

# Great Ancient Civilizations of Asia Minor

## PART II

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## Lecture Thirteen

### The Hellenization of Asia Minor

**Scope:** Alexander's conquest accelerated the pace of Hellenization. Macedonian courts of the Hellenistic age promoted Greek culture. The Attalid kings turned their fortress city Pergamum into a showcase of Hellenic arts and learning that the Romans admired. Pergamene artists created a baroque style of sculpture, as seen in the reliefs of the great altar to Zeus. Attalid palaces provided a model for the Roman villa. Even modest Ioman cities, such as Priene, became examples for Anatolian communities adopting Greek institutions. The prosperity of the Hellenistic age enabled civic elites to pour their wealth into public display and buildings as patriotic acts. Cities acquired theaters (for assemblies and dramatic festivals), markets (*agora*) complete with council halls (*bouleuterion*), and temples. The buildings were the settings for Hellenic political life, rituals, and cultural activities. With this transformation of city life came an awareness that all cities belonged to a wider Hellenic world that was heir to the political legacy of the *polis*.

### Outline

- I. Macedonian monarchs of the Hellenistic age (323—133 B.c.) posed as defenders of the Hellenic city (*polis*) and preferred diplomacy to win over cities in their wars against rivals.
  - A. The Diadochoi and later Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings courted Greek cities, posing as champions of “freedom of the Greeks” in a bid for material aid and to secure legitimacy as the heir of Alexander the Great.
    1. In Asia Minor, rival kings needed to secure alliances with Greek cities for money, fleets, and manpower.
    2. Macedonian kings fielded expensive professional or mercenary armies and could ill afford sieges of defiant Greek cities.
    3. Macedonian kings comported themselves as benefactors. Arbitrary rule and abuse, as practiced by Demetrius Poliorcetes, alienated cities, which could turn to rivals.
    4. Ptolemaic kings encouraged leagues among cities of southern Asia Minor and in the Aegean islands. They prevented unification of the Aegean world by either Antigonid or Seleucid kings.
    5. The Galatians in 279—278 B.C. shattered Seleucid efforts to unite Asia Minor and permitted Greek cities to negotiate with competing Macedonian monarchs.
  - B. Cities took measures to secure their autonomy and freedom but could not compete with the great Macedonian monarchs, whom they hailed as benefactors and “gods manifest.” They perfected military architecture, constructing massive polygonal walls, as at Assus.
  - C. During these three centuries, cities across Asia Minor steadily assumed a Greek identity, but the process was hardly uniform, and eastern and northern Asia Minor possessed fewer Greek cities.
    1. Seleucid kings planted military colonies as Greek cities.
    2. Kings transformed their capitals into Hellenic cities. Seleucid kings rebuilt Sardes; Lysimachus refounded Ephesus; Attalid kings turned Pergamum from a citadel into *apolis*.
    3. Dynasts of Anatolia in the second and first centuries B.C. encouraged Hellenic civic life.
    4. Anatolian sanctuaries, often with royal support, transformed themselves into *poleis*.

**II. The conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great and the wars among his successors stimulated economic growth, the expansion of trade, and Greek penetration of the Near East.**

- A. The wars of the great kings created new markets and war industries to supply great armies and fleets.**
- B. Alexander the Great and his heirs coined and spent the specie stockpiled by the Achaemenid kings of Persia. Wars and expenditure monetized markets.**
- C. Demographic growth and new trade routes stimulated the growth of cities. Macedonian kings and, after 150 B.C., the dynasts of Anatolia, encouraged economic growth.**
  - 1. Improvements in ship building and widespread use of coins primed economic growth after 330 B.C.**
  - 2. Royal capitals at Pella, Antioch, and Alexandria in the fourth century B.C., and lesser capitals at Pergamum, Nicomedia, and Mazaca in the second century B.C., offered markets.**
  - 3. The ruling classes of Greek cities expressed civic patriotism (*philopatrias*) and gained honor (*philotimia*) by spending on public buildings and social amenities of a *polis*.**
  - 4. Cities adopted the public buildings of a *polis*, notably theater, *bouleuterion*, *prytaneion*, and gymnasium.**
  - 5. Sanctuaries were remodeled along Greek lines. From 150 B.C., cities preferred the monumental Ionic order.**

**III. Cities of Asia Minor reasserted their roles as cultural innovators of the Hellenic world. Attalid Pergamum assumed the role in visual arts played by Miletus in the Archaic Age and Athens in the Classical Age.**

- A. Cities of Asia Minor were remodeled along Greek lines. Priene offered a model for other cities.**
  - 1. Priene, a modest Ionian city, was refounded in the later fourth century B.C. along Hippodamian lines, with a grid pattern, distinct residential and public districts (*agora*), and use of terracing.**
  - 2. The temple of Athena, rebuilt by the emperor Hadrian (117—138), was in the monumental Ionic style.**
  - 3. Fortifications were built of formidable polygonal masonry.**
- B. Attalid kings patronized celebrated shrines and cities and turned their citadel into a showcase of Hellenic arts that influenced Roman imperial art**
  - 1. Kings Attalus I and Eumenes II transformed the citadel of Pergamum into a royal city. Attalid residences provided a model for the opulent Roman villas at Pompeii.**
  - 2. The Temple of Athena was rebuilt and the sanctuary was surrounded with baroque sculpture depicting Attalid victories over the Galatians.**
  - 3. Pergamene sculptors created a baroque style, evoking the pathos and mood of the subject, and set new standards in portraiture.**
  - 4. The Great Altar, commissioned by Eumenes II, combined an Anatolian altar with traditional frieze sculpture depicting mythological combats.**
  - 5. The royal library of Pergamene attracted savants and poets favoring the florid Asianic style.**

**C. The visual and literary arts of Hellenistic Asia Minor influenced Rome from 200 B.C. on**

**and thus influenced the arts of Western civilization.**

- 1. The Great Altar of Zeus inspired the Ara Pacis of Augustus at Rome.**
- 2. Royal monumental tombs, such as the Belevi near Ephesus, influenced mausoleums of Roman emperors.**
- 3. Baroque frieze and free-standing sculpture contributed techniques, iconography, and styles to their Roman imperial counterparts.**
- 4. Painting, domestic furniture, textiles, and decorative arts were transmitted to the great families of Rome.**

**D. In the Hellenistic age, Greek public culture emerged as dominant in Asia Minor, but it was altered by existing traditions.**

- 1. Anatolian elites took up residence in Hellenized cities and directed social and economic changes across the peninsula.**
- 2. Henceforth, Asia Minor was an increasingly Hellenized land, until the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century.**

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**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. Why did the wars among the great kings of the Hellenistic world stimulate economic growth in Asia Minor?**
- 2. Why were the Attalid kings of Pergamum such important patrons of Hellenic arts? How did the arts of Pergamum influence subsequent Roman art?**

## Lecture Fourteen

### Rome versus the Kings of the East

**Scope:** For all their philhellenism, Macedonian monarchs were hated by Greeks as the antithesis of the *polis*. Greeks twice invited the Romans to crush the Antigonid monarchs of Macedon; Asian Greeks, too, hailed the legions as liberators against Seleucid King Antiochus III (223—187 B.C.). Greeks, however, gained a far more jealous mistress in Rome. Roman armies ruthlessly looted Greek cities. In 133 B.C., when western Anatolia, the province of Asia, passed to Rome, Italian tax farmers so exploited the land that Asian Greeks welcomed Mithridates VI (120—63 B.C.), king of Pontus, as their liberator. Although the legions smashed the Pontic armies, Rome was compelled to devise fair government. Pompey put the cities and their propertied elites in charge of administration, creating the Roman provincial system. So successful were Pompey's reforms that cities of Asia Minor paid for the civil wars (48—31 B.C.) that destroyed the Roman Republic and made Octavian, the future Emperor Augustus, master of the Roman world. The cities of Anatolia entered their greatest era of prosperity.

### Outline

- I. In 200-167 B.C., Rome smashed the great Macedonian monarchies and imposed her hegemony over the Hellenistic world. Cities, leagues, and petty kingdoms of Anatolia were destined to pass under new world conquerors who were not warrior-kings, as Cyrus or Alexander the Great, but citizen legions commanded by elected magistrates of Rome (consuls) who often had their powers extended as proconsuls.
  - A. Rome faced west and north, rather than east toward the Greek world. She battled the Gauls, traditional foes, in northern Italy, and the competing republic of Carthage for mastery of the western Mediterranean.
    1. Roman martial skills and ethos conditioned the republic to expand. Wars with Carthage taught Rome naval warfare, finances, and overseas administration.
    2. Rome drew on citizens and allies of Italy, over 1 million men for the legions, outstripping any contemporary rival.
    3. Romans perfected flexible legionary tactics based on the sword, as well as logistics and siege train, enabling them to storm cities with ruthless efficiency.
    4. In political institutions, Rome was still a city-state governed by elected magistrates and an advisory Senate, subject to the Roman people in assembly. In practice, the *nobiles* dominated the Senate and elected offices and, thus, foreign policy.
  - B. In 200 B.C., Antiochus III, after decisively defeating his Ptolemaic foe at Panium, was on the verge of imposing Seleucid rule over Anatolia. Yet ten years later, all Macedonian kings had fallen before the power of Rome, mistress of the Mediterranean world for the next 700 years.
    1. In 200-197 B.C., Rome waged war on Philip V of Macedon at the instigation of Greek cities that hated the Macedonian overlord and to settle scores with Philip V. who had allied with Hannibal.
    2. At Cynocephalae (197 B.C.), Rome humbled Philip V. then declared "freedom of the Greeks" and withdrew.
    3. Based on appeals from Greek cities of Asia and King Attalus II, Rome fought King Antiochus III, who threatened to impose Seleucid rule over Asia Minor.
    4. At Magnesia sub Sipylum (190 B.C.), Lucius Cornelius Scipio decisively defeated Antiochus III and proved the superiority of the legion over the phalanx.

5. The Treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.) broke Seleucid power. Rhodes and Pergamum shared rule of Anatolia as Rome's client.
  6. In 188—187 B.C., Gnaeus Manlius Vulso campaigned in Asia Minor, extorting tribute, punishing the Galatians, and shocking Greek cities of Anatolia with the ferocity of Roman legions.
  7. Even Rome avoided direct rule; her overseas empire transformed Roman society and produced political violence, popular reform, and ultimately, civil war that destroyed the republic.
- C. Steady political fragmentation of Anatolia compelled Rome to assume responsibility for the peninsula, but the republic was ill suited to rule the sophisticated cities of the Greek world.
1. Tax farming assured the republic of revenues and relieved the state of administrative costs, but it led to widespread corruption by equestrian financiers, and Roman rule was quickly hated.
  2. Revenues of Asia funded private fortunes at Rome and subsidized political reform advocated by *populares* leaders.
  3. The trial and conviction of reformer Senator Publius Rutilius Rufus on trumped up charges of corruption (92 B.C.) outraged Asian provincials.
- II. Mithridates VI Eupator (120—63 B.C.) championed Hellenism in Anatolia against the Romans. The Mithridatic Wars compelled Rome to annex the peninsula and devise responsible government.
- A. Mithridates built an empire based on the lands of the Black Sea and was provoked into the First Mithridatic War (90-85 B.C.).
1. In 89 B.C., Mithridates overran Asia Minor, smashing three Roman armies, then sent forces into Greece. On his orders, the cities of Asia massacred 80,000 Romans.
  2. Lucius Cornelius Sulla destroyed two Pontic armies, invaded Asia Minor, and compelled Mithridates to withdraw in 86—85 B.C.
  3. The reprisals and indemnities imposed by Sulla ruined cities, driving many into the ranks of brigands and the Cilician pirates.
- B. The Third Mithridatic War (74—63 B.C.) erupted when King Nicomedes IV willed Bithynia to Rome and forced Mithridates to war.
1. Mithridates had re-trained his army in Roman tactics and amassed a navy.
  2. In 73 B.C., Mithridates repeated his strategy of 89 B.C., but he was halted by L. Licinius Lucullus at Cyzicus.
  3. Lucullus overran the kingdom Pontus and reformed the finances of Asia, whereby he relieved cities of their debts, to the outrage of Roman financiers.
  4. Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey) concluded the final settlement of the east, annexing the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Syria. He imposed client kings in central and eastern Anatolia.
  5. Pompey created the imperial administration of the Roman east and the role of the future Roman emperor.
- III. The cities of Asia were taxed to fund the civil wars that brought down the Roman Republic and ushered in the Principate of Augustus at the Battle of Actium.
- A. Julius Caesar initiated civil war (49—45 B.C.) against his rival Pompey, who championed the Senate.
1. Republican commanders looted cities of the east and enrolled armies and fleets from

- client kings to oppose Julius Caesar.
2. At Pharsalus (48 B.C.), Julius Caesar defeated Pompey, then ruled as dictator.
- B. The assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. plunged the Roman world into a second round of civil wars. Once again, the cities of Asia Minor were looted and taxed by Roman commanders (*imperatores*).
1. The liberators Brutus and Cassius were defeated at Philippi (42 B.C.), and Mark Antony took charge of the Roman east.
  2. In 42—32 B.C., Mark Antony restored peace and order, but the cities of Asia Minor paid for his Parthian campaigns.
  3. Mark Antony blundered into war with the heir of Julius Caesar, Octavian, the future Emperor Augustus.
  4. The Battle of Actium (31 B.C.) ended civil war and left Octavian sole master of the Roman world.
- IV. The Roman civil wars nearly ruined Hellenic civic life in Asia Minor, and it is a tribute to Augustus (Octavian) that he completed the work initiated by Alexander the Great. Augustus ruled for forty-five years, bringing peace to the empire, and creating a new Mediterranean order. The Greeks of Asia Minor unwittingly played a key role in the creation of the Roman Principate, because these provincials defined the role of the Roman emperor.

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#### Questions to Consider:

1. Why were Romans driven to expand?
2. Did Roman settlements in 188 and 167 B.C. lead to the political fragmentation of Asia Minor?
3. How much did the cities of Asia Minor suffer from the Roman civil wars (49—45 and 42—31 B.c.)? What was the condition of Asia Minor when Octavian defeated Mark Antony at Actium in 31 B.C.?

## Lecture Fifteen

### Prosperity and Roman Patronage

**Scope:** Under the Roman peace, Hellenic cities of Anatolia attained their greatest prosperity and cultural accomplishment. In each city, polished Hellenic aristocrats, known as decurions, acted out of *philotimia* and *philopatrias*, the cardinal virtues of love of honor and love of country. A decurion's munificence inspired fellow citizens, won recognition from peers, and shamed rival cities. Great cities, such as Ephesus, were recreated as eastern Roman cities. Donors used the Roman arch as city gates, remodeled theaters for gladiatorial combats, or decorated temples with statues of the imperial family. Anatolian aristocrats, Greek in tongue and aesthetics, became Roman in political outlook, seeking Roman citizenship and sponsoring worship of emperors. Yet Anatolian Greeks, more than any other provincials, imposed their own vision of what was expected of an emperor. Roman emperors, out of policy or sentiment, had to act as patrons to Greek cities, confirming privileges and endowing shrines; they were expected to lead free men by example rather than to order subjects.

### Outline

- I. Imperial policy and Roman peace enabled the recovery of cities of Anatolia from the ravages of two decades of civil war and misrule.
  - A. Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.), the first Roman emperor, established the Principate, ruling as first citizen of a republic. He drew on the precedents of the republic to bind the cities of Asia Minor to himself and his family.
    1. Augustus reformed the taxation and currency of Asia, initiating a century of economic recovery.
    2. Asia and Bithynia were placed under senior senatorial proconsuls; other less urbanized provinces were under imperial legates.
    3. Cities and regional leagues (*koinon* or *commune*) had the right to appeal against corrupt governors.
    4. Hellenic notables, often with Roman citizenship, were confirmed in rank and power over their cities.
    5. Augustus recast veneration of Macedonian kings into an imperial cult dedicated to the worship of the emperor's spirit (*genius*).
    6. Aristocrats in cities vied for positions in the imperial cult, thereby promoting dynastic loyalty.
    7. Cities disputed rank in the hierarchy of the imperial cult leagues (*koina*) as a mark of distinction, simultaneously promoting imperial loyalty and civic patriotism.
    8. Augustus encouraged local patrons and donors, notably imperial freedmen at Ephesus or Aphrodisias.
    9. Augustus cast the emperor in the role of pious patron and defender of Hellenic cities. Extraordinary acts were expected of him, such as the relief extended by Tiberius to Asia's cities devastated by earthquake in 17 A.D.
  - B. Hadrian (117—138) patronized cities of Asia Minor on an unparalleled scale out of sentimental Hellenism.
    1. Hadrian, to the dismay of the Senate, aped the manners of a Greek intellectual.
    2. Hadrian spent two-thirds of his reign on tour of his empire.
    3. He founded the Panhellenion, a religious league of Hellenized cults, enrolling many originally non-Hellenic cities.



4. Hadrian extended aid to cities devastated by earthquake, such as Nicaea and Nicomedia.
5. He completed major projects, such as the Olympieion of Cyzicus, and rebuilt cities, including Perganum and Asclepieion.
6. Cities assumed imperial names, instituted games and festivals in honor of Hadrian, and installed imperial statues in shrines.
7. Antinoos, Hadrian's favorite, was hailed as a god after his mysterious death in 130.
8. Under Hadrian, members of the great families of the east entered imperial service. By 200, one-third of all senators were of Anatolian ancestry, and they extended patronage to their home cities.

C. Septimius Severus (193—211), a ruthless and pragmatic emperor, courted the cities of Anatolia to strengthen his dynasty.

II. Hellenic notables were motivated by the values of *philotimia* and *philopatris*, the basis of life in a *polis* since the Archaic Age.

A. Aristocrats, classified as decurions in Roman law, were expected, out of their own purses, to run civic government, maintain public rites, and provide social amenities.

1. Gift-giving (*euergetism*) by decurions inspired civic loyalty, promoted public life, and maintained social stability.
2. Games and festivals expressed civic loyalty. Cities vied for ranks, such as *neokoros* (temple warden) or first city of the province.
3. Decurions, at their own expense, provided amenities, such as oil for heating public baths.

B. Social stability and prosperity allowed a Mandarin elite to take the lead in promoting Hellenic letters and aesthetics.

1. The Second Sophistic Movement returned to the canons of Attic prose and Athenian *belles lettres* of the classical age.
2. Some Greek intellectuals stressed the unique culture of the *polls* over Rome, but others reconciled loyalty to Rome with a Hellenic cultural identity.
3. In arts and letters, the Hellenized elite of Asia Minor, such as Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, imposed their values on the imperial court.
4. Escapist novels projected the conservative, smug mores of the Hellenic elite.
5. Schools of rhetoric, as at Ephesus, trained orators in public speaking to court the emperor.
6. Interest in the Hellenic past inspired biography and history, as seen in the writings of Plutarch.

III. Cities of Asia Minor were able to embark on the most ambitious architectural schemes until the Ottoman age, because the legions had secured the Euphrates frontier and taxation was comparatively low for the propertied classes.

A. Cities recovered in the Julio-Claudian age from the Roman civil wars, and from the Flavian age, architecture and public expenditure soared for the next two centuries.

1. Cities adopted Roman building techniques, constructing freestanding theaters or remodeling Greek theaters along Roman lines to accommodate gladiatorial and animal combats.
2. Cities adapted the Roman stadium, aqueduct, basilica, and baths. Ornate decorative relief sculpture and baroque columns were applied to public and private architecture.
3. Statues of the imperial family graced public squares and sanctuaries.

4. Hellenistic cities were re-created as eastern Roman cities (best seen at Ephesus or Aphrodisias),
  - B. From the late first century on, senators of eastern origin patronized their natives cities; hence, Gaius Julius Aquila donated a library to Ephesus in honor of his father.
  - C. The upper classes poured their profits from commerce and agriculture into civic life; the cities of Asia Minor were the envy of the Mediterranean world.

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**Questions to Consider:**

1. What role did emperors play in promoting prosperity? Why did the Romans favor cities with Greek-style institutions?
2. What does the literature of the high Roman Empire reveal about the attitudes of the ruling classes in cities of Asia Minor?

## Lecture Sixteen

### Gods and Sanctuaries of Roman Asia Minor

**Scope:** In the Hellenistic and Roman ages, the native gods of Anatolia assumed Hellenic guises. In the second century B.C., cities rebuilt their principal temples in the Ionic order. Antique wooden cult statues, paraded at festivals, were decorated with more costly costumes. Rituals were dignified, because they appeased the gods on behalf of the community. This record is at odds with the opinion often advanced that public worship declined before enthusiastic, irrational mystery cults. Roman emperors set the standards for pious gift giving. Hadrian (117—138) dedicated scores of grandiose temples in a baroque Corinthian style. He founded a religious league of Greek cities with international cults, the Panhellenion. Modest Anatolian cities, such as Aezanis, once enrolled, were catapulted to Mediterranean-wide fame. Oracles, such as Clarus, and healing sanctuaries, such as the Asclepieion outside of Pergamum, became pilgrimage centers. Hellenization of worship was accompanied by linking of city gods with the emperor. Imperial cult statues graced every major shrine, and from the Severan age (193-235), emperors and city gods were depicted as comrades.

### Outline

- I. The Hellenization of the shrines of Asia Minor was a process that had begun in the sixth century B.C., but in the Roman age, Anatolian gods and their sanctuaries acquired a Hellenic face.
  - A. Cities of Asia Minor adapted Hellenic religious architecture, rituals, and language to dignify the worship of their gods between the fourth century B.C. and third century A.D.
    1. The identification of Anatolian gods with Greek counterparts, a process known as *syncretism*, led to the rewriting of the sacred landscape of the peninsula.
    2. Some Anatolian divinities were identified with Hellenic divinities, such as local weather gods with Zeus.
    3. Other divinities, such as Cybele, were worshiped under traditional names but assumed a Hellenic guise.
    4. Divinities were also conceived in both Hellenic and traditional forms, as seen on theater reliefs of Hierapolis.
    5. Cult statues were articulated with ever more elaborate costume (*kosmos*) as rituals and festivals grew in expense and magnificence.
  - B. Roman emperors assiduously cultivated the leading Hellenic shrines, thereby stimulating a vast expansion in the business of worship.
    1. Augustus promoted sanctuaries and restored their rights and privileges; his policy was linked to promotion of cities and the imperial cult.
    2. Emperors showered favors on shrines seen as related to the cults of Rome, such as the cult of Athena at Ilium (Troy).
    3. Hadrian created the Panhellenion, an empire-wide religious league of leading Hellenic shrines, and many Hellenized sanctuaries were enrolled.
    4. In the later second century, emperors awarded sacred status to the games, thereby elevating the games to the equivalent of the Pythian and Olympic Games of Greece.
    5. By 200 A.D., worship of civic gods and the imperial family were inextricably linked. The process can be compared to the reorganization of cults by the earlier Hittite emperors.
- II. Rewriting of the sacred geography of Anatolia involved hundreds of cities and thousands of shrines across the peninsula.

**A. Pergamum, capital of the province of Asia, could not compete in cultural life or wealth with Smyrna or Ephesus, but the sanctuaries of the city ensured its patronage and position in the Roman age.**

- 1. Hadrian restored the Attalid monuments, notably the Altar of Zeus and Temple of Athena on the Acropolis.**
- 2. The shrines of Demeter in the Middle City and Serapis and Isis in the Lower City were rebuilt on a grand scale.**
- 3. The sanctuary of Asclepius was rebuilt with structures designed to imitate major shrines and monuments of Rome.**
- 4. Hadrian's patronage ensured the international fame of the Asclepieion.**

**B. Aezanis, a regional center in northwestern Pbyrgia and home to an Anatolian weather god identified with Zeus, was enrolled in the Panhellemon.**

- 1. The modest temple of Zeus was replaced by a grandiose Ionic temple with subterranean vaulted chamber.**
- 2. The cult of Zeus and Rhea was reorganized, and the sanctuary was proclaimed the birthplace of Zeus.**
- 3. Sacred games and festivals led to an economic boom, resulting in the construction of a civic center, two baths, and a unique stadium-theater complex.**
- 4. Aezanis was typical of scores of lesser cities of Anatolia that gained imperial recognition and patronage.**

**III. The enduring power of the gods of Anatolia has raised questions about the appeal of paganism and the speed and means of Christianizing the Roman world.**

**A. So-called mystery cults, considered as enthusiastic cults of salvation, played a minor role in the cities of Asia Minor.**

- 1. Mother goddesses of Anatoliä were recast in Hellenic guises and linked to civic worship.**
- 2. Roman Mithras, favored in the Roman imperial army, was unknown save for ancient Iranized shrines in northeastern Anatolia.**
- 3. Mystery cults did not displace the traditional cults after 235, nor did they prefigure Christianity.**
- 4. The only new cult was that of Glycon, created by Alexander of Abonouteichus in the later second century. This healing cult with sacred serpents and oracle gained popularity among cities on the Black Sea.**
- 5. Alexander, himself a fraud, paid homage to piety by his hypocrisy; his cult conformed to the pious expectations of the age.**

**B. Scholars have argued that philosophical speculation undermined belief in the gods among the elite classes of the Roman age, but the era's writings and religious devotions rule out this interpretation.**

**C. In the Severan age, on the eve of crisis, the gods of Roman Anatolia attained their most articulated and elaborate form, perhaps comparable to western European worship on the eve of the Reformation. There was neither religious malaise nor a decline in belief.**

- 1. Military and political crisis after 235 witnessed ever closer association of the emperor with city gods.**
- 2. City coins and inscriptions attest to the expansion of sacred and dynastic games held in honor of emperors on campaign.**

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**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. What accounts for the desire to identify native gods with Greek counterparts?**
- 2. How important were Roman emperors in promoting the worship of traditional gods and civic institutions? Why did Hadrian have such a dramatic impact on the shrines and cities of Asia Minor?**
- 3. With rising prosperity came a surge in building in all cities of Asia Minor. How were sanctuaries transformed in their architecture?**

## Lecture Seventeen

### Jews and Early Christians

**Scope:** Saint Paul preached in the cities of Anatolia, winning converts among Hellenized Jews and Judaizing pagans of the synagogues. In 250 A.D., apostolic churches were still confined to the major cities, where Christians formed a tiny minority living in the shadow of the synagogue. Missionary activity was illegal and unreported after the apostolic age. The writings of apologists, defenders of the faith, circulated only among Christians, and few pagans were impressed by Christian martyrdoms. Far more important than the modest Christian numbers was the evolution of Christian canon and episcopal institutions in Anatolia during the second century. Saint Polycarp of Smyrna is the first documented monarchical bishop of an apostolic church. Bishops of regional churches combated sectarians and fixed the New Testament. But the fate of Christianity remained in doubt until the conversion of Emperor Constantine (306-337). In 325, Constantine summoned the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea and wrote a new chapter in the religious history of Anatolia and, indeed, the Roman world.

### Outline

- I. Jews were settled in cities of western Asia Minor during the Hellenistic age as military colonists by the Seleucid kings.
  - A. Jewish veterans, especially from poorer regions of Judea and the Galilee, were settled on lands and enrolled as citizens of the *polis*.
    1. At Sardes, descendants of Jewish veterans formed a prominent community; similar communities arose in Lydia and Phrygia, the heartland of Seleucid Asia Minor.
    2. Judaism was protected by royal law, Seleucid and Attalid, and later confirmed by Rome.
    3. Intermarriage and commerce united residents with Jewish settlers. The story of Noah was appropriated as a civic myth, and a nearby sacred mountain was designated Mount Ararat.
    4. Given notions of credit and banking, Jews in Hellenized cities emerged as agents engaged in long-distance trade.
    5. Adopting Greek as their primary language, Jews became wealthy, and their communities played vital roles in the cities of western and southern Anatolia.
  - B. Synagogues in the Roman imperial ages attained wealth, attracting converts and sympathizers among the city residents. They also proved important sources of patronage.
    1. Pagan patrons, such as Julia Severa at Acmoneia, lavished money on city synagogues as a mark of public patriotism.
    2. At Sardes, Jews remodeled a basilica into a synagogue that anticipated early Christian architecture.
    3. Because Jewish communities did not participate in the national revolts against Rome, they flourished throughout the imperial age.
    4. By the reign of Augustus, Jews were integrated into the cultural and political life of Anatolian cities, and prominent members held offices of the Roman imperial cult.
- II. Paul and his disciples won converts among Hellenized Jews and pagan sympathizers of Judaism in the cities of Asia Minor and the Aegean world. These Pauline churches evolved into the apostolic churches, once Christians ceased to believe in an impending *eschaton*, and became the basis for the later imperial church created by Constantine (306-337).

- A. Saint Paul traveled along the commercial routes of Asia Minor and the Aegean world and preached in synagogues in Hellenized cities.
  - 1. Christians met in houses provided by wealthier members.
  - 2. Converts to Pauline Christianity were groups of families in which members had modest amounts of money but low social rank.
  
- B. The cities of Anatolia were home to perhaps the most populous communities of Christians in the Roman world before the conversion of Constantine in 312, but even these communities were but a tiny minority.
  - 1. Christian funerary monuments from Hellenized cities of Phrygia provide the only significant primary evidence for early Christianity outside the catacombs of Rome.
  - 2. At Eumonia, several families of decurion rank were accorded the privilege of erecting their own gravestones that conformed to local Jewish practices and native art forms.
  - 3. The mass of the population of Asia Minor, however, had limited contact with Christians.
  
- C. Christian churches in Asia Minor witnessed the evolution of the monarchical bishop. Christians steadily separated themselves from Jews in ritual and organization.
  - 1. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch (107), based his authority on imitation of the life of Christ, but Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna (150) claimed an apostolic succession by ordination.
  - 2. Bishops in Pauline churches of the second century collected texts of the future New Testament
  - 3. Marcion, a radical Pauline editor expelled by the Roman synod of 143-144, offered a different canon that compelled bishops to fix canon.
  - 4. By 190, the main books of the New Testament were accepted by the apostolic churches in Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria.
  - 5. Circa 160—180, Montanus and his prophetesses challenged the authority of bishops and canon by upholding prophecy and revelation from the Holy Spirit.
  - 6. The Montanists formed sectarian churches of rigorists that offered an alternative vision and organization, including prominent roles for female members.
  - 7. By 200, Anatolian Christianity was characterized by many competing sectarian churches.

III. During the second and early third centuries A.D., Roman authorities persecuted Christians as followers of an illicit superstition. Emperor Trajan Decius initiated the first empire-wide persecution in 250-221.

- A. Romans persecuted Christians as “atheists” who disrupted the peace of the gods (*pax deorum*) by their refusal to sacrifice to the ancestral gods and spirit (*genius*) of the emperor.
  - 1. Outlawed by Emperor Nero in 64, Christians met illicitly, attracting the suspicion of Roman authorities.
  - 2. Pliny the Younger, while governor of Bithynia-Pontus, devised the “sacrifice test”; regional and local persecutions of Christians were brief and violent in Anatolian cities.
  - 3. Given the popularity of gladiatorial games, martyrdoms of Christians had little impact among pagans. The physician Galen of Pergamum dismissed martyrs as irrational.
  
- B. Persecution, while gaining few converts, shaped Christian identity and inspired the cult of martyrs attested by the earliest *martyria* (reliquaries for the remains of martyrs).

1. **Martyr bishops, such as Saint Polycarp of Smyrna (Izmir), gave legitimacy to the position of monarchical bishops.**
2. **Christian martyrs were hailed as heroes; the piety of the holy dead gave authority to their families and churches.**
3. ***Martyria* were the origins for the cult of saints and veneration of relics and icons.**
4. **Persecution gave impetus to apocalyptic visions of Christianity.**
5. **Edicts of toleration issued by Galerius (311), Constantine and Licinius (313), and Maximian (313) gave Christians an unexpected respite seen as divine favor.**

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**Questions to Consider:**

1. **How significant were the Jewish communities in Roman Asia Minor?**
2. **What was the role of heretical or sectarian churches in Asia Minor?**
3. **By what means was Christianity disseminated among pagans of Asia Minor?**



## Lecture Eighteen

### From Rome to Byzantium

**Scope:** Although Anatolia escaped the worst of civil wars and invasions in 235—284, rising taxes and inflation impoverished many decurional families, and imperial patronage became crucial. Even so, the Hellenic elites of Anatolia rallied their cities behind the emperor. Diocletian (284—305), who ended the crisis, ruled as an autocrat, and his vision of a restored classical world was never realized. The Christian emperor Constantine (306—337), who reunited the Roman world in 324, created an imperial church and backed bishops with imperial money. During the fourth and fifth centuries, emperors and bishops rewrote the sacred geography of cities and countryside in Asia Minor. Many lesser cities long resisted the new faith even after pagan cults had been outlawed. But Christians had gained the decisive edge with the blessing of the Christian court at Constantinople. By 500, Anatolia had undergone yet another cultural and religious transformation into a Christian land. City skylines were dominated by belfries and domed churches; in the countryside, the old gods were on the retreat. Anatolia had passed over into the Byzantine age.

### Outline

- I. The cities of Asia Minor survived the general crisis of the Roman Empire in 235—285 and emerged with many of their classical institutions and values intact.
  - A. Rising costs of frontier wars and fiscal demands fell heavily on the decurions and citizens of the Hellenic cities.
    1. Fighting, primarily on the Euphrates and Upper Danube, did not directly affect the cities of Asia Minor.
    2. Civic elites depicted imperial campaigns against the Sassanid shahs of Persia as a panhellenic struggle against barbarians.
    3. Cities on the imperial highways suffered from taxation, recruits, and exactions of supplies.
    4. Imperial patronage increased in importance, but cities of Anatolia still counted many patrons in the imperial aristocracy.
  - B. Civic aristocrats responded to imperial demands and upheld the image of the Roman emperor as defender of Hellenic cities.
    1. Roman emperors courted Greek cities and sanctuaries.
    2. Civic artists and public rituals recast emperors in martial roles.
    3. Roman emperors were exalted as comrades of city gods and invested with divine powers so that Greek cities created the future Byzantine autocracy.
    4. Loyalty to Rome was redefined as loyalty to the Roman emperor.
    5. Decurions and populace did not falter in their belief in their ancestral gods but rather targeted Christians as impious deviants who brought down the anger of the gods.
- II. The soldier-emperor Diocletian, who restored imperial unity, created a style of autocratic government, the Dominate.
  - A. Diocletian (284—305) effected military and political recovery, founding the Dominate, the style of the emperor ruling as an autocrat.
    1. Diocletian reorganized administration into more provinces and instituted collegial imperial rule, the Tetrarchy.

2. **Cities of Asia Minor prospered as a result of the patronage of emperors residing in the east.**
3. **Many secondary cities prospered from the patronage of imperial governors.**

**B. Civil wars and fiscal crisis undermined the recovery initiated by Diocletian and led to the unexpected victory of Constantine (306-337), who had converted to Christianity in 312.**

**III. Christian Emperor Constantine established the style of imperial government for the next millennium. He initiated the cultural and religious transformation of Asia Minor over the next three centuries.**

**A. Constantine redirected the destinies of the Roman world after he reunified the empire in 324.**

1. **He summoned the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (325) to define the dogma and ritual of his imperial church.**
2. **Constantine entrenched imperial power in the east by founding New Rome, Constantinople, as a Christian capital.**
3. **Constantine and his sons upheld bishops as the arbiters of civic life.**
4. **Elites in Anatolian cities sought imperial service or embraced the new faith over the next two centuries.**

**B. Bishops and Christian elites rewrote the sacred geography of Anatolia from the fourth through the sixth centuries.**

1. **Anatolia prospered under the Dominate and escaped the barbarian invasions that overran the western empire in 395—476.**
2. **Bishops emerged as leading patrons, constructing basilican churches to reorient cities, such as at Ephesus or Sardes.**
3. **In the sixth century, domed cathedral churches (inspired by imperial ones of Constantinople) dominated the skylines of such cities as Ephesus, Hierapolis, Xanthus, and Perge.**
4. **In many lesser cities, temples were converted into churches.**
5. **Famed pagan shrines, such as the Artemisium, were reduced to ruins to symbolize the new faith's victory.**
6. **At Carytelis, churches were built ringing a great chasm considered sacred to Zeus in the fifth century.**
7. **Country churches were constructed to Christianize springs and other sacred spots, as at Alahan and Kizil Kilise.**

**C. Theological disputes over the Trinity and Christology divided the imperial church in the fourth and fifth centuries, but in Asia Minor, the Orthodox creed defined at the Council of Chalcedon (451) prevailed.**

1. **Theological debates in 325—451 divided cities in Asia Minor along religious lines, rather than citizenship, so that the Orthodox faith became the prime definition of Roman identity.**
2. **The dispute over the nature of Christ led to the division of the imperial church, at the Council of Chalcedon, into Orthodox (or Catholic) and Monophysite confessions.**
3. **From 451 to 681, the Monophysite confession dominated the churches in Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria, whereas the churches of Anatolia were loyal to Chalcedon.**

**Readings:**

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Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*. Vol.11. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. **Why did the cities of Asia Minor weather the crisis of the third century better than other provinces of the Roman Empire? How did they redefine their loyalty to Rome and the Roman emperor?**
2. **How did the Christian Emperor Constantine transform Roman society and civilization? Why was Constantine so decisive in reshaping the course of classical civilization?**

## Lecture Nineteen

### Constantinople, Queen of Cities

**Scope:** The emperor Constantine (306-337) dedicated Constantinople, New Rome, on the site of the Greek colony Byzantium on the European side of the Bosphorus. The Christian capital played a decisive role in the religious and cultural transformation of Anatolia. The peninsula has been ever since the hinterland to the city on the Bosphorus, whether Byzantine Constantinople or Turkish Istanbul. Theodosius II (408-450) doubled the area of Constantine's city and built the four miles of triple land walls that deflected Germans and Huns from Anatolia. Justinian (527—565), although his costly wars weakened the empire, ensured his empire's survival by transforming Constantinople into the "Queen of Cities." Justinian rebuilt the imperial churches, palaces, and hippodrome into a grand ritual center. In 548, he dedicated Hagia Sophia, "Holy Wisdom," the greatest domed church in Christendom until the Renaissance. Justinian's Constantinople became a model for lesser Byzantine cities, and the great imperial capital stood as the bastion of Roman government and the center of classical learning during the three centuries of the Byzantine Dark Age.

### Outline

- I. Constantine (306-337) founded Constantinople as the New Rome on the ancient Greek colony of Byzantium, occupying the region of Topkapi Palace in modern Istanbul.
  - A. Constantinople, although on the European side of the Bosphorus, emerged as the capital of Asia Minor, rather than the lands of the Lower Balkans.
    1. As New Rome, the new imperial capital allowed Christian emperors to direct the religious and cultural transformation of Asia Minor.
    2. The original Greek name of the city, Byzantium, is used by convention to denote the eastern Roman or Byzantine civilization that emerged in the fourth century.
    3. Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman sultans after 1453, played a similar role as the premier city of Islam.
    4. The modern city of Istanbul, a name derived from a corruption of a Greek phrase in colloquial Turkish, is still the financial and cultural seat of the Turkish Republic, even after Kemal Atatürk (1923—1938) removed the political capital to Ankara.
  - B. The development of Constantinople into the "Queen of Cities," the greatest city of medieval Christendom, was, in large part, the work of two emperors, Constantine and Justinian, and a patriarch, John Chrysostom.
    1. Constantine established Constantinople as the New Rome and so created the city's political role.
    2. John Chrysostom defined the role of patriarch as the leading Petrine Patriarch in the Roman east, ensuring Constantinople's position as the seat of Orthodox Christianity.
    3. Justinian turned the city into the architectural and ceremonial showplace of the Byzantine Empire and set the model for cities to reinvent their religious monuments and space in Christian terms.
- II. Constantine I rebuilt the typical Greek city of Byzantium into an imperial capital as New Rome.
  - A. From the start, Constantine intended Constantinople to be his primary residence.
    1. Byzantium, a Megarian colony of seventh century B.C., was a modest *polis* confined to

the first bill, the region of modern Topaki, on the edge of the southern shore of the Golden Horn.

2. In the reign of Septimius Severus, the city occupied the modern quarter of Sultan Alimet, with only 35,000 residents.
3. Constantine demolished the civic center, building an imperial center with a palace and hippodrome that reproduced the Palatine palaces and Circus Maximus of Rome.
4. Constantinople, as a ritual capital, required spectators; therefore, Constantine and his heirs lured urban plebians, who gave popular consent to the Orthodox emperor.
5. The imperial palace was linked to the two basilican churches of Hagia Eirene (Holy Peace) and Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom).
6. The Church of Holy Apostles was the funerary church of Christian emperors.
7. The city was adorned with colonnaded triumphal streets, columns, and fora.
8. Massive walls cut off a vast city that accommodated population growth from 35,000 to 300,000 over three generations.

B. Emperors expanded the city as population doubled in two generations from 300,000 to 600,000 in 425—525.

1. The aqueduct of Valens and open cisterns testify to a growing population.
2. In 413—414, Prefect Anthemius directed construction of four miles of the triple Theodosian Walls, which doubled the enclosed area of the city and included a fertile hinterland.

III. Patriarch John Chrysostom (398-405) defined the role of the Patriarchate as the leading Petrine See in the eastern half of the Roman world.

A. By the canons of the Second Ecumenical council, the patriarchs claimed apostolic authority with the popes in Rome, a position never admitted by the papacy.

1. John imposed the primacy of Constantinople over leading bishoprics in the Aegean world and Asia Minor.
2. Ephesus, home to a Pauline church, lost primacy, because John Chrysostom appropriated Mary Theotokos (“Mother of God”) as the saint of Constantinople.
3. John Chrysostom promoted missionary work and destroyed pagan shrines.
4. Henceforth, Christian Constantinople displaced pagan Ephesus, “first city of Asia,” as the religious, cultural, economic, and political capital of Asia Minor.

B. From Constantinople, later patriarchs exercised authority over the episcopal and monastic organization of the Byzantine world and built the institutions that ensured the triumph of Orthodox Christianity.

1. Empresses of the Theodosian dynasty promoted the veneration of Mary and the claims of the Patriarchate.
2. The shift from Ephesus to Constantinople was symbolized by the invocation of the icon of Mary Theotokos as the city’s palladium during the siege of 626.
3. Theological debate in 431—681 reflected a clash between Constantinople and Alexandria over primacy in the Roman east.
4. The Council of Chalcedon (451) upheld the authority of Constantinople over the Monophysite position of Alexandria.

IV. Under Justinian (527—565), Constantinople evolved from a late antique city of the Roman Empire into the “Queen of Cities,” the greatest city of medieval Christendom.

A. After the conflagration during the Nike Revolt (532), Justinian rebuilt Constantinople into a Christian capital without equal.

1. Justinian turned the city's skyline into a Christian one of domed churches and belfries that was a model for cities of Asia Minor during the next eight centuries.
  2. Justinian rebuilt Hagia Sophia, a masterpiece of a centrally planned church with a great pedentive dome.
  3. Hagia Sophia, hailed the dome of heaven, inspired domed churches across the Roman east.
  4. Justinian honeycombed the center of Constantinople with a vast underground cistern, constructed from columns of pagan temples.
- B. After 565, Constantinople defined Christian Byzantine civilization of Asia Minor and succeeded to the role of Rome.**
1. Justinian's wars of reconquest, building programs, and search for religious unity bankrupted the imperial government; the Roman east was plunged into crisis after 565.
  2. But Constantinople, as the administrative center of the Byzantine world, was home to Roman imperial political traditions and bureaucracy that enabled emperors to surmount crises and direct political recoveries against superior foes.

**Readings:**

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Rice, D. T. *Constantinople: From Byzantium to Istanbul*, New York: Stein and Day Publisher, 1965.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Why did Constantine decide to relocate imperial power in the eastern Roman world? How did the imperial capital at Constantinople alter the relationship between the emperor and the cities of Asia Minor?
2. How did Patriarch John Chrysostom define the role of the patriarch and the institutions of Orthodox Christianity?

## Lecture Twenty

### The Byzantine Dark Age

**Scope:** The restored Roman Empire of Justinian faced assaults from Lombards, Avars and Slavs, and a resurgent Sassanid Persia. No sooner had the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) restored imperial frontiers than the armies of Islam swept over Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. Emperors of the Byzantine Dark Age (610-867) reorganized Anatolia for defense, creating regional field armies and dividing the land into themes, or military provinces. Urbane classical life yielded to a martial society. Cities on the shores declined; fortress cities in the interior, the future regional centers of Turkish Anatolia, emerged. Tenacious Byzantine defense broke the Arabic advance, and under the Macedonian emperors (867—1056), Anatolia entered a new era of prosperity. But imperial victory carried a cost. The Anatolian *dynatoi*, “powerful ones,” defied the Macedonian house until Basil II (976—1025) brought the nobles to heel, but he failed to leave an heir or the institutions to ensure the primacy of Constantinople. His successors squandered a splendid legacy, opening Anatolia to a new invader, Seljuk Turks from central Asia.

### Outline

- I. Imperial crisis transformed classical Asia Minor into medieval Anatolia. Known by Arabic historians as Rum, the peninsula was the heartland of the New Rome. In the generation after the death of Justinian, the restored Roman Empire faced new assaults from Lombards, Avars and Slavs, and a resurgent Sassanid Persia, then the armies of Islam.
  - A. During the Persian War (602—638), Shah Chosroes II devastated Asia Minor. In contrast, his armies occupied and annexed Syria and Egypt.
    1. Many classical cities of Asia Minor were sacked; others fortified citadels and abandoned the suburbs and lower quarters.
    2. The Persian War initiated the shift from classical *polis* to *kastron*, or Byzantine castle city, over the next 250 years.
    3. Many lesser cities in marginal regions, such as Anemurium, declined to fortified centers or were abandoned.
    4. Constantinople emerged as the center of Asia Minor, because Heraclius centralized administration at his capital in the wake of victory over Persia.
  - B. In 634—642, the armies of Islam swept over Syria and Egypt and conquered the Sassanid Empire of Persia; Anatolia became the heartland of a lesser Byzantine state.
    1. Orthodox and Umayyad caliphs waged wars with the avowed aim of capturing Constantinople.
    2. Anatolia was repeatedly raided and devastated as a first step in the conquest of Constantinople, but Arab caliphs made no effort to annex Anatolia north of the Taurus.
    3. Twice emperors at Constantinople defied a besieging Arabic army and checked the Muslim military advance.
    4. The emperors of the Dark Age reorganized the empire for a counteroffensive, but recovery was delayed by the religious civil war known as the Iconoclastic Controversy.
  - C. Emperors of the Byzantine Dark Age reorganized Anatolia for a grim defense, creating regional field armies and dividing the land into themes, or military provinces. Their success ensured the survival of a dynamic medieval Christian civilization in Anatolia.
    1. Military cantonments (themes) of the field armies became the basis of new provinces.

2. Imperial armies based in themes fought an effective defense across Asia Minor against Arabic raiding parties.
3. Borderlands emerged between Arab and Byzantine Anatolia; this frontier society was reflected in the later epic *Digenes Akritas*.

II. During the crisis of the Dark Age, Anatolia emerged as the heartland that sustained Constantinople. Henceforth, the capital and Anatolian peninsula were linked. The triumph of the Byzantine emperors over the Muslim threat preserved Orthodox Christian civilization in Anatolia, the basis of modern Eastern Europe.

A. Urban classical life gave way to a harsh martial society. Cities on the shores declined or were abandoned, while fortress cities in the interior, such as Anorium, emerged as the future regional centers of Byzantine and later Ottoman Anatolia.

1. Many coastal cities, such as Miletus and Ephesus, were threatened by Arab pirates and shrank in size and population.
2. Cities of the interior on highways, or theme capitals such as Anorium, recovered as regional centers.
3. In the Byzantine Dark Age, the highways and cities of Ottoman and modern Turkey were born.
4. The Cappadocian plateaus became borderland; archaeology revealed defensive measures, as at Canli Kilise.
5. Warrior aristocrats in eastern Anatolia emerged as lords who based their power on estates and stock-raising, following an earlier pattern seen in the Hittite, Phrygian, and Achaemenid ages.

B. Wars and plagues altered the spiritual life of Anatolia and led to the redefinition of Orthodox Christianity. Byzantines saw the world populated by demons; such fears sparked the Iconoclastic Controversy, debating whether veneration of icons was tantamount to idol worship.

1. In 726, Leo III called for the removal of icons in worship, igniting a veritable religious civil war.
2. Iconoclasts (“smashers of images”) viewed veneration of icons and relics as idolatry.
3. The eastern army and Anatolian Christians, whose faith was shaped by Jewish traditions, supported Iconoclastic emperors.
4. At the Synod of Constantinople (843), Michael III and his mother, Theodora, restored the veneration of icons, but Orthodox ritual was modified because of Iconoclastic objections.
5. Under the Macedonian emperors, icons became associated with victory; thus, image triumphed in Byzantine religious art.

III. Macedonian emperors initiated military and political recovery in the wake of the reunification of Byzantine society after the end of the Iconoclastic Controversy.

A. As the Macedonian emperors restored religious unity and drove back the Muslim foe, Byzantine Anatolia entered a new era of prosperity.

1. Macedonian regent emperors directed reconquest of eastern Anatolia and Armenia.
2. Victory and prosperity enabled nobles of Anatolia (*dynatoi*) to defy Constantinople. Macedonian emperors issued legislation to restrain aristocrats from amassing land from soldiers and peasants.
3. Basil II forged a professional mercenary army and broke the power of the *dynatoi*.
4. The triumph of the capital turned the Anatolian provinces into dependencies of metropolitan Constantinople by 1025.



**B. Under the feckless heirs of Basil I, a bureaucratic nobility exploited the primacy of Constantinople and alienated the provinces, squandering a splendid heritage and putting Byzantine Anatolia in jeopardy.**

- 1. As long as Zoe and Theodora, nieces of the popular Basil II, reigned, Anatolian military elites made no move.**
- 2. After 1056, the court regime in Constantinople failed to contain new invaders, the Normans in Italy and Seljuk Turks from central Asia.**
- 3. Emperors Isaac I and Romanus IV, backed by military aristocrats, were thwarted in their reforms.**
- 4. At the battle of Manzikert (1071), Romanus IV was captured and his army was annihilated by the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan.**
- 5. In 1071—1081, Turkomen tribes migrated in Asia Minor at the invitation of rival Byzantine emperors and carved out independent Turkish states.**
- 6. When Alexius I seized the throne, Constantinople had lost her hinterland; Asia Minor was politically divided for the next four centuries.**
- 7. To regain the Anatolian hinterland, Alexius I summoned his coreligionists in the west, the Crusaders, who came first as allies, then as the destroyers of the Byzantine Empire.**

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Runciman, S. *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929.

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**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. How did society in Constantinople and Anatolia change during the Byzantine Dark Age (610-867)? What was the relationship between capital and hinterland?**
- 2. Why did the Macedonian emperors initiate such a brilliant military and cultural recovery? How did victory and prosperity transform life in Anatolia?**

## Lecture Twenty-One

### Byzantine Cultural Revival

**Scope:** Macedonian emperors revived imperial patronage of arts and letters at Constantinople, and this cultural rebirth was echoed across Anatolia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The eastern borderlands of Anatolia gave birth to the epic of a Christian Achilles, Digenes Akrites, a chivalrous warlord during the Dark Age. The *dynatoi* exalted their piety by endowing monasteries and mortuary chapels. In Cappadocia, Anatolian lords commissioned churches cut out of soft turf in the river valleys. These churches, along with contemporary free-standing ones, emulated the plans and decorations of imperial churches in the capital, such as the Myleion, dedicated by Romanus I (919—929). Rock-cut churches of Cappadocia reveal the enduring role of classical aesthetics. In the ninth century, frescoes were painted in simple linear provincial styles. By the mid-tenth century, nobles hired first-class artists who painted in a variety of naturalistic styles that looked back to classical models and forward to Renaissance Italy. At Göreme, the Karanlık Kilise (“Dark Church”) preserves the iconography expected of every Orthodox church in incomparable classicizing style.

### Outline

- I. At Constantinople, Macedonian emperors revived imperial patronage of arts and letters. Their successors, Comnenians and Palaeologans, played the same role of patrons, thereby transmitting the achievements of Orthodox civilization to both Western and Eastern Europe.
  - A. Basil I, an unpopular usurper, gained legitimacy by sponsoring learned study and the visual arts at Constantinople.
    1. Basil I (867—886) patronized thinkers, writers, and artists who revived classical arts and letters and transmitted the Hellenic classical heritage to Western Europe.
    2. He encouraged icons and figural art in mosaics and frescoes, initiating the “triumph of the image.”
    3. He endowed chairs of rhetoric and reorganized the imperial university of Constantinople.
    4. Constantine VII (913—959) was a scholar and artist in his own right.
  - B. With imperial backing, scholars and artists at Constantinople undertook the editing, copying, and illuminating of manuscripts, thus ensuring the survival of the Greek literary tradition ultimately transmitted to the West in the Renaissance.
    1. Byzantine scholars made original literary and artistic contributions to the classical heritage.
    2. Caesar Phocas and the polymath Patriarch Photius revived the study of Plato, oratory, and history as disciplines rather than as training for theology.
    3. Michael Psellus and Princess Anna Comnena wrote eyewitness histories in the style and method of Thucydides.
  - C. Architecture and visual arts at Constantinople experienced a dramatic revival with the triumph of the icon and imperial patronage.
    1. New figural mosaics were commissioned in Hagia Sophia, notably mosaics of Leo VI and the panel depicting Constantine and Justinian.
    2. Emperors initiated the building of smaller churches using the plan of the cross-in-

- square.
3. Decorative arts, such as textiles, jewelry, and furniture, disseminated figural arts.
- II. The rebirth of cultural activity at Constantinople was echoed in the provincial arts and architecture across Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, because these lands were the heart of medieval Byzantium.
- A. Churches of Cappadocia show the cultural interplay between the capital of Constantinople and the Anatolian provinces after the restoration of images in 843.
    1. Local architects adapted the cross-in-square plan to soft volcanic turf churches. This distinct rock-cut architecture was used simultaneously with free-standing masonry based on imperial churches of Constantinople.
    2. The frescoes of Cappadocian churches show a revival of figural religious painting after the end of Iconoclasm.
    3. Rock-cut churches of Cappadocia were prestige churches or mortuary chapels of *dynatoi*.
    4. In the ninth century, churches were decorated with frescoes in simple linear provincial style and matte earth colors.
    5. After 950, Cappadocian nobles commissioned the first paintings in naturalistic styles inspired by classical models that looked forward to the Italian Renaissance.
    6. Karanlık Kilise at Göreme and the church at Eski Gümüş preserve superb classicizing paintings not matched in the medieval West for the next 150 years.
    7. Fine styles of painting were so widely distributed over Cappadocia that there must have been close ties between the Anatolian aristocracy and Constantinople.
  - B. Armenian and Georgian monarchs, who asserted political independence from the Caliphate at the end of the ninth century, sponsored their own revival of arts and architecture that enriched the wider culture of eastern Christendom.
    1. The Armenian King Gagik dedicated the domed church of the Holy Cross on an island in Lake Van (919—923).
    2. The Church of the Holy Cross was decorated with superb relief sculpture, in contrast to Byzantine churches.
  - C. In 1204, Alexius Comnenus, a scion of the imperial family, established his own “splinter empire” at Trebizond on the northeastern shores of Asia Minor.
    1. The Grand Comneni of Trebizond, styling themselves Byzantine emperors, sponsored arts and letters.
    2. Trebizond had access to new silver mines and prospered on trade with Genoese colonies and eastern Turkish emirates.
    3. In the late thirteenth century, the Church of Hagia Sophia was refurbished and decorated with frescoes painted by artists trained in the imperial school.
    4. Frescoes in the dome and apse reveal a mannerist style comparable to the finest paintings at Constantinople.
    5. Hagia Sophia, based on the cross-in-square plan, has figural reliefs inspired by Armenian and Georgian art.
    6. Trebizond’s Hagia Sophia is a fusion of elements of the capital, Cappadocia, Armenia, and Georgia.
  - D. For all their brilliance, the surviving arts of the middle and late Byzantine ages are religious; the distorted record, without secular arts, has survived.

1. **Still, Orthodox arts so brilliantly created in Byzantine Asia Minor influence Orthodox civilizations to the present day.**
2. **Furthermore, because Christians long lived in great numbers across the peninsula of Asia Minor under Seljuk and Ottoman sultans, Orthodox arts endured and influenced Muslim Turkish arts.**

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**Questions to Consider:**

1. **What was the role played by the emperors and patriarchs at Constantinople in reviving and reshaping Byzantine letters and arts from the ninth century?**
2. **In what ways did Armenian princes, Georgian kings, and emperors of Trebizond promote arts and letters? What were their achievements in architecture and arts? How does the Hagia Sophia of Trebizond represent the summation of these varied traditions and those of Constantinople?**

## Lecture Twenty-Two

### Crusaders and Seljuk Turks

**Scope:** For over a century, the fate of Anatolia lay in the balance between Byzantines and Seljuks. Alexius I (1081—1118) aimed to reverse the decision of Manzikert (1071), the defeat that opened the peninsula to Turkish settlement. Allying with Crusaders, Alexius regained western Anatolia, but the Comnenian emperors never expelled the Turkomen from the central plateau. Turkomen immigrants found the Anatolian grasslands congenial, and the desultory fighting altered Anatolia to the benefit of the Turkomen, because cities declined as many returned to an earlier, pastoral life. Christians fled or remained as dependent agriculturists in protected valleys, such as Cappadocia. Comnenian emperors hoped to convert and assimilate the Turkomen newcomers who long lived in awe of Constantinople, but successive Crusades distracted Byzantine efforts. The defeat of Manuel I at Myrioccephalon (1176) ended imperial efforts to dislodge the Turks. Crusaders also sharpened the warrior ethos of the Turkish *ghazi*, now in the service of  *jihad*, or holy war for Islam. At the opening of the thirteenth century, a new Muslim Turkish civilization had emerged on the ruins of Byzantine Anatolia.

### Outline

- I. The collapse of Byzantine military and political control over the Anatolian peninsula confined imperial power in the Balkans, the second heartland conquered by Basil II (976-1025); Anatolia became the battlefield between Byzantium and Islam.
  - A. Basil II failed to leave an heir, and the court fell into the hands of corrupt bureaucratic aristocrats who manipulated the succession.
    1. Constantine VIII (1025—1028), fearful of rivals, failed to provide husbands for his daughters Zoe and Theodora, who became pawns in the hands of officials and courtiers.
    2. The husbands of Zoe—Romanus III (1028—1034), Michael IV (1034-1041), and Constantine IX (1042—1055)—proved weak rulers who neglected affairs of state.
    3. Provincial tax rebellions in provinces and mutinies revealed dynastic weakness and widespread corruption.
    4. Constantine IX slashed the military budget, debased the currency, and indulged corruption at court.
    5. The imperial government failed to contain Turkomen raiders after 1055.
    6. With the end of the Macedonian dynasty, eastern aristocrats placed generals on the throne, Isaac I Comnenus (1057—1059) and
    3. Theodore I Lascaris (1204—1222) founded a Byzantine state in exile at Nicaea; his successors repelled Frankish Crusaders and Turkish raiders.
    4. In 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258-1282) reoccupied Constantinople, a capital in rapid decline, and transferred imperial power back to the Balkans at the expense of Byzantine Anatolia.
    5. Michael VIII mortgaged the imperial fiscal future by granting trade concessions to Venice and Genoa in return for naval assistance.
    6. To gain western military aid, Palaeologan emperors negotiated religious reunion under the papacy, but this policy alienated the majority of their Orthodox subjects.
    7. With the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire under Andronicus II (1282—1328), Orthodox Christians preferred the ordered government of the Ottoman sultans rather than their Christian allies from western Europe.

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**Questions to Consider:**

1. **What led to the rapid demise of Byzantine power after 1025? Why did the Anatolian military elite fail to reform the army and government after 1056?**
2. **How did Seljuk migration and settlement of Asia Minor differ from Arab aims in the seventh through ninth centuries? How did the ethos of  *jihad*  and  *ghazi*  motivate the Turkomen warriors?**
3. **What conditions hindered a Byzantine reunification of the peninsula in the twelfth century? How powerful were the Seljuk Turkish states in Anatolia in the twelfth century?**
4. **What was the impact of the Crusades on Byzantine and Seljuk Anatolia in 1096-1190?**
5. **How did the Crusader sack of Constantinople and founding of the Latin Empire (1204-1261) redirect the cultural and political destinies of Anatolia?**
6. **Why did the recapture of Constantinople by Michael VIII fail to regenerate Byzantine power after 1261?**

## Lecture Twenty-Three

### Muslim Transformation

**Scope:** At the opening of the thirteenth century, the sultans of Konya sponsored a new, vital Muslim society in Anatolia, commissioning the first domed mosques and *medresses*; their minarets turned the skylines of Anatolian cities into Muslim sites by 1350. In the countryside, memorials (*tekke* or *türbe*) to pious Muslims Islamized the peninsula's sacred geography. Sufi mystics of the Maulawiayah order, inspired by the Persian poet Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (1205—1277), who was hailed the “Mevlana,” converted Christians demoralized by the collapse of Byzantine monastic and episcopal institutions. Sultan Kaykubad (1219—1236) minted the first substantial Muslim silver coinage and initiated the construction of caravansaray, caravan stations, that tied Turkish Anatolia to the cities of the Muslim Near East. Although the Mongols shattered the Seljuk sultanate at Köse Dag (1243), they ironically drove Persian mystics, craftsmen, and merchants and Turkomen tribes into Anatolia. There, they contributed to the creation of an Islamic society in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that made possible the unification of the peninsula under the Ottoman sultans.

### Outline

- I. In the twelfth century, the Comnenian emperors appeared to have the strategic advantage, but because they failed to dislodge the Seljuk Turks from central and eastern Anatolia, a new Turkish Muslim civilization had emerged in Anatolia by 1350.
  - A. The sultans of Konya and the *ghazi* warriors of central Anatolia were long in awe of Constantinople, and Comnenian emperors hoped to convert the Turks to Orthodox Christianity.
    1. Byzantine efforts to reconquer the Anatolian plateau were distracted by the successive Crusader armies.
    2. The Seljuk Turks excelled in light cavalry tactics, while Comnenian emperors fielded expensive mercenary armies that were difficult to direct.
    3. During the desultory fighting, the roads, cisterns, and cities so essential to Byzantine rule gradually broke down across the peninsula to the strategic benefit of the Turkomen tribes.
    4. The *ghazi* horsemen honed their skills in the tactics of stealth and ambush on the Anatolian grasslands.
    5. With such tactics at Myricephalon (1176), Sultan Kilij Arslan II (1156-1192) defeated Manuel I and put the Byzantines on the defensive.
  - B. Sultan Kay-Khusraw II (1204—1210) appeared destined to unify Anatolia into a single Turkish sultanate of Rum, based on Konya, Sivas, and Kayseri, but his heirs failed to forge a unified Muslim state.
    1. Seljuk sultans from Kilij Arslan II to Kay-Khusraw II extended their sway over the Turkomen tribes east of the Euphrates and on the steppes of al-Jazirah so that they clashed with the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria.
    2. Kay-Khusraw II imposed strict authority over the emirs and lords (*beyler*) and ensured royal revenues by promoting caravans and the mining of silver.
    3. The Seljuk sultans failed to exploit Byzantine weakness after the sack of Constantinople (1204), and they could not control Turkomen tribes fleeing before the advancing Mongol armies.
    4. At the Battle of Köse Dag (1243), the Mongols under Bayju annihilated the army of Sultan Kay-Khusraw III, thus shattering the Sultanate of Rum into weak competing emirates and *beylikler*.

C. Although the sultans of Konya failed to succeed as political heirs of Constantinople, they built Muslim political institutions in Anatolia and forged links to the wider Muslim Near East, away from Constantinople and the Mediterranean world.

1. The failure of Byzantine emperors to restore imperial administration and episcopal and monastic institutions in central and eastern Asia Minor allowed for the emergence of a new Turkish Muslim civilization in Anatolia by 1350.
2. The Turkish military elite employed Iranian officials, who used Arabic or Persian as administrative languages and brought Muslim statcraft.
3. Seljuk sultans encouraged the emigration of Iranian architects and craftsmen into their increasingly Muslim cities and promoted trade with Muslim Syria, Iraq, and Iran.
4. Sultan Kaykubad (1219—1236) coined the first substantial Muslim silver coinage in Asia Minor from the specie obtained from new mines.
5. The sultans constructed a network of caravansaray, caravan stations, each with a *vafik* (endowment) of revenues levied from Christian agriculturists.
6. Sultanhan, a caravansaray outside Aksaray, epitomizes the Seljuk adaptation of Byzantine arches and masonry.

II. The transformation of Christian Anatolia into a Turkish-speaking Muslim land was a gradual and uneven process in 1100—1350, because Greek or Armenian-speaking Christians long resided in villages and towns throughout the peninsula, down to the early twentieth century.

A. The Seljuk sultans presided over the last religious and cultural rewrite of Anatolia from the eleventh through fourteenth centuries as they commissioned the first domed mosques and *medresses*. The minarets of these structures turned the skylines of Anatolian cities into Muslim sites by 1350.

1. The first mosques (*ulu camii*) were long colonnaded halls based on rectilinear plans, but at Konya, Alaeddin Canfi (begun in 1219) was built with the first brick squinch dome based on Byzantine traditions.
2. Domed mosques and *medresses* had elaborately carved stone decoration, such as Ulu Camii in Sivas (1197) or the mosque-hospital at Divrigli (1228—1229).
3. Minarets decorated with glazed brick or porcelain tile dominated the skyline of Anatolian cities from 1300, as seen with the *çifti Medresse* at Sivas and Erzurum and the *Gök Medresse* at Sivas.
4. *Medresses*, residences of *ulema*, a class of Muslim scholars, with hospitals, observatories, and libraries, succeeded to Christian monasteries.
5. Over 100 *medresses* were constructed in 1100-1300 (far more than the number of known mosques) and, thus, Islamized the urban landscape.
6. Over 3,500 *türbler* or *tekkler*, memorials to pious Muslim, were constructed that Islamized the sacred geography of villages and countryside.

B. The conversion of the majority of the Greek- and Armenian-speaking Christians resulted from the birth of a popular mystic Islam on Anatolian soil in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

1. Without a return of Byzantine rule, the episcopal and monastic institutions languished; Christians lived in demoralized, parochial communities.
2. By 1300, many Christians learned Turkish as their prime language.
3. Iranian Sufi mystics entered Anatolia in great numbers to become the new holy men of the peninsula in the thirteenth century.
4. The Persian poet Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (1205—1277) reorganized the Maullawiyah order at Konya so vital for the conversion of Christians.
5. The *teldce* (funerary memorial) of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, hailed the Mevlana, at Konya became the premier pilgrimage site of Muslim Turkey.



6. Jalal's followers, popularly known as "Whirling Deverishers," assimilated folk Islam, Sufi mystical poetry, and dance to the festivals and rules of hospitality of traditional Anatolian villages.
7. Within a century (1250-1350), Muslim Turkey was born. Simultaneously, Seljuk sultans and, later, emirs and beys under Mongol rule sponsored the first achievements in Islamic art.

III. The Ottoman sultans from Osman (1299—1325) to Murad II (1421—1451) constructed the classic institutions that enabled the rapid unification of the Balkans and Anatolia under the Porte, the Ottoman imperial government at Constantinople.

- A. The Mongol Ilkhanes exacted tribute and obedience from their subjects in Asia Minor, but they paid no heed to the dissolution of the sultanate of Konya in 1277—1308.
  1. Mongol forces were stationed in eastern and central Anatolia, and many of the Turkmen bands were recruited into service of the Great Khan.
  2. On the grasslands of eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia roamed the White Sheep and Black Sheep Turkmen hordes (Ak Koyunlu and Kara Koyunlu).
  3. Emirs and *ghazi* warlords carved out lordships based on their tribal allies; these strong men gave their names to the territorial states (*beylikler*).
  4. For example, in c. 1260, the Bey Karaman seized the oasis city of Laranda (renamed Karaman) and, by 1300, the Karamanid emirs emerged from border lords to legitimate Muslim rulers.
- B. The first Ottoman sultans carved out an emirate on the Bithynian borderlands of the Byzantine Empire in 1280—1300.
  1. Orhan (1326—1362), crowned sultan in 1337, established Bursa (classical Prusa) as the first Ottoman capital.
  2. Sultans Orhan and Murad I (1362—1389) based the Ottoman army on cavalry supported by military tenures (*timars*) whose holders, *timarits*, doubled as provincial cavalry and administrators.
  3. Murad II (1421—1451) introduced an artillery train and reformed the Janissary corps into disciplined infantry based on the Roman and Byzantine traditions.
  4. With the superb Ottoman army, Mehmet II (1451—1481) had the means to unite Muslim Anatolia, but he came in the guise of the political heir to the Byzantine Empire rather than a Turkish *ghazi* warrior.

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#### Questions to Consider:

1. What were Seljuk achievements and weaknesses on the eve of the Mongol invasion?
2. How did the Battle of Köse Dag (1243) change the course of Anatolian history?
3. What were the institutions and personnel used by the sultans of Konya? What forces stimulated prosperity in Seljuk Asia Minor from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries?
4. Why were monumental Muslim buildings so important to Islamizing Anatolia?
5. Why did Christians convert to Islam in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries?
6. Why did the early Ottoman sultans emerge as the leading Turkish power by the accession of Mehmet II (1451—1481)?

## Lecture Twenty-Four The Ottoman Empire

**Scope:** The sultans from Mehmet II (1451—1481) to Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) conquered the last great empire of the Mediterranean world. In 1453, Mehmet II captured Constantinople and extinguished the Byzantine successor states and Muslim lordships. Scum the Grim (1512—1520), on his conquest of Egypt, became caliph, and Ottoman sultan-caliphs reigned as the leaders of Sunni Islam. Suleiman rebuilt Constantinople into the premier Muslim city. Ottoman sultans based their power on *timariots*, holders of military tenures, who doubled as administrators and cavalymen in the provinces. Servile bureaucrats and guardsmen, Janissaries, governed the empire from Constantinople, which reached 1 million residents by 1550. The Ottoman ruling caste, the legacy of Abbasid statecraft, served out of a sense of honor and duty to Islam. Suleiman's failure to capture Vienna (1529) checked Ottoman expansion, but the military balance shifted to the Christian foe only in the early eighteenth century. Even so, later sultan-caliphs, confident in the superiority of Islam, presided over a brilliant civilization until the rude awakening of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1799.

### Outline

- I. Unexpectedly, the sultans from Mehmet II to Suleiman the Magnificent united Asia Minor and made it the heartland of a new Mediterranean Muslim Empire.
  - A. The first Ottoman sultans carved an emirate out of Byzantine borderlands.
    1. Orhan (1326-1362), crowned sultan in 1337, captured the Byzantine cities of Bursa (ancient Prusa), Nicaea (Iznik), and Nicomedia (Izmit).
    2. As sultan, Orhan was the most important regional ruler, because the title *sultan* denotes “guardianship” of the Sunni or orthodox caliphate.
    3. At Bursa, as the first Ottoman capital, the first sultans initiated an imposing building program, notably Yeşil Camii (Green Mosque) and imperial *medresses*.
    4. In 1354—1356, the Ottomans secured Gallipoli, overran Thrace, and transferred the capital to Edirne (1362).
    5. Bayezit, “the Thunderbolt” (1389—1402), destroyed the Serbian army at Kosovo (1389) and imposed Ottoman rule over the Balkans and Anatolia.
    6. A second, European heartland of Ottoman power, Rumelia, was created from land grants to *timariots*, who doubled as provincial cavalry and administrators.
    7. Murad II (1421—1451) based Ottoman infantry on the Janissaries (“New Soldiers”) recruited from young Christian slaves converted to Islam and drilled into crack professionals. The Janissaries, originally 6,000 in number, rose to 50,000 by 1566.
    8. Mehmet II (1451—1481) perfected siege artillery that was vital in his capture of Constantinople.
  - B. The sultans from Mehmet II to Suleiman the Magnificent conquered the last great traditional empire of the Mediterranean world. Constantinople and her Anatolian heartland became the center of a Muslim state that was heir to Abbasid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire.
    1. Mehmet II, “the Conqueror,” created the Ottoman Empire, and his capture of Constantinople in 1453 marked the emergence of the Porte, the imperial Ottoman government.
    2. Mehmet conquered Anatolia, but he transmitted to his heirs the task of controlling the eastern warlords, who looked to a Timurid or Safavid ruler of Iran.
    3. Checked by the Hungarians, Mehmet II committed his heirs to holy war (*jihād*) on a second front, against the Catholic Christian powers of central Europe.

4. In 1481—1566, Ottoman sultans conquered the ancient capitals and holy cities of Islam, but they confronted the strategic dilemma of battling Hapsburg Austria and Savafid Iran.
5. The war against Iranian shahs sharpened the division of Sunni and Shi'ite Islam.
6. Selim "the Grim," on conquering Egypt, assumed the caliphate; henceforth, Ottoman sultan-caliphs reigned as the religious leaders of Sunni Islam, because they possessed the historic capitals of Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Mecca, and Medina.
7. Suleiman the Magnificent conquered Hungary (1526), but he failed to capture Vienna (1529). Even so, the military balance in the Balkans shifted to the Christian foe only in the later seventeenth century.
8. Logistics and a growing fiscal crisis limited Ottoman military operations in central Europe.
9. Suleiman's Iranian Wars (1533—1535 and 1548—1549) gained Baghdad.

II. Between the reigns of Mehmet II and Suleiman I, Constantinople emerged, not only as Ottoman capital, but also as the religious and cultural center of the Islamic world, thereby setting the standard for urban life and Muslim arts.

A. Mehmet II initiated the rebuilding of the ruined Byzantine capital and compelled immigrants to settle there; the city's population rose from 50,000 to 1 million within a century.

1. Mehmet II demolished Byzantine buildings in a massive urban renewal, and by the accession of Suleiman I, the city had spilled outside the Theodosian Walls and north across the Golden Horn.
2. In 1454, Mehmet II began construction of the palace of Topkapi on the highest, first hill of Constantine's city. The city was reoriented back on her original center.
3. Hagia Sophia was rededicated as an imperial mosque, and Mehmet built the Fatih Camii (Conqueror's Mosque) on the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles to mark the power of the Porte.
4. Domed Christian churches were steadily converted into mosques.

B. Suleiman I and his architect Sinan transformed Constantinople into the premier Muslim city, a model of architecture and urban amenities. For the next two centuries, Ottoman sultans set the standards for architecture and patronage in the Muslim world.

1. Sinan, a Janissary, perfected the plan of the centrally planned Christian church to the mosque.
2. Suleimaniye, an imperial complex complete with hospitals and theological quarters, was the masterpiece of Sinan.
3. The domed imperial mosques inspired mosques across the empire.
4. Selim Camii, with a low-lying dome, was a masterful adaptation of the Roman centrally domed building for a Muslim building.
5. The Sultan Ahmet Camii, or Blue Mosque (1609—1616), was the climax of the classical Ottoman mosque.

III. With the accession of Suleiman II (1566—1574), Ottoman expansion halted as Hapsburg Austria, Orthodox Russia, and Shi'ite Iran fielded more formidable armies. Simultaneously, the Porte, rocked by fiscal crises, failed to keep pace in military technology.

A. The slow political decline in the Balkans following Ottoman failure at the second siege of Vienna (1683) long went unnoticed, because the sultans at Constantinople still presided over a brilliant Muslim civilization.

1. From the 1580s, the silver of the New World entered the Ottoman Empire and drove up prices, undermining the Porte's currency and revenues.
2. For their central administration, sultans from Mehmet II to Suleiman I created a class

of slave administrators, who served out of a sense of personal honor and duty to Islam. In Constantinople, loyal servile bureaucrats and guardsmen, the Janissaries, formed the central government

3. Repeated monetary crises after 1566 led to growing corruption in the Ottoman administration and repeated succession crises.
4. The Janissaries, a privileged caste, resisted improvements of weapons. As a result, Ottoman military superiority declined after 1600 as Christian Europe advanced in military technology, notably firearms, artillery, and warships.
5. By the time of his victory at the Battle of Pyramids (1799), Napoleon Bonaparte shook the foundations of the Ottoman Empire, compelling Scum III (1789-1807) to issue the first modern reforms.

B. The cultural transformation of Asia Minor has continued in the twentieth century after the reforms of Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic in 1923—1938.

1. Turks today continue to draw on the rich and diverse heritages of many civilizations to create a nation-state and modern society.
2. The fusion of traditional and modern elements is symbolized in the mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk, Anıt Kabir, at Ankara; the complex ingeniously combines elements from all the great artistic traditions of Asia Minor into a harmonious whole.

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#### Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the early Ottoman sultans emerge as the leading Turkish power by the accession of Mehmet II (1451—1481)?
2. Why was the capture of Constantinople decisive for Sultan Mehmet II (1451—1481)? What accounted for the stunning victories of Mehmet II?
3. What prevented the Ottoman conquest of Safavid Iran and Catholic Austria?
4. How was the Ottoman Empire administered under Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566)?
5. How was Constantinople, future Istanbul, rebuilt into a new Islamic capital? What was the impact of Ottoman Constantinople on the wider Muslim world?

## Glossary

**acropolis.** A Greek city's citadel and location of the main temples. *agora*. The market and public center of a Greek city, equivalent to a forum.

**akritai ("borderers").** Semi-independent warlords and soldiers who patrolled the borderlands of the middle Byzantine state.

**Asclepieion.** A sanctuary to Asclepius, god of healing.

**basilica.** Roman public building with apses at each end and a central hall or narthex. The design was applied to Christian churches in the fourth century. The longitudinal axis of the basilica was distinct from the centrally planned church in the form of a square and with a dome at the intersection, the design favored in the middle and late Byzantine ages.

**boule (plural *boulai*).** Council, either elected or chosen by lot, that summoned the assembly of citizens and supervised officials; the *bouleuterion* was a council hall.

**Byzantium; Byzantine.** Byzantium was the name of the Greek colony founded on the site of modern Istanbul in 668 B.C. In 330, Constantine refounded the city as Constantinople, or New Rome. Byzantium is applied to the east Roman civilization of the fourth through fifteenth centuries to distinguish it from the parent state of Rome.

**caliph ("successor").** The religious and political heir of the prophet Muhammad. The first four orthodox caliphs (632—661) were followers of Muhammad.

**Catholic ("universal").** The term used to designate the western medieval Latin-speaking church that accepted the doctrines of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) and the primacy of the Pope at Rome. See also Orthodox.

**commune (Greek *koinon*).** A league of cities devoted to the worship of the Roman imperial family.

**consul.** One of two annually elected senior officials of the Roman republic with the right to command an army (*imperi urn*). A consul became a proconsul whenever his term of office was prorogued or extended.

**Corinthian order.** The most ornate classical architectural order favored by the Romans.

**Crusader states.** The four feudal kingdoms established by Crusaders in the Levant: the Kingdom of Jerusalem, County of Tripoli, Principality of Antioch, and County of Edessa.

**cuneiform ("wedge-shaped").** The first system of writing on clay tablets; devised by the Sumerians inc. 3500-3100 B.C.

**Cybele (Phrygian Kubaba).** The great mother goddess of Anatolia whose principal shrine was at Pessinus. She was known to the Romans as the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*).

**decurlons.** The landed civic elites defined as capable of holding municipal office with wealth assessed in excess of 25,000 *denarii*, or one-tenth the property qualification of a Roman senator.

**dike ("justice").** In the poems of Hesiod (c. 700 B.C.), the goal of the rule of law in *apolis*.

**Dominate.** The late Roman Empire (284—476), in which the emperor ruled as an autocrat or lord (*dorninus*). The designation is used in contrast to the Principate (27 B.C.-284 A.D.), when emperors ruled as if magistrates of a Roman Republic. See Prncipate.

**Doric order.** The austere architectural order used for Greek temples and favored in the Peloponnesus.

**djvnatol ("powerful ones").** Landed nobles of the middle Byzantine period, who were the target of the land legislation of Macedonian emperors in 922—1025.

**Ecumenical council.** A conference representing the Christian world and summoned by the Roman emperor to determine doctrine.

The First Ecumenical Council, Nicaea (325), and Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople (381), condemned the Arian doctrine. The Third Ecumenical Council, Ephesus (431), condemned Nestorian doctrines. The Fourth Ecumenical Council, Chalcedon, (451) condemned Monophysite doctrine.

**ekkesia.** Assembly of all citizens of a *polls* with the right to vote laws and elect magistrates.

**equestrian order.** The landed property class of Roman citizens (assessed at 100,000 *denarii*), who stood below the senatorial order in the Principate.

They provided the jurists, officials, and army officers of the imperial government.

**Gkazi.**

The nomadic Turkomen warrior who was recast as the defender of Islam in the eleventh century.

**henotheism.**

The religious outlook regarding the traditional pagan gods as aspects of a single transcendent godhead. This was the religious vision of the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus and the emperor Julian II.

**heresy (“choice”).** A doctrine condemned by formal council as outside the accepted Christian theology and teachings.

**Hodegetria.** Any icon of Mary Theotokos (Mary with child), but it referred to the icon reputedly painted by Saint Luke, which was the palladium of Constantinople from 626 on.

**hoplite.** A Greek citizen soldier, armed with bronze armor, shield, and thrusting spear and trained to fight in a phalanx.

**icon or image.** The depiction of Christ, Mary Theotokos, or a saint on perishable material to which a believer prays for intercession before God.

**Iconoclast (“destroyer of icons”).** Those who argued that icons were idols and should be removed from Christian worship in 726-843.

**iconodule (“servant of icons”).** Those favoring the use of icons as a means of intercession.

**Ionic order.** The architectural order favored by Greek cities of Asia Minor.

**Janissaries (“New Soldiers”).** The elite infantry of the Ottoman sultans recruited from levies of Christian youths (*devshirme*).

**karum.** Commercial community of Mesopotamian merchants settled in a foreign city.

**kore (plural korai).** The female free-standing sculpture in Greek art. *kouros* (plural *kouroi*). The male nude free-standing sculpture in Greek art.

**legion.** The main formation of the Roman army of the Republic and Principate. Each legion (of 5,400 men) comprised professional swordsmen and specialists with Roman citizenship. The auxiliaries (*auxilla*)

were provincial units providing cavalry, archers, and light-armed infantry.

**logogram.** Pictorial ideogram in cuneiform that can be understood in any of the then-current literate languages.

**martyr (“witness”).** A Christian refusing to sacrifice to the gods and to renounce Christianity in a Roman legal proceeding. The martyr was consigned to the arena.

**medresse.** A Muslim religious school and hospital, equivalent to the Christian monastery.

**metropolitan.** The equivalent of an archbishop in the Orthodox Church.

**monophysis (“single nature”; Monophysite).** The doctrine stressing the single, divine nature of Christ. This became the doctrine of the Egyptian, Armenian, Syria, and Ethiopian churches.

**mystery cults (“initiation cults”).** In older scholarship, viewed as ecstatic, irrational cults that displaced traditional pagan worship in anticipation of Christianity. Mystery cults were those with initiation rites and conformed to general pagan expectations of piety.

**neokoros (“temple-warden”).** Title designating that a Greek city possessed a temple dedicated to the Roman emperor.

**novel (“new law”).** Land laws issued by Macedonian emperors from Romanus I (919—9~) and Basil II (976-1025) upholding the interests of peasants and holders of military tenures.

**Orthodox (“correct”).** The term used to designate the primarily Greek-speaking church of the Byzantine Empire that accepted the doctrines of the Council of Chalcedon (451). It was extended to include those Slavic and other churches that acknowledged the spiritual authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.

**Panhellenion.** The religious league of Greek sanctuaries founded by the Emperor Hadrian (117—138).

**patriarch (“paternal ruler”).** The Greek equivalent of the Latin pope (*papa*, “father”). The patriarch of Constantinople is the head of the Orthodox Church.

**Petrine Sees.** The five great apostolic sees founded by Peter or his disciples. The order was fixed at the

Fourth Ecumenical Council as Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Rome claims primacy and Constantinople claims equality with Rome.

**philotimira and philopatris.** The prized public virtues of a *polls*, love of honor and love of country, which motivated public gift giving and service.

**polls (plural poleis; “city-state”).** The Greek political community that permitted citizens to live according to the rule of law; distinguished Greeks from other peoples.

**Principate.** The early Roman Empire (27 B.C.-284 A.D.) when the emperor, styled as a *princeps*, “prince,” ruled as the first citizen of a republic. See Dominate.

**satrapy.** A Persian province; the governor was a satrap.

**schism (“cutting”).** A dispute resulting in mutual excommunication that arose over matters of church discipline or organization rather than theology. See heresy.

**senator.** The senatorial order were those aristocratic families of Rome of the highest property qualification (250,000 *denarii*) who sat in the Senate and served in the high offices of state

**Shi’ite (“sectarians”) and Sunni (“orthodox”).** The two main religious divisions of the Muslim world resulting from the civil war between Mi (656—661) and Muawiya (661—680).

**sortition.** Selection of officials by lot, characteristic of Greek constitutions.

**splinter empires.** Byzantine successor states founded after the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade: the empire of Trebizond, empire of Nicaea, and despotate of Epirus.

**strategos (plural strategoi; “general”).** Military governor; see theme.

**sultan (“guardian”).** The Turkish commander defending the caliph, who was henceforth regarded as the religious leader of Islam. Tughril Bey was

proclaimed the first sultan in 1055 when he occupied Baghdad. See caliph.

**syllabry.** Early writing systems that represented syllables rather than sounds, notably Linear A of the Minoans and Linear B of the Mycenaean Greeks.

**syncretism (“mixing with”).** Identification of one’s national gods with their counterparts of other peoples; for example, Roman Jupiter was equated with Greek Zeus, Syrian Baal, and Egyptian Amon. Such an outlook encouraged diversity in pagan worship rather than an incipient monotheism.

**synoecism.** A union of villages and towns to form a single *polis*. *telcke* (plural *teldceler*). A monument erected in memory of a deceased Muslim.

**Tetrarchy (“rule of four”).** The collective imperial rule established by Dicoletian in 285—306 with two senior Augusti and two junior Caesars.

**thalassocracy (sea power).** The term used by the Athenian historian Thucydides to designate the leading naval power in the Aegean world.

**theme.** Originally a military unit, it came to designate a province in the middle Byzantine state (c. 650—1071).

**Theotokos (“Mother of God”).** Title designating Mary as the mother of the human and divine natures of Christ accepted at the Third Ecumenical Council (431).

**timw’.** A land grant by the Ottoman sultan to *timariots* (holders of land grants) who acted as the provincial elite and military caste.

**timocracy.** A Greek constitution that accorded rights based on the wealth (*time*, “honor”) of each citizen.

**trireme.** Principal warship in the Classical Age with three banks of oarsmen and a single sail. Rowed by citizens who were expert in ramming tactics.

**türbe (plural türbeler).** A funerary memorial to a pious Muslim.

**tyrant.** Any figure who seized power in a *polls* by force and ruled without law. *wanax* (“lord”). The term used to describe monarchs in the Mycenaean age (600-1225 B.C.).

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