

## A Forgotten Settlement on the Byzantine Roads: Korniaspa Bizans Yollarında Unutulmuş Bir Yerleşim: Korniaspa

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**Öz-** Tarihi geçmişi Roma dönemine dek uzanan Korniaspa'nın coğrafi konumu, Bizans Anadolu'sunda tarihî coğrafya açısından hâlâ bir gizemdir. Korniaspa'nın yerini tespit etmeye yönelik yürütülen önceki girişimler, öznel varsayımlar ve daha spesifik bilgilere duyulan ihtiyaç nedeniyle sınırlı kalmış, bu da tam yerini belirlemeyi zorlaştırmıştır. Ancak tarihi kayıtlar Korniaspa'nın Kapadokya ile Galatya sınırında yer aldığı ve Tavium'u Sebasteia'ya bağlayan ana yol üzerinde bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Çevredeki yüzey araştırmalarında Bizans kalıntıları bulunsu da bunların, henüz kapsamlı kazı çalışmalarının yapılmadığı Tavium'dan geldiği düşünülmektedir. Korniaspa ile ilgili olarak, eldeki kaynaklar Ariuşçu piskopos Eunomios'un doğum yerinin Korniaspa bölgesi olduğunu söylemektedir. Aynı zamanda, Korniaspa yalnızca bir kez yazıtlı kayıtlarda geçer ve bu, Phrygia, Dorylaion'da ikinci erken döneme (M.S. 3. yüzyıl) tarihlendirilmiş bir adak taşının arkasında yer alır. Ancak, ilgili referansın Korniaspa'ya atıfta bulunduğu konusundaki gerçeklik tartışmalı olmakla beraber çoğu araştırmacı, yazıtın Korniaspa'yı işaret ettiği konusunda hemfikirlerdir.

Bu makale, Korniaspa adının olası Kelt kökenini ve bölgenin Kelt geçmişiyle olan bağlantısını incelemektedir. Ayrıca Korniaspa'nın, Basil'in iddia ettiği gibi Galatya'nın bir parçası olup olmadığını ve Korniaspa'nın Avrupa ile ilintili bağlantılarını araştırmaktadır. Çalışma, Korniaspa'nın konumuna ilişkin en doğru anlayışa ulaşmak için mevcut tüm kanıtların dikkate alınması ve öznel varsayımların ortadan kaldırılması gerektiğinin altını çizmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler–** Korniaspa, Keltler, Galatya, Eunomios, Tarihi Coğrafya.

**Abstract –** The geographical location of Korniaspa, whose history dates to the Roman period, remains a mystery in terms of historical geography in Byzantine Anatolia. Previous attempts to locate Korniaspa have been limited by subjective assumptions and the need for more specific information, making it challenging to pinpoint its exact location. However, historical records indicate that Korniaspa was situated along the border of Cappadocia and Galatia and along the main road connecting Tavium to Sebasteia. Although Byzantine remains were found during the surveys in the neighbourhood, they are thought to have come from Tavium, where extensive excavations have not yet been conducted. Concerning Korniaspa, the available sources say that the birthplace of the Arian bishop Eunomios was in the Korniaspa region. At the same time, Korniaspa appears only once in inscriptional records, on the back of a votive stone in a second early 3rd-AD-dated graveyard in Phrygia, Dorylaion. Although the authenticity of this reference to Korniaspa is disputed, most researchers agree that it refers to Korniaspa.

This article examines the possible Celtic origin of the name Korniaspa and its connection to the Celtic past of the region. It also explains whether Korniaspa was part of Galatia, as Basil claimed, and the European links to Korniaspa. This study highlights the need to consider all available evidence and eliminate subjective assumptions to arrive at the most accurate understanding of Korniaspa's location

**Keywords–** Korniaspa, Celts, Galatia, Eunomios, Historical Geography.

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## EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The location of Korniaspa in Byzantine Asia Minor is a question mark in historical geography, but it is essential for answering some critical questions. A thorough examination of the available material and an evaluation of previous attempts to locate Korniaspa have led us to conclude that it was the name of a region, not a specific place in Byzantine Asia Minor. However, despite various suggestions and previous studies, the limited evidence suggests that the ideal location requires further regional surveys and/or discovering undiscovered written sources.

So far, the hypotheses about the location of Korniaspa have been almost repetitive. There is, however, a critical piece of information. Eunomius, accused of being a Galatian and publicly humiliated by Basil, was born in Corniaspa (or Oltiseris) and believed to have been on the Galatian border. This raises questions about the origin of the name Korniaspa and its connection to the region's Celtic past, which are explored in more detail in this article. In this study, it should be noted that Eunomius, an essential figure in the theological debates of the fourth century, was born in Corniaspa and that Basil's disparaging view of him as a Galatian is significant. It should be noted, however, that this study will not go into Eunomius' theological debates with other theologians and with the Cappadocian Fathers.

When interpreting Korniaspa, it is first necessary to consider the available information. Historical records show that Korniaspa was located on the border of Cappadocia and Galatia. It was located on the road connecting Tavium to Sebasteia, about 31 km from Tavium (Büyüknefes). The route in question passed through Yozgat, 24 km east of Tavium. Korniaspa may, therefore, have been located a little further east.

The earliest trace of Korniaspa in historical documents is found in the Antonine Travelogue. The third-century booklet of the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius describes the main roads and stopping points in the Roman Empire. Accordingly, the road from Ankyra to Sebasteia passes through Bolegasus (Yeşildere-Elmadağ), Sarmalius (Kırıkkale), Eccobriga (Balıseyh) and Adapera (?) before reaching Tabio (Büyüknefes-Yozgat). From there, the route is divided into two parts, with the southern branch passing through Korniaspa and continuing to Sebasteia (Sivas).

Another essential source from the relevant period is the Tabvla Peutingeriana. Four main roads depart from the village of Buyuknefes, which appears as "Tavio" on the left side of the map. The route from north to south includes the major cities of Amasia (Amasya), Zela (Zile), Comana Pontica (Tokat) and Mazaka Cesarea (Kayseri) in the lower right corner of the map, marked by houses. Geographically, considering the other cities, Korniaspa should be located on the Tavio-Rogmons/Rogmorum-Rogmorum-Aegonne-Ptemari-Zela route. Although it is not shown on the map due to the proximity and frequent intervals between the cities, it does appear in some recent sources. While Foss' map helps to understand the physical environment, it neglects topographical features, ignoring relevant road lines, mountain ranges and watershed lines. As shown on the map, the main road from Tavium (Büyüknefes) passes through Korniaspa to Sibora (probably Hüyüktepe) near Pteria (Kerkenes- Şahmuratlı). The Basilica Therma (today Yozgat-Sarıkaya) is shown as a reference in the lower right corner of the map. According to the French, extensive research has been carried out along this route in the northern part of Tavium and the Zile region. However, It should be noted that this region's road network remains largely unexplored.

In French's map based on the Tabvla Peutingeriana, the route from Tavium to Zela can be traced with numbers 15-16. The route mentioned in the author's map, compiled from the relevant historical document, can be roughly traced on Mercator's 1584 map inspired by Ptolemy: Tavium (Tauium) - Aegonne (Etonia), Pleuramis (Ptemari?), Zela.

If the author has localized Ptemari (Karken/Kerkez/Kökenez Ruins) to Pleuramis, the distance to Tavium is 50 kilometres from the bird's eye view. Therefore, it would be a very appropriate inference to identify Korniaspa on Foss's map as being on the Galatian-Cappadocian border between Tavium and Ptemari. This identification is also consistent with the map prepared within the scope of the TIB project.

French's map of Hellenistic and Roman roads suggests that Korniaspa may have been located in Kızıltepe, northeast of the provincial centre, as shown on the TİB map, and that the distance between the village and the city of Yozgat is about 10 km in a straight line.

In the inscriptional record, the name Korniaspa is limited to a single inscription on the back of a votive stone in a second cemetery at Dorylaion (Eskişehir) in Phrygia, dating to the early third century AD. It is helpful to look at the word origin of Korniaspa, the subject of our study. Examining the word origin of Korniaspa can provide insight into the cultural and linguistic context in which the name emerged. Most scholars working on Korniaspa have cited Zgusta as one of the most essential sources. According to Zgusta, Korniaspa is a Celtic name with potential roots in the Celtic language. Zgusta suggests that the first part of the name (Corn-aco, Corn-ouii) could refer to a tribe or other Celtic words. The second part of the name is specific to Anatolian onomastics but has a parallel in the toponym "Aspona" in Galatia, between Ankyra and Tyana. Aspona is also believed to be of Celtic origin, which supports the idea that Korniaspa may have a similar etymology.

In conclusion, the Galatians, a Celtic people, played an essential role in world history, from their connections with the Balkan region to their interactions with powerful empires such as the Seleucids, Attalids and Mithridates, to their eventual absorption into the Roman Empire.

Moreover, the importance of the Galatians extends beyond their political history, as seen in the influence of Paul's Letter to the Galatians on Christian thought. The influence of the Galatians on early Christianity in Asia Minor is also evident in their involvement in theological debates, including the Marcionite heresy and the Montanist movement. Although the subject of this study, Korniaspa, lies on the border between Cappadocia and Galatia, it strengthens the argument that an ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity was maintained regardless of borders. Although the exact location of the settlement of Korniaspa cannot be determined, its connection with the nearby Celtic place name Tavium points to a possible Celtic influence in the region. Furthermore, the heretic Eunomius, whose hometown was Korniaspa, is only depicted in the Nuremberg Chronicle, which is essential for the context of this article even though it is considered an insignificant settlement.

The study of Korniaspa and the Galatians emphasizes the interconnectedness of different parts of the world, the importance of cultural exchange and the preservation of ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities despite changing borders. In conclusion, the study of the location of Korniaspa and the study of the Galatians provide essential reminders of the complexity and importance of global history.

## INTRODUCTION

The emergence of Christianity in the Levant and its spread in Asia Minor strengthened the presence of Rome in the region and enabled the empire to extend its borders to the Persian Gulf. However, by the 3rd century, the peninsula began to show signs of demographic transformation. Between 255 and 276 AD, utter destruction and chaos reigned in Asia Minor with the invasion of the tribes led by the Goths, Herulis, and Boranis. This looting wave, which started from the Black Sea coasts, spread from Trapezus to Heraclea in a span of time and negatively affected Galatia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia.<sup>1</sup>

As these various tribes advanced in Anatolia, the resistance of the Romans was broken, and in a short time, Bithynia, Nicaea, and Apamea were greatly affected by the new settlers. At the same time, a major threat emerged in the east, as the Sasanian king Shapur I invaded the eastern provinces. Peace would only come to Anatolia at the end of the same century, during the reign of Emperor Galerius, (Fig. 1) with the defeat of the Sasanians in the east.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 1:** Roman Empire around 2<sup>nd</sup> Century<sup>3</sup>

Located in the centre of East Asia Minor, the Cappadocia Region stretched from the Pontic Mountains in the north to the Taurus Mountains in the south, from the Euphrates River in the east to the Salt Lake in the west in ancient times. Colchis and Armenia Minor surrounded this region in the east, Commagene and Cilicia in the south, and Lykaonia, Phrygia, Galatia and Paphlagonia in the west and north. Historical documents show us that the information about the Cappadocia Region is very sparse and scarce. Furthermore, studies show that epigraphic monuments are rare in Cappadocia. The main reason for this situation is the low level of urbanization in the region.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Christian Marek, *In the Land of a Thousand Gods: A History of Asia Minor in the Ancient World*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), 356

<sup>2</sup> Marek, *In the Land of a Thousand Gods*, 356-360

<sup>3</sup> Osman Gümüşçü ve Diğerleri, ATTAP (Açıklamalı Türkiye Tarih Atlası Projesi), (Ankara: TÜBİTAK/SOBAG, 2011), 166

<sup>4</sup> Michael Speidel, "Hellenistik Kappadokia Krallığı", içinde *Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemlerinde Anadolu: Krallar, İmparatorlar, Kent Devletleri*, ed. Oğuz Tekin, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019), 102-104

The region of Galatia was initially established in 25 BC, considering the boundaries of the Kingdom of Galatia. In the following years, Paphlagonia was included within the province's borders. In the 50s, Cappadocia came to be referred to as Galatia entirely, a process that continued until the 110s. Subsequently, Cappadocia divided again, and its boundaries extended to the Black Sea (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 2:** Ptolemy's Map of Asia Minor in Mercator Atlas<sup>6</sup>

### 1. A Brief Overview of the Late Antique Galatia

Galatia initially designated the region where the Tolistobogians, Tectosages, and Trokmer tribes settled in the 3rd century BC, establishing their tribal centres in Pessinus, Ankyra, and Tavion. After evolving during the Roman imperial period, the concept of Galatia corresponded once more with the extent of the province of Galatia from the Diocletian period onwards.<sup>7</sup>

Firstly, information about the geography and landscape of Galatia should be given. The region is part of the Pontic or North Anatolian Mountain range, specifically the southern slope of the Köroglu Mountains. The region is transitioning from a humid climate influenced by the Black Sea to a summer-dry continental climate. As a result, the area still has significant high forest areas, particularly near the main ridge and on the north-facing slopes of the mountains.<sup>8</sup>

The transition from the forested north Anatolian landscape to the treeless central Anatolian landscape is harsh and abrupt, especially when entering Galatia from the northwest over the Mudurnu pass towards Nallıhan, where the landscape is dominated by the vegetation-hostile table of white-banded Neogene formations.<sup>9</sup> Most of Galatia is part of Central Anatolia, characterized as a summer-dry, warm,

<sup>5</sup> Mehmet Ali Kaya, "Anadolu'da Roma Eyaletleri: Sınırlar ve Roma Yönetimi", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 24/38, (2005): 11-30

<sup>6</sup> "Map of Asia Minor", David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Temmuz 25, 2023, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~340460~90108631:ASIAE--I--TAB>

<sup>7</sup> Klaus Belke ve Marcell Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. 4, Galatien und Lykaonien*, (Viyana: Verl. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss., 1984), 50; Klaus Belke, "Galatien in der Spätantike", *Asia Minor Studien Forschungen in Galatien*, 12, (1994): 171

<sup>8</sup> Belke ve Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4*, 50, Belke, "Galatien", 171

<sup>9</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 172

winter-cold, relatively undivided highland at about 800-1000 meters. However, the region has various types of landscapes, including basin landscapes (especially around river plains), heavily dissected strata tables (especially west of Ankara), and rolling land covered in Neogene deposits in the South.<sup>10</sup>

In the south, the Galatian region extends just to the northern tip of the Great Salt Lake (Tuz Gölü). Its open water mostly evaporates in the summer, leaving behind substantial salt crusts exploited since ancient times. This landscape borders Lycaonia to the west of the Tatta Limne without transition. Here, Strabo<sup>11</sup> said the last Galatian king, Amyntas, owned his vast flock of sheep.<sup>12</sup>

To the northwest of the Salt Lake basin is a higher-altitude, gently folded, relatively fertile hilly area, the Haymana Highlands, which is likely the landscape referred to in ancient times as Axylos, through which the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso marched against the Galatians in 189 BC. Between the Tembros and the upper Sangarios basins, a 100 km long mountain ridge with bizarre forms, the Sivrihisar Dağları, extends. The ridge has several notable Roman-Byzantine settlements, including Pessinus on the western flank of the Arayıt Dağı and the ancient Dindymon. The Yozgat and Kırşehir Highlands to the east of the Halys have a similar landscape to the Sivrihisar Mountains but are less continuous and have a complex series of mountain ranges, tables, and river plains.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the predominance of steppe-like terrain, two significant rivers flow through Galatia, both of which flow partly through the region: the Sangarios (Sakarya), coming from Phrygia in the southwest, and the Halys (Kızılırmak), coming from Cappadocia in the southeast. Both rivers are among the most important in Asia Minor in terms of their length and water flow. Despite the predominant steppe character, two large rivers which flow partially through Galatia shape the landscape of. Those both of the Sangarios (Sakarya), coming from the southwest of Phrygia, and the Halys (Kızılırmak), coming from the southeast from Cappadocia. Both are among the most significant rivers in Asia Minor due to their length and water flow.<sup>14</sup>

The expansion of the province of Galatia in late antiquity resulted from a long process that started before direct Roman rule. In 39 BC, the tetrarch of Galatia, Amyntas, gained more territory in the southern region with Rome's agreement and assumed the title of king.<sup>15</sup> When Augustus organized the extensive holdings of the late king Amyntas into the province of Galatia after his death, it included not only Galatia itself but also Lykaonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, and the Trachean Cilicia—in other words, comprising a region that included central western Anatolia from the Pontic Mountain range to the Mediterranean.<sup>16</sup>

In 54/55 AD, for military reasons in connection with conflicts with the Parthians over the enthronement of a pro-Roman king in Armenia, the provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia were united for the first time under the leadership of an imperial legate, who was responsible for four legions. Nero added the Pontic kingdom, ruled by King Polemon II, as Pontus Polemoniacus to the giant province in 64 AD. In 71/72 AD, Armenia Minor was conquered. However, the union with Cappadocia was dissolved in 64/67 AD. Under Vespasian, probably in 75 AD, Galatia and Cappadocia were once again

<sup>10</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 172

<sup>11</sup> Strabo, *The Geography*, çev. Hans Claude Hamilton, (Londra: George Bell & Sons, 1903), 1

<sup>12</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 172

<sup>13</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 172

<sup>14</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 173

<sup>15</sup> Belke ve Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4*, 51, Belke, "Galatien", 173

<sup>16</sup> Altay Coşkun, "A Survey of Recent Research on Ancient Galatia (1993–2019)", içinde *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early-Roman Periods Colloquia Antiqua*, ed. Altay Coşkun (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 3-94; Belke ve Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4*, 52, Belke, "Galatien", 174

united, temporarily with Syria, under a consularis.<sup>17</sup> This administrative complex now reached its greatest extent.<sup>18</sup>

In the first half of the 2nd century, Galatia was gradually reduced. The process began under Trajan when the Galatia-Cappadocia complex was dissolved (between 107/108 and 114). Pontus Galaticus and Pontus Polemoniaca were transferred from Galatia to Cappadocia towards the end of Trajan's rule. Nevertheless, Galatia retained its access to the sea because the double province of Bithynia-Pontus, which extended along the coast as far as Amisos (Samsun), was significantly reduced in 159 AD, giving the coastal strip back to Galatia. At the beginning of Mark Aurel's rule, it probably ended west of Abonu Teichos (İnebolu).<sup>19</sup>

Galatia underwent further reductions under Antoninus Pius when a new province hierarchy was formed in southern Asia Minor that included Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, known as the "Tres eparchiae." This led to the unification of Lycaonia and Isauria, which continued - perhaps with a brief interruption - into the early Byzantine period. Additionally, much of Pisidia was lost to Galatia and merged with Lycia-Pamphylia. This area remained part of Pamphylia throughout the Byzantine period.<sup>20</sup>

Under Severus Alexander, the province of Pontus was separated from Cappadocia and was temporarily (up to 279) merged with Galatia around 250. Paphlagonia was only given the status of a separate province under Diocletian. Still, it is unclear whether it remained part of Galatia or united with the independent province of Pontus until then.<sup>21</sup>

The boundaries of the province of Galatia under Diocletian and his successors can be determined from literary sources, including provincial lists such as the *Laterculus Veronensis*, which shows the state of development between 314/15 and 325, and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which was composed around 408. Other sources include itineraries such as the *Antonini Itinerary*<sup>22</sup>, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>23</sup>, and the *Burdigalense Itinerary*, which was written after 334 and provided accurate border points on the pilgrimage road. There are also lists of participants and signatories of councils and bishop directories from the 7th century, the *Notitiae episcopatum*.<sup>24</sup>

When determining the precise boundaries of a province, it is essential to consider the historical territories of cities, which frequently align with natural borders such as rivers or mountains. The northern boundary of Galatia against Bithynia and Paphlagonia ran along the ridge of the Koroğlu Dağları. On the Galatian side, the cities of Iuliopolis, Anastasiopolis, Mnizos, Ankyra, and Tavium were located here. On the Bithynian side, the cities of Claudiopolis (Bolu), Krateia (Gerede), and Adrianopolis (near Eskipazar) were located. Today, the border between the Ankara and Bolu vilayets still runs along this mountain ridge between Ankara and Çankırı. In the northwest, the *Burdigalense Itinerary* provides a

<sup>17</sup> During the reigns of Nero and Vespasian, urbanization in Central Anatolia peaked due to the need for resources to support a war against the Parthians and maintain a solid eastern frontier. This period also saw increased agricultural activity, the construction of Flavian roads, and the establishment of more towns throughout the Galatian countryside. Three polis centres, in particular, experienced growth and were monumentalized during this time. Additionally, there was a rise in the use of local coinage and a shift towards anepigraphic habits from the 1st to the 2nd century AD. Together, these factors contributed to the significant urbanization of Central Anatolia during the reigns of Nero and Vespasian, Coşkun, *A Survey*, 3-94

<sup>18</sup> Belke ve Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 4, 52, Belke, "Galatien", 174

<sup>19</sup> Christian Marek, "Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia", *Istanbul Forschungen*, 17 (1993): 84-88; Belke, "Galatien", 174

<sup>20</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 174

<sup>21</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 174; David French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor Vol. 3: Milestones, Fasc. 3.4: Pontus et Bithynia (with Northern Galatia)* (Londra: BIAA Electronic Monograph 4, 2013), 10

<sup>22</sup> The "itinerarium", prepared by the order of Antoninus Pius (86-161), the 15th Roman Emperor, is a kind of index showing the roads, distances, and routes of the empire.

<sup>23</sup> The map, the original of which dates to Late Antiquity, was restored and copied around the 13th century and has survived to the present day. Prepared in the form of a 7-metre roll, the map shows the Roman road network and is now preserved in the Austrian National Library as a UNESCO heritage site.

<sup>24</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 175



valid border point: the boundaries between Bithynia and Galatia were located between the *mansio* Ceratae on the Bithynian side and the *mutatio* Fines on the Galatian side.<sup>25</sup>

In the northern region of Ankyra, the undulating expanse of Köroğlu Mountains fissures towards the North, causing Gangra to fall within the southern precincts of the mountainous range. Ascertaining a definitive demarcation line in this vicinity poses a challenge, and it has been hypothesized that the Terme Stream might have functioned as a partial divider of the territories of Ankyra and Gangra. Consequently, from the era of Diocletian, it is presumed that this natural boundary also separated the provinces of Galatia and Paphlagonia.<sup>26</sup>

For a considerable stretch, the Halys River served as the frontier between Galatia and Paphlagonia. Evidence from Roman currency indicates that the territory of Tabia extended westwards to Ankyra and Gangra, reaching as far as the Halys, presumably, from the river's bend at Hamzalı to at least the confluence of the Delice Irmak (Kappadox). East of the Halys, natural boundaries are virtually nonexistent, and the known cities are widely scattered. In the imperial epoch, Tavium shared borders with Amaseia, while Euchaita (east of Çorum) intervened during the Byzantine era. Relying on the *capita viae* marked on milestones, the French could delineate the border between the city territories of Amaseia and Tabia, which can be estimated as between the Çorum plain and the Alaca valley.<sup>27</sup> In this case, today's Sungurlu is included in the borders of Tavium. The boundaries of the territories perhaps coincided with the limits of Galatia and Dios- or Helenopontos in Byzantine times.<sup>28</sup>

A boundary towards the east and southeast is complicated; it is likely that Galatia here bordered the territories of Zela (in Helenopontus), Sebastopolis (in Armenia I), and Therma (also known as Basilika Therma, now Sarıkaya, formerly Terzili Hamam) in Cappadocia I. As the territory of Tavium, as mentioned, extended far to the west and northwest as far as the Halys River, it was probably, at least in Byzantine times, more limited to the east. Therefore, the place names listed by Ptolemy as belonging to the territory of the Trokmer do not help much, except that some of these places are located to the west of Tavium, in its vicinity, or are not securely localized at all.<sup>29</sup> It seems that the living areas of the Galatians (and thus probably also the territory of Tavium in Roman times) extended further east than the boundaries of Galatia from the time of Diocletian.<sup>30</sup> The border between Galatia and Cappadocia ran southwestwards from this point. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* provides evidence for this as it lists two stops, Galea and Andrapa, after Aspona, a Galatian city. Then, after the Galatian border, Parnassos, the first Cappadocian city, is noted.<sup>31</sup>

Defining Galatia's southern and western borders is difficult due to various factors that altered the borders in the early Byzantine period. The reforms in imperial and provincial administration, initiated by Emperor Diocletian and continued by Constantine I, led to a significant separation of military and civilian authority in the provinces and a further reduction of their size. As a result, the so-called dioceses were created as superior authorities. Diocletian took the final step in breaking up the large province of Galatia by creating a new province from its southern part, namely Pisidia, which included North Pisidia and Lycaonia north of the Taurus foothills.<sup>32</sup>

Galatia lost some land in the south, including the Bishopric of Gdanmaa, to Lycaonia, but it gained territory in the west. The famous "Charter of Orkistos"<sup>33</sup> from the time of Constantine reveals that

<sup>25</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 175

<sup>26</sup> Stephen Mitchell, *The Ankara district: the inscriptions of North Galatia* (Londra: British Inst. of Archaeology at Ankara, 1983), 20; Belke, "Galatien", 175

<sup>27</sup> David French, "Roma Yolları ve Mil Taşları", *T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı II. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (İzmir: T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı), 123

<sup>28</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 175

<sup>29</sup> Mitchell, *The Ankara district*, 19

<sup>30</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 175

<sup>31</sup> Otto Cuntz ve Gerhard Wirth, *Vol 1: Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense* (Boston: De Gruyter, 1990), 92

<sup>32</sup> Belke ve Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4*, 51, Belke, "Galatien", 173

<sup>33</sup> The "Charter of Orkistos" is a document from the time of the Roman Emperor Constantine, which grants certain privileges and exemptions to the people of the city of Orkistos (Seyitgazi). It is an essential source of information about the legal and

Orkistos, once an independent city, became subject to Nakoleia (Seyitgazi) in Phrygia. Nakoleia asked the emperor to restore Orkistos' independence, which was granted. Orkistos, Amorion, and Troknada, despite their Celtic name, all belonged to Asia during the imperial period. A priest from Amorion participated in the Council of Constantinople in 381, sitting among the bishops of Pisidia. Amorion shared a border with Pisidia, and it is possible that Pisidia included the territory of Amorion in its founding. This western strip of land became part of Galatia during the last major administrative reorganization in Late Antiquity. Galatia was divided into Galatia I, with its capital at Ankyra<sup>34</sup>, and Galatia II or Galatia Salutaria, with its capital at Pessinus. The Notitia Dignitatum indicates that this division took place shortly after 399/400.<sup>35</sup>

In conclusion, defining the boundaries of cities and territories can prove to be complicated due to the influence of various political and administrative factors over time. While some regions may have demarcated natural borders, such as the Halys River, others may lack such distinct features. Therefore, accurately delineating city and territorial boundaries requires a nuanced understanding of historical, social, and environmental factors that shape these regions.

## 2. Geographical Evidence of Korniaspa

The position of Korniaspa in Byzantine Asia Minor is a dilemma in historical geography and is crucial for answering some critical questions. A thorough examination of the available material and a thorough evaluation of previous attempts to locate Korniaspa led me to conclude that it was the name of a region, not a specific place, in Byzantine Asia Minor. However, despite several proposals, an ideal location still needs to be discovered due to limited evidence being considered in previous efforts. In other words, attempts at localisation must be consistent with known facts. The discovery of new inscriptions or the appearance of new texts with more specific information will clarify the exact location or boundaries of Korniaspa. In the meantime, it is also essential to consider all available evidence and eliminate subjective assumptions to arrive at the most accurate understanding of Korniaspa's position. However, the assumptions about the location of the Korniaspa seen so far are almost repetitive. There is, however, one critical piece of information. Eunomius, accused of being a Galatian and publicly humiliated by Basil, was born in Korniaspa or Oltiseris, which is believed to have been located on the Galatian border. This raises questions about the origin of the name Korniaspa and its connection with the region's Celtic past, which will be examined in more detail in the following pages.

While interpreting Korniaspa, it is necessary to consider and bear in mind the available information. Historical records indicate that Korniaspa was situated along the border of Cappadocia and Galatia (Fig.3). It was located along the road connecting Tavium to Sebasteia, approximately 31 km from Tavium (Büyüknefes).<sup>36</sup> The route in question passed through Yozgat, located 24 km east of Tavium. Thus, Korniaspa may be situated slightly further east. Another piece of information about Korniaspa is that the Korniaspa region on the Galatian border was home to Oltiseris, the birthplace of the Arian<sup>37</sup>

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administrative structures of the Roman Empire and the relationships between different cities and regions during the Late Antiquity period. The Charter was written in Greek and is one of the earliest known examples of this document.

<sup>34</sup> Ankyra remained a political, cultural and religious centre in Anatolia; as such, it stayed the object of various events of religious controversy, especially since the rise of Christianity within the Empire; Coşkun, "A Survey of Recent Research on Ancient Galatia (1993–2019)", 3-94

<sup>35</sup> Coşkun, "A Survey of Recent Research on Ancient Galatia (1993–2019)", 3-94; Belke, "Galatien", 177

<sup>36</sup> Friedrich Hild ve Marcell Restle, *Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos), Tabula Imperii Byzantini 2*, (Viyana: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 215; Friedrich Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien*, (Viyana: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), 107; Otto Cuntz, *Imperatoris Antonini Augusti itineraria provinciarum et maritimum (Itineraria Romana I, 1-85)*, (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1929), 204.

<sup>37</sup> Arians believed in making a clear distinction between the person of God and Christ. As a result, they were viewed by their detractors as either denying the divinity of Christ or worshipping two gods. On the other hand, the Orthodox followers of the Nicene creed were supporters of the doctrine of Homoousion, which affirms the unity of God and Christ as being of the same substance; Stephen Michell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. Volume II. The Rise of the Church*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 92.

bishop Eunomios.<sup>38</sup> However, it should be noted that in the surveys conducted, the ancient artefacts in Yozgat and its immediate vicinity were attributed only to Tavium.<sup>39</sup>

The oldest trace of Korniaspa in historical documents can be found in the Antonine Itinerary (Fig. 4). According to this booklet, the place of Korniaspa is described as follows:

The booklet, dated to the 3rd century Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius, describes the main roads and stopping points in the Roman Empire. Accordingly, the road from Ankyra to Sebasteia passes through Bolegasgus (Yeşildere - Elmadag<sup>40</sup>), Sarmalius (Kırıkkale), Eccobriga (Balıseyh) and Adapera<sup>41</sup> (?) and reaches Tabio (Büyüknefes-Yozgat). The route splits into two from here, and its southern branch passes through Korniaspa and continues until Sebasteia (Sivas).

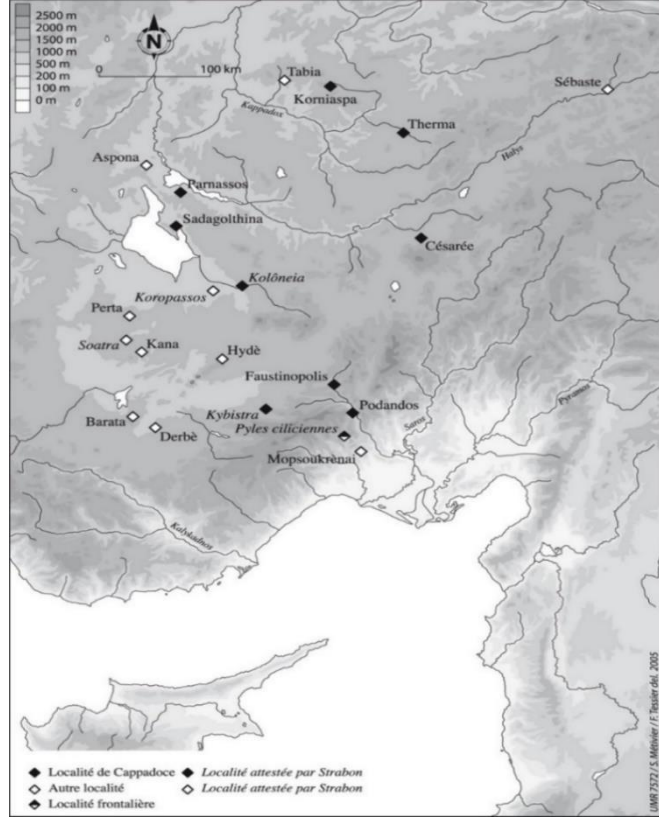


Figure 3: Borders of Cappadocia<sup>42</sup>



Figure 4: Antonine Itinerary<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Miguel Brugarolas, *Gregory of Nyssa an English translation with supporting studies/Contra Eunomium I. Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements, Volume: 148*, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 93; William Mitchell Ramsay, "The historical geography of Asia Minor", *Royal Geographical Society Supplementary Papers*, 4 (1890), 264-315 According to the historical accounts of Sozomen, the birthplace of Eunomius is believed to be Dakora (πατρίς: κώμη δ' αὐτῆ Καππαδοκίας Δάκορα). However, this assertion may be a misinterpretation by Sozomen based on references in Philostorgius' writings, which mention τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἄρροβός (Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, 307.)

<sup>39</sup> Kurt Bittel, *Kleinasiatische studien. Istanbul Mitteilungen 5*, (İstanbul:Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, 1942), 12

<sup>40</sup> "Digital Atlas of Roman Empire", Haziran 26, 2023, <https://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/>

<sup>41</sup> Belke, "Galatien", 104, In the study carried out, no localization proposal was made.

<sup>42</sup> Sophie Métievier, *La Cappadoce (IVe-VIe siècle): Une histoire provinciale de l'Empire romain d'Orient*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2016), 68.

<sup>43</sup> Bernd Löhberg, "Antonine Itinerary. Tabulae Geographicae" Temmuz 23, 2023, <https://www.tabulae-geographicae.de/english/roman-empire/the-antonine-itinerary/>

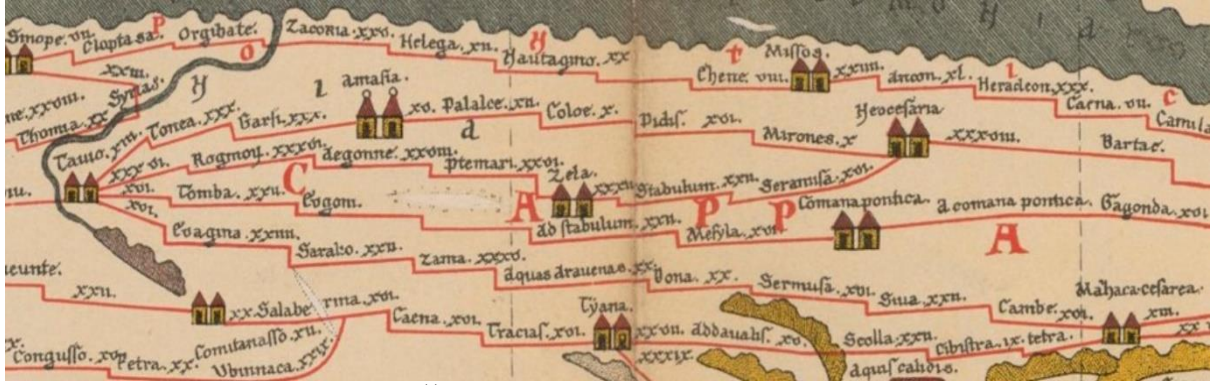


Figure 5: Tabula Peutingeriana<sup>44</sup>

Another important source of the relevant period is Tabula Peutingeriana (Fig. 5). Four main roads separate from Büyüknefes village, which appears as “Tavio” on the left part of the map. The route from north to south includes major cities marked with houses on the map, namely Amasia (Amasya), Zela (Zile), Comana Pontica (Tokat), and Mazaka Cesarea (Kayseri) in the lower right corner of the map. Geographically, considering other cities as well, Korniaspa should be located on the Tavio-Rogmons/Rogmorum-Aegonne-Ptemari-Zela route. Although not shown on the map due to the proximity and frequent intervals between the cities, it finds a place in some current sources.

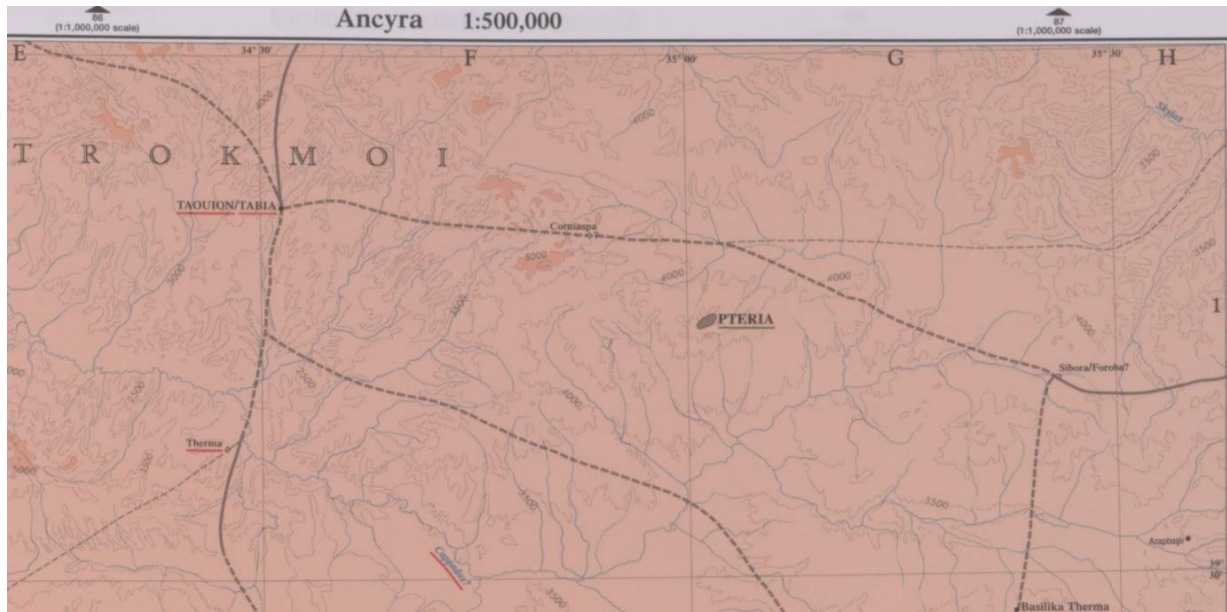


Figure 6: Routes which is goes to east from Ancyra<sup>45</sup>

Although the map of Foss (Fig. 6) is useful for understanding the physical environment, it neglects topographic features by ignoring relevant road lines, mountain ranges, and watershed lines. As depicted on the map, the main road starting from Tavium (Büyüknefes) passes through Korniaspa and reaches Sibora (possibly Hüyüktepe) near Pteria (Kerkenes - Şahmuratlı). In the lower right corner of the map, Basilika Therma (modern-day Yozgat-Sarıkaya) is indicated for reference. Along the mentioned route, according to French, extensive research has been conducted on the northern part of Tavium and the Zile region, but the road coverage in this area remains largely unexplored.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Rene Voorburg, “Tabula Peutingeriana”, Temmuz 27, 2023, <https://www.omnesviae.org/viewer/>

<sup>45</sup> Clive Foss, *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 63.

<sup>46</sup> French, *Roman Roads*, 30

In French's work (Fig. 7), reproduced by Tabvla Peutingeriana, the road from Tavium to Zela can be followed by numbers 15-16. The route mentioned in the author's map, which he gathered from the relevant historical document, can be seen roughly on the map where Mercator was inspired by Ptolemy in 1584 (Fig. 8); Tavium (Tauium)- Aegonne (Etonia), Pleuramis (Ptemari?), Zela.

If the author has localized Ptemari (Karkenes/Kerkez/Kökenez Ruins) to Pleuramis, the distance to Tavium follows a 50-kilometre bird's-eye path. Thus, it would be a very appropriate inference for the description of Korniaspa, which we see on Foss's map, between Tavium and Ptemari, on the Galatia-Cappadocia border. This description is also compatible with the map prepared in the TIB project.



Figure 7: Routes in Cappadocia<sup>47</sup>



Figure 8: Ptolemy's Map of Asia Minor in Mercator Atlas (1584)<sup>48</sup>

In French map depicting the roads of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it indicates that Korniaspa could be in Kızıltepe -as can be seen in the TIB map (Fig. 9), northeast of the provincial centre, and the distance between the village and the city of Yozgat is approximately 10 km in a straight line. Between the village of Kızıltepe and the city of Yozgat, there is Çeşka Castle and an underground city. It is believed that the castle has been inhabited since the Bronze Age up to the present day. Surface surveys have revealed pottery from the Phrygian, Roman, and Byzantine periods, as well as rock tombs in the area. Could this underground city be the Korniaspa for which we are searching?

<sup>47</sup> French, *Roman Roads*, 30

<sup>48</sup> David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, "Map of Asia Minor"



Figure 9: Tabula Imperii Byzantini. 4, Galatien und Lykaonien<sup>49</sup>

The name Korniaspa in inscriptional records is limited to a single inscription found on the back of a votive stone in a second early 3rd-AD-dated graveyard in Phrygia, Dorylaion (Eskişehir). Scholars have questioned the authenticity of this reference to Korniaspa. However, the prevailing opinion on the subject is that the place name mentioned in the inscription (*Κουρναιτηνοί*) is Korniaspa rather than the possibility of a different place.<sup>50</sup>

“ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· θεοῖς Ὁσίοις καὶ Δι-  
καίοις Ἡρόφιλ[ος]  
Παπᾶ εὐχίην.  
Ἀσκλᾶς καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶς  
οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ λατύποι  
Κουρναιτηνοί.”<sup>51</sup>

In light of the above information, this study will have some questions. The main questions regarding this study Korniaspa are: Could the word “Korniaspa” be Celtic? Was Korniaspa, said to be on the border of Cappadocia as mentioned above, part of Galatia as Basil claimed? What are the connections of Korniaspa in the context of global history?

### 3. Korniaspa and its Celtic Connection

The Celts were the ancestors of Galatians warriors from the Balkan region who invaded Asia Minor in 3rd century BC after Lysimachos and Seleukos I died. By 166 BC, they were accepted into the friendship of the Romans and received diplomatic protection. The most powerful Galatian tribe was the Tolistobogioi, while the Tektosages and Trokmoi were also distinct. Later, the tribal centres became Hellenistic cities, and Greek and Roman's names became common. In 212 AD, the Galatians were

<sup>49</sup> Belke ve Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4*

<sup>50</sup> Johannes Franz, *Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte in Kleinasien eine Abhandlung topographischen Inhalts*, (Berlin: Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1840), 34

<sup>51</sup> Machell Cox, Christopher William ve Archibald Cameron, *Monuments from, Dorylaeum et Nacolea «Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua» [MAMA]*, (Manchester: Manchester Uni. Press, 1937), 188, n°1

included in the Roman privilege offered to all empire citizens. Nevertheless, the tribes retained their distinctive characteristics for several generations.<sup>52</sup>

The region is very active in periods of religion. One of the essential sources of Christianity, the Epistle to the Galatians, written by Paul, has held an important place in Christian thought for almost two thousand years. Many consider it to be the most influential pamphlet in history. It defends what is believed to be the “right belief”, safeguarding salvation through Christ, and fights against teachings that lead to spiritual serfdom and death. Notably, the letter contains an autobiographical account of Paul's conversion to Christianity, one of world history's most impactful personal experiences. Without it, the Christian movement would likely have been re-integrated into Judaism without leaving a distinct historical record.<sup>53</sup>

Although we don't know how the Galatians initially responded to Paul's letter, it remained a crucial document among early Christians in Asia Minor. Its impact on the Phrygians and Galatians is evident from its prominent role in the heresy of Marcion<sup>54</sup> in the mid-2nd century AD, as well as its adversary Tertullian and the Montanist movement. These theological disputes essentially took place in Ankyra, the primary residence of the metropolis of the Roman province of Galatia.<sup>55</sup>

The Galatians were the ancestors of Celtic warriors who migrated from Europe to Asia Minor, plaguing the western half of the sub-continent for over a century. Since at least the 4th century AD, readers of Paul's letter must have assumed that the pamphlet was directed to the Christians who descended from these barbarian invaders and were living in the northwest of the Anatolian plateau. This would have been the most instinctive understanding from a Late Antique perspective in geographical and ethnic terms.<sup>56</sup>

Jerome's Commentary on Galatians provides a quotation that best illustrates the points mentioned above:

“Anyone knows what I mean who has seen the extent to which the city of Ankyra, metropolis of Galatia, has been utterly torn apart by schisms and fouled by all manner of false dogmas. I pass over the Kataphryges, the Ophitai, the Borboritai and the Manichaeans in silence, for these are already well-known appellations of human calamity. But who ever heard of Passaloryncitai, Askodroboi, Artotyritai and others, monstrosities rather than names, in any other part of the Roman world? Traces of their stupidity remain today. (Jerome, Comm. in ep. ad Gal. II.3 praef.)”<sup>57</sup>

In a brief comment on the language spoken by the Galatians, Jerome suggests an ethnic identification closely tied to the Treviri<sup>58</sup>, stating that, apart from Greek, “*the Galatians have nearly the*

<sup>52</sup> Altay Coşkun, “Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: The Galatians in the Graeco- Roman World”, içinde *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World*, ed. Sheila Ager ve Reimer Faber, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 73-74

<sup>53</sup> Altay Coşkun, “Pauline Churches in the Galatike Chora: A New Plea for Their Location in North Galatia”, *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early-Roman Periods Colloquia Antiqua* 33, ed. Altay Coşkun, (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 323-364

<sup>54</sup> Marcion was an influential figure in the early Christian Church who lived in the 2nd century AD. He was a prominent leader of a group known as the Marcionites, considered a heretical movement by orthodox Christians. Marcion believed that the God of the Old Testament was a different deity than the God of the New Testament, and he rejected the Jewish scriptures as having no authority over Christians. He also dismissed the idea that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah and instead saw him as a separate divine being who came to save humanity from the wrathful God of the Old Testament. Marcion's ideas and teachings were controversial and led to theological disputes in the early Church. Still, they had a lasting impact on Christian thought and shaped the development of the canon of the New Testament. For detailed information bkz: Judith Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

<sup>55</sup> Coşkun, Pauline Churches, 323-364

<sup>56</sup> Coşkun, Pauline Churches, 323-364

<sup>57</sup> Stephen Mitchell ve David French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra) Vol. 2 Late Roman, Byzantine and Other Texts*, (Münih: Verlag C. G. Beck, 2012), 20

<sup>58</sup> The Treveri were a prominent Gallic tribe that lived in present-day Germany, Luxembourg, and France during the Roman Empire period. Their name was derived from a Celtic word that meant “the strong ones” or “the brave ones”, reflecting their reputation for military prowess. The Treveri played a significant role in the Gallic Wars, which saw Julius Caesar and the Romans conquer the Gauls and bring the region under their control. Over time, the Treveri were assimilated into the Roman Empire, with their culture and language being replaced mainly by Latin. Julius Caesar's “The Gallic War” (Julius Caesar, *The*

same language as the Treviri". As one of the most prominent Church Fathers of his time, Jerome's statement reinforced the prevailing view that the Galatians maintained a consistent ethnic and cultural identity over a long period. As it is understood, speaking Celtic must have been necessary for the self-perceptions of ethnically distinctive Galatians. Common opinion has it that this continued to be the case until the later 4th century.<sup>59</sup>

It is helpful to look at the word origin of Korniaspa, the subject of our main study. Because studying the phrase origin of Korniaspa can provide insights into the cultural and linguistic context in which the name originated. Most scholars who have studied Korniaspa<sup>60</sup> have cited Zgusta<sup>61</sup> as one of the most important sources on the subject. According to Zgusta, Korniaspa is a Celtic name with potential roots in the Celtic language. Zgusta suggests that the first part of the name (*Corn-aco*, *Corn-ouii*) may refer to a tribe or other Celtic words. The second part of the name is unique to Anatolian onomastics, but it has a parallel in the toponym "Aspona", located in Galatia between Ankyra and Tyana. Aspona is also believed to have Celtic origins, which supports the idea that Korniaspa may have a similar etymology.<sup>62</sup>

Sims-William, another scholar researching the origins of Korniaspa's name, suggests that it may be a hybrid formation. He points out that while the prefix "corni-" is likely Celtic, the "asp-" suffix is not. Sims-William further notes that the Celts must have had an extremely rare native suffix or etymon, or the natives must have had a unique Celtic etymon.<sup>63</sup> In a related article on cross-cultural place names in Central Asia Minor and Galatian history, Coşkun describes Korniaspa as ambiguous due to its elements' uncertainty. The first element, "corni-", is widely used in Greek and Latin, while the second element, "asp-", appears to be Old Anatolian or Persian, as seen in the case of Aspendos.<sup>64</sup>

It should be noted in this study that Eunomius, a prominent figure in the theological debates of the fourth century, was born in Korniaspa and that Basil's insulting view of him as a Galatian is also significant. However, it is essential to clarify that this article will not delve into Eunomius' theological debates with other theologians and the Cappadocian Fathers.

The Cappadocian Fathers were a group of prominent churchmen from the region of Cappadocia who gained notoriety for their theological writings and teachings. While several members of this group were associated with the heterodox theology of Arianism, they had little direct influence on the Cappadocian Fathers. However, one group member, Eunomius, had a profound impact despite never achieving the status of a venerated Father of the Church. Eunomius was an influential theologian and dialectician, but his opponents found his writings rambling and pointless. The most prominent of Eunomius' opponents were his fellow Cappadocians, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, who responded with lengthy and sarcastic theological treatises. While their hostility was partly due to theological disagreements, their attacks also reflected underlying motives related to family, education, personal connections, and expectations about career success. Eunomius was the son of a working man. At the same time, Basil and Gregory were prominent notables, and their annoyance at having someone from a different background as a theological peer may have fueled their attacks.<sup>65</sup>

*Gallic War*, haz. H. Edwards, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989) is a crucial source of information about the Treviri and other Gallic tribes during the Roman era. While it is biased and should be approached critically, it provides valuable insights into the history and culture of the region during this time. Treviri's military strength and contributions to the Gallic Wars are discussed in this work, making it an essential primary source for understanding their role in this period.

<sup>59</sup> Coşkun, *A Survey*, 20

<sup>60</sup> Adj. ἐν ἀνωτόμῳ τι νι Κορνιασπινῆς ἐοχαιτῆ Greg. Nyss.C. Eunom. (Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca (vol. 45), (Paris: Series Graeca, 1858), 231/D

<sup>61</sup> Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, (Heidelberg: Winter, 1984), 289-290

<sup>62</sup> Holder implies that his work may have more information about the topic; Alfred Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1896), 248

<sup>63</sup> Patrick Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 275

<sup>64</sup> Altay Coşkun, *Interkulturelle Ortsnamen in Zentralkleinasien und Galatische Geschichte*, (Toronto: Names in Multi-Lingual, Multi-Cultural and Multi-Ethnic Contact. Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS XXIII), 2009), 243–253

<sup>65</sup> Raymond van Dam, "The Evil in Our Bosom": Eunomius as a Cappadocian Father, içinde *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia*, ed. Raymond van Dam, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 15-16.



Basil and Eunomius, being of similar age and sharing a background in classical culture and biblical studies, could have formed a friendship. However, Eunomius' education was acquired from a distinctly different experience, as he did not come from a locally renowned family. It was born in Oltiseris, a small and unremarkable village located far north of Cappadocia, roughly 100 miles northwest of Caesarea and northeast of Nyssa. Korniaspa, a nearby town close to the border with Galatia, served as a way station on the east-west road between Tavium in the province of Galatia Prima and Sebasteia in the area of Armenia Prima, as well as the north-south road between Tavium and Caesarea. There were no large cities in the region, filled with tiny settlements, imperial estates, and ranches. Less than fifty miles from Oltiseris and Korniaspa was the "Imperial Hot Spring", known as Basilica Therma.<sup>66</sup>

Eunomius' family was somewhat unremarkable. His grandfather had a Romanized Latin name, and his family operated a mill and a tannery or a workshop in leather, possibly employing enslaved people. In other words, Eunomius' family was moderately successful and comprised farmers, artisans, and small entrepreneurs. The abundant livestock in Cappadocia provided ample hides, and the Roman army was a significant consumer of leather for clothing, shoes, armour, and tents. With easy access to a main road leading towards Bastia and the upper Euphrates River, Eunomius' family most likely supplied grain and leather to the troops on the eastern frontier. Moreover, Eunomius' father owned a small farm, and during the long winter months, he supplemented his income by engraving letters of the alphabet for children's use. Even an opponent later acknowledged that Eunomius' father had been a "most admirable man."

Basil wrote a three-book treatise responding to Eunomius' Apology. His response articulated his doctrines about the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit and directly attacked Eunomius' background and character. Although Basil had not been involved in previous debates, he replied as if he had been the victim of a personal attack. He began by denouncing Eunomius for presenting his doctrines in the guise of an apology, which he argued was a misleading format. Basil then criticized Eunomius for his faulty use of Aristotelian logic and his tendency to babble. He also belittled Eunomius as a "Galatian," a common technique of depreciating an opponent. With this description, Basil may have been trying to protect Cappadocia, the region where serving as a cleric, from the shame of Eunomius' doctrines. Throughout his treatise, Basil emphasized that he would go beyond refuting Eunomius' doctrines to expose the "falsehood, ignorance, arrogance, error, and blasphemy" in his treatise.<sup>67</sup>

In conclusion, the theological debates between Eunomius and the Cappadocian Fathers were not just about theological differences but also social and cultural status. Eunomius came from a less prominent family than Basil and Gregory, which likely contributed to their hostility towards him. Basil, in particular, went beyond refuting Eunomius' doctrines to attack his background and character, using his status as a "Galatian" to belittle him. However, if it were not for this hostility and concern for their prestige, Eunomius may have become a respected member of the "Cappadocian" Fathers. Thus, the theological debates between Eunomius and the Cappadocian Fathers were not just an intellectual exercise but a reflection of their time's social and cultural dynamics.

#### 4. Korniaspa's Links in Europe

I have identified that Korniaspa has two connections with Europe, one indirectly in art and one linguistically direct. Firstly, I mention the indirect link.

As it is known, art history research plays a crucial role in historical research, helping to enrich and deepen our understanding of past societies and their cultural and social values and providing a unique perspective on the historical events and movements that have shaped our world. Visual depictions in manuscripts can offer insight into the subject's importance, as perceived by the producer. The inclusion and style of the illustration can reveal much about the manuscript's intended audience and purpose, as well as the worldview and values of the manuscript's creators.

As far as the depiction of Korniaspa is concerned, it would be a miracle to find a depiction of this "insignificant" settlement outside of map markings. Furthermore, the precise location of Korniaspa

<sup>66</sup> van Dam, *The Evil in Our Bosom*, 17-18.

<sup>67</sup> van Dam, *The Evil in Our Bosom*, 28-29.

cannot be determined, as previously mentioned. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the depictions of Eunomius, most closely associated with Korniaspa. However, Eunomius, considered an Arian and heretic, does not have much visual evidence to support his existence. Only a portrait of him appears in the Nuremberg Chronicle.<sup>68</sup>

Eunomius, who appears in the chapter “Sexta Etas Mundi (The sixth Age of the World) (fl. CXXXII v.)”, does not draw a strong image in his illumination. As the manuscript text states, “He was afflicted with the royal disease”.<sup>69</sup> Martyrs, saints, clergy (Nicholas, John and Paul, Gordianus and Epimachus, Juliana and Demetria, Cyriacus), heretics (Donatus, Eunomius, Macedonius), grammarian (Donatus) and emperor (Julianus) illustrated on the same page. The text is in the centre, with bust-shaped illustrations on the edges of the page. Eunomius' birthplace and family are not mentioned in the Eunomius text. The only information provided is that he was a leper and a heretic. In depictions of heretics, he is often portrayed as the shabbiest looking of all heretics, likely to emphasize his illness.

It's not surprising that we see Eunomius in this work. Because Schedel aimed to write a detailed world history and succeeded, it is natural that many religious figures such as Eunomius appear in a world history written from the perspective of religion.

The second connection is the linguistic link directly related to Korniaspa's etymology. I have already mentioned above that the word etymology of Korniaspa is likely to be Celtic. The linguists Villar and Prósper think that there is a Celtic linguistic connection between some toponyms beginning with “-korn”, taking into account the region's history. For example: “Corna (on Merovingian coins), Cornate (Italy), Curnubia/Cornovii (England), Cornucio (France).<sup>70</sup> However, although Korniaspa is mentioned in the study, it is interesting that Korniaspa is not included in this list because I think that Korniaspa deserves a Celtic name due to its linguistic similarity as well as the region where it is located. The neighbouring place name of Korniaspa, Tavium, is a strong contender to be regarded as a Celtic place name. The term can be explained as a derivative of the Celtic root “tauso-” which means “silent, quiet,” and can be well-suited for a river. Derivatives of this noun have been found in Celtic areas of Western Europe, including Tauus, Taua, Tauia, and others.<sup>71</sup>

In conclusion, within the global history framework, the search for the location and root of Korniaspa is a prime example of the challenges in reconstructing the past. The limited evidence and subjective assumptions made by previous scholars highlight the importance of critical analysis and the need to evaluate all available sources carefully.

## CONCLUSION

Asia Minor, which has hosted many civilizations throughout history, has been among the common aspirations of the peoples with its underground and aboveground riches, its dynamic population, and resources. The peninsula, which hosts many natural harbors through its fractured fault structure in the Western Aegean, is protected from the south by the Taurus Mountains and from the northwest by the Caucasus Mountains.

<sup>68</sup> The Nuremberg Chronicle, also known as the Book of Chronicles, is a comprehensive work of fifteenth-century printing that details world history from a biblical and classical perspective. It includes over 1,800 woodcuts, hand-coloured in many copies, depicting historical and biblical events, family trees, portraits, and views of almost 100 major cities throughout Europe and the Near East. The book was commissioned by two merchants and printed by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg in 1493 in both Latin and German. Around 1,500 copies were produced in Latin, and 1,000 were published in German. Today, the book is highly valued by collectors due to its historical and artistic significance, with around 700 copies held in institutes or private collections; Kathryn Hennessy, *Remarkable Books: The World's Most Beautiful and Historic Works*. (New York: DK Penguin Random House, 2018), 78

<sup>69</sup> The 'royal disease' here is jaundice. This information is not found in any other source.

<sup>70</sup> Francisco Villar Liebana ve Blanca María Prosper, “Los nombres de Córcega y sus paralelos europeos y minorasiáticos”, içinde *Vascos, celtas e indoeuropeos. Genes y lenguas*, ed. Francisco Villar Liebana ve Blanca María Prosper (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2005), 79-86.

<sup>71</sup> Eugeino Luján, “The Galatian Place Names in Ptolemy and the Methodological Problems of Dealing with Celtic Linguistic Evidence in Asia Minor”, içinde *New Approaches to Celtic Place Names in Ptolemy's Geography*, ed. Javier de Hoz, Eugenio Luján, Patrick Sims-Williams (Madrid: Ediciones Clasicas, 2005), 253-265.

Mountain ranges such as the Pontic Alps, which did not allow the armies to pass, provided peace and security to the people in which they lived, so for example, the Greek Empire of Trabzon survived longer than Byzantium and the same Byzantine protected itself from the Arabs through the Taurus Mountains.

Anatolia, adjacent to the Fertile Crescent, where cereal products such as wheat, barley, lentils, and chickpeas that directly contribute to the development of humanity are born, is also a suitable region for human life where four seasons are experienced. Due to the marshy permafrost lands in the north of the Black Sea and the deserts in the south of the Mediterranean, Anatolia even today, it serves as a bridge that carries societies from east to west or vice versa. In this way, it has preserved its feature of being a place that is always in sight and desired to be owned.

The Galatians, a Celtic people, have played an essential role in global history, from their connections to the Balkan region to their interactions with powerful empires such as the Seleukids, Attalids, and Mithridates, and their eventual acceptance into the Roman Empire.

Moreover, the significance of the Galatians extends beyond their political history, as evident in the influence of the letter to the Galatians, written by Paul, on Christian thought. The Galatians' impact on early Christianity in Asia Minor is also evident in their involvement in theological disputes, including the Marcion heresy and the Montanist movement.

Although it appears on the border of Cappadocia Korniaspa, a subject of this study, it strengthens the argument that the Galatians maintained an ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity regardless of their borders.

Although the exact location of the settlement of Korniaspa cannot be determined, its connection with the nearby Celtic place name Tavium suggests a possible Celtic influence in the region. Furthermore, the appearance of heretic Eunomius, whose hometown was Korniaspa, is only depicted in the Nuremberg Chronicle, although considered an insignificant settlement, is essential for the context of this article.

The study of Korniaspa and the Galatians highlights the interconnectedness of different parts of the world, the importance of cultural exchange, and the maintenance of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities despite changing borders. In conclusion, the search for Korniaspa's location and the study of the Galatians serve as important reminders of the complexities and significance of global history.

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