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Epigraphic Research around Juliopolis I: A Historical and Geographical Overview

Abstract: This article provides a general overview of the history and geography of ancient Juliopolis, which was on the main route from Constantinople to the eastern parts of the empire, for military campaigns and pilgrimage. Even though Juliopolis drew the attention of early scholars such as Anderson, Ramsay and French, who worked on the Pilgrim's Road, no systematic research had been conducted at this site until a team from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara began conducting regular excavations from 2009 onwards. The preservation works carried out around Nallıhan, together with these excavations, both by the museum, brought much new material into view, providing more information concerning this region in antiquity.

Keywords: Juliopolis; Bithynia; Galatia; Pilgrim's Road; Çayırhan; Nallıhan.

In 2011 with the invitation of Melih Arslan, the ex-director of the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations at Ankara, I and my colleague Mehmet Alkan visited the Ayhan Sümer Cultural Centre at Nallıhan, where several inscription from its villages are preserved, and the ancient site of Juliopolis in Çayırhan, in company with Mustafa Metin, from the same museum responsible for preservation of the finds in the garden of the cultural centre and for the excavations at Juliopolis. In 2012, 2013 and 2014, I revisited these places with a larger team consisting of: Assist. Prof. Mehmet Alkan, Assist. Prof. Erman Gören; and research assistants Fatma Avcu, Yadigar Doğan and Canan (Arıkan) Onur. I wish also to mention Euthymios Rizos for his valuable observations. We worked on all the inscriptions in the cultural Centre and, in addition, some inscriptions from the villages of Nallıhan and the inscriptions which were found during the excavations at Juliopolis, for which I have been the scientific consultant from 2014 onwards. The funerary inscriptions from Juliopolis are mainly kept in depots on-site at the excavation. Some of these inscriptions are now published by the team members in the contributions which follow. The historical-geographical and epigraphic publications on the antiquity of the region are limited to some inscriptions included in the article by Crowfoot and Anderson (1899), in French's work on "Pilgrim's Road" of 1981, in the epigraphic corpus of northern Galatia by S. Mitchell of 1982, and in the work by Chr. Marek of 2000, after the earlier travellers, who visited the vicinity (see p. 71). Some of the inscriptions from Nallıhan were recently published by F. Avcu (2015). The literary evidence and the published inscriptions from Juliopolis are given at the end of this paper (see pp. 71-78). Recent preservation works around Nallıhan and the archaeological excavations in the necropolis of

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Juliopolis which were conducted by the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara from 2009 onwards have produced much new material concerning this region in antiquity.¹

Nallıhan is the border county of Ankara, located 160 km to its east. It neighbours two provinces, Bolu to the north and Eskişehir to the south. The name of the county was formed through the combination of the river “Nallı” flowing by and the “Han” built by order of the Ottoman Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa in 1606/7 A.D., when he was returning to Istanbul from Aleppo.² Life for the inhabitants is largely based around agriculture; with a population of ca. 30,000 (more than the half the population live in the villages). It also has a tradition of handmade silk point lace of good quality, which generates revenue even through exports abroad. The two main towns of Nallıhan are Sarıyar and Çayırhan, where once ancient Juliopolis stood (see below). Çayırhan is located 35 km east of Nallıhan (that is around 125 km to Ankara), the original town (Eskişehir) was submerged through the construction of the Sarıyar Dam on the Sakarya River (ancient Sangarius) between 1951 and 1956. In 1958, the new town of Çayırhan was founded 3 km east to the old settlement, the displaced former population being combined with the people of Sarılar and Yardibi towns, whose homes were also submerged beneath the waters. The name likewise goes back to Nasuh Paşa who built another “Han” in this place, at the same time as Nallıhan,³ both places being locations on the historical main road that linked İstanbul to Damascus and Bagdad via Aleppo during the Ottoman period, and was a quite important route also in antiquity (see below).

Earliest archaeological evidence relating to Nallıhan and Çayırhan is very scarce. Prehistoric sites in this region are barely known, with the TAY project recording one cave, Ayı İni in the village of Karacasu, and a mound (“höyük”) in Uluköy, of Nallıhan. To the North of Nallıhan are several prehistoric sites such as: Belen Mağarası (Kıbrısık/Bolu), Buzluk Mağarası (Seben/Bolu), Çeltikdere (Seben/Bolu), Germanos (Göynük/Bolu), İn (Seben/Bolu), İnçayı (Seben/Bolu), Solaklar Mağarası (Seben/Bolu) and to the East, Asarkaya (Güdül/Ankara), Dikmen (Beypazarı/Ankara), Güneyce (Güdül/Ankara), Hırka (Beypazarı/Ankara), Oymaağaç (Beypazarı/Ankara), Sarıkaya (Güdül/Ankara), Uykusuz Çayı Mağarası (Beypazarı/Ankara), to the South several sites in Mihaliçcik, Eskişehir, and to the west in Sarıcakaya, Eskişehir, and İnhisar, Bilecik.⁴

However, the subsequent literary, archaeological and epigraphic evidence, of finds from antiquity, enables us to draw a clearer picture of the history of the region, especially for that of the city of Juliopolis, which probably had most of this region under its territory. The region was within the eastern section of Bithynia, as the northern part of Phrygia Epictetus, was joined to Bithynian lands, following the war between King of Pergamon Eumenes II and the Bithynian King Prusias I ca. 184/3 B.C.⁵ The establishment of Roman provincial organization over this region began around 72 B.C. after King Nicomedes IV bequeathed Bithynia to Rome, and in 63 B.C. Pontus was incorporated into Bithynia by Pompeius and the province was then named “Bithynia et Pontus”.⁶ By the reign of Diocletianus, this province was divided into three as Bithynia, Pontus⁷ (or Diospontus and Helenopontus) and Paphlagonia under the diocese of Pontica. Under the Byzantine theme system of organization established in 7th c. after the Islamic conquests and in part due to de-population caused through the plague pandemic be-

¹ Günel – Yurttagül – Yağcı 1992, 29-70; Günel 1993; Arslan et al. 2011; Arslan – Zoroğlu 2011; Arslan 2012; Arslan et al. 2012; Cinemre 2013.

² Kili 1978, 15.

³ Kili 1978, 14.

⁴ Search for the given names at <http://www.tayproject.org>.

⁵ Str. 12.4.1; Liv. 38.39.14-17; Pol. 21.46.9-11; see also Şahin 1986 and Evans 2012, 34-38.

⁶ Magie 1950, 320; Kaya 2005, 15; Baz 2013, 262.

⁷ For the governor of Pontus, Tryfonianus, by the early reign of Diocletianus, attested for the first time on a milestone found in Doğandere, see the contribution by C. Onur, pp. 101-103.

ginning in 542 and with repeated outbreaks extending into the mid-8th c., Bithynia and Pontus remained under the themes of Bukellarion, Opsikion and Optimatoi. In antiquity, Nallıhan was most probably within the territory of Juliopolis, the most important ancient site in its vicinity.

Juliopolis⁸ (Ιουλιούπολις) is known from several ancient references. There is no evidence dating from earlier than the Augustan period, there is also no find earlier than an Augustan coin⁹ found in a grave in necropolis, but its former name, Gordiucome, indicates its earlier history. We do not know the ancient name of Nallıhan, if there was any settlement, either from ancient sources or from inscriptions around the settlement. In the city centre there is no evidence of ancient buildings. But it is certain that Nallıhan was located on the route termed the “Pilgrim’s Road”,¹⁰ as was the case for Juliopolis. According to Strabo (see T 1 p. 71), Cleon of Gordiucome,¹¹ made a city of his hometown and called it Juliopolis, naming it after C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (Augustus), with whom he sided following the naval battle of Actium (31 B.C.); before Actium, he was of help to Marcus Antonius (Str. 12.8.9). Pliny the Elder referring to Bithynia’s history, reports that Gordiucome was one the twelve cities in the region, and when its name changed to Juliopolis, according to him, it showed it was colonized (see T 2 a-b, p. 71). Pliny the Younger, in one of his letters to Trajan, asks if Juliopolis, being a very small settlement, deserves a military support, as does Byzantium. He tries to persuade through mentioning its burdens and exposure to damage due to its lack of defensive capacity and supports his idea through placing emphasis upon its regional importance and strategic position at the entrance of Bithynia, a place where all the travellers pass through (see T 3 p. 72). But Trajan, in his response, does not find it convenient, since if Juliopolis was sent a legionary centurion, many other cities will demand the same. So he entrusted the protection of Juliopolis to Pliny, making him enforce the imperial sanctions (see T 3b p. 72). Galenus mentions that a kind of grain called “zeopyros”, was produced in the coldest parts of Bithynia, namely in Nicaea, Prusa, Crateia, Claudiopolis and Juliopolis (see T 5 p. 73). This grain, he says, is inferior to naked wheat and superior to Thracian rye and the bread made from this grain is better than the rye bread of Thrace and Macedon, but worse than wheaten bread.

Geographically, Juliopolis in the early 2nd century was given as in Bebryca (the former name of Bithynia) by Ptolemy, being its last city in the east (see T 4 p. 72). At the end of the 3rd or at the beginning of 4th c. Laganıa¹² and Juliopolis seem to have been transferred to Galatia.¹³ Juliopolis was also recorded in the ancient itineraries, since it is situated on the major ancient route extending from Constantinople to Ancyra, which was traversed by Septimius Severus, by Caracalla and by Elegabalus for their eastern campaigns and travels.¹⁴ The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, dating back to the Severan period (ca. 3rd century

⁸ Ruge 1918, 102; Strobel 1999, 18-19.

⁹ Cinemre 2013, 408.

¹⁰ Ramsay (1890, 197) used this term for one of the Byzantine Military roads: “The Pilgrims’ Road. —This road is described more frequently than any other in Asia Minor. It is recorded almost complete, and with very little interruption in the Peutinger Table. It is described in full in the Antonine Itinerary, and with even greater detail in the Jerusalem Itinerary. Many references are made to it by Byzantine writers, especially of a later date; and in the section Constantinople — Ankyra it still remained one of the most important trade-routes in the country.” This route was described in detail by French (1981).

¹¹ Ramsay (1906, 365) doesn’t deem it likely that Gordiucome was the village mentioned by Strabo as the one that was renamed Juliopolis, and he thinks that there were more villages than just one bearing this same name.

¹² According to French, Laganıa/Anastasiopolis is to be localised at Dikmen Höyük. For the literature and description, see French 1981, 43-44 and Belke – Restle 1984, 197.

¹³ Ramsay 1890, 196 and 241.

¹⁴ French (1981, 45) claims that this route was used for campaigns or travel, contra those who thought that these travels were made employing a northern route passing through Prusias ad Hypium (Konuralp) and Claudiopolis (Bolu).

A.D.) and drawn for official travel that recorded the routes of the *cursus publicus*¹⁵ (state routes of transfer) and probably included those roads suitable for vehicles,¹⁶ gives 29 mp (ca. 42,6 km) as the distance from Dadastana¹⁷ to Juliopolis (see T 6 p. 73). The *Itinerarium Antonini*, named after Antoninus Pius to whom this itinerary is usually ascribed, mentions Juliopolis after Dadastana at a distance of 21 mp (ca. 31 km) to the east, and then comes Lagania 24 mp (ca. 35,5 km) from Juliopolis (see T 7 p. 73). The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (see T 8 p. 73), the oldest known Christian itinerary from Bordeaux (Burdigala/Bordegala) to Jerusalem dating A.D. 333-334,¹⁸ also called the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, gives 6 mp (ca. 8,9 km) from the *mansio* of Dadastana to *mutatio* Trans monte, from where 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km) to *mutatio* Milia, from where to *civitas* Juliopolis 8 mp (ca. 11,9 km). Following Juliopolis is Hycronpotamum (Hieronpotamon, see fn. 59) after 13 mp (ca. 19,2 km) and the *mansio* Aganuia (Lagania) after 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km). Consequently the total distance recorded from Dadastana to Juliopolis is 25 mp (ca. 37 km) according to the *Itin. Burd.*, so these three itineraries are not in conformity with each other concerning the distance between these two places. French suggested that the distance to *mutatio* Trans monte in *Itin. Burd.* should be corrected to 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km), from the recorded 6 mp (see fn. 57), which then provides a total distance of 30 mp (ca. 44,4 km). In conclusion, from these itineraries, the distances between Dadastana, Juliopolis and Lagania are recorded as follows:

	Dadastana – Juliopolis		Juliopolis – Lagania		
	MP	KM		MP	KM
<i>Tab. Peut.</i>	29	ca. 43	Juliopolis – Valcaton: 12 Valcaton ¹⁹ – Fines Galatiae: 10 Fines Galatiae – Lagania: 28 ²⁰	22	ca. 32,6
<i>Itin. Ant.</i>	21	ca. 31,1		24	ca. 35,6
<i>Itin. Burd.</i>	Dadastana – Trans monte: 11 (French) Trans monte – Milia: 11 Milia – Juliopolis: 8	30	Juliopolis – Hycronpotamum: 13 Hycronpotamum – Lagania: 11	24	ca. 35,6

Table 1) Comparative distances between Dadastana, Juliopolis and Lagania given in the Itineraries

¹⁵ See Onur – Oktan 2013, 98, fn. 4: “*Cursus publicus* (δημόσιος δρόμος) is the general name given to the road network system established in the Augustan age and utilized by couriers, deliveries and officials to the required places. On these roads there were security points, stations for lodging and places to change horses (*mutationes* ve *mansiones*). The system worked in two divisions: *cursus velox* was employed in rapidly transferring couriers or officials from one point to another; the *cursus clabularis* was for the transport of taxes in cash or kind, official uniforms, even sometimes for *annona militaris*. However, it was in essence not a postal system, but an infrastructure for the journeys of high officials, utilized in facilitating their official business”; for the details of the system see Bowersock – Brown – Grabar 1999, 402; Kolb 2001; Kolb 2002, 163-166.

¹⁶ See Onur – Oktan 2013, 98, fn. 5: “One of the features of the Severan period was that the Roman road network reached everywhere passing natural obstructions. The roads were maintained and enlarged to speed the march of the army and for developing trade, so that convenient access to frontier regions was provided. These roads are recorded in two main sources, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Apart from these sources there are also numerous milestones from this period, showing these state works.”; See also Wilkes 2005, 233-234.

¹⁷ Other than the itineraries, Dadastana’s fame comes from its location, the place where in 364 A.D. Emperor Iovianus suddenly died, while he was returning rapidly from Syria (Amm. Marc. 25.10.12-13). Dadastana is usually localized to around the village of Karahisar, in Nallihan. For the literature and description see Belke – Restle 1984, 154, on the excavations around İslamalan Köyü, near Karahisar, see Arslan – Cinemre – Erdoğan 2011.

¹⁸ Sartin 2014, 294.

¹⁹ For the probable identification with Balgatia/Valgatia in the Vita St. Theodori 4 and that it should be searched somewhere on the south bank of the Kirmir Çayı, or in the neighbourhood of Tacettin, see French 1981, 45.

²⁰ Excluded by French (1981, 40, Fig. 6, n. 2).

Juliopolis is mentioned by Procopius in respect to the walls constructed under Iustinianus against the river on its western side (see T 9 p. 74). The account provided begins with the deluges caused by the river Siberis²¹ near Syceon,²² that, he reports, is located at a distance of ca. 10 miles (ἀπὸ σημείων μάλιστα δέκα: ca. 14,8 km) to the east of Juliopolis. Iustinianus built a strong bridge over this river and strengthened it by a wall (πρόμαχος) on its eastern side, while constructing a church by its western side. We learn from him that Juliopolis had a circuit wall that had been weakened by the river flowing past the western side of the city. This wall should be investigated, as to if it is the one, the northern part of which was unearthed during the excavations,²³ while the southern part, by the water was already visible. Iustinianus built another wall at a distance of ca. 500 feet (ca. 150 m) to prevent the flood waters reaching the circuit wall. But accurately determining both walls mentioned by Procopius is not particularly easy due to the waters that spread all around the peninsula, where only a few constructions, including a church, a fortification wall and a necropolis dating mainly from Byzantine era, could be identified. However, French conjectures that Procopius might have been in some confusion between Juliopolis and Syceon and that the bridge he describes might actually be that at Sarılar.²⁴

In the Early Byzantine Period Juliopolis was one of the Bishoprics in the province of Galatia I (see Map 2 p. 80).²⁵ The ecclesiastical records from the 4th c. A.D. onwards list Juliopolis as one of the episcopal residences in Galatia I under the diocese of Pontica, which is under the theme of Opsikion from the 7th c. onwards, and under that of Boukellarion²⁶ from the 8th c. onwards. In the synod of Ancyra of 314 A.D. and at the council of Nicaea in 325 A.D., Juliopolis is listed as being one of the five bishoprics of Galatia, represented by Bishop Philadelphus.²⁷ Meliphthongus, the “bishop of the holy church of God at Juliopolis”, attended the Council of Chalcedon, which was held in 451 A.D.²⁸ In the inscriptions

²¹ Siberis is mentioned by Procop. *aed.* 5.4.1-6 (see below T 9 p. 72); for the identification with Hierus in Plinius *NH* 5.149.8-150.1 and with Hicronpotamum or Hierospotamos in *Itin. Burd.* and the identification with the Kirmir Çayı see French 1981, 44-45.

²² Syceon was first localized by Anderson (1897-8, 67-68; Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 65-67) in the ancient ruins of Eskişehir near Çayırhan, based upon the identification of the Sarılar bridge, which he took to be Iustinianus’ Bridge mentioned by Procopius (see T 9 p. 76) over Aladağ Çayı (Scopas). But after these ruins were confidently identified by French (1981, 42) as Juliopolis and this identification was confirmed by the coins carrying the legend of Juliopolis found during the excavations in the necropolis area (Arslan et al. 2011, 271-273), Syceon is rather to be localised 10 mp (ca. 14,8 km) east of Juliopolis, as Procopius indicated (see T 9 40). For a detailed account on Syceon see Belke – Restle 1984, 228-229; for the dating of the bridge mentioned by Procopius see Belke 2000, 118-119.

²³ Cinemre 2013, 410-412; I thank Euthymios Rizos, who suggested that this wall might date from the 4th or early in the 5th century A.D.

²⁴ French 1981, 46.

²⁵ According to the epigraphic evidence, the names of at least two probable bishops are Theodorus (Anderson 1899, 68, no. 17; Mitchell 1982, no. 159) and Theodotus (Anderson 1899, 69, no. 18; Mitchell 1982, no. 160), cf. French 1981, 42.

²⁶ The Theme of Boukellarion was detached from Opsikion in the 8th c. and named after the privately hired soldiers (*Boukellarioi*) and it comprised Galatia, Honorias, Paphlagonia and parts of Phrygia (ODB I 316-317, s.v. Boukellarion). However, the Emperor Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus does not mention Juliopolis, only Ancyra, Claudiopolis, Herakleia, Prusias and Teion, as being the significant cities of Boukellarion, in his book on themes (*Cons. Porph. them. Asia*.6.19-23: Εἰσὶ δὲ πόλεις αἰ συμπληροῦσαι τὸ θέμα τῶν Βουκελλαρῶν τοσαῦται. πρώτη μὲν Ἄγκυρα, μητρόπολις τῶν Γαλατῶν, δευτέρα δὲ Κλαυδιούπολις, καὶ αὕτη μητρόπολις τῶν Μαρριανδυνῶν, τρίτη Ἡράκλεια, τετάρτη Προυσίας, πέμπτη τὸ Τήιον.)

²⁷ Cowper 1861, 11 (Council of Nicaea); 28 (Council of Nicaea); 33 (Council of Nicaea); 41 (Synod of Ancyra; written as Loliopolis).

²⁸ *ACO, Conc. Chal.* 2,1,1.60.8; 2,1,1.81.4; 2,1,1.120.31; 2,1,1.139.37; 2,1,1.145.31; 2,1,1.148.14; 2,1,1.151.20; 2,1,1.157.39; 2,1,1.169.18; 2,1,1.170.25; 2,1,2.40.41; 2,1,2.73.18; 2,1,2.88.4; 2,1,2.134.10; 2,1,2.146.3; 2,1,3.50.38; 2,1,3.90.27. See the translations of and comments on the related sections in Price – Gaddis 2005, I 126, I 146, I

found in Eskişehir, Çayırhan, it is probable that two bishops, Theodorus and Theodotus are recorded (see below p. 77, nos. 4-5).²⁹ In the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, it is listed as Juliopolis, Heliupolis or Basilaion, between Tabia (Tavium) and Aspones,³⁰ as it is also included in *Chronicon Paschale* in 7th c. A.D. as being one of the four important cities of Bithynia, in reference to its earlier history.³¹ Hierocles listed Juliopolis in Galatia I, as the last entry after Mnizos, in his *Synekdemos* that contains a table of the administrative divisions of the Byzantine Empire and lists of their cities dating from the early 6th c. A.D. (see. T 10 75). It is also known that Pantoleon, the Bishop of Juliopolis, attended the local *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana* held at Constantinople in 536 A.D.³²

Juliopolis is also mentioned in several accounts recorded in the Life of St. Theodore from Syceon, where he was born by the reign of Iustinianus and who died in 613 A.D. during the reign of Heraclius. In one account he is said to have joined an all-night service in honour of St. Heuretus held in Juliopolis, 15 miles from Syceon (not in conformity with Procopius, who gives the distance as 10 miles, see above and T 9 p. 74). In another, the church treasurer of Juliopolis, called Theodorus, visited St. Theodore to demand his help in finding his son, who collected the church taxes and had made off with a large sum of money. When the rumours aroused that he, while he was the bishop of Anastasioupolis (Lagania), was wasting the money of church by giving alms in large amounts, he finally left for Ancyra to resign. At Ancyra, his petition of resignation was sent to Patriarch Cyriacus, who accepted his resignation following the instructions given by the Emperor. Since he also advised him to keep away from the neighbourhood of Anastasioupolis (Lagania), St. Theodore came to the outskirts of Juliopolis, where he hid himself in the oratory of Archangel at Acreina.³³ Within this oratory, St. Theodore was visited by Solomon and his wife from Juliopolis, who were being troubled by evil spirits and they were cured by him. At the very beginning of the reign of Emperor Phocas (602-610 A.D.), Domnitziolus, the nephew of Emperor, was sent to the East to take over the army and to stand up against the Sassanid Persians, and on his way to the East he came to Juliopolis, where he learnt that the people of Lazica had attacked Cappadocia and that the Patrician Sergius was plotting a conspiracy against him, and he found St. Theodore and asked him for his advice (see the accounts related below: T 11 a, b, c, d, p.75 respectively).

At the fourth council of Constantinople in 869-870 A.D. it is recorded for the first time that the city had taken the name *Basilaion* (as was indicated in *Not. Ep.* see fn. 30) in honour of Emperor Basileius I (867-886 A.D.).³⁴ In the novels of Emperor Alexius Comnenus of 1086 A.D., the church of Basilaion is given as being subject to the bishopric of Ancyra.³⁵ Lastly, Ramsay (1890, 245) notes that “The original name of Juliopolis recurs in a late document of the Eastern Church, where a monastery ἐν τῷ χω-

195, I 218, I 226, I 229, I 232, I 240, I 255, I 257, II 7, II 98, II 110, II 123, II 210, II 223, II 236, III 13, III 78, III 127, III 200.

²⁹ Anderson 1899, 68-69, no. 17-18; Mitchell 1982, no. 159-160.

³⁰ *Not. Ep.* 1.125; 2.144; 3.178; 4.134; 7.172 (ὁ Ἰουλιουπόλεως ἦτοι Βασιλαίου); 9.68 (ὁ Ἡλιουπόλεως ἦτοι Βασιλαίου); 10.69-70 (ὁ Ἰουλιουπόλεως ἦτοι Βασιλαίου); 13.74-75 (ὁ Ἰουλιουπόλεως ἦτοι Βασιλαίου).

³¹ *Chron. Pasch.* 63.14-15: Κλίματος πέμπτου ... Βιθυνίας Νικομήδεια, Ἀπάμεια, Ἰουλιούπολις, Νίκαια.

³² ACO, Synod. Cons. et Hier. 3.118.14-16: Παντολέων ἐλέει θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἰουλιουπολιτῶν πόλεως τῆς Γαλατῶν ἐπαρχίας διὰ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπιστὰς σύμψηφος γενόμενος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρίσθεισιν ὑπέγραψα.

³³ Anderson locates Akreina to near Mihalıççık (Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 72-74).

³⁴ Ramsay 1890, 196; 214-221; 267-273; Ramsay also makes a note as “A bishop of Noumerika, named Constantine, is mentioned at the Council of 869; and Ignatius Juliopolis, or Ignatius Basilii, occurs at the same Council”, but I was unable to confirm the information given on this Ignatius.

³⁵ Alex. Comn. *Nov.* iv.: Διαλαμβάνον ὡς τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Βασιλαίου καὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως Μαδύτων χηρευουσῶν ... διανέστησαν οἱ μητροπολίται, ὁ Ἡρακλείας καὶ ὁ Ἀγκύρας, καὶ εἶπεν· μὴ ὀφείλιν τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκκλησίας, κἂν ἐτιμήθησαν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξιώματι, παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ψηφισθῆναι ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν· διὰ τὴν ... ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Βασιλαίου ἐπισκοπὴν εἶναι τοῦ Ἀγκύρας (*non vidi*, taken from Ramsay 1890, 244).

ρίω τῆς Γορδίου κώμης is said to be under the control of τοῦ Μητροπολίτου τοῦ Φαγίτζη.” There is no literary record of the town after this.

The city was first identified erroneously in a place lying to the north of Emremsultan ca. 15 km south of Nallıhan by Lejean³⁶ travelling from Mudurnu to Beypazarı, via Nallıhan and Emremsultan following the route given by Kiepert, who justified Mannert in respect to his estimation concerning the localization of Juliopolis to near Nallıhan.³⁷ This opinion was followed by Ramsay and by Anderson.³⁸ This localization was accepted until French confidently identified the ruins of Eskişehir in Çayırhan as Juliopolis, basing this identification upon three milestones from near to the site.³⁹ French’s identification was confirmed by the finds of coins carrying the name of the city, which were found during the course of excavations in the necropolis area.⁴⁰ Today, most of this ancient city lies submerged beneath the waters of the Sarıyar Dam, including the bridge over Aladağ Çayı (Scopas⁴¹) which was described and drawn by Anderson (see fn. 22). What we have today from ancient Juliopolis are the foundation of a church, a long fortification wall and a necropolis dating mainly from the Byzantine era on the peninsula, which is very close to ash accumulation area of the thermal power plant at Çayırhan. There is also the western necropolis, which has similar tombs to those of the eastern necropolis, across the waters, opposite the peninsula.⁴²

The Literary Testimony for Juliopolis

T 1 Strabo (1st c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D.):

*Mt. Olympus, then, is not only well settled all round but also has on its heights immense forests and places so well-fortified by nature that they can support bands of robbers; and among these bands there often arise tyrants who are able to maintain their power for a long time; for example, Cleon, who in my time was chieftain of the bands of robbers. Cleon was from the village Gordium, which he later enlarged, making it a city and calling it Juliopolis.*⁴³ [Translation by Jones (1928, 497)]

T 2 Pliny the Elder (1st c. A.D.):

a) *This district was formerly named Cronia, then Thessalis, and then Malianda and Strymonis; its inhabitants were called by Homer the Halizones, as the tribe is ‘girdled by the sea.’ It once had a vast city named Atussa, and it now includes twelve city-states, among them Gordiu Come otherwise called Juliopolis, and on the coast Dascylos.*⁴⁴ [Translation by Rackham (1942, 329)]

³⁶ Lejean 1869, 63-64.

³⁷ Kiepert 1864, 312-315 (the route) and 322-323 (estimation of Juliopolis); cf. Mannert 1802, 68-75 and 107.

³⁸ Ramsay 1890, 241; Anderson 1897-8, 68; Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 69-70; cf. Wilson 1960, 139-140, and Doğançı 2007, 144-145.

³⁹ French 1981, 36-38, nos. Çayırhan 1-3; French 2013, 144-146, nos. 92-94 (Çayırhan 1-3).

⁴⁰ Arslan et al. 2011, 271-273.

⁴¹ Scopus of Plinius *NH* 5.143.5 (see T 2 37); cf. Vita St. Theodori 53; for the identification with Aladağ Çayı see French 1981, 43.

⁴² Cinemre 2013, 409-410.

⁴³ Str. 12.8.8-9: ἔστι τοίνυν ὁ Ὀλυμπος κύκλω μὲν εὖ συνοικούμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕψει δρυμοὺς ἐξαισίους ἔχων καὶ ληστήρια δυναμένους ἐκτρέφειν τόπους εὐερκεῖς, ἐν οἷς καὶ τύραννοι συνίστανται πολλακίς δυνάμενοι συμμεῖναι πολὺν χρόνον, καθάπερ Κλέων ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τῶν ληστηρίων ἡγεμών. Οὗτος δ’ ἦν μὲν ἐκ Γορδίου κώμης, ἦν ὕστερον αὐξήσας ἐποίησε πόλιν καὶ προσηγόρευσεν Ἰουλιόπολιν.

⁴⁴ Plin. *NH* 5.143.5: Ea appellata est Cronia, dein Thessalis, dein Malianda et Strymonis. hos Homerus Halizonas dixit, quando praecingitur gens mari. urbs fuit immensa Atussa nomine, nunc sunt XII civitates, inter quas Gordiu Come, quae Iuliopolis vocatur et in ora Dascylos.

b) *Inland in Bithynia are the colony of Apamea, Agrippenses, Juliopolitae and Bithynion. The rivers are the Syrium, Laphias, Pharnacias, Alces, Serinis, Lilaeus, Scopius and Hieros, which forms the frontier between Bithynia and Galatia.*⁴⁵ [Translation by Rackham (1942, 333)]

T 3 Pliny the Younger (1st-2nd c. A.D.):

a) *To the Emperor Trajan. You acted agreeably, Sir, to your usual prudence and foresight in ordering the illustrious Calpurnius Macer to send a legionary centurion to Byzantium: you will consider whether the city of Juliopolis' does not deserve the same regard, which, though it is extremely small, sustains very great, and is so much the more exposed to injuries as it is less capable of resisting them. Whatever benefits you shall confer upon that city will in effect be advantageous to the whole country; for it is situated at the entrance of Bithynia, and is the town through which all who travel into this province generally pass.*⁴⁶ [Translation by Melmoth (1915, 379)]

b) *Trajan to Pliny. The circumstances of the city of Byzantium are such, by the great confluence of strangers to it, that I held it incumbent upon me, and consistent with the customs of former reigns, to send thither a legionary centurion's guard to preserve the privileges of that state. But if we should distinguish the city of Juliopolis in the same way, it will be introducing a precedent for many others, whose claim to that favour will rise in proportion to their want of strength. I have so much confidence, however, in your administration as to believe you will omit no method of protecting them from injuries. If any persons shall act contrary to the discipline I have enjoined, let them be instantly corrected; or if they happen to be soldiers, and their crimes should be too enormous for immediate chastisement, I would have them sent to their officers, with an account of the particular misdemeanour you shall find they have been guilty of; but if the delinquents should be on their way to Rome, inform me by letter.*⁴⁷ [Translation by Melmoth (1915, 379 and 381)]

T 4 Ptolemy (1st half of 2nd c. A.D.; numbers excluded):

*These are the interior cities of Bebryka: Libyssa, Eriboia, Gallika, Patavium, Prusa by the river Hypios, Dedakana, Protomakrai, Klaudioupolis or Bithynion, Flavioupolis, Timaia, Klitai, Lataneia, Nikaia, Kaisareia also known as Smyraleia or Smyraleia, Prusa by the Mount Olympos, Agrilion, Dableis, Dastana, Iuliopolis.*⁴⁸ [Author's translation]

⁴⁵ Plin. *NH* 5.149.8-150.1: ceterum intus in Bithynia colonia Apamena, Agrippenses, Iuliopolitae, Bithynion. Flumina Syrium, Laphias, Pharnacias, Alces, Serinis, Lilaeus, Scopas, Hieros, qui Bithyniam et Galatiam disterminat.

⁴⁶ Plin. *Epist.* 10.77: C. Plinius Traiano Imperatori. Prouidentissime, domine, fecisti, quod praecepisti Calpurnio Macro clarissimo uiro, ut legionarium centurionem Byzantium mitteret. Dispice an etiam Iuliopolitanis simili ratione consulendum putes, quorum ciuitas, cum sit perexigua, onera maxima sustinet tantoque grauiores iniurias quanto est infirmior patitur. Quidquid autem Iuliopolitanis praestiteris, id etiam toti provinciae proderit. Sunt enim in capite Bithyniae, plurimisque per eam commeantibus transitum praebent.

⁴⁷ Plin. *Epist.* 10.78: Traianus Plinio. Ea condicio est ciuitatis Byzantium confluente undique in eam commeantium turba, ut secundum consuetudinem praecedentium temporum honoribus eius praesidio centurionis legionarii consulendum habuerimus. (Si) Iuliopolitanis succurrendum eodem modo putauerimus, onerabimus nos exemplo; plures enim eo quanto infirmiores erunt idem petent. Fiduciam <eam> diligentiae < tuae > habeo, ut credam te omni ratione id acturum, ne sint obnoxii iniuriis. Si qui autem se contra disciplinam meam gesserint, statim coerceantur; aut, si plus admiserint quam ut in re praesenti satis puniantur, si milites erunt, legatis eorum quod deprehenderis notum facies aut, si in urbem uersus uenturi erunt, mihi scribes.

⁴⁸ Ptol. *Geog.* 5.1.13-14: Πόλεις δέ εἰσι μεσόγειοι τῶν Βεβρύκων αἶδε· Λίβυσσα νζ' γ' μβ' δ', Ἐρίβοια νζ' γο' μβ' γ', Γάλλικα νζ' δ' μβ' γιβ', Παταοῦιον νζ' δ' μβ', Προῦσα πρὸς τῷ Ὑππίω ποταμῷ νη' μβ' ιβ', Δηδάκανα νθ' μβ' γ', Πρωτομάκραι νη' δ' μβ', Κλαυδιόπολις ἢ καὶ Βιθύνιον νθ' γ' μβ' δ', Φλαυιόπολις ἢ καὶ Κράτεια ξ' μγ', Τίμαια νθ' γ' μβ' γ', Κλιταί ξ' μγ', Λατάνεια ξ' ιβ' μβ' γο', Νίκαια νη' μβ' δ', Καισάρεια ἢ καὶ Συμράλεια ἢ Συμρδιανή ν' γο' μα' γο', Προῦσα ἢ πρὸς Ὀλύμπω τῷ ὄρει νζ' μα' γο', Ἀγρίλιον νζ' μα' γο', Δαβλεῖς νη' γο' μα' γο', Δαδαστάνα νθ' μα' δ', Ἰουλιούπολις ξ' μβ'.

T 5 Galenus (2nd c. A.D.):

In the most wintry parts of Bithynia, moreover, a particular grain is called zeopyros, with the first syllable having no letter iota as it has in Homer: 'Wheat and zeia and broad-eared white barley...' Bread from it is much better than that in Macedon and Thrace. Roughly speaking, just as the name zeopyros is compounded of both names, zea and pyros, the substance is some average of both, since it has been blended from them. At any rate it is as inferior to naked wheat as it is superior to Thracian rye. The names of the cities in which this grain occurs are Nicaea, Prusa, Crateia, Claudiopolis and Iuliopolis; but Dorylaeum, which is a city at the furthest extent of Asiatic Phrygia, also has this sort of grain produced in the region, as also do some other cities on its borders. One can also observe that bread from this grain is better than that from the briza of Thrace and Macedon as much as it is worse than wheaten bread.⁴⁹

[Translation by Powell (2003, 53)]

T 6 Tabula Peutingeriana ⁵⁰	T 7 Itinerarium Antonini ⁵¹	T 8 Itinerarium Burdigalense ⁵²
To Nicaea: 33 mp (ca. 48,9 km)	To Nicaea: 23 mp (ca. 34,1 km)	the city Nicaea: 8 mp (ca. 11,9 km)
	To Moedum Orientis: 16 mp (ca. 23,7 km)	<i>mutatio</i> Schinae: 8 mp (ca. 11,9 km)
		<i>mansio</i> Mido: 7 mp (ca. 10,4 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Chogee: 6 mp (ca. 8,9 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Thateso: 10 mp (ca. 14,8 km)
To Tateabium: 40 mp (ca. 59,2 km)	To Tutaion: 28 ⁵³ mp (ca. 41,5 km)	<i>mutatio</i> Tutaio: 9 mp (ca. 13,4 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Protunica: 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Artemis: 12 ⁵⁴ mp (ca. 17,8 km)
To Dablae: 23 mp (ca. 34,1 km)	To Dablae: 28 ⁵⁵ mp (ca. 41,5 km)	<i>mansio</i> Dablae: 6 mp (ca. 8,9 km)
		<i>mansio</i> Ceratae: 6 mp (ca. 8,9 km)
		The frontier of Bithynia and Galatia
	To Cenon Gallicanon: 18 mp (ca. 26,7 km)	<i>mutatio</i> Finis: 10 mp (ca. 14,8 km)
To Dadastana: 40 mp (ca. 59,2 km)	To Dadastana: 21 mp (ca. 31,1 km)	<i>mansio</i> Dadastana: 6 ⁵⁶ mp (ca. 8,9 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Trans monte: 6 ⁵⁷ mp (ca. 8,9 km)

⁴⁹ Gal. *aliment.* 6.515: ἔν γε μὴν τοῖς χειμεριωτάτοις τῆς Βιθυνίας χωρίοις ὀνομάζεται τι σπέρμα “ζεόπυρον”, οὐκ ἐχούσης τῆς πρώτης συλλαβῆς τὸ ι, καθάπερ ἔχει παρ’ Ὀμήρω “πυροὶ τε ζεαί τε ἰδ’ εὐρυφυῆς κρὶ λευκόν”. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δ’ ἄρτος γίνεταί πολὺ βελτίων τοῦ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ Θράκην. καὶ σχεδόν, ὥσπερ τοῦνομα τὸ ζεόπυρον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων σύγκειται τῶν ὀνομάτων, τοῦ τε τῆς ζέας καὶ τοῦ πυροῦ, καὶ ἡ οὐσία μέση τί ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν κεκραμένη. τοσοῦτῳ γούν ἐστὶ τοῦ πυροῦ χείρων, ὅσῳ τῆς Θρακίας βρίζης ἀμείνων. ὀνόματα δὲ ταῖ πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷ γίνεταί τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτο, Νίκαια καὶ Προῦσα καὶ Κράτεια Κλαυδιόπολις τε καὶ Ἰουλιόπολις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δορύλαιον, ἢ ἐστὶ μὲν ἐσχάτῃ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς Φρυγίας πόλις, ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τοιοῦτον σπέρμα γεννώμενον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς ὄμοροι πόλεις αὐτῇ. θεάσασθαι δ’ ἔστι τὸν γινόμενον ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τούτου τοσοῦτῳ βελτίονα τοῦ κατὰ Θράκην τε καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τῆς βρίζης, ὅσῳ τοῦ πυρίνου χείρονα.

⁵⁰ *Tab. Peut.* Segm. IX.

⁵¹ *Itin. Ant.* 141-143.1 (p. 65-66): ... Nicia mpm XXIII, Moedo Orientis mpm XVI, Tottaio mpm XXVIII, Dablis mpm XXVIII, Cenon Gallicanon mpm XVIII, Dabastana mpm XXI, Iuliopolim mpm XXVI, Laganeos mpm XXIV, Minizo mpm XXIII, Manegordo mpm XXVIII, Ancyra mpm XXIV ...

⁵² *Itin. Burd.* 573.4-575.4 (p.271-272): ... civitas Nicia mil VIII, mutatio Schinae mil VIII, mansio Mido mil VII, mutatio Chogee mil VI, mutatio Thateso mil X, mutatio Tutaio mil IX, mutatio Protunica mil XI, mutatio Artemis mil XII, mansio Dablae mil VI, mansio Ceratae mil VI, finis Bithyniae et Galatiae, mutatio Finis mil X, mansio Dadastan mil VI, mutatio Trans monte mil VI, mutatio Milia mil XI, civitas Iuliopolis mil VIII, mutatio Hycronpotamum mil XIII, mansio Aganua mil XI, mutatio Ipetobrogen mil VI, mansio Mnizos mil X, mutatio Prasmon mil XII, mutatio Cenaxem palidem mil XIII, civitas Anchira Galatia ...

⁵³ Emended by French (1981, 104, Table 2 (a), n. 1) to 23 mp (ca. 34,5 km).

⁵⁴ Emended by French (1981, 104, Table 2 (a), n. 4) to 7 mp (ca. 10,4 km).

⁵⁵ Emended by French (1981, 104, Table 2 (a), n. 3) to 23 mp (ca. 34,5 km).

⁵⁶ Emended by French (1981, 106, Table 3 (a), n. 1) to 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km).

⁵⁷ Emended by French (1981, 106, Table 3 (a), n. 3) to 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km).

		<i>mutatio</i> Milia: 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km)
To Juliopolis: 29 mp (ca. 43 km)	To Juliopolis: 26 mp (ca. 38,5 km)	The city Juliopolis: 8 ⁵⁸ mp (ca. 11,9 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Hycronpotamum ⁵⁹ : 13 mp (ca. 19,3 km)
To Valcaton ⁶⁰ : 12 mp (ca. 17,8 km)		
Fines Cilicie ⁶¹ : 10 mp (ca. 14,8 km)		
To Lagania: 23 mp (ca. 34,1 km)	To Laganaeae: 24 mp (ca. 35,6 km)	<i>mansio</i> Aganuaia: 11 mp (ca. 16,3 km)
	To Minizos: 23 ⁶² mp (ca. 34,1 km)	<i>mutatio</i> Ipetobrogen: 6 mp (ca. 8,9 km)
		<i>mansio</i> Mnizos: 10 mp (ca. 14,8 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Prasmon: 12 ⁶³ mp (ca. 17,8 km)
Mizago: 38 mp (ca. 56,3 km)	To Manegordos: 28 ⁶⁴ mp (41,5 km)	<i>mansio</i> Malagordis ⁶⁵ : 9 ⁶⁶ mp (ca. 13,4 km)
		<i>mutatio</i> Cenaxem palidem: 13 mp (ca. 19,3 km)
[Ancyra]: 20 mp (ca. 29,6 km)	To Ancyra: 24 ⁶⁷ mp (ca. 35,6 km)	<i>civitas</i> Anchira Galatia: [13 ⁶⁸] mp (ca. 19,3 km)

T 9 Procopius (6th c. A.D.):

*There is a river in Galatia which the natives call Siberis, close to the place called Sycae, about ten miles from Juliopolis toward the east. This river often rose suddenly to a great height and caused the death of many of those travelling that way. The Emperor was disturbed when these things were reported to him, and he put a stop to the evil thenceforth by bridging the river with a strong structure capable of resisting the stream when in flood, and by adding another wall in the form of a jetty on the eastward side of the bridge; such a thing is called a promachon or breakwater by those skilled in these matters. He also built a church to the west of the bridge to be a refuge for travellers in the winter season. As to this Juliopolis, its circuit-wall used to be disturbed and weakened by a river which flows along its western side. This Emperor, however, put a stop to that, by setting up a wall flanking the circuit-wall for a distance of not less than five hundred feet, and in this way he preserved the defences of the city, which were no longer deluged by the stream.*⁶⁹ [Translation by Dewing (1940, 331 and 333)]

⁵⁸ Emended by French (1981, 106, Table 3 (a), n. 4) to 13 mp (ca. 19,2 km).

⁵⁹ Cuntz (*non vidit*) emends to Hieronpotamon, see French 1981, 108, Table 4(a), n. 1; for the identification with Kirmir Çay, see above fn. 21.

⁶⁰ See above fn. 19.

⁶¹ This seems to be an error for "Finis Galatiae" (French 1981, 108, Table 4 (a), n. 2).

⁶² Emended by French (1981, 40, Fig. 6, n. 3) to 18 mp (ca. 26,6 km).

⁶³ Emended by French (1981, 40, Fig. 6, n. 7) to 7 mp (ca. 10,4 km).

⁶⁴ Another reading is 18, see French 1981, 40, Fig. 6, n. 4.

⁶⁵ This is not included in the edition of Parthney and Pinder, but in the edition of Geyer (*Itin. Hierosol.*).

⁶⁶ Emended by French (1981, 40, Fig. 6, n. 8) to 14 mp (ca. 20,7 km).

⁶⁷ Emended by French (1981, 40, Fig. 6, n. 5) to 19 mp (ca. 28,1 km).

⁶⁸ Emended by French (1981, 40, Fig. 6, n. 9) to 6 mp (ca. 8,9 km).

⁶⁹ Procop. *aed.* 5.4.1-6: "Ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ἐν Γαλάταις, ὄνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Σίβεριν, τῶν μὲν καλουμένων Συκαῶν ἀρχίστα, πόλεως δὲ Ἰουλιουπόλεως ἀπὸ σημείων μάλιστα δέκα, ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον. ὃς δὴ πολλακίς ἑξαπιναιῶς ἀρθεῖς ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν ἐκείνη ὁδῶ ἰόντων πολλοὺς ἔφθειρεν. οἷσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαγγελλομένοις συνταραχθεὶς διακωλυτῆς τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονε, τὸν μὲν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσας ἔργῳ ἰσχυρῷ καὶ οἴῳ πλημμύροντι ποταμῷ μάχεσθαι, ἕτερον δὲ τοῖχον ἐν προβόλου σχήματι τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἔω πεποιημένος, ὃν δὴ πρόμαχον καλοῦσιν οἱ ταῦτα σοφοί. καὶ νεῶν δὲ αὐτῆς ὄκωδομήσατο ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τοῖς παροῦσι σωτήριον χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐσόμενον. ταύτης δὲ Ἰουλιουπόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἠνώχλει τε καὶ κατέσειε ποταμὸς, ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν παραρρέων. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσε ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ἀντιτείχιμα τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπὶ πόδας οὐχ ἤσσαν ἢ πεντακοσίους καταστησάμενος. ταύτη τε τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔρυμα οὐκέτι ἐπικλυζόμενον διεσώσατο.

T 10 Hierocles (6th c. A.D.)

34. *Province of Galatia, consularis, 7 cities: Ankyra metropolis, Tabia, Aspona, Kinna, region Lagania, region Mnizos, Juliopolis.*⁷⁰ [Author's translation]

T 11 Georgius Syceota, Vita Sancti Theodori Syceotae (6th – 7th c. A.D.)

a) *And he would wander about to all the churches, 'with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs singing and praising the Lord' [Col 3:16]; and wherever a commemorative service in honour of a saint was being held, he attended it with joy. Similarly, on the occasion of the all-night service for the holy martyr Heuretus held in the town of Iopolis, fifteen miles away, he left at the hour of supper and ran fasting to this service and after praying and partaking of the divine mysteries of Christ, he returned and reached his home at midnight. For he was an exceedingly swift runner, so much so that several times for a wager he ran a race of three miles with horses and outstripped them.*⁷¹ [Translation by Dawes (1948)]

b) *One day the treasurer of the holy church of the town of Heliopolis, Theodore by name (also called Tzoutzus) came when the Saint was in seclusion shut up in his cave, and through his servant he unfolded the following story to him with many tears. 'Have pity on me, oh servant of God, for the tragedy which has befallen me! I sent my elder son to collect the church-taxes from the villages and he has taken the whole sum and made off! and though I have run about and searched for him everywhere I have not been able to find him. I therefore implore your holiness to pray to God to restore him to me, because all my substance is insufficient to pay back to the Church the large sum he has taken.'*⁷² [Translation by Dawes (1948)]

c) *And the most blessed Patriarch Kyriakus wrote to the metropolitan to grant Theodore's request-for the Emperor had ordered him to do this-and at the same time to bestow upon him the bishop's 'Omophorion' [A wide band of embroidered stuff, corresponding to the Western pallium] so that he would retain his rank, because he was a holy man and it was through no fault of his that he was resigning his bishopric. On receiving this order the metropolitan relieved the blessed Theodore of his bishopric; and when the latter brought his petition of discharge, he bestowed the episcopal 'Omophorion' upon him and advised him to keep away from the neighbourhood of Anastasioupolis until another bishop had been appointed in his stead. Theodore therefore left the metropolis of Ancyra and came to the region of the town of Heliopolis and hid himself in the oratory of the Archangel at Acrena, quite close to Pidrum.*⁷³ [Translation by Dawes (1948)]

⁷⁰ Hier. 696.4-697.2: λδ' Ἐπαρχία Γαλατίας, ὑπὸ κοσουλάριον, πόλεις ζ': Ἄγκυρα μητρόπολις, Ταβία, Ἄσποννα, Κίνα, Ῥεγαναγαλία, Ῥεγέμνηζος, Ἡλιούπολις.

⁷¹ *Vita St. Theod.* 13.16-26: καὶ οὕτως ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπήρχετο, «ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ᾄδων καὶ ψάλλον τὸν κύριον». Καὶ ὅπου δὴν μνήμη ἁγίων ἐπετελεῖτο, προθύμως παρεγένετο. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰοπολιτῶν πόλει, οὐση ἀπὸ σημείων δεκαπέντε, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς παννυχίδος τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Εὐρέτου, ἐξερχόμενος τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπήρχετο δρόμῳ εἰς τὴν παννυχίδα νήστης, καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ τῶν θείων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνων ὑπέστρεφεν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ μεσονυκτίου καταλαμβάνων τὰ ἴδια. Ἦν γὰρ εὐδρομος πάνυ, ὡς διαφόρως ἐπὶ συνθηκῶν ἵπποις αὐτὸν συνδραμεῖν τὸ τριμίλιον καὶ νικήσαι.

⁷² *Vita St. Theod.* 34.1-11: Παρεγένετο δὲ ἐν μιᾷ ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς Ἡλιουπολιτῶν πόλεως ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας, Θεόδωρος τοῦνομα, ἐπὶ κλην Τζουτζος, ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ αὐτοῦ ὄντι ἐγκεκλεισμένῳ καὶ ἡσυχάζοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὑπηρετοῦ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ μετὰ δακρύων λέγων· «ἐλέησόν με, δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι μοι δράματι· τὸν γὰρ μαιζότερόν μου ἐπεμψα εἰς τὴν ἄνουσιν τῶν χωρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν πάσαν τὴν πρόσοδον φυγῆ ἐχρήσατο· πολλὰ οὖν δραμῶν καὶ ζητήσας καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη. Δυσωπῶ οὖν τὴν σὴν ἀγισσύνην εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι μοι αὐτόν, ὅτι πάσα ἡ ὑπόστασίς μου οὐκ ἀρκεῖ ἀποδοῦναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν τοιαύτην πρόσοδον ἣν εἴληφεν.»

⁷³ *Vita St. Theod.* 79.13-27: Ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατος Κυριακὸς ὁ πατριάρχης, κελευσθεὶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπέστειλε τῷ μητροπολίτῃ ποιῆσαι τὸ αἶτημα αὐτοῦ, ἐπιδοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ὠμοφόριον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν ἀξίαν διὰ τὸ ἅγιον εἶναι καὶ ἀμέμπτως διαδέχεσθαι. Δεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κέλευσιν αὐτοῦ ὁ μητροπολίτης διεδέξατο τὸν μακάριον Θεόδωρον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, προσενηνοχότος αὐτοῦ λιβελλον, καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ὠμοφόριον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, συνεβούλευσεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἵνα ὑποχωρήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνορίας τῆς ὑποκειμένης τῇ Ἀναστασιουπόλει εἰς ἐτέρας πόλεως

d) Another person, a cleric from Juliopolis, with the name Solomon, troubled by an impure spirit, came to the most blessed man with his wife, who herself suffers likewise. They receiving his prayer daily get rid of impure spirits, because of this he could make his picture in the prayer place of the church of Archangel, where he used to sleep.⁷⁴ [Author's translation]

e) After a few days the Emperor Maurice was assassinated and Phocas usurped the throne. Domniziolus, his nephew, was made a patrician and 'curopalates' and dispatched to the East by the Emperor to take over the army and make a stand against the Persian nation, which was invading and lording it over our country. When this famous man arrived at Heliopolis, and heard of the raid of the Lazi into Cappadocia and of the conspiracy of the patrician Sergius, the Emperor's father-in-law, against him, he was in great distress and fear as he did not dare to proceed with his journey as he had been bidden. He had heard about the servant of God, so he came to him in the monastery and falling at his feet besought his prayers and begged him to give him good advice, as he was at a loss and did not know what he ought to do.⁷⁵ [Translation by Dawes (1948)]

Some Published Inscriptions from the Periphery of Juliopolis

A. Çayırhan, old site of Eskişehir (now under water), ancient Juliopolis.

No.	Pub. Ref.	Explanation	Text	Translation
1.	Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 67, no. 13; Mitchell 1982, no. 163.	Sarılar. Built into the ancient bridge (now under water, see. fn. 22)	Δόμνα Λευ κίω ἀνδρῖ γλυκυτάτῳ μνήμης χάριν ζήσαντι ἔτη τριάκοντα.	<i>Domna, in memory of Leukios, her dearest husband, who lived thirty years.</i>
2.	Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 68, no. 14; Mitchell 1982, no. 164.	Same location.	----- ----- δρω μν(ήμης) ρ(ήμης) ρ(ήμης)	[A woman] for the memory [her husband]dros.
3.	Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 68, no. 15; Mitchell 1982, no. 165.	Same location.	[P]οῦφος Εὐδαι μοσύνη συβί[ω] γλυκυτάτη μνήμης χά ριν και δυσι τ[έκνοις] Υ. Α. . ΑΙΑΥΤΟ ΣΔ. . . ΑΔΕΜ	<i>Rufus, for the memory of his dearest spouse Eudaimosyne and two children...</i>

ἐνοριαν, μέχρις ἂν ἕτερος ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ γένηται. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγκυρανῶν μητροπόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ κλίμα τῆς Ἡλιουπολιτῶν πόλεως, ἔγγιστα τοῦ χωρίου Πίδρου ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου τῷ ὄντι εἰς Ἄκρη-
ναν, καὶ κατέκρυπτεν ἑαυτὸν.

⁷⁴ *Vita St. Theod.* 103.1-7: Ἄλλος δὲ τις, κληρικὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἡλιουπολιτῶν πόλεως, ὀνόματι Σολομών, ἐνεργηθεὶς ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου παρεγένετο πρὸς τὸν ἀγιώτατον ἄνδρα μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ αὐτῆς ὁμοίως πασχούσης· καὶ λαμβάνοντες τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ ἠλευθερώθησαν τῶν ἀκαθάρτων πνευμάτων, ὡς ἐκ τούτου ζωγραφίαν αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐν τῷ προσευκτηρίῳ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου, ὅπου ἐκάθευδεν.

⁷⁵ *Vita St. Theod.* 120.1-17: Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀνηρέθη Μαυρίκιος ὁ βασιλεὺς, κρατήσαντος Φωκά τῆς βασιλείας. Δομνιζιόλου δὲ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου καὶ κουροπαλάτου γενομένου, καὶ ἀποσταλέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὸ λαβεῖν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι τῷ τῶν Περσῶν ἔθνεϊ ἐπιβαίνοντι καὶ πραιδεύοντι τὰς ἡμετέρας χώρας, ἐλθόντος τοῦ προειρημένου πανευφήμου ἀνδρὸς μέχρι τῆς Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ μαθόντος περὶ τῶν Λαζῶν μέχρι Καππαδοκίας ἐπιδρομῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρικίου Σεργίου, τοῦ πατροῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, γενομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναιρέσεως, ἐν πολλῇ λύπῃ καὶ φόβῳ ἐγένετο μὴ τολμῶν τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν διανύσαι. Μαθὼν δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἦλθεν ἕως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, καὶ πεσὼν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ παρεκάλει εὐχὴν τε καὶ βουλήν ἀγαθὴν δοῦναι αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ αὐτὸν ὄντα μὴ εἰδέναι τί ὄφειλε πράξαι, ἀπαγγείλας αὐτῷ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ ἐγκελευσθέντα καὶ ὡς παρέμποδον αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν Λαζῶν ἐπιδρομὴν γενομένην.

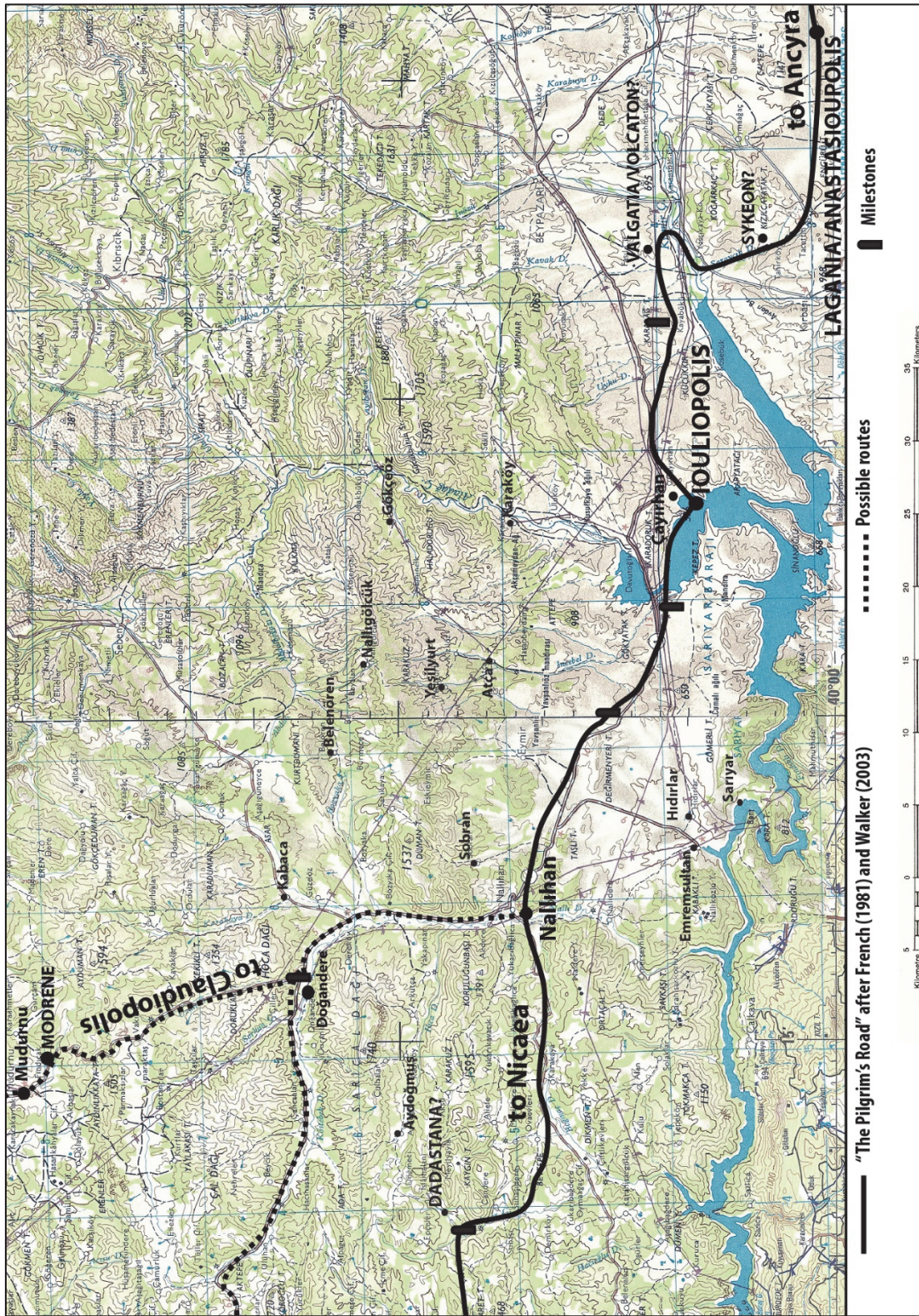
ΕΛΛΩ.

4. Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 68, no. 16; Mitchell 1982, no. 158. Sarılar. Beside the cemetery; on a split column. [κυμ]ητή[ριον] | [δι]αφέρον | Λεοντίου δια[κό] | νου και τῆς σ[υν] | βίου αὐτο[ῦ] | Ἀσκληπιοδότ[ης]. *Burial place, which belongs to the deacon Leontios and his wife Asklepiodote.*
5. Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 68, no. 17; Mitchell 1982, no. 159. Sarılar. In the village. ⚡ | ἐνθάδε κα|τάκιτε Θεό|δω- ρος ὁ μα|καριώτ(ατος) ὁ υ|ίος Ἀνασ[τ] | ασίου κόμ[η]τος. *Here lies the most blessed Theodoros, the son of Anastasios the Comes.*
6. Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 69, no. 18; Mitchell 1982, no. 160. Sarılar. On a thin ornamented column. εἰς θε[ός] | ὁ βοηθῶν | Θεοδότῳ | τῷ ἐπισκό[πῳ]. *One is the God, who is of help to Theodotos the Bishop.*
7. Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 69, no. 19; Mitchell 1982, no. 161. Sarılar. “In the fireplace of an *Oda*”. [Κύ]ριε, βοήθι τῷ κυ|[ρί]ῳ Ἐδεσίῳ κὲ τῷ | ἀνεψιῷ αὐτοῦ | Θεοτέκνου | κὲ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου | αὐτοῦ. | Κύριε, βοήθι | τῷ ἐργοδιώτῳ Ἰωάννου. *Oh Lord! Help master Edesios and his first cousin Theoteknos and all his household. Oh Lord! Help the taskmaster Ioannes.*
8. Crowfoot – Anderson 1899, 69, no. 20; Mitchell 1982, no. 162. Sarılar. In the village. Εὐφρά[τ]ης και | PAIBY . . . ΑΠΑ|ΤΡΟΝ. ἀδε|λφῶ μ[ι]ν[ή]μ[η] | χάρ[ι]ν. *Euphrates and ... for the memory of their brother.*

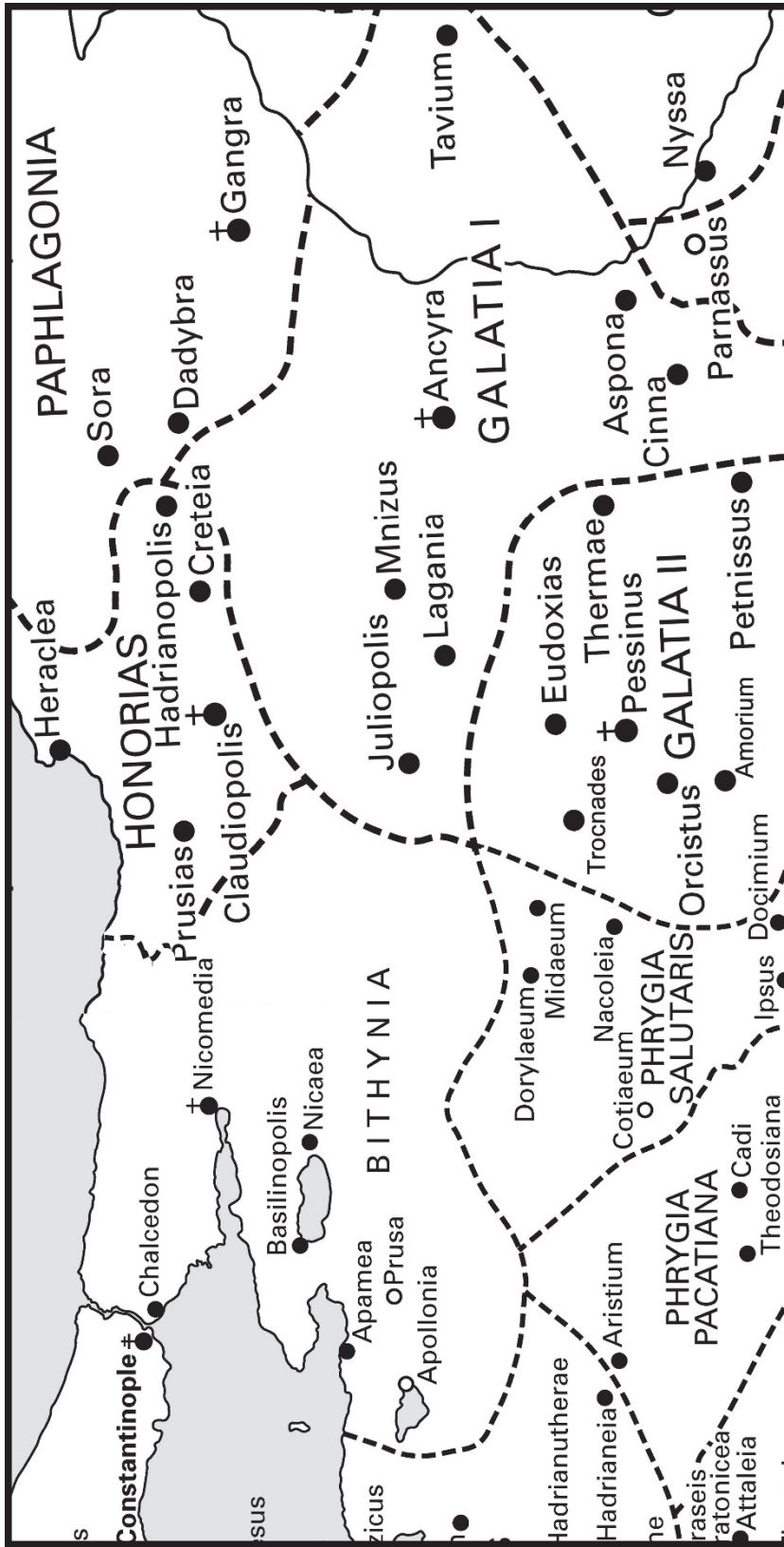
B. Milestones

9. French 1981, 36, no. Çayırhan 1; French 2013, 144, no. 92. *In situ.* On the N side of the Roman road; ca. 1,60 km W of the point where the track to Atça and Nallıgölcük crosses the Roman road. AD 215/216 [B F | Imp. Caes. M. A]urellius (sic) | [Antoninus] Pius Aug. | [Parthic]us maximus | [Britan- ni]cus maximus | [Germa]nicus maximus | [tribuni]c. pot. XVIII | [imp III cos.] III [p.p.] procos. | [A Iulio]p[oli] mil. VIII | Ἀπὸ Ἰο|υλ[ι]πόλεως | θ'] *With good fortune. Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus, Parthicus maximus, Britannicus maximus, Germanicus Maximus, in the 19th tribunician power, emperor for the 3rd time, consul for the 4th time, father of the country, proconsul. From Juliopolis 9 miles. From Ioulioupolis 9 (miles).*
10. French 1981, 36, no. Çayırhan 2; French 2013, 145, no. 93 (Çayırhan 2). Modern road from Ankara to Nallıhan, and ca. 0.20 km S of the modern road; on the N side of the Roman road. Now in the garden, beside the steps to the lower terrace, of the [B] (*wreath*) F | Imp. Caes. M. Aurellius (sic) | Antoninus Pius Aug. | Parthicus maximus | Britannicus maximus | Germanicus maximus | pontifex maximus | tribunic. Potest. XVIII | Imp. III. cos. III. p.p. procos. | A Iulio]p[oli] mil V | *With good fortune. Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus, Parthicus maximus, Britannicus maximus, Germanicus maximus, in the 19th tribunician power, emperor for the 3rd time, consul for the 4th time, father of the country, proconsul. From*

- Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara [Inv. no. 1974.1.4]
AD 215/216
- Ἀπὸ Ἰουλιπόλεως | ε'
- Juliolopolis 5 miles. From Ioulioupolis 5 (miles).*
11. French 1981, 38, no. Çayırhan 3; French 2013, 146, nos. 94 (Çayırhan 3).
- In situ.* Found ca. 0,15 km W of a dry wadi and ca. 1,70 km N of a track from Kayabükü Çiftlik to Kösebükü Çiftlik. Now in the Roman Baths, Ankara. [Inv. no. 186.4.1974]
AD 215/216
- [B F] | Imp. Ca[es. M. Aurelius] | Ant[oninus Pius Aug] | Parthi[cus maximus] | Britannicus ma[ximus] | Germanicus maxi[mus] | pontifex m[a]x[i-mus] | tribunic. Potest. X[VIII] imp. III cos. IIII p.p. proc[os].
A Iuliopoli VIII Ἀπὸ Ἰο]υλ[ιπό-
λεως η'
- With good fortune. Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus, Parthicus maximus, Britannicus maximus, Germanicus Maximus, in the 19th tribunician power, imperator for the 3rd time, consul for the 4th time, father of the country, proconsul. From Juliolopolis 8 miles. From Ioulioupolis 8 (miles).*



Map 1) Juliopolis and its surroundings together with the village names in which new inscriptions are found (after HGK maps of 1:250.000)



- ‡ Patriarchal See
- † Metropolitan See represented at Chalcedon
- Non-metropolitan See represented at Chalcedon
- ⚭ Metropolitan See represented at other Councils
- Non-metropolitan See represented at other Councils

Map 2) The region in the early Byzantine Period (ca. 5th – 6th c.) with provinces and their cities in hierarchical status. Produced after Price – Gaddis 2005, 231-232, Maps 3-4

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Özet

Ioulioupolis Çevresinde Epigrafi Araştırmaları I: Tarihî ve Coğrafi Genel Bakış

Bu yazı antik Ioulioupolis'in tarihi ve coğrafyası hakkında genel bir bakış sunmaktadır. Ioulioupolis, Konstantinoupolis'ten imparatorluğun doğu eyaletlerine giden ve hem askeri amaçlarla hem de hac için kullanılan rotanın üzerindeydi. Kent, Anderson, Ramsay ve "Hacı Yolu" üzerine çalışan French'in dikkatini çekmiş olmakla birlikte, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'nden bir ekiple 2009 yılında başlatılan düzenli kazılara kadar burada sistematik bir çalışma yapılmamıştı. Bu kazılarda ve buna ek olarak yine aynı müze ekibinin yaptığı Nallıhan çevre koruma çalışmalarında kentnin antik dönemine ışık tutabilecek pek çok yeni malzeme bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Ioulioupolis; Bithynia; Galatia; Hacı yolu; Çayırhan; Nallıhan.