation and later. It was a center of travel and commerce. The city was one of the greatest seaports of the ancient world. Three major roads led from the seaport: one road went east towards Babylon via Laodicea, another to the north via Smyrna and a third south to the Meander Valley<sup>14</sup>. Ephesus was a bustling, energetic, and intellectual Greco-Roman city when Paul visited it. It was considered the gateway of Asia. In fact, one of its statutes was that when a Roman proconsul came to take office as the new governor of

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<sup>6</sup> Saporiti 1964, 270-271.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias 7.2.8-9. Strabo 14.1.3-4. Herodotus 4.110. Herodotus 4.110. Strabo 14.1.3-4. Pausanias 7.2.8-9.

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias 4.31.8.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Oster date?, 1713.

<sup>10</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.61

<sup>11</sup> Tarn 1961. Bickerman 1968. Welles 1970. Peters 1972. Grant 1982. Forster 1986. Boardman, Griffin, Murray 1988. Green 2007. Romm 2011. Waterfield 2011.

<sup>12</sup> Laale 2011, 112-118.

<sup>13</sup> Wood 1820, 12.

<sup>14</sup> Evborokhai 2015, 125.

Asia, he had to disembark at Ephesus and enter Asia through this city. It was arguably one of the most important of cities in early Christianity<sup>15</sup>. Jerusalem probably took first place in this competition, but Ephesus ran a close second, along with Antioch. Because of its geographical position, Ephesus attracted many influential Christian leaders, including Paul, John, and Timothy<sup>16</sup>. For all the travellers and the trade, from the Cayster and the Maeander Valleys, from Galatia, from the Euphrates and from Mesopotamia, Ephesus was the highway to Rome. In later times, when the Christians were brought from Asia to be flung to the lions in the arena in Rome, Ignatius Theophorus called Ephesus the Highway of the Martyrs<sup>17</sup>. The city was naturally chosen by St. Paul as a centre for missionary labours. The church at Ephesus was spiritually strong. The church at Ephesus was founded well, taught by the best possible leaders, preachers and teachers. It was founded by Aquila and Priscilla<sup>18</sup>, who were left there by the apostle Paul. They may have been the original folks who got the church going. Later another man came and influenced that church, and his name was Apollos<sup>19</sup>. Paul trained and retrained the pastors there many years<sup>20</sup>. They loved him so much, they wept when he said he was leaving. Later, Timothy pastored the church at Ephesus<sup>21</sup>. In fact, when Paul wrote to him, he gave him instruction about how to do it. Another faithful servant named Tychicus<sup>22</sup> pastored there, and finally, the great apostle John. So all these under the instructions of Paul preached the teaching of Jesus Christ, the truth of the gospel<sup>23</sup>; People who were dwelling in Ephesus believed in Christ, they were baptized; and in a sense, the church was born. So the city became from the cradle of paganism with the great temple of Artemis<sup>24</sup>, one of the cradles of Christianity.

In Ephesus, there was the temple of Artemis, as we referred, but the Lord chose this city to become His. So the Lord sent some of his most faithful warriors into battle according to the *Acts*: « And you see and hear that not only in Ephesus but in almost all of Asia this Paul has persuaded and turned away a great many people, saying that gods made with hands are not gods. And there is danger not only that this trade of ours may come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis may be counted as nothing, and that she may even be deposed from her magnificence, she whom all Asia and the world worship. »<sup>25</sup>

In the period of Diocletian (284-305), Ephesus was a Christian city which recovered and prospered<sup>26</sup>. Under the reign of Diocletian, Ephesus became the seat of the proconsul of Asia<sup>27</sup>. In 293 AD statues of the Tetrarchs were placed in front of the Temple to Hadrian. They are lost, but the dedicatory inscriptions have been found. It is interesting to note that Diocletian was referred to with words: « *Domino Nostro* - Our Lord», which eventually were used for Jesus Christ. Also there was a beautiful statue of Diocletian. On its base there was the inscription: « *B(onae)*

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<sup>15</sup> Treblico 2004, 14.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Tim. 1:3.

<sup>17</sup> Barclay 1976, 58.

<sup>18</sup> *Acts* 18:18-21: « After this, Paul stayed many days longer and then took leave of the brothers[c] and set sail for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila. At Cenchreae he had cut his hair, for he was under a vow. And they came to Ephesus, and he left them there, but he himself went into the synagogue and reasoned with the Jews. When they asked him to stay for a longer period, he declined. But on taking leave of them he said, "I will return to you if God wills," and he set sail from Ephesus. »

<sup>19</sup> *Acts* 19:1.

<sup>20</sup> *Acts* 18:19-21; 19:1-7; 20:31.

<sup>21</sup> 2 Timoth. 2:3-4. *Ibid.* 4: 1-4.

<sup>22</sup> Eph. 6:21

<sup>23</sup> Eph. 1:1.

<sup>24</sup> The temple at Ephesus housed the multibreasted image of Artemis which was reputed to have come directly from Zeus. Cf. *Acts* 19:35.

<sup>25</sup> *Acts* 19: 26-27.

<sup>26</sup> Foss 1979, 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

*F(ortunae). Optimo clementissimoque, principi, domino nostro, Diocletiano, invicto Aug(usto): To Good Fortune. To the best and most clement ruler, our lord Diocletianus, unconquered Augustus. »*<sup>28</sup> Diocletian persecuted Christians. It was the tenth persecution of Christians, this time under Diocletian. Most important for Christians, Diocletian required worship of himself as the earthly embodiment of the god Jupiter in Greek, Zeus. And he made war against Christians, whom he knew would never accept his new religion. The emperor's goal was to wipe out the Church<sup>29</sup>. He hunted down Christians and their Scriptures. He especially loved to get hold of church leaders. He was trying to turn them back to paganism, to the old Roman religion with the emperor as a God. Therefore, anyone he caught and tried could be released by offering a sacrifice to the gods or to the emperor<sup>30</sup>. Diocletian ordered that Christians who refused to worship the Roman gods were to be subjected to extensive tortures, and he ordered the local authorities to search out the Christians so that they might be purged. They could also gain great favour by turning over copies of the Scriptures to be burned. In addition, Diocletian destroyed their church buildings<sup>31</sup>. This was something that couldn't be done earlier, as Christians rarely had devoted meeting places in the second century. It was too easy to see them destroyed or taken over<sup>32</sup>. While empire-wide persecutions were rare, local persecutions at the whim of a governor or prelate were not. It was a horrible, difficult time for Christians, at least for their leaders. Many Christians fell away, and many others were tortured, thrown in a dungeon, or put to death<sup>33</sup>. Approximately 500,000 Christians were executed in 9 years during systematic massacres (284-305 AD). In Ephesus, there were many Christians who were tortured and punished with the death penalty, because they refused to worship the pagan gods<sup>34</sup>. More since 1876 ! Voir M. Simon et A. Benoit, *Le judaïsme et le christianisme antique*, PUF, 1968, p. 135-143 sur les persécutions de Dioclétien à 313 (avec traduction française de Lactance, *De mort. pers.*, 48 = passage ci-dessous en latin. Page 143, est cité le travail de H. Grégoire (et al., *Les persécutions dans l'Empire romain*, Bruxelles, 1951) qui estime à 2500-3000 le total des morts pour tout l'Empire. W. H. C. Frend (*Martyrdom and Persecution in te Early Church*, Oxford 1965) est plus généreux: il admet 2500-3000 pour l'Orient et environ 500 pour l'Occident, soit un total d'à peu près 3000-3500 victimes. Ce sont des approximations, mais elles permettent de « préciser l'image que nous pouvons nous faire de la dernière persécution » (p. 143). Il existe sans doute des ouvrages plus récents sur la question ...

## 2. Ephesus after the edict of Milan in AD 313

Constantine and Licinius Licinius issued the Edict of Milan in 313, which proclaimed religious tolerance of all religions throughout the empire<sup>35</sup>. Today, some historians support that there was

<sup>28</sup> Bauer 1996, p. 424. *I.Ephesos II*, p. 106 no. 305,1 (<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD015037&lang=en>. <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail-base.php?record=LSA-718>).

<sup>29</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *History of the Church*, VIII. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 8-9; VIII.12.10-11.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Mason 1876, 97 sq.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Usefulness to quote the Edict of Milan which proclaimed religious tolerance of all religions? Quote instead *313, l'Editto di Milano: da Costantino ad Ambrogio, un cammino di fede e libertà*, (a cura de Centro Culturale Cattolico San Benedetto), San Paolo edizioni, 2013.

Edictum Mediolani (313): Cum feliciter, tam ego Constantinus Augustus, quam etiam ego Licinius Augustus, apud Mediolanum convenissemus, atque universa, quae ad commoda et securitatem publicam pertinerent, in tractatu haberemus, haec inter caetera quae videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus et christianis, et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset, quo quidem divinitas in sede coelesti, nobis atque omnibus qui sub potestate nostra sunt constituti, placata ac propitia possit existere. Itaque hoc consilio salubri ac rectissima ratione ineundum esse credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putarem, qui vel observationi christianorum, vel ei religioni mentem suam dederat, quam ipse sibi aptissimam esse sentiret; ut possit nobis summa divinitas, cujus religioni liberis

no official Edict but only Licinius' and Constantinus' decisions about the religion<sup>36</sup>. The Edict did not only protect Christians from religious persecution, but all religions, allowing anyone to worship whichever deity they chose<sup>37</sup>.

From this date and after Ephesus gained again its glory as a holy christian city. A legend, which was first mentioned by Epiphanius of Salamis in the fourth century AD, purported that the Holy Virgin Mary may have spent the last years of her life in Ephesus<sup>38</sup>. Although Epiphanius didn't accept the view that Holy Virgin Mother had her residence in Ephesus, he underlined this opinion that many christians believed this. The Ephesians derived the argument from John's presence in the city, and Jesus' instructions to John to take care of Mary after his death<sup>39</sup>. Epiphanius, however, was keen to point out that, while the Bible says John was leaving for Asia, it does not say specifically that Mary went with him<sup>40</sup>. He later stated that she was buried in Jerusalem. According to the opinion that Mary lived in Ephesus, it could be explained why there was the Church of Mary near the harbour of Ephesus<sup>41</sup>. There it was the setting for the Third Ecumenical Council in 431, which resulted in the condemnation of Nestorius<sup>42</sup>. A Second Council of Ephesus was held in 449, but its controversial acts were never approved by the Majority of Christians. It came to be called the Robber Council of Ephesus or Robber Synod of *Latrocinium* by its opponents<sup>43</sup>.

### 3. The Third Ecumenical Council of 431 and the *Robber* Council in 449 in Ephesus

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mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque praestare. Quare scire Dicationem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, ut, amotis omnibus omnino conditionibus, quae prius scriptis ad officium tuum datis super christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc vere ac simpliciter unusquisque eorum, qui eandem observandae religioni christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui idipsum observare contendant. Quae sollicitudini tuae plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scires nos liberam atque absolutam colendae religionis suae facultatem hisdem christianis dedisse. Quod cum hisdem a nobis indultum esse pervideas, intelligit Dicatio tua, etiam aliis religionis suae vel observantiae potestatem similiter apertam, et liberam pro quiete temporis nostri esse concessam; ut in colendo quod quisque delegerit habeat liberam facultatem, quia (nolumus detrahi) honori, neque cuiquam religioni aliquid a nobis.

Atque hoc insuper in persona christianorum statuendum esse censuimus, quod si eadem loca, ad quae antea convenire consueverant, de quibus etiam datis ad officium tuum litteris certa antehac forma fuerat comprehensa, priore tempore aliqui vel a fisco nostro, vel ab alio quocumque videntur esse mercati, eadem christianis sine pecunia, et sine ulla pretii petitione, postposita omni frustratione atque ambiguitate, restituantur. Qui etiam dono fuerunt consecuti, eadem similiter hisdem christianis quantocius reddant: etiam vel hi qui emerunt, vel qui dono fuerunt consecuti, si petiverint de nostra benevolentia aliquid, Vicarium postulent, quo et ipsis per nostram clementiam consulatur. Quae omnia corpori christianorum protinus per intercessionem tuam, ac sine mora tradi oportebit. Et quoniam iidem christiani non ea loca tantum, ad quae convenire consueverunt, sed alia etiam habuisse noscuntur, ad jus corporis eorum, id est, Ecclesiarum, non hominum singulorum, pertinentia, ea omnia lege, qua superius, comprehendimus, citra ullam prorsus ambiguitatem vel controversiam hisdem christianis, id est, corpori et conventiculis eorum reddi jubebis, supradicta scilicet ratione servata, ut ii qui eadem sine pretio, sicut diximus, restituerint, indemnitatem de nostra benevolentia sperent.

In quibus omnibus supradicto corpori christianorum intercessionem tuam efficacissimam exhibere debebis, ut praeceptum nostrum quantocius compleatur, quo etiam in hoc per clementiam nostram quieti publicae consulatur. Hactenus fiet, ut sicut superius comprehensum est, divinus juxta nos favor, quem in tantis sumus rebus experti, per omne tempus prospere successibus nostris cum beatitudine nostra publica perseveret. Ut autem hujus sanctionis benevolentiae nostrae forma ad omnium possit pervenire notitiam, perlata programmata tuo haec scripta et ubique proponere, et ad omnium scientiam te perferre conveniet, ut hujus benevolentiae nostrae sanctio latere non possit. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXXIV, Traduccion de Ramon Teja, Gredos, Madrid 1982, p. 165-167.

<sup>36</sup> Artemi 2013, 86-97, esp. 87.

<sup>37</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *History of the Church*, V. 15-17. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 34.1-35.1, 48.1-12.

<sup>38</sup> Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* LXXVIII.11.2

<sup>39</sup> Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* LXXVIII.11, in Daley 1998, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Clayton 1998, 8.

<sup>41</sup> Daley 1998, 9.

<sup>42</sup> Feidas 1992, 604.

<sup>43</sup> Gaddis 2005, 75.

Nestorius of Constantinople refused to give Mary, Mother of Christ, the predicate *Theotokos*, God – bearer, Mother of God. The reaction to this sermon and, in particular, to the condemnation of *Theotokos* was immediate and unfavourable: “He disturbed many of the clergy and all of the laity in this matter”<sup>44</sup>. Everywhere he forbade the word *Theotokos*<sup>45</sup>. His heretical teaching led to a dispute about his conception of the unity of the human and divine natures of Christ. When Cyril of Alexandria was informed about Nestorius’s teaching, he tried to explain to him why Mary should be called *Theotokos*. Unfortunately, he did not succeed in his explanation. A correspondence with Nestorius followed in a rather moderate tone. The Bishop of Constantinople insisted on refusing to use the term *Theotokos* for the mother of Jesus. The Nestorian controversy was fundamentally Christological<sup>46</sup>, but Mary, the mother of Christ, was the focus of this dispute between Cyril and Nestorius<sup>47</sup>.

The Bishop of Constantinople was an Antiochian in Christology<sup>48</sup>. He was influenced by the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia<sup>49</sup>. Early in his reign, he was called upon to give his opinion on the suitability of *Theotokos* – the woman who gave birth to God – as a title for the Blessed Virgin, and he would support the doubtful nature of this term unless *Anthropotokos* – the woman who gave birth to man – was added to compensate for it<sup>50</sup>. He insisted that the title *Christotokos* – the one who gave birth to Christ – was preferable as it did not beg questions. God did not originate from a creaturely human being and, for this reason; the word *Christotokos* would be preferred. In support of his theory, Nestorius told his congregation that Mary bore a mere man, the vehicle of divinity, but not God<sup>51</sup>. He argued that, in the case of the term *Theotokos*, he was not opposed to those who wanted to use it, unless it would lead to confusion, as in the case of the insanity of Apollinarius<sup>52</sup> or Arius<sup>53</sup>. Nonetheless, he had no doubt that the term *Theotokos* was inferior to the term *Christotokos*, as the latter was mentioned by the angels and the gospels<sup>54</sup>. Nestorius also mentioned that the term *Christotokos* kept the assertion by both parties to the proper limits, because

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<sup>44</sup> Socrates Scholasticus, *History of the Church*, VII.32: «... Mary was but a woman; and it is impossible that God should be born of a woman. These words created a great sensation, and troubled many both of the clergy and laity; they having been heretofore taught to acknowledge Christ as God, and by no means to separate his humanity from his divinity on account of the economy of incarnation, heeding the voice of the apostle when he said, “Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh; yet now henceforth know we him no more.” 2 Corinthians 5:16. And again, “Wherefore, leaving the word of the beginning of Christ, let us go on unto perfection”, Heb. 6:1 While great offence was taken in the church, as we have said, at what was thus propounded, Nestorius, eager to establish Anastasius’ proposition – for he did not wish to have the man who was esteemed by himself found guilty of blasphemy – delivered several public discourses on the subject, in which he assumed a controversial attitude, and totally rejected the epithet “Theotozozos”.

<sup>45</sup> Socrates Scholasticus, *History of the Church*, VII.32

<sup>46</sup> Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *History of the Church*, XIV. 32.

<sup>47</sup> Evagrius Scholasticus, *History of the Church*, I.2.4.

<sup>48</sup> Papadopoulos 1990, 566-574.

<sup>49</sup> *Theodore of Mopsuestia, Fragments of De Incarnatione*, PG 66, 981BC. Theodore of Mopsuestia wanted to affirm the perfect humanity of Christ and considered that this perfect humanity cannot be achieved unless Christ was a human person because he believed that there is no perfect existence without a personality. Thus he did not only affirm the existence of a perfect human nature in the Lord Christ but went further into affirming that God the Word took a perfect man and used him as an instrument (tool) for the salvation of humanity. He considered that God the Word dwelt in this person through good will, and that He was conjoined to him externally only. He used the expression conjoining (in Greek *synapheia*) rather than union (in Greek *enosis*). Thus he puts two persons in Christ, one Divine and the other human; together they formed one person who is the person of the union (external union) in the likeness of the union between man and wife.

<sup>50</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus Nestorium*, I, A, ACO, t. 1, I, 6, 18: 27-40, 19: 1-43, 20: 1-5, 37: 9-42, 38: 1-43, 39: 1-38, 40: 1-12 (=PG 76, 25A-28D, 72A-77D, 120A-D).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Voisin 1901. Papadopoulos 1990, p. 533. Feidas 1992, 585. Apollinaris of Laodicea, « On the Union in Christ of the Body with the Godhead », in Norris 1980, 103.

<sup>53</sup> Athanasius of Alexandria, *Contra Arianos*, I.5.4. Tetz 1940, σ. 114<sup>15-18</sup> (=PG 26, 21AB). Papadopoulos 1990, 114.

<sup>54</sup> *III Epistula Nestorium ad Celestinem*, Loofs, Nestoriana, 1980, 181-182.

it both removed the blasphemy of Paul of Samosata, who had claimed that Christ the Lord of all was simply a human being, and also flees the wickedness of Arius and Apollinarius»<sup>55</sup>.

Cyril of Alexandria in order to face up the heresy of Nestorius arranged a council to be held in Ephesus in 431<sup>56</sup>. The choice of the city for the third Ecumenical Council became because it was the last house of Mary according to the tradition, so for Cyril this had an enormous importance<sup>57</sup>. It was organized by the emperor Theodosius II. On Pentecost Sunday 431, the Council of Ephesus began. Without the papal delegates, the Pope sent three who were in route, and with some of the bishops not in attendance, Cyril opened the Council of Ephesus in the Church of St. Mary, where he assumed the executive position. It's not known if he took this authority on his own. Also in Ephesus, Nestorius and his cohorts protested the council, left the gathering, and met in an *anticouncil*<sup>58</sup>. The Council decreed that Jesus was one person, not two separate "people": complete God and complete man, with a rational soul and body. The Virgin Mary is *Theotokos* because she gave birth not to man but to God as a man. The union of the two natures of Christ took place in such a fashion that one did not disturb the other. The Council also declared the text of the Nicene Creed decreed at the First and Second Ecumenical Councils to be complete and forbade any additional change, addition or deletion, to it. In addition, it ratified the condemnation of Pelagianism<sup>59</sup>.

Some years after it, a disturbance arose about a monk of Constantinople, named Eutyches<sup>60</sup>, who had been very zealous against Nestorius, and now ran into errors of an opposite kind. Another council was held at Ephesus in 449; The Second Council of Ephesus – commonly known as the Robber Council of Ephesus – was a Christological church synod in 449 AD convened by Emperor Theodosius II under the presidency of Pope Dioscorus I of Alexandria<sup>61</sup>. It was intended to be an Ecumenical Council, but because of the scandalous nature of the proceedings, canon legalities, and the heterodox nature of the canons and decrees as viewed by the orthodox bishops of East and West and the later ecumenical councils, it was never accepted as ecumenical. It was explicitly repudiated by the fourth and next ecumenical council, the Council of Chalcedon of 451, and named the "*Latrocinium*", or "Robber Council". The name "*Latrocinium*"<sup>62</sup>, which means a meeting of robbers. The name was given by Pope Leo I, who condemned the council for supporting the Monophysite<sup>63</sup> heresy of Eutyches. Its decisions were reversed by the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

The fourth Ecumenical council of 451 in Chalcedon laid down the doctrine that our Christ, the incarnate *Logos* is "stating that Christ is the eternal Son of God made known in two natures without confusion [*i.e.* mixture], without change, without division, without separation, the difference of the natures being by no means removed because of the union, but the property of each nature being preserved and coalescing in one *prosopon* [person] and one *hypostasis* [subsistence] – not parted or divided into two *prosopa* [persons], but one and the same Son, only-begotten, divine Word, the Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>64</sup>

## Conclusions

The city was founded for the second time by the Ionian Androclus, son of Codrus, and the cities that were established after the Ionian migrations joined in a confederacy under the leadership of

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Grillmeier 1970, 484-487.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Olson 1999, 223.

<sup>60</sup> Vranić 2008, 208-221.

<sup>61</sup> Davis 1990, 342. Kelly 2009, 226.

<sup>62</sup> Latin *latro*, a mercenary soldier; robber + *cinium*, service: *latrocinium*: service of mercenaries; freebooting, robbery

<sup>63</sup> Kelly 2012, 70.

<sup>64</sup> McGrath 1997, 131-32. Kelly 2012, 71.

the city of Ephesus. From the first century CE onwards, Ephesus was visited repeatedly by early Christians most notably Saint Paul, who preached there, and Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, is said to have retired there along with Saint John.

In the Late Antiquity, the roman emperors could play a significant role in the social and religious life of local associations in cities such as Ephesus, both with regard to honours and networks of benefaction and with respect to cultic activities. On the other side, a Christian church was rounded there and flourished, and one of its first leaders was the apostle John. Finally in 262 A., when the temple of Diana was again burned, its influence had so far departed that it was never again rebuilt. Diana was dead. In the Diocletian's era, Ephesus became the highway for martyrs. Many Christians were arrested and were driven to Rome in order to be killed in Coliseum.

Ephesus was a very important Christian city, and in 431 AD the third council of the Christian church was held there, where it was decided that Mary was the mother of Christ as total God and total man. Eighteen years later, another council was held in this City. It was the robber Council of 449. The council simply *rubber-stamped* the Monophysite position. According to this teaching the human nature of Christ was essentially absorbed into His divine nature in a way that both natures were changed to some degree which resulted in a third nature being formed. The pope Leo (440-461AD) later called this meeting not a council but a *latrocinium*, a «Robber *Synod*».

To sum up Ephesus had an important role from the Antiquity to the period of the robber synod, and there was a significant religious center either for paganism or for Christianity.

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# The relation of Priscian of Lydia to Byzantium during the wars of Justinian I with the Sassanid Empire

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## Abstract

One of the episodes of the reign of Xusrō I (A.D. 531-579) was arrival at his court in Gondišāpur of seven neoplatonic philosophers. This event was described only by Byzantine historian Agathias, perhaps based on the testimony of one of the participants of the journey. Below considerations aim in analyzing the relation of Priscian of Lydia (one of the participants of the journey) to Byzantine Empire in context of military actions on Iranian–Byzantine borders between 527–531. Priscian of Lydia was one of the last remaining representatives of non-Christian Neoplatonism in Late Antiquity. Priscian of Lydia's text exists only in a late, corrupt Latin translation, pt. *Solutiones eorum de quibus dubitavit Chosroes Persarum rex. Solutionum ad Chosroem* is a series of answers to questions asked at a philosophical debate held at the Sasanian court. The opening section is a catalog of Neoplatonic works on cosmology and natural history. The questions are: what is the nature of the human soul, and how to establish the existence of a thing. The work ends with that most Platonic of questions: how is virtue to be manifested?

Arrival of the philosophers to Gondišāpur coincides with enthronement of Xusrō I, so it took place around 13th of September 531. The key information for the further consideration is the fact that the philosophers decided to go to Iran during open hostilities between Persia and Byzantium. What is more their route must have crossed the warzone on the borders between both states.

Scholar literature assumes 529 being the date of closing down of the Atehnian Academia by Justinian I (527-565). What attracts attention is the lack of any legal acts issued by the emperor which would refer to Justinian's decision to close down the Academy. Two imperial constitutions were directed against financial foundations of pagan activities in the field of culture in the state and they indirectly resulted in ceasing the activity of the philosophers in Athens. However the group of the philosophers who travelled to Iran was led by Damaskios, the last head of the Academia but Agathias does not mention any of their earlier cooperation in Athens.

Priscian was the one of the last followers of the Neoplatonism not tainted by the elements of the Christian thought. Priscian's decision must have been affected by his relation towards the empire of Justinian. According to Agathias the philosophers felt homeless in the empire, not only because of their faithfulness towards pagan philosophy but also because of the regulations limiting personal freedom. In Iran the philosophical ideal of the power funded on the unity of φιλοσοφία and βασιλεία was to be fulfilled. The decision to escape of the Philosophers to Iran was made when Justinian waged the war with his Eastern opponent. For Priscian the enemy was not Iran but his own country. According to this philosopher Justinian aimed in annihilation of the spiritual source of the Greek culture. Their hostile attitude towards the emperor and an attempt of securing of the „free neoplatonic thought” triggered the philosophers to risk the trip across the warzone where they could be found the traitors by the Byzantines and the spies by the Persians. Priscian's reluctance towards Justinian resulted in one of the last neoplatonic treatises – *Solutionum ad Chosroem*.

**Keywords:** Priscian, Early Byzantine history, Byzantine philosophy, Neoplatonism.

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

One of the episodes of the reign of Xusrō I Anōšīrvān (r. 531-579) was the arrival at his court in Gondišāpur of seven Neoplatonic<sup>2</sup> philosophers (Damascius of Syria, Priscianus of Lydia, Simplicius of Cilicia, Eulamius of Phrygia, Hermes and Diogenes of Phoenicia, Isidoros of Gaza)<sup>3</sup>. This event was described only by Byzantine historian Agathias<sup>4</sup>, perhaps based on the testimony

<sup>1</sup> The results of the research carried out under the research theme No. 452/16/S (Army of ancient Iran in comparative background) were financed from the science grant granted by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

<sup>2</sup> Remes, Slaveva-Griffin 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Martindale 1980, 342-343; Martindale 1992, 1153-1154; Martindale 1992, 1051; Walker 2002, 56-67; Hartmann 2002a, 123-160; Dzielska 2010, 725-736; Maksymiuk 2011, 473-482.

<sup>4</sup> Agathias 3. 2. 30-31.

of one of the participants of the journey<sup>5</sup>. Below considerations aimed at analyzing the relation of Priscianus of Lydia (one of the participants of the journey) to Byzantine Empire in context of military actions on Iranian-Byzantine borders.

### Priscianus of Lydia

Priscianus of Lydia was one of the last remaining representatives of non-Christian Neoplatonism in Late Antiquity. His text exists only in a late, corrupt Latin translation. *Solutiones eorum de quibus dubitavit Chosroes Persarum rex. Solutionum ad Chosroem* (*Answers to the Questions of the Persian King Chosroes*), is a series of answers to questions asked at a philosophical debate held at the Sassanian court<sup>6</sup>. The opening section is a catalog of Neoplatonic works on cosmology and natural history. The questions are: what is the nature of the human soul, and how to establish the existence of a thing. The work ends with that most of Platonic questions: how is virtue to be manifested?<sup>7</sup> The key information for the further consideration is the fact that the philosophers decided to go to Iran during open hostilities between Iran and Byzantium. The direct cause of the outbreak of the war can be attributed to the activities of the Arab allies of both states in the area of borderland. The Romans raided Persarmenia and with Gabalas IV backing made an attempt at taking Nisibis and Thebetha (527-528). In response to the Roman activity, Mundhir IV, allied with Kawād I (r. 488-497/ 499-531), ravaged and plundered Syria (529). The direct encounter in battlefield took place in the proximity of Dara in Mesopotamia and near Satala in Armenia (530). Both battles ended in Justinianus' I (r. 527-565) victories. Then the Romans raided and ravaged Arzanene, reaching Martyropolis (531). Kawād I undertook military actions in two directions: he sent Mundhir again to Syria while the main Iranian forces defeated the Romans near Callinicum (531). With the cessation of military operations due to the death of the Iranian king, the Huns allied with him reached Cilicia (531/532). In 532 AD Xusrō I Anōšīrvān made peace with Justinianus I due to which he withdrew his army from Lazica<sup>8</sup>. It should be noted that the route of the philosophers must have crossed the war zone on the borders between both states. Arrival of the philosophers to Gondīšāpur coincided with enthronement of Xusrō I, so it took place around 13<sup>th</sup> September 531.<sup>9</sup>

It seems that the reason of the departure of the philosophers to Iran was affected by Justinian's actions towards the Athenian Neoplatonic school. Scholar literature assumes 529 being the date of closing down of the Athenian Academia by Justinianus I<sup>10</sup>. What attracts attention is the lack of any legal acts issued by the emperor which would refer to Justinianus' decision to close down the Academy. Justinianus' decree allegedly forbidding teaching of philosophy and interpretation of laws was mentioned only by Malalas "the emperor issued a decree and sent it to Athenae ordering that no-one should teach philosophy nor interpret the laws"<sup>11</sup>. Two imperial constitutions were directed against financial foundations of pagan activities in the field of culture in the state and they

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<sup>5</sup> Damascius as the primary source, see: Hartmann 2002a, 134-135; Simplicius, see: Cameron 1970, 101-102.

<sup>6</sup> Priscian 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Erhart 2009, 21-31; de Haas 2010, 756-763; Abdullaev 2013, 239-271; Marcotte 2015, 285-304; Ganeri 2017, 1-8.

<sup>8</sup> Greatrex 1998, 151-214; Maksymiuk 2015a, 65-67.

<sup>9</sup> Tardieu 1990, 130; Thiel 1999, 12; Hartmann 2002a, 135; Hadot 2007, 46.

<sup>10</sup> Cameron 1969, 7-29; Fernández 1983, 24-30; Bucci 1987, 507-552 Hällström 1994, 141-160; Beaucamp 2002, 21-35; Zamora 2003, 173-187; Watts 2004, 168-182; Napoli 2004, 53-95; Shane Bjornlie 2013, 66; Lee 2013, 276; against the identification of this school with the the Academy founded by Plato see Blumenthal 1978, 369-385.

<sup>11</sup> Malalas 18. 47.

indirectly resulted in ceasing the activity of the philosophers in Athenae<sup>12</sup>. But we have a testimony of Olympiodorus, who (around 565) writes that the Academy still existed in his time.<sup>13</sup>

However the group of the philosophers who travelled to Iran was led by Damascius, the last head of the Academia<sup>14</sup> but Agathias does not mention any of their earlier cooperation in Athenae. The idea that Damascius went to Iran to establish there a new school under auspices of Xusrō I is naturally possible but based on too weak foundations to be considered a historical fact.<sup>15</sup>

The reason of the departure of the philosophers which is mentioned by Agathias was the limitation of the laws of the non-Christians in the public life of the empire. “since the official religion of the Roman empire was not to their liking [...] and also because they were forbidden by law to take part in public life with impunity owing to the fact that they did not conform to the established religion”<sup>16</sup> The persecutions of the pagans instigated by Justinianus were mentioned by Malalas (among the others: the ban of offices, confiscation of the properties, forced acceptance of Christianity) “In that year there was a great persecution of Hellenes. Many had their property confiscated. Some of them died: Makedonios, Asklepiodotos, Phokas, the son of Krateros, and Thomas the quaestor. This caused great fear. The emperor decreed that those who held Hellenic beliefs should not hold any state office, whilst those who belonged to the other heresies were to disappear from the Roman state, after they had been given a period of three months to embrace the orthodox faith. This sacred decree was displayed in all provincial cities.”<sup>17</sup> In contrast to the empire, in Iran where the religion of the court was mazdaism, the activities in the public sphere were not reserved only to the followers of this religion.<sup>18</sup>

Gondišāpur which was the royal seat since fourth century, under reign Xusrō I became one of the leading cultural and scholar centers of the Orient<sup>19</sup>. The royal court hosted among the others: Sergius from Resaina, Paulus the Persian, Uranios, Borzūya or Mankah<sup>20</sup>. The representants of different religions and philosophical currents carried the debates there, often in the presence of the king himself “After giving him a most cordial reception he summoned the magi to join with him [the Byzantine philosopher Uranius - K.M.] in discussing such questions as the origin of the physical world, whether the universe will last forever and whether one should posit a single first principle for all things”<sup>21</sup>. Agathias confirms that the Neoplatonics who arrived to the court also participated in such debates “The opportunity of conversing with the king proved a further disappointment. It was the monarch’s proud boast that he was a student of philosophy but his knowledge of the subject was utterly superficial.”<sup>22</sup>

The philosophers stayed in Iran until 533. The decision of return must have been made before conclusion of « the so-called Eternal Peace » by Xusrō and Justinian (Autumn 532)<sup>23</sup>, which comes from the fact that one of the conditions of the treaty was a guarantee of free activity of the philosophers at the Byzantine territory “A clause was inserted in fact in the treaty, which at that

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<sup>12</sup> Codex Justinianus 1. 11. 9. 1: *Nemini autem liceat sive in testamento sive per donationem quicquam personis vel locis ad sustentandum paganorum impietatem relinquere, etsi hoc specialiter voluntatis vel testamenti vel donationis verbis non contineatur, sed alio modo pro vero a iudicantibus deprehendi possit*; Codex Justinianus 1. 11. 10. 1: *Omnem autem doctrinam ab iis, qui impiorum paganorum furore laborant, doceri prohibemus, ut ne hoc modo simulent, se eos, qui misera sorte ad ipsos veniant, erudire, sed revera animos erudiendorum corrumpant, neque magis aliquid annonae ex publico percipiant, non habentes licentiam, ne ex divinis quidem rescriptis vel pragmaticis sanctionibus eiusmodi ius sibi vindicandi*. Watts 2004, 178-182; Thiel 1999, 17-18.

<sup>13</sup> van Riel 2010, 669.

<sup>14</sup> Fowden 1982, 45-48.

<sup>15</sup> Hartmann 2002b, 71.

<sup>16</sup> Agathias 3. 2. 30.3-4.

<sup>17</sup> Malalas 18. 42; Watts 2004, 181-182.

<sup>18</sup> Maksymiuk 2015b, 123-134; Payne 2016, 219-228.

<sup>19</sup> Better Antioch of Šāpūr: Ṭabarī, 1999: 1.827-828; Maksymiuk, 2007, 145-153; Mosig-Walburg, 2010, 117-156.

<sup>20</sup> Schöffler 1979, 28-29; de Blois, 1990; Reinink 2003, 163-174; Söylemez 2005, 1-27; Erhart 2009, 22; Bruns 2009, 28-53; Hugonnard-Roche 2010, 307-322.

<sup>21</sup> Agathias 3. 2. 29.11.

<sup>22</sup> Agathias 3. 2. 31. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Greatrex 1998, 213-218.

time was being concluded between the Romans and the Persians, to the effect that the philosophers should be allowed to return to their homes and to live out their lives in peace without being compelled to alter their traditional religious beliefs or to accept any view which did not coincide with them. Chosroes insisted on the inclusion of this point and made the ratification and continued observance of the truce conditional on its implementation.”<sup>24</sup>

### Conclusion

Priscianus was the one of the last followers of the Neoplatonism not tainted by the elements of the Christian thought. Priscianus’ decision must have been affected by his relation towards the empire of Justinianus. According to Agathias the philosophers felt homeless in the empire, not only because of their faithfulness towards pagan philosophy but also because of the regulations limiting personal freedom. The philosophers felt compelled to leave the Byzantine Empire because as Agathias wrote in his Histories: “that the Persian state was much superior”. In Iran the philosophical ideal of the power funded on the unity of *philosophía* and *basileía* was to be fulfilled “Persia was the land of “Plato’s philosopher king” in which justice reigned supreme”<sup>25</sup>. The decision to escape of the philosophers to Iran was made when Justinianus waged the war with his Eastern opponent. For Priscianus the enemy was not Iran but his own country. According to this philosopher Justinianus aimed in annihilation of the spiritual source of the Greek culture. Priscianus’ actions confirm that the Roman identity was much more complex. Dmitriev wrote that the “Romans” themselves differed in their identity and their culture.<sup>26</sup>

Their hostile attitude towards the emperor and an attempt of securing of the “free Neoplatonic thought” triggered the philosophers to risk the trip across the war zone where they could be found the traitors by the Byzantines and the spies by the Persians. Priscianus’ reluctance towards Justinianus resulted in one of the last Neoplatonic treatises – *Solutionum ad Chosroem*. “Priscianus’ work preserves a record of Hellenic philosophy at the point of vanishing under the tide of Christianization that shortly afterwards engulfed the Byzantine Empire, the heir of much of what was most precious from centuries of Hellenistic culture.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Agathias 3. 2. 31. 4; Hartmann 2002b, 71; Watts 2005, 285-315; Hadot 2007, 43.

<sup>25</sup> Agathias 3. 2. 30. 3

<sup>26</sup> Dmitriev 2010, 29.

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# John of Sardis' commentary to Aphthonius' description of the Alexandrian Serapeum. Graeco-Oriental art in rhetorical *ecphrasis*

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## Abstract

In his textbook for students of rhetoric Aphthonius (fourth/fifth century A.D.) chose the Serapeum to demonstrate the concept of pictorial vividness in description (Aphth. *Progymn.*12). One of many commentaries to his manual was signed by John of Sardis (*C. Vat. gr.*1408). The author seems to have been a commentator of a significantly later date (tenth century). John of Sardis focused mainly on linguistic, lexical and phraseological analysis. His comments on the figural arts and architecture are scanty and modest. The commentary is selective and sometimes confusing. The reader's confusion aggravated in the concluding part of Aphthonius' *ecphrasis*. The text sounds ambiguous to the modern reader. John of Sardis added to this uncertainty. All the more so as we do not know the original archaeological context. John of Sardis whose commentary focused on language and style did not prove to be very helpful in the archaeological reconstruction of the Alexandrian Serapeum and *Acropolis*. However, his classicizing Greek is perfect.

**Keywords:** John of Sardis, Aphthonius of Antioch, Alexandrian Serapeum, Byzantine historiography, classical textual sources.

The Serapeum of Alexandria was one of the most splendid temples of the Pagan world<sup>1</sup>. Visitors would for long cherish memories of the magnificence of its architecture and the richness of its decoration<sup>2</sup>. Fraser aptly described the Serapeum as a 'vast porphyry temple and enclosure with Corinthian columns'<sup>3</sup>. In his textbook for students of rhetoric Aphthonius chose the Serapeum to demonstrate the concept of pictorial vividness in description, and to unfold the secrets of word-painting (Aphth. *Progymn.*12). Although there are more descriptions of the Alexandrian Serapeum, all of them are far below the level of complexity achieved by Aphthonius' *ecphrasis*. When did he compose his rhetorical description? On the one hand there are those who are inclined to believe that Aphthonius wrote his *ecphrasis* before the destruction, on the other hand others hold that he wrote it after the sack of the Serapeum in AD 391<sup>4</sup>. Personally I think Aphthonius visited Alexandria before the Serapeum's devastation, however, he might have composed his *ecphrasis* later after it. Aphthonius is representative of the Pagan antiquarianism which developed as a reaction to the wide-spread devastation of the Graeco-Roman cultural heritage committed by Christians in the fourth century. At times he strikes a nostalgic tone (two stray imperfect tenses among the prevailing present and perfect tenses), as if he were grieving over the past glory of his world (Aphth. *Progymn.*12,107)<sup>5</sup>. I think he wanted to allude to one of the most notorious events of his time, the plunder of the Serapeum in AD 391. Thus we have one more example of an allusive Pagan polemic of the period, even if cautious, to supplement Libanius' *pro templis* and Symmachus' writings in the Latin letters.

Aphthonius' manual became one of the most popular of all handbooks on rhetoric. It was read, copied and commented by many students of rhetoric for centuries. One of the commentaries was signed by John of Sardis (*C. Vat. gr.*1408). H.-G. Beck identified him with the bishop of Sardis who

<sup>1</sup> Botti 1895; Botti 1897; Breccia 1907; Rowe 1942; Thelamon 1981, 165-177; Adriani 1966, 90-100; Handler 1971.

<sup>2</sup> In the following are the most essential of the literary accounts: Eunapius, *Vita sophistarum.*, ed. Boissonade, 472ff.; Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 11,22ff.; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5,16f.; Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7,15; Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5,22; Georgios Hamartolos, *Chronicon* II, ed. de Boor, 583-588.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser 1972, I, 267.

<sup>4</sup> Fraser 1972 I, 84; Rabe 1926, XXIII.

<sup>5</sup> Polański 1998, 121.

participated in the Council of 815 and was a collaborator of Theodore of Studios<sup>6</sup>. Foss believed he was bishop John II who fell victim to the iconoclasts. H. Rabe, a learned editor of the *Progymnasmata*, dated the author to the second half of the tenth century<sup>7</sup>. We are unable to decide with certainty which of them was our author. It cannot also be excluded that we have a text by an anonymous writer. I have read and reread John of Sardis' ecphrasis (Joan. *Progymn.* 12) in the hope of indentifying some Byzantine words and phrases of a later date (Middle Byzantine?) and I must admit that I searched in vain. I expected to date the text for my own use. I failed. This author wrote pure, intellectual, Classical and rhetorical Greek. The Greek of John Sardinianus is so perfect and classicizing that the author might as well have composed it in Justinianic times, the epoch of Joannes Lydus. It is interesting to observe that John of Sardis was unable to decode many of the words and phrases in Aphthonius' text, as if they had already lost their vivid and true linguistic and archaeological context to him. Consequently he seems to have been a commentator of a significantly later date. All in all, I followed Rabe, who argued that the writer was an anonymous tenth century Greek rhetorician.

John of Sardis' commentary to Aphthonius' ecphrasis focused mainly on linguistic, lexical and phraseological analysis. He was interested in the issues of rhetorical style, figures of speech and related literary comparative material. John of Sardis mainly worked with words. He emerges as a textual commentator. The real appearance of the Alexandrian Serapeum seems to be of secondary importance to him. The meaning of words and matters of style are more essential to him than the authenticity and exactness of description, which is the subject of this paper.

Let us look at two examples of his method:

[39,5] μετρίαῖς κινκλίαι περικλειόμενον (Aphth.) ('enclosed by apt cancellae'). John of Sardis' commentary: τὸ 'μετρίαῖς' ἀντὶ τοῦ μικραῖς. γράφεται δὲ καὶ 'περιειργόμενον', τὸ αὐτὸ δηλοῦσης τῆς λέξεως; Nadeau, who followed LSJ: κινκλίδες, latticed gates, μέτριος moderate (basic meaning), rendered the passage as follows: 'enclosed by latticed gates of moderate height'; John of Sardis' commentary: μετρίαῖς used instead of 'small.' You can also apply the descriptive equivalent of 'περιειργόμενον' (surrounded by).

[40,6] „Εἰς ἐξουσίαν τῆς σοφίας ἐπαίροντες" (Aphth.). Ἀντὶ τοῦ διανιστῶντες, διεγείροντες, προσβιβάζοντες, ἐπαγόμενοι, ἀναστῶντες (John of Sardis) ('encouraging [sc. the whole of society] to studies [of the library rooms]'; Nadeau: spurring on an entire city to a mastery of learning; John of Sardis' commentary: 'ἐπαίροντες in place of rousing, exciting, persuading, urging, waking up.'

In both cases I would rather like to learn more about the *cancellae* themselves: what did they look like? and about the library halls, where books were stored, of their architecture and arrangement.

John of Sardis' *περὶ ἐκφράσεως* consists of two parts: (1) his own theoretical introduction opening his commentary to Aphthonius' corresponding general chapter on ecphrasis and (2) the second part, devoted to Aphthonius' description of the Alexandrian acropolis. Among the prevailing linguistic, rhetorical and literary matters which are discussed in the opening theoretical part we sometimes come across passages which refer specifically to art and architecture, to the figural arts as sculpture and painting, and to sophisticated works of craftsmanship, that is to ecphrasis which can be specifically applied to the description of artworks. This kind of ecphrasis we sometimes label 'rhetorical ecphrasis,' ecphrasis in the narrow sense of the word, which refers to art description<sup>8</sup>. It is interesting to observe that John of Sardis invoked Philostratus and his *Imagines*, which 'contain nothing but ecphrasis,' as he put it (ed. Rabe p.215,15-16). We can be sure that he had in mind Philostratus the Elder, and his influential collection of art description, that is his guide to the painting gallery of Naples<sup>9</sup>. In the rooms of Philostratus the Elder's gallery there are many Asian motifs. In the Room of Aphrodite the guest to the gallery had the opportunity to study a set

<sup>6</sup> Beck 1959, 510; Pargoire 1902, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Foss 1976, 66; A. Kahzdan, John of Sardis, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 1067; Rabe 1928, Commentarium XVI.

<sup>8</sup> Pernice, Gross 1969; Hohlweg 1971; Downey, s.v. Ecphrasis, *RACb* IV.

<sup>9</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben 1941.

of paintings which portrayed Persian and Anatolian princesses, such as Pantheia, who committed suicide after her husband's death in the battle of Sardis (*Imag.*II,9), Rhodogoune (*Imag.*II,5), Cassandra (*Imag.*II,10) and Kritheis (*Imag.*II,8). Two of the paintings refer to Lydia. Kritheis fell in love with the Lydian River God Meles, which flows into the sea in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Pantheia killed herself over the body of Abradates, who had fallen in action at the Battle of Sardis (*Imag.* II, 9). On the latter painting the viewer could also see the city walls of Sardis, houses gutted by fire, the Lydian women taken into captivity, and the pyre of king Croesus in the background, and Cyrus the king of Persia and the Lydian woman dressed in a golden robe, who personified the Land of Lydia<sup>10</sup>. There are also other Asian and specifically Anatolian motifs in Philostratus' collection: Scamander (*Imag.*I,1), two seascape paintings of Bosphorus (*Imag.*I,12-13), Midas and the Lydian women allured by the Satyrs (*Imag.*I,22), Antilochus killed at Troy (*Imag.*II,7), Themistocles before the Persian king in Babylon (*Imag.*II,31). The anonymous author's predilection for Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines* with his Anatolian and specifically Lydian subjects can perhaps be a unique clue pointing to his identity, as a Greek rhetorician from Anatolia, and perhaps from Lydia, one Joannes of Sardis.

We are also instructed by John of Sardis that the ecphrastic genre can be used in encomiastic oratory in honour of the founders of porticoes or similar objects (Joan. *Progymn.* ed. Rabe p.215,19), and that ecphrasis is good for description of subjects such as sculpted images, the Trojan horse and paintings (Joan. *Progymn.* ed. Rabe, p.219), and human personifications of phenomena such as summer, peace and war (Joan. *Progymn.* ed. Rabe p. 219). The orator should imitate the painters' technique to 'paint' the subject of the description before the eyes of those who have not seen it (Joan. *Progymn.* ed. Rabe p.217). John of Sardis followed the usual rhetorical set of literary models, such as Alcinous' palace and garden (*Od.*8, 112 ff.; Joan. *Progymn.* Ed. Rabe p. 221), Nestor's cup (*Il.*12, 63607; *ibid.*), and the shield of Achilles (*Il.*18, 467ff.; Joan. *Progymn.* ed. Rabe p.225).

A magnificent *propylaion*, the gate to the Alexandrian acropolis, makes up one of the points of Aphthonius' ecphrasis. This minor ecphrasis in its own right incorporated in the framework of the Arcropolis' description shows that the Chinese-box technique was not unknown to John.

Προπύλαιον δὲ διαδέχεται κλίμακας μετρίαις κυκλίσι περικλειόμενον. Καὶ τέτταρες μὲν ἀνέχουσι μέγιστοι κίονες, ὁδοὺς παντοδαπὰς ἐπὶ μίαν εἴσοδον ἄγουσαι. ταῖς δὲ δὴ κίοσιν ἐπ'ἀνέχει τις οἶκος μετρίας πολλὰς προβαλλόμενος κίονας, αἱ χροιάν μὲν οὐχὶ μίαν παρέχουσι, προβαλλόμεναι δὲ τῇ κατασκευῇ παραπεπήγασι κόσμος. ὁροφὴ δὲ τῷ οἴκῳ παρῆλθεν εἰς κύκλον, παρὰ δὲ τῷ κυκλῷ μέγα τῶν ὄντων ὑπόμνημα πέπηγεν (Aphth.*Progymn.*48) (the staircase leads to a gateway which is enclosed with fitting *cancellae*, where four monumental columns rise up. They join up all the streets which meet at the entrance. The columns are crowned by a superstructure surrounded by many harmonious columns, which are of many colours. This range of columns adorns the façade of the construction. It is crowned by a circular roof, which is surrounded by a great monument of the elements)<sup>11</sup>.

John of Sardis appended this impressive and detailed description with a strikingly modest commentary. From his commentary we only learn that ἐπ'ἀνέχει means 'rising up above the columns' (of the crowning architectural structure), and that προβαλλόμενος refers to the columns which stand in front of the façade, which may seem obvious to the Greek reader [39,8]. The commentator also points to the protruding columns which make up a harmonious and colourful composition [39,10] (προτιθέμεναι ἀλλήλαις, διὰ τὸ μίαν ἐκάστην ἐξηλλαγμένην χροιάν ἔχειν, συγκρινομένη ἐτέρα πρὸς ἐτέρα)

<sup>10</sup> Polański 2002, 193.

<sup>11</sup> 'A forecourt, enclosed by latticed gates of moderate height, then receives the staircases. And there also, four very large columns rise up, providing many ways into one entrance area. Then upon these columns rests a certain structure, exposing columns of ordinary height which are not of only one colour but, vying with one another [in colour], they are added to the structure as ornament. Moreover, the ceiling for this building comes to a circle and around this circle has been affixed the greatest of all written records' (trans. R. Nadeau).

‘joined to one another they vie each other for the variety of colours.’ This is how John explains the parallel passage from Aphthonius’ manual (κίονας, αἱ χροιάν μὲν οὐχὶ μίαν περιέχουσι, προβαλλόμεναι δὲ τῇ κατασκευῇ παραπεπήγασι κόσμος) (Aphth. *Progymn.*48). The play of colours in the range of the upper story columns, as documented by Aphthonius, testifies to his autopsy. Aphthonius must have visited Alexandria and left the city deeply impressed by its architecture. He shared this fascination with other writers of his time, such as Achilles Tatios and Ammianus Marcellinus, who were native Alexandrians. While Aphthonius must have visited Alexandria, John of Sardis’ Alexandrian archaeological references leave no doubt that their author had never been there. John Sardinianus was only a textual commentator.

In John of Sardis’ text the concluding words of Aphthonius’ ephrasis of the *propylaion* were appended by the following commentary: Ὅντα λέγει ἢ τῶν θεῶν ἱστοριῶν ἔργα (τὸ ἡμισφαίριον ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλως ἱστούρηται) ἢ τὰ δ’στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνίσταται τὸ πᾶν, πῦρ λέγω καὶ ὕδωρ γῆν τε καὶ ἀέρα [39,11] (Aphthonius says that ὄντα means either representations illustrative of divine myths (the cupola in the building refers to such a possibility in many ways) or the four στοιχεῖα which constitute the universe, that is fire, water, earth and air). It is interesting to observe that Aphthonius’ words ὀροφὴ δὲ τῷ οἴκῳ παρῆλθεν εἰς κύκλον (it is crowned by a circular roof) are interpreted by John of Sardis as referring to a ‘cupola’ τὸ ἡμισφαίριον. In his opinion the *propylaia* were crowned with a superstructure decked with a cupola, which is not at all obvious, though it might have seemed so to a Greek intellectual of the Middle and Late Byzantine epoch. Since the Justinianic *l’age d’or* cupolas had been frequent in the Byzantine church architecture. The roof in Alexandria must have looked rather like the roofs of Galerius’ Mausoleum in Saloniki, or alternatively like roofs of the *tholoi* in Epidaurus and Olympia.

John of Sardis was unable to decide what μέγα τῶν ὄντων ὑπόμνημα (a great monument of the elements) was, meaning the adornment that surrounded the round-shaped superstructure over the gateway. It seems to have been so obvious to Aphthonius and his contemporaries that he decided to express the image using a metaphor: μέγα τῶν ὄντων ὑπόμνημα. It was at all not so obvious to a later Byzantine commentator, who clearly did not know what Aphthonius meant. We are not able to say anything more than John of Sardis. μέγα τῶν ὄντων ὑπόμνημα must have referred either to large-scale reliefs or sculptures in the round which pictured divine stories like the Gigantomachy and covered the frieze or surrounded the circular roof, or to monumental images of gods with their proper attributes, whose images probably surrounded the roof (παρὰ δὲ τῷ κύκλῳ ... πέπηγεν). We cannot rule out that the monument which topped the *propylaia* actually pictured large-scale personifications of the four elements, as John of Sardis suggested.

Can we identify the impressive gateway leading to the interior space of the Alexandrian Acropolis in the available archaeological material? Unfortunately, for a long time now the art and architecture of Graeco-Roman Alexandria has been confined to the realm of the imagination. Only in rare instance can they be substantiated – and only incidentally – in Pagan literary descriptions and Christian homiletic texts which document the ceremonies for the consecration of one or another richly decorated Christian church in early Byzantine Alexandria. We can also draw on architectural analogies, such as those from Petra. Petra’s impressive, monumental, sepulchral architecture was clearly inspired if not directly modelled on Alexandrian temples, palaces and public buildings. I have been looking for an analogy to the *propylaion* as described by Aphthonius. The façade of Khasba at the mouth of Sikh in Petra with its columned first storey and a rounded superstructure seems to resemble Aphthonius’ description (Pl. I). It is legitimately believed that the rocky architecture of Petra was inspired and modelled on the architecture of Alexandria. There is at least one more similar façade in Petra, which was cut out of the rocks in the region of the theatre (Pl. II). Its scale is monumental, although most of it has been eroded. The façades of the rocky grave monuments in this part of Petra are exposed to winds and cold winters. The monument of Khasba has survived in a very good state of preservation, because it has always been protected against the wind by the surrounding rocks.

Aphthonius did not hesitate to call the Alexandrian acropolis superior to its Athenian counterpart, which was paradigmatic in the Greek culture. It is very likely, then, that Aphthonius' choice of the Alexandrian *propylaea* as the focal point in his model ecphrasis for the students of rhetoric was absolutely deliberate. Aphthonius' art of ecphrasis rivalled the proverbial harmonious beauty of the Mnesiclean *propylaea*, which for the ancient Greeks embodied the ideal architectural proportions and harmony.

Next Aphthonius described the interior of the acropolis: Εἰσιόντι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τέτρασι πλευραῖς εἷς χώρος ἴσαις διήρηται, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα πλαίσιον τυγχάνει τοῦ μηχανήματος, ἀλλή δὲ κατὰ μέσον περίστυλος (Apth. *Progymn.* 48) (when you enter the acropolis you will see one courtyard surrounded by four equal sides. The plan of the whole architectural arrangement is rectangular and there is a columned temple in the middle of the courtyard).

In this part of the text John's commentary is strikingly limited. He was certainly right when he explained *πλαίσιον* (rectangular) as *πλίνθιον* (a square, rectangle, rectangular box) and *τετράπλευρον* (four-sided) [39,14]. Aphthonius was clearly pointing to the famous precinct of Serapis with its monumental and magnificent idol of the seated god by Bryaxis, who modelled it on the statue of the Olympian Zeus. Nadeau's translation is misleading (he renders ἀλλή δὲ κατὰ μέσον περίστυλος as 'an open court surrounded by a colonnade in the center')<sup>12</sup>. Aphthonius used the word ἀλλή in the same meaning as Herodotus when he described the temple of Apis in Memphis (Hdt. 2, 153) and the twelve chapels of gods in the Egyptian Labyrinth of Fayum, which he labelled ἀλλὰι κατὰστεγοι, roofed precincts, chapels, sanctuaries (Hdt. 2, 148)<sup>13</sup>. They were certainly built of stone. Rufinus described the temple of Serapis as *aedes ... pretiosis edita columnis et marmoris saxo extrinsecus ample magnificeque constructa* (HE 23). We can see the columned façade of Serapis' temple, in a conventional and simplified design on the Roman coins. The excavation of the area carried out in the 1940s brought poor results. We did not learn much about the temple of Serapis. However, the project showed the size of the original Ptolemaic temple and its enlarged counterpart after its restoration in the Imperial period (Pl. III)<sup>14</sup>. Both occupied roughly the middle of the courtyard as described by Aphthonius. His subsequent words leave no doubt: καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀλλήν στοαὶ διαδέχονται (the temple's colonnade is paralleled by the columned porticos) [in this context *diadecomai* should be read as 'closing in from (both) sides, Demetr. *Eloc.* 93, meaning 'to surround, to parallel' *LSJ*]. They correspond to the plan drawn by the archaeologists. It could be no otherwise. We can see the usual architectural arrangement of many Graeco-Roman sanctuaries: a columned temple in the middle of a spacious rectangular courtyard surrounded by columned porticos.

Aphthonius must have seen the Acropolis with his own eyes. Otherwise he would not have chosen it to illustrate the art of rhetorical ecphrasis. He must also have seen the temple of Serapis and the god's famous statue which occupied the *cella*. Why was he so reticent about it? Imagine what Pausanias would have done would he have described the Athenian acropolis without the statue of Athena Parthenos or the Olympian Altis without the Zeus of Phidias? John is even more reticent in his commentary. There is a patent gap in his commentary. He skipped Aphthonius' description of the temple and his careful and impressive description of the porticos' colonnades. Did John, who had evidently never been to Alexandria, feel so confused by Aphthonius' description in this part of the ecphrasis as Nadeau? Probably he felt at a loss trying to imagine the archaeological reality behind Aphthonius' sophisticated vocabulary and phraseology. Aphthonius must have visited Alexandria before the plunder of the Serapeion and the destruction of its divine images in

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<sup>12</sup> Nadeau's translation runs as follows: 'To one entering the acropolis itself, one area is divided into four equal sides; the plan of the arrangement is like that of a hollow rectangle with an open court surrounded by a colonnade in the center. And [other] colonnades succeed this open court.' What does Nadeau's translation mean in archaeological terms? In particular this passage: 'an open court surrounded by a colonnade in the center. And [other] colonnades succeed this open court.' The translation gives no sense.

<sup>13</sup> τὴν Διὸς ἀλλήν, in Aeschylus' *Prometheus* 122, court, hall of Zeus' house, chamber, *LSJ*.

<sup>14</sup> Rowe 1946, 60; Handler 1971, 64f.

391. Perhaps Aphthonius himself avoided to describe the divine image of Serapis? If so, we have a case of self-censorship. Aphthonius' language in this part of his description seems allusive and ambiguous. His Pagan readers must have understood it well and probably read between the lines. His description of the world-famous sanctuary in the years of its destruction by Christians would have been a prudent choice. At the same time it became a testimony to the Pagan antiquarian studies which developed as an intellectual reaction to the widespread destruction of the Pagan cultural heritage in the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century. In this part of Aphthonius' ephrasis John of Sardis, who did not know the architectural complex from autopsy, was unable to find a key to Aphthonius' sophisticated and allusive language.

Aphthonius' strikingly short reference to the temple of Serapis in the first part of his description, the edifice which occupied the centre of the whole architectural complex, is followed by an extended and impressive description of the columned porticoes. John of Sardis himself emphasised that porticoes were the most frequent subject of ephraseis (*Progymn.*12, p.215, ed. Rabe, 19 καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐλὴν στοὰι διαδέχονται, στοὰι δὲ ἴσαις διαιρούμεναι κίοσι, καὶ μέτρον αὐταῖς, μεθ' ὃ τι πλεον οὐχ ὑπάρχει λαβεῖν, ἐκάστη δὲ στοὰ τελευτᾷ πρὸς ἐγκαρσίαν ἑτέραν, καὶ κίων διπλῆ πρὸς ἑκατέραν διαιρεῖται στοάν, τῆς μὲν αὖ λήγουσα, τῆς δὲ αὖ πάλιν κατάρχουσα (Aphth.*Progymn.*48) (the temple is surrounded by the porticoes. Each portico is divided up by columns of equal size. They are so perfect in their harmony that there is nothing to rival it. Every portico joins on to the next one. The double column marks the meeting point. This column closes one portico and immediately opens another one)<sup>15</sup>. John of Sardis' incidental reference to the perfect number of ten in the context of 'καὶ μέτρον αὐταῖς' [39,17] τοῦ δεκαδικοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δηλονότι) seems to me a misinterpretation. τὸ μέτρον (due measure, proportion) must refer to regular and harmonious composition of the columns, to something which always impresses us when we look at the colonnades of Paestum, of the Athenian Parthenon, of Euromos and Aizanoi. We do not learn anything more from John of Sardis about the above-quoted interesting and painterly passage. The same can be said of the next two passages, in which Aphthonius focused on the library rooms located in the porticoes, their roof, and the bronze capitals of the columns, which were covered with gold. The last detail offers an interesting instance of autopsy on the part of Aphthonius. The gilded columns must have been removed soon after the sanctuary was closed down. One more piece of evidence that Aphthonius paid a visit to the Serapeion before AD 391. Next Aphthonius once again turned to the description of the temple and its surroundings: τῆς μὲν οὖν αὐλῆς οὐχ εἷς ἅπας ὁ κόσμος. ἄλλο μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως ἦν, τὸ δὲ τὰ Περσεῶς εἶχεν ἀθλήματα (Aphth.*Progymn.*48) (the decoration of the temple is not at all uniform. It has components which differ from one another in style. In one place you can see Perseus' heroic deeds). This is one of the most attractive passages in Aphthonius' ephrasis. The rhetorician drew attention to matters of artistic style, which is unique in his text. Aphthonius presented himself to the reader as an art critic. John Sardianus' comment is very frugal. It is exclusively philological. He limited himself to linguistic and mythological remarks: ἄλλο μὲν γὰρ δημιούργημα δηλονότι ἄλλως ἦν κατασκευασμένον [40,10] (every architectural component was constructed in a different way), he repeated Aphthonius' words in a slightly different way, only to add that τὴν Μέδουσαν ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἀνδραγαθήμασιν ἠρίστευσεν [40,10] (Perseus killed Medusa and as a result he accomplished many heroic feats). We can only suspect that Aphthonius had in mind a cycle of mythological paintings like those which Achilles Tatios saw in the temple of Zeus Cassius' *opisthodomos* (III, 6-8). The Alexandrian cycle probably included most of Perseus' African adventures, that is the rescue of Andromeda, who was the daughter of Kefeus and Cassiopea, the Ethiopian royal couple. Herodotus told us that the priests of Perseus' temple in Chemmis (Akhmim) used to show curious visitors Perseus' sandal, apparently to fit a foot nearly a metre long (Hdt.II, 91). His parents, Danae and Lynkeus, had moved from Chemmis to Greece. Perseus,

<sup>15</sup> In his description of the Alexandrian Serapeum Ammianus Marcellinus wrote of *atriis tamen columnariis amplissimis* (22,16,12-13).

who learned his family story from his mother, decided to pay a visit to his relatives in Chemmis while on his way from Libya, where he had killed Medusa and cut off her head<sup>16</sup>.

Next Aphthonius comes to a short description of a monumental, free-standing column. It was in all likelihood the column which we used to call ‘Pompey’s Pillar.’ It still stands on the earlier Alexandrian acropolis: καὶ μέσον ἀνέχει τις κίων μῆκος μὲν ὑπερέχουσα, κατὰ δὲ ποιοῦσα τὸν χῶρον (Aphth.*Progymn.*48) (a very high column is rising in the middle. It makes the place visible even from a distance). Aphthonius added that the column can be seen from a long distance by sailors approaching the harbour, as well as by those who travel by land. This is one more recurrent point of comparison to the Periclean acropolis of Athens, rivalled by the Alexandrian challenger. In this way Aphthonius alluded to the famous statue of Athena Promachos which played the role of a ‘daytime lighthouse’ for sailors approaching the harbour of Piraeus. It is not clear if he had in mind Pompey’s Pillar (Diocletian’s column) or a column which once stood to the west of it<sup>17</sup>. The latter would better fit his μέσον (in the middle). Pompey’s Pillar is located in the neighbourhood of the ancient gateway, which was discovered by A. Rowe and B. Rees<sup>18</sup>. Aphthonius’ description of the column concludes with a reference to the figural decoration at the top: ἀρχαὶ δὲ τῶν ὄντων τῆ τῆς κίονος κορυφῇ περιεστήκασιν (primeval elements stand around the top of the column). John of Sardis focused only on this point of Aphthonius’ short ecphrasis of the column. However, his comment did not go beyond what he had already said with reference to the figural adornment over the gateway: τὰ τέσσαρα λέγει στοιχεῖα, πῦρ γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ γῆ τε καὶ ἀήρ τῆ κορυφῇ τῆς κίονος ἀνεστήλονται προσωποποιημένα [40,15] (it is said, that there are four elements: fire, water, earth and air, their statues stand around at the top of the column and can be clearly identified). In this and only in this particular point is John of Sardis’ commentary explicit about one of the archaeological details. This time John was convinced that ἀρχαὶ τῶν ὄντων were monumental sculptures personifying the elements and that they could be identified as such, probably by their appearance and attributes. Why that is so remains unclear to me. John of Sardis could not see the adornment he referred to for himself. In all likelihood the sculptures which once surrounded the top of the column were no longer extant by the tenth century. Or perhaps his information originated from a story told by an anonymous sailor who visited Alexandria. Perhaps John of Sardis drew it from an illuminated manuscript. If so, were the monumental figures of the elements still adorning the top of the Pillar as late as the tenth century?

Next Aphthonius turned once again to the temple which stood in the middle of the vast courtyard. His interesting description of its immediate surroundings sounds as if he wanted to illustrate his own words referring to the architectural style: τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀνλῆς οὐχ εἷς ἅπας ὁ κόσμος. ἄλλο μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως ἦν (the decoration of the temple is not at all uniform. It has components which differ from one another in style).

καὶ πρὶν εἰς μέσσην διελθεῖν τὴν ἀνλῆν, ἴδονται κατασκευάσματα διηρημένον πρὸς πύλας, ὅσαι τοῖς πάλαι θεοῖς ὀνομάζονται - δύο δὲ ὀβελοὶ ἀνεστήκασιν λίθινοι καὶ κρήνη τῆς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἄμεινον ἔχουσα (Aphth.*Progymn.* 48-49) (before you enter the temple’s interior you will see a structure divided by eight gates named after the ancient gods. Two stone obelisks also rise up there, and there is a well which is better than the Peisistratid one)<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. a watchtower of Perseus in Western Delta (Herodotus II, 15); the slaying of the Gorgon in Africa, the scholiast to Pindar. *Pyth.*X,47; Servius, scholia ad *Aeneida* VI 289 (in the Atlas Mountains).

<sup>17</sup> Nicolaus, whose ecphraseis were identified among Libanius’ rhetorical exercises, described a bronze statue of Alexander Ktistes on a column in Alexandria. Alexander on horseback was raising his hand in gesture of greeting and peace (Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 2,10, ed. C. Walz, 411-413).

<sup>18</sup> Rowe 1946, 61; Handler 1971, 64.

<sup>19</sup> Nadeau: ‘before arriving at the middle of the open court, however, a divided structure has been erected for gates, and these gates were long ago named after the gods. Moreover, two obelisks of stone rise up and also a fountain considered better than that of the Peisistratidae.’ Nadeau again rendered ἀνλῆ as ‘open court’ which does not make sense (an open court in the open court). Nadeau read πάλαι as if it were an adverb. In fact it is an adverb, but in its usual attributive usage. Consequently it should be read as ‘gates named after the ancient gods’ (viz. of Egypt).

In his book *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (1992) which is a modern and valuable appendix to Cumont's unforgettable classic R. Turcan 'guides the reader to the Iseum of Pompei with its exotic Oriental entourage, and then round the monumental Iseum Campense, bringing him along a *dromos* between rows of sphinxes into the world of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing imagery of temple interiors'<sup>20</sup>. The Serapeum of Alexandria must have had a similar impression on its visitors. There are clear literary and archaeological indications that the Alexandrian Serapeum had many Egyptian and Egyptianizing elements in its decoration. Fraser added: "The Roman Serapeum (viz. at Alexandria), which absorbed the Ptolemaic, no doubt had even more Egyptian statues and similar furniture"<sup>21</sup>. At this point of my paper I would recommend the book by Anne Rouillet (1972) which is unparalleled for the description of the Egyptianizing Graeco-Roman art and architecture. John of Sardis' commentary is not at all exhaustive. It is selective and sometimes confusing. The reader's confusion aggravated in the concluding part of Aphthonius' ephrasis. The text sounds ambiguous to the modern reader. John of Sardis added to this uncertainty. All the more so as we do not know the original archaeological context. In his commentary to *κατασκεύασμα* (if properly restored by the text's editor) John explains that it was *ἡμισφαίριον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* [40,17] (the hemisphere of the sky, the vault of the sky). I think John misunderstood the text. However, it cannot be altogether excluded that he knew some details of the architectural structures of the Acropolis which we do not have any longer and consequently cannot imagine them. I have the feeling that in John's view Aphthonius focused his attention once again on the gateway *προπύλαιον* and referred to *ἡμισφαίριον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, to the domed roof over the gateway, which in his own words of commentary should be read as *τὸ ἡμισφαίριον*. The reading of *κατασκεύασμα* as *ἡμισφαίριον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* must have originated from John's misunderstanding. Aphthonius' *κατασκεύασμα* was evidently a different structure from *propylaion*. Judging by Aphthonius' description, it seems that there was a separate architectural structure which stood in front of the temple's façade or in its vicinity. Aphthonius described the *κατασκεύασμα* in a separate unit and in different words which do not point or even allude to a dome, vault or hemisphere as 'a construction divided by eight gates named after the ancient gods.' John was certainly right when he observed that *ὀκτώ γὰρ καὶ οἱ πάλαι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις θεοί, Ἑλλησι δώδεκα* [40,17] (there are eight gates, because there are eight ancient gods by the Egyptians, while the Greeks have twelve). It is not easy to imagine what Aphthonius had in mind. Did he mean a sort of *propylon* with eight gates which rose up in front of the great temples's façade? Or perhaps yet another precinct with eight gates or niches along its walls? *τὸ κατασκεύασμα* can actually be read as a building (as in Demosthenes' 23.207), and consequently as a temple. Did Aphthonius describe the remnants of the earlier Ptolemaic temple which was located in front of the later Roman Serapeum? Did he describe the minor sanctuaries of Isis and Harpocrates adjacent to the great temple? Aphthonius' 'obelisks of stone' were appended with John's short commentary: *πυραμίδας λέγει. αὗται γὰρ τοῖς ἄκροις ὀβελοῖς παραπλήσια* [40,18] (Aphthonius means 'pyramids' which are similar to the tallest geometrical figures pyramidal in shape). Here John definitely went wrong. There was no room for pyramids in the acropolis, and no architectural reason to construct them there. Aphthonius recalled two obelisks which embellished the Serapeum and added to its Egyptian appearance. Though they are not on the list of Alexandrian obelisks compiled by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 36,69), they are nevertheless mentioned by the anonymous author of the *Alexander Romance*: *τοὺς μέγροι νῦν κειμένους ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ ἔξ τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ νῦν γενομένου*

<sup>20</sup> Polański 1998, 118; Turcan 1992, 109ff.

<sup>21</sup> Fraser 1972, I, 267; a pair of granite sphinxes, now to the south of Diocletian's column, *ibid.* 266, 419, n. 623; the black granite Apis-bull, *ibid.* 266; II, 420. n. 624; Sozomenus (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 7,15) and Socrates (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 5,17) mentioned hieroglyphs which covered the walls of the Serapeum. Socrates recorded a recollection of a statue of Thoth, a monkey god, left by Bishop Theophilus for future generations as proof of how ridiculous Egyptian pagan worship was, cf. Polański 1998, 120.

(1, 33,5) (the obelisks still stand in the Serapeum today, outside the contemporary *peribolos*)<sup>22</sup>. This second century reference does not contradict Aphthonius' location of the obelisks within the Roman *peribolos*, which was significantly enlarged on the east side some time at the turn of the second and third century<sup>23</sup>. Did John of Sardis ever see the hippodrome of Constantinople with its prominent obelisk of Thutmose IV which was installed here by Theodosius I?

John concluded his commentary on the Alexandrian acropolis with one more Athenian reference, which corresponds to Aphthonius' 'well which is better than the Peisistratid one.' τουτέστιν ὕδωρ. ὁ γὰρ Πεισίστρατος ἔκτισε πηγήν θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν [40,19] (Aphthonius certainly meant water. Peisistratos constructed a well which had warm water).

John did not refer to Aphthonius' information on the ten architects of the Alexandrian acropolis and went down the hill along the stadium following his guide.

This is how I understand and read Aphthonius' description of the Alexandrian Serapeum and John of Sardis' related commentary. Now when we have read the whole description with John's commentary let us follow the alternative reading suggested by Nadeau, who rendered ἀυλή as 'courtyard,' 'open court' and let us analyze the chain of small descriptive units which make up the compositional structure of Aphthonius' description.

(1) Aphthonius crossed the gateway and entered a rectangular courtyard (= A) (τέτρασι πλευραῖς εἰς χῶρος ἴσαις διήρηται Aphth.*Progymn.* 48,13-14 ed. Rabe = A: later labelled ἀυλή by Nadeau).

(2) John of Sardis' guide pointed to a columned courtyard in the middle (=A) (sc. of the courtyard) (ἀυλή δὲ κατὰ μέσον περίστυλος Aphth.*Progymn.*48,15-16 = Nadeau's ἀυλή = courtyard, open court, cf. Paus.6,25,1 ναὸς στοαῖς ... περίστυλος).

(3) Aphthonius' extended description of the porticoes (=A) (Aphth.*Progymn.*48, p.39, 15- p.40,9, στοαί a component of Nadeau's ἀυλή).

(4) the guide focused on the architectural decoration and artworks in the courtyard under the porticoes (?) and in the open court (?) (Perseus' heroic deeds, Pompey's Pillar) (=A) (Aphth.*Progymn.*48, p.40, 9-16; Nadeau's ἀυλή) .

(5) The guide briefly described a building with eight gates dedicated to the ancient gods of Egypt, which stood in front of the ἀυλή = Nadeau's courtyard (?) (κατασκευάσµα διηρηµένον πρὸς πύλας, Aphth.*Progymn.*48, p.40,16-19).

(6) Aphthonius mentioned two obelisks, a nymphaion, and a well located within the courtyard, and commented on the architects who constructed the whole complex (Aphth.*Progymn.* 49, p.40,19-p.41,4) and left the acropolis, descending to the stadium.

It is clear that Aphthonius must have only focused on the gateway, the porticoes and mentioned one or two decorations in the courtyard. Where is the temple of Serapis, the Alexandrian Parthenon, the counterpart of the Pheidon temple in Athens? All the architectural components such as the porticoes, the architectural decoration, obelisks, and nymphaia were subordinated to the temple, which was focal for the whole architectural complex and consequently made up the central point in the rhetorical ecphrasis according to the principles of the genre. The temple was not constructed to decorate porticoes. It is obvious that the opposite was true. It was the same with hundreds and hundreds of Graeco-Roman sanctuaries. If we accept the above-presented interpretation there is only one place left for the temple of Serapis: ἵδρῳ κατασκευάσµα διηρηµένον πρὸς πύλας, ὅσαί τοις πάλαι θεοῖς ὀνοµάζονται, a passage which also confused John of Sardis, as we have seen above. In such a case the temple of Serapis would have been described as a 'building with eight gates dedicated to the ancient gods of Egypt.' This would have been all there was on the temple in Aphthonius' text. However, Aphthonius also remarked that you could see the building with eight gates before you entered the interior of the ἀυλή. What does that mean?

The title of Aphthonius' ecphrasis leaves us with no doubt. He was going to present ἔκφρασις τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μετὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, in other words he was going to 'word-paint' the

<sup>22</sup> Fraser 1972, I, 84; Polański 1998, 120.

<sup>23</sup> Rowe 1946, 62-62; Handler 1971, 65.

temple of Alexandria and the acropolis. The great temple of Serapis was going to be the central point of Aphthonius' ecphrasis. The crucial words which can help us decode Aphthonius' sophisticated description are as follows: the courtyard is described as εἷς χῶρος, one, uniform, clearly defined space or place; στοαί (porticoes, they surround the temple which stand in the middle of the open court); αὐλή περίστυλος which was located κατὰ μέσον (scil. μηχανήματος), something surrounded with a colonnade which was in the centre of the rectangular architectural complex; τὴν μὲν αὐλήν στοαὶ διαδέχονται, the αὐλή's colonnade was paralleled by the colonnades of the porticoes; καὶ πρὶν εἰς μέσην διελθεῖν τὴν αὐλήν, before you enter the interior of something, you will see a building with eight gates.

If we read the words and phrases quoted above in this way we will see the following compositional arrangement of Aphthonius' ecphrasis (A=courtyard, B=temple): (1) a rectangular courtyard (=A); (2) the peristyle temple in the middle (=B); (3) the porticoes (=A); (4) the temple in the Graeco-Oriental style, with decorations showing the deeds of Perseus (=B); (5) a building with eight gates (a *propylon*? a minor temple of Isis and Harpocrates?) which was located in front of the temple's façade; (6) two obelisks which rose up in the courtyard in front of the temple and added to its architectural decoration (=A/B).

In the concluding words of my paper I must admit that John of Sardis whose his commentary focused on language and style did not prove to be very helpful in the archaeological reconstruction of the Alexandrian Serapeum and Acropolis. I would also like to repeat that his classicizing Greek is perfect.

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Image: Fourth century BC AR Hemiobol (?) from Pitane with the head of Zeus-Ammon right and pentagram within shallow incuse square (similar to Head, *HN*, p. 357).