

THE LATE ANTIQUE AND BYZANTINE ROAD-NETWORK IN WESTERN ANATOLIA: SOME ADDITIONS TO A WIDELY RAMIFIED SYSTEM



BATI ANADOLU'DA GEÇ ANTİK ÇAĞ VE BİZANS DÖNEMİ YOL AĞI: GENİŞ ÇAPTA KOLLARA AYRILMIŞ YOL SİSTEMİNE BAZI EKLEMELER

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Abstract

The network of communication roads and routes in Western Anatolia dates essentially from the Roman period: its strengthening started immediately after the founding of the province *Asia* in 133 / 129 BCE. In later generations, the system expanded, and in late antiquity, it reached its greatest extent. Then, in the middle ages, only single sections of varying lengths were in use, due to political conditions, numerous threats, weathering and climatic influences. There was no further expansion of the road system anymore; the width of many communication routes shrank considerably. At various locations in Western Asia Minor, one can find ancient or medieval bridges, milestones and original road sections of various length. Indeed, between these archaeologically documented *fixed-points* the course of the roads needs to be re-constructed. Most road models refer to the *Barrington Atlas*, offered by Richard Talbert and his team in the year 2000. Unfortunately, this system is partly incomplete. Therefore, the aim of our article is to present some additions. For example, one has to add a local road between Perperēnē / Theodosiupolis and Trarion in the area of modern Aşağıbey; another one led through the mountain range of Yunt dağı and connected the cities of Gambreion near Poyracık and Hermokapeleia / Beşiktepe. Several Roman roads existed in Northern Lydia as well as east of the Lycus valley. Furthermore, they existed on Karaburun Yarımadası, where they connected the local settlements with the regions in the hinterland of Smyrna / İzmir and Ephesus / Selçuk.

Key Words: *Byzantine Empire, Historical geography, Late Antiquity, Roman roads, Western Anatolia,*

Öz

Batı Anadolu'daki bağlantı yolları ve güzergâh ağı, esas olarak Roma Dönemi'nden kalmadır: Bunların takviyesi, MÖ 133-129 sürecinde Asya Eyaleti'nin kuruluşundan hemen sonra başlamıştır. Yol sistemi sonraki dönemlerde daha da genişlemiş ve Geç Antik Dönem'de en kapsamlı haline erişmiştir. Orta Çağ'da, siyasi durum, çok sayıda tehdit, hava

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koşulları ve iklim faktörlerine bağlı olarak, farklı farklı uzunluklardaki [güzergâhların] sadece bir kolları kullanılmaktaydı. Artık yol ağında bir genişleme söz konusu değildi; birçok bağlantı yolundan oluşan güzergâh genişliği önemli ölçüde daraldı. Batı Anadolu'da çeşitli konumlarda, Antik ya da Orta Çağ köprüleri, kilometre taşları ve muhtelif uzunluklarda özgün yol bölümleri bulmak mümkündür. Aslına bakılırsa, arkeolojik olarak belgelenmiş olan böylesi sabit noktalar arasındaki yol güzergâhlarının yeniden çizilmesi gerekmektedir. Çoğu yol ağı modeli, 2000 yılında Richard Talbert ve ekibi tarafından ortaya konulan Barrington Atlas'a atıfta bulunur ama ne yazık ki, bu sistem kısmen eksiktir. Bu nedenle, makalemiz bazı eklemeler sunma amacını taşımaktadır. Örneğin, günümüz Aşağıbey yöresindeki Perperenē / Theodosiupolis ile Trarion arasına yerel bir yol; ve Yunt Dağı silsilesinden geçerek Poyracık yakınındaki Gambreion ile Beşiktepe yakınlarındaki Hermokapeleia şehirlerini birbirine bağlayan diğer bir yol eklenmelidir. Lycus Vadisi'nin doğusunda olduğu kadar, Kuzey Lidya bölgesinde de birçok Roma yolu vardı. Ayriyeten, yollar, yerel yerleşimleri Smyrna (İzmir) ve Ephesus (Selçuk) aralanındaki yörelere bağladıkları Karaburun Yarımadası'nda da vardı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bizans İmparatorluğu, Tarihi Coğrafya, Geç Antik Dönem, Roma Yolları, Batı Anadolu,

Western Anatolia as discussed in this paper covers essentially the landscapes of the Late Antique provinces of *Asia*, about 19,100 square kilometres, and *Lydia*, about 16,000 square kilometres,¹ but also neighbouring areas of the provinces *Hellēspontos* in the north, *Phrygia Pakatianē* in the east and *Karia* in the south. The text is based on observations made in recent years in context of the Vienna research project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, which started its work in Western Asia Minor in the year 2009. A complete description of the whole communication system of this region is not intended. Rather, some additions will be presented for a conscious enrichment of the well-known road-network.

The Romans accomplished this network immediately after the establishment of the province *Asia* in 133 / 129 BCE, partly by using older road sections from archaic or classical times. It was constantly expanded; its orientation was around Ephesus, the capital of the Roman province.² In the time of the emperor Diocletian (284–305), its geographical reference point changed to the gulf of Nicomedia and the Bosphorus region.³ The roads were of different valence; some were national roads with supply stations at regular intervals, others were only local ones. Important settlements were always interconnected; market towns could be easily reached from the surrounding villages; quarries and mines required roads for transportation purposes.⁴ In many cases, parallel

1 Koder, 1986, 183.

2 French, 2012; French, 1980, 698–729.

3 French, 2014.

4 Koder, 2012, 147–175.

routes accompanied main roads in their vicinity. This was important especially for large armies on march in order to relieve the main road and to organize supplies more easily.

In the middle ages, a complete use of this widely ramified system was not possible; the road-network was only useable in sections of different length. This can be explained by several reasons, for example the presence of various enemies in Asia Minor, among others Persians, Arabs, Seljuqs, and Ottomans, or the consequences of weather damage, natural disasters, or neglects of care. Significant restorations of road sections are detected until the time of the emperor Justinian I (527–565); this also applies to major projects like the famous, nearly 430 meters long bridge Beşköprü near the Sangarios river (today Sarkaya), in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Adapazarı.⁵ In later centuries, only sporadic restoration and construction work is documented.⁶ In general, the road-network was not extended anymore. Even more, the road width changed: numerous broad Roman roads, several meters wide, shrink to the size of paths and mule tracks in the Byzantine period.⁷

At various locations in Western Anatolia, road sections with original pavement still exist, partly in small fragments, partly in larger sections. Several late Roman and medieval bridges and numerous milestones (if they are in situ or at least near their original positions) show the precise course of former communication routes. In between these archaeologically documented *fixed points* there lay so-called *transport zones*, regions where the road-lines are not exactly determinable.⁸ To get a concrete idea concerning the former course of the routes, one has to consider different points – the shape and character of the landscapes in former times, the extent of possible alterations. The shifting of riverbeds, especially of major rivers like the Hermos (Gediz çay), the Kaÿstrios (Küçük Menderes) or the Maiandros (Büyük Menderes Nehri) is important, but also the presence of swamps and other road obstacles. The conspicuous accumulation of Roman or medieval settlement places in a particular region, ideally in combination with bridges, river crossings or pavement residues, with inscriptions and milestones, assuredly witness the existence of a former communication route.⁹

The *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, published by Richard Talbert and his team in the year 2000, shows a stimulating picture of the Late Antique and Byzantine road-network in Western Asia Minor and provides initial guidance.¹⁰ Layers presenting these roads are freely available in the net; therefore, they were incorporated into different net-atlases, for example the *Digital Map of the Roman Empire* by the

5 Belke, 2010, 89–99.

6 For example the reconstruction of a bridge between Saranta Ekklesiāi (Kırklareli) and Bizyē (Vize) in Eastern Thrace in 775, documented by an inscription: Külzer, 2008, 195–196, 289, 293.

7 Belke, 1998, 267–284.

8 Gaffney, 2010, 79–91; Breier, 2013, 215–226.

9 Bellavia, 2006, 185–198.

10 Talbert, 2000, Maps 51, 56, 61, 62, 65.

Pelagios-Project.¹¹ Here mainly national roads are displayed. Some additions are possible thanks to David French's important books on milestones in Western Anatolia;¹² further supplements were made due to research done by the members of the project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*.

One of the most important and famous roads in Western Anatolia started in the area of the Dardanelles in north-western Asia Minor and led from Abydos (Maltepe) and Dardanos (south of Kepez) to Ilion (Hisarlık) and Alexandria Troas (Eskistanbul). Further to the east, a second route led to Scamandria (Adatepe) and the inner parts of the Troas. The first mentioned road however followed the coastline, it led to Assos (Beyramkale), Gargara (near Arıklı) and Antandros (near Avcılar); afterwards it passed Adramyttion (Edremit) and Pergamum (Bergama). From there, the road gave access to Lydia; it connected Thyateira (Akhisar), Sardis (Sart) and Philadelphia (Alaşehir) with Laodicea (Denizli) and other cities in Phrygia and beyond. Several important sources from Late Antiquity mentioned the road, the *Itinerarium Antonini* from the late 3rd century as well as the Peutinger Map, composed around the year 435.¹³ The general course of this communication route is well known; in various parts, it covers modern traffic routes. We already described some sections of this road;¹⁴ in the following, we will present further additions.

There were two options to travel from Adramyttion, which was transferred from today's Ören on the shore of the Aegean Sea to the place of modern Edremit in the 2nd century, to Pergamum. One route went directly throughout Mount Pindasos, modern Madra dağ, by passing the ancient settlement of Kytōnion; the landscape here is still difficult to access. Longer but much easier to use was the other route which followed the coastal line of the Aegean up to the city of Atarneus. In this area, near modern Dikili, it changed its direction and went eastwards into the heartland of Pergamum, without major slopes. The higher comfort of travelling helped that this branch was more in use in Late Antiquity. In between these two routes, some settlements are documented: about one kilometre northwest of the modern village Aşağıbey laid the extended settlement of ancient Perperēnē; in its surroundings, there was also a copper mine in Roman times.¹⁵ Most probably in early Byzantine times the place was slightly relocated; rebuild in a distance of about four kilometres, near modern Okçular, the place changed its name to Theodosiupolis; it was documented as a bishopric of the diocese of *Asia* already in 431. Only three kilometres away to the northwest, there was another Late Antique settlement place near the village of Demirci dere. Furthermore, on the hill *Sakar kaya*

11 <http://pelagios.dme.ait.ac.at/maps/greco-roman/> (28 January 2016).

12 See above, notes 2 and 3.

13 *Imperatoris Antonini Augusti Itineraria provinciarum et maritimum*, 50; Weber, 1976; Miller, 1916, 696–699, 715–716.

14 Külzer, 2016a, 285–287; Külzer, 2016b, 194–196.

15 Strabōn 13,1,51; Talbert, 2000, Map 56.

east of Aşağıbey, was the place of the Roman village of Trarion.¹⁶ – The presence of these settlements together with the mine makes it obvious that there was a local route at least, which ensures the connection with the wide-ranging Roman road-network.

The main road led from Pergamum eastwards to the province of *Lydia*; in the border region with *Asia*, near modern Soma, there was a small village called Germē. A few kilometres further to the south, one can find the village of Darkale with its impressive settlement remains from the middle Byzantine period: some scholars believe that this was the place of the cryptic bishopric of Trakula.¹⁷ Neither the *Barrington Atlas* nor the *Pelagios-Map* present one of these two places. The main road passed some smaller late Roman villages and finally reached the market town of Thyateira, one of the most important bishoprics in *Lydia*. A communication road run to its west: most historical atlases present only some sections of it, but David French offers the whole road in his new book on Roman milestones.¹⁸ About 14 kilometres west of Thyateira, on a hill *Kale tepe* four kilometres north of the village Mecidiye, one can find the remains of former Apollōnis, an important city in Late Antique and medieval times.¹⁹ Fortification walls and foundations, ceramics and bricks mark the territory. Numerous spoils were deported to different villages in the nearer hinterland; columns and capitals, ashlar and even inscriptions can be found in the area. For example, a milestone from the first quarter of the 4th century remains today in Ballica,²⁰ other milestones are kept in villages in the neighbourhood.²¹

The road from Thyateira passed Apollōnis and went to *Beşiktepe*, six kilometres further to the west; here was the place of the city of Hermokapeleia, on spacious grounds, about one square kilometre in plan.²² In the modern village of Büknüş, about four kilometres to the west, another milestone was found; it was re-used several times, including the 4th century.²³ According to the *Barrington Atlas* and the *Pelagios-Map*, the road from Thyateira ended here; it is only David French, who believed in a road extension. Most probably, the road passed through Hermokapeleia and connected the ancient settlement places of Kamai near Arabacıbozköy east of the Yunt dağ and Gambreion near Poyracık beyond the Yunt dağ.²⁴ However, it is unknown how the road continued afterwards; maybe there was a direct connection to Pergamum, as French suggested, maybe there was

16 Strabōn 13,1,51; Talbert, 2000, Map 56.

17 Darrouzès, 1981, 105–106, 313; Ramsay, 1890, 127; Schuchhardt, 1912, 137.

18 French, 2014, 25; Mitchell, 1993, I 133, 244, 252; II 37, 38, 62; Darrouzès, 1981, 207, 220, 235 e. a.

19 Schuchhardt, 1912, 141; Herrmann, 1989, 419–436; Darrouzès, 1981, 208, 220, 235 e. a.

20 French, 2014, 245; Herrmann, 1989, 422.

21 French, 2014, 241–243.

22 Herrmann, 1989, 439–443; Ramsay, 1890, 132.

23 French, 2014, 240–241.

24 French, 2014, 25.

a small road that led from Gambreion to the north and crossed the main route Pergamum – Thyateira at an undetermined location.

Another road led from Thyateira to the east; it continues about 38 kilometres to the bishopric of Iulia Gordos, today Gördes, which owns the seventh rang in Lydian ecclesiastical lists and was therefore itself an important city.²⁵ This road passed the medieval fortress of Plateia Petra, which was located on an impressive rock formation described as *Şahan Kaya* by the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi in the 17th century.²⁶ Contrary to its representation in some historical atlases, Iulia Gordos was a kind of traffic hub: here was one road, which led in a north-eastern direction, passed a bigger settlement place near Evciler, still in use in Byzantine times, and continued in the direction of modern Demirci and the valley of the river Macestus. Another route connected Iulia Gordos with the north; it touched the Late Antique settlements near Dutluca and near Çiçekli and met the road across the river Macestus near modern Sındırgı.²⁷ To the south, the road from Iulia Gordos passed the region of Charax, which was inhabited from Antiquity to Early Byzantine times, and after a break of some centuries again in the Late Byzantine period. Afterwards, the road passed the bishopric of Daldis, today Nardı kale.²⁸ Near the Gygaean Lake (Marmara Gölü), it reached the main communication road that led from Thyateira to the south.

The main road divided in the area of modern Gölarmara and ran in separate branches along both sides of the Gygaean Lake. The eastern fork, most probably more important than the other one, connected Thyateira with the Lydian capital of Sardis;²⁹ the western fork, on the other hand, led directly to the bishopric of Satala, modern Adala, where a Roman bridge made it possible to pass the river Hermos in a convenient way.³⁰ The road continued through the valley of the river Hermos and the impressive landscapes of the Catacecaumene and the Mokadēnē; not far west of Timenu Thērai, modern Uşak, it reached Phrygian territory. This road was mentioned several times in academic literature, it belonged to the significant communication routes of Western Anatolia.³¹ Three regional roads connected this street with the valley of the river Macestus in the north: the first one started east of Maionia and run through the Roman settlements of Nisyra and of Iaza, afterwards through the bishop's see of Settai, so famous for its textile industry in Late Antiquity, and the place of Ariandos near modern Alağaç. The second road led to the north behind Kula, touched the mineral springs of Thermai Thēseōs and the bishopric of Silandos, still existing in the 12th century; after passing the settlement place near

25 Darrouzès, 1981, 207, 220, 235 e. a; Ramsay, 1890, 122; Mitchell, 1993, I 162, 180.

26 Foss, 1987, 81–91.

27 Belke – Mersich, 1990, Thematische Karte; Külzer, 2016a, 286–287.

28 Darrouzès, 1981, 208, 220, 235 e. a; Foss, 1987, 91–94.

29 Concerning Sardis, see Foss, 1976.

30 Darrouzès, 1981, 208, 220, 235 e. a.; Talbert, 2000, Map 56.

31 See Herrmann, 1981, Map; Külzer, 2016a, 287–290; Mitchell, 1993, I 120, Map 7.

Tepeeynihan it reached the region of Synaos near modern Simav, being an important market town in Phrygia. Finally, the third road started in the hinterland of Bageis, modern Güre, a small but famous town, whose bishop was member of the Council of Nicaea in 325; following the Hermos valley, the road met another one, which connected Synaos with Kadoi, also an important market centre.³² Both cities belonged to the metropolis of Laodicea, modern Denizli.³³ Laodicea itself was mentioned above as one of the numerous stations along the important main road, which led from the Dardanelles through Western Anatolia. By passing the valley of the river Cogamus, modern Alaşehir çay, this road connected Laodicea with Sardis and the Lydian villages in the Hermos valley. In the Cogamus valley, several smaller late antique settlements are documented, but also more important cities like Philadelphia (Alaşehir) and Tripolis (Yenice).³⁴ Not far from the last one, the travellers could reach the city of Hierapolis, today Pamukkale, in Phrygia, being the burial place of the apostle Philippos; a famous pilgrimage centre.³⁵ Both Hierapolis and Laodicea are located in the fertile Lycus valley;³⁶ in between them, a well-preserved Roman bridge shows a *fixed point* of the former road.³⁷ Only in a small distance, there were the places of Colossae and its Byzantine successor town Chōnai, important pilgrimage centres in Western Anatolia.³⁸

From the area of Colossae and Chōnai there led a road in north-eastern direction into the inner parts of *Phrygia Pakatianē*; the goal of this road, which is only depicted by David French, but not in the common historical atlases, was Eumeneia, today's Işıklı.³⁹ Numerous settlement remains and architectural fragments in the area of the villages Yamanlar,⁴⁰ Yassihüyük,⁴¹ Beyelli,⁴² Kavaklar,⁴³ Aşağışeyit,⁴⁴ Yukarıseyit⁴⁵ and İsabey indicate the course of the road. The last place can be identified with the bishopric of Lunda,

32 Külzer, 2016a, 289–290.

33 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 323–326; Şimşek, 2013; Külzer, 2018, 56; Darrouzès, 1981, 210, 224, 238 e. a.

34 Petzl, 2007.

35 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 268–272; Selsvold, 2012, 13–22.

36 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 330–331; Koder, 2012, 166–167.

37 Talbert, 2000, Map 65.

38 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 222–225, 309–311; Foss, 2002, 130, 131, 132, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148; Koder, 2012, 166; Thonemann, 2011, 75–84.

39 French, 2014, 26; Thonemann, 2011, 133–151, 170–177; Belke – Mersich, 1990, 251–252; Külzer, 2018a, 60.

40 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 414.

41 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 415–416.

42 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 212.

43 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 294–295.

44 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 193.

45 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 419.

which still existed in the 12th century.⁴⁶ About seven kilometres south-east of Yamanlar a bridge from Roman times, today Ak köprü, crossed the Maeander and indicates the former existence of a road.⁴⁷

Largely parallel to this road was another one, which led from the craggy hinterland of Hierapolis in a north-eastern direction to Sebastē, modern Selçikler. Here again the course of the road is indicated by late antique or medieval settlement remains near the villages of Kırkyaren,⁴⁸ Paşalar⁴⁹ and Deşdemir.⁵⁰ Near Yeşilova, about 40 kilometres north northeast of Hierapolis, was the place of the ancient town of Motella; later called Metellupolis, the place was also a bishopric.⁵¹ – In this way, the settlements of the Lycus valley were well connected with the inner parts of Phrygia.

An important road, which led from Laodikeia to the south, is surprisingly not depicted in the Phrygia volume of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*; however, it was added later in the volume on Lycia and Pamphylia.⁵² This road passed the bishop's see of Themisōnion near Karahüyük, where various inscriptions and a milestone from the time of the late emperor Diocletian (293–305) were discovered.⁵³ From there it went to the direction of Kibyra and the inner parts of the provinces Lycia and Pamphylia.

The most important traffic route from Laodicea and the Lycus valley however led into western direction;⁵⁴ this refers to the famous street along the Meander River, already existing in pre-Roman times. It run south of the Aydınlar dağları, the former Messōgis. a modern road that is even today extremely important covers its course. Numerous milestones document the course of this road; the oldest one from Çamlık near Ephesos dates from 129 to 126 BCE and shows that this road was one of the first, which were re-constructed by the Romans.⁵⁵ Starting from Laodicea, the road passed Karura, today's Tekkeköy, and led to Antioch on the Meander; here a Roman bridge mentioned by Strabōn helped to pass the river.⁵⁶ Now on the northern side of the river, the communication road led further to the west; Nysa, Tralleis and Magnesia at the Meander are to be mentioned as important stations; significant targets were the central market towns of Ephesos in *Asia* or Miletus in *Karia*.

46 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 329; Darrouzès, 1981, 280, 301 e. a.

47 Talbert, 2000, Map 62; Külzer, 2018a, 61.

48 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 304–305; Külzer, 2018a, 60.

49 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 356.

50 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 233.

51 Belke – Mersich, 1990, 339; Darrouzès, 1981, 213, 227, 241 e. a.

52 Hellenkemper – Hild, 2004, 'Thematische Karte'; also depicted by French, 2014, 26.

53 French, 2014 180; Hellenkemper – Hild, 2004, 884.

54 Talbert, 2000, Maps 61, 65; French 2014, 25; Thonemann, 2011, 242–343; Magie, 1950, 789–793.

55 French, 2014, 81–87.

56 Strabōn 13,4,15; Hild, 2014, 9–11, 18, 21, 23, 25, 33, 37; Talbert, 2000, Map 61.

Less known than this main route is a secondary road, which run from Miletus eastwards, on the southern bank of the Meander, parallel to the former one. This road passed Euippē, modern Dalama, and the Carian bishopric of Orthōsias, today's Orthas Mahallesi east of Yenipazar.⁵⁷ Near this place, a milestone was discovered which dates to the time of the emperor Anastasius (491–518) and confirms the existence of that road.⁵⁸ Near Antioch both connections came together; the secondary road however had the disadvantage that two rivers, the Marsyas (Çine çay) and the Harpasus (Akçay), crossed its course, without any bridges. This meant a great effort for travellers; therefore, the main road on the northern bank of the Meander was more in use, even for such travellers who wanted to visit Miletus or other cities in northern *Karia*.⁵⁹

One of the most significant goals of the Meander road was the old and well-known city of Ephesos, a famous trade and commercial centre, an aim for thousands of pilgrims, first only for pagans, later then for Christians of different denominations as well as for Muslims.⁶⁰ The city was easily accessible, over land and at sea. The ongoing silting of the harbour required countermeasures; new landing facilities had to be created over the centuries.⁶¹ Over land, various national roads connected the city with its hinterland. One of these roads passed the south-eastern slope of the Alaman dağ, the former Mount Galēsion, and led to the Kaÿstrios valley.⁶² Here it divided into different branches which went either to Smyrna, modern İzmir, or to Nymphaion, today's Kemalpaşa, by crossing the Karabel-Pass, or to Sardis, by passing Hypaipa near Datbeyı and Mount Tmōlos, today's Boz dağ.⁶³

Another old road, already depicted on the Peutinger Map came from Ephesos and passed the south-western slope of Mount Galēsion;⁶⁴ it connected the settlements of Notion (the later Colophon), Dios Hieron, Lebedos and Teōs. In this area the road left the coastline and went northwards to the inner land; its next target was Clazomenae on the shore of today's İzmir körfesi. From this city, travellers could easily reach Smyrna, by using a coastal road, which is depicted in most historical atlases.⁶⁵ It is noteworthy however, that the settlements west of Clazomenae usually were presented as isolated dots in a wider landscape, without any connection to the road-network.⁶⁶ This is for sure contrary to the historical facts. In Late Antiquity, the most important settlement in the

57 Hild, 2014, 33–37; Darrouzès, 1981, 210, 224, 239 e. a.

58 Debord – Varinlioğlu, 2010, 240. The road is absent in Talbert, 2000, Maps 61, 65.

59 Hild, 2014, 33; Koder, 2012, 163–166.

60 Daim – Ladstätter 2011; Foss, 2002, 129, 130, 132, 137, 138 e. a.

61 Stock, 2013, 57–69; Steskal, 2014, 325–338; Külzer, 2016c, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.

62 Meriç, 2009; Külzer, 2017, 195–213.

63 Talbert, 2000, Maps 56, 61; French, 2014, 25.

64 Weber, 1976, folio VIII/5; Miller, 1916, 701–703.

65 Talbert, 2000, Maps 56; *Pelagios*-Map (see above, note 11).

66 For example, Talbert, 2000, Map 56.

whole area was Erythrae, modern Ildir, eponymous for the whole peninsula; its existence is documented since the 9th century BCE; it was a bishopric since the early 5th century AD.⁶⁷ The city was part of the ramified road system of Western Anatolia, contrary to the illustration of the Peutinger Map, which serves as basis for most historical atlases. Road connections between Erythrae and its neighbouring town of Linoperamata, modern Çeşme, and the hinterland of Clazomenae are well documented in the early Ottoman period;⁶⁸ but the reconstruction of the late medieval road network in the hinterland of Smyrna as presented by H el ene Ahrweiler in 1965 seems to be correct when referring to this road.⁶⁹

The road network in Late Antique and medieval Western Anatolia is widely ramified; but new archaeological discoveries and scientific research approaches permit its constant expansion. Therefore, everyday life of the medieval people in these sweeping landscapes of Asia Minor is increasingly clear.

67 Keil, 1910; Keil, 1912; K ulzer, 2018b, 741–748.

68 Luther, 1989, XIX ‘Restructured Anatolian Network Route Unit: İstanbul – İzmir – Konya. Route Nodes and other stages 1550’s – 1750’s AD’; Laut, 1992.

69 Ahrweiler, 1965, 179.

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